
Volume 8

Issue 2 *Special Issue : International Conference
on Niche Market Formation for Faith-Based
Tourism, Malta*

Article 8

2020

Management of Pilgrimages in Lithuania: Resources, Stakeholders and Projects

Darius Liutikas

Lithuanian Social Research Center, darius.liutikas@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/ijrtp>



Part of the [Tourism and Travel Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Liutikas, Darius (2020) "Management of Pilgrimages in Lithuania: Resources, Stakeholders and Projects," *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*: Vol. 8: Iss. 2, Article 8.

doi:<https://doi.org/10.21427/j8w8-cw12>

Available at: <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/ijrtp/vol8/iss2/8>

Creative Commons License



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons
Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike 4.0 License](#).

Management of pilgrimages in Lithuania: resources, stakeholders and projects

Dr. Darius Liutikas

Lithuanian Social Research Centre, Lithuania
darius.liutikas@gmail.com

This paper deals with the analysis of pilgrimage management structures in Lithuania. The author presents a possible intervention framework for pilgrimage management. The network of sacred places in Lithuania is the main resource for religious tourism and pilgrimage. Analysis includes examination of the historic background, and contemporary uniqueness of the network of pilgrim sites. Travelers and stakeholders become more and more important in the management system. Various NGO, such as the Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims, play an important role in promoting pilgrim sites and pilgrimage. However, the main strategies and projects of pilgrimage development in Lithuania are related to the creation of new pilgrim routes. Despite various changes, the phenomenon of religious tourism and pilgrimage is viable and involves travelers consuming these historic and contemporary religious pilgrimage routes.

Key Words: pilgrimage management, Catholic pilgrimage places in Lithuania, pilgrim routes, Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims.

Introduction

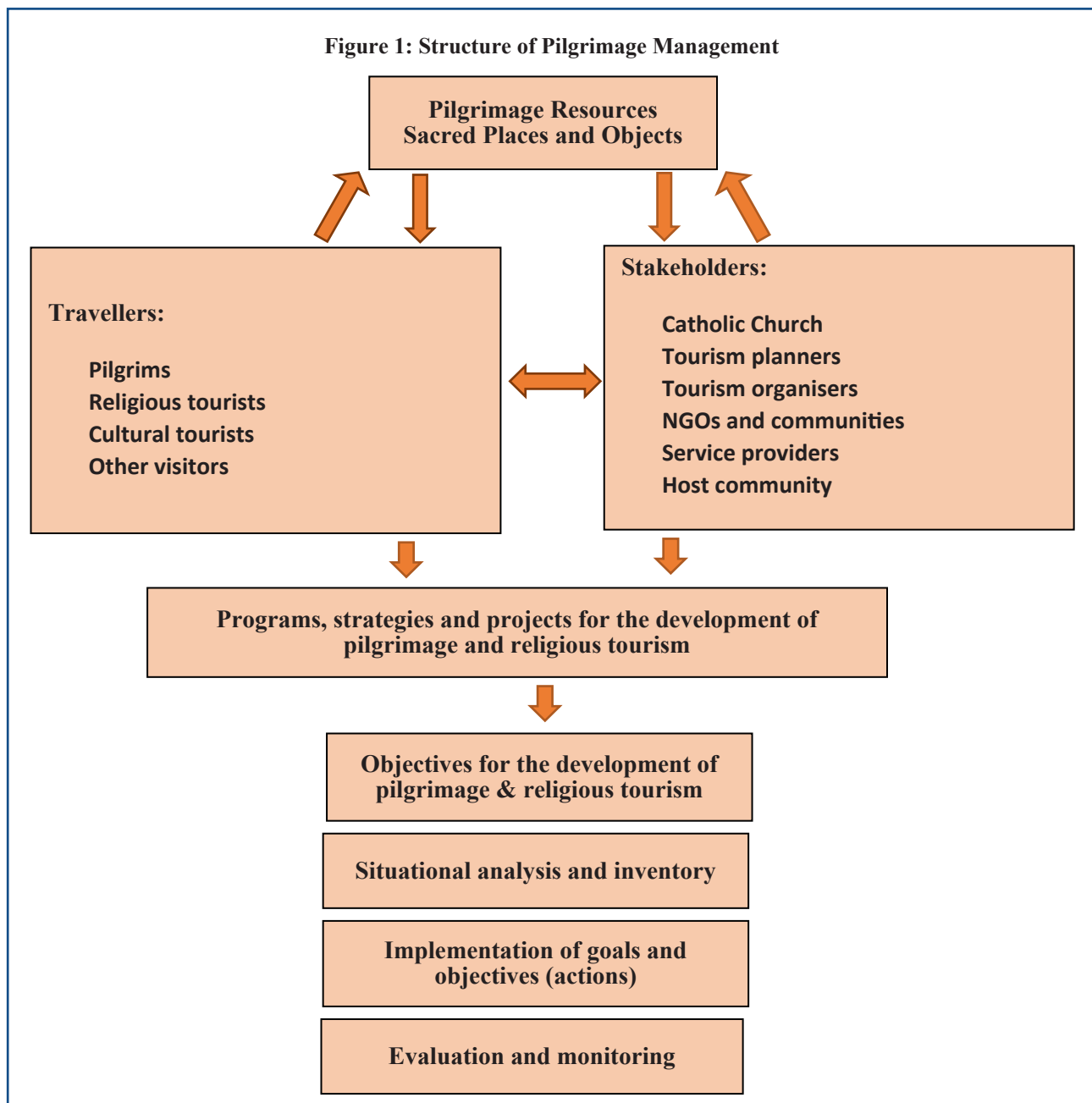
The management of religious tourism and pilgrimage is linked to the issue of tourism management. Although definitions of both pilgrimage and religious tourism vary according to the different perspectives of the researchers involved (Turner and Turner, 1978; Eade and Sallnow, 1991; Morinis, 1992; Clift and Clift, 1996; Cohen, 1992, 2006; Tomasi, 2002) there is a general understanding of the key elements of religion related journeys (Morinis, 1992; Rinshede, 1992; Liutikas, 2012). These elements, coming from social research, have recently been further refined (Norman, 2011; Liutikas, 2017). The purpose of this article is to provide analysis of the management systems for pilgrimage in Lithuania. Such analysis usually covers such components as the resource and its users analysis, in addition to an assessment of the programs and the related strategies.

Pilgrimage managers operate and perform in a wider cultural and macro-economic environment. The main goal of pilgrimage managers is to mediate the interaction between traveller and pilgrimage sites. In addition to these roles, a broad range of additional stakeholders can contribute to religious tourism policy, creating and sharing their ideas. Cognisant of this, the article tries to answer four main questions that need to be asked in relation to the development of religious tourism and pilgrim journeys:

1. What are the main resources of pilgrimage and what are the differences between them?
2. Who are the main stakeholders in the pilgrimage management system?
3. How is pilgrimage management carried out and what are the main strategic objectives and projects?
4. What are the effects on religious tourism?

Pilgrimage management

Several authors have noted the importance of effective management for religious destinations and travel to them (Nolan and Nolan, 1992; Vukonič, 1996; Digance, 2003; Olsen, 2006; Raj and Morpeth (eds.), 2007; Shinde, 2012). Analysis of pilgrimage management involves an examination of the macro environment and its elements, that have an impact not only on management issues, but also on the whole religious tourism – including pilgrimage – industry. The principle model of pilgrimage management involves such inputs as physical resources (sacred places and objects) and human resources, which could be divided into travellers (users) and stakeholders (organisers and supporters) (Figure 1). Consultation with both stakeholders and travellers raises questions about how these resources should be used and configured. In summary, it appears that pilgrims or religious tourists travel to the resource site to consume it, while the stakeholders want to influence the economic, social, cultural or environmental aspects of this activity.



