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**VISIBILITY 600 METRES:
REFLECTIONS ON THE NATIONAL
MONUMENTS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF
NORTHERN CYPRUS**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the
award of the degree

DOCTOR OF CREATIVE ARTS

From

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

By

MEHMET ADIL BA, MVA

FACULTY OF CREATIVE ARTS

2007

CERTIFICATION

I, Mehmet Adil, declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Creative Arts, in the Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Mehmet Adil

19 December 2007

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ABSTRACT

This Creative Arts doctoral project has engaged visual arts practice and academic investigation of national monuments in North Cyprus as complementary kinds of research via an exploration of material memory in relation to objects in the everyday surroundings.

With regard to the decades-old intercommunal dispute in Cyprus, indications are that there are enduring habits of representation that both signal and participate in the non-resolved nature of the situation. Without the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot groups establishing for themselves the links of interdependency between how they represent each other and how they represent their own identities to themselves, they have yet to be fully engaged with respect to the history of antagonistic differentiation that they have participated in.

The monumental commemorative forms in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus are approached as visual elements in the everyday environment, ordinary yet extraordinary as objects condensed out of the flux of events, culture, memory, and experience in an interplay of the visible and the invisible. In this context it is proposed that Turkish Cypriot history be seen as a discursive interplay of presence and absence, where the subject is the people themselves, in which the national monuments began to appear at a particular point in time and continue to do so both as symbolic and concrete form and counterform in an on-going discourse.

The visual arts practice stream of the research involved enquiry into ways of seeing and habits of thought in responding to the immediate surroundings. The artist's own registering processes and thoughts became included as subjects of the explorations, in acknowledgement of a kind of dialectic involving personal (inner) and public (outer) space. In this art practice, the process of realisation and the realised object are active together in the social realm with simultaneous awareness of the individuality of perception, memory, and cognition involved in the interactivity, and the responsibilities therein.

During this project, considerable reciprocity developed between the artistic practice and the academic research. The project makes a contribution to the visual cultural history of the Turkish Cypriot community and of Cyprus more broadly. It may also indicate some avenues of further exploration in research practice in bringing together different ways or kinds of thinking including the visual and artistic.

Key words: absence, presence, experimenting, visual art, artistic engagement, dialectic, culture, memory, place, relationality, national monuments, memorials, national identity, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, TRNC, representation, traces, discursive interplay, cultural history, symbolic geography

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After my introduction to visual arts over twenty years ago, subsequent practice and teaching in that field has led me into an interdisciplinary research for this doctoral project that involves the contemporary national monuments of the Turkish Cypriot people and their visual cultural context in Cyprus, as well as my own art practice. This thesis is the result of nearly four years of labour to which many people have contributed in varied ways and capacities. Without it being possible to name everyone, I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation for all the support and encouragement that has been given along the way.

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PREAMBLE

Notes on place names and language usage

Naming can be a complex matter in Cyprus, mirroring its history and historiographies, as reflected in past and present published material. For clarity in reading the thesis, here I briefly outline my usage. Also noted is my approach to transliteration from Turkish into English and to alphabetical listing.

1. Variations for one and the same place in Cyprus may be derived from English, Turkish (contemporary and Ottoman), Turkish Cypriot dialect, Greek (including ancient Greek), Greek Cypriot dialect, Arabic, Italian and Latin. Such variations are found across the range of ‘published’ materials (books, maps, films, internet sites, and so on) both historically and in the present. They are also reflected in contemporary oral usage. The different contemporary versions of place names relate in particular, though not exclusively, to the island’s the mid-20th century division into two separate territories, Turkish and Greek. In this thesis I have based my usage of names and place names on the printed versions (oral versions of some places differing markedly from the written).

For Greek names and words I have used the transliterations found in the source and reference materials used. For place names in Cyprus, in the early chapters of the thesis both contemporary names are given, Turkish and Greek. Sometimes for clarity the English version is included as a third version of a name, or used alone. For example, the capital city is widely known as *Nicosia* in English. This is possibly an anglicised version of the Venetian (1400-1500s) name, (Beckingham 1957), whereas the (transliterated) Greek version is *Lefkosía* and the Turkish, *Lefkoşa*. Another example is the well-known harbour town of *Girne* (*Kyrenia*); here the Greek name *Kyrenia* has been assimilated into English and thus widely used in publication. In the present project my main research focus in relation to Cyprus has lain in the Turkish north, hence I generally give the Turkish name first, followed in brackets by the Greek version then the English if included.

2. The letters of the Turkish alphabet are close to the Latin as found in English. There are some accented letters that do not appear in English. I have rendered most of these letters correctly, however as I have not accessed a Turkish keyboard layout there are four letters used here that are not exactly as in Turkish. The non-standard letters I have used in the Turkish are:

- ş represents the ‘sh’ sound, normally written with a cedilla under the ‘s’
- î represents a letter not found in English, which is an ‘i’ with no dot; the sound however, is very familiar in Australian English, being the back vowel in the last syllable of ‘wanted’
- ğ represents the soft ‘g’ in Turkish, pronounced as in ‘weight’ or ‘neighbour’, which is normally written with the sign over the g
- İ is the capital ‘i’, which in Turkish retains the dot to differentiate between the two sounds *i* and *î*

In the bibliography I have treated the alphabetical listing as in English whilst retaining the Turkish spelling. Hence letters such as *c/ç*, *g/ğ*, *i/î*, *o/ö*, *s/ş*, and *u/ü* that would be ordered separately in Turkish are treated as the same letter for the present purpose. Pronunciation is not covered in detail here, but one observation I make is that the letter *c* in Turkish is pronounced as the English ‘j’ (as in jump), it is not a ‘k’ sound. The Turkish *j* is pronounced softly as in French. Also the sounds *ü* and *ö* are pronounced similarly to the English ‘few’ and ‘serve’ respectively.

3. In relation to Turkish and Greek author’s names, for clarity of reference in the footnotes I have given surnames in capital letters.

4. Where translations appear in the text, footnotes, plates, and bibliography, from Turkish into English or English into Turkish, unless otherwise indicated the translations are my own work. Translations from Greek to English and English to Greek have been quoted from any sources as acknowledged.

NOTE: internet searches for Turkish words and names can usually be successful using the English letters without the accents.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: sources, traces and currents

I recall, as a young child, sitting in silence contemplating an old man I used to watch at his work. With utmost care he was shaping a fallen tree trunk by hand into a plough to be drawn by his ox, whilst joyfully whistling some folk tunes that I could not decipher. Though I could not make anything of his tunes, I witnessed his momentary total absorption and contentment in the task at hand. This old man was a master, *usta*, and people would come from far away for him to mend their ploughs. When he saw that a plough was at last beyond mending, he would find the right tree trunk and begin making a new one.

[Recollection, Mehmet Adil, from journal notes 2003]

This Creative Arts doctoral project brings into dialogue contemporary visual arts practice and interdisciplinary academic research on monumental expression of national identity as complementary forms of research. In tracing a kind of visual material history (or memory) embodied in metamorphosing objects in the everyday social and physical environment, I found that considerable reciprocity developed between the two kinds of research, such that through the process of their interrelationship I gained insights that contributed to both areas and the overall development of the project.

In this initial chapter the more usual brief introductory format is extended. The chapter engages with and begins to interweave various themes, concepts, sources, texts, and theories that underpin and inform, and emerge from, this artistic and academic research project. Thus this chapter provides a contextual arena for my locating of this interdisciplinary project and its areas of concern. The chapter may indeed convey something of my overall approach of associative and interlinking ways of working and thinking. In this context I mention the review of literature, some of which occurs in this introductory chapter but is otherwise dispersed throughout the thesis within the topic and exegetical chapters 2,3 and 5.

1.1 Topic

The broad area of interest within which my topic operates is the part played by visual perception in our relationships with everyday surroundings. My own art practice explores various dimensions within this arena. Among other things, my work is to do with enquiry via practical material experiment into the discerning of relationships within the interface between perception and material reality, in the context of one's self on the one hand and on the other hand, one's place in wider communities and environments. I seek to explore possible correspondences between new experiences of looking or noticing prompted by or associated with the use of non-traditional art materials and forms, and ways of thinking that might destabilise or at least point to entrenched habits of thought in relation to the surroundings. Entrenched habit in the sense that we usually take our ways of thinking about and seeing our surroundings as givens, as 'natural', rather than being more robustly aware of the conditioning that our personal, social, historical, and political circumstances impart to our ways of thinking about (seeing, understanding, grasping) ways of being in society.¹

My interest in wishing to contribute to development of greater awareness of the visual cultural environment that would enable us to grasp possibilities of looking at 'old' problems with fresh eyes, and from as many perspectives as possible, stems in part from my personal background. I grew to adulthood experiencing the consequences of ethnic and national polarisations on a small island, Cyprus, overlayed by subsequent decades of seeing/hearing representations of the events and people that often seemed to bear only the most tenuous of relationships, and sometimes none at all, to my own experience. This lies close to the experiential hub of my long-term artistic interest in the finding of a different kind of 'space' that would allow the dissipation of bipolar crystallisations of attitude, and in this arena Edward Said's notion of *critically* deciphering 'traces' that 'historical processes' imprint on us is pertinent.² In a filmed

¹ In *Visual Methods in Social Research* (2001) visual anthropologist Marcus BANKS discusses this: "like all sensory experience the interpretation of sight is culturally and historically specific" [that is], "seeing is not natural". "In Euro-American societies" we are surrounded by intentionally produced objects of vision, a 'sea' of made visual phenomena, "yet we treat them very casually, as if they are *natural* in the world of material goods and social relations" (p. 7)

² Edward SAID (1978, 1991) *Orientalism*, London: Penguin, p. 24. Edward Said was an academic and activist intellectual who drew on the many strands of his background and experience [as Palestinian exiled from family home, land, and community; as cosmopolitan migrant; as musician; and prodigious scholarly engagements over decades] in

interview with Sut Jhally in 2002, Said talks about processes of re-examining such traces, whereby new ways could emerge in the imagining of the ‘Other’ beyond stereotyped images (Said 2002).

In my research, I have drawn my visual arts explorations into ‘dialogue’ with a more academic examination of aspects of visual cultural experience in nationalised landscapes. My focus is on national monuments and memorials, particularly in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).³ These monuments and memorials are approached as ordinary elements in the everyday visual environment that are at the same time extraordinary objects condensed out of the flux of history, culture, memory, and experience in an interplay of the visible and the invisible. With respect to the history of resolution of conflict between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities, indications are that “establishing a link of interdependency between the parties’ representations of each other and the representations of their own identities” (Diez 2000) is one of the important areas that has yet to be fully engaged with. I believe my project may make a contribution in this area, to an overview of aspects of visual cultural history in Cyprus in general and in respect of the Turkish Cypriot community in particular.

Much of the conciliatory and reconciliatory process that has taken place between Greeks and Turks since the late-1990s, beyond and including Cyprus, has indeed been influenced by the question of how hostile parties see or imagine one another, most often analysed in terms of literary discourse and figurative image as “perspectives that interpolate themselves into “naturalised” symbolic systems and shift the ground of accepted knowledge” (Calotychos 1998: 3). Critical examination of the image of the enemy ‘Other’ in literature, media, and historiography via school text books, has thus become an important locus of engagement throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean areas, including Cyprus.⁴ My project does

his approach to understanding, teaching, and critiquing 20th century culture and politics. See for example *Edward Said. Continuing the Conversation*, eds Homi Bhabha and W.J.T. Mitchell, The University of Chicago Press, 2005

³ This is the name that the Turkish Cypriot polity in the north of Cyprus has called itself since 1983, being now the country name by which the people know themselves. The TRNC is not officially recognised internationally by any governments other than Turkey. It has been widely referred to as the ‘occupied zone’ and is still known as this (or as the pseudo-state) in the Greek area of the island. However, following United Nations sponsored referendums on re-unification in 2004 the full name and the acronym TRNC have become used more widely in some non-Turkish arenas. I use the terms North Cyprus and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) for this same area.

⁴ Examples arising from such activity include the joint South-East Europe School History Text Project’s research by Greek and Turkish educationists, including from Cyprus, into the content of their respective history texts. *South-Eastern European Joint History Project Workshop II: Teaching Cyprus*, <<http://storch.gei.de/seenet/states/Cyprus/seeregionscyprus1.1.htm>>; accessed 4-10-04. This has had practical outcomes such as Turkish Cypriot history teachers examining their school texts for bias and re-writing them during

not take this literary arena as its focus but as an acknowledged context within which the enquiry proceeds. A particular theme in this context over the past decade or so has been examination of the role of the image of 'the Turk' in various aspects of social and political life. The emphasis on the literary image is important to note for the reason of the significant role played by oral and written literature, particularly poetry, in the cultural history of all communities and classes in Cyprus (Yashin et al, 2000), though historically the elite spheres of the written language have been more determinedly studied; these literary cultures appear to have continued in both parts of the island via assimilation to media activity, which is extensive in both areas, firstly print media then later radio, television, now internet.⁵ The poetic image has also played a very important part in the wider international context of which Cyprus has been part, as Dr Christian Heinze drew attention to in the mid-1960s: "emanations of the Greek spirit...are fundamental integral part of European education ...[where] the landscapes of the Peloponnese mountains, the attic woods of the Aegean islands are more deeply impressed on the European mind...than the Plateau of Anatolia and the Taurus Mountains" (Alemdar 1993: 83).

It seems to me that this highly important awareness of the symbolic behaviour of literary or figurative images of the 'Other' has tended to overlook aspects of the immediacy of direct engagement via the visual image and the material/social environment. John Berger wrote, "Soon after we can see, we are aware that we can also be seen. The eye of the other combines with our own eye to make it fully credible that we are part of the world." (Berger 1972: 9). Analogically, it seems to me this suggested interplay of the figurative and the real is very important in Cyprus' modern history. I suggest in relation to this that Turkish Cypriot history might be seen as a discursive interplay of presence and absence of both image and of people themselves, in the global and the local political arenas, in which the national monuments began to appear at a particular point in time. I suggest that these monuments' original symbolic 'work' lay in showing the realness of the Turkish Cypriot people, albeit in political form, who otherwise were being cast as non-real, or absent, within their own environment and within the wider conveyed images of that environment. The way these public commemorative objects continue to be built in TRNC suggests, I

the summer of 2004, Tabitha Morgan 'Revolution in the classroom after decades of hatred' *Financial Times*, July 19 2004.

⁵ "...the political elites, and the masses, on both sides have studied each other obsessively from a media-distorted distance" LOIZOS (2006: 192).

believe on the basis of my research, a discernible pattern as if they are concrete forms and counter-forms in an ongoing dialectic of visibility and invisibility, presence and absence, of people and polity.

After decades of experience of colonial modernity, open conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriot began in Cyprus in the late-1950s and became a way of life after the collapse of the shared Republic of Cyprus in December 1963. Historically, Cyprus was never a part of either nation-state Greece or Turkey, yet has hung between them since the mid-1950s on threads that interweave some of the many past(s) that are possible to conceive of in the island. The intermittent armed conflict between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot community from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s supplied each other with enough means and reasons for communal investment in practices of commemoration conceived as the “call to remembrance” of their struggle to achieve ideals and survival, respectively, and pass down to the next generations their national stories heralding victory over the foe, or, despite being victim of the foe, their heroic survival.⁶ Since 1974 there has been relative peace in Cyprus, in the sense that the physical fighting stopped then. Yet despite the cessation of fighting, legacies of the traumatic rending of a whole way of life, involving all the people quite directly one way or another, that occurred through the contradictory national aspirations continue today in both areas of Cyprus. Monuments are part of these discursive processes of history, memory, and identity, which are apparent on a daily basis in the extensive media in all parts of Cyprus.

However, it is not the case that the antagonisms between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are age old. Crystallisation of divergent national imaginations in Cyprus can be traced to the historical experience of Muslim and Christian encounters with the ‘modern’ under the British rule instituted in 1878, as examined by anthropologist and historian Rebecca Bryant.⁷ Bryant considers that throughout the many

⁶ Richard Patrick (1976) gives the history of the period in some detail. Yiannis Papadakis (1995) examines the two nationalist histories in Cyprus that reflect a common structural logic of war (and the presence of the enemy) as foundational. On the latter, there is considerable popular and scholarly debate about who the ‘true’ foe really is in Cyprus (a single ‘other’, multiple, internal, external, an international consortium, a combination of all), though an examination must take account of the inter-ethnic enmity that existed /exists. Focus on the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots who together formed the majority of the population unfortunately has tended obscure other people on the island who also have been directly affected by the historical processes, such as those of Armenian, Maronite, Latin, Roma, and Linobambaki backgrounds.

⁷ Rebecca Bryant (2004) *Imagining the Modern: Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*, I.B. Tauris, London. On the subject of identity, I often use the two Cypriot ethnic community labels Turkish and Greek as if they represent something monolithic. This is due to the general context of the project being, for the most part, the inter-ethnic dimension in Cyprus. I recognize the risks of unnecessary reinforcement through such a focus on identity and

socio-cultural and political processes experienced in common by people in Cyprus in the early modern period, there were different cultural logics acting in different experiences of that same historical period that were able to be crystallised over time into ‘articulations of ideology’ via the modern democratic notions of rights and representation. Here, despite the many friendships and the good humour of Cypriots, “... the promises of liberal democracy have brought division...and the results, as elsewhere in the region, have been tragic” (Bryant 2004: 252).

This is the environment that I initially began to explore with the aim of developing meaningful analysis of the public monuments and memorials, and any shared artistic activity, of Greek and Turkish Cypriots since the 1960s. With regard to the contradictory nationalisms in Cyprus, it is the negativities in their expression, their destructive effects, which are most often examined in critical analysis, rather than the “positive desires inherent in the imagination generated by nationalism” (Christou 2006: 285). The relationality inherent in the ‘positive desires’ referenced by national identity coexists with the destructive potential of negative differentiation in a dialectic of Self and Other; and there is a kind of explicit dialectic of self and other that is active in Cyprus, as I touch on in Chapter 2.⁸ This is an important tension to be aware of in studying the modern history of conflict in Cyprus, as elsewhere, particularly in relation to examining national memorials, which often indicate the cost of such negative differentiations in human lives. Thus, the recognition that memorials “serve a political purpose for the living” should not obscure their role in the “...quest to transcend grief and death” (Scates 2006: 95).

In indicating all these above details in the introduction to the thesis, I want to signal that with the topic ‘Cyprus’ one enters a particular discursive terrain. Whilst the island became relatively peaceful after the calamitous events of mid-1974, the original national sentiment-fuelled conflict persists in rhetorical ways that affect the daily social arena, including the private lives of individuals, as well as in the discursive arenas of international affairs. “It is a particular feature of any discourse on Cyprus, regardless of its

conflict and it is part of my thesis that there is a need to continue the re-examination of such realities in different ways. It is of course not the case that the identities in Cyprus were (or are) monolithic. Indeed ‘internal’ contestation appears to have played an important part in the formation and style of expression of public identity in Cyprus, as is developed briefly in later chapters.

⁸ That is, accepting this not as a definition but as a description of how some identity processes might work. Rebecca Bryant indicates that the two nationalisms in Cyprus were fundamentally democratic movements, founded on principles of popular representation. Aspects of them became extreme at some stage, where representation and rights were imagined on a purely ethnic basis that first contradicted then came into open conflict with the other (Bryant 2004: 221-223).

subject matter, that it very soon arrives at the Greek and Turkish question” wrote Christian Heinze in 1998.⁹ On the representation of the ‘problem’ in the international arena, Rebecca Bryant observed “It is a triumph of a propaganda more amenable to a western European conception of the state that indeed much of the world believes that Cyprus is a Greek island” (Bryant 2004: 244).

This widely held misconception belies the reality of the existence of Turkish Cypriot people and their various kinds of participation in events and the discourse on Cyprus (Nevzat 2005: 3). It has been difficult to address as a phenomenon for several reasons; in part because of the widely noted “...tendency of all [political] persuasions [in Cyprus] to blame others for their predicament and to rely on others to get them out of it” (Groom 1993: 27), and in part due to the relative positioning of Turks and Greeks vis-à-vis the discursive construction of ‘Europe’ (Rumelili 2005), as seen earlier in the poetic reference to landscapes by Christian Heinze. Now, of course the existence of Turkish Cypriot people is not always disputed by the many other people directly involved in Cyprus affairs. Yet it is part of the strange discursive interplay of presence and absence that whilst the participation of Turkish Cypriots directly in the discourse on Cyprus has often been recognised as being part of the equation of the problem, their participation has not always been part of the solution, or vice versa. As indicated above, in part my research findings suggest that the Turkish Cypriot national monuments participate in this discursive interplay both symbolically and in a more concrete sense.¹⁰ By taking a kind of discourse analysis approach to these areas I do not mean to remove the enquiry from real relationships, or to try to define images or people; on the contrary, it is to enquire into some picturing processes that I think might otherwise entangle relationships without quite being noticed.

⁹ Christian Heinze “Review of *Handbook on Cyprus*”, in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (2000), 27(1), p.120.

¹⁰ A.R. Groom (1993: 24-43) details some of the problems involved in international level diplomatic negotiations between the two sides, in which protocol was one means of marginalizing the Turkish Cypriot negotiators. In these processes the rhetoric of equality of status was often given lip service, whereas in reality the Greek Cypriots operated with the full mantle of statehood within the international community whilst the Turkish Cypriots were ‘unrecognised’, in many forums denied a presence at the table (p. 24); and entirely ‘illegitimate’ after declaring unilateral independence in 1983. By the same token the Turkish Cypriot leadership was required to participate with goodwill and enter negotiations as if they were representatives of a ‘real’ entity, or gracefully be represented by someone else, (Groom, *ibid*, pp 26-30), being intensively scrutinised as to “willingness” to accept the conditions. Allowing for the many twists and turns that occur in international affairs, this seems to have been the overall trend in the ‘Cyprus situation’ in international affairs since the early 1960s, until the 2004 United Nations-sponsored referendum on the re-unification of Cyprus when the situation may have altered somewhat (Lacher and Kaymak 2005), with the apparent acceptance of UN efforts by Turkish Cypriots and rejection by Greek Cypriots; this is briefly examined in later chapters.

1.2 Approach to the doctoral research

To begin with my approach to the writing of the thesis itself, I would say that to some extent I take rather literally the question of relations between words and pictures with respect to the general complicatedness of translating pictures into prose. Hence I sometimes counter-pose ideas in the text, or the writing may jump about in places or make odd connections between things. This reflects an aspect of something my visual arts practice also engages with – associative thought processes in relation to both formal and experiential elements, including via a kind of dialectics of words and images such as in my work ‘Terror Of History - History Of Terror’ (TOHHOT) discussed in Chapter 5. This is not to claim a new approach to academic writing, or to try to confuse the reading process. Rather my aim is to practically engage theoretical or visual practice-based insights within the written means of discussing them, sometimes narrative, sometimes non-narrative, without claiming it as a methodology.

With respect to methodology, my originally conceived project involved interdisciplinary and cross-cultural visual and cultural investigations, so the matter was approached as an open-ended one that would respond to the research needs that emerged as the project evolved, though clearly some form of discourse analysis and critical visual approaches would be relevant. The question I originally set out to investigate was what role the respectively accumulated and deployed visual ‘vocabularies’ of two peoples on the small island of Cyprus might play in the processes of identifying themselves each against the other. I also anticipated working with Cypriot artists and art academics [by the term “Cypriot” I mean people from ‘across the divide’, from anywhere in the island of Cyprus] to investigate how different kinds of artistic exchange/interchange activity could contribute to new kinds of process through greater awareness of these visual activations in the Cypriot environments.

As I developed the background material, I found it was necessary to know more, in a direct way, about the actual experience of our visual engagement with the surroundings. I felt I could investigate the latter most directly through my own visual arts practise. Also there were a number of logistical issues with the original proposal, such as funding and linguistic complexity, hence I found it appropriate to change from the PhD to a doctorate of Creative Arts that would technically enable my visual arts experiments to be a

formal part of the research process. The visual arts research and the academic investigations thus proceeded in tandem.

Following these developments, the original proposal on visual culture in the two areas of Cyprus needed to be reconsidered as I did not wish to engage in comparative analysis without having an adequate basis for doing so. Thus it seemed clear that as I am of Turkish Cypriot cultural and linguistic background, a more focussed and balanced work would result from concentrating on the Turkish area. In the original project I had not intended to focus quite so much on the national monuments, rather to study them as part of national symbolism in the general area of visual communication. As the project changed and my reading on national symbols progressed, a simple observation by the Australian cultural historian Ken Inglis sparked my interest in this regard. Introducing his work *Sacred Places. War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Inglis observed, “For one reason or another, war memorials were rarely included in *otherwise ample descriptions of the cultural landscape*, in Australia as elsewhere. *Yet they were visible everywhere ...*”¹¹ (Inglis 2005: 6-7). Visible everywhere yet the effects are not explicitly discussed, this seemed to me to be the condition of the national monuments and other symbols in Cyprus, in relation to their operation as visual elements within the social and psychological milieu in which they are found. The tension between optical detectability and ‘seeing’, and seeing and saying, seemed particularly relevant.

Analysis of monuments and ‘landscapes’ - In examining the monuments/memorial of TRNC, I first researched the general theoretical background on the study of monuments and memorials and the approaches to landscape, seeing monuments as objects that having arisen within in a particular context, are immersed in those social and cultural surroundings. As material on monuments is found across many disciplines, I did not choose a disciplinary ‘home’ as such, rather examined materials in relation to the interrelations of object, place, and people, with a mode of critical visual engagement. I note though that much work in contemporary cultural geography is relevant in this respect of the relations between people and their places, mediated visually, where the scopic regimes of earlier approaches to geography and landscape have long been differently engaged (Rose 2001, Osborne 2006). Elements of critical visual and discourse analysis have been included as applying to visual objects in their surroundings, on the basis that

¹¹ My italics.

examining *effects* of images is important (Rose 2001: 9). With an open-ended methodology, there has been no overarching theoretical framework as such, rather there is a kind of linkage through the visual ‘faculty’ itself, and the image, as experience (event, process), as a means of experience, and a medium of relationship with the surroundings (material, spatial, social, imaginal). Critical visual analysis thus forms an important part of the mode of approach, based on the premise that “visibility matters within social relations in societies that afford primacy to sight itself” (Burk 2006: 55), where discourses of many kinds may be engendered and engaged around the interplay of the visible and the invisible. Here my art practice’s explorations of reflexivity in relations within the social/material surroundings have influenced my thinking about effects of images, and vice versa.

Memory is clearly another of the important themes that may be considered to connect different approaches to monuments, indeed being potentially a discourse of which monuments are part. As regards the social arena of the monument, the individual’s visual associative faculties as well as representational forms of memory and daily practice are important considerations. Social and individual experiences of remembering are some of the aspects of this many-faceted area that I have engaged with in the research process, as indicated in the following chapters, including my art exegesis in Chapter 5. History seems to me an equally complex and important area, and in an overall sense I have considered it along the lines of memory activity where in all its forms the notion of faithfulness seems to me to have great relevance.¹² This seems to resonate with historian Inga Clendinnen’s perspective on the historian’s task, which is rather urgently to be joined: “disciplined, critical remembering ... (that) will resist the erasure of fact and circumstance effected by time, by ideology and by the natural human impulse to forget” (Clendinnen 1998: 206).

For Cyprus itself, I undertook wide reading relating to social, cultural, historical, and political contexts that were needed as background for understanding the monumental forms, meanings, and so on, and this work developed in relation to the cultural history of the island and the place of the Turkish national monuments within that. In respect of Cyprus, a gap has historically existed in research and publication in

¹² As concluded in Sue Campbell’s enquiry “...faithful recollection (is) a complex epistemological/ethical achievement,” in “Our Faithfulness to the Past: Reconstructing Memory Value” in *Philosophical Psychology*, Volume 19, issue 3, as I also refer to in review of literature on memory and commemoration in Chapter 3.

English by Cypriots in general, particularly Turkish Cypriots (Demetriou 1999, Nevzat 2005). In the last fifteen years or so the shift in concerns in the social sciences and humanities towards more open frameworks for enquiring into the complexities of human social and cultural engagement, especially as regards relational kinds of approach within frameworks of analysis, would appear to have greatly benefited the circumstances of people in Cyprus. One effect of this being that Turkish Cypriots as people, and as a people, have developed a kind of presence in these arenas from which they were previously absent. My task was somewhat complicated by my own lack of access to the extent of recent publication in Turkish and in TRNC itself, where a busy research culture has developed in recent years.¹³ However, I believe I have been able to develop a suggestive outline for the cultural historical backdrop to undertake a case study of the most recent national monument to be built in TRNC, examined in Chapter 4. My aim is not to try to create an authoritative picture of an overall society but to shed light on facets of the picturing processes involved, from within and without, via academic research and visual arts research.

In approaching the visual analysis of the monuments, clearly visual rhetoric is an important part of the functioning of national monuments, and the question of meaning also arises in relation to whether they are effective in their 'work' of commemoration and consensus-building; as objects I think their role is best examined in relation to these areas of visual communication rather than as items of history in art. Yet I did not wish to assume that these are the limits of analysis within a framework of engaging monuments in their whole setting of physical and discursive landscapes, especially in relation to the impacts of visual environments on people, particularly in relation what I saw as the demands of Cyprus' landscapes. The 'public' spaces and general landscapes in Cyprus, south and north, are not demanding in the sense of the dense, urban, industrialised and post-industrial environments that are commonly conceived of as exerting demand.¹⁴ That is to say, in Cyprus it is not the visual crowdedness of the landscapes that is intense, but

¹³ The webpage <www.cypnet.com/ncyprus/culture> lists many past and recent publications. The Eastern Mediterranean University has various research areas, some accessible through the website <www.emu.edu.tr>. Much of the contemporary publication in English seems to occur in various journals in different disciplines, as also in the Turkish language arena more broadly.

¹⁴ There is a substantial cultural history of critique of such demands, as Raymond Williams delves into, for example, in *Culture and Society* (1993). Marshall Berman drew on this cultural 'tradition' in his 1983 work *All that's Solid melts to Air* that examined 'post-modern' society, where the poetic response to effects of the new visual/material urban (modern) environments in the 18th and 19th centuries seemed to address effects on the personal sense of 'identity': "Of all the things that strike me, there is none that holds my heart, yet all of them together disturb my feelings, so that I forget what I am and who I belong to" (1983: 18).

the demands that the landscape and its objects (such as monuments, of any period) place on people, and the offers it makes, because of what it is imbued with, in relation to the past, present and future.¹⁵

In W.J.T. Mitchell's suggestive work on pictures and desire, the question in the book's title, "What do these Pictures Want?" (Mitchell 2005), was thus very like a question that had persistently presented itself to me during the process of my explorations into aspects of what I had initially identified as visual rhetoric in the public national identity symbol of the monuments and memorials of TRNC. Questions of message and meaning did not seem fully adequate to this circumstance. The point, Mitchell suggests, is "... to put our relation to the object (or work) into question, to make the *relationality* of image and beholder the field of investigation" (Mitchell 2005: 49). This then is the sense in which my explorations in visual awareness, opening linkages between abstract thought and the material world, might be thought of as a kind of poetics of relations with the visual.

Any discussion of *image* or relations with the visual is likely to touch on the matter of fear or distrust of the image, its nature and power. The word iconoclasm is rather laden with popular understandings of destruction of images, also in academic discussions that use the term in a very technical sense. In *Iconology* (1980) W.J.T. Mitchell proposed that in being seen in terms of fear and/or distrust of images, iconoclasm is best understood not as a culturally separated phenomenon, associated with particular periods in history for example, or religious world views, but an enduring stream within the whole cultural ambit of assimilations into contemporary (western) culture and its discourses. In this latest book, Mitchell has used the context of desire rather than power or meaning in the attempt to get closer to understanding how the ambiguities of our relationship with images are potentially engaged within individuals as well as at a social and cultural level. In contemporary 'western' culture, people manage to maintain a "... 'double consciousness' ... towards images, pictures, and representations in a variety of media, vacillating between magical beliefs and sceptical doubts, naïve animism and hard-headed materialism, mystical and critical

¹⁵ Though there is a connection with the 19th century poetic reaction to industrial change as being a loss of familiar sense of self, perhaps in the process of a 'new' self becoming familiar. This is like the epochal cultural change that took place in Cyprus in the 1960s and 70s, which should not be underestimated, in my view, as an important underlying influence in the pervasive sense of loss in much poetry and art as well as aspects of discourse in Cyprus. This is where many people were suddenly disconnected from direct intimate involvement in an 'age-old' agricultural life style, via the drastic changes brought about by the conflict from 1963 onwards and more widespread after the war and division in 1974.

attitudes.....” (Mitchell 2005: 7)¹⁶ Mitchell concludes that the double consciousness about images is not something that we ‘get over’ when we grow up, become modern, or acquire critical consciousness, but “a deep and abiding feature of human responses to representation...” (Mitchell *ibid* p.8). Where my research area involves, in a broad sense, exploring the development of greater awareness of the place and role of visual experience, this doubleness and its complexities are important background awareness. The project does not engage the general area of fear and distrust of images, rather it more engages the visual as a surface metaphor, as Gaston Bachelard relates in his notion of polishing the metaphors (Bachelard 1994: 221), where the object/image is existent in the conditions of relationship and discourse around it, hence potentially ‘wanting’ something.

Drawing from this discussion, the key observation for the present project is the ambiguity that at a practical level, we both over- and under-estimate visual objects, particularly iconic ones, paying them too much attention and not enough. I suggest the national monument is a case in point, and particularly in this case in the visual landscapes in Cyprus - the doubleness of the public monument’s materiality and its ‘invisibility’, analogically its constellation of both memory and forgetting, at the same time as it participates daily as material object and as image in discourses of memory, history and identity that are frequently barely distinguishable from one another. The overall context seems a place for Friedrich Nietzsche’s suggestion of “sounding the idols” with the “tuning fork” of critical language as a way of playing upon images, to use a ‘tuning fork’ rather than a hammer in order to break the silence of the idol, “making it speak and resonate, transforming its hollowness into an echo chamber for human thought” (Mitchell 2005: 27). The metaphor of the ‘tuning fork’ has a surprising objective correlative in my examination of the materials of the most recently constructed commemorative site in North Cyprus, where I tapped it, expecting from the patinated statues the ringing tones of bronze, as I take up in the case study, Chapter 4.

Visual data and sources - data for the monuments was collected in two (brief) trips to Cyprus to photograph some of the sites as well as to access the TRNC National Archive in Girne (Kyrenia). Some

¹⁶ The usual way of sorting out the ‘double consciousness’ is to “...attribute one side of it (generally the naïve, magical, superstitious side) to someone else...there are many candidates for the “someone else” who believes that images are alive and want things: primitives, children, the masses, the illiterate, the uncritical, the illogical, the “Other” (Mitchell 2005: 8).

images have also been sourced via the internet. A locally produced compendium of Turkish Cypriot national monuments with images and maps has been very helpful in establishing a historical overview and a geographic understanding (Sadrazam 1990); I refer to this as the Compendium throughout the text. This compendium is based on a couple of preceding publications, one by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Youth, cataloguing sites considered part of the community's commemorative architecture. Engagement with the sphere of material culture is particularly important in Turkish Cypriot cultural history, as covered in Chapter 2; for example, there is a great deal of recent publication on aspects of archaeological and architectural history, particularly Ottoman material culture (for example, Yıldız 2001, Özgüven 2004, Bağışkan 2005); a critical approach to this area is provided by (Canefe 2001). More broadly in relation to material culture in contemporary Cyprus, Yiannis Papadakis has conducted comparative research on national symbolism (2000/2006), nationalist narratives (1995), and political rituals (2003). Scott (2002b) has written on effects of international heritage discourse as a model for citizenship, vis-à-vis TRNC, and an interesting study (2002a) on forms of memory in relation to place, via a Turkish Cypriot shrine and museum in Mag`usa (Famagusta) that commemorates both the distant past (1571) and the recent past (1974), the local and the national, the spiritual and the secular, in Turkish Cypriot history. Aside from the works mentioned below, however, I have found limited publications involving analytical work on the overall visual cultural environments of Cyprus,¹⁷ and TRNC in particular, thus my research may be considered to make a contribution in this area.

Two studies, by Moira Killoran (1998) and Stavros Karayannis (2006), explore specific linkages between monuments in the public rhetorical sphere and the private, individual experiential arena. Within a framework of poetic images, Killoran linked representations of nationalist historical memory with individual everyday experience via some of the national monuments of TRNC.¹⁸ Her approach is based in the notion of imagined community, as Benedict Anderson (1983) suggested all nations be considered, in the sense that each person lives the *image* of their communion (with people and land), as somehow distinct from face-to-face practical experience of the other people in the nation and the physical territory.

¹⁷ There are many excellent art historical studies on Cyprus, for example Rita Severis (2000, 2003), which encompass aspects of the architectural and visual arts history, though the field in general does suffer very much from effects of the discursive shadow of the 'Cyprus problem'.

¹⁸ Moira KILLORAN (1998) "Nationalism and the Embodiment of Memory in Northern Cyprus" in *Cyprus and its People: Nation, Identity, and Experience in an Unimaginable Community (1955-1997)*, Westview Press: Boulder, San Francisco and London, pp.159-170.

There must be an image that works, to enable this kind of imagining activity. Killoran explores the image of the body as a vehicle of linkage between public rhetoric and private experience, where the figural forms in the national monument symbolically operate “in the daily imagined sphere of private conceptualisation” via the embodiment of a national family, implicating an individual self with a national self as body, as ‘natural’ (Killoran 1998: 160). Nonetheless, in one particular monument, this scripting remains open-ended to the extent that differing responses may be evoked in relation to the same figure. Hence, within this arena opposing political parties compete rhetorically within the same field, though not necessarily noticing the interdependence as such, which is an important insight. In observing that people did not necessarily examine their own responses to the monuments, Killoran suggests that the visceral appeal of the body image is to a form of knowledge that is outside intellectual challenge (Killoran *ibid*).

In Karayannis (2006), the poetic image of visceral appeal becomes a more directly embodied linkage between the public rhetorical sphere of representations and the private, individual arena.¹⁹ This occurs via the delineations of gender boundaries that are integral to the nationalist ethos where they reach into the individually experienced body as prescriptions for acceptable movement. Inculcation of the ‘correct’ attitudes towards the body and the appropriate postures and gestures takes place in a variety of rhetorical locations, such as public statues, the inclusions and exclusions of folkloric history’s dance and music forms, together with continual verbal re-affirmation of the associated masculine qualities that flow in Greek blood. It is literally experienced in the body “...everyday patterns of movement... make [everything] matter more distinctively” (Karayannis 2006: 256). Karayannis suggests that this kind of perspective needs to be given practical application in considering the conflictual ethnic identities where *ideas* of reunification and political solutions are not enough for the circumstance, given that the traumatic differentiating processes extend into the individual bodies of people, thus an *embodiment* of the desire to live together would be needed to achieve that actual outcome.

My research on Cyprus operates in this area of linkages between the two spheres of public representation and private experience. It is based in the visual sense, as both literal and analogic link between the material world and an inner experiential world via the perceptual and reflective capacities. That is, the

¹⁹ Stavros KRARYANNIS (2006) “Moving identity: dance in negotiation of sexuality and ethnicity in Cyprus” *Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 9, No.3, pp.251-266.

potential that every individual may have to bring to awareness what is seen, or not seen, in the everyday surroundings, and to observe their inner responses in the process, could be particularly useful as a reflective process whereby contested representations, such as regards Cyprus for example, could be brought forth to think about the process of 'Othering' through visual means. In this arena, our own habitual patterns of awareness and response in engagement within the material/social surroundings may be re-examined, with a view towards stimulating new ways of 'seeing'.²⁰ This research involving perception is not approached within a scientific paradigm but involves an experiential exploration, of subjectivity and thought, of relationship with the visual/material surroundings, a kind of poetics of relations with the visual. The overall conclusive trend of this project, bringing together insights from the two areas of visual arts practice and academic research on national monuments, resonates with the notion of a dialectical creation of the visual world by the social world, and the social world by the visual. (Mitchell 2003, 2005)

Visual experiments – My visual experiments were conducted in-situ for the most part, in different areas of the Creative Arts Faculty building, initially in the hallway where my office is located, and then in a glass walled room at the entrance to the building. This Glass Room became in effect my studio for the latter part of 2006 and most of 2007. It allowed direct visual interaction with passers by, and they with the works, which led to interaction and discussion over the materials, processes and objects. Materials were of the daily familiar kind, particularly aluminium foil for the 'Silver Things' experiment, plus plastic bags, bread, matches. The hours of work were not confined to the nine to five time slot, and I consequently met the people who come very early in the morning or late in the evening to clean the Faculty. These aspects of the social milieu of myself carrying out the work, and the work itself when I was absent, were important. The experiment, 'Silver Things', evolved in response to the many variables and via traces of materials has important connections with the final exhibition.²¹

²⁰ Walter Benjamin noted that 'Tactile appropriation is accomplished not so much by attention as by habit. As regards architecture, habit determines to a large extent even optical reception.' In "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in *Illuminations*, ed. H. Arendt, New York: Schuster 1969, p. 240

²¹ *Visibility 600 Metres: Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*, Faculty of Creative Arts Gallery, University of Wollongong, 26 July – 10 August 2007, extended to end of August.

Reflexivity - an important aspect of the approach in this doctoral research is the incorporation of personal memory and reflection. This is partly within broad considerations of individual and social memory, and in within the art practice placing the researcher as subject of the research. I have lived experience(s) of the many strengths of growing up amongst the mixed communities of Cyprus, as well as the contingencies and exigencies of the conflict there, and from afar (Australia) have observed its on-going legacies. The phenomenon of memory is now generally considered in the nature of activity rather than object, and process rather than archive, although examination of its nature is a complex, sensitive and evolving area, particularly in relation to the question of individual and social and political memory relations (Olick and Robbins 1998, Edkins 2003, Sachs 2005, Stewart 2005). Analogically, I conduct my visual experiments in an artistic context where the process is as much part of the artwork as the material realisation, and thinking is one of the mediums.²²

My aim is not self-examination per se, rather it is to engage in reflexive exploration of experience in which 'self' both emerges through and is recognised in dynamic inter-relation with people and the material surroundings, directly and via memory. Regarding the problematisations of self-presentation, representativeness, and truth in relation to memory and autobiography, my project engages this arena, *"...a rhetorical setting in which a person places herself or himself within testimonial contexts in order to achieve as proximate a relation as possible to what constitutes truth in that discourse."* (Gilmore 2001: 3). This is not to claim either representativeness or uniqueness for myself, as a member of community(s) or as an artist. Rather, by including elements of personal experience and memory as part of my approach to research that investigates interrelationships between people and objects in "the palpable immediacy" of the local surroundings, I think that some of the reciprocities of experience named as individual, society, community, local, global, and so on, are explored.²³

Exploration of the reflexiveness that I had already been accustomed to valuing in my art practice and personal life was thus brought into further highlight, where individual histories such as my own Turkish

²² Richard Wentworth (2003: 215) "I think my medium is the ability to think about things. It's thoughtfulness...."

²³ The phrase "palpable immediacy" comes from cultural geographer Brian Osborne's article about contemporary perspectives on identity and place - "People are affected by their engagement with the palpable immediacy of local places and with the nested abstractions of the regional, the national and the global." Brian OSBORNE "From Native Pines to Diasporic Geese: Placing Culture, Setting Our Sites, Locating Identity in a Transnational Canada", *Canadian Journal of Communication* [Online], 31 (1), 30 March 2006, n.p.

Cypriot family background and wider histories intersect. As Arif Dirlik puts it in relation to politics in the debates about national versus post-national identity in the contemporary era: “It is not possible at this point in history to argue that these constituencies ...(that) may or may not recognise themselves through the mirror of nationalist historiography, do so out of coercion or suppression rather than through the internalisation of a sense of self that is the product of the same history... [therefore what is needed is] a simple recognition that our own histories enter in the most fundamental sense the ways in which we think both the past and the present” (Dirlik 1999a: 159).²⁴

In my artwork and academic research, traces of histories (memories), personal, community, and so on, are explored with as careful attention as possible, not with the expectation of arriving at a completed narrative or final object as such, or at fixing causalities, but in recognition of the process as contributing to increased awareness of the ways in which we ‘see’ (or think) history, memory, and relationship.

Structure

Following this present linking chapter, the paper follows a structural logic in moving through the chapters 2-6, but I have tried to keep the contents fairly fluid. This is partly in reflection of the various fluidities of thought about researching the topic but more importantly to allow the formation/emergence of connections between what may seem far-fetched ideas, thoughts, and events in social, political and cultural arenas. The associative facility to open up connections between things and examine habits of

²⁴ This is not to imply that national or cultural factors should take precedence over other aspects of identity (gender, class, race, temperament, sexuality, and so on) as if in some kind of ranking order. Rather it is simply to affirm that the enquiry in this project engages with ethnicity- and nationality-related subjectivities as complex ‘products’ of modes of activity and experience including styles of presentation and representation, that despite the complexity of their interrelations are accessible to reflexive examination. Rebecca Bryant, researching in the area of historical anthropology of the conflict in Cyprus, refers to the need for critical analysis in this area, in her observation that nationalism quickly resurfaces in the post-national world in the form of identity politics and the claims of culture – hence the need to understand its original processes of emergence is all the more critical (Bryant 2004: 5). In *The Turbulence of Migration* (2000), Nikos Papastergiadis makes valuable observations of artists’ participation in these areas of investigation in relation to contemporary sense of identity, although I think he tends towards trying to theorise a poetic image of turbulence rather than engaging directly enough with historical patterns in movements of people and identity. In a review of the book by sociologist Patricia Fernandez Kelly in *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (May, 2001), pp. 270-271, the reviewer agrees with Papastergiadis that self-definitions are perhaps more fluid nowadays, but suggests that his focus on the notion that dis-locations of people/s in the contemporary period are unique and unprecedented gives an inaccurate picture of the actuality, in which “the directionality and effects of migration are far from chaotic, as Papastergiadis contends. People continue to follow the paths opened up by economic investment and political intrusion” (p.70). As well, she finds that “...most people still identify primarily in terms of conventional gender, racial, and national definitions” (p.271), or are identified by others in those terms.

responsiveness and thought is one of the interesting aspects of memory and perception that form the broad context for my project.

The written text of the thesis is contained in Volume One. The illustrations (the plates) are all together in a separate section called Volume Two, the separation being due to the number of images, and the bibliography follows this. A combination of footnotes and in-text citation has been used throughout.

In Chapter 2, the main aim is to establish some details of the material and symbolic landscapes of Turkish Cypriot historical experience that have led me to conceptualise it as a discursive interplay of presence and absence, where the emergence of the national monument form, as explored in Chapter 3, plays an important role. Broadly speaking, the Turkish Cypriot community has evolved through a process in which the developing 'modern' subjectivities were not associated with 'public' (in fact, publicised) national symbols until the late 1940s (Bryant 2004, Nevzat 2005), hence could be construed as absent, whereas since the 1960s there has been steadily increasing saturation with public national symbols, high visibility, whilst at the same time that presence has been both contested and denied. The interrelations of a personal or individual sphere within the social and material environments of the nationalised landscape are indicated via the media examples given in Chapter 2, as well as some recounted memories of experience of imagery associated with national identity. Thematically this aspect of the research links with my visual arts practice that, broadly speaking, is geared towards opening links between abstract thought and the material world.

In Chapter 3, aspects arising from scholarship of monuments more broadly are considered, including the paradoxical visibility and invisibility of monuments in their own environment, their existence as both ordinary object in the daily surroundings and extraordinary ones, counterpoints in discourses of presence and absence concerning the actual people and the imagined identities constellated by their presence. My research into the monuments in TRNC has influenced my reading in this area, as the reading has helped the examination in return. I present an outline of the history of arrival of public monument form in TRNC, and this forms the background for the Case Study in Chapter 4, in which I examine the most

recent national monument in North Cyprus in connection with the social and political change undergone during the past few years.

The main exegesis of my art practice is presented in Chapter 5, 'Practice as Research', where I discuss my artwork and approach to making, especially as regards my particular experiment, 'Silver Things', and the final exhibition *Visibility 600 Metres: Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*. Chapter 6 contains the concluding remarks and discussion, further examining aspects of the interrelations that arose between the academic and arts practice strands of my research.

Interdisciplinary research

In relation to calling my approach interdisciplinary, I do at times distinguish two areas of research as being either visual arts practice or academic research, and within the latter I draw on insights from various fields of enquiry in the social sciences and humanities; indeed enquiries around monuments are dispersed widely throughout these areas. Distinguishing the two main areas as academic and arts practice is perhaps necessary if one is to suggest that arts practice can contribute more formally (and in an acknowledged way) to 'knowledge' via what we call 'research'.²⁵ Yet I find in my overall doctoral project that the two areas of the 'artistic' and the 'academic' are interlinked in various ways, there are correspondences, or even more than that, as suggested above and in the chapters ahead, they have come to inform each other. I acknowledge the disciplinary demands from the socio-cultural research contexts of the topic, conditions of methodology and proof for example, yet as an artist I have in addition my own personal and professional connections, interpolations and ethical demands to make, which in turn influence my approach to the academic materials. Overall, I don't try to define my working methodologies, rather to demonstrate or allow them to become apparent through this writing. The most important connection is that for me, art making is a way of thinking.

²⁵ Estelle BARRETT "Introduction" in Estelle Barrett and Barbara BOLT eds (2007) *Practice as Research: Approaches to Creative Arts Enquiry*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, p. 1.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND ON CYPRUS

Turkish Cypriot historical themes – an interpretation

History in Cyprus, and of Cyprus, is a complex matter, both in terms of overall duration and variety, and particularly in relation to the ethno-national contestations of the twentieth century. The political, social and cultural histories over the past one hundred years are not easily amenable to summary, owing to the fact that “just about every event, or denial of some activity as an event (a non-event), is contested in various accounts of Cypriot history” (Killoran 2000: 133).

My project is not to try retrospectively to ascribe a solid or unitary nature to something as continually in process as human groupings and identities. However, the processes whereby the plural, syncretic cultural milieu across late Ottoman Cyprus, with the many previous layers of language, religion and culture, gradually metamorphosed into the present discrete linguistic and religious territories form part of the complexity of Cyprus’ history and inform the inter-ethnic dimension that appears as the major site of the modern Cyprus conflict, or problem. Some aspects of the plural, syncretic culture in the island may have continued despite the modern nation-state period’s discrete units of identity. Nevertheless, two ethnic communities Turkish and Greek emerged in Cyprus as the politicised basis for participation in representative politics with the socio-cultural descriptors thus becoming the modern identity labels (Bryant 2004), and it is the ethnic names Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot (or variations along those lines) by which the communities are widely known. It is in this context that the Turkish Cypriot national monuments appeared.

National identity is reproduced through continual negotiation, and internal political contestation within the two Cypriot groups has been very important for their historical development, contributing to the shaping

of forms of national identity and its representation (Killoran 1998, Lacher and Kaymak 2005, Panayiotou 2006a). However, a consensual level of national identity is considered to operate in both communities (Killoran 1998, Mavratsas 1999, Lacher and Kaymak 2005), which is also the basis of participation internationally, where “the political *site* of memory practice is still national, not postnational or global.”¹ Hence in this project I have worked mostly with this inter-ethnic arena in relation to the visual associations of national identity as linking global (international), local, and everyday individual realms of experience.

The aim of this present chapter is to present an overview of some details of the material and symbolic landscapes that I think are relevant to understanding aspects of visual cultural history in Cyprus in relation to the existent modern national monuments. At the same time, these ‘details’ provide the framework of the discursive interplay of presence and absence which forms my approach to Turkish Cypriot history in this project overall, as I find that this is the field in which the monuments’ effects are active. This is not to try to create an authoritative picture of an overall society, either Turkish Cypriot or Cyprus more broadly, but to shed light on facets of the picturing processes I think are involved.

The presentation in this chapter is a discursive one, in general tracing broad themes rather than social historical details, and is not intended to obscure any of the complexities or subtleties of the circumstances. As indicated above, such themes are, I believe, important for understanding something of the symbolic landscapes within which the Turkish Cypriot national monuments occur and have their effects, as developed in Chapters 3 and 4. These four broad cultural historical themes are: historical meta-narrative; the rhetorical arena of the everyday activity of consuming media; the symbolic geographies; visibility/invisibility; of these four thematic threads, it is perhaps the first that is the most influential one weaving through the discursive interplay of presence and absence in Turkish Cypriot history. After outlining these broad areas, I move from this level of abstraction to a more socially situated enquiry, to

¹ Andreas Huyssens “Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia” in *Public Culture* 12.1 (2000) 21-38, p. 25. Given the perseverance of nation-states (and national identity) as an organising principle in the face of the rhetoric of globalisation or post-nationalism, the latter can also be seen as being of strategic use for labelling some nationalisms as ‘good’ and others as ‘bad’; see also Graham POLLOCK (2001) “Civil Society Theory and Euronationalism” in *Studies in Social and Political Thought*, Issue No.4, March 2001, p.34.

consider some personal memories and observations as they relate to the experience of images of identity, especially the experiences of childhood where images are startling and fresh.

2.1 Anchored ship – geography and history in Cyprus ²

Firstly the physical island is briefly sketched. The nature of the relationship between people and their environment gives rise to questions that can be pursued in numerous ways and degrees of complexity. As a visual artist it seems to me that visual qualities and intensity of surroundings could have strong bearing on the sense of identity of its people, affecting social dynamics and cultural processes. In my view there are strong rhetorical demands made by the surroundings in contemporary Cyprus, which can be conceived of as nationalised experiential landscapes where the intertwining of geography, history, culture and memory carries a marked degree of intensity through the politicisation of all areas of life (Bryant 2004, Karayannis 2006, Loizos 2006).

As a physical entity, the island of Cyprus has a position close to the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, roughly 70kms from Turkey's south coast, 100kms west of Lebanon and Syria and 800kms south-east of mainland Greece, Fig. 1. The other immediate neighbours are Israel, Palestine, Egypt, whilst Crete is the nearest landfall to the west. The land mass stretches roughly 200km at the longest distance and is about 80km across the centre, with a total area of 9,250 square kilometres, one-seventh the size of Australia's island state, Tasmania. The population of the entire island is estimated as approximately one million, distributed roughly 220,000 in the Turkish Cypriot North and 780,000 in the Greek Cypriot South.³ There are no sizeable rivers. Two mountain ranges in effect frame a central plain, where the political dividing line passes through the capital city Nicosia, known in Turkish as Lefkoşa (Greek Lefkosía), Figure 2.

² The 'anchored ship' is a title used by Turkish Cypriot art historian Netice YİLDİZ (2002) "Cyprus, The Anchored Ship of the Eastern Mediterranean in the 19th Century", *Mersin, the Mediterranean, and Modernity*, T.C. Mersin Üniversitesi Yayınları; No: 7.

³ Britannica On-line, 2005 figures <<http://concise.britannica.com>> Population figures in Cyprus are contested along with most other details, debated and discussed in relation to the past and in relation to the present. Substantial numbers of people of many backgrounds now live in both areas, including asylum seekers, from various areas, eastern European and Asian workers, British retirees, and people from Turkey who arrived to live in the north after 1974. Partly what makes numbers difficult is that the official nationality, or citizenship, is Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot, which though customary in nation-states in this situation makes the conflation of ethnic identity with citizenship and residency more problematic. Cockburn (2004) discusses the changed population mix in Cyprus.

Based on the measuring systems of the physicality of oceans, landmasses, and people, the above geography seems paradoxically rather abstract in comparison with Cyprus' other cartographies and geographies that are both more symbolic in nature and more *vivid*, as locations of people's actual habitation and imaginative engagement. This vividness lies in part in the reality of two contemporary political geographies, two areas where people live now, which rest on foundations in time - recent and distant - that kaleidoscope back and forth in relation to the location of 'home' and to visibility or invisibility in the present. In short, the island is divided into two distinct territories that arose out of war in 1974 via the two contradictory modern identities that had developed during the early twentieth century, and these are recognisable on maps as the Turkish Cypriot controlled area and the Greek Cypriot controlled area, Fig.2. The political, social and cultural elements within which this identity development and conflict historically occurred form the background setting for my examination of the national monuments of the Turkish Cypriots within their own 'geography'. As observed by Yiannis Papadakis, an anthropologist who has conducted extensive comparative research in Cyprus, 'geographically Cyprus is stable yet semantically it "floats" closer to either Turkey or Greece respectively' (Papadakis 1998: 149). Commenting that Cyprus has for millenia occupied a shifting position in terms of the symbolic categories of east and west, Julie Scott also extends the discussion on interactions between the symbolic and the 'real' in relation to place and experience/memory in Cyprus (Scott 2002b: 106). In the context of that longer history, and with regard to the current Greek and Turkish ethnic tensions, the question of who can claim a more 'legitimate' presence, or ownership, under which rules, of which portion of the land and via what governing apparatus remains as socially and politically explosive as it is complex. It is complex, for whose past is to be invoked to claim greater share for the future, according to the prevailing conceptual arrangements?⁴ The unresolved relationship between Cyprus' past and its future, and the ensuing social and political anxiety has been the severe cost of, and for, the present, which issues are all in the living memory of the mid-1950s generation of Cypriots of which I am part.

⁴ In *National Identity* (1991) Anthony Smith discusses the uses of 'ethno-history', where a rich ethno-history can be a significant source of cultural power and a focus of cultural politicisation. "...abundance, variety and drama (their aesthetic qualities) or their example of loyalty, nobility and self-sacrifice (their moral qualities) ...inspire emulation and bind present generations to the glorious dead" (Smith 1991: 164). Cultural competition is fostered by the uneven distribution of such ethno-history (Smith *ibid* 164) and, assimilated to the 'nation' (as national identity) it held (and retains) the flexibility and persistent force that allowed it to combine effectively with other powerful ideologies and movements without losing its character (Smith 1991: 15). Julie Scott (2002b) explores the effects of the constructivist 'sciences' of the colonial period, in relation to some specific ways in which the resultant cultural competitiveness has worked to exclude people from the 'universal' sphere of cultural presence and participation, and will continue to do so on the present trajectory of UNESCO's World Heritage List that formalises the nation/state as the repository of culture despite its rhetoric of universalism.

There has been a great deal lobbying from both sides of the divide, for local and international purposes, around respectively perceived images of the victim and the perpetrator, seeking sounder bases on which to gain favourable local and international public opinion for their own cause as they see it, trying to secure ethnically and nationally desired futures. Thus there are two parallel national histories to the story of Cyprus since the island and its people gained its independence from Britain in 1960, which contain internal histories of the contests that have helped to shape the overall (Papadakis 1993). Turks have their version of being the victims between 1963 to 1974 and the Greeks have their version of being the victims in 1974 and since, with the perpetrators being each other, though the powerful outsider also has an important role to play (Pollis 1979, Hitchens 1984). Each side calls their own version *the* history of the Cyprus conflict. The notion that the guardianship of truth in this matter can be monopolised is a complex and debilitating question with regard to finding a long lasting social and political solution for a much sought, albeit more in rhetoric than reality, re-unified Cyprus.

Forty years after the first out-break of clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in their own State, many local and international attempts are still being made for finding a solution to the complaints of the two communities against each other. In the context of this anxiety driven urge, Cypriots from both sides of the divide have been and are still trying to convey their own story to the world. As Primo Levi said in a different context, “The need to tell our story to ‘the rest’, to make ‘the rest’ participate in it, had taken on for us, before our liberation and after, the character of an immediate and violent impulse, to the point of competing with our other elementary needs.”⁵ The United Nations Secretariat is still looking for genuine political will to come from both sides *at the same time* to reach the next step.⁶ It was not a surprise to see an excerpt from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan’s mid-2005 report on Cyprus (forty one years after such kinds of negotiations began), “...regular monthly meetings between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot political party leaders ... produced no tangible progress ‘beyond general declarations of support for a just settlement.’”⁷ Throughout all the processes indicated above, there are consistencies in a pattern that place these two communities side by side, as neighbours in a small island, nationalists, as fearing one

⁵ Saul Frilander ed. *Probing the Limits of Representation*, 1992, p. 96, citing Primo Levi from Carlo Ginsberg’s ‘Just One Witness’.

⁶ A.R. Groom noted this problem of timing in his 1993 article, as per the bibliography; it still appears to be the case.

⁷ “Annan concern at property litigation”, Jean Christou, *Cyprus Mail Online*, 9/6/05, <http://www.cyprus-mail.com/news/main.php?id=20310&cat_id=1>

another, as perpetual parties to negotiation, and so on. However, there are other themes that have been as consistent during that time, which in effect place the two far apart in experience of what looks like the same process. In the following thematic areas I present some materials on aspects of contemporary life and historical experience where some of these effects are interwoven.

