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8. Classicism, Modernity and the Power of the State: The Mausoleum of Atatürk in Ankara. Part Two : Iconography

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With Pls. XV – XX

Summary: This article discusses the multifaceted iconographic programme of the Mausoleum of Atatürk in Ankara, Turkey. By means of a close reading of decorative details (including reliefs, free-standing sculpture, and inscriptions), the author explores the manner in which the structure appropriates various visual elements from the classical past, ancient Anatolia, and contemporary European modernism. These elements combine to promote a multivalent message of power and statehood for the emerging Turkish Republic.

Key words: Mausolea; reception theory of antiquity; iconography of Turkish nationalism; Atatürk

Having explored elsewhere the symbolism of the Mausoleum of Atatürk (the Anıtkabir) through its architecture, this paper addresses the decorative schemes of the Mausoleum and their multivalent meanings, meanings which are constructed and promulgated again by a complicated dialogue both with the visual culture of antiquity and with that of contemporary ideologies. Additionally, I explore the impact of the written word at the Anıtkabir, demonstrating how the monument expresses the principles of the founder of the Turkish republic through direct address.

Analysis of Decorative Schemes: Statuary Groups

The conflation of past and present visible in the overall plan and design of the Anıtkabir is also apparent in its sculptural and decorative schemes. Once again, however, the references are not exclusively to antiquity, but partake of the contemporary iconography of power and political ideology exploited most obviously in pre-war Germany. It is these contemporary parallels which are perhaps most illuminating.

Marking the approach to the Processional Way, and in permanent position of guard outside the "Liberty Tower" and the "Independence Tower" are two groups of three statues.¹ [See fig. 1] The very presence of statues signals the secularization of the state: before the foundation of the Republic, the Islamic ban on human representation had generally been respected.² The groups symbolise nationalist ideals and the reforms of Atatürk, in particular in the realms of education, the military, and the status of women.³ On the left, the scholar with book, peasant in traditional costume, and generic soldier are intended to embody the secular

¹ The statues, the work of Hüseyin Ozkan, are illustrated in Gülekli (n.d.) 14; Bozdoğan (2001) fig. 6.31 for the male group. Bozdoğan (2001) 284, 290 informs that Ozkan was the student of the German artist Rudolf Belling, a former member of the radical November group in Berlin (in existence from 1918 to ca. 1924).

² An early step in the direction of human representation in official monuments of the Republic was the dedication in 1924 of the victory monument at Dumlupınar, a representation of an arm holding the Turkish flag. Mango (1999) 411 points out that the Dumlupınar monument "was the harbinger of full-length statues of Mustafa Kemal which were soon to dot the country."

³ Reforms of Atatürk which spoke to these issues include the following: the establishment of new universities, military reforms, and the extension of basic rights, including voting, to women: Mango (1999) 437: "The adoption of the civil code [on 17 February 1926] was the most important step in the emancipation of women." Further on the role of women as symbols of modernity in the new republic, Bozdoğan (2001) "Gendering the Modern," 80-87.

state's commitment to these three groups. Their rigid yet deferential pose also underscores their role as permanent mourners for their lost leader. [Fig. 2]

Opposite the group of three men is a group of three women, heads veiled, wearing national costume. Although their faces are not veiled, the presence of the headscarf reveals how deeply entrenched this traditional mode of dress was for women, even after the social reforms of Atatürk officially discouraged veiling.⁴ [Fig. 3]

The two women at the sides hold sheaves of grain, alluding to the abundance of the country. The figure at the left holds a cup in her outstretched hand in an attitude of permanent prayer, while the central figure covers her face with her hand in a gesture of grief. Like the *korai* which served as permanent grave markers in archaic Attica, these un-individualized women serve as silent sentinels in perpetuity, an impression which is underscored in both instances by the simplified forms and frontal poses of the figures.⁵ The bulky and massive forms of these statues also link them to ancient Mesopotamian statuary, in particular late Assyrian statues representing geniuses, images which were often sited at liminal spaces in the context of the palace in order to prevent the entry of evil forces.⁶

In contrast to the propagandistic brochures and publications of the early Republic, which portray unveiled women participating in previously male-dominated professions such as medicine and the arts,⁷ the female statues at the mausoleum occupy a seemingly traditional position with their national costumes and non-western gestures and attributes, alluding to the realms of prayer, the land, and the public expression of grief, the traditional domain of women. They may thus be viewed as indicative of a revival or re-presentation of vernacular and folklore themes in Turkish culture of the late 1930s and early 1940s, consistent with a shift in the cultural programme from the adoption of modern architectural forms and western lifestyle towards a re-embracing of Anatolia's "indigenous" cultures.⁸ It is precisely this shift which in part explains the dual nature of the Mausoleum, with on the one hand its unmistakably modern references and, on the other, its conscious evocation of Turkey's multivalent "past".

The statues embody more than symbolic references to Atatürk's new policies, however: their block-like forms and exaggerated proportions link them visually to the heroic athletes set up for the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, for example, or to the sculpture produced for the Nazi Party's headquarters.⁹ The similarities go beyond the purely aesthetic: the use of costume and uniform as a means of identity, and the display of statues which reduced the individual to a type were cultural and artistic strategies employed in numerous authoritarian régimes and in

⁴ Mango writes that the government of the Republic "banned headscarves in official premises, including schools, under civil service regulations. Elsewhere they were tolerated and they have remained a feature of the Turkish scene to this day..." Mango (1999) 435. For a contemporary polemic, however, against the veiling of women, see the statement of Dr. Ali Ridvan quoted in Bozdoğan (2001) 84: "... When you add to all of these the face veil, which reminds one of the tortures of the Inquisition, the creature suffering inside this elected prison has to be the object less of our pity than our anger."

⁵ For example the *kore* Akropolis no. 680 (ca. 510 B.C.) holds an offering in her outstretched right hand: B.S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977) pl. 20. The outstretched left arm of the well-known *Peplos Kore* is broken off at the elbow, although her rigid frontality provides a striking parallel for the Mausoleum females: G.M.A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* (London: Phaidon Press, 1968) figs. 349-351. The volumetric forms of the Turkish statues are much more block-like and massive than the more graceful, archaic Greek statue.

⁶ Although Bozdoğan (2001) 244 is correct in identifying that Hittite imagery (i.e. from central Anatolia of the 2nd millennium B.C.) "made its way into architecture and sculpture during the 1930s", the statue illustrated in her fig. 6.1, identified as "Hittite" is in fact more likely to be Assyrian, perhaps from the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad from the 8th c. B.C.; all imperial Hittite sculpture was subservient to architecture, and large-scale free-standing statues have not been found.

⁷ See Bozdoğan (2001) fig. 2.15 for images from "La Turquie Kemaliste" of 1939 depicting women active in medicine and the arts.

⁸ The rediscovery of Turkish vernacular themes in art, architecture, music, etc. is sensitively discussed by Bozdoğan (2001) 240 ff.

