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The Pilgrim Movement to Jasna Góra in Częstochowa. Tradition and the present day

The Marian Cult linked with the Jasna Góra Mother of God Icon has always been expressed by the pilgrimage movement. Its intensity, the geographic range and forms have not been dependent only on the ministerial activity of the Paulines and the piousness of the society, but also on other non religious factors changing throughout six centuries.

1. The times of the Commonwealth Kingdom

Already 500 hundred years ago Jasna Góra was a pilgrimage centre at a socially significant scale. In 1429 King Władysław Jagiełło (Ladislaus Jagiello), who supported the Pauline Order asked Pope Martin V, in a special letter, to grant the grace of indulgence for pilgrims coming to the sanctuary. "*This place is upkept only by alms from pilgrims; it receives support due to the influx of people of which multitudes flock to this church in hope of salvation*"¹ he wrote. The royal definition, calling the number of people coming a multitude - *multitudo* of pilgrims is confirmed by the chronicler Jan Długosz, who when describing an iconoclastic, robbery attack on the monastery in 1430 also mentioned the geographical range of the pilgrimage movement. He stated that people came from the whole Kingdom, Silesia, Prussia and Hungary. The international range of the pilgrimage movement, that exceeded the borders of Poland at that time, is also confirmed by a register of miracles, made in 1435 by the Provincial of the Paulines, for the Cracow bishop.² This specific character of Jasna Góra that had a magnetic power on pilgrims, coming from abroad nearly right from the beginning, provokes a question concerning the cause of this phenomenon, an essential trait of the Jasna Góra "Marianity." It influenced the form of culture, not only limited to the religious character, of the Poles.

The factors characterizing this phenomenon are complex. Therefore, we shall take into consideration the ones that seem to be basic. Of course the fact that in 1382 the monastery community of the Order of Paul I, the Hermit, was brought to Poland is certainly of importance. They already had monasteries in Central and Southern Europe. The Jasna Góra painting, before it was placed at the monastery,

was already renowned for its miracles in old writings which could be called a poetic legend. These dealt with its origins that links the South with the North, the East with the West, Jerusalem with Constantinople, Ruthenia with Aachen. These writings had a uniting function.³ The Jasna Góra painting, in its iconographic composition, shows Mary as *Theotokos* - participating in the secret of the Incarnation and the Redeeming work of Jesus Christ, that is why it contains a universal message to every man. This would dominate and permeate the Cult of the Queen of Poland connected with the icon. Right from the beginning, the painting carries a tangible feeling of the presence of Mary, the Mother of Jesus. This had been written down by the already mentioned Jan Długosz who was born in Brzeźnica not far from Częstochowa. He noted his personal experience in the following words: "*The monastery also possesses a stone chapel on the northern side in which the Painting of the Famous and Wonderful Virgin Mary, that is the Lady and Queen to us and the world is to be found. It was created by means of a strange painting technique, bearing an extremely pleasant look, no matter from which side you glance... she fills one with respect as if you were looking at a live person*".⁴ This personal contact with the living Person of the Lord's Mother and the Mother of People was probably a subject of discussion for pilgrims who talked about their experience at the sanctuary. This could not have been without influence on the propagation of the Jasna Góra Cult and making the custom and tradition of pilgrimage enduring. It seems that the personal link with St. Mary is confirmed by John Paul II: "*How many generations have passed... looking at your motherly face. A face that is filled with worry and love. Through the expression of this motherly look we have learned the Gospel*".⁵ Such meetings have an evangelizing dimension.

