

Aftermath

Studying Life after Pilgrimage*

Hillary Kaell

Given the location of the colloquium that gave rise to this volume, it seems appropriate to begin with the 2010 film *The Way*, starring Martin Sheen as a pilgrim named Tom who travels to Spain following his son's death in the Pyrenees. Arriving in Santiago de Compostela, he receives his pilgrims' certificate, but instead of ending the trip as planned, he and his three companions feel compelled to journey onwards. Without speaking a word, they take to the road and complete another 70 km to Muxía. There, standing at the ocean, Tom scatters his son's ashes. Then he hoists up his pack again. The final frame flashes onto a very different scene – a busy market in Marrakesh – where Tom, still wearing the pilgrim's scallop around his neck, journeys ever onwards.

What do we, as viewers, make of this scene? We might move into the realm of metaphor: Tom will never fully heal from his son's death, nor will he forget. Life is a journey, and so on. Or we might interpret it more literally: Tom becomes the unceasing pilgrim – an enlightened, perhaps restless, figure always on the move. Whatever we make of it, *The Way*, in its own way, provokes an interesting question. It portrays the journey in a fashion that is familiar to anthropologists and sociologists who study contemporary pilgrimage: the action concentrates on the road and shrines, with only tantalizing hints about the journey's aftermath. But we, as scholars, are not beholden to the conventions of cinematic suspense. So why don't we more systematically track pilgrims' return?

I am not the first to notice this lacuna. In her classic anthropological account of Hindu pilgrimage, Ann Gold remarked on scholars' tendency to focus on the “journey's destination – the riverbank, the temple town, the lake, or mountain shrine – with little attention to its closure or return lap”.¹

* “Aftermath” is an homage to Frey, “Stories of the Return”. My sincere thanks to Purna Roy, a doctoral student at Concordia University, with whom I co-authored a chapter for another volume. As I clarify below, one part of this chapter draws on a section she wrote and, more generally, I rely on the literature surveys we conducted together.

More than a decade later, Nancy Frey observed that the vast majority of studies, which were by North American or European scholars, still concentrated “on the pilgrim’s journey and action at the goal. The return seems to be culturally constructed as unimportant, uninteresting, or simply unnoticed”.² Today, the situation is somewhat improved and more studies of pilgrimage are exploring the trip’s aftermath – though it is still by no means the norm.

This chapter begins by offering some background to explain the absence of such studies. It then moves on to three main themes, or questions, based on a survey of recent literature: Are pilgrims changed when they return? How are sites managed and maintained once visitors leave? What is the role of souvenir objects at home? In discussing these topics, my first goal is to highlight pertinent research and suggest areas for further investigation. I focus on the methodology I know best: “fieldwork” studies, within which I include scholarship in anthropology, sociology, cultural geography, tourism studies and religious studies. That focus shapes my discussion in a few ways. For example, I am not considering metaphorical or virtual (online) travel. Nor do I include work created by and for pilgrims, such as handbooks, guides, or memoirs. By way of contrast to fieldwork studies, one might consider work by historians or psychologists; whether consciously or not, both fields focus more on aftermaths because of their source materials, such as personal recollections.³ On that note, my second goal is to spur discussion. As this volume attests, the strength of pilgrimage studies is its interdisciplinary and transhistorical bent: scholars come from a variety of fields and study a variety of time periods and places. Readers of this chapter may be aware of, and reflect on, the approach to pilgrimage aftermaths in other disciplines.

On the absence of “afters”

One might begin with the question of *why*. Why, despite the shared importance of the return across pilgrimage cultures, has comparatively little research evaluated it in a sustained or systematic way?

Some scholars blame a Christian bias in pilgrimage studies. “While most Christian notions of pilgrimage start in a certain place and ‘go-forth’ to another place”, writes one anthropologist of Islam, “Muslim spatial orientations imagine both the point of origin *and the act of return* as central to the experience of pilgrimage”.⁴ Studies of Muslim pilgrimage have, in fact, offered some of the most robust engagement with returnees. And it was indeed Roman Catholic sites that first drew ethnographic attention; as such, they have exerted significant influence in shaping the field. A student of Durkheim’s, Robert Hertz, set the tone in his 1913 study of St Besse’s pilgrimage in the Italian Alps. Studying the popular Catholicism that gave

rise to it, he interpreted pilgrimage as a ritual that served to knit a community together and recreate social order.⁵ A later and more influential text is Victor and Edith Turner's 1978 study of Catholic pilgrimage in Europe and Mexico. It also framed the study of pilgrimage within the longstanding anthropological/sociological interest in how communities congregate and re-solidify social ties while contributing to a budding interest in performativity and ritual studies. In both respects, the Turners' example focused on the "center out there", in their well-known phrase. While this model did not preclude the possibility of studying aftermaths, it has tended to eclipse them.⁶

