Sára Eszter Heidl

Religionesque: A Term for Dealing with Contemporary Alternative Religious Forms in Empirical Studies

The term in the title is intended to suggest that today's increasingly diverse, alternative forms of belief related to religion are less easily captured by the terms *religion* and *spirituality*. In addition to explaining the difficulty of defining these two terms and discussing similar, previously proposed, and useful concepts to overcome this difficulty, I present the process of creating of the term "religionesque" and its proposed use in empirical research. During my empirical fieldwork, I experienced the need for the missing term, which I believe should be introduced not only because of the analysis of certain alternative forms, but also because it nicely translates a term that already exists to some extent in the Hungarian language.

1   Introduction

This article is a conceptual analysis – based on the findings of empirical fieldwork –, that leads to the proposal of a new term, which I call "religionesque". I introduce this term for use in (primarily) empirical research on alternative religion. In fieldwork, one can encounter the diversity of many different approaches to religion and spirituality, and alternative categories of religious self-identification, which can lead to confusion in the analysis of empirical findings. The many forms of non-religious spiritual, and religion-related beliefs and approaches suggest a gap between the religious, spiritual and secular understandings. Concepts such as *pseudo-religion*, *quasi-religion*, *re-enchantment*, and the notion of the *sacred* have been and are being used to bridge this gap, and they work in certain settings. However, my observations are that they are not always fully adequate.

This study proposes an umbrella term that would help to overcome this problem and build a bridge between the religious/spiritual and the non-religious/non-spiritual categories.

The first part of the study explains the limitations of empirical research on alternative forms of religion. The second part discusses the difficulties of defining religion, presents previously proposed and useful concepts for describing alternative religious forms, and describes complications with the term *spirituality*. The third part presents "religionesque" as an umbrella term and explains its creation process, usefulness and limitations.

2   The Limits of Empirical Research

Many different approaches to traditional, institutionalised religion and everyday religion can be observed in empirical studies of contemporary religion in Hungary, and more generally in Western and Central-Eastern Europe. Recent decades have witnessed the emergence of new religious movements, New Age influenced movements, alternative religious forms, spirituality, neo-pagan movements, and gatherings (Heelas 1997; Shimazono 1999; Clarke 2008; Gecewicz 2018). The meaning and interpretation of terms such as *religious*, *spiritual*, and *mystical* are constantly changing, leading to misunderstandings in different contexts. People's belief systems are strongly influenced by 1) *traditional religious forms* such as Christianity, especially Roman Catholicism, 2) *Eastern religions and philosophies* such as Buddhism and Hinduism, and 3) so-called *alternative lifestyles* such as alternative medicine,

Sára Eszter Heidl earned her BA in Sociology and her MA in Religious Studies at the University of Szeged, Hungary. She is currently a PhD researcher at the Max Weber Kolleg (Erfurt, Germany) and the University of Graz (Austria) in the interdisciplinary research programme *International Graduate School: Resonant Self-World Relations*. She is part of the research project *Festival Religion* (*Fesztiválvallás*) in Szeged and writes her dissertation on the topic *Event Religion*. Her email contact is sara.heidl@uni-erfurt.de.

← *William James*

alternative psychology, mindfulness, or the revival of paganism and ancient traditions. The role of globalism, marketing, authenticity, and politics either strengthens or weakens these forms of belief (Bowman 1999; D'Andrea 2007; Schouten, McAlexander, and Koenig 2007; Kasim 2011; Gauthier 2021, 2022).

In the history of Hungary, in a country with a predominantly Christian background, the subject of faith, or the *"not unquestionably plausible supernatural agent"* (Rüpke 2019, 1202) of one's belief has always been the Christian God. But the alternative forms of religion and the emergence of *"muddled beliefs"* (Gilliat-Ray 2005, 364) have affected this notion, and nowadays, in certain contexts, believers prefer to avoid the term "God" (with a capital G) and refer to the "higher power" they believe in as the *divine, ancient power, transcendent, energies, gods* (in the plural), *supernatural,* and so on.

It has also become more common to describe one's religious self-classification as *spiritual, but not religious* (Erlandson 2000; Fuller 2001), *believing without belonging* (Casanova 2020; Tromp, Pless and Houtman 2020), or *religious in one's own way* (Tomka 1986; Ivan 2012) in order to distance oneself from 1) "religion" as a concept, 2) a (particular) religious institution, or 3) God.