Different approaches may be adopted by the stakeholders and pilgrims according to the circumstances. As Trono (2015) noticed, only a certain kind of synergy between the Church, the state and other stakeholders may lead to better experiences and better management of religious tourism. The establishment of a new religious tourism product or use of a newly created route may be challenged by traditional cultural, political or financial issues. These issues create a risk as there may be resistance to the efficient implementation of a programme, strategy or project. Consequently, the aim of successful pilgrimage management is to create structures and relationships that could facilitate a boost of religious tourism.

Traveller motivation, and the relationship to values and identity have been analysed by different authors (Winkelman and Dubisch, 2005; Hall, 2006; Collins-Kreiner, 2010; Raj, 2012; Liutikas, 2012, 2014, 2017; Olsen, 2013; Raj, Griffin and Blackwell, 2015). In all instances of values-rich journeys, motivations for travelling are related to the construction or manifestation of personal and/or social identity and self-fulfilment. Liutikas (2020) defined three different types of religious travel conceptions:

- 1) based on searching for or the manifestation of religious values and identity;
- 2) based on partly religious or non-religious motivation;
- 3) based on instrumental motivation.

These conceptions provide a good framework for understanding the specific motives of travellers, which can be classified as

- 1) pure religious and spiritual motives,
- 2) ritual-oriented motives,
- 3) family or community tradition,
- 4) possibility for inner changes and new social relations,
- 5) possibility to understand religion,
- 6) a new form of holiday travelling (quality leisure time, sightseeing);
- 7) an instrument for seeking other objectives (Liutikas, 2020).

In the context of this article, it is important to realise, that since the motives of pilgrims and religious tourists are very different, we are talking about different types of religious oriented travellers.

The implementation of public sector policies requires an understanding of management and planning. Page (2019) stressed the importance of sustainable tourism planning, since much of the planning activity for tourism is undertaken by the public sector as opposed to planning initiated by private stakeholders. He formulated such steps of the planning process as study preparation, determination of objectives, survey of all elements, analysis and synthesis of findings, policy and plan formulation, consideration of recommendations, the implementation and monitoring of the tourism plan and periodic review (Page, 2019: 394-395).

To be effective, the pilgrimage management and planning process should encompass such elements as a clear intervention framework and should ensure cooperation among all involved stakeholders. The intervention framework consists of principles, goals, objectives and policy measures (Coccosis, 2005) and regarding religious tourism, should consider development on the basis of the area's distinctive characteristics and respecting the local community.

An intervention framework usually takes the form of a program, strategy or project. In this case the use of a systematic approach could help facilitate effective decision making at each step: intervention planning (setting objectives for the development of pilgrimage and religious tourism), choosing appropriate measures (situational analysis and inventory), implementation, and evaluation.

In any intervention, e.g. creation of a pilgrim route, pilgrimage managers must decide on a logical model of the problem, describe the context for the intervention and state the programme's goals and objectives. During the situational analysis and stocktaking of available resources, pilgrimage managers have to identify the preferred method of intervention, design practical applications and ensure that the selected applications address the change. During the implementation phase, it is important to choose potential adopters and implementers, use performance objectives and specify determinants for adoption and implementation. Finally, in the evaluation phase, there is need to review the logic model, answer evaluation questions regarding changes in the determinants, measure indicators and chosen applications.

Pilgrimage resources: Catholic pilgrimage sites in Lithuania

Pilgrimage sites could be classified in various ways (Figure 2). Sacred places vary by their origin (natural and cultural), the object of adoration (the cult of Virgin Mary, Christ, Saints, spiritual authority), the events being commemorated (historical events from the life of Jesus, saints, events from personal life, apparitions). Pilgrimage places also could be analysed in the context of their cultural heritage or architectural features. Tanaka suggests two factors that help to identify the importance of sacred places: the area, within which the site is known and from which pilgrims come, and; the number of pilgrims per year (Tanaka, 1988).

The network of Lithuanian pilgrimage sites is clear and well established. The pilgrimage shrines within this network have spiritual significance and long established cultural and religious traditions of piety and visitation.

Lithuania has many different religious sites. The main Christian religious objects are churches, chapels and monasteries. There were about 900 shrines of different denominations in Lithuania in 2016. Most churches belong to Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and the Old Believers. Including non-parish Roman Catholic churches and various chapels there are more than 1,200 shrines. There were 13 male and 41 female monastic communities in Lithuania with 24 male and 76 female monasteries (including monastic houses) in 2018. Monasteries create conditions for a unique way of life for their inhabitants. The territorial network of monasteries influences the landscape, but in some cases the landscape also determines the choice of

Figure 2: Classifications of Pilgrimage Places

Pilgrimage Places		
<p>Origin:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organic (places where saints lived or died, tombs of saints, graves) - Miraculous (apparition places of Virgin Mary, miraculous images, relics) 	<p>Object:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Natural (springs, trees, stones, rocks, hills) - Cultural (various religious buildings, images) 	
<p>Cult:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jesus Christ and the Cross (Calvaries - Way of Crosses, Hill of Crosses, roadside crosses and crucifixes, images of Christ) - Virgin Mary (apparition places, images and statues, replicas of Lourdes) - Saints and spiritual authorities (tombs and relics, living places of the spiritual leaders, extraordinary images and statues) 	<p>Levels:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Macro-level (big landscape elements such as woods, rivers or hills, sacred historic towns as Jerusalem, Rome or Lourdes, Way of Crosses) - Intermediate level (Churches, chapels and other houses of worship) - Micro-level (images, relics, home altars, roadside shrines and crosses) 	<p>Significance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International - National - Regional - Local - Individual

Source: Author

monastery site and the activities carried out. Other important religious places located in unique natural landscape are Calvaries. Lithuania has several religious traditions, such as Indulgence Feasts, during which people visit four Calvaries.

Christian pilgrimage sites in Lithuania, in comparison with most of Western Europe, were formed very late. In pre-Christian Lithuania, as in the rest of Europe, the network of sacred places embodied natural objects, such as mounds, forests, trees, stones and water. The origins of Christian pilgrimage in Lithuania date back to the early seventeenth century. The main reason for this was the late Christianisation of Lithuania and its slow establishment. The building of the first churches is associated with this process. These churches were built from the end of the 1400s to the beginning of the 1500s on the instructions of Lithuanian Grand Dukes Jogaila and Vytautas. At the end of the 16th century, Lithuania had 109 churches. During the 1600s and 1700s, the network of Catholic pilgrimage sites was established and developed intensively and the amount of pilgrimages increased accordingly (Liutikas, 2009).

Christian pilgrimage journeys in Lithuania have been known from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. The first organised pilgrimage journey was held by the Jesuits, going from Vilnius to the miraculous image of the Mother of God and Child in Trakai in 1604. The leader of this journey was the Bishop of Vilnius, Benediktas Vaina. Since that year, pilgrimages from Vilnius to Trakai were organised annually. After 1608, pilgrims, attracted by the apparition of the Blessed Virgin, started to flow to Šiluva and a new Catholic church was built in 1627. By 1629, about 11,000 pilgrims received the Communion during the annual indulgence feast.

One of the most important centres for pilgrimage in Lithuania, the Samogitian Calvary, was created between 1637 and 1642 on the initiative Bishop Jurgis Tiškevičius of Samogitia. In 1649, a significant relic was brought from the Dominicans' Lublin monastery - a small piece of wood from the True Cross of Christ. From the mid-seventeenth century the Samogitian Calvary is also famous for its miraculous image of Saint Mary and the Child Jesus.

Figure 3: The Church of the Finding of the Holy Cross in Vilnius Calvary

Source: Author.