Some scholars have, of course, examined what happens after pilgrims return. To do so, they tend to adopt a few major strategies. Many, if not most, scholars draw inferences based on promotional materials, faith-based guidebooks and interviews at the shrine site. A second group of researchers focuses only on the aftereffect, usually through focus groups and interviews, without working with pilgrims before or during their trips. This strategy is especially prevalent in studies of the hajj, a pilgrimage that is closed to non-Muslims and where former pilgrims may be easily identifiable by the addition of "hajji" or "hajja" to their names. Another "strategy", which has yielded some of the most evocative studies of aftermaths, is often more happenstance than design. Ethnographers who may not have set out to study pilgrimage, but work in a particular location where people happen to make such journeys, know pilgrims long before they depart, and can follow them up after they return.⁷

There are good reasons why comparatively few studies of pilgrimage explore aftermaths and why those that do tend to fall into the categories just enumerated: it is costly and time-consuming for scholars, and especially for graduate students completing dissertations, to go on pilgrimages. If one does go, it is even more costly and time-consuming to follow up with participants if they hail from many places. Only a few scholars, such as Nancy Frey,⁸ have made it a point to keep in touch with pilgrims in various countries over, in her case, a year-long period. Working on the Camino de Santiago in the 1990s, she drew her inspiration from the (at the time) recent trend towards multi-sited ethnography. This method, including collaborations between multiple scholars in different locations – home locations and "on the road" – might provide a rich source of future data. Yet even with this attempt to rework the methodological basis of pilgrimage studies, Frey noted the difficulty of maintaining contact with former pilgrims.⁹ I have noted the same thing in my work with US Christians after their return from the Holy Land. Pilgrims may choose to sever relations with those they met during the trip – together with the anthropologist who accompanied them – for a number of reasons, including a fear of attenuating the experience.¹⁰

Pilgrims, sites and objects

To clarify some recent trends, this section is organized around a few key themes noted above: pilgrims, sites and objects. The first examines how scholars have evaluated results for pilgrims at a personal and societal level. The second discusses the impact on sites and site management after pilgrims leave. The last topic explores the circulation of souvenirs. The discussion draws on observations from my own work, as well as (mostly recently) published materials. I completed the initial survey with Purna Roy, a doctoral student in my department at Concordia University, who is studying pilgrimage in India and with whom I co-authored a chapter for another volume. She suggested site management as a topic and wrote a first draft of the section under that heading (although the final wording is mine) while also commenting on drafts of the other sections.

Pilgrims

At the heart of most studies of pilgrimage are pilgrims. Are they changed? Did they attain their goal? And how do scholars evaluate such outcomes?

All pilgrimage scholars are conversant with documents such as memoirs, guides and handbooks that shape what pilgrims hope, or expect, to find on the trip. The difficulty lies in pinpointing how media about what one *ought* to accomplish interacts with, and may differ from, the journey's *actual* results. When it comes to observing individual outcomes, a fair number of studies rely on auto-ethnography, such as Albertus Bagus Laksana's study of Catholic and Muslim pilgrimages in Java or Abdellah Hammoudi's work on the hajj. In Laksana's case, for example, he attests to how, as a Javanese Catholic, pilgrimage left him with a better sense of how these two aspects of his own identity interacted.¹¹ Hammoudi's work details the shock of his journey home: falling out with a fellow pilgrim, dealing with corrupt petty officials, feeling exhausted and disoriented after the evanescent happiness he felt in Mecca.¹² Upon reflection, he writes, the pilgrimage did result in an unexpected form of clarity about life and its challenges.