The live contacts maintained with neighbouring countries by the Jagiellonian line, through dynastic family connections, influenced the uniting of the nations of Europe; not only Central Europe. A good example of this would be the marriage of King Alexander Jagiellończyk to Helen the Orthodox daughter of Tsar Ivan III, who went on a pilgrimage to Jasna Góra in 1504.⁶

The preserved historical sources do not contain statistical data that would make comparisons possible. Nevertheless, the annotations in the confraternity book are very significant. Within the period between 1517 and 1613, 4426 people were admitted to Jasna Góra, the number included 814 Poles. As one can see the cult of Our Lady of Jasna Góra was in the beginning predominantly international in character. The most numerous being from Hungary, Moravia, Slovakia and Silesia. The number of 3335 people shows the domination of Hungarian pilgrims in the first period (1517-1526). The majority of names that were written down reveal that they were members of the nobility, social and political elites connected with royal courts.⁷ Although the decrease of the Hungarians coming to Jasna Góra occurred because of the defeat of the army of Louis II in a battle against the Turks at Mochacs on 29th July 1526 and the Ottoman occupation, nevertheless the participation of Hungarian-language pilgrims must have been considerable. In 1627, the Paulines issued a Hungarian translation of the work of Andrzej Zymicjusz - *Skarbnica kościoła Jasnej Góry Częstochowskiej* (The Treasury of the Church at the Częs-

tochowa Jasna Góra), Cracow 1618.⁸ This openness of the Paulines was not limited only to Slavonic and Hungarian people as the oldest prayer text from Jasna Góra, printed about 1515, survived in a German language version. "Foldet dy Hystorie" was probably issued due to the large percentage of Cracow's townspeople who were of German origin.⁹

Although *Liber Miraculorum*, the books of registration of miracles and obtained grace due to the intercession of Our Lady of Częstochowa contain fragmentary information, nevertheless they greatly supplement the knowledge about the pilgrim movement. These records, from the years 1396-1642, give information about the social profile of the pilgrimage participants.¹⁰ The sanctuary was visited mainly by mixed groups of townspeople and yeomanry. Visitors came from Silesia, Bohemia, Lithuania, Moravia, Prussia, Saxony, the Ukraine, Hungary and even England and Sweden. In 1640, Szymon Starowolski wrote about pilgrims coming from "the most distant parts of Europe".¹¹ The breath of pilgrimages included wide areas of Europe that were differentiated as far as religion is concerned. In 1642, M. Malski noticed that "also schismatics run in hundreds, and thousands to worship and meet the Painting of the Blessed Virgin Mother of Częstochowa".¹²

The intensity of the pilgrimage movement was probably influenced by the privileges and rights granted to the Jasna Góra Sanctuary by the Apostolic Capital. Especially the granting of indulgences to Marian feasts and the sole fact of their granting seems to confirm the increase of pilgrimage intensity. One privilege granted in 1496, i.e. in the year before the Reformation, by Pope Alexander VI was the possibility of nominating 3-4 apostolic confessors by the Provincial of the Paulines who had an increased jurisdiction authority. This allowed them to give absolution to penitents for certain sins restricted to the Apostolic Capital and the Bishop Ordinary.¹³ With time a culture of pilgrimages to Jasna Góra established itself. Taking part in the Sacrament of Penitence in the sanctuary became one of the integral elements of a pilgrimage and could not have been without influence on the moral culture.

The visits/pilgrimages of apostolic nuncios in Poland, who were not obliged to do so by their office, and those of papal envoys influenced the growth of the prestige and were at the same time a sign of praise. Antonio Posevino, an envoy of Pope George XIII to the Polish king in 1582 was spellbound by the number of pilgrims and called Jasna Góra the "Polish Loreto".¹⁴

The important role of Jasna Góra as a centre of pilgrimages in the renewal of the Church in Poland according to the policy set by the Council of Trent is visible by the inspections made in the name of the Apostolic Capital: in 1577 by Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski from Włocławek; in 1580 by Father Stanisław Reszke and in 1593 by Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł. The recommendations enclosed in the protocols of the inspection were aimed at making the pilgrim ministry more dynamic and lead to the proper formation of the Marian Cult. They referred to the great inflow of believers, also of other faiths.¹⁵

