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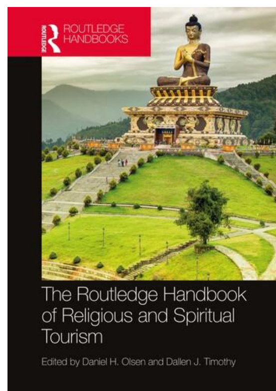

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21

AFTERMATH

Calculating the effects of pilgrimage

Purna Roy and Hillary Kaell

Introduction

Are pilgrims changed when they return? Why are souvenir objects circulated? How are sites managed and maintained once visitors leave? Across the world, in very different locations, pilgrims must negotiate the trip's aftermath; returnees incorporate new actions and attitudes, arrange photos, and give gifts. These acts of memory-making often become integral to the experience of being at a sacred site.

Despite the shared importance of the return, comparatively little anthropological and sociological research has evaluated the topic in a sustained or systematic way.[1] This lacuna is sometimes ascribed to 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" (Kenny 2007, p. 364, Italics ours). Studies of Muslim pilgrimage have, in fact, offered the most robust engagement with returnees. Yet it was Roman Catholic sites that first drew ethnographic attention (Hertz 1913; Wolf 1958) and, in many ways, set the tone for the subfield. Victor and Edith Turner's (1978) study of Catholic pilgrimage is the most influential example. It encouraged a longstanding anthropological/sociological interest in how communities congregate and re-solidify social ties, as well as newer work on performativity and ritualization. In both respects, the Turners' example focused on the journey and the "center out there", in their well-known phrase (see also Loustau & DeConinck 2019).[2] While this model did not preclude the possibility of studying aftermaths, it tended to eclipse them.

Today, studies that do explore what happens after pilgrims return adopt a few major strategies. Many, if not most, draw inferences based on promotional materials, faith-based guidebooks, and interviews at the shrine site. A second group focuses only on the after effect, 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 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

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happen to take such journeys know pilgrims well before they depart and can follow up for a long period after the return (Delaney 1990; Gold 1988).

There are good reasons why comparatively few studies of pilgrimage explore aftermaths, and why those that do tend to fall into the categories above: it is costly and time-consuming for scholars, and especially for graduate students, to go on pilgrimage. If one does go, it is potentially even more costly and time-consuming to follow up with participants, who may hail from many places. Only a few scholars, such as Frey (1998, 2004),[3] have made it a point to systematically follow up with pilgrims in various countries over, in her case, a year-long period. Working on Spain's Camino de Santiago in the 1990s, she drew her inspiration from the (at the time) recent trend toward multi-sited ethnography. She notes the difficulty involved in maintaining contact with former pilgrims, as do other scholars who have used this method more recently (Fedele 2012; Kaell 2014).

This chapter draws on studies that have tracked pilgrimage aftermaths in order to highlight trends organized around three key themes: pilgrims, sites, and objects. The first section examines how scholars have evaluated the results for pilgrims at a personal and societal level. The second discusses the impact on sites and site management after pilgrims leave. The last section explores the circulation of souvenirs.

Pilgrims

At the heart of most studies of pilgrimage is the pilgrim. Is he changed? Did she attain her 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. We have already noted a few key strategies for studying aftermaths. When it comes to observing changes within an individual, a fair number of studies rely on auto-ethnography, such as Michalowski and Dubisch's (2001) work on US motorcycle pilgrimages, Laksana's (2014) study of Catholic and Muslim pilgrimages in Java, and Hammoudi's (2005) work on the *hajj*. Laksana (2014, p. 223), for example, attests to how, as a Javanese Catholic, pilgrimage made him better understand the intersection of those two aspects of his identity and appreciate the integration of Islam into Javanese culture. Hammoudi's (2005, pp. 265–272) work details the shock of his journey home: falling out with a fellow pilgrim, dealing with corrupt petty officials, being solicited by a prostitute in Jeddah airport, feeling exhausted and disoriented after the evanescent happiness he had felt in Mecca (see also Frey 1998). Upon reflection, he writes, the pilgrimage did result in an unexpected form of clarity about life and its challenges.

