

TWO AUSTRALIAN PILGRIMAGES

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Signed John Hannaford

August 1st 2001

ABSTRACT

In a time of rapid social change pilgrimages are resurfacing as significant and visible social phenomena. Australia has historically been noted as a very secular society but in recent years there has been some scholarly attention to forms of spirituality outside of the orthodox, Church religion. In matters of national identity and commitment to place it is argued that there could be an upsurge in spirituality, in contrast to the decline of those practising formal religion. In this dissertation it is argued that two journeys undertaken by contemporary Australians can be considered true pilgrimages with spiritual dimensions and are therefore part of a growing spirituality apart from formal Church.

A survey of the theological and anthropological literature about pilgrimages allowed the development of an eight-point frame of criteria that could be used as a standard against which an assessment of contemporary journeys could be made. Pilgrimage is a non-local physical journey to a historically and or mythically significant site or shrine that embodies the centre of a person's most valued ideals. These ideals may or may not be theistic but must be portrayed within the limits of the culture. The shrine casts an image of the culture and has an expert shrine custodian, but has the capacity to absorb a multiplicity of discourses. Pilgrims go to a shrine to experience the place of past events, take home spiritual traces and to model a changed or improved future.

In order to apply this frame to two Australian journeys, field trips were made to the plaster image of Mary at Our Lady of Yankalilla Church in South Australia and to

Gallipoli in Turkey around the Anzac Day commemorations in 2000. Participant observations and interviews with six key informants, when considered in association with the historical context and media reports, provided 'thick description' of the behaviour at the journey destinations and insight into participants' experiences, motives and understandings.

Both journeys, the sacred and ostensibly secular, satisfied the frame of criteria for a pilgrimage. Furthermore they may also exemplify some features that are distinctively Australian, in that in these pilgrimages spontaneity and egalitarianism jostled against bureaucratic structures and national hierarchies.

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INTRODUCTION

Pilgrimages are surfacing once again as significant, visible social phenomena, as they have surfaced in the past in periods of deconstruction, and rapid social change. Turner noted the upsurge of the pilgrimage in the waning of the Roman Empire, and of the Middle Ages, and inferred that in the 1970s, society was again on the cusp of a new era (Turner 1974:172).

Despite evidence of millions of people being involved in various pilgrimage sites modern pilgrimage has been largely unreported by contemporary mass media. Until recently it has been similarly marginalised by scholars. Pilgrimage is an exceptional irregular journey outside the 'anthropological village', formerly neglected by academia and anthropology in particular (Morinis 1992:2).

While anthropologists have been studying people in a 'wider than village' context for most of the twentieth century, the discipline has been slow to examine this complex, world wide mass phenomenon. The research of local pilgrimages is now recognized as a more complex and less accessible setting than typical ethnographic studies. Since the 1970s there has been a growing literature about pilgrimage on most continents and concerning all major religions. More recent literature suggests that this is a rich and complex field. Religion has become more acceptable as a field of academic study, according to many scholars in the social sciences.

The breadth of the pilgrimage field has an innate complexity, which has led to the recommendation of both poly-methodological and multidisciplinary approaches. Because of its mystical nature, pilgrimage is ‘difficult ... to penetrate analytically’. Sacred places and pilgrims’ quests are multi-faceted. Preston also acknowledges that methodology is a problem due to the ‘sprawling processual phenomena’ (Morinis 1992:32, 41; Bennett 1996:5).

The request for multidisciplinary focused mainly on the narrower call to unite comparative religion and anthropology to embrace the complexity, and challenge the ‘present (narrow) canons of academia’ (Morinis 1992:45). Preston in particular seeks a meeting of anthropology with comparative religion, such as existed with Muller, Lang, Durkheim, Tylor, Weber and Freud, when ‘Grand Themes’ were proposed and examined (Morinis 1992:45). In fact, there has been little evidence of researchers assembling such a team, but there is general evidence of cross-disciplinary conferences and individual researchers fruitfully borrowing across disciplines. Within disciplines we find that scholars also move back and forth from previously separate theoretical perspectives.

Victor Turner’s contribution has been the point of departure for most current anthropological theories, not least because he was the scholar who first sought a general theory of Christian pilgrimage. His works on pilgrimage include *The Ritual Processes: Structure and Anti-structure* (1969), ‘The Center Out There: Pilgrim’s Goal’ *History of Religions* (1973), *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors* (1974), and *Images and Pilgrimages*, (1978 and 1995).

Turner began with a recognized and universally self-described, if little examined, phenomena: the Christian pilgrimage. What he sought was to look at the activities of pilgrimage and to see what was happening at a functional and symbolic level. He drew on history, drama, sociology and psychology. As a prophet to the counter culture he sought to examine the tensions of orthodoxy and structure that are challenged, altered and renewed by the individual and group in terms of 'anti- structural communitas' (Turner 1995:xiv).

Turner's own 'pilgrimage', from Marxism to Catholicism, occurred across the period of his writing (Starkloff 1997:644). This factor almost certainly facilitated his and his wife's recording of the emotional territory of response and belief, without the usual religious reductionism of anthropology in the 1970s. Some of Turner's work, the theory that the essence of pilgrimage is in an informal (and ultimately a reforming corrective of existing structures) individual or group experience, that stands in creative tension to the organized religious structures of the day, is as cogent and compelling as ever. (Morinis 1992:8,9) But the proposition that the goal of the pilgrimage was to find 'communitas' seemed closer to the counter cultural dreams of Haight Ashbury in the 1960s counter cultural era, rather than the reality that subsequent researchers found.

In spite of the resurgence of interest, current academic research on pilgrimage in Australia has been minimal. This apparent lack of interest is set against an irregular stream of newspaper articles and the occasional interest of other popular media in such activities.

Australia has an interesting position in the western world in relation to its secularity. Although the west in general has been undergoing a process of secularisation for several hundred years, Australia appears uncommonly secular to many commentators. The general shift in religious climate has led to Australia being called in turn, post Christian and secular (Wilson 1983; Hannaford 1985,), and more recently post-secular (Tacey 2000).

In general terms Australian statistical data suggest that while belief in God is high, and denominational adherence ubiquitous, regular participation and involvement in most Christian denominations is low. Furthermore the clash of modern society and the modern church with 'primitive' institutions such as the pilgrimage is seen in the difficulty modern Australian governments and modern Christian Church hierarchies have with recognizing the upsurge in spirituality outside of traditional denominational contexts. Church structures, especially in a modern society like Australia, lack ways of relating to the primitive, anti-modern dimension of contemporary pilgrimage (Turner 1978:203).

It is within treatments of the sacred in anthropology we find definitions of pilgrimage. A problem with some earlier anthropology was the reductionist tendency treating the sacred as a subset of something else. Scholars have had difficulty in dealing with the sacred as an *a priori* category, as Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) has advised us, choosing rather to reduce the sacred to just one dimension of some other category such as the projection of the subconscious (Bennett 1996:99).

Durkheim used pilgrimage as the classical term for Christians going to Palestine (1915:232), and then extended the same term, as he reviewed and summarized the work of Australian ethnologists, for an Aboriginal initiation journey (Durkheim 1915:384). Cohen says, like Eliade, that pilgrimage has a sacred centre that attracts pilgrims (Morinis 1992:50).

The question of how things become sacred in a few years, rather than in the golden mists of myth and prehistory is a crucial one to research for home grown Australian spiritual journeys. Various unifying theoretical concepts have been proposed, such as sacred place, spiritual power, and spiritual magnetism. Eliade's various propositions relating to *axis mundi*, the centre of the world and the concept that pilgrims recognize the pre-existing spiritual power of the place, will be developed in Chapter Two.

The purpose of this thesis is to argue that pilgrimage is a significant aspect of both secular and religious Australia. The main basis of evidence for this contention derives from two case studies: the pilgrimage to the image of Mary at Yankalilla South Australia, and the phenomenon of Australians visiting Gallipoli on Anzac Day.

In the process of establishing that these two cases are indeed pilgrimages, the thesis begins with a chapter on the Australian context of sacredness, spirituality and secularity, arguing that the scope for non-church spirituality appears relatively strong in these times.

The second chapter discusses various theoretical approaches to pilgrimages before developing a frame of criteria against which to measure and analyse phenomena which resemble pilgrimage.

In the third chapter on methodology, the anthropological approaches of a subjective participant observation and thick description provide a rationale for the approach taken in the thesis research. This chapter includes a detailed outline of the methods used to obtain the data for the case studies. In chapters four and five the two cases are introduced and in turn they are analysed in relation to the frame of criteria. The cases allow some further reflection of the particularly Australian features of these pilgrimages. These will be elaborated upon somewhat in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

AUSTRALIA: CHURCH AND SPIRITUALITY

This chapter argues that, in spite of the oft-noted secularity of Australia, the scope for non-church spirituality appears relatively strong in these times. It begins with a clarification of the term ‘Church’ and sets out how it will be used in this research. Evidence is then presented of decreasing commitment to Church through a discussion of statistics concerning church adherence and church attendance. This data allows a formulation of the idea of a ‘middle Australia’. The notion that this ‘middle Australia’ could be becoming more spiritual and religious in non-Church ways is then presented in the light of discussion about an emerging environmental ‘spirituality’ and a spirituality associated with war remembrance.

The term ‘Church’ is used in this thesis in the specific sense of a cultural entity, such as in the distinction of ‘Church and State’. In this broader context the socio-political religious grouping, ‘church’ has a unified presence, rather than the division and distinctiveness we often attribute to the various Christian churches. In considering pre World War Two history, there was an historic distinction between Catholic and Protestant, but this past reality less accurately reflects the twenty first century in Australia. Church is a contested dimension within any discussion of Australian spirituality. In discussion of culture, politics, economics, atheism, agnosticism and New

Age, 'Church' is used to represent the combined Christian construct and as a counterbalance to these other constructs.

The sacred, the spiritual and the religious are parts of culture and society that blur and blend. While most social science definitions of spirituality tend to exclude the formally religious and the secular, this usage lacks precision. The Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Churches have long traditions of talking about and practicing spirituality, as more interior and personal, in contrast to other parts of Church life. In this thesis then Church does not preclude spirituality.

While Australia is now a multicultural society where Islam and Buddhism are displacing Judaism's historical place as second largest religion, the Australian Christian Church is considered as the most important, both historically and numerically of the formal religions in Australia.

There is an obvious tension between Church and Australian society that is worked out in a variety of ways. Indeed many of the secularised features of our society were historically designed to avoid sectarian conflict within the Christian sector. Church and state are separated, but we begin parliament with prayers. Government schools allow religious instruction, but not proselytizing for converts.

'Church' is used, then, as a term implying institutionalised Christianity. It may be used in opposition to State and secular society but not in opposition to spirituality. Church

affiliation has been traditionally used as a measure of religiosity or spirituality. Statistical evidence of decreasing commitment to Church will now be considered.

The works of Mol (1971 and 1985), Bouma (1992) and of Kaldor (1994 and 1999) on Australian Census material set the broader scene for how Australians self label themselves within census categories, and attempt to align understandings of belief with evidence of practice.

Empirical measures of spirituality and religiosity are often reliant on Australian Bureau of Statistics census material. The census questions on religion in Australia allow a diversity of responses. One question now allows Australians to state that they have 'no religion', and this section has been increasing since the category was added in 1947.

In the census, there is allowance for broad categories of religion, such as Buddhism or Judaism, but Australia's historic Christian predominance is shown in the fact that Christianity is broken up into many denominational categories. Those who profess a Christian belief are encouraged to report it in denominational terms.

On the Australian census data, interpreted by Mol (1971 and 1985), Bouma (1992) and by Kaldor (1994 and 1999) we see a decline in Christian affiliation, a rise in non-Christian religions mainly from migration, a rise in 'no religion', and a reduction in 'not stated'.

Bouma's tabulation gives a broad sense of trend towards a reduction in Christianity and growth in the categories of 'non-Christian', 'no religion' and 'not stated.' (Bouma 1992:86).

Table 1.1 Religious Affiliation among Australians 1911-1986

RELIGION	1911	1933	1947	YEAR	1966	1976	1986
	%	%	%		%	%	%
Christian	98.5	86.4	88.0		88.2	78.6	73.0
Non-Christian	1.0	0.5	0.5		0.7	1.0	2.0
Non stated/ no reply	0.5	13.1	11.1		10.3	12.2	12.3
No religion	-	-	0.3		0.8	8.3	12.7

The broad picture in 1996 was 71% Christian, 3.5% non-Christian, 17% no religion, and not stated 9% (1996 census), signifying the continuing decrease in proportion of Christians and the increasing proportion prepared to state they had no religion.

Statistics on Church attendance, a measure of behavioural commitment to the institutional Christian Church, are difficult to attain and flawed in some respects, but they indicate a much lower proportion of Australians who are practicing Christians. Indeed Bouma argues that there never was a 'Golden Age of Churchgoing' in Australia (Bouma 1992:164).

A variety of miscellaneous studies based on Gallup self reporting, Church records, South Australian Government Surveys, and the National Church Life Surveys, suggest that while 16% of people say they were in Church last Sunday, log in surveys report lower numbers.

Commentators have noted after comparing analyses of Gallup nominated Church attendance figures responding to the question: ‘Were you in Church last Sunday?’ with actual ‘logged in’ attendance records, that Australians in the 1980s and 1990s have over-reported their weekly Church attendance. While 16% self-report that they attended church last Sunday, between 2% and 10% have been recorded in Church login data.¹

Peter Kaldor’s (1999) finding of 10% weekly participation, based on internal Church sources, could be considered an overstatement, because the Church functionaries put the totals in, and the chosen dates are set well in advance.²

What is evident from the above is that there is still a large group, who denominationally identify as Christians, but have no attendance or behavioural linkage to the denomination

¹ This low figure from Hannaford, (1985:161), was based on a ‘log in’ Leisure Activities Survey, conducted in the first quarter of 1982, by the South Australian Government Department of Recreation and Sport. It followed trends to make the division no longer matching classical anthropological differentiation of ‘secular’ and ‘sacred’, but fitting work and leisure categories. Worship became a subsection of leisure time activity. This participation rate of 2% was so low that the author did cross checks with Scripture Union’s polling of South Australian State School children, which gave similar figures.

² Because of the attention and prestige that follow from the comparative internal use of such figures, there is a temptation to inflate the figures. It is possible to schedule high attendance activities for the census dates, such as church reunions, and shift low participation functions, such as church camps, which might cause reduced numbers, off census dates. The internal denominational systems may also allow ‘double dipping’, counting the same people both on Sundays and midweek.

claimed. A related issue is the difference between those who profess a commitment to Christian ideology but do not attend Church. A 1976 Gallup Poll showed 52% of the sample not having attended church for a year, yet 85% claiming they were Christian by denomination, 76% believing in a Christian creator God, and 72% believing in Jesus (*The Adelaide Advertiser* May 11 1976:7).

There may always have been a gap between nominal belonging and regular adherence, but that gap has significantly grown over the last decades of the twentieth century. Hans Mol (1971, 1985) and Peter Kaldor (1987, 1999) are particularly interested in that middle group of Australians, sometimes called ‘nominal Christians’ who appear to have contributed to the reputation of secularity in Australia. For successive decades in Australia their work was used to examine this substantial group of Australians who profess belief, but apparently reinforce their religious ‘identity’ in informal ways (Mol 1983:104). According to these scholars, Australians maintain belief in God and denominational adherence, their religious identity, at a higher rate than regular attendance patterns might indicate.

In looking at actions that reinforce religious beliefs or demonstrate adherence or belonging, it would be possible to look beyond attendance at weekly gatherings. Other ways of operationalising the concept of belonging/adherence could be to measure the giving of donations, as well as attendance at key life crisis ceremonies such as baptisms, weddings and funerals. We have evidence that use of secular wedding, naming ceremony

and funeral officiants has been increasing since the nineteen sixties (Mol 1971:225), but the rites themselves are tenacious.

This thesis takes up the idea of ‘middle Australia’ as a useful concept for considering non Church secularity and spirituality in relation to pilgrimage. Bouma, too, has picked up on the apparently diminishing dimensions of formal belief in Australian culture, and grapples to clarify what makes a ‘formal’ religion (1992:15).

As stated in the introduction, in general terms the Australian data suggests that while belief in God is high, and denominational adherence ubiquitous, institutional attendance is slight. We appear to have at one end of the spiritual continuum those adhering to formal religion, who attend Church or synagogue etcetera, and who are predominately, but not exclusively, Christian. In the middle there are a large number of nominal adherents of various mostly Christian religions.

There has been growth at the other end of the continuum, with New Age and alternative spiritualities. This group, however, is apparently finding it as difficult as mainstream religions to make converts/practitioners from the large middle group of nominal adherents. This has been deduced firstly because they are too small to appear in the census figures, and secondly from secondary sources that suggest that they draw their new adherents from the already religious.³ Tacey too argues that the New Age, as an

³ ‘Other Religions,’ the assumed correct place for New Agers, was a total of 0.5% in the 1991 census. Possibly they could be in ‘not stated’, but this is a decreasing category. Off this continuum, it should be acknowledged, for conceptual clarity, there are those who come into the category of ‘no religion stated’ (the question is optional), and the numbers of stated atheists (Kaldor 1999:9).

identifiable sub cultural entity, ‘represents only a narrow portion of . . . unchurched spirituality, which is widespread and almost universal in youth culture’ (Tacey 2000:191).

Surveys reported by Kaldor suggest a higher minority engages in New Age activity and belief. ‘In the last twelve months, 18% of Australians often or occasionally sought direction from a horoscope, 9% practiced Eastern meditation, and 7% used psychic healing or crystals’ (Kaldor 1999:10). To be fair, these too, may be somewhat less than adherents, and may need to be put against the number of Australians who pray to God but do not attend regular worship. Kaldor however suggests the following structure of religious adherents in Australia.

Table 1.2 Religious adherents in Australia 1998

‘regular’ Christian,	16%
non-Christian religions	3%
New Age	a notional 7%
no religion,	17%,
state none,	9%,
More or less sympathetic to Christianity	48%

(Australian Community Survey, Kaldor 1999:9-10).

Kaldor does not use the term ‘middle Australia’, but divides this middle group into more or less sympathetic. “Middle Australia” as used in this thesis is the section of the Australian population that declares itself, to be religious, and to follow Christianity, but which does not attend church regularly.

By focussing on the middle of the religious continuum of Kaldor’s data, we have a ‘middle Australia’ spiritual grouping, of very approximately 48%. They claim to be Christian, perhaps historically from some past family Christian affiliation, but do not attend Church and identify with neither the buildings nor the meetings of Church, nor with the New Age. We therefore have a sizable part of Australia, almost half, reporting itself as spiritual and religious, in its own way, while eschewing the formal observances of the Christian or any other religion.

There is also some quantitative evidence of increasing interest in religion and the spiritual. Church attendance in Australia is declining, but general western predictions about the Death of God reported in *Time* in 1967, were premature, for belief and adherence appear to be holding up rather better than attendance. The triumph of secularism, doubted in 1983 by Mol, (1983:90) is further disputed by Tacey (2000:7), who claims that our society is now ‘post-secular’.

If empirical measures of Church attendance and adherence to institutionalised religion demonstrate decline, other signs of spirituality are more positive. Indeed Gelder and Jacobs would see the sacred breaking “promiscuously” into postcolonial Australia

(Gelder and Jacobs 1998:123). A sign of spiritual/religious revitalization is the increasing number of theological courses available for study. In the year 2000 there were 3,000 students electing to do the two religious units in the Victorian Certificate of Education. The Board of Studies curriculum manager said 'the popularity continued to increase' by 252% and 196% since 1992 (*Herald Sun* November 15 2000:15). Commentators such as Tacey have reported increases in students taking optional spiritual/religious courses at universities, though he reports a bias against religion *per se* in favour of spirituality (Tacey 2000:190).

Such findings reinforce the proposition that within the professed religious sector it is possible to view Australian spirituality as a continuum, with a shrinking, traditionally religious, predominately but not exclusively Christian, population at one end, and a small informal New Age cluster at the other pole. The mass culture in the middle has been generally ignored. To picture them as merely lapsed or 'luke-warm' may be to fail to hear them in their own right.

The Australian commentators have differing perspectives about what is really occurring here. Some, like Mol, see a transition from formal religion as a societal integrator into sport and art as integrators that are potentially 'religion like' (Mol 1983:100). There is also a growing opinion that Australia in the third millennium seems to be entering into a more public expression of spirituality. This chapter moves now to a discussion of the increasing interest in spirituality in relation to environment, war remembrance and nationality.

In Australia there is significant evidence that the religious and spiritual have been reborn in non-Church contexts. Theorists have argued that environmental centres and war remembrance seek a centre for the Australian psyche (Tacey 1995, 2000).

Bouma (1992), Brown (1991), Flannery (1998), Drew (1994) and Tacey (1995 and 2000) see the emergence of spirituality as related to the indigenous and the environment or landscape. Bouma looks at the possibility of indigenous re-interpretation of traditional Christian forms, or possibly the emergence of something relating to White Australia's bush centrality, or some mainstream representation of Aboriginal spirituality (Bouma 1992:169).

Early explorers and later Australian writers and artists looked for the spiritual in features of the landscape, looking in the European tradition for a Holy Centre to the nation. This belief in a 'blessed' or sacred centre was expressed through the white explorers' 'dreaming' about, for example, finding an inland sea (Flannery 1998:226; Brown 1991:29).

Brown looks at what he calls 'The pull towards the centre: exploration of the interior.' Flinders had an unfulfilled fascination for the interior that was to become mainstream in the Australian psyche (Brown 1991:28-29). It was Brown's plan to use the journals of the widely read desert explorers in the sense of pilgrims' records and guides to the discovery of the Australian spirit. 'The desert then entered the inner consciousness of explorers',

beginning with aversion, moving to beauty and finally to ‘metaphysical dimensions’ (Brown 1991:52). The search for a sacred centre to construct identity and belonging was at first optimistic, and informed by Eurocentric ideals. The desert, if it challenged spiritually, finally captured the imagination of the explorers and colonists as a sacred centre. We can look at Australian explorers as cultural heroes and archetypes who Turner, speaking of Patrick White’s novels, says function as pilgrims (Turner 1974:182). Australian artists and writers have also made something of the desert as the sacred centre.

There has been considerable debate about belonging and place in Australia. Tacey in his book *The Edge of the Sacred* (1995) argues that the image of the desert has led to the admiration of the Australian culture (he would say compulsion) for sacrifice as a response to the landform and history (Tacey 1995:4-5). Our national cultural and spiritual experiences are ‘in large part about landscape and differing experiences of landscape. Australians can huddle in enormous coastal cities and pretend that the vast landscape is not there’ (Tacey 1995:7).

The Australian way will have to be ecological, non heroic, non patriarchal. ...the Earth Mother is far too strong here. ...Australian landscape is like the unconscious itself: If you respect it and realise the ego can never hope to assimilate, conquer or transform it, you are allowed to survive (Tacey 1995:24).

Drew (1994) speaks of the replacement of a European centre with the desert, and Uluru as a central theme for Australia. The search for a popular holy centre for Australia restarted in the 1950s with the slowly developing but eventually powerful attraction of the desert, and this coupled with the loss of London as a centre, once more turned

ordinary Australian eyes inland, for now in our newly motorized country we could all see the very sights of the explorers and artists. The profound effect of the desert centre is clear in its impact on authors and artists. Drew's overall thesis is however that our centre is on the coast and is currently Sydney. Initially the Australian settlers' focus was to explore the centre but 'The coast replaces the centre as the chief spatial and symbolic focus in . . . our historical experience developed on the periphery - on the edge' (Drew 1994:35).

There has then been considerable debate about belonging and place for Australians that has spiritual overtones for some. Most recently Tacey begins *Re-enchantment*, with the claim that 'Australian attitudes towards spirituality appear to be undergoing a profound and dramatic change. Not long ago, many of us in this country thought of spirituality in negative terms, as antisocial, irrational or unscientific, perhaps even as morbid' (Tacey 2000:1). He argues it is the failure of Australians to accept the 'other' in the country and desert that has brought us to the end of our Eurocentric Christian spirituality. This Tacey tells us, is from the sky above, whereas the original Australians say it is the land (from below) that is sacred. He says 'Our society does not *appear* to be very religious, because hardly any of our religion is articulated or on show' (Tacey 2000:95). The term Tacey nominates is 'secular spirituality' as the majority religion (Tacey 2000:54). Another acknowledged spirituality engaging contemporary Australians, although it is one that makes Tacey uncomfortable, concerns war memorialisation.⁴

⁴ Tacey is clearly uneasy about this form of spirituality: 'we do not need more of the ANZAC myth' (Tacey 2000:50).

The most recognised of these emerging spiritualities, in the context of War Remembrance, are the sacred dimensions of Anzac Day and journeys to Gallipoli. Bouma says, 'One thing Australia lacks is a satisfactory myth of origin. The original European settlers did not have a choice, they were sent against their will to a land they did not choose' (1992:35). Australians rationalized their huge death and injury rate in World War One and were forced to invest the bloody sacrifice with centrality and significance. There is also an element of challenge to the state in this 'spirituality' (Kapferer 1988).

Mol particularly notes the appropriation of theological language to war remembrance in the industrialized west (1983:96). 'And so the sacred reasserts itself under new guises, bypassing if necessary, the traditional religious forms.' (Mol 1983:91). 'It is a faith ... (that) cannot be entrusted to the religious organizations, as they are divided among themselves' (Mol 1983:96).

Ken Inglis (1998) has long felt that the Anzac tradition has full religious weight (Steger *The Age* August 28 1999). He cites Bean as 'believing that the soldiers had made Australia into a nation ... so the Australian War Memorial was to be a holy place' (Inglis 1998:335). It was a coming of age, when we first exulted that we were as good as the British stock from which we came, purged of the convict stain. Yet it was also the time we gloried in being different, and in some senses Gallipoli was from 1915 as much and more a repository of our heritage and culture as Britain (Inglis 1998:80). In response to reaction to his book *Sacred Places*, Inglis claimed that the 'tradition is more visible and

cherished than it was 10 years ago' (*The Australian* www.news.com.au Wednesday September 15 1999). In his chapter 'Capital Monuments' Inglis records again the 'spontaneous creation of a new ritual, the dawn service, at which the landing at Gallipoli became a visual metaphor for the beginning of Australian nationhood' (Inglis 1998:330).

Inglis sees the activities typified at the Canberra War Memorial, such as the solemn and reverent approach, and the rituals, such as touching names and placing poppies as confirmation of a cult. He argues that Australians commemorating the war dead has become a civil religion. They have used the term 'sacred sites' with solemn intent. The Australian War Memorial and other repositories of the Anzac tradition do enjoin not just respect but an awareness of the holy and strident defence if the idea is contested (Inglis 1998:460-5).

Like Inglis, but unlike Bouma, Mol offers a framework for considering that the Anzac cult is a religion.⁵ Religion or not, all commentators recognise its spiritual dimension. War remembrances, like pioneering and creative responses to the Australian landscape and environment have been effectively posited as contexts around which a secular spirituality may be operating.

⁵ Bouma acknowledges Anzac as a meaning system, but excludes it from being a religion. 'The Anzac legend and its remembrance is a sacred meaning system in Australian culture. No criticism is allowed' (Bouma 1992:5), and then 'nationalistic ideologies ... are not religions' (Bouma 1992:14).

In this chapter it is suggested that the gap between practicing and nominal Christians, that embraces almost half of the Australian population ('middle Australia') can be explored in relation to secular spiritualities, or at least non Church institutional contexts.

There is absolutely no guarantee that the repressed spiritual life of the community will allow itself to be comfortably contained within the existing religious structures. . . . When there is no religious structure that meets the needs of the community, then one can expect social and psychological disruption until ... the cure is found (Tacey 1995:125, 127).

In the next chapter theoretical issues around the studying of the spiritual process of a pilgrimage that is not 'comfortably contained within the existing religious structures', are set out.

