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# COMMEMORATION OF THE SHARED AUSTRALIAN-TURKISH LEGACY OF GALLIPOLI THROUGH THE AUBURN GALLIPOLI MOSQUE

Ismail Lala\* and Sam Toglaw\*\*

**Abstract:** The Gallipoli campaign (1915–1916) represents a watershed moment in the national consciousness of Australia and Türkiye. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk inaugurated a commemoration of the battle as a shared legacy of respect when he described the Australian martyrs as “lying in the soil of a friendly country...and are in peace.” This 1934 commemoration of Gallipoli as a moment in which prior enemies became united through a common experience shaped the historical, cultural, political, and social remembrance of the campaign. This paper interrogates how commemoration of Gallipoli manifests in present-day Australia through Auburn Gallipoli Mosque in Sydney and calls to attention to the role commemoration of shared legacies can play in fostering relations between disparate communities.

**Keywords:** *Gallipoli, commemoration, Australia, Türkiye, non-Muslim/Muslim relations*

## INTRODUCTION

This article investigates the campaign of Gallipoli during World War I in which around 87,000 Turkish soldiers and 8,709 Australian soldiers lost their lives.<sup>1</sup> It explores how commemoration of this campaign in the cultural memory of Australians and Turks living in Australia contributes to a sense of shared identity. Memory and identity, as John R. Gillis explains, are inextricably intertwined. Identity, or an “individual sense of self,” is a notion that “depends on the idea of memory, and vice versa.”<sup>2</sup> Whether it is an individual or group identity, the “core meaning” reverts to “a sense of sameness over time and space.”<sup>3</sup> Richard Handler contends that we should not treat “identity” as unchanging over time and space, in the same way as we no longer treat “culture” and “tradition” as phenomena that “existed as bounded and

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and Other Figures, 1492–2015* (McFarland, 2017); National Army Museum, “Gallipoli Campaign,” accessed July 23, 2023, <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/gallipoli#>; National Museum of Australia, “Gallipoli Landing,” accessed August 12, 2023, <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/gallipoli-landing>.

<sup>2</sup> John R. Gillis, “Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton University Press, 1994), 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

unchanging entities.”<sup>4</sup> This is because “the epistemological presuppositions that the concept [of identity] carries are similar, if not identical, to those that have made other terms suspect.”<sup>5</sup> This article argues that “identities and memories change over time” and are not “fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality.”<sup>6</sup> As Gillis astutely declares, “we are constantly revising our memories to suit our current identities.”<sup>7</sup> It demonstrates how the identities of Australians and Turks living in Australia are constructed and reconstructed over time through the commemoration of the Gallipoli campaign.

The complex calculus of commemoration involves collective memory, as one that is shared by individuals, and social memory, which is socially conditioned and can only occur in certain social contexts. Raj Goshal believes the latter is similar to “memory movements” that are “sustained collective efforts to bring increased attention to past incidents or individuals, or to transform the way such pasts are understood.”<sup>8</sup> Goshal identifies three key structural influences on memory that determine how the past is remembered:

1. How much social capital is expended by the institutions of the nation to remember the past in a certain way, which he calls “present-day settings” ( $S^P$ ).
2. The “moral valence,” which is the moral status of the people being commemorated, which he calls “historically-ingrained perceptions” ( $P^H$ ), and
3. The significance ascribed ( $S^A$ ) to the events.<sup>9</sup>

Successful commemoration ( $C^S$ ) is thus:

$$(C^S) = (S^P) + (P^H) + (S^A)$$

Not only have national institutions been put in the service of commemorating Gallipoli, but veterans are celebrated socially and politically as patriots who gave their lives for the new nation.<sup>10</sup> Thus, it is the complex interplay between individual memories and collective memory, between collective and social memory, and between the actual past and prior understanding,<sup>11</sup> which is informed by its own needs and motivations, that attaches importance to Gallipoli.<sup>12</sup> For this reason, the commemoration of Gallipoli is not just a historical imprint, but an “active selection and reconstruction” of the past.<sup>13</sup> How the commemorations of the Gallipoli campaign contribute to the national identity of Australians and Turks is investigated in this article because

<sup>4</sup> Richard Handler, “Is ‘Identity’ a Useful cross-Cultural Concept?” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton University Press, 1994), 27.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Gillis, “Memory and Identity,” 3.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Raj A. Goshal, “Transforming Collective Memory: mnemonic opportunity structures and the outcomes of racial violence memory movements.” *Theory and Society* 42, no. 4 (2013): 332.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 333.

<sup>10</sup> Ken Inglis, “Gallipoli Pilgrimage 1965,” *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 18 (1991); Jenny Macleod, “The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day: 1965 and 1990 Compared,” *War and Society* 20, no. 1 (2002).

<sup>11</sup> Goshal, “Transforming Collective Memory,” 333.

<sup>12</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. L. A. Coser (The University of Chicago Press, 1992); Barry Schwartz, “The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory,” *Social Forces* 61, no. 2 (1982).

<sup>13</sup> Erika Apfelbaum, “Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory,” in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. S. Radstone and B. Schwarz (Fordham University Press, 2010), 85.

“[n]ational identities are, like everything historical, constructed and reconstructed; and it is our responsibility to decode them in order to discover the relationships they create and sustain.”<sup>14</sup>

The article explores how perceptions of Gallipoli evolved over time, particularly through Anzac Day celebrations. Anzac Day is the anniversary of the landing at Anzac cove by the Anzacs on 25 April 1915, and is regarded by Australia and New Zealand as the most significant commemoration of military casualties and veterans in the two countries.<sup>15</sup> We investigate how Auburn Gallipoli Mosque, and the events it carries out commemorating Gallipoli, becomes the latest manifestation of how identity is constructed based on the shared memory of the Gallipoli campaign.<sup>16</sup> We also scrutinise the social and political objectives of the parties involved in the construction of the mosque, as well as the vision of two key mosque committee members because, as Barry Schwartz keenly observes, “[r]ecollection of the past is an active, constructive process, not a simple matter of retrieving information. To remember is to place a part of the past in the service of conceptions and needs of the present.”<sup>17</sup> If the past is constructed in the present according to its needs and preoccupations, then the conduits for commemoration are as significant as the construction of memory. Recently, Rebecca Howard elaborates on how interactive commemorations ignite “an exercising of the memory.”<sup>18</sup> Thus, in the post-Napoleonic democratic style of commemoration, monuments of military exploits have largely been superseded by forms of commemoration that involve a more personal experience.<sup>19</sup> Commemorative events on Gallipoli organised by two committee members of Auburn Gallipoli Mosque provide this interactive experience.