2.2 The rhetoric of the day to day – the solutions of nationalism

The lobbying process in Cyprus seems to have become a way of life. Writing about conditions of the 1960s, Zenon Stavrinides (1976) described the general social climate as one of a barrage of propaganda on all sides. I return to details of this further below, but I want to begin here with a present moment, that I experienced in 2004. I have chosen this as a way of indicating how the apparently everyday, ordinary experiences of consuming newspapers, television, and internet news potentially act in Cyprus. This media activity is just that, daily, ordinary, and yet extraordinary if one stops to look at the discursive relentlessness that is the regular fare which occurs in the mutual entanglement of personal, communal, and national identity and memory issues.⁸

As I began to contemplate the act of writing the literature review for my doctoral project in October 2004, a newspaper article titled 'The Morgue' appeared, published in the Greek language daily *Politis*, under the by-line of Şener Levent, Turkish Cypriot newspaper journalist and editor of long experience.⁹ Levent's article likened the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to a morgue in which Turkish Cypriots are housed awaiting the undertakers for their final destination. In the same edition of *Politis* in an article headed "Is the President Useful for Cyprus?" Kyriacos Anastasiadis wrote in strong terms of a shadow cast on the credibility of the current President of the Republic, Tassos Papadopoulos, to represent the

⁸ RADSTONE and HODGKIN (2003) discuss the theoretical debates about the complexity of relations between media, representation, and memory. Here I am concerned simply with a generalised notion of experience of media consumption as part of people's overall daily experience, day after day. Bryant (2004: 240) observed of the South that "each day, reading a newspaper is like experiencing déjà vu: there's nothing new in the world except the latest inroad or comment about "The Cyprus Problem."

⁹ Şener LEVENT, 'The Morgue' *Politis* 5-10-04, English version downloaded 6-10-04 from tri-lingual site *CyprusMediaNet* <www.cyprusmedianet.com/EN/article/27037>, the three languages being English, Greek, Turkish. *Politis* newspaper is published in the south of Cyprus, the Greek area; Şener Levent resides and publishes in the Turkish area, the north of the island.

four-decade long troubles of his constituents in the international arena.¹⁰ Both journalists were criticising their governments, yet while Sener Levent's angrily mournful lament seemed to foreshadow the loss of a whole people, the Turkish Cypriots, Kyriacos Anastasiadis, also angry, lamented a different loss, loss of prestige, that of the Greek Cypriot nation's standing amongst powerful friends.

A day earlier, Greek Cypriot daily *Simerini* had published an article titled 'Attila defeated by the EU,' in which he meant the readers to understand that the refusal of the European Union (EU) to attend a particular EU-Islamic Conference forum was a defeat for Turkey and a "... victory for the Republic of Cyprus."¹¹ Referring to Turkey simply by the name Attila, a man's name found amongst today's Turkish speaking people (as well as Hungarians), he used a trope very familiar to the Greek readers, conflating imagery of various centuries' old 'barbarians' and 'barbarisms' to refer to contemporary political manoeuvrings. In the north of Cyprus, the next day, the Turkish language daily *Kıbrıs* used a more businesslike approach on this occasion, to report the recent election of two Turkish Cypriot representatives to observe in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, where they may observe, speak, and take part in discussions, but not vote. The Turkish Cypriot Prime Minister Mehmet Ali Talat, is cited as commenting that whilst the lack of voting rights limits participation in decision making, it is, nonetheless, progress towards visibility for Turkish Cypriot people in the international arena.¹²

This is a small range of media articles from two days of one week in Cyprus in October 2004. It was six months after the historic United Nations-brokered joint referendum had failed to re-unite the long divided island when the Turkish community voted YES (65%) and the Greek polity voted NO (75%). Existential anxiety, the image of the self, the image of the barbarian, the question of visibility. These subjects are familiar, and I suggest this sample represents a condensation of the amount and themes of daily input of imagery and narrative, and indicate some of the levels and sources of demands for deciphering

¹⁰ Kyriacos ANASTASIADIS, 'Is the President Useful to Cyprus?' *Politis* 5-10-04, English version downloaded 6-10-04 from *CyprusMediaNet* <www.cyprusmedia.com/EN/article/27934>. The term Republic of Cyprus as it is usually used in this kind of context assimilates the Greek Cypriot polity with the notion of a whole-of-island Republic, another of the major contested issues.

¹¹ Korneliou HADJICOSTA 'Attila defeated by the EU', *Simerini* 4-10-04, English version downloaded 6-10-04 from *CyprusMediaNet* <www.cyprusmedianet.com/EN/article/27889>

¹² 'Turkish Cypriot representatives in Council of Europe', no by-line, *Kıbrıs*, 5-10-04, English version downloaded 6-10-04 from *CyprusMediaNet* <www.cyprusmedianet.com/EN/article/27955>

information.¹³ In terms of content of this media, overall in twenty-first century Cyprus there appears to be a continuation of the historical separations between an ‘everyday’ social arena and a meta-level of political identity and ideals, as discussed above. Only now the contents are reversed, and the ‘everyday’, as exemplified by the media discourse, contains the polemical, separative operations of national identity discourse, and the idealised sphere of political identity that participates internationally contains a rhetoric of cooperation and sharing that resembles the ‘old’ unseen everyday environment of the colonial era, as discussed further below. The degree of interpenetration of national history, memory and identity as part of the same live discourse located and contested in daily affairs is what I referred to as the extraordinariness of the situation, and it seems to have continued since it began in the 1960s.

In the early 1960s however, political divisions between people as Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots were not clear-cut, especially in parts of the countryside. Hence after the significant date of 21st December 1963, “...very much more than before then, Greek and Turkish nationalisms became matters of official policy and inspiration” (Stavrínides 1976).¹⁴ As will be seen in Chapter 3, the first public national monuments appeared in the Turkish Cypriot community in exactly this period. To quote from Zenon Stavrínides’ vivid evocation of the polemics of the 1960s:

“The Greek and Turkish leaderships needed to arouse and rally their communities around them, and win the sympathy of foreign press and international public opinion. Thus, the Greek and Turkish radio stations, newspapers, politicians and speech-makers plunged into a passionate and vicious propaganda war, attributing evil motives and the worst faith to the opposite side, and especially the opposite side’s leaders. The image of the Turks which the Greek side cultivated (consciously or unconsciously) was either that they were a minority of greedy people who, owing to an Anglo-Turkish conspiracy, obtained a Constitution that gave them super-privileges at the expense of the Greek majority and resorted to armed rebellion when the Greeks made a firm stand on their legitimate democratic

¹³ TRNC is about three and a half thousand square kilometres, population about 220, 000, there are at least 6 daily newspapers, most with on-line editions, a national broadcaster and several private ones, plus satellite television with its hundreds of channels, and the internet. The Greek area has at least the same amount of media. Each political party seems to have its own newspaper. Personal observation plus information on newspapers from TAK, the Cyprus Turkish News Agency.

¹⁴ A significant date in Turkish Cypriot historiography as the day the struggle years began, with the first Greek attacks against them. The day is known as Kanlı Noel, Bloody Christmas. The events of this period followed weeks of deadlock in parliament as the Greek majority numbers had tried to put through legislation that undermined the Turkish constitutional franchise (Ertekün 1981: 13).

rights; or alternatively (and a little more generously) that they were basically plain and sensible, if uncultivated, folk, who were the victims of an evil and self-seeking leadership that would send them to their own destruction. On the Turkish side the Greeks were presented and viewed as an unscrupulous and violent people, a part of the Greek nation that had long been the opponents of the Turkish nation, and who, in their pursuit of enosis, used cunning and force to break up the established constitutional arrangements, and all that these implied in terms of cooperation” (Stavrinides 1976 n.p.).

Here a link with the contemporary media articles I presented above would seem to be indicated, in the sense of a continuation of the “unprecedented intrusion of public messages into the private lifeworld.”¹⁵ Certainly for the Turkish community in the 1960s, isolated in the enclaves to which many had fled after the onset of Greek Cypriot extremist attacks, in fear of further attack, crowded, under pressure internally and externally and unable to travel freely (Mehmet 2003, Navaro-Yashin 2006: 286-287), invisible to the outside world (Alemdar 1993), and to many Greek Cypriots also (Stavrinides 1976), the radio was a vital means of communication (Scott 2002a). The above quote from Stavrinides suggests there was equivalence in the outside lobbying by both Turkish and Greek Cypriot political leaderships. This may well have been the case in terms of effort but, importantly for the course of events and in particular for Turkish Cypriot experience, it was not the case in terms of results, as touched on further below. In the discourse of Turkish Cypriot presence and absence, visibility and invisibility, this period is pivotal.

2.3 Boundary markers – symbolic geographies

During the 1990s, while studying Cyprus and its sharp ethnic division, anthropologist and historian Rebecca Bryant found herself facing “a Cypriot history known to Cypriots but not found in books” where parts of that unwritten history conflicted with what she found in the archival record (2004: 10). Bryant recognized that the task of understanding difference in the intensely political present had to include explaining how those differences have come to take the forms they have. In fact, she found that while “differences were always constructed – between Christian and Muslim, elite and villager, educated and uneducated – representative politics led to a gradual overlap of communal belonging and political

¹⁵ Phrase from Toby Clark’s introduction to *Art and Propaganda in the 20th Century* (2003), where he examines the trajectory of development of modern propaganda from origins in the British efforts during World War One.

belonging ...where one's 'real' identity became singular and ethnic..." (Bryant 2004: 10). This contrasts with Ottoman society that was organised largely on the basis of the *millet*, the religious community, at least until the early twentieth century (Gazilog`lu 1990), in a plural system of recognition and autonomy for religious affiliations, including education practice (Scott 2002b, citing Kitromilides, p.108). There was no necessary equation of religion with language, custom, or territory in this system. After the British Empire was handed administrative control of Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire in 1878, the correlations of religion, language, ethnicity and territory began a century-long formative process, through the types of marking, categorizing and delimiting administrative practices that were employed, including political and legal innovations. For example, as Bryant shows, the newly enfranchised population was empowered to (indeed required to) sign (to make their mark) as individuals, yet each individual could only register to vote as a member of a specified community; whilst the franchise was for males only until 1960 (Cockburn 2004: 55).

Geographically, the British administrative and control processes involved delineation of boundaries that had previously not existed, and the firm demarcation of pre-existing ones that were otherwise more generally tacit and fluid, giving a "tangible and verifiable boundary to what had previously been defined by negotiation or consensus" (Given 2002: 20). Drawing on approaches to understanding colonial administration that show it as tending towards *creating* difference as much as *recording* it, Michael Given conducted his study of British colonial boundary-marking practices in Cyprus. Here "symbols on the map and a whole series of cairns, walls, and signs on the ground made the lines outwardly visible, and created an arena for their literal and metaphorical policing" (Given *ibid*: 20). Michael Given mentions, for example, how in Lieutenant H.H. Kitchener's 1880s survey, every village on the map was marked by a cross or a crescent based on the name of the place, with mixed villages having no mark; part of this map is reproduced in Figure 3. This was despite the reality that it was often impossible to distinguish Turkish from Greek villages merely by the name (Beckingham 1957: 166), as indeed it was impossible to distinguish people by what language they spoke in public, or sometimes indeed by their looks. Michael Given further illustrates how the demarcation of space went: "...*hand in hand with the demarcation between people [] it was not just fields and forests which were forced into a closed classificatory system, but the people as well*", whereas "*in a face-to-face community, local kinship and land-ownership*

patterns could be so complex and convoluted that they were virtually impossible to translate to paper... local knowledge of relationships and of individual fields and trees was flexible enough to handle the complexities of land use within the community [,] trees had multiple owners, people had several levels of identity, land played different roles at different times” (Given 2002: 20, my italics).

However, Michael Given concludes that the colonial system could not fully conquer the local land tenure and inheritance systems, and whilst his research was conducted mostly in the Greek area of Cyprus, some of the things he describes in his article resonate very strongly with my memories of growing up in a remote Turkish Cypriot village from the 1950s to the 1970s. From a young age, the finest details of the region were known to people, down to the flavours of cheeses that told you which shepherd’s flock had provided the milk, based on who grazed their flock where on the hillsides at which time of year. This ‘tacit’ knowledge did not stop at the edge of our village’s territory (a fuzzy territorial, social and linguistic edge that suddenly became explicit and hard after the events of December 1963) but extended and interwove throughout the hills of the district to the local town (Polis) and the district centre Paphos. These are densely woven inter-relations of place, space, experience, memory, and knowledge as have come thematically to engage approaches to literature, theory and practical research paradigms in the humanities and social sciences in recent decades (Bachelard 1958, Olick and Robins 1998, Osborne 2006). “We should think of landscape [as a verb], not as an object to be seen or a text to be read, but as process by which social and subjective identities are formed”.¹⁶

The land itself then was gradually marked and divided. It is clear that applying critical visual analysis to relevant Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot public monuments built since the establishment of the short lived Republic of Cyprus in 1960 will show them as participating in the hardening of ethnic lines between the two communities, supposedly partners of the governing apparatus of the island. The aim of my thesis is not to claim to expose the nationalistic overtones in these monuments and landscapes, as the nationalisms have been widely investigated (for example, Salih 1978, Kitromilides 1979, Papadakis 1993-95 Özsag`lam 2003, Bryant 2004), but to encourage attention towards the built environment and its

¹⁶ W.J.T. Mitchell (1994) *Landscape and Power*, University of Chicago Press, pp.1-2

affects and effects in both contemporary communities as they try to develop better interactive relationships with each other.

2.4 Sources of imagery - historical meta-narrative

The first public sculpture that appeared in the Turkish Cypriot arena was a bronze bust. I discuss this figure, Namık Kemal (1840-1888), in the next chapter. Here I want to consider an aspect of controversy that accompanied its installation, which was apparently contested both by the Greek mayor of the wider municipal area and the district's Director of Antiquities (Hakkeri 1992: 272). The bust was eventually settled on a slender pedestal in the central square inside the Venetian walls of Mag`usa (Famagusta) and unveiled on 17 March 1953. This was the first object of its kind amongst the Turks in Cyprus, placed in an acknowledged 'public' space, as shown in the contest. The evidence of the Greek mayor and the Director of Antiquities' opposition is an interesting element, and suggests a nexus of value and antiquity in arts and cultural discourse that problematised both the 'modernity' of the work *and* the Ottoman heritage. On the latter, a guidebook by Philip Newman published in 1948, titled *A Guide to Cyprus*, and full of pages of details about the many historical periods in Cyprus as told through the material culture, the monuments, devotes two terse sentences to the Ottoman period. "For three centuries Cyprus remained an insignificant province of the Ottoman Empire in a backwater of the Eastern Mediterranean. Of these three centuries little of interest remains."¹⁷ The Ottoman material culture was all around, it was lived in and lived around, both 'history' (*lieu de mémoire*) and living environment (*milieu de mémoire*), yet was not recognised by non-Muslims/Turks as either at the time.¹⁸ However, there was the curious circumstance of how, in the 1920s and 30s, the British administration in Cyprus promoted a public façade of a Turkish-Muslim traditional leadership. This seems to have been as a foil for the republican Turkish sentiment that was developing, as Nevzat's (2005) thesis indicates. Indeed, the Muslim community in Cyprus had not eschewed their Ottoman heritage in the way that had happened on the Turkish mainland

¹⁷ Philip Newman (1948) *A Guide to Cyprus* Nicosia: K. Rustem and Brother, p.17. This publishing house continues in the present Turkish area, with a branch in London as well. I am grateful to Professor Sam Ainsley formerly of the Glasgow School of Art for this book.

¹⁸ The two terms are those used by French historian Pierre Nora when in his examination of the cultural history of French national monuments he differentiated between the memory referred to by the monuments and the social arena of 'memory' that is living in people in the present, and as such is as yet unmemorialised. Pierre NORA (1989) "Between memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire" in *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), pp. 7-24.

(Bryant 2004: 233), and this in itself may have been confusing for the British and Greek Cypriots as there were ambiguities in the relationship between the two evocations of Turkish Muslim identity. This latter eventually led to the assimilation of the Muslim Ottoman to a secular national history of Turkish Cypriots, and the gradual ascendancy of a national identity to match the rhetorical environment in which Turkish Cypriots found themselves. In the meantime the lack of the clarity that observers seemed to demand of an 'identity', and Cyprus Turkish elites perhaps not being sure themselves how 'identity' should be projected in these circumstances, perhaps led to some of the misunderstandings (Bryant 2004).

In very active ways "both the Greek nationalist movement and the British colonial authorities consciously made use of monuments, antiquities and museums in order to manipulate ethnic identity and its associated political aspirations" (Scott 2002b: 104). In this process, as already indicated, the Ottoman material culture, that was all around in full view amongst all the other layers and levels of material history, was discounted. There is a particularly interesting aspect of this in relation to the constructions of history via material culture. What were/are classified as historical monuments corresponding to definitive periods of cultural hegemony in Cyprus did not sit about empty and unused in the early twentieth century, as remnants of the past. They were, to a large extent, lived in, part of contemporary social life, as indeed continues to a certain extent, added to by centuries of Ottoman building of other mosques, *medresse* (religious schools), *mescid* (prayer halls), public baths, *tekke* (sufi lodges), *hans* (inns), public fountains and aqueducts, and so on (Gazilog`lu 1990, Scott 2002b). The main mosque in Famagusta is one of the well known examples of incorporation of architecture, where a gothic cathedral was converted to a mosque and continues in that function today.¹⁹ As Julie Scott puts it, "In heritage terms, the effect of the

¹⁹ The medieval period in Cyprus was a period of Latin rule, as a result of the Crusades. There was not a great deal of friendliness between the western and eastern Christians, the latter being the Orthodox of Cyprus. Once the Ottomans took over Cyprus in 1571, many of the buildings of the defeated Latins were converted for contemporary use, including churches. In Famagusta the gothic cathedral of St Nicholas was converted to a mosque, at first named *Ayia Sophia* after the basilica in Istanbul/Constantineyye, then re-named in the 1950s after Lala Mustafa Pasha, the Turkish commander of the Ottoman siege that ended in the taking of Famagusta. According to Julie Scott's article on heritage, it is still sometimes referred to by local Turkish Cypriot residents as St Nicholas (2002b: 108). It was never a Greek building. The Orthodox churches were restored to the Orthodox Christians after the Ottoman takeover from the Venetians (Scott 2002b: 107-08). The material culture of Famagusta and its place in the meta-narrative of Turkish desecration and neglect is very interesting and largely beyond the present concern. Suffice to say that the British used some of its material to provide stones for the construction of the Suez Canal (Keshishian 1945), and in the present day the EU and UNESCO are set to participate in a restoration project to return Famagusta "to the memory of Europe" from which it has been "isolated" for thirty years although the rhetoric of the idea is that it will be a joint project with the local Turkish Cypriot municipality. Leo Leonidou "Joining up to save Famagusta heritage" *Cyprus Mail* 15 December 2007, <www.cyprus-mail.com/news>

Ottoman presence was to create a palimpsest of styles, usages and meanings, reflected in multiple layers of names and traditions with which many buildings are now associated” (Scott 2002b: 107).

The older ‘monuments’ and newer Ottoman buildings were lived in, part of the life of the place in Cyprus (Severis, 2003). However, conceptually the living Greek ‘nation’ (via a material past) had come to be positioned in the realm of the monumental, and the universal, and “other ethnic groups and national movements were consigned to the social time of the everyday, the mundane and the contingent” (Scott 2002b: 105); whether or not they had a contemporary function, the buildings that could be associated with European cultural periods were identified officially as historical monuments, without any connection to the Ottoman period, as can be seen in most guidebooks on Cyprus, including the Newman work referred to above. In Cyprus, the universalised ideal Greek identity became the overarching identity the Greek Cypriots conceived for the island, derived from the ‘eternal Hellenic’ past, whilst other presences were treated as transient and their traces ignored (Scott *ibid*), such that 400 years of practical neighbourliness with the Turks of Cyprus could be discounted as an unimportant aspect of mundane daily life, as continues to be the case in the nationalist view (Mavratsas 1997). The Muslim Turkish public identity that was desired by the British as the public face in the 1920s and 30s was one without agency. In contrast, Nevzat (2005) shows the extent of activity and engagement in the Muslim/Turkish community during the ‘first wave’ of national sentiment as he calls it, where a strong rhetorical environment was developing ‘unseen’ behind that overlooked, mundane, social time of the everyday.

However, ‘the Turk’ was not simply a denizen of the mundane and the every day, but an image of some power in relation to European and Greek conceptions of Self, one that has haunted Greek and Greek Cypriot national identity development from its early stages (Theodossopoulos 2003, Bryant 2004: 237-240). Indeed, the Ottoman period in Cyprus’ history, as elsewhere, has often been framed by a nineteenth-twentieth century European politics within which Ottoman actions and culture are not able to be viewed dispassionately (Quataert 2005). ‘The Turk’ was either a fearsome barbarian, an important (occasionally noble) ally, or a decadent (hence unworthy) adversary, sometimes all at the same time, and in any case ‘his’ society was generally likely to be viewed as backward and ignorant whether or not some of its

leading members had qualities admired by European princes.²⁰ Whilst the image(s) of ‘the Turk’ “does not refer to the identity of the Turks but to several possible identities *for* the Turks made up by Others...(and it) might have little in common with the actual Turks living in Turkey or Cyprus....the very concept of the Turk is instrumental in shaping the world views of local actors in Greece and Cyprus...an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Greece and Cyprus engage frequently with the category of ‘the Turk’” (Theodossopoulos 2003: 2-3); whereas a corresponding degree of concentration on the category ‘Greek’ does not seem to occur in the Turkish arena. Rebecca Bryant observes that the living presence of Turkish Cypriot people in their midst led to the attempt of many Greek Cypriots to separate this idealised image of ‘the Turk’ from the Turks as neighbours, with differing degrees of success (Bryant 2004: 238).

However, as the modern identity development was taking place amongst Turkish Cypriots in the 1920s and 30s, “they adopted the modernising framework, constructivist history, and future oriented rhetoric of the Turkish republic, but they combined this with a belief in a powerful enemy that has been the hallmark of ethno-nationalism” (Bryant 2004: 233). Yet the Turkish Cypriots did not construct Greek Cypriots as a *primordial* enemy, rather as they had Greek people around them constantly agitating for a future that did not include them (as Muslims/Turks), the enemy seemed to be right there in the present, not an image but a person (Bryant *ibid*). This (antagonistic) Greek ‘Other’ was not characteristic of the national identity of republican Turkey, where the Ottoman past had fulfilled the role of the Other from which to distinguish the national Self; this was a response to conditions in Cyprus (Bryant 2004: 233). The friendship and neighbourly cooperation between ordinary Turkish, Greek and other Cypriot people that did exist was not a criterion by which political and cultural identities were permitted to be settled.

The monumental, then, was all around in Cyprus during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, both as material and as image. As the whole Ottoman material culture was able to be lived in and around

²⁰ Maria TODOROVA (1994, 2002) has extensively examined these discourses of the Turk and the Orient in relation to the complex histories of the area known as the Balkans. The latter is sometimes taken analytically to include Cyprus for reasons of the common Ottoman–European history and recent discursive tensions. Inside Cyprus, the “scorching superiority” of the British in the early years in Cyprus was not reserved entirely for the Turks – in the context of women’s history in Cyprus, Cockburn (2004: 51) suggests it had definite effects on both communities and hypothesizes that this was particularly received as a challenge to the masculinities in a patriarchal society, an idea also explored by Karayannis (2006) in looking at nationalism’s subsequent involvement in prescriptions on acceptable bodily movements, posture, and male sexuality.

without being ‘seen’, so relationships, memories, the Ottoman ‘era’, were able to be notionally consigned to the forgettable past,²¹ except by Turkish Cypriots, who assimilated this period into the modern identity; without however the elites necessarily remembering the extent of the past plurality, or appreciating the non-elite spheres of living (Azgîn 2000, Bryant 2004, Fedai 2005). Generally speaking, daily life, the ‘social time of the everyday’, the arena of shared experience and cooperative venture, was ‘unseeable’ for some decades. This period of history/experience came to an end in Cyprus in 1974 and can only be examined in one or another forms of memory (oral history, archival research, and so on).

Visibility

The above-outlined discursive areas indicate aspects of the interplay of presence and absence in Turkish Cypriot historical experience, some of the questions of visibility and invisibility. For my project on the Turkish Cypriot national monuments it is important to consider how these themes, or effects of that history, might have come through to the arena of daily experience in the years to the present time. This is particularly the case as the monuments first appeared at a very specific point in time, in 1963, and in their form and content appear to speak very much to the visibility issue. The monuments are explored further in Chapters 3 and 4. For now, I want to consider the period beginning 1963, which is an important one in Turkish Cypriot history. Indeed this period 1963-1974 is considered the foundational period for the new Turkish Cypriot nation’s identity (Necatig`il 1993, Papadakis 1993-5). I do not propose to review the details in depth, but to examine the theme of visibility/invisibility for which this period was a kind of apotheosis of the historical currents as described above. This involves a brief excursion into international affairs via the Cold War. I do not particularly engage this area beyond the present observations that in crucial ways the Turkish Cypriot experience both on the island and in external affairs during these years

²¹ I am writing here of the colonial period in Cyprus, late 19th century to mid 20th century as prefiguring the post-colonial era – the Namık Kemal bust suggests the archaeological discourse was still active in 1953; in fact it continues to the present, as various works show, summarised by Scott (2002b). The discursive interplay of presence and absence of Ottoman, Muslim, and Turkish Cypriot history continues in the present – as referred to in Footnote 41 in respect of the latest material cultural project in North Cyprus. The framing of the latter project is rather telling, with the town described as a “European work of art” which is “heritage for all mankind”, that “over the past three decades or so has become isolated from the memory of Europe”. A film charting the rise of what was once the “richest city in the world” (13th -14th centuries) was shown in which the stars were said to be the buildings themselves. Leo Leonidou *Cyprus Mail* 15/12/07 <www.cyprus-mail.com/news/main>. It could be the EU’s solution to providing the promised support for TRNC after the referendum vote in 2004, but it reads as a continuation of the older archaeological discourse, as outlined above.

had the effect of configuring their absence, such that they remained in various ways ‘invisible’ in wider arenas for many years. Even amongst the community members themselves, this period might be considered a special case of the ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1983) rather than a face-to-face encounter due to the fragmented settlements that arose during these enclave years – travel between the island-wide Turkish areas, as indicated before 1963 in the map in Figure 5 and afterwards in Fig. 6, was restricted for much of the period and in some areas for all of it (Patrick 1976); travel to visit relatives, to conduct business, or pilgrimage to special sites was out of the question at those times. Before outlining some issues of the period 1963-1974, however, a brief review of the independence period is needed.

a. Independence

In the mid 1950s, Turkish-Cypriots were faced with the onset of the Greek Cypriots violent national struggle for union of Cyprus with Greece (*enosis*), which specifically excluded them from what has been widely framed as an anti-colonial struggle; in the best light union with Greece portended their future cultural and political domination by the Greeks (Azgîn 2000). In these circumstances, the long-term ambiguous approach amongst Muslims/Turks in Cyprus of both favouring of the retention of British rule (as the least bad option) and resisting the effects of that rule, seemed to reach a kind of political resolution in favour of the former (Azgîn 2000, Kızılyürek 2005, Nevzat 2005). In this period, resistance by Turkish Cypriots to the idea of a new colonialism through union with Greece included or coincided with some people accepting employment with the British in their efforts against the Greek Cypriot anti-colonial forces (EOKA), as police, prosecutors, and so on, which in turn, under the circumstances, led to interethnic violence (Pollis 1979).²² The British had on their hands an armed independence movement from which the Turkish people were specifically excluded; clearly there was no longer a strong objection by the British to the Turkish identity being publicly displayed, as a match for the irredentist modernity of the anti-colonial Greek Cypriots. Greece, Turkey, Britain and the USA were primarily involved in the solution to the problems of the late 1950s with two different national visions for Cyprus. In 1960, the

²² There were some experienced fighters around. It should be noted that at least 37,000 Turkish and Greek Cypriot men fought with the British during WW2, of which a third are thought to have been Turkish (William Mallinson *A Modern History*, I. B. Tauris, London, 2005). I’m not sure how many returned. My father, his brother and his sister’s husband were amongst the ones who went, and my father’s brother died. EOKA forces in Cyprus were led by George Grivas, veteran of years of fighting, most notoriously until then in the Greek civil war of the late 1940s early 50s (Crawshaw 1978).

independence that was finally granted under international treaty and guarantee was a compromise solution. The new Republic of Cyprus was set up with Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in a bi-communal power-sharing parliamentary democracy, an administrative partnership structure based on proportional allocation of positions, and separate, autonomous, municipal areas. The President was to be Greek Cypriot. Archbishop Makarios was the founding President. The Vice-President was to be Turkish Cypriot. The founding Vice-President was Dr Fazıl Küçük. Turkish Cypriot leaders have indicated this was a successful outcome that they were prepared to make work (Ertekün 1981), whilst another view is that partition may have been the goal all along (Salih 1978); for Greek Cypriots the form of independence granted in 1960 was simply a compromise as a step on the road to union with Greece (Xydis 1973).

b. International Affairs

The Cold War was a broadly influential current that has affected all Cypriot experience through that era's rivalries in the eastern Mediterranean region 1950s-1970s.²³ Here my focus is on some effects in Cyprus that relate to my topic. Firstly, the developing national identities in Cyprus became more specifically nationalistic and increasingly exclusionary, that is, suspicious of one another and of the internal diversity of political opinion. The leader of the Greek Cypriot violent anti-British movement (EOKA) for example, was George Grivas, a fighter with the nationalist militia in the post-World War II civil war in Greece (Crawshaw 1978). Once this overt nationalist activity for union with Greece became established in the mid-1950s with the militarist uprising against the British, the Turkish Cypriot leadership took it that they might soon have to fight for their place on the island and their own militarist section established, Turkish Resistance Organisation TMT (Türk Mudafaa (or Mukavemet) Teşkilatı). Officials of this organization were later involved in organising the defences of the enclaves during the 1960s and 1970s (Sadrazam 1990, Mehmet 2003) as well as participating in spreading national identity materials and ideas,²⁴ including via the vital channel of the radio station that connected otherwise separated areas. In the climate of the times, the authoritarian nationalistic tendencies strengthened in both communities. The various

²³ Various analysts portray this period and its outcomes in Cyprus, including the war and division in 1974, as intrinsically related to the activity of the powers such as USA and Britain in the context of the Cold War, in which President Makarios at times courted the USSR and was active participant in the Non-aligned movement (Pollis 1998, Hitchens 1984, Alemdar 1993, O'Malley 2001).

²⁴ For example, some of the teachers who came to work in my village were rather keen on activities related to national sentiment, such as raising the flag and the recitation of particular poetry.

cooperative movements, such as left-wing organising in the communist party (AKEL) and the labour unions, as well as the level of everyday cooperation that had been part and parcel of life in Cyprus (Panayiotou 2006a), were regarded as naturally antipathetic to the unitarist national goals. This is not to say that friendships were completely eroded however, as indicated by Cynthia Cockburn (2004: 57), where noting that she heard of many individual friendships surviving the 'struggle' years, she observes that it was the good nature and good humour of many Cypriots that connected them across the widening ethno-political divide, which certainly matches my personal experience.

At the same time, there was success in the arena of international affairs for the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, in portraying himself as standing up to the Western imperialists' regional NATO ally Turkey (Alemdar 1993). As put by international affairs analyst Şakir Alemdar, due to the strategic location and the particular demographic composition of Cyprus at the onset of the Cold War, the interaction of island affairs with regional developments was particularly strong (Alemdar 1993: 75). Archbishop Makarios, as President of Cyprus (1960-1977), was able to exploit Cold War conditions of difference between West and East and operate within the Non-aligned movement, where the latter "accepted the case...that Cyprus was a problem of circumscribed independence and a pro-western plot (via the regional super power Turkey) to prevent the exercise of self-determination of the 'Cypriot nation'" (Alemdar *ibid*, p.85). Turkish Cypriots thus suffered from the negative reaction of the Third World countries towards the pro-Western line followed by Turkey, while Makarios received military assistance from Greece unquestioned, though he was dedicated not to the independence of Cyprus but to its unification with Greece (Kızılyürek 2005: 139-141), another NATO member. Somehow throughout this period Archbishop Makarios managed to develop the image of a successful anti-colonial leader who championed non-aligned causes such as self-determination and territorial integrity (Kızılyürek *ibid*). He thus secured needed votes in his favour in the United Nations. The process of denial of Turkish Cypriot identity as founding partner in an independent Cyprus was underway.

The events of this period thus deprived the Turkish Cypriot partner of the "...co-legacy of the international personality" of the Cyprus republic, and this had a major impact on the way the Cyprus question was viewed from that time onwards. (Alemdar 1993: 81). This was despite Greek Cypriot

attacks against Turkish Cypriot villages in August 1964, and later in 1967.²⁵ The Greek Cypriot polity had also imposed an economic embargo on the Turkish community enclaves, reciprocated with a Turkish policy of only dealing with other Turks, *Türk'den, Türk'e* (From Turk to Turk), that added to the great hardships of displacement, lack of employment, internal pressure, disruptions to travel, schooling, and so on, and continuing fear of attack brought about by actual attacks and loss of life in 1963/64 and 1967 (Patrick 1976, Mehmet 2004, Navaro-Yashin 2006). It was acknowledged in the United Nations Security Council report on Cyprus in 1964 that the severity of the embargoes on Turkish Cypriots represented forcing a potential solution by economic pressure as a substitute for military action; in terms of effects this was simply an observation, not a call for action (Alemdar 1993: 92).

During this period in the 1960s, the Turkish Cypriots were portrayed as a rebellious minority group by their former partners in the government of the Republic of Cyprus, with no warrantable official status in international affairs. "It was the policy of the Greek Cypriots to contest the presence of Turkish Cypriot officials or representatives in every international forum in which they were to be found in the presence of the Republic of Cyprus, which was now entirely under Greek control. Thus many institutions that might have had a healing touch were ruled out of court, for example the Commonwealth..." (Groom 1993: 22). Although a United Nations peace-keeping presence was established in Cyprus in 1964, in the Security Council and in the Secretariat the Greek Cypriot polity was accorded official recognition, by the voting patterns mentioned above, and excluded the Turkish Cypriots from effective participation. Yet the Turkish Cypriots did not see themselves as a minority, but as one of the island's two principal communities – a fact they rightly argued had been acknowledged in British colonial times and in the setting-up of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 (Groom 1993: 19). A. R Groom points out that continual denial of any international role for the Turkish Cypriots, the flaunting of the Greek Cypriots' status as the Republic of Cyprus, and denigration of the Turkish Cypriots' status, whether intended or incidental, and "on occasion it was both", was only exacerbated later by the frequent assertion of many Greek Cypriots, including leadership figures, that their *interlocuteur* was not the Turkish Cypriot leader Mr Rauf Denktaş and his colleagues, but Turkey, which was a particular feature of their international affairs stance from the early 1980s onwards (Groom *ibid* 24). Whether the *interlocuteur* was the elected leader

²⁵ Patrick (1976), Alemdar (1993) Navaro-Yashin (2006)

of the Turkish Cypriots Mr Denktash or Turkey itself, in neither case was a sense conveyed of a whole people being involved, the Turkish Cypriot people.

Many of the Turkish Cypriot leadership were barristers, educated in Britain for the most part, like many of their Greek Cypriot counterparts, and the legal conundrum presented by this situation was particularly confounding to them. As former Attorney-General of TRNC and a chief negotiator Zaim Necatigil wrote in 1993, *“It has been presumed that the problem of Cyprus is a matter of the constitutional crisis in Cyprus and that it is a problem arising out of the ‘invasion of Cyprus by Turkey’ in 1974. On the basis of these presumptions, resolution after resolution has been passed at the United Nations, in Europe, and elsewhere on one-sided evidence, thus not honouring even the simplest rule of legal principle that all sides must be heard before a decision is made. The Turkish Cypriot side has been judged wrongly in its absence on the evidence of the Greek Cypriots who have managed to wear the mantle of the ‘Government of Cyprus’ ”* (Necatigil 1993: 46).

To comment on some of the interestingly compounding effects of the growing international perception of Cyprus as purely a Greek island, Alemdar (1993) outlines how foreign ministries of many countries began to place their Cyprus desks under their Greek sections, where numbers of diplomats had been educated in Greek language, culture, or history in well-established Greek departments in European universities. These people were often posted to Cyprus. Since the Turkish Cypriots were excluded from all organs of the state there and restricted in small enclaves, it was considered there was not much need for Turkish-speaking diplomats or for Turkish experts; since the 1960s only a few Turkish-speaking foreign diplomats have served in Cyprus. In addition, the fact that the foreign embassies were established in the Greek-Cypriot sector strengthened the perceptions of Greekness, the inclinations towards the European familiarities with Greek language and culture, as well as adding to the economy in direct and indirect ways, establishing personal contacts, mutual visits, and so on (Alemdar 1993).

In summary, it seems to me that Alemdar’s observation of the Non-aligned movement’s position during the 1960s and 70s could be extended more generally, “To oppose pro-western Turkey was one thing, but to blind oneself to Turkish-Cypriot rights and their struggle for freedom and human dignity was an

entirely separate matter” (Alemdar 1993: p. 85). Unfortunately this mis-perception (or injustice) was not corrected before the drastic events of 1974. After the Turkish army’s major intervention in 1974, in the wake of a coup against President Makarios by a right-wing nationalist militia (EOKA-B) backed by the military junta in Athens, there was a climate of fear, a deep sense of hurt and of being the victim of grave injustice in both communities. Generally speaking this was internationally acknowledged as such only in respect of the Greek Cypriot polity and people (Groom 1993: 21).

c. Public symbols of (political) identity

The above discussion on cultural presence and patterns of imagery indicates some issues of visibility and acknowledgement in public culture that seem to resonate with present concerns in the Turkish Cypriot community, as indicated in the media articles above. Recent research on the ‘first wave’ of Turkish Cypriot nationalism in the late nineteenth and very early twentieth century indicates that while there was incipient communal or ‘national’ sentiment in Cyprus among the Turks, there was no publicly visible symbolism to enshrine such consciousness (Nevzat 2005). Altay Nevzat’s thesis confirms that during the Great War 1914-1918 and through the 1920s into the 1930s such sentiment had gradually become observable, including in its anti-colonial potential (Nevzat 2005: 419). The ‘modern’ Turkish national identity was increasingly overtaking the seemingly more traditionalist, Muslim community ‘persona’, particularly after the late 1920s. Yet, in part because public display of symbols of the new Turkish national identity was circumscribed by the British colonial administration at the same time as it was developing, a discursive construction of its absence was able to operate for some decades. Greek Cypriots also did not take seriously the developing Turkish community feeling (Nevzat 2005: 419), nor would they have welcomed it for it contradicted the national vision for a purely Greek Cyprus.

It is important in relation to Turkish Cypriot history to recognise that this community developed amongst the Ottoman Muslims from whom the British took over administration of Cyprus in 1878, as the Greek Cypriot community developed from the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman era (Bryant 2004). The Ottomans had taken over direct control of Cyprus by conquering it from the Venetians in 1570-1571. Turkish Cypriot historiography normally begins with this period (Gaziog`lu 1990, Canefe 1998). Cyprus

was subsequently a domestic province of the Ottoman Empire until it ceded administration to its then ally the British Empire in 1878. Ottoman cultural, religious and administrative links with the island remained for some time afterwards, under the terms of the agreement with the British, the Cyprus Convention. The Convention did not rule out the return of Cyprus to the Ottomans at a later stage, though a Greek Cypriot national goal of union with Greece was already formulating by the turn of the twentieth century (Bryant 2004). At its inception in 1923 the new Republic of Turkey inherited this theoretical question mark about the affiliation of Cyprus, but Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the republic of Turkey, chose to concentrate on internal matters and eschewed the notion of responsibility for territory outside the mainland borders (Mango 2004). Having been administered by Britain since 1878, and a protectorate since 1914, Cyprus officially became a full Crown colony in 1925.

In the Republic of Turkey that succeeded the Ottoman state in Anatolia in 1923, westernising political and socio-cultural change proceeded hand in hand amongst the military and bureaucratic elites, under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk until his death in 1938 (Mango 2004).²⁶ This included a representational regime of statues, portraits, monuments and other public symbols that gradually overtook the previously non-figural Muslim public culture.²⁷ The first public statue erected was a bronze full sized figure of Atatürk that was installed in Sarayönü, Istanbul, in 1926 (Kreiser 1997, Mango 2004). Despite the many differences in the circumstances of Cyprus and Turkey at the time, not least of which was the British rule of Cyprus, ideas and symbols of modern Turkish national identity rapidly transferred to the island from Turkey in the 1920s and 30s, particularly via the education system (Bryant 2001, Nevzat 2005). That is to say, the Turks in Cyprus experienced processes of transition from the late Ottoman Muslim culture to the secular republicanism of modern Turkish identity, however the great difference in circumstance between

²⁶ The topic of cultural, social, and political change in the Ottoman Empire -Turkey transition in Anatolia is very large and an active academic arena. I don't suggest I have covered it, rather I simply identify the following couple of points as related to my project - precursory cultural change in the late Ottoman Empire is discussed by Selim Deringil (1993a) in relation to public display and ceremony in general, and Klaus Kreiser (1997) in relation to public monuments. The transition from a Muslim non-figural public domain to the national identity representation of republican Turkey is covered in the following points above.

²⁷ How did Mustafa Kemal create the space for the figurative form in the public arena after 1923? Andrew Mango indicates that he linked it both with traditions within Islam itself and with the discourse of modernisation as a civilising mission for taking Turkey into the future. In a public speech in Bursa in 1923, Mustafa Kemal directly addressed the question of representation and said Turkey would put up statues to its heroes. He suggested that whilst the Islamic ban on human representation had (rightly) been directed against the worship of idols, it was no longer relevant because the assumption that educated people of today were capable of worshipping pieces of stone was actually an insult to Islam. Turkey would become "civilised and progressive" and one of the signs of this would be public figurative representation (Mango 2004: 371).

the two places led to differences in the timetable, rhythm, and nuances of change.²⁸ One of the important differences relating to my research is the public representation of Turkish national identity through statues and monuments, which had begun in Turkey with the figure of Atatürk in Istanbul in 1926. In Cyprus, the ‘public’ expression of national identity of the Turks was curtailed by the British until the 1950s, when the colonial administrators relaxed the control of public expression of Turkish identity; that is, the identity became publicised. Thus figurative sculpture and the public monument was not to appear in the Cypriot Turkish arena until the latter period. The first figure amongst Turkish Cypriots was the bust of a cultural identity, the Ottoman poet and gazetteer Namık Kemal, as indicated above, and the first full statue (of Atatürk) was erected in 1963. By the 1960s, monument design in Turkey had long since passed from the European sculptors who received almost all the early commissions to new generations of Turkish born and trained sculptors (Kreiser 1997, Germaner (no date), Erdentug` and Berrak 1998, Batuman 2006), and the visual language of these generations is what one finds in the national monuments today, as explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

In Cyprus circumstances were rather ambiguous during the 1920s and 30s for both Turkish and Greek speaking communities, especially during the unsettled time of the war in Anatolia in the early 1920s and after the 1931 Greek Cypriot revolt against the British administrative system (Nevzat 2005). Both communities were grappling with the effects of colonial rule, as Rebecca Bryant explores in some depth, but the potential for joint action in opposing the more onerous aspects was undermined by the Greek unilateral action in the Revolt (Nevzat 2005: 418-19). Public identity discourse for both Greek and Turkish communities was markedly curtailed by the British administrators following the revolt, yet the education system continued on its communally, linguistically organised basis, for which text books were imported from the respective mainlands, Greece and Turkey, hence students were absorbing the respective contemporary history and identity discourses. The education system was probably the most important conduit to Cyprus of the linguistic reforms and other cultural and curriculum changes that took place in Turkey in the 1920s and 1930s. These were reflected almost immediately in the school textbooks of Turkish Cypriot children (Bryant 2001). A notable aspect of change at that time was the linguistic one,

²⁸ As a comparative study this is a complex area that is beyond the immediate scope of this thesis. It includes many areas of political, social, cultural and economic concern. Rebecca Bryant conveys a number of aspects of this in her 2004 work *Imagining the Modern*.

in which the official late Ottoman Turkish script (based on Arabic and Persian) was replaced in 1928 by modern Turkish, which uses a Latin-based alphabet (Lewis 1999).²⁹ Also in this period, western-style visual arts made their first appearance in the Turkish school curriculum in Cyprus via the painting syllabus, as a sign of Turkish modernity (Yıldız 2003).

The absence of acknowledged demonstration of publicly symbolised national sentiment amongst the Turks of Cyprus before the 1950s has tended to be interpreted by observers as *lack* of such sentiment, as addressed by Altay Nevzat (2005). As Nevzat found in doing his research, assigning the beginning of national consciousness to a group of people is a complex matter (2005: 37). It is easier to point to the birth of an imperial province or a post-colonial state, for example, as with Cyprus gaining its independence from the colonial power Britain in 1960, but harder to define the national sentiments of its people. This is particularly the case for Turkish Cypriots in the complexity of circumstances, as indicated above, including the ‘internal’ negotiations of these discursive processes. As regards the latter, one of the important implications of the public eschewal of the Ottoman past in Turkey was the consigning of Islam to a private, indeterminate sphere where it could not be publicly represented as a dynamic social and spiritual engagement, certainly for much of the twentieth century. In Cyprus the discursive framework was slightly different in this area, as until the late 1930s the British endeavoured to maintain a public façade of Muslim traditionalism as counter to potential anti-British tendencies in the rising Turkish national sentiment (Bryant 2004, Nevzat 2005), as well any potential cooperation between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus (Kiizilyürek 2005).

Drawing on previous works on the subject in the modern Turkish and Ottoman languages as well as recently available colonial archival material, Nevzat indicates the increasing consciousness of a Turkish community identity amongst Muslims in Cyprus from the 1880s to the 1930s, the “first wave” as he calls it. In the earlier part of this period newspapers began to be printed and engaged in debate about the Greek national developments. In the later part of the period, visual images symbolic of Turkish national identity, such as posters of Atatürk, were beginning to permeate the ‘internal’ community spaces of school, coffee

²⁹ Historian Altay Nevzat (2005) notes in his important work the extent to which this linguistic transformation has affected historical research on Turkish Cypriot matters.

house, homes, and clubs, though constrained in the 'public' space by British decree. Thus when Nevzat writes of the absence of publicly visible symbols of Turkish national consciousness, he is presumably referring to the kinds of colourful public display and performance such as the flags and parades that from the late 1950s came to characterise the Turkish Cypriot public expression of national identity, as I remember it, and recount below. The fact that the British administration banned schoolbooks that bore the 'national emblem' of Turkey during the 1930s, as well as banning Turkish clubs and associations from flying their flags at half-mast on the death of Atatürk in 1938,³⁰ suggests that the use of the signs and emblems was well established by that time. By the end of the 1930s the British were reporting that Cypriot Turks were buying up portraits of Atatürk and other leading statesmen, and a film of Atatürk's life was circulating (Nevzat 2005: 37).

The circumstances are thus naturally complex under which (mis)understandings arose as to the presence of Turkish national sentiment in Cyprus. Similar circumstances of understanding apply to the Turkish cultural presence (Azgîn 2000), as indicated above via the material 'monuments'. These circumstances include historical legacy, political will and cultural practices of representation, and the nexus between them. As to political will, through archival newspaper and official records Nevzat's thesis shows that during the late nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century, the ruling British either ignored the developing Turkish national sentiment or repressed it where they could not ignore. This was notably via the banning of newspapers during World War 1, and controlling imagery of the new Republic of Turkey's leader Atatürk during the 1930s, as mentioned above. A key approach of the British was to manage differences within the Turkish community by fostering an older style Muslim leadership in an effort to sustain a public image of a 'traditional' Muslim Ottoman society, compliant with their rule as they saw it; within the discourse of modernism and the 'backwardness' of the Ottoman, the implications of this would seem to be clear in relation to political agency. This British approach seems to have continued until in the late 1930s, when it could no longer be ignored or denied that this image most certainly did not fit the realities of the Turkish Cypriot votership (Nevzat 419), and subsequently, partly because the British relationship with Turkey was reconciled during the 1940s, Turkish Cypriot national sentiments were permitted more free expression. It was not that the now more visible 'Kemalism' in

³⁰ Nevzat (2005: 419). The flag of the Republic of Turkey is almost identical to that used in late Ottoman times, a white crescent moon and star on red ground.

Cyprus automatically implied a union with Turkey however, for the latter's foreign policy until the early 1950s seems mostly to have followed Atatürk's approach to containment within the borders of the Turkish Republic (Mango 2004).

Apart from asserting that the British always favoured the Turks as a means of subverting the national goal of a Hellenic union with Greece, Cypriot Greek elites seemed to pay little heed to Turkish Cypriot identity development as, despite some cooperative activities in the late 1920s, they were involved in their own kinds of national identity discourse that specifically did not include the Turks (Nevzat 2005: 418-419). Bryant (2004) develops a detailed cultural, social and political picture of the turn of the twentieth century period in Cyprus and illustrates some of the choices that were made by communities and individuals until the two developing nationalisms became divergent from one another, rather than finding some kind of common national identity for the centuries' long neighbours on the island; these are patterns she indicates that continue into the present. Despite there being various views of this history amongst its scholars, there is a consensus that Turkish Cypriot identity development consistently occurred more often in reaction to the Greek Cypriot nationalist activity and representations than as an independently separatist nationalism (Calotychos 1998, Azgîn 2000, Bryant 2004, Kîzîlyürek 2005, Nevzat 2005), at least until the mid-1960s. By the mid-1960s the irreconcilability of the two ethno-nationalist positions was clear, as the excerpt on the media activities, above, would appear to convey. Anthropologist Yiannis Papadakis (1995) described the discourse in the two Museums of National Struggle, one on either side of the border in Cyprus, where the visual and verbal rhetorics of struggle and sacrifice seemed to him identical in their telling of the history of their own community's national 'struggle' as the *one* history of Cyprus. Papadakis noted that in the depiction process in these museums, the enemy (whether perennial or immanent) is pictorially absent, yet rhetorically present as the implied cause of the disaster. It should be noted that the Greek Cypriot museum was set up in the 1960s to memorialise the 'EOKA years', the Greek Cypriot nationalist militia's fight against the British, and the Turkish museum was set up in the late 1970s to memorialise the years 1963-74 in which they struggled (and fought) against the Greeks.

The picture I have sketched in the above paragraphs oversimplifies the summary of national identity development by not engaging with the multiple identity evolutions and contestations within each

community, which between the 1930s and mid-1960s included increasingly vibrant Marxist Leninist discourse with both Greek and Turkish participation (Panayiotou 2006a). In particular, by dealing in abstraction this picture is in danger of losing sight of the people. Indeed there are people who rarely appear in investigations of the bi-communal relations in Cyprus, people of the Armenian, Latin, Maronite, and Roma communities, for example, who have been an integral part of life in the island all the while. The above approach does however illustrate some aspects of the discursive framework of the national contestations in Cyprus, where the use of group labels has had its effects through time. Examining the national monuments raises questions both about the historical effects of application of the group labels, and about how that abstract domain actually relates to the particular people(s) who are notionally represented in it. For the present, my research is involved more with the meeting of the abstract as object and discourse and the individual(s) as participant in the environment within the latter operate, than with the details of social variety of such experience.

I briefly return to the area of culture. As discussed above, public visibility of a modern Turkish political identity has been construed as lack of presence of such sentiment and its implied political agency. This process can be seen also as applying to Turkish ‘high’ culture, as experienced amongst the elites who had leading roles in the official levels of colonial interrelationships. Cultural analyst Bekir Azgîn traced some important literary elements of the underlying logic of what amounted to the denial of Turkish ‘culture’ in Cyprus. He suggests that whereas Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots shared a ‘mass’ culture, the rise of Turkish and Greek nationalism was interwoven with a “...historical lack of interest in the ‘high culture’ of the ‘other side’ in general, and literature in particular” (Azgîn 2000: 147). In the wider cultural context of this process, a key factor was the foundational place in the European imaginary of classical Greek culture, and the ‘de-orientalisation’ of Greek society in Greece as it gradually transited from the Ottoman into the European domains during the nineteenth century. That is to say, as national fervour increased there was a concerted effort to identify and separate out Turkish (oriental) elements from the language, literature and landscapes.³¹ Vangelis Calotychos discusses this historical cultural process in terms of specific historical legacies that had to be repressed and/or relocated, via the “contingency of

³¹ Azgîn 2000: 147-148. Also music and movement, as Karayannis (2006) explores. Similar cultural constructive processes have occurred in the nationalist context in the Turkish Cypriot area since 1974 (Güven-Lisaniler and Rodriguez 2002). A similar process occurred in the new Republic of Turkey, linguistically at least, when the modern language was introduced to replace the old language’s Arabic and Persian (‘oriental’) influences (Lewis 1999).

objects that links European modernism's and Greek modernism's quest for a transcendental home and a meaning elsewhere" (2000: 52-53). Christian Heinze's image of landscapes, quoted in Chapter 1, illustrates this European connection with Greek heritage, and non-connection with the Turkish, in terms of a poetic and a non-poetic image respectively. Heinze was writing during the events of the 1906s, discussed above, in which the Greek Cypriot cultural relations with Europe were strengthening, and Turkish Cypriots were becoming invisible even in to many Greek Cypriots in their homeland of Cyprus (Stavrinides 1976, no page number).

In this overall context, the perceived or 'desired' lack of Turkish culture in Cyprus by Greek Cypriot and European interests appears to have worked together with the ascribed lack of national sentiment. The lack of knowledge of Turkish (high) culture by Greek Cypriot intellectuals could thus be interpreted as lack of (high) culture per se (Azg n 2000: It could eventually constellate the entire absence of Turkish people, as suggested by the view of some Greek intellectuals, as expressed in newspaper articles, that the so-called Turks of Cyprus were really only Moslemised Greeks (Killoran 2000: p.136). A complicating factor in the question of presence or absence, is that the separation between Turkish and Greek 'high' cultures in the literary sphere, though it was important in the future of nationalist identification processes, was not definitive of the entire life of the island. That is to say, notwithstanding that elite groups in all Cypriot 'cultures' were highly literate, often in several languages (Bryant 2004), and the activities of literary culture were important parts of social life in those circles (Azgin 2000, Yashin 2000, Calotychos 2000), the elite groups were small and, in general, Cypriot culture (understood as an overall concept, including elites) seems to have been vernacular, vibrantly oral in nature, and remained so amongst the broader population into the mid-twentieth century (Yashin 2000, Bryant 2004, Panayiotou 2006b). The oral culture and rural lifestyles have not been greatly studied,³² apart from some folkloric interests connected with national identity, although recent general ethnographic trends in social history and memory studies, and the desire amongst some Cypriots to understand the common or shared cultural heritage in rural and

³² There are some very interesting exceptions based in Greek Cypriot areas. No comparable comprehensive study was done of Turkish Cypriot village life before 1974, as noted in Mehmet (2003). It seems to me that in the 1960s and 70s the major upheavals of war and population exchange masked the highly significant social and cultural change of people being divorced from very long term, stable, often self-sufficient, village lifestyles. I'm not sure if this has been adequately appreciated in the overall picture of upheaval and change in the last 30 years in Cyprus, for both Turks and Greeks, that the sense of loss may be compounded by something in addition to the particularities of 'our' land, 'my' home, known neighbours, and so on.

urban areas has given indications for development in this area (Azgîn 2000, Assmussen 2001, 2003, Lacher and Kaymak 2005). There is ample evidence of degrees of cultural similarity, common custom, and cooperative activity particularly in the rural lifestyles (Assmussen 2003, Azgîn 2000), in the ‘popular culture’ of the oral literature where the lingua franca was the Greek-based, Turkish-modulated Cypriot dialect with its Arabic, French and Italian lexical items (Yashin 2000). This may have confused the issue for people who looked for clearly defined boundaries between language, religion, land, literary forms, and political affiliation. Certainly the populations had been interspersed across the island historically (Beckingham 1957) and roughly speaking remained so, with significant change in the 1960s, until 1974; see Figures 2, 5, 6.

2.6 Imagery, Memory, Identity

As discussed above, the British took active measures to counteract national sentiment amongst Turks and Greeks in Cyprus particularly during the 1930s, as a result of the Greek nationalist revolt against colonial rule in 1931. In these circumstances, amongst the control measures instituted by the British administration was the shipment of 1050 portraits of King George and Queen Mary for distribution to schools, to substitute for the images of ‘foreign’ leaders that were widely found in classrooms; ‘foreign leaders’ meaning from Greece and Turkey. Altay Nevzat notes that Sir George Hill, author of an authoritative four-volume history of Cyprus, had previously complained to authorities about the presence of such pictures of ‘foreign’ leaders in Cypriot classrooms. No doubt what Hill meant was that pictures of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) were prevalent in Turkish classrooms and Greek national figures in the Greek schools. Apparently Hill believed the images of the British Crown, King George and Queen Mary, would help to generate and sustain loyalty to the British Crown, to replace the incipient sentiments of loyalty and identification with the respective ‘motherlands’ Turkey and Greece.³³

These royal portraits form a link with my memory of one of my aunts in Cyprus, who in the 1950s had a well-preserved British flag and a cup with Queen Mary’s portrait on it carefully preserved amongst her mementos of the 1930s and 40s. One of my uncles on the other hand had his living room adorned with

³³ Nevzat *ibid*, p42; footnote p109. It is thought that Hill himself may have sent the portraits.

prints of the Ottoman Sultans, most notably Kanuni Sultan Süleyman (Suleyman the Magnificent). Uncle was able to read the Koran and he did this every day. As a little child I used to marvel at how he turned the pages from left to right and could make sense of such strange script, for my generation was educated entirely in the modern Turkish alphabet in which there is no visual key to the old written language. My aunt with the Queen Mary mementos could not read or write, so her signature was her thumbprint on her British ID card. In my own home there were different images again, posters of Atatürk and some other leadership figures from Turkey, and, out of sight but potentially mysterious in the world of familiar daily objects, my father's British army World War 2 service medals. Some neighbours had no images in their homes at all apart from a few family photographs. One of my uncles in the city was married to a Greek woman, with whom we conversed in Turkish, and whilst aunt (*yenge*) had no visible symbols of Greekness in the house I sometimes used to see her quietly making the sign of the cross before eating.

In the wake of December 1963, with the threat of violence by Greek Cypriot nationalist militia against Turkish Cypriots, events acted such that Turkish Cypriot people had to defend themselves, or at least act defensively, whether seeing themselves as educated, uneducated, religious, nationalist, socialist, or other more nebulous, perhaps unarticulated, identity. This continued during the 1964-74 period, during which many Turkish Cypriot people fled to defended enclaves and the inter-communal clashes occurred, particularly 1964-1968 (Patrick 1976). The landscape of cooperative activity, friendship, of childhood, was the same landscape that, in many cases, was ruptured, and trust was widely jeopardised (Mehmet and Mehmet 2003), though not entirely undermined. Several times we saw cars lined up all along the road-sides, piled high with belongings, as Turkish people fled their homes in the countryside and sought refuge in the main town in our area.³⁴ The middle school I was due to attend could not be used as a school for some years after 1964 because it was housing refugee families. In our village however there were no outright attacks, no visceral reasons to be afraid, thankfully, though the fathers and older brothers spent every night on watch for eleven years against such a possibility, whilst many of them worked during the day amicably enough with those against whom they potentially stood watch in the night. Below I explore

³⁴ In late 1974 after the ceasefire as I was leaving the island to migrate to Australia, I saw those tell-tale vehicles along the road sides once again, only this time they were filled with Greek Cypriot people and their belongings, heading away from the Turkish army in the north.

some memories of childhood experience of images that were interwoven through those years as 'natural' part of growing up in that place and time.

Parade – a memory and a question

A mass gathering of people in the city of Nicosia, where I used to be sent by my parents from our small village some distance to the north-west to stay with my aunty and her family during summer holidays.

A day whose air is scented with a mass of human sweat mixed with a burnt gasoline smell from civilian and army vehicles parading on a hot-tarred boulevard. And the red and white of bunting and flags hanging everywhere from private and public buildings.... What you hear is a hubbub of excited voices, young and old pointing out to each other what each could already see. There seemed a feeling in the air of everyone being part of something significant.

Having not lived in a city, where such experiences might not be so overwhelming to its usual young inhabitants, out of insecurity as a seven year old (and a village child), I held tightly to my uncle's hand. He reciprocated with an affectionate soft rubbing of my head, here and there pointing out things - the man with the three-wheeled hand barrow adorned with red and white balloons floating on red and white strings tied all over the barrow and to his back; the groups of people in private congregations, each person with a little flag, some with plain red on one side and white on the other, some with a white star and crescent on red background; to the energetic young voices, now male, now female coming from the loud speakers over our heads, in a static of words of which to me the only decipherable one was 'Turkish'.

A brass band now approaches, playing beats that command attention, and we begin hearing the marching men. The arrival of silence amongst the people around is as gradual and as synchronised, it seemed, as the sound of the firm footsteps coming closer to where we stand. As the rhythmic steps draw closer we see the formations of young men with impressive uniforms and guns. To a commanding voice the men with guns swiftly turn their heads in the direction where we are standing, while they continue marching ahead. As if I wanted to confirm what I saw and test how I felt with what I 'saw', I looked up to my uncle. He had

tears in his eyes and he firmed his hold of my hand. I neither resisted his grasp nor had the comfort of 'understanding' the expression on his face, which seemed neither 'happy' nor 'unhappy, simply deeply moved by something.

