REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING IN THE FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE OF MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK: THE CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF NATIONAL MEMORY

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I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING IN THE FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE
OF MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK:
THE CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF NATIONAL MEMORY

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This dissertation traces the concept of national memory through the five architectural spaces that have housed the dead body of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: the bedroom in Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul, where he died on 10 November 1938; the catafalque in the Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace used between 16-19 November 1938; the official funeral stage in Ankara designed by Bruno Taut and used between 20-21 November 1938; the temporary tomb in The Ethnographic Museum, Ankara; and Atatürk's mausoleum, Anıtkabir, in use since 10 November 1953. The dissertation firstly narrates the construction of a Turkish collective memory by means of architectural representation and politicization and secondly the physical and ideological maintenance of this memory by means of additions and subtractions to these spaces.

Keywords: Architectural Representation, Politics and Space, Collective Memory, National Memory, Funerary Architecture

ÖZ

MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK'ÜN DEFİN YAPILARINDA
ANIMSAMA VE UNUTMA;
MİLLİ BELLEĞİN İNŞAASI VE SÜRDÜRÜLMESİ

WİLSON, Christopher Samuel
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Bu tez çalışması milli bellek kavramını Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün aziz naaşının barındırıldığı beş mimari mekanlarından yola çıkarak sorgular. Bu mekanlar sırasıyla 10 Kasım 1938 tarihinde vefat ettiği Dolmabahçe Sarayı'ndaki yatak odası, 16-19 Kasım 1938 tarihleri arasında kullanılan Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nın Muayede Salonu'nda kurulan katafalk, 20-21 Kasım 1938 tarihleri arasında Ankara'daki cenaze töreni için kullanılan Bruno Taut tarafından tasarlanan katafalk, Etnoğrafya Müzesi'ndeki geçici kabri, 10 Kasım 1953 tarihinden itibaren kullanılan mezar ve mozole Anıtkabir'dir. Bu bağlamda tez, hem Türk Cumhuriyetin erken dönemlerinde milli belleğin inşaasını hem de Atatürk'ün aziz naaşı için tasarlanan ve yaratılan mekanlar aracılıyla, milli belleğin yapısal ve ideolojik sürdürülebiliğinin araç ve yöntemlerini anlatır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mimari Temsiliyet, Siyaset ve Mekan, Ortak Bellek, Milli Bellek, Defin Yapıları

The Turkish Nation lost its father when it was 15.
I lost mine when I was 25.

This dissertation is dedicated to
Samuel Warren Wilson (1932-1992)

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(unless otherwise noted, images are from the public domain)

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK

This dissertation is not about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938). It is not about his birth and childhood in the family of a customs civil servant in the Ottoman city of Salonica (today Thessaloniki, Greece), nor his early success in military school and the armed forces of the Ottoman Empire, nor his dislike for the occupation of the empire after World War I and subsequent revolution and war of independence, nor his secularizing and westernizing reforms as president of the Republic of Turkey. In addition, this dissertation is not about Atatürk's last days and his death, which could be said to have shocked the young nation into maturity.

This dissertation is, instead, about the representations of Atatürk as they have constituted themselves in the various constructions of funerary architecture that have served to house his corpse. Atatürk himself did not create these representations, which is an impossible post-mortem task (unless pre-planned before one's death). Instead, they have been created after Atatürk's death by both those who were left alive and by subsequent generations.

These architectural representations, however, have not simply been produced and abandoned for general consumption. On the contrary, they have been used – or, politicized – to construct a national memory for the young Republic of Turkey with regards to Atatürk, his role in shaping the nation, and its history (both immediate and distant). Likewise, similar to the architectural representations, these politicizations have not simply been produced and abandoned. Instead, they have been maintained, sustained, preserved, and generally supported (propped-up) according to the changing circumstances since their initial construction.

1.2 THE FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE OF MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK

Pale Death with impartial foot beats at the doors of
[both] paupers' hovels and the palaces of kings.[1]

The term funerary architecture, also called sepulchral architecture (from the Latin *sepelire*, "to bury"), describes those built constructions that serve to house or contain a corpse (a dead body) or mark the location of a death. This architectural type can vary in size from a humble tombstone or simple grave marker to a grand burial chamber or majestic mausoleum. Other examples of funerary architecture include the catafalque or bier (a funeral stage), sarcophagus (a decorated stone coffin), cenotaph (a tomb without a body), columbarium (a structure with niches for urns with cremated remains), catacomb (a tunnel-like cemetery with recesses for graves) and crypt (an underground burial chamber).

The famous 18th century French 17-volume *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* [*Encyclopedia or Reasoned Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts and Trades*], edited by the Enlightenment scholars Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, defines "tomb" (*tombeau*) as "the principal part of a monument where the corpse rests … The Romans defined three kinds of tombs: *sepulchrum*, *monumentum* and *cenotaphium*. The sepulchre was the ordinary tomb, where the whole body of the deceased was deposited. The monument was something more splendid than the simple sepulchre; built to preserve the memory of a person."[2] The cenotaph – literally "empty tomb" – was a tomb constructed in honor of a person or group of persons whose bodily remains were elsewhere.

Funerary architecture is not an architectural type that has geographic boundaries – existing only, for example, in "the West." Famous "Eastern" funerary architecture include the Complex of Angkor Wat in Cambodia (1113–1150) and the "Taj Mahal"

[1] Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace), Odes I, iv, 13, as quoted in Curl (1993: iv)

[2] The original French is: "*partie principale d'un monument funéraire où repose le cadaver … Les Romains avoient trois sortes de tombeau:* **sepulchrum**, **monumentum** & **cenotaphium**. *Sépulchre étoit le tombeau ordinaire, où l'on avoit déposé le corps entier du défunt. Le monument, offroit aux yeux quelque chose de plus magnifique que le simple sépulcre; c'étoit l'édifice construit pour conserver la mémoire d'une personne*." "Tombeau" entry written by Louis Chevalier de Jaucourt, Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers, Stuttgart: Friedrich Fromann Verlag, 1967 reprint of the 1765 original, vol. 16, p. 398.

in Agra, India (1631–1654). Instead, funerary architecture has intellectual boundaries: existing in those societies/cultures who wish to remember their dead.

The most famous of all funerary architecture is perhaps "The Great Pyramids," one of the seven "Wonders of the Ancient World," near Cairo, Egypt, which were built for the Fourth Dynasty Ancient Egyptian kings Cheops, Chefren and Mycerinus around 2570 BCE, 2530 BCE and 2500 BCE, respectively. These structures are an attempt at materializing (or representing) an immortality for their royal inhabitants: Cheops' pyramid alone measures 230m x 230m at its base, and consists of an estimated 2.3 million individual stones weighing approximately 6.5 million metric tons in total.[3] French anthropologist and philosopher Georges Bataille conveys this possible reason for constructing such funerary architecture when he says "the monument and the pyramid are where they are to cover up a place, to fill in a void: the one left by death. Death must not appear, it must not take place: let tombs cover it up and take its place."[4]

Another equally famous but more modest "Wonder of the Ancient World" was the Tomb of Mausolus who the local governor of an area under Persian rule called Caria, centered around Halicarnassus (present-day Bodrum, Turkey). After Mausolus' death around 353 BCE, his widow Artemisia apparently built this tomb for him, from which the English word "mausoleum" (a general term for a monumental structure housing the corpse of a significant person) is derived. The Tomb of Mausolus is believed to have been destroyed by earthquakes sometime before 1404 when the Knights of St. John (Malta) used the collapsed stones of the mausoleum to provide building material for their castle there, but experts generally agree that the building consisted of a large 38.4m x 32m base, an Ionic-colonnaded peristyle (columns on all sides) middle section and a stepped-pyramidal roof crowned with a four-horse chariot and driver sculpture, with a total height of 45 meters (Fig. 1.01).[5]

Another building that has given its name to a type of funerary architecture is The Pantheon in Rome (118-126 AD). Meaning "temple of all the gods," The Pantheon

[3] Gaddalla (2000), p. 109.
[4] Bataille (1992), p. 36.
[5] Smith (1875), "mausoleum" entry: pp. 744-755.

was built as a temple to the seven deities of the seven planets in the state religion of Ancient Rome, having no original function to house dead bodies. However, since the first century, a pantheon has come to mean "a monument or building commemorating a nation's dead heroes", containing "a strong political purpose as a celebration of nationhood."[6] Because pantheons are collective (and selective) burial places, visits to them tend to be dominated by an element of pilgrimage and even sightseeing, rather than grief at the death of a particular person's death.

One of the most famous pantheons in the Western world is the church of St. Genevieve, Paris, built between 1758-1789, but known as "The Panthéon." At the time of the church's completion, the French revolutionaries declared the church to be used as a burial place for their famous dead, inscribing "For Great Men the Grateful Nation"[7] above its entrance. Among the famous people buried in this building are philosopher Voltaire (lived 1694-1778, but interred into The Panthéon in 1791), philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778, interred 1794), revolutionary Jean-Paul Marat (1743-1793), *Three Musketeers* author Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870, interred 2002), *Hunchback of Notre-Dame* author Victor Hugo (1802-1885), novelist Émile Zola (1840-1902, interred 1908), chemist Marie Curie (1867-1934, interred 1995), and blind activist Louis Braille (1809-1852, interred 1952). As can be seen by the frequent discrepancy between date of death and date of internment (sometimes 100 years), the decision of who gets buried in a pantheon is not an instantaneous one, but one that happens after some amount of time as certain deceased French citizens gradually become part of a nation's collective memory.

Other examples of funerary architecture that are relevant to this dissertation include Lenin's Tomb in Red Square, Moscow, Russia (by Aleksey Shchusev, 1924-1930) and the John F. Kennedy Memorial in Dallas, Texas, USA (by Philip Johnson, 1970).

Lenin's Tomb (Fig. 1.02) is significant for several reasons. Firstly, like Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924) in The Soviet Union/Russia is generally seen as a "father of his nation." In this way, Lenin's tomb makes a good comparison and contrast with Atatürk's funerary architecture,

[6] Rugg (2000), p. 271.
[7] The French is: *Aux Grand Hommes la Patrie Reconnaissante*

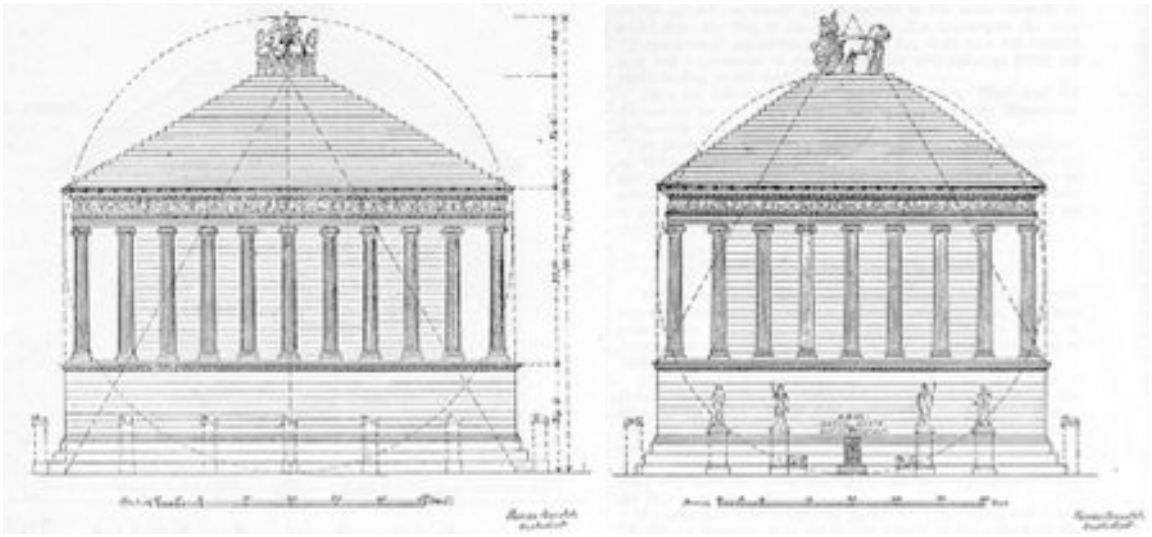

Fig 1.01: Reconstruction of the side elevations of the Tomb of Mausolus, the proto-type “mausoleum.”

Fig 1.02: Lenin’s Tomb in Red Square, Moscow (Alexey Shchusev, 1924-1930).

Fig 1.03: The John F. Kennedy Memorial in Dallas, Texas, USA (Philip Johnson, 1970).

especially Anıtkabir, in terms of:

- its architectural style (Russian Constructivist – Modern)
- its location (Red Square in Moscow, adjacent to the official residence and principal workplace of Russian/Soviet leaders – The Kremlin)
- its politicization (during Soviet times the roof of the monument was used to view military parades)
- the display of Lenin's body (which is embalmed and on public view)
- who also used to be buried there (Joseph Stalin was interred in 1953 and removed 1961).

Lenin's Tomb, however, is miniscule in comparison with Atatürk's Mausoleum; it measures a mere 3,600m^3 in volume, less than 1/10 of the volume of Anıtkabir's main Hall of Honor.

The John F. Kennedy Memorial in Dallas (Fig. 1.03) marks the exact spot where the American President was mortally shot while traveling in an open-air motorcade on 22 November 1963. This memorial contains no actual corpse (so technically, it is a "cenotaph") and therefore serves more spiritually than functionally to remind of the significance of the assassination of the young President on the American collective memory. In this way, the Dallas Kennedy Memorial makes a good comparison and contrast with Atatürk's funerary architecture, especially the Dolmabahçe bedroom, in terms of:

- its architectural style ("High" Modernist)
- its location (at the exact place where Kennedy died)
- its contemplative nature (the only object inside the memorial is a small plain black marble block without any inscription).

1.2.1 ATATÜRK'S "SPACES OF DEATH"

This first grouping of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk consists of the two spaces in Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul, associated with his death: the bedroom where he died and the Grand Ceremonial Hall used for the public viewing of his body.

DOLMABAHÇE PALACE BEDROOM

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk died in room 71, a bedroom, of the former Ottoman seat of government, Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul, at 9:05am on 10 November 1938. He had been seriously ill for some time and was in Istanbul, rather than Ankara – the new capital of Turkey – at the advice of his doctors who recommended its sea-level altitude and mild climate.

Dolmabahçe Palace was built by Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861) between 1847-1856 and served as the official seat of the Ottoman government between 1856-1876 and 1909-1922. It contains a total of 285 rooms, 46 halls, and 6 Turkish baths over a total area of 14,595 m^2. The surrounding gardens are approximately 30,000 m^2. The Ottoman official in charge of the construction of Dolmabahçe Palace was Altunzade Ismail Zühtü Pasha, but Karabet Balyan (1800-1866) and his son Nikoğos Balyan (1826-1858) are generally agreed to be the designers and persons actually responsible for the palace's construction.[8]

The overall form of the palace (Fig. 1.04) has been interpreted as an over-scaled traditional Turkish house, with its separate wings for administration and residence that are joined with a Grand Ceremonial Hall. These separate wings and common space have been compared to the men's and women's sections of a traditional Turkish house [*selamlık* and *harem*] that are joined by a formal sitting room [*sofa*]. Dolmabahçe's elaborate decoration, however, is more "Western" than "Eastern," with an eclectic assortment of Baroque, Rococo and other stylistic elements. The exterior blends neo-classical columns and entablatures with cartouches, rosettes, medallions, oyster shells, wreaths, garlands and vases. Inside, rich materials and ornamentation are prevalent throughout, with both local Marmara marble and

[8] The Balyan family was a dynasty of ethnic-Armenian Ottoman imperial architects who designed and constructed numerous palaces, kiosks, mosques, churches and other public buildings, mostly in Istanbul, for five generations in the 18th and 19th centuries. Karabet Balyan served during the reign of Sultans Mahmud II, Abdul Mecid and Abdulaziz, building Dolmabahçe Palace, Ortaköy Mosque (1854), and The Armenian Hospital (1832) together with his son Nikoğos. His other works include the Beşiktaş Armenian Church (1834), Kuruçeşme Armenian Church (1834), Beyoğlu Armenian Church (1838), Kumkapı Armenian Church (1838), Mausoleum of Mahmut II (1840), Old Yıldız Palace (1842), Beykoz Tannery (1842), Bakırköy Textile Factory (1842), Hereke Textile Factory (1843), The War Academy (1845), Nusretiye (Tophane) Clock Tower (1848), Yeşilköy Hünkar Kiosk (1856), Fındıklı Cemile and Münire Sultan Palaces (1859-59; today, Mimar Sinan University), and New Çırağan Palace (1863-1867). Nikoğos Balyan's works done without his father include the Ihlamur Pavilion (1849), Dolmabahçe Mosque (1852), Validebağ Adile Sultan Pavilion (1853), and the Küçüksu Pavilion, also known as Göksu Pavilion (1857).

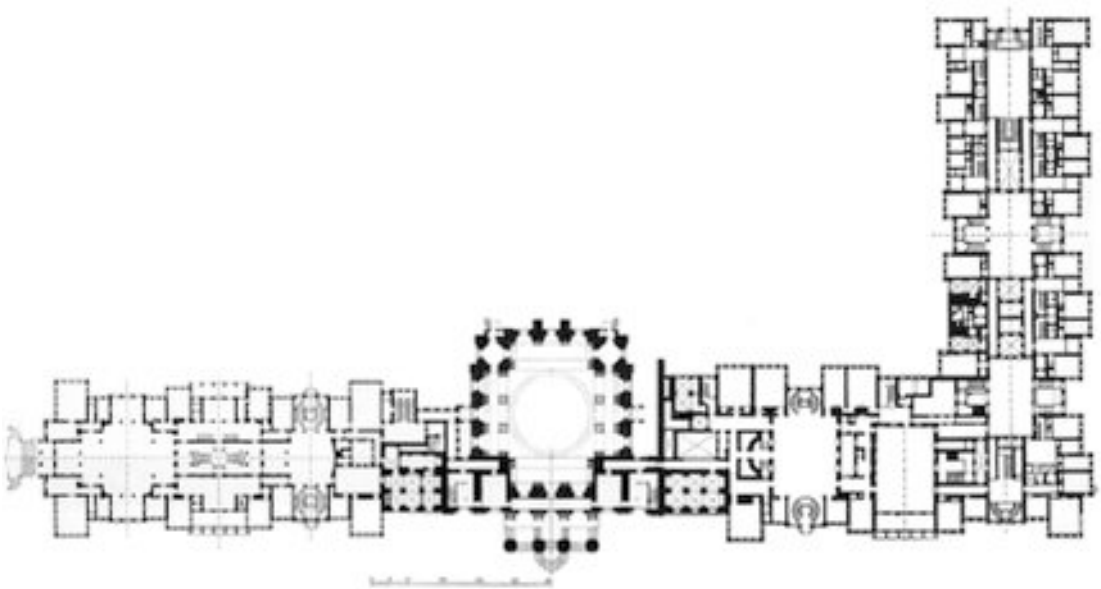

Fig 1.04: Ground floor plan of Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul.

Fig 1.05: Room 71 of Dolmabahçe Palace, the bedroom where Atatürk died.

imported marbles from Marseilles and Trieste used. Egyptian alabaster covers the walls and floors of the Sultan's bath. The entire building contains parquet flooring, a luxury at this time, most of which is oak, but walnut, balsam, lime-wood and mahogany can also be found. Gold leaf and gilding is used extensively throughout the building, especially on some of the more intricate ceilings. As befits such a palatial setting, some ceilings and walls also contain *trompe d'oeil* paintings to create the illusion of architectural continuity. Crystal is also liberally found throughout the building, particularly Baccarat and Bohemian crystal chandeliers, and in the balusters of the double horseshoe-shaped "Crystal Staircase" in the administration wing. The palace includes a large number of carpets made by the famous Hereke Imperial Factory. Also featured are bearskin rugs originally presented as gifts by the Tsar of Russia. Lastly, the palace contains many *objets d'art* like porcelain vases, antique clocks, pianos, oil paintings, and mirrors.

Whenever Atatürk was required to be in Istanbul, rather than in the fledgling capital of Ankara or in any of the Turkish provinces, he stayed at Dolmabahçe Palace, using a bedroom (Fig. 1.05), an adjacent study and bathroom in the "harem" section of the palace, on the top floor, with a view directly overlooking the Bosphorous Straits. Today, those rooms can be visited as part of the tour of Dolmabahçe Palace.[9] The room is kept as it supposedly was on the morning of 10 November 1938, with a clock even stopped at Atatürk's exact time of death.

DOLMABAHÇE PALACE CATAFALQUE

Soon after Atatürk's death, preparations began for his official funeral that would eventually take place in Ankara 11 days later. The famous German modernist architect Bruno Taut was commissioned to design the catafalque (funeral stage) that would be the architectural focus of that event. In the meantime, an impromptu yet dignified catafalque was arranged in the Dolmabahçe's Grand Ceremonial Hall.

The English word "catafalque" is derived from the Italian *catafalco*, originally thought to be from the Latin for "scaffolding". The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a catafalque as "an ornate, often theatrical, usually movable funereal

[9] A "virtual tour" of Atatürk's bedroom can also be experienced at http://www.millisaraylar.gov.tr

structure mounted on a stage to support a coffin for a lying-in-state", adding that such catafalques have usually been constructed for royalty and persons of distinction and exhibited/displayed in major public spaces, like Westminster Hall, London, and the US Capitol Building in Washington, D.C.

The impromptu catafalque for Atatürk in Dolmabahçe Palace was constructed in the Grand Ceremonial Hall (Fig. 1.06), the monumental space that links the two halves of the palace, which was used during Ottoman times for state events like the huge banquet by Sultan Abdülmecid celebrating the end of the Crimean War on 13 July 1856, the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution on 23 December 1876, or the huge banquet for the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Karl I and his Empress Zita in 1918, not to mention the regular Islamic holiday celebrations that occur twice a year [*Şeker Bayramı* and *Kurban Bayramı*].

Atatürk's body was on display between 16-19 November 1938, when it is estimated that approximately 500,000 people visited (Fig. 1.07).[10] The catafalque was modest in scale – merely a red fabric-covered platform raised one step above the general floor level that held the Turkish-flag draped coffin of Atatürk. Around the coffin stood four generals and two enlisted soldiers [*mehmetcik*], with swords drawn "on guard". In a semi-circle behind the coffin, six large candleholders or torches were arranged and kept lit. Floral arrangements were laid out at the foot of the coffin for passers-by to see the names of the donors.

1.2.2 ATATÜRK'S "FUNERAL SPACES"

This second grouping of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk consists of the three parts that made up his funeral: the transfer of his body from Istanbul to Ankara, the official catafalque used for his state funeral in Ankara, and the transfer from this catafalque to a temporary tomb in The Ethnographic Museum, Ankara.

[10] Mango, trans. (1963), p. 210.

Fig 1.06: The Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul.

Fig 1.07: Atatürk's Catafalque in the Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace, Istanbul.

TRANSFER FROM ISTANBUL TO ANKARA

Atatürk's body was not buried in Istanbul, but was transported to Ankara for a state funeral and internment. The first part of the journey involved a procession through the streets of Istanbul from Dolmabahçe Palace to "Seraglio Point" [*Saray Burnu*]. Contemporary photographs of the procession show crowds of people packed along the side of the road and on rooftops to see Atatürk's Turkish flag draped coffin pulled on a gun carriage by six horses, three of which were riderless, to the sounds of Chopin's "Funeral March" (Fig. 1.08).[11] Leading the procession was a general carrying Atatürk's "Independence Medal" [*Istiklal Medalyası*]. The coffin left Dolmabahçe Palace at 9:22am, traveled through the Tophane district, crossed the Galata Bridge and arrived at the water's edge in Gülhane Park at Seraglio Point at 12:26pm.[12]

At 12:42pm, the Torpedo Boat *Zafer* [Victory], picked up Atatürk's coffin from Gülhane Park and took it out to the Battleship *Yavuz* [Brave], in the Sea of Marmara. At 1:40pm, a 101-gun salute followed, with ships from Britain, the Soviet Union, Germany, France, Greece and Romania also participating. At 7:40pm, Atatürk's coffin was again transferred to the *Zafer* in order to then be loaded back onto land at Izmit at exactly 8:00pm,[13] where it was then transferred to a special train decorated with flowers, flags and laurel wreaths (Fig. 1.09).

The train journey from Izmit to Ankara happened in the middle of the night, but the stations along the way were apparently packed with people.[14] The train arrived in Ankara at 10:00am and was greeted by a delegation consisting of Ismet Inönü (newly named President of Turkey), Members of Parliament, soldiers, police, civil servants, and everyday people. The coffin was again transferred to a gun carriage and was escorted up Station Avenue [*İstasyon Caddesi*, today re-named as *Cumhuriyet Bulvarı* – "Republic Boulevard"] to a catafalque in front of the (Second) Parliament Building in the area of Ankara called *Ulus* [Nation].

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[11] Officially known as "Piano Sonata No. 2 in B-flat minor, Op. 35".
[12] Exact times from Çağlar (1955), pp. 7-18.
[13] Again, all these exact times are from Çağlar (1955).
[14] These stations were: Arifiye, Doğançay, Geyve, Pamukova, Mekece, Osmaneli, Vezirhan, Bilecik, Karaköy, Eskişehir, Beylikahır, Sarıköy, Polatlı, Etimesgut, Gazi Farm, Ankara Train Station; Çağlar (1955), pp. 13-15.

Fig 1.08: Atatürk's coffin being paraded through the streets of Istanbul on its way to Ankara.

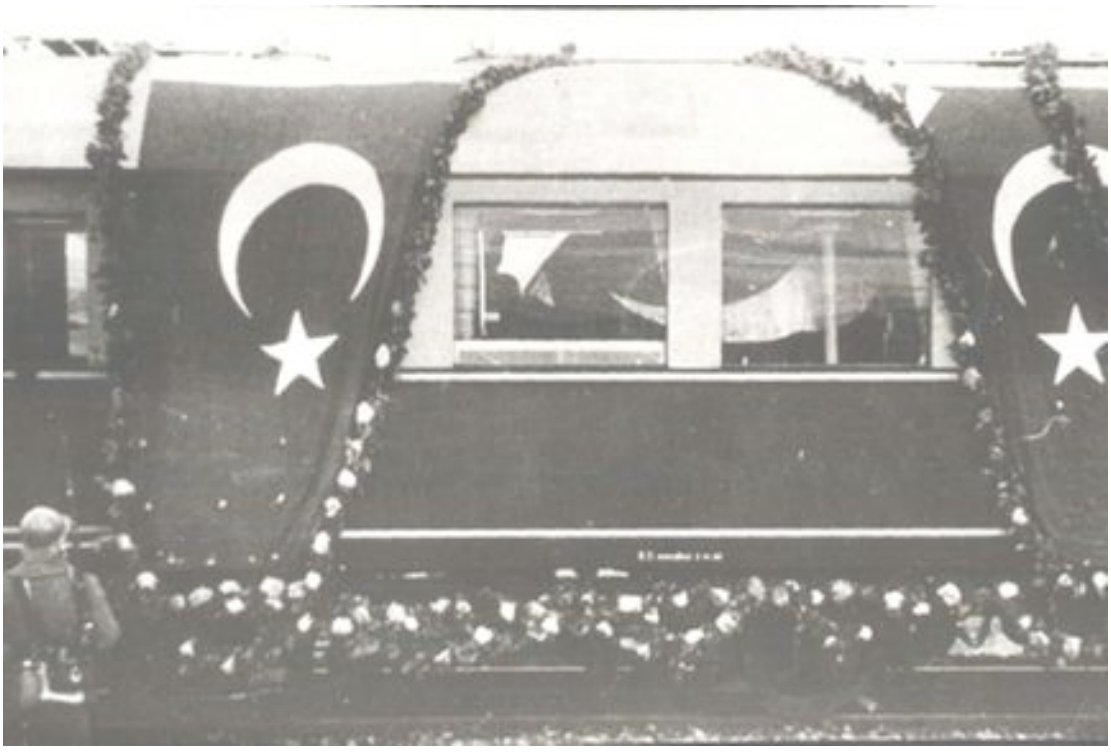

Fig 1.09: The train used to transport Atatürk's coffin from Izmit to Ankara.

ANKARA CATAFALQUE

Atatürk's catafalque in Ankara, used for his laying-in state and official funeral, was designed by the famous German Modernist architect Bruno Taut, who had been living in Turkey since 1936.[15] A previous project by Martin Elsaesser was firstly rejected before Taut was then asked for a design.[16] After approval of a preliminary sketch (Figure 1.12), Taut apparently worked flat out, with the help of Turkish architect Mahmut Bilen, for several days in three rooms of the now destroyed *Belvü Palas* to produce 10 construction drawings. Fitting to the stage-like and temporary nature of a catafalque, Taut's project was constructed by a company called Salahaddin Refik Furniture and Fabrics [*Salahaddin Refik Mobilya ve Mefruşat*] (Fig. 1.10).[17]

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[15] Bruno Taut lived and worked in Turkey from 1936 until his death in 1938, teaching at the State Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. He first made his architectural reputation in Germany in 1914 with the Steel Industry Pavilion in Leipzig and Glass Pavilion in Cologne, which, as their names suggest, extensively used steel and glass in their construction. Taut also participated in the "Crystal Chain Letters" group of artists headed by Paul Scheerbart, author of Glass Architecture (1914), who believed that the task of an artist was to reveal forms that could redeem society. Taut's 1919 series of watercolors entitled "Alpine Architecture" proposed an architecture of glass facets, "like crystals from glaciers and mountain peaks" (Curtis (1997) Modern Architecture since 1900. London: Phaidon Press, p. 183). The fact that all of Taut's previously-mentioned projects were socially-minded without being politically-minded ("apolitical social") was something that continued to be a theme throughout Taut's career, including his time in Turkey when he proclaimed "All nationalist architecture is bad, but all good architecture is national" in his book, Lectures on Architecture (*Mimari Bilgisi*), published by the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in 1938 (Bozdoğan, 2001: 294). In the 1920's, however, Taut moved away from the "Expressionist" tendencies of his glass architecture towards something that he called a "New Objectivity" (*Neue Sachlichkeit*). This idea, which appeared to be functionalist, actually instead "sought to imbue the standardized and repetitive forms of his designs with an aura of dignity and with a communal spirit" (Curtis, 1997: 251). Such a desire to instill "communal spirit" comes through in his most famous building from his years in Turkey, The Faculty of Languages, History and Geography (*Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi*), or Humanities Faculty, for Ankara University. In his Lectures on Architecture, Taut wrote: "It is important to avoid a superficial imitation [of tradition]. Otherwise, this tendency can lead to a sentimental romanticism and a misunderstood nationalism resulting in kitsch" (as translated by Bozdoğan, 2001: 270). Taut strongly disagreed with the "codified, repeatable, recognizable and officially sanctioned 'national architecture' " (Bozdoğan, 2001: 270) that Sedad Hakkı Eldem was promoting in the 1930s in Turkey, just as he was opposed to the stylistic reduction of Modern architecture in general. This can be seen throughout Taut's career, as his works cannot be labeled as any one style, only as a collection of forms specific for their individual purposes - rational, functional or economic.

[16] Taut would seem the obvious first choice because of his position as Head of Architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts, Istanbul, (the only architecture school in Turkey at the time), but it could be theorized that Elsaesser was asked first because of Taut's ill health. Taut himself died about one month after Atatürk, on 24 December 1938.

[17] For Mahmut Bilen's contribution to the catafalque, see Batur (1997), p. 21. For information on Taut's drawings and the builder of the catafalque, see Altar (1994), p. 74. This same reference (Altar, 1994) also claims that Taut's ten drawings were donated to the Turkish National Library Archives, but the author has been unable to locate them.

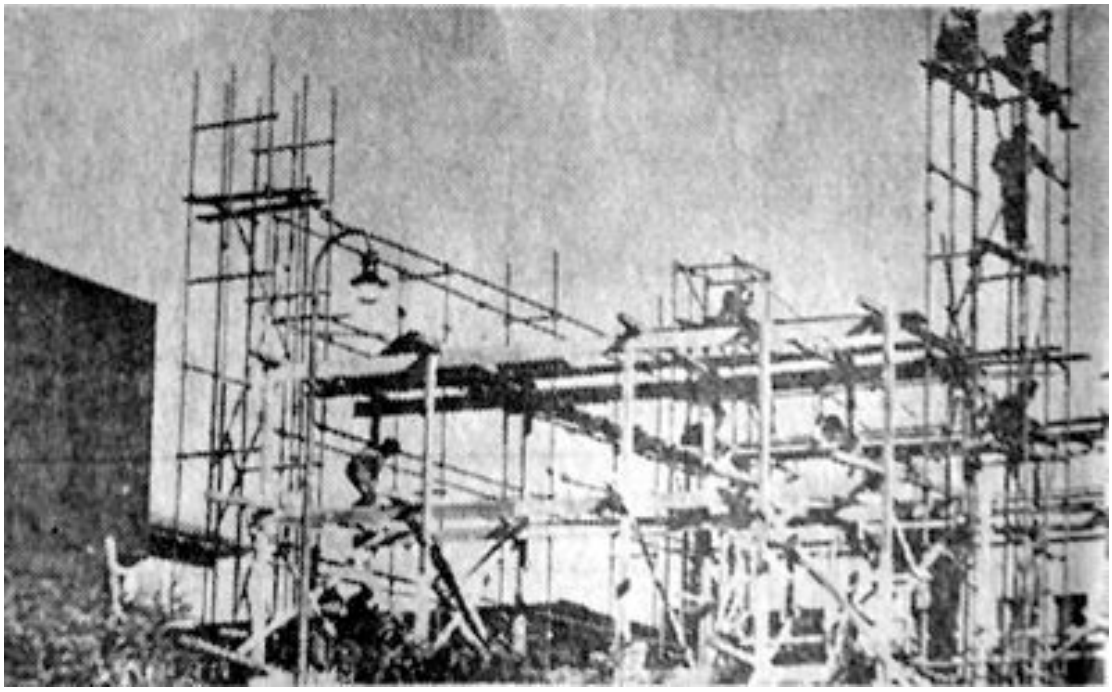

Fig 1.10: Bruno Taut's catafalque for Atatürk during construction.

Fig 1.11: General view of Bruno Taut's catafalque during Atatürk's lying-in-state.

Taut's catafalque (Fig. 1.11), like the Dolmabahçe Catafalque, also consisted of a platform, this time raised about 2 meters, containing Atatürk's flag-draped coffin, around which four generals and two enlisted soldiers kept guard. This platform was dwarfed by an enormous second Turkish flag vertically draped above it, which was supported by a 14-meter high skeleton of ivy-wrapped columns, forming the space of a cube around Atatürk's coffin. Ivy was also sparsely trained-up a white fabric background to this cube, but to a lesser extent than the columns, which also had green fabric underneath their ivy. This white fabric background also continued up and formed a ceiling or roof for the abstracted cubic space containing the coffin.

This cubic space was set directly in front of and on axis with the entrance to the Parliament Building behind, directly across the street from the Ankara Palace Hotel. On either side of the cube leading back to the Parliament entrance, but with space in-between, were 7-meter high flower-covered walls, set at 90° to each other, forming L-shapes. Large flat urns burning a substance were on top of the four columns of the corners of the cube and on top of one column on each sidewall, for a total of six. Taut's sketch for this design (Fig. 1.12), looks exactly like the photographs taken at Atatürk's funeral so it seems as if his intentions were carried out as desired. After its usage on 20 and 21 November 1938, the catafalque was dismantled and its subsequent fate is unknown.

Atatürk's coffin lay on Taut's catafalque for the entire day and night of 20 November, publicly open to the nation of Turkey, just like it had been in Dolmabahçe Palace between 16-19 November. His official state funeral began at 9:30am on 21 November 1938, with the arrival of the Prime Minister, Celal Bayar, and other Members of Parliament. First, the coffin was transferred off of the catafalque and again onto a gun carriage. Then, English, German, Russian, Greek, Iranian and Yugoslav honor guards marched past and officially saluted.

TRANSFER FROM CATAFALQUE TO ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

At 10:45am, the coffin set out on its journey to the Ethnographic Museum, pulled by 80 Turkish soldiers, again to the sound of Chopin's "Funeral March" (Fig. 1.13). The route taken by the procession was back down Station Avenue, a left turn at the

Fig 1.12: Bruno Taut's crayon sketch for Atatürk's catafalque, dated 15 November 1938

Fig 1.13: Atatürk's coffin escorted through the streets of Ankara to the Ethnographic Museum.

train station [today, *Talat Paşa Bulvarı*], past the Ankara Exhibition Building [*Sergi Evi*] and then a right turn behind the People's House [*Halk Evi*], ending up in front of the Ethnographic Museum at 1:10pm.[18]

1.2.3 ATATÜRK'S "TEMPORARY" TOMB SPACES

This third grouping of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk consists of the two conditions that comprise the impermanent or temporary memorialization of Atatürk: the temporary tomb in The Ethnographic Museum, Ankara, from 1938-1953 and the transfer of his body to Anıtkabir in 1953.

ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM TEMPORARY TOMB

The Ethnographic Museum, Ankara (Fig. 1.14), was designed by architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu and built between 1925-28. Because it contains various stylistic elements like pointed arches, tile work and a dome, the building has been classified as being in the "First [Turkish] National Style", the label given to those buildings designed during the late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic that attempted to architecturally represent a concept of "Turkish-ness" by grafting traditional motifs onto designs heavily influenced by the Beaux-Arts planning principles of symmetry, axiality and monumentality. The Ethnographic Museum was one of a series of public buildings and cultural institutions founded and constructed by the young Republic of Turkey.[19]

The dome and entrance steps of the Ethnographic Museum dominate its outside appearance. Inside, in keeping with its First National Style credentials, the building has a very symmetrical plan, consisting of a series of connected galleries displaying folkloric and traditional Turkish costumes, musical instruments, housewares, textiles, and mannequin-filled dioramas reproducing "everyday scenes." Atatürk's temporary tomb was located in the very center of the Ethnographic Museum, at the crossing of

[18] Times are again from Çağlar (1955).
[19] Other buildings include the neighboring Central People's House (*Merkez Halk Evi*), The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (founded as "The Hittite Museum"), Ankara, and various similar smaller institutions in the provinces of Turkey.

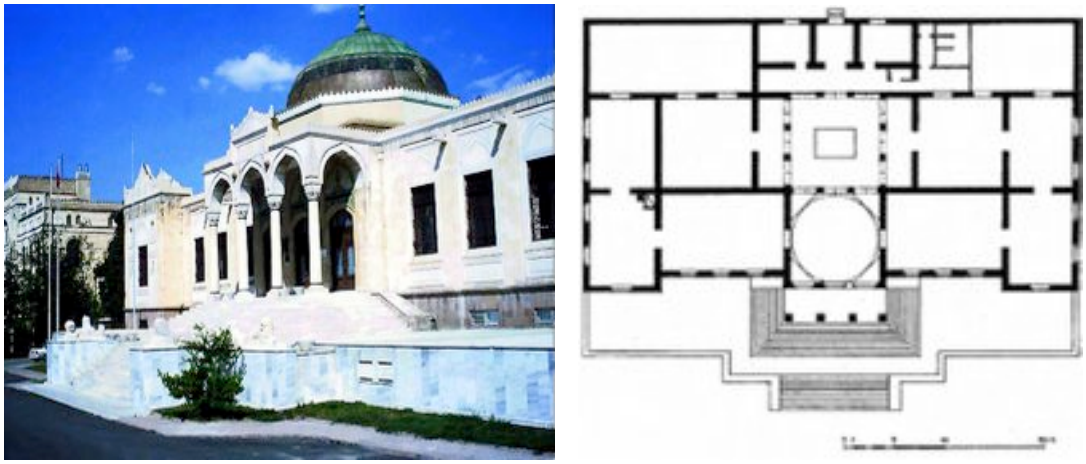

Fig 1.14: Ethnographic Museum, Ankara. Right: Exterior; Left: Floor Plan.
The rectangle at the center was the location of Atatürk's temporary tomb.

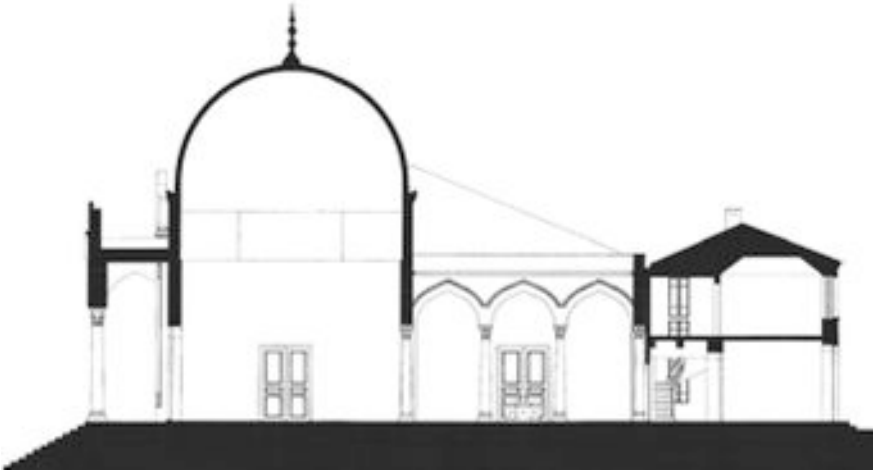

Fig 1.15: Longitudinal Section through Ethnographic Museum, Ankara.
The courtyard in the center was the location of Atatürk's temporary tomb.

Fig 1.16: Atatürk's temporary tomb in The Ethnographic Museum, Ankara.

the building's main axes.[20] In the original plan of the museum, this space was an outdoor courtyard. This courtyard was covered-over when converted for Atatürk's temporary tomb (Fig. 1.15).

The temporary tomb consisted of a simple white marble rectangular prism about one meter high (Fig. 1.16), inside of which Atatürk's coffin was placed, along with some soil. Surrounding the tomb were six long and thin free-standing metal electrical light fixtures. Today, a marble plaque marks the spot where the tomb once stood, stating in capital letters: "THIS IS THE PLACE WHERE ATATÜRK, WHO PASSED INTO ETERNITY ON 10 NOVEMBER 1938, LAID FROM 21 NOVEMBER 1938 TO 10 NOVEMBER 1953."[21]

TRANSFER FROM ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM TO ANITKABİR

The moving of Atatürk's body from the Ethnographic Museum to his permanent mausoleum, Anıtkabir, took place on 10 November 1953, exactly 15 years after his death. His temporary tomb was opened about a week earlier,[22] so that the coffin could be prepared and ready to leave the Ethnographic Museum at exactly 9:05am. The procession was again on a gun carriage, this time with a rider-less wagon, pulled by 136 Turkish soldiers [*asteğmen,* or "second lieutenants"], up the Avenue of the Banks [*Bankalar Caddesi*] to Ulus Square, past the Second Parliament Building (where Atatürk's funeral had occurred), down again to the train station where his body first arrived in Ankara in 1938, and under the train tracks to Tandoğan Square, arriving at the gate of Anıtkabir at 12:15pm, and the steps in front of the Hall of Honor at 12:55pm.

1.2.4 ATATÜRK'S "PERMANENT" TOMB SPACE(S)

This last grouping of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk consists of the two conditions that comprise his permanent mausoleum Anıtkabir: the architectural competition and the monument as-built.

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[20] The tomb was **NOT** located under the dome of the Ethnographic Museum, as has been asserted in other works on this subject; namely: Kezer (2000).

[21] Original Turkish (in all capitals): "BURASI 10-XI-1938'DE SONSUZLUĞA ULAŞAN ATATÜRK'ÜN 21-XI-1938'DEN 10-XI-1953'E KADAR YATTIĞI YERDİR."

[22] On 4 November 1953 at exactly 9:05am.

ANITKABİR: THE ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION

Anıtkabir is the official resting place of the body of Atatürk. An international competition for its design was announced on 1 March 1941. The competition brief, written by the Turkish government, contained the following background information to prospective competitors:

1- Atatürk, who lives in the heart of the great Turkish people, founded a new Turkey. On 10/11/1938, the Turkish Nation, with a most sincere grief and indebtedness, bowed in respect in front of the coffin of Atatürk, who left behind a material existence and moved on to the eternal and immortal world.

   Anıtkabir, which will assign to eternity the works of this great man who lives in the heart of every Turk and which will express with grandeur all of the power of the Turkish heart's loyalty to its Father, should be prepared according to the principles below.

2- Anıtkabir will be a place of visitation. This place will be accessed through a large ceremonial entrance, and its passage/traversing will be convenient for hundreds of thousands of Turks to pay their respects and repeat the Turkish nation's loyalty [to him] by bowing before their Father.

3- This monument will be a symbol of the capabilities, great power and sovereign qualities of Atatürk as soldier Mustafa Kemal, President Gazi M. Kemal, great politician, scientist, thinker, and finally creative genius, in line with his personality.

4- Anıtkabir's appearance needs to be seen as much from close up as also from far away. In this way, a magnificent/imposing silhouette should be secured. At the same time, the architectural motifs to be used should not contain small details lessening the effect of the monument but rather large elements giving an impression of grandeur and power/strength. The monument will be built at the highest point of the given site.

5- The Turkish Nation has been be symbolized by Atatürk's name and personality. Those who wish to show respect and honor to the Turkish Nation will express these feelings by also bowing in front of Atatürk's tomb. In this way, all visitors to Ankara will perform this honoring duty by going straight to Ata[türk]'s tomb.[23]

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[23] Sayar (1943), p. 3, translation by author:

"*1- Büyük Türk milletinin kalbinde yaşıyan Atatürk yeni Türkiyeyi kurmuştur. 10/11/1938 de maddî varlıktan ayrılarak edebî ve fanî dünyaya göçen Atatürk'ün tabutu önünde Türk Milleti en içli bir teessür ve minnet tâzimlerile eğilmiştir. Her Türkün kalbinde yaşıyan bu büyük adamın eserlerini ebediyete mal edecek ve Türk kalbinin ATA'sına bağlılığını bütün kuvvet ve azametile ifade edecek olan Anıt Kabir aşadaki esaslara gore hazırlanmalıdır.*

2- Anıt bir ziyaretgâh olacaktır. Bu ziyaretgâha büyük bir şeref methalinden girilecek ve yüz binlerece Türk'ün ATA'sının önünde eğilerek tazimini sunmasına ve bağlılığını tekrarlıyarak geçmesine müsait olacaktır.

Information and guidelines specific to the main element of the mausoleum complex, the Hall of Honor, were also given:

> 14- The Hall of Honor, because it includes Ata[türk]'s tomb, will constitute the fundamental place and spirit of this monument.
>
> Although this hall be primarily be for the whole of the Turkish nation created by the great Ata[türk], at the same time it will be a large hall where representatives of foreign states may pay their respects to our nation by directing themselves towards Ata[türk]'s tomb. This hall will be large enough to hold at least 250 visitors at once. The grandeur, magnificence and power sought in this hall has been left to the competitors [and] no consideration about the hall's shape, dimensions and height has been put forward.
>
> 15- The place of the tomb of the great Atatürk will constitute the spirit of this Hall of Honor. But the [exact] placement of the aforementioned tomb has been left to the competitors.[24]

The architectural competition was closed on 2 March 1942. Around fifty entries were received from both Turkey and from abroad, mostly from Germany (11) and Italy (9), but also one each from Austria, Switzerland, France and Czechoslovakia.[25]

3- Bu âbide ATA'nın; Asker Mustafa Kemâl, Devlet Reisi Gazi M. Kemâl, Büyük siyasî, ilim adamı, büyük mütefekkir ve nihayet yapıcı ve yaratıcı büyük dehânın vasıflarının kudret ve kabiliyetinin timsali olacaktır. Ve onun şahsiyetiyle mütenasip bulunacaktır.

4- Anıt Kabrin yagından görüldüğü kadar uzaktan da görülmesi lâzımdır. Bu itibarla azametli bir siluet temin etmelidir. Aynı zamanda kullanılacak mimarî motifler âbidenin uzaktan tesirini kaybetmiyecek küçük detaylardan ziyade azamet ve kudreti ifham edecek büyük unsurlar olmalıdır. Âbide verilen arsanın en hâkim noktasında inşa edilecektir.

5- Atatürk'ün ismi ve şahsiyeti altında Türk milleti sembolize edilmiştir. Türk milletine hürmet ve tâzimini göstermek isteyenler büyük Ata'nın katafalkı önünde eğilerek tezahürlerini ifade edeceklerdir. Bu itibarla Ankaraya gelen her ziyaretçi doğruca Ata'nın mezarına giderek bu tazim vazifesini ifa edecektir."

[24] Sayar (1943), p. 4, translation by author:

"*14- Şeref holü, Büyük Atat'nın lâhidini ihtiva etmesi itibarile muhakkak surette bu âbidenin ruhunu ve esaslı yerini teşkil eder. Bu hol başta büyük ATA'nın yarattığı bütün Türk milleti olduğu halde aynı zamanda milletimize tâzim ve hürmetlerini gösterecek ecnebi develet heyetlerinin Ata'nın lahdine teveccüh edecekleri, hürmet ve tâzimlerini sunacakları büyük holdür. Bu hol en az 250 ziyaretçiyi birden istiap edecek büyüklükte olacaktır. Bu holde aranan azamet, ihtişam ve kuvvet tesirleri müsabıklara bırakılmış olup holün şekil, eb'ad ve irtifaı hakkında hiç bir mütalâa dermeyen edilmiştir.*

15- Büyük Atatürk'ün lâhidinin yeri bu şeref holünün ruhunu teşkil etmektedir. Ancak mezkûr katafalkın işgal edeceği yerin tayini müsabıka bırakılmıştır."

[25] The exact number of entries to the competition is unclear. Güreyman (1953, p. 3), who was Anıtkabir's construction control architect, claims there were 46 entries. The Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report states that 47 entries were reviewed, but the final numbered project is #49 – additionally, there are two #6s (6 and 6a), for a total count of 50. The official Anıtkabir website, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/anitkabir/index.html, run by the Ministry of the General Staff of Military Forces of the Turkish Republic (*Genel Kurmay*), claims that 49 entries were received and two were disqualified – one for arriving late and another for having the name of the competitor written on its wrapping. Subsequently, many other academic and non-academic sources also claim 49 entries. See, for example, *SABAH* newspaper, 29 October 1998, "Türkiye'nin Tarihi Bu Anıtta Yatıyor" [Turkey's History Lies at this Monument"], p. 8.

The competition jury, consisting of Prof. Paul Bonatz (Architect, Germany), Prof. Ivar Tengbom (State Architect, Switzerland), Prof. Karoly Wichinger (Architect, Hungary), Prof. Arif Hikmet Holtay (Artist, Turkey), Muammer Çavuşoğlu (Ministry of Works Architect, Turkey) and Muhlis Sertel (Ankara Planning Director, Turkey), short-listed three Turkish, three Italian, one German and one Swiss entry.[26] From these eight entries, three were chosen to each receive a "first prize" of 3,000 Turkish Lira:[27] Johannes Kruger, Germany (Figs. 1.17 and 1.18), Arnaldo Foschini,[28] Italy (Figs. 1.19 and 1.20), and Emin Onat–Orhan Arda, Turkey (Figs. 1.21 and 1.22). The other five short-listed entries were awarded "honorable mention" prizes of 1,000 Turkish Lira each.[29] All the entries seen by the competition jury were exhibited to the public in the Ankara Exhibition Building (*Ankara Sergi Evi*) between 24-31 March 1942.

The decision to choose among the three "first prize" winners was left by the jury to the Turkish Parliament, which announced on 7 May 1942[30] that the design of the Turkish team of Emin Onat[31] and Orhan Arda[32] was the winner, who subsequently

[26] Turkish short-listed entries: #24 Hamit K. Söylemezoğlu–Kemal A. Aru–Recai Akçay, #25 Emin Onat–Orhan Arda, and #29 Feridun Akozan–M. Ali Handan; Italian short-listed entries: #41 Giovanni Muzio, #44 Arnaldo Foschini, and #45 Guiseppe Vaccaro–Gino Franzi; German: #9 Prof. Johannes Kruger; Swiss: #42 Ronald Rohn.

[27] 2006 equivalent = approx. USD 30,000.

[28] Arnaldo Foschini's first name is frequently misspelled as "Arnoldo" in the literature on the topic.

[29] 2006 equivalent = approx. USD 10,000.

[30] This decision, however, was not officially published in the Republic of Turkey Official Gazette until 9 June 1942.

[31] Emin Halid Onat (1908-1961) was born in Istanbul and entered the Istanbul School of Engineering (*Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi*) in 1926. Due to his great success, he finished this education in three years, became a lecturer at the same institution, and was chosen to go as its representative to the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zürich (*Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich*, or ETH) where he worked under Otto Rudolf Salvisberg (1882-1940). On completing his architectural studies in 1934, he returned to Turkey and started to work in the Architectural Department of the Istanbul School of Engineering, becoming professor and head of department in 1938. When the School of Engineering was reorganized in 1944 into Istanbul Technical University (ITU), Onat became the first Dean of the newly established Faculty of Architecture. In 1946 he was elected an honorary member of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). In 1948 he set up the Turkish branch of the International Union of Architects (UIA). From 1951 to 1953 he was Rector of ITU, after which, in 1954, he was elected a Member of Parliament for Istanbul. In 1957 he returned to a teaching post at ITU but was forced to resign from this on 27 October 1960, and died eight months later. After his success in the Anıtkabir competition, Onat, together with Sedad Hakkı Eldem, designed the Science and Literature Faculty of Istanbul University (1944), the Ankara University Science Faculty (1947) and the Istanbul Courts of Justice (1949). Other works in Ankara include the Cenap And House (1952), the Presidential Palace Secretariat at Çankaya (1953) and General Security Headquarters (*Ankara Eminyet Müdürlüğü*) (1956). Other notable works include the Uludağ Sanatorium (1946; with Leman Tomsu), Bursa Governor's Mansion (1945-46) and the Devres Office Building, Istanbul (1961).

entered into a contract to receive 3% of the construction costs. Between 5 April and 7 October 1943, Onat and Arda then altered their design according to the competition jury comments. The main alterations consisted of the re-configuration of the approach to the Ceremonial Plaza into a "Street of Lions", the closure and formalization of the Ceremonial Plaza, and the elimination of the interior round arches and columns of the Hall of Honor (Fig. 1.23).

ANITKABİR: AS BUILT

The construction of Anıtkabir took place in four stages between 9 October 1944 and 1 September 1953.[33] The Turkish Parliament originally approved a 10 million Turkish Lira total construction budget on 22 November 1944,[34] but this was increased to 24 million Turkish Lira on 1 March 1950.[35] The complex, composed of four parts, is situated within a huge 670,000m^2 center city site, using only 22,000m^2 of this area for the buildings proper.

Surrounding the mausoleum is an elaborately landscaped "Peace Park" that symbolically contains various species of trees and plants from all parts of Turkey and the world (Figs. 1.25 and 1.26). The ceremonial entrance to the complex is via a monumental 26-riser staircase that leads to an axial procession called The Street of Lions [*Aslanlı Yol*] (Fig. 1.27), so named because it is lined on each side by 12 pairs

[32] Ahmet Orhan Arda (1991-1999) was born in Salonika (present-day Greece) in 1911, but completed his primary, middle and high school education in Istanbul. In 1936, he graduated from the School of Engineering (*Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi*), Istanbul, and in 1938 started working as an assistant in the Construction Department of the same institution, earning the title of Assistant Professor in 1939. After winning the Anıtkabir competition with Onat, Arda worked on both the application of the project, through to final construction in 1953, and also taught architectural studio (first with Onat and then after 1945 on his own). With the change to ITU in 1944, Arda was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Building Science in the Faculty of Architecture, and achieved the rank of Professor in 1960. He also held the title of ITU Faculty of Architecture Environmental Analysis and Industrial Building Design Chair, and retired in 1978.

[33] First Stage: 9 October 1944 – 9 October 1945 (earthworks and Street of Lions retaining wall), contracted to builder and engineer Hayri Kayadelen. Second Stage: October 1945 – 8 August 1950 (Hall of Honor and support buildings rough structure), contracted to RAR-Türk Ltd. Third Stage: September 1950 – December 1951 (roads leading to the monument, paving of the Street of Lions and Ceremonial Plaza, Hall of Honor upper portion stone cladding, construction of monumental stairs, positioning of sarcophagus stone and electrical and plumbing installations), contracted to Amaç Ticaret Ltd. Fourth Stage: December 1951 – 9 September 1953 (Hall of Honor floor paving, Hall of Honor lower portion vaults stone cladding, Hall of Honor cornice/eaves decoration), contracted to builder Muzaffer Budak.

