ARCHITECTURAL MEMORIALISATION OF WAR:
ARS MEMORIAE AND THE LANDSCAPE OF GALLIPOLI BATTLES

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ABSTRACT

ARCHITECTURAL MEMORIALISATION OF WAR: *ARS MEMORIAE* AND THE LANDSCAPE OF GALLIPOLI BATTLES

This dissertation examines the change in the understanding of memorial architecture through an analysis of different attitudes to commemorate Dardanelles Campaign in the boundaries of Gallipoli Peninsula National and Historical (Peace) Park. Memorialisation process at the Peninsula, which has continued from the end of the war onwards (1916), has undergone a transformation from traditional to counter approaches pivoted on the Gallipoli Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition. Parallel to the changes in memorial architecture in the world, the approach of erecting a conventional dominant monument to exalt suffering and to glorify death has superseded by the approach of highlighting the war remains and the memory of battlefields to protest the warfare. In this process, not only the function and the form of memorials but also remembering proposed to individuals by memorialisation have changed. This dissertation questions the pre-suppositions of traditional and counter memorial architecture with a new method of analysis. This method is derived from classical memorising technique of *ars memoriae* (the art of memory). By means of this method, this dissertation analyses war memorials in the battlefields of Gallipoli aiming at revealing similarities and disparities among different memorialisation approaches.

Keywords: memory**,** collective remembering, war memorial, counter-monument, art of memory (*ars memoriae*), Dardanelles Campaign, Gallipoli Peninsula.

ÖZET

SAVAŞIN MİMARİ ANITLAŞTIRMASI:
ARS MEMORİAE (BELLEK SANATI) VE
GELİBOLU SAVAŞ ALANLARI

Bu tez Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi ve Milli Parkı sınırları içerisindeki Çanakkale Savaşı'nı anma biçimlerini analiz ederek anıt mimarlığındaki anlayış değişikliğini inceler. Yarımada'da savaşın tamamlanmasından (1916) bu yana devam eden anıtlaştırma süreci Barış Parkı Uluslararası Fikir ve Tasarım Yarışması ile gelenekselden muhalif yaklaşımlara doğru bir değişimin içine girmiştir. Dünyada anıt mimarlığındaki dönüşümlere paralel olarak, savaşın kendisini protesto etmek amacıyla savaş kalıntılarını ve savaş alanının belleğini göz önüne çıkarma yaklaşımı, ölümü yüceltmek ve çekilen acıları övmek üzere dikilen baskın alışıldık anıt yaklaşımının yerini almıştır. Bu süreçte, sadece anıtların formu ve işlevi değil, anıtlaştırmada bireylere sunulan hatırlama yaklaşımı da değişmiştir. Bu tez geleneksel ve ona muhalif anıt mimarlığının ön kabullerini yeni bir analiz yöntemi ile sorgular. Yöntem klasik ezberleme tekniği olan bellek sanatın' dan (*ars memoriae*) türetilmiştir. Bu yöntem aracılığı ile tez Gelibolu savaş alanlarındaki savaş anıtlarını değişik anıtlaştırma yaklaşımları arasındaki benzerlik ve farklılıkları ortaya çıkartmak için analiz eder.

Anahtar Sözcükler: bellek, kolektif hatırlama, savaş anıtı, karşı-anıt, bellek sanatı (*ars memoriae*), Çanakkale Savaşı, Gelibolu Yarımadası.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CWGC... Commonwealth War Graves Commission

LTDP..Long Term Development Plan

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Mapping the field of the Study

From especially the Second World War onwards, erecting a single, dominating structure as a war memorial has been in the process of displacement. The destructive effects of World Wars and Fascist dictatorships on the collective memory of nations resulted in an abstention from the monuments of triumphs which glorify national politics. This abstention prompted counter movements — "anti-monument," "counter-memorial" or "democratic-monument" — and constituted a radical shift in approaches to memorialisation of war.[1] During this process, the place of traditional commemorative structures has been superseded by spatial installations which emerged as a reaction to heroic and grandiose monumental forms. Changes in the understanding of war memory and commemoration in general caused this transformation in memorialisation approaches, specifically from traditional monumental forms, which are erected to affirm the logic of warfare, to counter-memorials, which are designed to protest the war itself. In relation to this transformation, the changing role of architecture in memorialisation needs to be redefined.

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[1] For the term "anti-monument" see: Maya Lin, *Grounds for Remembering: Monuments, Memorials, Texts, Occasional Papers of the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities* (Berkeley: Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities, 1995); Malcolm Miles, "The monument," *Art, Space and the City: Public Art and Urban Futures* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 58-83. Early usage of the term can also be seen in Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: The University of Michagan Press, 1994). For the terms "Counter-monument and memorial" see James Edward Young, *At Memory's Edge After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000). Jenny Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For the term "democratic monument" see: Richard M. Sommer, "Time Incorporated: The Romantic Life of the Modern Monument," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 38-44; Alan Calquhoun, "Democratic Monument," *Architectural Review* 1054: (December, 1984). For a discussion in detail on the transformation in memorialisation and its terminology see: James Edward Young, "Memory/Monument," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, eds. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996, 2003), 234-247.

Transformation in approaches to commemoration of war has been studied in large number of works particularly from 1980s onwards.[2] Writings in 1980s and early 1990s were mostly on the Holocaust and its memorialisation because of the increased number of counter-monuments especially after the collapse of the Wall in Germany.[3] However, after the civil wars in former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, in post-Cold war period, the variety of the contents of these studies increased, because of the nation-building processes in those countries. The affinity for the concept of memory during 1980s was later on called as "memory boom."[4] This inclination affected not only intellectual life but also the production of constructions of memory such as memorials, museums or archival buildings. Some scholars explained the reason behind this affinity with "the disappearance of memory from real life context" and "the emergence of

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[2] Ashplant, Dawson and Roper suggest two main reasons for this "proliferation of public interest" as follows: "First… trans-national manifestation has been the emergence into public visibility of Shoah, [holocaust] through a variety of projects ranging from the establishment of new museums and the production of documentary and fictional films… Second, social groups suffering injustice, injury or trauma that originates in war have become increasingly prepared to demand public recognition of their experience, testimony and current status as 'victims' or 'survivors'." T. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, "The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics." In *Politics of War Memory & Commemorations* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 3-85. Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, "Introduction," *Representations* 26 (1989): 1-6. Richard Terdiman, "Deconstructing Memory: On Representing the Past and Theorising Culture in France since the Revolution," *Diacritics* 15 (1985): 13-36. Michael Ignatieff, "Soviet War Memorials," *History Workshop* 17 (1984): 157-63. Miklós, Szabó. "War Memorials." *New Hungarian Quarterly* 101 (1986): 121-22. Anson Rabinbach, "From Explosion to Erosion: Holocaust Memorialisation in America since Bitburg," *History and Memory* 9/1-2 (1997): 226-55. Joanna Bourke, "Introduction: Remembering War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39/4 (2004): 473-85. Susan Rubin Suleiman, *Crises of Memory and the Second World War* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[3] For more information on the reasons for increased number of counter-memorials please refer to: John R. Gillis, "Introduction: Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," in, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994) 12-13. Another source on counter-memorialisation in Germany: Noam Lupu, "Memory Vanished, Absent, and Confined: The Countermemorial Project in 1980s and 1990s Germany," *History and Memory: Studies in Representation of the Past* 15 (2003): 130-135. Claudia Koonz, "Between Memory and Oblivion: Concentration Camps in German Memory," Commemorations, ed. Gillis, 258-80.

[4] Jay Winter argues in his book *Remembering War* that in fact there have been two "memory booms" in history. He claims as follows: "What I would term the first generation of memory in the modern period spanned the years from the 1980s to the 1920s. Its focus was on memory as the key to the formation of identities, in particular national identities, although social, cultural and personal identities were also in mind. The second "memory boom," which emerged in 1960's and 1970's, was in large part a form of remembrance of the Second World War and the Holocaust." Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 18. For further references on "memory boom" see: Jay Winter, "The Memory Boom in Contemporary Historical Studies," *Raritan* 21/1 (summer 2002): 52-66; Jay Winter, "The Generation of Memory: Reflections on the 'Memory Boom' in Contemporary Historical Studies," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 27, (Fall 2000): 69-92; David C. Berliner, "The Abuses of Memory: Reflections on the Memory Boom in Anthropology," *Anthropological Quarterly* 78/1: (Winter 2005): 197-211. Eric Langenbacher and Friederike Eigler, "Introduction: Memory Boom or Memory Fatigue in 21st Century Germany?" *German Politics and Society* 23/3: (Fall 2005): 1-15.

collective amnesia."[5] On the other hand, others claimed that rather than amnesia this was an "obsession with the past."[6] There were also different explanations which changed the direction of discussion from lack or excess of memory to the need for not to forget the traumatic past.[7] Despite the growing interest on the concept of memory in relation with memorialisation in the last quarter of the twentieth century, forms of traditional monuments have been in fact discussed numerously in many studies from the First World War onwards. Most of these studies focused especially on questioning the assumption that the reification of the memory of the past in fact displaces the memory itself.[8] Another issue raised during the interwar period was the intrinsic contradictory relationship between the monument and the memory; i.e. an illusionary permanence

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[5] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989). Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991). Especially Nora's argument that "we speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left," has been numerously quoted and paraphrased in works on memory and memorialisation. For instance: Nancy Wood, "Memory's Remains: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *History and Memory* 6 (1994): 123-151. Gillis, "Memory and Identity" in *Commemorations,* 7; James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19; David Middletown and Steven D. Brown, *The Social Psychology of Experience: Studies in Remembering and Forgetting* (London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: Sage, 2005), 3. Liliane Weissberg, "Introduction," in *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity*, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Liliane Weissberg (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1999), 16. Jenny Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 31. Jeffrey K. Olick, "Introduction," in *States of Memory: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations in National Retrospection,* ed. Jeffrey K. Olick (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 3. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, "Introduction," in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, eds, Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

[6] Andreas Huyssen, "Monument and Memory in a Post modern Age," in *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, ed. James E. Young (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), 9-17. Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), 3. Siobhan Kattago combines these two arguments as follows: "The more forgetful we become, the greater our obsession with the past." Siobhan Kattago, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (West Port: Praeger, 2001), 20. In fact Nora in his well known essay claims that "The less memory is experienced from the inside the more it exists only through its exterior scaffolding and outward signs —hence the obsession with the archive that marks our age." Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," 13.

[7] Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2000), 280.

[8] In 1930's Robert Musil declared that "there is nothing in this world as invisible as a monument." According to him they are constructed to be seen but in fact they have a peculiarity of repelling attention. For the problem of reification in memorialisation see: Robert Musil, "Monuments," in Posthumous Papers of a Living Author, trans. Peter Wortsman (Hygiene, Colo: Archipelago, 1987); James Edward Young in his essay "The Biography of a Memorial Icon: Nathan Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument," interprets this statement as that "it is as if a monument's life in the communal mind grows as hard and polished as its exterior form, its significance as fixed as its place in the landscape. And it is this 'finish' that repels our attention that makes a monument invisible." James E. Young (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994). James E. Young, "The Biography of a Memorial Icon: Nathan Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument," *Representations* 26 (1989): 69-107.

provided in the memorial versus the intangibility of both memory and its representation.[9]

Despite the existence of an expanse literature on the transformation in memorialisation approaches, great majority of these studies have been focused on the social dynamics and the reasons of this transformation and its effects on cultures. They include evaluations of counter-monuments and comparisons between new approaches in memorialisation and the traditional ones;[10] however, the changing compositions and functions of architectural elements in memorials from a phenomenological point of view has rarely been an issue. Memorials are created to propose a particular mode of remembering of significant events and their spatial configuration attempts to create that experience. If the compositional formation of memorials is in the process of transformation from grandiose structures to modest installations, this change must have affected the experiences proposed by architectural memorialisation.

Existing studies explain the transformation of individual's status from passive spectators to active contemplators.[11] However, they do not focus on this transforming experience in terms of the changing of the compositional arrangements of memorials. Even though, existing literature is full of pre-suppositions on this phenomenon, there are no detailed examinations.[12] To identify this change and its effects on experience entails a hindrance. There is a lack of common ground in existing studies to analyse distinct examples of memorialisation collectively, from a landscape of a historical event to a representational monument at the centre of that landscape. To generate and define such

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[9] This assumption bases on Lewis Mumford's declaration in 1930s as: "stone gives a false sense of continuity, a deceptive assurance of life" Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1938), 434. Furthermore Mumford asserts in his book that "if it is a monument it is not modern, and if it is modern, it cannot be a monument." Ibid., 438. quoted from: Huyssen, "Monument and Memory in a Post modern Age," 20.

[10] Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995). Heidi Szrom, "In Search of Flexible Memorials: Is Stony Permanence Really the Best Medium for Commemorating Great and Terrible Events," *Landscape Architecture* 98/4 (2008): 142-44. Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998). James Edward Young, "Memory and Counter-Memory: The End of the Monument in Germany," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 4-13. Kirk Savage, "The Past in the Present: The Life of Memorials," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 14-19. Robert Harbison, "Half-Truths and Misquotations: A Skeptical Look at Monuments," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 20-22. Sommer, "Time Incorporated," 38-44. Jay Winter, "Remembrance and Redemption: A Social Interpretation of War Memorials," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 71-77.

[11] James Edward Young, "Memory, Countermemory and the End of the Monument," *At Memory's Edge After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 96; Lin, *Grounds for Remembering,* 3.

[12] Gillis, "Introduction: Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," 3-24.

common ground makes further examinations on memorialisation and comparisons between different approaches possible. Scholars who study the concepts of remembering, commemoration or memorialisation can drive benefit from this common ground in order not only to compare distinct approaches to memorialise an event but also to examine different examples of just one approach.

The purpose of this study is to develop a method of analysis that can be used in analysing not only different memorialisation approaches (architecturally); but also the proposed spatial experiences in each approach —which result in the creation of a specific mode of remembering. The method, derived from the classical memorising technique of *Ars Memoriae*, constitutes a common ground to investigate the examples of different memorialisation approaches in the case of *Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park*. This research focuses on the transformation in memorialisation of Çanakkale Campaign in the boundaries of the Park area from traditional architectural commemoration to counter-memorialisation. This study also reviews the current debates on architectural memorialisation of war, the politics of commemoration, and the dynamics of the transformation in memorialisation approaches. Although the process of remembering is one of the major issues of the study, the focus is on the journey of remembering defined by the spatial formation of memorials rather than the individuals' lived experiences.

1.2. Methodology

Methodology of this study is composed of three elements. First one pertains to phenomenology, the second one relates to the analysing method and the third one corresponds to the examination of this method on a single case. The analyses in this study are based on the method derived from classical memorising technique of *ars memoriae*. There are three key components of this method: image, locus, and image-locus relation. Phenomenology defines the objects of knowledge and gives the interpretive tools through which we understand the relationships formed between these components. All architectural compositions propose a spatial experience which may be independent of the individuals' experiences. This study concentrates on such "proposed" spatial experience in order to constitute collective remembering. The terms, "collective memory," "collective remembering / forgetting," and "the mode of remembering" form

the problematic concepts of the research. [13] This study focuses on these concepts in order to understand how they are re-created through architectural relationships formed between image, locus and image-locus relation. Memorialisation of Çanakkale Campaign on the landscape of the battles in the boundaries of the Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park constitutes the case of this inquiry. In other words, this study uses a phenomenological lens to understand the transformation in the approaches of architectural commemoration by means of analysing the memorialisation of Gallipoli Battles using a method derived from *ars memoriae*.

Ars memoriae determines the strategy of analyses and the interpretation of findings. *Ars memoriae* in fact was invented as a tool to memorize things and recollect them accurately (when it becomes necessary).[14] Although, the method was elaborated especially during the Renaissance, the system of the art at the very moment of the emergence was very simple: placing the *imagines* (images), which are mental representations of memorised thing, in well-ordered and mentally completely constructed *loci* (places). Those places could either be a part of a physically known building or imaginary designed spatial organisation. Theoretically, through this method it was possible for an individual, who visualised things in his/her mind with different images and located them discrete spaces in order, to memorise infinite things and to remember them perfectly. Rhetoricians predominantly made use of this method to memorise their long speeches in ancient Greek and Roman period. Despite the fact that *ars memoriae* was formed as a memorising method, diverse groups of people in different periods of time made use of its potential to generate specific modes of collective remembering.[15]

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[13] Maurice Halbwachs, "The Social Frameworks of Memory," *On Collective Memory*, ed., trans. and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 37-189.; "The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land," *On Collective Memory*, pp. 193-235; *The Collective Memory,* with an introduction by Mary Douglas (New York: Harper-Colophon Books, 1950). Edward Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987; 2000). Collective remembering is also called as "a form of mediated action." Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering*, 21.

[14] Mnemotechniques of modern times is in fact just a simple form of this classical memorizing method. Since it has undergone change indefinite times all through the ages, the method has been called various names such as the method of *loci*, the art of memory, mnemotechniques, and *ars memoriae*.

[15] In Renaissance, for example, the physical memory theatres were constructed to store and to transfer the knowledge about the certain things. On the other hand, Napoleon III (1808-1873) conceived an architectural promenade, "a memory walk," for Paris based on the principles of *ars memoriae*. M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (London; Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994), 14.

If one looks at a memorial as the representation of a remarkable event located on a suitable place to remind the observer that event, then one can start to see architectural memorialisation as the materialisation of the basic notions of *ars memoriae*. In the light of this assumption, I have remodelled *ars memoriae* as a method of analysis to investigate the various examples of architectural memorialisation. This method of analysis comprises of three main components: the image, the locus, and the relation between them. The first component, the image is the three dimensional object of physical representation of a significant event in an architectural memorialisation. The second component, the locus is the place in which that representation is located. The third and the final component, the image-locus relation corresponds to the relation between that representation and its place. According to the logic of this method, it is possible to decompose an architectural memorialisation into these components. This decomposition creates a common ground of understanding in order to be able to analyse and interpret different examples of memorialisation.

Analysis of approaches to memorialisation of Gallipoli Battles in the boundaries of Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park constitutes the case of this study. There are two main reasons of choosing this site. The first one is that the Park area contains numerous different memorialisation approaches including traditional and counter-memorialisation. The second reason is the international significance of the site in terms of the history of First World War. The wide range of examples of memorialisation in the Park provides this research with productive analyses not only in terms of examining various inclinations of different periods but also distinct approaches of different nations. The great majority of early examples of memorialisation in the landscapes of the Battles were traditional approaches. On the other hand, the process which was initiated with the *Gallipoli Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition* has different characteristics. In the jury report of the Competition announced in the year of 1998 the primary reason behind the choice of the winning project was explained by stating that "this plan respects the site as it is, incorporating minimal interventions that enhance the landscape and encourage contemplation and freedom of individual experience."[16] This statement indicated that the jury of the competition appreciated the idea of not constructing or erecting new monuments alongside the existing commemorative

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[16] *Projects: Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition*, eds. R. Raci Bademli, K. Burak Sarı, Cansu Canaran, Ersan Koç, (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), p. 39.

structures on the site. Instead, they preferred the idea of revealing the landscape as it is in the name of providing the visitor with a free remembering of Gallipoli Battles. The approach of commemoration initiated with the competition and being implemented with the Long Term Development Plan demonstrate characteristics akin to the contemporary inclinations of counter-memorialisation. Gallipoli Peninsula demonstrates a wide range of variety of examples not only in terms of distinct memorialisation approaches but also in terms of nations. The reason behind this diversity lies beneath the significance of Dardanelles Campaign in the history of First World War.

Dardanelles (Çanakkale) Campaign

Undoubtedly, the Dardanelles Campaign was one of the most consequential battles of the history of the World Wars in terms of not only the gigantic losses and its influential effects on subsequent global politics but also the quantity and the diversity of the belligerent nations in a relatively small terrain. In fact, the topography of Gallipoli has always been prominent in the history because of its geopolitical position. It forms a gate for the straits between not only Aegean Sea and Marmara Sea but also two continents of Europe and Asia. The Dardanelles Campaign broke out because of the significance of this geopolitical position. In order to capture Istanbul, the capital city of Ottoman Empire, to increase the number of the fronts Turks battled and to guarantee the defeat of the Empire, and thus to open the straits to the transition of Allied troops, War Council in London agreed over an attack to Dardanelles on 15 February of 1915.[17] Naval attack to the gates of the strait started on 19 February of 1915, however it failed with the defeat of Allied Nations on 18 March 1915. As a result of this defeat of naval forces Allied Nations acknowledged the fact that in order to be able to break the

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[17] The Dardanelles Campaign constitutes one of the most consequential battles of First World War. Therefore all references on the history of First World War cover the history of the Dardanelles Campaign. For further information see: Hans Dannengiesser, *The Campaign in Gallipoli* (London: Hutchinson, 1927); Robert Rhodes James, *Grand Strategy Gallipoli* (London: Macmillan, 1989); Roger John Brownlo Keyes, *The Fight for Gallipoli* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1941); Frank Knight, *The Dardanelles Campaigns* (London: Macdonald & Co., 1970); Compton Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories* (London: Cassell, 1929); John, Masefield, *Gallipoli* (London: Heinemann, 1916); Alan, Moorehead, *Gallipoli* (New York: Ballantine, 1983); Nigel Steel and Peter Hart, *Defeat at Gallipoli* (London: Macmillan, 1994).

resistance of the Turkish forces, the attack should be supported with a land expedition [18] (Figure 1.1).
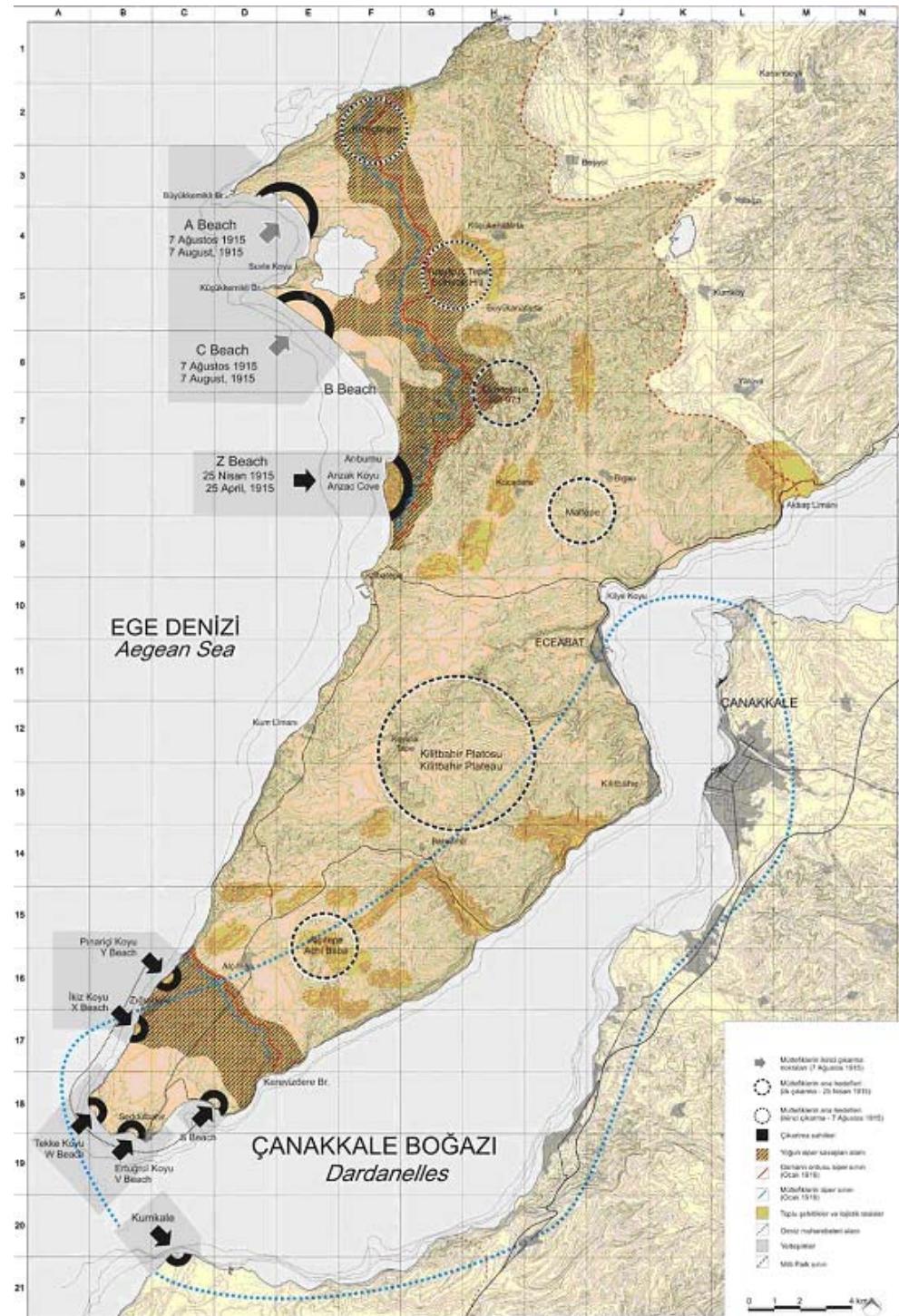
Figure 1 1 The Map of Allied Nations' Land Expedition

(Source: Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park Long Term Development Plan, 2002)

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[18] Allied Nations gathered an army consisted of French, Zouaves from Africa, Indian Gurkas and Sikhs, Jews, Greeks and Anzacs (Australian, New Zealand Army Corps) commanded by British troops.

The land battles started on April 25th. The initial landing was organised in three main parts to the three different areas of the region. Anzacs landed at the north side of the peninsula named Arı Burnu (Z Beach). However, due to the lack of knowledge about the topography of Gallipoli and unexpected resistance of Turkish troops, the landed units of allied nations had advanced a little further from the shoreline during the nine months period. That's why the bloodiest battles of the campaign took place in this region; Conkbayırı, Kanlısırt and Kocaçimentepe. British troops landed in five points at the end peak of the south of the Peninsula; Seddülbahir region. Pınariçi (Y Beach), İkiz Koyu (X Beach), Tekke Koyu (W Beach), Ertuğrul Koyu (V Beach) and Morto Koyu (S Beach) were these five points in which severe combats were occurred. Although French army landed on the opposite side of the strait at Kumkale, within one day period they had to land again to a different place at Morto Koyu in order to support the British troops. Long trench battles almost never changed the positions of neither the Allied Nations nor the Turks. In order to change the situation British troops landed at Suvla Bay on August 7, however that movement did not change the result. Land battles of the Campaign continued in different parts of the Peninsula until the evacuation of Allied troops on January of 1916. The failure of Allied Nations in this nine months period caused diverse consequences for belligerents and the history of the First World War.[19]

1.3. Limitations of the Study

The topic of this study is the proposed experience through design rather than the individuals' lived experience in a memorial. In the future, it is possible to combine a field study based on visitor's lived experiences with this work in order to see the wider implications of this method. This study especially focuses on architectural memorialisation of war. Despite the fact that it might be possible to use its analysing method to examine the memorials dedicated to different events, ―such as public issues, major figures, etc.― this dissertation does not include such kind of analysis. The examples of memorialisation of Çanakkale Campaign outside the Gallipoli National and

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[19] Agreed upon consequences of Dardanelles Campaign are as follows: Approximately one million people battled (489.000 from Allied Nations, 500.000 from Turks) and half a million of them became casual (221.212 from Allied Nations, 251.209 from Turks) from all countries; The First World War lasted two years longer; Ottoman and Russian empires demised; new nation states as New Zealand and Australia emerged. For further information see: Alan, Moorehead, *Gallipoli* (Kent: Wordsworth, 1997; reprint, 1998), 302.

Historical (Peace) Park are not included to the investigation. This study focuses on the landscape of Gallipoli Battles. Ongoing memorialisation of the Long Term Development Plan is examined by means of its text and the restoration of Namazgah Rampart as a case of its implementation; because Namazgah Rampart is the only completed work of this memorialisation approach in the time when this examination is made

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CHAPTER II

ARCHITECTURAL MEMORIALISATION
OF WAR:
THE BATTLEFIELDS OF MEMORY

The concept of memory is hard to determine since the boundaries between its personal and interpersonal sides are indistinct and vague. This ambiguity makes memory prone to manipulation and management. Commemoration of war sharpens these peculiarities because of the intricate relation between the conditions of war and politics. In this chapter, I will focus on architectural embodiments of memory in terms of social dimensions of the concept of memory and the politics of commemoration. I will especially adjust my gaze on the memorialisation of war through the very apparatuses of art and architecture. First of all, I will draw a framework for memorialisation, which address the questions: which memory is embodied through architecture; how can the ground of relations among memory, architecture, and architectural memorialisation be mapped; for what and whom are embodiments of memory erected; how does politics transform them into an instrument? Answering these questions will require a discussion of the topic by means of the politics of commemoration, debate on history and memory, social framework of memory and the concept of remembering. In the light of these investigations, I will focus on memorialisation of war, especially after the First World War aiming at revealing the changing attitudes in commemoration of Gallipoli Battles. Landscapes of memory will be another focal issue of this chapter in order to be able to generate a ground for the examination of the battlefields of Gallipoli.

In his monumental work *Remembrance of Things Past,* Marcel Proust expounds his mental journey which starts with a single bite of *petite madeleine*. He feels like he is in a place, about which he has the traces in his mind but surely does not have any idea of what it is consciously. He starts a mental journey on the path of the traces of that

feeling and then "suddenly the memory returns." In fact, that taste brings back all the senses from his experiences of his aunt's offerings on Sunday mornings. For years the memory of those Sunday mornings have been kept and concealed in his mind, and coincidently one day they come to the level of consciousness, as a result of just one bite.[1] It is not the event remembered, but it is the memory of the event that is reconstructed. Andreas Huyssen accentuates the relation between the past event and its memory as follows: "The past is not simply there in memory, but it must be articulated to become memory" and memory itself is "based on representation."[2] In psychology, memory is defined as "the capacity for conserving certain information" which "allow us to actualise past impression or information that we represent to ourselves as past."[3] Therefore, when I state memory I refer to a mental representation of the past events.[4]

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[1] Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff, Vol 1 (London: Wordsworth Editions, 2006), 63.

[2] Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 3; for Turkish translation see: *Alacakaranlık Anıları: Bellek Yitimi Kültüründe Zamanı Belirlemek* (Istanbul: Metis, 1995).

[3] Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York: Colombia University Press, 1992), p. 51. For human beings, there are two main different ways of recollecting and remembering: short-term memory and long-term memory. Short-term memory has 7-10 seconds of capacity and forms the basis of perception. On the other hand, long-term memory is called as "memory store" and constitutes the basis of learning, remembering and experience. "Every person has perhaps billions of bytes of information stored in long-term memory. This 'memory store' is the vast store of information you possess as a result of learning and are not aware of unless you call it up. It includes all vocabulary and knowledge of language, all the facts that have been learned, the personal experiences of a lifetime, and much more—all the skills learned, from walking and talking to musical and athletic performance, many of the emotions felt and in fact ongoing experience, and the continuous sensations, feelings, and understandings of the world we term consciousness. Indeed, without memory there can be no mind." Richard F. Thompson, *Memory: The Key to Consciousness* (Washington: National Academies Press, 2005), 1. For further information on psychological and neurological framework about memory and the cognitive dimensions of remembering and forgetting see: Hermann Ebbinghaus, *Memory: A Contribution to Experimental Psychology*, trans. Henry A. Ruger and Clara E. Bussenius (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913); R. C. Atkinson and R. M. Shiffrin, "Human Memory: A Proposed System and Its Control Processes," in *The Psychology of Learning and Motivation*, eds. K. W. Spence and J. T. Spence Vol. 2 (New York: Academic Press, 1968), 89-195. Daniel L. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the mind Forgets and Remembers* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2002); Alan J. Parkin, *Memory: Phenomena, Experiment, and Theory* (London: Blackwell, 1993; reprinted 1995); Geoffrey R. Loftus and Elizabeth F. Loftus, *Memory: The Processing of Information* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1976); Chizuko Izawa, ed., *On Human Memory: Evolution, Progress, and Reflections on the 30th Anniversary of the Atkinson-Shiffrin Model* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999); Alan Baddeley, *Human Memory: Theory and Practice* (London: Psychological Press, 1997: reprinted 1999; 2001; 2002).

[4] For further information about the origin of the word of "memory" and its meanings in antiquity see: Osvaldo Rossi, "Light/Shadow: Lines for an Aesthetic Reflection," in *Logos of Phenomenology and Phenomenology of the Logos*, ed. Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 275-294; Patricia Fara and Karalyn Patterson, "Introduction," in *Memory*, eds. Patricia Fara and Karalyn Patterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-9; Aristotle, "De Memoria et Reminiscentia," *Aristotle: On Memory*, trans. Richard Sorabji (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press; London: The Trinity Press, 1972).

2.1. Politics of Commemoration

If memory is a mental representation of the past event, then it is possible to suggest that its architectural memorialisation is the re-representation of that event. This double sense of presentation as re-representation inevitably blurs the real event. The question just may arise in the degree of this obscurity. In fact, that degree has no limit; because each act of representation includes an interpretation. Undoubtedly, politics is one of the main manipulators of this operation. It manipulates memory of the event and its commemoration to re-define, to use and to control the past and the future. Paul Shackel in his book *Myth, Memory and the Making of the American Landscape* state that "those who control the past have the ability to command social and political events in the present and the future."[5] The politics of commemoration comprises of numerous different memorialisation acts and cultural events such as festivals, ceremonies, rituals, etc. Even the declarations of the days of commemoration become the instruments of politics in this process. Barbara A. Misztal in her book *Theories of Social Remembering* argues that "collective memory is not only what people really remember through their own experience, it also incorporates the constructed past which is constitutive of the collectivity."[6] If it is so, then the past itself transforms into an instrument. While expounding the characteristics of the monumental space, Henri Lefebvre in his pioneering *The Production of Space* states that this space is controlled by the generally accepted power.[7] Particularly, "the state controls public spaces critical to the reproduction of a dominant memory."[8] Architectural memorialisation constitutes one of the prominent creators of those public spaces.

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[5] Paul A. Shackel, *Myth, Memory and the Making of the American Landscape* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 3. quoted from: Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, "The Public Memorial of Reform: Commemoration and Contestation," in *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, eds. Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell (Hants; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 9.

[6] Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education, 2003), 13.

[7] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford; Cambridge Mass.: Blackwell, 1991), 220.

[8] Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, "Locating Culture," *The Antropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, eds. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 22.

French historian Pierre Nora argues at the beginning of his by-now well known essay "Between Memory and History" that "we speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left," and he claims that the present-day memory "crystallizes and secretes itself" in the sites of memory [*lieux mémoire*], "because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory."[9] Sites of memory, according to him, are the embodiments of memory in certain places such as battlefields, museums, monuments, etc. They are the places "where a sense of historical continuity persists." In fact, for him, "moments of history torn away from the movement of history," and those moments can not be lived again." Therefore they are *lieux de mémoire* which are "no longer quite life, not yet death." He argues that "history is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it."[10] Thus, I believe that in order to understand the role of politics in memorialisation it is required to examine how past is manipulated in commemoration; i.e. complicated relation between memory and history. This examination first of all comprises of the illustration of trivialization of remembering in relation to writing; a process which constitutes the base of the conflict between memory and history.

2.1.1. Writing versus Remembering

In about 1174, Count of Nevers declared to the inhabitants of Tonnerre that "the use of letters was discovered and invented for the preservation of the memory of things. What we whish to retain and learn by heart, we cause to be written down..." Then, he continued to clarify as "so that what we cannot keep perpetually in our weak and fragile memories may be preserved in writing and by means of letters that last forever."[11] In the twentieth century, this statement is seen as the unavailing explanation of an obvious truth owing to the consideration of which the writing is the inseparable part of not only individual but also collective memory and progress; however it was not always so. Before the transition from oral based culture to the literary based one and for a long transition period in history, writing was not as important as it has been considered for

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[9] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7.

[10] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 8-9.

[11] Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 74-75.

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recent centuries. Well-known sociologist and cultural theorist Jan Assmann in his book *Cultural Memory* paraphrases J Gody's and I. Watt's statement that the emergence of the first literate cultures originated in the polis of Greece and Ionia dating back to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.[12] From this point of view, at the very centre of the transition period, Plato's contemplations on the intimate link between writing and memory has a privileged importance in order to understand the effects of this transition on philosophical life. In Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* which consists of two interlocutors as Socrates and Phaedrus, Socrates states his argument by telling a story about the invention of writing by the gods and finally he explains his opinion about writing as follows:

> If men learn this, it will implant forgetfulness in their souls; they will cease to exercise memory because they rely on that which is written, calling things to remembrance no longer from within themselves, but by means of external marks. What you have [writing] discovered is a recipe not for memory, but for reminder.[13]

As it can be understood from the passage, according to Socrates, writing is a *pharmacon*, which simultaneously means poison and medicine in this case causing forgetfulness and aiding memory at the same time.[14] In oral or in other words non-literate cultures the continuity of collective memory is provided by persons specialised on transferring narrative knowledge such as bards, shamans, poets. However, the skills

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[12] Jan Assmann, *Kültürel Bellek: Eski Yüksek Kültürlerde Yazı, Hatırlama ve Politik Kimlik*, trans. Ayşe Tekin (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2001), p. 253.

[13] Plato, "Phaedrus," trans. R. Hackforth, *The Collected Dialogues of Plato,* ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 474.

[14] Plato's *Phaedrus* is the agreed upon dialogue based on the relation between memory and writing. According to the dialogue, Phaedrus has been participating in the lessons of Lysias who is one of the most famous masters of rhetoric in ancient Athens. The dialogue starts with a discussion of the most recent lesson Phaedrus has attended with Lysias. Lysias has committed his lesson into writing, which Phaedrus has with him to read to Socrates, based on anamnesis. "Anamnesi" in ancient Greek means "a coming to the surface, a re-emerging, a seeing of something once more." It is well-known fact that Socrates has an antipathy towards writing. The Greek historian Xenophon (ca. 430-355 B.C.) states that Socrates reproached a young noble man for the reason that he had a copy of Homeric poems and Socrates said to him that "just having the book doesn't make you an epic poet." This statement could be understood as "Socrates rejected any form of 'knowing' Homer' that did not include an ability to recite him." It is possible to interrogate at this point why the Homeric epics were so important for the ancient Greek cultures. Basically, they were "the encyclopaedia of knowledge" in pre-literate period. For instance, the life of real or legendary heroes in this epic stories were constituted a model forms of behaviour for society and this information was transmitted by the epic stories from one generation to the other. According to American Homeric scholar Milman Parry (1902-1935), there is an auditory structure in the Homeric epics which makes them easier to be recollected and be remembered for the oral poet. The choice of words and also word-forms was depended on this structural system. Plato, "Phaedrus," 475-525; James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1992), 10, 43; David Gross, *Lost Time: On Remembering and Forgetting in Late Modern Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2000), 91; Rossi, "Light/Shadow: Lines for an Aesthetic Reflection," 275.

of these specialised persons "were underpinned by knowledge, practice, and in many cases, intensive formal training."[15] According to Jan Assmann, ceremonies particularly in ancient cultures have two major functions; repetition and reanimation. However, in literate cultures writing substituted repetition and ceremony substituted interpretive reading.[16] In non-literate cultures epics and myths were not the only data conveyors of the cultural memory but there were also the protectors and transmitters of memory like dances, festivals, traditions, masks, spiritual places, clothes, etc.[17] Transmission to the literacy inevitably changed the form in which knowledge is articulated. For instance, "literate cultures thus tend to semanticize 'things' into meanings, while non-literate cultures tend to reify 'words' into things."[18] The effects of long lasting oral tradition have continued existing on literate cultures for centuries. However much, the age of rhetoricians was ended with the middle ages, their techniques has gone on surviving for more than a millennium.[19] Although, the printing press was invented in fifteenth century, it was only in the eighteenth century that it became widespread.[20] In the eighteenth century, continued dynamic effects of oral communication disappeared with the rise of printed culture; thus the role of trained memory and remembering in daily life decreased.

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[15] Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 42.

[16] Assmann, *Kültürel Bellek*, 57.

[17] Ibid., 62. Assmann in his book *Cultural Memory* marks the difference of the position of writing between the Greek and the other cultures such as Egyptian, Celtic or Persian. He claims that in ancient Greek apart from the other cultures writing was not ascribed holiness, and therefore holy texts were entrusted by the oral tradition. Furthermore, writing was used as the vehicle of the political power and as a record of laws, regulations, rituals, official identity in these cultures except in ancient Greece. Therefore, the social positions of bards and poets of ancient Greece and the scriptwriter of Egypt were so different. See the same reference page 262. On the initial use of writing in the framework of mercantile activity, see Eric Alfred Havelock, "Spoken Sound and Inscribed Sign," *The Literate Revolution in Greece and its Cultural Consequences* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), 39-59.

[18] On the other hand, according to Walter J. Ong "the shift from orality to literacy in antiquity was only the beginning of the process." He marks "the further development of literacy into print culture between the fifteenth and the eighteenth century." Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 20, 49.

[19] Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993), 32. Hutton in his book *History as an Art of Memory* claims that the *ars memoriae* was reconceived in eighteenth century and three main figures of the western history in fact made use of it in their studies; Neapolitan historian Giambattista Vico, —in order to decode the poetic consciousness of ancient civilisation— English poet William Wordsworth —in order to search for the sources of his poetical inspiration— and Sigmund Freud —in order to search for memory's sources into the recesses of the unconscious mind—. For further information about them see: Hutton, "The Art of Memory Reconceived: From Renaissance Rhetoric to Giambattista Vico's Historicism," 27-72.

[20]Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, 14.

2.1.2. Memory versus History

In terms of the twentieth century's psychological, sociological and philosophical debate, it is hard to distinguish and separate arguments on the social framework of memory from the discussions on the relation between memory and history. Therefore, I prefer to examine these concepts simultaneously by taking into consideration their mutual relations. In this framework, I will start my inquiry with well known social theorist Maurice Halbwachs' (1877-1945) reflections on the problem of memory/history. Halbwachs explores the memory and history problem especially in his last work called *The Collective Memory* which was published in 1950.[21] In his work, he claims that history is initiated when the living memory does no longer exist.[22] He argues that as long as the collective memory of a group exists, there is no need to write down the story of the events so there can be no history. However, when the time elapse from the event and the memory of that event in collective remembering becomes weaker, event is written down as a record and history is created as the reconstruction of the past. Furthermore, Halbwachs in *The Collective Memory* defines an ultimate opposition between memory and history. Memory depends on the concepts of similarity and continuity in contrast to history in which differences and discontinuities are regarded as important.[23] On the other hand, for Halbwachs, while memory of a group of people emphasises its difference and originality from all other groups, history pretends not to see all these differences among diverse groups and organises them into a homogeneous group of classifications and associations.[24] As a result; although there are numerous social groups that possess their own collective memories, there is only one history.[25]

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[21] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).

[22] Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 78.

[23] Assmann, 46; According to the well-known philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), it is not possible to talk about an uninterrupted continuity of the history. According to him, as John McCumber states, "the pace of history is a series of catastrophic leaps from one way of forgetting Being to another…because forgetting Being means forgetting, or occluding, the true nature of history, to forget Being is also to forget the true nature of previous epochs." For more information see: John McCumber, "Introduction: Transforming Thought," in *Endings: Questions of Memory in Hegel and Heidegger,* eds. Rebecca Comay and John McCumber (Illinois: North-western University Press, 1999), 12.

[24] Assmann, *Kültürel Bellek*, 46-47.

[25] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting,* trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) 397.

The term "collective memory," which was first used by Maurice Halbwachs, is defined as a "set of historical narratives, beliefs, and customs shared by a social group over generations."[26] Halbwachs in his book *The Collective Memory* ironically defines history as "a crowded graveyard to which new tombstones are continually being added," and asks "how could history ever be a memory, since there is a break in continuity between the society reading this history and the group in the past who acted in or witnessed the event?"[27] On the other hand, well known philosopher from the early twentieth century, Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) claimed that the understanding of history of the nineteenth century historians caused the memory to be forgotten since it was superseded by the "official history" which was formed by the linear series of events in a sense of continuum of time. Furthermore, he marks that this "God's eye view" of history was generated by a false memory or dream "which twentieth century must be awakened.[28] According to Benjamin, "to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognise it 'the way it really was' as Ranke claimed, it means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger."[29] Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), who is mentioned in this statement by Benjamin, was one of the most famous nineteenth century philosophers especially on history. He constructed his studies upon the objectivity of history. Ranke endeavoured to substitute "historical conscious" for disappearing vital traditions and customs because of the "crisis in memory."[30]

Although, Halbwachs presented his revolutionary concepts at the end of the 1920's, the significance of his writings was hardly recognised until the 1970's.

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[26] Yadin Dubai, Memory from A to Z: Keywords, Concepts and Beyond (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 51. For further information about Halbwachs' collective memory see: Maurice Halbwachs, "The Social Frameworks of Memory," *On Collective Memory*, ed., trans. and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 37-189.; "The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land," *On Collective Memory*, pp. 193-235; *The Collective Memory*, with an introduction by Mary Douglas (New York: Harper-Colophon Books, 1950).

[27] Quoted from: Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*, 76.

[28] M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (London; Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994), p. 130. This quotation is from the passage in which Boyer paraphrased Benjamin's argument.

[29] Walter Benjamin, "Thesis on the Philosophy of History," *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p. 255.

[30] Gross, *Lost Times*, 106. For further information about the understanding of history in the nineteenth century see: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Lectures on the Philosophy of History," in *Main Currents of Western Thought: Readings in Western European Intellectual History from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Franklin Le Van Baumer (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 500-505.

Certainly, the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) was one of the theorists who first recognised the value of Halbwachs' reflections in his writings. He interrogates in his essay "Film and Popular Memory," whether there is a possibility or a way of recording history, or a way of remembering it, keeping it fresh and using it.[31] He states that this popular history was "even more alive, more clearly formulated in the 19th century, where for instance, there was a whole tradition of struggles which were transmitted orally, or in writing or songs, etc." Patrick Hutton in his book *History as the Art of Memory* claims that "in Foucault's sense, history is the study of commemorative forms, and its essential interest is the politics of memory," and adds that in Foucault's scenario, "the fate of today's living memory … is to recede into tomorrow's oblivion." According to Hutton, for Foucault, archaeology extracts living memory from its considerations and "focusing on the forms in which the past has been represented, this method brackets the remembered past with which one might identify and, so, consigns it to oblivion."[32] On the relation between memory and history Daniel Abramson claims in his essay "Make History, Not Memory" that:

> Against the apparent biases of history, memory stirs. Against history's rationality, the reveries of memory rebel. Against history's officialism, memory recalls hidden pasts, the lived and the local, the ordinary and the everyday. Against history's totality, memory's pluralism blooms.[33]

Conflict between memory and history in fact constitutes the base of the politics of commemoration. If Nora is right to suggest that history erodes memory and its concealed purpose is to eradicate memory, the question may arise: what are the relations among history, memory and architectural commemoration? Andrew Benjamin in his book *Architectural Philosophy* states that "memorials, both in the extended sense of the

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[31] Michel Foucault, "Film and Popular Memory," In *Foucault Live* (New York: Semiotext[e], 1989). Contemporary French philosopher with Foucault, Philippe Ariés (1914-1984) contributed to the debate of memory and history. Hence, memory, after dismissed from the historical inquiry by the political historians of nineteenth century, was re-emerged as an issue of historical interpretation at the mid twentieth century. Patrick Hutton in his book *History as the Art of Memory* claims that there was an ambiguity in Ariés' understanding of history. From one point of view, for Ariés, tradition was worn out by the history which reshaped the collective memory according to the general interpretations by breaking them of their particular settings. On the contrary, he simultaneously revealed, particularly in his early works, the sustaining side of the history which depended on traditionalist conception. It is possible to claim that, for Ariés, there were two moments of history. The former "universalizes and homogenizes the past within a single interpretative pattern," on the other hand, the latter "diversifies the past into a myriad of particular traditions." For reference see: Hutton, 91-105.

[32] Hutton, 105-162.

[33] Daniel Abramson, "Make History, Not Memory: History's Critique of Memory," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 80.

construal of a building as a memorial, and usually in the limited sense of the attempt to commemorate a specific event or person, have a specific role." He suggests that the straightforward explanation of this specific role is to create a historical continuity.[34] Well known theorist of Holocaust memory and its memorialisation James Edward Young explains the place of monument between public art and political memory in his essay "Memory, Countermemory and the End of the Monument" as follows:

> As intersection between public art and political memory, the monument has necessarily reflected the aesthetic and political revolutions, as well as the wider crises of representation, following all of this century's major upheavals —including both the First and Second World Wars, the Vietnam War, and the rise and the fall of communist regimes in the former Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites.[35]

Commemoration always becomes prominent issue in major upheavals in all meanings of the word. It may become a target if it symbolises the ousted government or it may use as a ratification of the new one. Every nation, for instance, determine certain dates to commemorate particular events which are important for their major politics. This attempt simultaneously means to erase other particular dates from daily life of inhabitants which were significant for previous politics. Each commemoration act can be seen as an intervention to the natural flow of time in which some events or persons are highlighted while others are faded in interpersonal memory of societies. This endeavour, in spite of the passage of time, should inevitably be supported by an intense purpose of not only remembering but also having remembered. Therefore, I believe that commemoration is in fact a link between two contradictory concepts of memory and history, thus the politics defines the place of architectural memorialisation on that link.

2.2. Memorialisation

Once well-known architect Adolf Loos defined architecture in his essay as "if we find a mound in the forest, six foot long and three foot wide, formed into a pyramid shape by a shovel, we become serious and something within us says, 'Someone lies

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[34] Andrew Benjamin, *Architectural Philosophy* (London; New Brunswick, NJ: The Athlone Press, 2000), p. 187.

[35] James Edward Young, "Memory and Counter-Memory," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 6.

buried here.' This is architecture."[36] With this statement Loos established a direct relation between memorialisation and architecture. The meaning of the term memorial is defined as "something designed or erected to preserve the memory of a person, event, etc." or "something, as a monument or plaque, serving as a remembrance of some person or event."[37] Although, monuments and memorials are constructed to commemorate someone or a remarkable event; whether defeat or victory, it is not always required to "erect" a structure as a reminder. An existing building, or natural formation or just a part of the landscape may become the physical representation of a particular event, i.e. its memorialisation. I think, in terms of architecture they are all attempts to remind something to the observer by means of a three dimensional visual or spatial organisation. That is why, I call all of them "architectural memorialisation." [38]

Molodkina Ljudmila, in her essay "On Phenomenology of Memory and Memorial" states that "memory is perceived as a multitude of activities, social and cultural actions undertaken by an individual, a group of individuals, or a society aimed

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[36] Adolf Loos, "Architecture," in *Form and Function: A Source Book for the History of Architecture and Design 1890-1939*, eds. T. and C. Benton (London: Granada, 1980), 41.

[37] "Memorial," *Macmillan Contemporary Dictionary*, 1973 ed.

[38] In this dissertation, I will not expound the historical background of architectural memorialisation in detail, because some details will be explained when it becomes necessary in the dissertation. However I want to give a concise line of transformation from beginning to the nineteenth century. The tradition of erecting memorials, of which the emergence was generally dated to the 6000 B.C. in Sumerians, depended strictly on sanctification of a significant glory or a loss of a great person. Particularly, the cultures which believe in infinite life, such as ancient Egypt, give privileged importance to erecting monumental tombs in order to provide persons infinite life by being remembered. In the cultures of ancient Greece and Rome, memorials which were dedicated to glories became a social necessity in order to constitute the historical continuity. Moreover, according to well-known architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner there was a tradition "to erect monuments to kings or princes after their death." He states that even artists and architects of the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries made the use of three types of Roman's commemorative structures which "were never forgotten, not even in the Middle Ages": column, triumphal arch and equestrian statue. However, the monuments dedicated directly to national concepts, according to Pevsner was firstly erected in the eighteenth century and "the first monument to national genius built specially as such is William Kent's temple of British Worthies" in Stowe Gardens in 1733. In the course of the nineteenth century, the commemorative architecture dedicated to national identity and genius is elaborated by various architects and also nations. Particularly, at the very beginning of the century, the effects of two significant architects, Friedrich Gilly and Heinrich Gentz, on designing memorial with their proposed memorials for Frederick the Great in 1797, can easily be traced on subsequent monumental works of the era. For reference see: Doğan Erginbaş, *Anıt-Kabirler ve Zafer-Asker Anıtları* (Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaacılık, 1950); Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (London: Thames & Hudson; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976). For further information: James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* (London: Constable, 1980); Richard A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in 18th Century Paris* (Massachusetts; London: MIT Press, 1984); Howard Williams, ed., *Archaeologies of Remembrance: Death and Memory in Past Societies* (New York: Kluwer/Plenum, 2003).

at symbolic reconstruction of the past in the present." [39] Despite the fact that "symbolic reconstruction of the past" is mostly realised as a mental activity, various institutions such as archives, museums, monuments, commemorative plaques, etc. are the results of efforts of reconstructing it physically. They are the physical representations of memory of the past events. The discourse on architectural memorialisation centres on numerous concepts which define interpersonal memory in order to explain the relation between that memory and its "symbolic reconstruction." Of all these concepts, I will particularly focus, in this study, on "collective memory," "collective remembering/forgetting," and "the mode of remembering" in order to understand the relations among personal, interpersonal memory and architectural memorialisation.

According to well known social theorist Maurice Halbwachs, although individuals remember, it is the social group that determine what and how will be remembered.[40] There is, just one area for individual which is not determined by the social context, which is the sphere of dreams.[41] Halbwachs claims in his book *The Collective Memory* that "while the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember." He adds that "I would readily acknowledge that each memory is a viewpoint on the collective memory, that this viewpoint changes as my position changes, that this position itself changes as my relationships to other milieus change." [42] There are two main social schemata for Halbwachs as those who shared by almost a whole community (E.g. as being Turkish, or English) and those who shared by the

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[39] Molodkina Ljudmila, "On Phenomenology of Memory and Memorial (in terms of Architectural and Landscaping Creations)," in *Logos of Phenomenology and Phenomenology of the Logos*, ed. Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 113.

[40] Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory," in *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*, ed. Thomas Butler (Oxford; New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 98.

[41] Lewis Coser, "Introduction: Maurice Halbwachs, 1877-1945," in *On Collective Memory*, ed., trans. and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 23. Therefore, he objects Freud's argument, which was based on the concept of psyche as the store of all memories. According to Freud, memories are preserved and buried in unconscious mind and even the forgotten ones remain there which we generally do not notice. Halbwachs opposed Freudian understanding of memory and he claims that it is not possible for an individual to remember while dreaming because dream-images are elusive and unstable for the reason that they are set free from social framework. Maurice Halbwachs, "The Social Frameworks of Memory," *On Collective Memory*, ed., trans. and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 78. Huton, *History as the Art of Memory*, 78.

[42] Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 48; quoted from: Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 124.

members of a relatively smaller group in the social whole.[43] Despite the fact that most of the theorists and intellectuals still prefer to use the term collective memory to define social framework of the concept of memory, there are also objections against the common usage of the term. For instance, historian Peter Novick in his book *The Holocaust in American Life* argues as follows:

> When we speak of collective memory, we often forget that we're employing a metaphor —an organic metaphor— that makes an analogy between the memory of an individual and that of a community. The metaphor works best when we're speaking of an organic (traditional, stable, homogeneous) community in which consciousness, like social reality, changes slowly… How appropriate the metaphor is for the very inorganic societies of the late twentieth century (fragmented rather than homogeneous, rapidly changing rather than stable, the principal modes of communication electronic rather than face to face) seems to me questionable.[44]

Novick accentuates not only the transformation in the structure of the societies of twentieth century —from organic to inorganic— but also the effects of that transformation on the concept of collective memory. He, in fact, opposes approaches which acknowledge society as a homogenous solid. On the other hand, James Fentress and Chris Wickham in their book *Social Memory* differentiate their term "social memory" from collective memory.[45] They explain the reason behind their choice in using the term "social memory" as to understand the place of individual's memory in the context of collective one which is neglected by Halbwachs' conception.[46] On the concept of "social memory" Barbara A. Misztal, in her profound *Theories of Social Remembering*, argues that "memory is social because every memory exists through its relation with what has been shared with others: language, symbols, events, and social

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[43] Gross, *Lost Time*, 82.

[44] Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 267-68.

[45] Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*, ix.

[46] For further information on social framework of memory see: Henry Bergson, *Memory and Matter,* trans. N. M. Paul and W. S. Palmer (New York: Zone Books, 1991); Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonism*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London: Zone Books, 1988; 1997); Carl Gustav Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, ed. A. Jaffé, trans. R. and C. Winston (London: Collins, 1963); Fentress and Wickham, *Social Memory*; Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*; Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer, eds., *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present* (Hanover; London: University Press of New England, 1999); Liliane Weissberg, *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity*, ed. Dan Ben-Amos and Liliane Weissberg (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1999); Gross, *Lost Time*; Thomas Butler, ed, *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*, ed. (Oxford; New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

and cultural contexts."[47] Therefore, it is not possible to mention admitted facts about the social framework of memory and its terminology.[48]

Edward Casey, in his monumental work *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study,* reinforces the notion of collective memory with the concepts of "collective remembering and forgetting." Casey accentuates in his book that "remembering transforms one kind of experience into another: in being remembered, an experience becomes a different kind of experience."[49] He argues that "it becomes a memory." According to him, that memory is never consistent or enduring. At the end of each process of remembering unique memory realises. He quotes Jacques Lacan's words as "remembrance is always now." In terms of social framework of memory, he stretches his reflections on the memory of individuals and asserts that there is not only collective memory but also collective remembering and forgetting. He defines collective forgetting as "obliviferous obverse of collective remembering —not just its dark side, much less its mere lack, but constitutive of collective memory itself." He exemplifies this situation with architectural memorialisation of war and states that "to commemorate a war such as the Civil War or Vietnam is at the same time not to remember its many horrors, its unspeakable and even unthinkable mutilations and agonies." Casey acknowledges collective remembering and forgetting as two sides of the same coin. If a group of people collectively remembers something, they simultaneously forget another side which relates to that same event.[50]

2.3. Architectural Memorialisation

Architectural commemoration can be defined as a form of collective remembering. It does not matter whether the observer experienced the real event with

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[47] Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering,* 11.

[48] In this study, I use the term collective memory for several reasons. First of all, collective memory as a term and concept is still the most acknowledged and used one among the others which try to define the social framework of memory. Secondly, Halbwachs' term, I believe, does not only cover the memory of entire societies but also embodies the memory of relatively small groups of individuals in those societies. Memory of individuals is not the primary issue of this study. Thus, even if the role of individual's memory in the term is neglected, it does not affect the ascertainments, determinations and analyses of the study.

[49] Edward Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987; 2000), xxii.

[50] Casey, *Remembering*, xii.

her/his own eyes or not. If Casey is right to suggest that remembering is just a process which transforms an experience into a different one, then it is possible to claim that one can remember an event which he/she never experienced physically. One may have a memory about a specific event formed by his/her personal experiences, but after he/she sees its memorial he/she might have another memory about that event. Memorial signifies the collective way of remembering for that event. It depicts which sides of that event to be remembered and how. Architectural memorialisation is formed to describe a particular "mode of remembering and forgetting" for an event.[51] The creators of a memorialisation make an effort to generate a collective remembering and forgetting through its (three dimensional) physical organisation. Nevertheless, even though the memory is not constant and re-created again and again infinitely, commemorative structure is built to stand constantly. They do not have the ability to transform their very form and presence. Collective memory of an event may change in a society, the event itself may be re-interpreted, but its architectural memorialisation stays the same. That is why, sometimes they are demolished in major upheavals or sometimes they become just the symbol of oblivion. In some cases no one knows why they are there or sometimes everybody tries to forget. Furthermore, memorials may also be used to commemorate a different event from which they were erected to. The history of memorialisation is full of re-used or re-cycled monuments; such as Egyptian obelisks.

It is an undeniable fact that there is a strong relation between collective memory and architectural memorialisation, but according to some intellectuals the direction of this relation is open to question. There are two main contradictory reflections about the relation between collective memory and memorialisation: The first one is that the architectural memorialisation creates collective memory, the second one is that it is created by that memory. Adolf Loos in his essay "Architecture" defines monument as

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[51] Brian Smith states in his book *Memory* that "It could perhaps be held that the remembering of a factual relationship could only be stating of a proposition. This is at least arguable. And it seems to be analytic to say that when the mode of remembering is stating of a proposition (assuming that there be such a mode of remembering), the subject of the memory must be a certain relationship which held, or is claimed to have held, between certain events, or proceedings, or situations." Brian Smith, *Memory* (London: Routledge, 1966; 2002), 44-45. Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler refers such kind of usage of the term "collective mode of remembering" in their books *The Art of Forgetting*. The mode of remembering, on the other hand, can be defined as the way proposed by a memorial for individuals to collectively remember an event. Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler states that "In tracing the process through which monuments give rise to collective memories, this path-breaking book emphasizes that memorials are not just inert and amnesiac spaces upon which individuals may graft their ever-shifting memories. To the contrary, the materiality of monuments can be seen to elicit a particular collective mode of remembering which shapes the consumption of the past as a shared cultural form of memory." Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler, eds, *The Art of Forgetting* (London: Berg, 2001), back cover.

the "artificial creation of collective memory."[52] Alex Lapp asserts that "[monuments and memorials] are public facilitators, around which a collective memory is created" and "ones established, they themselves become representations of their public's memory."[53] On the other hand, Alex King claims that "a number of writers have seen modern public commemorations as a socially integrating process that obtains assent to a particular code of values or view of society." King refuses this view of memorials and he argues that "memorials were symbolic objects that transcended differences amongst participants through the practical activities, not the abstract ideas that were associated with them."[54] Similarly, Kirk Savage argues in his essay "The Past in the Present" that "The design of public monuments is obviously important; but design cannot claim to engineer memory. The inner memories of a culture profoundly shape how its monuments are experienced and lived."[55]

In order to understand the peculiarities of the relation between collective memory and architectural memorialisation, it is required to examine why or for which purposes events are memorialised. At the end of the nineteenth century Alois Riegl in his well known essay "The Modern Cult of Monuments," argues that "a monument in its oldest and most original sense is a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events (or a combination thereof) alive in the minds of future generations."[56] Ancient Greece onwards the function of remembering has been considered as transferring valuable assets of one period to the next.[57] This transfer of knowledge and experience especially by means of the institutions of memory such as monuments and plaques is not always realised in a direct and constant manner. Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005) in his essay "Memory and Forgetting," asserts that the basic reason of the duty of remembering "is to keep alive the memory of suffering over

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[52] Loos, "Architecture," 41-45.

[53] Alex Lapp, "Rodin's Burgeois de Calais: Commemorating a French National Ideal in London," *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century*, eds. William Kid and Brian Murdoch (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 15-16.

[54] Alex King, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Public Memorials of the Great War," in *The Art of Forgetting*, eds. Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (London: Berg, 2001), 147-48.

[55] Kirk Savage, "The Past in the Present: The Life of Memorials," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 19.

[56] Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin," in *Oppositions Reader: Selected Essays 1973-1984*, trans. Kurt W. Fostster and Diane Ghirardo, ed. K. Michael Hays (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 621.

[57] Gross's *Lost Times* has a profound chapter on the function of memory in the past ages.

against the general tendency of history to celebrate the victors."[58] Although Ricoeur'
statement refers to the opposition between memory and history, there is also difference
in the usage of the terms memorial and monument regarding the functions of
remembering and forgetting.

Arthur Danto in his essay "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," signifies the
difference as follows: "we erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and
build memorials so that we shall never forget."[59] With similar ideas Marita Sturken
questions what is commemorated through monuments and memorials. According to her,
monuments are erected to commemorate victory, whereas memorials to commemorate
defeats and "lives sacrificed for a particular set of values." She persistently argues that
"memorials embody grief, loss, and tribute. Whatever triumph a memorial may refer to,
its depiction of victory is always tempered by a foregrounding of the lives lost."[60] I
believe that even if the memory of the event is transferred into the next generations
directly and honestly with all its suffering, loss and victories; the interpretation of that
event in a society can never be constant. Memory, as Fentress and Wickham state "is
not a passive receptacle, but instead a process of active restructuring, in which elements
may be retained, reordered, or suppressed."[61]

Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether collective memory is created
by memorialisation or memorial is the symbolic representation of collective memory.
Since, it is an undeniable fact that architectural memorialisation and its meaning "are
constructed in particular times and places, contingent on the political, historical, and
aesthetic realities of the moment."[62] The way of remembering defined by an
architectural memorialisation may still possess same collectivity, but the memory which
it triggers may not be the same anymore. According to the editors of *Acts of Memory*
Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer memory can be understood as a "cultural

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[58] Paul Ricoeur, "Memory and Forgetting," in *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Continental Philosophy*, ed. Richard Kearney (London: Routledge, 1998), 10.

[59] Arthur Danto, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," *The Nation*, August 31, 1985, 152. quoted from Marita Sturken, "The Wall, the Screen and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 164.

[60] Sturken, "The Wall, the Screen and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," 165.

[61] Fentress and Wickham, 40.

[62] James Edward Young, "Memory, Countermemory and the End of the Monument," *At Memory's Edge After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), p.95.

phenomenon as well as an individual or social one." In terms of "cultural memory" cultural memorization occurs in the present "in which the past is continuously modified and re-described even as it continues to shape the future." He asserts that "memory is active and it is situated in the present."[63] Similarly Marita Sturken in her book *Tangled Memories* states that "memory that is shared outside the avenues of formal historical discourse yet… is entangled with cultural products and imbued with cultural meaning."[64] Not only passage of time but also changing politics always moulds the destiny of collective memory. Thus, even in different examples of architectural memorialisation for the same event, forms of collective remembering diversify; for the reason that different major politics of diverse periods do not only highlight particular aspects of an event but also promote to conceal the others.

2.4. Commemorating War

War which "is one of the great constants in human affairs," and "existed before recorded history and organised states" has been probably one of the most commemorated issues among all other remarkable events of history.[65] Alan Borg at the beginning of his seminal work *War Memorials* states that "war memorials are the most numerous and widespread of all public monuments." [66] Similarly, Alex King argues that "the commemoration of the dead of the First World War was probably the largest and most popular movement for the erection of public monuments ever known in the western society."[67] Architectural memorialisation of a battle is in fact the act of embodying the death itself. According to Alex King, the primary reason of erecting especially First World War memorials was "to honour the dead." [68] But it has not been always so. In fact ancient war memorials had been erected to commemorate "the war

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[63] Bal, Crewe and Spitzer, eds, *Acts of Memory,* vii-viii.

[64] Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1997), 3.

[65] The definitions of war is quoted from: Paul Hirst, *Space and Power: Politics, War and Architecture* (Cambridge, UK; Malden: Polity Press, 2005), 51.

[66] Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), ix.

[67] King, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Public Memorials of the Great War," 147.

[68] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism & Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1998), 75.

itself, and specifically victory." It was required to experience the great loss of World Wars to memorialise "suffering of individuals" and "the sacrifices of war." [69]

At this point of the examination, I want to re-ask questions which were asked by Krystyna Von Henneberg: "how are wars defined and described, and for whose benefit? What constitutes a war worth remembering?"[70] Answering these questions requires a detailed analysis of sociological, political and historical facts. However, in terms of architectural memorialisation they are tied to the most consequential side of the act of commemorating war; the effects of politics. War memorials are constructed under the supervision of the states or directly by themselves. In either case "there is no pure, pristine memory beneath the state's manipulation," and the states have the guilt "of manipulation of other's memory."[71] War memorials are the tools of controlling the form of collective remembering of that war. Particularly, during the First World War and interwar period commemoration was one of the most useful tools of politics and "war memorials carried political messages from the earliest days of the war."[72] Although these political messages differed in detail among diverse memorials of First World War, they simultaneously embraced common purposes. One of the most prominent purposes of architectural memorialisation of war is the enhancement of the collective identity of a community.

