

**ANZAC PILGRIMAGES TO GALLIPOLI: GLOBAL ENCOUNTERS AND
HERITAGE**

Doctoral Thesis

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Eskişehir, 2022

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DOCTORAL THESIS

The Department of Tourism Management

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August, 2022

*This thesis was supported within the scope of the project numbered 1710E529 and
accepted by the BAP Commission.*

ABSTRACT
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Through an anthropological investigation of Australian Gallipoli pilgrims, this research examines issues of imaginaries, pilgrimage, and the social construction of places on a global level. Gallipoli evokes strong emotions among Australians, and it is the heart of their heritage and identity. Moreover, the factors that allow these landscapes to provide Australians with such intense experiences are varied. These include the Gallipoli imaginaries, which may have both personal and societal roots, and the Anzac tradition's associated social virtues. Nevertheless, they are not the only factors that affect the experience. In these interactions, pilgrims discover a hitherto unknown element of history, ironically including friendship and the brutality of warfare. All of these factors blend with personal backgrounds and provide distinctive visitor experiences.

The thesis conducts a processual investigation of the significance of the Anzac tradition and cross-cultural interactions on Gallipoli pilgrimages, based on three years of research in Gallipoli, touring and attending commemoration events with Australian pilgrims. By examining the Anzac tradition's social roots, interactions, and emotions that occurred on the field during the Gallipoli pilgrimage, this study provides an ethnographic analysis of the processes through which new layers are added to imaginings and identity with global encounters. In conclusion, I contend that pilgrimage process has the capacity to alleviate the viewpoints of the different communitas involved in the global pilgrimage and fosters the acquisition of new ideas. Australians do not experience anxiety in the encounters here. Further, these people who witnessed the war here, leave with anti-war ideas.

Keywords: Ethnography, Secular pilgrimage, Place construction, Imaginaries, Dawn ceremony.

ÖZET

GELİBOLU'YA ANZAK HACCI: KÜRESEL KARŞILAŞMALAR VE MİRAS

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Avustralyalı Gelibolu hacılar üzerine gerçekleştirdiği antropolojik bir inceleme aracılığıyla, bu araştırma, imgelemler, hac ve yerlerin sosyal inşası konularını küresel düzeyde incelemektedir. Gelibolu, Avustralyalılar arasında güçlü duygular uyandırır ve onların mirasının ve kimliğinin kalbidir. Ayrıca, bu toprakların Avustralyalılara bu denli yoğun deneyimler yaşatmasına izin veren faktörler çeşitlidir. Bu faktörler, hem kişisel hem de toplumsal kökleri olabilen Gelibolu tasavvurlarını ve Anzak geleneğinin ilişkili sosyal erdemlerini içermektedir. Bununla birlikte, deneyimi etkileyen faktörler yalnızca bunlar değildir. Bu etkileşimlerde, hacılar, ironik bir şekilde dostluk ve savaşın acımasızlığını içeren, tarihin şimdiye kadar bilmedikleri bir unsurunu keşfederler. Tüm bu unsurlar, kişisel geçmişlerle harmanlanır ve farklı ziyaretçi deneyimleri yaratır.

Bu tez çalışması, Gelibolu'da Avustralyalı hacılarla yapılan turlar ve anma etkinliklerine katılım da dahil olmak üzere üç yıllık bir araştırmaya dayanarak, Anzak geleneğinin ve kültürler arası etkileşimlerin Gelibolu hacıları üzerindeki öneminin süreçsel bir araştırmasını gerçekleştirmektedir. Bu çalışma, Gelibolu hacı sırasında sahada meydana gelen sosyal kökenleri, etkileşimleri ve duyguları biraraya getirerek ve bu unsurların birbirleri ile olan etkileşimlerini inceleyerek, küresel karşılaşmalarla tahayyüllere ve kimliğe yeni katmanların eklendiği süreçlerin etnografik bir analizini sunmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, hac sürecinin, küresel hac yolculuğuna dahil olan farklı anti-yapıların bakış açılarını hafifletme kapasitesine sahip olduğunu ve yeni fikirlerin kazanılmasını teşvik ettiğini savunuyorum. Avustralyalılar buradaki karşılaşmalarda bir endişe deneyimlemez. Üstelik buradaki savaşa tanık olan bu insanlar, savaş karşıtı fikirlerle ayrılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Etnografi, Seküler hac, Yer inşası, İmgelemler, Şafak ayini.

PREFACE

There is a prayer in Turkish culture: "May God make you meet good people." they say. My thesis was a period in my life when I realized how appropriate this prayer was. Throughout my thesis, so many beautiful people supported me in different ways that if even one of them was missing, this work would not have been so pleasing to me.

First of all, I would like to thank my advisor, Prof. Dr Medet Yolal, who has and will always have, a very important place in my academic life. He has always been by my side, supporting me in every situation. He never stopped supporting and guiding me even when his own health did not allow it. He helped me find my own voice. It is an honour for me to have worked with him.

Assoc. Prof. Smita Tewari Jassal and Prof. Dr. Semra Günay Aktaş are two other professors who are very precious to me and who have assisted me in finding my own voice. My perspectives were broadened by Assoc. Prof. Smita Tewari Jassal's courses, and she has inspired, encouraged and believed in me ever since I first had the concept for my thesis. Throughout the whole process, she assisted me in turning my concerns into wise ideas. When I felt blocked, I always found comfort in her sensitive heart. Another individual to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude is Prof. Dr. Semra Günay Aktaş. She paved the way for me to improve myself and supported me not only in my thesis but also throughout my PhD process. She helped me not to lose faith in myself and to do the best I could. She always made me feel her support in the most difficult times. Additionally, I would also like to thank Dr Mark Lewis Soileau and Dr Besim Can Zırh for making a significant contribution to the development of my thesis and guiding me in the right direction.

It is difficult for me to describe the place of my dear friend Assoc. Prof. Ebru Düşmezkalender in my life and my PhD process. She plays a huge part in this, if I am writing these words in my capacity as an academic today. I want to express my gratitude to my friend for her unwavering support and attentiveness. A PhD is a lonely process. I am very grateful to my friends Dr Merve Özgür Göde and Dr Sema Ekincek, who have always motivated and supported me throughout this process. They always believed in me.

I would like to thank the agency owners, agency employees and especially the guides who supported me in the field. Thanks to them, I caught the spirit of the field much

better. I also want to express my gratitude to Dr Arzu Toker for her support during my doctoral process and for the contacts she provided me on my first entry into the field. I am also grateful to all the participants in this thesis, whose names I am unable to mention here, for their open hearts and sincerity.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother for her inexhaustible love and faith in me. Endless thanks also to my life partner Koray Sayarı, who has always been by my side and surrounded me with all his support and love. My sweet girl, Alya, I thank God every day that you are in my life. Thank you for all those times I took away from you to study and for making life easier with your little being.

Lastly, my dear father, who is the reason for everything I am today, you are still by my side and encouraging me. This thesis was written for you.

STATEMENT OF COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICAL PRINCIPLES AND RULES

I hereby truthfully declare that this thesis is an original work prepared by me; that I have behaved in accordance with the scientific ethical principles and rules throughout the stages of preparation, data collection, analysis and presentation of my work; that I have cited the sources of all the data and information that could be obtained within the scope of this study, and included these sources in the references section; and that this study has been scanned for plagiarism with “scientific plagiarism detection program” used by Anadolu University, and that “it does not have any plagiarism” whatsoever. I also declare that, if a case contrary to my declaration is detected in my work at any time, I hereby express my consent to all the ethical and legal consequences that are involved.

.....

(Signature)

Burcu KAYA SAYARI

(Name and Surname of the Student)

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AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

J00207

Figure 6. Map of Gallipoli Peninsula (Australian War Memorial Archive, No: J00207)

1. INTRODUCTION: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF SECULAR PILGRIMAGE

In many history books describing Gallipoli, while the researcher is bringing the reader to the battlefields, they take the readers out of Australia and directs them to Gallipoli. The researcher first passes them through the Dardanelles. The reader's imagination then goes ashore, wanders among steep cliffs and plains, and witnesses humanity's most brutal state.

This time, the researcher begins her narrative from the opposite shore and reaches for Australia. She leads the reader to look at the same horizon from the opposite land where she is. Thus, this thesis begins at Anzac Cove, where many Anzac soldiers had perished while landing or faced death during the war. In this land's sea, some water drops still retain the memory of the Anzac soldiers. When these waters meet the shore countless times every day, they become the only sound in the cemeteries where tranquillity reigns, except the birds and the breeze.

These drops, which every pilgrim wishes to touch to feel the history, actually flow smoothly across the Dardanelles, where thousands of lives had been sacrificed to be passed. They initially encounter the Aegean Sea and subsequently the Mediterranean with their indistinguishable assets. These drops do not halt. They cross Suez Canal like the first pilgrims who arrived at Gallipoli by ship did. And they salute Cairo, where the Anzac soldiers were trained before Gallipoli, as they pass through the Red Sea. Then the drops calmly and softly mingle with the Atlantic Ocean. Even the ocean's ferocious currents and violent waves cannot swallow them. Finally, they reach the shores of Australia, their home. While gazing at the horizon and the ocean, an Australian dreams of being at Gallipoli. He ponders the "other side of the world," oblivious of these drops. He doesn't realize how small the world can be. However, as one pilgrim told me: "the sky is the same".

The Gallipoli War is a defining moment in Australian history. The Australian national identity hinges on this conflict and the ANZAC tradition. Consequently, several Gallipoli-related research benefited from a national identity perspective. National identity may be comprehended via narratives, monuments, and commemorative acts, among other sources. The landscape itself is also filled with many feelings and symbolism.

Identity construction is seen as the intersection of creative use of symbols and stories, as well as monuments, commemorations, and performances (Osborne et al, 2001, p. 3). Consequently, it is quite common to see identity as the common denominator in commemorations and the development of significant locations. Material objects such as monuments, streets, buildings, and churches are already potent due to their numerous identification features. Critical linkages involve repetitious prosaic routines, ritualized performance, and institutionalized memory, notwithstanding their role as carriers of symbolic values. People create locations but also receive their identities from them: "people are formed by place" (Osborne et al., 2001, p. 4-5). These acts and remembrances contribute to the formation of these locations.

Because of their transforming effects, monumental sculptures and rituals are also seen as thresholds, and they also serve as indicators of liminalities (Connerton, 2009). In addition, as Lefebvre points out, rituals may transform a passive "representational space" into a dynamic site of ideology (Lefebvre 1991, p.39). Therefore, monuments and physical locations are also investigated for their discursive quality. Commemorations embody the representation practice that enacts and provides social reality to the language of collective memory (Osborne et al., 2001, p. 25).

All of these factors influence visitor experiences. This study explores the experiences of the Australian pilgrims in Gallipoli, who serve as an example for a global sense of belonging and heritage. The first question that constitute the starting point of the study was with which imaginaries these pilgrims starts their journey before their arrival in Gallipoli and what kind of experience they have there. The second question was what traces these experiences leave in time, and how far we can evaluate these experiences within the framework of pilgrimage as a whole. I conducted an ethnographic research between 2018 and 2021 based on these questions, with the aim of portraying the experiences of Australian pilgrims at Gallipoli. The complexity of social memory construction may be better understood by including tourism into the study of World War I (C. Winter, 2009, p. 622). Tourism presents a new "front" in studying the intricate structure of social memory formation and its constituents.

1.1 Gallipoli as the Nexus of Social Memory, Identity and Tourism

Gallipoli has been a fascinating research subject for several scholars, and it has been grasped from so many angles. Though the substantial effort has been put into to

understand experiences of those pilgrims/ tourists¹, there is still lack of negotiations about interpreting this continuum. All those approaches that touristic experiences have been interpreted through have gained just an understanding of fragmented pieces of the whole picture.

Peter Slade's (2003), Tony Seaton's (1999), and Brad West's (2008) works are perhaps some of the influential works done in tourism realm. Slade (2007) and Seaton (1999) makes use of Durkheimian perspective, MacCannell's (1976) sight sacralization processes in their studies. MacCannell suggests that tourists and pilgrims are attached to places through "an empirical relationship between the tourist, a sight and a marker" (1975, p. 44). While Slade (2003) applies the method to the Gallipoli landscape, Seaton (1999) shows how the battlefields at Waterloo in Belgium have undergone a sacralisation process by putting this process into the frame of thanatourism. Slade (2003) also criticises Seaton's (1996,1999) thesis that thanatourism obscures and denies meaning by attributing thanatouristic intent to all those who visit Gallipoli. He argues that these people have feelings about the dead at Gallipoli and they know, understand, and commemorate their deeds, especially their role in helping define their two nations. Moreover, he adds that very few have feelings for the dead, at least in a sense suggested by Seaton (1996) (Slade, 2003, p. 792). In spite of his innovative contributions MacCannell, whose theory both Seaton (1999) and Slade (2007) gave place to, has not escaped criticism either. Those criticisms focus on the arguments about lacking empirical data, some theoretical ambiguities and the level of analysis. Dann and Cohen (2001) emphasises that there is a shortcoming of MacCannell's thesis in positioning the Center. Do these attractions represent the structured Center of society, or it is unstructured opposite the other? (Dann and Cohen, 2001, p. 307). Therefore it can be argued that there is a problem with this method being obscure also about the interpretation of social narratives which are linked to those sites and essential elements of social memory. Should it be narratives or counter-narratives (the Other's point of view) to be depended on and used for backing up guides?

Authenticity is the core notion of MacCannell's theory. Stephens (2014) argues that there are much more than authenticity or only pleasure in tourism. He points out identity

¹ There is also a debate over those people arguing whether they are to be accepted tourist or pilgrims (e.g. Turner and Turner, (1978); Slade (2007); Seaton (1999)).

construction at the individual and social level and emphasises that all negotiations between them should be considered (Stephens, 2014, p. 31).

Having briefly considered the writings of Maurice Halbwachs (1941) on travel to the distant sacred and Bakhtin's concept of dialogical discourses (Bakhtin 1981, 1986), West (2008) examines their applicability to the burgeoning activity of Australian tourists visiting the Gallipoli battlefields. He argues that historical anomalies that backpackers must resolve while in the presence of the sacred and face-to-face with the Other. These emerge from the interplay between the Australian constitutive narrative of Gallipoli and Turkish interpretations of the battle. On the other hand, McKenna and Ward (2007) criticise him because of the fact that there is more to this 'new dialogic mythology' than an injection of cosmopolitan inclusiveness or 'transcendent' nationalism. They discuss that the question of "who were the aggressors?" becomes blurred when two nations are regarded parts of the harsh times. They believe that point of view may be vital for the credibility of the Gallipoli pilgrimage as an exercise in national pride and civic virtue (McKenna and Ward, 2007, p. 149). However, it should also be considered that Australia who joins to war next to England and Australia at present would be holding different ideas. If it is argued that Australia's identity 'constructed' after Gallipoli War, which identity should be a reference point for us – the one existed during the wartime or the one after the war?

West (2008) makes use of Halbwachs's (1941) writings which are also from Durkheimian perspective. Halbwachs's (1941) fundamental contribution to the study of social memory is the establishment of the connection between a social group and collective memory. Collective memory, according to Halbwachs, always 'socially framed' since social groups determine what is 'memorable' and how it will be remembered. 'The individual calls recollections to mind by relying on the frameworks of social memory' (Halbwachs (1941) 1992, p. 182; as cited in: Misztal, 2003, p. 51). Besides Halbwachss' theory views collective memory as 'a record of resemblance' which ensures that 'the group remains the same' (Halbwachs (1926) 1950, p. 86). It can be argued that this theory depends on the stability of the group. Moreover, while downsizing other functions of collective memory, this approach prevents us from accounting for changes in a group's perception of the past, which could arise due to new conditions, but also presumes a vision of frozen social identity (Misztal, 2003, p. 55).

C. Winter (2009) also uses social memory theory in her conceptual paper to describe the processes through which tourism can engage in creating and perpetuating the memory of the Great War, and suggests how research can help to understand tourist's experiences better. She reviews theories of individual and social memories and ideas are informed by the visits to battlefield memorials in France and Belgium. She concludes that the traditional and new memorials present different cases in identifying the processes through which tourists engage with the social memory of the Great War. The traditional memorials include the battlefields, cemeteries and monuments to the missing, while the new memorials consist of interactive museum displays and a wide range of formal, informal and community commemorations (C. Winter, 2009, p. 621-622).

Dialogical approach is one of the most-used approaches in scrutinising tourist experiences (e.g. West, 2008, 2010; Hudson, 2009). It is an apparent fact that Gallipoli War cannot be evaluated separately from colonialism face of it. Both cases, invasion of Turkey and 'made' identity of Australia, just reflect traces of colonialism (Goodall, 2014, p. i). It is remarked that those anxieties are one of the agents who shape Aussie tourists' experiences by facing with the Other (West, 2010). However, there exists an evolution in the relationship between Australia and Turkey, from the initial denial of Turkish sovereignty and attempts to assert the primacy of Gallipoli's Australian history, to a cautious and partial appreciation of shared histories emanating from 1915 (Ziino, 2006, p. 1). How should the past be incorporated into the present?

Being similar to the presentist memory approach, which focuses on who controls or imposes the content of social memories, and that those 'invented' memories serve the current purposes of those in power, dialogical approach has some weaknesses. The grooving recognition of the weaknesses of this approach that there is no such as thing as a completely pure tradition; that the appeal to the past has always been selective and often part of demagogy, and therefore traditions always incorporate power, whether they are constructed in deliberate ways or not (Miztal, 2003, p. 56). Moreover, the presentist approach fails to acknowledge that the past endures in the present not only through self-conscious commemoration rituals but through psychological, social, linguistic and political processes that keep the past alive without necessarily intending to do so (Miztal, 2003, p. 60). We need to see all changes through the time passed as a background, but anxieties are just one piece of the whole dynamic view. On the other hand, Hudson (2009)

carries the method one step beyond by applying Urry's (2011) embodiment paradigm to his study in addition to discursive perspective. This point of the study is crucial since it paves the way for individual and performance side of the study. He examines tourist performance to disclose the ways in which Australian identity is configured in a deterritorialised space of nation, and a national presence felt, and the ways in which the memory of the nation's war experience is embodied and performed.

With a similar approach, dynamics of memory perspective is a perspective that includes counter-narratives and transformations in social memory in memory studies. While previous approaches focus on rituals, rites and commemorations, the dynamics of memory perspective pays more attention to memory as a product of narrative activities (Miszta, 2003, pp. 74-75). At the heart of this broad dynamic of memory approach lays a belief in the relationship between remembering and transformation. It argues that memory is not solely constrained by the official narrative. It assumes a more 'complex view of the relation between past and present in shaping collective memory as 'an active process of sense-making through time' (Olick and Levy, 1997, p. 922). Nevertheless, the dynamics of memory perspective can be enriched by focusing on performances and comparison of the representation of national narratives in monumental forms and narratives in individuals' memory.

This is simply because heritage and identity are intertwined elements. "National identity requires both having a heritage and thinking it unique. It is a heritage that differentiates us; we treasure most what sets apart". (Lowenthal, 1994, p. 47). Therefore, beyond being the carriers of discourses on identity, heritage reflects the uniqueness of the identity as well. On the other hand, this point of view that implies uniqueness of national identity sharply contrasts with the diversity of nations as well:

"Nations are imagined to be internally homogenous in terms of what is taken to be shared cultural content – the very stuff, as it were, of identity. Internal diversity or region, gender, ethnicity, and class may be recognized—even celebrated as indicative of the nation's complexity and rich heritage. However, in nationalist ideology internal diversity is always compassed by national homogeneity. Whatever differences there may be among nationals, their common nationality is thought both to unite them and to distinguish them from all other nationalities." (Handler, 1994, p. 29).

Heritage, most of the times, serves for the dominant history while hiding the vernacular one. In a similar way, place-names can reveal as much stronger than we usually suppose. They can be more than markers. Connerton (2009) asserts that they cover the past of a place, half-hide a history. Often the history they hide will be about the capacity to exercise power over land and others. The testimony remains when the power has gone. He exemplifies this with the name changes that occur during conquests. On the other hand, some place names tell a history of powerlessness in the form of remoteness. We also see some examples of name changes of the streets in the cities. The reason is sometimes a revolution and sometimes encompassing biographies. History, events, persons, social activities are all organized spatially, and temporal order is given shape as a sequence of localities associated with events.

There are differences between the landscape of which is seen initially and produced through local practice. These constructed places are comprehended by ethnographic account. Therefore, the landscape and the second landscape is investigated by ethnographic researches. (Hirsch & O'Hanlon, 2003). These constructed landscapes comprise special meaning for their people and create the essence of memorable experiences. Since memorable experiences lie at the heart of tourism, Tung and Ritchie (2011) argue that it is crucial to reveal this essence of memorable experiences which has the power to turn some experiences into the special ones (p.1367). The core of these experiences has a distinct place in one's memory. The triggers of these memories and outcome of these experiences should be investigated as well as the triggers of these memories and conceptual underpinnings that enable such progress. Therefore, this issue comprises different aspects of which methodological challenges and managerial implications of industry practitioners (Tung & Ritchie, 2011, p. 1367) form the large part.

Approaches that illuminate the personal and cultural background at once and the linkage between them provide in-depth information about spatial experiences. Cultural points are crucial since they carry information about the personal experiences that are rooted in a realm which is different from everyday life. In this regard, two theories of collective or social memory are developed severally by Maurice Halbwachs and Aby Warburg. They attempted to alter the discourse which embraces a collective memory in biological and racial terms and aimed to fill the void of cultural point of view (Assmann, Czaplicka, & Assmann, 2016). The cultural memory diverges from the communicative

memory and science. Communicative memory or everyday memory is devoid of cultural features and science does not grasp memory through a collective self-image (Assmann et al., 2016).

There are different characteristics of cultural memory which differentiate it from other types of memory (Assmann et al., 2016). Firstly, cultural memory is deemed as a reservoir of group awareness concerning its unity and peculiarity. This type of definition also entails a determinative definition. Moreover, these identified attributes and critical elements are never stabilised. Cultural memory is reshaped through the epochal situations and needs of the contemporary society. Knowledge and meaning are reconstructed through changing eras are objectified and commonly shared in the society. This facet of cultural memory disseminates it in the society as a part of the institutionalised heritage. This case does not bring about the widespread participation spontaneously as in the case of the communicative memory. Cultural memory always requires a specific practice. Moreover, the relation to a normative self-image of the group engenders a transparent system of values and differentiations in importance which structure the cultural supply of knowledge and symbols. These structural symbols, which operate in different levels as centrally and peripherally, actively shape the production, representation and reproduction of the self-image of the group. This relation contributes to the obligatory fabric of cultural memory. Last but not least, cultural memory is reflexive. It is practice reflexive since it defines the meaning of practices such as rituals. Moreover, cultural memory is entirely based on itself in its all judgements and power assertion. Thus, it is self-reflexive. It is also self-reflexive to the extent that it reflects the self-image of the group and it is engrossed in its own social system.

One of the approaches which attempt to capture subjective point of views in the light of culture is the memory work. The primary focus of the memory-work is the subjectively constructed part of the events. This qualitative method takes the individual as the active participant. Thus, collective reflection, examination and interpretation of memories become possible by virtue of these methods. They eliminate not only the distinction between the subject and object of the research but also the hierarchy between the researcher and co-researchers (Fallon & Robinson, 2017, p. 7). In the same vein, Fallon and Robinson (2017) point out the nostalgia as the primary motivation for dark tourism visits (Dann, 1998), building upon Halbwachs they argue that memories permit

the sharing of nostalgia owing to their extensions in the collective level. From this perspective, both individual memories and experiences are bound up since they are grasped as the result of a collective articulation process (Fallon & Robinson, 2017, p. 6-7). The critical point is that nostalgia has diverse forms and the individual form of nostalgia does not need to be constructed as a result of personal experience. Thus, just as one can experience a nostalgia as a re-connection with his/her own life, people may experience nostalgia by virtue of collective memories and stories (Fallon & Robinson, 2017, p. 6).

In the process of the construction of these meaningful experiences, remaking the places can also yield from transnational movements. Transnational mobility enables individuals to feel attached to dispersed places and individual and national identities may change as a result of these moments (Hudson, 2009, p. 2). The power of the physical places that allow such transformations do not stem from just old and authentic formation. These mnemonic devices shape the national character rooted in the past by means of collective reflection and ritualistic performances of tourists (Chronis, 2006). Moreover, the point of view which gives place to the embodied memory is theorised as a material experience that rests on interpretations gained through senses. Here, the body is the nexus between experience and the collective past (Chronis, 2006).

The body and senses link the experience that is rooted in the collective past and identity with the place. Most of the times, the collective past can stretch beyond the national borders. This case also affects experiences in diasporic visits and secular pilgrimages since the participants already feel attached to these distant lands where they have never been in before. Dirlik (1999) illuminates this discussion of place with regard to the distinction between local and global and place-based consciousness. The connection between globalism and place consciousness, and its ramifications in which we apprehend the world reveal some implications for development, social analysis and questions of culture. From this perspective, terms of the global and the local are found only as an antonym of the other, and they derive their meanings dialectically. The term of global refers to the economic, political, social, and cultural process rather than the world as a whole. However, the term carries a representation problem since the situations that are characterised to be global cannot be prevalent in every region of the world by failing the notice the conspicuous characteristics of some areas results in reductionist

fallacy. “The global, therefore, is something more than national or regional, but it is by no means descriptive of any whole; at its most abstractive discursive, it may refer to anything other than the local.” (Dirlik, 1999, p. 152). Moreover, this interpretation has repercussions on place-consciousness. It implies that spatial boundedness, the exclusion of the extra local or social homogeneity were outcomes of the modernist thought and did not overlap with the social facts. However, abandoning the distinction between place-based and spatial triggers another ambiguity: the thought of “there is nothing special about the place after all.” (Dirlik, 1999, p. 154). Therefore, porous boundaries and “abolition of boundaries” do not coincide (Dirlik, 1999, p. 155). Dirlik (1999) suggests that “place as a metaphor suggest groundedness from below, and a flexible and porous boundary around it” (Dirlik, 1999, p. 155). In other words, he stresses on focusing on the organisation of the daily life, not to abstraction that belongs above and initiated with no place “such as capital, the nation-state, and their discursive expressions in the realm of theory” (Dirlik, 1999, p. 155).

This discussion brings us also to the infiltration of inculcated cultural memory and national identity discourses in the society not only as elements from “above” but also rituals and daily practices that are rooted in the society as vibrant results of these abstractions. Therefore, rituals and performances may unveil more than just political history and discourses do.

As being an ideological element and cultural notion simultaneously, Anderson (1991) focuses on nationalism. He grasps it as a cultural artefact that may have different characteristics in each nation. For revealing this inheritance formation of cultural identity, the process of their coming into a historical being and the ways that their meaning has changed over time and the reason, they enjoin such profound legitimacy.

There are also some paradoxes that theorists of nationalism are confronted by (Anderson, 1991, p. 5):

1. The objective modernity of nations to the historian’s eye vs their subjective antiquity in the eyes of nationalists.
2. The formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept – in the modern world everyone can, should, will ‘have’ a nationality, as he or

she 'has' a gender – vs the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations, such that, by definition, 'Greek' nationality is *sui generis*.

3. The political power of nationalism vs their philosophical poverty and even incoherence. In other words, unlike most other isms, nationalism has never produced its grand thinkers.

Nation is imagined because members of the nation will never have a chance to meet the fellow members of their nation, they can only live with the image of their communion. Moreover, from an anthropological spirit (Anderson, 1991) proposes the definition of nation imagined as at once inherently limited and sovereign. It is limited because the nation would like to imagine itself as being widespread in the whole world. As it implies a distinction from others, no nation would “dream of a day when all the members of the human race will join their nation (Anderson, 1991, p. 7).

It is imagined as sovereign because the legitimacy of the hierarchical dynastic realm was disrupted by Enlightenment and Revolution. Moreover, even the most ubiquitous religions and nations' determination to possess freedom, if under God, were challenged with the pluralism of religions. It is imagined as a community since the nation is always envisaged as rooted in a deep comradeship. This imagination is regarded as the source of self-sacrifice and willingness to die. Thus, such sacrifices are rooted in nationalism. Tombs of unknown soldiers are grasped in the same way. They are “identifiable mortal remains or immortal souls, they are nonetheless saturated with ghostly national imaginings” (Anderson, 1991, p. 9). Moreover, just in the same way with the religious attempts to propose explanations inevitable experiences and situations such as disease, grief or death; nationalism transforms mortality and dead into a form of continuity. With the fade of religious thought in parallel with Enlightenment and rationalist secularism, nationalism has been serving to ease suffering. Even though nationalism was not constructed by the vanishing of religious certainties or did not displace the religion, it “has to be understood by aligning it, not with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which it came into being.” (Anderson, 1991, p. 12).

There is also another distinction between invented practices while old tradition strengthens social ties, invented practices can be obscure as to the values of the group membership they impose such as patriotism, loyalty and duty. Regarding citizenship,

most of the novel occasions were rooted in invented symbols such as flags, images, ceremonies.

Nora (2006) points out that realms of memory is rooted in the thought that the memory cannot subsist solely. The need for archives, anniversaries and rituals arise from this fact. He argues that if history has not attempted to change or distort the meticulously protected centres of memory, there would not be such places (Nora, 2006, p. 23). Moreover, while memory sanctifies reminiscence, history excludes memory. Drawing upon Halbwach, he argues that memory gains its power from the group that it is anchored in and there are as many memories as there are groups. Nature of memory emerges as different and unlimited, collective, plural and individualised (Nora, 2006, p. 19). Moreover, as Connerton (1989) reveals, performances are important elements for collective memory. Human bodies' role should be considered as well from this point of view. There are very close linkages between performances and social memory. Performances enable images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past to be conveyed. This recollection and bodies should be thought together. Because social memory can be found in commemorative ceremonies. On the other hand, commemorative ceremonies are commemorative only as they are performative. It can be understood through the inertia in social structures. This structure has lots of layers. Performativity can be read actively through the concept of habit and habit through a notion of bodily automatisms. The study of commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices leads us to see that images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by performances (Connerton, 1989). Further, such invented traditions shed light into the images of the past as evidence of transformations, essential symptoms and "indicators of problems which might not otherwise be recognised, and developments which are otherwise difficult to identify and to date."(Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2013, p. 12).

Rituals, in particular, are actually invented and constructed, and it is possible to trace their appearance. "Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past." (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2013[1983], p. 1). They are invented in a way which is suitable with the historical past, and they occur in the transition periods of novel situations. They transpire in the intersection of unsteady

and fluid modern world and the desire to keep some parts of it unchanging and constant. One of the important attributes of invented traditions that simple routines of daily life do not overlap this categorisation. They direct social practices with a little capacity of operating in unexpected situations. They are technical guides rather than ideological ones. When they lose their technical power in the contemporary situations, they may have more symbolic power imposed repetition attached. Thus, inventing traditions “is essentially a process of formalization and ritualisation, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition.” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2013[1983], p. 4). Customary traditional practices such as folk songs, physical contests were modified, ritualised and institutionalised for the new national purposes (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2013, p. 6).

Social memory can be found in commemorative ceremonies (only) as they are performative. However, performative memory is in fact much more widespread than commemorative ceremonies which are highly representational. Performative memory is bodily. Therefore, bodily social memory has been much neglected but is essential (Connerton, 1989). Further, embodiment and place-making are inextricably linked. Reena Tiwari (2010) claims that the city (as space) is written upon by the ritualized body. Here the body (physical, mental and social) mediates between ritual and space and is a critical component of inscribing the ritual ‘into’ space. Ritual is a performance that strengthens the relationship between the body and space where the body plays a role constructing it (Stephens, 2014, p. 35). Therefore “body” is an essential element for gaining insights about mediation between ritual and space.

1.2 Locating the Global: Imagination and Construction of Places

Drawing upon Lury’s (1997, p. 75) argument of “people travelling to places seen as cultures mapped in space” which implies not only a unity of place and culture but also of the mobility of both in relation to a fixed cartography coordinated space, Coleman and Crang (2002) underscore the need for acknowledging the mobilisation of places through objects – “souvenirs, tourist commodities, folk products, or the material images circulating in postcards, brochures and cameras. In other words, we look at the dissemination of place.” (Coleman and Crang, 2002, p. 11). This argument has two premises that we need to consider. First one is the fact that these objects travel with the meanings and ideologies attached them. Second, globalisation is intrinsic to all these processes as an inseparable part of tourism too:

“Globalization – increasingly rapid flow of images, capital, people, information, and goods across nation-state boundaries- does not supersede the local, and the two are not dichotomous. In fact, international tourism and global cultural circulation depend on the local, on culturally specific sites of production and on local differences.” (Meisch, 2013, p. 266).

In the same vein with Meisch (2013), by stressing the intertwined nature of globalisation and localisation, Salazar (2005) asserts that thinking globalisation and localisation as poles apart does not provide a fertile ground in understanding and explaining tourism. Local’s change is linked to the global, and these processes occur concomitantly. While limits of glocalisation processes go beyond the limits of tourism, Salazar (2005, p. 641) argues that deploying glocalisation concept brings along “very instructive in understanding the sociocultural dynamics of tourism”. Even though glocalisation framework can only provide an analytical perspective rather than a productive theory, it counteracts flattening out the cultural and other differences (Salazar, 2005, p. 641).

In these processes, imaginaries are being created and diffuse through diverse channels. These channels include the visual and textual content of documentaries and fiction movies; art, museum exhibitions, and fairs; trade cards, video games ... these play upon already internalised worldviews, directing them to specific destinations. There is worldwide advertising industry creating these mediated messages, which anthropologists are beginning to reveal (Salazar and Graburn, 2014, p. 7).

Master narratives that are constructed for shaping tourist imageries not only become useful tools of tourism marketing by conveying messages about destinations but also shape tourists behaviour (Bruner, 2005, p. 3). Analysing the global circulation of these images and ideas of tourism – a constant interaction between documents, devices and people – and seeking to determine the local dynamics of this exchange is a complicated matter. Imaginaries carry symbolic meanings which have connotations of diverse “significant contest over economy supremacy, territorial ownership and identity”. Their meanings are not always defined by some pre-existing cultural matrix. Moreover, since their nature is closely related with discourses, they are not innocent in terms of history too. They are potent elements which induce new forms of circulation to an unforeseen degree (Salazar and Graburn, 2014, p. 13).

Imaginaries can also play crucial roles in telling the tales of the landscapes. They allure tourists by their creative power of naming, designating and historicizing. Therefore, they diffuse in the constructions of both imaginative and material layers of geographies and communities (Salazar and Graburn, 2014, p. 4). Further, Salazar and Graburn (2014, p. 3) underscore that “in the end, the agents who imagine are individuals, not societies. However the strength and power of imaginaries, as opposed to personal imaginings, lies in the fact that they are widely shared by people and that they increasingly circulate across the globe.”

Approaches in tourism do not rely simply on the construction of tourist experiences and places in accordance with imaginaries. There are different approaches adopted in the literature. Urry (2011) considers this system to be ‘system of signs or symbols, which is specific in both time and space’ (Urry, 2011, p. 75). Further, Urry (2011) argues that the gaze is the process which turns a place into an attraction. Tourist gaze redefined several elements about tourist experience and the tourism industry such as bringing forward gazing upon particular objects distinct from daily life, nature of tourism that is built around the production of symbols, highlighting face to face interactions and precipitating commodification of culture (Knudsen et al. 2008, p. 3). On the other hand, it has been criticised in a variety of ways. These criticisms argue that gazing cannot be grasped as a solitary pursuit and nature of experiences should include sensory elements. This has paved the way for a stance more closely aligned with “performance”. Moreover, artful construction of signs that avoids authenticity discussions overstated tourist role which should instead put forth the complex nature of tourism that “must be negotiated, contested and resisted” are some other arguments about shortcomings of Urry’s theorisation (Knudsen et al. 2008, p. 3). MacCannell (1976), on the contrary, argues that authenticity is important for the tourist and the tourist seeks authenticity. As being trapped in modernity, the tourist can only encounter simulacra of real worlds and staged authenticity. Moreover, he interprets tourist attractions as an outcome of the interplay among the tourist, the sight and the marker: [tourist/ sight/ marker] attraction (MacCannell, 1976, p. 44) through his structural approach. “The marker is simply a piece of information about a sight which gives it distinctiveness and can be expressed through different objects such as memorials”. (Miles, 2016, p. 28).

MacCannell (1976) scrutinises the sacralisation process of a site through a five-stage model. The first stage is naming where the site is officially designated and labelled. The second stage is framing and elevation where the site or the object is put on display and surrounded by an official boundary. He defines two types of framing: protecting and enhancing. While protection refers to keeping safe physically from damage or loss, enhancing comprises all acts for luring interest for the site or object. The third phase is enshrinement where the site or object is valued in its own right and displayed under unique settings. The next stage is a mechanical reproduction of the object where “creation of prints, photographs, models of effigies of the object which are themselves valued and displayed (MacCannell, 1976, p. 45). The final stage is social reproduction “as occurs when groups, cities and regions begin to name themselves after famous attractions (MacCannell, 1976, p. 45).

Coleman and Crang (2002) draw the attention from staged nature of tourism to the creation of places through tourism. They evaluate dramaturgical metaphors that grasp performance as transpires in a place “reduced to a fixed if ambient container” (Coleman and Crang, 2002, p. 10). On the contrary, they assert that we need to view performances as active elements that stimulate change and connection. In their argument that tries to elevate approaches which performativity of place rather than just performance in place” (Coleman and Crang, 2002, p. 10). Moreover, they put forth an approach that “acknowledges the processual elements of identity formation” (Coleman and Crang, 2002, p. 10).

1.3 Tourism, Pilgrimage and Movement

Owing to its mobile nature, tourism embraces the movement. Yet it not possible to distinguish the movements stimulated by tourism from the ones that other significant forces trigger. One of these forms is a pilgrimage. Currently, “most attention has been given to the overlap between tourism and pilgrimage” (Leite and Grabun, 2009, p. 49). As Turner and Turner indicate (1978, p. 20) “a tourist is half a pilgrim if a pilgrim is half a tourist”. Drawing upon the works Badone and Roseman (2004), Coleman and Eade (2004), Frey (1998), Smith (1992), Leite and Graburn (2009, p. 49) argues that “it is not possible nor advisable to draw an abstract distinction between them; from an anthropological perspective, the difference can only be gauged in contextual and experiential terms”.

The meaning of pilgrimage is becoming in broader contexts since visiting graves, churchyards or funerary sites is grasped as a sacred and secular pilgrimage. As another context, “diaspora tourism” which comprises travelling to ethnic homelands represents another kind of secular tourism centre on nationalism and patriotism (Collins-Kreiner, 2010, p. 5). Therefore, tourists refer pilgrimage as a label for a category of experience rather than a reference to religion. Yet, it is a distinct category for them which implies “the seriousness of purpose with which the journey is undertaken and the anticipated lasting impact of its completion.” (Leite and Graburn, 2009, p. 50).

As one of the frameworks that interprets tourism movements and experiences through anthropology theories, Graburn (1989) evaluates tourism as a meaningful event that implies the “passage of time”. Drawing upon Leach’s (1961, p. 132-136) essay on “Time and False Noses” that suggests “the regular occurrence of sacred-profane alternations marks important periods of social life or even provides the measure of the passage time itself”. (Graburn, 1989, p. 26). The year's progress is marked by a succession of festivals. Each festival represents a temporary shift from Normal-Profane order of existence into the Abnormal-Sacred order and back again” (Graburn, 1989, p. 26).

In a similar vein, Turner (1975) deals with the transition between the sacred and the profane, between the structure and the anti-structure. Turner’s (1975) depiction of the pilgrimage as a threshold experience is built on Van Gennep. Van Gennep has shown that many kinds of rituals, notably initiation ceremonies, consist of three distinct phases whose relative lengths vary among cultures and are denoted by the terms (1)separation, margin or limen, and (3) reaggregation. He sometimes just used the words "preliminal," "liminal," and "postliminal" to describe them. This kind of analysis reveals how rituals facilitate the cultural shift of individuals or groups. This change in cultural status has always been marked by a ceremony that coincides with a change in place. Moreover, the liminal experience can “have punitive, purificatory, expiatory, cognitive, instructional, therapeutic, transformative, and many other facets, aspects, and functions” (Turner, 1975, p.196).

Communitas arises when rites of passage are experienced in a collective setting. Structures of communitas offer a break from the everyday requirements and obligations of structure (Turner, 1975: p. 202). However “communitas lives within structure, and structure within communitas.” (Turner, 1975, p. 206). The link between social structure

and social *communitas* varies within and across civilizations, as well as throughout social change (Turner, 1975, p. 202). Turner describes *communitas* as in here (Turner, 1975, p. 202):

“In rites of passage, novices or initiands pass from one position or condition of structure to another. But in the passage from structure to structure they may, and usually do, if the rites are collective in character, experience *communitas*. Liminality, the optimal setting of *communitas* relations, and *communitas*, a spontaneously generated relationship between leveled and equal total and individuated human beings, stripped of structural attributes, together constitute what one might call anti-structure.”

Turner is interested in the spatial aspects of pilgrimages as well as their status as threshold occurrences. It is through the practice of *communitas* that the bonds among pilgrims are formed. *Communitas*' social organisation in long-established pilgrimages have a capacity to reflect the social structure that encircle it (Turner, 1975, pp. 166-167). Further, there is a stark contrast in Turner's view between the "localised, relatively stable, structured systems of social relations" and the "total process of pilgrimage" (Turner, 1975, pp. 167-168).

Turners define three sorts of *communitas*, illustrating the social bond in pilgrimage scenarios.(Turner, 1975, p. 169; Turner, 2011[1978], p.252):

1- Existential or spontaneous *communitas*: It is the direct, immediate and comprehensive confrontation of human identities, which tends to make individuals who experience it conceive of humanity as a homogenous, unstructured and free community.

2- Normative *communitas*: In pursuit of collective purposes, such as coordinating resources and mobilising, the initial existential *communitas* is structured into an enduring social system due to the need for social control among its members. The origin of normative *communitas* was a nonfunctional feeling of brotherhood and camaraderie.

3- Ideological *communitas* is a term applied to several utopian concepts. They represent or provide the ideal circumstances for existential *communitas*.

For Turner, normative *communitas* ties pilgrims together, as well as those who provide assistance and hospitality to them on their way. The normative *communitas*

dominates. Nonetheless, the *communitas* essence remains latent in the norm and maybe occasionally revived (Turner, 1975, p. 169- 170).

Even while caste divisions are preserved in *communitas* throughout the pilgrimage route, they do not stay intact (Turner, 1975, p. 171). Social structure is drastically simplified as opposed to being erased (Turner, 1975, p. 196). The *communitas* of unconstrained disorder do not exist here. Large populations need some degree of order and discipline due to the diversity of their demographic and geographic characteristics. People go great distances to become a part of a particular social order (Turner, 1975, p. 171).

Grasping tourism experiences through this framework also enables us to include movement and sensory nature of spatial practices at once which also have symbolic dimensions. As Connerton (2009) demonstrates, memorial places can be attached to the transient structures of spatial movement. We find this movement from one place to another evoking the concept of the threshold as the specific zone in which a crucial transition is effected; to cross the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world. In the pilgrimage, the threshold and the liminal state are unusually extensive. The pilgrimage journey may be shaped either by spatial interdictions or by spatial injunctions. Whether it is a matter of spatial interdictions or spatial injunctions, what is happening is that persons produce a symbolic nexus out of the interaction between bodily action and terrestrial places.

Even in research that don't embrace Turners' pilgrimage idea, the theory's importance is demonstrated. Turners contends that the structure of the world pilgrims enter differs from the dynamics of the social structure. The new world that an individual enters lacks the social statuses and objectives left behind. Thus, in the new world with a new group order devoid of hierarchy, people may achieve '*communitas*' under the shared order and ideals. As a result, the new world and its '*anti-structure*' enable “the temporary '*social death*' of visitors” (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 201).

Turners' theory depicts the pilgrimage as an experience away from the stresses of everyday life, evaluating *communitas* as a sterile construct. However, this work, which displays this newly generated *anti-structure* in a non-transitive fashion against social and cultural processes, has faced criticism. These objections mainly revolve around the

viewpoint that the *communitas* phenomena is presented in an analysis distinct from historical and social circumstances and that this analysis cannot uncover conflicts because it focuses on consensus (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p.201).

Despite the fact that it has been stated that Turner did not take into account the possibility of conflict, Turners did in fact acknowledge it. Turners cited instances in which religious and political shifts sparked conflict. Consequently, they noted that social and political disputes might permeate shrine based on peace and *communitas* by their nature (Turner and Turner, 1978, p.140). Further, they argue that the rituals “become subject to political manipulation and pressure, respond to the ecological cycle and to economic factors, and thrive or succumb in relation to currents of secular thought.” (Turner and Turner, 1978, p. 148)

Turners are criticised by Coleman and Elsner as well since they see *communitas* as an unreachable, ideal condition. According to them, pilgrimage places cannot be separated from their socio-economic context. Further, many pilgrimages entail conflict and are certain to be shaped by secular forces (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p.202). Coleman and Elsner also contend that Eade and Sallnow's approach regards pilgrimage sites as locations without intrinsic significance. According to them, such an approach makes it hard to find common "structural similarities" across diverse pilgrimage traditions. In this regard, they contend that Eade and Sallnow built an analytical framework over "person", "places" and "texts" but did not investigate its explanatory potential in varied ritual forms (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p.202).

Eade and Sallnow's pilgrimage analysis denies the shrine as a source of solidarity and identity. In contrast to the Durkheimian approach, they emphasise the several cultural orientations in pilgrimage zones and the power struggles that ensue (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 200). Citing studies in which the *communitas* phenomenon proposed by Turner could not be verified in the literature, Eade and Sallnow (1991) argue that considering pilgrimage within a structure and anti-structure context is a deterministic model that restricts its historically and culturally rooted homogeneous structure. They propose a viewpoint as summarised in here (Eade and Sallnow, 1991, p. 5):

“Despite the positivism of the one and the dialectical pretensions of the other, the functionalist and Turnerian approaches share the same structuralist foundations, with

pilgrimage being seen as either supporting or subverting the established social order. In order to transcend this somewhat simplistic dichotomy, it is necessary to develop a view of pilgrimage not merely as a field of social relations but also as a realm of competing discourses.(...) It is these varied discourses with their multiple meanings and understandings, brought to the shrine by different categories of pilgrims, by residents and by religious specialists, that are constitutive of the cult itself. Equally, a cult might be seen to be constituted by mutual misunderstandings, as each group attempts to interpret the actions and motives of others in terms of its own specific discourse.”

Thus, in their evaluation of the Turners’ theory of pilgrimage, Eade and Sallnow (2000, p. 5) argue the need of framing pilgrimages as a field of competing discourses instead of one overarching discourse (Klimova, 2016). They stress on illuminating various actors, groups, motivations and actions that constitute pilgrimage experiences. Their approach emphasizes “the heterogeneity of pilgrimage as it appears in theoretical and analytical studies and introduces a new basis for comparing pilgrimages throughout the world” (Collins-Kreiner, 2010, p. 5). In the same vein, Chemin (2016, p. 221) argues:

“It is often difficult, if at times impossible, for respondents taking part in qualitative studies to separate their motivations into specific categories. Often the very act of pilgrimage blurs the boundaries of what may be considered “spiritual” or “recreational” by researchers, or “healing” and “religious” or even “cultural” or “personal”. To facilitate interpretation, I grouped an otherwise fragmented range of data and merged categories”.

This can also be interpreted according to the transition from a modernist approach that is set on binaries to postmodern approaches which embrace multiplicity. This is parallel to the methodological change occurred in the tourist studies (Alneng, 2002, p. 123):

“Rather than having ethnographic accounts speak of cultural complexity, these typologies have done little more than splitting the Tourist into halves and ascribing these different motifs that do not ultimately contest MacCannell's unitary Tourist – they all dwell in a culturally barren landscape of modernist construed universality.”

According to Coleman and Elsner (1995), movement is the crucial aspect in pilgrimage that permits someone to travel away from home and have new encounters. Thus, pilgrims stepping into new experiences abandon a static structure. This perspective emphasises not just the primary objective, the destination, but also the journey itself. In addition, the element of movement is seen as a unifying characteristic shared by many pilgrimages. They put forth that “sacred travel outside one’s home culture is perhaps a defining characteristic of the way pilgrimage has developed in the world religions” (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 206).

Generally, a religious pilgrimage site is a location where divine elements manifest on earth. The purpose of the pilgrimage is to feel these energies. They have a desire to look to these powers for personal miracles. Various explanations exist about the source of power in sacred locations. From one perspective, these areas possess direct power. From a different angle, they channel the divine's power. Therefore, during these pilgrimages, mythic discourse may have both a person-centred and place-centred sanctity (Eade and Sallnow, 1991, pp.6-9).

Although place-based sacredness may emerge in various ways, it often involves contact with sacred power in location. Especially when saints with extraordinary abilities are the primary motivation for a visit, person-centred sanctity might take precedence. Occasionally, these pilgrimages take the form of a text-based pilgrimage rather than a quest for the sacred based on a specific place or person. Eade and Sallnow (1991, pp. 8-9) qualify it as a text-based pilgrimage by noting that Christian pilgrimages to Jerusalem are formed by writings describing the life and death of Christ.

Although Eade and Sallnow (1991, p.9) suggest examining the construction of the sacred centre in pilgrimage in the context of person, place, and text, they emphasise that their analytic endeavour is to enable to delineate the specific peculiarities of construction in each instance, as opposed to generalising through inclusive formulation.

Eade and Sallnow (1991) describe the construction of the shrine's power as follows:

“What all this demonstrates is that it is the meanings and ideas which officials, pilgrims, and locals invest in the shrine meanings and ideas which are determinately shaped by their political and religious, national and regional, ethnic and class backgrounds which help to give the shrine its religious capital, though this investment

might well be in a variety of theological currencies. The power of a shrine, therefore, derives in large part from its character almost as a religious void, a ritual space capable of accommodating diverse meanings and practices though of course the shrine staff might attempt, with varying degrees of success, to impose a single, official discourse.” (Eade and Sallnow, 1991, p.15).

The crucial aspect here is that the contrasts persist at the same time without being wiped, and the shrine derives its strength from this aptitude:

“This, in the final analysis, is what confers upon a major shrine its essential, universalistic character: its capacity to absorb and reflect a multiplicity of religious discourses, to be able to offer a variety of clients what each of them desires. Universalism is ultimately constituted not by a unification of discourses but rather by the capacity of a cult to entertain and respond to a plurality. The sacred centre, then, in this perspective, appears as a vessel into which pilgrims devoutly pour their hopes, prayers, and aspirations.” (Eade and Sallnow, 1991, p.15)

1.4 On Method

“If history besieges memory, as Nora suggests,
I hope to show that memory can also besiege history.” *Yael Zerubavel*

In 2015, I decided to choose the Australians who come to Gallipoli as the subject of a study. The connection between memory, identity, narrative and place, as well as Zerubavel's well-known piece "The Death of Memory and the Memory of Death: Masada and the Holocaust as Historical Metaphors" which we studied in a social anthropology class I attended at METU, reminded me of the Gallipoli and Anzac descendant visitors. The Battle of Gallipoli's 100th anniversary was commemorated in the same year. My exploratory fieldwork, which I conducted as part of Forms of Cultural Production class, developed and was presented at this conference as well. That study was performed just after the Dawn Ceremony. In August of the same year, I returned to Gallipoli and participated in tours again as well as the August Offensive commemoration in Lone Pine. In the same year, in October, I flew to Melbourne to get a deeper understanding of this tradition and did an informal research at the Remembrance Shrine and talked to people to

establish the framework and boundaries of my thesis. I was in Gallipoli the following year, 2016 and in 2018², again in April. This time, I got the opportunity to participate in the Dawn Ceremonies and daily battlefield tours. I returned to the field in September 2018 for the second time that year and participated in the tours again. Each time I went to my field, I spent a week. I travelled to Gallipoli the next year, in 2019, yet this time to meet with agency officials and Çanakkale Battles Gallipoli Historical Site administration. Throughout this period, I maintained close contact with some of the pilgrims I met in Gallipoli. Our conversations took place through e-mails or messages sent via social media. Since I aimed also to trace the residues of my pilgrims' experiences after some time had passed, in 2021, I conducted formal online interviews with eight of them.

I followed Burawoy's approach for investigate the experience of global and "the creation and reproduction of connections that stretched across the world" (Burawoy, 2000, p. 5). Therefore, I was determined to provide a historical foundation for my ethnography in the way he suggests. For tracing the past, I utilised all the tools at my disposal – secondary recourses, archives, government records, newspapers, and local recollections. As a result of this foundation, I was able to expand the local historical foundation of Anzac culture and investigate trends in the globalisation of pilgrims' imaginary and movements. In essence, my investigations could probe into external influences by blending ethnohistory and ethnography and integrating dwelling and mobility. More importantly, they not only examined linkages between locations but also unearthed everyday imaginations as Burawoy (2000) argues. "Forces, connections, and imaginations were the three critical components, or axes" of my research (Burawoy, 2000, p. 5).

1.4.1 Ethnography

Conducting an ethnographic fieldwork is already a challenging practice. But when it comes to mobile communities, the research demands more painstaking efforts. In a traditional way to conduct ethnographic research, ethnographer has a chance to spend plenty of time with the community which is under scrutiny. Thus, it becomes possible to observe them in different situations and form closer bonds during this time. On the other

² My predissertation study, undertaken from 2015 to 2016, has also considerably influenced the points provided in this thesis. My following fieldwork was greatly aided by the personal connections and background information from that initial investigation.

hand, ethnographers who conduct their researches on tourists are not so lucky since short-term ethnographic research has some disadvantages compared to long-termed ones.

Bruner (1995) informs from his own fieldwork experiences that tourists rush around the sights that are impossible to keep up with. The issue isn't the building connections; tourists are approachable; instead, it's one of finding time for a more extended discussion. It's pretty simple to start a conversation. Still, halfway through, the tour leader announces that the group is going on to the following location, and your informant has vanished. That is the reason why we have generalisations about tourist motivations in the literature, such as that they are on a sacred journey (Graburn, 1977), on a quest for their authentic selves (MacCannell, 1976), or that tourism is a game (Cohen, 1984) as Bruner (1995) mentions. However, systematic observation of visitors' responses and perceptions is rare (Bruner, 1995).

This kind of rush on the field was exactly what I experienced too. During the tours the only time available for me to ask questions were the intervals between stop points that we were on the coach. Since locations are not far away from each other, this was again providing a very short time to me. Sometimes, after observing them during the tour, and taking notes about my questions to them to ask later on, I was not able to find a chance to speak with them after the tour because they were departing with the same coach without even getting off. Thus, as Pena (2011) cites her mentor's aphorism, "If anything can go wrong in the field, it will." My experiences also proved her warning right. However, I must emphasize that there were several occasions when I was lucky. Following the tours, I had long and delightful conversations with some of the pilgrims in the hotel's lobby, on my ferry rides, and at dinners. Almost every interview was tape-recorded, and I never failed to keep field diaries. As a result, the wisdom, experience, and, most importantly, the truly open hearts of fifty beautiful people came together to produce this work, which I am delighted and privileged to carry out.

Graburn (2002) contends that since participants stay for a short-term and events are only temporary, these facts make the field work harder to gain more in-depth information from museum visitors, pilgrims, temporary migrants or participants of any kind of ritual. He asserts that the only way to gain more data, is to make repeat observations and asking questions to hundreds of tourists. But the latter will leave the

researcher with a weak, mass quantitative data as he informs (Graburn, 2002). In the same vein, I attended several tours and gained insights.

Further, I portrayed tourist motifs in their multiple nature. In order to attain this aim, Gille and Riain (2002, p. 287) argues that we need to “pursue actors through space and time in order to explore place-making projects seems likely to increase our use of interviews, history, tracing networks, and so on and to decrease our time spent simply being on site”. Moreover, drawing upon the work on labour-intensive research on pilgrims by Gold (1988) in Rajasthan and on pilgrim-tourists by Frey (1998) in Europe, Graburn (2002, pp. 20-21) stresses on the need for processual and on-going research:

“Ideally, no ethnographer would study persons taking part in a ritual or other short-term event and expect to be able to interpret them meaningfully without putting them into the whole context of their continuing lives, especially the meaning and mark such events might (or might not) leave on their ordinary non-ritual lives. That is why anthropologists have long derided the typical clipboard research carried out on, for instance, museum visitors, either of the ‘before and after’ type of the ‘observe them in front of the vitrine’ variety.”

Further, the processual analysis is in the same line with the efforts of gaining deeper knowledge about the participants in the pilgrimage studies. The extended-case history approach can provide a more in-depth look into pilgrimages as Turner (1975) suggest:

“Satisfactory documents or oral narratives of the personal experiences and observations of pilgrims and of detached investigators enable us to envisage the social process, involving a particular group of pilgrims during their preparations for departure, their collective experiences on the journey, their arrival at the pilgrim centre, their behaviour and impressions at the centre, and their return journey.” (Turner, 1975, p.167).

Such a perspective sheds light, by comparison, on different pilgrimage landscapes and “the various features of a ‘single’ tradition as it changes over time, encountering processes of erosion or accretion, or perhaps theological ‘earthquakes’ which alter the sacred topography rather more suddenly” (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 213). Further, this method enables us to raise questions about the relationship between the pilgrimage group and its many sociocultural encounters (Turner, 1975, p. 167). Therefore, I interviewed my participants, who were at the core of my research, both before and after

the experience, as well as after they returned home, in order to accurately capture the essence of their pilgrimage journey.

However, as Graburn (2002) warns, it was sometimes really difficult to gain accurate data from pilgrims during the tours and the Dawn Ceremony since most of the pilgrims were in a special state of mind, thinking deeply and concentrated. Most of time, I didn't feel like it was right time to ask questions to them during the tour. This would only disturb them, interrupt their experiences and distort my communication with them too. Therefore, I would lose my chance to have a healthy conversation afterwards. In fact, one of the most prevalent point that I observed in all of the tours and even during Dawn Ceremony, was that each visitor was prone to spend time alone and not talking if it is not really necessary. Almost all of them seemed to just focus on their thoughts. Even conversations between themselves were limited. The guide was receiving some questions or creating his own dialogue with them by asking questions, yet that was all. This was during the informative part and when the guide finishes his telling at that visiting point, pilgrims were alone with the land. This does not mean that the tours were deeply moving for each of the pilgrims. Some pilgrims were very emotional and focusing on their feelings. Some was just trying to figure out "what to feel". In one of the tours, while we were at Lone Pine, one of the pilgrims seemed to me very "confused". He was just looking around and the participants of his family were wandering around separately from each other. I approach to him and asked him what he was feeling. He looked at my face with empty eyes and told me that "You are asking a question to me even I do not ask myself. I do not know."

Another point that Graburn (2002) warns that tourists' feelings can be unstable and floating during rituals. Thus, he cautions against deceptive statements of tourists that are gathered during these occasions. I had the same experience in the field. Yet, I believed that these occasions also have a potential to reveal more about pilgrims. For me, even if they remember or interpret some parts in a wrong way, it was showing something else again (i.e. bearing in mind some places more accurately than others or misremembering the order of our stop points could have showed me the parts they care about more). To be certain, I made comments on such points throughout the interview and encouraged response from my participants.

One of the important aspects is to reach “thick descriptions” as Geertz (1973) underscores while conducting an ethnographic research. One cannot expect to reach them through short-term studies. Therefore, putting all the evaluations into the context and reevaluate those through each person’s background and life story is crucial. This is another important point that Graburn (2002) puts emphasis on. Transition of the effects of ritual and experiences from ritual to non-ritual, ordinary realm is an elective stage. In my study, since not only individual background but also the national values were shaping the experiences, I tried to be conversant with both of them. From family to education and national ritual habits, all different layers were included in such a vantage point since the meaning inscribed these experiences are ‘constructed’ between “inner world of consciousness and outer world of experiences (Myerhoff, 1993).

The ethnographic method supplied me with really valuable data for Gallipoli despite the impediments. It is known that in tourism and hospitality, ethnographic and participatory methods provide fresh views on destination management, service delivery, and social effects on both visitors and residents (Wise, 2018, p. 115). Thus, travellers’ identity and structure of the society have been studied in different ethnographic settings (Palmer, 2005; Smith 1998; Sorensen, 2003). Moreover, due to time consistency and financial restrictions, academia is increasingly accepting so-called "short term ethnographies" (Wise, 2018, p. 115-116). According to Palmer (2005), in terms of social construction, one of the primary problems for tourism researchers is the identity. Sites like Gallipoli may help individuals comprehend the nation's collective identity by emphasizing continuity and tradition (Palmer, 2005, p. 12). Furthermore, this method enables us to go deeply into the micro level:

“Today ethnographic approaches are not only methodologically appropriate in tourism and hospitality research, but also essential when we consider the future directions of research in these fields. Those working in the industry, referring specifically to managers and planners, are also in a position to gain from the results of locally informed research to better manage patrons and respond to the needs of local residents. Therefore, focusing our attention on micro-locales and community case studies puts emphasis on the need to develop research agendas from the bottom up” (Wise, 2018, p. 121).

1.4.2 Positionality and Matter of Writing

While some of the previous discussions about Gallipoli have concentrated only on the two nations' ties (West, 2015; Ziino, 2006; McKenna & Ward, 2007; Fewster, Başarın, Başarın, 2003), this study was conducted by a member of a country often regarded as the 'Other' to understand Australian pilgrims' experiences. Likewise, the findings might be seen in this light as an outcome of Australian participants' interactions with the Other. Moreover, while I focused on pilgrims' different encounters in the scope of my research, I also had encounters with them. As a research approach, I focused on the experiences of my respondents. However, this study cannot be considered entirely free of my views as a qualitative research output. As academics, we write and organise our narratives, use our literary techniques, adhere to certain academic norms, and take an ideological position in our professional work (Bruner, 1995; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fisher, 1986). Ethnographers themselves are people with values and beliefs just like everyone else. It has been a long time since we do not view them as apolitical observers who examine other people from a neutral perspective. (Bruner, 1995, p. 224; Leite, Castenade and Adams, 2019, p. 7). My research is the result of the construction of mutual dialogue. Thus, different challenges emerge in terms of reflexivity and otherness.

An accurate assessment of this issue can be made by evaluating of ethnographer's insider/outsider positions or being a "halfie" accommodating both sides. One continuing debate is whether ethnographers' "insider" or "outsider" status affects their work. In other words, studying individuals who are similar to oneself or researching communities that are not akin to their own may impact the research (Collins, 2015; Aguilar, 2010). Yet, due to our different statuses, we all have both traits (Merton, 1972). This situation results in having a few "insider moments" with participants and/or having the "outsider within" feeling (Bolak, 1996, Yuval-Davis, 1997; Woodward, 2008). Therefore, most of the time, reflexivity and being an "insider" or "outsider" are evaluated as relational and contextual. (Reyes, 2020). In the same vein, Abu- Lughod asserts that "The outer self never stands outside on its own. They have a clear relationship with the study's Other." (Abu-Lughod, 1991, p. 468). This fact was exactly what I experienced on the field. On the one hand, my position can be regarded as the Other. On the other hand, I am a member of one of two sides in the war that has witnessed a change in their relations that no other nation has experienced before.

While researchers and participants may share specific characteristics, they do not share everything. (Reyes, 2020, p. 226). Thus, even in situations when the researcher and respondents share similarities, ethical awareness is required. Wasserfall (1993) ultimately found in her own country that she needs "distance" and objectification to finish her project. Her respondents' and her political and ethical views put them at odds. "If we knew what anthropology meant, we would not have allowed you in the village.", said one informant at the conclusion of her visit. Thus, even within shared similarities, opposing elements exist. In field research, they may be a challenge. According to Abu Lughod's outer self, Wasserfall's insider also highlights those disparities. The ethnographer's reflexivity, Wasserfall (1993) believes, may reduce exploitation when they study both the same and the different.

Wasserfall's study illuminates my research. Sociology and anthropology have learned a great deal from feminist studies on coping with circumstances caused by disparities while ethnographers undertake fieldwork. Wasserfall (1993) believes that instances of disagreement over fundamental political orientation result in "significant disparities" between ethnographer and informants. As a result, there seems to be a problem with the reflexive stand. In instances of shared similarities, such as the presence of shared gender, reflexivity is again seen as a way to encourage an ethical approach to social science research.

One of the ways to ease the conflicts is to build upon the commonalities the author finds with her informants (Wasserfall, 1993, p. 36). These commonalities and methods of building relationships differ according to people and circumstances. (Reyes, 2020, p. 226). Some studies in the literature indicate that when Australians come to Turkey, they experience anxiety due to their encounters with the other (West, 2015). However, I could not confirm this information from any of my participants. In the same vein, I did not experience any tension at any moment of my work. On the field, I reflected my side that shared this history with the Australians and I've always encountered the same attitude from Australian pilgrims.

All the similarities and differences of the ethnographer directly affect the research and the relationship with the respondents. Yet, personal relationships aren't just based on the fact that there are some things that people have in common, but also on their differences, which either influence or don't affect the relationship (Simmel, 1950, p. 405).

Therefore, different tools used in the construction of relationships with informants are pointed out in the literature. Different metaphors are utilised to convey the critical nature of the ethnographer's background in doing research. As one of them, Reyes uses the 'ethnographic toolkit' metaphor. The metaphor helps academics comprehend and utilise qualitative methods. It acknowledges the broad range of ethnographic instruments. The ethnographic toolkit includes researchers' own social capital, identities, and histories. All of these factors are important for ethnographers and are utilised to get access and comprehend the field. The ethnographic toolkit shows how these features determine the way we see the world and how the world looks at us (Reyes, 2020, p. 225).

The most important of the background features I used as a toolkit element was our shared history. As a Turk, I am involved in the narrative, and I conducted my research as a person whose history is tied with them. Moreover, this history enabled friendship rhetoric to grow among our ancestors. Often, I saw this kind of approach from people even before I disclosed myself. That was the case with all of the participants. As in all ethnographies, I have only analysed the part of the experience I witnessed. Therefore, my study is no different from other ethnographic studies. As James Clifford asserts, ethnographic representations are always "partial truths" (1986, p. 6).

The ethnographic toolkit demonstrates that there are no genuine 'insiders' since we rely on multiple qualities and do not share all of our participants' features (Reyes, 2020). Two issues will also be useful in assessing the degree of obscurity of my Otherness in the research. The first is that the Australian nation has a hybrid structure within itself and already contains many nationalities. The other is the social structures brought about by the postmodern era. This suggests that the group boundaries of different nations are becoming more blurred too.

Firstly, the definition of "Australian" is complex (Hogan, 2008), and the participants were already a varied group of individuals. In recent years, there is an ongoing discussion on how difficult it is to identify the group members since there are multiple kinds of others in identity, particularly national identity. (i.e. Goldberg, Yuval-Davis, 1997, Alund, 1995). Additionally, overlapping identities that include these distinctions provide unique social experiences for particular people and social groups. (Collins, 2015, p. 12). Any anti-essentialist or social constructionist would immediately emphasise the instabilities of identity categories. Even when members of an identification

group see a category as stable, delineating the group's precise boundaries may be challenging (Goldberg, 2009, p. 125).

As a second and vital element, it should also be considered that postmodern societies are increasingly interconnected yet fractured. Thus, foreign nations cannot be completely Other. The 'we' and the 'them' of the anthropological projects are changing positions. According to different settings and layers of our identities, both our informants and we integrate. (Wasserfall, 1993, p. 38). In such instances, intersectionality research should consider actively drawing on our social positions and assets to enable access to various individuals and locations. (Reyes, 2018, p. 221). It refers to "the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but rather as reciprocally constructing phenomena" (Collins, 2015, p. 1).

