

Authenticity: Reality versus Imaginative Reconstruction

Self Promotion as a criterion for identity and place

Vasiliki Kynourgiopoulou

Vasiliki Kynourgiopoulou graduated with a BA in Archaeology from Southampton University in 1998 and with an MA in Cultural Heritage Studies from University College London in 1999. She is currently reading for a Phd in architectural historicism at the University of Edinburgh Department of Architecture. Focusing on the perception of architecture and archaeology and the use of memories as a tool for the formation of identities and political manipulation in Greece.

Introduction

Authenticity is as a key concept in discussions about the formation of identities and place. On the one hand, it helps to promote heritage as a foundation of identities and, on the other, it marks the division between 'our' modern and 'other' past times. What is the true meaning of authenticity? Is there one? How can we find the reality of the 'real,' the originality of the 'original'? While it may be true that the small things with which people can identify often appear as authentic, how can we define something as either authentic or inauthentic? And in what ways is authenticity linked to the notion of place?

In order to examine the broad subject of authenticity, we need to identify the depth of this notion and the link between it and the people-environment. In order to define its baseline and project the ambiguity of the notion of authenticity - in both its creation and use - I will concentrate on philosophical arguments related to the issues of the creation of identities and the establishment of political authorities. Several authors, such as Dovey, Eco, Newby and Taylor, have all explored the notion of authenticity from different perspectives which will be presented and analysed further. In this paper my main arguments are centred on early 19th century Greece, concentrating on the formation of identities through neoclassical state architecture and the role of authenticity and legitimacy as a criterion for both place and identity.

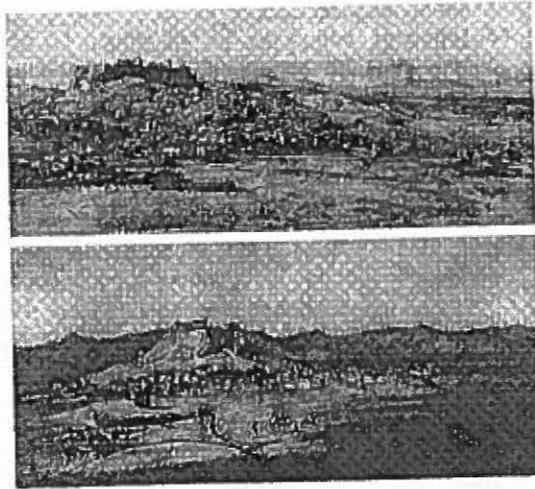


Figure 2. The townscape of Athens around its center - the Acropolis - in the 19th century and in contrast before the Revolution.

The past that we remember is both individual and collective but memory is individual and personal. The things we remember are the ones that had an impact on us and belonged to our own sphere of experiences. Lowenthal notes on memory:

...it had always felt as some particular event (that) happened to me (for)...nothing could be so uniquely personal to a person as his or her memories; ...(while we are) guarding their privacy we seem almost to be protecting the very basis of our personality.⁴

By memory, I mean the fundamental cognitive processes that allows us to acquire and retain information about the world and our experiences within it. Every different type of memory, whether sensory, short term or long term, is based on the duration, the nature and the retrieval mechanisms of information.

Our personal experiences are by nature private and, even if we make them public, can never be fully shared. The very fact of the existence in the memory of feelings, emotions, events and relationships make memories private. Lowenthal, again, suggests that:

Private memories also feel like private property ... indeed some prize their personal past as they would a valuable antique. They

congratulate themselves on having had the experience they recall, treasuring memories that enhance their self-regard.⁵

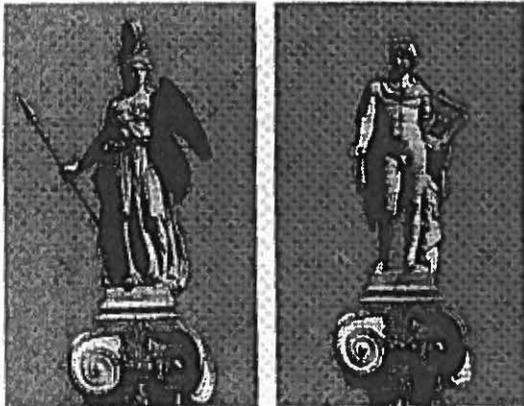
Memories are often confirmed by others and this gives them endurance. By that I mean that memories are supplemented by those of others. The sharing of memories validates them, sharpens them and promotes their recall.

As Halbwachs notes:

events we alone know about are less certainly, less easily evoked. In the process of knitting our own discontinuous recollections into narratives, we revise personal components to fit the collectively remembered past, and gradually cease to distinguish between them.⁶

In most cases we seek to link our personal memories with public history and collective memory. This way a higher level of validation can be achieved, and the individual may gain status, since he or she belong to the vast network of collective memory. People, according to psychologists, vividly recall their own thoughts in times of public crisis because they are subconsciously looking for ways to connect themselves to a meaningful cosmos. In addition we might suggest that people are so eager to be part of 'history' that even if they were actually present at momentous events they 'falsely' remember their responses to it.