Henri Lefebvre in his book *The Production of Space* already asserts that "monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage. It thus constituted a collective mirror more faithful than any personal one."[73] Certainly, Lefebvre mentions various kinds of public spaces that affect the visitors with their monumental quality. In war memorials especially this collective "image" reaches its highest degree because of the intensity of the collective emotions with which architectural memorialisation is loaded such as triumph, exaltation, mourning, and trauma. James Mayo asserts in his essay that

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[69] Borg, *War Memorials,* x.

[70] Krystyna Von Henneberg, "Monuments, Public Space, and the Memory of Empire in Modern Italy," *History and Memory: Studies in Representation of the Past* 16 (2004): 37.

[71] Slawomir Kapralski, "Battlefields of memory: landscape and identity in Polish-Jewish relations," *History and Memory: Studies in Representation of the Past* 13/2 (Fall 2001): 55.

[72] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.82.

[73] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 220.

"commemoration through war memorials mirrors not only what a society wants to remember but also what it wishes to forget." According to him "war memory as sacred commemoration enhances national image; neglect defames it;" thus "in either case, memorials address a country's political history."[74] Because of the intrinsic relation between politics and the commemoration of war, political purposes crystallises in its architectural memorialisation. If we go back to Krystyna Von Henneberg' question of "what constitutes a war worth remembering?" I answer that it depends on the political purposes and the positions of the combatants. Because of the catastrophic consequences of World Wars, in present time not only victories are considered "worth remembering" but also grief, sacrifices and loss are commemorated.

2.4.1. After the First World War

In the course of the twentieth century, the catastrophic events such as the World Wars, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and the Holocaust, caused crucial transformations not only on the concepts of memory and history but also on its memorialisation. This transformation which has been induced by political, intellectual, artistic and architectural upheavals basically eventuated from "the heroic, self-aggrandizing, figurative icons of the late 19th century" to the "antiheroic, often ironic and self-effacing conceptual installations."[75] Particularly, changing peculiarities of war in the course of the twentieth century caused this situation. With the invention of new weapons of mass deconstruction, more people started to be affected from the conditions of warfare. Furthermore, for the first time in history people faced the mass killing of civilians. Jürgen Habermas gave voice to an ineffable situation in his words: "there [in Auschwitz] something happened, that up to now nobody considered as even possible… Auschwitz has changed the basis for the continuity of the conditions of life within history.[76] These effects of wars on human beings let to numerous attempts to commemorate the wars themselves: attempts to remember and not to forget. Andrew

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[74] James M. Mayo, "War Memorials as Political Memory," *Geographical Review* 78/1 (1988): 75.

[75] Young, "Memory, Countermemory and the End of the Monument," p. 93.

[76] Jürgen Habermas, *Eine Art Schadensabwicklung* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987), 163. quoted from Andreas Huyssen, "Monuments and Memory in a Post modern Age," in *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, ed. James E. Young (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), 16.

Benjamin asserts that Holocaust memorials have inevitably been erected all over the Europe as "public acknowledgements of a wrong."[77] This situation resulted in an "obsession with the past" and its memorialisation. Henri Lefebvre explains that as "we will now try to grasp one of today's most profound contradictions. This period which sees and calls itself entirely new is overcome by an obsession with the past: memory, history."[78] Particularly, towards the end of the twentieth century this obsession reaches its highest degree; Andreas Huyssen explains as follows:

> If we look at memory in the postmodern 1980s, we are immediately struck not by signs of amnesia but, rather, by a veritable obsession with the past. Indeed, one might even speak of a memorial, or *museal*, sensibility that seems to occupy ever larger parts of everyday culture and experience… Far from suffering from amnesia, it seems, we suffer from an overload of memories and have too many museums. Even the monument, which after its nineteenth-century excesses in poor aesthetics and shamelessly legitimizing politics and which fell on hard times with the advent of modernism (despite Gropius and Tatlin), is experiencing a revival of sorts, clearly benefiting from the intensity of our memorial culture.[79]

The concept of "obsession with past" in fact is not new as a term. It was probably employed most of all in order to describe the age of Romanticism. With the beginning of the nineteenth century the destructive effects of the industrialisation and "modern" institutions had started to eradicate and caused to disappear not only the places of memory but the memory itself. Richard Terdiman in his book *Present Past* defines the milieu at the beginning of the nineteenth century as "the past began to look like a foreign country," and he describes whole century's effort as a "disciplined obsession with the past."[80] As a natural consequence of this obsession Friedrich Nietzsche at the last quarter of the century declared that "away with the monuments!"[81] Nietzsche's annoyance echoed swiftly at the beginning of the twentieth century on the side of artists, designers and architects. Nevertheless, it was not so easy to dispense with the traditional and conventional forms of commemoration. Particularly enormous loss of

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[77] Benjamin, *Architectural Philosophy,* 190.

[78] Henri Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959- May 1961*, trans. John Moore (New York; London: Verso, 1995), 224.

[79] Huyssen, "Monuments and Memory in a Post modern Age," 11.

[80] Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University press, 1993), 5. Terdiman with this statement explicitly refers to David Lowenthal's monumental work *Past is a Foreign Country* For reference see: David Lowenthal*, The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[81] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Use and Abuse of History*, trans. Adrian Collins (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 14-17.

the First World War caused to revoke them in memorialisation process of war for all nations. Alan Borg in his book *War Memorials* elucidates the dilemma in the forms of commemoration during this period as follows:

> Most First World War memorials were produced in the 1920s, at a time when the main artistic current was flowing increasingly towards abstract and constructivist forms. There are very few war memorials which follow such trends and fewer still that do so successfully. The adherence to a version of the classical tradition undoubtedly reflects the official patronage which sponsored the building of the memorials, for such patronage is normally conservative in its choice of styles.[82]

After the First World War multitude of war memorials and commemorative structures were deployed and scattered not only in whole Europe but also in Middle East and North Africa. There was an obsession with commemoration. Almost each town in Europe started to have its own memorial of war. That is probably why Robert Musil in 1930s proclaimed that "there is nothing in this world as invisible as monuments. Doubtless they have been erected to be seen —even to attract attention; yet at the same time something has impregnated them against attention."[83] According to him they are constructed to be seen but in fact they have a peculiarity of repelling attention. Most of the First World War memorials became initial part of the urban landscape as if they always had been there. James Edward Young in his essay "The Biography of a Memorial Icon: Nathan Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument," interprets this statement as follows: "it is as if a monument's life in the communal mind grows as hard and polished as its exterior form, its significance as fixed as its place in the landscape. And it is this 'finish' that repels our attention that makes a monument invisible."[84] In Alan Borg's words, war memorials "blur into the urban background."[85] Their essential function, which was to remind the citizens the loss, started to weaken. Furthermore, artists and intellectuals started to recognise that the permanency of which a monument provides was just an illusion. Their motto was Lewis Mumford's declaration, in 1930s,

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[82] Borg, *War Memorials,* 70.

[83] Robert Musil, "Nachlaß zu Lebzeiten," in *Prosa, Dramen, späte Briefe*, ed. Adolf Frisé (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1957), 480; quoted from Daniel J. Sherman, "Art, Commerce and the Production of Memory in France after World War I," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity,* ed. John R. Gillis (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 206.

[84] James Edward Young, "The Biography of a Memorial Icon: Nathan Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument," *Representations* 26 (1989): 71.

[85] Borg, *War Memorials,* ix.

"stone gives a false sense of continuity, a deceptive assurance of life."[86] Andreas Huyssen explains the impermanency problem in traditional memorialisation as follows:

> The promise of permanence a monument in stone will suggest is always built on quicksand. Some monuments are joyously toppled at times of social upheaval; others preserve memory in its most ossified form, either as myth or as cliché. Yet others stand simply as figures of forgetting, their meaning and original purpose eroded by the passage of time.[87]

Neither the interpretation of the event of which the monument is erected to commemorate nor its representation in collective memory is constant. Once Walter Benjamin wrote that "even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space."[88] As I have stated before, architectural memorialisation is very much dependent upon political conditions of the age gave birth to them. Meanings change and they remain as a symbol of that change. During and after the Second World War that was exactly what people experienced. Totalitarian regime of Third Reich mostly used monumental symbols to rivet its sovereignty in Germany. Then, after the defeat of the Third Reich, those monuments were overthrown but a crucial contradiction arose in the memorialisation of this defeat; because erecting "a monument against fascism would have to be a monument against itself."[89] The significant point is that people did not discontinue memorialising; on the contrary, obsession with the unbearable past has been increased in this traumatic process. This situation reminds Pierre Nora's words: "we speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left."[90] At the end of this process, the definitions in architectural memorialisation, which had been considered as constant as adamant, shifted.

2.4.2. Counter-Memorialisation

With the collapse of the Wall, releasing from the ready-made conditions of Cold War period compelled the "policy-makers" to search for a new political orientation

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[86] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1938), 434.

[87] Huyssen, "Monument in a Post-Modern Age," p. 9.

[88] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 220.

[89] Young, "Memory, Countermemory and the End of the Monument," 96.

[90] Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," 7.

especially in Central and Eastern Europe. Memory became the primary tool in this search for the "nation- building process" and "the most salient issue" in post Cold-War period.[91] In this period, not only the political orientations of the states and the distinct definitions on their nationality had to be reformed but also the acceleration of transformation process in architectural memorialisation from traditional heroic monuments to anti-heroic spatial organisations needed to be increased. In fact, this transformation stemmed from a question of how war can be memorialised when the belief in its cause was not collectively shared anymore. Jay Winter, in his book *Remembering War,* explains the changes in understanding of war memory and commemoration from the First World War to the second one as follows:

> After the First World War, commemorative efforts aimed to offer a message that loss of life in the conflict had a meaning, that these sacrifices were redemptive, that they prepared the ground for a better world, one in which such staggering loss of life would not recur. Two decades later those hopes were dashed. The problem of meaning only got worse after the emergence of the Holocaust witness in the 1970s. What did their testimony tell us about the question as to whether the Holocaust had any "meaning"? Their voices, while poignant and indelible, did not offer any firm answer. Increasingly, the Holocaust appeared to be an event without a meaning.[92]

These inclinations challenged "the very premise of the monument" and produced counter movements.[93] The most used term for the productions of these movements have been "counter-monuments."[94] According to the inventor of the term James Edward Young, "the traditional aim of war monuments had been to valorise the suffering in such a way as to justify, even redeem, it historically," on the other hand, counter-monuments are erected "to challenge the world's realities, not affirm them."[95] Most of the memorials and commemorative structures of World Wars were constructed to vindicate the enormous loss through imputing them national, sacred and heroic meanings. Now, anti-monuments or counter-memorials are designed to indicate the

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[91] Jan-Werner Muller, "Introduction: The Power of Memory, the Memory of Power and the Power over Memory," in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe,* ed. Jan-Werner Muller (West Nyack, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p 9.

[92] Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 32.

[93] Young, "Memory, Countermemory and the End of the Monument," 96.

[94] James Edward Young firstly used this term in his paper delivered at a conference in University of California, Santa Barbara, 20-22 April 1990. For the expanded version of that paper see: James Edward Young, "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today," Critical Inquiry (Winter 1992): 267-296.

[95] Young, "Memory, Countermemory and the End of the Monument," 95.

worst sides of the war itself. Hélène Lipstadt in her essay "Learning from Lutyens: Thiepval in the Age of the Anti-Monument," explains the principal differences between traditional and present memorialisation approaches as follows:

> It appears to be an object where anti-monuments are places, heroic where both anti-monuments and counter-monuments are antiheroic, celebratory where they are skeptical, and dignifying of death in war instead of exposing its horrors. Above all, it appears to encourage forgetfulness by illusionary promises of everlasting commemoration, whereas counter-monuments goad the reluctant and the guilty into remembering but offer no illusions about their own mortality.[96]

In this quotation Lipstadt compares traditional memorialisation and counter-memorialisation. The differences which she signifies can be summed up as: object–place, heroic–antiheroic, celebratory–sceptical, dignifying death–exposing its horrors, illusionary permanence–no illusions. Theorists of counter- monument approach acknowledge that the reification of the memory of the past in fact displaces the memory itself.[97] According to them, erecting an image on a fixed place provides just an illusionary permanence where neither memory nor the meaning of its representation is congealable. That is why rather than erecting a monument, creating an experience for the individual gains priority. One of the well known designers of such a memorialisation approach, Maya Lin, explains "anti-monument" as setting "a stage for experience and for understanding experience… [not] stages where you act out, but rather places where something happens within the viewer."[98] Similarly, Young defines sharp distinctions between traditional and counter memorialisation attitudes. He accentuates against what kind of things counter-memorials are produced as follows:

> …Against the traditionally didactic function of monuments, against their tendency to displace the past they would have us contemplate ─and finally, against the authoritarian propensity in monumental spaces that reduces viewers to passive spectators.[99]

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[96] Hélène Lipstadt, "Learning from Lutyens: Thiepval in the Age of the Anti-Monument," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 65.

[97] For the problem of reification in memorialisation see: Robert Musil, "Monuments," in *Posthumous Papers of a Living Author*, trans. Peter Wortsman (Hygiene, Colo: Archipelago, 1987); Andreas Huyssen, "Monuments and Memory in a Post modern Age," in *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, ed. James E. Young (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994). James E. Young, "The Biography of a Memorial Icon: Nathan Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument," *Representations* 26 (1989): 69-107.

[98] Lin, *Grounds for Remembering,* 3. quoted from Lipstadt, "Learning from Lutyens: Thiepval in the Age of the Anti-Monument," 68.

[99] Young, "Memory, Countermemory and the End of the Monument," 96.

In the light of these theorists' statements it is possible to assert that counter-memorialisation of post-wall period are not designed to create the illusion of permanence of meaning; they just aim at offering visitors contemplation on the war itself by means of not an object to look at but a spatial installation to experience. That experience certainly depends on remembering, but "free remembering." For the reason that the "heroic" and "self-aggrandizing" monuments are erected to reduce the viewer to "passive spectator" in order to conduct him/her to a specific form of remembering. Whereas, counter-monument have the viewer just contemplate on the event itself. Collective memory of a society or a group of people is continuously reshaped by those who want to manipulate the events of history to conduct the present and the future. David Lowenthal, in his monumental work *Past is a Foreign Country,* asserts that "the past as we know it is partly a product of the present; we continually reshape memory, rewrite history, refashion relics." [100] Inevitably, the mode of remembering proposed by an architectural memorialisation to generate a collective remembering becomes an instrument of politics in this process. However, most of the intellectuals, theorists, artists and designers that support counter-monument argue that their examples of architectural memorialisation are not instruments of politics anymore —that is definitely why they also call their inclination as "democratic-monument". They aim at providing the visitor with a contemplation sequence in time through a free spatial experience.

I believe, for instance, that it is possible to conceive Peter Eisenman's National Holocaust Memorial in Berlin as an attempt to generate a spatial experience devoted to the memory of Holocaust (Figure 2.2). Eisenman in his essay "Time Warps: The Monument" states that the time of his Holocaust memorial "is apart from the time of our experience of it," and "in this context, there no nostalgia, no memory of the past, only the living memory of the individual experience in the monument." He already states that his design "demands a time experience, yet it shatters the space-time continuum." According to him the "traditional monument is understood by its symbolic imagery, what it represents" but it is "not understood in time, as in traditional architecture, but rather as an instant in space." However after the mechanisms of mass death of Holocaust and Hiroshima, icons of life and death have changed. The prison camp itself

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[100] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 26.

has become "a locus of the memory in real time" and "an icon of memory."[101] I believe, Eisenman, through these words, mentions that the landscape of memory of war denotes the memorialisation *per se*; and in National Holocaust Memorial he creates an artificial landscape of memory.

Figure 2.1 Germany's National Holocaust Memorial
(Source: Eisenman, "Time Warps: The Monument," 254.)

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[101] Peter Eisenman, "Time Warps: The Monument," in *Anytime,* ed. Cynthia C. Davidson (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999), 250-57.

2.5. Remembering on the Landscapes of Memory

An ordinary piece of land may turn into memorialisation of a remarkable historical event if that event is somehow connected to that landscape. Memory dwells not only in mind but also in place. Counter-memorialisation approach can be considered as an attempt to re-establish the relation between place and memory. In real landscapes of war such as battlefields, the memory of the landscape is highlighted, while in urban pattern artificial landscape of memory is created. For the relation between memory and place Edward S. Casey in his seminal work *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* states that place can be considered as a "container of experiences that contributes so powerfully to its intrinsic memorability." Furthermore he asserts that "we might even say that memory is naturally place-oriented or at least place-supported."[102] The usage of the intense relation between memory and place originated to the prehistoric periods. According to Assmann the culture of reminiscence in society's collective memory is also based on commemorative figures in particular spaces.[103] Well known philosopher Walter Benjamin argues that urban landscape is the battleground for the past and city can be read as the "topography of collective memory." In that situation buildings become mnemonic symbols "which can reveal hidden and forgotten past." [104] I believe, here the system of *ars memoriae* is mentioned. The presence of the classical method of *ars memoriae* which depends on locating images to a particular place in order to be able to remember them easily, in fact constitutes one of the most powerful indicators of the potent relation between memory and place.

In order to be able to question the role of the landscape on remembering it is required to examine the dynamics of the relation between landscape and memory. Dolores Hayden in her book *The Power of Place* claims that historians are just beginning to recognise "the intricate relationship among history, place-specific memory, and the preservation of the urban landscape." For her, the power of place lies beneath the urban landscape to nurture citizen's collective memory.[105] Similarly, she argues in

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[102] Casey, *Remembering*, 186-87.

[103] Assmann, *Kültürel Bellek*, 62.

[104] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, quoted from Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering,* 16.

[105] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 227.

her essay "Landscapes of Loss and Remembrance" that "many different societies have used historic places to help citizens define their public pasts." [106] According to French philosopher Michel Foucault the way of the representation of the past determines what and how it is remembered.[107] The term "representation of the past" may be interpreted as referring to memorialisation. In this interpretation we can say that I believe that Foucault draws the attention to the capability of memorials in defining the mode of remembering of the societies. Memorialisation transforms into a tool in this process. In *The City of Collective Memory* Christine Boyer expounds two kinds of *topoi* which imprint the city "with historic traditions;" vernacular *topoi* and rhetorical *topoi*. Rhetorical *topoi* are "civic compositions that teach us about our national heritage and our public responsibilities and assume that the urban landscape itself is the emblematic embodiment of power and memory." She also defines rhetorical *topoi* as "monumental and mnemonic constructions". Boyer claims that "architecture and city places, as we have seen, give particular form to our memories."[108] I believe that not only city places but also all kinds of landscape of memory have remarkable effects on individual's remembering process.

The visitor never comes to the landscape of memory with a *tabula rasa*. Even if one never personally experienced the event related to that landscape, he/she comes bearing his/her personal memory and interpretation of the historical event. The landscape has the capability to reconstruct or remould that memory of the event. Each element in that particular topography either purposefully or not have an effect on the visitor's process of remembering. Simon Schama explains in his book *Landscape and Memory* that the word of "landscape" originates in sixteenth century Dutch and means that "a unit of occupation" and signifies control of territory.[109] Defining the boundaries of a territory and mapping it are also acts of control and "through surveying and mapping the world at a moment in time, scientists produce and control space by

[106] Dolores Hayden, "Landscapes of Loss and Remembrance: The case of Little Tokyo in Los Angeles," *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 144.

[107] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 76-100.

[108] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 321-22.

[109] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Fontana Press, 1996), p. 10.

classifying and ordering what and who belongs where."[110] Landscape as a word in its origin has initially the meaning of control. Sally Morgan in her essay "Memory and Identity on Urban Landscape,"argues that "those who control memory control identity; and those who control the landscape control memory." According to her, "the marking of the landscape with names, effigies, memorials and built monuments, is a conscious act of history writing."[111] If this is the case, then one may claim that architectural memorialisation on the landscapes of memory has the potential to be manipulated by the politics more than the others.

Battlefields are the most powerful landscapes of memory, since they are the realms of death. Paul Virilio wrote a book on bunkers which were built on the west coast of Europe and abandoned after the Second World War as *Bunker Archaeology*.[112] He argues in an interview about his book that "over thousand of kilometres, the coast was organised in such a way as to be controlled by sight. It is that logic that made me understand to what extent the war had been a total one." According to Paul Virilio, "war had not only conditioned the people through manslaughter, Auschwitz and wholesale executions, it had also reorganised the territory…"[113] Battle has an innate relation with its place. As Paul Hirst states in his book *Space and Power,* war "interact[s] with space in complex ways." According to him, "space is not just a 'container' for war, an abstract coordinate system in which conflict just happens. Space is shaped in complex and qualitative ways by circumstances, and in turn its specific features condition and shape war."[114] Therefore, the landscape of a battle is important not only as the landscape of memory but also as a shaper of the war itself.

Furthermore, battlefields are the lands, where the identity of a group of society or a nation are either constructed or preserved. Slawomir Kapralski, in his essay

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[110] Karen E Till, *New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis, MN, USA: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), p 136.

[111] Sally J. Morgan, "Memory and Identity on Urban Landscape," in *Locality, Regeneration and Divers[c]ities - Advances in Art & Urban Futures 1*, eds. Sarah Bennett, John Butler (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2002), p 27.

[112] Paul Virilo, *Bunker Archaeology* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997). While the severe battles of the Second World War were devastating the Europe, Hitler was ordered to construct giant articulated structures to the west cost of the continent in order to prevent an invasion. That military landscape was called as Atlantic Wall consists of 15000 bunkers in arms.

[113] John Armitage, "An Interview with Paul Virilio," in *Paul Virilo: From Modernism to Hypermodernism and Beyond*, ed. John Armistage (London: Sage, 2000), 32.

[114] Hirst, *Space and Powe,r* 52.

"Battlefields of Memory," defines battlefield as "a place in which groups compete for the fullest possible representation of their identities, trying, according to the means at their disposal, to structure the landscape and invent it with the meaning that is appropriate with respect to their identities."[115] Commemoration of a battle unquestionably is a political act and "to commemorate war unavoidably create a distinct political landscape."[116] Foucault frequently uses military spaces "as a critical tool for analysis."[117] Foucault's "emphasis on strategies, tactics and battle shows this, as does his remark in conservation with the geographers of *Hérodote* that many of his spatial metaphors are taken from military discourse."[118] That is why, Foucault answers a question about his obsession with the military terms like field-battlefield, province-conquered territory as follows:

> There is an administration of knowledge, relations of power which pass via knowledge and which, if one tries to transcribe them, lead one to consider forms of domination designated by such notions as field, region, and territory. And politico-strategic term is an indication of how the military and the administration actually come to inscribe themselves both on a material soil and within forms of discourse. [119]

In the counter-memorials the focus of memorialisation seems to be in "experience." According to Aristotle experience derives from memory.[120] The process of remembering is the experience itself and memory is the result of this process. Edward Casey asserts that each result is unique. The importance given to "individual experience" is frequently mentioned in relation to the post-wall commemorative structures by their designers. It is a kind of counter-attack to the authoritative monuments of history which dictate a specific mode of remembering and where possibility for individual differences eliminated. Therefore, individuality refers to freedom of remembering. Well known French thinker Henri Lefebvre argues this point

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[115] Kapralski, "Battlefields of memory," 36.

[116] Mayo, "War Memorials as Political Memory," 62.

[117] This phrase refers to the quotation from Stuart Elden as follows: "… Rather than merely writing histories of space, Foucault is writing spatial histories. [These spatial histories] use space itself as a critical tool of analysis." Stuart Elden, *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault and the Project of a Spatial History* (London; New York: Continuum, 2001), 118-19.

[118] Elden, *Mapping the Present*, 139.

[119] Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 69.

[120] Rossi, "Light/Shadow," 275.

in his pioneering *The Production of Space* as that "the producers of space have always acted in accordance with a representation, while the 'users' passively experienced whatever was imposed upon them inasmuch as it was more or less thoroughly inserted into, or justified by, their *representational space*."[121] Lefebvre already defines the representational space as the space embodying complex symbolisms which is dominated and hence passively experienced. Accordingly, the space of architectural memorialisation is a representational space in Lefebvre's sense which is dominated by the social and political forces and experienced passively by the users. Most of the designers of counter-memorialisation argue that their works of architectural memorialisation dictate just to contemplate on the event instead of a specific remembering. Jay Winter in his essay "Remembrance and Redemption" explains the relation between remembrance and memory as follows:

> … I use the term 'remembrance' to describe a social process; 'memory', both individual and collective, is its social product. Remembrance is active and transitory; it has a beginning and an end, an existence in space and time... Collective remembrance, the process of public recollection, is the act of groups of people who gather bits and pieces of the past and join them together for a public that will express and consume the constructed memory.[122]

Most of the works of counter-memorialisation are highly site-related. That relation is realised not only as embodying the memory of the place —Horst Hoheisel's *Negative Form*; Shimon Atties' *Sites Unseen* (Figure 3.2); but also creating and artificial landscape of memory through memorialisation —Karin Daan's Homomonument (Figure 3.5); Peter Eisenman's *National Holocaust Monument* (Figure 2.1). Three dimensional giant figures of memorialisation have been superseded by the landscapes of war. Spatial experience has substituted passive spectating. In this sense, memorialisation does not propose a particular form of collective remembering. Each individual has his/her own personal experience both in the real landscapes of war and in the artificial one. However, at this very point some contradictions arise. The landscape as a term and concept, as I have explained before, initially has the meaning of control. According to the original meaning of the word, landscapes of war become controlled territories. Furthermore, the real landscapes of war such as battlefields, bunkers or

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[121] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 43.

[122] Jay Winter, "Remembrance and Redemption: A Social Interpretation of War Memorials," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Fall 1999): 71.

concentration camps are innate territories of war where power crystallises. Battlefield among all other military spaces is certainly the most illustrative form of warfare. As the landscape of memory and war it constitutes a complex territory in terms of memorialisation and spatial politics.

The real landscapes of memory of war such as battlefields, concentration camps, artillery positions or shorelines of landings might be seen pure and pristine to an ordinary visitor on where the memory of place exists as it has always been. If one argues that Gallipoli Battlefields are preserved landscapes of war then one would state that the memory on those lands represents just the historical event itself not its representation. Whereas, Bruce Scates in his essay on Gallipoli argues that "the view of the landscape [of Gallipoli] is never naïve, never innocent; it is mediated through the pilgrim's own experience."[123] An ordinary plain in a landscape becomes meaningful if the viewer knows that it is a battlefield. Of course, it is the historical event along with the gaze of the viewer that makes an ordinary topography a landscape of war memory. Beyond individual's personal memory and interpretation of the battles, representation of the war on the battlefields generates collective remembering.

2.6. Memorialisation of Gallipoli Battles on the Peninsula

The landscape of battles of Gallipoli turned into one of the World's most eminent places of memory. Commemoration of those events, losses and the battles themselves in that peculiar place has become a concessive endeavour *par excellence* since the time when the war ended. In fact, the initial attempts of commemoration of dead in Gallipoli started while the most severe combats of battles were still continuing especially on the side of Allied Nations. Most of them consisted of marking the graves and putting personal objects and commodities on those graves. When the evacuation of the forces of the Allied Nations was entirely completed on 9th of January of 1916, Turkish General Staff ordered Şevki Paşa to prepare the map of the peninsula including especially the battlefields in Suvla, Arıburnu (Anzac), Conkbayırı (Chunuk Bair) and Seddülbahir. This map indicated not only the military information such as artillery

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[123] Bruce Scates, "Gallipoli's Shadow: Pilgrimage, Memory, Mourning and the Great War," *Australian Historical Studies* 119 (April 2002): 17.

positions, guns, wrecks or trenches but also graves.[124] Although there were photographic evidences of first commemorative structures of Turkish forces in the battlefields during the war and immediately after it in the archive of Australian War Memorial Museum, it has not been possible to find any physical information or trace about most of them so far.[125] The most famous one of these memorials is the one on Kireçtepe, for the reason that its early photo, which was taken right after the Battles, includes Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's silhouette in front. There are also few surviving war cemeteries to Turkish martyrs which were built during the war and right after the evacuation of the Allied nations.[126] Some of them are individual war cemeteries which belong to superior officers. Unfortunately, most of them are mass graves because of the lack of official records about the identities of Turkish soldiers who fought and died in Gallipoli Battles.

First comprehensive commemoration work in the peninsula was started by the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission after the Lemnos Armistice in 1918 and continued until 1926. When the first unit of the Commission was launched to work on commemoration of the soldiers of Commonwealth in the Gallipoli Peninsula most of the markers of the graves were lost and most of the bodies of the losses were either missing or unidentifiable. The "abnormally high proportion" of unknown burials constituted a great difference between Gallipoli cemeteries and all other cemeteries of

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[124] Raci Bademli, et. al. "Part III: The Issues," *The Book: Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition* (Ankara: Middle East Technical University Press, 1997), 56.

[125] According to *The Catalogue* of the Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition, after the evacuation of Allied Nations from peninsula there were erected three monuments dedicated the victory of Turkish troops. The first one was at Kanlısırt (Lone Pine), the second one was on North Beach of Peninsula and the third one was at Cesaret Tepe (The Nek). However just the third one named as Mehmet Çavuş Memorial could survive. Raci Bademli, et al., *The Catalogue: Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition* (Ankara: Middle East Technical University Press, 1997), 13. In Australian War Memorial Archive there is a certificate belongs to a memorial including its image erected by Turkish army but demolished by Allied Nations when they reached to the peninsula after the Armistice. This memorial was probably the one in Cesaret Tepe (the Nek). It is written on the certificate as follows: "This certificate relates to a memorial erected by the Turkish Army at Anzac Beach c.1916-1918, to commemorate 'Driving the British Forces into the Sea' on the Gallipoli Peninsula in late 1915 and early 1916. In December 1918, a regiment of the Australian Light Horse and a regiment of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles were sent to the Gallipoli battlefields from Egypt by the War Office. The party was distressed to find that the Turks had removed many grave markers from the earlier battles and had erected their own memorial instead. The Australians destroyed the Turkish memorial after taking the photograph of it that appears inside this folded certificate."

[126] First war cemeteries in the Peninsula dedicated to the Turkish loss were; Cephanelik War Cemetery, Kireçtepe War Cemetery, Sonok War Cemetery, Üstteğmen Nazif Çakmak War Cemetery, Yarbay Halit, Yarbay Ziya War Cemetery, Yüzbaşı War Cemetery. Unfortunately, most of them were reconstructed in certain times and are not original.

the Commission in the world.[127] In the period between 1918 and 1922, between Armistice and end of the Independence War of Turkey, the construction work of the Commission went on with the help of the local workers.[128] Although the Treaty of Lausanne, which made great concessions to the Commission in Gallipoli was signed in 1923, most of the construction of the cemeteries and memorials were completed until that date.[129] In the year of 1926, both the work of the Commission and the French War Cemetery and Memorial were completed in the peninsula.

The Treaty of Lausanne not only guaranteed the protection and maintenance of the war cemeteries of Allied Nations in Gallipoli but also included some restrictions about the future planning and the development of the Peninsula.[130] According to the Treaty, in Anzac (Arı Burnu) region, it was forbidden to build any houses and to use those lands for any purpose other than which was already in place. Furthermore, the construction of a quay, jetty or wharf to the cost line was not allowed. In this respect, the framework drawn by the Treaty of Lausanne constituted the premise and the first planning approach of the Peninsula. It provided the battlefields and war remains intact until the whole area was taken over by the Turkish government itself. After the declaration of republic in Turkey the entire peninsula started to be rebuilt gradually and in the course of time the daily life turned back to normal. The traces of the bloody battles in the landscape started to be erased by the farmers who brought their land into cultivation. However, the obligations emanated from restrictions of the Treaty of Lausanne protected the landscape from redevelopment and habitation. Until the mid of the twentieth century the construction of the most of the Turkish commemorative

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[127] There were 22000 graves of CWGC in 33 cemeteries in Gallipoli. However just 9000 of them were identified. "The difficulty in locating the exact position of the graves and in identifying or otherwise is due to the nature of the close fighting during the nine months' campaign. No Army Graves unit was able to visit the battlefields until after the Armistice, by which time many of the original wooden markers which had survived shelling and fighting had been displaced, lost, or destroyed by the nature." G. Kingsley Ward and Major Edwin Gibson, *Courage Remembered: The Story behind the Construction and Maintenance of the Commonwealth's Military Cemeteries and Memorials of the Wars 1914-1918 and 1939-1945* (London: HMSO, 1988; reprinted 1995), 144.

[128] According to the records of the CWGC by 31st March 1920, 7297 graves and 1541 burials had been registered. For further information about the quantity of burials and graves all over the world by 31st March 1920 see the relevant table in the First Annual Report of the Commission. *Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission: 1919-1920* (London: H.M.S.O., 1920), 165.

[129] The treaty of Lausanne —the articles between 124th and 136th—gave the Allied Nations the right to construct and maintain their commemorative structures in Gallipoli. For further information see: The Treaty of Lausanne, 24th July 1923, articles between 129-132.

[130] For further information see: The Treaty of Lausanne, 24th July 1923, articles between 129-132.

structures and war cemeteries in Gallipoli was financed and organised by the military.[131] The great majority of those memorials demonstrate common peculiarities of traditional and conventional memorialisation approaches, especially obelisk-shaped memorials. Most of them have accomplished to survive with minimum change.

In 1973, Ministry of Forestry declared the area which covers 33.000 hectare of the peninsula containing nearly all of the battlefields, memorials, war cemeteries and war remains a historical and national park.[132] Ministry of Culture registered the whole Park area a historical, cultural, archaeological and natural heritage site in 1980; however in 1992 most of the memorials, war cemeteries and each remains of war were registered as cultural heritage. Unfortunately, on 25 July of the year 1994 a fire on the Gallipoli Peninsula Historical and National Park affected an expanse site including the battlefields in Anzac and Conkbayırı Regions, where most severe man-to-man combats of the Campaign occurred. Conflagration continued 57 hours and affected 4049 hectares woodland. Immediately afterwards the fire, numerous landscape projects started to be developed. Thereat president of the Turkish Republic, Süleyman Demirel, initiated the idea of dedicating the Park to peace through an international competition.[133]

Five competitions were organised in the Peninsula in order to memorialise the Gallipoli Battles. The first one was to get the Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial at the end of the Morto Bay of Seddülbahir foreland on Eski Hisarlık Hill in 1944. It was the first civil attempt to commemorate battles in Gallipoli. The association named as Çanakkale Şehitleri Abidelerine Yardım Derneği [Association for Memorials of Dardanelles Martyr] founded in 1938, collected money to build a memorial. Although the competition was organised in 1944, the monument named Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial was opened in 1960. The second competition in the peninsula was organised

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[131] Akbaş War Cememtery, Fevzi Çakmak Memorial, Gözetleme Tepe War Cemetery and Memorial, İlk Şehitler Memorial and Cephanelik War Cemetery, Kireçtepe War Cemetery and Memorial, Mehmet Çavuş Memorial, Nuri Yamut Memorial, Sargı Yeri Memorial, Son Ok Mermorial, Üstteğmen Nazif Çakmak War Cemetery, Yarbay Halit, Yarbay Ziya War Cemetery, Yüzbaşı War Cemetery.

[132] "Yaklaşık 33,000 ha.lık (*sic*.) bir alanı kapsayan Milli Park'ın tümü 26.5.1973 gün ve 7/6477 sayılı Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ile orman rejimine alınmış, 2.11.1973 günlü Orman Bakanlığı onayı ile Milli Park olarak ayrılıp ilan edilmiştir. " [the whole Park area which approxmately covers 33.000 hacter area took into the forestry land regime with the cabinet decision of 26.5.1973 day and 7/6477 number, declared a National Park with Ministry of Forestry approval on 2.11.1973.] For further information see: R.Raci Bademli, K Burak Sarı, et al., "Önsöz," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt I: Tespitler ve Değerlendirmeler,* (Basılmamış Rapor), Ankara: ODTÜ, Gelibolu Yarımadası Barış Parkı Planlama ve Danışma Bürosu, AGUDÖS Proje No 99.02.02.03, Aralık 2001.

[133] Press Announcement of the Chamber of Architects, 30 Temmuz 1998.

in 1970 to obtain a design of a commemoration site in Conkbayırı. The third one was held to recover Seddülbahir Battlefields in 1983 but not executed. The fourth one which was held in 1984 was a design for a memorial in Kabatepe Information Centre.[134] Finally, the last one named Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition was organised in 1998.

With an agreement between Middle East Technical University and the Ministry of Forestry signed in 1996, a team led by Prof. Dr. Raci Bademli researched and gathered information about the Peninsula.[135] Additionally, in 1996 a physical development plan was developed and approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlements but suspended due to the launching of the Competition. That team collected their works in a catalogue and a book which served as a guide for the preparation of the competition. The Competition was launched on 19 May 1997 and finalised on 18 March 1998. Due to the terms and conditions of the competition the team which had won the first prize contributed to the implementation process for two years. Afterwards, the Plan and Consultation office of Gallipoli Peninsula National and Historical Park [Peace Par] managed by Raci Bademli and Burak Sarı developed a Long-term Development Plan. In this development process Australians constructed a ceremonial site called Anzac Commemoration Site in accordance with the Plan. On 23 December 2003 Long Term Development Plan was approved and started to be implemented. Since that date the renovations and reconstructions of war remains and new constructions of architectural memorialisation continued.

Historical framework drawn so far is an outline of architectural memorialisation approaches in Gallipoli since the Armistice. In this long period, numerous memorials were constructed by the French, British, Australian, New Zealand and Turkish government themselves and civic associations. Despite the fact that some of them contained comprehensive and detailed proposals for commemoration respectively, most of them remained partial and individual solutions because of the vastness of the landscape. Peace Park competition was the first attempt to cover the entire peninsula as a whole for the memorialisation of the Battles. Long Term Development Plan was the implication of this attempt. Different approaches of commemoration in Gallipoli in fact demonstrate characteristics akin to the contemporary inclinations in architectural

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[134] Bademli, *The Catalogue*, 8.

[135] Raci Bademli, "Gelibolu Yarımadası Barış Parkı Projesi Uluslararası Fikir ve Tasarım Yarışması ve Sonrası," *Mimarlık* 283 (1998): 25.

memorialisation. Until the 1970's, the dominancy of traditional and conventional forms of commemoration constituted the great majority of memorials. The main purpose behind erecting monuments in this period was to honour the dead and valorise the suffering. Most of them were financed and constructed by civil associations, hence non-traditional ones were obtained as results of competitions which are Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park and Kabatepe Information Centre Memorials.

Nevertheless, Gallipoli Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition constituted a pivotal point in terms of memorialisation in the Peninsula. The approach of competition and its implementation in the Long Term Development Plan can be comprehended as counter-memorialisation. The essential objective in the competition was stated as to generate a common ground of identity for the park area in the name of peace. The winning project proposed to exhibit the landscape of war itself in order to provide the visitor with contemplation which at the end supposed to bring him/her to the idea of peace. In the jury report of this competition the primary reason behind the choice of the winning project was explained by stating that "this plan respects the site as it is, incorporating minimal interventions that enhance the landscape and encourage contemplation and freedom of individual experience."[136] Emphasise on individual experience and its effects on the understanding of memorialisation were also indicated in Long Term Development Plan as follows:

> The thought of peace, the feeling of peace are individual consciousness. Consciousness stems from knowledge and knowledge stems from experience. That is why; objective, censureless and equitable markings, informing and organisations which will provide the visitors perceive and see individually or in small groups the original assets of National and Historical Park are the main principle. The visitors should come up to the idea of peace and experience the feeling of peace by themselves. In this regard, it is required to avoid the interpreted and monumental expressions; all sorts of unnecessary, pretentious, huge, crowd oriented, insensitive and impudent physical interventions. [137]

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[136] *Projects: Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition*, eds. R. Raci Bademli, K. Burak Sarı, Cansu Canaran, Ersan Koç, (Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture Press, 2001), p. 39.

[137] The original statement is that "Barış düşüncesi, barış duygusu, bireysel bilinçtir. Bilinç, bilgiden; bilgi ise, algı ve deneyimden kaynaklanır. Bu nedenle, ziyaretçilerin TMP'ın kaynak değerlerini bireysel olarak (ya da çok küçük gruplar halinde) bire bir algılamalarını, görmelerini, duyumsamalarını sağlayacak, yorumsuz, sansürsüz ve tarafsız işaretlemeler, bilgilendirmeler, düzenlemeler esastır. Ziyaretçiler barış düşüncesine kendileri varabilmeli, barış duygusunu kendileri yaşayabilmelidir. Bu bakımdan, yorumlanmış ve anıtsal ifadelerden; her tür gereksiz, gösterişçi, büyük, kitlelere dönük, duyarsız ve saygısız fiziksel müdahaleden kaçınmak gerekir." Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Genel," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) UDGP Çalışmaları, Cilt II: Esaslar ve Tutumlar*, p. 29.

Expanse landscape of Gallipoli consists of not only diverse commemorative structures of different nations but also remains of war such as trenches, ramparts, bunkers, guns, emplacements and mortar shells. On the contrary to the heroic and dignifying death characteristics of the existing monuments on the site, with those spatial installations individual who "freely" experience this landscape and contemplate on war is expected to remember or understand the ugly face of war. With their explanation, though it was not explicitly stated in the report, I believe that the jury of the competition acknowledged works of memorialisation in Gallipoli before the competition as the works which restrain visitors' remembering. All these peculiarities make the process of commemoration of Gallipoli Battles initiated by Peace Park competition a counter-memorialisation approach.

From this historical and conceptual framework, it is possible to assert that memorialisation of Gallipoli Battles locates the very core of the discussions elaborated so far. The battles have been memorialised since the Campaign itself. Therefore, the landscape of memory in Gallipoli consists of not only ruins of war but also examples of diverse memorialisation approaches. Traditional forms of commemoration constitute the great majority of memorials in the boundaries of the park area. On the other hand, the inclination in memorialisation initiated with the Peace Park competition and has been implemented with Long Term Development Plan has a different route. Competition's winning project suggests "minimal intervention" in the name of preserving the landscape as it is in order to offer the visitor contemplation and "freedom of individual experience." These prominent peculiarities of the inclination make it to be a part of counter-memorialisation approach. Analyses of different memorialisation approaches in the boundaries of Gallipoli National and Historical Park and a comparison among them may shed light on the actual debate on architectural memorialisation. In this chapter, I have tried to expose the relations among architectural memorialisation, landscape of memory and the process of collective remembering, but I believe that *ars memoriae* can be utilised to understand those relations. In the next chapter, I will develop a method of analysis, derived from *ars memoriae,* to examine those relations.

CHAPTER III

REMODELLING THE ART OF MEMORY:
ARS MEMORIAE
AS A METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The technique based on improving personal memory, has been considered as a form of art in western tradition for centuries ─until scientific methods and rational consideration have been raised with the Enlightenment. However much the current studies on the techniques of mnemonics could be considered as the continuation of this art, in fact, neither their significance nor their methodical dimensions have similar characteristics compared to what *ars memoriae* had been once in ancient, medieval and Renaissance periods. In this study, I will make use of the original defined system of *ars memoriae* in *Ad Herennium*. I will restructure the technique as an analysing method and by means of that method I will analyse commemorative structures which were built in different periods according to different memorialisation approaches since the end of the Battles. In order to be able to reach this goal, in the first part of this chapter, I will elucidate the emergence, principles and progress of this art in history in relation to its architectural framework; because, in the second part of the chapter, I will establish theoretical and physical binary relations between *ars memoriae* and architecture, architectural memorialisation and the concept of remembering. Finally, in the third part of this chapter I will construct the analysing method of this study on the base expounded and formed thus far.

3.1. On *Ars Memoriae*

In spite of the Renaissance elaboration of *ars memoriae,* the structure of the memorising method at the very moment of the emergence was very simple; placing the *imagines* (images) in well ordered and mentally completely constructed *loci* (places).

The unknown writer of *Ad Herennium* (c. 86-82 B.C.) —generally accepted as the first autonomous work on *Ars Memoriae*— starts his treatise by stating that he will tell us about "the theory of public speaking," i.e. rhetoric.[1] He defines memory as one of the five major faculties of rhetoric which a public speaker should possess. He describes *ars memoriae* as the artificial memory or the product of art which can be improved by training contrary to the natural one which initially comes with birth.[2] As a matter of fact, the technique as an essential part of the Rhetoric was just a simple practical instrument for the orator to perfectly memorize his speech. In successive ages after the Antiquity the theory of *ars memoriae* was embellished, yet the pure definition of its terminology and its logic was never changed.

3.1.1. Memory as an Art

The unknown writer of *Ad Herennium* mentions that *ars memoriae* is approved both as an art and a method which has "great importance."[3] Frances Yates (1899-1981) who is a well known historian of this art and the author of *The Art of Memory,* defines "the art of memory" as one that "belonged to rhetoric as a technique by which the orator could improve his memory, which would enable him to deliver long speeches from memory with unfailing accuracy."[4] Yates agrees that classical art of memory was "based on mnemotechnics principles," however; she argues that "the word mnemotechnics" can sufficiently convey all the mental activity the orator exerted in the process. She describes this process as moving "among the buildings of ancient Rome, seeing the places, seeing the images, stored on the places, with a piercing inner vision which immediately brought to his lips the thoughts and words of his speech." [5] Yates adds that "I prefer to use the expression 'art of memory' for this process." She explains her opinions about the term mnemotechnics as follows:

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[1] [Cicero], [*Rhetorica*] *Ad Herennium: De Ratione Dicendi*, trans. Harry Caplan, ed. G.P. Goold (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954; reprinted 1964, 1968, 1977, 1981, 1989, 1999), 5-7.

[2] [Cicero], *Ad Herennium*, 207.

[3] Ibid., 205.

[4] Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966; reprinted 1972), 2.

[5] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 4.

> We moderns who have no memories at all may, like the professor, employ from time to time some private mnemotechnics not of vital importance to us in our lives and professions. But in the ancient world, devoid of printing, without paper for note-taking or on which to type lectures, the trained memory was of vital importance. And the ancient memories were trained by an art which reflected the art and architecture of the ancient world, which could depend on faculties of intense visual memorisation which we have lost. The word 'mnemotechnics,' though not actually wrong as a description of the classical art of memory, makes this very mysterious subject seem simpler than it is.[6]

A contemporary historian of literature Mary Carruthers defines *ars memoriae* as the "architectural mnemonic" in her work *The Book of Memory*.[7] When we take the definition of "mnemotechnics" Gilles Deleuze (1925-1995) and Félix Guattari (1930-1992) give in their book *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia,* as an "art forming a 'didactic' system," we see that the mnemotechnics is initially didactic in nature.[8] According to Ricoeur "'exercises of memorization' is a part of a program of education, of *paideia*," because the classical model "consists in the *recitation* of the lesson learned by *heart*."[9] I believe that Paul Ricoeur's clarification of the relation between memory and the education in ancient Greece is one of the most remarkable evidence of its didactic nature. On the other hand, Ricoeur defines *ars memoriae* as a "method of '*loci*'," and he asserts that it generates a tie between memory and place. In this study, I will discuss memorising techniques or mnemotechnics as just a certain part of the method of the classical *ars memoriae* considering the fact that once the 'art,' beyond being just a technique, had its own philosophical, sociological and also architectural dimensions.

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[6] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 4.

[7] Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 71. She states that "The 'places and images' scheme of artificial memory —which I call the 'architectural mnemonic,' a term more accurate than Frances Yates's 'Ciceronian mnemonic,' and less misleading than the Renaissance's 'the art of memory'—…" However, Yates obviously states in her book that she prefers to use the term "the art of memory" rather than the "Ciceronian mnemonic."

[8] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 295.

[9] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting,* trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 60. In ancient Greek the word Paideia meant education. For further information on *Paideia* see: Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture Volume I: Archaic Greece: The Mind of Athens,* trans. Gilbert Highet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture Volume II: In Search of the Divine Center,* trans. Gilbert Highet (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Kevin Robb, *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Terry Roberts and Laura Billings, *The Paideia Classroom: Teaching for Understanding* (Larchmont, New York: Eye on Education, 1999).

3.1.2. The Invention of *Ars Memoriae*

The invention of *ars memoriae* was ascribed to well known Greek poet Simonides of Ceos (556–468 B.C.) in *Parian Chronicle*.[10] The story of his remarkable invention is told by Marcus Tulius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) in the second one of his two volume books on rhetoric, *De Oratore* [On the Orator].[11] According to the story, the poet Simonides of Ceos participated in a feast, which was given by Scopas who was a nobleman of Thessaly. In this feast, Simonides chanted a poem in honour of Scopas but half of this poem consisted of a passage devoted to the twin gods, named Castor and Pollux. The host, Scopas disliked the honour dedicated to him comparing to the whole poem and stated that he will pay for just the half of the poem. Afterwards, Simonides received a message that two young men were waiting to see him out of the hall where the feast was given. He went to outside from the hall but found no one waiting. He thought that twin gods had shown their gratitude. Then suddenly, the roof of the hall —from which Simonides got out just a moment ago— collapsed on the host and all of his guests, and caused their death. After this catastrophic event the relatives of the victims came to the hall however they were not able to identify the bodies to burry. At this point, Simonides recognised that he was able to remember the exact places of all guests just before the crash happened.[12] With the effect of the disaster, "Simonides first discovered the principles of the mnemonic technique of placing images (*imagines*) in an orderly set of architectural backgrounds (*loci*) in his memory."[13]

However much the invention of this art is attributed to Simonides, about fifth century B.C., the first autonomous written materials found on this art were dated roughly to the first century B.C. There must had been various works on *ars memoriae*

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[10] Simonides' awarded a prize invention is described as an inscription on *Parian Chronicle* —marble tablets found at Paros in 1627 dated on 264 B.C. For Simonides' inscribed invention see: Simonides, *Lyra Graeca,* ed. and trans. J. M. Edmonds, 3 vols., Vol II (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924), 295. For Parian Chronicles see: Oscar Seyffert, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities: Mythology, Religion, Literature and Art*, eds. Henry Nettleship and J. E. Sandys (London: William Glaisher, 1891), 458.

[11] Cicero in his book relates a discussion on memory training between Antonius and his friend. In this dialogue Antonius tells a story on how Simonides invented the *ars memoriae*. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, 2 vols. V II (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1942-1948), 465-67. The story told in this paragraph is all paraphrased from this passage.

[12] The host and the place of the banquet change according to the versions of the story.

[13] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 22.

until that century, because the first book on it, named *Ad Herennium* (c. 86-82 B.C.) was in fact a compiling text-book collected by an unknown rhetoric teacher for his students.[14] Hence, in the middle ages, this book had been erroneously dedicated to well-known Roman rhetorician Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC) until the sixteenth century.[15] In *Ad Herennium*, unknown writer explains the five parts of rhetoric as *inventio* (invention), *dispositio* (disposition), *elocutio* (elocution), *memoria* (memory), and *pronuntiatio* (pronunciation).[16] He clarifies memory as "the treasure-house of the ideas supplied by invention," and as "the guardian of all the parts of rhetoric."[17] As a matter of fact according to Yates, all known on the classical *ars memoriae* must have been based on that section on memory in *Ad Herennium*, and however much this art was elaborated in Middle Ages and Renaissance, its outline and general principles proposed by *Ad Herennium* have not been changed.[18]

3.1.3. From Art to Scientific Method

The necessity of the emergence of this art is explained by Francis Yates in her pioneering *The Art of Memory* in relation to the absence of printing in ancient cultures. According to her, oral transmission in a society makes a trained memory compulsory.[19] Training in the memorising techniques was certainly an indispensable part of the pre-

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[14] Although it is consented by the historians that the first comprehensive work on the *ars memoriae* is *Ad Herennium*, according to Frances Yates a treatise called *Dialexeis*, dated to the c. 400 B.C., may be accepted as the earliest work on the field. There is a tiny passage on memory in this treatise, however as Yates claims that this passage is in fact constituted the general principles and the outline of the *ars memoriae*. First of all, in this passage of the *Dialexeis*, the significance of placing images of things or words to be remembered on loci is mentioned as follows: "what you hear, place on what you know. This phrase shows that the relation between visualised image and placing it in a known environment on the way to possess a trained memory was established four century before *Ad Herennium*. Secondly, the principal differentiation of the *ars memoriae* as "the memory for things and the memory for words" was founded in this treatise. According to Yates, the existence of this passage in *Dialexeis* signifies that "the skeleton outline" of the *ars memoriae* had been already formed fifty years after Simonides, and thus it must have been "refined and amplified in successive texts unknown to us before they reached the Latin teacher four centuries later," and was united in *Ad Herennium*. For reference see: Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 29-30.

[15] On the authorship problem of *Ad Herennium* see: H. Caplan, "Introduction," in *Ad Herennium*; Yates, 4-5; Carruthers, 71-72.

[16] [Cicero], *Ad Herennium,* 7.

[17] Ibid., 205.

[18] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 5.

[19] Ibid., 4.

literate cultures due to the fact that transmission of information was depended strictly on orality. Undoubtedly, the concept of memory cannot be excluded from the structures of the societies, for the reason that "every sign system we use," and information "created, preserved, accumulated and transmitted" rely on memory.[20] Mary Carruthers defines oral society in *The Book of Memory* as the "one in which communication occurs in forms other than written documents, and in which law and government are conducted on the basis of orally-preserved custom." According to her "oral cultures must obviously depend on memory, and hence value memory highly; such valorisation has come to be seen as a hallmark of Orality, as opposed to literacy."[21] Historian Patrick H. Hutton claims that in contemporary modern culture *ars memoriae* is largely regarded as an "arcane intellectual interest." He states in his book *History as an Art of Memory* that "if it is a useful skill, it is not an essential one in a civilisation whose collective memory is stored securely in the printed word. Today's archive for reliable reference is the library or the computer, not the depths of a well-ordered mind."[22] However, it was not always so.

Although the invention of *ars memoriae* and the formation of its general outline were dated back to the antiquity, the elaboration of this art and its methods were manifested in three Latin works of *Ad Herennium*, *De Oratore*, and *Institutio Oratoria*.[23] The importance of *ars memoriae* in Greek and Roman cultures comes to the fore especially in the treatises on Rhetoric, because it was a practical instrument for orators to memorise their speeches. On the other hand, during most of the Middle Ages —in the period between St. Augustine (354-430) and John of Garland (1190-1270)— *ars memoriae* was undervalued, due to the decline of the necessity and significance of the rhetoric as one of the seven liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic,

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[20] Krinka Vidaković Petrov, "Memory and Oral Tradition," in *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*, ed. Thomas Butler (Oxford; New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989) 77-78.

[21] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 10-11. On the other hand, Carruthers opposes the common comprehension of sociologist and social historians which is that in the course of time the "rise of literacy" had been decreased the value of the memory and memory training. She justifies her statement by exemplifying the continued necessity of trained memory in the literate societies of Rome and Medieval times and in their literature and culture.

[22] Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993), 27.

[23] [Cicero], *Ad Herennium*; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, 2 vols. V II (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1942-1948); Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H. E. Butler, ed. G. P Goold, 4 Vols. V. 4. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996).

geometry, music, astronomy).[24] With Albertus Magnus (1208-1280) *ars memoriae* started to be seen in treatises in the thirteenth century regarding the purpose of the use of images for moral ends. For the reason that as Coleman states, "past things direct us towards the present and future, the past may be used to learn something about the present and the future."[25] In the middle ages, *ars memoriae* was a "solemn and religious art."[26] In Renaissance it regained its popularity, but it became a meta-physical or occult art.[27] The crucial difference of this period in terms of *ars memoriae* is that the fictive image and loci concepts of rhetoricians became real places and images; human scale memory theatres were constructed. Since the eighteenth century, due to the availability of printed materials and advancement of printing methods, the role and importance of the memory training have started to decrease day by day and thus, the privileged significance of *ars memoriae* in daily life has ironically been forgotten. At the end of this process, it transformed into one of the mnemotechniques of modern period.[28]

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[24] In fact, they had *Ad Herennium*, however much mistakenly they ascribed the writer of it as Cicero, and also Yates claims that they had Martianus Capella's (c. forth, fifth century) *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (Nuptials of Philosophy and Mercury) which contains a summary of the emergence, methods and characteristics of the art of memory. Yates explains this exceptional blind eye situation through telling an event which happened between the great king of Medieval, Charlemagne (742-814) and eminent educator, scholar and theologian Alcuin (735-804). According to the story, Charlemagne called Alcuin to bring him to France in order to be able to evoke the educational system of antiquity. Alcuin replied him by writing a dialogue named "Concerning Rhetoric and the Virtues" consisted of a part for memory among other four parts of rhetoric. This part basically depends on the memory chapter in *Ad Herennium*, however does not give any reference or does not contain any allusion to the artificial memory. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 50-53. For Augustine see: Augustine, *Confessions, Book X*. Vol. II, trans. W. Watts (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1912).

[25] Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 416. Despite the fact that in Europe "medieval commentaries of *Ad Herennium*, which dated from the twelfth century or so", were "usually silent on its mnemonic advice," in Islamic world of knowledge just like all other ancient philosophical treatises and doctrines *ars memoriae* was glorified in the Middle ages. Historian Emilie Savage-Smith in her essay "Memory and Maps," indicates the importance of the usage of the *ars memoriae* in the maps drawn between 4th and 10th centuries. Smith states that in early Muslim maps generated especially for trade and pilgrimage routes drawn with the help of the *ars memoriae* in order to provide the viewer an easily recollection and remembrance. For further information see: Emilie Savage-Smith, "Memory and Maps," in *Culture and Mmeory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honor of Wilferd Madelung*, eds. Farhad Daftary and Josef W. Meri (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 120-21.

[26] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 230. For further information about ars memoriae in Renaissance see: Paolo Rossi, "The *Liber ad Memoriam Confirmandam* of Roman Lull," in *Logic and the Art of Memory: The Quest for a Universal Language*, trans Stephen Clucas (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1983; London: Athlone, 2000; London; New York: Continuum, 2006). 195- 204.

[27] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 230.

[28] Sociologists Olick and Robbins in their essay indicate the greater significance of the art in earlier centuries than it is today. Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (August 1998): 113.

3.1.4. The Structure of *Ars Memoriae*

The classical memorising technique of *ars memoriae* basically depends on locating images (*imaginibus*) in well defined places (*loci*) in mind to be able to remember correctly when it is required. The unknown writer of *Ad Herennium* starts to explain the method announcing that "now let me turn to the treasure-house of the ideas supplied by Invention, to the guardian of all the parts of rhetoric, the Memory."[29] According to him, there are two kinds of memory: natural and artificial. The former initially comes with birth, and the latter can be improved by training. He particularly speaks on the artificial one and explains it as follows:

> The artificial memory includes backgrounds and images [locis et imaginibus]. By backgrounds I mean such scenes as are naturally or artificially set off on a small scale, complete and conspicuous, so that we can grasp and embrace them easily by the natural memory —for example, a house, an intercolumnar space, a recess, an arch, or the like. An image is, as it were, a figure, mark, or portrait of the object we wish to remember; for example, if we wish to recall a horse, a lion, or an eagle, we must place its image in a definite background.[30]

In the translation of this quotation the word "background" refers to the "place", because, in the original Latin part of the text it is mentioned as "*locis*."[31] According to the writer there is a resemblance between writing and *ars memoriae*.[32] He claims that "those who know the letters of the alphabet can thereby write out what is dictated to them and read aloud what they have written." Similarly, "those who have learned mnemonics can set in backgrounds what they have heard, and from these backgrounds deliver it by memory." These places resemble the "wax tablets or papyrus" and images resemble letters according to the writer. In other words, loci can be considered as empty spaces which are ready to be inscribed on.

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[29] [Cicero], *Ad Herennium,* 205. *Ars memoriae* will be explained according to passage between pages 205-225 of this reference unless otherwise stated.

[30] Ibid., 209.

[31] For the original Latin text. Ibid., 208.

[32] In his essay "An *Ars Oblivionalis*? Forget it!" Umberto Eco (b1932) declares that "mnemotechnics is a connotative semiotics," and adds that to assert this fact is little more than banal. According to him, combining something with another thing means using one as the signifier of the other and this relation leads us to the terminology of semiotics. Eco, in order to reinforce his claim, paraphrases historian Paolo Rossi's argument on mnemotechnics. According to Rossi, ancients knew that mnemotechnics were a semiotic phenomenon; because they "insisted on the analogies between mnemotechnics and writing." For further information see: Umberto Eco, "An Ars Oblivionalis? Forget It!" *PMLA* 103 (1988): 255.

According to the writer of *Ad Herennium*, there are two different kinds of spaces as "real" and "fictitious," and for him it is possible for an orator both to conceive a building he knows and also to imagine a building for himself if there are not enough real places. The objective properties and rules of *loci* is described in *Ad Herennium* with all details such as the principles of its formation, its ideal quantity, its spatial continuity, its proposed quality, ext. According to the relevant passage, it is more advantageous to conceive locus in solitude, because confusion weakens "the impress of the images." It is also advised to rhetoricians to create their locus neither too large causing "render the image vague," nor too small that is "incapable of receiving an arrangement of images." Furthermore, it "ought to be neither too bright nor too dim, so that the shadows may not obscure the images nor the lustre make them glitter." [33] This place, as the writer delineated, should be in solitude in order to be able to be comprehended easily. It should be comprised of diverse divisions in order to provide the orator with exact remembrance owing to their different architectural qualities. According to him, for example an expanse intercolumnar space would probably cause confusion in the mind of the orator because of their spatial resemblance. Another well known rhetorician Quintilian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus ca. 35-100), in his books on rhetoric *Institutio Oratoria* expounds conceiving a locus for placing images as a mental process as follows:

> The first thought is placed, as it were, in the forecourt; the second, let us say, in the living-room; the remainder are placed in due order all around the *impluvium* [the light-well in the centre of the atrium] and entrusted not merely to bedrooms and parlours, but even to the care of statues and the like.[34]

Quintilian particularly insists on that each detail of the mental places should be kept in mind, otherwise, the exact and accurate remembering cannot be realised. According to him, places do not have to be in a house, this schema could be adapted to a public building, places of a long journey, ramparts of a city, even to the places of a picture. The one and the only requirement is that the chosen places should be articulated in a series as a whole. The unknown writer of *Ad Herennium* insists on the significance of the articulation of loci. He states that it is "obligatory to have these backgrounds in a series, so that we may never by confusion in their order be prevented from following the

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[33] See relative passage in *Ad Herennium*, 211.

[34] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 223.

images."[35] In this sense, mental movement of the orator from place to place becomes important.

In *Ars Memoriae,* image is the mental representation of a word or a subject-matter. The image for a word is used to memorize a phrase; on the other hand, the image for a subject-matter is used to memorize an event or a phenomenon. In *Ad Herennium*, unknown writer states that "images must resemble objects, we ought ourselves to choose from all objects likeness for our use… Likeness of matter are formed when we enlist images that present a general view of the matter with which we are dealing."[36] He accentuates that "often we encompass the record of an entire matter by one notation, a single image." He exemplifies the process of visualising an event in an image as follows:

> For example, the prosecutor has said that the defendant killed a man by poison, has charged that the motive for the crime was an inheritance, and declared that there are many witnesses and accessories to this act. If in order to facilitate our defence we wish to remember this first point, we shall in our first background form an image of the whole matter. We shall picture the man in question as lying ill in bed, if we know this person. If we do not know him, we shall yet take some one to be our invalid, but not a man of the lowest class, so that he may come to mind at once. And we shall place the defendant at the bedside, holding in his right hand a cup, and in his left tablets, and on the fourth finger a ram's testicles. In this way we can record the man who was poisoned, the inheritance, and the witness.[37]

Harry Caplan, the translator of *Ad Herennium,* explains the meaning of the described image in the footnotes of the book. He clarifies that in the period when *Ad Herennium* was written "the anatomists spoke of a nerve which extends from the heart to the fourth finger of the left hand where it interlaces into the other nerves of that finger." That is why, man in the described image holds a ram's testicles in the fourth finger of his left hand. Furthermore, the Latin word *testiculi* means testicles and resembles the word *testes* in Latin, which means in English witnesses. Therefore, the entire event is represented through just one image in orator's mind. By means of this image he could remember the event in all details. Unknown writer of *Ad Herennium* informs us that there is a direct relation between the peculiarities of the image and the accomplishment of remembering process as follows:

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[35] [Cicero], *Ad Herennium,* 209.

[36] Ibid., 215.

[37] Ibid.

> …Some images are strong and sharp and suitable for awakening recollection, and others so weak and feeble as hardly to succeed in stimulating memory, we must therefore consider the cause of these differences, so that, by knowing the cause, we may know which images to avoid and which to seek.[38]

In order to be able to generate images which are "suitable for awakening recollection," the writer of *Ad Herennium* proposes to look at the memorising process of natural memory. According to him, for instance, in daily life human beings do not pay attention to ordinary, banal and petty things and mostly remember the details about them hardly. On the other hand, things or events which are extraordinary, exceptional and unusual are typically hard to forget. Therefore, he claims that the more striking the image is, the longer they last in memory. He exemplifies the phenomenon of daily life such as sunset or sunrise, although they are exceptionally beautiful, they are hardly recognised because they occur regularly everyday. On the other hand, solar eclipses are much more significant because they occur seldom. When the image of the representation of memory becomes a part of the routine of daily life its capacity on being remembered becomes weaker.

The unknown writer of *Ad Herennium* advises that the images should be well-delineated representations of memory to enhance the memorization. He claims that "the things we easily remember when they are real we likewise remember without difficulty when they are figments, if they have been carefully delineated."[39] He also mentions an inclination among most of the Greeks "who have written on the memory have taken the course of listing images that correspond to a great many words, so that persons who wished to learn these images by heart would have them ready without expending effort on a search for them." He clearly states that he "disapprove[s] of their method on several grounds." First according to him, it is unreasonable to learn thousands of images for "innumerable multitude of words." Secondly, same images do not form same effects on different persons. He claims that "when we declare that some one form resembles another, we fail to receive universal assent, because things seem different to different persons." That is why he advises the readers to visualise their own images.

The rules of *ars memoriae* described by the unknown writer of *Ad Herennium* depend on a mental process performed by an individual. This process, as the writer explains, makes things to "adhere longest in the memory," which "strengthened by a

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[38] [Cicero], *Ad Herennium*, 219.

[39] Ibid., 221.

kind of training and the system of discipline".[40] According to the rules, the one who wants to commit a text to his/her memory should first envision its subjects or words. Well-delineation of the subject-matter becomes important in this visualisation. Those mental images are located to the different parts of an articulation of imaginary architectural places in a series. Architectural places should have several prominent characteristics; they should be well defined and suitable for contemplation. When it becomes necessary to remember the memorised thing, individual mentally visits those places in a right order, sees the images and delivers the memorised subject or word. *Ars memoriae* has always been a practical instrument to memorise things easily, to remember them correctly and to save them longest in memory. Moreover, according to Patrick H. Hutton *ars memoriae* "as it was understood in its classical formulation provided not only a useful skill but also a way of understanding the world." Since, "the structure of [individual's] mnemonic system" was in accordance with their "conception of structure of knowledge and so implied a vision of the world." [41] In this sense, each visualisation and placement in the implementation process of *ars memoriae* reveal the performer's interpretation of the subjects and events.

3.2. Re-thinking *Ars Memoriae*

Despite the fact that *ars memoriae* was invented as a personal memorising method, it has also intense relations with architecture, architectural memorialisation and collective remembering. The locus itself as a scene or background of the image constitutes the essential link between *ars memoriae* and architecture. That link originated to the very emergence of the method. On the other hand, the relations of *ars memoriae* with architectural memorialisation and collective remembering have come into being during its development process through the ages. In this part of the chapter, I will examine those relations in order to be able to remodel *ars memoriae* as an analysing method of this study. Basically, it will be a process of rethinking *ars memoriae* beyond being just a mental exercise, as a theoretical framework in terms of architecture, architectural memorialisation and the concept of remembering.

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[40] [Cicero], *Ad Herennium*, 207 and 221.

[41] Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*, 29.

