

Negotiating a Memory-Image: The Zeus Altar between Berlin and Bergama

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I. BERGAMA: THE MEMORY OF CONSPICUOUS ABSENCE

In a short book the Social Democrat mayor of Bergama in the early 1990's attacks a respectable German institution, the State Museum of Berlin, based on a one hundred-year old cultural conflict. Sefa Taşkın's book, *The Zeus in Exile* voices claims of the town's inhabitants, small farmers and shopkeepers, against the museum of a distant European city, which they have never actually seen. As the title of the book suggests, the people of Bergama feel that they had been robbed of their cultural heritage, or more specifically, the major cultural monument of their town is in "exile." Having argued that "their culture is the accumulation of all previous cultures, which flourished in Bergama in the past," the modern inhabitants of the town demand the return of the Zeus Altar, which had been displaced from Bergama during the German archaeological excavations of 1878-79.¹

On the cover of Taşkın's book a Zeus figure dressed in ancient Greek attire is depicted as he breaks his chains and as he steps towards his long lost "home." This image, which represents the ancient Greek God as the "prisoner" of a German museum, is perhaps the most powerful allegory of a repatriation case. A century after the German archaeologists displaced the ruins of the Zeus Altar from their town, the people of Bergama selectively identified a historical heritage for themselves. Curiously the heritage of the city of Bergama does not depend on the presence, but on the conspicuous absence of an ancient monument, which had once been in Bergama, yet which is exhibited in Berlin today.

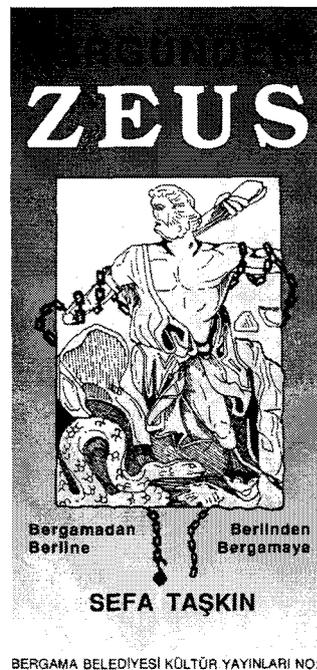


Fig. 1. The cover page of Sefa Taşkın's book *Zeus in Exile*, designed by Gökçer Alp, Hami Kural, n.d.

The campaign for the restitution of the Zeus Altar was perhaps not a surprise for those who are familiar with Turkey's pursuits to repatriate its antiquities. Within the last decade, the Republic of Turkey orchestrated a repatriation policy, which is at times called aggressive by America's art magazines.² The 1991 campaign for the repatriation of the Zeus Altar, however, is unique among Turkish repatriation cases. Initially it was conceived, not by the central government in Ankara, rather by the local authority of a small town and its inhabitants. It quickly gained, however, a popular support in national scale, hardly enjoyed by other cases: According to one account 15 million signatures were collected to ask the return of the Zeus Altar back from Germany. In 1991 alone,

more than 100 articles appeared in the Turkish daily press—ranging in tone from mourning for the “stolen altar” to accusing Mayor Taşkın of being “crazy” in thinking that “Germans” might give the altar back at all.³

Taşkın, however, seems less pragmatic than many of his critics in Turkey. In *Zeus in Exile*, he is interested in raising the international, ethical dimensions of the case. He insists that those who displaced the Altar of Zeus for the sake of “preserving” it, were indeed in the search of cultural roots for their emerging 19th century empire and “today they try to conceal the inhuman dimensions of the [19th century project of] sharing the world.”⁴

*Opposition to the uprooting of human creations from their historic and societal contexts, is a basic human responsibility. The Zeus Altar, which we consider the common heritage of all humanity, should return to the site where it was constructed and where it stood for thousands of years. Just as two Berlins were reunified, the Zeus Altar should reunify with Bergama.*⁵

It is interesting to note that, in his political campaign to reconstitute the cultural heritage of Bergama, Taşkın uses a highly internationalist idiom. Quite remarkable for a “re-patriation” case, the word nation is missing altogether from Mayor Taşkın’s book. Instead the word “culture” is used in abundance, to such an extent that one wonders what such an all-inclusive term may mean for the author.

