

Space, Place, and Religious Landscapes

Bloomsbury Studies in Material Religion

Bloomsbury Studies in Material Religion is the first book series dedicated exclusively to studies in material religion. Within the field of lived religion, the series is concerned with the material things with which people do religion, and how these things – objects, buildings, landscapes – relate to people, their bodies, clothes, food, actions, thoughts, and emotions. The series engages and advances theories in ‘sensuous’ and ‘experiential’ religion, as well as informing museum practices and influencing wider cultural understandings with relation to religious objects and performances. Books in the series are at the cutting edge of debates as well as developments in fields including religious studies, anthropology, museum studies, art history, and material culture studies.

Christianity and the Limits of Materiality, edited by Minna Opas and
Anna Haapalainen

Figurations and Sensations of the Unseen in Judaism, Christianity and Islam,
edited by Birgit Meyer and Terje Stordalen

Food, Festival and Religion, Francesca Ciancimino Howell

Material Devotion in a South Indian Poetic World, Leah Elizabeth Comeau

Museums of World Religions, Charles D. Orzech

Qur’anic Matters, Natalia K. Suit

The Religious Heritage Complex, edited by Cyril Isnart and Nathalie Cerezales

Space, Place, and Religious Landscapes

Living Mountains

Edited by
Darrelyn Gunzburg and Bernadette Brady

BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC
LONDON • NEW YORK • OXFORD • NEW DELHI • SYDNEY

BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA

BLOOMSBURY, BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC and the Diana logo are trademarks of
Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published in Great Britain 2020

Copyright © Darrelyn Gunzburg, Bernadette Brady and contributors, 2020

Darrelyn Gunzburg and Bernadette Brady have asserted their right under the Copyright,
Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as Editors of this work.

Cover design: Maria Rajka
Cover image: Cwm Idwal Path, Snowdonia, Wales
© Chris Hepburn / Getty Images

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced
or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical,
including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval
system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

Bloomsbury Publishing Plc does not have any control over, or responsibility for, any
third-party websites referred to or in this book. All internet addresses given in this
book were correct at the time of going to press. The author and publisher regret any
inconvenience caused if addresses have changed or sites have ceased to exist, but can
accept no responsibility for any such changes.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: HB: 978-1-3500-7988-5
ePDF: 978-1-3500-7989-2
eBook: 978-1-3500-7990-8

Series: Bloomsbury Studies in Material Religion

Typeset by Newgen KnowledgeWorks Pvt. Ltd., Chennai, India
Printed and bound in Great Britain

To find out more about our authors and books visit www.bloomsbury.com
and sign up for our newsletters.

Contents

List of Figures	vii
List of Maps	ix
List of Tables	x
List of Contributors	xi
Foreword <i>Christopher Tilley</i>	xiv
 Introduction <i>Darrelyn Gunzburg and Bernadette Brady</i>	 1
 Part 1 Prehistoric conversations	 11
1 The archaeology of height – cultural meaning in the relativity of Irish megalithic tomb siting <i>Frank Prendergast</i>	13
2 How the shadow of the mountains created sacred spaces in Early Bronze Age Scotland <i>J. Anna Estaroth</i>	43
 Part 2 Medieval conversations	 69
3 Time and place at Brentor: Exploring an encounter with a ‘sacred mountain’ <i>Jon Cannon</i>	71
4 Building paradise on the Hill of Hell in Assisi: Mountain as reliquary <i>Darrelyn Gunzburg</i>	99
 Part 3 Animistic conversations	 121
5 Mountains as sources of power in seen and unseen worlds <i>Fiona Bowie</i>	123
6 Appalachian animism: Religion, the woods, and the material presence of the mountain <i>Amy Whitehead</i>	147

Part 4	Storied conversations	171
7	Mountains talk of kings and dragons, the Brecon Beacons <i>Bernadette Brady</i>	173
8	Representing the sacred: Printmaking and the depiction of the Holy Mountain <i>Christos Kakalis</i>	193
Part 5	Contemporary conversations	213
9	Are Himalayan peaks sacred?: The paradoxical and polylogical construction of mountains <i>Lionel Obadia</i>	215
10	The Black Line of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta; a Red Line for a mountain <i>Alan Ereira</i>	241
	Index	269