The two key committee members of Auburn Gallipoli Mosque interviewed for this study were Asia Rodrigo, events manager, and Enver Yasar, administration manager. These two members were selected because they have public-facing roles and interact most with visitors to the mosque. The purpose of the interviews was to understand visitor demographics and experiences, and to learn about the types of events the mosque organised for the public, why they organised those events, and their aims. The interviews were semi-structured, so they contained close and open-ended questions to allow the interviewees enough time and opportunity to express their thoughts.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Gillis, “Memory and Identity,” 4.

<sup>15</sup> Macleod, “The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day,” 149; Bart Ziino, “Who Owns Gallipoli? Australia’s Gallipoli Anxieties 1915–2005,” *Journal of Australian Studies*, 30, no. 88 (2006): 1, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14443050609388071>.

<sup>16</sup> See Kadir Çakar, “Experiences of Visitors to Gallipoli, a Nostalgia-Themed Dark Tourism Destination: An Insight from Trip Advisor,” *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 4, no. 1 (2018); Peter Slade, “Gallipoli Thanatourism: The Meaning of ANZAC,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 4 (2003).

<sup>17</sup> Schwartz, “The Social Context of Commemoration,” 374.

<sup>18</sup> Rebecca M. Howard, “Interactive Commemoration in the Sacro Bosco,” *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* (2020): 2.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel J. Sherman, “Art, Commerce, and the Production of Memory in France after World War I,” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton University Press, 1994), 206.

<sup>20</sup> Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching* (Sage, 1996), 62–67; Melissa DeJonkheere and Lisa M. Vaughn, “Semistructured Interviewing in Primary Care Research: A Balance of Relationship and Rigour,” *Family Medicine and Community Health* 7, no. 2 (2019): e000057, <https://doi.org/10.1136/fmch-2018-000057>; Ruslin et al., “Semi-structured Interview: A Methodological Reflection on the Development of a

### ***Gallipoli in the Australian Consciousness***

Max Crawford inaugurated the legend that at Gallipoli, “Australia became a nation” due to “the heroism of the Anzacs.”<sup>21</sup> He contrasts the outback ruggedness of the Anzacs to European urbanism,<sup>22</sup> despite the majority of Anzacs being from urban backgrounds.<sup>23</sup> The idea of the outback hero and legend of Australian nationhood being created at Gallipoli were reinforced by C. E. W. Bean.<sup>24</sup> This narrative was allowed to flourish in the educational system of Australia, so “by the 1930s the notion that the history of Australian nationhood started with the landing on Gallipoli was well and truly established as an historical truism.”<sup>25</sup> Anzac Day was first celebrated in Australia one year after the Gallipoli campaign in 1916. Gradually it became entrenched in Australian culture. By the mid-1930s, marches, memorial and dawn services, wreath laying ceremonies, and reunions became part of the Anzac Day celebration.<sup>26</sup> These commemorations became tightly orchestrated to maximise the emotional attachment of Australians to the Anzacs and to foster a deep sense of loss for the human toll exacted by the Gallipoli campaign. Public displays of mourning and reminders of grief from the campaign were passed down through generations.<sup>27</sup> In addition, the “mythology of friendship across the killing fields of Canakkale” between the Anzacs and Turks was promulgated, such that it “remains an important sentimental mythology of national association between Turkey and Australia.”<sup>28</sup>

The appetite for commemoration of Anzac Day in the public consciousness waned during the 1960s and 1970s due to growing opposition to militaristic conflicts and the perception that Anzac Day commemorations celebrated Australian militarism specifically, and male violence more generally.<sup>29</sup> However, the 1980s witnessed an increased number of Australian visitors to the Gallipoli site to participate in the official Anzac Day ceremony in Türkiye, provoked by political will among conservatives to bring together different factions of Australian society under the banner of patriotism, which gave extra significance due to “being there.”<sup>30</sup> The commemorations at Gallipoli take place at the same time as the Australian Anzac Day, which is celebrated in Canberra and other cities. The Anzac Day Dawn Service is performed, and the

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Qualitative Research Instrument in Educational Studies,” *IOSR Journal of Research & Method in Education* 12, no. 1 (2022): 25.

<sup>21</sup> Max Crawford, *Australia* (Hutchinson, 1952), 166.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> John Della Bosca, “Education or the Bush: The Origins of the Anzac Legend” (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2022), 16.

<sup>24</sup> C. E. W. Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–18: Vol. II: The Story of Anzac from 4 May 1915 to the Evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula* (Angus & Robertson, 1955), 910.

<sup>25</sup> Della Bosca, “Education or the Bush,” 193.

<sup>26</sup> Alanna Dargan-Miller, “Commemoration of a Nation: The Infatuation with Anzac in Australia’s WWI Centenary” (PhD diss., University of Wollongong, 2024), 15.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Della Bosca, “Education or the Bush,” 26.

<sup>29</sup> Carolyn Holbrook, “‘Remembering with Advantages’: The Memory of the Great War in Australia,” *Comillas Journal of International Relations*, no. 2 (2015): 22–23.

<sup>30</sup> Mark McKenna and Stuart Ward, “‘It was Really Moving, Mate’: The Gallipoli Pilgrimage and Sentimental Nationalism in Australia,” *Australian Historical Studies* 38 (2007): 141, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10314610708601236>; Carolyn Holbrook, *Anzac: The Unauthorised Biography* (NewSouth Publishing, 2014), 90.