In the 17th century the average annual number of pilgrims was over 100 thousand. The most important indulgence feasts gathered 30-60 thousand people, this

was especially true for the indulgence of Our Lady of Częstochowa's Birth. In 1629, 200 thousand pilgrims took part in the communion. It was then that the custom of pilgrimages from the towns of Kalisz, Łowicz, Pabianice and Cracow became a tradition. In 1618 a pilgrimage from Żywiec consisting of 1800 pilgrims including 6 priests came to Częstochowa. Commencing in 1627 a pilgrimage from Gliwice started out. The 300th Jubilee of Jasna Góra in 1682 gathered 140 thousand pilgrims.¹⁶ Approximately 200 thousand pilgrims were present during the Coronation of the Painting of Our Lady with Papal Diadems (1717).¹⁷

The mass pilgrimage movement reached its highest intensity due to traditions that were gradually becoming permanent. Andrzej Goldonowski noted that in the beginning of the 17th century pilgrimages to the Jasna Góra Sanctuary became, in the belief of the faithful a religious obligation having the same importance as the Easter Communion. Catholics living within a distance of 40-50 miles from Jasna Góra became obliged to fulfil this practice every year. This became a custom much earlier as the Calvinist postilgrapher M. Krowicki, who felt visible resentment towards the cult of the Virgin Mary at Jasna Góra, wrote: "*from several miles every year you run, heads, hands, feet, children of silver and wax (votives) in front of it you place, beads and kerchiefs on it you wipe*".¹⁸ People living further away from Częstochowa were obliged to go on a pilgrimage to Częstochowa at least once in their lives.¹⁹ Through the centuries, an important role in consolidating this tradition was played by brotherhoods and corporations in towns. This tradition was kept up until the 19th century, at least in Cracow.²⁰

The above mentioned A. Goldonowski informs us of a socially significant religious practice of pilgrim groups, which having seen in the distance the Sanctuary of Jasna Góra greeted the Lord's Mother and prepared by reconciliation and forgiveness for the entrance ceremony. This custom was treated so seriously that "no company shall enter Jasna Góra unless all participants reconcile with each other". This community-forming act was of particular significance at the time of the Partitions when the tsarist authorities tried to antagonize society, especially the local, village communities. The Communist totalitarian system also based its activity on antagonizing and increasing mutual distrust in society and the social class struggle. The practice of reconciliation is cultivated by, among others, the Warsaw pilgrimage which has its Forgiveness Hill and the Cracow one with its Mount of Forgiveness.

The Jasna Góra Sanctuary performed the most important role in seventeenth century Poland, although over 400 local Marian centres functioned at that time. The constantly growing number of pilgrims was evidence of this. State officials of high rank and the Church hierarchy came to Jasna Góra because of important religious and national events.

The kings of the Jagiellonian, Waza dynasties as well as the elected kings, with the exception of the last king Stanisław August Poniatowski, all went on pilgrimages to Jasna Góra. Some came several times. The motives of the royal pilgrimages just like the votive offerings of the monarchs were both very personal and an evidence of treating Jasna Góra and the Wonderful Painting as a place where they could bring their worries and thanks for victories. This was done because they believed that St.

Mary of Poland.²¹ On 27th February 1670, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki married Eleanor of Austria in the Jasna Góra chapel. The participation in pilgrimages of all social strata, the strong tradition of pilgrimages in large circles of society were the basis for the unfruitful battle of the partitioners with this "habit", as John Paul II defined the phenomenon during his 1st Pilgrimage to Jasna Góra.

2. Pilgrimages restricted due to political reasons - the Partition period

At the end of the 18th century a regression occurred in the pilgrimage movement. This was connected with the general political and social situation resulting from the Partitions of Poland (commencing in 1772) carried out by Austria, Prussia and Russia.²² The Partition authorities tolerated the Jasna Góra pilgrimages to a certain extent but they saw them as a threat to their policies and wanted to decrease their strength.²³ The pilgrim movement intensified in the periods of liberalization of anti-Polish policies. The one hundredth anniversary of the coronation of the painting in 1817 gathered nearly 150 thousand pilgrims from all the annexed areas of Poland, as well as representatives of other Slavonic nations. This was the greatest gathering of pilgrims at Jasna Góra in the first half of the 19th century.²⁴

In the 1860's, a significant role was played by the clearly spectacular fusion of Jasna Góra with the patriotic enlivening connected with a religious and moral awakening. In 1859 a monument to Father Augustyn Kordecki, the national hero of the victorious struggle with the Swedes, was unveiled on the Jasna Góra bulwarks. The ground around this monument became a place of patriotic demonstrations of pilgrims.