[34] Approximately 7.5 million USD in 1942; 2006 equivalent = approx. 90 million USD .

[35] Approximately 18.5 million USD in 1942; 2006 equivalent = approx. 220 million USD. An article from TIME magazine dated 23 November 1953 claims that Anıtkabir cost USD 12 million to build, but it is unclear what source has been used for this information.

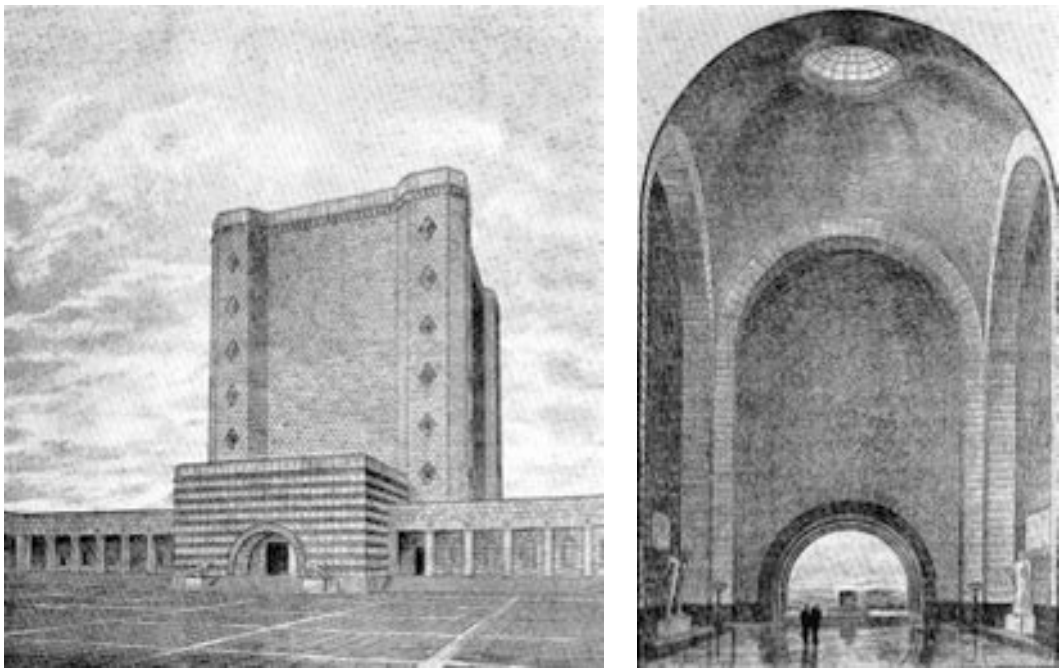

Fig 1.17: Anıtkabir competition entry by Swiss architect Johannes Krüger (exterior and interior view)

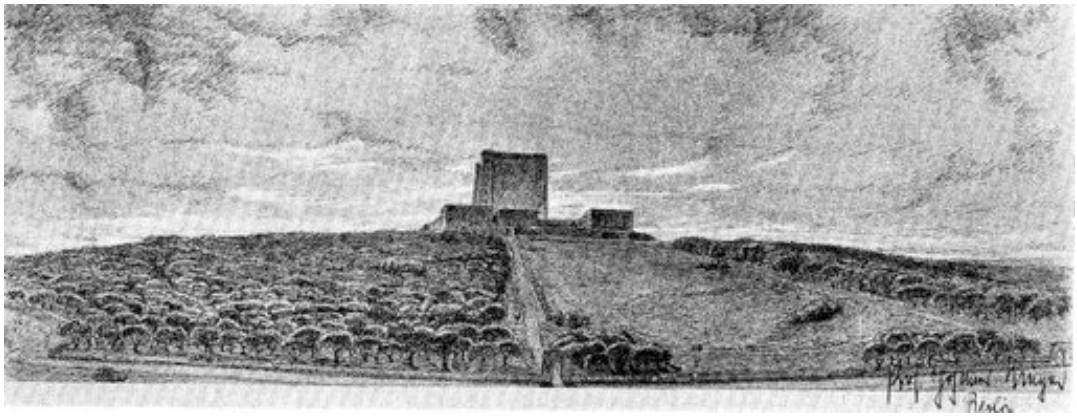

Fig 1.18: Anıtkabir competition entry by Swiss architect Johannes Krüger (general view).

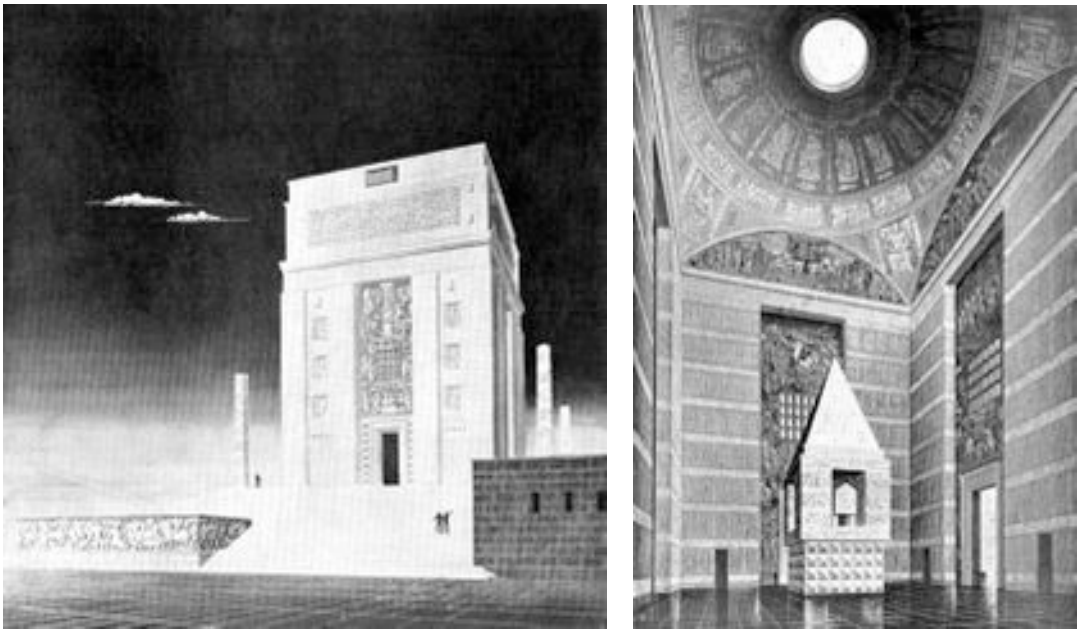

Fig 1.19: Anıtkabir competition entry by Italian architect Arnaldo Foschini (exterior and interior).

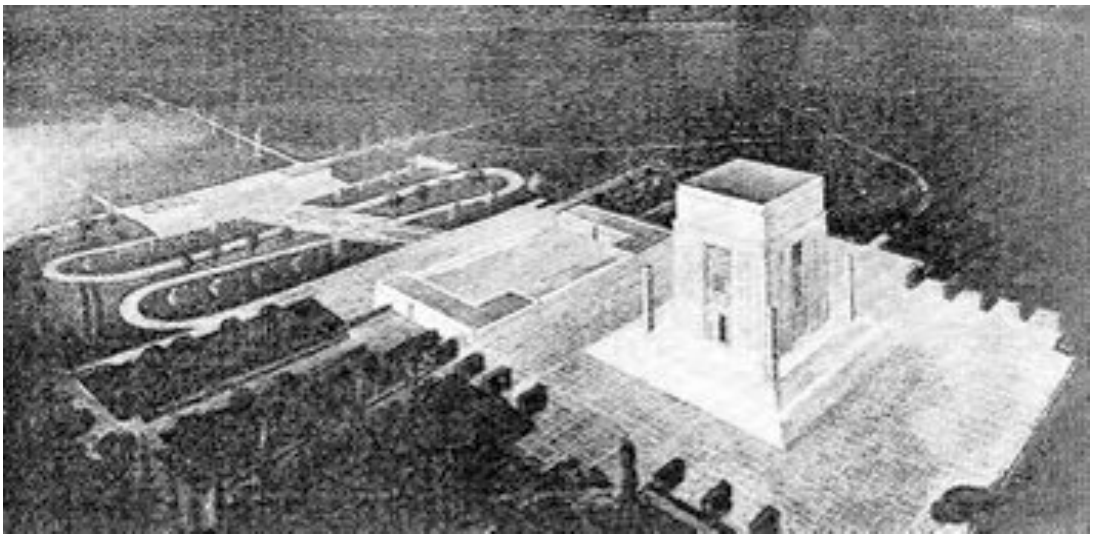

Fig 1.20: Anıtkabir competition entry by Italian architect Arnaldo Foschini (general view)

Fig 1.21: Anıtkabir competition entry by Turkish architects Emin Onat and Orhan Arda (elevation view).

Fig 1.22: Anıtkabir competition entry by Turkish architects Emin Onat and Orhan Arda (general view).

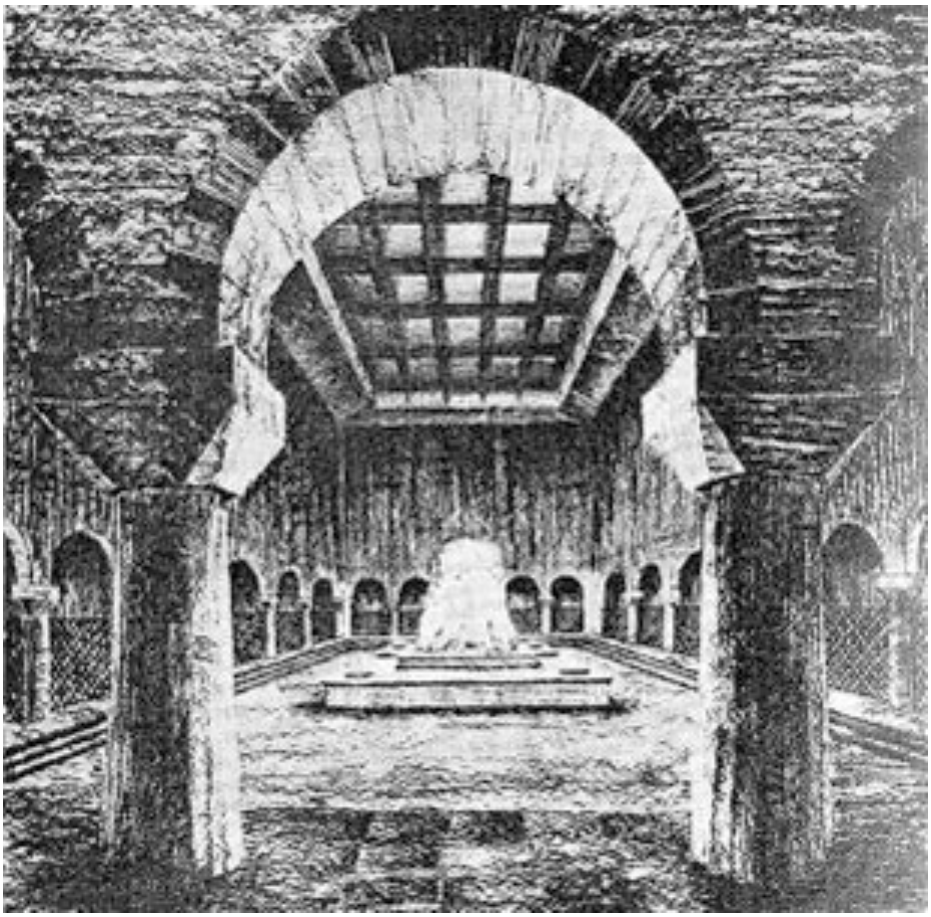

Fig 1.23: Anıtkabir competition entry by Turkish architects Emin Onat and Orhan Arda (interior view).

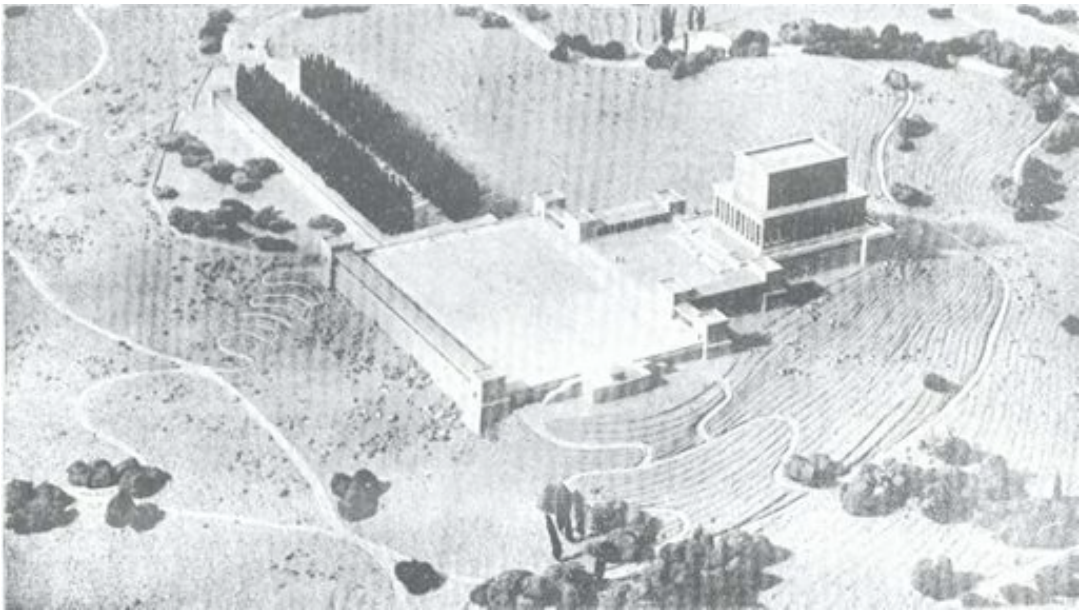

Fig 1.24: Revised Anıtkabir design by Emin Onat and Orhan Arda (view of model).

of lion sculptures (Figs. 1.28 and 1.29), which are very similar to sculptures found on ancient Hittite archaeological sites in Turkey.[36] This street directs visitors to a huge public ceremonial plaza and parading ground [*Tören Alanı*], measuring 84 by 129 meters.

A 33.5-meter flagpole marks the location of this plaza from the Street of Lions. Dominating the Ceremonial Plaza is The Hall of Honor [*Şeref Holu*] (Fig. 1.29), an abstract cubic structure, the symbolic heart of the mausoleum, surrounded by a colonnade on all four sides. The Hall of Honor, the location of Atatürk's sarcophagus, is elevated 42 steps above the ceremonial plaza and is also thereby located at the highest point of the complex, making it visible from most other parts of Ankara. The interior dimensions of the Hall of Honor measure 18 by 29 meters in plan, with a height of 15 meters. Atatürk's sarcophagus is made from a single pieceof red marble from Osmaniye (Adana province) weighing 40 tons. A large vaulted window that looks out to the Ankara Citadel frames the sarcophagus. The body of Atatürk is actually in a separate tomb in a room below the sarcophagus, surrounded by 85 brass cups, each holding the soil of a Turkish province (81), plus four from outside Turkey. This tomb is not generally open to the public.

Evenly spread throughout the complex are ten "towers" [*kule*] or pavilions, each themed to a particular aspect relevant to the history of the founding of the Republic of Turkey.[37] Inscribed on the walls inside each tower are quotes by Atatürk corresponding to its particular theme.[38] In addition to reliefs corresponding to the themes of the towers, there are also free-standing sculptures at the beginning of the Street of Lions entitled "Turkish Men" and "Turkish Women" (Fig. 1.30), and reliefs at the foot of the stairs leading up to the Hall of Honor entitled "Battle of Sakarya" and "Battle of the Commander-in-Chief" (Fig. 1.31).

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[36] Tonbul (2001: footnote 17) correctly claims that the lions found at the archaeological site of Carchemish (Jerablis) were the basis of the Anıtkabir lions, but incorrectly locates this ancient site "at the north of Ankara," when in fact it is on the Turkish Syrian border near Gaziantep.

[37] The towers are named "Independence" (*İstiklâl*), "Freedom/Liberty" (*Hürriyet*), "Anonymous Soldier" (*Mehmetçik*), "Victory" (*Zafer*), "Peace" (*Barış*), "23rd April" (*23 Nisan*), "National Pact" (*Misak-i Milli*) which established the borders of Turkey, "Revolution" (*İnkılâp*), "Republic" (*Cumhuriyet*) and "Defense of Rights" (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk*).

[38] For example, Independence: "We are a nation that wants life and independence, and we will pay with our life." (1921) and Liberty: "According to me, maintaining a nation's honor and humanity is only possible with that nation's liberty and independence" (1923).

Fig 1.25: Site plan of Anıtkabir, Ankara, as built

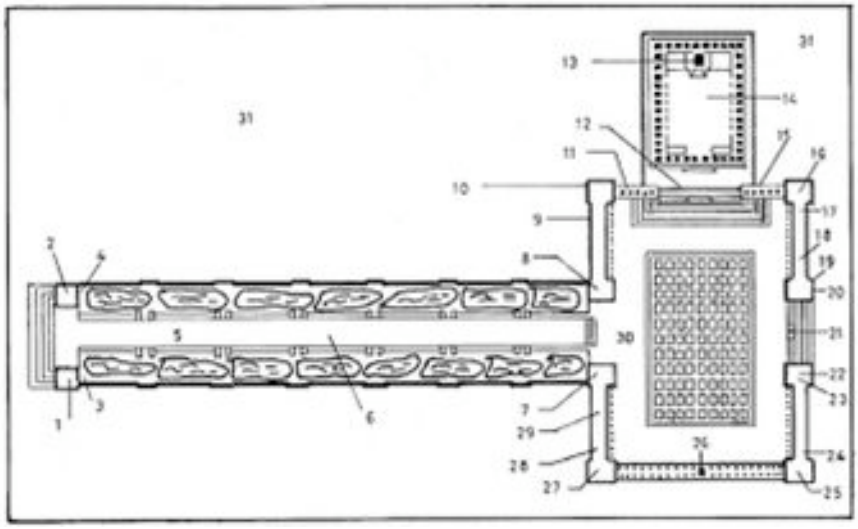

Fig 1.26: Guide to Anıtkabir, Ankara:

1- Independence Tower
2- Freedom Tower
3- Statue of Turkish Women
4- Statue of Turkish Men
5- Lion Sculptures (24 total)
6- Street of Lions
7- *Mehmetçik* Tower
8- Defense of Rights Tower
9- Atatürk's Personal Library Exhibition
10- Republic Tower
11- "Battler of the Commander in Chief" Relief
12- Speech Platform
13- Sarcophagus (Tomb Room below)
14- Hall of Honor
15- "Battle of Sakarya" Relief
16- Reform/Revolution Tower
17- Atatürk and War of Independence Museum
18- Conference Hall (below Museum)
19- National Pact Tower
20- WCs (below National Pact Tower)
21- Flag pole
22- 23rd April Tower
23- Café (below 23rd April Tower)
24- Anıtkabir Commander Headquarters
25- Peace Tower
26- Tomb of İsmet İnönü
27- Victory Tower
28- Anıtkabir Library
29- Museum Commander Headquarters
30- Ceremonial Plaza
31- Peace Park

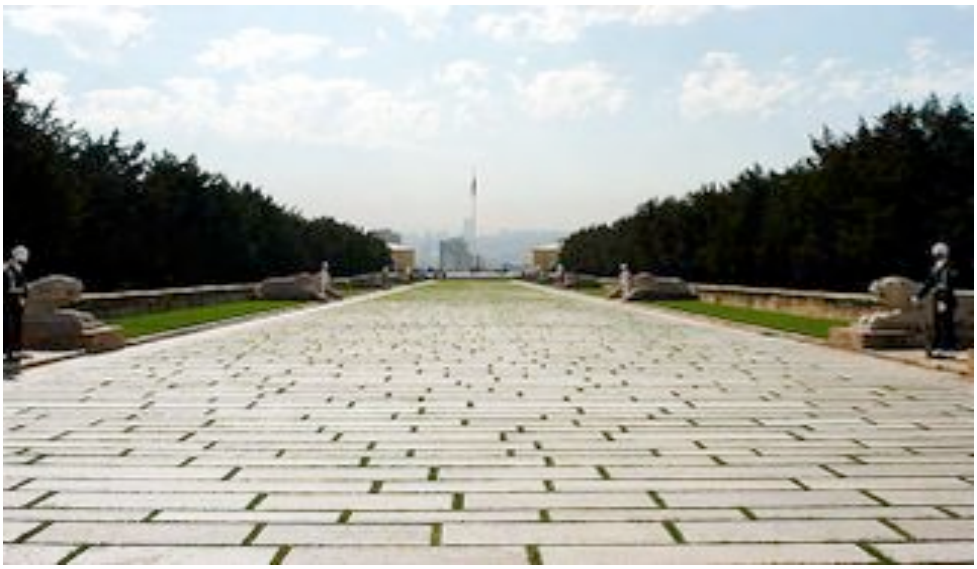

Fig 1.27: The “Street of Lions” at Anıtkabir, Ankara.

Fig 1.28: One of the 24 lion sculptures on the “Street of Lions” at Anıtkabir, Ankara (general view and detail; Sculptor: Hüseyin Özkan).

Fig 1.29: The “Hall of Honor” at Anıtkabir, as seen from the Ceremonial Plaza.

Fig 1.30: “Men” and “Women” sculptures at Anıtkabir.

Fig 1.31: “Battle of the Commander-in-Chief”(top)
and “Battle of Sakarya” (bottom) reliefs at Anıtkabir.

Halfway up the stairs to the Hall of Honor is a podium from which official speeches can be made, on which is written "Sovereignty Unconditionally Belongs to the Nation", a famous Atatürk dictum from the Turkish independence struggle.[39] Two of Atatürk's most famous speeches, "Address to the Turkish Youth" (1927) and "Tenth Anniversary Speech" (1933), are inscribed in large gold letters behind the front colonnade at the entrance to the Hall of Honor. On the jambs of the entrance and exit to the Hall of Honor are inscribed Atatürk's final address to the Turkish military from 29 October 1938 and İsmet İnönü's eulogy/condolence (funeral speech) for Atatürk from 21 November 1938.

The free-standing sculptures of the complex are made of solid white travertine from Pınarbaşı, near Kayseri, and the buildings are clad in yellow travertine from Eskipazar, near Çankırı. The volumes of the buildings are generally plain and cubic, with some Seljuk-inspired architectural ornamentation. The interiors of the buildings, with the exception of the Hall of Honor, are also generally plain. When there is decoration, it is usually Turkish carpet-inspired motifs. Such carpet motifs are prevalent on the ceilings of the towers and their connecting arcades, and in the floor paving of the public plaza and parading ground. The Hall of Honor is fully decorated with Turkish carpet motifs on its floors with black and white marble, on its walls with red and green marble and on its ceiling with mosaic tiling, some of which is gold-leafed.

The buildings surrounding the public plaza contain a museum, opened on 21 November 1960, displaying Atatürk's personal artifacts like his identity card, clothing, medals, weapons and other memorabilia, including a wax model of Atatürk sitting at his desk with his (stuffed) dog at his feet. This museum leads to the ground floor below the Hall of Honor, where there is also a new (Turkish) War of Independence Museum [*Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi*], opened on 26 August 2002. In the 18 vaults surrounding this museum are a series of "panoramic" exhibits, also themed according to the War of Independence and the revolutions that followed.[40] This

[39] The Turkish is "*Hakimiyet kayıtsız şartsız milletindir*".

[40] The themes of these 18 vaults are as follows: Turkish Commanders in the War of Independence; Occupation of the Country; National Forces; The Congresses; Inauguration of the Turkish Grand National Assembly; National Struggles in Çukurova, Antep, Maraş Urfa and Trakia; First Victories at the Eastern and Western Fronts; Grand Victory–Mudanya Armistice–Lausanne Treaty; Political

experience ends with the Library of Atatürk, containing the 3,123 books in Turkish (Modern and Ottoman), French, English, Rumanian, Modern Greek and Latin owned by Atatürk, some of which are open to pages containing notes in the margins by Atatürk, which was newly renovated and opened on 11 June 2005.

Having now outlined the problem area of the dissertation, a general introduction to the concept of memory and a literature survey of the most important strands of thought along these lines must first be undertaken in order to provide a foundation for understanding the process of the construction and maintenance of memory in the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

1.3 REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING

> Memory is what you remember, imagine what you remember, convince yourself you remember, or pretend to remember.[41]

It is the position of this dissertation that a society's collective memory can be constructed using architecture and the built environment as a tool. That is, certain places and spaces are often associated with "the past," resulting in "places of memory" or "sites of memory." This can be done actively, by designers and clients, or it can be done passively (appropriated) by the users themselves – the public. In either case, it is three-dimensional architectural form that participates in this collective memory construction process. To understand this process, a brief explanation of collective memory will first be clarified.

Memory is generally defined as the product of lived experience that is constructed in our minds – it is the mental faculty of retaining and recalling past experience(s). This compilation of memories, a process that occurs over the course of linear time, seems

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Revolutions; Reforms in Education, Language and History; Reforms in Law, Women's Rights and Family Names; Rearrangement of Social Life; Fine Arts, Press and Community Centers; National Security; Agriculture, Foresty, Industry and Commerce; Finance, Health, Sports and Tourism; Public Works and Transportation; Domestic and Foreign Political Events 1923-1938.

[41] Harold Pinter, as quoted in Lowenthal (1985), p. 193.

interestingly to not be organized in a linear manner at all. Instead, as Berger (1991) has described it, memories are available to us all at once, in a radial manner.[42]

Scholars – primarily cognitive psychologists and psychoanalysts[43] – of individual memory (those recollections pertaining to individuals) see memory as something that a subject does: endlessly re-collects his/her memories in order to provide an approximately accurate representation of past events. It is an active rather than passive activity that remains un-fixed and under constant revision from new experiences and stimuli. To use a computer as an analogy, memory is not only something that copies information and stores it somewhere, it is also something that retrieves the information. Unlike a computer, though, memory seems to "work" with the stored information, combining it into new thoughts as new situations arise.

Of relevance to this dissertation is not individual memory but collective memory – also called social memory, public memory, cultural memory, historical memory and/or official memory. Scholars of collective memory, primarily sociologists, historians, anthropologists and others in the humanities, define collective memory as the phenomenon of groups of people to remember the same and/or similar things/stories.

According to Misztal (2003), there are four main theories of social remembering, each with their own perspective:

1- Collective memory as an imagined past that provides unity for a society;
2- Collective memory as top-down social invention, known as the "presentist" approach;
3- Collective memory as a bottom-up popular confrontation of a dominant ideology; and
4- Collective memory as an ongoing process of negotiation and mediation.[44]

[42] Berger (1991), p. 64: "Memory is not uni-linear at all. Memory works radially, that is to say with an enormous number of associations all leading to the same event."

[43] The founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud (1917), theorized that memories are stored in the unconscious, and to make them conscious (or to recollect them), they must be repeated over and over. He likened his psychoanalysis technique (and, by extension, the process of remembering) to an archaeological excavation, digging away at the layers one by one, to reveal the repressed memories of the patient. See King (2000), pp. 12-13. Another prominent psychologist, Frederic C. Bartlett, has described memory as a constructive act inside the head: "Remembering is not the re-excitation of innumerable, fixed, lifeless and fragmentary traces. It is an imaginative reconstruction, or construction, built out of the relation of our attitude towards a whole active mass of organized past reactions or experiences …" Bartlett (1932), p. 213.

[44] Misztal (2003), pp. 50-74.

In his writings between 1893 and 1912 on the differences between pre-industrial "traditional" societies and post-industrial "modern" societies, one of the founders of Modern sociology, Émile Durkheim, concluded that it was these societies' "collective consciousness" – their shared beliefs and moral attitudes – that were dissimilar from each other.[45] The component of collective consciousness specifically corresponding to "the past" is what would, in later academic discourse on the subject, become known as "collective memory".

The first documented use of the phrase "collective memory" was by the Austrian novelist and poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal in 1902.[46] But the concept of a collective, rather than individual, memory was first theorized in the early twentieth century by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs ([1925] 1992),[47] a student of Durkheim. Halbwachs argued that individuals are only able to acquire, localize and recall memories through membership in "social groups," particularly those based on the family, religion and social class. For Halbwachs, therefore, the group is the main creator of collective memory.[48]

Halbwachs differentiated the creation of collective memory from history writing by saying that groups creating their collective memory usually resist the notion that they have changed over time – they tend to believe that they have always been that way.[49] This is what a more contemporary scholar of collective memory, French historian Pierre Nora, has called a "memory without a past".[50] History, in contrast, says Halbwachs, is a "record of changes" that divides the past into discreet periods:

> [H]istory readily introduces into the stream of facts simple demarcations … Each period is apparently considered as a whole, independent for the most part of those preceding and following, and having some task … Viewed as a whole from afar and , especially, viewed from without by the spectator who never belonged to the groups he observes, the facts may allow such an arrangement into successive and distinct configurations, each period having a beginning, middle and end.[51]

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[45] Misztal (2003), p. 112.
[46] As stated by Klein (2000), p. 127.
[47] The original French of Halbwach's On Collective Memory (1992) was *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* [The Social Frameworks of Memory], and was written in 1925.
[48] Halbwachs ([1925] 1992), p. 84.
[49] Ibid., p. 85.
[50] Nora (1989), p. 8.
[51] Halbwachs (1992), p. 81.

Collective memory, then, can be described as a socially-constructed[52] idea about the past and a collectively-shared notion of how a group conceptualizes their past – a joint public construction created to place an individual within a group and "a shared image of the past and the reflection of the social identity of the group that framed it, view[ing] events from a single committed perspective and thus ensur[ing] solidarity and continuity."[53]

Other collective memory theorists, known as "presentists", have seen collective memory as something that is constantly re-affirmed and re-constructed to fit current needs, problems and challenges. As stated by the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1920), memory is "the conservation and preservation of the past in the present."[54] Similarly, historian James Fentress and anthropologist Chris Wickham (1992) have declared that "the images, habits, and causal motifs that structure social memory provide a grid through which the present can be understood in terms of the remembered past."[55] In this way, it is through memory that we are able to conceptualize the past (all of it, not just selected parts) while still being in the present.[56] As expanded by English social anthropologist Paul Connerton (1989):

> We experience our present world in a context [that] is causally connected with past events and objects, and hence with reference to events and objects [that] we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present. And we will experience our present differently in accordance with the different pasts to which we are able to connect the present.[57]

In more simple terms, "Memories help us make sense of the world we live in."[58] It is not solely about the past. Instead, it is a faculty that we use to "make sense" of the present and shape the future – the result of which is like a triptych in our minds composed of "where we came from", "where we are" and "where we will be going".

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[52] To be socially-constructed means to be an invention of culture, not a naturally occurring phenomenon. Conventions, traditions, opinions, conjecture and interpretations are all non-material examples of social constructions. Architecture, the "fine arts", and the physical products of popular culture are all material (three-dimensional) examples of social constructions. The term "social construction" seems to have been first used by sociologists Berger and Luckmann in their book The Social Construction of Reality (1966).

[53] Misztal (2003), p. 52.

[54] Bergson ([1919] 1920), p. 8.

[55] Fentress and Wickham (1992), p. 198.

[56] In the words of Schwartz (1982), p. 374: "To remember is to place a part of the past in the service of conceptions and needs of the present."

[57] Connerton (1989), p. 2.

[58] Gillis (1994), p. 3.

English historians Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) have attempted to clarify this "presentist" approach by discussing the invention of traditions – "the creation of a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[59] They have described how this molding of the past to suit present dominant interests is achieved via public education, public ceremonies and public monuments, which gives identities to certain societal groups.

Such groups, in the words of British political scientist Benedict Anderson (1996) are usually "imagined communities" – not fabricated (as in invented/made up) but imagined (as in supposed/assumed), because there is no way for its members to know every single other member, not even in the closest of families or smallest of villages.[60] In this way, the collective memory of a group – those stories that define its collective identity – is what "concretizes", or makes real, the imagined community. And, by comparing collective memories, it is possible for individuals to determine whether or not they belong to the same group.

In contrast to this "top-down" imposed process, there are other theorists who, while still maintaining that the present shapes the construction of the past, argue that collective memory is (or should be) a "bottom-up" challenge to prevailing ideology. French philosopher Michel Foucault has emphasized this political usage of memory in his writings, stating that memory "is actually a very important factor in struggle … if one controls people's memory, one controls their dynamism … it is vital to have possession of this memory, to control it, administer it, tell it what it must contain."[61] In this way, collective memory can become a tool of resistance against a dominant power. American sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel (1997) has gone so far as to term memory "a contested territory in which groups engaging in a political conflict

[59] Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), p. 1.
[60] Anderson (1996), pp. 6-7.
[61] As quoted by Alan Megill in "Foucault, Structuralism and the Ends of History," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 51, 1979, p. 500. Original citation from "Film and Popular Memory: An Interview with Michel Foucault", Martin Jordin, trans., *Radical Philosophy*, vol. 11, 1975, pp. 25-26.

promote competitive views of the past in order to gain control over the political center or to legitimize a separatist organization."[62]

What is clear from all three of these formulations (1: an imagined past that provides unity, 2: a top-down social invention, and 3: a bottom-up popular confrontation) is that memory, collective or otherwise, is an ongoing process of negotiation and mediation, "not a passive receptacle, but instead a process of active restructuring, in which elements may be retained, reordered or suppressed."[63] In other words, "an active, constructive process, not a simple matter of retrieving information."[64]

Many scholars agree that the medium for the negotiation and mediation of a group's collective memory is discourse – whether that be spoken narrative, written texts, visual images, or three-dimensional artifacts (including architecture and urban space). Moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (1984), writing on the power of spoken narrative in shaping collective consciousness, has stated:

> It is through hearing stories about wicked stepmothers, lost children, good but misguided kings, wolves that suckle twin boys, youngest sons who receive no inheritance but must make their own way in the world, and eldest sons who waste their inheritance on riotous living and go into exile to live with the swine, that children learn or mislearn both what a child and what a parent is … and what the ways of the world are …[65]

Therefore, a final significant point in the discourse of collective memory is not only what is remembered, but also equally what is forgotten. That is, memory (both individual and collective) seems to be a selective process that only remembers what "the rememberer" wants to remember – something always seems to be forgotten at the same time. This may sound very similar to the definition of history writing, but as historian Wulf Kansteiner (2002) points out:

> Collective memory is not history, though it is sometimes made from similar material. It is a collective phenomenon but it only manifests itself in the *actions* and *statements* of individuals. It can take hold of historically and socially remote events but it often privileges the interests

[62] Zerubavel (1997), p. 11.
[63] Fentress and Wickham (1992), p. 40.
[64] Schwartz (1982), p. 374.
[65] MacIntyre (1984), p. 216. He concludes: "Hence, there is no way to give an understanding of any society, including our own, except through the stock of stories which constitute its initial dramatic resources."

> of the contemporary. It is as much a result of conscious *manipulation* as unconscious absorption and it is always mediated. And it can only be observed in roundabout ways, more through its *effects* than its characteristics.[66]

Of particular relevance to this dissertation are the actions, statements, manipulations and effects of collective memory, which result in the construction (and demolition) of certain aspects of the built environment. The main title of this dissertation, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk," is a reflection of this concern.

In the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, those collective memories that are negotiated by means of the built environment are the ones associated with the nation of Turkey. For this reason, before explaining the structure and methodology of this dissertation, a brief explanation of the specialized topic of "national collective memory," or "national memory" would be helpful.

"National remembering", defined as the construction or negotiation of the memory of a nation, can frequently be a means to assert authority and power, what anthropologist James V. Wertsch (2002) has called a "useable past serving political and identity needs."[67] Similarly, social scientists David Middleton and Derek Edwards (1990) have labeled this "institutional remembering and forgetting", which they claim is essential to the identity and integrity of a community: "it is not just that 'he who controls the past controls the future' but [also] he who controls the past controls who we are."[68]

"Who we are" as a nation refers to national identity, the idea(l) that attempts to give a "face" or personality to a nation through commonalities such as language, geography, religion, culture, economy and even laws. Cultural analyst Michael Pickering (2001) explains how national identity frequently triumphs or overrides other types of identities:

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[66] Kansteiner (2002), p. 180 (emphasis mine).
[67] Wertsch (2002), p. 31.
[68] Middleton and Edwards (1990), p. 10.

> What distinguishes national identity from other forms of collectivity is its power to appeal over them. The sense of who 'we' are may, in all sorts of ways, be given shape by a range of other categories of collective identity, but when identity is invoked in the name of the nation its rhetoric politically overrides these other categories.[69]

It is national identity that makes its citizens pledge their allegiance to it, that makes them salute pieces of colored cloth that abstractly represent their nation (flags), and that makes them leave their homes (or send their husbands and sons) to kill others from competing nations. Based on the assumption that all members of a nation should have the same memory of the past, national memory plays a large part in the creation of national identity. As formulated succinctly by Fentress and Wickham (1992), "To the extent that our 'nature' – that which we truly are – can be revealed in articulation, we are what we remember."[70]

The sub-title of this dissertation, "The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory," attempts to articulate this thought ("we are what we remember"), as seen in the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, with the added notion of its persistence through physical and ideological manipulation ("we are what we remember and what we maintain to remember").

1.4 METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

This dissertation is an interpretative-historical research, drawing from secondary sources such as biographies, analytical histories, critical essays, scholarly articles, film documentaries and photo surveys; and primary sources such as memoirs, official correspondence, political propaganda, contemporary news media (newspapers and magazines)ö original photographs and films of the period, and ephemera and memorabilia (postcards, lottery tickets, banknotes, etc.). In this way, the dissertation is not a mere description of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, but an analysis of these spaces as they pertain to the conceptual framework of remembering and forgetting.

[69] Pickering (2001), p. 89.
[70] Fentress and Wickham (1988), p. 7.

However, rather than structuring the study as a chronological discussion of the five architectural spaces that have housed the dead body of Atatürk from 1938 to 1953, the dissertation is arranged according to the topics of "representation," "politicization," and "maintenance." Such an arrangement (non-chronological and topic-based) has already been successfully achieved, for example, in recent work on early Republican Turkish architecture by Ergut (1998) and Bozdoğan (2001).[71] In this way, each topic is discussed as it pertains to each architectural space, particularly with concern to the conceptual framework of memory.

It is the opinion of the author that such a method avoids the need to piece together such a puzzle if the arrangement were chronologically based, and also allows for comparison between the five spaces, albeit limited to the particular topic of the chapter. The goal of such a method is not to frustrate the reader into remembering details discussed in previous chapters. Instead, it is to recount a narrative that is not arbitrarily based on a chronological time sequence, but themes that are logically common to all the five architectural spaces.

Each succeeding chapter in the dissertation consists of two parts, with the first part laying the theoretical and informational background for the second part, which analyzes and interprets the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk according to the foundation(s) laid in the first part of the chapter.

Chapter 2, "The Representation of Memory," begins with a brief understanding of representation and moves on to link representation with memory, using examples from Turkey of representations of Atatürk to illuminate the concept. This discussion is then linked to architecture and the built environment in terms of the multi-faceted topics of "Architectural Identity" and "Sites of Memories" (*Lieux de Mémoire*), concluding that architecture and the built environment not only operates "with" and "on" the past, but also "with" and "on" the present and future. The second part of Chapter 2 examines the case study of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, subjecting the five spaces and their transition conditions to an analysis

[71] Ergut (1999) structured her PhD dissertation around the topics "Nation," "National," "Display," and "Discourse." Bozdoğan (2001), although still slightly chronological, used "Revivalism," "Revolution," "Progress," "Profession," "Living," and "Nationalizing."

framed by the concepts "location" and "symbolism," derived from the foundation discussion in the first part of the chapter.

Chapter 3, "The Politicization of Memory," begins with a brief definition of "politicization" and moves on to link politicization with memory, again using examples from Turkey of representations of Atatürk. This discussion is then linked to architecture and the built environment in terms of the topics of "Architectural and Power" and "Memorials and Monuments," concluding that memory is usually politicized in the built environment not only through architecture/buildings, but most effectively by the memorial and the monumental. The second part of the chapter examines the case study of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, subjecting the five spaces and their transition conditions to an analysis framed by the concepts "use" and "size," derived from the foundation discussion in the first part of the chapter and ends with a useful chart summarizing all the information given in the analyses.

Chapter 4, "The Maintenance of Memory," begins with an introduction to the topic of maintenance, as it applies both physically and ideologically to the built environment, once more citing examples from Turkey of representations of Atatürk. After this introduction, the chapter explains three methods of maintaining memory in the built environment – "Museumification," "Commemoration, and "Subtractions and Additions," all of which provide brief introductions and examples from both Turkey and elsewhere. The second part of the chapter is the most original material in the dissertation, not because of any great archival finds (although there are some), but because it synthesizes a wide variety of information, facts and figures and frames them in a different perspective – namely, how all of the activities and changes in Atatürk's funerary architecture have functioned to preserve the representations and politicizations that came earlier. The significance of the chapter lies in the explanation of the re-working of Atatürk's funerary architecture not just by the Turkish state, but also by other actors, especially political protestors, as can be seen by the recent "Claim Your Republic" [*Cumhuriyetine Sahip Çık*] event on 14 April 2007.

Chapter 5, “Conclusion,” summarizes all the representations, politicizations and maintenance(s) discussed in the dissertation, who was associated with them, when they were/are operative, why they were deemed necessary, and points out how, in fact, they do not end with this study but are continually on-going.

CHAPTER 2:

THE REPRESENTATION OF MEMORY

2.1 REPRESENTATION IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

As discussed in the introduction, memory is not something solely about the past: it is a faculty that we use to "make sense" of the present and to shape the future. Most importantly, memory is not a natural entity independently existing in the world, but a socially constructed element of culture and society in general. As such, the built environment plays a large role in this memory construction process through two main operations: the representation of memory (discussed in this chapter) and the politicization of those representations (discussed in the following chapter).

2.1.1 REPRESENTATION: THE PRODUCTION OF MEANING

Put simply, representation is the production of meaning through language, discourse and image. There are two types of meanings for the verb "represent." Firstly, "to represent" can mean to describe or depict something (especially in drawing or painting), to call it up in the mind by descriptive or portrayal or imagination; to place a likeness of it before us in our mind or in the senses. Secondly, "to represent" can also mean to symbolize, to stand in for, to be a specimen of or to substitute for some other thing or person.[72] Cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1997) defines representation as "using language to say something meaningful about (to represent) the world to other people"[73] and "the production of meaning of the concepts in our mind through language."[74] In both these cases, the two aspects of these definitions roughly

[72] The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VIII (Poy-Ry), Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1978; pp. 480-481.
[73] Hall (1997), p. 15
[74] Ibid., p. 17.

correspond to what is generally called the two "systems of representation" – mental representations and language.

Mental representations are concepts formed in our minds that classify and organize the world into meaningful categories. They form a conceptual system that allows us to "make sense" or attribute meanings to things in the world – people, objects, spaces, places, and events (real or fictional), for example. In other words, our mental representations allow us to construct conceptual maps in our heads that enable us to give meaning to our surroundings and everyday life.

Language is the method of translating our mental representations into words, sounds or images so that we can communicate them with others. Such words, sounds or images (also known as "discourse") that carry a meaning are generally called "signs", because they signify something. This "signification of something", when separate individuals or groups are able to speak and understand each other through the medium of a language (spoken, written or visual), is called communication. Continuing full circle in this argument, this process of producing meaning from the relationship between things-in-the-world, our concepts-in-our-head and their signs as words, sounds or images (also known as communication) is the process of representation.

This constructionist understanding of representation, in which meaning is constructed in and through representation and representational systems (mental representations and language), however, is divided into two sub-approaches: the semiotic approach and the discursive approach. The semiotic approach, whose main advocate was the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 -1913), places an emphasis of the production of meaning on language, which it defines as a system of signs made up of signifiers (form) and the signified (idea), with no natural or inevitable link between them. Semioticists, then, believe that the relationship between a signifier and its signified is the result of a system of social conventions specific to each society and historical moment. That is, they believe that all meanings are produced within history and culture, and that every signifier that is given or "encoded" with meaning must be interpreted or "de-coded" by its receiver. While this process of interpretation or "de-coding" is relevant to this dissertation, the emphasis on language is not.

The other sub-approach to the constructionist understanding of representation, the discursive approach, is most useful for this dissertation. The discursive approach, whose main advocate was the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984), sees representation as a source for the production of social knowledge through discourse, which Foucault defined as "a group of [written, spoken or visual] statements which provide a language for talking about a particular topic at a particular time."[75] Therefore, according to this approach, discourse is both a language and a practice. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to remember that the language of discourse and the practice of discourse both work towards a representation of memory – be it individual, collective or national. Keeping in mind that representation is the production of meaning through language, discourse and image, the representation of memory occurs through the written word, the spoken word, and the production and exchange of images, artifacts, buildings and other physical traces.

The written and spoken word not only concern which language is used during which occasion (official languages), but also unofficial and minority languages/dialects, historical languages and slang/street terminology with their corresponding literatures, stories, tales, mythologies, songs and anthems. Using the Turkish National Anthem as an example,[76] the significant words and images (representations) for creating meaning for a Turkish memory are through the following: "crimson flag", "last hearth" and "nation's star" (but, interestingly, <u>not</u> the crescent moon from the Turkish flag). The meanings created by these words and images are also explicitly in the lyrics: "fear not", "never fade", "never fail", and "ever forth will shine" all combine to mean "do not worry about our enemies (the "other"), they will not overcome us, we will overcome them and the Turkish nation will live forever" – quite a lot for just six lines of song.

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[75] This abbreviated Foucauldian definition of discourse is by Hall (1992), p. 291, but for a more detailed and expanded explanation, see Foucault (1972), especially PART II: THE DISCURSIVE REGULARITIES, pp. 21-76, and PART III: THE STATEMENT AND THE ARCHIVE, pp. 79-125.

[76] "Fear not and be not dismayed / This crimson flag will never fade. / It is the last hearth that is burning for my nation / And we know for sure that it will never fail. / It is my nation's star that ever forth will shine / It is my nation's star and it is mine." Translation by Yusuf Mardin, from <u>Turkey: 50th Anniversary of the Republic</u>, Necdet Evliyagil, ed. Ankara: Ajans-Türk, 1973, p. 3. The original Turkish is: "*Korkma sönmez bu şafaklarda yüzen alsancak / Sönmeden yurdumun üstünde tüten en son ocak / O benim milletimin yıldızdır parlayacak / O benimdir, o benim milletimindir ancak.*"

The production and exchange of images and artifacts is a much less abstract affair than the process of representation through the spoken and written word, although not necessarily less complex. It involves two-dimensional representations like drawings, sketches, illustrations, diagrams, plans, maps, charts, graphs, portraits, pictures, photographs, icons, emblems, symbols and logos; three-dimensional representations like statues, sculptures, figurines, idols, ornaments, jewelry, and knick-knacks; and everyday items like shoes, hats, clothing, toys, kitchen appliances and automobiles, which can "mean" something in terms of identity and memory beyond their utilitarian function. To further understand this point, one needs only to remember that the question "What kind of car do you drive?" means less about the type/make of automobile and more about what kind of lifestyle one lives (and promotes) – for indeed, some people do not even own or drive a car.

Fig 2.01: The November 2006 page of a free calendar given by an Ankara optician, showing Atatürk wearing glasses. The other months depict chic models advertising high-designer frames.

Fig 2.02: Turkish flags and Atatürk banners (in military dress) decorate the façade of the Turkish Land Forces (*Kara Kuvvetleri*) Headquarters in Ankara, 10 November 2004.

Taking Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as an example, anthropologist Esra Özyürek (2004) has described the various meanings of the private usage of images of Atatürk by individuals and the public usage of images of Atatürk by the Turkish state. Noting that the consumption and private usage of Atatürk imagery usually occurs on a small or "miniature" scale in rosettes, photographs and posters (with thematic overtones when done commercially – see Fig 2.01) and that the display and public usage of Atatürk imagery usually occurs on a grand or "over-scaled" size in larger-than-life sculptures, banners and even landscapes (with Atatürk depicted in military,

presidential or civil attire, as desired by the institution – see Fig 2.02), Özyürek has concluded that representations of Atatürk in Turkey are far from neutral objects, meaning anything in terms of identity, memory and nationalism from "founder of the Turkish Republic", "saviour of the Turkish people" and "defender of freedom" to "dictatorial power-freak", "drinker and womanizer" and "oppressor of Islam". [77]

2.1.2 ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

> Architecture and its contexts of production are interdependent … that means, buildings are social objects.[78]

The last aspect of representation, the production of meaning through the appearance and usage of furnishings, interiors, buildings, public spaces, public art, landscapes and other man-made designed physical traces is what is relevant to this dissertation.

Architectural theorist Dalibor Vesely has succinctly analyzed this situation as being a question of "divided representation" - the tension between the "instrumental role" (serving as a means or agency) and the "communicative role" of architecture.[79] That is, the ability of architecture to relate abstract ideas and conceptual structures to the concrete situations of everyday life. In the words of architectural critic Helen Mallinson, Vesely argues that "what the book is to our literacy, architecture is to culture as a whole."[80] That is, it is the representations of the built environment that make up a large part of the societal construction called culture.

In this way, memory, be it individual or collective, can be constructed using architecture and the built environment as a tool. This can be done either consciously by a power group, or unconsciously in a vernacular tradition. In either case, it is three-dimensional architectural form that participates in the identity-, memory- and national-construction process.

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[77] Özyürek (2004).
[78] Ergut (1999), p. 38. Ergut's concern is the possibility of representing a national identity through architecture; or rather, the complications that arise when attempting to do so.
[79] Vesely (2004).
[80] Review of Vesely's book, Architecture in the Age of Divided Representation, in *Building Design* (a UK architectural weekly), 25 June 2004.

Architecture and the built environment can be a tool for generating identity predominantly because of its representational nature and qualities, often called "architectural identity." Architectural identity on a literal level is the physical (symbolic) ability of architecture and the built environment to represent identities. This is often attempted through the application of superficial stylistic elements, even though those same elements can represent different identities at different times and in different places, as noted by Albert Speer, the chief architect of Nazi Germany:

> It has often been asserted that [the neo-Classical] style is characteristic of the architecture of totalitarian states. That is not at all true. Rather, it was characteristic of the era and left its impress upon Washington, London and Paris, as well as Rome, Moscow and our plans for Berlin.[81]

Similarly, architectural identity via superficial styles is also questionable because the assumption is that architectural forms have intrinsic and stable meanings, whereas it is quite possible for different architectural styles to attempt to represent the same identity. For example, Ergut (1998) has interpreted the traditional historiographic division of Early Turkish Republican architecture (First National Style, First International Style, and Second National Style) in this way. Leaving the stylistic differences of these periods aside, Ergut successfully proposes that all of them were attempting to achieve the same goal: trying, through the means of architecture, to express the ideas and ideals of the young Turkish nation.

On a more abstract level than the symbolic, architectural identity is the mental (figurative) ability of architecture to represent identities, which takes into account the socio-political forces, thoughts and/or ideologies associated with the creation of architecture. The French sociologist and intellectual Henri Lefebvre (1991 [1974]) calls this "representations of space" – the conceived or mental space that he claims is always a mixture of understanding (knowledge) and ideology: "I would argue, for example, that representations of space are shot through with a knowledge (*savoir*) – i.e. a mixture of understanding (*connaissance*) and ideology – which is always relative and in the process of change,"[82] citing the use of Renaissance perspective as

[81] As quoted by Ergut (1999), p. 35. Ergut raises this here to highlight a point about looking beyond stylistic differences when examining architectural history.
[82] Lefebvre (1991 [1974]), p. 41.

an example, particularly the way that it appears to be natural (the way things are) when in fact it is merely the way our eyes see things.

Such representations, as described by Lefebvre, have a tendency to get enshrined in codes, or standards of practice, that in turn affect the physical outcome of architecture: the built environment. Lefebvre calls such physical (built) spaces "representational spaces" – the "stuff of everyday life" or the "stuff of experience", the spaces of inhabitants and users, which are passively lived through their above-mentioned conceived representations, and created by those social agents with the power to do so (including architects):

> "*Representational spaces*: space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' . . . This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects."[83]

The power of architectural identity, therefore, beyond a superficial investigation of style, is that it can begin to reveal these social agents and their conceived "representations of space" – that is, their knowledge and ideology – and aid us in understanding the forces behind the creation of their and our "representational spaces" – that is, the built environment.

2.1.3 SITES OF MEMORY

> The reality of the past lies in the artifacts and their representations.[84]

Architecture and the built environment can also be a tool for generating collective memory through its representational qualities (the way that objects, artifacts, buildings can "stand in for" something else). As summarized by the social psychologist Alan Radley:

> The world of objects, as material culture, is the tangible record of human endeavor, both social and individual. As part of that endeavor, certain

[83] Ibid., p. 39 (Lefebvre's italics).
[84] Meskell (2003), p. 36. Meskell is an archaeologist concerned with the "New Kingdom" of Ancient Egypt (15th-10th centuries).

> objects are marked out intentionally as things that will help their makers – or those who come after them – to remember an event, activity or principle. Other artifacts [may not be] so intentionally created, but only later come to be marked in a way which designates them as special possessions, as part of the cultural heritage or of one's memorabilia.[85]

Similarly, in his early writings on collective memory, Maurice Halbwachs spatialized his concept of collective memory through the development of what he called "localization": a process, during remembering, of locating or localizing images of the past in specific places, which results in "landmarks" or "sites of collective memory".[86] While Halbwachs sees these landmarks as inside our minds, they could equally be outside of our minds in the form of the built environment.

Along these lines, French historian Pierre Nora (1996) has described "sites of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*) as significant to the construction of collective memory. He has defined them as "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time [have] become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community."[87] Non-material sites of memory for Nora include anthems and songs, cuisine, myths and stories, and civic responsibilities (written or unwritten). Material sites of memory include artworks, sculptures, individual buildings and urban spaces. The Eiffel Tower and The French Museum of National Antiquities, Paris, are examples of buildings that Nora gives as material sites of memory.

In conclusion, the relationship of architecture/the built environment and memory is based on the ability of architecture to shape collective identity and memory through the tool of representation. This is done through the symbolic representations of forms, which are either borrowed from past forms or produce never-before created futuristic forms, and also symbolic representations of locations, which either remind users of past events or act as a depository of future memories. In this way, it must be stressed here that architecture is not only able to remind of a past, but it is also able to

[85] Radley (1990), p. 48.
[86] Halbwachs (1992), p. 175.
[87] Nora (1996), p. 15. Nora calls himself a "historian of memory" whose concern is with those sites "that actually or allegedly constitute French identity." Such a statement highlights the difficulty of separating the topics of identity and memory.

"remind" of a future. It is this "double functioning" of architecture that makes it so powerful, able to work both backwards and forwards at the same time.

2.2 REPRESENTATION IN THE FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE OF MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK

"Dead people belong to those live people who claim them most obsessively."[88]

The key to understanding representation in the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is that the five spaces (and the transfer conditions between them) are/were not about the representation of Atatürk by Atatürk himself, which is the case in the houses that Atatürk lived in or commissioned for himself while alive (in addition to non-architectural examples like the way he dressed, the way he spoke and the way he generally conducted his affairs). Instead, the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is/was an attempt by others (particularly those in power, like successive governments of the Republic of Turkey) to represent Atatürk in the manner that they would like him (and, in turn, themselves) to be represented.

As such, the two important factors in the use of representations in the built environment, as previously discussed, are: location, those culturally significant "sites of memory" that aid in constructing identity and memory (section 2.1.3); and symbolism, the function of both architectural identity and the representational power of the built environment (section 2.1.2).

Keeping in mind Nora's (1996) definition of "sites of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*) – those places of symbolic value in the constructed history/heritage of a people/community – it is possible to examine the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in terms of the significance of their locations and what was/is attempted to be represented. Additionally, keeping in mind that architecture and the built environment can be a tool for generating collective identity and memory through its representational qualities (the way that objects, artifacts, buildings can "stand in for" something else), it is possible to examine the funerary architecture of Mustafa

[88] James Ellroy, crime fiction writer, as quoted by Verdery (1992), p. 23.