CHAPTER TWO

PILGRIMAGE: A FRAME OF CRITERIA

Due to the relative newness of pilgrimage as an object of study, the endless diversity of the object and the perception of its scholarly observers, it is nearly impossible to arrive at a succinct, conclusive definition of pilgrimage. The problem is to identify key characteristics of an activity at once necessarily physical yet unambiguously spiritual, arguably both religious and secular, important in many and disparate cultures and ages (where it apparently varies widely in its outward forms, inner meanings and much else). There is broad agreement among students of the subject that certain activities occurring at various times and places are ‘pilgrimages’ but the explanations as to why that is so are many, varied and usually cogent. But researchers do identify certain physical and social features common to the generally accepted pilgrimages and there appears to be fairly widespread agreement as to certain spiritual and cultural dimensions of the activity. The purpose of this chapter is to examine studies of pilgrimage in order to arrive at a frame of criteria by which we can evaluate and categorise the two journeys examined in this thesis.

When belief and sacredness are not taken as socially constructed and are accepted as ‘real’, comparative religion faces the difficult task of attempting an objective understanding across different societies. Grand theories on religion and pilgrimage have

been constructed since Muller and Tylor (Bowie 2000:14), largely by Europeans and North Americans and have been most fruitful when looking at primitive cultures when they collide with colonising cultures. Turner studied the interplay between Indian peasants and feudal Spanish Bishops in 1531, and the subsequent independence uprisings of Indians (1978:65). Bennett, in his *In Search of the Sacred* (1996), opts for a position exemplified by Geertz (1968), that we write about us (Bennett 1996:173ff).

Anthropology is - 'a quest for self-knowledge through the medium of studying other peoples' (Bennett 1996:178). Here we are taking a concept derived from the western tradition but applied comparatively to 'others' and then brought 'back home' to help understand ourselves. We try to view pilgrimages within the broader framework of history and local culture and politics.

Australia was founded near the beginning of the modern era and saw little or none of the replacement of pre-Christian holy sites with Christian pilgrimage, such as was a feature of Ireland and Mexico. Mol (1983) brought to comparative religion a focus on place and indigenous belonging that could perhaps be seen as something taking the place of transplanted pilgrimages. The emphasis on finding identity and belonging indicates a continuing Australian obsession (Mol 1976). The white settlers claim affection for and belonging to Australia, but the comparability of this to Aboriginal belonging is debated. It could be argued that the ability to sacralize place is essential to belonging. It is in this context that we might view spiritual journeys in Australia. Indeed the thesis begins with the assumption that we need a broad non-theistic understanding of religion and the spiritual. An example of a narrower definition of religion is Tylor's 'belief in spiritual

beings' (Tylor 1927: 1:424). Explanations of pilgrimage need both a broad theory of sacred place that theorists such as Eliade supply, and then an exploration of more applied research definitions and tools to identify the felt spiritual dimensions, in a way that enhances communication between both pilgrims and academic observers.

A pre-eminent theological scholar whose work is taken as a starting point in this thesis is Mircea Eliade. Eliade, in *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958), argues for a universal pre-existent archetype that makes religion a proper category for inquiry. It is this universal dimension of comparative religion that animates Eliade's work. He notes that religious systems are universal, and contain myths of origin, of the human condition, and of moral notions (1958:30). He identifies the sacred as an *a priori* category and makes the claim that in order to study religion it is necessary to accept at least the reality of religious feelings (Eliade 1968:68). Eliade rejects the idea of total social construction of religion but nevertheless followed Durkheim in seeking a global pattern in the sacred.

Eliade has a concept of the centre of the world for all sacred sites, such as the Jewish temple, where the normal and the sacred worlds meet at an *axis mundi* (Eliade 1978 Vol.1:335) Such places are where heaven and earth come closest to touching. The centre of sacred space was often marked by a column, or post, and while this had a utilitarian purpose, Eliade saw religious symbolism here in that it was a connecting axis from the world to heaven. 'According to Eliade, religious traditions have an archetypal sacred place or a 'universal centre' where heaven and earth meet. Eliade notes that a religion's

holiest site is at the 'centre of the world', (anthropologists might say at least at the centre of *a particular culture's* world).

By duplicating the symbolism of their archetypal sacred place, 'traditions create other sacred places elsewhere' (Bennett 1996:119). Eliade's theories thus allow for the idea of sacred duplication, or multiple axes, precisely because religion replicates the sacred. The holy has continually been revealed to humanity at a site because of a pre-existent sacredness. A place acquires sacredness not only from human repetition and association, but it has also a pre-existing sacredness in its own right. (Eliade 1958:368).

Within a religion such centres are not mutually exclusive. This sacred centre has within it a danger for un-consecrated approach and so is often enclosed by stones or walls. Indeed, the centre of most temples is enclosed for this reason. Eliade's theories on sacred centres and place (1958) facilitate the use of broad parallels to other religions and nations and various time periods for framing an understanding for a common theory of pilgrimage.

Eliade sees pilgrimage as the 'travel to the centre', which is 'along a 'hard path', sown with obstacles' and approached by the equivalent of an initiation, a conquest of immortality. The pathway hurdles can be rites for passing from the profane to the holy (Eliade 1958:381-2).

Paradoxically the centre is both difficult and easy to approach, 'Pilgrimage to the holy place is difficult, but any visit to any church is a pilgrimage' (Eliade 1958:382). 'Even

where the tradition of a closely guarded ‘centre’ is dominant, we find a great many ‘equivalents’ of it situated at ever more accessible levels’ (Eliade 1958:383). Thus the concept contains levels of centredness and the church on the hill can stand for Jerusalem just as the cross above the mantelpiece could stand for the church. There can be a multiplicity of sacred centres (places), ‘because the nature of sacred space admits the coexistence of an infinity of places in a single centre’ (Eliade 1958:385).

The concepts that this thesis proposes to take from Eliade are firstly that of the sacred as an *a priori* category, a thing in itself. Secondly this research makes use of the concept that while some sites are sacred because of their historic association with a religion’s founder or leader, many other sites are sacred places in themselves, being closer to the transcendent. They are acknowledged as sacred places because of the well-documented continuation of pilgrimage to the same site across history, ethnic changes and religious changes. This concept of sacred place is further developed into a sacred centre, dramatized as the centre of *the*, or *a* world. The drawing power of a pilgrimage site is theorized to act in this way. It is a centre of the world that draws people to itself. The way Eliade has observed and theorized these centres reveals that such centres are able to be replicated at secondary sites where the access is easier and the distance less arduous. This fits well with the concept of pilgrimage, and the modest ‘sacra’ people bring back. The concept of the pilgrim being drawn from home and hearth to journey to a cosmic centre, and then return re-centred, re-focused, and re-inspired to re-order their lives to better replicate that purer order in their local sphere, is also adopted in this research. The

journey is seen as an initiatory pre-requisite to enable profane humanity to approach the dangerous sacred, which brings both immortality and death (Eliade 1958:381-383).

Eliade's conceptual tools are applied further in Holm and Bowker's cross-cultural collection of studies on religion (1994). The diversity of accepted pilgrimages across and within culture, as well as the unity, allows us, in some sense, to say that the word 'pilgrimage' is a category that has a broad meaning outside of its own particular culture. This recognition means pilgrimage can be identified in situations where the labelling is not agreed by all participants or observers.

The widening of the pilgrimage literature survey into religions other than Christianity is useful because it deliberately resets what has largely been viewed from a Christian perspective into a wider context, that of comparative religion, and seeks out theoretical parallels. The position of Eliade seems secure in the way many religions and theorists find the concept of sacred centres fits the various data they are working with in a variety of cultural settings. Pilgrimage theory needs some sort of idea of primary sacred site (Holm and Bowker 1994:5) or root paradigm that keys into the broad cultural and religious value system.

Furthermore, the cross-cultural religious literature introduces and clarifies some issues relating to the role of relics and replication. Sacred Buddhist places tend to house a physical trace of the Buddha, and multiplication is facilitated by this physical presence, which can be divided and transplanted at other sites. (Boord in Holm and

Bowker1994:15). Relics are also part of Greek Orthodox and Catholic tradition in the consecration of buildings: St. Peter's in Rome is built on the bones of St. Peter (Davies in Holm and Bowker 1994:47). Pilgrimages in Islamic tradition are associated with the visit of Muhammad, the life and presence and perhaps tomb of a saint, and the local mosque's physical mirroring of the prophet's mosque at Madinah. Sites become places where miracles, blessings and the supernatural occur, and fit Eliade's definition of a meeting place between heaven and earth (Bennett in Holm and Bowker 1994:93). Makkah (Mecca) is said to illustrate Eliade's thesis that archetypal centres replicate themselves elsewhere (Bennett in Holm and Bowker1994:95). The sacred is also transferable in Japanese pilgrimages, and relocates in miniature pilgrimages. (Reader in Holm and Bowker 1994:196). Reader is an authority in this area and has discussed this further in other works (Reader 1988:50-66).

Catholic religion has at times emphasized that merit can be gained through pilgrimage. For Davies sacred places are places of power, they focus 'the piety and faith, power and merit, of Christian saints of the past, and trigger a faithful response in living Christians' (Davies in Holm and Bowker 1994:47).

Pilgrimage can therefore be associated with relics, replication and the attaining of merit. A basis for pilgrimage is the sacred relic or trace in a temple or meeting place that gives special access to petitions, prayers and increased grace. Sacred geography is also important. There are striking instances of a site remaining a sacred pilgrimage centre over thousands of years through successive military conquests and spiritual replacements.

Pilgrimage can also be associated with the human life of the founder. There is such immediacy of contact with the essential values carried in the person of the founder that later generations felt the need to tread where their founder had trod.

Distinctiveness in time is also an important marker of the sacred and pilgrimage. These do not readily share time with the secular. Especially for women in the Middle Ages, short pilgrimages allowed time away from feudal fixity and were significant contributors to the shrine economy (Webb 1998:20). Turner observed the complexities, and the actual interplay of the secular and sacred in pilgrimage where the global distinctions were not totally kept. Much activity around the sacred is normal and secular, people eat, drink and sleep and need transport. He captured the complexity by noting a pilgrimage centre is for a believer 'a place in and out of time' (Turner 1974:197).

Eade and Sallnow emphasize that Christian pilgrimage is 'an arena of competing religious and secular discourses' (Eade and Sallnow 1991 foreword). It is probable that, as all world religions embody pilgrimage, the same may apply for them. Cross-cultural evidence also sets out that at no point are the physical journey pilgrimages purely spiritual. A physical journey often has an alignment with nationalist and political legends. Major economic and social impacts and dimensions are part of pilgrimage (Holm and Bowker 1994:20).

An arena of contestation is seen at pilgrimage between formal religion and folk religion (Holm and Bowker 1994:48). Shrines, despite general longevity are not fixed eternally,

as old shrines are revived, and new sites arise (Holm and Bowker 1994:46). So we can say that pilgrimages can be political, economic and nationalistic as well as spiritual and that there can be contested versions and change.

Scholars of pilgrimages have generally tended to study only the self-describing pilgrimages that are a feature of the great religious traditions. Following broader academic interest there has been a subsequent corrective focus onto the little tradition, which has revealed more and diverse pilgrimages.¹

Another approach to pilgrimage was made by Turner (1978) who saw pilgrimage as a quest. He examined pilgrimage through the anthropology of experience instead of a focus on structure and roles. To study pilgrimage, ideally one needs an elastic structure (net) that can be cast over the pilgrimage process, allowing the observer to glimpse patterns and intersections of many aspects. This is in contrast to a rigid set piece of structural analysis that may miss significant processes.

Turner (1969) developed the idea of liminality and anti-structure, an experiential phase which may be 'in between' and suggestive of different structural forms or reversals. He said that there was liberation from norms for a pilgrim and that he or she was at liminal stage in a pilgrimage. He used Van Gennep's concept of pilgrimage as a *rite de passage* (Van Gennep 1960:186). There has been a rejection of his classification of pilgrimage as being only part of a *rite de passage*, by subsequent scholars who argue that pilgrimage is

¹ The distinction made by Robert Redfield (1897-1958).

a more complex thing in itself (Eade and Sallnow 1991:5) and that there is a range of types of pilgrimage.

Many scholars have set up typologies or categories of analysis. Turner's typology was historically based: proto-typical, archaic, medieval, and modern (Turner 1978, 1994 preface: xiv). He also set out a typology of Christian pilgrimage, based on founding myths and cultural drama (Turner 1978:41ff).

An alternative is the analysis of the concrete targets of the place, the pilgrim, the goal and the journey (Huyghe 1995:9). A more detailed typology advancing and critiquing Turner's contribution is Morinis' typology of motivations for pilgrimage, that offer scope for clarification and differentiation. The typology of motivations is as follows:

Devotional

The devotional aspect of pilgrimage concentrates on the blessedness a believer feels, to be close to their Lord in His temple. Morinis focuses on the Buddhist and Christian goal of seeing and touching places where their Lord was present, but equally persons seeking communion with their God or salvation are also devotional (Morinis 1992:10).

Instrumental

Such a pilgrimage is undertaken to accomplish 'finite, worldly goals' such as a cure (Morinis 1992:11). A great deal of pilgrimage is about going on a quest, to solve problems in the here and now, which while they seem insoluble here, may at the end of a journey to a sacred place at last find their answer. The books and walls of Christian pilgrimage shrines commonly contain records of these personal prayers written by pilgrims.

Normative

One type of normative pilgrimage is a part of ritual life cycle (rite of passage) and the other is calendrical. Morinis mentions most often pilgrimages to Indian rivers by Hindus seeking an auspicious place to die. They are normative in the sense that the whole community observes them (Morinis 1992:11).

Obligatory

The Hadj to Mecca is obligatory to all Muslims once in their lifetime and for Japanese a pilgrimage to Mt Fuji is similar. Certain Christian pilgrimages have at times been prescribed as a penance for sins. It seems many pilgrimages are made in response to a vow given in prayer, such as ‘if the deity grants this petition I will go to ...’ and have a personal obligatory dimension (Younger in Morinis 1992:91).

Wandering

The initial Christian usage of the word pilgrim was for *one who goes through the fields*, and the first Christian pilgrims were going away from the cities to find God in the desert, apart from the distractions of life in the great cities. This concept of leaving the great cities uses the typology of Abraham, who set out from Ur about 2000 BC to follow the call of God. Abraham, the father of the Jewish people, was called ‘the wandering Aramean’ as a mark of his faith in things as yet unseen (Deuteronomy Chapter 26, verse 5). A Japanese model for later wandering pilgrims was the Zen poet Basho from the Seventeenth century (Morinis 1992:13). Christian life has within it the view of life as a spiritual pilgrimage.

Initiatory

Some journeys change the status of the pilgrim and act as initiations. This is part of the ecstatic and mind altering peyote cactus pilgrimage of the Huichol Indians (Meyerhoff 1970:64). The Hadj gives a new title to the returned pilgrim, that of *hajji* (Morinis 1992:14). It was partly this aspect of changed status that led Turner to classify pilgrimage as occurring at the liminal stage within the rites of passage (Turner 1974:166).

To complement the above typologies that are useful in capturing difference within a pilgrimage, various definitions have been offered to capture the essence of what a pilgrimage is. One approach has been to say pilgrimage is what the devotee/traveller says it is. Arguing that a self-defining concept of pilgrimage is the most useful tool for analysis, Stephen Glazier has suggested that we dispense with outside objective definitions. He suggests it may be more appropriate that a pilgrimage be ‘conceived and labelled’ by the participants (Glazier in Morinis 1992:135). Self-description is not always the best way of describing a phenomenon. When something is a process interlinked with both the sacred and secular, it is likely that not all participants will have a consciousness

that the activity is a pilgrimage. Equally one might expect that at least some percentage must describe it as a pilgrimage. Because this self-definition poses some difficulties for the scholar looking for a way of applying the concept in comparative situations, it is not taken up in this work.

Morinis allows de-emphasis of the physical dimension of pilgrimage and permits the idea of an inner journey associated with an actual place. For him:

pilgrimage is a journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place he or she believes to embody a valued ideal. At its most conventional, the end of a pilgrimage is an actual shrine at some fixed geographical point. The place has acquired a reputation that draws pilgrims (Morinis 1992:4).

The idea of an inner journey brings another realm into a study that would limit cross cultural comparison and observation, so it will not be advanced in this study.

Inner journeys and self-defining aside, researchers seem to have general agreement on over-riding commonalities that make it possible to speak of pilgrimage as an identifiable spiritual activity. Stoddard, co-editor with Morinis of *Sacred Places, Sacred Spaces* (1997), acknowledges (but in his material excludes) the interior journey of the soul, as well as down playing the trek to one's local sanctuary, focusing more on the requirement of a non local, physical journey (Stoddard and Morinis 1997:43).

Morinis' notion that pilgrimage casts an image of the culture and nation is significant. While Eliade has supplied the theory for the sacred as an *a priori* category, Morinis' overall definition of pilgrimage is the basis for this study, with its recognition of

reverential non-theistic pilgrimage. His six categories of motivation are a useful setting to analyse the pilgrim's quest and journey. 'Pilgrims on their quest are seeking a relationship with an ideal, often culturally defined but sometimes fully personal' (Morinis 1992:20). He is open to much of Turner's theorizing, seeing a rite of passage as a helpful insight into the flow of pilgrimage, but not seeing it as the simple key to a much more complex process. Turner's conceptualisations of the relations between structure and experience, the social and the individual, have continued to offer understanding and insight and been further developed by Morinis. In particular the way a pilgrimage represents an anti-structural response to orthodox structure has the potential for further analysis.

Eade and Sallnow (1991) further this very notion to explicate pilgrimage. They say that it is not enough to ask one or many pilgrims what the journey means to them. They argue that there were different levels of meaning, contested meanings and official and non-official meanings. They understand pilgrimage as the 'contested arena' between the values of the people on pilgrimage and the bureaucratic custodians of religio-cultural structures and power.

Morinis also finds it useful to compare between the poles of formal and informal pilgrimages. Some pilgrimages are rigidly prescribed, others are informal, though Morinis cautions, they are still culturally bound (Morinis 1992:15). An examination of this contestation between the pilgrim and various levels of civil, religious and cultural authority is an important part of this study.

The role of shrine custodians, who 'relate' the shrine to the pilgrim, is central, as are the notions of 'spiritual magnetism' and 'sacred trace'. Preston's idea of 'spiritual magnetism', takes in miracle cures, and apparitions, 'via historical, geographical social and other forces' which coalesce, to be the drawing power for pilgrims (Preston in Morinis 1992:33). Preston's concept of 'sacred trace' concerns, amongst other things, the collection of items brought home from the shrine (sacra and sacramentals).

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To this definition a second sentence drawn from the understandings provided by Morinis (1992) and Eade (1991) adds important extra dimensions.

Pilgrimage may be defined as a going from one's home and hearth to the centre of one's values or culture, and as also having a reforming dimension, but staying within broader cultural boundaries.

Tourism and pilgrimage are sometimes seen as similar phenomena, but Cohen, an anthropologist challenges this. Cohen argues that though they have originated from the same source, 'the Traveler-tourist moves from the centre of his society to the uncivilized edge or periphery, whereas the Pilgrim-tourist moves to the centre of his culture and society' (Cohen in Morinis 1992:51). This study characterises this as the recreational edge of tourism, and the pilgrim's re-creation at his/her centre. Where Cohen speaks of

tourism as a journey to the edge, we might say ‘recreation’, and pilgrimage as a journey to the centre of the pilgrim’s values, we might call this ‘re-creation.’

This concept of centrism is also a key to Eliade’s notion of centre of the universe as the pilgrimage centre, and is used informally and formally by other theorists such as Australian author Philip Drew in his exploration of Australian identity (1994). Analysis of the two Australian journeys will carry through this understanding and attempt to differentiate between the actively spiritual quest for ideals and the ‘nominal pilgrims’ or tourists.

The concept of centre is capable of at least partially distinguishing pilgrimage from near pilgrimage behaviour. This analytical tool of ‘centre’ is used as the core of the spiritual image or ‘valued ideals’ or ‘embodiment of cultural ideals’ that draws people to the place (Morinis 1992:1). As the meanings are contested, this centre may be different for different people. Measuring central cultural ideas is of course premised on subjective interpretation but becomes more possible to discern in deeper more reflective interviews.

We are now in a position to draw out a number of criteria to create a frame for comparison and measurement in looking at comparative data.

In the sense that pilgrimage requires a quest and a journey that takes one from ordinary life to the centre of one’s values and ideals, this cannot be done at work or at home or at the local church (Morinis 1992:1). It requires firstly going or travel. With travel, the

physical dimensions traditionally included journey hardship, special clothes, voluntary poverty, rites of affliction, and possibly climbing. The social dimension of travel may include forming a caravan or party, and eating and sleeping together (Turner 1974:172). It usually also includes some notion of effort and hardship.

According to Turner (1974:207) the journey does not take place in work time. Pilgrimage implies a set aside time and a journey from home, hearth, daily life and the work-a-day world. Traditionally pilgrimage happened in holy or consecrated (in the Latin sense of set aside) time.

Asceticism or self-denial and voluntary hardship can be experienced on a number of fronts. Firstly there is the very nature and length of the journey, the 'sacred way'. While 'commitment to an inspiring yet arduous journey' (Turner 1974:207) is seen as the norm, some pilgrimages in Mexico are very short (Turner 1974:212), The Jerusalem pilgrimage for Good Friday, the Via Dolorosa, (Way of Sorrows), is also short (though the journey to Israel is great). This is further abbreviated in the local Catholic parish Church, with an apparent miniature pilgrimage of the Stations of the Cross on Good Friday, but this is excluded by the working definition of needing to leave the pilgrim's own locality.

Stanley says abbreviation at its most extreme may be an internal journey, and encapsulating a yogic Hindu devotee as 'mentalizing the pilgrimage' (Stanley in Morinis 1992:86). As this does not involve a physical journey or a social aspect of leaving and returning to their culture and home, it would be worthwhile to have this categorized as a metaphorical pilgrimage rather than include it. The journey should be 'a going from one's work and

domestic locality'. Extra hardship on a longer journey intensifies the spiritual experience (Turner 1974:64).

The first criterion for the frame of analysis is thus: Pilgrimage is a non-local, physical journey to a historically and/or mythically significant site or 'shrine'.

Eliade and Cohen as explained above, situate a key aspect of pilgrimage as a journey to a centre, a symbolic place of central and significant ideals. At the centre of the pilgrimage is usually a holy place, or a manifestation of the divine, an image, sacred relics or animate landscape, or a holy person (Eade and Sallnow 1991:6-9). Sometimes the focus is on a sacred text, or where God has walked (Eade and Sallnow 1991:6-9). For some pilgrimage centres the sacred place was pre-existent, and history and vision reveal the site, rather than create it (Eliade 1958:369). Sites that are sacred in one culture and era are often appropriated by new people and new religions. Jerusalem is the most obvious example of this, claimed by Jewish, Christian and Muslim religions.

Morinis refines this notion of sacred place to claim that it serves as the repository of the pilgrim's cultural ideals. To reiterate he declares, 'pilgrimage is a quest, a journey to the centre of a person's most valued ideals, which may be termed sacred' (Morinis 1992:5).

Turner acknowledged the relationship, but did not attempt a theoretical distinction between a tourist and pilgrim, with his epigram 'a tourist is half a pilgrim, and a pilgrim

is half a tourist' (Turner 1978:20). Cohen (in Morinis 1992:51) took it further and established the seminal difference between a tourist who seeks difference and the edge compared with the pilgrim who seeks a centre.

The second criterion is: Pilgrimage is a journey to the centre of the pilgrim's most valued ideals, ideals that can be termed sacred. This distinguishes pilgrimage from tourism. The former is a search for 'centre', while the latter is a search for 'edge'.

Morinis extended the idea of centre of pilgrimage from a religious image or shrine which houses sacred relics to cultural ideals, thus incorporating the idea of secular journeys (Morinis 1992:5). The origin of pilgrimage is, by the mythic nature of the journey and centre, always mythologized. The matrix or setting for a myth of origin is commonly, but not exclusively given as war (Warner 1959:273, and Anderson 1991:7). Nationalism is part of the St. Patrick shrines of Ireland, and the Mexican shrine of Guadalupe (Turner 1974:104, 153). Nationhood and race are often symbolized within the iconic centre of pilgrimage, such as at Czestochowa, Our Lady Queen of Poland (Turner 1978:64). In many originating visions, it is a lay 'saint', one of the people, who receives the vision, such as Juan Diego at Guadeloupe (Turner 1974:1890), and also at Lourdes, and again at Medjugorje (Odell 1995:198). This is a further support for the egalitarianism or democratic flavor of pilgrimage, which commonly has a pro-laity and anticlerical dimensions. The famous modern pilgrimages (post 1780) are most often based on a

Marian (feminine) founding vision/myth.² Turner speaks of a spate of nationalistic Virgins (Turner 1978:64). These serve as origin myths for new nations.

Eade and Sallnow's (1991) observations have deconstructed the centre to include sacred geography, natural wonders and holy persons, while Morinis (1992) extends this to cultural ideals. The myth of origin can be biblical (or based on sacred text), theistic or nationalistic. Hence the third criterion for pilgrimage:

The valued central ideals may be theistic, but can be revered cultural ideals, as a rule encapsulated in a myth of origin.
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Turner argued there must be knowledge of the history and involvement of the state and established religion (Turner 1974:166) in any analysis of pilgrimage. The tendency of Church to both adopt and ignore pilgrimage is also significant. Luther's attack against indulgences or buying favour with God, implicitly attacked pilgrimages when he declared it was by faith alone, based on scripture alone that one received grace and favour with God. Calvin, the Swiss based reformer is well known for his denunciation of pilgrimage, that it 'aided no man's salvation' (Turner 1974:188). The Protestant Churches at these early times of development were less structured, perhaps in a Turnerian classification they could be seen as a more utopian, ideological phenomenon exhibiting 'communitas'. They mediated a secure experience of salvation in the here and now. The Catholic

² Some investigation has been done by Nolan and Nolan that found support for male saints such as Father Padre Pio in the Twentieth century. But after the Early Christian Era (40-699) an overwhelming 65% of the current 6,380 European Catholic shrines are Marian (4,171), only 7% are primarily centred on Christ, the others are devoted to various saints (Stoddard and Morinis 1997:76).

Church, at least by the Middle Ages and through the period of the Reformation, alternatively saw pilgrimage as ‘good works’ which assisted salvation (Turner 1978:31).

Often founders of religions were less enamoured with pilgrimage than their second and subsequent generations of followers who embraced pilgrimage. This was the case for Buddhism, Sikhism and Christianity. The peripheral nature of pilgrimage is a challenge to the Roman Administrative system, borrowed from the Roman Empire and ‘baptized’ and taken up by the Church. It is routinely argued that the hierarchies of command, the Pope as emperor, the fixed parish system with its training and standardized procedures adapted a mass movement to a religious bureaucracy. This bureaucratic system, with some reforms, is the same system that the Protestant and Orthodox Churches have also taken over.

Against all this then, ‘Pilgrimage is too democratic, not sufficiently hierarchical’ (Turner 1978:31), to fit within the fixed parish system universally adopted by the Modern Church in its many denominations. Pilgrimage has in its essence a non bureaucratic, unstructured flavour, as Turner says, ‘there is something inveterately populist, anarchical, even anticlerical about pilgrimages in their very essence’ (Turner 1978:32). Pilgrimage takes up popular nationalism, with peasant and anti-colonial revolutions, and they tend to arise spontaneously, ‘the spirit bloweth where it listeth’ (Turner 1978:32). Turner notes the way the Catholic Church routinizes the established pilgrimages to maintain control (Turner 1978:31).

A very different Church reaction to pilgrimage is rejection of its implicit pre-existent paganism and folk religion, rather than the bureaucratic challenge. Often Christian pilgrimages have been superimposed on older pre-Christian centres: in Mexico there are Catholic shrines at Guadalupe, Ocotlan Chalma and Izamal, all of which were pre-Colombian pilgrimage centres. While there was sometimes official church tolerance to 'baptizing the customs' as enjoined by Gregory the Great (Turner 1978:33), at other times Church authorities have felt that pilgrimage partook of folk religion and older religions, 'bearing all too clearly the marks of an ancient paganism' (Turner 1974:188).

