

Proceedings Submission
2003 Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences
June 12-15, 2003, Sheraton Waikiki Hotel, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA

Title: Travel, Ritual and Memory: Exploring International Civil Religious Pilgrimage

Author: Dr Brad West

Affiliation: Department of Sociology, Flinders University, GPO Box 2100, Adelaide, South Australia, 5001, AUSTRALIA

Mailing Address: Department of Sociology, Flinders University, GPO Box 2100, Adelaide, South Australia, 5001, AUSTRALIA

Email: Brad.West@flinders.edu.au

Abstract

Despite the exponential growth of ritual analysis in the sociological study of culture, the study of pilgrimage, arguably one of the oldest and universal forms of ritual, remains a highly neglected area of investigation. This is even more surprising if we consider that during the 1970s the highly respected cultural anthropologist Victor Turner wrote a number of publications outlining the contours of what a systematic study of pilgrimage may look like. According to Turner pilgrimage is inherently a liminoid phenomenon characterised by voluntary social mechanisms and protracted exclusion periods often in hazardous peripheral spaces. Drawing on Turner and Maurice Halbwachs' classic work *La Topographie Légendaire des Évangiles* this paper explores the relationship between contemporary civil society and pilgrimage rites. Particular reference is made to 'international civil religious pilgrimage' and its relation to national collective memory. The burgeoning rite of young Australian budget tourists (backpackers) visiting the WWI Gallipoli battlefields in Turkey will provide a case study for this analysis.

Introduction

Over the last thirty years in the sociological study of culture, ritual analysis has become central to attempts at understanding the complexities of contemporary social life. Despite this exponential growth, the study of pilgrimage remains a highly neglected area of investigation. This is surprising if we consider that in a number of publications during the 1970s the highly cited cultural anthropologist Victor Turner outlined the contours of what a systematic study of pilgrimage systems may look like (Turner 1973; 1974a; 1974b; 1975; 1979; Turner and Turner 1978). Drawing on these works and Maurice Halbwachs' classic *La Topographie Légendaire des Évangiles (The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land)* (1941), in this paper, I theorise the contemporary rite of, what I term, international civil religious pilgrimage. This is travel to a site sacred to the nation but outside the sovereign territory of the pilgrim's nation state. A working definition of civil religion for this study is it being the sum of ideas, symbols, myths, values and discourses that over time become understood as distinct and sacred characteristics of the nation. I propose the following definition of pilgrimage:

a voluntary round trip journey undertaken by individuals and small groups to a distant place that is considered holy by the pilgrim's community and where the sacred is directly experienced.

This definition embraces pilgrimage's essential characteristics as distinct from other forms of ritual. Importantly the definition distinguishes pilgrimage from travel and tourism in that the destination must be sacred to the pilgrim's community. It is not enough for the place to be considered desirable to visit because it is sacred to another culture.

A limited number of tourist theorists have used Turner's analysis of pilgrimage to argue for the sacred and liminal characteristics of travel (Adler 1989; Pfaffenberger 1983; Smith 1992; Wagner 1977). However in assimilating tourism with pilgrimage they reduce two distinct social phenomena into one. Travel and pilgrimage share particular characteristics and certainly coexist, now as well as in the past, however, pilgrimage is differentiated from tourism by its destination producing feelings of awe and reverence. Tourism is a more banal activity. This is not to deny its own sacredness or to support those that view it as confirming the disenchantment of the world thesis (Boorstin 1964; Turner and Ash 1975). Tourism may be temporally and spatially out of the ordinary, but it is typically to places of interest or fascination in other cultures rather than a sacred journey to sites of one's own culture. As such it is not the activity of travel that defines pilgrimage but the emotional relationship between the actor, society and place. As Erik Cohen has outlined:

When the center is markedly excentric, located in the sociocultural as well as geographical periphery of the pilgrim's society..The tourist component of such pilgrimages will increase in significance.. he can be categorized as a pilgrim-tourist (Cohen 1991). When the individual's destination, however, is not a pilgrimage center of his religion (or by extension, of his socioculture), but belongs to the realm of another

religion, culture, or society, the individual travelling to it can be classified as a traveler-tourist (Cohen 1992:49).

There are a number of other essential elements to this definition of pilgrimage. First there is an emphasis on distance. By definition pilgrimage involves travel. Traditionally pilgrimage does not occur in local and central places. Part of the spirituality of the sacred place is in fact that its location is on the periphery of societies, removed from the more mundane everyday forces and objects. The pilgrim is exposed to a wide range of differing geographic, climatic and social conditions (Turner 1979:132). It is for this reason the orthodox of most institutional religions have always been ambivalent towards pilgrimage (Turner and Turner 1978:31). Most famously Calvin disapproved of pilgrimages, believing that they “aided no man’s salvation.”