Memory often acts as a key to self-development and defines one's identity throughout life. It is our memories and past experiences that unite us with, yet at the same time differentiate us from, the rest. Differences, or unities, which forms an identity is based on claims of original cultural expressions - of authentic claims to inheritance and cultural originality. Authenticity, in this case, plays the role of the mediator between the past and the present. It bridges past and present as it provides a basis, and quality standard, for a return to the roots. Our identities over a lifetime are secured by the reality of the past. The awareness of memory stimulates degrees of self-consciousness previously unknown. For instance the people of 19th century Greece had no immediate recollection of their 'classical past'; as such a new cultural tradition and memory was fabricated by the great powers of Britain, France, Germany and Russia for the fulfilment of their own economic and political ends. The implementation of the study of ancient Greek language and literature at schools and universities, the adoption of Greek revival architecture for state buildings (figure 3) and the artistic intervention of classical motifs and images of antiquity on the Greek currency (figure 4) were used as means to fabricate a collective memory and the idea of a shared classical tradition. All these were promoted as expressions of an authentic Greek culture and civilisation, that only the true inheritors would have the right to enjoy.



Athena, Apollon, 21. *Athena und 2. *Apollos von Skopos, *Athena.

Figure 3. Decorative Statues on Greece's State Buildings - Athena and Apollo
Examples of two statues selected to decorate the Academy, one of the major buildings in Athens. Note the exact reproduction of these to match the original statues of the 5th century. Details were carefully presented to look more authentic.

The formation of identity through memory is achieved by bringing the past into the present or by bridging past and present, and thereby confirming one's own identity. All memory transmutes experience either after having purified it or by simply reflecting it. Lowenthal suggests that memory is comprised of only a fraction of all that the environment displays - that which has had impact upon us. Thus, memory sifts again what perception has already sifted leaving us with fragments of what was initially on view.⁷ If we take it that memory validates personal identity, then history perpetuates collective self-awareness. At a collective level, an ethnic or national group might realise through history who they were, who they are and what they might become. Similarly, a person gains a sense of self through his or her own memories. Like histories, memories review the present with hindsight. But, whereas memory is seldomly consciously revised, history is often deliberately reinterpreted. This was the case in 19th century Greece whose past was reinterpreted by architects, historians and politicians through the lenses of subsequent events and ideas. Both history and memory engender knowledge, but only history *intentionally* sets out to do.



Figure 4. Classical Motifs On Greek Currency.
Classical motifs became a necessary tool for the introduction of the idea of tradition and historical sequence in the Greek State. Note that in the later currency of 1842 to 1883 there is a greater emphasis on classical models from antiquity.

The historical consciousness of the Enlightenment urged philosophers to rediscover the classical world, to realise how far they had come, and how unattainable the model of antique harmony and way of life was. These aspects, or memories, of the past that seemed proper and, thus, exemplary were emphasised and stressed as familiar and continuous. A similar process occurred in Greece during the 1830s when fragments of the ancient classical past were being emphasised and reproduced with greatest focus on architecture, the study of philosophy and classical education. Through this process, Othon and his political party tried to communicate their knowledge

of the past, filtered through their personal aspirations, with the ultimate goal of creating a form of memory through the living experience of the present (figure 6). The neoclassical state buildings of the University (figure 7), the Academy (figure 8) and the National Library (figure 9) were constructed in their particular, neoclassical style in order to serve as reminders of a 'glorious' past and emphasising the right of the Greek people as 'worthy successors' of this past. Hence, the whole process of reconstructing and imitating served as an assurance against popular upheavals and the establishment of a new sovereignty. Authenticity was used as a means to promote and safeguard a 'continuity with the past' and acted as an envelope to the diachrony and endurance of the past in the present, enriching both - the present through the lense of an age gone by. Thus, the past was the sanctuary of the particular version of reality that the politicians of Greece sought to promote. The 'glorification' of the classical past, the claiming of the rebirth of 'authentic Greek culture' and the emphasis of classical art as its exemplary and only *pure* form, created a yearning for a time when life was different. Denoting, therefore, that it is memory and not history that lies between the past and the present. In 19th century Athens the present was endowed with idealised traits of earlier times and:

...in doing so national leaders (and in the case of Greece Othon and his political party) came to identify their interests with those of the national group: this "service conception" of power acquired a national colour. The competition for political power was motivated by the intention to ameliorate and to improve the position of...(the) nation, to decide...(the) national fate.⁸

Othon related the 'service conception' of power primarily to his own class and expressed his interests as national ones.