To be able to construct my research more firmly on the slippery ground that I have outlined here, I decided to inquire my participants about this concern. I asked about how it felt to share the Gallipoli experience with a Turkish scholar and then to disclose the deeper, personal aspects of these memories to her. Brandan remarked that his time with me increased his awareness and that he enjoyed it. For him, the questions I asked him at the very beginning of our Gallipoli experience had enabled him to focus on "the reality of being there but more in-depth" as getting away from "the formalities of the day":

"The interview that you did when we were on the bus... I immediately started thinking about it and you know I could feel my eyes start to like tingle a little bit because you start thinking about, you're like 'Oh god! Yeah, that's right!' and it all starts flooding back to you."

Brandan told me that when we first met he believed what we were doing was impossible in other scenarios. He couldn't, for example, meet a researcher in Afghanistan who was on the Taliban's side and build a friendship with him. He could also wish to meet with someone fighting on the Taliban's side in the area where Australia was fighting and listen to their stories. They were, however, extremely different. In the videos circulating on the internet, it was plain to see how hateful their rhetoric was. According to Brandan, both the Anzacs and the Turkish troops did their best and treated each other with respect. It was amazing. Furthermore, he was grateful to the Turks for allowing Australians to

visit these lands. It meant a lot to Brandan to be able to do this, and that the Turks respected the war just as much as the Australians did.

Dion saw it from a very similar vantage point with Brandan. They mentioned quite similar things in their talks thought at various times with each other. When Dion looked back, he too did not consider the experience would be possible in similar settings. For instance, he might be an American who wishes to go to Afghanistan for a kind of pilgrimage. He couldn't even imagine it. Turkey was welcoming a country that had pointed a gun at itself a century ago. Australians were traveling to France and Belgium too. However, Australia has not fought these nations. Thus, these trips to Turkey were utterly unique. He also was grateful for this. I was not “the Other” for Dion and Brandan.

Sandra and Bob both made a similar comment. “There is no sense that you guys were the enemy you know,” he said, laughing. Donna remarked that it took 25-30 years for the Australians to forgive the Japanese after World War II. They asserted that because of Atatürk's efforts, relationship with the Turks began to recover significantly sooner after the war.

Throughout the study, my position as a researcher has changed contextually. As Nunez (1989), one of the first anthropologists to write on tourism wisely observed, in a society where visitors are both a factor and a research topic, the ethnographer is likely to be associated with the tourist population and categorised as an outsider. The ethnographer is indeed an outsider, but with enough training, empathy, and tenacity, most may build enough rapport with their informants and acquire a limited insider's viewpoint (Nunez, 1989, p. 270). Some aspects of Reyes' ‘ethnographic toolkit’ are also highlighted here.

An ethnographer who is just getting started on fieldwork always faces the challenge of defining her position. She and the community typically figure out her position and status within the group via a shared trial-and-error learning process. Regarding age, sex, and attitude, both the group and the ethnographer attempt to delineate a position to “fit” her (Nunez, 1989, p. 270). Nunez describes the shifting position of the ethnographer among locals and visitors as such:

Any attempt to study an indigenous population and a tourist population in interaction will probably require talents similar to that of the Roman rider, with a foot on each horse. Making complete, accurate, and empathetic

observations of both populations will necessitate a delicate balancing act (Nuñez, 1989, 270).

In the same vein described by Nunez, I have had various degrees of other experience with different individuals in different situations. I approach this separately for two groups: locals, including tour guides, tour employees, tradespeople and tour participants.

First, since I was a researcher and not an agency employee, I was already an outsider on the trips I attended. Yet this was not always the case. Mr. Sami (a pseudonym) was one of the individuals with whom I communicated regularly. These conversations were limited to gathering information on things like the individuals taking part in the trip that day. I shared much of my field experience with guides and drivers. Throughout the tours, the guides and drivers work closely together and sometimes engage in deep conversation. Their regular conversations often centre on the general structure of the tours, such as the route to be followed and the observations about the participants such as the interest of that day's tour group. On the other hand, I can say that I have also seen the agency's masculine side at times. In these instances, I've often been left out on purpose.

However, with time, I was regarded a part of the agency, in a sense. This attitude made me pleased as well. In most cases, I stayed elsewhere and didn't use the agency's hotel. Instead, I stayed in a hotel on the city's opposite site where is more active and had more amenities. As a result, I assisted visitors when the agency was unable to arrange or simply did not organise shuttles by taking me into account. This assistance was to help the visitors I was going to be together on that day's trip, transport from their hotels to the agency across town, or help them take on the right ferry back to their hotel.

Especially initially, agency employees treated me like a guest and took extra care of me as part of their tour. I was given preferential treatment in our interactions with the vendors at the locations where we stopped. Additionally, the knowledge I had and my attempts to acquire new ones via my study on Gallipoli and Anzac visitors – in short, my researcher identity – allowed me to interact more closely with the guides from the onset.

Bronislaw Malinowski, Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, and other pioneers of social and cultural anthropology established their approaches at a time when the mobility of people and commodities across the world was much lower than now (Leite, Castenade and Adams, 2019, p. 3). They disregarded the degree to which their own epistemological

endeavour was dependent on their own mobility. On the other hand, they demonstrated anthropologists' liminal position between the humanities and the social sciences, with continuous methodological and theoretical border crossings (Salazar, Elliot and Norum, 2017, 15). That is precisely what occurred in my case. I was among the tourists, but I was not an Australian. I was Turkish, the same nationality as the locals, but I was traveling with a group of tourists. I was conducting my research 'at home' but touring the Anzac cemeteries. As a result, I was in a hybrid position from the start.

Before the trip, my interactions with visitors were one-sided. Details on which of the participants were from Australia were provided by the owner and the manager, Mr. Sami, or that day's tour guide. So I could concentrate my observations throughout the trip on specific people. As soon as we boarded the bus, our tour leader introduced me briefly and then I was also providing some additional details on my study. I did not conceal my identity during the whole of my fieldwork. Every single person I spoke with was aware of my research.

In the breakfast hall, sometimes I was next to the guests and at other times chatting with the guides. I was able to get behind the "stage", which is the general nature of tourism, much more quickly than ordinary guests. That means, if there were a change in the route of the tour that day, the guide would explain the change to me by clearly stating the reason. Any omissions or glitches were sincerely shared with me because I was seen close.

Both the features I shared with the local people and the fact that I was a tour group member necessitated that I sometimes act as a mediator. I occasionally served as a guide and cultural ambassador. I shared my knowledge of the area and assisted the participants in building bridges and overcoming language obstacles with the native people, using the tools that came with my native cultural identity.

When we went to restaurants, I would introduce the Turkish cuisine and assist them in selecting. Occasionally, when we went out to dinner, they left the restaurant selection to me. During the dinner, I was also in charge of communicating with the waiters. I also took on the role of a local guide. So much so that, before the last dawn ceremony we attended, we spent a half-day looking for sleeping bags in stores that may offer them. We

left our number and waited for news. We looked for pain killers for ...' headache. Finally, we finished our day with delicious meatballs.

In line with Bruner's ethnographic work (1995; 1996), I oscillated between the rhetoric of tourist and ethnographer. Sometimes, I got caught up in Gallipoli's narrative which pulls one into the battle, and its peaceful atmosphere which refuses to change despite all of the horrors it saw. I took a selfie with Lone Pine behind me, as many tourists do. At other times, I took pictures of the participants discovering around and asked instant questions without disturbing their experiences. I took notes about my impressions and the conversations that took place in different environments. I found myself at the point where Mintz said: 'we ethnographers, at least at first, are tourists' (Mintz, 2012, p. 60).

Gallipoli is a quintessential landscape for Australian national memory. It has become one of the most iconic places of remembrance for those who see Gallipoli as a place of pilgrimage that simultaneously commemorates the tragedy of war and the courage and sacrifices of Australian troops during World War I. The Gallipoli peninsula also acts as a "meeting ground" (MacCannel, 1999 [1976]) for Turks and Australians, both conceptually and physically.

However, the meaning it carries changes through time, and we should take a comprehensive approach to how these visits are constructed and reconstructed. It is vulnerable to the ups and downs of popular culture, political economics, and institutional authority. Accordingly, I concentrate on the dialectics of pilgrimage tourism producers, suppliers, and consumers in Gallipoli. This connects to Bruner's (1986) notion of the "touristic borderzone" as a site of encounter where cultural values are mediated via encounters between mobile visitors and residents:

The concept of the borderzone focuses on a localised event, limited in space and time, as an encounter between foreign visitors and locals. The two groups approach it from very different perspectives... Tourists see peak experiences; locals and producers organise these experiences for the tourists but live mostly in the everyday. Although the borderzone is about the local, what is performed there takes account of global and international flows as tourism development in the Third World requires the involvement of the nation-state and transnational networks... Although the borderzone is located in an actual place in the world, what is created there is a cultural imaginary, a fantasy, in itself not a real-life culture but a constructed

theatrical one. In the borderzone each group knows its part in the touristic drama.(17-18)

Bruner depicts a localised phenomenon in which the indigenous and the visitor interact in a touristic border zone. On the other hand, certain elements do not fit within this description and are specific to Gallipoli. Australians come to discover what they already own. The Dawn Service is not an experience that the destination's natives provide. Indeed, it is kept relatively close and takes place with tight security measures. In tours, the situation is somewhat different. Tourists learn and experience shared history here – since the guide on the excursions I participated in was Turkish – via the narrative and direction of the Other. Following Bruner's stance, I focused on particular situations that included "expressive forms like narratives" to investigate how people subjectively interact with, understand, and derive meaning from their environment (Leite, Castenade and Adams, 2019, p. 16). This means that each tourist experiences something different and interprets the experience differently. Every tourist's background, encounters they have throughout the visit, and their pre-visit expectations are unique. Consequently, it leads to a variety of meanings created (Leite, Castenade and Adams, 2019, p. 15). Therefore, I was not after the "generalised routines, clusters of customs, norms, habits and prevalent patterns" (Bruner, 1986, p. 4).

In a sense, the critical role of humanist interpretations of postmodern and poststructuralist theory in Bruner's cultural approach was an effort to alter the way we grasp culture in general. The attention to experience, performance, narrative, and all elements rooted in indigenous concepts provides another perspective other than the ethnographer's point of view. Thus, the postmodern idea that questioned the authority of the ethnographer found its expression in practice. The vital point was delineating a new definition of culture. It meant to study culture as it is experienced, rather than as it functions or as a collection of normative behaviours. Rather than being articulated, "culture was to be seen as being generated as it was expressed, as emergent and contested", it was always in the production process (Leite, Castenade and Adams, 2019, p. 10).

In my research, I focused on the micro. As a result of my work's limitations, I've devoted less emphasis to the macro-environment of politics and economics. Nonetheless, my archival research and interviews with authorities and travel agency owners offered

such a framework, allowing me to link the local with the global. In contrast to the macro theories, symbolic interactionism focuses on the micro aspects of society. It focuses on our daily lives, the everyday environment. It examines how people communicate in their daily lives through 'symbolic interaction' and how people generate social order and give meaning to things (Slattery, 2003, p. 195). Symbolic interactionism regards social actions as a consensus. Interactions and encounters have special significance and take place on the basis of consensus. Since these symbolic connections may also shape human behaviour according to this approach, it considers the agency of individuals. This method illuminates how people perceive and create their destinations via interactions and encounters in tourism studies. These interactions may be with the Other, historical sites, and theme parks (Scott and Duncan, 2016).

The majority of my interactions were in an emotional setting. During my interviews, several of my respondents either cried or had a lump in their throat. Thus, many of these people's experiences revolve on the way they feel. Perhaps one might argue that this tradition was constructed or created. However, regardless of how coherent the debate is, it will have no effect on how these individuals feel. As a result, it is these people's perspective that should be emphasized as a tourist or pilgrimage experience. There are feelings in the heart of their experience, which we must comprehend. Even though the broader picture provided by the political and economic components provides insight into the many aspects of the Anzac heritage, I believe they are insufficient to describe the core of these people's experience.

2. HISTORICAL SIGHTINGS AND RECENT ENCOUNTERS

2.1 Historical Background of the Outbreak of the Gallipoli War

*'Essentially the great question remains: Who will hold Constantinople?' –
NAPOLEON, May 1808*

2.1.1 Turkey's joining to World War I

The Ottoman Empire sustained for more than six hundred years and ruled the lands and nations over three continents. Important events such as the conquest of Istanbul, which affected world history, made this Empire even stronger. Moreover, in 1516, the Ottoman Sultan took over the Islamic caliphate. Thus, the Sultan became the new guardian of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The Empire lived its brightest periods during Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-66) and the sultans that ruled immediately after.³ However, in the following years, a period of regression lasted for two hundred years (Broadbent, 2015). In the 1890s, after the constant loss of lands, the Ottomans made efforts to modernise (Broadbent, 2015, p. 13). These modernisation efforts not only changed “the Ottoman vision of politics, society, religion, economy, family life and aesthetics” but also “practically inverted the general Ottoman philosophy of life” (Renda, 2002, p. 671). However, nothing was successful in reversing the downward trend. The rise of solid nation countries, such as France, England and Germany, with their enormously increased ability, owing to the Industrial Revolution, to cheaply generate products, proved the demise of an empire, which still depended essentially on a feudal, not mechanised production pattern. (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 34).

From August 1876 until his resignation in 1909, the crumbling Ottoman Empire had endured the rule of Sultan Abdulhamid II. The Empire had long been viewed as 'the

³ The Ottomans expanded their Empire over the next two decades, extending from Vienna to Iran, and from Crimea to Yemen. Mediterranean virtually had become the Ottoman Lake. At the height of the seventeenth century, the Empire was regarded inadmissible due to the extreme hardship of carrying out its military operations in connection with more extensive supply lines. Also, in this way, the dominion surrounded immense new enemies such as Austria, Iran and Russia. (Fewster et al., 2003, p.34).

sick man of Europe' (Haythornthwaite, 1991, p. 6).⁴After the rebellions in 1908 under the leadership of the Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P. and in Turkish Ittihat ve Terraki Cemiyeti), Sultan Abdulhamid II had to agree to the establishment of a parliamentary structure (Broadbent, 2015, p. 13). It was a partial coup. The Young Turks indeed revived the parliament, but they did not control the country at this point. The Sultan, in a rather indistinct condition, continued to rule. The actual revolution came when an unenthusiastic counter-revolution broke out in 1909. The Young Turks had the opportunity to mobilise and take complete charge. A brief spell of martial law followed it, and the Sultan was deposed before re-establishing parliament (Hart, 2011, p. 3). Mohammed V (Mehmed V Reşâd), the younger brother of Abdulhamid, was then installed as the new Sultan. Still, he was simply a public-face (Haythornthwaite, 1991, p. 6).

Around half of the Ottoman Empire's nearly 40 million people⁵ were ethnic Turks. The rests were Greeks, Arabs, Slavs and many others, more or less dispersed wherever the waves of history had swept them away. To this nuanced ethnic combination, religious differences introduced a further complexity (Hart, 2011, p. 3). This group, calling themselves the Young Turks, sought to replace the multi-ethnic Empire of the old Ottoman style with an empire of Turks. The Young Turks were only too appreciative that the Ottomans (rulers) of the Empire had long since broken ties with their Turkish background. The main motive was the belief that the Turkish Anatolian peasant was neither cultured nor developed enough. There was a minimal resemblance to the language of the Sultan's court (Osmanlıca) to the Turkish spoken in Anatolia. The nobles used so many words of Arabic and Persian origin that it was difficult for ordinary people to understand them (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 36).

The country was still predominantly agricultural, with no heavy industry or natural resource extraction. Foreign countries supported the improvements to infrastructure, and that was not in the long-term interest of Turkey. Foreign military missions penetrated even her Army and Navy. And it was still difficult to see how modernisation could occur without annexing external powers any further leverage (Hart, 2011, p. 2).

⁴ The term 'Sick Man' for the Ottoman Empire was first used by the Russian Tsar Nicola I in 1853, and this phrase had rapidly spread. The irony of history is that the Russian Tsarism of Nicola, was going to collapse five years before the Ottoman Empire, which he called the "Sick Man" (Özakman, 2019, p.565).

⁵ In some other sources, the population of the Ottoman Empire in that period is 20 million i.e. Birinci Dünya Savaşı Ansiklopedisi, vol.1: 68; cited in (Özakman, 2019) ibid. 568; (Fewster et al., 2003) p.44.

The C.U.P. was a fragmented party of dissidents, but young army officers and civil servants were among the central groupings. Modernising the Ottoman Empire and thereby reversing its long-term decline was their shared dream (Hart, 2011, p. 3). Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha, and Cemal Pasha were the three leading names in the party. The next six years would also turn these names into war commanders.⁶

The ideas of progress, liberty and mainstream nationalism started to spread in the western areas of the Ottoman Empire in the decades after the French Revolution of 1789. Ottomans lacked both the authority and the military power to stop the rise of nationalism and the consequent creation of many small new nations. Many ethnic groups began demanding their freedom. The Empire had lost the majority of its territories by 1910. France had captured Algeria and Tunisia, and Egypt was occupied by the British (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 36).

It was unlikely to move away from foreign influence because of ongoing land losses. After a brief war (Tripoli) with Italy in 1911, a new one was added with the transition of the Libyan coastline to Italy. This loss was followed in October 1912 by the First Balkan War. The Ottoman Empire had fought against Serbia and Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece. Ottoman forces were devastatingly repulsed until it was just 60 km away from Istanbul. The Serbs took Macedonia, and the Greeks took Thessaloniki. The Turkish border was close to Edirne (Broadbent, 2015, p. 13). The desire of France for Syria and European states' interest in almost every region of the former Empire was clear (Hart, 2011, p. 3).

For the Young Turks, five years of war and domestic issues have become a heavy burden (Moorehead, 1959, p. 11). The country was massively in debt as well. Thus, Turkey had to turn to the outside world for allies. A choice between Germany and England now had to be made. The Germans' enthusiasm made a German alliance tactically possible. Moreover, this choice would create the opportunity for the recovery of the Turkish Army. On the other hand, the British were suspicious of these young activists and felt that they might be dismissed at any moment. When the Young Turks arrived in London with the proposal of an Anglo-Turkish alliance, they were politely turned aside (Moorehead, 1959, p. 12). Even Moorehead included a memory as follows (Moorehead, 1959, pp. 18-19):

⁶ Pasha is the title of a Turkish officer of high rank and roughly translates into English as General.

‘Sir Louis Mallet, the British Ambassador,’ says Morgenthau, ‘was a high-minded and cultivated English gentleman: Bompard, the French Ambassador, was a singularly charming honourable Frenchman, and both were constitutionally disqualified from participating in the murderous intrigues which then comprised Turkish politics. Giers, the Russian Ambassador, was a proud and scornful diplomat of the old régime. It was apparent that the three ambassadors of the Entente did not regard the Talaat and Enver régime as permanent, or as particularly worth their while to cultivate.’

On the other hand, Steel and Hart attribute this cold stance of the British to the fact that the Young Turks did not pursue the promised constitutional reform (Steel & Hart, 1994).

Politically, 1913 was the year when the C.U.P. started to create what would become a single-party totalitarian government. On 23rd January 1913, in the Raid on the Sublime Porte, the nationalist representatives of the C.U.P. carried out a coup that brought down the Ottoman government. The prime minister was forced to step down at gunpoint, and the Minister of War was shot to death. The first reforms of the C.U.P. strengthened the powers of the police. By having state power over religious courts, they secularised the courts of appeal. Such regulations have consecutively consolidated C.U.P. power over the government system (Erickson, 2015, p. 28).

Then, the Ottomans recruited German, British, and French military and financial officers. The British Admiral Limpus and his seventy British officers were in command of the Ottoman navy. On 14th December 1913, followed by 41 German officers, the German General Otto Liman von Sanders arrived in Istanbul.⁷ Instead of commanding the Ottoman Army, the contract terms placed a training mission on Liman von Sanders (known as the German military mission) (Erickson, 2015, p. 28). In the 1911 wars with Italy and against the Balkan League in 1912-1913, the Turkish Army's poor display resulted from inefficient leadership, incompetent staff-work, and a defective administrative structure rather than the soldiers' combat qualities. It was not difficult for the Germans to re-establish a military mission to set things right in 1913 (Hickey, 1995, p. 23). The impact of this adjustment was in the direction that was intended. In the three

⁷ According to the agreement dated December 14, 1913; all German officers in Turkey were going to be given a higher rank. The equivalent of Major General Liman von Sanders's rank in the Ottoman army was lieutenant-general. He became a general when he was given a higher rank in Turkey. the German Emperor has raised Liman von Sanders to a higher rank in order to have a stronger position. His rank raised again in Turkey. This is how he became a marshal ((Özakman, 2019) p. 572).

months following the arrival of the mission, the Turkish Army recorded significant improvements (Aspinall-Oglander, 1929, p. 6).

The C.U.P. Cabinet assigned Colonel Enver to the rank of war minister on 3rd January 1914. Enver was talented, an Ottoman War Academy graduate, a general staff officer, and served with the German Army on an exchange tour in Germany.⁸ Enver subsequently rushed to strengthen his influence on the Army by forcefully retiring some 1,300 officers on 7th January 1914. Many of these men were aged and under-educated, while some were opponents of the C.U.P. and modernisation (Erickson, 2015, p. 28).

The 1912-13 Balkan Wars crushed the Ottoman economy, paralysed its financial system (Haythornthwaite, 1991, p. 6). In 1914, the defeated Ottomans with a ruined army were in no position to go to battle. In the summer of 1914, the war-weary and over-taxed Ottoman general staff had only one mobilisation strategy. Bronsart von Schellendorf approved the proposal on 7th June 1914. The strategy acknowledged the supreme strategic significance of the Ottoman Straits and Istanbul. Under the program, five of the Ottoman Army's 13 regular army corps were assigned straightforwardly to either Thrace or the Marmara region (Erickson, 2015, pp. 28-30). Marshal Liman von Sanders was in charge of the 1st Army of ten regular divisions, three second-line divisions and three cavalry brigades, all deployed in European Turkey.⁹ The 2nd Army was deployed along the Asiatic shores of the Sea of Marmara and down the Aegean coast as far as Smyrna¹⁰. It comprised four regular and up to three reserve divisions (Hickey, 1995, p. 32).

On 28th June 1914, in Sarajevo, Serbia, the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife were murdered. On 23rd July, Austria kept Serbia responsible for the assassinations and gave an ultimatum to the Serbian Government. Russia was resentful of the strident demands of Austria and stood by its ally, Serbia. The complicated web of alliances quickly drew all the great European powers into war over the next few days (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 41).

⁸ Moorehead (1959, p. 17) depicts him in another way: "From 1909 onwards Kemal had been constantly in Enver's shadow (...). At every stage the two men quarreled, as they were inevitably bound to do; for while Kemal was a military commander of genius, Enver must surely be judged as one of the most inept and disastrous generals who ever lived. It is not evident that Enver ever learned the first principles of warfare or ever profited by the experience of any of appalling disasters which he so confidently planned. Through all these chaotic years it was Kemal's galling fate to take orders from this man."

⁹ When Liman Pasha had become a marshal, he was brought to the 1st Army Command. This army was the most important army of the Ottoman Empire since it was in charge of defending Istanbul, the Straits and Eastern Thrace (Özakman, 2019, p. 572).

¹⁰ Currently known as Izmir.

In late July, The Turks wanted to ensure that they would preserve their territorial integrity. The confidence of the Turkish Cabinet in the invincibility of the Germans made them believe the Germans would help. When they were focusing on these beliefs, they were clueless that Britain would enter the war as well. Moreover, England had no longer stand against the Tsarist ambitions towards the Dardanelles.¹¹ Thus, in the late evening of 27th July, according to German reports, the Grand Vizier was prompted by Enver Pasha. He was sent to the German ambassador to express the Turks request for a secret treaty of defensive alliance against Russia. Berlin did not even need 24 hours to accept (Aspinall-Oglander, 1929, p. 7). The treaty did not force the Ottoman Empire to go to war. Still, it helped to bring the Ottomans closer to cooperating with the Central Powers. Nevertheless, on 3rd August, the Ministry of War announced precautionary mobilisation, putting the Empire on a course for War (Erickson, 2015, p. 31).

Many other influential members of the C.U.P. hoped that Turkey's neutrality would be maintained. The Germans were determined to bring Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers.¹² At that time, Turkey retained a British squadron bound by the Dardanelles as neutral, and the Turks were also a threat to Egypt's British lines. For the Germans, this was important enough. If the war was going to be over in a few months, then there was no point in contracting additional obligations.¹³ Two situations were about to irreversibly change the course of events in favour of the Germans. The first one was the British appropriation of Sultan Osman I and Rechadie's ships, which they were constructing in England (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 3).

The islands of Lemnos, Imbros and Mytilene, were occupied by the Greeks in 1912. Turkey had then requested two ships from England to reinforce its Navy and get the islands back. In public, this order aroused great excitement. It was the profit raised from the people that compensated most of the cost of the ships. When the British Government announced on 3rd August that they terminated the contract unilaterally, the Turkish crew

¹¹ The European powers had dreamed of dividing up the rapidly diminishing Ottoman Empire for many years. However, they couldn't agree on how to divide up the soils. The others usually objected and threw their weight behind the Ottomans whenever one power tried to acquire a chunk of the empire. For example, the British and French joined with the Ottomans in the Crimean War of 1854-56 to prevent Russia from annexing Ottoman territory. To attack Russian towns on the Black Sea coast, a large fleet of British and French warships sailed through the Dardanelles and up the Bosphorus (Fewster et al., 2003, pp.34-35).

¹² Moorehead (1959, p. 25) claims that at this stage, the goal of the Germans was still not to bring them into battle.

¹³ According to Moorehead (1959, p. 26), it was on September 5 that the Germans realized that they need allies and wanted Turkey in the war. It was the date when the Germans were pushed by the French in the Marne War and the Russians cornered the Austrians in the East.

of the ship had already been waiting for duty in Tyne (Aspinall-Oglander, 1929, p. 11). While the British decision had good military reasons, the matter in which it was carried out was clumsy (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 9). The British Government did nothing to alleviate this situation. It was up to the Germans to give the Turkish people compensation. They immediately sent two cruisers from the Mediterranean to Istanbul, Goeben and Breslau (Steel & Hart, 1994, p.3).

“On the late afternoon of the 10th Enver was in conference with a member of German military mission, Colonel Kannengiesser, when a Lt.-Col. Von Kress was ushered in. Kress announced that Goeben and Breslau were at the entrance to the Dardanelles, and required permission to enter. Enver hesitated, and said that he must consult the Grand Vizier; Kress demanded an immediate answer. After a long pause, Enver said they could enter. Kress then asked for the forts to be ordered to open fire if the British warships, belatedly closing in, pursued them; Enver again tried to procrastinate, Kress again demanded an immediate decision, and Enver at length gave it. ‘We heard the clanking of the portcullis descending before the Dardanelles,’ Kannengiesser wrote. ‘It was an incident in the world’s history of which I chanced to be a witness. None of us had moved a muscle. Kress took his leave, and I proceed with my report as though nothing had happened.’ (Rhoades James, 1965, pp. 9-10).

This was the second event that has strengthened the Germans’ hand.

Thus, in August 1914, the German option weighed heavier. In Istanbul, the British Naval Mission kept serving.¹⁴ However, the German Military Mission had also penetrated the Turkish Army actively (Moorehead, 1959, p. 12). If the Young Turks made their choice in favour of the Allies, they could count on a friendly neutral government in Istanbul and end the German threat in the Middle East. On the other hand, the Germans

¹⁴ Apart from the Goeben and Breslau, the Turkish navy consisted of three old battleships, two protected cruisers, two torpedo cruisers, eight destroyers, ten torpedo boat and seven minelayers. When Admiral Souchon took over command he regarded only the two German vessels as fit for active operations, and relegated all other ships to the reserve. Exercises were arranged for these vessels, and as individual ships became more efficient they were gradually added to active squadron, which at the end of October consisted of the Goeben, Breslau, one Turkish battleship (Messudieh), one protected cruiser, two torpedo cruiser, two torpedo cruisers, and eight destroyers. (Aspinall-Oglander, 1929: 21)

covertly sought to influence the younger and more militant leaders in Istanbul¹⁵. The British and the French tended to give their tacit support to the older, more conservative members. If the Young Turks refused to resign, the British and French would be in the difficult situation of being compelled to try to get their assets “on the winner until the race was over” (Moorehead, 1959, p. 13). But then London declined to accept the legitimacy of Turkey's acquisition of Goeben and Breslau. Therefore, British ships began to block traffic to the Dardanelles. Finally, Limpus and the British Naval Mission departed from Istanbul on 9th September (Steel & Hart, 1994, pp. 5-6). There were more and more German officers to be seen all over Istanbul. The families of officials and businessmen, British, French and Russian, had begun to flee the capital. The Ambassadors of the Entente launched their proposals to guarantee the Ottoman Empire (Rhoades James, 1965, pp. 12-13).

The Turkish commander of the Dardanelles, Jevad Bey, was convinced by his German artillery advisor, to close the Straits on 27th September. This act would enable retaliating for the British squadron refusal to allow a Turkish torpedo boat to reach the Egean. By filling the gap with four mines in the outer minefield, this was easily achieved. The holes in the other two existing mining lines were filled two days later. After that date, no vessel of any sort had been authorised to reach the Straits in contravention of all treaty rights (Aspinall-Oglander, 1929, p. 16).

On 28th October, Vice-Admiral Souchon's commander of the German squadron bombed Sebastopol and Feodosia under the Turkish flag. This attack was one of the breaking points of the war.¹⁶ Although there is no clear information on this subject, some sources state that only Enver Pasha was informed among the Turkish ministers, i.e. (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 13). Some claim that Talaat was also reported i.e. (Moorehead, 1959, p. 28).¹⁷ Russia declared war on 2nd November 1914, and, in response, Britain and France declared War against the Ottoman Empire. (Erickson, 2015, p. 31).

¹⁵ In a letter to his ambassador in Istanbul, the German Emperor wrote: ‘Do not forget that I want to see Turks on my side. You may find good friends amongst young Turkish officers who were trained in Germany.’ (Fewster, Başarın, Başarın, 2003, p. 41)

¹⁶ On August 15, on the advice of the ambassador, the British Naval Mission was abruptly withdrawn from its executive command under Vice-Amiral A. H. Limpus. Admiral Souchon was assigned as commander-in-chief of the Turkish navy A few days later. So the Ottoman fleet went under German rule as the army had done before. (Aspinall-Oglander, 1929) pp.13-14.

¹⁷ Cited dates vary among sources i.e.; (Erickson, 2015, p. 31): 29th October; (Moorehead, 1959, p. 28): 29th October; (Aspinall-Oglander, 1929, p. 17): 27th October.

Churchill ordered the British fleet in the Aegean under the command of Vice-Admiral Sackville Carden to open naval fire on Sedd-el-Bahr and Kum Kale on 3rd November. Although Admiral Limpus had disagreed with this idea, the result remained unchanged.¹⁸ Massive damage was inflicted (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 13). The consequences of the 'Turks' not keeping their ammunition under the ground were heavy. Being caught unprepared for this direct attack to the Sedd-el-Bahr had cost the destruction of ready-use ammunition and the entire magazine. Batteries in the Kum Kale had also been severely damaged. This was also a warning. Then, it was evident that the Turkish and German advisors should have been in full swing in their defence preparations (Hickey, 1995, p. 33). While the British battleships were on their way back, a few bullets were fired by the Turks at the entrance of Dardanelles. However, the damage predicted by the density of the smoke cloud was turned out to be harmless (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 13).

World War I became a genuinely global fight in November 1914. Russia declared war on the Turkish Ottoman Empire in November 1914, when the Australian Imperial Force (A.I.F.) sent to join them was only one day away from Albany. Mehmed V, the Ottoman Sultan and Caliph of Islam reacted by declaring War on Russia and its allies on 11th November. And it was declared on 13th November as a *jihad* for all Muslims. Its text partially ran (Broadbent, 2015, p. 12):

‘When the enemy attacks Islam, and attempts to invade and raid the country of Islam, and capture the people of Islam, if the Sultan of Islam orders mobilisation for a war, should it not be an obligation for all the Muslims, young and old, to be ready to fight, as infantry and cavalry, with all their assets and lives pursuant to the Verse of the Koran which says, ‘Set off, light and heavy, and fight on the path of God with your assets and lives. If you only knew that this is more beneficial for you?’

The answer: It would be ‘God knows best’, written by Hayri Bin Avni El-Ürgübî.

The declaration could not be effective, and Muslim countries such as Egypt, India, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia were weak. The Ottoman Empire disintegrated and fought on four fronts: East Anatolia and the Caucasus, Iraq, Syria and Palestine, and the Strait of Dardanelles (Broadbent, 2015, p. 12).

There was nothing of significance in the Dardanelles for almost six weeks. The work of rebuilding the forts and garrisoning them was not carried forward vigorously,

¹⁸ According to Erickson, it was the French battleships *Vérité* and *Suffren* who attacked Kumkale, not the British batckcruisers *Indomitable* and *Indefatigable* (Ericson, 2015, p. 38)

despite the dramatic alert of the brief bombardment. Mr Engert, the American Vice-Consul at Çanakkale, was relaxing in the warm morning in the Straits on 13th December, when the old battleship *Messudieh*, anchored south of Çanakkale in Sari Sighlar Bay. It was abruptly struck by an enormous explosion and sunk in less than seven minutes.¹⁹ It was, as a German naval officer ruefully admitted to the entranced Mr Engert, 'a mighty clever piece of work' (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 13).

Thus, the Ottoman entry into the war was completed.

2.1.2 The politics of the British naval offensive

Britain declared War on Germany on 4th August 1914 in response to Germany's attack on France and Belgium. The military aid Britain provided to its allies was small at first. At the beginning of the war, only four infantry divisions were sent to France. These forces, provided by the British Expeditionary Force (B.E.F.), were fairly small compared to the hundreds of divisions deployed by enemy states in Europe (Prior, 2009, p. 17). In Great Britain, alternative approaches have begun to be embraced for the first time. The British Expeditionary Force (B.E.F.) wars and proposals were not of the traditional British kind. The British Army has always been small, qualified, and mainly committed to protecting the British Empire. This was primarily due to the historical antipathy of large standing armies, the natural security of the English Channel and the political power of the Royal Navy. Imperial service, especially in India, has produced troops more used to confront small-scale conflicts in remote parts of distant countries. They were not for large-scale military fights (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 1).

The First Lord of the Admiralty at that time was Winston Churchill. Churchill was appointed to this mission in October 1911 to accompany France with naval forces in case of war. In September 1914, this accompaniment was attained without any military harm. However, in the ensuing period, the task of ensuring the safe arrival of unarmed merchant ships to Britain without being affected by the German fleets was not enough for Churchill. Churchill confronted politicians and admirals with three different schemes in the first four months of the war. The first of these schemes was the invasion of an island close to Germany's northern coast (Prior, 2009, p. 17). This scheme was found quite dangerous

¹⁹ Lieutenant Norman Holbrook, who was commanding that submarine, was awarded the Victoria Cross. (Moorehead, 1959, p. 30).

by the admirals. Fischer was reluctant to the schemes. Admirals were also unwilling to hazard Britain's main fleet in such a risky operation (Prior, 2009, pp. 18-19).

Churchill's second scheme included an operation to the Belgian coast. Sir John French had wished to make an advance in conjunction with the Belgian Army. This project was a limited and local operation, unlike the tremendous strategic alternatives of it. Neither Lord Kitchener nor the War Council was opposed to these ideas (Churchill, 1923, pp. 38-39). However, Churchill's request for 750,000 soldiers for this scheme and designing a simultaneous landing on Antwerp, Amsterdam, and other shores of Holland resulted in Fisher's turning away from this idea. There was also the danger of the German Army invading the Netherlands, which would be at odds with the Dutch national interests. Therefore, this scheme would not have included the Netherlands in the War (Prior, 2009, p. 20). In consequence, the coastal operation was delayed.

Churchill's third scheme included Turkey. The alternative to Borkum and the Baltic was an amphibious enterprise to strike down Turkey and influence and rally the Balkans. Both plans were expressive of the same idea and rested upon the same foundation (Churchill, 1923, p. 32). The alliance between the Germans and Turks became evident with the transition of Goeben and the Breslau ships from Germany to Turkey. Thus, the first Lord of the Admiralty was far from adopting a friendly approach to Turkey. Churchill formed a joint planning group. The main aim of this group was to take the Gallipoli peninsula with an army supplied by Greece and take the British fleet into the Marmara Sea. However, Greek Army was currently not able to stand against any foe since the reconstruction of the Army resulted in undersupply of all types of materials (Prior, 2009, p. 21). On the other hand, Hart attributes this situation to Greece's neutral position due to internal divisions that emerged later (Hart, 2011, pp. 13-14).

At the beginning of November, a war council was established to take over responsibility for waging the war effort from the Cabinet. Its principal members were Prime Minister H. H. Asquith, Churchill and Kitchener. On 25th November, the War Council had convened for the first time to evaluate Britain's options. At the meeting, ways to protect the Suez Canal and the British presence in Egypt from a Turkish attack across Sinai were sought (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 6). Although Churchill offered to attack the Gallipoli peninsula, this idea was not considered appropriate. Then, Churchill offered another plan based on Gallipoli for cutting off the communication between Turkey and

Syria and the Palestinian. While this idea did not receive any objection, there was no apparent threat to Egypt, requiring immediate action.²⁰ Churchill then put forward the idea that assembling merchant ships in the Mediterranean would be functional for immediate use. This plan was also turned down since merchant ships were few, but their demand was high (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 7). The pendulum of Churchill's opinion swung between Turkey and Bulgaria until December 1914. But Britain's involvement in the war was still limited to the Western Front²¹ (Prior, 2009, p. 22).

The operation in the West, which included the German Schlieffen Plan²² and the Marne, had come to a dead end. Rifle actions had become the only way to make progress. This deadlock was greeted with dismay by politicians (Prior, 2009, p. 22). By the end of November, there was a mass killing match in France. It took less than three months for the allies to lose up to half a million troops. During the entire war, no conflict has overshadowed this number in such a short time (Moorehead, 1959, p. 30). Knowing that trench warfare on the Western Front had created a pool of blood, Churchill wanted to use the Royal Navy to change that situation. But the question was how? In fact, before this challenging situation on the Western Front, Churchill was eager to weaken his enemies by taking advantage of sea power in the War (Hart, 2011, p. 13). But all his plans to attempt to shorten the war through the Navy were impractical. Worried about the stalemate on the Western front, three other members of the War Council presented their recommendations to the Prime Minister on the current situation (Prior, 2009, p. 22).

The first of these was Lieutenant Colonel Maurice Hankey. Hankey, an ex-marine and Secretary of the War Council, had written a strategic text entitled "Boxing Day Memorandum". According to Hankey, the Allies were not advancing. Hankey stated that another region could be considered to eliminate the impasse (Moorehead, 1959, p. 30).

²⁰ Turkey made war upon Britain at the end of October, 1914, and the question of the defence of Egypt arose for the British. On November 25, with the concurrence of Lord Fisher, Churchill had pointed out to the War Council that the true method of defending Egypt was by an attack on the Gallipoli Peninsula. But this was 'a very difficult operation, requiring a large force.' Sixty thousand men had been the figure specified by General Callwell when the question of using a Greek army had been discussed. By the end of November, two Australian divisions had arrived in Egypt, a Territorial division was already in that country, and it seemed that here perhaps was the nucleus of an army which, skilfully and suddenly launched, might have struck at Gallipoli (Churchill, 1923, pp.33-34).

²¹ The main theatre of World War I. It was opened as a result of the Germans invasion of Luxembourg and Belgium, then gaining military control of some regions in France.

²² Schlieffen Plan, battle plan first proposed in 1905 by Alfred, Graf (count) von Schlieffen, chief of the German general staff, that was designed to allow Germany to wage a successful two-front war (Raymond, 2009).

Thus, a Balkan alliance that would include Greece and Bulgaria would have lead Turkey's step back. If Romania and Russia could be included in the coalition, the way to Istanbul, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus would be cleared (Prior, 2009, p. 24).

A message followed this text that Churchill sent to the Prime Minister. While Churchill was pointing to the impasse on the Western Front, he was reasserting his plan to enter the Baltic and conquer a German island. This scheme was the one that could not have find any significant support from the very beginning (Prior, 2009, p. 25). British generals in France and the French were firmly opposed to these ideas. For them, it would be a mistake to move away from the vital theatre in the West. The Allied Forces division and heading east would have jeopardised the position in France and would mean to expose England to the risk of invasion (Moorehead, 1959, pp. 30-31). Germany's situation was not based on the victory of the Allies. There was no easy victory for Germany either. On the other hand, Britain would not take the risk of the success of Germany, which had conquered France. The defeat of France or the prospect of any country dominating Europe would have evoked the idea of an invasion of Britain (Hart, 2011, p. 17).

In the following days, Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, took his place in these discussions. He had two different ideas. The first of these schemes was suggesting gathering a force of Serbs, Romanians and Greeks to attack Thessaloniki or Austria. This attack would result in Austria having to displace its troops. The second scheme was arranged against Turkey. According to this scheme, the Turks would be allowed to advance on the Suez Canal, and a British force would land near Iskenderun in Syria (Prior, 2009, p. 26). Moreover, he contended that The Western Front should remain entirely limited to defence, guarded by the French. The British Army could then be relocated elsewhere for an offensive position (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 8).

A combined effect of these reports had revealed in a short time. When Churchill read Hankey's memorandum, his enthusiastic plans for Turkey were flared again. Meanwhile, Hankey's scheme managed to get Fisher's support (Prior, 2009, p. 28). When he had first told Churchill about a plan for forcing the Dardanelles, some other details had already preformed in his mind. It had become quickly apparent that the ships to be used for the Dardanelles operation were old ships that could easily be sacrificed (Churchill, 1923, pp. 88-89).

The premise of an assault on the peninsula of Gallipoli and the Dardanelles was far from being fresh. It had been taken into consideration several years before. Admiral Sir John Duckworth successfully pushed his way across the Dardanelles into the Marmara during the Napoleonic Wars in 1807 to help Russia. But his ships had become becalmed until they threatened Istanbul. As the Turks refused to surrender without being threatened, Duckworth had to come back in humiliation across the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean because the Turks refused to give in without being attacked (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 4).

Moreover, there was times which was far closer to the World War I where the idea of attacking the Dardanelles was not thought to be rational. A couple of years before World War I, all naval authorities considered it difficult to cross this strait. There was even more. Those who played a part in the Dardanelles attack decision made various assessments of it long before. In 1878, in case the Russians attacked Turkey, a British squadron had been sent to Besika Bay. The Admiral in command did not hide his apprehensions about making an opposed passage through the Dardanelles. One of his entourage was Lord Fisher. When he was the commander of the Mediterranean fleet, and in the Admiralty as the First Sealord in 1904, he examined the same issue in many ways. The conclusion he reached was that it was 'mightily hazardous' (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 3). Moreover, in March of 1911, Winston Churchill wrote in a cabinet memorandum. It stated that 'the days of forcing the Dardanelles by warships were gone' and 'it should be remembered that it is no longer possible to force the Dardanelles, and nobody would expose a modern fleet to such peril.' (Rhoades James, 1965, pp. 3-4).

These ideas initially made sense to Kitchener, and he did not oppose them (Moorehead, 1959, p. 31). But then, on 1st January 1915, Russia called for help because they were under pressure of the Turks' in the Caucasus. Since the Russians attacked the Turks in the Caucasus just after the war broke out, the Turks, who could not be fully mobilised, were caught off guard. The Turks were not content with saving the situation with a counter-attack. Obsessed with taking back the land lost in the 1877-1878 Turkish-Russian War, Enver personally led the Third Army and embarked on a circling offensive based in Sarikamis, deep in the Caucasus mountains 22nd December. Since a significant

Russian force was initially destroyed, the Russians sought help (Hart, 2011, p. 14).²³ The Grand Duke Nicholas had asked with a message said:

‘if it would be possible for Lord Kitchener to arrange for a demonstration of some kind against the Turks elsewhere, either naval or military, and to spread reports as to cause Turks, who he says are very liable to go off at a tangent, to withdraw some of the forces now acting against the Russians in the Caucasus, and thus ease the position of the Russians.’. (Moorehead, 1959, p. 31).

With this latest development, the chain of events that led Churchill to Gallipoli was completed. Stating that there were no troops that could respond to this request, Kitchener was now asking whether the Navy could carry out a demonstration attack at the Dardanelles to change the direction of the new Turkish troops that could go east for support. (Prior, 2009, p. 29). The following telegram was sent off to Petrograd (Churchill, 1923, p. 87): ‘Please assure the Grand Duke that steps will be taken to make a demonstration against the Turks. It is, however, feared that any action we can devise and carry out will be unlikely to seriously affect numbers of enemy in the Caucasus, or cause their withdrawal.’

Hankey’s scheme for Turkey and Fisher’s desire to force the Dardanelles strait with ships that he saw as useless and Kitchener’s the last demand had prepared a suitable environment for Churchill, who already had Turkey in his mind (Prior, 2009, p. 29). Churchill's views were different from Fisher's. At that time, however, Churchill had reached a powerful position in the Admiralty (Moorehead, 1959, p. 38). Churchill convened a meeting of the Admiralty War Group operation to be spoken on Turkey without wasting time. This group included Admirals Fisher (First Sea Lord), Sir Henry Jackson (a retired admiral brought back as an informal consultant), Henry Oliver (Chief of the Naval Staff), Wilson (a former sea First Sea Lord also employed in a consultative capacity), Captain Charles de Bartolome (Churchill’s Naval Secretary) and Churchill himself. Following this meeting to discuss and plan the operation to be held against

²³ Enver Pasha and his deputies embarked on two disastrous military campaigns after the declaration of war: one in the east against Russia and the other against the British in the Suez Canal region. The Russian campaign broke out in the middle of winter, beginning with its army of 90,000 soldiers. And although Enver had very poor experience in the field as a commander, he had led the contingent personally. Thousands of troops died in the war; but, in the severity of cold, many more had perished. After consulting the Germans, the blindness of Enver caused terrible death loss and the Ottomans’ lost was nearly 75,000 soldiers (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 44).

Turkey, Churchill asked for an assessment of an attack on the Dardanelles with a telegram to Admiral Carden (Churchill, 1923, p. 90):

‘Do you consider the forcing of Dardanelles by ships alone a practicable operation?

It is assumed older Battleships fitted with mine bumpers would be used preceded by Colliers or other merchant craft as bumpers and sweepers.

Importance of results would justify severe loss.

Let me know your views.’

This telegram has been frequently cited in the related literature. The telegram is seen as remarkable in two ways. First, Churchill was referring to a “severe loss”. He envisioned an operation with such losses that he had expected an attempt from a relatively lowly commander. He ruled out the possibility of being rejected by his senior admirals within the Admiralty and the Grand Fleet (Prior, 2009, p. 29). Second, the operation envisioned by Churchill was different from the demonstration operation that Kitchener demanded and from the plans of Hankey, Fisher and Lloyd George that suggested a large combined operation. What Churchill did was based on Kitchener's statement that he had no troops to land anywhere and Fisher’s preparation for using old ships (Prior, 2009, p. 30).

Churchill still had not abandoned his plans for Borkum meantime. But Fisher asserted that ‘we had better hear what others have to say about the Turkish plans before taking a decided line. I wd. not grudge 100,000 men because of the great effects in the Balkan Peninsula; but Germany is the foe, & it is bad war to seek cheaper victories & easier antagonists.’ Eventually, Fisher had succeeded in persuading him to renounce Borkum plans and managed to divert his attention to Turkey completely (Churchill, 1923, p. 90).

Henry Jackson (a retired admiral brought back as an informal consultant) showed the possible consequences of attacking Dardanelles. This account predicted that six ships out of eight might sink, and two might get severely damaged. A second squadron behind the first one could be luckier. He argued that a more orderly action was needed. In the following days, Carden also reported and shared the same opinion with Jackson (Prior, 2009, p. 31). On 5th January, Carden’s answer was remarkable: ‘With reference to your telegram of 3rd instant, I do not consider Dardanelles can be rushed. They might be forced by extended operations with large number of ships.’ Churchill then accepted Carden's opinion and requested a more detailed report (Moorehead, 1959, pp. 33-34). This idea

reflected the same view with the investigation in 1906. A joint investigation of naval and military in 1906 concluded that even though a squadron of 'His Majesty's least valuable ships' might manage to rush the Straits, the endeavour was 'much to be deprecated' (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 3).

Carden prepared another scheme for the Dardanelles on 11th January. This was a chart describing the order in which defences in the Dardanelles will be held. The plan should start from the farthest forts and move towards the Bosphorus's forts (Prior, 2009, p. 33). The project was basically to crush the resistance of the Turkish fortresses and then destroy them at close range with minesweepers without coming within range of Turkish artillery (Hart, 2011, p. 19). Moreover, a simultaneous diversionary bombardment would be arranged to the Bulair Lines at the base of the Gallipoli Peninsula and to Gaba Tepe on the western coast. Carden was also asking for seaplanes to be used in fort attacks, cruisers to be used against Goeben, and an ample supply of ammunition (Moorehead, 1959, p. 33-34). Churchill submitted this attack plan to the War Council on 13th January. It was unclear what the Navy would do after crossing the strait. Churchill had solely focused on reaching Istanbul and eliminating Goeben (Prior, 2009, p. 34).

The War Staff Group at the Admiralty viewed the plan, and all agreed in subsequent evidence that they were quite doubtful, if not hostile. Lord Fisher said he was against it. Sir Arthur Wilson claimed that he never recommended it. Admiral Oliver and Commodore Bartolomé were indeed against a solely naval attempt. But all decided that, since the operations could be broken off at any moment, they could not lead to a catastrophe (Nevinson, 1920, p. 32). Thus, it was decided at the War Council meeting 'that the Admiralty should also prepare for a naval expedition in February to bombard and take the Gallipoli Peninsula, with Istanbul as its objective'. With this decision, the War Council was not bringing any troops to Gallipoli. Ships considered important were not being put at risk either. In this respect, it was not thought that a decision with serious consequences had been taken (Prior, 2009, p. 34). After all, at any point immediately before the defeat of the British fleet, the pretext could be made that only a series of limited operations were planned. This would make it possible to retreat without loss of reputation. The need for troops to maintain both the Dardanelles and Istanbul if it fell, was also acknowledged in the meeting (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 10).

The War Council's decision was heavily criticised in the following years. 'It is impossible,' the Dardanelles Commissioners wrote in their report in 1917²⁴, 'to read all the evidence, or to study the voluminous papers which have been submitted to us, without being struck by the atmosphere of vagueness and want of precision which seems to have characterised the proceedings of the War Council.' The commissioners were asking how a fleet can 'take' a peninsula? How could it have Istanbul as its objective (Moorehead, 1959, p. 35)?

Two factors were particularly critical in the planning of the attack in Çanakkale. The first was the preparation of the war plans with an expendable fleet (Hart, 2011, p. 18). This phase can be seen as an extension of the Turks being seen as an easy enemy due to the defeat of the Balkan War and the plans being made in this direction, as it is mentioned in almost every book about Gallipoli. On the other hand, it may also be helpful to recall the arguments Churchill made up in mid-January. According to him, Turkey was not in a strong position. The country had found itself in the chaos of a political revolution twice within the last five years. Enver and the Young Turks might have control for the moment, but from the moment an Allied Fleet appeared in the Golden Horn, everything could change. Turkey was going to consider Istanbul's crowded streets and tumble-down wooden houses and two ammunition factories located on the shore-they were all Turkey had. All these would be destroyed by the naval gunfire (Moorehead, 1959, p. 35). The effect on the morale of Turkish people of such material harm will almost certainly be profound. It could even cause the overthrow of the Young Turks (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 7).

There was no other city that had the same opportunities as Istanbul. Nor was there a network of roads and railways that would quickly allow the Army and Government to get rebuilt elsewhere. For all these reasons, the whole state could fall with the fall of Istanbul. "If the arrival of one battle-cruiser, the Goeben, had been enough to bring Turkey into the war then surely it was not altogether too much to hope that the arrival of half a dozen such ships would get her out of it." (Moorehead, 1959, p. 35). If this happened, other Balkan states could turn to the Entente to take the lead. Moreover, when the Austria-Hungary, main ally of the Germans, was under such pressure, it would be weakened as it would have to fight in the East and the West. Finally, the Dardanelles'

²⁴It was an investigation into the catastrophic 1915 Dardanelles Campaign.

reopening would make it possible for the Russians to export grain from the unreachable Black Sea. The West would get the grain, and the Russians would get the resources to pay the war expenses in turn (Steel & Hart, 1994, pp.7-8).

The Russians also wanted to take part in the Dardanelles operation. The basis of this request was the idea that if the British and French joint fleet could capture Istanbul. It would prevent the Russians to seize Istanbul, which had been included in Russians' long-term plans (Hart, 2011, p. 21):

“The horse trading commenced and by mid-April the deal was done. On the map, at least, the Ottoman Empire had been dismembered and shared out between the British, the French and the Russians. (...) Now all that was required was the defeat of the Turks.”

2.1.3 The position of Australia at the Outbreak

Rupert Brooke, on his journey to the Dardanelles in March 1915 wrote:

“It’s too wonderful for belief. I had not imagined Fate could be so kind . . . Will Hero’s Tower crumble under the fifteen-inch guns? Will the sea be polypholisbic and wine-dark and unvintageable? Shall I loot mosaics from St. Sophia, and Turkish Delight and carpets? Should we be a Turning Point in History? Oh God! I’ve never been quite so happy in my life. I think . . . I suddenly realise that the ambition of my life has been . . . to go on a military expedition to Constantinople.” (Hastings, 2015, p. 6).

Being unaware of the real meaning of war and having a very limited life experience as being so that young, why were these Australian people on those lands? How tens of thousands of soldiers had drifted to Turkey? While being on the other side of the world, how did they embrace a war that was not theirs? Bean, an Australian war correspondent and historian, states that the same question was sought during the war as well. In Gallipoli, it was common to have this question among the first questions asked by Turkish or German officials when an Australian soldier was taken as a prisoner. “Why did you come into this? What business was it of yours? What induced you to travel all those miles to fight in a quarrel which had nothing to do with you (Bean, 1941, p. 15)?” Bean's statement again could sum up the situation (Bean, 1941, p. 15):

“Yet those who understood the Australian even indifferently well were aware that, if a breath stirred which seemed to portend harm to any member of the family of nations to which he belonged, at that moment an emotion ran deep through the heart of the Australian people.”

Bean notes that Australia had grown under the guard wings of the English fleet. Therefore, it was a duty of loyalty. Although there were differences of ideas and ideals

between the two countries, Bean states that this loyalty would not change. The following statements describe the deep roots of the bond with England in the social structure (Bean, 1941, p. 16):

“To many young Australians Great Britain was a fabled country, of which they had learned at their mother’s knee, the home of wonderful things-of the many stories of childhood, of snow and lawns and rivers and castles and wonders seen only on Christmas cards. In the common language the motherland was still often spoken of as “home.”

On 31st July, the probability of Britain joining the war had become very high. Senator Millen, the Minister of Defence, issued the first public announcement on Australia's status: “If necessity arises,” he said, “Australia will recognise that she is not merely a fair-weather partner of the Empire, but a component member in all circumstances.” (Bean, 1941, p. 16). Joseph Cook, Prime Minister of Australia, had made a statement the same night: “If there is to be a war, you and I shall be in it. We must be in it. If the old country is at war, so are we.” (Bean, 1941, p. 17).

Moreover, Bean remarks that the Germans were conquering free peoples at gunpoint and oppressing civilians. Australians hated Germans for these uncivilised behaviours. Therefore, the Allied Powers should not have lost, and Australia should not have spoilt the conqueror (Bean, 1941, p. 19). Australians well knew the causes of the war. According to Bean, their press was open, according to the British tradition, and it provided them, as a whole, with an accurate image of the world. Most Australians believed that a more significant cause lies beyond the mere situation. Wise spectators realised that when the heir to the Austrian throne was killed, a tragedy had erupted. For years before the war, the press had cabled them to suspect that the Germans deliberately planned to crush either France or Britain. Therefore, many claimed that Germany was behind Austria in its relations with Serbia and that Germany did not want peace (Bean, 1941, p. 12-13).

Initially, Britain did not take a clear stance. Bean asserts that this situation created anxiety in the Australians. There was a strong bond between England and France, and both politicians and the press frequently mentioned this bond. Then, Britain had to be with France. According to Bean, this was the incident that Australians had looked forward to seeing in England (Bean, 1941, p. 17). Yet, the fear was going to fade soon. On Monday, 3rd August, Sir Edward Grey announced to the House of Commons: “If the German Fleet comes into the English Channel and bombards the French coast or attacks French shipping, Great Britain will give France all possible protection.” Bean concludes

as: “The free decision of Australians was never in doubt. They poured out their ships, their men, and the money for their maintenance.” (Bean, 1941, p. 19).

Thus, after Britain declared war on 4th August, the military units of her Empire were at war too. Australia was prompt to give its small Navy and a volunteer army to assist in anticipation of this. On 6th August, this offer was accepted with a requirement that the force be immediately organised. Since there was no hint that the war would be this long and bloody, the units had been prepared in the first place were also small. A single infantry division and a light horse brigade were initially prepared to be called the Australian Imperial Force, soon known simply by the initials 'A.I.F.' (Burness, 2013, p. 18). In the several months following the declaration of war, many volunteers applied to join this Army. The prospect of adventure, comradeship, overseas travel and adult pay; It had been enough to make the war attractive for Australian-born and immigrants, bushmen and city clerks, professional men and street larrikins. Moreover, it was sufficient and essential that their countrymen declared the War (Burness, 2013, p. 21).

2.2 Global Imaginaries and Personal Dreams

“The imaginary is what tends to become real.”

André Breton

A typical spring day at Gallipoli. After a long journey, the Australian pilgrims took a break in Istanbul for a day or two and are once again on the road. Travel agency’s little bus is whisking them away from this metropolis's bustling, cosmopolitan ambience to a very other location. This journey is unlike the previous one to Istanbul, and maybe even all the travels they've ever done in their lifetime.

A journey as a stranger to their most familiar lands.

Early in the morning, the journey ends at the hotel. Every ending marks the start of something new. This time, the beginning that comes with the end means becoming a different Australian, an Australian who has fulfilled his or her duty.

It is a unique story, a particular dream, or just a series of coincidences that drifts each pilgrim to Gallipoli. Whatever they have or haven't gone through may be a part of this experience. When you sum together all they have read, heard from family elders, heard from friends, seen here and there, and deduct what they could not know and would not dream, the amount left is each pilgrim's Gallipoli imaginary. A few don't know what to do with their imaginations before trip, while others don't know what to do with their

Gallipoli memories after it. Recognizing what the pilgrims packed in their “cultural luggage” before they stepped foot on this sacred land is a crucial aspect of understanding the Gallipoli experience.

Just like in the past, every year many Australians’ minds wander around the tombs on the Western Front and in Gallipoli. We are still trying to understand their experiences by getting first-hand the experiences of these people. This was one of the aspects of my research experience in Gallipoli that I thought was unique to me. Every time I go to Gallipoli, my point of view has gone far beyond the theories we have discussed academically. Real people's real feelings, real wishes. Stone (2011, p. 327) asserts that ‘there are omissions in the dark tourism literature that scrutinise the ‘dark tourist’ experience in a variety of socio-cultural contexts, as well as a lack of empirical data on motivations to visit such sites, and the consequences and implications thereof’. In the same vein, Iliev (2021, p. 965) puts forward that it was not until the last decade that scholars have started to attempt to grasp better the interplay between these pilgrims’ imaginaries before they arrive, the main element which they are after and their real experiences.

In this chapter, I aim to shed light on motivations and the construction process of the Gallipoli imaginaries of pilgrims, as well as the actors responsible for constructing these imaginaries. Pointing out that certain collective narratives are connected with values and cultural symbolism, Chronis, Arnould and Hampton (2012, p. 265) state that it is important to consider the role of imagination in cultural consumption experiences. These "cultural imaginaries" are "socially important narratives invested with collective values". Therefore, it is essential to shed light on the role of collective values in the creation of imaginaries and the mechanisms through which they wield effect on imaginaries. Many channels and actors can get involved in this process. Thus, ““the/an imaginary” might refer to what is distorted, repressed, or fantasized, driven by psychological needs; image of a place or people from pop culture representations.” (Leite, 2014, p. 261). However, while providing the imaginaries of the pilgrims in this chapter, I also offer pilgrims’ reflections on the development of these imaginaries. In this regard, I do not grasp pilgrims as passive individuals whose imaginations are imposed upon them, but rather as agents who are cognizant of the process and central to its construction.

Tourism scholars have tried to make various classifications for dark tourism and revealed different typologies (Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood, 2011, p. 861). However, according to Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood (2011) these typologies lack empirical data to support the framework they developed. For this reason, they state that we have obtained partial information from the studies conducted on the motivations of people participating in dark tourism. They emphasize the importance of sociology and anthropology studies as they have a capacity to provide a more in-depth perspective on why and how these visits occur. Therefore, empirically revealing the motivations of pilgrims in dark tourism is an essential finding in terms of tourism literature. Further, the motivations inherent in these experiences may serve for tourism planners to make these experiences richer, more appealing, and perhaps to enable more visitors to connect with deeper feelings.

2.2.1 Education and family: “You pass that on from father to son...”

Children are born. They grow in their home. They go to school. This is actually a portrayal of the Anzac tradition's seeds being sowed.

As soon as new-borns open their eyes to the world, the family into which they are born defines their connection to the Anzac tradition, at least for the first few years of their lives. Both family members' point of view about the tradition and their involvement in Anzac Days have an influence on pilgrims. However, once again, the determinant of the parents' perspective is also their upbringing. Thus, parents also inherit (or don't inherit) this tradition from their families, as well. This results in a scenario similar to that of many other societal situations, where each generation has an impact on the next.

The day after the 2015 Dawn Ceremony, I met James and Emily. James had come here in July 1999 as well. However, seeing Gallipoli was a new experience for his wife. They had arrived from Istanbul to Gallipoli the previous day. They were unable to attend the dawn service and, like some other pilgrims who did not have the opportunity to attend, took part in the ceremony held at Dardanelles port. Even so, Emily was describing the previous night as "very emotional but very surreal" and looking forward to the next day's tour to see the battlefields. They could not have been at Anzac Cove, but it was quite meaningful for James as well. He also described his feelings as "very moving, quite emotional".

James had learned the Anzac tradition at a very early age, at school. In the following years, they continued to read and learn. However, both family and school had a significant

part in Emily's comprehension of the tradition. They had two daughters, and a son, aged between 35 and 40. Emily proudly said: "all went to services". And added: "they all went and they took their children into Anzac Day as well." Parents took their children to the dawn ceremony when they were young, and now they, as parents, were passing this tradition on to future generations. "Because with family... families encourage their little ones to go." Said James.

A couple of days later, it was after the tour and the day was turning into evening. We were talking with Harry and his wife Grace, whom I was with on tour that day. While we were drinking coffee and sitting on the burgundy and grey velvet armchairs of the lobby, our minds were still drifting in the history of Gallipoli. Although we were no longer next to the graves or in front of the trenches, we were still having our conversations under the influence of what we saw and felt throughout the day.

Harry was also a believer in the significance of family.

He was in his 60s and had come with his wife, who was South African. Grace initially learnt about the tradition when she went Australia 16 years ago. There were a lot of memorials around, and "the emotional attachment to a particular day and it's meaning for the people who have died in wars" impressed her very much. Although there were memorials honouring military members in her homeland, this was the first time she had seen such a public display of gratitude. On the other hand, Harry learned the tradition from his family. He also believed that this tradition should be carried down through the generations in the family. When I asked him where he first learned about this tradition in Harry, he replied:

"You see you pass that on from father to son. Your father will say you've always got to help your mate. You've always going to help your neighbour, this sort of thing. They tell you to do that. It's like if you see someone broken down in the car, you stop and say them; 'Are you alright? Do you need a hand?'"

What Harry tells is also about the spirit of tradition for society. Although the Dawn Ceremony plays an essential role in the transmission of the tradition, the spirit of the tradition extends well beyond the ceremony. I'll return to this topic later.

The transmission of the Anzac tradition is more than a generic and social phenomenon. It's also essential for preserving the history and legacy of one's own family. The familial links with the Anzac tradition are memories that family members are happy to share and honoured to carry on. Dion is no stranger to this feeling.

Dion and I were together during 2018 dawn service and tours. He was 32 years old and loved traveling very much. As an advantage of living in England, he often travelled in Europe and enjoyed visiting places associated with military history. He'd seen Australian war sites in France and Belgium, almost always with his friend, Brendan. Gallipoli, on the other hand, had a very different connotation in Australian history. With these thoughts, they planned their trips to Turkey and Gallipoli with Brendan.

For Dion, having Anzac history in the family, was a heritage and a source of pride handed down through the generations:

“So the older people probably had much closer having relatives that fought. Maybe that’s a stronger connection there in some respects. But it's obviously the bit of pride. Not like as a boastful thing, but it gives even people ‘oh my great great father fought in the war’. So, they still remember, even if how many generations it goes, it goes down.”

As well as the family's attitude towards tradition, having Anzacs in one's family transforms one's perception of tradition. Moreover, this influence is profound enough to alter all of the experiences at Australia's ceremonies and the ones amid the Gallipoli cemeteries. Due to the presence of war veterans in families, subsequent generations become more tradition oriented, and their attitudes are passed down to their children as well. When a family member is a soldier, a similar scenario occurs, since this tradition is rigorously maintained in the army. Dion’s friend Brendan was one of the pilgrims who told me about the army's strict adherence to this tradition.

Brendan was keener in Anzac tradition and history than Dion. Possessing an army back ground played a big part in this, too. Brandan, like Dion was 32 and had spent his younger adult life in the army. Tradition was fiercely held in the military during the time he served, as was the case throughout its existence. In Brandan's opinion, the army's longstanding traditions can be traced back to the soldiers who served before them, and for that, he was grateful. There had been a strong connection and a big source of fascination in the army. All the people that he has ever seen there were “always mad keen about Anzac Day and traditions” in his words.

Even so, the early foundations of Brendan's fondness for the Anzac tradition were also family based. Brendan's great-grandfather in his maternal side fought in France. His great-grandfather had seven brothers. All of them fought in the World War I. Some even served in the Second World War too. Brendan, like his grandfather, served as a soldier and fought in Afghanistan. Since he mentioned before his parents’ desire to come to

Gallipoli, I told him that I thought they were tradition oriented too. He replied “Absolutely! Hundred percent!” Even when Brendan was very young, they attended Anzac ceremonies and subsequent parade. He described the people's attachment to tradition in the town like this:

“You would never miss it. If you weren't there, it would definitely be frowned upon, especially if you're in a small town and everyone was there at the Dawn Service. There might only be a couple hundred people in the town, it would be noticed that you didn't get up to be there for the Dawn Service and that you weren't there for the parade. It is the most important thing there, nothing is more important.”

With such strong ties to tradition, it was not unexpected that he ended up at Gallipoli. Coming to Gallipoli was simply “a matter of the day of the week” in his words. Because this was how they often had found themselves in France and Belgium. When Anzac days fell someday between Friday and Monday, they would travel the Western Front for a few days. This was a way for them to honour their soldiers and preserve their ties with their homeland.

Phil, his wife Anna and her brother Matt, and their friend Nathan were also among those who joined us for the 2018 Dawn Service and tours. Just like Brandan, Phil had been in the military for 15 years when we met. He was a part-time soldier and was fond of the tradition. This situation also contributed to the fact that their children had a different childhood from their own. Phil said: “Instead of me standing in the crowd I'm one of the ones either marching or one of the ones doing the catafalque party so doing the actual formalities.” Thus, while the children were growing up, they always participated as part of the ceremonies in which their fathers were present. So the children grew up right in the heart of tradition: “I think it is ingrained now which is great and hopefully that would keep going on to their kids.”

Phil had dreamt about visiting Gallipoli since he was a child. This dream was perhaps the most apparent result of the military air he constantly breathed. As it turned out, his two professions had come together to fulfil his desire to come to Gallipoli. He also had a scuba diving company and it was not long ago that Gallipoli had been open for diving. That was how Phil became interested in bringing a group to this occasion.