Returned and Services League (RSL) veterans' march takes place at the Australian War Memorial. In 1990, Bob Hawke was the first Australian prime minister to visit Gallipoli on Anzac Day. He was accompanied by a group of old Gallipoli veterans.<sup>31</sup> Hawke's presence signalled clear governmental intent to politicise Anzac commemorations, and his "pilgrimage" was spurred by the belief of the government that the antipathy to Anzac commemoration during the 1960s and 1970s was beginning to fade.<sup>32</sup> Speaking to the *Daily Sabah* newspaper, the Australian Ambassador to Ankara, James Larsen, indicated that Dardanelles receives about 20,000 Australian visitors each year, who visit the memorials constructed in honour of the Anzac soldiers who died in a foreign land.<sup>33</sup> This may be seen as a manifestation of what Gillis deems "burdensome" memory,<sup>34</sup> in which "we are under obligation to remember more and more."<sup>35</sup>

As the legend of Gallipoli grows, there is disquiet among academic historians as to the increasingly lavish and performative aspect of the celebrations, the increased politicisation of the commemoration, the increased militarisation of Australian history, and the deliberate silencing of voices that challenge the idealised national Anzac narrative.<sup>36</sup> Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds write,

For several years now Australia has seen the relentless militarisation of our history: the commemoration of war and understanding of our national history have been confused and conflated. The Anzac spirit is now said to animate all our greatest achievements.<sup>37</sup>

When Australian historians point out the problems with the evermore extravagant commemorations on Anzac Day, suggesting they are based on political and economic expediency, they are accused of betrayal by Australians.<sup>38</sup> The opinions of prominent historians have been purposefully ignored, paving the way for a concoction of fictionalised history that is commemorated on Anzac Day, not as "a day of solemn remembrance," but as "a festive event, celebrated by backpackers wrapped in flags, playing rock music, drinking beer and proclaiming their national identity on the distant shores of Turkey."<sup>39</sup>

The political capital that had been expended in celebrating the Gallipoli campaign paid dividends as it became the greatest symbol of Australian national identity,<sup>40</sup> from what was originally predicted to be an ephemeral episode that would not survive the death of the last

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<sup>31</sup> National Museum of Australia, "Gallipoli Landing."

<sup>32</sup> Carolyn Holbrook, "Family History, Great War Memory and the ANZAC Revival," *Social Alternatives* 37, no. 3 (2018): 21.

<sup>33</sup> Daily Sabah with Agencies, "Anzac Soldiers Remembered in Türkiye at Dawn Gallipoli Ceremony," *Daily Sabah*, April 25, 2023, <https://www.dailysabah.com/turkiye/anzac-soldiers-remembered-in-turkiye-at-dawn-gallipoli-ceremony/news>.

<sup>34</sup> Gillis, "Memory and Identity," 14.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>36</sup> Dargan-Miller, "Commemoration of a Nation," 35.

<sup>37</sup> Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *What's Wrong With Anzac?: The Militarisation of Australian History* (University of New South Wales Press, 2010), vii.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 1; Dargan-Miller, "Commemoration of a Nation," 4.

<sup>39</sup> Dargan-Miller, "Commemoration of a Nation," 79, 170; Lake and Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Della Bosca, "Education or the Bush," 43.

veterans from the conflict.<sup>41</sup> The longevity and increasing importance of Anzac Day are in part attributable to the pocket guides that were produced by the Australian government for distribution in schools.<sup>42</sup> The guides had the explicit objective of promoting a version of the Gallipoli campaign that would enable children in grades four to six to “empathise with the experiences of war and of individuals,” help them “develop an appreciation of significant ceremonies associated with war time heritage,” and make them “reflect on Australia’s wartime history in the formation of national identity.”<sup>43</sup>

The significant political capital that has been consistently spent in the commemoration of the Gallipoli campaign demonstrates the difference between what Maurice Halbwachs calls “collective memory and social frameworks of memory.” He explains that “*collective memory* is the memory in which individuals participate, while *social frameworks* are the cognitive and normative structures of various social systems.”<sup>44</sup> These social frameworks dictate how the individual remembers an experience they have shared with others.<sup>45</sup> The birth of the nation mythology of Australia is intertwined with the characteristics of the Anzac veterans who are celebrated by political elites as patriots embodying the quintessentially Australian attributes of mateship, courage, and sacrifice.<sup>46</sup> These traits set them apart from the British warrior ideal, and were advertised by politicians as being particularly “Australian.”<sup>47</sup> This idealised narrative is an “active selection and reconstruction” of the past,<sup>48</sup> which makes the Gallipoli campaign central to the construction of the Australian national identity.

### ***Gallipoli in the Turkish Consciousness***

The Turkish leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, rose to national prominence because of his service in Gallipoli. He was the Commander of the 19<sup>th</sup> Turkish Division and led the Turkish counterattack against the Allies. His famous command reverberates through poems and novels: “I do not order you to attack, I order you to die. In the time it takes us to die other troops and commanders can come and take our places.”<sup>49</sup> In many ways, this statement emblematises the initial commemoration of Gallipoli in the new period of Turkish national consciousness. Even though pan-Turkishness existed prior to WWI, along with pan-Islamism and pan-secularism,

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<sup>41</sup> Macleod, “The Fall and Rise of Anzac Day,” 3.

<sup>42</sup> Anthony Potts and Nina Maadad, “Teaching Primary Students about War,” *Australian Journal of Teacher Education* 44, no. 8 (2019): 1–2. See also Bob Lewis and Tim Gurry, *Australians at War: Primary Schools Education Resource* (Commonwealth of Australia, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> Potts and Maadad, “Teaching Primary Students about War,” 1.

<sup>44</sup> Jean-François Orianne and Francis Eustache, “Collective Memory: Between Individual Systems of Consciousness and Social Systems,” *Frontiers in Psychology* 14 (2013): 3. Emphasis in original. See also Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (Harper-Colophon Books, 1950), 51.