3.2.1. *Ars Memoriae* and Architecture

In *ars memoriae*, locus constitutes one of the major elements of the method in which image is placed. Unknown writer of *Ad Herennium* describes in detail the peculiarities of this place in the memory chapter of his book and it is easy to be convinced that it is an architectural place.[42] The profound description of *loci* signifies that in classical *ars memoriae* it is expected from the orators to comprehend —or sometimes design — a building in all details almost like an architect. Furthermore, the architectural properties of *loci* of the art had been strictly followed the path of the dominant architectural intentions of the period for centuries. The effects of the dominant architectural milieu of the period on these memory places are manifested in three main eras; Latin Rome, Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Though, there are many evidences that *ars memoriae* was known and commonly used by the orators in antiquity, it is not possible to speak of the architectural properties of its *locus* since we do not have any survived text on this art dating from that period. On the other hand, Quintilian in his *Institutio Oratoria* reveals this relation almost at the beginning of the memory chapter of his book.[43] In that paragraph, he gives a detailed explanation of a Roman house from its *impluvium* to statues. In the Middle Ages, *locus* was transformed into the house of god and mental cathedrals were constructed. For the reason that the medieval philosophers, especially Thomas Aquinas mistakenly attributed a devotional sense to the "place" which there had never been in classical terms of the *ars memoriae*.[44]

In the age of Renaissance, the locus became a Neo-platonic public building, a theatre, with the effects of the age of humanism. Real loci started to be constructed. First memory theatre which was designed by Giulio Camillo was a wooden structure in Venice and financed by the king of France. It was wide enough for at least two people to simultaneously stand in.[45] Despite the fact that there were seven steps in this theatre, those were not for audiences. On the contrary, spectator should have been at the stage

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[42] [Cicero], *Ad Herennium,* 211-13.

[43] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 223.

[44] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 75-76.

[45] Yates, "Renaissance Memory: The Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo," in *The Art of Memory*, 129-159. The information about the Camillo's theatre was compiled from the relevant chapter in Yates's *The Art of Memory* unless otherwise stated.

in order to be able to watch the images placed on those steps. According to Camillo, ephemeral loci can be used for daily oration; however for eternal nature "we find eternal loci in their orations." [46] Eternal loci of the theatre which was comprised of seven levels started at the lowest level with seven planets and went to the upper levels with six other different themes. The existence and the number of those grades show that in terms of planning principles it obeyed the construction rules of Roman theatres defined by Vitruvius.[47] However, it differentiated from Vitruvian theatre with its plan scheme, which was composed of seven pseudo-gates on which images were inscribed. Numerous other theatres of *ars memoriae* were designed and constructed in the following years.[48] The logic behind this endeavour was to generate a "universal theatre" in order to reach a "universal knowledge" and to construct the "encyclopaedia of knowledge" with the help of the rules of *ars memoriae*.[49] The thing that makes the relation between *ars memoriae* and architecture genuinely exciting depends on the question of which is whether architectural space would have been affected from *ars memoriae* in the course of time or not. There are factual evidences which signify that this assumption is probably accurate especially for Gothic Cathedrals.[50] I will leave this as a question which is worth to be studied.

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[46] Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, 75.

[47] Salomon Resnik, *The Theatre of the Dream*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Tavistock, 1987; reprinted London: Routledge, 2000), 55.

[48] Furthermore, in this period, *ars memoriae* started to be used as a tool in order to reveal, encode and interpret the ancient secrets of the buildings. Kevin Hetherington explains as follows "Renaissance thinkers adapted this memory facility [art of memory] into an hermetic one intended not for the simple act of remembering what they had to say but for the rediscovery of secret and lost knowledge which they believed to be encoded, amongst other things, in the architectural features of buildings." For further information see: Kevin Hetherington, *Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering* (London: Routledge, 1997), 73.

[49] Rossi, *Logic and the Art of Memory*, 61.

[50] Yates in *The Art of Memory* mentions a possible influence of *ars memoriae* on the paintings in Gothic cathedrals. If one considers Emile Mâle's argument that the "function of Gothic images" is being "the literature of laity" or in other words "a Bible in stone and glass" and these images were "designed to substitute for the written word in communicating the stories of the Bible to lay congregation which could not read" one may admit that there is indeed a relation between the Gothic images and the rules of *ars memoriae*. Yates paraphrases architectural historian Erwin Panofsky's suggestion that there is a resemblance between the high Gothic cathedral and the scholastic summa "in being arranged according to a system of homologous parts and parts of parts." Then, she adds that "the extraordinary thought now arises that if Thomas Aquinas memorised his own Summa through 'corporeal similitudes' disposed on places following the order of its parts, the abstract Summa might be corporealised in memory into something like a Gothic cathedral full of images on its ordered places." For further information see: Yates, The Art of Memory, 79; Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (Pennsylvania: Latrobe, 1951; 2005), 45; Emile Male, *The Gothic Image*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1913; 1958), 390-96 quoted from Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 221.

3.2.2. *Ars Memoriae* and Architectural Memorialisation

In *ars memoriae,* the mental image is the symbolic representation of the thing which has to be remembered and the locus is the place known or imaginary designed. If one looks at a memorial as a representational image of a specific event in a well defined environment built to remind the observer that event, the one can see the act of architectural memorialisation as the materialisation of the basic principals of *ars memoriae*. Christine Boyer's well known work *The City of Collective Memor*y includes numerous relations between *ars memoriae* and architectural memorialisation. She defines the civic and vernacular landscapes of city as *rhetorical topoi* and as the constituter of national identity. The civic compositions in this landscape such as monuments, for her, are the emblematic embodiments of power.[51] Boyer defines monuments as real mnemonic devices which are erected to stir one's memory. Moreover "they are calendar spaces set aside to commemorate important men and women or past heroic events." She asserts that "monuments and civic spaces of the city designed as emblematic scenes are the sites of rhetorical meanings." These rhetorical meanings, according to her, make them the "official memory book of significant events or the metaphors of national life."[52] Furthermore, Boyer in her book claims a connection between *ars memoriae* and the representation of artefacts in museums. She explains this connection as follows:

> The museum offers the viewer a particular spatialization of knowledge ─a storage device─ that stems from the ancient art of memory. Since classical times, as Frances Yates explained, the art of memory depended on developing a mental construction that formed a series of places or "topoi" in which a set of images were stored: images that made striking impressions on the mind. … By the nineteenth century, the museum had become such a memory device: its rooms or "topoi" were places to stop and to look around, to visually observe the common and contrasting features, the arbitrary analogical relationships that arranged the history of art into self-enclosed periods, schools, and styles.[53]

As can be seen in the quotation, Boyer asserts that the architectural development of museums has been affected from the system of *ars memoriae*. In accordance with the rules of *ars memoriae*, the spatial arrangements and display of artefacts in the museum

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[51] M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (London; Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994), 321.

[52] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory,* 343.

[53] Ibid., 133.

buildings are organised as images and a strictly defined space for each image as locus. Similarly, art historian David Carrier in his essay "Remembering the Past: Art Museums as Memory Theatres," draws the attention to the relation between memory theatres and art museums. [54] He argues that "… there is an important conceptual relationship between these techniques and the complex narrative orderings provided by our art museums." According to him, the reason behind this intention is the fact that "a museum aims to provide a lucid plan, making its presentations of art clear in our memory." Peter Krapp in his book *Deja vu: Aberrations of Cultural Memory* states that cultural memory "revolves around the mourning work." This endeavour to commemorate dead "gives rise to mnemotechnology." According to him mnemotechnics appears not only "as rhetorical *ars memoriae* and its architectural metaphors" but also "as mourning the dead and commemorating them with monuments."[55] He explains the relation between the memorial space for commemorating dead and the loci of *ars memoriae* as follows:

> The ancient spatial metaphors of the art of memory directly link forgetting and anamnetic solidarity, survival and death with memorial architecture. Thus Quintilian and Cicero both offer the canonical anecdote that ascribes the invention of mnemotechnics to the rhetorical skills of Simonides of Ceos… In this manner, the artificial support of the poet's oral delivery, the mnemotechnical loci or topoi that aid the delivery of a performance, literally carve out memorial space for dead.[56]

While Krapp establishes a relation between the space of memorial and the loci of *ars memoriae*, cultural historian Peter Burke in his essay "History as Social Memory" indicates a relation between the mental image of *ars memoriae* and the physical image of architectural memorialisation. While he was listing the ways of the transmission of the social memory, he defines one of them as "images, pictorial or photographic, still or moving," and then, he states that "practitioners of the so-called 'art of memory,' from classical antiquity to the Renaissance, emphasized the value of associating whatever one wanted to remember with striking images." He makes a connection between image of *ars memoriae* and image of memorials claiming that "these were immaterial, indeed 'imaginary images': but material images have long been

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[54] David Carrier, "Remembering the Past: Art Museums as Memory Theatres," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 61/1 (February 2003): 64.

[55] Peter Krapp, *Deja vu: Aberrations of Cultural Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), xxv.

[56] Krapp, *Déjà vu*, 147.

constructed in order to assist the retention and transmission of memories ─'memorials' such as tombstones, statues, and medals, and 'souvenirs' of various kind."[57] Nevertheless, well known writer of Holocaust memory and memorials James Edward Young in one of his essays asserts that "we must recognize that the 'art of memory' neither begins in a memorial's groundbreaking, nor ends in the ceremonies conducted in its halls." Rather than those, according to him, "this art consists in the ongoing activity of memory, in the debates surrounding these memorials, in our own participation in the memorial's performance."[58] Young's assumption expands the effects and the duration of the process of *ars memoriae* from an individual experience to a public continuing event. In fact, there have been profuse theories which focus on the relation between *ars memoriae* and not merely other artistic and media activities but also on their spatial formations.[59]

3.2.3. *Ars Memoriae* and Remembering

Ars memoriae is a practical instrument for an individual not only to commit to memory a particular matter or content but also to deliver it by memory when it becomes necessary. Therefore, there are two major processes in *ars memoriae*. The first one is the process of committing the memory; the second one is the process of delivering by memory. In the first process individual visualises the words or things, then she/he locates them into places in an order. In the second process, individual mentally visits those places and remembers the words or things through their representational images.

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[57] Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory," in *Memory: History, Culture, and the Mind*, ed. Thomas Butler (Oxford; New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 101.

[58] James E. Young, "Holocaust Museums in Germany, Poland, Israel, and the United States," in *Contemporary Responses to the Holocaust*, eds. Konrad Kwiet and Jürgen Matthäus (Westport: Praeger, 2004), 274.

[59] For instance Giuliana Bruno expounds the relation between the spaces of theatres and the loci of *ars memoriae* as follows: "A transient memorial function can also shift and travel in other mediatic spaces. In fact, when our feelings about temporality and subjectivity change, they also change cultural locations. The notion that the movie theater has come to inhabit this shifting museal architecture is literally 'exhibited', for it even shapes the architectural appearance of the movie house. This affective change is played out on the very surface of the space. The architecture of the movie palace, with its re-current memorial decor, temple motifs, and funerary design, and of the 'atmospheric' theater, with its penchant for architectural mnemonics, suggests that cinema is the kind of museum that may even act as a secular place of mourning." For further information about the usage of *ars memoria* in artistic and mediatic activities see: Giuliana Bruno, "Collection and Recollection: On Film Itineraries and Museum Walks," in *Carmera Obscura Camera Lucida: Essays in Honor of Annette Michelson*, ed. Richard Allen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), 250-51.

In the mental exercise of *ars memoriae* these two processes are performed by the same person. However, there have been many examples in history which these two processes were performed by different individuals. In those examples, there were creators of image-locus organisations to accomplish the first process and there were individuals who experienced those organisations to realise the second one. In Renaissance, for example, the memory theatres were constructed to store and to transfer the knowledge about the certain things in a certain way. As it was explained in the previous parts of this chapter, in those theatres there were no place for audiences on the steps; on the contrary spectator should have been at the stage in the centre in order to be able to watch the images. Designers of these theatres accomplished the first process through creating image-locus organisations. Spectators accomplished the second one through committing that knowledge to their memory and delivering them in the way just the creator of the theatre determined.

In her book *The City of Collective Memory*, Christine Boyer relates the role of *ars memoriae* in the history of architecture and city planning through exemplifying "the memory walk" proposed for Paris. She explains that Napoleon III conceived an architectural promenade for Paris based on the principles of *ars memoriae* which acts "as a memory walk" from place to place "containing a collection of historic artefacts and monumental structures." According to Boyer this architectural promenade was designed by Napoleon III "not only to bind his city of Paris into one cohesive unit, but to act as a memory walk through the historic monuments and grandiose architectural facades that represent the heroic accomplishments and communal responsibilities of his directorship." [60] With this proposal Napoleon III transformed the entire city into the combinations of images and loci. This example, I believe, in fact indicates how the rules of the mental activity of *ars memoriae* were used to generate a particular form of collective remembering for individuals in physical reality. According to Boyer this kind of architectural regimes which depended on "controlling the behaviour of individuals," rationalised as that "architecture itself could affect and reform social behaviour."[61] Boyer defines such kind of acts particularly in the course of nineteenth century Europe as "positive art of governance." In order to explain this approach she refers to Michel Foucault's reflections as follows:

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[60] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 14.

[61] Ibid., 12.

Michel Foucault explained how disciplinary procedures were developed during the nineteenth century to produce efficient, well-behaved, and productive individuals; how norms of good behaviour and rationality were internalised through education and training. But the development of disciplinary structures transforming individual behaviour also implied that a utopian image of well-governed and comely arranged city must first be developed... Many treatises written in the mid-sixteenth an seventeenth centuries and once again at the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, so Foucault described, outlined the art of governance— accounts that taught not only how a citizen should conduct himself and be spiritually led, but how as well the sovereign ruler should govern the state...To ensure acts of self-governance, citizens were presented with visual models to internalize, remember, and apply.[62]

Boyer defines this intention as "positive art of governance, a pastoral model in which the leader positively ensured, sustained, and improved the life of each individual." She asserts that the ideas of which depend on "outlining a memory system for the nineteenth-century city still influence contemporary architects and planners, albeit in a submerged and unconscious manner."[63] Medina Lasansky in her book *Architecture and Tourism* explains similar attempts in seventeenth century. She indicates an intention especially of the early modern students of architecture in seventeenth century to define the cityscapes and its architectural vistas in terms of *ars memoriae*. At the end of this process, according to Lasansky, memory collections of cities' architectural cabinets —mimics of large-scale architecture— were constructed in order to memorize the city vistas correctly. Furthermore, there were little cabinets which were "alluded to descriptions of large-scale memory theaters like Camillo's."[64] Therefore, for centuries in history, *ars memoriae* has not only been used as an individual's method of remembering but also has been a tool to have someone remember the things in the way strictly determined and even dictated.

3.3. Re-modelling *Ars Memoriae*

The assumption which makes possible to remodel a mental exercise as a method to analyse various examples of architectural memorialisation, is based on the presence of relations between *ars memoriae* and architecture / architectural memorialisation/ remembering. Historical and conceptual framework of these relations drawn so far enabled me to deduce that the basic principles and rules of *ars memoria*e can be applied

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[62] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 12.

[63] Ibid., 15-16.

[64] Medina D. Lasansky, *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2004), 32-33.

to understand the architectural embodiments of memory. Despite the fact that *ars memoriae* is a mental exercise, its history is full of the examples of its diverse usages in physical environments. Either via mental image and locus relation or by means of a memorialisation, remembering is a mental process for an individual. Thus, a method like *ars memoriae* which makes that process easier and permanent would be effective on not only mental creations but also physical constructions of memory.

The initial elements of *ars memoriae, image* and *locus* are in fact simultaneously the primary elements of commemorative structures. In memorials, which are constructed to provide observation and experience rather than habitation, the object of gaze of a person as an image and the environment of that image as a place become significant. In classical *ars memoriae,* the orator is both the person who commits his speech to his memory by means of creating image-locus relations and the one who delivers it by memory from his/her mind. On the other hand, if we look at an architectural memorialisation from the conceptual framework of *ars memoriae*, we notice that the one who commits the memory and the one who delivers it by memory are different persons. The designer as creator defines an image, a place for that image as locus and their mutual relation. The visitor becomes the one who delivers in this process and experiences the commemoration just in the way that the creator already defined. In this conceptual framework, image of an architectural memorialisation is the symbolic representation of a particular historical event; locus is the place or the background of that representation in physical reality.

As I have explained in the previous chapter, architectural memorialisation can be acknowledged as an attempt to define a particular mode of remembering for a significant historical event for the observer. Historical examples of the usage of *ars memoriae* in spatial organisations such as "memory theatres" or "memory walks" signified that the art is also effective to conduct someone else's mode of remembering on a particular subject. Nevertheless, it is important to note that in spite of the architectural peculiarities of locus in *Ad Herennium* or the presence of the memory theatres which were literally constructed according to the method, locus in *ars memoriae* did not possess characteristics of a physical space in its origin. Looking at the works of architectural memorialisation from methodological framework of *ars memoria* might be affected from this absence. For this reason, I construct the analysing method of this study on the basis of *ars memoriae* but elaborate it through the concepts of spatial organisation in architectural memorialisation.

3.4. The Method of Analysis

There are three key components of this method: the image, the locus, and the relation between them. The first component, the image is the three dimensional object of physical representation of a significant event in an architectural memorialisation. The second component, the locus is the place in which that representation is located. The third and the final component, the image-locus relation corresponds to the relation between that representation and its place. The process of the method comprises of the examination of these three components in a memorialisation. The examinations of the first and second one include three phases within. The third component is a quite investigation which consists of one phase. Attributes of these components are particularly formed by the rules of *ars memoriae* defined in *Ad Herennium* for images and loci. Those rules generate the basic characteristics of the investigations. However, the distinctive features of physical space also guide the peculiarities of examinations in order to prevent the method from the disadvantages of originating in a mental exercise. The results of those investigations constitute the pivotal point of the analysis of architectural memorialisation. In order to be able to evaluate the findings, the results are organised in groups of opposite binary concepts generated according to the attributes of the components of image, locus and image-locus relation. For image, these binaries are "universal / particular," "singular / plural" and "denotive / connotative." For locus they are "indefinite / definite," "introverted / extroverted" and "loose / predetermined." For image-locus relation it is "image as locus / locus as image."

According to the logic of this method, it is possible to decompose an architectural memorialisation into the three components: image, locus and image-locus relation. This decomposition makes a common ground of understanding possible for various approaches in memorialisation. It generates a collective framework to review all kinds of examples of memorialisation concurrently with each other. That framework covers not only traditional and contemporary inclinations but also any kind of attempt to memorialise a significant historical event such as real landscapes of memory. For the reason that to commemorate a certain event through its physical remain in the place where the event happened forms naturally the three components of the method. To be able to decompose is crucial especially to understand memorialisation in certain sites like Gallipoli where not only memorials but also remains of war exist. Furthermore, it

becomes significant to understand examples of architectural commemoration of a certain event which is memorialised in different sites through various approaches in the course of time.

Results derived from the implementation of this method to the examples of architectural memorialisation may shed light on several conclusions or interpretations. First of all, such kind of analysis makes a classification possible for various approaches in terms of the characteristics of their images, loci and image-locus relations. Such kind of classification exposes differentiations and transformations of the basic elements in memorialisation from period to period or from nation to nation. Additionally, it enables comparisons among various kinds of memorialisation from most traditional ones such as obelisk to the remains of war such as bunker. On the other hand, the reasoning of classical *ars memoriae* itself can be used to reconsider the works of architectural memorialisation. If *ars memoriae* has been used to generate modes of collective remembering in history, then it is possible to claim that analysing method of this study can be operated to examine the approach in a memorialisation in order to form a specific mode of remembering. From this conceptual framework, for a memorial, fulfilment of the rules of *ars memoriae* means that that memorial suggests individuals a pre-defined way to remember a certain event. Pre-defined way corresponds to highlighting one side of the event and to conceal the other sides, causing them to be forgotten in time. The results derived from the implementation of the method of this study disclose whether an architectural memorialisation defines a specific mode of remembering or not. It would also be possible to comparatively re-evaluate the examples of different memorialisation approaches according to the attributes of the mode of remembering which they propose.

In the following chapter of this study, I will operate this method to analyse different works of architectural memorialisation in Gallipoli. Of course, the architects, designers and artists of those works probably did not know or use *ars memoriae* while they designed —I found no evidence which can prove such kind of recognition. I just assert that *ars memoriae* can be used as a method to analyse those works. Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park consists of wide range of memorialisation approaches of not merely different periods from 1920s to 2000s but also distinct nations. I will classify similar approaches in Gallipoli according to the properties of their image and locus and will analyse them as a group. However, I will analyse some cases individually which have no similarities and have their own distinct peculiarities.

In each group of memorialisation or individual ones, I will analyse their images, loci and the relation between them. The results of those analyses will enable me to achieve several conclusions. With the help of those analyses I will generate a collective framework to look at not only memorials of diverse nations and periods but also remains of war and battlefields as a part of memorialisation. That will provide me with the ability to classify those approaches in terms of image, locus and image-locus relation. Reading the major inclinations of the periods in the boundaries of the Park area from this point of view will produce a variety of re-evaluations and different comprehensions.

3.4.1. Image

Image is the first component of the method of this study and the analysis of the image of an architectural memorialisation constitutes the first phase. In *ars memoriae* image is the mental representation of a word or a subject-matter. The image of an architectural memorialisation of a significant historical event becomes the physical representation of that event in terms of *ars memoriae*.[65] Considering this relation it is possible to argue that anything which illustrates the historical event in a memorialisation may transform into its representation, thus into its image. Analysis of the image itself consists of three main steps. To determine of the image forms the first step and the basis of the analysis. The second step is to draw a conceptual and theoretical framework for the determined image of an architectural memorialisation. The third and last step is to investigate the relation between the historical event commemorated in architectural memorialisation and its materialised representation; as image.

Determination of the image constitutes the first step. Determination means to define what the image is and it includes the definition of its boundaries or its parts. In most of the conventional and traditional forms of monuments and memorials, the

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[65] There is a strong relation between the concepts of memory and representation. Well known thinker of memory and the historian of Holocaust Andreas Huyssen in his book *Twilight Memories* asserts that memory is based on representation. He argues that "the past is not simply there in memory, but it must be articulated to become memory." Similarly, Marita Sturken in her book *Tangled Memories* defines memory as the articulation through process of representation. Therefore, according to her, there is a tension between "the representation of memory and the experience of historical event." For references see: Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 2-3; Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the Aids Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1997), 9.

difference and disparity between their images and loci are so obvious that image can easily be identified. The image in these monuments predominantly rises as an object in the urban pattern or on the landscape. However, in some examples such as the remains of war like a bunker or a trench, it may become hard to separate image and locus from each other. Any part of a memorialisation which represents or is formed to represent a certain event constitutes its image. A figure of a national hero constitutes a direct man-made representation; however, any building, landscape or even natural formation in which a significant event occurred or has a significant meaning in collective memory, may become the image of an architectural memorialisation. For instance, the obstacles remained from the World War II on the seashore of Normandy are the representations of that historical event and the image of that memorialisation (Figure 3.1).
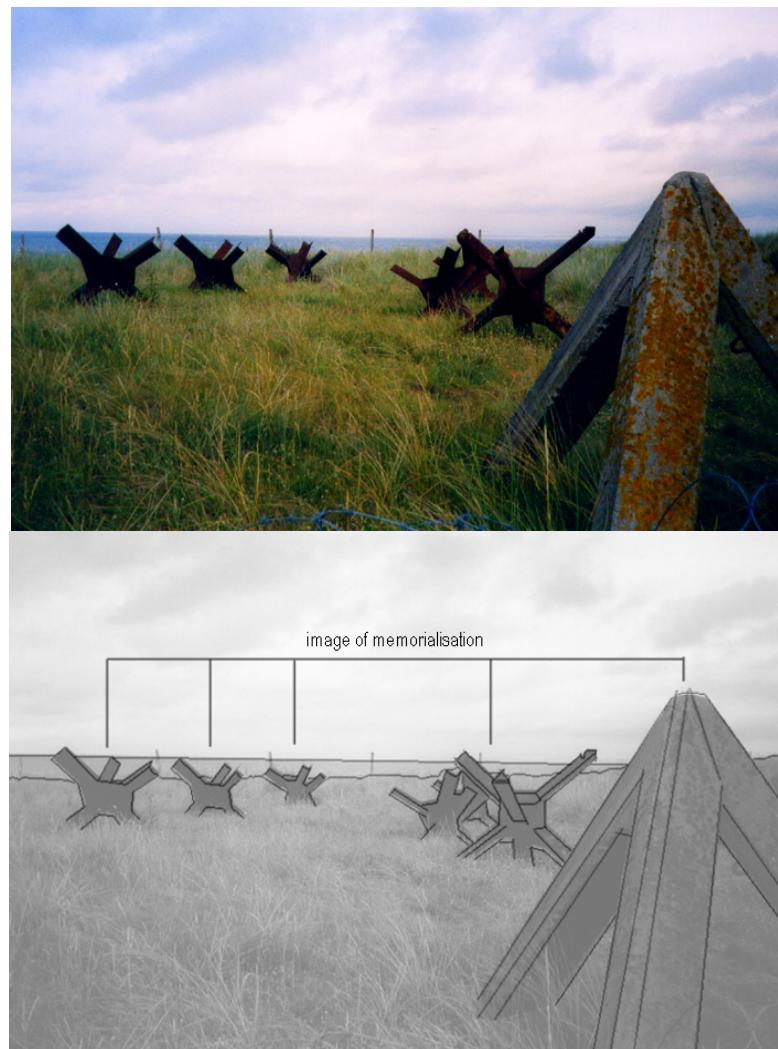
Figure 3.1 Image of the obstacles on the Utah Beach, Normandy

(Source: http://www.howitzer.dk/ accessed 1 June, 2007; graphics by Ahenk Yılmaz)

Obstacles on the shoreline were not designed deliberately to be a memorial of the battle. On the contrary, they were an indispensable part of the battle and placed by the Germans in order to interfere with the landing. Yet, at the end they became the image of the memorialisation of the battle on Normandy shores. Italo Calvino in a part of his famous book *Le Città Invisibili* [Invisible Cities] tells the relation between the remains of events and the memory of cities which those events are happened. He "tries" to describe the city of Zaira, however, he defines this endeavour as "in vain," because of the intimate relation between the city and the traces of its past.[66] According to him, it would not be possible to understand a city unless the traces of the historical events occurred in that city can be read. A street light looks ordinary if you do not know that once a despot was hanged to its post or you can not give a meaning to a collapsed roof unless you know that once a bomb shell of invaders hit that roof.[67] Calvino, in this short story draws the attention to the relation between the events and their representations in terms of memory. If one considers the definition of the image which is the representation of an event, one comprehends any physical entity in a memorialisation which is in the service of commemoration and represents a certain event as its image. Therefore, determination of the image of an architectural memorialisation not only means to define man-made physical structure but also sometimes correponds to determine the remains of a certain event which are used as representation.

Second step of the analysis is the examination of the image determined in the first step. It depends on investigating the image in terms of history, literature, memorial architecture and collective memory. The aim of this examination is to map the connections of the image in history and to put it in a theoretical context in order to be able to draw its historical and conceptual framework. Of course, that framework would be differentiated according to the peculiarities of the image; because some images such as traditional forms of memorial architecture have wide range of connections in history, on the other hand, some of them are self-referential. The characteristics of the image of architectural memorialisation have an important role in commemoration in terms of classical *Ars Memoriae* and become crucial in terms of the active role of architectural memorialisation in individuals' remembering process. The image is the representation of memory and it determines one of the basic elements of the mode of remembering. In

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[66] Italo Calvino, *Görünmez Kentler*, trans. Işıl Saatçıoğlu (İstanbul: Remzi, 2002)

[67] Calvino, *Görünmez Kentler*, 62.

order to be able to understand and determine the peculiar quality of the image, first of all it is required to comprehend the background of that image. Mapping the contextual terrain of the image provides us with an understanding of the peculiarities of the image and helps us to generate a refined point of view.

The image of a memorial sometimes transforms into a collective symbol of a certain event such as the triangular shape of Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the obelisk of Washington, Statue of Liberty of New York, *Arc de Triomphe* of Paris, demolished church tower of Berlin remained Second World War, the railroad way ended in the door of Auschwitz, quad post erected monument of Çanakkale, etc. However, in some examples, the image of architectural memorialisation may be unique or incomparable and it would not be possible to trace the canonical origin of the representation. The image of architectural memorialisation has its individual journey, transforming meaning in collective memory. Sometimes an image which was designed deliberetly as a physical representation of an event lost its all relations with that event and becomes representation of something else. For instance, almost all obelisks in European cities had been that kind of transformation. Most of them were erected as a symbol of the power of pharaohs; however, became the representation of other victories. It should be kept in mind that contextualisation does not only mean to reveal the architectural background of the form rather than that it requires to draw the conceptual, sociological and philosophical framework of the image.

The third and final step is the investigation of the relation between the image and the historical event commemorated through memorialisation. In *Ad Herennium* unknown writer advises that the images should be well-delineated representations of the subject-matter which is required to be memorised. Because, when the individual tries to remember the thing which is represented in his/her mind with an image, he/she should not feel a hesitation on the exact meaning of that image. Therefore, there should be a direct relation between the phenomenon and its image in order to prevent the confusions in remembering process. According to this argument, it is possible to claim that in the classical *ars memoriae* the more that relation is direct and explicit, the stronger the effect of the image on individual's remembering process becomes. In a memorialisation, events are represented through various ways by the artists or designers. Sometimes they prefer figurative realisations in memorialisation; on the other hand, sometimes they prefer abstract forms to represent the event. In Shimon Attie's installation work of *Writing on the Wall*, for instance, artist makes use of the images of the past on the

present background (Figure 3.2). In his work, Attie reflects the photographs of the places of Jews taken before the Second World War, on their exact places before the Holocaust. In this example, the images of the past events simultaneously constitute the images of architectural memorialisation. The relation between the event and its representation is direct. In Edwin Lutyens' *Cenotaph* on the other hand, it is not possible to mention just one mode of remembering (Figure 3.3). Although, it was erected to commemorate fallen British soldiers during the First World War, its pure and austere form provides the observer with the contemplation of different scenes and events of war while he/she looks at the image of the memorialisation.

Figure 3.2 Shimon Attie's "Book Salesman," From his *Writing on the Wall*, 2004
(Source: http://www.jackshainman.com/dynamic/artist.asp?ArtistID=2, accessed 5 May, 2007)

Figure 3.3 Edwin Lutyens' Cenotaph
(Source: http://www.londonarchitecture.co.uk, accessed 8 October, 2007)

Some significant historical events are both abstractly and figuratively memorialised. It would be possible to understand the difference between these two opposite approaches through such kind of examples like Vietnam Veterans Memorial. In the competition of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial organised in 1981, Maya Lin proposed a simple black granite V shaped wall lodged and embedded to a hill. [68] The surface of the wall on which all the names of the loss are inscribed, is as reflective as people can see themselves as a background of these names (Figure 3.4a). The fund of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial did not already want a monument with strong political statement. Therefore, the simplicity of the memorial strongly impressed them. "The Wall" provides the visitor with nothing but the names, "a great void of meaning" behind those names. After the competition a "noisy disputation broke out in the public". The design was accused of not being celebratory, heroic and as "a black gash" of shame and dishonour. In the end of a long debate the secretary of the department of Interior decided that "Lin's design be supplemented, if not supplanted, by a more heroic, representational, figural memorial." By sculptor Frederick Hart three statues of the soldiers of Vietnam War was made and named as *The Three Fightingmen*. These figures were added in 1984 and then in 1993, for another figures added in the name of Vietnam's women by the sculptor Glenna Goodacre[69] (Figure 3.4b).

Figure 3.4 a. "The Wall" Vietnam Veterans Memorial b. Frederick Hart's figurative addition
(Source: http://thewall-usa.com/wallpics.htm, accessed 4 February, 2008)

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[68] Kristin Ann Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1998), 14.-20. The information about the competition and memorial were compiled from this reference unless otherwise stated.

[69] Maya Lin interprets these additions stating that "in a funny sense the compromise brings the memorial closer to the truth. What is also memorialised is that people still cannot resolve the war, nor can they separate the issues, the politics from it." Hass, 20.

As can be seen in the example of Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the abstract image of the "Wall" was constructed to instigate the individual to contemplate on the event represented. It constitutes a medium to remember the same event but through diverse ways of different personal memories on that event. On the other hand, figurative representation has much more direct denotation. According to James Edward Young as he states in his essay "The Biography of a Memorial Icon," in its hermetic and personal vision, abstraction encourages private visions in viewers, which would defeat the communal and collective aims of public memorials." He claims that "abstract forms still offer artists the widest possible variety of expression" and "Maya Lin's succinctly abstract Vietnam Veterans Memorial, for example, commemorates the nation's ambivalence toward the Vietnam War and its veterans in ways altogether unavailable in figuration."[70] Thus, I argue that the literal figurative representations of the historical events are organised to denote one meaning and thus, one mode of remembering.[71] There inevitably would be realised different remembering experiences for diverse individuals because of their different personalities and personal memories. However, direct representations of the historical event certainly minimises those different connotations. On the other hand, symbolic and self-referential representations connote wide range of meanings and different modes of remembering. If one takes into consideration the statements in *Ad Herennium,* it is possible to argue that the more direct and stronger the relation between the event and its representation exists, the less the variety of meanings in a memorialisation and the diversity of the modes of remembering which that memorialisation proposes, becomes.

[70] James E. Young, "The Biography of a Memorial Icon: Nathan Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument," *Representations* 26 (1989): 101.

[71] For the meanings of denotation and connotation Roland Barthes' essay "Rhetoric of the Image," constitutes a profound reference. At the beginning of his essay he argues that "according to an ancient etymology, the word *image* should be linked to the root *imitari*." Then he puts forward a question: "can analogical representation (the 'copy') produce true systems of signs and not merely simple agglutinations of symbols?" As far as I discussed in the earlier parts of this study, memory defines as the mental representation of historical events. If the memorial is the representation of a memory of an event, than it would become the copy of the copy of the real event, or re-representation. Referring to Barthes we should ask the question of if an architectural memorialisation is the re-representation of a real lived significant event than how would it be possible for that memorialisation expresses the exact occurrence. Barthes at the end of his extensive inquiry he declares that "… the literal image is d*enoted* and the symbolic image *connoted*."[71] Denotation indicates one and only meaning, whereas connotation suggests certain meanings which differentiate according to diverse variables. For further information see: Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 70.

3.4.2. Locus

Locus is the second component of the method of this study and the examination of this component constitutes its second phase. Place and memory are mutually and initially related to each other; in Edward Casey's words "memory is place-oriented."[72] Classical method of *Ars Memoriae* is also known as "the method of loci" for the reason that it depends on placing mental images in a well-defined locus. At the very emergence of the method, Simonides in his story already advises to remember things within their places for good memorizing. The place itself constitutes the essence of *Ars Memoriae*. In the method of this study, analysis of locus consists of three main steps and I call them as determination, detachment and guidance. The first one, determination means to identify the particular locus of a memorialisation. The second step, detachment can concisely be defined as the investigation of the visible or invisible boundaries of the locus. The third one, guidance is basically the examination of the movement of individual in the locus of memorialisation.

Determination of the locus constitutes the first step and it is akin to the first step of the analysis of the image of the method. Definition of the boundaries —if there exist— and components of the locus constitute the main part of this determination process. In some examples the implementation of this step seems hard because of the absence of the visible boundaries of the locus of a memorialisation. The locus looks indefinite. In such kind of memorial, the peripheries of its locus should be investigated in relation to its image. On the other hand, in some examples the locus of a memorialisation can not be separated from its image. Commemoration of the Holocaust by means of the buildings of the Auschwitz Camp itself is a good example of this situation (Figure 3.5; 3.6). In such a case, same elements of the memorialisation should be determined and analysed both as its image and locus. Accurate determination in this step makes the implementation of detachment and guidance possible.

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[72] Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987), 187. Stephen C. Levinson in his essay "Language and Space," mentions the intense effect of spatial thinking of human beings on mental systems like *ars memoriae*. He argues that "human beings think spatially" and mental spatial arrangements "can even give us maps of the mind, as exploited in the classical and medieval art of memory." Similarly, social theorist Dolores Hayden states that "place memory is so strong that many different cultures have used 'memory palaces' —sequences of imaginary spaces within an imaginary landscape or building or series of buildings— as mnemonic devices." Stephen C. Levinson, "Language and Space," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (October 1996): 357; Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 46.

Figure 3.5 Camp of Auschwitz, Poland
(Source: http://www2.nict.go.jp/y/y223/member/keizo/photos/auschwitz.jpg, accessed 4 March, 2008)

Figure 3.6 Locus of the obstacles on the Utah Beach, Normandy
(Source: http://www.howitzer.dk/battlefield/battlefieldphoto/normandy/utahbarricade.jpg, accessed 1
June, 2007; graphics by Ahenk Yılmaz)

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Detachment constitutes the second step of the analysis of locus in this method. The locus described in *Ad Herennium* is a closed and covered architectural place and its prior function is to generate the most suitable atmosphere for the rhetoricians to memorise their speeches. That's why the description of locus in *Ad Herennium* indicates a serene, quiet and restful environment. Those peculiarities are necessary to provide a suitable milieu for concentration and contemplation. Detachment from actual flow of time and space produces that suitable milieu for the individual in locus in accordance with the rules of *ars memoriae*. The visible or invisible boundaries of a place have the potential of detaching the individual from actual flow of time and space. Detachment provides the creators of that place with an ability to form a different reality from the actual one, in a highly defined space. That is why detachment of individuals has been used as a tool to control them in a defined territory throughout the history.[73] Paul Hirst claims in his book *Space and Power* that frontiers of ancient and medieval cities were built not only as a "source of threat" but also to control the inhabitants.[74] Gilles Deleuze in his essay "Postscript on the Societies of Control," draws the attention to the significance of control of space and time in establishing control on individuals particularly in the "environments of enclosure" such as factory or school.[75] Michel Foucault calls that kind of enclosed places as "micro spaces of power."[76] Besides,

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[73] That kind of controlled spaces simultaneously constitute *heterotopian* places in Foucault's sense. Foucault defines heterotopian places as "outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality." Those places are excluded from the natural flow of time of real world. For further information about heterotopian places see: Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London; New York: Routledge, 1997 reprinted 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004), 350-356.

[74] Paul Hirst, *Space and Power: Politics, War and Architecture* (Cambridge, UK; Malden: Polity Press, 2005), 77.

[75] Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on the Societies of Control," in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (London; New York: Routledge, 1997; reprinted 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004), 309-312.

[76] The control of time and space in micro spaces of power is explained by Nan Ellin as follows: "Appropriated by the socioindustrial machine, time and space were more precisely measured and divided into units that could be allocated for specific purposes. This allowed for accurate predictions of labor output as well as worker and consumer behaviour. Within the factory, time was used a mechanism of control over others… Frederick Winslow Taylor's scientific management, introduced in 1911, refined the process of inscribing work patterns into units of time… Control over time and space thus joined control over labor power as all were harnessed in the interests of mass production." Nan Ellin, "Shelter from the Storm or Form Follows Fear and Vice Versa," in *Architecture of Fear*, ed. Nan Ellin (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 20.

Foucault suggests in *The Birth of Clinic* that the space of domination "is a segmented, immobile and frozen space."[77]

Detachment mostly requires enclosure. Michel Foucault mentions the conception of enclosure as one of the basic spatial properties of the disciplinary institutions in his pioneering *Discipline and Punish*.[78] Of course, the properties Foucault proposed especially covers the disciplinary institutions and the peculiarities of disciplinary society; however, the analysis which he makes in his book contains key points about the peculiarities of detached places.[79] In terms of spatial design, the concept of enclosure signifies the peculiarities of the boundaries of a space; on the other hand, the concepts of portioning, functional sites and rank signify the designation of the articulation of that space in order to arrange individuals' activities.[80] Detachment is directly related to the conception of enclosure and enclosure is related to the peculiarities of the spatial boundaries of memorialisation in the analysing method of this study. Thus, in this step I predominantly examine the spatial boundaries of the loci of the works of architectural memorialisation to question their characteristics of enclosure.

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[77] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1973), 195.

[78] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans.. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 135-69. Foucault proposes in "the art of distribution" four techniques which are used in the spatial organisation of the disciplinary institutions; that are "enclosure", "portioning", "functional sites", and "rank."

[79] For Foucault "discipline sometimes requires enclosure, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed upon itself, it is the protected place of the disciplinary monotony." Disciplinary space is divided into possible number of sections partitioning in this sense prevents the confusion. In other words, "discipline organises an analytical space" which "each individual has his own place; and each place its individual." Disciplinary space requires functional sites which the portions are articulated in the name of functional a purpose. Finally, for Foucault "the unit is, therefore, neither the territory (unit of domination), nor the place (unit of residence), but the **r**ank: the place one occupies in a classification, the point at which a line and column intersect, the interval in a series of intervals that one may traverse one after the other." Besides, "discipline is an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements." These are the techniques of the art of distribution in order to establish the discipline in spatial organisation. For further information see: Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141-49.

[80] Although Foucault suggests four issues on spatial characteristics in disciplinary institutions, I will focus on the first one "the art of distribution," for the reason that it is directly related with spatial organisation. Stuart Elden already claims in his book on spatial history in Heidegger and Foucault *Mapping the Present* that the first one is the most important in terms of the analysis of space and he quotes Foucault's suggestion of "'discipline is above all an analysis of space'." Stuart Elden, *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault and the project of a Spatial History* (London; New York: Continuum, 2001)*, p. 139. Similarly, M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga organise four techniques of the art of distribution in two groups as "enclosure" and "the organisation of individuals in space" in their essay "Locating Culture." They claim that "Michel Foucault approaches the spatial tactics of social control through analysis of the human body, spatial arrangements, and architecture." Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga, "Locating Culture," *The Antropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, eds. Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 30.

Time should be suspended whereby the controlled place in the boundaries of locus in order to be able to detach the perception of the observer from real time and place. In an enclosed space, time can be congealed in the eye of the observer or it flows in a differently determined way. That kind of places provides the individual with an experience, which is independent from the existing flow of the real time. In their highly defined boundaries an alternative reality generates where the conditions and rules of experience are determined beforehand. Detachment in locus does not only establish a suitable milieu for contemplation and concentration but also form a different reality for the individual where a particular spatial experience and thus a particular mode of remembering are defined beforehand.

Guidance constitutes the third step of the analysis of locus of architectural memorialisation in this study. This issue is basically related to the peculiarities of space which guide and thereby conduct the activities of individuals. According to the basic principles and rules of *ars memoriae*, (the mental) movement of the individual is highly important. The orator had to visualise the words and sentences of his speech in order and also locate that images according to that order. When it became necessary, he could deliver his speech from his memory accurately if he was able to call his mind those loci in the right order. Therefore he had to arrange his mental journey in imaginary architectural spaces according to a highly defined movement of himself. The conception of "the organisation of individuals in space" constitutes the second group of techniques which Foucault proposes in the spatial organisation of disciplinary institutions, as I have stated before. It refers basically to guide the physical presence, activities and movement of individuals in space with the help of spatial arrangements.[81] In fact, every spatial organisation is an act to conduct individual's movement to a certain degree. Most of the works of architecture "ensure a certain allocation of people in space, a canalisation of their circulation, as well as the coding of their reciprocal relations."[82] According to the use or the function of the space, this mechanism can be vague or strictly defined. In places which have a specific function that requires to conduct individuals, spatial organisation of movements becomes a significant tool.

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[81] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141-49. Sofsky already asserts that "control over social time is only one element of the total overpowering of the human being" because "absolute power does not merely seek to control external time of bodies, their movements, postures, and positions." For further information: Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*, trans. William Templer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997, reprint 1999), 82.

[82] Foucault, "Space, Knowledge and Power," in *The Foucault Reader*, 253.

In this step, I examine the locus of architectural memorialisation by means of questioning the movements and actions of individual in that particular place. In terms of *ars memoriae* it is possible to claim that the more the movement of individual is guided in the locus of an architectural memorialisation the more the spatial experience of that individual is determined. In loci where the movements of individuals are highly guided, the paths are strictly drawn, the limitations and boundaries are determined, even the view points to see and to be seen are defined beforehand a specific spatial experience is proposed. The spatial experience constitutes the great part of the journey of individual in a memorialisation and thus, his/her the mode of remembering. Conducting elements like writings, signs, plates, guideposts and marks also constitute the tools of guidance.

3.4.3. Image—Locus Relation

The image-locus relation is the third component of the method. Its investigation constitutes the final phase. It has no stages within, but it depends on the results of the determination phases of image and locus analyses. This phase focuses on the analysis of the mutual relation between images and loci of the works of architectural memorialisation. Despite, profound elaborations of *ars memoriae* in Antiquity and Renaissance periods, the essence of its system was very simple when Simonides invented it. Owing to the connections with its place, image becomes memorable. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the more the relation between the image and locus is established the more accurate and easier remembering becomes. In fact, to establish a constant and meaningful relation between image and locus was not the issue of *ars memoriae*. However, I believe that in terms of architectural memorialisation questioning that relation is inevitable; for the reason that the commemorative structures are erected on fixed places. Places or loci of memorials in this sense are not wax tablets.[83]

Cognitive psychologists claim that place has strong effects on long-term memory due to the fact that spatial experience depends on all five senses of human perception. Recollecting and remembering becomes long-lasting according to the degree of the influence of the senses of an individual. Remembering becomes strong

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[83] In *Ad Herennium* it is stated as follows: "For the backgrounds are very much like wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script, and the delivery is like the reading." [Cicero], *Ad Herennium*, 209.

when five senses are affected by the event.[84] Dolores Hayden explains this situation stating that "place attachments encapsulates the human ability to connect with the cultural landscape, and people perceive places with all five senses, the encoding of long-term memory connected to places is particularly strong."[85] Hayden indicates that perceiving a phenomenon through various senses makes the memory of that experience stronger. Experiencing a place affects senses of an individual in various ways, thus remembering becomes stronger and long-lasting. If image of a memorialisation has spatial peculiarities, it does not only provide the visitor with a spatial experience but also it becomes a part of the locus itself. On the other hand, locus also may become image of a memorialisation. Particularly, with the catastrophic effects of the World Wars which were not only held in battlefields but also in the very centre of the communal life, i.e. cities; the real places of memory started to come to forth in commemoration process. That's why the bombed and ruined tower is left as it is in the centre of the metropolis of Berlin. The Auschwitz as an architectural place became the symbolic image of the memory of Holocaust where the embedded relation between the locus and the image exists (Figure 3.5).
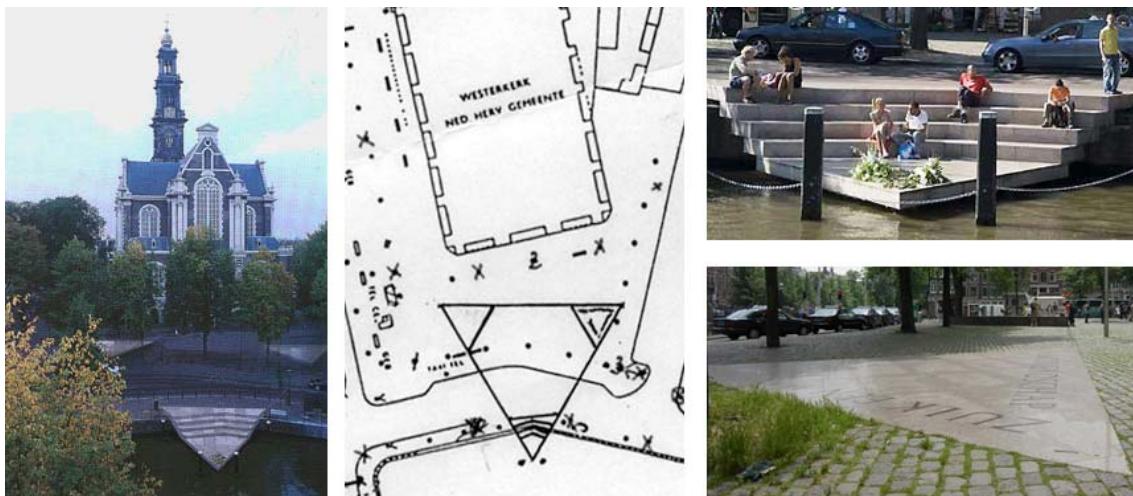
Figure 3.7 Karin Daan, Homomonument, Amsterdam
(Sources: www.pinkpoint.org.; www.essential-architecture.com;
http://www.studiokoning.nl/Foto_Amsterdam_3/Homomonument.html accessed 21 June, 2007)

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[84] For further information on the relation between five senses and recollecting and remembering process see: Alan D. Baddeley, *Human Memory: Theory and Practice* (London: Psychological Press, 1997: reprinted 1999; 2001; 2002).

[85] Dolores Hayden, "Landscapes of Loss and Remembrance: The case of Little Tokyo in Los Angeles," in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 144.

In this final phase, I will basically analyse the relation between the image and locus of architectural memorialisation. Questioning the spatial peculiarities of the image of a memorialisation and the objectification of its locus constitute the crucial points of examination. At the extreme poles either there can be a relation between those notions which cannot be separated from each other or there can be no meaningful relation. The former is the situation in which the locus and the image becomes one and the same thing. On the contrary, the latter consists of the works of architectural memorialisation which the image has no referential relation between its locus. In these examples mostly the image itself becomes nomad, and sometimes de-contextualised. Its replicas are produced and it is started to be erected any place independently.[86] Image of a memorialisation may possess spatial peculiarities or locus may become the image of a specific historical event. In either way the relation between the image and locus of an architectural memorialisation gets strong. That relation inevitably affects remembering processes of individuals. It does not only become more effective and long-lasting but also it starts to get a particular form for all of its visitors. For the reason that with spatial characteristics image itself provides the visitor with a specific journey of remembering which was designated by the creator of the memorialisation beforehand.

To sum up, the analysing method of this study which basically depends on the classical memorising techniques of *ars memoriae* consists of three phases as: image, locus and image-locus relation. This method makes decomposition of any form of commemorative structure through these three main components possible. Such kind of decomposition enables us to come up several evaluations. First of all, it provides to review different approaches in architectural memorialisation from a collective framework. That framework includes not only memorials which are deliberately built to memorialise a significant historical event, but also real places of memory such as concentration camps, battlefields or the remains of the event. This peculiarity of the method becomes crucial especially in the analysis of the landscapes of memory like Gallipoli which consists of both commemorative structures and ruins of war as

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[86] James Edward Young's essay on Warsaw Ghetto Monument is the profound discussion of this situation. James E. Young, "The Biography of a Memorial Icon: Nathan Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument," *Representations* 26 (1989): 69-107. Besides, Rosalind Krauss' essay "Sculpture in the Expended Field," has explanations on the conditions of nomadness and sitelessness of the modern monument. Rosalind Krauss indicates in her well-known essay traditional figurative monuments have been a strong not only physical but meaningful relation with the place they have been erected. That is why she defines modern monument as "essentially nomadic." For reference see: Rosalind E. Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expended Field," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*. (Cambridge, Mass and London: MIT Press, 1988), 277-290.

memorialisation. Secondly, findings of the analyses of three main phases make possible to dispose diverse works of architectural memorialisation and to reveal their similarities and differences. Such kind of grouping gives a classification among peculiar inclinations of different periods. For certain events like Gallipoli Campaign which have been memorialised numerous times through diverse examples by means of peculiar attitudes, this facility of the method becomes significant. It makes a comparison possible among different memorialisation attitudes of nations and periods possible.

Besides, with the help of this analysis it would be possible to re-examine the peculiarities of the mode of remembering which a memorialisation proposes. Each memorialisation act in fact is an attempt to suggest certain ways to remember the historical event. However, the number of those suggestions varies from memorial to memorial. Some of them function just as a reminder to recall the event on the mind of the observer. But some of them define a specific mode of remembering for the event. As I have stated before, there are numerous examples which show that *ars memoriae* has been used to generate modes of collective remembering throughout the history. The results of the method of this study derived from the basic structure of *ars memoriae* may demonstrate prominent peculiarities of the works of architectural memorialisation in imposing specific forms of remembering upon the observer. It would be possible to re-evaluate the findings of the analyses according to the fact that the more the three phases of the method —image, locus, and image-locus relation— are fulfilled, the more imposing a memorialisation conducts the individual through a specific mode of remembering.

CHAPTER IV

REMEMBERING WAR IN GALLIPOLI:
ANALYSIS OF THE LANDSCAPE OF
GALLIPOLI BATTLES

The memorialisation process in Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park, which started with the Armistice and continued until the present time, consists of numerous works of not only different periods but also diverse nations. In this chapter, I will analyse these different examples of architectural memorialisation of Gallipoli Battles in three main parts. *Gallipoli Peninsula International Design and Ideas Peace Park Competition* will be a pivotal point in this portioning. These parts will successively focus on before the Peace Park Competition, the Competition itself and after the Peace Park Competition. This portioning will help to highlight the peculiarities of the transformation initiated with the Competition in the Peninsula. I will examine those examples according to three components of the method of this study, which I developed on the basis of classical memorising technique of *ars memoriae*; image, locus and image-locus relation. In the analyses of both image and locus, first of all, I will define and determine the image and locus individually for each group of works or individual examples of architectural memorialisation. In some of them, the distinction between these components is very obvious and distinguishable. While in others, image and locus merge into one another. In such kind of examples, I will analyse some or all parts of the memorials and their close environments both as image and locus. The analysis of image basically depends on questioning the relation between the image and the historical event commemorated in that representation. Conceptual and historical framework of that image drawn beforehand will make this analysis possible. The analysis of locus comprises of investigating the locus of that image in terms of two main attributes as detachment and guidance. At the final stage of the analysis, I will examine the relation between that image and locus.

4.1. Before the Peace Park Competition

In the long term period between the end of the Battles in 1916 and the announcement of the Peace Park Competition in 1998 numerous memorials of different nations were built in the Peninsula. In order to be able to examine such multitudinous works, grouping the analogous examples of architectural memorialisation in the boundaries of the Park area is inevitable. The logic of gathering those different works depends on the physical similarities among their images, loci and image-locus relations. I organise examples of various approaches built before the *International Design and Ideas Peace Park Competition* in five main groups as enclosed war cemeteries; obelisk-shaped monuments; figurative and relief memorials; epigraphs and inscriptive monuments, and self-referential memorials. I will analyse these groups through the examples which demonstrate the most common peculiarities of their images, loci and image-locus relations.

4.1.1. Enclosed War Cemeteries

Anyone who walks through northern France or Flanders will find traces of terrible, almost unimaginable, human losses of the war, and efforts to commemorate the fallen.[1]

In all the types of architectural memorialisation in Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park the most common one is the enclosed cemetery. Considering the gigantic quantity of losses, the excessive number of cemeteries on the landscape of battles cannot be acknowledged as a surprising fact. Allied Nations built the great majority of these enclosed cemeteries. Except for the individual war cemeteries for martyrs, there exist six Turkish enclosed war cemeteries.[2] On the other hand, Allied

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[1] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.

[2] These five War Cemeteries are 57th Alay, Çanakkale Cemetery, Kireçtepe, Mecidiye, Sargıyeri, Yahya Çavuş Cemeteries. They are formed by either symbolic commemorative plaques for the soldiers whose the bodies were missing or mass graves for the ones whose identity were unknown.

nations have thirty-two cemeteries in the Park area.[3] Most of these thirty-two enclosed cemeteries were constructed on the closest places possible where those soldiers lost their lives. In those cemeteries, there exist both individual graves for the soldiers whose identities are known and mass graves for unknown. Furthermore, there are commemorative plaques for the missing soldiers. Except for the French War Memorial and Cemetery, all of these war cemeteries and the memorials of Allied Nations are financed and constructed by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) in the period between 1918 and 1926.

In this analysis, I will predominantly focus on the war cemeteries of CWGC. There are two main reasons of this decision. The first and the main reason is the superior proportion of the quantity of cemeteries of CWGC and their widespread characteristic in the battlefields of Gallipoli. The visitor of the Peninsula encounters the enclosed war cemeteries of the Commission in each part of the Park more than any other mode of commemoration. The second reason stems from the explicit influences of these war cemeteries on the Turkish ones. Three of the six Turkish Cemeteries which were constructed after the 60's, demonstrate architectural similarities in their design derived from the war cemeteries of the CWGC.[4] Therefore, as the initial source the Commission's work has the utmost importance. It was officially formed as a new branch in the Imperial Army as the "Directorate of Graves Registration and Enquiries" in early 1915.[5] The first duty of the commission was to bury the bodies of the fallen soldiers at the place where they lost their lives and mark them with a wooden cross.[6]

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[3] These thirty-two war cemeteries are 4th Battalion Parade Ground, Arıburun, Azmak, Baby 700, Beach, Canterbury, Chunuk Bair, Courtney's and Steel's Post, Embarkation Pier, French, Green Hill, Hill 10, Hill 60, Johnston's Jolly, Lalababa, Lancashire Landing, Lone Pine, New Zealand, No:2 Outpost, Pink Farm, Plugge's Plateau, Redoubt, Seventh Field Ambulance, Sharapnel Valley, Shell Green, Skew Bridge, The Farm, The Nek, Twelve Tree Copse, Quinn's Post, V Beach, Walker's Ridge Cemeteries.

[4] Mecidiye and Yahya Çavuş, Kireçtepe Cemeteries were constructed during the war and display different visual and spatial properties which draw them to the traditional Turkish cemetery art and architecture. However, 57th Alay, Çanakkale Cemetery and Sargıyeri Cemeteries were built after the 1960's and they demonstrate architectural similarities with the cemeteries of CWGC such as: geometrical organisation, localisation of the units, grave markers, principal design characteristics.

[5] *First Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission: 1919-1920* (London: H.M.S.O., 1920), 5.

[6] The work of the Commission which is basically based on finding, marking and maintaining the graves of the fallen soldiers was originally started 1914 by a unit in Red Cross which was sent out to France and leaded by Fabian Ware. The members of the unit were working like detectives, thereby searching and finding fallen in each theatre of war with the help of local villagers and the existing records. For further information see: Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-1984* (London, The Camelot Press, 1967; 1985), 1.

However, with the passing of time and the rise of the fronts of war and the losses, the work of the commission increased and dispersed. On the 13th April 1917 in the Imperial Conference the King approved the foundation of the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission. The commission was empowered "to care for and maintain the graves of those fallen in the war, to acquire land for the purpose of cemeteries, and to erect permanent memorials in the cemeteries elsewhere."[7]

There are more than two hundred cemeteries and memorials of CWGC in all over the world erected to commemorate the fallen of World Wars. Despite the fact that there are slight differences among them, the typical design decisions remain identical just like those constructed in Gallipoli. All the cemeteries and memorials of CWGC in Gallipoli except for New Zealand Memorial in Conkbayırı were designed by the official architect of the Commission, Sir John Burnet (1857-1938).[8] Burnet was in charge of designing the cemeteries not only in Gallipoli but also in Palestine. In the spring of 1919, Burnet arrived to the Peninsula. He stated in his report that it was "unreliable and insecure ground unsuitable as foundations for permanent monuments of any size or weight."[9] According to his preliminary design decisions he prepared his proposal and they all were constructed within seven following years. There are thirty-one cemeteries of CWGC on the landscape of the battlefields of Gallipoli. The number of the soldiers commemorated and topographical properties of those cemeteries vary according to the location of the cemeteries. In this analysis, I will focus on the examples which either have most common properties among all other cemeteries or have exceptional characteristics.

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[7] *Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission*, p. 5. Their work was immediately were appreciated by the public inasmuch as that people called the Commission to work even in "enemy-held territory" of Gallipoli. Approximately one year passed over from the evacuation of Gallipoli when the Commission was founded. In that time First World War was continuing and Gallipoli was still an enemy held territory for the Allied Nations. Despite the fact that Gallipoli was a enemy held territory "a letter to The Times on the cemeteries in Gallipoli, which had been abandoned when the British evacuated the Peninsula in January, set Ware off on a frantic attempt to try and seek an arrangement with the Turkish Government by which the graves might be looked after." Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 20.

[8] In November 1918, he was with his two partners Thomas Tait and David Raeside appointed as Principal Architect for Palestine and Gallipoli. Fur further information see: Burnet personal files. For reference see: Ron Fuchs, "Sites of memory in the Holy Land: the design of the British war cemeteries in Mandate Palestine," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30, 4 (2004): 650.

[9] Longworth, *The Unending Vigil,* 111.

Image

Image of enclosed war cemeteries is composed of five main elements: walled cross (cross of sacrifice), stone of remembrance, grave marker, rubble-walled ha-ha and the door of the cemetery (Figures 4.1; 4.2). In fact, the prominent architectural elements which determine the visual character of the war cemeteries in all over the world are defined in the First Annual Report of CWGC "a great memorial stone upon broad steps and bearing some appropriate phrase or text" and "a cross."[10] They are " two central memorials which the Commission decided should be erected in war cemeteries, the Great War Cross ('The Cross of Sacrifice') was designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield, and the Great War Stone ('The Stone of Remembrance') by Sir Edwin Lutyens"[11] (Figure 4.3). In war cemeteries of Gallipoli, there are several design decisions which differentiate them from other cemeteries of the Commission all over the world. The first one is "the use of stone-faced pedestal grave markers instead of headstones," the second one is "the walled cross feature instead of the free-standing Cross of Sacrifice," and the last one is "the rubble-walled ha-ha to channel flood water away from the cemeteries"[12] (Figure 4.4). Burnet explains the logic behind this differentiation as follows:

> In Gallipoli the enclosure considered best suited to protect the cemeteries from the ravages on the soil made by the heavy rains consists of a dry stone-lined trench and embankment planted with rock-growing plants native to the country. Three sides of the cemeteries are thus treated, the front being enclosed by a low masonry wall. These enclosures are designed in simple level lines, culminating in a raised portion of walling on the highest side of the cemetery, of sufficient height to form a background for the cross, in front of which stands, in the larger cemeteries, the Great stone of Remembrance. As a protection against the shifting nature of the soil, the cemeteries are surrounded external to the enclosures by a 30 ft. belt of evergreen timber, and internally with cypress trees.[13]

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[10] *Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission*, p. 7.

[11] Ibid. The question of "what tradition of architectural design should be followed in constructing the cemeteries" was asked in the very first meeting of the CWGC on 20th November 1917. Four of the country's most distinguished architects were charged to do this work, Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944), Reginald) Blomfield (1856-1942), and Herbert Baker (1862-1946) and Charles Holden (1875-1960). Unfortunately, during the intervening period, there was a conflict of artistic tastes in the architectural treatment of cemeteries not only between the "public interest and the private right" but also between the principal architects of the Commission; Lutyens and Blomfield. In his memoirs Herbert Baker states that "there would be a conflict inherent in our different natures and outlook: that he would be propelled towards abstract monumental design and I would place more importance on sentiment." For further information see Herbert Baker's *Architecture and Personalities*, quoted from Longworth, *The Unending Vigil,* 30.

[12] For reference see: CWGC Information Sheet for Gallipoli.