These slight differences become more apparent when conducting empirical fieldwork, both in quantitative research (usually with a questionnaire with pre-defined answers from which the respondent *must* choose one option regardless of the wording) and in qualitative research (where the respondent is free to express their views in their own words, resulting in many different answers that are difficult to analyse together). Especially in contexts where scholars have face-to-face contact with their respondents, the various answers need to be handled carefully. If respondents do not classify themselves as religious or spiritual but do believe in some kind of higher power and/or do not belong to a religious institution but use religious semantics, the interpretation of their belief system cannot be called "religious" or "spiritual", especially because of the wide range of different understandings of these terms in both academic and everyday circles. The researcher does not have the authority to decide whether someone is religious or spiritual if they explicitly reject these terms. He or she can only use these terms carefully and explain them in the context in which they are applied [1].

3 Religion, Alternative Concepts, and Spirituality

Many have, of course, recognised this problem and solved it by introducing terms such as "quasi-religion" and "pseudo-religion". The distinction between these terms was made by Paul Tillich (1963, 5 – 6), who explained "pseudo-religion" as a movement with *similarities to traditional religions, such as new religious movements, New Age beliefs, and similar currents,* while "quasi-religions" *are non-religious movements with similarities to religion*, such as a political party, for example. This distinction seems appropriate, but it severely limits the use of the two terms, especially in the non-institutionalised environment. First, defining the two terms as movements already implies that there must be a community, a group, or an institution behind these gatherings or ideologies, which excludes those who have beliefs of some kind but reject the idea of the institution, preferring for example to experience or live their faith alone or in temporary communities. Second, while quasi-religions unintentionally resemble religions and use religious semantics, pseudo-religions do so intentionally, excluding those who use religious semantics intentionally *outside* the institutionalised environment or who are aware of the religious meaning of the symbols or ideas they use but reinterpret them in their own way.

Defining religion has always been a challenge in any discipline and at any time, resulting in several definitions with different focus points, such as the functionalist approaches of Durkheim, Bellah, or the symbolic definition of Geertz (Durkheim 1964; Bellah 1964; Geertz 1999). These definitions emphasise the social function of religion, while the substantive approaches, such as the understanding of religion as *sui generis* (Otto 1958; Eliade 1987), understand religion from the level of the individual, as belief in a supernatural power.

To overcome some of the difficulties, some scholars have worked on the distinction between institutionalised religion and the understanding of religion as it is lived in everyday life. The latter approach, now commonly known as "lived religion", has been used, for example, by Robert Orsi (Orsi 1997), Leonard Primiano (Primiano 1995), Meredith McGuire (McGuire 2008), and Nancy Ammerman (Ammerman 2021). Each scholar has a slightly different take on the concept (see, for example, a detailed article on the subject by Knibbe and Kupari 2020). Orsi, for instance, distinguishes between "official" and "folk" understandings of religion, while Primiano (1995, 44), who defines vernacular religion *"as it is lived: as human beings encounter, understand, interpret and practice*

it", stresses that the official/folk distinction is derogatory to forms of vernacular religion. While McGuire prefers the term "lived religion"*,* Ammerman uses "everyday religion" instead. Vernacular or lived religion suggests a way of redefining the concept of religion, but the perspective is still "from within" religion, excluding those who do not see themselves in this category.

Contemporary research, especially in Central-Eastern Europe, links the problem of indefinable concepts mainly to temporary events, such as festivals and carnivals as one of the main driving forces of alternative, muddled beliefs. Some scholars call this phenomenon "re-enchantment". This approach suggests, first, that the revival of pagan habits and folkloric national beliefs and rituals brings enchantment back into the modern world and, second, that the Weberian concept of disenchantment needs to be revised (Moore 1997; Jenkins 2000; Graham 2007; Stiegler 2014; Josephson-Storm 2017). The concept of re-enchantment began to gain popularity in the 2000s, and it has not yet to be given a common definition. Alessandro Testa uses the term as a typology for (re)emerging alternative religious forms. He distinguishes *"five different types of religious or pseudo-religious phenomena... from both institutional religions and new religious movements"* (Testa 2017, 26). These types are: (1) forms of "vernacular" religion; (2) forms of magic; (3) the religious aspects of the production and consumption of cultural heritage; (4) new forms of ritual and social memory that have religious features but are not necessarily seen as religious; and (5) claims to believe in "something", or to have "spirituality" without being a member of a church or an organised religious movement (Testa 2017, 26).