⁹ Olympic statuary illustrated in Taylor (1974) pl. 38; sculpture produced for the Nazi party, e.g. by Arno Breker: Jan Tabor, ed., *Kunst und Diktatur: Architektur, Bildhauerei und Malerei in Österreich, Deutschland, Italien und der Sowjetunion 1922-1956*: Band I (Baden: Verlag Grasl, 1994) 68-69, and illustration at p. 68. Breker's image of an idealised German male was described by Hitler with adulation as "probably belonging to the most beautiful ever created in Germany."

particular under National Socialism. For example, the brochure advertising the International Propaganda Exhibition for 1936 in Berlin deploys a photomontage with the heads of a soldier in uniform, a farmer, and a worker against a backdrop of a sea of uniformed, banner-bearing figures.¹⁰ Both the Turkish statue groups and their counterparts in Germany promoted the ideology of loyalty to the state as represented through specific collective types rather than through identifiable individuals.

The Battle Reliefs

The reduction of the individual to a type finds expression again in the most important relief cycle at the mausoleum complex, namely the two large-format reliefs which are carved upon the terrace walls to the left and right of the central staircase leading to the "Hall of Glory." [Fig. 4, fig. 5]

The reliefs are replete with visual and symbolic references to antiquity, yet they are also heavily laden with the symbolism promulgated by the art produced under National Socialism.¹¹ To begin, the highly visible location of these reliefs was deliberately chosen to have the greatest possible impact on any visitor to the complex. Such a strategic location was common for sites where power needed to be displayed and imposed, for example at the ancient Achaemenid palace at Persepolis. At this citadel of Darius and Xerxes (ca. 500 B.C.), reliefs representing royal guards, Persian nobles and dignitaries, and tribute bearers from the twenty-three regions under Achaemenid dominion are carved in low relief on the walls of the terraces and staircases leading to the *apadana* (royal audience hall), perpetual testimony to the authority of the Persian kings.¹²

The reliefs at the Anıtkabir represent in abbreviated visual language events commemorating Atatürk's victory at the Battle of Sakarya in August and September, 1921, a victory which was crucial for the formation of the Turkish Republic. At this battle, which was waged near the ancient Sangarios river in central Turkey, Atatürk's future role as hero of the modern Turkish state was secured by his leadership of the Turkish troops and subsequent defeat of the attacking Greek forces in the War of Independence.¹³ The relief carved upon the terrace walls to the viewer's left is known as the "Commander-in-Chief's Battle Relief," and commemorates the preparations for the battle, while the result of the battle is symbolically portrayed in the "Battle of Sakarya" relief on the parapet at the right.¹⁴ In the Commander-in-Chief relief, moments are chosen which foreground the command of Atatürk, who in early August 1921 had been voted "supreme commander with absolute powers" for a limited period of three months.¹⁵ A brief description of the scenes will illuminate the manner in which ancient and contemporary visual references are conflated to promote notions of the authority of Atatürk and the willingness of the Turkish population to make the necessary

¹⁰ For uniform as a form of social discipline in Nazi Germany: G. Petricek, in Tabor, ed. (1994) 56-64. For sculpture as representing specific types, H. Bisanz, in Tabor, ed. (1994) 66-70, esp. 69. Propaganda brochure: Bisanz p. 75.

¹¹ The development of the iconographic programme of the reliefs clearly demands further study. Such study might reveal the participation of scholars and scientists in the commission, thus explaining the specific references to classical antiquity with which the reliefs are replete, and which expand the iconography beyond the presentation of a purely military-historic message.

¹² Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, rev. ed. 1970) 370-371, figs. 435 and 436.

¹³ For a full account of the historical circumstances surrounding these events, see Sonyel (1989) 72-79; Mango (1999) 314-322.

¹⁴ Bozdoğan refers to the relief on the left as "The Final Battle." The reliefs are the work of Zühtü Müridoglu (left) and İlhan Koman (right). Bozdoğan (2001) 290.

¹⁵ Mango (1999) 317. One of the formal titles of Atatürk foregrounds his role as a national war hero: "Gazi Büyük Mustafa Kemal Paşa Hazretleri" (The Great Gazi, His Highness Mustafa Kemal Pasha), 'Gazi' literally meaning a "warrior for the Islamic faith."

sacrifices during a time of war. The "Commander-in-Chief" relief is dominated by the central figure of Atatürk, seated and facing left, his arm outstretched in a gesture of command; behind him, figures representing elements of the Turkish population - a youth and a peasant woman - make preparations for war, while to the right, a kneeling woman blows a trumpet to convey Atatürk's message throughout the land. [See Fig. 4] Following a schematic scene alluding to the actual battle, a female figure, carrying the Turkish flag, looks back in encouragement towards the Turkish forces. This figure, who personifies Victory, reappears in the "Battle of Sakarya" relief on the other side of the parapet. In this second relief, Atatürk is represented by a standing soldier. [Fig. 5] His position of leadership is underscored not only by his central position, but also by the presence of personifications: a female figure symbolising the nation kneels before him and offers him a sword, while above him and to the viewer's left, Victory flies in, a wreath held in her outstretched hand. The relief concludes at the far left with yet another personification: a seated female, representing the homeland, gestures towards an oak tree and a torch behind her.

The identification of the figures in the reliefs is clear; it remains now to dissect them in order to illustrate the ways in which historical and modern visual language is utilized to promote the doctrines of the new state. To begin, the decoration of a funeral space with military iconography finds ancient precedent; the heroic conquests of the deceased were frequently couched in mythological terms.¹⁶ The Ankara reliefs eschew mythology, however, and instead embody standard "types" - the suffering populace, the victorious commander, the heroic soldier - in order to convey a symbolic representation of the power that led the Turkish people to victory. Additional ancient models include the reliefs of the Roman empire, from which the figure of Victory is derived. The figure of Victory bestowing a wreath upon a victorious military commander has a long and potent tradition in Roman art, where such personifications metaphorically conveyed the notion of the power of Rome over her subject peoples.¹⁷ Such a message, in which the triumph of the Turkish army is inextricably linked with the figure of Atatürk, is trumpeted in the Anıtkabir reliefs as well.

The presence of Victory here has more than simple military significance. In ancient Rome, the public representation of Imperial triumph was gradually appropriated by non-Imperial circles, and Victory began to appear in private funerary art.¹⁸ In this context her role was as an accompanier of the soul to a higher plane, a reading which is entirely appropriate for the Atatürk reliefs. The funerary context of the mausoleum site supports this notion of an implied apotheosis of the military and national leader.

The ideology of victory and triumph, and the re-use of classical symbolism to convey that ideology, was a central preoccupation of the propaganda of National Socialism: for example, a statue of the goddess Victory assumed pride of place above Hitler's pulvinar in the stadium at Nuremberg.¹⁹ Thus the visual language utilized at the Anıtkabir not only incorporates metaphorical figures from the vocabulary of Roman Imperial relief, but also finds a counterpart in the iconography of National Socialism. The uncompromisingly modernist style of the reliefs, with their heavy proportions, flattened contours, exaggerated gestures and obvious symbolic content was an effective means of conveying ideological content. This style was also exploited

¹⁶ For example, the reliefs from the heroon at Gjölbasi Trysa in Lycia, mentioned above: Szemethy (2005) pl. 24.

¹⁷ In general, J.R. Fears, "The Theology of Victory at Rome," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.17.2 (Berlin, 1981) 3-141, with references; T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana* (Mainz 1967).