[13] Sir John Burnet, "The War Cemeteries in the East," *Architects' Journal*, 56 (18 October 1922): 510.
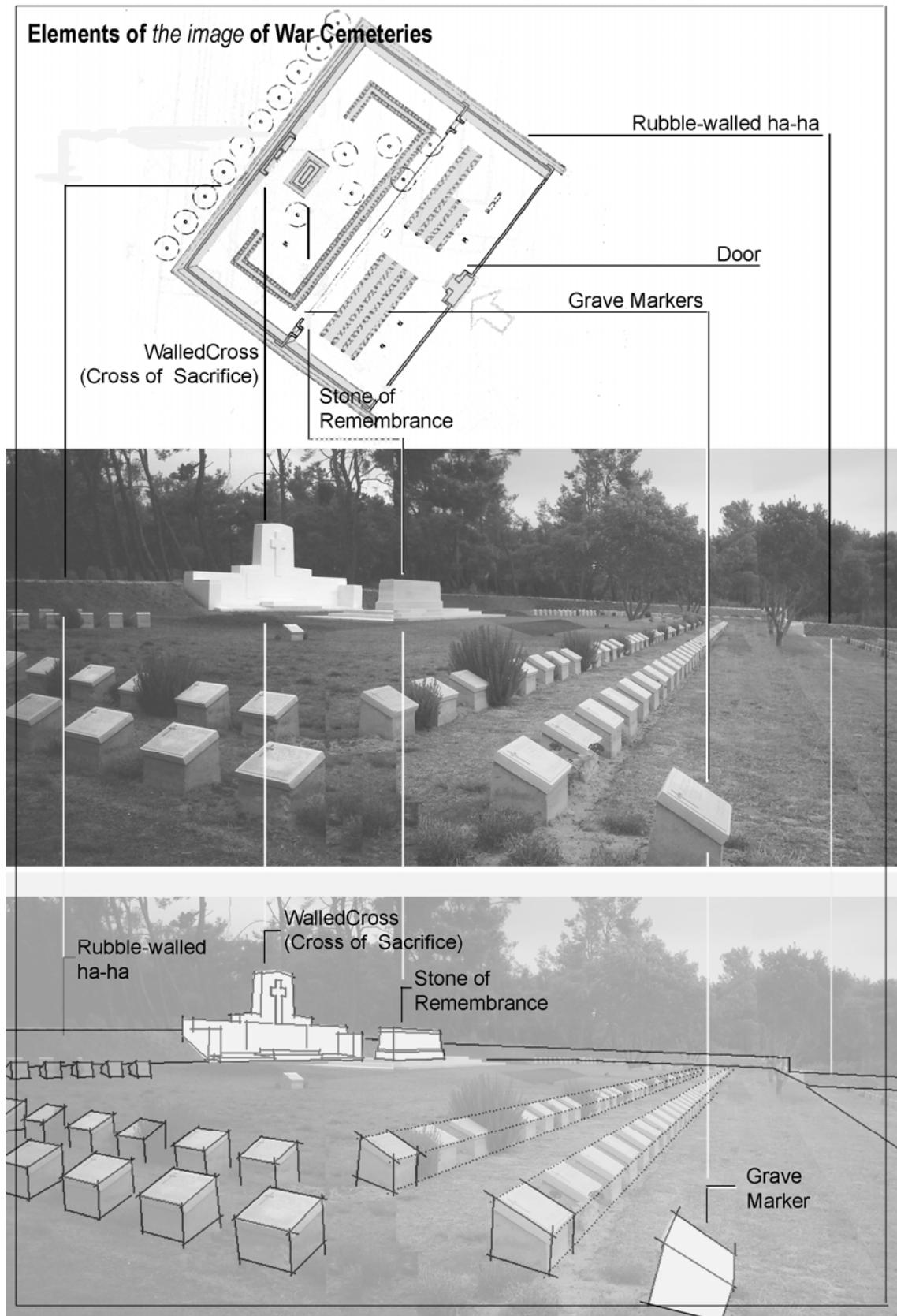
Figure 4.1 Image of War Cemeteries, Pink Farm Cemetery

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Elements of *the image* of War Cemeteries

Stone of Remembrance

Grave Markers

WalledCross (Cross of Sacrifice)

Rubble-walled ha-ha

door
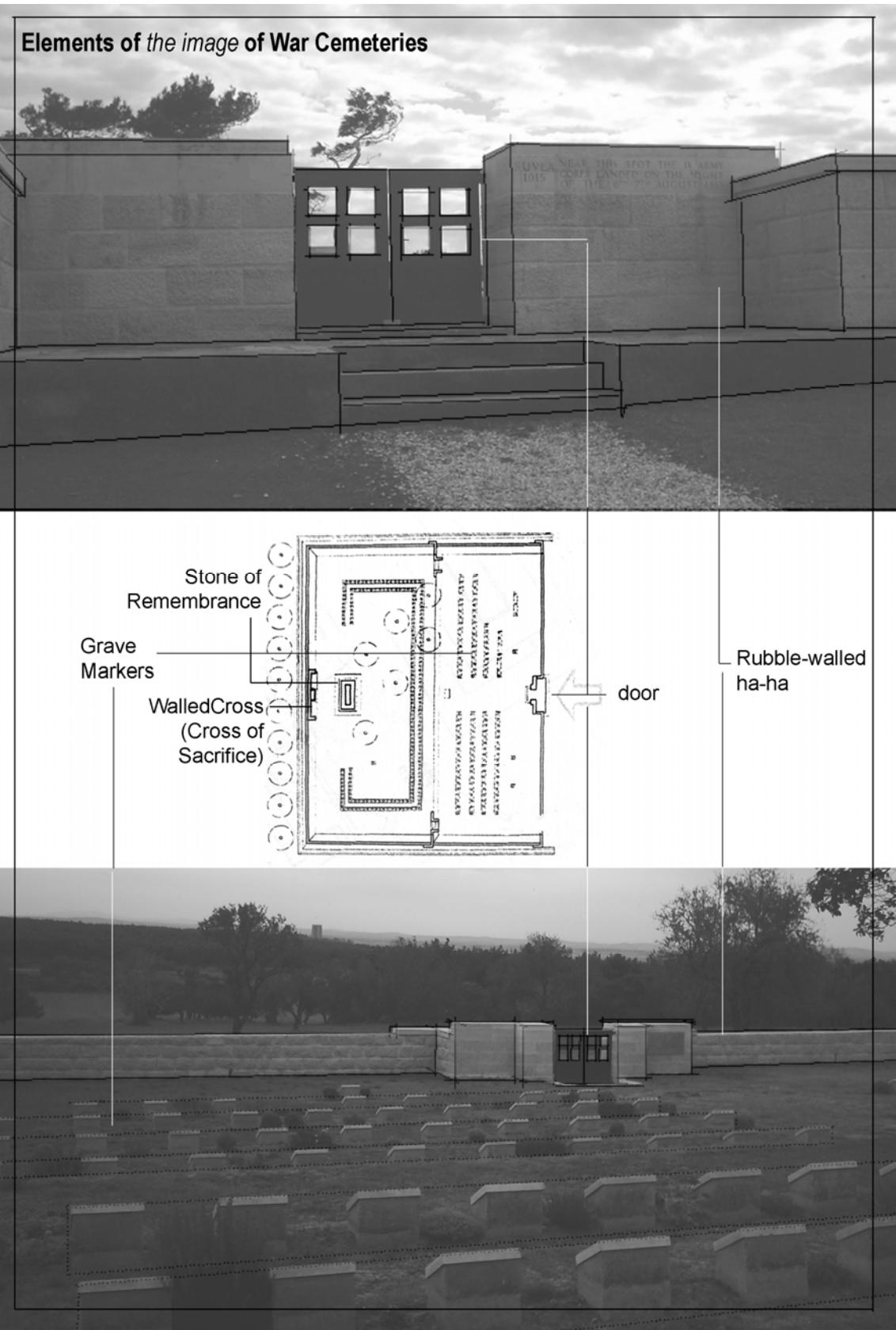
Figure 4.2 Image of War Cemeteries, Pink Farm Cemetery Entrance

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Figure 4.3 The Stone of Remembrance and The Cross of Sacrifice, Anzio Beachhead Cemetery, Italy
(Source: www.remembrancedaysong.com/pilgrimage.htm, accessed 20 July 2007)
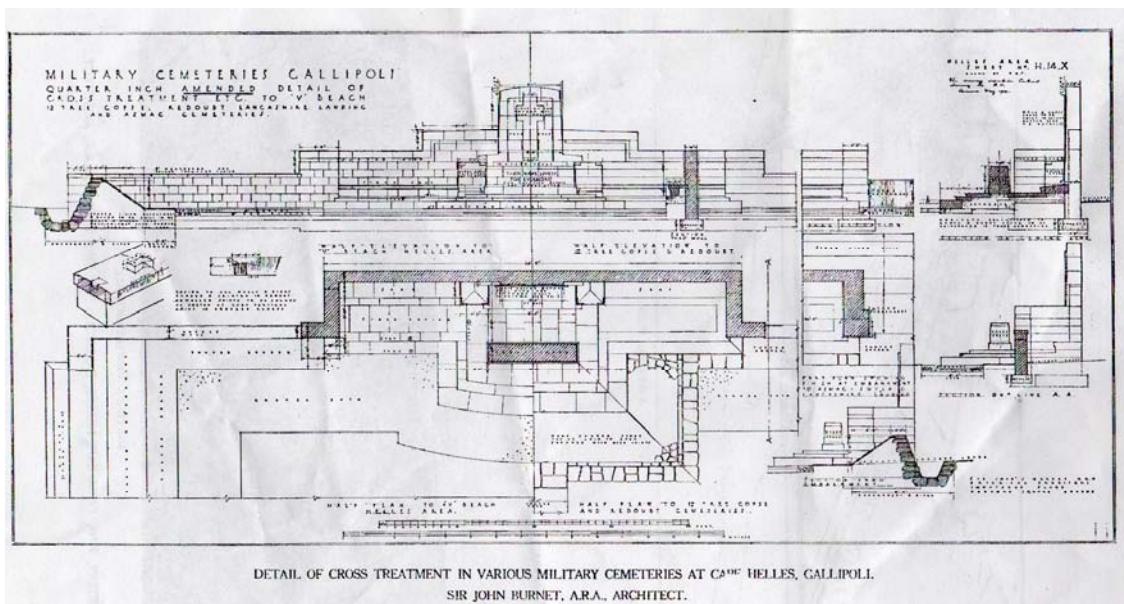
Figure 4.4 Burnet's system plan, section and elevation drawings of the stone of remembrance and the
cross of sacrifice in war cemeteries (Source: Burnet, "The War Cemeteries in the East," 513.)

The *mise-en-scène* in war cemeteries is framed by strictly defined boundary of
walls. Dense green of trees form a background for the inscribed "Cross of Sacrifice" on
white elevated wall and the stone of remembrance from the very entrance of the
cemetery (Figures 4.5; 4.6). The articulation of these elements constitutes the centre of
the vista for the visitor. They were already constructed by the Commission considering
forming focal point for ceremonies in cemeteries.[14] That's why in every combination of

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[14] G. Kingsley Ward and Major Edwin Gibson, *Courage Remembered: The Story behind the
Construction and Maintenance of the Commonwealth's Military Cemeteries and Memorials of the Wars
1914-1918 and 1939-1945* (London: HMSO, 1988; reprinted 1995), 53.

the lego-like —which the modular parts can be come together in any place with a specific solution— units of cemeteries according to the topographical considerations, the remembrance stone and the cross of sacrifice were placed the opposite side of the entrance. [15] Comparing the other battlefield cemeteries of the Commission, war cemeteries in Gallipoli are superior in number but inferior in scale and spread out to an expanse site. Burnet explains the reason of this peculiarity as that "in some cases the graves were not disturbed —merely suitably enclosed and memorial stones added; in others scattered bodies were collected and re-interred in one spot."[16]
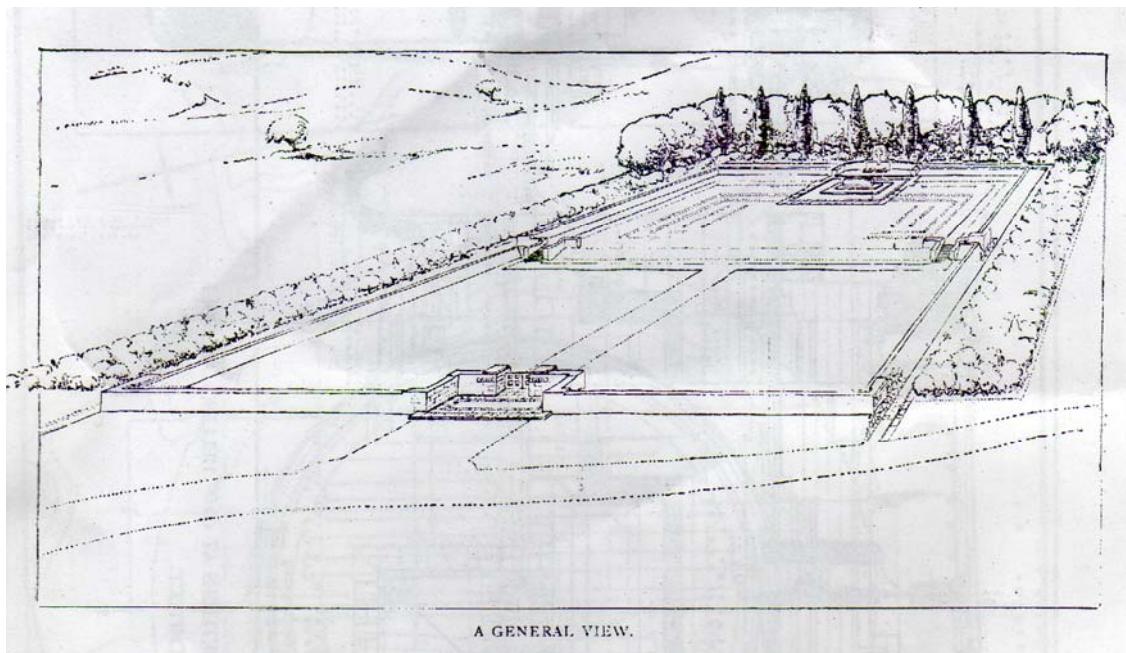
A GENERAL VIEW.

Figure 4.5 Burnet's perspective drawing of a general view of cemeteries in Gallipoli
(Source: Burnet, "The War Cemeteries in the East," 512.)

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[15] Director of the British Museum, Sir Frederick Kenyon (1863-1952) as adviser to the CWGC on the architectural treatment of cemeteries, presented a report in 24th January of 1918 after his visits to the countries where soldiers of the British Empire lost their lives. According to this report, architectural principals of the Commission's work were determined. The first and the foremost principle was on providing equal treatment to all the fallen who died in the different theatres of the war. The Commission' duty "should be carried out by the erection over the graves of all officers and men in the war cemeteries abroad of headstones of uniform dimensions, though with some variety of pattern." The reason behind this designation was explained as "the necessity for taking strong action to prevent the public from putting up unsuitable effigies in cemeteries and thought that the monuments on all graves should be uniform," and it was decided that "all 'individual eccentricity' was forbidden and what is done for one [soldier] should be done for all." According to the principals "each regiment should have its own pattern of headstones" and the "regimental feeling should be consulted as to the design of headstones." On each headstone "the rank, name, regiment and date of death of the man buried beneath it" were decided to be carved; besides it was allowed for the relatives to add a short inscription. *Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission*, 6-7; Thomas W. Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 153.

[16] Burnet, "The War Cemeteries in the East," 510.

Figure 4.6 The *mise-en-scène* of Hill 10 War Cemetery from the entrance
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

In order to be able to draw a historical and conceptual framework for the image of war cemeteries, it is required to trace the path of the design of its basic elements to their origin. One of the basic elements of the image, "the stone of remembrance" was originally designed by the official architect of the commission, Sir Edwin Lutyens.[17] It was built in war cemeteries of Gallipoli which occupy thousand and more burials.[18] Lutyens described his design as "a great fair stone of fine proportions, 12 feet in length, lying raised upon three steps… all its horizontal surfaces and planes are spherical and parts of parallel spheres."[19] The idea of making all lines and surfaces very slightly curved was based on the principal of entasis which he read from the studies on

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[17] Lutyens, after his visit to France and Belgium in July, 1917, at first place thought that "no monument could do justice to the scale of the tragedy," He, in fact, initially designed a solid ball of bronze and then eventually in August he decided on the idea of altar-like stone. Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), 73.

[18] The list of the cemeteries in which The Stone of Remembrance was constructed in Gallipoli: Lone Pine Cemetery and Memorial, Shrapnel Valley Cemetery, Hill 60 Cemetery and Memorial, V Beach Cemetery, Lancashire Landing Cemetery, Pink Farm Cemetery, Azmak Cemetery, Hill 10 Cemetery, Green Hill Cemetery and Memorial, Twelve Tree Copse Cemetery, Redoubt Cemetery.

[19] Ward and Gibson, *Courage Remembered*, 54.

Parthenon.[20] It was decided by CWGC that the stone should "bear the inscription from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, 'Their name liveth for evermore,' selected at the Commission's request by Mr. Rudyard Kipling."[21]

Making the design free from all denominational peculiarities was the primal purpose which Lutyens took into consideration. [22] In respect of the diversity of the religious beliefs of soldiers who came from various countries such as India, Canada, Australia, Lutyen's rationale seems fair and reasonable. In his letter to his wife Emily, Lutyens already stated that in the design of the stone of remembrance he made use of the pictures of the Great Stone Elephant of the Ming tombs in China in order to be able to escape from Christian symbolism.[23] The abstract and ecumenical shapes of memorials designed by Lutyens "had considerable repercussions for the style of commemoration throughout the British Empire."[24] The pagan origin of remembrance stone was so obvious for the CWGC and it was an arduous way for Lutyens to take the acceptance of his design.[25] That's why; probably they combined the image of the stone of remembrance with Blomfield's "Cross of Sacrifice."

Another basic element of the image of war cemeteries is the "walled cross." The origin of this feature is the "Cross of Sacrifice," which was designed by Sir Reginald

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[20] Longworth, 36. The entasis was an ancient technique applied to the surfaces of especially the columns. It was based on give the perpendicular surface a convex curve. Despite the fact that the reason of this application is not so clear, it is believed that this curve constitutes an illusion of muscular strength.

[21] *Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission*, 7. The full verse of the inscription is "Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore" (Ecclesiasticus Chapter 44, Verse 14).

[22] He tells the story of the acceptance of his proposal in a meeting with bishop in his letter to his wife: "I told him of my big stone idea as against the cross —the permanency, the nondenominationalism etc. He was very kind and said he was greatly and favourably impressed but would think it over." Edwin Landseer Lutyens, *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens to His Wife Lady Emily*, eds. Clayre Percy and Jane Ridley (London: Collins, 1985), 345ff.

[23] Letter to Emily 14 October 1917. For further information see: Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 107.

[24] Lutyens already chose for his memorial designs ancient architectural elements like he did for the Cenotaph in London. The formation of this empty tomb, tomb of an unknown soldier, was derived from Lycia tombs in Anatolia as he pointed. For further information see: Penolope Curtis, *Sculpture 1900-1945: After Rodin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 55.

[25] It is possible to see how the process of persuasion was arduous for Lutyens from his letters to his wife Emily. "Between July and October 1917 Lutyens, in his letters to Lady Sackville, is clearly obsessed with fighting for a classical, pagan 'stone' in opposition to all comers. On August 17, for example, he reports lobbying the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops 'for my big stone idea' at the Athenaeum, and he is 'shocked and grieved' on September 14 that the archbishop had not at least remained neutral." For reference and further information see: Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," 166.

Blomfield. Bloomfield explains his intention behind his design in his memoirs as "to make it [the cross] as abstract and impersonal as I could, to free it from any association with any particular style and, above all, to keep clear of any of the sentimentalities of the Gothic."[26] Blomfield' design became a symbol especially associated with the First World War and it was copied in local memorials in Europe in profusion.[27] The cross as a memorial had been common to be used especially in graveyards. However, according to Alan Borg, Blomfield "took an existing conventional type of monument and gave it a new inflection to suit it more specifically to the commemoration of the war dead. [… his] cross has a severe, unornamented form, an octagonal section with capped ends to each limb, and a bronze sword pointing downwards on its face."[28] The obvious figure of the cross in war cemeteries all over the world gives them connotations of Christianity which is absent in the Lutyen's "Stone of Remembrance".

Designing a Christian cemetery in a Muslim country was a great conflict for Sir John Burnet. According to his design reports and correspondences with the Commission he rejected to erect Blomfield's "Cross of Sacrifice" in the cemeteries in Gallipoli and Jerusalem not only due to the religious believes of the countries but also the lying soldiers.[29] He indicates that "in a Mohammedan country… [Blomfield's cross of sacrifice] might be provocative" furthermore could "invite vandalism." His redesign of the "Cross of Sacrifice" was only accepted for one cemetery in Gaza and for the cemeteries of Gallipoli by the Commission due to the "harsh and erosive weather," and the "Muslim nature of the country." [30] With the awareness of same anxieties Lutyens had, Burnet wanted to conceal the Christian symbols as much as possible, for the reason that he designed the war cemeteries of Gallipoli in respect of the established faith of the land. Although, Burnet's inscribed cross of sacrifice is much more austere than Blomfield's, as a result, it gives the cemetery a certain identity of one faith.

[26] Reginald Blomfield, *Memoirs of an Architect* (London: Macmillan, 1932), 179.

[27] Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism & Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1998), 150.

[28] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, 150.

[29] "Burnet further proposed redesigning the standard cross as well. At an earlier stage, he had advised the Commission, when consulted on the standard design, against putting up the cross in the war cemeteries, because, he claimed, it entailed the segregation of non-Christians (especially Indians) from their comrades. In the case of predominantly Muslim countries such as Palestine and Turkey, it was objectionable for another reason: its potential offence to native religious sentiments. Fuchs, "Sites of memory in the Holy Land," 651.

[30] Fuchs, "Sites of memory in the Holy Land," 651.

Other basic elements of the image —grave marker, rubble-walled ha-ha and the door— were designed according to the conditions of the weather, properties of the soil and the faith of the country in Gallipoli by Burnet. He preferred to use "stone-faced pedestal grave markers instead of headstones" because of not only the properties of soil but also the faith of the country. He stated that "in Gallipoli flat stones are being used to mark individual graves, and it is interesting to note that in Mahommedan countries religious prejudices are respected, and the symbol of the cross is not given a more than necessary prominence."[31] Rubble-walled ha-ha and the door of the cemetery have similar design decisions behind. They not only protect the land of the cemetery from "the ravages on the soil made by the heavy rains" but also conceal the land from the glances of the outsiders. Furthermore, Burnet had a purpose in designing the wall which is "form[ing] a background for the cross, in front of which stands, in the larger cemeteries, the Great Stone of Remembrance."[32]

In this part of the image section, I will examine the relation between the image of war cemeteries and the historical event which their image was dedicated. Since, they are war cemeteries it is possible to argue that they are built to commemorate the loss. In this case, the historical event becomes sacrificed lives in Gallipoli Battles. It is written on the altar-like stone of remembrance "their names liveth for ever more." The canonical origins of its shape and formation can easily be traced to the ancient periods. An ordinary visitor of a war cemetery in Gallipoli is expected to perceive the stone of remembrance as a symbol of the sacrifice of the fallen.[33] The historian Alan Borg states in his book *War Memorials* that "in antiquity a sacred precinct often enclosed an altar, and a number of memorials consciously adopt an altar-like form. Lutyen's Great War Stone clearly makes reference to the concept of a sacrificial altar."[34] The promise of eternal remembrance unifies with the conventional symbol of sacrifice and gives the

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[31] Burnet, "The War Cemeteries in the East," 510.

[32] Ibid.

[33] In his book *Battlefield Tourism* David W Lloyd paraphrases the words of the relative of a fallen who visited the grave of his kin in a war cemetery in 1930s France. The pilgrim calls his lost kin as follows: "… all these poor men here died just so that you could be walking about in the sun without a care in the world…You see what it says on top of that big stone cross there? Their Sacrifice Was Not in Vain. So just you remember that. And show your manners." David W Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage & the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia & Canada* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1998), 176.

[34] Borg, *War Memorials,* p. 132. As a definition altar is a "table or similar raised structure used in many cultures and throughout history for sacrificial, Eucharistic or other religious purposes." *Grove Art Online: The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Altar."

message of that lost lives were not in vain. The existence of the cross of sacrifice enhances the expression of sacrifice and the promise of endless life in peace. According to Alan Borg "one of the basic Christian meanings of the cross is hope born of suffering and this is the theme of a number of cross memorials."[35] In his essay "The Sacred Environment," Fran Speed explains the reason behind the choise of the commission and the concept of sacrifice in commemoration as follow:

> The effect is to underscore not only the Commission's intention to convey the idea of the Empire's honouring all creeds and none, but also the desired concept of common sacrifice. Sacrifice is an emotive concept. It prompts narratives that speak of courageous selfless offering in the relinquishment of life. Such imaginings may provoke feelings of pity, either because we feel sorrow for innocent lives that have been taken unjustly, or because it induces fear, in what we fear ourselves provokes our pity when it happens to others.[36]

The great majority of the number of the grave markers dedicated to fallen underlines the expression of loss in the French Cemetery and Memorial of Gallipoli as well (Figure 4.7). The high quantity of these metal crosses causes the visitor to perceive the obelisk tower memorial of the cemetery like floating in the sea of crosses. Comparing this image to CWGC's work is perceived more unpretentious in terms of the symbol of the faith. On the white surface of the wall, which separates the obelisk from the cemetery and forms a background for the crosses, it is inscribed that "Ave Gallia Immortalis" [Praise Immortal France] and a quotation from Victor Hugo[37] (Figure 4.8). These statements and the general impression of the image of the inside of the cemetery gives the message that people could be lost or sacrificed for the immortality of their nations. The image of the cemetery by means of all its elements crystallises the purpose of its erection; commemorating the sacrificed lives. It is an undeniable fact that there are very few things in the world that demonstrate the loss more than a tombstone. Besides, if the image of the grave is combined with an inscription on the surface of the grave marker, added by the relatives of the fallen, like the way it is in Gallipoli, it directly denotes the real historical event; the loss. The number of the gravestones in the war

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[35] Borg, *War Memorials*, 94.

[36] Fran Speed, "The Sacred Environment: An Investigation of the Sacred and Its Implications for Place-making," in *Constructing Place: Mind and Matter*, ed. Sarah Menin (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 58.

[37] The quotation from Victor Hugo is as follows: "Glory to our eternal France; Glory to those who died for her; To the martyrs, to the valiant, to the strong; To those who inspired by their example; Who wish a place in the temple; And who will die as they lived." For further information see: Bademli, *et. al. The Catalogue*, 57.

cemetery increases this effect.[38] They become the concrete symbols of the loss by means of the war. Therefore, it is possible to assert that the image inside of the enclosed war cemeteries has a direct relation with the historical event which it was dedicated.

Figure 4.7 The view of French War Cemetery from the entrance
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Figure 4.8 The white Wall in the French War Cemetery and Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

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[38] At the very beginning of his essay named "In Gallipoli's Shadow" historian of First World War Bruce Scates tells the story of a pilgrim in Gallipoli. This is the story of a woman in her sixties who lost her cousin in Gallipoli, who travelled to the battlefields in the year of 1995. Although she knew the Peninsula in detail from her former readings she pointed out "nothing prepared me for the sheer awfulness of the landscape… to walk along and read the names + inscriptions + ages of the soldiers makes one feel so sad… no-one who has stood at Gallipoli or seen the huge cemeteries in Flanders can fail to be inspired." Another pilgrim of the Peninsula, a daughter of an Australian officer, told that "we stood at Arı Burnu where the landing took place, and at Anzac Cove and the Shrapnel Valley Cemetery… It was moving to read the names and ages and the inscriptions on the gravestones, experiencing the sorrow, love, pride, hurt, puzzlement, despair, hope and faith of the families." As far as Scates states that these experiences are very typical in the interviews he made with 200 Australians in their pilgrimages to First World War cemeteries. Bruce Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow: Pilgrimage, Memory, Mourning and the Great War" *Australian Historical Studies* 119 (April 2002): 1-21.

On the other hand, if one looks at the image of all the war cemeteries before their entrance on the landscape of Gallipoli, it would be hard for him/her to give a meaning to their presence on this vast site. Image of war cemeteries have in fact two faces as inner and outer. Purposefully, they conceal their nature from the glance of outsiders. Especially, in front of most of the cemeteries of CWGC, a person can only perceive a wall with a moat like structure and unembellished entrance (Figure 4.12). The only thing that gives a clue about the purpose of its existence is the inscription which indicates the name of the cemetery on the one side of the gate. Therefore, it is possible to assert that for most of the cemeteries there is a sharp contrast in perception of the image from inside and outside. The cemetery manifests and emphasises the historical event it was built to commemorate through the compounds of its image inside, while from the outside it carefully conceals. In fact, I consider that this sharp opposition increases the impact of the inner image of the cemetery on the visitor. Nevertheless, the identical repetitive character of the war cemeteries of CWGC diminishes this opposition. After the first encounter, the visitor starts to recognise the cemetery from the outside by reason of the recursive architectural and structural elements of it. This peculiarity provides the visitor with a new relation between the image of the exterior of the cemetery and the historical event it was dedicated. However, there are also cemeteries of which image opens to the landscape unboundedly. In those few examples image has just one side and has direct relation with the historical event.

Locus

The analysis of locus of war cemeteries requires first of all an exact determination. To determine the locus of war cemeteries may seem an obvious process due to their highly definite boundaries. When the analysis of the locus of war cemeteries is mentioned, probably the first denotation which comes to the mind will be their strictly defined enclosed space. This comprehension would not be inaccurate but inadequate. In fact, the locus of the enclosed cemetery exists in the locus of the landscape of the memory of Gallipoli Battles. The effect of this greater locus on the perception of the outer face of the image cannot be underestimated. Therefore, in war cemeteries it is possible to examine the locus in two main parts as inner-locus and outer-locus. In few examples the locus is perceived as a whole from inside and outside (Figures 4.9; 4.10).

The locus of War Cemeteries

Rubble-walled ha-ha

Rubble-walled ha-ha

Grave Markers

Inner *locus*

outer*locus*

Rubble-walled ha-ha

outer*locus*

Grave Markers

Inner*locus*

Rubble-walled ha-ha
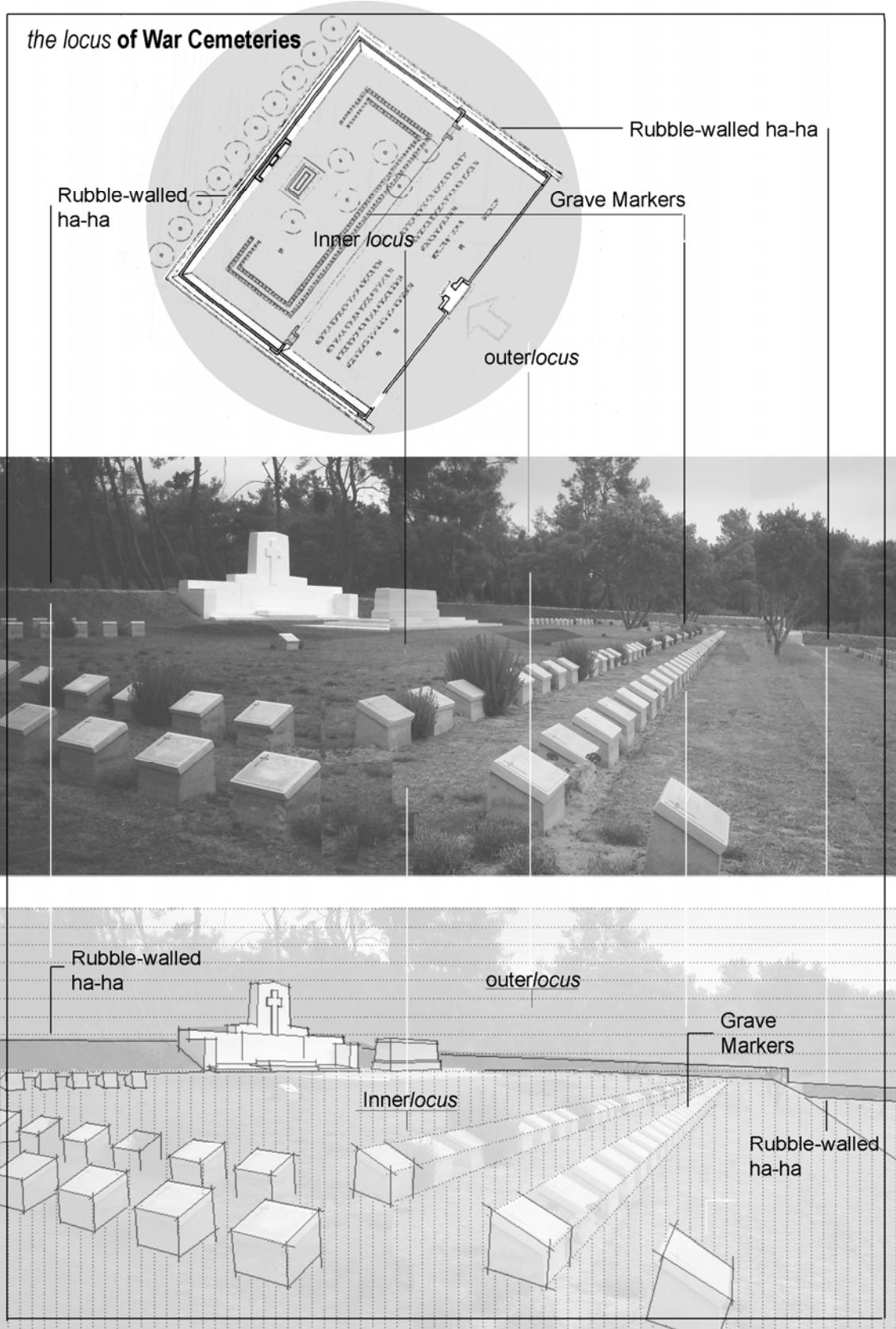
Figure 4.9 Locus of War Cemeteries, Pink Farm Cemetery

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

the *locus* **of War Cemeteries**

Commemorative Plate

locus

locus

Grave Markers

locus

Walled Cross
(Cross of Sacrifice)

Commemorative Plate

*locus*

Commemorative
Plate
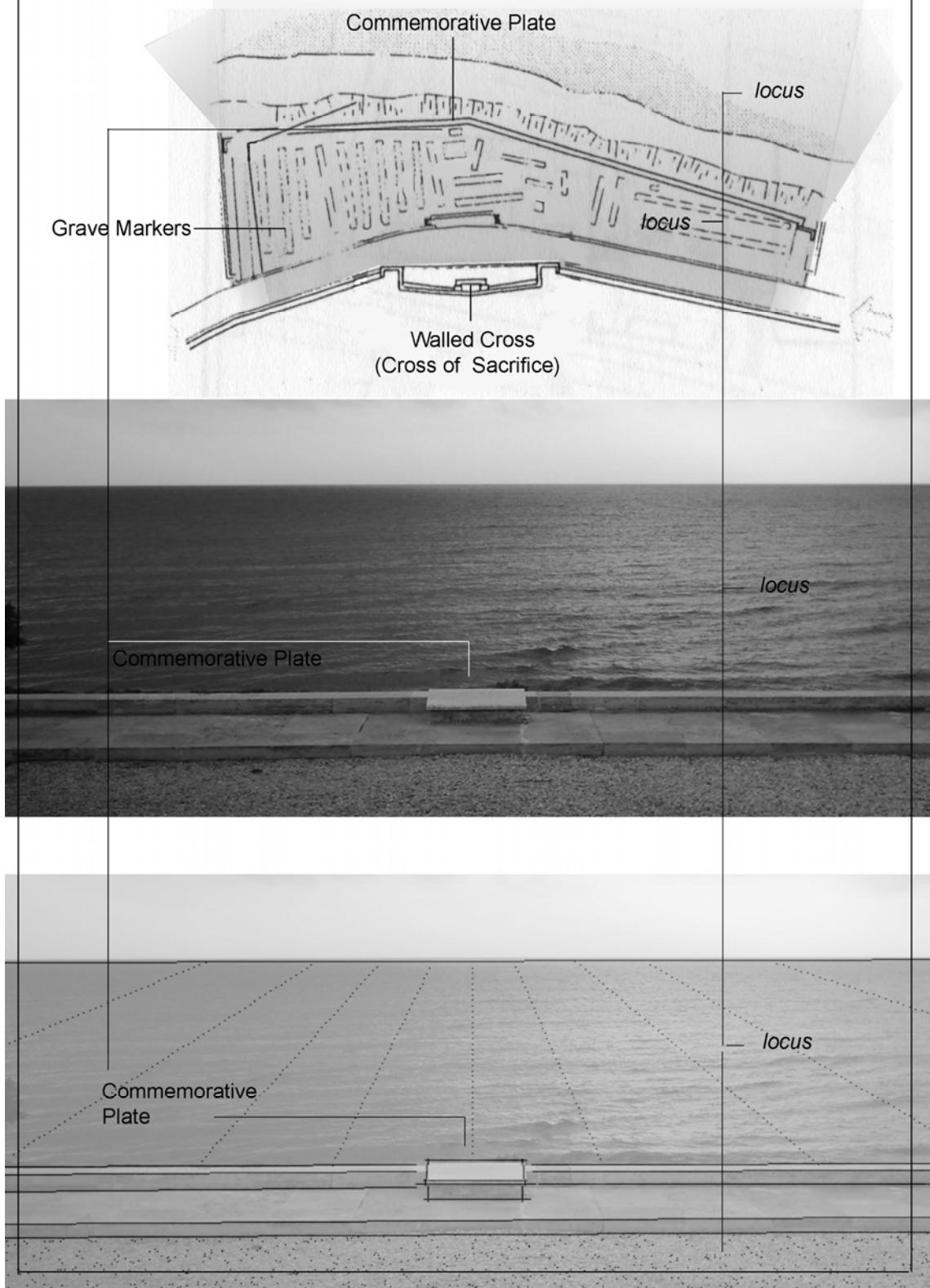
locus

Figure 4.10 Locus of War Cemeteries, Beach War Cemetery

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Inner-locus of the cemeteries is defined by the rubble-walled ha-ha and the rows of the pedestal stone grave markers. This enclosed space of war cemeteries has a commemorative predominance in the remembering processes of individuals. The outer-locus is in fact the landscape of Gallipoli Battles. The priority and exceptional meaning of this landscape in the entire Peninsula was unquestionably acknowledged with the Peace Park Competition. Although the relevant articles of the Treaty of Lausanne have preserved the battlefields against habitation, it was not possible to talk about same kind of protection for the other parts of the Park. The understanding of handling the landscape as a whole emerged in 1980s and has hardly been developed in the process of the Competition. For these reasons outer-locus of war cemeteries do not have identical properties. Although in few examples urban settlement has become a part of this locus, most of them have been protected alike as they were at the end of the Campaign as possible. I will examine these different sides of the locus of war cemeteries by means of two issues of the analysing method: *detachment* and *guidance.* Detachment as an issue refers to the condition of individual determined by the locus of war cemetery. I will examine the peculiarities of the locus in order to reveal whether it detaches individual from actual flow of time and space or not. Guidance corresponds to question the elements of locus, which are designed and constructed to conduct the movement of individual.

From the point of view of the issue of *detachment* of the analysis, the design principals of cemeteries of CWGC which was designated in the first Annual Report becomes important. In this report it was pointed out that "each cemetery should be fenced in by some durable boundary, preferably a low wall."[39] In respect of this principle all the cemeteries of the Commission in Gallipoli were surrounded with strictly defined boundaries (Figure 4.10). According to Ron Fuchs as he states in his essay "Sites of Memory in the Holy Land," Burnet proposed to design the cemeteries "as secluded gardens," and he tried to construct England's "green and pleasant land" in these enemy territories.[40] Vegetation was created in detail as a part of the design of cemetery. Some of them were chosen to give scale to the cemetery, some of them to be a boundary. In either way the aim of the commission was to give "a new connotation to the depressing word 'cemetery'" and they really "made them seem like parks and

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[39] *Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission*, 6.

[40] Fuchs, "Sites of Memory in the Holy Land," 651.

gardens and yet without disguising what they were." [41] In Gallipoli the designs of "the landscapers, horticulturalists and gardeners" were carefully implemented in order to form "their 'gardens'" and "to avoid the depressing appearance of many cemeteries."[42] In fact, generating a well-defined, protected and sacred garden was an initial idea which is proposed at the very beginning of the foundation process of the Commission.[43]

Figure 4.11 The rubble-walled ha-ha of Lancashire Landing War Cemetery
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

According to Foucault, both the gardens and the cemeteries are heterotopias for the reason that they have "the power of juxtaposing in a single real place different

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[41] Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 73.

[42] Ward and Gibson, *Courage Remembered*, 55.

[43] After the investigation of various design proposals for the cemeteries Sir Frederick Kenyon, the adviser to the CWGC on the architectural treatment of cemeteries stated as follows: "In the first alternative, the cemetery will have the appearance of a small park or garden… in no way recognisable as a cemetery except the presence of some symbol such as cross or altar-stone… In the second alternative, the cemetery will be marked by rows of headstones, of a uniform height and width, the graves themselves being levelled to a flat surface and planted with turf and flowers. Although it is not desired that our war cemeteries shall be gloomy places, it is right that the fact that they are cemeteries…should be evident at first sight." Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 32.

spaces and locations that are incompatible with each other."[44] In his well known essay
"Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias" he defines heterotopian places "outside of
all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality" as a
counter site of utopias.[45] Furthermore, Foucault states that cemeteries are highly
heterotopian places. According to this conceptual framework not only the enclosed war
cemeteries but also the battlefields in Gallipoli can be interpreted as heterotopias *par
excellence*. Being "outside of all places" inevitably constitutes a detachment for the
individual. The cemeteries are the protected islands in very heterogeneous locus of the
Battlefields and are really enclosed places. This "enclosure" brings also isolation from
actual time and space for the visitor. Foucault calls this effect as time-bound in
heterochronies.[46] Foucault argues that "it is easy to see how the cemetery is a highly
heterotopian place, in that it begins with that strange *heterochronism* that is, for a
human being, the loss of life and of that quasi-eternity in which, however, it does not
cease to dissolve and be erased."[47] The war cemeteries produce *heterochronies* because,
they are the great embodiments of death but at the same time, the commemorative
structures on them are the symbols of endless life reduced to a slogan in the statement
of "their names liveth for ever more."

In most of the cemeteries, the design of the boundaries of the locus prevents the
visitor from perceiving the landscape of memory. War cemeteries were designed to give
"a feeling of solace and peace, not of depression."[48] They form highly defined protected
gardens on the landscape of Gallipoli Battles. I argue that the war cemeteries in
Gallipoli were designed to accomplish the earthly paradise for the fallen in an isolated

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[44] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *Rethinking Architecture,*
ed. Neil Leach (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 354.

[45] According to Foucault "heterotopias are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine
language" for so many reasons; "because they make it impossible to name this and that, because they
shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy 'syntax' in advance, and not only the syntax with
which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to
and opposite one another) to 'hold together'. For reference see: Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An
Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Routledge, 1970), xviii. For
heterotopian places further information about see: Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and
Heterotopias," 350-56.

[46] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 355.

[47] Ibid., 354.

[48] Ward and Gibson, *Courage Remembered*, 55.

and protected land.[49] Their sacred milieu intensifies this comprehension. They are the landscapes of not only remembering but also forgetting. Inside of the cemetery the visitor is compelled to remember the bravery of the fallen soldiers and in the meantime to forget the dangerous, hazardous and uncanny environment of the bloody battles. In the war cemeteries time is bounded; bounded in a timeless period. Introverted characteristics of the place freeze the time in the cemetery. Sometimes one or two boundaries dissolve to let the view of the important vistas. Even in those circumstances they transform the landscape of the memory of the Battles into the framed pictures. For instance, in the Beach War Cemetery the border on the shoreline dissolves in order to give a vista to the place where the Anzacs landed on April 25th of 1915. Furthermore, a commemorative plate which explains the importance of this frame informs the visitor about their view (Figure 4.15). When he/she enters the doors of the cemetery, the visitor is detached from the actual flow of time and space. In fact, the strictly enclosed space of cemeteries constitutes an alternative reality which is experienced not identically but similarly again and again in different parts of the landscape.

Outer-locus of highly introverted cemeteries demonstrates different characteristics from the inner one. Identical outer face of all cemeteries gives the feeling that the location of the cemetery is independent of the landscape itself. Contrary to this impression, all of the war cemeteries of Gallipoli were placed where the soldiers lost their lives[50]. There are cemeteries which were constructed on the shoreline of landing and are superior in the number of the fallen commemorated, on the other hand there are also those which were placed on top of the cliffs of Arıburnu and inferior in the number of the fallen commemorated. The distinct characteristics of the bloody battles constitute the *genius* of those places. The *Genius Loci* was in fact a term from antiquity which

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[49] The paradise firstly named as "Elysian Fields" by Homer in Odyssey. Richards S. Caldwell, *The Origin of the Gods: A Psychoanalytic Study of Greek Theogonic Myths* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 157 According to a theory "since the dawn of the civilisation," since the Fall "humankind has ceaselessly endeavoured to recreate this mythical paradise," the Eden as a garden. Gabrielle van Zuylen, *The Garden: Visions of Paradise* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 11. In 1735, right at the beginning of the Garden design period in England, William Kent constructed "Elysian Fields" at Stowe.[49] Particularly, commemorative monuments in the gardens were constructed to enhance the feeling of "Elysian Fields," the lost Garden of Eden for the blessed one. These non-functional structures except for observing enhance the heterotopian peculiarity of the place for the reason that they overlap different architectural manners of different period in one place. David R. Coffin, *The English Garden: Meditation and Memorial* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 1, 218.

[50] In early stages of the work of commemoration in Gallipoli CWGC decided that "though some remains found exposed on the hillsides would be brought into the cemeteries, most bodies would remain, as a visiting chaplain put it, "where they fell, in most cases on the plot of ground they gave their lives to gain and hold." For further information: Peter W. Stanley, *Quinn's Post: Anzac, Gallipoli* (Sydney: Allen& Unwin, 2005), 188.

means the spirit of the place. With the assistance of intellects like John Milton, William Temple, Alexander Pope, "the need to 'consult the Genius of the Place' becomes a cardinal principle" in design of the gardens in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[51] The design of English garden in this period was based on observations, patient investigations on the nature of the landscape what was called as 'histories'.[52] According to them these histories already formed the *genius* of the place. The "histories" of the locus of war cemeteries are defined by the places where soldiers lost their lives. Lego like peculiarity of the design of the cemeteries makes them easily adoptable to surrounding environment. Detaching effect of this outer-locus vary from one cemetery to another. In some parts of the Park where the peculiarities of the landscape of battles have been preserved, detachment effect of the outer-locus gets strong. On the other hand, in other parts where the habitation became part of the landscape, detachment effect weakens. It is important to note that most of the war cemeteries stand on highly preserved areas.

From the point of view of the issue of *guidance* which focuses on the movement of individuals, locus should be considered in two parts as inner and outer once again for most of the war cemeteries. Because, in Gallipoli, most of the war cemeteries are highly introverted. They have enclosed and strictly defined environments. The principal elements and their geometrical organisation in the cemetery are pre-defined, but their location varies according to the properties of the landscape in which cemetery was constructed. The stone of remembrance and the cross of sacrifice always exist on the opposite side of the entrance and on an above level. The informative panel on the ground right in front of the entrance informs the visitor about the number of the identified and unidentified burials commemorated in that cemetery (Figure 4.12). The path defined by the line of the headstones leads the visitor to the stone of remembrance,

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[51] In fact, this period has its own artistic, social, intellectual dimensions and they manifested themselves in the design of gardens. It is common to acknowledge the English landscape garden as "planting pictures" since it has explicit relations with the Picturesque painting. The notion has an intense connection with the movement of Romanticism. Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, trans. Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callander, and Antony Wood (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 260. With the well-known verses of Alexander Pope' poem *Epistle to Lord Burlington* (1731) it became the pivotal term of the period. In his poem Pope envisages a place as follows: To build, to plant, whatever you intend; To rear the Column or the Arch to bend; To swell the Terras or to sink the Grot; In all, let *Nature* never be forgot; Consult the *Genius of the Place* in all…Alexander Pope, "Epistle to Lord Burlington", in *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden*, eds. J. D. Hunt and P. Willis (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1988), 211-214.

[52] John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, "Introduction," in *The Genius of the Place*, eds. Dixon and Willis, 211-214.

and that path definitely never takes him/her directly to that place (Figure 4.9; 4.12). Because the direct access is obstructed by the lines of the headstones and the visitor is impelled to pass along the path in front of the headstones which are located in the direction that he/she can easily read.[53]

Figure 4.12 The view of entrance and informative panel on the ground, Twelve Tree Copse Cemetery
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

The sacredness of the locus of war cemeteries is increased and even dominated by the stone of remembrance "in the way that the monolith's 'sacred aura' is diffused over the neighbouring space and everything in it."[54] Those sites which were organised in a rank according to their sacredness, gradually prepare the visitor for the ultimate remembering experience. In the first place, with the entrance the visitor is informed about the number of the person commemorated in the site. Thereupon he/she is compelled to follow a defined path among the headstones of those persons. Finally he/she reaches the most sacred part of the cemetery named as stone of remembrance. In most of the war cemeteries, the visitor is compelled to experience the locus in a pre-defined way by means of the articulation of the principal architectural elements. The conditions of outer-locus of such kind of highly introverted cemeteries are determined by the landscape of the battles itself. Particularly, in highly preserved parts of the landscape individual surprisingly crosses the cemeteries' path. There exists no element to guide the visitor's movements through those cemeteries. On the other hand, there is

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[53] A pilgrim of a war cemetery of CWGC in Flanders tells his experience as follows. "I opened the gate, [I] walked the carefully tended stepping stones, [I] reached the modest bronze plaque set into the ground on the edge of Pozieres Ridge. I kissed my fingers and touched the plaque." Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow," 16.

[54] Speed, "The Sacred Environment," 58.

also few small scale cemeteries which neither their boundaries nor their paths are strictly determined [55] (Figure 4.13). In all those small scale cemeteries the view of the landscape of the Battles has a peculiar importance in terms of memory. In this kind of cemeteries, inner-locus unifies the outer-locus and locus is perceived as a whole. The locus of such kind of cemeteries does not strictly guide the movements of individuals. They just define a spatial niche on the landscape.

Figure 4.13 The Nek Cemetery
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Image-Locus Relation

The analysis of image-locus relation depends on the determinations of the image and locus made beforehand. For highly enclosed war cemeteries locus is again acknowledged in two different parts as inner and outer. From the inside of the cemetery it is not possible to parse the image and the locus. They merge into one another. The architectural elements which can easily be determined as images start to define the locus (Figure 4.14). The locus *per se* constitutes the intrinsic part of the image of the cemetery. Image and locus of them are highly related to each other. It is possible to mention that image becomes locus inside of the cemetery. We can call this the spatialization of the image. Considering that the war cemeteries were constructed on the places where the soldiers lost their lives, in fact it is possible to assert that objectification of the locus occurs too.

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[55] There are ten cemeteries of which one border melts in the landscape as: Johnston's Jolly, 4th Battalion Parade Ground, Courtney's and Steel's Post, The Nek, Baby 700, The Farm, Plugge's Plateau Cemetery, Canterbury, No:2 Outpost, New Zealand No:2 Outpost Cemetery.

Figure 4.14 Image-locus Relation of Cemeteries, V Beach Cemetery

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Although the *genius* of the place constitutes a significant determinant for the design of the cemeteries especially in their localisation, as an image war cemetery does not dissolve in the landscape of the Battles. The great majority of them are introverted and this introversion decreases its relation with the locus of the landscape of Gallipoli Battles. Their whole image does not interfere and they just perch upon the existing topography. They are detached from the place they belong by means of their high retaining walls and deep channels like a fortress. Few cemeteries let the landscape come in on purpose but in a controlled manner. For instance, the shoreline where the landing of Anzacs occurred diffuses over Beach War Cemetery. Except for those examples, most of the cemeteries as image differentiate themselves from the landscape of memory but in an unpretentious way. Their image is not highlighted in the surroundings. In spite of the relation between the location of the locus and its genius, for enclosed war cemeteries the relation between the outer face of the image and outer-locus looks weak.

Concluding Remarks

> *Absolute space is thus also and above all the space of death, the space of death's absolute power over the living (a power of which their sole sovereign partakes). Tombs and funerary monuments belong, then, to absolute space, and this in their dual aspect of formal beauty and terrifying content.*
>
> Henri Lefebvre - *The Production of Space* [56]

The elements of the image of the enclosed war cemeteries can be listed as: Walled-cross of Sacrifice, The Stone of Remembrance, Grave Markers, Rubble-walled Ha-ha and the Door. The locus of them is defined by the elements listed as: Rubble-walled Ha-ha and the rows of the Grave Markers. War cemeteries in Gallipoli have strong relations with the concept of garden. Especially CWGC constructed them as protected and saved land in the landscape of the memory of the bloody battles like a sacred garden of Paradise. Therefore, most of them are introverted and highly defined enclosed spaces in which even the eye contact from the outside to inside can hardly be established. From the outside of the cemetery it is hard to recognise its function, whilst from the inside the components of its image emphasise and underline that it is a

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[56] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford; Cambridge Mass.: Blackwell, 1991), 235.

cemetery. Each element of image of the cemetery persistently remind the historical event for which it was constructed; the loss and sacrifice. In this sense, I argue that there is a strong relation between the historical event and its representation as image inside of the cemetery, (a relation that cannot be found in its exterior).

Some of war cemeteries were placed on top of the hills where it takes an extra effort to reach. The similar outer images of these cemeteries dot the battlefields and constitute milestones and referential points for the visitor which give him the information on the battle that took place in that location. The priority of their localisation is the *genius* of the place rather than the access of individuals. Outer-locus of enclosed war cemeteries does not guide the movement of individuals. Furthermore, the landscape of the cemetery does not demonstrate homogenous characteristics. Outer-locus of the cemeteries in the preserved parts of the Park area detaches the visitor from the actual flow of time and space. On the other hand, in the parts of the Park where housing developed and interfere the landscape of battles, the perception of individual is not detached. Inside of the cemeteries the visitor is not only detached from the landscape of memory and actual time but also his/her movement is strictly controlled. In enclosed cemeteries it is not possible to separate image and inner-locus from each other. From the outer point of view, the whole image of the cemetery, except for the few examples, does not form a relation with the landscape of memory of Gallipoli Battles. However, in few examples some of the boundaries of those cemeteries dissolve and their image start to be a part of that peculiar place, start to melt in the locus of Gallipoli Battles.

4.1.2. Obelisk-shaped Monuments

...he read of the Obelisk in the Place de la Concorde that weeps tears of granite in its lonely sunless exile, and longs to be back by the hot lotus-covered Nile, where there are Sphinxes, and rose-red ibises,...[57]

Picture of Dorian Gray-Oscar Wilde

As might have been expected, obelisk-shaped monuments constitute the great majority of the monuments in the boundaries of the Gallipoli National and Historical

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[57] Oscar Wilde, *Picture of Dorian Gray* (East Rutherford, NJ: Viking Penguin, 2001), 201.

Park. This is not surprising considering the fact that the obelisks and pillar monuments have been among the most preferred monuments of diverse cultures for the entire history of civilisation. The site of the Park consists of nine Turkish, six Allied Nations' and the total of fifteen obelisk-shaped monuments[58]. The construction of those monuments does not demonstrate timely similarities. Allied Nations' obelisk-shaped monuments were erected in the period between 1918 and 1926. On the other hand, the construction period of Turkish obelisk-shaped and pillar monuments varies from 1910's to 2000's. In the twentieth century, combination of the conventional forms of commemorative architecture caused a diversification in obelisk-shaped monuments as well.[59] It is also possible to observe these multiform monuments in the architectural memorialisation of Gallipoli Battles in the area of the Park.

The monuments which are most akin to the traditional form of the obelisk are Cape Helles Memorial, New Zealand Memorial erected by Allied Nations and Turkish Havuzlar Memorial (Figure 4.15). Their simple, elemental, tapering form and their proportions (between their height and width) constitute the evidences of this similarity. On the other hand, Green Hill Memorial, Hill 60 Memorial and Lone Pine Memorial, which are located in the boundaries of the war cemeteries, differentiate especially with respect to their proportions from conventional obelisk form (Figure 4.16). Alan Borg describes Lone Pine Memorial as "a squat obelisk with plain crosses on each face."[60] Most of the Turkish obelisk-shaped monuments, even though are formed by tapering rectangular shape, are too small in scale in comparison to the Allied Nation's. Another distinctive point is that they are mostly combined with mortar shells. Definitely, the most interesting obelisk-shaped monument of Turks is the Kireçtepe Memorial, because it consists of just mortar shells (Figure 4.17). French Memorial constitutes a typical example of derivative obelisks of twentieth century as a combination of an obelisk with a bell tower (Figure 4.7).

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[58] Turkish ones are Akbaş Memorial, Fevzi Çakmak Memorial, Gözetleme Tepe Memorial, Havuzlar Memorial, Kireçtepe Memorial, Mehmet Çavuş Memorial, Sargıyeri Memorial, Sonok Memorial, Yarbay Hasan Bey Memorial. Allied Nations' one are French Memorial, Cape Helles Memorial, Chunuk Bair Memorial, Green Hill Memorial, Hill 60 Memorial, Lone Pine Memorial.

[59] "When it came to designing monuments to the fallen of the Great War artists turned first to those traditions of memorial art which had been established and recognised over the centuries. In particular, they revived the accepted symbolic forms and figures which had attained a universal meaning. At the same time many aimed to reinterpret these symbols, to combine one with another, and generally to impart a specific, even consciously intellectual tone to the established vocabulary of forms." Borg, *War Memorials*, 86.

[60] Borg, *War Memorials*, 3.

Figure 4.15 a. Havuzlar Memorial b. Chunuk Bair Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Figure 4.16 a. Lone Pine Memorial b. Hill 60 Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)
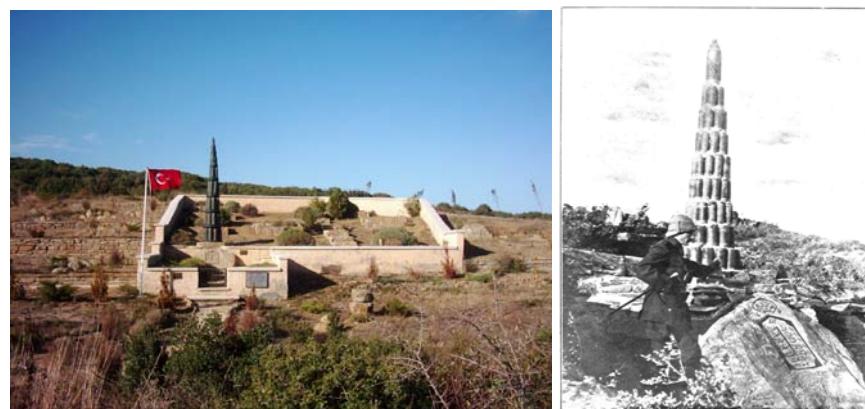
Figure 4.17 a. Kireçtepe Memorial b. Memorial with Atatürk
(Sources: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive and Kabatepe Museum)

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Image

Image of obelisk-shaped monuments in Gallipoli are obviously their obelisk-shaped forms (Figure 4.18). I will first of all give the background of this traditional form and generate a conceptual framework. Obelisk as one of the oldest form of memorialisation has indispensable connections with not only art and architecture but also philosophy and literature. I will try to reveal those connections in order to be able to draw that framework. That framework will provide me with an understanding of the relation between its image and the historical event for which it was erected. As war memorials, obelisk-shaped and pillar monuments constitute one of the most preferred commemorative structures.[61] According to Alan Borg, the reason behind the fact that the military as an image of its power prefers the block of stone is its simplicity and recognizability.[62] Although it is not exactly known who erected first stone to commemorate his/her victory or war itself, well-known ancient historian Herodotus (484 BC- 425 BC) tells the story of a pharaoh of Egypt, Sesostris who erected columns on the battlefields and lands he conquered.[63] In fact, the cult of megalith and *Menhir*, in other words erection of monolithic stones, originates in the Neolithic age and they can be seen in many places from England to Nubian Desert.[64]

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[61] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, 131.

[62] Borg, *War Memorials*, 2.

[63] Herodotus, *Herodotus*, trans. William Beloe (London: Jones, 1831), 102-103. Despite the fact that the word obelisk was derived from a Greek word ὀβελίσκος which means "little spear," the origin of the obelisk is in Egyptian culture and it is called in hieroglyphs *tekhen* which means "sun stone." E. A. Wallis Budge, *Mummy: A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology* (London: Kessinger, 2003), p. 452. In ancient Egypt, it was believed that the obelisks were the abodes of Ra and the other solar gods. However from the time of Ptolemies onwards they started to be used to commemorate special events. Budge, *Mummy*, 452. According to the Roman historian Pliny the elder, Gaius Plinius Secundus (23 cir.-79 cir.) the first Egyptian King who ordered to erect an obelisk was Mitres. J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians*, 3 Vols. V. 3 (London: John Murray, 1837), 333. As far as it is known that "from the Middle Kingdom onwards, pairs of obelisks were erected in front of a temple on the occasion of a Royal Jubilee," and "their sides were often inscribed, and the pyramidal top was cased in gold which dazzlingly reflected the light of the sun." Gwendolyn Leick, *Dictionary of Ancient near Eastern Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1988), 152. The apex of an obelisk was considered as a different part and it was called as *ben* or *benben* which meant "shine," "radiate," or "reflect." Erik Iversen, "Obelisk: Ancient Egypt," *Grove Art Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007). For further information see: Erik Iversen, "Obelisk: Later History," *Grove Art Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007). E. A. Wallis Budge, *Cleopatra's Needles and Other Egyptian Obelisks* (London: Kessinger, 2003),

[64] Gary R. Varner, *Menhirs, Dolmen and Circles of Stone: The Folklore and the Magic of Sacred Stone* (London: Algora, 2004), 85. According to the famous Egyptologist E. A. Wallis Budge (1857-1934)
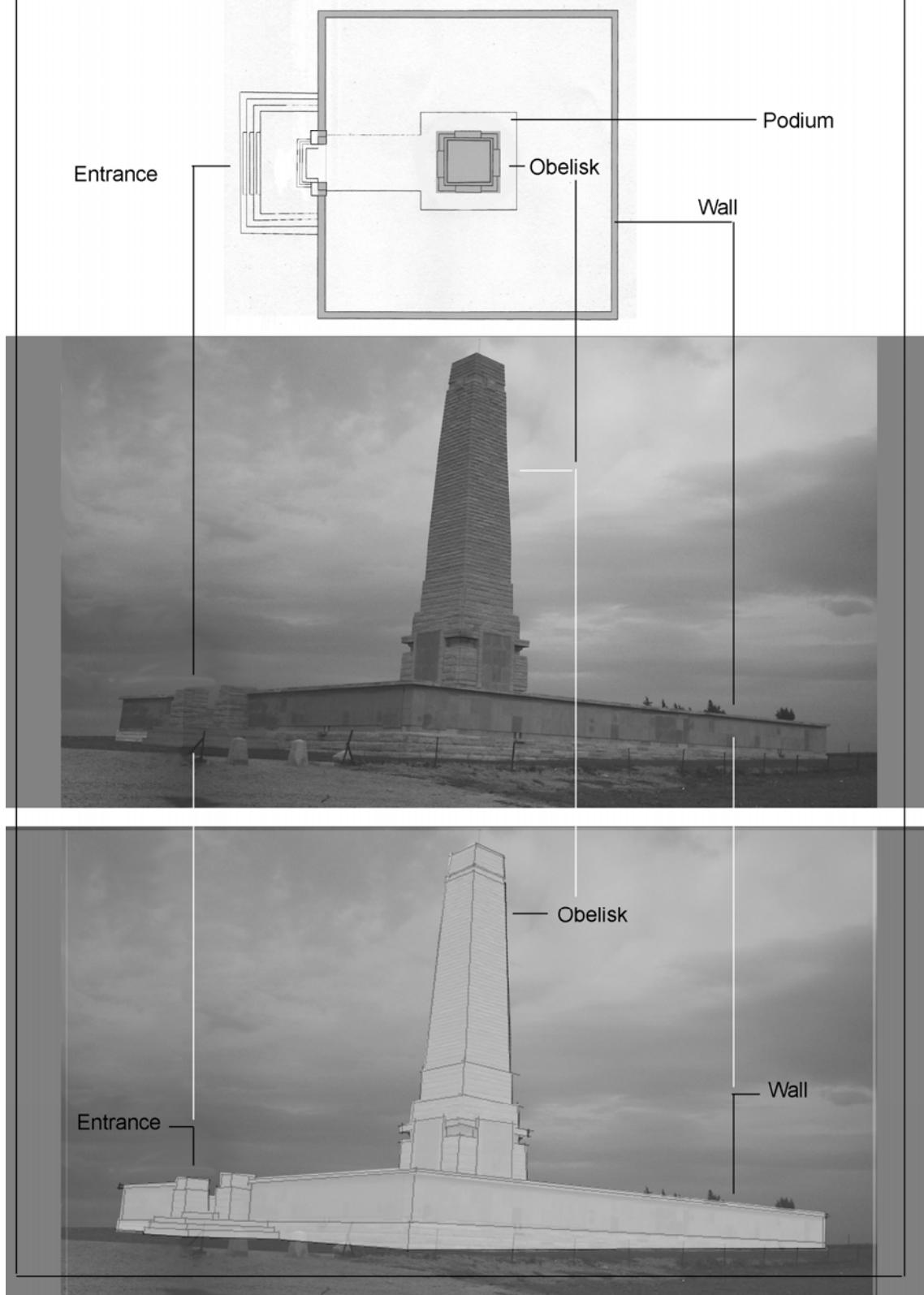
Figure 4.18 Image of Obelisk-shaped Monuments, Cape Helles Memorial

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

In Roman period most of the Egyptian obelisks were transported from Thebes and Heliopolis to Rome.[65] Particularly, following the period that Romans transferred the obelisks from Egypt to Rome, obelisk has been borne a military connotation.[66] With the Christianity it started to be associated with death and victory.[67] In the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries with the effects of the discovery of archaeological thought and neo-classical architecture obelisk became popular as a symbol of victory in the Western Cultures. However, as a precaution against a possible public annoyance due to its eastern origin, it started to be used in a combination with a cross in this period. Sometimes, "cross in some form, or the cross-like inverted sword" inscribed on the surface of the obelisk, sometimes a metal cross was put on top of it.[68] Like every other symbolic forms obelisk was widely used in the twentieth century to commemorate world wars by means of a combination with other conventional monumental forms.[69]

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[65] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* Vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1962), 400-401. In his pioneering *Roman History,* Ammianus Marcellinus (325 cir.-391 cir.) describes an obelisk as "a rough stone, rising to a great height, shaped like a pillar in the stadium; and it tapers upwards in imitation of a sunbeam, keeping its quadrilateral shape, till it rises almost to a point being made smooth by the hand of a sculptor." Ammianus Marcellinus, *Ammianus Marcellinus: Roman History, Volume II, Book 20-26,* trans. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library No. 315 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 6-8. In ancient Egypt, it was believed that the obelisks were the abodes of Ra and the other solar gods. However from the time of Ptolemies onwards they started to be used to commemorate special events. Budge, *Mummy*, 452. According to the Roman historian Pliny the elder, Gaius Plinius Secundus (23 cir.-79 cir.) the first Egyptian King who order to erect an obelisk was Mitres. J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians*, 3 Vols. V. 3 (London: John Murray, 1837), 333.

[66] Borg, *War Memorials*, 3.

[67] In Islamic culture, according to Budge, the belief of the sacred stone originated in the Black stone which is preserved in Ka'ba at Mecca. According to the story, "… it descended from heaven in the days of Adam, that it was preserved miraculously during the Flood, and that the Archangel Gabriel, who had been deputed by God to watch over the Stone, gave it to Abraham to build into the Ka'ba." For further information see: Budge, *Cleopatra's Needles and Other Egyptian Obelisks*, 2.

[68] "Although long used by Christian society as a funerary marker, the obelisk has no obviously Christian connotations; but as a war memorial it was frequently invested with a Christian meaning by adding a cross to it. R. Wynn Owen explained that he had placed crosses at the apex of the London and North Western Railway's war memorial at Euston Station, 'as the crowning feature of the design' to suggest the Christian principles for which the dead had fought and died. The LNWR Gazette stressed another Christian meaning: the inseparability of believers on earth from those now in heaven (the doctrine of the communion of saints). 'Marked by the cross on all sides, the memorial speaks to us of that sacred Christian unity, which is unbroken by death, untouched by the grave.' In a number of cases a cross was integrated more completely and subtly into the design of an obelisk." Fur further information see: Alex King, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Public Memorials of the Great War," in *The Art of Forgetting*, eds. Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler (London: Berg, 2001), 131, 161.

[69] Borg, *War Memorials*, 86.

Within this historical and conceptual framework, I will examine the relation between the image of obelisk-shaped monuments and the historical event which that image was dedicated. According to well-known English historian Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), as he stated in his famous book *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* Romans erected obelisks "as the most durable monuments of their power and victory."[70] He also asserts that "ancient sovereigns of Egypt" were confident that "the simplicity of their [obelisks'] form, and the hardness of their substance, would resist the injuries of time and violence."[71] The simplicity and dominancy of its form and its durability made obelisk one of the most popular forms of commemoration in history. The most remarkable obelisk-shaped monument of the Gallipoli Peninsula is the Cape Helles Memorial. Although it was erected to commemorate the soldiers of Commonwealth, it is the only one dedicated to the commemoration of British army.[72] Like all the other memorials and war cemeteries of CWGC except for New Zealander's it was designed by the principal architect of Gallipoli, Sir John Burnet. It is located on the east side of a "great rocky cliff" at the insistence of Burnet to be "a sea-mark for shipping."[73] It is about 40 metres high and 20.000 soldiers are commemorated.[74] Burnet stated that the Cape Helles memorial should "be simple and even austere… and be easily seen from vessels passing through the Dardanelles"[75] (Figure 4.19).

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[70] Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 401.

[71] Ibid., 400.

[72] From the correspondences of the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission dated 4th November 1926, it is understood that the commemorative properties of the Cape Helles Memorial was changed in 1926. According to the documents, after their visit to Gallipoli Sir Roger Keyes and Sir Aylmer Hunter Weston criticised the panels on the central obelisk and surrounding walls that they are dedicated predominantly to the Royal Navy in Gallipoli (correspondence on 31st July 1926). In the correspondence of Imperial War Graves Commission dated 4th November 1926 stated that "The Monument erected by the Commission on Cape Helles is intended to serve as a Memorial to the Naval and Military forces which fought in Gallipoli Campaign, and at the same time, is a Memorial to those Sailors, Soldiers and Marines of the land forces of the Empire who fell on the Peninsula and whose graves are not known." In this correspondence, the Commission indicates that the criticism "refers, deal only with the Memorial in the first of these two characters," and decided to change the four panels on the obelisk with another four. The information about the Naval forces condensed in one panel. On other three panels "the designations of the Divisions and Independent Brigades which fought at Helles, Anzac and Suvla." It is possible to argue that originally the obelisk was erected to commemorate predominantly British Army and especially Naval Forces but than its commemoration peculiarities were expended to the all nations fought for the Empire. For further information see: National Archive, Kew, ADM 1/8719/241.

[73] Longworth, *The Unending Vigil,* 112.

[74] Ward and Gibson, *Courage Remembered*, 164.

[75] Longworth, *The Unending Vigil,* 112.
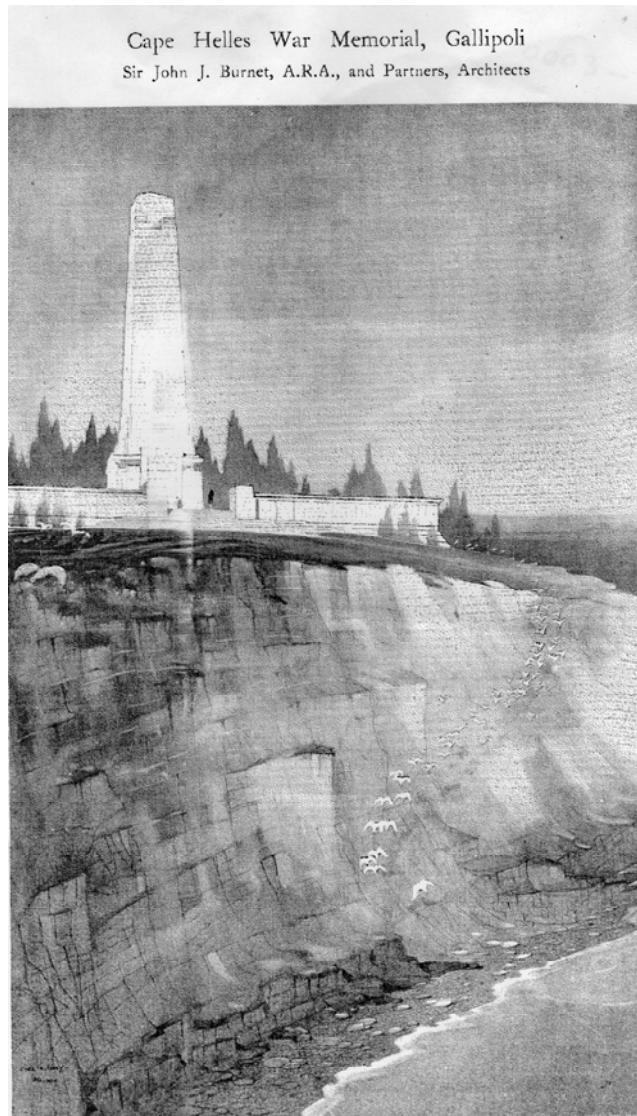
Figure 4.19 Perspective of Cape Helles Memorial drawn by Sir John Burnet
(Source: Burnet, "The War Cemeteries in the East," 998.)

