

**FROM SCIENTIFIC FRAMING TO ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION  
THE CREATION OF AN IDEAL IMAGE AT DIDYMA**

by

**Selami Mesut Can Bilsel**  
Bachelor of Architecture  
Orta Dogu Teknik Universitesi  
Ankara, Turkey  
July, 1993

Submitted to the Department of Architecture  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
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Signature of the Author

  
Selami Mesut Can Bilsel  
Department of Architecture, May 10, 1996

Certified by

  
Stanford Anderson  
Professor of History and Architecture, Head of Department  
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by

  
Roy Strickland  
Associate Professor of Architecture  
Chairman, Departmental Committee on Graduate Students

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AT DIDYMA**

A THESIS BY S.M. CAN BILSEL

STANFORD ANDERSON  
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE  
THESIS SUPERVISOR

SIBEL BOZDOGAN  
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE  
THESIS READER

NASSER RABBAT  
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE  
THESIS READER

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ABSTRACT

The incomplete Temple of Didyma appeared in modern times as a constructed image, as an affirmation of the representative Greek temple. By the turn of the century the remains of the classical Didyma were rediscovered, the temple was redrawn and the site was literally and metaphorically “enframed.” Reconstruction of the remains of classical antiquity provided beholders with the physical and aesthetic immediacy of a far distant past. Hence, the immediacy and tangibility of reconstructed images helped to differentiate between the world of the “original” configuration of the remains and that of their later existence.

Given that the construction of architectural knowledge has rarely been questioned at Didyma, this study inquires into the codification of the remains of antiquity into the domain of the discipline of architecture, which ultimately differentiated the architectural product of a certain “golden age” from the historical processes in which it accumulated its meaning. The 1895-1896 “Beaux Arts” excavations and reconstruction seem to be the most representative example of such a codification. By the end of the 19th century reconstruction drawings represented the “unfinished” temple of Didyma in a complete form that has never been “achieved” in antiquity, while the excavations physically demolished the contemporary village surrounding the temple. Culminating with Hausoullier's and Pontremoli's representations, the reconstruction work metaphorically restarted the building at the point where it was interrupted in the late 4th century AD and transformed it into a finished, framed picture. Therefore, central to this study is a questioning of a 19th century scientific methodology in the uncovering and reassembling of architectural fragments which would ultimately take their place in the construction of an *a priori* image. But the study equally raises a more general question about the “framing” of the historical sites for “understanding” architecture and how this understanding might obscure the impetus of other historical and contextual concerns.

In terms of historical interpretation, we have to clarify that the “modern” temple of Didyma exists today in the way it is represented. Just as the construction of the ideal image of Didyma has its historicity, the interpretation undertaken by this study is also bound by our own temporal world and takes a position vis-à-vis the Beaux-Arts reconstruction. Beyond the aim of an “objective” reconstruction, this study intends to put the fragments of historical evidence together with later representations. Its aim, in other words, is to contribute to a “fusion” of discourses and interpretations in Western Anatolia. It is an attempt to claim the importance of site-specific concerns as opposed to all-encompassing, culture deterministic theories; an attempt for specificity without closure and inclusiveness without dispersion.

Thesis Supervisor:  
Title:

Stanford Anderson  
Professor of History and Architecture

To Mom and Dad

Annem ve Babam için

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My greatest debt is to my advisor Professor Stanford Anderson. Since our first meeting on my thesis project in October 1995, he has brought patiently his criticism and erudition on my initially unfocused hypotheses while his encouragement turned this exercise into a very pleasant experience on my part. Professors Sibel Bozdogan and Nasser Rabbat have been very influential in the evolution of the major themes, not only as my thesis readers, but also as my professors during my two years Teaching Assistantship experience at MIT. I am also grateful to my English teacher Ms. Elizabeth Fox for her patience and for the intellectual challenge that she brought to my work from the perspective of another discipline.

The initial theme of this study appeared more than two years ago in a paper that I prepared for Professor Emel Akozer at the Graduate School of METU in Ankara. I had the opportunity to develop different aspects of this theme in the classes of Professor Selahattin Onur in Ankara and Professors Akos Moravanszky and Mark Jarzombek in Cambridge. I clearly owe the epistemological basis of this study to the contemporary approaches to architecture and philosophy more than I can acknowledge in my bibliographical references. Reading Hans-Georg Gadamer's *Truth and Method* most directly provided the training and the foundation upon which I tried to develop my approach. I had also the opportunity to discuss my project with Professors Alan Colquhoun, Georges Teyssot and Joseph Rykwert, in March 1996, who directed me to some further sources that I was not aware of.

I am also thankful to my sister Cana Bilsel for her criticism and for her help. She provided me with the sources from the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, which I couldnot find in the MIT and Harvard libraries. Indeed, we have always been in a milieu of architectural discussion created by my parents Ayça and Güven Bilsel. Now I am able to offer my thanks as a colleague rather than as the eternally younger kid of the family.

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INTRODUCTION:  
THE MULTIPLICITY OF  
HISTORICAL PROCESSES AND  
THE IDEAL IMAGE OF DIDYMA

Our modern consciousness has loaded the term Didyma with a curious double meaning. The word “Didyma” refers at the same time to a historical temple and to a present day site in western Anatolia. The classical temple used to house one of the most famous among all the Apollonian oracles. Its construction started in the 4th century B.C. and was abandoned five centuries later while still in progress. This temple was neither the first augur of Apollo, nor the last architectural object built on the very same site. Yet this classical temple occupies a privileged place in the developmental history of architecture as a representative example of the “Hellenistic Renaissance.”<sup>1</sup>

The word Didyma (Didim) also refers to the contemporary open-air museum in the south-western coast of Turkey. The architects and the archaeologists of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries believed that they recovered the traces of the Classical Age by bringing the fragments of Didyma back into “presentness.” This modern enterprise of “recovery” has been so influential that new resort villages in the greater region have been named and renamed Didim (like Didim Golden Beach) referring to the glory of the classical temple. Paradoxically the very site of this recovery, the Yenihisar village, is not called by the name Didyma. Yenihisar is the present name of the village that stood in the place of the classical temple when the 19th-century excavations started and that still surrounds the excavation area today.

In terms of architectural-historical interpretation, we have to make the distinction between the two meanings loaded on Didyma. The Holy Augur of Apollo at Didyma belongs to the world of antiquity whereas the excavation site of Didyma, the

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<sup>1</sup>Emmanuel Pontremoli and Bernard Haussoullier, 1904, pp. vii,viii.

Yenihisar village, is part of our own temporal reality. The very problematic of the contemporary Didyma stems from a confusion of these two temporal worlds in the sphere of interpretation.

The fragments of classical antiquity seem to uncover the reality of a far distant world. They are, indeed, the remains of a high tradition of Art and Architecture, which came into being in the supposed golden age of Didyma. Yet we also have to consider the “presentness” of these fragments in the very center of the village in relation to the modern village itself. The immediacy and tangibility of these fragments not only give clues about the world of a distant past, but also suggest the interpretive priority of the artifacts of a classical age over those of the living village. In other words, the prevailing image of today’s Temple of Apollo overshadows the present day historicity of Yenihisar. The very center of the village is physically framed and separated from the living context of the settlement. The artifacts of antiquity are not defined in relation to the temporal world of the surrounding village. They are just on the other side of the frame, the isolating instrument.<sup>2</sup> The framed temple of Didyma does not offer the inhabitants of Yenihisar a history that is simply their own since they cannot add to it, change it, or assimilate it into their own building tradition. On the contrary, their village is subjugated to a certain framing of history. Beyond the sphere of interpretation, the priority of the temple over the village is made manifest in actual practice. The “First Degree Archaeological Site” regulations of the Turkish law prohibit all building and restoration activity in Yenihisar. The village is abstracted from its historicity in the sense that it cannot change through time. Yenihisar is architecturally frozen since the moment of such legislation and waits until new parts of the village are pulled down for the recovery of a far distant past. The present day Didyma certainly belongs to our world but it is somehow differentiated from our temporal reality.

Even if we accept the historiographical priority of the classical temple over the 19th-century village, as histories of architecture traditionally do, how can we be sure that the modern image of Didyma correctly represents the classical temple? We cannot ever know. The temple displayed in our present day differs from the classical one in the sense

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<sup>2</sup>See Stanford Anderson “The Presentness of Interpretation and of Artifacts ...” in John E. Hancock ed. *History in, of, and for Architecture*, 1981, p.53.



that it is not a direct and unbroken continuation of it. The Holy Augur of Apollo has two properties which render the verification of its present image impossible: First, it is a different temple in a different world; second, it is dead, so that it cannot speak on its own as if it had never been covered. For Didyma there is no staying under cover in order to come back without alienation. In spite of all claims to unearth and assemble the temple as it was in classical antiquity, the temple which returned into presentness is a different one. The “modern” temple is abstracted from the living context of the sacred and the profane, and from the multiplicity of the historical processes through which it accumulated its meaning.

This double differentiation, the abstraction of the Temple of Apollo from its own historicity and the separation of the site from our temporal world, is the very problematic that architectural interpretation has to face at Didyma. The worlds of the classical temple and of the present site have their own historicities. The two worlds are quite distinct from each other through the temporal distance. In the interim appears the trans-historical and “timeless” image of the temple of Didyma, as a mediating instrument between what was past and what is present at the site. The image of the “classical Greek temple” is timeless in the sense that it is abstracted from any particular temporal context and is strongly codified into our modern consciousness. It can be perceived and appropriated by virtue of its own special order, and self-enclosed canons; it has a world on its own, and an autonomous expressive power.

In other words, this study suggests a threefold reality for Didyma. The historical world of the Temple of Apollo, the present world of the Yenihisar village, and the ideal image of the classical architecture co-exist in the sphere of our understanding. Yet we cannot study any of these worlds in isolation. At first glance our understanding imagines a dividing line between the world of the “original” creation of the classical temple and that of its later existence in the changing circumstances (which includes our present time as well).<sup>3</sup> However, this historical dividing line is very much blurred if it ever existed at Didyma. On one hand, the construction of the classical temple was an extremely long and, more importantly, incomplete process. The building of the temple stopped in the last

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<sup>3</sup>See Hans-Georg Gadamer’s critique of aesthetic differentiation in “Hermeneutics as Practical Philosophy” in K. Baynes et al. ed. *Philosophy*, 1976.

phase of the final construction, in the first century A.D.: no pediment or cornice was ever made and many columns remained unfinished.<sup>4</sup> The Classical Temple of Apollo was not an artifact that could be experienced and appreciated in its finished form; it was always a construction site. On the other hand, when we place the temple within a larger historical context, it represents only one of the phases of the complex historical processes. The classical temple's being was bounded by its temporal moment, just like that of two previous archaic temples, the later church of the Miletian Christians, the medieval castle, or the 19th century village. The classical temple is not the only significant artifact at the Didyma. Our interpretation has to face a complex structure of durations, continuities, transformations, innovations and recovery of many artifacts.<sup>5</sup>

In that respect, the threefold reality of Didyma proposed by this introduction is an abstraction vis-a-vis the extreme complexity of historical processes. It does help, however, to put into question the paradox of the significant completeness of the ideal image of Didyma with the historical incompleteness of the temple itself. What, then, conditioned us so powerfully that we experience the temple of Didyma as a finished artifact placed within the landscape for contemplation? Which systems and traditions of thought or particular framing of the site codified Didyma into the domain of aesthetic consciousness?

The present study puts in question the creation and persistence of a Beaux-Arts image at Didyma. While the first part focuses on the creation of this image during the 1895 - 1904 reconstruction, the second part inquires into the duration of the Beaux-Arts image within the changing circumstances of our present-day understanding. Central to this study is a questioning of scientific methodology in the uncovering and reassembling of architectural fragments, which would ultimately take their place in the creation of an ideal image in architecture.

Hence the question of methodology remains an important concern all through the study: Does the temporal distance between the classical temple and the present site provide us with insights to understand the historical temple "objectively?" Do the

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<sup>4</sup>Joseph Fontenrose. *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions*. 1988, p.18.

<sup>5</sup>See Stanford Anderson. *Ibid*, p.51.

immediacy and the tangibility of a far distant past give us clues about the meaning “inherent” in the site? Indeed, is there meaning inherent in the site? Or does the way we see and represent the temple reflect our own mind set? Do we look at the fragments of a far distant past and see the reflection of our own modernity?

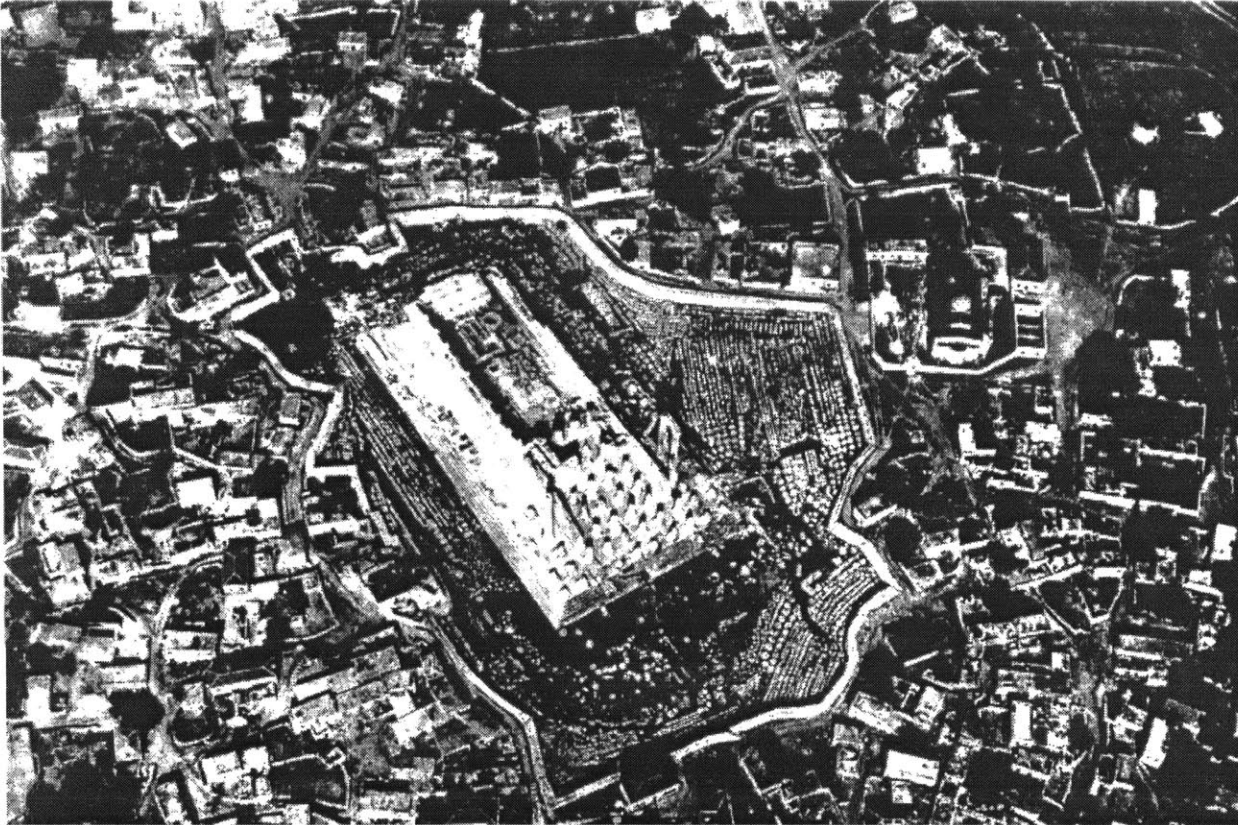
Clearly enough, the answers given to these questions also depend on the field in which we operate. This is primarily a project of architectural criticism not because theory of architecture has an autonomous and self-referential body of knowledge that can be abstracted from archaeological and historical knowledge at Didyma, but simply because members of the discipline of architecture historically have carried a great responsibility in the double aesthetic-differentiation of Didyma both from its historicity and from our present world. The creation of an architectural image at Didyma has been an incomplete project since the 1896 Beaux-Arts reconstruction.<sup>6</sup> The independent tools, separate techniques and the formal analysis of architecture codified the temple of Apollo into the domain of the discipline.

In terms of historical interpretation, we have to be aware that the Holy Augur of Apollo exists today in the way it is represented. Just as the construction of the ideal image of Didyma has its historicity, the interpretation undertaken by the present study is also bounded by our temporal world and will take a position vis-à-vis earlier reconstruction. The very idea of this thesis is to place its object in its historical context and to be aware of its own interpretation’s historicity. We might look at the site of Didyma and see it from a perspective different from that of the early century. This is not because our temporal world is privileged beyond others so that we can unfold the true meaning which was denied to our predecessors, but simply because the developments in the theory of interpretation provide us with new “horizons” and a dimension of self-awareness in historical understanding.<sup>7</sup> This study is a critique of the certainty of the reconstructed image of Didyma, which presents itself as the only avenue leading to historical truth despite the finite nature of our knowledge. What is problematic is not the very idea of reconstruction which is an uncertain rapprochement to truth, but the unawareness of the restorers of their own role in the shaping of reality.

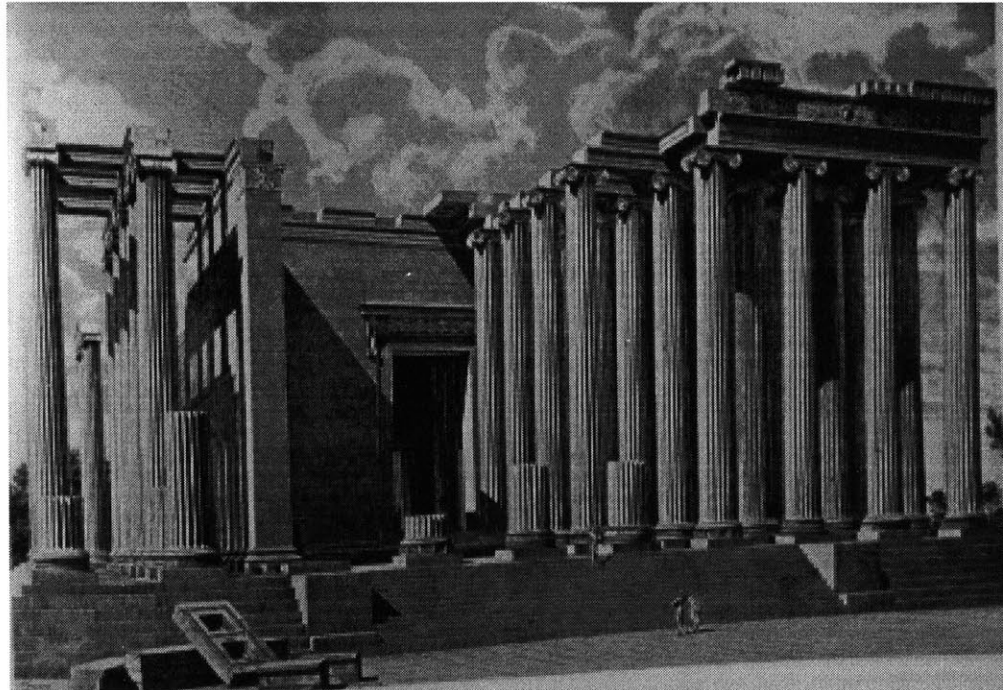
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<sup>6</sup>See Bernard Haussoullier and Emmanuel Pontremoli. *Didymes Fouilles de 1895 et 1896*. 1904.