On my return to the village, with the pride of having had that privileged experience, I told my friends, who envied my visit to the city, that the soldiers were as big as the cypress trees we had in the school yard. I was not disappointed to receive their disbelief of my exaggeration, as I knew that is how I saw the soldiers. It did not matter whether they believed or not.

This parade that I remember must have occurred after the independence of Cyprus from Britain in 1960, during the three years before the Turkish and Greek Cypriot bi-communal sovereignty of Cyprus broke down in December 1963. During this joint period the Turkish and Greek communities conducted separate celebrations based on the national commemorative calendars of the motherlands rather than developing joint Cypriot national celebrations (Papadakis 2003). The parade I attended was held in the usual place for such activities at that time, in the Turkish municipality of Nicosia, parallel to the Venetian walls of the old city in the area of the Girne Gate. Later the first Turkish national statue was installed at the parade site, in October 1963, the large bronze figure of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Fig 15. In the fighting of December 1963 one of my uncle's sons disappeared and was never found; Uncle himself lived only a year or two longer. The bronze statue was not in place at the time we saw the parade, though once it was installed I became quite familiar with it as another uncle and aunt's home was close by inside the Girne Gate and I used to walk to the statue when I stayed with them during the summer holidays.

On other occasions I observed similar colourful and noisy parades in the town near my home village. Instead of the familiar profusion of red and white these parades had blue and white flags, balloons, bunting, and so on. The elements of the occasion were very familiar, the music, the marching, the high-school students in uniform, the heightened excitement of the onlookers, the very same drums rattling out the beat except, this use of blue instead of red with the white colour on all the decorations. I remember once asking why the red is not there. The answer was of course that these were Greeks, not

Turks. I would have been about 7 or 8 years of age. A naïve question from a child, a question reflecting that what had yet to be learned seems to contain a question of such learning itself.

Family Pictures

In the late fifties when Aunt had her Queen Mary cup and Union Jack carefully preserved and Uncle his pictures of Ottoman Sultans and his Koran to read, three posters of other people were displayed in our family home. I recall them from my early days when I started becoming aware of faces and images, stuck high up on our living room wall. There were also photographs of some family members, including my young adult cousin, who later disappeared, looking very intriguing with a cowboy hat on his head that being rolled at the sides made it look like he had horns. One of the figures in the posters was, as I later came to know, Mr Adnan Menderes who was president of Turkey 1953-1960. The second showed two army generals in full uniform standing to attention looking directly at the camera, who father said were commanders of the Turkish army with NATO forces during the Korean War. The third poster bore the picture of Kemal Atatürk in decorated army uniform. This picture was placed in such a way that the two walls forming the corner of the room created a frame of perfect symmetry for it. It seemed as if the gaze of that image of Atatürk followed you, no matter where you were in the room. Looking back, it seems that in our daily chores such images acted as constant mnemonic devices, reminding us that as a family we belonged to a larger Turkish family, the Turkish nation whose founder and father was Kemal Atatürk. This was not a matter that was ever explicitly discussed at home rather it was to be tacitly understood via presence of such images. It was a matter of symbolic belonging. The practical facts of life experience, in which my parents had earlier had some Greek neighbours, worked with Greek colleagues, could speak the Greek Cypriot dialect, did not seem to be problematic for the symbolic or the real Turkish family up to December 1963. After that no Greek person might enter our village, despite individual contacts outside such as my own collegial and friendship relations in a British-owned, Greek-speaking work place in the more relaxed period of the early 1970s.

In our village primary school, as in any other Turkish school, there hung above the blackboard a picture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Our particular school photograph was one of Atatürk dressed in a formal dark

suit, statesman's dress, as he publicly demonstrated the new Turkish alphabet introduced in 1928. As well as busts of Atatürk in most school gardens, Fig. 16, his portrait is at least in every school principal's office, Fig 34, and most likely is still to be found in every classroom.

The figure of Atatürk is a complex one that has been widely and deeply interwoven with national identity amongst Turkish Cypriots, not least through the interlinking of international and domestic affairs that is integral part of this figure, and this is examined in the next chapter. In the exigencies of the mid-1960s in Cyprus, when Turkish Cypriot leaders felt the community's existence was directly and immediately threatened, and they seemed to receive practical support only from Turkey (Patrick 1976, Mehmet and Mehmet 2003), this figure of Atatürk was an important part of the imagery used in the generating of a sense of national unity to meet the perceived needs of the time amongst the scattered Turkish settlements and enclaves. This period became one of flagrant nationalism in both Greek and Turkish communities (Stavrinides 1976). Hence some of the constellated elements in the identity associated with Atatürk include physical security (protective military), a sense of belongingness (via the familiar metaphor), political agency, cultural potency, a marriage of international and local presence. Subsequent events in Cyprus that resulted in the division of the island with a secure homeland for its Turks have naturally resonated strongly with Atatürk's image as Father and foundation figure. Moira Killoran (1998) explored the poetics of the symbolically complex relationships involved in post-1974 representations of TRNC as both mother and offspring of Turks.

The poetic potential of the imagery in the Turkish Republic Northern Cyprus is not something necessarily accessible to outsiders, who may see the combination of military installations, Turkish flags, and ubiquitous images of Atatürk as simply the practical demonstration of nationalist political power, as indeed may locals of different political persuasions and aesthetic orientations (Ramm 2005, Lacher and Kaymak 2005). The poetics are not something that I wish to overstate, but rather to indicate the aesthetic, moral, and psychological dimensions that may be constellated behind the ostensibly nationalist surfaces in the Turkish Cypriot community, as Anthony Smith discusses more generally in relation to the overall functions of national identity in the (continuing) period of nations (1991: 15-20, 160-165). Atatürk's image is today still pervasive in TRNC, in outdoor and indoor spaces. This is not to say that it represents

a simple, uncontested, and unchanging identity. As in Turkey itself, national identity in TRNC is dynamic, both sensitive to and shaping of the political arena. Notions and narrations of national identity in North Cyprus have certainly diversified in developments in over the past decade (Lacher and Kaymak 2005, Ramm 2005, Navaro-Yashin 2006). It may be that the figure of Atatürk itself is evolving culturally and politically over time, as suggested by the variety of official depictions of him (Erdentug` and Berrak 1998), plus the shift of the image into the realm of consumer goods during the 1990s.³⁵ In this project there is not scope to examine these socio-cultural and political complexities more closely. For the present purposes, my engagement is with the image(s) and objects as elements in visual-experiential landscapes in Cyprus, addressed as ‘traces’ that ‘historical processes’ imprint on us, whose effects, as Edward Said drew attention to, are very important to critically decipher and examine (Said 1978: 24). Conversely, perhaps the images and objects are addressing us.

As the movement in the material above is from the abstract towards detail then personal, individual experience, it moves outwards again through to the school and the community. Exploring traces of experience and memory of national identity imagery and interrelationships with the material world is the area of investigation of my visual arts practice, as discussed in Chapter 5, “Practice as Research”.

³⁵ In *Nostalgia For the Modern. State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, Duke University Press, 2006, Esra Özyürek suggests that whilst images of Atatürk have never been scarce, they became a much demanded commodity and were circulated outside the monopoly of the state for the first time in Republican history in the 1990s, a transformation in the production, circulation, and consumption of such images. She suggests that Turkish citizens who purchased Atatürk paraphernalia carried his image from the public halls to the privacy of their homes. In contrast, as I have indicated above in the section on public symbols, I concur with Nevzat (2005) in finding that in Cyprus the ‘private’ sphere was the initial sphere of development of a communal kind of Turkish identity in Cyprus and it later moved into more public arenas.

Chapter 3

TRACING TURKISH CYPRIOT NATIONAL MONUMENTS

Commemorative forms

Although it is not a phenomenon unique to the post-1974 period, the building of public monuments and memorials did proliferate in the Turkish area of Cyprus after the cessation of fighting between the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus in 1974. “After wars have been declared over, towns, cities, and nations have built memorials to name the dead and those sacrificed” noted Marita Sturken in “Memorialising Absence.”¹ In this chapter, I look at the monuments and memorials in that are associated specifically with the emergence of a Turkish Cypriot modern national identity, and that form the geography of remembrance in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

My research on modern monuments is an interpretative approach. It is based on a historical assumption that a linkage between material form and a combination of political, social and cultural factors in nineteenth century Europe created a new domain of social engagement in public celebration and commemoration, where monuments, particularly statues, were erected in the new public spaces (Michalski 1998). Furthermore, through this circumstance in itself (though the monumental form no doubt has its own history of multiple cultural influence) the underlying logics of time and progress in the westernising modernisation process came to be assimilated to the cultural form of the national monument, as it was widely adopted throughout the twentieth century as part of the visual language of modern nations.

¹ <http://www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/sturken_text_only.htm> accessed 15 July 2006

Clearly whilst applications of the form vary from place to place, the visual language has undergone change in the spheres of its original cultures, “from the deeds that won the empire or nation to the activities of ordinary men and women”, “from the heroic self-aggrandizing figurative icons of the late nineteenth century celebrating national ideals and triumphs, to the antiheroic, often ironic, and self-effacing conceptual installations that mark the national ambivalence and uncertainty of the late twentieth century postmodernism” (Ware 2004 n.p.).² In examining the relationship between context and commemorative practice, Sergiusz Michalski (1998) traced a trajectory of the aesthetic history of public monuments, where influences reach back and forth across time and cultures rather than being necessarily culturally and temporally linear. He observed that whilst cultural practice in Western countries in the late twentieth century has largely shifted away from the solidity of the commemorative monumental form, notably figurative statuary, in other parts of the world there are different historical trajectories of the form, with vivid contemporary participation in some areas, and this invites analysis of each area in its own terms (1998: 210). This kind of contextual relationship of the form with commemorative practice is the arena in which Turkish national monuments can be studied, as adopted originally in the 1920s as both sign of the modern nation and its visual language of public expression, and adapted in the local context.

In the previous chapter I indicated how national sentiment was developing amongst Turkish Cypriots for some decades in Cyprus without having publicised symbols, in contrast with and in large part in response to the increasingly vivid Greek Cypriot national identity discourse. At some point Turkish Cypriot identity began to be publicised as such, and in the circumstances of the 1960s it acquired an explicitly nationalist style and tone. In this chapter, I look specifically at the Turkish Cypriot monuments and memorials as the visible markers of this process in the landscape, as they become visible, as it were, “mapping ...the sites and forms which have visually stuck in our memory...that can easily be recognised as being *present* there, not completely effaced by the passage of time” (Vukov 2002: 254).

² Sue-Ann Ware (2000) quotes firstly Chilla Bulbeck (1991) on the shift to ordinary figures, and secondly James Young on the shift to the postmodern (2000). “Time curving back on itself, perhaps the monuments of the post-modern world are indeed its great buildings and above all its shopping malls...” commented Annette Hamilton in “Monuments and Memory”, *Continuum: the Australian Journal of Media and Culture*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1990), Institute for Cultural Policy Studies, Griffith University.

Choosing the national monument form's arrival as historical marker is in a sense an arbitrary distinction in time. At the same time, as a sign it relates closely to the kinds of epistemological, ideological, social and cultural, changes that are widely considered to characterise the modern period, where certain processes of differentiation were steadily formalised. This has been shown to be the case in Cyprus (Bryant 2004). The arrival of modern monuments in a landscape (space/place) speaks of a history of shaping discourse and representational practice, which is in turn shaped, and it also indicates simple presence, a sign of the inter-relations between space and time and the people involved (Osborne 2001). Presence/absence, visibility/invisibility, recognised/unrecognised missing/alive/dead – these are energetic discursive and representational domains in the Cyprus story, as examined in relation to geographies (and poetics) of nationalism by Killoran (1998, 2000) and Papadakis (1995, 2000), amongst others. Contradictions between the experiential facts of Turkish Cypriot existence and a discursively constructed absence, political and cultural, as indicated in the previous chapter, can be understood via an examination of the history of modern monuments in TRNC, for which I draw a suggestive outline in this chapter. There are today notable similarities in what one can see in the two Cypriot landscapes vis-a-vis the materiality and deployment of the national markers. For example, in the summer of 2004 I drove across the hot central plain of the island, from the north coast of the Turkish area to the high mountains in the Greek south, and I was struck by the flags, the military guard posts on hilltops and the new churches and mosques that seemed to mirror one another around the edges of the plain.

Where the signifier, the signified, and relations between them may be mistaken for one another, memorials and monuments can be useful interlocutors. For in addition to mnemonics, the erected monuments may be part of some other aspects of a cultural system, such as communication. Writing in respect of Indonesia, Benedict Anderson suggested that modern monuments are a 'type of *speech*' (Inglis 2005: p.7). This notion of visual rhetoric has resonance for my research on the monuments of TRNC. In so far as visual communication 'speaks', I find that the monuments of Turkish Cypriots can be seen as involved in some kind of communicative activity apart from the more obvious realms of message and meaning, yet interwoven with them, and I hope to convey some sense of this in the present paper. Thus my interest lies not so much in art historical processes as in the contemporary political and social contexts of these material cultural forms, aspects of the circumstances of their installation and their continuing

social life, where the visual and ritual agencies of the form are components of wider discourse and experiential interactions involving people, events, time, and place. My aim in this sense, as indicated elsewhere, is not to try to create an authoritative picture of an overall society but to shed light on facets of the picturing processes involved, from without and within, via academic research and visual arts research. The combining of the socio-political and historical context of a public monument with consideration of its material and aesthetic aspects has become a well-developed area of investigation, particularly in relation to questions of memory, representation, and identity, interwoven with historical art analyses (Savage 2006), although there has been a trend away from an art historical focus.³ Sergiusz Michalski commented, “traditional involvement with a message and the semantics of an isolated monument is being replaced by a growing regard for its contextualisation, both visual and symbolic” (Michalski 1998: 210). The French national history project of the early 1980s, *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (Sites of Memory), seems to have been particularly influential in the incorporation of material memorial practice into historical enquiry where the interpretation of monuments as bearers of ‘collective’ memory has become widely accepted (Inglis 1998: 7).

Hence, to begin with, monuments and memorials are *there (here)*. Based on the above, I think it can be taken as a given that their conception and construction are highly political in realisation, or certainly politicised. In fact in one conception, national monuments are *definable* as “symbols of historically discursive and contested contexts in the life and development of groups and nations,” hence they are precisely sites for engagement with these contexts (Tomaselli and Mpofu 1997: 56). They are also clearly part of some sort of mnemonic system. “We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so we shall never forget,” wrote Arthur Danto, via the cultural habit of concretising a dialectic of memory and forgetting.⁴ This is the arena from which arose the term *sites of memory*, stemming from the French history national project’s term *lieux de memoire*, as above, the ambiguous term intended to capture “the often intangible link between place and memory in public consciousness” (Shanken 2004: 167). Pierre Nora, director of the French national history project, originally differentiated

³ An example is Annie Coombs’ *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*, Duke University Press, 2003, where she looks at visual and spatial representations in public spaces in relation to debates about identity and the past.

⁴ Arthur DANTO cited in Marita Sturken “The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: the Vietnam Veterans Memorial” in *Representations*, No. 35, Special Issue: Monumental Histories (Summer 1991), pp.118-142.

such sites from the *milieux de mémoire*, the living memory or the being-lived lives of the contemporary community in an as-yet un-memorialised present. In an article on memory and place in North Cyprus, Julie Scott (2002a) draws on Pierre Nora's distinction between *lieux de mémoire* and *milieux de mémoire* to explore differences between various forms of official memory and local experience in the city of Famagusta in the TRNC, and also between forms of knowledge attained via the kinds of historical narrative expected in contemporary European museum practice and a tacit, place-based, relational mnemonic.

Forms of memory

For understanding monuments as objects with a history in a landscape, I have followed the simple premise that they can be studied as bearers of 'collective' memory, a concept to be teased out further below. Firstly though, to consider this environment, or the 'landscape', in which the monument exists. Recent conceptions of this as an active entity, a dynamic experiential realm within which social and individual subjectivities attain-express form in interaction with the material and the non-material surroundings, resonate with my approach. Summarising the literature, cultural geographer Brian Osborne draws on notions of remembering as a spatial and a social activity, and 'practice' as creating place, where "any society's *Lebenswelt* is a complex product of socio-economic activities, cultural meaning and conventions for imagining", to remind that "the memories, inscriptions and dreamscapes are not merely located in places as if geography were the stage for acting-out of history" but that at any time people are in direct interrelationship with material surroundings and particularised locales (Osborne 2006, n.p.).⁵ At the same time, events/ experiences are often remembered geographically, that is spatially, via the senses, and often in relation to associated feelings. The practice of building monuments thus can be seen not as creating spatial remembering but reflecting it. In turn however, it can also be considered that there are ensuing visual and social (environmental) effects from such building that may be intentionally employed,

⁵ In this regard W.J.T. Mitchell summarised landscape as a verb, not a noun, in his 1994 work *Landscape and Power*, and Gillian Rose (1995) in an essay on places and identity described it as a locus of meaning and feeling, where daily practices contribute to the evolution of symbolic meaning and power of place which may be experienced both socially and individually, with a place/landscape being potentially dystopic as well as idealised; these details cited in Osborne (2006).

as is widely considered the case with the modern national monument in relation to the politicisation of memory and production of new social subjectivities in the era of nationalising states. Many such studies of monuments have been influenced by Henri Lefebvre's notion of representational space, a space "...directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols...(it) overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (Batuman 2005: 34). In this view, monuments can be seen as *affective* kernel of a representational space that works for the production of certain subjectivities.⁶ The interplay of circumstances that give rise to form and form that influences conditions and circumstances is relevant to my research on monuments in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Whilst examining the TRNC monuments in this chapter, and the next, I do not particularly engage the theoretical literature, rather I indicate aspects of it here as part of the context of my research where the experimental findings of my art practice and the academic reading have been complementary. Apart from the sense of liveliness of these created and creating experiential landscapes, I also at times use the concept of landscape as a visual field, in that it gives a means of picturing or distancing that is sometimes useful as part of a critical analytic approach to examining particular elements, notwithstanding the historical notion 'landscape' as a way of looking based on power (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988, Ryan 1997). Indicating perhaps a combining of the possibilities of understanding from both the vivid experiential environment and the visual field, Yi Fu Tuan brought a phenomenological approach to understanding relationships between people and the material world, often in terms of simply paying more attention - to people, to material elements, to one's own senses, and so on - as he sets out in *Space and Place - The Perspective of Experience* (1977).

As to monuments and memory, surveying scholarly literature on this topic up to 2006, Kirk Savage discusses the complex processes of memorialisation of the past through commemorative practices that, in effect, foster a memorialisation of collective memory itself, collective memory, however, being "...not a thing in itself but many different acts of remembering, shaped by overarching social forces and cognitive frameworks such as narrative" (Savage 2006, n.p.). Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan proposed a notion that emphasizes agency, activity and creativity, where memory is a social practice and as such is a

⁶ Bülent Batuman employs this idea of representational space when he examines the new civic space with its first public monuments to be erected in Ankara, the new capital city of the secular Republic of Turkey that emerged from the end of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, in "Identity, Monumentality, Security. Building a Monument in Early Republican Ankara" in *Journal of Architectural Education*, 2005, ACSA, pp.34-45

“palpable, messy activity that produces collective remembrance” and individuals bring their private memories to what is essentially a public task (1999: 9-10).⁷ For Maurice Halbwachs, influential 20th century thinker on memory, in order to explain memory at all it needs to be seen as social in so far as it is “language, and the whole system of social conventions attached to it, that allows us at every moment to reconstruct our past” (cited by Edkins 2003: 32-33). W.J.T. Mitchell suggests that the visual (sense, realm, experience) actually participates socially in ways that are not subsumable to language (2005: 47), where relationality itself is in question and linguistic and/or visual means may be examined as its conduit, hence the interest in the kinds of recall involved in remembering experience that may not have originated within a primary linguistic frame.⁸ Anthropologist Geoffrey White explored the role of emotion in the intersections of individual, social and collective memory, considering that certain acts of remembering bring personal memory and ‘collective history’ into the same discursive space, thereby “working to simultaneously emotionalise history and nationalise understandings of self and community...the shared past as politically and *emotionally* significant” (White 1998: 508). In Cyprus the populations of the two main communities are very small, roughly 250,000 and 750,000 for Turkish and Greek respectively, and the territory is also small, and “...shared, lived experiences *constitute* the nation” (Bryant 2004: 236, my italics). Inga Clendinnen both celebrates and critiques the nature and experience of memory – “...human rememberings, whether individual or collective, are not inert archives. They are factories of dreams, hopes, illusions. They are also our surest homeland, essential evidence of our essential being...” (1998: 206), where the historian’s task, rather urgently to be joined, is “disciplined, critical remembering ... (the only thing that) will resist the erasure of fact and circumstance effected by time, by ideology and by the natural human impulse to forget.” (Clendinnen, *ibid*) As individuals and as groups, then, in the dialectic of memory and forgetting, “...faithful recollection (is) a complex epistemological/ethical achievement.”⁹

⁷ Exploring this area of intersection between the ‘private’ and ‘public’ domains in relation to memory and emotion, anthropologist Geoffrey White examined the pragmatic role of emotion, and emotionality, in processes of identification. He discusses memorial spaces as frequently highly emotionalised spaces, where “acts of remembering bring personal and collective history into the same discursive space, thereby working to simultaneously emotionalise history and nationalise understandings of self and community.” (1998: 508)

⁸ David Howes’ edited volume *Empire of the Senses* (2005) presents explorations of this field in relation to the other senses, and to the sense of sight differently experienced. In Chapter 5 of this thesis I explore an example of affective memory sparked by visual media, where the associative faculty is activated. Some objects may be produced with the *intention* of engaging the affective realm, such as national monuments.

⁹ As I understand it, this faithfulness is not to do with sentimentalised loyalties, nostalgia, or ideology but with qualities more to do with steadfastness and courage in relation to the evolution of awareness and knowledge. Sue Campbell (2006) “Our Faithfulness to the Past: Reconstructing Memory Value” in *Philosophical Psychology*, Volume 19, Issue 3.

On the debates about collective memory, about how individuals are influenced by the groups to which they belong and the groups by the individuals, and whether there is such a thing as a group mind, Kirk Savage points to one of the strands of the debate in Susan Sontag's words that in the memorialisation of the past "...there isn't a collective memory at all but there is 'collective instruction', a complex process by which certain ideas and images become more important than others."¹⁰ This observation on simplicity and complexity that draws attention to effects of processes has been helpful in my approach to research on the Turkish Cypriot national monuments; it contains within it the dialectical stillness (an image has *become*) and movement (an idea or image is in the process of becoming). It seems clear that national monument form appeared among Turkish Cypriots after a long gestation, at a particular point in time, and has continued to be built in cycles of contestation, violence, displacement, rebuilding, and the processes of negotiation for settlement of the residual tensions. The period of the 1950s and 60s, for example, is often regarded as the core experiential period for determining the Turkish Cypriot community's future history (Stavrinides 1976, Volkan 1979, Mehmet 2003, Kızılyürek 2005), during which time the ethno-national identity was strongly contested and shaped (Lacher and Kaymak 2005). During these years three key monuments appeared in symbolic 'public' spaces, the Turkish municipality in Nicosia and inside the old city in Famagusta, indicating/affirming the presence of both a civil/religious cultural and a military historical inheritance in a modern Turkish identity. In the same time period however it was the cemeteries and gravesites of those who died due to the conflict(s) that were the more immediate concrete markers of experience or event for people in the wider landscape. Later during the 1980s and 90s, these two elements of the material culture, markers of historical identity and contemporary experience, were entered together into registers of national sites (e.g. Sadrazam 1990), forming a symbolic landscape of experience, memory, history, and identity.

Here I simply draw attention to the effects of including markers on the landscape into a schema that is symbolic, where the sites such as the original graveyards are as much to do with personal/family relationships that exist apart from any relationship to a larger identity framework, yet are related to it within the 'landscape'. In this sense, the mapping of Turkish commemorative markers in Cyprus seems to represent an overlap of historical, collective, and more personal/social memories. For example, the *spread*

¹⁰ Susan SONTAG (2002) *Regarding the Pain of Others*, p.2, cited in Savage (2006 n.p.).

of the national monuments (Fig. 22) closely maps the population distribution during the 1960s, where Fig. 5 indicates the 1960 census figures and Fig. 6 the movements of Turkish Cypriots 1963 – 1967. At the same, the *density* of sites shown in Fig. 22 represents the people congregated in the north after 1974. The mapping of course cannot express the complexities of memory and experience, yet comparatively presents an illustration of placements and movements in the landscape where individual, family, social and historical memory are interconnected in the recent Turkish Cypriot history; as indeed no doubt for Greek Cypriots and others affected by the upheavals in the 1960s and 70s.

In using the terms ‘historical’, ‘collective’, ‘personal’ memory, I do not mean to set one kind of memory against another, as indicated above; in Chapter 5, I discuss some aspects of recent theoretical considerations on the blurring of individual and social memory as this relates to my art practice in the contemporary social environment. Rather my purpose here is more to indicate that there has been, as far as I am aware, little scholarly attention to the national monuments in North Cyprus that opens up how the interactions of official, historical, and collective memories are represented in this society in material form, and how these forms interact with individual and social memories. Several interesting anthropological works have provided suggestive indications for exploring this area; there may be other local works that I am not yet aware of. Moira Killoran’s 1998 study, as outlined in Chapter 1, importantly drew attention to interactions between kinds of public memory and more personal social memory spheres via the image of the body that she saw as enabled via the use of figuration in national monuments in TRNC. Yiannis Papadakis’ interesting comparative studies of the symbolic material economy are also pertinent in relation to the discourse of national history as a nexus of time/place/object/event (1995, 2000). Papadakis has also explored commemoration in the construction of competing histories of the island (2003). Nergis Canefe’s critical appraisal of local engagements with material history in the old Turkish quarter of Lefkoşa (2001) contributes to examining relations between historical, collective memory and social memory in relation to imagined futures. Interactions in the complex layering of personal experience, social memory and historical knowledge are engaged in Julie Scott’s research (2002a), on the particular mnemonic cluster in the history museum and shrine of Canbulat in the old city of Famagusta. In teasing out an area of situational remembering and knowledge via the museum and shrine, Scott’s work (also indicated elsewhere in the thesis) examines the role of tacit knowledge in

people's relationships with place and narratives of history and identity. In the process, she noted how there may be different cultural forms of interrelationship between memory, place and historical narrative that might not conform to expected museological norms, thus inviting more direct engagement with people themselves and their local knowledge and experience.

These above cited works engage variously with the scholarly investigation into realms of memory, history and representation that has been very substantially engaged with examining material cultural objects in recent years, exploring the kinds of mnemonic systems and social and political processes these objects may be part of, indeed debating what 'memory' and 'history' actually are (Olick and Robbins 1998), as indicated via Inga Clendinnen's words above. Importantly, such critical analysis of monuments and memorials includes the question of what is 'remembered' in a monument and what is left out or obscured, that is, the narrative constructions embodied in the monumental object as well as in its historical and geographic location, where the concern is that history may be reduced and coarsened beneath layers of national myths and explanations. (Young 2002 n.p.). Young concluded that "...to the extent that we encourage monuments to do our memory work for us, we become that much more forgetful" (Young 2002, n.p.). The above investigations of aspects of Turkish Cypriot material culture, place and memory engage this critical question of the location and effects of memory activity.

An early and inspirational Australian example of critical engagement with the issue of what a monument 'remembers' was a public history project in Fremantle, Western Australia, where a memorial to the murder of some British settlers in the far north-west of the state came eventually to include the previously untold story of the 'other', the indigenous people who suffered in the event (Frances and Scates 1989). The missing 'side' of the story enters (after 60 years) the existing monument, not a separate monument or by removing the original, and thus was formed symbolically, via concrete object, a more 'whole' record, perhaps analogic of reconciliatory possibilities, which is what was suggested for post-apartheid South Africa with its plethora of monuments and memorials of different kinds (Tomaselli and Mpofu 1997: 56). The key aspect here is the *activity* of remembering.

Addressing the monument's discursive participation in political activities of remembering, scholarly discussion developed around whether a focus on official commemorative practice acts to separate 'memory' and 'history' into elite and non-elite spheres, to perpetuate the dictation of narrowly conceived collective entities, and legitimise war and power at the expense of the breadth of human experience subsumed in the sphere of memorialisation of some event or experience (Winter 1995, Olick and Robbins 1998, Burk 2006). Notions of space, place, experience, practice, and so on have worked with these questions of memory and history in explorations in different fields that contribute to a broad view of processes that interlink individual, social, collective, national, global level considerations. Here history is "...both a spatial and a temporal means of categorising existence" in which the idea of beginning "...alludes to the framing of a story at one privileged, significant point in time ... a hidden *spatialised* understanding of what belongs and what does not" (Killoran 2000: 131, 134). The idea of recollections of experiences and events condensed or crystallised, usually via a particular physical form, into a recognisable 'site' has become a reference point or a sounding board for a great deal of subsequent engagement in many fields, where the interrelations of the material object and the nature and activity of remembering are examined. The German 1980s and 90s 'counter monument' approaches conceive of particular memorial spaces, for example, even while they challenge the very premise of the monument (Young 2002).

On the subject of conflict, memory and memorialisation, a study of the monuments in Cyprus fits wider circumstances of concern that the generating of readings, problematised or not, of national memorials runs the risk of essentialising war and conflict and valorising its cultural agency. Nonetheless such study is an invaluable process if one is to understand the surroundings that human groups find themselves in or have created, within which they live and find/make meanings. In *Return to Gallipoli. Walking the Battlefields of the Great War*, social historian Bruce Scates acknowledges concern amongst some historians that the 'cult of remembrance' around war memorials sanitises the grim deaths, fosters nostalgia for the old days (of empire or glorious struggle) and prevents 'political critique' of war and post-war society (2006: 95). At the same time, avoiding the study of these proliferated objects in the nation's landscapes would obscure understanding of important aspects of individual and 'collective' historical experience, creating significant gaps in political critique of war and post-war society. This latter

is especially, as Scates' work suggests, in relation to the multiple and shifting subjectivities constellated in the processes of national mobilisation, trauma, loss, grief, and de-mobilisation. In this context the ritual and psychological significance of memorials, built or sponsored by national authority as sites of mourning, has frequently been obscured in analysis by their political symbolism, "which now that the moment of mourning has long passed, is all that we can see."¹¹

Visibility

My earlier question about the impact of surroundings on the inhabitants of a place, Chapter 1, gave rise to another question as to what kinds of attention we give to those (familiar) surroundings, to the objects in those surroundings. Do the people who live amongst particular visual objects continue to see them in the midst of their daily lives once the events that they signal and that surround their instalment are no longer so pressing, and once the ceremonial anniversary date has passed? Is it that, in general, monuments stand out starkly from their backgrounds for visitors, in space or time, whereas their presence is more 'silently' experienced by local people? On researching this question theoretically I found there certainly appears to be a consensus that whilst "there is nothing so invisible as a monument,"¹² whilst they seem to serve essentially as part of the background for day-to-day life, "... noted most carefully by tourists or new arrivals perhaps seeking to make sense of this new place", monuments nonetheless "...mark out favoured people and histories and ignore others, denote patterns of authority and power, inculcate in us views of heritage preferred by dominant groups..." (Hay, Hughes and Tutton 2004: 203). That is, the continuous visibility delivered by public monuments once installed is very important, where visibility itself matters within social relations in societies that afford primacy to sight itself ((Burk 2006: 42, 55). Michalski observed that "...even the extreme form of a truly 'invisible' monument forces the viewer to concentrate – in these visually overstimulated times – on its essential message" (1998: 210).

¹¹ Jay WINTER ed. (1995) *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, Cambridge University Press, p.93, cited in SCATES (2006). This is the influential work on grief and memorialisation in the European experience of the Great War, where Winter drew attention to the historical monumental forms (the sculpted heroic and pathetic figures and the imposing stone structures) that had been much criticised by modernists with the aim of dismantling distinctions between elite/official and popular culture in examining experiences of grief, mourning and representations of memory.

¹² Robert Musil "Essay on Monuments" 1927, cited in Klaus Kreiser "Public Monuments in Turkey and Egypt" in *Muqarnas*, Vol. 14 (1997), p. 103

Canadian Brian Osborne puts this intersection of visibility, material world, and meaning in a cultural geographic perspective: “The familiar material world becomes studded with symbolically-loaded sites and events – as well as silences – that provide social continuity, contribute to collective memory, and provide spatial and temporal reference points for society” (Osborne 2001). Yet paradoxically, such continuity may be experienced as much in the inter-relations between the silences, omissions and contestations as in the apparently settled forms, indeed it defines the symbolic memorial site according to Mporfu and Tomaselli, above, within a dialectic of visibility and invisibility, memory and forgetting. As for the material object, once in place, monuments are social property that can be “...used, reworked, and reinterpreted...enfolded deliberately or inadvertently into new meanings as social relations change over time” (Hay, Hughes and Tutton 2004: 204). In this context the processes and ‘sites’ of rhetorical contestation are of interest. For example, in the study by Hay, Hughes and Tutton, in Adelaide, South Australia, the authors observe that the many historical statues and plaques along the busy pavements of the cultural precinct of North Terrace are largely unnoticed by local people, yet their narratives that exclude local Aboriginal people from that history are absorbed as silent part of everyday life. Yet, apparently unremarked by the authors was the presence of living Aboriginal people in that streetscape, whom I often observed meeting in and around the statue-studded gardens along North Terrace late 1990s - early 2000s, providing a living counterpoint to the absence of ‘official’ narrative presence.

That is to say, our practices of looking need to be reflexive as much as our other analytic processes do. I was further reminded of the reflexivities needed when I found that images recollected from my past visits to places gained more vividness in retrospect since I started this research. In several visits to cities in Turkey for example, Istanbul, Mersin, Antalya, I invariably came across images (either textual, sculptural or two-dimensional forms such painting, photography), that referenced or directly depicted Atatürk, the foundational figure of modern Turkey. At the time, they seemed simply part of the gradually (‘organically’) evolved contemporary landscape of those places. Then later they seemed to me to be rhetorical gestures, as objects placed with the intention of inducing effects. This also alerted the question of meaning, what do those images mean, and what does their placement mean? Later, in paying more careful attention, the task becomes how to grasp the “...time in which the presences of the monuments,

having already lost some of their vitality, started for the most part to become realities of memory” (Vukov 2001/02: 254). In this process, it is as important to notice one’s own registering processes as it is to register details of those surroundings, what is there and not there.

Concerning meaning and visibility, the monumental form’s size and didacticism raises the concerns about how it may structure social life, especially through effects of the didacticism of the form and function; the possibility of monuments displacing the past supposedly remembered by them; and the authoritarian nature of the official monument’s rhetorical power, its “polemical monologue that speaks in order to impose silence in the beholder” (Morgan 2003, n.p.). Hence (western) monuments “at the end of the twentieth century are...born resisting the very premises of their birth.”¹³ Touching on the question of whether there is a simple relationship between monumental and social forms, Bart Verschaffel explores the notion of monumentality as ‘working’ and producing meaning and effects by combining actual social practices with a sedimentation of past events turned into a form, where the embodied relationship with time is an “operation by which the structural relation of flowing time to a ‘zero point’ of weight and continuity is transformed into an image and is thereby made explicit” (Verschaffel 1999: 333). Here he is drawing on Adorno’s notion of the monumental itself as a ‘form’, a kind of sedimentation of content (ibid, 335). That is, examining tensions that may exist between sedimentary tendencies in culture itself and psychological needs for grounding.

In surveying the theoretical debates and recent changing memorial practices in Victoria, Australia, Sue Ware concluded, “Perhaps the debate itself (on memorialisation and design) perpetually unresolved amid ever-changing conditions, is the true memorial.” (Ware 2004: 133) At the same time, the artist working in any era remains answerable to both the needs of art and official history, as James Young also pointed out (2002), thus it is a question of socio-political and historical context as to what kinds of memorialisation both public and state are willing to engage in. There remains the question of whether a material form, counter-form, or anti-form will resolve the need to actually engage memories, experience and communication themselves, or any quarrels over whose memories should be given material form.

¹³ James Young (2000) *At Memory’s Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, Yale University Press, London, p. 96, cited by Sue WARE (2004: 133)

3.2 Monuments and Memorials in the Turkish Cypriot arena

In this section of the chapter, I develop an outline of the history of the Turkish Cypriot national monuments and memorials, where I am interested in the “mapping of the sites and forms which have visually stuck in our memory...that can easily be recognised as being *present* there, not completely effaced by the passage of time” (Vukov 2002: 254). This is where the re-creation through analysis and memory does not have as its aim re-legitimisation but involves examination of how things become realities of material presence and historical memory, where “...certain ideas and images become more important than others” (Savage 2006 n.p.). It is memorials and monuments as objects in the familiar environment (social, experiential, visual) that are important to my research, the chosen images, as it were. I am not aiming to create a complete picture of a cultural history but to engage with some of the processes involved in order to develop a sense of some key historical elements.

Memorials

A few comments on the terms ‘memorial’ and ‘monument’ can provide some compass points on the thinking about some of the modern public works to be examined in this part of the thesis that develops the Turkish Cypriot national monument’s cultural historical context. Memorials are usually understood to be a refocusing of the nation and/or state’s moral and ethical compass in relation to its citizens and the outside world. “...while a monument most often signifies victory, a memorial refers to the life or lives sacrificed for a particular set of values.” (Sturken 1992: 120) In national histories there are often foundational motifs of war and sacrifice, as Yiannis Papadakis (1995) discusses in relation to modern Cyprus, and in memorials it is common for the ‘sacrificed’ ones to be remembered as freedom givers to those left behind, offering the consolation of future gain for the grievous loss.

One of the chief negotiators for Turkish Cypriots during the 1970s and 80s, Necati Münir Ertekün, dedicated his 1981 book *In Search of a Negotiated Cyprus Settlement* as follows: “To the Memory of our Martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice so that the Turkish Cypriot people may survive in their own country and live therein in freedom, security, dignity and in the pursuit of happiness as is the unalienable right of human beings.” The martyrs referred to here are not only the men who died fighting but also the women, children and non-fighting males who died in the process. It has been noted that the characteristic tenor of nationalist rhetoric in both areas of Cyprus has very masculinist in tone (Karayannis 2006), and Cypriot women have expressed feelings of being excluded from much of the overall political and diplomatic process over the years (Cockburn 2004). Nevertheless, in TRNC the women, children and elderly are included in the lists of those killed in the national struggle, such as the 1990 compendium of national commemorative sites, and at the Peace and Independence Museum in Girne (Kyrenia) where there is a wall of names listing all those said to have died anywhere in the island in the national struggle; Fig.23. Thus I suggest that the dedications to martyrs one finds in books and on monuments in TRNC point to an implicit image of whole community sacrifice for the national goal, rather than exclusively to the brave national leaders and male fighters.

The leadership figures are very important however, and they are the ones whose likeness is embodied in statues, whether they are still alive or have passed away, as for example Mr Rauf Denktaş and Dr Fazıl Küçük in the National Struggle Monument, Fig. 12, and of course Atatürk, whose image is pervasive in North Cyprus where, as Father of the Turks, he is symbolic of the Turkish national family that includes the Turks of Cyprus.¹⁴ Atatürk’s image appears in statues, busts, silhouettes on hilltops, public posters and framed prints in schools, offices, and some homes, Figs 15-16, 19-20, 26-34. Apart from these leadership figures, however, likenesses of known people do not appear in the national monuments and

¹⁴ The figure of Atatürk is a very complex one, as was the person himself. Mango (2004) has written a very interesting, detailed work on the man and his times. Being a cult-like figure in some respects, Atatürk’s image is everywhere in Turkey, yet at the same time, as symbol, the figure apparently functions differently at different levels and in different areas of contemporary society, in an hierarchy of symbols (Erdentug` and Burçak 1997: 590-591). I have not particularly examined such differentiations in regard to Cyprus, where the Atatürk image is everywhere as in Turkey. The point is the general one that whilst the symbol of Atatürk appears steady from a distance, and has broad contemporary currency in its identity functions, it is in reality not a static or monolithic entity, this being the case in Cyprus as much as in Turkey.

memorials.¹⁵ individual heroes may be memorialised by name however, and this has occurred widely throughout the north since 1974 as any public names that were previously Greek were changed to Turkish, which adds to the symbolic geography of Turkishness. The question of who can be memorialised in statues points to one of the features that I think may be considered to distinguish memorials from monuments in TRNC, that statuary generally occurs in the monuments celebrating the community's survival and triumph over adversity, Figures 12, 25, 32-39, whereas the memorial sites that are for the actual deceased (rather than their figurative sacrifice) are non-figural, Figs 9, 11, 12. Figural sculpture features in the Turkish army's memorial cemeteries, Fig.41, which distinguishes them from the local Turkish Cypriot memorial cemeteries, that as mentioned above do not have figures.

Monuments

Monuments, in contrast to memorials, are "...not generally built to commemorate defeats; the defeated dead are remembered in memorials" (Sturken 1992: 120). That is to say, monuments may be considered as built more for celebration and to engender national pride, and they perpetuate that pride with certain commemorative practices, rituals for which they will be a gathering point or focus. The latter is often reflected in the national calendar as part of the consensus building process; in the Turkish Cypriot community the choice of commemorative date is now always multiply linked through time to various historical events, as treated below with particular monuments. In TRNC, the 'victory' kind of monument usually includes statues, as mentioned above, Figs 12, 30, 43. However, both the 'victory' and 'the sacrificed lives' kinds of public monument in TRNC refer to, and subsume, the national identity discourse of personal, family and community sacrifice in the founding of a secured community existence of Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus. The words of TRNC founding President Rauf Denktaş engraved on the National Struggle and Independence Monument in Lefkoşa (Fig. 12) encapsulate this ethos: "A nation that learnt

¹⁵ With one or two exceptions of reliefs with the face of a considered hero, such as the pilot Cengiz Topel, plus one or two other individuals who for some reason were given a public face as well as named, usually on a school building. There are a few non-Atatürk busts, such as Atatürk's mother, Fig. 35, and one or two community cultural individuals. On the whole, apart from images of Atatürk representational statuary has played little part in civic culture in TRNC.

the secret of freedom from its martyrs cannot be subjugated.”¹⁶ As for individual sacrifice, death, there are several forms of commemoration. There are the individual gravesites of course, generally a purely family matter though complicated before the border opening in 2003 by the number of graveyards left in the south, as well as the wall of names at the Peace and Freedom Museum, Girne, Fig. 23.¹⁷ There may also be a separate monument to commemorate particular events or a particular area, such as in Küçük Kaymaklı for example, Fig 18, a long-term Turkish area near Lefkoşa, where there were periods of heavy fighting.

In TRNC there are many monuments and memorials for which it is difficult to draw a clear distinction as to what can be considered one or the other. As I see it, this possibly arbitrary distinction has an important implication in such situations of legacy of conflict, especially where the national history given rise to by conflict is still very much an alive issue. I am interested in considering such a notional separation, not of the categories of objects as such but of the symbolised areas of experience - grief and loss, celebration of survival and presence, and need for reconciliation with the past events. Being able to do this may contribute to making it easier for people to see how reconciliatory processes (within a group, between generations, between groups, and so on) need not mandate the ‘forgetting’ of pain, grief and loss, for example. On the contrary, they possibly open up important discussions through a dialectic of remembering and forgetting rather than a politics of memory.

Text and image

For the locating of monuments and memorials of Turkish Cypriots I draw principally from the list and images in the publication *Kıbrıs'ta Varoluş Mücadelemiz, Şehitlerimiz ve Anıtlarımız* (Our Struggle to Exist, Our Memorials and Monuments in Cyprus) compiled by retired Turkish Cypriot Lieutenant-

¹⁶ As indicated in the Preamble, any quotes from public monuments or from the Compendium of national monuments are my translation from the Turkish unless stated otherwise.

¹⁷ I was told that the names of the disappeared people appear on the Wall of Names in Girne although was subsequently not able to check this in person. In the past, Turkish Cypriot people who disappeared during the course of events in Cyprus did not usually have a public site of remembrance, being mourned in the more ‘private’ family arena.

General Halil Sadrazam. It is a publication of the Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfı, the Martyrs Monuments Trust or Foundation, which is similar to the Returned Servicemen's League of Australia,¹⁸ and the Trust has responsibility for the upkeep of the national commemorative sites.¹⁹ This volume is the work I refer to as the Compendium. The bulk of the book is a catalogue or compendium of national sites of commemoration, including gravesites as well as large monuments, across the whole island, that is in the south as well as in the north, though the southern locations were inaccessible at the time of its publication, 1990.

Without wishing to engage in detailed textual analysis, I want to mention three particular aspects of this publication that I think are important to the topic of national imagery and the study of Turkish Cypriot cultural history. Firstly, the Compendium reflects the close linking of spoken and written text and visual and poetic image in Turkish Cypriot cultural history, indeed in Cypriot culture more widely, as referred to in Chapter 2, where it is my impression that the literary image has played a more active part in overall cultural experience than the visual image as presented through the arts, perhaps until the 1960s (Yıldız 2003). Once the monuments began to appear, in a sense also the first kind of public art, the literary image and visual were brought together, as I explore with the first Atatürk statue, installed in 1963. For example, each commemorative site in the Compendium is placed together with selections of poetry and prose associated either with particular ceremonial events (such as unveiling of a monument) or with themes identified by the compiler in relation to the symbolic and historic role of particular monuments or events. Secondly, the compiler of the Compendium dedicates the work thus: "This book is dedicated for the fallen who sacrificed their lives for the coming generations" (Sadrazam 1990: 2), and later invites contributions from readers who may have experienced some of the events, to participate in the updating

¹⁸ Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfı Yayınları No: 4, 1990. The full name translates something like The Foundation for the Establishment and Maintenance of Martyrs Memorials. The term *Vakf* is the same term as in Ottoman times; the organizations called *vakf* are in the nature of charitable foundations and largely responsible for what we might term categories of material culture, such as monuments, rather than the state having that responsibility. Like the Australian RSL, this serviceman's foundation has links with military history, historians and present military bodies.

¹⁹ The nationalist museums, the Museum of Barbarism and the Museum of National Struggle, are not included in the Compendium as they are not part of the Martyrs Trust's responsibility. I have not included these Museums in my research. Papadakis (1995) and Bryant (2004) have studied them, amongst others. My research does not cover the museums as it has to do with the monuments that are potentially visible to all who pass by in daily activity, the monuments 'in the street', which one does not need to make a special trip to see. Thus I have also not included the military cemeteries or the museums, that being indoors and/or away from the main thoroughfares must be accessed with intention, by setting out to visit them. This is not to suggest that the role of the military and national museums is unimportant in the visual and image life in North Cyprus.

and improving of the information. That is, the book is considered to act within social operations of memory. In this sense I see the invitation of the Compendium as an open-ended one to participate symbolically in conversations of social remembering and discussion processes around the monuments.

Thirdly, a symbolic geography of national identity is created in providing a map of all the sites across Cyprus that are Turkish-Cypriot memorials, Fig. 22. In 1990 when the book was printed, the border between the two sides was firmly closed. Hence the book represents several things – a geography of remembrance, a roll call of locations of sacrifice (i.e. as landmarks of ‘national’ experience), an honour list of those who died, and a retrospective of some sites accessible only in memory or via photographs. That is to say, it is a complex memory object in itself.

The Compendium also provides a brief sketch of the TMT resistance organization’s history, and a chronicle of events of July-August 1974. The TMT, Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı,²⁰ is the organization of Turkish Cypriot fighters associated with community defence, with national education and liberation, or with extremes of nationalist chauvinism, depending on the point of view (Mehmet 2004, Bryant 2004: 158, 173, 229); some analysts have suggested that the Turkish Cypriot leadership saw by the mid-1950s that sooner or later they were going to have to fight to defend themselves, thus the TMT was formed in 1957/58 to begin to organise defense (Kızılyürek 2005). There were eleven sancaks (TMT area commands) during the period 1963-74. In the Compendium, the TMT are the defenders of the Turkish Cypriot people in their quest for liberation, which is implied to be the national cause. The latter is not explicitly defined, remaining a largely tacit entity within its pages, letting the photographs of the many sites, plus lists of names, speak for themselves, as it were, in “keeping alive the memory of those who died in the fight for liberation.” (1990: 9).

²⁰ I have seen two versions of the name for the organisation TMT. Türk Mudafaa Teşkilatı (Bryant 2004: 158), where *mudafaa* has the sense of defence and resistance, and Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı, Oberling 1987, Sadrazam 1990, Papadakis 1993, Kızılyürek 2005, where *mukavemet* has the sense of resistance and endurance.

3.3 Arrival of National monuments

The period of ‘national struggle’ in TRNC history is identified as beginning in 1958 and extending to 1974, hence memorials and gravesites are included in the national register for those dates and sites in the south of the island, from the pre-1974 years, are thus included. The types of memorials and monuments canvassed as national sites for Turkish Cypriots include memorial cemeteries (built specifically for the dead of particular events, usually for the military); memorialised cemeteries (where an original group of graves has come to have a wider meaning in retrospect, especially those of pre-1974 years or in remote villages); public cemeteries with a special martyrs’ graves section and possibly a memorial monument, Fig. 11; the war memorials and museums at the landing sites along the north coast (Karaog`lanog`lu, Alsancak), Figs 24,25; plus a range of ‘celebratory’ national monuments, with their mostly civic statues and lack of explicit grave sites, Figures 21, 30, 43. Importantly, the statues of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk are also included, Figs 15, 19, 31, as well as other leaders such as Dr Küçük, the Turkish Cypriot Vice-President of the republic of Cyprus, Figs 21, 29, and Mr İsmet İnönü, next President of Turkey after Atatürk.

Transition and the first figure 1953

As with figurative public sculpture in the Republic of Turkey, which first appeared as part of the process of engendering new westernising national subjectivities in the mid 1920s, (Kreiser 1997, Mango 2004, Batuman 2005), I think there are relatively simple time frames that can be applied to the public monument and figurative statue amongst Turkish Cypriots. This is not to suggest that the cultural changes were simple, or for that matter that those in Cyprus followed Turkey in all respects and can be simply understood as such. Rather, in both places the appearance of figural statues and public monuments (though forty years apart in different locations) occurred in societies without a tradition of public figural representation and signalled a new discourse of national identity, where the public location and the particular monumental forms are part of the visual language of a chosen modern national identity and its

spatial creation. In the Republic of Turkey, that succeeded the Ottoman state in Anatolia in 1923, westernising political and socio-cultural change proceeded hand in hand amongst the military and bureaucratic elites, under the leadership of Kemal Atatürk until his death in 1938 (Mango 2004). This included a representational regime of statues, portraits, monuments and other public symbols that gradually overtook the previously non-figural Muslim public culture.²¹ The first public statue erected was a bronze full sized figure of Atatürk that was installed in Sarayönü, Istanbul, in 1926 (Kreiser 1997, Mango 2004). By the 1950s and 60s, monument design in Turkey had passed from the European sculptors who received almost all the commissions in the 1920s and 30s (Kreiser 1997, Batuman 2005), to new generations of Turkish born and trained sculptors (Germaner, n.d, Batuman 2005).

These figural forms arrived as part of a new kind of public culture for the Turkish Cypriots amongst the exigencies of the 1950s and 60s, as discussed further below. The public nature of the monumental national symbols compares with the earlier decades of constraint of public display under the British colonial rule (Nevzat 2005). A sentiment of identity amongst Cypriot Turks can be traced from the early British years, 1878-1920, firstly in relation to the Ottoman Muslim culture and then to Republican Turkey's modern political and social influence. (Bryant 2004, Özsag`lam 2003, Kîzîlyürek 2005, Nevzat 2005). As mentioned in chapter 2, local events and international political processes resulted in close dependence of Turkish Cypriots on Turkey during the formative national period of the 1960s that continued after 1974, indeed to this day. The national monuments and memorials and other visual symbols in North Cyprus are in that sense explicit signs of the political, cultural and economic connections with modern Turkey. The figure of Atatürk in particular, the flags, the forms of the monuments, and the iconography, all relate to the mainland forms, thus reflecting "official" art in Turkey,

²¹ Precursory cultural change in the late Ottoman Empire is discussed by Klaus Kreiser (1997) in relation to public monuments, which remained non-figural, and by Selim Deringil (1993a) in relation to monuments and public display, and ceremony in general. How did Mustafa Kemal create the space for the figural form in the public arena after 1923? Andrew Mango indicates that he linked it both with traditions within Islam itself and with the discourse of modernisation as a civilising mission for taking Turkey into the future, for which there has been precursory discourse amongst some of the Ottoman elites. In a public speech in Bursa in 1923, Mustafa Kemal directly addressed the question of representation and said Turkey would put up statues to its heroes. He suggested that whilst the Islamic ban on human representation had (rightly) been directed against the worship of idols, it was no longer relevant because the assumption that educated people of today were capable of worshipping pieces of stone was actually an insult to Islam. Turkey would become "civilised and progressive" and one of the signs of this would be public figural representation (Mango 2004: 371).

as discussed further in the case study Chapter 4. The focus here is on the local history of arrival, placement and effects of the forms.

The first public sculpted figure in the Turkish arena in Cyprus was installed in 1953 in Mag`usa (Famagusta), on 17 March, as indicated in the previous chapter. It was a classic portrait in bronze of the Ottoman poet and gazetteer Namık Kemal (b.1840 d.1888), Fig.9. After some controversy the bust was installed in Mag`usa (Famagusta), which historically had been the Turkish quarter since the Ottoman arrival in 1571 (Hakkeri 1992). The bust's pedestal bears a plaque with the title *Vatan Şairi* (Homeland/Motherland Poet). The town square itself is now known as the Namık Kemal Meydanı (Namık Kemal Square), and the area's Senior High School is the Namık Kemal Lisesi. Namık Kemal was an Ottoman writer based in Istanbul who was exiled to Cyprus 1873-1876. He was associated with the New Ottoman Society, a group of intellectuals who were very influenced by European cultural and political developments and at the same time championed Islamic modernisation in the late nineteenth century Ottoman domains.

One of the 'new' ideas for which Namık Kemal is known is "toplum için sanat" which means roughly 'art for the people/public', contrasting with notions of art as being an activity of and for elites only. It is said that in form, his poetry reflected ties with the old, with tradition, whilst in spirit and essence it had an innovative and educational effect by propagating a sense of freedom and justice (Hakkeri 1990: 270). This duality, of continuity that at the same time seeds or reveals new pathways, and the equation of rhetorical shift with cultural change, played an important part in the early Republican era in Turkey, from 1923 onwards. It was to do so later in Cyprus with the arrival and installation of the second Turkish figural sculpture in 1963, as discussed below. The 'innovation' or the new needs to be shown to be continuous with the tradition, which is expressive of a cultural ethos; that is, the 'new' needs to be convincing as a progressive gesture that would enable some *essence* to be fully realised in a future

sense.²² The choice of a literary figure for the first statue thus represents historical continuity in terms of development of cultural forms amongst the pre and post-British era elites in the Turkish Cypriot community. The Namîk Kemal bust also has cultural and political importance as a public affirmation that the Ottoman history was important, a significant element of Turkish Cypriot history and identity as discussed in Chapter 2.

In the overall context, the Namîk Kemal statue and the eventual permission to install it can be considered very ambiguous. This bust is of cultural importance as the first public figural work amongst Turkish Cypriots, and as above for affirming the Ottoman heritage. At the same time its subversive political potential is noticeable via the subject's own association with political and cultural activism, via its location in public space (presenting a challenge to the story of purely Greek identity of the island, as discussed in Chapter 2), and also via the date of installation, 17th March, which happens to be the date the Turks celebrate as the defeat of the British and Allied navy in the Dardanelles in 1915, prior to the Gallipoli campaign. This bust of Namîk Kemal thus provides an interesting nexus of political, cultural and social history that would bear further investigation.

National forms – the monuments of 1963

In the context of a Turkish Cypriot national history and the processes and means of recording that history through monuments and memorials, it is noteworthy that it was another ten years after Namîk Kemal's bust was installed in 1953 before any further public monuments were erected. During those ten years Turkish national identity sentiments gradually became more publicly expressed by the political leadership in the community (Kızılyürek 2005), the anti-colonial struggles of the mid-late 1950s took place, Britain

²² As previously mentioned, Andrew Mango discusses this in relation to Atatürk's introduction of the figural form into the Muslim culture in Anatolia (2004). There is a comprehensive discussion of this kind of mechanism of cultural change in relation to literature in Turkey by Orhan KOÇAK in "'Our Master, the Novice': On the Catastrophic Births of Modern Turkish Poetry", *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102: 2/3, Spring/Summer 2003; pp567-598. The question of 'innovation' interplays with notions of revivification in relation to Islamic understandings of creativity and the philosophies of how cultural change occurs.

granted independence to Cyprus in 1960 and the shared power, bi-communal Republic of Cyprus embarked on its short three years of functional existence.²³ In the present research I have not particularly explored this ten-year time gap in detail in relation to reasons for absence of further national monument installations. It may be that contestations of political power and style within the Turkish Cypriot community had a part to play in their absence. Certainly the onset of the Greek Cypriot anti-British violence in 1955 speeded up events and the reinforced the need for Turkish Cypriots to articulate public responses under the circumstances, so there is also a question of whether the national monument form would have been engaged by Turkish Cypriots at all, or at least as *early* as 1963 were it not for the overall circumstances. Importantly, sculpture was not an art form that had been widely taken up amongst Muslim Cypriots, painting being the favoured medium for Turkish artists in Cyprus during most of the twentieth century (Yıldız 2003), hence there would have been little if any pressure from artistic circles to participate in the new public culture in that sense, especially as large scale bronze casting and stonework suggests significant state resources rather than those of individuals or a small somewhat embattled community. Be that as it may, following the initial foray into figuration with the small bust of Namık Kemal in 1953, the first full statue to be erected in the Turkish Cypriot areas in Cyprus was installed in 1963, and was a bronze figure of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Figure 15.

The 1963 bronze of Atatürk is a larger than life figure in suit and overcoat, Atatürk the statesman, in the heroic realist style that was prevalent in official art in Turkey at the time. Indeed, the statue was made in Turkey and transported to Cyprus (Sadrazam 1990), though precise details of its provenance are not provided in the material to which I had access. It was placed on a pyramidal stone pedestal in a prominent part of the Turkish municipality of Nicosia, on 29 October 1963, just nine months after another large monument, non-figural, was installed in another part of the city, as discussed below. The date 29 October is a very important anniversary in Turkey, being the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, Cumhuriyet Bayramı, its foundation day. The date would have been purposefully chosen as such for the inauguration of this special statue as the first such public symbol in Cyprus of an explicitly Kemalist (modern) Turkish

²³ This history is also looked at elsewhere in the thesis. At this point I want to reinforce that researchers need to be mindful that there are multiple modern histories of Cyprus, and each 'side' has its own official and quasi-official narratives. The "main narrative" article by Keith Kyle on the Cyprus-Conflict website illustrates this point, <<http://www.cyprus-conflict.net/narrative-main.html>>

identity. Each of the statues and monuments in TRNC has a place in the symbolic national chronologies, either of Turkey or TRNC itself. A calendar of commemoration is a typical part of the modern state's ritual and administrative practice, marking special occasions as well as becoming absorbed into everyday life. In Turkey and TRNC this calendrical practice is tightly woven, as outlined further below and in the case study. The inauguration of the Atatürk statue in Lefkoşa, as it turned out, was just two months before the joint parliament of Cyprus broke down in December 1963, after which attacks against Turkish Cypriots worked to instigate the period of intercommunal clashes and the Turkish enclaves ((Patrick 1976: 37, Navarro-Yashin 286-287) that drastically changed the political and demographic landscape.

Since the October 1963 statue of Atatürk was the first of its kind by means of which Turkish Cypriots publicly signed a particular sense of national identity to the world in which they lived, I think it is important to convey here some of the sentiments expressed at the time of the public inauguration by the political leader Dr Fazıl Küçük, and in the fervent words of a poem by Erdog`an Mirata, which accompanies the monument's entry in the Compendium.²⁴

As the Atatürk statue was being unveiled, to coincide precisely with the 40th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of Turkey, Dr Küçük said:

As the Turkish Cypriot community, when our faces touch the stone on which this monument stands, and we raise our hands towards the heavens, we will be inspired with courage and fortitude by two things. Our belief in God, and the reality of the miracle-performing ancestor. [Sadrazam 1990: 99]

If Dr Küçük's words were for kindling Turkish national sentiment whilst sounding familiar chords, the words of the chosen poem by Mirata affirm the main source of such national sentiments to be the legacy of Atatürk as military leader, though the statue itself conveys a civic role with its western business suit and overcoat. Via the concrete image of this monument and the speech and poem, the various realms of symbolic linkage are affirmed. Some lines of the poem may illustrate:

²⁴ The compendium does not cite the original source of the poem or its date of writing. My translation.