Pilgrimage thus operates within and in tension with national and Church structures but is always very much understood in the context of the culture in which it is found. It operates within that culture's limits, therefore becoming part of the fourth criterion.

The 'shrine' central to the pilgrimage casts an image of the culture, and the ideals portrayed must be within the known limits of the culture.
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The very nature of pilgrimage, which takes place at some distance from the normal commercial and cultural hub of a nation or state, means that support services and associated economic activities are essential. Pilgrims require daily necessities of life. They therefore attract business related to money changing and food provision as well as thieves and charlatans. They are also in a liminal state, released from normal constraints. Profane festivities have been recorded with all large human movements, including

pilgrimage, since the days of *Canterbury Tales*, 1386, (Chaucer 1998) and also of *Pilgrim's Progress* 1678 (Bunyan 1979). Sexual excesses are known to accompany pilgrimage (Stoddard and Morinis 1997:6). Turner acknowledges that pilgrimage, particularly on arrival, can take on the aspect of a fair or market and include a significant amount of trade (Turner 1974:221). He noted the increase of both secularisation and sacralization as the journey increased. To establish the dimensions of a pilgrimage therefore we cannot rule out the likelihood that there will be a secular, market, service provision aspect, and profane elements.

Turner also formulated a theory of the liberation from norms for a pilgrim who was at the liminal stage of pilgrimage (Turner 1974:1). In the journey, certain behaviours, and linked activities bonded together large numbers of men and women who would never otherwise come into contact, facilitating 'communitas', fellowship and counter cultural behaviours (Turner 1978:178). Alternative ideas about how humans should behave and society should operate may come out of such experiences. The term 'communitas' captures the common people's use of pilgrimage to contest meaning with and attempt to reform the ecclesiastical bureaucracy (Eade and Sallnow 1991:4). In normative communitas the church appropriates and domesticates some of these occasions, using a long leash to retain control. The normative communitas becomes regularized and contained so that it does not lead to big changes. Eade and Sallnow (1991) say Turner argued that Christians on pilgrimage tend from normative communitas towards communitas (Eade and Sallnow 1991:4).

Eade and Sallnow declare that pilgrimages do more than either subvert or support the established social order, and postulate a 'realm of competing discourses' (1991:5). The government and the Church may also support pilgrimage, or try to control pilgrimage, along with a multitude of diverse stakeholders. There is in effect tension and competition between official and spontaneously experienced and created aspects of pilgrimage, just as the secular dimensions run alongside and interact with the sacred dimensions. This becomes the fifth criterion.

The shrine has the capacity to absorb a multiplicity of discourses (some shrines tend to have popularist, spontaneously generated dimensions, in uneasy relationship with religious and government structures).

Pilgrim behaviours at shrines, especially in Turner's liminal stage, are quite consistent. Where possible with a statue, for example, the pilgrims touch the statue and then themselves and tend to follow a particular travel pattern. Attempts have been made to chart and map such movement (Turner 1974:194). What is clear, though, is that pilgrims attempt to experience in a sensory way, by touch and sight, the shrine icons and the paths followed by the founding exemplar(s).

The return and reintegration into structure, which Turner saw as a rite of passage, is based on a transition to a new status (Turner 1974:195). Amongst Morinis' motivations for the pilgrimage quest is item (6) initiatory, which implies a change of status (Morinis 1992:10). Turner also said that a mark of pilgrimage is that the 'other' becomes 'brother'

(Turner 1974:186). There is in pilgrimage an element of change in the person that acts as a model for life in the future back in the ordinary community. The sixth criterion for pilgrimage is therefore as follows.

Pilgrims can go to a shrine to experience the actual place of past events and see and usually touch the actual sacred things of their culture in a way that becomes a model of future experience.

One of the features of pilgrimage is the periodicity. Frequency of pilgrimages varies from Islam's 'once in a life-time' central Hadj pilgrimage, to the more common annual Catholic pilgrimage to shrines on their Saint's Day. It seems that normative pilgrimages like Durkheim's cults have the periodicity characteristic of rites. 'All have this characteristic, that they reappear periodically' (Durkheim 1915:63). While many pilgrimage events have an annual cycle, with special commemorations every few years, others are every few years. The world's largest pilgrimage, the Kumbha Mela in India, is held on a twelve-year cycle (Morinis 1992:1).

Regular, periodic pilgrimages develop structures of organisation such as ritual experts and shrine custodians. As stated the shrine custodians have the very significant role of relating the shrine to the pilgrim. (Turner notes the way dispossessed people can find a place at the shrine as custodians, 1974:185). The seventh criterion is therefore:

Shrines have ritual experts or custodians.

Pilgrims leave their culture but also return to it. They bring back at their reintegration both personal change and 'sacra' or sacred mementoes. Pilgrims return to their culture with the mark of a changed person, reborn in relationship to their idealized values.

Positive consecration may include the use of sacred language and rituals. The sacred trace inhabits them and their society, and gives both new potential (Turner 1974:195, Morinis 1992:10). The final criterion for a pilgrimage concerns therefore the idea of a spiritual trace that is imbued, or taken on, through the pilgrimage and contains within it the potential for changing the person once they return to their community.

Returning pilgrims absorb a spiritual trace and implant it in their home community.

To recapitulate, this chapter has seen the origin of pilgrimage studies in the great European traditions of Christianity and has seen their application to the other great religions to the world and to the confrontations between the great traditions and the non-western world. Although scholars started with Christian pilgrimage, they moved to develop ideas about the concept by looking at different peoples. The concepts refined in looking at others can now be brought back home to look at our-selves anew. Australia did not see the merging of great Christian traditions with indigenous folkways, but it has a strong significance attached to the idea of sacred place.

Eliade, whose theories are taken as a starting point to this thesis has identified the sacred as an acceptable theoretical category and made the claim that in order to study religion it is necessary to accept at least the reality of religious feelings. Eliade was like Durkheim in seeking a global pattern in the sacred. The Eliadean concept of the centre of the world is applied for all sacred sites where the normal and the sacred worlds meet at an *axis mundi* (Eliade 1978:335). These sacred places pre-exist and are revealed to people in successive encounters with the holy. The place where the holy is revealed becomes a place where the mundane earth meets or is close to 'heaven'. Holm and Bowker's collection on major religions of the world bears out the significance of Eliade's ideas: relics and sacred traces in particular.

Sacred places can be duplicated and replicated and the role of relics and miniaturisation is important here. In pilgrimage a person is drawn from home and hearth along a 'hard path' to a sacred centre where merit can be attained and attachment and contact made with the values of a founder.

In a pilgrimage the spiritual and secular are combined and there are contestations between formal and folk versions in a changing phenomenon. The idea that the pilgrimage is a rite of passage taking one through a transitional, liminal phase and then reintegrating one back into society, although valuable, does not encapsulate all that is involved.

There are limitations in defining pilgrimage in terms of inner journeys or not defining (leaving it up to a participant to self-define). Hence the most important characteristics in any definition or frame of criteria for pilgrimage include the notion of a physical, non-local journey. This journey seeks a centre, an image of the culture, an ideal which can be non theistic in contrast to a tourist journey which seeks difference and an 'edge'. The pilgrimage has anti-structural elements contesting with orthodoxy. The eight-point frame of criteria, which will be applied to the Australian journeys in Chapters Four and Five, is here re-iterated.

1. Pilgrimage is a non-local, physical journey to a historically and /or mythically significant site or 'shrine'.
2. Pilgrimage is also a journey to the centre of the pilgrim's most valued ideals, ideals that can be termed sacred. This distinguishes pilgrimage from tourism. The former is the search for 'centre', whilst the latter is the search for the 'edge'.
3. The valued central ideals may be theistic, but can be revered central ideals, as a rule encapsulated in a myth of origin.
4. The 'shrine' central to the pilgrimage casts an image of the culture, and the ideals portrayed must be within the known limits of the culture.
5. The shrine has the capacity to absorb a multiplicity of discourses (some shrines tend to have populist, spontaneously generated dimensions, in uneasy relationship with religious and government structures).

6. Pilgrims go to a shrine to experience the actual place of past events, see and usually touch the actual sacred things of their culture in a way that becomes a model of future experience.
7. Shrines have ritual experts or custodians.
8. Returning pilgrims absorb a spiritual trace and implant it in their home community.

In the next chapter, Chapter Three on Methodology, issues involved in approaching and researching pilgrimage are set out, before a detailed explanation is given on the methods of research used to study two Australian journeys.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Clifford Geertz sees the study of culture and cultural institutions and processes as one best focused on symbolism, if the ultimate aim is to establish meaning and to attain subjective understanding. The ethnographer continually tries to find a way through ‘piled up inferences and implications’ (1973:7). Our data is our own construction of other peoples’ constructions of what they and their fellows are up to, or ‘on about’. It is often more interpretive and less objective than many would like to believe. ‘Right down at the factual base, the hard rock, insofar as there is any, of the whole enterprise, we are already explicating: and worse, explicating explications’ (Geertz 1973:9).

‘Thick description’ is the Geertz term for detailed analysis of single events that draws on past knowledge, history, and knowledge of social structure, to unwrap layers of meaning for participants and social scientists. Geertz’s ‘thick description’ enables us to look beyond the superficial and attempt to confirm or not whether the two journeys studied are ‘pilgrimages’ in terms of the general frame of criteria constructed on the basis of scholarly studies of pilgrimage. Furthermore, within the ‘micro’, detailed analysis of two particular Australian journeys we can seek to use what we know of history and local culture and politics to illuminate the ‘macro’ Australian cultural experience, another level of understanding. The aim is to lead to an analysis that is at least partially persuasive and

self-revealing to the Australian spiritual traveller, as well as to the social scientist (see Geertz 1973:451).

Another aim in this thesis is to ‘engage with’ rather than ‘study’ the observed culture from a position of western and scientific superiority. Since Sa’id published *Orientalism* (1978), scholars have become more aware of how we construct the ‘other’. Scholars of comparative religion aim to study religious phenomena in a way that does not classify and compare non western religious activities to western canons, but instead is genuinely sympathetic in treating the ‘other’ in its own terms. The aim in this research is to attempt the same for the religious and secular that might seem as ‘other’ to established Church. This is consistent with a more subjective approach to research. The current position by Bennett is that ‘anthropologists and students of religion have abandoned an impersonal, so-called ‘objective’ approach in favour of personal engagement with their subjects, replacing observation with conversation, monologue with dialogue, and text-based with a people-based approach’ (Bennett 1996:back cover). Bennett would encourage anthropologists to authenticate their work with ‘positive native response’ as an endorsement of fieldwork (Bennett 1996:174), hence that will be attempted here.

The problems of doing an anthropology of pilgrimage, or of special events, are the short and intense timeframes. More positively, the nature of the occasion encourages communication. There can be a sense of community and the openness to talk and share. The standard anthropological research would focus on the concrete targets of pilgrimage

such as age, gender, class and origins of pilgrims (Turner 1974:209). Turner used cultural drama to draw and add contextual and cultural understanding.

In what is a geographically widespread, multi-stage, heavily symbolic process, usually with a cast of at least hundreds, pilgrimage is difficult to capture in definition. It is intensely visual, both for the pilgrim, who may apprehend by sight as well as faith at the shrine, and also for the participant observer, who sees to understand. Observation is still the key to pilgrimage analysis. As Turner says of pilgrimages, 'An anthropologist must begin with what he has seen' (Turner 1978:40).

Pilgrimage has also been described as 'overwhelmingly visual' in the recent collection *Sacred Places, Sacred Places*, (1997) co-edited by Morinis and Stoddard (Morinis 1997:v). It is by observation that the whole is taken up and evaluated. There are the observable and measurable physical activities and historic origins that scholars tell us are commonly found in a great variety of pilgrimages.

Turner also tries to study or understand the drama or felt experience of events. Intertwined with his understanding of anti-structure or proto-structure, is Turner's concept of *communitas*. 'I tend to see pilgrimage as that form of institutionalised or symbolic anti-structure' (Turner 1974:182), and, 'polarised between fixity and travel, secular and sacred, social structure and normative *communitas*' (Turner 1974:172). The structure was explored so that that which was happening at its edge - *communitas* - could be explored. *Communitas* was defined as a form of spontaneous sociability, a love for

each other and a stress on equality. Participant observation allows the researcher some access to measurement of a condition such as this.

The origin of the shrine and the attendance patterns are observable or researchable from the normal range of historic sources, and are comparable at that level. The methods used for obtaining background to this research will now be outlined.

Background

The research began with background general research from various sources. Information was sought from academic and travel literature, and academic search engines were used to seek scholarly papers in public affairs and military history. The World Wide Web was a fruitful source of information on travel arrangements and particularly on Our Lady of Yankalilla and Marian pilgrimages generally.

To set each pilgrimage in a broad historical and cultural context use was made also of television coverage. *The Visions of Yankalilla* documentary report from 1999, although a rounded and somewhat critical coverage, both reflected and created the idea and practice of pilgrimage, as it attracted an increase of pilgrims. This televisual and internet awareness of pilgrimage was also noted in the televised 1990 Anzac Day Dawn Service at Gallipoli, which also was thought to have contributed to an increasing interest in such a journey.

Specific dates and time spans of targeted newspapers were accessed to illuminate current pilgrimage understandings. To research Gallipoli in relation to pilgrimage *The Australian* and *The Age* were reviewed from 1990 to 2000 on and around April 25th and 26th. To research the Yankalilla image *The Adelaide Advertiser* and its Sunday ‘stable-mate’, *The Sunday Mail*, supplied full copies of their Yankalilla reporting texts from the 1990s to 2000. Each search demonstrated that indexes and search engines were making use of the concept ‘pilgrimage’.

Key informants were sought for in-depth interviews, which were recorded and transcribed. General pilgrims were given respect for privacy by ensuring anonymity. The interior examination of a pilgrim’s life or emotional response to the pilgrimage was classified as a private, and/or familial experience, or as a group experience, but the in-depth interviews enabled a window into some of this experience, as did participant observation.

While not ethnographic fieldwork *per se*, in association with the research on Gallipoli and Our Lady of Yankalilla, 9 weeks in total were spent on field trips at which participation observation was carried out. Three Anzac Dawn services were observed and one journey made to Gallipoli. Three trips were made to Our Lady of Yankalilla Shrine in South Australia and several trips were made to other Marian Shrines and Mary MacKillop shrines, from December 1998 to December 2000. The major interviews entailed several interstate trips.

For the Gallipoli research a choice had to be made whether to attach oneself to a tour or large party and perhaps risk missing the main event, as well as finding oneself amongst an atypical crowd, New Zealanders for example. The decision was made to travel alone, to make use of hitch-hiking, to carry a tent and to move from group to group and individual to individual. Fellow pilgrims and the Turkish people were very hospitable.

This study thus aimed to attain an engaged, subjective understanding of the layers of meaning through background research, interviews with key informants and some participant observation. Detailed explanation of the methods used to research the two journey sites will now be given.

Yankalilla

To gain general information the research included a variety of methods. The newness of the Yankalilla phenomenon enabled a specific insight into the development of the myth of origin and the early years. At first the events of August the 24th 1994 were private to one woman, then two years later the story became public. In the common sequential path of the Australian news media, a regional Anglican Diocesan paper broke the story on July 2nd 1996. This was picked up the next day by the state newspaper, the *Adelaide Advertiser*, and subsequently went ‘national’ the following day in *The Australian*.

As stated the media study was over a four-year survey of the *Adelaide Advertiser*, and the *Adelaide Sunday Mail*, 1996-99, and focused specifically on the dates between May fifth

1998 and April fourth 1999. This period coincided with the making, and then the screening, of the television documentary *Visions of Yankalilla*. Adelaide's only papers are owned by one media conglomerate, the Murdoch press. While there have been television documentaries, and a cover story for *The Bulletin* (September 2, 1997), most news has been syndicated out of Adelaide, so this reporting represented the bulk of popular knowledge and public commentary of the phenomenon they often referred to as pilgrimage. The priest of the parish with the image of Mary regularly used the print media to report the latest news associated with the image and its associated miracles, and to advertise service times.

The researcher joined with other pilgrims and participated in the various activities as well as making longer and more detailed observations than ordinary pilgrims. Access was also made to participants' scrap books.

Interviews with key informants were made in order to obtain a deeper understanding of the meaning for participants. These informants, who gave approval to be named, included the most significant players in the phenomenon: Father Andrew Nutter, since renamed Notere, who is the local Anglican parish priest of the Church containing the image; the Anglican Bishop Graham Walden of the Murray; and the local publican, Ms Bev Blacklock, who was both a pilgrim and also the custodian for the shrine of the Catholic saint-in-waiting, Mary MacKillop. A group of ten pilgrims were willing to take part in a shorter, more scheduled interview format.

Further information was available in the public domain. Father Andrew Nutter (now Notere) was on public record from published interviews and clergy directories. Trips to the site and understanding of the general social and historical context were facilitated by the researcher's own background as an Anglican priest, and his extended childhood experience of vacations at Yankalilla.

Gallipoli

As stated general information was gathered on the Gallipoli event through the wealth of data, travel guides, travel brochures and literature on this well publicised event. The broad historical and cultural context has been so well analysed and reflected upon that it is somewhat difficult to negotiate a path of shared understanding and meaning.

The newspapers made overwhelming use of the term pilgrim and pilgrimage for the battlefield journey. Particular reference in literature was made to the print coverage of two events: the newspaper reports of Prime Minister Bob Hawke at the Gallipoli Dawn Service for *75 years on*, in 1990. This was widely televised and Ken Inglis credits this event and its reporting as bringing the focus of Gallipoli and Anzac Day back to the young (*The Australian* 15/9/99:39). The second event to be focused upon was the 1995 *Australia Remembers*, and the Gallipoli pilgrimage organized by then Veteran Affairs Minister, Con Sciacca. He gave permission to be named.

The Brisbane based Federal Minister, Con Sciacca, the minister in charge of 'Australia Remembers' in 1995, the 50 year remembrance of the end of the Second World War, became a key informant. He was able to reflect upon his own and his department's views, and reflect upon Prime Minister Hawke at Gallipoli in 1990 and Prime Minister Paul Keating at Kokoda, Papua New Guinea in 1995. Another key informant was Ms. Annie Abay, of Annie's Anzac Tours. She gave permission to be named. She was a Turkish tour operator from 1987 to 1992, across key years when numbers journeying to Gallipoli increased. Formerly based in Istanbul, she is now Melbourne based, but continued to lead tours to Turkey in 2001. The third key informant was a representative, chosen by the RSL from the Anzac descendants for the 1995 Australia Remembers Anzac Tour of Gallipoli. This was a notion conceived by Veteran Affairs and then minister, Con Sciacca. The Victorian candidate was Mr. Fred Cahir. He is currently a postgraduate student and teacher at the University of Ballarat, and had written up his tour as a personal prose essay called *Pilgrim's Progress*, which was also accessed in interpreting the significance of the journey. He gave permission to be named.

The researcher made his own journey to Gallipoli in order to be a participant observer on Anzac Day 2000 when attendance was estimated at between 15,000 to 20,000. A rough objective measure of the demographic profile of fellow journeyers to Gallipoli in 2000 was made through observation and snatched conversations with over 100 fellow travellers. Ten of these interviews on the run were substantial enough to be recorded more fully and written up.

The in-depth interviews aimed to elucidate the meaning of the journeys to these significant places on a number of levels. The pattern of the pilgrimage at a physical level was mapped at three levels: the journey, the arrival, and the return. The interviews sought to discover the intended aim, whether an instrumental one, such as healing, fulfilling a family vow, finding a relative's grave for example, or the more 'purely' religious or spiritual aim, such as union with a most sacred value or deity.

The behaviour and authority of the auspicing bodies in relation to other levels of secular and religious authority, were a focus of discussion. The time frame of the initial planning, holy day (or sacred) time, and the choice of companions and choice of the method of travel were studied. The research was interested in finding out as broadly as possible how the sojourner felt travelling to the site, at the site, returning and afterwards.

Some effort was made to explore the internal dimensions of the experience in an effort to estimate the religious dimension of it. Religiosity was deemed to be present if there were evidence of 'powerful long lasting moods and motivations' (Geertz 1973:88). The interior examination of a pilgrim's life or emotional response to the pilgrimage was sought to observe whether it was a private, familial or group experience in terms of Turner's concept of *communitas*.

Ethics

Commonly in research it is considered ethical to respect the privacy and anonymity of interviewees. Ethical considerations for those on a special or spiritual journey might include the fact they are on a deeply personal journey with solemn intent and they may wish privacy. One needs sensitively to respect the intrusion onto this personal space and the time commitment donated to help the researcher. Fortunately the very charged or spiritual nature of some such occasions means that there is some collapsing of boundaries and a spiritual change. People seek to discuss their quest with almost anyone in reach, imbued as they are with some sort of elevated and evangelical fervour. Hence it was easier than might have been anticipated to gain information from participants.

For Yankalilla the anonymous interviews were delicate because of the deeply personal motivations of the travellers, so confidentiality was a particular issue here. The empirical research also began under the assumption, justified by Eliade, that visions and miracles are possible and valid experiences for those who report them. Many people have gone on the journey for instrumental reasons, some extremely personal, such as hoping for a cure for a sick child, or for reunification after the breakdown of relationships. If a miracle has been granted, the person may be happy to discuss this, as was the case with one of the public figures. Those who have left the parish or the shrine community have special anonymity needs too. In any case the need to respect these religious visitors' confidentiality was obvious.

Three key participants' interviews were used. Because this phenomenon was less than a decade old, the significant participants were available, and for the most part shrine supporters wished to speak publicly. Those who had left the Yankalilla church did not wish to speak 'on the record'.

Confidentiality was less of an issue in the Gallipoli research. At Gallipoli, where *communitas* was very visible, and the experiences were shared. Some personal disclosures were made to a fellow pilgrim that required confidentiality.

Similar to other fieldwork researchers (Bruenjes 1999) some of my interviewees were somewhat put out by the standard ethical requirement to remain anonymous.

Additionally, some high profile protagonists who were pivotal in the research were public figures whose opinions and versions of events are in public forums. They believed that giving their time entitled them to be quoted. This group was accommodated under a differing ethics clearance, which named them and gave them the right to see and approve their record of interview (See Appendix 1).

The Gallipoli participant observation involved going on formal and informal tours and 'camping' behind the local Boomerang Cafe on the outskirts of Eceabat. At first about one hundred and fifty were camped there but this grew to three times that, and many pilgrims took up the opportunity to converse. The 105 conversation locations took in the full gamut of the journey to and from Gallipoli: on the plane to Vienna from Sydney and Melbourne (2), on a Vienna bus (3), on a plane to Istanbul from Vienna (5); in Istanbul

(6), then at Gelibolu (25), at Eceabat and Gallipoli (80), from Canakkale to Troy on a bus (16), at Bergama (8), and from Istanbul to Vienna at the airport (5).

The appropriate time for the recorded interviews of ‘pilgrims’ was chosen for Anzac afternoon, after the formal services. As it happened there was no need formally to approach anyone as people approached voluntarily. Although there were efforts to work through structured interview questions, the tenor of the communication was informal, emotional and unstructured. They wanted to process their emotions, and to tell other people what Gallipoli meant to them.

Two groups of five were people met over several days around the vicinity of the Boomerang Café. The first group was a group of five overlander backpackers from a giant overland truck laden with tents for thirty people. It was travelling from Egypt to London via Gallipoli. The second group were independent backpackers from Australia, en route to London, with a stopover in Turkey. They were from the little independent backpacker ‘tent city’ behind the café and were co-travellers to the site for the Dawn Service. Most appeared very willing to talk about the visit.

The results of this research will be set out and analysed in the following two chapters:

Chapter Four: Yankalilla and Chapter Five: Gallipoli.

CHAPTER FOUR

YANKALILLA

Background

‘Pilgrimage is a journey undertaken by a person in quest of a place he or she believes to embody a valued ideal. At its most conventional, the end of a pilgrimage is an actual shrine at some fixed geographic point. The place has acquired a reputation that draws pilgrims’ (Morinis 1992:4).

A recent report (*The Weekend Australian* September 23-24 2000:6R), said a broad cross-section of the Australian community were coming in great numbers to the Yankalilla Anglican Church, South Australia. They were making a pilgrimage to an image of Mary, Mother of Christ, on the plaster wall of the Church.¹ As many as 1000 visited over the Easter period in 2000, and estimates of a hundred a day on average, some part of bus tours, are regularly made by local people. This could indicate that 50,000 visitors had visited in the year 2000. Quite typical of many South Australian towns in many ways, Yankalilla has become particularly special in a spiritual context over the last few years.

The tourist board outside Yankalilla, when it refers to ‘SITES OF RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE’, refers not only to the Anglican Church, with the Our Lady of

¹ Somewhat surprisingly for an apparently secular nation, religious pilgrimages are part of the fabric of Australian life. There is a Maltese Catholic ‘Our Lady Ta Pinu’ pilgrimage site at Bacchus Marsh in Victoria. The Pope has also personally supported the pilgrimage trail of Blessed Mother Mary MacKillop, which has a main pilgrimage centre in Penola, South Australia, where she began her work (O’Brien 1994).

Yankalilla apparition, but also to the Yankalilla Schoolhouse, the first built for and lived in by Josephite nuns, begun by Australia's saint in waiting, Mary MacKillop.

Over the last decade the schoolhouse has been restored. The Normanville publican, Ms. Beverley Blacklock, in response to a miracle cure for her grandson at the Our Lady of Yankalilla Shrine, bought the MacKillop School House and made a chapel in the front room and established it as a Bed and Breakfast business. She intended that Our Lady of Yankalilla pilgrims could use it as accommodation when they visited. As the Shrine Custodian she has installed an image of Mary MacKillop and a tray for lighted candles.²

The newness of the Yankalilla pilgrimage gives a specific insight into the myth of origin and the early years of Australian pilgrimage. As stated, at first the events of August 24th 1994 were private to one woman, then two years later the story became public. A regional Anglican Diocesan paper broke the story on July 2nd 1996.

It began as a private vision or manifestation of an image. A parishioner praying at the front of the church, soon after the new priest Father Andrew Nutter had arrived, looked up to see the icon of a Madonna (a mother and child, usually a representation of the Holy Mother and Jesus) standing out from the plaster of the back wall. The woman, Susan Fehlberg,³ had recently moved to the parish and when praying had noticed the Madonna

² Blacklock is disappointed that the site receives little official Catholic support as the first Josephite rural school. Mary MacKillop herself was not a teacher there, but may have visited.

³ She hosted the original web page, Our Lady of Yankalilla, which still existed in 1999, but the website was no longer supported or updated, and email enquiries were not responded to. It may be significant that Ms Fehlberg did not hand over her web page with its better domain name, to the shrine community and church.

but had not spoken of it to anyone else. She saw ‘what looked like a Christmas card image of the Madonna and Child’. She said, ‘I had not had a religious upbringing and did not realise the importance or significance of this’ (*The Bulletin*, September 2, 1997:15).

A few months later at Christmas, the parish priest, Father Andrew Nutter, had been praying for a miracle, something that would bring the church back to its original first century zeal. Ms. Fehlberg reported her vision. The recognition of this apparition as the answer to that prayer was exciting and divisive. For some time the parish came alive in an exciting word-of-mouth buzz. It was local, played out away from the spotlight of the national media. Father Andrew said people from the start took on ‘for and against’ positions, some of which changed later.

‘Is this a miracle?’ Ms Fehlberg had asked (*The Bulletin* 1997:15). The next few weeks caused an internal stir within the parish, and contact with the regional Anglican Bishop. Bishop Walden, a man of strong Anglo-Catholic tradition, and noted for his Marian society connections, counselled a cautious but supportive position.⁴ If this plaster image was of God, it would survive two years wait, and then it could be presented to the world.