<sup>7</sup>Hans-Georg Gadamer. *Ibid.* 1975, p.271.



The Yenihisar village and the Hellenistic temple of Didyma.  
An aerial photograph taken in 1908. Klaus Tuchelt, 1991.



A place Called "Iotan by the Turkes." Dr. Pickering, 1673  
G.Wheeler and I.Spon, 1678.

The incomplete Temple of Didyma. As imagined by. G.  
Nieman. Klaus Tuchalt, 1991.

# I

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THE CONSTRUCTION  
OF THE BEAUX-ARTS IMAGE :  
FROM SCIENTIFIC ASSIMILATION TO  
ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

## 1

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 THE BEAUX-ARTS  
 RECONSTRUCTION:  
 UNIVERSAL SCIENCE VERSUS  
 NATIONALIST HISTORICISM

“Among all the excavation areas in Asia Minor the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, in the territory of ancient Miletos, is the one that France has acquired the greatest right to excavate.”<sup>8</sup> The 1904 publication of *Didyma: The Excavations of 1895-1896* by Emmanuel Pontremoli and Bernard Haussoullier starts with the above statement. According to the authors the 1820, 1835 and 1873 expeditions by French architects and archaeologists “marked Didyma as a site reserved for French Science.”<sup>9</sup> The book presents the results of the excavations of the main facade of the temple together with Pontremoli’s architectural reconstruction drawings. The approach of reconstruction, as introduced by the authors, carries particular significance within the academic context of the turn of the century. Indeed the statement “...reserved for French Science” seems to put forward one important paradox of the time.

On one hand, Didyma, a site of historical and rhetorical significance, is reserved for the investigation of modern science. A late 19th-century consciousness uncovers, demystifies and classifies the fragments of a far distant past. Didyma, in that sense, is subject to scientific methodology as a part of a universal project through which sites of similar significance are codified into the modern world. Pontremoli and Haussoullier assumed the roles of “scientists” during their inquiry and excavations at Didyma, while preserving their separate identities as architect and historian.<sup>10</sup> From this perspective,

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<sup>8</sup>Emmanuel Pontremoli, Bernard Hausoullier. *Didymes: Fouilles de 1895 et 1896*. Paris, 1904, p.v.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. p.v.

<sup>10</sup>According to the cover page: “E. Pontremoli - Architect - Old “Pensionnaire” of the Academy of France in Rome; B. Haussoullier Director of Studies in the School of Hautes-Etudes, ex member of the French School in Athens. Pontremoli and Haussoullier 1904.

the 1895-1896 excavations mean the advent (or the return) of the scientist's modern consciousness to the site, which, for quite some time, was on the eve of modernity.

On the other hand, the science implemented at Didyma is "French." While scientific methodology is shared by a number of "modern nations" and universal, the approach implemented at Didyma is also determined by the scientific and academic traditions of France. The authors did not use the term "tradition" but the usual metaphor of "France" seems to encompass the word. We learn from the third chapter of Pontremoli and Haussoullier's book that "*La France* did not wait till the 19th century to be interested in the antiquities of the Levant."<sup>11</sup> Jacques Spon in the 17th century and Pitton Tournefort at the beginning of the 18th century "made an honor to French Science" by visiting the ruins of the Temple of Didyma. It is interesting to note that "France" used as the subject of the sentences has "attention," "curiosity" and, furthermore, makes research.<sup>12</sup> The following part, which refers to the establishment of the Academy of France in 1666 relates the metaphor of "France" to the academic tradition of French institutions that studied antiquities before.

In that respect, the usage of the term "tradition" in this thesis refers mostly to the experience accumulated by the Academy of France in Rome and by the French School of Athens, to which the authors once belonged. The word may also refer to the general ways, technics and academic approaches developed and promoted by Ecole des Beaux-Arts and Ecole des Hautes-Etudes that the authors represent at the time of the publication. For the authors the combination of architectural and historical components at Didyma is made possible by the collaboration of the two Schools in Rome and in Athens in their persons. According to this general construct, also repeated in another publication, the member of the Academy in Rome provides the study with the expertise of architecture whereas the member of the School of Athens functions as a historian or as an archaeologist.<sup>13</sup>

Besides referring to the academic traditions, the "Frenchness" of science suggested by the authors also reflects the centralized bureaucratic structure of the Ministry

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<sup>11</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, p.28.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Emmanuel Pontremoli and Maxime Collignon. *Pergame: Restauration et Description des Monuments D'Acropole*. Paris, 1900, p.iii.



of Public Instruction and of Fine Arts (Ministere de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts), through which Pontremoli and Haussoullier were assigned for the Didyma expedition. We learn that Xavier Charmes, the director of the Scientific Missions and Expeditions (Missions et Voyages Scientifiques) proposed the names of Pontremoli and Haussoullier for the approval of the minister.<sup>14</sup> In other words, the bureaucratic superstructure, which includes the higher education, fine arts and foreign scientific expedition affairs components among many others, decided about the Didyma project. The collaboration of architectural and historical components for an archaeology project of "France" is an idea formulated within the high ranks of the French Government. Neither did the schools of Rome and Athens decide about it, nor did Pontremoli and Haussoullier plan for this study. It was, in principle, not a very unusual idea because of a series of architectural reconstructions published with the sponsorship of the ministry. This project, on the other hand, consists of not only architectural reconstruction but also archaeological excavations.

The selection of the authors by the French government seems to be consistent with the intention of combining the history and Beaux-Arts traditions. At the time of the commission Emmanuel Pontremoli was a well known architect, winner of the Prix de Rome, and he already worked on the site of Pergamon in Western Anatolia.<sup>15</sup> Bernard Haussoullier, on the other hand, is a renowned historian who had published extensively on Greek antiquities. Before 1895 he was known for his translation of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, which appeared in 1891, and with his collaboration in the famous publication of *Greek History*, which was published two times in 1892 and in 1894 by Hachette (two later editions followed in 1898 and in 1901).<sup>16</sup> (Later, at the time of the Didyma publication in 1904, Haussoullier held an administrative position in the School of Hautes-Etudes). Both authors were already familiar with the hardship of excavating Didyma and they preferred to work on another site "if they were given the chance." Taken by the idea of accomplishing a project that was already "French," and pleased with a new collaboration of the two schools, Pontremoli and Haussoullier accepted the commission.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904, p.vi.

<sup>15</sup>See Pontremoli and Collignon, 1900.

<sup>16</sup>See Aristote. *Constitution d'Athens*. Trans. Bernard Haussoullier. Paris, 1891. See also Victor Duruy. *Histoire Grecque*. Reconsidered by Bernard Haussoullier under the direction of E. Lavissee. Paris, 1892.

<sup>17</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, p.v.

Pontremoli's previous experience on the Acropolis of Pergamon, a few months before the first Didyma expedition, certainly provided the architect with insights to undertake a longer project in Western Anatolia. His publication of the architectural reconstruction of Pergamon in 1900, on the other hand, gives us another point of reference to understand the approach implemented at Didyma. In spite of the fact that the reconstruction of Pergamon was also financed and "honored" by the Ministry of Public Instruction of France, the text which accompanies Pontremoli's drawings does not describe Pergamon as a site of French Science.<sup>18</sup> The site of Pergamon definitely remained in the domain of the Germans. It is, in fact, an architectural reconstruction built on the work of "foreign scientists," as it was called in the 1904 book of Didyma.<sup>19</sup>

It is interesting to observe that in the case of reconstruction of Pergamon, Emmanuel Pontremoli does not assume the role of the "scientist." He is, on the contrary, the artist, the Beaux-Arts architect who re-created and re-animated the architectural image of a Hellenistic capital city out of the impressions and surveys that he acquired in the Royal Museum of Berlin and the Acropolis of Pergamon. Clearly enough, what makes a place a site of "French science" is by no means the architectural reconstruction alone. Only a certain continuity of scientific investigations and excavations can legitimize this claim. From Pontremoli's and Haussoullier's perspective what is definitely important is the codification and cataloguing of the fragments of antiquity and the display, in which these artifacts are presented.

According to Pontremoli and Haussoullier the national identity of the restorers played an important role in the way they determined their academic approaches to Didyma. The authors presented the modern history of the temple in two different periods: "The English Era (1673-1812 and 1857-1858) and the "French Period (1820 to their present day).<sup>20</sup> The arrival of the members of the Society of Dilettanti to the site in the 17th and 18th centuries was very different from Pontremoli and Haussoullier's commission by the French Government, which turned the Didyma excavations into a

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<sup>18</sup>See Pontremoli and Collignon. 1900.

<sup>19</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, p.vi.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid. See pp. 17-27 and 28-38.

national enterprise at the end of the 19th century. Yet the authors read the constructs of their own temporal world into the work of the 17th and 18th century researchers.<sup>21</sup> By discussing the Dilettanti and *Ecole des Hautes-Etudes* in two succeeding chapters the authors imply that the “French Period” succeeded and replaced the “English Era.” The advent of the first German archaeologist, Ludwig Ross to Didyma in June 1844, however, is reduced to a single footnote: “Ludwig Ross came to Didyma with a French architect, E. Laurent who produced a ‘mediocre drawing’ of three statues.”<sup>22</sup>

In other words, Pontremoli and Haussoullier evaluate the work of all the previous travellers at Didyma with the “national” yardstick of the late 19th century. By putting the 15th century “Italian” traveller, the 17th and 18th century “English” work and the 19th century “French” excavations on a synchronic ground of inquiry, the authors disregard the historicity of human and scientific understanding at Didyma. What makes the difference between the 18th-century Society of Dilettanti and that of the late 19th-century *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, from the authors’ perspective, is not the difference of time, but the facts that Dilettanti are English and Hautes Etudes members are French and that they are comparable on a timeless scale.

A look at the period before the Didyma excavations shows increasing governmental support to large scale archaeological enterprises, which eventually turned into national grand projects within the context of the late 19th-century. The excavations of Olympia by the German Archaeology Institute (1875-1881), the excavations of Pergamon by the Berlin Museum (1878-1888), the excavations of the Acropolis by the Archaeology Society of Athens (1883), the excavations of Saida by the Ottoman Imperial Museums (1887), and finally, the French excavations in Delphi (1892) are the projects the most discussed in this period.<sup>23</sup> While the state of Greece and later that of the Ottoman Empire inserted themselves as new sponsors of archaeological excavations, the governments of France attempted to counter-balance the large scale involvement of German Archaeological Institutes in the Levant.

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<sup>21</sup>Robert Wood 1765, Richard Chandler (1765) and William Gell (1812) were sent to Didyma by the Society of Dilettanti.

<sup>22</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, footnote for page 27.

<sup>23</sup>See Henri Meltzer. *La Correspondance Passive d’Osman Hamdi Bey*. Memoires de l’Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Tome XI. Paris, 1990.

The increasing governmental support to archaeology seems to be consistent with the rise of nationalist historicism in the second half of the 19th century. The publication of national history journals, *Historische Zeitschrift* (1859), *Revue Historique* (1876), *English Historical Review* (1886), and *American Historical Review* (1895), suggests a parallel development during this period.<sup>24</sup> According to this mental framework, nations not only exist through history as separate entities, but also pursue their own “historical missions” in the way they exist through time. Given the constructs of the time the paradox of universal modernity-project with nationalist historicism did not seem to be problematic to the eyes of Pontremoli and Haussoullier. The authors promoted the idea of “French Science” while keeping their good conscience in the universal ideal of the Enlightenment.

In brief, while the term “science” employed by Pontremoli and Haussoullier constantly escapes definition, the “Frenchness of science” suggested in the text of Didyma carries a clear significance. The long-term scientific enterprises determined by the academic traditions of French institutions, designed and financed by the French Government and accomplished by French “scientists” are definitely in this category.

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<sup>24</sup>Halil Berktaş relates the appearance of “nationalist historicism” to the establishment of the national history reviews cited above. “Kultur ve Tarih Mirasimiza Bakista Milliyetçiliği Asma Zorunluluğu” *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Donemi*. Istanbul, 1993, p.240.

## 2

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THE ISTANBUL MUSEUM  
AND THE COMMISSION OF DIDYMA:  
THE QUESTION OF  
SCIENTIFIC REPRESENTATION

While the French Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts designed the Didyma expedition in the first place, the excavations of Haussoullier and Pontremoli also depended on the decision of another centralized bureaucratic structure, the Ottoman Imperial Museums at Istanbul. The Imperial Museums existed since 1846 and became an autonomous institution under the Ottoman Ministry of Education (Maarif) after the 1884 law of “the Conservation of Antiquities” (Asar-i Atika Nizamnamesi).<sup>25</sup>

We learn from Pontremoli and Haussoullier’s book that “the long negotiations at Constantinople” started in 1894 between Paul Cambon, the Ambassador of France in Istanbul, and “Hamdy Bey” (Osman Hamdi Bey), Director of Antiquities and Imperial Museums. Pontremoli and Haussoullier particularly emphasize that they were not aware of these “oriental negotiations” before they had the commission of excavating Didyma, yet they had to report about their work in Istanbul after the excavations started.<sup>26</sup> A “Turkish arbiter” chosen by the general governor of the province inspected the excavations of 1895-1896. A representative of the French Consulate of Izmir also joined the excavation team in order to set up the diplomatic relationship with the province (vilayet).<sup>27</sup>

From Pontremoli and Haussoullier’s perspective, the example of previous French studies on the same site clearly legitimizes their right to excavate. They constantly compare their studies with the preliminary excavations of 1873. Yet it is also clear from

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<sup>25</sup>Mustafa Cezar, *Muzeci ve Ressam Osman Hamdi Bey*. Istanbul, 1983, pp.13-16.

<sup>26</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904, p.v.

<sup>27</sup>The representative of the Consulate of Izmir was Mr. Ledoulx. The names of the Ottoman arbiters are not included. Ibid. p.vi.

their text that a new factor, the active involvement of Ottoman antiquities, renders the 1895-96 excavations radically different from the previous studies. The authors had to take a position vis-a-vis another emerging party, the Imperial Directorate of Antiquities, which did not yet have its own academic tradition but looked at the archaeology project through the lenses of the Beaux-Arts approach. In other words, Haussoullier and Pontremoli also had to deal with another centralized bureaucracy, one, which was willing to use the expertise of the authors, and which made archaeology instrumental for its own modernity project and its own power-game.

A letter written by Paul Cambon, the Ambassador of France in Istanbul, to Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the Ottoman Museums, place Pontremoli and Haussoullier's book in its temporal context. The letter of August 10, 1892 announces the award of "legion d'honneur" to Osman Hamdi by the President of the Republic of France. The letter then praises Osman Hamdi's efforts, "guided by the most enlightened artistic passion." These efforts, according to Cambon, "have succeeded in creating in Constantinople a marvelous Museum and they will continue to uncover the archaeological richness that the land of the Ottoman Empire still possesses, for the profit of history, science and art."<sup>28</sup>

Although Paul Cambon's last two sentences appreciate Osman Hamdi's efforts to create a Museum in Istanbul for the universal advancement of (the) history, (the) science and (the) art, the last sentence in particular makes the underlying meaning explicit. The French, the German or the British museums would have continued to acquire the artifacts of antiquity from the Ottoman lands if the 1884 law did not prohibit the transportation of

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<sup>28</sup>See the Cenani Sarc archive (daughter of Osman Hamdi Bey). Published by Henri Metzger in *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Nouvelle Serie, Tome XI. Paris, 1990, p.95:

"Excellence,

J'ai l'honneur de vous annoncer que le President de la Republique a bien voulu, sur ma proposition, vous conférer la Croix de Commandeur de la Legion d'honneur.

En me laissant le soin de transmettre a Votre Excellence le brevet et les insignes de son grade dans notre Ordre national. le Ministre des Affaires trangeres me fournit l'occasion de dire a votre Excellence en quelle estime je tiens ses patients et laborieux efforts. Dirige par la passion artistique la plus eclairee, ils ont reussi a creer a Constantinople un Musee merveilleux et ils continueront a mettre au jour, un grand profit de l'histoire, de la science et de l'art les richesses archeologiques que contient encore le sol de l'Empire Ottoman.

Paul Cambon, Ambassade de France pres la Porte Ottomane, Therapia, 10 aout 1892."

antiquities outside of the country. Clearly enough, another institution would have continued to advance universal science, history and art even if the Ottoman museums did not undertake the project. Cambon's letter, in that sense, represents instead an acknowledgement of the new situation eight years after the establishment of the "Conservation of Antiquities Law" and reflects the French Government's willingness to co-operate with the Imperial Museums in order to excavate the antiquities that "Ottoman earth still covers." 1892 is also the year that the French excavations at Delphi started. Given that Didyma is widely accepted as the second most famous temple built for the soothsaying god of Apollo, after the one at Delphi, we may also speculate that an idea to excavate Didyma might have appeared among the high ranks of the French Government as early as 1892. The letter, in that sense, might also be part of the French Government's efforts to regain excavation privileges at Didyma. It will also be clear from other examples that such suggestions were often made to the Ottoman museums after long and ornate descriptions of "the advancement of universal science," which carefully underlines the Ottoman contribution to the bandwagon of "universal history."