Kemal Atatürk in terms of the significance of the symbolism and what knowledge and ideology was/is attempted to be represented (Lefebvre's "representations of space").

2.2.1 THE SPACES OF DEATH

DOLMABAHÇE PALACE AND BEDROOM

"Dolmabahçe" literally means "filled-in garden." The palace and its surrounding grounds have received that name because the area where they stand was formerly a bay off of the Bosphorous Straits. This bay was filled-in in the early 17th century during the reigns of the Ottoman Sultans Ahmet I, Mustafa I and Osman II and used as a location for imperial pavilions [*köşk*] and royal residences. The current Dolmabahçe Palace was built by Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861) between 1847-1856 and served as the official seat of the Ottoman government, not just a royal residence, between 1856-1876 and 1909-1922.[89] As stated in Chapter 1, Dolmabahçe Palace is an eclectic assortment of Baroque and Rococo forms in the shape of a greatly enlarged traditional Turkish house. The significance of the nickname "filled-in garden" for Dolmabahçe Palace, therefore, is that the location was humanly constructed (claimed from nature), an obvious man-made quality that matches the extreme artificiality of the construction itself.

The symbolic power of Dolmabahçe Palace, the former Ottoman royal seat, could hardly have escaped the notice of the many who visited Atatürk's pre-funeral catafalque in 1938 and also those who continue to visit his death bedroom today. In 1938, the palace was the only place in Istanbul suitable for housing the President of the Republic, in sickness or in health, and was also used during Republican times for various conferences and conventions, mostly for the Turkish Historical Society [*Turk Tarih Kurumu*] and Turkish Language Society [*Turk Dil Kurumu*]. However, it is hard not to notice the opulence of the palace, as either a smug symbol that Atatürk's republican revolutionaries did the correct thing by overthrowing the Ottoman Empire or as a nostalgic symbol of the former glory of an empire that once controlled the world from the Balkans to the Arabian Peninsula. Dolmabahçe Palace, along with

[89] Sultan Abdülhamid II moved the official seat of the Ottoman government to Yıldız Palace between 1876-1909.

other buildings in Istanbul (like Topkapı Palace, The Blue Mosque and Suleymaniye Mosque) represents/symbolizes the Ottoman Empire.

After the declaration of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, Dolmabahçe Palace became public property, or "a national palace of the people," as Atatürk said in his 1 July 1927 public address during his first visit to Istanbul since the foundation of the Republic.[90] In this same speech, Atatürk would also say that Dolmabahçe Palace was no longer to be seen as a symbol of a decadent and decrepit Ottoman Empire or Sultanate/Caliphate. Instead, it was to stand as a symbol of the new form of government known as the Turkish Republic. Just how it is that the same richly and elaborately decorated forms could stand for completely opposite governmental structures is an indication of the arbitrariness of architectural symbolism. However, the fact is that Dolmabahçe Palace (and other Ottoman architectural heritage) was appropriated, not rejected, by the young Republic of Turkey as a symbol of Turkish greatness.

The fact that Atatürk died in Istanbul is a quirk of history that can be read as if the excesses of the former empire and capital brought about his death. In truth, he retired to Istanbul in the summer of 1938 to escape the heat and dry air of Ankara. However, by dying in Dolmabahçe Palace, Atatürk succeeded even more in making the building a property of the people and the Republic of Turkey than the actual law that declared such.[91] The memory of this particular location on the collective psyche of the Turkish nation was irreversibly changed forever because from that point on Dolmabahçe Palace would immediately conjure up remembrances of Atatürk's death, even by later generations who did not live through the events of November 1938.

Today, Atatürk's bedroom, officially known as "Room 71", can be visited as part of the tour of the "harem" section of the palace. It is one of the last spaces visited on the

[90] "*Yalnız, artık bu saray, Tanrının gölgesi olduğu yalanınını yayıp duranların değil, gölge olmayan, gerçek olan ulusun sarayıdır.*" Bugünün Diliyle Atatürk'ün Söylevleri [The Speeches of Atatürk in Today's Language]. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi [Ankara University Press], 1968, p. 171.

[91] Turkish Law No. 431, passed on 3 March 1924, declared the estates and possessions of the Ottoman Sultan and his family, including Dolmabahçe Palace and all the Imperial pavilions, mansions and lodges, to be part of the Turkish national heritage.

tour. As such, the palace administrators[92] present the room as a finale of sorts: like a climax to the visitation. That is, Atatürk's Dolmabahçe Palace bedroom is the last feature seen before returning to the real world beyond the palace's walls, bound to make a lasting impression on any visitor, Turk or not.

A symbolic significance of this particular bedroom is noted in the official literature of the Dolmabahçe Palace in the contrast between the building's lavish ornamentation and the plainness of Atatürk's chosen spaces. Atatürk apparently selected the dark walnut furniture of the bedroom from the palace's collection on the basis of its relative plain-ness. The only extra decoration to the room are several paintings from the collection of the palace: "The Four Seasons", by a Russian painter named Bergol, which Atatürk supposedly liked so much that he had it hung opposite his bed; and various small landscapes and seascapes by another Russian painter, Ivan Aivaskovsky (1817-1900). In this way, visitors to the Dolmabahçe bedroom can get a rare glimpse of the personal tastes and identifying traits of Atatürk while he was still alive.

Atatürk's Dolmabahçe bedroom is today kept as it supposedly was on the morning of 10 November 1938, with various items that symbolize the death of Atatürk; namely, the bed in which he died and a table clock on the other side of the bed stopped at exactly 9:05, as if it has given up the will to live. There is also a medicine chest next to the bed containing the medications last used by Atatürk at the time of his death.

The bed attracts interest in visitors because it is the actual last place of rest of Atatürk – the actual location of his death – as opposed to Anıtkabir, which is his metaphorical last place of rest. The clock, according to Dolmabahçe Palace researchers, is a Swiss Kroveze-brand table clock that was stopped at 9:05 as a sign of respect towards the exact time of the morning that Atatürk died. On a metaphysical level, this clock is a futile attempt at arresting or preventing the moment of Atatürk's death, and also acts as a *memento mori* (Latin: "remember your death"), a Western tradition in literature, painting, sculpture, and funerary architecture that acts as a reminder of one's own mortality. The medicine chest, however, serves as a symbol of Atatürk's struggle with cirrhosis, the liver disease that slowly killed him, and reinforces the fact that his

[92] Dolmabahçe Palace is run by the Ministry of National Palaces [*Milli Saraylar Başkanlığı*], an actual administrative division of the Turkish Parliament.

death was not a sudden one but a prolonged series of gradually debilitating setbacks and comas.

DOLMABAHÇE CATAFALQUE

During the Ottoman Empire, the Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace was where important state events like banquets, proclamations, receptions and holiday celebrations took place, even when the official seat of the empire was moved to Yıldız Palace between 1876-1909. Seen in this light, it is not illogical that a temporary catafalque for Atatürk was built within the Grand Ceremonial Hall to allow the people of Istanbul to pay their respects.

The catafalque was constructed against the northwestern wall of the hall, immediately opposite a grand doorway providing access to the Bosphorous. This is the exact same place where the Ottoman Sultans' throne also used to stand. In this way, Atatürk's body was located in the same place as the former Ottoman Sultans and the mourners who passed by his coffin can be metaphorically linked with the foreign dignitary visitors to those Sultans. Atatürk's catafalque, however, was more modest in scale than a Sultan's throne – merely a raised platform with the Turkish-flag draped coffin surrounded by soldiers on guard and six torches. The ornate decoration of the Grand Ceremonial Hall, however, served as a contrasting backdrop to this modest construction.

This public presentation of Atatürk's coffin on an impromptu catafalque in the Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace actually consisted of a series of funerary symbols/tropes that continued through to most of the constructions and transfer conditions that followed. Firstly, and most importantly, the six freestanding torches arranged in a semi-circle behind Atatürk's coffin primarily served like an eternal flame, a traditional funerary symbol representing the wish/hope that the dead person will never be forgotten. However, the number of the torches – six – comes from the number of "pillars of Kemalism," the six principles propounded by Atatürk and his Republican People's Party that make up the ideology of the modern Republic of Turkey: republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism and

revolutionism.[93] In this way, the torches not only represent the wish/hope that Atatürk's will never be forgotten, but also the wish/hope that Atatürk's ideology will never be forgotten.

The four generals and two enlisted soldiers who kept guard over Atatürk's coffin during its presentation on the Dolmabahçe catafalque were in keeping with the traditions of catafalques, where persons close to the deceased (family or friends) stand at each corner of the catafalque and "keep watch" during a period of vigil. Catafalques generally being square or rectangular, this usually meant four persons. The extra two persons may have been to also represent the six pillars of Kemalism, although this remains unconfirmed. What is certain is that each general standing watch over Atatürk's coffin on the impromptu catafalque in Dolmabahçe Palace was a veteran of and commander during the Turkish War of Independence.[94] The two enlisted soldiers were infantrymen, interestingly dressed not in ceremonial uniforms but in full combat gear with dagger, bayonet, sleeping bag and ammunition belt. The four generals symbolize Atatürk's role in the Turkish nation's military struggle for independence. The presence of the additional two soldiers can be read as collectively representing all of Turkish society, both the elite (officers) and the masses (enlisted soldiers).

The flag-draped coffin, another traditional funerary practice, represents the fact that the dead person contributed greatly to their nation, especially if the person died while fighting a war for that country. In the case of Atatürk, he was such an inseparable part of the nation of Turkey (being its revolutionary leader, founder and first President), that it probably only seemed appropriate to honor him in this way. Lastly, the bouquets of flowers placed at the foot of the Dolmabahçe catafalque (five in total) are another traditional funerary practice, both to enliven a somber scene and to provide a *memento mori* – reminder of one's own mortality – since cut flowers do not generally last more than several days.

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[93] This symbolism is according to an article entitled "Altı Meşale" ["Six Torches"] in ULUS newspaper, 21 November 1938, page 5. The Turkish for these six pillars is: *cumhuriyetçilik, laiklik, milliyetçilik, halkçılık, devletçilik, and devrimcilik*.

[94] The generals were: Fahreddin Altay, Halis Bıyıktay, Cemil Cahit Toydemir and Ali Sayit Akbaytogan, as described by Güler (2000), p. 66.

2.2.2 THE FUNERAL SPACES

FROM ISTANBUL TO ANKARA

At the time of Atatürk's death there was apparently a general debate about whether he should be buried in Istanbul or Ankara. This debate seems null and void when taking into account the role that Ankara, not Istanbul, played in the development of the early Republic of Turkey. It was Ankara, not Istanbul that was used as a central rallying point of Atatürk's forces during the Turkish War of Independence against both the foreign occupying powers and the crumbling Ottoman Empire. It was Ankara, not Istanbul that Atatürk chose to be the capital of the new republic. And, it was Ankara, not Istanbul that was developed and literally constructed after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 to serve as a three-dimensional urban example of the republic's principles. Therefore, to suggest that Atatürk be buried in Istanbul, the city in Turkey that most represented (and still represents) the former Ottoman Empire, its excesses and non-secular and non-democratic structure, was an absurd option. This equation of Ankara, rather than Istanbul, with the nation is expressed in the headline of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper on 22 November 1938: "Our Father is in the Heart of the Nation."[95]

Atatürk's body was taken to Ankara – not only to be buried, but also to be officially displayed ("in-state") in the capital city. The first part of the journey involved a procession through the streets of Istanbul from Dolmabahçe Palace to "Seraglio Point" [*Saray Burnu*] (Fig. 2.03, solid line). The decision to make such a procession is related to the decision to display Atatürk's body to the public on a catafalque within Dolmabahçe Palace. Had the Turkish Republic merely wanted to get the body to Ankara, the easiest method would have been by boat from Dolmabahçe Palace, not a long-winded route along the Bosphorous, over the Golden Horn and into Gülhane Park, where it was then picked up by boat.

Photographs of the procession show crowds of people packed along the side of the road and on rooftops for what was obviously a once-in-a-lifetime event: Atatürk's coffin draped in the Turkish flag pulled on a gun carriage by six horses, three of which were mounted by soldiers, to the sounds of Chopin's "Funeral March," a slow

[95] "*Atamiz yurdun kalbinde*."

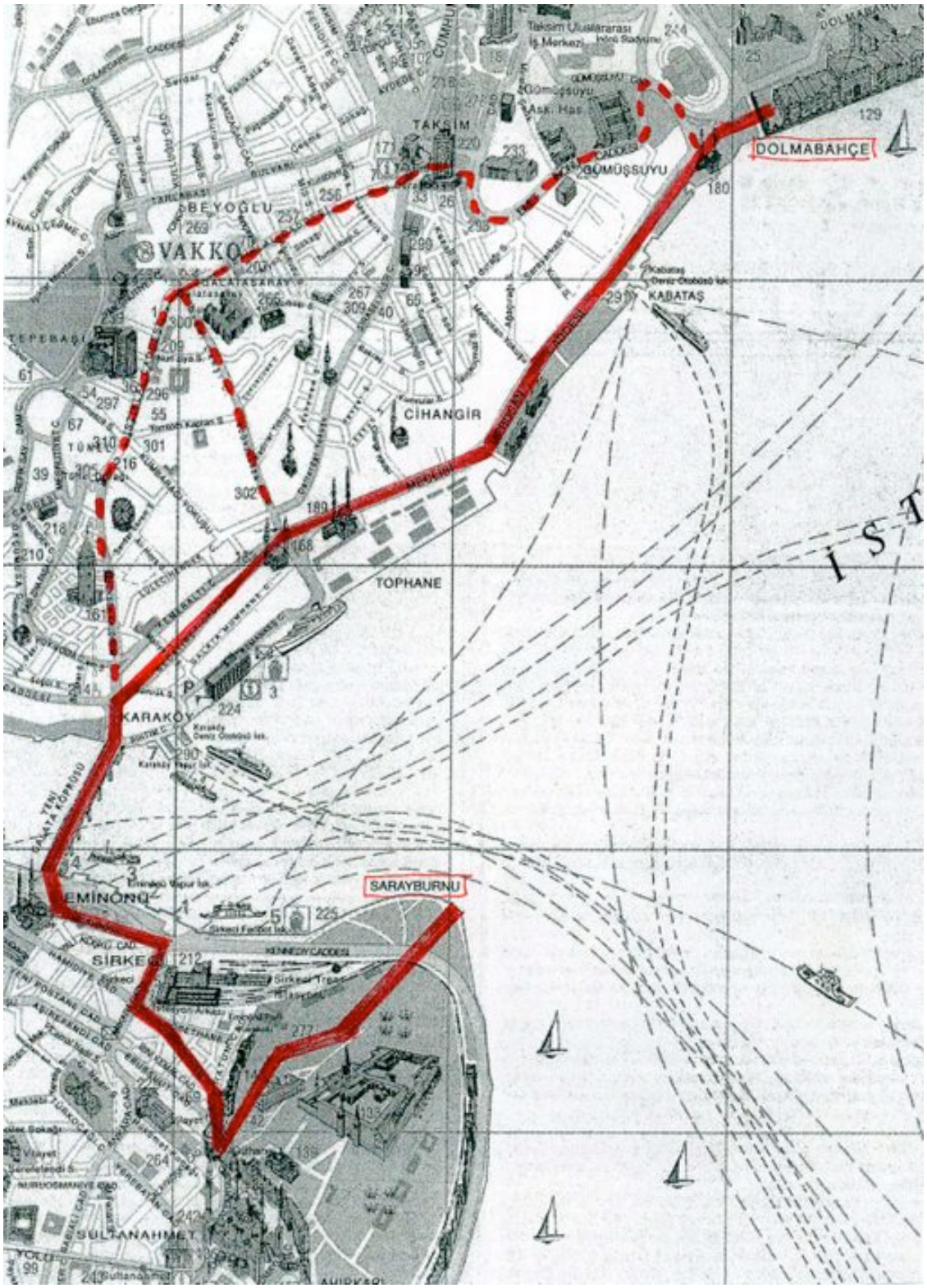

Fig. 2.03: Map of Atatürk's coffin's procession through Istanbul.
The solid line indicates the route taken; dashed line indicates alternative route(s) discussed by author.

dirge appropriate to the solemnity of the occasion. The coffin proceeded very slowly, leaving Dolmabahçe at 9:22am and arriving at the water's edge in Gülhane Park at 12:26pm.[96]

It is the actual route of this procession, or rather where the procession did not go, that is of most significance. Surprisingly, the procession did not go up to Taksim Square, the current location in Istanbul for celebrations, protests and mourning. After Taksim, the next logical route for the procession would have been down Independence Avenue [*Istiklal Caddesi*], past Galatasaray High School and down to the Tunnel Metro Station (Fig. 2.03, dashed lines). A 1938 map of the area begins to provide an answer to this question: at the end of *Istiklal Caddesi*, there was not a straight street appropriately wide enough to convey the gravity of the situation. Instead, only a series of minor streets, some with steps, allow access to the Galata Bridge (Fig. 2.04). This is still the case today. However, the procession could have taken a left turn at Galatasaray High School in order to get down the hill to the waterside.

Once across the Galata Bridge, the next question that needs to be answered is why did the procession go into Gülhane Park? It is clear that the final destination was to be the water's edge, but couldn't that have been at Eminönü (at the foot of the bridge)? Above the park is Topkapı Palace, the seat of the Ottoman Empire for about 400 years previous to the construction of Dolmabahçe Palace, making the procession start and finish at a former Ottoman seat of government. Within the park itself is the Istanbul Museum of Archaeology, founded by Osman Hamdi during the reign of Abdülhamid II in 1881. The early Republic of Turkey, encouraged by Atatürk, very much used the discipline of archaeology to its advantage in highlighting the pre-Ottoman history of the Turkish *ethnie* or nation. It seems quite fitting that the last structure in Istanbul that the dead body of Atatürk would pass would be an archaeological museum, just as Atatürk himself was on his way both into the ground and into the history books.

[96] Exact times are from Çağlar (1955), pp. 7-18. From my calculations, the procession traveled at an average speed of 1.86 km/hour (5.7 km in 3 hours and 4 minutes).

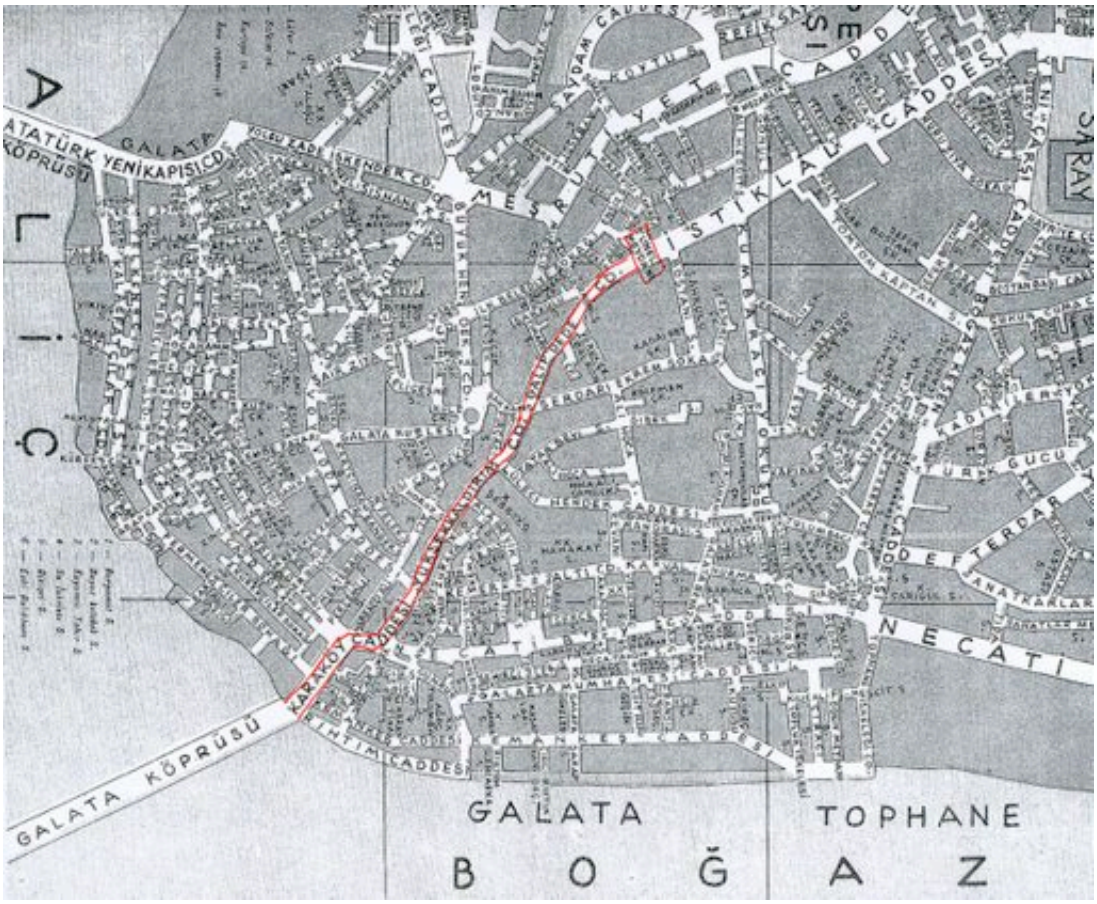

Fig. 2.04: Detailed map of 1938 Istanbul showing lack of appropriate wide straight streets between Istikal Avenue and the Galata Bridge.

Fig. 2.05: Map of Turkey indicating Atatürk's coffin's sea journey from Istanbul to Izmit and train journey from Izmit to Ankara

The appearance of Topkapı Palace and the Istanbul Museum of Archaeology, however, may just be accidental outcomes of what seems to be the real significance to Gülhane Park: it was from this waterside location that Atatürk set off from Istanbul on 16 May to make his famous landing at Samsun on 19 May 1919, an event that he constructed in his famous "Nutuk" speech of 15-20 October 1927 as being not only an official date for the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence but also his informal birthday.[97] In October 1926, a statue of Atatürk by Austrian sculptor Heinrich Krippel, which still stands today, was erected by the Municipality of Istanbul to mark the significance of this location in the history of the Republic of Turkey.[98] By passing by this statue and launching Atatürk's coffin onto a boat from this point, the funeral procession was in effect re-enacting his famous departure of 1919.

From Gülhane Park the Torpedo Boat *Zafer* picked up Atatürk's coffin and took it out to the Battleship *Yavuz* in the Sea of Marmara where soon afterward ships from Britain, the Soviet Union, Germany, France, Greece and Romania also conducted a 101-gun salute. This ritual addressed the military aspect of Atatürk's career (although Atatürk was an army, not navy, officer) and the salute by his former enemies was a gesture on their part graciously recognizing their foe. These same foreign ships would partially accompany the *Yavuz* on its way to Izmit, ceremoniously separating from the *Yavuz* around 3:40pm. At 7:40pm, Atatürk's coffin was again transferred to the *Zafer* and then loaded back onto land at Izmit at exactly 8:00pm.[99]

Similar to the questioning of the Dolmabahçe-to-Gülhane Park route, this naval journey from *Saray Burnu* to Izmit can also be questioned. Atatürk arrived in

[97] Atatürk only knew that he was born in the late Spring 1881, not an exact date, so he symbolically appropriated 19 May as his birthday to coincide with the equally mythological birth of the Turkish Republic.

[98] This sculpture was the first of many such urban sculptural representations that also include the Victory Monument in Ulus Square, Ankara (Krippel, 1927); the Atatürk Equestrian Monument in front of the Ethnographic Museum, Ankara (Pietro Canonica, 1927), Monument to the Republic in Taksim Square, Istanbul (Canonica, 1928), Atatürk Monument in the Republican Square, Izmir (Canonica, 1932) The Security Monument in Güven Park, Ankara (Anton Hanak and Josef Thorak, 1935), and other regional sculptures like Konya (Krippel, 1926), Samsum (Krippel, 1932), Afyon (Krippel, 1936), and Bursa (Nijat Sirel, 1937), just to name a few. See Gür (2001) for more in-depth information and analysis of these representations.

[99] Again, all these exact times are from Çağlar (1955).

Istanbul in May 1938 as he usually did, by train, alighting at Haydarpasha Train Station on the Anatolian side of Istanbul and then across the Bosphorous by boat to the European side. Why, therefore, was Atatürk's coffin taken to Izmit and not to Haydarpasha Train Station? The answer to this question probably lies in the 101-gun salute, which had to occur on the open sea. Once out at sea, to turn back to Istanbul and Haydarpasha Station would be just that – turning back, rather than continuing the eastward journey to Ankara. The furthest most eastern port in the Sea of Marmara is Izmit, where Atatürk's coffin was transferred to a special train.

Similar to the Dolmabahçe-to-Gülhane procession, Atatürk's train from Izmit to Ankara (Fig. 1.09) created a space around which people converged – it was both a spectacle and a space-generator; for, after it had left a station, a void remained in its place – physically because the train was no longer there and mentally because it confirmed that Atatürk was no longer alive. Atatürk's train arrived at the Ankara Train Station at around 10:00am and was greeted by an official delegation consisting of the newly-named President of Turkey Ismet Inönü, Members of Parliament, soldiers, police, and civil servants. Atatürk's coffin was again transferred to a gun carriage by the generals who had been standing watch in Dolmabahçe and was ceremoniously paraded up Station Avenue [*İstasyon Caddesi*, todayre-named as *Cumhuriyet Bulvarı* – "Republic Boulevard"][100] to Bruno Taut's catafalque in front of the (Second) Parliament Building in the area of Ankara called *Ulus* [Nation].

The significance of the Ankara train station, the area known as Ulus and the thoroughfare connecting the two called Station Avenue cannot be underestimated. Firstly, the pre-Republican arrival of the railway to Ankara in 1892 set the stage for its eventual destiny as a capital city. It was Ankara's position as a regional center of transportation and communications, aided mostly by the railroad, that was a factor in Atatürk's choosing Ankara as a rallying point during the Turkish War of Independence. In 1937, the original Ankara train station was made redundant by the construction of a much larger and new station designed in the Modernist International Style. This building became a fitting entrance to the new capital, since most visitors to Ankara during this time period arrived via train, rather than by road because the

[100] Using Çağlar's times of 10:32am to 11:23am (p. 16), this procession traveled a bit slower than in Istanbul, about 1.2km in 41 minutes, or 1.76km/hour.

road system of Turkey at this time was less developed. The avenue connecting the train station and the area of Ulus was equally grand with wide sidewalks and a central refuge planted with trees (implication: modern), unlike the traditional (old) fabric of Ankara that was more organic, unplanned and maze-like (implication: un-modern) (Figs. 2.06 and 2.07).[101]

The *Ulus* area of Ankara received its name from the First Parliament Building (1917-1920), originally the headquarters of the People's Republican Party (CHP), where the Republic of Turkey (the *ulus* – the nation) was declared on 29 October 1923.[102] The Second Parliament Building was built in 1924 just two buildings down from the first. It was designed by Vedat Tek and served the Republic of Turkey until Clemens Holzmeister's 1938 project for a Third Parliament Building was completed in 1963 in the "Ministries Quarter" [*Bakanlıklar*] of Ankara. Therefore, in 1938, the Second Parliament Building was representative of the democratic characteristic of the republic. In addition, by the time of Atatürk's death, many famous photographs of him entering or exiting the building on various ceremonial occasions were imprinted upon the memory of the Turkish nation, therefore visually linking Atatürk with the building.

Across the street from the (Second) Parliament Building is the Ankara Palace, originally a hotel, that was designed first by architect Vedat Tek and later completed by Kemalettin Bey and constructed between 1924-1927 to provide modern accommodation for both foreign and domestic visitors.[103] Therefore, together with the Victory Monument [*Zafer Anıtı*] in Ulus Square across the street from the First Parliament Building depicting Atatürk on a horse with several infantrymen and women, the area of Ulus in 1938 was seen not only as the center of modern Ankara, but possibly also the center of modern Turkey.[104]

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[101] At the time there were virtually no buildings built yet between the train station and the Second Parliament Building, also reinforcing the significance of the area called *Ulus*.

[102] For a detailed history of the development of Ulus Square, see Yalım (2001).

[103] The Ankara Palace was equipped with central heating, en-suite bathrooms and indoor running water. This is compared to the fact that most inhabitants of Ankara at this time heated their houses with wood-burning stoves, used outhouses for toilet facilities and/or used wells for water.

[104] Since 1938, however, the center of Ankara has gradually been moving southward from Ulus to Sıhhiye, Kizilay, Kavaklıdere and Çankaya/Gazi Osman Paşa. The city has also dramatically expanded in a suburban manner to the west (Bilkent/Çayyolu) and in a semi-suburban manner to the northwest (Batıkent).

Fig. 2.06: View of Ankara from the Train Station Square, 1930s.

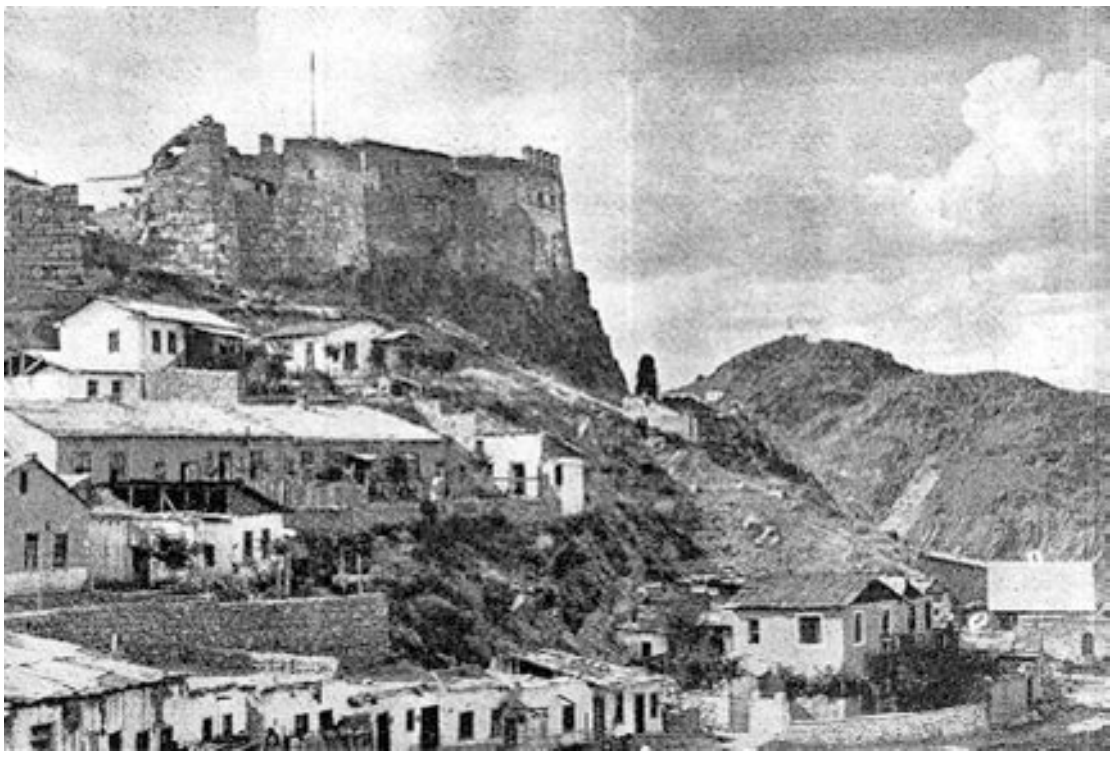

Fig. 2.07: Pre-modern fabric of Ankara around the Castle walls, 1930s.

The journey from Istanbul to Ankara, just like the Dolmabahçe catafalque, also consisted of a series of funerary symbols/tropes that continued through to most of the constructions and transfer conditions that followed. The procession from Dolmabahçe to Gülhane Park advanced very slowly, about 6 km in 3 hours and 4 minutes (around 1.95 km/hour), which is typical of the solemnity of funerary processions. Atatürk's flag-draped coffin still featured, this time on a gun carriage, representing his military career. This gun carriage was pulled by six horses, three of which were rider-less, another traditional military funerary trope symbolizing the loss of a comrade-in-arms, especially when their empty boots are placed in the stirrups of the horse. At the front of the procession General Ilyas Aydemir carried Atatürk's "Independence Medal" [*Istiklal Medalyası*] on a black velvet covered board, as a reminder to the spectators of who and what was about to come (the leader of the Turkish War of Independence).

In addition to the original generals on-guard at the Dolmabahçe catafalque, the procession also included eight more generals (for a total of 12) and one soldier from each of the three branches of the Turkish military: army, navy, air force, representing, again, all of society (military society, at least), and, as indicated in the newspapers of the time, making them peers of Atatürk like the generals.[105] Throughout the whole procession, Chopin's "Funeral March" was played again, another (Western) funerary tradition. The boat journey from Istanbul to Izmit contained another symbol of Atatürk's former military career: the 101-gun salute, which is traditionally given to distinguished dead soldiers at their funeral.

The train used on the journey from Izmit to Ankara, which was also the same train that Atatürk used to travel the country while President,[106] was decorated with flowers, a reminder of one's own mortality, and Turkish flags, the symbol of the Republic of Turkey. In addition, wreaths of laurel, believed in ancient Anatolia to be a purifying plant with powers of immortality, also decorated the train.[107] Despite the train

[105] Title of a cover story of the 15 November 1938 CUMHURIYET newspaper: "The [funeral] ceremony in which our land, sea and air forces will take part as [Atatürk's] peers will be undertaken with unprecedented grandeur." ("*Kara, deniz ve hava kuvvetlerimizin de iştirak edeceği merasim emsali görülmemiş bir ihtişanla yapılacaktır.")*

[106] This train is now parked at the Ankara Train Station. It is a museum that can be visited without charge.

[107] Keister (2004), p. 48.

journey happening in the middle of the night, the stations along the way were apparently packed with people eager to say farewell to Atatürk.[108] As Atatürk's train proceeded through Anatolia towards Ankara, similar to the Dolmabahçe-to-Gülhane procession in Istanbul, it created a space around which people converged – it was both a spectacle and a space-generator; for, after it had left a station, a void remained in its place – physically because the train was no longer there and mentally because it confirmed that Atatürk was no longer alive.

The procession up Train Station Avenue in Ankara to Bruno Taut's catafalque traveled a bit slower than the Istanbul procession - about 1.2km in 41 minutes (around 1.76km/hour), which could have been due to the shorter distance needed to travel (since the catafalque was in sight from the train station perhaps no rush was required). Otherwise, this procession consisted of all the same tropes as the Istanbul procession: the flag-draped coffin pulled on a gun carriage by rider-less horses, the display of Atatürk's Independence Medal by a general and the playing of Chopin's "Funeral March" by a military band.

ANKARA CATAFALQUE

The catafalque designed by Bruno Taut for Atatürk (Figs. 1.08 and 2.09) was located in front of the Parliament Building, one of many symbols of the young and democratic Republic of Turkey. As previously mentioned, the decision to conduct Ataturk's funeral in Ankara, and not Istanbul, was motivated by the secular nature of the new capital of Ankara. The placing of Atatürk's catafalque in front of the Parliament building and not a religious building (like a mosque) also follows this line of thought.

Such a placement conforms to the Western tradition of utilizing public spaces for the laying-in-state of the famous dead. In this way, the location of Atatürk's catafalque, like Atatürk himself, was trying to locate Turkey firmly in the culture of Europe and the West, rather than in any type of "Oriental" or "Eastern" Ottoman tradition. Unlike the major state funerals that occur today at Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara, the

[108] Çağlar (1955), pp. 13 - 15.

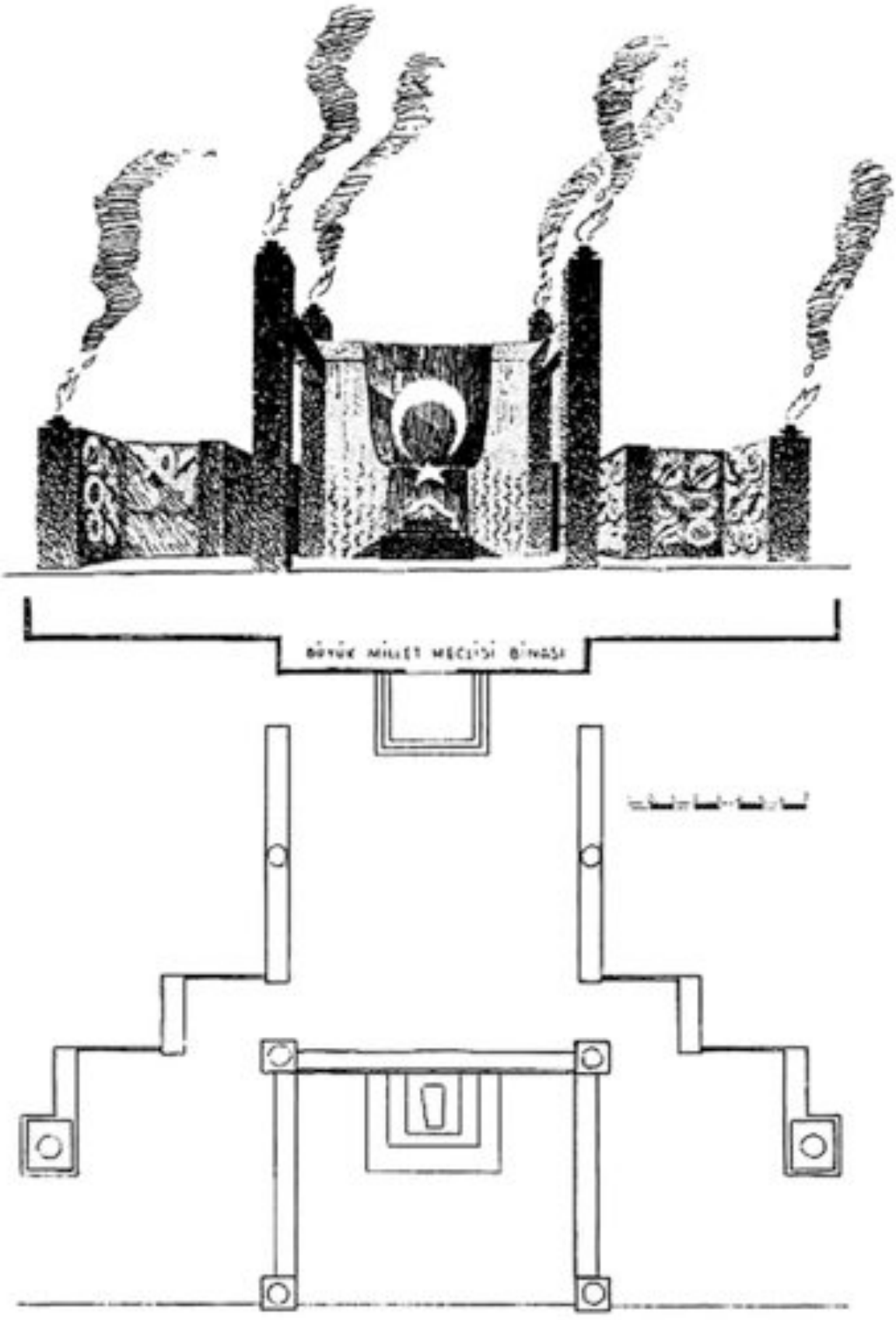

Fig. 2.08: Plan and elevation drawings of Bruno Taut's catafalque for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Ankara, 20-21 November 1938, as published in his posthumous "Architectural Knowledge" [*Mimari Bilgisi*].

location of Atatürk's catafalque did not acknowledge the role of any organized religion in the human process of death.

Atatürk's coffin lay on Taut's catafalque for the entire day and night of 20 November, publicly open to the nation of Turkey, just like it had been in Dolmabahçe Palace the week before. His official state funeral began at 9:30am with the arrival of the Prime Minister, Celal Bayar, and other Members of Parliament. First, the coffin was transferred from the catafalque and onto a gun carriage again. Then, foreign honor guards marched past and saluted. The representatives of 34 friendly nations (ambassadors, *charge d'affairs* and other diplomats) watched all of this from across the street, in front of the Ankara Palace.

Bruno Taut's design for Atatürk's Ankara catafalque continued many of the same elements that existed at the Dolmabahçe catafalque: the platform, the flag-draped coffin, the military personnel on guard and the six torches. However, since an architect designed this catafalque (rather than just being hastily prepared), there is much more that can be discussed because while Taut's catafalque, like the Dolmabahçe catafalque, also contained six torches to represent the six pillars of Kemalism, it seems as if Taut carried this symbolism through to his entire design.[109]

Starting with republicanism, which can be defined as "favoring a democratic republic (rather than an authoritarian monarchy or sultanate) as the best form of government," the display of Atatürk's coffin – both his "laying-in-state" and funeral – was a public affair, not shrouded in secrecy. It was open to and attended by the citizens of the Republic of Turkey and representatives of foreign states. It was outdoors and visible from the street. No special permission, except a belief in the ideals and ideas of the Republic of Turkey, was required to view the catafalque. Even then, because of the catafalque's public location, those opposed to Atatürk could also freely attend the ceremony.

[109] Taut's 15 November 1938 crayon sketch for Atatürk's catafalque (Fig. 1.12) appears to have 14 torches and the plan in Taut's book "Architectural Knowledge" (Fig. 2.08) appears to have 8 torches, but it is possible that the back two circles are not torches but something else. Photographs of the catafalque during the funeral and the elevation drawing from Fig. 2.08 have 6 torches.

Fig. 2.09: Detailed view of Bruno Taut's catafalque for Atatürk, Ankara, 20-21 November 1938

The six uniformed soldiers, four officers and two enlisted men, standing watch on the platform next to Atatürk's coffin have already been mentioned in terms of representing the whole of Turkish society, both elite and masses. A picture from the TAN Newspaper of 21 November shows a camera on a tripod to the left of the coffin, presumably to document the funeral for those who could not make it to Ankara.[110] Again, this was not a secret or mystic ceremony, it was a public event viewed by anyone who could walk along the street. It was attended, literally, by "the man in the street".

The location of Atatürk's catafalque in front of the Parliament has already been discussed in terms of being representative of the democratic characteristic of the republic – the place of gathering for democratically elected representatives. Most significantly, the catafalque did not block the entrance to the Parliament: its side wings forming L-shapes at 90° to each other still allowed access to the building. In this way, through its location as close to the street as possible, not blocking entrance to the Parliament, the placement of Taut's catafalque was possibly addressing the uncertainty in the air after Atatürk's death by declaring that the process of democracy would continue and not be interrupted. Another interpretation of these L-shaped wings not blocking access to the Parliament could be that, although the nation was in mourning, it had not (and should not) completely come to a halt because of Atatürk's tragic death, which is quite in contrast to the contemporary commemoration of Atatürk's death that includes one-minute complete silence and stopping whatever one is doing, even driving, at 9:05am on 10 November.

In terms of representing the second pillar of Kemalism, secularism (the view that religious considerations should be excluded from civil affairs or public education), the location of Atatürk's catafalque in front of a government building and not a religious building has already been noted. While it is known that an imam did recite funeral prayers for Atatürk (at the request of his sister, Makbule Atadan) in front of the Dolmabahçe catafalque on the morning of 19 November 1938,[111] the Ankara catafalque was not a religious structure, but a secular governmental one.

[110] The author would especially here like to kindly thank Atatürk collector Mr. Necmettin Özçelik, for access to his copies of films of Atatürk's 1938 funeral and 1953 transfer to Anıtkabir.
[111] Kutay (1981), p. 190.

Appropriately, Bruno Taut's design contains no religious symbols or imagery, neither Islamic nor any other religion. Instead, it was a nationalist structure, dominated by a huge Turkish flag above the coffin, which extended the body of Atatürk and served as a focal point for the composition. Therefore, in terms of representing nationalism (the belief that groups of people should be organized into political entities called nations) – Kemalist pillar number three – Taut's design for Atatürk's catafalque succeeded in creating a national stage setting for mourning (literally, since a catafalque is a stage) through its use of the most basic and abstract symbol of the Turkish nation – the Turkish flag.

In terms of representing the fourth pillar of Kemalism, populism, which can be defined as "the political doctrine that supports the rights and powers of the common people in their struggle with the privileged elite," Taut's catafalque for Atatürk does not glorify him like an elite monarch (or Ottoman Sultan) who, as head-of-state, directly represents the state. Instead, Atatürk is represented as an individual. While the large Turkish flag may represent the nation of Turkey, Atatürk has his own Turkish flag, which had been with him since Dolmabahçe Palace. Similarly, the L-shaped background walls containing the many flower tributes make it seem like various individuals or institutions gave them to Atatürk, but as can be seen from Taut's sketches this was part of his design.[112] In this way, Taut (re)presents Atatürk not as a ruler symbolizing a nation/state, but as an individual who has received many personal tributes.

In terms of representing the fifth pillar of Kemalism, statism, which can be defined as "the practice or doctrine of giving a centralized government control over economic planning and policy", this can be seen not in Taut's actual catafalque, but in the planning and amount of money involved in the transportation of Atatürk to Ankara, the construction of his catafalque and the provisions for foreign journalists to cover the event. A front page article from the 15 November 1938 *Cumhuriyet* newspaper relates that a 500,000 Turkish Lira allowance for funeral expenses was agreed upon

[112] Actual flower tributes presented by individuals (for example, President İsmet İnönü, Field Marshal Fevzi Çakmak and Prime Minister Celal Bayar) and associations were either laid in front of the catafalque or lined up on both sides along the street, see CUMHURIYET newspaper, 22 November 1938, p. 5.

after four hours of debate by parliament, a huge sum for any nation at this time on the brink of World War II, let alone Turkey.[113]

Similarly, a memorandum from the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives signed by then-new President İsmet İnönü outlines what expenses for Atatürk's funeral were eligible for re-imbursement by the Turkish government. It is an incredible 23-item list detailing items like transportation of the coffin from Istanbul (item 2), flower and wreath costs (item 7) and Ankara Catafalque construction costs (item 17 – no final or expected cost is given), but also surprising items like the transportation from Istanbul, lodging in Ankara and telegraph costs for foreign journalists (items 3 and 22). In order to keep all options open, the list concludes with "other unknown costs," clearly indicating the importance of the funeral to the government.[114]

In terms of representing the sixth pillar of Kemalism, revolutionism – a state of constant revolution – it could be suggested that the six columns of greenery[115] directly under each of the six torches symbolized the foundation of the Republic of Turkey started by Atatürk (or at least its "pillars" or supports) and that the sparsely arranged greenery behind Atatürk's coffin represented the nation that he started, with the future progress to be done by the people of the nation who were to follow. In this way, Atatürk "planted" the seeds that the nation was meant to "cultivate to maturity," an idea mentioned by Atatürk on several occasions.[116] These plants placed by Taut

[113] Approximately USD 400,000 in 1938; 2006 equivalent = approx. USD 5.5 million. Interestingly, this figure is also the estimated cost of security and travel expenses paid by the US Government for the funeral of ex-President Ronald Reagan in June 2004.

[114] Document Group Code: 030-18-01-02 Ref: 86-18-16, dated 9/3/[1]939. The Turkish of the items is: #2: *Cenazenin İstanbuldan Ankaraya nakli masfrafı*, #3: *Merasime iştirak etmek üzere ecnebi devletler tarafından gönderilen Heyet ve askeri kıtalarla mihmandarlarına ecnebi ve yerli gazetecilerin nakil, ibate ve iaşe masrafları ve bunun için muktezi levazım ve vesaitin mubayaa ve tedariki ve telgraf telefon muhabere ücretleri ve ecnebi misafirlere ve efrada verilen album, fotoğraf, gazette ve posta ücretleri*; #7: *İstanbulda ve Ankarada ve tirende Atatürk'ün cenazesine ve katafalklara konulan çelenk, çiçek vesaire masrafı*; #17: *Büyük Millet Meclisi binası önünde katafalk inşa masrafı*; #22: *Gerek ecnebi heyetlerine ve gerek mihmandar ve memurin ve Meclis azalarının yataklı vagon masarifi* (sic); #23: *Diğer bilumum müteferrik cenaze masrafları.*

[115] Batur (1997), p. 21, claims that the plants used were "fresh boughs of bay and ivy" – keeping in mind Atatürk's train from Istanbul to Ankara, bay leaf (laurel) symbolizes immortality.

[116] For example, in a 17 March 1937 informal discussion at The Ankara Palas, Atatürk talked about the pleasure of a gardener who cultivates flowers and compared such a gardener with one who "cultivates men": "*Herkesin kendine göre bir zevki var. Kimi bahçe ile meşgul olmak, güzel çiçekler yetiştirmek ister. Bazı insanlar da adam yetiştirmekten hoslanır.*" (Melzig, 1942, p. 142). Volkan (1981) has seen this as an "obvious reference to himself. Here, [Atatürk] saw himself as 'the creator' of men, someone able to bring them to life and even to bloom." (p. 315).

seem to represent the individuals of the Republic of Turkey who collectively make it up, the general population, who are responsible for its continuation and growth. This "collectivity of individuals" might also be seen in the many flower tributes that make up the background "L" walls – anonymous yet working together towards a common goal.

FROM CATAFALQUE TO ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

Pulled by 80 Turkish soldiers, again to the sound of Chopin's "Funeral March", Atatürk's coffin was paraded through Ankara to the Ethnographic Museum. The route taken by the procession was back down Station Avenue, a left turn at the train station [today, *Talat Paşa Bulvarı* – Talat Pasha Boulevard], past the Ankara Exhibition Building [*Sergi Evi*] and then a right turn behind the People's House [*Halk Evi*], ending up in front of the Ethnographic Museum (Fig, 2.10) .

It is unclear why the funeral proceeded in this way, rather than the shorter and more direct route up to Ulus Square and to the right onto The Avenue of the Banks [*Bankalar Caddesi* - today Atatürk Boulevard], named for the many bank headquarters located on it (most of which were founded during the early years of the Republic), and then past the Exhibition Building to the Ethnographic Museum.[117] Especially because of the existence of the Turkish Republic Central Bank on this street, the usage of this route could have represented an unchanged financially stability of Turkey, despite the death of Atatürk.

The Exhibition Building, by which the funeral procession did pass, was designed in the International Style by Sevki Balmumcu and was one of the main propaganda devices of the early Republic. From its opening in 1933 to its change to a theatre/opera by Paul Bonatz in 1946, the Exhibition Building presented many national and international exhibitions that promoted both the Turkish nation and its modernity.[118] Therefore, by passing by the Exhibition Building, the funeral

[117] From Ulus Square to the Exhibition Building, the banks are: Türkiye İş Bankası, Sümerbank, The Central Bank of the Turkish Republic, Ziraat Bankası, and Osmanlı Bankası. As obvious from its name, only the Osmanlı Bankası existed before 1923. Today, the street is part of Atatürk Boulevard, the main North-South axis of Ankara.

[118] See Ergut (1999), for more information.

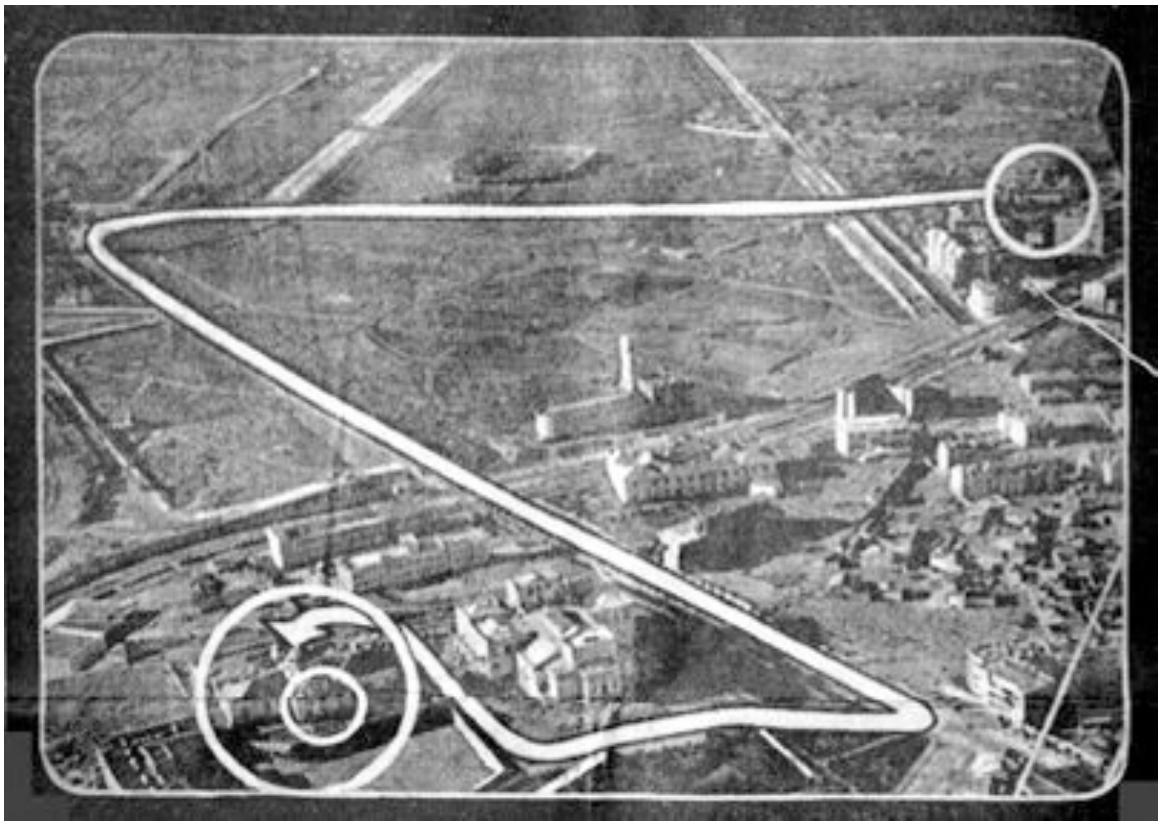

Fig. 2.10: Aerial view of Atatürk's funeral route through Ankara from the Second Parliament Building to the Ethnographic Museum. Note the large areas of undeveloped land, which is today considered "downtown" Ankara.

Fig. 2.11: View of Bruno Taut's catafalque on the morning of 21 November 1938, just before proceeding to the Ethnographic Museum

procession inadvertently acknowledged the role of that particular building in the construction of a modern Turkish nationality, identity and memory.

The symbolism of the transfer from Taut's catafalque to the Ethnographic Museum was not too much different than the transfer from Istanbul to Ankara. There is one notable exception: horses were not used to draw the gun carriage containing Ataturk's coffin. Instead, 66 soldiers pulled the carriage from the front and 30 pushed the carriage from the back, for a total of 96 (Fig. 2.11). Although there exist many popular theories about particular numbers frequently seen in the events of the life of Atatürk, it is unclear here if there is a symbolic reason to this exact number of soldiers.[119] Soldiers on horseback also accompanied this procession in groups of 10 with a leader. This difference between the Istanbul/Ankara funeral processions and this procession towards the temporary grave seems to be symbolizing that formal funeral ceremonies (laying-in-state, speeches, salutes, etc) were now finished and that the coming-to-terms with Atatürk's death was beginning. This process is what psychologists call the progression of mourning, with its final stage being labeled as "acceptance" – the recognition, understanding and acknowledgment of a death.[120]

Walter (1999) has defined bereavement as "the state of being caught between the present, a past and a lost future." He continues by saying "Re-writing the past to make sense of the new present is crucial if sense is to be made of change and the future faced."[121] It is this transfer of Atatürk's body to the Ethnographic Museum Temporary Tomb that seems to be a transition between the initial reaction to Atatürk's death – shock – and a final acceptance of Atatürk's death, which architecturally eventually culminated in his mausoleum, Anıtkabir.

[119] The numbers 9 and 19, in particular, have been extracted by some Atatürk enthusiasts to be mystically significant. Boran's film (2003) makes several mentions of this. See also Muhtar (2006).
[120] According to Aiken (1991), p. 245, Table 10-1, Gorer (1967) and Stephenson (1985) propose three stages of mourning; Glick, Weiss and Parkes (1974) propose four stages; Bowlby (1960) and Hardt (1978-79) propose five stages; and Kavanaugh (1974) proposes seven stages. What all these theories have in common, however, is their first stage, "shock" or "disbelief", and their last stage, "acceptance", "re-awakening" or "re-organization".
[121] Walter (1999), p. 10.