*...What is erected is not a monument
but a command post,
where great decision makers will gather.*

.....

*From this statue
courage will flow to our hearts
The youth will light their torches
from your eyes
You will be a sacred figure to the Cypriot*

.....

*You will be the flag of my fight
excitement to our hearts,
Your gaze will chase away the foe
The ill intending enemy of Cyprus
will be burnt by your spirit.*

“My Atatürk in Cyprus” Erdog`an Mirata (Sadrazam. p.101)

Nine months prior to this statue’s installation, another monument had been unveiled in the Turkish area of the capital city. This is the Türk Şehitleri Abidesi, the Turkish Martyrs Monument, Figs 13, 14. I will call it the Abide. It was officially dedicated on 28 January 1963. This was really the first public monument for Turkish Cypriots conceived as a historical community as it explicitly referenced Turkish ancestry on the island, and was installed in the capital city at a prominent intersection in the Turkish area. Its representation of historical presence is significant, with a frame of sacrifice, of lives lost *for* that presence. In fact in retrospect, one can say that it is as much a prefiguring of subsequent losses as it is a memorial to those lives ‘sacrificed’ before. Part of the wording on the base of this monument reads “What makes a flag *flag* is the blood on it. Soil becomes homeland once blood is shed for it,” Figure 14. The installation of this monument and the imagery it invokes speak of Turkish Cypriot political experience at the time, which is often identified as the real kindling of wider Turkish Cypriot national sentiment (Kitromilides

1979, Lacher and Kaymak 2005). At the time, 1960-1963, it was clear that the new, bicomunal Republic of Cyprus was not running smoothly. The separate municipal areas and flags and anthems from either Greece or Turkey (Papadakis 1995), seemed signs of the 'reluctant republic' (Xydis 1973). For Turkish Cypriots in the capital there was a growing sense that despite the London and Zurich agreements that had given them legal equity as national partners at independence in 1960, it was not working out that way in practice;²⁵ such paraphernalia as the Cyprus flag (white dove on yellow island), the trilingual stamps, currency, and so on, were belied by the cultural hegemony exercised by Greek Cypriot elites (Scott 2002b), as well as the political manoeuvres aimed at union with Greece.

As Zenon Stavrinides put it, "From the beginnings of the Greek Cypriot nationalist movement, the Greeks spoke of Cyprus as 'their island', and claimed she belongs to the glorious Greek people and that the existence of the Turkish community is a regrettable aberration of history. The Turks could point to many statements made by Greek Cypriot leaders, even during the 'partnership' years, which implied that the Turkish presence mars the purity of the Greek island."²⁶ According to Stavrinides, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash responded in a Rotary Club address: "We are part of Cyprus. You can't throw us out. So accommodate us. Let's accommodate ourselves. We don't want much. But we don't want to be 'not wanted'. That is the difficulty. For years we have been told by words and by action that we are not wanted in Cyprus..." (Stavrinides *ibid*). The Turkish Cypriot community did not wish to become a disappearing minority in their own homeland, yet their legal efforts to uphold the constitution and verbal efforts to make their position clear did not seem to be taken seriously. Suddenly large public monuments, a new cultural form, began to appear in the Turkish area, explicitly affirming Turkish national identity and the role of sacrifice for presence in the island. The Abidé monument, installed in January 1963, is non-figural, a stone obelisk faced with marble standing on a square black podium, the edges of which are inscribed, as was to become customary in TRNC, with various famous sayings of Atatürk, Fig. 14 At installation in 1963 it was inscribed with the date 1570, a monument to the martyrs of the Ottoman

²⁵ According to Necati Münir Ertekün, legal advisor to the Turkish Cypriot Interlocuteur at the intercommunal talks, the Turkish Cypriot side regarded the Zurich compromise as an end in itself (1981: 9).

²⁶ Zenon STAVRINIDES (1976, 2000) excerpt from *The Cyprus Conflict: National Identity and Statehood* (1976), no page numbers, in Tirman ed. (2000) *The Cyprus-Conflict* - <www.cyprus-conflict.net>; originally published Nicosia: Loris Stavrinides Press (1976)

campaign for the island which began in that year; the inscription on the monument was later changed to include the years to 1974. Dr Küçük's words at the inauguration of the Atatürk statue nine months later, in October 1963, could be taken to symbolically include this monument as well - "*as our faces touch the stone and we raise our hands towards the heavens...*" - explicitly linking the stone as literal pedestal with the symbolic foundation, or tradition, the rock on which a community is built, the principle or the 'rule' by which it lives.²⁷

Turkish Cypriots have been described as very informal, if not lacking, in matters of religion (Beckingham 1957), but there is a suggestion of a strong reverential element here, in a link between Turkish Cypriots, their ancestors, Atatürk, and Allah. In fact Dr Küçük's reference to devotional practice is in a way very Cypriot, both Turkish and Greek (Beckingham 1957). There were/are many sites and sources for such activity, represented by stones, tombs, churches, mosques, trees (rag trees), wayside shrines, symbolically located in space and/or time. Julie Scott (2002a) illustrates both religious and secular experience in relation to social and historical memory around a museum and shrine in Famagusta, where the shrine of the (national) hero is partly assimilated to the accompanying museum's secular historical discourse, yet retains a place in a non-historical, devotional practice. This is not to suggest that people actually worshipped ancestors, any more than they worshipped Atatürk as such; Scott found people in her study to be aware of "...subtle symbolic registers", as well as "... the potential for (a story's) manipulation to particular narrative ends"(2002: 225). I suggest Dr Küçük addressed this complex of experience as he introduced the new cultural form.

The Atatürk statue appeared nine months after the Abidé stone, and one can suggest that the figure marks an explicit rhetorical transition from the more generalised historical Turkishness to a contemporary Turkish nationalist identity. People had been familiar with two dimensional images of Atatürk for some decades, now the three dimensional image was being publicly engaged with - from the more private arenas of two dimensional forms, and no doubt via the medium of political contestation (though I have

²⁷ Here I have given different qualities of the Turkish ...*bu kaidenin taşlarına...*

not specifically researched this), the monumental three dimensional figure first entered the public domain as a specifically national Turkish identity.

The Period of the busts and silhouettes 1963 – 1974

Following that first statue of Atatürk in October 1963, no further large public monuments were erected until after the war and population exchange in 1974-75. In fact, a second large statue of Atatürk had arrived in 1974, destined for the Turkish High School in Baf (Paphos), the only location permitted by the Greek Cypriot authorities at the time. This statue was not able to be installed as war broke out before the planned unveiling date. Like the first Atatürk statue, this second one was a large bronze civilian figure, and as with the earlier one and later figures, the Paphos Atatürk was made in Turkey and shipped to Cyprus.

These first two Atatürk statues are alike in being in civilian dress, but unlike the 1963 figure who stands surveying the scene with arms crossed on his chest, this second figure has one foot forward and an arm raised in the air, as if engaged in an oration, or perhaps acknowledging something; this motif of the right hand lifted towards the sky is a Turkish iconographic element, examined briefly in the case study. The unique visual element of this particular statue is that the extended right arm is slightly too long, somewhat comically exaggerating the gesture, Fig.33. The statue arrived early 1974 in Cyprus and was to have been unveiled in Baf (Paphos) later in the year on the thirtieth of August. This particular day and month mark another important anniversary in Turkey, known as Victory Day, that of the decisive Dumlupınar victory in the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922), which led to the expulsion of foreign national troops from Anatolia and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

However, the unveiling of the statue of Atatürk in Baf (Paphos) on 30 August 1974 did not eventuate. A Greek Cypriot nationalist (EOKA) coup against President Makarios succeeded on 15 July 1974, which brought the Greek Cypriot community's infighting to a flashpoint. The Turkish army's arrival in Cyprus on 20 July in response to the coup eventually led to the division of the island into Greek and Turkish areas, and the statue of Atatürk remained in Paphos in the newly all-Greek area. As the arrangements for division of the island were at first considered provisional, or temporary, the statue was kept by the Greek Cypriot authorities, until some years later when the de-facto partition seemed more long lasting it was exchanged with the Turkish Cypriot authorities in the North. This occurred in a process not unlike a prisoner exchange and the statue transported to its present location in Güzeyurt (Morphou) where it was unveiled on the 16th of August 1978 (Sadrazam 1990: 103). This time the unveiling date was a local Turkish Cypriot date of importance, commemorating the beginning of the second phase of the Turkish army's movement in August 1974, that had freed the Turkish Cypriots of the Morphou area and those substantial numbers of civilians in Lefke who were being held prisoner in the school (Sadrazam *ibid*). This was the move that resulted in the location of the current line of division between the Turkish north and Greek south. Through the choice of this date for the Güzeyurt Atatürk installation, it was clear that Turkish Cypriots, having assimilated Turkey's national calendrical rituals, had acquired further significant dates for their own national chronology.²⁸ The 16th of August also happens to be the anniversary of inception of the independent, bicomunal Republic of Cyprus in 1960, though it is not celebrated as such in either part of the island.²⁹

²⁸ Yiannis Papadakis (2003) studied some elements of the differing commemorative calendars of opposing political parties within each area of Cyprus, although he was not able to compile strictly analogous lists for comparison, one of the perennial issues in research on the two areas of Cyprus. An example of what Papadakis did find is that left wing parties have somewhat different dates to celebrate than the nationalist parties and that the two groupings do not attend one another's special commemorative celebrations. This is important in relation to diverse memories and commemorative practices within each community, yet overall the calendars of opposing political parties in each area are similar enough to enable them to be called national calendars, including dates of religious observation and independence days for the mainland (motherland) states of Turkey and Greece.

²⁹ Interestingly, an independence day was not celebrated in Cyprus for many years despite the efforts exerted in achieving such a state. In the Greek area, a day was chosen about thirty years after independence but by then the island was divided and 16 August could not be celebrated as the foundation day of the Republic owing to its importance in the Turkish area as an anniversary of liberation from the Greek nationalist army in 1974. In *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* London and New York, I.B. Tauris, 2005, Yiannis PAPADAKIS writes of his curiosity about the date chosen by the Greek Cypriot authorities for celebration of the island's independence from the British, which happens to coincide with his own birthday of the first of October, pp.45-46.

To summarise, ten years elapsed between the bust of Namık Kemal in Mag`usa (1953) and the Abide stone and the bronze Atatürk in Nicosia (1963), and it was another decade before a second Atatürk statue was due to be installed (1974). One non-figural monument was built in 1973, the ‘Peace at Home. Peace in the World’ monument in Lefkoşa, discussed below. In the meantime however, small bronze Atatürk busts, heads mostly, had begun to appear in the Turkish villages and municipalities about the island. Popular locations were (are) schools, especially high schools, Fig. 16, and municipal forecourts. Drawing from my own local area, some observations during more recent visits to Cyprus, and a list provided of the village busts in the Nicosia municipal district, I assume there would have been one for each village or municipal area. I remember coming home from college one holiday and seeing the bust in our village square, hence I estimate that it arrived around 1969-70.³⁰ Based on this timing, I surmise an association with the second major bout of inter-communal violence in 1967/68, when Turkish Cypriots in parts of the island came under attack from Greek Cypriot militias, and when Turkey’s economic support of the community scattered in enclaves had enabled the basic functioning of a social system to become organised.³¹

These years were very difficult ones for Turkish Cypriots, living in a fragmented geography, under economic embargo, attacks or fear of attack, many having lost land and freedom of movement, constrained in congested areas by internal pressures as well as external (Volkan 1979, Mehmet 2003, Navarro-Yashin 2006). Previously the landscape had been a more open patchwork, as in Fig. 5, but in the mid to late 1960s, movement and trade was restricted between the enclaves (Patrick 106-108), and the connecting threads were mostly the tenuous airwaves; the community effectively disappeared from the international arena at the same time, as outlined in Chapter 2. These were the ‘struggle’ years. It is little surprise that these years 1963-1974 are the considered central in the Turkish Cypriot community’s

³⁰ There is a humorous story to this bust. I don’t recall being aware of any particular attachment to it in the village before 1974, but when the time came in early 1975 for everyone to transfer to the new Turkish area in the north, people wanted to take ‘their’ bust. The bust did move north, but not with the villagers themselves, rather it was stored centrally for a while. When it was returned to the villagers once settled in their new location they claimed the one they received was not their bust but an inferior substitute. The original pedestal remains standing in Pelathousa, Fig.42.

³¹ Richard Patrick (1976) gives detailed accounts of those years, where the attacks were mostly by Greek Cypriots against their Turkish compatriots, but did include some in the other direction, Turkish Cypriot against Greek Cypriot, hence the term inter-communal violence is used. A chapter of Patrick’s book is available online at <www.cypriot-conflict.net/patrick>

modern history by almost all parties in North Cyprus, and are continually re-membered in monuments like the latest installation in Girne that I examine in the case study in the next chapter, as well as memories (Cockburn 2004) and histories (Mehmet 2003).

Lacher and Kaymak (2005: 147) observe that under the exigencies in the mid 1960s, the conditions were created in which the effective sense of Cypriot Turkishness as contiguous with Turkish mainland culture and identity became assimilated with authoritarian political processes. The ‘difference’ that identity “constantly seeks (and fails) to fix or hold in place...is not only a constitutive ‘other’ outside identity, but also an internal element that resists the closure of identity...(and) this very process of trying to secure the internal difference has to be understood as the reproduction of identity.”³² During this time and in these circumstances the authoritarian political processes within the Turkish Cypriot community, including some use of fear tactics to lessen the effectiveness of alternative social and political identities (Navaro-Yashin 2006: 286-287), acted together during the mid – late 1960s with the exclusionary behaviours of the Greek Cypriot national leadership and the trauma of physical attack (Patrick 1976, Volkan 1979, Mehmet 2003) to create an authoritarian nationalist Turkish public identity and the movement towards separation.

Whilst the turning of difference into identity in Cyprus was no doubt some decades in the making, in the whirlwind of events of the 1960s it must have seemed to many that a swift induction into Turkish Cypriot or Greek Cypriot national identity was being effected. To literalise the point in relation to my research, the only public monument to appear in Turkish Cypriot public space in Cyprus before 1963 was the small bronze bust of the Ottoman poet Namik Kemal in March 1953. Within a few months of each other in 1963, the first two large modern monuments, one a symbolic stone (the Abide), the other a bronze statue of Atatürk, were installed in the Turkish municipality in the capital city, and busts of Atatürk were distributed about the villages and municipalities in the following seven years. The notion of the reactive

³² B. Honig “Difference, Dilemmas and the Politics of Home” in Seyla Benhabib ed. (1996) *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 257-277, cited in Batuman 2005: 35.

development of modern Turkish Cypriot identity then, can be seen as a political process and as a form of cultural resistance, as has been pointed out by various writers and researchers including Stavrinides (1976), Azgin (2000) and Mehmet (2003), as well as arising from a contingency of needs after 1963 (Mehmet 2003, Navarro-Yashin 2006: 285-88). These above circumstances and discourses can in part be seen as being both signified and 'answered' visually by the slow entry of a concrete counter-form into the Turkish public spaces in Cyprus, that is, the national monument, into a symbolic and a real landscape of presence and, later, remembrance.

There was another kind of monumental figure that was introduced during this period, 1963-74, the silhouette of Atatürk placed on hilltops. Fig. 26. The one I remember from my youth was situated on a hilltop in Lefke. I was familiar with this image both because the silhouette was very near the Turkish engineering college I attended in Lefke, 1968-1970, and also because it was where I undertook part of my national service during those years. This image is highly symbolic in Turkish iconography as the figure of Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk) surveying the scene from a hillside (Kocatepe) on the day before the decisive battle at Dumlupınar in Anatolia that defeated an invading army (which happened to be the army of Greece) in 1922 and led to the formation of the Republic of Turkey. The original photograph, Figure 28, was cropped to place Mustafa Kemal on his own, Figure 27. The latter then became the master for countless hilltop silhouettes; there may be half a dozen in Cyprus, placed on military land on high ground that makes the figures visible against the horizon for some distance around.³³ This figure relates to Atatürk as the great leader and military commander in a contemplative moment before liberating the nation. As such the silhouette presents another of the characteristic personas of this very complex figure, who is military commander, statesman, teacher, father, guide, and so on (Erdentug` and Berrak 1997: 598-599; Mango 2004).

The years after 1963 were hectic ones for most Turkish Cypriots. However by 1971 the situation had quietened down, and the general social circumstances were more relaxed in some areas as the

³³ The Atatürk silhouette I depict in Figure 26 is located on a hilltop along the highway from Lefkosa to Girne, in the vicinity of the medieval castle of St Hilarion.

intercommunal conflict seemed to have somewhat subsided (Groom 1993), although very few people if any had been able to return to their own homes and the watchfulness. The highest tensions in this period 1970-July 74 were between the left and right-wing Greek Cypriot factions (Panayiotou 2006a), as I observed amongst colleagues at my place of work 1971-July74. The Compendium of TRNC national monuments shows a new monument was erected in Lefkoşa in 1973, with a circular fountain at its centre and named *Yurt'da Sulh. Cihan'da Sulh*, which is another of Atatürk's well-known quotes and translates as "Peace at home, peace in the world".³⁴ The monument is made of concrete and consists of a large stylised hand rising, cupped, behind a central fountain on a low, circular platform that is edged with eleven small stylised bastions, Fig. 17, hence this aspect of the form of the monument is said to represent the bastioned walls of Nicosia, see footnote. Overall it is said to symbolise Atatürk's principle expressed in the saying "Peace at home, peace in the world" (Hakkeri 1992: 384), which is to do with setting one's own house in order, a notion that could perhaps have been applied to many players in the Cyprus situation at that time.

This circular base with bastions has been used in other monuments in TRNC such as the Türkeli (Ayvasıl) memorial (1979) and the TMT monument (2002), Fig. 36, both of which are strongly connected with the official history/identity of the struggle against all odds, from the two standpoints of victims and defenders, respectively. The latest national monument, the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument (2005), is circular though without bastions, Fig. 43. I do not have information on the context of erection of the 'Peace at Home Peace in the World' Monument, I simply observe the form and the materials. In respect of material, the widespread use of concrete in TRNC monuments and it is interesting to note that this material had been one of the particular items embargoed by the Greek Cypriot administration during the 1960s (Patrick 1976: 106-108), which greatly limited the building capacity in Turkish areas. In my area, for example, we pitched in as a community in 1968 to turn out mud bricks to build houses for the refugee families who had been living in the Turkish middle school in the town of Polis since the fighting in 1964. I had myself attended school in the substitute building in Chrysohou,

³⁴ Sadrazam 1990: 120-21. Another installation date of 1982 for the same monument is given in the Turkish Cypriot Encyclopedia (Hakkeri 1992: 384). Another location of this saying of Atatürk in TRNC is a sign high above the crossing point for vehicles going between the two parts of the island, in the suburb of Metehan (Kermiye) in Nicosia.

some distance from Polis; by 1968 the small substitute building had become too small and following more fighting in 1967 it was also clear that the Turkish Cypriot refugees would not be able to return to their old homes. If it was erected in 1973 the ‘Peace in the World’ monument would have been the first fully concrete monument and this ‘new’ material was later used extensively throughout the North. As far as I could determine the name peace was next applied to a non-military monument in TRNC in 2003, Fig 53, 54, one that appears to be a bi-communal affair with its inscriptions in Greek, Turkish and English to world peace.³⁵ This monument is built near the vehicle crossing at the border between north and south, hence was probably installed during 2003, perhaps after the border opening and in the lead-up to the referendum in 2004; when heading south for a visit across the border one passes this peace monument and shortly afterwards drives under a high overhead sign with the words *Yurt’da Sulh. Cihan’da Sulh.*

Patterns of monument and memorial building in TRNC - overview

In the above pages I have presented an outline of the arrival of national monument forms in relation to some aspects of the Turkish Cypriot community’s political and cultural historical context. In particular I have indicated considerations for some of the material and symbolic aspects of the national monuments in their early period 1953-1973. The main monument building periods however came after the traumatic upheavals in 1974. The following few paragraphs summarise the pattern of construction or dedication, which indicates something of the periodicity in monument installations in TRNC. Following this, I review the findings of this part of my research.

The map in Figure 22 shows the geographic distribution of the items that are under the responsibility of the Martyrs Monuments Foundation in North Cyprus, the national monuments and memorials. Following

³⁵ The word/concept ‘peace’ has been used more widely in the names of museums and, as alluded to earlier, in nationalist terminology became the title of the military events in 1974, the Peace Operation. For the purposes of this project I have not engaged these iconological details very much further but suggest that via the monuments and museums it would be an interesting area for further exploration.

the war and ceasefire in 1974, population exchanges took place in 1975 in which a majority of Turkish Cypriots in the now Greek south moved north, and the majority of Greek Cypriots in the now Turkish north moved south.³⁶ In 1975-76, a small war memorial was installed on the north coast site of the Turkish army's landings, but apart from this the large constructions visible now were not completed until 1978 (Compendium). Diplomatic negotiations had apparently been proceeding reasonably well between Mr Denktaş and Archbishop Makarios, at least in ageing on frameworks (Groom 1993: 26), but in 1977 the Archbishop died suddenly, and under his successor Mr Kyprianou the process did not seem to proceed as smoothly (Groom 1993: 26-28). In 1978 there began a period of a decade or so of the proliferation of commemorative architecture across the new area of the north, known as the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus. In the year 1978 itself, local area and national Turkish Cypriot memorials and monuments, and Turkish military memorials and cemeteries were completed and dedicated, including the large war memorials on the north coast, Fig. 24, 25, the Küçük Kaymaklı memorial, Fig. 18, the Türkeli monument, and the Atatürk statue released from the south was installed in Güzelyurt (Morphou), Fig. 33. In 1980, another major round of building took place, and more large memorials were dedicated, for example, the Victory Monument in Mag`usa (Famagusta) Fig. 30, the Çannakale (Gallipoli) monument in Mag`usa, Fig. 12, and the Muratag`a-Sandallar-Atlılar memorial.

On 29 October 1983 a new statue of Atatürk arrived in Girne, Figs 31, 32, twenty years to the day after the first one in Lefkoşa, though here in Girne by the sea he is standing relaxedly compared with the 1963 figure. Within a few days of this new figure in 1983, a declaration of independence was made and the TRNC was established. The move for recognition as a state created more difficulties for the Turkish Cypriot area, renewed embargoes and so on, and the famous earth flag, Fig. 40 appeared in this period. This flag can be seen for quite some distance, as I observed three years ago on my first time of arriving in Cyprus at Larnaca airport in the south; for many kilometres in the South, on the freeway from the airport to Nicosia, the earth flag could be seen quite clearly. The late 1980s saw another few national sites inaugurated, the National Struggle and Independence Monument, Fig. 21 (1988), a mausoleum and

³⁶ C.H. Dodd (1993) noted the "near absence of official figures, let alone reliable ones, for the numbers of refugees in 1974/75", specifically for the North, but also with doubts for the south. He quotes between 140,000 and 250,000 for Greeks who moved south, and 40,000 to 50,000 Turks who moved north, although notes that some Turks had already moved before the official exchanges, p. ix-x

separate statue (1989-90) for Dr Küçük, vice-president during the joint governing years 1960-63, and a new equestrian statue of Atatürk in Lefke, Fig. 19 (1989). This is a sample of memorials and monuments; there were also many local area memorials, graveyards and military cemeteries dedicated or re-dedicated in those years. For a small area and population of perhaps 165, 000 in the 1980s (Güven-Lisaniler and Rodriguez 2002) this is quite an amount of activity.

Periodicity

The timing of these installations is interesting to reflect on in relation to aspects of international affairs regarding Cyprus in those years. The following is not intended either as a simple chronicle or an in depth analysis, rather a suggestive outline of processes that appear contiguous. In an article summarising the negotiation processes for Cyprus 1960s-early 1990s, A.R. Groom discusses the post-1975 period in relation to the Turkish Cypriots' new position. As he describes it, in the past decade or so Turkish Cypriots had known what they were up against and "they had looked in vain for anyone other than Turkey to protect them." (Groom 1993: 24) After 1974-5 they were protected, and the leaders were aware the Greek Cypriots were beginning to think of alternative futures other than *enosis*, so Turkish Cypriots had to contemplate what they would desire in a positive sense, rather than negative (fear or opposition). There were four clear options, incorporation into Turkey, independence, some form of confederation in Cyprus or some form of federation (Groom 1993: 24). According to Groom, in this context the Greek Cypriots managed to consistently provide triggers which moved the Turkish Cypriots to a position of separation. Importantly, it was the policy of the Greek Cypriots to contest the presence of Turkish Cypriot officials or representatives in every international forum in which they were to be found in the presence of the Republic of Cyprus, which was now entirely under Greek control. Thus many institutions that might have had a healing touch were ruled out of court, for example the Commonwealth (Groom 1993: 22). This continual denial of Turkish Cypriots' historical and political identity as founding partner of the independent Cyprus republic was deeply disturbing to the Turkish Cypriots (Groom *ibid* 24).³⁷

³⁷ This promoting of Turkey as the interlocuteur was particularly the case from the mid- to late 1980s when a new Greek Cypriot president, George Vassiliou, was persuaded to abandon previous frameworks of negotiation and bypass Turkish Cypriots (Groom 1993: 26-30).

Having acquiesced in the Greek Cypriot assumption of the mantle of state in Cyprus in 1964, the international world continued to support this status quo, whilst brokering negotiations for a solution. Groom indicates the trauma, stress and fear in the Greek Cypriot community after August 1974 that naturally influenced their decision-making, including the claustrophobic fear of Turkey that predated 1974 and seemed to be suddenly realised when the Turkish army arrived on the shores of Cyprus in July of that year, and did not leave. “Yet by their blockade of the North the Greek Cypriots were only creating a self-fulfilling situation,” (Groom *ibid* 21), which indeed was a repeat of the 1960s that drove Turkish Cypriots closer to Turkey for lack of alternative. Papadakis (1993) studied the political memories of this period in both areas, as regards the complex dialectic of memory and forgetting of the 1960s, that both shaped subsequent developments and reinforced the past. As Groom pointed out, the psychology of the two groups is very important, and at the same time, of the period 1963-1975 it should be remembered that by its end, roughly a third of the entire population of island, Turks, Greeks and others, had been made refugees, through traumatic circumstances, and the recovery and rebuilding tasks were great (*ibid.* 19-20). Turkish Cypriots at least, moved into rebuilding as the division seemed to bring security and thus to be a solution, at the time and since (Volkan 1979, Güven-Lisaniler and Rodriguez 2002).

In TRNC, after the flurry of building at the end of 1980s, it appears that there may have been a gap of a decade or so during which no major, large national memorial constructions were made in the shared ordinarily accessible space. However, the military memorial cemeteries may have had architectural extensions and sculptural installations during that time; Fig. 41. Then in 2002 a public monument to the TMT (Turkish Cypriot Resistance Organisation) was completed near Lefkoşa, Figure 27, and the latest TRNC national monument was constructed in Girne (Kyrenia) in 2005, Figs 32-39; this is the subject of the case study in the next chapter, where its changing visual language is examined in relation to the context of the times. In addition, the World Peace monument in Metehan (Kermiye), Figs. 53, 54, suggests another mood, when the border between the two sides had just been opened and hopes were high amongst many Turkish Cypriots for the coming referendum on re-unification of Cyprus. There had been a decade or so of gradually accelerating social and political change in TRNC that became noticeable in the wider world around that time.

This historical outline is not intended as a definitive history, rather a suggestive context and illustrative background for some of the themes and processes that emerge, and support the following case study chapter. This present overview gives indications of some of the broad symbolic operations that I perceive as working through the monuments taken as a whole, as well as in individual sites. These include the overall national identity discourse of modern Turkishness, a narrative of the historical foundation of the nation through sacrificial death, and a mapping of a symbolic geography of loss and sacrifice, implicit reminder of the identity discourse which resists the (internal and external) 'other', as well as a notable degree of reactivity in the expression of the national identity.³⁸ It seems to me that overall, the 'body' of TRNC monuments and memorials serves as a reminder of the costs of the conflictual differentiation process that before, during and after 1974 seemed to complete the categorising of people, drawing of boundaries and marking of the landscape that had begun one hundred years earlier in 1878. Naturally history did not begin then, yet now territory, language, religion and ethnicity correlate in Cyprus in ways they have not done in the past, and even though living social and political processes are not reducible to this equation, many deleterious effects have been experienced in those terms. The (unfinished) history(s) of both groups in Cyprus reflect the choices made in relation to these kinds of processes.

International monumental form

The characteristic public art form of the national monument became an integral part of the 'language' of nationalism in modern state building, signifier in part of that process itself (Michalski 1998). These monuments have thus come to be studied in terms of both the production of new kinds of subjectivity (identity) and social relations. As Bülent Batuman expressed the theoretical frameworks in respect of studying the early modern monuments in Ankara, "...the history of the monument...provides a possibility for thinking about the role of the urban artifact within the spatial production of social relations as well as

³⁸ There is a consensus on this point, that despite its own internal development (Özsag`lam 2003, Bryant 2004, Nevzat 2005), and despite some Greek counter reaction to expressed Turkish identity (Groom 1993, Azgin 2000, Bryant 2004, Kızılyürek 2005), the route and style of Turkish Cypriot national identity was in a major sense a reaction to the 'Greek Cypriot neighbours' "...constantly agitating for a future that did not contain Muslims," (Bryant 2004: 233). How this maps with individual relationships is one of the curious aspects, that as individuals, families, in small numbers, people could get on very well, yet in a wider arena, at discursive level, there seemed so little chance to do so. Mavratsas (1999) has explored this social psychology within the Greek Cypriot community, Volkan (2000) discusses it in relation to the Turkish Cypriot arena.

identities...” (2005: 44). The concurrently occurring appearance of the public monument amongst Turkish Cypriots and intensive political and social change, may seem to indicate a case in point, where the national architecture has been deployed right across the landscape symbolically creating a new geography of national identity, that together with the exigencies of the time brought people very close together, physically at least. However, the development of Turkish national identity in Cyprus had been taking place for some decades outside the public spotlight, that is, without being permitted publicity or receiving the desired acknowledgement in the newly developing ‘public’ (discursive) spaces (Nevzat 2005). This development was occurring within the ‘internal’ spaces of Muslim/Turkish Cypriot life such as schools, homes, coffee shops, social clubs, that is largely in the sphere of the local community, family, and intimate social networks, via pictures and literature (including oral), without parades and other public display, until the late 1940s-early 1950s. After the first two explicit national monuments in 1963 came the expected breakdown of order in the Cyprus state, and an accompanying flurry of propaganda that was explicitly intended to foster the respective Greek and Turkish national allegiances (Stavrínides 1976), and this activity could be materially focussed in a public monument, as the poem connected with the Atatürk monument, above, suggests. As Anthony Smith observed, “the abstract concept of the nation was made tangible and accessible through the visual arts... (which were thus) needed for the successful realisation of national ideals” (Smith 2004: 645). In TRNC the familiar poetic image and the new concrete visual object are intertwined in the creation of the nation as both an abstract and a concrete entity.

In so far as such identities were not monolithic, the monuments themselves need not be seen exclusively as representing unitariness and solidity. “...rather than seeing the monument as re-creating a fixed narrative that is legible to the users of the space ... [it can be seen] as an active constituent in the formation of new and ambivalent subjectivities” (Batuman 2005: 44). This notion is further developed in the case study of the newest Turkish Cypriot national monument in Chapter 4. Nonetheless, in its role as signifier of a (nation)state that participates on that basis in the international arena (via its presence or absence) and whose citizens thus do likewise, the national monument acts together with the museum and other institutions of national memory that construct and project a cultural identity defined in relation to the nation-state (Flood 2002: 652). Hence an ‘international’ form is localised and a local form is internationalised as a defining identity, again as either present or absent. At the same time as following the

international formats for signifying themselves, contemporary nations and states aim to retain their own cultural patterns and/or territorial distinctiveness as transactional bases of international participation. This is the current “...paradoxical interplay between structural similarity and cultural difference that characterises the ‘community of nations’ ” (Flood *ibid*, 652). In the process, the visual environments, including entire natural topographies, including the interventions of culture new and old (in some cases far from the territory now in question), have been assimilated to the meaning and signifying structures of national identity discourse (Ryan 1997: 46, Osborne 2006).

In short, despite its tiny size and non-recognised status TRNC participates in the familiar forms and processes that most contemporary states draw on in the international arena (Navaro-Yashin 2006), including particularly the representational discourses where visual symbols and mnemonics are deployed, in which the modern language of monuments is a part; at the same time, it has had its unique, and highly contested, way of doing so. These kinds of symbols, forms and processes, this discourse, might be drawn on to appear state-like, and conversely the presence of these forms and symbols may be considered visual markers of a modern state’s existence; either way, analogically such visual language represents a form of participation in the international sphere of communication and exchange between states, in the case of TRNC perhaps a visually communicative relation with such a sphere whose formal, juridical discourse it has always been struggling against exclusion from participation.

As shown in this paper, the national monuments of the Turkish Cypriots were not developments of a local art form as such, but appeared ready made on the island at a tumultuous stage in its history, when the inhabitants were participating in arenas of local and international affairs that were predicated on national identities, albeit in contradiction of one another. Hence one can say that the national monumental form here is not anachronistic, nor is it arbitrarily imposed, but constitutes part of a repertoire of representational strategies and signs chosen in the context of an inter-ethnic conflict in which the presence of a Turkish identity in Cyprus appears to have been prescribed as part of the equation of a problem.

Here the physical presence of the monuments on the land itself is very important, as public markers of identity certainly, answering the discursive absence in that sense, but also I think in effect they serve as a form of direct communication, where something ‘real’, large, concrete, yet also an image, is presented where real words and relationships seem to be ignored. Rebecca Bryant (2004: 226-27) discusses the highly abstracted image of ‘the Turk’ that may be found in the Greek Cypriot arena, as compared with the immediate relational notion of the Turkish Cypriots, who would ‘demonstrate’ how the actions of people and faces they knew quite well were opposed to them – a mismatch of understandings about communication and meaning. It is in this sense that I suggest it may be possible to see the TRNC monuments as continuing in a kind of active dialogic process in which image is answered with image when something about the reality of words as communication or dialogue is not being engaged; here the monument *is* the speech and the people, not an analogue. Yet of course it functions as a sign, an object, a symbol, and so on, and here the solidity of the form, and the image, may be feeding back into the discourse it may be intended as counterpointing, its presence in response to implied absence, its visibility in response to not being seen. So with these two spheres of action (dialogic and rhetorical) there is ambiguity and tension around the form and its deployment.

This overview is not intended to obscure such a lot of people and experience, on the contrary it is to encourage engagement with the concrete memorials in the contemporary landscapes, among people in the complexities of their everyday lives and circumstances. In this context Turkish Cypriot cultural history has developed a contemporary public sphere of high visibility via national monuments, memorials, statues and other figurative images, as well as the many flags, banners and posters. This compares markedly with both its Ottoman Muslim precursor where no figural arts were engaged in, and the ‘first wave’ of national sentiment with its ‘internal’ development and low publicity (Nevzat 2005), as discussed in Chapter 2, where images of a range of figures, that came to include Atatürk and other national leaders, were circulating in schools, homes, coffee shops. To give an example of the contemporary high visibility, thousands of Turkish Cypriots rallied in the YES campaign during the referendum lead-up in early 2004. A description of a pro-unification rally in the capital city evokes the colourful, noisy and optimistic atmosphere of tens of thousands of people marching in favour of re-unifying the island (Ramm 2005) - there were flags of many colours, the blue ground with gold stars of the EU, the red-yellow-blue of the

new flag for the intended unified United Cyprus Republic, the white and red of the TRNC, the red and white of Turkey.³⁹ This is a fascinating image in Turkish Cypriot history, contrasting with Altay Nevzat's opening image of 'no publicly visible signs,' my personal memories of the red *or* the blue in parades in the 1960s, and the white-red / red-white of the everyday visual environment in TRNC before the referendum campaigns and since.

These are significant changes. However, an important observation was made during the campaigns for the UN-brokered joint referendums on a re-unification 'peace' deal, on the ambiguities that are made concrete in the unchanging physical environments, the material signs of the conflicted identities, despite the years of negotiations. For example, journalist Tangi Ouemener of Agence France Presse noted in February 2004 that the cold war of signs had not changed, despite the rounds of 'peace' talks. "Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders may be locked in last ditch peace talks, but billboards and monuments attesting to Cyprus' bloody past show no sign of being ripped down on the ceasefire line."⁴⁰ In the case of Cyprus, the revealed and the hidden attitudes and perceptions of the two communities about each other, and the perceptions of others about them, although not fixed at a tangible point, seem to carry within them some elements of constancy that keep tripping up the peace process, in spite of the displayed good intentions by all parties at some times.⁴¹

The national monuments, then, are there on both sides of the Line in solid form and abstract image. In TRNC, these monuments have participated in the dynamic processes as discussed above, and as such can be seen in relation to various mnemonic realms and relationships with individuals, families, local communities, national identity, international identity, where the history and memories of rupture, conflict, war, are integral to the 'young' TRNC identity. However, if the political is all that is seen in looking at

³⁹ The anti-reunification rallies were smaller and had mostly the white-red, red-white of the TRNC and Turkish flags (Ramm 2005).

⁴⁰ Tangi OUEMENER "Greek, Turkish propaganda in Cyprus oblivious to possible peace deal", *Agence France Presse*, 28/2/2004. Other signs have been ritualistic and performative, such the Greek Cypriot women in black routinely bussed to the checkpoint where foreigners can cross to the Turkish north, to cry and hold up photos of their missing family members (Bryant 2004: 242). This contrasts with the Turkish Cypriots, who do not publicise their mourning, or their 'missing' family members lost in the conflict over the years from 1963. Here in the performative realms are some of the important elements of the dialectic of presence and absence, where there are inter-cultural questions of meaning that need shared examination.

⁴¹ A.R. Groom (1993) outlines the negotiation processes 1964-1992, which display the cyclical or rhythmic way in which each party has been in 'full agreement' at times when the other has not.

national monuments then misunderstanding surely occurs. Political responsibility in relation to public forms of mourning is always a difficult area of negotiation between ‘public’ and ‘private’ realms, as Australian social historian Bruce Scates finds, hence societies and individuals, and observers, must look to the interplay between these needs for mourning, reconstruction, and remembering to understand and develop constructively negotiated, and creative, solutions (Scates 2006: 95).

In the next chapter I present a case study of the latest national monument in TRNC, built in 2005, in a descriptive and interpretative approach that draws on the materials of the present chapter’s historical overview. There is a kind of interplay between social, political, and visual forms in this latest construction, a re-negotiation perhaps of some of the representations from within the continuity of the Turkish national identity. It also seems to me this ‘new’ site continues in the communicative vein that I suggest is a part of the TRNC monument’s general make-up. The case study is also drawing closer to my visual art practice, discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4

CASE STUDY

The Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Freedom Monument, North Cyprus

Introduction

In the previous chapter I developed a context for examining the national monuments of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). It was seen that these public forms of national commemorative architecture, adopted from Europe in Turkey in the 1920s as both sign and definitive expression of a modern national identity, first appeared in Cyprus in the early 1960s. I suggest that the original symbolic 'work' of the monuments, in showing the reality of the Turkish Cypriot people who were otherwise being cast as non-real, or absent, in one sense makes the form less important than its presence (politics less important than ontology), yet on the other hand the overall circumstances (of internal struggle as well as external) have contributed to the density and persistence of the form, which does make its details as a political realisation important.

Via an international cultural inheritance, materially the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) monuments and memorials reflect usage of stone, bronze, marble, and flagpoles/flags in the commemorative practices widely engaged in national monument and memorial construction, at least into the 1980s, as well as iconographic details distinctive to the form in Turkey. Despite the fact that this monumental style of material practice is now considered a thing of the past in some countries, it continues to be very alive in representational discourse in other parts of the world, and is thus in turn an integral part of the imagery in the international arena of national identity. My findings in relation to the TRNC monuments have been reached through the research indicated in Chapter 3, developing a history of the

public monuments and memorials, and in particular the case study, below, which allows closer engagement with some of the material, cultural and social processes involved.

In the case study I examine the most recent national monument in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Freedom Monument, which was inaugurated on 1 August 2005.¹ This case study is a descriptive look at aspects of the location, materials and design. It also presents a narrative overview of the monument project's development from inception to opening, which provides insights into the practical and symbolic processes involved. Iconographically, there are various elements or objects in the monument that can be examined separately, such as the figures, columns and platform base, and at the same time they are placed in relation to one another and within a space (the overall siting, the garden memorial site and the monument with its various objects) where all the elements work in concert in ways that I examine below. Nonetheless, the eye is drawn to particular objects. The analysis thus includes consideration of these various elements of space, object and relationships. Overall, I find that this monument's form and iconography impart a sense of the changing social, cultural and political circumstances of the TRNC, including a more complex layering of cultural history, whilst it affirms a nationalised Turkish identity within which the narrative of Turkish Cypriot official history occurs. I think its means of doing this indicate continuance of the TRNC national monument's general role in the discourse of presence and absence of identities in Cyprus.

In the symbolic social, cultural and political geographies of Cyprus, the case study gives scope to locate the public national monument in its landscape amongst its people, drawing more closely towards aspects of commemorative practice in the local context. In an immediate sense, the Limasol-Girne (L-G) monument's name links two particular groups of people directly with geography, politics and remembrance. Limasol [known as Lemessos in Greek, and Leymosun in Turkish Cypriot dialect] and Girne (Kyrenia) are two widely separated coastal cities in Cyprus. Limasol is now in the Greek controlled south, and Girne (Kyrenia) is clearly in the Turkish controlled north. The reason for the linkage between the two places is that many of the Turkish Cypriot people who now live in Girne city and district used to live in Limasol before 1974. In the population exchanges after the war in 1974 they were moved to the

¹ My translation. This translation of the monument name is rather literal - it could also be called the Limasol-Girne Monument to Freedom and the Fallen.

Girne area, where they joined the local Turkish residents. The name of the L-G monument explicitly references this history and thus, by name at least, includes the 'new' and the 'old' Girne Turks as now physically located together.²

Despite being named as a memorial for the Limasol-Girne people however, it is observable that this monument is a large work, 'national' in size and in iconography, containing flags of all the Turkish Cypriot fighters's district commands, *Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı sancakları*, for example. Further examination of symbolic and structural elements suggests a particular conjunction of physical geography and political and cultural history with symbolic intent to situate the monument firmly in the current visual language of a Turkish national ethos, which it seems to me was one of the messages of the monument in the context of the times, as discussed further below. It is notable however, that the sculptural language in this monument has shifted away from an explicit representation of the figures of Atatürk or the local Turkish Cypriot leaders. Here are ordinary people, represented through generic figures that narrate the history of struggle as the foundation for the future. Particularly interesting in this regard is the place of women, who are represented as themselves, albeit as everywoman, not only as having an integral part in the narrative of historical struggle and realisation of freedom, but also as moving towards the future side-by-side with men. This is a change from previous sculptures where women either were not represented or, as in the National Struggle Monument in Nicosia, were shown simply in the role of mourner for and/or carer of the fighters.

Having noted that there are no explicit signs of Atatürk's presence, or that of the Turkish Cypriot leaders, I observe that their symbolic presence in the formation of the national identity that has arisen through the particular history narrated here has been fully assimilated to the sculpted figures' knowledge and understanding of history, hence presumably the Turkish Cypriot observer's knowledge – this is visible in iconographic details such as the direction of gaze, the stance of some of the figures, and via certain of

² I am not sure whether there were any local issues arising from this relative history of old timers and newcomers that including the two names in the single monument might have been considered to symbolically resolve. In any case the name (thus the object) embodies symbolic inter-linkage between different times, places and people, including the newer 'generation' of Turkish people from outside the island who settled in the area after 1974.

their gestures,³ as I discuss further below. The linkage with Turkey is of course made explicit by the flagpoles and flags that are present in some number, where both the precise number and the repetition are important, and the sculptured gestural elements are linkages with Turkish national memorial sculpture, as I also discuss below in the section ‘Sculptures’. When I learned that the monument’s designer was the sculptor Professor Tankut Öktem of Marmara University’s Fine Art Department, in Turkey, it seemed to me that as a State Artist in Turkey, with previous prominent public works also in TRNC, he was the best choice to re-emphasize the attributes of the Turkish nation if the monument is conceived of as expected to carry specific commemorative power in its strands of narrative, from suffering to victory, and from memory into history. This is related not to general iconographic notions but more to what has been in effect the official visual language of commemoration in Turkey, of which Tankut Öktem is one of the main exponents.⁴ Here, in relation to the overall Turkish Cypriot history itself, it is interesting to reflect on a different kind of response to the perceived need for embodying a narrative of struggle for acknowledgement, for visibility. This was described in visual social analytic terms by Marita Sturken in relation to Maya Lin’s Vietnam Veteran’s monument in USA: “Perhaps only an outsider could have designed an environment so successful in answering the need for recognition by a group of people ... who are plagued by a sense of ‘otherness’ forced on them by a country that has spent ... years trying not to see them.” (1991: 124).⁵

In a visual survey of some of Tankut Öktem’s monuments in TRNC, and examination of some photographic images of others online,⁶ I have observed a number of stylistic and thematic continuities.

To generalise, I would say that apparent in the body of his work is a didactic approach to the role of art in

³ The official explanation given of the monument’s meaning indicates this intention, as I discuss below. In respect of the representation of Turkish Cypriot national leaders, I should add that at the time of preparation of this monument the government and leadership in TRNC was going through a period of major change, thus it may have been rather problematic to decide which likenesses should be presented at that point.

⁴ Professor Öktem has created numerous national public monuments in Turkey, and has carried the title State Artist since 1999. His work would have been well known in TRNC, as he had been the designer for at least six memorials there between 1974 and the late 1990s, as well as the others in Turkey and several sites abroad. <www.heykeltrastankutoktem.com>

⁵ It will be recalled that Maya Lin’s winning design had been chosen in an anonymous selection process. Afterwards it turned out that this designer of the winning submission was not only a very young architecture student, but also female and of Asian background. These combined factors led to large parts of the early controversy and the contentiousness in relation to commemorating men returned from fighting a war in Asia, who furthermore had been more or less repudiated by their own society. The abstract nature of the design was also very contentious and a veteran’s group was instrumental in getting a military-style figurative group installed close to the original. However, Lin’s work was later observed to be fulfilling an important range of social needs for memorialisation, including personal and private ones. Marita Sturken (1991) “The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: the Vietnam Veterans Memorial” in *Representations*, No. 35, Special Issue: Monumental Histories (Summer 1991), 118-142

⁶ <www.heykeltrastankutoktem.com/ozgecmis/index>

nation building. Examples of this sculptor's previous works in Cyprus include the İnönü statue in İnönü Square, Lefkoşa; the Freedom Monument in Gazi Mag`usa, Fig. 30; Atatürk statues in Girne, Fig. 31, and Yesilköy; and many statues and reliefs in the Bog`azköy şehitlig`i (Bog`azköy military cemetery), Fig.41. Towards the end of this case study I briefly discuss aspects of the critical artistic debates occurring in Turkey about the nature and function of public commemorative art in a dynamic and diverse contemporary society, and the involvement of TRNC artists in this arena. Without information on Professor Öktem's personal artistic concerns and design intentions,⁷ the present readings of meaning and intention are largely my own response to what I see, within the extent of my visual arts experience, in combination with personal experience in Cyprus and the investigation of aspects of national identity and commemoration in Cyprus and Turkey. In this overall sense, I think that in the L-G monument subtle shifts in visual language can be traced in relation to the previous commemorative architecture. I suggest that such shifts relate to dialectical interactions of continuity and change in the social and political circumstances of the years of this monument's planning and realisation, 1999-2005, whilst overall it remains in close relation with the body of existing national monuments in TRNC.

4.1 Inception and opening – placing the object

The process that led to the monument's presence in the cityscape of Girne (Kyrenia) appears to have begun at a meeting of the Turkish Cypriot Freedom Fighters Association (a veteran's or returned servicemen's group) in February 1999, when it was agreed to prepare a monument to the people whose lives were lost in the Limassol and Girne areas, as noted above. This in itself is interesting in light of a commonly held view in some circles that the official discourse in TRNC dissuaded people from 'remembering' their former homes in the south (Yashin 1990). An official version of the intention and history of the L-G monument's inception and realisation is set out in the Security Forces Journal

⁷ I did initiate contact with Prof. Öktem to explore his artistic concerns and his approach to design, but had not received any further details. Just as I was putting the completing touches to this thesis in mid-December 2007 I learned the unfortunate news that he had been killed in a vehicle accident in Istanbul only a few days earlier. A newspaper obituary set out that he was very well known in Turkey for his 90-100 national monuments, showing early on he would be a contender for State Artist; of the works for schools, hospitals and military establishments he is known to have completed many without charge. *Radikal*, online edition 7/12/2007 "Tankut Öktem herkesi üzdü", <www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno+240880>

September 2005 edition, which I refer to as SFJ, together with a report on the opening ceremony and a brief summary of the intended meanings of the completed monument.⁸

According to the SFJ article, it had come to attention that the city of Girne did not have its own commemorative site, that is, to specifically honour the local community's sacrifices, and it was considered to be the last district in the North without such a site. A local monument was thus considered necessary, perhaps in completion of a symbolic mapping of national sacrifice and memory across the north. As mentioned in the previous chapter, and seen in the map of Turkish Cypriot commemorative sites, Fig.22, there is a cluster of monuments, memorials and museums on the coast west of Girne. These locations were the Turkish army's 1974 landing sites, and memorials were installed there in 1978. In the hierarchy of the local and the national, the latter monuments are considered national, hence the notion of lack of a local monument for the people of the local area. A steering committee was established to oversee the new monument's development, presumably covering location, design and so on, although details of such development are very sketchy. A plaque installed at the monument site confirms that the Monument Building Committee and the Turkish Martyrs' Monuments Trust, or Foundation (Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfı), whose Compendium of monuments was discussed in the previous chapter, worked together to have this monument erected. The Martyrs Monuments Trust had apparently decided to add to its traditional role of the upkeep of existing monuments by participating in the making and publicising of new ones.⁹ Hence the idea of a special monument for the Fallen of Limasol and Girne came to be under its aegis.

According to a daily newspaper, despite the project's early ambit of local community memory, at some stage of its development the word 'freedom' was added to the title.¹⁰ This is suggestive of a more national level of consideration, and also links with the attempted distinction I made in the previous

⁸ *Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Dergisi*, Eylül 2005, Sayı 65, pp. 16-17 (Security Forces Journal, September 2005, No 65) This is the occasional journal of the Turkish security forces in North Cyprus, whose command was established in 1976, two years after the ceasefire of August 1974. I refer to the publication by the acronym SFJ in the text. The article on this monument was not a long one and the reference is for the same page numbers throughout.

⁹ Mr Beysan Keyder, Chair of the Turkish Martyrs Monument Trust, at the opening ceremony of the L-G monument, 1/8/05. Broadcast *Kıbrıs Genç TV* 2/8/05, <www.kibrisgenctv.com>

¹⁰ Tayfun Çağ'ra "Bu ne biçim heykel?" [What kind of sculpture is this?] *Yeni Düzen* 7/3/05 <www.yeniduzengazetesi.com>

chapter between the monument as potentially a celebration (or affirmation) of victory, of general sacrifice, and the memorial as potentially a more specific acknowledgement of the particular deaths involved. Words such as *özgürlük* (freedom), *kurtuluş* (liberation), *zafer* (victory), *milli* (national), are part of the vocabulary of national rather than local focus in TRNC, as in the visual language are images of Atatürk, and indeed statues in general, as discussed in Chapter 3. I have found that a local memorial on the other hand, whilst certainly a part of the overall body of national commemoration and identity, generally has symbolic anchoring in the specific locality and/or the loss of particular people, as in the Küçük Kaymaklı memorial, Fig. 18, and does not contain statues (as distinct from relief). Looking at the final form of the LG monument, the status of the designer, the published official meanings, and press coverage of the opening ceremony, it is confirmed that national level concerns came to be embodied in the Limasol-Girne monument rather than more local ones, despite the local name being retained. It is in the naming and siting of the L-G monument that one understands the attempt to retain some reference to more localised meanings of commemoration.

This process points to some of the general areas of theoretical discussion about the uses of memory and the negotiations over identity (local, national, and so on) that are potentialised in simple ways in the public monument, such as in its name, and its form, some of which I explore below.

Opening Ceremony

According to a report by Kıbrıs Genç TV, the opening ceremony on the 1st of August 2005 was a large affair attended by the Prime Minister of the TRNC Mr Sabit Soyer representing the President Mr Talat, Chiefs of Staff of the armed forces and other high-ranking officers, heads of the parties in the governing coalition, heads of other political parties, and numbers of other dignitaries,¹¹ Fig. 43a.

Looking at Genç TV's website report of the inauguration ceremony, it can be seen that the Prime Minister Mr Sabit Soyer presented a speech covering some established elements relating to the TRNC national story. This included the idea that Turkish Cypriots took inspiration from the independence struggle after

¹¹ Kıbrıs Genç TV 2/8/05 "Girne'deki Limassol-Girne Şehitler ve Özgürlük Anıtı Açıldı" (Limassol-Girne Martyrs and Freedom Monument Opens in Girne), <www.kibrisgenctv.com>

World War 1 through which today's Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was born. Mr Soyer also located the beginning of the historical, *national* story of TRNC in the Ottoman Empire's handing of administration of Cyprus to Britain in 1878. In addition, he addressed the Greece-Turkey relationship, pointing to the fact that at the end of the War of Independence, 1919-1922, which Turkey had fought in particular against Greek invading forces sent as the frontline of the European powers in Anatolia,¹² there came to be the "Atatürk–Venizelos Friendship" established by the leaders of the two nations.¹³ Mr Soyer maintained that this inter-nation friendship was sustained for some decades, only to be seriously damaged by the 1950s *enosis* movement within the Greek Cypriot community, which renewed the *Megalo Idea* (Big Idea) of a pan-Hellenic union of Cyprus with Greece. Part of this plan, he reminded listeners, was considered to be removal of Turkish Cypriots one way or another, against which the Turkish Cypriots gave struggle against all odds to exist after 1963 until the events of 1974 brought them to safety.

The opening ceremony included an address by the head of the Martyrs Monuments Trust, Mr Atilla Berberog`lu, who was also head of the committee overseeing completion of the monument. Mr Berberog`lu also addressed national historical themes in terms of his own area of interest as head of the Trust. His speech exemplifies the tightly woven calendrical structure of Turkish national identity practice. Identifying the chosen date of inauguration, the day month and year, as carrying great historical significance, Mr Berberog`lu set out three key events in the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot past that relate to it - the 434th anniversary of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571, the 47th anniversary of TMT's (Turkish Cypriot Resistance Organisation) establishment in 1958, and the 29th anniversary of the confirmed establishment of the Security Forces Command in Northern Cyprus in 1976. As pointed to in Chapter 3, the national commemorative dates in Turkey are integral part of the Turkish Cypriot national calendar, as are the dates for Greece in the Greek Cypriot national calendar (Papadakis 2003). At the same time, TRNC has its own chronology of national commemoration, TMT foundation and so on, including the Ottoman arrival in Cyprus.

¹² Here Mr Soyer followed the common practice of using the name Turkey for the Ottoman realm that officially preceded it in Anatolia. In fact in 1919-1922 the Ottoman dynasty and the Caliphate were technically still in existence in post-WWI European-occupied Istanbul. Mustafa Kemal's forces appeared to have operated without that government's approval in repelling the European take-over of Anatolia (Mango 2004).

¹³ Andrew Mango (2004) discusses the years 1919-1922 and the subsequent period of Greek-Turkish détente brought about between the respective leaders of Turkey and Greece Atatürk and Venizelos.

There seems little doubt then about the national level focus of the opening ceremony, and that the originally identified decision to construct a local monument in Girne was transformed over the six year development period into the erection of a new national scale construction. This is of interest because only two other major public sites seem to have been built in nearly a decade, of which one was a national history site, the TMT memorial (2002), Fig.36, and the other a different kind of memorial, the World Peace monument, Figs 53, 54, in Metehan (Kermiye). As indicated previously, the latter was perhaps installed during late 2003 or early 2004, after the border in Cyprus was opened and before the referendum of April 2004; its provenance is unknown to me at this stage, but it may have been a bi-communal project, based on the timing and the Greek, Turkish and English language wording on the plaque. Be that as it may, it is interesting to reflect on the symbolism of this monument, a large open-mouthed cup or chalice set in a traffic roundabout near the border-crossing point for vehicles, in the context of the L-G ceremony, perhaps eighteen months later.

I suggest that in the final form of the L-G monument, there seems to be interaction between the process of transformation into a specifically national level visual narrative and the political and social changes that took place in TRNC during the particular six year period of its indicated development, 1999-2005. Notable amongst these changes was the presence since late 2003 of parties in government that had long opposed the strongly nationalist policies of the former TRNC leadership. The World Peace monument's location, symbolism and timing (if it is in fact as I surmise) may also relate to such change. In an overall sense however, reviewing the opening ceremony and the L-G monument's final form, there seems to have been more emphasis given to a state's desire to consolidate its guardianship of the means of commemorating its own and its citizens turbulent histories, than to public and artistic consultation in relation to the locally identified commemorative needs suggested by its name. The shift in emphasis from local to national commemoration is of relevance in understanding the visual symbolism and social location and effects of the monument. This is particularly so owing to the continuing rapid evolution of circumstances in TRNC in relation to a sense of national identity and the future, especially vis-à-vis external affairs.

4.2 Debating the Monument

It is not clear what was involved in the development of the idea for a monument after the original committee meeting in 1999, however some time during those following six years Professor Tankut Öktem was engaged as the designer. One can say that Professor Öktem's engagement as designer signals that the project's status has become national. Whatever the actual project development was, in March 2005 the monument appeared as a surprise issue in the media in TRNC. On the 7th of March 2005, an article headed "Bu ne biçim heykel?" (What kind of a sculpture is this?) appeared in the daily newspaper *Yeni Düzen* (New Order).¹⁴ The writer of the article Tayfun Çağ`ra referred to rumours about a proposed monument, saying that it is not clear when and how the decision was made for its erection.¹⁵ He also took the opportunity to rhetorically ask how such a project could be justified while there are more urgent needs to be attended by the authorities, such as classrooms and Physical Education facilities in schools.

Some weeks later on 3 May in the same newspaper, in an article titled "Kaçak Heykel" (Fugitive Statue), the same writer expresses further disquiet about the process, "None of the offices (responsible for planning and building such monuments) have authorised the building of it." Thus Çağ`ra pointed out that whatever procedures were followed, there appears to have been lack of transparency in the planning, designing and commissioning of the monument. The attempt to generate public debate thus occurred but the *Yeni Düzen* articles appeared rather late before completion of the construction to seriously engage the public in the process of negotiating and debating the existence and form of the commemorative site. The Security Forces Journal article referred to above reported that the construction of the monument was completed on 25th July; that is, after only a three or four months' construction process. The cost of the monument was UK £66, 600, for which some fund raising was conducted in North Cyprus by the steering committee, and some donated by the Martyrs Monuments Trust itself. Interestingly, a further sum is said to have come from a Turkish army officer who had had a novel (a love story) published and donated the

¹⁴ *Yenidüzen* is a newspaper, with online edition, associated with one of the dominant parties in the coalition that has governed since late 2003/early 2004. The party is the CTP of the President Mehmet Ali Talat. Talat began as Prime Minister and was elected president 2005. As previously noted, the CTP had long been opposed to the strongly pro-Turkey nationalist policies of the previous government of Mr Denktaş and was elected partly on the basis of its more specifically Cypriot focus.

¹⁵ Tayfun Çağ`ra "Bu ne biçim heykel?" *Yeni Düzen* 7/3/05, <www.yeniduzengazetesi.com> Note that the word *heykel* in Turkish can have the meaning sculpture or statue depending on contextual elements.

proceeds of sales.¹⁶ It is not clear whether the TRNC government contributed any funds for the monument.

In short, a monument relatively large in size and symbolic scope rather suddenly appeared on a prominent street corner in Girne in mid-2005. I was not able to determine whether local Girne people from Limasol had widely desired their own monument; certainly the press articles suggest concern about it in some circles, but I am not sure of the breadth of concern across the whole area. What is more clear is the little evidence to suggest public or artistic debate during most of the period of development. However, at least one alternative design proposal was presented that I know of, and I therefore deduce that some degree of discussion was engaged in as the project approached the stage of finalising the design; aspects of the alternative proposal are examined below. However, as indicated above, the visual language of the chosen final design reflects an affirmation of the details of TRNC national history as part of the Turkish national ethos via the common elements of visual language. This occurs through the choice of forms and symbols, including obviously the flags, as discussed below.