Anna and Phil had been taking their son and daughter to Anzac ceremonies since they were born. Anna told me that she and Phil were away in 2017 Anzac Day. Therefore, they left their kids with Anna's parents. The grandparents, on the other hand, did not take

the children to the Dawn Service, which was upsetting particularly to their daughters. Anna explained the difference in the upbringing of new generations: “So we're trying to continue the tradition in our in our children. I think a lot of young people, children are being grown up now with going up to the Dawn Service.”

Anna and Stuart did not use to attend Anzac Ceremonies in their childhood because their families were against the war. Anna, on the other hand, clung to tradition. Since childhood, Anna had heard about the battle of Gallipoli, though not so much in the family. Likewise, this conflict was Australia's national holiday. Since the day Australia sealed its first arrival at Anzac Cove with its troops' blood mixed with the Dardanelles' salty waters, those waters had caressed the cove for four generations to come. It was a significant situation for Anna that the Australians picked this as a national holiday amid all the conflicts in which they were involved. As a result, Anna believed that Gallipoli had become the most memorable fight of any conflict, and Gallipoli had become the most cherished place in many places. She wanted to personally visit this sacred site, where many Australian troops were killed or wounded, in order to have a greater understanding of what had happened here.

For her brother, Matt, coming to Gallipoli was not a decision to be mulled over. Visiting these lands was on his bucket list, as it was for many Australians, and his age of 38 didn't put him off. “For me, it was not to come, but the time to come.”, he said. They made no attempt, however, to coincide their visits with Anzac Day. Their timing was tied with diving. The end of April was ideal for diving, and it also happened to overlap with the Dawn Service.

The only family that is effective in keeping the tradition alive may not be the families in which the pilgrims grew up. I have observed that some pilgrims keep the tradition alive through habits acquired from their spouses rather than from their parents. Of course, they may have heard it before, but marriage can also change the approach to tradition. During a conversation with the pilgrims who attended the Lone Pine ceremony in August 2015, I met Caitlin and her husband Liam. The family backgrounds of both were different. Caitlin learned about the tradition first at home. She had been going to Anzac services since 1970s. Her father was in the army. When she was a little girl, she had always gone. And she said about her husband: “When I married him, he'd never been to one, never ever!”. With a laugh, she recalled telling her husband “Why have you never been to an Anzac Service”? Your parents are teachers!”. When I asked her husband, he

said that even though he had not been to the service until then, the important thing was to show respect.

Having a veteran in the family is certainly no less effective than having a current soldier. Diane, 64, had five children and two of them had become soldiers. Their grandfather, who had returned from the war, had passed away years ago. But the children “used to love march in the Anzac Day with the theme wearing all these medals”. When I asked if their grandparents influenced them, she told me that “they just got an understanding how much their sacrifices”. On the other hand, it was only after a period of time during which the family did not want to speak about war and this situation had been widespread throughout the country: “the Australians have gone through a period when they were quite ashamed, especially with the Vietnam War” she said.

Conversely, for some pilgrims, the absence of a familial connection to the battle would diminish the Gallipoli experience. After the August ceremonies, I spoke with William and he told me that he didn't experience any emotion at Gallipoli: “I didn't feel that move by walking around the battlefields. It's not something that moves me emotionally. It's a huge national park full of battlefields and cemeteries.” On the other hand, this situation made sense to him: “But I do not have any relative...” For him, it was “very important to remember any sacrifice that is made by an armed service member, I have a lot of respect for people in the armed services.” And he continued: “But I have been to many many Anzac Day services.” So when I said he thinks this one is not different, just one of them for him, he answered: “Yeah, that's a good way to put it.”

In fact, William was not the only pilgrim who had no familial links to tradition. Yet each pilgrim's journey is unique, thus the experience is varied. As two of them, Michelle and her husband (Josh) had come to see Turkey and had stopped by Gallipoli. While we were on the ferry on the way back from the battlefield tour and passing to the Çanakkale centre, I asked them where they learned the tradition. They said they learned it in school. This was quite natural to them since they “didn't have any family that were in the war”. Two days before, they had attended the August Offensive ceremony held in Lone Pine, and it was the first ceremony they had attended in their lives. Josh explained why they chose not to attend ceremonies in Australia as follows:

“All the diggers have gone. So now it's just usually relatives or just current servicemen. So I don't think the marches mean as much but the memorial services seem

to mean a little bit more that's why we went this year. Australia has been in a number of conflicts recently but nothing to the same as Gallipoli.”

The absence of familial ties is alleviated by a number of practices. One of them is scouts. At our lunch before the Gallipoli tour, Jessica told that his 13-year-old nephew joined the scouts that year. Kids were signing with their prefix of the local schools in scouts. All of the ambulance and the fire service were young people and they were standing in each of the four corners of the post. She said “He was 13 and they actually spent all night at the church next door and it's a wonderful thing for the youngsters who have really got no connection with it.”

On the other hand, scouts is a practice that is highly valued by those with family ties to tradition too. On a return from battlefield tour, I was talking to two Australian women who had also attended the dawn service three days before. One of the pilgrims, Amy, mentioned a similar situation. She had a familial bond with tradition, which was rooted in his grandfather. Her grandfather was English and he fought in the World War I on the Western Front. She told me that in the last probably 20 years it has become something more and more they have found out about. She was thinking that this was where they “became Australians”. She had three children who were in scouts and she told me “The scouts’ Anzac Day is very important. My three go and they are actually guards of honour at the local service. So, they get up early and do that. They find it very emotional.”

Apart from family, for many pilgrims, the school years are a significant time for learning the Anzac culture. Throughout the years, as tradition got more rooted in society, the education provided changed. Pilgrims of various generations informed me about their experiences with education throughout their school years.

The school itself had a role in a male pilgrim's decision to come here. “It is very important for me to be there.” He said. And when I asked about the reason he explained: “because it is something I learned about since 9 years old and for 15 years. I have always wanted to come here.”

Primary school is where many pilgrims learn about Anzac tradition for the first time. Georgia, who was in her 50s, had a soldier father and grandfather. As a result, she had grown up in a military household and was exposed to the tradition both at home and at school. During the Anzac days, they used to undoubtedly do something as a family, and the school placed emphasis on both Gallipoli and the Western Front. Thus, when she

started primary school, she could learn a lot more about the World War I. “So, you learn all about Simpson.”, she said. And her friend, AMY, giggled; “All about the Simpson and his donkey!”

I met Darren, aged 40, and his family in 2016 April. Father Darren, who brought his family to Gallipoli in 2016, was now the major pillar of tradition after his grandfather. The granddad was a Gallipoli veteran. It was a momentous occasion for Darren to be with his family in the same place where his grandfather had fought during World War I. He was in Gallipoli in 2009 together with his father and three siblings. Despite the fact that he felt it meant something quite different to his father in 2009, his emotional commitment to this heritage had compelled him then to visit Gallipoli as well. He had seen his visit as a way to honour the sacrifices of those who came before him. This visit had altered his life in many ways and had left a mark that he was proud to reminisce. Not long after, he wanted to return to Gallipoli and share this experience, which he had relished, with his wife and two children. This time, they were in Turkey with Darren, in such a 'fantastic country' in his words. They had meticulously organized the whole trip around the Dawn Ceremony, and the entire journey was undertaken to fulfil this certain desire.

Darren's children mingled with a lot more tradition at home, which was unlike Darren's childhood. They were also taught about the Anzac tradition at primary school. On the other hand, Darren's early education had a distinct focus. They were largely taught by early Australian explorers as he remembered. His wife, Sharon (40) recalled similar curriculum content from her school days, but not lessons on the Anzacs. Since they had two children who were 12 and 19, they also had an idea about the education given in their generations. “The focus has changed over the years.”, Sharon said. “There's a shift in the curriculums in recognizing where they've come from basically and yeah what's happening in the past.” Their children, Nicole and Terry, also told me that Anzacs' history is a big part in learning in curriculum at school.

We were also with Sandra and Bob during the 2016 Dawn Ceremony and tours that we attended with Darren and her family. Bob wanted to visit the Western Front, as did his brother. Once, Bob and Sandra had travelled to France but had not seen the Australian battlefields. Bob thought it was interesting that they hadn't visited the battlefields in France since they had lost considerably more troops there than at Gallipoli. But here they were, at Gallipoli. The battle in Gallipoli had been far fiercer, and this was the first significant defeat. That's why Bob considered it to be so meaningful to visit. "We also

wanted to visit Turkey," Sandra said with a chuckle, revealing the life-affirming aspect of travel other than death. They were able to attend Anzac because the date was favourable. "We were coming anyway," Bob said. Still, they were excited when they saw that the dates overlapped.

Gallipoli's history education throughout Sandra's (54) childhood was limited to a single page in social studies book. According to her spouse, Bob (54), it happened by chance during their time. They also got the opportunity to witness the education provided to the future generation, since they had two daughters. Thus, they believed that schooling had changed since their childhood. "You'd read a passage and you'd have a comprehension about it you might draw a map or colour something in you'd answer questions about it and that was it." Sandra said. On the other hand, school children were being assigned to make presentations currently. It was the portion of the unit they learned on Anzac Day that was more concentrated than the previous generations had. In this context, the pupils were working on Anzac-related projects. As part of these projects, they were investigating family history and interviewing family elders. Youngsters were able to form a personal connection with history and tradition.

In 2018, I met Melissa, who joined in a large daily tour group with her parents. We had a lengthy discussion with her and her family about the Anzac tradition after our battlefield trip. It was so wonderful to converse about our shared culture that we agreed to meet for dinner and continued our conversation.

Melissa was 24 years old. She had long desired to see Gallipoli. Arriving in time for Dawn, on the other hand, was a more difficult process because it required more adjustment. In addition, they opted for a slower month like September. I knew well that Gallipoli is somewhat different in these months than it is in April. In this time of year, just the sounds of wind prowling the tombstones and waves approaching the coast with timid escapes can be heard between the Gallipoli graves and the pilgrims. Behind the Anzac Cove epitaph, the calm panorama of the Dardanelles reaching to the horizon replaces the iron-leg stage constructed for the ceremony at the cove in April.

Because Melissa was in her twenties, what she recounted informed me about current schooling in Australia. Even in bachelor level history classes, she thought they had not been learning deeply enough about Gallipoli. And only landing was taught in primary school, where she first learned about Anzac: "You imagine that everyone came onto the shores at once and that was where they were killed and that was it." she said. All the

narratives she encountered during our trip, including one about troops tossing cigarettes at one other, made her to think that more might be taught in schools about the campaign. Brendan was recalling similar lessons from his own childhood, when he was in primary school. Gallipoli was strongly emphasized, and in particular, the events of the initial landing were fresh in his memory.

Another part of the Gallipoli history that kids were unable to hear in school was the other side of the conflict. This side was an encounter that was enchanting for many pilgrims and unexpected, sometimes even challenging for others. A woman pilgrim, Caitlin, who was 48, said that she was not taught about the Turkish side of the conflict in school and heard about it mostly from popular media: “I didn't see it from the Turkish perspective where we came and invaded to the Turkish country like totally it came over to another country you're not taught that. You are taught that we were protecting our lifestyle and our border. As a child you don't question these things.” she said. William, who was 23 years old, made a similar comment. Both pilgrims, despite their age difference of 25 years, made the identical remark regarding what they had learnt in school. He was a voracious reader who also served in the cadets for four years throughout high school. But it was Gallipoli where he encountered the Turkish side of the battle. Due to his cadet years, he gained up on a lot of about Anzac tradition while learning specific military history and performing cadets' rituals and ceremonies. So, he had a lot of exposure to it. “I guess the school curriculum... there's a whole lot of mythology about mateship and larrikinism and kind of the idea that a national character that emerged from the Gallipoli campaign. We get taught that Gallipoli is the origin of the Australian character.” he said.

2.2.2 History and National Identity: “The digger is Australian!”

While many pilgrims are proud to have a soldier grandfather, the significance of Gallipoli to their national identity evokes a feeling quite different from the places in which their veterans fought. One pilgrim told me that the "connection" to this war stemmed from the fact that her grandfather served on the Western Front. Still, she was explaining her involvement in the Dawn Service at Gallipoli in a different way: "This is when we became Australians.”

Mateship, courage and larrikinism are woven together in the Anzac tradition, which has its roots in Gallipoli. In the eyes of every pilgrim, this is the first conflict to represent

a united army, the first fight as a single entity. The focus on defeat fades behind these moral values, which were gained at a sacrifice. Thus, social identity is fundamentally important for pilgrims. Further, it has more than just military aspects. It also has a social attitude that incorporates the virtues associated with older eras.

This tradition, according to Nathan, symbolized both Anzac soldiers and a cultural setting. I met him in 2018. He was an ambulance driver in his 60s. He came together with Phil and his family. Visiting Gallipoli was an aspiration that was on Nathan's bucket list as well. He was an avid scuba diver like others in his group. It had been a sign for him when these two got together, and he readily joined Phil's group.

For Nathan, as this was the first war the nation had engaged in, it helped to unite the people. He thought that both sides were extremely brave in their actions. However, in the context of Australian troops, it was so essential because it symbolized their camaraderie, bravery, and their mateship. It was perhaps the ultimate demonstration of respect for Australian military people, since it was likely one of the earliest and most courageous engagements.

However, it would be wrong to assume that all pilgrims have the same perspective with these pilgrims. Some pilgrims doubted that this conflict should be at the heart of Australian identity. There are various societal viewpoints and Melissa's father John explained me one of them as such:

"I think Australians regard this as the beginning of a separation from Britain. So when we became our own country this is the beginning it's not the actual the biggest part of when we became our own country. A lot of things that Australian did we did to support Britain and this was one of the first parts where Australian started to say 'wait a minute! this is terrible, and this is a mistake.' And it's not the only one but it's one of the first ones. We have a prime minister who says this is not the most important one he says the most important one was when we fought in a place called New Guinea. Do you know about this?"

I did not know. John briefly told me about the war he mentioned. During World War II, the Japanese assaulted New Guinea in order to strike northern Australia, and the Japanese advance was stopped. Even yet, he didn't appear to completely agree:

"So one of our ex-prime ministers says that is the most important defining of Australian independent we stood up for ourselves. But it starts here, the story actually

starts here in in Gallipoli and then it goes to France and the battles in France of which there are some very famous ones.”

According to Melissa and her mother, one of the reasons Gallipoli was so significant destination for pilgrims was because Australia's history was short in comparison to the histories of many other nations. “It is possibly why we make histories like this more important to us because we don't have thousands of years to choose from, we have 200.” said Melissa with a chuckle.

I had a similar conversation with Sandra and Bob:

Sandra

It's often a comment about Australia who are we, what is our identity...

Bob

and that's because unlike Turks, you have thousands of years of history but since the invasion of Australia it's only 200...

It was for the same reason that Melissa's mother enjoys visiting England. There was a lot of their history. The age of the buildings and other structures were rather young in comparison to many other parts of Europe. She was, however, feeling an affinity with it:

“That's a hard thing to explain in many ways. I guess in Australia now we've all become part of a very cosmopolitan place. What would be your national dish what would be the stick costume we don't have anything like that but we have all the other cultures.”

Therefore, when looking at the identity element, we cannot say that it consists of a single layer. For some pilgrims, some elements of the Anzac tradition represents a similar situation. Thus, some pilgrims are also looking for their own identity within the national identity. Melissa adds: “but the digger is Australian!”

For some, the desire for experience is linked to sub-identity, whereas for others, it is linked to familial history. This is owing to Gallipoli's potential to embody a meaningful intersection of family heritage and national identity. As Darren told me:

“I think we all wanted to go back to where my grandfather went. Obviously, my dad probably for deeper reasons. I just wanted to go because it is just part of my heritage and I feel it is very important that my generation, and the generations next appreciate all the efforts had been made by the previous generations to make Australia what it is.”

It is Gallipoli's unique feature to appeal to individuals from a variety of backgrounds and opinions that makes it so powerful. It is a destination that has a special place in the

hearts of many pilgrims and may even entice dissenting guests. In one of our conversations, Bob told me that “Australians still do not really understand why do we stick on this military disaster a military defeat debate we lost this why would it become a defining moment in our national identity.” In the same vein, Adrian was among the pilgrims who doubted the importance of tradition in defining identity. He was 30 years old and coming from Tasmania. He said “we give ourselves a pat on the back for putting out with the adversities that we had. And it shows as the Australians what we're made of focus.” But at the end of the day, both were delighted from their Gallipoli experiences.

Another young pilgrim William, who was 23 and from Australia, had ancestors who were originally from New Zealand as well. He told me that even though everybody in the family was aware of the tradition, they did not specifically teach him about it. He used to go to Anzac day services. Moreover, he learned a lot about specific military history when he did cadets and a lot of rituals and ceremonies. He said that he was exposed to it a lot. For him, the Anzac tradition was infused with a strong sense of national identity and this was also represented in education:

“We are taught of its important is because it was the first time that Australians adopted a sense of national identity independent of British empire. So prior to WW1 Australians saw themselves as an outpost of British antiquities. And then after the experience of WW1, an independent identity was shaped by the experience during the war. So after that Australia developed a culture that was independent of our British ancestors. So that’s why it is important. In addition to that, as always, the sacrifice the people involved. Because it was such a horrific and enormous conflict, it should always be remembered.”

According to him, people's current attitude toward tradition was "cynical." Actually, this was one of the few comments that didn't line up with what I'd heard from other pilgrims generally. Australia’s participation in WWI, the Korean War, Afghanistan, and Iraq conflicts made him believe history was repeating again. Further, because similarities were formed, people were similarly “cynical”. He argued that this case had ramifications for Gallipoli: “I think as in regards to why people are less inclined to celebrate the Gallipoli legend. Whereas there was much enthusiasm as in the past”. With this point of view, he told me that he was in Gallipoli simply because he was “curious” and “it worked with the itinerary”.

Some pilgrims simply disliked the idea of war rather than questioning its place in their identity. Diane was one of them. She was a pilgrim who was 64, came to Gallipoli with her husband. At the end of our tour, Diane and I had the chance to have a brief talk. We were gripping to our hats and scarves at one of Gallipoli's hills, trying to deal with the wind that made all its freedom speak. She mentioned the tragic period of her life that was connected to the war. While doing so, she was speaking with an unusual tranquillity, as if she were narrating a simple story. However, I couldn't shake its effect for a while.

She had a grandfather who fought in WWI. Yet she didn't know where he fought but not in Gallipoli. Later, his father and two brothers also fought in the Second World War. Her father had survived, he was in the navy on the ship and did not get into any action. But for other members of the family, the war brought painful consequences. Diane recounted that her older brother was in navy ship and it got bombed. Unfortunately, he did not survive. And the other brother “was tortured by Japanese and he committed suicide after the war”. And her sister also committed suicide after all of these happenings. Diane said “I don't like to hear a lot about war. But for some reason this battle [Gallipoli]... it was just incredible!”

2.2.3 Media as a storyteller: “I really like to go there one day...”

For the Dawn Ceremony, thousands of people gathered in Gallipoli with the feeling of being next to the soldiers, and the traces of the past and millions more assembled in Australia with the feeling of camaraderie. Others, meantime, are experiencing the same emotions while sitting in front of the TV in their own homes, thousands of miles away from Gallipoli. Maybe they won't be able to feel the bone-chilling weather that shivered the Anzacs at the coldest time of the night, right before first lights. Yet, these images are the only way to be there, to be a part of this pride. As they are sitting in their armchairs, they are no longer in their living room, but rather at Anzac cove. Every year, many Australians imagine themselves on this journey and eagerly await the actual one.

Media, books, music and movies has a crucial role not only connecting the people with Dawn services in Australia but also in Gallipoli. They are also important elements for creation of imaginaries about Gallipoli. Most of the pilgrims had such background. When they come to Gallipoli they compare it with the image they created in their minds.

A woman Georgia who participated in Dawn ceremony in 2015 told me that it was exactly what they expected since they have also seen it in the past on TV. But there was

more. For them, it was not about viewing but “being exactly where the soldiers were when they landed.”

A similar comment came from another woman who had attended the same dawn service. What they watched on television was only service. She expressed her excitement 'being there' as follows: "when they talk about this moment they would have going over the edge of the voice and that bit where they just play the waves the sound of the waves, I think everybody chilled you just you just feel like 'oh my God, it's about to happen'".

Pilgrims also share their experiences on social media. By this way, they also contribute to creating an imaginary in the minds of prospective pilgrims. A man Liam who was so satisfied with the service in 2015, told me that they put some pictures on Facebook and a lot of their friends have said “wow” and those friends enviously commented on how lucky these pilgrims were being at Gallipoli Dawn Service.

Pilgrims not only describe their journeys, but they also ponder on their memories. It's important for them to express the significance of the remarkable occasions they've experienced. In a manner, these postings serve as virtual brackets to mark significant moments in experience. As a result, its functions continue long after pilgrims return home. As pilgrims reflect back on their journey, the moments they picked as significant stand out among the others. They are the ones which earns the privilege of reshaping the Gallipoli imagination over and over again.

As being one of them, Dion told me how he likes to post only one shot from each of his trip on Instagram. As the highlight of his Gallipoli experience, he had chosen Lone Pine Ceremony that took place in the following day of the Dawn. He included a quote from the ceremony in the post and added the following: "'Walk softly as you are standing on the graves of your ancestors.'" Hearing the story of this battle and those words from the master of ceremony only reinforces the sacrifice these men made."

Dion's post also gives important clues about where Gallipoli's sacredness came from. However, I shall return to this topic in later chapters.

Many pilgrims, particularly those who have seen Anzac Cove on television, travel to Gallipoli with this imagery in their minds. Many pilgrims believed that Gallipoli was not like how they had seen on television. While we were talking about the tour with Melissa, she looked surprised because of the same reason. She told me that "it was very different to how I imagined it and even from TV. Where the Anzac Day ceremony is with

wasn't Anzac Cove, there was next to Anzac Cove where there was the sign that says 'this is Anzac Cove'. Well, that was so small compared to what the TV makes it look."

A women pilgrim in her 60s made a similar comment:

"What we saw on tv seemed like it was a huge area because during the ceremony we had people coming in from all this row and this round and I just thought it was a huge area and when we got there I thought 'Oh this is really tiny'."

Many people in Australia went on imaginary journeys in the past because of the long distance and insufficient resources. They read pilgrims' diaries and books to imagine their own journeys. While books still serve this purpose, the media has taken over as a major source of these imaginary journeys. According to Brendan, Dion's friend who was travelling with him, the media also constituted an important educational resource for children who were not lucky enough to visit Gallipoli.

The media's capacity for imagination has long been recognized. This is simply because the crucial role the media plays in many realms of social life. Particularly in the Anzac tradition, where social identity is so strongly ingrained, the situation is the same. The dawn ceremonies both in Australia and Gallipoli are brought to the homes of all citizens via the media, making people feel that they are a part of the event even if they are not physically there. Therefore, its role goes beyond just influencing the way people perceive the world visually. It makes them feel part of the world it takes them to.

The extent of the media's effect may be greater than one might first think of. And that's because for some pilgrims, the Anzac Day ceremonies in Australia, which they witnessed on television, contributed a lot in their early childhood recollections. Darren was an example to these people. On his paternal side, the Anzac tradition was very dominant since his grandfather had fought in Gallipoli. However, his parents were divorced. He grew up with his mother and the only bond he could establish with tradition for a long time was through television: "I remember my mum always had the Anzac march on tv which for four or five hours but there wasn't much other conversation. And it wasn't until much later that it started to become sort of a topic of conversation."

Similarly, Nathan also shared with me his earliest recollections of television:

"My first memory is that we had a day-off school and the teacher had talked about Anzac Day, but I didn't understand. But then on TV you could see the soldiers marching and soldiers at march, in the morning. And in the middle of marches, I mean the passing all the soldiers, I thought they must be very brave and that's my first recollection."

Anna's husband, Phil, first learned the tradition at school. He had learned about Simpson and his donkey just like his children were still learning. Television played an important role in his childhood:

“So every year, on 25th of April all the old diggers would line up in their former battalions. And that have the current serving soldiers that have family who have lost members, so representatives of the former soldiers ever since died. They all march in remembrance all through the streets of Adelaide. Every country town, every major city they hold these marches and it's a really good thing and it draws a lot of people. So, I remember watching that on TV.”

TV has always been part of Anzac Day for them and their children. For the current young generation, though, the emphasis is on something else. Anna told me that they always go the local Dawn Service. When they come home after the event, they watch the Gallipoli ceremony on television because Turkey is six and a half hours behind of Australia. Moreover, one of the things that drew Anna to visit Gallipoli was seeing it on TV. She said: “And you kind of look at it and think ‘I really like to just go there one day, just see it and learn more about what it is about and what actually happened and what our soldiers went through’”.

Phil and his wife, Anna, both agreed that the media had a beneficial impact on Anzac Day in Australia and Gallipoli. According to Phil:

“They always put out a very positive perspective on Anzac Day especially Anzac Day in Gallipoli. So, they always put a very good positive spin and there's never been any negativity towards that from what I've seen so I think it's a really good aspect that they actually do that and promote Anzac Day and the celebrations and the commemorations in Gallipoli.”

While we were talking, Anna told me that the media also promotes a sense of community:

“I think they do create a sense of camaraderie about that. They play the last post and then that's played at the football games, it's played at every service and then they have it on TV, on the news that as well. So that's the sort of traditions that we've seen and the media plays that role in providing those traditions as well.”

She also mentioned that today's Anzac soldiers have an important place in the media too. When there is a dead or wounded soldier in Iraq or Afghanistan, it was a big deal. So, it was covered in the news and all over the media.

In the same vein, shortly after the 2016 Gallipoli Dawn Service, Sandra and Bob also told me that there was this big built up towards 100 years. They thought that it was in the same vein with the stand of Hawk – Australian government. Media shared lots of coverage of the Anzac history and beautiful background images about the history and tradition.

Television broadcast not only enable people to view the ceremonies at home and in Gallipoli but also most of people are fond of watching Anzac Day football matches through these live broadcasts. Adrian from Tasmania, who was in 30s and was not very stirred by the Anzac Day commemorations, told me that even people at their homes watching the game on their TV screens stand up during The Ode, the Last Post, The Anthems of Australia and New Zealand.

Anzac games enthrall a wide audience and Adrian was only one of them. I met him on his return from a battlefield tour in 2018. In fact, he had come directly to Turkey to see Göbekli Tepe and, like many Australians, he thought it would not be right to leave without seeing Gallipoli. So he made a travel plan that included Troy next to Gallipoli. He had a great-grandfather who died in Gallipoli. But he had not come to Turkey for him. After coming to Turkey, he heard the name of Atatürk and stopped by Anıtkabir too. His mother's father also fought in the WW2. During the Anzac Days, her mother wanted Adrian to honour the family by taking part in the Anzac parade wearing his grandfather's medal. However, Adrian was against the war phenomenon itself and wanted to stay out of the ceremonies as he saw all these events as a celebration. For him, all wars were "pointless" just because there was "better ways to sell the shoes and gun". But after the tour, he changed his mind and admitted that he felt he didn't show enough respect. Adrian said a lot more media coverage and footage exist about Anzac Cove other than the other parts of the battlefield. But just like many other pilgrims, he thought that one can actually get a grasp of the landscape only by coming to Gallipoli. He was quite impressed and said "it's definitely worth to come and to see. I'll definitely be recommending others to come". So much so that his fundamental ideas had changed and he said "I'll be definitely gone the next Dawn".

In 2008, Adrian actually went through a similar transformation in his thoughts for the Anzac games. Until that year, he did not like either these games or the teams involved. But he describes that day as "one day and it's the best kind of football" he has ever been to. Even though "it was pouring with rain and freezing", it was "brilliant that when they

did the stand and the last post where they played the trumpet and you could hear a pin drop in that whole stadium because everybody's there and everybody's standing up". While we were talking I thought that not knowing that the main reason for his passion for the game was the community spirit, he was clueless.

I first learned about this football match from Holly, a 15-year-old girl I met on the ferry ride returning after a tour. One of her favourite parts of Anzac Day was this event. By playing a video of one of the previous years' games on her phone, she quickly showed me a stadium full of people standing in silence. "It's amazing" she said, "you should write it down". While our ferry ripped through the deep waters of Dardanelles, we chatted with her. The minute of silence impacted her the most, yet for a youngster, the minute of silence might be confusing and incomprehensible. She told me that "always have the minute of silence where people would have to reflect and as a child you wouldn't really know what to reflect on". She also told me that "just being Australian it's something where everyone has their own pathway to knowing about it and everyone has different levels of knowledge about it". From both her parents and teachers, she said she has learnt to appreciate and respect the tradition throughout the years. And 100th years Dawn ceremony became a breaking point for her: "There was thousands of people and it was a day where it was raining but that didn't stop anyone, everyone was still there, commemorating. That's where I first realised how much it means for so many people."

In addition to the media; films, books and music are among the elements that both play a role in the construction of tradition in the pilgrims and create an imaginary about Gallipoli in their memory.

It was my first tour and it was lovely afternoon in Eceabat. We were all having our lunch as a group under an ivy-covered pergola in a restaurant at the end of the Eceabat shore. Pilgrims had told me that documentaries and music also play an important role in the tradition. One of the pilgrims explained, "there is a whole lot of other things are part of our culture not just the World War I, but there is the same interest in the second world war, Vietnam." She told me that even religious songs sung in churches have an important place for some people. Another pilgrim at the same table told me how under the influence of her English class, their daughter suddenly became interested in war poems and travelled to France with this curiosity. She participated in a music tour. The pilgrim added, "so interesting, different ways that we can connect with that [tradition]. And she wants to go back." She asked me if I had seen the Water Diviner movie and told me how impressed

she was: “You should see it. Turkish people was taking part too. Loooved it! Really loved it!”.

When Gallipoli and a movie are mentioned, I think even the most distant person from the subject thinks of the movie Gallipoli with Mel Gibson. I've heard this movie over and over from many pilgrims I've met. I have a memory of witnessing this movie being talked about among pilgrims shortly after our tour bus left for Gallipoli. Pilgrims had just met each other and they were so enthusiastic when they talked about it.

In the conversation we had with Holly on the ferry, she told me how she had compared some points she saw during the tour with this film: “It was like I have seen it in the movie Gallipoli, but in the film, there was a very long distance to run. But when you are actually there, it was a really short distance”.

Those who talked about this cult film expressed in different ways how influential it was in their generation. Dion was 32. The movie even contributed significantly to Dion's motivation to visit Gallipoli. He told me that “we all watched as kids growing up”.

Until Darren in his 40's, decided to come to Gallipoli with his dad and siblings, all he knew about Gallipoli was this movie. Darren put it like this:

“I don't know if you've seen it or not but there's an Australian movie called Gallipoli that had Mel Gibson in it. I think every Australian boy over the age of 15 has seen that at least five times. That was probably about all I knew, didn't know much before at all in the months leading up to the family trip [to Gallipoli].”

Bob was 54 years old when we met. For him, imagery of Gallipoli was also based on the same movie. He had an idea about the beach and the steep hills. He understood that because he had seen movies. Yet still it wasn't enough to fully grasp these soils and he told me about the importance of being “physically” there to make sense of it.

On another occasion, we were on our return from the Troy tour. We had attended the Lone Pine ceremony held in August the previous day. The group was a little tired. Our guide took us to a small restaurant near Troy to relieve the tiredness of the day, and we sat under the wooden arbour. We were talking with pilgrims about how the Gallipoli experience had taught them so much about the Turkish side of the war. However, Water Diviner suddenly came to their minds and they said that they learned a lot about Turkish side of the war from that movie too. They told me that “it is a classic one”. And then, one pilgrim said; “I had no idea until I watched that movie. I thought that we lost more Australians than we did Turkish people. Ten times more Turkish people!”.

After a couple of months after this conversation, we were talking about the close relations between the two sides during the war with a pilgrim in his 60s Harry. He started telling me a story about the war:

“There was another case on the Western Front where this horse got loose and it ran out into no-man's land and got tangled in barbed wire and they stopped fighting and one of them actually went forward and started to get the untangle a barbed wire. And this was very close to the Germans trenches and he was having trouble getting the barbed wire off and the next minute the Germans threw him tools so he could cut the barbed wire and then the horse got up and they let him walk back and then they started fighting again”

While we were discussing actual events and real stories that have been narrated, he portrayed this narrative as if it were a real incident. Yet suddenly he added “that's in a movie called ‘Warhorse’, yeah. Watch that movie!”

This is a proof that the narratives told by the movies can have a strong place in the minds of pilgrims as much as true stories. Moreover, the story narrated in this film points out to the emergence of humanity aspect at the most unexpected moments in the wars. Since this type of situations was experienced a lot in Gallipoli, and the Western Front and Gallipoli have very close meanings for many Australians, the film that the pilgrim watched reminded of Gallipoli to him. Thus, he mentioned the movie to me.

In some cases, pilgrims are drawn to Gallipoli because of the stories they've read or seen in popular culture; in others, it's the complete reverse. A good example of this situation is Sandra. Sandra and her husband Bob are really intellectual people who love to read and criticize. I learned a lot each time from our long conversations. After their Gallipoli visit, Sandra's interest in Gallipoli continued. In 2021, long after the couple's visit, she told me that she was reading *Birds without Wings* in those days:

“It gave me another point about Atatürk and gave me a really different perspective. So I really enjoyed it. It had a powerful impact, liked the details on it. And one of the main characters is fighting in Gallipoli and so that's really interesting, the relationship between the Turkish and the Greek. It gives you an insight to it all so it was good to read it after being Gallipoli.”

Pictures, like books and movies, have a critical part in influencing pilgrims' imaginations. Melissa had taken Anzac History classes while studying journalism at university and had read a lot about Gallipoli and seen a lot of pictures. When I asked her if there was any difference between what she had in mind and what she had seen in real,

she said she expected to encounter a bare land, based on what she had seen in the pictures. The fact that Gallipoli was a very green and tree-lined landscape was the opposite of what she had imagined.

It was the father who led the Melissa's family to Gallipoli. Father John was 56 years old and had a keen interest in history. He was also an enthusiastic reader. There were really good books, he owed all his knowledge about the war and the Gallipoli landscape to them. Except for the trees, everything was exactly as he expected: "it was lots of little valleys gradually climbing up and flat up near Suvla Bay". In order to go beyond the doubting what he read, he needed to see the other side of the narrative. "I just wanted to find more about it. So it's easy to believe a big story that you read about in the press or something." he said. Seeking for how the things had been in reality was an interesting experience for him. As such, seeing the other side of the story meant understanding the Turkish side as well. This was the missing piece for him, which he couldn't achieve by reading. So much so that he read the Battle of Gallipoli from many sources and even drew "a chart as to who was in command and who was there and who was it". When I told him that he was really interested, he replied: "No. It didn't make sense otherwise because it was just names you know." In the absence of all of these, the narratives took on an impersonal simplicity.

Amidst these imaginaries, as the day came to a close in Gallipoli, Michelle, a pilgrim in her early fifties expressed what every pilgrim feels: "We watched movies and we studied it in school but to actually come along and experience is something different."

2.2.4 Dawn Ceremonies in Australia: "It is 'the day' of the year!..."

In some ways, each pilgrim arrives in Gallipoli seeking the content and ambiance established by their previous Dawn Service experience in Australia. Thus, many pilgrims have preconceived notions about what a Dawn Ceremony looks like. Different celebrations are held in every town and city centre in Australia. Attending a ceremony at another location is not a problem for most people. People like to attend ceremonies in the format that most fits them, which may not necessarily mean the one nearest to home. Dawn Ceremonies can be religious, formal, or less formal, despite the fact that some of the processes are well-defined.

In 2015, Jake and his wife, Caitlin, attended the 100-year dawn ceremony and found it to be a really remarkable experience. Gallipoli's memorial service, on the other hand,

was very different from the one they attended in Australia. Anzac Cove was considerably more formal, and the process took far longer. "We don't have the dignitaries that were there as much all the length of the performance services not as Australia." said Jake. Not so many people spoke at the ceremony they used to attend. However, they commented that the parts were very similar since the catapult, last post, national anthem, bugler, oat and laying wreaths stages also existed in Australia. They were living in Brisbane. Caitlin stated that they enjoy local gatherings and do not attend religious ones.

On our return from battlefield tour, we were talking with Georgia about her childhood recollections of commemorating Anzac Day, in Fremantle. Her own experience at Gallipoli two days before was a stark contrast to this one:

"We always did something on Anzac Day we always did something as a family on Anzac Day. We normally went down to Fremantle and got fish and chips and went to the war memorial in Fremantle and just sit around and had a picnic."

Being in a similar vein with this setting, most of the local services are more personal, and very appealing to certain pilgrims. For similar reasons, the great majority of pilgrims I encountered preferred local ceremonies. Bob and Sandra were among them. While sitting at a café, Bob and Sandra met Damien, a veteran. They described him as a very outgoing person while recounting their encounter. Damien was a soldier who served in Afghanistan and tragically lost both of his legs. He launched "fund raising for all men who were traumatized by war" as part of the Dawn Ceremony that year. They described how many more people were there at the event than they had seen in Gallipoli in 2016, as well as how emotional they were. It was "quite moving" since they "knew a particular person". They said that every year, there are 4-5 thousand individuals outside of the single RSL club in Bombi, where they reside, and that the number of participants was growing year after year.

Darren and his family sometimes would go to the local ceremonies in suburbs of Melbourne. There were usually 50 to 100 persons present. There would be a few thousand people in the city, though. They were "just driving there early in the morning at 4:30" and there was no camping, as in other regions of Australia. Several generations of people from the town were being in attendance, including several veterans who had served in the military in the past. they were having "some younger generations involved in the community attend and sometimes sing that will do the gunfire salute". There were no videos or stories told. Parts such as reveille, trumpet and one-minute silence were still an

important part of the ceremony. In these ceremonies there were being a lot less officials than in the one in Gallipoli. On the other hand, Darren was thinking that there was being “a lot more local connection”:

“There are a lot more of the old local blokes who you might see just walking around the shops during the year and then sort of you see them at the Dawn Service. You might hear that they were a captain in WW2 or another like”

John and his wife Katie also were living in Melbourne. However, they were finding the large ceremony there to be "too big." They also preferred local and smaller ones. The local ceremony they used to go to was now closed, and they were upset. Each ceremony was unique in terms of content and tone. It wasn't simply a matter of size. Katie told me “you can still go to other smaller ones but it's not quite the same.”

I met the Laura and Sam at the August offensive ceremony in Lone Pine in 2015. They were also among the pilgrims in Australia who preferred to attend local ceremonies. They were going “through the history of different VC’s [Victoria Cross]” but usually they would have an address. They were having prayers and someone who speaks about the war. And they were having the Last Post and the national anthem. So, it was taking about 20 minutes 30 minutes of the most.

Local ceremonies are carried out in countless sites across Australia. Stuart told me that “even if there is 10 people in a town, there will be a memorial in the town.” And these memorials had an important place in Anna's childhood. Given that her family was not used to attend the Anzac Day ceremonies, she was recalling the activities with the school as her earliest recollections. Anzac Day was a public holiday so there were no schools on that day. The class always used to go to the war memorial in the town park depending on the day that Anzac Day fell. They needed to go the day before or the day after so whatever school day coincided with the school.

Since Anzac Day services and events have been generally organised by the Returned and Services League of Australia (RSL), these clubs are an important element of the Anzac heritage. These groups also served as a transmitter of tradition, particularly for pilgrims who grew up in a household with a military background. Through veterans' reunions life stories were shared. In these contexts, individuals used to develop, polish, and express their narratives in response to and in opposition to the versions and questions of others. One person's story might gain expressive power and coherence in response to

interest and validation, but another's would be muted since it did not conform to the group's established narrative (Thomson, 2005, p. 27-28).

Jake was one of the pilgrims who learned the tradition this way. He had never been to formal services in his childhood. His grandfather “was veteran he fought in World War Two”. He told me how he learned the tradition by going to RSL Clubs. The members were keeping the tradition alive there. Laura’s father was in the army and he fought in the Second World War too. Laura described her father as “and he was always he was an RSL man”. Moreover, RSL had been very important to her as well: “I thought there was always that heritage I guess, that history to it.”

Brandan was a RSL kid too. He recalled with a smile, the icy April weather and the jump-off he wore to the Anzac ceremonies as a child. And of course, the marches and the RSL Club:

“The march and there's that clubs in Australia called the RSL: the returned servicemen league. And all the soldiers go there and have plenty of beers, start telling war stories and there's a game with two-up and the soldiers always used to play it in France and here in Turkey, Gallipoli.”

And when I asked him if he had ever heard stories from them, he replied: “Oh, so many!”

Many Australians are familiar with the traditional returned veterans’ game, known as "two-up," which is only permitted to be played on Anzac Day as a mark of remembrance. It is illegal to play two-up outside of Anzac Day. Brendan told me about the game:

“You've got two pennies and a stick and you flip them up in the air and you say ‘heads or tails’ and when they land, if you get them right then you bet with people right on the ring. So you're dealing on the other side. I'd say ten on heads and here's say that ‘yeah I'll take ten or tails and their money’. That's very easy to the win and it's just as easy to lose very quickly all your money, it's good fun though.”

Brendan had such a strong attachment to RSL that he even ascribed his military duty to these childhood recollections:

“So I remember being at the RSL, watching all the old boys walk around with their medals, telling war stories, playing two-up, fights, crying... [laughs] That's definitely what I remember just walking around and being quite young but just sliding into the tables

to listen to them telling stories... Probably a lot of the reason why I ended up joining the army actually was because I listened to all these stories when I was younger.”

Many pilgrims emphasized on the fact that Anzac Day is a national holiday. Throughout several of my interactions with the pilgrims, I have heard statements that “it is public holiday, we remember it as a nation.” One of them was Holly’s mother Charlotte. After the tour, she was telling me the importance of Anzac Day for them while we were getting to the other side of the city by ferry: “Anzac Day is a public holiday in Australia. So, the whole country remembers and celebrates. All the cities and towns have the march and all the descendants of whom fought wear the medals and they march in the main streets.”

One of the pilgrims who underlined the significance of the day as a public holiday was Brendan: “It's probably the biggest day in Australia it is ‘the day’ of the year. There is no bigger day then Anzac Day back home. It is so important you know every town every town in Australia obviously it's a national holiday.”

Another time, I met two Chinese girls who were living in Australia. They had come from Melbourne. Rachel and Cathrine were both 23. They were high school friends. Rachel was born in China and her family migrated to Melbourne ten years before. Because Rachel's family is Chinese, it was the school's procedures that helped her to learn the tradition. That’s why she knew a bit about Anzac Day. She was recalling how, on April 25th, they were all expected to stand in silence to show respect for the Australian and New Zealand soldiers, as well as those from other nations. “So, I think it was only about one minute and that was what brought my attention to Anzac history. I was wondering why we are really doing this in school so that is why I started reading about Anzac days.” In the following years, she enjoyed the fact that she could observe the ceremonies taking place near her home from her balcony. On the other hand, the elements that drew the Cathrine's attention to the Anzac tradition were different:

“Basically, it's because every Anzac Day we have a public holiday and everyone eat the Anzac biscuit. The first time when I came to Australia, the public holiday and the biscuit bring my attention to the Anzac Day. And then I just googled it what's the Anzac Day, why Australian people's like try to memorize it. And then we decide to come to Turkey. Before that, to be honest, I didn't know the Anzac Days in Turkey.”

Cathrine had come to Australia to study and her family was still in China. She wasn't as interested in history as Rachel. Rachel laughed as she shared their conversation

before the trip: “She also asked me “What is Gallipoli?” and I was like “Do you know Anzac Day?”

2.2.5 Anzac as a rising tradition: “I was only nineteen...”

I've heard from several pilgrims that the Anzac tradition is gaining popularity among Australian youth and that younger generations are particularly interested in it. When we were talking on our battlefield tour return, Grace made a similar point:

“You think that the kids all disappear into their iPhones and their iPads and they don't take an interest in the history and the stories and the traditions and all that sort of thing. But I believe there are more young people in their teenage years early 20s they are more going to places like Gallipoli than ever before.”

Melissa, who was 24, saw how her generation, too, nurtured military views, and how this circumstance had ramifications for the tradition which is directly related to the army. In Australia, there was a revival. The present younger generation was far more interested than the previous younger generation. And part of it would be due to the fact that many of those individuals grew up during the Vietnam War, which was not widely supported. As a result, there was a strong movement against the military and war. People had gone full round by that time, she thought. They were beginning to realize that having a military was not always required; even if you respect it, you wouldn't have to use it all of the time. However, having a strong military was vital.

The 23-year-old William, on the other hand, had a different perspective than many other pilgrims. The interest of the young generation was most likely falling for him. He was thinking that people were becoming less and less interested in Australia's participation in great power wars, and that they were becoming more cynical about it. Thus, it was the Vietnam War during his parents' generation. WW1 was an unavoidable conflict, and Korea was a battle on Australia's doorstep. Australia went there. When the Vietnam War erupted, however, everyone thought that Australia had no place in it. As a result, there were mass protests in the United States and Europe about American authority's overreach. The feelings of many individuals towards the Iraq and Afghanistan wars were simply replicated in this manner. The same thing was happening, and they were similarly cynical, so those comparisons were being made.

Bob and Sandra felt that there was a growing interest in tradition among young people. However, there were some aspects that they criticized the attitude of the youth.

In fact, it was true that the majority of attendees at ceremonies were young individuals back home. They reasoned that it was due to the education provided by schools. The younger generation was considerably more traditional. However, they argued that it was unrelated to the Anzac relationship and that young people were romanticizing it. Despite the fact that the younger generation knew more about the tradition than the previous generation, they believed that the young generation was not questioning it. Bob and Sandra were not sceptical of the commemoration; they thought it was beautiful and should take place. They were, on the other side, cynical and furious about the celebration, and they were believing it was offensive. So, they thought it was an unquestioning form of nationalism wearing bikinis for the Australian flag and drunkenness rather than people saying this was the day of respect. For them, these situations were ugly.

Brendan had also observed that public involvement declined in the 2000s. “Some of the older guys started to pass away and their children may have started getting to the age where it was too hard for them to go”, he said. Thus, a generational gap was created. Dion and Brendan's ages made it possible to speaking to those in the family who had actually experienced the war. But younger generations did not have such a chance. In this generation of children, Brendan saw that books and stories took the place of spoken history and living memory in the family.

Increased interest in and engagement in the Anzac tradition and ceremonies is not limited to young people. In recent years, there has been a broad resurgence of attachment to tradition across the nation. There are more people attending the ceremonies in Australia, according to Liam and Caitlin. This, they say, was mostly due to the fact that many war veterans were now gone. Individuals suddenly became aware of the significance of sacrifice, and as a result, a greater number of people participated in the ceremonies. They were unable to attend the ceremony since they were shift workers themselves. Both, however, felt privileged as a result of their Gallipoli experience.

Darren's first visit in Gallipoli in 2009 enhanced the family's ties to tradition. However, on a broader level, they were seeing through their own close relatives that the tie with tradition in society was becoming stronger. Sharon, Darren's wife, was Italian on her mother's side, and her sister was also up with a deep attachment to tradition. “My sister now goes to the Dawn Service with rain or anything. They have now taken up that tradition as well.” she said. Sharon and Darren believed that the centennial events that drew widespread public attention also had an influence on this shift. People sensed, in a

manner, that their tie to tradition was going to vanish. This tie was guarded by the dawn ceremony: "I think a lot of families started the tradition of going to the Dawn Service. They sort of then realized that they might have had a long-lost uncle or some kind of connection and they sort of, I guess, maintained that connection by going to the dawn service each year." said Darren. And Sharon continued: "and bringing all these small kids. So you see all the small kids in their dressing gowns and slippers and scarves and hats."

The fact that RSL permitted children to join in the marches, according to Sandra, made a significant impact. Only troops and nurses were admitted in the past. They were remarking on how nice it is to watch the parades expand. Bob said "you see grandchildren pushing the grandpa in the wheelchair during the parade". And Sandra added "Or grandfather is dead and the child is there. Or they walk together."

Charlotte ascribed the exceptional nature of the tradition to the fact that the young members of the tradition were conscious of it. Yet for Patrick, it was the ups and downs of tradition that made it so unique. The tradition, which began in the 1920s and 1930s, had relatively few adherents in the 1960s and 1970s, but by then, the young had become highly respectful and interested. Patrick said he could not fully understand why.

Like Patrick, John was also believing that the tradition has grown dramatically in the previous 15-20 years. Additionally, the way it was experienced had changed. Men used to join the marches and then go to pubs to drink and play two up the rest of the day. People who believed it was out of date were likewise a thing of the past. With the resurrection of the tradition, people were now marching in honour of their forebears. John's wife, Katie also knew that the tradition was not very popular until early 1980s, but today people were paying more attention to history. Thus, they were reminiscing about the past. She was thinking that was wonderful, and people began to show respect. John and her also observed the touring Turkish people and recognized that Turks had the same enthusiasm.

Nathan could see 25 years after the Second World War. It was still very much a part of people's consciousness, and many of people were either soldiers themselves or members of their families were. As a result, there were a lot of connections then. However, people did not appreciate Anzac Day from the late 1960s until the mid-1980s. It seemed to him that Australia inclined to follow the American anti-war movement in those days. It was linked to the hippy movement as well. People thought that Australia didn't need to fight in another country for someone else's war, since it had nothing to do

with Australia or America. This sparked a generational movement against war. He said, “so when someone is celebrating war like Anzac Day, they saw it as a bad thing not a good thing.” He was used to seeing troops returning from Vietnam. They were sometimes “booed, jeered, and spit upon” because people believed they should not be fighting. “I think that sort of the whole military thing got caught up in there that ends up just a day to celebrate death as opposed to a day to celebrate courage bravery” he said.

In the same era, Anzac Day football matches were also quite different. Nathan said “today when they call one-minute silence everyone is quiet, the whole crowd, hundred thousand people maybe, at once, not a sound. Back then, people would boo and laugh and jeer, it didn't mean anything”. Then the country's atmosphere began to shift, and people's perceptions of Vietnam veterans evolved as well. Perhaps it was a generational phenomenon, he reasoned, and that generation moved on. There may be numerous explanations for this, but he was aware of one apparent one. It was a song that was recorded in 1983. Following the release of this song, people began talking Vietnam. This song was crucial in influencing people's attitudes at the time.

The song was written by John Schumann and Nathan could have a chance to meet him personally. Nathan thought the song galvanized the whole country in those years. In the World War I, Schumann's grandfather was in the merchant navy and his father had been in the air force in the second world war. At Flinders University, where he was majoring in philosophy, Schumann began to learn more about the Vietnam War. "After the light went on," he became against to Australia's involvement. Schumann never forgot those who served, and how close he came to being one of them (<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/i-was-only-19>):

“I had some friends who went and they came back fundamentally altered. And that I think helped give rise to the song because I looked at these guys and again thought, there but for the grace of God go I... The songwriter in me could well imagine myself being sick and psychologically injured and being home from a war that nobody wanted to honour my service in. There was a sense of injustice, and ... injustice will always fire me to get off the couch.”

He wanted to make a song for the veterans. What happened the Mick Storen, who served in Vietnam in 1969 inspired him to write “I was only 19” (<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/i-was-only-19>). Denise, Schumann's girlfriend, once took her elder brother, Mick, to a concert by Redgum (Schumann's band). Schumann

knew that Mick had suffered a catastrophic landmine disaster in Vietnam but had never talked about it. He didn't even tell his family about what had happened: "I just remember plucking up my courage and asking if he would talk to me about what happened, to my surprise, he said that he would." With the veteran's photos, a recording device, and a couple of drinks, Schumann and Mick spent a few hours. Later, while on tour, Schumann listened to the cassettes over and over again. At home, he woke up one morning, stepped into his backyard with a cup of coffee, a pad of paper, and a biro, and began writing the song: "It's as simple and as complicated as that," he remarked. (<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-11-11/the-real-soldier-behind-the-australian-vietnam-veterans-anthem/8013132>)

Schumann described the impact of the song in an interview in 2021 (<https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/i-was-only-19>):

"I think I was only 19 provides an 'I get it' moment. Australians are fundamentally fair and decent, and I think I was only 19 was a story ... that made us stop and think, 'Oh, shit, we didn't do the right thing by those blokes.' It gave us all a chance to look over the fence, and look into the backyards of the Vietnam veterans who lived next door or down the street."

I was only nineteen

Mum and dad and Danny saw the passing out parade at Puckapunyal

It was a long march from cadets

The sixth battalion was the next to tour and it was me who drew the card

We did Canungra and Shoalwater before we left

And Townsville lined the footpaths as we marched down to the quay

This clipping from the paper shows us young and strong and clean

And there's me in me slouch hat with me SLR and greens

God help me

I was only nineteen

From Vung Tau riding Chinooks to the dust at Nui Dat

I'd been in and out of choppers now for months

And we made our tents a home, V.B. and pinups on the lockers
And an Asian orange sunset through the scrub

And can you tell me, doctor, why I still can't get to sleep?
And night time's just a jungle dark and a barking M.16?
And what's this rash that comes and goes, can you tell me what it means?
God help me
I was only nineteen

A four week operation, when each step can mean your last one on two legs
It was a war within yourself
But you wouldn't let your mates down 'til they had you dusted off
So you closed your eyes and thought about somethin' else

And then someone yelled out contact, and the bloke behind me swore
We hooked in there for hours, then a God almighty roar
And Frankie kicked a mine the day that mankind kicked the moon
God help me
He was goin' home in June

And I can still see Frankie, drinkin' tinnies in the Grand Hotel
On a thirty-six hour rec. leave in Vung Tau
And I can still hear Frankie, lying screaming in the jungle
'Til the morphine came and killed the bloody row

And the Anzac legends didn't mention mud and blood and tears
And the stories that my father told me never seemed quite real
I caught some pieces in my back that I didn't even feel
God help me
I was only nineteen

And can you tell me, doctor, why I still can't get to sleep?
And why the Channel Seven chopper chills me to my feet?

And what's this rash that comes and goes
Can you tell me what it means?
God help me
I was only nineteen

2.2.6 Rupture in narratives: Soldiers Lost (in) memories

"Shell shock" had become a major medical and military concern by the winter of 1914–15 (Jones, 2012). Troops began using the term "shell shock" to describe their experiences. This was a term used to describe the psychological damage done to veterans of war. Witnessing or being the victim of horrendous acts of violence may leave lasting scars on those who are exposed to it. Returning troops also had to deal with the trauma of battle and its lingering effects. Because they were incapable of expressing cognitive and emotional meaning, these painful wounds manifested as memory flashes and nightmares (Thomson, 2015). Since I first stepped into the field, I heard several times how troops returning from war were silenced by the pain they endured, much like Mick in the song did. This has affected the formation of social memory since veteran fathers and grandfathers were reluctant to tell about their experiences to the next generations.

In 2015, a pilgrim Jack in our group told me first about this situation. He had a grandfather who fought in Great War. "My grandfather and those who fought in the Great War did not talk to their children. They've talked a bit to their grandchildren.", he said. "When they talked to children, it was not about the war. They only talked to those that experienced it with them and could not talk to others about war." Having heard countless stories from many soldiers in RSL clubs, Brendan also mentioned this situation as such: "I think it's easier to talk to people who have shared those kinds of experiences with. So, there was a thing about people they're not talking about with their families. Yes, the one day of the year [Anzac day] where the people that don't really ever talk about it, actually do start talking about it. And just sharing their own experiences the fight they've been in that at one time that the shells landed a little bit too close... It is just these stories, like talking about your day really, except talking about a day in the war."

Harry, 60, was one of the pilgrims who got the chance to meet and speak with numerous servicemen. The Anzacs he knew, entirely unknowing of what was to come, had gone face to face with death. "They were completely ignorant as to what was gonna happen and it obviously changed their lives", he said. The journey that began with dreams

concluded with a horrific war experience and it turned into a nagging memory that they wanted to erase:

“They all mostly tried very hard not to think about it and put it out of their minds. They used to sometimes talk about it but they talk about it for two or three minutes and then they clam up and I think that's what it was. I used to dress up and ask them questions and they would tell you something for a couple of minutes and then I think the memories came flooding back and they were just shutting you know, they just try to change the subject or... They didn't like it at all. I do not think any of them liked...”

Harry's grandfather also fought in Somme. He told his grandson only this much about how death was everywhere: “My grandfather told me that on Somme, they only signed and respected to his friends and made sure that they were not standing on their face. There was just dead, so many dead people everywhere... you know. That's all you can do.”

Amy's British grandfather, who also fought on the Western Front in the World War I, did not want to talk about Anzac Day or the war:

“As long as we can work out, [he had been] talking to my aunts, he talked about it maybe twice that she could remember. He talked about being in the trenches and he talked about the fact that he went and which we know he joined the air force. And actually, he was a spotter because he was colour blind. But he didn't want to talk about it. He didn't drink. So, he never wanted to go to Anzac Day services. Because he said it was for men to get drunk.” she said.

When I asked her the reason for his grandfather's silence, she told me that her grandfather also served in the Second World War, but this time in Australia. The family had been still unaware of what was happening, and his grandfather's mission had again remained completely confidential. She was thinking that it was a bit of "a man thing" too, so “keeping it to yourself, you don't want to share it”. Her grandmother was German, which was another factor. This had resulted in a confusing scenario. Thus, on her paternal side, there were no hints that her grandmother had been German or that there had been a war. With a chuckle she said, “Her surname is Schmidt. I though it is very German.”

Charlotte's family was Italian. She said the Anzac Day meant nothing to them. Then when Italy took part in the second world war, her father's father went to war. However, because of the posttraumatic syndrome, there was no talk of war at home. Her husband then intervened: "He told me that he did not like Germans very much." Then she explained that was because Germans were not very friendly to Italians after switching sides and joining the Allies. And they would raid the towns, stealing food and other supplies. And she continued, "I think one of the things you realize is that it doesn't matter which side it is that, everyone who goes in to fight is fighting someone else's war and they're all just being sending to die."

Daniel was 25 years old and traveling alone when I met him on a trip I joined in September 2018. Like Brendan and Dion, he was living in England and came from there. His great great uncle on his father's side had fought in Gallipoli. The great uncle was one of the fortunate Anzac soldiers who were able to return to his family. He had also lost a leg during the war, but his talk about the war did not go beyond a few generalities about it. It wasn't simply familial connections that brought Daniel to Gallipoli. This was his explanation for why he was there: "I thought coming Gallipoli would be a good thing as an Aussie."

Darren's great-grandfather, who had also fought in Gallipoli, never told his children about the war, instead preferring to share some of his memories with his grandchildren.

Darren planned to compile these memories and pass them on to future generations. The event that strengthened the bond with these memories in the family was the family's trip to Gallipoli in 2009. Just before this trip and in the following years, different sides of the great-grandfather's memories began to be unveiled through the conversations that took place in the family. So, family members were trying to piece together the parts that were told to them. When I asked Darren why his great-grandfather chose to tell his grandchildren over his children, he replied:

"Maybe telling something to a kid you sort of keep the horrors of it out and they're not asking about any horrors, they don't see how bad it was whereas if you told your own children, they might 'oh do you need help' or 'tell us how bad it was' whereas little kids are just 'oh wow! that sounds exciting!' and there's not much depth from them about it. But they remember it as years gone past. Maybe it was like going to a confessional you could sort of tell the experience without expecting much engagement."

Georgia and Amy were traveling together. Georgia's grandfather was a serviceman who had fought in Vietnam and her father was in the army too. The father did not, however, serve in the active war. Soldiers returning from Vietnam were also silenced in this manner, according to the pilgrim. When she was a child, her grandfather refused to talk about what he had done in the Second World War: "He just said that it was just a period of his life he just wanted to block out", she said.

Melissa's maternal grandfather served in the World War I. He had also come back, but he had never talked about the war. Many troops returning from Iraq and Afghanistan, according to her spouse, were suffering from post-traumatic syndrome. However, one element changed the whole scenario from what it had been in the past. It was the public awareness. Many individuals were aware of this syndrome and understood underlying causes.

2.2.7 Conclusion: Local identities, translocal bonds

The Gallipoli imaginaries do not seem to be readily identifiable. These imaginaries are generated by a wide variety of factors and pathways. Additionally, each individual's reaction to them varies. The slippery foundation of dreams and vague characteristics of them make them challenging to examine. Therefore, Salazar and Graburn (2014, p. 2) propose that we may capture tourism imaginaries through multiple channels, namely images and discourses that render them visible. They contend that combining historical and ethnographic methodologies, such as here, may illuminate "how imaginary activities, subjects, social relations, and so forth are materialized, enacted, and inculcated" (Salazar and Graburn, 2014, p.2).

Imaginaries result from a more collective image. Thus, when evaluating tourism imaginaries, they should be analysed beyond "the realm of concrete everyday experience", in conjunction with the larger sociocultural contexts in which they are embedded. The following are pointed among these more generic origins of tourism imaginaries: "parental and family milieu; early worldviews; early prototypes of self and alterity established through family interactions, stories, and attitudes" (Salazar and Graburn, 2014, p. 7). All of the mentioned resources are applicable to Gallipoli. In the same vein, in their analysis of Gallipoli tourists' motivations, Hyde and Harman found that pilgrimage to Gallipoli is more closely associated with national identity for

Australians than for New Zealanders. In their quantitative research, which emphasized nationalist and family factors, these cultural and personal values were evaluated as being the core of identity. The majority of the participants went for spiritual reasons, combining a brief journey to Istanbul with a pilgrimage to Gallipoli.

For the pilgrims in this study, the attitudes of the families toward the tradition have been essential. Despite the fact that the households in which some pilgrims were raised do not follow to custom, families formed via marriage might also develop a fondness for the Anzac ceremonies. The Anzac heritage, which represents a social attitude, is seen as a symbol of characteristics that are intrinsic to the spirit of society, beyond just participation in ceremonies. While some pilgrims have inherited this practice through their family, others have passed it on to their children despite not having received it themselves from parents. Similarly, for pilgrims with ancestors in Gallipoli or the Western Front, these locations have a distinct layer of imagination, even in the cases that narratives were not told. In addition, RSL Clubs have been venues where soldiers could speak freely, allowing for the transfer of not only the narratives but also the tradition itself. Education is another significant way through which tradition and Gallipoli imagination are acquired. Educational institutions provide many pilgrims with historical knowledge of this tradition as well as rituals that keep it alive.

All of these elements combine to make each pilgrim's Gallipoli imaginary and motivation to visit unique. Dunkley et al. (2011) found in their research of World War I battlefields that the sociocultural background, nature, personal information, emotions, and beliefs of visitors affected their behaviour, experiences, and choices to visit. In addition, the dark tourism literature indicates that people who engage in it will have varying motivations based on the social networks they are a member of and the significance they assign to these regions (Stone and Sharpley, 2008, p. 589). As a result, the production of dark tourism evolves in tandem with the complicated demand to which it will react. Multiple layers and circumstances are involved in supply side's development and spread around the world (Stone, 2006).

These tourists are pilgrims in quest of a deeper understanding of history and meaning. Today, pilgrimage has taken on a connotation quite distinct from that of a religious trip. In addition to its religious significance, it may also refer to a contemporary, secular trip (Collins-Kreiner, 2016, p. 1185). Battlefield tourism, one of the activities examined in this framework, took on the characteristics of a pilgrimage due to the ability

to draw people with personal connections in these grounds. Furthermore, for people who endure such suffering, these travels are comparable to pilgrimages (Dunkley et al., 2011). In this regard, the majority of dark tourism visits, including battlefield tourism, are contemporary, secular activities that demonstrate respect for individuals who rest in these lands (Seaton and Lennon, 2004, p. 75). When analysing the reasons behind the desire for dark tourism products, Bloom (2000) gives various alternative answers. Drawing on MacCannell (1989) and Reader & Walter (1993), he argues that this sort of tourist experience provides individuals with an experience that differs from what they are used to in their everyday lives. As a result, these journeys are not merely pilgrimages to symbols that tourists make meaning of individually or collectively. Additionally, these travels provide a distinct immateriality in terms of viewpoint, setting, philosophy, and way of life (Bloom, 2000, pp. 33-34).

The media provides an opportunity for pilgrims to visit it in their imaginations several times before physically traveling there. By creating an imaginary about Gallipoli, it also evokes an interest. This is simply because it is a key conduit for establishing a place's initial impression. Due to this characteristic, it plays an essential part in dark tourism too. Bloom (2000) argues that significant portion of the images and symbols that play a crucial role in the imaginations of visitors are generated by the media by concentrating on certain locations, events, or occurrences. "These images or symbols function as a kind of 'clothes hanger' on which the individual can hang their experience and feelings." (Bloom, 2000, p. 30). Even a parallel is drawn between the media's capacity to affect people, and the church's power, because of the media's ability to elicit strong emotions in individuals. (Seaton and Lennon, 2004, p. 75).

The Anzac tradition is now alive in the younger generation. The tradition, which declined in the 1960s and 1970s due to the prevalence of the anti-war perspective, has been revived since the 1990s. Pilgrims are aware of these social changes from their own experiences and impressions. New generations carry on the Anzac heritage. Since the 1990s, the practice has been reintroduced after declining in the 1960s and 1970s owing to the prominence of anti-war sentiment. Thus, pilgrims visiting Gallipoli also witnessing a history that is now more prevalent in the nation. In a similar vein, the term "nostalgia" is frequently used to describe the appeal of dark tourism. According to Tarlow (2005), tourism nostalgia encompasses the traveller's desire to remedy the negative events of the past. Further, these journeys transcend the intersection of the local and the global. It is

action-laden and have a capacity to appeal to the traveller's emotions. According to Tarlow (2005), the biggest distinguishing characteristic between tourist nostalgia and other forms of nostalgia is that the traveller is not in quest of "a mythical home", but rather "a moment in time" (Tarlow, 2005, pp. 51-52). Due to the connection that these tours constructed with history, they provide these visitors with opportunities for reflection and pilgrimage. Their narratives show the allure of such settings as places where people acknowledge historical happenings (Dunkley et al., 2011). Perhaps most importantly, ethnographic studies enable us to identify "the ways in which a historical episode is (re)imagined and articulated in tourism" (Chronis, Arnould and Hampton, 2012).

2.3 Touring Landscapes of Emotions and Encountering 'Other'

We would have to see emotions as primarily neither meanings nor feelings, but as experiences learned and expressed in the body in social interactions through the mediation of systems of signs, verbal and nonverbal. We would have to see them as fundamentally social rather than simply as individual in nature; as generally expressed, rather than as generally ineffable; and as both cultural and situational. But we would equally recognize in theory what we all assume in our everyday lives: that emotions are felt in bodily experience, not just known or thought or appraised.

John Leavitt, Meaning and Feeling in the Anthropology of Emotions, p. 526

Since the first pilgrims, Gallipoli and the cemeteries here have been emotionally charged and sacred places. Tony Wright (2003), the writer of *Turn Right at Istanbul*, described his feet's immersion in the waters of Anzac Cove in Gallipoli as a "baptism.". In the same vein, Bruce Scates remarked in his work on Gallipoli that it is "charged with meanings". However, McKay and Ward (2007) criticized him for putting forth that "landscapes do not have a face and voice of their own—they are not 'charged' with meaning or emotion."(McKay and Ward, 2007, p. 145). In this chapter, I examine the encounters and experiences of the Gallipoli pilgrims, as well as the emotions elicited by these aspects. In this manner, I also aim to illustrate how the Gallipoli landscape acquires meaning and emotion.

The premise of McKay and Ward's (2007) contention is that the human aspect is what lends meaning to landscapes. According to them, its significance derives from the assumptions of individuals who visit the place. Furthermore, "these assumptions are

historically contingent” meaning that they are the result of a variety of historical conditions and forces (McKay and Ward's, 2007, p. 145). Thus, examining the emotions in Gallipoli's experiences necessitates an analysis that considers historical context and discourses. Similarly, according to Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990), discourses must be incorporated into anthropological studies of emotions to properly comprehend and explain them. Furthermore, essentializing emotions while dealing with them results in an inward examination and the neglect of the social dimension (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990, p. 3). Following their interpretive approach, I focus more on the potential repercussions for social behaviour and interactions of Gallipoli's experiences rather than a more profound psychological process.