Upon return, most pilgrims transmit aspects of their experience to others, effectively turning pilgrimage places into "storied spaces" (Feldman 2014) through the circulation of memories and memoirs (Coleman & Elsner 1995). Maurice Halbwachs' (1992, p. 196, cited in Feldman 2014) 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. As Frey (1998, p. 184) points out in her study of the Camino de Santiago, however, contemporary pilgrims may not come from contexts in which their journey is understood or appreciated. She found that, compared to Spanish pilgrims, Americans and others (including non-Catholics) faced a "monumental task" narrating their experience and explaining the very act of pilgrimage itself, since it was unfamiliar to their audience. Today, post-trip testimonies also proliferate through social media, which has prompted

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new forms of analysis in which hundreds of post-trip tweets or Instagram photos can be cataloged. 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" (Caidi, Beazley & Marquez 2018, p. 8, see also Aukland 2018).

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 responses (Toguslu 2017). 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. They also suggest that returnees have a heightened sense of individuality and are more accepting of Christians and of diversity within Islam (Alexseev & Zhemukhov 2015; Clingingsmith, Khwaja & Kremer 2009; DeHanas 2013). Laksana (2014, p. 221) finds similar results in his study of the relations between Javanese Catholic and Muslim pilgrims, which he calls an improved "dynamic of mutual openness". Based on Toguslu's (2017) study of Belgian hajjis, in the context of minority groups, such as Muslims in Europe, the "home" feeling in Mecca may encourage a sense of out-of-placeness in their physical home. He found that returned hajjis actually nurtured the feeling 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.

Muslim contexts are also a good example of how pilgrimage often raises a returnee's social standing. In Islam, this new authority is most obviously signaled in the title of "hajji" attached to one's name. Working in Kankan, Guinea, Kenny (2007, p. 371) notes that returnees may even 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 (see also Delaney 1990). Kenny also shows how returned pilgrims may come to be viewed as globally situated people, sometimes using the journey to make or cement business contacts that serve them upon return. In many contexts, they are also viewed as benefitting others at home through their prayers and blessings. In her work among Mbororo pastoralists in Cameroon, Virtanen (2014) shows how such patterns become more evident if scholars view pilgrimage holistically within a particular society. For example, the Mbororo view pilgrimage as part of Allah's moral/economic equilibrium: those wealthy enough to sell cows and go to Mecca must unstintingly share souvenirs and blessings with others upon return. In this way, the Mbororo spread the (spiritual) "wealth" of pilgrimage, while also developing a sense of their moral righteousness as a community over against their Muslim neighbors from other tribes, who they view as profiting *personally* from hajj, often by selling the goods they bring back.

In her work with US Christians, Kaell (2016, p. 400) also focuses on the circulation of prayers in the Holy Land and afterward, but notes that the people who choose to go on pilgrimage are usually already considered "spiritual experts". This status may be enhanced, but it is not radically changed upon return (see also Fedele 2012). Indeed, already being a devoted Christian is usually viewed as a prerequisite for undertaking the journey. Of course, gaining new or enhanced respect depends on local "scripts" for understanding pilgrimage. When these are absent, such as in journeys that are new age or more idiosyncratic, a returnee's reception may be more ambivalent; some pilgrims feel they are more respected, while others feel isolated because "no one really understands" their experience (Frey 1998, p. 187).

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This work raises the question of failure: what if the trip does not accomplish hoped for ends? Prayers or blessings may not have the intended effect. One may have to grapple with disorienting or puzzling experiences in a sacred center where one is expected to feel belonging (Delaney 1990; Hammoudi 2005). Through pre- and post-trip interviews over a series of months, Kaell (2014, 2016) 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 these pilgrims incorporated "home" rituals into what might be thought of as an extensible pilgrimage experience. Post-trip actions became linked to the journey itself and later were often narrated as such. Thus, an unanticipated outcome, such as improving one's marriage, became narrated as part of the "successful" pilgrimage, while pre-trip goals that were not accomplished were generally forgotten. Coleman (2014) observes something similar based on his conversations with returnees from Walsingham, England, where former pilgrims often narratively connect the journey to preexisting friendships or activities, such as nurses who drew a parallel between touching statues and pilgrims at the shrine and the comforting touch of a nurse in a hospital. Coleman (2014, p. 288) calls it a "mediating chain providing a bodily link between their place of pilgrimage…and places of home and work in another part of the country". In this way, a pilgrimage's aftereffects linger into an indistinct future and may be seen to have far-reaching effects on multiple people in a pilgrim's life.

