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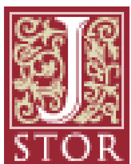

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Remembering Places Never Visited: Connections and Context in Imagined and Imaginary Landscapes

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Abstract Despite the vast research on landscape and landscape archaeology conducted over the past decade little attention has been given to the role of memory and imagination in people's engagement with their ancestral homelands, "country" or other meaningful landscape. An analysis of a range of case studies, both historical and contemporary reveal that people often feel great attachment to and desire to engage with lands that they may have never visited or have little empirical evidence for attachment. Further complicating this are those examples where a "heritage" landscape based on ancient homelands is constructed on the diasporic lands of their daily lives. Understanding these imaginary landscapes offers the opportunity to take a fresh look at the relationship between identity and landscape.

Keywords Landscape · Diasporic-identity · Roots tourism · Imagination · Australia

Introduction

The manner in which humans recognize; remember, and memorialize; maintain a sense of belonging; and commemorate their connections to landscapes is often dependant on imagined engagements and relationships. Connections to ancient ancestral homelands or distant locations (spatially or chronologically remote) require us to imagine ourselves there. Beyond the edges of the Ancient Greek and Roman known world was a land imagined to be frequented by grotesque, and un-natural monsters who behaved in alien and aberrant ways (cf. McNiven and Russell 2005). Prior to exploration and "discovery" the "New World" was figured, by Renaissance scholars, to be filled with hideous and deformed versions

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of humanity in an inverted and imagined landscape. In the Middle Ages, St Augustine claimed the southern half of the globe was water, and no human inhabitation was possible. His ideas were in contradistinction to the heretical view that there were "a race of men with feet opposed to" those in Europe (Antipodes), who represented a separate act of creation (Eisler 1995, p. 9–10). Images of Terra Australis over the next centuries fluctuated between Quiros's utopia; idyllic images of Bougainville's "Elysian fields" (cited in Smith 1960, p. 25) and crude, barbarous savages (see Williams and Frost 1988). Although these imagined and imaginary landscapes have a lengthy history they are not merely an historic phenomena, they continue into the present. In this paper I will consider a range of engagements with, and memories of, various landscapes, which fall into the category of imagined or imaginary. Understanding the connections people feel to landscapes requires recognition that the coexistence of people and place is dependent on: "a sense of empathy—the projection of one's own consciousness into another being, thing or place—and the power of imagination" (Whiston Spirn 2008, p. 44).

Although the connections and engagements with landscapes may well be imaginary these can have very real consequences. In exploring these engagements a number of issues arise: how to interpret, present and conserve a landscape or sites which have cultural values that are "of the mind," and how to accommodate the concerns of people who believe they have a relationship with a given landscape which is not always empirically demonstrable (cf. Everson and Williamson 1998). By interrogating contemporary people's concerns for landscapes of the mind and the places they feel connection to in an imaginative (rather than empirically demonstrable way) there is an opportunity to speculate about similar practices which may have taken place in chronologically distant times (cf. Aston 1985; Nash 2000). Furthermore the exploration of imagined relationships to real and invented landscapes enables the development of theoretical models, which can assist interpretations of contemporary and historic relationships to land and place.

Knowing Your Place

It is a commonly held (and somewhat romantic) assertion that Australian Aboriginal people do not own land but they belong to *it*. Aboriginal associations with country, their particular country, are usually passed down through the generations. Even when actual visitation was impossible and missionary stations and other reserves had removed the opportunity to live "on country," Aboriginal families frequently passed on their land's stories, narratives and memories. For many Aboriginal people these landscapes of the mind, what others might call imagined places, represent real, viable and tangible links to their heritage.

As part of a large project involving the Aboriginal communities of Victoria, in southern Australia, I have been a member of a team that has undertaken over one hundred interviews structured around the question of "storytelling" and story making, that is, the construction of narratives of history, personal, familial, and communal. In this process many Aboriginal people have revealed that they have maintained the memories and stories associated with their country over many generations, and in some cases this transferral of memories took place despite being restricted from

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visiting the actual locations. Being dislocated from country is not uncommon and the causes range from being raised and living in a different state or city; difficulties with transport; the land being in private ownership and the current owners not allowing access; and intriguingly a desire to preserve the significance of memories as the locations had changed so dramatically that there was a preference for remembering a place rather than visiting it. In each of these cases the relationship to country and the sense of belonging was not perceived to be diminished by the absence of visitation. Nonetheless stories and narratives about land were used:

> To preserve the knowledge in families, family knowledge. [And] to pass on the knowledge for the way people interact with the land and with each other
> (Interview No. 67, p. 3).