2.2.3 THE "TEMPORARY" SPACES

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

The decision to put Atatürk's temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum seems to have been made very quickly, with newspaper reports announcing the decision as early as 15 November 1938.[122] In his memoirs, archaeologist Remzi Oğuz Arık relates that after touring the Ethnographic Museum with Atatürk one day during its construction, Atatürk was apparently struck by the museum's dome, long corridors, sunlight-blocking latticework screens and the prevalence of marble and mosaics and supposedly said, "This place looks like a tomb!"[123]

The Ethnographic Museum, although not designed in a modern style, was one of a series of public buildings and cultural institutions founded and constructed by the young Republic of Turkey to help tell and reinforce a pre-Ottoman history of "the Turks."[124] Atatürk's temporary tomb was located in the very center of the Ethnographic Museum. By placing Atatürk's temporary tomb inside the Ethnographic Museum, it was as if Atatürk, the "father of the Turks", became just another exhibition of "Turkish-ness" in the building. After all, what better way to exemplify "the Turks", but by displaying its founder and creator as an exhibit? In addition, there are strong religious parallels to placing Atatürk's tomb at the center of a domed building: on the one hand, the cross axes are highly reminiscent of a Christian church, yet on the other hand the dome is highly reminiscent of a Turkish mosque. It can be assumed that such conflicting messages were one of the main reasons for this tomb to be merely temporary.

It could be argued that the Ethnographic Tomb was more about forgetting than it was about remembering. The tomb's very location within the Ethnographic Museum, an institution dedicated to making the nation forget its Islamic past (by preserving "former everyday" objects as relics of a time passed), made the statement that, in the words of Kezer (2000), "local religious allegiances were obsolete."[125] The temporary

[122] See CUMHURIYET, 16 November 1938, p. 7 and ULUS 16 November 1938, p. 8 for articles announcing this decision.
[123] Kutay (1981), p. 173.
[124] Other buildings include the neighboring People's House, The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (founded as "The Hittite Museum"), and various other provincial People's Houses and museums.
[125] Kezer (2000), p. 103.

tomb, since it was known at the time of the funeral that it was going to be temporary, could have just as been easily located in the Parliament Building or any other similar government building, but the Ethnographic Museum was chosen. Kezer also goes so far to describe the actual location of the museum within Ankara in this way: "Embracing the new Ankara in the front, but built on the brim of the old town, with the citadel at its back, the museum stood like a threshold between the two parts of town."[126]

The actual construction that was Atatürk's temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum was so minimal it is hard to believe that it represented or symbolized anything. The tomb merely consisted of two main parts: marble block and electrical torches. The marble block was an abstract rectangular volume about one meter high and two meters by 50cm in plan. A small band around the top, about 10cm high, was recessed several centimeters, and the only decoration on the tomb was in the joints themselves, which were square-cut and random (not organized in a pattern). This abstract volume contrasted greatly with the surrounding Ethnographic Museum and its Ottoman and Seljuk architectural detailing and decorative painting and tile work.

Secondly, the theme of six torches symbolizing the six pillars of Kemalism appears again in the temporary tomb, this time in the form of six very slender metal poles with electrical light bulbs and frosted-glass lamp shades mounted at their tops. These electrical torches seem to be about two meters tall, with three placed on each short side of the tomb. Comparing these torches with the ones at the Dolmabahçe and Ankara catafalques, the difference is stark: whereas the previous torches were large, over-sized, towering, thick vertical elements with natural fire, the torches at the Ethnographic Museum tomb were minimal slim vertical elements with electrical "flames."

It is the opinion of this author that the minimalism of the temporary tomb **was** its symbolism. While it could be argued that the tomb was seen as temporary and was hastily constructed to meet the task, one must look at the expertise and experience of the architect in charge, Hüsnü Tümer, to refute this. Tümer was a talented designer

[126] Ibid., p. 104.

who had previously worked on Bursa's *Çelik Palas* (1930-32) with Giulio Mongeri, the pre-eminent Levantine architect of the "First National Style" in Turkey (responsible for Ankara's *Osmanlı Bankası* and *Ziraat Bankası* Headquarters in Ulus), before becoming a government architect. After the 1930s, Tümer served various appointments at the Ministry of Public Works, even working on the repair of the Ottoman tile work of the famed Dome of the Rock Mosque in Jerusalem, making him fully capable of more detailed and decorative work.[127]

Lastly, a "temporary" temporary tomb was made for 21 November 1938 out of wood painted to look like marble. This was replaced with an exact marble version that was completed in March 1939.[128] Had the architect wished to have made a more decorative structure, this could have been done during this interim time period. Therefore, the minimalism of the Ethnographic Museum tomb was not the product of a "temporary mentality" or a lack of time, but a conscious decision on the part of the designer to represent Atatürk in a plain and unassuming way, which in funerary architecture can represent a number of ideas from the serenity of death to the tranquility of the deceased.

FROM ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM TO ANITKABİR

Atatürk's body stayed in the temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum until it was ceremoniously moved to Anıtkabir on 10 November 1953, exactly 15 years after his death. This time, unlike Atatürk's 1938 funeral procession, the coffin was paraded up the Avenue of the Banks to Ulus Square, and past the Second Parliament Building (where Atatürk's 1938 funeral took place). Then, the procession proceeded towards the Ankara Train Station, where Atatürk's body first arrived in Ankara, and under the train tracks through Tandoğan Square and then to Anıtkabir (Fig. 2.12).

[127] Tümer's various civil servant appointments are documented in the following Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives documents, all with the same Group Code of 030-18-01-02: Ref: 99-77-19, No: 2/18647, File: 156-153, Date: 25/08/1942; Ref: 106-66-15, No: 3/1531, File: 20-14, Date: 30/09/1944; Ref: 111-41-12, No: 3/4323, File: 20-14, Date: 10/06/1946; and Ref: 111-57-15, No: 3/4647, File: 20-14, Date: 06/09/1946. His appointment to Jerusalem can be found in document Group Code: 030-01-00-00, Ref: 61-379-18, File: E4, Date: 27/12/1955.

[128] Taylan (no date), p. 16.

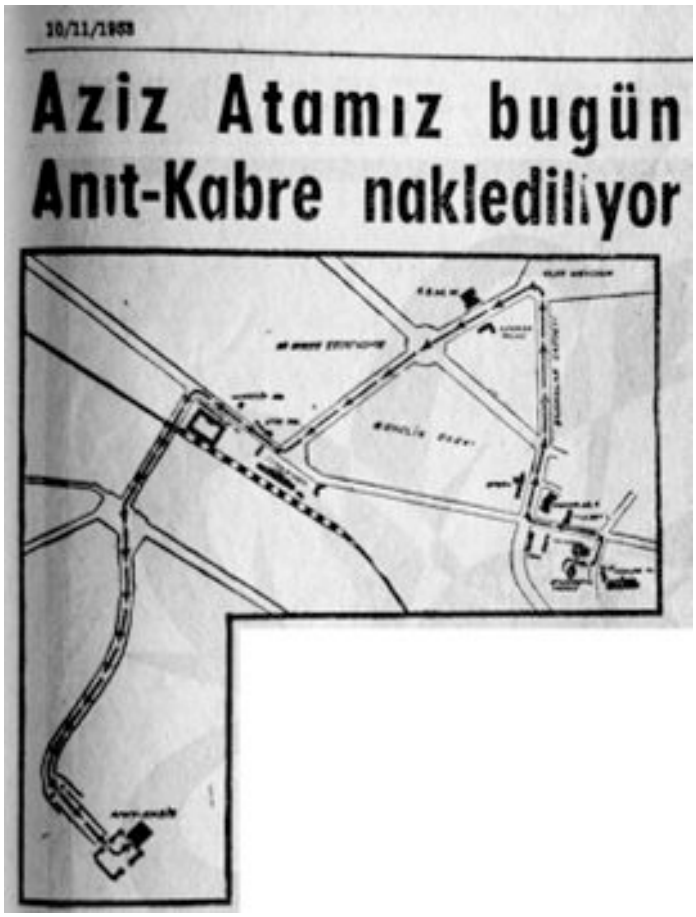

Fig. 2.12: Map of Atatürk's transfer route in Ankara from the Ethnographic Museum to Anıtkabir. Translation of headline: "Our Beloved Father is Moved to his Memorial Tomb Today"

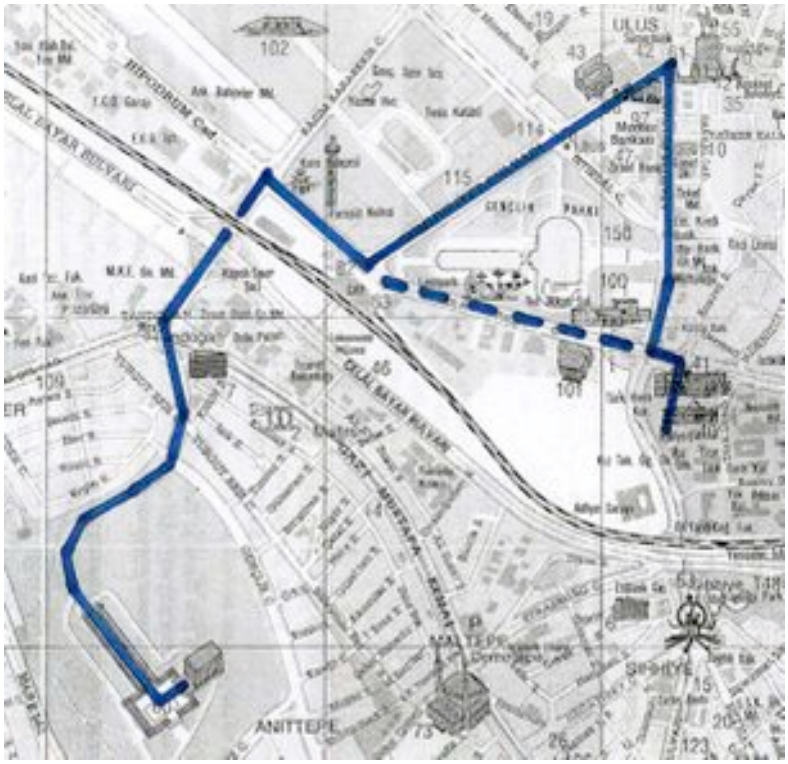

Fig. 2.13: Map of Atatürk's transfer route in Ankara from the Ethnographic Museum to Anıtkabir. Solid line indicates the route taken; dashed blue line indicates alternative route discussed by author.

Just like in 1938, this long-winded route can be questioned since a shorter way to Anıtkabir would have been to continue straight past the Opera Building (former Exhibition Building) on the street that is today called Talat Pasha Boulevard. However, as has been seen in all the previous Atatürk funeral processions, speed and time have not been the generator of the routes – it was ceremony that dictated where and how fast. In this case, for the same reasons as the 1938 procession, it was more important to the organizers of the event to pass by "The Youth Park" (which in 1938 was just an undeveloped empty field), through Ulus Square and past the Second Parliament Building, than to get to Anıtkabir quickly.

The Youth Park was constructed after 1938 as a public space where modern citizens of Ankara could enjoy the new-found leisure time that came along with modernity. It consists of a man-made lake and paths for boating and strolling, with a direct view towards the Ankara Castle [*Kale*], the symbol of Ankara's past. As has already been discussed, the Ulus area of Ankara and Ulus Square represent the center of both modern Ankara, and extendedly, modern Turkey. Therefore, Atatürk's 1953 funeral procession managed to pass by and through a series of modern constructions (buildings, neighborhoods, streets and parks) representing and significant to the Republic of Turkey.

In the fifteen years between Atatürk's death and the moving of his body to Anıtkabir, the Turkish nation began to come-to-terms with their loss and embarked on forging a future without him. During the 1940s, thanks to İsmet İnönü, Turkey had successfully stayed out of World War II until the very end and the first multi-party elections took place in 1946, with another party besides Atatürk's Peoples Republican Party substantially winning in 1950.

Consequently, the procession from the Ethnographic Museum to Anıtkabir was less like a funeral (with somber faces and funerary traditions) and more like a celebration (with a carnival-like atmosphere). Firstly, instead of 96 soldiers (16 rows of 6) pulling Atatürk's coffin, 138 soldiers, (23 rows of 6) pulled it, an increase by almost 50%. Secondly, because the procession did not take the most direct route to Anıtkabir, the festivities were prolonged, allowing as many people as the roads could hold to participate. Lastly, not only was music again played during the procession

(this time by the Army Military College Band), but other carnival-like events also occurred like the canon-fire that announced the beginning of the procession at 9:05am, the throwing of streamers by Military College students, and the Air Force planes that pulled an Atatürk flag-portrait in the sky and also dropped flowers tied to small parachutes.[129]

2.2.4 THE "PERMANENT" SPACE(S)

ANITKABİR – ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION

Although Atatürk was known to have said "My People may bury me wherever they wish, as long as they do not forget me",[130] the selection of a location of his mausoleum was not an easy task. In addition, in an informal conversation with the Ankara "Model Farm" [*Orman Çiftliği*] planner Müdür Tahsin Bey, Atatürk supposedly said:

> On that tiny hill, a small and beautiful little grave could be made for me. It would not have to have four sides and a covered top … From every corner of the nation, it would be like news was brought to me from the open blowing wind and would circulate on top of my tomb. Put an inscription on the door. Write my "Address to the Turkish Youth" on top. Over there the road is very frequented. Everyone passing would read it every time … [131]

A Site Selection Committee chaired by of the Prime Ministry Undersecretary of the time and consisting of Generals Sabit and Hakkı from the Ministry of National Defence, a Mr. Kazım (General Director of Construction from the Ministry of Public Works), Vehbi Demirel (Interior Ministry Undersecretary), and Cevat Dursunoğlu (General Director of Higher Education from the Ministry of Education), met on 6 December 1938 and decided to also include foreigners on the committee. Herman Jansen (author of the 1928 Master Plan for Ankara), Clemens Holzmeister (architect of many government buildings in Ankara, including the Third Turkish Parliament Building), Rudolph Belling (sculptor of several Inönü statues and professor at the

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[129] Taylak (no date), p. 73: "*Kortej yol boyunca ilerlerken, Türk Hava Kurumu'nun uçakları Atatürk'ün bir portresi Ankara semalarında dalgalandırıyordu. Uçaklardan naaşın üzerinde ufak paraşütlerle bağlı çiçek demetleri atıldı."* This is also mentioned in the film by Boran (2003), at around 12' 30".

[130] English translation from Öz (1982), p. 138.

[131] Saydam (2005), pp. 35-36: "*Şu küçük tepede bana küçük ve güzel bir mezar yapılabilir. Dört yanı ve üstü kapalı olmasın … Açıklardan esen rüzgar bana yurdun her yanından haberler getirir gibi, kabrimin üstünde dolaşın. Kapıya bir yazıt konulsun. Üzerine 'Gençliğe Söylevim' yazılsın. Orası yol uğrağıdır. Her geçen, her zaman okusun …"*

Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts), and Bruno Taut joined the commission and met on 16 December 1938, just 9 days before Taut's death.

Many sites in Ankara were proposed and evaluated by this committee: Yeşiltepe, Tamerlane Hill [*Timurlenk Tepesi*], the Youth Park, the Atatürk Model Farm, the Ankara Castle, *Altındağ–Hıdırlıktepe*, the Ministries District [*Bakanlıklar*], Çankaya Hill, in front of the Ethnographic Museum, the old School of Agriculture [*Eski Ziraat Mektebi*] and *Kabatepe*, the hill behind the new Turkish Parliament Building (which was under construction at the time of this discussion in 1942).

Çankaya Hill, the location of the Presidential Palace, was the favorite choice of most of the Turkish MPs, because Atatürk spent most of his time there, either as leader of the War of Independence or as President of the Republic. A Republican People's Party Report from the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives, recommending Çankaya as the location for Anıtkabir, reads:

> Atatürk did not separate from Çankaya his whole life. Çankaya dominates the city from every direction and is inseparately connected with and is an inseparable part of the National Struggle, the founding of the State and the memories of our revolutions. It is a suitable place to build the best monument. In short, it possesses all the [correct] spiritual and physical conditions. After Atatürk's death, we see no justification for his separation from Çankaya.[132]

Despite this strong feeling, eventually after much debate in Parliament, a hill called Rasattepe was finally chosen as the location for Atatürk's mausoleum, mainly because Rasattepe could be seen from anywhere in 1940s Ankara (before the rapid expansion of Ankara to the west and northwest in the 1970s and 1980s).[133] The first

[132] Translation by author of Site Selection Committee Report Supplement, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-10-0-0, Ref: 1-8-14, File: 248, Date: 0/0/1942, signed by MPs F.R. Altay (Ankara), Ferit Güven (Içel) and Selah Cimcoz (Istanbul): "*Atatürk, bütün hayatında Çankaya'dan ayrılmamıştır. Çankaya şehrin her tarafına hakimdir ve Milli mücadele, Devletin kuruluşu ve inkilaplarımızın hatıralarına ayrılmaz bir surette bağlıdır. En muhteşem abideler inşasına müsaitti. Hülasa maddi, manevi bütün şartları haizdir. Atatürk'ü ölümünden sonra, Çankaya'dan ayırmaya haklı gösterecek hiç bir sebep bulmadık.*"

[133] Rasattepe literally means "Observation Hill", because of a meteorological station that existed on the site prior to the building of Anıtkabir. The name of the hill has been (creatively) changed to Anıttepe, or "Memorial Hill".

sentence of the official guide to Anıtkabir puts it this way: "Anıtkabir is almost/nearly in the middle of Ankara."[134]

During the Parliamentary discussion, an additional reason for choosing this location, besides its visibility, was given by MP Süreyya Örgeevren, who argued:

> Rasattepe has another characteristic that will deeply impress everyone. The shape of the present and future Ankara ranging from Dikmen to Etlik reminds [one] of the shape of a crescent while Rasattepe is like a star in the center. Ankara is the body of the crescent. If Atatürk's Mausoleum [were] placed on this hill, we would embed Atatürk in the center of the crescent of our flag. Thus the capital of Turkey would embrace Atatürk. Atatürk [would] be symbolically unified with our flag.[135]

Thus, starting from its location within the city, Anıtkabir seeks to provide a national memory through the most basic national symbol, the flag.

After MP Süreyya Örgeevren, the MP Emin İnankur, a former teacher of Atatürk, recalled a visit to Rasattepe one day where Atatürk apparently said "What a suitable hill for a monument," which basically brought to an end any further discussion of the matter.

Coincidentally, Rasattepe was also an ancient Phrygian tumulus (earth-mound) and was consequentially excavated before constructing Atatürk's mausoleum. The site resulted in many significant archaeological finds, most of which went to the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. In this way, not only did the location of Rasattepe provide the physical material to reinforce a mythical history of the Turks (location of pre-Ottoman civilizations), but it also provided the metaphorical material: Atatürk, father of the Turks, would find his final resting place on top of the Phrygians, metaphorically and literally using this ancient civilization as a foundation for his final resting place.

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[134] Gülekli (1980), p. 39 (The guide begins on this page because the previous pages tell the story of Anıtkabir's location selection and architectural competition): "*Anıtkabir, Ankara'nın hemen hemen ortasındadır.*"

[135] Translation by author. The original Turkish of this speech was published in the Turkish newspaper ULUS on 18 January 1939 and can also be found in Taylak (no date), p. 22.

As has been stated in Chapter 1, the architectural competition for Anıtkabir attracted around fifty entries from Turkey, Germany, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, France and Czechoslovakia. Three of the entries shared the first prize (Onat–Arda, Krüger, Foschini) and five others received "honorable mentions" (M.A.Handan–F.Akozan, G. Muzio, R. Rohn, H.K.Söylemezoğlu–K.A.Aru–R.Akçay, G.Vaccaro–G.Franzi).

Beyond these eight prize-winning entries, six more – for a total of 14 – are known from *Architekt,* a Turkish architectural publication of the time; *Architettura*, an Italian publication of the time; and a 1984 exhibition of the entries by Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul. In terms of the remaining 33 entries, the Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report published at the time describes 16 of these in words but not pictures.[136]

[136] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-10-0-0, Ref: 1-5-12, File: 199, Date: 27/02/1942 states that: a French architect by the name of "Bigot" (Paul Bigot, 1870-1942?) "has prepared a project and is ready to send it" ("*Mimar Bigot'un Anıtkabir için bir proje hazırladığı ve bunu Paris'ten göndermeye hazır olduğu*"), but the author has not been able to find any information about this entry. Additionally, the author has theorized the following possible entrants but has been unable to locate any competition entries:

From TURKEY (because they were all active architects during this time): Celal Biçer (19??-19??), Mahmut Bilen (1909-1978), Adil Denktaş (1902-1968), Nizamettin Doğu (1908-1968), Halit Femir (1910-1954), Rebii Gorbon (1909-1993), Rüknettin Güney (1904-1970), Eyüp Kömürcüoğlu (1910-1997), Affan Lügal (1906-1975), Asım Mutlu (1912-1997), Lütfü Niltuna (19??-19??), Şeküre Niltuna (19??-19??), Burhan Arif Ongun (19??-1980), Ferruh Örel (19??-19??), Orhan Safa (1991-1996), Reşat San (1991-1979), Hüsnü Tümer (19??-1968), Bedri Uçar (1911-1978), Emin Necip Uzman (1911-1997);

From GERMANY (because they all exhibited in the "*Neue Deutsche Baukunst / Yeni Alman Mimarisi*" ["New German Architecture"] exhibition in Ankara in 1942: Paul Baumgarten (1873-1953), Wolfgang Binder (19??-19??), Konrad (Conrad) Dammeier (19??-19??), Emil Fahrenkamp (1885-1966), Roderich Fick (1887-1955), Hans Freese (1889-1953), Hermann Giesler (1898-1987), Wilhelm Haerter (19??-19??), Hans Hermann Klaje (1868-1945), Peter Koller (19??-19??), Wilhelm Kreis (1873-1955), Hans Malwitz (19??-19??), Werner March (1894-1976), Artur Reck (19??-19??), Herbert Rimpl (1902-1978), Hugo Röttcher (19??-19??)–Theodor Dierksmeier (1908-1979), Franz Ruff (1906-1979), Ernst Sagebiel (1892-1970), Albert Speer (1905-1981), and Friedrich (Fritz) Tamms (1904-1980). Paul Ludwig Troost, who also participated in that exhibition, died in 1934;

From ITALY (because they traveled in the same Fascist/Rationalist circles as the prize-winning Italian architects Foschini, Muzio and Vaccarro): Franco Albini (1905-1977), Pietro Aschieri (1889-1952), BBPR [Gian Luigi Banfi (1910-1945), Ludovico Belgiojoso (1909-2004), Enrico Peresutti (1908-1976) and Ernesto Rogers (1900-1969)], Angelo Bianchetti (1911-19??), Piero Bottoni (1903-1973), Armando Brasini (sometimes written Brazini, 1879-1975), Carlo Broggi (1881-1968), Antonio Carminati (189?-197?), Giuseppe Capponi (1893-1936), Renato Camus (1891-19??), Enrico del Debbio (1881-1973), Irenio Diotallevi (1909-1954), Florestano de Fausto (18??-19??), Luigi Figini (1903-1984), Guido Frette (1901-1984), Ignazio Gardella (1905-1999), Giovanni Guerrini (1887-1972), Pietro Lingeri (1894-1968), Paolo Mezzanotte (18??-19??), Giovanni Michelucci (1891-1991), Gaetano Minnucci (1896-1980), Carlo Mollino (1905-1973), Eugenio Montuori (1907-1982), Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo (1911-19??), Marcello Nizzoli (1887-1969), Ernesto la Padula (18??-19??), Giuseppe Pagano (1896-1945), Giancarlo Palanti (1906-1977), Cesare Pea (1910-19??), Gino Pollini (1903-1991), Gio Ponti (1891-1979), Piero Portaluppi (1888-1967), Carlo Enrico Rava (1911-19??), Mario Ridolfi (1904-1984), Mario Romano (18??-19??), Mario de Renzi (1897-1967), Ernesto Salvia (19??-19??), Mario Sironi (1885-1961), Giuseppei Terragni (1904-1943), Cesare Valle (1902-2000), and Luigi Vietti (1903-19??).

The symbolism of the 14 known entries can be roughly grouped into two types:

1- those that evoked an "Eastern/Turkic/Islamic" funereal architectural imagery of cylindrical and/or pyramidal forms (five entries); and
2- those that evoked "Western" funereal architectural imagery (nine entries) of cubic/rectilinear forms.

Those entries that evoked an "Eastern/Turkic/Islamic" imagery were primarily submissions from Turkey, a reflection of the "Second National [Turkish] Style" that was the fashion at the time, as lead by Sedat Hakkı Eldem (1908 - 1988), which attempted to represent Turkish-ness through abstracted forms borrowed from Ottoman and Islamic architecture.

Eldem's entry (Fig. 2.14) is a rather plain cylindrical structure with a slight rounded top, highly reminiscent of the Seljuk-style tombs like the Kharaghan twin towers (1067 AD) and the Shah Firooz Tomb (15th century AD), both in present-day Iran (Fig. 2.15). The Turkish architectural magazine *Arkitekt* interpreted "the massing effect and expression" of Eldem's entry as "completely Turkish,"[137] in line with the contemporaneous ideology of the Second National Style. In contrast, the competition jury commented that "a dome shape with the base corners cut out is not an appropriate form according to the jury"[138] thereby explicitly exposing its prejudice to proposals with domes and dome shapes.[139]

The group entry by H. Kemali Söylemezoğlu–Kemal Ahmet Aru–Recai Akçay (Fig. 2.16), which was awarded an honorable mention by the competition jury, is suggestive of a traditional Turkic *kümbed* or tomb structure, like the Sitte Melik Kümbed (1196) in Divriği, Turkey (although the base of Söylemezoğlu's pyramid structure is square and not octagonal). *Arkitekt* commented that this entry was "the closest of all competition entries to the character of Turkish Architecture",[140] but the competition jury criticized that, although the design had a strong expression, it looked

[137] Sayar (1943), p. 60: ". . . *kitlesinde tesir ve ifade tamamen Türktür.*"
[138] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 10, assuming that entry number 28 (identification number 51742) was from Eldem: "*Kubbenin şekli ile sokl köşelerinin kesinteleri Jüri tarafından muvafık bir suretli hal telekki edilmemektedir."*
[139] Atatürk is said to have disliked Joseph Vago's entry to the 1937 Parliament Building competition, won by Clemens Holzmeister, because of its use of a dome and minarets.
[140] Sayar (1943), p. 13: "*Bu proje bizce müsabakanın Türk mimari karakterine en yakın eseridir.*"

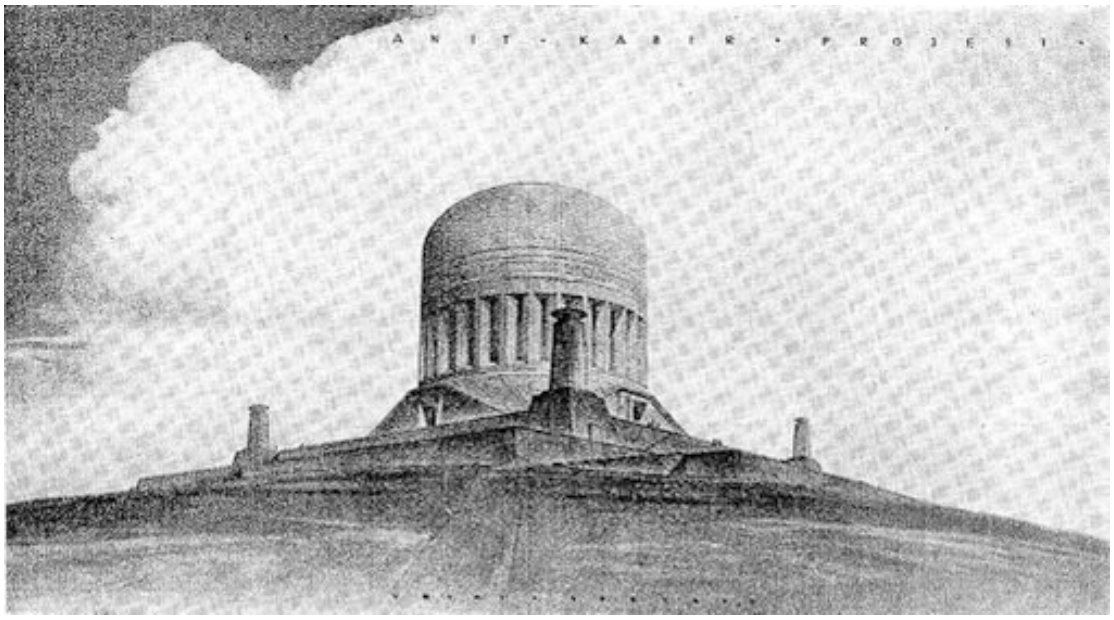

Fig. 2.14: Anıtkabir competition entry by Sedat Hakkı Eldem, general view

Fig. 2.15: Left: Kharaghan twin towers, Qazvin province, Iran (1067 AD);
Right: Shah Firooz Tomb, Sirjan, Kerman province, Iran (15th century AD).

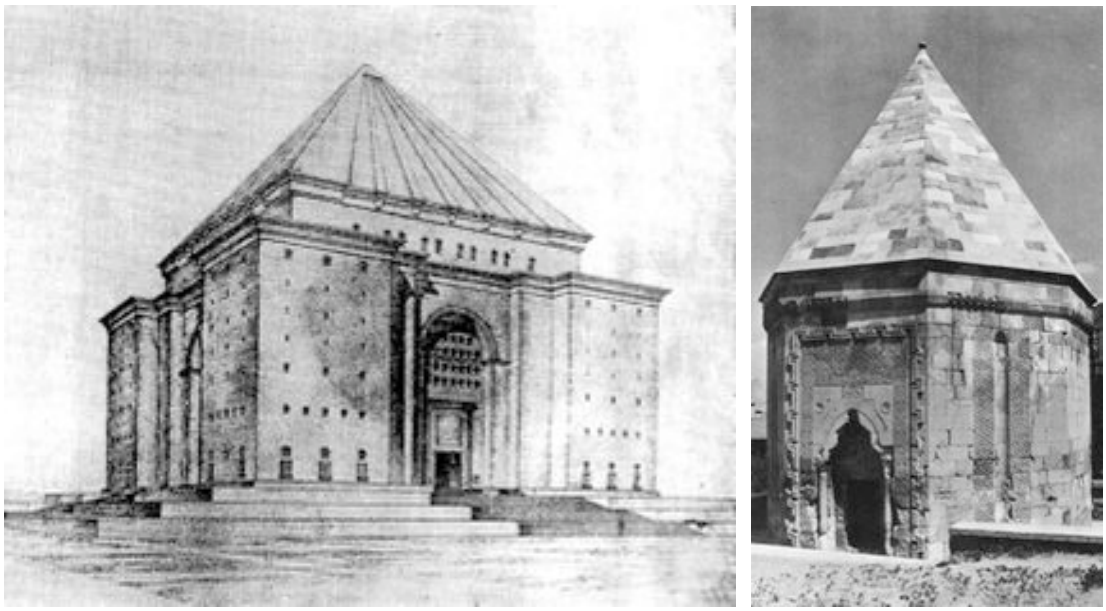

Fig. 2.16: Left: Anıtkabir competition entry by H.K.Söylemezoğlu-K.A.Aru-R.Akçay;
Right: Sitte Melik Kümbed (1196), Divriği, Turkey.

too much like a castle,[141] a statement that only makes sense after considering that the winning entry (Onat-Arda) turns its back on the Ankara Castle because the castle may represent an Ottoman past.

The interior of the entry by Söylemezoğlu, *et al* (Fig. 2.17) is also symbolically significant not only because *Arkitekt* commented that "the inside of this project addresses our national feelings"[142] but also because the sarcophagus structure evokes the Tomb of Cyrus the Great (576/590-529 BC), founder of the Persian Empire under the Achaemenid dynasty (550-330 BC). In this way, both the interior and exterior of the proposal are equally Eastern-oriented.

Another entry utilizing a pyramidal form was the group submission of Selim Benar–Rahmi Bediz–Demirtaş Kamçil (Fig. 2.18).[143] *Arkitekt* commented that the external form of this entry "possessed an effect inspired by very old architectural monuments."[144] The base of the pyramid is not square but hexagonal, with the six sides of the hexagon perhaps symbolizing the six pillars of Kemalism. The competition jury commented that such a sharp-pointed form, although simultaneously decorative in a modern way and reminiscent of historical tombs and graves, was not "representative of the kind of things needed for a memorial tomb for Atatürk."[145]

A pyramidal form was also utilized by a non-Turkish entrant, the Italian architect Giovanni Muzio, whose entry (Fig. 2.19) received an honorable mention from the competition jury. The base of Muzio's pyramid, like Benar *et al*'s, is also hexagonal and *Arkitekt* similarly commented that this submission was inspired by ancient

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[141] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 8: "*Murabbai (kare) bir plan üzerinde yükselen ve köşe yapılarıyla takviye edilen anıt, kuvvet ifade etmektedir. Harici (dış) görünüşünün tesirli olması arzusu ile, köşe yapıları, dar olan esas enteriyöre* [sic] *nisbeten mübalağalı (abartılı) düşmüştür. Ancak ehram (piramit) çatının burada münasib (uygun) olup olmadığı cayi sualdir (kuşkuludur). Gayet fazla miktarda konulan küçük pencereler, bir mozoleden ziyade (çok) kaleyi andırmaktadır."*

[142] Sayar (1943), p. 14: "*Dış mimari hilafına bu projenin içi milli duygularımıza hitap eden bir tesir yapmaktadır.*"

[143] Rahmi Bediz's name is misspelled as "Rahmi Ediz" in *Arkitekt*.

[144] Sayar (1943), p. 106: "*Harici şekil her ne kadar çok eski mimari abidelerden mülhem bir tesiri malik ise de kesimden ve iç mimari şekillerinden ancak betonarme ile kabili tatbik hacimler nazarı dikkati çekmektedir."*

[145] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 7, assuming that entry number 17 (identification number 56732) was from Benar, *et al*: "*Profillerle mebzulen süslenmiş sivri betonarme kubbe, bir yandan modern dekoratif, bir yandan kümbet formalı tarihi mezarları hatırlatan şekilleriyle gözetilmesi Atatürk anıt kabrinde gereken vekarla kabili telif değildir.*"

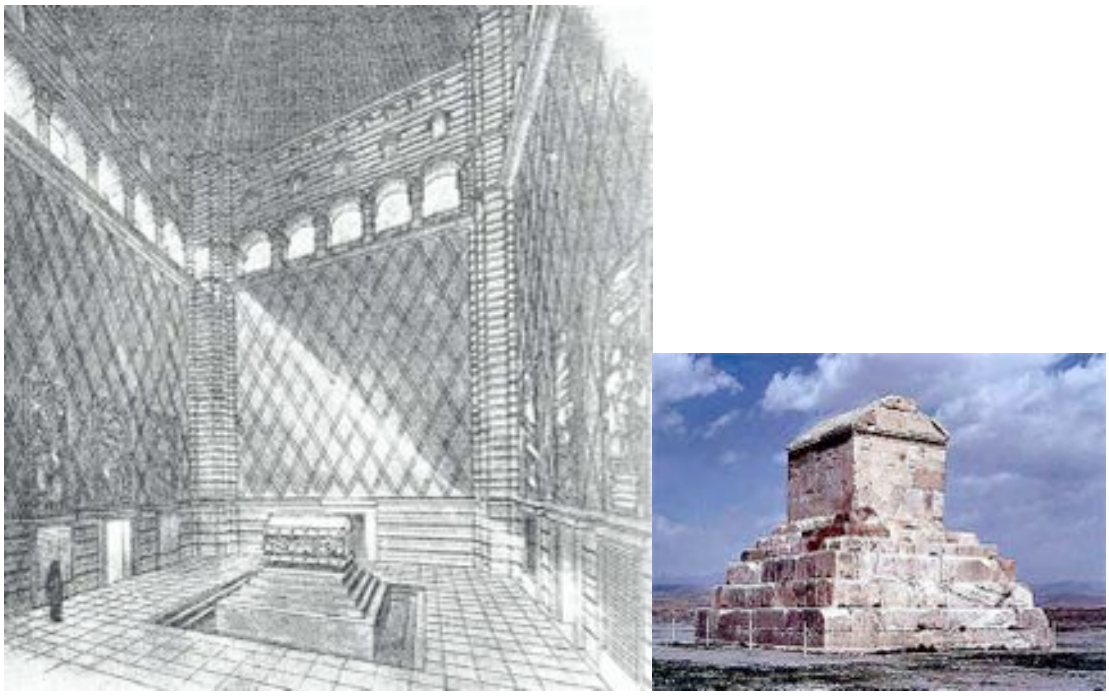

Fig. 2.17: Left: Interior of Anıtkabir competition entry by H.K.Söylemezoğlu-K.A.Aru-R.Akçay; Right: The Tomb of Cyrus the Great (576/590-529 BC), Persopolis, Iran.

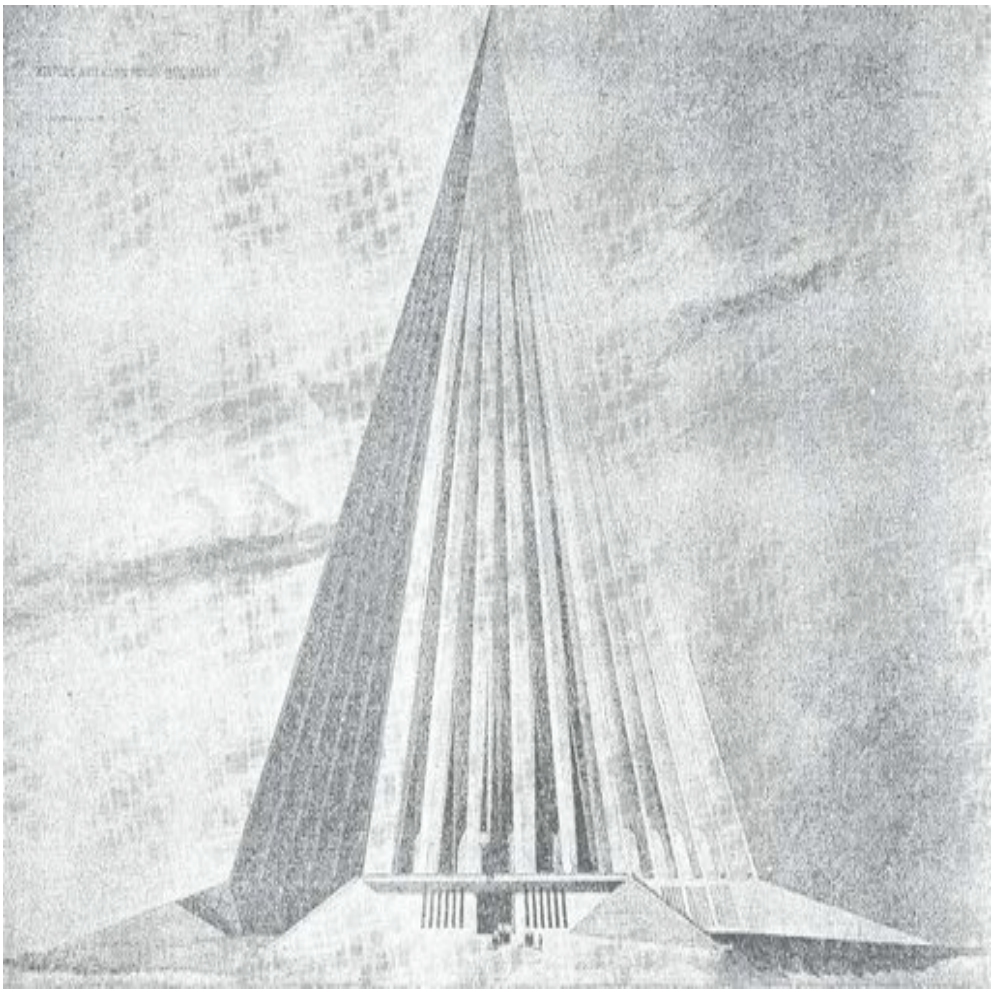

Fig. 2.18: Anıtkabir competition entry by S.Benar-R.Bediz-D.Kamçil

monuments and tombs.[146] Such a design approach (being inspired by classical monuments) is consistent with other funerary architecture that Muzio designed, like the Tadini Tomb in Bergamo, 1932 (Fig. 2.20). The competition jury also favored the pyramidal form of Muzio's entry, but, interestingly, in order to fit their pro-Western ideology, they argued that "it was a form independent of time."[147]

Lastly in the "Eastern/Turkic/Islamic" classification, the competition entry submitted by the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister (Fig. 2.21) uses a combination cylindrical-pyramidal-conical form, in stark contrast to the more rectangular or "Viennese cubic" style of his Turkish Grand National Assembly Building (Fig. 2.32, right) – the competition which he had just won the previous year – and other projects by Holzmeister in Ankara and in Europe, including an example of funerary architecture, the Albert Leo Schlageter Memorial near Düsseldorf, 1931 (Fig. 2.22).[148] Even so, it was the opinion of *Arkitekt* magazine that the design could have contained more "classic principles of details found on monuments."[149] In contrast, the jury commented that although the entry was "the most professional of the entire competition,"[150] it concluded that the project "did not appear to seriously give an answer to the subject of monumentality."[151]

The remaining surviving nine entries to the Anıtkabir Competition evoked "Western" architectural imagery, funereal and otherwise. The "Western" symbolism of the winning entry by Turkish architects Emin Onat and Orhan Arda that was actually constructed will be discussed in the next section. The Anıtkabir Competition Jury's initial comments of the Onat-Arda entry (Figs. 1.21 - 1.23) were as follows:

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[146] Sayar (1943), p. 18: "*Proje dış mimari itibarile en eski abide ve mezar şekilelrinden mülhemdür … bu satıhları o kadar pencereler ile doldurmuştur ki, ancak betonarme ve zor bir inşaat sistemine muhtaçtır.*"

[147] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 11: "*Zamanla mukayyet olmıyan piramid şekli, nazara alınmıya değer iyi bir inşa tasavvurdur.*"

[148] During the French Ruhr occupation of Germany after World War I, Albert Leo Schlageter (1894-1923) lead a combat patrol against the French, was caught, arrested and executed in Düsseldorf on 25 May 1923. The Nazis later appropriated Schlageter as a martyr after the construction of this memorial.

[149] Sayar (1943), p. 64: "*Harici mimari kitlede ve tafsilatta bir abidede bulunması lazımgelen klasik esaslar yoktur."*

[150] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 12, assuming that entry number 43 (identification number 72927) was from Holzmeister: "*Bu eser müsabakanın en ziyade ehliyet iddiası hissini veren projelerinden biridir.*"

[151] Ibid., "*Bu ilavelerle mevzua cevap verebilecek monümental ciddiyet görülememiştir.*"

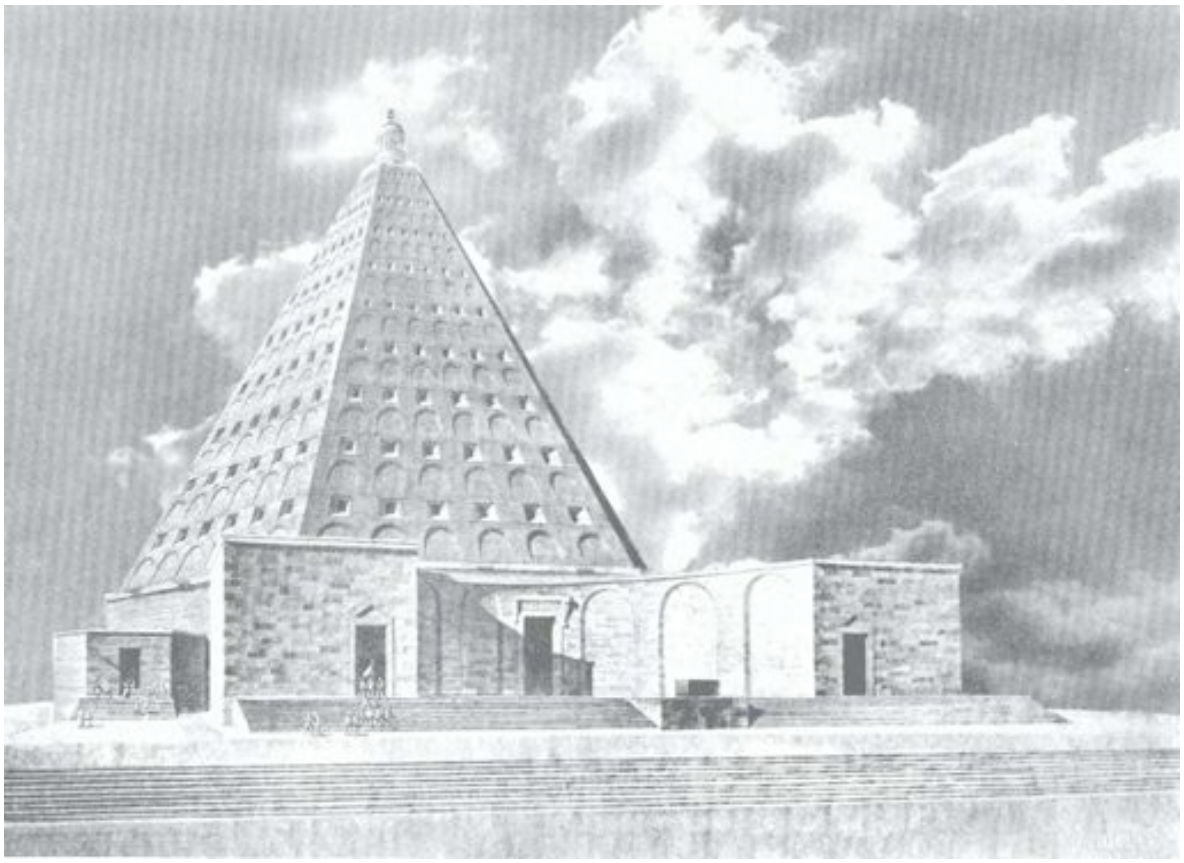

Fig. 2.19: Anıtkabir competition entry by Giovanni Muzio

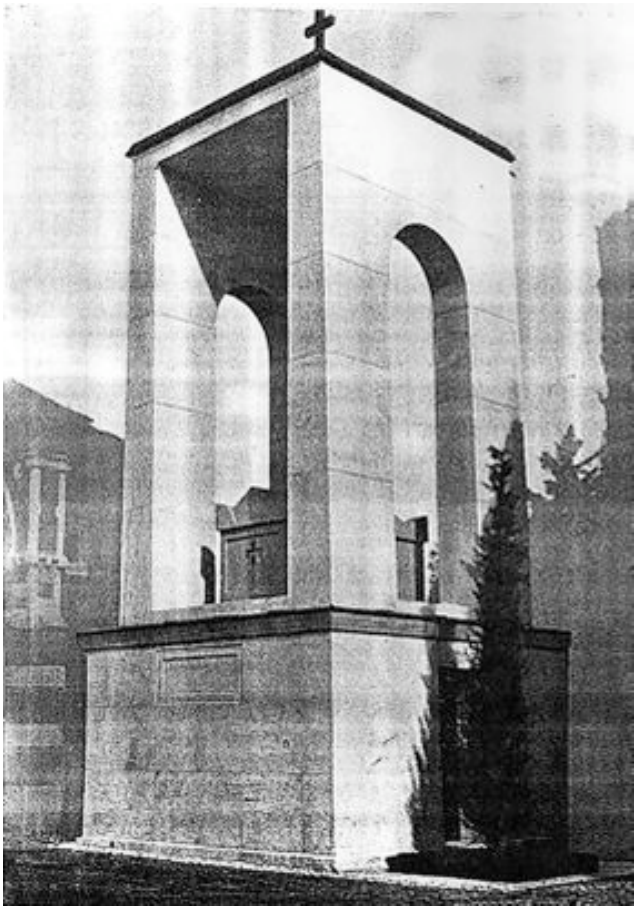

Fig. 2.20: Tadini Tomb, Bergamo Cemetery (1932) by Giovanni Muzio

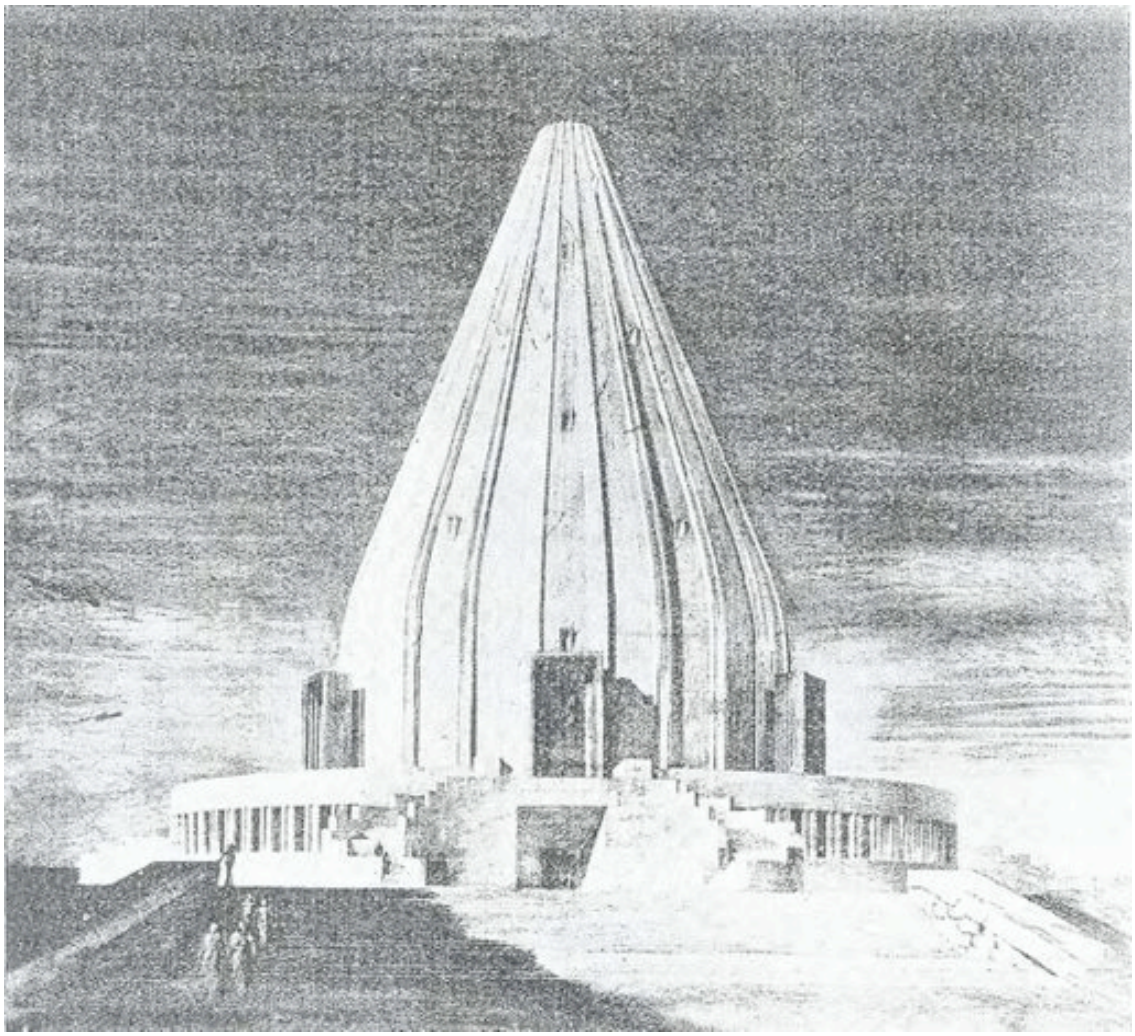

Fig. 2.21: Anıtkabir competition entry by Clemens Holzmeister.

Fig. 2.22: Aerial view of The Schlageter Memorial, near Düsseldorf, by Clemens Holzmeister (1931)

> A peristyle-columned wide main building rises on continuous levels forming terraces. By means of these masses, wide steps are formed; the effect of the hill increases and the top is crowned in a splendid manner. The park section has been divided in a geometric way (and) the defects of the hill are not presented to the eye. Unfortunately, the inside of the building is not in the same character. In plan, the entrances are not given sufficient importance. The fact that the surround of the main monument has been crowded with excess details damages the plan. It would be good if the wall surrounding the park and other parts were made plainer.[152]

Later, after being short-listed, the jury commented on the Onat-Arda entry as follows:

> The charm of project no. 25 is that it crowns the hill in a beautiful way. In contrast to [projects] 9 [Kruger] and 44 [Foschini] that have short vertical formations, this project has a horizontal appearance. The columns that surround the monument give the project a special beauty. It would be worth examining whether the removal of the side details that surround the main part of the monument would create a more open and clear architecture. The interior and exterior architecture of the monument should be made in a suitable style.[153]

Arkitekt, in one of the few times that it agreed with the competition jury, commented on the Onat-Arda entry along these lines:

> This project is a composition that everyone is able to like. Initially inspired by a shrine idea forming a rectangular plan, the mausoleum and its details have been surrounded by a colonnade on the outside. The volume corresponding to the Hall of Honor has been raised from the general massing in order to attain an assured volume (monumentality). On this part of the monument which essentially consists of plain and simple volumes, unnecessary bas-reliefs have been made.[154]

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[152] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 9: "*Müteaddit (devamlı) kademeler teşkil eden teraslar üstünde, etrafı kolonad ile ihata edilmiş (çevrilmiş) geniş bir esas bina yükselmektedir. Kütlelerin bu veçhile (şekilde) geniş kademeler teşkil etmesi sayesinde, tepenin tesiri artırılmakta ve üstü azametli bir surette taçlanmaktadır. Park kısmının hendesi (geometrik) şekilde bölünmesiyle, tepenin arızaları pek kale alınmamış oluyor (göz önünde bulundurulmamıştır). Maalesef binanın içi, dış uslupla aynı karakterde değildir. Plan tertibatında (düzeninde) methaller (girişler) pek ehemmiyetsiz kalıyor (önemsiz kalmaktadır). Esas abidenin etrafının pek fazla teferruatla (ayrıntıyla) doldurulmuş olması, plana zarar vermektedir. Parkı çeviren duvar ve sair (diğer) aksamın sadeleştirilmesi iyi olur."*

[153] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 16: "*25 numaralı projenin cazibesi, tepeyi güzel bir surette taçlandırmasındadır. Şakuli (düşey) bir kütle teşkil eden 9 ve 44 numaralı projelerin hilafına (aksine), bu projede ufkilik tebarüz ettirilmektedir (yatay bir görünüm söz konusudur). Anıtın etrafını çevreleyen kolonat, projeye hususi (özel) bir güzellik vermektedir. Asıl anıt kısmını çevreleyen, tali maksatlara (yan taraflardaki)hadim (ayrıntılar)teferruat bertaraf edildiği (ortadan kaldırıldığı) takdirde, daha vazih (açık) ve sarih (belirgin) bir mimarinin elde edilip edilmeyeceği hususu (konusu) tetkike (incelemeye) değer. Anıtın iç ve dış mimarisi birbirine uygun bir stilde yapılmalıdır.*"

[154] Sayar (1943), p. 5: "*Bu proje, herkesce beğenilmesi kabil bir kompoz[i]syondur. İlk mabed fikriden mülhem mustatilî bir plan teşkil eden Mozole ve teferruatı dıştan bir kolonadla çerçevelenmiştir. Şeref holünü ihtiva eden hacim (Monumentalité) temini için umumi kütleden yükseltilmiştir. Esas*

The two runners up, Johannes Krüger (Figs. 1.17 and 1.18) and Arnaldo Foschini (Figs. 1.19 and 1.20), proposed two different time periods from Western architectural history as their models. Krüger's entry is a mixture of forms. Its octagonal towers, alternating bands of dark- and light-colored stone and half-circle arch are simultaneously reminiscent of Medieval castles, Byzantine chapels and Romanesque cathedrals. *Arkitekt* commented that "Architect J. Krüger's project is a strong work. Although the exterior architecture possesses a slightly brutal effect, the interior architecture is rich."[155] The competition jury was most impressed with its "clear and effective silhouette" and "its plain view from afar," but commented that the mixture of styles on the outside "did not present a homogeneity".[156]

Krüger's design is very reminiscent in form and proportion to another funerary building he designed with his brother, the Tannenberg National Monument, in Hohenstein, German East Prussia (now Olsztynek, Poland), 1924-1927 (Fig. 2.23).[157] At Tannenberg, however, Krüger seems to be re-creating a mini-Medieval walled city, set off from the surrounding countryside, whereas his Anıtkabir project is less inwardly-looking, but nonetheless evoking the same stylistic imagery.