Pilgrimage allows for a more direct experience of the sacred. Distance typically weakens institutional controls allowing for closer contact with the sacred. This differs from traditional rituals where the sacred is only experienced either through or under the guidance of the institutional religious hierarchy. In contrast, pilgrimage, as Turner notes, is not only to be directly in the presence of the holy object, it frequently is to touch it with hands and mouth, walk around it and often take a relic home. Pilgrimages have a voluntary, spontaneous, and individualistic nature that allows for personal motivation in their commencement. While obligation is stressed in many pilgrimage systems such as in modern Islam, many categories of people are exempt from this duty and dispensations can be granted on grounds of insecurity of the pilgrimage route or lack of the necessary funds to provide for one’s family during absence (Peters 1994: xxi).

For these and other similar reasons, Turner understood even ancient and pre-industrial pilgrimage as essentially modern in character (Turner and Turner 1978: 32). Turner's analysis of pilgrimage though was largely restricted to the traditional institutional religious context. Like his work on liminality (1969), Turner was merely suggestive on how pilgrimage relates to the civil sphere in postindustrial societies. However where sociologists have taken up and developed the concept of liminality in closed societies (Herzog 1987; Shields 1991), there is a dearth of scholarship on pilgrimage in the study of contemporary culture. In a case study of the burgeoning activity of young Australian independent travellers touring the WWI Gallipoli battlefields in Turkey we will explore the influence of pilgrimage on the reconstruction and maintenance of national identity in the contemporary era of global travel. I will then consider the reasons behind social sciences’ neglect of the ritual of pilgrimage. First, though, we must further consider the ritual of international civil religious pilgrimage, distinguishing it from institutional religious pilgrimage.

International Civil Religious Pilgrimage

How does international civil religious pilgrimage differ to traditional religious pilgrimage? It is not simply civil religious pilgrimage being more commercial and ‘secular’. In various works Turner noted that religious pilgrimage was

similarly marked by commerce and licentiousness. Quoting the Victor and Edith Turner (1978), Michael Schudson in an influential review essay states that:

the serious meaning of a pilgrimage was often covered over by the barnacles of a tourist trade. Pilgrim ways in the Middle Ages were lined with way stations that displayed sensational relics, many of which, like the trinkets of tourism in a later age, assumed the values originally attached to the place to which the pilgrimage was made. The relics became fetishes“operating by principals of sympathetic and contagious magic, rather than serving as vehicles of religious and ethical ideas” (p.197). Adultery was rumored to be common at pilgrim shrines. Pilgrimage tended to lose its penitential quality and to become“worldly and fashionable” (Schudson 1979:1254).

The main difference between the two types of pilgrimage is rather between institutional and civil religion. Following Bellah’s theorising of civil religion (1967), we can understand the nation’s religious character, having “its own prophets and its own martyrs, its own sacred events and sacred places, its own solemn rituals and symbols” (Bellah 1970:186). However there also are important differences between the two. These become illuminated when we think of the meanings which actors may derive from international civil religious pilgrimage. In traditional religion, distant pilgrimage may be anticlerical and even have an element of anarchy (Turner and Turner 1978:32), however, the ritual typically aids religiosity. It is functional for religion as it breaks down local and national traditions and thus heightens its universal character and the awareness of belonging to a larger whole (Turner 1974a:204). Consider Islam’s pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, the Hajj. The Muslim world consists of approximately 40 million members spread over 40 Muslim countries and 5 continents. As Turner argues, the Hajj is centrally important as it breaks down national traditions that act to defy its unity. Those who have read Turner’s writings on pilgrimage would be familiar with his example of the militant Afro-American civil rights leader Malcolm X who following participation in the Hajj found new cosmopolitan ideologies and renewed commitment to Islam (1974a: 204).

Love, humanity, and true brotherhood was almost a physical feeling wherever I turned..All ate as One, and slept as One. Everything about the pilgrimage atmosphere accented the Oneness of man under One God. Never have I witnessed such sincere hospitality and the overwhelming spirit of true brotherhood as is practised by people of all colors and races, here in this Ancient, Holy Land, the home of Abraham, Muhammad, and all the other prophets of the Holy Scriptures (Malcolm X 1966: 325, 330, 339).

International civil religious pilgrimage is participated in under quite different conditions. While both civic and ethnic nationalism has a certain religious character, membership is thought to rely on the maintenance of and attachment to territory that is believed to be unique and mutually exclusive to other nations (Anderson 1983; Giddens 1981). Sacred sites abroad are

intrinsically tied to other nation's history and identity. It is an exclusive system based on borders and foreign demarcations of difference. Under such circumstances we would think that the act of pilgrimage has even greater disorientating consequences.

Consider Maurice Halbwachs' historical discussion of the Crusades. As the Crusaders had been spiritually close but geographically isolated from the Holy Land there existed a disjunction between the perceptions of the sacred formed from the community's collective memory and the pilgrim's corporeal experience of the sacred site. The Crusaders' direct interaction with the sacred was not simply awe inspiring but demystifying as they experienced Jerusalem in its social-spatial reality. I quote from *The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land* (Halbwachs 1941).