Sites

As travel has become more affordable, the number of visitors has risen sharply at many sites, which are attracting a broader, global audience than their local retinue of devotees. Site managers are therefore confronted with "a multitude of visitor motivations and expectations, which increases the frequency and difficulty of management challenges and issues" (Olsen 2006, p. 107). At many sacred centers, these difficulties are compounded by the fact that professional or volunteer clergy are usually the main caretakers of the sacred centers. Their main priority might be to encourage worship and, even if there is a detailed management plan, they might not have the necessary training or resources to tackle the challenges that so often arise in the aftermath of pilgrimage (Olsen 2006; Shackley 2001).

When a large number of people visit a given site each year, one of the main concerns is waste production, which creates environmental hazards and physical degradation of the site. In Shinde's (2007) study of the Hindu sacred complex of Tirumala-Tirupati in south India, a site visited by approximately 1.2 million pilgrims every month, he makes an important observation about how particular rituals play a huge role in generating waste. He notes that over 20,000 coconuts[4] pile up each day, which the shrine management has to remove from the premises. While most of the items used in the worship of the presiding deity at any Hindu shrine are biodegradable (fruits, incense, etc.), their plastic and polythene packaging causes serious damage to the Tirupati-Tirumala hill ecosystem. Likewise, studies of the hajj have noted the piles of plastic, wrappers, and other refuse pilgrims throw along the roadways (Hammoudi 2005, p. 264). In Sikh pilgrimage shrines (Shinde 2007), waste management post-pilgrimage is an even more pressing need due to the presence of *langars* (free communal kitchen service that is part of every gurdwara) where the accumulation of non-biodegradable waste (plastic and glass cups, polythene, etc.) and polluted water due to inadequate sewerage facilities becomes a common problem. Shinde also observes that the majority of Hindu pilgrimage sites lack any institutional structure to manage the effects of religious tourism and the pilgrimage economy functions almost "exclusively through informal social networks" (Shinde 2012, p. 282).

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However, issues of waste management and cleanliness are not universal to all mass pilgrimage and tourism sites. Reader (2005, p. 232) remarks that in the Zen temples of Japan "cleaning processes are strictly formalized and made into ritual practices with specific religious meanings that transcend the physical function of simply making place". Where the traditional Japanese aesthetic concept of *wabi-sabi* allows for sites of cultural or religious significance to decay, the concept of renewal is a well-established theme in Japanese religion—both philosophically and architecturally. In other words, both real and imagined decay are expected to set into sites which can then be periodically cleansed. One prominent example is the Ise Grand Shrine—the most important site in the Shinto religion—which is ritually deconstructed and rebuilt every twenty years to remind pilgrims of the transience of this world and the impermanence of all things. Of course, where cleanliness is concerned, it cannot be overlooked that Japan is a wealthy, developed country without the same economic constraints that shrines in countries like India face.

As Douglas (2003) argues, religious ideals of purity and secular conceptions of sanitation are not as different as scholars previously thought. In a tradition like Hinduism where ritual purity is a central religious ideal (particularly among upper-caste Hindus), "dirt" or "impure substances" in a sacred space could arguably raise concerns among devout traditional pilgrims about the site's religious purity and sanctity. After all, the "physical purity of all parts of the Temple is a precondition for their spiritual purity too. Materials used in worship, for example, cannot become fit objects for the gods unless their physical purity and that of their environment is maintained" (Fuller 1979, p. 473). Why, then, do so few scholars of Hinduism (cf. Alley 1994, 1998; Shinde 2007, 2012) talk about what happens to the items discarded around the shrine after ritual ceremonies?