Taşkın’s book, which presents the altar as an inseparable component of Bergama’s local heritage, is, in essence, in accordance with a culture thesis—mostly embraced by the Turkish center-left since 1940’s. In an attempt to de-emphasize Turkey’s own imperial, Ottoman past, the culture thesis seeks to establish Anatolia, that is, the modern geography of Turkey, as “the cradle of civilizations.” As exemplified in the writing of the art historian Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and essayist Cevat Kabağağaçlı, who signed his books with the pseudonym, “the Fisherman of Halicarnasus,” the possession of material culture from past civilizations of different linguistic-ethnic groups is essential to sustain the cultural identity of modern Turkey as unity in diversity. In contrast to the better known Greek thesis of repatriation—most notably in the repatriation case of the Elgin Marbles from the British Museum—which often invests on the transcendental subjectivity of the Greek nation and seeks to define the archaeological finds as inalienable objects belonging to that nation, the Turkish case of repatriation depends on a melting pot argument. The thesis known in Turkish as “toprağın kültürü,” literally the “culture of earth” argues for the continuity of memory, not in the subjectivity of an ethnically and linguistically fixed group, but in the spirit of place and locality.

The Anatolian “cradle of civilizations” thesis also constitutes one important branch of the 20th-century Turkish historiography and competes with an ethno-centric history thesis, which celebrates the conquests of the Turkish speaking empires of the past. The 1977 history of Iskender Ohri, for example, is called *The Story of Our Country*, and more recently, *The Story of Anatolia* (and not the story of the Turks). Ohri intended a 5000 year history of Anatolia, which starts with the Hittite civilization, and extends from the Greek colonization to the Turkish conquests.⁶ Both the Anatolian and Turkish history theses enjoyed official support from education and culture ministries during different governments. Neo-liberal and conservative coalitions, which governed Turkey after 1983, are less supportive of the Anatolian culture thesis. The large popular support that the restitution campaign of Mayor Taşkın enjoyed, in that sense, may be considered one important success of the Turkish center-left. The municipality of Bergama of the 1990’s, in that sense, had something more important at stake than possessing the altar as a material treasure. Although gaining the altar for the city of Bergama might seem unrealistic, Mayor Taşkın certainly succeeded on other grounds internal to Turkey.

II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ZEUS ALTAR IN BERLIN 1878-1930

Today’s controversy is focused on the “uprooting” or “discovery” of the Zeus Altar by German archaeologists in 1870’s to use the terminology of Turkish and German sources respectively. Carl Humann, a German engineer employed by the Ottoman government for the construction of the Bergama Dikili road in 1864, noticed the sculptural reliefs built in an 8th century Byzantine wall in the historic citadel of Bergama. Impressed with the ruins, Humann carried out unofficial excavations in the citadel (acropolis) of Bergama from 1864 and 1871 and sent his finds to Berlin, hoping to attract, at first unsuccessfully, the attention of the museum director. The situation, however, was to change radically after the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. As the new German Empire came to see itself as a world-power, the German Archaeology Institute (DAI) and the German Orient Society commissioned archaeological expeditions in order to bring Berlin Museums to the level of the Louvre and the British Museum. New large-scale excavations were planned particularly in the vast territories of the Ottoman Empire “where the chances to expand the collections seemed better.”⁷