For the Christian world, Jerusalem was the holy city par excellence. But this image vastly differed from the actual city of the epoch, with which the Christians who lived there were familiar. The local inhabitants knew how difficult it was to save buildings, churches, and chapels from the devastations that had ruined so many quarters and houses of the city. Time was at work here as elsewhere to erase more and more traces of the past. But when the Christians living in Europe talked of Jerusalem, they had quite different mental representations: a supernatural city where the majesty of the Son of God had never ceased to radiate; an external city where what had been the framework and the support of the events told in the Gospels was expected to be miraculously preserved. It seems that they never doubted for an instant that the city would appear to them just as it had appeared in the past..What did they know of successive sieges that had left no stone unturned, of reconstructions, of changes in the direction of streets, in the situation and appearance of houses or districts? They knew very little of these matters (Halbwachs 1992: 230-31).

Halbwachs highlights the complexity of how travel to a highly imagined sacred place creates a dilemma for the pilgrim. At once they are empowered as well as disfranchised by the holy. As Halbwachs demonstrates, this feeling emerges in two ways. First, from the disjunction between the mythologising of place in the pilgrims' collective memory, reflecting the needs and logic of their community, and actual embodied experience. Second, from actual environmental changes that have occurred since such legends were established.

In the case of Australian backpackers at Gallipoli, however, we do not find an erosion of pilgrims' attachment to the nation but rather an invigoration of it while simultaneously attaining an unprecedented appreciation of the Turkish perspective on the war. This forces us to rethink the role of pilgrimage in sustaining the nation and national mythology in an era of global travel. We must appreciate that the same factors within pilgrimage that cause disorientation, also act to reinstate the site's sacredness in the contemporary world as the pilgrims seek to resolve anomalies posed by the raw and 'backstage' experiences of the sacred.

Gallipoli Pilgrimage

Using interviews with Australian backpackers as the principal data source, this paper will now outline the meanings Australian backpackers derive from their tour of the battlefields. While backpacking and overseas pilgrimages of nationalism frequently lead to a renewed attachment to the nation, they equally challenge, and alter, the symbols and myths on which it has traditionally been based. The Gallipoli pilgrimage results in a patriotic experience for backpackers by the creation of a new 'dialogic' (Bakhtin 1981) mythology that incorporates an appreciative understanding of the Turkish and their role in the war. It does not reflect, as has been suggested by some Australian social commentators, a return to the 'safety' of an insular pre-multicultural Australia. In examining the effect of international civil religious pilgrimage on national collective memory it was found that nationalism and cosmopolitanism could be simultaneously invigorated. In the case of Gallipoli this was made possible through Australian and Turkish collective memories combining to establish a new metanarrative.

For Australian backpackers travelling through Turkey on their way to or back from one of the Greek Islands or visiting the cultural sites of Istanbul, it seems a natural inclination to visit Gallipoli about which they grew up hearing legends. However, *en masse*, this generation is the first to see the battlefields since the Australians evacuated in November 1915. According to a recent document prepared by the Turkish government, in 1995 11,200 Australians and New Zealanders visited the battlefields (Bademli 1997:37). From the records of one local tour guide approximately 70% of these will be Australians (Ali Efe, personal communication). Australians and New Zealanders make up close to 80% of all foreign visitors to the area (Bademli 1997:38). Not counted within these figures are the growing numbers of Australians and New Zealanders who attend Anzac Day (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) services on the Gallipoli peninsula. In 1996 there were thought to be 4000 visitors (Bademli 1997:38). For the 85th anniversary of the battle in the year 2000 there were reported to be between 10,000 and 15,000 (Grattan 2000:4). According to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, this makes Gallipoli the most visited of all the European war cemeteries.

As backpacking has a perceived role as a kind of finishing school, not only with backpackers but increasingly their parents and employers, the desire to leave their country for extended periods is not associated with being unpatriotic. This positive perception is certainly enhanced by reports of increasing numbers of backpackers visiting Australia's sacred sites abroad. Although the decision to make such a pilgrimage to these places is less pious than we might think. In the case of backpackers who visit Gallipoli outside of Australia's memorial holiday, Anzac Day, it is more likely that they are visiting as part of a larger travel itinerary or in many cases only decided to visit Gallipoli, or in some cases realised Gallipoli was located in Turkey, once they were there or started to plan their trip. Importantly the majority of those who deliberately planned a visit to Gallipoli as part of their 'grand tour' did so following stories told by their friends and fellow Australian travellers. Examine the quotes below as an illustration of this point.

Yeah, everyone says, oh, you've got to go to Gallipoli. Gallipoli, it is a big pilgrimage really isn't it. Yeah and you're in the country so you might as well pop up and have a look".

(Angie, Age: 25, News Camera Operator)

Turkey as a country is an attractive place to visit and then you are there and you suddenly realise, Oh I'm only a couple of hundred kilometres away from Gallipoli and that's when you start, that's when I started thinking of coming to Gallipoli.