Another aspect of site management concerns the street vendors who are a ubiquitous part of pilgrimages but can be perceived as detrimental to the aesthetic value of sacred shrines. This problem is particularly acute in developing countries, such as India, where the vendors are unregulated and often take up entire stretches of footpath, disrupting movements of pilgrims and traffic. In a shrine development act from 2007 pertaining to Bodhgaya,[5] a major sacred center and UNESCO designated site, the government of Bihar implemented measures to tackle and forcibly eliminate street vending. Without warning or plans for relocation, the state government sent in bulldozers and deployed police to remove the vendors, along with small business stands, and shanty homes in the vicinity of the shrine, as encroachments on government property.

The state government's act had two intentions: "development" of the state and "cleaning up the town" through restructuring urban spaces in order to strengthen the rising popularity of the Buddhist pilgrimage circuit within Bihar. Rodriguez (2017, p. 67) notes that this action plan was enacted in part as a response to the numerous visitor complaints about harassment by "aggressive street vendors" (a matter that is frequently mentioned in popular Indian tourist guide books to caution travelers). "Cleaning up" the pilgrimage center effectively (re)imagined Bodhgaya as a "serene, spiritual, 'authentically' Buddhist place", distanced from any materialistic transaction. According to Rodriguez, since Bodhgaya marks the location where Buddha "awakened" to realize that desire is the root of all suffering, many foreign Buddhist pilgrims supported the government's decision to remove street vendors perceived to be engaged in, what many considered, materialistic pursuits of accumulating wealth. Therefore, arguably, "cleaning up" Bodhgaya can be seen as a strategic move by the state government, guaranteeing proper maintenance and in turn encouraging pilgrim-tourists to return to the holy shrine.

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Objects

Some of the most substantial work on pilgrimage aftermaths concerns the transfer of objects—and more particularly, gifts and souvenirs. Most studies in this vein frame their work through broader theoretical frameworks, notably anthropologist Marcel Mauss's (1990) concept of hau, or the "spirit of the gift", and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) work on social capital. Also influential is a body of work on the "social life of things" (Appadurai 1986), which promotes research that follows an object's circulation.

Pilgrims bring back sacred statuary, prayer beads, and prayer rugs, along with souvenirs of no express religious value, such as bookmarks or clothing. Many return with little pieces of the place itself, such as Zamzam water (Mecca), olive wood (Israel/Palestine), or twigs, leafs, and rocks (Swanson & Timothy 2012). All pilgrim objects are generally viewed as potent because of their site of acquisition, regardless if they have been manufactured elsewhere, such as in China. In many traditions, an object's holiness is also amplified if a pilgrim prays with it or receives an authoritative blessing upon it at the shrine site. Sathya Sai Baba, an important South Asian guru, garnered widespread attention for his purported miraculous materializations of *vibhuti* (holy ash) and other objects, such as rings or necklaces, which he gave as gifts to the pilgrims who visited him. As Fedele (2012, p. 246) shows, spiritual or New Age tourists in France, who viewed objects as gaining power from the place itself rather than a holy person, transported objects from home to a particular site in order to "charge them with [its] energy" (see also Ron & Timothy 2019).

Regardless of how power, holy presence, or "energy" is transmitted, it is clear that across traditions most pilgrims give (and sometimes sell) these traveling objects to people at home. In Islam, giving gifts provides the opportunity for a pilgrim to confer blessings on others, which may occur publicly in festivities celebrating the hajjis' return (Alexseev & Zhemukhov 2015; Kenny 2007; Virtanen 2014). In Christianity, gifting objects is usually private—between family members and friends—although returnees may give a wide variety of smaller objects to colleagues and acquaintances in order to cement certain social relations. More informal and personal prayers often accompany these gifts, even in cases where the recipient is unaware of such intentions (Kaell 2012).