Vilnius (Verkių) Calvary was created between 1662 and 1669. The Way of the Cross is located in the hilly relief between the river Neris and the pinewoods of the Baltupiai and Jeruzalė neighbourhoods. Vilnius Calvary became a popular destination for pilgrims and most of them walked the Way of the Cross during Pentecost. In general, almost all Calvaries established in Lithuania became pilgrimage objects of regional or national importance. In the 1800s, the Bernardines of Telšiai on the hills of Beržoras instituted the Stations of the Cross. From 1771 to 1780, the stations of the Way of Cross were built in the Tytuvėnai Bernardine monastery (Liutikas, Motuzas, 2014).

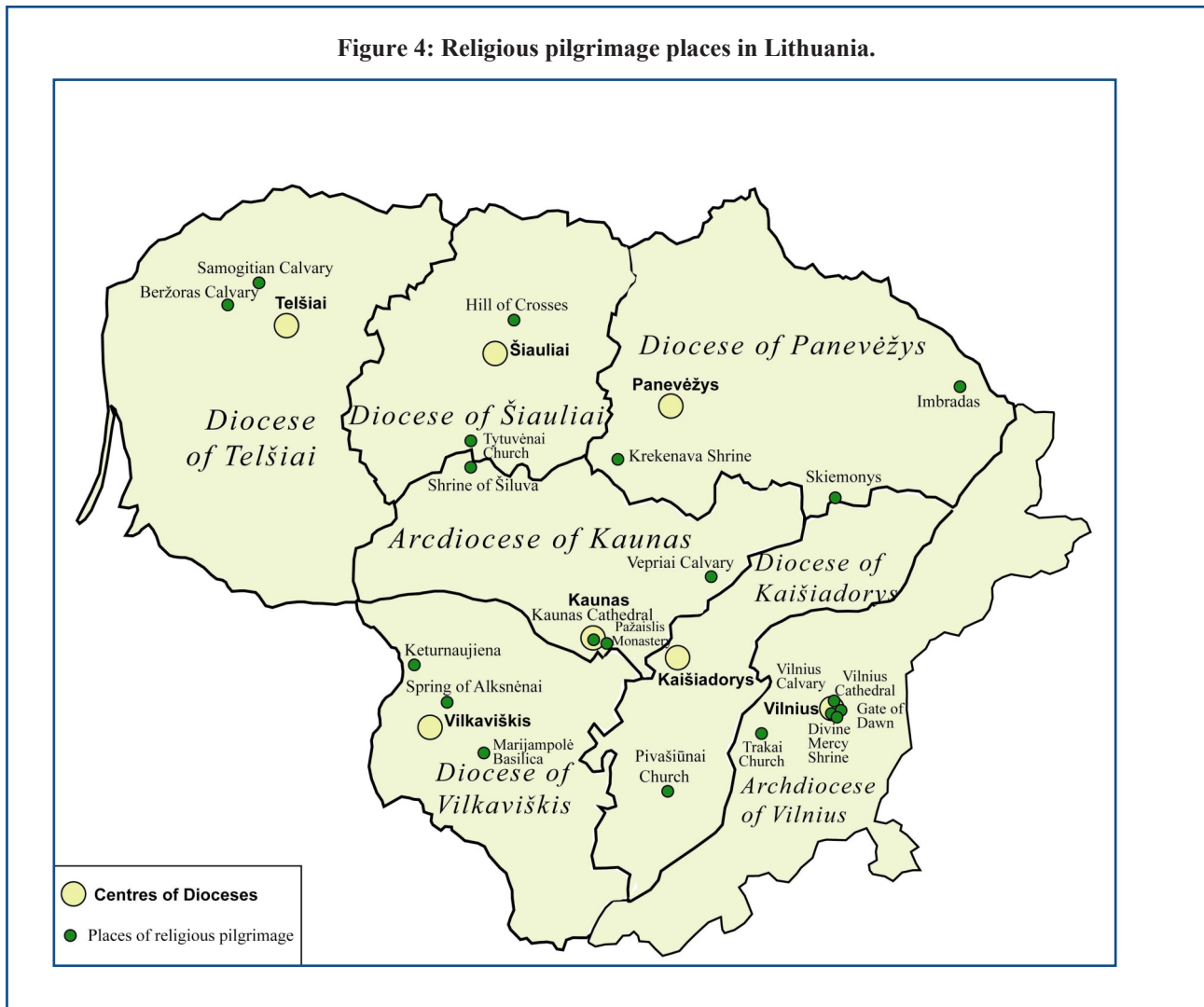
In 1636, St Casimir (1458-1484) was declared Patron Saint of Lithuania. Many pilgrims visited his tomb in The Cathedral of Vilnius. By the beginning of the 1700s, the tomb of St Casimir was covered with a large number of wax and silver votive offerings. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the miraculous image of Mary the Mother of Mercy at the Gates of Dawn in Vilnius won fame.

In general, we can state that the main pilgrimage centres of Lithuania were formed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century a unique sacred site was formed – the Hill of Crosses. In the twentieth century additional sites have been marked on the Lithuanian pilgrimage map, particularly apparition places of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Such places as Gulbinėnai, Imbradas, Keturnaujiena and Skiemonys are not officially recognised by the Catholic Church but are very popular as pilgrimage destinations of folk religiosity.

The periods of Tsarist Russia and Soviet Occupation were particularly difficult for the development of monasteries. At the beginning of the twentieth century only five monasteries were officially active. All Catholic monasteries were closed, and monks had to operate secretly in the Soviet era.

During Soviet Occupation, various obstructions were implemented to prevent people from visiting sacred places, and a campaign of physical destruction of

Figure 4: Religious pilgrimage places in Lithuania.



sacred places was initiated. On the 20th of April, 1959, the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, having received a directive from Moscow, issued a resolution entitled ‘*Considering measures to stop the visiting of so-called sacred places*’. The document announced measures to decrease the number of pilgrims in Šiluva, as well as the Samogitian, Vilnius and Vepriai Calvaries. The sanctity of these places was ‘denounced’ in the media, and huge secular events were organised during the indulgence feast days, bus traffic was cancelled, etc. For example, roads leading to Šiluva town were blocked, some driver’s licences were confiscated, and passengers were forced to get out and walk. The organisers of several pious processions to Šiluva were sentenced to three years in prison. The stations of the cross at Vilnius and Vepriai Calvaries, as well as the crosses at the Hill of Crosses were destroyed (Liutikas, Motuzas, 2014).

During the Lithuanian revival period in 1988-1989, and after the restoration of Lithuanian independence in 1990, pilgrimage journeys to the most important sacred

places (the Virgin Mary apparition site in Šiluva, the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary in Pivašiūnai, the Gates of Dawn, The Cathedral of Vilnius, the Hill of Crosses, Samogitian Calvary, etc.) regained their popularity. In the twentieth century during the years of independence the number of monasteries in Lithuania has increased.

Nowadays, we can identify twenty major Catholic pilgrimage sites in Lithuania (Figure 4 and Table 1a-1c). This identification is based on the places visited by contemporary pilgrims as well as taking into consideration the visitation traditions, the geographical area of attraction, the number of pilgrims who visit, the hierarchical importance of the sacred places and their significance (Liutikas, 2013).

Most of them are related to the cult of Virgin Mary (Šiluva, The Gates of Dawn, Pivašiūnai, Trakai, Pažaislis, Imbradas, Keturnaujiena, Kremenava, Skiemionys, the Cathedral of Kaunas). The second group is Calvaries (Vilnius, Vepriai, Beržoras,

Tytuvėnai and Samogitia), places related to saints and the cults of holy persons (the cult of St Casimir at the Cathedral of Vilnius and the cult of Blessed Jurgis Matulaitis in Marijampolė), a site of worship of the Cross (the Hill of Crosses), a holy spring (Alksnėnai) and Vilnius Divine Mercy Shrine which contains the first image of Merciful Jesus which was painted according to St Faustina's visions.

There are also pilgrimage places of other Christian denominations in Lithuania. The Orthodox Church of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius is probably the most famous site housing the relics and remains of three martyrs of Vilnius: Anthony, John and Eustathiosis.