After decades of acrimonious and often difficult negotiations Aboriginal traditional owners and researchers across the country have developed in principal agreements about access, collaboration including the right to control, input or narrate historic, heritage and archaeological interpretations. However these all rely on the presence of traditional owners on the ground as it were. It is undoubtedly a challenge to consider how Aboriginal people who may not have visited their country (apart from imaginatively) might be enabled to exercise their rights as traditional owners, as stakeholders who are entitled to express their desires to "care for country"; or their concerns about management of development; how they might be enabled to visit, or how they might engage in any research undertaken.

The tangible impact of a landscape is expressed in many of the ways that Aboriginal people describe themselves. In these cases landscape (or country) is a constant feature in their social identity and the way they remember their pasts. The importance of landscapes to identity has probably been best described by Denis E. Cosgrove (2008, p. 20) who notes that: "Landscape constitutes a discourse through which identifiable social groups historically have framed themselves and their relations both with the land and with other human groups, and that this discourse is closely related epistemically and technically to ways of seeing."

Certainly, connections to land are seen by many as shaping their identity, and in the course of working through the oral history interviews numerous of the participants noted something to the affect of "we are a desert people" or coastal, or mountain, or other version of inscribing their personal and group (or familial) identity with landscape descriptors. One interviewee noted that stories about land and connections to it were inextricably bound up with identity:

> [These stories are] all personal life stuff, survival and what things were like. Like someone the other day was telling me about when they were a young boy and moving to Queensland and that was part of a journey. More like where your roots are, and where you've traveled to, and what roads you've walked down and how you can learn
> (Interview No. 31, p. 2).

In a similar vein, Aboriginal author, Ruby Langford Ginibi's (1988, 1992) life writing is filled with tantalizing clues as to the importance of places and landscapes as

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well as the locales where people lived and worked. She shows that for Aboriginal people the places they occupy and visit are redolent with the experiences and events which have marked their lives. Place, connections, land and identity are inextricably bound together.

Melbourne-based academic and performance artist Mark Minchinton a descendant of Noongar people in Western Australia attempted to negotiate this contested terrain by (re)connecting with the landscape of his ancestors. Although he recognized and accepted his connections to land he had not previously visited, Minchinton attempted to re-engage with this imagined landscape via bodily engagement. In doing so he walked nearly 400 km, from Busselton (in Western Australia), where his grandmother was known as "black" or Aboriginal, northwards to Kellerberrin where she was known as white and where she raised her children (including Minchinton's mother) as a *white* person. He kept a web-diary which he updated daily. As he saw it, his grandmother had been made to shift from being an Aboriginal person to a white person in the process of moving across the landscape from Busselton to Kellerberrin. As a performance art piece Minchinton attempted a kind of reversal by reinstating his family's Aboriginal identity as he moved back across the same land. The process of walking his country enabled him to articulate a particularly poignant engagement with imagined landscapes. He wrote:

> I want to be claimed. I want to feel the land with my feet, my body. I want the land to be written on my body, even if it's just pain in my knees. I want to know, in some way, this place I might have known already had my life been different, my family been different, the history of this country been different. To walk as if I belong to this place (Minchinton, 2004, p. 4).

The desire to belong to land, to know it intimately, is a powerful force. However, as Minchinton (2004, p. 5) reflects, he does not "pretend that by walking" this ancestral landscape he "will become Aboriginal": "I don't think I possess any innate knowledge because of my Aboriginal family. I don't think I have a special spirituality that connects me to this place. I don't claim any of this land as mine. Knowledge, spirituality and land must be taught, learnt and practised." Minchinton's sense of loss is palpable yet his connection to these imagined landscapes of his grandmother is also profound, his life seems changed as he demonstrates both the power and the desire to know "your place," and however imaginatively, understand where you belong.

Also writing from an Australian perspective Denis Byrne (2003, pp. 73–74) reminds us that both ethnic and racial identities consolidated around the concept of the nation, which is interchangeable with the idea of land. As he notes: "Under the terms of this notion, there cannot be identity without land. In places like … Australia, where indigenous people have been very largely dispossessed of land, this mindset has forced them to emphasize the physical traces of their former tenure as landholders."

There is an obvious tension between Minchinton's approach and that of Byrne, yet together they are informative, indeed instructional in trying to understand how anyone might come to know their place. Theorizing the

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experiences of Minchinton and others, for whom their ancestral landscape takes the form of stories and memories, can assist in developing an appreciation of how identity is shaped and affected by landscape interactions. These identities both personal and group come out of a "sensing of place." People (in this case Aboriginal people) animate a location and in turn imagine (or believe) that the land animates (creates and reaffirms) them. Using the framework developed by Basso; relationships to landscapes, cities and places are experienced deeply and profoundly when they are the object of awareness and reflection (Basso 1996, p. 54). It is that reflection and awareness that I want to explore in the next section, when I move from thinking about "knowing your place" to "finding your roots."