Another letter addressed to Osman Hamdi Bey only three weeks after that of Paul Cambon illustrates that the relationship between two parties was more complex than the apparent diplomatic contact of the two governments. The writer of the letter, Ernest Leroux was known as the editor and publisher of Beaux-Arts excavation and reconstruction studies sponsored by the French Government. It is interesting to note that Ernest Leroux also published the Didyma reconstruction by Pontremoli and Haussoullier twelve years after this letter. In his letter of September 2, 1882, Leroux suggests that Osman Hamdi publish a series of books under the title *The Imperial Museum of Constantinople*. He explains that "each volume may consist of one or a number of monuments according to their importance."<sup>29</sup> Leroux also implies that famous libraries and museums of the West will be interested in such a publication.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>See the Cenar Sarc archive. Henri Metzger. 1990, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*:

"... Toutes les merveilles que vous reunissez dans le Musee Imperial pourraient faire le sujet d'une oeuvre indefinie sous ce titre: "Le Musee Imperial a Constantinople" dont chaque livraison serait consacree a un ou plusieurs monuments, suivant leur importance. Ce serait une oeuvre capitale, a laquelle s'interesseraient les artistes, les archeologues et les curieux de tous pays, les Bibliotheques et les musees et a laquelle serais fier et heureux d'etre associe pour ma modeste part.

Ernest Leroux, Editeur, rue Bonaparte 28, Paris, 2 September 1892."

The idea formulated by Ernest Leroux is very important in understanding the different method of representation employed in the later Didyma reconstruction. The codification of the fragments of antiquity into the modern consciousness of the West is no longer dependent on these artifacts in the national galleries of Western Europe. Very large format representations, particularly heliograms of these fragments acquired by the national museums and libraries can reach a larger public. While antiquities can still be part of the present day in Europe, the real fragments may perfectly well stay in the Archeology Museum of Istanbul. On one hand, the rising interest with respect to the Imperial Museum of Istanbul matched the image of “the oriental wonders of Constantinople” in Western consciousness. This is certainly why Ernest Leroux qualifies his request to publish the archaeological fragments of the Istanbul Museum as a part of his greater intention “to present the arts and literature of the Orient in western Europe.”<sup>31</sup> No matter whether the methodology employed in the presentation of Greek antiquities is Western or not, the Imperial Museum of Constantinople is still a wonder of the Orient.

On the other hand, the restrictions brought to the flow of artifacts from a geography extending from Macedonia to Yemen to the centers of Western Europe necessitated another way of representing excavation findings that were not available in the national galleries. This situation seems to give birth to neo-realism in architectural reconstruction drawings, particularly in France, at the turn of the century. Two major books, *The Necropolis of Sidon* by Osman Hamdi and *Didyma: The Excavations of 1895 and 1896* by Pontremoli and Haussoullier, both published by Ernest Leroux in 1892 and in 1904, show this shift in representation.

Hence, Osman Hamdi Bey, in collaboration with his publisher Ernest Leroux, played a role in this shift of representation not only as an Ottoman bureaucrat but also as a late 19th-century “scientist.” In March 21, 1887 the engineer of the greater Syria government, Bechara Bey, prepared a report for the headquarters of the Museum in Istanbul about the finding of some archaeological remains near the town of Saida, in today’s Lebanon. Osman Hamdi, referring to a previous publication of Renan (*Mission*

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.



*en Phenicie*) predicted finding a Pheonician necropolis on the site and left Istanbul with an expert of his museum, Demosthene Baltazzi (Baltaci) on April the 18, 1887.<sup>32</sup>

In the excavations of 1887 Osman Hamdi discovered the Necropolis of Sidon near the town of Saida. During the same year he unearthed a number of sarcophaguses, which he classified under the titles “the Greek style” (5th and 4th centuries B.C.) and the “Egyptian style” (date is uncertain but probably 6th century B.C.). From a letter that he wrote to Renan on December the 17th, 1889, we learn that he brought twenty of these sarcophaguses to Istanbul, eleven others were sent later to the museum by Selim Djoumblatt (Cumbolat in modern Turkish), who continued the excavations afterwards.<sup>33</sup>

Within the context of 1887 the Saida excavations were widely recognized as one of the four big projects financed by the 19th-century governments together with those of Olympia, Pergamon, the Acropolis of Athens and, later, Delphi.<sup>34</sup> Neither could the scale of excavations approach that of the three other projects, nor could the Ottoman State rival the other sponsors in financing these excavations. Yet Osman Hamdi carefully presented his findings in order to create the maximum sensation in the international academic milieu. He published a preliminary report of his excavations in the *Revue Archaeologique* in 1887.<sup>35</sup> He spent the following five years in preparing the results of this research for publication. We understand from Osman Hamdi’s correspondence between 1887 and 1892 that he restricted the spreading of the photographs of the sarcophaguses. Only a few friends of Osman Hamdi who promised that they would keep these images for themselves could have these photographs. Georges Perrot’s letter of March 19, 1890 illustrates that this created a difficulty in Osman Hamdi’s search for a sponsor for his publication project in Paris since very few people could see these photographs in advance. A number of other letters give the impression that the display of these artifacts was very much restricted by special permissions before the 1892 publication.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Gustave Mendel. *Memoires de l’Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. 1912, p.18.

<sup>33</sup>Henri Metzger. 1990, p.12.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup>See *Revue Archeologique*. 1887, I, p.138.

<sup>36</sup>See the Cenana Sarc archive. Henri Metzger. 1990.

The 1892 book, *A Royal Necropolis at Sidon: The Excavations of Hamdy Bey* was, in fact, Osman Hamdi's second major publication; yet it was recognized by a wider international audience.<sup>37</sup> The book also includes a portfolio of forty-five "planches" printed in unusually large format.<sup>38</sup> After the survey maps showing the present condition of the Necropolis (the condition of 1887), the portfolio illustrates the sarcophaguses in a very detailed manner, down to a one-to-one scale. The book is very much aligned with the Beaux-Arts technique but it does not consist of any historical reconstruction. It just provides the reader with immediate images of the excavation findings, represented as they are. Thus, the representation of the excavation findings was also very much related to the developments in the photographic technology. Every effort was made to create the maximum effect on the viewer. The representational technique also gives the impression that nothing was assembled or reconstructed; what is displayed by the book is just scientific truth.

It is the success of the Necropolis of Sidon in the milieu of 1892 France that led Ernest Leroux to propose to publish the other artifacts of the Istanbul museum. The 1892 publication of Osman Hamdi, in that sense, exemplifies a particular way of representing antiquities, which also found its expression in the Didyma book of Pontremoli and Haussoullier some twelve years later, out of the same publication house. Yet in the book of Pontremoli and Haussoullier Osman Hamdi appeared as the "director of antiquities" but not as a scholar.

Pontremoli and Haussoullier's opinion about Osman Hamdy is controversial but very informative for the particular context in which the Didyma excavations were made. First of all Osman Hamdi is "the enlightened patron of archaeology in the Turkish countries."<sup>39</sup> The expression, "archaeology in the Turkish countries," reflects the authors' reading of the "Ottoman antiquities" or the "Imperial Museums of Constantinople" that was officially used at that time, from their own nationalist-historicist point of view. The official historiography of the Ottoman State did not yet allow the

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<sup>37</sup>See Osman Hamdy (Hamdi) Bey. *Une Necropole Royale a Sidon: Fouilles de Hamdy Bey*. Paris, 1892. See also Osman Hamdy Bey, Osgan Effendi. *Le Tumulus de Nemroud-Dagh*. Istanbul, 1883.

<sup>38</sup>The Fine Arts Library of Harvard University has one copy of this portfolio, in urgent need of restoration.

<sup>39</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, p. vi: "... patron eclaire de l'archeology dans les pays Turcs ..."

linguistic-ethnocentric definition of the “Turkishness” of archaeology. In the context of 1895 - 1904, through which the Didyma reconstruction was prepared, the archaeological institute in Istanbul was not a national gallery in the French sense of the word but was rather an “Imperial Museum.” The authors, in other words, read their own constructs into the bureaucratic - scientific institution that they encountered in Istanbul.

In a recent conference on Osman Hamdi Bey and his period, Selim Deringil dismantled the idea of the “civilizing mission” (of the Ottoman State) in the writing of Osman Hamdi Bey.<sup>40</sup> Deringil built his argument on his analysis of a few letters sent by young Osman Hamdi to his father during his first official post in the province of Baghdad.<sup>41</sup> According to Deringil, Osman Hamdi’s ideas not only converge with those of the Ottoman high bureaucrats governing various provinces of Arabia but also incorporate a new romanticism in the way he approached the local population. From Osman Hamdi’s perspective, for example, the Bedouins are “clever, honest and unspoiled people” (of course they are intrinsically and inherently good in their true nature) who were disregarded and exploited by Ottoman governments.<sup>42</sup> While this construct seems to be a severe criticism of the Ottoman policies of the past, it, indeed, unfolds the two basic assumptions of the young Osman Hamdi: By emphasizing the otherness of the Bedouins he readily accepts the Turkish ethnicity as “the essential component of the Empire” (unsur-u asli). Moreover, a criticism of the past Ottoman attitude puts forward the inescapable historical mission that the Ottoman State has to face, which is introducing “modern civilization” to these honest people (dahil-i daire-i medeniyet). Hence, Deringil reads a “shift towards nationalism” in the early formation and writing of Osman Hamdi.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, it is also clear that although Osman Hamdi held the active directorship of the Imperial Museum from 1881-1906, during a period, in which the emergence of Turkish nationalism was suppressed by the Ottoman Government, he did not necessarily agree with all the applications of the regime. We also learn from the letters of the German

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<sup>40</sup>Selim Deringil “Son Donem Osmanli Aydin Burokratinin Dunya Gorusu Uzerine Bir Deneme” in *Osman Hamdi Bey ve Donemi*. Ed. Zeynep Rona Istanbul, 1993, pp. 3-11. The conference “Osman Hamdi Bey and His Time” took place in the Archaeology Museum of Istanbul, in December 17 -18, 1992.

<sup>41</sup>Edhem Eldem, “Quelques Lettres d’Osman Hamdi Bey a Son Pere Lors de Son Sejour en Irak 1889-1870,” *Anatolia Moderna - Yeni Anadolu*. 1990, pp. 1-19.

<sup>42</sup>Selim Deringil. 1993, p.9.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

archaeologist, Theodor Wiegand that Osman Hamdi was under heavy suspicion by the Abdulhamit regime, particularly in the year of 1905.<sup>44</sup> Hence, can we conclude that Osman Hamdi's archaeological project was part of a larger program to transform the Ottoman Empire into a modern "nationalist" power through technics very much similar to those of the early 20th-century nationalist historicism?

The inquiry posed by this question certainly exceeds the scope of this thesis. Yet from a study of Pontremoli and Haussoullier's encounter with Osman Hamdi and from a study of the correspondence of the Imperial Museums between 1895 - 1904 (the years of Didyma reconstruction) we can rather derive the difference of Osman Hamdi's archaeology project from a later nationalist agenda. Clearly, enough, Osman Hamdi's archaeology project cannot be abstracted from the intellectual context of late 19th-century historicism. He was certainly exposed to the dilemma of universal science versus nationalist academia, which deeply intrigued Pontremoli and Haussoullier. We can no doubt attribute a defensive nationalism to his archaeology project in that respect.

Yet the idea of "modernity" as an inescapable and universal historical mission seems to be more predominant in this project. In spite of the conflict of interests, his rivals in western Europe are the ones that "appreciate" Osman Hamdi's historicist efforts in Istanbul. "The enlightened patron of antiquities" (Patron éclairé) used by Pontremoli and Haussoullier, but more specifically the adjective "enlightened," which appears in various texts illustrate a cliché formulated around Osman Hamdi's name.<sup>45</sup> This construct existed since Osman Hamdi's work gained wide recognition in 1892 and it seems to intrigue the academic milieu of France.

Secondly, Osman Hamdi is a "jealous defender of antiquities."<sup>46</sup> From Pontremoli and Haussoullier's perspective Osman Hamdi contributed to the Didyma project "for the success of a mission that would enrich his own museum." The reader can, thus, draw the conclusion that Osman Hamdi's help is very natural since the success

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<sup>44</sup>Nur Akin "Osman Hamdi Bey, Asar-i Atika Nizamnamesi ve Donemin Koruma Anlayisi Uzerine" ed. Zeynep Rona, 1990, p. 238.

<sup>45</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, p. vi.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p.vii.

of the project fits his own (national) interest. As the authors called Ottoman Antiquities as “the archaeology of Turkish countries,” with an ethnocentric definition, they also read of a defensive nationalism in Osman Hamdi’s attitude. Their previous adjective “enlightened,” in that respect is rather the repetition of a cliché as “his Excellency Hamdy Bey, the enlightened director,” which had circulated around for quite sometime. For the Didyma project Osman Hamdi does not appear as the “scientist” but as the bureaucrat, the jealous defender of antiquities. This is particularly clear when the authors report the conflict about the excavation findings: “... we are waiting with little hope the result of the negotiations in Constantinople. We had hoped to enrich the Louvre Museum with some of the findings of our excavations. *Dis aliter visum!* At least one of us spent this time to write a book on the history of Miletos and Didyma, published in 1902 ...”<sup>47</sup>

Again in this passage the influence of Osman Hamdi appears together with that of Olivier Rayet. “Our predecessors” used by the authors refers to the team composed of Olivier Rayet (historian) and Albert Thomas (architect). As can be read in the book of *History of Miletos and Didyma*, it is particularly important for Haussoullier to draw continuity with Olivier Rayet who was his teacher at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes and who accomplished preliminary excavations at Didyma in 1874 as a part of his research in the greater region of Miletos.<sup>48</sup> Haussoullier saw himself as the successor of Rayet both at Didyma and at Ecole des Hautes Etudes. He promotes a sense continuity and academic tradition in the way he related their study with that of Rayet and Thomas. While Olivier Rayet has carried considerable amount of fragments from Didyma to the Louvre in 1874, Haussoullier and Pontremoli were not allowed to keep a single artifact from their own excavations. The authors still express some hope since very occasionally a single artifact found by French excavators was gifted to the Louvre Museum by the Ottoman Sultan himself.<sup>49</sup> Yet, it is clear from the text that this is also very unlikely to happen in the case

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p.viii:

“... Il ne nous en coute pas d’avouer que nous attendions, sans grand espoir, l’issue de certaines negociations engagees a Constantinople. L’exemple de nous devanciers nous avait rendu temeraires et nous avions souhaite d’enrichir le Musee du Louvre de quelques-uns des marbres decouverts dans nos fouilles. *Dis aliter visum!* Au moins l’un de nous a-t-il profite de cette vaine attente pour ecrire sur l’histoire de Milet et du Didymeion un livre qui a ete publie en 1902 et que nous citerons souvent.”

See also Bernard Haussoullier. *L’Histoire de Milet et du Didyma*. Paris, 1902.

<sup>48</sup>B. Haussoullier. 1902.

<sup>49</sup>“Entemena, a silver vase from Tello discovered by Salzec was gifted in February 1895, the same year

of Didyma. This situation seems to orient Pontremoli and Haussoullier to document the excavation findings in greater detail. As in the publication of Osman Hamdi, which appeared some twelve years before, large scale photographs of the fragments are published in the book of Didyma. The representation technique employed in the book is primarily a scientific description of these fragments. Twelve years after Osman Hamdi's *the Necropolis of Sidon*, the book of Pontremoli and Haussoullier, which appeared from the same publishing house, reflects a similar realism in the way it represents the fragments as scientific documentation. How else could Pontremoli and Haussoullier demonstrate the work of the "French Science" to the "nation" given the fact that Didyma is the first French excavation in Asia Minor, from which the Louvre Museum didn't acquire any fragment.

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the Didyma excavations started. Meltzger. 1990, p.33-34).

## 3

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 THE FRAMING OF THE VILLAGE :  
 TILTING AGAINST THE WINDMILL

When Pontremoli and Haussoullier arrived at Didyma for the excavations in 1895 they observed a fast-growing village on the site of the Temple of Apollo:

Hieronda today is a village of more than three hundred houses, a Greek village very proud of its grand church, its schools, its three ‘papas,’ two school teachers and two doctors ... Hieronda is a Greek colony in the middle of the Turkish country; the names of its inhabitants remind us the origin of the columns [of the classical temple]. The village’s attachment to national language and religion and the autonomy and intensity of its municipal life gave us the image of an ancient colony of Greece ... in the Persian Empire.<sup>50</sup>

The “national” characteristics of the Greek village remind Pontremoli and Haussoullier of the image of a Greek colony in antiquity. Yet the authors clarify their statement in the following paragraph and prevent possible misunderstandings. The comparison here is not between the modern Greek village and the glorious image of classical antiquity. The modern village can only be compared to “very primitive antiquity,” just like the image of the “Attic before Solon as described by Aristotle.”<sup>51</sup> The authors describe the village as a colony since it was founded by recent immigrants from the Aegean islands and even from mainland Greece (an independent country since 1829). The authors’ analogy between the names of the inhabitants and the origin of the columns of the Apollo Temple shows that many of the villagers were still named after the locations that they had come from, at the time of the 1895 - 1896 excavations. In spite of the fact that the authors describe the village as a recent settlement, they are also aware that a previous historical village existed at Didyma. Yet this village ceased to exist before the end of the 18th century.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier, p.40.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid. p.23.

When Richard Chandler, an English scholar sent by the Society of Dilettanti, studied Didyma in 1775, he did not report a living village. Yet we learn from his 1769 book *The Ionian Antiquities* that he discovered the ruins of two mosques and at least one church on the very site of the Temple of Apollo.<sup>53</sup> The closest living village, according to Chandler, is “a Turkish village called Ura,” half an hour walking distance from the site. It is interesting to note that the names *Hieron*, *Hieoronda*, *Yoran*, *Iaran*, *Ura* and, finally, *Ieronda* reported by the 17th-, 18th- and 19th- century travelers seem to be different forms of an ancient Greek word that means “sacred place” in a mixed Greco-Turkish phonetics.<sup>54</sup> The village that Chandler reported as “Ura” was called “Musliman Iarana” during the Beaux-Arts excavations of 1895 - 1896.<sup>55</sup>

For the first time with the visit of the English traveler Dallaway in 1790 we learn about the existence of a newly established Greek village “Gavur Ura” (Non-Muslim Ura) or “Ieronda” on the site of Didyma.<sup>56</sup> By the second Dilettanti exploration of the early 19th century, the village reached one hundred and fifty houses and it continued to grow at the expense of the ruins of Didyma. William Gell, the head of the Dilettanti team, is the first writer who mentioned a windmill located on an admirable foundation between the pronaos and the naos of the covered temple.<sup>57</sup> From then on, all the visitors and restorers of Didyma expressed their “sympathy” with respect to the growing village alongside their archaeological and architectural reports.