(Nick, Age: 28, Management Consultant)

Unlike the state based national rituals that scholars are more familiar with analysing, the power of the Gallipoli pilgrimage in most part is not a result of social gathering and common action but derives from its participants being able to locate the Gallipoli legend in geographic place. In a literal as well as metaphoric sense, the Gallipoli mythology is grounded for Australian pilgrims. This is evidenced with frequently the most emotional places being those cemeteries and areas of the battlefield most well known in Australian collective memory: Anzac Cove, The Nek, Lone Pine and the Anzac trenches. Here the backpackers feel they are receiving a privileged memorial viewing of the Gallipoli legend, something that was denied to the majority of grieving relatives at the end of WWI, and still only seen by a small percentage of their elders. Unlike the Anzac memorials in Australia that had to serve as substitutes for individual soldiers' graves (Inglis 1987:36) or the ambiguity of the unknown Australian soldier memorial (Inglis 1999) the rows of engraved headstones enhance the portrayal of the soldiers as individuals. The numerous headstones with a diversity of names, ages and messages from relatives make them less removed figures for the backpackers. In contrast to the Gallipoli veterans who once formed a central part of Anzac Day commemorations, the dead at Gallipoli are frozen in time. There are individual details present for them to greatly enhance empathy, with backpackers drawing similarities between the characteristics of the soldiers and their own lives. This is particularly the case with graves of young soldiers.

I felt emotional at Lone Pine because we were reading the memorial plaques, things like that. Because they are really personal messages. These aren't just soldiers they were brothers of, you know brothers and sisters and they had sons and I think that makes you go: Oh these are real people, they are not just numbers.

(Angie, Age: 25, News Camera Operator)

I do miss home and I think that's partly, that's the thing that got me today as well, so many Australian, young Australian blokes and women who died here and they are not even, they never, they never got back home. So far away, even their remains are here and that sense of distance and loss is just huge. I mean I feel it when I am homesick about being so far away. I mean if I died somewhere overseas, not that it's likely, but if I did I would really hope that my remains could at least go back from where they came from.

(Sarah, Age: 28, Registered Nurse)

I must admit walking over that, Ali told us the grassed area there of the Nek, in front of the trenches was where they fell and we were over one side and he said the grass is where they fell and when I walked past the grass, the hairs on the back of my neck stood up. It was really, probably the most emotional part of the day for me was that and being in those trenches where they jumped out.

(Bernie, Age: 31, Electrician)

The locating of the Gallipoli legend in place provides Australian pilgrims with greater appreciation of its status. The backpackers believe they have seen Gallipoli in its pure state, 'through undarkened glass' (Geertz 1968:67). The embodied experience and direct contact with the sacred has brought a 'reality' to Gallipoli that was absent from participation in larger, distant, more 'imaginary' Anzac rituals (Anderson 1983).

It's made it, it's made it more real. It's now like a place and there are people and you know families that were affected and things like that. It's not just a ceremony anymore and a day in April sort of thing.

(Jacky, Age: 26, Accountant)

The experience is likely to be enduring for them and have a wider impact on other Australians. School teachers in the interview sample, for example, committed themselves to telling their students of the experience next Anzac Day. For those who had previously participated in attending Anzac Day services there was frequently a renewed dedication to attend these rites. In the majority of cases, though, the outcome of this experience lies in telling others of their experience and thinking back to what they learnt here when Gallipoli is mentioned either on Anzac Day or in general public discourse. For evidence of the former consider the previously established role of reports from friends and other backpackers on motivation for coming to Gallipoli. In respect to future contemplation of the pilgrimage experience, consider Mark's comments below.

And even going as so far as back teaching again. The passion you have got now is much greater and I think I could portray information better now than I could before.

(Helen, Age: 25, Primary School Teacher)

Before [visiting Gallipoli for the first time] I never really participated [in Anzac Days] and I must admit since I have never really participated, but visiting it has changed the way I think about Anzac Day and the Anzac spirit. In a sense I think it has actually changed my life in a certain sort of way. Not that I have had a major revelation or anything but just seeing it and understanding it just adds something to I guess your character and to the way you identify with Australia and its history. I found myself remembering it more often. As the news came up when the last digger died I could see myself recalling back, basically every time you hear reference to Anzac or Gallipoli you think back to the time you did the tour and visited.

It's something that just doesn't come about on Anzac Day, it just happens much more frequently now.

(Mark, Age: 27, Public Servant)

In all these ways this independent travel pilgrimage promotes a general shift to a more active mental commemoration with Gallipoli in Australia amongst a generation that were generally distanced from its traditional state-based and veteran-dominated commemorative form. The invigoration of the Gallipoli legend for these pilgrims, however, does not simply result in a reinforcement of traditional mythology. As pilgrimage locates collective memory in a spatial terrain that differs from where the majority of population reside, there is an inevitable disjunction between perceptions and reality. This is particularly so in cases where pilgrimage has been blocked for a significant period.