Foschini's design, as opposed to Krüger's Medieval-ness, evokes the architecture of ancient Rome. In its placement, massing and decoration, the project is very similar in to the "stripped-down Classicism" of early 20th century Italian architecture, particularly the monuments to Italian soldiers killed in World War I like the *Sacrario Militare di Asiago* (Orpheo Rossato, 1936) (Fig. 2.24). The decoration of Foschini's project consisted of applied reliefs and inscriptions on both the exterior façade and the interior dome. *Arkitekt* criticized this decoration, saying that "the interior carries the spirit of a church" and that it "forms a contrast to Turkish and Islamic

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itibarile sade ve basit hacimlerden mürekkep olan anıdın bu kısmı üzerinde fuzuli Baröliyefler yapılmıştır."

[155] Sayar (1943), p. 7: "*Mimar Y. Krüger'in projesi kuvvetli bir eserdir. Harici mimari biraz vahşi bir tesir yapmakta ise de; iç mimari zengindir."*

[156] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), pp. 6-7: "*Esas yapının pozisyonu ve silueti iyidir … Uzaktan görünüşü sadelik içinde vazih ve tesirlidir … Cephe detayları üslup tecanüsü arz etmemektedir.*"

[157] The Tannenberg Memorial was built to commemorate a German victory over the Russians in an early World War I battle that took place there. The site eventually became symbolic of German heroism and was later appropriated by the Nazis when they renovated the monument and placed the body of Paul von Hindenburg, the German Field Marshal victor at Tannenberg and Second President of Germany, upon his death in 1934. The Russians apparently destroyed the monument in 1949.

Fig. 2.23: Aerial view of The Tannenberg Memorial, by Johannes and Walther Krüger (1924-1927)

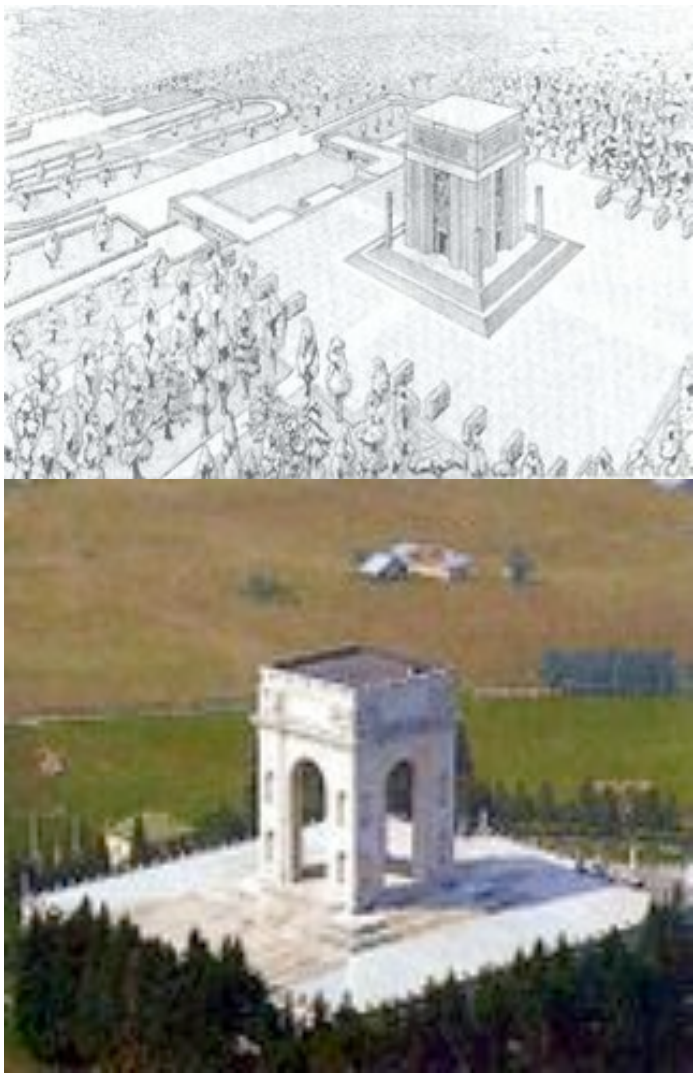

Fig. 2.24: Top: Anıtkabir entry by Arnaldo Foschini; Bottom: *Sacrario Militare di Asiago*, Italy.

essence/soul."[158] The competition jury did not go that far, but did comment that "the interior was worthy of a little more plainness."[159] As already noted, Krüger's decoration was more plain than Foschini's and integral to his design rather than merely applied, consisting of horizontal banding of alternative color brickwork, diamond shapes and free-standing lion sculptures.

Both Foschini's and Krueger's designs were massive blocky/rectangular structures on the outside, but contained curved or domed ceilings on the inside (Figs. 1.17 and 1.19). That is, the domes are not seen from the outside. Despite this concealment of the domes, it can be possibly assumed that both designs were not chosen to be built by the Turkish Parliament over the design of Onat and Arda because of these (unwanted) dome references which, as *Arkitekt* clearly stated, evoked religious overtones, whether Christian or Islamic.

A group entry from Turkish architects M. Ali Handan and Feridun Akozan (Fig. 2.25), which won an honorable mention from the competition jury, is quite simple in its massing, resembling a Roman triumphal arch like The Arch of Constantine (315 AD), albeit without the smaller side arches. Although *Arkitekt* found this entry "inventive", it was criticized for being "primitive and out of proportion (compared with the large size of the site)[160] and gave it only one page of coverage as opposed to two or three pages like the other award winners. The competition jury, on the contrary, commented that the entry's slightly angled walls and plainness made a favorable impression,[161] clearly indicating the aesthetic preference difference between the editorial staff of *Arkitekt* and the competition jury in terms of massing and decoration.

Another Turkish entry to utilize a similar triumphal arch symbolic vocabulary was the submission from Necmi Ateş (Fig. 2.26, top), whose rectilinear forms are literally

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[158] Sayar (1943), p. 10: "*İç mimariye gelince bir kilise ruhunu taşımakta; şeref holünün kompozisyonu Türk ve İslam ruhuna tezat teşkil etmektedir.*"

[159] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 13: "*Enteriörün işleme tarzında daha fazla bir sadelik şayanı arzu olurdu.*"

[160] Sayar (1943), p. 16: "*Plan itibarile iyi buluşları ihtiva eden bu projenin harici mimarisi iptidai ve nisbetsizdir."*

[161] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 10: "*Bu projede kullanılmış olan esas şeklin sadeliği, gerek içte ve gerek dışta müsait bir tesir yapmaktadır. Duvarların gerek içte ve gerek dışta hafif surette (biçimde) mail (eğimli) oluşu muvafık (uygun) görulebilir.*"

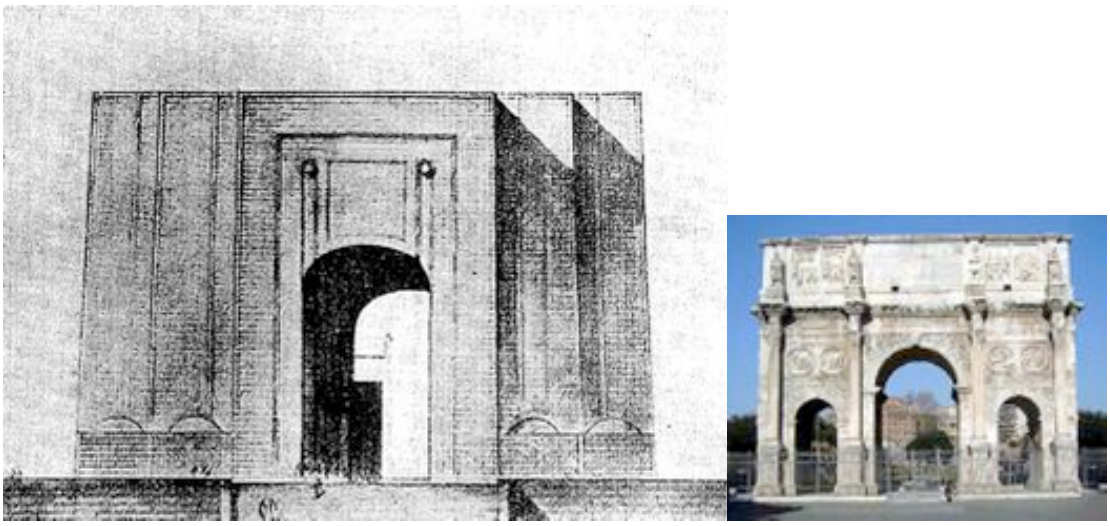

Fig. 2.25: Left: Anıtkabir competition entry by M.A.Handan and F.Akozan (elevation);
Right: The Arch of Constantine (315 AD), Rome, Italy.

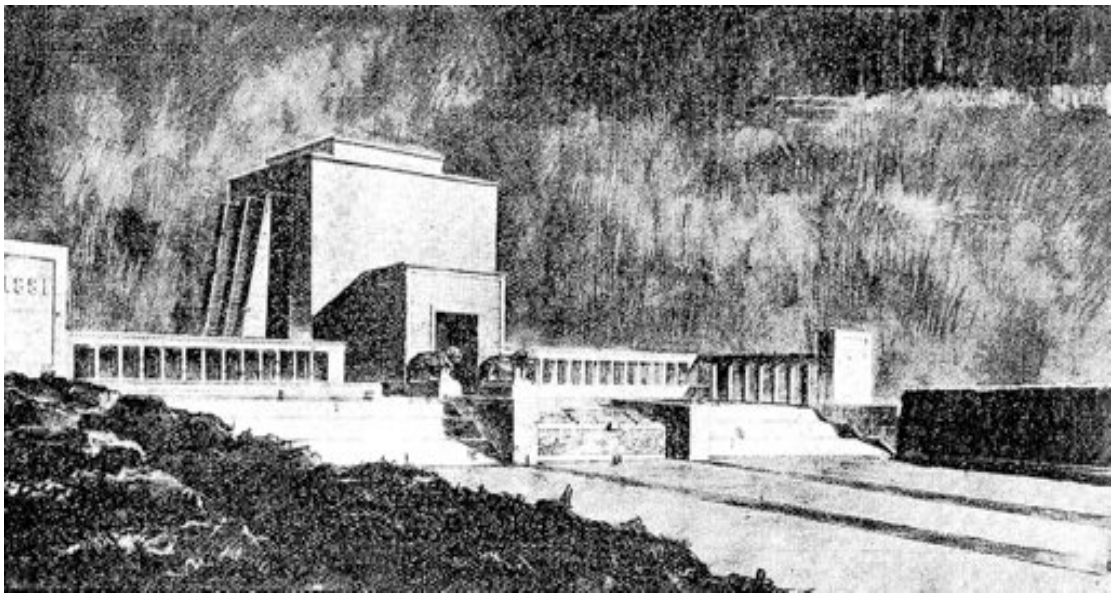

Fig. 2.26: Top: Anıtkabir competition entry by Necmi Ateş (general view);
Bottom: First Pylon of the Temple of Isis, Philae, Egypt, c. 1800 BC.

supported by six buttresses, three either side of the main block, noted by *Arkitekt* as symbolizing the "principles of the Republic."[162] *Arkitekt*, in fact, seems to have favored the project, assigning it three pages of coverage (as opposed to the winner Onat and Arda, who only received two pages). The competition jury commented that the project's silhouette made a good impression, but the six buttress structures were not integral with the rest of the proposal.[163] Bozdoğan (2001) has likened this entry to "Egyptian temples mixed with Hittite symbols"[164] because, like J. Krüger's entry, two lions flank either side of the entrance to the main hall, but the rectilinearity of the main block and colonnades is perpendicular to the ground, not at a slight angle like in Egyptian Temples (Fig. 2.26, bottom). For this reason, it is the opinion of this dissertation that this entry more properly belongs in the "West" category.

The next group of rectilinear-formed or cubic (Western) entries came from two Italian submissions: one from Giuseppe Vaccaro-Gino Franzi (Fig. 2.27), which won an honorable mention from the competition jury, and another from Adalberto Libera (Fig. 2.30), better known for his Casa Malaparte on the Island of Capri.[165] Both entries are enlarged Roman sarcophagi (Fig. 2.29), the size of a whole building itself and not just that of a dead body.

Vaccaro seems to have favored large geometrical and cubic blocks with sculptural forms for his funerary architecture, as evidenced also in his Goldoni Tomb, Bologna, 1930s (Fig. 2.28). In the design for this tomb, just like in his Anıtkabir entry, Vaccarro created a massive abstract block with the only decoration being the sculptural treatment of the upper part.

In the introductory remarks in the issue displaying all the prize-winning competition entries, *Arkitekt* derogatorily commented that "architects Vaccaro and Franzi have not

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[162] Sayar (1943), p. 61: "*Yan cephelerde konulan kontrforlar inşai zarurdetlerden ziyade, cümhuriyetin umdelerini ifade bakımdan temsilidir.*"

[163] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 7, assuming that entry number 16 (identification number 25739) was from Ateş: "*Tepenin heyeti mecmuasının silûetini gösteren 1:500 mikyaslı resme bakıldığında iyi bir tesir vereceği zehabı uyandığı halde, muhtelif aksamın işlenme tarzı bu hususta hayal sukutu teylit etmektedir. Yapı elemanları, bilhassa kontrforlar bünyeleri bakımından, organik olmaktan ziyade dekoratiftir.*"

[164] Bozdoğan (2001), p. 289.

[165] Despite Libera's semi-fame at the time, his submission is interestingly not displayed by *Arkitekt*, except as a tiny sketch on p. 4 done by jury member Paul Bonatz, amongst those sketches sent to the Italian magazine *Architettura* for their subsequent publication the following year.

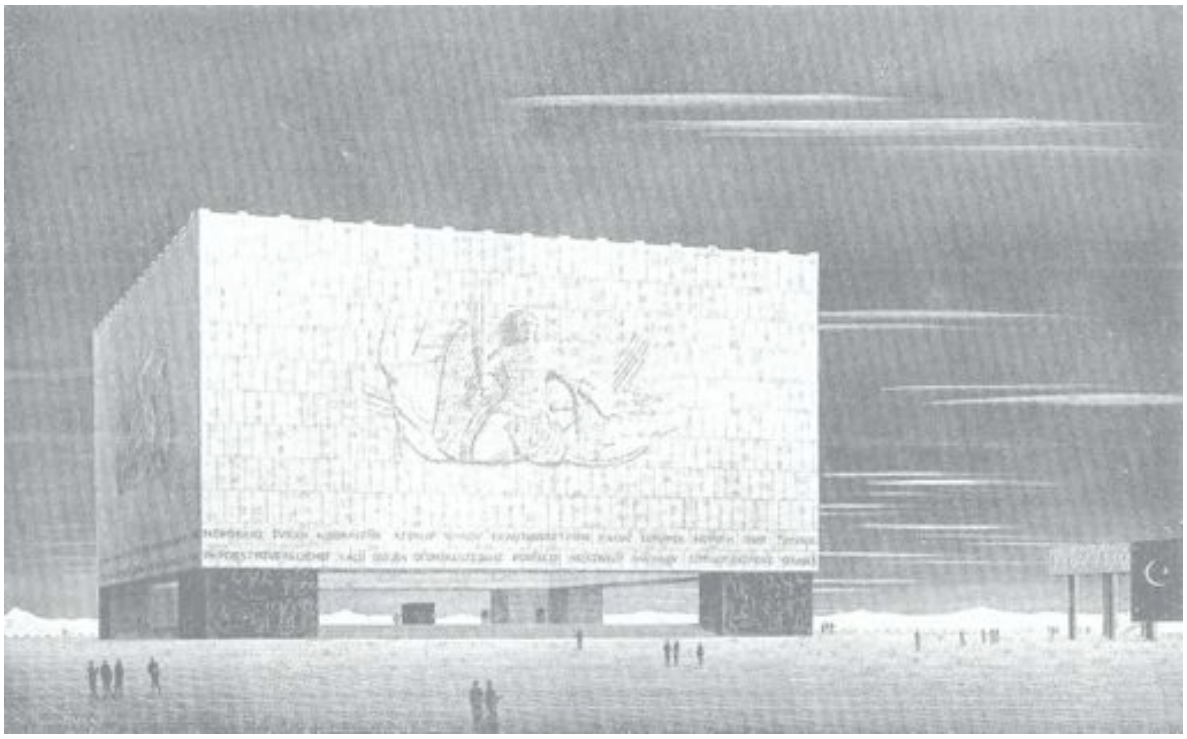

Fig. 2.27: Anıtkabir competition entry by G.Vaccaro-G. Franzi

Fig. 2.28: Goldoni Tomb, Cemetery of Bologna, 1930s, by Giuseppe Vaccaro (Sculptor: Amerigo Tot)

Fig. 2.29: The Sarcophagus of Alexander in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (c. 325-300 BC)

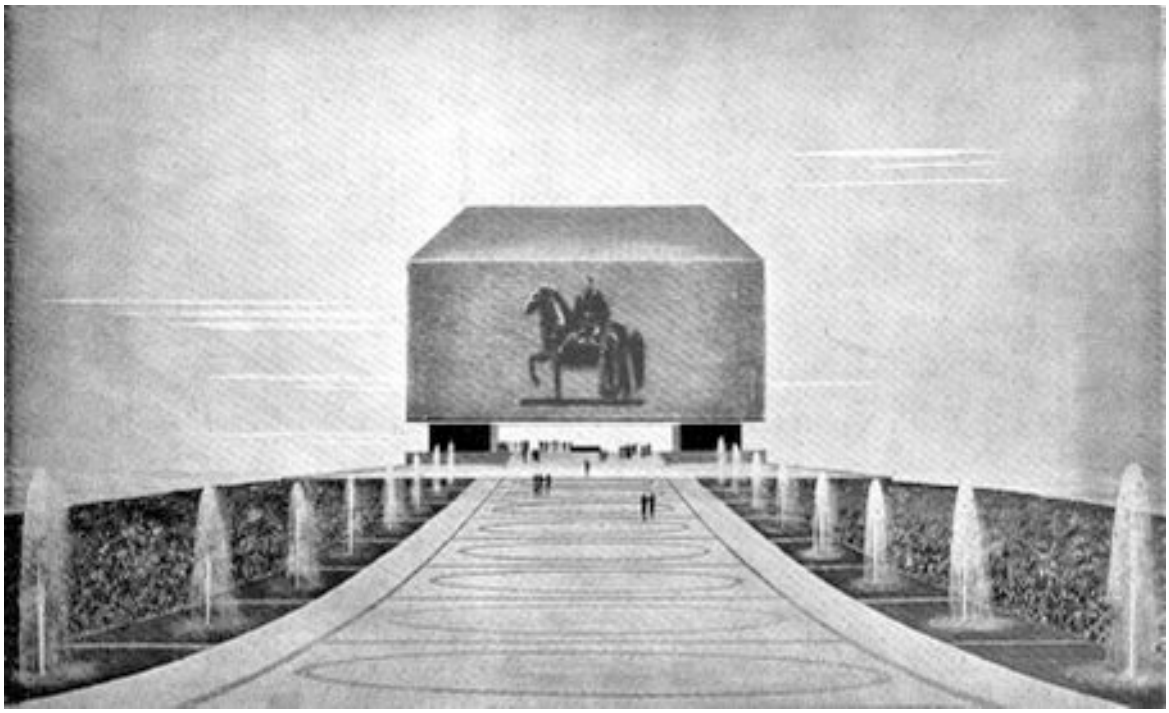

Fig. 2.30: Anıtkabir competition entry by Adalberto Libera (exterior view)

satisfied us in any way with their project."[166] The magazine only published a half-page of pictures and simply commented that: "This project instead of a serious and classic effect, has a decorative interior architecture and necessitates a totally unneeded different construction method."[167] The competition jury also questioned the method of constructing this entry and the fact that the underground museum would not receive any sunlight, but did not comment on the symbolic representation of a giant sarcophagus.[168] Libera's entry was not published in *Arkitekt*. The competition jury, still favoring Western symbolizations, made these positive comments:

> The silhouette leaves a strong artistic effect … The massive wall decorated with pictures or mosaics in the lower part of the interior of the monument and the upright placed tomb make a strong effect.[169]

An entry from another Italian architect, Paolo Vietti-Violi (Fig. 2.31), designer of the Ankara Hippodrome (1936) and Istanbul Inönü Stadium (1939), also seems to be evoking the grandeur of ancient Rome. A large cylindrical main hall gives the impression of a greatly enlarged but truncated Trajan's Column (113 AD), Rome (Fig. 2.32). Together with its stripped-down Classical-columned frontage (reminiscent of Holzmeister's Turkish Parliament Building), the project additionally suggests the general feeling of the Pantheon in Rome, which is more evident when the plans of each are compared (Fig. 2.33).

Arkitekt commented on the awkwardness of these combinations of forms in Vietti-Violi's project that "The result of this [circular] plan is a cylindrical mass. The entry colonnades together with the other annex buildings do not fit with the main

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[166] Sayar (1943), p. 2: "*Mimar Vaccaro ve Franzi projeleri ile bizi hiç bir suretle tatmin etmemişlerdir.*"

[167] Sayar (1943), p. 20: "*Bu proje ağır ve klasik tesirden ziyade dekoratif bir iç mimariyi ve hiç lüzum olmadığı halde zor bir inşa tarzını icap ettirmektedir*."

[168] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 13: "*Ebediyen kalmasi matlup olan böyle bir abide için bu inşa tarzının ne dereceye kadar garanti temin edeceği meselesi şüphelidir. Müze, gün ışığı almayan bodrumda bulunmaktadır*."

[169] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 4, assuming that entry number 1 (identification number 12345) was from Libera: "*Siluet kuvvetli bir sanat tesiri bırakmaktadır … Anıt dahilinde, alt kısmı resim veya mozaik tezyin edilmiş yekpare dıvar ve dikine konmuş olan lahit kuvvetli tesir yapmaktadır*."

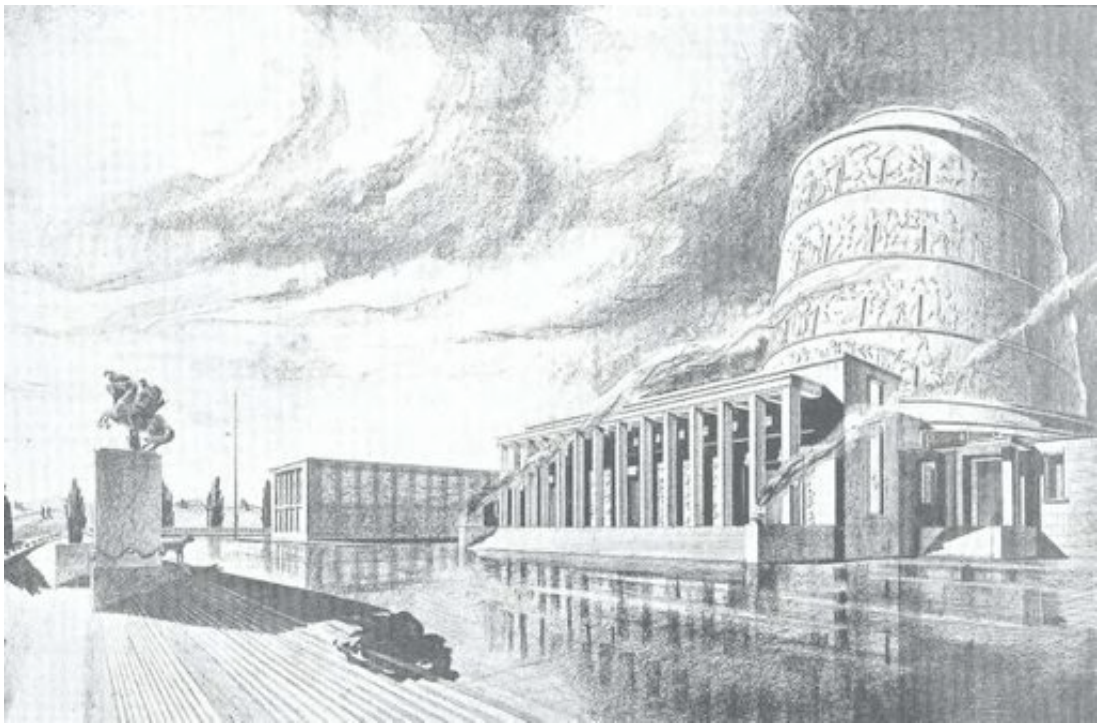

Fig. 2.31: Anıtkabir competition entry by Paolo Vietti-Violi (exterior view)

Fig. 2.32: Left: Reliefs on Trajan's Column (113 AD), Rome, Italy;
Right: Front façade of Turkish Grand National Assembly Building by Clemens Holzmeister (1938-63).

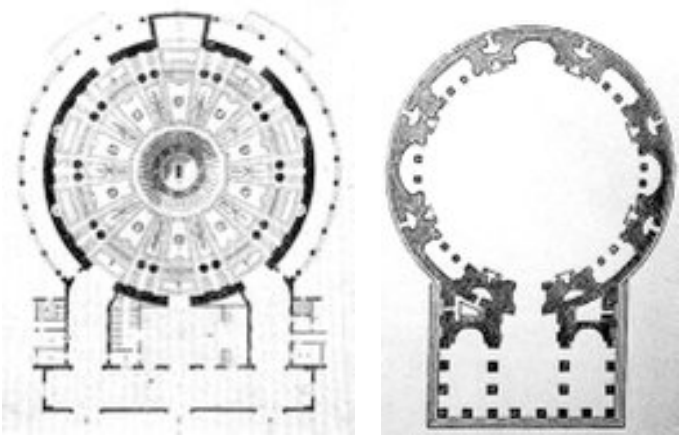

Fig. 2.33: Left: Anıtkabir competition entry by Paolo Vietti-Violi (plan);
Right: Plan drawing of The Pantheon (118-126 AD), Rome.

mausoleum."[170] Despite the evocation of Ancient Rome, the competition jury was equally disparaging in its remarks about Vietti-Violi's project:

> If the silhouette of the tower in itself can be seen as acceptable, a non-homogeneous set of buildings adds up to a spoiled view. The long and horizontal building that is joined to this main building creates a foreign and added-on effect … There is not the required repose nor clarity inside or outside the mausoleum. The general position of the commission is that it is decorative rather than serious and monumental.[171]

The final surviving competition entry from Swiss architect Roland Rohn (Fig. 2.34) is very difficult to discuss in terms of its symbolic representation. Its main hall of honor is a Roman triumphal arch-like rectangular block similar to Handan *et al*, but the proportions are quite unlike a Roman triumphal arch, and this block is completely unarticulated, with large expanses of flat, plain surfaces. This main block, the long arcaded walkways and the colonnaded museum block of the project are all separate from each other and give a non-unified impression. *Arkitekt* magazine did not even bother to mention Rohn's name – writing simply "a project from a Swiss architect" – and commented that the project lacked grandeur and a monumental impression,[172] an opinion oddly seconded by the competition jury (since they awarded the submission an honorable mention), which called the mausoleum portion of Rohn's project "humble."[173]

What is clear from all of this examination of the symbolic representations in the Anıtkabir competition entries is that the jury seems to have sought out and favored those projects that evoked a "Western" rather than "Eastern/Turkic/Islamic" vocabulary: six of the eight jury awards, including the three projects awarded first

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[170] Sayar (1943), p. 66: "*Bu plân neticesi olarak haricen üstüvanevi bir kitle meydana gelmektedir. Giriş kolonadı ile diğer müştemilât binaları esas Mozole ile imtizaç etmemiştir.*"

[171] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p.11, assuming that entry number 39 (identification number 10001) was from Vietti-Violi: "*Kulenin silueti haddi zatında kabule sayan görülebilirse de, gayri mütecanis bir takım binaların ilavesi yüzünden manzara haleldar edilmektedir. Bu esas binaya bağlamış olan uzun ve ufki bina, yabancı ve ekleme tesiri yapmaktadı … Mozolenin içinde ve dışında gereken sükun ve vuzuh yoktur. Heyeti umumiyenin durumu, ciddî ve monumental olmaktan ziyade dekoratiftir.*"

[172] Sayar (1943), p. 17: "*İsviçreli mimarın projesi, kompozisyon bakımdan diğerlerinden farklıdır . . . fakat eserde bir abideye lazım olan azamet ve monumantal tesirler yoktur.*"

[173] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 12: "*Mozolenin kendisi, bina olarak, pek mütevazidir.*"

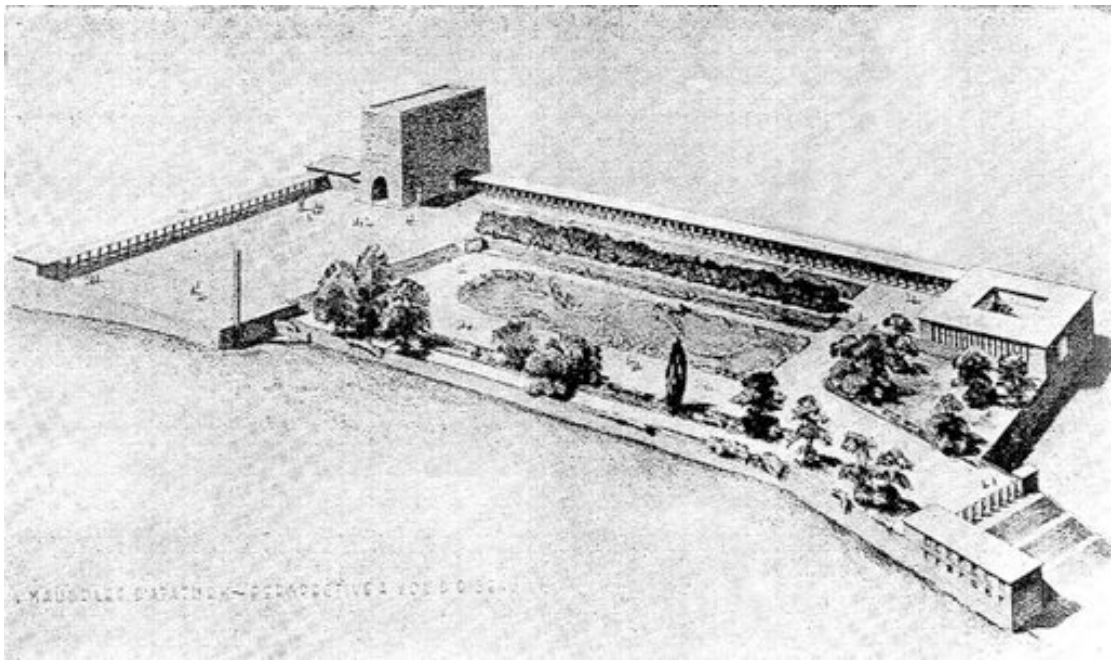

Fig. 2.34: Anıtkabir competition entry by Roland Rohn (bird's eye view).

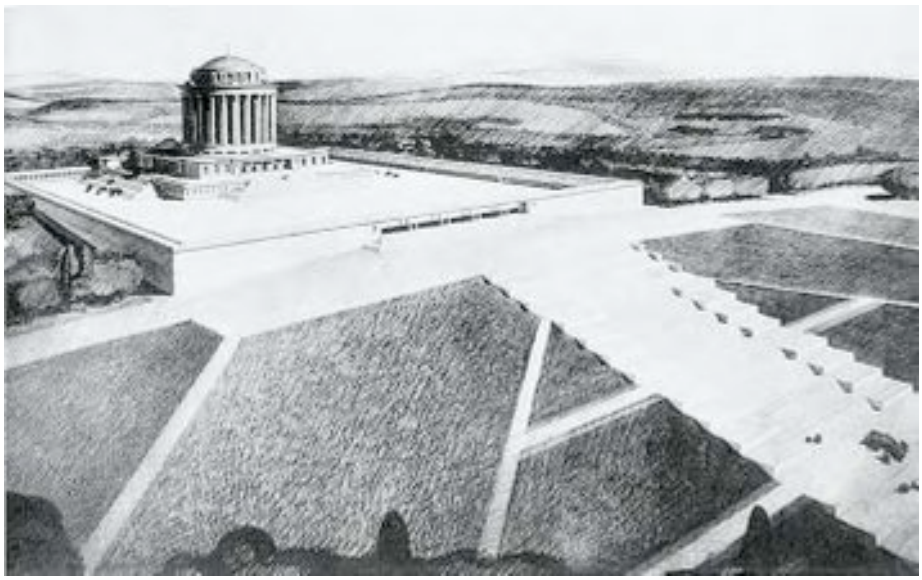

Fig. 2.35: Anıtkabir competition entry by famous French architect Auguste Perret, held up at Turkish customs and never seen by the jury.

prize, can be classified as "Western" (Onat-Arda, Krüger, Foschini, Handan-Akkozan, Rohn and Vaccarro-Franzi).

While it is not known what the non-surviving competition entries looked like, whatever their appearance they obviously did not appeal to the jury. This preference towards an image of "the West" is in contrast to the commentary provided by *Arkitekt* magazine, which often praised the "Eastern" entries (Eldem, Sölemezoğlu *et al*, Benar *et al*, Muzio and Holzmeister) as much as, if not more than, the "Western" entries – a likely product of the Second National Style that was the domestic architectural culture at the time.

Although the evocation of Eastern or Western imagery cannot easily split between Turks and foreigners (with all nationalities equally evoking both East and West), an indication of a typical European entry can be obtained with the competition project from the famous French architect Auguste Perret (Fig. 2.35), which was apparently received late and was not seen by the jury.[174] The book that describes this work – to the knowledge of the author not previously published in Turkey – explains Perret's entry in the following symbolic vocabulary:

The traditional circular temple, in a certain manner, is abstracted by Perret: the cupola of the mausoleum represents the moon, pointing out the membership of Turkey – although a secular state – to the Islamic world, in effect the synthesis of an antique monument and an Ottoman mosque.[175]

On a final note, there is an additional symbolization that is tacitly mentioned throughout the text of the jury report with statements like "This project is only possible to be built with reinforced concrete construction,"[176] and "But, as a building reserved for eternity, making it out of reinforced concrete is not appropriate"[177] and

[174] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-10-0-0, Ref: 1-5-20, File: 1107, Date: 20/11/1944. In this document, Perret was interestingly invited to submit an entry to the competition but because of the war there were problems with its arrival on time.
[175] Institut Français d'Architecture (2000), p. 270. The project is incorrectly dated as 1939 in this book.
[176] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), entry number 18 (identification number 69696), p. 8: "*Bu projenin tatbiki (yapılması) ancak betonarme Konstrüksiyonla mümkündür."*
[177] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), entry number 22 (identification number 80965), p. 8: "*Ancak; ebediyete mahsus olan böyle bir binanın betonarmeden yapılması yerinde değildir.*"

"The whole of the construction can only be made from a reinforced concrete skeleton and on top of this it is practical to cover it with stone."[178]

All such comments begin to make sense at the very end of the jury report, after jointly awarding first prize to Onat-Arda, Krüger and Foschini, when the jury wrote a conclusion whose last line states: "In choosing the cut stone to be used, it is suitable for it to be a slightly lighter color than that of soil color."[179] In this way, the jury, although not favoring historical-looking entries, favored those projects that looked like they were made of stone, symbolizing a certain permanence that they felt exposed reinforced concrete could perhaps not provide.

ANITKABİR – AS BUILT

Ironically for a monument that attempts to represent the Turkish nation, the first impression of the winning design for Anıtkabir by Onat and Arda (Figs. 1.21 and 1.22) is an abstracted and monumentalized classical (Greek/Hellenistic) temple, very similar to the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Fig. 1.01).

Interestingly, however, the winning architects did not deny this reading. In fact, it was highlighted. In an explanation of their design, Onat and Arda almost word-for-word repeated the (hi)story of Turkey and the Turkish people as proposed by the Turkish Historical Society's "Turkish History Thesis ":[180]

> Our past, like that of all Mediterranean civilizations, goes back thousands of years. It starts with [the] Sumerians and Hittites and merges with the

[178] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), entry number 1 (identification number 12345), assumed by the author to be Adalberto Libera's entry, p. 4: "*Heyeti umumiyesinin inşası ancak betonarme iskelet teşkil etmek ve bunun üzerine taş kaplamak suretiyle kabildir.*"

[179] Anıtkabir Competition Jury Report (1942), p. 17: "*Kullanılacak olan kesme taş için toprağın renginden daha açık bir renk daha açık bir renk intihabı münasiptir.*" While nowhere in the competition requirements/program is any mention made of a mandatory usage of stone, it seems that the jury decided that Anıtkabir should be constructed out of stone and not concrete.

[180] Eight years after the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, two Turkish government institutions were founded that substantially contributed to story-telling about "the Turks": The Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) and Turkish Language Society (*Türk Dil Kurumu*). Over the following decade, each institution proposed theories about the Turks that, although eventually partially discredited, shaped the discourse on these subjects well into the twentieth century. The Turkish Historical Society proposed the "Turkish History Thesis," which searched for a pre-Ottoman origin and proposed that current-day Turks descended from a branch of the nomadic Oğuz Turks, who migrated from Central Asia to India, China, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and even into Europe by crossing the Ural mountains, thereby populating almost the entire known world at that time.

> life of many civilizations from Central Asia to the depths of Europe, thus forming one of the main roots of the classical heritage. Atatürk, rescuing us from the Middle Ages,[181] widened our horizons and showed us that our real history resides not in the Middle Ages but in the common sources of the classical world … In a monument for the leader of our revolution and our savior from the Middle Ages, we wanted to reflect this new consciousness … Hence, we decided to construct our design philosophy along the rational lines of a seven-thousand-year-old classical civilization rather than associating it with the tomb of a sultan or a saint.[182]

As discussed in Chapter 1, the design took 11 years to build, during which some changes were made. The most significant change was that the "attic storey" of the main building was eliminated. Instead, a flat ceiling and roof were constructed assuring that the mausoleum more closely resembled a classical (Greek / Hellenistic) temple resting at the top of the city's highest point (Figs. 2.36 and 2.37).

Other changes seem to have been appropriated from the best features of other competition entries: the reliefs on either side of the stairs to the Hall of Honor (Fig. 1.29) seem like Foschini's project, the interior with sarcophagus back-lit by an arch (Fig. 2.46) seems like Krüger's, and lion sculptures (Fig. 1.28) can be found in both Krüger's and Ateş' entries. In fairness, the lion as a symbol of Anatolia was not the intellectual property of Krüger or Ateş, but a previous-held belief, as can be seen from the cover a 1939 issue of the Turkish publication *Sanat-Edebiyat-Sosyoloji*, which contained a rendering of a giant lion on a pedestal, with the caption: "A Proposal: Atatürk's Mausoleum Should Be a Giant HITITTE Lion" (Fig. 2.38).[183]

Visitors to the Anıtkabir that was actually built (as opposed to the competition entry) are first confronted by an imposing staircase with 26 risers, representing the date 26 August 1922 during the Turkish War of Independence, seen as the date when Atatürk's forces could legitimately say that they had control over the country. On either side at the top of the staircase is a group of sculptures: to the left, "Turkish Men" and to the right, "Turkish Women" (Fig. 1.30). The men include a soldier, a villager and a student – symbolizing defense, productivity and education. The two front women are holding a wreath of wheat, symbolizing Turkey's fertile land. The

[181] Implying the Ottoman Era.
[182] As translated by Bozdoğan (2001), p. 289. The original Turkish can be found in Onat and Arda (1955), pp. 55-59 and Gülekli (1980), pp. 28-30.
[183] Capitalization in the original: "Bir Teklif: Atatürk Mozolesi Muazzam bir HİTİT Aslanı Olmalıdır"

Fig. 2.36: Anıtkabir on the back of the 5 New Turkish Lira (YTL), issued in 2005.

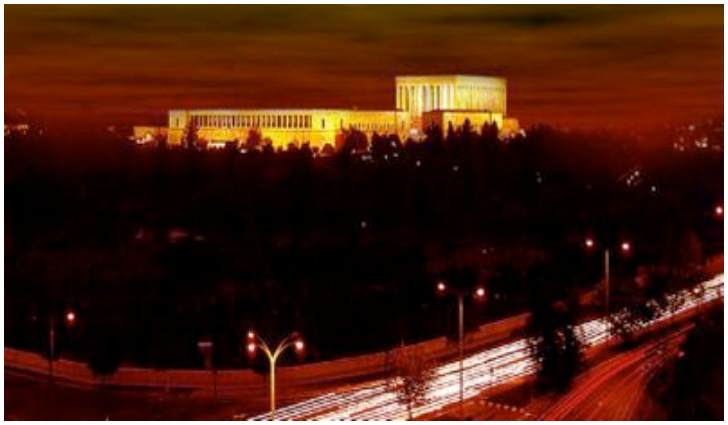
Fig. 2.37: Anıtkabir at night, like a Turkish Parthenon on the Acropolis of Ankara.

Fig. 2.38: Cover of Sanat-Edebiyat-Sosyoloji, no. 1, 7 June 1939

one on the left holds a cup in her right hand up to the sky, asking for God's mercy and grace [*rahmet*] for Atatürk.[184] The third woman in the back covers her face and silently cries – symbolizing the nation's grief over Atatürk's death. It is no exaggeration to say that these highly stylized sculptures physically represent the actual *ethnie* of "the Turk," the population of the Republic of Turkey, with the men strongly resembling Atatürk.

Also on either side of this staircase are two stone pavilions, or "towers," that introduce the exterior architectural decoration scheme for the rest of the monument, which consists of Seljuk details like *mukarnas* ("saw-tooth" cornices), relief arches, water spouts, rosettes and bird houses. These pre-Ottoman architectural details, as has already been explained by the architect, were chosen to represent the "roots" of Turkish architecture. Additionally, the roof and the bronze arrowhead at the top of each "tower" (10 in total) represent a traditional Turkic nomadic tent (*yurt*),[185] still found today in parts of rural Turkey and Central Asia, the first of many examples of the appropriation of folk traditions found at Anıtkabir.

Furthermore, each tower at Anıtkabir represents a theme related with the Turkish War of Independence,[186] and inscribed on the inside walls of each tower are quotes by Atatürk corresponding to its theme, like "This nation has not, can not and will not live without independence. Independence or death" (1919) in the Independence Tower or "Nations who can not find their national identity are prey to other nations" (1923) in the National Pact Tower. The inside ceiling of each tower is decorated with an abstracted Turkish carpet design, a motif that is carried out throughout the monument both on ceilings and floors.

After the male and female sculptures and first two towers, a ceremonial approach follows, known as the Street of Lions because it is lined on both sides by 24 stone lions (six pairs of 12 on either side). These lions are blatantly reminiscent of the

[184] Gülekli (1980), p. 46: "*En soldaki kadının sağ elinde göklere açık bir kap vardır. Böylece bu kadın, Tanrı'dan, büyük Atatürk'e rahmet dilemektedir.*"
[185] Ibid., p. 41: "*Çatıların tepelerinde, eski Türk çadırlarındaki gibi birer tunç mızrak ucu vardır.*"
[186] The "Independence" (*İstiklâl*) and "Freedom" (*Hürriyet*) Towers are at the beginning of the Street of Lions; "GI Joe" (*Mehmetçik*), "Victory" (*Zafer*), "Peace" (*Barış*), "23rd April" (*23 Nisan*), "National Pact" (*Misak-i Milli*), which established the borders of Turkey, "Reform" (*İnkılâp*), "Republic" (*Cumhuriyet*) and "Defense of Rights" (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk*) Towers are around the public plaza.

Hittite lions found in archaeological digs sponsored by the early Republic of Turkey (Fig. 2.39), a reference explicitly working to remind visitors of the pre-Ottoman origins of the Turks. According to the specifications of the Anıtkabir Sculpture, Relief and Engraving Commission set up to decide on these topics,[187] the lions are sitting/lying down (not standing up) in order to simultaneously "suggest power and peace."[188]

This ceremonial approach ends physically at a huge public plaza, but visually beyond at the Turkish Grand National Assembly, or Parliament Building, and behind that, Çankaya Hill, the residence of the President of Turkey. In this way, the narrative of the ceremonial approach starts in the past (Hittite Lions) but concludes in the present or even future (the Parliament and Presidential Palace). Once into the huge public plaza, the main temple-like building of the complex is on the left and more small pavilions frame the plaza on the right. The axis of this public plaza and the main building (the Hall of Honor), points towards to the Old Citadel or Ankara Castle, which represents pre-Republican (read: Ottoman) Ankara, before it was declared the capital city of Turkey. Here again, the visitor is reminded of the past. However, this time, it is a past that is behind Atatürk – we cannot see it. Atatürk (or rather, the building housing his body) is literally blocking our view of this past because the Ankara Citadel is associated with the Ottoman Empire and is therefore not worthy of our attention, unlike the Hittite and Seljuk past, which is worthy of our attention.

The committee that chose the site of Anıtkabir confirms such an interpretative reading with their comment that:

> The Ankara Castle represents the past and all its specialties. This castle was constructed by the Byzantines and enlarged by the Seljuks. Atatürk, who is the savior of the Turkish nation and founder of the Republic of Turkey, started a new era. He represents the future of the Turkish nation rather than its past. Thus, it is not appropriate to bury Atatürk in a historical and old memorial, which has completed its mission.

[187] Prof. Ekrem Akurgal, Prof. Halil Demircioğlu, Assoc. Prof. Orhan Arda, Architect Sabiha Güreyman (later in charge of Anıtkabir's construction), Prof. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Prof. Rudolph Belling, Prof. Enver Ziya Karal, Prof. Afet İnan, Assoc. Prof. K. Söylemezoğlu, Prof. Emin Barın, Instructor Kamil Su, Instructor Faik Reşit Unat, Instructor Enver Behnan Şapolyo, Instructor M. Çavuşoğlu and Prof. Emin Onat.

[188] Gülekli (1980), p. 32, item number 4 of the Commission Report: "*Alle'nin iki yanına, büyük çizgileri ile kuvvet ve sükunet telkin stilize 24 arslan heykeli bulunacaktır. Bu heykeller, altlıklar üzerine oturmuş ve yatmış durumda olacaktır. Bu arslanlarda yatay durum esastır.*"

Fig. 2.39: Left: Lion sculptures from the Neo-Hittite settlement of Carchemish/Jerablus, Turkey. Right: A lion from the ceremonial approach to Anıtkabir (Sculptor: Hüseyin Özkan).

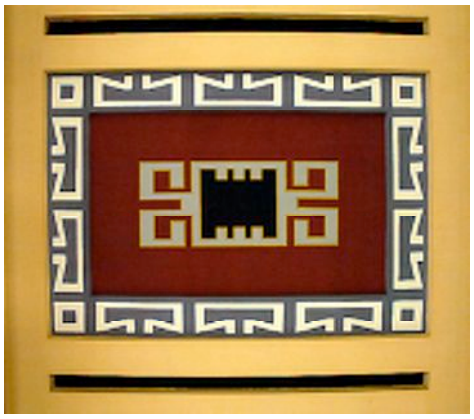

Fig. 2.40: Turkish carpet ceiling decoration in the Ceremonial Plaza arcades .

Fig. 2.41: Turkish carpet decoration in the Ceremonial Plaza floor paving.

Fig. 2.42: Detail of the low wall writing “Sovereignty Unconditionally Belongs to the Nation”

He himself is a value. He does not need any other historical support.[189]

The pavilions surrounding the plaza contain several of Atatürk's personal vehicles and an Atatürk Museum. These buildings are connected to each other with arcaded walkways that make extensive usage of Turkish carpet (*kilim*) decorative motifs on their ceilings (Fig. 2.40). The public plaza in front of the Hall of Honor also has 373 abstracted carpet motifs on its floor, constructed from cobblestone paving (Fig. 2.41). Just like the nomadic tent folk traditions that were appropriated for the towers of Anıtkabir, the Turkish carpet has also been seized upon to provide a visual identity for the Turks.

Approaching the main building from the public plaza, there are two low-relief sculptures flanking either side. On the left is "The Battle of the Commander-in-Chief"; on the right, "The Battle of Sakarya" (Fig. 1.31). Both titles refer to the events of July-September 1921, during the Turkish War of Independence when Atatürk was officially named Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish forces and a decisive battle occurred at the Sakarya River that brought both military and political victory for the young Republic.[190]

In "The Battle of the Commander-in-Chief" relief, from left to right, a peasant woman, a young boy and a horse symbolize the period of preparations for the war as a nation. In the next section, Atatürk stretches one arm and says, "Armies, your first target is the Mediterranean, march!" The angel in front of Atatürk, with her bugle, sends his order to the war front. In the next section, which symbolizes the sacrifices and heroism of the Turkish Army, there are scenes of a fierce battle, a falling soldier passing the Turkish flag on to another warrior and soldiers in the trenches, all

[189] Translation by author of Site Selection Committee Report on the Ankara Castle, Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-10-0-0, Ref: 1-8-14, File: 248, Date: 0/0/1942: "*Ankara Kalesi, bütün özellikleri ile geçmişi temsil eder. Bu kale Bizanslılar tarafından yapılmış, Selçuklular tarafından genişletilmiştir. Türk Ulusunun kurtarıcısı ve Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kurucusu Atatürk, yeni bir çağ açmıştır. 0, Türk Ulusunun geçmişten çok geleceğini temsil eder. Bundan ötürü Atatürk'ü, görevini tamamlamış tarihi, eski bir anıtın içine nakletmek doğru değildir. 0, tek başına bir değerdir. Başka bir tarihi desteğe ihtiyacı yoktur.*"

[190] It was after this victory that the French started to take Atatürk and his forces more seriously. The English would not do so until after the 26 August 1922 victory.

symbolizing the charge of the Turkish Army. Ahead of all of these figures on the extreme right is the Angel of Victory.[191]

In "The Battle of Sakarya" relief, from right to left, there is a youth, two horses, and a couple, representing those who left their homes in the face of the attacking enemy at the start of the Turkish War of Independence to set up for the defense of the country. The young man on the right, turning his back to the enemy with his raised left arm and clenched fist says, "One day we shall return and take our revenge." To the left of this trio is a carriage stuck in the mud, struggling horses, a man and two women trying to turn the wheel and a woman kneeling down and presenting a sword to a standing warrior. This group of figures depicts the times before the Battle of Sakarya. Further to the left, there are two women and a child sitting on the ground, symbolizing the nation under enemy occupation awaiting the Turkish army. Above these people, a victory angel is presenting a wreath to Atatürk. At the far left of the composition is a woman sitting on the ground who symbolizes the Turkish motherland, and a kneeling young man who symbolizes the victorious Turkish Army. The motherland figure points to an oak tree, the symbol of the Turkish Army's victory.[192]

Interestingly, these depictions of Atatürk in "The Battle of the Commander-in-Chief" and "The Battle of Sakarya" reliefs are the only realistic or life-like representations of Atatürk found in all of his funerary architecture, which otherwise, as has been explained, consists entirely of symbolic architectural representations.[193]

The ten towers of Anıtkabir also contain similar reliefs on their interior and exterior walls according to the theme of the tower, with people, animals and other objects representing those themes.[194] Similar to the Street of Lions, all of these reliefs

[191] As described by Gülekli (1980), pp. 74-75.
[192] As described by Gülekli (1980), pp. 72-73.
[193] There is also the wax figure of Atatürk in the Anıtkabir Museum, but since this is a later addition (2002), it is not being counted here.
[194] The interior of the Independence Tower contains a relief by Zühtü Müridoglu of a young man standing and holding a sword with both hands (symbolizing the Turkish nation defending its independence) and an eagle (a Seljuk symbol of power and independence) perched on a rock beside him. The interior of the Freedom Tower contains a relief by Zühtü Müridoglu of an angel (symbolizing the holiness of freedom) holding a sheet of paper (symbolizing the Turkish "Declaration of Freedom" and a rearing horse (symbolizing both freedom and independence). The exterior of the *Mehmetcik* (Anonymous Soldier) Tower contains a relief by Zühtü Müridoglu of an

resemble archaeological Hittite finds in their composition and stylization. However, the subject matter of these reliefs is more recent than the lions and they function to fuse the recent past (War of Independence) with the present (public square), just before ascending the stairs to pay one's respects to Atatürk. As explained by an official guide to Anıtkabir, "like a film, the reliefs explain episodes from Turkish history and Atatürk's life from beginning to end."[195]

Before actually proceeding into the Hall of Honor itself, the visitor is confronted in several instances with the words of Atatürk. Firstly, in the middle of the stairs is a low wall (Fig. 2.42) with "Sovereignty Unconditionally Belongs to the Nation"[196] inscribed onto it, forming the side of a speaking platform/podium. On the front wall of the main building behind the columns (Fig. 2.43), two of Atatürk's most famous speeches are written for all to see and be reminded about: on the left, Atatürk's 1927 "Address to the Youth," his call for vigilance against traitors to the Republic;[197] and

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enlisted soldier leaving home for the front and his sad but proud mother holding her hand on his shoulder (both figures symbolizing the sacrifice of war). The Victory Tower contains no reliefs because, according to Gülekli (1980), p. 102, "An artwork worthy of representing the Turkish Victory was not found" ("*Anıtkabir kulelerine kabartma hazırlamak için açılan yarışmada, Türk Zaferlerini temsil edecek değerde bir eser bulunamamıştır*"). The interior of the Peace Tower contains a relief by Nusret Suman expressing Atatürk's "Peace at home, peace in the world" saying: farming peasants (symbolizing the Turkish People) and a soldier figure (symbolizing the Turkish Army as a keeper of the peace) protecting them by holding out his sword are depicted. The interior of the 23 April Tower contains a relief by Hakki Atamulu depicting the opening of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament) on 23 April 1920: a woman holds a paper in one hand with an inscription 23 April 1920 and a key in her other hand (symbolizing the opening of the doors of the Grand National Assembly). The interior of the National Pact Tower contains a relief by Nusret Suman showing four hands joining on a sword hilt (symbolizing the Turkish nation's oath of unity to save the country). The interior of the Tower of Reforms contains a relief by Nusret Suman showing a weak hand holding a torch about to extinguish (symbolizing the fall of the Ottoman Empire) and a strong hand raising a burning torch to the sky (symbolizing the modernizing reforms of the Turkish Republic and Atatürk). Lastly, the Republic Tower has no reliefs. The exterior of the Defense of Rights Tower contains a relief by Nusret Suman showing a male figure holding a sword in one hand and extending the other towards the enemy crossing the borders of Turkey in a manner saying "Halt". An oak tree under his extended hand symbolizes Turkey.

[195] Gülekli (1980), p. 33.

[196] The Turkish is "*Hakimiyet Kayıtsız Şartsız Milletindir*."

[197] The accepted English translation of the full text of Atatürk's "Address to the Youth" is as follows: "Turkish Youth! Your first duty is forever to preserve and to defend the Turkish Independence and the Turkish Republic. This is the very foundation of your existence and your future. This foundation is your most precious treasure. In the future, too, there may be malevolent people at home and abroad who will wish to deprive you of this treasure. If some day you are compelled to defend your independence and your Republic, you must not tarry to weigh the possibilities and circumstances of the situation before taking up your duty. These possibilities and circumstances may turn out to be extremely unfavorable. The enemies conspiring against your independence and your Republic may have behind them a victory unprecedented in the annals of the world. It may be that, by violence and ruse, all the fortresses of your beloved fatherland may be captured, all its shipyards occupied, all its armies dispersed and every part of the country invaded. And sadder and graver than all these circumstances, those who hold power within the country may be in error, misguided and may even

on the right, Atatürk's grand and congratulatory 1933 "Speech on the Occasion of the 10th Anniversary [of the Turkish Republic]."[198]

Although visitors are just about to enter the personal burial place of Atatürk, they are still being reminded of the nation of Turkey (and not the Ottoman Empire). What is most interesting about these inscriptions is the parallel between them and the "*Res Gestae*" (literally, "things done"), the funerary inscription of the Roman Emperor Caesar Augustus (63 BC–14 AD) that gave an account of his life and accomplishments and was carved onto many monuments throughout the Roman Empire. Coincidentally, the most complete contemporary surviving copy of Augustus' *Res Gestae* can be found on the Temple of Augustus in Ankara.[199]

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be traitors. Furthermore, they may identify their personal interests with the political designs of the invaders. The country may be impoverished, ruined and exhausted. Youth of Turkey's future, even in such circumstances it is your duty to save the Turkish Independence and Republic. The strength you need is already embedded in your noble blood!"