According to Charles Newton (November 1857), “... the ruins were encompassed by a wretched Greek village, which has grown up since the Greek revolution, and bears a very bad reputation as an asylum and rendezvous of pirates and brigands.”<sup>58</sup> The village, in other words, threatens the remains of the temple and the Sacred Way. However, Newton thinks that the Temple of Apollo is unworthy of excavations. Indeed, the temple is “stylistically inferior” to the *Mausoleum of Halicarnassus* where Newton undertook the excavations along with his short expeditions to Didyma; he is rather interested in the

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<sup>53</sup>Richard Chandler. *The Ionian Antiquities*. 1769, p.46.

<sup>54</sup>I would like to thank Vassilios Kourvaras for his help with the Greek etymology.

<sup>55</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier, p.23.

<sup>56</sup>Dallaway. *Ancient and Modern Constantinople II*, p.27.

<sup>57</sup>William Gell. *Antiquities of Ionia I*. 1821, p.48.

<sup>58</sup>Charles T. Newton. *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant I*. 1865, vol.I, p.148.



Sacred Way. After convincing the administration of the British Museum that the statues on the Sacred Way of Didyma “would be a most interesting acquisition” and after obtaining a “firman” of permission from the Ottoman “Porte” Newton returned to the site in September 1858.<sup>59</sup> He eventually carried ten seated figures to the British Museum from Didyma.

As the figure of the village appears as a modern threat to the remains of the classical temple towards the end of the 19th century, the concept of preservation also came into question. For Pontremoli and Haussoullier what Newton describes as “the acquisition of statues” is not only an acquisition, but also an act of preservation: “the statues were taken under protection in the British Museum.”<sup>60</sup>

In other words, Pontremoli and Haussoullier represent their present-day village, the very site of inquiry, in a controversial manner. On one hand, the village is a romanticized figure, a Greek colony just like the ones that suffered the Persian rule in antiquity, yet with all the potentialities of flourishing and awakening. On the other hand, the same settlement is a “gross village pressing on the remains of antiquity” and growing at the expense of the Temple of Apollo.<sup>61</sup> It is a modern threat; it has to be stopped.

Vis-à-vis the controversial image of the village, the way the Beaux-Arts restorers described themselves, as the subject of the investigators, also gains particular significance. According to Pontremoli and Haussoullier, archaeological explorations, no matter how peaceful they look require a “spirit of conquest” on the part of the excavators.<sup>62</sup>

The authors clarify this “spirit of conquest” when they describe the previous Beaux-Arts explorations headed by Olivier Rayet in the region of Didyma:

Rayet erected his tent just like an ancient Turkish emir ... He built an ideal principality for himself, the borders of which encompassed Tralles, Magnesia,

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid. vol.1, p.231.

<sup>60</sup>Haussoullier and Pontremoli, p.27.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid. p.v.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid. p.35

Priene, Miletos, Didyma and Heraclea ... he started to work on his domain, to exploit and to excavate as an imperial master.<sup>63</sup>

Clearly, an archaeological framing of the site is an exercise of power, from Pontremoli and Haussoullier's perspective. The authors link Rayet's exploration to the result of the 1870 war, which "profoundly [and forcibly] established *our* [French] credibility in the Orient."<sup>64</sup> The relationship between the investigators and their object of inquiry is a power relation. The far-fetched analogies by Pontremoli and Haussoullier contribute to this relation through the metaphors that they use: The Persian Empire, the ancient Turkish emir, the imperial master and the French excavator, on one hand, the Greek colony and the villagers (whose names sound just like ancient columns) on the other. Yet this relationship between the investigators ("the imperial master[s]") and their object of inquiry (the temple or the village as a romanticized colony) is very much disturbed by the existence of another figure: the windmill that stood in the very middle of the historical temple.

In Pontremoli and Haussoullier's text, the windmill appears in several ways. On one hand, it is a late 18th-century structure, as reported in the 1821 publication of William Gell. It is built on the very core of the temple or on what Pontremoli and Haussoullier called the "admirable *térébinthe*."<sup>65</sup> The construction of the windmill completely destroyed two Corinthian column capitals. On the other hand, the windmill is a contemporary structure that seriously obstructs the Beaux-Arts excavations of Pontremoli and Haussoullier. Removing the windmill from the site was crucial in order to complete the most critical part of their reconstruction. Yet the owners of the windmill permitted neither its sale nor its demolition.

Soon Pontremoli and Haussoullier were obsessed with the windmill. Both in their text and in their architectural drawings the windmill appears as a metaphor. It is the architectural symbol of another historical consciousness, that of the villagers who care about the principal road leading to their church more than they care about the Sacred Way

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid. pp.35-6

<sup>64</sup>Ibid. p.35; The authors refer to the 1870 war between Greece and the Ottoman Empire, to which Britain and France intervened.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid. p.24

of antiquity. The windmill does not represent the image of an antique colony, but the image of a living village, which fights back and resists the excavations:

The campaign of 1895 aimed at appropriating and getting acquainted with the site. The 1896 campaign was 'decisive' . . . . This 'furious combat' is obligatory for all the excavations carried out within living settlements. . . . Yet we were rich in terms of self-confidence and [financial] credit; we were the recipients of a more powerful material [a stronger cause than that of the villagers] and finally we had the satisfaction to gain our ends. We knew from the beginning that we would have to excavate the very middle of the village, along the main path leading to the church; we opened a large hole that menaced the existence of the path and the security of the neighboring houses. Hence we had to work in the middle of a 'concert' of threats and protests, the sounds of which still haunt our minds.<sup>66</sup>

During the 1895 and 1896 excavations Pontremoli and Haussoullier started an "attack," as they call it, from the northeast and southeast corners of the main facade towards the windmill. The houses that they pulled down "were among the oldest of the village."<sup>67</sup> After demolishing approximately "one third of the village," the Beaux-Arts excavators began tilting against the windmill, a fight that they would ultimately lose: after two years of excavations the windmill stayed, yet Pontremoli and Haussoullier, having spent all their funding in the expropriation of more than one hundred houses, abandoned the project.

"How many years will the retaining walls that we constructed resist, and the holes that we excavated remain on the site? ... we are afraid that the excavations of Didyma share the same sort of destiny as the Temple of Apollo: they will never be achieved," write the authors in 1904. It is only one year before the German Archaeological Institute restarted the excavations.

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid. p.51

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

## 4

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### FROM SCIENTIFIC FRAMING TO THE BEAUX-ARTS TEMPLE

Unlike Rayet and Thomas' previous exploration, Pontremoli and Haussoullier do not intend to limit their excavations to a few test digs at Didyma. The aim, as it appears in the 1904 publication, is to unearth the Hellenistic temple as much as possible. Yet in front of such a colossal temple the question emerges of where to start, a question that becomes one of the greatest concern of Pontremoli and Haussoullier's inquiry:

[Our] plan, apparently very simple, can be expressed in a few words: we managed to excavate the main facade of the temple. We already knew from the writings of the authors [Strabon and Pausanias] and we also noticed during our preliminary studies that the Didymeion was never achieved. Thus, it seems correct to argue that Milesians must have spent their greatest effort on the most visible part of this colossal building, on the East facade where the grand gate [door], or the only access to the room of oracular consultations and the naos, was situated. The discovery of several column bases on the exterior row of the facade by Rayet and Thomas leaves no doubt about this subject.<sup>68</sup>

Before they started the excavations at Didyma, Pontremoli and Haussoullier were well aware that the construction of the Temple of Apollo was never completed in antiquity. Yet they do not use the adjective "incomplete" in their book. For the Beaux-Arts restorers the Temple of Apollo was never "achieved."<sup>69</sup> A critical difference exists between the two concepts within the context of Didyma. The statement, "the Temple of Apollo was never achieved" means at the same time that the restorers assume a final point of arrival, an ideal image to be reached. The image of the ideal Greek temple haunts the Beaux-Arts restorers, yet they know that "Milesians" failed to "achieve" what the authors called Didymeion, or the final point of arrival. Hence, what the architects of antiquity intended to build is more important for Pontremoli and Haussoullier than what they actually built.

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<sup>68</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier, pp.46-47

<sup>69</sup>Ibid. p.47

By the same token, the authors' decision to excavate the main facade of the temple is part of their search for completeness while digging up an incomplete temple. As discussed in the previous section, the physical barrier created by the windmill was also an important factor in the direction of the Beaux-Arts excavations. The authors had to operate within the given property patterns of the site. The most critical part of the temple, the room for oracular consultations, remained unreachable underneath the windmill. In the given conditions Pontremoli and Haussoullier started their 1895 excavations around the two already standing columns on the northeastern side of the temple.<sup>70</sup> They noticed afterwards that this first excavation area was converted into the outer fortifications of a medieval castle during the Byzantine period. Pontremoli and Haussoullier had to dig more than 21 feet (7 meters) in order to reach the floor of antiquity.<sup>71</sup> The excavation of 1896, on the other hand, started from the opposite corner of the main facade, on the southeast side of the temple. At the end of the second year the 1896 excavations met the first location unearthed by the 1895 studies.

The three plans published by the 1904 book of Pontremoli and Haussoullier illustrate the Beaux-Arts studies in a very systematic manner. The first plan is called "*Avant les Fouilles.*" It represents the main path of the Hieronda village leading to the principal church before the 1895-1896 excavations. The three freestanding columns of the temple and part of the naos wall, which were visible before the excavations, are rendered with a dark color as if they are cut by a hypothetical picture plane. It is interesting to note, however, that almost 21 feet of earth covered these columns up to their middle height and none of these freestanding columns are taller than the windmill in altitude. The picture plane has to cut through the windmill before it cuts the fragments of antiquity.

The second plan of Pontremoli and Haussoullier is called "*Après les Fouilles.*" It frames the same part of the village and illustrates the situation after the excavations of 1895 and 1896. The excavations uncovered the floor of the main facade at the expense of the previous path leading to the church of Hieronda. Again, the columns that were visible before 1895 are rendered differently. While the unearthed temple appear in a very

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid. p.48

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

realistic manner on the plan, the windmill and the surrounding houses are represented as abstract forms, as if they are all flat roof structures.

The third plan or the “*Plan de la Partie Antérieure du Temple,*” which represents the front part of the temple (or the exterior part, as the authors call it) is the most problematic one. It is a reconstruction plan of the historical Temple of Apollo. The authors completed the part of the temple that was framed by the two previous plans and detached it from the surrounding structures of the late 19th-century. However, Pontremoli and Haussoullier did not represent an antique landscape around the temple. The temple stands as a separate object on a neutral and flat background. It is particularly important to note that the frame that the authors imposed on the village is fixed in all three plans. Gradually the landscape and the village completely disappear to uncover the architectural object underneath, in its completeness. The same frame of the first and the second plans, in other words, looks like a photographic moment that captured the front part of a completed object, in the third plan.

When we compare Pontremoli and Haussoullier’s reconstruction plan with what the German Archaeological Institute uncovered on the site by 1913, it becomes clear not only that the Beaux-Arts restorers designed another pronaos, but also many of the columns that they imagined on the southeast side of the temple never existed in antiquity.<sup>72</sup> The authors do not specify what the “*Plan de la Partie Antérieure*” stands for in their 1904 book. Indeed, what this plan represents is not as self-evident as it appears to be. It is definitely not a “scientific” reconstruction plan that represents the Temple of Apollo as it was in antiquity, based on empirical findings of the excavations; the plan represents the temple in a completeness never “achieved” in antiquity. The “*Plan de la Partie Antérieure*” is neither an idealized plan showing what the “Milesians” would have built if they had ever completed the project. The column bases are shown with some irregularities as if they are worn by the erosion of the centuries. Haussoullier and Pontremoli represented the columns that they couldn’t uncover during their excavations (since these columns never existed in antiquity) in a very detailed manner showing the irregularities of the masonry workmanship to give an additional realistic effect.

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<sup>72</sup>Klaus Tuchelt the 1913 plan of the German Archaeology Institute in *Antike Welt* 22, 1991.

A comparison between Pontremoli and Haussoullier's plan with the 1913 plan of the German Archaeology Institute unfolds another important difference.<sup>73</sup> The Beaux-Arts restorers argued that the main access to the naos of the temple should be through the main portal opening to the room for oracular consultations. If we recall the authors' reason to start excavating the east facade this point will become clearer:

... it seems correct to argue that Milesians must have spent their greatest effort on the most visible part of this colossal building, on the East facade where the grand gate [door], or the only access to the room of oracular consultations and the naos, was situated.<sup>74</sup>

The later excavation results of the 20th-century suggests that what Pontremoli and Haussoullier described as "the only access to the room of oracular consultations and the naos," is not a doorway, as the authors imagined, but it is a window. Two tunnel passages on the either sides of the room for the oracular consultations connect the pronaos to the inner court (naos). The authors were not aware of these tunnels since they could not excavate underneath the windmill that stood in the very core of the building.

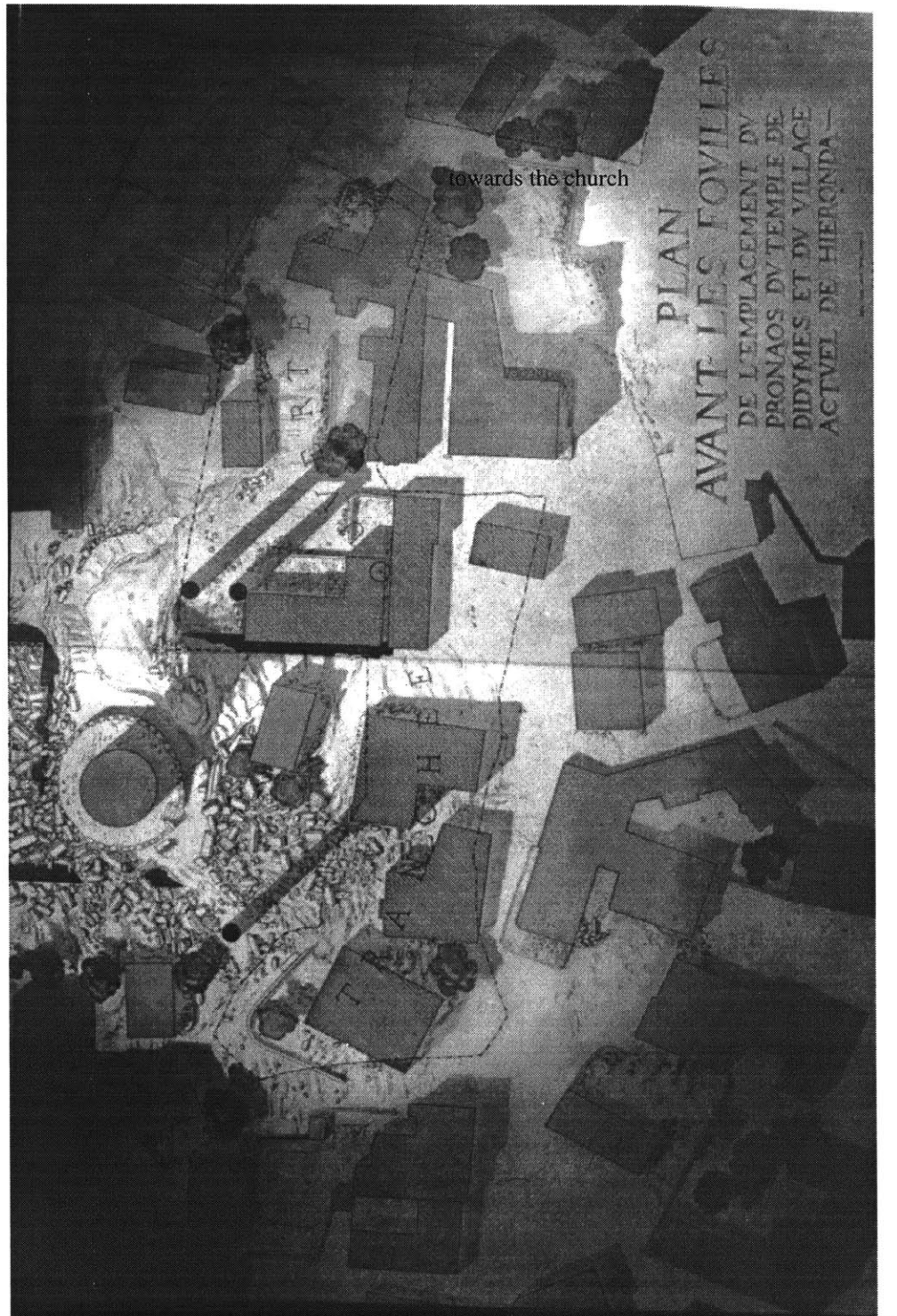
Hence what this study defines as the *Beaux-Arts temple* is a very elaborate architectural project developed in plan and in section for Didyma and presented in the 1904 publication by Pontremoli and Haussoullier. The Beaux-Arts temple is considerably different from the Hellenistic temple not only since it is a complete project, but also since the main circulation schema proposed by this plan is different from that of antiquity. Pontremoli and Haussoullier's plan, in that respect, is a new design within an old setting. It fits perfectly the site of Didyma and the fragments of antiquity, yet proposes a new design solution.

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier, pp.46-47.

North Facade



the windmill  
that stood on the room  
for oracular consultation  
of the Apollo Temple

South Facade

Plan Avant les Fouilles. The Hieronda village before the 1895-1896 excavations. (The East facade before the excavations). Pontremoli and Haussoullier 1904.