Finding Roots

Anthropologist Paul Basu (2005a, b, 2007) has explored similar experiences and undertakings with reference to diasporic descendants of the Scottish Highlands (especially from the Clearances period) and their (re)connection with landscapes and sense of belonging that emerges from the popular trend of "roots-tourism." Basu found that many Scots had settled in various British colonies including Canada, the US, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, where the presence of dispossessed Indigenous peoples appeared to impinge on the newcomers' capacity to feel that they belonged. Travelling to the Scottish Highlands, memorizing "myths" and stories and identifying genealogical clan connections enabled an "appeal of indigenousness." This facilitated a "sense of unproblematic territorial belonging that has become impossible in their diasporic home countries" (Basu 2005b, p. 147). According to Basu (2007, p. 8–9):

> the imperative to 'hunt down' a more authentic sense of home is vividly expressed in the contemporary search for roots … this widespread practice would seem to betray a more pessimistic view of modernity in which the individual evidently does not celebrate his or her liberation from the 'genealogical rhetoric' of blood and territorial attachment, but on the contrary seeks to re-assert it.

Such reconnection to a place that has not been visited for generations, and indeed exists only in the passed down memories of, often, long deceased ancestors "offers the dislocated self an opportunity to relocate … both spatially and temporally" (Basu 2007, p. 9).

Most Highland's roots tourists have multiple heritages (English; continental European; possibly even Aboriginal), however (at least while undertaking their pilgrimage) they privilege their heritage of Scottish Highlander. Even though this belonging is often entirely mythical and imagined; based on nineteenth century popular accounts of clan histories which bear little resemblance to historical fact or process, seems to be irrelevant. Instead, for those roots-tourists the (re)discovery of Scottish identity is a deeply meaningful experience and the connection between soil and blood, however illusory, is significant.

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For some of these "roots tourists," the desire to belong is linked to their settler status in the countries of their birth. There is a disquiet that accompanies living in a land that was occupied by native peoples and whose dispossession was a contingent element of colonial settlement. It is clear from Basu's interviews with his "informants" from British settler colonies such as Australia and Canada that there is a sense of illegitimacy, which many expect (hope) to dispel by finding out where they "come from." Indeed many of the Australians Basu interviewed suggested an "assertion of equivalence between [the experiences of] native Highlanders and native Australians." Echoes of Minchinton's desire to belong to and be claimed by a place is expressed by one of Basu's informants (undertaking roots tourism in the Western highlands of Scotland), when she observes "Indigenous people talk about them belonging to a place rather than a place belonging to them, I hate being a person without a place" (Basu 2007, p. 63).

Similar to many Aboriginal Australians who commemorate and celebrate their Indigenous ancestors and not necessarily their European ones, highlands roots tourists, according to Basu tend to identify with their ancestors who were removed or dispossessed in the Scottish Highland clearances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Research by Casella and Fredericksen (2004) has revealed, a parallel phenomena amongst family history enthusiasts and convict genealogical researchers. These people usually relate themselves to the oppressed victims of the colonial system, namely the transported convicts. Rarely do family history enthusiasts identify with the authorities, the wardens, or soldiers, like the roots-tourists few if any associate themselves with the dispossessors. Rather this is a heritage always written from the "memories" of the victims (see also Robertson and Hall 2007). A family's emigration is traced to the loss of their homelands. While others might recognize the similarity between these experiences and that of Indigenous-peoples, they tend do so without concern or indeed empathy for contemporary Aborigines. When asked about the similarities of dispossession one particularly strident Australian informant noted "I don't have any sympathy for them or their so called cause" (Basu 2007, p. 205).

The complex relationship between settler and native; dispossessor and dispossessed; colonizer and colonized and their relationship to ideas of diaspora have been explored by Ian Lilley (2006) who produced a very useful discussion, drawing attention to contrasts and similarities. He suggests that: "with certain provisos they [the experiences of settler Australians and dispossessed Indigenous people] might usefully be approached as the products of a single social condition – diaspora – in a manifestation that is unique to settler societies because it positions both the colonizer and the colonized as diasporic" (Lilley 2006, p. 29).

Lilley is careful not to equate experiences either historical or contemporary, nor the social, political and economic political realities of settlers and Indigenous people. He does, however, observe that the idea of diaspora (as a common experience) is "one of perception." Many settler Australians (especially Anglo-Celts), like many Aboriginal people, "see themselves as victims of a capricious and unforgiving colonial fate." Returning to the sentiments of Ruby Langford Ginibi mentioned earlier, both native and newcomer have a "sort of visceral connection between history and identity" and these revolve around the relationship to land and places.