[198] The accepted English translation of the full text of Atatürk's "Speech on the Occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Republic" is as follows:

"Turkish Nation! We are in the fifteenth year of the start of our way of liberation. This is the greatest day marking the tenth year of our Republic. May it be celebrated. At this moment, as a member of the great Turkish nation, I feel the deepest joy and excitement for having achieved this happy day. My citizens, we have accomplished many and great tasks in a short time. The greatest of these is the Turkish Republic, the basis of which is the Turkish valiance and the great Turkish culture. We owe this achievement to the cooperative progress of the Turkish nation and its valuable army. However, we can never consider what we have achieved to be sufficient, because we must, and are determined to, accomplish even more and greater tasks. We shall raise our country to the level of the most prosperous and civilized nations of the world. We shall endow our nation with the broadest means and sources of welfare. We shall raise our national culture above the contemporary level of civilization. Thus, we should judge the measure of time not according to the lax mentality of past centuries, but in terms of the concepts of speed and movement of our century. Compared to the past, we shall work harder. We shall perform greater tasks in a shorter time. I have no doubt that we shall succeed in this, because the Turkish nation is of excellent character. The Turkish nation is intelligent, because the Turkish nation is capable of overcoming difficulties of national unity, and because it holds the torch of positive sciences. I must make it clear with due emphasis, that a historical quality of the Turkish nation, which is an exalted human community, is its love for fine arts and progress in them. This is why our national ideal is to constantly foster and promote, with all means and measures, our nation's excellent character, its tireless industriousness, intelligence, devotion to science, love for fine arts and sense of national unity. This ideal, which very well suits the Turkish nation, will enable it to succeed in performing the civilized task falling on it in securing true peace for all mankind. The Great Turkish Nation, you have heard me speak on many occasions over the last fifteen years promising success in the tasks we undertook. I am happy that none of my promises have been false ones that could have shaken my nation's confidence in me. Today, I repeat with the same faith and determination that is will soon be acknowledged once again by the entire civilized world that the Turkish nation, who has been progressing towards the national ideal in exact unison, is a great nation. Never have doubted that the great, but forgotten, civilized characteristic and the great civilized talents of the Turkish nation, will, in its progress henceforth, rise like a new sun from the high horizon of civilization for the future. The Turkish nation, I express my heartfelt wish that you will celebrate, after each decade elapsing into eternity, this great national day, in greater honor, happiness, peace and prosperity. How happy is the one who says, 'I am a Turk.' "

[199] See Güven (1998) for a discussion of the Ankara *Res Gestae* that strangely does not mention Anıtkabir but the Turkish Ministry of Education instead.

Fig. 2.43: The Hellenic temple-like Hall of Honor, with two of Atatürk's most famous speeches shining in gold behind the columns.

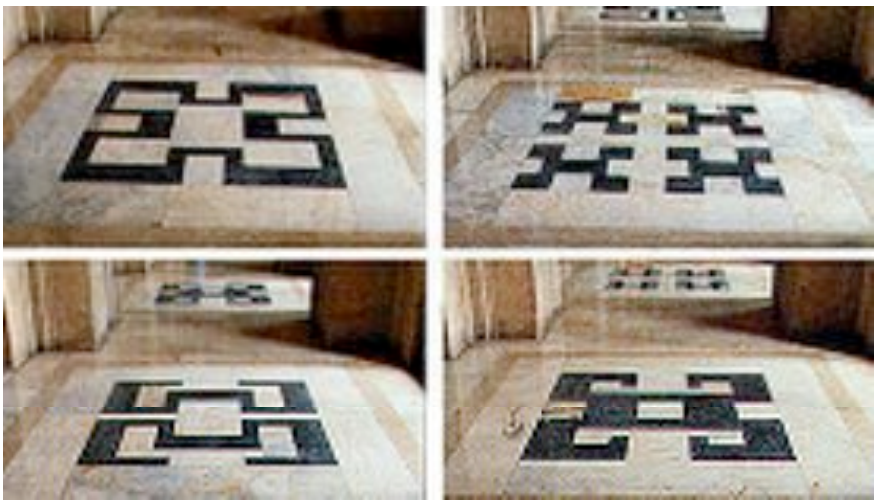

Fig. 2.44: Turkish carpet floor paving in The Hall of Honor.

Fig. 2.45: Turkish carpet ceiling mosaics in The Hall of Honor.

Inside the Hall of Honor, the Turkish carpet motifs multiply in their number and complexity (Fig. 2.44). The roof beams of the ceiling are not even exempt from such treatment, with intricate patterns composed of gold mosaic tiles (Fig. 2.45). At the far end of the Hall, framed by a single over-sized window, is Atatürk's huge marble sarcophagus (Fig. 2.46), a single block of red marble from Osmaniye (near Adana) weighing 40 tons, a symbol of the grave and body of Atatürk. The real corpse is actually interred in a Seljuk-decorated, octagon-shaped chamber below the sarcophagus (Fig. 2.47). This tomb is not open to the public, but has recently been hooked up to video screens with CCTV. Although this point of the experience is the most personal part of Anıtkabir, the sarcophagus, the end goal of a visit to Anıtkabir, completes the national narration: from the male and female sculptures to the pavilions/towers to the Street of Lions to the battle reliefs to the inscriptions of famous Atatürk sayings the entire experience is meant to symbolize the history (and future?) of the Turkish nation.

Fig. 2.46: Atatürk's sarcophagus in The Hall of Honor.

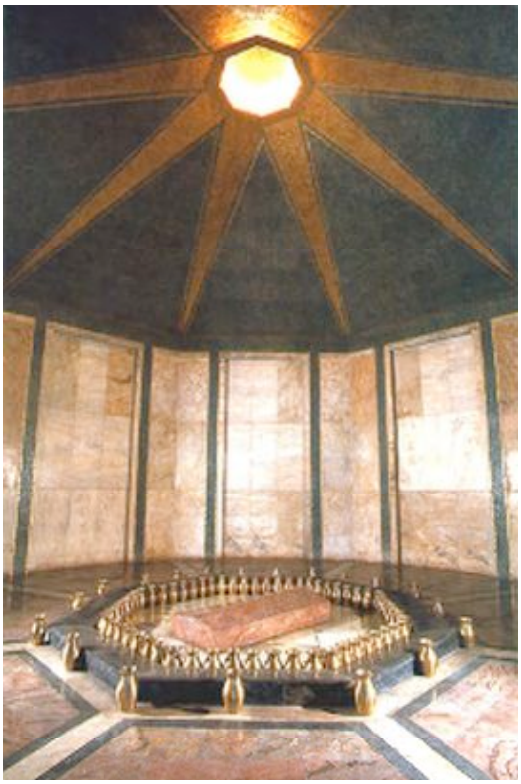

Fig. 2.47: Atatürk's Seljuk-inspired tomb directly below the sarcophagus.

CHAPTER 3:

THE POLITICIZATION OF MEMORY

3.1 POLITICS AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Architecture and the built environment are frequently used as a stage-set for and bearer of the representations created for memory politics that have been discussed in the previous chapter, since architecture and the built environment is what we see and experience on an everyday basis (and hence has great power to influence our behavior and thoughts). This usage of representations is called politicization, which is the verbal form of politics.

3.1.1 POLITICIZATION: THE USE OF REPRESENTATIONS

Politics are those "social relations involving the exercise of authority or power."[200] Political scientist Katherine Verdery (1992) has defined politics as:

> a form of concerted activity among social actors, often involving stakes in particular goals . . . [which] can include making policy, justifying actions taken, claiming authority and disputing the authority of others, and creating and manipulating the cultural categories within which all those activities are pursued.[201]

Remembering Foucault's position that the discourse of representation is both a language and a practice, for the purposes of discussing politics it is significant that Foucault takes this one step further by saying that it is relations of power, not just relations of meaning, that are a source for the production of social knowledge

[200] The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VII (N-Poy), Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1978; p. P-1074, definition number 3.
[201] Verdery (1992), p. 23.

through discourse. The generator of this power is representations and their usage, which do not radiate out from a central point but exists as a "web" or a net-like organization.[202]

That is, politics are the scheming, plotting and/or maneuvering within a group in order to gain control or power – the way(s) that power blocks gain and maintain their power, in addition to the way(s) that marginal groups challenge those in power. Such scheming, plotting and/or maneuvering frequently involves the use of representations – be they the written word, the spoken word, images, artifacts, and/or the built environment. Anthems can be sung, poems can be recited, pictures can be produced (and preferably reproduced again and again), monuments can be erected, buildings can be constructed and even entire city plans can be laid out with the purpose of reinforcing or challenging those in power at any given moment in time.

To "politicize" something, to make something political, is, therefore, to engage representations – and their associated meanings – in this exercise of power. In the words of anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973):

> At the political center of any complexly organized society . . . there is both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing . . . They justify their existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtenances that they have either inherited or, in more revolutionary situations, invented.[203]

That is, politicization is not just merely the singing of anthems, the reciting of poems, the exhibition of images, and the erection of monuments, etc, but their deliberate usage by governments, political parties, authorities, groups, and other persons to impart a meaning onto such actions.

Memory, especially collective memory, is frequently the target of the politicization process. Memory politics, similar to identity politics, are the actions on behalf of the interests of a particular group within a society that help them define themselves and their authority (or minority). The difference is that with memory politics, the groups' attitude and usage (or representation) of history and the past is the main factor of the

[202] As described by Hall (1992), p. 291.
[203] Geertz (1973), p. 124.

politicization. Such groups may sing certain songs, recite certain poems, exhibit certain images and symbols, erect monuments, build buildings, and even make city plans that tell their history – or, more precisely, their interpretation of their history – sometimes even attempting to negate others' interpretations of their history.

Bringing identity and memory politics together in one example, anthropologist Kimberly Hart (1999) has described a scene in Ankara in 1997 when a young Turkish woman, born and raised in Izmir, held up a photograph of Atatürk (Fig 3.01) in reaction to a demonstration against the proposed restructuring of the Turkish public school system which would consequently limit the number of years children could spend in Islamic Kuranic schools (*Imam Hatib*).[204] The young woman, Chantal Zakari (dubbed "The Brave Heart" by the Turkish Press), held up a picture of Atatürk to the Islamist protesters almost like the way a devout Catholic would hold up a crucifix if confronted by something that they thought was evil.

Although she would rather matter-of-factly later say "They showed their opinion by marching, I showed them a picture of Atatürk,"[205] Zakari (whose "Turkishness" was later questioned because of her non-Turkish name, Italian ethnicity, Jewish-American husband and expatriate experience in America) was identifying herself as a secular Turk faithful to the ideology of Kemalism that has shaped the Republic of Turkey. In terms of memory, she was evoking the memory of Atatürk – revolutionary, soldier, politician and President – evoking him not only as the creator of that ideology but also as the enforcer of its continuation, kind of like a police figure.

The usage of Atatürk's memory became a political message through Chantal Zakari's action: Atatürk equals (or represents) the secular Republic of Turkey, free from religious influences that should be kept on a private, and not public, level. This equation of Atatürk with the Republic of Turkey (and vice versa) is a common occurrence in Turkey (Fig. 3.02), as will be discussed further in the dissertation.

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[204] Hart (1999), pp. 74-75. See also Navaro-Yashin (2002), pp. 190-191, Metin Yıldırım and Mustafa Oğuz, "*İşte Cesur Kız*" ["Here's the Brave Girl"], *Hürriyet Gazetesi*, 01 August 1997; and Emine Kantarcı and Cem Öksüz, "*İşte Cesur Kız – Atatürk ile Yaşıyor*" ["Here's the Brave Girl – She Lives with Atatürk"], *Sabah Gazetesi*, 01 August 1997.

[205] According to Kantarcı-Öksüz (1997): "*Onlar görüşlerini yürüyerek gösterdi, ben Atatürk resmi gösterdim.*"

Fig 3.01: "Brave Heart" Chantal Zakari holds up a picture of Atatürk to Islamic protesters.

Fig 3.02: Souvenir flag equating Atatürk with Turkey from Republic Day 2006.

3.1.2 ARCHITECTURE AND POWER

The way that streets are laid out (in which direction they face, to what parts of the city they lead); where certain buildings are located (especially governmental ones like parliaments, capitol buildings, ministries and presidential residences); what kind of buildings get built (residential [housing], commercial [shopping centers], cultural [theaters, opera houses, museums], governmental [parliaments, ministries, court houses]); in what style they are built (traditional, vernacular, neo-classical, modern(ist), post-modern(ist), contemporary); and who funds the building(s) of the city (public bodies, private citizens, capitalist entrepreneurs, non-profit foundations) are all aspects of the built environment that are susceptible to politicization.

As a Turkish example of all of the above there is the city of Ankara, which was declared to be the capital of the new Republic of Turkey on 13 October 1923, 16 days before the actual proclamation of the republic on 29 October. At the time, the population of Ankara is thought to have been only around 30,000, actually a mid-sized town. Compared with the former capital Istanbul's population of 700,000, this may seem not appropriate for a national capital, but size was not a factor in this decision. First and foremost, location was a factor – since Ankara was more in the middle of the new country (although not exactly) than Istanbul, and therefore thought to be more accessible to the rest of the nation, and also because it was served by both

a national rail and road network, which had proved successful during the Turkish War of Independence.

More importantly for this dissertation, however, was the building program that the Republic of Turkey undertook once Ankara was declared the new capital. Without summarizing the entire architectural history of the early Turkish Republic, it is possible to follow the structure outlined above in terms of streets, buildings, style and funding in order to illustrate the point that the development of Ankara between 1923 and 1950 (end of single-party rule in Turkey) was all about the linking of architecture and power.

In terms of streets, between 1924-25, the German town planner Carl Christoph Lörcher produced designs for the new Sıhhiye and Kizilay districts that mapped out these areas of the city in a grid-iron fashion that were away from the winding streets of the older areas of town, particularly those inside of and at the foot of the Ankara Castle.[206] A 1927 master plan for the city (accepted in 1932), commissioned from German city planner Hermann Jansen, united these areas with other growing parts of the city in a north-south axis (today know as Atatürk Boulevard), in purposeful opposition to an Istanbul-oriented east-west axis.[207] These streets were not only straight, but they were of course also paved (not dirt) and lined with trees to show the capital's modern-ness. The "Youth Park," a large urban green space with one edge along Jansen's north-south axis, was also developed beginning in 1935 to provide a public area for the capital's modern citizens, under the control of the government.

In terms of buildings that were built during this time period, Ankara was overwhelmingly made into a governmental town. A whole "ministries quarter," mostly designed by Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister (1886-1983), was created along Jansen's north-south axis, crowned by a grand Parliament Building (Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1938-63). Other important institutions like banks, (Agricultural Bank, 1926-29; Ottoman Bank, 1926; Commercial Bank (İş Bankası), 1929; Central Bank of Turkey, 1931-33; Real Estate Bank, 1933-34; Sumerian Bank, 1937-38), hospitals and health institutes (The Model Hospital, 1924; Ministry of

[206] See Cengizkan (2004) for more information.
[207] Bozdoğan (2001), pp. 62-79, "The New against the Old."

Health, 1926), museums (Ankara Exhibition Hall, 1933 (converted to an Opera House, 1948); Ethnographic Museum, 1925-28; State Painting and Sculpture Museum, 1927-30), schools (İsmet Paşa School for Girls, 1928-30; Ankara University Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, 1937-39) and other ministries (State Exchequer and Audit Office, 1925/1930; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1927; State Monopolies Directorate, 1928) were also constructed. Prominent embassies, commercial structures and residential buildings also located themselves along this axis.

The dominant architectural styles of Ankara during this time were the Ottoman-influenced "First National Style," the European Modernist "First International Style," and Turkish Regionalist "Second National Style." While on the one hand these were all attempting to express the ideals of the young Turkish nation through the vehicle of architecture, on the other hand they were each doing so by evoking different eras and allusions to power (respectively, the Ottoman Empire, Modern Europe and Turkish Vernacular).

In terms of funding, most of the building of Ankara – ministries, banks, hospitals, museums, and schools – were financed by the Republic of Turkey and/or the city of Ankara. Although real estate speculation was very active during this time period, compared with the vast amount of public works, very little of the rest of Ankara was privately financed, underpinning the relationship in the capital between architecture and power.

3.1.3 MEMORIALS AND MONUMENTS

In the realm of urban planning, sculptures, obelisks, columns, memorials and monuments are also highly susceptible to politicization. While both memorials and monuments are society's way of representing and politicizing the past, there are actually subtle differences between the two.

The Latin root of the word memorial, *memoria*, means "memory." A memorial is something "preserving the memory of a person or thing; often applied to an object set

up [or] a festival instituted to commemorate an event or a person."[208] The Latin root of the word monumental, *monere*, means "to remind." The Oxford English Dictionary defines monumental as "being impressively large, sturdy, and enduring."[209] However, size is not always a determining factor when it comes to creating monumentality. Instead, a secondary characteristic of monumentality, being "of outstanding or extraordinary significance"[210] can also achieve the monumental.

Writing in 1903, the Austrian art historian Alois Riegl described how the monuments of that time were only appreciated for what he termed their "age-value". This, he described, was merely the quality of the monumental to evoke the concept of the passing of time – their "outstanding or extraordinary significance" laid not in the memory of any specific person, time or event, but merely as "indispensable catalysts which trigger in the beholder a sense of the life cycle, of the emergence of the particular from the general and its gradual but inevitable dissolution back into the general."[211]

Since Riegel, there has been a proliferation of memorial-making and monument-making in the built environment, mostly as a result of the 20th century's horrific world wars. As a result, the distinction between the memorial and the monumental has become clearer, although subtle. Michel Foucault has commented that "history is that which transforms documents into monuments,"[212] implying that monuments are constructed by the projection of meanings and memories onto a specific object. Holocaust expert James E. Young (1993) distinguishes the memorial from the monumental in terms of sub-sets (in the same way that a square is a rectangle but a rectangle is not a square):

> I treat all memory-sites as memorials, the plastic objects within these sites as monuments. A memorial may be a day, a conference, or space, but it need not be a monument. A monument on the other hand is always a type of memorial.[213]

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[208] The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VI (L-M), Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1978; p. M-330, meaning number 1 of the entry "memorial".
[209] Ibid., p. M-637, meaning number 4 of the entry "monumental".
[210] Ibid., p. M-637, meaning number 5 of the entry "monumental".
[211] Riegel (1984 [1903]).
[212] Foucault (1972), p. 7.
[213] Young (1993), p. 4. Young continues to describe the almost impossibility of Holocaust Memorials to remember the atrocity of the Holocaust without lessening its horror, sanitizing it, making it tolerable or "Disneyfying" it.

As elaborated by the anthropologist Michael Rowlands (2001), the subtle difference between a memorial and a monument is that something described as "memorial" merely reminds society to recall its memories. These memories can be either good ones, or more frequently, painful unresolved ones. On the other hand, something described as "monumental" is resolved; it is resolute and determined, frequently transforming suffering into something else.[214] Rowlands applies this understanding to the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington, DC, and its neighbor, the Lincoln Monument, showing why the former is properly called a memorial (because it forces American society to recall painful memories about the Vietnam conflict of the 1960s) and why the latter is properly called a monument (because it is a resolved construction that transforms the suffering of the American Civil War and Lincoln's assassination into a plea for harmony and togetherness).

In this way, it could be said that memorials "never forget in order to remember" (constantly raise unresolved memories), whereas monuments "constantly forget in order to remember" (constantly suppress unresolved memories), both of which are political actions involving memory and the built environment. Similarly, the art critic Arthur Danto (1985), writing specifically about the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, has commented that "memorials ritualize remembrance and mark the reality of ends" whereas "monuments commemorate the memorable and embody the myths of beginnings."[215]

Rowlands adds to his definition that repetition plays a major part in the functioning of the memorial and the monumental,[216] including both the repetition that can be found on memorials and monuments themselves, and the repetition of similar themes that are shared from one memorial or monument to another. However, whereas the memorial "moves people to remember as much as possible,"[217] the monumental seems to move people to forget as much as possible.

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[214] Rowlands (2001), pp. 131-32.
[215] Danto (1985), p. 152.
[216] Rowlands (2001), p. 132. Rowlands calls this repetition, via Deleuze, "Platonic repetition", because each repetition is a copy of an ideal original. Some philosophers have concluded from this that "Thus, nothing is new".
[217] Rowlands (1998), p. 132. Discussing the topic of war memorials, the full quote is: "[W]e have two radically different visual modes of forgetting at work: one that promotes ambivalence and moves people to remember as much as possible of what suffering meant to the victims, and another that

The memorial and the monumental, therefore, are apparatuses of making, re-making and preserving memory through physical artifacts of the built environment. They literally concretize (in built form) the intangible (memory).

3.2 POLITICIZATION IN THE FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE OF MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK

> There are two Mustafa Kemals. One is I, the mortal Mustafa Kemal; the other is the Mustafa Kemal who will always live within the nation.[218]

Keeping in mind that the process of politicization is the use of representations and their associated meanings within an exercise of power, the key to understanding the politicization of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is that the five funerary spaces (and the transfer conditions between them) gradually change in their character, generally, from private to public: they change from being representations of the man Atatürk (the individual) to being representations of the nation as manifested in the persona Atatürk (the collective group or the nation).

This reading is consistent with the phenomenon in British Law outlined by Kantorowicz (1957) as the distinction between "the king's two bodies": his physical body, which is mortal and eventually dies one day; and "his body politic", which is immortal and lives on through laws, codes and those who follow him.

> For the King has in him two Bodies, *viz.*, a Body natural, and a Body politic. His Body natural (if it can be considered in itself) is a Body mortal, subject to all Infirmities that come by Nature or Accident, to the Imbecility of Infancy or old Age, and to the like Defects that happen to the natural Bodies of other People. But his Body politic is a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government, and constituted for the Direction of the People, and the Management of the public weal,

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effectively transforms suffering into something else – a form of collective validation that transcends personal trauma."

[218] This is an actual quote by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) in 1921, seventeen years before his death. The original Turkish: "*İki Mustafa Kemal vardır. Biri ben, fani Mustafa Kemal; öteki milletin daima içinde yaşattığı Mustafa Kemal*". What Atatürk means by "will always live within the nation" is clear with the rest of the quote: "What if I did happen to appear at a particular moment in time, when the existence of one nation was in danger? Wasn't it a Turkish mother who gave birth to me? Will not Turkish mothers bear more Mustafa Kemals?" See Karal, ed. (1956), p. 183.

> and this Body is utterly void of Infancy, and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to . . .[219]

Similarly, historians Avner Ben-Amos and Eyal Ben-Ari (1995), commenting on the immortality-making powers of posthumously being placed within the Paris Panthéon, have observed that: "According to [French] republican discourse, the great man did not disappear after his death; his memory outlived him. He was thus capable of becoming immortal through the commemorative efforts of the only entity that, unlike the single individual, could claim itself to be eternal – The Republic."[220]

Fig. 3.03: Tomb of The Earl of Arundel, Cantebury Cathedral, England (1435), a graphic representation of "the king's two bodies": below, the physical body of the Earl is depicted in all its flesh-and-blood frailty; above, the "body politic" of the Earl is depicted as strong and whole.

In terms of the politicization of the funerary architecture of Atatürk, the representations of each space seem to change from, at first, an assertion of the mortality of Atatürk (in Dolmabahçe Palace) towards, at last, a declaration of Atatürk's immortality (at Anıtkabir). Linking the Tomb of The Earl of Arundel in Cantebury Cathedral, England (Fig. 3.03) with this chain of thought, Atatürk's

[219] Kantorowicz (1957), p. 7, quoting Edmond Plowden, Commentaries or Reports, (London, 1816), p. 2122 (capitalization as in the original).
[220] Ben-Amos and Ben-Ari (1995), p. 168.

Dolmabahçe Bedroom can be metaphorically compared with the "flesh-and-blood" representation of the Earl's lower body, while Anıtkabir can be metaphorically compared with the "whole/intact" representation of his upper body. This change from private to public and from mortal to immortal in the representations of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk can be understood through examining the use and the size of these spaces, particularly as they pertain to the topics of memorials, monuments and monumentality.

As outlined in section 3.1.3, a memorial is something intended to remind society to recall its memories.[221] This might be a commemorative day, a special gathering of people with something in common (victims of a disaster and/or their relatives), or piece of the built environment. It need not necessarily be a monument, which is more concerned with forgetting than remembering, where there is a resolved and shared opinion of something (an event, a war, a person's life, etc) rather than the unresolved discomfort that comes with memorials. Keeping these definitions in mind, it is possible to examine the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in terms of the use of the representations in each construction, politicized as either a memorial or a monument.

Bearing in mind that size is not the only factor in the monumentality of an object (there may also be, for example, outstanding or extraordinary characteristics), it is nevertheless the one aspect that most affects an object's monumental reading, especially a building. In terms of the size(s) of the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, their gradual expansion reinforces the gradual politicization from private memorial to public monument.

3.2.1 THE SPACES OF DEATH

DOLMABAHÇE BEDROOM

The bedroom in Dolmabahçe Palace where Atatürk died is a memorial to the man, the individual, the human being Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. It was/is the physical location

[221] As in the poem "Funerall Monuments" (1631) by John Weever (1576-1632), quoted by Curl (1993), p. 357: "A Monument is a Thing erected, made or / Written for a Memorial of Some Remarkable Action / Yet to be transferred to future Posterities."

of his death, down to the detail of the actual bed on which he was lying. The whole ensemble – bed, bedside table, clock – work together as a place of contemplation and reflection to remind visitors of the death – not the life – of Atatürk.

In Turkey, Atatürk's death is, at times, a painful and still unresolved event in the collective psyche/memory and the Dolmabahçe bedroom functions to say, "it happened here, in this place". In the words of Danto (1985), the Dolmabahçe bedroom "marks the reality of ends."[222] Like the plaques found on colonial Inns in the Eastern United States that boldly declare "George Washington Slept Here", the Dolmabahçe bedroom is the physical manifestation of an event – death – that actually has no inherent physicality to it. More architecturally, like the John F. Kennedy Memorial in Dallas that marks the exact spot where the American President was assassinated (Fig. 1.02), the Dolmabahçe bedroom serves more spiritually than functionally to remind of the significance of Atatürk's death. As previously written about "George Washington Slept Here" plaques by the author of this dissertation, the Dolmabahçe bedroom "proves the history books right."[223]

The politicization of this space involves not what happens here but what actually does not happen: although this is the actual place of Atatürk's death (the location of his last breath), the official commemorations in remembrance of Atatürk take place every 10 November at 9:05am in Ankara at Anıtkabir, not in Istanbul at the Dolmabahçe bedroom. This is fitting because, after all, the Dolmabahçe bedroom is a place of absence, not a place of presence. In this way, those who control the commemoration of Atatürk (the Turkish government) have, as will be discussed later, removed this commemoration from the context of Atatürk's death and have literally placed it elsewhere, away from his death room.

In terms of size, the Dolmabahçe bedroom is domestic in scale, containing personal artifacts and furniture like the bed, side tables, clock and sofa at the end of the bed. The decoration of the bedroom is also very domestic, with frilly curtains, wallpaper and small, "*tableau*" paintings (Fig. 1.05). As such, the bedroom is a domestic memorial, on an individual scale, despite its magnificent view of the Bosphorous and

[222] Danto (1985), p. 152.
[223] Wilson (2003), p. 322.

its large size as a bedroom (approximately 50 square meters),[224] characteristics that might in other cases be used to describe a monument.

DOLMABAHÇE CATAFALQUE

It was with the physical construction of Atatürk's Dolmabahçe catafalque that the ideological construction (politicization) of Atatürk's death began. Just like in the "symbols" section of this dissertation, many of the political moves introduced here continued through to most of the constructions and transfer conditions that followed.

Firstly, although the presentation of Atatürk's coffin was not "open-casket," the placement of his coffin on a stage in a public space for all to see (free-of-charge) between 16-19 November 1938 seems to have been done to prove that the man was indeed dead, and in this way somehow ease the public's worries and concerns about Atatürk's death. It must be remembered that this was not his official "laying-in-state," which would occur in Ankara one week later; instead, this was an impromptu presentation of Atatürk's coffin. It is estimated that approximately 500,000 people filed past Atatürk during these days,[225] but in terms of easing worries or calming people down, there seems to have been an opposite effect when in the afternoon of 17 November, 11 people were trampled to death as the crowd pushed forward fearing that the doors would close before they could "see" Atatürk.[226]

What people did see when they reached the front of line was Atatürk's flag-draped coffin, the generals standing guard, the six torches and the bouquets of flowers, the symbolism of which has already been discussed. However, what has not been discussed was how each one of these representations was politicized: The flag-draped coffin politicized Atatürk as property of the nation, not just as an individual. The generals standing guard around the flag-draped coffin politicized the role of the Turkish military in protecting and defending the nation. The six torches politicized the role that the official ideology of the People's Republican Party played in shaping the nation. Lastly, the bouquets of flowers were not anonymously given but

[224] According to measured floor plans of the palace in Eldem (1986), the bedroom measures 5.5m X 9.0m, equalling 49.5 m^2.
[225] CUMHURIYET newspaper, 16-19 November 1938, gives figures between 150,000 - 200,000 visitors each night, multiplied by three nights equals a total of between 450,000 - 600,000 visitors.
[226] CUMHURIYET, 18 November 1938, pp. 1 and 5.

presented by certain and specified donors. From photographs of the time, the central and most prominent flower arrangement directly at the foot of Atatürk's coffin, dominating the other four, can be seen to write "İnönü" on its ribbon, evoking a hierarchy of tributes and claiming of loyalties starting in the very first public display of Atatürk's dead body here at Dolmabahçe.[227]

In this way, the Dolmabahçe catafalque, like the Dolmabahçe bedroom, can also be read as a memorial (albeit a temporary one) and not a monument, because of how the political moves of the catafalque worked to remind its users/visitors of Atatürk's place in the nation (and not the nation's place in Atatürk).

Although the actual catafalque that was constructed inside of Dolmabahçe Palace was merely a platform measuring approximately 6m x 6m,[228] the room that contained the catafalque, the Grand Ceremonial Hall, can be, by extension, considered as part of the construction since it was appropriated to serve as the container for the catafalque.

The Grand Ceremonial Hall is the largest single room of the palace and measures approximately 500 square meters in plan.[229] Although this is not an intimate size (especially if the whole of Dolmabahçe Palace is also taken into consideration), the viewing of the coffin was nevertheless an intimate affair that took place within an enclosed interior space. The Grand Ceremonial Hall was not a large open space where people could wonder freely and aimlessly. On the contrary, roped-off areas strictly regulated the flow of people past the coffin.[230] In this way, the experience of the Dolmabahçe catafalque, although not as domestic a setting as the Dolmabahçe bedroom, was a chance for those interested to have a personal visit with Atatürk's corpse.

[227] The other four flower bouquets were from Celal Bayar (Prime Minister), Abdülhalik Renda (Parliament Chairman), Field Marshal Fevzi Çakmak (Head of the General Staff of Turkish Military Forces), and another unknown donor that the author has not been unable to identify.
[228] This figure is estimated from contemporaneous photographs.
[229] According to measured floor plans of the palace in Eldem (1986), the Grand Ceremonial Hall measures 23m X 923m, equalling 529 m^2.
[230] Even with such control, the trampling event of 17 November occurred.

3.2.2 THE FUNERAL SPACES

With the transfer of Atatürk from Istanbul to Ankara, the politicization of representations continued the process of memorialization that was started in Istanbul. However, by the end of the funeral ceremonies and transfers, a process of monumentalization would begin.

All of the transfer conditions between the interior spaces that make up the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk operated on an urban scale, with the street as their basic unit of measurement. In terms of measuring their physical size, this can only understandably be done by measuring the linear length of each journey.

FROM ISTANBUL TO ANKARA

While the slow advancement of Atatürk's flag-draped coffin through the streets of Istanbul represented the solemnity of the occasion (as discussed in Chapter 2), this procession was in effect a moving version of the Dolmabahçe catafalque, without the six torches/pillars of Kemalism, with the people standing still and a moving Atatürk, again politicized as property of the nation.

This procession through the streets of Istanbul contained more representations of the Turkish military than the Dolmabahçe catafalque did: the gun-carriage on which the coffin traveled, the accompanying military personnel (increased from 4 to 16) and, later, the military boats that took the coffin to Izmit. Not only were these representations politicized to infer the role of the Turkish military in protecting and defending the nation (like in the Dolmabahçe catafalque), they also seem to have made the statement that the Turkish military should have the monopoly on the (re)presentation of Atatürk and continuation of his legacy – foreshadowing their *coup d'etats* of 27 May 1960, 12 March 1971, 12 September 1980 and the taking over of the administration of Anıtkabir in 1981 (see section 4.2.4).

As has already been indicated, the rider-less horses pulling the gun carriage and Chopin Funeral March played during the Istanbul procession represented Western traditions about the absence and seriousness of death. These representations were political because they were traditions borrowed from a civilization that was deemed

worthy of emulation ("the West"), and were not former Ottoman practices ("Eastern"), which were considered to be outdated and obsolete.

The 101-gun salute at sea represented Atatürk's military background, but this representation was politicized because of the foreign ships that participated, including former enemy states like England (Atatürk's opposition at Gallipoli) and Greece and France (both occupiers after World War I). The involvement of these foreign ships was a message (a political statement) of reconciliation and unity in the mourning of Turkey's founder.

Lastly, while Atatürk's flowered-decked train to Ankara represented a *memento mori* – a reminder of one's own death – the journey itself was like the procession through the streets of Istanbul on a national scale: it politicized the (re)presentation and control of Atatürk across the nation (or at least half of it). The train did not merely pass through the towns on the train line between Izmit and Ankara, it actually stopped each time allowing for the villagers to express their grief, especially through giving flowers. In the words of Behçet Kemal Çağlar, who traveled with the train through Anatolia:

> 1:51–2:29am Karaköy, it is always like this. Some of the villagers run to the stopped train, begging "Take this one too, find a place for this one," as they hand over a wreath each; the rails next to every station are filled with flowers… In the morning light we see a wreath hanging on every compartment's door handle: The hearts of Bozöyük, İnönü, Levke, [and] Küplü are broken. Just like tying cloths to a saint's tomb, in some way or another they were not able to refrain from hanging these wreaths…[231]

It is interesting to note that here the politicization being done by the state (the presentation of Atatürk) was perhaps being overridden by the politicization being done by the people (the claiming Atatürk for themselves), a role reversal that will not be found again in the politicization of Atatürk's funerary architecture.

[231] Çağlar (1955), p. 14: "*1,51–2,29 Karaköy, hep böyle. Bazı köylüler, duraklıyan trene koşup "Bunu da alın, buna da yer bulun" diye yalvararak birer çelenk uzatıyorlar; rayların üzeri her istasyon yanında çiçekle doluyor . . . Sabah aydınlığında bir de bakıyoruz ki her kompartıman kapısının kolunda birer çelenk asılı: Bozöyük, İnönü, Levke, Küplü'nün gönlünden kopmuş. Evliya türbesine bez bağlar gibi bu çelenkleri ne yapıp yapıp oracığa takmaktan kendilerini alamamışlar.*" Translation by author. For an alternative translation, see Evliyagil (1989), p. 31.

The distance of the transfer from Dolmabahçe Palace to Seraglio Point was about 5.7 km, passing through a large majority of central Istanbul (with the exception of Taksim Square). The transfer from Seraglio point to Izmit by boat was about 111 km, and the train journey from Izmit to Ankara was 485 km,[232] for a total of almost 600 km – one-third of the length of Turkey. Both processions were attempting to appropriate their respective routes (Istanbul and Turkey) in the name of Atatürk and Turkey.

ANKARA CATAFALQUE

As previously discussed, the representations of Bruno Taut's Ankara Catafalque were both a continuation of the representations of the Dolmabahçe Catafalque (flag-draped coffin, military personnel, six torches, etc.) and the introduction of some new ones. It is with the Ankara Catafalque, however, that the politicization of representations began to move away from the memorialization of Atatürk towards the monumentalization of Atatürk and the Turkish nation.

The sparse greenery trailing up behind the coffin and the background L-walls of flower bouquets on Taut's catafalque work together to represent Atatürk as an individual and memorialize (or, force to remember) his deeds. That is, Atatürk is politicized as an individual who shaped the nation of Turkey, like a gardener tending his plot; with these representations Atatürk was not equated with the nation.

On the other hand, the raised platform or stage of Taut's catafalque was considerably higher than at Dolmabahçe Palace, which consequentially presented Atatürk in a higher position than those on the ground. It is not a characteristic of funerary architecture alone to place important parts of a structure higher than ground level; likewise, here the usage (politicization) of this architectural move stated his importance to Turkish society. Together with the stage, the over-sized flag above the coffin created an equivalence of Atatürk with the nation of Turkey much more so than the human-sized flag on his coffin.

[232] The actual distance between Izmit and Ankara "as the bird flies" is 265km, but the railway line does not cut a straight path.

Lastly, the staging of the Ankara Catafalque in front of the Turkish Parliament Building, which has already been mentioned as the symbol of the secular and democratic Republic of Turkey, politicized those representations by underlining the separation between organized religion and the elected government officials of the nation, a statement that has more to do with the national (Turkey) than the personal (Atatürk).

The main cubic construction in Taut's catafalque for Atatürk, not including the side walls, measured approximately 15 x 15 m (225 m^2).[233] However, the structure took up the entire space of the forecourt of the (Second) Turkish Parliament Building, which at the time[234] measured about 750$m.^2$ This dimension is notably 50% larger than the floor area of Dolmabahçe Palace's Grand Ceremonial Hall. The height of the columns of Taut's catafalque was 14 meters.[235] While this dimension in no way matches the 36-meter height of Dolmabahçe's Grand Ceremonial Hall, it must be remembered that the catafalque was not indoors but outdoors, thereby not restricting its perception to the height of the built portions only, using the open-air staging to its advantage.

FROM CATAFALQUE TO ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM

The change from using horses to using soldiers to pull Atatürk's coffin-loaded gun carriage from in front of the Turkish Parliament Building to the Ethnographic Museum (and the additional riders on horseback) has already been discussed as representing the end of the funeral process and the beginning of the mourning process. Such a representation corresponds with the earlier politicization of military personnel in terms of their protection and defense of the nation (i.e. Atatürk) in Istanbul. Additionally, however, such a logistical decision to use 96 soldiers instead of six horses begins to move away from the memorial (serving to remember Atatürk the individual) and towards the monumental (serving to be impressive and enduring, like the nation of Turkey).

[233] This 15 x 15 meter dimension is from Taut's plan sketch of the catafalque in his posthumously published book *Mimari Bilgisi* (Lectures on Architecture), between pages 79 and 80.
[234] The street has since been widened sometime after 1938, moving the sidewalk towards the Parliament Building and taking away some of the forecourt.
[235] Batur (1997), p. 21. This can also be confirmed with Taut's sketch in his *Mimari Bilgisi* .

Also as previously discussed, the funeral procession from Taut's catafalque to Atatürk's temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum did not take the more direct route down the Avenue of the Banks. Instead, it turned back towards the train station where the body originally arrived in Ankara and proceeded up what is today Talat Pasha Boulevard. While it is unclear exactly why this indirect route was chosen, it is clear that such a course back down to the train station prolonged the procession by 50%, an indication that the organizers of the funeral may have wanted an extended and prolonged procession rather than just a quick transfer.

3.2.3 THE "TEMPORARY" SPACES

With the placing of Atatürk's body in his temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum, the politicization of previous representations began the process of monumentalization that would eventually conclude at Anıtkabir – interestingly, however, without the monumentality of Atatürk's permanent tomb.

ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM TEMPORARY TOMB

The minimalism of the Ethnographic Museum tomb has already been discussed as a representation of the serenity of death or the tranquility of the deceased. What such a representation says to the visitor of such a tomb (its politicization) is that it was a final (although "temporarily final") resting place for the body of Atatürk. In fact, for the 15 years that the Ethnographic Museum temporary tomb existed, it was a monument. That is, keeping in mind the definitions of Danto (1985) and Rowlands (2001), the Ethnographic Museum temporary tomb was "final, resolved, resolute and determined." While the tomb seems to have been a monument, it did not display any sense of monumentality through the usual means like over-sized features, grand gestures or a sense of imposing solidity. Instead, it was a simple yet impressive and humanly-scaled object where Atatürk's body rested (both in terms of laying down and being at peace). As such, the rules for visiting the Ethnographic temporary tomb were quite strict. A document from the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives dated 8 June 1950 outlines the exacting conditions under which visitations to the Ethnographic Museum tomb could take place:

1- Visitations may be performed by any type of organization or political persons or by the public.
   a) Visits by any organization are required to officially apply in writing to the [Ankara] Governor's Office 24 hours in advance.
   b) These conditions require visitations between 2:00 and 4:00pm.
   c) Visits by members of the public are assigned on Sundays between the same required time.
2- In the event that foreigners are in the visiting party, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ethnographic Museum Directorate must be notified.
3- The Ethnographic Museum Directorate will prepare for those visitations accepted to go inside the museum and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will prepare for those visitations that include foreigners.[236]

While a 1951 supplementary document clarified that visitations can also take place on religious and official holidays between 9:00am–12:00noon and 2:00–5:00pm, these restrictions are still much more stringent than Anıtkabir's visitation times (which are: everyday 9:00am - 5:00pm, regardless of nationality), indicating that access to a building is just as important to an authority in power as constructing the building and its representations in the first place. This restriction of access, along with the serene and tranquil setting, also worked to promote the Ethnographic Museum temporary tomb as a monument (and not memorial) to Atatürk for the 15 years that it existed.

The courtyard of the Ethnographic Museum that was enclosed to serve as the location of Atatürk's temporary tomb measures about eighty square meters.[237] However, during the time that Atatürk's temporary tomb was in the Ethnographic Museum, the museum's exhibit's were not open for display – in effect, the tomb was the only exhibit. Only after Atatürk's removal to Anıtkabir in 1953 did the museum return to "business as usual."

Therefore, in terms of the "size" of the Ethnographic Museum tomb, the entire building that constitutes the museum, not just the courtyard location of the tomb, should be considered. This total area of the museum is about 1000m^2,[238] which is

[236] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-10-0-0, Ref: 15-85-18, File: 13110, Date: 25/05/1951 (translation by author). The translated section is dated 8 June 1950, but the document in the archives is dated 25 May 1951, which was the date of the "Supplementary Regulations" ("*Ek Yönetmenlik*") described in the next paragraph.

[237] According to measured drawings of the museum in Çuha (1989?), the courtyard measures 9.0m X 9.0m.

[238] Again, according to measured drawings in Çuha (1989?).

133% larger than the area in front of the (Second) Turkish Parliament Building that contained Taut's catafalque.

FROM ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM TO ANITKABİR

The carnival atmosphere of Atatürk's transfer from the Ethnographic Museum temporary tomb to Anıtkabir has already been noted. What was not noted was the message or statement (the politicization) that such a celebratory environment provided to the public watching the parade. After 15 long years, part of which included a devastating world war, Atatürk was finally being put to rest in a magnificent mausoleum constructed especially for both him and the Turkish nation. It was a festive occasion and the message given by those who hosted the transfer (the Turkish state) was that it was an optimistic moment, oriented towards a stable and great future, as reflected in the statement by Celal Bayar, then President of the Republic, when Atatürk's coffin arrived at Anıtkabir:

> Atatürk, we are now burying you with earth from the four corners of the homeland that you saved. But, your true place is in the bosom of the indebted Turkish nation. May you rest in peace.[239]

Additionally, İsmet İnönü, Atatürk's colleague-in-arms during the Turkish War of Independence, former Prime Minister and President who succeeded Atatürk after his death, released the following statement on that day:

> Today, with insight, we think that Atatürk the reformer's biggest output is the new Turkish State. Fifteen years ago, what would be the outcome of this work was the entire world's question and doubt. The deeds of great people, a subject in the lives of nations, are measured by the ability of their accomplishments to continue after their death. In the past fifteen years the new Turkish community, which was founded by means of revolution and reforms, has come to a state of self-preservation and self-defense by means of more advancements and the greatest progress. Today, the Turkish Nation, by means of [both] villager and city dweller, is preserving the fundamental concepts of the Turkish Republic. New generations and youth know their fate entrusted to them. Beloved Atatürk, as time passes you will live in a greater and brighter state of honor. We know the duty to preserve his [Atatürk's] reform works by expressing genuine love towards the motherland. We are committed to you with an unfading feeling of respect.[240]

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[239] CUMHURIYET, 11 November 1953, p. 1.

[240] ULUS, 11 November 1938, pp. 1 and 5: *Bugün basiretle düşünüyoruz ki yeni Türk devleti ıshalatcı Atatürk'ün en büyük eseridir. Bueserin akıbeti ne olacağı, on beş sene önce bugün bütün dünyanın sorusu ve şüphesiydi. Büyük insanların başarıları, hususiyle milletler hayatında, kendileri*

This optimistic attitude towards a new and brighter future, now that the war years were over and Atatürk was finally in his rightful place, spelled out an attitude full of confidence and resoluteness (corresponding to the definition of "monument"), and additionally attempted to shape a shared attitude towards the memory of Atatürk and the Turkish nation in terms of his role in forming it.

This dissertation has already noted that he 1953 funeral procession from Atatürk's temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum to Anıtkabir neither re-traced the 1938 route from the (Second) Turkish Parliament Building nor did it take the most direct route. (Figs. 2.12 and 2.13). The most likely explanation for this roundabout route was to pass by the (Second) Parliament Building, the location of Atatürk's 1938 funeral and the urban-architectural symbol of the Republic of Turkey. By making the procession longer than was necessary, the size of the final movement of Atatürk's corpse was politicized, continuing the tradition of circuitous and extended journeys that began in Istanbul in 1938.

3.2.4 THE "PERMANENT" SPACE(S)

Atatürk's permanent tomb is, without a doubt, a monument. It is quite certainly "final, resolved, resolute and determined" in both its forms and the images that those forms represent. In contrast to the private domesticity of the Dolmabahçe bedroom, Anıtkabir is a public place that functions within the public realm.

ANITKABİR – ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION

It is the architectural competition for Atatürk's mausoleum that layed down the guidelines for the monumentality that was to follow. The competition brief is full of descriptive words like "grandeur", "power", "glorious", "great power", "magnificent or imposing", and "unsurpassed / without equal," which, although left to the

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ayrıldıktan sonra devam edebilmek kaabiliyetiyle ölçülmüştür. İnkılaplar ve ıslahat ile kurulan yeni Türk cemiyeti geçen on beş sene içinde daha ilerlemiş ve en büyük ilerleme olarak kendi kendini koruyacak ve savunacak hale gelmiştir. Bugün Türk Milleti, köylüsü ve şehirlisi ile Türk Cumhuriyetinin temel mefhumlarını muhafaza ediyor. Yeni nesiller ve gençler kendilerine verilen emanetin kadrini bilmişlerdir. Aziz Atatürk, zaman geçtikçe daha yüksekte, daha parlak şeref halesi içinde yaşıyacaksın. Vatana karşı gerçek sevginin ifadesi olarak, ıslahat eserlerini korumayı borç biliyoruz. Solmaz saygı duygusu ile sana bağlıyız.

competitors exactly how such qualities were to be achieved, are the stated characteristics of the monument to be built.[241] Item no. 3 of the competition brief clearly states that the construction was to be a monument that would "symbolize Atatürk's capabilities and great power."[242] But it is item no. 4, with its insistence on a "magnificent/imposing silhouette"[243] that, in the words of Batur (1997), "clearly defines the element of monumentality that the building was to incorporate."[244] For, it is the grandness and largeness of the Atatürk's mausoleum – its representation as a microcosm of the nation – that truly politicizes it as a monument.

Just as the competition brief for Anıtkabir was being announced (March 1941), the occurrence of a political disturbance at the same time is worth noting. Originally, Turkish architects were excluded from submitting entries – they were simply not allowed to participate in the competition. It was only after protests by Turkish architects, the Turkish Chamber of Architects and the Turkish press (both architectural and popular) put pressure on the Council of Ministers (*Bakanlar Kurulu*) that such a restriction was removed, indicating that the nationality of the designer of a building is just as important to those in power as the representations that can be found within that building.

This politicization of a designer's nationality seems to have also arisen after the competition jury equally awarded the first prize to Onat–Arda, Krüger and Foschini. The jury anonymously judged the competition entries by means of 5-digit identification numbers chosen by the entrants themselves, which means that the only documents seen by the jurors were the competition entry boards with their 5-digit numbers. However, upon announcement of the three first-place winners, it was left to the Turkish Parliament to choose which winner would actually be awarded the contract to construct Anıtkabir and, in effect, receive the actual first place and construction contract. While it is not possible to prove beyond a doubt that the Turkish Parliament chose the team of Turkish architects over the German and Italian architects because of their nationality, it seems too much of a coincidence that the

[241] The corresponding Turkish words in the competition brief are: *azamet*, *kuvvet*, *şeref*, *kudret*, *azametli*, and *eşsiz*. How these qualities are to be achieved is "left to the competitors" (*müsabıklara bırakılmış*) in several clauses. See Sayar (1943), pp. 3-5 and 20-21.
[242] Sayar (1943), p. 3.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Batur (1997), p. 93.

Turkish team was chosen, especially when one considers the many additions and subtractions that were required of their competition entry of March 1942 and revised submission of October 1943 (suggesting that the project was not an absolutely perfect solution). Sabiha Güreyman, the construction control architect of Anıtkabir has theorized the situation this way:

> Of the three projects, two of them were from foreign [architects] and one was from two Turkish architects. While the three projects were of the same artistic value, due to the fact that the two Turkish sons' work was different in feeling from the others', a decision was made by the government to apply a modified [version] of Emin Onat and Orhan Arda's project.[245]

Lastly, in terms of the politicization of Anıtkabir's architectural competition in Turkey, the competition entries were exhibited to the public in the Ankara Exhibition Hall (*Sergi Evi*) for a period of time after the Turkish Parliament's decision, as indicated in a document from the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives.[246] This exhibition seems not to have occurred in order to garner the opinion of the public – if so, it would have happened either before the jury took place or immediately after the announcement of jury results (to break the three-way tie). Instead, it is telling that the exhibition of competition entries occurred only after the final decision by the Turkish Parliament. In this way, although the Turkish government were being quite open in disclosing all of the other alternative designs, the ruling power in their typical "top-down" manner, was informing the public of their decision as a *fait accompli* – an irreversible fact – as "final, resolved, resolute and determined" as the monument to be constructed.

Interestingly, outside of Turkey the Anıtkabir competition was also politicized. The Italian architectural magazine *Architettura* devoted 21 pages of its November 1942 issue to covering five of the Italian entries, plus also the entry of Johannes Krüger.[247] The winning Turkish entry of Onat-Arda was not covered, despite the sketch notes

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[245]Güreyman (1953), p. 3: "*Üç projeden ikisi ecnebi birisi de iki Türk mimarına aitti. Her üç proje de san'at itibariyle aynı kıymette olmakla beraber iki Türk evlâdının eserleri duyuş bakımdan diğerlerden farklı olduğu fesörlerinden Emin Onat-Orhan Arda'ya ait projelerin, hükûmet tarafından tadilen tatbikine karar verildi.*"

[246] Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-18-01-02, Ref: 98-44-12, File: 2/17985, Date: 25/05/1942, signed by President İsmet İnönü and interestingly under-signed by 14 other government employees.

[247] Piacentini (1942), pp. 347-367. After a two-page introduction, Foschini received 5 pages of coverage, Krüger 3, Muzio 4, Vaccaro-Franzi 3, Libera 2 and Vietti-Violi 2 pages each.

from jury member Paul Bonatz displayed on page 348 stating "1st Prize" in German (1. Preis) under Onat's name. The title of the coverage ("Victories of Italian Architecture in a Foreign Country" – despite the fact that no Italian won the first prize) and its first few introductory lines reveal the extent of the politicization:

> We are delighted and proud to signal to our readers a great victory of Italian architecture. These conquests in the field of culture, is the moment at which the Italian soldier makes much honor for itself all over the world, [and these victories] are confirmation more and more of the present firmness and confidence in the luminous future of our People.[248]

Later in the introduction, the Italian Minister of Education at the time states in a letter to 2nd prize competition winner Foschini that :

> Italian architecture, through your appreciated work, has obtained another solemn acknowledgment on foreign soil and in competition with artists of other nations.[249]

In other words, what some might have seen as merely the preponderance of entries from one particular nation (Italy), the editor of this architectural publication and the Italian government (via the Minister of Education) saw the competition as an extension of the World War II battles that were being won by Italy at the time.

ANITKABİR – AS BUILT

The politicization of the representations of Anıtkabir (as built) is quite clear: collectively from the male/female sculptures to the 10 towers to the Street of Lions to the battle reliefs to the inscriptions of famous Atatürk sayings to the temple-like Hall of Honor, through pre-Ottoman architectural details, modern copies of archaeological finds and abstracted tent and carpet motifs, Anıtkabir presents a history of the Turks that existed long before the Ottoman Empire, thereby lessening the importance of the Ottoman State. In this way, Anıtkabir (as built) narrates the story of a (constructed) Turkish history whose function is to not simply commemorate Atatürk and the Turkish nation, but also to educate future generations about this history. That is, the

[248] Ibid., p. 347: "*Siamo lieti ed orgogliosi ai nostri lettori ancora una grande Vittoria dell'architettura italiana. Queste conquiste nel campo della cultura, nel momento in cui tanto onore il soldato italiano si assicura in tutto il mondo, conferma sempre più la saldezza presente e la fiducia nel luminoso avvenire del nostro Popolo.*"

[249] Ibid: "*Sono fiero che l'architettura italiana abbia, attraverso la Vostra apprezzata opera, ottenuto un altro solenne riconoscimento in terra straniera ed in competizione con artisit di altre Nazioni.*"

reliefs and sculptures and architectural forms of Anıtkabir, plus the exhibits in the museum, work together to give a message that has been vetted, sanctioned and pre-approved (i.e. politicized) by those in power in the Turkish state.

Additionally, after Anıtkabir was built, its image became an icon of sorts within Turkish society and culture, especially the acropolis-like Hall of Honor, which for many Turks is the mental iconic image of Anıtkabir that they keep in their heads (Fig. 3.04). According to Firth (1973), an icon is a symbol or sign for which "a sensory likeness relation is intended or interpreted."[250] In other words, an icon is a representation (pictorial or otherwise) of an object that immediately brings to mind other ideas related to that object. Icons are most famously known in the Eastern Orthodox Christian Church, where paintings of Jesus Christ, his mother and the saints are revered as if they were the actual person.[251]

In the case of Anıtkabir, the image of the Hall of Honor has become an icon, an immediately recognized sign that can even be abstracted into a simple rectangular prism with vertical lines to represent columns. The image of Anıtkabir, or just the Hall of Honor, can be found on the Turkish Lira (both new and old), postcards of Ankara, lottery tickets printed by the state, to name just a few occurrences (Figs. 3.04 - 3.07). It can even be found in children's activity books and commercialized model-building sets for older children and adults (Figs. 3.08 and 3.09). The usage of Anıtkabir for a 2005 fashion show exhibiting the fashion trends of the early Turkish Republic (1920s-1930s), using 44 of Atatürk's own outfits from the Anıtkabir Museum, further extended this politicization to make Anıtkabir represent the physical location of the roots of the republic.[252] This iconic status of Anıtkabir's Hall of Honor in popular Turkish culture was perhaps solidified by its inclusion in Istanbul's "Miniatürk," the newly-opened leisure park consisting of miniature versions of famous "historic" buildings in Turkey (Fig. 3.10).[253]

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[250] Firth (1973), p. 75.

[251] See Ouspensky and Lossky (1982) for more on Eastern Orthodox Icons.

[252] "*Anıtkabir'de 'Ata'ya Saygi' Defilesi*" [" 'Respect to Atatürk' Fashion Show at Anıtkabir"], SABAH, 12 June 2005, p. 5.

[253] Miniatürk also contains models of structures not in Turkey like the Dome of the Rock Mosque and Aksa Theological School (*Medrese*), Jerusalem; the Damascus Train Station, Syria; and the Mostar Bridge, former Yugoslavia, indicating the ideological position of the Municipality of Istanbul (creators and administrators of the park).

Fig 3.04: "ANIKABİR" ["TOMB MEMORY"], 2000, by Turkish artist Memed Erdener.[254]

Fig. 3.05: 20 TL in use between 1966-1983 (See also the 5 YTL in Fig. 2.36 YTL).