When they return, most pilgrims transmit aspects of their experience to others, effectively turning pilgrimage places into "storied spaces"¹³ through the circulation of memories and memoirs.¹⁴ Maurice Halbwachs' pioneering work on memory used the Holy Land to show how temporal and spatial distance from the sacred site itself is, in fact, fundamental to creating and preserving these collective memories.¹⁵ As Nancy Frey points out in her study of the Camino, however, contemporary pilgrims may come from contexts in which their journey is not understood or appreciated. She found that, compared to Spanish pilgrims, Americans and others (including non-Catholics) faced a "monumental task" narrating their experience for

others and explaining the very act of pilgrimage, since it was unfamiliar to their audience.¹⁶

Sociologists and political scientists have done the most to track and quantify post-trip narratives, generally by coding themes in focus group interviews and surveys. The quality of such studies varies; some rely on small samples and only vaguely contextualize the responses. Yet even the thinnest of studies may show significant patterns when considered in light of others. For example, surveys of returned hajjis in locations including Pakistan, the Caucasus, Belgium and London have all confirmed that the trip enhances in-group identity and cohesion. In the context of minority groups, such as Muslims in Europe, the “home” feeling in Mecca may encourage a spiritual sense of out-of-placeness in their physical home. Erkan Toguslu’s study of Belgian hajjis found that returnees began to explicitly nurture feelings that had bothered them before – feeling out of place as religious and racial minorities in Belgium – to encourage a commitment to Muslim practices, such as praying five times a day.¹⁷ While strengthened in-group identity or religious commitment is perhaps unsurprising, a comparison of these studies also shows other patterns. Notably, many hajjis return with a heightened sense of individuality and more tolerance for other religions and diversity within Islam.¹⁸ Laksana finds similar results in his study of the relations between Javanese Catholic and Muslim pilgrims, which he calls an improved “dynamic of mutual openness”.¹⁹

Muslim contexts also offer good examples of how pilgrimage often raises a returnee’s social standing. This new authority is most obviously signalled in the title of “hajji” that may be attached to one’s name. Returnees may greet their fellows differently as a result: with the hand turned downwards to avoid grasping the palm of those who the hajji now considers less ritually pure.²⁰ People at home often view returned pilgrims as globally situated people, and pilgrims may indeed use the journey to make or cement business contacts that serve them post-trip. In many contexts, hajjis are also understood to benefit kin and community members at home through their prayers and blessings.

In my work with US Christians, I also asked about the circulation of prayers in the Holy Land and afterwards, which led me to conclude that the people who choose to journey are generally already “spiritual experts”.²¹ More specifically, I found a preponderance of older women who are viewed, and view themselves, as the spiritual heart of their families and church communities. In other words, US pilgrims rarely, if ever, choose to take the trip – which is expensive and may be their first and only major trip abroad – when they are feeling spiritually lost or unfulfilled. Instead, they sign up when they are “strongest” in their faith and, in keeping with their pre-existing role, they pray and ask for blessings mainly for *others* – their friends and family who are less strong in their faith or for whom they feel a spiritual responsibility. Upon return, their status as “experts” is often

enhanced, but it is not radically changed.²² Of course, gaining enhanced respect after the trip depends on local “scripts” for understanding pilgrimage. When these are absent, including after journeys that are New Age or more idiosyncratic, a returnee’s reception can be quite ambivalent; such pilgrims may feel isolated or misunderstood.²³

This work raises the question of failure. What if prayers or blessings do not have the intended effect? What if one had disorienting or puzzling experiences in a sacred centre where one expected to feel belonging?²⁴ By comparing pre-trip interviews and post-trip interviews at intervals over a year, I found that even pilgrims who were disappointed at first generally came to frame the trip as successful within a few months. A key component was how they incorporated spiritual successes and activities after their return into what might be thought of as an “extensible” pilgrimage experience, an idea I adapt from Catherine Bell’s emphasis on “ritual-like” processes that contain multiple rituals within an extended timeframe.²⁵ Many of the pilgrims I got to know linked post-trip actions to the journey, and later often narrated them as such. Thus they incorporated even unanticipated outcomes as part of the “successful” pilgrimage while generally forgetting those pre-trip goals that were not accomplished. In this way, the journey’s aftereffects lingered into an indistinct future and could be seen to have far-reaching effects on multiple people in a pilgrim’s home life.