Research on re-enchantment in European carnivals and festivals is attracting scholarly attention. Testa (Testa 2017; 2019; 2020) and other scholars (Povedák 2018; Teisenhoffer 2018; Van den Ende 2022; Illés and Nita 2022) are active in this field. Ongoing research on re-enchantment is a promising project to formulate a typology of contemporary non-institutional, non-traditional religious forms [2].

One could suggest that the phenomenon under study should simply be called by its name, such as *esoteric*, *neo-pagan*, or *mystical* practices and beliefs, but the typology seems more appropriate to categorise the many different interpretations of the alternative forms discussed. Testa's work should also be influential for its use of the term pseudo-religion: not as

a movement or institution but as a phenomenon. It should not be forgotten, however, that re-enchantment is a description of a social and cultural process which is derived from the Weberian concept of disenchantment.

Another angle of contemporary research is simply to call such phenomena "religion-like" (Taves 2009; Sulmasy 2013) or "sacred" (Gilliat-Ray 2005; Pike 2022). This seems to be the easy way out: the simple and clear wording assumes that it does not need any explanation or definition. Moreover, the term "sacred" seems to have been resurrected in recent years, replacing the term "religious" or "spiritual" with just another word that comes from the emic religious environment. The term "sacred" can refer to something associated with religion, such as a sacred place (Chidester and Linenthal 1995) or a secular place that has been *"sacralized"* (Gilliat-Ray 2005, 358). However, it can also mean a sacred place outside religion, *"an inversion of the 'default' world... a sacred space apart from ordinary life"* (Pike 2022, 201). In addition to spatial approaches, it appears, for example, in the reinterpretation of collective effervescence (Durkheim 1964), as a *"sense-of-the-sacred"*, independent of traditional religions (St John and Gauthier 2015, 5).

"Spirituality" – another confusing concept in the modern European context – mainly covers a shift in the 19th and 20th centuries from traditional Christian religion to inner spirituality. Originally, the term "spiritual" meant a *"deeply religious person"* (Koenig 2008, 349), but it slowly became associated with a post-Christian/New Age spirituality. This shift began to be interpreted differently by scholars, and was understood, for example, as a shift from traditional religiosity to a holistic worldview or the Easternisation of Western worldviews (Tromp, Pless and Houtman 2020, 511; Van Niekerk 2018, 9).

The different interpretations have led to a wide range of understandings of the term "spirituality", which has remained without a common definition. The emergence of the *spiritual, but not religious* (SBNR) and similar categories made a clear distinction between "spiritual" and "religious", implying that the two terms are incompatible, and suggesting that religiosity means a traditional, institutionalised form where individual thinking is suppressed, whereas spirituality means a non-institutionalised, individualised, experience-oriented worldview (Tromp, Pless and Houtman 2020, 511–515).

The term itself is still undefined and broad, which in the European context seems to allow for the study of anything outside the traditional Christian understanding of religion by defining it as "spiritual". It is also noticeable that spirituality is usually used together with the term "religion" and is understood as something different from religion. Pargament attempts to define spirituality as something that is *"becoming differentiated from religion as an individual expression that speaks to the greatest of human capacities"* (Pargament 1999, 3). In these contexts, the term seems inseparable from "religion" or "religiosity" and has no meaning apart from them. Koenig notes that spirituality was originally understood from within religion, whereas in modern settings religion is understood from within spirituality; spirituality refers to something broader and also includes non-religious beliefs and practices (Koenig 2008, 349–351).

In attempting to define this controversial term, several observations can be made. "Spirituality" is often associated with inner practices, suggesting that "religion" does not have individual or spiritual aspects (Zinnbauer, Pargament and Scott 1999). Sometimes it is understood to be closely linked to the New Age, to various new religious movements, to alternative religious forms, to Western esotericism (Bowman 1999; Moberg 2009), or to mental health (Zinnbauer, Pargament and Scott 1999; Koenig 2008). What makes the term even more confusing is the fact that its meaning depends largely on the interpretation of the person using it – not only in academic circles, but also in everyday life. Not to mention the fact that, in personal conversations, even some people who used to claim to be spiritual now distance themselves from the term because they associate it with a derogatory meaning [3]. The different understandings of the term have led to academic debates and misunderstandings, and most of the papers on the subject that I came across ended up avoiding any applicable definition, trusting that common sense would know how to interpret it in the given context. Some scholars have collected various definitions and categorised them, ending up with 9 or 13 different categories (Zinnbauer, Pargament and Scott 1999, 893–94, citing Scott 1997; Zinnbauer 1997). These collections suggest that spirituality can mean experiences or relationships; behaviours and beliefs with a distinction between sacred and secular; a set of beliefs in a higher power; and institutionalised forms or structures. These categories show a wide range of understandings of the term, leading to the suggestion that not only is a common definition impossible, but *"there is no necessity for a conceptualization of 'spirituality' — the concept of religion is sufficient."*

(Zinnbauer, Pargament and Scott 1999, 448). This statement also implies that there is no spirituality without religion, and that spirituality is more of an emic understanding of the inner part of religion with a more Christian-oriented thinking.