Table 1a. Main Catholic pilgrimage places in Lithuania

No	Pilgrimage place	The goal of pilgrimage	Short description of the place
Arcdiocese of Vilnius			
1.	Vilnius Cathedral Basilica of Sts. Stanislaus and Vladislaus	Cult of St. Casimir's, miraculous image of Virgin Mary	A Christian shrine was established in this place during the reign of King Mindaugas (13th. century). It was rebuilt many times and in 1783-1801 reconstructed in Classicist style according to the project of L. Stuoka-Gucevičius. In the chapel of St. Casimir in Vilnius Cathedral, there are remains and relics of the only Lithuanian Saint as well as a painting of three-handed St. Casimir. On the roof of the Cathedral there are sculptures of St. Casimir, St. Helena and St. Bishop Stanislaus. Closed during Soviet rule, Vilnius Cathedral was returned to believers in 1988. It is also a place of miraculous crowned painting of Sapiegos Mother of God. The Catacombs of the Cathedral are famous for the oldest known fresco in Lithuania 'The Crucifixion' (late 14th, early 15th century).
2.	The Gates of Dawn	Miraculous image of Virgin Mary	Famous for the miraculous crowned painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Mercy. Painting has been known since the early 17th century. The inside walls of the Chapel are decorated with pilgrim donated ex-votos – evidences of miracles. Near the Gates of Dawn stands the church of St. Theresa.
3.	Vilnius Divine Mercy Shrine	Miraculous image of Jesus	From 2005 there is a painting of Merciful Jesus based on visions of St. Faustina Kowalska. In Antakalnis district (Grybo st. 29 A) there is St. Faustina's house.
4.	Vilnius Calvary	Calvary – the Cult of the Cross	The Way of the Cross, established in 1662-1669 on the initiative of the Bishop of Vilnius, Jurgis Belazaras. The 35 chapels of the Way of Cross attract most visitors during Pentecost. In 1962-1963 the Way of the Cross chapels were destroyed by Soviets, rebuilt after the regaining of independence and consecrated in 2002. A Holy Cross relic is located in Invention of the Holy Cross Church (built in 1772).
5.	Trakai	Miraculous image of Virgin Mary	The First Church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built in 1409. It was restored and reconstructed many times. There is a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Child Jesus in the Church. This is the first crowned painting in Lithuania (crowned in 1718). There is also an Orthodox church, Karaitė Kenesa and St. John Nepomuk wayside shrine.

Table 1b. Main Catholic pilgrimage places in Lithuania

No	Pilgrimage place	The goal of pilgrimage	Short description of the place
Archdiocese of Kaunas			
6.	Kaunas Cathedral Basilica	Miraculous image of Virgin Mary	Kaunas parish church founded by Vytautas. The Church was built before 1660. The Church became Cathedral Basilica of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul in 1926. There are a lot of famous priests buried in it or near it: Bishop M. Valančius, Prel. J. Mačiulis–Maironis, Cardinal V. Sladkevičius and others. Famous for the images of Our Lady of Sorrows and Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of Mercy.
7.	Pažaislis Monastery	Miraculous image of Virgin Mary	Masterpiece of Baroque architecture in North-Eastern Europe. Built by chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Kristupas Žygimantas Pacas in the second half of the 17th century. Belonged to Camaldolese monks. The Church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was consecrated in 1674. Famous for a miraculous image of the Mother of Fair Love (Camaldolese Mother of God). At present inhabited by the St. Casimir congregation sisters.
8.	Šiluva	Apparition place and miraculous image of Virgin Mary	Place of Apparition of the Virgin Mary in 1608. The first Catholic wooden church was built in 1457. Later on in this place the Calvinists established themselves, but the apparition and the events that followed (the finding of a chest with documents of the Catholic church and a miraculous image) helped to regain the land for Catholics. The two tower basilica of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built in 1786. In 1924, the chapel of the Apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built. During Soviet times, pilgrim processions to Šiluva were restricted. In 1993, Pope John Paul II prayed in Šiluva. The area between the church and the chapel was reconstructed in 2008. A monument to John Paul II was built and rosary wayside shrines were established. Šiluva is famous for its miraculous crowned (in 1786) painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus. The largest number of pilgrims is expected during the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (September 8-15).
9.	Vepriai Calvary	Calvary – the Cult of the Cross	The Neo-Gothic style Church of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built in 1910. Vepriai is famous for its Calvary - the Way of the Cross. The Calvary was established (brick chapels were built) at the end of the 19th century. The Way of the Cross was destroyed by Soviet authorities in 1962 and rebuilt in 1989. There are 35 stations in the Way of the Cross. The largest numbers of pilgrims travel to Vepriai during the Feast of the Pentecost.
Diocese of Telšiai			
10.	Samogitian Calvary (Žemaičių Kalvarija)	Calvary – the Cult of the Cross	The Stations of the Cross were built in 1639 by Dominican monks. In total 19 chapels (20 stations) were built. Žemaičių Kalvarija stations of the Cross remained the only ones in Lithuania not destroyed during Soviet rule. Žemaičių Kalvarija is famous for its miraculous crowned painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus and relic of The Holy Cross. The Church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built in 1822. Most popular during the Great Feast that takes place in the beginning of July. In the place of the first Dominican church, there is a Memorial chapel.
11.	Beržoras Calvary	Calvary – the Cult of the Cross	Famous for Beržoras Calvary. Fourteen Way of the Cross chapels were built in 1759. Destroyed during Soviet rule, the wooden chapels were rebuilt after the regaining of independence. The wooden church of St. bishop Stanislaus was built in 1746.

Table 1c. Main Catholic pilgrimage places in Lithuania

No	Pilgrimage place	The goal of pilgrimage	Short description of the place
Diocese of Šiauliai			
12.	Hill of Crosses	The Cult of the Cross	It is a unique place of pilgrimage in the World (see Figure 5). The first crosses on Jurgaičiai mound were built in the middle of the 19th century. It is believed that the crosses were built after the miraculous recovery of a local man or in memory of the dead during the uprisings in 1831 and 1863 against the Russian Empire. In 1900, there were more than 130 standing crosses. During the Soviet rule, the crosses on the Hill of Crosses were destroyed several times, but they were re-erected secretly. In 1993, Pope John Paul II visited the Hill of Crosses. In the year 2000, a Franciscan monastery at the site was consecrated.
13.	Tytuvėnai	Miraculous image of Virgin Mary	The first wooden church was built in 1555. In the beginning of 17th century, the nobleman Valavičiai invited the Bernardines to Tytuvėnai to build a church and a monastery. The church was consecrated in 1635, but the construction of church and monastery was completed only at the end of 18th century. In 1775, the Chapel of Holy Stairs was built, and in 1780, in the gallery of the churchyard, and 39 stations of the Way of the Cross were established. Tytuvėnai church of the Blessed Virgin Mary the Queen of Angels is also famous for the miraculous image of the Mother of God with the Child Jesus.
Diocese of Vilkauskis			
14.	Marijampolė	The Cult of Saints	Remains of the blessed Jurgis Matulaitis, relics and valuable paintings are kept in the small basilica of St. Michael the Archangel (built in 1824). There is monastery of Marian Fathers and pilgrim center near the church. There is a museum of the Blessed Jurgis Matulaitis in operation. There is also the church of St. Vincent de Paul, an Evangelical Lutheran church and an Orthodox Church in the town.
15.	Keternaujiena (Suodžiai)	Non official apparition place of Virgin Mary	This is a place of apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Although apparitions that took place in this village are not officially recognised by the Catholic church, the place of apparition attracts many pilgrims. From November 14th, 1969, the Blessed Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ appeared to Anelė Matijošaitienė (1927-2012) several times. In the middle of the fields that once belonged to a kolkhoz (Soviet initiated collective farm), a local airport was built. Now in the middle of it stands a chapel. Nearby is the burial place of the woman and her reconstructed residence.
16.	Mažučiai spring	Holy spring	Mažučiai spring (near Alksnėnai) is famous for its miraculous and healing water. The stone chapel was built in 1991. In 1995, 14 wayside shrines of the Sorrows and Joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary were built near it.
Diocese of Kaišiadorys			
17.	Pivašiūnai	Miraculous image of Virgin Mary	Famous for the Assumption Feast. In the Assumption of the Virgin Mary into Heaven Church is a miraculous crowned painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The main altar of the church can be toured. The village belonged to Benedictine monks from Old Trakai.
Diocese of Panevėžys			
18.	Krekenava	Miraculous image of Virgin Mary	The church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary into Heaven (smaller basilica) is famous for the miraculous image of Mother of God with Child Jesus. The first church in Krekenava was built in 1419 (the present church was built in 1902). The painting was first mentioned in the beginning of the 15th century. The largest number of pilgrims visit Krekenava during the Feast of the Assumption.
19.	Skiemonys	Non official apparition place of Virgin Mary	The Janonys village of Skiemonys parish (belonging to Molėtai district) attracts pilgrims. It is a non official place of apparition of Virgin Mary. On July 13-14, 1962 eighteen-year-old Roma Matiukaite saw an apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In that place now stands a chapel.
20.	Imbradas	Non official apparition place of Virgin Mary	According the story, on June 30, 1967, the Virgin Mary appeared to Albina Skvarčinskaitė (16 years old) and her cousin Juozas Kriauklis (15 years old). They saw the light on Lake Ilgis and later recognised the standing Virgin Mary. A lot of crosses were erected in this place. The chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary was built in 2014.