Overall, it is not my intention to explore any links or missing links between civil, political and military bodies in connection with the building of this major public monument. Rather the point here is simply that the wider community somehow became engaged in the story when the monument was beginning to be built, whereas for community involvement to contribute constructively there would need to be more considered time and space given, rather than waiting for dissenting voices to draw attention at short notice. In other words, the potential for community engagement processes in local and national cultural development seems more or less shaped before the community is engaged, so to speak. Thus in the case of the L-G monument, clumsily or sensitively in relation to history and the environment, the work ostensibly for and about public memory and identity is to be negotiated by the public once it is fully formed. Once the intended ritual function of the monument is fulfilled, to whatever end that might be, will the members of the general public choose to remember the monument as presented, to ignore it until the next official anniversary (wandering past it obliviously), or, at moments of critical thought, might they

¹⁶ This detail that was offered as part of the story of the L-G monument's realisation is interesting to consider in relation to the place of literature (more usually poetry) as a consistent theme in Ottoman and post-Ottoman Turkish cultural history (Koçak 2003), including Cyprus, particularly in relation to national identity (Killoran 1998, Azgîn 2000, Yashin 2000).

engage in interpretations, even by free association with what the monument might mean to them beyond the expressed official intention or their own immediate reaction against it?

As I have not carried out research on the reception of the L-G monument amongst the wider public, these questions must remain mostly rhetorical for the present purposes. Once I began to closely examine it, I found that this monument does open up a number of discursive and artistic arenas in relation to the people and the socio-cultural concerns of its location. That is, I asked, bearing in mind the limitations of lack of information on the tendering, design and realisation of the monument, what kinds of awareness can flow from a critical visual examination of the object in its place and time? In the sections below I examine the monument's location, form, materials in relation to this question. Overall, reflection on my findings suggests to me that, directly or indirectly, this monument may well achieve as meaningful and dynamic a place in its social and cultural environment as any such monument anywhere, which leads in the direction of asking, via W.J.T. Mitchell's (2005) suggestive poetics, what do *these* pictures (memorials) want?

4.3 Location and landscape

The L-G memorial is located in the coastal city of Girne (Kyrenia), which is north of Nicosia on the narrow plain between the Mediterranean Sea and the sharp fingers of the mountain range that stretches along much of the north coast of Cyprus (map Fig.2).

The old harbour of Kyrenia constitutes a well-known image associated with Cyprus both before, during, and after the turbulent years 1958-1974. The old harbour maintains its terrace of three-storied stone buildings with overhanging wooden balconies and outdoor restaurants that curve from the bastions of the medieval fort past the minaret and spire of mosque and church, around the little dock with fishing boats and small pleasure craft bobbing on the water below. The term 'old harbour' is now widely used in TRNC because there is a new harbour for the daily ferries that ply between Girne and the town of Taşucu on the Turkish mainland. The familiar silhouette of the Five Finger Mountains lies in the background, and the tall, elderly date palms that sprout here and there amongst the buildings complete the 'Cypriotness' of the scene. Photographs of this scene glowing in Mediterranean sunlight are amongst the images most

commonly associated with Cyprus. In recent years, international homebuyers and casino goers commonly pass this way to their destinations along the northern coast. The name Kyrenia itself lives on, in many maps of the island, and especially in the Greek sector of Cyprus where former Greek residents who had to flee in 1974 maintain a town council in exile, as well as in the memories and memoirs of Turkish locals who lived there in times past.¹⁷

Travelling north from the capital city Lefkoşa on the dual carriage highway to Girne (Kyrenia), one drives up over the Five Finger Mountains, past Atatürk on the hilltop, Fig. 26, then down the winding road towards the city on the coast. New date palms imported from the Arab Emirates in 2004 line the highway on its descent. On this descent from the crest of the mountain there are expansive views of the Mediterranean and the north coast of the island, stretching on a clear day far out to the right, along the Karpaz Peninsula with the purple of Turkey's Taurus mountains across the sea. Arriving by night one may see from here the headlights of vehicles moving along roads on the flanks of those mountains, and the glow of a city's lights. Proceeding further down the slope towards Girne a new, neo-Ottoman mosque's tall slender minarets rise on the outskirts of the city, which over the past thirty years has sprawled well out towards the foothills from the older town by the sea.

The L-G monument stands at a cross road on the way to the new harbour in Girne, perhaps facing a driver who has just arrived from Lefkoşa, across the open space of a large traffic roundabout, Fig.43. Indeed the general aspect of this area is very open – the coastal plain is flat in this area, there are no imposing buildings on any corner, and the roads and the roundabout itself are relatively new and wide. The land on which the monument is built is a large rectangle that sits between the road to the new harbour and the road to the old city centre, a throughfare. When I saw it in late 2005, the whole site looked very new, with a wide area of freshly planted, well-tended lawn in the space behind the monument. Such tended lawn is not a common sight in TRNC, where water is scarce and public infrastructure spending is usually not able to extend to such features. In fact the grassed area appears intended to act together with the monument to form a memorial landscape, as it were, a park to both complement the monument and complete the commemorative concept.

¹⁷ For an example of the latter, Taner BAYBARS *Plucked in a Far-off Land. Images in Self Biography*, Victor Gollanz 1970 and Mouflon Publications, Lefkosia, 2005

With no tall buildings nearby to overshadow its presence, the L-G monument's two 12-metre high geometrical columns are striking in the open setting. Beside and behind the memorial, stretching away from its corner spot, is a newly grassed area about the size of a large football field, bounded on its western and northern edges by clumps of trees and dense clusters of relatively new four-storey residential apartment blocks. The southern horizon is filled with the distinctive peaks of the Five Finger Mountains. The monument in effect faces the mountain range, its back to the sea, Fig.45. Its two central figures follow the line of sight towards the south, where the mountain flanks begin to rise within a few hundred metres of the traffic intersection, their clefts and ridges dotted with little trees struggling to replace forests destroyed by fire in 1996. Over the mountains in the direction of the figures' movement is the capital city.

Accessibility: a note on the Limasol-Girne monument's social life

The L-G Monument and park has several features that distinguish it from previous national monuments, some of which latter are referred to later in the chapter. Here I am interested in the social dimensions of its location and structure. Firstly, the crossroad at which the monument is located is a frequently busy intersection of roads linking various broad areas of the district. This gives it high visibility via traffic flow. However, the monument and its park are set on a corner block that is also readily accessible on foot, and vehicles can be parked along the sides of the flanking harbour road. Thus in the daily life of the area, the monument and its memorial park offer both a navigational landmark and a place for rest or recreation, apart from the symbolic and mnemonic functions. This immediate interactive potential is rare amongst the other national monument and memorial sites in TRNC, such as the National Struggle site, Fig.21, which is set into the centre of a very large traffic roundabout, or the TMT site Fig.36, which is topographically more accessible than the former, but is formal in design and despite its celebration of heroic memory is sombre in effect, as well as slightly removed from street life and the average sightseeing tour.¹⁸

Secondly, an important aspect of the interactive potential in this memorial is the capacity of the built structures to provide direct and relaxed interaction with visitors. The precinct is low and open, with no

¹⁸ In a few local areas there are accessible, small commemorative gardens, such as in the Alayköy municipality, Fig. 29, where there are shrubs and bedding flowers set in a paved concourse in front of the town hall.

fencing (when I was there). People can walk through it, sit down, wander about amongst the forms, and play in the park. Two of the statue groups are accessible to touch, and the curvilinear structures seem to invite climbing, Fig.44a. I was not able to carry out surveys of local people to ascertain their response to the new memorial and park, but in my visits to the site I observed people in various social activities, such as children playing on the way home, Fig. 44a, people waiting for lifts, a few paying respects, others sightseeing. These were small numbers at the time, a month or two after opening, and it will be interesting to see whether this social arena develops further over time. This kind of low-key social interaction is a common sight in Australia around war memorials that are set in prominent city parks, such as Hyde Park in Sydney or Kings Park in Perth, or the iconic main street in Adelaide, North Terrace, which all attract many visitors (local, interstate and overseas) for diverse reasons, including simply daily business or recreation. Indeed, as Hay, Hughes and Tutton (2004) found in Adelaide, these monuments tended to recede into the daily social life of the street or park.

In short, despite the official significance of the L-G memorial, there is no obvious attempt to command how visitors should demonstrate the reverence or respect implied by the use of the national commemorative language. Most other public monuments in TRNC also do not have explicit regulation, but their structures and forms and often the physical location generally mean that the sites are not accessible to casual social interaction and thus their effects occur through the image, the visual siting of the object in its landscape, and any ceremonial function they may have. The L-G monument on the other hand, combines accessibility of location and structure with a green park, thus its formal commemorative functions and daily place as a visual element are complemented by the informal, social interactivity. In contrast to this sociability, an (implicitly) respectful distance is enforced from the striking National Struggle and Independence Monument (1988) by its location in the centre of busy traffic, Fig. 21. Only on ceremonial occasions is the monument directly accessible, due to road closure, after the official parades, wreath laying, speeches, and so on, have ended and the public can wander about. The kind of parade I watched near the Girne Gate in old city walls as a little child, described Chapter 2, now takes place in this location, with this national monument as its end point. The monument itself is styled to cater to the overall rhetoric of landscape, standing tall at end of the wide Girne highway that now swoops down from the mountains to the capital city, as can be seen in Figure 21; those mountains between Girne and

Nicosia are potent sites of memory of Turkish Cypriot resistance and renowned battles in the years 1963-74 as well as the advance of the Turkish army in 1974. There are clustered bronze figures in this monument, huddling between the four sheltering columnar structures. In effect there is a sculpted tableau under an archway in each of the four faces of the piece, depicting soldiers, civilians, and most prominently the leaders. Large dark coloured letterings are placed on the pale 'marble' pedestal of each face, conveying important quotes from leaders or grand injunctions. In the face of the monument that looks directly towards the northern mountains, the statue cradled by the giant arch is one of a fallen (wounded or dead) man cradled by a woman and their pedestal's message is *Unutmayacag`ız* (Let us not forget), legible from passing cars.¹⁹

So there are variations between sites in terms of their degree of prescriptiveness of immediate behaviour as well as their apparent rhetorical intentions. Perhaps monuments built in Cyprus today cannot be in the relationship of demand/non-demand with respect to the 'proper' behaviour of inhabitants or visitors. After all, these monuments are standing on soil where many other 'monuments' stood and fell in the course of the island's long history of 'inhabitants', 'settlers', 'conquerors', 'invaders', 'rulers', 'occupiers', 'traders', 'immigrants', 'exiles'. Together with certain aspects of the figures themselves, as discussed below, the L-G monument's potential ability to settle into the daily social life of the surroundings mark it as distinctive amongst the commemorative sites in TRNC, which is interesting in relation to the social and political change as outlined above, reflecting interactions between social, political and cultural factors and the monument's realisation, perhaps some change in the dynamics of the present-future relationship.

4.4 Structure, orientation, material

¹⁹ Moira Killoran has commented on this monument. She observed that apart from statues of the leaders the male and female figures are anonymous, and that despite the injunctive words (and possibly images), the form of the monument and its iconography does not necessarily define or confine responses to it (Killoran 1998: 162). Miranda Christou (2006) has written about a similar ambiguity in the south of Cyprus, where there is a similar mnemonic phrase, a kind of national vow, 'then xecho', I do not forget, whose unspecified content has in recent years undergone local struggles over clarification and definition of the object, and subject, of the injunction to remember.

The L-G Memorial is a site in which three groups of figures and two large columns, or pillars, are positioned in relation to one another and to the four cardinal directions on a low, circular platform bounded by shallow, stepped terraces and small gardens, with a line of slender flag poles arrayed around the northern edge. A field of grass completes the site, along one side of which are spaced eleven simple rectangular columns, Fig. 48, with a boundary row of trees along the western and northern edges. I generally refer to the whole as the memorial site, and the built structure as the monument. At the same time, the site *is* the monument and the monument is the site. Taken as a whole it memorialises the past, acts concretely in the present and speaks to the future (of TRNC people), as discussed below.

Within its site the monument exists in an interesting geometry – a circular monument oriented to the cardinal directions (N, S, E, W) is set in a corner of a square site, with the main entrance intended to be on the south side, in which case the arriving visitor faces two figures on a high pedestal; Fig.44. Although placed on the north-south axis, this focal sculpture is not right at the centre of the circle but has been brought forward along the axis towards the visitor arriving at the main entrance. Indeed, the figures are walking in that direction towards the south, where Nicosia lies over the hills. This cardinal configuration is apparently a particular part of the designer's meaning making, indicated by the article in the Security Forces Journal, in which the significance of entering from the south is that the visitor will then be looking towards Turkey in the north. However, the platform is also easily accessed from the north, via another shallow terrace of steps, or by means of a spiral ramp on the east side.

The platform is further notionally divisible into four quarters along inter-cardinal lines (NW, NE, SW, SE). The eastern and western quarters are bounded by earth, lawn, rose bushes and young trees. The north and south quarters provide the avenue of ingress, as mentioned, and are bounded by paving and shallow steps that give on to the platform surface. At the main entrance on the south side, paving spreads out towards the nearby street corner, meeting the footpaths and creating a small plaza in front of the monument. In this area the platform's height is scarcely above footpath level and apart from red lines in the paving that appear to delineate the footpath from the plaza, there is no material boundary between the memorial site and the surroundings. Whether or not future barriers will be erected, there was no fencing

at the site in September and October 2005 (apart from a safety railing in a small section of the platform that is higher off the ground).

The platform itself is shaped as a perfect circle. Its surface is a very pale colour, suggestive of white marble, and there are several semicircular lines of a red colour parallel to the northern edge. This appears to me to be a replication of the red-crescent on white ground of the TRNC flag, as can be seen in Fig.21, and if so the central statue stands figuratively in the position of the star in relation to the crescent; perhaps this configuration is visible from the air. It would appear to be an unusual gesture as it is not customary to lay flags on ground where people's feet will tread, though it does of course appear to reference the famous 'earth' flag spread out on the hillside; Fig.40. Around the northern edge of the platform, hence in parallel with the red crescent on the ground, stand fifteen flagpoles, two taller ones for the flags of Turkey and the TRNC, one each for the eleven *sancaks* (the Turkish Cypriot Resistance Movement (TMT)'s area commands 1958-74), and the other two being for the standards of the military forces from Turkey that are based in Cyprus (the Security forces and the Peace forces).

Outline of social and political changes in North Cyprus 1999-2005

I have suggested that the L-G monument's visual language reflects changes in social and political circumstances during the six years it is said to have been in development. The nature of some of those changes seem to me to have bearing on the realisation of the monument, in relation to my interpretative approach, hence an overview of the changes is warranted, as presented here. The material represents a summary of points, not an analysis, and some have been touched on previously.

In the years 1974-1983, the Turkish Cypriot polity existed in a liminal position, in continual negotiation over the Cyprus 'problem', a problem that not all its members perceived as such any longer once division of the island was effected (Lacher and Kaymak 2005), whilst at the same time dealing with the great challenges of creating a new society/nation. Some significant factors in the latter were the small size of the population; the lack of administrative experience 1963-1974 through exclusion from the official state and international systems; and importantly the bringing together in a unitary physical space of Turkish

Cypriots from regions right across the island for the first time ever after the separative events of the years 1955-74 and the trauma of war. After declaring independence in 1983, as a strategy to try to achieve equal negotiating capacity (Groom 1993), the polity became known as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and was officially unrecognised by any other state except Turkey, subject to international embargoes that affected the people's capacity to participate beyond the borders in any way other than in a purely personal sense (in the arenas of sport, academic research and exchange, science, arts, heritage, trade, policing, and so on); thus the liminality extended from the unrecognised state to Turkish Cypriot individuals in relation to eligibility for international participation (including funding for such participation) which more often than not is predicated on officially-designated (recognised) citizenship.²⁰ Despite this, the little Turkish Cypriot state managed to get organised and function pretty much as states may do (Navaro-Yashin 2006). However, there appears to have been a generally rather depressed atmosphere in TRNC by the year 2000 and the Denktas government did not seem able to make any further progress in integrating the different social arenas into the state (Lacher and Kaymak 2005). An authoritarian Turkish nationalist identity prevailed in the ruling party which managed to hold onto to electoral success for much of the time from the mid-1960s until the early 2000s, though with continual opposition and at times with a slim margin (Lacher and Kaymak *ibid*). Interestingly, the 1990s and early 2000s appear to have been years of much local historiographical and other cultural research activity.²¹

Against this backdrop one can see the significance of certain events and processes that occurred during the six years 1999 to 2005. The following list of broad factors may be of some import in grasping a glimpse of the social and cultural milieu in those years - the precipitate financial crisis of 2000, prompted by conditions in Turkey, that resulted in bank closures, bankruptcies, and so on (Lacher and Kaymak 2005); the early 2003 official opening of the border between the two sides of Cyprus for the first time in nearly 30 years; the United Nations sponsored referendum on reunification (the Annan Plan) in early 2004, which was accepted by Turkish Cypriots and rejected by Greek Cypriots; altered international perceptions of the players in Cyprus as result of the referendum outcome, and the consequent relative

²⁰ This not to say that North Cyprus was entirely cut off from the 'outside world'; at the very least, most extended families have members who live outside the borders. The important point is that the ebbs and flows between local, regional, and international cultural, social, economic and political life that are taken-for-granted in some parts of the world are experienced differently in such circumstances, with variously constraining effects.

²¹ The webpage <www.cypnet.com/ncyprus/culture> lists numerous publications.

relaxation of negative attitudes towards the North (Lacher and Kaymak 2005); the accession of the 'Republic of Cyprus' (the Greek area) to the European Union (EU) in 2004, despite the lack of solution to the 'problem'; the processes involved in Turkey being considered for EU application status. Importantly, there was a new government in Turkey in 2002 and then in TRNC in late 2003. In the latter, political parties who had been in opposition for many years, including some with anti-nationalist and pro-reunification views, found themselves in power (Ramm 2005). In other spheres there were new kinds of bi-communal rapprochement activities during those same years, such as the bi-communal Youth Education Program, women's groups, plus steadily increasing civil society involvement in general public and civic affairs in TRNC (Lacher and Kaymak 2005), and participation rates in the arts of all kinds, particularly contemporary visual arts (Yıldız 2003, *EMAA Art Journal* 2006). The Word Peace Monument in Metehan (Kermiye), Figs 53, 54, may have appeared during this time, in 2003 after the border opened between north and south and before the referendum in 2004, with its trilingual plaque.

At the same time, debates about Turkish Cypriot identity had become more public. Over the years there have been two main views on identity that are politicised in the North, which have become more readily visible in recent years as they changed places in governing TRNC. One view is based on a broadly conceived Turkish ethnicity, which emphasizes roots and links with mainland Turkey where the Cypriot component is simply the practical, geographic location. The other more complex interpretation is based on several factors, such as linguistic, historical and cultural practices, thus differentiating mainland Turks from Cypriot Turks²² and sometimes emphasizing the latter's commonalities with Greek Cypriots in the process (Güven-Lisaniler and Rodriguez 2002). During the 1960s, the more simply Turkish nationalist identity gained ascendancy in Cyprus under the conditions of the time, and virtually remained in that position until late 2003, with greater or lesser degrees of authoritarian-ness depending on the wider

²² The immigrants from Turkey who have moved to Cyprus since 1974 are from diverse backgrounds and regions of Turkey, including Turks, Kurds, and Greek speakers from the Black Sea area (Pontus). I have met people from all these backgrounds in Cyprus. As Cockburn (2004) observes, many of the 'settlers' have grown up on the island and know it as home, have married one another as well as longer term locals, and have contributed their own local culture and cuisine to the Cypriot arena, as well as playing key roles in the workforce (Cockburn 2004: 221-217). Nonetheless, as Güven-Lisaniler and Rodriguez (2002) and Cockburn (ibid) discuss, amongst some Turkish Cypriots there are issues of discriminatory attitudes towards the people from Turkey. In the Greek south of Cyprus there are very similar internal issues with migration, identity, difference, and politics, discussed in Cockburn 2004, where she observes that amongst the multifarious factors involved in identity processes in Cyprus there are strong class or social-hierarchy based elements included in the mix of attitudes in both areas. The opening of the border in Cyprus has accentuated these kinds of differentiations across the island, one concrete example being that people holding passports of Turkey are forbidden entry to the South whilst other northerners and foreign passport holders may cross.

circumstances of the time and the electoral challenges.²³ After the unsettling times of the years 2000-2003 the opposition parties associated with the second view outlined above gained an electoral majority in late 2003 and formed government. In addition, the resident population has further diversified with many more people from abroad purchasing homes in TRNC and moving to live there, particularly from Britain, joining a small but long standing ex-patriot community; the coastal area north of the Five Finger Mountains including the Girne district is very popular with British settlers, as well as the many international visitors, and an outing to some of the local supermarkets or cafés can be a cosmopolitan experience these days with English the *lingua franca*.

Without doubt there are other important social, cultural and political factors that I am not fully aware of. Yet of all these factors, it seems to me that the most profound effects for ordinary residents in the North, including artists, came from the border opening and the referendum process. More specifically in relation to the L-G monument, 'Limasol people' could now go to visit their original homes, cemeteries, and former neighbours (Greek and Turkish) in person. Thus the need for a commemorative site for them in Girne, if indeed they had desired such a thing, seemed to diminish. In addition, and importantly, many of the Kyrenia area's former Greek and other residents could now return from the south to visit the homes, neighbours, and familiar landscapes of their childhoods and youth.

In summary, these are my thoughts and observations on some of the likely social and political influences around the L-G monument committee and designer during the apparent six-year development process.

Materials and forms

There are various kinds of forms in this monument and each is made of a different material or has its own distinctive finish. The platform is made of concrete, painted white. The huge pillars are poured 'natural' concrete, smooth and grey, with black-painted iron bars set into the arched bases. The square podium and stepped pools of the centrepiece also appear to be made of concrete, with the podium surface painted to resemble copper and the pools painted blue. The three groups of figures appear to be bronze.

²³ The complexity of some of the interactions between these two main political/cultural identities and some details of their effects on aspects of social and political life are examined by Killoran (1998) and Lacher and Kaymak (2005).

The centrepiece

The centrepiece of the L-G monument features two tall bronze figures, a man and a woman raised high on a pedestal fashioned as a square podium centred on a stepped circular plinth, which is also a fountain, Fig.44. The published height of this centrepiece is 5.5 metres.²⁴ Atop their podium, the young pair is close together on sculpted piles of earth, and as they walk companionably and purposefully forwards towards the mountains, each holds an olive branch up in the air. The latter is a sign of peace, and of plenty, and also meaningful to Cypriots, perhaps others, as a plant whose burning dried leaves give off a smoke that will purify the air and talismanically protect one from the evil eye.²⁵ The figures' gestures are secure and forward looking, though without triumph and with some degree of introspection in their glance, which at the same time includes the viewers. They may be husband and wife, brother and sister, or colleagues, and in the smooth lines of their neo-realist figures in everyday, casual western dress, they are a modern everyman and everywoman. The brief official description of this statue is that it signifies Turkish society following Atatürk's maxim "Peace at home, peace in the World" (*Yurt'da sulh. Cihan'da sulh*) (Security Forces Journal 2005: 17).

Water is another important element present in the centrepiece of the L-G monument, or at least implied by the blue-painted pools which are not always filled with water. In a photograph taken on the day of the opening ceremony on the 1st of August 2005, water bubbles out at the bottom of each face of the podium and glides over the edges of the steps to a final, fourth circle set into the platform surface, Fig.43a. The water was running on only a few of the visits by this author in September-October 2005. It is interesting to note that this presence of water descending in steps on the main axis of a geometric, quadripartite plan that includes plantings and built structures suggests the 6,000 year history of 'Eastern' garden design, from the time of ancient Persia throughout the Hellenic and Roman eras to Ptolemaic Egypt and the

²⁴ Security Forces Journal, *ibid*. The letters SFJ are also used in the text to denote this publication

²⁵ Personal experience of widespread practice amongst Turkish Cypriots, especially older generations. Also, discussed by Dr Demetrios Stylianou in an article "The Inner Life of Cyprus" in Kevork KESHISHIAN's *Romantic Cyprus* 2nd ed. 1945, p.110.

Islamic civilizations, particularly the latter.²⁶ The early gardens are believed to have had cosmological significance, and in later eras, especially in some Islamic societies "... the terrestrial garden is considered a reflection or rather an anticipation of Paradise...(and) the custom of internment in a garden rest(ed) on an implied reciprocity between heaven and earth..."²⁷ The Islamic gardens, especially the Moorish, Turkish and Moghul, are considered by Orientalist scholars to have provided significant influence on European garden design, particularly for memorials and cemeteries in the French arena in the 18th century and the English in the 19th, though particularities of cosmological and religious significance did not much carry through to the new settings.²⁸ The widespread use of statuary in European garden cemeteries was clearly a modification on the Islamic use of non-figurative stonework. I don't suggest that these associations are strongly realised in the finished work of the L-G monument but that they are possible threads in the cultural historical layering in this monument that are not so apparent in earlier public structures in TRNC.

The association of water with funerary gardens doubtless had a practical component in the sense that the plants necessary for perfuming the air for the deceased and shading the graves would have been irrigated in some way, whereas in non-funerary and other contemplative gardens water seems to be more a symbolic element.²⁹ In my experience water and fresh plants are still important in Turkish Cypriot burials, at least in my family, and these things are taken from home for the interment and subsequent visits to the gravesite. In the absence of communication from the designer of the L-G monument about the influences on his work for this monument, which as indicated earlier is no longer possible owing to his untimely death, I can only speculate about the presence of these different elements of water, plants, and so on. In a public monument that must amongst other things speak of the national ideals of Turkish republicanism, such details may be as much to do with general stylistic reference and cultural contextualisation as with any specifically cosmological or historical significance, or perhaps it simply works by creating a set of images that is inclusive because it resonates on different cultural levels.

²⁶ James DICKIE "The Hispano-Arab Garden: Its Philosophy and Function", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (1968), pp. 237-248

²⁷ Dickie, *ibid*, pp 238-239

²⁸ Dickie p.239, and James Stevens CURL "John Claudius Loudon and the Garden Cemetery Movement", *Garden History*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Autumn, 1983), p.150. I am appreciative of Diana Wood Conroy drawing my attention to the possible association with English garden cemetery and commemorative traditions. See also Paul Gough n.d.

"Conifers and Commemoration: the protocols of planting"

²⁹ Dickie, *ibid*

As examined previously in Chapters Two and Three, figural statuary is a relatively recent phenomenon in the Muslim Turkish arena, more so in Cyprus, despite long-term familiarity with the icons and statues of contemporary Christians on the island and elsewhere, and with antiquities. Since the inception of modern visual art amongst Turkish Cypriots via the new Turkish republican school syllabus in the 1920s, painting has been the much-preferred medium of visual expression (Yıldız 2003), as previously indicated, and public sculpture has been largely limited to national monuments.³⁰ The more extensive statuary in military areas in TRNC is a different case again, and one that, as indicated in Chapter Three, I have not particularly included in this project for the reason that by and large those sites are away from people's regular daily routes and lines of sight, whilst not necessarily out of mind. It is in the TRNC's national monuments, placed for the most part in readily visible locations, that figuration is found, and in this arena only the two local national leaders Dr Küçük and Mr Denktaş and two mainland national leaders Atatürk and İsmet İnönü have been represented via physical likeness in full statue form. As also noted in the previous chapter, a small number of busts and reliefs of individuals appear to signal some exceptions to this equating of figural representation with national leaders and locating of public sculpture almost exclusively in designated national monument sites. However, these few busts and reliefs too may be directly assimilated to the national estate, whether of wide renown such as Atatürk's mother, local significance such as Cengiz Topel who piloted the Turkish pilot whose plane was shot down in the fighting over Erenköy (Kokkina) in 1964, or a local cultural historical figure such as Kemal Asık who started the Turkish Cypriot newsagency TAK and whose bust stands in the garden of the head office in Nicosia. The bust of Atatürk's mother Zübeyde Hanım (Fig.35) is considered one of the national political and cultural sites (Sadrazam 1990, Hakkeri 1992) and nowadays is an important location for International Women's Day celebrations. The big national struggle monument in Lefkoşa, Fig.21, includes several generic figures of women and men as part of the narrative, including soldiers, and the two community leaders as above, whose physical likenesses as well as some of their famous words are portrayed.

In the L-G monument there is a significant shift in the figural representation, from statues of civic or military leadership figures to those of ordinary people as central to the picture. The motif of the fallen

³⁰ I don't mean to suggest that there were literally no sculptors prior to the 1990s, rather that engagement with the modern visual arts was primarily via painting until the much more recent developments in contemporary arts in TRNC in the last 5-10 years.

man attended by a woman that is found in the 1988 national monument, discussed above, has moved here and is joined by others, including the central pair who stride calmly above the troubled pair down on the ground. This is an interesting development, particularly in relation to the monument's open, accessible aspect that as mentioned is different from other national sites in TRNC. In particular it appears as a next step in a trend possibly apparent in the National Struggle monument. There Atatürk did not appear directly and there is a range of 'local' figures who appear in sculpted form, either recognisable leaders such as Küçük or Denktaş, or an 'everyman/woman' signifying the people who are remembered and those who will do the remembering. In the L-G monument, community figure-heads are not represented, whereas 'the people' are and it is they who both have lived the story and are telling it.

As far as I can ascertain, this is the first public monument in TRNC to make this kind of complete representational shift in the statuary, and I return to a consideration of some of the particular narrative implications later. Here I wish to briefly draw on an element related to the inclusiveness referred to above, in the everyman/woman figures whose glance includes the audience. Here I am thinking of Nicholas Bourriaud's notion of the relational in art "...where the substrate is formed by intersubjectivity ...which takes being-together as a central theme, the 'encounter' between beholder and picture, and the collective elaboration of meaning" (Bourriaud 2002: 15). Bourriaud suggests we could leave on one side for the time being the matter of the historicity of the phenomenon, that is, the picture as art object, the monument as memory object, and consider that art has "...always been relational in the sense of a factor of sociability and a founding principle of dialogue" (ibid). One of the virtual properties of the image is its power of linkage where "flags, logos, icons, signs, all produce empathy and sharing, and all generate *bond*" (Bourriaud ibid). This field of the visual is certainly an interesting one for examination of how nations and national identity have been important factors of recent human history and have been facilitated by visual (and other such as music) artistic activity, as Anthony Smith suggests (1991, 2004). It is nonetheless one of the strange qualities of that "founding principle of dialogue" in art that interests me here, where people responding to the icons, objects, signs and symbols may be attracted to the imagery or repelled by it. Gaston Bachelard wrote with regard to images, "to attract and to repulse do not give contrary experiences, it is the terms that are contrary...with electricity or magnetism we speak symmetrically of attraction or repulsion...but images do not adapt themselves very well to quiet ideas, or

above all to definitive ideas” (Bachelard 1958, xxxvi). Both feelings of reaching towards a symbol and feelings of pulling away from it may be seen as kinds of attraction, for example.

As observed above, the statues in the L-G monument are figures of ‘ordinary’ people, not the more usual national leadership figures, which could perhaps convey the notion of a more explicit social participation or inclusion. The political and social changes in TRNC in the 3-4 years preceding the L-G’s opening could suggest this reading analogically; for example, the greater civic participation from about 2002 onwards (Ramm 2005), the public demonstrations that preceded the 2003 border opening (ibid), the change of governing party in late 2003 that represented a move away from the strong Turkish nationalism and the authoritarian style of Rauf Denktaş’s UBP party (Lacher and Kaymak 2005). I think that the notion of inclusiveness works as an analogy in the sense that the metaphorical distance between the people and the leaders (and the representations of the national narrative through leaders positioned as symbolic of the whole narrative) is signalled as bridgeable in the L-G monument by the everyman/woman style of the figures and their accessibility in an open plan site. At the same time, complexities within the various social and cultural processes of differentiation in the history of Turkish Cypriots are not touched upon in the sculptures, the question of who is or is not Turkish Cypriot, for example. Whilst generically modern and non-‘ethnic’ with male and female standing side by side, the figures nonetheless can be seen as implying certain exclusions, that is, there are absences in the visual representation. Greek Cypriots are absent in material form or words, for example, though the Greek nationalism that denied and opposed the historical Turkish presence in the island is there, as the ‘understood’ danger against which the statue family is on guard. Other processes of differentiation within TRNC society are present via absence, for example, the older people who wore more ‘traditional’ style dress (such as women in head scarves) through the nineteen sixties and seventies and into the eighties, or similarly the more traditional clothing of some of the more recent immigrants from the mainland. Paradoxically, at the same time as being potentially absent none of these latter figures, the elderly or mainlanders dressed in an ‘older’ traditional style, and Greek Cypriots, are definitively excluded, due to the same generic form and features of the figures as they walk towards the future in the centre of the piece, and towards the south, with olive branches in their hands.

The pillars

To return to the description of the monument, on either side of the central pair of figures loom two tall concrete pillars or columns. Viewed from a distance these columns give the appearance of both protecting the figures, as they widen at the top and appear to curve inwards towards the couple in semblance of an arch, and of echoing the raised arms holding up the olive branches. The columns are not simply straight vertical structures but are strongly ‘anchored’ with unusual curved bases that almost form new structures in themselves, creating the suggestion of an inverted arch. At the same time their outer edges are precisely vertical on the edges of the platform, as if reaching down into the earth and extending up into the sky.

This high vertical motif occurs in several other monuments in North Cyprus, such as the tall poles in the memorial for the people killed in the Türkeli (Ayvasıl) massacre; the high geometric ‘broken’ arches of the National Struggle and Liberation Monument in Lefkosa, Fig.21; the monument in Küçük Kaymaklı, Fig.18; and the TMT monument’s single central spire, Fig.36. One must bear in mind that North Cyprus does not at present have any really high buildings, thus the verticality in these monuments is matched only by the mountains. The tops of the L-G’s 12 metre pillars, with their striking vertical faces on the outer edge, widen in towards the centre of the monument, creating the curves suggestive of a protective gesture, or a giant gateway. The inner edge of each column curves to form an inverted arch, and in the base structures thus formed the otherwise empty space between the vertical column and the inverted arch is filled with iron bars. Behind the bars (if you are looking from the south) are the two other sets of figures [see the night view Fig.46 for a clear glimpse of this], one at the base of each pillar, standing or lying on their low pedestals within reach of the visitor who walks behind, which is how I discovered the nature of their ‘bronze’, as discussed below in the section on materials.

The sculptures

The three groups of figures in this monument reference ‘traditional’ statues cast in bronze. They have the oxidised appearance, the brownish-green patina, and for all intents and purposes these statues ‘are’

bronze, aged bronze in fact, the most valuable kind. As sunlight catches the high points of the textured surfaces the figures have a gilded look, however, as if polished. So, the valuable old bronze statues have been 'found' and are being cared for.

As discussed in the previous chapter, bronze statues relating to Turkish national identity began to be installed in the Turkish areas of Cyprus in 1963, although there had been the earlier small bust of the poet Namik Kemal installed in Famagusta in 1953. The oldest and most well known statue is the large bronze of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk that stands high on its pedestal in the middle of traffic near the Girne gate entrance to the old city of Lefkoşa; Fig. 15. This statue is said to have been shot at during the inter-communal clashes that began shortly after the statue was installed; being bronze it resisted the bullets.

These new sculptures 'behind bars' on either side of the L-G monument have strong narrative elements in their composition, more so than the central figures, though there are many common features. As with the pair rising above, these figures are sculpted slightly larger than life in a generalised realist manner that makes them recognisable as 'everymen/woman'. Yet in the two groups behind bars, this is not an idealised individual who could be abstracted as such, for the arrangement is always social - brother, husband, father, son, uncle, aunt, sister, wife, mother, daughter, neighbour, and so on. All the figures are smooth faced, dressed in a generic 'modern' western style (frocks and low heeled shoes for the women, trousers with open-necked shirts loosely tucked and generic everyday boots for boys and men) and with generalised facial features that nonetheless more reference Europe than the Middle East or Asia.³¹ Interestingly the two groups of figures 'behind bars' are more within the visitor's reach than the 'free' ones on the tall pedestal in the centre, although they are raised a bit above ground level and thus must be contemplated with a slightly upward gaze.

Materially all the sculptures are the same. Approaching one of the plinths on a sunny afternoon to photograph details of an attached plaque, I touched the bronze. Expecting to feel relative coolness

³¹ Kirk Savage has suggested in respect of the generic figure in public sculpture in the USA that at its heart was a particularised physiognomy "meant to condense the polyglot faces of the nation into a standard 'American' type. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 162, cited in a review by Thomas Brown "The Real War Will Never Get in the Statues", *Reviews in American History* 26.4 (1998), p.701. One could speculate that there may have been similar processes at work in the development of the Turkish national commemorative art, with the generic male and female figure found in public monuments, as Turkey is a place of diverse populations and histories that were sought to be amalgamated into a unitary nation-state.

beneath my hand, I found instead a hot surface. When I tapped the piece, I heard the dull response of moulded fibre-resin rather than the ringing tones of metal. This was a ‘discovery’ that gave me lots of opportunity for reflection, which I shall develop briefly below.

As far as composition goes, on the left hand side, facing the monument, a young man’s body is slumped over the contours of the uneven ground on which he lies, face towards the iron bars, Fig. 47. His posture suggests a sudden fall, perhaps a hit by an undesired yet not quite unexpected ‘blind bullet’, during the battle for freedom.³² His face is smooth, expressionless, the eyes open. There are no visible signs of injury on his body but his hands clutch his chest as if he has taken a wound to the heart. A woman kneels close to him, firmly planted on the soil with one knee raised, the other leg stretched out behind for balance, and she is bare footed as if suddenly running out from indoors, Fig.48. She could be the man’s wife, fiancée, mother, sister, daughter, and so on, and this is in fact what is contained in the official description of the piece in the Security Forces Journal. The woman’s left hand is extended downwards with fingertips touching the man’s shoulder. Her right arm is lifted towards the sky, palm open.³³ Her eyes and face are raised upwards and her mouth is open. She mourns, or beseeches, or berates, calls for witness, narrates the events, or expresses awe at life’s great and small beauties and uglinesses. It can be any of these, perhaps a combination, certainly a communicative gesture. At the same time, she faces the bars of her imprisonment and through them her figure addresses the audience on the other side of the bars. According to the Security Forces Journal article about the opening ceremony, the woman is simply saying “Why did you kill him?”

³² ‘Blind bullet’ is a commonly used term in Turkish when speaking about a family or community member whose life is lost either directly in fighting the enemy or by getting caught in cross-fire between two opposing sides in the ‘battle for freedom’. It can be assumed that all the iconography and narrative in the monument occurs within a discourse of the Turkish Cypriot struggle for freedom in the years 1963-1974.

³³ This gesture of the arm extended with open palm raised towards the sky is found in other statues in North Cyprus and Turkey. It is usually the right hand that is raised, while the left likely to be reaching downwards in some way, in effect towards the earth. It is not usually a triumphal gesture. It seems to function in a number of rhetorical and symbolic ways, often at the same time, facing and speaking to the omnipotence and omnipresence of the ‘creator of life’ as well as addressing the audience that may chance to encounter in the otherwise motionless statue the implied plight or show of strength of character, and grounding the character/figure involved. For example, one sees this gesture of the upturned right hand in the posture of a soldier against the background of the Turkish flag in the logo of the Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı [Security Force Command in North Cyprus]. Another such image is the well known figure of the Turkish soldier etched into the ground at Gallipoli, where he asks the passer-by to stop and listen to the beating heart of the nation *Dur yolcu...* ‘Traveller, stop.... The heart of a nation beats here’. The same gesture appears in statues of Atatürk in Turkey and North Cyprus, with varying effects; for example in the statue in Güzeyurt the extended arm is slightly out of proportion to the rest of the statue, its largeness having a caricature effect that paradoxically draws attention to the intended seriousness of the commemorative act. Overall one recognises the gesture as one that can connote a range of feelings of awe.

The group of figures on the right of the monument is placed, like the fallen man and his companion to the left, on a polished marble plinth that raises them above the platform level, Fig.49. They stand close together on their patch of soil, a man, a woman and a young boy, all slightly larger than life. The man is close to the iron bars, feet firmly planted with right foot forward to take the weight of his action. His sleeves are rolled up above the elbows and his hands forcefully grasp to prise apart two of the iron bars 'imprisoning' him and the woman and child; presumably this is the ideal family. The woman stands back-to-back with the man, looking out behind him. According to the official article this back-to-back stance signifies solidarity (SFJ, p. 17). The boy is in front of her, in a defensive or defiant stance with clenched fists, and he also looks out to the north. He is said to be saying that if anything happens again, watch out because he is the next generation that is following along the path. (SFJ, p.17) The woman's hands rest on the boy's shoulders, in a gesture of reassurance or restraint or affirmation or support. Perhaps they are keeping watch from the rear, protecting the man from any encroachment on the action towards freedom; or perhaps they are looking towards the help that will come from the north across the sea.

At the same time, the boy and the woman are not standing still. Gauging from the positioning of her feet on the ground, the woman is actively balancing, both taking a step forwards, giving due attention to the direction in which the boy with clenched fists is looking (as if he says 'I am the guardian of the future of the nation'),³⁴ and ready to turn back at any moment to urgently assist the 'man at work' if the need arises. The moment that is 'captured' in this group of statues is ambiguous, paradoxically frozen yet one of motion, of transition from imprisonment to freedom and all the considerable dangers that might ensue from this enterprise. Are they acting to solve their problems or waiting for the solution to arrive? Perhaps there are elements of both.

Another characteristic of the figures in this monument, and this trio in particular, is that they do not quite make eye contact with the audience. This is not through shyness or self-consciousness but because they seem to look upwards or outwards towards something just slightly beyond or outside the here and now, Fig.50. It seems to me not simply the empty-eyed gaze of a generically sculpted face, nor is it solipsistic contemplation or studied avoidance, but, whether intentional or not on the part of the sculptor, these faces

³⁴ In one of his famous speeches to Turkish youth, Atatürk bestowed on them the responsibility of protecting the heritage of national freedom. This is the speech that begins "Ey Türk gençlig'i ..." [You, Turkish youth, ...]

that look beyond the audience at same time manage to include the audience in what they see, or rather, in the question of what is being 'seen'.

A narrative approach to the placement of the figurative works within the space of the overall monument suggests to me a kind of mixed symbolism. There are no weapons, or vehicles, or indeed tools of any kind, apart from the bare hands that try to prise part the bars, nor are there any explanatory words at the site – the strongly narrative effect is created purely through the figures and their relation to each other and the architectural elements, including space. The bodies of narrative are thus both frozen *and* rhythmically alive in the sculptured gestures, movements and emplacements. The 'knowledge' of 'what happened' that is referred to here, memories, thus has both tacit details (known to 'insiders') and generally accessible visual narrative (accessible to 'outsiders'). Staying with the view from the south for the moment and looking at the two clusters of figures at the sides, on the left and on the right the dead and the living are behind bars. The two central figures are free from such confinement. They are lifted up and stride forward together, raising their olive branches, a symbol of peace, and of abundance. Brother and sister, husband and wife, neighbours, colleagues, this is not clear, nor does it need to be defined because they are all of those. Their only confinement from this angle is the tall semicircle of flagpoles behind them. Yet while their raised arms with olive branches mirroring the tall concrete columns also suggest triumph, this is not unalloyed triumphalism. The man's downward tilted head suggests a moment of contemplation. Does he contemplate the past, the future, the here and now, the in-between? His preoccupation seems different to that of the woman whose glance falls further ahead with a touch of a smile on her face; Fig.44. Does the man's face, expressionless yet pensive, face reflect some ambiguity about what the future may hold?

Texture, touch and reality

The surfaces of the figures are uniform - skin, hair and clothing alike are lightly textured in a semblance of both the 'natural' roughness of the casting process and the patinated effect of aged bronze. We know that the texture of fabric is different from that of the body of the wearer in reality, but we accept the deliberate absence of that reality being represented here. The element of idealisation that this seems to

evoke is contributed to by the figures themselves - though each is set in a different tableau, the three women are the same woman, the three men are the same man. The overall monument as image is suspended between the ideal and the real, with the figures, the bodies, not quite life size, not quite real, frozen in constellations of idealised gestures, yet at the same time the interrelationships between all the elements of the composition, especially the figures, and including the 'knowing' audience and the 'unknowing' one, are dynamic in ways that refuse to let the idealisation move completely away from reality. Curiously, this characteristic of the figures mirrors the feelings of Turkish Cypriot people, suspended between the past and the future for thirty years, creating their new daily lives, indeed with all the daily ups and downs and yearly augmentation or loss just like one expects, but in a cloud of unknowing.

On close inspection however, verified by touch, this latest addition to the hosts of monuments in North Cyprus reveals its material deceptiveness. The figures are constructed out of or cast in some kind of fibreglass material, with the surface treated to give the appearance of aged bronze. This is the special 'new substance' with which the large equestrian statue of Atatürk in Lefke was built in 1989; the material was acclaimed as giving the capacity to create such a large version of the form balanced only on the horse's two hind legs.³⁵ Here in Girne is the first main public statuary built since then.³⁶ Is this the authority of aged bronze statues, the illusion of 'history', or the performance of 'history' in the language assumed to be suited to the task? This discrepancy between appearance and reality can lead to latent meanings beyond what the monument is meant to be signifying.³⁷

What does it mean when we discover something is not what it seems? This is not a 'truth examination', such as one might be inspired to for example by the famous 13th Century philosopher Celaleddin Rumi's

³⁵ I am grateful to Zehra Sonya for drawing my attention to the story of the Lefke statue that enabled me to gauge the first usage of fibreglass resins for statues in TRNC. The source of story was an article in *Ortam*, newspaper, precise date unknown. Details provided in the *Ortam* article include that the equestrian statue in Lefke was installed in 1989, and was proclaimed as a technical feat of representation, distinctive in that a 'new substance' had been found for its construction, making it possible to have such a large version of the form of a horse balanced only on the back legs. This is the only reference I have found so far to the 'new substance' used in building statues in TRNC.

³⁶ As discussed in Chapter 3, I have treated the military memorials as a different category of object more akin to the museums in being away from the usual daily visual milieu. The military memorial complexes do appear to have had statuary erected in the 1990s, much of the work apparently by Professor Öktem.

³⁷ As the observation on the equestrian statue implies, I am not suggesting the new statues be considered fakes. The press comment on the previous equestrian statue indicates a purposeful approach to use of the material that does not pretend to be bronze. That is, the usage seems to me of a skeuomorphic nature, retaining the ornamental design cues as to structure and making the new to look like the old or familiar.

indication for truth in humans' interaction with one another, *'Ya oldug'un gibi görün ya da göründüğ'ün gibi ol'* (Be as you appear or as you appear, be). At the same time, the question or request for clarification raised by this saying does seem to have some significance in the context of thinking about the official importance of this monument and what the day-to-day visitor (Turkish Cypriot or otherwise) can make of it within their own realms of association. Associations between the rhetoric of the image in its isolated form and its relationship with other statues and monuments experienced beforehand, and the free associations that people may engage with in relation to the object before their eyes.

For example, the question about the qualities of 'reality' in materials of the monument does not reveal the ritual significance attached to the monument. On certain anniversaries with national significance official commemorative ceremonies are held, and what should be remembered and what should be forgotten in relation to the particular ceremony and monument is affirmed in speeches being given and wreaths being laid. This always involves people, those in whose honour the wreaths are being laid, whose honour the monument is meant to signify, those doing the honouring, those purposefully staying away. The Limassol-Girne Martyrs and Freedom Monument can do these things. It is the only such monument actually inside the city of Girne, where it nevertheless, quietly through the location and explicitly through the official explanations of meaning, references the landing of the Turkish troops further along the coast; all those who 'struggled' and 'fell' for the national cause and those who survived are respectfully remembered, and the generations to come are offered hope and inspiration for their future existence with dignity and integrity as Turkish Cypriots. That is clearly a meaning of a national monument and one can say that the monument fulfils its intended civic function in this manner.

The question of the discrepancy between the look of something and its actuality gains significance on the days that are not days of commemoration. There are far more of those days in our lives, in which we face the daily chores of life while in active negotiation of our way through our surroundings. Then the question more strongly arises - to what degree does the monument fulfil the function it is intended for? To what extent does any monument fulfil its intended functions? At this point, it is the 'look' of the thing that is important and the answer, in part, is simple. It is the ritual value that is offered to those who are

inclined to have a need for being reminded of the struggle and that the meaning of the gained freedom is good for the community. On the other hand, there is the social life of the monument.

But are there meanings outside the ritual functions to stimulate ‘remembrance’, and the usual rejections of the iconography? What might some of these be? What might visitors think for example, community members or foreign visitors, when they touch or lean against the visually ‘cold’ looking ‘bronze’ and find that what they are sensing is something much warmer? Literally? Figuratively? Could this have been intended by the artist or the commissioning body? Perhaps it is more to do with economic factors quite unrelated to aesthetics. It is also difficult to know what the surprised audience would make of it, without being able to ask them, if they actually register this interesting discrepancy between the rhetoric they can see (and may have heard) and the evidence of their sense of touch. Nonetheless, I find it an interesting additional element in the investigation of narratives of experience, and the discourses of memory and forgetting, individual and collective, that have come to be considered embodied in public monuments. As mentioned earlier, I think that a close look at the figures and forms, the narrative and mnemonic possibilities, the open structure together with geographical placement and the potential sociability of this monument reveals, whether by accident or design, creative opportunities for critical engagement that at first glance the somewhat clumsy structure and official explanations might not appear to stimulate.

4.6 Engaging the nationalist imagery

As discussed in this chapter, the L-G monument shows a continuation of the Turkish national identity’s iconographic representation, and the project’s development and opening ceremony indicate some of the social context within which the history and identity are symbolically interwoven with the monumental object. Examination of the designer’s works indicates a long history of artistic engagement in monumental works relating to Turkish national identity, and he has been awarded for his role in the official commemorative art arena in Turkey. This particular work in Girne is less formal and determined than some of his designs. Indeed the resolution in the L-G monument suggests the possibility of the work of a local committee in consultation with Öktem. As mentioned, a survey of his works available on-line

indicates a rather didactic approach to visualising the national identity,³⁸ where his work exemplifies the official visual language that has been sustained in Turkey for some decades, albeit with some internal development and modification (Erdentug` and Berrak1998). This visualisation (or literally, objectification) of national identity is usually through a combination of symbolic site; symbolic architectural structures; iconographic details (flags, high verticals, olive branches, children or youth, the figure of Atatürk, certain figural gestures, and the style and dress of the figures – generic ‘modern’, social or heroic realist style, western dress, and so on); incorporation of special words, teachings in fact, such as the sayings of Atatürk, or the poem at Çanakkale (Gallipoli), for example, urging the traveller to stop and heed the heart of the Turkish nation beating there (Wood Conroy 2004: 186); and incorporation of symbolic chronologies and horological features.

In broad outline, Tankut Öktem’s approach to Turkish national commemoration follows wider trends in commemorative practice in the incorporation of several, or many, levels of symbolism in order to constellate the qualities of depth, antiquity, and high seriousness that are associated with the domain. For example, Australian historian Ken Inglis wrote in respect of the iconography of the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, “Greek building, Christian inscription, ancient pagan theatre of the sun: “Shrine’ was a name chosen to embody complex understandings of war, death, sacrifice, the nation, the universe” (2005: 2). Naturally the details of representation and the social locations of the iconographic effects are specific to the area in which they are realised, such as in the official commemorative art in Turkey, which also is exemplified in some of the monuments of TRNC. In Turkey today the diversity of identity and memory discourse contrasts with the homogenising character of the public national identity some decades earlier (Erdentug` and Berrak 1998, Özyürek 2006). Within this contemporary arena, the didacticism and iconographic detail of the ‘official’ visual language seem over-determined, leading to possible lessening of connection with contemporary conditions.

It is aspects of this latter process that are of concern to some of the local artists in relation to the L-G monument in Cyprus. They would prefer to see evidence of broader contemporary cultural engagement reflected in any public monuments that are to be installed in the rapidly changing society in TRNC. Zehra

³⁸ To reiterate, <www.heykeltrastankutoktem.com/ozgecmis/index>

Sonya is one such local artist.³⁹ The concerns, expressed in discussion with me, are to do with whether the visual language of monuments built in the contemporary era will express contemporary sentiments of the local people regarding past sufferings and the survival of the Turkish Cypriots, in a manner that would encourage an opening up rather than a closing in gesture. Local artists would seek works that “...will be modern and have qualities of affect and effect.” Her concerns are philosophical as well as artistic. “... I believe that ...works need to address contemporary artistic concerns and ... have an effect on people other than the ‘wow...its size’ thing”.⁴⁰

Sonya referred to visual arts academic in Turkey, Professor Adem Genç, there are others too, who asserts that the Turkish public sculpture milieu is interwoven with many myths and nationalist sentiments, not because there are no interesting and thoughtful artists but because public commissions are strongly influenced by over-conservative commissioning bodies.⁴¹ The latter’s thoughts are said to be extensively furnished with heroic and nationalist imagery that seems to look backwards more than forwards in time. In this view, whilst the many artists working in the public art fields are graduates of art academies, they are tied to the service of sculpture studios (industries) whose main concern in their commissions for public sculpture and monuments is to address populist national sentiments, “...ideas are enacted with little development on the spot, so to speak...The way the monument/sculpture is to look is something that can popularly speak to the public about the importance of national identity by evoking national sentiments furnished with and imbued with stories of struggle for independence, myths of heroic deeds, and national myths and rituals, etc.” That is to say, there is little value given to artistic processes that engage with the contemporary society’s overall dynamics. There seems to be a sense that the ‘language’ of the form was initiated at some point in time, primarily via European sculptors commissioned for public works in Turkey in the 1920s and 30s, and has remained the primary visual language of public commemorative architecture, with some relative internal change such as in figurative style (Kreiser 1997, Erdentug` and Berrak 1998, Germaner n.d., Batuman 2005). In Adem Genç’s view, “As a result of [the]

³⁹ Sonya majored in sculpture in the Faculty of Fine Arts at Hacetepe University in Turkey. She was born in Limasol and now lives in Girne. Sonya is one of the outspoken and successful contemporary Turkish Cypriot artists, a founding member of the European Mediterranean Art Association, editor of EMAA Art journal. <http://www.cypnet.co.uk/ncyprus/culture/mofa/sculpture/zehrasonya/index.html>

⁴⁰ Interview with Zehra Sonya, 2005

⁴¹ The quotes contained in this paragraph are from Zehra Sonya quoting Professor Adem Genç; I do not have a formalised reference for Professor Genç’s words apart from that. Professor Genç bio (in Turkish) available at http://www.cekirdeksanat.com/katalog/sanatci.asp?SANATCI_ID=414&GOSTER=OZGECMIS

asymmetric artist-industry relationship, amongst the public art works that have ensued since the establishment of the Turkish Republic the main ones have been dedicated to or are of Atatürk and the War of Independence.”

Sonya's and other contemporary artist's concerns are that the prevalence of nationalist monuments may be a sign of social and cultural stagnation, where “.... all the great things achieved by Atatürk” are turned into what by contemporary standards is over-deterministic art with the mask of ‘noble’ ideas, through artists who uncritically allow their skills to be availed by commissioning bodies who, it seems to me, may believe that the use of the particular visual language is part of the meaning of national sentiment itself. This trend in sculpture and public monuments in Turkey is uncritically transferred to North Cyprus, owing to the historical complex of economic, political, and social and cultural links.

It seems to me that the contemporary artists such as Zehra Sonya are not questioning the validity of commemorative or historically reflective activity per se. Sonya for example submitted a proposal for the monument in Girne, Figs. 51 and 52, in which she was dealing with the relationality between the physical environmental, social, cultural, and historical elements of people's experience that could be reflected in the visual manifestation of the work. An important aspect of the concept of her proposal is the use of figurative and abstract presentations and representations, creating a sense of continuity yet extending the now-familiar language of figures in the local public context. The relationality in the concept is also expressed via the materials and via proximity in the formal placement of objects, where the materials not only relate the objects to one another but also to the environment, that is, to the earth, stones, and bones of an entire material ‘history’ of the island. Figure 52 shows a model of one of the suggested ‘stone figures’ with several stone seats arranged in its vicinity.

Sonya's conception is a social one, that people would go to the site and be able to interact with one another as well as with the objects placed for contemplation. The relaxed sociability accidentally achieved in the installed L-G monument is in this conception intentionally invoked in the design. What these contemporary artists are saying is not that commemoration is not valid, but that a more socially engaged and visually critical process would have greater beneficial effects within the visual, social-

cultural environment, especially in relation to possible imaginings for the future. In this they may also be reflecting feelings of growing impatience with the isolation and slow pace of change that they felt characterised the social and cultural life of TRNC at the turn of the twenty first century, feelings that contributed to catalysing the political change that occurred 2002-04. Overall the expressed concerns are broadly very important in relation to critical engagements with the visual surroundings in which we live, with ‘seeing’ those surroundings and reflecting on our responses, where the visual language is not identical to or necessarily subsidiary to the verbal.

4.7 To summarise: who is this monument addressing and what does it want?

The hasty insertion of the L-G monument into the ‘landscape’ and the rather clumsy rendering of layers and dimensions of historical cultural meaning within it appears to have given rise to the expressed local concerns about it. In relation to the latter, I think my ‘reading’ shows there are complexities in the work that could be engaged further within such critique. That is, whilst I share some of the artistic concerns, I find that this new monument in TRNC, if examined as far as possible in its whole social, political and symbolic contexts perhaps has the capacity to open up generative debate from the combination of its history, location, form, and narratives. In the context of the current overall situation in TRNC, the monument could serve as an object to further open public discussion where a nation reflects upon its past experiences, tries to lead life according to contemporary demands, and tries to increase its visibility/participation in the international arena.

The L-G monument and its aesthetics thus need to be understood in the changing social and political context of its time. In this context, I suggest the monument’s location and figurative narrative style be considered as chosen for the eyes of outsiders as well as locals. That is to say, a parochial landmark has been created that at the same time in some sense directly engages with its place in the wider world context. In 2005 when the L-G monument was built and unveiled, the border between North and South had been open for two years and TRNC was no longer as physically cut off from the wider world as it had

been beforehand.⁴² The twin referenda of 2004 had also resulted in wider visibility and represented a shift in some degree of others perceptions and self-perception of TRNC.⁴³ Many more visitors now passed through Girne, whether international tourists on sightseeing or casino holidays, visiting academics, new residents furnishing their newly built homes, or, and particularly, people from the Greek South returning to their childhood haunts, a difficult journey. Hence, the positioning of the monument on a prominent route in the well-known destination Kyrenia (Girne); its potential social life (as discussed above); its linked old and new styles of representation of history and memory with the shift to ‘everymen/woman’ (the state’s people) as historical actor; the more or less explicit sculptural narrativity; the presentation being made; all combine rhetorically such that while primarily affirming the Turkish identity and restating the Turkish Cypriot official history, gestures of opening up are analogically conveyed. In a broad sense, materially and analogically it ‘speaks’ of both continuity and change within solid attachment to a form.

And, like all national monuments to the ‘fallen’, the truth of the ‘victorious sacrifice’ represents also the suffering and death of the ‘other(s)’. In a context of genuine acknowledgement of the Cyprus conflict, can a monument be imagined that acknowledges both? This will it seems remain a rhetorical question, as what lies ahead in Cyprus seems to have as high a degree of uncertainty the past. The solution of reunification, widely (outside TRNC) and for a long time assumed to be the only solution, has recently been publicly questioned on both sides of the Line. In this overall environment, artists grappling with understanding the prevailing social, cultural, and material environments in the attempt to respond via relational processes of form and content are set a challenging task.

⁴² It was always possible to go to North Cyprus, initially after 1974 from various parts of the Middle East and then after 1983 only via Turkey. The perception that it was not possible to get there was part of an embargo on knowledge about the north and its people; for example, see Francis X. ROCCA, ‘Cyprus Seeks to Escape a Bitter Past’, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Vol 49, issue 39, 6 June 2003. From abroad, however, whilst the route through Turkey to North Cyprus is very interesting it involves going the long way round in terms of time, distance, and money.

⁴³ The outcome of a Turkish YES vote and Greek NO vote was against international expectations of a Greek Cypriot affirmative on reunifying the island. It seemed to cause surprise in relation to the customary (mis)perception of the Turkish Cypriots as *the* stumbling block to re-unification and the Greek Cypriot party as working always towards it, which is simply not the case, as indicated in Chapter 2, with the two parties in fact see-sawing back and forth over the years, never quite reaching the same affirmative conclusion at the same time (Groom 1993, Assmussen 2004, Lacher and Kaymak 2005, Ramm 2005). This outcome to the 2004 referendums has been the basis of shifts in publicly articulated perceptions of the two Cypriot polities and their histories, with acknowledgement of the Turkish Cypriots becoming if not official at least more open.