Even in the face of attempts to define "spiritual" and "spirituality", we have to accept that it is and will remain a widely used and variously interpreted term. I propose to clarify its meaning within the context in which it is used. In empirical research, it is usually acceptable to use it as the subjects of the study use it (Marler and Hadaway 2002; Koenig 2008). However, this can be problematic when the subjects have different understandings of the term, or when several different research environments are involved. In order to avoid this problem, a thorough analysis is needed, and multi-layered definitions should be developed.

All of the above approaches and terms provide an angle and opportunity for understanding and interpreting contemporary alternative phenomena, but the importance of a clear definition and clarification in the context of use must be emphasised. Pseudo-religion, quasi-religion, lived, and vernacular religion and spirituality are all terms that can be used in certain contexts. However, if someone has a spiritual, mystical, or religious experience or belief, it does not mean that they see themselves as falling into one of these categories.

4   Introducing Religionesque

In what follows I would like to introduce the term "religionesque", which I propose to use in empirically researched contexts to refer to *something that has religious characteristics, semantics or nature, looks similar to religion but is not actually religion*. It is more of an umbrella term that allows for the analysis of terms such as "religion-like", "supernatural", "mystical", "transcendent", and others.

The term "religionesque" first emerged as a result of a language barrier. In Hungarian, the expressions "vallási jellegű" and "vallásszerű" refer to something that has a religious nature or looks religious. In order to find the most appropriate term to indicate the original meaning, the addition of the suffix *-esque* describes well what the original suffixes "jelleg/ű" and "-szerű" represent.

The use of "religionesque" helps to broaden the perspective on religion, as the lived/vernacular religion approach suggests (Knibbe and Kupari 2020, 168), and to overcome previous biases in using similar but inadequate terms for the experiences of the individuals or groups being studied. Re-enchantment categories, for example, are religionesque because they distance themselves from traditional religious institutions and new religious movements but use religious semantics and reinterpret religious ideas in their own way. As a term, religionesque creates space for those who do not wish to identify with the term "religious" or "spiritual" but who nevertheless have some connection with it. Their attitudes or views have therefore an *-esque* nature.

We can see some examples of the use of the suffix in everyday and academic contexts. First of all, the dictionary definitions of the suffix *-esque* is as follows:

> *in the manner or style of; like* (*Merriam-Webster* n.d.)*,*

or

> *indicating a specified character, manner, style, or resemblance. E.g., picturesque, Romanesque, statuesque, Chaplinesque* (*Collins English Dictionary* 2023).

The influential and world-famous literary mode of the *carnivalesque*, originating with Mikhail Bakhtin (1984a, 1984b), represents the transfer of the mood, the sense of the carnival atmosphere through humour, disorder, and chaos into a literary language.

The sense of folklore in popular culture, the use, reinterpretation, and resemblance of folklore elements in contemporary media, films, books, etc., can be described by the term *folkloresque* (Foster and Tolbert 2016). The concept, created by folklorists Michael D. Foster and Jeffrey A. Tolbert, indicates that the use of folklore elements in popular culture and media is currently increasing, but these elements are being heavily reinterpreted, losing their original meaning and authenticity, as well as the tradition behind them.

Another example of the use of the *-esque* suffix can be found in the term "ritualesque" in the work of Botond Vitos (who is also Hungarian, so the logic behind his term may be similar to mine) and his colleagues, who characterise festival participants by their *"ritualesque and carnivalesque"* performance modes (Vitos, Graham and Gauthier 2022, 111). There is, of course, a limit to the use of the suffix. If all the original terms such as religion, spirituality or ritual are excluded from studies, the question arises: If we cannot use them for anything, what is their purpose? If we continue to use different definitions, then there is no definition.