Two of the crucial methodologies proposed by Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990) for addressing emotions as societal phenomena provide insight into the pilgrim experiences at Gallipoli. One of these methods is the historicization of emotions. This involves examining discourses on emotion, subjectivity, and the self across time, in specific social contexts and historical events, to see whether and how they have evolved (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990, p. 5). In the following sections, I give archival analyses that shed light on this element of emotions. In addition to capturing social ritual practices, media archives have also caught the emotions and attitudes of the community. Further, comparing the secondary sources that evaluate former pilgrims' diaries with contemporary pilgrims' experiences adds another layer of insight. Lastly, I demonstrate a group of pilgrims' experiences as a process comprising before, on-site and after phases.

In this research, examining the Anzac tradition's development in Australia and the transformation of pilgrimage activities to Turkey in line with official archives and media led to the implementation of another strategy proposed by Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990). They assert that “to focus on social discourse, building less on anthropology’s comparative bent or the broad historical framing of the problem than on a commitment to careful analysis of the richness of specific social situations, whether here or there, as Geertz (1987) puts it”(Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990, p. 6). This viewpoint helps us comprehend how emotion derives its significance and power from its position and performance in the public sphere of discourse (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990, p. 6). In this study, my consideration of the evolution of the Dawn Ceremony in Australia enables me to address the ceremony in Gallipoli in more depth. Although I investigate the Dawn

Ceremony in Gallipoli and Australia and the Gallipoli tours separately, I do not consider them independent aspects but complementary practices. Furthermore, this aspect of the Dawn Ceremony makes it a diverse phenomenon that occurs in several locations.

The prevailing emotions of the Gallipoli pilgrims have not changed much since the first pilgrims. Many pilgrims still feel sorrow for the soldiers lying here, and soldiers' relatives or acquaintances are still searching for their names. For these pilgrims, dying in battle, still young, is a sad end. But giving their life for their nation represents sacrifice and heroism. As a historical event in these lands, the war is one of the elements that will not change. Therefore, in this section, I include the experiences of the pilgrims as well as the historical events and places that trigger these emotions. I give the experiences of pilgrims at the tour points visited in parallel with the historical flow. The sources used here are compiled from cult sources written by historians and names considered important by Australians. They also comprise the diaries of the commanders and politicians. Although not all of these sources have the same view, they shed light on the perspective to which pilgrims are exposed and the imaginary that is formed in them.

2.3.1 Naval Attack

The Dardanelles Strait was Istanbul's safeguard and the sole passageway to the Black Sea. It was a significant commerce route between Russia and Europe. Due to Istanbul's strategic significance from the start of the war, the likelihood of a British invasion was deemed high (Macleod, 2015, 18). This anticipation was strengthened by the British bombing of November 3, 1914 (Hart, 2011, p. 24). As a result, the Ottomans spent more than six months preparing to fortify their defences. (Macleod, 2015, 18). As the battle plan for Gallipoli was coming together, the Turks were making plans for the Suez Canal, which would cut the British Empire off from India and the East (Hart, 2011, p. 22). The Turks were defeated in their attempt on the canal on 3 February 1915 (Hart, 2011, p. 23).

Three zones made up Dardanelle's defence. The Dardanelles-Aegean Sea intersection was the site of the outer defences. Forts on European and Asian sides were part of this area (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 13). These outer forts, The Kum Kale and Sedd-el-Bahr were built in the 1600s and were also ancient (Macleod, 2015, 18). Five mine lines stretched along the route between the entrance and Kephez Point, forming the Intermediate Defences (Steel & Hart, 1994, p.13). Howitzers stationed along the coast

would protect these mines from being carried away by small ships (Macleod, 2015, p. 18). The Inner Defenses area was secured by other eleven forts, field artillery, and a further five mine lines that were located beyond the Middle Defense. The Dardanelles, however, were vulnerable beyond Narrows (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 13)

The initial naval strike occurred at 9.51 a.m. on February 19 (Prior, 2009, p. 44). The Fleet's strategy was to bomb the forts and allow the clearing of mines. While the ships were firing, they would continue on their way. Other ships would make the spotting. (Liddle, 2015, 24). As the Allied navy attacked the forts at the mouth of the Dardanelles, the first steps of Carden's meticulous strategy came to life (Hart, 2011, p. 24). After the first seven warships, which were the *Triumph*, *Inflexible*, *Vengeance*, and *Cornwallis* from the Royal Navy and the *Suffren*, *Gaulois*, and *Bouvet* from the French fleet, *Agamemnon*, *Queen Elizabeth*, and *Albion* arrived on the scene (Prior, 2009, p. 44). However, eight hours of bombardment, aided by the recently delivered *Queen Elizabeth* (Liddle, 2015, p. 25), could not eliminate any Ottoman guns (Macleod, 2015, p. 19). The damage was minimal. Turkish forces were protected underground or behind sturdy earthworks (Hart, 2011, p. 26). When it was discovered that the fire from the moving ships was too imprecise, all of the ships were decided to anchor (Moorehead, 1997, p. 47).

On February 15th, the Admiralty issued a memorandum outlining the need for military aid for the fleet. According to the memorandum's concluding statement, a substantial military force had to be ready to help or follow up promptly once the forts were silenced (Corbett, 1921, p. 124). Meeting off-the-record on the 16th of February Churchill, Kitchener, Asquith, Lloyd George and Gery decided that 50,000 soldiers should be transferred wherever they were needed, in addition to the 29th Division and troops of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) in Egypt (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 40).

Bad weather and sea conditions during the winter forced Admiral Carden to postpone the subsequent bombardment until February 25 (Nevinson, 1920, p. 51). This was the naval attack's most effective day (Prior, 2009, p. 46). The *Vengeance*, under the command of Vice-Admiral de Robeck, led the assault to the mouth of the straits, where the Turkish and German gunners were forced to retreat to the north (Moorehead, 1997, p. 47). With cannons dismounted, the forts started to exhibit signs of severe damage after

being attacked from three sides (Hart, 2011, p. 26). The cannons and ammunition depots were destroyed, but none of the magazines was harmed, according to Turkish military officials interviewed by the Dardanelles Committee in 1919. According to reports, the defenders left the damaged forts and were saddened by the death of comrades, but not by the loss of confidence in the defences (Liddle, 2015, p. 26).

On February 25, the shelling of the Gallipoli Peninsula ceased, although numerous Turkish guns remained in operation. Carden planned for 45 demolition parties to arrive close to Seddelbahr on February 26 to finish the job (Prior, 2009, p. 47). Marines and bluejackets destroyed bombs, damaged searchlights and Turkish emplacements. Despite a few conflicts with the Turkish counterattack, the region surrounding Cape Helles and Kum Kale remained mostly desolate (Moorehead, 1997, pp. 47-48). Meanwhile, the assaults of the Allied fleet were continued nearly every day, and tremendous effort was put into removing the mine obstacles at night (Liman Sanders, 2013 [1928]).

The 4th of March saw the most notable landings. An early morning landing at Kum Kale ended in disaster. After encountering fierce Turkish resistance, the landing had to be discontinued. It was also a failure in Sedd el Bahr. Until April 25, there were no more landings (Steel & Hart, 1994, pp. 17-18). Turks had much more success against the Fleet with their howitzers and small mobile guns; they lay low until each bombardment from the Fleet was over and then, moved to other hidden positions in the scrub. So it often happened that the batteries which the British thought they had silenced in the morning had to be dealt with all over again in the afternoon (Moorehead, 1997, p. 48). In the same way, it was hard to tell whether a fort was inactive. After extended periods of stillness, German and Turkish gunners regularly resumed firing. Admiral Carden indicated in his testimony that when the demolition teams arrived after the shelling of the outer forts, seventy per cent of the cannons seemed to be undamaged (Nevinson, 1920, p. 54).

Operations against the Dardanelles' inner defences took on a strange rhythm in the days that followed. Only three or four ships would enter the Straits each day, fire a few bombs at different forts, and then leave. This was consistent with the objective of not endangering the ships (Prior, 2009, pp. 49-50). The Turkish forts were protected by minefields that guaranteed bloodshed if not adequately swept. Moreover, the Allied fleet's two most formidable threats were the German battlecruiser Goeben, which was certainly on par with any other Allied fleet, and the torpedo tubes (Hart, 2011, p. 32).

Smaller than a trawler, the Turkish minelayer Nusret sneaked into Eren Keui Bay on the night of March 8. Captain Hakki Bey was commanding him. The Turks already placed ten lines of 370 mines across the straits. Yet Eren Keui Bay had no mines (Les Carlyon, 2001, pp. 88-89). After seeing the manoeuvring of British warships nearby the day before, Nusret successfully placed another line of twenty (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 23). But instead of laying them across the strait, he positioned them parallel to the coastline (Les Carlyon, 2001, pp. 88-89). This one line of mines would destroy the Allied strategy (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 23).

The delayed advance on the side of the Allied navy had generated dissatisfaction. Carden was compelled to return home due to his bad health brought on by his duty's pressure. Vice Admiral John de Robeck, the acting second-in-command, took his position (Hart, 2011, p.32). Furthermore, on March 12, 1915, Kitchener assigned General Sir Ian Hamilton to lead the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force (MEF) (Hart, 2011, p. 24). The idea was to whittle the Turkish defences in phases over a few days (Hart, 2011, p. 32). The assault was divided into three phases: a premeditated long-range bombardment, a medium-range bombardment, and an overpowering barrage at close range. Under the guise of this assault, minesweepers were going to clean the channel (Moorehead, 1997, p. 47).

The Turks were striving to secure the peninsula while the Allies were developing these preparations. In his journal, Hamilton noted the Turks' elaborate preparations on March 17, 1915. The Peninsula seemed tranquil during the day, but the Turks were digging trenches and constructing entanglements at night. The Allies had discovered in the morning that the soil had been tilled overnight (Hamilton, 22). Other measures were put in place to prevent any further land-based advances. The February 20 orders reorganized the First and Second Armies, separating the First Army Corps. The First Army was tasked with defending the northern shore of the Straits, while the Second Army would protect the southern side and the Sea of Marmara (Liman Sanders, 2013 [1928]).

On March 18, the day after Hamilton arrived, the assault was initiated (Steel & Hart, 1994, p.22). Line 'A' reached the Dardanelles at 10:30 and commenced their bombardment on the objective forts at 11:30. The bombardment seemed to be having a significant impact. At 12.06, De Robeck commanded Line 'B' to cross Line 'A'. However, as the French ships advanced, intermediate forts and the hidden Turkish batteries began

attacking. De Robeck determined that the Turks' fire was easing at 13.45 and sent the mine-sweepers to initiate their work. At 2:00 p.m., the starboard quarter of the Bouvet emitted a tiny cloud of yellowish smoke that quickly became black. The Bouvet ran onto a mine that the sweepers skipped (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 23). Everything started to go wrong at this point. The minesweepers hesitated and finally withdrew amid a barrage of artillery rounds. At 4.11 p.m., while moving near where Bouvet had sunk, Inflexible said she had hit a mine. Soon, Irresistible displayed a green flag, signalling that she had been shot (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 63).

Despite the massive quantity of ammunition used, the invading fleet could not achieve much success. Although their ammunition supply had been exhausted, the damage to batteries and the forts had little effect on their combat capabilities (Liman Sanders, 2013 [1928]). About 700 men were dead, three warships destroyed, and three disabled (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 64) in exchange for the loss of roughly 200 men. (Liman Sanders, 2013 [1928]). The Allied fleet's day had ended in total failure (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 94). Despite the high price, Churchill had never anticipated an easy triumph. Even though İstanbul's door was still closed, it only required one more decisive victory to open it (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 64).

The Dardanelles, which witnessed many losses in the campaign accompanied by rough waves and storms, was now carrying our ferry that was taking us from Gallipoli to the center of Çanakkale. This was what Rachel had in mind as she was passing through the Dardanelles on the way back from the tour. She said, "Australians can never imagine themselves going across the narrow points so easy, like back in the ages. We are just crossing. So, nowadays, I can see people having flowers and flags over there, and they can peacefully talk to each other. I think it's more like a treasure for us". Many of the Australians who come to Gallipoli think that everything has changed. They can visit these lands in peace, while sailing on their ferries in the blue after the Gallipoli tour, where only calm prevails. Rachel was just one of them.

The Dardanelles Naval War's remnants may be found in numerous locations of Gallipoli. In the Çanakkale Naval Museum and on shipwrecking diving tours, visitors may follow this war's traces, in which many troops and ships were lost. Moreover, the

Turks take special care to protect the historic fortresses and restore them to their former glory. Many Anzac pilgrims visit the Çanakkale Naval Museum, which is located in the heart of Çanakkale.

The opening of the Gallipoli Historical Underwater Park, which is the meeting point of the Aegean and Marmara seas and attracts the whole world's attention with its underwater treasures, was held in Seddülbahir Castle in 2021 (2021, <https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/gelibolu-tarihi-sualti-parki-dalis-turizmine-acildi>) In this way, it became possible to gain experience in naval warfare, just as the areas where land wars took place have been visited. The Gallipoli diving site has been available to government-permitted scientific divers for years but is open now to everyone. (<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-10064577/Turkey-opens-Gallipoli-battle-site-underwater-museum.html>) Thus, the shipwrecks of the naval war brought a new dimension to the destination by creating 14 different diving points and an underwater park in an area of 150 square kilometers (<https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/gelibolu-tarihi-sualti-parki-dalis-turizmine-acildi>).

Since its opening on October 2, Çanakkale province has welcomed divers to explore the Dardanelles for artifacts from the bloody World War I fighting between Ottoman and Allied troops at Gallipoli Historical Underwater Park, located off the coast of Seddulbahir. Divers begin their exploration of the wreckage of HMS Majestic, a 120-meter (390-foot) warship, at a depth of 24 meters just off the coast of Seddulbahir. (<https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/underwater-museum-of-gallipoli-battle-shipwrecks-opens-in-turkey/news>)

Scuba-diving photographer Savaş Karakas, a native of Turkey, was among the first visitors during the park's opening. (<https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/underwater-museum-of-gallipoli-battle-shipwrecks-opens-in-turkey/news>) He is one of the Turks and Australians who came to the land and connected with his ancestor who served in the Gallipoli campaign:

"My grandfather's hands were disfigured and burned in action, and I was always scared of them. But when I come to Gallipoli and dive, the rusted metal and steel of the wrecks reminds me of my grandfather's hands, and I hold his hand under the water."

<https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/underwater-museum-of-gallipoli-battle-shipwrecks-opens-in-turkey/news>) (OCT 02, 2021)

2.3.2 Landing

Following their loss in the Naval War, the Allies devised a strategy calling British and French troops to land on the Gallipoli peninsula to seize control of the straits. This strategy would also make use of the ANZAC Corps. Australia and New Zealand started mobilizing troops to aid the British Empire shortly after the commencement of World War One in August 1914. As early as December 1914, the first group dispatched to Europe arrived in Egypt for initial training. They were organized into the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, often known as ANZAC. This consisted of the 1st Australian Division and the New Zealand and Australian Division, which contained the New Zealand Infantry Brigade, the 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade, and the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade. The 7th Brigade of Indian Mountain Artillery and the Ceylon Planters Rifle Corps were also assigned to the corps. The ANZAC Corps took part in the Allied amphibious operation on April 25, 1915.

Gallipoli has a cliffed structure that drops abruptly into the sea and is primarily covered with bushes. This restricted Allied landing sites. Moreover, the land between Achi Baba and Cape Helles is spoon-shaped. This structure was unavailable for the fleet's fire (Churchill, 1923, p. 325). On the other hand, the Allies' assault tactics relied heavily on direct sea fire.

In contrast, to the north of Kabatepe (Gaba Tepe), the high cliffs of Arburnu supplied a well-protected landing spot for the Allies (Liman Sanders, 2013 [1928]). With de Robeck's suggestion and Hamilton's idea, the soldiers would be deployed from ships to a few miles off the coastlines. Meanwhile, the battleships would be shelling the defenders (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 88). Then rowing boats pulled by steam would bring the soldiers to the beaches (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 46).

Four waves of Anzacs would arrive north of Gaba Tepe (Prior, 2009, p. 112). To create the covering force, two groups of 4000 troops would seize the hills from Gun Ridge to Chunuk Bair, one after the other. There would be two brigades in the third wave. One of them was given the responsibility of strengthening the heights that extend beyond

Battleship Hill. The other was intended to act as a reserve. Two New Zealand and Australian Division (NZ & A) NZ&A battalions would arrive in the fourth wave. Its purpose wasn't evident. If a single Australian division had captured the heights, it would have been able to proceed to Mal Tepe (Prior, 2009, pp. 112-113).

Three battleships arrived near Gaba Tepe just after 2 a.m. The 1500 Australians preparing to launch the initial attack gathered on deck discretely. They drank one more cup of hot coffee with their heavy bags and guns before making their way ladders into the darkness (Moorehead, 1997, pp. 113-114). The military landing was scheduled to occur in total darkness. The half-hour delay in the moon's setting shortened the night's length till dawn's first rays. By 2:35, the first wave was in its tows. The ships couldn't reach the shore until the moon set at 3:00 (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 53). They were 3000 yards distant at 4 a.m. The first glimmer of dawn appeared (Moorehead, 1997, p.114).

Around 4:45 a.m. on April 25, the Australians began to land. The ANZAC landings at Z Beach were poorly misdirected in a narrow cove. Still, the covering force was able to land anyhow. They quickly climbed the rugged hills and moved toward Second Ridge. They met Ottoman opposition within an hour (Erickson, 2015, p. 130). A machine gun had begun fire from about Fisherman's Hut, causing many deaths. Others were drowned by their bags when they slid into the sea. More had been killed by the about 200 Turkish riflemen in the immediate area of Anzac Cove (Prior, 2009, p. 115). As soon as the first wave of men landed, it became evident that something had gone wrong. Instead of facing the southern sides of MacLagan's Ridge and Plugge's Plateau, the troops of the 11th Battalion found themselves under the more dangerous northern face of the plateau (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 61).

As troops set forth, the land absorbed them. Dense vegetation blanketed the hills, making them difficult to pass and hiding the rocky terrain (Prior, 2009, p. 115). Companies that were supposed to land in line were split up from their officers. But the soldiers had been told that as the covering force, they were to advance inland fast and firm, and despite what had transpired, they did just that. The 9th and 10th Battalions took a quick break to regroup before resuming their mission just after 05:00. The guys scaled the northern slope of 400 Plateau and vanished into the bushes (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 61).

At 5 a.m., Liman von Sanders was informed that the Allies had landed. The first message came from Besika Bay (near Kum Kale). A squadron of enemy battleships was coming, intending to land a force. The news of the French landing at Kum Kale rapidly followed. Furthermore, fierce combat has been on the peninsula at Cape Helles and near Gaba Tepe. Again another part of the Allied Fleet started firing on the Bulair lines. Which of these five assaults was the main one? Liman concluded it had to be at Bulair (Moorehead, 1997). He directed the Seventh Division, which was stationed at Gallipoli, to Bulair. The commander of the 9th and 19th divisions, Eshad Pasha, came (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 189). He said that the 9th had repelled the British invasions near Cape Helles, but the enemy was sending up additional men. The British held the highest point at Ari Burnu, along the coast. From Bigalı, the 19th Division marched to retake them (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 189). Even though Essad reported from Maidos that the war in the south was vital, Liman couldn't believe the landings around Gaba Tepe and Cape Helles were more than a distraction. (Moorehead, 1997) Von Sanders, on the other hand, sent five battalions from Bulair to Essad (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 189).



Figure 2.3.7.1. “Men of the 3rd Battalion landing at Anzac Cove at 6 am. Lighters are along the shoreline.” (Australian War Memorial Archive, No: A03223)

Overall, the Australians’ initiative caused many soldiers to go too far and rapidly. So, their whereabouts were unknown, and they were soon separated. Lack of coordination in covering force advance hampered landing (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 63). Birdwood commanded the Anzacs at Gaba Tepe, while Hunter-Weston led the British at Cape Helles (Moorehead, 1997). Birdwood was on HMS Queen, while Major-General Bridges

and his staff were on HMS Prince of Wales. The commanders could not communicate with the covering force in real-time (Erickson, 2015, p. 130). Because of being at sea during vital hours, they lacked accurate information. As soon as they saw the enemy, coastal signals failed, leaving each unit on its own devices (Moorehead, 1997).

Men could not hold large areas of the main ridge or withstand counterattacks. However, support was on its way. The 2 and 1 Brigades reached Anzac Cove at 6.00 a.m. The disembarking of these soldiers was slower than anticipated. Most boats returning after landing the covering force were loaded with wounded soldiers (Prior, 2009, p. 116). The beach staff was told to transfer the wounded soldiers only by authorized medical boats to avoid disrupting transports. However, there was a lack of early authority on the beach, making it impossible to adhere to this restriction strictly. This situation further contributed to the poor pace of the disembarkation (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 68). Also, guns on Gaba Tepe were shelling over the landing area. Still, at 7.30 a.m., a sizable contingent of reinforcements had landed on shore (Prior, 2009, p. 116).

A second destroyer wave immediately followed. Those troops swiftly crossed the first half of Shrapnel Gully. The second wave of the 10th Battalion was able to push inland, teaming up with several forces from the first wave. 11th Battalion advanced north under Russell's Top and the Sphinx. In the second wave, the 12th Battalion experienced the most chaos. Many members of the 12th Battalion followed the first wave instead of proceeding to their assembly area (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 61).

Hunter-Weston planned to get his cover force on the ground by 7.00 a.m., April 25. At W Beach, two battalions of the divisional reserve would land. Achi Baba was to be the target for two battalions, which landed at V Beach. As soon as the first naval bombardment started at 5:00 a.m. on Cape Helles, the troops of the covering forces arrived. (Erickson, 2015, p. 123) Until 7 a.m., soldiers advanced on Russell's Top, Baby 700, 400 Plateau, and Gun Ridge (Prior, 2009, 116). Left-wing troops passed the Nek and then advanced Baby 700 and Battleship Hill. The Turks withdrew in the face of the Australian attack. But the dense vegetation slowed their progress. At 09.00, they reached Battleship Hill. Mustafa Kemal came to Koja Chemen Tepe as they advanced (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 69).

The Turkish defenders were outnumbered, but they made compelling advantage of the terrain. Steel & Hart (1994, p.66) The soldiers of the 27th were the first to engage in combat. It wasn't until 5:30 p.m. when the 27th's commander Sefik Bey learnt of the landings. (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 189) Only two battalions and a machine-gun unit of the 27th Regiment were transported to Ari Burnu until 5:30 (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 66). By 6 a.m., the 27th Regiment was already on the move, making its way around Kakma Dağı. More than two hours before, Mustafa Kemal's 57th Regiment entered the battle from Scrubby Knoll and halted the Australians across the 400 Plateau (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 192).

The 19th Division's most dependable unit was the 57th Regiment. It was led by Mustafa Kemal. This regiment's troops were Turks, not Arabs. By coincidence, Mustafa Kemal ordered the troops to march at 5:30 on April 25 for a field day (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 65). At 06:30, a message came that the enemy had scaled Ari Burnu hills (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 112). Mustafa Kemal was ordered to resist this manoeuvre with one of his battalions. He knew a push-up towards Koja Chemen Tepe would be crucial. (Steel & Hart, 1994: p. 112). Kemal's account continues:

“The scene which met our eyes was a most interesting one. To my mind it was the most vital moment of the occurrence.

Just then I saw men of a detachment who had been on hill Point 261 [Battleship Hill] to the south of Chunuk Bair to observe and cover the shore from there, running back towards, in fact fleeing towards, Chunuk Bair... Confronting these men myself, I said, ‘Why are you running away?’ ‘Sir, the enemy’, they said. ‘Where?’ ‘Over there’, they said, pointing out hill 261.

In fact, a line of skirmishers of the enemy approached hill 261 and was advancing completely unopposed. Now just consider the situation. I had left my troops, so as to give the men ten minutes' rest. The enemy had come to this hill. It meant that the enemy were nearer to me than my troops were, and if the enemy came to where I was my troops would find themselves in a very difficult position. Then, I still do not know what it was, whether a logical appreciation or an instinctive action, I do not know. I said to the men who were running away, ‘You cannot run away from the enemy.’ ‘We have got no ammunition’, they said. ‘If you haven't got any ammunition, you have your bayonets’, I said, and shouting to them, I made them fix their bayonets and lie down on the ground. At the same time, I sent the orderly officer beside me off to the rear to bring up to where I was at the double those men of the infantry regiment who were advancing on Chunuk Bair who could reach it in time. When the men fixed their bayonets and lay down on the ground the enemy also lay down. The moment

of time that we gained was this one. ... It was about 10.00 hours when the 57th Regiment began its attack.” . (Rhodes James, 1965, pp. 112-113).

The 2nd Brigade began to land at 5:30 a.m. It was scattered around 400 Plateau in confusion instead of advancing towards the meeting point at Shrapnel Gully (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 68). The Australian and New Zealand Divisions started landing at 10:00 a.m., giving the ANZAC a second chance to salvage the failed strategy. Division chief of staff and Bridges sent the New Zealand Brigade to the 3rd Australian Brigade's left (Erickson, 2015, p. 132). Transports were sent farther out to avoid shellfire. Thus, the 1st Australian Division's landing pace slowed, with its last troops arriving at 13.00 (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 68).

By 2.30 pm, a portion of the 3rd brigade had landed. It progressed on Baby 700. (Erickson, 2015, p. 132) Turkish counterattacks caused the Anzac forces to retreat to the southwest at 04.00 pm (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 69). By the time it was 5 o'clock, possession of Baby 700 had been switched five times. However, the 57th Regiment, the 3rd Battalion/72nd Regiment, and two reinforcement companies from the 27th Regiment eventually held it. It was behind the Nek and around the rim of Monash Valley that Anzacs were positioned (Broadbent, 2015, p. 60). The Nek party had to retreat into Rest Gully after dusk, at 20:00, due to their poor position. (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 69) On Pope's Hill, which lay secluded between Russell's Top and Quinn's Post, the 15th and 16th Battalions and some New Zealanders stationed themselves (Steel & Hart, 1994, pp. 72-73).

Consequently, 4,000 soldiers would be dispersed throughout the hills since the ridge's length would prevent them from sustaining any continuous frontline (Prior, 2009, p. 116). Since they were scattered and disorganized, ANZAC ended up on the Second Ridge rather than Sari Bair, Third Ridge and Hill 971 as intended initially (Erickson, 2015, p. 132).

The Turks could keep control of the mountaintops during the conflict by retaining possession of Baby 700. It was a crucial point that provided access to the highest points of Chunuk Bair and Hill 971. However, the price was hefty. Half of the men of the 57th were lost (Broadbent, 2015, p. 60). The Allied side suffered immensely as well. To such a degree, collecting injured had been a significant issue during the day. GHQ drastically underestimated casualties during preparations. The real casualty rate, which had risen to

2000 by the end of April at Gaba Tepe and about 3000 in Helles, rapidly exceeded the estimated numbers (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 74).

By the evening, Bridges and Godley informed Birdwood that they were in favour of immediate evacuation. There were too many casualties, and ammunition and reinforcements were needed. Although Birdwood initially rejected the idea, he wrote a note to Hamilton stating that "numbers have dribbled back from the firing line and can not be collected in this difficult country." (Moorehead, 1997, pp. 128-129). Hamilton, who got the message at 12.05 a.m., responded by stating that it is important to "stick it out". Furthermore, he concluded his message with those words that would be remembered for decades to come: "P.S. You have got through the difficult business now you have only to dig dig dig until you are safe." (Hamilton, 1920, pp. 142-144).

2.3.3 Cemetery rituals and encountering Anzac Cove: 'We're here...'

They dug. Their descendants are now walking on these grounds dug by them.

Although the general framework remains the same, the tour route can be changed since the available time of each tour group is different. If the simulation centre is not visited, the first stop point is a coastal point in Gaba Tepe. Aytekin describes the beginning of the war from the map here. This stop is also where visitors encounter the coastal part for the first time. After the guide's explanations, pilgrims walk on the shore and touch the water. Some just put their feet in the water. Afterwards, the following points are the Beach Cemetery, which was used from the first day of the war, and the Ariburnu point, where the first landing was made.

The ANZACs landed on the west coast, north of Gaba Tepe, at a region that became known as Anzac. The Beach Cemetery (also known as Hell Spit Cemetery) at Anzac was utilized continuously from the day of the landing until the day of the evacuation .(<https://www.cwgc.org/visit-us/find-cemeteries-memorials/cemetery-details/68702/beach-cemetery-anzac/>) Simpson's²⁵ grave is also located at the Beach

²⁵ Known as the "Man with the Donkey," Private J S Kirkpatrick served as Private John Simpson during Gallipoli War. Simpson arrived with the 3rd Australian Field Ambulance on April 25. The next day, he was leading a donkey bringing lightly wounded from the front line to the beach. He became a common sight in the first three weeks of the fight, happy and heedless to danger. Simpson was killed on the 19th of May. Personal Inscription engraved on his headstone is "He Gave His Life That Others May Live" (<https://www.cwgc.org/find-records/find-war-dead/casualty-details/621936/john-simpson-kirkpatrick/>)

Cemetery. Simpson is an essential figure in Australian history. Even pilgrims who do not know the details of the war know his name and the importance of what he did. Therefore, Beach Cemetery is a meaningful cemetery that can be reached by entering a small narrow road.

This region was referred to as "Hell Spit during the Gallipoli battle." The beach is known as Anzac Cove, where about 27,000 Australian, New Zealand, British, and Indian soldiers landed between 25 April and 1 May 1915. This location was the centre of the Anzac sector. From the first day of the invasion and continuing until November 1915, burials took place here. Over 390 Commonwealth personnel are buried or honoured in this cemetery, including 22 who remain unidentified and their names are engraved on monuments to the missing. These beaches played a pivotal part in the battle. Everything had to be brought ashore from the sea, from people and mules to medical supplies and machines. Offshore, a massive fleet of ships assaulted enemy positions, evacuated and housed the ill and injured, and provided supplies and reinforcements to the beachfront piers. The steep slope of the Anzac sector caused the beachfront region to become densely populated quickly. Hospitals coexisted with bomb factories, supply depots, ammo dumps, and artillery batteries. At the same time, dugouts were excavated into the slopes above the residential quarters, headquarters, and administrative offices. Constantly, Ottoman artillery bombarded the region. One artillery battery is known as "Beachy Bill" is said to have killed or injured about 1000 soldiers at Anzac Cove (CWGC tablets).

In Gallipoli, the noises of conflict would seldom be missing. The most common sound the troops heard was the sound of continually bursting firearms. As a result, they grew acquainted with the weaponry around. In a letter to his family, Private Harold Collins depicted Beachy Bill and others as follows: ('Soldier's Letters.', Every Week (Bairnsdale, Vic. : 1914 - 1918), 25 October 1915, p. 2.):

“Some hiss, some whistle, and others make all sorts of noises. We can often pick which guns has fired, from the whistle of the shell. "Beachy Bill" especially is well known. We usually know when he fires long before the shell bursts. We have all the guns named. There is "Snappy Jim" (my friend just close), "Dinner-time Annie" which usually strikes at about mid-day. 'Beachy' is the best known and has many victims to his credit. Almost every morning after breakfast and just before tea "Beachy" has a go. The newly landed troops usually catch it in the mornings, he has the range to a nicety. From here you can see down

to the beach, and it is funny to see the clearance down there when Beechy's whistle is heard. There is always a mob down there for their stores and water and they dive into the dug-outs.”

Silence reigns in Gallipoli now. As it was for the past pilgrims, wandering these lands is still an awe-inspiring experience in this calmness. Their experiences comprise rituals unique to each of them. As one of them, war-related or not, every pilgrim examines the surnames on tombstones and memorial walls. What you shall see will not change when you calmly stay behind the group and watch the pilgrims. Shortly after a quick gaze at the surroundings, the group members get separated, preferring to remain alone with the tombstones. There is no longer any conversation among pilgrims in the group. This meeting takes place between two parties: the Anzacs and their descendants.

Those without family ties leave their poppies on a randomly chosen person's headstone. These names may be linked to family names or the surnames of next-door neighbours. Some pilgrims told me they looked for the inscriptions to see if there were any clues about where soldiers had come from and was looking to see if there were any from areas where they had lived in more people that they might know. However, capturing a bond is a finding that sometimes is unknown what to do with it. Some names are ubiquitous. Even this influences pilgrims. Grace was one of them: “We've seen two names for the name of Wilson but not necessarily related because it's a very common name. But still, to see the name on the site, it could have been, you know... it's something quite interesting it makes you feel something. I didn't realize that it would have an impact just seeing name there that was the same as yours.”, she said.

Helen had a slightly different experience. In Australia, her brother saw a name on the Lone Pine memorial on a television broadcast, which she thought was family. She was aware of this before coming to Gallipoli. During our visit to Lone Pine, she came up with the name and placed a poppy on it. She had not done any research before coming, but this experience made her want to research that name. She would contact War Memorial when she returned to Australia.



Figure 2.3.2.2. *Poppy left on one of the gravestones (Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

Nathan's ritual involved the waters of the Dardanelles: “I think we were, in most of the places of battles, on beach. So, we all touch the water or we picked up some sand and just held it for a while.” He also touched Simpson's tombstone. “I just wanted to touch it.”, he said.



Figure 2.3.2.3. *Pilgrims putting their feet in Dardanelles' water (Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

For many pilgrims, this experience is emotional. This fact remains the same, even if the thoughts that direct these waves of emotions or the places where pilgrims experience these emotions change. In the Beach Cemetery and Anzac Cove, iconic for the Australians, one of the most impressive points for the pilgrims is the monument where Atatürk's word to the Anzac mothers is engraved. This monument and the words on it are essential for every tourist guide. Thus, this monument, located next to the Ari Burnu cemetery, is explained by the guide before entering the cemetery. After listening silently, almost none of the pilgrims leaves without taking a picture of this monument.

This monument was one of Emily's favourite places on tour. Typically, pilgrims attend the tour first, followed by the Dawn Service. Some pilgrims, however, do the opposite. She was one of them. And like every year, Atatürk's words were again recited at the service. The next day, she was moved by seeing the words engraved on a memorial. During our conversation on the trip, she had a hard time putting her sentiments into words:

Emily

And it was it was read out yesterday morning at our service—the words of Atatürk... [crying and can not talk].. to the mothers.

Burcu

I am sorry. I did not want to upset you.

Emily

No no no, I just get quite emotional. I got lots of states, you know. I just have got to breathe... It is amazing. We ended up great, Australians and Turkish people.

Several pilgrims feel this kind of powerful emotion throughout tours for a variety of reasons. They grieve for the soldiers' lives that ended early; they grieve for the soldiers' families and loved ones, they think that it was an unnecessary war that took these souls, and they grieve for the future of soldiers which could never be lived. Moreover, those sentiments could be challenging to communicate immediately after the trip. While we were speaking with Katie after the trip, she began crying. When I asked her why she responded that she didn't know and just added: "it's just emotional".

Ari Burnu and Anzac Cove were places that gave Adrian goosebumps. He was pretty struck by the fact that the soldiers immediately engaged in combat with the Turks as soon as they landed. In that place, they were doomed. Moreover, the relations between Turkish and Australian troops and narratives about this interaction were another aspect that gave him goosebumps. He believed that respect was the foundation of this relationship and that the Turks were "honourable" enemies throughout the conflict. The friendship between the two parties touched him. He also remarked that Turks were still well appreciated in Australia. It wasn't the first time he'd heard of these links, and he had some historical knowledge. However, by visiting Gallipoli, he had heard more than the narratives he was familiar with and had gained perspective. I was curious about the central

aspect that shifted his viewpoint in a narrative he already knew. “Being there and feeling and getting those waves of emotions”, he replied.

At Anzac Cove and Aussie cemeteries, Stuart felt very similarly: “The hair is sort of stand up on the back of your neck when you stand right here next to headstones or step onto the beach”, he described. The headstones also had an impact on Phil. They, however, had different connotations for him since he was a part-time soldier. When our tour group visited the Beach Cemetery, he saw the 10th battalion's graves. “when I saw some gravestones of men from the 10th battalion, like Stuart, my hair stood up. Because that's the battalion I'm in back in Australia.”, he explained. There were members from the 10th battalion who were part of the first landing, so to see them there made him realise that he was in Gallipoli. And he said, “Obviously [this] hit a bit more and here became a bit more emotional and just sent chills down my spine.”

Our excursion left a more remarkable impression on Phil than the Dawn Service. The trip was “the first encounter” with Gallipoli. It was an honour for him to remember the fallen soldiers of both sides. Being very impressed with the tour, even the day after, he was still under its influence. “It's amazingly emotional and surreal,” he said of being on this land:

“I remember getting off the bus and saying to Nathan, ‘we're here’. And just to put ourselves in such a sacred place, that was very moving for me to be able to see physically where they landed, to see physically the landscape they had to fight and climb up and down and that that was amazing (...) it's hard to describe.”

Phil's wife, Anna, was also very touched, although the point we first landed at was a place where there were no Australians. They had made a long journey to reach Gallipoli, and it was very precious to them to be in Gallipoli. She, too, had touched the waters of the Dardanelles. Many pilgrims, like Anna, have an emotional experience in Gallipoli. It is emotional for them to be in the same place as the soldiers.

Moreover, the experience is the embodiment of an imaginary in line with a bodily experience. Tangible lands now replace pictures seen in books. Pilgrims travel to the past while walking on these lands. Now the pilgrims embark on a new imaginary journey in this place: a journey into the past and unification with the soldiers:

“I've seen photos of it [Anzac Cove] everywhere and then just to kind of actually be there and be stepping on it or standing on the rocks where it was and imagining our

soldiers there touching the water it's kind of you know a lot of their blood has been in that water... sorry yeah it was just to me it was a very very emotional time.”

2.3.4 The First Battle of Krithia, 28 April

At 5:30 p.m. on the 27th, an uninterrupted Allied line from between S and X Beaches had been created throughout the peninsula. On the other hand, the Turks had been permitted to withdraw to arrange the defence of Krithia. This was a crucial location on the way to Achi Baba, the tactically mighty hill (Liddle, [1988]2015, p. 166). By the end of April, everyone was thinking about Achi Baba. It wasn't a very impressive hill with 709 feet in height. Yet Hamilton was eager to have it. Once on the mountain, he thought his artillery might enfilade the straits to the Narrows and break the opposing line in the south (Moorehead, 1997, p. 135). The left-wing assault would occur at Sari Tepe, north of Krithia. The line would finish by heading east toward Achi Baba (Les Carylton, 200, p. 277). The grandiose strategy featured a sweeping right wheel that would lead in a final line nearly three miles longer than at the war's outset (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 122). This conflict is known as the First Battle of Krithia, which took place on April 28 (Les Carylton, 2001, p. 278).

So, right from the start, the Gallipoli campaign's pattern was set: an action, a response, and a deadlock (Moorehead, 1997, p. 135). At 8:00 a.m., the navy commenced its attack (Les Carylton, 2001, p. 278). Then a quick the infantry charge began (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 123). Hunter-Weston's soldiers advanced quickly initially. Queen Elizabeth knocked out Turkish forces at Gully Ravine. After retreating near Achi Baba, they got back into the fight after receiving additional troops (Les Carylton, 2001, p. 278). Soon, the advance of the Allied army stopped due to confusion in the middle of the line and troops' tiredness (Steel & Hart, 1994, pp. 123-124).

It was not a trench fight. However, after digging a few trenches, both sides primarily engaged in open country. This move was advantageous for the defence. The Turks hid their machine guns in the ground's creases (Prior, 2009, p. 33). A few soldiers approached Krithia and then withdrew. The conflict was over at around 6 p.m. The Allies assaulted 13,500 soldiers and lost 3000 (Les Carylton, 2001, p. 278). There was no progress made. (Macleod, 2015, p. 46) Poor coordination in initiating the

offensive, tired soldiers, shortage of ammunition and fire support, high command lack of control, and shortage of new reserves caused the defeat (Prior 2009, p. 134). The Turks utilized the terrain to their advantage (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 129).

2.3.5 Turkish Counter-Attack

An offensive headed by Mustafa Kemal on May 1st nearly beat a British RND unit. On the same day's night, the southern sector was assaulted with the assistance of recently arrived troops. These assaults failed. It was the same outcome in a follow-up assault two days later. There were challenges with communication and command. (Macleod, 2015, p. 46). In Enver Pasha's eyes, the Anzac campaign had come to a deadlock. In addition, the triumph of the Turks in the naval engagement on March 18 and Hamilton's inability to meet his April landing objectives provided more confidence to Enver Pasha. In response, the Turks launched a devastating attack in early May. However, instead of pushing the Anzacs into the sea with additional reinforcements and efforts, the deadlock produced catastrophic outcomes (Broadbent, 2015, p. 95).

At 12:30 on 19 May, Mustafa Kemal issued his last precise instructions. The assault was scheduled to commence around 3:30 a.m. (Broadbent, 2015: p. 100). In the darkness, Turkish warriors attacked their foes in waves. (Gallipoli Peninsula, CWGC tablets). It was stressed that concealment and silence were necessary. Thus, the assault began without artillery support and was intended to be launched only after the opposing trenches were reached (Broadbent, 2015, p. 99). However, fierce fire prevented the Turks from penetrating the defences. (Gallipoli Peninsula, CWGC tablets) Imams of the battalion attempted to bolster the troops' confidence and motivate them on the front line (Broadbent, 2015, p. 100). The Turks suppressed their onslaught for about six hours until being defeated (Gallipoli Peninsula, CWGC tablets).

In almost four days, over 10,000 casualties occurred (Macleod, 2015, p. 46). The Australians and New Zealanders suffered 160 deaths and 468 wounded during this conflict. On May 24, a truce was arranged to allow the burial of Turkish dead that had been left out in the sun (Gallipoli Peninsula, CWGC tablets). The loss of more than 60 per cent of the officers in the 15th Division and the Second Division in the 19 May assaults wiped out two Turkish divisions' utility (Macleod, 2015, p. 46). The 24 May truce altered the Anzacs' perception of the Turks. They started referring to the Turks as "Abdul," "Johnny Turk," and "Jacko." The Turks started naming ANZAC positions after

the next battles:” Lone Pine is Bloody Ridge (Kanlı Sirt), Johnstone’s Jolly is Red Ridge (KırmızıSirt), the Pimple is Martyr’s Hill (Şehidler Tepe), the Nek is Hill of Valour (Cesaret Tepe) and Baby 700 is Sword Ridge (Kılıç Bayır)” (Broadbent, 2015, p. 109).

2.3.6 The Second Battle of Krithia, 6–8 May

The first week of May saw two establishment parts on the shoreline. The Allies constructed trenches at Anzac to secure the land they had captured. In the following weeks, Helles became their primary focus. However, critical locations remained uncaptured. The Dardanelles could not be opened because the Allies had not gained control of the peninsula's highest points (Macleod, 2015, p. 45). Achi Baba was one of them. Beginning on the first day of the landing, it maintained his strategic appeal to both sides.

This mountain, unconscious to what was going on around it, kept some of its beauty until the beginning of May. Ashmead-Bartlett compared him to an old Chinese idol with long arms. Modest plateaus and hills split a plain between its arms. On May 6, Ashmead-Bartlett characterized the splendour of this plain as follows (Ashmead-Bartlett, 1920, p. 85):

I gazed down upon a landscape of dark green, light green, and bright yellow. It abounds in fields covered with a coarse grass and dotted with trees, and some scattered farms. In a short ride across country I found myself amid olive groves, Turkish oaks, wych-elms, apricots, and almonds, Scottish firs and small tamarisks. On the cliffs were great bunches of yellow plantagenesta and poppies. I rode over fields and through gardens, in which flowers abounded in profusion. There were white orchids and rock roses, white and mauve stock and iris.

Still, there were signs of battle amidst the fascinating landscape, such as “broken rifles, barbed wire, deserted trenches, dead bodies in tattered uniforms, hastily dug graves and abandoned equipment” (Ashmead-Bartlett, 1920, p. 85). The initial attraction and the constant deterioration caused by the battle established a stark contrast. Captain Douglas Talbot remarked to one of his friends in England: ‘You say Gallipoli sounds a bloody place; in many ways certainly. The whole place reeks of the dead; yet it is a mass of flower and would be quite divine without the war’ (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 179).

At 10.30, the Second Battle of Krithia commenced over this region (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 154). The French army would push forward in this region and take control of the Kereves Dere Ravine. After securing that position, the British force would seize Krithia and Achi Baba. The plan's difficulty diminished the already weaker army (Prior, 2009, p. 140). Moreover, due to a shortage of ammunition and ignorance of Turkish positions, the initial bombardment had minimal impact as troops advanced (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 154).

By 9 May, the Allies' position at Helles had barely changed (Steel & Hart, 1994, 165). The Allies had 6500 losses, while the Turks suffered 2000 (Macleod, 2015, p. 47). This equates to over 30% of the forces involved in a 600-yard advance (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 150). Over 10,000 29th Division soldiers were evacuated between April 26th and May 10th (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 155). On 12 May, Hamilton met Hunter-Weston before visiting the 29th Division, which had recently returned from the front lines. He talked to officers and troops “who looked like earth to earth, caked as they were with mud, haggard with lack of sleep, pale as the dead, many of them slightly wounded and bandaged, hand or head, their clothes blood-stained, their eyes blood-shot” (Hamilton, 1920, Vol 1. p. 220). The Turkish military unit at Helles was on the defensive, and reinforcements were coming soon. Thus, after the defeat in the Second Battle of Krithia, Hunter-Weston remained optimistic about capturing Achi Baba. He was also aware that the Turkish defences were becoming more assertive and decided to make another attack before they became impenetrable (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 187).

2.3.7 The Third Battle of Krithia

Cape-Helles' last large-scale offensive was a division-level operation (Macleod, 2015, p. 47). In organizing this battle, authorities had to recognize that trench warfare was well-established at Helles (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 187). After shelling the Turkish lines for two and a half hours, the guns would cease firing. The expectation was that the Turks would reply with their artillery, therefore revealing their locations. This would enable the British and French guns to shell them again (Prior, 2009, p. 147). Restrictive circumstances also had a role. Both sides maintained uninterrupted trench lines. This circumstance left no room for moves.

Furthermore, barbed-wire defences were becoming more common. The machine guns and snipers were dangerous to stay out in the open. The British and French planned to launch an all-out assault on Helles. Their desired aims were to be severely constrained

to preserve the occupied territory (Steel & Hart, 1994, p. 187). Furthermore, despite the strategy being more imaginative than past attempts, resources were limited for the bombardment (Prior, 2009, p. 147).

On the 4th of June, the sky was clear, and the wind was mighty. This wind blew the bombs' smoke and sand back over Allied lines. The visibility fell to a few meters within minutes. Kereves Dere Valley was once again under assault by France. Due to tight trench lines, artillery feared striking their own soldiers. Because of this worry, the battery could only hit the Turkish back positions (Prior, 2009, p. 148). The Sikhs had a short period of advancement in the centre and success at Gully Ravine. But they were forced to retreat after a ferocious battle. For a 500-yard centerline advance, the Allies lost 4500 British and 2000 French soldiers. The Turkish casualties were 5017, of which 52 died (MacLeod, 2015, p. 47). Hunter-Weston devoted resources to the Turkish army's most vital lines in this battle. This failure wiped off Krithia's chances of being captured. When massive howitzers fired against the enemy's trenches, success was achieved. There were no heavy howitzers on the wings, where the failure was total (Prior, 2009).

The Turks retreated from frontal attacks as a critical result of the bloodshed Krithia battles. They adopted a defensive operating position. In May and June, however, the Turkish 9th Division and only a few reinforcements were able to repel three British efforts to seize Achi Baba and Krithia. Despite suffering nearly 2000 casualties between 6-8 May, it was able to stop the British assault. Although a few British advances occurred in this brutal conflict, Turkish morale remained strong (Broadbent, 2015, p. 118).

2.3.8 Amid the bloodshed, friendship blossoms: 'it makes it even sillier'...

After the Battle of Krithia, a ceasefire was declared on May 24, and the dead of both sides were buried. During this truce, the Turks and Australian soldiers became even closer. Pilgrims who come to Gallipoli know many stories about these friendships in trenches close to each other. Similarly, they listen to these narratives from guides. On tour, they hear the bloody tunnel wars and friendship stories in the same narratives by visiting the trenches that have survived in the Jonstons Jolly cemetery.

According to Bob and Sandra, the only feature of these narratives is not that they are diplomatically good. At the same time, these narratives gave history "a lot more

dynamic" part. For them, the most impressive type of narratives focused on the friendship between Australians and Turks. While listening to the narratives of soldiers exchanging food and cigarettes with each other, playing shooting games or even playing football, pilgrims are both impressed and emotional.

This point is crucial. Many pilgrims refer to the futility of the soldiers' deaths and killings and are saddened by the mourning. According to many pilgrims I have encountered, Australian and Turkish soldiers liked each other. They did not want to kill each other. This relationship, which Bob and Sandra find pretty "powerful", is, in my opinion, one of the pillars of the Anzac pilgrimage to Gallipoli. Even if they do not come knowingly or expecting it, this encounter in this land is one of the experiences that affect them the most. This is precisely why the southern end of Pine Ridge has that emotional monument depicting a Turk soldier carrying an Australian soldier. This monument represented respect for Adrian. These narratives influence many pilgrims like him.²⁶



Figure 2.3.8.1. *Pilgrims are taking photos of the monument depicting a Turk soldier carrying an Australian soldier (Burcu Kaya-Sayarı's private archive)*

²⁶ The monument was completed in 1995. It has Lord Richard Casey's signature, who fought in the Dardanelles War and subsequently served as the Governor General of Australia, on the pedestal (Sayılır, 2007, p. 63).

Pilgrims who know or have visited the Western Front also liken Gallipoli narratives to those there. Harry told me about the friendships made during the ceasefires and the soldiers who stopped firing at Christmas. But his wife intervened and reminded him that this was a Western Front narrative. Another pilgrim in the group thought much of this narrative was mythology. Some pilgrims consider these narratives not entirely true. Yet they are effective narratives for all.

Harry was proud of the Anzacs. The source of this pride was not that they had participated in the war or killed people. But they did their best and did not abandon their mates. They supported each other. Their situation had become so complicated that the Turkish soldier carrying the Australian soldier was telling precisely this dilemma, according to him. There were moments in the war "in the stupidity that just show you that this is the human spirit". For Harry, this was the "powerful" aspect of the narratives. Harry knew, too, that gifts were exchanged, and soldiers exchanged water and chocolates too.

Then he told me how the soldiers used to have competitions. Australians and Turks competed against each other by placing targets in their trenches. Thus, the side with the best shot wins. The narrative he knew best was that of his ex-wife's great-uncle. The great uncle was nicknamed "the big Queenslander". He was a pretty large and strong man. Great uncle, who was a military police in Australia, participated in the Battle of Gallipoli and had wrestling matches with the Turks. Such narratives blur the meaning of war, not only for Harry and his wife but for many pilgrims. For many pilgrims, this represents a confusing balance between killing and friendship. Harry broke out of the silence he was buried in for a while and made his final comment: "In some sense, it makes it even sillier." Grace, his wife, explained how hard it was for her to understand and how ironic it was: "Well boys, we will be shooting each other until ten o'clock, then how about we have a break? We'll bury the dead guys quickly, and then we can have a bit of a wrestling match and then by four o'clock, we'd go back to shooting each other, okay?' Bizarre...".

Bob and Sandra, too, were aware of the narrative of soldiers throwing cigarettes at each other, whose trenches were very close to each other or playing football together. In a narrative she heard, Sandra said that when a British officer asked an Australian soldier to shoot the Turkish soldier hanging his laundry, the soldier replied, 'no, you can't shoot him now. They've got to dry their clothes'. They thought such narratives embodied the absurdity of war and mutual respect. For them, those soldiers didn't want to kill each

other. Bob added: “they had no argument among themselves, and so and to me, that's the beauty of making sure we do remember these stories.” Even though these narratives were precious, “history was history” for Bob, and it was imperative to know the big story. What happened could have been "oversimplified" if distilled too much.

15-year-old Holly also found it interesting to be in a land that is part of this tradition that they respect in her country. Although she had heard many accounts of the trench life of soldiers in her country, she first listened to the narratives between Turkish and Australian soldiers in Gallipoli. Of the crucial details from his tour, this was the element her mind chose. They buried the dead, chatted, and continued killing each other after shaking hands. She couldn't understand how it happened. For her, all these narratives were the other side of the war. She had heard many narratives in Australia but learned the other side of history in Gallipoli.

Bob and Sandra told me they were glad they toured with a Turkish guide. However, if they had the chance to travel again with an Australian guide, they would do it and would like to see the difference. Pilgrims often tour with Turkish guides and learn about the other side of history from them. This is another factor that makes them sad when they hear about the other side of the war and the friendly relations between the soldiers. Hearing both sides of the fight, according to Michelle, is both sad and lovely. The positive aspect for her was that Turks and Australians exhibited "gentlemanly behaviour."

Each pilgrim solves the dilemma created by intertwining war and friendship differently. One way is to think that under war conditions, people have done what they had to do. For pilgrims, this way of thinking can explain the performance of the offensive and defensive duties assigned to the soldiers. Further, some pilgrims also attribute the involvement of Australia in the war with England and think that Turkey was defending itself. Laura was one of the pilgrims who felt this way: “It was for Turkey an invasion for us, for Australians. I've always considered it a mistake. We should never have been there. We were fighting for Britain and the Empire more so than Australia." Adopting such a point of view can be seen as one of the factors that paved the way for pilgrims who came to Gallipoli to deal with their encounters in the rhetoric of friendship. In a similar vein, James said: “The Turks were good soldiers, alright. They were not ambitious. They were just defending their country. Those guys invaded your country, not the other way around.”

The friendly relations between the two sides' soldiers were a unique situation that had only been experienced in these lands. Learning both sides of the war enables pilgrims to understand the war holistically and empathize with the Turks. Thus, pilgrims begin to grasp both sides differently when they arrive at Gallipoli. They learn more deeply about their own history and understand the Turkish point of view. After the tour, Dion understood that it was necessary to evaluate the battle in a balanced way. According to him, the Turks had protected their own lands. From the Australian perspective, it was part of a larger war, and the soldiers did what they had to do. He found it sad because many people died. But at the same time, the actions of both sides were brave.

The pilgrims grieve for the fallen soldiers, they are grateful for the sacrifices made by the soldiers, and they take pride in their heroism. Every pilgrim feels many different emotions. Besides all these, Gallipoli is a peaceful land for them. The lasting beauty of Gallipoli, even amid war, is combined with the meaning of this land, and many pilgrims describe it as "peaceful". Helen also described Gallipoli in this way. However, her expectation before she came was to experience another connotation of Gallipoli, which includes its mystical aspect: "I wanted to know if I would feel any ghosts [laughing] but I did not. I was hoping that I would get that feeling ghostliness but I did not at all.", she said. She had heard from pilgrims who had visited before that they felt "death and the past". But her own experience was completely different. She "had to remind" herself "that it had been a place of really terrible things." The Gallipoli tour made her think that history is happening and that all people can do is visit and learn from history.

Pilgrims who come to Gallipoli learn the history by seeing and listening to the events at the place. For them, this experience helps them understand history much better. I heard the same thing from Michelle and many pilgrims: "so we watched movies and we studied it in school but to come along and experience something different." This short phrase contains a lot of elements. Pilgrims learn history better by visiting and encountering it in real places where actual events occur, providing an embodied experience that reading a book or listening to it in a lecture can not. Further, the pilgrims encounter not only the places where the events take place but also each other.

When pilgrims from different places with different backgrounds meet and mingle with each other on tours and at the Dawn Ceremony, this becomes another active element shaping the Gallipoli experience. Therefore, the interaction of the pilgrims with each

other should be included when considering the construction of the Gallipoli experience. One of these examples I witnessed was Bob and Darren. Their families tried to get to know each other during their Gallipoli days. Darren's and his grandfather's Gallipoli history strongly impacted Bob. According to Bob, the narratives he heard from Darren were very different from the "boring" historical details. Bob said it was "that kind of history he was looking for."

Nevertheless, Bob and Sandra liked our tour before the Dawn Ceremony and our guide Aytekin very much. They thought they had learned a great deal of history on tour. Just before Bob arrived, he had read a book about the war written in the 1950s. When he came, seeing where the events took place allowed him to visualize what he had read and what he knew before. Similarly, Sandra thought the tour made the basics they had learned in school "far more realistic."

We had a small tour group. According to Sandra, this made Aytekin's tour "more personal, more individual", and Sandra liked it very much. She said, "You just connect more". They were delighted that they better understood the war before the Dawn Ceremony. For Bob, the Battle of Gallipoli was incomprehensible without understanding the basic logistics of the battle. "If I have not done the tour beforehand, I think I would have been very disappointed," he said. The historical details they learned enabled them to experience the Dawn Ceremony more deeply, and they enjoyed it. The history they heard from Aytekin was the other side of history. They found Aytekin's style somewhat nationalistic but praised his knowledge of history. Sandra found our museum visit before the tour also nationalistic, in line with Aytekin's style. The museum visit was the first time she heard of this perspective, in which the religious standpoint of war was also included. But they were also impressed by the experience in the museum too.

Thus, tours are "educational" and "informative" for almost every pilgrim. For some pilgrims, being able to match the events of the war with the places where they took place provides a new perspective for them. As one of them, Stuart better understood what the soldiers might have gone through, especially during the landing. Thus he could "feel" the history and made sense of it. However, some historical details that are not directly related to the place may be as important as the sites visited. After the tour, Angela also said she had "a much better scene" with the information she got. But it wasn't because of the places

she had seen. The Germans were Christians, as were the Australians. She understood why they were on opposite fronts owing to the history she had heard about on tour.

Similarly, Anna and Nathan felt that what they learned from their reading was that they could only complete remarkably few pieces of the "jigsaw puzzle", while the tour completed the remaining pieces. "We read some books. We got taught by the guide that fills in the story," said Nathan.

Emotions felt in tours may be independent of the narratives. Melissa explained that she had visited the places of the Western Front in France without a guide. Still, she felt very similar feelings to the guided tour in Gallipoli. The Gallipoli tour was "more informative". Still, she felt the same things on the France tour. She had not learned as much in France as at Gallipoli.

Learning and being emotional may differ between pilgrims. For some pilgrims, the tour can be more emotional, while for others, the tour simply provides historical learning. Darren was also among the pilgrims in the latter group. This was his second Gallipoli tour. He learned a lot in his first tour. But there were too many details about the war. He thought he "did not absorb it all" on the first tour. Thus, the second tour taught him more about the battle. Moreover, he learned about the Turkish side of the war and the friendship of the Australian soldiers with the Turks in Gallipoli. For him, while the Dawn Ceremony was emotional, the Gallipoli tour was instructive.

2.3.9 Lone Pine and the Nek

An enemy shore landing with additional troops deployed in the Aegean islands was vital in late July. Yet Bulair was too harsh, and the Asian shore was not leading to the aims. Moreover, the Navy couldn't fully assist the Army ashore at either location. The Sari Bair ridge in the middle of the peninsula was thus the focus of attention instead of Cape Helles and Achi Baba (Moorehead, 1997, 232).

Lieutenant General Sir William Birdwood and Brigadier General Andrew Skeen's plans included three main parts. The 1st Division's attack on Lone Pine on August 6 was the first significant diversion (Hart, 292). It was named after a solitary pine tree that

originally grew on 400 Plateau, on the southern side of the Anzac sector²⁷. The objective was to block Turkish reinforcements from heading north to Sari Bair (Gariepy, 2014). Afterwards, the major event was to capture the strategic heights of Chunuk Bair and Hill 971 by daylight on 7 August. Lastly, coordinated assaults were to be launched on The Nek and Chessboard (Hart, 2011: p. 292). The First Brigade would initiate the charge. The Second Brigade would then attack German Officers' Trench and Johnston's Jolly. If these positions were seized, the Third Light Horse Brigade would be secured when it assaulted the Nek on 7 August (Gariepy, 2014).

The main assaulting soldiers were to proceed up Sazli Beit and Chailak Deres. The Right Assaulting Force's target was Hill Q and Chunuk Bair, while the Left's was Hill 971. The following morning at 4:30, the units would launch combined attacks. One would march south from Chunuk Bair, while the other would advance from Russell's Top, across the Nek, and onto Baby 700²⁸ (Gariepy, 2014). Chunuk, "Hill Q," and Koja Chemen were the initial targets of the August 6-10 major offensive. In the central stages, the strategy had not been altered. The Turks' communication between Achi Baba and Krithia would be severed, and the forts on the Asian side would be silenced. Reaching Maidos and passing the Narrows were also crucial components of the strategy (Navinson, 1920, p. 248).

A new landing was also planned for Suvla Bay. The united force was to advance through the Narrows four miles distant after the hills were seized. (Moorehead, 1997, p. 232) Suvla Bay was a good landing spot. It provided a secure harbour for the Fleet and was well-defended. Once landed, men would rush the Anzac strategic position (Moorehead, 1997, p. 201).

The attack was scheduled to commence on August 6. (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 419) Birdwood would have around 37,000 soldiers and inadequate artillery backup. About 20,000 Turks were in the area (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 420). On August 6, intentions were

²⁷ Lone Pine was a plateau where the Anzac lines intersected at a height of 400 feet, after ascending sharply from the coast. The name comes from a single tree the Turks left standing amid a tiny forest. They had chopped down the remainder of the trees for their trenches or head-cover, and the last pine was cut down before the assault. Yet, the location retained its name (Navinson, 1920: 232).

²⁸ Baby 700. An explanation of the name is simple. Two hills of almost the same height were visible to British naval gunners. They estimated that they were each roughly 700 feet tall. They first called the bigger one Big 700, which was subsequently altered to Battleship Hill, and the smaller one Baby 700. The actual height of Baby 700 is 590 feet, while Battleship is 100 feet higher (Les Carlyon, 2001: p. 229).

clear. During the day, the Australians were to strike at Lone Pine to give the Turks the idea that the primary attack was approaching from there. After dark, most of Birdwood's troops were to march up towards Sari Bair. They wanted to reach the ridgetop by sunrise (Moorehead, 1997, p. 231). On August 6, at 2.20 p.m., the bombardment commenced. Turkish artillery promptly responded. The soldiers advanced, but only a few made it to the Turkish lines. They wore metal discs since those at corps headquarters could see them all along the Turkish lines. This way, they were confident the assault had been accomplished (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 434).

During two days, there was no success in the initial diversionary assault on the Krithia Vineyard at Helles. Even though the vineyard and a small patch of land were taken, the British battalions, already thin on the ground, suffered significant losses. The Lone Pine operation was the most effective distraction. Second Field Company, Australian Engineers dug a network of tunnels beneath no-man's-land on the right of the Anzac line in May. Five tunnels led to a concealed fire line across from Lone Pine. This line was 30 yards ahead of the main Australian line and totally buried (Garipey, 2014).

The first assault troops entered the hidden tunnel about noon. The sandbags blocking their exit holes were loosened, and they waited in the darkness. At 5.30, soldiers sprang from the earth and trenches behind them and ran into the bushes. However, when they reached, they discovered the Turkish trenches roofed with pine logs. Moorehead (1997, p.232) In no man's land, Turkish machine-gun fire caused numerous losses until the coated lines were dealt with (Prior, 2009, p. 171).

The Australians attacked Turkish trenches by shooting through cracks in logs or prodding them with bayonets. Others went to the open communication tunnels that connected with the Turkish trenches beyond the front line (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 437). Within half an hour, Australian forces were battling inside Turkey's trench lines (Prior, 2009, p. 171). Despite the preceding shelling, the Turks were caught off guard (Hart, 2011, p. 299). There was very little room to fire in the semi-darkness beneath the pine logs; they battled with bayonets and occasionally without firearms (Moorehead, 1997, p. 232). This conflict was a return to the most primal type of warfare. As the men engaged in close combat in the confined space, they swung their bayonets and kicked and punched one another. Doomsday cursing cries emanated from the trench logs as the soldiers battled (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 437).

Both sides used tunnelling, often known as "mining." Digging beneath the enemy's line of defence, setting explosives, and then exploding the men in the trench were all part of the practice. Once the crater had formed, the attacker would attempt to extend his line to it (Garipey, 2014). Several tunnels were made in No Man's Land. If the assault was successful, these roofs might be retracted to provide communication tunnels for reinforcements (Hart, 2011, p. 295). Wartime mining killed many on both sides. Most of them would be lost forever, and shattered remains buried under mounds of soil (Garipey, 2014).

The next day, the Turks made three separate counter-attacks. The combat was brutal. The Australians eventually won (Prior, 2009, p. 171). However, when the Turks denied the loss of their positions at Lone Pine, the situation became tenser. The conflict continued until mutual exhaustion on 9 August (Hart, 2011, p. 302). The cost was enormous: the 1 Division had lost over 2,200 casualties (Prior, 2009, p. 171), while the Turks' continuous counter-attacks had resulted in losses of up to 5,000 (Hart, 2011, p. 302).

Another wave of actions was planned for the same days at Anzac. First, the 6th Battalion from Steele's Post would assault the German Officer's Trench at midnight. It was intended to assure the success of the upcoming assaults on The Nek and Chessboard at 04.30 (Hart, 2011, p. 308). The soldiers were ready to assault at 00.35 (Hart, 2011, p. 310). However, the invading forces were under heavy fire from the German Officer's Trench and machine guns and firearms from Quinn's Post, Mortar Ridge, and Johnston's Jolly. The assault was a failure (Hart, 2011, p. 310). At 4.30 a.m., the Australians and the British were going to attack the Turkish trenches at Monash Valley, whilst New Zealanders attacked from Chunuk Bair. The success of this operation mainly hinged on the New Zealanders. Their strike from Chunuk Bair would also eliminate Turkish machine guns at German Officer's Trench. They controlled No Man's Land at The Nek, Pope's, and Quinn's. Neither of these requirements had been met. At German Officer's trench, the Australians assaulted throughout the night, but they suffered 80 deaths and 66 wounded (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 274).

If the 6th Battalion fails, it would have disastrous ramifications for the subsequent coordinated attacks. Those attacks relied on the New Zealand Brigade seizing Chunuk Bair and then attacking Baby 700 through Battleship Hill. It was clear to Birdwood and

Skeen that the New Zealanders had fallen well behind schedule and were still battling their way up Rhododendron Ridge. Their choice was tough (Hart, 2011, p. 313). Birdwood resolved that the attack should go on (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 275).

The Third Light Horse Brigade's unsuccessful attack at the Nek became legendary (Garipey, 2014). At 04:00, shells rained down on Turkish lines at The Nek and the Chessboard. As usual, the bombardment seemed more damaging than it was. Its impact was further lessened by its abrupt conclusion (Hart, 2011, p. 313). At 4:23, seven minutes too soon, the shelling ceased. The hills were silent (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 275).

The offensive area on the Nek was large enough for only 150 light cavalymen to attack side by side. Consequently, the force included four waves of 150 men. The first two waves were made up of the Eighth Light Horse Regiment, and the Tenth Light Horse Regiment was in charge of the last two waves. (Garipey, 2014) At 04:30, the first wave of attackers jumped over (Hart, 2011, p. 314).

Nonetheless, the assault was a total loss. Australians were dying even before they got out of their trenches. One soldier could make it to the German position and flew a red-and-yellow flag. But it quickly vanished (Rhoades James, 1965, p. 276). This indicated nothing. Even so, the report generated false hope among higher authorities, leading to catastrophic repercussions for the third wave of soldiers. The second wave overtook the first two minutes later. Whereas the Tenth LHR might have been stopped, it was not. The commanding officers believed it was essential to maintain pressure on the Turks. They thought that the attack on Chunuk Bair would work if they did this. Eventually, hundreds of lives were sacrificed in a vain effort to achieve triumph. Initially, at Chunuk Bair, New Zealand, British and Indian troops had driven back the Turkish defenders. Yet the artillery shells fired by a British warship landed on the attackers, turning the course of the attack in favor of the Turks (Garipey, 2014).