Introduction

Darrellyn Gunzburg and Bernadette Brady

Nan Shepherd, in her book *The Living Mountain*, first published in 1977, and to whom we pay homage in the title of this book, wrote of how a mountain became a living presence through a combination of the geology from which it was formed and the ecology that inhabited it.¹ The rocks, soil, water, frost, air, and sun, woven together with the vegetation that grew from the soil and the life forces that breathed the air, the birds that flew through the trees and the insects that scurried across the rocks, even the saxifrage that broke the rock as it pushed through to gain life, all contributed in a commensal connection to a webbed existence that gave the mountain its presence. ‘But why should I make a list?’ she continued. ‘It serves no purpose, and they are all in the books. But they are not in the books for me – they are in living encounters, moments of their life that have crossed moments of mine.’² Like Shepherd, this book recognizes these ‘moments of crossing’ between mountains and humans. We have chosen to call them ‘conversations’.

In the past, mountains have been viewed for how they sit in their landscapes, how rapidly or abruptly they rise from their surrounding topography, the heights they reach, and whether their elevation in their adjacent terrain make them impressive. Geology sees the origins of mountains as being created by volcanoes or folds in the earth’s crusts or by breaks in the crust where blocks of rock thrust out of the surface or, finally, by erosion where the mountain is a skeleton laid bare in a landscape. Part of the story of a mountain is its story of creation and its journey through its life. Some mountains are skeletons and reduce in height, like old men or women slowly rolling back into the earth, while others are young and growing. Mountains are, therefore, material entities that exist in a different time frame to our own; they exist in deep time. Hence we do not see this change and if they were alive, they would not see us – our story is too short to register in their time frame. We, however, see them. We see them



as unchanging entities guarding, protecting, or threatening, entities that have always been there and always will be there, eternal and, at times, dangerous and as such we name them. We name them regardless of height or geological features. Such names are the beginnings of the narrative a mountain has with its human community and the complexity of a mountain that has 'faces' can be reflected in its name. The highest peak on earth, for example, is located in Nepal and named Mount Everest by those who seek to conquer it. In contrast, the Tibetan people who live and move through the forest of mountains at its base know this mountain by two names, *Sagarmatha*, 'Peak of Heaven', as well as the more human-touchable name of *Chomolungma* (Chinese, *Zhmulangma*), 'Goddess Mother of the World (or Valley)'. These Tibetan names show both respect for its great height, the summit of the Himalaya, and one of the mountain's other 'faces', that of a protective mother goddess.

The narrative, however, moves beyond a personal name, as moods and personalities are also ascribed to mountains. Weather changes on a mountain can talk of the mountain turning angry, or as Emily Dickinson wrote in her poem, *Ah Teneriffe* (1914), the mountain wore its ice as a warrior, 'Still – Clad in your Mail of ices – ', and concluded her poem with a call, or prayer, directed to the entity itself: 'Ah Teneriffe! I'm kneeling – still – '³ Such personality-inspired ways of addressing mountains are so ubiquitous that, when considering the role of mountains in culture, the fact that they carry these names and personalities often goes unrecognized. The overt reaction is that mountains are a geological feature and, as such, cannot and should not be attributed with any living traits.

With or without a personality, however, a mountain mediates between land and sky. High or small, they are all material metaphors of liminal spaces, guardians, gateways, and bridges from one realm to another. Their physical magnitude can lend them notions of reverence and this feature alone can bring them into the sphere of material religion. This is a feature that can be exploited for religious purpose, not only for the isolation of a monastic group that seeks closeness to the divine but also for the amplification of the divine. Corcovado Mountain in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, was exploited by Paul Landowski in the 1920s when he used its summit as the place for his 30-metre-high statue of *Christ the Redeemer* to add a Christian conversation to the way the mountain overlooked the city below and appeared to reach out and protect it. The prayer flags of the Himalaya are the way the Buddhist monks use the holiness offered by the mountains' high places to blow prayers around the globe. To view mountains just as static, neutral, high platforms, for retreat or amplification, however, is, we suggest, to miss a large part of the conversation.