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Connections and Diaspora: Homelands in Settler Landscapes

Making a homeland in a new place where "visceral connections" are yet to be established means new ways of seeing and thinking about the land need to be found. In diasporic or settler lands this often involves inscribing the landscape with familiar images of heritage, even at times creating them from new. Manufacturing a non-Indigenous or Europeanized past for colonial lands is a significant if not central (and primary) component of underwriting and legitimating Indigenous dispossession. In Australia, Canada, and the US visual arts particularly had a role to play here and painters often depicted Arcadian paradises where in fact untamed and undomesticated native landscape prevailed (Smith 1960). This was matched by the attempted recreation of gardens and landscapes that literally imported and implanted the homeland's cultural landscape (Carter 1987; Spurr 1993). In previous studies Ian McNiven and I have shown that colonizers frequently sought to justify their presence and actions by dissociating the 'natives' from their cultural heritage. Arguments are usually couched in terms which suggest that the native peoples are relatively recent arrivals and are therefore themselves colonizers whose claims to the land are tenuous. A common trope is to purport that Indigenous cultural heritage is the result of a previous race of people (e.g., Kuklick 1991, p. 135; Silverberg 1968). These prior races are always culturally closer to the colonizers than to the Indigenous inhabitants creating a kind assumed of legitimate inheritance (Russell and McNiven 1998, p. 286).

Aboriginal stone circles are one site type that proved particularly open to this type of dissociation. Stone circles are a feature of Aboriginal ceremonial activities and landscapes in many parts of Australia. Mostly these sites are made of medium sized (usually not more than knee height) stones placed in circles or other types of arrangement. Despite the obvious size and functional differences early European observers saw these as comparable to prehistoric British barrows, henges, and tumuli. In 1847, G. F. Angas (1847, 2, p. 280) noted: "Burials under tumuli are very common in every part of the northern world. So here at the Clarence river [in New South Wales] the blacks mark the burial-place by placing stones in a circle, and a large upright slab in the centre, even to the present day. They give no other reason for this than that it 'belong to black fellow'; 'black fellow make it so."

By interpreting Aboriginal sites as part of the archaeology of Europe or other feature of world history the colonists effectively removed Aboriginal people from their own heritage (and hence their land), which we regard as a common feature of settler-colonialism (McNiven and Russell 2005; Russell and McNiven 1998). In the case of these stone circles this distancing was further achieved by describing them as religious sites with no demonstrable Aboriginal connection. In one description of one of these "mystic stone circle" sites also from New South Wales, W. Augustus Miles (1854, p. 25) noted that:

> [t]he circles are not above 20 feet in diameter: the stones are seldom more than a foot above the ground, and in the centre is an upright stone about three feet high. The natives are very tenacious of any of these stones being moved, especially the centre one. The only reply the blacks make to any inquiry on

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this subject, and on which they are loathe to speak, is, 'Don't know: black fellow make it so long time ago'.

In each of these cases the Aboriginal ceremonial stone circle was being appropriated and described as foreign to Aboriginal culture and as having significant similarities to European landscape features. In their encyclopedia entry Chambers and Chambers (1872, p. 19) chose to write out Aboriginal people altogether: "Even in Australia … [megalithic structures] are to be seen in numbers, sometimes circle within circle, as at Avebury, and without any tradition among the natives." McNiven and I argue that these mechanisms for dissociating Aboriginal people from their heritages takes place with a framework where colonists sought to legitimize their rights to literally "inherit" the Australian continent. Colonization became a process of the (re)possession of a lost domain of western European heritage. This image reconfirmed the sense that 'the memory of European prehistory lay within Australia' (Fox 1992 p. 313; Russell and McNiven 1998, p. 293; McNiven and Russell 2005) (Fig. 1).

With all of these descriptions, Aboriginal people were assumed to have no memory of the site, or alternately they were exhibiting an unwillingness to disclose the sites' functions or knowledge of their construction. This positioning ensured that Aboriginal people were effectively distanced from their own culture—and further dispossessed. Implicitly, and I suspect consciously, the colonists knew that this dispossession was not based upon a lack of memories, but rather the disruption or absenting of known and existing memories, which was then self-justifyingly appropriated as "no memories." If Aboriginal people had no cultural memories of the sites and indeed if they were not responsible for their construction then they, like the European colonizers, were newcomers. Importantly from my

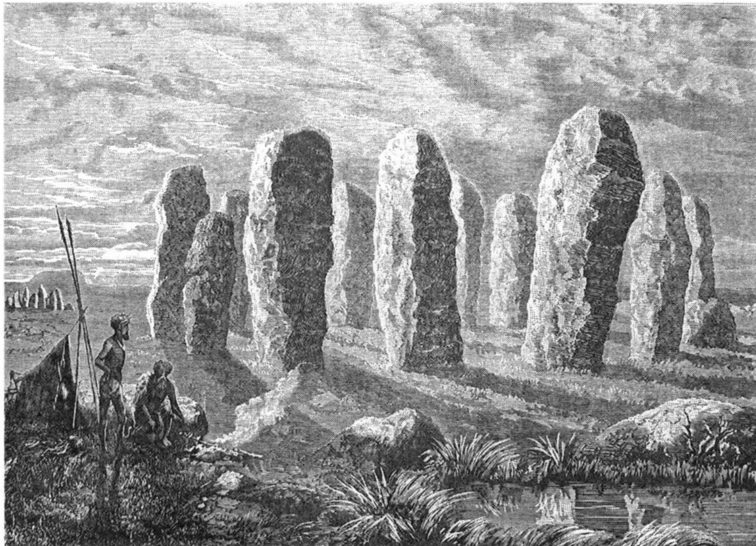

Fig. 1 An Aboriginal stone circle depicted as a megalithic structure. (1877 Mt Elephant Stone Circle: Sydney Illustrated and New South Wales Agriculturalist)