Obelisk as one of the most conventional symbols has always been associated with the permanence; against vulnerable effects of time, especially oblivion. [76] Georges Bataille in his well-known essay "Obelisk" dedicated to the obelisk of Ramses II in *The Place de La Concorde* claims that "it [obelisk] was the surest and most durable obstacle to the drifting away of all things. And even today, wherever its rigid image stands out against the sky, it seems that sovereign permanence is maintained across the unfortunate

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[76] That's why, American poet Thomas William Parsons (1819-1892) versifies the temporality of the works of human beings in his poem named "The Shadow of the Obelisk," through describing the conditions of the ruins of Roman Empire and he exemplifies his observations with a line; "Even the obelisk is broken." He was surprised at seeing an obelisk broken. According to him, this is the most certain evidence of the temporality, because the obelisk has been considered the most common symbol of the permanence and erected as a milestone by the great civilisations for ages. Thomas William Parsons, "The Shadow of the Obelisk," in *Poems* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1854), 148-50.

vicissitudes of civilizations."[77] For him, the obelisk is certainly the purest image and as being a sign of power and glory of the Egyptians it is the "armed sovereignty" of authority. However, in fact for him the permanence of obelisk is an illusion because "the obelisk can never completely succeed in expressing permanence because it is itself contingent; it has been erected upon a void that it can conceal but which also threatens it with an essential instability."[78] Walter Benjamin in his work *One Way Street* writes on the same obelisk and states that "what was carved in it four thousand years ago today stands at the centre of the greatest of city squares. Had that been foretold to him —what a triumph for the pharaoh! The foremost Western cultural empire will one day bear at its centre the memorial of his rule."[79]

Figure 4.20 Obelisk of *The Place de La Concorde*
(Source: http://www.air-mad.com/cdg/par.html, accessed 29 June 2007)

Not only the permanence of the image of the obelisk is being investigated here by Benjamin but also its timeless and everlasting form is being criticised as a disadvantage. The more the form of the obelisk-shaped monument is pure and austere, the more its image becomes timeless. Thus, this timeless effect may increase its permanence both physically and theoretically because, it becomes much more invincible against the damage of the passage of time, and has a recognisable and perpetual image

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[77] Georges Bataille, "Obelisk," in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927-1939,* ed. Alan Stoekl, trans. Alan Stoekl, Carl R. Lovitt and Donald M. Leslie, Jr., Theory and History of Literature V. 14 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 215.

[78] Benjamin Noys, *Georges Bataille: A Critical Introduction* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 72.

[79] Walter Benjamin, *One Way Street and Other Writings* (London: New Left Books, 1979), 70.

against the changing discerns of different ages. However, just as Benjamin pointed out that this timeless effect has also a big disadvantage. By nature obelisk is illegible and unidentifiable. The obelisk of Ramses II in *Place de La Concorde* was originally erected to commemorate the victory of pharaoh. However the relation between its image and the historical event which that image was dedicated was snapped off. In time, the thing which its image stood for has been continuously changed.

According to Laura Mulvey "the formal nature of a monument affects its ability to survive."[80] She expounds in her essay the story of an obelisk in Moscow in front of the walls of the Kremlin Palace. This obelisk was erected to celebrate three centuries of the Romanov dynasty a few years before the Revolution. However, in 1918 "it was transformed into the Obelisk to Revolutionary Thinkers and the names of the tsars were replaced with names such as Marx, Engels, Winstanley, Campanella, More, Fourier, Proudhon, Saint-Simon and so on." Just like the obelisk of *The Place de La Concorde* it became an architectural commemoration of totally different thing. Mulvey associates this peculiarity of obelisk to its nature and states that "it was the abstract, symbolic, nature of the obelisk that allowed it to be recycled in this way."[81] Just like Mulvey said, I believe that it must have been stemmed from their abstract and symbolic nature. Nevertheless, I argue that this situation causes a break in the relation between the image and the historical event; because as a result of the abstract form of the obelisk, meanings become slippery. Thus, commemoration of the sovereignty of Ramses II could easily be forgotten at the very centre of the public square of Paris and it starts to remind people of the execution of another sovereign. The image of the obelisk does not give any clue of what it commemorates.

In obelisk-shaped monuments of Gallipoli there is no direct relation between image and the historical event commemorated. New Zealand Memorial can be a good example to clarify this consideration (Figure 4.15b). It was designed by a New Zealander architect Samuel Hurst Seager (1855-1933) who was in charge to design overseas battle monuments of New Zealand. A committee including him defined "the boundaries of acceptable war memorials" and declared "monuments would be ornamental, not utilitarian; they would communicate an idealistic and heroic view of

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[80] Laura Mulvey, "Reflections on Disgraced Monuments," *in Architecture and Revolution: Contemporary Perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe,* ed. Neil Leach (Florence, KY: Routledge, 1999), 223.

[81] Mulvey, "Reflections on Disgraced Monuments," 223.

war; and they would aspire to the established traditions of European high art."[82] Seager himself was a "close follower of English aesthetic movements, especially the arts and crafts movement."[83] In its robust obelisk-shaped figure New Zealand Memorial gives no practical information about itself or the historical event it was dedicated. Unlike Lone Pine Memorial of Australians, it even does not bear an inscribed cross on its surface, since the New Zealanders wanted to have a unifying monument "for the great feelings of community cohesion which the war itself had produced." The only evidence on the surface of the obelisk, which is traceable to the observer is just a small plaque of inscription.

Locus

In this part of the study, I will determine the locus of obelisk-shaped monuments and according to that determination I will examine that locus according to the issues of *detachment* and *guidance*. Loci of obelisk-shaped monuments in Gallipoli demonstrate slight differences with respect to each other. Some of them have no visible definition of limit like New Zealand monument, while some have a low wall as a boundary like Cape Helles Memorial (Figure 4.21). Five of the fifteen obelisk-shaped memorials of the Gallipoli National Historical Park exist in the boundaries of enclosed cemeteries which are called by the name of their memorial.[84] Since, the peculiarities of the loci of enclosed cemeteries are examined in the previous part of this chapter; those obelisk-shaped monuments will not be analysed in terms of Locus in this section once more. Other obelisk-shaped monuments of the Park are free standing memorials. Except for New Zealand Memorial, all of them were located in slightly defined boundaries. Those boundaries in some cases are low walls such as Cape Helles Memorial or in some cases become low podiums such as Mehmet Çavuş Memorial (Figure 4.22). On the other hand, New Zealand's Chunuk Bair Memorial stands solely on the top of the hill in sight of the shorelines where Anzacs landed (Figure 4.15b). Therefore, for most of them locus is the landscape of Gallipoli pivoted on the obelisk-shaped form.

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[82] Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington, NZ: GP Books, 1990), 82.

[83] Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 79.

[84] Four of them are Allied Nations' as French Memorial, Hill 60, Green Hill and Lone Pine Memorials; one of them is Turkish as Sargıyeri Memorial.

Elements of *the locus* of Obelisk-shaped Monuments

Entrance

Podium

Obelisk

Wall
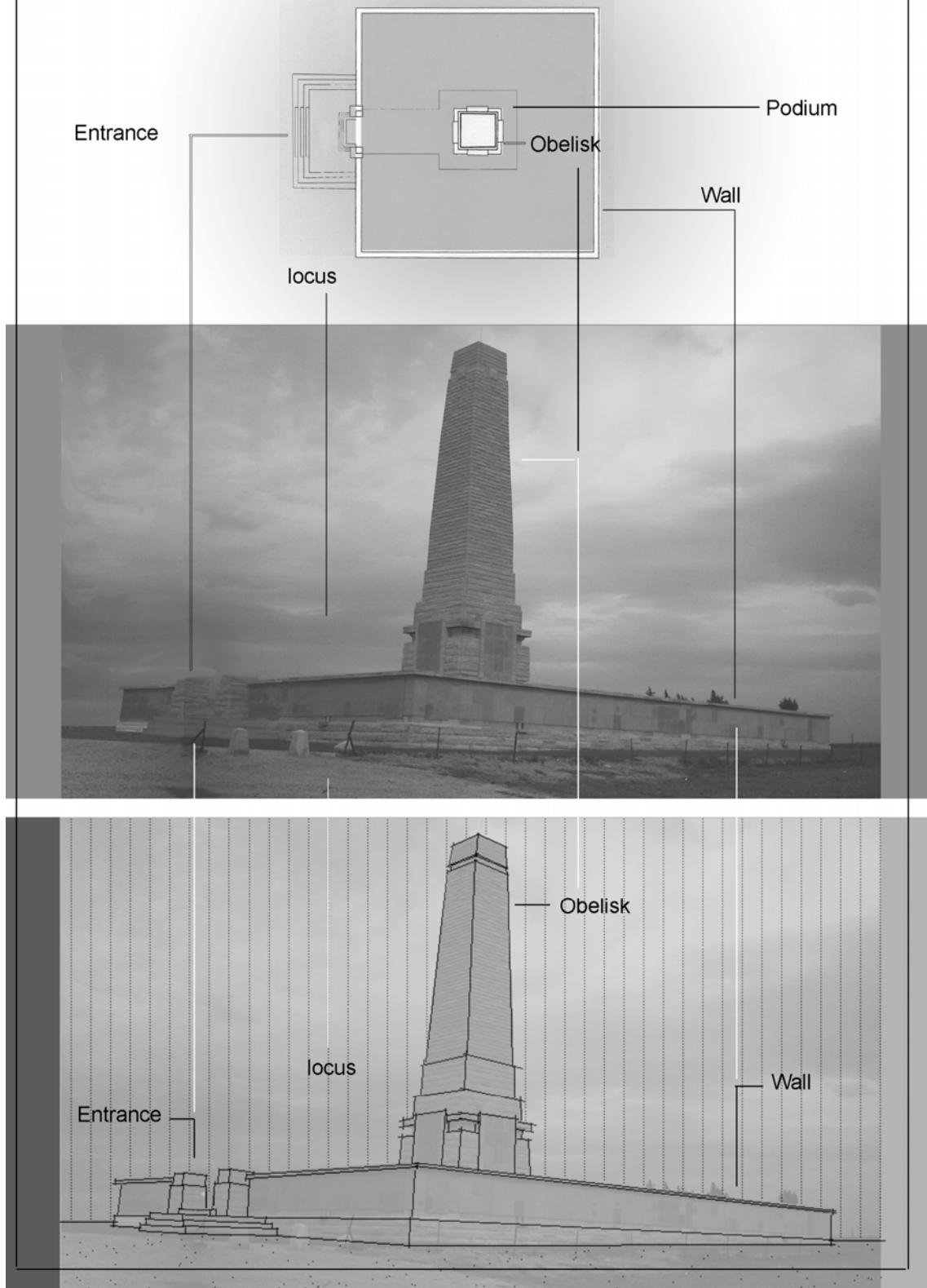
locus

Figure 4.21 Locus of Obelisk-shaped Monuments, Cape Helles Memorial

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Figure 4.22 Mehmet Çavuş Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Detachment constitutes the first issue of the analysis of locus. Except for the memorials which were located in enclosed cemeteries, none of the obelisk-shaped monuments in the Park area detach the visitor from the actual and real landscape. Cape Helles Memorial is separated from its surroundings by a few stepped podium that is covered by low walls from four sides of the monument (Figure 4.21). These walls from inside were deliberately constructed under the level of (the sight) vision in order to provide the visitor a "scene of another bloody siege," across the Dardanelles "the ruined city of Troy."[85] In his design descriptions the principal architect of the CWGC Sir John Burnet explained the function of the walls of the Cape Helles Memorial as "illustrative for the campaign," and should bear the inscription of the names of the individuals who fought in Gallipoli and died.[86] The place of the monument on a "great rocky cliff" was chosen not only to be easily seen but also to give the visitor a good vista of the shorelines of landings and battlefields. Therefore, inside of the walls does not give an enclosed feeling; on the contrary, it gives the visitor a vast view of the landscape of the memory of Gallipoli Battles. Those walls have already a particular function as bearing the names of the fallen soldiers and being illustrative for the campaign. The visitor is compelled to look at the landscapes of war above the names of the losses.

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[85] Longworth, *The Unending Vigil,* 112.

[86] Ibid., 100.

On the other hand, Turkish obelisk-shaped monuments mostly just have one stepped podium as a determiner. Some of them have wall surroundings but even the highest one of them does not rise above the eye level. Their podiums constitute bases for the obelisks and isolate them from the land on where they are erected. The designer of the New Zealand Memorial, Samuel Hurst Seager when came to his homeland after the completion of his education in England, he "urged effective jurisdiction over" the design of war memorials which had already been erected in his country and condemned those that "with misplaced zeal, were in some places purchasing concrete figures and placing them on ugly bases."[87] Probably, because of his experiences in his own country, he designed a memorial in Gallipoli which looks as if it germinated from the land itself. Neither a podium nor a wall isolates the obelisk from the land of the battlefields. An ordinary visitor could easily find himself/herself in front of its severe image. Obelisk-shaped monuments rise like milestones on the battlefields and invisible bonds connect them to the locus of the Park. Therefore, they neither detach the observer from the landscape of Gallipoli Battles nor create a different reality of time apart from the landscape' itself. The landscape of Battles demonstrates different characteristics in different parts of the Park area. For instance, Cape Helles memorial stands on a top of the hill which has a panoramic view of developing urban settlements. Therefore, except for the obelisk-shaped monuments which are in the boundaries of enclosed cemeteries, the locus of obelisk shaped monuments does not detach the perception of the individual from the actual flow of time and space.

Guidance constitutes the second issue of the analysis of locus. I will examine the locus of obelisk-shaped monuments through questioning the individual's movement. Obelisk as a figure undoubtedly constitutes a pivotal focal point. Alan Borg points out that in the coastal sites obelisks are favoured particularly for the naval forces because they become good landmarks for the shipping.[88] The soaring shape of the obelisk suggests "carrying its meaning far and wide and forming a landmark miles around."[89] As a landmark and centripetal structure, obelisk dominates the surrounding area where it is erected. However, the scale of them has particular importance in this role. Unfortunately, most of the Turkish obelisk-shaped memorials are far from being a

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[87] Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 79.

[88] Borg, *War Memorials*, 4, 87.

[89] Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 97-98.

landmark because of their small scale. On the other hand, especially Cape Helles Memorial constitutes a strong landmark not only for its visitors but also for the passing observers of the straits due to its particular location and huge scale. Contrary to the urban landmarks, Obelisk-shaped monuments in Gallipoli do not dominate their physical surroundings in terms of movement. Urban landmarks define the rank of spaces and the spatial relations among them. Those relations determine the movement of individuals. Obelisk-shaped monuments in Gallipoli constitute a strong landmark but only visually. Their enormous figures undoubtedly catch the eye and could be perceived from far away. The centripetal capacities of their form produce a focal point and a centre of attraction on the vast site of Gallipoli. Even if they give the sense of direction to the observer, they do not draw the path. They orient but not conduct the individual's movement.

Image-Locus Relation

In this part of the analysis I will question the relation between image and locus of the obelisk-shaped monuments. Obelisk as a symbol of a sun-beam points to the heaven like a shaft.[90] It gives a direction from land to sky like a strictly drawn line. That's why, the linearity and verticality of its image is interpreted as a phallic symbol. New Zealand Memorial stands on top of the hill. The rough sliced facades of its image contradict the smooth mounds of Conkbayırı. From the point of view of the visitor, the obelisk of Havuzlar Memorial looks much more vertical in front of the background of vast horizontal surface of the sea. They constitute focal points, vertical lines, something to look at definitely not to live in. They already do not try to hide, on the contrary, they try to reveal themselves in their loci. The obelisk, the most phallic symbol of the masculine war memorial tradition, dominates solitarily. By nature, it becomes a landmark in its locus. Despite the fact that the obelisk has strong relations with earth because of its visual definition, those relations have never been perpetual and constant. They are nomadic images with reference to Rosalind Krauss. They can be erected to any locus and then they become the focal point in that locus. There is a one-way, not mutual, relation between the obelisk and its locus. Like meanings, loci of the obelisk

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[90] Maclean and Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 97.

may become slippery. Neither the vertical and pointed form of the image of the obelisk tries to be spatial, nor does the locus of that form become a part of that image.

Concluding Remarks

Whether the basic image of obelisk-shaped monuments on which every meaning can be applied made them universal or their meaning became slippery because of their universality, is hard to determine. However, as a consequence, there is no direct relation between its image and the historical event that image dedicated. They can be used to commemorate anything but at the end they may commemorate nothing beyond themselves. The dominancy of their verticality makes them an effective pivotal point both for the vision and for the movement in a designed urban pattern. But in an open, expanse land like the battlefields of Gallipoli they just become focal points of attraction and they can not guide the movement of the observer. This expanse land constitutes the locus of their image. None of the obelisks in Gallipoli try to separate themselves from their loci. On the contrary they rise vertically on the locus resisting to the land's superior horizontality. The visible limits and boundaries of their own loci melt in the landscape of memory of Gallipoli Battles. That's why they cannot generate a detachment for the observer from the landscape of Gallipoli. Furthermore, before the eyes of the observer neither their loci become image nor their images gain spatial characteristics. Although they were erected to be a focal point and most of them like Cape Helles were placed on higher grounds according to their surroundings, their locus are just perceived as podiums for their images.

4.1.3. Figurative and Relief Memorials

> *They [monuments and memorials] remind us of the history or the person that is commemorated, by functioning as a trigger for the (collective) memory of what is being commemorated, but at the same time, they become the physical representatives of the event or the person in this world, so that they may sometimes establish a corporal identity between commemorabilium and its commemorative subject.*[91]

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[91] Alex Lapp, "Rodin's Burgeois de Calais: Commemorating a French National Ideal in London," *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century*, eds. William Kid and Brian Murdoch (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 16.

In the landscape of Gallipoli Battles heroic commemorative figures are directly related to the commemoration of the virtues of Turkish soldiers. Their bravery, love of country and hospitality are illustrated with figurative and symbolic monuments. [92] They were not only placed in enclosed cemeteries as a part of the commemoration but they were also erected solely on the landscape to embody the narratives which have a great significance in collective memory of the battles. Their size and significance diversify in the different parts of the topography. On the contrary, none of the architectural memorialisation of Allied Nations has a figurative sculpture or symbolic narrative monument. This sharp opposition constitutes the great part of the identification of the battlefields: On the one side, the abstract and austere forms of memorials of the Allied nations, on the other, figurative and symbolic monuments of Turks which almost visualize the narratives. In fact, until the 1980s the abstract and conventional forms of memorial architecture had been preferred by Turks too. However, in the last quarter of the twentieth century the construction of the figurative monuments increased.[93] I will analyse those figurative sculptures and relief monuments in terms of their image, locus and image-locus relation.

Image

The definition of image of those monuments is not a complicated process because of their distinct forms. Figure of the monument is the image of Figurative Memorial (Figure 4.23). On the other hand, the surface on which the relief is placed, along with its figures constitute the image of Relief Monuments (Figure 4.24). In the analysis of image of the figurative and relief monuments in Gallipoli first of all, I will generate a conceptual and historical framework for their image. According to that framework I will examine the relation between the historical event and its representation as image. Questioning the absence of the figurative representation in memorialisation approach of Allied nations will be the first issue; because the logic of the decision behind this absence may clarify the conceptual and historical framework of figurative and relief monuments in Gallipoli.

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[92] There are two exceptions which illustrate sadness and suffering. The former is in the Sargıyeri Cemetery and Memorial and the latter is in Kabatepe Information Centre.

[93] Conkbayırı Atatürk, Onbaşı Seyit , Mehmetçiğe Derin Saygı , 57. Alay , Türk Askerine Saygı, Talat Göktepe, Yahya Çavuş Monuments;Figurative Monuments in Çanakkale Sargıyeri War Cemeteries.

Elements of *the image* of Figurative and Relief Memorials

Figure

Podium

Figure

Podium
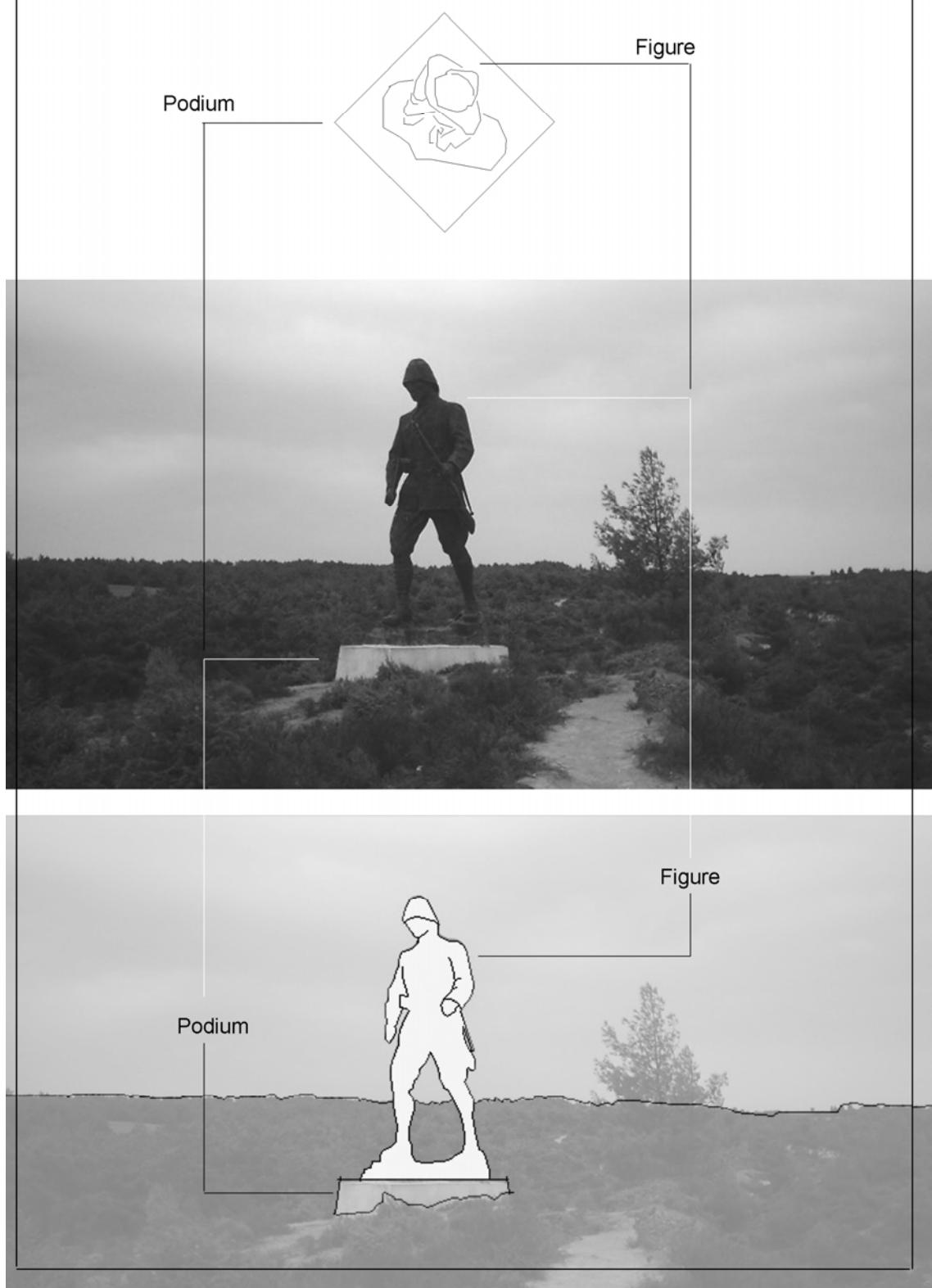
Figure 4.23 Image of Figurative and Relief Monuments, Sargıyeri Monument
(Source: graphics by Ahenk Yılmaz; photos from Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

133
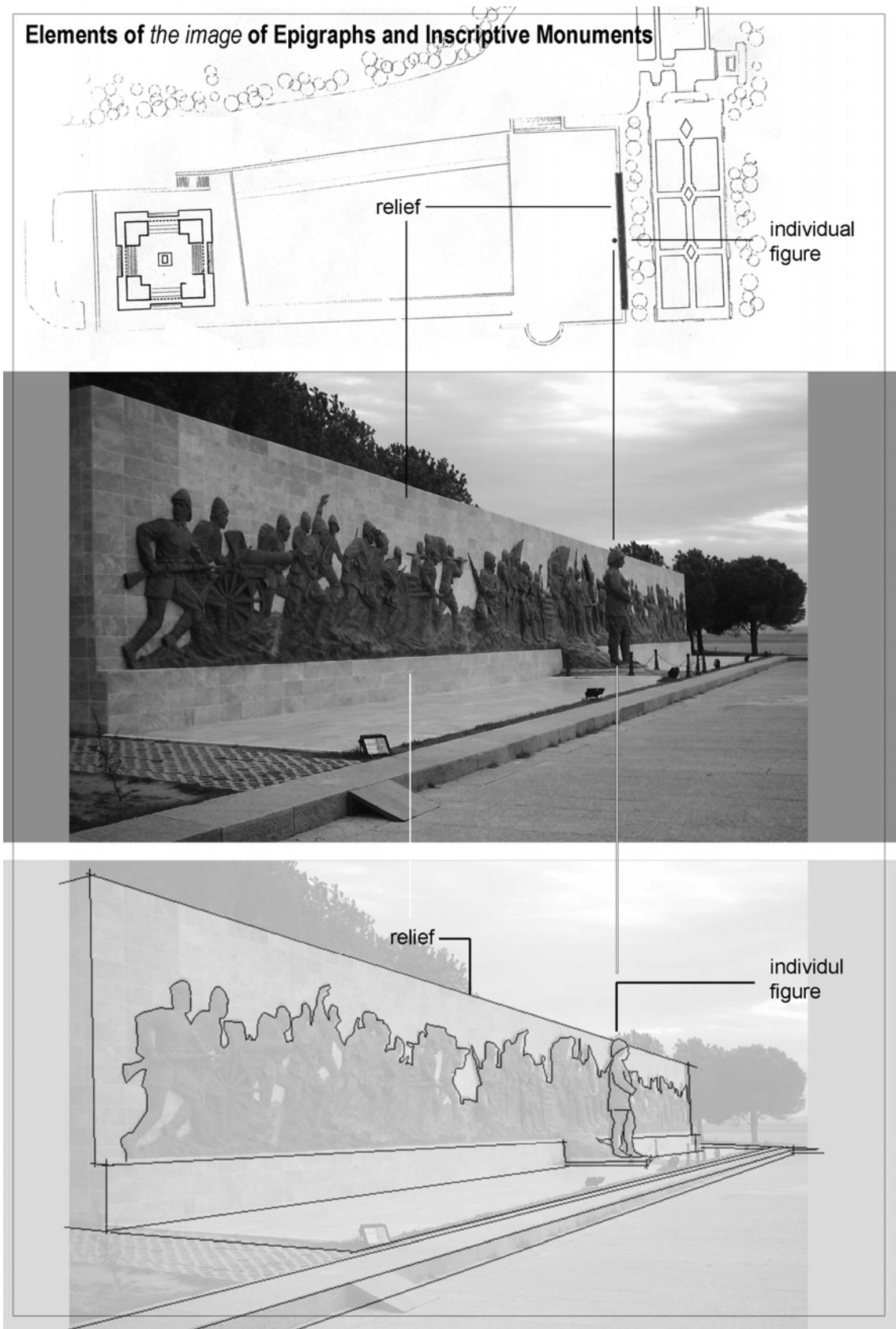
Figure 4.24 Image of Figurative and Relief Monuments, Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

The period that First World War was memorialised in Europe was the time in which the elaboration of the theory of the modern art waged at breakneck speed. However, the way of the memorialisation of the War was so outlandish from the artistic debate of that period.[94] According to Alan Borg, non-traditional forms of memorialisation were not common in those days. Borg indicates the reason of this preference as that "a desire to keep to established forms that have stood the test of time and to avoid anything that might appear as transitory fashion."[95] James Edward Young states in his essay that in that period "figurative imagery seemed to naturalize best the state's memorial messages."[96] On the contrary to this statement in principal design decisions of war cemeteries of CWGC all figurative representations were dismissed. [97] The unprecedented peculiarities of the First World War had remarkable effects on these preferential design principals. [98] It was not so easy for governments to justify the suffering and loss to the public in the ambitious conflicts of the trench battles of which mostly took months but changed nothing.

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[94] First World War was architecturally memorialised between the years of 1919 and 1939. Well-known painter of modern movement Piet Mondrian's (1872-1944) essay named "Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art," which first appeared in 1937 in the British journal *Circle*, may shed light on the inclination of this period. The essay was published on the daybreak of the Second World War and the architectural memorialisation process of the First World War was still continuing. In this essay he drew the reader's attention to the "dual nature of the creative inclination"; figurative and non-figurative art. He pointed out that though every form defines a figure he prefers to use these definitions in discrimination since we need words to clarify our conceptions. According to him, the figurative representation is based "on our conception of feeling," and has a harmony between objective and subjective expressions despite the fact that its origin is objectively to represent the world. Non-figurative art, on the other hand, is pure and abstract which can easily free itself from "the domination of subjective." Mondrian declares that "we need only to take our place in the development of human culture, a development which has made non-figurative art supreme." Piet Mondrian, "Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art," *Modern Artists on Art*, ed. Robert L. Herbert, second enlarged edition (London: Dover, 1999), 152-153.

[95] Borg, *War Memorials,* 134-135.

[96] For Young the reason is so obvious that "the primary aim of modern sculptors after the war was to repudiate and lament —not affirm— both the historical realities and the archaic values." James E. Young, "The Biography of a Memorial Icon: Nathan Rapoport's Warsaw Ghetto Monument," *Representations* 26 (1989): 100.

[97] In the First Annual Report of CWGC, it was stated that the Commission's duty "should be carried out by the erection over the graves of all officers and men in the war cemeteries abroad of headstones of uniform dimensions, though with some variety of pattern." *Annual Report of the Imperial War Graves Commission*, 6-7 The reason behind this designation was explained as "the necessity for taking strong action to prevent the public from putting up unsuitable effigies in cemeteries and thought that the monuments on all graves should be uniform," and it was decided that "all 'individual eccentricity' was forbidden and what is done for one [soldier] should be done for all."; Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," 153.

[98] Blomfield indicates in one of his speeches that "runic monuments or gothic crosses had nothing to do with the grim terrors of the trenches." Yorkshire Post, 17 Apr. 1920, quoted from King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, 150.

Sergiusz Michalski in his book *Public Monuments* notes that "bloody but inconclusive trench battles like those of Verdun and the Somme put an end to any presentations regarding the inherent romanticism of warfare and were difficult to glorify by means of traditional —especially allegorical— representations."[99] In this period, in fact, there were two different inclinations which were preferred according to the place of the memorialisation. The traditional figurative sculptures were mostly erected in towns and villages of homelands not in the landscapes of the memory of "the trench experience."[100] In the battlefields like Gallipoli, the official French and British institutions of memorialisation of First World War purposefully refrained from personal, iconic and figurative representations. In terms of Turkish architectural memorialisation attitude, this process ran in the direct contradiction. Figurative representations of local narratives and collective memory had increased with the passage of time until the end of the twentieth century. It was not so difficult for Turkish Government to justify the Battles by means of heroic and grandiose figurative representations, because it was their homeland where they battled.

Within this conceptual and Historical framework, I will question the relation between the image of figurative and relief monuments and the event to which that image is dedicated. Most of the figurative sculptures in the landscape of Gallipoli were erected to illustrate heroic narratives and significant events in the collective memory of the battles. Those stories were dedicated to manifest the virtues of Turkish soldiers. The charity of Turkish soldiers was represented with a figurative monument in Kabatepe which was comprised of sculptures of a wounded soldier of Allied Nations and a Turkish soldier carrying him (Figure 4.29a). This symbolism depends on a story told by Australian First Lieutenant Casey who saw a Turkish soldier who carried a wounded British captain on the day Allies first landed, 25th April 1915.[101] Their potency and constitution were demonstrated with the figure of Onbaşı Seyit who was believed to

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[99] Sergiusz Michalski, *Public Monuments: Art in Political Bondage 1870-1997* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), 77.

[100] In fact, the tradition of figurative representation in memorialisation itself underwent significant changes. The most common figures of the sculptures in First World War Memorials were military and comprised of the soldiers with their rifles, "standing at ease, as if guarding the site sacred to the dead." They portrayed typical and common victims or participants rather than to valorise certain individuals such as commanders or kings. Lutyens, for instance, refrained from the personification of the figures of his monuments. He prevented this situation "by lifting the body high above the viewer, on top of the memorial, so that no individual portraiture could be expected. King, 132-39.

[101] Mehmetçiğe Dein Saygı Memorial. Bademli, et al, *The Catalogue*, 9.

sink the British battleship Ocean, with the 275 kg shell to the gun, which was carried and fired by himself (Figure 4.26). The figurative sculpture of the Onbaşı Seyit Memorial in Gallipoli was replaced with a new one in 2006 due to the numerous complaints from the visitors. People who complained about the former monument based their argument, on the fact that Onbaşı Seyit could not have been carried the shell in front of him because of the morphologic properties of the human body. He must have been borne it on his back. Finally, representational figure of this narrative replaced with a new one illustrating Onbaşı Seyit with a shell on his back (Figure 4.26a; b).

Figure 4.25 a. Mehmetçiğe Derin Saygı Monument b. Türk Askerine Saygı Monument
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Figure 4.26 Seyit Onbaşı Memorial a. former b. now
(Sources: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive; www.anzacsite.gov.au, accessed 15 September 2007)

Even the most Turkish iconic figure Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's representational monuments were erected according to the narratives of the Battles. There are three figurative monuments dedicated to Atatürk in Gallipoli. One of them is placed on top of the hill of Conkbayırı, the others are in the boundaries of Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial. Two of them represent him while scouting the landing area of the Allied Nations just like as it is narrated in his memoirs (Figure 4.27a, b). Ataturk's third figurative sculpture was placed in front of a forty five meters wide relief which illustrates the charge of Turkish soldiers in Gallipoli Battles (Figure 4.24). Ataturk's figure steps out from almost two dimensional pictorial representation and gains three dimensionality. This narrated relief does not only illustrate the soldiers while battling but also demonstrates all the tools, equipments and guns which Turkish army used in the Çanakkale Campaign. That Atatürk sculpture along with the relief behind, in fact, visualise the personal endeavours in the battles. All these examples manifest that there is a strong relation between the historical event and the image of figurative monuments in Gallipoli. In fact, they are nothing but the direct representational figures of narratives of war.

Figure 4.27 a. Conkbayırı Atatürk Memorial b. Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Locus

In Gallipoli, despite the fact that there are few exceptions, most of the figurative monuments were placed directly on to the landscape of the Battles (Figure 4.28). Minority of them exist in the boundaries of another cemetery or memorial (Figure 4.29).

Figure 4.28 Locus of Figurative and Relief Monuments, Sargıyeri Monument

(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

the locus of Figurative and Relief Monuments

relief
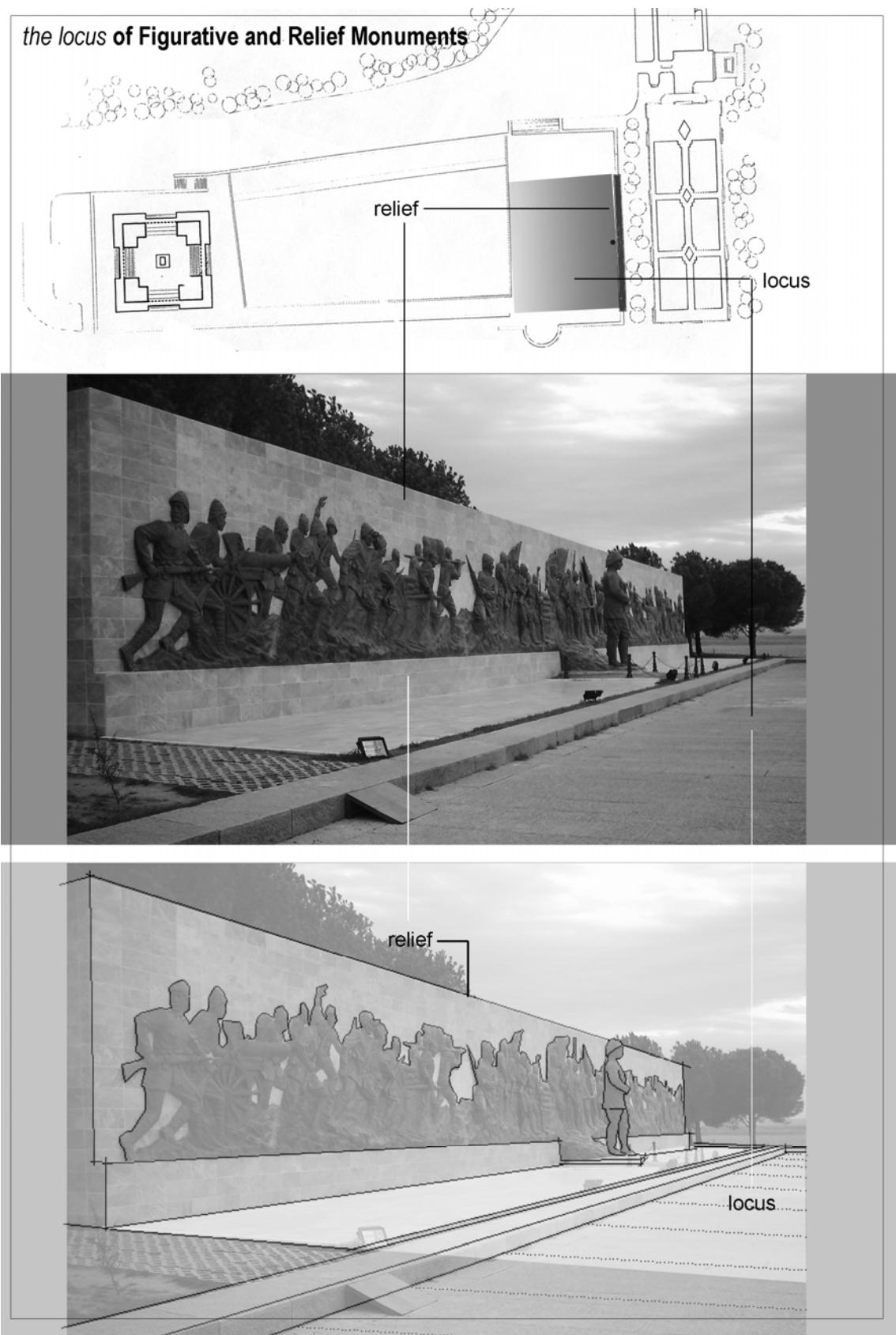
locus

relief

locus

Figure 4.29 Locus of Figurative and Relief Monuments, Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial
(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and photos Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

In this part of the analysis, the first stage is to determine the locus itself. The indefinite boundaries of the locus of figurative sculptures of Gallipoli make that process complicated. In most of the cases, the locus of figurative representation becomes the locus of landscape of memory. The emergence of figurative representation of narratives goes deeply in the history of mankind. Its roots can be traced even to the cavemen who pictorialized his/her adventures on the surface of his/her cave. Relief is one step further in this endeavour which started to gain three dimensional peculiarities. In this process, figure severed from the surface it belongs to and gradually receded from it. Finally, it starts to stand solely in a centre of a city square. Rosalind Krauss in her well-known essay "Sculpture in the Expended Field," draws the attention of the reader to the relation between the monument and its locus and defines modern monument as "essentially nomadic," and "siteless."[102] I believe that Krauss talks about the implicit relation between the place of the historical event and the locus of its representation which is absent in modern monuments. In Gallipoli, figurative sculptures that visualise local narratives and the virtues of Turkish soldiers have a strong relation with their loci. They already illustrate soldiers in action on the field. Although, that locus melts in the landscape, it has a focal point as image thus has a beginning. I will analyse that locus according to its pivotal point in terms of the issues of *detachment* and *guidance*.

Detachment constitutes the first issue of the analysis of locus of figurative and relief monuments. Those figurative representations in Gallipoli resemble movie stills. However, their figurative space overlaps with the actual one. The figure of a Turkish soldier in Sargıyeri looks frozen in a moment in time during the Battles (Figure 4.28). It stands solely on the landscape. It was designed as inseparable part of the battlefields, because it portrays a soldier on that landscape in action. Even though, its podium elevates its figure from actual place it still carries the strong link with its locus. However, the locus of this monument is in fact the locus of the landscape itself. Thus, it is possible to assert that the capacity to detach the visitor from actual flow of time and space of the figurative monuments in Gallipoli which stand solely on the landscape, is highly depended on which part of the landscape they were erected. On the other hand, relief in Çanakklae Şehitleri Memorial defines its own place in front of its two dimensional surface (Figure 4.29). Its pictorial space diffuses over the real one. The more the observer comes close to the surface of the relief, the more its locus affects the

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[102] Rosalind Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expended Field," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass and London: MIT Press, 1988), 279.

perception of the observer. That effect has the ability of detaching the individual from real flow of time and space, but only long as he/she engages with the story on the surface of the relief.

Guidance constitutes the second issue of the analysis of locus. With the help of this issue I will examine the elements of locus which conduct individuals' movements. Lofty and gigantic figure of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stands beside the New Zealand Memorial on the top of the hill of Conkbayırı (Figure 4.25b). He looks at Suvla Bay where the British soldiers landed on August 7th 1915 with his binoculars in his hand. The approximately six meters height figure of an individual Turkish soldier climbs a crest in Kanlısırt carrying his rifle (Figure 4.27a). The enormity of those figures differentiates them from human scale therefore affects their reality. They already do not want to look so real, on the contrary, they want to affect the observer with their size too. According to Alan Borg, there is a direct relation between the size of the figure and the power that figure represents.[103] With their enormous scale those figurative monuments definitely constitutes strong vertical focal points on the vast site of Gallipoli Battles. They easily attract the attention and draw the focus of the observer to themselves. However, like obelisk-shaped monuments they just orient the movement not conduct through a pre-defined path. On the other hand, relief monument in Çanakklae Şehitleri Memorial determines its locus in front of itself. Although, from the definition of the movement of the observer point of view relief is superior to the three dimensional figure for the reason that it at least designates a direction of vision, beyond that it has no particular efficiency to guide individuals' movement.

Image-Locus Relation

Figurative and Relief monuments have a strong relation between their image and locus in terms of the meaning of the locus. They are markers for the importance of the specific sites of the battlefields. However, in spite of this strong relation, they do not provide a spatial definition beyond their presence on the landscape. It is not possible to mention the spatialisation of the image of that monument. The figure of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk stands on the top of the hill of Conkbayırı stands as an imitation of him in large scale (Figure 4.25b). Its image depends deeply on the landscape itself as a figure and in

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[103] Borg, *War Memorials*, 105.

terms of meaning. However, that particular landscape never objectified through its image. Its locus just forms the basis of its image. On the other hand, relief monument in Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial is an inseparable part of the definition of the space in front of its surface. From this point of view it seems possible to assert that the spatialisation of the image occurs. However, its image does not objectify the locus beside itself. It just establishes a connection with its locus in terms of the narratives that place has borne in collective memory. It illustrates those narratives regardless of their exact location on the battlefields.

Concluding Remarks

All figurative and relief monuments on the landscape of Gallipoli Battles try to illustrate lived historical events occurred during the war time period. Their images have direct and obvious relations with the narratives of historical events they represent. The visitor of figurative monuments witnesses a frozen moment of an historical event. In much of the cases it is not possible to parse the locus of figurative monuments in Gallipoli from the locus of the memory of the Battles. The landscape itself is the locus of those images; therefore the peculiarities of the locus of the images of figurative monuments depend strictly on the peculiarities of the specific part of the Park area where they stand. On the other hand, relief monuments have more potential to detach the observer from actual reality due to their much more defined locus. The locus of visualised image in relief diffuses over the place of monument. Despite the fact that most of figurative and relief monuments generate a powerful focal point, they just orient not guide individual's movement through a pre-defined path. They are three dimensional figures to look at and do not provide spatial differentiation to the observer on the battlefields. In spite of the strong relation between the image of figurative monument and its locus in terms of the meaning of the place, locus is not objectified through the image.

4.1.4. Epigraphs and Inscriptive Monuments

Halt passer-by! This land you unknowingly tread is the place an era sank.

Necmettin Halil Onan

In Gallipoli, epigraphs dot the entire landscape like milestones. Except for the inscriptive panels in the cemeteries of CWGC, they stand solely on the expanse battlefields and were erected by the Turkish government. The design of most of these epigraphs originates to a project which won a competition organised in 1970. A part of the image of the winning project of this competition is multiplied and scattered to the landscape. Despite the fact that numerous memorials in Gallipoli are comprised of inscriptions within their boundary in various sizes, I will analyse just the monuments which are not a part of another memorialisation and were erected just as an epigraph. There are nine epigraphs and one ground inscription in Gallipoli which will be analysed under this heading.[104] Two of these nine epigraphs, in fact comprise of two or more different individual monuments. I will analyse these epigraphs predominantly by means of the winning project of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Parkı Memorial. The logic behind this determination is that this project demonstrates the initial design idea, from which others are derived. Inevitably, other epigraphs with their various sizes and locations will be a part of this analysis too.

Image

Image in epigraphs and inscriptive monuments are mostly the main element which carries the inscription on itself. However, in most of the epigraphs and inscriptions of Gallipoli image becomes much more than that. In this part of the analysis, conceptual, historical and architectural framework of epigraphs and inscriptive monuments will be a part of the determination process of the image.

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[104] These ephitaphic monuments are Büyük Kemikli Memorial, Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Memorial, Damlacık Bayırı Memorial, Kabatepe Arıburnu Sahil Memorial, Kanlısırt Memorial, Kemalyeri Memorial, Kireçtepe Jandarma Memorial, Küçük Arıburnu Memorial, Yusufçuktepe Memorial.

In the "Lamp of Beauty" chapter of *Seven Lamps of Architecture* John Ruskin keeps inscription at a distance to architecture. According to him, letters are unlike nature and inscription can "not be considered as architectural or pictorial ornaments." He advises to place them "where they will be read, and there only" and finally reminds that "you are an architect, not a writing master." [105] Although, Ruskin did not entertain friendly intentions regarding the relation between architectural design and inscription, in fact it is one of the oldest survived relations which architecture has. In terms of Turkish memorialisation approach, the tradition of inscription and epigraph has deep roots which can be traced back to the central Asian Cultures. Acknowledged as the oldest monument of Turks is in fact an inscription known as Orhon [Orkhon] Inscriptions.[106] These pillar monuments with their carved inscriptions dated back to the eight century.[107] Alan Borg in his book *War Memorials* indicates that "despite the symbols developed by the Egyptians and by the Greeks, the most common form of memorial to war in the ancient world was the narrative depiction of its campaign."[108] As Graham J. Oliver states that in Roman period epigraphs almost never stand solely and individually. He states that "an epigraph was associated with a memorial and the memorial with a cemetery and the cemetery with a settlement."[109] In Gallipoli, epigraphs and inscriptive monuments were erected as individual monuments and the inscriptions on their surfaces became memorialisation itself.

The lettering, the words and the representation of the inscription on an epigraph were significant issues especially in nineteenth and early twentieth century. Victoria and Albert Museum published a pamphlet named "Inscriptions Suggested for War Memorials" in 1919 "in an attempt to make sure that appropriate wording might be

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[105] John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, introduction by Sir Arnold Lunn (London: Dent, 1907; New York: Dutton, 1969), 111.

[106] "These monuments, known also as the Orhon (Orkhon) inscriptions, are considered to be the first clear expression of Turkish national identity. The inscriptions dealt at length with the Chinese threat to the Turks: independence and survival." For further information see: Kemal H. Karpat, *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden, NLD: Brill, N.H.E.J., N.V. Koninklijke, Boekhandel en Drukkerij, 2003.), 609.

[107] Carter V Findley, *Turks in World History* (Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2004), 39.

[108] Furthermore, according to him, "The desire to tell a story is universal and war has always provided some of the best and most dramatic material." Borg, *War Memorials*, 18.

[109] Graham John Oliver, *Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 158.

chosen for all memorials."[110] Alex King in his essay named "Remembering and Forgetting in the Public Memorials of the Great War," asserts that "the simplicity and clarity of the design [of an inscription] and lettering was understood to have a moral meaning."[111] Epigraph was very popular in nineteenth century as a mode of poetic expression. There are similarities between this genre and the inscriptions of epigraphic monuments. In his book *Inscription and Modernity* John Kenneth Mackay points out four features "constitutive of the inscriptive mode."[112] He itemises these features as; "call for attention;" in respect of the *genius* of the place "the articulation of space within language;" corporeality which means" tacit or not, of some (immensely mediated) material substrate on which it depends;" and finally legitimacy.

The epigraphic inscription engraved on the south-east side of the hill behind Kilitbahir and Değirmen Burnu Fort demonstrates most of these features defined by Mackay. Now I will make a comparison between the features of inscriptive mode and that monument. It is known as "Halt Passerby Inscription" (Dur Yolcu Yazıtı) and can be seen both sides of the strait (Figure 4.30). It is written in the inscription several verses of Necmettin Halil Onan's poem dedicated to Gallipoli Battles as "Halt passerby! This land you unknowingly tread is the place an era sank."[113] The inscription in accordance with the tradition of epigraphs opens with an apostrophe as "Halt passer-by." This bodiless written imitation of voice is considered as the voice of the *genius* of the place.[114] According to Geoffrey H. Hartman in this genre it is not so obvious whether it is a "call from a monument in the landscape or from the landscape itself,"[115]

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[110] V & A publication No. 133, 1919, quoted fr4om and for further information about drawn boundaries of memorial architecture see: Borg 71.

[111] King, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Public Memorials of the Great War," 161.

[112] John Kenneth Mackay, *Inscription and Modernity: From Wordsworth to Mandelstam* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 6.

[113] The original poem is as follows: "Dur yolcu! Bilmeden gelip geçtiğin bu toprak bir devrin battığı yerdir; Eğil de kulak ver, bu sessiz yığın bir vatan kalbinin attığı yerdir." The inscription was engraved by a soldier named Seyran Çebi in 1960. The land of it is under the occupation of Turkish army. For further information see: Gürsel Göncü and Şahin Aldoğan, *Gallipoli Battlefield Guide* (İstanbul: MB, 2006), 147.

[114] Mackay, *Inscription and Modernity*, 3.

[115] Geoffrey H. Hartman, "Wordsworth, Inscriptions and Romantic Nature Poetry," in *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle,* eds. Frederick W. Hilles and Harold Bloom (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 24.
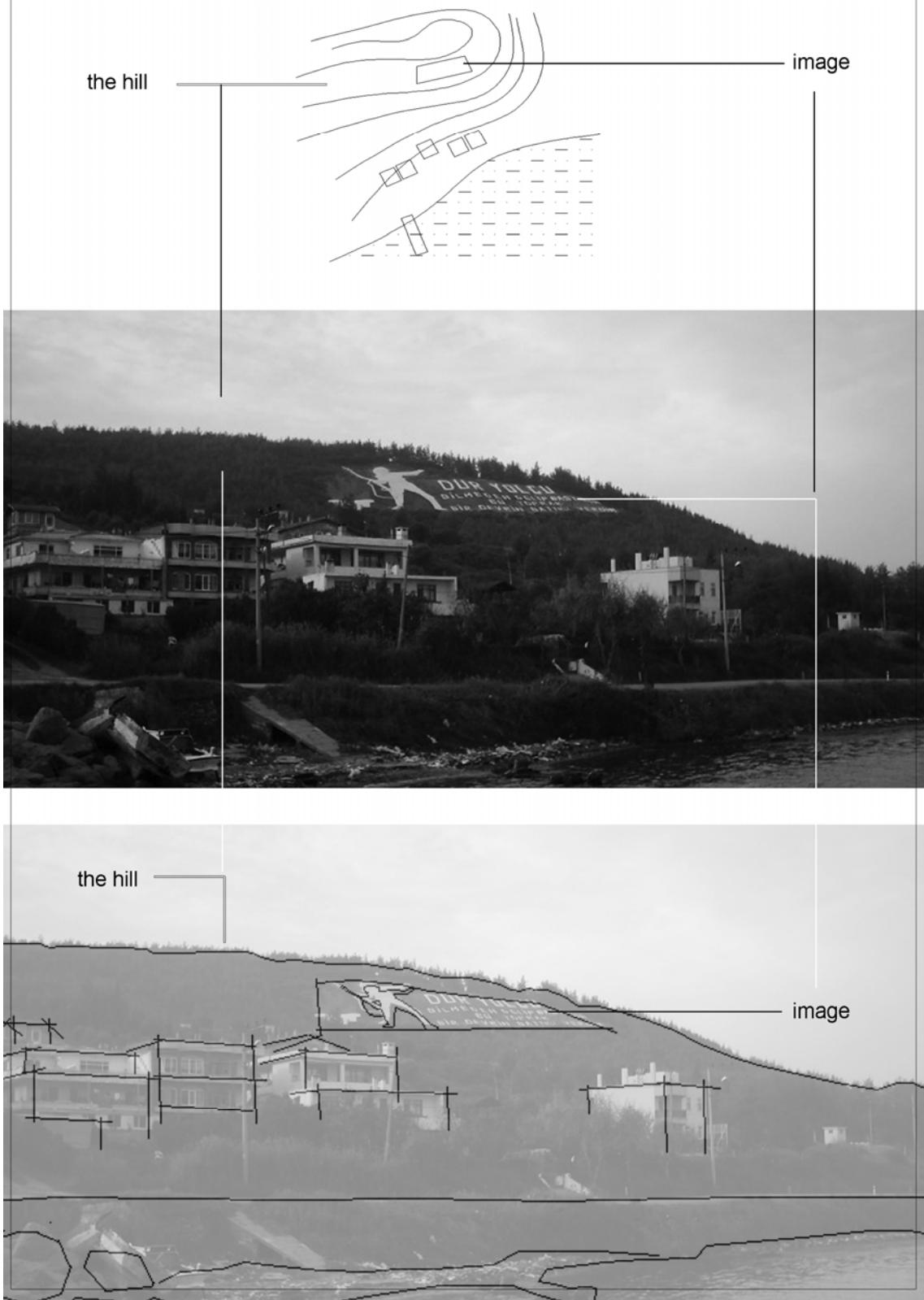
Figure 4.30 Image of Epigraphs and Inscriptive Monuments, Dur Yolcu Memorial

(Source: image and graphics by Ahenk Yılmaz)

The *genius* of the place which is deeply related to the memory of wars calls the attention of the passenger to stop and remember. Then, it draws the attention of the passer-by to the land itself. The place of the voice and its corporeality is obviously indicated. The legitimating, I consider, is guaranteed by the figure of Turkish soldier who stands beside the inscription and signs it. Therefore, all those features of inscriptive mode defined by Mackay are fulfilled by Halt Passer-by Inscription. In his book *Memorials of the Great War in Britain* Alex King asserts that in the case of the tablets of inscriptions "the form of the monument itself was not any special connotation."[116] According to him "it was the names inscribed on it which mattered. They carried the essential meaning of the memorial, and the treatment of them was the primary design consideration." This comprehension is not valid for the cases of Gallipoli at all. The image of the Halt Passer-by Inscription is beyond being just an inscription. The *genius* of the place calls the attention of the traveller and warn him/her about the significance of the soil, ground, the land itself. Thus, the land on where the inscription was engraved became the essential part of the image of the memorial.

The predominant epigraphic memorialisation in Gallipoli definitely is formed by the winning project of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Design Competition (Figure 4.31). The Competition was opened in 1970 by the ministry of Agriculture and finalised in the same year; however the construction process ended in 1981. The winning project was designed by the architect Ahmet Gülgönen.[117] Although, Gülgönen particularly designed an organisation of architectural memorialisation for the region of Conkbayırı, to multiply the individual element of the image of the memorial and to scatter it through the significant points of the landscape in terms of the memory of Gallipoli Battles was his original proposal. According to this proposal epigraphic monuments were constructed on eight more significant places for the history of war (Figure 4.32 a, b). The architect indicated that he wanted the chain of events to be felt as a whole.[118] Gülgönen already defined his design as "solution of time and space."[119]

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[116] King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*, 132.

[117] "Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Anıtı Proje Yarışması," *Mimarlık* 11 (1970): 34-42. All the information about this competition was complied from this source unless otherwise stated.

[118] The original statement is that "Yakın ve çok yakın çevredeki olaylar zinciri bir bütün olarak hissedilmeli. Muharebelerin olduğu tepelerle çıkartma yapılan kıyı şeridinin ikilemi (dualitesi) ifadelendirilmeli. Olayların algılanması zaman boyutu kazanmalı."

[119] The original statement is that "Conkbayırı anıtı bir zaman ve mekan çözümüdür."

Elements of *the image* of Epigraphs and Inscriptive Monuments

epigraphs

crest

crest

epigraphs

Figure 4.31 Image of Epigraphs and Inscriptive Monuments, Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial
(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics by Ahenk Yılmaz; image is from
http://archnet.org/library/sites/one-site.jsp?site_id=637, accessed 26 October 2007)

Figure 4.32 a. Büyük Kemikli Monument b. Kabatepe Arıburnu Sahil Monument
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

The architect states that the source of the geometry of the monuments is visual order and according to event they can be organised individually, binary, triad or just like Conkbayırı more than three (Figure 4.33). If there is an empty epigraph, it means silence —even that idea did not get realised in Gallipoli.[120] The architect of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial should have thought similarly; so that he called the empty epigraph as silence Five epigraphs and the hill of 261 which is encircled by those monuments altitudes constitute the image of the Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial. That hill had a crucial role in the result of the Conkbayırı Battles. Gülgönen emphasizes in his project that the representational image in Conkbayırı is the space crowned by the epigraphs.[121] This peak which was called as 261 altitudes hill did not only determine the fate of the battles in Conkbayırı but also "spelled the end of the Gallipoli Campaign."[122] In the words of the architect this peak constitutes the primary representational element

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[120] The original statement is that "Yazıtların geometrisi vizüel nizamlardan çıkmıştır. Belgelenen olaylara gore tek, ikili, üçlü ve Conkbayırında olduğu gibi daha çok sayıda kullanılırlar. Boş yazıt sessizlıi demektir."

[121] The original statement is that "Conkbayırında temsil elemenı yazıtların taçlandırdığı çıkartmalın yapıldığı Suvla koyunu ve Çanakkale Boğazını gören mekandır."

[122] "The New Zealanders began the attack from the beach area… reached this peak almost undetected on the morning of 8th August… held the crest for two nights against repeated and courageous Turkish counterattacks. The Turkish commander, Mustafa Kemal, recognised the importance of this hill as it overlooked the Turkish lines and also the Dardanelles, eight kilometres distant. On the morning of 10th August the Allies were overwhelmed by a huge counterattack and forces down the hill onto Rhododendron Ridge, along which a fire trail now runs. Never again would the Allies take this hill, nor view the Dardanelles. The loss of this key position effectively spelled the end of the Gallipoli Campaign." For further information see: Ross Bastian, *Gallipoli Plaques: A Guide to the Anzac Battlefield, to be used in Conjunction with the Ten Multilingual Plaques Located on the Main Road* (Sydney: ANRAB, 1990), 11-12.

of whole design. The designer considered his epigraphic monuments as a crown to this crest. To occupy this peak was so consequential for the Gallipoli Campaign; that's why the five epigraphic monuments like fingers of a hand take it by handfuls.

Figure 4.33 Yusufçuktepe Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

In order to be able to understand image of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial the reports of the five jurors become significant.[123] In his jury report the juror Turgut Cansever states that the project is on the line of traditional epigraphic monuments. Its proposal, which depends on defining the significant places in the battlefields with various sized similar monuments, is worthwhile to organise the landscape. Günseli Aru and Ercüment Kalmık in their jury reports draw the attention to the ideas of the winning project derived from not merely the preservation of the battlefields as they were but also the acknowledgement of the landscape itself as a museum. Doğan Erginbaş who is one of the jurors of the competition and the designer of Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial in his jury report establishes a connection between the Orhun [Orkhon] Inscriptions and Gülgönen's epigraphs. He indicates the significance of the monumental space proposed by epigraphs. The juror Levent Aksüt in his jury report appreciates the approach which proposes minimum intervention to the landscape.[124] In

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[123] The jury of the competition comprises of five jurors as Turgut Cansever, Günseli Aru, Doğan Erginbaş, Ercüment Kalmık Levent Aksüt. "Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Anıtı Proje Yarışması," 34-36. The jury reports are summarised from cited source.

[124] Besides, he emphasises the success of the proportions of epigraphs in respect of human scale to make impression on the visitor to affect him/her.

Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial, to define the image requires to see the entire hill and memorialisation on it as a whole. In his drawings the designer of the memorial also represents his project with the hill surrounded by the monuments (Figure 4.34; 4.35).
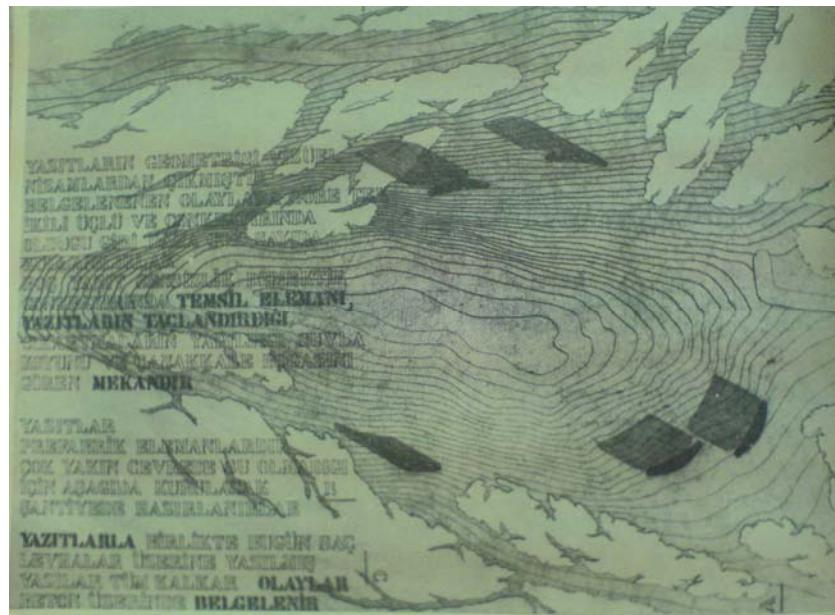
Figure 4.34 Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Memorial , Site Plan
(Source: Mimarlık 1970:9)
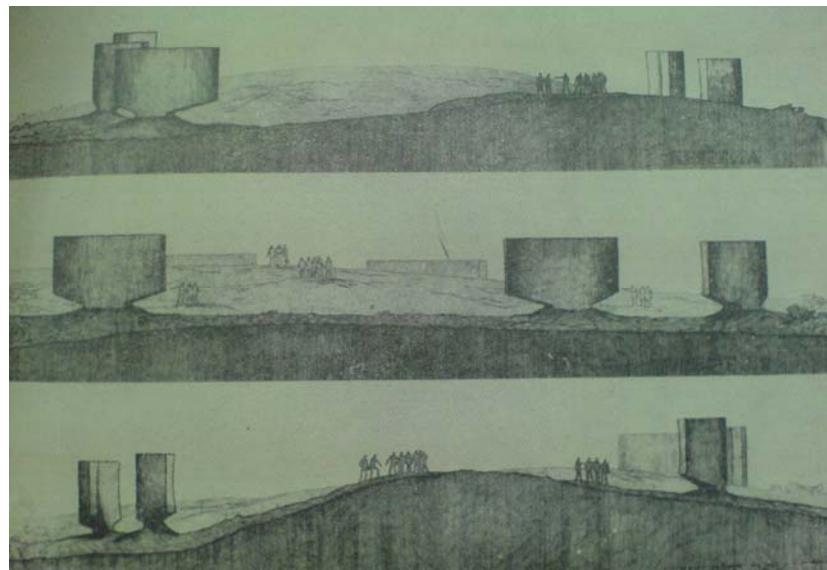
Figure 4.35 Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Memorial, Elevations
(Source: Mimarlık 1970:9)

Within this conceptual and historical framework, I will question the relation between the image and locus of epigraphs and inscriptive monuments. Certainly, the land mentioned in the verses of "Halt Passer-by Inscription" covers all the battlefields of Gallipoli. There is a direct and obvious connection between the image of this memorialisation and the historical event it commemorates. The apostrophe already personifies the memorialisation and establishes a ground for direct communication between the image and the observer. It draws the observer's attention to the land. It commands him/her to remember before to tread. In this conceptual framework, the relation between the event and the image is so strong inasmuch as that it becomes hard to separate the event from the image. In Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial, the visitor, in order to be able to read the story of this battle which engraved on those five epigraphs, should stand on the peak. He/she becomes a part of the image as a person on this crest. While the visitor is reading, he/she starts to notice the significance of the land beneath. Inscription as a memorialisation mode already has a direct relation with the historical event. The words in this image denote directly the things to be reminded. The design of the image of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial furthermore enhances this relation with its being and supplements the story illustrated in the epigraphs with a three dimensional framework like a scene.

Locus

In order to be able to examine the locus of epigraphs and inscriptive monuments, I will first determine what that locus is. Inscription as a medium of literal expression inevitably affects the observer with its generated reality. The words of the inscription transform into a voice in the mind of the reader. The Halt Passerby Inscription speaks to the visitor, furthermore command to him/her. The *genius* of the place, the locus of the image starts to talk directly. Engraved inscription transforms the ground into a plain surface like a paper. Although the inscription indicates the locus of the Gallipoli Battles, its own locus losses its three dimensionality and becomes something to look at, not to live in. It turns into a background. Therefore, the absence of spatiality makes an analysis which seeks to find out the effects of that locus on individuals impossible. The locus of this memorialisation is in fact an inseparable part of the image but the visitor can not be included. That locus cannot be defined as a space. Rather than that being something to look at like a framework for the image.

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Ahmet Gülgönen in his project proposal for the competition states that in his design there does not exist any pavement on the paths which is purged from bushes because the existing topography is the most important part of the landscape which should not been intervened with[125] (Figure 4.36). Valorisation of the locus manifests itself also in the design of the image. This peculiar design with the help of the content of the inscriptions causes the visitor to perceive the significance of the locus. In the centre of the circled hill, it starts to be difficult to tread the soil for the visitor, during the process of reading the epigraphs. All of those epigraphs in Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial were erected to certify the significance of their locus in the eyes of the visitor. They tell the story of the locus on which they stand. The events of the year 1915 are formed in the mind of the observer as a picture of that peculiar place. However, the locus of the image of those individual epigraphs dissolves in the landscape of Gallipoli Battles. It is not possible to separate them from each other. In fact that was the primary objective of the designer. He wanted just to dot the landscape with those epigraphs and not to intervene.