In 2007, Christopher Tilley within the discipline of archaeology focused on stones and raised the idea of ‘the processual significance stones have in relation to persons and sociopolitical relations’.⁴ Tilley, working in the field of post-processual archaeology, a movement in archaeological theory that emphasizes the subjectivity of archaeological interpretations, argued that the idea of materiality questioned ‘why certain kinds of stone and their properties become important to people’ and that the complex processes that answered such questions went way beyond the studies undertaken by geologists who were concerned only with the material properties rather than what stones mean. ‘All materials have their properties which may be described’, Tilley wrote, ‘but only some of these materials and their properties are significant to people. The concept of materiality is one that needfully addresses the “social lives” of stones in relation to the social lives of persons.’⁵ The material make-up of a stone, he noted, did not give it its value. Rather, it was its use and place in the community which gave it worth. In the same way the height of a mountain is a measure of its height, not a measure of its presences, personality, and relationship to its community.

In parallel to this shift in archaeology, in the last three decades there has also been a shift within studies of religion. S. Brent Plate argued that there has been a change of emphasis from ideas acting as the generators of religion to that of the material world itself. This move occurred as scholars began to focus on the physical aspects of religion and a more lived approach to its expression – the importance of the body and its senses, the performative aspects of ritual, the relevance and history of the book, to name a few. In this way spaces, physical objects, and bodies became the shapers of ideas, beliefs, and creeds and gave rise to practices and traditions. It is worth repeating Plate’s working definition of material religion: ‘(1) an investigation of the interactions between human bodies and physical objects, both natural and human-made; (2) with much of the interaction taking place through sense perception; (3) in special and specified spaces and times; (4) in order to orient, and sometimes disorient, communities and individuals; (5) towards the formal strictures and structures of religious traditions.’⁶ Plate’s definition coheres with the focus of this volume, and, following Plate, might be adapted as ‘an investigation of the interactions between human bodies and mountains, with much of the interaction taking place through sense perception in special and specified times in order to orient communities and individuals towards the formal strictures and structures of religious traditions’.

Mountains, therefore, have at least two faces. One can be defined by their geological origin myth, and another, by their personality myth. Nowhere was

this more vividly on display than the events of late June 2018. In Thailand, there is a mountain range known as Doi Nang Norn. Geology labels the mountain range as karstic, or soluble rock, meaning that the mountains are full of caves and underground drainage systems. However, the other origin myth is that of a young princess and the forbidden love of a stable boy. The tragic end of the story occurs when the princess, hiding in one of the caves, commits suicide. Her body becomes the mountain range and her blood the water that flows through it. Into this dual set of narratives stepped twelve young Thai footballers and their coach. On 23 June 2018, they went exploring Tham Luang Khun Nam Nang Norn cave—‘the great cave of the sleeping lady’. The cave twists and turns for 10 kilometres under a mountain range that separates Thailand and Myanmar. While they were inside, the rain that had fallen in the previous days started to drain into the caves and they became trapped 4 kilometres from the cave entrance. The boys and their coach took shelter on a small rocky shelf. Surrounded by darkness, unable to return to the world outside, their coach, a former monk, taught the boys to meditate in order to stay calm and conserve strength. Meanwhile, a rescue plan involving US air force rescue specialists, and cave divers from the UK, Belgium, Australia, Scandinavia, and many other countries, was taking place. The planning involved huge engineering and geological knowledge and expertise. At a local level, the community turned to the other conversation with the mountain, the story of the princess and her death. Every day, at the mouth of the cave, fruits, incense, and candles were offered to the cave and the mountain, ‘to show respect to the spirit that protects the cave’ as the coach’s godmother expressed it.⁷ This was a direct request to the princess to protect the twelve boys and their coach, for it was thought that the boys may have offended her by intruding into the cave. After two weeks, the mountains gave the boys back to the world, brought about by a combination of the hard work of the rescue teams and the mountain princess hearing the pleas of the villagers. As with any return to safety, however, a re-entry ritual was required. For those who viewed the mountain as a neutral object, there were the rituals of the interviews, with the world’s cameras probing into the well-being of the boys and their experience. The mountain viewed as a living entity was also acknowledged. The boys were ordained for nine days as Buddhist monks, so they could repay a spiritual obligation to the Thai diver who died in the rescue operation and be spiritually cleansed. The repayment of the debt occurred outwardly through meditation, prayer, and cleaning the temple. However, as Seewad Sompiangjai, grandfather of one of the rescued boys, observed, ‘They should spend time in a monastery. It’s for their protection. It’s like they died but now have been reborn.’⁸