Therefore, the use of "religionesque" should have its limits, and a clear distinction from other terms is needed. First of all, religionesque is an adjective that is a description of certain phenomena. There is *no* religionesque category (re-enchantment), religionesque institution or movement (pseudo-religion, quasi-religion); and the original terms such as religion and spirituality should be used in appropriate circumstances. Nor can a person be religionesque: their own classification as *religious*, *spiritual*, *spiritual but not religious*, *religious in their own way*, and similar typologies can be used to describe the individual.

There is, however, a religionesque space and time. For example, an event – say a festival – that creates a special atmosphere for its participants, regardless of their religious or spiritual classification can be described as religionesque. There are religionesque symbols and semantics, such as when someone uses religious objects, terms or motifs – deliberately borrowing them from traditional religions or worldviews but reinterpreting them in their own way. There is also a religionesque experience – be it a community or an inward, personal experience that cannot be easily described in words, or a sense of the presence of some kind of higher power, a *sense of collective effervescence* (Durkheim 1964), *communitas* (Turner 1969) or a *mystical experience* (James 1982) [4].

5 A Model for Examining Religionesque Experiences

Finally, I would like to devote more attention to religionesque *experiences*. In this part, I will explain the term "resonant relationship" and show a connection between resonant, religionesque and religious (or mystical, spiritual) experiences.

Hartmut Rosa has developed a social theoretical approach that he calls "resonance theory" (Rosa 2019). Rosa states that the pressures of social acceleration (Rosa 2013) undermine people's ability to enter into resonant relationships. *"Resonance is a kind of relationship to the world, formed through affection and emotion, intrinsic interest, and perceived self-efficacy, in which subject and world are mutually affected and transformed."* (Rosa 2019, 174). Resonant relationships are *uncontrollable*, never expected, and can never be forced to emerge. These uncontrollable relationships are the basis of the good life that everyone seeks (Rosa 2019, 2020). The characteristics of a resonant relationship – very much resembling William James' characteristics of mystical/religious experience, namely *ineffability, noetic quality, transiency* and *passivity* (James 1982, 248–49) – show that they can be religionesque experiences. However, while resonance is applicable in many academic fields to explain relationships to the world and human life, religionesque experience is a concept for interpreting religion-related approaches. In this framework, I define religionesque experiences as *experiences that have characteristics of resonant* (Rosa 2019), *and/or religious/mystical* (James 1982) *experiences, but the experiencer has no clear affiliation to religious institutions and/or has spiritual or muddled beliefs* (Gilliat-Ray 2005). This also suggests that religionesque experiences can be resonant relationships but not all resonant relationships are necessarily religionesque experiences (see Figure 1).
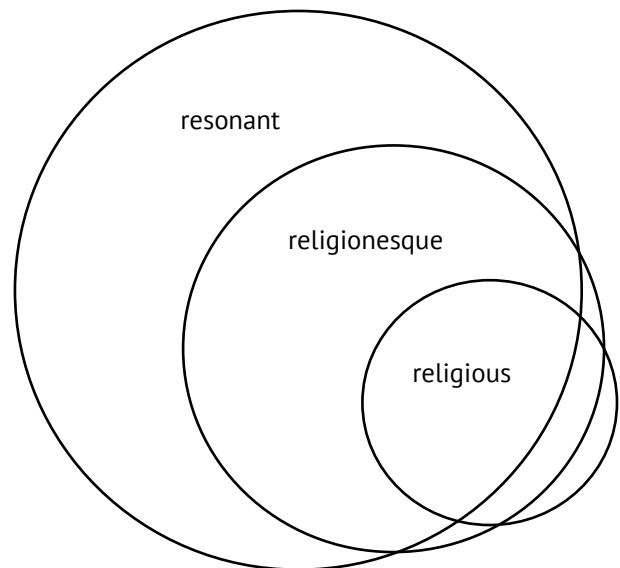

Fig. 1.
Religious experiences can be religionesque experiences and resonant relationships, and religionesque experiences can be resonant relationships.

This model suggests that religious experiences can be religionesque experiences and resonant relationships, and religionesque experiences can be resonant relationships [5]. Sacred terms (e.g., "sacred", "holy", and "god") can be placed in all three sets of this model. These terms have different meanings in a religious setting than in a non-religious one, where they simply mean something that is "special" or "more special than other things". The use of sacred terms depends on the context, whether they are used with a religious overtone or not, and in an everyday context they can have a religionesque character.