The most prominent fragments belonging to the Zeus Altar, the Gigantomachia frieze, which represents the battle of the gods of Olympus with the Giants, were found during the first official excavations directed by Carl Humann in 1878-79. By the end of the first campaign, 97 frieze slabs and approximately 2000 fragments, which belonged to the Gigantomachia were shipped to Berlin, alongside 35 slabs of a smaller frieze (Telephos). In his excavation report Humann predicted that the original Gigantomachia covered an area of 135 X 2.30 m., and the sculptural fragments he sent to the museum in 1879—120m²—corresponds roughly to 3/5th of the original frieze.⁸ Having focused on the legitimacy of this acquisition, the sources of the Berlin Museum unanimously report that these fragments were bought from the Ottoman Government for 20.000 gold marks, which allowed the Royal Museum of Berlin to change the conditions of the 1873 Ottoman Law of Antiquities to its favor.

For our purposes here, however, it is more important to show that Humann, was exclusively interested in salvaging the fragments of the sculptural friezes, which he extracted from the Byzantine wall of the citadel.⁹ The fragments that were found on site would not permit to reassemble a monument out of its original architectural pieces. Once shipped to Germany by Humann these fragments were first exhibited in the rotunda of the Old (Altes) Museum as separate sculptural friezes without any architectural presentation.



Fig.2. Marbles of the Pergamon Frieze exhibited in the Rotunda of Altes Museum. Pen and ink drawing by Max Lücke c. 1886. The image clearly shows that the finds of Humann were displayed without their architectural frame.

The altar was first reconstructed to what was then believed to be its full size inside of an interim museum on the banks of the Spree designed by Fritz Wolff. The building, which was erected in 1897-99, was a large square of about 50 meter long on each side. It consisted of only one large room where the Pergamon Altar was located. Wolff’s building

left too narrow a space—7 to 9 meters—between the altar and its modern shelter. The visitors could see the original from all four sides. But they did not have the chance to experience the building from an aesthetic distance, which reduced the monumental effect of the altar. Such a strategy of display did not satisfy the ambitions of the archaeologists, nor was it appropriate to represent the glory of the *Reich*. The museum was demolished in 1907 and the Pergamon Altar had to wait until 1930 for its new “home.”

According to Volker Kästner, Wolff’s reconstruction of the altar in an “architecturally neutral” interior, anticipated 20th century developments in museum aesthetics. The interior of the first Pergamon Museum was simple and relatively free of ornament unlike the decorative “style-rooms” (*Stillräumen*) of the 19th century.¹⁰ Yet we may argue that, despite the apparent simplicity of the building, the museum was more a product of the 19th century mentality of archaeological reconstruction than an outcome of the 20th century museology. In his design Wolff presented no ontological difference between the classical original and its neoclassical container. Both the classical reconstruction and its neoclassical container were acknowledged as constructions of the modern day. Although the fragments of the frieze were original pieces, their architectural frame, which completes them into a temple form, was a product of modern imagination. To such an extent that, in Wolff’s museum the reconstruction of the ancient altar and its *mise-en-scène* in a modern environment are the inseparable parts of the one and the same project.

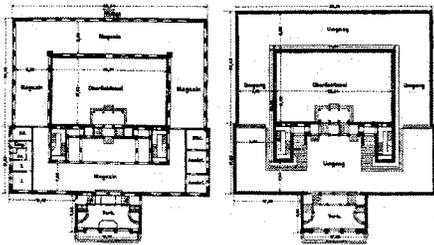


Fig. 3. Ground plan of the first Pergamon Museum by Fritz Wolff, built between 1897-1899, demolished in 1908. The structure inside is the reconstructed Zeus Altar. The exterior structure is the museum in neo-Greek style.

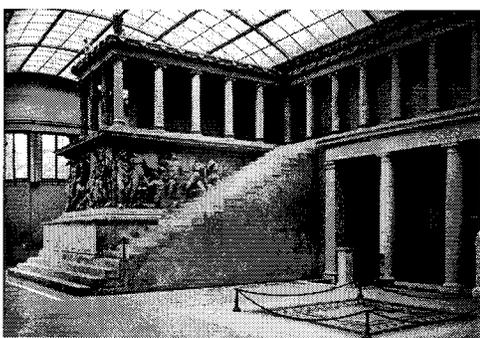


Fig. 4. Fritz Wolff's first Pergamon Museum and the reconstruction of a freestanding Zeus Altar, displayed 1897-1908.