The base of monumental epigraphs was narrowed as far as possible in order to touch the landscape minimally. Gülgönen, in his project already draws the attention to the fact that the bones of the fallen continue to come out off the soil; hence the monuments should touch the ground indistinctly. The jurors of the Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial Competition commonly stated in their reports that they appreciated the winning designer's idea of acknowledging the landscape itself as a museum which should be preserved and memorialised.[126] Probably, this thought led the architect in defining the 261 altitudes hill as pre-eminent part of the image of architectural memorialisation. In the case of singular epigraphs in Gallipoli, like Büyük Kemikli or Kabatepe Arıburnu Sahil Monument the locus of the image starts to dissolve in the landscape of memory of the Battles (Figure 4.32 a, b). The locus of the battlefields of Gallipoli certainly influences and penetrates the locus of these images in various densities. I will analyse the locus of Epigraphs and Inscriptive Monuments in terms of the issues of *detachment* and *guidance*.

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[125] The original statement is that "Çalıların temizlendiği yer yoldur. Ayrıca kaplama bir zemin yoktur. Tabii zemin siperleri lağımları ve içinden hala kemik çıkan toprağıyla müdahale edilmemesi gereken en mühim elemandır."

[126] Especially Günseli Aru and Ercüment Kalmık clearly states their appreciations in their jury report. "Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Anıtı Proje Yarışması," 34-36.
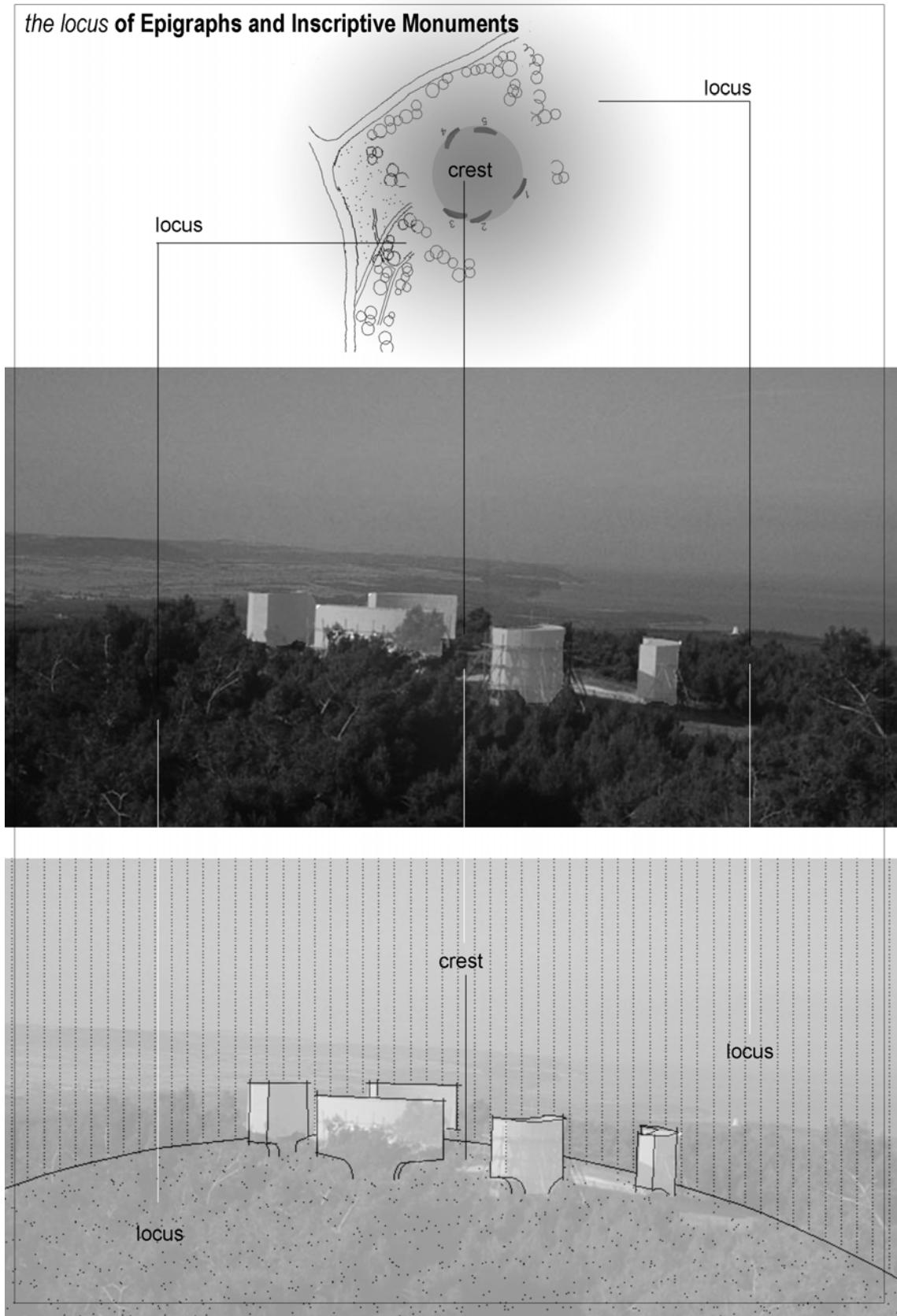
Figure 4.36 Locus of Epigraphs and Inscriptive Monuments, Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial (Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics by Ahenk Yılmaz; image is from http://archnet.org/library/sites/one-site.jsp?site_id=637, accessed 26 October 2007)

Detachment constitutes the first issue of the analysis of locus. The epigraphic monuments in Conkbayırı which encircle the hill define a semi-enclosed space. On the one hand, slightly curved singular monuments hold the crest like a hand and give the feeling of enclosure to the observer. On the other they let and orient the observer to see the significant places narrated in the inscription from the gaps in-between each other (Figure 4.37). The reality created by inscriptions incorporates with the spatial enclosure and affects the visitor's perception. One starts to comprehend the landscape of memory of the Battles by means of pre-defined strictly framed scenes. The locus of the image does not detach the visitor from the actual place completely. On the contrary, it indicates the locus of the battles, the topography of memory constantly. Nevertheless it frames, in other words controls, the view of the battlefields. Epigraphs in Conkbayırı, despite their well-defined, semi-enclosed space do not completely detach the individual's perception from the actual flow of time and space. However, well-preserved shoreline of Arıburnu enhances detachment effect of the monument through the views of the gaps between the epigraphs. On the other hand, capability of detaching of the singular epigraphs resembles the relief monuments. They just affect the individual in their locus defined in front of their huge forms, while he/she is reading the inscription.

Figure 4.37 The view of Suvla Bay from the Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Guidance constitutes the second issue of the analysis of locus of epigraphs and inscriptive monuments. In the proposal of winning design of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial Competition, the walkways purposefully are not paved. It is created by simply wiping up the bushes and by cleaning the paths slightly. On the vast site of the battlefields, nothing prepares you to a sudden encounter with an epigraphic monument. Even the semi-enclosed space of the Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial has no definition of entrance or exit. You can find yourself at the centre of conceived circle by chance while you are walking through the trenches. You can see Halt Passerby Inscription on each day of a week; hence an idea to go and visit the place of inscription may never come to your mind. Because, you unconsciously ought to know that it is something constructed to look at from a distance. Neither individual nor grouped epigraphic memorials conduct the movements of the visitor on the landscape. The epigraphic monument in Gallipoli is just like a sign or a point of finger indicates something to notice, learn and remember. They just orient individual's movement, do not guide according to a predefined path.

Image-Locus Relation

Peremptory voice of the *genius loci* of the Halt Passerby Inscription commands the observer to recognise the significance of the locus itself. It is not possible to determine whether the image indicates its locus or speaking locus itself is the image. The image and the locus of the memorialisation merge in each other inextricably. Notwithstanding, in terms of the relation between the image and the locus, Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial has a pivotal role in the history of architectural memorialisation of the Campaign.[127] First of all it is the initial idea not only comprehended the entire area as the locus of memory of the Battles but also proposed a unit which can be applied similarly but not identically all over the site in various styles. I think this comprehension can be considered as the original emergence moment of objectifying the real locus of memory in order to memorialise the events occurred on that particular place. The architect himself states that the crest constitutes the predominant part of his design. The crest itself was indicated by those epigraphs

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[127] After the restriction defined by the articles of the Treaty of Lausanne, Ahmet Gülgönen's project was the first Turkish proposal comprehended the landscape and the memorialisation of the Battle in it as a whole.

literally and physically. They are there just to crystallize the significance of 261 altitudes hill. A part of the landscape of memory not randomly but consequentially is redefined in the eyes of the observer. That particular locus becomes the image of the memorialisation. Furthermore, erected images start to dissolve in the landscape. The epigraphic monuments define a semi-enclosed space. The concrete elements of the image form the locus of memorialisation. The strict boundaries between the definitions of locus and image start to disentangle.

Concluding Remarks

Ahmet Gülgönen in his proposal defines his project as "solution of time and space." Due to this thought in his mind he transformed the very traditional form of epigraph into a unit of design which can either be erected individually to sign the particular places in the landscape or be used to define something beyond itself. In Gallipoli, the observer obviously and directly grasps the relation between the image and the historical event in the epigraphic monuments. This peculiarity of the relation not only stems from the evident denotations and connotations of the medium of inscription but also from the distinct characteristics of their image, which depend on indicating the loci, the real places of the events. Except for the design of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial, in all epigraphs and inscriptive monuments the locus of the memory of the Battles penetrates in the loci of their images. Thus, those loci of their images can not constitute any effect on the observer independent of the landscape itself. In "Halt Passer-by" Inscription, locus itself calls to the observer. Image, in fact, is the talking locus by means of a literal expression.

On the other hand, the semi-enclosed space of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial has the capability of detaching the visitor from the actual environment. Nevertheless, the designer of the memorial preferred to frame the views of the landscape and tried to establish a visual control in accordance with the historical events narrated on the epigraphs. Although the visitor's perception of time and space is still predominantly determined by the battlefields, carefully defined gaps of memorial filter that perception. On the contrary, neither the spatial organisation of epigraphs on the 261 altitudes hill nor the individual epigraphs and inscriptions tries to conduct the movements of the visitor. Their architect wants them to be a part of the landscape insomuch as that he never defines walkways or paths through which the visitor could

easily find them. This appreciation of the landscape of memory should have been brought the idea of making the locus itself the image of memorialisation. In terms of Gülgönen's project the image of the memorial which is a unity of epigraphs and the hill commemorated in the epigraph itself becomes space.

4.1.5. Self-Referential Memorials

> *Which is to say one enters modernism, since it is the modernist period of sculptural production that operates in relation to this loss of site, producing the monument as abstraction, the monument as pure marker or base, functionally placeless and largely self-referential.* [128]

In this part of the study, I will analyse singular architectural memorialisation approaches in Gallipoli which that singularity and self-referential characteristics make them a group. Particularly, Turkish memorials have a wide range of memorialisation attitudes due to their diverse creators, financers and disperse construction times from 1915 to the Peace Park Competition. Certainly, to analyse all of these individual approaches in detail would not be rationalistic. Thus, I preferred to choose four of them which are outstanding with their design because of different reasons. I chose Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial for this part to analyse for the reason that not only it was the first civil attempt in Gallipoli to commemorate the Campaign but also it became the symbol of the commemoration of the Campaign for Turks because of its huge scale and location (Figure 4.38). I will also analyse Nuri Yamut Memorial for the reason that the peculiar identity of its spatial definition which is not common in Gallipoli (Figure 4.39a). The Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial will be a part of the analysis for the reason that it is a competition proposal (Figure 4.40). Finally, I will analyse the memorial for Lieutenant Eric Duckworth in Redoubt War Cemetery of CWGC because of its unique and exceptional memorialisation mode (Figure 4.39b). Despite the fact that those approaches have a wide range of physical formation, their images and loci have similar peculiarities just like dissimilar ones. I will take all these peculiarities into consideration for analysis.

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[128] Krauss, "Sculpture in the Expended Field," 280.

Figure 4.38 Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Figure 4.39.a. Nuri Yamut Memorial b. Lieutenant Eric Duckworth Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Figure 4.40 Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Image

In this part of the analysis image of works of architectural memorialisation demonstrate wide range of sizes, forms and corporeality. Their singularity and self-referential characteristics is the main reason for putting them in a same group. 40 metres high image of Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial is the tallest man-made structure in the park area (Figure 4.41). At the end of the foreland of Gallipoli Peninsula, it rises like a lighthouse and it constitutes a giant figure not only for the visitors but also for those who pass the strait. On the contrary, memorial for the 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth is just a planted tree and probably one of the smallest memorials in Gallipoli (Figure 4.42). It was planted in Redoubt Cemetery in memory of that soldiers who gave his life in the landing on 7th August 1915. Concrete image of Nuri Yamut Memorial constitutes one of the initial Turkish commemoration works in Gallipoli in which a highly enclosed space is defined (Figure 4.43). On the other hand, the image of Kabatepe Information Centre is in fact an open space design which belongs to same named museum (Figure 4.44). I will examine these images in order to be able to draw their historical and conceptual frameworks.

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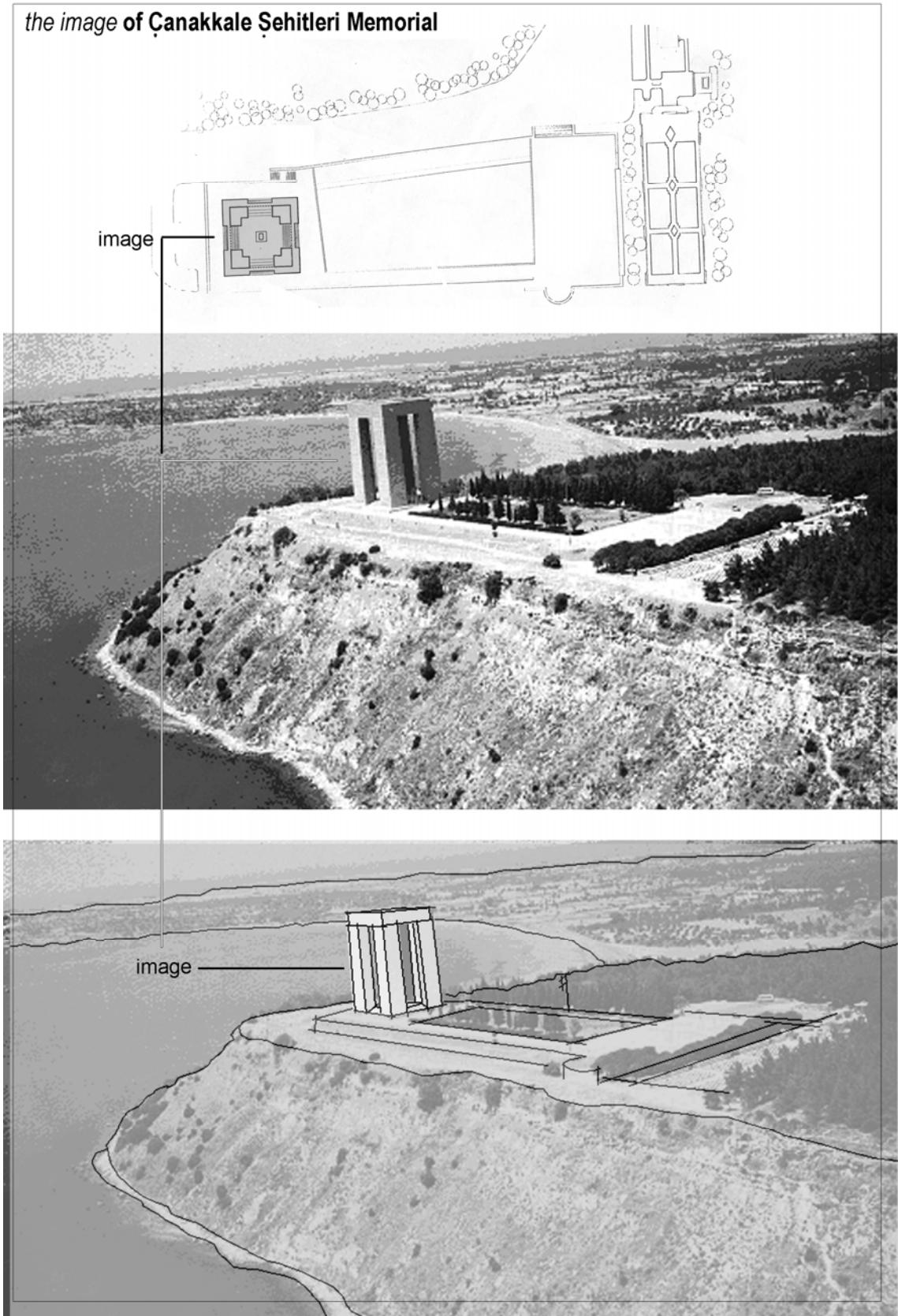
Figure 4.41 Image of Self-Referential Memorials, Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial

(Source: plan and image from the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics by Ahenk Yılmaz)

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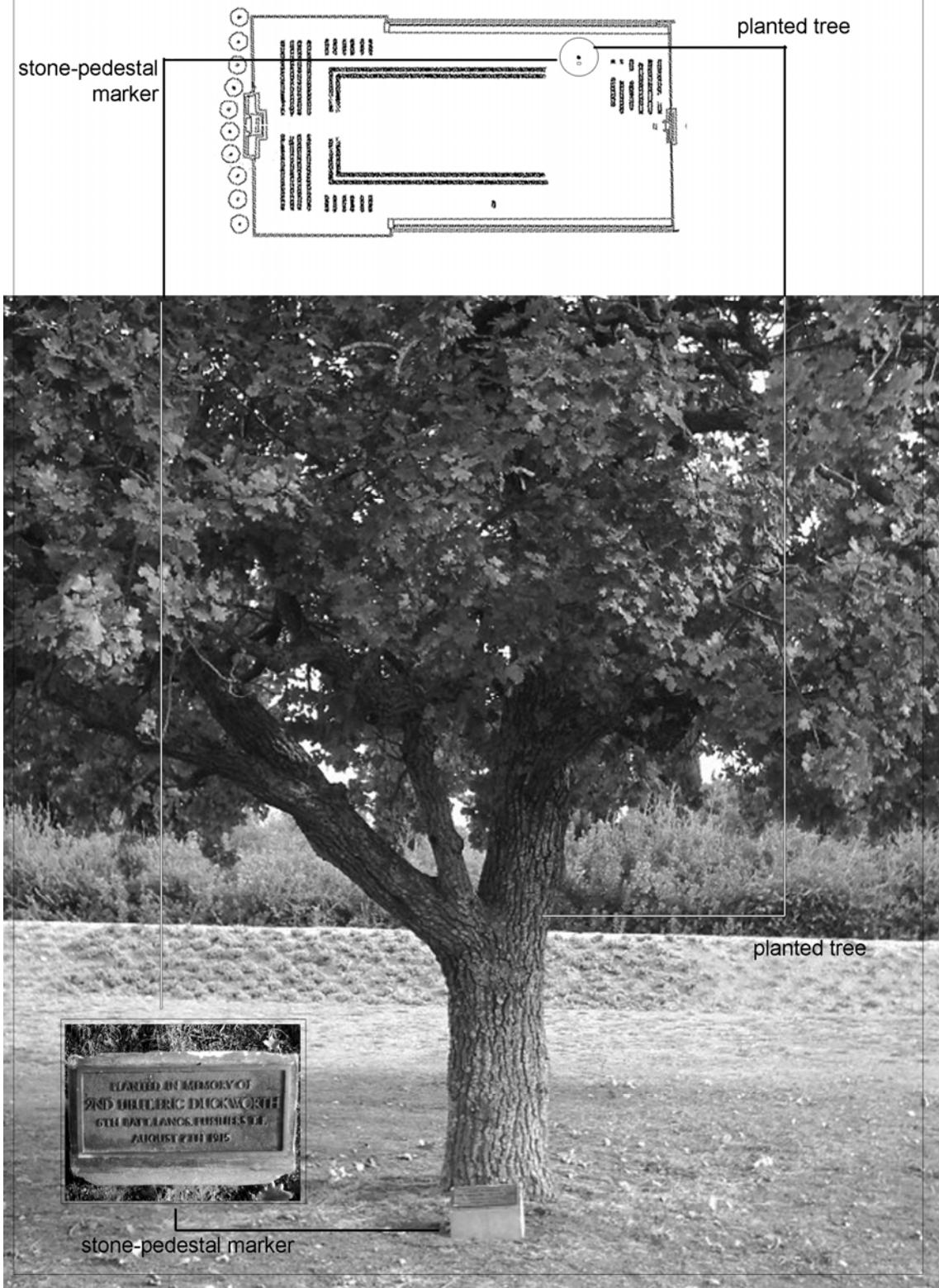
Figure 4.42 Image of Self-Referential Memorials, 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth Memorial
(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

elements of *the image* of **Nuri Yamut Memorial**

podium

plaque

high sloppy walls

gate

podium

hign sloppy walls
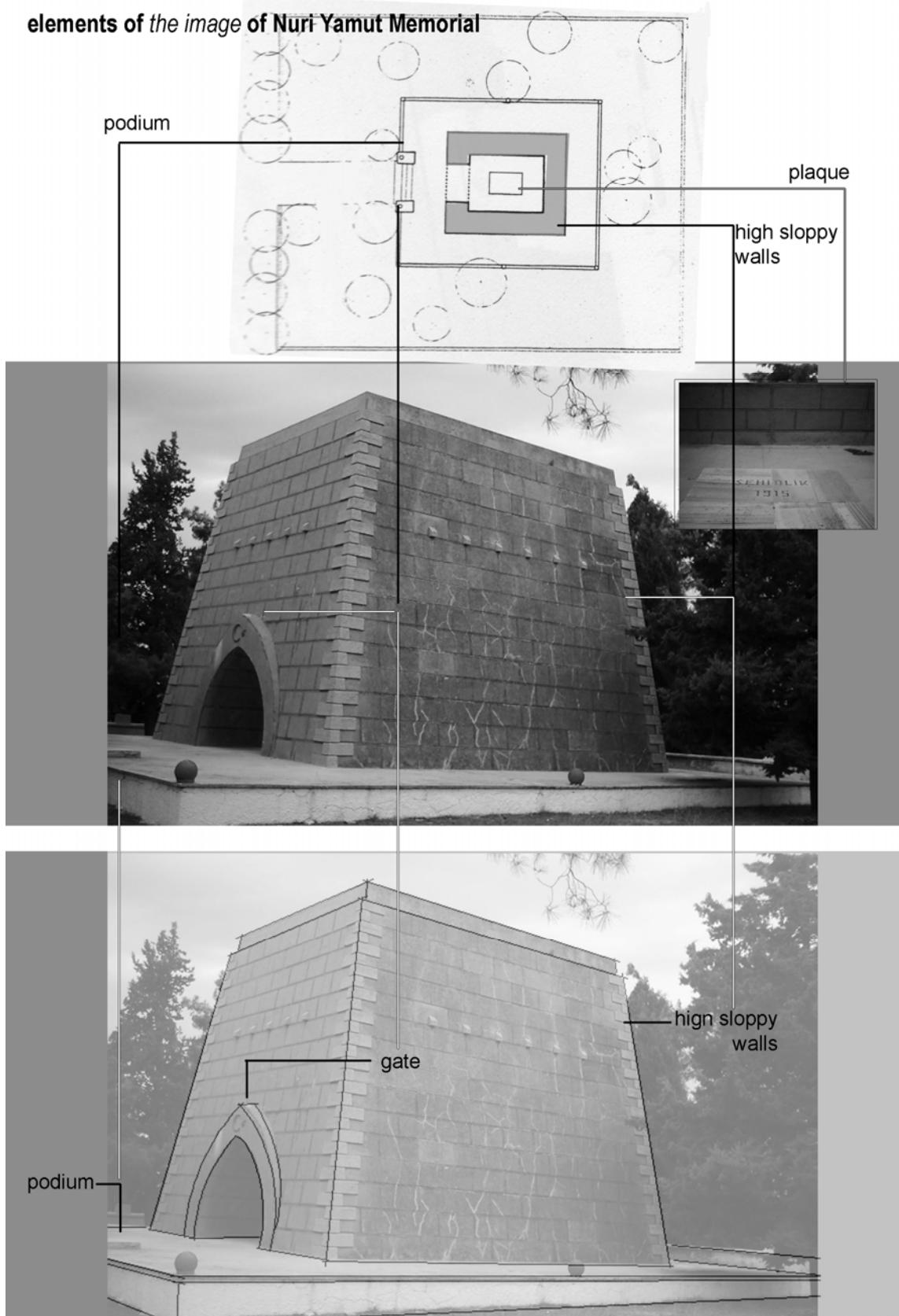
Figure 4.43 Image of Self-Referential Memorials, Nuri Yamut Memorial
(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)
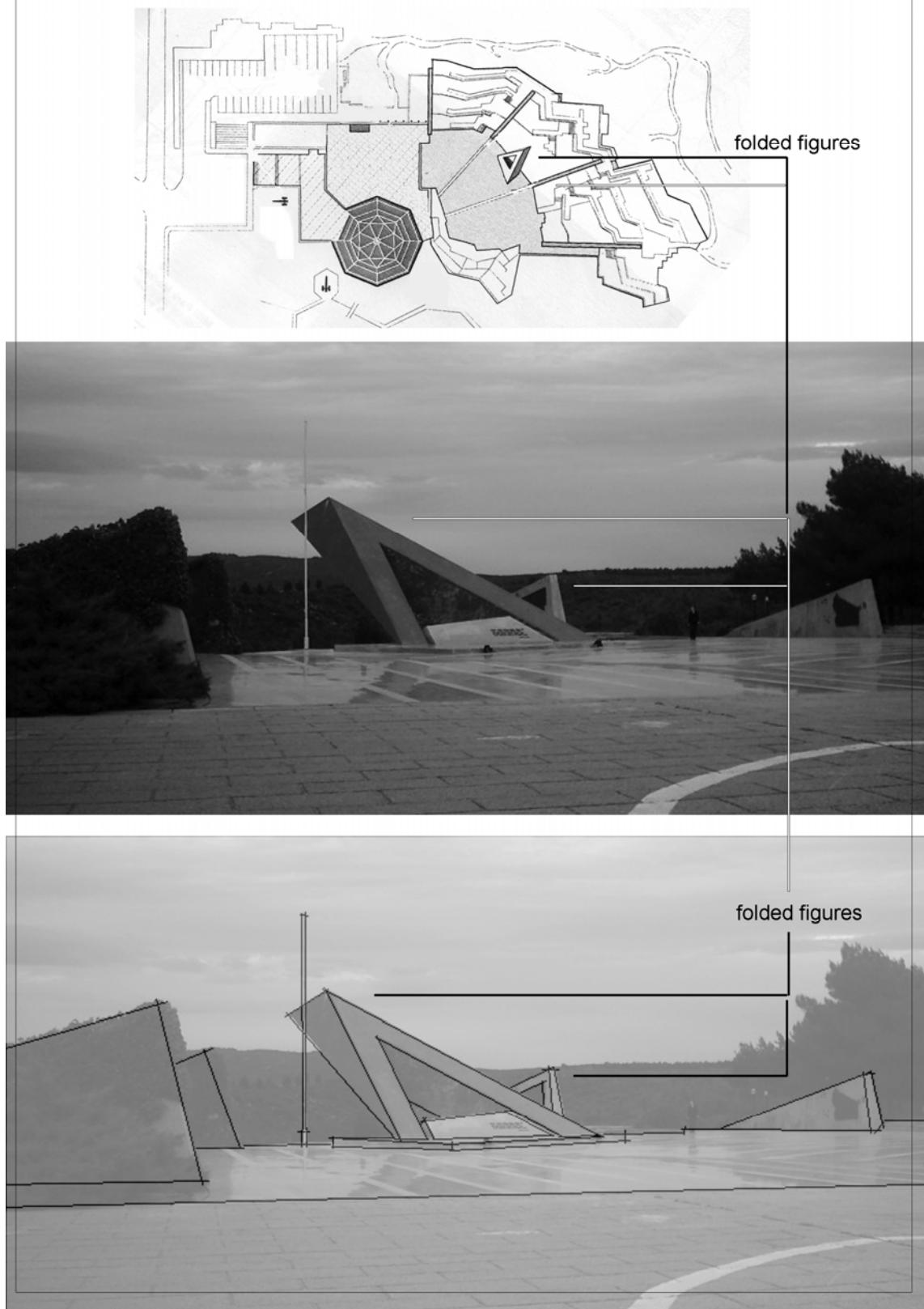
Figure 4.44 Image of Self-Referential Memorials, Kabatepe Memorial

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

In 1944, a national competition was organised to acquire the design for the first civil architectural memorialisation dedicated to the Turkish soldiers battled in Gallipoli. The name of the competition was Çanakkale Zafer ve Meçhul Asker Anıtı Yarışması [Çanakkale Victory and Unknown Memorial Competition]; however today the memorial which was started to be constructed in 1954 is called as Çanakkale Şehitleri Anıtı [Çanakkale Martyr's Memorial].[129] 36 projects participated to the competition and long deliberations occurred on two projects to give the first prize. The winning design belonged to Feridun Kip, İsmail Utkular and Doğan Erginbaş. In the jury report of this project the reasons behind the logic of this choice is indicated as its simple elementary language of form and austere dignified figure. Furthermore, the attention draws to its new and invented form which has the potency to generate great effects.[130] Now I will discuss the invention that the project presents.

Doğan Erginbaş, one of the members of the team designed the winning project of the competition, through a paper named *Anıt-Kabirler ve Zafer-Asker Anıtları* [Mausoleums and Victory-Soldier Memorials] gave his doctoral proficiency exam in 1950.[131] In that paper, he expounds his views on the history of architectural memorialisation; and in this conceptual framework, at the end of the paper he locates the Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial in the canons of not only Western but also Turkish memorial architecture.[132] Erginbaş assorts a separate group for triumphal arches as four footed open plan memorials. In this group he illustrates four different monuments; Napoleon's victory monument Arc de Triomphe, Mahmut Şevket Paşa Mausoleum, Mimar Sinan Mausoleum and a small mosque in the courtyard of Sultan Han constructed in Seljuk Emperor period. [133] According to him, the relation between these monuments, which belong to different periods and cultures, is their four footed monumental form and four sided plan which provide openness. Erginbaş elucidates that

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[129] "Çanakkale Zafer ve Meçhul Asker Anıtı Müsabakası," *Mimarlık* 3 (1944):52-65, 72. The jury report cited from this source.

[130] The original argument is as follows: "Yegane büyük tesir kudretine haiz, yeni bir şekil ve buluştur."

[131] Doğan Erginbaş, *Anıt-Kabirler ve Zafer-Asker Anıtları* (İstanbul: İstanbul, 1950).

[132] Erginbaş, *Anıt-Kabirler ve Zafer-Asker Anıtları*, 31-35.

[133] Although, Erginbaş argued in his paper unsurely that the emergence of triumphal arches originated into the ancient Chinese architecture, such kind of a relation has not been proved yet. The fact that we are sure that in Roman period that architectural element started to be used as a commemorative structure and like most of the elements of Roman memorial architecture it has been constructed up to the 20th century. Borg, *War Memorials*, 58.

their design for Çanakkale Zafer ve Meçhul Asker Memorial should be acknowledged in line of these monuments.[134] For him, as he states in his paper, four sided symmetry is crucial for monumental forms in order to generate an equal effect on the observer on all facades (Figure 4.45). He finalised his words with a statement that monuments reaches their highest value through the events they remind to the visitor which are sacred.[135]
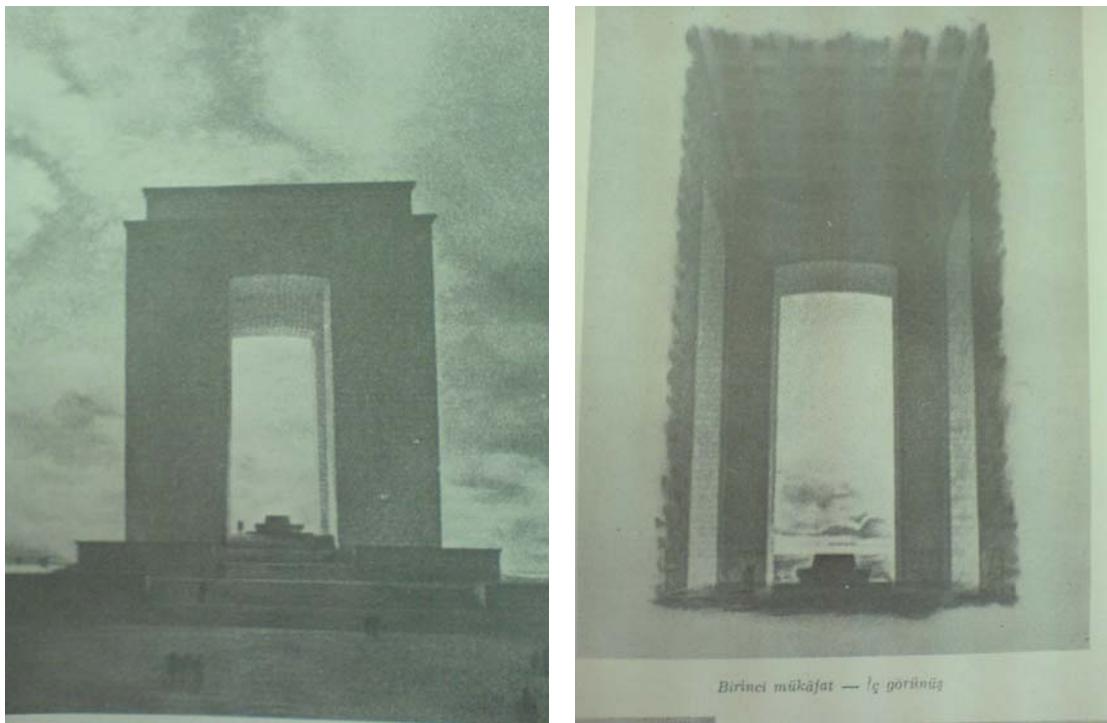
Figure 4.45 Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial, perspective drawings from winning project
(Source: Mimarlık 1944:3)

According to well known architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner three Roman types of commemorative structures were inherited and "they were never forgotten, not even in the middle ages;" column, triumphal arch and the equestrian statue.[136] As Alan Borg states in his book War Memorials that "originally such arches were erected in Rome and in provincial cities to mark important entrances or crossing points," however

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[134] The original statement is that "Çanakkale Zafer ve Meçhul Asker Abidesi projemizde de aynı mimari fakir hakimdir. Şüphesizki bu fakir diğer bütün eserlerde hakim fikirlerin tekerrür etmesi gibi birçok defa farklı milletlere mensup sanatkarlar tarafından tatbik ve tecrübe edilmiştir." Erginbaş, *Anıt-Kabirler ve Zafer-Asker Anıtları* 34.

[135] The original statement is that "abideler hatırlattıkları hadise ve vak'aların kutsiyetinde en yüksek ifadelerini bulurlar." Ibid., 35.

[136] Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1976), 11.

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they had a key role in the memorialisation process of the Great War.[137] Sir Edwin Lutyens was one of the well-known architects who preferred to use elementary triumphal arch form for his First World War Memorials such as monument to the Missing of the Battle of Somme at Thiepval.[138] In the roman tradition triumphal arch was erected to frame "the victorious return of troops from war."[139] That's why in its original form triumphal arch has a strong relation to the urban context. In spite of this relation and the fact that the "great monuments on battlefields were always comparatively rare," triumphal arch constitutes one of the most used form of great monuments in battlefields.[140]

The image of Nuri Yamut Memorial is composed of diverse architectural forms from different traditions (Figure 4.43). The memorial which was designed by architect Asım Kömürcüoğlu was constructed in the year of 1943 by Commander of Gallipoli 2nd Army Corps Nuri Yamut.[141] It was dedicated to the ten thousand loss in Zığındere between the dates June 26th and July 12th.[142] As a plan, project is simply a megaron, with its sloppy facades it resembles a mastaba, and however it has a gate from Seljuk architecture.[143] Unlike the traditional mastaba architecture, the space surrounded by walls has no ceiling; it provides a strictly framed view of the sky. The space within is carefully enclosed like a memorial hall. Halls of memory in the tradition of architectural memorialisation is constructed to "provide a covered area for contemplation."[144] With the embedded marble plaque on its ground, inside of the cemetery was obviously constructed to provide a space for contemplation.

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[137] Borg, *War Memorials*, 58,127.

[138] "Though Lutyens drew on classical forms, he tended to reduce them to simpler and simpler outline or notation. This process has no better expression than in the Monument to the Missing of the Battle of Somme at Thiepval… Lutyens again chose geometry to express the inexpressible nature of war and its human costs. He took the form of triumphal arch, and multiplied it." Winter. *Sites of Memory,* 105.

[139] Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form,* (London: Routledge, 1999), 55.

[140] Borg, *War Memorials*, 57.

[141] Bademli, *et. al. The Catalogue,* p. 35.

[142] Ekrem Boz, *Adım Adım Çanakkale Savaş Alanları* (İstanbul: Ata, 1994), 42.

[143] Megaron was the basic elementary form of habitation since ancient Greeks, especially Mycenaean culture. Mastaba was one of the oldest forms of monumental tombs in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Ogive arched entrance was frequently used in Seljuk architecture.

[144] Borg, *War Memorials*, 132.

The memorial of 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth was planted by his family who could not find their son's cemetery in their visit to Gallipoli seven years after the war.[145] In fact, there are two trees which are significant in terms of memorialisation of Gallipoli Battles; memorial for 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth and the Lone Pine (Figure 4.46). The former was grown as a memorial diligently by CWGC in the Redoubt War Cemetery; the latter became a symbol during the most severe trench battles of the Campaign and exists in the boundaries of Lone Pine Cemetery and Memorial [146] (Figure 4.42). The Image of Kabatepe Information Centre is scattered to the open area of the museum. It was the winning project of a competition named Kabatepe Sembolik Şehitliği Ulusal Proje Yarışması organised in 1983. Architects Metin Hepgüler and İlhan Şahin were the designers.[147] It comprises of levelled platforms each emphasised with metal profiles bended and folded (Figure 4.44).

Figure 4.46 Lone Pine Cemetery and Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

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[145] Göncü and Aldoğan, *Gallipoli battlefield Guide*, 171.

[146] John Masefield (1878-1967) in his pioneering *Gallipoli* first published in 1916 describes why the Lone Pine became significant for the Anzacs as follows: "… the hill of Lone Pine was the gate into the narrowest part of the Peninsula, and through that gate, as the Turks very well knew, a rush might be made from Anzac upon Maidos and the Narrows…The hill of Lone or Lonesome Pine is a little plateau less than 400 feet high running N. W. S. E. and measuring perhaps 250 yards long by 200 across." For further information see: John Masefield, *Gallipoli* (London: Kessinger, 2005), 157-58.

[147] Bademli, *et. al*. *The Catalogue,* p. 8.

Within these conceptual frameworks of the images of self referential memorials, I will examine the relation between their images and historical event which they were dedicated one by one. Huge image of Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial undoubtedly starts to impress the visitor from a far and this impression gradually increases while the visitor approaches (Figure 4.41). The covered area —approximately 625 metre square— does not give the feeling of a semi-open space due to its tall foots. On the pedestal of the memorial, there is a marble altar stone on which four verses from Mehmet Akif Ersoy's well known *Çanakkale Şehitleri* poem were engraved.[148] The visitor who passed the entire path through the ceremonial site can read this inscription placed in the sea façade of the memorial (Figure 4.47).

Figure 4.47 Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

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[148] "Ey bu topraklar için toprağa düşmüş asker; Gökten ecdad inerek öpse o pak alnı değer; Sana dar gelmeyecek makberi kimler kazsın; Gömelim gel seni tarihe desem sığmazsın." [Soldier, you have fallen for this earth; Your fathers may well lean downfrom heaven to kiss your brow; Who can dig a grave that will not be too narrow for you; If I say 'Let us enshrine you in history; It will not contain you.] Translation from Bademli, *et. al. The Catalogue,* p. 20.

Except for this poem, the inscriptive panels and figurative representations along the way, nothing gives the visitor a clue as to why this robust monument was erected. Just the painted moon and star beneath the roof plane may be a guide to understand the nationality of the builders of the memorial. It constitutes another modern interpretation of ancient monumental form, triumphal arch. In spite of all the efforts of project owner, Doğan Erginbaş, to establish a relation between the traditional forms of Turkish architecture, the image of the memorial belongs to more universal category of architectural memorialisation. Furthermore, the basic purpose of the traditional form, a gate, was removed from that image. This absence makes it less possible for the visitor to recognize the intimate roots of the form to the triumphal arches. The austere and elementary form of the huge image constitutes great effect on not only the visitors of the memorial but also the observers who passes from the strait; however, if the inscription does not exist, it is not possible to understand for which historical event that monument was erected.

On the other hand, the image of Nuri Yamut memorial has more formal connotations. The ogive arch on the gate of the memorial reminds us the architecture of Seljuk Empire. Asım Kömürcüoğlu, the designer of the memorial chose one of the most ancient and traditional forms of tomb architecture, mastaba. Although, this choice seems to enhance the relation between the image and the historical event which it was dedicated, death; in fact, that relation can be obvious just for an educated eye, not for an ordinary visitor. There exists just a plaque on which engraved "Şehitlik, 1915," inside of the structure [149] (Figure 4.43). The only clue that gives the information for the reson for its construction is that plaque. That plaque can only be perceived if the visitor enters the interior the cemetery. Similarly, except for the informative plate in front of the tree, it would not be possible to recognize the memorial planted for 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth (Figure 4.42). Although, it is an English oak tree which is not a part of the common vegetation in the region, even in these circumstances, most of the visitors of the Redoubt War Cemetery probably do not notice the plaque and therefore the disparity of the tree as a memorial.[150] Indicating a tree as a memorial requires much more conductive elements in order to be able to draw the attention of the visitor.

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[149] "Martyrdom, 1915."

[150] For further information about the vegetation in cemeteries of CWGC see: "Champion trees in Commonwealth War Cemeteries," CWGC Information Sheet.

The image of Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial in fact outspreads through platforms to the one side slope of the hill. On each platform different folded metal structures exist (Figure 4.44). The jagged points of these structures lie down directly on the battlefields. The upper most platforms were designed also to be used for ceremonies. In no place of this scattered open area design the visitor can understood for what this structures were constructed. The image of the memorial gives no clue. Of course, for the reason that it was constructed on the landscape of Gallipoli the observer may guess that it has a relation with the memory of the Battles; but what kind of a relation is that is very blur. The observer may remember anything about the Battles in his/her personal memory through those images. Therefore, it is possible to assert that one of the collective characteristics of these different forms of memorialisation is the absence of a direct relation between their images and the historical events which they are dedicated to commemorate.

Locus

Analysis of locus requires first of all an exact determination; however, loci of those singular and self-referential works of architectural memorialisation diversify like their images. Locus of Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial constitutes on one side well defined, semi-open space with its physical boundaries, on the other side expands through the surface of the sea (Figure 4.48). On the other hand, the locus of the memorial for 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth is simultaneously the locus of the Redoubt War Cemetery of CWGC (Figure 4.49). Locus of Nuri Yamut Memorial is an enclosed space from inside of its image but landscape of the Gallipoli Battles itself generates a background for the outer face of its image (Figure 4.50). In Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial the image itself extends on its locus and it becomes hard to define them apart from each other (Figure 4.51). Those loci which have different characteristics will be analysed comparatively. In order to be able o make this analysis I will operate two main issues of locus in this study; detachment and guidance. I will find their similarities and disparities in terms of these issues.
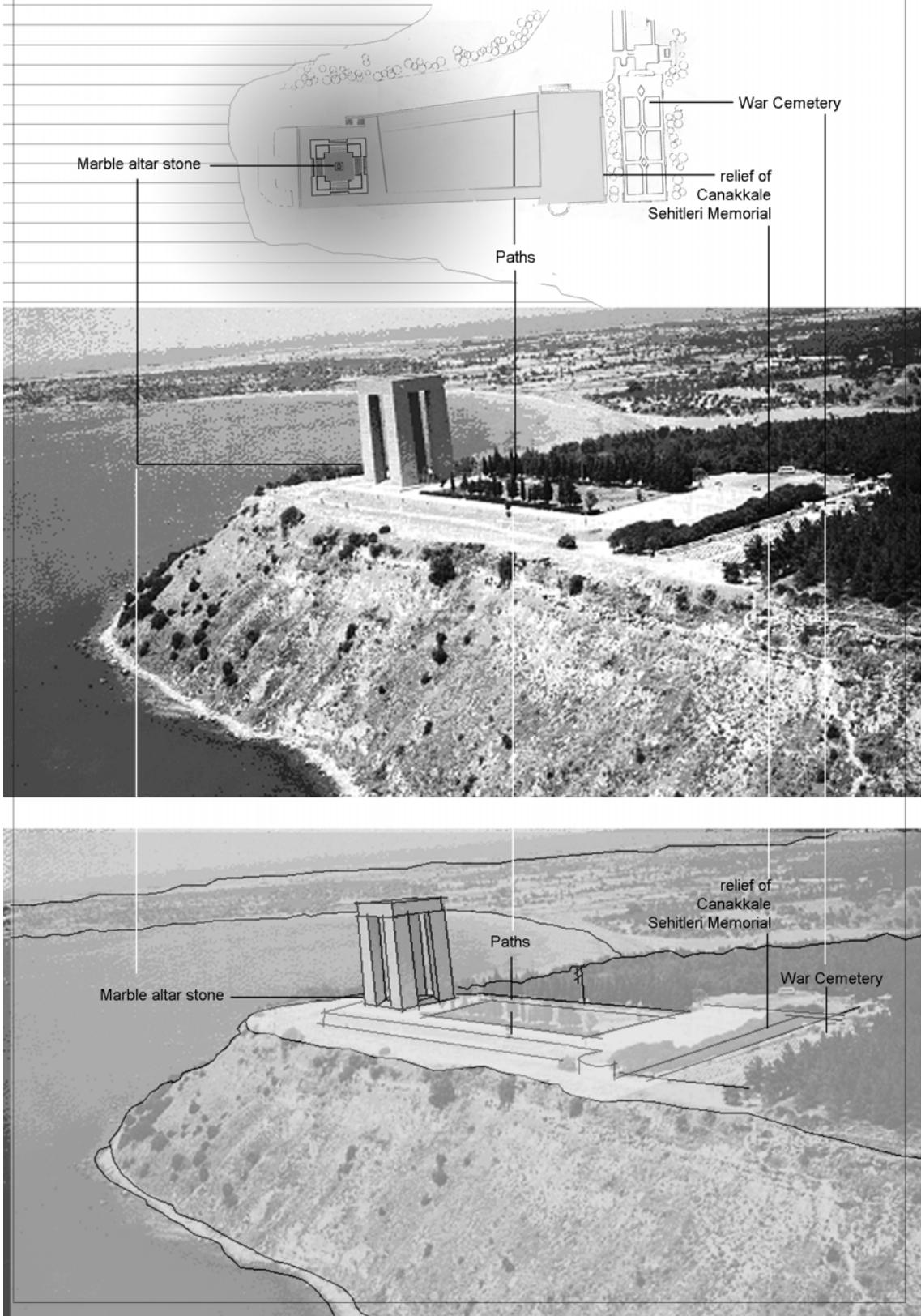
Figure 4.48 Locus of Self-Referential Memorials, Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial

(Source: plan and image from the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics by Ahenk Yılmaz)
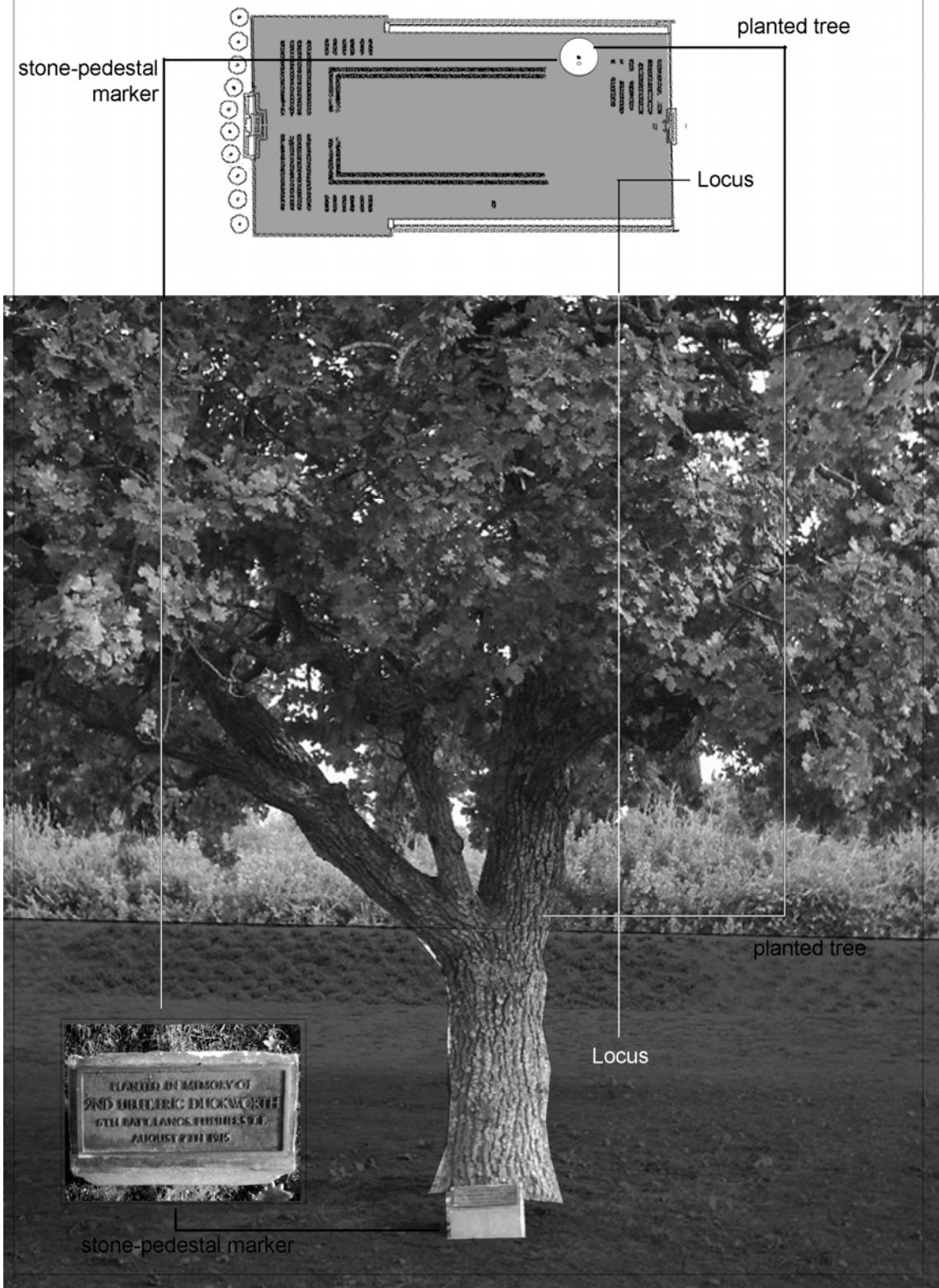
Figure 4.49 Locus of Self-Referential Memorials, 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth Memorial
(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)
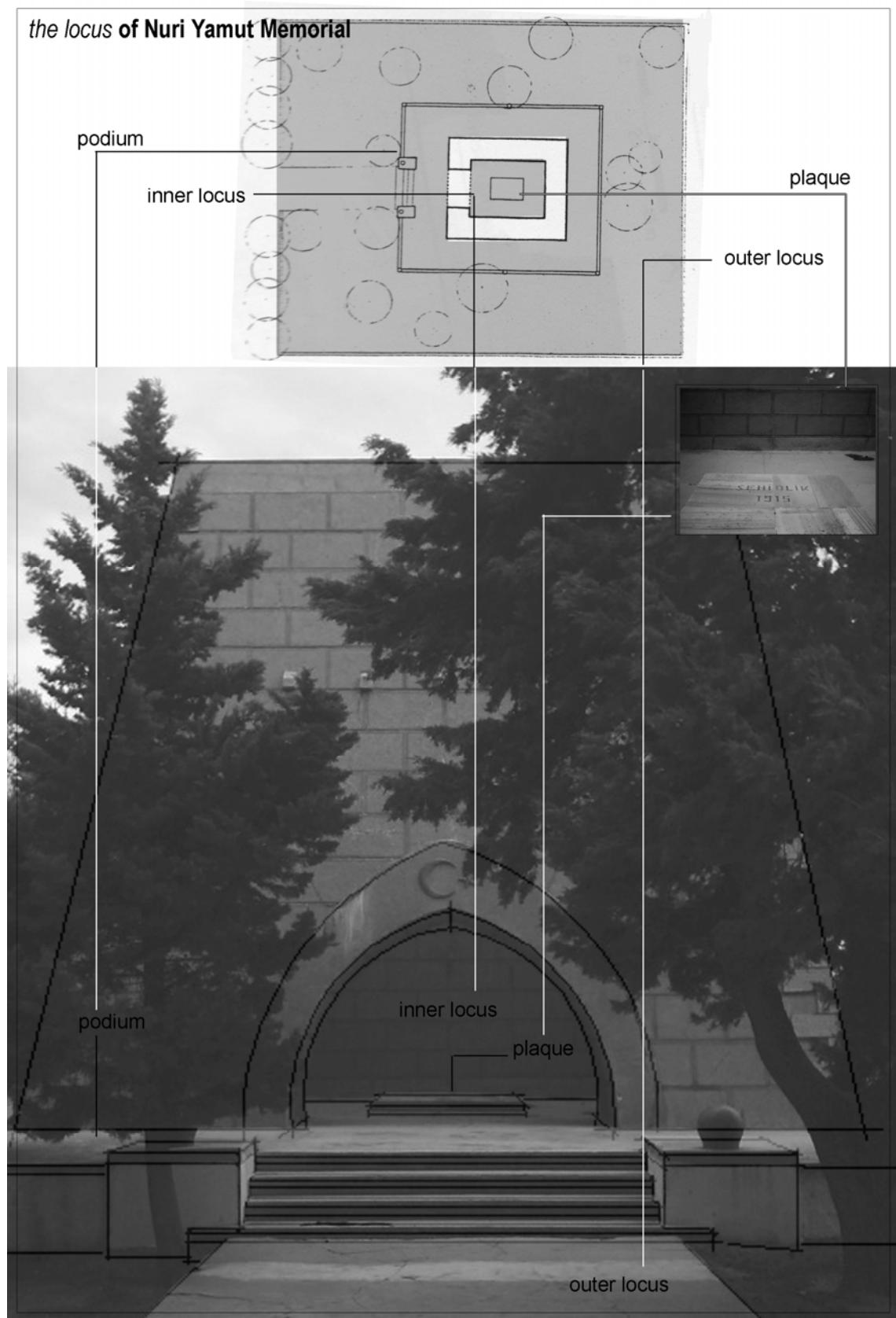
Figure 4.50 Locus of Self-Referential Memorials, Nuri Yamut Memorial

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)
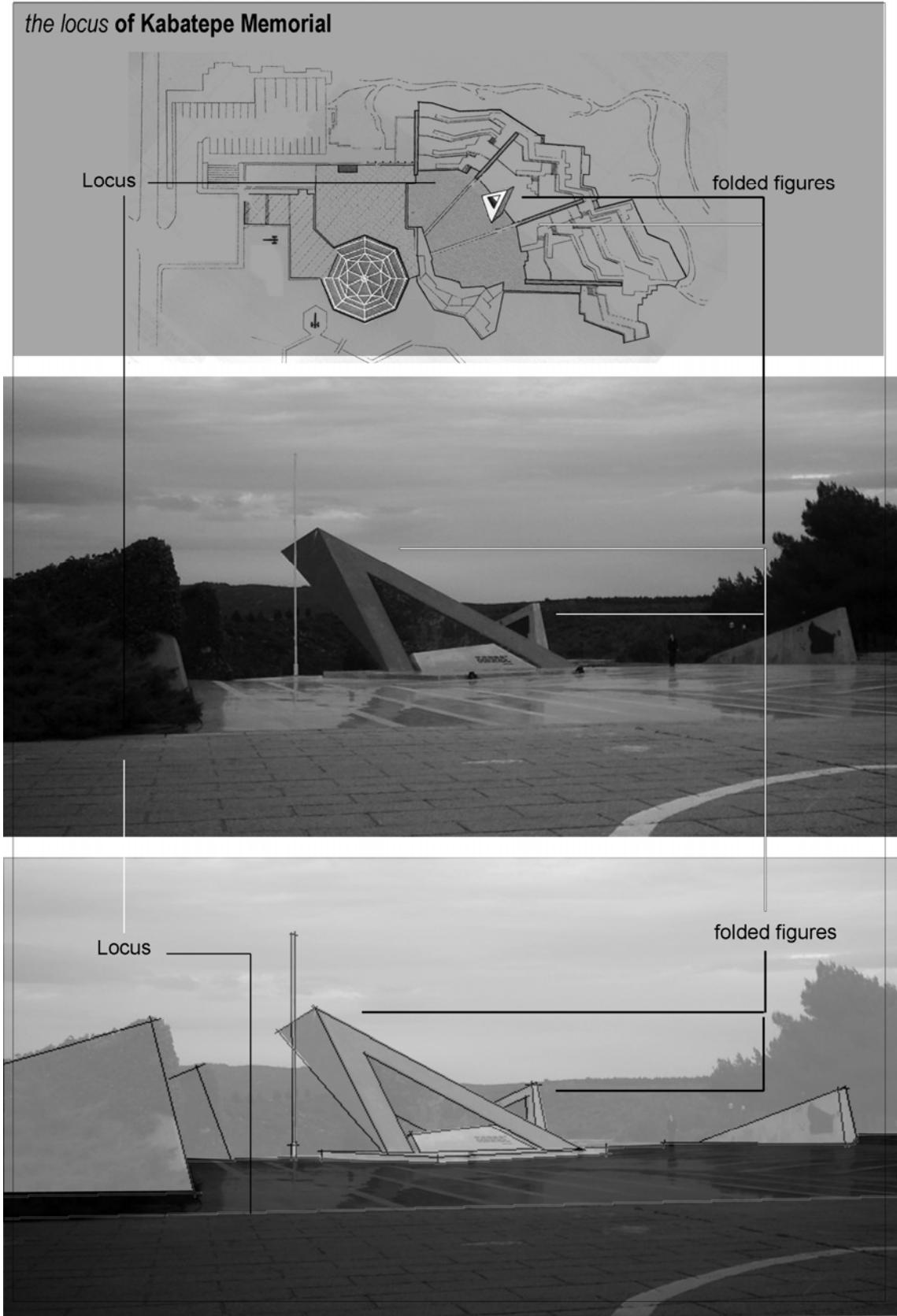
Figure 4.51 Locus of Self-Referential Memorials, Kabatepe Memorial

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Detachment constitutes the first issue of this analysis. In his pioneering *Landscape and Memory* Simon Schama argues that "landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock."[151] Lone Pine or lonesome pine on the hill of the Anzac cliffs belongs to the culture of certain nations which during the Battles made it for themselves a target. Therefore, a peculiar part of the landscape may become an object. However, as a planted tree the situation of memorial for 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth demonstrates differences. It was planted deliberately as a memorial. The locus of the memorial dissolves in the locus of the war cemetery (Figure 4.49). Thus, the effects of its locus on the visitor in fact stem from the locus of the war cemetery which was analysed in previous parts of the study in detail. On the other hand, Nuri Yamut Memorial stands in the woods solely and its locus has binary corporeality (Figure 4.50). The outer locus, which generates a background for the overall image of the memorial, is predominantly defined by the podium and the landscape of the battlefields as a background. However, the locus defined within the image is highly covered and enclosed space. That inner locus differentiates from actual place of the battlefields detaches the visitor's perception from actual flow of time and space. By means of the architectural formation, he/she is compelled to notice the passing of time through the hollow roof open to the open sky; but that time perception does not overlap with the actual time. In that very room, each day reanimate identically with the previous one eternally.

Locus of Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial has different effects depending on the view point of the visitor (Figure 4.48). For the observer who passes by the strait, the locus of the memorial constitutes a vista of the landscape of Gallipoli as a background for the image. Despite the fact that the blur, distant perspective of the landscape seems constant, the peculiarities of this locus depend deeply on the locus of the landscape of Gallipoli itself. On the other hand, the locus defined by the feet of the memorial is a semi-defined space. Although that locus cannot generate its own reality, it defines a way to perceive the reality of the landscape. When the visitor reaches the final point, the core of the locus, he/she is able to see the strait and the battlefields through a frame. On the other hand, locus of the Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial is defined by its expanded image (Figure 4.51). The image itself extends through the platforms descending with the slope of the hill. The designers of the memorial organised all these

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[151] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Fontana Press, 1996), 61.

platforms according to the vista of the battlefields. Each has their own view of the landscape of the memory of Gallipoli Campaign. Therefore, the locus of memorial does not detach the perception of individual from the landscape of the battles. On the contrary, it connects the view of the battlefields and the locus of the landscape visually. Preserved landscape of the battles determines the characteristics of the perception of time and place of the observer in this memorial.

Guidance constitutes the second issue of the analysis of locus. In the semi-enclosed locus of the Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial the huge image of the new interpretation of triumphal arch orients the movement of individual starting from far away. It constitutes a pivotal image both for the visitor and the passer-by. Moreover, in its defined space, pre-drawn paths determine the walkways of the visitor. He/she is compelled to follow these paths and approach the central image through observing it. On this walkway the figurative sculptures and relief inform the visitor about the significance of the Campaign in collective memory. On the path of the target space he/she is prepared mentally and physically. The absence of that kind of target constitutes the disadvantage of the Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial in guiding the movement of the visitor. The stairways which connect different platforms to each other, define the movement of individual among those diverse levels, that movement has no definition of certain direction. The visitor freely flows in the midst of metal profiles.

The oak tree planted as a memorial for 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth, on the other hand, has no capability of directing the movements of the visitor due to its natural corporeality. The locus of the Redoubt War Cemetery already dominates its locus and the movement of the observer. There is not any path or walkway to orient the visitor to this memorial in the locus of the cemetery. Nuri Yamut Memorial has definite and sharp control on the movement of the visitor. In the dense woodland, the visitor encounters a highly defined concrete walkway and at the end of that walkway there exists an open gate. When he/she enters from that gate, which was designed purposefully a little bit low, a large room of "hall of remembrance" embraces him/her. It becomes hard for the visitor to perceive outside; furthermore he/she perceives nothing but the commemorative plaque and the open sky.

Image-Locus Relation

It is an undeniable fact that the image and locus of Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial constitutes an inseparable figure. The designers of the memorial extended the image through the landscape; therefore its image starts to define its locus. On the other hand, the memorial for 2ⁿᵈ Lieutenant Eric Duckworth illustrates the situation of the objectification of the locus. Although the image of the memorial was planted after the war by his parents, in the eye of the visitor it is perceived as a part of the landscape like all other vegetation. When the visitor encounters the plaque placed in front of the tree, instantly a part of the locus transforms into the image of memorialisation. On the contrary, between the image and locus of Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial such kind of relation never occurs.[152] Despite the fact the image of memorial defines a semi-open space, insomuch that space is small as compared to its grandiose figure, it is not possible to mention the spatialisation of that image. The outer image of the Nuri Yamut Memorial seems alien to its locus defined by the memory of the landscape. It is not possible to argue any relation between that image and its surrounding locus. However, image of the memorial transforms into an enclosed space in itself. Spatialisation of the image occurs just inside the image for the visitor.

Concluding Remarks

Singular and self referential memorials of Gallipoli demonstrate major similarities and differences in terms of the analysis of their images, loci and image-locus relations. Although, their images demonstrates wide range of corporeality, material, time period and nationality, their most common part as a group is definitely that there is no direct relation with their image and different historical events they were dedicated to. In Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial, the universal figure has the potential of

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[152] The significance of the locus of the Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial was obviously ignored in the designing and construction process. The place was not only a battlefield but also was a significant ancient settlement. The monument itself rises on this heritage regarding that it had not been existed. "Located under and around the Çanakkale Martyrs' Memorial [Çanakkale Şehitleri Anıtı], the ancient site is almost totally destroyed during the construction. As we learn from ancient sources and Demangel who carried out research in the region between 1921 and 1923, Elaius was one of the first colonial cities in the Marmara region. In the past there were findings belonging to Archaic, Classical, Hellenitic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. The significance of the site in the Helenistic Period stems from the fact that there is no other location near Seddülbahir, dominating the passage through the Dardanelles." For further information see: Bademli, "Part III," *The Book,* p. III, 39

commemorating everything beyond certainty. In Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial, highly abstract image connotes anything but not a certain meaning. In memorial for 2nd Lieutenant Eric Duckworth, objectification of the locus, which is so respectful to its origin, might not be noticed. In Nuri Yamut Memorial, the between its image and the historical event relation might be direct but just for an educated eye. In terms of their locus it becomes hard to arrange them in a common group. However, it is possible to indicate that in an enclosed and carefully defined locus the perception of time and place for the visitor becomes much more detached. On the other hand, if there is no certain target to direct in a memorial, the guidance of movement of individual becomes meaningless. To define space for the image does not mean in each case that the spatialisation of the image occurs. Objectification of the locus becomes remarkable and lucid when it is strongly supported with the collective memory responding to that peculiar part of the landscape.

4.2. The Peace Park Competition

Çanakkale itself is a memorial; it is not required to erect another monument for Mehmetçik.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

Peace Park Competition was announced in a *milieu*, when the future of the Peninsula was seriously discussed. Right after the big fire in 1994, the construction of a suspension bridge on the strait became the issue at the centre of this debate.[153] The results of the competition caused this project to be shelved. 121 projects participated in the competition and 15 of them were prized and honoured. A project office from Norway won the first prize and their proposal was chosen to form the basis of the Long Term Development Plan.[154] As a matter of fact, that project was never completely realised. The development of the project was executed not by the winning team; instead it was used to define the basic plan developed by a Turkish team who simultaneously was responsible for the preparation of the competition. I will focus on the text of the competition and three prized proposals in order to be able to make the analysis. The

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[153] Bayar Çimen and Nilgün Kara Babacan, eds., "Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı Barışa Adanıyor," *Panel and Forum*, 25 July 1998 (Çanakkale: Chamber of Architects, 1998).

[154] Norway team members were Lasse Brøgger and Anne-Stine Reine. Second prize won by a team from Holland: John Lonsdale, Nynke Joustra, Volker Ulrich, Steve Reid. The Third Prize won by a team from Turkey: N. Oğuz Öğer, Yasemin Say Özer and Batur Baş.

four main parts, Introduction, Terms and Conditions, Issues, Requirements, of the *Book* of the Competition draw the general framework of the projects and elucidate the memorialisation understanding. The drawings of the prized projects are also valuable sources for this analysis to understand what kind of memorialisation ideas the organisers of the competition appreciated. Finally, the evaluations of the jurors for the three prized proposals will be included in the analysis in order to be able to crystallise the understanding of architectural memorialisation as a result of the Peace Park Competition Process.

The World Conservation Union (IUCN) defines "Peace Park" as a site which is "formally dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and to the promotion of peace and co-operation."[155] Glacier-Waterton Lakes International Peace Park in the border between United States and Canada was the first one called as "Peace Park" and it was established in 1932.[156] The reason behind the establishment of the park was stated as "to commemorate the long history of peace and friendship between Canada and the United States, and to emphasize both natural and cultural links."[157] Since the very emergence of the concept, for most of the Peace Parks their natural assets have played a crucial role on their establishments.[158] From the end of the Second World War onwards, battlefields and places scarred by the catastrophic effects of the war gradually started to be

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[155]Charles C. Chester, *Conservation across Borders: Biodiversity in an Independent World* (Washington: Island Press, 2006), 23.

[156] Laura Riley and William Riley, *Nature's Strongholds: The World's Great Wildlife Reserves* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 477. "The first use of the term 'peace park' can be traced back to 1932, when Waterton/Glacier was jointly declared as the first international peace park by Canada and the United States of America. The two federal governments enacted a bill in that year to designate their respective portions of the area as part of an international peace park. This was done 'for the purpose of establishing an enduring monument of nature to the long-existing relationship of peace and goodwill between the people of and Governments of Canada and the United States.'" For further information see: Urami Manage Goodale, *Trans-Boundary Protected Areas: The Viability of Regional Conservation Strategies* (Binghamton, NY: Food Products Press, 2003), 128.