In the case of the identity/existence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, national monuments participate in various levels and dimensions of discursive and poetic activity. Iconographically, what is set in stone and ‘bronze’ represents an official history that has narrowed and foreclosed the question of identity, with Turkish Cypriotness and TRNC assimilated to the modern, secular Turkish national identity where, as in modern monuments everywhere, much of the actual complexity is absent from the material site. Yet at another level the monuments’ very presence acts to confirm a range of events, narratives, identities, and so on, subsumed in the process of “deny(ing) the denial of their presence by the Greek-Cypriot state” (Killoran 2000: 132). I suggest that in this regard the monuments’ presence is not static. Rather, as seen in the relationships between periodicity in the monuments’ installation, their form and style, and events/processes in TRNC’s internal and international affairs, it is actually very dynamic. That is to say, the object itself is static, there is no anthropomorphism suggested here, but in its provenance, material forms, and sheer presence it is very active in its effects, continually in interaction with people, location, events, and with others of its kind; I believe the monuments and memorials in TRNC cannot readily be understood individually. Whilst individually indicating particular historical, social, political, and cultural elements, each monument should be considered also as member of a group of objects. Both as individual material object and as group member the TRNC national monument certainly participates visually in communicative activity within an existential narrative (or performance) perceived, in effect, as a story of Greek Cypriots and others denying the actual presence and/or the right to presence in Cyprus of Turkish Cypriot people named as such, Turkish, Muslim and Cypriot, in an era in which such naming is still the one means of participation in many aspects of contemporary globalised human enterprise.

Yet, as the particular forms of discursive interaction at the level of the historical meta-narrative continue to operate beyond Cyprus, the two Cypriot groups are further entangled in complexity by not being free to resolve their problems simply in their own terms, which ‘own’ problems and terms in large part relate back to that meta-narrative context, where human social and psychological processes of differentiation and adaptation to change seem to have been displaced into competitively polarised modalities, through which kinds of oversimplification they are made more difficult and potentially, though not determinedly, more destructive. Being closely engaged with Turkey and identified as Turkish (and Muslim) one way or another, Turkish Cypriots (as state or pseudo-state, and as people) participate with Turkey in a

representational domain that is both simple and complex. In this domain, the “ideology of Eurocentrism ... ascribes to Greece the role of the mythic ancestor of all European culture, and in doing so requires [Greeks] to perceive the ‘Turk’ – Europe’s primary Other – as a natural enemy, and the Turkish elements within its culture as its worst failing” (Rumelili 2005: 8). Within this complex historiographical narrative there has been, as indicated earlier in this work, an identifiable image in Greek Cypriot ideology in which the Turks in Cyprus represent the remnants of history and as such, given that they are undeniably there in the present, are disqualified from participation in contemporary discussion of identity and rights (Stavrinides 1976, Azgîn 2000, Bryant 2004, Karayannis 2006). In addition, there is a complex range of identities and engagements with the ‘hegemony of Eurocentrism’ in Turkey itself, which owing to the relationships between Cyprus and the mainland are also to be found on the island. Rumelili discusses contemporary research in which such complexity of identity and engagement in Turkey has been observed as ranging from self-denial and identification with the view of the ‘Turk’ as alien Other to reciprocation of the ‘Othering’ whereby the ‘European’ is viewed as the non-assimilable Other (Rumelili 2005: 8); such processes may be less marked in the different location and size of the TRNC but are present nonetheless, notably in the former of the two poles.⁴⁴ Actually I have no wish to over-determine the idea of connecting links between cultural images and their effects, however it seems to me that there are some clear traces of this discursive legacy that can be, and need to be, brought to awareness in examining TRNC national monuments in relation to the diverse arenas (internal, external, individual, community, in between) in which such presences and their symbolism are experienced, examined, and contested.⁴⁵ This is especially the case in relation to the inter-linkages between representations of the

⁴⁴ Ussama Makdisi (2002) wrote “In the age of western-dominated modernity, every nation creates its own Orient.” It is via some of the local forms of identification with a Eurocentric identity that Turks from Anatolia living in TRNC experience discrimination by Turkish Cypriots keen to assert a characteristic Cyprus-based identity as a European one, through differentiating themselves from those they perceive as non-European. (Güven-Lisaniler and Rodriguez 2002, Lacher and Kaymak 2005). This is one of the important contemporary elements in the arena in which national imagery is negotiated in North Cyprus.

As regards the image of ‘the Turk’ as alien (perhaps enemy) Other, I have had a few interesting personal experiences in Australia over thirty years that seem to shed light on the persistence of some aspects of this image. In particular, I am one of the numerous blue-eyed and light skinned people of Turkish Muslim background and as such I have on several occasions observed the change in response towards me by people who first interacted in a friendly way on the basis of what they saw (blue eyes and fair skin) then noticeably changed their response once they heard that I am of a Turkish and Muslim background. Often this seemed merely a superficial initial response to the subverting of a stereotype (the Turk as dark), but on a couple of occasions there seemed real fear or disdain evidenced at the information that the person might be in the presence of a ‘Turk’.

⁴⁵ There can be very concrete circumstances within which this occurs. For example, the issue of Turks and European Union membership, which is held on an individual basis by some people who are Turkish Cypriot by way of their birth certificates from the (pre-1974) Republic of Cyprus but unavailable to members of the Turkish Cypriot polity, highlights the meta-narrative aspects of contemporary debate on identity (including hybridity and cosmopolitanism) and their effects on people’s lives, that an examination of the TRNC monuments draws out for reflection. Bahar

Other and representations of the Self, where two sets (as it were) of these imaging processes (here Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot) interact constructively or not, as the case may be, with greatly varying degrees of conscious awareness.

Throughout the chapters of this thesis I have presented a discursive approach to the Turkish Cypriot community's historical experience that is also a poetic one, both drawing attention to and responding to pervasive existential themes of presence and absence, visibility and invisibility.⁴⁶ In this arena there is an interesting tension around the monuments, memorials, and other public national symbols that illuminates the interlinking of images and experience. The TRNC monuments, as others, are highly visible objects where the complex relationships within a society are condensed within or obscured by the chosen form. Here is the paradox whereby whole complex relations are rendered materially invisible by the monumental form, on the one hand, and on the other hand, are rendered visible by approaching the object, where the questions it raises lead towards the complex relations. A people known as Turkish Cypriots have struggled for and struggled with representation and acknowledgement in the era of nations, and in their political shape taken in this era, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, the national monumental forms' persistence and concreteness, their sheer visibility, feeds back into the meta-narrative's readiness for constellation of fear of their presence, particularly Greek Cypriot fear of a Turkish presence.

The L-G monument and its aesthetics need to be understood in this overall context, within which is the changing local social and political arena. From the point of view of the connections between my visual arts practice and this visual research on Turkish Cypriot memorials, the importance of these details lies in the complex processes of connection, interaction, association, continuity, and change that are behind and around objects that we might notice or not notice in our surroundings. In the context of TRNC as a state, polity and society, the representational issues have 'lives' and represent lives that need to be genuinely attended apart from the rhetoric of words. By attending to these objects as desiring or offering something, rather than simply demanding or denying, as an open question rather than with an already known answer, possibilities for understanding and communication may emerge where difference may be experienced as a

Rumelili's 2005 study referred to above was written in the context of examining issues surrounding Greek-Turkish relations in the context of EU membership. Also see Diez 2000, Güven-Lisaniler and Rodriguez 2002 in relation to the socio-politics of this arena.

⁴⁶ The equivalent of which is the discourse of "recognition" or "non-recognition" in the international political arena.

creative element not a destructive one. It provides possibilities for paying attention to the relationship of 'discourse' with everyday life and lives in the interstices between discursive environment, social experience, and the individually lived reality of familiar everyday surroundings and its ruptures.

Within these familiar surroundings, the visual [image, object, process; and analogically other senses] participates in many ways via presentation, representation, memory, thought, and affect, via practices and experience of them, through materiality and abstraction; and it is the/a means of participation. Contemporary artists are lively contributors to these social and cultural processes, where "*Art is a game between all people of all periods.*"⁴⁷ I would say, metaphorically, that in this game that is trans-individual, art is a wild card, which cannot act alone as it is only potentiated by the circumstances of the game. The success or failure of the 'inter-human play' can be related to the participants' engagement in re-defining willingness, or non-willingness, in the prevailing social and political conditions.

This above metaphoric extension of the discussion on the Limasol-Girne monument in North Cyprus is intended to problematise art and its production, in relation to any simple equations between object and meaning and the kinds of memory and experience it is considered to reference, embody, or stand for. In the next chapter, I explore my own art practice and its forms of engagement with memory and experience via material experiment.

⁴⁷ Marcel Duchamp, quoted by Nicholas Bourriaud (2002) p. 19. The following notion of art as an activity of inter-human play where the essence of humankind is trans-individual is also found in Bourriaud, pp 18-19.

CHAPTER 5

PRACTICE AS RESEARCH

Research in practice: locating the working arena and concerns

This doctoral project includes two main streams of work. In Chapters 2, 3, and 4 the interdisciplinary research on aspects of Cyprus' modern social, political and cultural history was presented and discussed. Insights from a range of social science and humanities disciplines are drawn on in critical examination of the commemorative forms of Turkish Cypriot national monuments and memorials as material and symbolic participants in discourse and in people's life experience. At the same time, I was engaged in a visual arts practice that came to reciprocate the work of research and analysis of the more academically oriented kind. That is, through this developed reciprocity between analytic thought and practice, I was enabled to *recognise* the vital importance of the forging, developing and maintaining of dialectical intellectual and emotional (affective and effective) pathways between abstract thought (the ability to analyse a given situation effectively) and the material world around (in the context of visual art, the object-s, picture-s, image-s put forward), that would enrich the communicative form (artistic or other intent/non-intent to be communicated).

In the present chapter I describe the arts practice I engaged in and discuss its context, relate some of the theoretical aspects that I think have been involved, and indicate connections with the academic research on monuments as I noticed or experienced them interacting with art practice during the research process. That is, the practical and theoretical work was happening in tandem and a high degree of reciprocity occurred that benefited my awareness in both areas, as well as in an overall sense. Thus whilst I am wary of didacticism in art, with the two streams of research being interwoven in my DCA project in effect as complementary kinds of practice, I do make connections back and forth where this seems to me to throw some light on the process of the practice. Hence this chapter is as much a series of essays as an exegesis,

and in so far as I see art as occurring in the present, informed by the whole context of my current preoccupations at any time, the art also encompasses the research on Cyprus.

Hence to begin, I want to make a link between the two areas of research via the media excerpts that I presented in Chapter 2. These excerpts provide a view of some aspects of the locations and possible effects of images in daily life for people in Cyprus, suggesting that the consumption of media in this context be seen as a daily, largely domestic, experience of imagery that is intertwined with personal and social memory, history, and identity in a direct way.¹ This analogically links the arena of contemporary social and cultural life in Cyprus with an arts practice that is oriented towards the realm of the everyday surroundings, in which our ways of looking at things and thinking about what we notice tend to be habitual. This is an important paradox, in that we can't do without history, handed down knowledge and remembered experience, and to a great degree history has to do with forms of memory.² But 'history', the historical legacy, may contain abstractions that if they become over-defined or over-emphasized will interfere with everyday learning and experience, to the extent that we may not realise such abstracted memories' full effects on us. Peter Loizos cautioned several years ago in one of the tenser periods in recent Cyprus history, "We are increasingly being invited to be mindful of how dangerous abstractions are if they are allowed to become our masters." (Loizos 1998: 38). In respect of Cyprus, it seems to me that it is in the ongoing legacy of the conflict and the attendant over-politicisation of communal memories that the crystallisation of abstractions as negative images of the other has occurred, which in turn feeds back in the perpetuated legacy. In wanting to explore the possibilities for stimulating ways of noticing the habitual responses and rethinking them, my approach moves back and forth between immersion in the experiential environment and the distancing effect of visualising the experiential realm as a landscape, albeit an interactive one.

¹ As indicated in other chapters, the intertwining of history, memory and identity discourse is considered particularly prominent in Cyprus, (Bryant 2004: 240, and the role of the media is significant in the promulgation of such discourses. It very much lends itself to the field of debate about relationships between media, representation and memory, especially as prompted by Fredric Jameson's influential view that "postmodern media ... are suffused by a pastiche and nostalgia that is substituted for a truly historical consciousness" - Radstone and Hodgkin (2003: 22) discuss this context of debate. I think this is an important and complex question, especially as regards the representational interrelations that I examine in my research. However it is outside its scope to directly examine the mechanisms of relationship with the media itself, rather I observe it in a general sense as a dynamic and daily experienced location of the kinds of images/discourse I am talking about.

² As Andreas Huyssens has observed, "...memory discourses are absolutely essential to imagine a future and to regain a strong temporal and spatial grounding of life and the imagination in a media and consumer society that increasingly voids temporality and collapses space." *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003, p. 6

This use of the media images thus also helps to indicate the generally broad context of the approach I have taken within an overall critical framework to researching aspects of national identity, culture, memory, and place. Combined with my arts practice, outlined below, this approach has allowed me to develop a kind of experiential investigation of the interstices of discursive environments and the individually lived social reality of the familiar everyday surroundings.

My work has a particular focus on how these dynamic and sociable surroundings are situated in relation to the material world. Within the material surrounds are objects and images that are discernible, perceptible, and meaningful, or not, as the case may be. Perception and meaning-making usually occur through the field of attention of the perceivers, via memory, and associations the perceivers may make. “Detectable attributes may not contribute to perceptual attributes, and perceptible attributes may not be emotionally or artistically meaningful.” (Blessner and Salter 2007: 14). Meaning usually involves affect, often constellating desire or its contrary, “affect may be at once meaningful and undesirable” (Blessner and Slater 2007: 14). Detectability is to do with a thing’s material or ascertainable presence or absence, that is something that can technically be done by the senses. With perception there is a subject who actively registers or becomes aware of something. These are simple functional distinctions that play a background role in my approach, in that I conceptually differentiate between the *there-ness* of environmental elements as potentially perceivable things, and the registering (or perceiving) of their presence or absence, liminality always being potential part of such dialectical process.

In addition the visual image, the seen ‘thing’ or picture, can have a kind of all-at-once quality, particularly compared with words, hence the aphorism ‘a picture is worth a thousand words.’ And as the eye-brain-memory connection is generally understood to work, we can see, remember and be moved by images we have not really thought about (Clark 1997). Through engagements in examination and re-examination of habits of perception (or registering as I call it) and the responses to this (thoughts and feelings), my arts practice/research thus generally takes place in the realm of interface between these areas of detectability, perception, and affect. It is not a scientific enterprise but a visual experiential exploration, in which awareness, memory, history, and associations act relationally as part of the process of daily life; a kind of poetics of relations with the visual.

The area of visual associations has been researched by Jill Bennet in relation to how "...visual media may prompt recognition of one's own or another's past experience not via the representational but via affective memory."³ This description of a memory process is one that I recognise. Visiting my old home in Cyprus after 30 years of being unable to do so, I experienced a process of the 'unlocking' of whole realms of memory, that were there in a surreal sense but not 'felt', when after a time of gazing at the house a small material detail, a piece of iron my father wedged above a window frame forty years ago to keep the weather out, engaged my attention and suddenly something opened. Not only our home but the whole village was suddenly alive again, the sights, sounds, smells, movement, people, all present but not present amongst the silently crumbling ruins, or perhaps I was present amongst the memories. A visual element had prompted the opening but not simply to a visual arena.

In her article, Jill Bennett reminds us of an earlier period of memory theory when it was considered to be the affective qualities of objects that rendered them memorable (Bennett 2003). It seems unlikely that many other people would respond affectively to the visual detail, described above, of a non-descript piece of metal stuck in a small stone cottage's window frame, if indeed it were perceived at all. That is, context and personal relationships are very important (in seeing and in response), as well as objects' qualities which may or may not evoke affect. National monuments are clearly intended to be the embodiment of qualities that evoke affect, or at least are a sign of such intended embodiment, whereas the piece of metal is not; a monument may likewise be free of affect for a casual visitor, a new object, or they may without particular affect draw on representational memory of narrations of other monuments. My interest for the present research lies in the ordinary capacity of the visual associative experience to collapse time, kaleidoscope feelings, and either bypass or engender thinking process,⁴ and our capacity to be able to notice and reflect on this.

³ Quote from Radstone and Hodgkin (2003: 13) citing Bennett's article "The aesthetics of sense memory: theorising trauma through the visual arts" in the same volume, pp. 27-39.

⁴ This is apparently the kind of process that occurs in traumatic memory. It seems that similar experiences in relation to memory can occur in circumstances in which trauma is not a factor yet strong affect is. The specific realm of traumatic memory is outside the scope of my research except to acknowledge it. It is an area that has engaged scholars and researchers in important re-examination of notions of time, modes of memory, and cultures and processes of representation, and their politics (Gilmore 2001, Edkins 2003, Radstone and Hodgkin 2003).

Having set out to explore the question of how two peoples on one small island have engaged in identifying themselves each against the other partly through respectively accumulated and deployed visual vocabularies, I subsequently found it was likely I would have insufficient material for an adequate comparative study via this approach, hence I came to focus particularly on the Turkish arena. This shift to the direct involvement of my own art practice with academic research into the contemporary national monuments of the Turkish Cypriot area has involved a background examination of nation states, their emergence, history, and persistence, and especially their iconographies and structures of commemoration, where national monuments retain their presence as visual cultural forms into the 21st Century. New monuments of this kind are rarely erected (or removed) in ‘developed’ countries these days, but in some parts of the world they remain physically active participants in practices of representation of identity and constructions of memory discourse via their installation or destruction (Michalski 1998, Vukov 2002). That is, new versions of these objects are being placed in landscapes, or their emplacement is being actively re-engaged.

In my project the monuments are treated in one sense as elements in visual environments, as the image as well as three-dimensional object. As already indicated, the broad area of interest within which my topic operates is the role played by visual perception in our relationships with everyday surroundings. My own art practice explores various dimensions within this broad arena. Among other things, my work has to do with enquiry via practical material experiment into the discerning of relationships within the interface between perception and ‘reality’, in the context of one’s self on the one hand and on the other hand, one’s place in wider communities and environments. As set out in the introductory chapter, I seek to explore possible correspondences between experiences of looking at things in ‘new’ ways prompted by or derived from the use of non-traditional art materials and forms, and ways of thinking that might destabilise or at least point to entrenched habits of thought in relation to the surroundings. This is the sense in which each one of us takes for granted our own ways of thinking about and seeing our surroundings, as if it is ‘natural’, as Banks (2001) discusses, rather than being aware of the social, historical, cultural, and political circumstances that infuse the individual subjectivities in our ways of thinking, feeling, acting, and so on.

As previously indicated, my interest in this area stems in part from my personal background of growing up in Cyprus. The idea of being able to re-examine the past (event, experience, memory, narrative, identity, and so on) via critically deciphering ‘traces’ which ‘historical processes’ may have imprinted on us (Said 1978, 2002) seems to offer encouragement for moving away from the stereotyped images that may be the conduit of interdependency in conflicted circumstances. For Cyprus, the application of this idea via my visual research is to examine how the locations of visual rhetorical (and poetic) effects, in relation to one another, and to other forms of discursive practice (print and audio-visual in particular) create effects that work against the kinds of convergence of understanding necessary to make real progress in communication, and reconciliation if that is indeed the goal.⁵ For example, whilst the official positions of both the South and North Cyprus are for some kind of re-unification, neither ‘side’ has relinquished any of the main visual symbolism that potentialises their enmeshed histories of identity conflict, such as the flags, emblems, monuments, geographic naming practices, slogans, as outlined in earlier chapters.

The ambiguities arising from the contrast between verbal and visual rhetoric are more complex to sustain for the Greek-Cypriot government, where the official rhetoric has always been ‘re-unification’ of the island, yet the rhetoric’s form is found to be not matched with content that enables school students to engage imaginatively with a re-unified future that includes living with Turkish Cypriots (Christou 2006); there was a substantial NO vote, for example, in the 2004 referendum yet the appearance of negotiating continues diplomatically (Asmussen 2004); Turkish names and some buildings are restored in parts of old Nicosia in the Greek area, yet this fades away quickly once out of the city, and the border line and pedestrian crossing is still crowded with many angry memorials and signs (Oumener 2004) That is, the everyday visual and media surroundings continued as usual, with the simple addition of the public campaigns for and against re-unification. North Cyprus for example continues to erect and prominently display visual signs of the Turkish presence in Cyprus yet the political rhetoric of the current governing body of the North is about some form of political re-unification of the island.

⁵ Peter LOIZOS particularly refers to the contexts of ‘livelihood’ that conventional forms of reconciliation work usually occur outside of. That is, even if inspired by reconciliation activities, people have to return to their own local environment and concerns. “Bicommunal Initiatives and their Contribution to Improved Relations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots” in *Southern European Society and Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 1, March 2006, p. 188.

Approaching the art investigation and presentation

A particular aspect of this research that I feel warrants some elucidation in relation to both the academic and artistic realms. In working with the notion of traces as discussed in Chapter 1, I expressed historical legacy through relationality. I don't wish to convey a sense of expecting to identify and define 'causal' relationships. To reiterate from the introduction, in both my artwork and academic research, the traces of histories (memories), personal, community, and so on, are explored as carefully as possible, not with the expectation of arriving at a completed narrative or final object, or at fixing causalities, but in recognition of the process as contributing to increased awareness of the ways in which we 'see' (think) history and relationship. In my overall DCA project, the nature and extent of the reciprocity between the academic research and the art practice constantly evolved as the project progressed, so that the two practices came to inform each other. Thus it could be said that two kinds of work are brought together here as ways of thinking.⁶ For me art making is a way of thinking and in this sense it informed my academic research. In turn the development of the academic research process, via critical reading, theoretical and practical considerations of applicability, and so on, fed back into the art practice in enhancing critical awareness.

This is not to try to contrive methods and theories that give validity to what I am doing as a professional engagement in the field of visual arts. Rather it is to try to give some form to the correspondences that I have experienced between apparently different forms of investigation or enquiry. In this case, as suggested above, the visual arts practice and academic research in the humanities and social sciences have been valuable contributors to research practice as complementary ways of thinking. I notice that part of how the complementarity seems to work is via linking facilities such as memory of course, kinds of awareness, and the associative process.

In respect of processes of association, an important theme in this overall DCA project, it is important to notice that they may be both a spring of creativity and a hamper to it, when habitual patterns are re-enacted or re-constellated via this route, unless recognised. At a practical level, memory is a basic and

⁶ As I experience it thinking is rather like the sense suggested in a comment by artist and curator Richard Wentworth, in relation to curating an exhibition, that for him it can't be programmatic, or come solely from the head (Wentworth 2003: 218); the phrase visual thinking comes to mind. I examine some aspects of this area further in the experiment and exhibition sections that follow.

conservative experience, “so constitutive, so indispensable to our intellectual and practical activity to begin with that every cognitive or discursive act or fact is already tangled up in the mnemonic realm” (Terdiman 2003: 186). At the same time, the capacity for spontaneity and the unpredictable relations that can arise through the associative process, whether through immediate experience of the surroundings or mediated recollection, is memory’s powerful source of originality and ‘disruption’ of routine (Terdiman *ibid* 188). This is not to suggest a simple dichotomy of memory activities. The creative potential of the memory is well recognised in debates around the nature of memory and its propensity for unreliability (Gilmore 2001). As illustrated above in the relating of memory triggered by a simple material object, the notion of association, or associative processes where the continuities of experience and the potential for newness are constituted dialectically, is important in my work.

Here I explore a visual associative memory of my own, as I recall it, as a concrete example of an awareness that I experienced as a small child. The influences of childhood impressions can be potent in this regard, reaching far into adulthood’s associative fields, whereby we develop and hold meanings within our immediate and wider social and political interactivity. This particular childhood experience of a visual nature has had a lingering influence in my thinking about the visual in experience. I was perhaps 4 or 5 years old and playing in the front yard of my home at the top of a hillside, in pre-independence, pre-divided Cyprus. Looking out I saw a familiar stone arch part way down the slope. Under it I saw a tall priest. I asked people “what is that priest doing down there?” but didn’t get much response. A cousin on holiday from the capital city took me for a walk and when we got close to the archway I saw that it was the shadow inside the arch that I had seen from my garden, Fig 55. In simply getting close to the object it became clear. From further away it had looked like the silhouette of a Greek Orthodox priest, Fig 56.⁷ The experience of there being two images, in effect, and the suspended moment in between the seeing of it one way suddenly becoming seeing it another way, has stayed with me. Reading Bachelard’s *Poetics of Space*, a particular passage connected with that intriguing visual experience of ambiguities in seeing and knowing - “...Knowing must ... be accompanied by an equal capacity to forget knowing. Not-knowing is not a form of ignorance but a difficult transcendence of knowledge” (Bachelard 1994: xxxii).

⁷ The image shown in Figure 56 is Archbishop Makarios, who in 1960 became the first President of the newly independent Republic of Cyprus.

Material's potential as 'method'

As elucidated in the above sections, I approach my visual material investigations not exclusively within the structures of visual arts as historical language, but, that heritage being acknowledged in the use of materials, forms and processes (an 'exhibition', an 'installation', 'contemporary'), I seek to identify possible correspondences between new forms of visibility derived from the use of non-traditional art materials and forms and ways of thinking that might destabilise entrenched habits of thought. I have referred to this notion of habit as the taking for granted of our ways of thinking about and seeing our surroundings as givens, as 'natural', rather than being aware that our personal, social, historical, and political circumstances act in and on our ways of thinking. The thinking/not thinkingness of being in society and the concept of individuality as a self-generative state is an important experiential area of my explorations.

My slow, careful and 'intuitive' ways of working with uncommon art materials, the strange juxtapositions that arise, the apparently formless, the sometimes elusive aesthetic, may at times have the appearance of a method. This choice of employment of 'uncommon' art materials is not a strategic method in rejection of more conventional ones such as bronze, stone, paint, and so on. Materials such as aluminium foil, bread, matches, wood, and 'screen' are used for their commonly graspable visual and tactile qualities, as I see them, to be able to convey in some configurations more immediate notions of relationalities to our everyday real-life situations. It is not to say that such relational aspects in everyday life, in respect of say, memory, history, individual or collective identity, cannot be evoked by other forms and materials or be done in other ways. But the ones I use seem to be the most suitable for my understanding of how to relate to the contemporary social and political world around me. Though the word 'intuitive' is used above, my work is experimental in nature in developing what could perhaps be called 'visual cognition'⁸ and it is deliberate in its determination to re-evaluate the ideas from which, and into which, such perceptions develop. Thus one of the main concerns is the attempt, sometimes through trial and error (here perhaps is

⁸ That is, seeing and identifying correspondences between thinking and visualisation of that thinking, and vice versa (visualisation and thinking about the visualisation). Herbert Read articulates some concerns about differentiating visual cognition and 'intellection' in *ART NOW*, Faber and Faber Ltd, London, 1968 (1960), p. 38.

‘intuition’ as one of the precipitating factors) to open new fields of thought and visual imagination by means of which to examine, at times analogically, relationships between and among things.

Yet, “ understanding proves not to be a method but an event, a moment of the fluttering open of the meticulous co-arising that repose around any thing ...This is what hermeneutics understands as ‘truth’, the opening of what was previously closed...and therefore, like the necessary dialectic of memory and forgetting, the necessary closing off of things as well...”⁹ In my choice of apparently abstract, contemporary, experimental means of art making and my espousal of the ‘new’ in deliberations on ‘visual cognition’ it is not the case that I set out methodically to confront people with the familiar or the unfamiliar, with or without words, leaving them only to ponder or shrug their shoulders, the artist as powerbroker of imagination and materiality.¹⁰ It is rather my desire, through ‘speaking out loud’ (visually), to share the thoughts that arise through manipulation of daily familiar materials and objects in until then unfamiliar ways, in the process of which arise relationships that seem to ‘speak’ of different ways of looking, thinking, approaching problems; towards an (unplanned) event of understanding. The movement is towards understanding the possibilities of new experiences that art may offer.

What interests me about organic and non-organic materials and the interface between their close or distant proximities, is not the transient nature of their material qualities, though that has its own charm, but it is this possibility of being able to bring to attention different notions of the existence and form of that material from what may have been common until then. In the moment of seeing this, the experience of the artwork itself may bring everyday (seemingly transient) interactions with the world and people around us to a more urgent level of consciousness. I am particularly referring to a kind of artwork, or a moment, that is experienced directly, as a visual ‘thought’ that may evoke feelings of some kind. This may evoke associative linkages through analogic or metaphoric extension, but it is not solely dependent on such mediated processes for its ‘meaning’. To put it another way, I am thinking of a kind of

⁹ H.G. Gadamer (1989) quoted by David W. Jardine (2000) *Under the Tough Old Stars. Ecopedagogical Essays*, The Foundation for Educational Renewal, Inc: Bradon, Vermont, p. 223

¹⁰ That is, I don’t seek novelty for its own sake, though of course there is delight in the novel solution or image when it arises, especially one that is spontaneously humorous.

artwork that can be considered a generator of energy, not an appliance that runs on that energy, so to speak.¹¹

As an example of linkages, in my art experiment, 'Silver Things' (2006/07), I explored different forms and scales of human figure in relation to the familiar local environment and customary materials, using aluminium foil to replicate hundreds of little silver shells (figure-like) in the hallway of the Faculty of Creative Arts; see Fig. 58. In passing, I note that this was the first time in twenty-two years of arts practice that I worked three dimensionally with figures. This 'figurative' intervention in the hallway was anonymous for some time as it grew and grew, and in turn attracted other anonymous participation, in what appeared a kind of dialogue. At the time I found the words of Jurgen Habermas very apt: "This project aims at a differentiated re-linking of modern culture with an everyday praxis that still depends on vital heritages, but would be impoverished by mere traditionalism."¹² I think this may be what Marcel Duchamp's famous 'ready made' Fountain did in effect without him necessarily intending the particular socially and culturally 'positive' (or negative for that matter) response the work facilitated. I discuss that work of Duchamp further below; a 'history' of some of its effects can be traced, and is particularly interesting as it occurred via certain kinds of associative process.

Thinking and making

In my art making process, and the artwork itself, exploring the 'experiential relations between sense impressions, memory and artistic making'¹³ can draw forth the nature and role of associations that affect us to be teased out a bit, so that we may become more conscious of the habits we fall back on in that experiential 'space' between reception, presentation and representation of an encounter. This area of investigation seems to me to have value for an individual artist's increased consciousness of self-understanding, and wider value in the inter-subjective realms of the sharing and comparing of human

¹¹ This notion visually materialised in an analogously humorous way in my exhibition in 2005, *A Window From the House of Envy 3*, where the electric cord of a little fan-forced heater wearing a knitted hat (a beanie) was plugged into a shrivelled apple.

¹² Jurgen Habermas (1981) "Modernity versus Postmodernity" in Seyla Ben-Habib *New German Critique*, No. 22, Special Issue on Modernism (Winter 1981), p. 13

¹³ Quote from Susan Stewart (2005, 1998) "Remembering the Senses" in David Howes, ed. *Empire of the Senses. The Sensual Culture Reader*, London and New York: Berg, p. 54

experience that constitutes life and society, as we know it. In this sense I agree with Susan Stewart's suggested usefulness of a "history of art as the history of human making in accordance with human ends of expression" (Stewart 2005: 67), focusing on how we understand material manifestations in relations between time, place, and people. This is not to suggest that the material world and social habits inscribe the limits of experience, rather my work is with the material world as an immediate relationship.¹⁴ The 'visual' in visual arts can thus serve as a reminder not so much of the question of whether there are boundaries to looking, but as one guide for the complex terrain of inter-subjective negotiations and boundaries of sensing.¹⁵

By way of contrast, "Conceptual Art", that was set to emerge in the early 1960s as a reaction to formalism and the commodification of art, among other things, followed in a cultural historical 'tradition' of separating cognitive and sensory sources of 'knowledge'. Thought was the medium, the idea was the work and, whilst the works were decisive, their materiality was considered secondary. I discuss elements of this further below. Here I simply observe that in a sense the discursive framework of Conceptual Art is that of words in competition with images rather than in a dialectical relationship; the rhetorical locations are kept separate. Thinking and thought are very important in my approach and my artworks, and I see this as engaging with the dynamic interrelations between sense experience and thought rather than with divisions between them. As Susan Stewart discusses, with the senses operating at the boundaries of the body, between 'private' and 'public', and the internal processing of sometimes voluntary sometimes involuntary sensory impressions necessarily involving memory (put another way, the nervous system is learning and teaching, creating and re-membling), it can be understood that this is the vicinity of the core of subjectivity, in its potential for inter-subjectivity (Stewart 2005: 60-61).

Notionally linking inter-subjectivity and the idea of discursive location, I observe that in Cyprus it appears the case that the Greek and Turkish communities in certain respects have been reflective of one

¹⁴ In "From the Agora to the Junkyard. Social memory and psychic materialities" Constantina Papoulias critiques some of the social science debates on whether there are social *or* psychic locations of memory and experience, in Radstone and Hodgkin (2003).

¹⁵ The phrase 'boundary to looking' is found in a well known poem by Rainer Maria Rilke:

For there is a boundary to looking.
And the world that is looked at so deeply
wants to flourish in love.

Turning Point

another's fears, hopes, and aspirations in forming and maintaining their identities, especially after the decisive division in 1974. Indeed the languages and iconographies are very similar in a number of ways,¹⁶ and the metaphor of the mirror has been widely used to convey this similarity of the opposed nationalism's narratives and expression. However, whilst the mirror is a poetic image, and has perhaps been an attempt to illustrate the high degree of relationship between the two nationalisms that people experience as separate phenomena,¹⁷ I suggest that the metaphor of mirroring is not one that has unlimited application in this kind of situation. It seems to me that there has been a tendency in social and political treatises on Cyprus to write as if each compared factor is operating within the same paradigm, and this has obscured the search for ways of encompassing the different *experiences* of history and identity construction of the two communities. Rebecca Bryant explores this area in her research on Cyprus, where she shows that the two nationalisms are not simply mirrors of one another as antagonistic modern national imaginations, in which the supposedly universal notions of democracy and rights are imagined as exclusive to one group or another, rather they include representations of different ways of being in the world.¹⁸

A new image may be needed rather than the mirror, which in its application has possibly served to reify the process of making projections onto the Other, rather than understanding the mirror metaphor as a suggestion to try substituting the other for oneself in the story. Whatever metaphor may be used, however, it is clear that there are cycles of mutually constituted fears and hopes that set one community against another, and this is an important question with which to engage. Hence, the interactivity, or relationality between the representations of the two groups is important to understand, in terms of its simple presence and in terms of its locations. Yet this level of discussion occurs in an abstract domain, divorced from the immediacies of the experience that is being conceptualised in such a manner. There is

¹⁶ See Yiannis Papadakis (1995) 'Nationalist Imaginings of War in Cyprus', in which he describes how Greek and Turkish Cypriots "...draw from a common idiom in presenting the past as history of national struggle", creating 'coherent' narrative constructions of nationalist identities <www.cyprus-conflict.net/Papadakis%20%20nationalism.htm>; also Vamik D. Volkan (2000) in "Layers Upon Layers: Politics, Psychology and Language in a Changing World", in *Step-Mother Tongue. From Nationalism to Multiculturalism: Literatures of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, edited by Mehmet Yashin, Middlesex University Press, pp180-197.

¹⁷ Work done in this area in the 1990s drew from 19th century researchers of the image of the 'Other' in national literature, such as Franz Schubert in *Der doppelgänger*, while cross-examining them in the light of more contemporary thinkers. For example, in exploring images of Greek and Turk in one another's literature in the book *The Turkish Novel and the "Other"*, Hercule Millas opens with a (translated) quote from *Der Doppelgänger*, "Dehsete düştüm o yüzü görünce / Mehtap aydinlatınca. / O bendim, kendim," [I trembled seeing that face / moonlight illuminated. / That was I, myself,] (Millas 2000: ix)

¹⁸ Bryant (2004) *Imagining the Modern: Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus*, London: I.B. Tauris, pp. 1-6

always the danger of the abstract becoming master of what it is employed to understand. Hence my sense of connectedness through kinds of art-making processes, in a personal dimension but also as a way of exploring complex interrelational, experiential, conceptual and discursive interactions. As discussed above, the tracing of historical legacies is thus engaged via visual research practice. This is discussed in the section “The Experiment - Silver Things”, below. In the essay for my 2005 exhibition *A Window From the House of Envy – 3*, I concluded that the experience of re-examination of familiarities and unfamiliarities generated by the materials I used, together with “...their congregative forms and inter-relationships, their tentative, at times incongruous, juxtapositionings,”¹⁹ generated an analogic process for new *interactive* modes and spaces.

From the experience of making such work to the presentation of it in an exhibition, there is the paradox of interactivity and inertness. Nicholas Bourriaud draws attention to this seeming paradox in the arts when he writes of the possibility of an immediate discussion, “in both senses of the term” at a visual art exhibition, even when inert forms are involved, and contrasts this with the postponed exchange of comment that is necessary in live theatre and music performance settings (no talking, etc). Personal ‘visual cognition’ may be transformed into something shared, in the moment: “I see and I perceive, I comment, and I evolve in a unique space and time.” (Bourriaud 2002: 16). Bourriaud continues, “Art is the place that produces a specific sociability” (ibid), a notion reminiscent of Joseph Beuys’ social sculpture.

As Bourriaud explores, art could be thought of as always having been relational in varying degrees. After all, in the most concrete analysis it occurs in society and may have exchange value. Yet there are other, at least as important, properties associated with art in society. “One of the virtual properties of the image is its power of *linkage* (Fr. *reliance*)...: flags, logos, icons, signs, all produce empathy and sharing, and all generate *bond*” (Bourriaud 2002: 15). In considering nationalism and nationalist rhetoric, particularly the visual, it is important to hold this thought, especially in relation to the continued (in some cases strengthened) currency of national identity processes in a supposedly post-national international arena, Cyprus being a case in point. However, by juxtaposing these three thoughts - the relational nature of art,

¹⁹ Mehmet Adil (2005) unpublished exhibition essay, “A Window From the House of Envy – 3”

its productive sociability, and its capacity to foster and encourage receptivity through its productive power of linkage - I do not mean to suggest an equation or that there should be cultural directives on arts and learning. This is the confusion between the process and the product. The value of being able to conceptually take things apart lies in being able to put them back together with greater consciousness of the interactive processes. For, the actual modes of interacting are integral in any equation that involves social processes, and overemphasis on abstract and ideal conceptions can lead to a serious mismatch of understandings. For example, in relation to Cyprus and the pressures of the 'post-modern' world, national identity as positive desire needs to be conceptually separated from the historical processes that have constituted its qualities as negative.²⁰

Methods of analytic thought are important, therefore, but the analytic process pushed towards its reductive end may produce overly didactic results. Certainly with artworks this will be the result, whatever debates may occur about what the works stand for, represent or present, or simply announce, so to speak. In turn the work may be analysed didactically, in which case the art is hijacked by the methodology of both its maker and its critic. George Steiner reminds us of the dangers of such demand from the intellectualised work or criticism, that the 'art of this domain usually ends up being either kitsch or overly didactic, which fails to engage the public in their terms.'²¹ In defending the importance of the 'silent thought' of the maker against over-analytic and verbal explanation of the 'art work', Steiner gave a visual example. He had observed Henry Moore hesitating to answer when he was asked what his animated fingers were 'thinking', as he jiggled them around when he was bored with over-analytic conversations about art.²² By using this seemingly over accentuated anecdote I don't mean to advocate for an uncritical self-absorbed art practice, rather to draw critical attention to making as a communication.

²⁰ I think this is in the same area as Rebecca Bryant intends in her observation that nationalism quickly resurfaces in the post-national world in the form of identity politics and the claims of culture – hence the need to understand its original processes of emergence is all the more critical (Bryant 2004: 5).

²¹ Televised discussion between George Steiner, Julia Kristeva and Terry Eagleton, BBC 4, 1996 (which I viewed in UK at the time).

²² George Steiner, *ibid*

Intentionality in art – processes of exhibition

Here via Duchamp and various other artists, I look at the possibilities, without trying to be prescriptive, as to how new pathways of thought could be instigated through and within the critical process of art making. I then speculate about such possibilities of new pathways of thought through some components of my 2007 DCA arts practice. I am using the word ‘thought’ here as descriptive term, trying to convey a sense that having become aware of a difference, of something ‘new’ as it were, there is the attempt to articulate it as precisely as possible within a given language system, be it visual or oral or written word. Gaston Bachelard’s words may economically convey an aspect of the difference between the awareness and its articulation – “To compose a well finished poem the mind is obliged to make projects that prefigure it. But for a simple poetic image, there is no project” (1994: xxiii). I don’t mean that visual thought is exactly like linguistic thought, verbal or written, simply that my use of the word ‘thought’ here is to do with the notion of some activity that is different from the ‘moment’ of seeing the image, or the ‘event’ of ‘understanding’.

Marcel Duchamp (1887 - 1968) is an artist who has been widely thought of as an overly analytic, even calculating, practitioner, especially as he took an active part in the locating of his work in the art historical context, even creating that context, in spite of the apparent intention to disrupt it. In one analysis he appears both a critic of the industrial financial system of his time and a cynical participant (Kraus 1990). Duchamp’s work is seen as a progenitor of Conceptual art, especially via his ‘ready mades’, which were objects he ‘found’ (usually purchased) and assembled or presented as art. Of these, the intervention named *The Fountain* (1917), Figure 60, is one of the most well-known. In creating this work Duchamp purchased a white porcelain urinal and entered it as a piece of art in an exhibition, where its entry was ‘refused’ by the organisers, of whom he was later revealed to be one.

Conceptual Art as a kind of movement or genre is generally identified as crystallising in the early 1960s, as previously mentioned, particularly with the help of Joseph Kosuth and Sol LeWitt. Kosuth for example, saw art as a continuation of philosophy, being based on analytic propositions. It was a form of art that clearly set cognitive processes against sensory. Sol LeWitt articulated this explicitly: “In

conceptual art the idea or concept is the most important aspect of the work. When an artist uses a conceptual form of art, it means that all of the planning and discussions are made beforehand and the execution is a perfunctory affair.”²³ But one can look at Duchamp’s method-s of thinking and art making, and see that what is often attributed to him about being logical and analytic in his methods was rather the bringing together of incongruous elements “...without knowing it”, ²⁴ and that one outcome of this incongruous marriage might be a kind of ‘third space’ through which another way of looking and another way of seeing could be encouraged.

I think that what Duchamp did not consider was the variety of possibilities through which ‘new ways of seeing’ can instigate questionings of social, political and cultural habits. The urinal, the work known as the ‘Fountain’ that he introduced into a gallery as an art object, first created intellectual and political turmoil, then was embraced as a major innovation, but it (or rather the idea of it and the image, as the object itself disappeared from view) did not rest as an avant-garde disruption turned ‘new tradition’. Rather, as a result of the operations of a photograph of the ‘Fountain’ by Alfred Steiglitz which was posed with flags in front of a painting to “...fight bigotry in America”, the thing came to acquire other names, ‘Madonna of the Bathroom’ or ‘Buddha of the Bathroom’, Fig. 60. Through the shadowy form created inside the urinal by light shining on its own curved outline, people could see in the photo something that associated with traditional images of the Buddha or the Madonna (Du Duve 1992: 204). Whether Duchamp had any inkling, even subconsciously, that within his wager on the ‘ready made’ object the chosen thing (a ceramic urinal) had some formal qualities that would lead to such long term associative effects is not likely to be known.

One might see Joseph Kosuth’s work ‘One and Three Chairs’ in connection with Duchamp’s ‘Fountain’s afterlife in photographic images, but I think that Kosuth’s direction, being a more pointed strategy, is quite different from that which led, perhaps unexpectedly, to the longer term effects of Duchamp’s gesture via the bringing together of incongruous elements. Perhaps in the late 20th century Kosuth, amongst others, experienced uncertainty about whether in a society super-saturated with images

²³ Sol LE WITT 1967 *Art Forum*. See Marita STURKEN and Lisa CARTWRIGHT’s *Practices of Looking*, OUP, 2001, pp. 245, 352.

²⁴ Francis F. NAUMANN’s observation in “Marcel Duchamp: A Reconciliation of Opposites” in Du Duve ed. *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, MIT Press

(including memories) visual incongruity any longer holds this potential instigation of change and awareness of new perception. Many artistic impulses that generated much energy of change in their time, cubism, dada, surrealism, for example ('Poetry should be made by all' Isidore Ducasse), have simply been absorbed into the contemporary, busy visual culture that constitutes our everyday environment: "The fundamental strangeness achieved through the conjunction of unrelated objects has become the everyday language of advertisements...It might be argued, without too much exaggeration, that we live (in the 'West' at least) in post-Surrealist culture, in which a visual vocabulary of forms has become so common as to pass unrecognised."²⁵ As referenced to in Chapter One, anthropologist Marcus Banks suggests that we have lost sight of the manufactured, intentional, nature of all these images that surround us and "...treat them very casually, as if they are *natural* in the world of material goods and social relations" (Banks 2001: 7). In this context I think that the Duchamp/Steiglitz 'Fountain' remains interestingly and in an open way enigmatic.

Of course it cannot be claimed to be unselfconscious when one 'exhibits' the 'products' of one's activity, especially not as in my case this year while working in a glass cabin at the entrance to a building (though this came about serendipitously when one of my other attempts to secure a working space failed). Indeed consciousness of self in action is important. However, there needs to be some degree of detachment from it, in order to reach out for a just (equitable) balance between the sharing of the day-to-day experience of the relational nature of problem-solving achieved through experimentation in visual arts, the expression of that experience, and the 'performance' of 'an artist exhibiting his work'; a similar process is entailed, it seems to me, to some extent though not completely analogously in academic rigour. This process entails, amongst other things, the suspension of anxiety about how the work might be perceived, and artistic risk is taken when that anxiety is suspended. Indeed it is a two way process that can lead to this 'new' – the freeing of oneself from the 'until now' habits and anxieties can allow greater freedom of 'movement' into new areas of experience, and taking the risk of moving into new areas can potentiate some of that 'freeing up'.

²⁵ Matthew GALE (1997) *Dada and Surrealism*, Phaidon Press, p. 8.

There is a tension between the socially conditioned self, on the one hand, and the self that is free in his/her thinking on the other, where the latter is usually seen as an important attribute of an artist. Recognising the potential creativity in this tension, Joseph Beuys suggested that individuals may have the capacity to recognise certain things such as new possibilities in the social arena ... 'everyone an artist'.²⁶ I see Beuys' work/thought as being about using the concept of sculpture as a vehicle by which the polarisation of the individual and society may be overcome. Joseph Beuys (b. Germany 1921, d.1986) was rather serious with his sense of the social, and the sense of artistic responsibility, perceiving his public presentations, in lecture form, discussion or performance, which he called 'social sculpture', as actions in contribution towards liberation of individuals and society from such conditionings. "Man really is not free in many respects: he is dependent on his social circumstances, but he is free in his thinking [and imaginings], and here is the point of origin of sculpture."²⁷

Entering the art world myself (or, conversely, it entering my consciousness) almost accidentally at the age of 30, I found I was learning a new kind of language, that of sculpture, and I was learning that language within the realms of another new language and thought, English, in a new country Australia. Amongst this, I also *recognised* something, that what the new language(s) stood for, was not much different from my other languages, that is communication, relationship, expressing differences and similarities, and so on, where language does something as well as *is* something.²⁸ In the sculptural language and experience I was reminded of the old man crafting the wooden plough, recounted on page 1 of this thesis. I realised that his deep personal involvement in that moment of the carving of an object was not a purely solipsistic activity but something taking place that speaks of people active within a communicative form.²⁹ I have felt since then, in my perhaps naïve view of the 'art world' and of art in the world, physically, emotionally and intellectually energised with art, with what seems to me to have far-reaching potential

²⁶ David Thistlewood "Joseph Beuys' 'Open Work': its Resistance to Holistic Critiques", in Thistlewood ed (1995) *Joseph Beuys: Diverging Critiques*, Critical Forum Series, Volume 2, p. 3

²⁷ Quoted by David Bellam "Beuys' 'Social Sculpture' in Historical Perspective" in Thistlewood, (1995) p. 185

²⁸ These words of Ibrahim ash Shaybani seemed to me to express very well ideas about language and writing, the nature of experience of the volatile cultural tool of language, in so far as human language is "The language of the hand, the idiom of the mind, the ambassador of the intellect, and the trustee of thought, the weapon of knowledge and companion of the brethren in the time of separation." Annemarie Shimmel *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture* University Press, New York, 1984, quoted in Mehmet Adil (1992) "Islamic Calligraphy", MA Dissertation, South Australian School of Art, p. 11. The broad context of Habermas' thinking about the communicative form of life resonates here, see for example *Theory of Communicative Action* (in English, two volumes 1984, 1987)

²⁹ This is the arena of Habermas' notion of differentiated re-linking of modern culture with everyday praxis based on vital heritage; see Footnote 155.

beyond, but not in exclusion of, its objectness, in the broader social, cultural and political context. "Consciousness claiming its theoretical right to posit a better world outside the simple world of objects"³⁰ can affect the very quality of life and perception of it. It is in this Said'ian sense that I see contemporary art practice enabling its own relevancy in today's social and political interactivities, rather than being a form of nostalgia for tradition or an uncritical drive for change.

Thus Beuys' conception, above, and the context in which it has arisen, as I understand it, resonates strongly in my personal experience and the effects of that resonance can be seen in my own art practice's attention to how the 'new' experience, in this case cast as a visual one, may work to increase awareness of cultural, social, material, and mental processes. The 'location' of this experience is not something that can be contained, prescribed, or predicted, possibly only described in process and reflected on afterwards. My deliberate approach to exhibiting some of the material as outcome/s of my explorations in connection with art and 'making' arises from the feeling that it is in the interactions of the individual and the 'social' that this 'new' learning is potentised. It is not that it is located only there but that this is an important interface of thought and awareness exchange, so to speak. The everyday context is ordinary, and also extraordinary in the dynamism of individual and interpersonal subjectivity. It is my experience that the shift in awareness we may experience through encounter with the 'different' or 'new' (object, perception, 'angle', thought, experience...) is both potentially available in more simple, quotidian ways than we might have been led to expect, and is not less powerful as an experience than those accessed through highly complex philosophical or aesthetic enquiry.

More on Art and Life

Contemporary artistic merit, the merit of art in our time, is perhaps not best measured (that is, understood) by the ability to confidently locate the work within an art historical discourse of periods and styles, but rather in the confidence of engagement with the broader cultural, social, and political possibilities of the day (with historical awareness) that inform the aesthetic sensibilities of the artist without either over-

³⁰ Edward Said, quoted in Paul Carter (1992) *Living in a New Country: history, travelling and language*. London: Faber, p.119

determining or limiting the work. Some examples: one of the most abstract forms of art is music, in the sense that it cannot (normally) be seen, tasted or touched, though people can be *touched* by it. For Daniel Barenboim, one of the late twentieth century's most acclaimed classical music virtuosi, music is a vehicle to learn about life, not a vehicle to transcend life. "I have learned more about living from music than about how to make a living from music."³¹ This is not a solipsistic sentiment from Barenboim, he is very engaged with music as a dynamic social experience, exploring the communicative nature of the art; for example, his work with fellow musician and intellectual Edward Said in setting up the Palestinian-Jewish youth orchestra in Ramallah, or playing Wagner's music in Israel in a conversation about the limits of association.

From acclaimed 'visual' artist and teacher Joseph Beuys, we hear similar sentiments about art in society, with a different artistic temperament. Although "through all Beuys' work there runs a strain of what he and his interpreters are forced to call the 'transcendental,' "³² and he was considered to be motivated in his art work by a "faith in the transcendent potency of creativity,"³³ it appears to me he was concerned neither with transcending life itself nor, on the other hand, with purely personal experience of creativity. Rather his engagement seemed to be with the transcendent potency of creativity's ability to solve the problems of life, where it is "...on a human scale, in accordance with the human will, that the social organism must be structured."³⁴ He seemed to offer new kinds of templates for social realms of existence infused with creativity through qualities resonant within the social activity itself; that is, for ways of working with and through the 'unseen' forms that his use of the term organism refers to.

For the art historian and curator of the exhibition *Zones of Contact*, Sydney Biennale 2006, Charles Merewether, the body of work from the artists he chose to include "...resolutely seeks to expose the fault lines of the present in which the past persists and the future is uncertain...the work of these contemporary artists gives shape to what these (new) zones of contact may mean."³⁵

³¹ Daniel Barenboim "In the Beginning Was Sound", Lecture 1, Reith Lectures, BBC Radio, 2006, <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/reith2006>>

³² Adrian HENRI (1974) *Total Art. Environments, Happenings and Performances*, Thames and Hudson Ltd, London

³³ Claire Bishop (2005) *Installation Art: A Critical History*, Tate Publishing

³⁴ Marilyn Smith "Joseph Beuys: Life as Drawing" in D. Thistlewood ed. *Joseph Beuys. Diverging Critiques*, Tate Gallery Liverpool Critical Forum Series, Vol. 2, Liverpool University Press, p. 187

³⁵ Charles Merewether (2006) "Taking Place: Acts of Survival for a Time to Come", *Zones of Contact: Biennale of Sydney Catalogue*, edited Ewen McDonald and Luke Parker, Biennale of Sydney Ltd, 2006, p.45

These three examples from the point of view of a musician, a visual artist and a curator, all excelling in their fields in different areas of the arts, reflect the understanding that art is invested in broad cultural, social and political arenas, both in a local sense and in a wider world. Art may or may not have life of its own, but whatever qualities of human experience can be referred to the term ‘art’ they surely ‘live’ in human experience, which is necessarily social.

As I hope to have shown, I experience my own artwork, seemingly very personal, even contemplative, in its execution, as arising in relation to and within this living arena, where the individual certainly exists, yet always relationally, where art, as creativity, as a means of thinking and of problem solving, an activity, a kind of consciousness, is potentised via the interrelations. To borrow from Raymond Williams, whose famous phrase ‘culture is ordinary’ (first used in the Britain of the 1950s) was intended to encourage a broad, inclusive understanding of the workings of culture across time and place, and of art within that:

*“...culture is the product of a whole people, and offered individual meanings, the product of a man’s whole committed personal and social experience. (These meanings) are made by living, made and remade, in ways we cannot know in advance...that we can know only in part even while it is being lived...(and) all channels of expression and communication should be cleared and open so that the whole actual life...may be brought to consciousness and meaning.”*³⁶

³⁶ R. Williams “Culture is ordinary” originally published in N. McKenzie (ed), *Convictions*, MacGibbon and Kee, 1958; reprinted in R. Williams *Resources of Hope*, Verso 1989, pp. 9-10. The original article was unchanged in the 1989 reprint, hence I take the use of the term ‘a man’ as a metonym for human, meaning all humans. This author’s italics in the quote.

5.2 SILVER THINGS – the experiment

I recount this work that occurred over a period of some months 2006-2007 as an important part of my Doctor of Creative Arts research process and findings. I refer to it throughout the thesis as both the experiment and the work, on occasion differentiating between these notions. In this “Silver Things – the experiment” the inception of the concept, materials, processes, and findings are described and discussed.

Material, forms

This experimental work unfolded in what I later identified as stages. A summary of the main stages of the work is given below. As the stages were only identified as such afterwards, I am keeping mostly to a chronological flow in writing about it so as not to pre-empt certain aspects. Here I outline some general considerations for the work and describe its progress.

Perhaps as a counterpoint to the current ‘environment’ of monumental forms, and their part in aiding the memorizing of certain past experiences, individual and collective infusing each other, I used aluminium foil as a material that is widely used in usually humble ways in daily life in Australia and elsewhere, such as in cooking, wrapping food, and so on. There were various considerations as to its material qualities that led to the final choice and these are discussed below.

In brief, little forms were shaped from aluminium foil around a mould, Fig. 70, which is part of a wooden artwork or piece of furniture in the corridor of my department in the Faculty of Creative Arts.³⁷ The hollow shells, that could stand alone, slowly multiplied around the source, Fig. 71, eventually obscuring it, Fig. 72. Not noticing that the mould (the source) was a long-term object in the familiar environment at the place where the silver forms first appeared, and not knowing who was making them, many people theorised as to their source, which was indeed lost to view as the forms multiplied on and around it, and metamorphosed, Figs 74, 75, though it reappeared when the silver things later moved location. Once the

³⁷ This work, c. 1993, is a wooden bench sculpted from a tree trunk by Ian Bartholomew, University of Wollongong Bachelor of Creative Arts graduate 1991.

shells had accumulated, as well discussing theories on who was making them, where, and how they were arriving at the site, people began to move some of the pieces around, Figure 72. After the silver things disappeared from the hallway to their new location, traces of the material, aluminium foil, continued to be found for months in odd corners of the Faculty as well as in the formal locations of my work, including the DCA exhibition. In short, the experiment was the work itself and the work was the experiment.

The object that served as the mould, what I call the source, is a little seated figure that is part of the hand-carved wooden bench in the hallway. It has been in that location for quite some years. The corridor itself is a thoroughfare - staff and students walk past this bench every day and sometimes, though rarely, sit on it. This corridor space also serves as a gallery where temporary displays of work occur. There is one more function of the corridor that is significant to the experiment, it is also the ingress and egress for the offices that open off either side of it, including mine. Every day we see this object there in the hall, as we go in and out or stop to chat, but what do we recognise? So one is dealing with the immediate surroundings in order to get clear about something.

As to the material, I needed something that was responsive, with - the responsiveness of a very malleable substance yet able to hold a shape independently; ability to display clear enough traces of a process to which it is subjected; with a certain fragile temporality (doesn't last too long); is widely available, familiar, inexpensive, recyclable. Thus I chose aluminium foil. This material is also reflective of any surroundings it is in, and being visually sensitive to light and dark makes it a material that can evoke responsiveness in viewers in various environments. I am also reminded that this non-ferrous foil has the characteristic that it holds heat without itself becoming hot. A further point about the familiarity of the aluminium foil is that whilst it has wide recognition as a substance or object, each person no doubt has their own associations with it as the most common or familiar use is in domestic settings. That is, its associations are mostly family or personal, hence private, where the commonalities would be the ways of using the material, such as for cooking and wrapping food or as an insulating material. After I began to use the foil, as the work developed, I began to think about some of the differences between this material and bronze and stone, for example, or concrete, in the ways it responds to the uses to which it is put.

Process

I refer to this intervention in the faculty corridor as occurring allegorically, in the sense that it is a kind of allegory of how different components in our visual settings have their effects on us in ways that we may or may not relate back to the surroundings. This is the case whether the surroundings are ‘natural’ (hills, fields, trees, animals, birds, lakes, etc), or ‘built’, whether the latter involves the architectural singularities of particular buildings or spaces, or conglomerative urban-ness (planned or unplanned, public, private, roads, traffic, hoardings, electricity wires, monuments, memorials, rubbish dumps, and so on), people (individuals, crowds, etc) included. Working with foil in the Visual Art Department’s hallway, I was working in my immediate environment, investigating both immediate and latent responses to what I was ‘seeing’ every day. The registering of my response-s to certain visual stimuli has been part of a reciprocal process of investigating and experimenting with my own thought and awareness processes as the means of finding, at least hoping to find, some kind of correspondence, if any, in visual form to those processes themselves. I use the term visual stimuli not in the sense that we are conscious of being stimulated by all that we see around us, but as that which both ‘silently’ contributes to our registering of our surrounds, which we absorb but don’t pay attention to, as well as the objects and subjects of our conscious looking. In so far as my immediate environment of activity was the whole combination of mental arena, material surrounds, and practical work [the physical location, practical tasks, social and professional engagement, visual experiments, academic research into visual effects of memorials in Cyprus as mnemonic and ritual devices/sites] I was thus exploring reciprocity between these three areas of engagement in terms of awareness and response, reflexivity, and visual manifestations.

This apparently arbitrary, strangely concrete linkage of my actual physical location, the educational institution where I am professionally located in Wollongong, Australia, and the subject of my research thousands of kilometres away on the other side of the globe in Cyprus was not done out of a need to personalise the connectedness, or suggest that I was far in distance but close in thought and spirit to my ‘old home’. Rather it arose through my needs in conducting the research itself. In order to achieve a degree of accuracy in my investigations into the complex experience of relationship between people and their surroundings in the formation of a sense of place and identity, I wanted more direct or first hand

information on such experience itself. Hence I felt I had to become a subject of the research, and as the latter involved people's registering processes in their immediate surroundings, my own work place thus became the research site. This implicated self sharpened my awareness of my own registering processes of local visual stimuli such as the sculpted wooden seat outside my office door, to which I had paid only cursory attention beforehand, the comings and goings of people, and so on, a process I believe helped me to develop better insight into aspects of people's *possible* responses in similar circumstances.

In respect of the people's comings and goings in the hallway, there was one more important factor in the scenario of intervention in that space. This is the social setting of which I am part, where colleagues, students, friends, passers-by, and so on, are in constant interaction with the space and with one another, though rarely, I had observed, with the sculpted seat. As referred to above, as the silver things accumulated on and around the bench, people began to interact with the shells. For example, two of the figures were moved and set as sentinels or guardians at the entranceway, some sat outside office doors, Fig. 58, others appeared in odd parts of the department such as the photocopy room. Once the transformations of the shells began, Figs 74, 75, a few people participated at quiet moments in reshaping the foil as they saw was happening to the other silver things. Another kind of 'conversation' had been entered into via the material and the working process.