Throughout my research the issue of the construction of identities is a vital one. But why is it so important to have an identity and for theorists to debate the 'politics of location,' criticising ethnic, national and racial conceptions of cultural identity? Stuart Hall points to the adoption of the deconstructive critique for the answer to the problem of identity which, he writes:

...puts key concepts 'under erasure'...(denoting) that these concepts are no longer operating within the paradigm in which they were originally generated.⁹

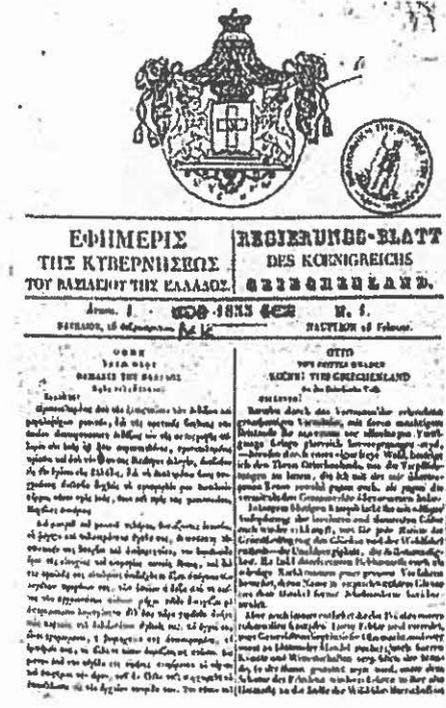


Figure 5. The Speech of Othon
The speech of Othon emphasised the right of the Greeks to their classical inheritance and past glory in order to fulfil his political aspirations

Moreover, we are required to look within the framework from which the issue of identity emerges. To ask in relation to what set of problems does the concept of identity emerge?

The problem of identity seems to emerge through the attempt to rearticulate the relationships between subjects and discursive practices, the politics of exclusion and the question of identification. Identification is this inclusion of common characteristics (such as language, culture and religion) that unify and provide a framework for the devotion of the group to common interests.

...in common sense identification is constructed on the back of recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with

another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation.¹⁰



Figure 6. State Buildings: The University
 Built by Christian Xansen in 1839 and neoclassical in style. The amphitheatres and lecture rooms were in the lower part of the building with the Museum of Natural History above.

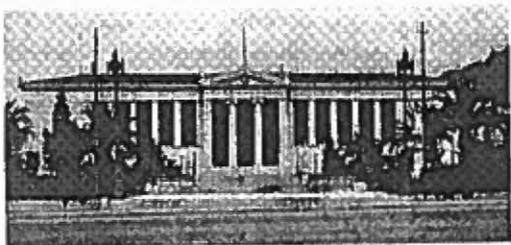


Figure 8 State Buildings: The Academy
 Built by Theophilus Xansen in 1859 in the neoclassical style. This building was dedicated to the study of philosophy and sciences and was considered the building most representative of the new Greek era. The two columns with the statues of Athena and Apollo were deliberately used by Xansen to emphasise the importance of the building in Greek society and the wider European cultural environment



Figure 9. State Buildings: The National Library
 Built by Theophilus Xansen in 1884. Designed in the neoclassical style apart from the staircases which originate from Renaissance designs. The theme that decorates the capitols came from recent archaeological excavations. This Library came to substitute the first National Library of Athens, built by Kapodistrias, in 1829

Identification can be regarded as always in 'process,' meaning that it cannot be sustained, abandoned, lost or won it is 'always there.' In contrast to Hall, I would suggest that identification does obliterate difference, as it is based on the shared characteristics of a group which denote difference from another group. Hence, the unity of a group will be based on the distinctive common characteristics of one in contrast to another. Like all signifying practices it is subject to the denotation of difference, through the attachment and marking of symbolic boundaries - the 'frontier effect'. Identities, or identifications, are constructed across different, often intersecting, and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions.

...actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not "who we are" or "where we come from," so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation. They relate to the invention of tradition as much as to tradition itself, which they oblige us to read not as an endless reiteration but as the changing same, not a so called returning to roots, but a coming to terms with our roots.¹¹

Identities are constructed within discourse, within specific historical and institutional sites, within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific strategies. They can be seen more as the product of specific

representations of power, marking difference and exclusion. Identities are evoked in relation to the *other*, what is not, what lacking, what is outside the realm of cultural, racial, political and linguistic homogeneity. Throughout time identities function as points of identification because of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render *outside*.

...every identity has at its "margin," an excess, something more. The unity, the internal homogeneity, which the term identity treats as foundational is not natural, but a constructed form of closure, every identity naming as its necessary, even if silenced and unspoken other, that which "lacks." ...the "unities" which identities proclaim are, in fact, constructed within the play of power and exclusion, and are the result, not of a natural and inevitable or primordial totality but of a naturalised, overdetermined process of "closure."¹²

Avtar Brah in her article on *Difference, diversity and differentiation* raises a series of questions on how the issue of identity is conceptualised:

How do the "symbolic order" and the social order articulate in the formation of the subject? In other words, how is the link between social and psychic reality to be theorised?¹³

Identities are often seen as *representations* of specific ideologies. These ideologies rise from particular political, cultural, economic, linguistic and social agendas which the individual, once having accepted its identity, takes upon itself as points of reference for a differentiation from the 'other.' Ideologies are the joining of specific kinds of beliefs, as forms of external value, for the generation of particular kinds of thoughts which form the criteria for social, national, religious, economic and racial determination. A definite description of the term is not possible as many theorists have looked at the issue of ideology from different perspectives such as: Marxist, socialist, communist, structuralist and post-structuralist. This is not the place to give a definite account of all these ideologies, however, I would like to stress that all are based on the perception of having something 'in common.' Homogeneity and the exclusion of heterogeneous elements is the main aim of any kind of ideology.