[157] Trevor Sandwith, Clare Shine, Lawrence Hamilton and David Sheppard, *Transboundary Protected Areas for Peace and Co-Operation* (IUCN; Gland; Switzerland; Cambridge, UK: Cardiff University Press, 2001), 2.

[158] The specialist on biodiversity and environmental health Charles C. Chester states that "while Article 6 of the 1933 London convention concerned the coordinated management of parks and reserves in Africa, it did not refer to the subject of peace." Chester, *Conservation across Borders,* 23. In fact, in 1933 London convention was signed to protect the fauna and flora in their colonies and natural state. According to him, though the concepts of peace and park are "mutually admirable goals, they are not one and the same thing." Probably, for this reason, Chester indicated establishments of Peace Parks commonly have depended on trans-boundary areas or demilitarised zones between different countries. There have been established such kinds of Peace Parks between Israeli and Jordan, between South and North Koreas. Sandwith, Shine, Hamilton and Sheppard, 9.

transformed into Peace Parks. Hiroshima is definitely one of the most complicated landscapes of memory of the World Wars which is hard to reconcile.[159] Notably, the emergence of the idea of dedicating the site to peace, where the nuclear bomb damaged most initially was in 1949, "while Japan was still under Allied Occupation."[160]

The dedication of Park to the Peace and the organization of an International Competition stirred discussions and reactions in the public.[161] The battlefields of Second World War were predominantly the urban settlements. On the other hand, First World War took place mostly in trenches and in open areas. That's why numerous landscapes of battle of the First World War exist commonly in rural countryside. War certainly damages the natural environment, therefore in those landscapes not only the memory of the terror is tried to be healed but also nature is recovered. However, very few of them have been called Peace Park. Considering the characteristics of the definition of the term by IUCN, it is not surprising that after an expanse conflagration Turkish government made the decision to dedicate the Park to the Peace. By definition, in Peace Parks not only nature is carefully protected but also the idea of peace is

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[159] Lisa Yoneyama describes the fundamental transformation Hiroshima as follows: "Situated at the heart of the city, close to the site of the atomic bomb's detonation, the park [Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park] was built on a vast, open field of ashes created by the explosion. The park's location was once the city's busiest downtown commercial and residential district, crowded with shops, residences, inns, and theatres." Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley; Los Angelos: University of California Press, 1999), 1.

[160] Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 1. A public competition was organised to choose a design for the Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima. Since the beginning of the implementation of the project The Park became popular "as the world's first nuclear war site and a Mecca for peace pilgrimages. Not only numerous monuments, museums and commemorative structures were built but also remains of the atomic attack, the locus of the memory of the catastrophic event transformed into the image as memorial. In 1989 a project started to develop to make the city of Hiroshima itself "International Peace and Cultural City," and finalized in three years. In accordance with the project "some major tourist attractions, including the Atom Bomb Dome, several other popular peace memorials, buildings, and monuments along the riverside near the Peace Park, and downtown streets, parks, and shops" was illuminated." Yoneyama illustrates the reactions of the survivors and the witnesses the disaster to the new arrangements in the Park area as follows: "Some survivors understand the project as yet another conspiracy of "lightening" atom bomb memories, a trivialization of experiences of enormous gravity, of death and life… She [a survivor] commented 'Let [the park] rest in peace at least through the night. I feel as if Hiroshima's past is fading away in the glaring lights.'" Lisa Yoneyama, "Taming the Memoryscape: Hiroshima's Urban Renewal," in *Remapping Memory: The Politics of Time Space*, ed. Jonathan Boyarin (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 100-101.

[161] Discussions particularly concentrated on the internationality of the competition. Especially nationalist sector in the public refused not only the action of covering the Park with concept of Peace but also the possibility of the implementation of the project designed by a person who belongs to a country once a belligerent nation in Gallipoli. Some were afraid of that the park was going to be an amusement centre for the tourists and the sacredness was going to ravage. For further information about these discussions see: Mümtaz Soysal, Daily Coloumn, *Hürriyet*, 20 June 1999.

promoted. In the *Book* of the Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park Ideas and Design Competition approach to the concept of Peace Park as follows:

> 'Peace' is to be understood in the largest sense of the word, as referring not only to agreements to stop belligerencies, to end hostilities and coercion, but the active pursuit of the goals of harmony, understanding, tolerance, empathy, and freedom from oppression. Peace with nature is the other side of the coin.[162]

Peace in this competition was acknowledged as a "ground of relation" not only in human to human relation but also in human to nature. That's why natural assets of the Park, which "will be systematically recorded and studied, restored, rehabilitated, conserved," were considered as part of the display for the enjoyment of the visitor.[163] However the fundamental objective which should be guaranteed by the project proposals was defined as "the idealization, encouragement and pursuit of peace rather than war, and harmony where there is conflict." [164] Peace was defined through diverse levels; peace between nations, between man and nature, between park and inhabitants, etc. In the numerous parts of the *Book* a certain requirement continuously repeated that the integrity of the Park and the natural and man-made inheritances should be maintained and protected. It is clearly acknowledged that peace as a concept can be established in front of the eye of the visitor through the representation of the landscape of war. The core of the requirements of designs defines three focal points as; The Main Gateway, The Battlefields, and The Forum.

Image

In the Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition, for the first time in the Park area the remains of war and the battlefields themselves were acknowledged as assets of the landscape which were need to be preserved and represented. Therefore, I think the landscape of memory along with all remains and existing memorials constitutes image of this memorialisation (Figure 4.52; 4.53). Particularly, the focal points of the competition as the main gateway, battlefields, and forum are the places where that image crystallizes and reifies.

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[162] Bademli, "Part I: Introduction," *The Book*, I- 1.

[163] Bademli, "Part III: Issues," *The Book*, III-1.

[164] Bademli, "Part I: Introduction," *The Book*, I- 8.

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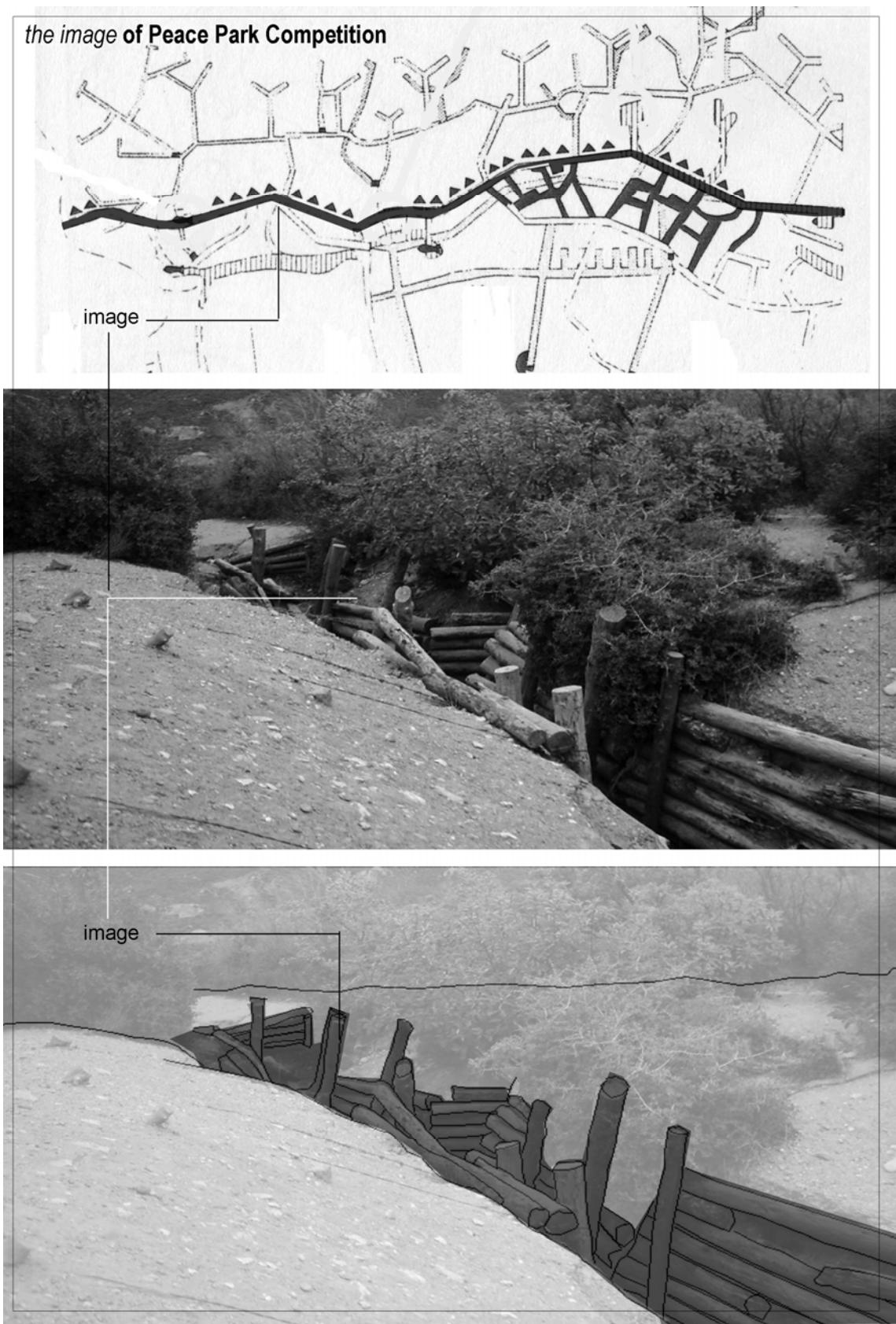
Figure 4.52 Image of Peace Park Competition, Kanlısırt Trenches

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)
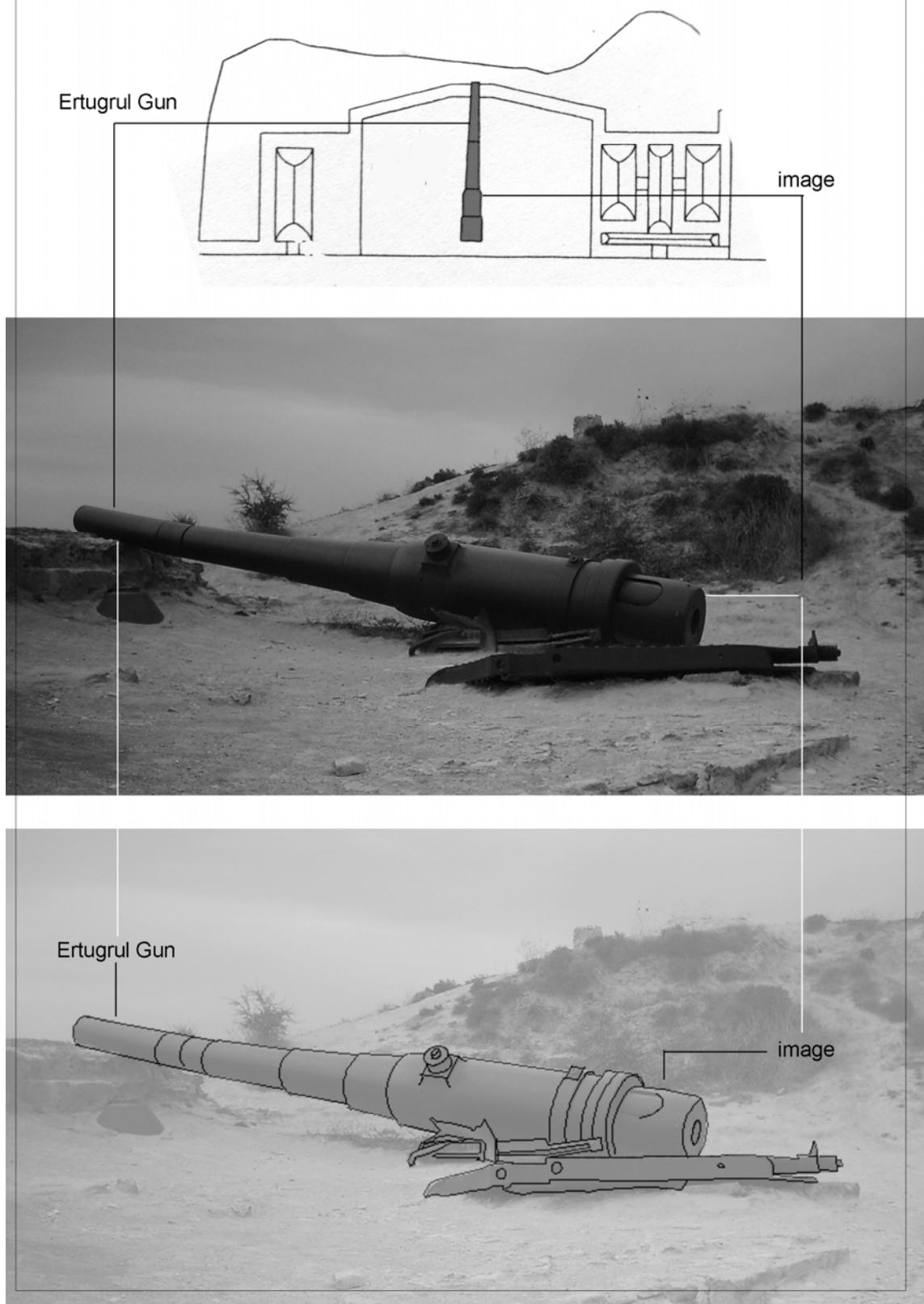
Figure 4.53 Image of Peace Park Competition, Ertuğrul Rampart

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

The main gateway is defined as a preparation section for the visitor physically and mentally. He/she is informed about the Campaign and the journey he/she is embarking on in this section. It is expected from the participants to strictly determine and control the area of the battlefields, furthermore to develop scenarios according to the lived experiences on the site, i.e. memory of the landscape. The Forum is considered as a gathering place which enhances the understanding of peace. Despite the definitions of different functional sites, in fact whole Park area was comprehended "like an open air museum, theater, library, memorial, graveyard, meeting-hall and a temple all in one, the site should offer the feeling and ideas of peace to each and every participant simultaneously." [165] The significance of the battlefields and the image of the Competition were stated as follows:

> These battles were unique. A lot of memorabilia and a great deal of anecdotes, mutual and separate on both sides and many memoirs have been produced during and after the 1915 war. Scenarios will have to draw on these memoirs and be reflected through various means into the locations of these events. These means would entail the accentuation of the place names, objects placed in these places, the design of a local environment, simulations of events etc. War related artefacts in the area should be displayed *in-situ* and information about events and personalities of the battles as well as the 1915 Gallipoli land and sea wars should be provided. [166]

In the *Book* the landscape of the battlefields is obviously comprehended as the container of the memory of the battles. This memory comprises of not only concrete elements of war such as equipments, monuments, artefacts but also individual and collective memory of war such as anecdotes, memoirs even the names of places. Whole park area becomes a museum, *lieux de memoria,* thus the emphasis is on that the "war related artefact" should be displayed *in-situ*. Furthermore, it is obliged that "appropriate marking of events, characters and places should be provided."[167] In an interview, one of the jurors, Doğan Kuban, indicated that the memory of the Gallipoli Campaign was embedded in the landscape, for this reason the keyword behind their choice for the first prize was the "minimal intervention."[168] The specific memory should be revealed and represented by preventing it from damages. By definition Peace Park already included restrictions for development and construction. However, Kuban defined the whole Park

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[165] Bademli, "Part IV: Requirements," *The Book*, IV- 22.

[166] Bademli, "Part I: Introduction," *The Book*, I- 21.

[167] Bademli, "Part IV: Requirements," *The Book*, IV- 22.

[168] Aydan Balamir, "Jüri Üyeleriyle Görüşme," *Mimarlık* 283 (1998): 32-33.

area as a memorial. Therefore, I propose that image of the Peace Park Competition is the entire landscape of the memory of Gallipoli Battles. However, that image is formed by different parts of scenes. Those image-parts are defined in the *Book* and in the jury assessments as all the natural and man-made artifacts in the Park which bear meaning in collective memory (Figure 4.52; 4.53).

In order to be able to analyse the relation between the historical event and those image parts, it is required to define what the historical event commemorated through that images for Peace Park competition. In the "terms and requirements" of the Gallipoli Peace Park Competition the question of what kinds of things is commemorated in this Park is answered as follows: "in this park we remember and admire those who fought and lost their youth and their lives, too often for something easier felt than understood, but we remember too the brutalities of war meted out to soldier and civilian alike."[169] Therefore, not only the battles themselves but also all individual and collective stories relating to the witnesses become the issue of the remembrance. That's why, it is regarded that "the primary objective of a concept plan should be to re-define this area as a battlefield and give it a loud and clear identity and determine an order for marking the terrain displaying the war-related artefacts."[170] War related artefacts are the images of this architectural commemoration. Those artefacts may either be a bunker or a part of the nature itself like a pine or lonesome pine. According to the requirements of the competition the certain places of the park which have been previously excluded from the visit of individuals were to be defined and maintained with entrances and required information. [171] In this conceptual framework, memorialisation transformed into marking and indicating the significant places and informing the visitor about them. It is stated in *The Book* as follows:

> The battlefields are marked by a memorable topographic setting, dramatic formations and spectacular views. Scenery is the most important element in the site. It should be highlighted, marked, framed and indicated and necessary information regarding different names and memories should be provided.[172]

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[169] Bademli, "Part I: Introduction," *The Book*, I- 9.

[170] "Points of interest that independently stand within or outside the historical sites should retain an identity to be accentuated. Demarcations and entrances, if and when required, should be well defined and relevant information provided for visitors about the significance of the locality and their orientation in the Park." For further information see: Bademli, "Part I: Introduction," *The Book*, I- 21.

[171] Bademli, "Part IV: Requirements," *The Book*, IV- 6.

[172] Ibid., IV- 22.

Sceneries of the topography which are related to the different moments of the Battles in the collective memory of the Gallipoli Campaign are suggested to be framed for the vision of the visitor. Furthermore, those framed pictures of the historical events should be supported with the required information such as names, memories, dates, and even real pictures. It is obvious that the relation between the image and historical event that image brought into the mind is established in *The Book* of the Competition. Therefore it would not be a surprising fact that the winning project's designers introduced their idea by stating that "we see the battlefield as a mythical landscape of war"[173] (Figure 4.54). As the name of their proposal suggests "The Foot and The Eye," the experience, or in their words the "journey," of the visitor constitutes the primary consideration of their project. They propose to restore and sparse original trenches and war remains as much as possible and to reforest the area except for those which have significance in the war. The logic of this proposal is to highlight the contrast and to crystallise the disparity of the battlefields compared to the natural areas. [174]
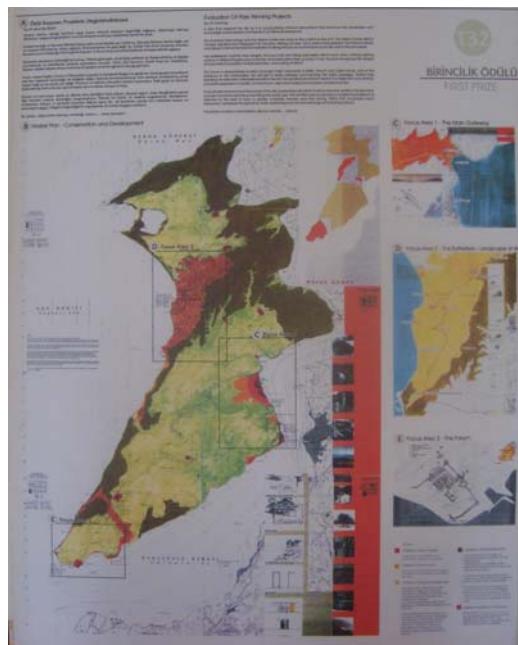
Figure 4.54 Presentation Plate of the First Prize Project Proposal of Peace Park Competition
(Source: Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks)

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[173] Lasse Brøgger and Anne-Stine Reine, *Proposal of the First Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

[174] They sum up their approach to the landscape of Gallipoli National and Historical Park as follows: "Parts of the battlefield should be established as a mythical landscape of war. Here trenches should be restored to the extent it is economically feasible… The understanding of the Park as a whole is dependent on the interpretation of the parts and their interrelations." Brøgger and Reine, *Proposal of the First Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*.

The designers of the Second Prized Project named their proposal as "Landscape of Memory." They define the entire landscape of memory of the Campaign as "a configuration of both natural and constructed layers." [175] According to them, this configuration "being variously concealed and exposed across the terrain, lack coherence and, as such, embody a yet untold history within their layers" (Figure 4.55). This untold history should be displayed to the visitor in each part of the landscape without really touching it. In order to be able to realise this aim they designed wooden decks for the visitors in battlefields. They propose to develop restoration and conservation projects according to the historical context. This project is based on "mapping of the margins of these layers." In the jury report, the "choreographic motion," the definition of space and experience by means of minimal intervention is emphasised as a valuable side of this proposal.[176] I think, it is possible to assert that, in this project also just like the first one, the designers define the landscape of memory of Gallipoli Battles as the image of their memorialisation approach.
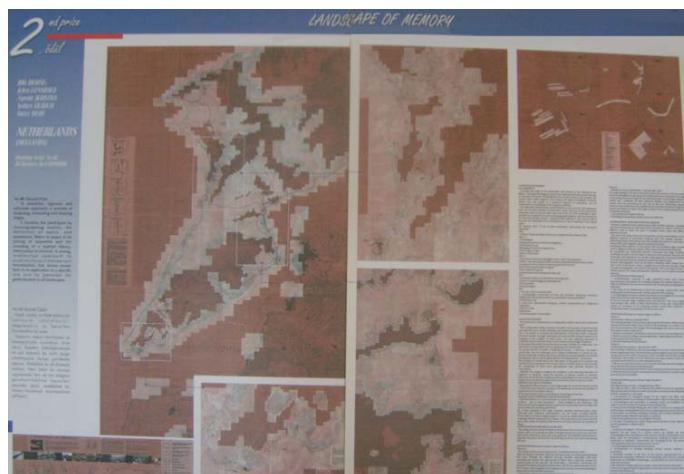

Figure 4.55 Presentation Plate of the Second Prized Project Proposal of Peace Park Competition
(Source: Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks)

Consequently, in *The Book* of the Competition and the evaluations of the jurors and the project proposals, the war remains, trenches, certain parts of the landscape related to the collective memory, cemeteries, monuments, in other words whole Park

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[175] John Lonsdale, Nynke Joustra, Volker Ulrich, Steve Reid, *Proposal of the Second Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

[176] M. Gleen Marcutt, Tony Watkins, Ignasi de Solà-Morales Rubió, Robert Riley, Ahmet Gülgönen, Haluk Alatan and Doğan Kuban, "Evaluation of Prize Winning Project: Third Prize*,"* *Presentation Plate of Second Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

along with the things it covers became the different parts of the image of memorialisation. Marking their presence, defining their boundaries, giving information about their significance in the collective memory of war, framing the scenery of the battles became the main part of the memorialisation approach they defined. Despite the fact that marking and defining the remains of the experience of the Battles is sufficient to remind the war to the visitor, this competition suggests informing the visitor from his/her very entrance to the Park and during his/her entire "journey." In this conceptual framework, I argue that in Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition, the relation between the image and historical event strongly and inseparably was established not only by the prized projects but also initially in the preparation and foundation phase of the Competition.

Locus

> It is important to remember that actual combat in Gallipoli battles which lasted about eight months in these settings were mostly restricted to zones marked by trenches. Nearly half a million lost their lives in trenches, and many remain buried in and around them. Today, afforestation, agricultural activity and memorabilia collection, these zones still yield war related artefacts. Following rains or upon a mere scratch of the ground, one can still find bullets, shrapnels, pieces of guns, tin cans, buttons, coins, shoe soles and bones in zones of intense fighting.[177]

The above quotation from the *Book* of the Gallipoli Peace Park Competition describes the landscape of the Campaign in detail. This landscape itself in fact constitutes the locus of the memory of Gallipoli Battles. Probably, for this reason, the designers of the Second Prized Project at the end of a long explanation about the relation between the landscape and culture indicate that "…the Peninsula is understood as a landscape of memory."[178] Certainly, it is beyond being just a terrain, landscape in Gallipoli has intimate and inseparable link with the collective memory of the Battles. If one already asserts that each man-made or natural artefact on the area of the Battles form image of memorialisation, to acknowledge the landscape which constitutes a background and a framework for that image as their locus is inevitable. Therefore, in this analysis of the Peace Park Competition architectural memorialisation approach, I will examine whole landscape of Gallipoli Battles as locus (Figure 4.56; 4.57). In order to make this analysis I will operate with two main issues of *detachment* and *guidance*.

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[177] Bademli, "Part III: Issues," *The Book*, III- 56.

[178] Lonsdale, et.al., *Proposal of the Second Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*,
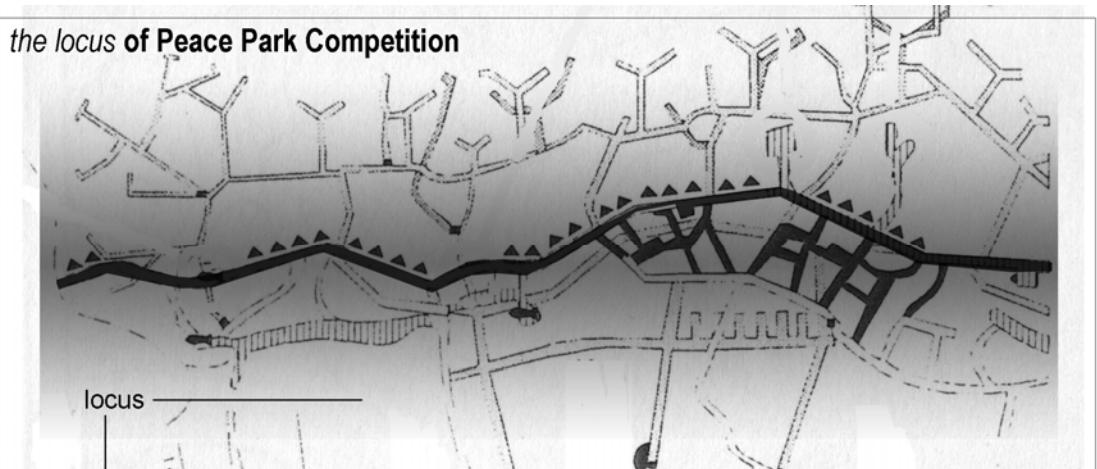
Figure 4.56 Locus of Peace Park Competition, Kanlısırt Trenches

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)
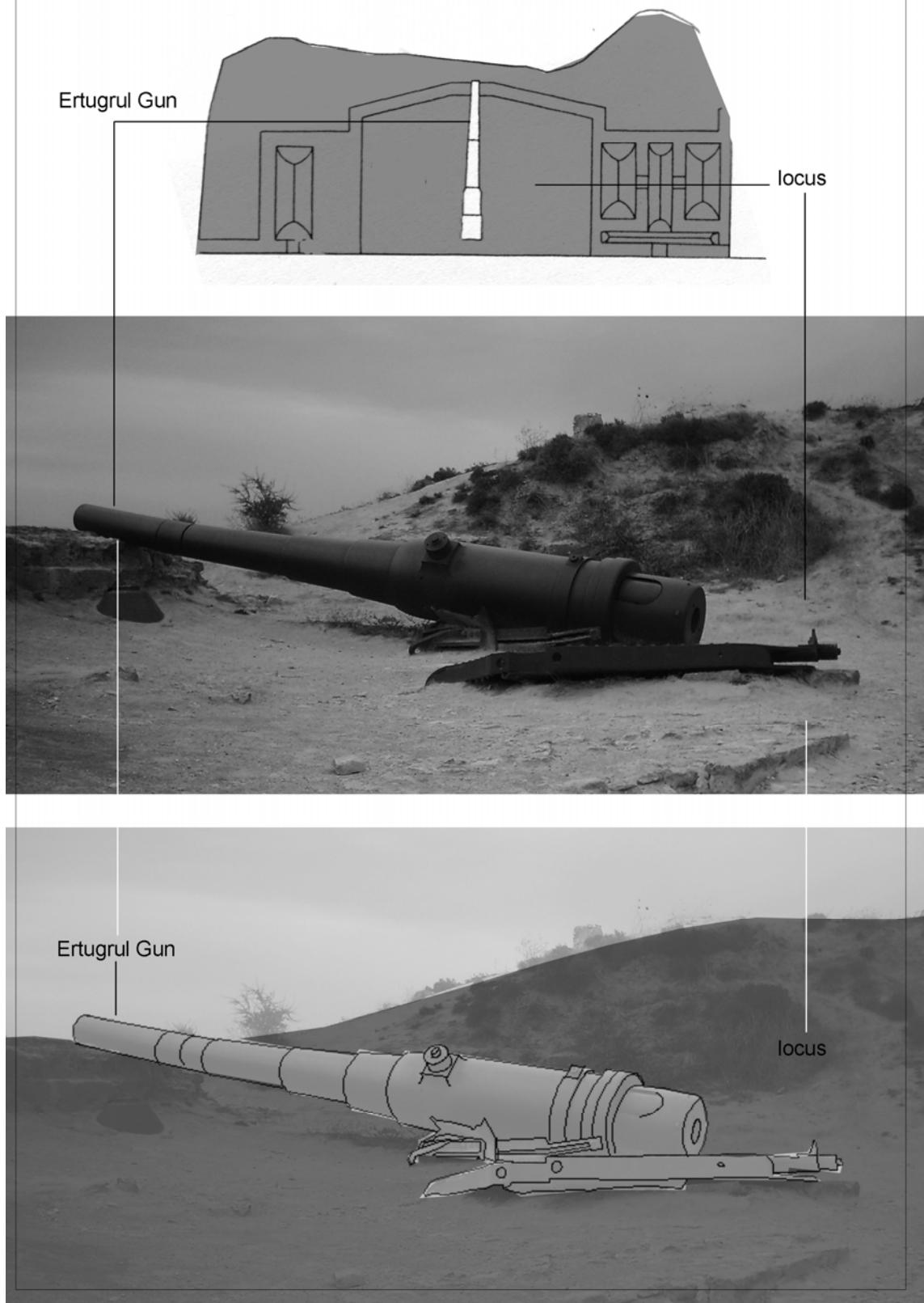
Figure 4.57 Locus of Peace Park Competition, Ertuğrul Rampart

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Detachment constitutes the first issue of the analysis of the locus of Peace Park Competition. In *The Book* of the Gallipoli Peace Park Competition the insufficiency and inappropriateness of the land and sea boundaries of the Park area is indicated. According to the organisers of the Competition the entrances to the Park "are not articulated in any manner," and this prevents the visitor from having s sense of entering into a privileged and sacred place.[179] Creating a well defined entrance is required from the participants in the terms and requirements of the Competition. Despite the fact that the boundaries of the Park had been strictly defined with regulations, it was not possible to see any physical border neither in the sea nor in the landscape until the Peace Park competition. An ordinary passenger who travelled between different cities could have easily been found in the boundaries of the Park even in the battlefields. The Information Centre and the Museum of the Park was placed in the very centre of this triangular shaped vast site. Therefore, it was so natural that a visitor could pass over all the battlefields, memorials and the cemeteries of the Park without even recognising the Information Centre. The organisers of the Competition draw the attention of the participants to this situation, presenting it as a problem to be solved.[180]

The designers of the first prized project indicated that "the Visitor-Centre as we plan it is to be conceived as representing the voyage into an unknown landscape. The roof being a platform from which to orient one-self and metaphorically speaking travel into the landscape."[181] In this proposal, the information centre itself is transformed into a gate for the site. Furthermore, the visit of the person who comes to the Park is defined as a "voyage" to an "unknown landscape." Thus, Information Centre does not only define the entrance but also gain the function of preparing the visitor for his/her journey, to the memory of the landscape. In fact, the term of "unknown landscape" manifests the view of the designers which depends on acknowledging the area of the Park as a place different from its surrounding. Furthermore, highlighting the boundaries of the Park does not merely mean to exclude it from its existing environment in the eyes of the visitor, but also it means to control the visitors' entrance to the site. Then, the Visitor's Centre through controlling the entrance prepares the visitor mentally and physically to

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[179] Bademli, "Part IV: Requirements," *The Book*, IV- 2.

[180] "The existing Visitors' Centre is not easily accessible, and information about the Park as a whole is not readily available." Bademli, "Part IV: Requirements," *The Book*, IV- 2.

[181] Lasse Brøgger and Anne-Stine Reine, *Proposal of the First Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

that reality. The reason and description of that other reality is explained in the proposal as follows:

> Modern man is gifted with almost unlimited access to information yet often deprived in his daily life of the time to reflect on the meaning of it all. This has given birth to the concept of recreation. Virtually destroying himself in his environment urban man escapes into the wilderness. To reflect on the concept of peace the first thing that is needed is the peace of mind.[182]

The concept of peace in the Gallipoli Peace Park Competition was mostly transformed by the participants to the "peace of mind" in a peaceful environment. The designers of Third Prized project indicate in their proposal that peace already "exists in daily life" of the Park, "a fisherman repairing his net lives peace without realising."[183] According to them, it is required to reveal already existing peaceful environments and scatter them all through the Peninsula They affirm that "the people of the peninsula and their daily lives constitute the most important factor of the peace park identity that we try to set up." The characteristics of that other conceived reality in the strictly defined boundaries of the Park is determined as peaceful environment of regular conventions, continuation, and habitual courtesy; a preserved space excluded from the crowd dynamics of change and developments. Similarly, the designers of the First Prized project propose in-between places for the sake of "get[ting] away from the crowd." [184] Those places are created "for the senses and intellect to meet," in order to be made "relations between the concrete landscape and the imaginary landscapes of history and imagination." Obviously, those "in-between places" are designed to provide the visitor with a way to adapt him/herself to a new reality in the boundaries of the Park, which is so different than his/her everyday. In the battlefields, especially those in the Anzac area, the effects of this conceived reality become dense, and the feeling of enclosure intensifies. In the *Book* this privileged importance is stated as follows:

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[182] Lasse Brøgger and Anne-Stine Reine, *Proposal of the First Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

[183] N. Oğuz Öğer, Yasemin Say Özer and Batur Baş, John Lonsdale, *Proposal of the Third Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

[184] Lasse Brøgger and Anne-Stine Reine, *Proposal of the First Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

Delimitation of the battlefields and establishment of gates, the development of the existing Kabatepe Information Centre (one of the three or four to be envisaged for the Park as a whole) also to function as a support facility for the major entrance to the battlefields, and redefinition and reorganisation of the traffic inside the area are other requirements. This is one of the densest battlefields on the Peninsula and needs to be defined as such with entrances controlled.[185]

The battlefields themselves transform into an enclosed sacred space in a larger preserved one. The organisers of the Competition make it compulsory that "the area [of battlefields] should be delimited and its entrances well-defined and controlled."[186] In the *Book* they indicate that the delimitation and the definition of entrances are required but can not be sufficient. Furthermore "at the major entrance of each such zone, adequate information concerning historical events and historical artefacts as well as the natural, cultural and the other assets of the locality ought to be conveyed."[187] They probably must have been considered the insufficiency to inform the visitor just in the main gate of the Park so that certain information should be provided in the entrances of the battlefields as well. By means of this "adequate information" the visitor is prepared for the reality formed by the memory of the landscape. This privileged definition of the battlefields stems from its superior sacredness in the rank according to the other parts of the Park. This sacred identity acknowledged for the battlefields reaches its highest degree in the proposal of the Second Prized project. The designers of the project name the space defined by the trenches between the former opposing troops as "no man's land" and admit it as threshold "as sacred by 'bridging' the ground across which the present track traverses and thereby precipiting memories of the conflict of 1915."[188] In those places that are acknowledged as sacred, the ground is never let to tread. The project proposed to construct decks to transport the visitors on an elevated ground.

In *The Book* of the competition, the delimitation of the Park area is stated to be important. The drawn boundaries of the Park which has been preserved discreetly from the Treaty of Lausanne onwards are wanted to be transformed into physical borders. Inside of those boundaries, the flow of time is proposed to be suspended not only by the organisers of the competition but also by the participants. The attitudes of the

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[185] Bademli, "Part IV: Requirements," *The Book*, IV- 22.

[186] Bademli, "Part I: Introduction," *The Book*, I- 21.

[187] Bademli, "Part IV: Requirements," *The Book*, IV- 6.

[188] John Lonsdale, Nynke Joustra, Volker Ulrich, Steve Reid, *Proposal of the Second Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

participants' towards the concept of peace demonstrate that inclination. They propose a land of peace outside the upheavals of the contemporary world. The visitor is defined as a fugitive of modern urban pattern who sets on a voyage to an "unknown landscape" detached from actual flow of time and space.[189] Therefore, I argue that through Peace Park Competition, the boundaries of the Gallipoli National and Historical Park is materialised physically and limits of the battlefields is defined strictly not only in order to detach the visitors from actual place but also to suspend the time inside of those borders both for the visitors and for the inhabitants.

Guidance constitutes the second issue of the analysis of locus. In this part of the analysis, I will question suggested design elements, which were planned to construct in order to conduct individual's movement in the Park area, of not only proposals but also the competition itself. In *The Book* of the Competition the existing situation of the guiding elements of the Park is described as "occasional signs (yellow lettering on brown wooden signpost) displaying the 'words of wisdom' rather than giving information about the environment and forests."[190] Furthermore, it is stated that "the battlefields, artefacts of the 1915 land and sea battles and most of the registered 'cultural and historical heritage' including archaeological sites, are neither marked nor visited."[191] Before the Peace Park Competition the only signs that mark the landscape of the Gallipoli Battles were the memorials and war cemeteries. In most of the parts of the vast site just an experienced and educated gaze could merely recognize the traces of the bloody battles. For an ordinary visitor, it was almost impossible to read the evidences of both the history of the landscape and the narratives in the collective memory. That's why it was asked from the participants "to provide a facilitating itinerary for touring the battlefields, and building up the information enabling visitors to understand all aspects of war and to choose between various options."[192] The organisers wanted the participants to re-evaluate "the existing tour patterns in the battlefields" and moreover to develop "new scenarios" for the battlefield tours. Unsurprisingly, the name of the

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[189] M. Gleen Marcutt, Tony Watkins, Ignasi de Solà-Morales Rubió, Robert Riley, Ahmet Gülgönen, Haluk Alatan and Doğan Kuban, "Evaluation of Prize Winning Project: Third Prize*," Presentation Plate of First Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

[190] Bademli, "Part IV: Requirements," *The Book*, IV- 2.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Ibid., IV- 6-22.

First Prized Project is "The Foot and the Eye," and its designers explain the reason behind this naming as follows:

> The foot is an eye moving step by step. The eye wanders in open space. Moving on the path. Man moving, being the shuttle weaving his own history is essential to our approach to the park. We propose to establish a network of footpaths all over the park and bus-car-and ferry-routes in the south –western end of the peninsula.[193]

The very idea of the First Prize project is basically to define a network of footpaths. That network draws the route of the "a reflective journey into the imaginary landscape of war." Footpaths of that network are established "independent of the monuments and memorials." Secondary connections are provided to those commemorative structures; however it is obvious that the designers of the project do not want to be dominated by the existing memorialisation approach in the Park. In the battlefields they propose an elaborate path which starts from Kabatepe Information Centre, and ends at the Çimentepe; goes through whole area. According to them, "the path itself becomes a new layer of meaning, an interpretation open for new interpretations." The path does not only constitute "a reference both physically and abstractly," but also along the way form "intensified connection points related to scenic splendour or referring to important historical sites." Obviously, designers define a journey for the visitor which is free from all existing memorialisation attitudes of different nations and periods and depends on the real memory of the landscape of war. Furthermore, they describe the Forum area as "under siege" encircled "by a landscape of war," and a promenade connects this siege to the different war remains. Similarly, the design idea of the Second Prized project depends on the concept of movement as follows:

> The tourist, the visitor of the commemorations and the local inhabitant all have different patterns of movement resulting from their specific interests. In addressing these contemporary and often conflicting needs yet respecting the history of the park together create the identity of the park. Overlaying these patterns of movement with the identified edge conditions result in diagrams of the perception of the cultural and historical landscape.[194]

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[193] Lasse Brøgger and Anne-Stine Reine, *Proposal of the First Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

[194] John Lonsdale, Nynke Joustra, Volker Ulrich, Steve Reid, *Proposal of the Second Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

The movement pattern of the visitor is named as "Walk of Memory" by the designers of the project and it is admitted as a sacred ground. That's why they design a wooden deck for the walk of memory in order to be able to keep that sacred ground untrodden. By means of this path, they propose specific choreographies to the visitor. Through walking he/she experiences "a tangible sense of memory." According to the designers "through choreography, the trenches and graves, hills and valleys reveal their hidden context, the landscape becomes animated, and the visitor oriented by memory." The definition of this "walk of memory" obviously has explicit references to the "memory walks" of *Ars Memoriae*.[195] It is not a coincidence that the core design ideas of First and Second Prized projects depend on the movement of the visitor. Because, in the Book of the Competition it is clearly stated that it is expected from the participants to define a new scenario for the journey especially in the battlefields. The causality of the existing routes is already defined as a problem which should be solved. Thus, winning projects propose highly defined routes of journey for the visitor in the landscape of the memory of Gallipoli Battles. That journey is determined from the very entrance of the Park to the arrival at the end in the Forum area. Not only the project proposals but also the organisers of the competition suggest highly conducted and controlled movement for the visitors.

Image-Locus Relation

Image and locus of the Peace Park Competition correspond to the landscape of Gallipoli Battles. Physical and historical assets of the Park transform into the image parts of this competition in this process. Locus is the locus of the Campaign itself. In their evaluation for the First Prized project jurors of the competition start their report stating that "a plan respects the site as it is, incorporating minimal interventions that

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[195] In *The City of Collective Memory* Christine Boyer relates the role of *Ars Memoriae* in the history of architecture through exemplifying "the memory walk" proposed for Paris. She explains that Napoleon III conceived an architectural promenade for Paris based on the principles of the art of memory which acts "as a memory walk" from place to place "containing a collection of historic artefacts and monumental structures." According to Boyer this architectural promenade is conceived by Napoleon III "not only to bind his city of Paris into one cohesive unit, but to act as a memory walk through the historic monuments and grandiose architectural facades that represent the heroic accomplishments and communal responsibilities of his directorship." For further information see: M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (London; Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994), 14.

enhance the landscape…"[196] Furthermore, they indicate that "the built elements enhance the poetry of the site, possessing a sensitivity to place and view, shelter and openness, and are humanly scaled structures fitting the landscape…each intervention addresses the specificity of site, respecting land and archaeology and creating a place." The site is acknowledged possessing a poetical characteristic that stems from its specificity in the history. Enhancing the landscape itself and creating a place is admitted as not only sufficient but also the reasons of being first runner up. Obviously the landscape of the memory of Gallipoli Battles along with all its assets becomes image of this memorialisation attitude. All those bunkers, ramparts, guns and trenches in other words remains of war form the parts of that image. This image is considered to be spatially experienced by the visitors rather than to be viewed. It provides a spatial experience called a journey. Those image-parts suggest different spaces for remembering. In the Gallipoli Peace Park competition —in its organisation, proposals, winning projects— image and locus of memorialisation are inseparable. Each part and inheritance of the site which has a meaning in the memory of the Campaign is objectified and those objects naturally define space.

Concluding Remarks

The Peace Park competition considered the entire site as the image of memorialisation. By the nature of this image it became direct and obvious for the visitor to establish his/her relation with the historical event. Although the borders of the Park had been drawn and the habitation in those boundaries had been restricted by means of the regulations of the Treaty of Lausanne, there had been no physical boundary until the Competition. For the visitor's entrance and the existing life of inhabitants in the boundaries of the Park, both competition and its winning designs proposed strict definitions and limitations. Not only individual's perception of time and space was suggested to be detached from the actual one in the site but also the individual's movement was tried to be persistently guided in the prized projects. Locus where the memory of Gallipoli Battles was reified and became the image, and the image which formed the space of architectural memorialisation were inseparably unified.

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[196] M. Gleen Marcutt, Tony Watkins, Ignasi de Solà-Morales Rubió, Robert Riley, Ahmet Gülgönen, Haluk Alatan and Doğan Kuban, "Evaluation of Prize Winning Project: First Prize," *Presentation Plate of First Prized Project of the Peace Park Competition*, Archive of Eceabat Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks, Gallipoli.

4.3. After the Peace Park Competition

In this part of the chapter, I will analyse two main examples which were implemented after the launch of the Competition. First one is the Long Term Development Plan (LTDP) which has defined the guidelines of all the works of architectural memorialisation in the Park area since 2002; and the second one is Anzac Commemorative Site which was opened in 2000. I will focus on them individually for the reasons that the LTDP is distinct approach which includes numerous details and projects and Anzac Commemorative Site is the first design built according to the proposal of the winning design of the Competition and LTDP.

4.3.1. Long-Term Development Plan

As a young man I wondered about the aesthetics of war machines…

Paul Virilio

In 1999, right after the Gallipoli Peninsula Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition, studies on a new LTDP was started by the group who organised the competition and these studies continued to the year of 2004. The office for this work was founded in the Middle East Technical University and led by Prof. Dr. Raci Bademli. In the Long-term Development Plan, planning activity was determined as a service of management.[197] It was defined as a framework which designates the principles of preservation, redevelopment, representation, explanation, usages and structuring aiming at conservation of the values of Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park.[198]. In this part of the study, I will analyse the Long-term Development Plan which was basically designed to provide the visitor with "free contemplation" on the memory of the wars and especially on the concept of peace. In this plan the entire

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[197] The original statement is that "Planlama bir yönetim hizmetidir. Planlama hizmeti sadece hedefleri ve yapılacak işleri (projeleri) belirlemek değil; bu hedeflere ulaşabilmek, yapılması gereken işleri yapabilmek için uyulması gereken esasları, izlenmesi gereken stratejileri, kullanılması gereken dayanak, olanak, kaynak ve araçları da ortaya koymaktır." R.Raci Bademli, K Burak Sarı, *et al*, "Önsöz," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt I1: Esaslar ve Tutumlar,* (Basılmamış Rapor), Ankara: ODTÜ, Gelibolu Yarımadası Barış Parkı Planlama ve Danışma Bürosu, AGUDÖS Proje No 99.02.02.03, Aralık 2004.

[198] The original statement is that "UDGP, TMP'ın kaynak değerlerini "koruma", "sağlıklaştırma", "sergileme", "anlatma" ve "koruma amaçlı kullanma ve yapılaşma" esaslarını ortaya koyan bir çerçevedir. Bademli and Sarı, *et al*, "Genel," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt I1: Esaslar ve Tutumlar*, 25.

Park area is specified as a unique landscape comprised of battlefields, memorials, war cemeteries and natural assets, as an open museum and finally as a temple of thoughts and feelings.[199] There are numerous regulations in the Plan which designate the principles of the restoration and representation of those war remains in the Park area. Re-functioned bunkers of the rampart will be analysed in comparison its situation before the restoration. Since, the plan has been newly started to be realised and very few projects are accomplished according to the Plan, I will mainly focus on the text itself and the biggest one of the few executed projects, Namazgah Rampart Restoration Project in the Kilitbahir region.

Image

It is clearly stated in LTDP that the projects of architectural memorialisation designed after the Plan should propose minimal interventions to the existing landscape. I argue that those restrictions stem not only from the fact that the land is proposed to be a Peace Park but also from the turning the landscape of memory of the Battles into a form of memorialisation. Thus, I claim that various parts of the landscape of Gallipoli Battles constitute different parts of the image of LTDP. This wide range of definition includes not only existing memorials and war cemeteries but also trenches, ramparts, wrecks, in other words war remains (Figure 4.58). In this analysis, I will first draw a conceptual, historical and architectural framework for image of LTDP. This framework will provide an understanding of war remains in the landscape which constitute that image. Accordingly, I will question the relation between the historical event and that image. In the LTDP not only whole Park but also all the historical preservation sites individually like battlefields, war memorials, trenches etc. are acknowledged as monuments of the Campaign.[200]

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[199] The original statement is that "TMP (Barış Parkı) eşsiz bir muharebeler, anıtlar, mezarlar, şehitlikler ve doğal peyzaj alanı; bir açık hava müzesi; bir duygular ve düşünceler mabedidir. Bu alana el sürmemeye çalışmak; geri dönülmesi mümkün olmayan müdahalelerden kaçınmak; en yalın, en az müdahale ile en fazla etkiyi sağlayacak çözümler aramak esas olmalıdır." Bademli and Sarı, *et al*, "Genel," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, , Cilt I1: Esaslar ve Tutumlar*, 29.

[200] The original statement is that "Gelibolu Yarımadası TMP (Barış Parkı) ve özellikle 'Tarihi Sit' alanları birer anıt olarak değerlendirilmektedir." Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Esaslar," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt I1: Esaslar ve Tutumlar*, 54.
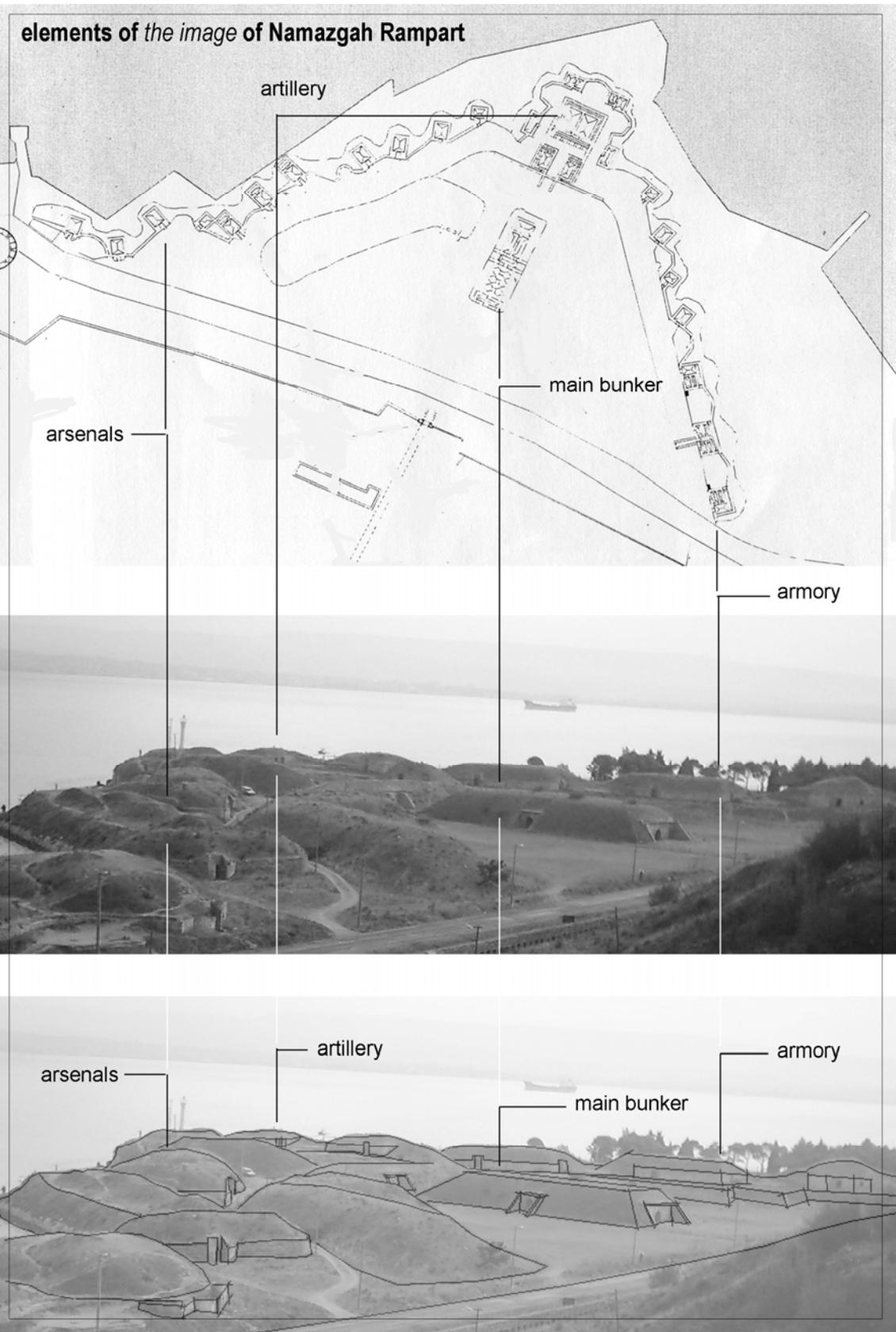
Figure 4.58 Image of Long Term Development Plan, Namazgah Rampart

(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Historian McQuilton states in his essay that "the peninsula is clearly contested commemorative space."[201] It is contested because it comprises of numerous architectural memorialisation approaches of different nations in different periods of history. LTDP aims at combining those different approaches under the concept of peace. According to the creators of the Plan, all those man-made commemorative structures along with the remains of the Battles, through a real experience, remind the visitor honestly how much the war may become tragic and meaningless. Undoubtedly, the landscape of Gallipoli is one of the war sites in the world which has been preserved almost originally. That is why it still has the potential of effecting people with its mythical landscape. Historian David W. Lloyd in his book *Battlefield Tourism* tells the effect of this preserved reality on the visitors as follows:

> … Gallipoli, unlike the battlefields of the Western Front, was not reconstructed after the war because there were no villages to rebuild. A number of visitors found that the war seemed much closer to them while they were at Gallipoli… The untouched landscape enabled many travellers to feel closer to the dead. [202]

Before the Peninsula was declared a National and Historical Park in 1973 the preservation of the site as "untouched" was in fact provided through the relevant articles of the Treaty of Lausanne. The restrictions in the Treaty secured the memory of the landscape to survive. The guns —except for those which were transported out of the Park during the Second World— remained at the exact places where they were left. Similarly, the ramparts which did not let the Allied Navy to pass the strait became derelict. The hollow spaces within their thick walls are left empty and unoccupied. Trenches, even the tunnels remained ready for a new battle (Figure 4.59). This plan comprises of highly strict regulations to preserve the landscape as it is in so much as that the silhouette of the shore-line or the scenes of the sea and from the sea is preserved from a natural formation of a group of trees.[203] The landscape became a national symbol not only for Turks but also for Australians and New Zealanders. Peter Slade in his essay

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[201] John McQuilton, "Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space," In *Gallipoli: Making History*, ed. Jenny Macleod (London; New York: Taylor and Francis), 153.

[202] Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism*, 100.

[203] The original statement is that "UDGP, 1915 Çanakkale deniz ve kara muharebelerinin anı ve izleriyle bütünleşmiş görünümlerin (tarihi manzara, silüet, peyzaj) korunması amacıyla, TMP içindeki ana ulaşım arterleri ve deniz güzergahları boyunca "manzara zonları (MZ)" tanımlamıştır….doğal bitki örtüsüne ve yaban hayatına müdahale edilmemesi esastır" Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Tutumlar," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt I1: Esaslar ve Tutumlar,* 132.

"Gallipoli Thanatourism," explains the affiliation of the Anzacs to the landscape of Gallipoli as follows:

> In visiting the site, Australians and New Zealanders do visit a battlefield, but the area represents a time and place where their countries began. Their motives are concerned with nationhood. Generally, they come to see the place where their great nation building stories happened. Courage and resourcefulness in the face of adversity, the importance of mate ship, scorn for pretentious authority, and inventiveness are themes brought to life through stories about "a bloke and a donkey", gaining and losing the heights of Chunuk Bair, the invention of the periscope rifle, and a lone pine tree growing on a ridge, all adding to the sum of the idea of a nation.[204]

Figure 4.59 a. Gun on V Beach b. Kanlısırt Trench
(Sources: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

"Those stories," in other words, narratives in the collective memory of the Campaign gave meaning to the not so original, in fact, simply regular topography of the Peninsula. Because of the narratives, a lonesome pine or a cliff are distinguished from its akin. In LTDP naming gains a privileged importance. It is proposed not only to give names to the whole preservation area but also to label each different portion in different historical sites.[205] To indicate a certain part of the landscape, to give a name to that natural or man-made formation, and to inform the visitor about its significance in the collective memory constitutes the image of architectural memorialisation in LTDP. In terms of this approach an ordinary natural formation has become an image. For instance, an inscription on a platform which looks at a beach bears a name of a place as

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[204] Peter Slade, "Gallipoli Thanatourism: The Meaning of Anzac," *Annals of Tourism Research* 30:4 (2003): 779-794.

[205] The original statement is that " TMP bütünün ismi kadar, TMP parçalarının isimleri de önem taşır. Bu nedenle, gerek ana ve gerekse alt program alanlarının isimlendirilmesi, bu isimlerin yerleştirilmesi ve tüm işaretlemeler, bilgilendirmeler ve anlatımlarda kullanılması esastır. Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Esaslar," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt I1: Esaslar ve Tutumlar*, 44.

"Anzac Cove," transforms it constantly in the gaze of the observer (Figure 4.60). There are also regulations in LTDP with respect to the restorations and re-functioning of the war remains. In the Plan, it is proposed not only to preserve and to redevelop different function of the trenches, ramparts and guns, but also to furnish them with suitable elements which will conduct and inform the visitor. [206]

Figure 4.60 a. Anzac Cove, general view b. The view from the inscription
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

> You stand next to the memorial, above the blue… Aegean, and you hear the gentle lapping of the water on to the shore below and the place gains a voice and becomes real. You can hear the explosions, the shouts… the accents as if you were there in 1915… It's possible to imagine the men as they climbed out of the trenches… they all lay there now, in row after row, much as did when they died.[207]

Quotation above belongs to a pilgrim in his journey to the Gallipoli Landscape. The Park as one of the preserved battlefields of the World Wars still has an imposing effect on the visitor. The war remains have survived since the evacuation almost just like as they were. LTDP makes those remains the images of its memorialisation in the name of peace. [208] Therefore, the historical event commemorated in this approach is the

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[206] The original statement is that " TMP yönetimi, tabyaların temizlenmesi, araştırma/kurtarma kazılarının yapılması, koruma altına alınması ve TMP UDGP'nında belirlenen esaslar doğrultusunda (yönlendirme, işaretleme, bilgilendirme vb.çalışmalar gerçekleştirerek) ziyaret edilebilir hale getirilmesi, gerekirse projelendirilmesi ve restorasyon uygulamalarının yapılarak sürdürülebilir yönetimlerinin sağlanmasıyla yükümlüdür." Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Esaslar," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt II: Esaslar ve Tutumlar*, 57.

[207] This is a quotation of an experience of a pilgrim in the essay. Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow," 9-10.

[208] The original statement is that "Bu hazine, insanlık adına barışa adanacaktır. TMP'ın kaynak değerleri koruma ağırlık ve öncelikli olarak ele alınacak ve Türk ulusunun kahramanlık ve vatanseverliği barış düşüncesine oranla en etkileyici biçimlerde sergilenecek, anlatılacaktır." Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Genel," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt II: Esaslar ve Tutumlar,* 28.

war itself. The creators of the Plan propose that it is possible for an individual to come up with the idea of peace while experiencing the war. Giving information about each phase of the Campaign *in situ*, illustrating the suffering and the loss are considered as a way to reach the ultimate goal of peace. The visitors are supposed to have a feeling about the grim terror of the bloody battles through experiencing it visually and physically. That experience naturally reaches its peak when it moves into a real space of war such as a trench or a bunker. In terms of LTDP all the war remains in the battlefields is proposed to be furnished in order to inform the visitor about the experience of war. Namazgah Rampart in Kilitbahir region was entirely restored and re-functioned according to the LTDP (Figures 4.61; 4.62).

Figure 4.61 Namazgah Rampart, the view of the main bunker a. before the restoration; b. after the restoration (Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Figure 4.62 Inside of the Namazgah Rampart, main bunker a. before the restoration; b. after the restoration (Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Within this conceptual and historical framework, I will question the relation between the image of LTDP and the historical event which the plan was developed to commemorate, i.e. the Campaign itself, in the case of Namazgah Rampart. Namazgah Rampart which is one of the biggest Ramparts of the Gallipoli region was constructed by Sultan Abdülaziz to strengthen the defence of the straits.[209] Due to the regulations in LTDP the Rampart was now restored as an information centre for the visitors. The entrances of each bunker were labelled in order to give the information to the visitor about the function of the building during the Campaign. The main bunker was transformed into a museum and exhibition hall (Figure 4.58). Some of the rooms in that half buried building were decorated as multi-vision halls to show films on Gallipoli Campaign (Figure 4.63a). On the other hand, some of them, like communication room, were furnished just like the way they were during the Battles.

Furthermore, in order to make the effect more real and have the visitor to experience real milieu of war, human models were placed (Figure 4.63b). The visitor not only experiences spatial characteristics of a place of war but also has the opportunity to see those places just like in the Gallipoli Campaign. This experience is unquestionably more real than a film, because it is spatial. I argue that the relation between the historical event —which is acknowledged for this case the experience of war itself— and the image of the memorialisation in LTDP can easily be established by the visitor. Insomuch as that it is not required for the visitor to know something about the war or read anything about the site beforehand. The informative panels, inscriptions, conducting elements, door plates, signs and moreover concrete actual scale models give the visitor all the information he/she needs. The Plan does not jeopardize the probability of visitor's ignorance and does not give any chance to coincidence for the visitor not to recognize the meaning in those image-parts. The relation between the image of originally furnished communication room and the experience of war is undeniably direct and obvious.

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[209] Namazgah Rampart constitutes one of the biggest ramparts in the boundaries of the Park area. Other ramparts were located in Değirmenburnu, Rumeli Hamidiye, Rumeli Mecidiye, Ertuğrul Yıldız, Kayalıktepe, Domuzdere Ramparts. Namazgah Rampart participated in the battle with 16 heavy artillery gun. It had 14 ammunition bunkers. For further information about the ramparts of the Gallipoli Campaign see: Bademli*, et al., The Catalogue*, 73.

Figure 4.63 a. Multi-vision Hall in the main bunker; b. Communication room in the main bunker
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz Archive)

Locus

The landscape of Gallipoli Battles, including war cemeteries, memorials and war remains, constitutes the locus of the memorialisation approach in LTDP. I will analyse this locus by means of not only the text of the LTDP but also realised project of Namazgah Rampart. I will use two main issues of detachment and guidance to make this analysis (Figure 4.64). According to Peter Doyle and Matthew R. Bennett, as they state in their essay named "Military Geography," the geography of the terrains of Anzac Cove and Cape Helles had a great role on the result of the Campaign when the troops first landed on 25th April 1915. For them "the land system analysis demonstrates that these landing places were disadvantaged by terrain, with steep, deeply-incised slopes, narrow beaches and inadequate water supplies."[210] Allied Nations commonly acknowledge their disinformation about the landscape of Gallipoli due to their unexpected defeat. Again Doyle in his other essay argues that "at the heart of the failure lies an inadequate understanding of the nature of the terrain."[211]

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[210] Peter Doyle and Matthew R. Bennett, "Military Geography: The Influence of Terrain in the Outcome of the Gallipoli Campaign, 1915," *The Geographical Journal* 165:1 (March 1999): 12-36.

[211] Doyle, *Fields of Battle*, 167.
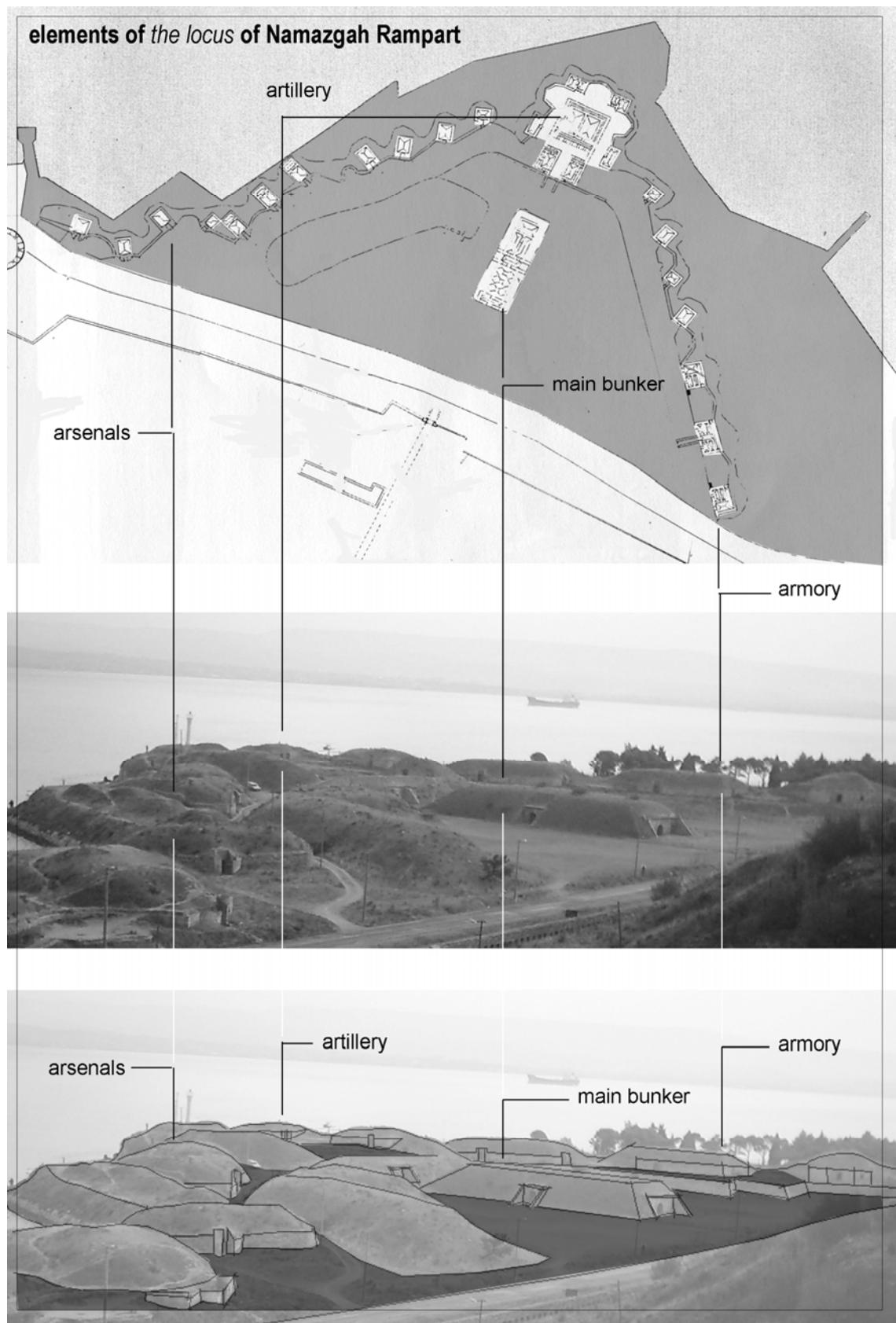
Figure 4.64 Locus of Long Term Development Plan, Namazgah Rampart
(Source: plan, the Long Term Development Plan, 2002; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

Therefore, the landscape of Gallipoli has crucial importance in the history of the Campaign not only for the reason that individuals and nations ascribed on it numerous meanings but also because of its direct effect on the fate of the Campaign. The travel writer Stephen Graham describes the readers his experience on the landscape of Gallipoli in 1921 and writes "vividly you see all that they saw, the grandeur of Nature, the glimmer of the sea! You can still smell the Dardanelles expedition, and tread in old footsteps which hardly have been worn away."[212] These observations are still valid for the majority of the visitors of the landscape of Gallipoli. I will analyze the locus of memorialisation approach of LTDP according to two main issues of *detachment* and *guidance*.