For a long time I worked incognito on this project, in quiet reflective solitude. Firstly I did not want the intervention in the corridor to be authored at that stage. Secondly I wanted to be free of distractions at the point of executing the material step, where the responsiveness to all the variables would be at play in making the forms, the arrangement, the techniques, and so on. If the work were to be carried out during working hours in the middle of the department, the interactive effects might distract my own processes of awareness and the material responsiveness to all the variables I had identified; at worst, the process would have fizzled out as a failed circus. During normal working hours I was simply a regular part of the scene, although quietly observing my own responses that arose as an observer rather than instigator of the intervened-in surroundings, including changes in people's movements and interactions in relation to the intervention. I would thus gauge each step of the process, and return later to carry out any material changes according to my latest deliberations on the process. Thus, once I had chosen the material I did

not create an overall design of what would emerge, what forms, their number or placement, or metamorphoses, rather I let careful observation of responsiveness in relation to the many variables work together with manipulation of the material. Once the intervention had begun, I observed how the work created its own conditions in the environment that continually evolved, to which I as observer and the maker continually responded.

Due to this working process, I tended to work odd hours when I could continue the anonymity and quietness. This led to another social arena where I met and talked at length with the people who cleaned the faculty building, who were curious about the process. We had some very interesting conversations about work, art, and life. As a friend later cheerfully observed, I also needed to befriend the cleaners so my things were not cleared away as rubbish, particularly once my work moved to a glass-walled room on another corridor and the materials included plastic bags, mouldy bread, and scattered matches. This was humorous, and true, and also an important observation, for these interactions were not separate from the realm of activity of my work but an integral part of the social environment within which both the material work itself and the processes through which it comes into being interactively take place, where there are seen and unseen links between people and material objects.

Main stages of the intervention

The gradual development of this work later enabled me to identify some clear stages in the experiment, plus the name 'Silver Things', summarised as follows:

1a. *The first stage*: the steadily and slowly multiplied foil shells were put around, under and over the wooden bench in the Faculty hallway, gradually covering the whole structure; in time order, Figures 70, 71, 58, 72. Figure 73 shows a close-up of some of the shells.

1b. For six months as the intervening person who altered the usual look of the corridor I remained incognito. This was not done for any mystery-generating reasons but for minimising possible influences of the responses of those of us who daily use the space by attaching authorship credibility/non-credibility. There was much speculation about who the person might be, and whilst there were not many candidates I think it took a while for the speculations to centre on me, partly due to the figurativeness of the forms that was not easily associated with me at the time. I did not confirm anything about the authorship during those months.

1c. As I secretly multiplied the simple object, others secretly started re-arranging them. There seemed unspoken consent to intervene in and interact within the 'new' setting Fig. 72.

2.a *The second stage*: after a while, two months after beginning, I started transforming the shapes from all-similar to all-similar-different as in Fig. 74. Each original shell had looked much like the others, being directly from the same mould, though the foil itself and the angles at which the shells sat or lay gave rise to lots of contrast in light and texture, show of movement, etc. In the second stage each shell was scrunched and re-shaped, distorted from its previous shape, and developed a life of its own, so to speak, each one different from the others, Figs 75, 58. I did not design this process ahead of time to get a figural result nor, once the figural nature did emerge, did I pre-empt the shapes, to make them 'look like' something, for example.

2b. *The Third Stage*: involved moving the scrunched silver things gradually away from the hallway to a new location in the Glass Room, where some of them continued to metamorphose, and here they were arranged in various ways over an extended period, Fig 67, 75. The wooden bench and the original mould were thus slowly revealed again, until nothing remained of the silver things in that corridor. In the Glass Room the silver things, now resembling little figures more or less, remained for months, moving about, some still changing shape.

2c. All along during the multiplying process before I started to transform the shells, except for one or two, people around did not notice that the mould, the source of the form, was part of the seat where the foil shells were placed. In the initial stage it had taken some weeks before the mould was obscured, as seen in Figures 70 and 71. People speculated about where the shapes were made and how they got to the bench in the corridor.

From the comments I heard, it seemed to some people to be plausible that there was a mould ‘somewhere else’, and the shells were carried to the department hallway to be transplanted around the seat. This is an interesting point of reflection, where this work that is monochromatic and a multiple of a simple shape, in either its early or late forms, is seen as something made as an object of thought with no real connection to where it might be ‘coming from’ or what it might be saying. It reminds me of the thoughts and feelings evoked by the curators of an early 1990s exhibition in London, *Possible Worlds: Sculpture from Europe*. They commented on the exhibited works that while they reflected varying degrees of indebtedness to the histories of sculpture, this indebtedness was “...embedded within the body of their work and not displayed as a legitimating sign.”³⁸ In an interview, one of the artists talks about his work as “...first and foremost an object of thought which resists analysis...(the) photograph is an object without memory, without narrative” (*Possible Worlds* catalogue, p. 36). The poetic act (moment of the image) may have no past (Bachelard 1994: xvi), but how can a made object be presented with such a degree of ‘newness’ that erases any trace of its own source or origin? A very different view is that of George Steiner, who wrote, “There is a sense in which works of imagination of sufficient

³⁸ Catalogue for *Possible Worlds: Sculpture from Europe*, 9/11/90 – 6/1/91, Institute of Contemporary Arts, Serpentine Gallery, London

seriousness and density always enact a reflection on themselves. Almost always, the major text or work of art or musical composition tells critically of its own genesis” (Steiner 1998: 240).

In the case of the ‘Silver Things’, the simple process of multiplication of the one single form around its mould, simple rhythm and repetition, seemed to have obscured the (master/mother) origin. But the lack of noticing and articulating the existence of the master-mould amongst the numerous shells shaped on its form does not change the fact of the real relationship that exists between the mould and its silver coloured duplicates. That existent material relationship continued but came to change its form because after some time I began to see that a new stasis had set into the once altered environment. That is, the enactment was done yet with the wooden bench overflowing with textured silver becoming the new familiar, daily environment I sensed that this was not the time to end the experiment, so I slowly began to change the silver shapes into a new look, Stage 2. This time I manipulated the foil, played with it, continuing the anonymous conversation, and what came out despite the unplanned activity was rather figure-like, Figs 74, 75. A few other people came to participate in the anonymous ‘conversation’ and do likewise. For example, at one point late in the second stage of the ‘scrunched’ figures, when the numbers of objects had dwindled and the seat was again visible, I happened to observe a student sit there waiting for an interview. She was working with one of the silver things, playing with the shape, forming and reforming the foil into a different object. I did not feel right to intrude on her reflective space by trying to photograph the moment for the record.

When the silver (aluminium) shells were transformed individually through being first crushed then rapidly reshaped by hand, abstracting their form, the apparent relationship between the original mould and the transformed silver things became more difficult to discern; the mass of transformed silver things around the original mould is not illustrated here. This difficulty of relationship between the new forms and original mould, introduced by the second remove from the origin, does not change the fact of the real link that exists between the silver things and their source. But who is to narrate it and how is it to be narrated, this discrepancy that becomes greater with the passage of time and the multiple processes involved in the final (or transitional) presentation of ‘silver things’, especially once they are removed to another location, the Glass Room, Figs 67, 75. When I manipulated the forms and changed them, the

memory was still there but not recognisable, unless someone knew their history. There was of course someone with experience of and living memory of the sequence, the events, of the making, and other people who had witnessed the appearance of the change. Is it relevant to know the history? Is there more value in the things because they are accruing a longer history? In fact some people did become fond of the figures and expressed a kind of disappointment that they were not in the large gallery space with the other materials in my final exhibition, though they remained on full view in the Glass Room for some time afterwards.

Self-presentation, memory, invention, exhibition

In the context of this presentation or representation of the objects and processes in question, above, the narration contains an autobiographical element that amounts to self-presentation/representation. As Leigh Gilmore warns in the *Limits of Autobiography: Trauma and Testimony*, representation is a serious matter, at least in the “democratic ideology” where the concept of individualism informs and forms our sense of being in a society, if not our sense of identity in general. “Stand up, it says...” this way of thinking, “...and represent yourself. Or, sit back and designate someone else to represent you” (Gilmore 2001: 19). Researching the transition to modern representative democracy in Cyprus, Rebecca Bryant observed that modern social systems require people to be “individually self-realizing creatures”, even if “this intractable individualism has little to do with the actual experience of persons in their lived lives” (Bryant 2001: 606).

The trajectory of the ‘silver things’ involves an already complex crossing and re-crossing of terrains of different modes of observation, so that I need to refer to memory, the past of the objects and my part in their past. In reference to Foucault’s work on memory, Gilmore reminds us that “At the heart of self-representation...lies a process of self-construction [] the material of which is a mixture of memory and invention” (Gilmore 2001: 34) In the past twenty years or so the notion of invention has figured prominently in relation to representations of memory and identity, for individuals certainly and

particularly in relation to historical collective memories.³⁹ Invention is a term that can be used here in the sense that “invention must occur if there is recollection” (Said 2000: 181), as indeed art in itself may be a form of remembering; some of the other senses of invention are creation, discovery, fabrication. The narrative of the ‘Silver Things’ involves memory and invention in several senses and here I use invention primarily in the sense of discovery or creation. In this analogic setting, memory is the past one-year’s records of the processes involved in the currently manifest aluminium foil objects. And invention is the play itself, playing with aluminium foil which when manipulated has an excellent response-ability, to form itself around an existing object, to be formed and re-formed, reshaped, recycled.

The form in multiples, the silver shells or the scrunched figurines, compels a kind of attention from the viewer, whatever the actual response may be. Ignoring them becomes a difficult option, as they are a central part of the formal landscape (for a while). Then, I have my memory of them, of the whole process, but in the multiplied form of the object(s) the command is that *their* memory is acknowledged. Here is a tension between my memory and the memories and associations that the forms may evoke in the viewer. Tension between accounts is something well known as occurring in the most ordinary of situations when participants in an event, say a family occasion, compare their recollections. The tension is vital, however, in that “Memory...remains a remnant from which counter-discourse may emerge” (Gilmore 2001: 34). Specifically, these different recourses to memory in relation to an already manifest cluster of objects, that is, differences between the maker of the objects and the various viewers/observers of them, are “...at least unassimilable to power even as power [possessor of knowledge] attempts to conscript it to its own ends...” (Gilmore *ibid*). Discursively, power over memory is considered characteristic of the intention of the national monument deployed as part of official memory systems, often marrying time and space, history to place, through its presence in the landscape.

In my art experiment I was the commissioner of the ‘monument’, the engineer of the intervention in the ‘public’ space, and the monument maker. I held the key to knowledge of its history. Through a high degree of the maker’s responsiveness to many variables it gradually took on a certain form, and metamorphosed, or moved, over time, at certain times. I could see the social changes as people interacted

³⁹ For example, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983

with the site and with one another. What I did not know was individuals' direct responses, how they felt about the work, how it interacted with their perceptions of the environment and their interactions within it. Much later in the process, when it became established who the maker was, the direct communication and exchange with people began to occur. As an artist this is for me where the critical point in making occurs, where my thoughts and articulations of the objects and their arrangements are met, or counter-pointed, in the process of viewers' perceptions of and communication about them. It may be that here within frank dialogue between the maker and the viewer the potential for reciprocity of new awareness may occur.

Perhaps also this is where the notion of ambiguity of an artwork may start and end. Essayist and novelist Naguib Mahfouz observed, "Clarity is valuable, but ambiguity sometimes has its values too."⁴⁰ To extend this point further in order to clarify my relationship to the notion of ambiguity in the context of art, I believe it is the process of arrival to it, and not so much the ambiguity itself, that is important. In short, I do not believe in ambiguity as a strategy in the making of art. And this is where I find one of the most generative aspects of the engagement in the process of making and how this 'made' is seen by others. Once the made object is on view, people may respond in speculating about it, replying to, and/or critiquing it, or not. It is in this temporarily reconfigured social space that may be opened up (a gallery or other public or private space where the object-s is/are present/absent), where learning from each other (maker and observer) may occur through different kinds of association and responsiveness, including simple conversation. In my DCA visual arts practice, the process of realisation and the realised object are together active in the social realm, participating in a dialectic that arises in the dynamic action within that social arena through the awareness of individuality of experience (memory, cognition, feeling) that simultaneously involves responsibility and responsiveness that is not individual.

In response to the question "who would you say you make your art for?" I would concur with Richard Wentworth's answer: "It's some imaginary community that's out there...dealing in ideas or thoughtfulness or energised thinking or doing" (Raney 2003: 221). I believe that the work of an artist can

⁴⁰ Reuters interview when he received the Nobel Prize for Literature nomination. Printed in "Mahfouz: Clarity is Good, But So Is Ambiguity", *The New York Times*, October 14, 1988

be a vehicle that once it is out, in a 'public' space, can be tested as to whether it is a worthwhile vehicle to 'travel in' so to speak, in exchange of and development of ideas and thoughts between and among those who choose to participate one way or another in the social space of art.

5.3 EXHIBITION: “Visibility 600 metres: between stillness and flux in the garden of the House of Envy”

Returning to South Australia in 1996 after a year abroad, mostly in residency at the Glasgow School of Art and more briefly at the Delphi Studios of the Athens School of Fine Arts, I came upon the novel *Children of Gebelawi* by Naguib Mahfouz. Professor Jack Cross of Adelaide, South Australia, had introduced me to the author some years earlier, suggesting that the uniqueness of Mahfouz is his ability to draw from both everyday matters and more contemplative realms at the same time, the social/political and the psychological together. Amongst the aspects of *Children of Gebelawi* that stayed with me after reading it was the phrase: “...if it were not for the envy of those around us who are deprived, the taste of life would change in our mouths...”⁴¹ I won’t specifically elaborate on this phrase beyond observing it as a poetic form, and saying that the form and the content of the utterance seemed to me to evoke a coherence with a high degree of resolution in itself. This seemed to me capable of releasing immediate and latent resonances evoking a great variety of human sentiments in relation to ‘envy’ in the contemporary social and cultural international and local contexts.

In this part of the thesis I bring together some descriptive aspects on the exhibition’s preparation and realisation, and discussion of these in relation to my working concerns in the research mode as well as specifically in the art practice arena. The ‘Silver Things’ experiment and other works carried out will be seen to both precede the exhibition and be part of it.

The acquired phrase from Mahfouz, or the poetic image, as it were, first accreted some materiality in my art practice in an analogic or metaphoric sense as a ‘house’ in a solo exhibition *Project Two*, Experimental Art Foundation, Adelaide, in 1999. Individual letters forming the phrase ‘from the house of envy’ were stuck on the gallery wall around a circular object, as shown in a close-up photograph in Figure 65. The object itself was composed of an upside down kitchen colander with a saucepan lid

⁴¹ Naguib Mahfouz (1959/1981) *Children of Gebelawi* trans. Philip Stewart, Heinemann, p.343

- 2005 *A Window From the House of Envy 3*, The Stairwell Vitines, Faculty of Creative Arts,
University of Wollongong, NSW
- A Window From the House of Envy 4* (work in progress), Glass Room,
Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, NSW
- 2007 *Visibility 600 Metres: Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*,
Doctoral exhibition, FCA Gallery, Faculty of Creative Arts, UOW

Reflecting back over the history of the ‘house of envy’ title, I was reminded that in the exhibition where it was originally used, *Project Two*, 1999, the reference ‘house’ was also to some of the materials, as outlined above, which were taken from my own home. Here I also note that the reflective surfaces in that exhibition, the large piece of plate glass and the stainless steel saucepan lid, were strong elements within the gallery space. Nearly eight years past, the *Project Two* and *Visibility 600 Metres* exhibitions bearing the words ‘house of envy’ both use some domestic everyday materials and reflective surfaces. These difficult to avoid noticing reflective surfaces seem to instigate some kind of visual reciprocity between things in the gallery (including people and their movements) and the space itself. Particularly the aluminium foil that was used in carpeting the entire gallery floor of the *Visibility 600 Metres* exhibition accentuated this kind of visual reciprocity, by virtue of the light and the foil, as people, things, and images visually bounced off each another: “...we are always looking at the relationship between things and ourselves” (Berger 1972: 9). This potentially confusing back and forth visual reciprocity may bring about a physical realisation that “The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled” (Berger *ibid*, 7).

Genealogies – traces

I opened this discussion on the ‘Visibility’ exhibition with a genealogy of part of its title. Various other parts of the title (and exhibition as a whole) have historical references or prosaic explanations. The choice of the phrase ‘Visibility 600 metres’ is a case in point. Its very mundane origin stems from the length of aluminium foil I calculated was required to cover the floor of the gallery, plus the amounts

already used for the many little foil objects made over the months before hand. In contrast, the ‘house of envy’ clearly has a longer temporal and symbolic past, in relation to a general history of ideas in art as well as my own development of ideas. As for the work in the show, some elements in particular have a history that I incorporated purposefully into the thematic interweaving of notions of history, memory, traces. In particular, the four laminated prints on one wall of the gallery, such as ‘Line for Line’, Fig 68, and ‘Olan’, Fig. 78, and the underlying slides in the video ‘No. 2’ on the side wall (see DVD *Visibility 600 Meters*) are records of some processes I have engaged in since my beginning involvement in visual art in the mid 1980s. These prints and slides are not presented purely as a kind of retrospective element, rather they enter as particular points of reference - by association, by remembering, having tested out the possibilities for each to participate in the current assemblage and reprinted or renamed them, I bring them back to into direct play in the present work. In the video ‘No. 2’ for example, many still and moving images of people, public monuments, and images of art including my own work pass fleetingly across the screen in dark hazy tones, amongst which perhaps one or two might be locally familiar forms of the kind that someone might register, even in silhouette, without thinking.

Terror of History. History of Terror – exploring dialectic process visually

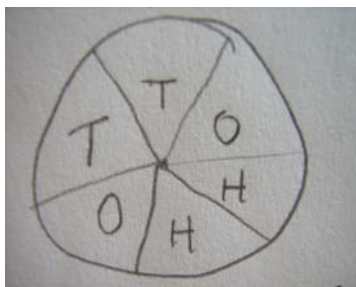
This work TOHHOT was included in my doctoral exhibition. It had come about in July 2006 as a quick response to both the Israeli attack on Hezbollah in Lebanon at that time and to the representation of those events in Australian media.⁴² With a degree of naivety and innocence I simply asked does history follow terror or terror follow history? There are many answers, and none. As I similarly considered the question ‘is an art a mirror or a hammer?’ the answer seems to me to be not a simple either / or. I think we cannot settle either for simply bringing to consciousness the dynamics of this binary, or for getting lost in the generated dynamics of it. Living in the awareness of unsettlement may well be a kind of freedom whilst it certainly does not suggest easy comfort, nor does it free one from serious engagement with life’s

⁴² Examples, in order - 2 news articles, blog, a very strident opinion piece, a Lebanese artist’s response to being in the war zone: <www.smh.com.au/news/world/lebanon-bombing-to-continue/2006/07/14/1152637836685.html>; <www.theglobeandmail.com> article on Canadians leaving the area via Larnaca in Cyprus; <http://smh.com.au/newsblog/archives/your_say/005228.html>; <www.smh.com.au/news/paul-sheehan/chaos-rules-in-this-borderless-war/2006/07/16/1152988408994.htm>; “Before the war there was the war” <www.abc.net.au/rn/streetstories/stories/2007/2097966.htm>

concerns, responsibilities, relationships, surroundings, and so on. In a somewhat similar vein the work TOHHOT (July 2006) engages this question/equation, *Terror of History History of Terror*. Fig. 69.

In the confrontations of this riddle - where abstract noun wars (war on poverty, war on drugs, war on global warming...truth, etc; in short “war on everything”) have become a common part of the daily lexicon, through the news/media culture; images of real (yet mediated) wars are seen or heard of every day; where the discourses of identity are propagandised and the sensibility of common decency seems disavowed on many fronts; and simulated electronic wars occupy many youth’s leisure hours; - in this environment, “...the role of [contemporary] artworks is not longer to form imaginary and utopian realities, but to actually be ways of living and models of action within the existing real, whatever the scale chosen by the artist” (Bourriaud 2002: 13). A Joseph Beuys’ work comes to mind here, one that arose in 1974 whilst he was working in Ireland during hectic times of the civil war – a simple pile of daily newspapers is neatly folded, stacked and tied in a bundle, as if ready for recycling, for throwing out. Yet the newspaper headlines announce various current terrifying events, or responses to them, and the object is called ‘The Battery’, Fig. 62. This is a simple and humble object yet with great complexity in the conception, where ordinariness and extraordinariness in the daily lives of people and a society are both touching and shocking, and by intent of the work, unsettling to the habitual thinking.

The notion, as I see it expressed by Bourriaud, above, and through the Beuys work, is to draw attention to the quality of relationships within the practical engagements of daily life, with all its images and effects. My work TOHHOT, here as a unit component of the larger exhibition, *Visibility 600 Meters*, can be seen as an equation in which the main factors ‘terror’ and ‘history’ are snarled up together. We may conceptualise the equation as linear – TOHHOT – as the text itself *Terror of History. History of Terror* alludes to linearity of writing and organization of thought (leaving aside the cello bow for the moment). Or it may be thought of in circular fashion, where the discs of Lebanese bread allude to this circularity, for example, divided into seven parts with one letter of TOHHOT in each, as illustrated below, the motion does not begin or end but might circle endlessly.



Then, materially, here is the daily bread, a wire coat hanger, some familiar words. The cello bow at the top of the piece creates an emphatic line, moving from left to right in an upwards trajectory, an arrow perhaps, time, progress, a teleology. At the same time, the cello bow is threaded through the loaf of bread. It is made of wood and horsehair, and it constellates music, the experience of which cannot be matched by words and can go beyond separate languages. The apparently abstract nature of the concepts is brought into ‘conversation’ with the potential of abstractions to crystallize into forms no longer connected with relationships, where the simple application of words will not suffice. The meaning of materials in artworks is sometimes the materiality itself.

If one thinks about the experience of daily life, it seems to me, there is generally a pervasive intermingling of feelings, thoughts, impressions, memories, familiarities and their disruptions, amongst what we otherwise objectivise as the ‘events’ of the day, of history on that day, and so on. In the context of thinking and the registering of feeling processes, Bourriaud’s suggested relational aesthetic (of actual ways of living and interaction) links the sensory, experiential, active, and reflective realms in suggestive ways. This is where I would wish for art to *do* something other than simply exist as an object of celebration, lament, or exchange, a ‘monument’ amongst others. A work of public art that is described as being one that “...does something or, at least, is intended to achieve something” is Israeli sculptor Micha Ullman’s *‘Library’ memorial/ sculpture* (1995) in what was East Berlin, designed to mark the site of Nazi book burnings in the 1930s (Brockmeier 2002: 33-35). The memorial is a cubic chamber set below the paved square where it is installed, with a transparent top so that one can see into the empty space below, Fig.62a. From the perspective of cultural psychology, Jens Brockmeier analyses this memorial as “....an artistic and political statement that ...intervenes in a mnemonic system, at least to a certain degree...” and offers to alter it, where time orders of past and present are continually recombined” (Brockmeier *ibid*).

And this is, experientially, what both our individual and social memories appear to do. Indeed, in Brockmeier's article such a connection from the monument's perceived discourse is drawn to question the widespread dichotomy of individual and social memory.

I think some of the works in my exhibition *Visibility 600 Meters* examine processes at work in the nexus of individual and social memory as reflections on the importance of examining our own cultural processes, by which we come to view our past and present, and contemplate the future, and the relational grounds on which we do this. The three video installations, for example, connect with this area, particularly 'No. 2', with its random images that may or may not be recognised as relating to a particular group identity or social memory. Jens Brockmeier suggests that the 'Library' memorial/sculpture in (east) Berlin connects with 'nature' through the material and symbolic environment, rather with than "any Newtonian system of absolute time...." (Brockmeier 2002 *ibid*). This seems to me a perceptive reading of the realised work 'Library' memorial/ sculpture, based on the image and description, yet the conception itself is profoundly paradoxical, partly of course because the assumption must be that with the word 'nature' Brockmeier refers to human nature as much as any 'natural' surroundings. Begging the latter question, I note that there has been a great deal of recent exploration conceptually and practically of areas of memory, its nature, activity and so on, that has questioned 'traditional' ('Western') scholarly notions of the separation of individual and social memories (Olick and Robbins 1998, Edkins 2003, Radstone and Hodgkin 2003).⁴³ This movement away from 'intractable individualism' (Bryant 2001: 606) does seem to resonate more realistically with personal experience, the ideology of self-realisation having tended to ignore the socially immersive (and conditioning) nature of life and experience.

On the other hand, as regards theoretical blurring of individual and social experience, there are potential problems with this in relation to group identities. For example, it is an acknowledged characteristic of national identity discourse that there is an a-synchronous use of history to pull together evidence to legitimise such identity discourses, the presences and absences within them, often in relation to particular landscapes.⁴⁴ This is potentially a serious problem when such discourse operates conflictively, as in the ethno-national arena of Cyprus, and other areas, including of course the anti-Jewish Nazi Germany that

⁴³ Notions of collective or collected memory were discussed in relation to monuments in Chapter 3.

⁴⁴ See for example Anthony SMITH (1998) *Nationalism and Modernism*, London: Routledge, pp. 112, 119, 169-175

Ullman's sculpture references and the Israel-Palestine-Lebanon situation. This is where national identity's function to realise ideals of fraternity may operate as a particular kind of exclusionary device (Smith 1991: 162), and at the same time where the 'policing' of boundaries between such national identities does not necessarily reflect realities of lived experience.

For example, as was discussed in Chapter 2, from early in the twentieth century Greek Cypriot nationalism's axiomatic demand for 'natural' 'justice' related to a conception of absolute rights, a universal and timeless moral attitude towards their own claims (Bryant 2004: 237). Hence nearly 400 years of the Muslim-Christian practical neighbourliness, amongst which people still lived to some extent, could be discounted as irrelevant to the social and cultural future of the island, rationalised as being of no account by being construed as absent or becoming absent.⁴⁵ In this context also, the historical presence amongst the Muslim community of some converts, from Christianity or other backgrounds, and people who traversed both religious affiliations, is assumed to be a kind of aberration of the 'correct' or intelligent order of things, where people are naturally Greek, Christian, and so on, and would not freely choose otherwise. Even begging the question of whether or not such people could be proven 'ethnically' 'Turkish' or 'Greek' or 'Frankish', and so on, this ideology ignores the realities of people moving to live and *continuing* to live within the 'other' community, in some instances over generations/centuries, and the people living 'between' the delineated categories.⁴⁶ As referred to in Chapter 2, the differentiation and

⁴⁵ "...Turkish Cypriots had at hand Greek Cypriot neighbours constantly agitating for a future that did not contain Muslims", Bryant 2004: 233. In *National Identity* (1991) Anthony Smith discusses the transformation of demotic *ethnies* into political nations, where "attempts are made to marry an understanding of Western processes of forming nations with a program of rediscovering an ethnic past or pasts that will elevate the people and their vernacular culture to centre stage" (p. 64) ... in which "a rich ethno-history can be a significant source of cultural power ... and communities able to boast such histories have a competitive advantage over others where the history is scanty..." (p. 164). Using the colonial 'sciences' of the time, especially the archaeology that defined time as a rational straight line along which cultural value could be measured by demonstrating distance of links with the present, yet also mythic, in 'measuring' distance from the desired present. (Theodossopoulos 2003).

⁴⁶ Bryant (2004) discusses religious conversions in Cyprus and the *linovamvaki*, a significant group of people with a distinctive culture who observed both Islam and Christianity within the syncretic cultural milieu of late Ottoman/early British times, pp. 64-66. Note: syncretic is not used as a derogatory term by Bryant or in my writing. She also mentions that intermarriage (between Christians and Muslims) disappeared from the official record in the early decades of the 20th century though this does not entirely accord with my knowledge of my family network in the 1950s and 60s. Ronald Jennings (1993) has written about religious conversions in 17th century Cyprus that went both ways and for a wide variety of reasons, mostly to do with personal relationships or taxation matters; *Christians and Muslims in the Cyprus and the Mediterranean World 1571-1640*, New York: New York University Press and "Divorce in the Ottoman Shariah Court in Cyprus, 1580-1640" in *Studia Islamica*, No. 78 (1993), pp. 155-167. Jennings takes the view that numbers of conversion happened very early in the Ottoman years amongst Frankish residents (French Lusignans, Italian Venetians, and so on) who did not leave on the Ottoman arrival in 1571 and wanted to retain their land, with later conversions of the more personal variety. This area of 'ethnic' origin and identity in Cyprus is a good example of how 'the past' is not the unitary past that official history chooses to represent in 'constructing' a homogeneous people, Turks, Greeks, British, Jews, Arabs, and so on.

demarcation processes of the colonial administration and system of representative politics highlighted and reinforced (even *created*, Michael Given 2002) the categorising of social and cultural belongingness in political ways. Once the national identity processes were underway those identified as Turkish Cypriots experienced decades of receiving a projected image of themselves as enemy, or non-presence, “an indispensable absence” (Theodossopoulos 2003: 19), in the passage of the twentieth century during which a Turkish Cypriot nation eventually came about. As if in a hall of mirrors, in the new post-1974 Turkish Cypriot area the rhetorical public geography of place names reveals no Greek presence, as one observes travelling there, and broadly (though not entirely) amongst Cypriot Turks a new constituent ‘other’ has emerged, the Turks from Anatolia who have come to reside in the last thirty years (Güven-Lisaniler and Rodriguez 2002, Cockburn 2004). Where “shared, lived experiences constitute the nation” (Bryant 2004: 236), and particularly in a small group/place

The question of the blurring of boundaries between individual and social memory becomes a complex one of many dimensions, for whatever the dynamic by which the individual-social relationship is conceived, the essence of ‘social’ is its residence amongst people, or their’s amongst it, a group-place-existence thing. Thus whilst the questioning of the individual memory/social memory divide has important existential and ontological dimensions, its immediate and future danger is the re-constellating of the already existing ‘social’ that is so troubled and troubling in many areas. In this complex domain there are no doubt linking factors and processes that infuse daily life experience across the world, yet in many different ways in different areas, and for different individuals in each place. It is in this complex of interconnectedness that individuals (in any conception) and groups (classes, communities, societies, nations, post-nations, states, and so on) need to be negotiating boundaries and responsibilities via real experiences on a daily basis, where memory tied to ‘national’ or ‘international’ identity remains a structuring discourse. This is where the enhanced ability of people to engage with the visual environments in daily life and to develop means of examining the visual filters that affect their views of self and other(s) might be of value for more equitable social relationships.

Materials – narrative, change, and memory

In this exhibition *Visibility 600 Metres*, the floor was entirely covered with aluminium foil. Before the exhibition opened, it was a very smooth, shiny, silver-coloured surface reflecting the gallery lights and flickering with colours from the three film screens, Figs 63, 64, 76, 77.

A colleague suggested I ask that shoes be removed at the door to preserve the flooring, which was attractive as a wide smooth expanse spreading between the white walls; for the most part, with the exception of the bread and matches, the displayed objects were located on the walls or screens of the gallery, Fig. 76. After some consideration I decided against having ‘rules of engagement’ for the exhibition room. The signs of people’s presence, their footprints in the impressionable foil, would be important, a trace of the living and later, lived, history, people’s presence. The scuffs and rips that would inevitably occur are part of that, where the surface of things is disturbed and reveals something else underneath. Various people commented they found it hard to accept the spoiling of the surface, which might not be mended, and a friend attending the opening was embarrassed when she ripped a small tear with the high heels of her shoes; later a child was roundly chastised by a parent for wriggling about on the floor and causing more rashes. Where it was not torn the foil settled right down onto the surface and acquired its textural likeness, Fig. 77. These were the interactions and their traces on the surface. Surprisingly, the foil surface held up very well over all, without being too widely disturbed; I later decided to patch some sections because in relation to the whole work it was becoming a relatively unnecessary visual element of obstruction or distraction.

On one occasion, together with a class of art theory students I sat on the floor to talk about the work. One student found the aluminium and the slowly rupturing surface put him in mind of Alzheimer’s disease, which has been linked to the ingestion of aluminium. Hence for him the link was loss of memory, with losing the faculties, the rupturing of life’s narrative capacity, and so on. Subsequently investigating the topic briefly, I found that aluminium is also considered a valuable element in the human immune system, on that basis added to vaccines, for example, and where its presence in Alzheimers’ conditions might turn out to be a symptom rather than a cause of the atrophy. On the other hand, another person, not in the arts,

connected with the overall memory themes in a very different way. She spoke of the experience of stepping into the space of the gallery as being like entering the space of mind. There are things to look at, to focus on, one moves around, watches the moving images, catches reflections, wonders about things, thinks a little, there is food here, and there in the corner, off to the side somewhere, there is something flickering on a screen like fragments fading in and out at the edge of consciousness – at any moment they might resolve into a clearer form, become recognizable images, become memories, then fade away.

Other kinds of unsettled feelings arose for people looking at the materials, particularly the bread and matches together. One neighbour for example looked at the bread and matches together on the floor, Fig. 76. These are the most basic things he said, and they have become dangerous. For another family, visiting from overseas, there was something like shock in seeing bread placed intentionally on the ground, something that could never happen in their culture, where bread is treated with particular reverence. Having before not given any thought to that intimate (home, kitchen, food, daily life) unspoken cultural 'given', the experience of seeing the bread so unexpectedly placed purposefully on the floor brought something to their awareness as if seeing/touching an aspect of their cultural existence from the outside, being for a moment both outside and inside.

Summary – drawing together

Taken together, the whole assemblage of the *Visibility 600 metres* exhibition and the experiments that preceded it and gave rise to its realisation, are strongly involved with examining processes of memory, history, invention, presentation and representation. Following my desired way of working, these processes are not examined abstractly but as active material and non-material process in what is a living experience of the interplay between intuition, thought, feeling, and material expression, where the movement begins in the place where I am, literally, in the immediate physical and social environment. In this environment I, and other people, notice elements or fail to notice them selectively in their static and changing forms. Intervening in the immediate social and physical environment and becoming my own research subject in the process, "to increase the burden of awareness," (Tuan 1977: 203), I was able to explore aspects of experience in the complex 'interfaces', public-private, social-individual, material -

non-material. Socially this also engaged the other people in that environment in new activity as part of the process.

In respect of materials, during the DCA research I have been able to continue my approach of (usually) utilising things at hand, objects or substances that arise in the circumstances and suit the developing needs of the investigation. I have been experimenting with materials since I was introduced to art in the early 1980s, though I had previous experience with metals, wood, stone and so on, in different settings. In my art engagements I have used, without prejudice as far as I can detect, traditional and non-traditional materials such as silver, bronze, ivory, wood, paint, glass, matches, flour, chairs, newsprint, fire, apples (Fig. 79) and so on. In the use of these materials I have not been any less or more intensely attached to any of them in particular. There is no difference to me whether I use more permanent or less permanent, or perishable, materials in any given context. What does matter to me is *what* each material used in the particular context of my emotional and intellectual pre-occupations *evokes* in myself, as well as in the viewers, whose actual experience I cannot really know much about except in ‘conversation’.

In relation to this question of materials and the forms that are made, taking the example of aluminium foil that I started using in 2006, I do not mean to set myself up as someone who is anti-monumentalist, or as someone who refuses the materiality of the traditional art object. The choices I made are rather to be seen as an action in critiquing unexamined or purposefully directed drives for the monumentalisation of individual and/or collective experiences and the uncritical use of materials in the art making process. As a result of my combined research, including the bringing together of new and older works for the *Visibility* exhibition, I feel that ‘the monumental’ can be seen as a point of anchorage, a statue in a landscape, a stereotype or fixed habit of thought, a sedimentation (Adorno, as above); perhaps even the responses to problems in dealing with change, as seen for example in the contemporary searching for a secure ‘home’, or anchoring point, that is linked with resurgence of national sentiment and other issues of identity (Said 2000, Huyssens 2003). So there is this dialectical relationship between stillness and flux, stasis and change, desire or repulsion and its object.⁴⁷ The paradoxical stasis of a public monument’s visible/invisible form in relation to the shifting social meanings and lives in the process of being lived

⁴⁷ I have referred earlier to Bachelard’s insight that “...with regard to images....to attract and to repulse do not give contrary experiences. The terms are contrary” (1994: xxxvi).

around it is a case in point. The invisible forms related to the monument are within the flux of people, time, culture, society, and yet acquired a kind of fixedness, though surprising in their mobility through time. On visibility and viewing, the relationship with the visual field, we might look at a physical monument as a single object (or representing a single notion) because it is easier to take in at a glance than a whole living society, or we might be drawn to look at it through the social realm of relationships and the lives and meanings in the vicinity of the monument. We might look *for* a monument as a sign of something or look away on the same basis. We might not notice it all, or might sit on its steps as the only resting spot in the vicinity; or any other number of relationships and meanings or absence of meaning.

The materiality is the bearer of the paradox, where the material monument generally holds such a solid and static form that sometimes we take the stone and metal too literally, and conversely, sometimes we forget to seriously look at the materiality of it. Whether physical or non-physical the monument is *there*, to be brought to awareness, acknowledged, examined, understood, asked questions of, in connection with the human conditions and experiences of its there-ness. Gaston Bachelard expressed a related poetic notion, "... in a philosophy of detail we are obliged to supervise the use of fossilised metaphors...it must be brought up out of habit of expression and restored to actuality of expression" (1994: 221). Perhaps this process of examination itself may be helpful in bringing about new ways of interrelationship that do not harden a monument by failing to acknowledge it and its dynamic interconnectedness with how we 'see' it. As W.J.T. Mitchell has expressed, "The visual field is not just one of cognition or knowing, but recognition and acknowledgement. It is an ethical space and a political space, not just an epistemological space projected by a spectatorial subject" (Mitchell 2003: 56). That is to say, as much as the social world can construct the material (visual) world, so the visual/material can contribute to 'construction' of the social.

In this sense I see the *Visibility 600 Meters* exhibition as a small contribution towards exploring this dialectic via a transient space in which familiar materials are carefully congregated in unfamiliar ways in visual articulations of my thoughts and activity in that direction, through critical engagement in a poetics of relations with the visual. Greater experiential and intellectual awareness of how subjective and intersubjective processes are interwoven with and through the material 'world' I think would contribute

towards recognition of the interdependency of representational regimes, processes and experiences; and vice versa.

As I have attempted to illustrate through the use of dialectics such as in the TOHHOT work, I think art may have a role in society, and one where its potential to question relationships, between state and citizen for example, needs to be understood not as a simple 'for' or 'against' process but one within which the nature of interdependence and difference can be explored. Perhaps difference is constitutive of existence itself, it is not that the style in which we differ constitutes difference, or identity. My explorations in connection with art and 'making' suggest that the shift in awareness we may experience through encounter with the 'different' or 'new' (object, perception, 'angle', thought, experience...) is both potentially available in more simple, quotidian ways than we might have been led to expect, and is not less powerful as an experience than those accessed through highly complex philosophical or aesthetic enquiry.

CONCLUSION

Addressing the apparently antithetical relation between my art objects (fleeting, fluid, ambiguous, tenuous, impermanent, impromptu, tentative, provisional) and the solidity of national monuments, of monumental form - it can perhaps be viewed as in a similar relationship of the graspable (indeed large) solid with the fluidity and intangibility of that which it stands for (some form of living or lived experience - memory, identity, history – which are always in flux even in continuity). Indeed as Raymond Williams wrote some while ago, “the condition of a work of art – a made thing, containing within itself an achieved stillness” ...is not to be confused with “the condition of any life, which is not made but making, and which can only in fantasy be detached from a continuous process and a whole condition” [Williams 1983: 168]. Perhaps thought itself has these propensities – fluid and creative as well as the ever-present possibility of stereotype, of habitual forms. Roland Barthes remarked that collective representations and mentalities can be frozen, kept stagnant by power, the press, and reigning values.¹ “David Spurr has shown that while the press continues to cling to normative views of civilisation formed during the colonial era, anthropology and cultural criticism have questioned the consequences of such views.”²

Relations between imaging processes are important in Cyprus. As elsewhere, the language one uses is a particular aspect of the relation between thought, memory and representation: "It's not so much the facts on the ground that make the map so difficult to redraw today, as people's beliefs and intentions, shaped by selective recall, stories endlessly retold."³ Poet/politician Vaclav Havel conveyed this very clearly, "...suddenly we realise that those two very difficult years of our lives have become lumped together into a few episodes that have lodged in our memory in a standardised form, and are always told in a standardised way, in the same words"⁴ Words as ritual and monument, perhaps waiting, like the concrete forms of the monuments themselves, to be asked different questions about what they want.

¹ Roland Barthes “Bichon chez les negress” *Mythologies*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957, pp.72-73.

² David SPURR *The Rhetoric of Empire*, p. 73. Both Spurr and Barthes references cited by Maria TODOROVA in “The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention”, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No.2 (Summer 1994), p. 480

³ Cynthia Cockburn (2004) *The Line. Women, Partition and the Gender Order in Cyprus*. Londond, New York: Zed Books, p.9

⁴ Vaclav Havel (1990) talking about his own wartime experiences in *New York Review of Books*, 31st May, p.43, cited in *Reading The Holocaust* by Inga Clendinnen, 1998, The Text Publishing Company, Melbourne, p.39

In the recent history, visibilities that are not put into words and invisibilities that are belied by words are an important part of the experiential world of Turkish Cypriots, which is slowly changing towards unknown metamorphoses. My artwork is a metamorphic practice in which along with the subjects, the medium also changes, with my interactions and interrelations with whatever surroundings I am living in at the time, an engagement that seeks to “increase the burden of awareness”⁵ in relation to the possible shifts in perception within everyday familiar settings and how we register our awareness. My visual art experiments have contributed to my ideas about how our perceptions of such elements of the familiar, everyday visual environment might be gently ‘disrupted’ in the sense of having the opportunity to experience a shift in perception that would bring about new ways of seeing.

The national monuments of North Cyprus play an interesting role in analysing the changing circumstances there, and although they appear to live the same double life in the local society as monuments in other places (with high visibility in ceremonial functions, and quiet background in daily social life, in how they ‘remember’ and what they ‘forget’), it seems they also have other kinds of visual work to do, as indicated in this paper. Summarising my research on the monuments and memorials, I think it could be said that the ‘body’ of monuments/memorials in TRNC serves as a reminder of the costs of the conflictual differentiation process that before, during and after 1974 seemed to complete the categorising of people, the drawing of boundaries and the marking of the landscape that had begun one hundred years earlier in 1878. Simply speaking, territory, language, religion and ethnicity, now correlate in Cyprus, and even though living social and political processes are not reducible to that equation, many deleterious effects have been experienced in those terms. This is not to suggest that everything is negative, far from it, simply that the (unfinished) history(s) of groups and individuals in Cyprus reflect choices made in relation to these kinds of processes that are part of all our lives.

In particular, the new accessibility of all the ‘landscapes’ in Cyprus throws into relief several important areas – the experiential qualities of place memory; visual rhetorics in memory and association; and the visuality of the present, where the ‘eye of the self’ meets the ‘eye of the other’ directly. The tensions

⁵ As also cited in the previous chapter, Yi-Fu TUAN (1977) *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience*, Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, p. 203

inherent in the multiplicity of our vision is an important critical engagement – the rhetorics of looking (what do we expect to see or not see?), the hermeneutics (what meanings do we give to what we see or don't see? what do we feel?), and the poetics, or desire (what is wanted from us by the things we see and don't see? what do we desire in relation to them?). Conceiving the visual experience as a social participant that is not entirely subsumed within language, Mitchell (2005: 47) remarked, "Vision is as important as language in mediating social relations, and it is not reducible to language, to the 'sign', or to the discourse." By becoming more consciously aware of visual interactions with our social and material surroundings, noticing what we notice and what we desire in relation to it, as individuals, the process may perhaps be opened up whereby the viewing of an image favourably or unfavourably can be released from continually occurring within the same nexus of expectation between language and image. The enhanced ability of people to engage with the visual environments in daily life and to develop means of examining the visual filters that affect their views of self and other(s) might be of value for more equitable social relationships.

It seems to me that is in how we acknowledge, and think about, what we experience in the relational field between subjects, and subject and object, that individual responsibility lies. It is possible to explore this in an art process by working with familiar materials and locations of everyday life and bringing them together or juxtaposing them in ways that jolt the familiarity of viewing habits, of the associations that arise and the assumptions on which we might be basing our registering processes - not by means of shocking visual tactics or intellectual intrigue, but by careful exploration of relationality itself via the interactivity of materials, the handling, form, feeling and thought. I think there is a quality of affection in this activity, of a robust, critical and connected kind as seen with the old man deeply engaged in carving his carefully selected piece of wood into a plough.

Here my memory is very fresh, recalling what Donald Kuspit observed in Joseph Beuys' work: "He understood that the personal is, indeed, the political: that is, that one's attitude to other people profoundly informs, even creates, sociopolitical reality."⁶

⁶ Donald Kuspit (1995) "Joseph Beuys: the Body of the Artist" in *Joseph Beuys: Diverging Critiques*, editor David Thistlewood, Liverpool University Press, pp. 95-108

VOLUME 2

Note on contents.

1. **The Plates:** Figures 1 – 79, as referred to in the thesis text in Volume 1. As this document is not for publication, no particular approvals have been sought for the reproduction of the images, but each source is acknowledged in the subtext below the plate. The images are digital prints of photographs, either my own or other people's originals, or rephotographed images (including maps) from books, plus a small number of internet downloads.
2. **Bibliography**
3. **DVD** recording of elements of the DCA final exhibition *Visibility 600 Metres: Between stillness and flux in the garden of the House of Envy*, 26 July – 10 August 200, 15 minutes

THE PLATES

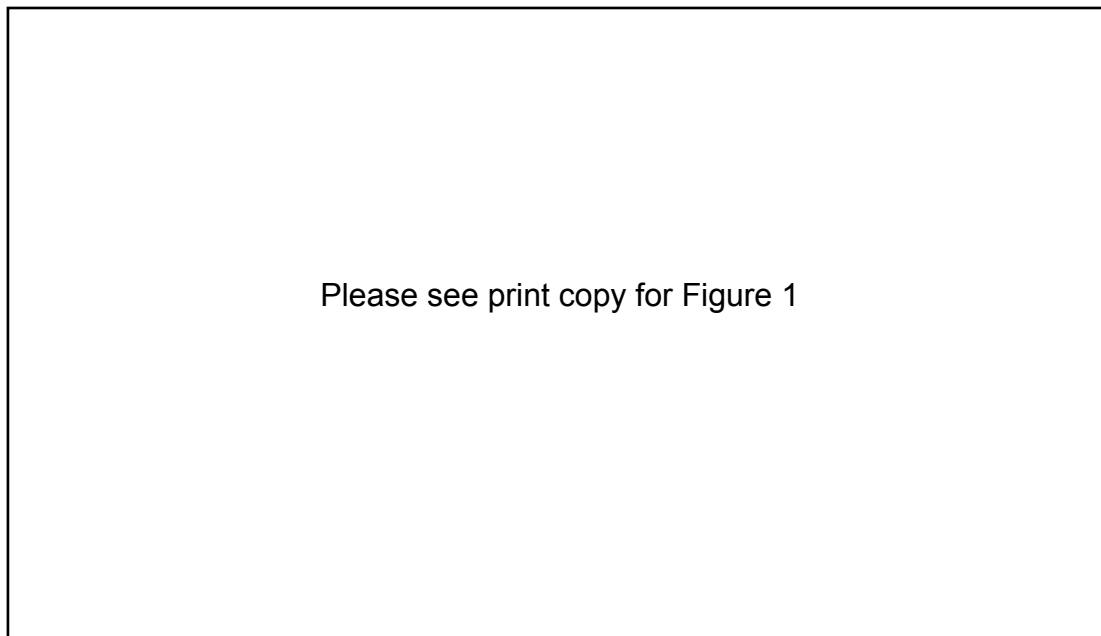


Figure: 1. Map: Cyprus in the Mediterranean basin region.
[Source: <www.countryreports.org/country.aspx?countryid=64> downloaded 25/7/2005]

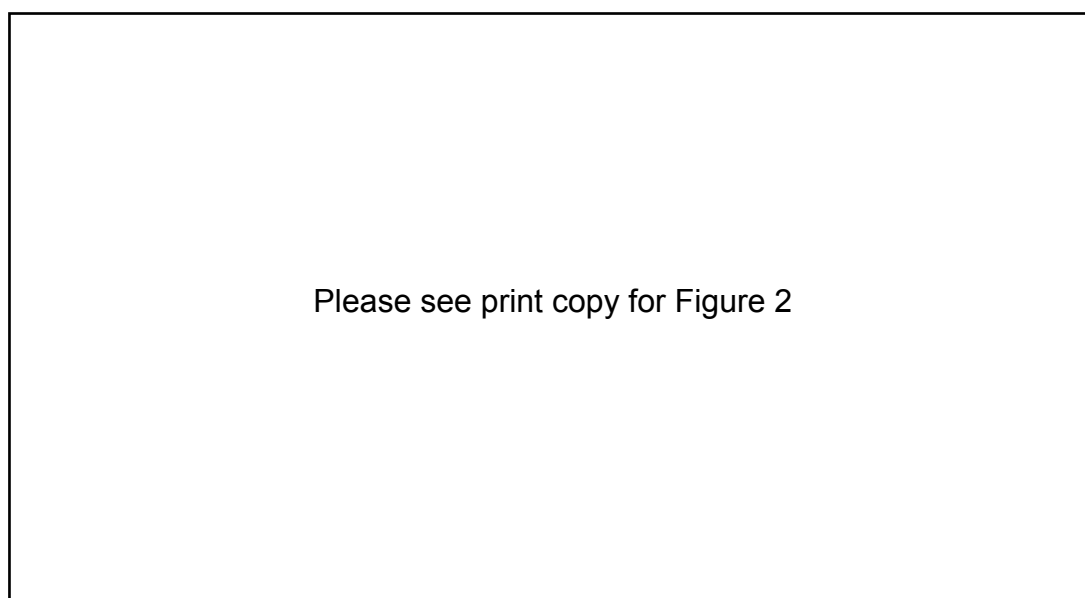
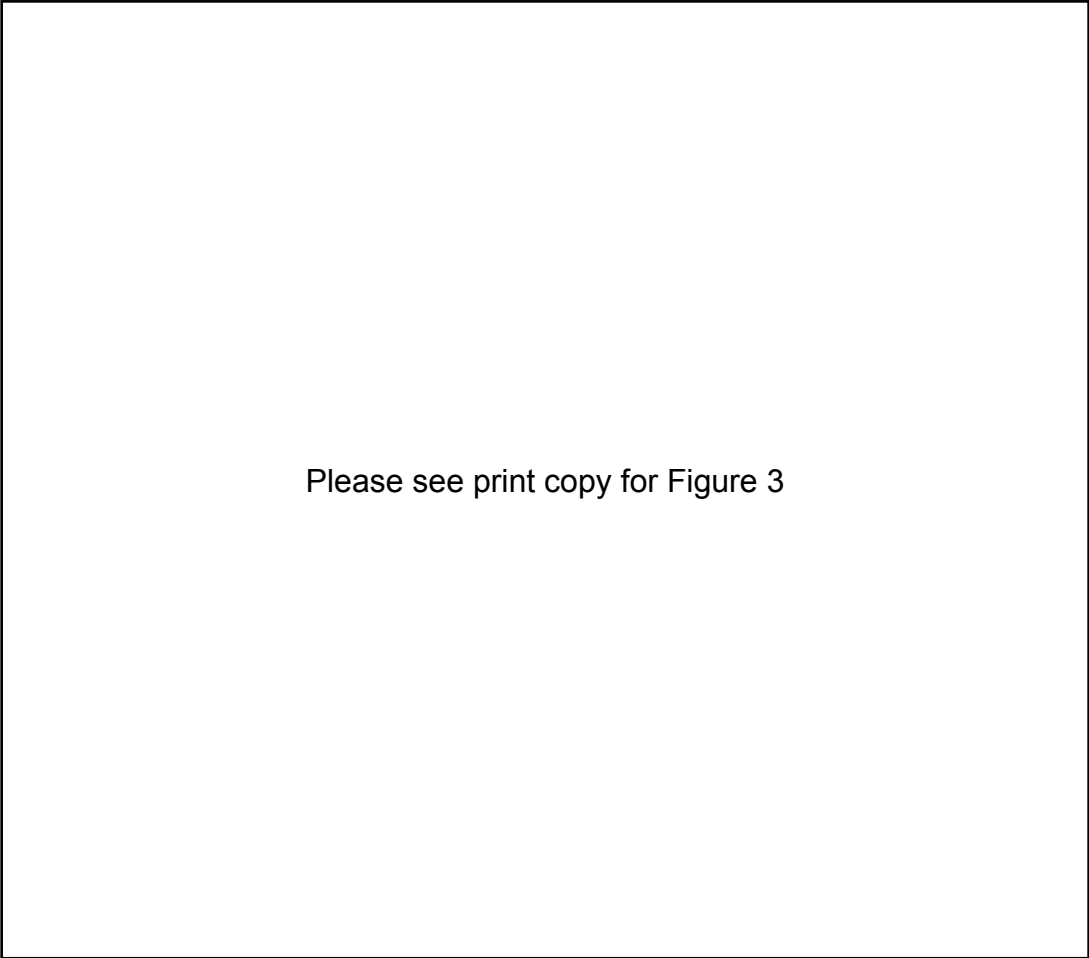
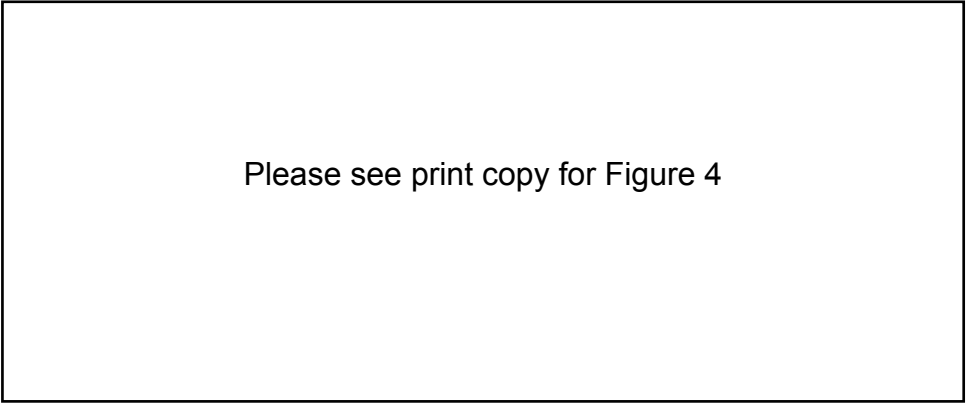


Figure: 2. Map: post -1974 Cyprus. The border is indicated by the broken orange line ('Cease-fire line'). Here the place names in the north are given in anglicised Greek with the Turkish in brackets. [Source: <<http://www.mapquest.com/atlas/main.adp?region=cyprus>> downloaded 25/7/2005]



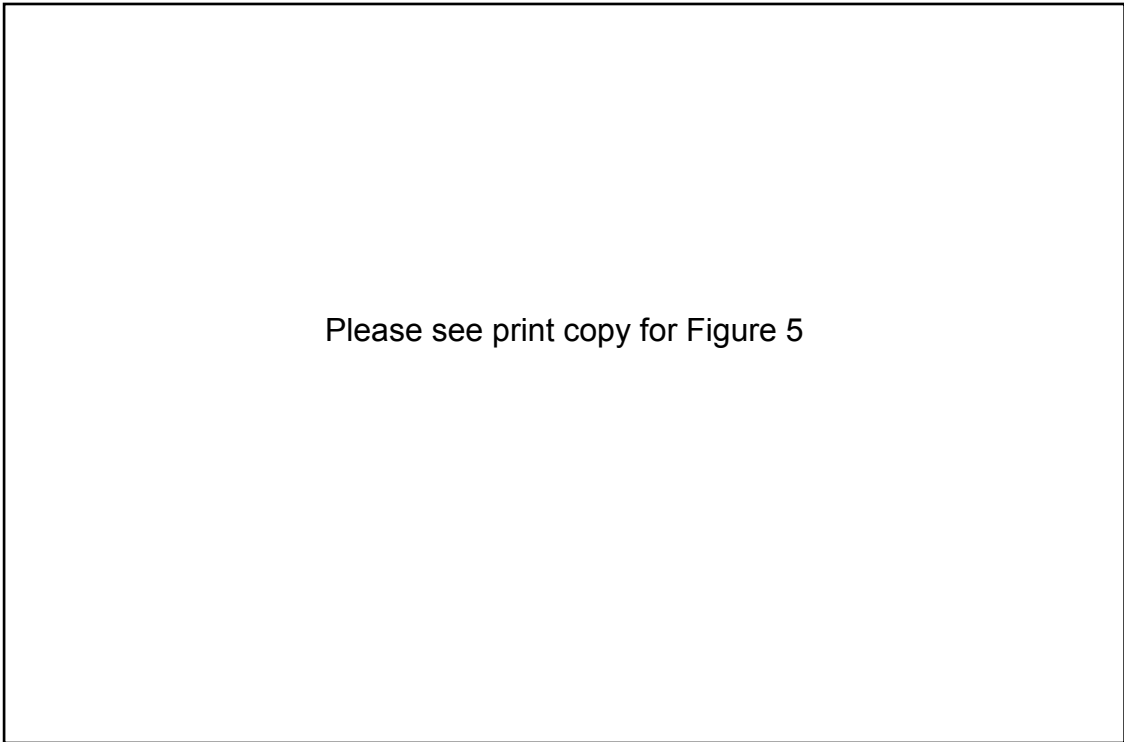
Please see print copy for Figure 3

Figure: 3. Detail, H.H. Kitchener Cyprus Survey, published 1885, in Michael Given, “Maps, Fields and Boundary Cairns: Demarcation and Resistance in Colonial Cyprus” in *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol.6, No. 1, March 2002, p. 10.



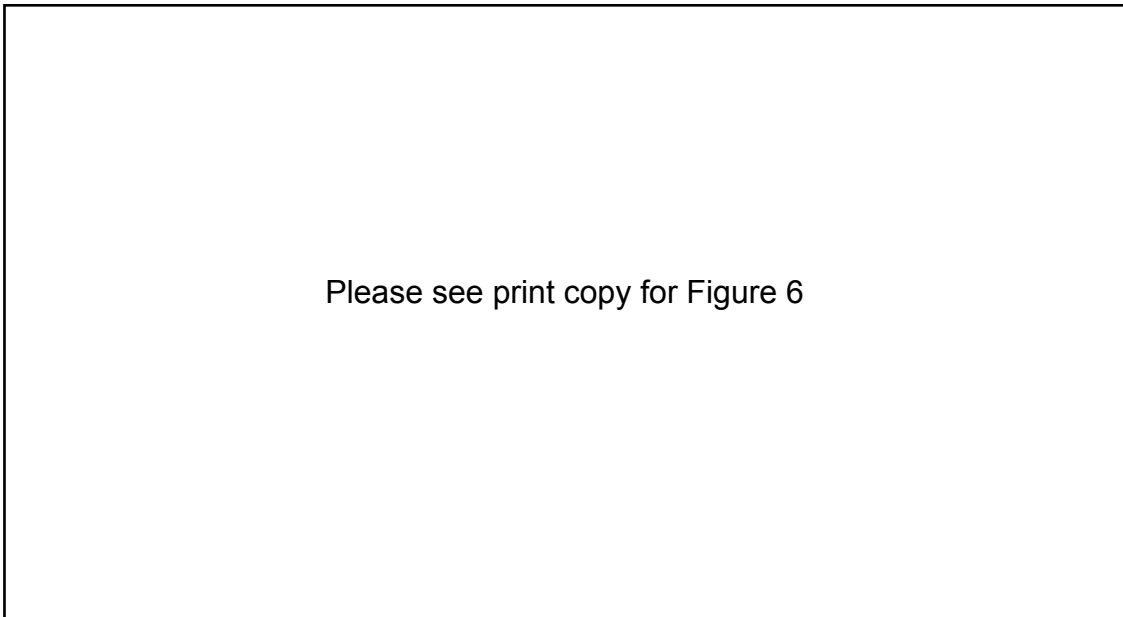
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Figure: 4. Map showing the British railway in Cyprus, 1914. The post-1974 border closely approximates the old railway line. [Source: <www.britishempire.co.uk/images3/cyprus1914.jpg> downloaded, 12/3/2007]



Please see print copy for Figure 5

Figure: 5. Map: The distribution of Cypriot Turks at the 1960 census [Source: H.D. Purcell, Cyprus, Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1969, p. 24.]



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Figure: 6. Map: “How the Cypriot Turks took refuge during the troubles of 1963-4” [Source: H.D. Purcell, Cyprus, Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1969, p. 25.]