The initial project of today’s Pergamon Museum, which eventually replaced Wolff’s building, was designed by Alfred Messel in 1907. The new “Pergamon Museum,” was originally conceived as an architecture gallery, which exhibits the monuments discovered during the recent expeditions of German archaeologists in a restored form. Messel’s project consisted of two distinct architectural promenades in time. The south wing of the project was to convey a narrative of architectural history in the “Ancient Orient” from its most distant “origins” in Babylon to its successive stages in Syria, Anatolia and finally in Greece. The north wing of the museum, which was initially conceived as *Deutsches Museum*, was to exhibit a successive evolution in architectural history, walking

the visitor through the Roman, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque rooms. Messel’s idea was to create a succession of “style-rooms” inside the museum, that is, a series of interiors decorated in historical styles.¹¹

At the center of two wings, Messel placed the most important monument of the museum, the Zeus Altar of Pergamon. The central position of the Pergamon Hall (*Pergamonsaal*) in the museum privileged the timeless Greek ideal, somehow breaking the linearity of historical evolution as presented on the wings. Messel’s project, in that sense, tried to reconcile the German philhellenic tradition, which grants a normative and timeless value to Greek art, with a historical narrative in which all art is relative in time. The Pergamon Museum, was not conceived simply as a gallery of civilizations. In his last, and, mostly ignored project, Messel attempted to unify the architecture of the East and the West into an organic “Kultur.”

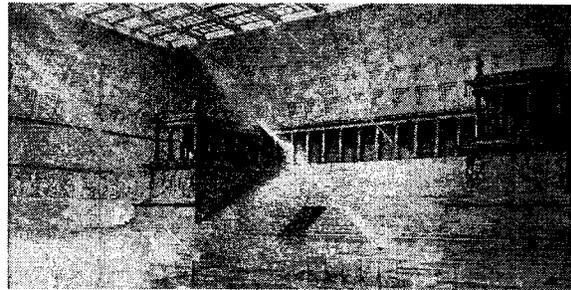


Fig. 5. Perspective of the Pergamon Room by Alfred Messel 1908.

In its premise, Messel’s project also suggested to reconstruct the classical altar inside of a large neoclassical container. Yet the architect’s priority was much less reconstructing the altar as a full size building. Instead Messel addressed to the perceived inadequacy of Wolff’s museum by creating a large hall in front of the “original,” through which it could be experienced frontally. Compared to Wolff’s design, the Pergamon Altar displayed in Messel’s project is much more an “altar,” in the real sense of the word, than a freestanding building.

The archives of the Pergamon Museum include records of extended discussions among architects and archaeologists in the 1920’s about the changing strategies of reconstruction of the Zeus Altar.¹² The most prominent defender of Messel’s project was the director of the antiquity collections, Theodor Wiegand.¹³ Despite his hard-core philologist predecessors, Wiegand made career for himself as a political intriguer in Istanbul, who successfully imported, or like in the case of the Market Gate of Miletus, smuggled archeological finds to Berlin from the East. Wiegand’s Philhellenism, which was crucial in the setting of the Pergamon Museum, was not so much embedded in the German philological traditions, as his quest for an exaggerated theatrical staging, which he called “*Anschauung*” (view, intuition, experience, contemplation).¹⁴

During the stages of its construction from 1908 to 1930 Messel’s project was modified several times, not only due to attitude of the Weimar Republic officials, who were hesitant to support the ambitious project they inherited from the Wilhelmine Empire, but also due to emerging critique under modernism. As early as 1915 Ludwig Hoffmann, the new architect of the museum, revised the interior plans according to a new strategy: the exhibition halls were to be “neutral in style,” and suitable for the display of any collection. The works of art should be clearly differentiated from the building and no casts or copies were to be exhibited.¹⁵