This contemporary story captures the essence of the conversations we humans have with mountains that this volume addresses. In doing so, it locates mountains as material objects which, as Plate argued, are objects that contribute to the physical expression of religious belief and life, but also as objects that, as Tilley argued for stone, can have a 'social life' which engages with the social life of the person.⁹ It is time for mountains to be acknowledged in the emerging field of material religion. Edwin Bernbaum captured both the phenomenology of place and the active agency of places when he wrote, 'The sacred does not simply present itself to our gaze: it reaches out to seize us in its searing grasp.'¹⁰ This is a theme into which our contributing authors delve deeply, when mountains and their stories hold us in their 'searing grasp'.

Part 1, Prehistoric Conversations, is explored by Frank Prendergast and J. Anna Estraoth. Both authors approached mountains that contained hilltop cairns as a way of understanding how prehistoric peoples may have connected with the mountainous landscape through burial practices. Prendergast's encounters with Ireland's Neolithic hilltop passage tombs were undertaken between 2004 and 2007, inspired by the work of renowned Irish field botanist, ecologist, and conservationist Robert Lloyd Prager (1865–1953) who had observed that, on the island of Ireland, the different landscapes tended to push the cultures of the prehistoric past into the mountain fringe. Prendergast, however, approached the research as a surveyor, cultural astronomer, and archaeologist, walking the same landscape as Praeger, but focusing on the role played by topographical height in the construction of passage tombs. Prendergast was surprised to find how impactful moving up or down a mountain to reach the tombs felt, akin to moving through layers of liminality, and he likened his internal experience to one of passing through metaphysical thresholds created in the mind. On such elevationally high and unprotected places, the perception of being close to an intangible portal to an other world was, for Prendergast, emphatic and perceptible.

This theme of liminality to an other world was one also found by J. Anna Estaroeth in researching the Clava cairns of the Central Highlands of Scotland, and the landscape dominated by mountains of the River Nairn valley. The cairns were thought to be places of transition as they were where the *Sith* or fairy folk, who were thought to reside under the earth and within the mountains, could enter and exit the *Sithean* realm. Thus Clava cairns were considered dangerous and associated for centuries with altered experiences of time and timelessness. As a way of exploring and investigating the relationship between the *Sithean* realm and time, Estaroeth undertook fieldwork in the Clava landscape between

December 2014 and October 2016 specifically to observe the mountains at the midsummer full moon. She found that, since the moon was sufficiently low at these northerly latitudes, and appeared to come down to earth, the shadows cast by the hills onto certain cairns implied deep-seated ideas about sacredness.

In Part 2, *Medieval Conversations*, Jon Cannon and Darrelyn Gunzburg encounter the agency of mountains in connection with architecture built on them in the medieval period that created places of worship. Cannon first encountered Brentor in Devon in January 1974 when he was 11 years old. The phenomenological impact of the tiny church of St Michael atop the rocky outcrop, a response to both architecture and place, to things both artificial and natural, was so profound that it became, in Cannon's words, 'a hunt for the Divine, by which I mean some kind of sentience that unites and transcends all creation'. This powerful conversation was felt as a call to vocation and, in endeavouring to understand the nature of mountains and sacred architecture that was built on them, informed his career pathway. In unpacking the phenomenological impact on him at such a young age of this tor, a small but dramatic hill with a simple church at its peak, Cannon offers insights into the power of place and what might constitute sacred landscape.

Gunzburg's chapter is also an exploration of the creation of a sacred and religious landscape, this time through the lens of one man, St Francis of Assisi, one of a handful of historical figures associated with a town and a mountain. As the generator of a new mendicant order, St Francis' body after death became of vital importance. The final burial site on the side of Mt Subasio beyond the town of Assisi was initially considered to be a wild place, 'the Hill of Hell'. The bones of a saint sanctify place, however, and thus the site was transformed into a place of veneration. Gunzburg argues that, in receiving the bones of St Francis, the mountain became a reliquary, a placeholder for the experience of holiness or the sacred as reflected in the life of St Francis. This interment, she concludes, changed forever the quality of the conversation pilgrims had, and continue to have, with this mountain.