Up to this stage the controversy was in the semi-public arena of the local village. By July 2nd 1996 Father Andrew told Bishop Walden that two years had expired and the image

⁴ Bishop Graham Walden is the Anglican Bishop of the Murray. He has an academic background, and is a high churchman with Marian leanings. Though he studied first in Brisbane his Englishness comes partly from his time in Oxford, and his experience of pilgrimage from that most English of shrines Walsingham. He has been a bishop since 1981, and in his present diocese since 1989 (The Australian Anglican Directory 1998).

remained so the Bishop said ‘OK, you can go public.’ The bishop asked the priest to write of the image in the diocesan paper. ‘The Skeptic Society were interested in it. Some parishioners, even very devout Anglicans were doubtful.’ Others were more open to such an idea. ‘People came from all over the place, Italians came down from Adelaide. The pilgrimage mass was put on at 2 o’clock, people came from all over’ (Bishop Walden).

Then it was picked up by the *Adelaide Advertiser*, and within 24 hours, the general Australian media. Some of the most detailed and measured reporting came from the Anglican Media website. From that time the petty squabbles in a parish whose Church was becoming a shrine, have been worked out in the glare of occasional and erratic publicity. There has been a degree of punning, journalists rarely giving the priest’s name as Father Andrew, but usually as ‘Father Nutter’ or just ‘Nutter’.

The image caused or heightened tensions within the parish, often focusing around the priest’s ‘management style’ or the image. Feelings were so high that it appeared that the anti-image group would sack the priest. Conflict was focused around two power bases, the pilgrimage church by and large supported the image and priest, but the smaller branch church 15 kilometres down the coast at Delamere, did not. The SBS documentary, *Visions of Yankalilla*, was filmed over this period, and concluded after filming the stormy annual meeting, where a motion of no confidence was passed on the parish priest.⁵

⁵ Such a motion has no immediate force on the office of an Anglican rector who has a modified life tenure.

The priest went to the bishop with an original solution. He proposed to separate the ministry of the parish into a Yankalilla part and a Delamere part.⁶ This situation left the vicar with a comfortable majority in the main church, and a disaffected majority in the branch church, happy to be independent, and being ministered to on Sundays by another priest.

Father Andrew said that detractors described ‘dark spiritual forces’ and ‘inflated egos’ at work, but no-one had suggested human hands had *deliberately* manufactured the Madonna apparition. When he feared he might be forced to leave, and a section of the congregation spoke of replastering the wall and smoothing the plaster, to destroy the image, he affixed a discrete frame of steel and copper over the image to preserve it.

During the Bishop’s two year waiting period the actual appearance of the image developed in its detail. (The bishop believed if it was of God, extra time would help the congregation understand and ‘see’ it better.) Photos and discussion continued as the image became clearer, and debate continued. All involved were agreed that the image has not been static, and that more detail has emerged over time. A previous vicar believed it was his amateur plastering repairs that had bulged out of the wall, and that it signified

⁶ I attended the branch church of St. James Delamere, on a Sunday early in 2001. There the holiday relief priest introduced me to key parishioners. The four I spoke with wished not to be controversial and were quite mellow about the past occurrences. They liked the old Yankalilla church building, but did not think of it as a pilgrimage site. They discussed the previous rector, and his plastering. Over the past five years this congregation had given sanctuary to two classes of ‘refugee’ from Our Lady of Yankalilla. One group, the majority, felt the shape in the plaster was not symbolic, and a second smaller group, believed in the image, but were estranged from the priest. Generally the mood of parishioners was happy and positive, and less critical than one might expect.

nothing. A woman later told a television audience that she had always thought it looked like a swan.

Father Andrew ran the current web site in 2001. He wrote in June 1997, 'Pilgrims have been coming here every day since July 1996'. The associated minor visions, photographs with a presence of Jesus, healings and stories of renewed faith commitments abound. A story of a healing and a peaceful death was repeated in the community.

The presence of an underground stream was confirmed and a well for holy water dug (www.olyshrine.mtx.net/). Bishop Walden blessed this well at Yankalilla, where two water diviners reported the extremely unusual occurrence of two streams of water converging at right angles at the rear of the church, closest to the wall with the apparition. A well sunk at the indicated area yielded water. Because the area has septic sewage, rather than a town sewage, the Church council and the Bishop had the water tested for purity before allowing the blessing of this well for pilgrims. It is, Bishop Walden said, pure water.

The priest believes his leadership of the shrine is a divine responsibility. There is now a substantial overlap of the Sunday morning Anglican parish, and the 'Our Lady of Yankalilla' community, with Father Andrew at the head of both. The bishop, in terms of the parish and shrine has reserve powers, mainly if the parish cannot work effectively, and when he has chosen to impose himself, it has been in a positive direction for the shrine.

At a local level Father Andrew said the church works best when it is treated as a church. ‘We have had some initial uproar when we discovered the image of the Virgin on the wall, and the locals needed to be ministered to in a different way to the pilgrims.’ The priest accepted a compromise that half of his time should be in the pastoral rounds of being the local parish priest to the local community, and the rest as shrine custodian. On a Sunday morning parish services are held for the local Anglican community and every Sunday afternoon there is a Pilgrim Mass. ‘We have an order that supports the pilgrims. But it needs to be said that the helpers all attend morning service too.’

The helpers are a group of volunteers, some full time, who have taken on membership of what the bishop terms as an ‘oratory’, in contrast to an ‘order’. This is, according to Bishop Walden, an organisation that has less independence and autonomy than a full order.⁷ At services they wear a modern version of a brown monk’s habit. Most are women and this group had the financial resources to employ a tradesman.

One of the interesting features was the co-existence of a normal parish life with the shrine activity. Secondly the tensions were eased by a number of former parishioners withdrawing to the Delamere branch church, still within the parish, but functioning independently. The numbers of pilgrims to this shrine are reported in the media, as between 30 and 100 per day, with up to 1,000 on a special weekend.

⁷ An order has mobility and can extend its presence, whereas an oratory associates only to maintain prayers at a specific chapel.

The remainder of this chapter shall set out a detailed examination of the Yankalilla image and its visitors in relation to the frame of criteria developed in Chapter Two.

Applying the Frame of Criteria

1. Pilgrimage is a non-local, physical journey to a historically and/or mythically significant site or 'shrine'.

At one of those pilgrim masses that I attended a young man came, thinking of suicide; he had been jilted in a love affair. He came away with a vision of his own importance, so he turned away from that option. That in a way is a typical pilgrimage scene, I believe (Bishop Walden).

As stated, the media has played a significant role in disseminating awareness of the significance of the image of Mary and so establishing this journey as mythologically significant. The medium of news and interest has been shared with television, and also thirty internet sites. The *About Us: Visions of Yankalilla* SBS television documentary from 1999 attracted an increase of pilgrims. The film implied that 'something' had happened at Yankalilla, but that the facts were in dispute. Over the course of a twelve-month period at a time of public conflict, the media reporting moved from scepticism to acceptance.

It could be argued that the more the media continues to report this event, the more the event is established in authenticity.⁸ Perhaps the most notable shift that can be observed

⁸ This is in spite of the fact that Father Nutter was an easy butt of humour with his unusual name. Each story has a headline that may or may not use the term 'Nutter', but the photograph caption rarely misses

is from the use of inverted commas around 'pilgrim' and its cognates, to their removal, and the media distinction between real 'meditating' pilgrims and the plain tourists.⁹

The local hotelier was 'moved to buy the school because of the healing of her grandson.' The Catholic priest, Father Jock Boog, called Our Lady of Yankalilla 'a wonderful focus for pilgrimage and prayer' but doubted any healings or miracles (*Who Weekly* August 4th 1997:28).

Father Andrew was given right of reply to his critics, and given space to tell of the latest miracles as well as being asked his attendance predictions about the coming Easter. By the end of the conflict and therefore the loss of interest by the media (1999), the tenor of the headline and article were quite positive: 'Shrine visits rise' (*Sunday Mail* 4/4/99:31). The role of the media made this shrine a matter of public controversy and reinforced pilgrimage numbers. Within five years there was an increasing acceptance of the concept of shrine and pilgrimage.

this term. The temptation for media stories to concentrate on the bizarre and controversial reasserted itself in 2000. Father Nutter in a belated response to the impact of his name on the Australian public, reverted to the French Canadian name 'Notere' (*The Weekend Australian* September 23-24 2000:6R). This article gave factual accounts and space for direct quotations from Father Notere by, for example, listing a number of healings. Despite this particular article showing more sympathy than most, the accompanying picture was still captioned 'No longer a Nutter'.

⁹ There were some previous uses of pilgrim as in a June 22 1997 *Sunday Mail* headline, which still managed to convey reservations, and probably only omitted the quotes for stylistic reasons. The exact headline was, *Pilgrims set up home in our 'town of miracles'* and to put quotation marks around 'pilgrims' would be awkward.

Observation of the site confirms that it can be considered a shrine. In the town, the Anglican Church is well signposted. Outside there is a garden of trees and roses. The church is set across four large blocks in a couple of acres of land running along the western road to Normanville and backing onto the Bungala Creek. There is a stone paved garden with seating leading to a brick rectory. The church has been surrounded aesthetically by paths, roses and a few trees. Behind the church is the well of a rather modern industrial design, with a sign attached giving details of its miraculous divination and informing the reader that bottles of holy water are in the front of the church. There is also a St Francis corner, with a birdbath and statue of St. Francis. It is in a stone paved area, open on one side to the road, but well back and designed for quiet outdoor prayer. A brass plaque that shows where four pilgrims saw a vision of Mary in a rose garden over Easter 2000, is a recent addition.

Inside the Church the entrance has some leaflets, photographs and memorabilia as well as the usual offertory boxes and minutia of a parish church. One goes in past the holy water from the well on the Church grounds. Inside the body of the church, in front of the communion rail and on the right hand side, are the votive candles. Alongside this is a table with a book for written prayer requests, addressed to the Virgin, or God, or Jesus, and a wall of cards from those requesting their own private miracle, mingled with some thanks for answered prayers on the side wall.

The interior is attractive and 'shrine like'. The prayer wall with cards is initially the most striking feature, followed by the little brass bank of lit candles, and finally the discretely

spot-lit wall. The spotlight is on a metal oval frame and within it is the section of the wall plaster that contained the 'Madonna and Child'. It is ordinary in that it is the plain painted wall plaster, but it is special in that there is an image of a face there.

Further up the church towards the prayer wall the image could be seen on the wall much more clearly, as an image of the Mother, but the Child as well. This viewing point, containing burning candles and with the prayer request book that could be written in, was not so restful for prayer, contemplation or meditation, because of unavoidable interaction from other pilgrims. The favoured spot for those who stayed, after writing in the book or lighting a candle, was a seat a few rows back. If you moved discretely around the church, you could observe that the image differed slightly with each differing perspective and distance.

The site of the image is marked as sacred. It is in a sacred place, the holiest part of a church. The church claims a mystic tradition from a previous priest. Religious people saw the vision when engaged in religious activity, praying. Other sacred signs are attached: for example, the sign is intermingled with shrines relating to Australia's saint-in-waiting, Mary MacKillop.

It looks like a shrine. The votary candles, the prayer models to Our Lady of Yankalilla in the pews, the prayer requests which are written in a book, cards giving thanks on the wall, all give a sacred atmosphere to the shrine. The bottles of holy water and souvenirs in the front porch produce the same atmosphere.

Overall there were apparent miracles everywhere. The icon on the wall was surrounded by scenes of past fervent devotion, the votive candle rack, the prayer book and thank you cards from the healed and restored. The porch had miraculous records of many spiritual minutiae. Here and there were little displays, one post card sized photo (for sale) had the face of Jesus captured in a photo of the church porch window, and various photos of the apparition of Mary were also on sale. As well there was the story of a miraculous underground stream below the church discovered by a diviner and subsequently drilled down to have a well of holy water. In general it presented itself as a place where miracles touched the mundane.

On a day observed individuals and little groups came, sometimes in more than one car. One such group appeared to be three parents and five children. Perhaps unusually, two of the parents were male, one a female, all thirty to forty years old, and the children in their pre-teens, all Anglo-Celtic. They stayed a short time, between four and fifteen minutes, and wrote in the book and lit a candle. It seemed the number of candles lit was roughly equal to the number of pilgrims visiting.

Father Andrew and a key lay person in the parish gave a laser light tour of the shrine, explaining that others had seen Mary walking in a blue gown in the south west corner of the Church. Various prayers were pinned to the wall or written in the book.

‘Dear God, I am a Muslim, but I still believe in you, I would like some comfort and help to pass year 12, Thank you.’

‘Please I beg you help my marriage survive, N & N’

‘Dear God please heal me, Thank you, 1st and 2nd Name’

On this first visit, a small proportion of the petitions were in a language other than English. In the prayer request book a current entry was ‘Dear Mary, I pray from my heart for my son Stephen to recover from his operation, V.’ Three subsequent visits over a 13 month period revealed a change in the direction of the prime addressee in the prayers.

By 2001 at the Yankalilla shrine, pilgrims continued to come, to bless themselves with holy water, pray and light candles. The pattern of devotion became more Marian with almost all of the last four pages of the visitors’ book and prayer requests addressing ‘Dear Mary’ or ‘Our Lady’ or ‘Dear Mother’ and only about a tenth addressed to ‘Dear God’. Locals spoke of more buses than last year, but observed tallies of weekend pilgrims seemed similar.

On January 19th 2000 at the 2pm Pilgrim Mass, Father Andrew and a member of the oratory in brown habit prepared the church which already had 17 votive candles alight. Other robed assistants arrived and greeted each other with warm and friendly hugs. At the commencement of the service there were fourteen women and two men in the church, most having used the holy water. The procession of priest and assistants continued this disproportionate gender ratio. Four of the five robed were female and aged at least 45, the priest, perhaps forty years old, was the only male. Two couples aged in their fifties arrived late and, while they stayed for some time, they did not take the bread and wine of

Holy Communion. The service contained a preached sermon on the significance of Mary and prayer in the life of a Christian, mixed with some traditional hymns and some more modern Christian music in the Taize tradition¹⁰. After mass there were prayers for pilgrims, and seven people went forward for anointing with oil. Over this period some left the church. The 90-minute service concluded with the Rosary.

Those ten who stayed back for afternoon tea were certainly very communicative, and with the support of the priest and the four members of the shrine community, who removed their sacred habits, they interacted well. The priest adeptly encouraged people to spend a little time, sharing their story. The pilgrims' stories seemed to blend them into an instant community. Several of the pilgrims were not born in Australia, two being from Malta. The two males were a clergyman and a former seminarian. Many of those present were not on their first visit, as most had been coming since the public announcement in 1996.

Some of the shrine community were formerly Catholic, but said that they would rather be Marians attending an Anglican shrine, than Catholics without a shrine. Their individual experiences at the shrine were complementary to both the present community and ultimately a greater community of faith and pilgrimage.

All those present thought of the journey as a pilgrimage. It was for most devotional, in the sense that many articulated a special affinity for Mary, but more than half of the

¹⁰ This is a modern interdenominational style of Christian music, devotional, but suiting either choirs or guitars for a smaller gathering.

group had also sought anointing, which is for instrumental goals. They were asking for spiritual help for something in particular. One shared the reason for being anointed, which was seeking direction for the future.

When the pilgrims come, most light a candle. This is an indication that their motivations range firstly from devotional worship, to a second, that of instrumental prayer for the needs of others or for themselves. The written prayers at the shrine support this, as well as the next category. This third group are those who have promised God or the Virgin that if their prayer is answered they will go to a shrine to give thanks. Those who give thanks for an answered prayer reveal an obligatory pilgrimage. Fourthly, for those who come to faith, as explained by the Bishop, it is a Christian initiation, and an initiatory pilgrimage. It is possible that some also come as tourists and are transformed into pilgrims by the experience.

Bishop Walden confirmed the lack of strict direction from Church hierarchy and spontaneity of the Yankalilla pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage happens there spontaneously, it has just arisen, some claim to have been healed. I don't feel it is my role to say they have or they have not, but we are just grateful to God for whatever happens. There is a wonderful sense of spirituality about that building. You go in there, it is a centre of peace, a centre of prayer, the parish priest maintains his prayers, says the rosary at 6pm . . . I have never made it obligatory, or said that you must go on pilgrimage to Yankalilla. It is something that has spontaneously occurred. But it feels like a pilgrimage, with the prayers stuck on the wall and in the book. It has a very real spontaneous feel to it all. These are the traits of pilgrims (Bishop Walden).

Some come in a larger group or bus, which, in all likelihood, builds community on the journey. Staying for mass, being anointed, and staying further for discussion is to extend one's time within the shrine community. The locals who make the pilgrimage have to construct some way to go from their own hearth and home. They get a sense of journey and leaving by distancing themselves from the mundane and identifying with the shrine community. This shows it is possible, if not easy, for locals to get the sense of distance and perspective and arduous journey required of a pilgrim.

Most pilgrim commentators talk not only of the spiritual but also of the physically experienced and visual aspects of pilgrimage. Physically at Yankalilla people cross themselves with holy water, go to the front and look, then they pray, write in the book, light a candle and sit a few rows back on the right hand side to pray and gaze. They tend to stay until the candle has burnt half down, perhaps praying the rosary. If they need to spend half a day they may. As described, the shrine complex has space and discrete and connected areas to facilitate the spending of more time there. As described the complex has a garden, a well, the St. Francis corner and other sites and sights, with things to see, and things to read. Some leave to get food and then come back.

The shrine has undoubted spiritual magnetism, which together with the knowledge that up to quarter of a million pilgrims in five years have visited, has left a spiritual path for new pilgrims to follow. People are coming from all over Australia, and from many ethnic backgrounds to see the shrine of Our Lady of Yankalilla. Some overseas visitors have

come, and it has been written up in the Medjugorje newsletter.¹¹ At the more regional level there has also been a non-local physical journey. Supporters of the shrine have moved to the town to become part of the shrine community. Some locals have become attached to the shrine. While at one level this is an Anglican shrine it is a *de facto* Catholic shrine.

Overall visits to the site adhere to the pilgrimage requirement that is a non-local physical journey to a site which is historically and mythically linked to the birth of Christianity through the image of the Mother of Christ.

2. Pilgrimage is also a journey to the centre of the pilgrim's most valued ideals, ideals which can be termed sacred. This distinguishes pilgrimage from tourism. The former is the search for 'centre', whilst the latter is the search for the 'edge'.

The comments of key informants reveal that they view the Yankalilla pilgrimage as something growing out of a people who desire spirituality. Father Andrew feels the authenticity was special, in that this image of Mary is a physical image, one that all can see. He feels it is unique in the way that the vision has appeared in public over a period of time, and that this minimises the possibility of fraud. The unique way the image reveals itself in response to various needs should have brought more leaders, not only the mass of ordinary pilgrims.

¹¹ Medjugorje is the large, new, middle European shrine, and is not yet officially recognised by the Catholic hierarchy.

People are in touch with the spiritual here and go home with more faith, they claim remarkable changes and answers to prayers, I don't investigate them but they turn up in the book and in people that talk to me (Father Andrew).

The right for ordinary people to experience sacred miracles and mysticism was revealed as a central value. In this there was some mistrust or partial rejection of the church in the pilgrimage context. Of those sharing their experiences with Father Andrew after the pilgrimage mass, many were attached to a Marian theology rather than their Catholic denomination, and they also had Anglican connections. This was demonstrated in that they asserted independence from and mild criticism of Catholic and other Church hierarchy. The Mary MacKillop School Shrine Custodian was similar.

I have a very deep belief in God, but you know, I find it hard with the doctrines of the Church, I mean I've been to all the churches, trying to find answers, but I'm still looking. I came partly because of Andrew, who is in charge of this shrine and is encouraging himself, but I don't trust the Church a lot. . . . I have a strong religious connection, but I don't really belong to a Church. I have been hurt when I needed help and I find it hard to accept all the man-made rules. I'm not a regular churchgoer. I go to church; I go to the shrine; and I have strong beliefs; but feel the Church has let me down (Bev Blacklock).

This sentiment, whilst not echoed in those who had a particular position in the Church hierarchy, reveals some of the tension between established religious order and personal experience of spirituality as a central value.

Father Andrew considered that this shrine was something he was looking for. In theological terms he felt God or the Virgin might have chosen him because he was 'open'. He said he had always expressed a longing, or yearning for more than traditional Anglicanism, and he gave that 'seeking something more' as a reason for the seven-year

delay between his training as a priest and his ultimate ordination. Personally he was not strongly attracted to the 'current staple of Anglicanism on offer', and would find worshipping in ordinary churches a struggle.

It is making me more ecumenical and [has] taken me away from fellowship based on my regional priests, as neighbours and closest friends. Bishop 'x' from Adelaide has been supportive, and several retired priests help me. Some nuns and parishioners from other churches come to me and say how rarely they have teaching on the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Father Andrew said that the base line is that miracles are untidy, but the church believes in miracles, and this is supernatural and not of human hands.

The mystical dimension of religion, if it is missing is a very important loss. Underneath the banter of secular life, there is in the heart of many people, especially men and women who have been facing the possibility of death in battle, the very strong sense of the spiritual dimension, and they find it hard to express in the denominational dimension of faith (Bishop Walden).

While Father Andrew speaks of 'pilgrims', it is not in fact his most common term, preferring to use 'people' and 'those who come'. Father Andrew felt that most visitors were special interest, deliberate pilgrims, not holiday people seeing the sights. He also encouraged staff to welcome the curious, seeing them as part of the purpose of the shrine, those whom the shrine could convert.

The bishop also said that some of the visitors had gone out of curiosity and stayed as pilgrims.

Of course pilgrimage is bigger than tourism. I remember Bishop Ken Leslie [Bishop of Bathurst 1959-81] saying that a tourist is set on the journey, and takes in the scenery and goes down the sidetracks for a view, or stays in a town for comfort. Whereas the pilgrim has eyes fixed on the religious purpose, rather than the distractions. He used it as a parable of the Christian life (Bishop Walden).

People have come to the shrine to observe and believe in something spiritual. People believe in the mystical and miraculous. The Yankalilla Marian image is predominantly a visual shrine, and is suitable for those with lively faith and imagination.

The shrine has a range of sacred interpretations. Some early interpretations saw it as also incorporating an indigenous person, an interpretation that has particular significance for the present national context of attempted reconciliation. The valued interpretation that remained, grew and diversified, however, was the image of Mary. It is not just one image. Is it of Mary with a baby, Mary with a toddler, or Mary with the body of Jesus after the crucifixion, or all three? Others sometimes see added words, roses, and other features revealed in the apparition. Some believe the juxtaposition of Mary and an indigenous man is saying 'something' about aboriginal reconciliation.

The miracles at the shrine are firstly visual. People see the appearance as the miracle. There are a number of miracle photos, such as the face of Jesus in the Church porch window, sold as postcards, and the newspaper photo and report of a woman with a veil (Mary) appearing in the photo taken during a TV filming, where there was no actual person. There are also a series of non photographed visions of Mary, (not as the main plaster image), but as a moving vision of a spiritual person, mostly in the rear (southwest) part of the church. Another vision of Mary was in the Garden outside the church in Easter

2000, seen by four pilgrims and commemorated in the garden by a brass plaque, reported in the latest shrine leaflet (January 2001).

Physical miracles are testified to by the many thanks offered for healings and answered prayers, and in conversations with the shrine community. The miraculous well of water was found by a diviner, beneath the church, and then drilled for and a pump installed.

There are reports of the scent of roses in the church, a traditional sign of Mary.

Interestingly, though, the priest seems uninterested in the burden of proof of miracles and more interested in the process of searching for the spiritual. The point he makes is that for sceptical Australians, this is something to see, to help belief.

There is then no doubt that this is a sacred destination to a valued ideal of spirituality.

The most valued ideals appear to be the sign that God is present in Australia, coming in an earthy, sensory, demonstrable way, in a blend of Church tradition and the Australian bush tradition, in that the sign has appeared in a rural town and interpretations sometimes incorporate a concern with the indigenous.

The Sunday Mail (March 21, 1999) postulated a true pilgrim as one who meditates in the church, and who does not spend money in the town. The second part of their definition is not supported by studies from Turner (1974) and Preston (in Morinis 1992). They say that there is a market element to the traditional pilgrimage. Historically fairs were associated with pilgrimage. The shrine custodians of Yankalilla (both the Priest and Bishop) have a positive and supportive view of tourist/pilgrims, seeing their task to

permit the curious Tourist/pilgrim to be converted into a Pilgrim/tourist. There is no theoretical justification for excluding a pilgrim from that status on the basis that they spent money, on the way, on other things.

Father Andrew and others were also aware that some came as tourists, pursuing recreational curiosity. They were also aware that the experience of the shrine, the power of the sensed image and surrounding atmosphere, could begin a transformation from tourist to pilgrim.

3. The valued central ideals may be theistic, but can be revered central ideals, as a rule encapsulated in a myth of origin.

It seems that from a variety of image interpretations deemed possible in the early days of the revelation, agreed understandings have coalesced upon several classical images of Mary, a sign to Bishop Walden of a contemporary need to include the feminine or feminist in the sacred.

The significance of this sacred image is not clear. The notion of God visiting Yankalilla with an image of Himself as a child, and an image of His mother, Mary is seen as an honour granted to Australians. This image was the beginning of a pilgrimage. When the priest told the congregation to pray for a miracle, he and the woman who first saw the image came to see it as an answer to prayer. There is now a mythic explanation. A little bush church is dying and on its knees before God. Mary visits them and in doing so, makes them special, and gives them a task of renewing a nation's faith. In common with

many pilgrimages, this started with an apparition of a woman thought to be Mary, to a woman. But this apparition is not just the report of a vision, as many shrines have, but a semi-abstract image on plaster that others, perhaps half of all who come, can see. In this it is less like Lourdes or Medjugorje, and more like a New World shrine such as Guadalupe in Mexico, 1531 (Turner 1974:105). Here, instead of the site being one where someone has seen a vision which does not remain, the image, in this case a figure of the Virgin miraculously imprinted on a peasant cape, remains. The seer at Yankalilla has not been given instructions, so humbly she offers the vision to the local priest for interpretation. He and his bishop support the apparition.

The revered ideals could be interpreted as of a God who cares for the poor and humble, and who entrusts ‘the bush’ and an ordinary woman, not a ‘religious’, and her associates with saving ‘the nation’. The traditional aspects of a Marian pilgrimage are embedded in an origin myth which sees the miracle being first noticed by an ordinary member of the church, and allowed to go further because of the particular ‘openness’ of the priest and bishop.¹²

From an historical and anthropological analysis of the myth of origin Our Lady of Yankalilla stands clearly in the tradition of Turner’s modern Marian image and pilgrimage (Turner 1978:203). The extended visions and occasional message to lay people are archetypical. But in important ways it has pre-modern elements, similar to Guadalupe in Mexico, with links to the indigenous people, and a concrete image of the Virgin, not made by human hands. It also shares the functionality of the replacement

¹² Interestingly, as stated, the central player of that origin myth has now distanced herself from the shrine and is no longer a focal point of the shrine beyond her involvement in the myth of origin.

pilgrimages that appeared in medieval post-Islamic Europe and in the pre-modern Spanish New World of the Americas, by allowing Marian Christians an Australian shrine. Intriguingly it centres what is culturally ‘other’ and Old World, in this part of the New World, and offers Australians an ‘Australian Mary’. This site does, of course, have theistic ideals but can also be seen to incorporate central ideals concerning the significance of the feminine, of the common person and of Australian nationalism, the last aspect becoming more obvious in the discussion of the next criterion.

4. The ‘shrine’ central to the pilgrimage casts an image of the culture, and the ideals portrayed must be within the known limits of the culture.

Father Andrew’s comment that Australians do not want to be forced to do things lends itself to a consideration of the role of national commitment and pride. There is a nationalistic dimension to his and others’ thoughts about the Yankalilla pilgrimage. Just as the Pope wished for a Saint in every continent, so there were strong feelings that Australia deserved its own pilgrimages and that personal commitment to Australia was important.