Nevertheless, Hoffmann’s attempts to change the appearance of the museum were far from solving the theoretical problem. The critics of the Pergamon museum focused primarily on the question of authenticity. It seemed problematic to them that an “imitation” of the altar was posed in the museum as an “original.” In 1926, four years before the museum’s opening, the modernist art critic Karl Scheffler warned

the public against what he saw as a deliberate forgery: "the only original component is the frieze, all the rest is built artificially out of plaster and cement." Just like the other architectural reconstructions in the museum the giant Pergamon Room exemplified, according to Scheffler, the triumph of "quantity over quality, plaster over marble, the pedantic over the artistic, and the imitation over the original."¹⁶ The material inauthenticity of the architectural elements compromised the integrity of the original frieze as well. For those who adamantly opposed the restoration and staging of archaeological monuments, the Pergamon Museum became the principal target. Apart from Scheffler, many critics, archaeologists and politicians of the Weimar Republic, agreed that the reconstruction of the Pergamon Altar was more a "theater décor" than a museological object.

The modification of the project in 1921 was particularly decisive in giving the Zeus Altar its present form. Wilhelm Wille, the architect responsible of the construction of the museum, carried out an open campaign to alter Messel's design.¹⁷ Wille objected to Messel's reconstruction of the altar as a theater stage. Instead he proposed to reconstruct the altar as a freestanding temple inside of a very large cube: an interior which recalls the white-cube aesthetics of the *Neusachlichkeit*.

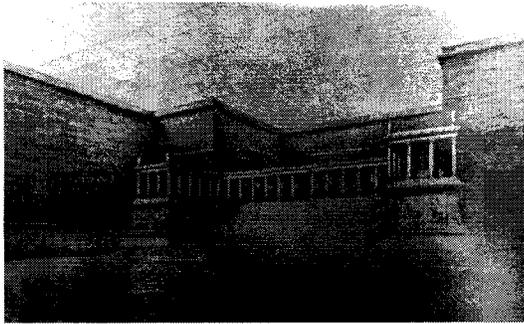


Fig. 6. Wilhelm Wille, design for the reconstruction of the Zeus Altar and the Pergamon Room, perspective rendering, 1927.

Wille's revision conceived the cube of the exhibition rooms as the frame of aesthetic experience in the Kantian sense of the word. The modern museum fulfills its function only when the exhibited objects are aesthetically differentiated from their frame. The architect intended to provide a shelter for the display of the originals. The abstraction of the cube displaces the works of art from their original contexts and induce them to acquire the status of art-for-experience (*Erlebniskunst*). Just as this strategy depends on the material presence of works of art in the interior, it defaces the architectural frame. Just like the frame of a painting, the architecture that contains the reconstruction conceals itself and directs the viewer's attention to the archaeological work of art. The interior of the Pergamon Museum, hence, was to fulfill the modernist ethics of "authenticity" in architecture by differentiating the historic "original" from its modern frame of display.¹⁸

Wille's project to reconstruct a freestanding Zeus Altar inside of a giant cube was defeated by more conservative Hoffmann and Wiegand, who insisted in maintaining Messel's theatrical reconstruction.¹⁹ But Wille's idea of eliminating the ornaments of the *Pergamonsaal* and of presenting the interior as a simplified cube, was incorporated into the final project. The interior of the *Pergamonsaal*, in other words was to resemble only superficially the white-cube of a modernist gallery. The differentiation of the exhibited façade of the Zeus Altar from its "neutral" background granted a sense of authenticity to the entire reconstruction.