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perspective the absence of memory is appropriated as a means to indicate a lack of landscape connection. I suggest that Aboriginal memories of these landscape features almost certainly existed, but these were not shared with the colonial Antiquarian, and in the process that unwillingness further served to legitimate dispossession. As recent arrivals who might have usurped a previous race the legitimacy of their claims to the land was questionable (McNiven and Russell 2005; Russell and McNiven 1998, p. 289).

In what might be regarded as a modern day extension of these imaginary/fictitious landscapes, in 1991, a group of white Australians describing themselves as Celts or of Celtic ancestry, constructed a massive stone-circle in rural New South Wales (Fig. 2). The structure consists of 40 granite stones averaging 5.5 m in length. The outer circle of 24 stones represent the hours of the day. Three central stones represent firstly, the Australis Stone, which is intended to represent the link between the old and the new worlds. The second stone, known as the Gaelic Stone, stands for Scotland, Ireland and Isle of Man, and the third stone, the Brythonic Stone, depicts Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. The standing stone builders have differentiated between the two Celtic language types Q-Celtic in the Gaelic stone and P-Celtic for the Brythonic stone. The absence of a stone for Anglo-Saxon England suggests that like the roots tourists before, the English are seen as the dispossessors and the Celtic traditions celebrated here are, again, those associated with being disposed and oppressed. Added to this there are four cardinal stones marking true north, east, south, and west and seven stones marking summer and winter solstices, the longest and shortest days of the year. An aerial view shows the arrangement depicts the five "stars" of the Southern Cross; formed by the four cardinal stones and a stone inside the circle (Anonymous 2005, p.1).

This is a European heritage site built on an Aboriginal landscape. Paul Basu interrogated Ian McDiarmid, president of the Australian Standing Stones Management Board, and asked if he or indeed the board members had been influenced by Aboriginal

Fig. 2 The Glen Innes megaliths, New South Wales. (Photo courtesy of Ilya Genkin)

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understandings of landscape or "systems of thought"? The response was categorical. "Not at all in my opinion," McDiarmid exclaimed (Basu 2007, p. 216). Furthermore he emphasized that the construction of the circle involved no Aboriginal site disturbance and he disputed contemporary Aboriginal people's claims to the region, describing these as of questionable authenticity as he regards them as "largely later arrivals with no affinity to the area."

As these Australian descendants of the Celts attempt to imagine for themselves a connection to the landscape of their country of birth they feel a need to further dissociate traditional owners from the same. There are clear parallels to the nineteenth century attempts to inscribe the Australian landscape with European heritage sites, be this through art, gardens or indeed by creating the imaginary world of the megalithic stone circles.

There are layers of meaning associated with an archaeological reading of the modern Australian standing stone arrangement. Intended as more than a mere representation of a European archaeological site, the arrangement is the locale for a range of activities including the four day annual Australian Celtic Festival, in which Celtic heritage is celebrated and commemorated. The site represents an interesting archaeological phenomenon. The standing stones are built on Aboriginal land and according to the New South Wales government Hansard the Australis stone is intended as tacit acknowledgement of "those who were here before we came" (Excerpt from Parliament of NSW Hansard NSW Legislative Assembly of December 4, 1991). Contemporary archaeological evidence indicates that the British stone circles predate the Celts by several millennia and as such the validity of a stone arrangement to commemorate people with Celtic heritage within the settler-colony of Australia is tenuous.

There is a commonplace desire among many people to want to differentiate themselves from others. Identities can be gendered, ethnic, racial, regional, philosophical, political, they can be based on sexual preference, football team affiliation, age or status. Each of these labels enable the group members to create an identity that marks them out as unique and a group member at the same time (see Russell 2005). These categories cross cut each other and allow the individual to be a member of more than one group at the same time. City rivalry, Melbourne versus Sydney, Manchester versus London, or national competitiveness such as that witnessed between Australia and New Zealand, or Canada and the US are a couple of obvious examples. In colonial settler societies the need to belong often comes from a sense of illegitimacy stemming from the unacknowledged dispossession of the original people. Peter Read explored this in his highly criticized book *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership*. Read (2000) argues that there is real complexity at play for non-Aboriginal Australians who may have lived in Australia for generations and who have a sense of connection that needs acknowledgement and expression. Although these connections however sincere have little time depth (compared to Aboriginal connections) Read nonetheless imagines that the "native born" *belongs* in ways that might be considered similar to Indigenous-belonging. From an archaeological perspective this diasporic tension might be seen in the construction of a bogus heritage site, or the celebration of belonging to another landscape, even when that landscape exists only in the mind. As Basu (2005a, 147) notes of the Scottish roots-tourists: "Through an intertwining of

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stories told and stories heard, of stories dreamed, imagined and desired, ... [they], are able to participate in a collective 'Celtic dreaming' of their own and ... transform the hesitant hope of 'We could belong here' to the confident assertion of 'We do belong here.'".