¹⁸ Victories, both flying and standing, frequently are depicted flanking a *clipeatus* (shield) portrait of the deceased on Roman sarcophagi of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.C. G. Koch and H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophagi* (Munich 1982) 238-241.

¹⁹ Cited in Scobie (1990) 133, who explores the broader associations between Nazi and Roman ideologies of Victory in his Chapter IX, "The Cult of Victory."

in such works as the reliefs designed by Arno Breker for the new Reichskanzlei in Berlin.²⁰ [Fig. 6] In sum, the relief cycles of the Anıtkabir exploit prime location and incorporate ancient metaphorical language and contemporary ideological style to promote a message of the inevitability and rectitude of Atatürk's military victories and his subsequent position of leadership of the new state.

The Flag Pole Reliefs

The pattern established for the other elements of the Anıtkabir, namely, a conflation of ancient models and contemporary ideological visual language, is continued in the relief on the flag pole, where the military narrative of the battle reliefs has now been distilled to a potent symbolic language. [Fig. 21] I begin by placing the flag pole imagery in context by reference to ancient models, in order to underscore its message of military might. I then turn to a discussion of one of its elements, the oak branch, for although this symbol appears elsewhere at the Anıtkabir, it seems curiously out of place and therefore demands a more detailed reading.

The flag pole and its base stand in the middle of the flight of steps to the side of the ceremonial ground of the Anıtkabir.²¹ On the base are carved the following intertwined symbols: an oak branch, a crossed torch and a sword in the centre, a helmet, and an olive branch. [Fig. 7] The interpretation of these icons is aided by their appearance in ancient contexts - for example the sword representing attack, the helmet defense, the torch civilization, and the olive branch peace - and indeed this simple composition has a hallowed pedigree: friezes of weapons are well-documented on Hellenistic and Roman civic monuments, where they figured the military victories, and by extension supported claims to power, of the cities' rulers.²² Military insignia also appeared as isolated motifs on certain fortification walls from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, where their symbolism was directly related to the function of the structures they adorned.²³ Isolated symbols of weaponry also frequently decorated funerary monuments of the Roman period in Asia Minor, where they conveyed heroic associations.²⁴

The overall form of the flag pole, its base and its carved relief evokes the Column of Trajan erected in Rome between 113-117 C.E., and from which the idea may be derived. Trajan's column would have provided a perfect model for the Anıtkabir flag pole and base, as it combined in one monument overt references to military victory, in the form of a narrative

²⁰ See, for example, the relief figure of "Genius", who holds a military standard surmounted by eagle and swastika, and strides to the right while looking back over her shoulder, her right arm raised in a gesture of encouragement: Speer (1943) pl. 49.

²¹ The pole measures 33.5 m. in height, making it "the highest single piece steel flag post in Europe" (*sic*). It was manufactured by an American of Turkish descent and presented to the Mausoleum in 1946: <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>

²² A notable, and early, example is the weapons frieze from the Hellenistic Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon, which alluded to the military exploits of the Attalids of Pergamon over their Gallic enemies: P. Jaeckel, "Pergamenische Waffenreliefs," *Zeitschrift für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* (1965) 94 ff.

²³ For example, the blocks from the fortification wall of Isaura, in the northern foothills of the Taurus Mountains in Turkey, were carved with a helmet, greaves, a cuirass, crossed sword and shield, and an oak wreath. H. Swoboda, J. Keil, and F. Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* (Brünn 1934) 125 and fig. 41.

²⁴ For example, the exterior walls of a Roman tomb at Saracik (ancient Kitanaura), Lycia, are carved with isolated weapons, including helmets, greaves, and shields: Cormack (2004) 280-284, and 80-88 for weapons imagery on tombs. The heroic associations which such military symbols conveyed are made explicit in an epitaph from a second-century A.C. Lycian tomb: "Osses, son of Osabimis, set up the shield, spear, sword and helmet, emblems of war, to be an adornment of the tomb of Osses his grandfather and Manossas his great-grandfather, mighty men of good fame, prudent and brave, of honest wealth, champions equal to Ajax son of Telamon, both fallen in their old age, held by this tomb in the land of the Blessed, in the halls of Hades their eternal home." The inscription from Choma, near Elmali in Lycia, was published by G.E. Bean and R.M. Harrison, "Choma in Lycia," *JRS* 57 (1967) 40-44; see also the discussion in Cormack (2004) 151-152.

scroll frieze, with the burial location of the deified ruler.²⁵ The exterior walls of the pedestal of the column of Trajan were carved with friezes of captured weapons, while above the cornice, swags of oak leaves hang suspended, held by the talons of four eagles which perch at each of the four corners of the plinth.²⁶ The message here was that military triumph was a necessary component of Imperial power, leading to the desired apotheosis of the ruler. The oak leaf swags bring us back to the imagery of the flag pole base at the Anıtkabir, specifically, to the oak branch. In addition to the oak branch on the flag pole, the oak tree or oak branch makes its appearance in a relief from the exterior wall of the "Defense of Rights" tower. This relief depicts, at monumental scale, a naked muscular male figure holding a sword and gesturing above an oak tree which is clearly identifiable by the form of its leaves. [Fig. 8] The exaggerated musculature of the nude figure, his aggressive stance and clasp of his weapon, call to mind such works as Arno Breker's "Readiness", a monumental bronze figure of a nude warrior originally designed as the centrepiece for a monument celebrating Mussolini.²⁷ Further comparison can be made to the German sculptor Adolf Wamper's figure of "Genius des Sieges" exhibited in the "Großen Deutschen Kunstausstellung" in Munich in 1940. [Fig. 9] Wamper's figure, with its accentuated physique and gesture, also alludes to the "heroic" classical past with its attribute of eagle, the bird of Jupiter, and with its oak leaf crown. The seated female figure, symbolising "the mother country" at the far left of the Sakarya Battle Relief also sits in front of an oak tree. How are we to interpret the appearance of the oak symbol in this context?

The general meaning of the oak tree and its derivative, the oak crown or wreath, can be sought in the ancient world, where it became a powerful symbol of valour initially restricted to Imperial usage.²⁸ Whether in the realm of public, Imperial art, or in a private, often funerary context, in the Roman period the oak wreath was a highly charged symbol connoting high honour, esteem, and even immortality.²⁹ It is indeed not surprising that the symbol of the oak wreath and eagle, with its connotations of power, victory, and even immortality, was adopted from the classical past, exploited and rapidly disseminated by the architects and artists working under fascist regimes in Europe. The oak wreath played a particularly prominent role in the ideology of Germany during National Socialism: an eagle grasping an oak wreath with a central swastika was the symbol of supreme power of the Nazi party.³⁰ This emblem appeared frequently as a decorative feature on structures designed by Albert Speer. At Speer's Zeppelinfeld Stadium at Nuremberg, for example, "the only decorative features are the usual Nazi icons: a swastika in an oak-leaf crown attached to the front of each pylon."³¹ Also at

²⁵ The column base contains a small chamber in which the ashes of Trajan and his wife Plotina were originally placed. Davies (2000) 27-34 discusses the issue of whether or not the column and its base was initially conceived as Trajan's sepulchre, or whether burial in the lower chamber was an afterthought.