Paradoxically, through this very process, the original Hellenistic altar became increasingly subordinate to its frame of display, the "neutral" cube. In striking contrast to the previous reconstruction of the altar in Wolff's museum as an entire building, the classical building was reduced into a sculptural relief inside the new museum. To put it polemically,

the Zeus Altar was deprived of its independent *buildinghood*. The reconstruction created the atmosphere of experiencing the temple not by restoring it to its entire form, rather by pasting its façade on the white wall of the museum, therefore transforming the exterior façade of the Pergamon Altar into an interior façade.²⁰ The temple is literally introverted, like a glove turned outside-in.

Hence the Pergamon Room consists of carefully chosen visual effects which translates a modern interior into an antique building, and this translation occurs in two distinct, yet, complementary spheres of perception. The first sphere is analogous to the contemplation of a picture. At the moment of entrance, the observer sees the Pergamon Altar as an "ensemble" at a glance. The aesthetic distance between the observer and the object of perception lends the reconstructed altar an effect of completeness, which it physically lacks. The large void in front of the altar magnifies the effect of depth and compels the observer to read the sculptural relief as the image of a building. It is also important to note that this effect is not necessarily "illusionistic" in the limited definition of the term. It does not construe the third dimension out of a two-dimensional picture. Yet the reconstruction of a representative part, which is technically speaking a combination of freestanding sculptural forms and sculptural bas-relief, conveys the effect of the whole monument. That which is reconstructed in the museum, in other words, is not the temple itself, but the impression of being in front of the temple. The altar is flattened out in the gallery as a *synecdoche* of the original.



Fig. 7. The Zeus Altar as sculptural relief in the Pergamon Room, Berlin.



Fig. 8. Detail of the Zeus Altar and the background, the Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

III. UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE AND PARTICULAR IDENTITIES:

Having argued that the Pergamon Altar in Berlin is not simply an original temple, which had been displaced from Bergama, yet it is one that is completely dependent of its frame of display, we need address the question of repatriation from a different perspective. Curiously, Taşkın's *Zeus in Exile* never specifies what the city of Bergama demands from the Berlin Museum. Does the city desire to possess the original fragments of the Pergamon frieze that were shipped to Berlin by Humann in 1873? Does Bergama want to accommodate the entire West façade of the Altar as hypothetically constructed according to the projects of Messel, Hoffmann and Wille between 1907-1930? Or does the city want to possess a quite immaterial image associated with the Zeus Altar with all the copy-right privileges? An entire historical narrative was constructed around a lost Hellenistic monument, which through time, became Bergama's patrimony.

Faced with the demands of repatriation, the Berlin Museum, on the other hand, does not inform its visitors about the question of authenticity. A number of books sold in the Museum's store celebrate the archaeologists of the Wilhelmine age as the pioneers of modern science. "Looking behind the historical scenes," these publications often assert in between the lines that all the original elements of the altar, which are on display today have a secure legal status. A guide of the Pergamon Museum by Olaf Matthes illustrates this kind of literature. Explaining to the visitors why all the monuments of the Pergamon Museum were taken from the territories of the Ottoman Empire, but not from Greece, another country rich in antiquities, Matthes writes that "neither the Turkish authorities nor its people had a historical consciousness of their Greek and Roman past" in the 1870's:

... Turkish authorities and the tourists above all may regret that only the grid foundations are left at Pergamon itself. What, however, would have been the fate of the great altar and the friezes if the excavators had not rescued them from the hands of the lime burners? It may indeed be doubted that the Gigantomachia would still exist as it does today if Humann, in his time, had not so energetically opposed the current practice of destroying antique marbles in Turkey.²¹

If we rephrase the message of the author in his guide: (1) Turkish authorities and tourists have indeed a Greek and Roman past (emphasized by the author's use of the possessive pronoun "their past"). (2) But they were not conscious about it in 1870's when the German archaeologists took the altar away. (3) Now the Turkish authorities and people regret this displacement but it is too late. They should instead be thankful to the Prussian Empire and the Berlin Museums for preserving artifacts that were about to destroy. (4) Carl Humann was not only a road engineer employed by the Ottoman government for construction of roads, but also a philanthropist who tried to enlighten the Turks by opposing to their traditional practice of burning antique master pieces. Uncertain about the faith of the temple, he finally, rescued it to the capital of the Prussian Empire, whose authorities, unlike the Turks, were aware of the value of the Turks's antiquity.