Stephen Heath in his essay on "Suture" suggests that:

...a theory of ideology must begin not from the subject but as an account of suturing effects, the effecting of the join of the subject in structures of meaning: 'Identities' are, as it were, the positions which the subject is obliged to take up while always 'knowing' ... that they are representations, that representation is always constructed across a 'lack,' across a division, from the place of the Other, and thus can never be adequate-identical to the subject processes which are

invested in them. The notion that an effective suturing of the subject to a subject-position requires, not only that the subject is 'hailed', but that the subject invests in the position, means that suturing has to be thought of as *articulation*, rather than one-sided process, and that in turn places *identification*, if not identities, firmly on the theoretical agenda.¹⁴

Identities are, thus, points of attachments to the subject positions that discursive practices have constructed for us.

Authenticity, Identity and Neo-classicism

Nineteenth century architecture had a universal familiarity. All the mysteriousness and theatricality of the social reality was hidden behind the glittering images of buildings which referred us to the past. "Architecture," Walter Benjamin wrote, "has always represented the prototype of a work of art the reception of which is consumed by a collectivity in a state of abstraction."¹⁵ It was during the nineteenth century that architectural buildings were upgraded into monuments of historic value, projecting the power of the state and the greatness of civilisations in order to inherit and protect antiquities from the further destruction of time and negligence.

Alvar Aalto believed that the work of an architect is not simply to create a new stylistic motif. His or her work should involve more intrinsic values, such as the identification and definition of the self in society.¹⁶ Hence, the design of a building provides a source of identification for the people. Architectural designs are determined by the needs of the people and conditions dictated by the site and available materials. Aalto, draws clear analogies between a building and its users as, he suggests, different architectural elements may be used to create architectural styles with the specific goal of the formation of identities.

Architecture is a means to totality. In order to infer political and social unity and embody the spirit of a society or country into a nationalistic statement. Evidence of this can be found in 19th century Greece where deliberate reconstructions of ancient buildings were advanced in an attempt to construct a national Greek identity. Architecture was used as a tool for political manipulation and economic prosperity at a time when classicism was the "appropriate state of art." The basis for this 'new' form of architectural style were the archaeological excavations in Europe (especially in Italy) that were bringing to light many classical antiquities. In 1764, Joachim Wichelmann published his study on the "History of Ancient Art," where he stated that ancient Greek art is very significant and ought to be

regarded as an "exemplar" for all art.¹⁷ In another study, Mark Gelenter discusses another view of Winckelmann's "imitation of beauty."

There are two ways to imitate beauty, he claimed, either by drawing from one beauty or by composing an ideal beauty out of the observations of many beauties. The former he disparaged as mere "copying, drawing a portrait," is the straight way to Dutch forms and figures, whereas the other leads to general beauty, and its ideal images, and is the way the Greeks took."¹⁸

Gelenter goes further and points out "the greatness of neo-classicism based on an innate admiration of the classicists."

Winckelmann, pointed out that the ancients purified their images of personal feelings, because feelings direct the mind from the truly beautiful. Art is the discovery of something external to the artist, not the expression of something from within.¹⁹

Other sources, like Reynolds, go further to note the role of neoclassical architecture as an expression of contemporary needs and ideals. This led some architects to copy ancient models with extreme archaeological accuracy. Neoclassical architecture acted as a point of reference and gave a sense of direction.

Neoclassical architecture, like paintings and sculpture arising from the same revival, was informed by a contemporary view of Greece and Rome as the enlightened civilisations built upon reason and respect the laws of nature. This revival differed from the former ones in its concern for an ethic which it ascribed (spuriously) to antiquity and in the way it adapted antique sources.²⁰

In doing so architects drew on influences from travels and expeditions to important sites of antiquity. Of great influence was Stuart and Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens*, the first volume of which was published in 1762, which had enormous influence on architectural practices and the formulation of taste.

Soon the purpose and function of neoclassical architecture became apparent through the writings of several influential theorists. Among them was Abbe Marc-Antoine Laugier who introduced, in his *Essays on Architecture*, the premise that "...architecture derives from the rustic hut of primitive man."²¹ An idea that goes back to the age of Vitruvius in the 1st century bc. According to Laugier "the architecture which comes closer to this pure and rational structure of columns, beams and gable-ends is the architecture which comes closest to the principles of nature."²² This idea eventually led to an emphasis on functionalist aspects of architecture. Despite the fact that

Laugier did not advocate the imitation of the antique he did propose the testing and evaluation of antique forms in terms of their applicability to modern buildings and contemporary needs. He also supported the invention of new forms in case the old ones were inadequate to satisfy contemporary needs. Without placing any specific emphasis on the "originality or authenticity of those new architectural forms," Laugier's theories "...had a vitality that appealed to the progressive architects of his own day and continued to have an influence well into the 19th century, both in Europe and in the New World."²³ The influence of Laugier's teachings and functionalist theories is evident in the Bank of Pennsylvania building in Philadelphia, designed by the architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, which is a synthesis of classical forms and functional demands. Despite the fact that buildings were based on antique forms, they came to satisfy contemporary needs in a society where the 'imitation of beauty' was considered a basic principle in the formation of both the individual and the structure of society.