²⁶ Packer (1997) 117 and fig. 68. Probably due to its earlier associations with the cult of Zeus/Jupiter, the oak leaf crown was often carried by an eagle, the bird associated with Zeus/Jupiter in Greco-Roman mythology; when the eagle and oak wreath crown appear together in Imperial Roman art, therefore, the Emperor's apotheosis is signalled. See H. R. Goette, "Corona Spicea, Corona Civica, und Adler," *AA* (1984) 573-589, at 588.

²⁷ Arno Breker's statue, formerly in Munich whence it was moved to become part of the artist's private collection, is illustrated in A. Stewart, *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1997) 96 fig. 56. Stewart writes that "its arms [were] amputated in an attempt to de-Nazify it."

²⁸ Oak associated with the cult of Zeus, and additional meanings in the Greek world: Michael Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Berlin: de Gruyter 1982) 96. Oak wreaths (the *corona civica*) in Roman iconography: Goette (1984).

²⁹ Oak wreaths on Roman funerary urns and altars: Sinn (1987) 62 with n. 420. In the private funerary realm, oak crowns seem first to have appeared on urns and altars of freedmen in the service of the Emperor, the "Augustales". Thus it served as a marker of their proximity to the Emperor, and possibly to their hopes for a similar fate - an apotheosis. On this, see also Goette (1984) 588. For the phenomenon of this once-exclusively Imperial symbol filtering down to the freedman class, see Paul Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (Munich: Beck'sche Verlag, 1987) 274-279.

³⁰ Alfred Detering, *Die Bedeutung der Eiche seit der Vorzeit* (Leipzig: Kabitsch 1939) fig. 74.

³¹ Scobie (1990) 88. Hitler's appropriation of classical art was in some sense relativized by his awareness that the ancient German tribes had never been fully romanized; thus the oak tree, although having a legitimate classical tradition, was co-

Nuremberg, eagles sculpted in bronze and clutching an oak wreath encircling a swastika surmounted the Luitpoldarena of the Reichsparteitagsgelände.³² [Fig. 10]

The oak tree and its leaves had particular resonance within certain fascist ideologies. In Germany, it was identified as the national tree *par excellence*: publications devoted to the meaning and symbolism of the oak tree appeared during the period of National Socialism, and miniature oak trees in plant pots were even carried by the victors, who were crowned with oak wreaths, in the athletic events at the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin.³³ Furthermore, the association of the oak tree with military commemoration and honour was underscored by its presence at numerous military cemeteries; for German soldiers who had died abroad, burial beneath an oak tree was preferred, in order that the deceased might find permanent repose beneath the symbol of the fatherland.³⁴ The living oak tree as a symbol of the fatherland was also intended to form part of the overall propaganda of the Nuremberg rally grounds: the original plan called for hundreds of oak trees to be planted between the buildings.³⁵

This distortion of the general meaning of the oak also occurred in Italy, and can be identified in particular in the language used by Mussolini in public addresses. Mussolini also invoked the image of the oak tree in his harangue, promoting the architecture of Imperial Rome as a potent political symbol for the new fascist state: "Within five years Rome must strike all the nations of the world as a source of wonder: huge, well-organized, powerful, as it was at the time of the Augustan Empire. You will continue to free the trunk of the great oak from everything that still clutters it."³⁶

The presence of the oak as a symbol at the mausoleum of Atatürk can perhaps be explained by its popularity as a powerful symbol, with links to the ancient world, throughout the fascist states of Europe between the wars. Such a circumstance underscores the close cultural links between Austria, Germany, Italy and Turkey. Official documents today ascribe a range of meanings for the oak at the mausoleum, including "the Turkish nation" and "Victory."³⁷ It is, however, difficult to identify any visual imagery from pre-republican Turkey in which the oak tree symbolised these ideas. Although numerous varieties of oak grow in Turkey and were valued in antiquity, the oak does not appear to have been pressed into service as a national symbol before its appearance in this function at the Anıtkabir.³⁸ The sudden appearance of the oak as a symbol of the new state, and the rather fluid range of meanings ascribed to it (victory, the homeland), suggest strongly that it may well have been appropriated from a contemporary, in this case European, cultural context, where it stood for military might and national identity.

In addition to the oak branch, other elements of the flag pole base relief find their counterparts in contemporary European iconography as well. The helmet and the crossed

opted and made to stand for a certain pre-Roman "Germanitas" which existed prior to and apart from its classical associations. The pylon with oak wreath is illustrated in Speer (1943) pl. 31.

³² Speer (1943) pl. 25.

³³ e.g. Detering (1939). See in particular Detering fig. 71: Olympian victor at the 1936 games with oak wreath crown and holding small oak tree. For an illustration of "Der Führer" flanked by Olympic victors carrying miniature oak trees, see also Heinrich Anders and Frank Friedrichsen, eds, *Die Spiele 1896-1992* (Hamburg, 1996) illustration on p. 49. I thank Bettina Kratzmüller for this reference.

³⁴ See, for example, graves of German soldiers beneath an ancient oak tree at Steinenfee in Lithuania: Detering (1939) fig. 29; burials with new oak plantings and grave markers of oak wood at Langemark-Nord: Detering (1939) fig. 30.

³⁵ Leon Krier, ed., *Albert Speer: Architecture 1932-1942* (Brussels 1985) 163, cited in Scobie (1990) 101 n. 26.

³⁶ Mussolini, speech "La Nuova Roma," 31 December 1925; quoted in Scobie (1990) 9.

³⁷ According to the Turkish Culture web site, the male figure on the "Defence of Rights" Tower extends his hand towards the enemy crossing Turkey's borders, to signify "halt!" The tree under his hand symbolises the Turkish nation. At other locations at the mausoleum, the oak stands for "Victory", as for example on the Sakarya Battle Relief: <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>

³⁸ The varieties of oak found throughout Asia Minor, including *Quercus infectoria*, *q. pubescens*, *q. frainetto*, *q. trojana*, *q. aucheri* and *q. ithaburensis* are listed by Theophrastus: Theo. 3,7,4 - 8,7. The depiction of the oaks on the Anıtkabir reliefs is not detailed enough to allow a specific identification.

sword constituted emblems of military power favoured by Hitler: his desk in the Arbeitszimmer of the new Chancellery in Berlin was decorated with marquetry inlays depicting the helmeted heads of Athena, Mars and Medusa in front of crossed swords and spears.³⁹ The blazing torch on the flag pole relief, here representing "civilization", was also a favourite National Socialist device: blazing torches flanked by eagles appear as elements of the wall mosaics in the Mosaiksaal of the new Chancellery, Berlin, while actual torches were carried in National Socialist ceremonials and rallies, many of which took place after dark.⁴⁰ A relief of a single sword, with hands placed over its hilt, also decorates the "National Oath Tower" at the mausoleum; this isolated motif finds a counterpart in the relief of the single sword which decorated the "Burial Chamber of the Great German Soldier" in the Soldatenhalle in Berlin.⁴¹ Finally, a further parallel can be made between the flagpole and the architecture of National Socialism: the redesigned Königsplatz in Munich, site of the monument to the "martyrs" who fell during Hitler's attempted coup (the Putsch) in 1923, was dominated by two towering iron flagpoles surmounted by eagles, designed by Paul-Ludwig Troost.⁴²