It suffices to read the guide distributed by the Berlin Museum to see that history of archaeology indeed depends on an ideological frame, and that the museum itself is well aware of this. For the 19th century archaeologist, in the search of universal knowledge, the natives of the region were analogous to unconscious children who are unworthy of their own ethnic ancestors (modern Greeks) or who are altogether foreign to the origins of the West proper, that is the invaders in their own lands (like the European conception of the Turk in the 19th century).²² Far from being a search for disinterested knowledge, the 19th century archaeology was steeped in Western ideology, excavating the origins of the self in the fields of the other.

Today's crisis of restitution is a confrontation with the legacy of the 19th century archaeology, in which a self-reflective subjectivity was restored to the East at the very moment the archaeologist landed at the site. Thus European's reason is constituted only at the expense of the natives, the unconscious inheritors of antiquity or intruders in the dream world of the European origin.²³ The archaeologist undertook the project of rescuing the origin from "most certain destruction" and preserved it in the institution of universal memory: the archaeology museum.

In this historical enterprise German archaeology constructed in Bergama an ancestry, which is symbolically present, yet irretrievable for the locals. To whom this ancestry belongs is a political question, particularly in Greece and Turkey, which, in the last two hundred years, adopted the European Enlightenment as their own universal project. In both contexts archaeology was instrumentalized in the political construction of both the nation state and modern identity following the Western European and especially the German model. Hence the modern crisis of repatriation is the outcome of a long-standing battle between identity and alterity. In their self-presentation as the libraries of universal knowledge, great archaeology museums—number one tourist attraction in Paris, London, Berlin—have to face the legacy of the 19th-century imperialism. The museum's authority in holding the universal knowledge about the antiquity has rarely been contested, despite several campaigns for restitution of various objects.

It is therefore important to reflect on the Zeus Altar as an iconic image, which dominates not only the Museum Island in Berlin with its presence, but also Bergama with its conspicuous absence. The reconstruction of the Altar is a powerful memory-image for at least 15 million people who petitioned for its return to Turkey. The same is true for many others who associate the temple with German culture or with Greek antiquity. When we acknowledge that the 20th century archaeological reconstruction actively constructed and altered the monument, and that the altar that we experience today is mostly a modern iconic image, the very concept of archaeological patrimony requires a more nuanced definition. That which is inherited from the past is not only the product of the far distant past, but also a creative contribution of the excavators and restorers, as well as, that of people who subsequently associated their identity with the ancient monument. The discourse of repatriation and patrimony may gain a new dimension if we cease to consider archaeological artifacts as mere cultural goods, but acknowledge their role in the modern politics of memory. Central to the question of repatriation is not the legitimacy of the acquisition, but a struggle that resembles the contemporary debate on "copyright": the right to associate particular identities with the cognates of a globalized culture.

NOTES

¹Sefa Taşkın, *Sürgündeki Zeus: Bergama dan Berline, Berlin den Bergamaya*, Bergama Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, no. 4 (Izmir: Altındag Matbaacılık, n.d.), 44. All translations from Turkish and German are mine unless otherwise noted.

²⁴"Turkey Pursues Ancient Art," *Art in America* 83 (January 1995): 128. About the recent repatriation cases of the Republic of Turkey see Özgen Acar and Mark Rosen, "Turkey's War on Illicit Antiquities Trade," in *Archaeological Ethics*, ed. Karen D. Vitelli (London: Altamira Press, 1996).