<sup>45</sup> Orianne and Eustache, “Collective Memory,” 3.

<sup>46</sup> Della Bosca, “Education or the Bush,” 19.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>48</sup> Apfelbaum, “Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory,” 85.

<sup>49</sup> Edward Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (Greenwood, 2001); Suat İlhan, “Atatürk’ün Cephelerde Verdiği Dört Emir” [Four Orders Given by Atatürk on the Battlefields], *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* 9, no. 3 (1987): 481.

national identities and nation-states exploded in the aftermath of WWI.<sup>50</sup> In the backdrop of this nationalist awakening, Gallipoli was portrayed as a moment of national pride in which the humiliation of Turkish defeat, three years prior, at the hands of the Russians was erased through an unexpected victory.<sup>51</sup> As Feroz Ahmad notes, the Gallipoli triumph “wiped out the trauma of the Balkan War and all other past humiliations” and was instrumental in forging “a new mentality and self-perception among the Turks.”<sup>52</sup> This is because it was seen as bearing the fruit of the “modernisation program carried out by the Young Turks.”<sup>53</sup> Kemal became the “Father of the Turks” (Atatürk) who “defeated the imperialist attempt of the Entente to conquer the soil that would later belong to the Turkish nation.”<sup>54</sup> His heroism at Gallipoli solidified ideas about Turkish resistance against Western imperialism that future generations would commemorate on Anzac Day. Kemal’s exploits at Gallipoli became the beginning of a national Turkish consciousness:

Remembering the birth of the Turkish nation meant remembering Kemal, whose statue would be seen in all parts of Turkey to define a new set of semiotics for the national narrative that went beyond language and image alone...to provide a possibility for the popular understanding of what the Turkish nation was supposed to be based on: Kemal Atatürk.<sup>55</sup>

The Atatürkian ideal that was the personification of the new Turkish nation was predicated on the Gallipoli campaign. In this sense, Gallipoli in the Turkish consciousness stands as a mirror image of Gallipoli in the Australian consciousness because, even though a larger case can be made for it being the first defining step in modern Turkish nationhood, as opposed to Australian nationhood for Australians, the Anzac birth of the nation mythology perpetuated by the political ruling class for the latter attributed similar nationalist significance to it.<sup>56</sup> Thus, “the victory at Gallipoli was as important for the Turkish memory as the defeat and shared suffering were for the Australian identity,”<sup>57</sup> and the commemoration of Gallipoli “has come to symbolise the rise of a national consciousness in both countries.”<sup>58</sup> Just as the attributes of the Anzacs were lauded as the Australian ideal, Atatürkian attributes were the Turkish ideal. The “Turks believed that their performance in the World War had won them the right to live as a nation.”<sup>59</sup> The victory at Gallipoli became the main impetus for the formation of modern Türkiye in the national consciousness. Gallipoli was celebrated by the political establishment as the crowning achievement of Turkishness that stood apart from the rest of the Islamic

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<sup>50</sup> Zhongmin Liu and Meng Shu, “Nationalist Thoughts and Islam in the Late Ottoman Empire,” *Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2017): 14–15.

<sup>51</sup> Zafer Toprak, “Cihan Harbi'nin Provası Balkan Harbi” [The Balkan Wars: A Rehearsal for World War I], *Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi* 104 (2002): 45.

<sup>52</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (Routledge, 2003), 45–46.

<sup>53</sup> Stanford J. Shaw and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume 2: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 317.

<sup>54</sup> Frank Jacob, “Gallipoli: The Rise of Mustafa Kemal, and the Martial Creation of the Turkish Nation,” *Global Humanities: Identities and Nationhood* 8 (2021): 10.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>56</sup> Dargan-Miller, “Commemoration of a Nation,” 6–7.

<sup>57</sup> Jacob, “Gallipoli,” 10.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 46.

world.<sup>60</sup> In the same way as the Australian political class constructed a narrative through Gallipoli that was breaking free from the shackles of the British warrior ideal,<sup>61</sup> considerable political capital was spent in Türkiye on constructing an independent narrative from the Islamic ideal. Türkiye had to be divorced from its Islamic Ottoman past, and “Turkishness,” in the new sense, “involved pride in the history and traditions of Anatolia (‘the cradle of civilisation’) both of which had to be rediscovered or even manufactured,”<sup>62</sup> which explains the national fascination with the commemoration of Gallipoli, just as it does for Australia. Ahmad writes that the “sense of confidence and self-perception cannot be emphasised enough for the role it played in the making of modern Turkey.”<sup>63</sup>

The incipient commemoration of Gallipoli was marked by a lack of differentiation between the British, French, Australian, and New Zealand forces that the Turks fought against.<sup>64</sup> Typically reductionist propaganda portrayed ordinary Turkish soldiers as embodying noble traits for the new “nation-state of Turkey” (in the same way as the Anzacs for Australia) taking down “the old colonial empires” of Europe.<sup>65</sup> This characterisation was facilitated by the religious significance of the battle and the act of remembrance. In the case of the former, it was because the battle was designated as a religious battle (*jihad*) by the Ottoman Caliph.<sup>66</sup> In the case of the latter, it was because remembrance is afforded an exalted place in Islam because the term “*dhikr*” (remembrance), which is closely related to “*dhikra*” (commemoration and remembrance), and from the same trilateral root *dh—k—r*,<sup>67</sup> is one of the most important Islamic ethical-religious terms since it denotes anything that “serves to recall God to one’s mind.”<sup>68</sup> The prophetic tradition (*hadīth*) underscores the centrality of remembrance when it states, “the world is damned (*mal’ūna*) and damned is whatever is in it, except the remembrance of God (*dhikr Allāh*).”<sup>69</sup> William Chittick elaborates that *dhikr* is a dual term because it denotes the act of reminding and the reception of a reminder.<sup>70</sup> All fallen soldiers, including Turkish soldiers at Gallipoli, are portrayed as the vehicle for the dissemination of God’s justice, thus reminding everyone of God. They are the reminders, and the ones who are made aware of their exploits are the reminded, each faction afforded the same term of *dhikr*. In this sense, their

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>61</sup> Della Bosca, “Education or the Bush,” 20.