The religious/non-religious, sacred/profane or sacred/secular dichotomy has not yet been fully resolved and is still an important topic of academic debate. Until now, there seemed to be no adequate term for the transition in between. For something, that is both religious and non-religious. Something, that is considered religious (or spiritual) by others, but not by the experiencer. Something, that is sacred but located outside of religion. Hence, for example, the term "sense-of-the-sacred" exists, which describes a religionesque phenomenon.

6   Conclusion

On the one hand, the widespread use of approaches, terms, concepts, and typologies to describe contemporary alternative religious phenomena provides a colourful palette for the study of certain settings where the many possibilities offered may be useful and necessary. On the other hand, the multiplicity of concepts leads to confusion in academic circles and in everyday life. The term I propose may seem new, but its origin in the Hungarian language and similarly constructed terms with the suffix *-esque* show that it does indeed exist. Moreover, its use suggests that there was an undiscovered bridge above the "new" concepts (*re-enchantment*, *quasi-religion*, *pseudo-religion*, etc.) that sought to fill the gap between the concepts of "religion", "spirituality", and the "secular".

This term *religionesque* has, of course, its own limitations. It cannot override certain functions of pre-existing concepts, such as the categorisation offered by re-enchantment or the institutional frameworks of pseudo-religions and quasi-religions. Moreover, it is not a category of self-identification, which is a subjective choice of the individual.

It is important to stress its usefulness in empirical research, its necessity in sociological, ethnographic, and cultural anthropological case studies and fieldwork. It can serve as an umbrella term for many concepts used by researchers and the research subjects (who have different understandings of such terms) to enable empirical analysis. It can provide a description of the phenomena that occur between the religious and the non-religious, the spiritual and the non-spiritual, where existing terms are inadequate. It can replace undefined or non-scientific terms such as *religion-related* and *religion-like* but should be used in conjunction with traditional concepts such as religion and spirituality, and with self-classification categories. Finally, the term *religionesque experience* offers a transient notion between resonant relationships and religious experiences.

Notes

[1]   On this issue, especially in relation to religious experience, Ann Taves has very insightful ideas and observations (Taves 2009, section 3).

[2]   Focusing on the CEE region, the project *The Re-Enchantment of Central-Eastern Europe* at the Institut Sociologických Studií, Charles University, Prague, CZ, is currently working on the topic (2020–2023): iss.fsv.cuni.cz/en/research/funding/research-projects/re-enchantment-central-eastern-europe-reencheu.

[3]   I came across this problem at the Everness Festival in Hungary, where I conducted interviews and questionnaires on spirituality and related topics with several participants (2016–2021).

[4]   I used the term "religionesque" in the context of festival experiences and practices in a Hungarian setting (Heidl 2023), which I am currently writing about in detail in my forthcoming dissertation in English. Online access to the research project: https://www.uni-erfurt.de/max-weber-kolleg/personen/vollmitglieder/doktorandinnen/heidl-sara-eszter.

[5]   In the figure above, the term "religious experience" is borrowed from William James (James 1982). He also uses the term "mystical experience" when describing it as something independent of religions. Therefore, this experience can be called *religious*, *mystical*, *spiritual*, etc., depending on what the experiencer calls it. In this model, I prefer to use the term *religious*, to emphasise the distinction between *religious* and *religionesque experiences*.

Acknowledgements

References

Ammerman, Nancy T. 2021. *Studying Lived Religion: Contexts and Practices*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984. *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Edited and translated by Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. doi.org.

Bellah, Robert N. 1964. "Religious Evolution." *American Sociological Review* 29 (3): 358–374. doi.org.

Bowman, Marion. 1999. "Healing in the Spiritual Marketplace: Consumers, Courses and Credentialism." *Social Compass* 46 (2): 181–89. doi.org.

Casanova, José. 2020. "Conditions of Belief and Unbelief in Our Global Secular Age." Manuscript presented at the Templeton Project, Prague, CZ.

Collins English Dictionary. 2023. Accessed March 29, 2023. collinsdictionary.com.

Chidester, David, and Edward Tabor Linenthal, eds. 1995. *American Sacred Space*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Clarke, Peter B. 2008. *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements*. London, UK: Routledge.

D'Andrea, Anthony. 2007. *Global Nomads: Techno and New Age as Transnational Countercultures in Ibiza and Goa*. London, UK & New York, NY: Routledge.

Durkheim, Émile. 1964. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London, UK: George Allen & Unwin.

Eliade, Mircea. 1987. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. Translated by Willard R. Trask. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace.