Reproduction and imitation seemed to be the aim of art. However, neoclassical art did not simply aim to reproduce nature. Sir Joshua Reynolds's suggests "...a mere copier of nature can never reproduce anything great."²⁴ Thus, it would be more accurate to suggest that neoclassical art tends to retrieve the "classical concept" of ideals, where art copies the "underlying archetypes from which all sensory objects imperfectly derive."²⁵ Through the reproduction of classical art the artist could discover innate ideals behind or through appearances.

Even though it is not the purpose of this paper to examine the theoretical framework of these ideas in depth, I will mention the threshold of normative idealism, metaphysical idealism and the reliance on classical forms which set the limits for the imitation and reproduction of art.

Imitation was perceived as the driving force behind the examination of the underlying principles of art and the virtues and ideals it projected:

...instead they hoped that artists would imitate the classical forms' particular configurations... The artist is supposed to examine the ancient works in order to understand the underlying principles of art, but must already know the principles in order to see the virtues of the objects before him.²⁶

Identity is connected with self-recognition. Recognition includes cognitive and philosophical attributes that fall within the area of human perception (figure 10). When we look at national identities it is difficult to refer only to the formation of the subject as, in this case, many subjects are brought together at a national level, under a shared recognition and identification. History, memory and tradition act as the signifiers of the condensation of

the elements that conclude national recognition and determination.²⁷ The conditions of existence of both identity and identification include the material and symbolic resources required to sustain them. In this paper the sources I will focus on are the monumental, neoclassical buildings of 19th century Athens. These buildings communicate a *shared history* and *common ancestry*. Materialisation is looked at as an effect of power. This specific kind of materialisation is the neoclassical architecture of state buildings which function as an expression of identification. An expression which identifies itself with the rest of its European environment, denotes the difference of the present with the Ottoman past and underlines the Greek heritage of the 'classical' past.

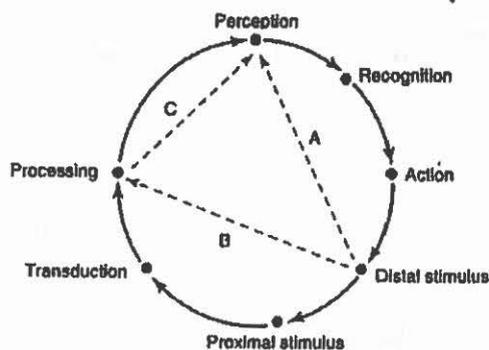


Figure 9. The cycle of Human Perception

It has been noted by different scientists, such as Goldstein (1999), that perception and recognition, the next steps of the perceptual process, are based on memory and history. Although I do not wish to engage myself with the complexity of these terms or the physiology of these relationships, I would like to address the notion of authenticity through a behavioural approach that links stimulation and perception. Through this approach I will focus more on the relationship between physical properties of stimuli, i.e. any form of cultural heritage, and the perceptual response to these stimuli, using as a mediator the notion of *authenticity*.

Tradition whether "invented"²⁸ or not has a ritual or symbolic function within society. Invented traditions are usually created because of a mass need and are politically driven. Often there are certain pre-conditions for the creation of traditions. Such pre-conditions include the readiness of people for some sort of tradition - especially after wars or radical social changes - in order to gain some form of cultural identity. Traditions suggest socio-political stability within a nation and often act as types of public symbol.

An example of such a process can be found in 19th century Athens where the 'classical tradition' became the symbol of cultural identity. After the liberation from the Turks in 1821 the Greeks had lost their ties with the past and were deprived of any form of cultural expression and, therefore, needed to form a 'new' identity. Neo-classicism was adopted as an architectural style and the study of ancient Greek literature and philosophy was encouraged. This was driven, on the one hand, by the elite of the new-born state - Othon and other Greek intellectuals who lived abroad - and on the other hand, imposed as a contemporary 'trend' and necessary element of any European capital, thus, the 'classical tradition' was invented. Greece, therefore, did not only have a national identity but, as the archaeological findings of the time revealed, a tradition rooted back into 'glorious' classical times. This classical tradition had strong political and ideological implications, alongside the economic and social changes it brought about. Othon, the newly appointed King of Greece, and his officers were not only seen as 'saviours' of the state but as having a political authority which derived from 5th century Athens. Furthermore, they legitimised their power with ideologies of a Greek superiority as natural heirs of a great civilisation. The building of monuments - Othon's palace among them - on top of existing antiquities and the adoption of classical forms and styles in architecture projected a continuity with the past and, therefore, an authenticity (figures 10 and 11). V. Kirby notes, as Hobsbawm had suggested about the third republic of France, there are three sets of inventions found in this case in Greece:

- Education, especially the classics, became an equivalent of religion.
- Public ceremonies were introduced.
- Public monuments were constructed in the neoclassical style.