This is very fulfilling. I’ve always been rather restless, and lived my life in five-year cycles, and after a few years I have always been looking for the next thing, but I like Australians and am taking out citizenship this year. I feel that I am where God wants me to be. I recently found I’ve been here five years and I am not at all restless, I feel I could be happy here for my whole life. It means that God has sent the Virgin to the practical and blunt Australians, whom I find attractive too, to rescue us from our lack of contact with the sacred and God Himself. This could be the Lourdes or Knock¹³ of Australia (Father Andrew).

¹³ Our Lady of Knock, in County Mayo is the national Irish shrine (Turner 1978:132).

Father Andrew thus had made a personal commitment to this new country and expressed his intention to stay at the shrine of Our Lady of Yankalilla forever. He was planning on taking out Australian citizenship in 2000 and planned to invest his life in the service of the shrine.

Father Andrew believed the shrine of Our Lady of Yankalilla was God's plan for, not just himself, but for Australia. He spoke of clear marketing plans, and had gone online with his website named olyshrine, the initials of Our Lady of Yankalilla, and had put up posters in Adelaide, the capital. The site is said to be special, and has a spiritual tradition, in the web site Father Andrew alludes to a former priest with a mystical tradition (www.olyshrine.mtx.net). He could foresee this as Australia's prime Marian, indeed prime religious, pilgrimage site.¹⁴

This bush church is an appropriate setting for the Mother of God who cares about small things. At the same time the setting is not narrowly Catholic, but inclusive. It reaches past cultural alienation to hope (Father Andrew).

The pilgrims at the pilgrimage mass had related thoughts. They were full of hope and new plans, renovating a conference centre, and organising a trip to Medjugorje. The shrine was seen as a manifestation of God breaking through to Australia in particular, which had lost its sense of the sacred.

¹⁴ The bishop also talked about the shrine being under Anglican protection, and discussed the fate of a variety of Catholic Marian apparitions and shrines in Australia: The Magnificat Meal at Helidon, Queensland, a private chapel at Two Wells, Adelaide, and 'little pebble' NSW. (Their fate was to be closed by the Catholic hierarchy, or in the case of 'little pebble' and the Magnificat Meal, who had their own structure, to be excommunicated.)

Bishop Walden believed that the pilgrimage brought honour to the region and its churches.

If you are asking me personally what it means, it has brought a great deal of honour to our Diocese that Our Lady has chosen to make her presence felt in one of our churches in this rather unique way.

It was seen as good that Australia had its own special pilgrimage site but there was also the notion that the particular form of vision or miracle that had taken place was especially suitable to the particular characteristics and temperament of Australians.

The thing about this shrine is that the Virgin has appeared in a way that most people, even sceptical Australians, can receive. As the image keeps developing, people will keep coming (Father Andrew).

The priest claimed that Australian culture is a little sceptical. 'The bulk of the part-committed Christians in Australian are sceptical of church and value seeing more than believing' (Father Andrew). They have a need for a physical, empirical palpable experience. Seeing the Madonna was the big thing. Firstly people either could see the apparition or not see it, then if they can see it, they had to make a decision as to the significance of it for them.

Most people, not all, can see the Madonna, in fact everybody I've taken there has seen it, excepting some of the diocesan council. We have asked at diocesan council level that they keep records. For those of this group who could not see anything I have placed a formal letter in the back of the church, reflecting my responsibility to those who don't see it, saying 'don't feel your Christianity is defective, it is not an issue of faith' (Bishop Graham).

With the particular religious history of Australia it is perhaps pertinent that Australians might respond better to something they can respond to physically and empirically.

Interestingly though there was little effort among key players to attempt any proof of associated miracles, such as that required by the Catholic process of sainthood.

The experience of personal miracles was testified to, but not stressed. There was, for the observer, a surprising emphasis on God and the vision of the Madonna, rather than the subsequent miracles. Apparently there is no set procedure for the recording of any miraculous details of instrumental pilgrimage.

Father Andrew said, regarding recognition and control, that what is important to the people is not always officially recognised in the same time frame. He said that Australians do not want to be forced to do things. The over-arching value this shrine offers is that God or the Virgin Mary as His emissary is interested in people who live in Australia. If it is nationalistic, it is in an inclusive sense, shown by the freely offered prayers written in languages other than English.

The image of a God (or Mother of God) who cares, who is supernatural and responsive to prayer, and has chosen these 'unworthy servants' to announce a miracle is within lay Catholic culture and theology. God arriving outside the international cities of Australia, and even outside any city is congruent with the incarnation at the small village of Bethlehem and acceptable to the large percentage of the population that are 'part religious' Australians. Between them the Anglican and Catholic Churches make up around half of Australia's Christians and probably half the nominal segment also. One who attended the shrine was not a regular churchgoer and neither Catholic nor Anglican.

Such a pilgrimage appears to serve the large Christian census grouping who ‘believe’ but are not attracted to regular churchgoing. This group may share enough of the Australian national psyche to find a ‘bush’ church a more acceptable miracle site than a cathedral, though the reverse may be true for the religious hierarchy. With the exception of one other bishop, the Anglican hierarchy had not attended. One can assume that the Catholics who visited were not doing so as part of an organised Catholic program.

The sign is only seen by some. The first shrine community was simply those Anglicans who went to church in Yankalilla, and who could see ‘her’. This is a voluntary journey: the pilgrims and the curious have come to see a sign; a sign that Mary was amongst them to bless them; or that miracles still happen.

Early in the history of the apparition, the Uniting Church minister told his congregation to stay away. By observation, the majority who come are Catholic, and the local Catholics were gently discouraged, with the local priest quoted as doubting that any miracles had occurred. This case might suggest that Australians appear to have a preference for spontaneous activity including pilgrimage, over ‘sponsored’ (bureaucratically conceived) pilgrimage.

A pilgrimage to a Marian shrine is seen by Turner as endorsing the orthodox creed, ‘the communion of saints’ (Turner 1978:203). This means that the Catholic Church conceives an invisible world where the Church and the Saints co-exist, and that miracles around saints are ruptures where the heavenly realities are seen by mortal men, or more

commonly, mortal women. Edith Turner sees pilgrimage as the Catholic response to Protestant revival, 'only concretized, spacialized and materialized' (Turner 1978:xix). In this case, given that it is both Catholic and Protestant, it is more likely to be seen as Christian or spiritual response to a secular domination. Turner goes on to note the huge increase in Marian pilgrimage and links it to a variant of feminist interest, the softer more Christ-like and less hierarchical side of Christianity (Turner 1978:xix). This more kindly dimension of faith addresses the popular objection to Church in Australia, namely 'the Church is full of hypocrites' (Hannaforde 1985:36), and the Church's ineffectiveness in living the faith (Kapferer 1988:137). As well it is likely that the mystical and spiritual have been subdued and some people in church rituals just 'go through the motions'. This was vocalised by Bev Blacklock. This shrine casts a Christian image and one that may have been feminised to be more in keeping with current ideas of 'better' religion or spirituality.

5. The shrine has the capacity to absorb a multiplicity of discourses (some shrines tend to have populist, spontaneously generated dimensions, in uneasy relationship with religious and government structures).

Culturally the largely Catholic pilgrims receive hospitality in a High Anglican shrine and are not visually aware of any difference in church culture or church interior. For example copies of the rosary are on the seats. They are aware the shrine is in some tension with the Catholic structure. In some way this frisson adds to their religious experience in that some say that the church has let them down, and going on this pilgrimage, while

informally disapproved of by their denomination, can hardly be criticised. It is after all for Mary, Mother of God. One pilgrim articulated this as, 'I'm here because I don't trust men, I want to deal with God'. This type of movement or process is something Church hierarchy are not always comfortable about and something that can be contrasted with officially sanctioned pilgrimage.

It has become apparent that the Yankalilla image is not static. From the very beginning it has meant different things to different people but, for various reasons, one or two of those images have acquired a saliency that have captured the imaginations of most people. Changes in the image after that, were variations on the standard meaning. As stated an early parishioner saw the image as a swan. Bishop Walden saw quite a different image in the first instance, one that seemed to have particular significance for him.

The Bishop's first public comments about the plaster image drew attention to the fact that he had seen the figure of an aboriginal man in the plaster. The aboriginal man was for him the first and strongest image of the wall. He had thought that it might be referring to an aboriginal corroboree ground and a massacre site in the area. He felt it could be significant in reconciliation. He supported an investigation by authorities from the Museum of South Australia who discounted the proposition that there had been a massacre of or by settlers, which he now accepts.

On the other hand Bishop Graham¹⁵ has always seen Mary as well. Time has changed the primacy of the aboriginal image for him. He says that after the sunburst framing he could no longer see the aboriginal man. Paradoxically, even *with* the sunburst frame, his daughter-in-law first saw the Aborigine.

Once it became agreed, or established that the image was Mary, the Bishop saw a particular significance in the fact that it was female. He spoke about Mary and her place ‘in a feminist society’, believing that the image could be a sign of the beginning of ‘sacred feminism’. He felt the Marian movement was reasserting the sacredness of women.

The custodian of the Mary MacKillop Schoolhouse shrine, appeared to value the autonomy in making her own interpretations.

Yes, I see Mary holding Christ in her arms. It is very very clear to me. I did not know it was a *pieta*, I was saying to Father Andrew that I saw it and said ‘Can’t you see it’ and he said ‘No I can’t’. So I came home and tried to draw it. Then I showed it to a church lady up there and she told me it was a *pieta*, ‘That’s a *pieta*’. But it is actually around the wrong way, in Rome they have the body around the other way. You see here there is another image, like a child’s head and then the legs come down, more of a toddler. . . .

Here is another drawing with a baby, you can see different things. You see I didn’t know it was a *pieta* until they told me. Then I got a book about it. You can see her face, another thing her face is very young, I was thinking she is too young to be Mary, then they told me she never aged anyway, she is always very young in

¹⁵ Both the bishop and priest have an accessibility of character that encourages use of their Christian name with their title.

the European portraits of Mary. She looks about 23 to me, but she has Jesus in her arms and he is a man (B. Blacklock).

Like Bishop Walden she too has been able to see something aboriginal. 'Then I can see some other images, around that area I can see an aboriginal face.'

The regulars spoke of the vision of Mary being a living thing. One member of the shrine community told of a woman pilgrim who had seen Mary with a horse. The significance of this was that this agoraphobic woman was leaving her house for the first time since her horse had died three years before. Another shared a special vision of Mary walking in the church that she and others had occasionally seen. Some were now seeing the Virgin as a *pieta*. Another spoke of her experience of holiness here.

Father Andrew also has noted changes but has seen them all in the context of images of Mary. He gives occasional tours, with a laser pen, informing pilgrims the vision of Mary is a growing revelation with more detail visible at times, and some gradual change in a specific direction. He demonstrates the three observation positions that show Mary with differing forms of Christ (an infant, a toddler, and a *pieta*). These are traditional European artistic depiction of Mary. Usually as a Madonna she has Jesus as a day old child on her shoulder or at breast. Sometimes she has been depicted with a toddler of around eighteen months at her knee while she is seated. Another classic representation is of her holding the body of her dead son, after the crucifixion. This is the *pieta*. Father Andrew has always seen the Madonna, but from the rear of the church he now sees the *pieta* as the most dominant image.

‘As the image keeps developing, people will keep coming. The image is a living thing, we have not seen its fullness yet’ (Father Andrew). Bishop Walden confirms this aspect:

Some people can see no image, some people can see the Madonna. I’m picking out the pieta at the bottom. I can see the rose. I cannot see the letters. It is a changing phenomenon, not static. Before it was framed I felt the wall and it was smooth. I’m glad to hear that there is no suggestion it is man-made. Some suggested it may have been salt damp (Bishop Graham).

Father Andrew stressed that the image was a changing phenomenon, not static, and that it had a varying mode of revelation. Unlike the Bishop, who tends to refer to the plaster apparition in impersonal terms, Father Andrew, most often uses the personal pronoun ‘she’.

He suspects that Church leaders who oppose the vision or image are opposed in principle, often it is seen as a matter of personality, decorum and taste, rather than theology, and the opposition is largely by avoidance. For instance, he says, none of the hierarchy has explored the parallels with the national shrine of Mexico, the Virgin of Gaudalupe, where in a different sequence, an image of the Virgin appeared (Turner 1974:105).¹⁶

¹⁶ Bishop Walden also acknowledged that the contemporary Church finds miracles difficult. ‘The pre-modern Church hierarchy was more accepting of Marian shrines in Europe and early pre-modern Americas.’

Only one of the many Australian Anglican bishops, other than Bishop Walden has been to see the Yankalilla image of Mary. None of the Catholic bishops has visited.¹⁷ Father Andrew suggested both religious phenomena and spiritual power, *charisma*, tends to make bureaucratic leaders uncomfortable. He has communicated the apparition to world and local leaders, and personally he was expecting more to come.

In common with many pilgrimages there are element of dissension, borne out in Yankalilla in particular by the representation in the SBS documentary.

Yet the documentary, viewed from a dispassionate point of view, unlike that of Fr Nutter, at times portrays the man as overbearing and demanding, yet a man with a mission, a mission to promote the apparition to the world so it joins the elite list of Holy locations, such as Lourdes. It at times shows him angry and frustrated with those who seemingly choose to disagree with him and it leaves no doubt about the frustration they have with him. To a large extent the documentary shows bickering and the frustration which led Father Nutter to declare last year, 'eventually I will resign' (*Sunday Mail* March 21 1999).

Father Nutter summarised his reaction to the video by declaring, 'I believe the apparition is real and even the pain we have come through, which comes out on the program, to me proves it is real; there has to be pain for something beautiful to emerge.' He goes on, 'We may never be able to prove its authenticity, but people are coming here and leaving cured

¹⁷ Some of those associated with the Yankalilla pilgrimage see contrasts with the official Roman Catholic pilgrimages associated with Mary MacKillop. Father Andrew cited a Catholic priest from a country town with some major MacKillop shrines who felt the response to the official Catholic shrines was 'a bit of a non event'. What seemed to be happening 'here at Yankalilla is a popularist, spontaneous, bottom up sort of authorisation', different to the officially sanctioned MacKillop pilgrimages and things such as the Australian Heads of Churches 'pilgrimage to the heart'. The Heads of Churches decided to use the time before the Olympics in September 2000 to use the focus of world and national attention to take a bus tour from Sydney to Uluru and to go via some of the Aboriginal trouble spots like Wilcannia to seek reconciliation. The media focused on the Olympic Torch relay and ignored the 'Pilgrimage to the Heart'.

and relieved of pain. The documentary will expose Yankalilla and it will be good for the shrine.’

The reporter noted that beside those ex-parishioners in open conflict ‘the rest of the town we spoke to, on and off the record, see nothing wrong with it becoming internationally known, but they have heard it all before.’ Vivien Hobbs, a woman from the local tourist information office is quoted from the public record:

The community is certainly divided on the issue, half think he is a real nutter, while the others think he is right and they see it. If it works for people, what does it matter? If it gives people comfort, I don’t see any problem with that at all. I think it has increased tourism and there haven’t been any complaints from local businesses and I don’t think the publicity, even the documentary, will harm the town’s image (*Sunday Mail* March 21 1999).

The paper (*Sunday Mail*) editorialises that ‘It’s not likely that pilgrims coming to Yankalilla to spend time in meditation before the apparition are going to spend a lot of money, except possibly through donations to Christ Church for the upkeep of the building.’ This may or may not be true, given the general agreement that all pilgrimages have a secular dimension, traditionally associated with fairs and markets.

Over the period of the documentary, the path of the first recipient of the vision, Fehlberg, who went from being a strong supporter of the image and pilgrimage, and a member of the shrine community, to leaving the parish, is recorded. The documentary closed with her in the process of leaving the parish and shrine, and, as stated, she no longer replies to enquiries made to her website of ‘Our Lady of Yankalilla’.

Conflict is part of the myth and the history of the shrine. Father Nutter did not discuss the ebb and flow of support. He touched on the difficulties in terms of the attitude of the branch church, and the grief it had caused him. He did not address Ms. Fehlberg's reasons for leaving the parish. There has been some rapprochement with the Uniting Church minister. Life has settled rather comfortably into a Sunday morning parish and a 'rest of the week' pilgrim centre.

The conflict was complicated by the presence of the branch church, St James Delamere. The branch church was described by Father Andrew as 'unworkable,' ... 'they enjoyed being against the government,' ... 'people who used every opportunity to frustrate both him personally and the main church' and 'who never paid their share of the costs.' They moved a motion of no confidence in their rector.

Father Nutter approached his bishop with a model for separation that was agreeable to the bishop and both church centres. His model offered something for everyone in a fraught, personally polemic and complex situation. Because he involved his bishop at each stage before going public Father Nutter had retained positive support from his bishop. In the widely reported 1998 conflict, he had famously offered to resign. Now he reported that the parish, reduced to a single centre in a single town, was happy and peaceful. His willingness to treat the rural worshippers as a separate church on Sunday mornings, and focus on the local and personal needs was working well. He could put his emphasis on the Shrine at the second (afternoon) service, which meant he was reuniting the parish. The people in 2000 and 2001 were much happier than at the time of the SBS television

documentary, which ostensibly was about the shrine, but which also looked at the impact of the shrine on church relationships.

Father Andrew saw himself as leading an order that were the shrine custodians, and distinct, but in some way parallel to the parish. It seems that some conflict was inevitable, and a natural focus for media attention, but such conflict has been managed quite well and key players like the Bishop and Father Andrew have shown considerable flexibility.

Folk and civil religion may use pilgrimage to modify and reform the religious authorities' structural norms. This would tend to put a gulf between the pilgrim and the 'organisation' person in government or in church bureaucracy. For some leaders it is best ignored. The shrine custodian thought only one (retired) Anglican bishop and his local Anglican bishop had visited.

A variety of groups have given the sign definitive meanings. It was initially a lay movement. The first vision of both the Madonna and then later of the Pieta was by women, not clergy. Then the parish priest announced it within the parish as a miracle. Some took it as an opportunity to be close to God and seek miracles, bypassing Church membership. Some Catholics who styled themselves Marian see this dimension as more significant than their denomination.

Those who 'saw' the image made the initial group, who were almost immediately supported by the priest. This first group extended in number over time, and also was

divided from the second group of parishioners, who saw no miracle. Conflict over the existence of the vision was a focus for other complaints and the second group 'wanted their church back from the pilgrims'. The first group acquired a patron, the Bishop of the Murray, who exercised protection for the shrine, and importantly, he too could see the vision. The Bishop set limits in waiting before going public, and also set limits on the power of the support group. For example he had no intention of allowing an order that may not be answerable to himself as the bishop. He permitted a local Oratory, under the jurisdiction of the local priest, who himself was under jurisdiction of the bishop.

Another level of support shown by the Bishop in allowing a multiplicity of discourses was his writing a letter to the congregation, assuring them that while he supported the vision, seeing the vision is not a test or matter of faith. That is, it was not compulsory: you may or may not see the Madonna, without prejudice to your standing as a Christian. Additionally Bishop Graham blessed the water from the well, an act required by tradition to identify it as holy water. The vital support of the Anglican bishop, Bishop Graham, and parish priest, Father Andrew, also gave the Catholic pilgrims recognition and protection at this site. The recognition was that they were Catholics, and very welcome, with the general style of the shrine being Catholic. The protection was that they were in a known system, where the hierarchy was supportive and permissive, and where their behaviour was seen as orthodox and even exemplary. The reported agnosticism of Australian Catholic hierarchy to visions of Mary and to lay-led pilgrimages in general (*The Age Good Weekend*, June 17 2000:55) is therefore less of a factor in the life of this shrine, indeed the whiff of faint disapproval may well be an added attraction to some Australian

laity. Although at first the local Catholic priest discounted any miracles and the Uniting Church minister advised his people not to go to the shrine, by 2000 Father Andrew reported that relations had become more cordial.

The Yankalilla shrine and pilgrimage favours the spontaneous and popularist, rather than the controlled and hierarchical. As well, the interplay between spontaneous generation and counter-cultural anti-structure of this shrine makes an interesting contrast with the Catholic-authorised MacKillop pilgrimage trail.

The shrine therefore absorbed Catholic and Anglican, ‘those who saw’ and ‘those who did not see’, women and men, Australian born and non-Australian born, those who wanted a feminised spiritual experience and those who wanted healing or help. Perhaps even more importantly it accommodated the personal visual experiences of ordinary people, perhaps most notably for the woman who saw Mary with a horse. There was no attempt by the Bishop or Father Andrew to limit or draw boundaries around what could be seen. The Bishop’s preferred reading of the image, in fact, was overrun by the dominance of Marian readings. The scope for, and recognition of, personal experience appeared to be something valued by pilgrims to the Yankalilla site. They were allowed their own storylines and their own requests, a multiplicity of discourses.

6. Pilgrims go to a shrine to experience the actual place of past events, see and usually touch the actual sacred things of their culture in a way that becomes a model of future experience.

The bishop spoke of initially running his hands over the plaster shape when it was first brought to his attention. Since then the image in the sanctuary seemed too sacred and delicate to touch, and is out of bounds. There is also a frame to protect the image. The frame both protects and focuses on the Madonna.

Sight, rather than the equally common pilgrim's touch, is the sense through which God can bring a miracle to these pilgrims through this apparition of Mary. The image is not static, but also shows Jesus at different ages with His mother Mary, which adds a sense of awe and wonder. The heightened faith response encourages lighting a candle, and often writing a prayer in the book. About half of those at the Pilgrim Mass go forward for anointing. Some said they needed some faith revitalisation from the shrine experience to support them in an unsatisfying church relationship, as well as to meet specific human needs.

Generally people have some sort of reference model for a pilgrimage, an archetype or ideal, that they use to measure new experiences of pilgrimage. For Father Andrew it is Medjugorje, for Bishop Graham it is Walsingham. Blacklock has put candles in a sand tray before her Mary MacKillop shrine, based on what she had seen at Our Lady of Yankalilla. At her Mary MacKillop shrine people did take away sacred elements, particles of the eroding wall. At the Our Lady of Yankalilla shrine people could take the holy water from the well to replicate the blessing, post cards and photos. They could leave letters and prayers and send back special photographs. The fact that they sent back

photographs also shows that they took away sacred elements in the form of photographic images.

People take back an expectation that God is alive in Australian culture, and willing to communicate directly with them. They also feel able to maintain their Marian (kinder, more motherly and freer) form of Christianity. They receive a model of how they would like things to be, in their family, and in the world. Whether this is borne out in reality is relatively unmeasurable.

7. Shrines have ritual experts or custodians.

Father Andrew is the official custodian. He and the shrine community have more of a process of facilitation than an 'official story'. They tend to first allow people to observe for themselves. Then they ask them what they see. If people are responsive they will lead them further. They could suggest people might like to see some of the prayer cards placed on the side wall, and read the prayers and thanksgivings and comments in the book near the candles. Father Andrew says he does not log the numbers of visitors, or the number of candles burnt, or the testimonies of miracles of answered prayer. He is unconcerned about proof. But he will talk more about miraculous things to those who see the apparition. The visitor 'seeing' the Madonna is the starting point for a pilgrim. He may then discuss visions others have seen of the Virgin Mary, wearing blue, in a corner of the church, but the Madonna image is the first focus. He says her presence is the main miracle, and acknowledgment the appropriate response. Father Andrew speaks of the

apparition as Mary and 'she', and as animate with a varying image that speaks to the pilgrim.

Father Andrew can be seen to have had only a slight controlling and directing role for the pilgrims in the established structure. He was permissive to pilgrims, in allowing a role for those who Edith and Victor Turner term 'ordinary people' (Turner 1978:xv) to seek their own valued ideal. Shrine pilgrims often sought a particular goal within the cultural and religious ideals of the shrine, rather than that specifically offered by the 'official' Church.

Initially the management structure around the Yankalilla shrine was haphazard. From 1996 to 1998, those church members who were unable to cope with either the shrine, the pilgrims or the priest began to exercise their democratic rights through a hostile parish council. Over time the disaffected used the branch church as a suitable base to defend their values and obstruct the shrine. There they were amongst like-minded or at least supportive people, and they still had voting rights on the democratically elected combined vestry.

In many older (traditional) churches the feudal rights of clergy are reflected in the way Catholic and to a lesser extent Anglican clergy have a degree of precedent over congregational democracy. This feudal and theocratic emphasis is recognised as being against the egalitarian Australian tradition. The Catholic tradition has a strict hierarchical structure, ranking from Pope to bishop to priest, tending to lock out the laity and lesser clergy. The Anglican polity is less precise, with the bishop having reserve powers over a

priest only in a crisis such as proven heresy. The priest has power in doctrine and faith in his own parish, with a limited life tenure, and the laity have a balance, in control over finances.

The supporters based around the Delamere branch church objected to the overthrow of their local ministry pattern (where the priest spent his time looking after the congregation), and formed a majority at the combined annual meeting and passed a motion of no confidence in the priest. The priest initially expected to be forced to resign, but the legalities of Anglican polity supported him. He was also supported by his shrine ‘Oratory’ community, and decided to stay on. He offered a new approach, which allowed the bishop and the majority from the unhappy annual meeting, a way out. As stated, this was to separate the branch church into a near autonomous existence, with its own accounts and ministry supplied from another town. This way the priest had majority support in the Yankalilla parish, and would not face awkward internal or public meetings, and peace could break out. This has left the shrine supporters free to reach out to the townspeople who remained, and to organise promotion of the shrine, too.

Father Andrew is now unchallenged as the shrine custodian. Generous gifts of money and labour have continued to beautify the church and surrounds. A bed and breakfast for pilgrims has been established in the Anglican schoolhouse next door, and the more ‘up-market’ MacKillop schoolhouse cottage also offers pilgrimage accommodation. The Tourist Information Centre is informative and supportive to enquiries. The custodianship appears generous and not intrusive. For example candles are free and signs are polite. The

extreme back of the church is off limits and protected by electronic surveillance.

Generally it is obvious to a pilgrim what should be done, and they are tactfully guided, and spared the crass modernity of twenty first-century tourism, with its interactive touch screen information kiosk.

Shrine members tend to drop in for a few moments, and smile at or greet pilgrims, and look available if required, in an unobtrusive way. A standardised approach to visitors is generally followed. Pilgrims are asked what they can see. Those that can see something are engaged further, sometimes being shown a laser light tour of the image. Although he is the shrine custodian Father Andrew has not set himself up as superior in terms of ritual expertise and interpretation to fellow pilgrims. He is almost a facilitator rather than an 'expert'.

8. Returning pilgrims absorb a spiritual trace and implant it in their home community.

Pilgrims report they encourage their friends to come. Often they report coming from a non-nurturing religious environment. Whilst they took home little pieces of crumbling wall from the Mary MacKillop schoolhouse, they took postcards, leaflets and holy water from Our Lady of Yankalilla. Certainly returning pilgrims expected to come home with a sense that the supernatural dimension would change their mundane life at home. They hoped for physical and relationship healing, support for study and guidance for the future. A sense of vocation and mission were also imparted.

Mrs. Blacklock, Bishop Graham and Father Andrew all expressed a sense of gratitude for the privilege of being part of the miracle. It has given extra relevance to their lives in their communities, an extra vocation or calling of the spiritual, to reshape the mundane.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a general introduction to the recent establishment of a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Yankalilla at the local Anglican Church. Participant observation; conversations and short interviews with many; and in depth interviews with three key informants indicate that this is indeed a pilgrimage and that it fulfils the frame of universal criteria as well as having popular validity as a pilgrimage.

This is not a ‘usual’ Marian pilgrimage because it occurred within an Anglican Church. The conjunction of an Anglican parish, with a generally supportive hierarchy, with a Catholic Marian pilgrimage, changed the typical dynamics of an Australian Marian pilgrimage. It gave it a less ‘denominationally controlled’, and less contested space. Instead of a lay person reporting the vision to her/his Catholic bishop, an Anglican lay woman reported her vision to the Anglican priest, who informed his bishop. They facilitated the pilgrimage to all, welcoming Catholics.