Our Friend the Enemy

In the above section we saw that while many Australian backpackers previously had a low engagement with Gallipoli, their patriotism was invigorated when visiting the battlefield and graves of the 'unknown' soldiers. Now we look at the other side of the coin, the promotion of cosmopolitanism within the Gallipoli pilgrimage. In contrast to the general assumptions about nationalism, its invigoration amongst backpackers occurred without a denigration of the host culture. Indeed, as we will see it rose in combination with achieving a previously unthought of appreciation and empathy for the Turkish perspective.

As was discussed above, international civil religious pilgrimage would seem a key process in the breakdown of outside enemy stereotypes. This is particularly so as in this context they will frequently examine their national mythology at a time when, as tourists, they are 'trying' to appreciate the culture of their former foe. In the Gallipoli pilgrimage this process is enhanced by the traveller's self-identification as a 'backpacker' not a 'tourist'. Central to this is the role of the Turkish tour guide who, in addition to telling the Anzac legend, will propagate his own nation's perspective on Gallipoli. Consider the representative quote below where the backpacker has significantly moved away from interpreting the Turks within an enemy stereotype.

I mean before that I'd probably just considered that they were the enemy at the time and we were here to fight and that's all there was to it. But...the fact that they were just defending, basically we were told that they were picked from farms in the local areas and that they were defending their families and country second. Yeah, I mean I definitely bear no malice as far as the Turks go.

(Scott, Age: 26, Journalist)

One of the core factors in the willingness of backpackers to overwhelmingly reconsider the Turks' role in the war is their experience of Turkish culture before travelling to Gallipoli. As many backpackers decide to travel to Turkey first and Gallipoli second, it is not surprising that stories of Turkish heroics are warmly accepted as part of the search for authenticity and desire to vicariously experience the host culture.

I've got a lot more respect for them now and from hearing what Ali told us yesterday and a few of the stories. Just being in Turkey the people are so friendly anyway and I think that one statue where the Turkish soldier, there is a statue of a Turkish soldier who actually waved the white flag and walked out and picked up a wounded English captain I think and took him back to the trenches. I thought that was just, that's more or less what Turkish people are like you know. They are just really beautiful people. That was an incredible act of courage by one particular man but that sort of, you know that's how I feel about the people, that's how they would feel anyway, you know they are sort of that way inclined.

(Bernie, Age: 31, Electrician)

While the Gallipoli pilgrimage promotes a more empathetic construction of the Turkish, it should be noted that it also establishes them as the former enemy. This is as a result of the Turkish being marginalised within Australia's collective memory of the campaign that has focused on the Australians' relationship with the British. For the majority of backpackers then, the challenge is not so much to come to terms with a breakdown of firmly held Turkish stereotypes, but realising and trying to fit the Turks' own mythology about Gallipoli within the symbolic boundaries of the Anzac legend.

For Australian backpackers, hearing the Turkish perspective on Gallipoli is an essential element of the authenticity of their pilgrimage. Just as standing on the sacred ground seemed to be the missing piece of the puzzle in understanding Gallipoli, so too finding out about the Turkish side gives them a greater sense of involvement with the campaign. In many ways the local Turkish tour guide replaces the Australian Gallipoli veteran for gaining an 'authentic' insider's understanding of the Gallipoli. As a result, for the first time, many Australians are considering Gallipoli not principally from the Allied side of the front line. They feel relieved to be interpreting Gallipoli in relation to their foes. Reflexively, they find it remarkable that they had not previously considered the Turks as an essential part of the Anzac legend.

I think two things perhaps best summed up by the guide, he being Turkish. I am very impressed by the warmth of the Turkish people towards Australians and the mutual respect and I think that his presentation of the tour really brought out to us the fact that there is two sides to this rather than one. And that was just a huge eye opener for me, it really improved my knowledge so much.

(Jeff, Age: 33, Finance Officer)

The Turkish perspective on the war poses a number of anomalies for Australian backpackers. They were not aware of the huge losses suffered by the Turks. For the first time they hear stories of Turkish heroes and heroics that force them to think that it was not simply superior numbers, strategic location and British incompetence as the reasons for the Allied defeat. For many backpackers it is also the first time they had seen the Australians as 'invaders'.

Another thing that I found interesting was that I knew that a lot of Australians had been killed just especially from the movie Gallipoli but I didn't realise it was almost equal, the amount of Turks which died.

(Joy, Age: 28, Secretary)

Another thing that surprised me today was the use of technology by the Turks. So their laying of mines, their destruction of the battle ships, their use of the navy in the whole campaign, that was new. You now the degree of sophistication of the Turks. Like I thought, it wasn't clear on why we lost but I wasn't sure that the answer lay so much in the sophistication of the Turks. I thought it might have been superior numbers or whatever but it was definitely superior numbers but it was superior technology. Well not superior technology but excellent use of technology.