Figure 5: Hill of Crosses (Kryžių kalnas) near Šiauliai, Lithuania

Photos by Author

Analysing Religious Sites of Lithuania

Religious destinations are multi-dimensional. First of all, a religious destination is a geographical space with a religious or spiritual attraction. Pilgrimage resources could be identified and analysed according to the following criteria.

Immobility and mobility

Many sacred sites cannot be moved and are geographically fixed. However, sacred images or relics can be moved either in terms of place or time. For example, The Cathedral of Vilnius was closed in 1949 and used as a warehouse and later converted into an art museum by the Soviet authorities. The silver sarcophagus with St Casimir's relics was moved to St. Peter and St. Paul's Church. The coffin was carried back to the Cathedral on March 4, 1989.

Development of sacred space

The landscape of pilgrimage sites and the architecture of buildings change over the centuries. The crosses erected at the apparition places of the Virgin Mary are replaced by chapels and later by churches. Some sacred spaces are accompanied by additional religious objects, e.g. The Way of the Cross in Šiluva.

Ownership and control

Different stakeholders create development plans to utilise sacred objects that are neither owned nor controlled by them. Tourism authorities, municipalities, the Church authorities, service

providers, local community, pilgrimage organisations have to find agreement on various issues. Some pilgrimage sites are used by various ethnic communities (e.g. Polish and Lithuanian communities at pilgrimage sites in Vilnius) or even by different churches. Some Lithuanian churches hold both Evangelical Lutheran and Catholic services, but perhaps the most prominent example of pilgrimage sites with several denominations is the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, where the church space belongs to as many as six different Christian denominations.

Conflicts and competitions

Sometimes increased demands on the use of a pilgrimage sites for tourism can cause conflict or competition among different stakeholders. The local community, Church authorities, pilgrim organisations and officials could have different views on the development strategies of the site. For example, in 2011 there was an intensive debate in the media on the possible construction of a church near the Hill of Crosses. Some architects and cultural heritage representatives opposed the church being built.

Accessibility

Accessibility to pilgrimage sites can vary. The most accessible sites are located in the big cities (Vilnius, Kaunas, Marijampolė). However, access to pilgrimage Calvary sites such as Samogitia, Beržoras and Vepriai, and sanctuaries such as Keturnaujiena, Mažučiai Spring, Krekenava, Skiemonys and Imbradas is quite

complicated when using public transport. The main transport means are private cars or rented coaches for larger pilgrim groups. Local people reach the place on foot or use public transport. Visiting times of pilgrimage places in Lithuania coincides with the tourism season. Such factors as climate, the timing of Church feasts and other events or historic traditions may adversely affect seasonality.

Tourism infrastructure

Some places are just part of a pilgrim's itinerary, a stop on the way to the final destination. Local pilgrims usually devote one day at such intermediate sites without staying overnight. Most pilgrims spend 2 to 4 hours at the Way of Cross or in the Calvaries, an additional hour is devoted for Holy Mass, and pilgrims could spend an hour or two hours in the market or meet with friends, relatives or acquaintances. Some sites of pilgrimage in Lithuania have the capacity to accommodate large flows of pilgrims during the day (e.g. Hill of Crosses, Šiluva), while others offer accommodation possibilities for a large number of visitors (Vilnius, Kaunas). Mostly, pilgrims expect that sacred places will meet their basic needs such as food, drinking water, accommodation, toilets, etc. (Liutikas, 2015). Some pilgrimage sites do not have the capacity to receive large numbers. During Church festivals (feasts) infrastructure is inadequate, with regards parking places (cars are parked at the roadsides nearby villages), accommodation (mostly over night pilgrims can stay in private houses) and indoor catering service (mainly pilgrims can eat outside cafes and other places).

Intangible spirituality

A vital element of the religious destination is the meaning of the site, which can help to create and maintain social identity (Liutikas, 2018) and meaningful journeys. Places gain their importance in narratives. Such terms as 'spirit of place' or 'sense of place' denote that a particular site has unique spiritual and cultural atmosphere, and value. Development of religious tourism does not have to ruin the spiritual, cultural and social environment of the site or interfere with religious traditions. Sometimes, secular attractions such as fairs, concerts or sport events are in contradiction with a site's spiritual identity.

However, religious destinations are not only immovable places. Pilgrimage sites are also created temporarily. The organisation of religious feasts and ceremonies is utilised as an initiative to attract

believers and non-believers in society. Religious authorities are the main organisers of these events. For example, every year the traditional celebration of families in the Šiauliai Diocese takes place in Šiauliai Arena. The event attracts Catholic families from all over Lithuania. There are many other examples of pilgrims flocking to meet religious leaders in different places.

Stakeholders

Various stakeholders related to pilgrimage and religious tourism have different needs and objectives. However their objectives mostly relate to the development of infrastructure in the destination places, the generation of larger numbers of pilgrims and/or religious tourists, providing better services to visitors, or the general promotion of pilgrimage sites and the pilgrimage concept in Lithuania.

As Evans (2015) pointed out, stakeholders can be ranked depending upon two variables. *Stakeholder Power* refers to their ability to influence the organisation (pilgrimage processes) and *Stakeholder Interest* refers to their willingness to do so.

Tourism planners and decision makers responsible for the development of tourism products try to generate possible scenarios of pilgrimage and religious tourism that make a net contribution to all forms of capital and that directly address national or regional wellbeing. In this case, there is a need to assess different ideas in terms of viability and sustainability.

The next step is the selection and adaptation of scenarios or projects for implementation. The implementation phase relates to different interventions on policy (e.g. new pilgrimage routes and development programmes), destination marketing (especially for international visitors) and on-the-ground interventions (infrastructural changes).

Various programs produce different outcomes, which are mostly related to short, intermediate or long-term changes. The main goal of development scenarios or projects involves improving pilgrimage conditions and/or marketing. This aims to produce individual, organisational, regional or national benefits.