There is a methodological challenge in recognizing and analyzing failure. As I have remarked elsewhere, the burgeoning subfield of Pilgrimage Studies is deeply shaped by engagement between practitioners and scholars.²⁶ At one level, this close association is to be expected, especially in work on Christianity, my field of expertise. As noted above, the study of pilgrimage was greatly impacted by Victor and Edith Turner’s work, which dovetailed with the couple’s own conversion to Roman Catholicism. More recently, the growing interest in pilgrimage among middle-class North Americans and Europeans has driven many (North American and European) scholars’ interest in the topic. Indeed, pilgrimage’s new place of cultural prominence means that more scholars, caught up in the zeitgeist, have had important personal experiences of self-discovery as pilgrims – often on the Camino – that have led them to undertake its study. An influential example is medievalist George Greenia, who began a second phase of his career guiding groups on the Camino and encouraging its study through the Institute for Pilgrimage Studies, which he founded at William & Mary College (Virginia, USA) in 2011.

I am not suggesting that scholar-practitioners would reject a discussion of failure; my sense is that they might very well welcome it. My point is that, perhaps without our being fully aware of it, the ways in which we, scholars, describe our subject matter often illustrate a particular vision of Pilgrimage Studies as a collaboration between practitioners and scholar-practitioners that assumes pilgrimages *make something happen*. Most obviously, among

“scholar-practitioners” we might include scholars who are pilgrims or pilgrim guides and those who train tourism professionals: each group shares a belief in the effectiveness of such journeys to create spiritual uplift, foster interfaith reconciliation, or promote local economies. Yet even anthropologists who do not fall into these categories may bring similar assumptions to bear. As Pilgrimage Studies pioneer Jill Dubisch pointed out in a recent talk, anthropologists who choose this field of study are often seduced by the journey’s emotional, dramatic and transformative capacities, just like pilgrims themselves.²⁷ If we start our studies from this perspective, it is no wonder that our own aspirations for, and excitement about, the possibility of change lead us to position transformation as quasi-inherent to the experience.

Sites

There is an “aftermath” associated with sites too, yet anthropologists and sociologists have written next to nothing about the places pilgrims leave – our gaze focuses on the human element of the story. By contrast, Tourism Studies scholars and tourism management professionals have considered the topic at length. From their perspective, the practical reality is that more affordable travel has led to a sharp rise in the number of visitors at many sites. It puts increased stress on the areas in question and leaves managers with significant new challenges.²⁸ For scholars of pilgrimage more generally, focusing on sites opens exciting avenues for future research, particularly in terms of engaging with the ecological turn across many fields. Positioning the site itself as protagonist could also create fruitful overlap with anthropologists of religion who are exploring ontological perspectives that privilege non-human actants.

As one can imagine, one of the main issues sites face in the aftermath of a pilgrimage concerns waste production, which creates environmental hazards and physical degradation. Tourism Studies scholar Kiran Shinde’s work on the Hindu sacred complex of Tirumala-Tirupati in South India, a site visited by approximately 1.2 million pilgrims every month, makes the important observation that particular rituals play a huge role in generating particular kinds of waste.²⁹ For example, in South India, coconuts are often used as gifts in ritual exchanges between deities and their devotees. Shinde notes that over 20,000 coconuts pile up each day at Tirumala-Tirupati, which must be removed from the premises after pilgrims leave. While most of the items used in worship at Hindu shrines are biodegradable, such as fruit or incense, its plastic and polythene packaging causes serious damage to the ecosystem. Likewise, studies of the hajj have noted the piles of plastic and other refuse that pilgrims throw along the roadways as they engage in ritual journeys between sites.³⁰ The issue is perhaps most pressing at Sikh pilgrimage shrines where the presence of *langars*

(free communal kitchens) creates massive accumulation of non-biodegradable waste (plastic cups and plates) and polluted water if sewage facilities are inadequate.³¹

Another facet of site “aftermaths” concerns the street vendors who are a ubiquitous part of almost all pilgrimages, to greater and lesser degrees. They are integral to providing the objects pilgrims need to perform rituals, stay fed and hydrated, and bring home blessings and memories to share with others. Nevertheless, at nearly every site at least some stakeholders perceive vendors as detrimental to the aesthetic value of sacred shrines. For site managers, vendors pose another set of problems because they generally build or bring structures, such as booths or tables, that remain on site after visitors leave each night. In fact, vendors themselves may live on site or camp out during periods of high visitor traffic, which means that people are present even after shrine structures are closed. This problem is particularly acute in poorer countries, such as India, where vendors are usually unregulated. It also means they have few legal protections.