The isolated images of weaponry decorating the towers, the iconography of the battle reliefs, and the symbolism of the oak branches all combine to conjure an atmosphere of military power at the Anitkabir. This impression is reinforced by the oversized bronze braziers, ten of which are placed atop the terrace wall which supports the mausoleum building itself. [See figs. 4 and 5] Whether or not these braziers were ever lit, their symbolism as bearers of an eternal flame was obvious, a symbolism which was also disseminated at numerous German sites. For example, the pylons of the Zeppelinfeld Stadium at Nuremberg were surmounted by bronze braziers, "Feuerschalen," which symbolically underscored the spectacular visual effects created by the powerful search lights which were a frequent feature at night-time rallies.⁴³ "Feuerschalen" also served as focal points within the colonnaded "temples" erected by Troost at the Königsplatz in Munich, while they appeared in an honorific and funerary context at the circular monument erected to fallen soldiers on the Annaberg in Schlesien.⁴⁴ [Fig. 11] Although Atatürk could obviously no longer physically address the nation within the framework of his mausoleum complex, the effect of the braziers is to highlight the associations between the architectural complex and an arena or stadium in which public address, ceremony, and ritual could take place. Significantly, an interpretation of the Anitkabir as a site of continuing communication between the deceased leader and his loyal people becomes absolutely unavoidable, and is underscored by the numerous and prominent inscriptions with which the structures are adorned.⁴⁵

³⁹ Scobie (1990) 105 and fig. 51. Scobie relates that, according to Speer, Hitler "particularly relished the depiction of the sword half drawn from its scabbard in the central panel: 'Good, good,.... when the diplomats sitting at the front of my desk see this, they will learn the meaning of dread.'" Speer, *Erinnerungen* (Berlin 1969) 128, quoted in Scobie 105 and n. 50.

⁴⁰ Scobie (1990) 102 fig. 50. Scobie describes the blazing torch as a "favourite Nazi emblem of 'heroic' endeavour", and points out that the statue of Prometheus created by Arno Breker for the redesigned forum in Weimar held aloft a blazing torch: Scobie 56 n. 72, 102 n. 27.

⁴¹ "Beisetzungshalle der großen deutschen Soldaten," Soldatenhalle, Berlin, architect Wilhelm Kreis: Speer (1943) pl. 55.

⁴² Troost's design for the flagpoles is illustrated in Hans Lehmruch, "ACROPOLIS-GERMANIAE. Der Königsplatz-Forum der NSDAP," in I. Lauterbach, ed. *Bürokratie und Kult. Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz in München. Geschichte und Rezeption* (Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München, Bd. 10, Munich and Berlin 1995) 24 fig. 15, and 43 fig. 30.

⁴³ Scobie (1990) 88 and n. 70, where the Feuerschale are described as a standard decorative feature of Nazi state buildings.

⁴⁴ Troost's structures in Munich: Speer (1943) pl. 17; the Annaberg memorial, erected by the "Volksbund Deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorge": Speer (1943) pl. 72.

⁴⁵ The idea that Atatürk is somehow "still present" at the site is expressly promoted by the video summarising his life and achievements that is played continuously in one of the rooms at the mausoleum. The video concludes with the exhortation to visitors to remember and honour Atatürk, with the words "While we are here, his deep blue eyes are smiling on us."

The Power of the Word: Inscribed Texts

Constituting a crucially important role in the ideological scheme of the mausoleum are the inscriptions which cover the facade of the "Hall of Glory" and which appear sporadically throughout the complex. At the entrance to the site, the visitor is first greeted by a number of statements made by Atatürk concerning Turkish independence. These are, appropriately, inscribed on the walls of the Independence Tower at the entrance to the Lion's Alley, and include such phrases as "Life means fight and struggle. Success in life is only possible with success in battle", and "This nation has not, cannot and will not live without independence. Independence or death"⁴⁶. Such statements are a perpetual reminder of the military campaigns upon which Turkey's independence was based. A balance is, however, provided by Atatürk's words inscribed on the "Peace Tower": "Unless the nation's life is in direct danger, war is a murderous crime", and the famous phrase "Peace at Home, Peace in the World." These phrases convey the Kemalist belief that nationalism is and should be compatible with peace: during his lifetime he worked tirelessly to promote harmonious relationships with Turkey's neighbours, and this non-Imperialist stance remains a living legacy.

The prominent siting of the inscriptions reveals that they were understood as supplementing the overall messages of the sculpted reliefs. The exterior of the mausoleum itself is covered with texts in gilded letters: to the left of the main entrance is the text of the "Nutuk", Atatürk's address to the Turkish youth delivered in October 1927, while to the right of the entrance is the text of the speech Atatürk made on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish Republic. [Fig. 12] These texts function as crucial framing devices which reinforce the messages propagated by the relief images. The contemporary visitor to the site, standing in the porticoes of the Hall of Glory and reading or reciting the texts, is transformed into a member of the original audience, the recipient of Atatürk's words, which were not designed to be read in private but rather heard in public. Similarly, visitors to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. re-create the role of an audience for Lincoln's words: the excerpted texts of his speeches inscribed on the interior walls demand to be read aloud through their scale and rhetorical eloquence.⁴⁷

The presence of inscriptions at the Anıtkabir has a hallowed pedigree. The implications of a tomb site as a meaningful conveyor of personal and political messages were well understood in antiquity: in Asia Minor, the temple tomb of the remarkably wealthy benefactor Opramoas of Rhodiapolis in Lycia, dating to the mid-2nd c. C.E., was exploited for the ostentatious display of textual imagery, including sixty-four Imperial decrees and letters from the emperor Antoninus Pius, honouring Opramoas and proclaiming his euergetism.⁴⁸ At Oinoanda in Lycia, the much-ruined temple tomb of Licinia Flavilla was covered with a genealogical inscription, serving as a billboard commemorating the wealthy benefactress' lineage and service to her community.⁴⁹ Employing a tomb as a broadcaster to posterity, then, of the thoughts and deeds of the deceased was a powerful method of assuring posthumous commemoration.

Such posthumous commemoration was a requirement at ruler cult sites, as exemplified by the use and promotion of ideological language at the Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome. Here, a version of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (the achievements of the divine Augustus), a lengthy autobiographical account of the military, political and social achievements of Rome's first Emperor, was inscribed on bronze plaques on either side of the entrance to his mausoleum

⁴⁶ These and all subsequent statements are translated in the Turkish government's cultural website: <http://www.kultur.gov.tr>

⁴⁷ An association to build the Lincoln Memorial was set up as early as 1867, but construction did not begin until 1914. The marble and limestone memorial, dedicated in 1922, is inscribed with texts from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural Address. The 36 columns of the memorial reflect the composition of the United States at the time of Lincoln's death, representing the number of states in the Union at that time. www.nps.gov/linc

⁴⁸ Cormack (2004) 274-276.