The setting in a bush (though conventionally styled), church has put the image physically outside the mainstream religious hierarchy, where it can be ignored, yet the setting has cultural resonance for spiritual and religious Australians and people continue to visit.

It is uniquely Australian in its setting in the bush, on the edge of the population centres, but not in the outback. A small, 'dying' Church achieved its miracle. The symbolism embedded in the image contains an intriguing blend of both traditional European religious iconography and Australian icons. The shrine community believe that sceptical Australians will find 'seeing is believing' and that this is God's sign to bring faith to Australia. The ambiguous nature of the shrine custodianship, with a local origin and totally distanced from any planned or strategic intent by the Church hierarchy, demonstrates a tolerance of various discourses of interpretation. This well suits the egalitarian nature of Australians with their distrust for Church hierarchy, and favouring of spontaneous activity. Indeed faint Catholic (and other) leaders' disapproval is helpful to the growth of this pilgrimage. An associated but endorsed Church pilgrimage clearly demonstrates the Australian preference for spontaneously generated pilgrimages. The centring of an imported religious tradition such as Marian pilgrimage in an Australian context is part of the re-enchantment of a secular nation, almost despite the Church. The observed behaviour of migrants re-centring or 'bringing home' their imported faith may have general implications for religion in Australia, where most of 'us' have imported religious traditions.

Therefore in terms of the eight point frame of criteria it is clear that Yankalilla can be seen as a pilgrimage. It is self-described as a pilgrimage, with a large stream of pilgrims, and it looks and functions as a pilgrimage. The myth of origin has endorsed a striking image that is a place of devotion and intercession. The shrine is surrounded by a growth in the sacred, and is seen as a place where the sacred touches the mundane.

CHAPTER FIVE

GALLIPOLI

It could be argued that Gallipoli is Australia's archetypal battlefield pilgrimage.¹ The Governor General Sir William Deane said of Gallipoli, that we left behind the graves of more than 8,100 Australians and 2,700 New Zealanders, and that it is a 'sacred site for the Anzac nations' (*Herald Sun* April 26 1999:12). Kapferer, like Inglis, classifies Gallipoli as the focus of a Rousseau like 'secular religion' (Kapferer 1988:121) though Inglis strongly prefers the term, 'civil religion'.

In this chapter, after a brief explanation of the historical 'event' of Gallipoli, the setting of the 2000 journey to Gallipoli on Anzac day and the social characteristics of the participants are described. The central part of this chapter considers the evidence obtained in relation to the eight point frame of criteria set out in Chapter Two and applied to the Yankalilla journey in the previous chapter.

¹ Other battlefields that have a pilgrimage dimension, but which are not examined in this research include Menin Gate in Europe, Tobruk in North Africa, Kokoda in New Guinea and Long Tan in Vietnam.

The Historical Event

In 1915 Winston Churchill as British First Lord of the Navy attempted to capture Constantinople, with a strategic aim of forcing a passage through to the Black Sea for an attack on Germany. The failure of his naval attack led to the Allied landings at Gallipoli² to force a land attack on Constantinople. Kapferer describes Australia's involvement:

In 1914 troopships leave Australia for the Middle East, and HMAS Sydney sinks the German *Emden*. These troops arrive in 'biblical' Cairo, where Australian troops are unruly and undisciplined.

On April 25th in 1915 Australians lead the Gallipoli landings, and the great losses require reinforcement by the elite Australian Light Horse, unmounted.

In December 1915, the Australians retreat to Egypt, where they return not as defeated but as Anzacs and as a 'military force with strongly established traditions'.

In March 1916 units of the Anzacs embark for Europe where they distinguish themselves. The Light Horse and Camel Corp (now mounted) distinguish themselves in Jerusalem 1917, Beersheba and Damascus 1918.

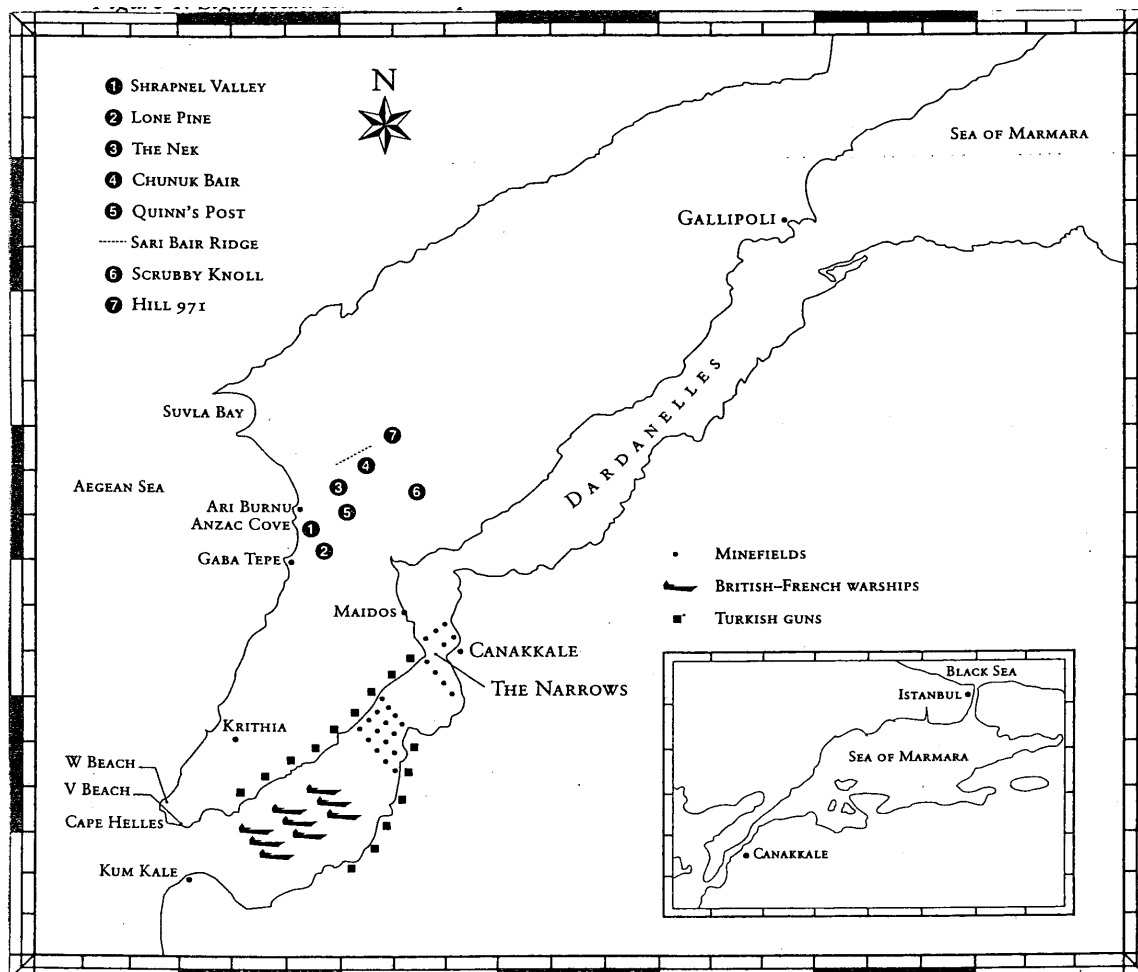
The Great War ends in late 1918 (Kapferer 1988:126).

The Gallipoli Peninsular dominates the two kilometre wide sea approaches to Constantinople and the Black Sea, and the Allied forces attacked an alert and entrenched Turkish army. The landing was at 4.29 am on April the 25th, 1915. The Australians and later that day the New Zealanders fought to hold the early beachhead against Turkish reinforcements. Over nine months the battle area was six kilometres north/south and up to two and a half kilometres east/west. Famous battle names are Walker's Ridge, Russell's Top, Quinn's Post, Lone Pine and the Nek. (See Figure 1). The Australians fought first

² The Turks themselves call the Gallipoli battle the battle of Canakkale, which is the closest major town to the battle site but on the opposite (Asian - eastern) side of the water called the Dardanelles. The Allies named it after Gelibolu (formerly Kallipolis/Gallipoli) the nearest town on the invasion (European - western) side (Brosnahan, 1999:262).

with bayonet charges, and later from trenches for eight months over ten square kilometres with thousands of troops. Casualties from a force of 32,000 were high. 8,709 Australians and 2,701 New Zealanders were killed and many wounded, against about 86,000 Turkish dead, the Turks losing 10,000 in one day. The fiercest fighting was around Lone Pine, with 7 Victoria Crosses awarded for valour in three days. Mutual respect between the enemies was high, with informal truces (that is, against the British directions) to retrieve the dead and wounded (www.rsl.org.au). As early as 1916 official histories spoke of the immortal Anzacs (Blyth Manderson 1917).

Figure 1. Significant sites at Gallipoli



In April 2000 15,000 Australians and New Zealanders gathered at Gallipoli to commemorate this event. The next section describes the setting and circumstances of this convergence of Australians at a World War1 battlefield.

The Convergence at Gallipoli

Flights into Turkey usually arrive in Istanbul, where the package tourists are met. Backpackers take one of the high standard buses for either a six-hour trip down the European side of the Gallipoli Peninsular to Gelibolu, or more commonly, an eight-hour trip direct to Canakkale. The Gelibolu buses often continue on the ferry across the straits to Canakkale. Though Canakkale, a larger regional hub with greater facilities, is more popular with the tour companies for much of the stay, the pilgrims still have to cross over for the last night. Otherwise the logistics of getting 5,000-15,000 people and their buses across on the ferry in the middle of the night for the Dawn Service is extremely difficult.³

For most travellers accommodation was rough and ready on Anzac Eve because of the need to start at 4.30am. In spite of tourist brochures suggesting that Anzac Cove was too sacred for swimming and noting a prohibition on camping in the Military Park, many slept on the beach at Anzac Cove. On previous years, 1980-1999, the backpackers slept on the lawned gravesites of the beach cemetery but this was in 2000 banned by uniformed Australian soldiers. The staging posts in Eceabat were around the friendly

³ The NZ Army logistics squad, in 2000, advised everyone to cross over the day before and sleep on the Gallipoli lawns.

‘Australian’ cafes such as Boomerang Café and the Vegemite Café. The Boomerang Café bar sold T shirts, beer and hot ‘pies’ (savoury mince in a bread waffle), showed the film *Gallipoli*, and offered hot showers. Packs were spread on the floor and a few slept indoors as well as outside in tents, some laid out in military precision for two large overland tour groups. On April 23rd 2000, a circle of about 30 backpackers from one of the trucks sat around a campfire sculling beer from tiny film canisters, and claimed they were up to their 130th round.

The tour guides took pilgrims first to the Turkish Australian War memorial, because it was the entry point to the reserve but the first point sought out by young travellers was Anzac Cove, nestling beneath the cliffs, and then perhaps the tiny beachside cemetery of Anburnu (Ari Burnu), last resting place for so many, including Private Simpson. Most took time to drift along the beach lost in thought, then looked at Shrapnel Gully and the next little cemetery. After looking at the new North Beach memorial, the 2000 Dawn Service site, Lone Pine appeared to be the most popular destination, followed by Ataturk’s words⁴, and then perhaps Chunuk Bair. Most spent a day on the battlefield, some people spending up to a week, usually in the days before April 25th.

Once in the vicinity of Gallipoli the majority then took some tour in order to get to the site of the battle. The independent backpacker made use of the *Lonely Planet Guide* and

⁴ This sign in English cites Ataturk consoling the Australian mothers with his promise to treat Australian dead as Turkish sons.

enjoyed the journey among the friendly Turks who freely picked up hitchhikers. The Guide gave details for self-guided battlefield tours (Brosnahan 1999:262).⁵

The more formal tours generally have a cassette tape player with the tour history and highlights, and include the playing of the last post and national anthem. They also include reading the Ode⁶ and snatches of Anzac Services as part of the various remembrances. It is quite reverent, in contrast to what one may expect from the commercialisation of emotion. The giant tour companies like Kompass take their own buses and do their own commentary. For days before the Anzac ceremony at Gallipoli there are many big buses on narrow roads winding up and down the steep hills.

Most visitors took a battlefield tour and appeared to require personal time and space to, for example, pick up a pebble from Anzac Cove, stare up at the murderous heights above the beach, walk up Private Simpson's Shrapnel Gully, and to see how close the opposing trenches were at Lone Pine.

The landscape at Gallipoli has not altered markedly from the time of the First World War. Anyone with adequate time and who is prepared to push through the undergrowth of low shrubs, can find some of the rusty wire, bullets, rusty cans, bits of bone and other detritus

⁵ This 'bible for backpacking Australians' is Australian published. Some other sources are Kompass Tours information for the package tourist, and the London weekly free papers, available at train and bus stops, for the half million Australians in London. On Anzac Day at Gallipoli in 2000, the official information was provided by the Australian Department of Veterans Affairs. They produced and distributed many thousands of a souvenir, *Gallipoli 2000*, *Anzac Day Orders of Service* and a commemorative book *A 'duty clear before us'*.

⁶ The Ode is: 'Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn, They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old, At the going down of the sun, and in the morning, We shall remember them.'

of war. The trenches, eighty-five years later, are still visible. It is also a landscape that appears historically, or even geographically, familiar to some.⁷ The graveyards are green and cared for, an oasis in the brown, and oddly peaceful, with the tombstone inscriptions revealing old Anglo-Celtic names and very young ages.

In 2000 on Anzac Eve many travellers gathered and moved as if led, to North Beach where they assembled around sunset. They got out their Anzac badges and Australian flags and watched a few play kick-to-kick football games. They listened to the rock band *Cold Chisel* through giant army loud speakers and to a chant by a group of New Zealanders, before rolling out sleeping bags and catching some sleep before midnight. By midnight the crowd emotion and the atmosphere woke everyone and by 3 am it was too crowded to lie down, so they all sat up and waited for the dawn, talking.

The crowd reacted angrily when a group of New Zealand army peacekeepers arrived late and pushed in at the front. They were booed by the crowd until they sat down. The crowd wriggled and packed in tighter as more dignitaries and soldiers appeared. The crowd then cat-called and booed the press, who took up all the vantage points, blocking some of the travellers' views.

⁷ Cahir thought 'Brighton Beach' described by his Anzac grandfather as 'strewn with wounded and dying Australians and Turks' was surrounded by a landscape that 'mirrored some of Australia's most distinctive features'. There was mowed couch grass, wildflowers peeping out of charred bush fired landscape, 'gritty sand underfoot, the briny smell of rotting sea-weed, the sound of tiny waves whooshing onto the beach head' and 'succulent pig face sprawling close to the tidemark'. The beauty and familiarity of the place appeared to disconcert him. Instead of being confronted by the brutality of war he was 'lulled into a kind of serenity'. (Cahir, 1995).

Under a dark sky, cross-lit by television lights, the Australian Army Band, Sydney, began a recital. They ran through a medley of jolly Australian folk songs and some modern sporting and cultural anthems. Finally onto the dais came the official party. They warmly welcomed everyone and apologised for the media intrusion. The order of service booklets were softly lit by individual candles everywhere. Following indigenous music from Australia and New Zealand, the piper piped and the slow-marching 'catafalque' party took up their position by 5.30 am after which the Dawn Service proper began, shared by Prime Ministers of New Zealand and Australia, a federal minister, Returned Servicemen's Association (NZ) and Returned Servicemen's League (Australia) officials and service chaplains. There were readings, including the message from Ataturk, hymns, prayers and the site plaque unveiling, concluding with the ode, the bugle of the Last Post, silence, and the raising of the flags from half mast to full, as the sky lightened in the east. Besides the two senior service chaplains who read a few prayers, there was no Christian presence.

Many of the travellers heeded the advice from the public address system that it would be easier to walk up the roads to Lone Pine rather than waiting for buses. Hundreds took a short cut from the beach and headed up the Shrapnel Gully through the scrub, following exactly the original Anzacs' path. Halfway along the ascent to Lone Pine, a group of New Zealanders struck out alone, struggling across a more precipitous saddle to Chunuk Bair, their memorial site.

The afternoon of Anzac Day saw the area choked with traffic, with buses awaiting ferries back to Canakkale. The Boomerang Café and the Vegemite Café in Eceabat became the backpackers' obligatory stops, hundreds seeking a nap on the concrete floor before the traditional 'two up' games later that night that continued the Anzac commemoration.

The game observed began with the house rules being explained and the spinner being chosen, glamorous females apparently preferred. The bet was a call of half a million lira (value A\$4) or one million, on two heads, matched with a bet on two tails. A mixed head/tail spin was ignored. The person choosing heads held the money under their foot on the ground, untouched until there was a win. The ability to put 'a million or two' on the toss of a coin contributed to the thrill.⁸

Two days later the Gallipoli Peninsular returned to being home to the local Turks and the ghosts of departed soldiers and memories of the travellers.

Types and characteristics of the Travellers

As stated, short interviews and conversations were had with 105 visitors to Gallipoli. Approximately 80% of the travellers were under 30. The current or intended base of 66 of these younger people was London. Of a second category, that of Australians over thirty years old, 5 were based in Europe (Zurich), and 11 were based in Australia and on a

⁸ The next day I shook hands with a New Zealander who had won 36 million lira in Canakkale.

world trip taking in Gallipoli. These came from Sydney, Melbourne, country Victoria and country Western Australia.

Of those 105 directly engaged in conversation, 85 were Australians, and 20 were New Zealanders.⁹ Only three of the 105 volunteered a current religious affiliation. The occupations of the under thirties were unclear or not yet set, as they were largely the young, the educated, and the sophisticated (in terms of travel). The backpackers en route to work in London, and the already London based travellers tended to do whatever work was available, and the career path and occupation were not obvious, but three quarters said they were graduates.

The remainder were 'real' backpackers who fitted neither of these categories. Most of these were Australian travellers ex-Asia, en route overland to London. These 'real travellers' prided themselves on living on very little. They lived in tents and worked to support their travels, some getting jobs with tourist hotels. The two things they felt they *had* to do in Europe were to be in Gallipoli for Anzac Day and to run the bulls in Spain. A subsection of these remaining travellers resembled the 'hippie' culture of thirty or more years ago.

⁹ The ethnicity of the Australians was observed as 84 European (most Anglo-Celtic), and one Aboriginal, while that of the New Zealanders was 14 European (most Anglo Celtic), and 6 Maori.

Although backpackers and young adventure package travellers were predominant there were other types of visitors.¹⁰ Firstly there were government, serving military and RSL officials from Australia. Then there were tours booked from Australia, mostly ex-soldiers and descendants of soldiers and families, represented by companies such as Kompass Tours. They tended to be distinguishable by their clothing and tour branded travel-ware. They carried suitcases with airport wheels and branded flight bags and wore tour jackets. They were, despite the tight timetable of their tour, very easy to speak with, and they were having ‘the holiday of a lifetime in Europe’, plus ‘this trip to Gallipoli as a pilgrimage’.

By contrast ‘the six Zurich suits’, as the backpackers termed them, wore smart sports coats. They had hired a small bus and their own guide to ‘do’ Turkey and Gallipoli in style. They were five expatriate Australian men from Switzerland and the brother of one who came directly from Australia. They had jobs in telecommunication, and spoke good German, allowing easier communication in Turkey.

As stated, the largest contingent consisted of young Australians and New Zealanders who had booked a well-supported tour out of London; flown independently to Istanbul and joined a tour for the Gallipoli part of the journey or booked on the huge overland bus/truck tours through Europe and the Middle East.

¹⁰ Cahir 1995 notes the disparate social groupings from the crowd in 1995 ‘Military personnel stood in huddles, backpackers in their kombis, young hippies loafed around casually on the grass’, older people, screeching children and government officials and politicians.

Some visual distinction was apparent. Those fully booked from London Gallipoli London tended to have matching tour clothing (tee shirts) and carried suitcases too. Those who were going on to the Mediterranean for a beach holiday had bulky back packs and pale 'English' skins, but seemed best dressed. Those who came from the overland tour trucks looked less well-dressed and moved around in larger, bonded groups. Lastly there were the true backpackers, complete with haversacks and tents, who had useful but limited attire, some of it Asian, and who had journeyed independently to Gallipoli from Australia and Asia.

Planning and preparation were evident with all Australians, particularly with the Kompass Tour pilgrims. Often the Australian Army Rising Sun badge appeared on a slouch hat. Others wore the war service and valour medals of relatives who had served. There were also many Australian flags and commonly a set of 'two up pennies' brought from the Antipodes. Tour guide Annie Abay remarked that this aspect of the pilgrimage had grown since the late 1980s. 'They did not take flags, tee shirts, medals etcetera in those first few years. It seemed they were there for the party first.'

Applying the Frame of Criteria

To reiterate, pilgrimage has been defined as a going from one's home and hearth to the centre of one's values or culture, and also having a reforming dimension, but staying within broader cultural boundaries. The above description of the journey to Gallipoli around Anzac Day is now analysed in relation to the frame of criteria for pilgrimage

arrived at in Chapter Two. This thesis argues that Gallipoli for Australians is actually a pilgrimage in all senses of the established understandings: it is more than a metaphor.

1. The first criterion stated that pilgrimage is a non-local, physical journey to an historically and / or mythically significant site or 'shrine'. What follows is historical and contemporary evidence to establish that this is the case for the journey to Gallipoli.

Australians went to the European Great War with a desire to prove themselves equal to the home country of Britain (Inglis 1998, Kapferer 1988). They left Gallipoli believing that they were more than equal. These events have become embedded in the Australian consciousness through various media, not least in recent years, the film *Gallipoli*, based on the Bill Gammage's book, *The Broken Years, Australian soldiers in the Great War* (Gammage 1974). This focused on tragic and futile loss of life and the British Army leaders' incompetence and ineptitude.¹¹

Public information on the Gallipoli pilgrimage is pervasive and inescapable. It is presented throughout the year but whilst the myth is well-known, the historical perspective and detail is poorly known by the general populace and pilgrims alike (Abay interview). The days and weeks preceding Anzac (April 25) each year in particular generate travel and cultural and historical reflection. As well, the tradition of marking the

¹¹ Inglis suggests the view of war in Gammage's book and the subsequent film led to Australians seeing war (memorials) through the eyes of 'pity and terror' (Inglis 1998:440). In 1982, a television series, called *1915* was produced by Roger MacDonald based on his book of 1979, and continues this perspective. (Inglis 1998:440).

fifth year, for example as the 75th in 1990 (or 85th in the year 2000), with a prime ministerial pilgrimage, is now becoming well established.

In terms of Gallipoli's significance for Australia, 1990 was regarded as a watershed.¹² Inglis (*The Age* 28th August 1999 F:4), and Kapferer (1990), each noted the significance of the 75th Anniversary of Gallipoli, in bringing before the Australian public the national significance of Anzac Day.¹³ Since that time the word 'pilgrimage' has been readily applied to visits by Australians to Gallipoli, Turkey, in books, travel brochures and magazines.¹⁴

Newspapers in 1990 added to popular perceptions that a journey to Gallipoli is a pilgrimage. 'Public interest in Gallipoli is gaining not receding ... It has returned to its original role as a unifying force' (Kelly *The Australian* April 25 1990:1). 'Pilgrimage back to Anzac Cove' *The Age* headlined (April 26 1990) and the editorial agreed that Bob Hawke was right when he said, 'there is a sense in which Gallipoli is part of Australia' ... 'for it was there on those rugged slopes and in those steep ravines that Australians achieved a sense of identity as a people.'

¹² Although 1990 can be seen as a watershed there were very early applications of this term. The first individual Australians made a pilgrimage in April 1922. The RSL sponsored its first official tour on Anzac Day 1931. At a service in 1934 President Ataturk made words of comfort to Australian mothers (Inglis 1998:270). It was the advent of mass travel on low cost aircraft that allowed the first modern pilgrimage for veterans in 1965, the fiftieth anniversary of 1915. Historian and participant Inglis reports, 'Landing from the lifeboats at dawn, the pilgrims of 1965 had been greeted on the beach by four young Australian hitchhikers, two boys and two girls' (Inglis 1998:442).

¹³ Inglis said it was the televisual visit of the Prime Minister Bob Hawke in 1990 that revived public interest, 'From then on, newspapers and other people used the word resurgence' (*The Age* 28th August 1999 F:4). Kapferer noted the occasion's 'nationalistic outpourings' (Kapferer, 1990:74).

¹⁴ Peter Bowers' *Anzacs* has a chapter 'The Backpacker Pilgrimage' (Bowers 1999). See also Youth Hostel of Australia's (YHA) magazine *Backpackers Essentials* (Vol. 5, No. 1 Autumn 2001).

In 1995 the Government called for lawful descendants of Gallipoli veterans for an 80th anniversary pilgrimage to Gallipoli, 'to actually bring young people to pass the legend on through young people, through their descendants and see what their grandparents had actually done. ... It was about educating the youth of Australia as to the sacrifices made by 100,000 Australians and to let them know that the peace we enjoy today was hard fought. ... it didn't just happen' (Con Sciacca).

Almost ten years later *The Australian*, on April 26 1999 reported more than 5,000 mostly young Australians and New Zealanders attending Gallipoli. A year later on the 85th anniversary of Anzac Day, 2000, *The Herald Sun* (Melbourne) led with photos and story of a Gallipoli service, 'part of an ever growing pilgrimage' (*The Herald Sun* April 26 2000:1). *The Age* spoke to a London based Melbourne man, 'we're Australians and this is where Australia's heart is overseas' (*The Age* April 26 2000:1).

It is well proven that Gallipoli for Australians is historically and mythically significant. 'The Anzacs symbolize in their youth the rebirth of the very soul of Western civilization and their embodiment of its fundamental ideals' (Kapferer 1988:127). In recent years this has been underlined by usage of the term pilgrimage for journeys there. To unravel the central ideas is more complex. The dominant Australian mythology is summarized by Kapferer, 'Not only do the Anzacs symbolize the Greek ideal of civilization, they are its defenders against the Turks' (Kapferer 1988:128).

The majority of young people at Gallipoli said they had come from London. This English journey was itself, something of a quest for the ancestral centre of their roots and identity, and was also referred by many pilgrims as ‘something of a pilgrimage’, but none saw it as having the intensity of the ‘real’ pilgrimage to Gallipoli. London was always described as a great adventure, but they tended to measure their own culture against English culture. It was not the ‘mythic home’ that centred their identity. They missed Australia and the widely published free papers in London for Australians capitalised on this. Many young people intended to do a Gallipoli pilgrimage while in Europe. It was something they had discussed with their families, and had something of a duty of respect for all military ancestors, even if those actual ancestors had fought on the Western Front, or New Guinea. Their pilgrimages were a way of marking generational links and continuity through their families as well as being personal quests for casting and re-creating their self and national identities in a global era.

While the general site is a clear destination a single dominant shrine is more difficult to determine. The actual ten square kilometres of the battlefield has many icons and shrines, but Anzac Cove, and the sites of the two Anzac Day Services are the principle shrines. The beach cemetery, with the gravestone of Private Simpson (the man with the donkey), was formerly the site of the Dawn Service and was another significant shrine. The grave of an ancestor became a personal shrine for many visitors. The saying of prayers, stopping for silence or laying of flowers denoted such places as shrines. There is no doubt that Gallipoli fulfills the first criteria, involving as it does a significant physical journey

and a historically and mythically significant site which holds within it a number of shrines.

The Lone Pine tree at the battlefield at Gallipoli is the shrine centre of a pilgrimage to that cemetery. Normally pilgrims go first and last to the names on the cemetery wall, but centre on the tree, a focus that is not uncommon in world religions.¹⁵ This tree has a series of replications in Australia, too. We are told the present tree is a direct descendant of the 1915 tree.

The sacredness of the tree was readily observable in the behaviour of pilgrims. It is in every pilgrim's photographs and many cried there. One group forewent a good view of proceedings in order to sit under the Lone Pine, as something to tell their descendants.