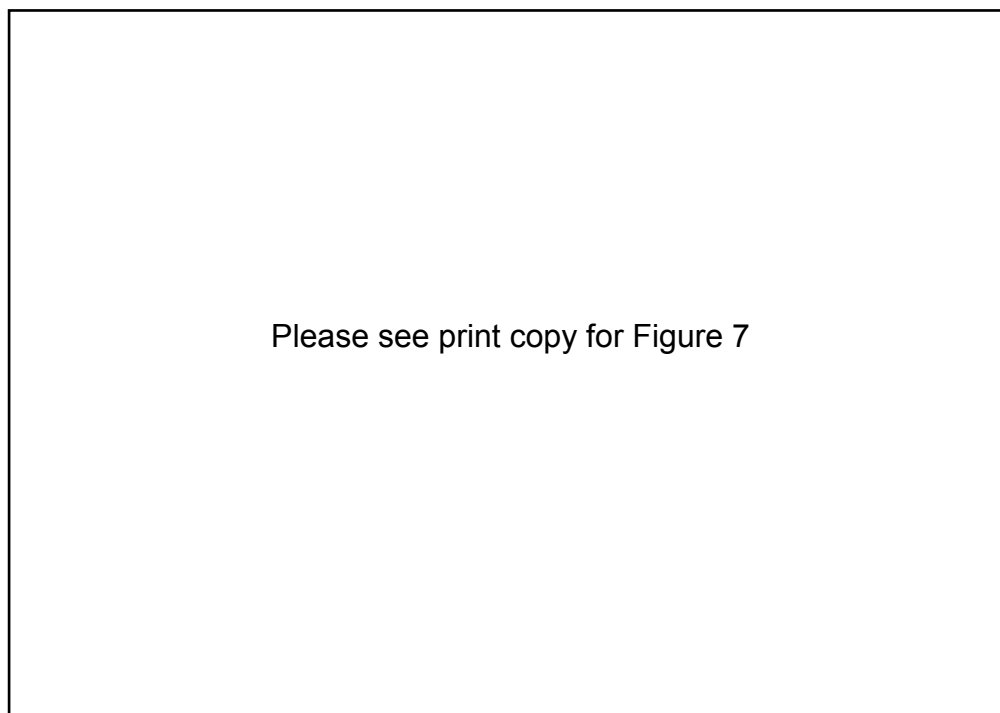


Figure: 7. Turkish Cypriot map of the old city of Nicosia with the Greek sector (south) blank.
[Source: <www.esf.edu/cyprus/updates.htm> downloaded 23 June 2007]

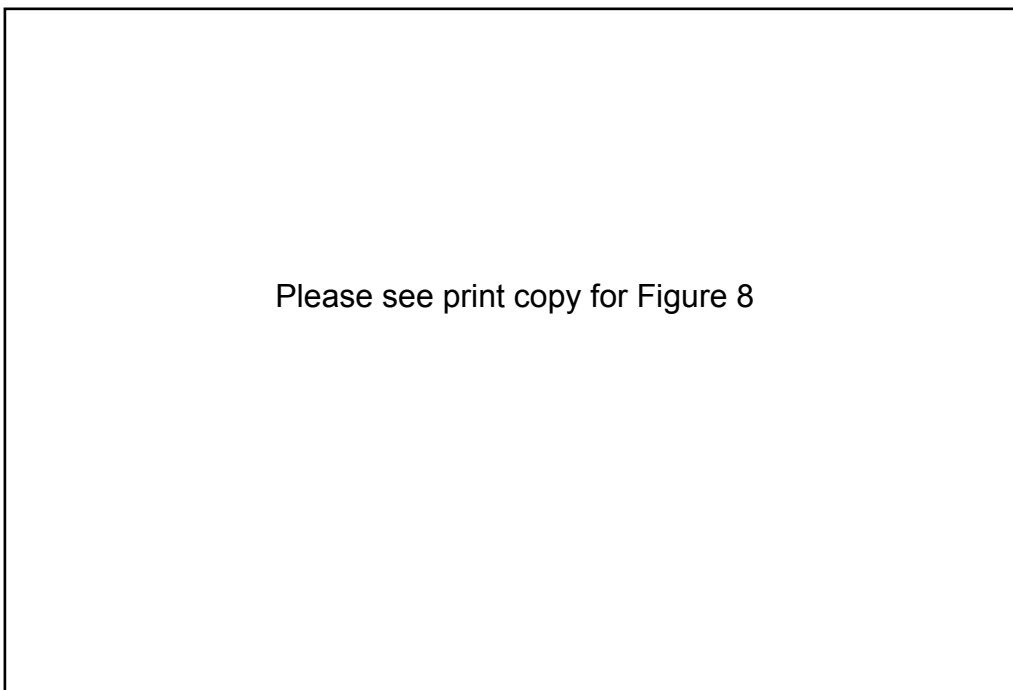


Figure: 8. Greek Cypriot map of the old city of Nicosia with the Turkish sector (north) blank.
[Source: <www.esf.edu/cyprus/updates.htm> downloaded 23 June 2007]



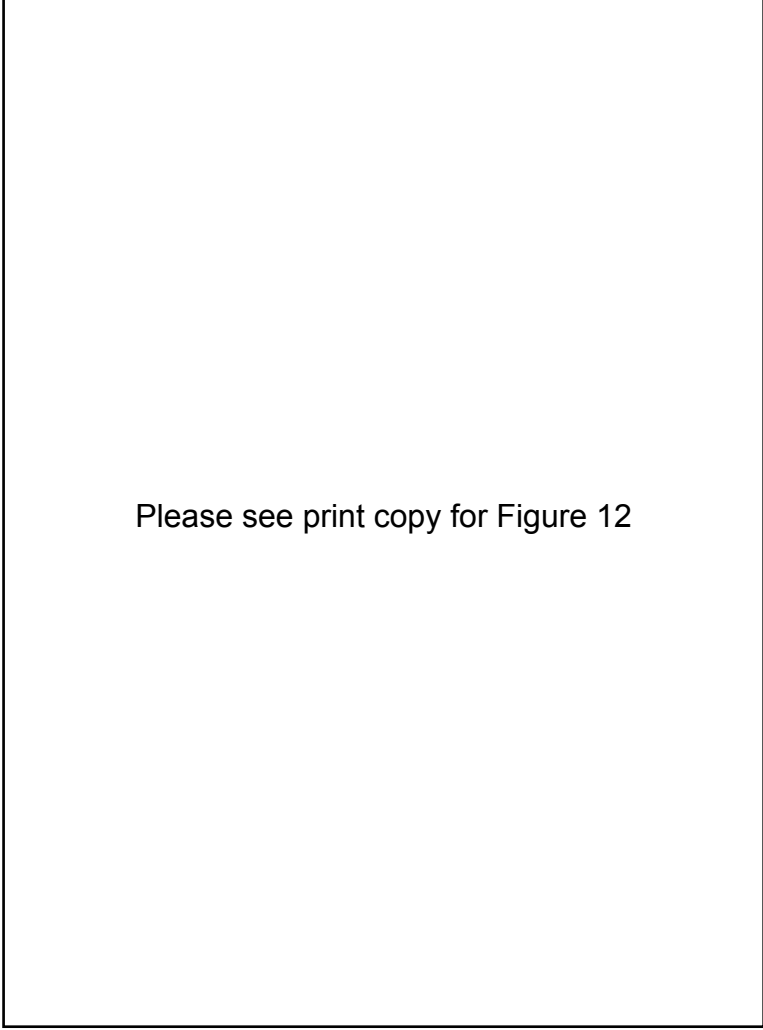
Figure 9. Bust of Namık Kemal (1840-1888), erected 1953, Gazi Mag`usa (Famagusta), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2004]

Please see print copy for Figure 10

Figure 10. Hala Sultan Mosque and Mausoleum, Larnaka (Larnaca), South Cyprus; view across the salt lake. The mausoleum is that of the Prophet Mohammed's (pbh) aunt Umm Haram, who died in Cyprus in the year 638; the mosque and minaret were built 1760-1816, latest renovation 2005. [Photo: K. Adil 2005]

Please see print copy for Figure 11

Figure: 11. Ortaköy Cemetery Martyrs Memorial, Dikmen Road, Ortaköy, Lefkoşa (Nicosia), North Cyprus. This martyr's memorial area is included in the main civilian cemetery in Ortaköy.
[Source of image: H. Sadrazam, *Kıbrıs'ta Varoluş Mücadelemiz Şehitliklerimiz ve Anıtlarımız*, Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfı Yayınları, No. 4, 1990, p. 156.



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Figure: 12. Çanakkale Şehitlig`i, 1980, Gallipoli Memorial, Mag`usa (Famagusta), North Cyprus. The original gravestones, shown in the top image, are those of ‘World War One’ Ottoman prisoners of war from the Gallipoli campaign who died while held by the British in Cyprus. [Source: H. Sadrazam, *Kıbrıs’ta Varolan Mucadelemiz Şehitliklerimiz ve Anıtlarımız*, Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfı Yayınları, No. 4, 1990, p. 206].



Figure: 13. Türk Şehitleri Abidesi (Monument to the Turkish Fallen), 1963 Lefkoşa (Nicosia), Cyprus. [Photo: M. Adil, 2005]



Figure: 14. Close up of Figure 13. The caption on black marble reads in translation: What makes a flag *flag* is the blood on it. Soil becomes homeland once blood is shed for it. [Trans. M. Adil, photo: M. Adil, 2005]



Figure: 15. Statue of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 1963, Girne (Kyrenia) Gate, Lefkoşa (Nicosia), North Cyprus. The gate forms the northern entrance through the Venetian walls to the old city. [Photo: M. Adil, 2005]

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Figure: 16. Bust of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, date unknown, Cengiz Töpel Technical Institute, Lefke (Lefka), North Cyprus. The wall plaque reads in translation: A nation with no skills is like a nation with one of its main arteries severed. K. Atatürk [Trans. M. Adil, photo: K. Adil 2005]

Please see print copy for Figure 17

Figure 17. Yurt'da Sulh. Cihan'da Sulh (Peace at Home. Peace in the World), Lefkoşa (Nicosia), erected either 1973 (Sadrazam 1990: 120-121) or 1982 (Hakkeri, 1992: 384).

[Source of image: <<http://www.tourism.trnc.net/main/tarih/anit%5CIfanit.html>> downloaded 20/6/07]

Please see print copy for Figure 18

Figure: 18. Küçük Kaymaklı Monument to the Fallen, Lefkoşa (Nicosia), 1976

[Source of image: <<http://www.tourism.trnc.net/main/tarih/anit%5CIfanit.html>> downloaded 20/6/07]

Please see print copy for Figure 19

Figure 19. Atatürk, Lefke (Lefka), 1989, North Cyprus. [Source: H. Sadrazam, *Kıbrıs'ta Varoluş Mücadelemiz Şehitliklerimiz ve Anıtlarımız*, Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfı Yayınları, No. 4, 1990, p. 104]

Please see print copy for Figure 20

Figure 20. The main square in Esentepe (Ayios Amvrosios), North Cyprus, 10 November, 2005. The flags are at half-mast due to it being the anniversary of Atatürk's death. The building on the right was formerly the Orthodox church of the town and has been converted for use as a mosque by the addition of a small, stylised minaret on a corner of the roof. [Photo: K. Adil 2005]



Figure: 21. Milli Mücadele ve Kurtuluş Anıtı [National Struggle and Independence Monument]1988, Lefkoşa (Nicosia). ([Photo M. Adil, 2005]

Please see print copy for Figure 22

Figure: 22. Map of the locations of Turkish Cypriot national monuments and memorials. . [Source: Halil Sadrazam, *Kıbrıs'ta Varoluş Mücadelemiz Şehitliklerimiz ve Anıtlarımız*, Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfı Yayınları, No. 4, 1990, p. 95]



Figure 23. Wall of Names, Barış ve Özgürlük Müzesi [Museum of Peace and Freedom], 1976, Girne (Kyrenia). Said to be the names of all Turkish Cypriots who died during the national struggle 1963-1974. [Photo; M. Adil 2005]



Figure 24. Detail, Meçhul Asker Anıtı ve Karaog'lanog'lu Şehitlig'i [The Unknown Soldier and Karaog'lanog'lu Memorial], 1976, Girne (Kyrenia) North Cyprus [Photo: M. Adil 2005]



Figure 25. Barış ve Özgürlük Anıtı [Peace and Freedom Monument], 1978, Yavuz Landing Beach, Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus [Photo: M. Adil 2005]

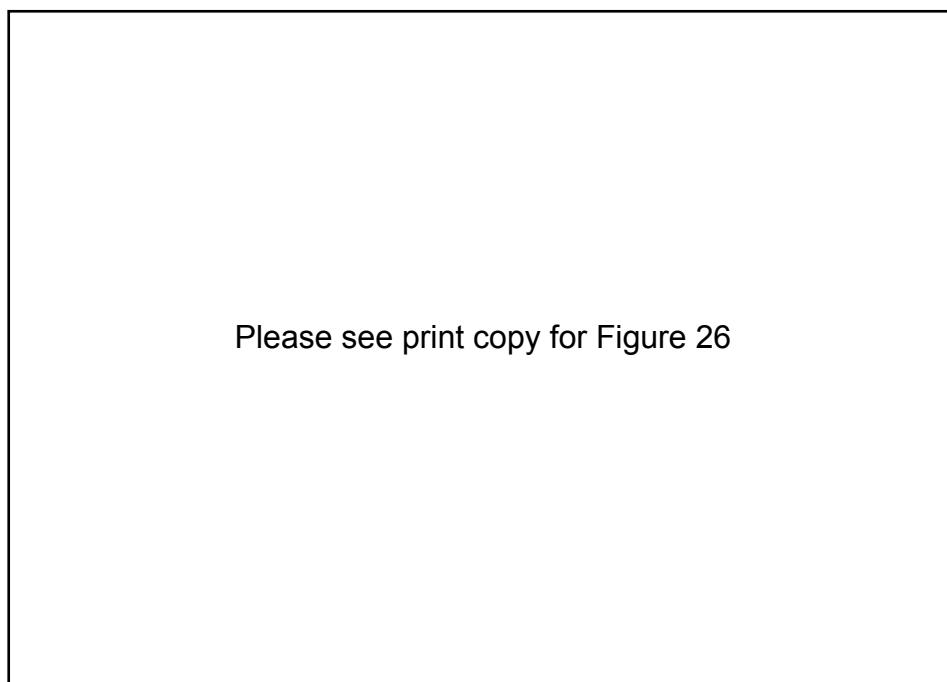


Figure: 26. *Atatürk Kocatepede*, version on hilltop between Girne (Kyrenia) and Lefkoşa (Nicosia), North Cyprus. [Photo: T. Adil, 2005]

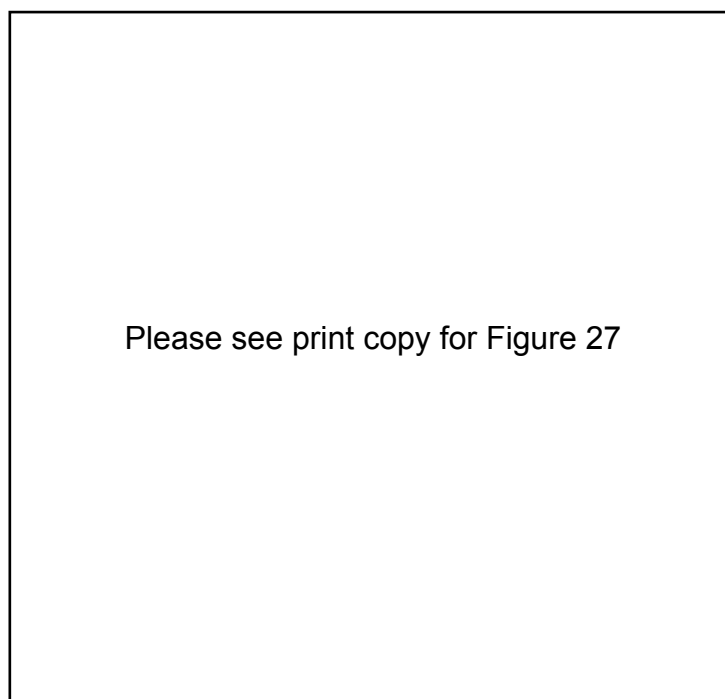
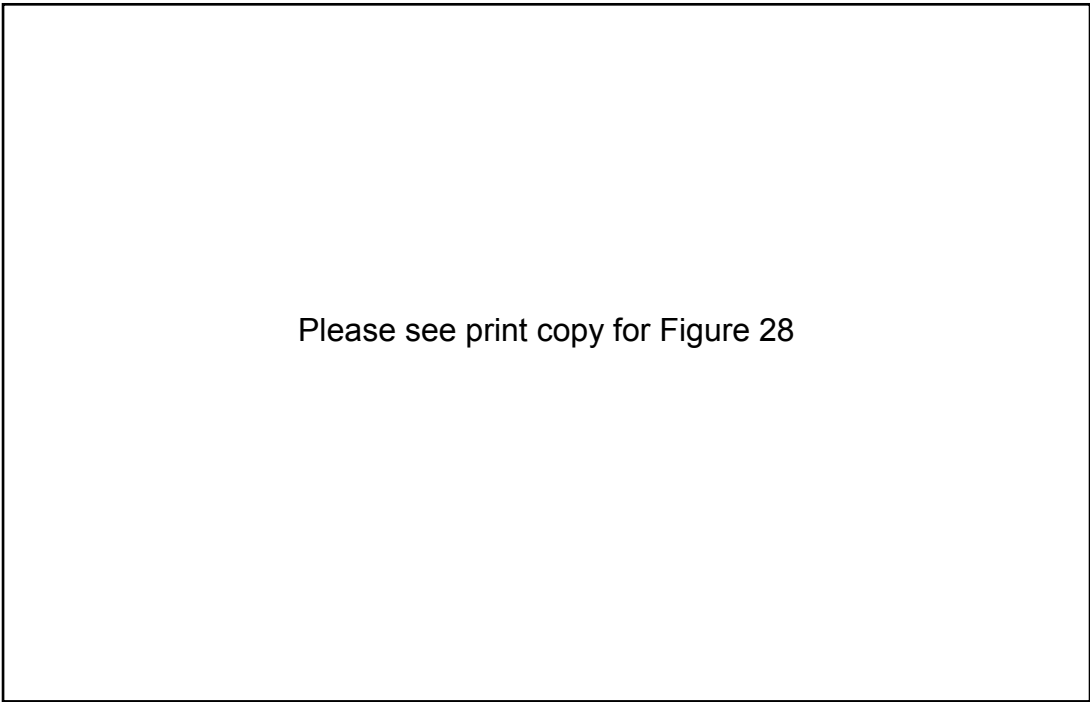
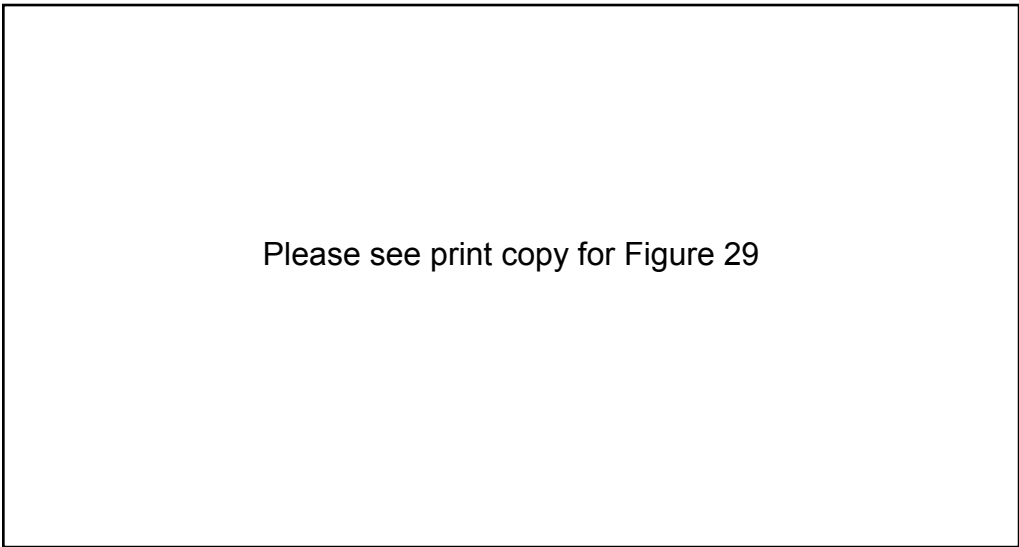


Figure: 27. Photographic master for the Atatürk silhouettes known as *Atatürk Kocatepede* (Ataturk on Kocatepe), Turkish War of Independence. [Photographer unknown, image from <<http://ogrkonseyi.kou.edu.tr/images>> downloaded 8/7/2005]



Please see print copy for Figure 28

Figure: 28. The original full photograph of Atatürk at Kocatepe, source of the cropped image in Figure 27 [Photographer unknown, image downloaded 8/7/2005
<[http://ogrkonseyi.kou.edu.tr/images\(18\).jpg](http://ogrkonseyi.kou.edu.tr/images(18).jpg)>]



Please see print copy for Figure 29

Figure: 29. Municipal Offices of post-1974 Alayköy (Yerolakkos), North Cyprus, on Republic Day, 29 October 2005. [Photo: K. Adil, 2005]



Figure: 30. Zafer ve Özgürlük Anıtı [Victory and Independence Monument], 1980, Gazi Mag`usa (Famagusta), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]

Please see print copy for Figure 31

Figure: 31. Statue of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 1983, waterfront Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. [Photo Mevlana Adil, 2005]

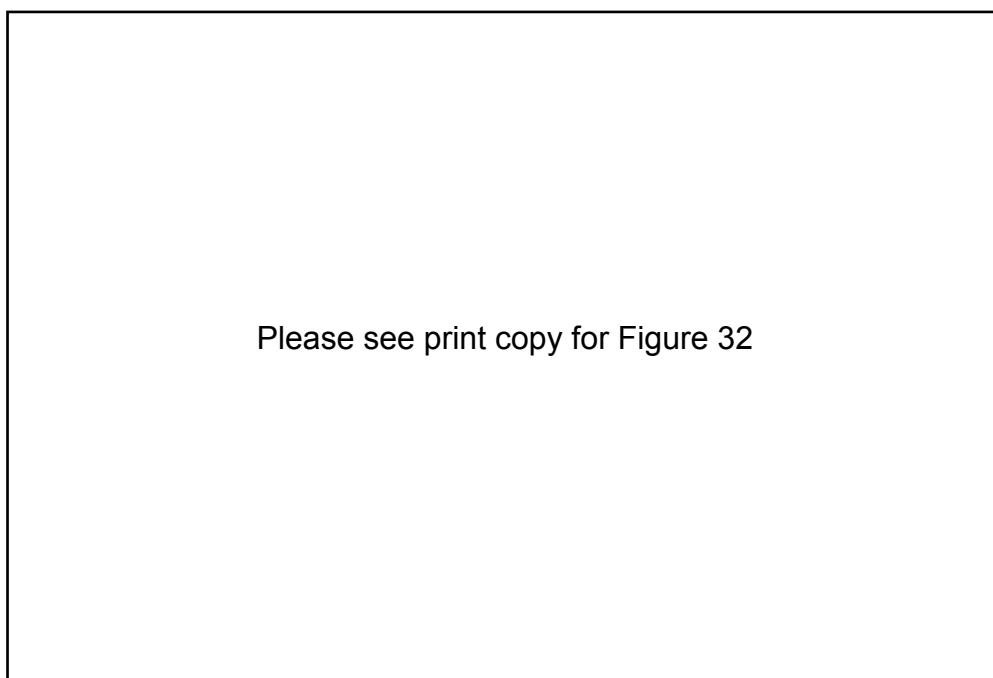


Figure: 32. View from behind of Figure 31, the statue of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 1983, waterfront Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. [Photo Mevlana Adil, 2005]

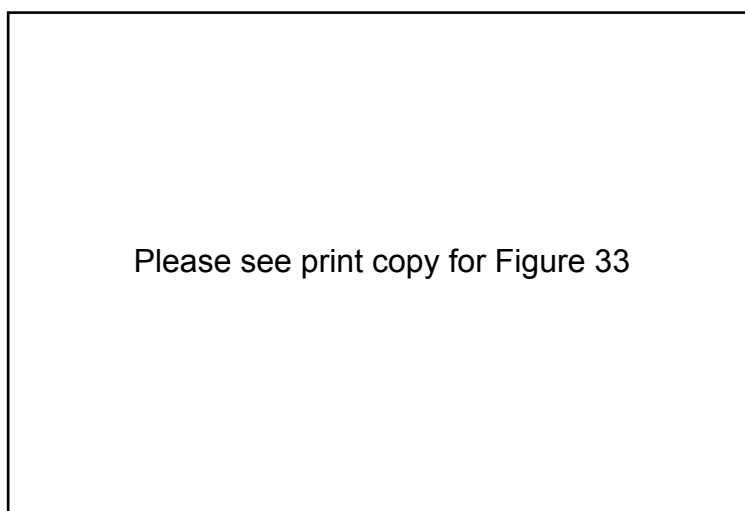


Figure 33. Atatürk, Güzelyurt (Omorpho, Morphou), installed 1984 (fabricated in 1974 intended for Paphos) [Source: <[www.tourism,trnc.net/main/tarih/anit%5gzanit.html](http://www.tourism.trnc.net/main/tarih/anit%5gzanit.html)> downloaded 17/4/2005]



Figure: 34. High School principal, Lefkosa (Nicosia), North Cyprus, with the customary portrait of Atatürk and flags of the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 20

Please see print copy for Figure 35

Figure 35. Bust of Zübeyde Hanım, mother of Atatürk, date: unknown, Lefkoşa. [Source of image: H. Sadrazam, 1990, p.121]



Figure: 36. Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı Anıtı [Turkish Resistance Movement (TMT) Monument] 2002, Lefkosa (Nicosia), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]



Figure: 37. Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus National Archive and Research Office, established in 1971 in Lefkosa (Nicosia), and after 1974 moved to its current location in Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. The plaque reads: *Writing history is as important as making it. If the writer of history distorts the truth of the history itself the truth behind the distortion takes on a bewildering form for humanity.* Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. [Trans. M. Adil, photo M. Adil, 2005]

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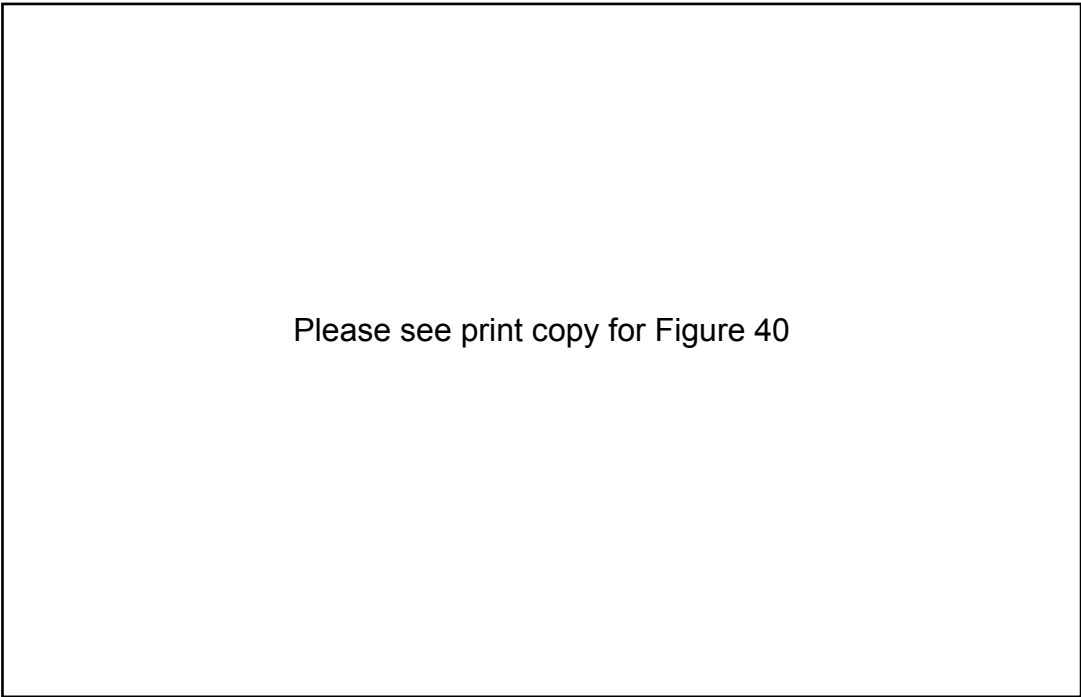
Figure: 38. Typical image of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkish schoolbooks used in North Cyprus (as also in Turkey). [Source: *İlk Öğretim: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük*, No. 8, by Nesime Ercan, Rifat Turgut, and Aliye Akay, İstanbul: Birinci Baskı, 2005, p. 6]

Please see print copy for Figure 39

Figure: 39. Mr. Rauf Denktas, Turkish Cypriot leader 1973-82 and the first president (1983-2005) of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. [Source of image: H. Sadrazam (1990) *Kıbrıs'ta Varoluş Mücadelemiz Şehitliklerimiz ve Anıtlarımız*, Türkiye Şehitlikleri İmar Vakfı Yayınları, No. 4, p. 9].

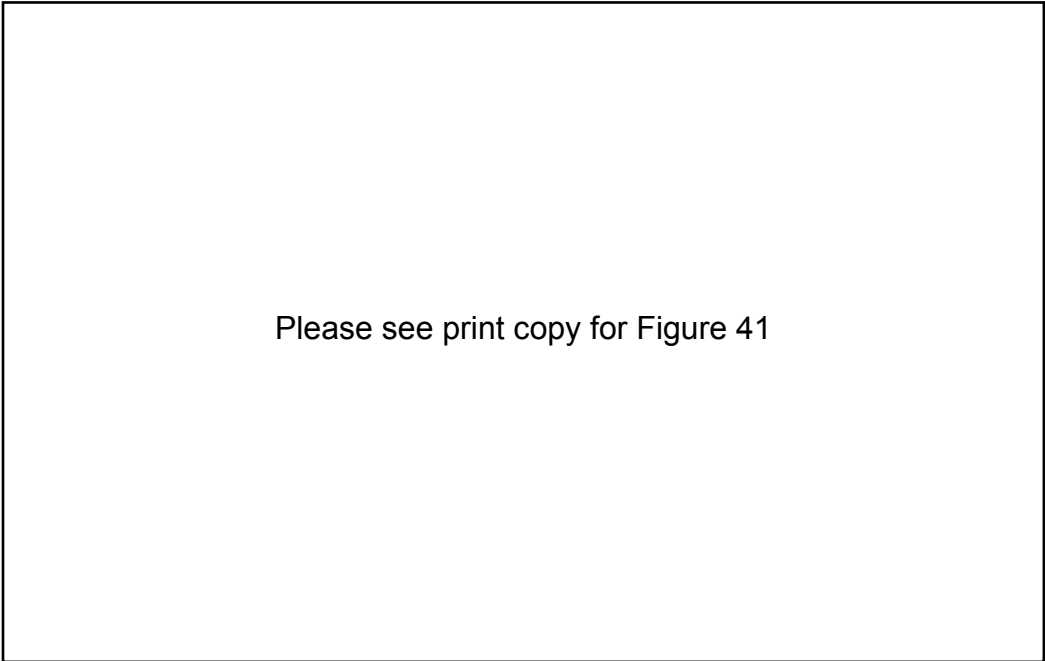
Please see print copy for Figure 39a

Figure 39a. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Coat of Arms [Source: <http://turkishcyprus.com/turkish-cyprus-at-a-glance.html>] downloaded 12/12/2007]



Please see print copy for Figure 40

Figure 40. The Earth Flag: flags of Turkish Republic and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on the hillside, 1987, North Cyprus. [Source: <<http://members.home.nl/vweerled/image0127.jpg>> downloaded 12 October 2004]



Please see print copy for Figure 41

Figure 41: School visit to Bog`az Military Cemetery, Bog`az, North Cyprus, 2005 [Photo: Z. Bekirog`ulları 2005]



Figure 42. The original pedestal of Atatürk's bust in Karag`aaç (Pelathousa), South Cyprus. The bust was erected 1968-71, and taken off its pedestal in early 1975 for transport to the north. [Photo: M. Adil 2005]



Figure: 43. Limasol-Girne Şehitler ve Özgürlük Anıtı [Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument], 2005, Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]

Please see print copy for Figure 43a

Figure 43a. Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument after the opening ceremony on the first of August 2005. [Source: Güvenlik Kuvvetleri Dergisi (Security Forces Journal), <guvkk.net.Dergiler/Dergi65/Sayfa_16.htm> downloaded 28/6/2007]



Figure: 44. Central figures, detail of the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument, Girne (Kyrenia). [Photo M. Adil, 2005]



Figure 44a. Children playing at the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument, Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. [Photo: M. Adil 2005]



Figure: 45. Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument, Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus; photo taken from behind, facing the Five Finger Mountains [Photo M. Adil, 2005]



Figure: 46. Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument, Girne (Kyrenia). [Photo M. Adil, 2005]

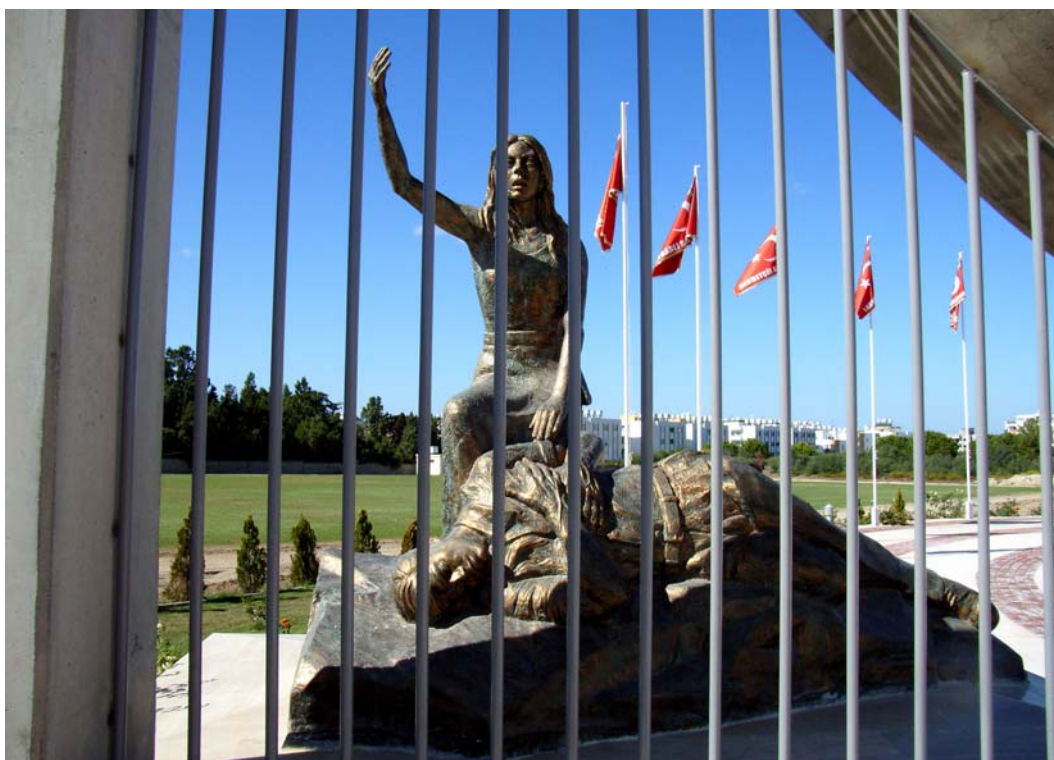


Figure: 47. Fallen Man and Lamenting Woman, a detail of the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument, Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]



Figure: 48. Side view, Fallen Man and Lamenting Woman, a detail of the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument, Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]



Figure: 49. Family group: a detail of the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument, Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]



Figure: 50. A detail of the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument, Girne (Kyrenia), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]

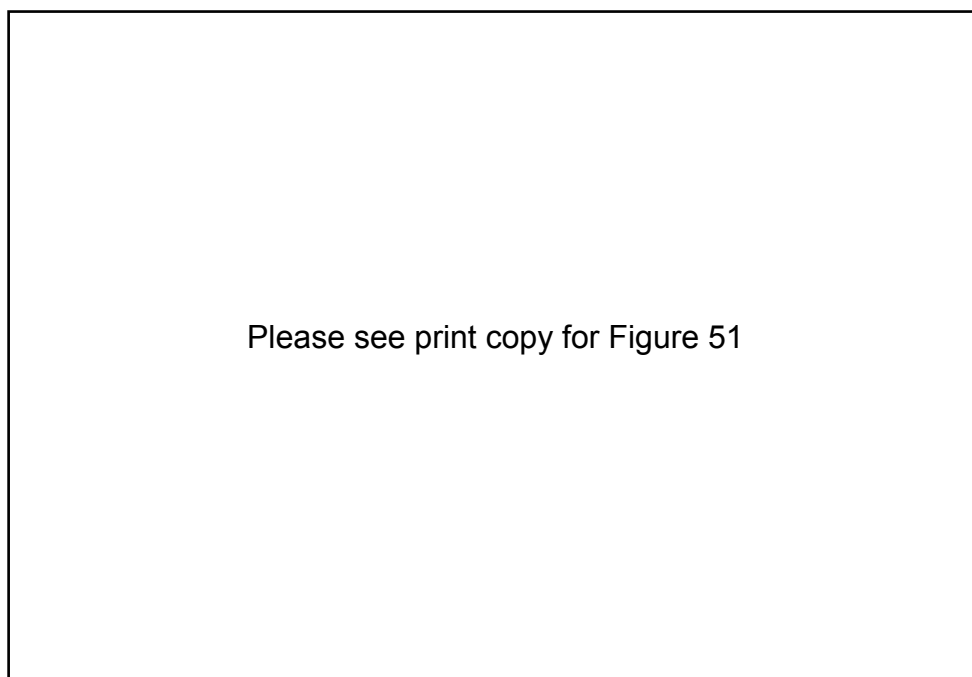


Figure: 51. Concept drawing and rationale of proposal for a public national monument in Girne (Kyrenia) at the site on which the Limasol-Girne Martyrs and Independence Monument now stands. This proposal by local artist Zehra Sonya was highly commended by the selection committee. [Source of image: Zehra Sonya, by correspondence, December 2005]

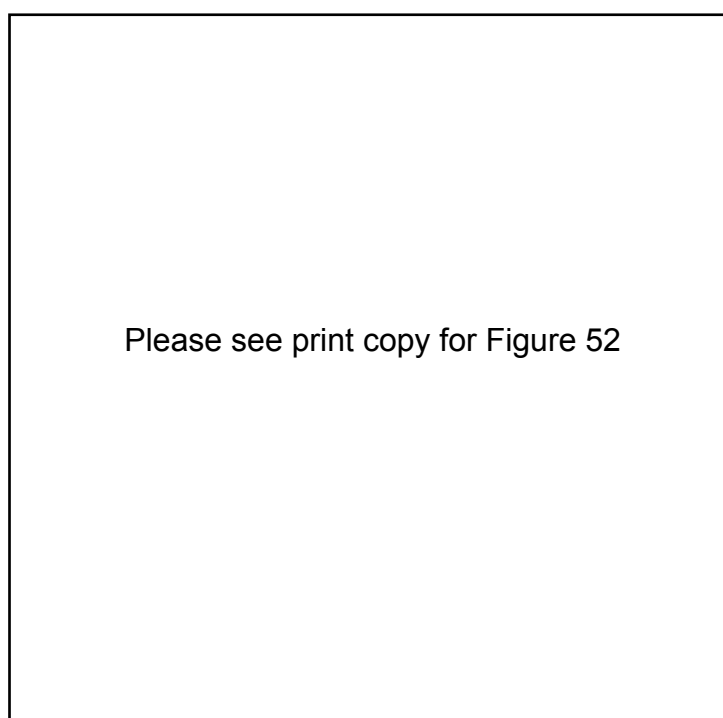


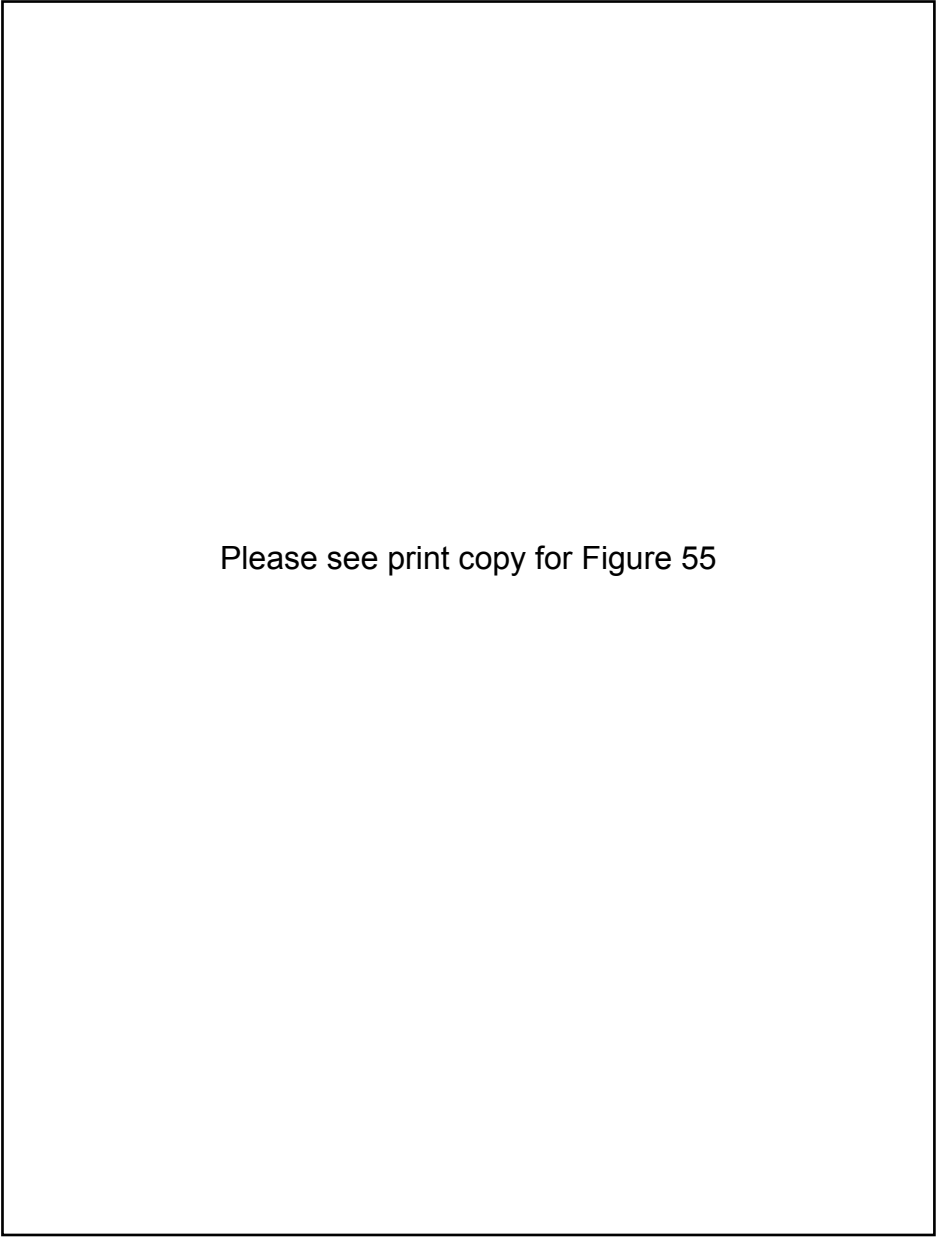
Figure: 52. Figural concepts in Zehra Sonya's Limasol-Girne Monument proposal. [Source: Zehra Sonya, by correspondence, December 2005]



Figure: 53. World Peace Monument, 2005, Metehan (Kermiya), Lefkosa (Nicosia), North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]

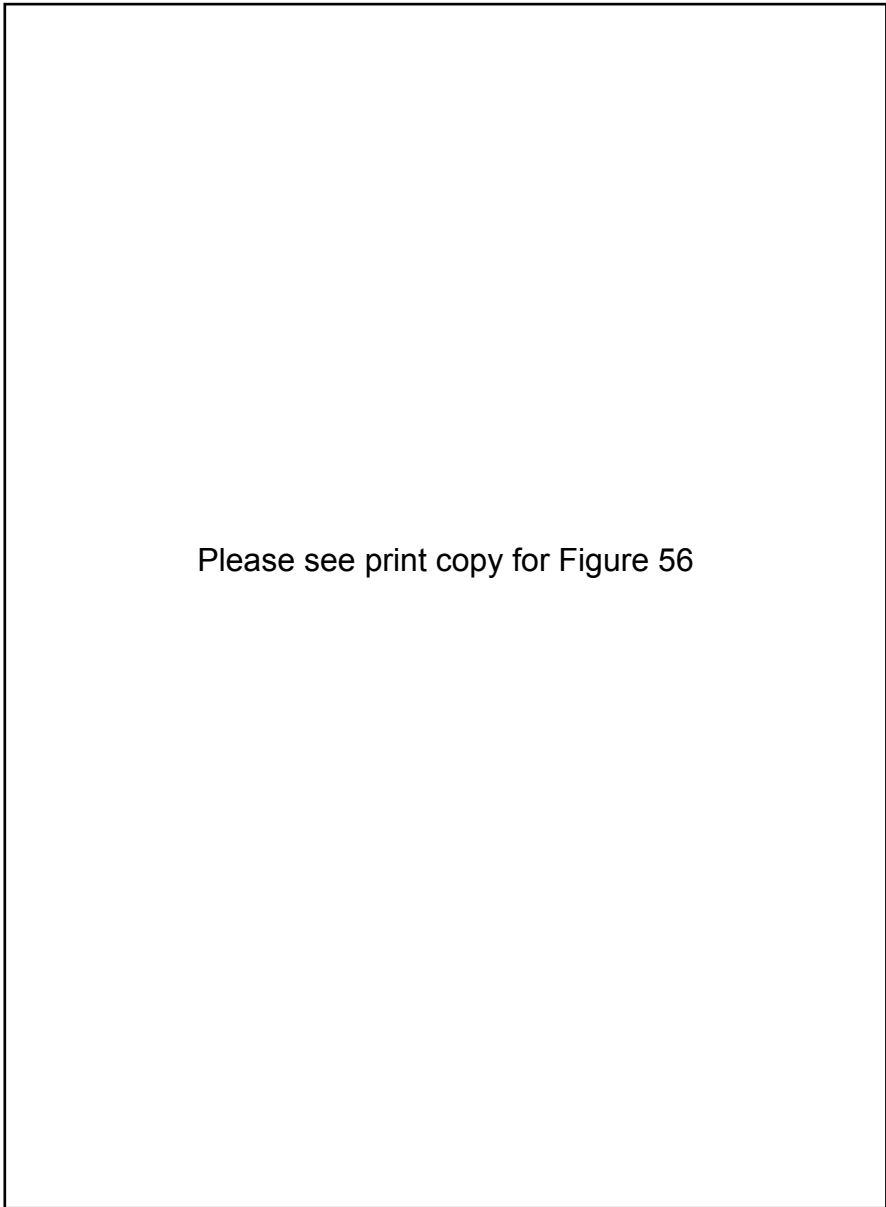


Figure: 54. Plaque – World Peace Monument, 2005, Metehan (Kermiya), Lefkosa (Nicosia) North Cyprus. [Photo M. Adil, 2005]



Please see print copy for Figure 55

Figure: 55. Shadow in archway [Source of image: Eduardo Torraja, *Philosophy of Structure*, English version by J. J. Polivka and Milos Polivka, University of California Press, 1967, p. 81]



Please see print copy for Figure 56

Figure: 56. Archbishop Makarios, first President of the Republic of Cyprus, 1960-1977, [Source: Institute for Interreligious Dialogue, <<http://iidf/Gallery/Makarios.gif>> down loaded 14/3/2005]



Figure: 57. *Rolls in the hall*, Mehmet Adil, Museum of Vacant Spaces, 1991, Adelaide, South Australia. [Photo M. Adil]



Figure: 58. Accumulating at the source: *Silver Things experiment*, 2006, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts hallway, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]



Figure: 59. *A Window from the House of Envy 3*, 2005, Mehmet Adil, Stairwell Vitrines, Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]

Please see print copy for Figure 60

Figure: 60. Alfred Steiglitz, “The Blind Man” No. 2, May 1917; Steiglitz’ photo of Marcel Duchamp’s ‘Fountain’ [Source: in Thierry Du Duve ed. *The Definitively Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, MIT Press, 1992, p. 205]



Figure: 61. Provisional, a visual experiment, 2006, Mehmet Adil, Long Gallery, Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]

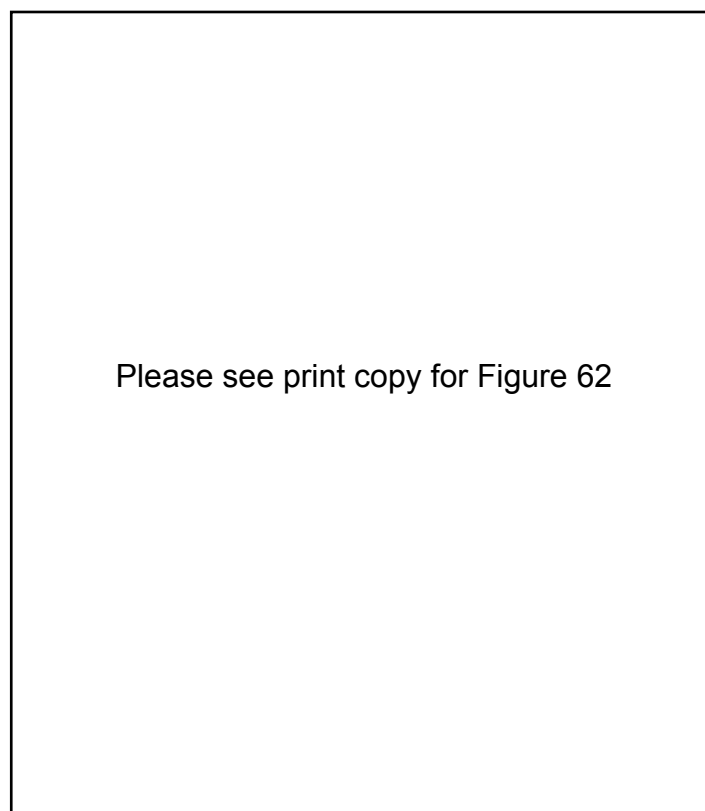


Figure: 62. *Battery*, Joseph Beuys, 1974. [Source: David Thistlewood ed. (1995) *Joseph Beuys: Diverging Critiques*, Critical Forum Series, Liverpool University Press and Tate Gallery Liverpool, p. 116].

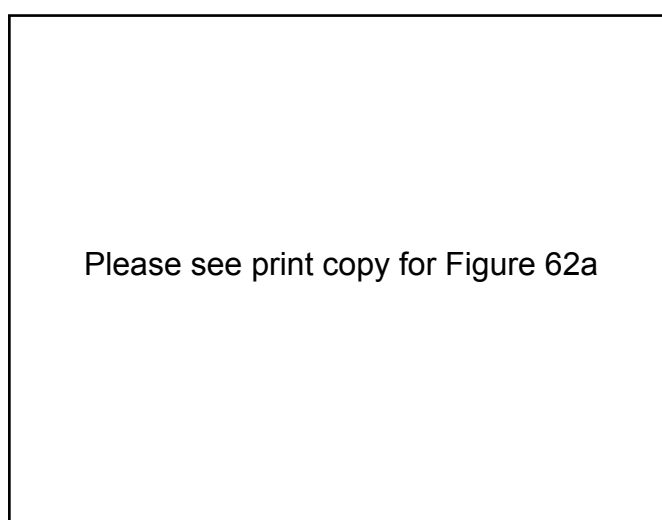


Figure 62a: *Library*, memorial/sculpture, Micha Ullman, 1995, Bebelplatz, Berlin. [Source: Jens Brockmeier (2002) "Remembering and Forgetting: Narrative as Cultural Memory", *Culture and Psychology* Vol. 8(1), p. 31]



Figure: 63. 'Mt. Keira Screen' and 'Unmoved Eye Revisited', a detail of *Visibility 600 Metres – Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*, 2007, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts Gallery, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]



Figure: 64. Colours of 'Mt Keira Screen' and the 'Unmoved Eye revisited', a detail of *Visibility 600 Metres – Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*, 2007 [Photo: M. Adil]

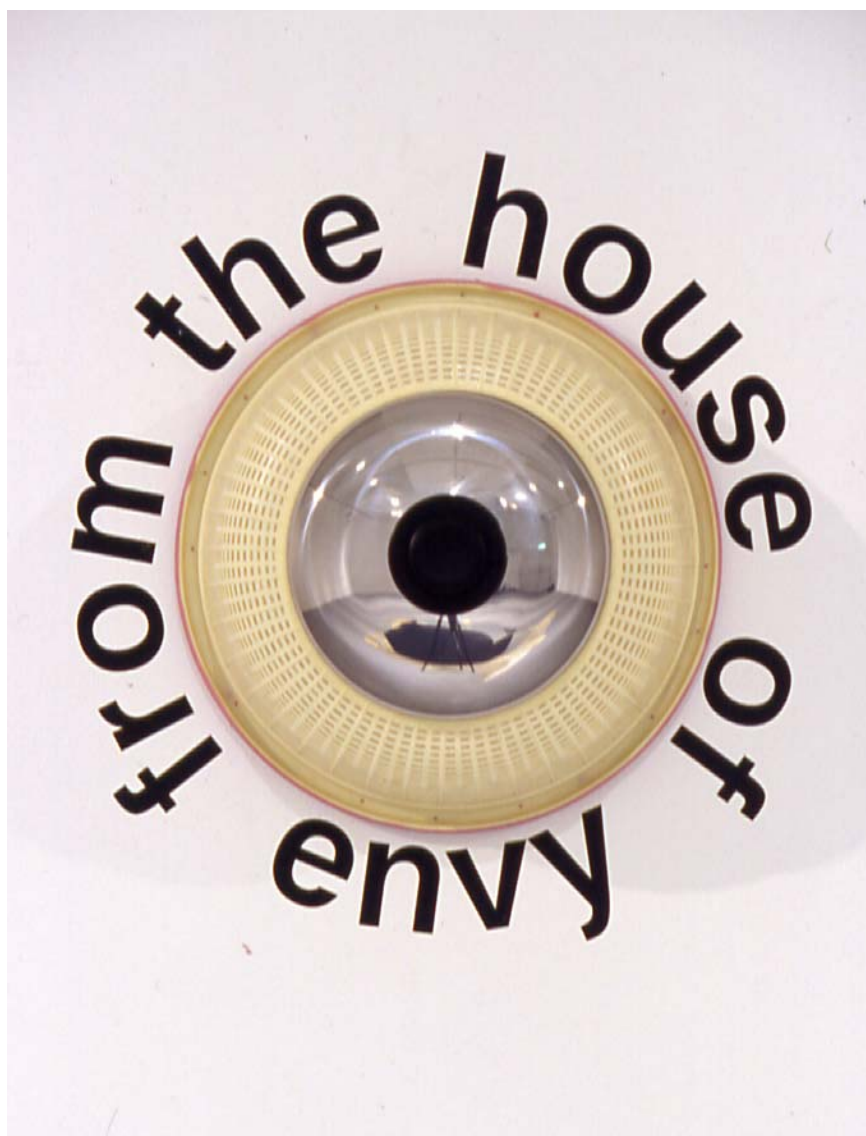


Figure: 65. Detail: *Project Two-'from the house of envy'*, 1999, Mehmet Adil, Experimental Art Foundation, Adelaide, South Australia. [Photo, M. Adil 1999]



Figure: 66. Detail: *Project Two-'from the house of envy'*, 1999, M. Adil, Experimental Art Foundation, Adelaide, South Australia. [Photo M. Adil 1999].



Figure: 67. After the move – third stage '*Silver Things*' Experiment, 2007, Mehmet Adil, Glass Room, Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]



Figure: 68. 'Line for Line', Mehmet Adil, a detail of the 2007 exhibition *Visibility 600 Meters - Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*, Faculty of Creative Arts Gallery, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia; original drawing Mehmet Adil 1992, South Australian School of Art, University of South Australia, South Australia [Photo M. Adil 2007]



Figure: 69. 'TOHHOT' (Terror of History, History of Terror). Mehmet Adil, detail of *Visibility 600 Meters - Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*, 2007, Faculty of Creative Arts Gallery, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil 2007]



Figure: 70. Original Mould: 'Silver Things' Experiment, 2006, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts hallway, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil 2006]



Figure: 71. A few shells near the source - first stage '*Silver Things*' Experiment, 2006, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts hallway, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil 2006]



Figure: 72. Interactions, '*Silver Things*' Experiment, towards the end of first stage, 2006, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts hallway, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil 2006]



Figure: 73. Close-up: first stage '*Silver Things*' Experiment, 2006, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts hallway, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil 2006]



Figure: 74. Reworked: a figure - second stage '*Silver Things*' Experiment, 2007, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts hallway, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]



Figure: 75. Migration to the Glass Room: third stage of '*Silver Things*' Experiment, 2007, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]



Figure: 76. 'Un-telling a story', a detail of *Visibility 600 Meters – Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*, 2007, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts Gallery, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]



Figure: 77. Floor textures and debris - a detail of *Visibility 600 Meters – Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*, 2007, Mehmet Adil, Faculty of Creative Arts Gallery, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil]

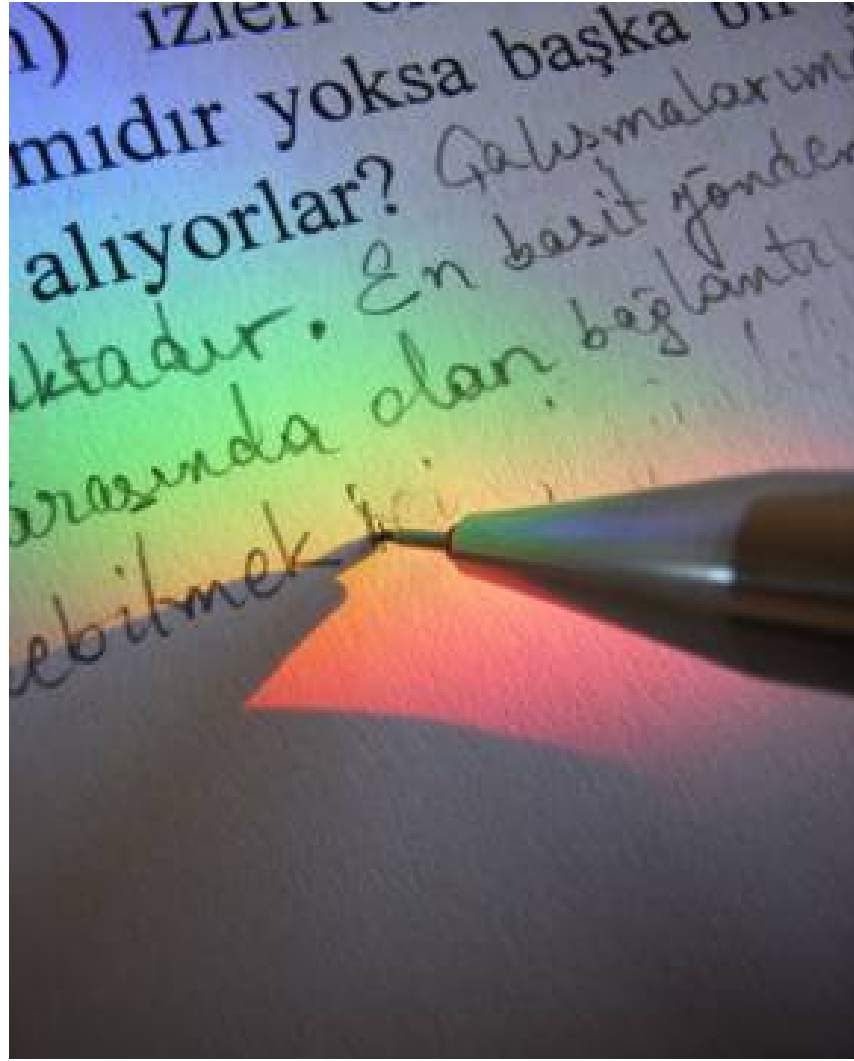


Figure: 78. 'Olan', a detail of *Visibility 600 Meters – Between Stillness and Flux in the Garden of the House of Envy*, 2007, Mehmet Adil, FCA Gallery, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Original photograph M. Adil 2006]



Figure: 79. *Split, a visual experiment*, 2006, Mehmet Adil, Long Gallery, Faculty of Creative Arts, University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia [Photo M. Adil 2006]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography contains items relating to the various avenues of research I have undertaken for this project, which in academic terms has been a multidisciplinary effort, although based in and supervised in terms of a visual arts context. Both in-text citation and footnotes have been used in this thesis. Not all works cited in the footnotes are listed in the bibliography, particularly media outlets, and not all works listed here have been referred to in the text. Borrowing from W.J.T. Mitchell (1986: 209), my purpose has been to list my main sources here in the bibliography, with other citations arising via discussion and acknowledgement in footnotes, to suggest the main types of scholarship that have been useful to me in the development of an interdisciplinary approach to this study. The small number of works included below that are not specifically referenced in the thesis have been used in the course of preparation of areas that were not able to be included in the final text and these have been kept in for future reference.

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