<sup>62</sup> Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 78.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>64</sup> A. Candan Kirişçi, “The Face of the ‘Enemy’: The Image of the Adversary in Turkish Literary Works about Gallipoli,” *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 33, no. 2 (2015): 163–64; Feyzullah Sacid, “Çanakkale,” in *Türk Yurdu*, vol. 4, ed. M. Çefkat (Tutibay Yayinlari, 1999), 181–82.

<sup>65</sup> Metin Gürcan and Robert Johnson, *The Gallipoli Campaign: The Turkish Perspective* (Routledge, 2016), 1.

<sup>66</sup> Robert Johnson and James E. Kitchen, *The Great War in the Middle East: A Clash of Empires* (Routledge, 2019), 4; Sean McMeekin, *The Russian Origins of the First World War* (Harvard University Press, 2011), 115.

<sup>67</sup> Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Spoken Language Services Inc., 1994), 358.

<sup>68</sup> Toshihiko Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur’an* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 194.

<sup>69</sup> Abū Bakr Bayhaqī, *Shu’b al-īmān* [The Branches of Faith] (Maktabat al-Rushd wa’l-Tawzī’, 2003), 3:228; Abū ‘Īsā Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* [The Hadith Collection of Tirmidhī] (Maṭba‘a Muṣṭafā al-Bābī, 1975), 4:561.

<sup>70</sup> William Chittick, “On the Cosmology of Dhikr,” in *Paths to the Heart: Sufism and the Christian East*, ed. J. Cutsinger (World Wisdom, 2002), 49.

depiction is similar to the commemoration of the Anzacs, who are revered as defenders of Christian civilisation against “all Godless enemies.”<sup>71</sup>

In addition, the soldiers at Gallipoli are a double reminder of God because not only did they distribute Divine justice as early Turkish propaganda detailed,<sup>72</sup> but because humans are viewed as the most perspicuous reminders of God. This is due to the popularity of the Medieval mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638 AH/1240 CE) in the Turkish consciousness.<sup>73</sup> Ibn ‘Arabī promulgated the doctrine that humans are the most pellucid reminders of God because they manifest all of God’s “most beautiful Names”<sup>74</sup> in one creational locus.<sup>75</sup> The Turkish soldiers are therefore reminders of God in their capacity as human loci of Divine manifestation, and because they were “God’s sword” fighting for His cause.<sup>76</sup> This representation of Turkish soldiers as religious warriors was propagated by the Turkish government via distribution of Mehmet Akif’s “Çanakkale Çehitleri’ne” (To the Martyrs of Gallipoli) to schools and having the poem recited during school time.<sup>77</sup> The poet tells of the martyrs being welcomed in heaven by Prophet Muhammad with outstretched arms for defending their land.<sup>78</sup> Parallels can be observed here between dissemination of this poem and the pocket guides that were produced by the Australian government for distribution in schools to perpetuate the Anzac myth.

There was an initial lack of differentiation between the British and Anzacs in Turkish literature. Akif describes them as “a pack of hyenas” without any feeling.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, this image was later supplanted by a nuanced view in which a more discriminatory lens is applied to the enemy at Gallipoli due to Kemal’s distinction between British soldiers and the Anzacs.<sup>80</sup> Increasingly close bonds between the Anzacs and Turks were retroactively asserted by the Turkish government, as attested by the statement later attributed to Kemal, which is inscribed proudly at the Atatürk Memorial, despite never being proved to be his words:

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

<sup>71</sup> John Moses, “Anzac Day as Australia’s All Souls’ Day: Canon David John Garland’s Vision for Commemoration of the Fallen” (paper presented at the Christian Mission in the Public Square conference of the Australian Association for Mission Studies and the Public and Contextual Theology Research Centre of Charles Sturt University, Australian Centre for Christianity and Culture, Canberra, October 2-5, 2008), 4.

<sup>72</sup> Erol Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey during World War I* (Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 135.

<sup>73</sup> William Chittick, “The School of Ibn ‘Arabī,” in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. S. H. Nasr and O. Leaman (Routledge, 2007), 511–12.

<sup>74</sup> Qur’an 7:180.

<sup>75</sup> Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* [The Ring Stones of Wisdom] (Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 2002), 48–49.

<sup>76</sup> Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda*, 135.

<sup>77</sup> Kirişçi, “The Face of the ‘Enemy’,” 166.

<sup>78</sup> Mehmet Akif, *Safahat* [Phases], ed. M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ (Çağrı Publishing, 2008), 412.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 410.

<sup>80</sup> Kirişçi, “The Face of the ‘Enemy’,” 170–71.

in our bosom and are in peace. After having lost their lives on this land they have become our sons as well.<sup>81</sup>

Kemal Çicek argues that British soldiers are represented in literature as willing combatants and their eager participation is sharply contrasted with the unwilling participation of the colonised Anzacs. He asserts that Turkish literature portrays the Anzacs as recipients of a double injustice: first of being colonised, then being compelled to fight for their colonisers.<sup>82</sup> Yet even when asked to fight a battle that was not theirs and in which they did not want to fight, Çicek states they are represented by Turkish writers as acquitting themselves with honour, pride and passion, which mirrors the representation of Turkish soldiers.<sup>83</sup> These shared attributes, revealed in the heat of battle, forged a bond between the Turkish soldiers and Anzacs, according Turkish writers. This representation of the Anzacs persists in the modern period.<sup>84</sup> Just as the Atatürkian command to die embodies the nationalism of the initial phase of Turkish commemoration, so his declaration of Anzac adoption and fraternity captures the modern ideal of reconciliation. While celebrating the 108<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Gallipoli campaign, the grandchildren of the Anzac and Turkish soldiers came together in Gallipoli to spread this notion of brotherhood and peace.<sup>85</sup> To foster this spirit, numerous projects, co-sponsored by the Australian and Turkish governments, were undertaken,<sup>86</sup> and chief among them was Auburn Gallipoli Mosque.