The British lost 3,300 in their assaults, while the Turks sacrificed 7,500 to retake control of useless vines. 'It was legalized manslaughter' as Hart puts it (Hart, 2011, p. 291). A victory for the Allies at Lone Pine was a very uncommon event. During the Battle of Lone Pine, seven Victoria Crosses were awarded. On the first night, the Australians had taken the Turkish front line by 6 p.m. (Moorehead, 1997, p. 232). By the 12th of

August, the worst of the combat had ended. Despite their furious counterattacks, the Turks couldn't retake Lone Pine from the Australians (Les Carlyon, 2001, p. 438).

2.3.10 The futility of war and empathy: 'I could just think of the mothers of all the boys...'

Sitting in the lobby seats of the hotel, together with Grace and Harry, we were where we started. While we were drinking our Turkish coffee in our comfortable armchairs, we were in a very different state than we had been under the sun and in the heat all day. We had listened to the war and the trench life. Apart from the short break we took near the cemetery of the 57th Regiment, we left the comfort of our daily lives at the beginning of the road to Gallipoli. Now the sun was getting ready to meet the sea and we were back to our comfortable life. Maybe we didn't experience the sound of bullets passing by or the fear of death at every step. Nevertheless, Aytekin opened a page in history and showed us what it could be like to be in a war. In the lobby of the hotel, the only reminders of these feelings were the remains of our tour experience and the pictures of dozens of Anzac soldiers watching us in the lobby.

The tour significantly impacted Grace. She looked like she was caught off guard, and she was indeed. "The tour was good," she said and remained silent. She was trying to explain. Then she continued: "I did not expect to be so emotionally connected. And I am so angry." she said. When I asked her why she was angry, all she could say was "to waste", and she was silent again. Then continued: "The waste of lives. I could just think of the mothers of all the boys. First, the Turkish boys and the Allied forces. The amount of grief... Terrible. That struggle... just unbearable sadness, you know [crying]. It is war. That is the reality of it. Because there was no direct connection, I didn't expect to be so impacted." She felt sorry for the soldiers on both sides and was angry about the situation: "It is completely stupid. Just to have this idea where you've got these people sitting in a trench across from each other and exchanging jokes and singing and they can talk to each other. They are not enemies but it's because of politicians and greed and other stupid stupid reasons. And these boys are the ones who paid the price for it. And they didn't even want to be there, none of them would have wanted to be there. But to not have a choice, to have to... You share a moment with somebody who's supposed to be your enemy and you realize that he's not your enemy. None of them are you enemies, none of

them hold any ill will for you. And just to have to go back to shooting people that were no threat to you... That is just crazy.”

The predominant emotion in most pilgrims is feeling emotional and sad. It is simply because these cemeteries are places for pilgrims that are emotionally charged, even sometimes independent of narratives. The ages of soldiers inscribed on tombstones and monuments are elements that evoke the same feeling for many pilgrims. Steven was only one of the pilgrims who felt emotional during the tour: "There's just so many young people who died, who didn't have to die, shouldn't have died." he said. On tour, Brendan felt very sad and emotional too. He felt emotional since he was in the sacred lands, and Gallipoli signified the start of Australia's history. He was sad because so many men had perished.

On the other hand, his friend Dion was touched by the early lives and sacrifices of the soldiers, like every pilgrim: “It was obviously emotional. You look at the ages of the people that passed away, what the conditions would have been like. Unfortunate casualties and more and when you think of all these lives that were cut short... That's probably the big thing for me, I think it's just, you know, where people literally lay down their lives for countries of them.” he said.

In the past, it was typical for grieving relatives to take pictures of their loved one's gravestone and, in some cases, to kiss it in remembrance of the deceased (Lloyd, 1998, p. 135). Today, reading tombstones as pilgrims tour cemeteries is an integral part of the experience. As the only thing about fallen soldiers on this land, these stones are still a means of interaction between pilgrims and ANZACs. Pilgrims have interacted with these stones during their visits since the first pilgrims to Gallipoli. Sometimes pilgrims find a specific name, at others, they only choose a name randomly and leave poppies on these tombstones. In the past, the pilgrims sometimes placed flowers from their gardens on the graves and often collected mementoes (Lloyd, 1998, p. 146). Although this is not the case today, tombstones are still among the emotional elements that make many pilgrims emotional. Pilgrims both read how young the soldiers died and are saddened by the inscription on these stones, and they trace the pain and longing of the soldiers' families on these stones. Thus, these writings give more details on the soldiers' lives and “humanize” them.

Further, the discovery of a genuine Gallipoli relic remains to be an intriguing element for many pilgrims. Occasionally, Aytekin said that he used to find plenty of shrapnel pieces in the trenches while we were touring. After this remark, I've seen several pilgrims searching for such a piece.²⁹

Similarly, Melissa, both during the Western Front tour in France and Gallipoli, was touched by seeing the traces of the soldiers and their families: "It's a little bit emotional like I teared up a couple of times just reading all of the gravestones and that doesn't matter whether I'm reading Australian or New Zealand or Turkish or anything. It's just that incredible loss of life; it baffles me, and just reading the names doesn't mean much to me. But reading some of them has things underneath them like 'your family will always miss you' or something like that. They're the things that humanizes it and it makes you really think about the people rather than just the numbers." While she was saying these words, her mother started to cry. She was significantly affected by the exact details. When I asked her what she was feeling, she struggled to express her feelings, as some pilgrims do. All she could say was: "I do not know. That's hard to say [crying]...Just it's emotional."

In the same way as Melissa, while looking at the tombstones' details, most pilgrims feel sorry for the soldiers and their families. This sadness for the dead soldiers is independent of nationality for them. Rachel was living in Australia, and she was originally from China. She felt similar emotions as Melissa: "When I was reading the writings on there when they say something like someone 'Mr and Mrs's only son', it like hit me. I kind of can feel their sorrow of them. We actually read the words, and I don't think it's relevant to the nationality or anything. It's more about you can feel like there are young soldiers." she said.

When pilgrims learn more about soldiers' unique histories and begin to imagine what those stories could have been like, it becomes an emotional experience for them. Some of them survived, while others did not. The tombstones and the narratives we heard in Nek also affected Nathan: "At the Nek how young they were, and they were going to certain death for you, and they've jumped out of that trench they would have died, but they still moved... And then you see all the dates of the death is the same obviously. I

²⁹In their archeological research on Gallipoli, Cameron and Donlan (2005, p. 131) found that "the area within the 'Old ANZAC Area' (most frequently visited by tourists) has been seriously affected by 'souvenir hunting' over the last decade or so and much of the surface areas within the Second Ridge appear to have been picked clean."

think it was an emotional feeling when you start to get in behind some other individual's story and maybe imagine what their stories might have been."



Figure 2.3.10.1. *Pilgrims at the Nek Cemetery (Source: Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

Standing in places where bloody wars took place and listening to the narration of these wars can be emotionally challenging for pilgrims. While this was the Nek point for Nathan, Cathrine found the Lone Pine battle heavy: "They said that after they reach the Turkish line and then they found the Turkish people is under the ground and they just start fighting using stones and something like rock. I could image what happened at that moment and feel very sorrow for that." she said.

On their tour of Gallipoli, pilgrims think of soldiers and loved ones who remained behind. For this reason, while empathizing with the experiences of the soldiers at the visit points, the only side that the pilgrims put themselves in their place is not the soldiers. In this way, the ripple effect of war upsets many pilgrims alike. Thinking about the soldiers' families, Angela felt emotional on tour. "Inevitably, every war is won by somebody. But the tragedy of war and how it affects people and families, you know... very moving." she said.

After the Gallipoli tour, we were on the ferry to Çanakkale city centre with some pilgrims from our tour group. We were assessing the day. Jessica said she thought the presentation at the museum was a little glorified. She found it melodramatic. Moreover, it was too focused on the war and did not touch on whom was left behind. Whereas, according to her, those who stayed at home had been impacted, especially "the mothers

that have lost their sons here." She thought of his 25-year-old son and 24-year-old daughter on tour. "They could have been inscripted into something like that," she said.

Moreover, families were still sending their children to Iraq. "It's still the same process of anger, grief, and loss." That's why what happened was not just the war itself.

However, after hearing Jessica's thoughts, a disagreement arose among the members of the pilgrim group. Men and women had distinct perspectives. A male pilgrim said that the difference between the mourning of Australian mothers and Turkish mothers stems from the Muslim view of martyrs. And he continued: "So they don't have this grief. They are heroes. They don't have this grieving that we, as Westerners. They accept." But female pilgrims didn't think that way. The following exchange illustrates their differing views on religious differences and grief:

Jessica: Oh no. I do not know. I think the mothers...

Helen: No, I do not think. Most of them would.

Jack: They must have grieved for the rest of their lives, the families. But in the realm of knowledge of Islam and what it meant to be a martyr; you could have a totally different feeling than a Westerner like us. But being lost in the war, there is no religious aspect to the loss.

Helen: No, I think the back of there was. If you look at the themes, many of the themes had inscriptions from the bible. 'There is no greater gift than giving your life for another man.' That is from the bible. And often, they talked about being with God. So, I think their parents would have found comfort, too knowing that in the knowledge that their sons would have gone to heaven. That's how I would thought. In the same way as the Turkish men, you know, when they die, they would go to the heaven.

Jessica: Yes, as heroes.

Steven: Yes, but I think there's more grieving to Westerners than there is to the Islamic faith. Because, to them, they are proud that their sons have got to.

Jessica: No. The Turkish mothers would be the same as any other mothers.

Helen: Women disagree with it. We know that mothers cry.

As in the example above, in some cases, pilgrims' thinking and feeling differs as a result of being a woman and a mother. The participation of women in the ANZAC tradition has been a controversial issue in recent years. We were talking with the pilgrims

in one of the cafes on the coast of Çanakkale after a tour. After talking about the tour and the battle, Emily said she wanted to add something. According to her, women doctors and nurses in the war were forgotten: "I don't know enough about the Turkish side, but I know that our girls came on the fire," she said. "The women took care of the wounded soldiers in the tents. We have just started to recognize now what they had changed.", she said. According to her, the reason women were delayed in taking their place in ANZAC history was the *zeitgeist*: "I think that was because the day was that women didn't get involved in. They were supposed to be home, having children and looking after the children." But then, something had changed, and she described it as "amazing". "In Australia, there were so many [instances], and they were very brave ladies to do what they did and achieve what they did," she said.

2.3.11 Conclusion: History that hurts

People who had lost a loved one during World War I were the most common visitors to battlefields in the first few years (Lloyd, 1998, p.195). However, in my research, there were fewer blood-related pilgrims than other types of pilgrims. Some studies showed that familial ties to the battlefields are no longer a key motive for many visits, while other studies assert that it is rising (Scates, 2006; Slade, 2003; Walter, 1993; C. Winter, 2012). Additionally, how this generation grieves differs significantly from that of the first generation. A significant distinction between the wartime generation and the present generation of pilgrims is that many of the latter did not interact directly with Anzac troops (J. Winter, 1995).

Dunkley et al. (2011) note that battlefield pilgrims engage in private and public commemorative acts. According to them, these visits allow pilgrims to memorialize their relatives on an individual level, while group commemorations maintain and transmit the collective memory to future generations. Pilgrims who visit Gallipoli come to honour all the Anzacs. Some pilgrims also pay tribute to a specific soldier who was a relative. Travelling to these places in the 1920s and 1930s was directly connected with a particular loved one. These travels were a way of easing their mourning and coping with their pain (Lloyd, 1998, p. 136). Compared to these years, the nature of the pilgrimage has changed. The social memory, as opposed to the individual, is central to the experiences of contemporary pilgrims. Nationalist motivation is high among the current pilgrims (Hyde and Harman, 2011). Previous studies revealed that nationalist commemoration

emphasizes the collective dead above individuals (Grant, 2005; C. Winter, 2012). However, Hyde and Harman (2011) showed in their research that family motivation was also high among Australian participants. In the context of my research, the family element was also important if a pilgrim had such a link with Gallipoli.

Further, pilgrims who have relatives resting at Gallipoli find the time they spend with their family members travelling with them and the opportunities for connection and sharing among the members valuable. Similarly, sharing among tour group members is another crucial aspect of defining their experience. Therefore, while examining the interaction between life and death, we should not miss the dynamics in life.

While discussing dark tourism encounters, Seaton and Lennon (2004, p. 68-69) claim that *schadenfreude* is one of the driving forces for these journeys. According to this viewpoint, some individuals secretly enjoy the misfortunes of others. However, on Gallipoli pilgrims' emotions, Slade asserts, "These people have feelings about the dead at Gallipoli and they know, understand, and commemorate their deeds, especially their role in helping define their two nations." (Slade, 2003, p. 792). Further, C. Winter found in her research on Western Front pilgrims that there was no indication that these places were associated with negative emotions (C. Winter, 2012, p. 261). In my research, too, I did not see any motivation for experiencing negative emotions, which some cases of dark tourism may imply. Even though capturing this type of hidden intention is difficult, we must carefully consider the overlaps and differences between dark tourism and battlefield pilgrimages, as Baldwin and Sharpley (2009, p.202) warn. Each pilgrim has a distinct motivation and, consequently, a uniquely emotional experience. As a result, in recent years, integrating tourist performances beyond preexisting dark tourism stereotypes has been proposed as a strategy that allows us to identify these distinctions. In this manner, Bowman and Pezulla (2010, p. 193) demonstrate how tourist performances can negotiate meaning and effect at tourist destinations associated with death.

Numerous pilgrims believe their contacts and friendship narratives with the Turks impact them. This condition aligns with West's inclusion of "new dialogic mythology" in his study. McKenna and Ward (2007), on the other side, criticize West's (2015) approach. According to them, the focus of West's dialogic discourse blurs the question of "who were the aggressors?". (p.149). West (2015), on the other hand, does not report such a seamless

process. Besides being a threshold, the Gallipoli experience also involves “historical anomalies” induced by the meeting with the Other, according to West (2015, p. 43):

“These emerge from the interplay between the Australian constitutive narrative of Gallipoli, corporeal experience of the battlefields, and Turkish interpretations of the battle as principally communicated by the Turkish tour guides and Turkish memorials. The experience of Australian visitors at Gallipoli significantly derives from their former foes.”

This perspective is adopted in some of the Gallipoli studies. These studies focus on diplomatic relations over the territorial domination of Gallipoli and the evolution of these tensions over time (i.e. McKay and Ward, 2007; West, 2015; Ziino, 2006). Therefore, according to these studies, it is emphasized that these two nations are erstwhile enemies. In addition, by citing different diplomatic tensions, some of these studies argue that the "face-to-face" encounter with the Other creates tension or anomaly in the visitor experiences experienced here. Among the tensions experienced from time to time, there are news that the graves in Gallipoli were damaged during the road works³⁰ or that the letters on the monument where Atatürk's word was written were removed³¹ (<https://www.smh.com.au/national/gallipoli-roadworks-damaged-heritage-20051013-gdm8t0.html> ; <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/16/turkish-islamist-push-may-be-to-blame-for-removal-of-ataturk-inscription-at-anzac-cove>).

However, I have never seen a pilgrim mention at least one of these situations. How much each pilgrim follows Gallipoli's diplomatic agenda is a question we cannot quickly answer. None of them was aware of them or came with these thoughts in their minds. When I focused on the experiences of the pilgrims here, I saw two things. First, the history they learn here completes their history. I got statements in this direction from each of my pilgrims. The new page of history they learned in Gallipoli does not contradict what they learned back home. It only completes. The second one was the appreciation of Turks.

³⁰ The Turks are responsible for the infrastructural improvements necessary for these sites. When attempting to increase the quality of the visitor experience, site management also meets similar obstacles. Since there are troops who have battled all throughout this country, numerous graves remained buried in an unknown manner.

³¹ I have heard many times from different guides in Gallipoli how the maintenance work was distorted in the media. In addition, one of the agency owners in Gallipoli told me that he contacted the Australian media and tried to inform people that the news was not true.

Again, in these works, the monuments built by the Turks are treated as if they are part of a struggle for dominance on the territory of Gallipoli. However, Gallipoli also has an important place in constructing Turkish identity. The places where these monuments are located and their narratives represent the Turks visiting this region. As one of these instances, Chunuk Bair, where the Anzac forces suffered significant losses, contains the narrative, rarely mentioned in Australian history books, where a bullet hit Atatürk's watch and saved his life. Certain sites are elevated in prominence in the national memory since they serve as enduring reminders of significant historical moments (Hall et al., 2010; Hyde & Harman, 2011; Scates, 2006; West, 2010; C. Winter, 2012;). A site can be significant to multiple nations. Gallipoli is one of these rare locations. Overall, the narratives carried by these monuments are not contradictory to the ones erected by the Allies but complement different parts of history.

If the anomaly that West (2015) emphasizes is that Australians and Turks once shared the war, do not pilgrims learn this fact until they arrive at Gallipoli? From the West's point of view, it's as if the pilgrims' encounters, such as with the Turkish tour guides and the museum at Gallipoli, taught pilgrims that the Turks were on the other side in the war. However, even pilgrims with little historical knowledge become aware of this fact. Therefore, I don't think these encounters produce an anomaly. Most pilgrims come without thinking that Australia was on the occupying side. On the other hand, in Gallipoli, they listen to a war narrative with friendship rhetoric. They state that the encounters experienced here provide a more profound knowledge of their history and that they have learned a missing piece, namely the other side.

For this reason, I do not think the experiences lived here contain an anxiety or anomaly element - at least in this respect. It can be thought that it is difficult for me to discover such anxieties because of my Turkish identity. However, when I asked them directly for their thoughts on this fact, each pilgrim expressed their gratitude for the Turks' ability to make pilgrimages and commemorations of Australians possible and to take good care of these places. They said it would not be possible for them to have such an experience with the sides in other wars. Could it be a coincidence or related to my identity that every pilgrim made comments containing such friendship rhetoric or at least free from hostile rhetoric? In West's (2015) work, too, pilgrim quotations, except his own argument, fail to demonstrate a contrary fact to mine.

Moreover, West first argues that historical information, which includes the discourse of friendship, is a result of the narrative of the Turkish guides and the openness of the pilgrims to alternative history. Immediately after, he states that this situation reflects Australia and Turkey's social and cultural changes. According to him, these tour narratives would not be possible without the civil pilgrimages (West, 2015, p. 46). However, friendship rhetoric was formed before these intense pilgrimage activities. Moreover, Gallipoli pilgrimages started to increase markedly in the 1990s. Bob Hawke was the first prime minister to visit Gallipoli on April 25, 1990, accompanied by several dozen military veterans. It marked the beginning of the Anzac resurgence. To revive the Anzac spirit, Howard accomplished more than any prior prime minister could do. Due to Howard, the Anzacs became a symbol of everything that was best about being an Australian (Piccini, 2021).

Further, friendship discourses have not developed in Australia due to these pilgrimage activities. Instead, they result from national discourses of Turkey and Australia and views of the Anzac tradition in Australia. Tourism cannot be considered independent of the structure of the socio-political environment in which it develops (Burns and Novelli, 2007). The warm relations between the two countries keep such tourism activities alive. The narratives of the guides are also a reflection of these meta-narratives and the relations between the two countries. Gallipoli imaginaries formed in pilgrims' minds as a result of the interaction between tourism and "ideological, political, sociocultural stereotypes and clichés." (Salazar and Graburn, 2014, p. 2). I will come back to this point in the following chapters.

It would also be an incomplete view to assume that Gallipoli pilgrims are open to different opinions just because they are tourists, as West argues (West, 2015, p. 46). I believe there is another reason the friendship discourse can flourish so well in the encounters between the Gallipoli pilgrims and the Turks. These narratives can capture two conflicting but main views towards the Anzac tradition in Australia at once.³² One of them is the critical perspective that questions the fact that a bloody war is at the root of

³² These contrasting opinions can be traced also in historiography. While early historians emphasis on Anzac values, contemporary historians do not have the same perspective towards the Anzac heritage. These histories illustrate the tragedy of young lives lost in war. For them, these losses were for no cause (Thomson, 2013: p. 225).

the country's identity. From this point of view, the pilgrims emphasize the futility of war. These soldiers could be friends because these two sides have no reason to fight. They could be free of hostility without political overtones. Another prevailing view in the country focuses on virtues in the Anzac tradition, such as mate ship, respect and honour. From this point of view, the Anzacs are generous enough to help and give gifts even to their enemies.

Acquiring historical information and contacts with others are essential aspects of Gallipoli pilgrims' experiences. In terms of feelings, the crucial elements also encompass empathy, pride and sorrow. However, many pilgrims have difficulties expressing themselves appropriately immediately after the experience. Thus, they need time to comprehend and articulate their emotions. Evidently, some dynamics are neglected while focusing only on contradictions from a critical standpoint. Two main perspectives should not be separated when evaluating the pilgrims' experience at Gallipoli. Firstly, we should not approach these pilgrims as passive recipients while acknowledging that particular historical and socio-political factors have a role in constructing their imagination. Secondly, their agency should be addressed in the context of their sentiments, experiences and encounters. J. Winter argues (2007, p.3) that "to privilege 'remembrance' is to insist on specifying agency, on answering the question who remembers, when, where, and how?". This does not mean Australians are not immune to others' interpretations of what Anzac heritage and Australian identity mean. Social interactionists like George Herbert Mead (1934) have taught us that identity is a dialogical process: through our interactions with others, we grow to understand who we are and what makes us who we are (Leite, 2011). Incorporating agency throughout this process will aid in both better documenting interactions and being able to notice, interpret, and explain disparities in pilgrim experiences. As Cohen (2002, p.17) warns us "we cannot take for granted the existence of common understandings and meanings among even closely knit groups of people: that is, that we should always be careful to distinguish between the appearance and the reality of an interpretation common to different individuals."

2.4 History of The Gallipoli Cemeteries

After perhaps all great wars – certainly after all modern ones – soldiers and relatives and, later, interested visitors have flowed to the battlefields; and one's mind could see Anzac, the most striking battlefield of that war, being the goal of pilgrimages from Britain and the Anzac countries ... Here was a battlefield in which, though the trenches could not be preserved – as was being done in some parts of France – the

graves themselves would mark the front line and even the farthest lines reached in the struggle, so heroic on both sides.

Bean, Gallipoli Mission , pp. 327–8.

It was even before the end of War that Gallipoli began to be considered as holy. Due to this importance attributed to the Peninsula, Australians began to feel attached to these lands. These soils started to be regarded as pilgrimage site. The Hon. J. P. Wilson's³³ speech at the Salvation Army memorial service can be shown as a conspicuous example of the perspective which dominated in 1915. In his speech, he endorsed the great expectation that the authorities would accomplish more to locate the brave's place. He said that this would enable "the Australians who visit Gallipoli to make their pilgrimages." They would visit "it as a sacred shrine, and offer up a prayer to Almighty God for the gallant men who lay beneath it." ("Strip of Gallipoli for Australia," 1915).

After the Allies evacuated Gallipoli, the Anzac cemeteries retained a worry until the end of the war. "In leaving Gallipoli," wrote a soldier, "there was nothing we felt so much as turning our backs on those graves with their hundreds of little crosses." ("The Graves of Gallipoli," 1916) The graves on Gallipoli were among their former foes, contrary to France and Belgium. This is why the British authorities did not deem graves to be protected (Reid et al., 2016, p.194).

Soldiers could only do their best in war conditions. Throughout the campaign, men's mates had meticulously cared for the ANZAC cemeteries (Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean, 1948, p. 61). Burials could be marked just by a rudimentary cross in small, improvised cemeteries under the conditions of that day (Walter, 1993, p. 63). Soldiers made crosses often from biscuit tins. Further, they carved the names onto tiny brass or metal plaques, and then these were fixed on the cross (Bean, 1948, p. 61). They were uneasy about leaving their dead mate in the hands of the Turks. As soon as the evacuation was confirmed, "there were never absent from the cemeteries men by themselves, or in twos and threes, erecting new crosses or tenderly "tidying-up" the grave of a friend." (Bean, 1924, p. 882).

³³ a politician in South Australia



Figure 2.4.1. “Gallipoli, 1915. One of the ANZAC cemeteries, showing white wooden crosses marking the burial places” (Australian War Memorial Archive, No: P01116.058)

Soldiers made one last effort to protect the graves. General Godley left a kind note to the Turkish leaders for the preservation of the graves of the soldiers of the Allied Forces in Anzac (King, 2011, p. 366). Writing to the Defence Minister just before the evacuation of Gallipoli he said (“Turkish Commander,” 1916):

I have written to the Turkish commander who will come in when we leave, asking him to take steps to preserve the graves of our men. I feel sure that this will be effected as Turks have been most honourable during the eight months we have been fighting them and will not do anything to desecrate our men's resting-places.

Leaders in Australia stressed the importance of this land. Mr. T. H. Ryan (The Premier of Queensland) was Australia's first leader to recommend the acquisition of the region. (Reid et al., 2016, p. 194). Giving a speech at the Anzac march in London, he "emphasised the pride felt in Australia when the people there heard of the doings of the Anzacs. He hoped that as the result of the War, Gallipoli would remain British soil and that a great mausoleum would be built in honour of the glorious dead. It would be a place of precious memory to Australians for all eternity." (“Anzac March in London,” 1916).

The Imperial War Grave Commission (IWGC)³⁴ founded as a necessity: the staggering number of dead compelled British officials to organise and standardise burial procedures. The inconvenient treatment of this mission may have impacted morale at home and on the front throughout the battle (Fuchs, 2004, p. 645). Some organisations already tried to raise money (Reid et al., 2016, p. 208) due to the concern for the graves. A small mobile unit initially carried out the mission of systematic care of the war dead. It was created in the second month of hostilities at Lord Kitchener's invitation by the Joint War Committee of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John (“Work of War Graves Commission,” 1947). It was tasked with registering, marking, and caring for the graves of British soldiers and responding to family requests, and, if possible, sending photos of the graves (Kipling, 1919, p. 2). The Graves Registration Commission developed from that mobile unit. It was later renamed the Directorate of Graves Registration and Inquiries. (“Work of War Graves Commission,” 1947).

Then IWGC was established during wartime. The Prince of Wales had taken an active interest in treating the graves at the Front (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 1). In 1917, encouraged by the Prince of Wales, Ware³⁵ sent a memorandum to the Imperial War Conference recommending establishing such an organisation. It was unanimously accepted, and on 21st May 1917, the Royal Charter created the Imperial War Graves Commission, with the Prince as President and Ware as Vice-Chairman (Official Website of Commonwealth War Graves, n.d.). One of the most important principles underlying the decisions of the Imperial War Conference of 1917 was that of securing the permanence of the War Graves (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 1).

At the Imperial War Conference in London in 1917, Massey³⁶ discussed the matter (Ziino, 2006, p. 2), proposing a solution (Reid et al., 2016, p. 195):

This Conference is strongly of opinion that when peace terms are being arranged, an earnest endeavour shall be made to place that part of the Gallipoli Peninsula where lie the remains of so many British and Oversea Dominion soldiers under the control of an Imperial organisation upon which Australia, New Zealand and India should be

³⁴ Known as Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) since 1960s.

³⁵ Major General Sir Fabian Ware, founder in 1917 of the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission and its Vice-Chairman until 1948. (Official Website of Westminster Abbey, n.d.)

³⁶ William Ferguson Massey PC (26 March 1856 – 10 May 1925). 19th Prime Minister of New Zealand.

represented for the purpose of ensuring that the bodies of the heroes who gave their lives for the Empire at the most critical time in all its history shall be cared for in a manner worthy of the deeds they performed and the sacrifices they made.

The Prince of Wales also urged the self-governing Dominions and other Empire sections to make plans to ensure that the graves were not neglected during the war. As accepted in the Imperial War Conference of 1918, the burden of the job was paid among all of the member nations in regards to the quantity of their dead (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 1). The Imperial War Graves Commission formed to address the needs of the families of the deceased in World War I. The Governments of the various Empire States agreed that the expense should be carried by all those for whom they had rendered the ultimate sacrifice. Thus, the Commission was established as a department responsible financially and administratively to these Governments, which provide the funds needed for their function out of public funds (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 1).

Regarding Gallipoli, two circumstances enabled the IWGC's particular attention and initiatives: British authorities' desire to contend and the condition of the territory within the area in which their soldiers served. And the fact that the battlefield in Anzac was practically uninhabited, harsh, and thus primarily unfit for cultivation, whilst did Suvla and Helles (Reid et al., 2016, p. 194). Much of the landscape on which the fighting took place was unfit for agricultural production. Thus, few former residents returned to the town. There was little motivation for anyone else to try to make a living there. Therefore, in the following years, the battleground's appearance, dominated by steep ridges and deep valleys, did not change (Reid et al., 2016, p. 192).

Moreover, the two nations, Australia and New Zealand, which had made the primary Allied efforts in the region, maintained a profound sentimental bond with this country. These factors caused minor alteration in the Anzac battlefield in the century passed since the Allies' evacuation (Reid et al., 2016, p. 192). This fact is incompatible with the history of the Gallipoli peninsula before the war. Peninsula is situated at Dardanelles's narrow neck, which connects the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Dardanelles is easy to conquer, and the Peninsula itself is simple to guard in the north. Over the ages, Anatolia and the Balkans have been shifting their controls over the Peninsula. Who controlled it ruled the two regions as well as maritime trade. Therefore,

the Peninsula has undergone continuous migration, conquest, and trade and cultural exchanges (Bademli, 2001, p. 6), and it had always contained a movement.

Near destruction in World War One, the Ottoman Empire had agreed to an armistice in October 1918. The war finished at Mudros on the 30th of October. The next day, Ware pointed to the Foreign Office to the Imperial War Conference resolution. The resolution reported that there was a widespread strong feeling regarding the protection of the graves. Meanwhile, New Zealand reiterated its fears over the potential control of the Gallipoli memorial sites. The New Zealand government was assured that measures would be taken to establish the authority of the land occupied by graves. The help soon arrived from Australia (Reid et al., 2016, p. 195).

The Treaty of Sèvres was signed in Paris on August 10, 1920. Turkey was forced to make severe territorial compromises, including the internationalization of the Dardanelles (Ziino, 2006, p. 3). The international zone that the Treaty designated was stretching between the European and Anatolian shores of the Sea of Marmara and also comprising Gallipoli Peninsula. The Greeks took possession of all of Thrace west of Istanbul (Istanbul) to 40km. Moreover, they acquired control of a large section of the international demilitarised zone under the Straits Commission's jurisdiction, including the Peninsula. Concerning Gallipoli war graves, the land described in the triangulation scheme became British (Reid et al., 2016, p. 197). However, the Lausanne agreement signed on 24 July 1923 substituted the Treaty of Sevres (Macleod, 2015, p. 163).

The sanctity of the British graves played a significant part in the talks with the Turks at Lausanne in 1923 (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 4). With the new Treaty, Allies has gained control of the region (West, 2015, p. 36; Macleod, 2015, p. 163). It provided full recognition of the Commission's principles of perpetual maintenance (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 36). 'Anzac Ground' under the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's responsibility contains the ground of particular cemetery fields and memorials. In London, Alan Box, the Commonwealth's Official Secretary, sought to advocate for the 'Anzac Estate,' which he defined as a 'huge burial ground' that could be consecrated in its entirety. On the other hand, the Imperial War Graves Commission opposed the proposal of consecrated land for the whole district. It followed the recommendation of its architect, Sir John Burnet, who advised against such a scheme due to realistic concerns about the scale and environmental conditions

(Ziino, 2006, p. 3). Today, interpreting the Treaty remains challenging (Ziino, 2012, p. 145).

Today, Gallipoli Peninsula is a part of the territory of Turkey and Turkey retains the sovereignty (Department of Veterans' Affairs, n.d.):

Part V, section 128 of the Treaty states:

The Turkish Government undertakes to grant to the Governments of the British Empire and in perpetuity the land within the Turkish territory in which are situated the graves, cemeteries, ossuaries or memorials of their soldiers and sailors who fell in action. The Turkish Government undertakes further to give free access to these graves, cemeteries, ossuaries and memorials, and if need be to authorise the construction of the necessary roads and pathways.

In this respect, Article 129 mentions 'the region known as ANZAC, Ari Burnu'. Article 135 states that the Turkish Government undertakes 'to maintain in perpetuity the roads leading to this land' (Department of Veterans' Affairs, n.d.).

After the armistice, there was a rapid Allied presence at Gallipoli. It was a project that symbolically reworked the Gallipoli landscape (Ziino, 2006). Australia took over responsibility for the IWGC's work at Gallipoli. The ANZAC ESTATE, also known as the triangulation plan, was the section of territory on which ANZAC cemeteries were located. Specifically, Australia requested the territory on this plan. It incorporated 'Old Anzac' and the Turkish trenches on the opposite side (Reid et al., 2016, p. 196). In the following period, while IWGC was carrying out the construction works, there were also disagreements between Turks and Australians. These disputes were regarding the region's boundaries that the Treaty of Lausanne gave under the IWGC's control (Macleod, 2015, p. 94). However, The Treaty also provided for the creation of a Boundary Commission to address on-the-spot problems concerning burial places, as well as to carry out the task of granting official recognition to established burial places for the Turkish Government's perpetual grant of the ground (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 36). Thus, the disputes were resolved and not affected the construction works (Reid et al., 2016, p. 201).

The British Army Graves Registry Unit (GRU) landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula on November 10th 1919 with maps of individual burial sites that the AIF possessed. GRUs were responsible for identifying all established cemeteries, then locating and labelling

graves. Lieutenant-Colonel Cyril Hughes was officially charged with looking after Australian graves and cemeteries and reporting on conditions at Gallipoli (Bean, 1948, p. 71; Ziino, 2006, p. 2). Previously, Chaplain W. E. Dexter had traced the battlefield meticulously. He was a boat captain in the dangerous business of transporting Muslim tourists' shiploads up the Red Sea. He carefully mapped the graves with an inspector among soldiers, and now Hughes had the plans of Dexter and the general statistics of deaths at Anzac (Bean, 1948, p. 61).

In 1917, the Vatican authorities were requested to interfere with the Ottoman government. When a Papal envoy paid an official visit to the Peninsula to guarantee the graves' maintenance, he found that the graves and grave markers (crosses) were in good repair (Reid et al., 2016, p. 208). But when Bean and Hughes visited Gallipoli, they saw Dexter's plan did not match the graves' location in some cemeteries. Immediately after the evacuation, Hughes believed, Turkish soldiers had used the crosses to light fire. Therefore, the graves were left unmarked. Furthermore, Hugh thought that as the news had reached the Turks that the Pope's representative was on his way, they wanted to convey an impression that they adequately cared for the graves. Therefore, they tried to tidy them up in their own way.

For this reason, some graves were irrespective of the actual ones (Bean, 1948, p. 63). As Bean had reported, the team had been incredibly successful in finding the real cemeteries. Hugh discovered a unique method: by poking with a steel rifle rod, it was possible to see where the graves were located. The rod sunk where the grave was but had to face considerable resistance elsewhere. He had examined all the cemeteries in this manner and soon found the boundaries of each cemetery (Bean, 1948, p. 64).

Several Turkish and Greek farmers who were then returning seemed to own the Anzac area. On the other hand, the site featured the most impressive battlefield in the world in addition to the graves. It also had an extensive collection of relics, including lifeboats and gun carriages, as well as many shell pieces (Bean, 1948, p. 71).³⁷ Bean proposed to allow Hughes to select a group of five Australian officers and N.C.O.'s, and 100 Egyptian staff to do the job by agreement with the Graves Commission. That was

³⁷ Included in the Peninsula are the sites of well-known World War I Çanakkale (Dardanelles) naval, and Gelibolu Peninsula (Gallipoli) land battles. The Peninsula holds an extensive range of sunken ships, guns, trenches, forts, bastions and a myriad of other war related artefacts together with Turkish, Australian, New Zealand, English and French War graves and memorials (Bademli, 2001).

urgent since the current traces would eventually be destroyed by environmental conditions and the inhabitants who returned (Bean, 1948, p. 72).

Before the main battles in 1915, the Greek and Turkish civilian inhabitants living in the villages on the Gallipoli peninsula either escaped or were displaced. Only a few Greeks moved to their homes in the towns on the Peninsula when World War One ended on 11 November 1918, and they did so for a brief time only. It was the major Greek failure in August 1922, after which the rest of the Greeks emigrated permanently during the Turkish War of Independence (Thys-Şenocak, 2019, p. 472; Kaptan, 2002, pp. 154-155). With the end of the War of Independence, Turkish and Greek citizens admitted that it would be difficult to live together after the events they experienced in their recent history. Thus, the Greeks in the eastern Thrace and Anatolia were replaced by the Turks in Greece. Only some minorities in Istanbul were allowed to stay (Mccarthy, 1997). Thus, the ancient port of Madytos, and a Greek village were still filled with refugees at the beginning of the 1920s (Elston, 1923).

Moreover, between 1930 and 1940, the villages of Gallipoli received some Turkish immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria (Thys-Şenocak, 2019). The Peninsula now encompasses the municipality of Eceabat (Maydos, ancient Maydtos) and eight villages. The everyday lives of the Peninsula's residents, on the other hand, are not bound to the activities of the Peninsula's ever-increasing tourists nor to the Peninsula's annual national and foreign commemoration ceremonies (Bademli, 2001, p. 7).

In the early years following the war, many individual visitors went to the battlefields searching for graves (Walter, 1993, p. 63). But for the three years following the war's end, the battlefield was still in a premature state. Bean visited Gallipoli three years after the war and reported that there were still the skulls and bones in many places. Since they would be distressing for visitors, Gallipoli should have been closed to visitors until the work in these areas was completed (Bean, 1924, pp. 383-384). Cemeteries were built in the form suggested by Bean. Construction commenced late in 1919 and lasted five years (Inglis, 1966). Bean recommended that photographs of each grave be sent to the mourning family by the Grave Commission upon completion. No guests other than those undertaking official checks could have been approved before the whole project was completed. Moreover, he foresaw that the visits might probably be made via Çanakkale.

Thus, if the roads were maintained, it would be possible to visit the Anzac area with a one-day visit in the summer months (Bean, 1948, p. 72).

Relatives expressed a strong desire for photographs of the graves, too. However, the Commission was unable to satisfy these constant and persistent requests for photos of finished cemeteries and memorials. They presented selections to accompany the annual Reports, and several photos were even included in the press. An Illustrated Guide to All the Cemeteries and Memorials in France and Belgium³⁸ was also issued. It comprised reproductions of photographs of each in these two nations. As a result, every relative could have a picture of every British graveyard or monument (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1929a, p. 3). Australian parents required their sons' names to be traced from memorials. Others wanted the 'sacred earth' of Gallipoli to be returned home. And many desired the temporary crosses that had once stood over their sons', fathers', and brothers' graves (Crane, 2013, p. 199).

The battlefields were situated all over Eastern Europe, in Africa, in the Middle East and thus war cemeteries. The British Empire had 1,019,882 graves (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 2). Despite being so high in numbers, small cemeteries had not been relocated to bigger ones (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 2). Bean also advised that all cemeteries and isolated burial sites be preserved at their original positions (Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean, 1948, p. 72). Numerous factors led to this. During the fight, approved burial places were chosen, some in the trenches. Soldiers were told that if they took their fallen comrades to these sites, as they often did at the cost of their life, the fallen would remain there forever undisturbed. This pledge has been upheld in all situations, with the exception of a few instances when the location initially chosen was found to be completely unsuitable (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 2). Symbolic actions, rather than returning the dead to their hometown, were carried out in several nations. Canada, Australia and New Zealand recognised a grave in the Motherland as representing its unknown soldiers (J. Winter, 1995, p. 27).³⁹

³⁸ "The Silent Cities" by Sidney C. Hurst. Rudyard Kipling, whose only son had died in the war, first called them 'Silent Cities' of the dead, a place where the memory of those who had fallen lived on.

³⁹ This situation was broken by one exception on 11 November 1993. An unknown soldier lying in one of the CWGC cemeteries was brought to Australia and buried at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra following a military funeral (Winter, 2014, pp.27-28).

The number of unknown soldiers was heart-breaking: about half of the men who fell in battle were untraceable. The chaos and risk of the battlefield prevented the systematic retrieval of bodies and identification tags. Moreover, most of the times, the sun was strong enough to decompose the bodies rapidly. The exhumation parties were required to perform their duties in the darkness of night (Crane, 2013, p. 92, 141; King, 2011, p. 99; Winter, 1995, p. 36). They had to create collective graves without collecting the tags. As a result, many families learned that their loved ones had gone missing and believed to be killed in battle. The situation was problematic for relatives who received the missing news. Their loved ones may have been captured as a war prisoner, or mortally wounded, or might have needed medical attention. In any case, something tragic was inevitable but difficult to anticipate (J. Winter, 1995, p. 36).

Moreover, the graves had been abandoned at the hands of an Ottoman enemy in a hostile setting. This was upsetting enough for relatives who had been struggling to survive in near-complete darkness for three years. The strange connections that had wound themselves around the name of Gallipoli made it much more difficult for families who did not know whether or not their son or husband had a grave (Crane, 2013, p. 140). Thus, there was ambiguity and confusion at the very end of the war. The discovery took place before the commemoration (J. Winter, 1995, pp. 27-28). But the Gallipoli frontline was confusing and difficult to trace. Men disappeared in the first minutes of arriving, promptly got lost in the bush and the gullies. They reemerged after recovering in Mudros, and again they limped down to the beaches (Scates, 2014, p. 7).⁴⁰ In 1931, an Australian woman was discovered weeping with relief at the Gallipoli grave of a son she had believed was lost. In the remembrance column, another Australian mother whose son, Jack Fothergill, was killed on the first day wrote: 'If only I could see your grave, I would die happy' (Crane, 2013, p. 181). It was toughest for families to learn a man was missing: "the suspense of never knowing described as terrible, maddening, unbearable" (Scates, 2014, p. 6). Missing memorials were the only places where the bereaved families could both bond and relieve these feelings.

In other cases, if the news that reaches the relatives was the death of their loved ones, they too had to cope with their own difficulties. At Gallipoli, almost 330,000

⁴⁰ Everything is now smoother and simpler in Gallipoli and other theatres. The CWGC operates a database that assists in identifying Commonwealth war dead graves and memorials. The CWGC website may be used to find the location of a certain grave or memorial.

Australians who participated in the Australian Imperial Force were 12,000 miles away from their hometown. They used clergy members to communicate with their families. Such contact could occur at 10-14 days intervals. The wait was much prolonged at times (J. Winter, 1995, p. 35). For this reason, it wasn't already easy to get news from the front. The case was not any better as the soldiers' families learned about their deaths.

The soldiers' families were receiving the news of the death by an official letter. It was a purely procedural, regular letter voicing official sorrow. Between the front and the bereaved, two additional correspondence followed the official one. The first letter came from the soldier's unit. This was less formal than the official statement. Even though the officer wrote it by hand, three regular messages were in the text: his unit loved the soldier, he was a decent soldier, and he passed away without suffering (J. Winter, 1995, p. 35). The details learned from those with him on the front could shed light on the soldier's last moments and feelings. These letters could be more humane and more brutal at once, unlike the formal ones (J. Winter, 1995, p. 36). But the families of the deceased had only little information about where their loved-ones were buried and what might have been written on the head of their graves (Reid et al., 2016, p. 207).

One example of these letters is the one Captain Fry wrote to Annie Kirkpatrick (Simpson's sister). John Simpson Kirkpatrick is best remembered today as 'the man with the donkey.' Simpson was, like all of his comrades, an Englishman, and one of the most popular personalities of the AIF (Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.-c). The letter as follows (*Captain Fry's Letter to Annie Kirkpatrick (Simpson's Sister)*, 1915):

Dear Miss Simpson,

(...)

Your brother landed with us from the torpedo boat at daybreak on the 25th April so taking part in the historic landing. He did excellent work during the day. He discovered a donkey in a deserted hut, took possession, & worked up & down a dangerous valet carrying wounded men to the beach on the donkey. This plan was a very great success, so he continued day by day from morning till night, & became one of the best known men in the division. Everyone from the general downwards seems to have known him & his donkey which he christened Murphy. The valley at the time was very dangerous as it was exposed to snipers, & was also continuously shelled. He scorned the danger, & always kept going whistling & singing, a universal favourite. So he worked for three weeks. On the night of the 18th May, as you will have read in the papers, the Turks made a heavy attack on our position. Early in the

morning as usual your brother was at work, when a Turkish machine gun played on the track where he was passing, the days of his almost miraculous escapes were passed, for he fell on the spot shot thro' the heart. He truly died doing his duty.

We buried him that night on a little hill near the sea shore known as Queensland Point, Chaplain Colonel Green of our Division reading the service.

(...)

I am enclosing you with this letter a set of the Ambulance Regimental Badges, which you have desired. (...)

In conclusion I wish to express the deep sympathy of our whole unit with Mrs Simpson & yourself in your sad bereavement. Believe me.

Yours sincerely, H. Kenneth Fry Capt.

3 F. Amb.

Voluntary organisations were established in several countries to aid in discovering the facts. The Red Cross, the recognised medium between combatants with specific responsibilities for prisoners of war, was their traditional model. The war-dynamic concepts expressed here include 'adoptive kinship'. Starting from 1915, three Australian Red Cross Information Bureau were in service in Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, with local affiliates in Cairo, Paris, and London. They reported home, searching for loved ones in the hospitals, base depots, battlefields, prisoner-of-war camps and signs of survival or demise (J. Winter, 1995, p. 36). Even after the war, people in different parts of the empire continued to help each other. One example was the National Federation of Women's Institute's arrangement in 1930 for their local divisions to take an interest in the Dominion soldiers' graves throughout the United Kingdom. They also gladly supplied any details needed. There were 7,162 graves they took care, and these graves were dispersed across the whole country. They aimed that relatives in distant locations of the Empire would believe that these graves earn personal and individual consideration (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1931, p. 8).

Graves were the most crucial link for grieving families of the dead soldiers. It was the name engraved on the headstone or the monument that enticed the bereaved families. The mourners took photos of the epitaph that bore their loved one's name, and sometimes, they would kiss their headstone (Lloyd, 1998, p. 135). A significant amount of communication was needed to manufacture the headstones. The next of kin was contacted in order to learn about the religious symbol and the person's name at the foot of the

headstone in every case. IWGC's experience quickly demonstrated that it was indeed essential to request that they verify the initials and spelling of the name (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 2). As part of the honour for the deceased, these attempts were crucial.

The size, proportions, and upper curve were decided by a special Committee of artists and architects since it was vital to discover the best opinion possible from both an aesthetic and a practical perspective. For example, the longevity of these stones was primarily dependent on the effectiveness of the curve at the top in deflecting rain away from the inscription. The designed curve has been considered to be the most efficient in this regard. A replica of the badge which the dead soldier carried in his cap was engraved on each headstone. If the grave was that of a general officer who did not have his regimental badge, it was nevertheless inscribed on his headstone through public demand (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 2). On the upper part of the stone, the name, age, military rank, and other identifying information were engraved, with a cross or other suitable religious symbol (such as the six-pointed Star of David for a soldier of the Jewish faith) in the centre and below was a text or other personal tribute selected by the relatives (Kenyon, 1918, pp. 10-11; Kipling, 1919, p. 11). The unknown soldier's headstone, which had the words "Known unto God" on it, was too common (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 2).

In 1922, authorities were discussing the question of erecting a purely Australian national memorial. It was not far-fetched in 1922 that this prominent Australian memorial would be on Lone Pine. It would assume the shape of an obelisk with a cross in relief on it ("A.I.F. Memorials. On the Battlefields. Where Pilgrims Place Flowers," 1922). Sir Frederic Kenyon, the director of the British Museum, recommended in his report that central monuments should be "simple, durable, dignified and expressive of the higher feelings" with which they regard their dead (Kenyon, 1918, p.10). This was the main point of departure for adopting such style. Obelisks have been erected as commemorative structures for thousands of years (Tonks, 2020, p. 112). Due to their symbolic nature, which features basic and timeless forms and pictures, they are evaluated as particularly well-suited for representing the ideas of dominance and military superiority (Borg, 1991, p. 2). In the same vein, the Imperial War Graves Commission also stated in its fifth report that these monuments were reflecting the British race's accomplishments:

“These cemeteries and memorials, which have been built in honour of the dead, are at the same time monuments-unique in history to the achievements of the British race and the British Commonwealth of Nations; they are in all parts of the old world, and in that which was unknown to ancient empires and conquerors; and they will bear a message to future generations as long as the stone of which they are constructed endures.” (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 6).

According to Bean's report in 1919, about 2,000 Australians killed during the campaign were buried in Egypt, Malta and Limni. About 6000 were recorded as having been killed in Gallipoli. Of these, only 3500 soldiers' graves could be identified by 1919. There was a possibility that some of the remaining 2500 soldiers were next to the same unit's men who were killed on the same day. The team could pinpoint them. The rest, however, were killed in No-man's-land and were either buried during May armistice or were still there as unburied. Their Australian kits enabled the team to recognise them (Bean, 1948, p. 71, 382). Some soldiers were buried at sea or the bases since they died on hospital ships (Bean, 1948, p. 62).

By 1921, about 38 cemeteries comprising nearly 16,000 known graves were created in Gallipoli. There were three crucial parts of the Peninsula, which were called Anzac, Suvla and Helles. There would be 27 cemeteries in the Anzac district, with nearly 5,500 known and unidentified graves. Suvla would have four cemeteries with a total of almost 4,200 graves. In Helles, there would be seven cemeteries holding approximately 6,000 graves. The principal architect, Sir John Burnet, had planned a collection of designs for these cemeteries. There were still about 20,000 missings in this region in 1921, and the idea of commemorating them was also being debated (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1921, p. 8). In May 1921, a contract was signed to construct the above-mentioned, and work was underway. Memorials to the Missing were being planned for Lone Pine (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1922, p. 8). The cemeteries frequently carried the names assigned to the sites throughout the war, adding emotional resonance to the resting-place of thousands: Baby 700, Embarkation Pier, Lone Pine, Quinn's Post, Shell Green, and Shrapnel Valley, all at Anzac (Haythornthwaite, 1991, p. 90).

In 1925, although new graves were being discovered weekly, many "lost" soldiers and sailors had no defined graves except the sea. They couldn't get headstones on their homes, but the Empire's governments had decided that they should have a record in stone. Some proposed that headstones be erected in their honour in cemeteries. However, there

was widespread opposition to giving the mistaken idea of the presence of a grave that this might imply. The Imperial War Graves Commission's participating countries have not all addressed the commemoration of these citizens in the same manner. With a cohesive force that remained united during the battle, New Zealand had documentation that enabled her to honour them in the cemetery where they died. The United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India all adhered to a single structure at times together and at others independently (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925).

It had already been arranged in 1925 that all ships traveling through the Dardanelles in the future to sight a statue rising 100 feet toward the sky on the highest ground above Cape Helles. The names of all the ships and military forces who took part in the Gallipoli war would be engraved on this. The names of military forces comprised 12,000 men from the Great Britain and Ireland who died on the Peninsula and 200 Australians fallen in the Helles district (the remainder were commemorated on the Lone Pine Memorial). The Indian Army's missing would also be commemorated on this memorial. In that location, the memorial would serve as a permanent landmark for ships navigating these seas. It stood at the same height as the Colossus of Rhodes (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 4).

The most challenging task was on the Gallipoli Peninsula among the British War Graves. Thirty-one cemeteries were stretching from Suvla Bay to Anzac Cove. "They were all then in Turkish territory, from which the Greek population had been "exchanged" so that these in the Helles area were among a Muslim population (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 4). Neither the upright headstones nor the great Cross of Sacrifice, with its bronze sword, were suitable for the conditions which will govern their maintenance in the future (Crane, 2013, p. 187; Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 4). As an early English visitor in the graveyards said, the Gallipoli memorial architect had to consider that he created a Christian monument in a Mohammedan nation. It would be potentially enticing anyone of another religion to actions of desecration, with the severe diplomatic implications that such acts would entail (Inglis, 1966).⁴¹ As a result,

⁴¹ Mr. Kipling mentioned them as ". . . a carven Stone, and a stark Sword brooding on the bosom of the Cross," in his poem about the King's pilgrimage in May 1922. In every cemetery there was the Great Cross of Sacrifice, built by the Commission's Principal Architects, Blomfield. To accommodate the measurements of the graveyard, it was different in scale. Its white-stone design was indeed like old guns and weapons on a wall. The bronze sword reflected the shifting lights. The design of this Cross captivated the public

Burnet's job at Gallipoli included some challenges, resulting in several architectural deviations from the commission's guidelines. These deviations consisted of using a walled cross rather than the freestanding Cross of Sacrifice and the use of "simple sloped stones" rather than headstones (Yılmaz, 2014, p. 336). "The departures from the standards of the Western Front were dictated by necessity, not by disagreement with the commission's principles, of which Burnet was a staunch supporter," writes Philip Longworth in his history of the commission (Longworth, 2003, p. 112).

"Stone of Remembrance" and "Cross of Sacrifice" have been associated with the monuments over time. While their origins are unknown, they have been widely embraced. The Remembrance Stone was to be found in all major cemeteries. As an almost ten-ton monolith, its proportions rendered it a memorial as enduring as any man-made work would be. Each stone bore the inscription "Their name liveth for evermore." engraved in broad letters (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 3). Kipling later noted that the inscription was selected from the book of *Ecclesiasticus*⁴² for the Stone of Remembrance (Kipling, 1919, p. 11).

imagination indeed. Its symbolism was a little ambiguous and subject to multiple interpretations. To some, the sword was "itself the Cross"; to others the sword symbolised "the offering up in sacrifice of those who perished by the sword", and for all who accept the Cross seemed "to have found in it something which responds to their individual feelings. (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, pp. 2-3).

⁴² Ecclesiasticus, also known as the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, is a deuterocanonical theological text (accepted in the Roman Catholic canon but considered noncanonical by Jews and Protestants), a seminal work of religious literature in the wisdom category. ((Britannica, n.d.))



Figure 2.4.2. *"Cross of Sacrifice for the WWI fallen soldiers. Delville Wood Memorials in South Africa"*
(Australian War Memorial Archive, No: H18531)

The cemeteries were required to be constructed of local stone. They were bordered by large, monumental stone walls that formed natural enclosures. The design's most notable element was an ashlar masonry screen wall at the cemetery's upper end. A wide plain cross in relief was carved into the colossal stonework itself in the middle of this screen wall. The Stone of Remembrance was erected in the larger cemeteries, identical to the one in France. The ten-ton monolith could not be transported across these roads and the valleys. In some instances, the screen wall was substituted with a giant tower bearing the missing names. Such a pylon stood about 50 feet high in Lone Pine Cemetery, with the cross carved through all of its four sides (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1926, pp. 10-11). This memorial bears the names of 3,840 Australians and 1,007 New Zealand soldiers who perished in the region and have no documented graves, as well as of 1,250 men from the two Dominions who died at sea (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925).



Figure 2.4.8 *4th Battalion Parade Ground Cemetery, Anzac, Gallipoli. (3 United Kingdom, 107 Australia, 6 Unknown.)(Australian War Memorial Archive. No: H18640)*

4th Battalion Parade Ground Cemetery, Anzac, Gallipoli. (3 United Kingdom, 107 Australia, 6 Unknown.)

By the 1920s, France and Belgium had already been receiving visitors since the end of the war. The relatives from the Dominions and the United Kingdom visited the graves in France and in Belgium on an individual and independent basis in ever-growing numbers (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1927, p. 3). These cemeteries on the Western Front attracted more than 60,000 visitors yearly in the 1920s. In 1928, many Pilgrimages were made to France and Belgium from the Dominions and the United Kingdom. Approximately 80,000 names were registered in the Visitors' Books. Moreover, it was also remarked that hundreds of others left without registering (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1928, p.33; Imperial War Graves Commission, 1929a, p. 32). One of the year's major highlights was the Legion of Honor Pilgrimage. It resulted in 12,000 veterans parading in Ypres and the moving tribute to the Menin Gate on August 8th, 1928 (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1929b, p. 40). During the 1930s, the general interest in war cemeteries and memorials abroad remained high. Reports indicated

that the number of visitors rose significantly (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1932, p. 3). The Menin Gate remained a remarkable pilgrimage spot in its associations (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1931, p. 6). Reports also stated that there were a large number of younger people in Britain, who had grown up since the war and who were known to be attracted not only by attachment to the memory of some man commemorated there, but by a pride in these British memorials themselves (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1932, p. 4). Thus, by the end of the 1930s, there seemed to be no lessening in the interest taken in the cemeteries and memorials. The number of visitors who signed the Visitors' Books at British War Cemeteries or Memorials was approximately 160.000 (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1940, p. 28). Besides those visitors, the French citizens had a persistent and increasing connection to the British Empire's War Cemeteries established in their towns and villages. While British in style, they also sparked their interest owing to their architectural and horticultural style. On Sundays and holidays, they were a popular destination for those looking for a place to go for an afternoon or evening stroll. French residents in the neighbourhood sometimes held spontaneous commemoration events, often without notifying the Commission's workers on the spot (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1927, p. 4).

However, it was by the mid-1920s that the cemeteries on Gallipoli and other fronts were also completed. Thus, families who wanted to see their loved ones lying at these lands did not want to wait any longer. Well-organized pilgrimages had been carried out to Italy, Salonica, Gallipoli and the East, owing to the initiative of organizations such as the St. Barnabas Hostels (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1927, p. 3). Therefore, Gallipoli was no longer a place visible only from ships for longing eyes. Preparations were completed, and the construction work yielded favourable results. Furthermore, the landscaping was meticulously designed for both visitors and eternal residents of the site. Considerable progress in horticulture had been made. Rosemary was a special touch in all the cemeteries. In the 1930s, flowers such as stocks, wallflowers, iris, anemones, phlox and zinnias and the standard roses were introduced too (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1934, p. 35).

Families and the public in Great Britain and the Dominions, who could not visit cemeteries on the distant fronts of war, were urged to find in their own countries instances of headstones and monuments erected by the Commission. In Great Britain, for example,

there were a few big cemeteries without Great War graves but had identical plain headstones as ones on battlefields. The Cross of Sacrifice could be often found in several of those cemeteries (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1927, p. 17).

The Ottomans buried their dead during the war and built cemeteries and memorial structures. Some were serendipitous structures that were lost, demolished or extensively reestablished. Two decades after the Turkish War of Independence, a significant national initiative was undertaken to honour the Ottomans who died while fighting on the Peninsula. The initiative was a large memorial complex called Abide (Thys-Şenocak, 2019). Today, the memorial is one of the main attractions in the Peninsula. The project was selected at a competition out of 37 projects. The memorial foundations were laid in 1954, and the memorial was opened in 1960 (*Guidebook of Gallipoli Historic Site*, 2016, p. 87). Moreover, Turks have built some monuments that encompass both sides, which also appeal to Australian and New Zealand visitors. West (2015) evaluates this situation as part of the dialogic structure of Gallipoli. For him, it is not just the monuments but also the interactions of Australian visitors and locals are dialogic (West, 2015, p. 37).

Further, West argues that the lack of national memorials in the Anzac Cove region spurred the construction of other monuments focused exclusively on Turkish heritage and culture, too (West, 2015, p. 36). At Chunuk Bair, the battlefield that had witnessed the victory of both sides and there are two different monuments. The New Zealand monument and the Atatürk statue, which was placed where a bullet hit Atatürk's pocket watch, stand opposite each other in close proximity. He puts forth that these monuments were designed in response to the Allies' monuments (West, 2015, p. 37). In fact, the Turks built a victory monument in Lone Pine in 1915. In December that same year, they built another monument to Nek to honour their victory (Waite, 1921, pp. 296, 299). Thus, the first memorialization attempts were officially initiated by the Turks in 1915. However, these monuments disappeared during the intensive production of memorials and cemeteries of the Allied Powers who returned to Gallipoli in 1918 with the provisions of the Mudros Armistice Treaty until 1926 (Yılmaz, 2011, p. 195). There was a third memorial that was erected in 1919, and that one could survive to the present day. It is the Sergeant Mehmet Memorial (*Guidebook of Gallipoli Historic Site*, 2016, p. 155).



Figure 2.4.9. "Turkish monument erected on Lone Pine after the evacuation" (Australian War Memorial Archive, 1919, No: G01752)



Figure 2.4.10. "The Turkish monument known as Sergeant Mehmet's Tomb marks the Turkish positions at The Nek." (Australian War Memorial Archive, 1919, No: P07906.150)

In Turkey, battlefields, war remains, museums, and war-related artefacts are designated as "historical sites and objects." They must be preserved and their integrity maintained. Numerous archaeological sites and monuments dating back to 4.000 BC in the Peninsula have also been documented for restoration. Beaches, ravines, woods blended with Mediterranean underbrush, geological and geomorphologic landscapes with breath-taking views, a salt lake, and an interesting array of 'cultural heritage' including rare specimens of 15th-century military architecture are among the numerous natural sites and monuments (Bademli, 2001, p. 7). Therefore, Gallipoli became one of the first Turkish national parks. The first national parks were established in the late 1960s by coordination between the US National Park Service (USNPS), and the Turkish State Planning Organisation. A project was planned to build twelve Turkish national parks. Moreover, during 1970s, the environment and the protection had been an official part of Turkey's Five Year Development Strategy in 1973-78 (Thys-Şenocak, 2019). Thus, the Peninsula established in 1973 and included in the UN List of National Parks and Protected Areas (Bademli, 2001, p. 5; Fewster et al., 2003).

In the 1970s, numerous architectural contests were organised for the Gallipoli National Historical Park to create several commemorative projects. In these competitions, it was decided that Gallipoli should be approached in winning designs as an outdoor museum. Ahmet Gülgönen's Conkbayırı Mehmetçik Park epigraphic monuments was a project prepared with this perspective in the 1970s. He designed the five stone monoliths and depicted a hand-turned upward to God. They were devoted to "Mehmetcik," the soldiers who lost their lives in this war. All have a Turkish inscription, mirrored on an English plaque and tells a narrative (Holt & Holt, 2019). The descriptions represent the turning points of the Turkish army's fight in Conkbayır. Apart from the tours, a large number of tourists encounter with them especially during the Conk Bayr service.

In 1985, the area formally named Anzak Koyu, or Anzac Cove, by the Turkish government (Inglis & Brazier, 2008, p. 521) since Gallipoli provides an example of conflict may evolve into an opportunity for peace, as well as social and cultural change. Moreover, the Anzac Day commemorations on 25 April gained a more multicultural flavour with the involvement of an official Turkish delegation. Since then, Anzac Day commemorations have developed into a significant international phenomenon, attracting

growing numbers of domestic and international visitors, boosting tourism in the region (Bademli, 2001, p. 8).

During the construction process of the cemeteries, Charles Bean's report in 1919 was followed. Only pilgrims were considered, and memorial ceremonies were not taken into account in the battlefields design. (West, 2015, p. 37). On the other hand, the number of pilgrims attending the annual dawn service at Ari Burnu Cemetery had risen in the second half of the 1990s to such an extent that the cemetery can no longer accommodate them without severe damage. Therefore, the Australian and New Zealand governments suggested a new commemorative site along the cemetery's shore. Following agreements with the Turkish authorities, in time for the 85th anniversary of the landings, the Office of Australian War Graves completed the ANZAC commemorative site. At a ceremony that thousands of compatriots attended, the place was officially opened by the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand (Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 2000, pp. 14-15).

This commemorative site was constructed by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, with support from the Australian and New Zealand Governments, and with the permission of the Turkish Government (Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.-d). It was established between the sea and the cliffs at North Beach, the open space enclosed in a low native heath allowing for a large attendance. A linking path structure to Ari Burnu cemetery was established on the site, allowing tourists to pass this sacred site marking the landing of troops at dawn in 1915 (West, 2015, p. 37). At the same time, on behalf of the Turkish Embassy, the Commission's local supervisor in Israel undertook the creation of a new Turkish Memorial at the Ramleh War Cemetery. These concrete symbols of cooperation provided even stronger ties between nations that embrace a shared obligation to remember their war dead (Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 2000, p. 15).

Even so, the commemorative dilemma of fulfilling the demand for those who wish to attend the centennial ceremony for Anzac Day has not been solved due to shortcomings in the design of the Anzac Commemorative Site. The Turkish authorities indicated that a minimalist style should be implemented in the commemoration area. In line with this point of view, no changes were made in the natural slope of the area. The retaining wall was designed to accompany the wild pitch, and the skirts' slope was preserved (West,

2015, pp. 38- 39).⁴³ Audio-visual screens were erected so that the pilgrims could see the area of the ritual more clearly. But even camera lights were not permitted during the Australian Dawn Service. Therefore, some groups found the situation in Turkey to be inappropriate. The primary explanation was that the services were more like an entertaining experience than a remembrance service due to these giant screens (West, 2015, p. 39).

On 25 July 1994, there was a fire in the Gallipoli Peninsula National Historical Park. The flames consumed five cemeteries, which included the graves of 4697 diggers and defoliated the previously afforested landscapes. Fortunately, the Lone Pine Australian monument and Anzac Cove remained almost undamaged. There had been some discoloration on grave markers, but this could quickly be cleared up. The gravestones themselves were still labelled, which was crucial (“Gallipoli Graveyards Ravaged by Bushfires,” 1994). This situation also led to need for collaboration between Australia and Turkey, as Lausanne applies only to individual cemeteries and not to the property around the cemeteries (“Bones Found as Gallipoli Tree-Felling Leaves Trenches Open to Erosion,” 1991).

In 1997, the Government extended the Gallipoli Peninsula National Historical Park program as a peace park to reconsider, restaurate and rehabilitate the region after the 1994 bush fires. A competition was organized by the International Union of Architects and performed by the METU University of Ankara. The selection committee composed of architects from Australia, New Zealand, and seven other nations. The Peace Park Competition aimed for new millennium ideas and strived to create a world where alternatives to battle can be conceived and promoted (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 147). Bademli (2001) evaluates the fire as a blessing in disguise. He argues that it exposed inadequacies of the Peninsula Administration and encouraged a better plan for the Peninsula. Moreover, it sensitized authorities and public opinion on landscaping interventions in historical sites (Bademli, 2001, p. 8).

⁴³ However, the Commemorative Site's focus is a low wall that serves on Anzac Day as a platform for dignitaries. The wall serves an educational function, with 10 wide panels consisting of historical accounts and photos that facilitate an adequate understanding of the movement. The panels have a greater educational impact on the website of the Australian Department of Veterans Affairs as a teaching platform for the classrooms (West, 2015, pp. 37-38).

In 2000, the whole Peninsula was proclaimed a "Peace Park" by the Turkish authorities. The declaration was intended to protect this particular heritage area for generations to come. In addition, a dedicated visitor centre was planned to inform all those visiting the cemeteries, memorials and former battlefields. The War Graves Commission was supportive of this initiative. In this sense, two relevant projects received assistance (Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 2000, p. 14). In 2012, Gallipoli Epic Promotion Center (Canakkale Destani Tanitim Merkezi) was open. It aimed to enable experiencing the remarkable, heroic story and to convey the Gallipoli spirit to the new generations. With advanced simulation techniques, three-dimensional screening was made in two of 11 different animation rooms, and significant sections of the Gallipoli Wars are explained to the visitors in seven other languages (English, German, French, Russian, Japanese, Italian and Arabic) (Official Website of Çanakkale Savaşları Gelibolu Tarihi Alan Başkanlığı, n.d.). The construction of the information centre added a dialogical significance. Further, it acted as a cultural reference to perceive the campaign (West, 2015, p. 34).

3 REVIVING THE PAST IN THE LANDSCAPE

3.1 Anzac Pilgrimages to Gallipoli

On a sunny April day, Australian and New Zealand tourists came 'from the other side of the world', gather in the waiting room of the hotel before the day turns to noon. While some are sipping their tea or coffee on the red leather armchairs, some of them are carefully examining ANZAC themed souvenirs brought from all over the world and have been carefully placed in different parts of the hall. Many of these people scattered around the room are strangers to each other. The majority of those in the tour group are Australians. Immediately after a trip to Europe, some of them found themselves in Turkey. For some, a journey of Turkey is only a beginning. But for almost all of them, it is an essential duty to come here, as having come all that distance.