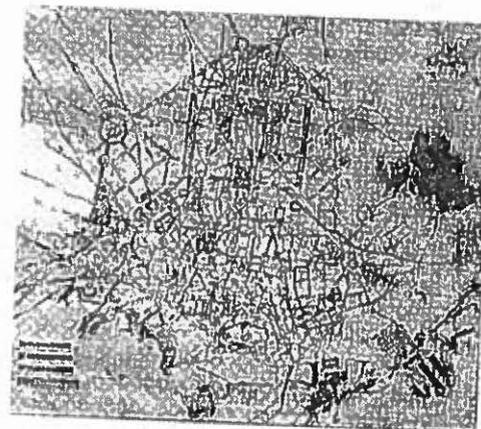


Figure 10.



Figure 11

Urban Plans of Athens

Urban plans of Athens designed by Kleanthis and Schaubert, as approved by Othon on the 29th June and 11 July 1833. Note that all state buildings are around the Acropolis and close to existing antiquities. Othon's Palace (in black) was purposefully built in direct opposition with Acropolis on the remnants of antiquities.

Even today relics of past civilisations, that exist in the same geographical space as modern nations, are used in order to claim 'authenticity' whether the people who live there are involved or not. Ideologies, notions and traditions are projected through the title of authenticity. People are presented as 'natural' - as 'real' heirs of a land, a heritage, - as a continuum from the past. The ideologies that emerge through this filtering of 'originality' often represent the ubiquitous relations of power in all levels of social, cultural and economic interactions.

Inventing traditions, it is assumed here, is essentially a process of formalisation and ritualisation, characterised by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition.²⁹

Ethics and morality, the philosophical terms mentioned before, emerge - the former as the underlying principles of decisions and actions, and the latter as what people should actually do. In this light, authenticity is seen as not what people should actually *be*, rather, as what they should *do*.

Authenticity and Inauthenticity

A Sense of Place

The idea of location in the multiple narratives of history helps us to achieve a sense of identity: personal, regional, national.³⁰

...place, in whatever guise is, like space and time... a social construct. The only interesting question that can be asked is: by what social processes is place constructed?³¹

Authenticity is often related with discussions about place. Place being some specific location - a community, a territory, a nation - or a philosophical/cultural notion, i.e a sense of place. The process of monumental building in order to commemorate experiences, either as a celebration (of a political power) or as a 'painful' memorial (for example the stylae of Jews that died in German camps, in America), suggests that all kinds of memories, in their own context and cause, are authentic. Authenticity could be said to trigger or create memories that support a sense of place. Senses are unique, projected from within our own persona and, thus, for each are authentic - original. Every sense is unique - original. They constitute the prototypes which correspond to particular actions - stimuli. Authenticity as a criterion of place comes from within, from our memory, which is of course unique and different. In this context, no distinction can be made between authenticity and inauthenticity. Even if we did recreate a landscape, or feature of it, it would still mean different things to different people.

In order to come into existence political and economic processes which lead to a transformation of space or place construction, must be based on notions of authenticity. Landscapes often acquire heritage value through an interplay between culture and nature, filtered through authenticity. Whereas culture is seen as the constructed argument for a notion of 'place,' nature has intrinsic value (ecology, land and earth sciences heterogeneity or homogeneity of space). It is the extrinsic factors (e.g. tourism and capitalism) which give 'place' altered, imported meanings and are responsible for the reconstruction - recreation - of places, landscapes and buildings. However, we cannot imply that by nature these are inauthentic. Authenticity and inauthenticity cannot be examined through absolutism. As I mentioned before they are authentic or inauthentic to different groups of people with different experiences and memories. *Every* product is authentic if we take into consideration the context in which it was created, the needs it was meant to satisfy and its social, economic and political background. All material activity should be seen as the relationship between people and their

environment. At this point the ambiguity of authenticity is revealed - "Is it a formal or a process question?"³²

Authenticity : A question of form or of process?

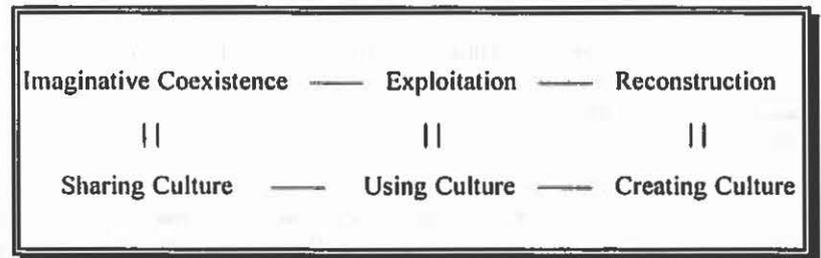
Dovey considers the issue of authenticity, which is important for any phenomenological research, in a solely environmental context not as a given condition within the natural world. It is seen as the relationship between people and their world. This relationship, and the issue of authenticity, is even more evident today due to the technological, economic and social structures that produce material culture; whereas, in earlier times, the designer was also the builder, maker and user of a product. Thus, there is a clear relationship between form and process, surface and depth, creation and use. When we talk of form we mean the physical characteristics of things, their visual image. Process on the other hand refers to the process in which material culture is made, its use, and its appropriation and recognition. Material culture gains meaning from being placed in certain categories. This meaning is achieved through respecting, caring, using and incorporating material culture into one's personal culture. When we study the notion of authenticity we may note two phenomena of environmental and cultural meaning: fakery, or the inauthenticity of things, and a cultural trend involving a search for authenticity - for the real.