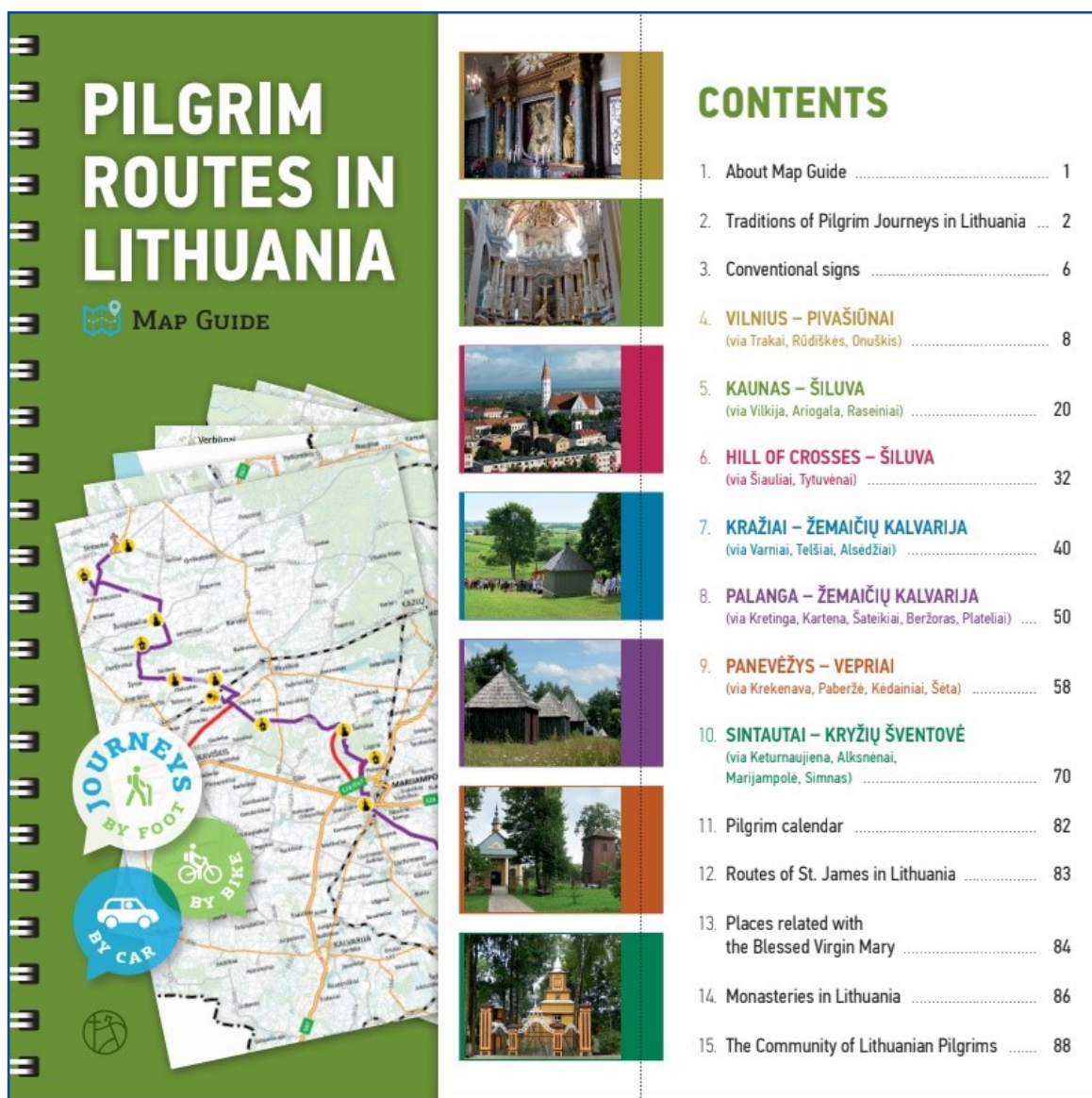
Some stakeholders are more concerned with exploiting national religious resources and the development of both inward and national pilgrimages. The Catholic Church and its institutions, such as diocesan administrations, diocesan youth centres, and pilgrim

centres, as well as various NGOs (Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims, etc.) or local parishes and local communities, all work on development and promotion of pilgrimage sites in Lithuania. The aim of the State tourism institutions is also related to the development of religious tourism in Lithuania. National government and municipalities become involved because they want to develop facilities and areas to foster local tourism. Since 2019, tourism marketing and promotion falls within the scope of responsibility to the new public institution *Lithuania Travel (Keliauk Lietuvoje)*. Previously, the State Department of Tourism was responsible for national tourism projects including religious tourism.

Tourism enterprises, some communities and parishes are more concerned with organising outbound pilgrimage journeys. Tourism agencies could help to design individualised religious tourism routes or packages abroad and in Lithuania.

Some NGOs are quite active in various projects related to the promotion of Lithuanian pilgrim sites. One of these, The Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims, was established in 2004. The aims of the organisation are to consolidate Christian pilgrims in Lithuania, to take care of the natural and cultural heritage of the sacred sites of Lithuania and to organise pilgrim journeys. Their main activity is to organise various projects associated with pilgrimage and the sacred places of Lithuania and to publish various publications for

Figure 6: Cover of the Map Guide of Pilgrim Routes in Lithuania.



Source: Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims.

pilgrims. For example, the Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims has published books related to Lithuanian sacred sites (*Pilgrimage: Manifestation of Values and Identity in the Journeys*, in Lithuanian, author D. Liutikas, in 2009, and *Pilgrim Routes in Lithuania. Map Guide*, in both English and Lithuanian, in 2014) (see Figure 6). The organisation also engaged in a project for the creation and publication of a documentary *Pilgrimage sites in Lithuania* (director, D. Ramanauskas, 2012). This 55 minute film was published in DVD format and had subtitles in Lithuanian, English, Polish and Italian. In 2010 the organisation published a four-disc album *Prayers and Hymns of Vilnius Verkiai Calvary* (author of the album Prof. A. Motuzas, hymns performed by the ensemble of old hymns of Vilnius Cathedral Basilica in 2010). Since 2009 every second year the Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims organises a woodcarver contest-exhibition *Saints and Pilgrims*.

The various pilgrim centres are quite active. Centres operate in Vilnius, Kaunas, Tytuvėnai, Pivašiūnai, Šiluva and Krekenava. The main activities of Vilnius Pilgrim Centre are providing information for pilgrims and promoting Vilnius as the City of Divine Mercy. Other tourism information centres also hand out information for pilgrims, e.g. the Šiauliai region tourism and business information centre. Vilnius also has a Church Heritage Museum, that organises different exhibitions, educational programs, and publications.

Pilgrimage projects – creation of pilgrim routes

Pilgrim routes are the main strategic goals of the Lithuanian pilgrimage stakeholders. Routes can be divided into two categories – circular and non-circular (Stoddard, 1997). Circular routes consist of a closed traverse. However, many non circular or linear routes focus on pilgrimage sites. Researchers agree that pilgrim routes and trails bring about several positive benefits: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental (Olsen, Trono and Fidgeon, 2018). Pilgrim routes lead pilgrims and tourists into less developed and visited areas, they spread visitor stays and expenditures beyond the main tourist attractions, and assist in tackling seasonality issues.

Although religious routes link religious buildings, pilgrimage sites and events, they can include natural, cultural, historical or gastronomic elements. It is interesting to note that local travellers use both traditional and new pilgrimage routes.

Lithuania has many traditional pilgrim routes. Pilgrimage destinations that can be reached on foot include Šiluva, the Samogitian Calvary, the Gates of Dawn, Pivašiūnai, the Hill of Crosses, Krekenava and Trakai. The journeys begin in various Lithuanian regions, but the traditional pilgrim routes are from Vilnius to Trakai and Pivašiūnai, from the Hill of Crosses to Šiluva, from Kretinga to Žemaičių Kalvarija, from Raseiniai to Šiluva, from Alytus to Pivašiūnai, from Naujamiestis to Krekenava, from Alytus to the Gates of Dawn, from Šiauliai to the Hill of Crosses (Liutikas, 2018).