Nearly impossible to be distinguished from an Australian by his appearance, our guide Aytakin soon appears in the hall and introduces himself. Then, the tour group gets on their small but comfortable tour bus. After a two-minute drive, while doing their best to overcome substantial language barriers at a beach restaurant, they will be eating white beans, rice or chicken skewers and drink ayran under the green arbour. A detailed tour will begin after the meal, and Aytakin will portray the history in these quiet lands for

them. Almost all of them will write the following lines in the guestbook at Lone Pine: "Lest we forget".

All preparations are completed on the following evening. The group reunites as a few group members leave as contented with the tour, but more joined in it. The new group boards a larger van where they will be more extended hours than the day before. The agency staff quickly distributes launch packs containing fruit, sandwiches and water to everyone since it will be a long night. A young woman, aged 26, sits next to me. She starts telling about her Scottish father and her Australian mother. She tells me how she didn't know anything about Anzac Day until they moved to Australia at the age of nine. But she knew what Remembrance Day was. Yet after moving to Australia, the family joined the Dawn Service every year. Everyone used to go to the shrine in their neighbourhood. One of the most impressive parts of the ceremony for them was the marches. She has been away from home for a long time as she travels to many countries. It will be one year in June. She came to Turkey to see Gallipoli, and that is all her plans for Turkey. She tells that she liked Romania the most and how its architecture reflects the socialist era, and how it is intertwined with the present. She does not hide her excitement to attend the ceremony. But she is also sad since she will attend the ceremony away from her family this year. And she adds, "I'm sure I'll cry."

When the night comes, the group wrap themselves in their sleeping bags and blankets. They watch the ceremony from the giant screens set up on the ANZAC commemorative site and wait for the Dawn Service to begin. It's going to be an experience that leaves a life-long impact on most of them. Gallipoli has been hosting these pilgrims since the early 1920s, who honour their soldiers for their courage and sacrifice.

Australians' bond with the graves of the Anzac soldiers in Gallipoli was formed when the first martyrs fell. During the war, Anzac soldiers were performing burials being in the face of death. They did not want to abandon their mates alone and complete their final duty for them no matter how dangerous it was. One hope they had in their attempts was that their comrades' graves would not be left unattended in the future. A soldier

expressed this hope they nurtured in *Anzac Book*⁴⁴ with the following lines (Dinning, 1916, p.21):

"At the burial of Sir John Moore was heard the distant and random gun. Here the shells sometimes burst in the midst of the burial party. Bearers are laid low. A running for cover. The grave is hastily filled in by a couple of shovel-men; the service is over; and fresh graves are to be dug forthwith for stricken members of the party. To die violently and be laid in this shell- swept area is to die lonely indeed. The day is far off (but it will come) when splendid mausolea will be raised over these heroic dead. And one foresees the time when steamers will bear up the Aegean pilgrims come to do honour at the resting places of friends and kindred, and to move over the charred battlegrounds of Turkey."

Back at home, Australian citizens were concerned about the plight of those who died in the fighting. Their thoughts were also wandering to Anzac graves that would stay lonely. Thus, graves were a worrying issue even before the end of the war for both those at the front and those in the country. The only way to not leave those who sacrificed themselves for the "name" of Australia alone was depicted in a newspaper column as such:

There are at numerous spots on the hillsides little rows of graves, marked by plain wooden crosses made with the wood of jam and other boxes. They died, but in that mad, wonderful charge up the steep hills which rise suddenly from Sari Bair Beach they made for Australia a name which can never die. Many of the wooden crosses bear the names of those who are buried there, and doubtless these lonely graves by the Aegean Sea will be a pilgrimage for countless Australians in the years to come. ("Light Horse Under Fire," 1915)

Thus, it was the dream of many people to return to this land and honour the martyrs. Although politicians, the newspapers, and the public voiced their demands for the acquisition of the cemeteries' property, structures that would signify Australia's remembrance on these lands, was already expected as another means of honouring the martyrs before the attempts of IWGC occurred:

⁴⁴ Created in 1916, the book, was written and drawn in the trenches. It provides a unique glimpse into the perspective of Australian soldiers on the Gallipoli Peninsula during World War I. The collection of sketches, stories, cartoons, and poetry illustrates the soldiers' courage as well as their sense of humour at a period of intense struggle.

“I am not thinking of ornate obelisks or gorgeous cenotaphs, but of something which shall make Gallipoli henceforth a Holy Land — the land of sacred sepulchres. Yes, some day we must go back; -the Union Jack must float from Achi Baba — we must see to it that the spirits of our dead, haunting those lonely hills, are made to feel that, after all, they are at home. And we will have an annual pilgrimage to the hallowed place — where we will commune with our lost heroes.”(Boltomley, 1916)

These point of views during the war and shortly after it established the foundations for pilgrimage activities. On the other hand, when scrutinizing the first visits to these lands, not just the pilgrimage activities, even the soldiers themselves, are approached from a tourism-oriented standpoint. Since the scenery was not their motivation, soldiers are not generally considered visitors. However, White illustrates a few points in their journey that could show how well they might blend into the current travel culture. First, their wish to explore the world was an essential motivation for enlistment (White, 1996, p.119). Places of war became attractions just as soon as the fighting ended. Shortly after the bloodshed, both the participants and the newcomers toured the site of Anzac Cove and Pozieres in a mixture of pilgrimage and tourism (White, 1996, p.126).

Another feature White points out is the visitor perspective, which dominates the narratives of the some soldiers. The nature of these travel letters, including episodic qualities, lent itself perfectly to celebrating the Grand Tour⁴⁵. At the turn of the twentieth century, this literary genre had gained widespread acceptance in Australia. Newspapers would frequently run stories of people overseas so that a few of their followers could recognise the letter writer. Trips overseas, reported by writers or sketched by authors, had been serialised in the national press. A great deal of this was nothing more than the usual publishing of people on the jet-set, but there was also another kind. Mark Twain's “the innocent people” (1869) sold well in the country and led to home-grown versions appear in Australia by 1914 (White, 1996, p.122). Further, during war years, the vocabulary was that which two generations of readers had come to equate with both the silent nature of personal restraint and Christian sacrifice and more aggressive acts of violence and defending. The boys' books of George Alfred Henty; the male-romances of Rider Haggard; the poetry of Robert Bridges; and, most notably, the Arthurian poems of

⁴⁵ The Grand Tour, for motives of culture, education, health, and pleasure, was a European circuit undertaken by the rich people. It was established in the 16th century before reaching its peak in the 19th century. The British became the primary participants (Towner, 2000, p. 259).

Tennyson and the pseudo-medieval romances of William Morris served as tutors for this particular diction (Fussell, 1989, p.21).

Most of the soldiers adopted this style. Their letters and diaries have also influenced other people's perception of war (White, 1996, p.128). There was censorship imposed in the military. However, even being able to tell their stories under these conditions became a style on its own (Fussell, 1989, pp.181-182).

One of such examples of is Capt. Webster's diary. Capt. Webster had tried to get snaps of the shells off the coast of the Cape of Helles in the spring of 1915. Through a tourist gaze, he was reflecting in his journal of the chance he lost in Gallipoli (White, 1996, p.127):

"Captain Lampen and I were sitting with our cameras in our hands on the sun deck and I remarked what a series of magnificent pictures we would get if the 'Majestic' happened to be torpedoed whilst we were lying close beside her. As fate had it we just missed these pictures by an hour."

In the early 1920s longing eyes were looking at Gallipoli only from ships. The news in the title of Gallipoli pilgrimage in 1921 stated that The Norwegian steam yacht Meteor was going to organise two Mediterranean voyages, including the battlefields of Anzac, Suvla and Cape Helles, in March and April. Many relatives of the Gallipoli fallen, was going to make the pilgrimage ("Gallipoli Pilgrimage," 1921). These were only a few examples. It took time for Gallipoli to be reclaimed and bones to be buried. Thus, many who wished to see Gallipoli had to opt for their experience on ships until 1923 (Scates, 2014, p. 68).

Moreover, due to the unstable political conditions, Turkey was hard to reach in the beginning of the 1920s (Lloyd, 1998, p. 97). There was a significant decrease in the pilgrimage activities to Gallipoli due to the Turks' War of Independence and the Second World War (West, 2015, p. 32). The Chanak Affair⁴⁶ was another situation that prevented prospective travellers between 1922-1923 (Lloyd, 1998, p. 97).

⁴⁶ The city known in Turkish as Çanakkale is referred to as Chanak in some English sources and archival materials examined in the scope of the research.



Figure 3.1.1. Gallipoli Peninsula, Turkey. 25 April 1923. "A memorial service in progress at Anzac Beach being held to commemorate the heroic conduct of Australian and New Zealand forces in the area in 1915". (Australian War Memorial Archive, 1923, No: H15729)

In the following period, the first official visit was made in 1924, by the Australian Prime Minister, S. M. Bruce (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 31.; Turkey: Visit of S.M. Bruce to Gallipoli. FO Series: FO 371/10205, 1924) who also served with the British Army in Gallipoli and France (Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.-b). On his return from the Imperial Conference in February 1924, Australia's Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce, joined by the Commission's Vice Chairman, paid a visit to the Gallipoli Peninsula's cemeteries (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 31). For this visit, Mr. Bruce wanted to cross to Istanbul and Gallipoli in a warship. In the correspondence between the Australian officials, they stated that the Turkish authorities were "extremely tender" and Australian officials thought Turkish authorities would not allow the situation. The Turkish government had no objection to the warship's visit on the condition that "Calypso" should not remain at Istanbul for more than 24 hours (Turkey: Visit of S.M. Bruce to Gallipoli. FO Series: FO 371/10205, 1924).

The first of the 'pilgrim ships' eventually arrived in Anzac about nine years after the war. In May, for the ceremony, the liner Ormonde brought 500 pilgrims from all over the Empire, including Australian pilgrims and many ex-combatants from various Empire sections. Military and ex-service men's organizations laid beautiful wreaths on the memorial. Several cemeteries, particularly the Beach, were visited and deposited a wreath ("N.Z. Memorial," 1925; "Summary," 1925).

In the 1920s, tour companies started to conduct tours to the Peninsula (Department of Veterans' Affairs, 2018, p. 25). Thomas Cook was one of the first to take advantage of what may well be considered a pilgrimage market in Australia. Tickets started at just under £200 (more than most men's annual income) (Scates, 2014, pp. 67-68). Thomas Cook already had started to organize tours to the Middle East long before the war, in the second half of the 1800s.⁴⁷ These journeys also covered Turkey, Palestine and Egypt (Piers, 1991, p. 255). Since the early twenties, 20 thousand Australians have been sailing to Britain every year in such journeys. Generations of travellers have established their route: East-west down the continent's southern coast, north-west into the Indian Ocean, then across the Red Sea and Suez into the Mediterranean (Scates, 2014, p. 67).⁴⁸ However, this situation ongoing for years had to change with the war. When the Great War broke out, Cook did not want to acknowledge the presence of conflict. Continual advertisements from the *Traveler's Gazette* on journeys to Europe, North America, Egypt, South Africa, Australia and the Far East have also continued to be published. But early in 1917, British citizens were urged not to travel except for essential reasons, such as health and business, owing to the war. Accordingly, railway undertakings also raised charges, limited the services and the amount of baggage allowed were reduced (Piers, 1991, p. 255-256).

United Services Pilgrimage was also organizing tours in the same period. The tour was visiting 14 countries and organised in cooperation with Thos. Cook and Son. The fare was £278 ("Advertising," 1929). Starting from 1929, Burns, Philip and Company Ltd. began to organize tours that were including Gallipoli. It was including 14 countries. 4 to 6 months escorted tour was £356 ("Shipping," 1929). Burns, Philip was another firm that operated overseas tours. The Australian company had organised tours also before WW1. Yet, for an extended period, the war practically halted all European tours. Three of the most famous tourism destinations, Norway, Switzerland, and Holland, lost half of their annual guests. Tourist traffic in Italy and Mediterranean resorts had shrunk to around one-tenth of its expected level. There was a massive influx from the nations that were at war during that period. After the German invaded Belgium, it was unlikely that even a

⁴⁷ Cook's booklets providing information on accommodation and food and beverage compiled by tour tickets and specific trips made the trip easier and cheaper. These tours with groups paid in advance and discounted full board prices when they reach a certain number were all included (Löschburg, 1998, p. 121).

⁴⁸ Following the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Thomas Cook began taking tourists to Egypt in 1870. With mosques and minarets, pyramids and rock temples, human chaos of various peoples, extraordinary natural landscapes, the doors of the Orient, which had not allowed Europeans for centuries, were opened (Löschburg, 1998, p. 122).

single international tourist would stay in the once-smiling country (“Burns, Philip’s Tours,” 1915).

In 1915, the United Kingdom, Ireland, the south-western corner of France, Spain and Portugal had received a certain amount of their annual visitors. However, the countries which were farthest from the war benefitted most from the world's misfortune. In terms of Australians, those who typically go to their homeland started looking to India, Burma, and Japan. Their own beautiful Pacific provided them with a bit of change and a chance to relax. Changing circumstances required Burns, Philip. and Company and other well-known travel agencies to organise a wide range of tours, including Java and Singapore, China, Japan, India, Burma, the Straits Settlements, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, and all-round Australian tours (“Burns, Philip’s Tours,” 1915).

Bereaved relatives constituted the vast majority of the pilgrims who visited the battlefields in the first few years after the war (Lloyd, 1998, p.195). Most of the visitors were elderly then, and almost all had sons or other relatives resting in the battlefields. Professionals, business people, civil servants or landowners were mostly male travellers: doctors, bank managers, mine directors, clergy members and graziers. Women usually joined their husbands: except for elderly widows and younger women studying abroad, very few of them had an independent income (Scates, 2014, p. 70). During these years, pilgrimages organized by tour companies were costly, and most of the families who had lost their loved ones were unable to finance the journey (Department of Veterans’ Affairs, 2018, p. 25). The pilgrims got almost no official support despite the long-distance and expense of travel to the Middle East theatres. Thus, in the early 1920s, Australian pilgrims travelled individually or in small groups to the battlefields (Lloyd, 1998, p. 195). Families who could not find enough money to go to the battlefields sought help from the state. But the Commonwealth considered the possibility of exploitation of such privileges if provided. Thereupon, these people sought help from other agencies. While some associations had fundraised for families to go on the pilgrimage, none had been largely successful (Scates, 2014, p. 64-67).

Australia was more than 18,000 kilometres from Europe and two months of steaming duration. The journey could take even longer owing to transshipping, coal stops, high seas and diplomatic problems. In the 1930's the cheapest fare for Great Britain was an £80.00 steering service; crossings were easy to acquire, whereas journeys to the Near

East (including the Great War theatres of Gallipoli and Palestine) were completely different. With pay of about £2 a week for a (white, male) man, a voyage was beyond Australia's grasp. In 1922, the war widow's pension was 42 shillings a week, barely £ 1 a week (Scates, 2014, p. 64). The pilgrimages organised by The Society of St Barnabas provided the opportunity to see these areas for many who could not afford a commercial tour (Walter, 1993, p. 64). It was founded in 1919 after it was apparent that help was needed for the many pilgrims searching for cemeteries. Instead of charging as much as £35, as one London travel bureau did for a visit to Loos, the price of St Barnabas tours was at first £14, and then by 1923, only 4£. Similar journeys could be made to the cemeteries of the Somme and Ypres. From 1924, facilities were available to organize pilgrims to Gallipoli, Palestine and Italy (J. Winter, 1995, p. 52).

In 1926, more people visited cemeteries than ever. Not only did relatives visit the graves in France and Belgium on an individual and independent basis in ever-growing numbers, but even well-organized pilgrimages had been carried out to Italy, Salonica, Gallipoli and the East, owing to the initiative of organizations such as the St. Barnabas Hostels (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1927, p. 3). Two hundred sixty people, consisting of the fallen soldiers' parents and children, gathered at Victoria Station in England. This group would attend the Barnabas Pilgrimage and visit Gallipoli, Istanbul and Salonika. There was only one class on the chartered vessel without distinction between rich and poor ("Gallipoli. War Graves Pilgrimage," 1926).

During the visit, The St. Barnabas pilgrims' steamer became stuck due to H.M.S. Triumph's wreck off the coast of Anzac Cove. Only after six hours the ship could be refloated. Since the Turkish authorities did not allow them to land in Suvla and Anzac, pilgrims arrived on V Beach. Moreover, the party conducted an excellent remembrance service at Cape Helles ("Gallipoli Pilgrimage. Mishaps and Incidents.," 1926). Pilgrims also visited 27 military cemeteries. Every pilgrim could locate their loved ones final resting place. All acknowledged that the 5000-mile journey had become a genuine pilgrimage in every meaning of the term ("Battlefield Pilgrims. Salonika and Gallipoli.," 1926). The pilgrim party moved to Istanbul after this visit ("Gallipoli Pilgrimage.," 1926).

Gallipoli was not the only destination in the 1920s. In 1927, the Menin Memorial Gate was unveiled at Ypres. Even more than other parts of the war, Ypres was synonymous with all the Empire's armies. Every Imperial partner had its troops there.

Thus, its sad and sacred interest to the Australians was so obvious. The main aim of the Gate was "To honour the memory of the armies of "the British Empire." Moreover, it was devoted "to "those of their dead who have no known "grave." Thus, it became another pilgrimage site for thousands who did not know where their loved ones were buried. The memorial bore 58,000 names, of whose actual resting place did not leave any trace ("The Immortal Salient.," 1927). Sir Reginald Blomfield planned the monument. It is situated across the moat that leads to Menin Road. Those who went across this road and could never come back would be commemorated there (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1925, p. 34).

Gallipoli continued to receive visitors the following year. The St. Barnabas Pilgrimage, which took place in 1926, was recreated in 1928 on similar lines. The Stella d'Italia had been chartered for the voyage. The cost of the sleeping quarters varied from 23 to 80 guineas. It was also open to application from Australia ("A Pilgrimage. To Gallipoli Graves," 1928). Some families of the fallen who took part in the Pilgrimage arranged by the St. Barnabas Pilgrimage Fund were among the many visitors to the cemeteries. That year, trees and shrubs in growing cemeteries, especially rosemary hedges, welcomed all visitors (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1929a, p. 34).

In the late 1920s, the Western Front continued to be an important pilgrimage destination for the Dominion countries, as it was for Britain. These pilgrimage activities were carried out with tours starting from England. In August of 1928, the British Legion organized such trips; a pilgrimage to the battlefields and cemeteries of France and Belgium. This imposing act of commemoration brought together 10,000 ex-servicemen and women from various parts of the empire. Many witnessed their march through the Menin Gate, led by the Prince of Wales. Many of these visitors were from the Dominions (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1929a, p. 4). The British Legion would send sixty British and dominion members to the anniversary ceremonies in Paris and Brussels ("British Legion," 1928). The British didn't view the tour as a pleasure journey ("War Graves. British Legion's Pilgrimage.," 1928). One hundred and twenty Australians and twenty New Zealanders would join the pilgrimage of the British legionaries ("British Legion. Battlefield Pilgrimage. ANZACs Accompany.," 1928). On August 6, a remembrance service and a march would be held in Ypres. There had never been such a

large gathering of pilgrims. It would take place at the Menin Gate Memorial (“British Legion.,” 1928).

The commemoration activities in other cemeteries in the same years also attracted a wide range of participation. In 1928, Ceremonies or Services were held in all War Cemeteries in Egypt on Armistice Day and were largely attended. At Cairo, the High Commissioner and Lady Lloyd, the General Officer Commanding, Air Vice-Marshal and representatives from all Army and Air Units and practically all British Residents and representatives from the French, Italian, Belgian and other Communities attended. It was also reported that a more significant number of visitors than previously visited the Cemeteries during the year (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1929b, p. 43). On Armistice Day, services were held in all the War Cemeteries. At Cairo, the attendance was more prominent than ever before (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1932, p. 31). A service attended by practically the whole of the British Community in Salonika, was held in Mikra Cemetery on Armistice Day (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1932, p. 33).

The Federal Ministry approved the first Australian pilgrimage to the Gallipoli and France battlefields in the same year. It was planned in cooperation with Burns Philp and Co, Ltd, the United Services Association and the London and North-Eastern Railway Company. Reservation of rooms for 250 people on the P and O liner Baradine were planned, and the overall expense of the trip was £230. At Port Said, the travellers would transfer from the Baradine to the steamer Angkor (“Pilgrimage. To the Battlefields. France and Gallipoli.,” 1928). Baradine was scheduled to depart from Sydney on June 4, 1929. Tour of the Levant at a laid-back pace and a thorough look at the Gallipoli cemeteries was going to take about 20 days (“War Graves. Australian Pilgrimage. Proposed Party of 250.,” 1929). Pilgrims were anticipated to be landed at Kelia Bay. Then, they would be taken to Anzac Beach and Suvla Bay. An unveiling ceremony at the Lone Pine Memorial was also scheduled. Organisers were also planning to put wreaths on the graves of the Unknown Soldiers in Paris and London (“Pilgrimage. To Gallipoli and France.,” 1928). Visits were going to be paid to Istanbul, Athens, Naples and Marseilles. A tour was going to be made of Great Britain. The tour would be finalized in London (“Australian Pilgrimage. To the Battlefields.,” 1929).

The S.S. Baradine journeyed to Gallipoli and twelve other countries (Department of Veterans' Affairs, 2018, p. 25). Only a party of 70 Australians could take part in this pilgrimage ("War Graves. Australian Pilgrimage. Party on Baradine.," 1929) and could witness the opening of The Lone Pine memorial ("Gallipoli Pilgrimage.," 1929). The tour participants paid homage by laying wattle springs on the deceased's graves on behalf of those who could not attend (Department of Veterans' Affairs, 2018, p. 25).

In the 1920s, Thomas Cook's battlefield guide referred to the Gallipoli expedition as 'a glorious adventure, a failure perhaps, but none the less an adventure the fame of which shall not be dimmed by age, nor overshadowed by any other deed in history' (Elston, 1923, p. 105). Specifically, the lure of Gallipoli during the 1920s was unexpected for that period. It was a battleground that attracted visitors other than the Western Front. So much so that 4 different books were written on the 1926 St Barnabas pilgrimage: St Barnabas Society, *Gallipoli and Salonika* (London, c.1926). Allen, *The Tracks They Trod*. I. Hay, *The Ship of Remembrance* (London, c.1926). J. Holmes, *A Pilgrimage to Gallipoli* (London, c.1926) (Lloyd, 1998, pp. 97-98). Although some of them have more booklet volume, they are essential in terms of reflecting the effect and meaning of Gelibolu during that period.

Throughout the 1920s, a Turkish steamer, the Khedival Express, ran every week from Port Said to Istanbul.⁴⁹ Travellers sailed from the Suez region and then embarked on a stunning tour past Smyrna and Athens until arriving at Çanakkale. From there, a ferry service brought pilgrims to Gallipoli across the Straits. There was a circuitous road from Britain too which was the choice of most pilgrims coming from Australia. Pilgrims passed the Channel and travelled to Marseilles by train, then sailed to Turkey via Italy and Greece. Cruise ships could not land at Çanakkale, streamed directly to Istanbul (Scates, 2014, p. 68). By the mid-1920s, the Turkish authorities applied a strict control protocol, which took some time during Istanbul's crossings. Thus, another route was determined to visit Gallipoli. The voyage across Greece rather than the Bosphorus (Turkey: Visit of S.M. Bruce to Gallipoli. FO Series: FO 371/10205, 1924). Whatever the solution was, Peninsula did not give tourists a warm welcome. Pilgrims had to travel 'by steamer to the Çanakkale, by motor truck all over the Peninsula, on foot to the interior cemeteries

⁴⁹ In 1930s, With tours organized by Thomas Cook in the 1930s, it was possible to arrive directly from Port Said to Khelia Bay in Dardanelles. ('Gallipoli Tour. Australian Pilgrimage.', 1934).

and go back to Istanbul in one day' with literally no accommodation available. The pilgrims was confronted with a rush and most challenging trip (Scates, 2014, p. 68).

Gallipoli receives considerable attention in Thomas Cook's 1923 travel booklet (Elston, 1923). It sheds light on travel conditions during that era and the history of Gallipoli. The port of Çanakkale was also in use in those years. Its proximity to Gallipoli Peninsula encouraged the transfer from Istanbul to Çanakkale. Even though steamers were not departing either at set times or with fixed seats, it was not difficult to secure a transfer according to Thomas Cook handbook. The trip was not taking longer than eight hours.

Moreover, as the handbook informs, it was not necessary to visit Istanbul before going on a tour of the battlefields. Yet, travellers on ships could still have disembarked at Çanakkale on their way up the Dardanelles. For inspection, any vessel was forced to stop there. Resuming the trip to Istanbul usually would take no further effort. In 1923, there was no secure path from Istanbul to the Hellespont, nor was there any suitable port on either side of the Peninsula, where sea steamers would dock except in infrequent circumstances.

The trip from Çanakkale to Kelia Bay was taking around an hour. The Imperial War Graves Commission (Gallipoli) headquarters and the starting point for visits to Anzac, Suvla, and Helles had also situated there. The travellers might complete the trip without any challenge. Often, Colonel Hughes, the hospitable director of the Imperial War Graves Commission in Gallipoli, could have supported tourists by providing a launch to take them from Çanakkale to Kelia and vehicles to tour the battlefields. While these facilities were the general rule, Thomas Cook proposed several solutions that travellers might have utilised if the need had existed (Elston, 1923).

The booklet also mentions to Caiques. Being a form of a small sailing boat, they were sailing a regular route between Çanakkale and the opposite shore. The fare was approximately three pence per head. However, they were just going to Kilid Bahr or Maidos. From the former place-a small Turkish village clustered around an old stone fortress-one had to take a long walk before reaching Kelia and the road that, branching off from the shore, kept going across the Peninsula Anzac and Suvla.

Before reaching Kelia, a walk was also required from Maidos, albeit for less than a mile. However, for a Turkish amount equal to five shillings, it was possible to hire a caique at Çanakkale that would carry one to Kelia. When in Kelia, it was safe to assume that the Imperial War Graves Commission would find alternate transport means. However, hiring mules or a horse in Maidos or Kilid Bahr was another option for visiting Anzac and Suvla. It was also possible to get to Sedd-ul-Bahr by a caique that was accessible for hire at Çanakkale. It was just a few minutes' walk from the cemeteries of Helles (Elston, 1923).

Thomas Cook was suggesting two days to inspect all three Gallipoli areas-Anzac, Suvla and Helles. Thus, the entire visit, including the travel to Istanbul, might have been done in less than four days. This programme would have meant staying for one, and maybe two, nights, either at Çanakkale or at Kelia. The Imperial War Graves Commission was offering lodging where it was convenient. If this were not possible, travellers would have taken rooms at the London Hotel, Çanakkale.

The Thomas Cook's handbook was informing that there was also an English firm of contractors charged with constructing cemeteries and monuments around the battlefield with the Imperial War Graves Commission's oversight. Therefore, a traveller to Gallipoli might not have found himself in an unfamiliar place at Kelia. By then, there were several elements of a typical English community to be found in Kelia Bay. Some houses at which the officials and their families stayed were scattered on the little hill behind the bay. Below those houses were the workplaces and offices required for the mission in which these men were assigned.

In the 1930s, one of the chief difficulties experienced by the Commission's staff in this area was that of means of communication, the roads on the Peninsula being almost impassable in winter (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1934, p. 35). Even so, many pilgrimage activities were conducted in the peninsula in those years. Apart from the individual pilgrims who made their way to the Cemeteries, several English, French, American, and German tourist ships carried travellers to the Peninsula (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1932, p. 33). Many cruises called at the Eastern Mediterranean ports stopped off at the Peninsula and paid their respects at the Cemeteries and Memorials (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1936, p. 36).

During the year 1930, a number of tourist ships from England, France, and the United States carried visitors to the Peninsula's cemeteries and memorials (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1931, p. 46). Among the important pilgrimages were those from the Aberdeen British Legion Branch, the Scottish Pilgrimage organised by the Y.M.C.A., the British Legion West Country Pilgrimage, South Western Area, and the Australian War Graves Pilgrimage (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1931, p. 40). In the same year, it was The United Services Association who organised the second battlefield and war grave pilgrimage of Australians. The tour was again under the management of Thomas Cook and would officially end in London on August 6. The itinerary included Egypt, Palestine, Gallipoli and France. The party would leave Sydney by the steamer Jervis Bay on April 29 ("Tour of Battlefields," 1930).

In September 1935, last H.M. King Edward VIII paid an informal visit to the War Cemeteries and monuments on the Gallipoli Peninsula. In April 1936, the Australian cruisers "H Australia" and "Sydney" visited Gallipoli, parties landed, and wreaths were placed on the Australian and New Zealand Memorials at Lone Pine and Chunuk Bair and on the Turkish memorials at Ari Burnu (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1937, p. 5). Several visitors toured the War Cemeteries and shared their delight and appreciation with the high level of care. His Majesty King Edward VIII paid an unofficial visit to the Helles and Anzac Cemeteries and Memorials throughout the year again. Following this tour, His Majesty's Private Secretary wrote that His Majesty was impressed by the beauty of the Cemeteries and was pleased to see how well the Commission's members were welcomed by the Turkish Government and citizens (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1938, p. 30).

The graves of fallen soldiers served as pilgrimage sites for the bereaved families and veterans during the 1920s and 1930s. Veterans became pilgrims in order to recall, reconnect, and sometimes to face the harsh realities of their shared past. Moreover, the need to make pilgrimages to these sacred sites had a religious reference and connotations (Lloyd, 1998, p. 133). Many former veterans felt bad for surviving. They became well aware that they might potentially be the one who had been killed (Walter, 1993, p. 75). They returned to the battlefields to pay their respects to their colleagues. This way, they wanted to be sure that they did not lose the memory or persons of their past. When they couldn't ignore the trauma, they also tried to alleviate the memory with those visits (Lloyd, 1998, p. 147). In early 1930, an ex-serviceman on his way to Gallipoli shared his ambition 'to

stand on Achi Baba and feel as Johnny Turk must have felt when he was perched on top there, blasting us all to hell. What a day to live for!' (Allen, T. *The Tracks They Trod*, 1932, p. 16. cited in: Lloyd, 1998, p. 150). With this spirit, in 1933, a "chivalry pilgrimage" was organised for spring 1934. A total of 500 ex-British and Anzac troops would take part. A peaceful re-enactment of the landing at Anzac was envisaged for Turkey's visit, concluding a kind handshake with Turks in the defence. The landing would be accompanied by a three-day tour of the Gallipoli battlefields ("Gallipoli. Pilgrimage of Chivalry,," 1933).

In 1934, Thomas Cook's advertisements for Gallipoli pilgrimage tours started to circulate in newspapers, with an enticing introduction: "Anzac Day at Anzac." The steamer was leaving Sydney in March 1935 for the 20th anniversary of the landing. Istanbul, Palestine and Egypt tours were on the itinerary too. The ticket cost was £149 ("Advertising,," 1934). A Gallipoli Pilgrimage Council, established in 1934, was developing similar plans of an Australian pilgrimage to Gallipoli. The Council's main aim was to land at least 200 Australians on Anzac Day, April 25, 1935. The expedition was expected to be guided by a prominent Australian soldier, and it was scheduled to leave Sydney in March. From Port Said, a special steamer would transport the group to Khelia Bay in the Dardanelles, where they would arrive on Anzac Day. On April 25, at dawn, the party would undertake a commemoration ceremony at Anzac Cove. On Gallipoli, two days had been set aside for a tour to the battlefields and war graves. After leaving Gallipoli, the party would travel to Istanbul before heading to Haifa for a six-day Palestine tour. That tour would involve trips to the war cemeteries in Ramleh, Jerusalem, Beersheba, Gaza and Cairo. The whole tour would take ten weeks ("Gallipoli Tour. Australian Pilgrimage,," 1934). The New South Wales division of the Returned Soldiers' League would formally represent the RSL at Gallipoli on the 20th anniversary of the landing (Hope, 'Gallipoli Pilgrimage.' 1934).

After 20 years, Gallipoli was both the same and different, and it was an uneasy experience for many of the pilgrims. Stanton Hope was among the 1935 pilgrims as an English Gallipoli veteran. Before leaving for this nostalgic trip, he felt that reviving Gallipoli would be an overwhelming emotional encounter. Yet, in Gallipoli, the turmoil of fighting was substituted by peace. The party landed at Kelia Bay, and Lone Pine Ridge provided the first poignant portrayal of the changing surroundings. Just a few traces of the old trenches and strong points persisted. As they arrived in Anzac Cove, he noticed

that it was also very distinct from its previous operation: pitted cliffs, masses of people and chaos, a struggle for survival in caves were all gone. Moreover, it was challenging to evoke an image of the fighting in the way ex-servicemen had known it since they were now hiking around Gallipoli as tourists on that “perfect spring morning”. “Butterflies and bees winged over clumps of wildflowers amid the olive-green scrub that hid most of the scars in what had been a hell's acre.” Pilgrims could wander carelessly in this area where death had once waited in every corner (Hope, ‘What Anzacs Would See In Gallipoli To-Day.’, 1951).

In these journeys, in an effort to follow their loved ones’ memories and relive past events, most of the pilgrims took soldiers’ diaries or letters with them (St Barnabas Society, *Gallipoli and Salonika* (London, c.1926) cited in: Lloyd, 1998, p. 135). Soldiers’ carved name was a symbol of their experience, too (Lloyd, 1998, p. 135). Those buried overseas were given a modest funeral on the battlefield, and those listed as missing did not receive a funeral at all. Therefore, bereaved families were unable to attend a funeral to support their acceptance the loss. Visiting the grave or reading the name on the stone served as a replacement for the service that was not held (Walter, 1993, p. 77).

The pilgrimages of bereaved families were part of dealing with the agony of sorrow by facing their loss (Lloyd, 1998, p. 136). In the 1920s and 1930s, reports of mothers who have been affected by grief and hunted the battlefield were common. It was a generation whose grief could have no remedy, whose love pushed them to pursue the missing forever. In Australia and New Zealand, mourning families have been far from battlefields in contrast with any other fighting country (Scates, 2014, p. 22). The trip was both physically and mentally challenging. Most of the visitors were together with others who had similar struggles and knew the mourning sense for having one who fought and died. Kipling's⁵⁰ short story 'The Gardener' is about this particular group in grieving (J. Winter, 1995, p. 52).

⁵⁰ English short story writer, poet, and novelist best known for his celebration of British imperialism, his stories and poetry about British soldiers in India, and his children's stories. In 1907, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature (Stewart, n.d.) His own son’s body could not be found after he was listed ‘Missing’ in October 1915. Kipling became a member of the Imperial War Graves Commission in 1917. (Kipling, 1995, p. 48). About seventy years after his son's death, his son's grave was identified, although Kipling could not live long enough to see it. Thus, another unknown grave gained its name (Crane, 2013, p. 180).

Helen Turrell had an affair with an officer who had fallen from a horse and died before their child was born. The woman who feared severe social pressure was helpless. When Michael was six years old, he had no idea why he referred to his mummy as 'auntie'. On the outbreak of war, Michael joined the army. Helen could not hear from him for a while; Michael was missing. Then, she learned about his passing away. Helen was lucky enough that her son was in Belgium, just a boat and train trip away. While she was trying to adapt herself to the idea of visiting his grave, one woman asked what if he were in Mesopotamia or Gallipoli (since his grave would be too much further). Helen paid a visit to the graveyard. When looking for his son amid hundreds of graves, she saw a man planting. Thus, Helen believed that he was a gardener. With the paper in her hand, she came close to the man. The man who stood up directly asked whom she was looking for. "Lieutenant Michael Turrell – my nephew," said Helen. (...) "The man lifted his eyes and looked at her with infinite compassion before he turned from the fresh-sown grass toward the naked black crosses. "Come with me," he said, "and I will show you where your son lies."

When Helen was leaving, she saw the man again, "supposing him to be gardener" (Kipling, 1995, p. 54).

The pilgrims occasionally left flowers of their gardens or wreaths on their loved one's grave or missing's memorial. In exchange, they generally gathered some keepsakes "such as flowers, a length of barbed wire, mould from the headstone, stones from the grave or seeds from the plants growing there" E. M. Richardson, *Remembrance Wakes* (London, 1934, p. 205. cited in: Lloyd, 1998, p. 146). Badges, buttons, bullets, and the omnipresent pressed poppy were all recollections of those journeys. In the St Barnabas Pilgrimage of 1926, a cone brought from Lone Pine became the 'most treasured possession' of Mrs Cole (Scates, 2014, p. 80).

In 1936, the *Lancastria* left Liverpool on May 1 with about 700 ex-officers and nurses bound for Gallipoli and Salonica ("Message to Anzacs.," 1936). The following year, The Melbourne subbranch of the Returning Soldiers' League had arranged a trip to battlefields and war memorials that would lead them across Egypt, Palestine, Gallipoli, France, and Belgium, landing in London in time for King Edward's coronation. On March 16, 1937, the party would depart by the *Orontes* ("Tour of Battlefields.," 1936). The same year, the Turkish government issued special permission for an Australian party to land on

the Gallipoli Peninsula in May, 1938. A pilgrimage was organized, and the Sydney community would leave on March 23 on the new Orient liner *Orcades*. Under the Imperial War Graves representative's leadership, pilgrims would spend a whole day visiting the Anzac war graves and battlefields. Before heading to the Holy Land, the party would also travel to the Western Front, France and Belgium. The tour fee was £250 ("Pilgrimage to Gallipoli," 1937).

In 1947, The Australian delegation planned to make a dawn landing on April 25, 1948. Their schedule included attending the Tobruk Memorial unveiling ceremony in May. The Anzac Day ceremony would be conducted at the Beach Cemetery, which is the resting place of Australians who died during the landing. The previous Australian Anzac Day service in Gallipoli had been held in 1924, on which Mr Bruce, the Prime Minister, had directed the service. The party then would make a pilgrimage to Gallipoli cemeteries and inspect war memorials after the Dawn Service ("Gallipoli Dawn Landing.," 1947).

The RSL organised another pilgrimage in 1955. Fifty old ex-servicemen took part in this trip. They would depart in whaleboats for the shore they once fought under a storm of bullets just before dawn streaked the horizon. Instead of a salvo, Johnny Turk would be positioned with a smile this time. On 25 April 1955, the commemorative landing at Anzac Cove would mark the launch of the pilgrimage. Turkish officers would lead them to Lone Pine, Walker's Ridge, Shrapnel Valley, and Baby 700, where they would exchange stories and memories. The Diggers⁵¹ would observe as Turkish authorities unveiled a memorial to commemorate the landing 40 years earlier before the sun fell on Anzac Day. They would go to Istanbul, then to the World War I battlegrounds of Mons and Ypres. The tour would finalise in London ("A Poet Died on an Anzac Isle.," 1955).

The cemeteries of World War One were widely abandoned in the years after World War II. In the early 1960s, Gallipoli was still quiet. Australian writer Betty Roland, who visited Gallipoli on Anzac Day in 1961, wrote (Roland, 'A Visit to Gallipoli.', 1965):

We had crossed the Dardanelles in the early light of morning, Captain McMann, his interpreter John, and myself. No one else was there. I was the sole representative of my country (...).There was a strange hush over everything and even my slow

⁵¹ This was a collective name that soldiers had coined for themselves: 'Diggers'. 'Anzac' was formal, solemn; 'Digger' was informal, friendly, a type of address among equals as simple as 'cobber' or 'mate,' but more honorific, reflecting the particular trench and tent comradeship. Gallipoli, Aussie, Digger, and Returned Soldier were all part of the tradition's lexicon, but "Anzac" was in a class of its own (Inglis, 1988).

footfalls sounded unduly loud as I passed between the rows of granite headstones, each engraved with the number, name, and rank of those who fought and died there fifty years ago.

The pilgrimages only revived during the 1960s and the fiftieth anniversary of the landing of Gallipoli and, prompted by old diggers who made a final return to the fields of war (Scates, 2014, p. 99). In fact, the pilgrimage to Gallipoli by veterans became a traditional commemoration. It occurred in both 1965 and 1990. In 1965, the trip was arranged and generated minimal press attention by the RSL; the one which took place in 1990 was supported and organised by the government (Macleod, 2002, p. 153).



Figure 3.1.2. “Diggers leave on Qantas for the 1965 RSL/RSA Gallipoli Pilgrimage, Mascot” (State Library of New South Wales, 1965, No: FL3403914)

In 1965, it was the 50th anniversary of the Allied landings on the Peninsula, and the pilgrimage party comprised of veterans from Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland and the United Kingdom visited Gallipoli (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1966, p. 80). There were more than 300 pilgrims from Australia and New Zealand, and seventy-one of them were at Anzac Cove on the first landing day (Inglis, 1966). Members of the contingent from Australia and New Zealand were landed from their ship on the Anzac beach at dawn on 25th April; they visited cemeteries in the Anzac Area and laid wreaths at the Lone Pine and Chunuk Bair Memorials (Imperial War Graves Commission, 1966, p. 80). For those who wanted to attend the three-week Mediterranean tour, the price was

£ 600 each. Some members of the party were funded by federal grants, others by the acquisitions in New South Wales of RSL poker machines. They travelled to Athens by four Qantas flights between 2 and 5 April and then boarded the cruise ship Karadeniz, which had accommodation facilities varied from semi-luxurious to more basic ones (Macleod, 2002, pp.153-154).

Combat traces were still visible on the landscape in 1965. The rusty wrecks of two barges were laid on the sand. Inland, trenches and dugouts contours were evident, and tourists came across water containers where the enamel was still a vivid blue, bits of shrapnel, bullets, and other metal parts. Often scattered, other times intact as skeletons, travellers encountered human bones too. One pilgrim said, 'It all brought memories back of fifty years before. They all belonged to some mother's son but who we shall never know' (Inglis, 1966).

The Gallipoli war has had a substantial impact on relations between Australians and Turks. For the 70th anniversary of the campaign, a few ex-servicemen travelled to Turkey. Ari Burnu beach has been renamed Anzac Cove by the Turkish government. In return, Kemal Atatürk was honoured by Australia by having a park named after him near the Australian War Memorial in Canberra and also a coastline in Western Australia (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 12).

While it was not possible to join the battlefields of the Great War with a tour in the 1970s, by 1991, there were six major companies that had been serving in a wide range of destinations from Flanders to the Far East. On the Western Front, the situation was slightly different. Since the mid-1980s, many schools had organised field trips to the Western Front (Walter, 1993, p. 63). In 1990, 58 veterans came to Gallipoli to participate in the organisation to be held for the 75th-anniversary commemoration ceremony. In addition, children between the ages of 15-17, who were somehow connected with Gallipoli, came to Gallipoli with them owing to the help of charities. The group included doctors, nurses, members of the press and official and military representatives from different parts of the world. This time, three various ceremonies were held: the memorial ceremony was held on the beach, while another ceremony took place at Lone Pine. In addition to these, an international ceremony was also held. The total cost of this entire organisation to the federal government was \$ 10 million (Macleod, 2002, p. 154; Şimşir, 2004, p. 35).

More focus was paid to the seventy-fifth anniversary of the war. Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke and the New Zealand Governor-General attended the dawn service at Anzac Cove, accompanied by fifty-four Australian and six New Zealand veterans. There were also political figures from Turkey and the United Kingdom and an estimated 10,000 participants. The anniversary drew colossal attention, particularly the television of the dawn service by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation live in Australia (Fewster et al., 2003, pp. 13-14).

Professor Mete Tunçoku, a Turkish scholar, was among the thousands who gathered at Anzac Cove that day. He remembers (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 21):

I was deeply touched when I observed the excitement and tearful eyes of those old soldiers landing in boats on the coast of Gallipoli before dawn just as it had been 75 years ago. But, this time they were greeted by their Turkish friends with embraces and gifts and flowers. It was an unforgettable scene for all of us . . . [A] pall of melancholy and sorrow hung over everything. Interestingly enough, there was no enmity or anger . . . You could have thought they were old friends who had just met after a very long time . . . On that day, I met a very old Turkish veteran and an Anzac veteran standing side by side. The Turkish veteran was trying to stand up straight with the help of his walking stick. The old Anzac was looking around with tears in his eyes. Surely, both of them were thinking of the terrible days of the war and of the friends they had lost. At one moment, I saw the Turkish veteran gently putting his conspicuously veined big boned hand on the shoulder of the Anzac who, weeping silently, watched the hills and slopes. I remained speechless and rooted to the spot . . . This scene was the obvious expression of the meaning of Çanakkale battles. Evidently, the veteran was trying to tell his friend through that touch, what he was unable to put into words.

The 'return to Gallipoli' for the 75th anniversary resulted from a schism between the Hawke government and the RSL. Hawke's government sought to engage with the 1980s' new nationalism. It distanced itself from the RSL and its anachronistic Anzac Day preservation. This ceremony, which was identical to Australia's Anzac Day ceremonies, led to a new kind of diplomatic relationship with Turkey. Moreover, the sudden participation of young Australians has sparked a modern trend of pilgrimage to the battlefields (West, 2015, p. 33).

On the other hand, the atmosphere created by the commemoration ceremonies was unorthodox that year. Apart from the wide screens set up to display the place, there was

another incident that was blamed for creating a celebration atmosphere for the 90th commemoration ceremony. Australia's Returned Services League (RSL) criticised the musical collection, including Bee Gees' song 'Stayin' Alive, in the prelude the dawn service, for moving away from the traditional mode of commemoration ('Gallipoli Litterbug Fallout', 2005).

According to military historian and author Jonathan King, the pop music, dances, and the canoodling couples near the graves that 90th-anniversary commemorations witnessed stemmed from unconsciousness. The gist of his advice was that authorities should bring awareness to the public. In research undertaken in the 2010s, which asked for the location of Gallipoli, the participants indicated France, England and even America, as King mentions. He also attributed this situation to Charles Bean's portrayal of reality, stating that Bean portrayed Gallipoli's defeat as a victory (King, 'It's Anzac Day - Not the Big Day Out', 2013).

3.2 The ANZAC Day Tradition, Symbols and Commemorations in Australia

The majority of the Anzac tradition predates the British and French abandonment of the Dardanelles. Then the professional withdrawal was praised as a victory. It wasn't the Australians who lost at Gallipoli, nor the leaders who had no role in the preparation, nor the soldiers who did all that was expected of them. On other fronts, too, actions at Gallipoli were cited to encourage reinforcements. Gallipoli became a source of inspiration for future victories. According to tradition, Australian military involvement in Europe and the Middle East wars was vital in bringing the conflicts to a close (Inglis, 1988). In line with this, the ANZAC soldiers' fighting skills are generally accepted as a significant aspect of what is considered Anzac tradition. The successes and triumphs of the Australian Army came to have a more profound significance in national pride (Lloyd, 1998, p. 183). White and masculine features borrowed from ANZAC soldiers' have been adopted to Australia's national identity. Charles Bean, a correspondent and official historian, played an essential role in this as being one of the most prominent figures (Macleod, 2017, p. 185).

The history of Anzac was both imperial and national. Its different elements were blended to assert that the troops had been the nation's making (Inglis, 1988). However, the shared imperial identity is also evaluated as being complex and multifaceted. The

Englishness and Britishness were grasped as inseparable, and the term ‘neo-Britons’ is used to reflect the situation which explains the features involved by other identities, even in the British overseas world, as well (Macleod, 2017, p. 187). Outlanders were the greatest of Britons, according to Rudyard Kipling, who was born in India. Australians adopted his perspective. The Australian expeditionary force's first commanding officer, Bridges, coined the term "imperial" to describe the unit. He was born in Scotland. Before he headed to New South Wales, he had been an immigrant to Canada. Thus, he was a profoundly colonial man. The term "Australian Imperial Force" (AIF) became a symbol of pride after the battle (Inglis, 1988).⁵² Yet, this type of national identity was not without problems, and there were tensions as distinct national identities began to appear in the 1880s and 1890s (Macleod, 2017, p. 187). Moreover, the nature of Britishness in the early twentieth century had been affected by the war. Even though Australia was still ‘proudly British’, it started to create a discrete national character in the following years of the war (Macleod, 2017, p. 188).

Within a month of the invasion, a memorial service was held in remembrance of Australians who have fallen in action. Moreover, this column had appeared in a community newspaper (“Australian Heroes.,” 1915):

“The Gallipoli Peninsula, that takes us back to ancient times and ancient deeds, holds now for us all sacred dust, and our hearts will turn thither ward, and in- the days to come many a pilgrimage will be made to drop a tear and cast a flower where heroes lie; and some day, perchance, an enduring monument will be raised to fell that- here our soldiers went into their first action and won world-wide admiration.”⁵³

On the other hand, inside the Empire, remembering the deceased became as contentious as it was soothing. The question of conscription became a controversial topic between those who had volunteered and those who had not. It divided the Labour Party and heightened the conflicts between the Irish Catholics and the public (Lloyd, 1998, p. 183; Crane, 2013, p. 244). Before the fighting, two plebiscites on conscription, barely

⁵² Bridges was one of the rare soldiers to be buried in Australia even though he did not die there. The crest of a hill adjoining Mount Pleasant, commanding a glorious view of a vast stretch of Australia's beautiful grazing country, was the site chosen for him. There were the first Military College of Australia with which the name and fame of Major General Bridges would be inseparably associated (‘A Place of Silence. Grave of General Bridges.’, 1932).

⁵³ The signs of the romantic features credited to Gallipoli and the admiration to the soldiers can be quickly noticed in the column published in such an early era.

won by the 'antis,' had split the nation. Furthermore, the Australian tradition of documenting not just the fallen but also the 'returned' on their home war memorials provided both 'hero' and 'shirker' labels (Crane, 2013, p. 244).



Figure 3.2.1. A souvenir programme of the Citizen's Celebration for Anzac Day held at Exhibition Hall in Brisbane, 1916 (Cumming, 1916).

As soon as the Gallipoli War finished, Anzac Day started to be celebrated annually (Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.; 'Anzac Day.', 1 March 1916; 'Anzac Day.', 24 February 1916). The same year, in 1916, Acting Prime Minister and Minister for Defence George Pearce officially announced 25 April as Anzac Day, despite the fact that it was not a national holiday (Official Website of National Museum Australia, n.d.) Beginning in 1916 and continuing through the 1920s, thoughts and hopes for Anzac Day to be a national holiday were shared ('Anzac Day.', 1916; 'Anzac Day.', 1921. p. 4.; 'Anzac Day', 1924).



Figure 3.2.2. "Australian and New Zealand troops marching down Whitehall London to Westminster Abbey - Anzac Day 25.4.1916". (Australian War Memorial Archive. 1916, No: P04497.00).

Australian memorials were generally known as sacred sites, and visitors were also called pilgrims (Lloyd, 1998, p. 183). Local and national war memorials were both the focus for commemorating the war and for honouring and grieving the dead. These shrines have also been of immense importance in major commemorative ceremonies, such as Armistice Day and the Anzac Day (Lloyd, 1998, pp. 187-188). And there were pilgrimages to the tombs of the soldiers who died at home. They passed away either before embarkation or on their return ('Anzac Day. Memories of Gallipoli. Reverent Celebrations.', 1919). Memorials in some of the cathedrals were a place of pilgrimage too. The memorial tablets were draped with fresh wreaths, and on some days, a single pilgrim's button could be seen on their lengths, left in memory of the departed ('A.I.F. Memorials. On the Battlefields. Where Pilgrims Place Flowers.', 1922). During the day, special services of trams ('Anzac Day.', 1927). and trains were run to carry the pilgrims to more prominent centres where commemoration ceremonies would take place. Many was leaving their farms before dawn to drive miles to the railway stations. They would see the dawn of another day before they reach their homes again. Proud mothers, mourning an Anzac, were carrying flowers from their own garden to place at the foot of the Cenotaph ('Country's Pilgrimage', 1927).

The local branch of the Centre for Soldiers, Wives and Mothers was inspired by these acts. They were making a pilgrimage with flowers every Anzac Day to the Woolloomooloo wharf gates. So many troops passed through those gates, and a few could return. This pilgrimage was a picturesque tribute, with a selection of lovely wreaths and memorial cards ('Memorial Ceremonies. Gates Decorated.', 1919). It was on Anzac Day, 1918, the Woolloomooloo Bay gates became a place of annual pilgrimage for the mourning families. Wives and mothers were bringing rosemary and wreaths. The profusion of flowers almost was covering the gates. Women wore medals, too, as an explicit manifestation of their soldiers' services. A remembrance fountain was erected opposite the gates by the labour of the Center for Soldiers' Wives and Mothers to pay a lasting homage to those who went through the gates on their way to the Great War. It was unveiled in 1922. The fountain has a background that shows a rosemary sprig in relief and the words inscribed "Rosemary for Remembrance" ('At the Farewell Gates. Permanent Tribute Unveiled.', 1922).

The Anzac tradition was very intact in the mid-1920s. By the 1920s, Anzac Day commemorations were being organized throughout the country (Official Website of National Museum Australia, n.d.; Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.-a). In 1923, a commentator remarked that "after eight years, Anzac Day has lost nothing of its splendour as a heroic side." It was "an undying story". The memorial services attracted a large audience. For honouring soldiers and presenting war medals, new memorials and memorial stones had been unveiled. Besides, pilgrims paid visits to those sites. They brought fresh-cut rosemary and laurels as a sign of remembrance and a symbol of honour ('After Eight Years.', 1923).

Commemoration ceremonies had become more established over the years. They were part of a perspective that kept ties with the war intense and prioritized the fallen's sacrifice. On the other hand, the praise of this history was also criticized between the 1920s and 1930s. The consequences of the ANZACs' sacrifice and the price they paid began to be questioned (Lloyd, 1998, p. 134). New beliefs and new ideas started to proliferate in society as Les Carlyon depicts (Carlyon, 2002: p. 100):

As with most myths, the appeal of Gallipoli is not rooted in facts of statistics, or in arguments of military historians, or the careful footnotes of academics. It is rooted in myth and magic nostalgia...Those hills over there matter for both Australia and Turkey. In Australia's case, it may be argued that we lost a form of innocence there. Australians quickly realised what war

meant and what it cost, and the war in the industrial age had little to do with romantic tales they had grown up with, tales usually involving colonial spats in Sudan or India. Turkey realised what it meant to be fighting for survival as a nation. Thus, for both countries, the Gallipoli experience had much to do with nation building.

The Dawn Service on the Anzac Day also comes from a military routine still being practised by the Australian Army. The half-light of dawn was considered one of the best periods to initiate an assault. Soldiers in defence roles were awoken in the dark before dawn, so they were up, ready, and handling their guns by the time first light. Returning veterans sought the comradeship they had felt in those calm, peaceful moments before dawn since World War I. Following the battle, a morning vigil became the focal point for commemoration in a number of locations. It is impossible to pinpoint where the first dawn services took place since they were organized by soldiers, clergy members, and people across the country. In 1918, a dawn requiem mass was conducted in Albany (Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.-a)

In 1927, returning from an Anzac Day function, the night before the annual commemoration, a party of veterans came across an older woman laying flowers at the incomplete Sydney Cenotaph. The men later decided to establish a dawn service in the next year when they joined it in this private remembrance (Seal, 2009, p. 78; Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.-a). The same year, every state marked Anzac Day as a formal national holiday (Official Website of National Museum Australia, n.d.).

In 1928, the first ceremony commenced before dawn, in 4:30 a.m., the hour at which the historic Gallipoli landing began. Wreaths laid on the Cenotaph in Martin Place by R.S.L.'s representatives ('Service at 4.30 a.m.', 1928; 'Anzac Day.', 1928). At the conclusion of the service, the 'Last Post' was sounded ('Heroes of Gallipoli.', The Farmer and Settler, 1928). This is widely considered to be the origin of organized dawn services (Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.-a).

The distance between Australia and the main theatres decreased the number of pilgrims who could manage to find both time and resources to travel. Thus, memorials were sites of pilgrimage for the bereaved families in the aftermath of war. Some exhibits were also among the places synonymous with the Great War and attracted a vast number of visitors and pilgrims. During the 1920s, one might see plenty of wartime artefacts and paintings exhibited. Most famous exhibits captured the bereaved's desire to recall their

suffering or recounted and revived World War I events. Moreover, these paintings and artefacts enabled many people who had left behind to witness the war scenes. Thus, they could learn about the sacrifices made by the servicemen (Lloyd, 1998)

One of the famous paintings was Lambert's depiction of the Nek battlefield. In 1919, the Australian government ordered the painting for £500 as part of the official war art scheme ('The Charge of the 3rd Light Horse Brigade at the Nek, 7 August 1915, 1924', Official Website of National Gallery of Australia, n.d.). The Nek has a significant place for Australia's Gallipoli history. This battlefield, on which several books have been penned, experienced a violent conflict on the 7th of August. In the attack, which was planned to be carried out in silence and without a rifle fire, 147 soldiers died in the first two lines. The painting is of the soldiers in the third row who knew that he was heading directly to his demise ('The Gallipoli Nek. The Lambert's Great Work. For the War Museum.', 1924).⁵⁴

By the mid-1930s, all of the modern-day Anzac Day traditions – dawn vigils, marches, two minutes of silence, remembrance services, wreath-laying ceremonies, and reunions – had been fully developed (Official Website of National Museum Australia, n.d.); (Official Website of Australian War Memorial, n.d.-a). Ceremonies in 1933 were just one of them. On April 25, 1933, Gallipoli was commemorated by a service in the Domain (Sydney) which was attended by around 80,000 people. One of the significant characteristics of the day was the pilgrimage to the Cenotaph in Sydney, and 8,000 people assembled at the Cenotaph. Hundreds of pilgrims had made their way to the Cenotaph during the night. People took rosemary as presents to the Town Hall. Wreaths had been laid, and many women and a few men had come to pray silently for a few minutes. March of the Troops had its place of assembly with military bands and colours. The Governor led a march of hundreds of men down for the Dawn Ceremony at the Cenotaph, at the actual hour of landing at Anzac, at 4:30 a.m. Then, the two-minute silence began with the evocative notes of a bugle and ended with them. The words "Lest we forget" were solemnly echoed by the entire crowd. Moreover, school teachers were formally requested to put the Anzac Day story before their students. This would be done from the perspective

⁵⁴ Regarding the depiction of the Anzac soldiers in this painting, Bean recounts a memoir: ""You know," he [Lambert] once said to me, "we constantly picture Australians as tall, wiry men, whereas the average Australian -if there is one-is short and stout. Look at them next time you're in the street." However, the original Anzacs were big men, and Lambert did not make the mistake of painting them otherwise." (Bean, 1948, p. 110).

of cultivating international peace, not just in connection with the glorification of war ('Anzac Day Arrangements. Details of Services.', 1933; 'The 18th Anniversary of Historic Landing at Before Dawn. Ceremony at the Cenotaph.', 1933).

The spirit and meaning of the occasion did not shift on the nineteenth anniversary of Anzac Day. Moreover, it was the largest march through the city till then. Approximately 17,500 joined in the parade ('Anzac Day. Record March of Troops in City. Impressive Commemorations.', 1934). There were around 16,000 some hours before the dawn at Cenotaph. As reverently as if they were coming into a church, the huge crowd reached the Martin square⁵⁵ and stood in silence. Just the region around the Cenotaph was lighted, and the tall buildings hidden in darkness were overlooking the scene ('Before the Dawn. Ceremony at the Cenotaph.', 1934).

In 1935, Sydney witnessed awe-inspiring scenes where the numbers of men in the march and spectators established records. It was officially stated that the march's attendance was about 60,000. Compared with the last record march, "The probabilities are that nothing like it will be seen again," said the secretary of the Returned Soldier' League. More than 250,000 people were estimated to be present at Domain's united service. The police reported that the Anzac commemoration was attended by at least 300,000 people in the city ('Anzac Day. Memorable Observance.', 1935). At the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, 11,000 ex-servicemen assembled at dawn to pay quiet tribute to their fallen comrades. Military officers reported that 32,500 veterans marched. It was Melbourne's longest Anzac Day march up to that time ('In Other States. Melbourne Ceremonies. 32,500 Men in March.', 1935).

In 1936, about 20,000 citizens assembled at the Cenotaph before dawn ('At the Dawn. Cenotaph Ceremony.', 1936). More than 25,000 ex-servicemen marched down Sydney's streets in 1939, featuring their war medals and rosemary sprigs in recognition of their fallen comrades. It was the greatest parade in the Anzac Day commemoration history, apart from two occasions. These occasions were the 20th anniversary in 1935 and the 1938 celebration when veterans from all over Australia and New Zealand took part. The ceremonies concluded with a profoundly touching service at the Cenotaph in Martin Place in the freezing light of dawn, when 30,000 citizens, several of whom had stayed up

⁵⁵ The square where the Cenotaph is situated.

all night, chanted the Anzac dedication, and a new significance was granted to Kipling's "Recessional" - "Lest We Forget." In the Domain, over 100,000 people gathered ('Sydney Commemorates Anzac Day.', 1939).

In 1940, there were almost 20,000 ex-servicemen at the Cenotaph. An audience of 80,000 gathered in the Domain and silently repeated in unity their promise they had made a year ago at peace: "Lest We Forget." ('Wartime Anzac Day. 20,000 Veterans in March. Challenge in Men's Wearing.', 1940). In the second biggest Anzac Day march in Sydney's history, more than 45,000 ex-servicemen and women swung through the city to the Domain Service in sunny autumn weather. Nearly 300,000 people watched the march through the city ('Anzac Day — How We Remembered.', 1950).

According to official figures, 16,000 men joined Melbourne's Anzac march of veterans in 1944, which was 3,000 more than 1943 ('Veterans of Anzac March Again.', 1944). In 1950, more than 350,000 watched 33,000 veterans -some blind, disabled, and grey, others young and vigorous-marching, limping, or hobbling to the Shrine to pay homage to the memory of Anzac ('Their Feet Awakened Echoes of 2 Wars.', 1950).

The official Australian historian C. E. W. Bean released Gallipoli Mission in 1948, in which he wrote about the Gallipoli campaign's history. Besides the war records, Bean provided notes on the condition of the Gallipoli graves in the book. The book even succeeded in inspiring people to make a pilgrimage to Gallipoli. According to one commentator:

“Many of his readers, as a result of their own experiences, will be for the first time able to appreciate fully what their fathers endured and accomplished in the Gallipoli campaign.(...) After reading this simple and moving record, one cannot help feeling that, now that the way is open again, an Australian pilgrimage to Gallipoli would be a fitting and overdue tribute to those who "by the Dardanelles laid down their shining youth in battle and won fair renown for their native land." Could not Dr. Bean's unique and intimate experience of the campaign be utilised to organise and lead such a pilgrimage?” (“G.H. Valour's Own Monument.,” 1948)

In 1951, about 36,000 people marched, while in 1952, only 14,000 people took part in the march due to heavy rain. In 1954, 300,000 citizens witnessed Sydney's largest Anzac Day march since World War II's conclusion. According to RSL officials and

officers, the parade attracted 40,000 veterans of two world wars and the Korean War. The number of marchers immensely surpassed predictions, and the Domain operation finalised before the final 6,000 marchers arrived (“300,000 Watch Anzac March.,” 1954).

For those who could not visit the graves of their loved ones, other ways were available besides attending these ceremonies. One of them was the imagined journeys to which the books written about Gallipoli take their readers. These books offered their readers an imaginary trip: C.L.Head, *A Glance at Gallipoli* (London: Eyre&Spottiswoode, 1931); J.C.Waters, *Crosses of Sacrifice: The Story of the Empire's Million War Dead and Australia* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1932); Lt Col. Graham Seton Hutchison, *Pilgrimage* (London: NP, 1935) (Scates, 2014, p. 18).

As one of these books, the Anzac Pilgrim's Progress book was also featured in the May 1919 newspapers. The newspaper was promoting as follows: "He describes his training in "The Shortest Way to the Front" and thereafter narrates his adventures in Egypt, Gallipoli and France till he reached the end of his pilgrimage in hospital and short of a leg." One of the important points here is that, as soon as the war was over, the visits to Gallipoli have been described as pilgrimage ('The Bookshop', 1919).

In his book, the author ends the poem he wrote about the Anzac tombs with the following lines (Lance-Corporal, 1918, pp.98-99):

Don't like seein' what's my own
Left in Abdul's fold, alone.
Them wood crosses, so to speak,
Keep a-hold like hands too weak...
Wonder, when we've done a clear,
Won't they feel-like lonesome here?
Guff?-Perhaps... But me an' they,
We were chums Toowoomba way.
...
Miles of years away, no fear
We'll forget them lyin' here:
When our shouts of victory peal
Round the world at last, I'll feel,
Waitin', listenin' underground
Here, they'll stir an' catch the sound,

Glad through all their dust agen-
Then they'll sleep, an' not till then.

Say, those dead of yours an' mine
Make this barren shore a shrine;
All these graves – they'll draw us back;
And for ever in our track,
Down the years to come, will pace
Pilgrims of our Anzac race:
God, while this old earth shall stand,
Where but here's our Holy Land?

January 8, 1916.

For many who could not bear the pilgrimage's expense, there was another way to get involved. On behalf of them, the pilgrims brought sprigs of wattle and left it on the side of the grave.⁵⁶ The wattle is the national flower of Australia. Wherever the A. I. F. has reached, it has gone too; Europe, Gallipoli, Egypt and Palestine. In the early days of Anzac training, soldiers found themselves relaxing under its branches, and this "golden glory" grinned at them. When the days of training were over, it decorated their slouch hats. Somewhere in their kitbags, they bore a sprig for luck and Australia. In a Red Cross home in Lancashire, they encountered the live blooms which had come from France. It was a comforting idea for the soldiers, and Australia didn't appear that far away on that specific day (H.W.S., 'The Wattle. What It Means to the Digger.', 1920).⁵⁷

Families who stayed in Australia also found ways to leave their mark on the Gallipoli lands. At the end of 1925, a relative of the 9th Battalion, Anzac, submitted a tiny packet of seeds to Rev. M. Mullineux, M.C., founder of the St. Barnabas Pilgrimage Fund, London. On an Anzac farm, these seeds were harvested from cypress pines that had been preserved for their glamour. The relative was asking in the letter that they be sown, if possible, in the cemeteries of Gallipoli. Mr Mullineux quickly embraced the venture's

⁵⁶ Also see A. H. Scott (1916), 'A Little Sprig of Wattle', in Bean (ed.), *The Anzac Book*, p. 67.

⁵⁷ In Australia, the first day of September is National Wattle Day. Australia's official flower symbol is the golden wattle. Around 1000 species of wattles exist in Australia, most of which are endemic to the continent. Wattles are one of the first plants to emerge after a fire or flood. Thus, they are a metaphor of renewal and resilience (Aloian, 2013, p. 22).

spirit. 'I will take your seeds with me to Gallipoli in September (1926),' he replied instantly, "and see what the Imperial War Graves men say about the soil ". In October 1926, following his return from the Gallipoli pilgrimage, Mr Mullineux wrote again. 'The seeds have been planted, and the gardeners have great hopes. I am expecting to see them - not the seeds, but some signs of successful growth, when I return next year. The gardener feared a Peninsula February would prove too cold for them.' In 1927, a postcard arrived on the relative. "Congratulations, cypress pines doing well. Inches high." ('Macmichael. Remembrance. Australian Trees at Gallipoli.', 1927).