Fakery can be seen as "...the replication of environmental meaning through the manipulation of appearances - a situation which frequently breeds doubt and deception in person/environment interaction."³³ Authenticity and fakery can be regarded as symptoms of a crisis in the modern person/environment relationship; of a mistaken belief that through the manipulation of form, to identify the original, we can achieve authenticity. This relationship is based on processes that involve the content, context and use of material culture. To Dovey the "depth of process" signifies the connection between environment - people - and authenticity. Indigenous processes, as one type of process, require forms which are original, not consciously manipulated and refer to intrinsic meanings. In contrast, fakery is the replication of meaning where there is no connection with the natural environment, thus, meaning in this context is ultimately based on extrinsic factors. Defining the threshold between intrinsic and extrinsic meaning in industrialised societies is problematic as outside forces of aesthetics, tourism and capitalism shape many aspects of life. Therefore, it is difficult to define: potential or actual uses, fakery or reality, or the originality of material culture.

An example of this problematic point can be identified when material culture is created for aesthetic purposes. For instance a window shutter that could be closed, but is not, or a decorative fireplace.³⁴ In both cases there is a transformation from the formative process - the original purpose - and the use. Their original creation and, thus, meaning was derived from action and use in every day life. Whereas, in their use as decorative elements meaning is derived from their visual image. However, it is inappropriate to define each use - actual or potential - as authentic or inauthentic. Authenticity, as I mentioned before, is characterised by both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Therefore, their definition as 'real' or 'fake' depends on whether one sees them as formal or usable objects. At this point the problem of deceit emerges. If the shutters or the fireplace do not connote 'shutting' or 'heating' they lose their original meaning. Yet if they do connote 'shutting' or 'heating' they lead us to deception. But does deceit really matter? Is it really important for us to identify what is fake and what is real? How definite can we be when we are regarding authenticity as the connection between the surface and depth of the material world, our imaginary and perceived worlds, the temporal connection between the present and the future?

General Assumptions on Authenticity

The use of the past for the creation of modern identities can be seen as a continuum. Authenticity emerges as the tool for legitimising identity. Newby offers a schematic representation of the use of the past:



Culture is both shared between the politicians and the people and is also packaged and shaped for the masking of political aspirations and the formation of national identities.³⁵

Exploitation comes when cultural heritage becomes the generator of political aspirations and economic value in the form of funding. Othon received funding from Europe for approving neoclassical state buildings

and presenting them as 'authentic.' Imaginative reconstruction sought to make more abstract elements of culture concrete, especially at the time when the Greek people were not fully aware of the significance of their past. As such there is an increasing desire, often through the assembly of authentic materials, statues and decorative motifs, to create settings appropriate to different needs. We could say that the notion of authenticity surfaces between exploitation and imaginative reconstruction. Reconstruction needs authenticity to appear as culturally significant, as historical fact, and existing cultures need authenticity in order to create new forms of cultural production. Reproduction, in conservation terms, needs authenticity in order to create an intense experience.

As Dovey further suggests, the search for authenticity stems from the crisis in the human/environment relationship which arises not only from what he calls "the absence of a place to dwell," but also from: advances in technology, industrialisation and ways of life, which ultimately lead us into perceiving and experiencing material culture quite differently than in the past.

However, the uniqueness of our experiences and memories position each of us differently towards notions of authenticity and inauthenticity. Therefore, the definition of fakery or authenticity can be very different for different people or groups. It is vital to ask where should we draw the line (if we can at all) between what is authentic and what is inauthentic? If authenticity is about process (and function) and not form, then, in order to address the different relationships of people with their environments, the distinction between authentic and inauthentic must be changeable.

Authenticity cannot be defined absolutely. What is authentic depends on:

- the context in which any form of material culture is made.
- the time and period in which it was created.
- the needs it comes to satisfy.

As such, we cannot rely on simplistic arguments of authenticity and inauthenticity, as they do not fit the complexity of material culture as an expression of human activity. Furthermore, we should ask ourselves which version of the reality is important? The one in which we have to restore and rebuild the perception of the ideal, without looking at the true relationship between humans and their environment, or the one where we accept the current view of the ideal?

Notes and References

Illustrations

Figure 1. Reisch G., *Margarita Philosophiae*, Heidelberg, 1504

Figures 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11. Mpiris K., *Ai Athinai*, Athens, 1995

Figure 5. *Newspaper of The Government*, 16th February 1833, Museum of National History, Athens.