⁴⁹ Cormack (2004) 253-255.

in Rome.⁵⁰ The original Roman inscriptions are not preserved, and our knowledge of the content of the *Res Gestae* derives from copies set up in Asia Minor, in the cities of Apollonia (in Greek), Pisidian Antioch (in Latin), and Ankara (bilingual).⁵¹ These provincial copies were instrumental in disseminating to the citizens and residents of the provinces the notion of the stability and might of the empire achieved under Augustus' rule. At Ankara, the bilingual text of the *Res Gestae* was set up in the early 1st c. at the Temple of Roma and Augustus, the centre of the Imperial cult. Visitors to the Roman temple could read in Latin in the pronaos, or in Greek on the exterior of the cella walls, the words of an emperor they would never see. [Fig. 13] The space devoted to cultic activities on behalf of the empire's leader was the obvious location for the proclamation of his autobiographical record, in much the same manner as the burial site of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the performative space within which his words resound in perpetuity. Atatürk's words on his mausoleum walls thus constitute a *Res Gestae* for the founder of the Turkish Republic.

The propagandistic power of the monumental context was not lost on later visitors to the Temple of Roma and Augustus at Ankara, including the German architect Paul Bonatz, who had presided over the juried competition for the Anıtkabir. Bonatz's reaction to the *Res Gestae* in its Ankara context, when he visited it in the 1930s, was that it was "a remarkable propagandistic inscription of thirty-five paragraphs, from which even Goebbels could have learned."⁵² The value of an imposing architectural framework for promoting state ideology continued to be recognised as long as a century after Atatürk's birth, for in 1981 the text of President İsmet İnönü's speech of condolence after the death of Atatürk, and the text of Atatürk's last message to the Turkish Army on 29 October 1938, were added to the interior of the Hall of Honour, to the left and right side of the entrance respectively.

The use of texts in proclaiming the ideological language of the ruling power was a practice favoured by authoritarian regimes with messages of empire to convey. The efficacy of texts when projected onto monumental architecture is apparent, for example, at public architectural spaces in Fascist Italy. The ideological content of the Augustan *Res Gestae* was exploited by Mussolini and his urban planners, who re-inscribed the text of Augustus' document on the exterior of the polished new building designed to house the restored Ara Pacis in Rome. [Fig. 14] Significantly, this Fascist building was inaugurated on 23 September, 1938, 23 September being the date of Augustus' birthday.⁵³ Mussolini's use of the *Res Gestae*, as Elsner insists, understood its essentially monumental quality by restoring it to its position as an inscription - not a text to be read in private but one to be invoked in public, in much the same manner as performed by modern visitors to the Anıtkabir.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Suetonius, *Augustus* 101.4 reports only that it was Augustus' wish that the *Res Gestae* be displayed in front of his mausoleum. It is, however, generally accepted that this was where they were set up; cf. Davies (2000) 15.

⁵¹ At Apollonia, the *Res Gestae* was set up on a monumental statue base carrying statues of Augustus and members of the Imperial family. For the text: J. Gagé, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (3rd ed., Paris 1975) 6. The base is illustrated in J. Elsner, "Inventing Imperium: Texts and the propaganda of monuments in Augustan Rome," in J. Elsner, ed., *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (Cambridge 1996) 50 fig. 11. For the text from Pisidian Antioch: W.M. Ramsay, *JRS* 6 (1916) 83-134, at 107-108. The text was probably inscribed on the inner faces of the central piers of a monumental triple-arched gateway leading to a sanctuary containing a temple of the Imperial cult: S. Mitchell and M. Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and its Monuments* (London: Duckworth Press 1998) 146 for the architectural context. For the Ankara version: E.G. Hardy, *Monumentum Ancyranum* (Oxford 1923); Suna Güven, "Displaying the *Res Gestae* of Augustus: A Monument of Imperial Image for All," *JSAH* 57.1 (1998) 30-45, esp. 34-37.

⁵² Bonatz (1950) 207: "Es ist eine bemerkenswerte Propagandainschrift in fünfunddreißig Paragraphen, von der sogar Goebbels noch hätte lernen können."

⁵³ Elsner publishes a photograph of the exterior of the now destroyed Mussolini-era building housing the Ara Pacis, and points out the modern, fascist graffiti and a swastika spray-painted onto the podium, indicating its continued role as a magnet for this type of expression: Elsner (1996) 34 fig. 8. Interestingly, the lower walls of the Fascist building, upon which the *Res Gestae* was inscribed, have been retained in the monumental new building designed by Richard Meier which has replaced the Fascist structure. For the Piazza Augusto Imperatore as a cult centre for Mussolini, see Scobie (1990) 91-92.

⁵⁴ Elsner (1996) 35.

The continuing power of an inscribed text in an architectural setting to engage and sustain political identities is illustrated by the following: Mussolini and his civic architects had hoped that his restoration of the Augustan Mausoleum and *Ara Pacis Augustae* would be immortalized, and to this end an inscription in Latin recording this restoration was set up in the Piazzale Augusto Imperatore in Rome. In an ironic twist, the title of the leader was obliterated after the Second World War, indicating that Mussolini also suffered the same fate of *damnatio memoriae* which had befallen many of his Roman Imperial predecessors. Recently, however, the phrase "Mussolini Dux" has been restored to the inscribed text, proof of a rehabilitation of his memory at certain levels of Italian consciousness.

Two further monuments from modern Ankara, the Atatürk Monument at Middle East Technical University, and the Education Building, reveal the enduring persuasiveness of text to promote ideologies in architectonic settings; in both these locations, excerpts from Atatürk's 1927 speech, the Nutuk, dedicated to Turkish youth and calling them to public duty, are inscribed.⁵⁵ The indoctrination of the population into the ideals of the new state also found expression in the formation and construction of the "People's Houses," buildings in the service of the new regime in which Kemalist objectives were taught and explained to the people.⁵⁶ The presence of inscribed texts on public buildings, not only in Ankara but also in numerous other Turkish cities, perpetuates in a permanent and highly visible form this indoctrination. It is also significant that these prominent texts were now written in the western alphabet promoted by Atatürk which replaced the former Arabic cursive script. The promotion of the new alphabet, just one of many of Atatürk's social reforms, was designed to align the new Republic more specifically with western culture, as opposed to the previous decorative style of the Arabic script and its associations with the Ottoman calligraphic tradition and Islamic sacred architecture. In sum, just as the citizens of the provincial cities in which the Augustan *Res Gestae* were set up were connected to the capital city, and to the empire in general, through their reading of the texts and monuments, so the citizens of the Turkish Republic are perpetually reminded of the legacy and enduring presence of the Republic's founder, via confrontation with his inscribed words.

Conclusions: The Anıtkabir as a Hero-Cult Site

The visitor to the Anıtkabir, after processing along the Lion's Way, circumambulating the courtyard and its porticoes, viewing the reliefs and reading the texts, is now ready to enter the "Hall of Glory," the vast, empty, echoing structure built above the sepulchre of Atatürk. Occasionally the mumbling of prayer can be heard, for this is nothing if not a pilgrimage site still; a site where the ritual libations and offerings of worshippers at ancient hero sites are replaced by the *sotto voce* intonation of personal prayer. The object of this personal devotion are the mortal remains of Atatürk, laid to rest below the hall. The location of the burial is indicated above ground by a cenotaph in the form of a monumental sarcophagus decorated with a gilded oak wreath, in a position overlooking for eternity the capital city of the Republic. [Fig. 15] Atatürk himself is represented by a life-size wax statue, displayed in the "Reform Tower" to the right of the mausoleum building.