A Gallipoli veteran toured the cemeteries in 1935 and, on his impressions, wrote these lines:

"Cemeteries shaded by cypress trees extended from Shell Green to Hill 10 above the Suvla Salt Lake, and everyone commented favourably on the work of (...) the Imperial War Graves Commission." (Hope, 1951)

Also with the effect of the Vietnam War and peace movements (West, 2015, p. 30), Anzac Day's popularity waned from the 1960s to the 1980s. Fewer citizens seemed to believe the military fighting had to be commemorated. Australians also regarded Anzac Day as being regulated by the Returned Services League, which they thought was out of contact with the community. Additionally, it was seen as an opportunity for certain men to get drunk and play two-up, which was only legitimate on Anzac Day. Commemorative rituals on Gallipoli have been more prominent since the 1980s (Official Website of National Museum Australia, n.d.) Politicians and the media began to see Australia in a more global context during the 1980s. Therefore, an enhanced national re-engagement with the Anzac tradition has taken place. This involved a variety of Australian films and television programs made possible by expanded federal government arts support. The most well-known portrayal was Australian director Peter Weir's multi-award-winning film *Gallipoli* (1981). On the other hand, after a significant increase in public involvement in the Anzac tradition in the 1980s, diminishing attendance in Anzac Day marches continued (West, 2015, p. 33). But by the 1990s, the tradition unexpectedly revived and managed to attract more people. Thus, there was a significant increase in the number of people attending the Anzac Day dawn ritual and veteran marches. While the number of people gathered for Anzac Day in 1989 in the capital Melbourne was 25,000, in a decade, that number doubled (West, 2015, p. 30).

In 2000, eighty-fifth-anniversary commemorations witnessed the participation of both Australia and Turkey's prime ministers. In line with this situation, in many other geographies, a joint commemoration ceremony was held with the participation of both countries' representatives (Fewster et al., 2003, p. 15). Such was the case in Beijing, China, in 2002, when the two ambassadors, their staff, guests and representatives of the local Australian and New Zealand expatriate groups assembled in the Australian Embassy courtyard to commemorate Anzac Day. In the recent past, the increase in the number of visitors also contributed to the Anzac awareness in Turkey. In addition, while the narratives of the Dardanelles War in Turkish school texts covered only the French and the English, they started to mention Australia and New Zealand, too (Fewster et al., 2003) pp.15-16).

3.3 The Writing of the Official Histories

The Dardanelles and Gallipoli remain the focus of British military history as well. Tens of thousands of men perished there in World War I. But the campaign is remembered more for its mistakes than its triumphs. Every questioning mind poses the same question in this implausible situation: Why? Why has such a defeat continued to acquire such an important place in Australia's social memory and deeply honoured in England?

Hastings (2015) provides a detailed answer to this question. First, this war was seen as a panacea to halt the slaughter and stalemate on the Western Front. The war has finally been won. However, it will always remain a matter of wonder that in what direction this victory would have led the world history if it had come a few years ago. Second, in Hastings' words (Hastings, 2015, p. 6);

"It was among the most incompetently conducted campaigns in history, demonstrating the British genius for discovering at moments of crisis an almost inexhaustible supply of dud generals. Countless young men perished in and around these limpid waters because they were led by commanders who may not have been fools, but conducted themselves in an extraordinarily foolish fashion. "

On the other hand, according to Macleod, the answer to this question can be understood more clearly when the official historiography of the two countries is examined (Macleod, 2004, p. 2). Further, Prior (2009) argues that although British and Australian history included essential details that could not be found elsewhere, both were biased and

out of date. British official history was written by General Hamilton's staff officer. Australian history was written by C.E.W Bean and he depicts the history of a nation who finds himself on the beaches and hills of Turkey (Prior, 2009, p. 15).

The official history of World War I was created with the support of the Imperial Defense Committee History Unit. Colonel E.Y., a member of the Royal Navy, took on writing official history. Daniel emphasised that the purpose of British official history was to educate the public and the ruling - in terms of future decisions - rather than justifying war or preserving the memory of War (Macleod, 2004, p. 58). In the following years, Aspinall-Oglander, another official historian whose name is more known, wrote his book: "History of the Great War. Military Operations. Gallipoli". He was the official historian and staff officer as well. The book can also be seen as a complement to the official history of Australians. According to Aspinall, the operation was not a complete failure. Thus, while official history books explain the value of the operation, they should have also aimed to justify it. Therefore, the logic of the underlying causes of the failures could be examined while also criticising the mistakes. According to Macleod, Aspinall's main task in the official history book was to refute the idea that Gallipoli was a complete failure (Macleod, 2004, p. 82).

Charles Edwin Woodrow Bean (1879-1968), the official historian of Australia, was born in New South Wales. He received a scholarship to Hertford College, Oxford, in 1898. He read and condensed his prose style, *Literae Humaniores*-'Greats 'or the classics. Later on, he worked for a law degree, received it in 1903, and was called to the bar. He taught at Brentwood temporarily, sailed as a teacher to the Canary Islands and left at the end of 1904 for Australia. He was accepted to a bar in Sydney, and he did some teaching at Sydney Grammar School while waiting for clients to show up, where his father had worked three decades ago (Lack et al., 1998).

For the Evening News, which was edited by 'Banjo' Paterson, Bean wrote several articles. He carried a defence of the White Australia policies to the Spectator in London. Thus, Bean's point of view regarding the Anglo-Saxon race superiority has left traces in his previous publications (Lack et al., 1998). Thomson summarises Bean's point of view as follows (Thomson, 1994, p. 49):

“He idealised Australia as an Anglo-Saxon oasis in the Pacific, and was convinced that the transplanted race needed to be protected from the oriental threat. He shared the ideas of contemporary social Darwinism, which assumed that there was an innate relationship between race and moral and cultural traits, and he was convinced that the English were pre-eminent because of their superior character of each individual exemplified distinctive national traits would remain the central explanatory tool of his life’s writing.”

Bean's admiration also influenced him in shaping the ANZAC narratives. The ANZACs owe their place in Australian history to Bean (Lack et al., 1998):

“The place occupied by the word ‘Anzac’ in the Australian language owes as much to him as to any other man; and to his actions as well as his words. The Australian War Memorial is his creation. While recording and commemorating the Australian experience of war he laboured to improve the quality of Australian living in peace, and in particular to find ways of bringing to the cities, and preserving in them, abilities and virtues which he discerned in the country. He is the most prolific of Australian historians, and possibly the most original (...)”

He took a firm commitment to be a journalist. He learned shorthand for six months, eight hours a day, and he joined the Sydney Morning Herald as a junior reporter in June 1908. The imperial Government invited each dominion in September 1914 to send an official correspondent with the troops that contributed to the war. Australian Journalists’ Association nominated him (Lack et al., 1998).

In the same month, the Minister for Defense, Senator Pearce, asked Bean to write the history of the Australian part in World War I on Bean’s return. Bean then began writing the relevant history in 1918, after the Armistice (Bean, 1938, p. 85). Officials agreed to a condition that no part of history should be subject to censorship. The Government made only one exception by reserving the right to prevent the publication of any matter concerning the Navy, which for technical reasons, it might be indiscreet to make known (Bean, 1938, p. 86).

Bean's formal approach to history, unlike Edmonds, is found to be romantic (Macleod, 2004, p. 80). Bean preferred to write from the perspective of those involved in the war. He aimed to keep the memory of the soldiers alive with his writings. This

commemorative purpose has caused it to be considered romantic by some commentators (Macleod, 2004, p. 77). Bean states that he started by searching for answers to the following questions at the beginning of his historical writing (Bean, 1938, p. 91):

How did Australian people – and the Australian character, if there is one – come through the universally recognised test of this, their first great war? Second was the question: What did the Australian people and their forces achieve in the total effort of their side in the struggle? Third: What was the true nature of that struggle and test so far as Australians took part in? How well or ill did our constitution and our preparations serve us in it? What were their strengths and weaknesses? And what guidance can our people or others obtain from this experience for future emergencies?

Thus, the urge to build a history for a new nation was on the background of these questions. The questions also had bore traces of the Bean's stance inevitably. Therefore, his attitudes and personality infiltrated his writings (Macleod, 2004, p. 73). In his work, Bean's aim enhanced the depiction of Anzacs in the heroic-romantic nature. This suggested that the campaign defeat was not related to Australian deficiencies (Macleod, 2004, p. 77).

Prior argues that the myths of the Gallipoli War caused the war to take on a romantic atmosphere and that this stance influenced the writing of its history (Prior, 2009, p. 12). Prior states that no war in the history of World War I was turned into a winnable action. As the only exception to this situation, he points to the Gallipoli campaign. According to what was written, if the British Navy had made another attack on the Çanakkale Strait after 18th March 1915, this attempt would have opened the way to Istanbul for the ships. If there had not been a naval attack in Gallipoli before the military operation or another date had been set before 25th April for the soldiers to land, the Turkish defence would have been caught off guard. In this case, the Turks would have no choice but to surrender. As another factor, if several thousand ANZAC soldiers had not landed in the wrong place, victory would have been possible. Even greater success could have been achieved if another general was at Suvla Bay other than Sir Frederick Stopford. Even if Istanbul had fallen, it would have been possible to shorten the war by a coalition of Balkan armies that would hit Austria-Hungary and Germany. Looking at alternative scenarios involving all these "ifs", Prior makes the interpretation that the World War I is actually viewed as a lost opportunity (Prior, 2009, p. 12-13).

This situation inevitably results in containing romantic elements. In the historiography of the Gallipoli War, including Prior, the contemporary researchers started to adopt a stance that stands directly against romanticism (Prior, 2009, p. 16):

“I am concerned to strip away the weight of mythology that has so hampered the development of a sophisticated historiography of Gallipoli. As a consequence, I have dealt with the campaign as an important episode in the World War I, where men fought each other in an exotic setting but where no nations except modern Turkey were created—and even that event would be delayed by almost a decade after Gallipoli. The romance of war is largely absent from this account, but in truth war is about the most unromantic occupation imaginable. The time for sentimentalising Gallipoli has long passed. It should be treated as the men experienced it—as a bloody episode in a bloody war.”

What is wrong with mythism and romanticism? Here, the myth is conceptualised as Hynes defines (Hynes, 1999, p. 207):

“What we do, when we summon up our common notions of what the World War I was like, is to call upon a collective, vicarious memory: we evoke our shared myth of the war. Myth here, it scarcely needs saying, is not a synonym for falsehood; rather, it is a term to identify the simplified, dramatised story that has evolved in our society to contain the meanings of the war that we can tolerate, and so make sense of its incoherences and contradictions.”

Moreover, Hynes states that memorials play a very small part in creating a war myth and personal accounts very wide. Not a narrative alone, but narratives together construct war stories. Therefore, it is a combined story, which is not conveyed in a single narration but relies on the material of multiple accounts. In time, an anecdote is retained and another is discarded and lost (Hynes, 1999, p. 207).

Prior (2009), points to the books which are based on the narratives of soldiers a responsible for romanticising. For him, many books in the literature are based on the memories of soldiers in the decade. Although these books shed light on the lives of the soldiers in the front and they were welcomed and added depth to World War I, there are dangers that such books bring with them. The threat of the focus of attention being limited to a single soldier is also pointed out. Moreover, he argues that such historiography is

more vulnerable to the intervention of political concerns, and in this way the past is damaged (Prior, 2009, pp. 13-14):

“Nevertheless, it seems to me that there is a danger of forgetting the events we claim to be remembering and of narrowing our focus of attention to the limits of a single soldier. Lack of a good grasp of the events around and on the Peninsula also runs the risk of sentimentalising the experience of the men who served there. Unwittingly, much of this type of literature portrays the troops as helpless victims of great impersonal political forces of which they were either ignorant or contemptuous. In my view this does damage to the past by allowing the intrusion of current political concerns. The veterans of Gallipoli, I believe, would have been some of the most vociferous critics of this approach.”

Prior (2009) draws attention to the danger of two separate elements: Forgetting and political intrusion into narratives. When the first danger he points out is considered, narratives are seen as much more powerful elements in the emergence of war myths than monuments. Not a narrative alone, but narratives together construct war stories. Therefore, it is a combined story, which is not conveyed in a single narration but relies on the material of multiple accounts. In time, an anecdote is retained and another is discarded and lost (Hynes, 1999, p. 207). Thus, a separate memory is formed that selects the elements to be remembered. Moreover, the tone for choosing incidents and events, the narrative and the manner of telling, converges before an entire, cohesive story occurs. If we introduce the appropriate credential, we could call this emerging story as "collective remembrance." (Hynes, 1999, p. 207). This collective remembrance does not always build the war myth in those who learn about war by listening them. War narratives also reiterate the experiences of those who suffered but did not write about their battles. They also “construct; for the order and meaning that written versions give to the incoherence of war must operate on other memories, making sense of the muddle of images that most men bring back from their wars” (Hynes, 1999, p. 207).

When the second danger is considered, what kind of impact did these narratives have when they were not written? Could they be stronger against official histories that are directed by political discourses and narrated from above? Thomson's work offers a different answer to this question. In his study which he evaluated “the interactions between Anzac legend stereotypes and individual soldiers’ identities, and in the ways that

‘typical’ can be oppressive”, he scrutinises the relationship between individual memory and collective myth (Thomson, 1998, p. 300). Thomson set out from the public myth axis to examine the relationship between public and private memories and interpreted the comments and impressions of a former ANZAC veteran on different books and films, Anzac day and war monuments.

He concludes that the effectiveness of the 1980s Anzac legend is that it convinces even radical diggers that their story is being told, while subtly reworking the conservative sense of the war, national character and Australian history into an appropriate form for the 1980s. The ‘hegemonic’ process seems similar to that undergone by the diggers who did join RSSILA (the Returned Sailors’ and Soldiers’ Imperial League of Australia) and Anzac Day back in the 1920s. On each occasion, individuals are included and their memories selectively affirmed by the public rituals and meanings of remembrance. That affirmation may be essential for individual peace of mind, but in the process contradictory and challenging memories are displaced or repressed (Thomson, 1998, pp. 309-310). Therefore, not all personal narratives both lead and sustain the development of myth formation. Most stories, about any battle, sit on the shelves of the library, partly because they are found dull, indeed, but partially because they do not tell the right story. After all, they are not in line with the myth. Those that attract readers appear to confirm each other (Hynes, 1999, p. 207).

According to Thomson, in the dynamic relationship between individual memory and national myth, there are ways in which oral history can be more than just the ‘voice of past’. Oral history can help us understand how and why national mythologies work (and don’t work) for individuals and society. It can also reveal the possibilities, and difficulties, of developing and sustaining oppositional memories. For him, these understandings can enable more democratic and radical versions of past (Thomson, 1998, p. 310).

3.4 History and Today: Becoming an Anzac at Anzac Cove

“And when I think about it, I guess it is true that people always arrive at the right moment at the place where someone awaits them.”

Paulo Coelho, The Pilgrimage

The sun always sets later at Anzac Cove.

While the night leaves its place to morning in Australia, the heavy silence of history and gloom collapses into the sea of Gallipoli. The sea is silent from knowing too much. The reason why it is so dark at night is that it wants to hide what it knows. It has seen a lot, heard a lot, and is tired of witnessing. However, every year on April 25th, the sea becomes '1915' under the light of the ceremony that falls on it. The shiver one feels while gazing at the sea is either from the unexpected chill or from the imaginary glide into the past and knowing what will soon happen.

Pilgrims are no longer a mother, a father or a son. All become a young Anzac. The Sphinx behind them no longer looks enchanting; it has become a terrifying place. The coastline spreads, the water rages, and the hills grow precipitous. Gallipoli goes wild. To go ashore from the sea is to run to the unseen end. Suddenly, the thoughts become silent, and a sense of calm envelops the pilgrims. Returning to the present of Gallipoli stuns them all.

Many Australian pilgrims visit Gallipoli and the Western Front Battlefields every year to attend the Dawn Ceremonies conducted in those places. While some describe themselves as "pilgrims" since those who first made these visits, the term is entirely foreign for others. Tourism practices, which have the capacity to imply a profound transformation and escape from daily life, has many intersections with pilgrimage. Thus, some researchers attempted to differentiate the two by highlighting their distinctions. However, the result that often emerges from these studies is that the two do not have clear boundaries. As Turner's well-known quote states (Turner, 2011[1978], p.20):

“Tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist. Even when people bury themselves in anonymous crowds on beaches, they are seeking an almost sacred, often symbolic, mode of *communitas*, generally unavailable to them in the structured life of the office, the shop floor, or the mine.”

In this section, it is not my aim to make an analysis that tries to separate the tourist spirit of the Gallipoli pilgrims. Whether we refer to them as tourists or pilgrims, these visitors to Gallipoli often have highly emotional experiences. But what elements of the Dawn Ceremony can evoke such an intensity of emotion? The meaning intrinsic to the

place for these pilgrims and the socio-cultural perspective about the Anzac soldiers cannot, of course, be abstracted from their spatial experience at any stage. At this point, I am using the pilgrimage framework as an analysis tool. My purpose in this section is to reveal the origins of the power of Gallipoli Dawn Ceremony on pilgrims and the dynamics involved in their construction of this experience. For my analysis, I benefited from both the interviews I made right after the Dawn Ceremony, and the ones I made after some of the pilgrims returned home. Thus, there are statements of the same pilgrims both immediately after their experience and when they return home.

I do not think one of the perspectives used as a framework in pilgrimage analyses in the literature is superior to the other. This approach matches the transition from the "either-or" method of theories to the "both-end" method which is seen in pilgrimage literature from the 90s (Collins-Kreiner, 2010, p. 450). In this context, I utilised Turner's (1978) point of view to shed light on the functioning of Gallipoli as a pilgrimage site, and Eade and Sallnow's (1991) point of view for its capacity to examine the relationship balances created by pilgrims as the Gallipoli experience is constructed primarily by them and the meaning inherent in the place. Moreover, I have used Coleman and Eade's (2005) framework to illuminate the movement notion here. As a result of all these analyses, one should not expect to reach a clear-cut conclusion about whether these activities in Gallipoli can be described as pilgrimage or not. To expect a single ethnography to settle such a fundamental dilemma in the literature would be unrealistic. However, there is no doubt that the pilgrimage framework is a powerful tool for describing Dawn Ceremony experiences in Gallipoli.

3.4.1 Gallipoli as a Threshold: “If you come to Turkey you have to come to Gallipoli”

Visitors to Gallipoli include pilgrims who arrive with intense emotions and expectations, which we might evaluate in the framework of a genuinely secular pilgrimage and tourists who travel with no expectations or with an utterly critical point of view of the tradition. While some of these pilgrims anticipate a profound emotional experience, their experience barely registers in contrast. Both are reaching the sacred site and the experience there are significant for them. To the journey itself, they pay little attention. However, this group includes a small number of Australian Gallipoli pilgrims. Some pilgrims are as interested in the journey as they are in connecting with the sacred

grounds and learning about history. The rest of the group ends up at Gallipoli by chance, where they either experience awe-inspiring feelings or feel like they're just in a typical tourist attraction. Throughout their journeys, these travellers' peculiarities manifest themselves in various ways.

During their stay at Gallipoli, Anzac pilgrims participate in a battlefield tour or spend significant time on the battlefields to attend the Dawn Ceremony. However, every pilgrim spends some of their time as a tourist, usually at night. This is also true for pilgrims who come to Gallipoli with strong feelings. In the very close proximity of the battlefields, providing necessities like food and shelter is impossible. They also want to try the local delights. Besides, the tourism experiences of these pilgrims are not confined to these. Their time in Çanakkale also includes visits to other provincial tourist attractions. Travel agencies and hotels in Gallipoli use these programs in conjunction with battlefield excursions to give more comprehensive experiences to their visitors.

The Troy trip is the most well-known one. Almost every pilgrim who can stay for at least two days enjoys the Troy excursion. The pilgrims, who devote one day to the battlefield trip, spend the second day on the Troy tour and the remainder of the day wandering through the old bazaar, *Aynalı Çarşı*, in the centre of the city built-in 1889. Additionally, these excursions are offered before and after the Dawn Ceremony. The tour of Troy is an optional activity for pilgrims, and some choose to participate in it on the day before the Dawn Ceremony while others wait until the day after. Pilgrims spend some time in these distinct sections of Çanakkale, no matter how brief their stay in Turkey is. Turkey is an attractive tourist destination for the vast majority of pilgrims. In other words, they don't only stop at places like Istanbul and Çanakkale, which are already on the Gallipoli itinerary. After Çanakkale, some pilgrims go to tourist destinations on the Aegean coast, such as Ephesus, Pergamum, Selçuk or Pamukkale. Others continue their journey toward the Cappadocia area, a well-known destination in Australia. Agencies also offer options such as snorkelling, scuba diving and yacht cruise to Anzac Cove and Turkish Islands.



Figure 3.4.1.1. Tjs Tour's brochure

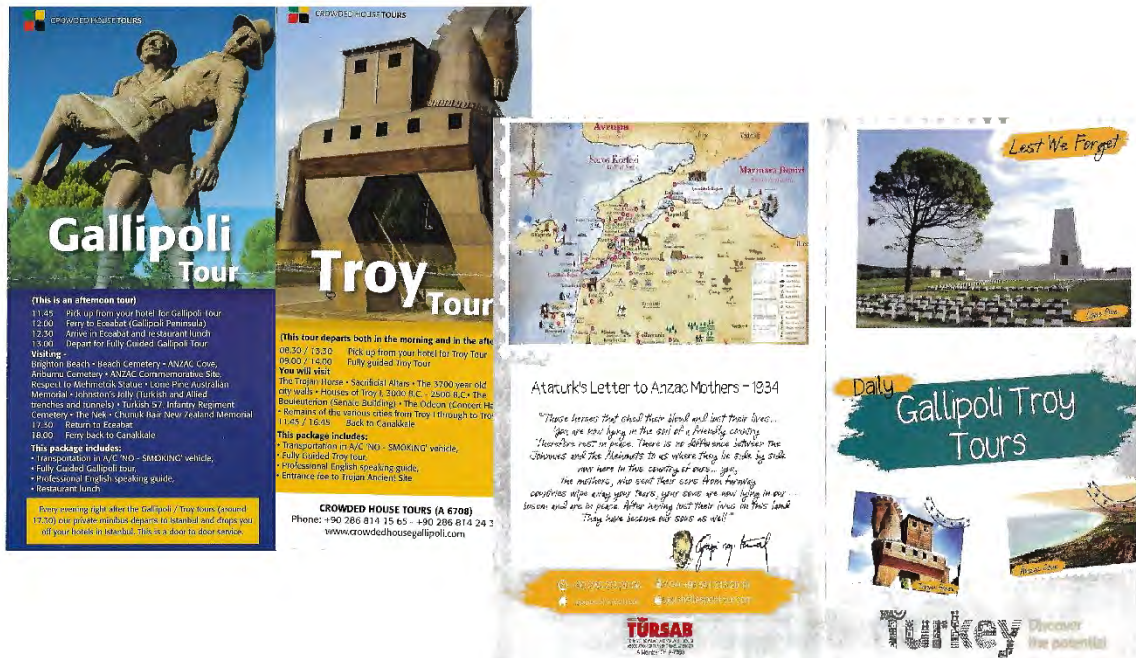


Figure 3.4.1.2. Some other brochures of hotels and agencies in Gallipoli and the center of Çanakkale

Gallipoli's distance not just from the city centre but also from Australia can be evaluated from this perspective. Turner (1975) demonstrates a clear correlation between pilgrimage centre locations and liminality. From this viewpoint, pilgrimage sites are often

placed beyond the official limits of a city or church. This location provides the setting for a process including the departure of pilgrims from “Familiar Place” and their return from “Far Place”. Thus, peripherality functions as a limen, a “threshold”. A spiritual or personal transformation occurs here via direct contact with the sacred in the immaterial realm. From this point of view, pilgrims undergo a transformation by journeying far from the familiar. This far-flung locale, which necessitates stepping into a different cultural realm, gives an experience that is both far from the every day and deeply rooted in the pilgrim’s own history and identity. This procedure exemplifies the abrupt change described by Turners. The power of the Gallipoli experience derives from the multifaceted character of pilgrimage, which may unite all of these aspects.

Turner's (1975) depiction of the pilgrimage as a rite of passage explains the effect of Gallipoli's layout, which is situated in a peripheral location distant from the city's vibrant centre. Because of its detachment from public sites, this area offers a spatial experience distinct from daily life. This gives the prospect of a transformative liminal experience with depth for pilgrims. The region's remoteness necessitates that pilgrims depart the area and limits the amount of time devoted to the occasion. Furthermore, its location influences the length of pilgrimage necessary for the survival of *communitas*. As soon as they arrive in the city's centre for their basic needs, pilgrims turn into tourists. Therefore, it is possible to say that this peripheral structure is a condition that creates tourism potential too.

Some other liminal characteristics of the Anzac pilgrimage include people preferring to wear field-appropriate clothing that is more comfortable than their everyday attire; “reflection on the meaning of fundamental cultural values”; and “movement from a mundane centre to a sacred periphery that momentarily which suddenly, transiently, becomes central” for (Turner, 2011[1978], pp.34-35) Australian pilgrims. Turners also consider whether this action was prompted by voluntary involvement within the context of the pilgrimage framework. Turner (1975, p.174) argues it was essential that even when there was a responsibility, it be freely fulfilled and the mandatory be seen as desirable. The primary reason for this is the issue of whether there is a proper ground for the genesis of direct liminality experience. Turners argue that in tribal communities, rituals are seen in conjunction with work. Rituals, on the other hand, are more closely related to play in preliterate communities. Mask-wearing dancers and clowns are instances of such a

circumstance (Turners, 2011[1978], pp.34-35). Turners assert that there is a clear division between work and leisure time in post-industrial civilisations.

The transformation capacity of Gallipoli pilgrimage also stems from the voluntary nature of these visits. When I asked Brendan whether they considered themselves pilgrims, he replied it was the first time he had heard the term used for these visits, but he thought it was quite suitable. When I asked him about the connotation of the term and why he found it appropriate, he replied: “I guess, in a way, that there's a strong urge for all generations of Australians to want to come here and see the place. So in that way I guess, it is almost like a pilgrimage... The point I am trying to make is that you won't actually hear normal people walk around Australia, saying that they're going to go on a pilgrimage to Turkey to Gallipoli.”

Likewise, Dion felt that there was a strong element luring these pilgrims to perform these journeys. People were here because they wanted to, not because it was an obligation: “These people brought the whole family over here (...) Because, you know, its powerful enough to take whole family [here]. Probably the Pappa would not kill us if we weren't come by ourselves you know [laughs]” he said.

Talking to Linda, Caitlin and Liam after the Lone Pine Ceremony, I asked them whether Gallipoli was their main motivation for travelling to Turkey. Visiting Turkey was their primary point. But since they arrived here, they did not think it proper to travel to Turkey and not to come to Gallipoli. They defined this circumstance as follows:

Linda:

Traveling around Turkey, yeah, that's more important. We didn't come here to go to that service.

All group members:

No, no.

Liam:

But if we come to Turkey, we would definitely come to Gallipoli.

All group members:

Yeah.

Caitlin:

If you come to Turkey you have to come to Gallipoli. As an Australian, you have to go there.

Linda:

Yes, you can not go to Turkey and not go to Gallipoli. It would be like going I don't know... going to Mecca and not going to Kabaa.

Caitlin:

Yes going to Paris and not going Eifel.

Caitlin believed war was pointless. These troops had sacrificed their lives for them at a very young age. Because of this, they wanted to come and pay their respects to them.

During my Gallipoli fieldwork, I have seen many pilgrims who share the sentiments expressed in the above exchange. I've heard the remark of "if you come to Turkey you must come to Gallipoli" several times. Many pilgrims travel to Turkey primarily for tourism interests. However, when they visit this country, they do not believe it is appropriate to ignore Gallipoli. This indicates that, like religious pilgrimages, secular pilgrimages are also incorporated into the leisure sector. Turners (2011[1978]) argue that religion has been transformed into a phenomenon associated with leisure. People have been doing religious activities in their leisure time, not as a duty but as a choice. Van Gennep's categorisation of the pilgrimage phenomena as liminal is no longer appropriate for today's civilisations, which are more likely to be regarded as liminoid or quasi-liminal (Turners, 2011[1978], pp.34-35). In the same vein, the Gallipoli experience has a liminoid character.

3.4.2 Before the Dawn: "In the middle of nowhere..."

After a walk through the checkpoints and Anzac Cove, the pilgrims arrive at North Beach, where the Dawn service will take place. Videos with various narratives are displayed on giant screens in the evening and throughout the night. Wrapped in blankets and sleeping bags, the pilgrims watch them as eating the food they bring. Then, they approach the nearby coffee stands. Those who can sleep till the ceremony's start time do so.

In the Dawn Ceremony, each pilgrim's expectations are different, as the type of service they participate in and like in Australia is different. Each pilgrim seeks a different format as they do in Australia. Fiona was among the pilgrims who found the Dawn Ceremony just as she had hoped. It wasn't just that she was satisfied with the ceremony because it allowed them to see what was going on in a different way from their TV at home. She was satisfied because "it was actually being exactly where the soldiers were when they landed." She was experiencing history on the same day, at the same time, and in the same place. So history was alive: "so it was just the feeling of "oh my gosh", you know, "exactly 100 years ago at this moment they were landing on the beach". So it was amazing." she said.

The content of the ceremonies in Gallipoli varies according to the date they are held. A commemoration ceremony was held on August 6th as part of the centennial commemorations. Even though wreaths are laid on the same dates every year, the participation was much higher due to the centennial year. Attending the Dawn Ceremony and participating in the August Offensive are two distinct experiences. The Dawn Ceremonial consists of the experience of going to Lone Pine with the dawn's first light after spending the night camped at Anzac Cove and the ceremony that follows. The August Offensive, on the other hand, consists only of the ceremony held at Lone Pine. Of course, this ceremony cannot be as extensive as the prior one. Still, Lone Pine is an important location for Australian pilgrims like Anzac Cove. Therefore, it offers a unique experience. Perhaps most significantly, by commemorating and honoring the great losses suffered here, the Anzac graves are not forgotten on this other significant day.

Expectations from this ceremony are different from what is anticipated from the Dawn Ceremony. August Offensive is a more formal ceremony for pilgrims. According to Linda, the ceremony contained the things it should have included and "was pretty on spot". However, in August, Gallipoli and especially the Lone Pine plain, where this ceremony was held, becomes quite hot. Many pilgrims had complained of the heat, and Linda was among them. She also thought that everything went faster than she thought.

The August Offensive ceremony in Lone Pine has a much shorter format than the Dawn Ceremony and does not include activities such as walking. Even so, some pilgrims do not like the ceremony to be too formal. Jake was among these pilgrims. Jake had come with his wife Caitlin. They also attended the August ceremony. There were not so many

formalities in the ceremonies they attended in Australia, and he found the one in Gallipoli too much formal. Also, for the same reason, the ceremony seemed long to them. However, being in Gallipoli in the 100th year, being in these lands changed everything. They thought it was a much more special experience than in Australia. Some pilgrims love the spirit of the crowd, while others prefer to hold ceremonies in calm and serenity with smaller groups. Jake also liked crowds, expected more people. However, he attributed the smaller number of people at the ceremony than he expected to the relations between Turkey and Syria. He was among the pilgrims who complained of the heat, though he found the ceremony very special. His wife, Caitlin, learned that the ceremony would be held at a different time than Dawn Ceremony, and she edited her expectations. She had told herself beforehand that it would not be like Dawn Service. Still, she liked the little stories everyone told and enjoyed the memorial service. However, not all pilgrims experience the ceremony in the same way. After the August ceremony, William did not look very impressed. He thought it was no different from those in Australia. When I asked him if he saw it as just one of the ceremonies he attended, he replied, "yeah that's a good way to put it".

The fact that August Offensive Ceremony was different from the Dawn Ceremony held in Australia had the same effect on the pilgrims. Everyone thought that it would be just a commemoration ceremony and had an expectation in this direction, knowing that it would not be similar to the Dawn Ceremony. Sam also thought its duration was reasonable and "it covered basically what it needed to cover". Laura in the same group also found the content of the ceremony as she expected and was glad that she came. The Lone Pine Ceremony is similarly repeated on the day following the Dawn Ceremony. Sam heard the phrase "no matter where, we were walking over the bosoms of fallen soldiers" at the August ceremony and was very impressed. A few years later, the same sentences would deeply affect Dion in the ceremony after the Dawn Service.

This expression emphasises the sacredness of these lands and the meaning they contain. After hearing this sentence, Sam thought that there were many unknown graves under the ground. "I think that was poignant," he said. Similarly, this phrase actually summed up what happened in battlefields for Sam. He knew that the soldiers in the war had to walk over many of their dead comrades. The words he heard reminded him of that. Thus, the historical events that took place in these lands make them authentic. Therefore,

this is where the landscape gets its power to evoke these emotions: “You can read about it talk about it suddenly you're on site that's where it happened and if you dig down deep enough you're going to find bodies of young Australians young New Zealanders young Turks and I just think that was very very poignant.” he said.

Obviously, every pilgrim is profoundly affected by the lives lost as a result of war's savagery. As another factor, the symbolism latent in Anzac cemeteries and unknown graves under the earth further stems from the traditional perception of Anzac troops. The social values at the heart of the tradition and the virtues they symbolise inspire Australian pilgrims to come to these locations in tribute to the Anzac soldiers. Based on the charismatic power that Weber outlined, it is possible to evaluate this situation as a "spatialisation of charisma." as Eade and Sallnow (1991: p. 8) call it. Thus, from the perspective of the pilgrims, the Anzacs gave these territories meaning through the bravery and heroism they showed while fighting and the way they died.

Gallipoli pilgrimage is an opportunity to see the darkest side of warfare and humanity, which creates a devastating effect on a one's heart. However, pilgrims who visit this site learn a lesson by seeing the portion of the battle that affected people's lives. For some, this lesson, which focuses on individual lives, is more significant than basic historical information. Similarly, when Dawn Ceremony moves away from formality and unfold toward the human nature of battle, it becomes more meaningful to pilgrims. Bob and Sandra found Dawn Ceremony too formal. According to them, speeches were made only on ready-made texts. Although they liked the music, they believed that the commemoration could have more soul. Besides, the ceremony was too touristy for them. "I think they really need to reinvent things. It was just a little bit flat for me. I was surprised." said Bob. So much so that Sandra said that the ceremony they attend in Australia was more emotional for her.

The personal nature of the ceremonies causes pilgrims who take part in both the Dawn Ceremony and the August Offensive Ceremony to get emotional. Linda, a participant from the August Offensive, described the breaking point she reached in the ceremony, despite her inability to connect emotionally until that stage: “I did not feel any kind of deep emotion until the very last person came out and blew the whistle like his father had blown the whistle at Gallipoli and he blew that whistle.” In the same vein, speeches were not the most influential part of Dawn Ceremony for Nathan. Apart from

the dawn, he was very impressed with the names of the Anzacs, how old and when they died were displayed on the screens. Nathan found this very emotional. He said that they had died very young and it was very sad.

Thus, the elements that establish these emotional bonds may be different throughout the ceremony. As being one of them, *Telegram Man (2011)*⁵⁸, was displayed in Dawn Ceremony that year too. Bob already knew about this short film. “I thought it has such a powerful punchline. It is not a great piece of film making but it just has such a powerful punchline.” he said. However, Darren was far more affected by the same short film: “The one particular segment that made me feel emotional was the video they showed called the Telegram Man. That broke me up when the telegram man was coming and the father knew it would be one of his children.”, he said. But we could not see the ending since the movie was ending there. And Darren added: “I just hope it might be only one, maybe just one.”, he said.

Some of the other videos on the screen also affected Darren. The tour from the previous day had provided him with information, and they were mostly educational facts for him. He learnt about the Turkish side of the conflict throughout the tour. However, the videos and poignant stories which were displayed during the Dawn Ceremony, as well as statistics such as how many people perished, were much more moving for Darren: “I know a bit of it Turkish side of it but seeing more of that, it really helps you feel more of a kinship like. And I said that the diggers and the Turks felt that they were okay with each other. There could have been that friendship just under horrible conditions. So that the tour is a lot more of learning, the education for me whereas the Dawn Service’s emotional”, he explained.

As Darren discovered, pilgrims' sentiments and views regarding the tour might shift between the tour's conclusion and at the end of Dawn Ceremony. Typically, pilgrims initially embark on a tour which is often filled with poignant experiences upon first seeing these soils. However, pilgrims' memories are enhanced when they attend a ceremony in

⁵⁸ Bill Williams is a lonely and old postman who lives somewhat separated from the rest of his Australian farming community during World War II. As his profession comprises carrying telegrams informing families of the death of a loved one in the war, whenever he walks into a room, he brings a chilling breeze with him. The short film skilfully illustrates the grief felt by those left behind and it has won several awards.

the same locations where they experience powerful feelings. At the end of their visit, they retain more of what they have learnt from the tour instead of what they felt while touring. Thus, the knowledge gained through the tour and the emotions felt at the Dawn Ceremony complete the Gallipoli experience. Brendan, who had a similar experience, compared the two as follows: “While the battlefield tour is just more observational, you're walking around, looking, learning, realising the scale and that sort of thing... But today [Dawn Ceremony], [I] always have had an emotional attachment to it as well so for me today this morning.”

For many pilgrims, camping for the Dawn Ceremony at Gallipoli is an unforgettable experience. This experience offers much more than simply being here at the exact same moment as the Anzac forces arrive in the dawn. As the ceremony proceeds throughout the night, the pilgrims approach Dawn gradually. The ceremony now carries out the passage of time concurrently with the pages of history. For this reason, pilgrims temporarily avoid the temporal flow of daily life and carry the past into the present. In addition, camping offers a rare chance to really become one with the landscape. There is no camping on commemorations on the Western Front battlefields or in Australia. This experience is unique to Gallipoli. Thus, camping is one of the most memorable aspects for pilgrims who have participated in the Dawn Ceremony.



Figure 3.4.2.1. *Gallipoli Dawn Ceremony Camping (Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

When Dion and I talked after he returned to home, he said that one of the elements he recalled from Dawn Ceremony was that they were unaware that they would be camping that night. They believed that they would arrive on the site just before the

Service. He laughed as he recalled how chilly they were: “Everyone else had sleeping bags and stuff like this. Brendan and I had like a blanket, you know, and plenty of warm clothes. Because we knew it was going to be cold and then Brendan and I were lying on the ground, like kind of cuddling each other to stay warm.”

As I inquired whether it was challenging, he responded: “no that was completely fine”. As he awoke it was almost dark with very little lighting. He had the feeling that he was literally “in the middle of nowhere.” He simultaneously sensed the past and shivered: “On the beach where people had landed, the same ground was trodden many years before and to have the Dawn Service and then you also see what is quite a like daunting looking. You look on the beach and then you look up. And you kind of just see straight hills and it's like a daunting place. It was quite a cool experience and that's definitely different to France and Belgium in that respect where you arrive early in the morning,” he explained.

Similarly, camping at Gallipoli had been a valuable experience for Bob and he enjoyed it. To him, that was the most meaningful part. They also enjoyed the funny story they heard about the truce and Johnny Turk and the controversial documentaries they watched while they were in their sleeping bags. They thought it would also be nice for listening people to talk about the importance of 100 years in a panel on stage. They knew about football matches between Australians and Turks. In the centennial context, they thought such narratives were much stronger. They like history that included individual narratives. Sandra said there were more personalised Dawn Ceremonies in Australia. They found the one in Gallipoli was very traditional.

After Terry and his family returned to Australia, the recollections that stayed in his mind were camping in the cold and hiking to Lone Pine. Like Dion, he remembered with a smile, waking up in the middle of the night and realising that he was sleeping on the floor, and the ponchos he wore to stay warm. Participating in the Dawn Ceremony in Gallipoli was a different experience for his mother, Sharon. Sharon, who is of Italian descent, could not describe it precisely, but described the difference this way: “In comparison [to the ones in Australia], it's probably not that it's different like they still do the same steps, but it's just probably just more...I don't know if it's grander scale but it just feels a bit different I suppose being there, as opposed to standing in the street in the dark. So there is a different feel to it.”

3.4.3 As the Dawn Breaking: “They were coming in...”

The dawn is the primary reason why all pilgrims are here. The ceremony, which may take up to an hour, starts with the catafalque party mounting. Hymns and prayers follow the speeches. Wreaths are laid. Following the recitation of The Ode, bugle plays "The Last Post." Then one-minute silence begins. Suddenly, time halts as the morning breaks in quiet. Every pilgrim looks out the sea, as though witnessing the unseen. Then, the smashing of the waves on the beach becomes the only sound in this area. The bugle's reveille breaks this silence.

Although the course of the event is as described above, Gallipoli also conveys its own story by its silhouette. This was the most influential story for Sandra as well. She grew up in a small town. This small town commemorated its own ANZACs. There were memories of these young soldiers on the walls of the town's school. Many young men from the town had come to Gallipoli to fight and, like every town, they had a memorial remembered them. All these names were in the school hall. Sandra had grown up with these memories. That's why she said she started crying when she saw the Sphinx. Sandra was an artist who was exhibiting her landscape paintings. As the sun began to shine, the sun's rays hitting the Sphinx were etched in her mind. Bob thought the Dawn Service had a "photographic memory," too. "That's something that will just linger in my memory but not in the same way a lot of other events because it's a punctuation point," he said. Still, it wasn't a very strong feeling: "that was not like 'oh my god that's the thing you've gotta do in your life you must go to Gallipoli to do the Dawn Service'.", he explained.

Another pilgrim who was in our group with Bob and Sandra in April 2016 was Louise. They lived in Sydney and were going to one of the Dawn Ceremony there. "It'll never be the same for us again.", she said. They had joined the Dawn Ceremony with us, but had not yet joined the tour. Louise was very impressed with speeches on the screens. The ceremonies they attended in Australia were very similar to the one in Gallipoli. However, being in a land where history took place added a very different dimension to this experience for them: "Just to see where the young men to come up on to the shore, very different. Rather than just to hear about it." At the Dawn Service, as the waves washed ashore, like many pilgrims, he thought and empathised with the soldiers coming ashore: "I thought of those young men because I was so cold. And they came in the water, they must have been freezing when they came up to the land. Then, we read, you know,

they were only 8 meters away from where they were shot one after one on both sides. It must have been frightening”, she said.

Louise's husband Ian was also laughing about how they slept in their sleeping bags. He liked this experience. But, like all pilgrims, imagining history made him sad: “It is a different feeling because as they're talking, you're looking out the world actually happened and you can imagine one young men coming out and another young men coming down. You see the graves from Turkish side and Australian and New Zealand sides. It is very different, very emotional.”



Figure 3.4.3.1. *Pilgrims at the Dawn Ceremony as the dawn is breaking (Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

For Brendan, the most impressive part of the services was Oath and Last Post. Wherever Service was, these two parts were very emotional for him. They didn't talk much all night. They talked about coffee and similar needs before getting into their sleeping bags, and when they woke up for service, they entered a completely different atmosphere. 'Here we go,' Brendan thought when he opened his eyes. Brendan was very excited to be attending the Dawn Ceremony in Gallipoli. The moment he woke up in the morning, in that short time before service, he had too many thoughts occupied his mind. “I actually felt quite nervous”, he said. Questions such as 'When will it start?', 'Will I feel something?', 'Will I feel sad?' circulated in his mind.

Besides, Dion, like the Anzacs, had awoken at night and was right where they had been as the sun rose through the darkness. This feeling made him feel very different from

the one he felt at the services he attended in France and Belgium. “So that one's a little bit more to home, it's a bit more personalised,” he said. The sunrise, the height of the hills, all these elements were the parts of the Dawn Ceremony that impressed him the most. He also empathised with the Anzacs in mind. He wondered how close and steep the mountains and cliffs seemed, while standing in the water. “what a hard task would have been to do that,” he said.

Nathan, like almost all the other pilgrims, had put himself in the place of them and wondered what they might have thought: “You imagine as the lights go out on the water and the sun is just start rising, you're just starting to see the shapes of the hills. And you get the feeling of you can feel what they felt, not quite obviously but like closest I'm ever gonna get. I thought that was really the hot spot for me. That was probably for five minutes and the lights were on the water and we just finished seeing those things.”, he described.

In the ceremony area, one of the commentary speeches detailed what the troops performed every minute before the daybreak. Phil was deeply moved by these words. He was one of the pilgrims who integrated all these accounts with the place in his imagination: “The dawn service in itself having known and seen that area, and then knowing exactly what they're about to come into, because they are unaware of what they were going to come into... I could sort of see and I actually I felt bad, felt sad, I suppose emotional knowing and hearing the commentary what they're doing this at this time they're doing that and then to see them coming in at 5:30. I can imagine the glow of the the mountains so.”, he explained.

Like Nathan and Phil, Stuart found moments of sunrise fascinating. He, too, devoted all his imagination to trying to imagine what the soldiers were doing and thinking in those moments. “You've got of imagine them sitting out there, getting on the landing craft in the turnaround and you see the landscape with the sun's first crack of light they could have seen the shape and probably that's the first time when they saw where they were going to land. And that doesn't look like a beach, you know. That's when they would have been really start to think about what they were about to do”, he said.

When Stuart told it this way, Anna's memories were brought back to her. Earlier, she became entangled in our conversation, forgetting what she was about to say and

attempting to clear her head. During my research, these dynamics inside group dialogues really activated and reminded individuals of what was appropriate for them. This experience was representative of such a circumstance. Anna went on: “I was gonna say, when I saw the Dawn Service here, it would have been the same. So as the sun was rising and I was imagining the soldiers sort of coming into shore and trying to think about what they were thinking at that time”, she said. The part that affected Anna the most in Australia was Last Post and the minute silence and Australian anthem. However, being in the real place, where all the events took place at the ceremony in Gallipoli changed the most effective part of the ceremony for her: “But because we were in this actual location, and we were right on the beach where they landed, it was more about imagining them coming in, you know.”, she explained. Anna had inhaled the cold air as she pondered these on the beach, and felt that she was breathing the same air as the soldiers had.

Some pilgrims dream about how they would feel at Gallipoli that they inevitably feel when they come here. So did Anna. Every year while watching the Dawn Ceremony at Gallipoli on television, she imagined what it would be like to be here. She knew what to anticipate upon her arrival. After the ceremony, she made the aforementioned comment to me. However, in one of our conversations before she participated in the ceremony, she stated almost the same sentiments. This instance also illustrates the immense potential of the Gallipoli imagination and the emotions associated with it to shape experience: “It's just in here, the actual place where happened so you kind of you're right there and you can kind of feel a bit more of what the Anzacs were feeling even though it's nothing in comparison but it's doing that same location the same climate same time of day, you know. They were coming in and so you can imagine a little bit more.”

The pilgrims' presence at Anzac Cove on the same day and at the same time made it possible for them to experience history by imagining what the Anzacs were doing at each moment. This detail enhances their historical experience. Melissa, who went on a tour in September, told me how different she believed it would be to attend the Dawn Ceremony at Gallipoli. It would be a unique experience compared to the trip here. This day was what made Anzac Cove significant: “It's just the place that it all sort of happened and the reason that we come together on that day. So I'd like to be in the place where that happened on that day. I just think it's a really special day and Anzac Day watching the

sunrise throughout the ceremony and everything... I think I'd really like to see that here as well.", she said.

The importance of place and date was among the thoughts that ran through Brendan's mind on our walk after the Dawn Service: "With the Dawn Service, when it first started and you look back in the Sun starting to come up over the cliffs and you're sort of thinking 'wow at this time they were coming in and they were seeing the exact same thing, at the exact same time that you were there' and that was significant for me that that sort of struck a chord so to speak.", he said.

Stuart, like many other pilgrims, went through a range of emotions at the Dawn Ceremony that he hadn't previously felt on the tour. He was unprepared for the degree of emotional intensity that he felt: "I think dawn service was more emotional than the first going to the land. So I was more of a like "Wow" this is, you know. I don't know what explain the difference, but it's more of a shock with the Dawn Service. [It] is definitely more emotional."

On Ceremony, Anna got more emotional than she was on the tour. She expressed a strong connection since here was the place where the soldiers had fought: "You're in the actual place where they fought and where they died. And I found it really emotional, that as crying and have a big lump in my throat..."

3.4.4 Gallipoli communitas: "We somehow had shared something..."

The Dawn Ceremony at Gallipoli enables almost every participant to experience communitas. While this communitas has certain traits with the categories described by Turner, it also possesses its own distinct qualities. The hierarchical distinction between official guests and ordinary ceremony participants remains one of the event's distinguishing aspects. The privilege to speak on stage comes only to the official guests seated in their own lodges.

Similarly, the remembrance here is centred on a historical event rooted in the Australian national identity. This ritual is a direct representation of the Anzac tradition and serves to strengthen links to the heritage. Various social, political, and cultural dynamics provide substance to this tradition. Therefore, we cannot consider the emergence of communitas independent of these processes. In the light of Turners' discussion of rituals' ahistorical diachrony, it is the non-ritual behaviours of Australians

that put these pilgrimages in the context of history. Regional and global history may impact each pilgrimage, although the span of the ritual practice has its own timeline. “The symbolism and conceptual structure of ritual processes are by no means immune to these historical and nonritual vicissitudes.”(Turner and Turner, 1978, p. 148).

Fiona was also moved by these moments. The intensity of the sentiments was amplified by the fact that they were shared by everyone: “When you see without people its pieciful and it’s sad. But when you see it with the Dawn Service you get all that emotion. Everybody there and everybody was crying. When they put the names up on the screen absolutely bawling eyes out. I mean everyone was crying and that was amazing.”, she explained.

Dion was fascinated by attending the Dawn Ceremony. He felt the community spirit while camping at Anzac Cove. According to him, the feelings of the Dawn Ceremony left a more meaningful effect than the tour we participated in the previous day. He had camped with people from the countries where the Anzacs came from. The service implied shared values: “There is a feeling of being in a group. You still feel the same things of sadness unless you're there. You still know that a lot died. But being of your country, and to see that everyone else is turning out to appreciate the same thing was nice.”

Nathan wasn't complaining as he remembered standing in this cove for long hours in the cold. For him, this was an element that marked the seriousness of the lived experience and separated them from being tourists: “We were probably little bit cold and bit tired. It was not just like tourists coming in, we somehow had shared something.” Like almost every pilgrim, Nathan put the sense of community he had in this experience above all difficult conditions. Anna thought the same way. Her husband, Phil was much more impressed than when he first encountered this land. But for Anna, Dawn Ceremony was more impressive than the tours owing to both remembering the soldiers and to appreciate the same thing with thousands of other Australians. Therefore, it was more a sense of camaraderie, according to her.

Sharon's husband, Darren, on the other hand, was feeling community spirit at Dawn Ceremonies more in Australia. However, the people had traveled a great distance and put forth great effort to attend this occasion and they shared this experience: “It

seemed more of an event we're attending, like you might go to a show or to the opening of something. Whereas when we go to our local, you feel probably maybe a bit more connected with the people who are there. Because i mean people who've gone to Gallipoli probably made a lot more effort to get there. But it's good to sort of see the young families with the little kids made the effort to come out on cold, chilly morning and stand there.”

Darren and his family was among the travelers who preferred the more intimate settings. In 2009, he attended the Gallipoli Dawn Ceremony with his father. In 2016, he was here again with his wife Sharon and children, Terry and Nicole. About 1800 people attended in this ceremony, compared to the 8000 that attended the first this one was much smaller. Still, being one of these individuals at Gallipoli, in Darren's opinion, was a privilege. Being at Gallipoli had a different significance than being in Australia :”You are representing the country when you are at the Dawn Service at Gallipoli whereas when you're at the Dawn Service locally, you're not actually representing anyone, you're there more to pay your respects.”, he said. They hadn't come for a big event like the centennial just to be able to say they were there. There had never been such a force pushing them. Therefore, he thought that the people at Gallipoli were there in 2016, since they really wanted to come. He said, "we are really here because we really respect."

While many pilgrims feel the spirit of the commaderie, not all pilgrims feel the same in this experience. Helen also came with the same expectation, but had a different experience. For some pilgrims, the sense of community spirit is defined by the number of individuals attending the site, as some pilgrims experience this sentiment in small groups: “I expected to feel quite connected, I expected to quite a lot of emotion. Because you know we're in the place where this war had actually happened. But I didn't actually have this as much of that as I thought I would. It was quite small.” Similarly, Bob and Sandra were used to attending crowded Dawn Ceremonies. Thus, Sandra had not found the one in Gallipoli to be crowded enough. Twelve thousand individuals participated in the Dawn Ceremony they had attended the previous year and that was 10 times more than the pilgrims at the Gallipoli Dawn Ceremony that year. However, she remarked that the crowd did not alter their service experience.

As an illustration of the contrary to who finds the community spirit in the ceremony and loves crowds, Grace’s husband Harry did not enjoy these ceremonies. What he was looking for was silence. Thus, he was more impressed with the tour we took

the next day: “We wanted to come when it is quiet. We didn't want to go with a lot of people. To me, was too many people there. I just wanted to do what we did today, quietly walk around and and looking at myself. I didn't want to listen to a lot of politicians talking [both of them laughing]. They're the ones who started the trouble. They're not the ones that get killed.”

Even those who are skeptical of these events and the Anzac heritage may sense the communal spirit in these ceremonies. An example of this was the William. He participated in August Offensive Ceremony and the Gallipoli Tour. Although he didn't feel anything at the August ceremony, he was able to capture that feeling in England.: “It's very important to remember any sacrifice that is made by an armed service member, i have a lot of respect for people in the armed services. But i've been to many many Anzac Day Services. I went to the one this year in London. I live in the capital, so i see it all the time. And the service like itself was wonderful and i really enjoyed going. And it's important, as like a ritual. And it's a shame that we don't get enough of those opportunities to express community even if it is umm.. I guess manipulated in certain ways to promote certain ideas of national unity. Little bit not exactly what you'd hope but i didn't feel that move by walking around the battlefields...”

Despite his belief that the Anzac tradition should be examined critically, Bob felt that it addressed a different need too. According to him, since Australia was such a secular society, there was no such thing as a genuine religion, and the majority of people were growing up quite irreligious. Anzac Day was a momentary ritual to replace what had been lost. And Sandra added: “Religion is good.”. And Bob continued: “No, I am not religious. So, for someone who is not religious, I believe we as human beings need ceremony. So I think Anzac is as good as any other thing. I'm not anti Anzac. But I think we need to be so sort of questioning about this ceremony.” In a different way, Grace, who immigrated from South Africa to Australia after getting married, got the impression that the function of tradition was social cohesion: “Before I moved to Australia, never had that kind of thing happen that a whole society unites for the recognition of these people. And it is so badly needed.”, she said.

Darren and his daughter, Nicole, felt that the sense of community was higher because it was more local during the Dawn Ceremonies they went to Australia. Nicole explained that the names of the families of the soldiers who joined from their region were

read. Further, Darren mentioned how each year, the story of a soldier who participated in the World War I from their home region is also being told. This increased the bond among the locals: “They'll normally tell a different story each year about one of the local soldiers who went to the World War I and came back and started this business down the road or was a farmer nearby or something like that. They'll sort of really build the connection. Whereas when we went to Gallipoli there is so many great stories but you don't feel as connected.” Still, it felt special to be in Gallipoli where it all happened: “because you're on the same soil. Hearing the ocean waves lap against the beach which is what it would have all been like just minutes before they landed, it would have been that peaceful just left in a waves”

Like many pilgrims, Darren found that the remembrance in Gallipoli was considerably longer than they were accustomed to. On ceremonies back their home town, they wouldn't spend the night in the ceremony site. They would arrive at the ceremony site at around 5 a.m. and stay there for an hour or an hour and a half. Returning home, they would prepare breakfast. They often hosted barbecues because they met their friends at the ceremony area and brought them home with them. Thus, in several ways, the ceremony fosters a feeling of community and the connection among individuals.

Although for many pilgrims, the Dawn Ceremony in Gallipoli is an emotional experience filled with a strong sense of camaraderie, expectations from commemoration practices change as generations change. For Sandra and Bob, the idea of a commemoration which included the relations between the two countries rather than the traditional commemorations, expressed stronger emotions. And our pilgrim group in 2018, which included Phil, Anna, Nathan and Matt, had a different perspective. After the Dawn Ceremony, everyone was back at the hotel. After a short rest, we met again in the lobby. While evaluating the commemorations, the group talked about how the New Zealand commemoration ceremony was open to innovations. Although women were not normally involved in the traditional haka dance, they also took part. Plus, they had a lot of fun. But when compared to the ceremony at Lone Pine, they found their own ceremony more strict. Then they told me that while they were mourning in Australia, funny and good memories were shared after the funeral. In addition, they talked about how after the commemorations in Australia, everyone went for a drink and told stories and played games with coins. To them, it was nice that such practices could come together with

commemoration. But they said that tradition itself does not have these elements. According to them, the tradition was still not mature, they believed that it would change. We talked about the differences that should be between commemoration and celebration. For them, the element of respect was very important.

Immediately after this discussion, our group began discussing the humorous situation that occurred during the ceremony, and everyone was laughing. Either before or after the party arrived at the campground, a dog had defecated near to our sleeping bags. Following this, Matt was unable to sleep at night since his hip was stiff. So, to get on, he rolled onto his side. Unable to see the dirt, Matt rolled over on it. Later in night, in the impressive setting of the service, a terrible stench spread among the group members. Throughout the ceremony, Matt had thought the sleeping bag was a stinky one and assumed it was the source of the smell. Nonetheless, it was his own arm that became soiled. The other pilgrims teased him about it all day. Therefore, despite the ceremony's seriousness and the lived experience's weight, these occasions may nonetheless elicit feelings that run counter to their intended purpose, like humour, since they are not so rigid.

3.4.5 Walking the slopes: “You can't whinge, they had a heart...”

After the Dawn Ceremony, the walk to Lone Pine provides many pilgrims with a chance to interact with the Anzac soldiers and their hardships. This facet of their experience points to ‘kinetic ritual’ (Turner, 1978, p.xiii). The pilgrims go through similar experiences as the Anzac troops, traversing steep hills amidst the dense vegetation while carrying sleeping bags and other equipment from camping all night. Many pilgrims recognise that they do not face death or take a load as hefty as Anzac troops when hiking these slopes. Nonetheless, the heat along the path after the first lights of the day challenges these pilgrims, providing the experience that many seek. In addition to truly comprehending the difficulties of the past, there is an element of addressing suffering and hardship, where individuality is in a sense, realised within *communitas*.

Additionally, this contrast suggests self-sacrifice. For many pilgrims, this may also be perceived as redemption throughout their pilgrimage experiences. Regardless of their condition, these pilgrims don't whine or disrupt their experience. In a sense, enduring these sufferings is a sign of appreciation for the sacrifices they believe were made for them in the past.

Moreover, thinking about soldiers and imagining oneself in their shoes motivates pilgrims to persevere through the hardships of the journey. During the initial half of the steep walk up the slope, Matt had difficulty due to a sore leg he'd suffered from before. We were aware of the pain in his leg, but he did not mention it throughout the walk. Later, he told me he had no right to complain: “I enjoyed the walk, you feel connected a bit more all that is the same and it is kinda your legs hurt whatever your legs hurt you sweating and if you are uncomfortable... but then you just can't think though. They did it 10-20 times a day with people shooting out of them and with big heavy backpacks or injured or you know... you kind of push it. You can use that to help you keep going, it motivates you. We only did it once on a good track (...) you can't whinge, they had a heart, they had a real heart. So you just suck it up in and can't go”, he said.



Figure 3.4.5.1. *Pilgrims trekking on the steep slopes after Dawn Ceremony (Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

According to Brendan, it was a bigger day for the service at Gallipoli. In Australia, the service was ending around 9:30-10:00 in the morning. But we walked on many different battlefields in Gallipoli after the service. Brendan had also participated in the

Dawn Ceremonies in Belgium and France. However, there was no such walking part. In these places, where the Western Front Battlefields are, people would go straight to the town for a drink and to tell and listen to stories after the service was over. In Gallipoli, you were committed to the peninsula for a long time. “It's really good, every single person from Australia should come over and do it,” he said.

Ceremonies in Australia commemorates soldiers and all the Anzacs fighting in Afghanistan and elsewhere. However, the soldiers who had landed at Anzac Cove in Gallipoli were at the center of the commemoration. According to Anna, this was one of the distinguishing characteristics of the two ceremonies. The calmness of the walk after the Dawn Ceremony was one of the elements that remained in Anna's mind. “And the birds singing that is what I was thinking, just made it really peaceful, yeah. You think, in most of those cemeteries, the views are just absolutely beautiful for the cemeteries which gives you more sense of it just being really peaceful.”, she said .

Still, Anna seemed to be confused between the juxtaposition of conflict and serenity, as well as remembering and enjoying the site: “very steep, very hot [laughs], very beautiful, you know, like nice views and landscapes. I'm sure the soldiers weren't thinking it was beautiful and still very sad and emotional about what's happened there. We just feel that the Australians are all around because there's so many that have fought and died and their bodies have never been discovered. So you just feel like they're just everywhere wherever you walk on that battlefield.”



Figure 3.4.5.2. *A capture on the way to Lone Pine (Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

Anna said “We've heard the names of all the places. But actually seeing them and getting an understanding of what the landscape is and that kind of stuff we just feel a lot more connected to it.” The day before, while on the peninsula tour, she had learnt about the conflicts that had taken place there. As she walked, she recalled the conflicts and the soldiers buried under the earth. She gained a greater understanding of the area throughout the walking part. This part was distinct from the day we toured the peninsula in a tour bus. In this part, each pilgrim climbs up from the coast without the assistance of cars, like troops did that day, and goes to Lone Pine, where another ceremony will be conducted. They only pause at a few cemeteries along the route. As the pilgrimage advances without the use of motor vehicles, each pilgrim becomes more acquainted with the terrain and becomes more integrated with it as they follow the lead of their body. In addition, on this journey, pilgrims have a greater understanding of what it was like to be an ANZAC on that day, since they must climb steep hills carrying their belongings from the previous night's camp.

Nathan felt that thinking about the past at ceremonies in Australia was also quite moving. But for him, it could not replace being where things had happened. The challenge in walking was just a part of the experience: “... being here, walking where they walked, feeling it, sharing it with not just us, but lots of other Australians and New Zealanders and Turkish people and seeing how hard it would have been... It's the total experience, I

think you need to be here.”, he said. As Nathan walked over, he could not help but ponder how serene and beautiful the area was, just like Anna. He also thought how sacred it was for different nations. It wasn't only these sites that he felt connected to; but every step he took brought him closer to the past: “We felt like those plenty of people you know people have been there before and it was a very sacred place for Australians New Zealanders and Turkish people but it sort of felt like part of the experience walking and but also how beautiful the country is now and peaceful.”, he depicted.

Phil, on the other hand, experienced this dilemma in Dawn Ceremony: “And get to see the scenery and what they fought in this an unreal place is absolutely beautiful. And to have something so beautiful within hours was going to be the most hellish place on earth. I remember going through a lot of literature and movies, one soldier says ‘out of all the bastards of places, this is the biggest bastard bay’. So I try to visualise this amazing place, beautiful and then hell all at once and it's very hard to imagine.”, he said.

Walking after the ceremony opens a new dimension. After a night of intense feelings, pilgrims continue to connect with these lands through another ritual centered on awareness and education. As they go across the terrain, they begin to get glimpses of the whole battle, not just the first day of it as Brendan puts it: “I imagined it being over a greater area you know when you're learning about Quinn's post and Sharpe's Post, Courtney's Post... I thought these areas were spread out over, maybe even a kilometre for example. But in actual fact, when you're walking up the road, they're like 50 meters apart from each other. (...) And there's the trenches ten meters away from each other, whereas I always imagined that the ridges might be a little bit bigger or there might have been more plateaus. (...) Everything was like jammed in this tiny little area and when you actually look at it, they didn't actually hold a very large amount of ground to say that was stuck in that area for seven months, for eight months. They didn't have far to go, they didn't have any wiggle room.”

As he walked, Phil's thoughts turned to the Anzac soldiers. He put himself in their shoes throughout the tour and the Dawn Ceremony and he was also touched by their actions in this part: “And just to put ourselves in such a sacred place that was very moving for me to be able to see physically where they landed to see physically, the landscape to they had to fight and climb up and down and that was amazing.”, he said.

3.4.6 Lone Pine ceremony: “Literally there's been Australian blood...”

The party of pilgrims get separated after the walk. Australians hold their own ceremonies at Lone Pine, while New Zealanders attend another ceremony at Chunuk Bair. For some pilgrims, this makes the event seem more unique. Dion was one of the pilgrims who thought the Lone Pine ceremony was exceptional. Undoubtedly, the conflict that occurred here was meaningful. However, the fact that the remembrance was solely for Australians and did not include people from New Zealand made it "a little bit more home" and "more personalised."

According to Phil, the ceremony at Lone Pine was much more similar to the ceremony they had attended in Australia than at Anzac Cove. Phil described the ceremony here as “nice, short, sweet, succinct, very moving.” However, he stated that the most important reason why he enjoyed the ceremony here was the massive battle that took place here.

For Brendan, Lone Pine meant both achievement and sacrifice. The blood shed on this site was what made it sacred: “I'm sure you've heard numerous times throughout the day, it is you know a big deal in Australia as the victory that it was for us and the sacrifice that was there and while you read about how big the size is when you actually get there to the memorial itself and see the actual size and you realise how many people died there think of you know you're sitting on the grass listening to the service and you know literally there's been Australian blood on the soil right underneath you or quite underneath your a*s you kind of feel bad for sitting down usually should be standing up and doing nothing but showing respect for the place.”, he said.

After the ceremony, Phil concluded that the conflict had benefited both nations. According to him, they could have won the war, but British commanders did not allow it to occur. The Turks had also suffered heavy casualties. However, the battle had a good impact on both nations. Australia had become a nation where "respect, collaboration, camaraderie, bravery, and initiative" had become entrenched. He also thought by transforming the prevailing condition, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk built a country for Turkey. After the ceremony, Phil pondered what might have occurred if these had not occurred. When I inquired what he believed would happen, he said, "Who knows". Despite the devastation caused by the conflict, both nations were able to build and grow. Gallipoli was representing everyone since it affected everyone. He thought that was very moving.

3.4.7 Ways of connection with the landscape: “the sky is similar...”

Many nations, especially the Turks and the Australians, have deep attachments to these lands. Every year, pilgrims of various nations memorialise their part of history in significant spots in Gallipoli, reinforcing this deep meaning. From this point of view, the power these places possess is considerably different from the Eliadean idea of sacred centre. In the Eliadean conception, the shrine has its own power and produces its own magic (Eade and Sallnow, 1991, p. 9). Visitors are enticed by its strength come to benefit from its intrinsic power. However, as Eade and Sallnow explain, pilgrimage sites are meaningless on their own (Eade and Sallnow, 1991, p.9; Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 209). Although the Anzac graves remain still on this ground as testimony of a past lived here, the visitors produce their inherent significance. Thus, each component of the Dawn Ceremony adds to the significance of these places.

This is not to say that the pilgrims alone determine the experience's boundaries. First, each part of the Dawn Ceremony symbolises the landing and subsequent progression of the Anzac forces. In this case, historical occurrences, or the "text" aspect of Eade and Sallnow (1991), are important. This text serves as a guide for the path and stages to be taken. As a second critical issue is that pilgrims should approach to graves and shrines with respect. As with the Ka'ba in Mecca and other Christian sites, not every visitor can engage with these locations in their own manner (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, 209). Therefore, while allowing for alternative interpretations of the experiences presented here, it is vital to highlight their limiting characteristics too. The signboards at the entrances of cemeteries reminding pilgrims to be quiet as they roam these areas can be given as an example of this.



Figure 3.4.7.1. *The signboard at the entrance of Ari Burnu Cemetery (Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

The ways of integrating and establishing a bond with Gallipoli are different for each pilgrim. Anna was feeling "connected" after seeing Gallipoli and attending the Dawn Ceremony there: "We've had the Dawn Service and, you know, experienced it with other Australians and you just feel more of a connection to the place", she said. For Nathan, The Dawn Ceremony and the battlefield tour were essential components of his Gallipoli experience: "Every bit is a jigsaw puzzle and you don't have to hold jigsaw puzzle unless you've had the whole experience.", he explained.