Tourism developers have noticed that pilgrim routes can stimulate social and economic viability in rural areas, generate new business opportunities and jobs, while enhancing regional tourism infrastructure. The first attempt to create an official pilgrim route in Lithuania was the creation of the Pilgrim Route of Pope John Paul II.

From 4 to 8 September in 1993, Pope John Paul II visited Lithuania. He prayed in the most important Lithuanian pilgrimage places: the Gates of Dawn in Vilnius, Vilnius Cathedral, Kaunas Cathedral, the Hill of Crosses, and the Virgin Mary apparition site in Šiluva. During his stay in Vilnius, the Pope also visited the Church of the Holy Spirit (a meeting was held there with the members of the Lithuanian Polish community) and Vilnius University Church of St. John (a meeting was held there with representatives of the Lithuanian cultural and scientific community).

With the coming of the fifteenth anniversary of the Pope's visit, the Lithuanian Bishops' Conference decided to join all the sanctuaries which were visited by the Pope during his visit, to form the pilgrimage route of Pope John Paul II. In 2007, the Lithuanian Government confirmed the programme of the pilgrimage, which gained a status of national importance.

First fourteen, later sixteen, and finally, nineteen pilgrimage and religious sites in Lithuania were identified and are now included in this route. Some of them are traditional pilgrimage sites, which the Pope visited in Lithuania, while others are sites of pious renown, which received the Holy Father's attention and are somehow connected with him. In general, fourteen of these places have significant pilgrimage traditions:

Figure 7: Pažaislis Monastery in Kaunas.

Source: Author.

1. Vilnius Cathedral Basilica. Chapel of St Casimir
2. Gates of Dawn Chapel and St Teresa's Church (Vilnius)
3. Vilnius Calvary
4. Trakai Church of the Visitation
5. Kaunas Cathedral Basilica
6. Pažaislis Church and Monastery (Figure 7)
7. Shrine of Šiluva
8. Tytuvėnai Church and Monastery
9. Hill of Crosses
10. Samogitian Calvary
11. Basilica of Marijampolė and Chapel in Lūginė
12. Church of the Assumption of Pivašiūnai
13. Divine Mercy Shrine in Vilnius
14. Krekenava Shrine

This project has been used to promote the sites themselves and to improve their infrastructure. There was no real focus on sequential visitation of these sites in a linear pilgrimage route or path.

Other examples of linear route were the traditional pilgrimage routes identified by the Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims. The Community published a map guide called *Pilgrim Routes in Lithuania* in 2014. In this guide, seven pilgrimage routes were presented in

various regions of Lithuania. Using this map guide, pilgrims could visit more than 80 of the most important pilgrimage sites in the country. The publication described sacred sites and identified other places of interest such as important nature and cultural heritage objects. The map guide presented these routes:

1. Vilnius – Pivašiūnai (via Trakai, Rūdiškės, Onuškis);
2. Kaunas – Šiluva (via Vilkija, Arigala, Raseiniai);
3. The Hill of Crosses – Šiluva (via Šiauliai, Tytuvėnai);
4. Kražiai – Samogitian Calvary (via Varniai, Telšiai, Alsėdžiai);
5. Palanga – Samogitian Calvary (via Kretinga, Kartena, Šateikiai, Beržoras, Plateliai);
6. Panevėžys – Vepriai (via Krekenava, Paberžė, Kėdainiai, Šėta);
7. Sintautai – Sanctuary of Crosses (via Keturaujiena, Alksnėnai, Marijampolė, Simnas).

The pilgrim routes identified by the Community of Lithuanian Pilgrims are intended not only for Lithuanian pilgrims but also for foreign pilgrims visiting Lithuania.

A current route initiative is related to the world famous pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain). Pilgrim routes to the shrine of the apostle St. James the Great in Santiago de Compostela are well known throughout the world. Four Lithuanian routes can be distinguished, leading from Latvia through Lithuania to the region of Kaliningrad and Poland, where pilgrims may join other European routes to Santiago. There are eight churches of St. James in Lithuania and three more bear the name of Sts. Philip and James (in Vilnius, Onuškis and Rudiškės):

1. Punia
2. Alanta
3. Jonava
4. Kurtuvėnai
5. Žiežmariai
6. Švėkšna
7. Vilnius (Church of Sts. Jacob and Philip)
8. Joniškis (Molėtai region)
9. Suvainiškis (Rokiškis region)
10. Onuškis (Church of Sts. Jacob and Philip)
11. Rudiškės (Jonava district, Church of Sts. Jacob and Philip)

In June 2016, the Lithuanian Government approved 32 objects (mostly Catholic Churches) connected to the St James routes in Lithuania. The Association of Municipalities of St. James Ways in Lithuania and the Association of Friends of Saint James Route in Lithuania have developed four St James routes in Lithuania. The first of these is located in the Samogitia region, the second one goes via Šiauliai, Šiluva, Kaunas and Marijampolė, the third one via Šiauliai, Kėdainiai, Kaunas and Alytus, and the fourth one via Panevėžys, Vilnius and Alytus. This project is still in the early stages, and in 2020 only a few groups of pilgrims have tried the proposed routes.

The Camino Lituano route is another initiative founded in 2016. The route starts on the Lithuanian-Latvian border and spans about 500 km across the country from north to south and finishes on the Lithuanian-Polish border. Camino Lituano is divided into stages, which are about 25 km long. The route was founded by a group of enthusiastic Lithuanian pilgrims and travellers. The organisers hope that the route becomes a popular path for pilgrims, hikers and everyone else (Camino Lituano, 2020).

Vilnius Pilgrim centre presented its Way of Mercy. This route connects to places related to St. Faustina and her spiritual tutor Blessed Michael Sopoćko. Fourteen sites, including the Shrine of Divine Mercy and the House of Saint Faustina are incorporated into this route (City of Mercy (A), 2020).

Religious tourism and pilgrimage opportunities such as new pilgrimage routes could be considered as new tourism products. In this case, new technologies play a significant role, linking innovative ideas to digital communication, promotion and distribution. For example, Vilnius Pilgrim centre offers a special app to visitors in Vilnius. This app was designed for smartphones and tablets and it helps visitors to find the main pilgrimage routes and sites. The app provides maps, and all the information has audio narration (City of Mercy(B), 2020).

Pilgrim routes link to slow tourism or slowness in tourism (De Salvo, Calzati, Soglia, 2019), which addresses a more active relationship with the local community, respects the uniqueness of the location and encourages visitors to experience the spirit of place. Slow travellers try to construct authentic relationships, giving value to the local pilgrimage place. The concept of slow tourism involves environmental, social and economic sustainability (De Salvo, Calzati, Soglia,

2019) and includes characteristics such as slow rhythm of life, high quality of tangibles and intangibles, and valorization of territorial identity and local traditions.

Pilgrim routes boost social interaction between pilgrims and local residents, as well as among pilgrims themselves. However, there is a basic need for services such as accommodation, food, shelter, health care, safety. The main challenge is the lack of tourism infrastructure in different regions that have pilgrimage routes crossing their territory. Acknowledgement of this problem is the first step for stakeholders to initiate and implement infrastructural projects, that can offer visitors the minimum tourism facilities and thus, be able to enrich local experiences.

Conclusions

This article tackles some problems related to the identification of religious resources in Lithuania and pilgrimage management. Twenty main pilgrimage sites in Lithuania are identified as the main resource of religious tourism and pilgrimage. These sites are analysed from the perspective of immobility and mobility, development, ownership and control, conflicts and competitions, accessibility, tourism infrastructure and intangible spirituality.

Various initiatives in the development of religious tourism and pilgrimage in Lithuania were the second focus of this paper. The research reveals a range of projects that are relevant to the promotion of religious tourism and the management of pilgrims destinations. Pilgrim routes have become a focus of pilgrim stakeholders' interest.