2. Pilgrimage is also a journey to the centre of the pilgrim's most valued ideals, ideals which can be termed sacred. This distinguishes pilgrimage from tourism. The former is the search for 'centre', whilst the latter is the search for the 'edge'.

To distinguish a pilgrimage from tourism it was argued that the pilgrimage goes to the centre of valued ideals in an attempt to re-create while tourism goes to the edges in recreation. At Gallipoli there was evidence of people moving from one status to another as they moved through *time* to Anzac Day and through *space* to the actual Anzac Cove

¹⁵ Eliade speaks of the common theme of a sacred tree as a 'centre of the world,' which makes clear a pre-existent holy place (1958:378).

area. Firstly, however, it is important to consider evidence of spiritual connection and central or important values that arose from discussions with travellers.

Visitors reported the journey to Gallipoli as deeply spiritual, even churchlike.

I feel I could go there every year of my life. It is a time to give myself a moment, just like going to church. Time to stop and give yourself time to think about what makes us free and what makes us in this position of being able to travel and get around this world. The Turks aren't travelling here (Australia) to see our war memorials. They aren't travelling anywhere (Annie Abay).

To stand there is to get a different understanding of what faith you have. It is just that these blokes gave me a place to stand. It is a type of faith, understanding, that for me (as an Australian) that (says) there is something concrete about where I come from. And they made a mark so far from home, to be held up as gods, as they were ... called immortal, 'six foot ten and bullet-proof ... but not bullet-proof (Annie Abay).

Cahir thought it was a pilgrimage: 'a group of people going over to a different place that was revered, steeped in our culture and our psyche' ... 'On the beach was my personal epiphany spot. It was too idyllic. I was just expecting charred and scarred battlefield remains. There was just this lovely little pebbly beach'. Cahir has encouraged family members to go, and has met many who have been. 'I have never met anyone who wasn't in raptures about having gone.'

The visit to the awe-filling Lone Pine cemetery was an 'uncanny experience' for Cahir.

Some of the pilgrims had flowers to lay, prayers to be said and respect to bequeath upon graves that held significance for them. (Cahir then contemplated his own mortality and so on) ... We all clambered back on the bus and lurched off to the next memorial. The ambience inside the bus was one of reflection. It was unsaid that it would be disrespectful to speak of anything that did not mirror the sacred nature of the place we had just left. The humbleness in the bus was palpable' (Cahir, 1995).

Interestingly, the spiritual connection was strong for a 'new' Australian Con Sciacca.

Even for someone like me who was born in Italy, an Australian by choice, going back to Gallipoli ... standing there on the dawn of the 25th of April in 1995 with one foot resting right ... next to the plaque of Private John Simpson, and seeing the dawn come over Anzac Cove. It's an experience that's hard to explain. You get a sense of awe and spirituality about the place. Even though I'm not a natural born Australian, the fact that I am an Australian, and I live in Australia it seems that there is a connection in a spiritual and emotional way between Australia and where the legend was born' (Con Sciacca).

All the pilgrims interviewed in 2000 spoke of the tears that signalled their initiation into a new sense of belonging to Australia and from that point on this belonging entailed a global dimension. They reported being an Australian with a greater sense of belonging in the world.

The Lone Pine War Memorial and cemetery, surrounded by a tranquil lawn, was the first site where a phenomenon experienced by many and predicted by others, was observed: 'expect to weep buckets'. Headstones were bedecked with fresh flowers and wild poppies marked individual names on the bordering wall. A busload of young Australians were observed gathered by their Turkish guide under the Lone Pine. He read the Ode, played the National Anthem and the Last Post on a cassette player and recited 'Lest We Forget'. The little group had their hats off, their heads bowed and tears flowing.

One young man, from an overland truck group from London, said he heard the Eric Bogle anti war song, *The Band Played Waltzing Matilda*, played on cassette by his Turkish guide, with the Ode and the National Anthem. 'That was my moment, when I

wept,' he said, 'On a tour the day before Anzac Day'. He also remembered the words on a headstone of a teenager, and wrote them in my notebook.¹⁶

Daniel had picked up a pebble, to take with him home to New Zealand, from the shore of Anzac Cove. Both he and his friend wept on a battlefield tour, led by their own Australian tour guide and both wept again at the second services, respectively those at the Australian Lone Pine and New Zealand Chunuk Bair.

Con Sciacca noted the emotionalism of Gallipoli.

Back in Gallipoli, I think the emotionalism of it was extraordinary. I'll never forget seeing the young fellow, who was from Norfolk Island. ... I remember him seeing a grave of an ancestor relative that was buried at Lone Pine. I remember this fellow, he wasn't a kid. He was about 28, with the green and white flag of Norfolk Island draped over this grave. To see him there crying. It was extraordinary to see the emotions it evoked in all of us.

Annie could not help crying on her own tours, and Fred cried in spite of beginning with a cynical attitude and a political critique of the war and its results.

But five years in a row, back there, it was like self-torture, because you'd be completely wrung out by looking after a group and then you would burst into tears yourself, every time. Counting private tours, eleven out of eleven had my tears. It is very personal and private, observing others' grief too (Annie Abay). What moved me especially was the famous words of Ataturk to the Australian mothers, where he said the dead would be treated as their own sons. I cried over there. I was very surprised. During an interview with a radio journalist ... it wasn't until I started talking and the tears just flowed (Fred Cahir).

¹⁶ He went away a boy,
He died a man,
For the liberty and
Freedom of his country.
Mum and Dad.

Anzac Day addresses from Prime Ministers and other functionaries tend to be ritualized, and consistently speak of loyalty, caring and the value of sacrifice. To these values they uniformly added the spiritual, the sacred site of the Gallipoli pilgrimage. The birth of the nation, mateship, sacrifice, sense of humour, irreverence, informality and group solidarity were nominated as core values that were significant in relation to Gallipoli.

The pilgrims on the way were open about their values, which they ‘knew’ would be supported by Gallipoli. The young medical technologists said they ‘believed in loyalty, to your mates, and loyalty to and from your long-term partner’, ‘that being spiritual was being human’ and ‘dying for your mates and giving to the next generation.’ They spoke of it being a place where they ‘appreciated what it was to be Australian’, especially after ‘the class crap of England’.

The first group of young people felt changed because they had seen the land ‘most sacred’ to Australians. The second group interviewed, the independent backpackers, also found the trip very meaningful. This group saw their journey as a pilgrimage with strong religious/spiritual parallels. It gave them both a national and personal sense of who they were.¹⁷ This has strong nationalistic echoes.

After the pilgrimage they felt they were different, it focused on their best values. These were usually described as ‘mateship, a sense of humour, an irreverence for authority, but doing the right thing, the ability to do great things for fellow Australians, perseverance

¹⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1991), reflects on the origin and spread of nationalism and the role of war graves especially those to the Unknown Soldier (Anderson 1991:9).

and the ability to do what your country asked, even to die for your country'. More than one described their belief and the Anzac spirit as 'a practical sort of Christianity, without pomp and ritual'. They did it for family as well as themselves (Cahir), and spoke of it in an obligatory sort of way as 'it was something they felt they had to do' (many conversations).

For some, what was most emotionally significant or of central value to them, was pondering the age of those killed at Gallipoli. The dead were their own age. They were so young, 'younger than me,' said a young man based in London. John Howard spoke of the young ages of the dead at Lone Pine. He gave us the ages (all around twenty) and names and professions of the seven VC winners there at Lone Pine, making a direct comparison with their age and that of the backpackers.

Tour operator Annie Abay reflected similar sentiments:

There is something about standing there (at Gallipoli) that makes you see the fragility and futility of the whole exercise that you don't get at the Dawn Service here (Australia). When you are actually standing there you know that those kids, they had no chance. How and why did all these people have to die for such little gain?

I suppose being there means a lot to me. Each time I go I think surely I won't get all emotional, but I do. I think of wasted lives, young lives on both sides, and the fact that they did it for their country which is us. I wonder what they would make of us and our pilgrimage.¹⁸

¹⁸ Victorian representative in 1995, Fred Cahir attempted to confirm what he'd always been taught about the young age of those killed and, unlike most others, found evidence to dispute this. 'I was always brought up with this idea that really young men went, but the graveyards we went to certainly didn't bear this out. I was mortified to find out that a huge proportion were in their mid thirties to the forties. I did some research when I got back and discovered that of the First World War, Second World War and Vietnam that they were the oldest in the First World War.'

For still others the most moving experience was the Dawn Service itself. Several aspects evoked strong emotions: the music, the Ode, the Last Post and the silence. They recalled the dawning of the day, with the flags fluttering up their poles from half-mast to full, and the singing of the national anthem.

Often there seemed some implied 'ancestor worship': one group at Gelibolu nominated this and also spoke of 'a reinforced national identity'. Over dinner the 'Zurich suits' opened up about their lives and values, what they thought was special and significant about Australia, and where and how they wanted their families to grow up. It seemed that the journey to Gallipoli had allowed them to philosophise about the essential values in life. They wanted to preserve the best of Australia in the rapidly shrinking high technology global village that they were helping to construct.

After a few days' reflection people said it was 'incredibly moving,' 'now I understand more of what it is to be Australian'. 'I believe that they gave us a culture that respects individuals and asks you look after your mates'. Women and men pilgrims' talk of 'mates and mateship' was pervasive and not gender specific. Many wondered 'what the Anzacs would think of Australia now?' A reflection on changed values, demonstrated but not put into words, was that post Gallipoli and Anzac Day, the national distinction of New Zealanders from Australians seemed even less than before. So although Australianness was important the emotion also embraced a wider allegiance across the Pacific to those who shared this heritage.

Con Sciacca argued that patriotism is missing on Australia Day and that what happens on Anzac Day is more central.

The only real day for Australians seems to be Anzac Day. ... The feeling one gets at Gallipoli, of patriotism and pride, that these people gave their lives so that we could have the country we have today. They gave us the birth of the individuality, ... what it is to be Australian. And the sacrifices and the type of identity that Australians enjoy today: carefree, hard working, mates that give anything for (their) friends, that sense of mateship in adversity. What I'm saying is Gallipoli ... has a spirituality and that is where the term pilgrimage comes from. It is not a religious pilgrimage, but it is a spiritual pilgrimage.

The sacredness of these values is sometimes apparent. The concept of Gallipoli as a centre of the cultural world, an *axis mundi* where the ideal or sacred touches the mundane, is well supported by the behaviour and statements of participants. One of the young women interviewed in Istanbul chose a tour that was marketed as more respectful, more of a pilgrimage and which offered extra time for a battlefield walk.

Further evidence of the centre of a sacred pilgrimage was the pilgrims' observance of sacred rituals and concern with bringing sacred objects from home, as well as taking back *sacra* from Gallipoli, such as a pebble from Anzac Cove, tee shirts and photos.

Participants in the pilgrimage seemed to be able to differentiate between the phases of their journey that were made as a tourist and that were made as a pilgrim. The middle-aged Australians on Kompass, for example, were also clear about their European holiday as tourists, and their Gallipoli trip as pilgrims. Gallipoli was a highlight for which they had carried old letters and medals and photos. The young people on the giant overland trucks seemed clearer in their own minds on the difference between pilgrimage and

tourism once they had walked the battlefield. The epiphany of Anzac Cove or Lone Pine re-oriented them. By the afternoon of Anzac Day, a few days later, they were seeking out new people to share their emotions and values. They were then off to continue, as different people, their adventure travel. Similarly many London based young pilgrims planned to come to Gallipoli and then go on holidays to the Turkish Mediterranean as tourists.

In general, when the pilgrims left Gallipoli behind and resumed their journey their sense of community and formerly inclusive behaviour changed in a way they recognised as the end of pilgrimage and a return to tourism. They had moved from a search for the centre to a search for the edge, something different and exotic. When a tourist they are seeking recreation, difference, unusual experience, others. When a pilgrim they are seeking themselves, re-creation, centres of self and themselves as part of a nation and part of a family.

This movement by travellers from tourist to pilgrim seemed most obvious in the ten days before and two days after April 25th in Gallipoli. As stated, on the 'way' groups were open and inclusive, readily accepting new pilgrims and engaging in conversation. Also immediately post Gallipoli they sought out fellow Australians to discuss and process their experiences. But as they resumed their journeys an indifference to fellow country-persons, unless they shared the exact destination, was apparent.

Whether there was a need to return to this site was less obvious. Both groups interviewed were uncertain if they would return, except perhaps to bring a partner. The second group felt they might like to spend longer walking the battlefield, however they thought that for most people it would be a once in a lifetime experience, unless they brought a partner back to share the experience. They would encourage their friends to experience it.

I was a tourist in Istanbul but the moment we got anywhere near the site we were pilgrims. I forgot I was in Turkey for quite a while, with so many Australian voices. There is a bar in Canakkale called the Anzac bar where young backpackers hung out and people recognised us in the street, calling out 'Hey, Aussie'. That doesn't happen to you as a tourist, but when you are a pilgrim it does' (Fred Cahir).

The Anzac journey usually began in small groups of two or three, or even singly, which then meet up into larger groups. Gallipoli is a long way from anywhere, and is therefore a conscious and deliberate choice. It is at its heart then a personal choice of cultural or spiritual deliberation. But the convergence of so many people to the appointed place and time has an enormous social impact. In the immediate region of Gallipoli, at the days preceding and including Anzac day the Turnerian *communitas* is overwhelmingly demonstrated. Fictive kin ties were created, there was a breakdown of social differentiation during the main period of the pilgrimage. There was a sense of oneness with each other. Age, gender and profession seemed unimportant. Australians and New Zealanders, young and old, 'suits' and 'hippies' converged for a common purpose.

Both males and females had a new interest in Australianness had led them to value 'mateship, courage, a willingness to cut across class and crap' that distinguished them

from the English. As well they had ‘an intolerance to ‘useless’ authority’ and they prized ‘the ability to care for each other’.

One described the Gallipoli pilgrimage as the discovery of the ‘mythic centre of Australia’, a centre that London did not provide. The theme arising from individual interviews and conversations, ‘I wept/cried buckets’, can be seen to indicate the finding of a spiritual centre. There are dimensions of significance and meaning ranging from ancestor worship, to the birth of a nation, mateship, sacrifice, a sense of humour, irreverence, informality and group solidarity. The term ‘sacred site’ was commonly used by pilgrims, as indeed it was also by the Governor General, when he said, ‘our most sacred soil’ (*The Age* April 26 1999:1).

The profusion of sacred activities by priests and state functionaries was matched by the number of special ‘sacred objects’ brought by the pilgrims. They brought to Gallipoli a wide collection of letters, photos, books, flags, medals, badges, special marked clothing and two up pennies. As well many objects and activities were marked off as *taboo* or sacred. As examples pilgrims were told in 2000, that they could no longer sleep on the graves of the dead, and that the waters of Anzac Cove, ‘Brighton Beach’ in the 1915 Cahir letter were too sacred to swim in. The Lone Pine tree was also sacred. The prohibition on sleep the night before the Dawn Service can be seen as an extra sacrifice observed by the pilgrims.

Prayers and tears and offerings of flowers were made over the graves of the dead. Special rites were observed by many pilgrims, such as the extra physical efforts in walking the battlefields, climbing up to Lone Pine through Shrapnel Gully, and observing the two-up game late, after dark, on Anzac Day.

We can see, then, that Gallipoli definitely is a non-local physical journey to a historically and mythically significant site. It is also a journey of re-creation, a journey to the centre of cultural ideals, in this case non-theistic ones. We can now see too that the journey to Gallipoli is also a journey to the centre of the pilgrim's most valued ideals, ideals that can be termed sacred. The central ideals do have a sacred element and, although not always articulated, some of these are related to a myth of origin: 'this is where Australia really began as a conceptual entity separate from Britain.'

3. The valued central ideals may be theistic, but can be revered central ideals, as a rule encapsulated in a myth of origin.

Revered central ideals in Australia that many believe contribute to national myths of origin concern sacrifice for nation and democratic individualism.

A lot of people believe that Australia's individuality and Australia's growth as a nation did not come out of its days as a penal colony with the free as its gaolers. There was a feeling amongst many Australians that this country was born as a nation, and other nations started taking notice of us as a nation ... the identity of this country as a nation was born on those hills of Gallipoli on the 25th April 1915. That was the first time people turned their head and said, 'Who were those?' And the Australian individuality, the sense of humour, the mateship was born there.
(Con Sciacca)

Two young women in a group commented on the youth of those who had died at Gallipoli. One said ‘they were so young, I ask myself if I could have done my duty for my country’, in terms of the landing under fire and the suicidal charges required of the Anzacs. Her female companion agreed it was ‘a challenge she was thinking about’. A young male then said, ‘they were so brave, so committed, our age, it brings it home. They died for their country and their mates, I don’t know if I believe that strongly, I wonder what they’d think of us?’ The impossible courage of charging the Nek and going down the tunnels of Lone Pine, had forced both men and women in this group to ask the serious question, ‘Could I do that if my country asked?’ Interestingly it was a young woman who posed this question, but the others quickly agreed that the occasion had given them cause for similar self-reflection. None of this group showed a militaristic attitude to war, and traditional gender stereotyping was absent in the discussion.

The Anzac myth of origin, as Kapferer claims, encapsulates the ideals of democratic individualism. There is evidence from actions and events at Gallipoli that this cultural ideal persists. Sometimes there is a temporary break down of social barriers and a uniting for a common purpose. This has continually been noted since the 1980s. Annie Abay notes how young tour operators mixed freely with dignitaries such as Senator Bowen, the Australian Ambassador and head of the RSL, Bruce Ruxton and were able to cut through procedure and formalities. ‘Bruce Ruxton and I were just chatting away on the beach. ... I was chatting and I said I had a girl who really wanted to lay a wreath for her great uncle

and he said to line up with us'. Later (1990) she also chatted to Bob Hawke 'who said to me you typify the meaning of what we are all doing here'.¹⁹

It had not been all plain sailing though.

We came in 1987, and just turned up, and apparently the RSL saw it as their show and wanted to know what right we had to be there. The group made it look like a club, their clique. 'Where is your authority to be here? Don't make any disturbance.' They were in charge, not of the shrine ... but it was their service. In fact we were prepared to do our own Dawn Service. We had our own wreath and were about to come to a decision about joining in or not when a second bus arrived and they just got on with the service. After the first year we dug in ... thought we were there to participate, not just observe. I got on well with the dignitaries and we joined the official party and there were never any more questions (Abay).

Ultimately the old diggers and presumably their official representatives were thrilled at the numbers turning up and their interest. Abay spoke of an argument about donations of bronze plaques and refusal to affix the Prime Minister's name which further demonstrates tensions between initiatives arising out of public interest and attempts by leaders and politicians to 'hijack' them.

Another example of tension between hierarchy and egalitarianism occurred during Fred Cahir's visit.

At the Dawn Service at Ari Burnu, the Australian War Graves Commission seemed in charge. ... Culturally it was interesting. We were all waiting for the Australian Governor General to show up, so there was some consternation and debate on when to start it. 'Blow the Governor General. Let's start it' was the feeling of the crowd I was in. The crowd had a lot of anger and wanted to start without him. 'Start the ceremony', people called out, 'the politicians weren't there 80 years ago. Let's start now'.

¹⁹ She was an Australian married to a Turkish man, carried their child around with her and included Turkish guides and perspectives in her tour.

Added to that, some of the pilgrims had got so sick and tired of waiting (not us in the official pilgrimage group) and they climbed up the hill behind us, the Sphinx, I think. And they had planted an Australian flag up there and some music was provided by a didgeridoo, and bagpipes too. There was a very egalitarian, alternative service going on. People were very 'jacked off' with the bureaucratic bungling that had occurred, and wanted to put the power back in the people's hands, rather than wait for some Governor General that they did not really respect, to be honest. It was a very interesting moment. ... The clash of the egalitarian with the bureaucratic was most obvious at the Dawn Service. I even suspected that if Con Sciacca had had the power, he would have cranked it up and not waited for the Governor General. It was an indication of egalitarian power there. Being a pilgrim is liberating. (Fred Cahir).

The third criterion of pilgrimage concerning valued cultural ideals and a myth of origin are thus well met in a consideration of the Gallipoli journey.

4. The 'shrine' central to the pilgrimage casts an image of the culture, and the ideals portrayed must be within the known limits of the culture.

The image of the culture mythically preserved in the Anzac myth is not just of a simpler, purer and heroic world. The world of 1915 was seen as non-hierarchical, with the Australian officers very much sharing the lives of the 'men'. It is seen and represented as a world where Jack was as good as his master, if not a lot better. It was a world where many soldiers were often self-employed and had no master; where there was rugged self-reliance and individualism. This is now far away from the present realities for a wage-based Australian employee, working for massive governmental bureaucracies or multinational corporations. The leadership and official organisation of the Anzac Day service at the Gallipoli shrines reflects (and occasionally contrasts with) this non-hierarchical and egalitarian cultural value.

The organisation was extraordinarily 'low key'. The coalition of apparent leaders arguably represents the people rather than the state. The services depend on the pilgrims' self-discipline, and their respect for the dead and for the Anzac myth. At times other than Anzac Day, the shrine is apparently self-governing, or pilgrim led, with help from Turkish guides.

The Prime Ministers such as Hawke, Keating and Howard have been able to extol the myth of a rugged independence at the same time as being functionaries of highly regulated societies. Pilgrims were polite to the political leaders, but acted as though they saw the true authority with their fellow pilgrims, and were appreciative when this was articulated at Lone Pine, when Air Vice Marshall Beck told them the service was for the young.

The ideals embodied in this journey are certainly located within known limits of the culture. The travellers say the myth of Anzac is the birthplace of their national values. Although these values were not articulated as Christian, they could well have been influenced by Christian heritage. Those interviewed were in general not against Christianity, nor strongly attracted to committed Church attendance, but they argued for a value system, parallel and 'sort of Christian', of practical good works. They identified sexual fidelity, loyalty, caring and the value of sacrifice as important values. To these values they added the spirituality of the sacred site of the Gallipoli pilgrimage. The birth of the nation, some undeveloped ancestor worship, mateship, sacrifice, sense of humour,

irreverence, informality and group solidarity were nominated as these values. Some spoke of a reinforced national identity.

Young visitors, on contemplating the youthful ages of the dead at Gallipoli, commonly wondered what these soldiers would think of the present Australia they gave their young lives for. Just as the politicians extolled the virtues of rugged individualism in the face of the overwhelming legislation for the demise of personal autonomy, so all the young work in large multinationals in London. Although the individualism and equality are within the known limits of the culture, the reality can create a contrasting tension for some. At Gallipoli though, the individualistic democratic value was given some scope for being reinforced. The shrine complex at Gallipoli operates to cast an image of Australian culture that is consistent with historically acknowledged elements such as democratic individualism.

5. The shrine has the capacity to absorb a multiplicity of discourses (some shrines tend to have populist, spontaneously generated dimensions, in uneasy relationship with religious and governmental structures).

Although, as recorded, there was a deal of common purpose, friendliness and communitas at the lead up to the Anzac ceremony, there was also evidence of tensions and of a multiplicity of discourses. Tensions exist between RSL and backpackers, the regular Australian Army and the Australian pilgrim populace, Military honour and sacrificial, pacifist worldviews, Turks and pilgrims, and even Army chaplains in tension

with their Church, with their studied vagueness on salvation. (The more exclusive and militant Christian message of salvation only through Faith, Scripture, Sacrament and Church, in the army chaplains, became a muted universalism.) Despite such various discourses at the shrine, a sense of intense community prevailed, possibly because the egalitarian national pilgrimage discourse is allowed to dominate.

Historically it is clear that the scope of this historical journey has been overwhelmingly broadened through populist spontaneous activity rather than bureaucratic organisation. Furthermore the nature of the ceremony and its officials and leaders demonstrates an uneasy relationship with religious and government structures. The organising structures are quite complex in themselves.

For the Anzac Day ceremony the various Australian Government Heads, Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, or Governors, and Ministers and Heads of Departments mixed with the Australian and New Zealand Service representatives, and cooperated with the numerically larger Turkish army and police forces at a distance. The Returned Servicemen's League is the custodian of the Dawn Service in Australia, so it too has a role at Gallipoli, along with the military chaplains, as representatives of Christianity.

Over at least three time frames there is evidence of populist forces pitching themselves against officialdom.²⁰ This is exemplified by Cahir's description of the 1995 late arrival of the Governor General which was an example of the egalitarian people rising against the state and its officials at Anzac that fitted Kapferer's thesis (Kapferer 1988).

At the International Shrine, where the Turkish Authorities were in charge, one of the most humorous moments occurred for Fred Cahir. It demonstrated the scope for the event to tread precarious paths between alternative discourses and nationalities.

The Turks had their two highest-ranking officials, the Australians had their highest ranking official, the Governor General; the New Zealanders had (their) Prime Minister and Governor General. The French and Germans were well represented ... and the British had their Minister of Fisheries and Wildlife! It indicated to everyone around me, with little smirks, that this meant it was insignificant to them, despite their losses. The film version (*Gallipoli*) has the British eating cucumber sandwiches when the Australians needed help. At that same beach I made a joking remark to a British tourist and nearly got 'snotted' (punched). They had a very different view of the battle.

As stated, in the late 1980s before tours to Gallipoli were really established the Abay tour group brought the 'biggest and best' wreath and was incorporated in the official party.

The backpackers were in sufficient numbers, if need be, to run a service in competition to the Returned Servicemen's League (Abay interview).

²⁰ Prior to 1990 the financial input of Australia was not so obvious and an Australian dentist/artist (covered on the television program *Australian Story*) had to donate his series of bronze plaques incorporating maps and relief images and text pertaining to the battle. A political storm erupted when the artist refused an order to include the Prime Minister's name on the plaques (Annie Abay). In a small way similar battles occurred within one small tour. The telecommunications men from Zurich with help from their Turkish office manager, had put together a private tour, with driver and guide. The cultural clashes were quite marked, as the guide imagined he was in total charge, and reporting only to his manager in Istanbul, and the Australians were sure it was their tour. Small things had reduced the dynamics of the trip to real hostility, the guide against the rest.

In spite of the alternative, multiple discourses there were times when real *communitas*, universal feelings of oneness, were experienced. At Lone Pine the people heard words from Air Vice-Marshal Beck that made a visceral connection with them. Beck's words were, 'As I look out at this vast crowd, I can tell you that without question this is the largest group of Australians to have gathered in Turkey since 1915.' He went on, not to address the dignitaries, but the young and the backpackers, who constituted most of the crowd. One said, 'Wasn't it great, he spoke directly to us and said the service was for us'. Another said, 'It was great that we were wanted, and this service was for us'. 'It was better without the TV crews.' And, 'We were given a direct link to the Anzacs, when he said it was the largest group of Australians since 1915'.

Prime Minister John Howard, too, was at his most relaxed and effective, speaking to the crowd by linking them in their ordinariness to those other young Australians who had been awarded the Victoria Cross there. One said, 'I liked what he said at Lone Pine, it was a good speech.' Another said, 'He spoke to us, it wasn't politics. It was about being Australian.'

The fifth criterion of pilgrimage is met. The shrine has the capacity to absorb a multiplicity of discourses. This shrine does have populist, spontaneously generated dimensions, sometimes in an uneasy relationship with religious and government structures.

6. Pilgrims go to a shrine to experience the actual place of past events, see and usually touch the actual sacred things of their culture in a way that becomes a model of future experience.

The young travellers made a point of carrying through one or more special physical feats such as the extra physical effort entailed in walking the battlefields, or climbing up to Lone Pine through Shrapnel Gully. Of course there was also the near obligatory staying up all night for the dawn Service, and later staying up the second night after dark to observe the two-up game on Anzac Day.

This intensified the experience of being at the actual place of the past events. They, like their mythic, but also real, grandfather and great grandfather ancestors, could see dawn lighting up these Gallipoli cliffs and the Sphinx headland behind the North Beach Dawn Service site. But it was not exchanging pleasantries with the Prime Minister, which many did, but the climb up Shrapnel Gully, in the steps of Pte. John Simpson, VC, that was an unexpected highlight for several. They went past the cemeteries and trenches to emerge at Lone Pine.