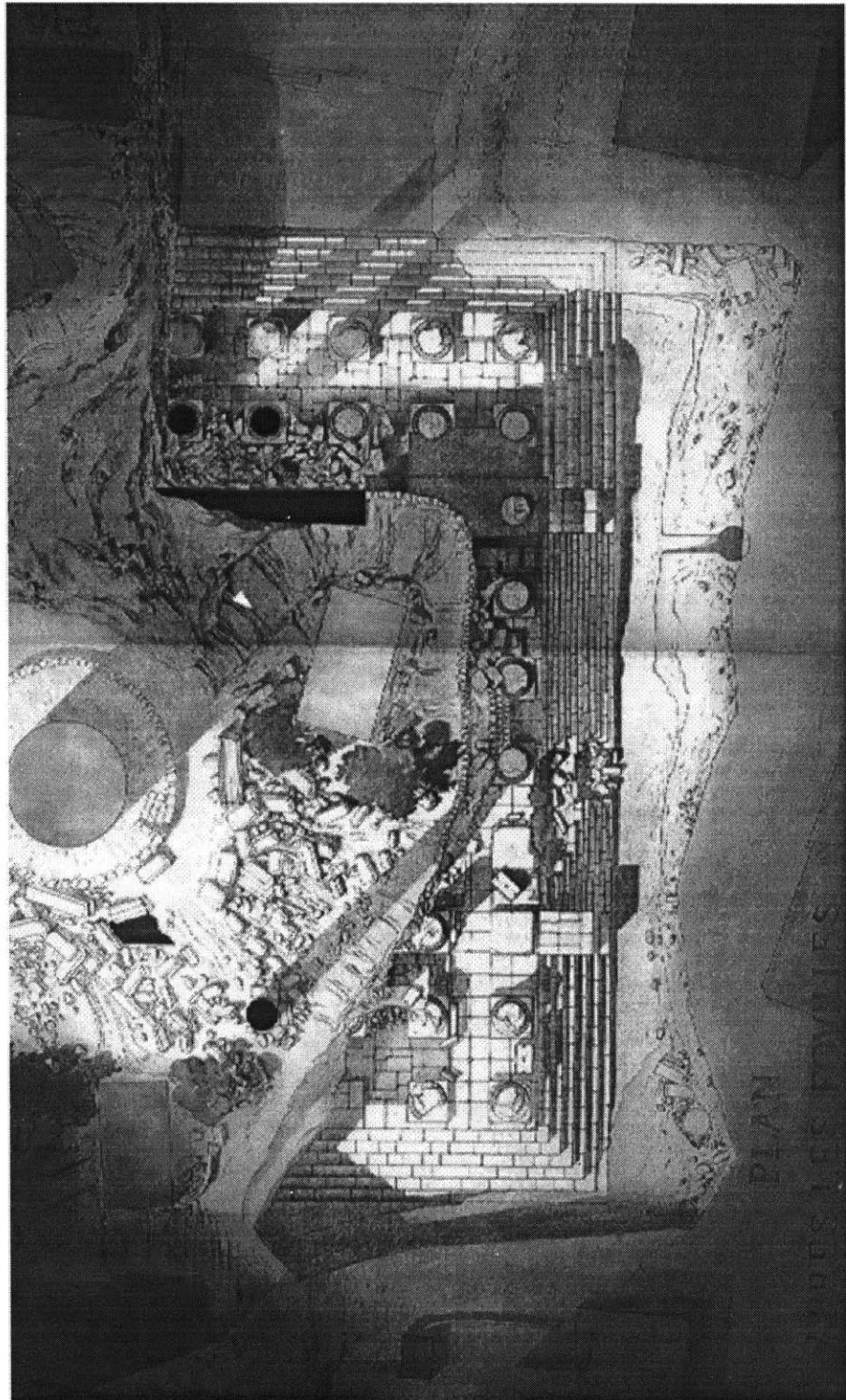
North Facade

two freestanding  
columns, the starting  
point for the  
1895 excavations

the windmill

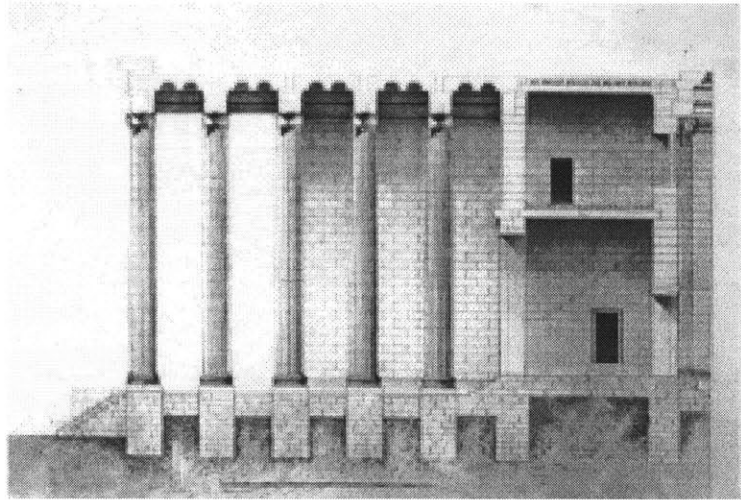
the southeast corner,  
the starting point for the  
1896 excavations

South Facade

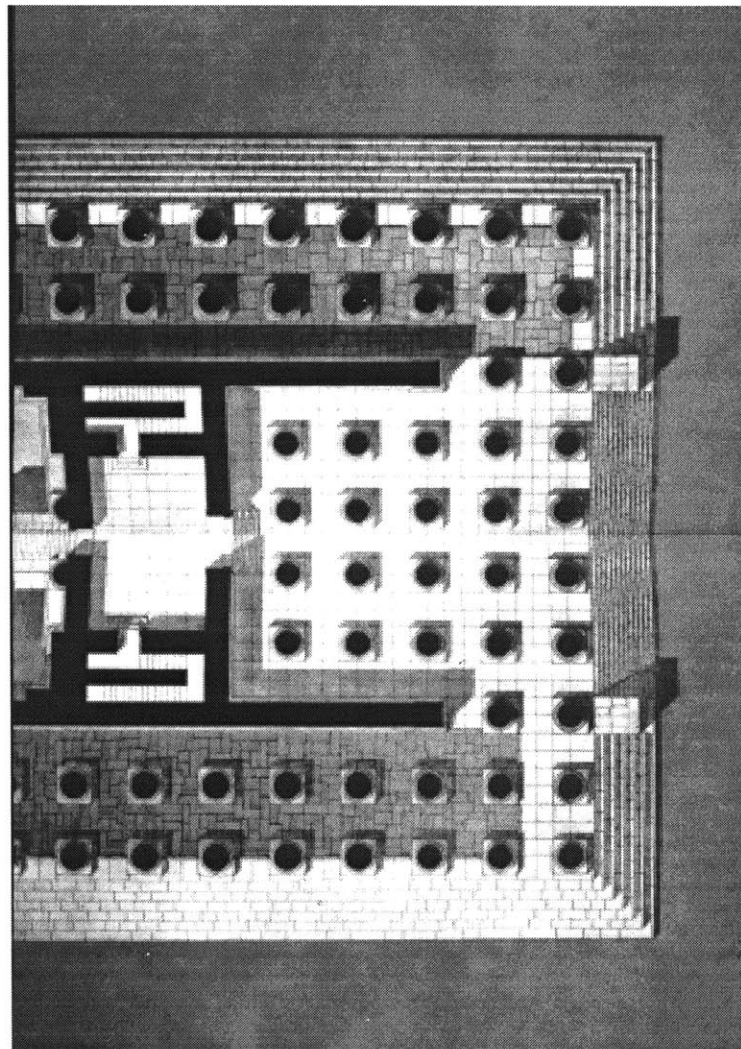


Plan "Après les Fouilles." The East Facade of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma after the excavations of 1895-1896. Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904.

The Construction of the Beaux-Arts Image



Northern side

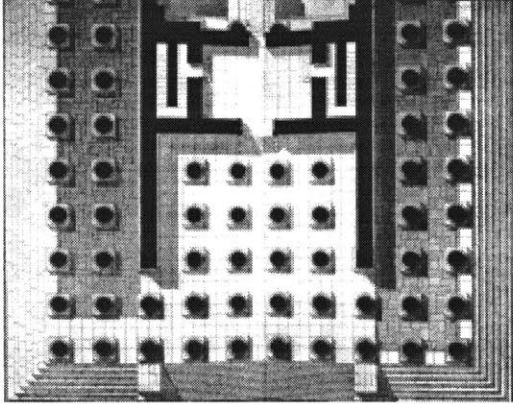


naos

Section of the main facade. Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904.

"Plan de la Partie Antérieure du Temple"  
The Beaux-Arts Reconstruction plan  
after the 1895-1896 excavations.  
Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904.

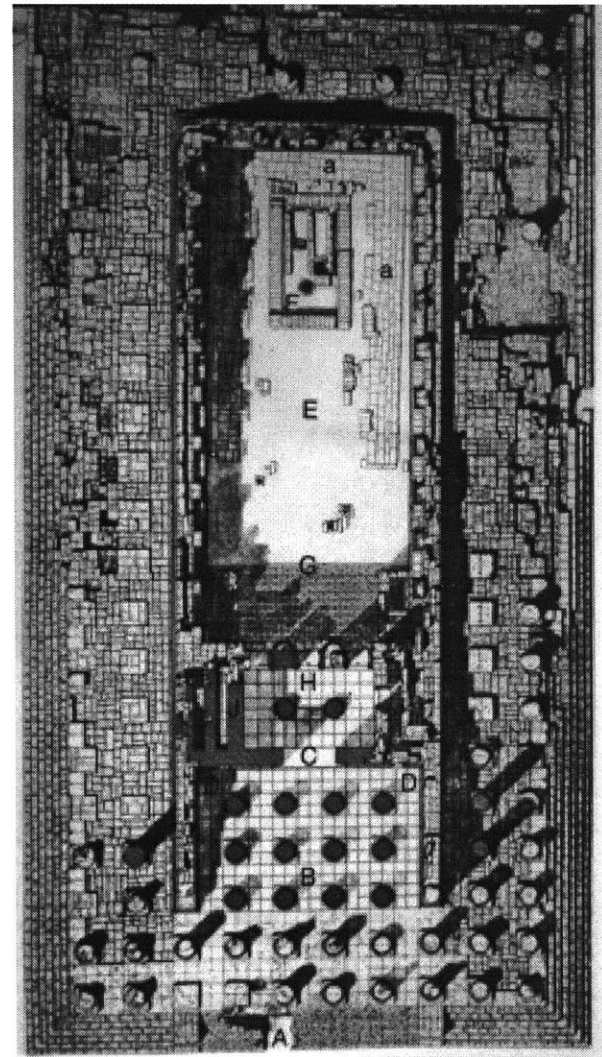
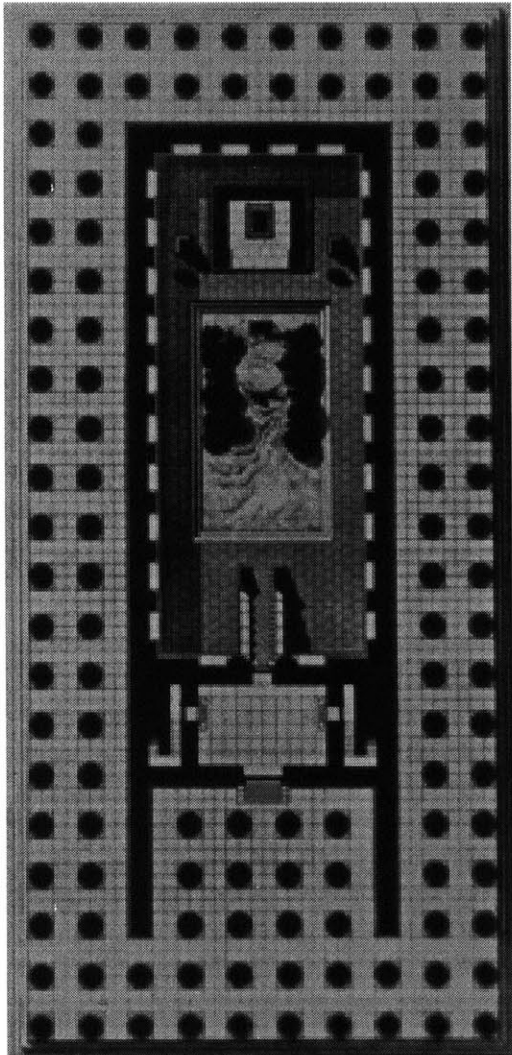
The Construction of the Beaux-Arts Image



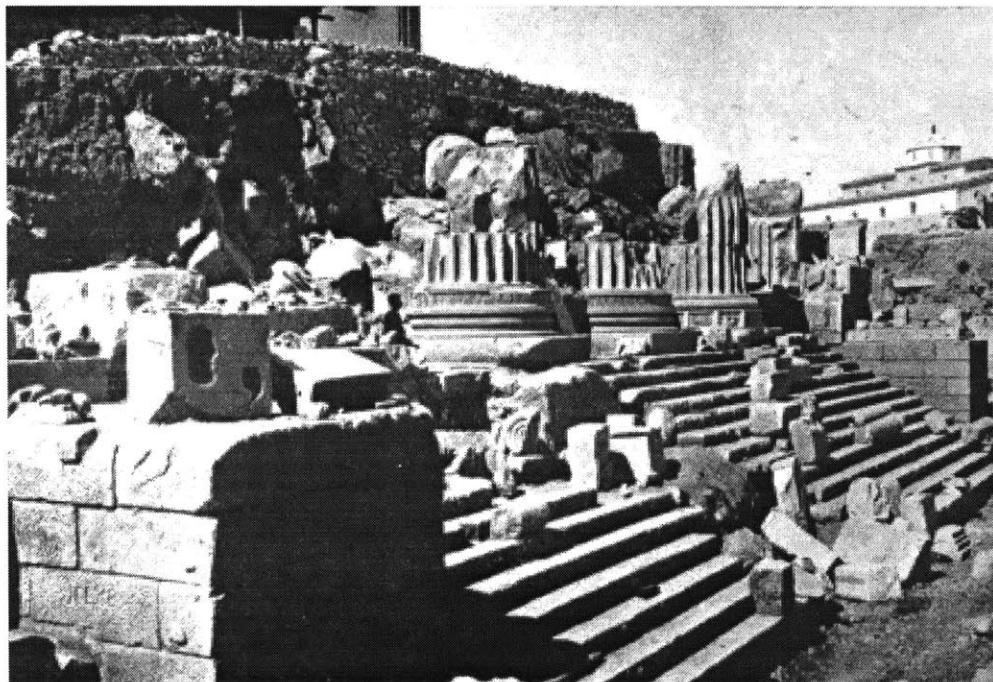
Pontremoli and Haussoullier's reconstruction plan after the 1895-1896 excavations, 1904.

Left: The Temple of Didyma imagined by Olivier Rayet and Albert Thomas. *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, 1877.

Right: The 1913 reconstruction after the 1906-1913 German Archaeological Institute excavations. Klaus Tuchelt, *Didyma Branchidai*, 1991.



The Construction of the Beaux-Arts Image

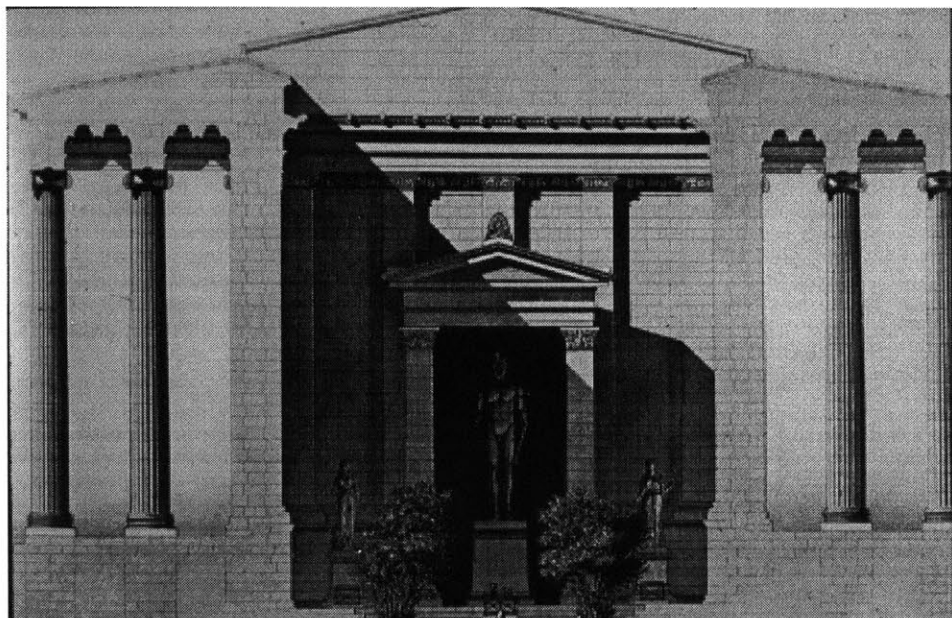
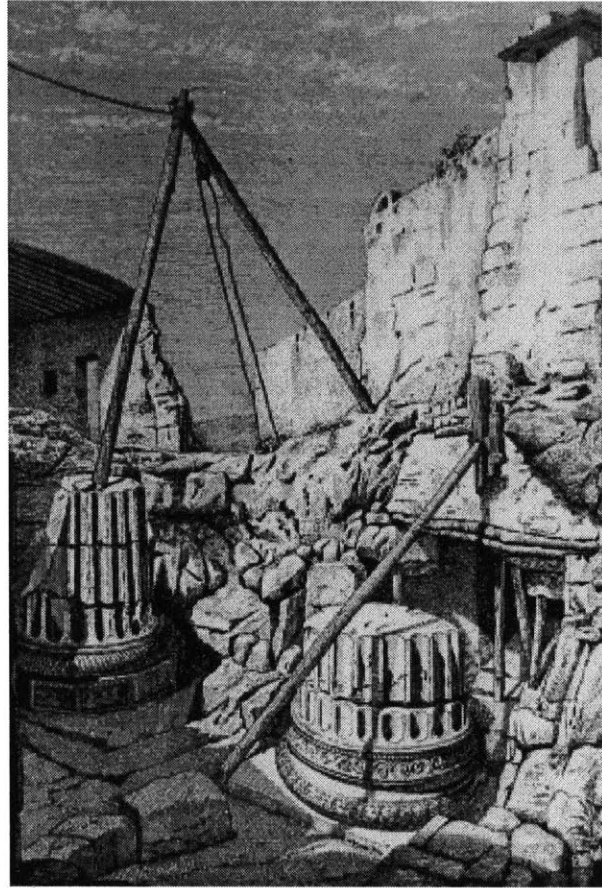


The main facade of the Temple of Didyma before the excavations. Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904.