## AUSTRALIAN-TURKISH COMMEMORATION OF GALLIPOLI

### *Auburn Gallipoli Mosque*

Following the 1967 agreement between the Australian and Turkish governments to establish an assisted migration program, the Turkish community grew gradually in Sydney and Melbourne. The first mosque, Auburn Gallipoli Mosque, was opened for worship on 3 November 1979. Mosques did not play an important role in the settlement of Muslim immigrants from Türkiye until after the mid-80s. This was in contradistinction to churches and synagogues that helped migrant members with immigration issues. Nevertheless, mosques were an essential component in the cultural settlement of immigrants, whose assimilation and full acceptance of the new homeland was predicated to some degree on the existence of communal places of worship.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 175–76.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Kemal Çicek, “Turkish Perception of the Anzacs in the Dardanelles Campaign,” *Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2 (2022): 71.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>85</sup> Daily Sabah with Agencies, “Anzac Soldiers Remembered.”

<sup>86</sup> Burcu Cevik-Compiegne, “‘As Long as the Internet Lasts’: Harnessing the Digital Turn in Turkish-Australian Gallipoli Centenary Commemorations.” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 43, no. 3 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2022.2010679>.

<sup>87</sup> Gary Bouma, *Mosques and Muslim Settlement in Australia* (Australian Government Publishing Service, 1994), 58–66.

The mutual respect for the fallen at Gallipoli and shared national memory of the two nations is commemorated through the mosque's name as well as the Turkish flag shown in Anzac parades.<sup>88</sup> This displays the duality of the role Auburn Gallipoli Mosque plays: it is a place of worship, but is also secular in the sense that it memorialises a wartime conflict. The political significance of the mosque in continuing to foster a spirit of unity between the nations was underscored by the official visit of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (then prime minister) in December 2005 during his visit to Australia.<sup>89</sup> The Turkish community has developed several initiatives through the mosque to further promote relations between Australians and Turkish people, such as cultural events at key Australian holidays in which Turkish food is served, and religious/cultural performances take place, as well as speeches by prominent members of the Turkish and Australian communities.

Jan Ali asserts that Muslims have been discriminated against in Australia, socially and in public policy, because of a perceived contradiction between Islamic principles and the Australian way of life. He argues that Muslims are already integrated in Australian life and the perceived contradiction is unfounded. The integration of Muslims has occurred through “the establishment of Muslim communities, mosques and CSOs [Civil Society Organisations],” according to Ali.<sup>90</sup> The perceived incompatibility between Islam and Australianism was exacerbated when a sensationalised comprehension of Islam in Australia flourished following the attacks on 11 September 2001.<sup>91</sup> Auburn Gallipoli Mosque sought to foster a more nuanced understanding of Islam and bring communities together through memorialisation of the Gallipoli campaign. This memorialisation of a shared experience is reflected in the numbers of visitors to Auburn Gallipoli Mosque. Rodrigo and Yasar state that one-fourth to one-third of the visitors to the mosque are “seniors, retirees, and government representatives.” This group comes to the mosque to “learn more about Turkish experiences at Gallipoli.” They also stated that, among the overall visitors to the mosque, around 60 per cent want to learn more about Islam while around 30 per cent are interested in the shared legacy of Australia and Türkiye.<sup>92</sup>

Additionally, Rodrigo and Yasar mention that the Ottoman architecture and Turkish calligraphy inside are highlighted as ways in which the mosque pays homage to the shared Australian-Turkish legacy because it was designed by an Australian architect, David Evans, who imbibed Ottoman architectural cues during his visit to Türkiye and incorporated them into his design.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> National Trust NSW, “Auburn Gallipoli Mosque,” accessed August 17, 2023, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.au/initiatives/auburn-gallipoli-mosque/>.

<sup>89</sup> “Turkish PM Mobbed in Mosque Visit,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 10, 2005, <https://www.smh.com.au/national/turkish-pm-mobbed-in-mosque-visit-20051210-gdmlul.html>.

<sup>90</sup> Jan Ali, *Islam and Muslims in Australia: Settlement, Integration, Shariah, Education and Terrorism* (Melbourne University Publishing, 2020), 61.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>92</sup> Personal communication, 5 June 2024 and 14 June 2024. These figures were obtained by the committee through electronic surveys completed by visitors.

<sup>93</sup> Personal communication, 14 June 2024.

### ***Australian-Turkish Relations after the Establishment of Auburn Gallipoli Mosque***

Following the mosque opening in 1999, the management committee developed a program that included a certification course for tour guides. The number of visitors to the mosque steadily grew each year, with a conspicuous peak after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack in New York. This fraught period witnessed increased securitisation of all Muslims in Australia.<sup>94</sup> Despite heightened anxieties about Muslims in the West in the wake of this attack, interest in Islam increased. This contributed to heightened engagement with Auburn Gallipoli Mosque. The mosque was an important point of contact for Australians as mutual respect for the fallen at Gallipoli endeared apprehensive Australians to learn about Islam.<sup>95</sup> An idealised version of the past for both countries became a means for forging present-day relations between Australians and Turkish Australians because, as Gillis notes, “if the conflicts of the present seemed intractable, the past offered a screen on which desires for unity and continuity, that is, identity, could be projected.”<sup>96</sup> A shared identity that is historically sourced becomes a symbol for current integration, which as Ali notes, has already occurred among Muslims in Australia.<sup>97</sup> This construction of a shared identity also demonstrates the current relationship that Australians and Turkish Australians *want* to have because, as Gillis states, each construction of an identity is emblematic of a relationship between the parties.<sup>98</sup> Forging a shared identity tells us of the current priorities of both groups participating in that construction.