In the earlier years Annie Abay recalled that they too had free access to the land and the mementos hidden within it. 'We scrambled and dug, we walked up trenches and found bullets and Rising Stars and barbed wire. One year we found lots of stuff.'

Many thousands of travellers slept on the battlefield the night before Anzac Day, 2000, lying extremely close together on ground sheets and sleeping bags under the stars. The grass in front of the second terrace wall was an area of about one acre, or four suburban house blocks, so it was packed hip to hip. There were another five acres further back behind the second terrace. For many the communal feeling of sleeping safely in such huge numbers was unforgettable. 'Just magic' one young female pilgrim said next day. Others in the next few days, male and female spoke of the safety and intimacy of the mass sleeping together as their highlight. Still others felt that their favorite experience was a moment of reflection on the battlefield tour in the days before Anzac Day, but added, 'sleeping together with the other pilgrims on the grass at North Beach was a beautiful experience'.

The ability to 'see' and imagine the events of the past is heightened by a trip to Gallipoli. There is a sense of homecoming (as evidenced by Cahir's comments on the landscape, Con Sciacca's commitment to his adopted country and from interviews) for those pilgrims encountering this widely photographed and filmed location. This most sacred site offers a large degree of tactile experience. People can step on, touch and see landscapes still marked physically by the geography of battle and redolent with historical relics and stories of the past. Sleeping on the battlefield the night before, as most did, enabled an intensification of the experience of being at the actual place of the past events.

It has been well argued by historians such as Bean (cited in Inglis 1998, and Kapferer 1988,) that after Anzac Day in 1915 the Australian people were unified and identified, for

the first time, as Australians. This same point was also made by Con Sciacca in the interview. They understood this as being at the rebirth of Western civilisation, and as colonial selves being reborn in these battles as something better than the European original. Pilgrims say 'being there' is their first step in a new understanding of what it means to be Australian. The ability to translate the Anzacs' historical action into a current context was demonstrated by several young people who were forced to contemplate whether they could give their country as much. In this way their experience of prior sacrifice for a country became a possible model for values to guide their future action.

Gallipoli has within it a strong reforming tradition. It is not only Prime Ministers such as Hawke, Keating and Howard, who have no military service who get to play the role of soldier patriot. This particular shrine allows each pilgrim the possibility of a change of status, to be remade as Australian patriot and a more sensitive, if not orthodox, spiritual being. A thorough understanding of the continuing strength of this change would require a much longer and broader study. Kapferer sees the 'centrality of Anzac within the ideological structure of Western Christian civilization', calling it a secular religion 'of the common man formed within Judeo-Christian ideology even as it inverts it and rejects it' (Kapferer 1988:129,130). Gallipoli also bridges the strained relationships White Australia has with its ethnic homeland, the sense of separation from Britain, which contains 'a deep ideological ambivalence', part of the Australian self-consciousness (Kapferer 1988:133). It is because the pure young manhood was sacrificed 'at the hands of the British and European sacrificers' that the new order of 'egalitarian individualism' was created (Kapferer 1988:135). Kapferer notes the reduced role of Christian clergy in Anzac

celebrations, and the preference for the Salvation Army. ‘Both the Salvation Army and the Anzacs are better in what they do – more compassionate and efficient fighters – in their negation of the artificial and conventional organisational forms of established religious and military orders (Kapferer 1988:137).

Pilgrims want to have some control of both the shrines and services, and to help redefine the culture when they return. Despite the goodwill, unity and general *communitas*, the pilgrims were vocal in several ‘conflicts’ with the Military and media when these sought privileges above the pilgrims, and with the Anzac Day Service arrangements at Gallipoli in general, where they felt the tradition was slighted. This ownership was reflected in the feeling that ‘they had seen the land most sacred to Australians’. They would encourage other Australians, their partners in particular, to share the experience. They would stand up for the values enshrined at Gallipoli and spread them back in Australia. They felt Australian identity was essential to preserve even in a global village.

There was also a very real sense of the pilgrimage being a family duty, and of the pilgrim being a lucky representative who took the medals and letters on behalf of the family. They had often spent a day in Australia getting the family military history and sacred items, or discussing Gallipoli with distant family over the phone, and they were expected to spend time with their Australian family to hand back the ‘sacra’. It was also a family privilege: to represent the family line, to honour the particular dead relative and to enable a rekindling of relationship with the intervening relative, the father in Cahir’s case.

7. *Shrines have ritual experts or custodians.*

Clarification on the issue of the shrine complex's custodians admits no easy answer. It may appear from documentation that it is the Australian War Graves Commission that is responsible for the shrine, but it is not so simple. Firstly it is on foreign soil, and the Turkish Government has a role, shown by the inclusion of the Turkish, Australian and New Zealand National Anthems and flags at the Dawn service²¹ and the presence of Turkish police and army personnel at a distance. For most of the year the Turks are the principal shrine custodians. This could be seen as something of an anomaly. The site of a pilgrimage for central Australian values is for most of the year cared for by representatives of the 'enemy' force that vanquished the Australian troops. If it is looked at in the light of the interpretation of the war in the film *Gallipoli*, though, it is not such a contradiction. British officers were more of the enemy and the battle became one of emerging nationhood and forging a separate national identity. Furthermore peace rather than warfare became a central message and the Turkish as well as Australians could appreciate this.

In the days before 1990 although the Turkish Government was nominally in charge of the site for all but Anzac Day 'there was no-one there' (Annie Abay). 'The Museum was not built until 1989 and the Turkish Army, flag and national Anthem were not part of the

²¹ New Zealanders constituted about 20% of the pilgrims tending to merge and separate as either New Zealanders or honorary Australians on invisible cues. Some admitted to singing the popular anthem, *I am, you are, we are Australian*, along with the Australians. But as noted they participated in a Maori chant to compete with an Australian rock band on Anzac Eve and chose the more difficult ascent of Shrapnel Gully to the New Zealand Memorial at Chunuk Bier, thus making a statement about their separate identity.

procedure, possibly until the turning point of 1990' (Annie Abay). For all the year except Anzac Day it is 'just a bit of bushland that you can go and visit. That one day of the year it needs management'.

While the big tour companies are large enough to provide their own shrine leadership in the days around Anzac Day, on other than this season around the '*One day of the year*', they are not the most significant custodians. The typical 'pilgrimage trips' outside April start with a Turkish bus guide who has learnt to allow some self-guided quiet reflection. Tom from Anzac House (Gelibolu) was quick to make this a selling point to potential pilgrims for his own tours. Turkish taxi drivers expected Australians to take extra time for quiet meditation.

The travellers were not really sure what role the Australian and Turkish Governments played in looking after the shrine, but they agreed that for most of the year it was in practice minded by the Turkish tour guides. For this overland group, as stated, their most personal and emotional moment, when they wept, occurred during a short Lone Pine service run by a Turkish guide. The Turkish showed particular tolerance for the Australian travellers, evidently allowing one Australian to camp for a week (possibly illegally) on the shore just before Anzac Cove. The tent was over the border of the Military Park, but tolerated by the Turkish army.²²

We went on a minibus tour with the Museum manager and his wife. He was Australian and his wife was Turkish, and his grandfather was an Anzac and his

²² The Turkish army and police were very tolerant of tourist eccentricities, but tough on their own citizens, chasing Turkish youth away from tourist women. They were always willing to have their photo taken with a tourist.

wife's great grandfather had been on the Turkish side. They were able to give say the Australian version of say Hill 107, and she would give the Turkish version of the events ... it was written from two sides' (Fred Cahir).

While this journey did have its shrine custodians, this role was shared and so helped symbolise the importance of peace and alliance with former enemies.

8. Returning pilgrims absorb spiritual trace and implant it in their home community.

Gallipoli is a shrine where it is important both to take and bring back some sacred relic, a continuation of an Australian Military tradition encouraged by Bean (cited by Kapferer 1988:132). Important spiritual traces are still brought back by pilgrims such as tee shirts, caps, pieces of battle-field junk and small requests from non-pilgrims back in Australia, such as a pebble from Anzac Cove. Many items, such as flags, medals and two-up sets, are also brought from Australia. Although they are not placed or left at the shrine, it appears they become more sacred from having been there.²³

Conclusion

In terms of the theories of pilgrimage and the model constructed in Chapter Two Gallipoli clearly can be seen as a spiritual but civic / secular pilgrimage. This chapter has argued that this Australian pilgrimage fits the general frame of criteria for pilgrimage. Moreover, some of the aspects of it may give scope for considering a particular

²³ When I was ordained I was given a Gallipoli stole (priestly clothing from a priest who was in the 1915 landing) as an ordination gift.

Australian variant of pilgrimage. Perhaps because of the secular slant of Australia's history, Australia is more prone to embrace secular pilgrimage. Furthermore it may be likely to embody anti-hierarchical elements and give a higher value to spontaneity rather than bureaucratic organisation.

This chapter has argued that the popular embracement of the term 'pilgrimage' and numerical and qualitative involvement of young Australians in the Anzac Day trip to Gallipoli, Turkey, according to the frame of criteria for pilgrimage developed in Chapter Two can be seen as a true pilgrimage. Participant observation; conversations and short interviews with many; and in depth interviews with three key informants reveal that the term pilgrimage is more than a metaphor for what is occurring. Historical and contemporary accounts of Anzac Day bear testimony to the fact that it is a historically and mythically significant site with a number of shrines. Sleeping as a group, crying together, mourning the sacrifice of youth and family ancestors and retracing the steps of ancestors, demonstrate the sacredness and spirituality of the special time and place. Central values that are revealed through discussion were democratic individualism, the value of sacrifice, fidelity, loyalty, caring. To these values they added the spirituality of the sacred site of the Gallipoli pilgrimage as the birthplace of the nation. Some spoke of a reinforced national identity. Other values included some undeveloped ancestor worship, mateship, sense of humour, irreverence, informality and group solidarity. Others commented on the youth of those who had died and wondered whether they could have done what their country had asked of them in similar circumstances. The event gives

occasion for people to reflect on their nationality and their commitment to the nation. It acts out an anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical cultural value. It empowers young Australians who are able to experience themselves as a new, massed force. It reveals, and has revealed in the past, some tension between different powers and discourses and complexities through the shared custodianship.

CONCLUSION

The aim of the thesis was to argue that pilgrimage is a significant aspect of secular and religious Australia. Pilgrimage as a phenomenon has been receiving considerable exposure in the popular press but limited scholarly attention, particularly in Australia.

We have seen (Chapter One) how Australia has been considered uncommonly secular but that there was a large gap between nominal Christianity and professed belief in God in comparison to participation in the institutionalised Church of Australia. There is also evidence of increasing interest in the spiritual in terms of interest in academic courses on such issues. Scholars such as Tacey and Inglis have posited the view that this interest in spirituality has found a home in ideas about the environment, for example the significance of the desert, and about war remembrance and nationalism. Anzac Day and Gallipoli were seen to have sacred dimensions and to be associated with a myth of origin for Australians. It seemed possible that middle Australia could be becoming more religious and spiritual in non-church ways, and that there could be grounds for examining secular spirituality.

Anthropologists and comparative religion scholars provided concepts and frameworks with which to study two spiritual journeys in Australia: one religious journey to an image of Mary at Yankalilla, South Australia and the other a secular journey to Gallipoli, Turkey. Research on studies about pilgrimage and spiritual aspects of belonging and

space allowed the development of a frame of criteria for pilgrimage by which one could measure or test the two Australian journeys (Chapter Two).

Pilgrimage is a physical journey to a shrine that contains central cultural ideals. There are secular and sacred dimensions and alternative discourses about the site and the process of pilgrimage. Often these contest official or institutionalised versions of ideal belief and behaviour. There are site custodians and people attempt to touch, see, experience the site and to take back sacred traces from the site and a revived model about life or their central values.

To study pilgrimage it was argued (Chapter 3) that a method of research allowing subjective understanding of experience as well as structure and access to levels of meaning, would be most useful. In this vein, the ideas of Clifford Geertz on thick description and Victor Turner on experience were adopted and a method devised that made use of participant observation and in-depth interviews with key informants.

When the background, media coverage and research data were viewed in relation to Yankalilla (Chapter Four) and Gallipoli (Chapter Five) it was argued that each of these journeys satisfied the frame of criteria for pilgrimage and that we thus had evidence of both a sacred and secular pilgrimage in Australia. It has therefore been demonstrated that in Yankalilla and Gallipoli, Australia has significant journeys that warrant the title of pilgrimage. It is further suggested that such pilgrimages exemplify the scope for a middle

Australia for non-Church spirituality, and that pilgrimage is an important part of the spiritual life of secular and religious Australia.

Australian distinctiveness and significance appear to be particularly attached to the idea of spontaneously generated pilgrimage, rather than bureaucratically sponsored pilgrimage. Pilgrim behaviour is very much self-motivated and self disciplined, not a matter of being “told”. They go in their own time because they want to.

Likewise, the uneasy relationship of the pilgrim mass with the religious or national hierarchy is a feature of the egalitarian Australian pilgrim on their journey and at their shrine. An Australian shrine contains many discourses, official and unofficial, and as well as the spontaneous dimension: “not being told to go”; they do not wish to be “told what to think”.

In both cases we also saw that the preferred shrine custodian was someone who was between structure, someone in an ambiguous position that could not over-ride pilgrim behaviour, which is generally highly self-disciplined. For example at Yankalilla the Anglican custodian and his Bishop had the unusual role of providing a pilgrimage site to Catholics. At Anzac Day in Australia the RSL, not the Army nor the Church is the institutional custodian for the Dawn Services. While for shrines and places to do with Gallipoli it is an anomalous mix of Turkish and Australian tour guides and Government that operates as custodians.

Shrine custodians walk the delicate line of allowing the pilgrimage to have several levels of discourse, while preserving the relics for the next pilgrim to see and so discover what she or he needs. The shrine custodians often have a commitment to the orthodox structures that the pilgrims are intent on distancing themselves from, so that they may re-centre themselves on the “true” orthodoxy. It could be argued that this distancing from formal structures is implicit in the pilgrims’ needs to leave their society for their encounter with the redeeming and transforming presence of their god or ideal values.

This baseline of recognising these two acknowledged pilgrimages should stimulate further examination of secular/spiritual journeys as well as religious pilgrimages; to test not only the common usage of the term pilgrimage, but also the spiritual values they support.

The unique history of Australia has predisposed some towards a style of religion rather different from that traditionally offered. Preference for spontaneous generation of cultural observances, the egalitarian spirit and seeing religion as imported and not very relevant are part of the mainstream of Australian culture. Civil religion, or perhaps secular religion, as some sort of parallel or sister religion to Christianity, may be something that helps to explain what appears to be a national fascination with iconic journeys and pilgrimage. Again, the large number of Australians who maintain their Christian identity in the census without Church attendance may relate to an exploration of their spirituality in their pilgrimages.

Pilgrimage is a journey, conventionally by sacred road, to a place where one's most revered values can be reinforced perhaps by meeting divinity, or being in the place where one's ideals were incarnated and so encounter a transforming potentiality for self and culture. Pilgrims leave society to seek or meet their ideal, perhaps personified as something divine, and to reinforce such an ideal when they rejoin society.

The tension between leaving society to return whole in a salvic (saved/healed) sense, the better able to build community, is seen clearly in the interaction of pilgrims and the shrine custodians. The pilgrim mass do not see the shrine custodian as an official guide to orthodoxy, but as a conduit to a higher reality. In leaving society and city and comforts to discover the centre of oneself, one then returns to reintegrate (as a changed person) into a needy society that the pilgrim feels, urgently needs purifying and *re-creating* to better fit the returned pilgrim's view of community.

Pilgrimage may be a folk based reformation agent to revive values and ideals, and future researchers might well ponder the scope for sacred or secular pilgrimage to grow larger than the Church. The Anglican Bishop of the Murray supported the Yankalilla pilgrimage but also recognised the scope for a secular spirituality in Australia in relation to the Anzac Day Dawn Services:

But it is something that happens in Dawn Services. Men have deep and penetrating spiritual insights, but they are very shy about speaking of them, until they get with people who share such things. To my way of thinking that is what characterises the Dawn Service. The silences allow Australian men to follow their own 'orthodoxy' (Bishop Walden).

APPENDIX ONE: ETHICS APPLICATION

Please find these pages attached after page 168

Original Ethics clearance, 22 February 2000	Page 163-i, ii.
Ethics clearance extension, 5 January, 2001	Page 163-iii.
Survey questions	Page 163-iv
Information letter Gallipoli Public Figure (parallels Church public figure)	Page 163-v, vi.
Information letter Anonymous Church pilgrim (parallels Gallipoli anonymous figure)	Page 163-vii
Letter of Consent from Public Figure	Page 163-ix.



AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

**Office of Research
University Research Projects Ethics Committee
Ethics Clearance for a Research Project - Approval Form**

Investigator(s)/Supervisor:	1) Dr Norma Sullivan	Campus:	St. Patrick's Aquinas
Researcher (if student)	2) Mr John Hannaford	Campus:	St. Patrick's Aquinas

Ethics clearance has been provisionally extended /granted (for one month) for the following project: Project title: *Australian pilgrimages*
for the period: 22 February 2000 – 31 December 2000 (inclusive)
University Research Ethics Committee Register Number: V2000-23

subject to the following conditions as stipulated in the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) Statement on Human Experimentation and Supplementary Notes 1992:

- (i) *that principal investigators provide reports annually on the form supplied by the Institutional Research Project Ethics Committee, on matters including:*
 - *security of records;*
 - *compliance with approved consent procedures and documentation;*
 - *compliance with special conditions, and*
- (ii) *as a condition of approval of the research protocol, require that investigators report immediately anything which might affect ethical acceptance of the protocol, including:*
 - *adverse effects on participants;*
 - *proposed changes in the protocol, and/or*
 - *unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project*

and subject to the following conditions as stipulated by the University Research Projects Ethics Committee:

The Committee received the application (ref: UHREC2000/9) and considered it in detail. The following matters were noted for forwarding to the supervisor and student researcher:

- *The Committee noted, at 3.1.a, that there are two distinct sub-groups within the participants described under group (a), viz., those who have travelled to Gallipoli and those who travel to Yankalilla. Separate information letters are required for each of these sub-groups, as well as for the public figures belonging to group (b).*
- *It was further noted that, if the Yankalilla travellers are to be recruited in the manner described at 3.1.e, they will not be anonymous to the researcher. 6.1.a, therefore, needs to be amended in this regard.*
- *Letters to both sets of participants within group (a) should contain assurances that the researcher will respect confidentiality in relation to participants' responses.*

- All three letters to participants need to state that the project is part of Doctor of Philosophy candidature at the University.
- As far as the letter to participants in group (b) is concerned, replace the first two sentences with the following: "You are requested to take part in an interview to map the reasons..."
- In the same letter to group (b) participants, before the final sentence in the 1st para., add: "Participation is voluntary."
- At 5.1.b of the application form, there is reference to "film". The researcher is requested to clarify who or what will be filmed, and, if this impinges on participants, to show how he will ensure that they are adequately informed in advance and that their free consent has been obtained.
- Regarding section 5.2.b on page 10 of 13, the supervisor and researcher should note that all data must be stored on University premises.

The Committee granted ethics approval for the project subject to the above matters being addressed by the Principal Investigator and the student researcher, and approved by the local Deputy Chair. The local Administrative Officer should confirm that the Letter to the Participants is complete and the contact details are correct.

A Final Report Form will need to be completed and submitted to the URPEC within one month of completion of the project.

OR

An Annual Progress Report Form will need to be completed and submitted to the URPEC within one month of anniversary date of approval.

Please sign, date and return this form (with any additional information or material, if requested by the Committee) to the local Administrative Officer (Research) to whom you submitted your application for approval to be confirmed.

Signed: Stewart J. Sharber
for URPEC Administrative Officer (Research)

Date: 16.3.2000

(To be completed by the Principal Investigator or Supervisor and Student, as appropriate)	
The date when I/we expect to commence contact with human participants or access their records is: <u>23.4.00</u>	
I/We hereby declare that I/We am/are aware of the conditions governing research involving human participants as set out in the Research Projects Ethics Committee's <i>Guidelines and Instructions for Researchers/Students</i> and agree to the conditions stated above.	
Signed: <u>[Signature]</u> [Principal Investigator (if staff) or Supervisor, as appropriate]	Date: <u>29/3/2000</u>
Signed: <u>[Signature]</u> (Researcher (if student))	Date: <u>29.3.2000</u>
(Our ref: ethaprvt.doc/982)	
ORE30/982	



AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

University Human Research Ethics Committee

PROGRESS / FINAL REPORT FORM

- NOTES:
1. This form is available upon request via Email or on the Internet at the following URL address:
<http://www.acu.edu.au/research>.
 2. The new *National Statement on Research Involving Humans*, approved by the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee (AVCC), the Australian Research Council (ARC), the Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) and the National Academies of the Humanities and the Social Sciences, requires Human Research Ethics Committees to monitor compliance with approved conditions attached to the conduct of research and to report annually to the Australian Health Ethics Committee. The AVCC and NHMRC jointly require Universities to retain research data for 5 years from the date of publication. (If publication is not intended, data should be retained for 5 years from the conclusion of the project.) All primary data and consent forms must be retained on University premises; researchers may retain a copy for their personal records.
 3. It is also a requirement that annual and final progress reports must be completed on all projects. These reports may be audited by the NHMRC at any time.
 4. All questions must be answered. If a question does not apply, indicate N/A - not applicable. The application should be typed in no less than font 10. Arial Font 10 is recommended.
 5. Please complete, sign and date and lodge this form with your nearest Office of Research Administrative Officer
- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ms Jo Mushin | Ms Mark Berlage | Ms Elizabeth Kerr |
| Office of Research | Office of Research | Office of Research |
| Australian Catholic Univ. | Australian Catholic Univ. | Australian Catholic Univ. |
| St Patrick's Campus | Mount St Mary Campus | McAuley Campus |
| 115 Victoria Parade | 25A Barker Road | 53 Prospect Road |
| Fitzroy VIC 3065 | Strathfield NSW 2135 | Mitchelton QLD 4053 |
| Tel: 03-9953-3157 | Tel: 02-9739-2159 | Tel: 07-3855-7294 |
6. Your Progress / Final Report will be processed in approximately 10 working days.

Section 1: [to be completed by the local Office of Research Administrative Officer.]

- 1.1 UREC Register No: V99-69 (V2000-23)
- 1.2 Approval End Date: 31.12.2000
- 1.3 Name of Principal Investigator (if staff): Dr Norma Sullivan
Name of Researcher(s) [if student(s)]: Mr John Hannaford
- 1.4 Faculty: Arts and Sciences
- 1.5 Project Title: Australian Pilgrimages
- 1.6 Your report and attachments should be forwarded to your nearest Office of Research within 30 days.

Signature of Admin Officer.

Date: 5.1.2001

Australian Catholic University
University Research Projects Ethics Committee
AUSTRALIAN PILGRIMAGE
RESEARCHER, JOHN HANNAFORD
This is a survey about Australian pilgrimage.

1 Do you think this is a pilgrimage?.....
other comment

2 When did you decide to do this pilgrimage?.....
other comments

3 Are more people you know going on pilgrimage?.....
other comments

4 Did anyone in authority encourage you to come?.....
other comments

4 Who is charge of this shrine, and are they helpful?.....
other comments

5 Does the official story of the shrine custodians fit your own picture?.....
other comments

6 What does this pilgrimage mean to you?.....
other comments

7 Will you come again?.....
other comments

8 Would you encourage your leaders to come?.....
other comments

9 Do your leaders support pilgrimage?.....
other comments

10 Who would you like to see manage this shrine?.....
other comments

Thesis: That pilgrimage is a significant part of both secular and religious Australia, and that though its recognition has been comparatively recent, interest is continued and growing. The themes asked about refer to the revival of pilgrimage, spontaneous generation, the auspicing body/shrine custodian, and relations with bureaucratic authority such as levels of church and other government.



AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

AUSTRALIAN PILGRIMAGES
JOHN HANNAFORD

Information Letter for Group (b2) public figures involved in Gallipoli Pilgrimage

The aim of this project is to examine pilgrimage as a significant part of both secular and religious Australia. Australian pilgrimage has been informally and spontaneously generated, and has tended to operate either outside, or in tension with, proper channels, appointing informal shrine custodians. Two such instances are the classic battlefield pilgrimage to Gallipoli, since the 1920's, and the recent phenomenon of the Marian pilgrimage to the Yankalilla Anglican Church, which began in the late 1990's. The research project will use Gallipoli and Yankalilla as case studies in the development of a theory of Australian pilgrimage.

You are requested to take part in an interview to map the reasons Australians travel to iconic destinations and pilgrimage sites. Your responses of your experiences of visiting Gallipoli will contribute to the development of Australian Pilgrimage Theory. Participation is voluntary. The responses of all participants will be confidential to the researcher and the project supervisor. A transcript of your interview will be provided, and your written consent will be required prior to any publication which would disclose your identity. At all times you may withdraw from this study without giving a reason.

Any questions regarding this project can be directed to the researcher, John Hannaford, phone 03 53484029, or the supervisor, Dr. Norma Sullivan, at 03 53373100 in the Department of Arts and Sciences, Aquinas College, 1200 Mair Street. Ballarat, Vic, Australia, 3350.


This study has been approved by the University Research Projects Ethics Committee for a Doctor of Philosophy candidature at Australian Catholic University.

In the event that you have a complaint about the way you have been treated during the study, or a query that the Researcher or the Supervisor have not been able to satisfy, you may write care of the nearest branch of the Office of Research:


Chair, University Research Ethics Committee
c/o Office of Research
Australian Catholic University
115 Victoria Parade
Fitzroy, Vic., 3065 (Australia)
tel 03 9953 3154 fax 03 9953 3305 or 3315

Any complaint will be treated in confidence, investigated fully and the participant informed of the outcome. Participation is voluntary.

Yours sincerely,



Mr John Hannaford
Research Student



Dr Norma Sullivan
Supervisor



AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

AUSTRALIAN PILGRIMAGES JOHN HANNAFORD
Information Letter for Group (a1) persons involved in Church Pilgrimage
where anonymity will be preserved with respect to publication

You are requested to take part in an interview to map the reasons Australians travel to iconic destinations and pilgrimage sites. Your responses of your experiences of visiting Yankalilla will contribute to the development of Australian Pilgrimage Theory. At all times you may withdraw from this study without giving a reason.

Any questions regarding this project can be directed to the researcher; John Hannaford, phone 03 53484029, or the supervisor; Dr. Norma Sullivan, at 03 53373100 in the Department of Arts and Sciences, Aquinas College, 1200 Mair Street. Ballarat, Vic, Australia, 3350.

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412 Mt. Alexander Road
Ascot Vale VIC 3032
tel 03 9241 4513 fax 03 9241 4529

Any complaint will be treated in confidence, investigated fully and the participant informed of the outcome. Participation is voluntary.

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY LIMITED A.C.N. 050 192 660
AQUINAS CAMPUS 1200 MAIR STREET BALLARAT VICTORIA 3350 AUSTRALIA
PO BOX 650 BALLARAT VICTORIA 3353 AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (03) 53365300 FACSIMILE (03) 5336 5305



AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

**TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT: AUSTRALIAN PILGRIMAGES:
CHURCH**

or NAMES OF RESEARCHERS (if students): **JOHN HANNAFORD**

*I (the participant) have read (or, where appropriate, have had read to me) and understood the information provided in the Letter to the Participants and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
I agree to participate in this activity, realizing that I can withdraw at any time
I agree knowing that research data collected for the study must be approved in writing by me prior to being published or provided to other researchers in a form that may identify me.*

NAME OF PARTICIPANT
(block letters)

SIGNATURE DATE

NAME OF RESEARCHER **MR JOHN HANNAFORD**

SIGNATURE *John Hannaford* DATE *28/3/00*

NAME OF SUPERVISOR **DR NORMA SULLIVAN**

SIGNATURE *N. Sullivan* DATE *29/3/2000*

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