Part 3, *Animistic Conversations*, explores the non-human entities that inhabit mountains. Fiona Bowie's perspective looks specifically at Mount Everest, (Sagarmatha/Chomolungma), in the Himalaya, and Mount Fuji in Japan. Her chapter is built on the idea, suggested by the theosophist Annie Besant and elaborated in the writings of Cynthia Sandys, that each mountain contains a key energy signal that reflects the sum of the spirit activity in that landscape. Bowie used both conventional ethnographic and historical data alongside mediumistic communications in her research and this approach enabled her

to ask new questions regarding the entanglement of thought, body, and place. She concludes that learning to live and work with these forces not only signifies particular challenges, but that a conversation with a mountain that recognizes that the world of spirits, deities, and cosmic forces forms part of a universal imaginary is a necessary part of the 'spiritscape' of anthropology.

In a similar way Whitehead's chapter takes both a personal and an animist relational approach to Roan Mountain, part of the Appalachian Mountains of North-East Tennessee. Raised in the shadow of Roan Mountain, Whitehead grew up recognizing that, for her, the mountain was 'kin' and contained an interactive presence that informed her identity through a weave of stories and felt presences of other-worldly beings. She argues that, while Roan Mountain appeared to be a solid fixture in the vast landscape of East Tennessee, it rendered itself fluid in terms of the relational and spatial dynamics experienced by those humans and non-humans who were present and participating in the relating. Roan Mountain, she maintains, thus formed Appalachian specific nature religions. She concludes by suggesting that the language of animism is an appropriate tool with which to consider mountains as a central form of religious materiality.

Part 4, *Storied Conversations*, begins with Bernadette Brady's consideration of Pen y Fan and Corn Du, the two highest peaks of the Brecon Beacons in southern Britain, and part of a mountain range of six main peaks which geographically defines the border between South and Mid Wales. Brady's research weaves together local folklore, the annual movement of the stars against the mythic landscape, the contemporary use of the place, and the location's larger cultural themes of the dragon of Wales and its links to kingship. She argues that all of this creates the potency of place which, using Aristotle's thinking on proper place, points to an ongoing symbiotic relationship that exists between mountains and humans. She argues that it is only our ontologies that cast landscape as an inactive canvas and concludes that as an area becomes entwined with cultural layers, so its potential to influence human activity increases, and thus humanity increasingly seeks to maintain the place names and stories of the location.

Christos Kakalis explores the sacred topography of Mount Athos, a peninsula in north-eastern Greece which, since 1988, has been classified as a world heritage UNESCO monument. A male monastic community ruled by twenty coenobitic monasteries lives on this mountain. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many printed copper engraving representations of Mount Athos were produced and these engravings, Kakalis argues, offered recipients a tangible connection to the physical and metaphysical dynamics of this religious mountain. The way that the prints were made gave the mountain cultural and symbolic agency as

a hierophanic topos and triggered the imagination of the viewer, inviting him/her into an active dialogue with the landscape. Kakalis concludes that Mount Athos thus offers insights into the way a mountain exerts agency via its printed representations and gives an insight into material religion.

In Part 5, *Contemporary Conversations*, Lionel Obadia evaluates the way that the mountains of the Himalaya are viewed. While mountains are sites for the everyday life and experiences of those who live there, the Western imagination has conceived of the Himalaya as a sacred place where human beings have sacred experiences. Through ethnographic fieldwork, undertaken among mountain dwellers and itinerant visitors between late 1999 and the mid-2000s, Obadia deconstructs such generalizations, recognizing that not all mountainous landscapes are equal in terms of sacredness. Instead, he argues, mountain spaces are complex, combining a multiplicity of references and frameworks from the diverse cultures and people dwelling in or traversing them and creating a hybrid network of meanings. He concludes that, as socially produced spaces, mountains of the Himalaya have become places where indigenous secularity and Western sacredness improbably mix and merge.