Figure 9. Goldstein B., *Sensation and Perception*, 1999

Bibliography

1. Aalto A., *Synopsis: Painting, Architecture, Sculpture*, 2nd ed. Birkhauser Verlag, Basel, 1980
2. Ashworth G., & Larkman P., *Building a New Heritage*, Routledge, London, 1994
3. Bhabha H., "The Other Question," *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London, 1994
4. Bhabha H., *Nation and Narration*, Routledge, London, 1995
5. Brah A., "Difference, Diversity and Differentiation," in Donald J. & Rattansi A. (eds.), *Race, Culture and Difference*, Sage, London, 1992
6. Corner J. & Harvey S., *Enterprise and Heritage*, Routledge, London, 1991
7. Dovey K., "The Quest for Authenticity and the Replication of Environment Meaning" in Seamon D. & Mugrauer R. (eds), *Dwelling, Place and Environment*, Martinus Hijhoff, Lancaster, 1985
8. Eco U., *Travels in Hyper-reality*, Picador, London, 1987
9. Eco U., *Misreadings*, Picador, London, 1994
10. Foucault M., *The Care of the Self*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1988
11. Gilroy P., *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Verso, London, 1994
12. Gelernter M., *Sources of Architectural form*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995

13. Goldstein B. E., *Sensation and Perception*, Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., Pacific Grove, 1999
14. Halbwachs M., *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter Jr. & Vida Yazdi Ditter, Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1980
15. Hall S., "Who Needs and Identity," in Hall S. & Gay P., *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Sage, London, 1996
16. Hall S., "When was the post-colonia?" in L. Curti and I. Chambers (eds.) *The Post Colonial in Question*, Routledge, London, 1996
17. Harvey D., "From Space to Place and back again," in Bird J., *Mapping the Futures: local cultures, global change*, Routledge, London, 1993
18. Heath S., *Questions of Cinema*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1981
19. Herder J.G. 1877-1913, "Ideen," in *Herders Smtliche Werke*, Supham B. (ed),
20. Hobsbawm R. & Ranger T., *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge University Press, 1996
21. Hroch M., "National Self-Determination from a Historical Perspective," in Periwal S., *Notions of Nationalism*, CEU Press, 1995
22. Keith M. & Pile S., *Place and the Politics of Identity*, Routledge, London, 1993
23. Keyon N., *Authenticity and Early Music*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988
24. Kirby V., Lecture Series & Notes, University College London, 1999
25. Laugier, Abbe Marc Antoine, *Essai sur L'Architecture*, Gregg, Farnborough (Hants.), 1966. Facsimile reprint of 2nd ed., originally published, Duchesne, Paris, 1775
26. Lowenthal D., *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985
27. Lowenthal D., *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998
28. Mazzi A., *An Architecture of Identity*, Architronic, 1993

29. Middleton R., *Neoclassical and 19th century Architecture*, Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1980
30. Mpiris K., *Ai Athinai*, Melissa Publications, Athens, 1995
31. Newby P. T., "Tourism, Support or Threat to Heritage?" in Ashworth G. & Larkman P., *Building a New Heritage- tourism, culture and identity - The New Europe*, Routledge, London, 1994
32. Reynolds M., *Nineteenth Century Architecture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992
33. Roth M.L., *Understanding Architecture, Its Elements, History and Meaning*, The Herbert Press, 1993
34. Shaw G. & Williams A., *Critical Issues in Tourism*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994
35. Taylor C., *Philosophical Arguments.*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass. and London, 1995
36. Walter B., "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, Schaken Books, New York, 1965
37. Winchelmann J., "Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works in painting and sculpture 1755," *Writings on Art*, ed. Irwin D., London, 1972

Endnotes

- ¹ Newby 1994
- ² Taylor 1995, p.228
- ³ Lowenthal 1985, p.149
- ⁴ Ibid., pp.194-195
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 195
- ⁶ Halbwachs pp.23-5
- ⁷ Lowenthal 1998
- ⁸ Hroch 1995, p.80
- ⁹ Hall 1996, p.1

- ¹⁰ Ibid., p.2
¹¹ Gilroy 1994, p.4
¹² Bhaba 1994, p.5
¹³ Brah 1992 p.142
¹⁴ Heath 1981, p.106
¹⁵ Benjamin 1965, p.239
¹⁶ Mazzi 1993, p.1
¹⁷ Gelenter 1996
¹⁸ Ibid., p.168
¹⁹ Ibid., p.169
²⁰ Reynolds 1992, p.3
²¹ Ibid., p.4
²² Gelenter 1996, p.174
²³ Reynolds 1992, p.5
²⁴ Ibid., p.41
²⁵ Gelenter 1996, p.168
²⁶ Ibid., p.168
²⁷ Foucault 1988
²⁸ Hobsbawm 1989
²⁹ Ibid, p.4
³⁰ Corner & Harvey 1991, p.168
³¹ Harvey 1993, p.5
³² V.Kirby
³³ Dovey 1985, p.33
³⁴ Ibid., p.35
³⁵ Newby 1994, p.208