The desire to belong, to be connected by blood to soil is a powerful motivator, but this motivation, extends beyond traveling "back" to ancestral homelands. Manning Clark, doyen of Australian history tapped into the settler-Australian sense of dislocation when he observed: "[w]e white people are condemned to live in a country where we have no ancestral spirits. The conqueror has become the eternal outsider, the eternal alien. We must either become assimilated or live the empty life of a people exiled from their source of spiritual strength" (cited in Basu 2005a, p. 125).

Basu explores the notions of "blood and soil" for the Highlands roots tourists and how these ideas serve to re-root an existentially homeless people in a landscape other than that in which they live their day-to-day lives. I would add that the activities of constructing a megalithic stone circle in Australia or depicting Aboriginal culture as somehow connected also serve to "re-root an existentially homeless people" in the land of their birth, if not their heritage.

Yet the fraught nature of these attempts to create a connection to the land of their birth remains almost entirely unacknowledged by either settler or Aboriginal Australians. To return to Lilley's (2006, p. 41) argument, there continues to be an under theorized idea of a common experience of diaspora, which despite the similarities "both colonizer and colonized ... orient them in such a way that they continually talk past each other."

War Sites, Sacredness and Remembrance

Talking past each other is also a key part of any discussion of sacred sites. One of the most controversial aspects of Aboriginal calls for control over land-development and resource exploitation, as well as land justice, land rights and native title has been in the area of "sacred sites." In general there has been a popular conservative cynicism about Aboriginal sacred sites, which are assumed to emerge only where and when developments are proposed and these are purported to be political tools used to make illegitimate land claims.

No such criticism however is evident in discussions of Anglo-Australia sacred sites, especially war sites. Indeed perhaps nowhere is the connection between blood (though spilled rather than inherited) and soil more keenly felt than in discussions of war sites and memorials. In April 2005, on the eve of the 90th anniversary of the landing of Imperial forces at Gallipoli, a controversy arose that in many ways exemplified the connection that people can feel towards places distant from or remote to themselves. Gallipoli in Turkey was, during World War I, where the ANZAC legend formed. The Australian and New Zealand Army Corp or ANZAC is the name given to the colonial troops who fought under the British flag in Turkey. The ANZAC legend, shared by both Australia and New Zealand proposes that the two country's national identity was forged and defined by these army-troops, who are regarded as having endurance, ingeniousness, bawdy-humor, and the now nationally ubiquitous concept of mateship.

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This narrative of loss and sacrifice, of betrayal and heroism, and the creation of a national identity has become a key feature of public discussions of Australian (and Aotearoa/New Zealand) national identity. The narrative itself has enjoyed fluctuating fortunes. Flagging interest was shown in the ANZAC story from the 1960s onwards (particularly during and immediately after the Vietnam War) however there has of late been increasing popularity. Since the 75th anniversary in 1990, ANZAC Cove at Gallipoli has become a fashionable visitation site for backpackers and other tourists, many of whom aim to be present at the dawn ceremony of April 25. These tourists had put increasing pressure on the site itself and the Turkish government heritage agency sought to upgrade the facilities at the site by widening the access road. These road works were requested by the Australian Federal government led by conservative Prime Minister John Howard. As a result a ridge, which was the location of army-headquarters, mobile hospitals and first aid stations, was cut into and fundamentally changed (Grattan 2005; Media Release issued by the Prime Ministers Office, *ANZAC Cove*, April 23, 2005).

One of the key points to emerge from the issues surrounding the controversial road works was that the general (white) Australian public believed that they had a fundamental right, indeed were stakeholders in, the Turkish landscape at Gallipoli. As Lilley (2006, p. 40–41) points out when Gallipoli was to be nominated to Australia's national heritage registry, a newspaper headline captured the parallels with Aboriginal land claims; "Heritage Listing for Sacred War Sites" (Mitchell 2005, cited in Lilley 2006, p. 41). Although perhaps dubious about Aboriginal claims to the sacredness and sanctity of their sites, at Gallipoli we have "a *real* sacred site!" (Lilley 2006, p. 41, emphasis added; see also Cameron and Donlon 2005). Even though, the overwhelming majority of people will never visit the site, there was a tacit assumption that Australia should be entitled to decide what happens to it and how any development is managed. Discussions held on talk-back radio and more generally amongst the public were couched in terms that Gallipoli was a sacred Australian landscape as so many Australian (and New Zealand) young men died there.