The site as a space of hero worship is illustrated not only by the clear resonances to the architecture of ancient hero cults as suggested above, but also by the performative actions carried out by visitors and representatives. Such ceremonies include the regular changing of the military

⁵⁵ Güven (1998) 39, figs. 14 and 15.

⁵⁶ Bozdoğan (2001) 93-97. As Bozdoğan emphasizes, "People's Houses were not just built to house the cultural, educational and social activities of the RPP [Republican People's Party] but were also formally identified with the party. The extensive use of republican iconography - flags with the RPP emblem of six arrows, Atatürk statues, and inscriptions of Atatürk's words and party slogans - complemented the architecture of these buildings." (p. 94). Before the RPP lost power in 1950, the number of People's Houses in Turkey had reached 455: Bozdoğan p. 95.

guard and the laying of wreaths by dignitaries, who are invited to sign the official memorial book housed in the "National Pact Tower." The perpetuation of the cult of Atatürk also finds expression in less subtle ways: a film documenting important moments in Atatürk's life plays constantly in the "Mehmetcik Tower";⁵⁷ the gun carriage which conveyed his body from his palace to his first resting place is preserved in the "Victory Tower"; while his ceremonial Lincoln motor cars are installed in the "Peace Tower" and his private Cadillac and private boat are displayed in the "23 April Tower." The horses and carriages buried with the heroes of antiquity as symbols of status or as companions to the afterlife, are here replaced by the motor car.⁵⁸ In 2002, the "Atatürk and the War of Independence Museum" opened at the site, located in rooms behind and beneath the east, north and west porticoes surrounding the massive Ceremonial Court. This extensive installation not only informs the viewer of the course of the most significant battles commanded by Atatürk and the social, legal and educational reforms he instituted, but also displays selected possessions of Atatürk, including weapons, clothing, personal items, medals and awards. Today's visitor gains a very different impression of the site by means of the propagandistic elements of the new museum installation, elements which were not foreseen by the original planners of the complex. Although, therefore, the museum needs to be differentiated from the cultural and historical circumstances which informed the construction in the 1940s and early 1950s, the inclusion of the museum into the complex in the 21st century underscores the manner in which the monument consolidates the national foundation myth and is still perceived as symbolising the Turkish state. [Fig. 16]

The ideology of the space

As demonstrated elsewhere, the Anıtkabir differs in function from the architecture of the Nazi period with its propagandistic content, but its forms and models were perhaps intuitively understood as appropriate for the commemoration of an authoritarian leader.⁵⁹ The encoding of this "vision of the Republic" takes a number of forms. Firstly, the overall scheme of the Anıtkabir, with its references to Roman Imperial models, aligns it with the architecture of power. Its ritual spaces and the conjuring of vistas evoke the distance that power demands.⁶⁰ Furthermore, its allusions to the legacy of Anatolia in the form of its decorative details and its sculptural allusions, cast the modern Republic of Turkey as the inheritor of the great Anatolian kingdoms of the late Bronze Age. Significantly, the decorative and textual elements of the space vividly express the ideology of the space: the role of war is explicitly and implicitly foregrounded, and Atatürk's prominence as a military leader, no matter how reluctantly he may have taken on that task, is signalled. In many respects, the visual language that was developed here utilizes the style and message of the classical past as well, with its encoded overtones of power and authority. While the large-scale narrative reliefs can be traced back to ancient models now given a new style, certain individual symbols of the decorative schemes here – significantly, the oak wreath, the figure of Victory – appear to have been filtered through a more recent medium, namely, the visual language of National Socialism. Ultimately, however, the authority of these symbols in both regimes can

⁵⁷ The English version of the film reminds the visitor that "everyone of us is the fruit of the tree he planted; while we are here [at the Anıtkabir], his deep blue eyes are smiling on us." Atatürk is thus described: "He was born a genius, grew up an idealist, and lived as a heroic leader." In a direct address to the "spirit" of Atatürk, the narrator's voice intones, "Fear not – the crimson flag will never fade."

⁵⁸ Heroic burial in antiquity: M. Andronikos, *Totenkult* (Göttingen 1968); idem., *Vergina: The Royal Tombs* (Athens 1984); A. Petropolou, "The Interment of Patroklos," *AJPh* 109 (1988) 482-95.

⁵⁹ S. Cormack, "Classicism, Modernity and the Power of the State: The Mausoleum of Atatürk in Ankara. Part One: Architecture," *Studia Hercynia* XVI (2012) [forthcoming]

⁶⁰ Trenchant overviews of issues of power, culture and the architectural shaping of space are presented in the essays in "Learning from Interdisciplinarity," *JSAH* 64 (2005), in particular the essays by Dianne Harris, "Social History: Identity, Performance, Politics and Architectural Histories," and John Archer, "Social Theory of Space: Architecture and the Production of Self, Culture and Society."

trace their pedigree again back to the ancient world. Furthermore, the sculpture, both free-standing and relief, although appropriating aspects of the past, underscores the position of the dutiful citizen, both male and female, within the framework of the Republic which was Atatürk's legacy. The excerpted speeches articulate Atatürk's vision through the power of the word, and again the classical past provided an inspiration in the form of the public display of imperial decrees during the Roman imperial period. Such texts, as argued above, kept the ruler's message "alive" and were an inherent element of the performative aspect of the Mausoleum. The texts provided the backdrop for the spatial stage upon which its visitors to a certain extent enacted their roles as citizens of the new Turkish Republic.

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Fig. 4: Relief on parapet wall framing central staircase to Mausoleum building: "Commander-in-Chief" relief