A threefold increase in the intensity of the pilgrimage movement took place in the period of the so-called moral revolution, i.e. between 1861 and 1862.²⁵ The January Uprising hampered the pilgrimage movement. In 1863 only 42 pilgrimages were registered. Despite the growth of repression after the January Uprising and a greater control of migration in the Polish Kingdom, the Jasna Góra pilgrim movement was becoming of a mass character.

Within the period of fifty years before the outbreak of the First World War, the statistics showed nearly 25,500 pilgrimages with the participation of nearly eight and a half million people coming to Jasna Góra from 2300 towns and villages.²⁶ During that half century (1864-1914), the number of pilgrims increased nearly four times. This data is decreased as annually on average 25% of groups were not noted in the monastery registers.

In the years 1885-1914, about 700-1000 pilgrimages with the participation of 300-400 thousand pilgrims arrived each year. The greatest Indulgence Feast, i.e. of the Birth of the Virgin Mary on 8th September, gathered 100-130 thousand people. The increase in numbers was due not only to the demographic growth that was observed in the Polish territory from mid-19th century to 1910. At that time the number of people in the Kingdom increased by 173%, in Galicia by 85% and the Duchy of Poznań by 61%.²⁷

Zachariasz S. Jabłoński OSPPE

Abbot A. Kordecki' s Statue in Czêstochowa

A reproduction of a postcard from 1860, from The Graphics Collection of the Jagiellonian Library,
call number I. 10114, vol. 171

The peak intensity of pilgrimages to Jasna Góra in the first years of the 20th century started with the issuing of the Tolerance Act in 1905. 500 thousand pilgrims participated in the ceremony of blessing the Jasna Góra Tower on 15th August 1906. The pilgrimage movement at that time was a phenomenon on a significant scale in the Polish Kingdom. In 1910, 7.5% of the Polish population of this area took part in the pilgrimages. Such intensity of scale was due to the ceremony of coronation (22nd May) of the wonderful painting with the diadems of Pius X.²⁸ At the turn of the century, if we compare Jasna Góra with other Marian sanctuary in Europe that could develop without any obstacles, then as far as the number of pilgrims is concerned, it held first place. The following numbers were registered on the territory of Germany in the biggest sanctuaries: in Altötting in 1898 - 253 thousand pilgrims, Kevelaer in 1913 - 417 thousand; in Austria - Mariazell - 132 thousand, in Maria Taferl in 1860 - 200 thousand. At the beginning of the 20th century the number of pilgrims in Lourdes reached 200 thousand per year.²⁹

The pilgrim movement underwent great changes in the 19th century also as far as organizational form is concerned. Generally it was based on primary church structures, i.e. on parishes. The parish pilgrimages constituted 66% of all groups coming in the last post-partition 50 years.³⁰ Because of difficulties for the clergy to participate in pilgrimages, only 20% of them were led by clergymen. The function of guides was taken over by secular persons.

In the years 1901-1914, 1079 names of secular pilgrimage guides from the territory of the Kingdom and 117 from the Austrian and Prussian annexed territories and Silesia were recorded. Some of them led the pilgrimages several times (e.g. Stanisław Dąbrowski from Warsaw - 40 times, a church guide from the Huta Królewska (Silesia) - 28 times).³¹ Thanks to the work of secular people the movement was able to survive and develop.