³See Hacer and Yavuz Özmakas, *Bergama Kaynakçası (Bibliography of Bergama)*, Bergama Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, no.12 (Izmir: Özgen Ofset, 1993).

⁴Taşkın, 51.

⁵Ibid., 45.

⁶İskender Ohri, *Yurdumuzun Öyküsü* (Istanbul: Zafer Matbaası). See also idem., *Anadolunun Öyküsü* (Ankara: Bilgi, 1987).

- ⁷Max Kunze, *The Pergamon Altar: Its Rediscovery History and Reconstruction*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz Antikensammlung, trans. Biri Fay, (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), 10-1.
- ⁸Humann's Bericht über Pergamon 1878/1879," in *Der Entdecker von Pergamon Carl Humann: Ein Lebensbild*, ed. Theodor Wiegand (Berlin, G. Grote, 1930). See also Olaf Matthes, *The Pergamonmuseum*, trans. Nina Hausmann (Berlin: Berlin Edition, Quintessenz Verlag, 1998), 14-5.
- ⁹Nikolaus Bernau and Nadine Riedl, "Für Kaiser und Reich: die Antikenabteilung im Pergamonmuseum," in *Museumsinszenierungen: zur Geschichte der Institution des Kunstmuseums, die Berliner Museumslandschaft 1830-1990*, eds. Alexis Joachimides et al. (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1995), 175.
- ¹⁰Volker Kästner, "Das alte Pergamonmuseum Berliner Museumsbaupläne gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Staatliche Museum zu Berlin Forschungen und Berichte 26* (Berlin, GDR: Henschelverlag, Kunst und Gesellschaft, 1987).
- ¹¹Project for the Museum Island, Antiken, Deutsches und Vorderasiatisches Museum by Alfred Messel, Berlin 22 August 1907, the Pergamon Museum, Zentral Archiv, Baudokumentation, I/BV 494.
- ¹²"Sitzungs-Protokol," the records of the official meetings of the Pergamon Museum Building Committee between 1910-1930 with annotations of Wilhelm Wille, the Pergamon Museum, Zentral Archiv, I/BV 327 and I/BV 328.
- ¹³For Wiegand's concept of archaeological reconstruction see "Ergänzungen zu den Tagebücher 1903-1929" and "Pergamon-Museum," Wiegand archive, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI), Dahlem, Kasten 21-5.
- ¹⁴Suzanne Marchand, *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 291.
- ¹⁵Hoffmann expressed his intention to simplify the interiors of Messel's project into "neutral" galleries in the Building Committee meeting of November 18, 1915, "Sitzungs-Protokol," the Pergamon Museum, Zentral Archiv, I/BV 328. For the blueprints of Hoffman's project of 1911 see I/BV 496. Cf. Thomas W. Gaetgens, *Berliner Museumsinsel im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1992), 114.
- ¹⁶Karl Scheffler. "Das Berliner Museumskaos," *Kunst und Künstler* (April 1926), 266-7.
- ¹⁷Willes Gegenentwurf zum Pergamon-Museum," *Der Tag* (Berlin), 23 April 1929.
- ¹⁸Two architectural projects for the Pergamon Museum and the Pergamonsaal by Wilhelm Wille, January 5, 1921 and March 13, 1927, the Pergamon Museum, Zentral Archiv, I/BV 494 and I/BV 504.
- ¹⁹"Niederschrift über die Sitzung der Museums-Baukommission am 1. Juli 1927 im Neubau der Staatlichen Museen," Zentral Archiv, I/BV 328.
- ²⁰Dr. Paul F. Schmidt "Das Pergamon-Museum: eine künstlerische Barbarei der Archäologie," *Dresdner Nachrichten* (Dresden) 20 April 1929.
- ²¹Matthes, 11, 15-6.
- ²²See M. Christine Boyer, *City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge Mass.: The MIT Press, 1994), 158.
- ²³Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).