Through out the twentieth century Australia contributed troops to various wars on foreign soil. Perhaps closest to home and during WWII the Australian Army stationed in Papua New Guinea fought an intense and difficult series of battles with the Japanese Imperial forces. Most dramatic and powerful of these took place on the Kokoda Track, where alongside local Papua-New Guineans (colloquially known as fuzzy-wuzzy angels), Australian troops prevented a full scale Japanese invasion. While Gallipoli may be regarded as where the ANZAC legend was formed, the Kokoda track (and other pacific WWII sites) are where it matured and developed. Out of this emerged a war site that is prominent in both the memory and imagination of the Australian public.

Walking the Kokoda track has become a popular past-time with both Australian school students and tourists. At a reasonable pace the entire track can be completed in 9 days, depending on where it is measured from it is between 60 km and 100 km long. The terrain is difficult as it is rugged and often densely forested. The unforgiving harsh tropical heat and humidity and the difficult river crossings means completing the trek should not be attempted by unfit or unprepared walkers. Each year tourists die attempting to complete it. Like Minchinton in his trek, the walkers on the Kokoda

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track experience the physicality, pain and exertion as a visceral extension of the process of landscape engagement. Completion is a marker of achievement. The walk has also been used in a number of television current affairs and news programs to help "straighten out" troubled teenagers. For example the Channel Seven television network in Melbourne, in March 2005, showed a group of Muslim youths trekking the Kokoda Trail and argued that this experience had inspired them to become leaders in their community and work against terrorism. This story aired as part of the sensationalist and very popular current affairs program *Today Tonight*.

In each of these cases there was an expectation that proximity to the track, and the heroic deeds that took place there during World War II, would have a positive impact on the young people. It is as if the organizers of these tours hope that landscape itself will imprint its history onto the contemporary trekkers. Even though such connections are illusory. Young teens from inner city suburbs, many from multicultural backgrounds, have little connection with the World War II sites of Papua New Guinea. And certainly many of the youths involved came from backgrounds that would have seen them possibly on the opposite side to Australia during the Second World War. It is as a feature of a national discourse which celebrates masculinity, "heroic war deeds" and mateship that enables the Kokoda Track to impart its power. The Track itself devoid of these signifiers has no power.

Perhaps most interestingly of all is that Kokoda and Gallipoli, both situated on other nations' sovereign soil, form part of an imagined national landscape that defies contemporary geo-political borders. One wonders if the Japanese people and government sought to visit Darwin, the site of significant World War II (Japanese) bombings, and celebrate this as a site of Japanese war-time achievement, would the Australian public and government officials welcome them? These layers of meaning, entangled and competing, add to our understanding of people's engagement with landscapes. Real or imagined, the relationships that visitors perceive that they have with Kokoda and Gallipoli should play a significant role in how that landscape is managed, presented and interpreted. And most important of all, how theoretical discussions of belonging are developed.

Hobbits' Houses, *Lost* Sites: Maori and Hawaiian Landscapes

Although the previously discussed sites have a certain historical and material reality the following discussion concerns locations and sites that are entirely imaginary, however as should be evident, many of the issues raised above are relevant. In present day Hawaii on Oahu island tourists can take tours based on the highly popular television series *Lost* (Created by Jeffrey Lieber, J. J. Abrams and Damon Lindelof, ABC Studios, Bad Robot Productions, September 2004–May 2010). Visitors can see the "site" where Sawyer shot a polar bear in the first series, or the beach where the plane crashed, or perhaps most intriguingly the Australian road where the character Kate was stalked by a U.S. Marshall and the Nigerian village of the ill-fated Mr Eko. Tours can last two, five, eight, or an astonishing 10 hours during which time participants negotiate a landscape familiar to them as a result of watching the six seasons of the television series. In some of the locations there are remains of the sets or buildings used in the production but for the most part the sites are simply beaches,

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palm-groves, grassy plains or backdrops of spectacular jagged mountains and ridges. In order to engage with these the visitors must imagine them into life.

In many ways the skills of imagination required to see the *Lost* landscapes are also present in the "performance" tours conducted in London and other large and historic cities by enthusiasts and self-employed tour guides. These were analyzed by anthropologist Adam Reed (2002, p. 133) who noted that the re-enactment tour guides walk the contemporary landscape of London and "see" and convey:

> what had happened to it over the years—sackings, floods, fires, plagues, and bombings—and by what they imagined lay behind or underneath the modern facade. They reported visions not just of buried rivers, but of lost palaces, citadels, and monasteries, of plague-pits, jousting-fields, now-cleared slum quarters, places of execution, and places of popular entertainment such as bear-baiting or cock-fighting.