Fig. 3.06: Turkish lottery ticket from 1988.

[254] "These pieces mainly consist of superimpositions, assemblages and counterpositions of two or more graphic elements which are embedded in the memory of Turkish society as the constitutive visual codes of the national identity: maps and arrows designed to support the myth of the nation; sentences and drawings from the primary-school books which still emanate the devotion of the early years of the Republic anachronistically; the tension between the Arabic and Latin alphabets; photographs of the dramatic and historical moments of the nation; the iconographies of the Kemalist, Islamic and fascist ideologies; and everyday icons (logos of public companies and political parties, warning signs etc.). When brought together, these disparate and sometimes contradicting figures start to play against each other and produce a third semantic field that constitutes the ironic criticality in Extrastruggle's works (as found on the web-site http://www.extrastruggle.com [also, http://www.extramucadele.com], last accessed 20 April 2007).

Fig. 3.07: "Views from Ankara" postcard, with four out of five images from Anıtkabir (lower left-hand image is of the Atatürk sculpture in Ulus Square, Ankara)

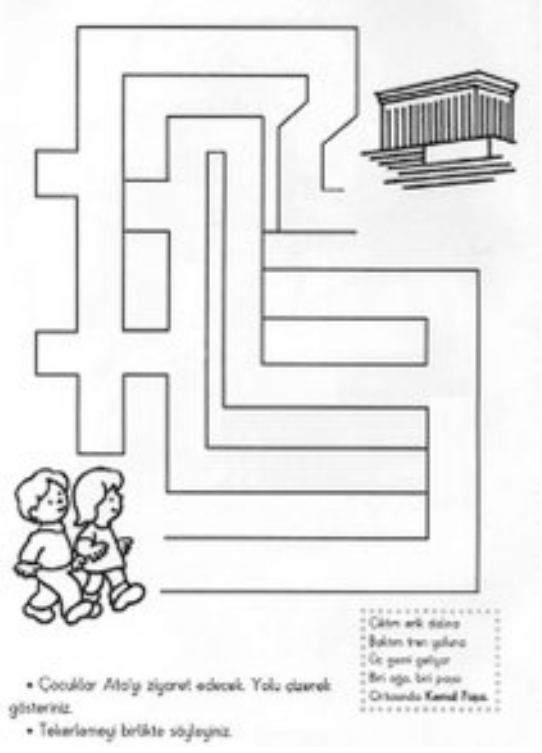

Fig. 3.08: Page from a children's activity book: "The children are going to visit Ata[türk]. Show the way by drawing the path. Say the rhyme (in the box) together: I climbed up a plum [tree] branch / [and] looked at the railroad / Three ships were coming / [In] one of them [was] a Sire / [In] another [was] a General / In the middle [was] Kemal Pasha"

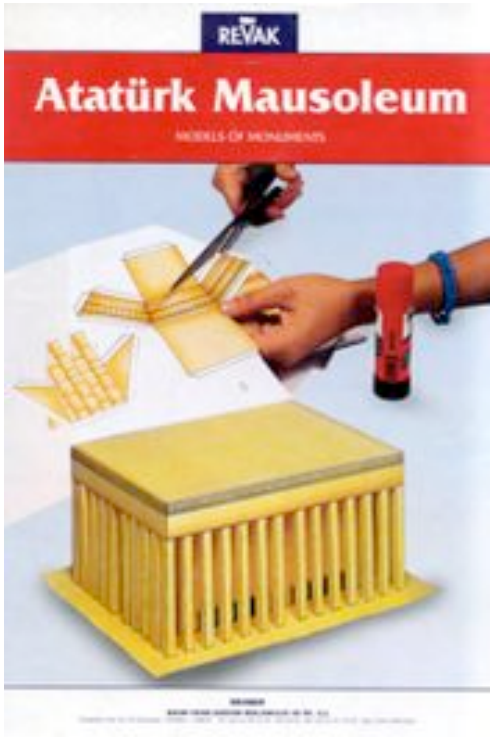

Fig. 3.09: commercialized model-building set for older children and adults

This constant and repeated usage of the image of Anıtkabir (especially the Hall of Honor) has made Anıtkabir come to represent not just the location of Atatürk's dead body, but also (viz. a viz. Kantorowicz) the place of his living immortal body. An outward manifestation of this immortality first appeared the day after Atatürk's death when he was bestowed with the title "Eternal Leader" [*Edebi Şef*] by the Turkish Parliament, explaining the front-page headline of the *Ulus* newspaper of 21 November 1938 announcing that Atatürk's body had arrived in Ankara and that his funeral had taken place: "The Eternal Leader is in Ankara" (Fig. 3.11).

In addition, children's songs with lyrics such as "Atatürk did not die / He lives in my heart … You did not die / It is not possible for you to die"[255] and "My father, you did not die / You were not buried / Let's see where you are / You are in my little heart"[256] can easily be found in books compiled for teachers to help them commemorate Atatürk and celebrate "Atatürk Week," a special week of activities (exhibitions, seminars, film screenings, etc) declared in 1981 to take place every year from thence forward.

Kemalists, or "Atatürkists" as they call themselves in Turkish,[257] go even further in this politicization of Atatürk's legacy by making statements such as:

> ATATÜRK is not a person. He is a monument and a bunch of principles that brought a modern lifestyle to the Turkish nation. He is an exalted symbol that summarizes our national worth and existence.[258]

At this point, it is unclear whether the Atatürkists are referring to the person Atatürk or to the monument of Anıtkabir. Returning to Anıtkabir, psychoanalysts Volkan and Itzkowitz (1984) have pointed out that Atatürk's "double grave" at Anıtkabir (public marble sarcophagus in the Hall of Honor and actual private grave below) can be read as a representation of Atatürk's immortality because gravestones were traditionally made to prevent buried corpses from rising up again. However, say Volkan and

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[255] Vural (2001), p. 211 (translation by author): "*Atatürk ölmedi / Yüreğimde yaşıyor … Ölmedin, ölemezsin / Ölmedin, ölemezsin*" (credited to E. Okyay).

[256] Ibid., p. 352 (translation by author): "*Atam sen ölmedin / Toprağa gömülmedin / Bil bakalım nerdesin (sic) / Minicik kalbimdesin*" (uncredited).

[257] I am referring to the term "Atatürkçü".

[258] Özcan (1999), p. 77 (translation by author – capitalization in the original): "*ATATÜRK bir kişi değildir. Türk milletine çağdaş yaşam biçimini getiren bir ilkeler demetidir ve anıtidir. Ulusal değerlerimizi ve varlıklarımızı özetleyen bir yüce simgedir.*"

Fig. 3.10: Anıtkabir's at "Miniatürk", Istanbul.

Fig. 3.11: Cover of ULUS newspaper, 21 November 1938..
"The Eternal Leader on his catafalque in front of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (upper left);
The formation of airplanes at Atatürk's funeral on the Yavuz (upper right);
Those standing on duty at Our Eternal Leader Atatürk's funeral on the Yavuz (bottom)."

All newspapers of the time printed black frames of mourning
on their cover pages between 10-21 November 1938.

Itzkowitz, Atatürk's gravestone at Anıtkabir (the sarcophagus) does not directly weigh down upon him, allowing for his return (or re-incarnation) at any moment.[259]

Atatürk's mausoleum, as built, conveys a sense of monumentality mostly through its vast size. The entire site, including the surrounding "Peace Park," takes up 670,000m^2 of Ankara, 150% larger than the grounds of the current (Third) Turkish Parliament Building, which is 475,000m^2. The built up area of Anıtkabir's grounds, which includes the Hall of Honor, the Ceremonial Plaza, and the Street of Lions, comprises 22,000m^2 – which is, again, larger than the footprint of the Turkish Parliament Building (19,372m^2).

In fact, the individual parts of the mausoleum are also in themselves over-scaled, when compared to human dimensions. The approach from the entrance gate to the actual monument is a tiring and steep 650 meter climb uphill, which functions to remove the visitor from the hustle-and bustle of the city and accustom him/her to the other-world of the monument.[260] Next, at the top of the steep entrance road, visitors are greeted with the 26-riser staircase that leads to Street of Lions. This staircase is about 4 meters tall, twice the height of a large visitor, and consequently appears as another imposing wall or slope to climb. At the top of these stairs, the "towers" (pavilions) are 8.80 x 10.85 meters in plan and 7.2 meters tall.[261] Adjacent to these, the "men" and "women" sculptures are about 5 meters tall, not counting their 1-meter bases, towering over visitors and the entrance to the Street of Lions, which is equally lengthy at 262.20 meters.[262] An additional detail of the Street of Lions is the 5cm grass space between its paving slabs, which is very uncomfortable to walk on and forces visitors to watch their step and walk slowly. In this way, the Street of Lions functions similarly to the steep entrance incline in terms of assisting visitors slowly and gradually make their way to the heart of the monument.

[259] Volkan and Itzkowitz (1984), p. 348. This interpretation, however, does not take into account the slab of marble seen on Atatürk's private grave in Fig. 6.06 (top).
[260] Due to complaints about this entrance portion, a ring-bus service at Anıtkabir has recently (summer 2006) been instituted, which ferries visitors up and down this hill. This service, however, omits the accustomization process mentioned and therefore takes away from the monumentality of the monument.
[261] T.C. Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı, (1994), p. 94.
[262] Ibid. The width of the Street of Lions is 12.8 meters.

The expansive Ceremonial Plaza, which measures 129 x 84.25 meters,[263] is reached by another six risers after the Street of Lions. The Hall of Honor, the main and iconic portion of the mausoleum, is lifted above the Ceremonial Plaza by an 8-meter (42-riser) staircase, and measures an astonishing 41.65 x 57.35 meters in plan (2388.63 m^2).[264] It rises to a height of 17 meters, with the columns themselves measuring 14.4 meters,[265] a dimension that dwarfs even a large crowd of visitors. It is, without a doubt, the crowning glory in the monumental presence of the monument. The inside of the Hall of Honor measures 18.10 x 29 meters,[266] with Atatürk's 40-ton sarcophagus at the end being approximately 2 x 5 meters – more than twice as large as the man himself. All of these measurements are inhuman and larger than life, a very powerful expression of the monument's monumentality.

A summary of this gradual change in use and progressive growth and enlargement of the funerary architecture for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, a quick synopsis tracing this process can be seen in Table 1, below:

Construction	**Use**	**"Local" Size**	**"Extended" Size**
Dolmabahçe Bedroom	assertion of the mortality of Atatürk (physical location of death)	50 m^2 (bedroom)	90 m^2 (bedroom and study)
Dolmabahçe Catafalque	mortality of Atatürk (public viewing of body)	36 m^2 (platform)	500 m^2 (Grand Ceremonial Hall)
Ankara Catafalque	transition from mortality to immortality (funeral)	225 m^2 (catafalque)	750 m^2 (Parliament forecourt)
Ethnographic Museum Tomb	preparation for immortality (temporarily in limbo)	80 m^2 (Museum courtyard)	1000 m^2 (Museum footprint)
Mausoleum of Anıtkabir	declaration of the immortality of Atatürk (physical final resting place)	2390m^2 (Hall of Honor footprint)	670,000 m^2 (entire site of Anıtkabir)

Table 1: Change in Use, Growth and Enlargement of the Funerary Architecture for Atatürk.

[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid. The peak of the roof of the Hall of Honor, only seen in transverse sectional drawings, measures 19 meters.
[266] Ibid.

CHAPTER 4:

THE MAINTENANCE OF MEMORY

Maintenance is defined as "the work of keeping something in proper condition or good working order; the upkeep of property or equipment."[267] This dissertation is concerned with the maintenance of representations in the built environment, because it is one thing to initially make representations (as described in Chapter 2) and another to use them for political purposes (as described in Chapter 3), but without the constant maintenance of these representations, they are quite likely to disappear or possibly change their meaning, even when they are embodied in more physical traces like the built environment.

The maintaining of memory is the process of constantly re-working its definition as it befits a particular people, a particular history and/or a particular homeland. This re-working, like a religious affirmation of faith, either attempts to preserve the original intentions of their creators through repetition of the same representations, or endeavors to update these intentions in response to challenges or new situations through new representations and/or meanings.

4.1 MAINTENANCE IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

In Turkey, it is representations of Atatürk that frequently work to do this maintenance for the Republic of Turkey. The image, name, and even signature of Atatürk can be found in what seems like everywhere in the experience of contemporary Turkey. In addition to heroic statues in prominent urban squares of Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and every provincial Anatolian city, busts of Atatürk are typically found in the main squares of smaller towns and villages and also in front of

[267] The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. VI (L-M), Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1978; p. M-53.

every state-run elementary, middle and high school in Turkey.[268] Most, if not all, government offices, including state Universities, typically contain Atatürk portraits, whether assembly hall or tearoom.[269] Quotes by Atatürk, along with reproductions of his actual signature also frequently supplement such pictorial representations, resulting in not only an intellectual but also a literal "inscribing" of urban space (Fig. 4.01).

On major holidays, ministry buildings in Ankara are decorated with multi-storey images of Atatürk along with colossal Turkish flags (Fig. 3.02). On these same holidays, dedicated followers often wear lapel pins with a picture of Atatürk or his profile (Fig. 4.02) and many television stations broadcast with a small Atatürk profile in the corner of the screen. Every edition of the Turkish newspaper *Hürriyet* [Freedom / Liberty] features a picture of Atatürk, a Turkish flag and a nationalist slogan on its masthead (Fig. 4.03). Commercially sold shape-templates for children even feature the profile of Atatürk, as if it were one of the basic regular shapes likes squares, circles and triangles (Fig. 4.04).

Atatürk's name graces at least one street or boulevard in most Turkish cities, with Ankara's major north-south protocol axis, Atatürk Boulevard, being the most famous. In fact, the major crossroads of the "Yenişehir" [New City] neighborhood of Kızılay in Ankara consists of the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard with Gazi Mustafa Kemal Boulevard. Atatürk's name also appears on the model farm in Ankara that he donated to the nation in 1937,[270] a large dam in Southeast Turkey, and cultural centers, sports facilities, conference halls, hospitals and similar public structures. The Yeşilköy International Airport in Istanbul, originally named after the

[268] See Gür (2001), Yalım (2001) and Sargın (2004) for discussions of Atatürk sculptures, busts and monuments in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and other Turkish cities and towns.

[269] Although I have been unable to trace this practice back to a particular Turkish law, I have been able to find official correspondence from 1950 concerning posting only pictures of Atatürk in order to save money and time in deciding whose picture to hang, thereby effectively giving him a monopoly on the practice (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archives document Group Code of 030-18-0-2, Ref: 124-92-6, File: 3/12229, Date: 23/12/1950: "The hanging of only the portrait of the Great Atatürk, the Founder of the Republic of Turkey, in official offices and establishments" ["*Resmi daire ve müesseselerde ancak TC Kurucusu sıfatıyla büyük Atatürk'ün portresinin asılabileceği*"]).

[270] The farm was not named *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği* until 1950 (Turkish Law numbered 2823 dated 24 March 1950), which is significant because that is just about the time that Anıtkabir was beginning to be finished.

Fig. 4.01: A combination of Atatürk picture, quote and signature in the Turkish urban environment [translation: "Economics Means Everything", 17 February 1923 Izmir Economics Congress]

Fig. 4.02: Atatürk lapel pin worn by supporters

Fig. 4.03: *Hürriyet* newspaper masthead with Atatürk face and slogan "Turkey belongs to the Turks"

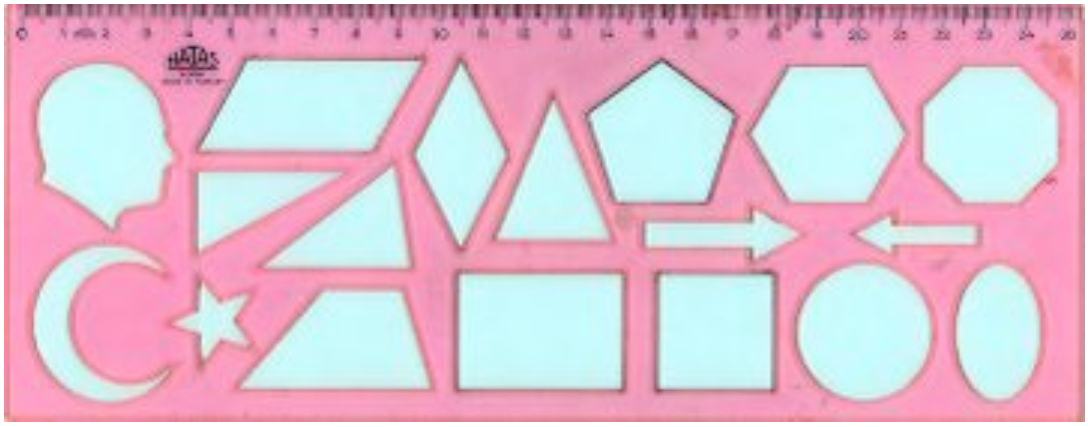

Fig. 4.04: Shape template commercially produced for Turkish school children with Atatürk profile.

neighborhood of its location, was re-named Atatürk International Airport in 1985.[271] Lastly, since 1952 all the Turkish money (both banknotes and coins) has contained an image of Atatürk on the front (Fig. 4.05).[272]

While there is no doubt that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was a major force in the creation of the Turkish Republic and should be celebrated as such, these images, busts, portraits, signatures and street names seem to be everywhere. They are ubiquitous in the Turkish urban landscape, working to represent – that is, re-present (present again) – Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in his absence and maintain the concepts of Turkish collective identity and memory that goes along with these images.

This representation even extends to the natural landscape, where Atatürk's profile has been found in various land formations and mountain ranges throughout Turkey (Figs. 4.06 and 4.07). While there is no doubt that these natural features actually resemble the likeness of Atatürk, the reason that this statement can be made ("that looks like Atatürk") is because of the previously mentioned ubiquity of Atatürk imagery in the Turkish public realm (Fig. 4.08). That is, they can be easily recognized and compared with the images on bank notes, schoolyard busts and government office portraits.

Architectural theorist Adrian Forty (2001) has questioned the assumption that material objects can take the place of the mental form of memory, citing three phenomena to support his argument: the ephemeral monuments of some non-Western societies that function to "get rid of what they no longer need or wish to remember"; Sigmund Freud's theory of mental processes, which sees forgetting as repression (willful, but unconscious, forgetting) that decays differently than physical objects; and the difficulty of representing the Holocaust in physical form without diminishing its horror.[273]

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[271] This name change reflected a mental shift since the 1980s that has occurred from the administrative capital of Ankara to the more cosmopolitan, commercial and industrial city of Istanbul.

[272] Between 1927 and 1952, Turkish money depicted both Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, Turkey's first Prime Minister and Atatürk's friend and fellow soldier during the War of Independence. When the Turkish Lira dropped six zeroes to become the "New Turkish Lira" [Yeni Türk Lirası, or YTL] in 2005, the old denominations merely dropped their zeroes, but the new coins and banknotes (like the 50YTL and 100YTL) contained new and different images of Atatürk.

[273] Forty (2001), pp. 4-8. See also Young (1993) for a further explanation of the contradiction of Holocaust Memorials.

Fig 4.05: Atatürk on the front of the 5 New Turkish Lira (YTL), issued in 2005.

Fig 4.06: A mountain ridge near Gömeç (Balıkesir Province) that resembles Atatürk's profile

Fig 4.07: A shadow regularly cast in June and July on a hill near the village of Gündeşli (Ardahan Province), famous for its resemblance to Atatürk's profile

Fig 4.08: A representation made from representations:
a popular-selling poster in Turkey depicting Atatürk using 2,700 smaller Atatürk pictures

Forty may be correct – material objects cannot simply replace our mental form of memory – but what he does not recognize is the maintenance required to keep physical artifacts from decaying. It is this very maintenance that is significant in the construction of collective identity and memory. The fact that physical objects, like architecture, need to be constantly maintained (or propped-up) to achieve their purpose means that there is always somebody literally behind that maintenance with a reason for doing it.

Three most prominent methods of maintaining physical objects in our contemporary society are by placing them in or turning them into museums ("museumification") or by incorporating them into ritual processes ("commemoration"), all the time adding and/or subtracting to them ("physical modifications").

4.1.1 MUSEUMS AND MUSEUMIFICATION

The International Council of Museums defines a museum as "a non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment."[274]

Museums are, in fact, the products of the modern (post-enlightenment) age, when collections of objects, artistic or otherwise, were removed from the private domain of the rich into the public domain of the museum. Beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries, heads of state, members of the aristocracy, wealthy merchants and high church officials began collecting items of interest including traditional art objects like paintings, sculptures, drawings and engravings, but also fragments of antique buildings, religious relics, manuscripts, animal skeletons, precious minerals, exotic plants, weapons, carpets, coins, and ethnographic materials like jewelry, clothing and ritualistic objects. Hence, the name of such collections came to be known as "curiosity cabinets" since they housed a variety of curious objects for study, education and aesthetic pleasure, matching the definition of museums today.[275] Access to these

[274] http://icom.museum/statutes.html#2 (last accessed 04 April 2007)
[275] Impey, ed. (2000), pp. 76-89.

collections was often at the whim of the owner, and was therefore not open to the public.

English lawyer Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) donated his collection of curiosities to Oxford University in 1677 to form The Ashmolean Museum. Other early museums that were also founded on private collections include The Vatican's *Museo Sacro* (1756), The British Museum, London (1759), The Uffizi Gallery, Florence (1765), and The Belvedere Palace, Vienna (1781). Public access to these institutions was generally easier than the curiosity cabinets, but could still result in restrictions like visits by written application only, waiting two weeks for approval and/or time limits of two hours.[276]

The first museum freely open to the general public is generally considered to be The Louvre, Paris, which was originally a royal palace but was transformed into an art museum after the French Revolution when all royal possessions were collected and declared "for the people." The first purpose-built art museum is generally considered to be the *Altes Museum* in Berlin, 1823, designed by architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, which was constructed to house the Prussian Royal Family's art collection.

What is significant in this elaboration of the history of museums is that for a museum to exist, it must be in the possession of a collection, be they portable objects or an actual building itself. The process of museumification, or turning a collection of objects into a museum, is a two-part procedure. Firstly, it entails the de-contextualization of objects, a space or a series of spaces. For objects, this quite simply means their removal from one context to another (to a museum). But with spaces, which cannot be easily moved, this de-contextualization means the loss/changing of their former usage, population and/or meaning.

Secondly, the process of museumification entails the (re)presentation of an object or space for the primary purpose of display and exhibition, sometimes also encompassing education and/or entertainment. In the words of social psychologist Alan Radley:

[276] Ibid.

> Museums, as with other edifices in the community (cathedrals, town halls, castles) are repositories of objects which exist as special artefacts, by reference to which past epochs may be read and understood.[277]

The Ethnographic Museum in Ankara, the first purpose-built museum of the Turkish Republic (rather than re-use of an older structure), was created in 1927 to collect significant artifacts from around the country that reflected unique and traditional Turkish designs and social gatherings (weddings, funerals, circumcision celebrations, etc). However, as noted by architectural historian Zeynep Kezer (2000), the exhibits collected by the museum were everyday objects (like kitchenware, carpets, traditional costumes, architectural tiles, ornamental decorations and even the pulpit from the 12th century Ulu Mosque in Siirt) that were still in use by villagers and Islamic societies, whom the new Republic strongly wanted to "modernize."[278] In this way, by taking these objects out of their everyday context and placing them into the special context of a museum, the new Republic of Turkey was presenting them as relics of a bygone era, dead objects suitable for a museum – in effect proclaiming to the Turkish people that their pre-modern lifestyle was dead and should be left behind in favor of a modern and living one.

A "spatial museumification" equivalent to the Ethnographic Museum in the early years of the Republic of Turkey was the conversion of the former Ottoman Empire's Topkapı Palace into a museum in 1924. The entire complex of buildings itself (comprising kiosks, throne room, residential area (*harem*) and service buildings) was declared a museum, not unlike the changing of The Louvre after the French Revolution, in order to remove it from its former use as a center of political power (from 1453-1856) and open it up to the public. Like the Ethnographic Museum, Topkapı Palace was "museumified" in order to present it (the entire complex and all of the objects it contained) as a relic of a bygone era with little or no modern value, except perhaps as a novelty.[279]

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[277] Radley (1990), p. 47.
[278] Kezer (2000).
[279] See Shaw (2003) for information on the museumification of Ottoman buildings by the Republic of Turkey.

4.1.2 RITUALS AND COMMEMORATION

A second method of maintaining memory in the built environment involves the usage of public and private places and spaces for rituals and commemorations, whether by conscious design or by *ad hoc* appropriation. Commemoration is defined as an observance or celebration designed to honor the memory of a (usually dead) person or an (usually past) event. The act of commemoration involves rituals and ceremonies, which are formalized sets of symbolic actions generally performed in a particular place at regular and recurring intervals (daily, monthly, yearly, etc.). The repetitive set of actions that comprise a ritual often include, but are not limited to, such things as recitation, singing, processions, dances, and/or the manipulation of sacred objects. A ceremony is a ritual activity performed on occasions such as the arrival of a guest or the departure of loved ones, the coronation of a monarch or inauguration of an elected official, and a birthday or a death anniversary.

The interpretative anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) has remarked that rituals "provide a meta-social commentary upon the whole matter of assorting human beings into fixed hierarchical ranks and then organizing the major part of collective existence around that assortment … [they are the] stories people tell themselves about themselves."[280] Similarly, anthropologist John Skorupski (1976) has commented: "ceremony says 'look, this is how things should be, this is the proper, ideal pattern of social life.' "[281]

Commemorative days that are important to the Republic of Turkey include 29 October ("Republic Holiday" [*Cumhuriyet Bayramı*], the establishment of the Republic of Turkey on that date in 1923) and 30 August ("Victory Holiday" [*Zafer Bayramı*], the capitulation of the Greek Armies on that date in 1922). Additionally, and more relevant to this dissertation, commemorative days important to the Republic of Turkey that include Atatürk are 19 May ("Youth, Sport and Remembrance of Atatürk Holiday" [*Gençlik, Spor ve Atatürk'ü Anma Günü*], from his 1919 landing at Samsun and subsequent appropriation of this date as his birthday), and 10 November (the anniversary of Atatürk's death, 1938). On such days, parades are conducted, speeches are spoken and symposia and conferences are organized – all working towards the

[280] Geertz (1973), p. 448.
[281] Skorupski (1976), p. 84.

same purpose of defining and maintaining Turkish identity (what it means to be a Turk) and Turkish memory (what past and future dates are significant for Turkey).

Mortuary rituals, those associated with the treating and removal of dead bodies from society, are even more significant commemorations for a people because they "maintain the continuity of human life by preventing survivors from yielding either to the impulse to flee panic-stricken from the scene or, to the contrary impulse, to follow the deceased into the grave."[282] The funeral of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938, in addition to the moving of his body from his temporary tomb to this permanent mausoleum in 1953, were temporal commemorations that worked towards the same purpose of defining and maintaining Turkish identity and memory, just like the annual recurring commemorations (29 October, 30 August, 19 May, 10 November).

4.1.3 ADDITIONS AND SUBTRACTIONS

Lastly, in addition to the museumfication of objects and spaces and the commemoration of events and activities into certain ritual architectural settings, the representation and politicization of the built environment is also maintained by physical modifications to already existing buildings and architectural complexes.

This may include, but is not limited to, stylistic changes, surface treatments, color modifications, new buildings, and in some cases, wholesale demolition, all of which attempt to prevent the meaning represented and politicized by a space/building/city plan from becoming obselete, reflecting the sheer physicality of the built environment that, even without political motivations, requires regular maintenance to survive.

ADDITIONS

Physical modifications that add onto pre-existing conditions tend to supplement the already-existing representations created by the original building or structure. Such additions are usually more of the same added to the original to look like they have always been there. Occasionally, such additions take another and opposite format from existing conditions in order to assert their identity as new, but in the end still tend

[282] Geertz (1973), p. 162.

to reinforce already-existing representations, since their reasons for being lie solely in the original.

Institutions are frequently added onto, especially museums, because of a need to maintain their power and control over their respective domains. Two of the many museum additions of note to this dissertation are Gwathmey Siegel and Associates' 1992 addition to Frank Lloyd Wright's 1959 Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York (Fig. 4.09), and Venturi Scott-Brown's 1991 Sainsbury Wing addition to William Wilkins' 1837 National Gallery of Art, London (Fig. 4.10).

Both of these projects were entrusted with adding onto an existing and quite iconic building that, in and of itself (without any addition), was/is able to stand-alone quite powerfully. However, each project took opposite approaches to the problem that in the end achieved the same results. Gwathmey Siegel's addition chose complete contrast to assert the identity of the new addition: rectangular, vertical and textured versus Wright's curvilinear, horizontal and smooth forms. In the end, there is no mistaking the original from the addition, and both form what is identified as "The Guggenheim Museum."

Fig 4.09: The Guggenheim Museum, New York:
The dotted line separates Frank Lloyd Wright's 1959 original from Gwathmey Siegel's 1992 addition behind.

Fig 4.10: The National Gallery, London:
Venturi Scott-Brown's 1991 addition (left) to William Wilkins' 1837 National Gallery (right).

Venturi Scott-Brown's addition, takes a more subtle approach, mimicking the columns and stonework of Wilkins' original, bunching them together on the street façade, but revealing a highly reflective glass skin in the space between the buildings. In fact, it is this space that also sets this addition apart from the Guggenheim addition: whereas Gwathmey Siegel chose to squeeze in their addition on top of or behind the original Guggenheim, Venturi Scott-Brown separate their addition from the original National Gallery with a empty gap.

In both cases, however, the additions are meant to supplement their originals, to enhance their (the originals') understanding and to complement the pre-existing representations – frequently the function of architectural additions.

SUBTRACTIONS

Physical modifications that subtract from pre-existing conditions tend to take away that which has become out of fashion, or no longer relevant or seen as disgraceful. Such subtractions inherently work to present an architectural representation as if what was subtracted was never there in the first place. These subtractions typically take place on a city scale rather than individual scale, with some of the American urban planning schemes of the 1960s being the most (in)famous.

As an example for subtraction, Independence Hall (1732-1748) in Philadelphia, USA, was built to serve as the premises for the assembly of the colonial Province of Pennsylvania, but subsequently became more famous for its role in housing the revolutionary Continental Congress that declared political independence from the Kingdom of Great Britain on 4 July 1776 and wrote the US constitution in 1787. Consequently, in the 19th and 20th centuries, this building came to represent young America's struggle for independence and early development.

In the 19th century, Independence Hall became surrounded with the small-scale vernacular brick and stone buildings for which Philadelphia is known (Fig. 4.11). In the 1960s, the US National Park Service, owner of Independence Hall, embarked on a grand project of acquiring and demolishing these buildings to make an open space in front of the building (Fig. 4.12), clearing away (subtracting) these undesirable

buildings. By 1969, a park had been made that focused solely on "the founding of the nation from 1775 to 1800."[283]

In 1976, in preparation for the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the "Liberty Bell" (which mythologically "rang out freedom" in 1776) that was housed in the Independence Hall tower was removed and placed into a specially designed pavilion (by Mitchell-Giurgola Architects) in the middle of the 1960s open space. In this way, The Liberty Bell was subtracted from the building and became an attraction in its own right.

Most recently, in 2003, this pavilion was demolished and the Liberty Bell was moved to another structure on the western edge of the 1960s open space that is positioned in such a way (on an oblique angle to Independence Hall) as to not see the 20th century skyscrapers behind Independence Hall (Figs. 4.13 and 4.14). According to the project's landscape architect, Independence Hall appeared "as a diminutive old building collaged against nondescript, backlit monoliths,"[284] thereby presenting it not as desired (as a great and monumental contribution to history). Thus, in the case of Independence Hall, not only was the 19th century subtracted from around the building by the 1960s urban clearing, but also the 20th century was subtracted by the 21st century Liberty Bell Pavilion.

Thus, it is not only the additions to but also the subtractions from the built environment that function to maintain its representations and the politicization of those representations.

[283] Claflen (2000), p. 65.
[284] Olin (2000), p. 57.

Fig 4.11: Independence Hall, Philadelphia,
and its surroundings in 1952.

Fig 4.12: Independence Hall, Philadelphia,
and its surroundings in the1990s.

Fig 4.13: View of Independence Hall, as seen from the 1976 Liberty Bell Pavilion.

Fig 4.14: View of Independence Hall, as proposed to be seen from
the 2003 Liberty Bell Pavilion (left) and the actual view from the built work (right),
which interestingly does not succeed in erasing the skyscrapers behind.

4.2 MAINTENANCE IN THE FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE OF MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK

> The imagined sharing of a homeland requires
> continual ideological work if it is to be sustained.[285]

The above comment not only applies to the imagined sharing of a homeland, but also to every ideology in general and its physical manifestation in built form. It is one accomplishment to build a building using various representations as symbolic markers, it is another to use those representations (politicize them) for various purposes; but in order to preserve these representations and their politicizations (in order for them to not disappear), a certain amount of maintenance – both physical and ideological – is required.

In architectural terms, this maintenance can take three forms, as explained in the previous section: the museumification ***of*** spaces and places, the rituals/commemorations that occur ***at*** spaces and places, and the subtractions ***from*** and additions ***to*** spaces and places. Since Atatürk's Dolmabahçe Palace bedroom and his mausoleum Anıtkabir are the only two built works of Atatürk's funerary architecture still remaining, it is mostly these spaces that will be discussed in this chapter.

4.1.1 MUSEUMIFICATION

> Museums are morphing. Once they were chroniclers or collectors, gathering objects and facts and putting them on display. Now many have become crucibles: places where a cultural identity is hammered out, refined and reshaped. Along the way they also have become community centers, where a group gathers to celebrate its past, commemorate its tragedies and convey its achievements to others.[286]

As described in Section 4.1, museums are spatial institutions that "freeze" objects in time through the process of museumification: the arrest, control, and immobilization of objects and ideas to fit the particular time of the museum. In the case of Atatürk, the museumification of his funerary architecture is only the last step in a long line of

[285] Pickering (2001), p. 85.
[286] Edward Rothstein, "Museum of the African Diaspora Offers Anecdotal Evidence of a Homesick Humanity", *New York Times*, 20 July 2006.

museumification of architectural spaces related to him and his life. This museumification starts with the houses and places that he visited during his lifetime and ends with Anıtkabir.

ATATÜRK HOUSES AND MUSEUMS

A phenomenon that exists all throughout Turkey is that buildings used by Atatürk while he was alive, especially houses, have become museums frozen in time at the moment of his visit/stay. It is possible to visit these museums, where collections of various objects and interiors from anytime between 1919 and 1938 are preserved and displayed, in both big cities like Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, and also in smaller towns and provincial capitals – especially those associated with the Turkish War of Independence like Samsun, Erzurum and Sivas.

This museumification of "Atatürk Houses", as they have come to be known, is similar to the equivalent American phenomenon of the "George Washington Slept Here" plaques that adorn "historic" houses where the first American president stayed overnight. The difference is that with Atatürk Houses the museumification is more than just a plaque on the outside of the building (although sometimes that is also the case): the museumification of Atatürk Houses is usually the entire building, inside and out. Similar to the way that the Dolmabahçe bedroom has supposedly been preserved exactly as it was on 10 November 1938, the bedrooms and other rooms of these houses have also been preserved exactly as they were when visited/used by Atatürk. In a way, the museumification of these houses, which began during Atatürk's lifetime, could be seen as the predecessors of the Dolmabahçe bedroom.

Books with titles like "Atatürk Houses" and "Atatürk Museums" are compiled to serve as guides for these structures,[287] presuming that Turkish citizens and other interested persons will consult them in their desire to visit places associated with Atatürk. Such books are arranged chronologically according to Atatürk's life and invariably begin with his birth home in Thessaloniki, present-day Greece,[288] and end with Anıtkabir, confirming the upcoming premise that Atatürk's mausoleum is seen as his "home" and final resting place.

[287] Some examples include: Deleon (1997), Erke (1998), and Önder (1970 and 1988).
[288] This house is located at 75 Apostolou Pavlou Street, Thessaloniki, GREECE, tel: +30 2310-248452.

A particularly strange book of this type is Erke (1998), which presents Ottoman miniature-like paintings of 87 such structures, even including Atatürk's yacht "The Savarona." While the artistic merits of this book are questionable (Fig. 4.16), its title however, "Miniatures of Atatürk Houses and Structures that Have Acquired Memorial Status through Atatürk," is most enlightening because it spells out the issue here in plain language: for it only through their association with Atatürk (and not through any architectural merits) that these structures have been able to have been recognized and memorialized.

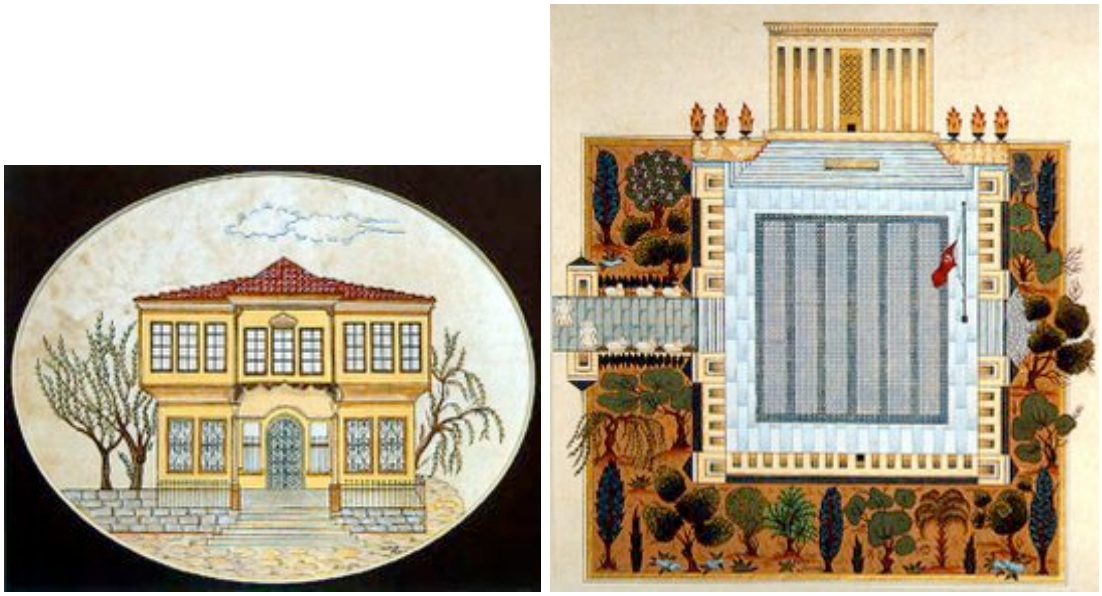

Fig. 4.15: Ottoman miniature-like paintings of the
Uşak Atatürk House (right) and Anıtkabir (left) from Erke (1998).

This process of museumification of the buildings related to Atatürk is not a stable one and continues to occur, since he extensively traveled the country during his lifetime and was sent abroad for most of his early military career. Even the train used by Atatürk on his domestic travels, which were mostly back and forth between Ankara and Istanbul, has been kept as a museum and can be found permanently parked at the Ankara train station in front of the building there that he also briefly used as a residence.

The most recent example of an "Atatürk Museum" has been the establishment of an "Atatürk Room" at The Carlsbad Plaza Hotel in Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary), in what is today the Czech Republic, commemorating the visit by the young General Mustafa Kemal in June-July 1918. Similar to Room 201 at the Pera Palace Hotel, Istanbul, which is commemorated with a plaque noting that Atatürk stayed there, the ground

floor "Atatürk Room" in Carlsbad honors the presence of Atatürk during his stay in that room while he was treated for kidney pains by visiting the various thermal baths for which Carlsbad is famous. There is also another room in the hotel filled with Atatürk photographs and memorabilia that serves as a small Atatürk museum.[289] Both rooms have been instigated and accomplished by two Turkish citizens eager to memorialize Atatürk's visit to Carlsbad,[290] despite the fact that there was nothing glorious nor politically significant about the visit (he merely went to hot spring baths every day for treatment).

DOLMABAHÇE PALACE

As previously mentioned, after the declaration of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, Dolmabahçe Palace became public property. According to Turkish Law no. 431, dated 3 March 1924:

> Article 8: Things made during the Ottoman Empire Sultanate, including real estate property, title deeds and attached moveable property have been inherited to the nation, The Republic of Turkey, and no one else.
>
> Article 9: Sultanate real estate property like palaces, summer residences, and attached similar buildings, including furnishings, dining sets, paintings, artistic monuments and other similar moveable property in general have been inherited to the nation.[291]

Thus, Dolmabahçe Palace officially became the property of the Republic of Turkey and, along with Beylerbeyi Palace also in Istanbul, was administered by The National Palaces Directorate, as decreed in Turkish Law no. 1371 dated 18 January 1925.[292] This directorate was initially under control of the Turkish Ministry of Finance, but in 1933 was transferred, under the urging of Atatürk, to the control of the Office of the

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[289] "Avrupa'nın İlk Atatürk Oda Müzesi" ["Europe's First Atatürk Room Museum"], HÜRRİYET newspaper, Ankara Appendix, 12 June 2006, p. 4.

[290] Candemir Koçak and Mehmet Özel, according to Ibid.

[291] Translation by author from http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/saraylar/intikal.htm (last accessed 11 March 2007): *"MADDE 8 - Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda padişahlık etmiş kimselerin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti arazisi dahilindeki tapuya merbut emvali menkulleri millete intikal etmiştir.*
MADDE 9 - Mülga padişahlık sarayları, kasırları ve emvali sairesi, dahilinde mefruşat, takımlar, tablolar, asari nefise ve sair bilumum emvali menkule millete intikal etmiştir."

[292] Further laws of 10 June 1925, 18 November 1925 and 24 July 1930 added, respectively, Ihlamur Summer Residence, Küçüksu Summer Residence, and Atatürk's Yalova Kiosk (and all their gardens) to this list. Yıldız Palace was also added in 1930. Today, the Aynalıkavak and Maslak Summer Residences are also administered by the National Palaces Directorate.

Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanlık*).

Dolmabahçe Palace, however, was initially not a museum open to the public, but was used as Atatürk's summer working residence, foreign state guest accommodation and for conferences for the Turkish Language and History Associations. Although a Parliamentary Commission decision of 12 May 1925 recommended that the palace be opened to visitors for a fee, this was struck down by a Grand National Assembly Council decision of 12 March 1934. In 1937, only under a Presidential decree by Atatürk, Dolmabahçe's Crown Prince Apartments were opened to the public free of charge as a "State Painting and Sculpture Gallery." The rest of Dolmabahçe Palace, in the name of protection/conservation, was kept closed to the public until 10 July 1964, but were then re-closed on 14 January 1971. Throughout the 1970s, the palace was opened to the public and again closed at intermittent and random times. It was not until 12 June 1984 that all rooms of Dolmabahçe Palace would be opened to the public, which is still the case today.[293]

This detailed history of the public access (and non-access) to Dolmabahçe Palace has been spelled out in order to show that it was not just a matter that, just because after 1924 all Ottoman possessions became property of the Republic of Turkey, they also became open to the public. Instead, public access to Dolmabahçe and other Ottoman palaces have been subject to various influences after the 1924 declaration – financial, societal, and political.

What is most significant is that the "final" opening to the public of Dolmabahçe occurred during the Prime Ministry of Turgut Özal, which was known for its liberalization and "opening up" of Turkish society, politics and economy. That is, Dolmabahçe Palace did not properly undertake a process of "museumification" (the freezing in time of objects and ideas) until Turkish society required it to do so – the 1980s.

[293] This "final" opening was officially pronounced in the Grand National Assembly Council decision no. 55 dated 3 May 1985. The previous two paragraphs have been paraphrased from Gülersoy (1990), pp. 5-7.

DOLMABAHÇE BEDROOM

In the case of Atatürk's Dolmabahçe bedroom, it officially became "museumified" when it became permanently visitable by the public, like the rest of the palace, after 1984. However, it is known that, beginning in the 1950s, the room was opened for and shown to interested ambassadors and foreign heads of state.[294] Although Atatürk's bedroom was not open to the public at this time, it is significant that interest in the room began in the 1950s and not the time between 1938 (Atatürk's death) and 1950, because this is the time period that corresponds to the opening of Atatürk's mausoleum in 1953. That is, it seems that only after Atatürk's body was put to rest in a permanent grave (only after 1953) could Turkish society begin to contemplate the architectural space of his death – the Dolmabahçe bedroom – which constitutes its museumification.

It may have been the case that thinking about Atatürk's death was too painful before the opening of Anıtkabir and that the monument provided the "closure" required in the process of mourning a dead loved one to then reflect back on the circumstances of their death.[295] Alternatively, it could have been the case that only after Atatürk's body was put to rest in a permanent grave (only after 1953) was such a memorial at the location of Atatürk's death required. That is, perhaps the grand and permanent monument that celebrates the life and accomplishments of Atatürk, Anıtkabir, naturally requires an opposing humble and unassuming equivalent that memorializes the fleeting and transitory nature of the event that occurred in that space.

In either case, it is a fact that Atatürk's Dolmabahçe bedroom did not become a museum the day after his death, the year after his death, nor for some time to follow. Instead, it seems as though it first took the building of Anıtkabir (and perhaps the realization of its national and monumental functions) for such a museumification of Atatürk's Dolmabahçe bedroom to take place.

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[294] Personal correspondence, dated 15 February 2006, on file with the author from Feyzullah Özcan, Assistant Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly's Department of National Palaces: "*Dolmabahçe Sarayı 1950'lerden sonra büyükelçilikler ve yabancı devlet başkanları tarafından ziyaret edilmeye başlandı ve bu tarihlerden başlayarak Atatürk'ün odası da ziyaret edilmeye başlandı.*"

[295] For the process of mourning a deceased loved one, see, amongst others: Freud (1957 [1915]), Howard and Leaman, eds. (2001), Stephenson (1994), Volkan (1988) and Walter (1999).

THE MAUSOLEUM

From the day that Anıtkabir was first planned, the entire construction was meant to be a museum. That is, the intentions or the ideas underpinning the design and construction of the monument (or, for that matter, any monument) revolved around freezing a particular ideology in three-dimensional built form, preferably stone (as has already been highlighted in the preferences of the Anıtkabir Competition Jury).

Additionally, within the complex of Anıtkabir itself is a more traditional museum – a space containing exhibited objects and explanations. The Anıtkabir Atatürk Museum, the museum within the monument itself, was opened on 21 June 1960 with donations from The Turkish Presidential Palace (*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Köşkü*), The Agricultural Bank Directorate (*Ziraat Bankası Müdürlüğü*), The National Properties Directorate (*Milli Emlak Müdürlüğü*), and Atatürk's adopted daughters Prof. Afet İnan, Sabiha Gökçen, and Rükiye Erkin. In addition, Ankara University President (*Rektör*) Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Büyükersan donated a life-size wax model of Atatürk that he apparently made himself (Fig. 2.33).[296]

In Item 18 of the competition brief for the monument, the Turkish government requested the following:

> 18 – An Atatürk Museum will be made by the competitors in the proposed Anıt-Kabir in a place seen suitable. This museum will be appropriate for showing Atatürk's various periods through photographs, his clothing, handwriting, signature, some personal effects, and books examined by him. For this purpose at least three rooms will be established. One of these rooms will be established for displaying very valuable antiques in a guarded state. If necessary, the museum part can be two stories.[297]

More importantly, the purpose of this museum was conveyed in the next item of the competition brief:

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[296] T.C. Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı (1994), p. 86.

[297] Sayar (1943), p. 20: "*Yapılacak Anıt-Kabrin müsabıkın muvafık göreceği bir yerinde bir Atatürk Müzesi yapılacaktır. Bu müze Atatürk'ün hayatlarının muhtelif devirlerine ait fotoğraflarile kıyafetlerini ve el yazıları, imzaları, bazı şahsi eşyaları ile tetkik ve tetebbü ettiği kitaplarının teşhirine müsait olacaktır. Bunun için asgari üç salon tesis edilecektir. Bu salonlardan biri çok kıymetli asarı mahfuz bir vaziyette teşhir etmek için tahsis edilecektir. Müze kısmı icap ederse iki katlı olabilir.*" Translation by author.

> 19 – In order for visitors to understand Atatürk's life and be able to live together with him for a fixed one hour, the visit should assume the possibility of subsequent trips to the museum.[298]

In this way, not only does the monument itself act as a museum with its symbolic number of steps, Turkish male and female sculptures, themed pavilions/towers, Street of Lions, abstracted carpet motifs, battle reliefs, and inscriptions of famous Atatürk sayings, but so does the actual museum inside the monument with its photographs, personal effects and handwriting of Atatürk: it presents the life of Atatürk – it freezes the idea of Atatürk – as desired by the maintainers of the monument, the Turkish State. More importantly, this maintenance is a structural one: it is the effect of the process of museumification.

4.2.2 RITUALS AND COMMEMORATION

> Architecture, especially funerary architecture, is ritual materialized and petrified.[299]

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz has called rituals the "stories people tell themselves about themselves."[300] Similarly, philosopher John Skorupski has commented: "ceremony says 'look, this is how things should be, this is the proper, ideal pattern of social life.' "[301] Political scientist Yiannis Papadakis, explaining the significance of commemorations on both sides of the line in divided Cyprus, has stated that "commemorative rituals reveal their full meaning only if treated as components ("events") building a narrative that articulates a certain story ("history").[302]

However, what is commemorated is just as important as what is not commemorated, as explained by Todorov (2001): "the past is made up of multiple events and of contradictory meanings, and it is a decision of those acting in the present that certain ones are chosen for commemoration and others are passed over."[303] In this way, the rituals and commemorations at Dolmabahçe Palace and Anıtkabir are part of a narrative (a story, a history) about the Republic of Turkey, with some events chosen

[298] Ibid.: "*Ziyaretleri takiben ziyaretçinin, Atatürk[']ün hayatını anlaması ve onunla beraber muayyen bir saat yaşıyabilmesi için ziyareti müteakip müzeyi gezmeyi imkanları temin edilmelidir.*" Translation by author.
[299] Wilson (1988), pp. 134-135.
[300] Geertz (1973), p. 448.
[301] Skorupski (1976), p. 84.
[302] Papadakis (2003), p. 253.
[303] Todorov (2001), p. 18.

over others. These commemorations and ceremonies seem to reinforce the ideology of "how things should be" already advocated by the architecture, which then, in a circular fashion, leads to more commemorations and ceremonies.

NOVEMBER 10TH – ATATÜRK'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY

Once Anıtkabir was constructed and opened in 1953, it immediately became the location of ritual commemorations and/or remembrance ceremonies associated not only with Atatürk, but also with the Turkish nation. The most significant ceremony conducted at Anıtkabir occurs every year on the anniversary date of Atatürk's death, 10 November. On this day, precisely at 9:05am, a one-minute silence, a familiar device of remembrance ceremonies to show respect to the dead and force a certain reflection and introspection onto the participant, takes place all throughout Turkey.

This commemoration is something that anyone in Turkey (citizen or not) is obliged to live through, even during heavy morning rush hour traffic when all vehicles stop in their place; it is a major element in the collective memory of the Republic of Turkey. Although this minute of silence is simultaneously celebrated everywhere throughout Turkey, it is officially commemorated at Anıtkabir, despite the fact that the actual location of Atatürk's death was the bedroom in Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul.[304]

WREATHS AND WRITING

After this one minute of silence, a wreath of flowers is typically laid in front of Atatürk's sarcophagus (the one accessible to the public) and the current Prime Minister and President write official statements in the Anıtkabir visitors' book. This signing of an official book is not a recent development, but has been with the monument since its inception, as outlined in the competition brief:

> 17- In addition, in order for our leaders and representatives of foreign nations who visit the tomb to sign and fix their feelings of respect, a

[304] An interesting 10 November commemoration at Dolmabahçe Palace occured in 2003 when Turkish piyanist Tuluyhan Uğurlu performed his composition "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Soldiers of the Sun" [*Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve Güneşin Askerleri*"] between 8:40-9:05am to officially open the visiting of Atatürk's Bedroom that year. See "*Uğurlu, Atatürk için Çalıyor*" [Uğurlu Plays for Atatürk], HÜRRİYET newspaper, 5 November 2003, p. 18.

> golden book will be found [at the monument]. The competitors will fix the location and signing place for this book.[305]

This laying of a wreath and writing in the book not only occurs on the anniversary of Atatürk's death, but also at the opening of the Turkish Parliament every year and at any other times when it is deemed appropriate. When domestic associations and foreign dignitaries pay visits to Atatürk's mausoleum, they also act out this ritual, drawing both the national and international community into the collective memory and identity construction of Turkey.[306]

Another occasion when such wreath laying and book writing occurs at Anıtkabir is in times of national crisis, especially national identity crisis. As political philosopher John Keane has noted,

> Crisis periods … prompt awareness of the crucial political importance of the past for the present. As a rule, crises are times during which the living do battle for the hearts, minds and souls of the dead.[307]

The most famous example of this at Anıtkabir occured after the 1980 military coup when the Turkish Armed Forces took control of the country because it was on the verge of a civil war between the political left and right. General Kenan Evren, one of the outspoken leaders of the coup, immediately paid a visit to Anıtkabir, laid a wreath and explained the coup leaders' intentions in the visitors' book, addressing the text to Atatürk as if he were still alive:

> Our Great Leader: the Turkish Military Forces, as guardians of the republic that you founded, always faithful to your principles, had to halt those who were pushing the Turkish State a little closer toward darkness and helplessness, and were forced take over the administration of the nation in order to renew democracy and your principles. We remember

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[305] Sayar (1943), p. 5: "*Bunlardan başka kabri ziyaret edecek büyüklerimizin ve ecnebi devlet heyetlerinin tazım ifadelerini tesbit ve imza etmeleri için bir altın kitap bulundurulacaktır. Bu kitap için mahal ve imza yeri müsababıklar tarafından tesbit edilecektir.*" Translation by author.

[306] By domestic associations I mean, for example, The Zonguldak Miners' Labor Union, who at one time also left a plaque that is located outside of Atatürk's (real) subterranean tomb, or the Ankara Society of Women, who annually visit the mausoleum on their own commemorative date, World Women's Day (8 March). The ritual of laying wreaths and writing in the visitor book actually started at the Ethnographic Museum temporary tomb, but was institutionalized at Anıtkabir. The visitor books containing all entries are routinely compiled and publicly published. There currently exist 20 published volumes, see Anıtkabir Association (2001).

[307] Keane (1988), p. 204.

> you once again with gratitude and a sense of obligation, and bow before you in respect.[308]

This treatment of Atatürk as if he were still alive, a manifestation of his immortality in the mind of the Turkish nation, has already been discussed in section 3.2.4.

OCTOBER 29TH– REPUBLIC DAY

Anıtkabir plays an equally important role in the rituals and commemorations surrounding the Turkish national day, "Republic Holiday" [*Cumhuriyet Bayramı*], which is 29 October – the date of the declaration of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Annually on this day, Anıtkabir's wide ceremonial approach, the large public plaza and the Hall of Honor are thronged with visitors, all paying their respects to both Atatürk and the nation of Turkey by visiting the monument.

The significance of Anıtkabir and this date was not lost on those terrorists associated with the Islamicist Metin Kaplan, who were accused and tried in court for plotting to bomb the monument during the 75th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey in 1998.[309] By attacking and possibly destroying the monument, the terrorists were attempting to eradicate (or at least nullify) the symbol of what they opposed. By attacking it on 29 October, the symbolic nature of their act was greatly magnified.[310]

PILGRIMAGE / HAJJ

Commemorative activity also takes place in a less-formal manner that is not sponsored by the state itself. For example, political protestors often seek permission to end their rallies at the monument, both so that they can take their grievances "directly to Atatürk himself" and so that they can raise their concerns to national prominence.[311] Grievances can be as petty as the proposal of insufficient salary increases for civil servants or as significant as opposition to recent military

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[308] Translation by author from Anıtkabir Association (2001), vol. 10, p. 439). For more on the immortality of Atatürk, see Volkan and Itzkowitz (1984).

[309] Metin Kaplan and his "Anatolian Federated Islamic State" planned to smash a small plane full of explosives into Anıtkabir during the 29 October 1998 ceremonies (strangely foreshadowing 11 September 2001), but were apprehended by Turkish police beforehand. See "Is a New Wave of Terrorism Starting Against Turkey?," *The Pulse of Turkey*, no. 68, 07 November 1998.