In 1846 the railway came to Częstochowa, but mainly in the 19th century the majority of pilgrimages were on foot. Pilgrimages from areas that were further away used train communication. The proportions of these types of pilgrims are made more visible by the numbers - out of 400 thousand participants of the 500th anniversary of Jasna Góra (1882) - 50 thousand pilgrims came by rail. The custom of returning from Częstochowa by train was slowly becoming more popular. In 1901, 50% of the pilgrims finished their pilgrimage in this way.³² Railway transport allowed for the participation of inhabitants of industrial centres with continuous, year-round employment. Before the First World War the first pilgrimages by bicycle and car appeared.

In the fifty years 1864-1914 over half of the pilgrims (52.8%) came from cities. A significant growth of industrial workers, in the pilgrimage movement took place at the turn of the century.³³ Among the factors leading to mass participation of city dwellers, especially of workers, one must not forget about *Honorat*, tertiary-orders teaching secretly in the industrial environments of estates and cities.

The pilgrimages to Jasna Góra were an opportunity to deepen the religious development of the participants, especially from large cities, where the clergy could not fulfil the pastoral needs in the extremely large parishes. At the same time they

Zachariasz S. Jabłoński OSPPE

A view of the Jasna Góra monastery

A reproduction of a postcard from the mid-19th century from The Graphics Collection of the Jagiellonian Library,
call number I.10034, vol. 171

130

played an indispensable role in the awakening and forming a national conscience among workers and the poorest inhabitants of towns, chiefly analphabets, who were under the pressure of Russification or Germanization.

Within the ranks of pilgrims from urban areas, there were also representatives of the intelligentsia, although their percentage was not very high. Among this group, the most dominant were teachers from private and public schools of various types and levels. More and more frequently they came with young people. Those were the years of struggle for the Polish School. The school and youth pilgrimages were in a way a demonstrative vote for the Polish character of schooling. The greatest number of teachers with their pupils came to Jasna Góra in 1909 on the occasion of a Industry-Agriculture Exhibition in Częstochowa.

The presence of people involved in the creation of national culture was also observed in the pilgrimage movement. Their significance is linked with the presence of Jasna Góra as a subject in the field of art developed by them and their contribution to the form of national culture.

The role of writers in propagating the Jasna Góra Cult exceeded the limits of their own generations. One must name the Nobel Prize Laureates: Henryk Sienkiewicz (1903) and Władysław S. Reymont (who came at least three times) but also Wiktor Gomulicki (1903), Eliza Orzeszkowa (1881), Jan Weyssenhoff (1890), Jan Baliński (1902), Maria Konopnicka (1902 and 1907). Journalists constituted an important group. At the end of the 19th century, after the January Uprising, despite the activity of the Partitioners' censorship, they were the spokesmen of Polish public opinion. It should be noted here that 22 weeklies printed at that time in the Polish Kingdom also dealt with matters connected with the Jasna Góra Sanctuary.³⁴

The participation of town associations consisting of a wide scope of social-occupational groups in the Jasna Góra pilgrimages undoubtedly influenced the process of reducing the laicalization among the circles of workers and decreasing indifference among the intelligentsia more than was the case in Western Europe.³⁵

Despite the different political and economic-social situation of peasants in the annexed territories, a common feature of the changes undergone by this group was the increasing stratification and low level of culture connected with high rates of illiteracy. This was calculated into the occupation policy, especially by the tsarist authorities. Each pilgrimage, no matter how small it might be, was an important event in the life of a parish. After the pilgrimage, the news was passed on and the experiences of the pilgrims spread beyond the family and neighbourhood circle. The Jasna Góra message was spread through interpersonal ties. Mass ceremonies that gathered many thousands of participants gave the pilgrims a feeling of national solidarity, the experience of a community united by language and tradition, and most of all were a chance of a common prayer to the Patron and Queen of the Nation. Within the religious experience, a deepening of the national conscience of peasants, and concepts of independence appeared.³⁶ The importance of the process of consolidating the nation taking place at Jasna Góra was stressed by Henryk Sienkiewicz who in 1903 wrote the following words in the *Jasna Góra Book*: "In

"A procession with music passes below the walls"

Fragment of an illustration from ca 1830 from the Graphics Collection of the Jagiellonian Library,
call number I.6726, vol. 117 I

Częstochowa at Jasna Góra beats the immortal heart of the Polish people".³⁷
Yet, it beat with the feeling of national suffering and more and more frequently of social suffering.