Like the Celtic roots tourists and the visitors to Gallipoli and Kokoda these walking ventures require both memory and imagination in order to fully experience them. Yet each imaginary place also exists as physical or geographic features. In the case of *Lost* landscape it is also part of the historical and native-Hawaiian landscapes.

After the Pakeha (European New Zealand as opposed to Maori) film director Peter Jackson filmed his *Lord of the Rings* trilogy in Aotearoa/New Zealand, many of the film locations became much sought after tourist sites. Over 40 tourism companies advertise *Lord of the Rings* tours. As the tour buses travel to the mythical Middle-Earth locations of Rivendell, Lothlorien and Helms Deep, the tourists travel through a palimpsestic landscape comprising of overlays of geologic, geographic, Maori and Pakeha narratives. The south island of Aotearoa/New Zealand is comprised of an extraordinarily diverse landscape of snow-capped mountains, glaciers, fjord lands, grassy plains, high-energy coastlines and roaring rivers. Tourist brochures emphasize its isolation, remoteness, history and beauty. Recently Aotearoa/New Zealand generally and the South Island in particular are promoted as (Tolkein's) "Middle-Earth," where "the story is fiction, but the place real."

Travelling the imaginary landscape is not merely the domain of organized tours. Maps and popular books are available so that the self-guided *Lord of the Rings* enthusiast can also locate the key sites of "Middle-Earth." Interestingly, in neither the advertising brochures nor the maps, or even the book on *Lord of the Rings* locations, is there mention of the Maori landscape over which these imaginary places were built. Maori values and even the historical values that Pakeha New Zealanders ascribe to the land are absent. It seems that the mythical and imaginary landscape of Middle Earth has superseded the actual, real landscape comprised of history and geography. In July 2006 I observed that a new series of tours had emerged—Narnia Tours. These tours are based on the film of C. S. Lewis's *Narnia*. In the Narnia tours there is an opportunity to visit the "Chariot Run Gully," the site of the "Death of the Witch," and "Aslan's Stand." Many of these sites are the same sites that can also be visited as part of the Lord of the Rings tours. Ascribing a cultural heritage value on these sites and landscape features means weighing up the competing claims for connection and meaning. In a landscape where Indigenous values, now compete with geographic, historical, and even imaginary interpretations, if we are to understand how people

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engage with and express their sense of belonging to these landscapes we need to move beyond positivist and measurable approaches and try to grapple with something much more ephemeral and difficult to fully appreciate.

Discussion

People want to belong, they want to know a geography and unproblematically fit into a landscape—even if that relationship or landscape itself is imagined. Memory and imagination play important roles in our connections to landscapes and places. Anyone who, as an adult, has visited a place of their childhood is usually surprised by how small everything is. Windows are closer to the ground, shelves are lower than remembered, houses, paddocks, even trees are recalled as having been larger, rather than the self remembered as having been smaller. Our remembered landscapes belong to our imagination, but this does not diminish their importance or significance, however personal or idiosyncratic that might be. Understanding engagements with a childhood landscape, or places that are seen to signify national narratives of loss and heroism, or even imaginary locations from far away galaxies, all offer means for comprehending the complexities of human interactions with their environments. While ascribing heritage or even archaeological values to such places would be difficult, it is important that these connections (and belongings) are not trivialized. There is a growing body of literature in this area, particularly as these relate to conservation and management; competing values; intangible heritages and the multivalent nature of landscapes (e.g., see Smith and Akagawa 2009; Stanley-Price and King 2009; Bakker and Müller 2010), and while this is beyond the scope of this paper it is timely to reflect, as Stuart Hall (1990, p. 224) remarked (see also Rutherford 1990): "we should not, for a moment, underestimate or neglect the importance of the act of imaginative rediscovery which this conception of a rediscovered, essential identity entails."

Similar acts of imaginative rediscovery can be seen in the actions of modern Druids who have claimed Stonehenge as a site of their heritage, even though archaeological understandings affirm that the Megalithic monument vastly predates Druid culture. Modern Druid celebrations of the *summer* solstice at Stonehenge today proceed despite overwhelming evidence that Stonehenge actually marked for its builders the *winter* solstice (see Chippindale 2004, p. 236). It is important that such contemporary imaginary and imagined relations to the landscape of Stonehenge not be ignored or trivialized, for to do so would both deny the contemporary relevance of historical sites to people today (whether or not they are re-interpreted through the imagination), and possibly pose a threat to the site (if Druid activity was not realistically acknowledged as meaningful to some, and carefully managed). Social interactions with sites are real, contemporary, and for the people involved utterly meaningful, thus adding an important social layer to the historically and archaeologically complex and incomplete understanding of the Stonehenge landscape.

Imagining landscapes and imagining relationships to landscapes is part of the performativity of belonging (Bell 1999). The spatialization of this process brings us closer to understanding the link between imagination, land, identity, and the resonances and connections between various ways of knowing.

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