(Nick, Age 27, Management Consultant)

Yeah I think that's the big thing, it brings home that they were defending their motherland sort of thing. When you are in Australia and you hear about it at Anzac Day it's Australia took on Turkey and Germany at Gallipoli but it doesn't really sink in that they were defending from an invasion but now you can see it first hand and you know they gathered as many locals as they could and fought very hard and died to protect their families and their homeland.

(Mark, Age:27, Public Servant)

Is it possible for Australian backpackers to reconstruct their interpretation of Gallipoli so the Turkish perspective is not in conflict with their own national narrative? The collective memory of industrialised nations is not a fixed entity but changes in relation to internal and external pressures. If Gallipoli is going to remain sacred though the inclusion of the Turkish perspective in some substantial way will need to emerge from previous understandings. Links will need to be made between the past and the present so Gallipoli can continue to create the mythologies of origins for Australians. This transformation is in fact what occurs with the Gallipoli pilgrimage with neither the Australian or Turkish interpretations being completely abandoned, but rather they combine to form one cultural pattern. For evidence of this consider the italicised quotes below by backpackers, where the Turkish and Anzac interpretations of Gallipoli are thought of as highly similar.

I have the upmost respect for them. You pretty *much feel the same way about them as you do the Australians*. You feel sorrow for them and the lives that they lost, *just as much as you do the Australians*. The upmost respect for them, they were fighting for their land.

(Geoff, Age: 29, Public Servant)

What really surprised me I think was the whole attitude of the Turkish people now and then, and the fact that they were almost drawn into the war, not against their own will but *by a political accident as well. And that they were fighting for no apparent reason either!*... It all just seems so pointless after hearing what both sides were fighting a war that wasn't truly their problem to begin with, you know. now Britain have become the enemy.

(Lizzy, Age: 35, Receptionist)

.I didn't think much of the other side because you always think of your own side, probably had a negative, as you would, I mean it was your country against, their killing our ancestors type thing but...The thing that struck me yesterday, that truce for you know six or eight hours or whatever and then to have a truce then they all wandered out and they picked up their men and carried them off and then the next thing they're shooting each other again. And I don't know if it was the documentary or not or something TJ said but you know how they, when the Anzacs left they left them food and all sorts of stuff, so yeah there was respect on both sides. So it has definitely changed my opinion *and I see them more as one now you know, rather than Anzacs and Turks.*

(Narelle, Age: 25, Primary School Teacher)

How has Australia's Gallipoli mythology integrated a cosmopolitan understanding of their former enemy? It was not simply by Australian backpackers individually reconceptualizing the Turkish perspective but by the Australian and Turkish interpretations becoming dialogically constructed so that both can be understood as part of one bigger picture. Similarities need to be drawn between the Australian involvement in the campaign and that of Turkey. On the surface these are difficult to conceive. Australia was an Anglo-Colonial nation, part of an invasion force and the Turks were defending their homeland and heritage. Compatible narratives in the politics of memory, however, which have been developed and spread through the Gallipoli pilgrimage, have meant both Turkey's and Australia's understanding of the campaign has been developed within an anti-authoritarian genre. For example, one of the most emotional sites for Australian backpackers is a Turkish monument to the Allies, unveiled in 1985 (a plaque to the memory of Ataturk was unveiled in Canberra on the same date) with Ataturk's translated speech to Allied pilgrims in 1934 (Igdemir 1978). It reads:

Those heroes that shed their blood and lost their lives. you are now lying in the soil of a friendly country. Therefore rest in peace. There is no difference between the Johnnies and the Mehmets to us where they lie side by side here in this country of ours. You, the mothers, who sent their sons from far away countries, wipe away your tears; your sons are now lying in our bosom and are in peace. After having lost their lives on this land they have become our sons as well.

As is evident in Ataturk's memorialised message, Turkey like Australia has not demonised their foes at Gallipoli as part of their commemoration. As a contemporary illustration of this consider the message the Turkish Prime Minister sent to Australia for its Centennial of Federation in 2001:

On the occasion of the Centenary of Federation, I would like to extend our heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for the prosperity of the Australian nation. Our special bond, emanating from Gallipoli, constitutes the very special foundation of our national identities..

(HE Mr Bulent Ecevit 2001)

It is more than international diplomacy that is being expressed here. There is a 'dialogical' celebration of shared history. The statement, like those made by the tour guides, is premised on Australia reciprocating the collective memory of the two nations as innocent martyrs. Turkish understanding of Australia's involvement in the invasion of their country emerges from an appreciation that both Turkey and Australia are reliant on upholding a certain anti-authoritarian history of Gallipoli, where victory is rescued from defeat. For Australia this is defeat at Gallipoli and the need to emphasise their competence. For Turkey it is defeat in the war and the need to maintain the credibility of their independence from Germany. In the Gallipoli case this was achieved by the tour guides concentrating on, and developing, some reported and documented compassionate and friendly acts in the later part of the campaign. In particular, stories of the exchange of gifts successfully worked to evidence the emotional relationship between the Anzac and Turkish soldiers (Mauss 1969).