Objects are also important for pilgrims themselves. They arrange and display them in their homes, often in private spaces such as a bedroom or personal shrine. These objects may help focus their prayers or offer curative properties. Other times, the value of the pilgrimage souvenir may be purely aesthetic or symbolic of certain ideals (Morinis 1992). Modes of use and display differ depending on religious background and, often just as importantly, social class (Kaell 2014, p. 183). 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. According to Kent (2004, p. 48), the gifts, which were mostly to be worn on the body or consumed, made Sai Baba's "imperceptible presence…physically contiguous with the recipient" (see also Srinivas 2012, p. 287). Through these acts, 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" (Kent 2004, pp. 50–51).

Photographs are another set of common objects in contemporary pilgrimage. When posted online, photos become "intimate traces left behind…on social media platforms for multiple audiences to see" (Caidi, Beazley & Marquez 2018, p. 10). More commonly, scholars have explored how pilgrims arrange photos in albums and present these photos to friends. Many such studies codify patterns in the album and/or in the pilgrim's narration of events

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(Schermerhorn & McEnaney 2017). Some try to trace the broader social life of photos as they are gifted and used by others, perhaps in ways the pilgrim might not expect. In his study of Hindu pilgrimage, Smith (1995) explores another kind of image: wallet-sized god posters of the deity that are ingested as a curative later by family members or framed in domestic shrines. The latter are decorated with fresh garlands to sanctify the object and open it to darśan—a ritual "sight", or reciprocal gaze between the devotee and the deity. For some family members, the image creates a feeling of closeness to divinity without physically traveling to sacred shrines. Smith also observes that Hindu sacred souvenirs, including pilgrims' maps, mythological charts and mystical geometrical diagrams (yantra) that guide pilgrims at the site, find second lives when they are re-used to "facilitate an inner, spiritual return" (Smith 1995, p. 45), allowing the pilgrim to re-experience the journey through a meditative, devotional state.

The last type of object "afterlife" generally operates on a much grander scale when individuals or institutions create replicas of sacred sites. This act turns foreign pilgrimage sites into local ones, usually relying on the idea that the sacred is moveable and replicable. Scholars of Catholic pilgrimage, who have traced this phenomenon in a number of locations, show how the builders of such sites are often former pilgrims who bring back presence-filled pieces of the original site—rocks, water, etc.—to integrate into the replica in a new landscape. These "surrogate pilgrimages" then use built environments as "stand-ins" for the original landscape (Barush 2016, cited in Karst 2017, p. 30). One of the most famous replicated sites is the Lourdes grotto in France, which is now multiplied many times around the world. In one case, Karst (2017) examines how a former pilgrim, Father Sorin, built a new grotto in South Bend, Indiana, in 1878 after he brought back holy water from the original site in France. Although these landscapes certainly derive their initial power from the presence of pilgrimage objects, as Karst points out, builders "may not always be concerned with creating authentic likenesses, but rather authentic spaces for devotion". In South Bend, for example, the "new" Lourdes grotto has different specialities than its French progenitor and more in keeping with its location on Notre Dame University's campus: instead of seeking physical cures, pilgrims "still whisper of miracles—of tests passed and degrees earned, of football games won, of relationships born or mended" (Karst 2017, pp. 30, 35).

Conclusion

In her classic anthropological account of Hindu pilgrimage, Gold (1988, p. 1) remarked on scholars' tendency to focus on the "journey's destination – the riverbank, the temple town, the lake or mountain shrine with little or no attention to its closure or return lap". More than a decade later, Frey (2004, p. 96) observed that studies 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". Today, more scholars of contemporary pilgrimage are exploring the trip's aftermath—and there remains much to be said on the subject, especially in a comparative framework.