As testament to the mosque’s efforts to embody Australian and Muslim ideals, and the concordance between the two, Auburn Gallipoli Mosque hosted the citizenship ceremony on its premises on Anzac Day in 2007. This was an event coordinated between the mosque and the Department of Home Affairs, on behalf of the Department of Immigration and Border Protection. Almost ten years later, the mosque received a delegation of veterans on Anzac Day. These are just two events that have been hosted by the mosque in addition to its regular mosque tours and open days. These events show that shared identity is a social and political construct, as Gillis highlights, which is created to form a national identity, based, in this case, on the memory of Gallipoli that “is shared by people” who do not know anything else about one another and “yet who regard themselves as having a common history.”<sup>99</sup>

### ***Auburn Gallipoli Mosque Tours and Open Days***

Auburn Gallipoli Mosque tours and open days have become standard and regular events for many Australian schools, colleges, and universities. In addition, the mosque has developed tours for government organisations and officials, such as the New South Wales Police Force, Auburn Municipal Council, and members of parliament. There is also an annual Mosque Open Day, which is promoted widely in Australia, particularly in New South Wales. Senior

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<sup>94</sup> Ali, *Islam and Muslims*, 113.

<sup>95</sup> Personal communication, 5 June 2024 and 14 June 2024.

<sup>96</sup> Gillis, “Memory and Identity,” 9.

<sup>97</sup> Ali, *Islam and Muslims*, 61.

<sup>98</sup> Gillis, “Memory and Identity,” 4.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 4–7.

Australian officials and representatives of various Australian organisations are invited to attend this annual event and deliver speeches on behalf of their organisations.

Rodrigo and Yasar emphasise the importance of interfaith dialogue at open days and during mosque tours.<sup>100</sup> Yasar mentions that guest speakers are invited “to speak about the shared legacy and values” between Turkish Australians and Australians.<sup>101</sup> The emphasis on these values is “very important to foster cross-cultural communication among Australians of different racial and cultural backgrounds.”<sup>102</sup> These events are inspired by Said Nursi’s (d. 1960) paradigm of “*tamsil*,” or “embodying the religion” to “persuade” and not proselytise non-Muslims.<sup>103</sup> General open days and tours were carried out by the mosque more often after the terror attacks of 9/11 to promote awareness of Islam in Australia, and to create a consciousness of the common values between Islam and modern Western societies.<sup>104</sup> The shared memory of Gallipoli is highlighted by Rodrigo and Yasar as a cornerstone of the tours and open days because it is so deeply woven into the mosque’s identity.<sup>105</sup> Rodrigo mentions that, at the start of each mosque tour, “a small introduction about the name of the mosque (Gallipoli)” and “a brief overview about the Gallipoli campaign and the shared legacy of Australia and Türkiye” is given to underscore how the experience of Gallipoli ties both nations together.<sup>106</sup> Yasar highlights that this section of the presentation is particularly “interesting...for many visitors” because they regard it as being “very much ‘Australian.’”<sup>107</sup> In other words, because the Gallipoli campaign is so thoroughly intertwined with the “birth of the nation” mythology in Australia,<sup>108</sup> speaking of the campaign became a way to “Australianise” the Other.

Rodrigo and Yasar mention that non-Muslim Australians are receptive to the instruction they received during the tours and open days because of their intrinsic interest in the event and desire to learn more about it from a different perspective.<sup>109</sup> This is because, as Gillis observes, we do more “‘memory work’ at times and places of our own choosing.”<sup>110</sup> While it may have been the case that previous generations accepted the narrative imparted to them by governmental schools, this is no longer true.<sup>111</sup> The national narrative of Anzac Day is now increasingly challenged by students who wish to form their own judgements of their nation’s wartime history.<sup>112</sup> In response to the cynicism of WWI, national leaders used propaganda and

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<sup>100</sup> Personal communication, 5 June 2024 and 14 June 2024.

<sup>101</sup> Personal communication, 5 June 2024.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Salih Yucel, “Tajdid (Renewal) by Embodiment: Examining the Globalization of the First Mosque Open Day in Australian History,” *Religions*, 13, no. 8/705 (2022): 5, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13080705>.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Personal communication, 5 June 2024 and 14 June 2024.

<sup>106</sup> Personal communication, 14 June 2024.

<sup>107</sup> Personal communication, 5 June 2024.

<sup>108</sup> Dargan-Miller, “Commemoration of a Nation,” 6–7.

<sup>109</sup> Personal communication, 5 June 2024 and 14 June 2024.

<sup>110</sup> Gillis, “Memory and Identity,” 14.

<sup>111</sup> David Wise, *The Politics of Lying: Government Deception, Secrecy, and Power* (Random House, 1973), xii–xiv.

<sup>112</sup> Graeme Davidson, “The Habit of Commemoration and the Revival of Anzac Day,” *Australian Cultural History* 23 (2003).

“nationalised the memorialisation of war.”<sup>113</sup> Nevertheless, there has now been a rejection of “the official memories of conflicts.”<sup>114</sup> In a climate of such increased scepticism, the mosque tours and open days are an instrument of alternative cultural instruction.

The mosque committee elaborates that almost half of visitors take the literature available at the open days and tours so they can learn more about the religion of Islam. However, a quarter has the dual purpose of wanting to know more about Islam and wanting to know more about the Australian-Turkish shared legacy at Gallipoli. Finally, another quarter take literature just to know about the Australian-Turkish shared legacy at Gallipoli,<sup>115</sup> which demonstrates that one of the principal motivations for taking literature is alternative cultural instruction. Scepticism of the national narrative about such events and adoption of an alternative narrative do not follow one another. Australians who reject jingoistic nationalism through increasingly performative Anzac Day celebrations would not necessarily accept the Turkish narrative as they are aware that it faces similar issues. Nevertheless, the numbers cited by the mosque committee suggest that people are more open to exploring other avenues for cultural instruction and nuance, and a considerable contingent, according to the mosque committee, view Auburn Gallipoli Mosque as a monument to the shared memory of the campaign, and a place where they can gain an alternative perspective.<sup>116</sup>