A sense of respect grew between the Anzac and Turkish soldiers in the trenches. Sometimes you know Turkish would throw them fresh water, milk, bread, cheese or everything. During the war Anzacs and Turks they were really friendly. They did not ever hate each other... Anzac soldier did not know why they were here. They didn't know why they were fighting here. Just here for a holiday.

'TJ' – Turkish Tour Guide

Near the end of the war the two parties became first good neighbours, then good friends. First they started singing their own folk songs for other party's enjoyment. Then they started to exchange gifts. First time in our history Turkish man taste chocolate from the Anzac soldiers. Instead of throwing hand grenades onto the Turkish trenches they were throwing chocolate bars and the Turks were throwing back apples, oranges and some tomatoes in order to receive, to get more chocolate bars.. It was a gentleman's war and they were gentlemen.

Ali – Turkish Tour Guide

Yeah, I think so because I think the thing I found most amazing, which I didn't realise before was the incredible good feeling between the Turks and the Anzacs. To carrying the British soldier or the Anzac whatever. I just thought that was phenomenal. I couldn't believe that there wasn't, there wasn't that hatred between them. Because I just assumed in war that you kill each other, you hate the enemy's guts you know and that you know I think was the most amazing thing about coming here and checking it all out is all the memorials to each other and dedications to each other and I thought, that just completely floored me, I couldn't believe it. Because I was not aware of that before I came.

(Sheree, Age: 27, Freelance Journalist)

As the Gallipoli pilgrimage is currently at the beginning of an increased interaction between Australian and Turkish traditions, it would be unrealistic to state that the collective memories of the two countries, while largely coming together within one narrative, do not exist in tension with each other. I have

not argued however that the nationalist and cosmopolitan interpretations are one and the same but that in the case of Gallipoli they coexist and that the Gallipoli backpacking pilgrimage is a key component in establishing this dialogic discourse.

Concluding Remarks: Ritual Analysis and Pilgrimage

We have seen in the Gallipoli case study that pilgrimage is becoming increasingly influential in the way we understand the nation. With the rise of mass global travel in late twentieth century we have witnessed the emergence of what I term international civil religious pilgrimage. This is the touring of a site sacred to the nation but which lies outside of the sovereign territory of the traveller's nation state. Unlike national rituals such as marches on memorial days, that have up to now been the core of sociological research on commemorating nationalism (Bellah 1967; Kapferer 1988; Shils and Young 1956; Warner 1959), the moral density of pilgrimage is principally brought about by spatial experience rather than by mass and simultaneous participation in ritual. It occurs outside of the collective clock with its power for participants being that they are select and fortunate representatives of their communities (Turner 1974a:174; Turner and Turner 1978:31; Sumption 1975:123).

From the dominant understanding of nationalism as sovereign and mutually exclusive, it was hypothesized that the conflictual and disorientating consequences of international pilgrimage would be stronger for civil than institutional religion. While both civic and ethnic nationalism has a certain religious character, membership is thought to rely on the strict maintenance of and attachment to territory in one nation state (Anderson 1983; Giddens 1981; Kapferer 1988). In the case of Gallipoli, though, we do not see a disintegration of Australian nationalism. We find something similar to what occurs in religious pilgrimage with the establishment of new discourses and larger identities, but surprisingly not to the detriment of national commitment. This forces us to rethink our conception of nationalism and the dynamics of its collective memory.

In light of the increasing role of international civil religious pilgrimage in shaping national collective memory, I want to conclude by suggesting possible reasons why social scientists have tended to neglect this ritual form. The obvious is the national focus and structure of social science and the traditional inability to investigate trans-national social phenomena. In recent years though much of this has been rectified with a focus on globalisation. Yet we still have not seen a shift in ritual studies to theorise contemporary pilgrimage. I suggest the intermitting factor is related to the "anthropological turn" in cultural sociology. In American cultural sociology, in particular, this is related to the rise in appreciation of Durkheim's later work, particularly his classic *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1915) which was largely based on secondary ethnographic data collected from Aboriginal Australia. This anthropological template heavily influenced many of the foundational studies of national ritual by such theorists as Lloyd Warner (1959), Edward Shils and Michael Young (1953), and Sydney Verba (1965).