This study also revealed the significance of NGO projects in the development of religious tourism. The paper shows the need to monitor and evaluate the pilgrim route projects in Lithuania, as to ensure the positive experiences of travellers. There is a need for additional research to evaluate the interventions regarding religious tourism development. Evaluation should present the positive, negative or mixed effects of these projects. It can now be stated that the Pilgrim Route of Pope John Paul II contributed to the orderly and timely development of the infrastructure of these shrines, but did nothing to encourage the use of these religious routes. Other initiatives are still in the early stages and their impact is too early to be evaluated.

References:

- Camino Lituano. *About Camino Lituano* <http://www.caminolituano.com/about-camino-lituano/> (accessed 2020- 01 -16).
- City of Mercy (A). *The Way of Mercy*. https://cityofmercy.lt/en_GB/marsrutai/gailestingumo-kelias/ (accessed 2020- 01 -16).
- City of Mercy (B). *Travel tips*. https://cityofmercy.lt/en_GB/planavimas/ (accessed 2020- 01 -16).
- Clift, J. D. and Clift, B. W. (1996). *The Archetype of Pilgrimage*. New York.
- Coccosis, H. (2005). Operational management of cultural and heritage sites, In: Sigala, M., and Leslie, D. (eds) *International Cultural Tourism: management, implications and cases*. Elsevier. P. 54-65.
- Cohen, E. (1992). Pilgrimage and Tourism: Convergence and Divergence. In A. Morinis (Ed.). *Sacred Journeys. The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*. Westport, Connecticut and London. Greenwood Press. P. 47–64.
- Cohen, E. (2006). Religious tourism as an educational experience. In D. J. Timothy &, D. H. Olsen (eds.) *Tourism, religion and spiritual journeys*. Routledge. P. 78-93.
- Collins-Kreiner, N. (2010). Current Jewish pilgrimage tourism: Modes and models of development, *Tourism, Vol. 58, N. 3*: 259-270.
- De Salvo, P., Calzati, V., Soglia, S. (2019). Value for time: Slowness, a Positive Way of Performing Tourism, in Campon-Cerro, A. M., Hernandez-Mogollon, J. M. and Folgado-Fernandez, J. A. (eds) *Best Practices in Hospitality and Tourism Marketing and Management. A Quality of Life Perspective*. Springer. P. 315-336.
- Digance, J. (2003). Pilgrimage at contested sites. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(1): 143-159.
- Eade, J. and Sallnow, J. M. (1991, 2000). *Contesting the sacred. The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. Chicago. Urbana.
- Evans, N. (2015). *Strategic Management for Tourism, Hospitality and Events*. Routledge.
- Hall, C. M. (2006). Travel and journeying on the Sea of Faith (Perspectives from religious humanism). In D. J. Timothy &, D. H. Olsen, (Eds.) *Tourism, religion and spiritual journeys* Routledge. P. 64-77.
- Liutikas, D. (2012) Experiences of Valuistic Journeys: Motivation and Behaviour. In R. Sharpley & Ph. Stone (Eds.) *Contemporary Tourist Experience: Concepts and Consequences*. New York: Routledge. P. 38-56.
- Liutikas, D. (2013). Experiences of Pilgrimage in Lithuania: Expressions of Values and Identity at New Destinations, *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice* 5 (2): 43-60. Online: https://pearl.plymouth.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/10026.1/11719/JTCP-2013-Vol5n2_p43_Liutikas.pdf?sequence=5&isAllowed=y
- Liutikas, D. (2014). Lithuanian valuistic journeys: traditional and secular pilgrimage, *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 9 (4): 299-316. Routledge.
- Liutikas D. & Motuzas, A. (2014). The Pilgrimage to the Hill of Crosses: Devotional Practices and Identities. In: Pazos, M. A. (ed) *Redefining Pilgrimage. New Perspectives on Historical and Contemporary Pilgrimages*. Ashgate. P. 103-126.
- Liutikas, D. (2015). Indulgence feasts: manifestation of religious and communal identity, In A. Jepson & A. Clarke (Eds.) *Managing and Developing Communities, Festivals and Events*. Palgrave Macmillan. P. 148-164.
- Liutikas, D. (2017). The manifestation of values and identity in travelling: The social engagement of pilgrimage, *Tourism Management Perspectives* 24: 217-224.
- Liutikas, D. (2018). Religious Pilgrimage Routes in the Baltic Countries: History and Perspectives. In: Daniel H. Olsen, Anna Trono (eds) *Religious Pilgrimage Routes and Trails*. CABI. P. 102-113.
- Liutikas, D. (2020). Manifestation of Values and Identity in Pilgrim Journeys. In: Liutikas, D. (ed.) *Pilgrims: Values and Identities*. CABI. *In press*.
- Morinis, A. (1992). Introduction: The Territory of the Anthropology of Pilgrimage. In A. Morinis, (Ed.). *Sacred Journeys. The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*. Westport, Connecticut and London. Greenwood Press. P. 1–28.
- Nolan, L. M. and Nolan, S. (1989). *Christian pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe*. Chapel Hill, London.
- Norman, A. (2011). *Spiritual Tourism. Travel and Religious Practice in Western Society*. Continuum.
- Olsen, D. H. (2006). Management issues for religious heritage attractions, In: Timothy, D. J. and Olsen, D. H. (Eds). *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. Routledge. P. 104- 118.
- Olsen, H. D. (2013). A Scalar Comparison of Motivations and Expectations of Experience within the Religious Tourism Market, *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, Vol. 1, Iss. 1, Article 5. P. 41-61. Available at: <https://arrow.dit.ie/ijrtp/vol1/iss1/5>
- Olsen, H. D., Trono, A., Fidgeon, R. P. (2018). Pilgrimage Trails and Routes: The Journey from the Past to the Present, In. Trono, A., Olsen, H. D. (eds) *Religious Pilgrimage Routes and Trails. Sustainable Development and Management*, CAB International, P. 1-13.
- Page, J. S. (2019) *Tourism Management*. Routledge.
- Raj, R. (2012). Religious tourist's motivation for visiting religious sites. *International Journal of Tourism Policy*, 4 (2): 95-105.
- Raj, R. and Morpeth, D. N. (eds) (2007) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective*. CABI.

- Raj, R., Griffin, K. and Blackwell, R. (2015). Motivations for Religious Tourism, Pilgrimage, Festivals and Events, In R. Raj & K. Griffin (Eds) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management. An International Perspective*. CABI. P. 103- 117.
- Rinshede, G. (1992). Forms of religious tourism. *Annals of tourism research*, 19 (1): 51–67.
- Schinde, K. (2012) Policy, planning, and management for religious tourism in Indian pilgrimage sites, *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, Vol. 4 (3), P. 277-301.
- Stoddard, R. (1997). Defining and Classifying Pilgrimages, *Geography Faculty Publications*. 2., <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/geographyfacpub/2> (accessed 2020- 01 -16).
- Tanaka, H. (1988). On the Geographic Study of Pilgrimage Places, *Geographia religionum*, 4: 21-40.
- Tomasi, L. (2002). Homo viator: From pilgrimage to religious tourism via the Journey. In H. W. Swatos & L. Tomasi (Eds.). *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious tourism*. Praeger. Westport, Connecticut, London. P. 1–24.
- Trono, A. (2015). Politics, Policy and the Practice of Religious Tourism, In R. Raj & K. Griffin (Eds) *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management. An International Perspective*. CABI. P. 16- 36.
- Turner, V. and Turner E. (1978). *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture*. New York.
- Vukonič, B. (1996). *Tourism and religion*. Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Winkelman, M. and Dubisch, J. (2005). Introduction. The Anthropology of Pilgrimage. In J. Dubisch & M. Winkelman (Eds). *Pilgrimage and Healing*. The University of Arizona Press. P. IX-XXXVI.