Australian visitors to Gallipoli have risen sharply in recent years. Visiting Auburn Gallipoli Mosque now acts as a substitute for those Australians who cannot make the commemorative pilgrimage to Gallipoli to remember the history of the nation.<sup>117</sup> The emphasis the mosque places on interfaith dialogue has become a vehicle for the derivation of some benefit from the shared memory of Gallipoli. The mosque is also seen as an extension of the Atatürkian ideal of shared fraternity, especially through a painful experience (see above). Gallipoli is pressed into the service of underscoring an idealised version of shared history that is also seen through Ottoman architecture being manifested in Australia, and Australian artists imbibing Islamic influences. Members of the committee underline the “Turkish-Australianness” of Gallipoli,

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<sup>113</sup> G. Kurt Piehler, “The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War,” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton University Press, 1994), 168.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> See J. Basarin, J. Hall, and K. Fewster, “Anzac Day at Gallipoli: A Turkish Perspective,” in *Reflections on ANZAC Day: From One Millennium to the Next*, ed. A. M. Hede and R. Rentschler (Heidelberg Press, 2010); Felicity Cheal and T. Griffin, “Pilgrims and Patriots: Australian Tourist Experiences at Gallipoli,” *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 7, no. 3 (2013); J. Kokkranikal et al., “Motivations in Battlefield Tourism: The Case of ‘1916 Easter Rising Rebellion’, Dublin,” in *Tourism and Culture in the Age of Innovation*, ed. V. Katsoni and A. Stratigea (Second International Conference, IACuDiT, 2015); E. Lagos, A. Harris, and M. Sigala, “Emotional Language for Image Formation and Market Segmentation in Dark Tourism Destinations: Findings from Tour Operators’ Websites Promoting Gallipoli,” *TOURISMOS: An International Multidisciplinary Journal of Tourism* 10, no. 2 (2015); Daniel Nabb, “Pilgrimages, Memory and Millennials: An Investigation of the Latest Wave of Australian Pilgrims to Gallipoli” (PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2022); S. U. Ozer, G. K. Ersoy and D. Tuzunkan, “Dark Tourism in Gallipoli: Forecast Analysis to Determine Potential of Australian Visitors,” *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 41 (2012); Chris Ryan, “Introduction,” in *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation*, ed. Chris Ryan (Elsevier, 2007).

merging the two idealised histories into one narrative.<sup>118</sup> This merging of histories may also be seen as the dividends of political will, both Turkish and Australian, “to make the war dead a central symbol of a national identity divorced from the often divisive ties of class, ethnicity, religion, and region.”<sup>119</sup>

The historical nostalgia evoked at Auburn Gallipoli Mosque, where there is a yearning to experience something one has not actually experienced,<sup>120</sup> includes becoming more aware of Muslims and Islam.<sup>121</sup> This is particularly important in Australia, where there has been a significant attempt to highlight the supposed incompatibility between Islamic principles and Australian life.<sup>122</sup> The memory of Gallipoli is used by the mosque to foster community spirit, while acknowledging that the Turkish narrative is just as fraught with historical difficulties as the Australian narrative.

## CONCLUSION

The campaign at Gallipoli was a pivotal moment in the history of Australia and Türkiye. Auburn Gallipoli Mosque in Sydney demonstrates the way in which the shared experience of Gallipoli is commemorated today. The interviews conducted with members of the mosque committee highlight that a sizeable contingent of the visitors of the mosque (between a quarter and a third) are interested in Turkish experiences at Gallipoli due to the shared memory of that event. Around a quarter of the visitors are also mainly interested in the shared legacy of Australia and Türkiye. For both nations, their experience at Gallipoli, and its place in an idealised version of history that is imbued with importance due to its connection with the birth of a nation narrative, has become a means for forging bonds through the mosque. Additionally, around a quarter of visitors to the mosque are interested in Australian-Turkish cultural exchange. Since on the Venn diagram of shared experiences and cultural exchange there is significant overlap, this means the shared legacy of Gallipoli has become a vehicle for creating increased awareness of the cultural background of the Turkish minority specifically, and the Muslim minority more generally, in Australia. It is an example of how shared historical experiences, and the way they are remembered in accordance with political objectives, can be a means of bringing people with disparate histories together. The success of the tours at Auburn Gallipoli Mosque shows that due to (a) increased scepticism about governmental narratives, (b) greater receptivity to alternative forms of cultural education, (c) the rising popularity of

<sup>118</sup> Personal communication, 5 June 2024.

<sup>119</sup> Piehler, “The War Dead and the Gold Star,” 169.

<sup>120</sup> See Çakar, “Experiences of Visitors to Gallipoli”; Christopher Marchegiani and Ian Phau, “Away from ‘Unified Nostalgia’: Conceptual Differences of Personal and Historical Nostalgia Appeals in Advertising,” *Journal of Promotion Management* 16, no. 1 (2010); Darrel Muehling and Vincent Pascal, “An Involvement Explanation for Nostalgia Advertising Effects,” *Journal of Promotion Management* 18, no. 1 (2012).

<sup>121</sup> See Sabrina Coninx and Albert Newen, “Theories of Understanding Others: The Need for a New Account and the Guiding Role of the Person Model Theory,” *Belgrade Philosophical Annual* 31 (2018); Alvin Goldman, “Interpretation Psychologized,” *Mind & Language* 4, no. 3 (1989); Robert Gordon, “The Simulation Theory: Objections and Misconceptions,” *Mind & Language* 7, no. 1&2 (1992); Shannon Spaulding, “Simulation Theory,” *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science* 1, no. 4 (2010).

<sup>122</sup> Ali, *Islam and Muslims*, 81.

learning tourism, particularly dark tourism, and (d) a higher demand to comprehend minorities, some benefit can be derived from shared past experiences. Yet we must acknowledge that the historical narratives promulgated by each nation for these past experiences are constructed and imbued with significance in accordance with their political agendas.

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