Detachment constitutes the first issue to question in the analysis of locus. In the landscape of the memory of Gallipoli Battles not so many things have been changed since the Campaign. Habitation has been restricted. Any construction except for the memorials and war cemeteries has been extremely forbidden. Moreover, especially on places where the most arduous battles took place, to cultivate the soil has been prohibited. Of course, it could not be allowed on the land where a mere scratch may expose human bones. LTDP does not only save those restrictions but also contains more rigorous regulations on preservation of the landscape. It has rules which impose the ownership distributions, land certificates and land use according to the allowed commercial purposes in the boundaries of villages and Eceabat district.[213] All those restrictions eventually provide the survival of the landscape just like the way it was at the end of the war. Furthermore, the originality of the landscape is strengthened with spatial installations of the war remains, such as restored trenches, furnished bunkers. The attempts to congeal the landscape just like it was at the end of the battles and to reconstruct them as close to the original as possible naturally provide the visitor with an experience of the Battles. Especially in the enclosed spaces of the bunkers the visitor witnesses moments of different scenes of war.

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[212] The quotation belongs to Stephen Graham paraphrased from Lloyd, 117.

[213] As an example the rule for the ownership distribution " TMP'taki tarımsal alanların, özellikle TMP dışında ikamet edenlere satılması istenmemektedir. Bu bakımdan, TMP yönetimi, TMP'ın Eceabat kentsel gelişme alanı olarak tefrik edilen alan ile köy yerleşme alanı sınırları dışındaki kesimlerinde her tür ifraz/tevhit, emlak vergisi, mahkeme, icra ve satış işlemlerini izler ve gereğinde şufa hakkı, rızaen alım, takas ve hatta zor alım (istimlak) vb. araçları kullanmaya yönelerek, TMP dışında yaşayanların TMP içinde UDGP esaslarına ters düşen spekülatif ve aykırı yapılaşma ve kullanım tasarruflarına engel olmaya çalışır." Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Esaslar," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları,* 82.

In the LTDP it is stated that the land and sea borders of the Park have been neither noticeable nor drawn and marked physically.[214] It is suggested that one of the first things to do is to mark those boundaries on the landscape in a proper way in order to ensure that the visitor could recognize his/her entry to the Park. Furthermore, in LTDP it is proposed to fragment the whole Park area in respect to the different functions and mark their territories to inform the visitor.[215] At the entrances to the Park it is proposed to construct information centers in order not only to inform the visitor about the certain parts of the landscape but also to conduct them.[216] By means of all those additions, undoubtedly the area of the landscape of Gallipoli Battles will become highly defined for the visitor. The Park will no longer be a place in which the visitor can freely enter and exit. The locus of the Gallipoli Natural and Historical Park has never been physically bounded and the ordinary visitor in the landscape could have never been informed about the significance of the certain parts of the landscape. Borders, markings, signs and gates inevitably will create a dense sense of closure on the visitor. Therefore, at the end of this immense scale project the locus of the Park will detach the perception of the visitor from actual flow of time and space.

Guidance constitutes the second issue of this analysis. Until the Long Term Development Plan for a cultivated gaze the journey in the Park had been resembled an individual discovery to find those mythical sites and remains which once heard in a narrative or from a veteran or read in a book or a memoir. However, for the creators of the LTDP this was a great problem to be solved. That is why, they determined the ultimate goal of the Plan as to inform and conduct the visitor in each part of the landscape in order to be able to provide him/her with a chance to create a sense and the

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[214] The original statement is that "TMP'ın sınırları net olmadığı gibi arazi üzerinde de işaretli, yani kesin değildir. Bu bakımdan, TMP kara sınırlarının netleştirilmesi, ayrıntılı bir hudutnameye ve/veya memleket koordinat sistemine bağlanması, sayısal haritalar üzerine işlenmesi ve arazi üzerinde işaretlenmesi esastır." Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Esaslar," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları,* 44.

[215] The original statement is that " bu nedenle, UDGP ile belirlenmiş olan ana ve/veya alt program alanlarının (mümkün olduğunda) sınırlarının arazi üzerinde belirlenerek ziyaretçileri bilgilendirmek üzere işaretlenmesi esastır. Ibid., 45.

[216] The original statement is that " TMP'a karadan giriş/çıkış noktalarında yeterli işaretleme ve bilgilendirme yoktur… her kilometrede bir TMP'a yaklaşıldığının belirtilmesi; TMP sınırında ise TMP'a girildiğini/çıkıldığını ifade eden ve TMP'ın haritası ile özelliklerini gösteren yol panolarının sağlanması esastır. Buna ek olarak, TMP'ın bütününü gösteren, tanıtan, anlatan, ziyaretçileri yönlendiren "bilgilendirme öğeleri" ("etkileşimli elektronik bilgi kiosku", panolar, tabelalar vb.) sağlamak zorunludur." Ibid.

thought of Peace.[217] Furthermore, different routes of travel are proposed in the Plan for different users; a route for the visitors, a route for the transit passages and a route for the inhabitants. [218] Each route will have their distinct signs, markings and conducting elements. It is also stated in the Plan that the forming groups which consist of 30-40 visitors to travel in the Park will be promoted to be easily informed, conducted and managed. [219] Although, when this analysis is made exiguous part of this project has been executed, the design of the locus of the Namazgah Rampart gives an explicit image of the accomplished project. The routes in the area are highly defined for the visitor and besides, on each foot the relevant information is given through the signs and inscriptions (Figure 4.65). In the entrance of each bunker in that rampart, informative panels which bear the information about the name and the functions of those bunkers during the battles were placed. Bunkers are no longer derelict; on the contrary they are re-functionalised. Furthermore, the visitor continually encounters a sign of a command stating that "do not enter this zone."

Figure 4.65 Namazgah Rampart, a. before the restoration b. after the restoration
(Source: Ahenk Yılmaz archive)

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[217] "TMP yönetimi arazi üzerinde işaretleme, yönlendirme ve bilgilendirme çalışmalarını öncelikle ele alarak, "konu/tema ana planları" ve ilişkili "kavram projeleri"ni hazırlamak zorundadır. Örneğin, Kabatepe-Conkbayırı-ANZAC gibi yoğun muharebe alanlarının birer "açık hava müzesi" anlayışı içinde ele alınmaları, işaretleme, yönlendirme ve bilgilendirme çalışmalarının bu bağlamda biçimlendirilmeleri esastır." Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Esaslar," *(Barış Parkı) (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt I1: Esaslar ve Tutumlar*, 49.

[218] "TMP sınırları içinde, transit, günlük yaşam ve ziyaretçi trafiklerinin birbirlerinden olabildiğince ayrılması, yani farklı güzergahlara yönlendirilmeleri, esastır. TMP yönetimi, ziyaretçi trafiğinin günlük yaşam ve transit trafiklerden ayrılması hususunda gereken önlemleri almakla yükümlüdür." Ibid., 89.

[219] "TMP içindeki ziyaretlerin küçük gruplarla (30-40 kişilik) gerçekleştirilmesi esastır. Ziyaret güzergahları (araç ve yaya yolları) ve ziyaretçi dinlenme noktaları bireysel ve/veya en fazla 30-40 kişilik gruplar için tasarlanır. Yaya yolları, ve bu yollarla ilgili dinlenme, işaretleme, yönlendirme, bilgilendirme ve diğer hizmet altyapısının topografyaya uyması, kesinlikle doğal çevreye zarar vermemesi sağlanır." Ibid., 90-91.

In the LTDP a certain phrase is repeatedly stated: "to inform, conduct and coordinate the visitor." The main gate is indicated as the beginning of this management plan. A series of structures are proposed for this gate in order to give proper information about the site, to manage the groups of visitors and to conduct their journey in the Park area.[220] Furthermore, the Plan suggests the administration units examining the profiles of the visitors in order to generate the most convenient ways of representation. According to the creators of the Plan questioners among the different nations' visitors should be made to develop and correct the representational forms of information and plans of movement.[221] The Plan acknowledges conducting visitor's mind as the responsibility of the Park regime. The preparation of the visitors mentally, physically and especially intellectually at the main gate before their journey begins in the Park is stated as the utmost principle. Thus, I argue that it is proposed in the LTDP that the locus of memorialisation should possess various elements to guide, orient and conduct the visitor to a pre-defined path of visit.

Image-Locus Relation

In the LTDP not only war memorials, cemeteries and commemorative structures but also war remains, crucial parts of the topography, and the scenes from the landscape are accepted as images of architectural memorialisation. These images, which comprise of both man-made structures and natural formations, in fact belong to locus of the memory of the Battles themselves. Although, trenches, ramparts or artilleries were constructed and placed before and during the Campaign and are genuinely not part of the natural geography of the Peninsula, in terms of the memory of the Battles on the site

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[220] "Kilye Koyu'ndan Kabatepe'ye yönelen ve TMP'ın "ana kapısı" olarak isimlendirilen yörede, TMP Tanıtım Merkezi'nin projelendirilmesi, çevre düzenlemeleri yapılması ve gereken yönlendirme ve bilgilendirmenin sağlanması esastır... Tüm bu giriş/çıkışlarda TMP'ın bütününü gösteren, tanıtan, anlatan, ziyaretçileri yönlendiren "bilgilendirme öğeleri" ("etkileşimli elektronik bilgi kiosku", panolar, tabelalar vb.) sağlanmak durumundadır." Bademli, Sarı, *et al*, "Esaslar," *Gelibolu Yarımadası Tarihi Milli Parkı (Barış Parkı) Uzun Devreli Gelişme Planı (UDGP) Çalışmaları, Cilt I1: Esaslar ve Tutumlar,* p. 45.

[221] "TMP yönetiminin ziyaretçilerin zihniyetini (TMP ziyaret amaç, biçim ve davranışlarını) yönlendirmek, kuralları belirlemek ve giderek şekillendirmek için çalışması esastır. TMP yönetimi bu amaç doğrultusunda, yerli ve yabancı ziyaretçileri tanımaya çalışır (anketler, araştırmalar vb. çalışmalar yapar); ziyaretçileri TMP'a gelmeden önce bilgilendirir; TMP içinde ziyaretçileri yönlendirmek, bilgilendirmek ve uyarmak üzere düzenlemeler, işaretlemeler, sergilemeler ve anlatımlar yapar; rehberlik hizmetleri sunar, sunulan diğer rehberlik hizmetlerini yönlendirir, koordine eder ve izler; ayrıca, ziyaretçileri, ziyaret biçimlerini ve ziyaretlerin kaynak değerleri üzerindeki etkilerini izler, denetler ve gereken düzeltmeleri yapar." Ibid., 75-76.

they have become inseparable part of the locus. Marking and pointing certain parts of the landscape for the visitor means to objectify the locus. On the other hand, in the LTDP some of those images like bunkers are proposed to re-functionalise in order to present the visitor with a real war experience. Accordingly the interiors of the bunkers are restored and some of them are furnished to their original state and the others are transformed into exhibitions. I argue that by means of this approach the war remains which are initially defined as images of the architectural memorialisation, gain spatial peculiarities. Thus, in terms of analysis, in LTDP image and locus are highly related. Through them, both objectification of the locus and spatialisation of the image occur.

Concluding Remarks

Right after the announcement and then completion of the Gallipoli Peace Park Competition, its organisers started to study on a new Long Term Development Plan for the Park. From this point of view, it is possible to consider the LTDP as an expansion of the Peace Park competition. Despite the fact that the Plan is akin to the Peace Park competition, it stands out with its strict and imposing regulations. First of all its image can briefly be defined as marking and indicating the certain parts of the landscape to the visitor and giving proper information about those parts which have strong relations with the memory of Gallipoli Battles. Certainly, this approach, which depends on objectifying the certain parts of locus as images, provides the visitor with direct and explicit relations between its image-parts and the historical event they dedicated. In LTDP, that historical event is definitely the war itself; because the creators of the Plan targeted to provide the visitor a real experience of war to come up with the idea of peace.

By means of the LTDP, the borders of the Park which until the Plan has been theoretically existed but physically absent are drawn on the landscape in order to have the visitor notice that they entered a sacred ground. Furthermore, the regulations on development and construction which have already been existed since the Treaty of Lausanne are tightened. It is insisted on that the natural scenes of the shorelines ought to be preserved through photographing in order to prevent the changing of the peculiarities vegetation. In terms of the movement of individual, the LTDP has explicit proposals, projects, limitations and discriminations. Moreover, the Plan defines the administration

of the Park as conductors of the physical and mental journey of the visitor in the Park. From the very entrance in each phase of his/her remembering experience the visitor is carefully informed, guided and directed. The Plan determines different paths for different purposes. The life in the bunkers during the war is reanimated in order to ensure that each visitor identically remembers when they look at the places of war. Objectified parts of locus as images are transformed into spaces of memory in the case of bunkers.

4.3.2. Anzac Commemorative Site

This illusion of nearness, this compression not only of space but of time, is very much helped by the fact that, through the centuries, hardly anything has been done to change the landscape.

Alan Moorhead- Gallipoli, 1956

25 April 1915, the day when Anzacs first landed to Gallipoli Peninsula has become a national holiday in the course of Australian history, a day of commemoration for the anniversary of landing. Australians commemorate that date with ceremonies in contrast to other allied nations such as France and Britain who memorialize their anniversaries relating to war as a "solemn process of remembrance of the war dead.[222] The difference stems from the fact that Australians commemorate not only the landing but also the date when their nationhood emerged. Namely, they simultaneously mourn and feel proud. The Anzac Commemorative Site was designed and constructed after the Peace Park Competition in the year of 2000 to meet the increasing interest on the anniversary of landing each year (Figure 4.66). Before the construction of this site, the dawn ceremonies had been realized in the boundaries of the Arı Burnu War Cemetery at the northern end of the Anzac Cove by pilgrims whom numbers exponentially ascended since 1985.[223]

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[222] Graham Dawson, *Politics of War Memory & Commemorations* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2000), 224.

[223] Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean, *Bean's Gallipoli: The Diaries of Australia's Official War Correspondent*, ed. Kevin Fewster (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 1983; 1990; 2007), 268

Figure 4.66 Anzac Commemorative Site, from project proposal June 1999
(Source: http://www.anzacsite.gov.au, accessed 19 June 2007)

During the First World War Australian army had lost 64 percent of its forces.[224] This staggering loss affected directly most of the families in Australia, therefore had a strong effect on not only their history but also their collective memory. Gallipoli was the first place they "fought as a recognizable military unit in their own right."[225] Ergo, the performance of the Anzacs was not legendary "there is no questioning the calibre or the potential of the personnel or the outstanding examples of individual bravery and unit performance."[226] Gallipoli had a distinct peculiarity among the other fronts of the First World War, because "it has a strong sense of closure" which "had a beginning, a middle and an end located in a specific geographical location."[227] The definition of "specific geographical location" becomes much denser for the Anzacs. The North Beach and its close surrounding were acknowledged as the landscape of Anzacs where not only they first landed but also they were stuck on during the whole campaign. Jenny Macleod in the introduction of the book named *Gallipoli: Making History* emphasizes the

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[224] Dawson, 226.

[225] John McQuilton, "Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space," in *Gallipoli: Making History*, ed. Jenny Macleod (London; New York: Taylor and Francis, 2004), 150.

[226] Christopher Pugsley, "Stories of Anzac," in *Gallipoli: Making History*, ed. Jenny Macleod (London; New York: Taylor and Francis, 2004), 49.

[227] McQuilton, "Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space," in *Gallipoli*, 150.

difference of local on-site commemoration compared to the out-of site one.[228] She illustrates her argument through exemplifying the difference between the memorial chapel in Eltham and the commemorative structures in Gallipoli.[229] According to her, the construction of Anzac Commemorative Site "to accommodate the huge crowds who visit Gallipoli on the 25 April each year, as well as the new Peace Park on the peninsula, are evidence of the burgeoning interest in a renewal of the commemoration of the campaign."[230]

Genuinely, the increase of the number of pilgrims which already have grown fast since the 70th anniversary of landing, multiplied due to the construction and opening of the Anzac Commemorative Site. Interest in response to the dawn ceremonies has never been constant and regular among Australians and New Zealanders. Due to the political ambiguities in Turkey in spite of the presence of the demands and attempts, it was very arduous to reach and to visit Gallipoli for pilgrimage in the period following the First World War. Nonetheless, it is recorded that seven organized groups made their pilgrimages to Gallipoli in the 1920s and 1930s.[231] In the mid of the century the observance of Dawn ceremonies in Gallipoli came to nearly an extinction.[232] Well known Australian journalist of Gallipoli war C. E. W. Bean reported in his memories

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[228] Jenny Macleod, "Introduction," in *Gallipoli: Making History*, ed. Jenny Macleod (London; New York: Taylor and Francis, 2004), 12.

[229] "One of the most notable focuses of interest in Gallipoli in Britain is Holy Trinity Church in Eltham in south-east London. Its lady chapel is dedicated to the campaign, and a memorial service or lecture has been held there annually. The connection between Eltham and Gallipoli comes from the Reverend Henry Hall who was chaplain of the 29th Division during the campaign and returned to his position as Vicar of Holy Trinity after he was invalided and demobilised in 1916. Hall was so moved by his experiences at Gallipoli that he resolved to establish a memorial to the men of his division. The St Agnes Chapel at Holy Trinity was transformed into the Gallipoli Memorial Chapel and dedicated as a permanent memorial to the 29th Division." Macleod, "The British Heroic-Romantic Myth of Gallipoli," in *Gallipoli*, ed. Macleod, p. 73. For further information about the Gallipoli Memorial in Eltham see: Sarah Newman, "Gallipoli Memorial, Eltham," *Historian* 71 (Autumn 2001): 29-34.

[230] Macleod, "Introduction," 12.

[231] Lloyd, 97.

[232] "Recent decades have witnessed an extraordinary resurgence in the popular observance of Anzac Day in Australia. The anniversary of the Gallipoli landings on 25 April 1915 has become so prominent in Australia's commemorative calendar that it is easy to forget how close the entire occasion came to extinction. As recently as the 1960s, the commemoration of Anzac experienced a marked decline both in terms of public awareness and official promotion – so much so that Ken Inglis predicted the ultimate demise of Anzac Day, together with 'the decline and eventual disappearance of the RSL [Returned Services League]'. Within a few years, this view was receiving widespread attention in the Australian press, as each passing Anzac Day raised further doubts about its long-term viability." For further information see: Stuart Ward, "'A War Memorial in Celluloid': The Gallipoli Legend in Australian Cinema, 1940s-1980s," in *Gallipoli: Making History*, ed. Jenny Macleod (London; New York: Taylor and Francis, 2004), 59.

that "the author Betty Roland claims she was the only person at Lone Pine and Gallipoli on Anzac Day 1961."[233] However, the announcement by Turkish Government in 1985 that the beach in Arı Burnu was officially renamed as Anzac Cove in the 70th anniversary of the landing was a pivotal point in the history of the ceremonies.[234] Especially "the 75th anniversary in 1990 was a major media event, featuring a mass pilgrimage to Anzac Cove led by Prime Minister Bob Hawke."[235] In 1990s there was an unseen interest to the ceremonies. Even though, the number increased each year the average number of the pilgrims for each year never exceeded tens of thousand.[236] Nevertheless, "by 2003 the number of attending the Dawn Service at Anzac Cove had reached some 14.000."[237] Bean reported in his book that "by 2005 and the 90th anniversary, attendances had swollen to nearly 20.000, so great that the authorities had moved the pre-dawn ceremony to a new, specially created site at North Beach, just north of Anzac Cove."[238] While he takes pride in the huge number of attendances, simultaneously draws the attention to the new Anzac Commemorative Site. The building of site for ceremonial commemoration along with the renaming of Anzac Cove and the innovations in formal rituals obviously had a great role on this burgeoning interest. That interest caused a need for a bigger place to realise the ceremonies. Anzac Commemorative Site was constructed to meet this need.

Image

Australian Government chose DM Taylor Landscape Architects for the design of Anzac Commemorative Site. When the task was given they considered that "a monumental approach was inappropriate because of the plethora of memorials already

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[233] C. E. W. Bean was responsible as a journalist to report Gallipoli Campaign and worked as an Australian's official war correspondent. He was the Australian companion of British Ashmead-Bartlett. Bean, *Bean's Gallipoli,* 267-68.

[234] Ibid., 268.

[235] Ward, "'A War Memorial in Celluloid'," 59.

[236] In the year of 1995, it was recorded that 4500 pilgrimage made to Gallipoli, in 1996 5000, in 1997 6000, in 1998 7500, in 1999 8500. For the original source of the numbers and further information see: The Official Website of the Anzac Commemorative Site, http://www.anzacsite.gov.au.

[237] McQuilton, "Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space," 154.

[238] Bean, *Bean's Gallipoli*, 268.

there."[239] In their project proposal, they initially indicated that their design was going to follow the principles outlined by the Peace Park Competition.[240] The first and foremost design principle owing to the Peace Park Competition was indicated as "the concept of movement as a basis of reflection." It was stated that initially there were two different sites which was considered to build a ceremonial place. The selection of the North Beach site for the commemoration was presenting "an opportunity for the interpretation of the 1915 campaign exists with its focus being the two main physical entities of the area: the sea and the 'Sphinx'."

High ridges rises in front of the cove, have been called as "the sphinx" since the date of the landing. That natural formation gained a privileged importance in the history of Gallipoli Campaign while Anzacs were landing. Anzac soldiers who fought in Gallipoli had been trained as a soldier in Egypt. [241] After their first encounter with discreet Egyptian culture, these teenagers as soldiers came across another topography of a different country, naturally they preferred to use the names newly learnt. Therefore, they called this formation of landscape as "the sphinx." DM Taylor Landscape Architects elucidate their design idea as highlighting "the junction of the sea and land" and "focusing on the natural elements of the place." Image of this memorialisation approach along with its design elements is formed by those natural elements, especially "the Sphinx." Therefore, the new organisation on the beach as a "minimal intervention" just highlights certain parts of the landscape which have strong affects on collective memory of the war as the images of this architectural commemoration (Figure 4.67). The physical entities the beach, the sea and the sphinx have a privileged importance in the collective memory of the Anzacs. In fact, the landscape itself of this beach is monumental in the narratives of the soldiers who lived the experience of landing. This experience is narrated by a soldier extendedly as follows:

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[239] Matthew Taylor, "Gilding Gallipoli," *Landscape Australia* 27: (2005): 54-56.

[240] They itemises these principles as; firstly, "concept of movement, as a basis of reflection;" secondly, "the balance of conservation of natural, archaeological and battlefield areas with accessibility to the public;" thirdly, "to conserve, restore and rehabilitate the environmental, cultural, historical and human assets of the park, yet allow for demarcation, display, use and restricted development;" fourthly, "to monitor change in the social, cultural, economic and physical character of the Park." The project proposal of the design is obtained from the official website of Anzac Commemorative Site as http://www.anzacsite.gov.au/3building/concept.html, September, 2007. The information about this proposal will be compiled from this source unless otherwise indicated.

[241] William Hugh Montgomery New Zealand army's director of vocational training during the Campaign started his explanation of the experience of their soldiers in his influential memorandum on war memorials as "they have climbed the pyramids, and gazed at the sightless eyes of the sphinx." The memoir is quoted from: Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride*, 76.
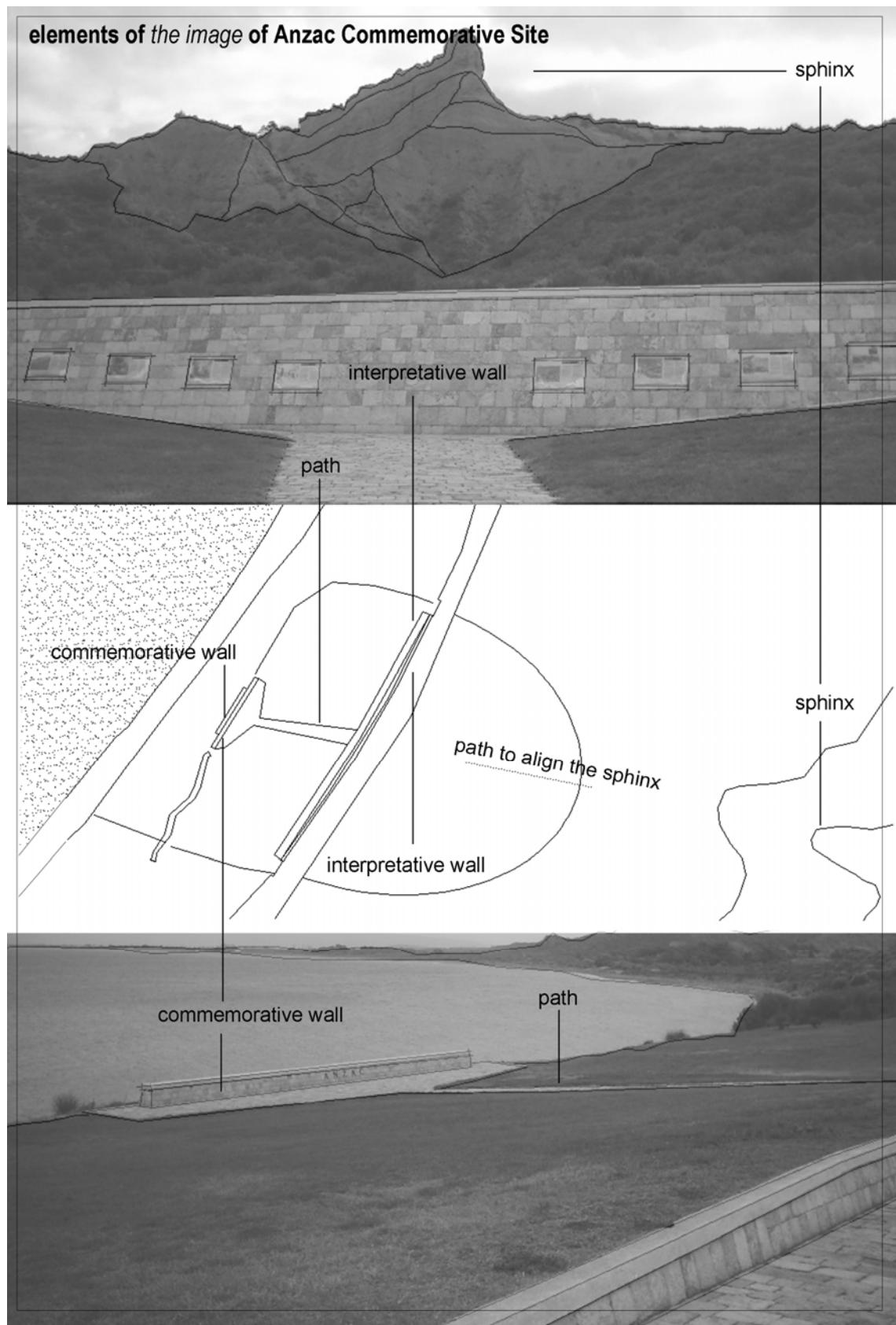
Figure 4.67 Image of Anzac Commemorative Site

(Source: plan; http://www.anzacsite.gov.au, accessed 15 May 2008; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz)

> When we were cut loose to make our way to the shore was the worst period. I was terribly frightened. The boat touched bottom some thirty yards from shore so we had to jump out and wade into the beach… The order to line up on the beach was forgotten. We all ran for our lives over the strip of beach and got into scrub and bush. Men were falling all around me. We were stumbling over bodies —running blind. The sight of the bodies on the beach was shocking.[242]

The memoirs of the soldiers are full of this kind of expressions on the condition of landing and the consequential effects of the landscape during the combat. Most of the visitors of the Anzac Commemorative Site come to this site with the knowledge of these experiences and the effects of the landscape on the destiny of those soldiers' lives. A pilgrim shares his feelings as that "walking out on sort of the beach there was a sort of, sort of tingle down your spine you knew that was the beach where they had landed and you could see how imposing it really was looking up the cliffs."[243] Those cliffs which are in fact "a peculiar knife-edge spur jutting out seawards from Walker's Ridge" have been called as sphinx since the early days of the Campaign.[244] This naming can be considered reasonable regarding the fact that Anzacs were prepared for the Battles in Egypt. It is poetically states in the book named *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* that "this saga began when troops sailed to Egypt, where the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps were formed and trained for combat under the indifferent gaze of the sphinx."[245] The Anzac Commemorative Site, as it was stated by its designers, has two major image-parts from natural surrounding: the "sphinx" and the view of the sea from where the landing occurred (Figures 4.67). Emphasised parts of the landscape constitute the greater part of its image. Highlighted path of the site connects these two different images on the opposite sides.

In fact, the natural topography of Gallipoli consists of numerous interesting landscape formations. [246] Simon Schama, in his book *Landscape and Memory* expounds

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[242] The quotation is paraphrased from: David Wayne Cameron, *25 April 1915: The Day the Anzac Legend was Born* (Sidney: Allen & Unwin, 2007), 61.

[243] The words of a pilgrim is paraphrased from: Bruce Scates, 11.

[244] Fred Waite, *The New Zealanders at Gallipoli* (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1919), 323.

[245] Donald Denoon, Philippa Mein Smith and Marivic Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Malden; Oxford; Melbourne; Berlin: Blackwell, 2000; 2002), 272-73.

[246] "The relief of the southern part of the Gallipoli Peninsula is relatively subdued, the dominant topographic elements being a series of ridges in the north and two northeast-southwest trending plateaux in the south. The northern ridges are formed from folded Palaeogene sandstones and limestones, and further north, Cretaceous rocks." For further information see: Peter Doyle, *Fields of Battle: Terrain in Military History* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2002), 153.

the historical itinerary of the relation between peaks and men through artistic endeavours in the history to represent the natural landscapes.[247] It is stated that mountains, valleys and ridges have always been borne positive or negative meanings in the collective memory of inhabitants who live on their outskirts. To acknowledge them as holy, sacred and inspirational were also very common. There have been numerous examples of peaks which have become icons underpinning myths, legends and narratives in the history of different nations. Peter Doyle in his book *Fields of Battle* defines a category named "Iconic Landscape." According to him the battlefields in which grim slaughters occurred have become "national symbols, icons of the ideals ascribed to by the dead of their protagonists."[248] He exemplifies these kinds of landscapes with Gallipoli and illustrates it as follows:

> Many examples can be drawn from the ancient battle sites of Europe, but perhaps the greatest examples may lie in the wars of the 20th century, where the significance of the landing beaches of Gallipoli and the chalk upland of Artois have strong cultural associations with nation building for Australia, New Zealand and Canada.[249]

Within this conceptual framework, I will examine the relation between the image of Anzac Commemorative Site and the historical event to which it was dedicated. The landscape of Gallipoli gave the Anzacs their national symbols and icons in their nation building process. In fact "only a minority of Australian and New Zealand soldiers fought at Gallipoli;" however it was their first time in a battle and "more than the interminable Western Front which gave name, location and substance to the legends."[250] David Cameron in his book *25 April 1915: The Day the Anzac Legend was Born* describes the scene which Anzacs saw when they landed as that "to the south lay the steep slopes of Plugge's Plateau, to their north the rugged tortuous spur of Walker's Ridge and immediately to their front a weathered ridge, soon to be known by all Anzacs as 'The Sphinx'."[251] In the Anzac Commemorative Site the image of the sphinx is framed by a wall.

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[247] Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 385-446.

[248] Doyle, *Fields of Battle,* 5.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Denoon, Smith and Wyndham *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*, 272-73.

[251] Cameron, *25 April 1915,* 61.

Overall organisation was designed according to the approach of the Anzacs to the Peninsula. Contrary to the common attitudes, the path was located as if it leads the visitor away from the sea. For the one who approaches from the road the white wall which was constructed using local elements, rises on one side (Figure 4.68). That wall is called as "interpretative wall." The wall has photographs on its rising surface taken during the Campaign on this beach. Then at the end it leads the visitor to the vast image of the sea framed with an inscription of "Anzac" on another white wall (Figure 4.69). That wall is called as commemorative wall. In this case, the historical event commemorated is the landing of the Anzacs and the nine months period they experienced on the beach. The photographs on the wall illustrate this period. By means of those photographs the importance of those image-parts, the sphinx and the sea, are reminded. The visitor is compelled to look at the same mythical and iconic highlighted parts of the landscape which Anzacs saw and named. The relation between the image-parts of the Anzac Commemorative Site —sphinx, walls, the view of the sea— and the historical event can directly be established by the visitor. It is ensured that each individual who comes from various regions of the world to this beach recollect similar things when they look at the sphinx and the view of the sea.

Figure 4.68 The view of the interpretative wall
(Source: www.dva.gov.au, accessed 21 September 2007)

Figure 4.69 The view of the commemorative wall
(Source: www.anzac.govt.nz, accessed 21 September 2007)

Locus

War historian John McQuilton in his essay, "Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space," asserts that "there is little doubt that most Australians and New Zealanders see Anzac Cove on the peninsula as 'theirs'"[252]. According to him "the peninsula may well be in a foreign country but 'ownership' was somehow conferred by the loss of Australian and New Zealander lives." This shared loss entrusted them with a national consciousness and a sacred landscape underpinning collective memory. Scates indicates in his essay "In Gallipoli's Shadow" that "Gallipoli's landscape is charged with meanings."[253] Although, this meaning which stem from the shared, collective memory give the landscape its common sacredness, each part of the Park connotes different meanings for different nations. For Australians and New Zealanders, undeniably, the most sacred part of these huge battlefields is the region surrounding the Anzac Cove. This landscape of Anzacs is the locus of this site. The locus of the Anzac Commemorative Site particularly during the Dawn Ceremonies constitutes the core of this sanctified milieu (Figure 4.70). Natural barriers of hills and sea simultaneously define its boundaries. I will also acknowledge these boundaries as the limits of the locus of this architectural memorialisation. Two main issues of *detachment* and *guidance* will be main focal points of this analysis.

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[252] McQuilton, "Gallipoli as Contested Commemorative Space," 151.

[253] Scates, "In Gallipoli's Shadow," 16.

elements of *the locus* of Anzac Commemorative Site

sphinx

interpretative wall

path

commemorative wall

sphinx

path to align the sphinx

interpretative wall

commemorative wall

path
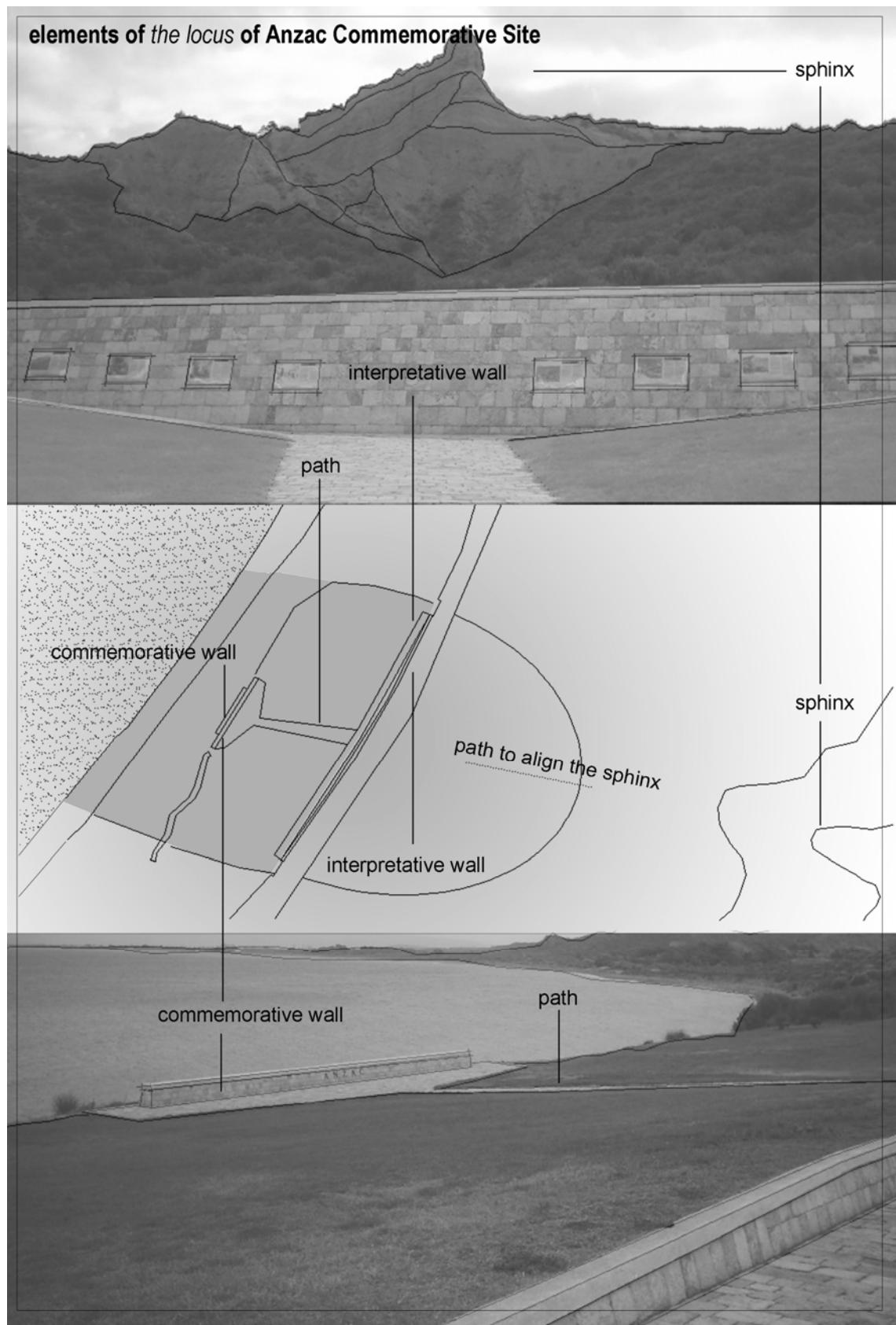
Figure 4.70 Locus of Anzac Commemorative Site

(Source: plan; http://www.anzacsite.gov.au, accessed 15 May 2008; graphics and image Ahenk Yılmaz)

Detachment constitutes the first issue of the analysis. In this part, I will question the elements of architectural memorialisation which cause the visitor being detached from the actual flow of time and space. David Cameron describes first encounter of the Anzacs on landing in his book *25 April 1915* as that "the reinforcements who landed on North Beach found themselves, like those from the first wave, in a natural amphitheatre."[254] Despite the fact that the beach is no longer a place which is unreachable from land, by means of its natural boundaries, the locus of the Anzac Commemorative Site still retains the effect of closure. The topography of the site really resembles a natural amphitheatre opening to the expanse view of the sea. The "sphinx" constitutes the focal point of this formation. Rocky wall formed by high cliffs simultaneously is the reason for long-lasting grim battles occurred on this beach. Anzacs who could not accomplish to reach the crest of these natural barriers did not come together with other forces of the Allied Army. Thus, they got stuck on this narrow beach for nine months period. Their long-term experience on this site must have been affected their affiliation to this peculiar landscape. Although, the design of Anzac Commemorative Site does not have any physical boundary or demarcation, natural existing boundaries of the landscape make this locus introverted and highly defined.

Furthermore, this part of the whole Park area has been definitely the most diligently preserved one due to the terms and regulations determined in the Treaty of Lausanne. There are certain articles in the Treaty that strictly restrict any kind of construction in the area of the Anzac Cove which once had been called Arı Burnu. Those restrictions enabled the area to remain intact and almost like the way it was at the end of the Campaign. In consequence, when the visitor looks at the photographs on the wall of the Anzac Commemorative Site, he/she sees the same landscape he/she perceives on the beach. This situation naturally forms a strong effect on the visitor as if the time has been frozen since the evacuation of the Anzacs. In fact the design of the Site does not highlight itself, it just reveals and emphasises the frozen effect which the area already possesses. From this point of view, it is possible to argue that the principles of the design of the project depend on the outcomes of the Peace Park Competition. The individual's perception of time and space had been obviously detached from the actual one. Furthermore, the design of the site strengthens these effects.

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[254] Cameron, *25 April* 1915, 61.

Guidance constitutes the second issue of the analysis of locus. In terms of this concept, I will examine the elements of locus which guide the individual's movement. In their proposal, the designers of Anzac Commemorative Site explicitly state that the concept of movement owing to the Peace Park Competition and the path which targeted to form "the sense of a journey from a distant land to the shore of the Gallipoli Peninsula" constitute the basic principles of their project.[255] The path which connects the sea and the land leads the visitor coming from either the sea-side or the land. On each direction the visitor is compelled to see highlighted parts of the landscape which have significant connotations in the collective memory of the Gallipoli Battles: the sea and the "sphinx." Furthermore, the path leads the visitor to the close side of the wall on which the photographs taken during the campaign were placed. Those photographs and short inscriptions below them inform the visitor about the battles, soldiers and the topography in case of which the visitor does not know anything about the Campaign. In fact, the pathway system of the Site comprises of few elements; however they are so sufficient to guide the visitor in the site area. Strongly emphasised path, which constitute the core of the design, perpetuate the visitor objected spatial experience.

Image-Locus Relation

Famous geographer David Lowenthal in his now well known essay named "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," argues that "we need the past, in any case, to cope with present landscapes."[256] According to him, "we selectively perceive what we are accustomed to seeing; features and patterns in the landscape make sense to us because we share a history with them." If the collective memory about the "sphinx" did not exist, one of the images of the Anzac Commemorative site could not have gone beyond being just an interesting natural formation in the gaze of the observer. Similarly, the thing that makes the view of the sea from that beach different from all other sea views is its significance in the memoirs of the Anzacs. The design of Anzac Commemorative Site, of course, does not give those parts of the landscape their meanings, but points, indicates and highlights them for the visitor. The design compels

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[255] The project proposal of the design is obtained from the official website of Anzac Commemorative Site as http://www.anzacsite.gov.au/3building/concept.html, September, 2007.

[256] David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," *Geographical Review* 64/1 (1975): 5.

the visitor to look at them and remember all the associations they had in the history and collective memory. A significant part of the landscape, the locus of memorialisation is objectified and transforms into image. Image-parts of the landscape start to define the locus of the site. Therefore, there is an inseparable relation between the image and the locus of Anzac Commemorative Site.

Concluding Remarks

Lowenthal indicates that "the past gains further weight because we conceive of places not only as we ourselves see them but also as we heard and read about them."[257] Ordinary natural formations of the landscape like a cliff could become a national symbol if it has different connotations in history like the "sphinx" in Gallipoli. The image of Anzac Commemorative Site comprises of different image-parts which have great importance in the collective memory of Anzacs. They are the "sphinx" and the view of the sea. They drew a line which connects these image-parts as a path. In order to strengthen the effect of these highlighted landscape images they placed a wall with photographs taken during the Campaign placed on it. Therefore the relation between those images and the historical event directly established for the visitor. Despite the fact that the project has no physical boundary and was located to the centre of the whole beach, by means of the natural boundaries of the site locus has become highly defined and introverted. Furthermore, the treaty of Lausanne that has strict regulations for this area has created the effect of frozen time since the evacuation. Not only space but also time is warped through this project on the site. The designers define their ultimate principle as "the concept of movement as a basis of reflection," thus the movement of the individual was designed to give the targeted spatial experience to the visitor. This experience can be defined as to see the landscape just like as the Anzacs saw and remember all their personal memories as an inseparable part of the collective memory. That's why the locus has been objectified as the image-parts of the memorialisation.

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[257] Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," 6.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Enormous loss of the World Wars, fascist dictatorships, unjustifiable battles and innumerable wounded sites of memory caused an abstention from traditional and conventional approaches of memorial architecture. Counter-memorialisation emerged as a reaction to this abstention particularly in the last quarter of the twentieth century. It caused a radical change not only in understanding of war memory but also in approaches to commemorate those catastrophic events. Rather than an enduring structure to glorify death and war, monument has started to be considered as a medium to contemplate on the events. During this process authoritative monuments, which were erected to be observed passively, have superseded by spatial installations, which were organised to be experienced individually. "Experience" has become a keyword in counter-memorialisation. Intellectuals and designers of this approach asserted that spatial experience suggested by these memorials provided the visitor with contemplation and free remembering. Approaches to commemorate Çanakkale (Dardanelles) Campaign architecturally have undergone such transformation —from traditional memorial architecture to counter-memorialisation— in the boundaries of Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park.

This study has aimed to explore the effects of this transformation on the architectural composition of memorials through analysing the examples of various approaches in Gallipoli. Those approaches varied from erecting an obelisk or figure of a national hero to highlighting a war remain. Development of a method, which was going to form a common ground to investigate and compare the distinct examples of different approaches, has been the first step in this study. That method was derived from classical memorising technique of *ars memoriae*. Principle elements of *ars memoriae*, image and

locus constituted the basis of this method. In terms of architectural memorialisation, I took the image to refer to physical representation of the historical event which is commemorated; and locus to refer to the place of that representation. I have constructed the analysing method through adding a third component of image-locus relation. According to the logic of this method, analysis of these basic components made possible not only to compare different memorialisation approaches and to examine their transformation; but also to investigate the change in "remembering" proposed by memorials.

5.1. Categorization

In this dissertation, I have analysed memorials which either were constructed or were projected to be implemented between 1919 and 2003 in Gallipoli National and Historical (Peace) Park. Some of these works of architectural memorialisation demonstrated similar characteristics in terms of their image and locus, and have been considered as a group —enclosed war cemeteries, obelisk-shaped monuments, figurative and relief memorials, epigraphs and inscriptive monuments, self-referential memorials. Others have been analysed individually —Peace Park Competition, Long Term Development Plan and Anzac Commemorative Site. I will explain findings of these analyses successively in accordance with the flow and the basic components of the method; image, locus and image-locus relation. The evaluation of the findings made possible to organise the peculiarities of these examples in groups of opposite binary concepts. These concepts correspond to major properties of the images, loci and image-locus relations of approaches to memorialise Gallipoli Battles. For image, these binaries are "universal / particular," "singular / plural" and "denotive / connotative." For locus they are "indefinite / definite," "introverted / extroverted" and "loose / predetermined." For image-locus relation it is "image as locus / locus as image." I will clarify significant similarities and differences among distinct architectural memorialisation approaches in Gallipoli by means of these binary oppositions (Table 4.1).

Table 5.1 Binary Oppositions of Evaluation of the Analysis

	image			**locus**			**image-locus relation**
	Conceptual and Historical Framework		*Historical event-image relation*	*Detachment*		*Guidance*	
	Universal Particular	Singular Plural	Denotive Connotative	Indefinite Definite	Introverted Extroverted	Loose Predetermined	Image as Locus Locus as Image
Enclosed War Cemeteries	individual	denotive	plural	definite	introverted	predetermined	image as locus
Obelisk-shaped Monuments	universal	connotative	singular	indefinite	extroverted	loose	—
Figurative and Relief Memorials	universal	denotive	singular	indefinite	extroverted	loose	—
Epigraphs and Inscriptive Monuments	universal	denotive	plural	definite	introverted	predetermined	image as locus
Self-Referential Memorials	individual	connotative	singular	indefinite definite	introverted extroverted	loose predetermined	image as locus locus as image
Peace Park Competition	individual	denotive	singular plural	definite	introverted	predetermined	locus as image
Long Term Development Plan	individual	denotive	singular plural	definite	introverted	predetermined	locus as image
Anzac Commemorative Site	individual	denotive	singular	definite	introverted extroverted	predetermined	image as locus locus as image

Universal / Particular Image

Image of obelisk-shaped monuments are the most common images which were used not only to memorialise Gallipoli Battles but also to commemorate different scenes of war in all over the world. Because of the universality of their image, they have an intrinsic disadvantage in memorialisation for the observer to establish a direct relation between their image and the historical event that they were erected to commemorate. Abilities of reproduction and recycling of their image, which have provided them to be used in history by diverse nations for various purposes, prevent them to remind the observer a certain historical event. All major nations battled in Çanakkale Campaign ─United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Turks─ have their own obelisk-shaped monuments on the landscape of Gallipoli. These monuments were designed in fact to commemorate different persons and different sides and interpretations of the same events; however, their similar images counteract to make the observer remember a specific event.

On the other hand, there are also examples of architectural memorialisation in the landscape of Gallipoli Battles which have particular images. Self referential memorials can be good examples to this situation. Their unconventional image makes them unique in the Park area. Despite the fact that the image of Anzac Commemorative Site is a natural formation which can be observed in other parts of the landscape, that image is also particular, because of its site-specific characteristic and meaning in collective memory. For the same reasons, the image-parts of Peace Park competition and Long Term Development Plan, such as the images of trenches, bunkers, guns have the characteristic of particularity. The features of the relation between the particular image and the historical event differentiate from one memorial to another. If a memorial has an abstract particular image like Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial or a natural image like 2nd. Lieutenant Eric Duckworth Memorial, it is required the presence of ancillary elements to understand the purpose of commemoration for an observer. On the other hand, memorialisation of war remains as particular images has a direct and explicit relation with the historical events, which they are organised to commemorate; the battles themselves.

Singular / Plural Image

Certain memorialisation approaches in Gallipoli depend on the understanding of multiplying the image of memorials. Epigraphs, designed by Ahmet Gülgönen, have plural images which were multiplied and located on different regions of the Park. They are used as markers to indicate specific sites of the landscape which have significance in the history of Çanakkale Campaign. Enclosed cemeteries of CWGC also have plural images. Thirty-one war cemeteries, which have not identical but similar images, were adjusted to different geographical situations due to their lego-like compositional peculiarities. Plurality of the image constitutes the feeling of continuity in the battlefields for the visitor. It expands the image of memorials all over the site; observer gains a familiarity with that image, and thus the relation between the image and the historical event become much more direct for him/her. Despite the fact that obelisk-shaped monuments are the most used images seen in Gallipoli, it is not possible to mention the concept of plurality for their multiplied form; for the reason that each one of them were built to commemorate completely different events in a distinct manner. Peace Park Competition and LTDP have both singular and plural images. Site specific war remains and natural formations such as ramparts, certain views are inherently singular images. However, marks, signs, inscriptions, informative units as ancillary elements of memorialisation constitute plural images. They generate sense of unity, and make the Park to be perceived as a whole by the observer and also increase the directness of the relation between the image and the historical event.

Denotive / Connotative Image

The images of figurative, relief, inscriptive monuments and epigraphs are denotive; for the reason that they are designed to represent just one meaning; i.e. denotation of a specific event. Figurative and relief monuments represent certain moments of local narratives and national figures of collective memory such as figure of Onbaşı Seyit while carrying a bomb shell, figure of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk while scouting the battlefield. Epigraphs and inscriptive monuments depict the story of significant events of certain places in detail. Their denotive images directly relate to the historical event which they are designed to commemorate. Peace Park Competition and

the Long Term Development Plan have also denotive images. For instance, restoration project of Namazgah Rampart depended on the idea of refurnishing the interior of the bunkers as they were used during the battles with all equipments and humanoid models. That image denotes the real scenes of the battles. The image-parts of Anzac Commemorative Site —natural formation named "sphinx," and the view of the sea— can be considered connotative images, because they are natural formations which have various connotations for different observers. However, photos on the "interpretative wall," which was taken during the Battles from the site, describe what an observer should remember while he/she is looking at those natural formations, and thus decrease the number of different connotations; in other words it denotes again the real scenes of the battles.

Abstract images of memorials in Gallipoli have numerous connotations which vary from one observer to another. Self referential memorials have connotative images in this sense. Austere and grandiose image of Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial connotes distinct meanings for different observers. Those meanings may change even according to his/her standpoint; land or sea. Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial also has abstract image which brings numerous connotations. There are a lot of Turkish memorials, which have connotative images, in various sizes on the expanse site of Gallipoli. Most of their images are highly abstract insomuch as that in one of them the answers of the questions of for whom and which event it was constructed to commemorate has completely been forgotten. It is called as "Nameless Captain Memorial" (İsimsiz Yüzbaşı Memorial). For these examples it is not possible to mention a direct relation between their connotative images and historical events. On the other hand, image-parts of enclosed cemeteries are much more denotive. Sacrificial altar of remembrance stone, the cross of sacrifice and the lines of grave markers in cemeteries of CWGC denote lost lives. If one considers that those cemeteries were constructed to commemorate sacrificed lives, than he/she admits that there is a direct relation between their images and historical event.

Indefinite / Definite Locus

Most of the obelisk-shaped and figurative monuments have indefinite loci in Gallipoli. Despite the fact that some obelisks have a podium surrounded by a low wall,

their loci cannot be distinguished from the landscape of Gallipoli Battles. Figurative monuments, except for those that are located in the boundaries of another memorialisation, stand on the landscape solitarily. Due to highly preserved peculiarities of the locus of battlefields, the indefinite loci of obelisk-shaped and figurative monuments give the delusive feeling of enclosure to the visitor. On the other hand, loci of all war cemeteries of different nations in Gallipoli have the characteristics of definiteness in various degrees. Their loci detach the perception of the visitor from actual flow of time and space of the battlefields. French War Cemetery has highly definite locus. Despite the fact that most of the war cemeteries of CWGC have definite loci, in some of them one of the surrounding boundaries of the locus disappears and lets the landscape to enter; however it does not principally change the definition of their locus. Five epigraphs in Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial has also definite locus. As a matter of fact, they were already erected to surround and determine that locus. Peace Park Competition and LTDP stand out with the definiteness of their loci among all other memorialisation approaches. In both memorialisation approaches the landscape of Gallipoli Battles is defined as the locus of memorialisation and it is proposed to enhance that definition with the help of marking elements and indicators. Local development restrictions and plans also increase this definition.

The concepts of "definite and indefinite" possess another meaning which signifies the character of the relation between the locus of memorialisation and its localisation on the landscape. Disappearance of one of the surrounding walls of the war cemeteries of CWGC might be interpreted as decreasing the definiteness of their locus. However, in fact, it enhances the meaningful relation between the locus of war cemetery and the *genius loci* of that certain part of the landscape for the observer; because, each such kind of opening has a significant purpose behind such as indicating a certain vista. Furthermore, cemeteries were constructed on the places where the soldiers lost their lives. This peculiarity also enriches the definiteness of the locus of war cemeteries of CWGC. On the other hand, from this point of view, most of the obelisk-shaped and figurative monuments have indefinite loci, because they have a weak relation with their location on the landscape. Those indefinite loci make their images nomadic which can be erected in anyplace inside or outside the boundaries of the Park area. Epigraphs and inscriptions have highly definite locus for the reason that they were constructed to mark their locus. They narrate the "stories" of significant parts of the landscape.

Introverted / Extroverted Locus

The loci of enclosed war cemeteries are introverted. For instance, French War Cemetery has not only a highly definite but also introverted locus insomuch as that the visitor can easily forget that he/she is in a battlefield. In this sense, the locus of cemeteries transforms into sacred and protected earthly paradise for those who lost their lives for their nations. Definiteness of locus does not always correspond to introverted locus. Çanakkale Şehitleri Memorial has a definite but extroverted locus, because it was designed to have the visitor look outside; not inside. On the other hand, the loci of Peace Park Competition and LTDP are introverted. They propose visitors to experience a journey into the landscape of memory. Nuri Yamut Memorial has definitely the most introverted locus of all in Gallipoli. The visitor observes just the plaque on the ground and the view of the sky inside of the cemetery. On the other hand, Anzac Commemorative Site and Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial have peculiar qualities in this sense. The locus of Anzac Commemorative Site looks extroverted for the reason that the visitor is compelled to observe outside the locus of the memorialisation. However, vistas of the visitor are strictly controlled and oriented into the memorialisation, thus it has both introverted and extroverted locus. Similarly, Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial demonstrates peculiarities of both introverted and extroverted locus. The gaps between its epigraphs are there to give vistas to the places of the Battles which are narrated in their inscriptions. However, the locus itself centres on the 261 altitudes hill and it generates an introverted effect on the observer.

Loose / Predetermined Locus

Indefinite locus of most of the memorials of Gallipoli Battles is simultaneously loose in which movements of individuals are not conducted. Obelisk-shaped monuments in fact constitute dominant pivotal points on the landscape of Gallipoli but only visually. Their indefinite locus does not include any guiding or conducting elements. On the other hand, locus of war cemeteries is mostly predetermined in which the movements of the visitor are diligently conducted from entrance to the stone of remembrance with the help of the design of architectural elements. The peculiarity of definiteness does not always mean that locus is predetermined. For instance, Conkbayırı

Mehmetçik Park Memorial has a definite but loose locus. A visitor can coincidently find him/herself in that locus, and except for the engraved dates in the inscriptions nothing gives him/her a clue about the sequential order of those epigraphs. Similarly, Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial has a definite but loose locus. Despite the fact that it has strictly defined paths for visitors, those paths lead nowhere and the locus of memorial does not define an itinerary.

On the other hand, Peace Park Competition, LTDP and Anzac Commemorative Site have predetermined loci. In Peace Park Competition, all the winning projects proposed a pre-determined journey for the visitors into the landscape of memory. Besides, the name of the first prized project was "The Foot and The Eye" which was depended on the idea of moving on the footpaths. In the LTDP, it was suggested to construct an information centre at the entrance of the Park in order to guide the visitors about their journey. In this project, it was also planned to define paths, to locate signs, marks, and informative panels to conduct the tour of the visitors. Locus of LTDP is highly predetermined insomuch as that it is suggested in that locus to define standpoints and specific vistas for the journey of the visitors. The locus of Anzac Commemorative Site is also predetermined. The visitor is compelled to enter the site from sloppy paths located symmetrically at two sides of the "interpretative wall." On his/her way, the visitor looks at the photographs, and reads the informative inscriptions about the landing occurred on that beach. The main path, which intersects with these secondary paths, directly aligns with the image of the "sphinx." In this memorialisation, not only physical movement of the visitor but also his/her visions are conducted.

Image as Locus / Locus as Image

The concept of "image as locus" refers to architectural memorialisation approaches in which image has spatial characteristics and defines the locus itself. The concept of "locus as image," on the other hand, refers to architectural memorialisation approaches in which locus is indicated as the image of memorialisation. Either of these peculiarities corresponds to a strong relation between the image and the locus of a memorial. Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial has an image as locus. Its folded triangular shapes of image-parts expand over the slope of Kaba Hill and constitute the locus of the memorial itself. The image-parts of enclosed war cemeteries also define the inner-locus. Especially in war cemeteries of CWGC, surrounding wall, lines of grave

markers, walled cross of sacrifice and the stone of remembrance are not only image-parts but also determination elements of the locus inside of the cemetery. The image of Nuri Yamut Memorial forms also its inner-locus. On the other hand, specific parts of the landscape of Gallipoli Battles are used as images in numerous memorialisation approaches. For those examples it is possible to refer to the concept of "locus as image." Memorialisation approaches in Peace Park Competition and its winning projects were based on the idea of indicating landscape as a memorial. Image of restoration of Namazgah Rampart in LTDP as memorialisation is formed by the remains of war themselves; i.e. bunkers. Image of the memorial for Lieutenant Eric Duckworth in Redoubt War Cemetery of CWGC can be perceived as part of the landscape unless it is indicated.

There are memorialisation approaches in Gallipoli which both of the concepts of "image as locus," and "locus as image" occur. On the one hand, five epigraphs of Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial constitute not only a part of the image of memorialisation but also define the visual and physical boundaries of its locus. That is why its image is perceived as locus. On the other, Ahmet Gülgönen, the architect, indicated the 261 altitude hill, centralised by the epigraphs, as the main image of memorialisation. In this situation the hill itself as locus transforms into the image. Similarly, in Anzac Commemorative Site, the natural formation of the cliffs, known as "sphinx," forms the dominant image; i.e. locus as image. Simultaneously, the main architectural elements of the composition, walls and paths, expand over the locus and start to define its spatial formation; i.e. image as locus. Nevertheless, there are also memorials in the Park area which has no relation between their images and loci. Most of the obelisk-shaped monuments and figurative sculptures in Gallipoli can be considered in this group. In those memorialisation approaches, image and locus have no visible relation and exists independently from one another.

5.2. Comparative Evaluation

Evaluation of these determinations evinces several major consequences in the case of Gallipoli in terms of; the disparity in attitudes of different nations and the transformation of approaches to memorialise in time. If we take obelisk-shaped monuments as the most conventional form of memorials, and the restoration of

Ramparts —such as Namazgah Rampart— as the utmost form of counter-monuments in Gallipoli, we can consider their peculiarities as a base for a comparison between traditional and counter memorialisation approaches. Obelisk-shaped monuments —except for few unusual examples— has universal, connotative, singular image; indefinite, extroverted, loose locus; and no image-locus relation. On the other hand, Restoration of Ramparts has particular, denotive, both singular and plural image; definite, introverted, predetermined locus; and "locus as image" relation. These peculiarities of their images and loci simultaneously correspond to the major characteristics of traditional and counter approaches in Gallipoli. From this conceptual framework, architectural memorialisation examples, which were constructed and have been projected to be implemented in the landscape, surprisingly do not demonstrate a timely order; in other words a regular pattern in time. It is possible to observe most of the peculiarities of image and locus of counter-memorialisation approaches in early examples of 1920's such as enclosed war cemeteries of CWGC or 1970's such as Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial. On the contrary, there are also examples from 1990's which manifest all major image and locus characteristics of traditional approaches such as figurative memorials. Furthermore, there are also obelisk-shaped monuments in Gallipoli, which were erected in the year of 2006 by Turkish government but not examined in this dissertation.

Diverse attitudes of different nations in Gallipoli do not posses a parallel comparability for the same period, because constructions of Turkish and Allied Nations' memorials have rarely intersected in time. All of the memorials of Allied Nations except for Anzac Commemorative Site were constructed in the period between 1919 and 1926. On the other hand, Turkish memorialisation approaches have spanned from the end of the war to the present time. Just the early examples of memorialisation make possible a mutual comparison. Those early examples manifest both similar and disparate peculiarities in terms of image, locus and image-locus relation. Universality of the great majority of their images approximates Allied Nations' to Turkish ones. However, memorials of Allied nations in opposition to Turkish ones have plural and mostly denotive images. Their loci also highly differentiate from each other. Most of the loci of memorialisation approaches of Allied nations are site-related and highly introverted. On the other hand, Turkish early examples have extroverted loci. This disparity might have been stemmed from the major religion of the native population of the land. Similarity between the memorials of Allied Nations and Turks for this period

between 1920's and 1930's manifests itself in their image as the abstention from figurative expressions.

If one looks at the Turkish attempts to memorialise Gallipoli Battles in the boundaries of the Park area implemented from the end of the Battles to the present time in terms of their images, loci and image-locus relations, he/she would probably be surprised by the variety and irregularity of numerous approaches. Until the 1970's it is possible to mention the superior majority of connotative image and indefinite locus in Turkish memorialisation. Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial constituted a pivotal point in the history of the Park in this sense with its denotive image and definite locus. Furthermore, it was the first attempt to indicate the locus of the memory itself as the image. The late 1980's and particularly 1990's was the period when the denotive image of figurative and relief memorialisation reigned. In this period, the relation between image and locus, which had started to be established with Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park Memorial and Kabatepe Information Centre Memorial, was again disconnected. This radical shift in attitudes might have been stemmed from a counter-act of increased nationalist and right-wing politics in Turkey against the growing interest of Anzacs to the dawn ceremonies since the late 1980's. Because, it is possible to observe that the image of all figurative monuments which were erected in this period denoted directly the heroic acts of the persons in national narratives of collective memory of Gallipoli Battles. Dedicating the whole Park to peace and transmitting its major inclinations to a Long Term Development Plan, of course, has constituted a threshold in terms of memorialisation. Locus of memory itself transformed into the image of memorialisation during this process and that locus has been proposed to become highly definite, predetermined and introverted. However, the fact that the early examples of twenty-first century demonstrate major peculiarities of traditional memorialisation, manifest that the non-linear inclination series between traditional and counter memorialisation approaches will encircle repeatedly according to the major politics in Gallipoli.

The most appealing consequence of these analyses is on the presuppositions of the counter-memorialisation approach. According to the method of analysis of this study derived from *ars memoriae*, if a memorial has a denotive image, a definite and predetermined locus and a strong image-locus relation, it is possible to argue that the memorial proposes a specific mode of remembering for individuals. On the contrary, a connotative image, indefinite and loose locus and the absence of the relation between image and locus provides the observer with free remembering. Nevertheless, the

counter-memorialisation approaches of Peace Park Competition, LTDP, and Anzac Commemorative Site which promised the visitor free remembering, include denotive images, definite and predetermined loci and highly strong relation between their image and locus. Traditional memorialisation approach of obelisk-shaped monuments in Gallipoli has connotative images, indefinite and loose loci and no relation with their image and locus. From this conceptual framework, it is possible to assert that ironically obelisk-shaped monuments suggests more free remembering while counter-monuments propose a strictly defined journey for commemoration of Gallipoli Battles.

For the landscapes of war especially battlefields like Gallipoli, I believe that it is not possible to provide the visitor with such kind of freedom in his/her remembering process. Gallipoli peninsula constitutes one of the biggest military landscapes of the First World War in which the territory was re-organised by the Campaign. The cavities of the trenches along the battlefields like finger prints, the derelict bunkers like hollowly places, the abandoned artilleries as if ready to an invasion constituted the characteristics of this military landscape before the Peace Park Competition. The examples of counter-memorialisation approaches in Gallipoli mostly indicate certain parts of the landscape such as a gun, trench, bunker or a natural formation, which has a significant meaning in collective memory, as their image. This inclination naturally constitutes a direct and strong relation between their image and locus. Furthermore, indicating a war remain itself and enhancing this indication with ancillary elements, which represent those places as they were at the Battles, such as equipments, furnishings, humanoid models make the relation between that image and the historical event much more direct. According to the logic of *ars memoriae,* if the designer of such kind of memorial makes its locus definite and predetermined, the "experience" of the visitor which constitutes the focal point of counter-memorialisation, can hardly be "free."

Counter-memorialisation approach utilises the memory of the landscape itself. It employs that memory as the image of memorialisation. The ironic fact in this situation is that the traditional monuments which were built in the period between the end of the war and the Peace Park competition can be considered as an inseparable part of that landscape. Although in this dissertation, I have determined the end of the war as the time limit for the landscape of memory and have acknowledged all building acts after that limit as an intervention, one can see all those monuments as a part of the landscape. From this conceptual framework those traditional monuments themselves become significant part of the image of counter-memorialisation. The diversity and

multitudinous of memorials in the Peninsula has been not only a disadvantage but also an opportunity for this research. Applicability of the method of analysis of this study to not only diligently designed examples but also extemporaneous memorials in the Park area indicates the suitability of the method for the use of examination of wide range of works of architectural memorialisation.

5.3. Future Studies

Further researches, which either can be depended on this study or can be related to its method of analysis, would be illuminating if they are focused on the lived experiences by means of other data collection methods such as interviews or questionnaires. Such kind of analysis would be complementary to this study for the reason that both proposed and lived experiences of the visitors in a memorialisation could have been examined. In that study, each memorialisation can be investigated individually by means of both applying the method to understand the proposed remembering and submitting questionnaires for replies of the visitor to comprehend the lived one. Another research may concentrate on differences between the war cemeteries of CWGC in Gallipoli and other battlefields in terms of the basic components of the method. That comparison may enlighten the disparity of major design decisions of CWGC in practice in Gallipoli and that makes possible a much more refined comprehension for war cemeteries. Such kind of investigation may also focus just on the war cemeteries designed by Sir John Burnet. A comparison between the war cemeteries of CWGC in Palestine and Gallipoli —whether with the help of the analysing method of this study or not— enables us to understand the effects of local characteristics of the Peninsula on the architectural design decisions.

The method of analysis proposed in this dissertation can be implemented to examine different examples of architectural memorialisation. Investigation of the memorialisation in other landscapes of war such as battlefields, concentration camps or military territories by means of the analysing method of this study gives an opportunity of comparison between those lands and Gallipoli. For instance, a comparison between the landscapes of First World War and the Second World War, depended on the examination of the basic components of the method, would give the researcher interesting findings. On the other hand, the method can also be used to analyse

individual examples both located on the landscapes of memory and urban pattern. For instance, a comparison accomplished with this method among different memorialisation examples of a certain historical located on the landscape of memory and the urban pattern enables us to understand the difference between memorialising an event on the site and out of the site. Furthermore, this method can also be used to question the "remembering" in contemporary examples of counter-memorialisation located either in the landscape of memory or dense urban pattern which have been organised to provide the visitor with contemplation and freedom of individual experience.

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