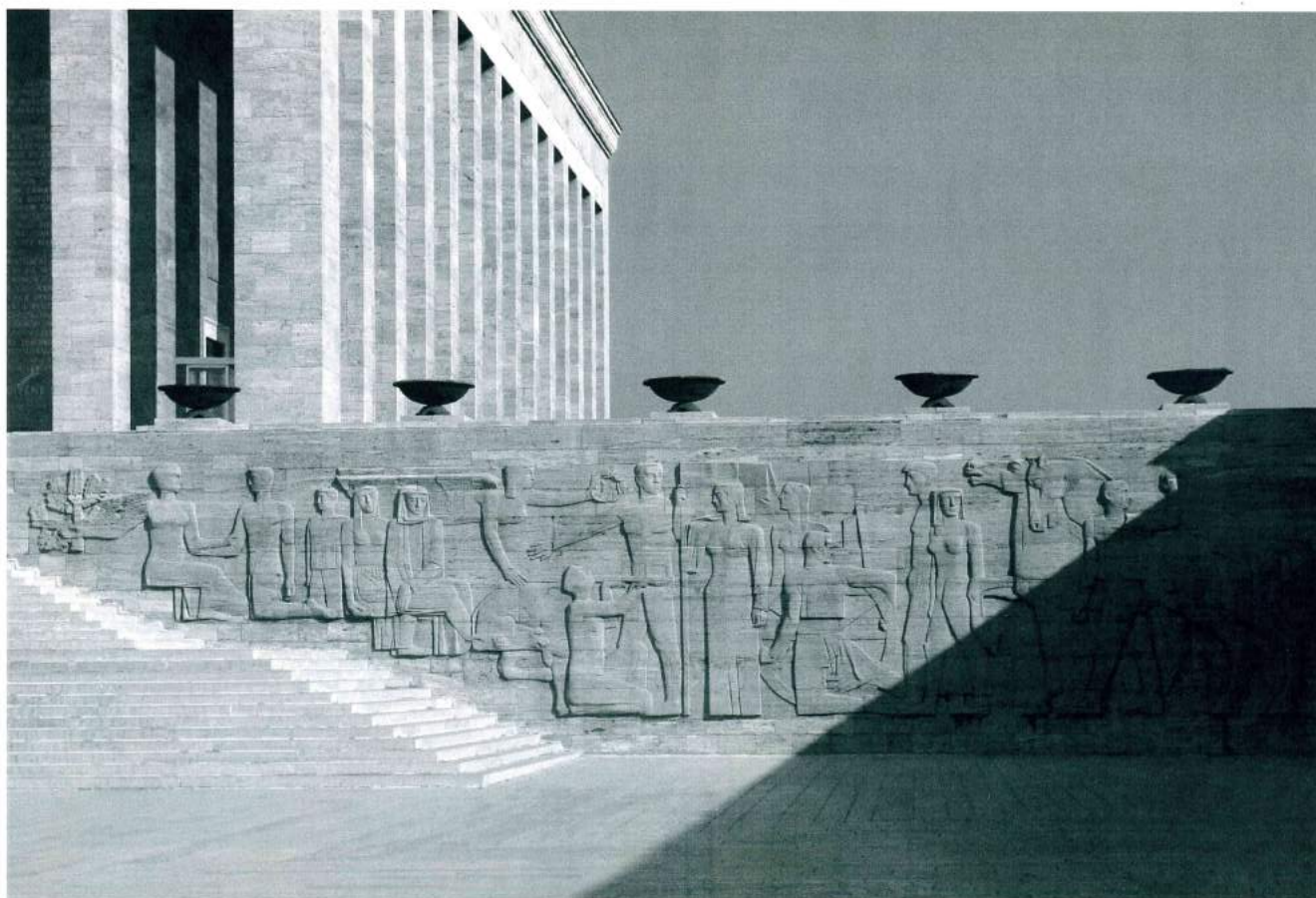


Fig. 5: View of the "Sakarya Battle Relief" right parapet wall, Mausoleum of Atatürk



Fig. 6: Arno Breker, Marble relief of „Genius“, Round Hall of the New Reichskanzlei, Berlin

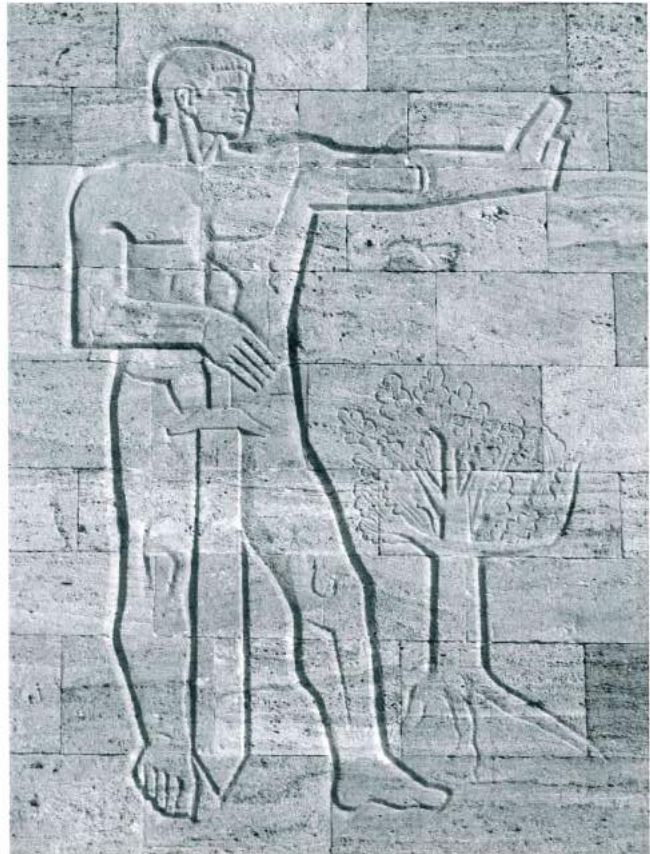


Fig. 8: Relief of soldier, sword and oak tree, exterior of the "Defense of Rights" Tower



Fig. 7: Relief on the base of the flag pole from the Mausoleum complex



Fig. 9: Adolf Wamper, "Genius des Sieges", exhibited in Munich in 1940



Fig. 10: Kurt Schmid-Ehmen, bronze eagle grasping an oak wreath in its talons, from the Luitpoldarena of the Reichsparteitagsgelände in Nuremberg



Fig. 11: Circular monument erected by the Volksbund Deutscher Kriegsgräberfürsorger to fallen German soldiers, on the Annaberg in Silesia



Fig. 12: Text of speech of Atatürk applied to the façade of the Mausoleum building



Fig. 13: Preserved text of the *Res Gestae*, south cella wall, "Temple of Augustus and Roma", Ankara



Fig. 14: Text of the *Res Gestae* from the podium of the former building housing the *Ara Pacis*, facing the Mausoleum of Augustus in Rome

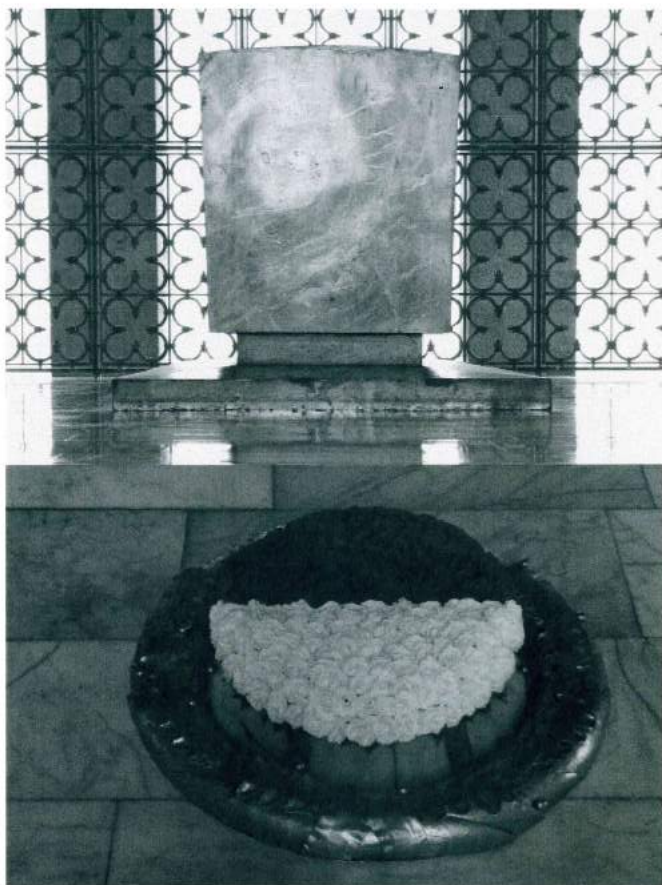


Fig. 15: The cenotaph sarcophagus of Atatürk, inside the „Hall of Glory“ at the mausoleum complex



Fig. 16: Turkish schoolchildren wearing paper Atatürk masks visit the Mausoleum