[310] As would be expected, the alternative date chosen in case of bad weather was 10 November.

[311] See, for example, "*Ata'ya Şikayet*" ["Complain to Ata(türk)"], SABAH, 08 November 1994, p. 40; "*Atam Memurunum Boynu Bükük*" ["My Father, Your Civil Servants' Necks are Bent"], HÜRRİYET, 18 November 2000, p. 35; and "*Ata'ya Şikayetettiler*" ["They Complained to Ata(türk)"], AKŞAM, 15 May 2004, p. 37, amongst many.

intervention in Iraq. Faculty members of Middle East Technical University, Ankara, carried out such an anti-war protest by means of a visit to Anıtkabir on 19 March 2003 (Fig. 4.16). Their statement released to the press, addressed to Atatürk, was as follows:

> Great Leader, Grand Statesman Atatürk,
>
> Today, the United States, disregarding the broad reaction of international public opinion, is preparing to attack our neighbor Iraq.
>
> Anticipating the path that you have shown the whole world [by] your "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" principle, within the frame of national equality and respect of the rights of sovereignty to one another, emphasizing the need to live all together, we the members of Middle East Technical University respectfully bow in front of your valuable memory.[312]

Another and most recent example of such a demonstration took place on 14 April 2007, when it is estimated that between 500,000 and 1 million people marched to Anıtkabir to protest the possible Presidential candidacy of the pro-Islamic Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Fig. 4.17).[313] These protestors, through their slogan of "Claim Your Republic" [*Cumhuriyetine Sahip Çık*], were indicating that Anıtkabir, more so than the Turkish Parliament itself, is a symbol of the nation – the place to which one proceeds to claim ownership of one's republic. In the words of Turkish journalist Gürbüz Çapan:

> Yesterday, more marches took place in the Ukraine, in Georgia and in Kyrgyzstan. At the front of each march was a political party. And, they marched in front of [their] parliaments. To where do we march? To Anıtkabir. Are you protesting to Mustafa Kemal? Or, is Anıtkabir a

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[312] "*Yüce Önder, Büyük Devlet Adamı Atatürk, Bugün, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, uluslararası kamuoyunun çok geniş tepkilerini hiçe sayarak komşumuz Irak'a saldırmaya hazırlanmakta, bizim ülkemizin de desteğini istemektedir. Senin "Yurtta Sulh, Cihanda Sulh" ilkenin, bütün dünyaya yol göstereceğini umuyor, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi mensupları olarak ulusların eşitlik ve birbirlerinin egemenlik haklarına saygı çerçevesinde birarada yaşamaları gereğini vurgularken değerli hatıran önünde saygıyla eğiliyoruz."*
See http://www.metu.edu.tr/home/wwwoed/htm/aciklamalar/anitkabir_savas.htm (last accessed 20 April 2007).

[313] The official numbers of visitors to Anıtkabir on 14 April 2007, as published by Ministry of the General Staff of Military Forces of the Turkish Republic, was 370,000. See http://www.tsk.mil.tr/anitkabir/guncel/faaliyetler/gunluk_ziyaretci/2007/nisan2007.html (last accessed 20 April 2007). However, eyewitness reports from the demonstration state that probably twice that amount were not able to enter the grounds due to the crowding.

> wailing wall? … Hey, great leaders, I ask you: To where should we march?[314]

Turkish school children, both in Ankara and from around the country, frequently also make pilgrimage-like trips to Anıtkabir to pay their respects both to Atatürk and the nation, especially on 23 April, the children's holiday in Turkey.[315] All of these ritual forms of visitation assure that Anıtkabir remains a place that simultaneously represents the past (a dead leader and an official history), the present (current crises and grievances) and the future (children).

Fig. 4.16: Faculty members from Middle East Technical University, Ankara, visit Anıtkabir on 19 March 2003 to protest the United States' military intervention of Iraq.

Fig. 4.17: Anıtkabir's Ceremonial Plaza completely packed with people protesting the possible Turkish Presidential candidacy of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on 14 April 2007.

Anthropologist Michael E. Meeker has compared the visitations and wreath-laying assemblies at Anıtkabir to the so-called "Council of Victory" assemblies at the Topkapı Palace during the Ottoman Empire, where "thousands of the highest military and administrative officials assembled in [Topkapı's] middle court to manifest their personhood before the eyes and ears of the sultan … for hours at a time."[316] Meeker claims that the ranked formation at these Anıtkabir assemblies (from President to Prime Minister to military elite to Members of Parliament to Provincial Governors to the civil elite (members of societies, political parties, and associations) parallels that

[314] "*Kırmızı Cumartesi*" ["Red Saturday"], CUMHURİYET, 21 April 2007, p. 15: "*Ukranya'da, Gürcistan'da, Kırgızstan'da da daha dün yürüyüşler yapılmıştı. Her yürüyüşün önünde bir şiyasi parti vardı. Ve onlar parlamentoya yürümüştü. Bizimkiler nereye yürüyor? Anıtkabire'e. Mustafa Kemal'i mi protesto edıyorsunuz? Yoksa Anıtkabir ağlama duvarı mı? … A büyük liderler size soruyorum: Nereye yürümeliyiz?*"

[315] Delaney (1990), p. 517 likewise describes Anıtkabir as a place of place of pilgrimage, similar to the Ka'ba in Mecca, only secular.

[316] Meeker (1997), p. 163.

of the Ottoman Council of Victory and that in these ranked formations "[c]itizen and founder interact within a framework of constraints imposed by nationhood."[317]

This is one of many parallels between the management of the Republic of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire, where the persistence or continuance of the Republic can actually be read as a persistence or continuance of practices started earlier and merely altered for new conditions.[318] While Meeker's comparison is enlightening, more helpful for understanding all of these commemorations and rituals is the argument developed by sociologist Paul Connerton who suggests that commemorations and rituals shape a collective or social memory not only by their persistent occurrence, but also by the performative bodily movements involved in carrying them out. He maintains that such bodily movements "act out" (in the psychoanalytic sense) a society's memory – its knowledge and images of its past. Connerton refers to this specialized form of collective social memory as "habit-memory" and suggests that it includes those collective actions that are ruled by conventions and traditions. He concludes:

> The habit-memory – more precisely, the social habit-memory – of the subject is not identical with that subject's cognitive memory or rules and codes; nor is it simply an additional or supplementary aspect; it is an essential ingredient in the successful and convincing performance of codes and rules.[319]

To successfully participate in the rituals and commemorations at Anıtkabir is to perform from one's habit memory. A visit to Anıtkabir is not any easy physical task. It means walking up a moderate incline for about 600 meters through the Peace Park that surrounds it, ascending the 26 entrance stairs to the Street of Lions, walking on this "street" for 260 meters at a slow pace (due to the 5cm grass space between the paving slabs), ascending six more steps to the public plaza, crossing this expansive space, ascending 42 more steps to the Hall of Honor and walking approximately

[317] Ibid., p. 172.
[318] Many authors have pointed out how the Republic of Turkey did not magically spring from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire as perhaps Atatürk (in his famous "*Nutuk*" speech from 15-20 October 1927) and Kemalist historians present it. Instead, the "*tanzimat*" reforms of the late 19th century and the early attempts at a constitutional monarchy of the 20th century laid the groundwork for a nationalist view. See particularly Ahmad (1993), Berkes (1964), Heper, et al. (1993), Kushner (1977), Poulton (1997) and Zürcher (1998).
[319] Connerton (1989), p. 36.

another 35 meters to Atatürk's sarcophagus. All in all, from entry gate to sarcophagus, this journey can take up to 45 minutes on foot.[320]

According to Trigger (1990), the monumentality of such long walks symbolizes the grandeur of the state and is designed to "impress people with the power of a ruler and the resources that he has at his disposal."[321] To lay a wreath at Atatürk's sarcophagus not only includes this extended journey, but also the bending down to place the wreath, always uncomfortably keeping one's back away from the sarcophagus as a sign of respect. To write in the memorial book may not be strenuous, but still involves perfunctory bodily movements by proceeding to the official writing spot at the official lectern and using the official pen.[322]

LETTERS TO ATATÜRK

Lastly, similar to the pilgrimages to Anıtkabir carried out by children, civil organizations, university professors, and anyone with a grievance, it seems as though a more private ritual has been informally instigated by Turkish citizens in the form of letters written to Atatürk, as if he were still alive. Saydam (2005) has stated that such letters are actually posted in the mail, addressed to "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Anıtkabir/ANKARA."[323] While the author of this dissertation has been unsuccessful in being able to actually see such letters, the written response given from the Ministry of the General Staff of Military Forces of the Turkish Republic (*Genel Kurmay*) does not deny their existence: "I present for your information that it is not suitable to see [the] letters that have been written to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk after his death and posted to Anıtkabir."[324]

A more formally state-sanctioned version of this are letter-writing contests and competitions organized by Turkish schools, such as the "Letters to Atatürk from

[320] Private vehicles are allowed to enter the grounds of Anıtkabir, which eliminates the first 600 meters uphill through the Peace Park, but the experience of the architectural promenade still begins at the 26 steps before the Street of Lions.
[321] Trigger (1990), p. 127.
[322] US President George W. Bush controversially used his own pen, rather than the official pen, during his visit in June 2004, setting off a string of commentary in Turkish newspapers.
[323] Saydam (2005), p. 39.
[324] Correspondence on file with author from Ministry of the General Staff of Military Forces of the Turkish Republic, dated 02 June 2006, numbered 80411474: "*Ölümünden sonra Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK'e yazılmış ve Anıtkabir'e posta ile gönderilen mektupların görülmesinin uygun bulunmadığını bilgilerinize sunarım.*"

Republican Children" [*Cumhuriyet Çocuklarından Atatürk'e Mektupları*] campaign sponsored by the Bakırköy Municipality (Istanbul) in 2005, where 360 students competed to have their letter chosen to be taken to Ankara and read out aloud at Anıtkabir.[325] One such winner wrote the following:

> Dear Atatürk,
> I am writing this to you as if you were alive right now. You carried the torch of saving our country from the hands of the enemy. I am not able to predict what I would do if I were alive at that time. But I think I would have been next to you on your side. Maybe, despite being a girl, I would have put on [or used] a bayonet. Like the brave Turkish mothers, I would have made bullets and taken them to the warfront …"[326]

Such letters are the indication of the immortality of Atatürk that exists in the mind of the Turkish nation, as has been previously discussed. These letters, written to Atatürk and addressed and posted to Anıtkabir (and not "returned to sender" – therefore received and accepted), not only reinforce the notion of the immortality of Atatürk in the eyes of the Turkish nation, but they also reinforce Anıtkabir as the location of his residence – the actual place where he lives and can therefore receive post by means of an official government agency (the PTT – Turkish Post, Telephone and Telegraph). Their writing, sending and receiving (non-return) are a ritual maintaining Atatürk's immortality.

4.2.3 SUBTRACTIONS

The third method of ideological maintenance at Dolmabahçe and Anıtkabir concerns additions and subtractions to the monument since first being designed and built. These additions and subtractions are significant because they are a direct reflection of changing of circumstances over time, for which the process of maintenance constantly strives to compensate.

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[325] "*Cumhuriyet Çocuklarından Atatürk'e*" ["To Atatürk from Republican Children"], HÜRRİYET newspaper, 8 November 2005, p. 18.

[326] Ibid., written by eight-grader Buket İlhan Handan, translation by author: "*Sevgili Atatürk, Şu anda yaşadığını düşünerek yazıyorum bu mektubu sana. Sen ülkemizin düşman elinden kurtarılmasında meşaleyi taşıdın. Eğer ben o zaman yaşamış olsaydım ne yapacağımı tam kestiremiyorum. Ama sanırım senin yanında, senin tarafında olurdum. Belki bir kız olmama rağmen ben de süngü takardım. Yiğit Türk anaları gibi mermi yapar, cephane taşırdım …*"

DOLMABAHÇE STUDY AND BATHROOM

An Atatürk-related visit to Dolmabahçe Palace is one that is presented with the bedroom where he died, despite the fact that he used other rooms like the adjacent study and bathroom across the hall. "Atatürk's bedroom," not "Atatürk's suite" or "the Atatürk's rooms," is advertised as being on the "*harem*" (residential) portion of the Dolmabahçe tour, which requires a separate ticket.

The bedroom is the most important room because it is where Atatürk died. The other rooms, although interesting, are valued less because they are not where he died but where he lived. They are almost "subtracted" from the story. That is, the space of Atatürk's death (his bedroom) is maintained as the location of the Turkish nation's loss, while the spaces of Atatürk's life (study and bathroom) are marginalized and ignored, thereby preserving and maintaining Dolmabahçe Palace not as a building in the life of Atatürk but a building in the death of Atatürk.

GRAND CEREMONIAL HALL ATATÜRK SCULPTURE

According to recent documents uncovered from the Dolmabahçe Archives, a sculpture of Atatürk that was located in the Grand Ceremonial Hall of Dolmabahçe Palace was removed some time between 18 November and 22 November 1938.[327] The sculpture had been placed there only one year earlier, which means that it was present for the public viewing of Atatürk's body between 16-19 November 1938.

The Turkish media have blamed the removal of this sculpture on İsmet İnönü, Atatürk's successor as President at the time, since the event occurred soon after İnönü's election and before Atatürk's body even left the Palace. However, it is of the opinion of this author that, whoever ordered the removal of this sculpture, this event was the beginning of the presentation of Dolmabahçe Palace as a place in the death, not in the life of Atatürk, as detailed in the previous section. The removal of this sculpture, consciously or not, prevents the visitor from associating the palace with all of famous times that Atatürk was there during his lifetime: his triumphant return to Istanbul in 1927, the several academic conferences held in the palace by the Turkish

[327] Murat Bardakçı, "İnönü Köşk'e Çıktı Ata Heykeli İndi" [İnönü Ascended to the Presidential Palace (and) Took Down the Ata(türk) Sculpture"], SABAH newspaper, 28 January 2007, p. 18. Although the documents in question (which request permission and payment for the removal) are dated 18 and 22 November 1938, respectively, it is unclear exactly when the removal occurred.

Language and History Associations, and his usage of the palace as his Istanbul residence while President. That is, the removal of this sculpture maintains Dolmabahçe Palace as the place of Atatürk's death, not life.

ANITKABİR'S "ATTIC" STOREY

The most radical change to Onat and Arda's competition-winning Anıtkabir design that occurred the during its construction was the elimination of the upper "attic" story over the Hall of Honor (Figs. 4.18 and 4.19), which was a large mass projecting up from the columned-base below covered in reliefs that made the project very similar to the first mausoleum in history, the tomb of Mausolus in Halicarnassus (Fig. 1.01).

This attic storey was not built during the final phases of construction in 1950, under consultation and with the approval of the architects, in order to save both time and money. However, the effect of the removal of this attic-storey resulted in a plain and abstract columned main building that is even more like a Hellenic temple atop an acropolis, probably why the architects agreed to such a change, since they claimed "classical" civilization as their inspiration for the competition design (see section 2.2.4). The subtraction of this competition-winning design element maintained the of the architects' intention to evoke an older "classical" civilization.

SIX TORCHES BECOME TEN

Also changed from the architects' original design was the number of torches flanking both sides of the Hall of Honor. As detailed in Chapter 2, there were always six symbolic torches, three each side, throughout Atatürk's laying-in-state, funeral, and temporary tomb at the Ethnographic Museum, representing the "six pillars of Kemalism": republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism and revolutionism. These "pillars" were the ideological manifesto of Atatürk's "People's Republican Party" and, since the early Republic of Turkey was a one-party state, these six concepts were also the ideological basis of the republic.

Item 16 of the Anıtkabir architectural competition brief even explicitly recommended that competitors take the number six into consideration:

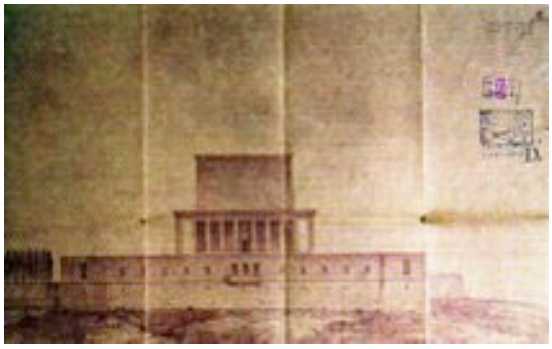

Fig. 4.18: Competition-winning design for Anıtkabir with “attic” storey.

Fig. 4.19: Turkish President Celal Bayar talking with Sabiha Güreyman, Anıtkabir construction control architect, and pointing to the “attic” storey of a model of Anıtkabir.

Fig. 4.20: Aerial view of The State Cemetery, Ankara (left) and detail of main pavilion (right) Architect: Özgür Ecevit.

> 16 – Moreover, the six principles of the People's Republican Party founded by Atatürk have been given as the symbol and program of today's modern Turkey and represented on the party's flag … [I]t has been left to the competitors where they see these six symbols suitable on Ata[türk]'s tomb or in any appropriate place/location to symbolize the required representation.[328]

However, Anıtkabir, as built, contains ten torches; five either side of the Hall of Honor. While it is difficult to pinpoint exactly how and why the number changed from six to ten, this change in number can be counted as a subtraction and not an addition because the equating of Atatürk with his ideals, the six pillars of Kemalism, was lost (or subtracted). With this in mind, it is interesting to note that the Ottoman miniature-like image of Fig. 6.01 depicts six torches at Anıtkabir, three either side, thereby reclaiming Kemalism for Anıtkabir in this mini-representation of it.

ANITKABİR'S "PUBLIC" PEACE PARK

The next subtraction from Anıtkabir involves the public "Peace Park" around Ataturk's Mausoleum, which is praised in the monument's promotional literature for its dedication to Atatürk's famous saying "Peace at home, Peace in the world" and also for its wide variety of trees, flowers and vegetation from around Turkey and 24 other countries.[329]

However, this park ceased to be strictly public sometime in the 1960s or 1970s. There is no picnicking or barbequing allowed in the park, despite both of which being favorite pastimes of most Turks. Visitors are not allowed to even walk through the park – they must stay on the proscribed paths when moving from the entrance gate to the monument proper.

This change has most likely occurred principally as a way to enhance security, but the end result is that the monument is maintained in a "timeless bubble" away from the hustle and bustle of the capital city that has grown up around it.

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[328] Sayar (1943), pp. 4-5: "*Bundan başka Atatürk kurduğu Cümhuriyet Halk Partisine altı umde bahşetmiştir ki bugünkü modern Türkiyenin programı ve sembolü olan ve parti bayrağında altı ok temsil edilen bu altı umde … Bu altı sembolün Ata'nın lahtinin münasip taraflarında veya holün her hangi münasip görülecek mahallinde yine müsabıkın göreceği de sembolize edilerek temsil edilmesi lazımdır.*" Translation by author.

[329] The Turkish of Atatürk's famous saying is: "*Yurtta Sulh, Cihanda Sulh*." The promotional literature of Anıtkabir and signs posted at the entrances state that the park contains around 50,000 decorative trees, flowers and shrubs in 104 varieties.

CEMAL GÜRSEL, İSMET İNÖNÜ, MARTYRS AND THE STATE CEMETERY

Another subtraction from Anıtkabir involves Cemal Gürsel (fourth President of Turkey from 1960-1966), İsmet İnönü (First Prime Minister of Turkey and Atatürk's comrade-in-arms during the Turkish War of Independence), five martyrs of Turkey's 27 May 1960 military coup,[330] and six martyrs of a 21 May 1963 unsuccessful coup,[331] who were all buried at Anıtkabir after their deaths.[332]

These graves were all removed after 1985 when a Islamic-inspired styled "State Cemetery" [*Devlet Mezarlığı*] (Fig 4.20), openly acknowledged by the competition-winning architect (Anitkabir is sometimes criticized for its non-Islamic look and feel), was constructed near the Black Sea Pool in the Atatürk Model Farm in Ankara. On 27 August 1988, the body of Cemal Gürsel was subsequently buried at the State Cemetery and the bodies of the eleven coup martyrs were handed over to their surviving families for burial.

Along with the 1981 law announcing that the State Cemetery would henceforth take all dead Turkish persons of national importance, it was also declared that Anıtkabir was not a graveyard but a national monument and gathering place:[333]

> Only Atatürk's grave, and also his closest friend-in-arms and efforts Ismet Inönü's grave may be kept at Anıtkabir, which has been established as a gift to the Turkish people for the Great Savior. No one else may be buried on the property of Anıtkabir.[334]

The addition of the corpses of Cemal Gürsel and the coup martyrs to Anıtkabir was initially an attempt to raise these deaths to a national agenda, which successfully

[330] Artillery Second Lieutenant Ali Ihsan Kalmaz, Nedim Özpolat, Turan Emeksiz, Sökmen Gültekin and Ersan Özey. T.C. Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı (1994), p. 90.

[331] Air Force Colonel Fehmi Erol, Infantry Major Cafer Atilla, Infantry Private Mustafa Şahin, Infantry Private Mustafa Gültekin, Infantry Private Mustafa Çakı, and Air Force Corporal Hasan Aktar. Ibid.

[332] Cemal Gürsel died on 14 September 1966, Council of Ministers [*Bakanlar Kurulu*] decision no. 6/7034 to bury him at Anıtkabir was made on 17 September and he was buried on 18 September. Ismet Inönü died on 25 December 1973, Council of Ministers decision no. 7/7669 to bury him at Anıtkabir was made on 27 December and he was buried on 28 December. Ibid, pp. 89-90.

[333] The vaults under the Hall of Honor were apparently originally designed to take additional graves of important dead staesemen, but because of this decree they were rendered useless for this purpose and subsequently converted to exhibition spaces with the 2002 renovation of the War of Independence Museum.

[334] Republic of Turkey Official Gazette, 10 November 1981, p. 1. *"Türk milletinin, bir armağan olarak yalnız Büyük Kurtarıcı için tesis ettiği Anıtkabirde Atatürk'ün ve ayrıca en yakın silah ve mesai arkadaşı İsmet İnönü'nün kabirleri muhafaza edilir. Anıtkabir alanı içine başkaca hiçbir kimse defnedilemez."* See also the Turkish Ministry of Justice web-page http://www.mevzuat.adalet.gov.tr/ html/568.html (last accessed 13 October 2006).

occurred while the corpses were there between the 1960s and 1988. Their removal, however, was an attempt to take away this "meaning", especially for the coup martyrs, since they were not re-interred in the State Cemetery like Cemal Gürsel. The internment of Inönü and his non-removal to the State Cemetery after 1988 maintains the presentation of Anıtkabir as primarily a national monument, of importance to the whole nation and not to specific family members;[335] and only secondarily the location of the remains of Atatürk and Inönü.

TREES ALONG THE STREET OF LIONS

Maintaining the view of a monument is just as important as maintaining the monument itself, for to see it is to know it exists. For example, in London there is a complicated and intricate system in place that determines the allowed height of buildings in order to maintain special "view corridors" of St. Paul's Cathedral, seen to be a symbol of London and worth seeing from all parts of the city.

The last subtraction at Anıtkabir concerns such a maintenance of view, but is also a replacement: the four rows of poplar trees that had originally been planted behind the lion sculptures on either side of the Street of Lions were removed and re-planted with juniper trees. It was decided that "in a short time" these trees "had grown a lot" and subsequently blocked the view of the Hall of Honor.[336] To correct this situation and maintain the proper/correct view of Anıtkabir, juniper trees were planted which were both slower-growing and maintain their green color in the winter.[337] This maintenance served to not only protect the experience of Anıtkabir on a local (close-up) level, but also on a city-wide macro-level, allowing for both views of Anıtkabir from the city and for Anıtkabir to return that gaze and preside over the city.

4.2.4 ADDITIONS

Not only have subtractions occurred at Dolmabahçe and Anıtkabir to maintain their ideological positions with regards to Atatürk and the Turkish Nation, but additions have also been appended to compensate for various changing circumstances.

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[335] In Boran (2003), between 27'22" and 28'11", Gülsüm Bilgehan, granddaughter of İsmet İnönü, explains Mevlude İnönü's resistance to İsmet's burial at Anıtkabir, but that the family eventually gave in to huge national (military?) pressure to do so.

[336] As noted in T.C. Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı (1994), p. 22, footnote 29: "*kısa zamanda çok büyümüş*".

[337] Ibid., "*yerine formasyonu bozulmayan ve yaz kış yeşil kalan ardıçlar.*"

DOLMABAHÇE CLOCK(S)

As has already been noted, the clock found next to the bed in Atatürk's Dolmabahçe bedroom serves not only as a reminder of his exact time of death, but also as a *momento mori* – a reminder of our own death.

However, while it can be established that the clock was property of Dolmabahçe Palace and that Atatürk may have used this clock as an alarm clock "during his lifetime", it is unclear whether or not the clock used by Atatürk at the time of his death on 10 November in Room 71. What is definitely known is that the clock was stopped by human intervention at 9:05 "in respectful remembrance of Atatürk,"[338] and not by supernatural forces, as some Atatürk myths propagate. This makes the clock an addition to Atatürk's Dolmabahçe bedroom that functions to maintain the bedroom's relationship with his death, not his life. In fact, all the clocks in Dolmabahçe Palace, not just this one in Atatürk's bedroom, have apparently been stopped at 9:05am, a massive building-wide effort at remembrance, and another example of how the building's Ottoman character has been "overpowered" by the death of Atatürk.

"TURKISH" SOIL IN AND AROUND ATATÜRK'S GRAVE

After the internment of Inönü in 1973 (and non-removal in 1988) the next addition to Anıtkabir was done in 1981, a celebration-packed year due to the 100th anniversary of Atatürk's birth. It was during these centennial celebrations that 68 small bronze pots of "Turkish" soil (Fig. 4.21) were placed around the subterranean grave of Atatürk, the one that is closed to the public directly below the sarcophagus in the Hall of Honor. This soil was apparently surplus from when Atatürk was moved to Anıtkabir from the Ethnographic Museum in 1953, when each province donated soil that actually went into Atatürk's Anıtkabir grave (surrounded his body) at that time. In 1981, the leftovers subsequently went into the pots that now surround the grave.[339]

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[338] Personal correspondence on file with author from Feyzullah Özcan, Assistant Chairman of the Turkish Grand National Assembly's Department of National Palaces, dated 15 February 2006: *"1921 Yapımı İsviçre Masa Saati Kroveze bir makinası var saraya ait [b]ir saat olup Atatürkün sağlığında uyandırma maksatlı kullanılmıştır. Atatürk[']ün anısına saygı olarak 9.05[']de durdurulmuştur.*"

[339] According to an informal conversation with Anıtkabir Museum Commander Major Halim Kurt on 28 September 2006.

In 1981, there were 67 provinces in Turkey – one pot came from each province. These brass pots contained "Turkish" soil (in quotation marks) because the 68th pot contained soil from the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, the disputed territory that is occupied by the Turkish military and to this day not recognized by the majority of the world's nations as a legitimate state.

Today, there are not 68 pots of soil around Atatürk's grave but 83. This can be explained because, since 1981, due to rapid development in Turkey, some provinces have split, as former small towns became larger cities and regional centers. There are currently 81 provinces in Turkey: a brass pot for these new provinces has been added each time that a new province has been created. That is, the rule that soil from every province surrounds the tomb of Atatürk has been maintained, despite the change in the number of provinces.[340] The 82nd pot contains the previously-mentioned soil from Northern Cyprus and the 83rd pot apparently contains soil donated from Azerbaijan, another soil with its origin outside of the current borders of Turkey.[341]

Inside the actual grave itself there is apparently additional "Turkish" soil (also in quotation marks) that was placed in 1953 during the transfer from The Ethnographic Museum: from the garden of Atatürk's supposed birth-house in Thessaloniki, present-day Greece; from the area surrounding a Turkish Soldier Monument in the UN Memorial Cemetery, Korea; and from the grave of the Selçuk commander Süleyman Shah (d. 1227), located in present-day Syria.[342] All of these places are connected in some way with Atatürk and/or the Republic of Turkey: his birthplace, a monument to fallen Turkish soldiers in the Korean Conflict (1950-53), and the grave of the grandfather of the founder of the Ottoman Empire. Significantly, however, similar to the soil from Northern Cyprus and Azerbaijan, all of these soils are from outside the current borders of Turkey – a very literal claiming of territory.

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[340] It must be noted, however, that the pots **have not been** re-organized each time when adding a new province. Instead, the new provinces have been appended at the end, matching the numbering of these provinces as per Turkish administration practices (Zonguldak = 67, Aksaray = 68, etc).

[341] Saydam (2005), p. 38. This has been confirmed by informal conversation on 28 September 2006 with Anıtkabir Museum Commander Major Halim Kurt and is also available at http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/An%C4%B1tkabir (last accessed on 21 October 2006): "*Mermer sandukanın çevresinde bütün illerden ve Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nden ve Azerbaycan'dan gönderilen toprakların konulduğu pirinç vazolar bulunmaktadır.*"

[342] The grave of Süleyman Shah on the banks of the Euphrates in Syria is guarded by Turkish soldiers who also have the right to fly the Turkish flag there, as agreed in the 24 July 1923 Lausanne Treaty.

Fig. 4.21: Pots of soil around Atatürk's grave, Anıtkabir (left) and detail of these pots (right).

1938-RELATED INSCRIPTIONS

Another centennial addition to Anıtkabir was the incorporation of more quotations onto the monument. At the left side entrance to the Hall of Honor, Atatürk's final Republican Day address to the Turkish military on 29 October 1938 (in effect his last public speech since he died 12 days later) was inscribed.[343] Additionally, at the right side exit from the Hall of Honor, a portion of Inönü's eulogy (condolence speech) given at Atatürk's funeral on 21 November 1938 was inscribed.[344] In

[343] The accepted translation of this address is: "I address the Turkish Army whose record of victory started at the down of the history of mankind and which has carried the light of civilization in its victorious progress. I have no doubt that just as in the most critical and difficult times you saved the country from oppression, tragedy and enemy invasion, so today, in the fruitful era of the Republic equipped with all the modern weapons and means of military science you will do your duty with the same faith. Our great nation and I know that you are always prepared to carry out your duty defending the honor of our country and our civilization against danger, from inside our out."
The Turkish is: "*Zaferleri ve mazisi insanlık tarihiyle başlayan her zaman zaferle beraber medeniyet nurları taşıyan kahraman Türk ordusu! Memleketini, en buhranlı ve müşkül anlarda zulümden, felaket ve musibetlerden ve düşman istilasından nasıl korumuş ve kurtarmışsan, Cumhuriyet'in bugünkü feyizli devrinde de askerlik tekniğinin bütün modern silah ve vasıtalarıyla mücehhez olduğun halde, vazifeni aynı bağlılıkla yapacağına hiç şüphem yoktur. Türk vatanının ve Türklük camiasının şan ve şerefini dahilî ve haricî her türlü tehlikelere karşı korumaktan ibaret olan vazifeni her an ifaya hazır ve âmade olduğuna, benim ve büyük ulusumuzun tam bir inan ve itimadımız vardır.*"

[344] Translation by author: Great Turkish Nation! On the respectful arms of your dear nation to which you devoted your efforts all your life, the mortal body of the Great Atatürk has been laid to rest. In truth, his place of rest is the Turkish nation's love for Him [in] their loyal and prideful heroic chest. Builder of our state and our nation's self-sacrifier, faithful servant, lover of humanist ideals and distinguished face, peerless hero Atatürk, the Fatherland is indebted you. Together with the Turkish nation to which you gave your efforts all your life, we bow with respect in your presence. During your whole life you gave vigour to us from the fervour of the soul inside [you]. Be certain that our spirits will forever like an inextinguishable torch keep awake and passionate your holy memory.
The Turkish is: "*Büyük Türk Milletine! Bütün ömrünü hizmetine vakfettiği sevgili milletinin ihtiram kolları üstünde Ulu Atatürk'ün fâni vücudu istirahat yerine tevdi edilmiştir. Hakikatta yattığı yer, Türk milletinin O'nun için aşk ve iftiharla dolu olan kahraman ve vefalı göğsüdür. Devletimizin bânisi ve milletimizin fedakâr, sadık hâdimi, insanlık idealinin âşık ve mümtaz siması, eşsiz kahraman Atatürk, vatan sana minnettardır. Bütün ömrünü hizmetine verdiğin Türk milletiyle*

between these two readings the visitor experiences Atatürk's sarcophagus inside the Hall of Honor.

In this way, the placing of the inscriptions makes sense: 1- last official speech, 2- dead body, 3- funeral eulogy. What is significant, however, is that these inscriptions were not part of the original 1942 competition-winning entry, they were added almost 40 years later in 1981. In 1942 (and in 1953 when the monument opened), many people still had personal memories of the death of Atatürk. However, by 1981, there were several newer generations who did not have such first-hand memories. It can be theorized that these new inscriptions were added to remind younger visitors that, although Anıtkabir is a national monument dedicated to the Republic of Turkey, its foundation stems from the death of Atatürk. That is, the ideological foundation underpinning the construction of Anıtkabir is maintained by the addition of these inscriptions.

BOUNDARY WALL

Between 1983 and 1986, a massive boundary wall designed by Orhan Arda's son Ömer Arda was built around the property line of Anıtkabir.[345] Although the wall is low (about 1.5 meters), it has a solid and fortress-like appearance, reinforcing the isolation of the monument from Ankara as already seen by the "subtraction" of its Peace Park from general public use (section 6.3.5). In this way, this wall also functions as an addition that maintains and reinforces the ideological basis of the monument – special place away from the hustle and bustle of the city, set aside to honor and remember both Atatürk and the Republic of Turkey.

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE MUSEUM

The most recent addition to Anıtkabir was made during a 2002 renovation of the original 1960 Atatürk Museum. At this time, the museum was greatly expanded to become a "War of [Turkish] Independence Museum," which documents and explains the events of post World War I, the creation of the Republic of Turkey and the poltical, economic and social revolutions that followed.

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beraber senin huzurunda tazim ile eğiliyoruz. Bütün hayatında bize ruhundaki ateşten canlılık verdin. Emin ol, aziz hatıran sönmez meş'ale olarak ruhlarımızı daima ateşli ve uyanık tutacaktır."

[345] T.C. Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı (1994), p. 91.

Interestingly, the museum does not start with the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence, traditionally dated to Atatürk's landing at Samsun on 19 May 1919, but instead begins with the World War I battle of Gallipoli in 1915, when Atatürk first proved his military prowess to the outside world fighting in the service of the Ottoman Empire. In this way, the museum exhibits more blatantly equate the two concepts of "Atatürk" and "Turkish Nation" than does the architecture that surrounds museum, and illustrates the process of the construction of Turkish history and memory at the monument, by tacitly implying that the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence is with Atatürk and the 1915 events in Gallipoli, rather than in 1919 at Samsun.[346]

ADMINISTRATION OF ANITKABİR

The final and perhaps most significant transformation of Anıtkabir has been the changing administration of the monument over the years. The 1941-1942 architectural competition and the construction of the monument (minus the Hall of Honor's attic storey) from 9 October 1944 to its opening on 10 November 1953 were overseen by the Ministry of Public Works [*Bayındırlık Bakanlığı*]. This ministry continued to administer the monument until 28 February 1957, after which time it passed to the Ministry of National Education [*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*].[347] Under this ministry, a troop of guards consisting of soldiers from the Turkish land, sea, air, and gendarme forces was officially installed in a Guard Barracks within the western Peace Park. The Ministry of National Education administered Anıtkabir until the 1974 establishment of the Turkish Ministry of Culture [*Kültür Bakanlığı*], who then took responsibility. This ministry managed Anıtkabir until the military coup of 1980, after which the Ministry of the General Staff of Turkish Military Forces [*Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı*] assumed control.[348]

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[346] This seems to be an on-going re-writing of Turkish history not just relevant to Anıtkabir. See, for example, the statements of Alparslan Akkuş in "An Anzac Day Commemoration," TURKISH DAILY NEWS, 21 April 2007, p. 7: "The Battle of Gallipoli was of great importance and a matter of existence for the young Turkish Republic" – NOT: "of great importance and a matter of existence for the Ottoman Empire."

[347] As decided in Turkish Law no. 6780, dated 14 July 1956. T.C. Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı (1994), p. 88.

[348] As decided in the Turkish Law no. 2524, advertised in the Republic of Turkey Official Gazette on 15 September 1981. Ibid.

This ministry [*Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı*] still runs the monument, which effectively means that Anıtkabir is a military installation, albeit freely open to the public and to foreigners. The monument had anyway been gradually militarized over the years with the official addition of guards and barracks, which begins to explain much of the previous discussions about the changes to Anıtkabir: it is a national monument, but not one where citizens have the freedom to do as they please – they must act within the rules set out by its military administration, which ensure that all visitations to Anıtkabir are only for the purpose of honoring Atatürk and the Republic of Turkey, and for no other reason. To give just one example, rule number 16 of the 19 official rules for visiting Anıtkabir, posted at the entrance in both Turkish and English, reads:

> While visiting the mausoleum, proper behavior must be adapted. Making a statement about political and social issues to the press, addressing to the crowd (sic) and handing out leaflets is prohibited. Shouting and screaming is forbidden. Respect must be shown within Atatürk's eternal rest grounds.

It is this military component of the monument that has most effectively and efficiently allowed it to be controlled and maintained, constantly propping up the framework of Anıtkabir to serve the interests of the state that has built it. In fact, a quick retrospection of additions and subtractions to Anıtkabir reveals that most of them ("Public" Peace Park; Removal of Cemal Gürsel and Martyrs; "Turkish" Soil; 1938-Related Inscriptions, Boundary Wall, and the 2002 Expansion of the Museum) have been completed after the 1980 coup and the military administration of the monument.

CHAPTER 5:

CONCLUSION

> There are always diversions – tomb architecture, … funerals, and the absurdity of the epitaph. But if we remain at the center of the issue, if we stare at the object – death – without blinking, there is nothing to see.[349]

It is no exaggeration to say that the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk left a large gap where once there was leadership, an understanding of contemporary conditions and a vision of the future. How the Turkish nation – the people – and the state of Turkey – the government – either filled-in this gap and replaced it with something else (remembered) or shifted their attention away from this gap and repressed it (forgot) has been attempted to have been revealed in this dissertation.

After a person dies, it is the lack of that person that is mourned – the fact that they are no longer around interacting in the daily life of those mourning. That is, it is the absence of that person, and not their presence, that epitomizes the frustrating situation after their death. What usually does remain in the absence of the deceased are memories. But, these memories are merely in the minds of those left living; they are not real, concrete physical entities.

The construction of funerary architecture is an attempt by those left living after someone's death to "concretize," or make concrete (to represent), such memories existing in their minds. To match the grandness of the memories of some deceased, the funerary architecture produced is frequently monumental in size and stature. However, this does not always have to be the case – it is also sometimes the situation, as with Vladimir Lenin, that the "great deceased" have simple and understated tombs, mausoleums and/or grave markers. Equally, rather average deceased persons have been the receivers of quite grand and pompous funerary

[349] Merridale (2000), p. 20.

architecture. Unless predetermined by the deceased before their death, the monumentality of the funerary architecture all depends upon those left living; specifically, to what extent they would like to memorialize their dead.

That is, just whose memories and which memories are concretized (politicized) is always a matter of contention. Those in power will usually succeed in representing and politicizing their memories over the memories of minorities and those on the margins of society. By doing so, those who succeed in representing and politicizing their memories firstly construct memory through the medium of the built environment. Once built, however, monuments and memorials need to be maintained, otherwise they (and the memories that they represent) fall into disrepair, disappear and/or possibly change their meaning. Therefore, the second and on-going process of remembering and forgetting through the built environment involves the maintenance of the constructed memory.

In terms of the funerary architecture for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the memories involved are mostly controlled by the state for the people in a "top-down" manner, but the dissertation has also described instances of the opposite: popular memories created by the people that have made their way to the state level in a "bottom-up" fashion. The memories of both the man Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the memories of the nation Turkey are tied together in the funerary architecture for Atatürk, as politicized by the successive governments and citizens of Turkey since his death in 1938.

And in balance with such constructed remembering, there has also been constructed forgetting in the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk – mostly the forgetting of the Ottoman Empire: in the way that Dolmabahçe Palace was appropriated to serve as the space where Atatürk died, in the way that Atatürk's funeral(s) were based on Western and not traditional Ottoman customs, and in the way that Anıtkabir by-passes Turkey's Ottoman past and draws from earlier eras like Seljuk, Hittite and "timeless" vernacular/folk traditions.

At one end of the spectrum, Atatürk's Dolmabahçe Palace bedroom represents the man Atatürk more so than the nation. At the other end, the Anıtkabir Mausoleum

represents the nation more so than the man. The representation and politicization of the steps in between these opposites – the transfers of Atatürk's body and temporary tombs and catafalques – gradually change from one end of the spectrum to the other, from a more personal expression (the man) to a more public one (the nation). These memories, represented and politicized within the funerary architecture of Atatürk, have then been maintained according to the changing circumstances that have occurred over time.

The Dolmabahçe Bedroom inadvertently became a funerary space because of Atatürk's death there, an accidental outcome of chance. The memory associated with this particular location on the collective psyche of the Turkish nation was irreversibly changed forever from a former Ottoman palace to "the place where Atatürk died." The space, which is quite domestic in size, can be classified as a memorial, not a monument, because it reminds the visitor about the death (not the life) of Atatürk.

The Dolmabahçe Catafalque was the first designed funerary space in the series. Its location in the Grand Ceremonial Hall equated Atatürk with the former Ottoman Sultans and the funerary symbolism introduced continued through to most of the constructions and transfer conditions that followed. The experience of the catafalque was an intimate affair that took place within an enclosed interior space, thereby reinforcing its memorial qualities.

The transfer of Atatürk's body to Ankara was the first such relocation that saw the coffin become a moving object of attention through the streets of Istanbul, Ankara and also across the countryside between them. It seems to have been paraded through the streets of Istanbul in order to reenact Atatürk's May 1919 departure from Samsun and escorted through the streets of Ankara like his December 1919 arrival. Grand processions were enacted by the Turkish State, who monopolized their control of (i.e. politicizing) Atatürk representations on a national basis.

The catafalque designed by Bruno Taut for Atatürk's official state funeral was the first truly designed funerary construction in the series. Its location in front of the Turkish Parliament positioned the event firmly in the "Western" rather than the

"Eastern" tradition. The symbolism of the catafalque continued the representation of the six pillars of Kemalism, and the politicization of these representations began to move away from the memorialization and towards the monumentalization of Atatürk and the Turkish nation. The transfer of Atatürk's body to the Ethnographic Museum was the transition moment between funeral and burial. The procession shifted the spectacle away from a memorial serving to remember Atatürk the individual towards a monument serving to be impressive and enduring, like the nation of Turkey.

The Ethnographic Museum Temporary Tomb returned the narrative to the "appropriation" category, for although the museum was designed de-contextualize the objects collected within it, it was not specifically designed as a resting place for the grave of Atatürk. However, by placing the corpse of Atatürk in the Ethnographic Museum (temporarily or not), the Republic of Turkey displayed its founder and creator as one of the museum's exhibits.[350]

Atatürk's Mausoleum, Anıtkabir, concludes the narrative of his funerary architecture with a monumental design whose location is both literally and figuratively in the heart of Ankara and the nation. The many competition entries submitted for review evoked either a "Western" rectangular imagery or an "Eastern/Turkic/Islamic" rounded and/or pointed imagery, with the jury, headed by German architect Paul Bonatz, preferring the former since what won the competition and was subsequently built resembles an abstracted Hellenistic temple at the top of an *acropolis*. Once the results of the Anıtkabir competition jury were announced, these decisions, in and of themselves political, were politicized both inside and outside of Turkey.

The transfer of Atatürk's body from the Ethnographic Museum to Anıtkabir was a carnival-like event that was almost celebratory, filled with optimism for the future and clearly a distance from the pain of fifteen years previously. Once Atatürk's body was firmly placed at the completed Anıtkabir, the sculptures, reliefs and ornamentation of the monument communicate the history (and thus construct the memory) of The Turkish Republic to all who visit, educating future generations into a perceived perpetuity. This history, however, is not a history that has been

[350] This display of Atatürk like an exhibit may have been inadvertent, but nonetheless strong.

objectively written by impartial historians, it is a history that has been appraised, authorized and permitted (i.e. politicized) by those in power in the Turkish state. Additionally, the image or outline of Anıtkabir, particularly the Hall of Honor, has become an icon of sorts, easily recognizable in its silhouette, representing the both the mortality and immortality of Atatürk. Lastly, Anıtkabir's grand size and imposing proportions emphasize this "larger-than-life" expression, resulting in an over-scaled construction that defines the very word monumentality.

After Atatürk's body was interred at Anıtkabir, both it and the Dolmabahçe Bedroom (the two permanent constructions in the narrative) have been maintained physically and ideologically so that they continue to preserve the original intentions of their creators and also update these intentions with new representations and/or meanings in response to challenges because of new situations.

While Dolmabahçe Palace officially became a museum shortly after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, it did not become open to the public on a regular basis until the 1980s. Atatürk's Mausoleum was always planned to be or to have a museum component from the very beginning, as seen in its competition brief. In this way, the function of Anıtkabir is/was to fix or "freeze" the idea of Atatürk and his revolutions in a physical three-dimensional construction.

Anıtkabir immediately became the location of remembrance ceremonies associated not only with Atatürk but also with the Turkish nation once was opened in 1953, and rituals like the writing in a visitors' book and the laying of remembrance wreaths, the visitation of Anıtkabir by both adults to register grievances and children to honor Atatürk, and letters written to Atatürk members of the Turkish public as of he were still alive.

In terms of the physical modifications, not much has been physically subtracted from the Dolmabahçe bedroom; it is more like there has occurred ideological subtractions through the emphasis over the study and bathroom. Anıtkabir, however, has been the subject of many subtractions over the years, the most significant of which has been the "attic" storey from Onat and Arda's competitions entry. This feature originally protruded from the monument to a height as much as the Hall of Honour, but was

removed for financial and constructional reasons. In the end, however, this removal had the advantage of making the monument look even more like the ancient classical (Hellenic) temple that the architects desired. Other subtractions and additions detailed in the dissertation work to present the monument as if it has always been like that, especially the administration of the monument by the Turkish military.

The account described and interpreted in this dissertation has never before been laid out as one continuous narrative from Dolmabahçe Palace to Anıtkabir. By presenting this series of architectural spaces connected together by means of the dead body of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the author has attempted to portray each architectural construction not in a vacuum away from and separate from the others, but as part of a series with each one owing something to the previous, each one a gradual refinement of the concept of representing Atatürk in architectural form after his death.

The narrative of the dissertation has not been conveyed been in a chronological manner from 10 November 1938 (date of Atatürk's death) to 10 November 1953 (date of Atatürk's internment in Anıtkabir). On the contrary, perhaps to the frustration of the reader, chronology has played a minor part in this dissertation. This is because the main topic of the study, memory, is inherently itself not a chronological entity. Instead, it is an accumulation of feelings, thoughts, judgments, beliefs, ideas, meanings, connotations and values that, while occurring throughout time in a linear fashion, are arranged in our minds in a more circular or radial fashion.

While not presented in a chronological way, the dissertation has actually been communicated in a relatively linear fashion, beginning with the representation(s) of Atatürk in/through/by his funerary architecture, followed by the politicization of these representations in/through/by his funerary architecture, and ending with the maintenance of these representations and politicizations in/through/by his funerary architecture. However, because the maintenance portion of this process actually requires the production of new representations and politicizations, this process is not strictly linear but circular – it goes around and around, back onto itself, as those is power struggle to maintain their dominance via the built environment.

This is not to say that the narrative presented in the dissertation does not contain a certain historicity relevant to the architecture. On the contrary, the following significant points in 20th century Turkish history have featured, because such changes and milestones in history were also reflected in the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk:

- 1938 – 15th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey: the young nation begins to "come of age"
- 1950 – First multi-party elections that resulted in a loss of power for Atatürk's People's Republican Party;
- 1960 – First military *coup d'etat*, followed by many unstable coalition governments one after another;
- 1971 – Second military *coup d'etat*, followed by violence between extremist political right and political left factions;
- 1980 – Third military *coup d'etat*, followed by "the Özal Years" – a mixture of economic prosperity and conservative values;
- 1997 – "Coup by Memorandum": Religiously conservative Welfare Party (RP) Head and Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan asked to resign;
- 2002 – Religiously conservative Justice and Devlopment Party (AKP) comes to power.

That is, the history of the Turkish Republic from 1938 to the present can be seen in the actions and statements regarding the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Briefly, the narrative runs from young nation proud of its achievements (1938 – exuberant funeral ceremony and temporary burial), to young nation coming to grips with its identity (1942 – architectural competition for Anıtkabir), to a nation in transition between single-party and multi-party rule (1953 – transfer of Atatürk's body from Ethnographic temporary tomb to Anıtkabir permanent tomb), to a nation unsure of its past, present and future (1960s through 1980s – addition and subtraction of corpses and other items to and from Dolmabahçe Bedroom and Anıtkabir), to a nation attempting (but not succeeding) to re-evaluate its relationship with secularism (2000s – appropriation of Anıtkabir as location of an immortal Atatürk, who represents the guardian of secularism).

As can be seen from recent events on 14 April 2007, the process of memory-making and memory-maintenance in the funerary architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is

an on-going process that does end with this study. Indeed, there is still much work that could be done, both with Atatürk's funerary architecture and other art forms.

The first area of further research and study revolves around the architectural competition for Anıtkabir. Around fifty entries were submitted for the competition, but the visual record of only 14 of these is known from contemporary publication in the magazines *Arkitekt* (Turkish) and *Architettura* (Italian). A written description of 16 more entries can be found in the Jury Report, but any indication (either written or visual) of the remaining unknown 20 entries is lacking.

Breaking down the 14 known entries into the countries from which they came reveals the following pattern:

Country	Total Number of Entries	Number of Known Entries	Number of Unknown Entries
Turkey	25 or 26	6	19 or 20
Germany	11	1	10
Italy	9	5	4
Austria	1	1	0
Switzerland	1	1	0
France	1 (Perret? Bigot?)	0	1
Czechoslovakia	1	0	1
TOTALS	49 or 50	14	35 or 36

Table 2: Known and Unknown Anıtkabir Competition Entries Categorized by Country

As can be seen, there is much work to be done in finding unknown Turkish and unknown German entries and a little work to be done in finding the unknown Italian entries. Footnote 136 in Chapter 2 has theorized possible architects for these entries based upon who were active, especially those architects at the time who were known to enter competitions. It is possible that the French entry was from "Mimar Bigot," as documented in the archival finds. Alternatively, it could have been from Auguste

Perret since he was specifically invited to compete, but this is difficult to document since the jury apparently never saw his entry. For the unknown Czech entry, it may just be a simple matter of contacting an architectural historian who specializes in Czech architectural culture of this time period, who may immediately know which architect entered and if the entry can be found in an archive.

In addition to a search for unknown entries, there is also the activity of translating the complete Anıtkabir Jury Report into English. It was published in Turkish and French in 1942. The author has translated portions of the report as required in the dissertation, but a full translation, with introduction and commentary, could also be undertaken – with or without the results of unknown entries research. This is something that perhaps METU Faculty of Architecture Press would be interested in publishing.

The second area of possible future research involves the recent simulation of Anıtkabir at Konak Square in Izmir (Fig. 5.01), known as "Anıtkabir in Izmir" [*Anıtkabir Izmir'de*]. This is a series of full-height photographic panels that are arranged in a way to duplicate the experience of visiting the outdoor spaces of Anıtkabir. Starting with the Street of Lions, there are pictures at 90 degrees to the ground of the 'Men' and 'Women' sculptures, the towers, and the lions, positioned either side of a long walk. This walk leads to large open space, simulating Anıtkabir's Ceremonial Plaza that contains a huge curvilinear photographic reproduction of The Hall of Honor and smaller photographic panels of the surrounding towers and arcades.

Situated on what is inarguably the most public space in Izmir, this simulation of Anıtkabir was erected by The Izmir Greater Municipality on 10 November 2006 "to introduce the history and architecture of Anıtkabir to the people of Izmir" and "to

Fig. 5.01: "Anıtkabir in Izmir" poster by the Greater Municipality of Izmir

Fig. 5.02: Simulating not just the building but also the rituals: flowers, pilgrimage, writing.

Fig. 5.03: Representations of Atatürk in architecture, photography, sculpture and painting.
Top row: Çankaya Presidential Residence, Florya Seaside Pavilion, Ministry Building in Ankara;
Middle row: As Field Marshall, 1922; Kocatepe, 26 August 1922; 10th Anniversary Celebrations, 29 October 1933; Victory Monument, Ulus Square, Ankara (1927); Atatürk Monument, Samsum (1932);
Bottom Row: Atatürk Monument, METU (1966); 100,000 TL; "On the Path of Revolution," Zeki F. İzer, 1933.

experience this feeling for those citizens who have never visited Anıtkabir."[351] Conversely, the reproduction of Anıtkabir on a smaller scale at Miniatürk, Istanbul, (discussed in Chapter 3) is just that: a reproduction, a miniaturization over which we can look, but cannot physically enter. At Miniatürk, there is no doubt that the Anıtkabir there is not the real one. In Izmir, while there is no doubt that the Anıtkabir there is not the real one, it is miniaturized just enough so that it can be physically experienced in the exact same way as the original (Fig. 5.02), leading to a closer reproduction of the original.

The author intends to develop a paper/research/essay on this topic, tentatively entitled "Simulated Monumentality" because of the way that this simulation in Izmir attempts to re-create the monumentality and grandeur of the original. More than just a re-presentation of the Anıtkabir, "*Anıtkabir Izmir'de*" is a genuine attempt to bring to Izmir what it lacks: the monument in Ankara that architecturally represents both Atatürk and the Turkish nation.

Taking the representation theme of the dissertation one step further, another possible future research involves the investigation of all the arts, not just architecture, that have contributed towards representing Atatürk (Fig. 5.03). This could take the form of a symposium or conference with other specialist participants and/or an edited volume where each chapter would be on the topic of a different art (architecture, photography, sculpture, painting, poetry, etc).

In terms of architecture, such a research would not just consist of Atatürk's funerary architecture (although it could form a part), but those buildings actually designed for Atatürk while he was alive – that is, those buildings where Atatürk acted as a client. This would not include the "Atatürk Museums" described in the dissertation because they have been 'appropriated' rather than designed. This would include, however, Clemens Holzmeister's Presidential Residence, Ankara (1931-32), Seyfi Arkan's Florya Seaside Pavilion, Istanbul (1934) and possibly also Seyfi Arkan's house for Atatürk's sister Makbule Hanım (1935-36).

[351] "*Tarihi ve mimari özellikleriyle Anıtkabir'i İzmirliler'e tanıtmak ve Anıtkabir'i hiç ziyaret edememiş yurttaşlara bu duyguyu yaşatmak amacıyla düzenlenen sergi, Konak Meydanı'na kurulacak*" from http://www.izmir.bel.tr/SinglePage.asp?pageID=436 (last accessed 13 June 2007).

The major contribution of such an investigation would come from an examination of the photographs of Atatürk. These were used both during his lifetime and after his death for various purposes. As briefly touched on in the dissertation, such photographs were and are a major propaganda tool in spreading Kemalism and the development of a Modern Turkey. Some photos, like the one of Mustafa Kemal thoughtfully looking down at the ground during the battle of Kocatepe, have achieved iconic status and were/are reproduced continuously in many different contexts, from lottery tickets to banknotes.

Similar to photographs of Atatürk, sculptures of Atatürk are/have been used extensively to proclaim a Modern Turkish sensibility, particularly in the urban landscape. Some photographs have even been turned into three-dimensions, producing a cross-over of the *genres*. To a lesser extent, but by no means less important, paintings of Atatürk and even poetry on the topic of Atatürk and his achievements have both been utilized in a similar manner. I believe that such a large-scale compilation of the arts is missing and would like to be a part of such an endeavor in the long run.

Keeping in mind that representation is always the re-presentation of something – the presentation of something again – there is always a gap or discrepancy between the original thing, be it an object or an idea, and the representation of that thing. In the case of the funerary architecture for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, this gap is more than just the physical absence of Atatürk – it also sometimes an ideological absence of Atatürk, whether real or perceived. In the end, the goal of the dissertation and such future studies is to understand the ways that these representations of Atatürk (whether architectural or otherwise) have been conceived, built/created, received, shared or rejected, used and maintained.

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