Alan Eriera brings the volume to a close with his experience as a documentary filmmaker summoned by a mountain to hear its message. The mountain is the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, on Colombia's Caribbean coast, the highest coastal mountain in the world, populated by the indigenous people of the mountain, the Kogi. Through his work as a BBC documentary film-maker, Eriera began a connection with the Kogi and their Mamas, men trained in divination who mediated between the community and other planes of existence. In 2009 he received a call from the mountain via the Kogi. After several days' arduous journey, he reached the ritual meeting places on the mountain and listened while the Mamas delivered the mountain's message, a warning to stop destroying the mountain and, by implication, the life of the world.

This volume was conceived as an opportunity to fuse ideas of space, place, and material religion with cultural environmentalism and take an interconnected approach to mountains as material religio-landscapes. In this way it fills the gap between lived religious traditions, personal reflection, phenomenology, historical context, environmental philosophy, myths, rituals, and performativity by asking the specific question of whether bonding and reverence to a mountain is constructed by people, intrinsic to the mountain, or whether this is a mutual endeavour. Such questions further the current debates in ontology and new animism studies and also advance Viveiros de Castro's 'perspectivity' in suggesting that mountains may be capable of a point of view.

As Robert Macfarlane wrote, 'I am interested, you could say, not only in what we make of places, but also in what places make of us.'¹¹ In defining material religion as active engagement with mountain-forming/human-shaping landscapes, our aim is that the research/ideas presented here will also more widely applicable to other forms of material religion.

We wish to thank all of the authors who submitted essays for this volume. It has been our great pleasure to work with each and every one of you and your conversations with these mountains have informed and deepened our understanding. The words of Mama Pedro Juan quoted by Alan Ereira are transcribed from the recording made by him for the documentary ALUNA, copyright of which is owned by the Tairona Heritage Trust. We are indebted to the trust for permission granted on behalf of the trustees for use of the extract. This volume would not have come to fruition without the support of Amy Whitehead and Lalle Pursglove at Bloomsbury Academic to whom we offer our grateful thanks.

Notes

- 1 Nan Shepherd, *The Living Mountain: A Celebration of the Cairngorm Mountains of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2011), 48.
- 2 Shepherd, *Living Mountain*, 67.
- 3 Emily Dickinson, *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1955), Poem 666, 331.
- 4 Christopher Tilley, 'Materiality in Materials', *Archaeological Dialogues* 14 (2007): 16–20: 17.
- 5 Tilley, 'Materiality in Materials,' 17.
- 6 S. Brent Plate, ed., *Key Terms in Material Religion*, Religious Studies (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 5.
- 7 Helier Cheung and Tessa Tessa Wong, 'The Full Story of Thailand's Extraordinary Cave Rescue', 14 July 2018. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-44791998>.
- 8 'Thai Cave Boys Ordained in Buddhist Ceremony', 24 July 2018. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-44933744>.
- 9 Tilley, 'Materiality in Materials,' 17.
- 10 Edwin Bernbaum, *Sacred Mountains of the World* (San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Paperback Library, 1992), xvi.
- 11 Robert Macfarlane, Fellow and Part II Director of Studies in English, on his studies, writing, teaching, and research at Emmanuel College, <https://www.emma.cam.ac.uk/contact/fellows/spotlight/?id=39> (accessed December 2017).

Bibliography

- Bernbaum, Edwin. *Sacred Mountains of the World*. San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Paperback Library, 1992.
- Cheung, Helier, and Tessa Tessa Wong. 'The Full Story of Thailand's Extraordinary Cave Rescue', 14 July 2018. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-44791998> (accessed 18 July 2018).
- Dickinson, Emily. *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson*, edited by Thomas H. Johnson. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1955.
- Plate, S. Brent, ed. *Key Terms in Material Religion*, Religious Studies. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Shepherd, Nan. *The Living Mountain: A Celebration of the Cairngorm Mountains of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Canongate, 2011.
- 'Thai Cave Boys Ordained in Buddhist Ceremony', 24 July 2018. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-44933744> (accessed 6 December 2019).
- Tilley, Christopher. 'Materiality in Materials.' *Archaeological Dialogues* 14 (2007): 16–20.