The main facade after the 1895-1896 excavations. Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904. The grand church of the Hieronda village is on the background

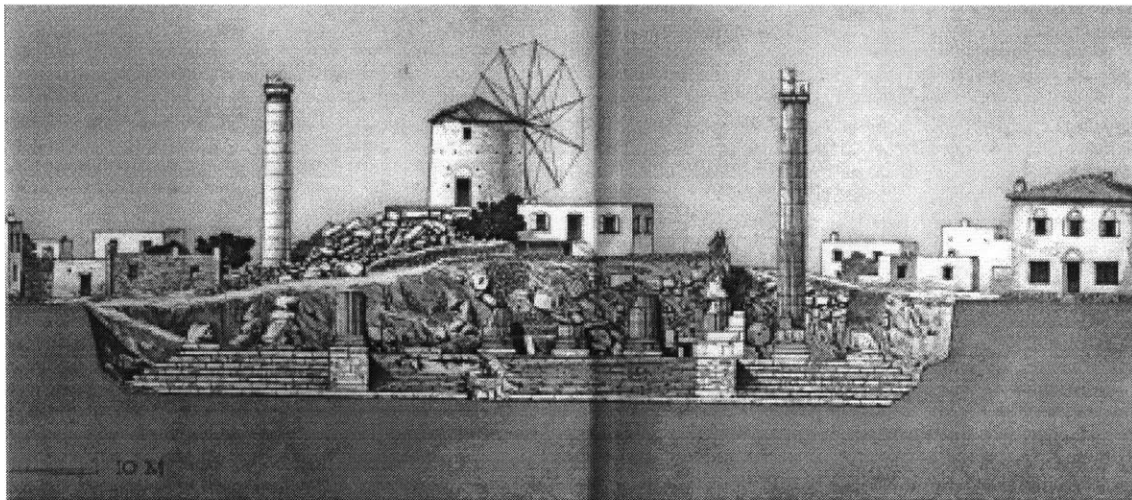
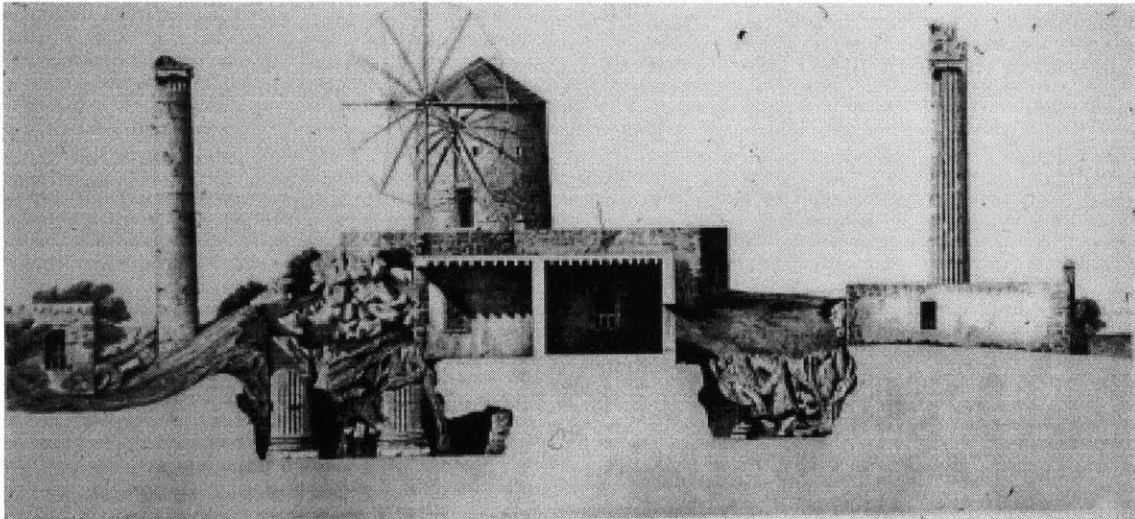
The Construction of the Beaux-Arts Image

The test digs of Olivier Rayet and Albert Thomas. Rayet and Thomas 1877.



Reconstruction section imagined by Olivier Rayet and Albert Thomas. Rayet and Thomas 1877.

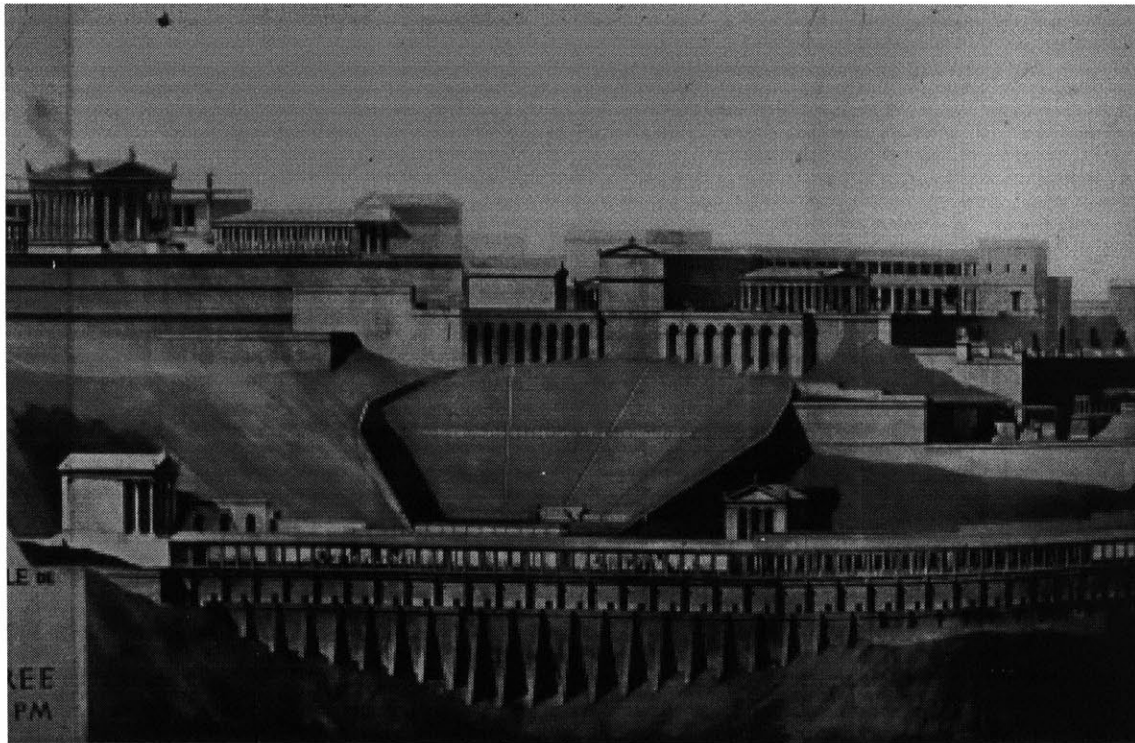
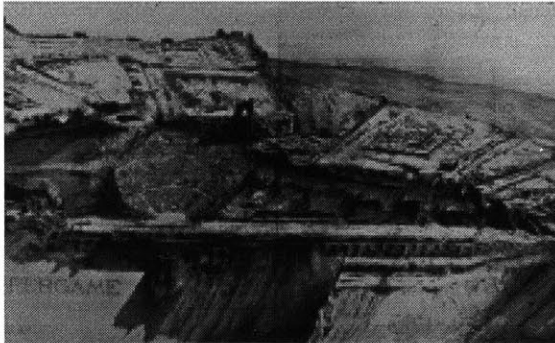
The Construction of the Beaux-Arts Image



Site Section after the test digs. Olivier and Rayet, 1877.

Site Section after the 1896 excavations. Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904.

The Construction of the Beaux-Arts Image



A previous Reconstruction by Emmanuel Pontremoli, architect: Pergamon (Bergama.) Pontremoli and Colignon, 1900.

Left: Bergama before Pontremoli's reconstruction

Right: Acquarelle sketches of Bergama by Pontremoli.

Below: Pontremoli and Colignon's reconstruction of Pergamon, upper city.

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A SITE OF “OBJECTIVE” SCIENCE  
AND A BOOK OF ARCHITECTURE

In their 1904 publication on Didyma, Pontremoli and Haussoullier presented the results of the 1895 - 1896 excavations. The preface of the book emphasizes the difference of the authors' work from the studies published by previous “*pensionnaires*” of Rome and Athens.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, it is clear so far that Didyma was only one of the reconstruction works sponsored by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. The excavations of Olympia, Epidauros and Pergamon by “foreign scientists” gave birth to three other volumes in France.<sup>76</sup>

Emmanuel Pontremoli published his previous reconstruction in 1900, together with another historian, Maxime Collignon. In the volume on *Pergamon: Restoration and Description of the Monuments*, Collignon is presented to the reader as the writer of the text (as opposed to the architect who accomplished the reconstruction) and as an archaeologist and ex-fellow of the French School in Athens. Collignon's text on Pergamon is remarkably different from the text by Pontremoli and Haussoullier. (In the Didyma publication, both the architect and the historian are shown as the co-authors of the text).

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<sup>75</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, p.vi.

<sup>76</sup>Reconstruction of Olympia by Laloux and Monceaux

Reconstruction of Epidauros by Defrasse and Lechat

Reconstruction of Pergamon by Collignon and Pontremoli.

See Emmanuel Pontremoli, Maxime Collignon. *Pergame: Restauration et Description des Monuments de l'Acropole*. Paris, 1900.



First of all, in contrast to the project on Didyma, Collignon and Pontremoli did not excavate the site of Pergamon. The architect studied the fragments taken from the Acropolis in the limited access rooms of the Royal Museum of Berlin in July and August 1894.<sup>77</sup> Following his studies in Berlin, Pontremoli also surveyed the excavation site in Bergama during six months. The Pergamon project, in that sense, is similar to a fourth year exercise usually assigned to the architects of the Villa Medici in Rome (Beaux-Arts students selected from their class in Paris and sent to Rome with a scholarship); yet it is larger in scale. Collignon, on the other hand, built his historical accounts on the material provided by the Museum of Berlin and he also visited the site briefly in April 1898. This is certainly why Collignon suggests that his and Pontremoli's reconstruction of Pergamon does not present the material from a "purely scientific point of view" but it stems from a "personal and immediate interpretation of the documents."<sup>78</sup>

Hence Collignon suggests a remarkable argument within the context of France in the year 1900. The reconstruction of Pergamon, as presented in the Collignon's book, does not depend on firsthand research. Yet the author emphasizes the originality of their work (the historian's and the architect's) by suggesting "the independence of their personal interpretation" with respect to the artifacts of antiquity.<sup>79</sup> While doing so, he puts forward the subjectivity of interpretation in contrast to what he calls a "pure scientific" approach. Hence in the case of Pergamon, the fragments of antiquity catalogued in the Royal Museum of Berlin represent a certain scientific objectivity. The authors' visit to the site of Pergamon in western Anatolia, on the other hand, provided them with a certain freedom of interpretation.<sup>80</sup> It is interesting to note that Collignon acknowledges the roles of the architect and the historian as creators or at least as active agents of interpretation as opposed to the identities of "scientists" that Pontremoli and Haussoullier assumed at Didyma, as the ones who uncover and catalog objective truth.

Only after placing the 1904 book of Didyma within the context of previous publications does it become clear that Pontremoli and Haussoullier bring a certain

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<sup>77</sup>Pontremoli and Collignon. 1900, p.iv.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

criticism to previous Beaux-Arts reconstruction while emphasizing the difference of their approach at Didyma. The previous volumes on Olympia, Epidaure and Pergamon “re-animate the rituals, sacred processions and fiestas of the past” in their colorful pages.<sup>81</sup> Haussoullier and Pontremoli, however, refrained from any animation. They present the results of their excavations on the main facade of the temple. The authors attempted “to answer the questions of how and why the facade was constructed” as the most important part of their scientific exploration.<sup>82</sup> “This is, in that respect, a book of architecture.”<sup>83</sup>

Clearly, if the book on Didyma is “simply a book of architecture,” from Pontremoli and Haussoullier’s perspective, the other Beaux-Arts reconstruction studies are either something different or something more than books of architecture. They are products of historical imagination and over-simulation, or books of theatrical drama. It is not very clear, on the other hand, whether this equation of scientific inquiry with “a book of architecture” was equally shared by both authors or particularly promoted by Bernard Haussoullier. In spite of the criticism brought to architectural animation, one of the architectural “planches” of Pontremoli represents an animated scene with people dressed in an antique manner on the stairs of the main facade of the temple.<sup>84</sup>

It is also important to note that in the previous reconstruction of Pergamon, Collignon included several aquarelle paintings, experimental sketches drawn by Pontremoli. Yet no aquarelle painting or architectural sketch appeared in the Didyma publication by the same architect. The presentation of the Didyma excavations seems to give Haussoullier, in that respect, the opportunity to approach the field of architecture from the methodological perspective of human sciences and to launch a criticism of the Beaux Arts approaches by turning the Didyma publication into an example of what a book of architecture ought to be. At least in the mind of Haussoullier, the problematic of architecture at Didyma is closely related to that of human sciences, for science encompasses architecture.

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<sup>81</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, p. vi.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid. p.7.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>See Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, large reconstruction “planches.”

In other words, Pontremoli and Haussoullier presented the scientific methodology that they employed at Didyma as the justification of their reconstruction's claim to historical truth. Yet the question still emerges: given that the authors could excavate only one portion of the main facade, mainly because of the presence of the windmill, how could they "scientifically" reconstruct all the front part of the temple as it appeared in the "Plan Restauré?" How were they informed about the parts that they did not excavate?

In his 1902 publication on the history of Miletos and Didyma, Bernard Haussoullier published a copy of the reconstruction by Olivier Rayet, his professor.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, the 1873 plan of Rayet is the only plan that Haussoullier included in his book. (We can argue that Haussoullier and Pontremoli's own reconstruction plans were not yet available in 1902.) Clearly enough, Pontremoli and Haussoullier copied the previous Beaux-Arts plan for the parts that they could not excavate at Didyma. Particularly the room for oracular consultations and the narrow stairway leading down to the *naos* were first imagined by Rayet. Yet Olivier Rayet himself did not have any means to reconstruct these parts accurately since the windmill stood on this place and prevented Rayet's test digs. It is interesting to note that after two years of excavations Haussoullier has very little doubt about his professor's reconstruction. The tension between the givenness of a previous image and their own empirical research does not seem to be problematic to Haussoullier.

A similar problematic appears when Pontremoli and Haussoullier explain the objective of their research as the verification of the descriptions and rules of Vitruvius' theories at Didyma.<sup>86</sup> The authors attempt to make a rapprochement to Vitruvius' orders through scientific inquiry, in other words, this combination of rhetorical *a priori* with scientific *a posteriori* might seem to be contradictory at first. Yet we have to consider that the authors' reconstruction at Didyma is very much grounded in an epistemological Cartesianism. A "Cartesian way of proceeding" unfolds itself in the authors' attempt to reach scientific certainty via critical inquiry.<sup>87</sup> If we put the same argument in other

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<sup>85</sup>Bernard Haussoullier. *L'Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*. 1902.

<sup>86</sup>Pontremoli and Haussoullier. 1904, p.7.

<sup>87</sup>See Gadamer for a definition of the "Cartesian way of proceeding," 1975, p. 211.

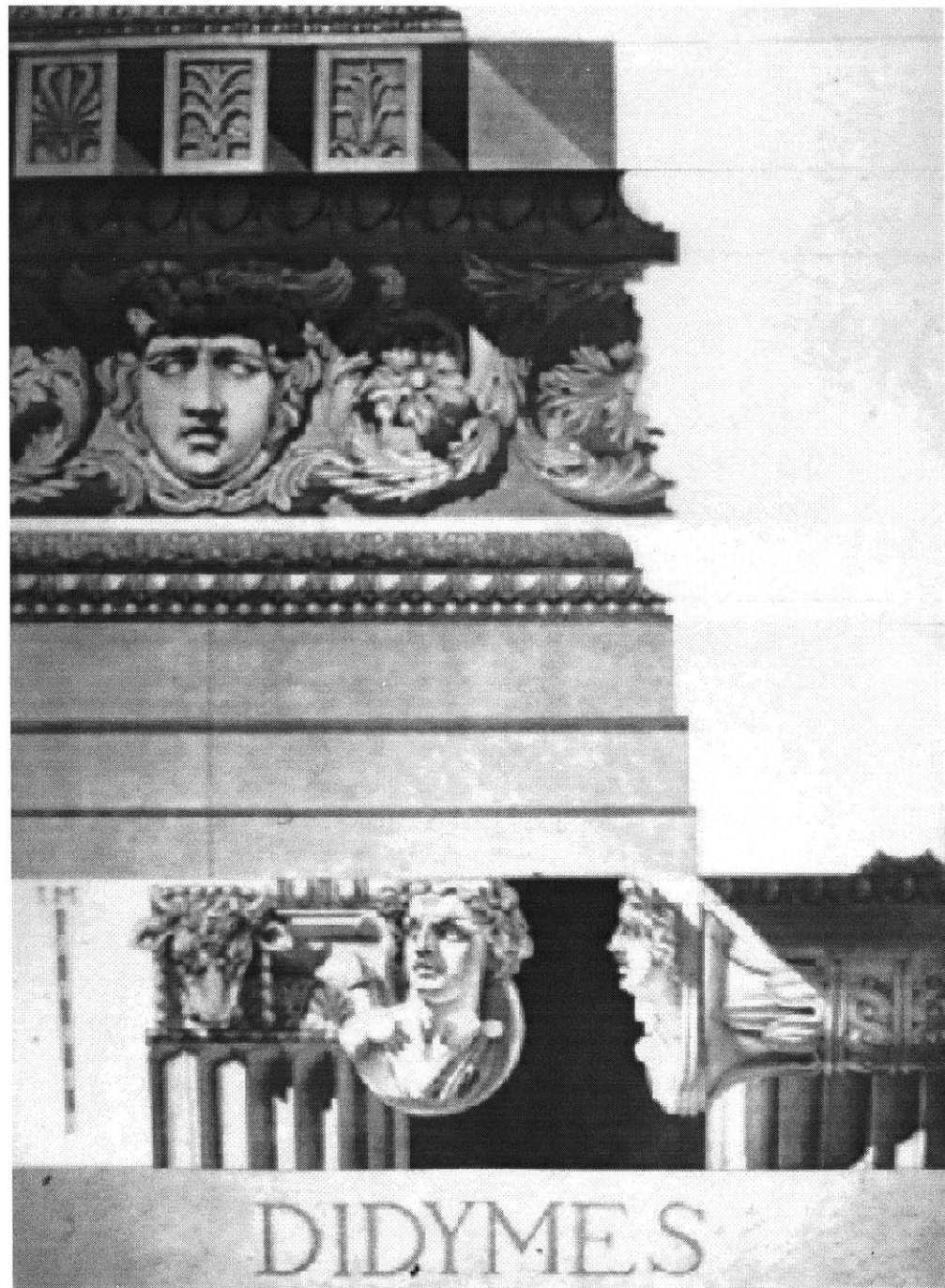
words, Pontremoli and Haussoullier's reconstruction at Didyma is the result of a critical inquiry that seeks to reach what cannot be doubted. That is exactly why the authors' inquiry at Didyma is not only a "verification" but also a "rapprochement" with the canon of Vitruvius.