For example, in 2007, the state government of Bihar implemented measures to forcibly eliminate street vending at the sacred centre of Bodhgaya.³² After pilgrims left for the day, and without warning or plans for relocation, it sent bulldozers and police to remove the vendors, along with their small business stands and shanty homes. Anthropologist Jason Rodriguez notes that this action was driven in part by numerous visitor complaints, especially from a rising number of non-Indian Buddhists from North America and Europe.³³ According to Rodriguez, since Bodhgaya marks the location where Buddha “awakened” to realize that desire is the root of all suffering, many foreign pilgrims, in particular, imagined Bodhgaya should be a “serene, spiritual, ‘authentically’ Buddhist place”³⁴ separate from material desires and, therefore, free of vendors. Thus the state government’s actions were a strategic move to promote a certain kind of Buddhism in order to attract a certain kind of visitor, namely foreign ones. As we think about aftermaths, then, it raises vital questions about what kinds of everyday, as well as more exceptional, measures are undertaken after visitors leave to ensure that when they return, or others like them, the site seems to them to reflect a “natural” or “authentic” sacredness.

Objects

The most substantial existing body of work on pilgrimage aftermaths concerns the transfer of objects, and more particularly, gifts and souvenirs. Most studies in this vein use broader theoretical frameworks, notably Marcel Mauss’s concept of the “spirit of the gift” and Pierre Bourdieu’s work on social capital. Also influential is the emphasis on a “social life of things” that promotes research based on following an object’s circulation and changing meanings.³⁵

Pilgrims bring back sacred objects, along with souvenirs of no express religious value, such as bookmarks or t-shirts. Many return with little pieces of the place itself, such as Zamzam water (Mecca), olive wood (Israel/Palestine), or twigs, leaves and rocks. In many traditions, an object's holiness is amplified if a pilgrim prays with it or has it blessed at the shrine site. In my work, I have noted how on some Catholic trips, the priest guiding a group would line up suitcases in Ben Gurion airport to bless all the souvenir objects at once while still on holy ground. This component takes yet another valence in pilgrimages to visit a holy person. For example, Sathya Sai Baba, an important South Asian guru, is famous for his purportedly miraculous materializations of objects, such as holy ash, rings and necklaces, which he gives to visiting pilgrims. Work on spiritual or New Age tourists shows how objects can be understood to gain power simply from being in a place rather than relying on a holy person or a priestly blessing. Anna Fedele, for example, notes that New Age pilgrims in France even transported objects from home to a particular site in order to "charge them with [its] energy".³⁶

Regardless of how power, holy presence, or "energy" is transmitted, it is clear that across traditions most returned pilgrims give (and sometimes sell) these travelling objects to people at home. In Islam, giving or selling souvenirs provides the opportunity for a pilgrim to confer blessings on others, which may occur publicly in festivities celebrating the hajjis' return.³⁷ In contemporary Christian pilgrimage, gifting objects to individuals is usually done privately – between family members and friends. Returnees may also give a wide variety of smaller objects to colleagues and acquaintances in order to cement social relations. In my work, I found that informal personal prayers often accompanied these small gifts, even in cases where the recipient was unaware of such intentions.³⁸

Objects are also important for pilgrims themselves, who arrange and display them in their homes to help focus their prayers or offer curative properties. In other cases, a pilgrimage souvenir may be valued for aesthetic reasons or because it is symbolic of certain ideals.³⁹ Modes of use and display differ depending on religious background and, based on my research in the United States, often just as importantly, social class.⁴⁰ Studies of Sathya Sai Baba point to another important factor in traditions with pilgrimage to a holy individual. When recipients return home, the gifts initiate a "quasi-contractual relationship" between devotee and guru.⁴¹ These objects, which are mostly worn on the body or consumed, make Sai Baba's "imperceptible presence [...] physically contiguous with the recipient" so that the former pilgrim "becomes obliged firstly to the person of Sai Baba, but through him to the redemptive mission and finally to the development of his own inner divinity".⁴²

Photographs are another set of common objects. Today, social media have prompted new forms of analysis in which hundreds of post-trip

tweets or photos can be catalogued. Though such studies cannot usually tell why pilgrims create particular images and who consumes them, bigger data sets may unearth interesting results, such as a recent article that suggests young hajjis post selfies to “create opportunities for self-representation and community building in a context of increasing Islamophobia”.⁴³ Undoubtedly, social media will spur future research, but to date most scholars have focused on more traditional kinds of activities: how pilgrims arrange photos in albums and present slideshows to friends. Such studies generally codify patterns in the album and/or the pilgrim’s narration.⁴⁴ Very few studies trace the broader social life of photos as they are gifted and used by others.