In contrast to traditional national rituals, the elementary forms of pilgrimage lie outside of indigenous cultures. While pilgrimage is one of the oldest ritual forms, this is not due to its existence in indigenous societies but in ancient civilisations, including that of Egypt, China and Japan. Pilgrimage is reliant upon wide distinctions between "home" and "destination", the familiar and the unfamiliar. While semi-nomadic societies involves travel over vast distances, a lack of distinctions between the sacred and mundane in these societies typically prevents pilgrimage systems from taking root. In this light I suggest that a late-Weberian approach combined with the Durkheimian tradition of ritual analysis might help in the sociological appreciation of pilgrimage. Weber's study of the origins of the great religious traditions (Weber 1952; 1958; 1968) becomes relevant since following the collapse of ancient civilisations, we find pilgrimage again coming to prominence with the rise of institutional religion in what's often referred to as the 'axial age' of civilisation. This period of history is characterised by the emergence of distinctions between mundane and transcendental orders. Differences are developed between time dimensions of the past, present and future. A tension emerges between traditional and more open charismatic forms of legitimisation (Eisenstadt 1982:300). Distinctions were also being established between inner and outer cultural sources, as well as centres and peripheries. It is from here that we need to make historical political comparisons with contemporary forms of pilgrimage.

References

- Adler, Judith. (1989) "Travel as Performed Art" *American Journal of Sociology* 94(6): 1366-1391.
- Anderson, Benedict. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* London: Verso.
- Bademli, R. (1997) *Gallipoli Peace Park International Ideas and Design Competition* Ankara: Turkish Ministry of Forestry.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. (1981) *The Dialogic Imagination* Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bellah, Robert. (1967) "Civil religion in America" *Daedalus* 96:1-21.
- Bellah, Robert. (1970) *Beyond Belief* London: Harper and Row.
- Berger, Peter L. (1967) *The Sacred Canopy* New York: Doubleday.
- Boorstin, Daniel. (1964) *The Image* New York: Harper.
- Cohen, Erik. (1992) "Pilgrimage Centers: Concentric and Excentric" *Annals of Tourism Research* 19:33-50.
- Durkheim, Emile. [1912](1915) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, translated by J.W. Swain. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. (1982) "The Axial Age: The Emergence of Transcendental Visions and the Rise of Clerics" *Archives Europeennes de Sociologie* 23(2): 294-314.
- Giddens, Anthony. (1981) *The Nation State and Violence* Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Grattan, M. (2000) "Emotional Dawn for Pilgrims at Gallipoli" *The Sydney Morning Herald* April 26:4.

Halbwachs, Maurice. (1941) *La Topographie Légendaire des Évangiles* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Halbwachs, Maurice. (1992) *On Collective Memory* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Herzog, Hanna. (1987) "The Election Campaign as a Liminal Stage- Negotiations over Meanings" *Sociological Review* 35(3): 559-574.

Igdemir, U. (1978) *Ataturk and the Anzacs* Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi.

Inglis, Ken. (1987) "Men, Women, and War Memorials: Anzac Australia" *Daedalus* 116: 35-59.

Inglis, Ken. (1999) "The Unknown Australian Soldier" *Journal of Australian Studies* 60: 8-17.

Malcolm X. (1966) *Autobiography of Malcolm X* New York: Grove.

Mauss, Marcel. (1969) *The Gift* London: Routledge.

Peters, F.E. (1994) *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pfaffenberger, B. (1983) "Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists" *Annals of Tourism Research* 10(1): 57-74.

Schudson, Michael. (1979) "Review Essay: On Tourism and Modern Culture" *American Journal of Sociology* 84(5): 1249-1258.

Shields, Rob. (1991) *Places on the Margin* London: Routledge.

Shils, Edward. And Young, Michael. (1953) "The Meaning of the Coronation" *Sociological Review* 1:63-81.

Smith, Valene L. (1992) "Introduction: The Quest in Guest" *Annals of Tourism Research* 19: 1-17.

Sumption, Jonathan. (1975) *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* London: Faber and Faber.

Turner, Louis and Ash, John. (1975) *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* London: Constable.

Turner, Victor. (1969) *The Ritual Process* Chicago: Aldine.

Turner, Victor. (1973) "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal" *History of Religions* 12(3): 191-230.

Turner, Victor. (1974a) *Drama, fields and metaphors: symbolic action in human society* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Turner, Victor. (1974b) "Pilgrimage and Communitas" *Studia Missionalia* 23:305-27.

Turner, Victor. (1975) "Death and the Dead in the Pilgrimage Process" In Michael G Whisson and Martin West (eds) *Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa* Cape Town: David Philip and Rex Collings, pp 107-27.

Turner, Victor. (1979) *Process, Performance and Pilgrimage* New Delhi: Concept.

Turner, Victor and Turner, Edith. (1978) *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* New York: Columbia University Press.

Verba, Sydney. (1965) "The Kennedy Assassination and the Nature of Public Commitment" in *The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public* edited by Bradley S. Greenberg and Edwin B. Parker: Stanford University Press: 348-360.

Wagner, U. (1977) "Out of Time and Place: Mass Tourism and Charter Trips" *Ethnos* 42:38-52.

Warner, Lloyd. (1959) *The Living and the Dead* New Haven: Yale University

Press.

Weber, Max. (1952) *Ancient Judaism* New York: Free Press.

Weber, Max. (1958) *The religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* Glencoe: Free Press.

Weber, Max. (1968) *The religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism* New York: Free Press.