The 19th-century historicism of Pontremoli and Haussoullier consists of the fact that they did not realize the crucial role of their own historical consciousness in the reconstruction of the past. The seemingly objective method and the employment of scientific methodology systematically conceals the historicity of the reconstruction itself.<sup>88</sup> The case of Didyma, in that respect, provides us with a fascinating example in which the otherness of the object of inquiry is completely assimilated into the mindset of the investigators. The construction of the image of Didyma, in a completeness that it never achieved in antiquity, unfolds the historical "selves" of two schools in France: *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* and *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*. Curiously, while re-creating an arbitrary past, Haussoullier and Pontremoli managed to keep their conscience clear by failing to recognize their own subjectivity.

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<sup>88</sup>Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*. 1975

The Construction of the Beaux-Arts Image



An assemblage of the fragments of Didyma. Reconstruction by Pontremoli and Haussoullier, 1904.

## II

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RETHINKING THE BEAUX-ARTS IMAGE:  
THE SUPPOSED CRISIS  
OF SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING  
AND RECONSTRUCTION OF MEANING

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THE SPHERE OF  
ARCHITECTURAL UNDERSTANDING  
AND THE BEAUX-ARTS IMAGE  
AS A METAPHOR

The architectural image of present-day Didyma does not necessarily correspond to an archaeological interpretation of the artifacts of antiquity. In 1905, one year after the publication of the Beaux-Arts reconstruction, the German Archaeological Institute gained excavation privileges at Didyma. Hence the introduction of institutionalized archaeology to the site put an end to the traditional collaboration of the disciplines of architecture and of history in the personnel of *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* and *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* for an archaeology project. By the end of 1913 the excavations of the Archeology Institute completely unearthed the late Hellenistic temple.<sup>89</sup> The uncovered temple, however, is considerably different from the one imagined by the Beaux-Arts reconstruction. In particular, the room for prophecies, the core of the temple between the adyton and the pronaos where the windmill stood and blocked the Beaux-Arts excavations, is proven to be “wrong.” Given that 20th-century archaeology discredited the Beaux-Arts reconstruction shortly after its publication, Pontremoli and Haussoullier’s rhetoric of objectivity and their claim to historical truth seem to be a source of embarrassment for the history of scientific understanding at Didyma. What is, then, the place of the Beaux-Arts reconstruction in our understanding today? Can the Beaux-Arts explorations of 1820-1904, which culminated with Pontremoli and Haussoullier’s reconstruction, still have any significance for our understanding of Didyma?

This study suggests that the Beaux-Arts image exists today not with its claim to historical truth, even less with its claim to scientific certainty, but as an architectural language, as a metaphor. The Beaux-Arts reconstruction, as illustrated in the drawings

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<sup>89</sup>Klaus Tuchelt. Branchidai - Didyma. *Antike Welt* 22, 1991.

by Olivier Rayet and Albert Thomas, and Emmanuel Pontremoli and Bernard Haussoullier, is an architectural work in itself. The failure of Pontremoli and Haussoullier in achieving their objective of reconstructing the temple as it was in antiquity, is at the same time their most considerable achievement: the metaphor of “the Greek temple of Didyma” is mainly a Beaux-Arts construction. The Beaux-Arts restorers carried their metaphor of the Greek Temple to Didyma and recuperated it from the site.

By the same token we can argue that the Beaux-Arts metaphor of “the Greek Temple of Apollo” preserves its place in our understanding of Didyma today. The Beaux-Arts reconstruction has still a significance simply because our understanding is not straight forward with respect to the immediacy of the artifacts of antiquity in the site of Didyma. Referring to a question posed in the introduction of this thesis, the immediacy and tangibility of the fragments of Didyma alone do not provide us with insights to understand the historical temple objectively; our understanding of Didyma is metaphorical. The epistemological basis of this approach can be built on the “understanding” theory of Hans-Georg Gadamer. According to Gadamer:

Historical consciousness must become clear that in the apparent immediacy with which it approaches a work of art or a tradition, there is also contained, albeit unrecognised and hence not allowed for, ... [another] element. If we are trying to understand a historical phenomenon from the historical distance that is characteristic of our hermeneutic situation, we are always subject to the effects of effective history. It determines in advance both what seems to us worth enquiring about and what will appear as an object of investigation, and we more or less forget half of what is really there - in fact, we miss the whole truth of the phenomenon when we take its immediate appearance as the whole truth ...

Effective historical consciousness is primarily consciousness of the hermeneutical situation. To acquire an awareness of a situation is, however, always a task of particular difficulty. The very idea of a situation means that we are not standing outside it hence are unable to have any objective knowledge of it.<sup>90</sup>

By acknowledging Gadamer’s theory of understanding this study emphasizes the dependency of the image of Didyma on the human agents of interpretation; yet this is by no means an attempt to relativise the historical truth of Didyma. It instead suggests the historicity of the historical truth of the temple. We have to recognize the critical difference:

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<sup>90</sup>Hans-Georg Gadamer. *Truth and Method*, pp. 267-9.



There exists a historical truth for Didyma. However, the truth is not fixed through time, it changes and mediates between the past and the present. All historical reconstruction, in other words, is an uncertain rapprochement with it. We cannot ever be certain about the historical truth given the fact that the temple that is on display today is not an unbroken continuation of the historical temple.

The relevance of Gadamer's theory for our understanding of Didyma lies in his critique of aesthetic consciousness that brings all the objects of inquiry into simultaneity and that denies the historicity (or historicality as in the English translation of his book) of our understanding. At first the immediacy and tangibility of the fragments of the classical temple at Didyma seem to enable the beholders to understand the world of a far distant past as it was in antiquity. The artifacts of antiquity displayed on the site seem to speak on their own as if they were an unbroken continuation of the historical temple. Once we acknowledge the givenness and duration of the Greek temple image at Didyma, it becomes clear that our understanding depends on the metaphors constructed by previous understanding. To understand Didyma is to take a position vis-à-vis the presentness of the artifacts and to place ourselves in a situation with respect to the tradition of previous architectural understanding, which is the Beaux-Arts image in the case of Didyma. Whether we acknowledge that the Beaux-Arts reconstruction systematically constructed the ideal image of Didyma, or we take the Greek temple image for granted, we are taking a position vis-à-vis the tradition of previous understanding.

The Beaux-Arts image, in that respect, appears as a "metaphor of transference" between the world of the classical temple and the sphere of our modern understanding; it provides us with the lens through which we make the past of Didyma available in our present.<sup>91</sup> The ideal image of Didyma, in that sense, is a point of reference, the foreground of our understanding. The presentness of the fragments of antiquity at Didyma is completely incorporated into the duration of the architectural metaphor of the Greek temple.

Just as the trans-historical aesthetic image of Didyma is still with us, as a strong architectural image, as a metaphor, today's temple is not separable from the Beaux-Arts

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<sup>91</sup>See Joel Weinsheimer. "Gadamer's Metaphorical Hermeneutics," *Gadamer and Hermeneutics*, p.186.

image. Our present-day understanding faces, on one hand, the fragments of classical antiquity as uncovered by the Beaux-Arts and the 20th-century excavations. We have to consider on the other hand, the presence of the Greek Temple metaphor at Didyma. The sphere of architectural understanding encompasses both the presentness of the artifacts and the givenness of the image.

In other words, this study suggest that our understanding of Didyma is also a historical movement through which we assimilate the impact of the fragments of antiquity and the metaphor of the Greek temple into our consciousness, a moment through which the temple alienates its present from its historical self and becomes what it is today: The architectural understanding of Didyma is already interpretation. Following this process of understanding the otherness of the Temple of Apollo presents itself so much in terms of our own selves that there is no longer a clear separation between self and other.<sup>92</sup> Thus, the answer proposed by this study is clear: the immediacy of the fragments of antiquity at Didyma does not provide us with insights to understand the historical temple objectively. It rather provides us with a sphere of intelligibility that we have to transcend for deeper historical understanding and for an acknowledgment of our own historical uncertainty. The task of understanding is a continuous, open-ended and ever incomplete project. We cannot ever reach full understanding even if objective knowledge exists at Didyma.

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<sup>92</sup>See Gadamer, p.268.

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A PHENOMENOLOGICAL PARADE  
FOR THE “ORIGINAL” MEANING  
AND THE BEAUX-ARTS IMAGE  
AS LANGUAGE

Given that the holy Augur of Apollo was a “sacred place” in antiquity, how can we explain that the classical architects constantly transformed the site according to their present-day requirements and demolished the previous sacred structures?<sup>93</sup> In his 1873 book of *Le Golfe Latmique et Milet*, Olivier Rayet raises this fundamental question concerning the meaning of the site. The author inquires into the transcendental meaning of Didyma, the myth of Apollo as a fixed essence, on one hand, and into the continuous transformation of the site throughout antiquity, on the other. What appeared to be contradictory for Rayet, however, is not a philosophical question from Haussoullier’s perspective. Twenty years after Rayet’s publication Haussoullier quoted his professor’s concern in his *L’Histoire du Milet et du Didymeion* and described it as a question of architecture.<sup>94</sup> From the point of view of a historian of the year 1900, the question of meaning is not an existential issue as such, but rather has to be investigated through architectural and formal analysis.

It is interesting to note that one hundred years after the Beaux-Arts reconstruction of Didyma, the question of meaning persists within architectural criticism: Is there meaning “inherent” in the site? Is the architectural meaning of Didyma prelinguistic, in the sense that, does it exist even if it is not verbally and architecturally represented? In the

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<sup>93</sup> Olivier Rayet and Albert Thomas. *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*. 1880, p.26-7:

... ses architectes ont du adapter des principes de construction qui paraissaient immuables à des nécessités religieuses devant lesquelles tout devait plier. De là des modifications profondes apportées par eux aux dispositions ordinaires des temples, modifications que la destruction complète des sanctuaires de Delphes et de Claros, où le meme effort avait été fait, ne nous laisse aucun espoir d’etudier ailleurs qu’à à Didymes.

<sup>94</sup> Bernard Haussoullier. *L’Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion*. 1902, p.xii.

way these questions are posed there is always the risk of moving into a transcendental domain where the major positions are determined as a matter of faith and conviction and, thus, they have very little to discuss with the conflicting others.

From the 1960's onward, a reading of the Heideggerian metaphors into the field of architecture gave birth to a strong opposition to the 19th-century scientific methodology employed in reconstruction. Following this position, architectural interpretation assumed the role of "bring[ing] forward into presencing" what is already "lying before" and "lying ready to exist."<sup>95</sup> The modern observer is concerned not only with the artifacts of antiquity, but also with experiencing these artifacts within the landscape in order to "unfold" the meaning "inherent" in these sites. An appropriation of the Heideggerian critique in architecture challenges the 19th-century scientific "enframing," in the search for what the site "reveals" or of what "the spirit of place is."

Vincent Scully's work in the 1960's, in that respect, not only brings forward the question that Rayet posed one hundred years ago but also suggests an answer in the case of Didyma. In *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods* Scully focuses his criticism on what he calls the "positivistic criteria" of the 19th-century studies.<sup>96</sup> Landscape forms, following Scully, simply did not exist for the interpreters of the 19th century. They were trained to treat the monuments "dismembered," as isolated objects and they were blind to the "iconography" of landscape and what this meant for "the Greeks."<sup>97</sup> In his interpretation of Didyma, Professor Scully explores the "embodiment" of Apollo, the deity of the place, in the landscape to suggest the experience of the site "as it was originally intended to be."<sup>98</sup> Scully's reconstruction strongly opposes the museological approach of the 19th century, and instead expands its authority on a visual sequence of experiencing the temple through time and space, as Didyma was perceived by "the Greeks" themselves.

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<sup>95</sup>Martin Heidegger, "The Question Concerning Technology," p.232.

<sup>96</sup>Vincent Scully, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods*, 1979, p.xi.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid, p.xi.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid, p.xv.

Following Professor Scully's narrative, a pilgrim of modern times approaches the site through the Sacred Way and imagines the temple as exposed at the center of a vast open land.<sup>99</sup> One reaches the temple and proceeds across the colonnaded *pronaos* and stops in front of the high window from which the prophecies of Apollo must have been announced.<sup>100</sup> Then, the observer eventually perceives two dark tunnels that connect the shaded *pronaos* to the shining inner court (*adyton*). This procession represents the traces of a "baroque drama" that has long existed in this particular setting. Scully looks at the remains of the Temple of Didyma and reconstructs the moment of the prophecy by the soothsaying god in greater detail:

The whole fabric of the temple is calculated to set up a baroque drama of basic sensations in the mind of the observer. The emotions so aroused must have made the complex nature of Apollo almost fully comprehensible: shelter and coolness in his grove, the taste of death in the dark restriction of his caves, release from the darkness once again into the trapped sunlight of the court with its whispering leaves. Finally, and unexpectedly, there was, in this place where the raised voice booms in echoes like thunder, the promise of his epiphany above the stairs.<sup>101</sup>

According to Scully, the myth of Apollo somehow came to be "embedded" in this portion of "the earth," and it "unfolded" itself gradually through the directed movement of the observer. The meaning orchestrated all through the Sacred Way and within the temple was composed to contribute to the cognitive experience of the myth. The temple of Apollo at Didyma is "remarkably complete," from Scully's perspective.<sup>102</sup>

A study of Didyma's history illustrates that the sense of "completeness" that Scully described in a very imaginative manner was systematically constructed by the late 19th- and early 20th-century reconstruction. The Holy Augur of Apollo at Didyma was never completed in antiquity.<sup>103</sup> The moment when the observer discovers the temple's arrest is quite remarkable. We are faced with the now-completed form of a temple abandoned while in progress. Once we are conscious of the historical incompleteness of the temple, we also come to realize that the exact stage of the temple, when its

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid, p.129.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid, p.129.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid, p.130.

<sup>102</sup>Vincent Scully, p.130.

<sup>103</sup>Joseph Fontenrose, *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions*, 1988.

construction stopped in the 4th century A.D., did not really matter for Scully's reconstruction. Scully as the returning intelligentsia of the 20th century knew what "the Greeks" intended to build more than "the Greeks" themselves. A comparison with one hundred and fifty other sites, and the place of Didyma within "the historical development of the Greek Sacred Architecture" provide us with insights into what would have been built at Didyma.<sup>104</sup>

Hence Scully is interested in the meaning "inherent" in the site prior to its articulation by the architectural language of the Beaux-Arts reconstruction. Even if the meaning has never been represented, it is just there, it exists mythically. In the search for the original meaning of the site, Scully imagines a continuous and unbroken history for Didyma. As if the temple of Apollo were never covered, it always existed on the site in the way it stands today.

In the context of Didyma, Scully's borrowing of Heideggerian terminology for a critique of the 19th-century reconstruction seems to be self-defeating. We can only observe and reinterpret the artifacts of antiquity which were brought into "presentness" by the late 19th and the early 20th-century reconstruction.<sup>105</sup> The 19th-century mode of reality has transformed the site of Didyma into an object for contemplation. The observer's interpretation of the site completely depends on the artifacts of a 19th- and 20th-century "enframing." Scully, in that respect, undertakes the project to construct an "original" meaning for the site looking at the assemblage gathered by previous reconstruction, yet presents his study as a "fresh look" antagonistic to previous reconstruction.

In 1895, before the Beaux-Arts excavations by Pontremoli and Haussoullier a living village named *Hieronda* (*Yoran* in 1670's; *Yenihisar* in 1990's) existed in the place of the Temple of Didyma. After one hundred years of modern reconstruction, most of the village does not exist physically anymore. How could we ever learn about the

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<sup>104</sup>According to Bernard Haussoullier and Emanuel Pontremoli (1903), Didyma is one of the most representative examples of "the Hellenistic Renaissance."

<sup>105</sup>See Stanford Anderson "The Presentness of Interpretation and of Artifacts." in John E. Hancock, ed. *History in, of, and for Architecture*.

Hieronda village of 1895 if we did not have the photographs taken by the Beaux-Arts architects who finally bought and demolished part of the village? How can we assume that the Temple of Didyma “reveals” “timelessly” a “primordial truth” although we know that it did not exist one hundred years ago, in the way it stands today? More importantly, how can we justify both the “interpretive and historiographical priority” of a golden age, and our being subjectively selective in the way we look at history, within the sphere of phenomenological hermeneutics?<sup>106</sup>

Clearly enough, if there exists a meaning inherent to the site, a “spirit of place,” it is certainly not limited to that of the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo. The classical temple was constructed as a material reality, to reveal a supposedly higher non-material truth: the myth of the soothsaying Apollo. Yet the myth of Apollo did not survive at Didyma to allow the completion of the late Hellenistic and Roman temple. Having lost its very reason for construction the Temple of Apollo remained incomplete; its material existence continued only in the way its fragments were incorporated into the meaning of later structures: a Christian church, a Byzantine castle and a living village.

When we accept that architectural meaning existed in the site of Didyma before the excavations, it becomes clear that the Beaux-Arts reconstruction is at the same time a dislocation and reintegration of the “spirit of place” at Didyma. Pontremoli and Haussoullier aimed at bringing back the Temple of Apollo at the expense of the later structures. Their reconstruction work was not directed at reviving the non-material meaning, which gave birth to the classical temple in antiquity. The reconstruction was concerned with the ideal orders of material architecture and with the artifacts of antiquity themselves. While searching for the far distant past, they destroyed the upper layers of meaning at Didyma.

The destruction of the Byzantine, medieval and the 19th-century vernacular layers for the construction of the Hellenistic Temple is a search for what is familiar to the Beaux-Arts restorers, for a feeling of being at home with their own architectural language. The Beaux-Arts reconstruction, in other words, sought to retrieve from the site a language that

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

was already its own. The ideal “Greek Temple of Didyma” does not belong to the site of Didyma as much as it belongs to the Beaux-Arts language of the discipline of architecture. The late 19th-century excavations at Didyma, in that sense, are the search of the Beaux-Arts restorers for the familiarity of their own language while digging up the other. Referring to Derrida’s metaphor, the creation of the Beaux-Arts image at Didyma is a search for a situation in which the restorers would be “away-from-home, but still in a home.”<sup>107</sup> For Pontremoli and Haussoullier the spirit of the Temple of Apollo is not intrinsically and inherently in the place, but the spirit finds a “home” in the “other,” in the Hieronda (Yenihisar) village. The Beaux-Arts reconstruction, in that respect, is not only a dislocation of the place but also a process of “re-appropriation” and “self-resemblance.”<sup>108</sup> In the creation of the Beaux-Arts image, Pontremoli and Haussoullier were so much surrounded by the familiarity of their own architectural language that their own architectural creation was not conscious to them.