Ende, Leonore van den. 2022. "Festival Co-Creation and Transformation: The Case of Tribal Gathering in Panama." In *Festival Cultures: Mapping New Fields in the Arts and Social Sciences*, edited by Maria Nita and Jeremy H. Kidwell, 195–226. Cham, CH: Palgrave Macmillan. doi.org.

Erlandson, Sven E. 2000. *Spiritual but Not Religious: A Call to Religious Revolution in America*. San José, CA: Writer's Showcase.

Foster, Michael Dylan, and Jeffrey A. Tolbert, eds. 2016. *The Folkloresque: Reframing Folklore in a Popular Culture World*. Logan, UT: Utah State University Press.

Fuller, Robert C. 2001. *Spiritual, but Not Religious: Understanding Unchurched America*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Gauthier, François. 2021. "Authenticity, Consumer Culture and Charismatic Authority." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 50 (1): 27–49. doi.org.

Gauthier, François. 2022. "Religious Change in Orthodox-Majority Eastern Europe: From Nation-State to Global-Market." *Theory and Society* 51 (2): 177–210. doi.org.

Gecewicz, Claire. 2018. "'New Age' Beliefs Common among both Religious and Nonreligious Americans." *Pew Research Center*. Accessed April 10, 2023. pewresearch.org.

Geertz, Clifford. 1999. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Gilliat-Ray, Sophie. 2005. "'Sacralising' Sacred Space in Public Institutions: A Case Study of the Prayer Space at the Millennium Dome." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 20 (3): 357–72. doi.org.

Graham, Gordon. 2007. *The Re-Enchantment of the World: Art versus Religion*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Heelas, Paul. 1997. *The New Age Movement*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Heidl, Sára Eszter. 2023. "Event Religion: Az Everness Fesztivál vallási dimenziói és azok értelmezése." *Vallástudományi Szemle* 19 (2).

Illés, Zsófia Szonja, and Maria Nita. 2022. "Ritualized Art: Cultural Innovation and Greening at Festivals and Protestivals." In *Festival Cultures: Mapping New Fields in the Arts and Social Sciences*, edited by Maria Nita and Jeremy H. Kidwell, 115–40. Cham, CH: Palgrave Macmillan. doi.org.

Ivan, Loredana. 2012. "Religious in My Own Way: Students' Religious Relativism and Self-Actualizing Values." *Revista de Cercetare Si Interventie Sociala* 36: 130–43.

James, William. 1982. *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*. Edited by Martin E. Marty. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Jenkins, Richard. 2000. "Disenchantment, Enchantment and Re-Enchantment: Max Weber at the Millennium." *Max Weber Studies* 1 (1): 11–32.

Josephson-Storm, Jason. 2017. *The Myth of Disenchantment: Magic, Modernity, and the Birth of the Human Sciences*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kasim, Azilah. 2011. "Balancing Tourism and Religious Experience: Understanding Devotees' Perspectives on Thaipusam in Batu Caves, Selangor, Malaysia." *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management* 20 (3–4): 441–56. doi.org.

Knibbe, Kim, and Helena Kupari. 2020. "Theorizing Lived Religion: Introduction." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 35 (2): 157–76. doi.org.

Koenig, Harold G. 2008. "Concerns About Measuring 'Spirituality' in Research." *Journal of Nervous & Mental Disease* 196 (5): 349–55. doi.org.

Marler, Penny Long, and C. Kirk Hadaway. 2002. "'Being Religious' or 'Being Spiritual' in America: A Zero-Sum Proposition?" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 41 (2): 289–300. doi.org.

McGuire, Meredith B. 2008. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Merriam-Webster. n.d. Accessed March 29, 2023. merriam-webster.com.

Moberg, Marcus. 2009. "Popular Culture and the 'Darker Side' of Alternative Spirituality: The Case of Metal Music." *Postmodern Spirituality* 21 (2009): 110–128 doi.org.

Moore, Thomas. 1997. *The Re-Enchantment of Everyday Life*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial.

Niekerk, Brimadevi van. 2018. "Religion and Spirituality: What Are the Fundamental Differences?" *HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies* 74 (3): 1–11. doi.org.

Orsi, Robert A. 1997. „Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion." In *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, edited by David D. Hall, 4–21. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Otto, Rudolf. 1958. *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Pargament, Kenneth I. 1999. "The Psychology of Religion and Spirituality? Yes and No." *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 9 (1): 3–16. doi.org.