A last type of object “afterlife” concerns “surrogate pilgrimages”,⁴⁵ when individuals or institutions build environments that act as “stand-ins” for an original location. This act turns foreign sites into local ones, usually based on the understanding that the sacred is moveable and replicable. Scholars of Catholic pilgrimage, who have traced this phenomenon in a number of locations, show how replica builders are often former pilgrims who bring back presence-filled pieces of the original site – rocks, water, etc. – to integrate into the new landscape. A famous example is the Lourdes grotto in France, which is now multiplied many times around the world. One example, from the United States, recreates the grotto in South Bend, Indiana. A former pilgrim, Father Sorin, built it in 1878 with holy water he brought back from his trip. Although such landscapes certainly derive their initial power from the circulation of pilgrimage objects, builders “may not always be concerned with creating authentic likenesses, but rather authentic spaces for devotion”.⁴⁶ In South Bend, for example, the “new” Lourdes grotto specializes in different miracles from those of its French progenitor, more in keeping with its location on Notre Dame University’s campus: instead of seeking physical cures, visitors focus on help of other sorts: “of tests passed and degrees earned, of football games won, of relationships born or mended”.⁴⁷

Concluding thoughts

Many scholars who use fieldwork have commented on the methodological difficulty of trying, as Nancy Frey put it, to observe “a moving population that shares a common destination but [often] not a common home”.⁴⁸ Veteran researchers of pilgrimage, Simon Coleman and John Eade, express some of the other, more conceptual, challenges involved, namely “the difficulty [...] of determining not just the size but also the *location* of [a pilgrimage’s] impact: should one focus on the site alone, the immediate locality, the region, the country, or the places from around the world that some pilgrims have come from? Such impact [...] point[s] to the numerous and ramifying channels through which pilgrimage activities – and effects – flow”.⁴⁹

Coleman and Eade are sanguine about the possibilities, even while they lament how many scholars still treat shrine sites as “bounded containers” and the concomitant failure to nurture wider conversations outside the sub-field.⁵⁰ While this problem has a few root causes, attending to aftermaths can certainly help. By doing so, scholars move away from viewing pilgrimage as a centre “out there” to entangle it more fruitfully within a variety of societal dynamics and institutional frameworks, and thereby promote conversation with our colleagues in other fields. Attention to aftermaths may stimulate work on social media and collective memory, as important subjects for future pilgrimage studies. It also prompts questions about the legibility of travel narratives for people at home in an age of growing luxury travel, an issue especially relevant in traditions that privilege the journey’s physical hardships. Another key theme concerns ecology and sustainability. We ought to start thinking more holistically about shrine sites and also experiencing aftermaths, in parallel with pilgrims as they return home.

Perhaps most importantly, exploring aftermaths is integral to scholars’ ability to better evaluate the confident declarations – promoted by believers, religious doctrine, pop culture products and tourism professionals – that the journey will have an impact. It means casting aside longstanding assumptions about what pilgrimage *ought* to do – transform, make a difference, etc. – to consider how a journey’s goals may undergo significant changes, result in unpredictable outcomes, or remain unfulfilled. Taking this step is well within our capacity in Pilgrimage Studies. After all, scholars of pilgrimage have nuanced and destabilized the very categories of “pilgrimage” and “religion” upon which the subfield rests. They were doing so even before the genealogical turn or popular discussion of the secular within studies of religion. With those antecedents in mind, we are poised to again shake up the field by rethinking pilgrimage as a temporally extensible journey, which may be reinterpreted or compel new experiences even long after the trip itself is done.