One factor hindering this work in anthropology and sociology is, as Frey (2004, p. 96) goes on to note, the methodological dilemma of trying to observe "a moving population that shares a common destination but [often] not a common home". Veteran researchers of pilgrimage, Coleman and Eade (2018), express some of the other, more conceptual, challenges involved:

> For our purposes, one of the most fascinating dimensions of the piece is precisely the difficulty…of determining not just the size but also the *location* of [a pilgrimage's]

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> 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…can be seen as 'direct, indirect and induced' (Saayman et al. 2014: 410), pointing to the numerous and ramifying channels through which pilgrimage activities – and effects – flow.
>
> *(Coleman & Eade 2018, p. 9)*

Coleman and Eade (2018, p. 9) are sanguine about the possibilities, concluding "but the point is to remain open to where the pilgrimage assemblage seems to lead". Yet they also lament how many scholars still treat shrine sites as "bounded containers" and the concomitant failure to nurture wider conversations outside the subfield (Coleman & Eade 2018, p. 4, see also Singh 2013). While this problem has a few root causes, attending to aftermaths can certainly help. Doing so, scholars can unravel pilgrimage from a center "out there" to entangle it more fruitfully within a variety of societal dynamics and institutional frameworks operating in broader contexts.

The study of aftermaths also contributes to important new directions in pilgrimage studies. It may stimulate more work on social media and collective memory. It prompts questions about the legibility of travel narratives for people at home in an age of luxury travel, an issue especially relevant in traditions, such as Hinduism, where the scriptural texts privilege the journey's physical hardships. Studies of aftermaths also suggest that we benefit from framing pilgrimage as a temporally extended and "ritual-like" (Bell 2009, p. x) experience that contains more cohesive rituals within it and may therefore be reinterpreted or compel new experiences even long after the journey is done (Coleman 2014; Kaell 2014, 2016). This approach allows scholars to better trace how even a journey undertaken by one individual is often understood to benefit whole families and communities. Focusing on aftermaths may also enliven new work on "serial pilgrims" who return repeatedly to sites and therefore never really "end" the journey at all (Agnew 2019). Studies of local shrine sites is especially promising in this regard. Another key theme concerns ecology, sustainability, and waste management, which are a growing concern at many pilgrimage sites and have thus far been the purview mainly of studies of tourism management. Anthropologists and sociologists ought to start thinking more holistically about sites as also "experiencing" aftermaths, in parallel with pilgrims as they return home.

Exploring aftermaths in more depth 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 some kind of impact. It alerts us to how a journey's goals may undergo significant changes, result in unpredictable outcomes, or even remain unfulfilled.

Notes

1 Our chapter focuses on "fieldwork" studies, which broadly include scholarship in anthropology, sociology, cultural geography, tourism studies, and religious studies. By necessity, we have limited the discussion in a few ways. We do not consider metaphorical or virtual/online travel or scholarship that takes the term "pilgrimage" to refer more broadly to journeys home (e.g. Harman 2017) or diasporic migrations (Tweed 1997). We have also focused on scholarship and therefore omitted handbooks, guides, or memoirs by pilgrims and pilgrimage promoters (for more on these sources, see Eade and Mesaritou 2018).

2 As Durkheim's student, Hertz (1913) set the tone by couching pilgrimage as a ritual that knit a community together and recreated social order. We should note that the Turnerian model, as it

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was adapted, is not precisely the same as the Turners' (1978, p. 22) own work, which at least gestured at how studies might join pilgrimage to wider societal institutions and concerns. By way of contrast to fieldwork studies, we might consider studies of pilgrimage by historians or psychologists; whether consciously or not, both fields focus on the aftermath because of their source materials (on a similar point, see Frey 2004, pp. 96–97).

3 Our title recalls Frey (2004). Another, much rarer, model is to study a pilgrimage that draws from a comparatively local catchment area over many years to observe diachronic change (e.g. Coleman 2014).

4 In south India, coconuts and coconut saplings are often used as gifts in ritual exchanges between deities and their devotees.

5 The Mahabodhi Temple is a 2000-year-old Buddhist temple in Bodhgaya popularly believed to be the location where the Buddha attained enlightenment. Shortly after India's independence, with the passing of the Bodh Gaya Temple Act of 1949, the management of the temple passed from the Hindu *mahant* (abbot) to the state government of Bihar, which established a Bodh Gaya Temple Management Committee (BTMC).

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