Pike, Sarah M. 2022. "Do Avatars Weep? Ritual and Sacred Space at Virtual Burning Man." *Religion* 52 (2): 199–213. doi.org.

Povedák István. 2018. "Az UFO-kultúra társadalomtudományi elemzése." In *Tapasztalatból hallottam... Alternatív világképek: Összeesküvés-elméletek társadalomtudományi elemzése*, edited by István Povedák and László Attila Hubbes, 134–91. Budapest & Szeged, HU: Magyar Kulturális Antropológiai Társaság.

Primiano, Leonard Norman. 1995. "Vernacular Religion and the Search for Method in Religious Folklife." *Western Folklore* 54 (1): 37–56. doi.org.

Rosa, Hartmut. 2013. *Social Acceleration: A New Theory of Modernity*. Translated by Jonathan Trejo-Mathys. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Rosa, Hartmut. 2019. *Resonance: A Sociology of Our Relationship to the World*. Medford, MA & Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Rosa, Hartmut. 2020. *The Uncontrollability of the World*. Translated by James C. Wagner. Medford, MA & Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Rüpke, Jörg. 2019. "Ritual Objects and Religious Communication in Lived Ancient Religion: Multiplying Religion." In *Religious Individualisation*, edited by Martin Fuchs, Antje Linkenbach, Martin Mulsow, Bernd-Christian Otto, Rahul Bjørn Parson, and Jörg Rüpke, 1201–22. Berlin, DE: Walter De Gruyter. doi.org.

Schouten, John W., James H. McAlexander, and Harold F. Koenig. 2007. "Transcendent Customer Experience and Brand Community." *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 35 (3): 357–68. doi.org.

Shimazono, Susumu. 1999. "'New Age Movement' or 'New Spirituality Movements and Culture'?" *Social Compass* 46 (2): 121–33. doi.org.

Stiegler, Bernard. 2014. *The Re-Enchantment of the World: The Value of Spirit Against Industrial Populism*. Translated by Arthur Trevor. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.

St John, Graham, and François Gauthier. 2015. "Burning Man's Gift-Driven, Event-Centred Diaspora." *Journal du MAUSS*. journaldumauss.net.

Sulmasy, Daniel P. 2013. "Ethos, Mythos, and Thanatos: Spirituality and Ethics at the End of Life." *Journal of Pain and Symptom Management* 46 (3): 447–51. doi.org.

Taves, Ann. 2009. *Religious Experience Reconsidered: A Building Block Approach to the Study of Religion and Other Special Things*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Teisenhoffer, Viola. 2018. "Assessing Ritual Experience in Contemporary Spiritualities. The Practice of 'Sharing' in a New Age Variant of Umbanda." *Religion and Society* 9 (1): 131–44.

Testa, Alessandro. 2017. "'Fertility' and the Carnival 1: Symbolic Effectiveness, Emic Beliefs, and the Re-Enchantment of Europe." *Folklore* 128 (1): 16–36. doi.org.

Testa, Alessandro. 2019. "Doing Research on Festivals: Cui Bono?" *Journal of Festive Studies* 1 (1): 5–10. doi.org.

Testa, Alessandro. 2020. "Intertwining Processes of Reconfiguring Tradition: Three European Case Studies." *Ethnologia Europaea* 50 (1): 20–38. doi.org.

Tillich, Paul. 1963. *Christianity and the Encounter of the World Religions*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Tomka, Miklós. 1986. *Vallásszociológia: Szöveggyűjtemény*. Budapest, HU: Tankönyvkiadó Kézirat.

Tromp, Paul, Anna Pless, and Dick Houtman. 2020. "'Believing Without Belonging' in Twenty European Countries (1981–2008): De-Institutionalization of Christianity or Spiritualization of Religion?" *Review of Religious Research* 62 (4): 509–31. doi.org.

Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. New York, NY: Aldine De Gruyter.

Vitos, Botond, St John Graham, and François Gauthier. 2022. "Burning Man in Europe: Burns, Culture and Transformation." In *Festival Cultures: Mapping New Fields in the Arts and Social Sciences*, edited by Maria Nita and Jeremy H. Kidwell. Cham, CH: Palgrave Macmillan.

Zinnbauer, Brian J., Kenneth I. Pargament, and Allie B. Scott. 1999. "The Emerging Meanings of Religiousness and Spirituality: Problems and Prospects." *Journal of Personality* 67 (6): 889–919. doi.org.