Notes

- 1 Gold, *Fruitful Journeys*, 1.
- 2 Frey, “Stories of the Return”, 96.
- 3 On a similar point see *Ibid.*, 96–97.
- 4 Kenny, “Gifting Mecca”, 364 (my italics).
- 5 Hertz, “St Besse”. See also Wolf, “The Virgin of Guadalupe”.
- 6 However, the Turnerian model, as it was adapted, is not precisely the same as the Turners’ own work, which did gesture to how future studies might join pilgrimage to wider societal institutions and concerns. For example, Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 22.
- 7 E.g., Gold, *Fruitful Journeys*; and Delaney, “The Hajj”.
- 8 Frey, *Pilgrim Stories*; and Frey, “Stories of the Return”. A rarer, and very intriguing, model is to study a pilgrimage in a comparatively local catchment area over many years to observe diachronic change, such as Coleman, “Pilgrimage as Trope”.

- 9 Frey, "Stories of the Return", 98; also Fedele, *Looking for Mary Magdalene*, 254.
- 10 Kaell, *Walking Where Jesus Walked*, 174.
- 11 Laksana, *Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage*, 223.
- 12 Hammoudi, *A Season in Mecca*, 265–272.
- 13 Feldman, "Introduction".
- 14 Coleman and Elsner, *Pilgrimage*.
- 15 Halbwachs, "The Legendary Topography", 196. Cited in Feldman, "Introduction", 107, and Kaell, *Walking Where Jesus Walked*, 19.
- 16 Frey, *Pilgrim Stories*, 184.
- 17 Toguslu, "The Meaning of Pilgrimage".
- 18 Clingingsmith, Khwaja and Kremer, "Estimating"; DeHanas, "Of Hajj and Home"; Alexseev and Zhemukhov, "From Mecca with Tolerance".
- 19 Laksana, *Muslim and Catholic Pilgrimage*, 221.
- 20 Kenny, "Gifting Mecca", 371; Delaney, "The Hajj", 520.
- 21 Kaell, "Can Pilgrimage Fail?", 400.
- 22 Also Fedele, *Looking for Mary Magdalene*, 251.
- 23 Frey, *Pilgrim Stories*, 187.
- 24 Delaney, "The Hajj", 521; Hammoudi, *A Season in Mecca*, 280.
- 25 Bell, *Ritual*, X, 102, 248. Cited in Kaell, "Can Pilgrimage Fail?", 398. See also Coleman, "Pilgrimage as Trope".
- 26 Kaell, "Notes on Pilgrimage".
- 27 Dubisch, "The Seduction of the Anthropologist".
- 28 Olsen, "Management Issues", 107.
- 29 Shinde, "Pilgrimage and the Environment". Also Alley, "Images of Waste".
- 30 Hammoudi, *A Season in Mecca*, 264.
- 31 Shinde, "Pilgrimage and the Environment", and Shinde, "Policy, Planning, and Management".
- 32 The Mahabodhi Temple is a 2,000-year-old Buddhist temple in Bodhgaya popularly believed to be the location where the Buddha attained enlightenment. The Bodh Gaya Temple Act of 1949 transferred its management from the Hindu mahant (abbot) to the state government of Bihar, which subsequently established a Bodh Gaya Temple Management Committee (BTMC).
- 33 Rodriguez, "Cleaning Up Bodhgaya", 67.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 71.
- 35 Mauss, *The Gift*; Bourdieu, "The Production of Belief"; Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*.
- 36 Fedele, *Looking for Mary Magdalene*, 246.
- 37 Virtanen, "Transforming Cattle into Blessings"; Kenny, "Gifting Mecca"; Alexseev and Zhemukhov, "From Mecca with Tolerance".
- 38 Kaell, "Of Gifts and Grandchildren".
- 39 Morinis, *Sacred Journeys*.
- 40 Kaell, *Walking Where Jesus Walked*, 183.
- 41 Kent, "Divinity, Miracles and Charity", 48.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 50–51; also Srinivas, "Articles of Faith", 287.
- 43 Caidi, Beazley and Colomer, "Holy Selfies", 8; also Aukland, "At the Confluence".
- 44 For example, Schermerhorn and McEnaney, "Through Indigenous Eyes".
- 45 Barush, "The Root of the Route".
- 46 Karst, "A New Creation", 30.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 35.
- 48 Frey, "Stories of the Return", 96.

- 49 Coleman and Eade, *Pilgrimage and Political Economy*, 9.
 50 *Ibid.*, 4.

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