For Ian, his imagination served as the linking point between him and his Gallipoli experience. "You know, it is just a landscape. You imagine that if you be inclined to attack with landscape with just in your postal and then you appreciate the defence that the Turkish people had placed to protect big country. When you see it, you get a better feel"

One of the reasons why many pilgrims create a bond with the site of Gallipoli is because the Anzacs who fought in this battle are no longer living. One of the elements that keeps tradition alive is commemorations in Australia, I have heard this point of view from many of Gallipoli pilgrims. As Caitlin puts it: "People have suddenly started to realise the significance of the sacrifice will die if people do not get on board and start celebrating what they (ANZACs) have sacrificed for us. There's more and more people now go and understand." In addition to commemorations, the site where this battle occurred also has the potential to provide pilgrims direct linkages with tradition. Darren,

whose grandfather had served in the Gallipoli War and could return to Australia afterwards, recounted the his unique experience through which he established a special bond: “When I came here actually I pulled to the back street with my children to see the town of the people. Just farmers, defending their town that's all they were ever spot and you can see they're just trying to look after their own town. As well as when I went to Anzac Cove I took of my shoes and socks and walked in the water. Cold.. I just wanted to sort of get that a little bit more in touch with something my grandfather did. Obviously it was a lot worse for him. But just standing in the same waters that he jumped into out of the landing vessel, I think was pretty significant for me.”

Darren, who initially attended the Dawn Ceremony at Gallipoli with his father, has now shared the ceremony with his family for the second time. He wanted his children to carry on the family tradition by bringing their own children with them: “One of those key things of made Australia part of what it was and with that generation pretty much, all died off now. They (his children) can't go and speak to the grandfather about it anymore. So that may be the next connection is going to the actual place (...) I would love my kids to come with their kids as a family thing.”

On the tour, Nathan also had touched water, as had Darren and all the other members of his pilgrim company: “We all touch the water or we picked up some sand and just held it for a while”, he said. “I think you start to feel it and it becomes not just something you're reading in a book about an eye and that's about all of a sudden I started to maybe get a feeling for the person and it becomes myself from other night. I just wanted to touch and feel the water and grab the sand and feel like I was closer somehow.”

Frey (1998[1968], p. 220) is absolutely correct in her warning: “It is a mistake to reduce the meaning of particular landscapes or types of experiences to a single interpretation.” Compared to the other pilgrims, Sandra, as an artist who paints landscapes, discovered another way of tie with Gallipoli: “For me, you know I connected to the sky. To me the sky is the similar. Like I have tried to imagine if I was a young Australian boy and there was a lot of countries' Australian boys who fought in Anzac. They could have been drive out the country areas. Wow! they were gonna see the world. So, to me, what I connected with was the sky, colour of the sky. It was just the same sky.(...) So as a young Anzac boy, I would have been looking up that sky and thinking of home. So that is what it made me this morning.” Sandra had taken many pictures at

sunrise contemplating these. On the other hand, like almost every pilgrim, she thought of the Anzacs under the ground: “so the landscape. I loved and so I turned around to see the shores and whatever. But personally I kept on saying on my mind that there is bodies underneath. And kept on thinking the bodies and all these bones underneath me.”, she said.

For some pilgrims, the graves in Gallipoli represent the most significant aspect of place in their experience of the Dawn Ceremony. As a result, rather than seeing Gallipoli landscape as a whole, some pilgrims focus on the graves when comparing their Dawn Ceremony experiences with the ones in Australia. According to Laura, this interaction was as follows: “You see there was a difference being here. Because you were actually surrounded by in a setting looking down at those graves.”

Andrew, in a similar way, expressed the difference between the Dawn Ceremony in Australia and in Gallipoli as follows: “At home, you're remembering the ones that left and never came back whereas here you're standing in amongst the ones that never go away.” This phrase reflects many pilgrims point of view. They define the difference of Gallipoli as being the place where those historical events took place. And for them, the graves are the markers of this authenticity which nothing can replace. So, how does one connect with the graves? The most ubiquitous illustrations of this are the red poppies placed on gravestones and the photos taken. Again, within the limited scope of the pilgrim experience, travelers are requested not to disrespect headstones.

Tours both provide visitors with a physical experience, and they also educate them by providing with additional knowledge. With this information, pilgrims have a more vivid imagination, and their landscape experiences are enriched by this viewpoint. Thus, knowledge gives a distinct layer of experience in the form of a non-corporeal. As a crossroads, the terrain teaches via obstacles and tests what pilgrims have learnt on their tours.

It was on walking part that Nathan realised how steep the roads were and how chilly the morning frost might be in Gallipoli. All of this helped him comprehend the Anzacs' experience. Another aspect that persisted with him after the Gallipoli experience was the friendship that grew between the Australian soldiers and the Turkish troops. "Because the people here are beautiful too," he said. It was the first time Nathan heard

that soldiers from both sides of the conflict smoked cigarettes together while burying their dead during the battle. It was here that he first encountered the human condition on an emotional level. His thoughts and emotions were interwoven. He described the change he saw in himself, saying, "I think what the difference to me is a better perspective for seeing things in the feeling."

During a conversation with Brendan and Dion about their Gallipoli experience, they discussed creating a connection with the place via photography. Dion said that he could not believe he was here and took many photographs. However, there was more to it for Brendan. The subsequent exchange was as follows:

Brendan

I walked into the water and I played with the sand and I smelt the trees.[laughs]

Dion

Ask yourself being drunk. [laughs]

3.4.8 Conclusion: Pilgrimage and construction of memoryscapes

It is not unexpected that examining secular pilgrimage within the context of religious pilgrimage may provide fruitful results. As Coleman and Elsner (1995) argue, in today's world, pilgrimage is evolving from a strictly religious activity to a more secular one. Particularly in Western nations, "travel for its own sake" has become more significant. "Its devotees divide up their years between the profane cycle of work, based in their everyday environments, and brief periods of heightened leisure time."(Coleman and Elsner, 1995, 214).

Visitors to Gallipoli have varying experiences and travel itineraries. In addition, some individuals attend various ceremonies in their own countries and go to Gallipoli with diverse expectations for the ceremony. Considering Gallipoli as a liminoid phenomenon should be approached with care in light of Turner's observations. Separating the components of trip process from each other inhibits a detailed understanding of the nature of these experiences. Tourism and pilgrimage are interwoven in this process. Furthermore, the fact that the origins of this event may be traced back to a historical event in social memory necessitates a consideration of its social context. Pilgrimage as a liminoid phenomena, according to Turner, encourages social connections without

hierarchical boundaries. However, the paradigm runs the potential of leading pilgrimage studies down a theoretical dead end, in its suggestion that such travel may be separated from more ordinary social, political, and cultural processes (Coleman and Eade, 2005, p.3). Further, reading visitor experiences here via the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy involves a similar danger.

Coleman and Elsner (1995) take a viewpoint consistent with that of Eade and Sallnow, who suggest that writings about the life and death of Christ lead Christian pilgrims through their spatial experience. In addition to its physical layer, they argue that the landscape of a pilgrimage site must also be analysed in terms of its abstract layer, which includes myths, traditions, and narratives. The major reason for this is because the symbols built metaphorically with such materials serve as the foundation for pilgrim movement in physical space (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 212).

Although not explicitly acknowledged by Turner (1978), Eade, and Sallnow (1991), movement is identified as one of the most important aspects of pilgrimage in the subsequent time. In this framework, while the sacred image or item is the fundamental aim of pilgrimage, all movements performed towards this goal give significance to the place (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 205). In Gallipoli, although the field is explored by minibus on tours, each pilgrim gets out of the vehicle at the relevant locations and integrates with the sites. Similarly, both before and after the Dawn Ceremony, pilgrims walk far greater distances than on tours, thus embodying both the landscape and history; all these movements emerge as ritualised motions.

While examining a pilgrimage site that may address several cosmologies by hosting diverse meanings, analysing the construct directly via conflict would lead an interpretation shaped in accordance by a presumption. While considering the multifaceted character of pilgrimage, it is feasible that conflict may not be the only potential scenario. We can distinguish the sections that have harmony and those that don't. Additionally, there may be several subgroups and disputes within the same groupings. Focusing only on intergroup interactions may lead us to ignore intragroup dynamics. As a result, while considering the Gallipoli pilgrimage, we should not see it as a site that primarily attracts Australians and Turks. Further, there are groups those who like having fun or consider celebratory activities to be frivolous. Thus, Australia has its own incompatible viewpoints about commemoration and pilgrimage forms.

The potential of these sites to bring together pilgrims of diverse viewpoints as popular destinations may be explained by “the charisma of the place or person” that is given form in real and manifested in religious pilgrimages (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 208). Gallipoli, which can unite pilgrims from many cultures and viewpoints, in the same vein, strengthens this capacity by providing an experience that does not just depend on textual understanding. Individual transformations here highlight the futility of war and the lives lost too soon for virtually every pilgrim. Unlike religious pilgrimage locations, these trips aim in the opposite direction of the phenomena being seen. To put it another way, the pilgrims who come to this site condemn war after witnessing the devastation it causes in the lives of so many people. In addition, it provides an inclusive stance, uniting devotees and critics of the Anzac heritage. The letters placed at the Lone Pine Shrine and every entry in the logbook convey gratitude for their sacrifice and a profound condemnation of the war. Similar to the inscriptions on the walls and doorways, which are the records of the miracles that occurred under the auspices of the religious temples, as Coleman and Elsner point out (1995, p. 208), this also demonstrates the transformational power of these visits on the pilgrims.

The link between "persons" and "places" in Eade and Sallnow's framework is made possible by considering how graves affect the landscape. This analysis is crucial in establishing how pilgrimage activities are comparable. In the context of religious pilgrimages, such graves prolong the charisma of persons who died many years ago and symbolise concrete manifestations of the sacred (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 204). In the case of remembrance of the deceased, the distinctions between pilgrimage and tourism vanish. As a striking illustration of this circumstance, the mausoleum bearing Lenin's embalmed body in Red Square draws both wedding ceremony guests and Western tourists (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 214).

Eade and Sallnow (1991, p. 10) demonstrate how several discourses might coexist by mutually constraining one another. On the one hand, they point out the influence of official reformers. Official reformers are hampered by the devotion of certain pilgrims to long-held practices. On the one hand, pilgrims may sometimes seek out non-official traditions while simultaneously imposing their own interpretations. On the other hand, their interpretations have only a capacity to function inside the confines of the Shrine

organisations. However, in this dynamic, Eade and Sallnow describe the power of official determination as follows (1991, p. 11):

“Nevertheless, the freedom of pilgrims is tightly qualified. The officials are frequently able to impose their own definitions of the situation, despite the pilgrims’ resistance. Moreover, their control over the organisation of space and time in relation to shrine activities gives officials a considerable advantage over pilgrims in imposing conformity on ritual activities.”

This description suits Gallipoli exactly. Each pilgrim has a particular ritual request. However, the organisation's owners are the formal authority. As a result, they have complete control over every aspect of the process. On the other hand, satisfying the desires of a group with varying expectations may not be as simple as it seems. To reach as many people as possible, officials will likely stick to their conventional methods.

Balances and interactions between different groups may seem to have a potential conflict. However, a group of actors, including Australian pilgrims, officials, Turkish pilgrims and many other nations, are actively involved in constructing the meaning ascribed to Gallipoli. Thus, through a similar process described by Eade and Sallnow (1991), the secular capital generated here is nourished from various sources. Consequently, Gallipoli's meanings are rich and complex since it can accommodate and mirror so many different universal narratives. Here, universalism isn't about blending different narratives and points of view into one big pot. Instead, as Eade and Sallnow (1991) point out, it's about concurrently addressing the expectations and ideas of a broad range of pilgrims.

Many pilgrimage locations are now easily accessible owing to the developments in travel, which Coleman and Elsner (1995, p.200) argue is a factor in their questioning of the roots of the expanding trend of pilgrimage in the secular West. They assert that as a direct consequence of this, the locations of these pilgrimages have evolved into cosmopolitan and globalised centres. In addition, for them, many individuals engage in these acts as a kind of protest against society's increasingly dehumanising features. This perspective is also helpful for explaining the experiences of Australian pilgrims at Gallipoli. Transportation, which was rather difficult in the past, is now much simpler, which is one of the causes allowing the number of participants to expand. The fact that

pilgrims visit a site that symbolises ideals that already exist in their society may seem to contradict Coleman and Elsner's portrayal at first. However, dehumanising conditions like killing and young soldiers' deaths are a pillar of the pilgrimage experiences' potential to touch people.

Some of the reasons Turner (1975) cites for the growth of shrine visits are a growing global population, communication development, and mass media's impact on travel. He asserts that contemporary pilgrims are comparable to tourists. Turner also notes that the interaction between new and traditional forms of *communitas* has the potential to revitalise waning traditional forms of pilgrimage (Turner, 1975, p.172). The Anzac pilgrimage, which began to experience a resurgence in the 1990s, has taken on a new form with the participation of younger generations. Eventually, a medium ground was discovered between the traditional pilgrimage and this recent pilgrimage, and some of the new generation pilgrim groups' radical remembrance practices were modified accordingly. In addition, a similar commemoration upsurge has become more prevalent in Australia. A comparable interaction between the Australian old and new *communitas* may thus be described. Instead of increasing remembrance activities, the exchange here paves the way for a consensus on the commemoration structure that has already acquired momentum.

Learning about the Turkish perspective on the battle changes the perspective of Australian pilgrims at Gallipoli. However, the liminal nature of their encounters is not the only cause of this transformation. At contrast to West's argument, these pilgrims do not experience an anomaly in this place. The other side of the conflict, which the Pilgrims had never considered before to their arrival at Gallipoli, is presented via a seamless transition by the discourse of friendship at the core of their experience. Turner's description of the liminoid experience can be one of the reason why so many pilgrims are taken off guard by this narrative. This encounter transforms the pilgrims who experience it. The structure of *communitas* can be evaluated a key factor in creating the right conditions for this. Although the emergence of *communitas* as a result of pilgrimage activities does not eliminate disagreements, it mitigates them. Turner illuminates this process as follows (1975, pp. 206-207):

“When *communitas* operates within relatively wide structural limits it becomes, for the groups and individuals within structured systems, a means of binding diversities

together and overcoming cleavages.(...) while the pilgrimage situation does not eliminate structural divisions, it attenuates them, removes their sting.”

The fact that the Australian pilgrims who came to Gallipoli are so open to the narratives about the Turkish side of the war is considered as the tourist's curiosity and openness to the Other. However, when we evaluate these experiences in the context of secular pilgrimage, a different dimension emerges. Although the explanation about cleavages pertains to the differences inside *communitas*, it is the spirit of tolerance that motivates such a position within *communitas*. As a result, we may link the dynamics occur during Gallipoli pilgrimage to this attitude of tolerance:

“Some might say that pure *communitas* knows only harmonies and no disharmonies or conflict; I am suggesting that the social mode appropriate to all pilgrimages represents a mutually energising compromise between structure and *communitas*; in theological language, a forgiveness of sins, where differences are accepted or tolerated rather than aggravated into grounds of aggressive opposition (Turner, 1975, 208)”

Another feature of the Gallipoli Dawn Ceremony is that the pilgrims find themselves in the past throughout the event. Each pilgrim becomes an Anzac, and they follow their experiences step-by-step. The threshold experience allows pilgrims to disassociate themselves from daily flow of time. In this sense, pilgrims perceive a distinct flow of time that Turner (1975) explains. This again occurs as part of the threshold experience. *Communitas* and threshold experience not only remove pilgrims from the socio-cultural framework of the society they dwell in, but also modify the flow of time in the newly entered realm. Thus, as Turner (1975, p. 207) illuminates, the pilgrimage experience develops a chronology of its own, via the re-enactment of events experienced in the lives of saints, prophets, or martyrs. This phase, which emphasises the kinetic side of experience once again, develops the tough but inspirational journey in the symbolic world via the pilgrims' devotion in all their physicality.

3.5 Homecomings

"It is not the journey abroad as such that brings the poet to maturity but rather the return home enriched by experience."

Heidegger, Through Phenomenology to Thought

Ann Gold (1988, p.1) noted in her study of Rajasthani villagers' pilgrimage that a pilgrim's journey "is usually a round trip." But very few studies focus on returns. According to her, studies that do not consider how these experiences of pilgrims are located later in each individual's life just "pretend to know pilgrims in their daily lives" (Gold, 1988, pp.1-2). Therefore, it would not provide a whole picture if we just conclude that the pilgrims become sad or surprised in Gallipoli or depart with entirely new thoughts. Due to the diversity of their journeys, each pilgrim returns home with their own set of emotions and perspectives. However, what's the next step for these emotions and insights?

Further, the limitations of Gallipoli pilgrimages are not restricted to the ritual's duration. This experience starts to take form even before the pilgrims decide to go, and it becomes a reality the minute they set off. Thus, the meaning of experience is not set, just as its construction cannot be bound to a particular time or place. Pilgrims can rebuild what they learned and felt from this experience in various circumstances. As a result, pilgrimage experiences to Gallipoli are intrinsically unpredictable.

Hence, how can we capture such a dynamic experience? Exploring the many phases of pilgrims' experiences, such as the journeys back home, adaptation, and later recounting of the event to loved ones permits the capturing of the variety of these experiences (Bruner, 2005; Graburn, 2001; Leite and Graburn, 2009). Starting from this point, I aimed to identify how the pilgrims I kept in contact with integrated their experiences into their everyday lives, how they got responses from their social networks, how the pilgrims' experiences continued to exist, and how they embodied with their recollections. These homecoming accounts entail wisdom, hardships that cannot be shared with others, and the fortitude that many people would wish to have.

3.5.1 Memories of Gallipoli: "Walk softly as you are standing on the graves of your ancestors..."

As the Gallipoli experience of each pilgrim is unique, so are the recollections of these experiences. Everyone selects unique bits to remember. These pieces highlight what was the most essential parts for them.

Camping at Gallipoli is an unusual experience for many pilgrims, including Darren's son Terry. What Terry had in mind about his Gallipoli experience was more

about the camp. He was cold and wore warm clothes. In addition, the walk we took to Lone Pine was another detail that remained in his mind. "Nice trip," he summed up. Darren's daughter Nicole also remembered the whole trip. According to her, this experience was not something everyone could do. She thought she had gained a special experience that made her connect with history. Sharon, Darren's wife who was of Italian descent, described her experience as "an emotional thing even without the connection". Until then, she had gotten an idea of that part of history just by listening to the stories. But "to be there" had taken Sharon beyond that. She felt like she was part of an incredible experience.

Darren's Gallipoli experience, which served as a link between him and his grandfather, whom he had never met, had profound significance. The most important reason Gallipoli can provide this is that it can make the pilgrims feel like an Anzac. Darren's grandfather had fought at Gallipoli and had managed to return. Therefore, Gallipoli had several different meanings to him. He never had the opportunity to meet his grandfather. But he was proud of him. He was smiling when he said that his grandfather had made their last name "a bit stronger", "a bit tougher". Like all pilgrims, Darren had wondered how "scary" that beach might have been in the first light of Dawn. He still remembers this feeling years later. And the hard part wasn't just landing: "I was thinking how scary it would have been that initial landing and then being there for months how even though you're with lots of like maybe your mates, it still would have been so lonely, so terribly lonely... and just relentless I think for anyone to have kept their sanity through that's amazing", he said.

A few years later his Gallipoli experience, he thought that what was special about it was not the ceremony. The traces that Gallipoli left on him belonged to the battlefields. He lived the moment that touched him in the Dawn Ceremony after it got very cold in the morning. On the long walk from the bus to the field for the Dawn Ceremony, he saw someone selling blankets. Thus, when he was cold, he remembered this man. This was how his most special Gallipoli experience started:

"So I walked nearly all the way back to the bus, bought a blanket and then coming back up. It was pitch black and I just had this tiny little torch. And I saw the sign for Anzac Cove beach. I thought 'oh well, I'm here I might just pop down'. I sort of popped down and I realised that I was standing on Anzac Cove beach about the same time of day

maybe half an hour before the first landing. And I was there by myself, not a not a soul was around me. Because they were all half a kilometre further up the beach at the site and that probably meant the most to me, being able to sit there by myself on the beach for 10 minutes. And just imagine how quiet, how peaceful that countryside would have been and then in half an hour, it would have been all these soldiers landing and soldiers shooting them and that went on for so long. So that that meant the most to me. I got up, I walked back to the site and as I walked back to the site and climbed up the stands, I saw that there was a bloke right next to the stand selling blankets. I thought had I seen him before I left, I would have missed that whole experience. That's probably one of the best experiences that I felt it was the time just sort of to see the geography of that place and to really understand how difficult the battles were and just how impossible it was. (...) That is probably one of the best experiences that sticks with me in my mind."

Thus, Gallipoli enables pilgrims to directly experience the history. Through living in the present, they are able to better comprehend the past. For the pilgrims, this integration with the past becomes the most important aspect of their recollections. This interpretation of the past is inextricably linked to the topography and graves. That was why just one sentence from the Lone Pine ceremony was etched in Brendan's mind. While we were talking, Brendan looked at his friend's, Dion's Instagram to get the words right and he said: "So before the Lone Pine ceremony started, the guy said over the microphone 'walk softly as you are standing on the graves of your ancestors' and I remember just thinking 'oh God'".



Figure 3.5.1.1. *Dion's Social Media Share at Lone Pine*

The primary distinction between the pilgrims' Dawn Ceremony and all other Dawn Ceremonies is that the pilgrims' ceremony captures the day and hour at their actual location. This is a unique feature that can only be found here. Therefore, it is unforgettable to the majority of pilgrims. In the same vein, for Brendan, the highlight of his Gallipoli visit was the Dawn Service. Australians were ashore at Gallipoli. For Brendan, being in the same place at the same time that history passed was what marked the uniqueness of the experience: "So, the whole reason this whole thing exists is because what happened in that place on that day at that time. So you can go to numerous places around the world, you can go into north Africa if you want to and have Anzac day ceremonies but nothing will ever compare to waking up on the beach at Anzac Cove. And having it, I felt it was the time just sort of to see the geography of that place and to really understand how

difficult the battles were and just how impossible it was there like nothing will ever compare to that", he said.

The significance of the Gallipoli event is also clear in its differentiation from other recollections. Bob and Sandra had arrived in Gallipoli as part of a 6 week tour. At the beginning of this long tour, they stayed in Istanbul for one night and then immediately went to Gallipoli. "That was the beginning of our trip really of six weeks and so it was a so the fact that it did you can imagine it would be easy to forget a lot of that data but we didn't.", Bob said. And he explained: "Gallipoli remained a very rich experience I think that's the way to put it, yes."

Pilgrims have indelible memories of what landscape provides via their physical experience. Bob felt it was an important experience to have attended Dawn Ceremony, which he remembered as "sad and beautiful". But ceremony was not the only element that had meaning for him. It was also a very valuable experience that they got to know the geography of the place. So they could "really understand how difficult the battles were and just how impossible it was". Bob hadn't forgotten the steep climb after Dawn. Sandra also remembered thinking of the soldiers sitting in the boats: "as they were landing, they were shot. They were so targeted, they had no cover, no you know it just showed how exposed they were to the enemy on arrival at landing", she said. She thought that what they had learned at school at a young age, they understood much better now that they saw it. That's why he thought the tour they had participated in the previous day was "brilliant". They still remember our tour guide and thought he was very clever.

Another place that remained in their minds and influenced them was Lone Pine. When they saw Lone Pine they thought the war that took place here was "how hopeless that the battle was," Bob said. Bob thought it was "a pathetic piece of military planning." He also thought "that was the greatest." According to him, Churchill was involved in this war. And Bob added: "Had they gone through the Dardanelles, had they had got through the water? Sure. It would have been brilliant. But it was actually such a flawed piece of military planning that, it was so bad. The folly of battle planning really is what really struck us."

Disparities between groups within communities might emerge at any point of the Dawn Ceremony. These discrepancies might also create circumstances that the

disapproving parties remember. A situation that has received a lot of backlash in Australia in the past years, happened again that year when Bob and Sandra attended Dawn Ceremony. Bob had said in one of our correspondence that the situation was on their minds and they did not forget it. "When you see Australians in the queue doing Aussie Aussie Oi Oi Oi (...) I find it terrible, I just can't bear to watch that people sort of celebrating" Bob said. Sandra added, "It's a commemoration, not a celebration." I asked them if they had witnessed similar situations in Australia. Sandra said the number of young people attending the ceremony in their area has been increasing every year, and Bob added, "But in mainly a good way." The people they were talking about didn't behave that way.

According to Bob and Sandra, there had always been these opposing views: "There were those who were nationalistic and those who were reflective.", Bob said. They thought that it was not right to be nationalistic without question. They found it "ugly" for young people to get drunk and wave the flag while wearing bikinis with the Australian flag. In recent years, however, they have observed that the situation has improved: "grandchildren or great-grandchildren of who had died in World War I and World War II any wars they wear their badges so they march for their family," said Sandra.

As much as the Gallipoli experiences themselves are remembered, so too are the emotions generated by these events. Sandra said she was not an emotional person, but she remembers being very emotional while camping at the Dawn Ceremony. "Just to sleep the night and chat to other Australians who have arrived there and was amazing was lovely and then and then to wake up with the sun rising and to witness the ceremony and that it's really emotional, yeah, um I thought it was brilliant.". Bob and Sandra found some parts of the ceremony "too rigid". They were more influenced by personal narratives. They spoke to Darren and his wife in the same group when the ceremony got "flattened" or when Bob found it too "stagey". Bob had found exactly the narratives he was looking for in the story of Darren's grandfather who had fought at Gallipoli. Thus, interaction between pilgrims needs to be considered when understanding the pilgrimage experience. Shared experiences has a potential for going beyond shaping pilgrimage activity and what is felt, and keep their places in memories.

Bob and Sandra's interactions with others following their time at Gallipoli helped to prolong their memories of it. These interactions also kept Gallipoli in their minds for a

while after they left. Sometimes they met or bumped into other pilgrims elsewhere in Turkey and had a chat about their Gallipoli experiences. At others, they talked about Gallipoli while talking to new people they met on their way. Thus, Bob and Sandra remembered Gallipoli over and over as they travelled elsewhere.

3.5.2 After Gallipoli: "It just keeps escalating and escalating..."

Each pilgrim experiences Gallipoli to a different level. As a result, for some pilgrims, digesting and changing the meanings associated with their pilgrimage experiences is an ongoing process. Moreover, those who have had a profound Gallipoli experience are not limited to ones who have participated in the Dawn Ceremony. Battlefield tour pilgrims can also need time to think where to put their overwhelming emotions and fresh ideas. Similarly, it's also erroneous to assume that each of Dawn Ceremony pilgrims would require time to process their experience. Thus, while evaluating the inner experiences of pilgrims, it is vital not to draw an interpretation based purely on the experience they participated in.

Battlefield tours, like Dawn Ceremony, may require some time to understand their effects and incorporate them into daily life. John was a pilgrim who had a significant interest in the history of warfare. He had carefully considered Gallipoli by reading several books. "I wanted to come and try to understand why Australians make a fuss about it, why do we make a fuss about Gallipoli, why do we have this big day where we, pay honour to all these people why not somewhere else, why here", he said. When I asked him what he found, he replied: "I'm still not sure [laughs] because it's only half an hour ago, I have to think a bit of all that. More and more I am less caught up in the myth of Gallipoli and more and more I am ambivalent about whether we should be celebrating. I think we should celebrate it because we need a day where we understand what it means to be Australian. And to me that says you keep trying even when maybe you can't win, you can try. But more and more I take the Turkish perspective and I think, wasn't named or told about the other side of the story in Australia and Turks were very brave, they lost more people. It was their country."

The effects of the Gallipoli experiences are not simply due to exposure to a new perspective. Moreover, this process proceeds differently for each pilgrim. The Gallipoli and Dawn experience was "overwhelming" for Brendan. He got pretty emotional and sought to understand why he was feeling that way while also dealing with it. However,

he could not complete this process while at Gallipoli. The following is how he portrayed the burden on his soul: "It's not like you just sit down at Lone Pine for three hours and think about it and deal with it and then you go. It just keeps escalating and escalating and that's why you just keep going through the day and there's more by the time, you know, the day's over. And you're on that bus and you're heading home, you're exhausted. Like not just mentally, you're physically tired."

Due to this exhaustion, Brendan was unable to return to his regular routine. As soon as the ceremonies associated with the Dawn Service concluded, they returned to the hotel. A little time later, they were on their way back to Istanbul. When they travelled to Istanbul, they went out at night. In several bars they passed, Australians and New Zealanders were seated and "celebrating Anzac Day." However, Brendan did not want to do so: "I looked at Dion - and this is the only time in my life that I've done this- and said I don't want a beer, I'm too tired. But I just don't feel like going in and doing it. I just wanted to go to bed because I was just so exhausted from it all. I remember I laid in bed that night and I could still hear it all going on. Because we were quite close to that this mall where they were a couple of pubs. I could hear them all having fun." Brendan wanted to get up and raise a glass to the soldiers, but he just couldn't do it and went straight to sleep.

By the morning of the next day, Brendan started to feel better. He felt more normal. They drank a little more than the previous day and talked more with Dion. While Brendan was still in Turkey, "managed to start putting everything into perspective and thinking about all the reasons" why he'd felt the way he had. "by the time I got home, I had that part under control", he said. When he returned home, what enabled him to get rid of his intense thoughts and return to his everyday life was the problems in his life at that time. These problems allowed his mind to drift away from the burden of the Gallipoli experience. Therefore, he was glad they had stayed in Turkey for some time after their Gallipoli experience. During this period, "he did get that chance to think about everything", he explained.

Like many pilgrims, Brendan pondered what kind of future the Anzacs might have while at Gallipoli. It was these thoughts that tired him. For him, all Anzac soldiers had all come to Gallipoli as volunteers, and they were "literally the cream of Australian manhood". These soldiers "were so strong and so able". So it was hard for Brendan to

think about what they might have done if they had just moved on with their lives. Thinking of the Turkish soldiers and other nations' soldiers who took part in the war, Brendan was deeply saddened by the lives lost at such a young age.

On the other hand, these were the truths he knew before he came to Gallipoli. He had grown up among the soldiers and had heard many stories. Further, he also served in the army for many years and participated in the war in Afghanistan. Thus, he knew well what war and being a soldier at war meant. He had a deep respect for what the Anzacs had accomplished. Still, what really impressed him was experiencing the narratives in the actual place rather than listening to them: "It was all things that I've known for a long time but I think being there, and actually being in the presence of them, I guess... (...) and actually be standing there amongst them... I think it was more so actually being there and having the chance to deal with it first-hand as opposed to just thinking about." he said.

Two pilgrims experiencing the same event who are close to each other may have radically different implications. This emphasises the profoundly personal feature of the pilgrimages. Dion was not as deeply impressed by his Gallipoli experience as his friend Brendan was. But it was still a significant experience for him: "It's not like it changed my life.(...) It will always stand out as something great to have done, a great experience. [I am] very appreciative of again being fortunate to have been there, stand on the same ground.", he said. Dion had his first battlefield experience in France. Therefore, he thought it was an experience that left a stronger impression: "I've always had that. It's mainly because I went to like France first, and maybe that was the first time experiencing 'the holy sh*t, I am on the ground where these things happened.", he explained. And he added: "It (Gallipoli) was a very special experience and something that I'll always remember that I did and I always will look fondly on that as a memory."

For many pilgrims, the Gallipoli journey gave a first-hand understanding of the challenges that the Anzacs faced. This deepens the pilgrim's appreciation for the Anzacs. In the same vein, for Darren, to be in Gallipoli was to witness the sacrifices made: "It's very humbling being there to just see that thousands of young men were willing with very little hesitation just to go out and to stand up for their country." As a result of his time in Gallipoli, Darren was also able to comprehend the hardships suffered by the Turks throughout the war. Moreover, he was even more thankful and appreciative of Anzac's

generation after seeing the places where the battle had occurred: "I've probably got a bigger appreciation for what the Turkish went through as well. Most of them were farmers with very little military training at the front lines. And so just for both sides to do that level of commitment for their countries whereas now I don't think you could get that kind of commitment from many countries. People want things handed to them on plates these days, rather than having to work for them. I already had a big appreciation for our founders. But I think that made me respect the older generation a lot more. And they've done things so much tougher than we've ever had to." he said.

Although Bob and Sandra stated that they expected the content of the ceremony to be more personal right after the Dawn Service, they also kept their Gallipoli experience's emotional effect years later. Further, their Gallipoli experiences made them feel more emotional at the Dawn Ceremonies in Australia. "I think more so [emotional] having been to Gallipoli" said Bob. Before her Gallipoli experience, Sandra had again experienced such an emotional Dawn Ceremony. That was when they saw Bob's father on the march. "But having been to Gallipoli, the Anzac Service here is much more resonant.", she said. And Bob added: "More meaningful."

Like many pilgrims, with their Gallipoli experience, Bob and Sandra understood better what the Anzacs had gone through. So they were more thankful to them: "Because I can really see how awful [it was], I can see the landscape, how terrible it must have been, you know..." one can "literally imagine the blood on that rock and that sand." said Bob. And Sandra added: "And the tiny beach where they landed... How terrified that must have been to see that they were just sitting on decks that way, you know." Bob thought what they saw was incredible, and the Australians really appreciated this.

3.5.3 Memory-sharers: "It is our little thing..."

After their return, the pilgrims shared their recollections with other individuals. These discussions illuminated both the comments obtained by pilgrims from the social groups to which they belong and the individuals who find this experience meaningful. Furthermore, every pilgrim uniquely conveys their experiences.

Pilgrims generally share this experience with members of their close family. Moreover, this sharing might occur even before the experience is over. Dion shared his memories with his close friends and, most of all, with his family. Dion's family were very

happy that Dion was able to go to Gallipoli, it was a good experience for their son. So much so that he did not wait to return home to share these memories. He remembered, smiling, the message he sent his mother on Dawn Ceremony: "I was messaging my mum when I was there. I think the other day I actually just looked through my phone and I saw something. Brendan and I [were] basically cuddling on the ground sort of thing you know, sent a picture to mum."

Selected social media postings not only express this experience to the pilgrim's network. Social media also serves as an open journal for acquaintances, documenting pilgrims' recollections. Dion didn't actually use social media much. All the Gallipoli posts consisted of one post he made on Lone Pine. He had a tradition of sharing a single frame wherever he went: one photo from Belgium, one from France and another from Turkey. The point he found most meaningful and impressive from Gallipoli was those sentences in the Lone Pine Ceremony.

Particularly for pilgrims who do not reside in Australia, the experience of Gallipoli and the Dawn Ceremony may forge a unique relationship with Australians in the countries they live. Additionally, it might arouse sentiments of the home country. Many of Dion's friends were English, as he was living in London. Therefore, he was sharing more about Australia with Brendan. They also travelled to Turkey together. He described these remarkable experiences they shared as follows: "We're both Australian, but we both live in the UK. But we've always got that kind of Australian connection. Those trips that we've done [to battlefields], it's always quite nice because it's something that he and I do together, without anyone else type of thing, you know. It's our little thing." Similarly, I heard from a young Australian pilgrim, William, living in England, how he was unaffected by the Gallipoli experience. However, the Dawn Ceremony in England was a ritual that provided an opportunity to express a sense of community.

While some pilgrims share their memories with their loved ones, they choose to do so in the tangible realm by using pictures or specific objects. When Sharon returned home from Gallipoli, this trip had become a bit of a talking point. But for her, there was too much to tell. There was much more than the Dawn Service, such as how the day went, getting there long before the ceremony, battlefield and Troy tours, ferry rides across Canakkale and their incredible Cappadocia visit. That's why she gathered all her memories in one place and shared them with her acquaintances: "When I got back, I made

a photo book of the trip for me. So when you show people the photo book, you could then go into more details around the photos, that's reading the book. So you can explain and show and the war museum and all that sort of stuff.", she said. All her friends, family, people at work wanted to see Sharon's album. She thus shared and explained her entire trip much more easily with everyone.

Similarly, Bob and Sandra spent three weeks in Turkey and three weeks in Spain, and when they returned, they had accumulated a lot to tell. They took many photos and shared them with their loved ones on Facebook. When they returned home, they had long conversations with their loved ones over the photographs.

As the significance of travelling to Gallipoli is heightened on specific dates, the sharing of pilgrimage experiences gains value in social groups at the relevant times of the year. Darren said Dawn Ceremony was definitely a discussion point. When Anzac Day approached in Australia, people were saying "oh you went to Gallipoli didn't you" and asking questions. But for the rest of the year the situation was different. They were mostly talking about Turkey, Cappadocia or Istanbul. Gallipoli peninsula was only one among them: "So around Anzac day they all want to hear the Anzac stories. But any other time of the year, it's about how was Turkey", he explained.

Pilgrims not only reconstruct Gallipoli in their own minds as they reminisce. They also enable others to take imaginary journeys. Brendan had also sent his photos home to his parents. On our way back from the Dawn Ceremony, he told me how much he wanted to bring his father to Gallipoli. He mentioned the same wish a couple of years after his experience: "I have always wanted to take my dad to go to Gallipoli. But it is the long way to go and let's just say he's a big fella [laughs]. So, he doesn't really like to fly long distances too much yeah. And there's obviously a lot of walking on Anzac Day itself when you're on the peninsula. So I think that he would really enjoy it but he wouldn't be able to do the walking. So I tried to take as many photos as I could to explain everything that was happening on the day to him, so that I could almost put him there despite not being there and he obviously loved it, yeah."

Among those with whom Gallipoli experiences are shared are previous pilgrims. Similarly, pilgrims who have been there before share their stories with others planning to go there. Brendan shared his Gallipoli experience with friends from the military. He

specifically mentioned one of them. He was his section commander when he went to Afghanistan the second time. The commander was a year older than Brendan and had been there himself a couple of years before Brendan. Brendan had spoken to him before and after his Gallipoli trip. Before Brendan left, he had asked the commander questions about the geography of place and the weather. But for some pilgrims, the Gallipoli experience has many more layers. As one of them, the commander was very impressed by Gallipoli, as was Brendan happened to be later: "when you start to dig deeper into what it was like for him, on the day you know, you kind of always get the same answer that it's was unexpected, how emotional it was going to be, that you're going to feel something but you don't really expect to feel, feel it to the level that you do when you're actually there and doing it."

Brendan had told everyone that his experience was very emotional, more emotional than he had expected. However, everyone he talked to about Gallipoli had directed him the same questions. It was the same question that Brendan had asked the commander before his trip: "I think that when they say how was it everyone expects you to talk to them about the things that I said to my mate. Everyone thinks you're going to say 'oh the mountains were so high, the trenches are so close' (...) they're expecting you to talk about Gallipoli as a place, the terrain, the weather. People want to know what it is like to be there, what it looks like."

People were also a little bit curious about the spiritual side of the Gallipoli experience. However, Brendan was thinking that they couldn't ask since they found it too personal. But he also realised after his visit to Gallipoli that the spiritual side should be discussed more with the people who go here: "Because that seems to be more significant after you've been there.", he explained. When Brendan spoke to the commander before his Gallipoli visit, he also said it was a very emotional experience. Brendan was surprised to hear such a comment from someone like him who doesn't talk much.

3.5.4 Pilgrims' status on return: "It's all like saying you went to the Beatles concert..."

On their return from a religious pilgrimage, pilgrims may have a higher position in their everyday life or in their pious group due to their experience. A similar circumstance may partly apply to the pilgrimage to Gallipoli. Joining the August Offensive, Josh said: "As an Australian, you want to come and do. And it's good to see it.

Now I can go back home and say that we've seen it". In a similar way, Liam told me about the interest he received for the photos he shared on Facebook after the August ceremony. Many of their friends said "wow" and envied how lucky they were to be there.

Sharon's acquaintances understood the significance of Gallipoli, and they thought, "wow, that is huge". Her boss was approximately ten years younger than her, but he was very into history. And he always went to Dawn Service. Her boss had been curious about Gallipoli and wanted to hear about Sharon's experience, asking lots of questions. According to Sharon, people they know would say wow. For them, that was an "awesome type thing." Also, coincidentally, a television station stayed in the same place as Sharon's family. They were sitting near them on the lawn, and suddenly she started getting messages from her and her daughters' friends, remarking, "I saw you on the news".

Coming to Gallipoli was a proud and distinguishing experience for Dion. This was not an experience available to everyone. "I guess there's an element of like being proud you're obviously proud that you've been afforded the you know the luxury of being able to go there to take part in the ceremony and experience it and visit that location. So you're proud of it but it's not like a in no way is it boastful sort of thing.(...) I guess it's nice to say that you've been there and experienced you know the Dawn Service.", he explained.

Every Australian consider or at least wish to make the trip to Gallipoli at some point in their lives, but it is not an easy thing to do. No one Darren knew, besides his family, had come to Gallipoli. He recounted this experience's rareness: "30 years ago, I worked in a car repair shop. And one of the guys had the nickname Istanbul because he travelled to Istanbul as a backpacker when he was like 19. And this would have been in the late 70s or early 80s when he did this, and he went to Gallipoli and that was just unheard of back then. So it was quite unique, but that's the only other person I know." His daughter, Nicole added: "It is still definitely a unique experience."

Darren's trip to Gallipoli wasn't the only connection he had with Gallipoli that impacted people. The fact that his grandfather was an Anzac who had fought at Gallipoli had a similar effect on people: "Nearly all Australian males of my age know the story of Gallipoli if they've been born or raised in Australia and to be able to say oh my grandfather was there, in the first wave landings and I've been there twice. It's sort of like "oh wow!". It's all like saying you went to the Beatles concert [laughs]." But Darren said the same

situation didn't mean anything to "New Australians" at work. Their countries had thousands of years of history. Yet Australia was only a few centuries old. That's why they did not get the connection, according to Darren.

Today's pilgrimages are significantly more accessible than the initial pilgrimages to Gallipoli because of transportation advancements. However, for Australians, Gallipoli is still "on the other side of the world." Consequently, although visiting Gallipoli is prominent on many Australians' bucket lists, many are unable to do so. According to Bob, while some Australians have had this experience, many still haven't. Whenever Bob told anyone about his experience, people would say, "I'd love to do that." On the other hand, Bob and Sandra thought that some of them didn't really care. For them, people who have undertaken this journey are not regarded to be unique. Like Darren, Bob felt that interest in the Gallipoli experience was centred on Anzac Day: "It [the tradition] still resonates with people. But it's funny that every Anzac Day there's a lot of discussion. Throughout the year, there's not so much discussion, you know.", he explained.

Gallipoli is a topic of interest to some teenagers and young adults, while others have no interest at all. Nicole (19) had not observed that the Gallipoli experience aroused interest in her surroundings. She portrayed her generation as winged. Some had a direct family connection to the tradition, and some had gone to Gallipoli. But the other part had moved away from tradition as the generations progressed. She also shared a few pictures on social media. But there was nothing more than a few likes and comments. Nicole had talked to her friends mainly about the trip.

On the other hand, when she talked to his acquaintances on Anzac Day about the Gallipoli experience, they were pretty engaged. Terry (12) had a similar experience with his sister, Nicole. Even though some of his social group liked to attend Anzac Day services, none of Terry's friends had been to Gallipoli. When Terry talked to these people about the Gallipoli experience, they were genuinely interested. But for others around him, he said it was "just a trip" and was "nothing too important to them".

3.5.5 Keepsakes: "Amazing bit of history..."

Keepsakes, like landscapes, have a potency that transcends their physicality. Csikszentmihaly (1993) argues about the capacity of objects to influence and fix our thinking. According to him, awareness is not stable; it is an autonomous entity that

regulates itself. When left alone, it "wanders." As a result, to prevent randomness from penetrating their thinking, most individuals need some external order. In other words, objects shape thinking by delineating limits. In this manner, artefacts also enable individuals to recall the progression of certain occurrences. Consequently, they carry the richness and texture of prior experience. He (1993: p. 22) states, "without external supports, even our personal identity fades" and loses clarity.

The many layers of Darren's experience illustrate the significance of objects in carrying identity and maintaining the cultural bonds between generations. Darren's grandfather had passed away the same year Darren was born. Darren's father was the youngest of 7 siblings. Therefore, the generation gap between his father and grandfather was large. Grandfather worked at railways. "He comes from a generation of very hard workers. Life was so tough there, just in the early nineteens," said Darren. Grandfather and his brother were the first to volunteer for war. Before going to war, grandfather had stopped drinking saying "if I'm going to go to war I need to have my senses about me," and he did not drink for the entirety of his service.

He had gone to Cairo and been sent to Gallipoli afterwards. He used to prefer to undertake guard duty alone, although there were usually two. He was approximately 34 when he joined up. Thus, the grandfather was slightly older than most of the soldiers. He refused to do guard duty with anybody else because he stated the young ones were so cold and scared that you can hear their teeth chattering from a kilometre away.

Grandfather didn't write any letters. Darren had found out about his grandfather shortly before his first visit to Gallipoli. The grandfather had survived the Gallipoli War and brought home a flag that had become a family heirloom. It also had a story written around the border. Darren could not remember the exact words written down. But he said, "it is a story about him and his mates landing in Gallipoli." This flag waved on the pole on Darren's aunt's front lawn every Anzac Day, telling neighbours about the family's history. Before Darren's first arrival in Gallipoli, the whole family had gathered and talked about grandfather. During one of these gatherings, Darren saw the flag and a raided German binoculars for the first time: "We've seen then that was like, you know, holding this amazing bit of history in your hands, I couldn't fathom back then that the meaning behind it all." said Darren.

During the war, the flag was the grandfather's closest witness. It accompanied him wherever he travelled. As a result, the flag, like the grandfather, had a wartime story that spanned Egypt to Australia. When Anzacs were in Cairo for training before Gallipoli, they were boisterous. They didn't adhere to the rules as much as their British counterparts. They went to a hotel that, at the time, served as the English Embassy. They displayed all the flags, although Australia did not have its own at the moment. So Australians were fighting under the Red Ensign flag. One of these enormous flags was about the size of a billiards table. So the grandfather crept in, ascended to the second floor, and climbed out the large bracket that supports the pole. At that point, military police were pursuing him. Consequently, he unhooked it and the other one. As military police began approaching from below, he climbed out of the second-story window. So he unhooked it, fell, and all of his mates, who were right underneath him, caught him. He sprained his ankle but was otherwise well.

A few days later, they were informed that they would leave for Gallipoli and that everyone's bags would be checked. Therefore, he wrapped it around his body before dressing. So nobody discovered it when they searched his backpack. When they landed, since he was in the initial wave of landings and it was highly chaotic, he saw everyone immediately running for cover. This was the location where all machine guns were firing. To evade the gunfire, the grandfather ran sideways. He raced as he flung his bag, which contained the flag, on the ground. Someone approached him several days later and said, "Oh Frank, here's your bag." The flag was still within, so it returned home. And Darren's aunt had owned it for decades. Darren's brother then gave it to the local RSL, return servicemen's league. Therefore, Darren is familiar with the meaning that can be inherent in an object.

Any artefact may carry pilgrim memories or the spirit of the battlefield. In the past, these consisted of bullets and rusty shards of combat relics discovered on battlefields (Scates, 2006, p. 80); however, these items are now scarce. Even so, when connected with a pilgrim's memory, any item may serve a similar function. The most frequent of these valuable things are the cloth bags pilgrims carry during the Dawn Ceremony.

Pilgrims who attend the Dawn Ceremony are given armbands during one of the security checks they pass. In addition, a white cloth bag containing water, Anzac cookies,

a poncho, a pamphlet with information on the ceremony, a hat, and a badge is provided. For many pilgrims, these bags are pilgrims' sole recollection of Gallipoli.



Figure 3.5.5.1. *The cloth bag given at the Dawn Ceremony and some of the items in it (Burcu Kaya-Sayari's private archive)*

As one of those pilgrims, Dion had not bought anything from Gallipoli. However, he still kept the Dawn Ceremony bag and the things inside. He was still carrying the contents of this bag when he was going to attend other ceremonies. I asked him where he kept the bag. He told me "just sort of tucked away". He had put the bag somewhere in his bedroom. "Obviously, in London, you know, houses are small. So you need to make space as much as you can," he said. Dion also bought Turkish coffee and Turkish delight from Turkey. They drank coffee every day while they were in Istanbul. Thus, Dion wanted to take Turkish coffee with him back.

Similarly, "We have got a lot of bags," Darren said with a laugh as we were speaking from Gallipoli memoirs. Darren and his family were still keeping the bags given at the Gallipoli Dawn Ceremony. Like Dion, they wore these bags to the Dawn Services in Melbourne. "We didn't get many souvenirs at Gallipoli. Because it wasn't really like a souvenir kind of experience," Darren described his own Gallipoli experience. But this bag wasn't the only memory for Darren. Laughing again, he mentioned taking a few stones from Anzac Cove.

These stones were a bridge with history: "It's just something like a keepsake. That's going to last, and it's something that might have been there a hundred years ago. My grandfather could have run across this area of ground where this pebble was. Now, I don't know. There's been erosion [laughs]. And the landscape has changed a bit but it's still that connection of this is from the beach that they landed at as opposed to getting something from a shop" he said. Darren kept these stones in a place special to him: "I keep those stones. I've got like just a little trinkets box next to my bed. There's just miscellaneous junk from the last 30 years in there: And they're in there as well. Just miscellaneous, bits and pieces that have some significance to me.", he explained. Moreover, on his return to Australia, Darren's son Terry had bought small bullets containing Anzac Cove sand from a vendor on the ferry to present to his mates.

Brendan bought a scarf from a street merchant in Eceabat "as a memento" for himself. He was still keeping it. Buying someone a gift while in Gallipoli never crossed his mind. He laughed and said, "That might have been more of a logistical issue." He also kept the bag and its contents, which were given before he entered Lone Pine Ceremony. Just like Brendan, Bob and Sandra didn't get gifts because they would be hard to carry: "We travel light, we don't travel heavy, seven kilos each," Sandra said with a laugh. But they took a lot of pictures. According to them, the best travel memories were the photographs.

3.5.6 Conclusion: Reaching the beginning

In Turners' (1978) idea, Van Gennep's notion of liminality is more than just a part of traditional rites of passage. For them, this viewpoint can offer insight into all "processes of spatiotemporal social or individual change" (Turners, 1978, p. 2). Thus, it is the antistructure that bring about the social and psychological change that occurs throughout the pilgrimage (Coleman and Eade, 2005, p.2). From this vantage point, as thresholds, the Gallipoli tours and the Dawn Ceremony are unquestionably transformative experiences for almost every pilgrim. Many pilgrims learn about the other side of the battle and gain an experience that exceeds their knowledge of the Australian side. As a result, the pilgrims take perspectives different from the former when they depart from Gallipoli.

Further, Coleman and Elsner (1995) suggest that encountering the new is one of the circumstances in which pilgrimage can induce a profound feeling of change. This

issue has been dealt with both during the journey and after the pilgrims return to their daily lives. Travelling with like-minded pilgrims precludes direct interaction with the unfamiliar. In their research of a group of Turkish pilgrims from the same village, Coleman and Elsner (1995, p. 207) found that even though they visited a faraway holy site and interacted with pilgrims of various cultures when they returned, their experiences were consistent with the local mindset. In a similar way, the Gallipoli experience is enhanced by the fact that the guide who leads and recounts it is Turkish, even if the pilgrims share it with other Australians and New Zealanders. But what happens then? What do pilgrims do with these changes?

In previous chapters detailing the pilgrims' Gallipoli experience, I have outlined the transformational process they underwent. This chapter delved deeper into a different question than these transformations. It focused on the mingling of these experiences with pilgrims' daily life. In her research on Camino pilgrims, Frey (1998 [1968]) highlights that the power of the pilgrimage derives from both the site and the meanings acquired from the pilgrimage experience. Thus, according to her, it is crucial in pilgrimage studies to comprehend varied experiences rather than dramatic transformation. She argues that instead of questioning the presence or lack of change, the focus should be on "how the pilgrimage endures if it does, and how the experiences are interwoven into daily life" (Frey, 1998 [1968], p. 179).

In the same vein with Frey's approach, in this chapter, I have not addressed whether the pilgrims' Gallipoli experience altered them. I sought to understand how pilgrims continue to construct their brief Gallipoli experience in their memories when they return, as well as how these experiences interacted and integrated with other realms of their daily life. For some pilgrims, interpreting and locating the Gallipoli experience is not synchronised with the event itself. They complete constructing their experience in the following period of the pilgrimage. However, Gallipoli, for some pilgrims, leaves no such complex marks and remains a fond memory. Still, keeping a 'piece of Gallipoli' for each pilgrim is a link between them and these memories. This link is sometimes shared with the social circle through a series of photographs, while at others is concealed in a personalised box to denote a unique relationship.

The pilgrimage literature also investigated the pilgrims' experiences when they returned to their prior order. It is revealed that even if the pilgrims return to their previous

worldly life, they often achieve spiritual development. However, unlike the initiation rites included in Van Gennep's research, Christian pilgrimages do not result in a change in social status. Pilgrims' moral reputation in society may improve. In contrast, pilgrims can attain a more significant status upon their return from Muslim pilgrimages. In medieval Christian cultures, the returning pilgrim's greater piety was valued in the society, mirroring the social position of Muslim pilgrims. According to Turners (1978), if there is any kind of initiation occurring during Christian pilgrimages, it takes so in a covert manner. A status upgrade does not occur.

Nonetheless, their morale improves, and they are held in high regard by the religious members of the community (Turners, 1978, p. 15). In a similar manner, the Gallipoli pilgrimage does not seem to suggest a shift in social status as experienced by pilgrims in Christian cultures. Although the pilgrim's social circles value this experience, the boundaries of the pilgrim's change do not extend beyond the inner transformation (cf. Hall, 2002).

Many Gallipoli pilgrims prefer to take a piece they found from the Gallipoli battlefield rather than buy souvenirs. This item is often a pebble collected near Anzac Cove. These objects differ from touristy and souvenir products in some ways. Souvenir isn't a piece of history and doesn't care about time, but it highlights space (Hume, 2014, p.3). Most of the time, the symbolic content it bears is diminished (Graburn, 1976, p.6). On the other hand, the keepsakes collected from Gallipoli represent not just Anzac Cove or other locations where they were obtained but also the history that was lived there. These things form a link between the pilgrim, place and history.

Furthermore, this history comprises the pilgrims' experience at Gallipoli and the experiences of prior generations. Thus, there is also a similarity between keepsakes and souvenirs. These keepsakes can also "assist in the recollection of the experience" retaining the collector's memories, and experience at the spot in a similar way as Hume (2014, p.3) reveals for souvenirs. Further, these objects meld thinking and emotion (Turkle, 2007, p. 9). Thus, perhaps the most significant aspect of all these is the pilgrims' wish to preserve their own memories and emotions without considering purchasing gifts for others. This, in turn, highlights the profoundly personal nature of their experience here.

According to Csikszentmihaly (1993), objects help us maintain a feeling of self-identity in three ways. The first is to display one's superiority and position within the social order. The second way is continuity of the self over time by offering foci of interest in the present, mementoes and keepsakes of the past, and signposts for future objectives. The third way is that things serve as a tangible reminder of the relationships that are important to them.

All three functions Csikszentmihaly (1993) mentions are exposed to Anzac pilgrims. Firstly, the bags carried by the pilgrims and the flag floating in the lawn demonstrate the pilgrims' higher status in the social order. Secondly, these bags and photos preserve recollections of the many phases of the Gallipoli pilgrimage. They encapsulate a point in the past. In a similar vein, it was shown in a study on Olympics pin badge collectors that only a tiny minority consider their economic worth. For most collectors, these badges captured the Olympic experiences and feelings (Woodham, 2015, 199).

Finally, every pilgrim who puts their feet at Anzac Cove honours a connection with Anzac soldiers and their experiences by touching these waters and sands. With the stone he carried with him, Darren also established a similar connection with Anzacs and his grandfather. This stone retains the symbolic relationship between them in the same way as Csikszentmihaly (1993) reveals.

If we look more closely at the Gallipoli keepsakes, they are of a different kind than the exchange ideas based on Malinowski, Mauss, and Durkheim. There is no underlying incentive, such as trading or reciprocal presents. Weiner (1994) examines these circumstances and others like them using the viewpoint built on Simmel. According to Simmel (1978 [1907]), some items are only valuable and irreplaceable to us. Weiner's work concentrates on the symbolic density of things beyond this point. According to her, particular objects are retained because they are significant to a specific family, clan, or dynasty. On the other hand, commodities do not have such a high symbolic density; instead, they have value since it is possible to exchange them.

This perspective also reveals the flag's symbolic value that Darren inherited from his grandfather. The flag had accompanied and witnessed Darren's father throughout his war experience. It has had its own life story (Appadurai, 1986, p. 3) as being a living,

active presence (Turkle, 2007, p. 9). As the flag flew in the garden during the Anzac days, he referred to both his own testimonies and the fact that Darren's grandfather was an Anzac. Thus, it was reminded to those around that there was an Anzac soldier in the family even after the grandfather passed away. Weiner (1994, p. 394) explains this situation as "certain objects acquire a charisma that lasts beyond one person's ownership". Moreover, the family could have flied any other flag in their garden. This is similar to how Japanese emperors wore sacred clothing made from bark fibres to reference their neolithic ancestors instead of wearing luxurious silks at their installations (Weiner, 1994, p. 395).

In search of new views about themselves, their past, and their identity, the Gallipoli pilgrims travel to 'the other side of the world'. This journey paves the way to powerful emotions and experiences, both during and after their experience. These pilgrims are both dark tourists and pilgrims who face the shame of humanity and death. They may experience death in different ways as a result of this encounter. Their old viewpoints may die, but they are replaced by new ones (Turner, 1992). Further, their experiences are occasionally compelling enough to entice people who cannot visit. Thus, when pilgrims come home, they might inspire others and enrich their views with the new ideas they gained on pilgrimage (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 206). Sometimes they come to these lands more than once. Surprisingly, each visit may offer new insights and divergent interpretations (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, pp. 212-13). In sum, each pilgrim who leaves Gallipoli does so with a different experience. What does not change, though, is pilgrimage itself: it is "going to a far place to understand a familiar place better" (Turner, 1992: p. 35).

4. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study delves into the Gallipoli experiences of Australian pilgrims, who serve as a model for a transnational sense of identity and heritage. The first issue that formed the basis of the research was how these pilgrims begin their journey before arriving at Gallipoli and what type of experience they have there. The second question was about what traces these experiences left in time, and how far we may evaluate these experiences within the context of pilgrimage in general. As Coleman and Elsner (1995) argue, in today's world, pilgrimage is evolving from a strictly religious activity to a more secular one. Particularly in Western nations, "travel for its own sake" has become more

significant (Coleman and Elsner, 1995: 214). These visits has the capacity to imply profound meanings. Therefore, tourism providers and planners must comprehend pilgrims' distinct worlds of meanings and devise strategies for addressing them concomitantly. Further, empirical data is still crucial for both dark tourism (Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood, 2011; Stone, 2011) and pilgrimage studies (Iliev, 2021). Thus, ethnographic studies like here are important for revealing the range of pilgrimage and dark tourism experiences.

The views of the family regarding the tradition were vital for the pilgrims in this study. While some pilgrims learn this tradition from their families, others have passed it on to their children despite not receiving it from their parents. Education is another powerful component of passing down heritage and Gallipoli's imagination. Pilgrims can visit there in their imagination multiple times before actually getting there, owing to the media. It arouses curiosity through constructing an imagination about Gallipoli, as Bloom (2000) and Seaton and Lennon (2004) contend.

Therefore, various factors create a distinct Gallipoli imagination and motivation for each pilgrim. This is in the same vein as the previous literature that argues that World War I battlefield visitors' sociocultural background, nature, personal information, emotions, and beliefs influenced their behaviour, experiences, and decision to visit Dunkley et al. (2011). Furthermore, the literature on dark tourism shows that those who engage in it would have various reasons based on the social networks they belong to and the value they place on these places (Stone and Sharpley, 2008: p. 589). As a result, dark tourism production evolves in conjunction with the multifaceted demand to which it will respond. Multiple layers and situations are engaged in the growth of the supply side, which is dispersed over the world (Stone, 2006).

These tourists are pilgrims seeking a better comprehension of history and meaning. And these excursions have the potential to provide a distinct immateriality (Bloom, 2000, pp. 33-34). Since this immateriality functions in a distinct way for each pilgrim, we need to go beyond current dark tourism typologies has been suggested as a method to help us recognize these differences in the meanings. Ethnographic research allows us to understand these meanings and "the ways in which a historical episode is (re)imagined and articulated in tourism" (Chronis, Arnould and Hampton, 2012). Moreover, these travellers are searching for "a moment in time" (Tarlow, 2005, pp. 51-

52). Because of the historical connections included in these journeys, these tourists have an opportunity for reflection and pilgrimage. Their narratives provide us with vital clues about the attractiveness of such sites as places where people acknowledge historical events (Dunkley et al., 2011).

In the early years, people who had lost a loved one during World War I were the most prevalent visitors to battlefields (Lloyd, 1998, p.195). However, there were fewer blood-related pilgrims in my study than other sorts of pilgrims. According to some research, familial links to the battlefields are no longer a major motivator for many visitors, while other studies claim that it is on the rise (Scates, 2006; Slade, 2003; Walter, 1993; C. Winter, 2012).

In the 1920s and 1930s, visiting these locations was always associated with a certain loved one and alleviating sadness and mourning (Lloyd, 1998, p. 136). The pilgrimage's nature has evolved from previous years. In contrast to the individual, social memory plays a key role in modern pilgrims' experiences. There is a strong nationalist component to the contemporary pilgrimage activities (Hyde and Harman, 2011). According to previous research, nationalist commemorations prioritize the collective dead over the individual one (Grant, 2005; C. Winter, 2012). However, Hyde and Harman (2011) showed in their study that Australian participants also had significant family motivation. If a pilgrim had such a connection to Gallipoli, the familial factor was equally essential in the context of my research. Additionally, pilgrims who have relatives resting in Gallipoli value the time spent with their family members travelling with them, as well as the opportunity for connection and sharing among the members. Sharing among tour group members is also an important component of defining their experience. As a result, in studying the relationship between life and death, we must not overlook the dynamics of life.

Seaton and Lennon (2004, 68-69) assert that *schadenfreude* is one of the driving motivations behind dark tourism encounters. According to this point of view, some people secretly enjoy the misfortunes of others. Slade (2003, p. 792), on the sentiments of Gallipoli pilgrims, claims, "these people have feelings about the dead at Gallipoli and they know, understand, and commemorate their deeds, especially their role in helping define their two nations." Furthermore, C. Winter discovered in her study of Western Front pilgrims that there was no evidence that these locations were related to negative

emotions (C. Winter, 2012, p. 261). In the same vein with this literature, I found no motive for having negative emotions in my study as well.

Many pilgrims think their interactions and friendship stories with the Turks influence their experiences. When I concentrated on the pilgrims' experiences in Gallipoli, I saw two things. First, Turkish side of the history they learn only completes their own. Each of my travellers provided me with remarks in this way. What they knew at home and the fresh historical chapter they discovered in Gallipoli are not at odds. They complete each other. The appreciation of Turks for being able to visit was the second. Tourism cannot be considered independent of the structure of the socio-political environment in which it develops (Burns and Novelli, 2007). The warm relations between the two countries keep such tourism activities alive. The narratives of the guides are also a reflection of these meta-narratives and the relations between the two countries. Gallipoli imaginaries formed in pilgrims' minds as a result of the interaction between tourism and "ideological, political, sociocultural stereotypes and clichés." (Salazar and Graburn, 2014, p. 2). Further, these narratives can capture at once both the critical perspective and the view that focuses on virtues in the tradition.

Balances and interactions between various groups might appear to be at odds with one another. However, several actors—including Australian tourists, government representatives, Turkish tourists, and citizens of many other countries—are actively participating in creating the significance attached to Gallipoli. Thus, the secular capital created here is fed from diverse sources by a mechanism similar to that outlined by Eade and Sallnow (1991). Gallipoli may tolerate and mirror a wide variety of global narratives, making its meanings broad and multifaceted. The goal of universalism in this context is not to combine many stories and viewpoints into a single whole. Instead, it's about concurrently addressing the expectations and ideals of a wide spectrum of pilgrims, as Eade and Sallnow (1991) point out. As a result, planners must address the features and demands of distinct groups in accordance with this segmentation.

Personalized anecdotes and encounters with Turks, on the other hand, are meaningful to many Australian pilgrims. Further, the Dawn Ceremony events are critical to the satisfaction experienced in this encounter (Hall et. al, 2008; Hall et. al 2018). It is possible to argue that the personal aspects of history, as well as the narratives, exchanged

with the Turks, influence this experience too. To improve experience satisfaction, these parts can be given additional room.

Conflict may not be the only situation that might occur while taking into account the complex nature of pilgrimage. Sections with and without harmony should be grasped separately. Additionally, within the same categories, there could be several subgroups and disputes. We risk ignoring intragroup dynamics if we solely pay attention to intergroup interactions. As a result, we shouldn't think of the Gallipoli pilgrimage as being mainly popular for Australians and Turks. There are other groups of people who like to have fun or who think celebrating is inappropriate. Therefore, Australia has its own divergent perspectives on remembrance and pilgrimage.

When evaluating the pilgrims' experience at Gallipoli, two key points should be considered. First, while accepting that certain historical and socio-political conditions play a role in shaping these pilgrims' imaginations, we should not treat these individuals as passive receivers. Second, their agency needs to be discussed in light of their thoughts, feelings, and interactions. Identity is a dialogical process in which we learn about ourselves and what makes us unique via interactions with others (Leite, 2017). To properly capture interactions and be able to notice, interpret, and explain variations in pilgrim experiences, the agency must be included throughout the process.

Australian tourists experience a transformation after learning about the Turkish perspective on the conflict. As opposed to West's (2015) claim, these pilgrims do not experience an anomaly here. In another view, the fact that the Australian pilgrims who came to Gallipoli are so open to the narratives about the Turkish side of the war is considered as the tourist's curiosity and openness to the Other. However, it might be argued that a significant element in fostering the appropriate circumstances for this was Turner's description of the liminoid experience. Although the emergence of *communitas* as a result of pilgrimage activities does not eliminate disagreements, it mitigates them. (1975, pp. 206-207) Such a perspective within *communitas* is motivated by the spirit of tolerance. As a result, the dynamics that occur during the Gallipoli pilgrimage may be linked to this attitude of tolerance of both sides.

Some pilgrims' interpretations and construction of the Gallipoli experience are not synchronised with the actual event. They go on living their experience in the following

period in their inner world. However, for some, Gallipoli leaves no such intricate traces and stays only as a pleasant recollection for some travellers. Further, each pilgrim's possession of a "piece of Gallipoli" serves as a connection to these memories. This connection is sometimes brought to light through a collection of photos, while other times kept private in a bespoke box to signify a special bond. The Gallipoli pilgrimage does not appear to indicate a change in social standing similar to what Christians experience on their journeys.

The Gallipoli pilgrimage does not appear to indicate a change in a social status similar to what Christians experience after their pilgrimage. The borders of the pilgrim's change do not go beyond the inner transformation, even while the pilgrim's social groups value this experience (cf. Hall, 2002). The mementoes brought back from Gallipoli serve as a reminder of not just Anzac Cove or the other places they were found, but also of the history that was lived there. These elements connect the traveller, the destination, and the past. The pilgrims wish to retain their own memories and feelings, rather than purchase presents for others. This in turn emphasizes how very personal their experience here was.

In search of new views about themselves, their past, and their identity, the Gallipoli pilgrims travel to 'the other side of the world. This journey paves the way to powerful emotions and experiences, both during and after their experience. These pilgrims are both dark tourists and pilgrims who face the shame of humanity and death. They may experience death in different ways as a result of this encounter. Their old viewpoints may die, but they are replaced by new ones (Turner, 1992). Further, their experiences are occasionally compelling enough to entice people who cannot visit. Thus, when pilgrims come home, they might inspire others and enrich their views with the new ideas they gained on pilgrimage (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, p. 206). Sometimes they come to these lands more than once. Surprisingly, each visit may offer new insights and divergent interpretations (Coleman and Elsner, 1995, pp. 212-13). In sum, each pilgrim who leaves Gallipoli does so with a different experience. What does not change, though, is pilgrimage itself: it is "going to a far place to understand a familiar place better" (Turner, 1992, p. 35).

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APPENDIX