Hence, we suggest that the Beaux-Arts understanding of Didyma is not only metaphorical, but also linguistic. The fragments of Didyma are assembled within the Beaux-Arts language as a meaningful statement: “The Greek Temple of Apollo.” However, once they are codified into the language, the fragments of Didyma can be assembled and re-assembled within the language in order to give birth to other meaningful statements according to the expectations of the present. In other words, the reconstruction drawings of Pontremoli and Haussoullier codify the fragments of the classical temple into the domain and language of the discipline of architecture. In spite of all the rhetoric of Haussoullier, the reconstruction of 1895-1904 does not uncover the historical truth of Didyma but it makes the past of Didyma available in the present of the discipline of architecture. The acknowledgment of this codification also suggests that the construction and transmission of the architectural meaning of Didyma happened through the language of architecture itself since 1895.

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<sup>107</sup>Jacques Derrida. “White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy,” *New Literary History* 6, 1974, p.55.

<sup>108</sup> Joel Weinsheimer. “Gadamer’s Metaphorical Hermeneutics,” Hugh J. Silverman, ed. *Gadamer and Hermeneutics*, 1991, p.185.



By the same token we can argue that Scully does not reconstruct the original “spirit of place” at Didyma. Yet Scully’s mythical consciousness makes a home at Didyma. While doing so he still operates within the pregiven language of architecture and plays with the already existing “Greek temple” metaphor. Scully, in that respect, adds a new layer of meaning to Didyma. In spite of all claims to reveal the “timeless” spirit of place, he remains an artist of his own time: he is the builder of his own expectations of meaning.

This study suggests that the pregiven meaning, the spirit of place of Didyma and the metaphor of “the Greek Temple of Apollo” share the same mode of being: both exist not as a fixed essence, as Scully imagined, but as a movement by which we assign meaning to the site. The meaning of the site, in other words, is a combination of what has been assigned to the site by previous understanding and our own expectations of meaning. This is exactly why the architectural understanding of Didyma cannot be abstracted from the architectural language retrieved from and attributed to Didyma. It is this language, which provided Rayet and Thomas, Pontremoli and Haussoullier with insights to construct the temple in a completeness never achieved in antiquity. The language of architecture also enabled Scully to reconstruct the “original” meaning of the site. It is again the metaphoricity of architectural language that we have to consider if we search for the intentions of the architects and designers of antiquity, or if we simply inquire into what would have been built at Didyma if they had ever completed the project.

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THE HISTORICITY  
OF SCIENTIFIC UNDERSTANDING  
VERSUS THE QUEST FOR CERTAINTY

After we acknowledge the duration of the Beaux-Arts image as a metaphor and as language, in our understanding of Didyma, we also have to reconsider the “scientific” methodology employed by the Beaux-Arts restorers in the construction of this image. With the Beaux-Arts reconstruction of Pontremoli and Haussoullier there came a moment of false certainty when all the fragments of antiquity began to fall into place as in a jig-saw puzzle. The emerging assemblage is merely the verification of an a priori image, a classical temple par excellence. Yet it differs from the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo. In other words, the success of Pontremoli and Haussoullier in constructing the Greek temple image as a metaphor does not eliminate the fact that they failed to achieve their initial goal: to reconstruct the temple as it was in classical antiquity. Hence we are left with the question: does the apparent inaccuracy of the Beaux-Arts restorers in reconstructing the Hellenistic temple put in question the legitimacy of scientific understanding at Didyma?

Clearly enough, this study does not attempt to propose an alternative to the scientific methodology employed by the Beaux-Arts reconstruction but it attempts to understand what the Beaux-Arts reconstruction truly was, beyond its methodological self-consciousness, and what connects it with our present-day experience of Didyma. When we look at Didyma from the standpoint of our present day, it becomes clear that scientific understanding is not external to the architectural meaning of the site. What we perceive as Didyma today is not the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo but an assemblage of the fragments of the Hellenistic temple accomplished by the modern science of the last two centuries. The Holy Augur of Apollo at Didyma, in that sense, is a modern

construction. It represents the aspirations and the scientific understanding of modern times more than it “unfolds” the transcendental meaning of a far distant past.

Once we accept that scientific understanding has constructed the Temple of Didyma, we have to distinguish between the concept of scientific reconstruction and the historical reconstruction’s claim to certainty. In the case of Pontremoli and Haussoullier, the restorers’ faith in their method of inquiry blinded them to their own creation of history despite the limited nature of their knowledge.

Vincent Scully’s 20th-century reconstruction of Didyma, as discussed in the previous section, illustrates that not all claims to certainty need to be “scientific.” Scully’s rhetoric reconstructed the temple as it was perceived by “the Greeks” themselves.<sup>109</sup> The author’s quest for certainty reveals a deep nostalgia towards a mythical consciousness that we can only guess ever existed in the way we imagine today. Later, Scully claimed that “only in the [American] pueblos ... could [his] Greek studies be completed, because their ancient rituals are still performed in them. The chorus of Dionysos still dances there.”<sup>110</sup> While our uncertainty with respect to the past is historically bounded by our temporal world, the quest for certainty is ultimately ahistorical.

What is problematic, in that respect, is this moment of false certainty in historical reconstruction when “everything makes sense.”<sup>111</sup> Ironically, Scully accepts the historicity of previous reconstruction in the introduction of his book, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods*:

Reconstruction drawings, often useful but necessarily imbued with the spirit of the age which made them, have for that reason been employed as little as possible, since when the temple is photographed with its landscape, remarkably few fragments of it are normally required to suggest at least the main outlines of the experience of the site as it was originally intended to be.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Scully, 1982, p.xi.

<sup>110</sup> Vincent Scully. Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance. 1989, p.xiv.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. p.xii.

<sup>112</sup> Scully, 1982, p.xv.

However, the historicity of the reconstruction drawings discredits their value from Scully's perspective. By acknowledging the historicity of the 19th-century drawings, Scully assumes the timelessness of his own reconstruction. While he presents his approach as an alternative to the 19th-century scientific understanding, he is entangled in another historicist determinism that distinguishes his own temporal world of understanding from others. Yet we have to consider that the historical moment of Scully's reconstruction is not a day of final judgment, as if he stands at the end of history; he is also bounded by his own temporal world.

Hence, this inquiry leads us to some theoretical statements: First, we have to consider that scientific understanding is bounded by a specific phase of modern history. While the Beaux-Arts image of "the Greek Temple of Apollo" has an a-historical aesthetic value, the construction of this image by scientific understanding has its own historicity. To acknowledge the historicity of scientific understanding, in that respect, is at the same time to accept the uncertainty of scientific reconstruction with respect to the extreme complexity of historical processes at Didyma. We can never reach a superior moment of complete understanding, but this is not due to the insufficiency of scientific understanding; instead, it lies in "the very essence of the historical being, which is ours."<sup>113</sup> The historicity of understanding means at the same time that knowledge of Didyma can never be complete. Our own uncertainty is historically bound even if the faith in the reconstruction leads us to deny our own historicity.

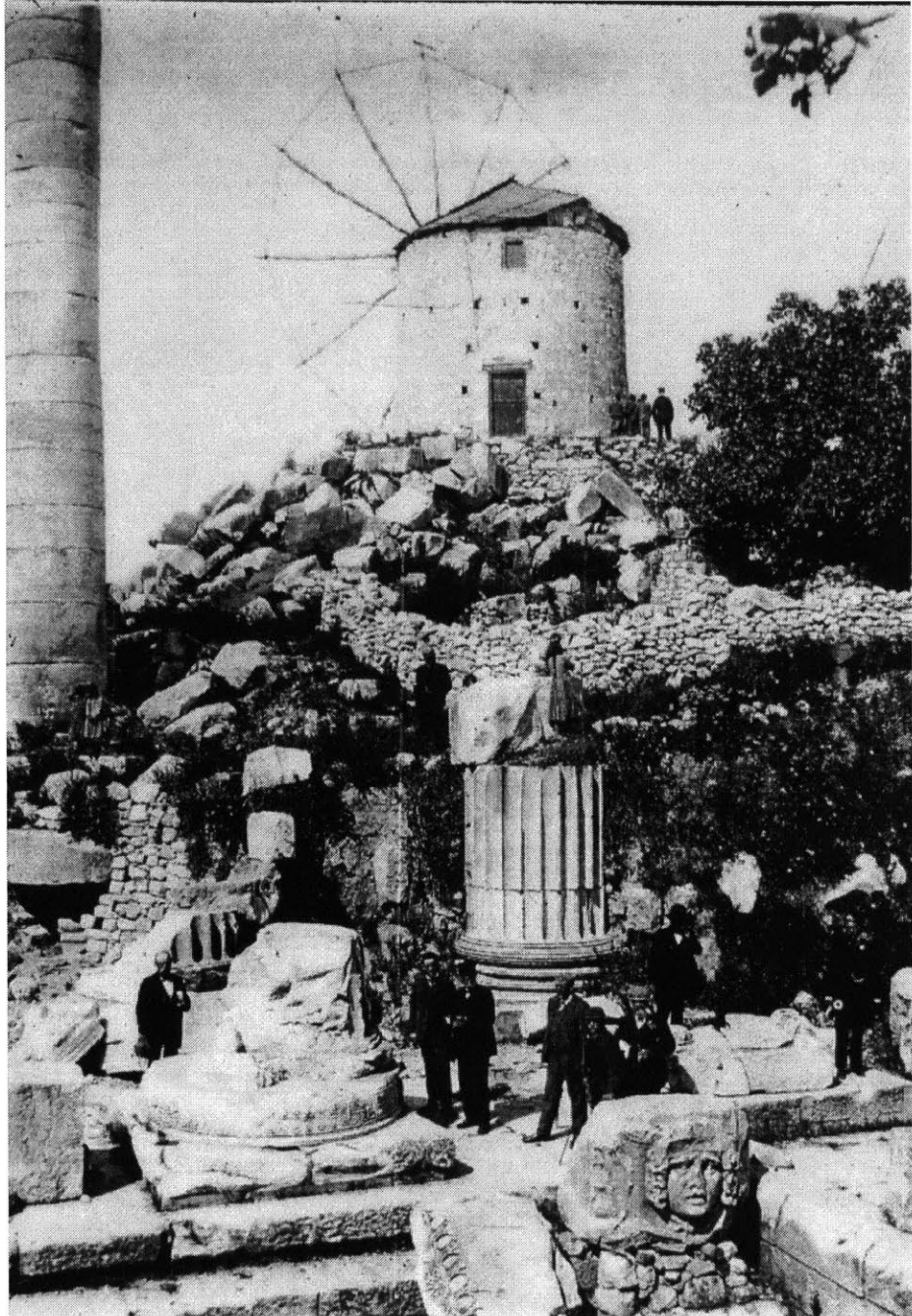
Secondly, this study suggests that the concept of scientific understanding is not antagonistic to the concept of "tradition" at Didyma. Our modernity has a tradition of approaching the site with methodological reflection. When Pontremoli and Haussoullier came to Didyma in 1895 they did not question the relevance of scientific method in the understanding of this historical site. They knew from tradition that scientific method is the way to approach the history of Didyma. The question about the relevance of science in historical understanding was settled elsewhere and carried to Didyma via academic tradition. By the same token it becomes clear that scientific methodology

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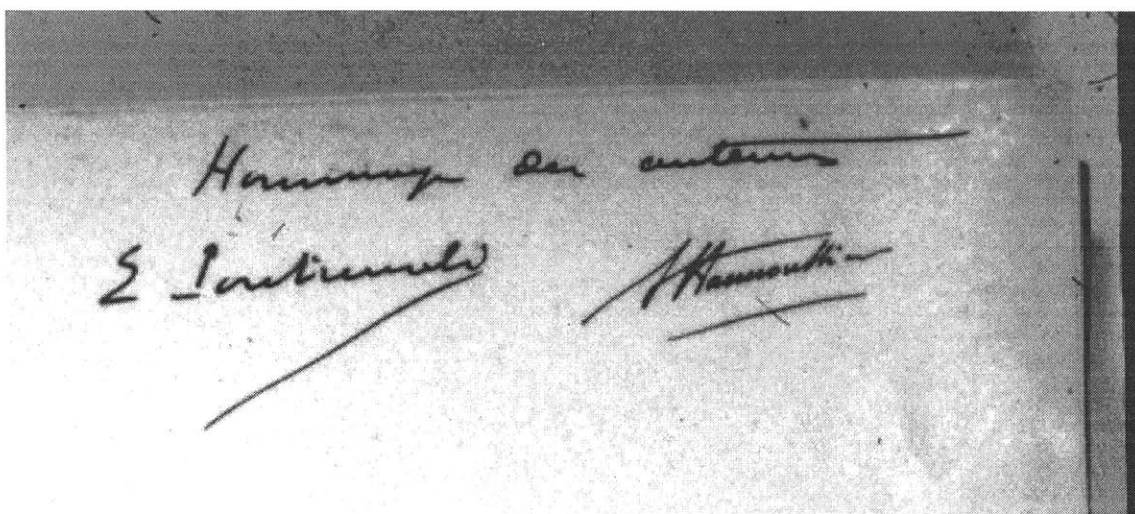
<sup>113</sup> Gadamer, p.269.

alone is not equipped to question the relevance of scientific methodology in the historical understanding of Didyma. We have to consider the accumulation of the previous layers of understanding. To understand Didyma, in that respect, is to put ourselves in a situation with respect to scientific understanding. Whether we accept our method as “scientific” or we aim at transcending methodological reflection, we take a position vis-à-vis the tradition of previous understanding. Just as the history of the present Temple of Didyma is the history of scientific reconstruction, the tradition that we face at Didyma is that of scientific understanding. The being of the modern temple is very much incorporated into the tradition of methodological reflection at Didyma.

Only after we acknowledge the historicity and the tradition of scientific understanding at Didyma, does it become clear that what is problematic is not scientific understanding itself but the certainty of reconstruction, which presents itself as the only avenue to historical truth. To disregard the tradition of scientific understanding at Didyma is at the same time to deny the existence of the “modern” temple of Didyma in the way it stands today.



The "modernity" on the site. A photograph taken in 1905 by the German Archaeological Institute team. Klaus Tuchelt, 1991.



Pontremoli and Haussoullier's signatures on a copy of the 1904 book: *Didymes, les Fouilles de 1895-1896*.

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## CONCLUSION

This study suggests that the Temple of Apollo at Didyma does not stand motionless on the shore of modern history but is borne along by it. When the Beaux-Arts restorers sought to reconstruct Didyma they did not reconstruct the historical temple as it was, but they mediated in a new way between the past and the present. In spite of all claims to scientific objectivity, Emmanuel Pontremoli and Bernard Haussoullier remained artists of their own time: their experience of Didyma went beyond an understanding of the historical truth; it modified the truth that they initially aimed at sharing.

As a concluding remark we also have to clarify that the present study is an attempt to interpret the Beaux-Arts tradition of understanding at Didyma yet it is bounded by our own temporal world. Such an interpretation requires the projecting of a sphere of historical understanding, a historical “horizon,” which differs from our immediate sphere of comprehension.<sup>114</sup> This projected horizon, however, does not reconstruct the world of the Beaux-Arts understanding. We still have to preserve our present-day standpoint.

Historical understanding of Didyma, in that sense, is a difficult task; we have to transcend the sphere of our aesthetic consciousness with respect to the immediate presence of the artifacts of antiquity for a deeper involvement in the task. The immediacy of the fragments of the classical temple in the middle of the modern village provides us with an initial sphere of understanding, yet the very same sphere of aesthetic

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<sup>114</sup>“Horizon” is employed by Gadamer, pp.245-74.



consciousness becomes our greatest entanglement. It measures all the objects of the past by the yardstick of our present-day aesthetic appreciation.

The project undertaken by this study is also a difficult one. On one hand, we are aware of the “otherness” of the Beaux-Arts tradition as our subject of inquiry. On the other hand, since we operate on the grounds of the discipline of architecture our understanding is affected by the Beaux-Arts tradition of understanding. The codification of the fragments of antiquity into the discipline of architecture and into the domain of our aesthetic consciousness (1820-1904) is an irreversible fact. The otherness of the Beaux-Arts tradition of understanding with respect to our historical self (the historical being of the investigator) is very much blurred in that respect. The tools and techniques of formal - aesthetic analysis have been in the professional curriculum of architecture at least since the Beaux-Arts tradition. By virtue of the same problematic, this study initially carried the greater intention of speculating on the way the historical studies of classical architecture became influential in the construction of the tools, analytical techniques and the discipline of architecture in the 19th century.

Such an encounter with a tradition of understanding, from the standpoint of our present day, inevitably unfolds a tension between the past and the present. This study, in particular, engages a strong tension between the Beaux-Arts image of Didyma and the present-day site after the 20th-century excavations. The Beaux-Arts image differs profoundly from the “modern” temple that is on display today. Yet it would be a naive attitude to conclude that the Beaux-Arts image is “wrong” based on its inconsistency with the excavation area of today. The task of understanding undertaken by this study is neither to discover the “right” historical horizon nor to eliminate the tension between different historical spheres. We have to acknowledge, with Gadamer, our understanding as a “fusion of horizons.”<sup>115</sup>

This acknowledgment does not mean an acceptance of perspectivism in the 20th-century meaning of the word. There are not many changing horizons for the temple of Didyma into which we can place ourselves arbitrarily. Yet there exist the present horizon of our aesthetic consciousness that we have to transcend, the horizon of the tradition that we seek to understand, and, finally, the horizon of our historical consciousness that we

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<sup>115</sup>Gadamer, p. 273.

project from our present-day towards the past. The fusion of the horizons of immediate intelligibility, of the tradition of understanding, and of historical consciousness seems to be necessary for a deeper understanding that involves not only the specificity of our subject of inquiry but also the particularity of our historical selves as active agents of interpretation. Such an approach acknowledges the multiplicity of historical processes on one hand and the historicity of understanding on the other. In fact, the way that we experience the multiplicity of historical processes, the way that we experience the natural givenness of the site of Didyma, and the way that we experience the presentness of the fragments of antiquity provide us with a sphere of understanding, in which we are not imprisoned, but to which we are open.

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