The geographical range of the Jasna Góra pilgrimage movement in the 19th century was to a great extent expanded by Poles living on the continents of both Americas, in countries of Western Europe or those who had been deported by tsarist authorities to Siberia in the Far East. The most frequently represented were Slavs: Croats, Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks, Slovenians. The number of Russians on pilgrimage to Jasna Góra grew, especially among members of the Orthodox Church.

The words of A. Mickiewicz, who strove for the union of Slavs, are characteristic and confirm the tradition of Slavic pilgrimages. He said about Jasna Góra during his courses of Slavonic literature in Paris (1842): "*A place known to Slavs as a pilgrimage destiny, just like the Loretan Casa Santa*".³⁸

The conviction about the integrating role of the Jasna Góra sanctuary for the Slavs was also understood by the Partitioners, especially by the tsarist authorities who treated the cult of the Jasna Góra Our Lady in an instrumental way, according to political categories. In 1813 as the result of the order of Tsar Alexander I, the Cult of the Jasna Góra Icon was introduced into the Orthodox Church. The tsar visited the Jasna Góra Sanctuary in 1820 and 1822; likewise Tsar Nikolas I in the years 1842 and 1852. These visits, although not devoid of religious moments, were dominated by political calculations. Particularly Nicholas I increased the battle with Polish natives in the eastern areas of former Poland where also the worshippers of the Uniate - Greek Catholic Church were persecuted. The subsequent tsarist governors in Warsaw visited Jasna Góra as did the officials of the administration of various levels, teachers and also generals.

The propagandistic arrival in Jasna Góra in 1867 of several representatives of ten Slavonic nations on their way to the Slavonic Congress in Moscow was a very clear example of this. This congress was boycotted by Poles and other Slavonic

nations that were opposing philo-Russian tendencies that approved the subjugating domination of Russia. The tsarist gendarmerie protected the delegates of the Congress to ensure that they would not make any contact with Polish pilgrims.³⁹

The number of Russian Orthodox Church pilgrims who did not meet any obstacles increased. The Orthodox Church, influenced by politics, created incentives by means of specially prepared texts to encourage Russians travel to Jasna Góra and to buy copies of the Jasna Góra Icon. The number of Russians on pilgrimages must have been large as the tsarist authorities tried to organize a centre of the Orthodox cult in the Jasna Góra Sanctuary at the turn of the century, although there was already an Orthodox Church of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, converted from the Church of St. Jacob, in Częstochowa. At the beginning of the 20th century Jasna Góra was visited by representatives of the Orthodox Church hierarchy such as Archbishop Nikanor (1906) and Archbishop Nikolai (1908). The intensity of the pilgrimage movement with the participation of Russians and other Slavonic nations was a challenge for the intellectualist S. V. Soloviev, who in his historiographical vision saw that the union of Slavs would take place via the Marian Cult connected with Jasna Góra and predicted that the further development of this cult might lead to the unification of Jews with the Church.⁴⁰

The Jasna Góra pilgrimage movement in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century included mainly pilgrims of the Roman Catholic faith, although apart from the aforementioned Orthodox Church believers, sometimes Protestants arrived; some even contracted mixed marriages. This diversification of pilgrims shows the multi-creedal range of the Jasna Góra Lady's Cult. This probably resulted from the dominance of general Christian forms over the more characteristic ones connected with the title of Queen of Poland. One may suppose that if it had not been for national antagonisms caused by the Partitions and the anti-Polish policy of the Partitioners, then Jasna Góra could have performed a significant ecumenical role.

3. The twenty year period between the World Wars

When Poland regained independence in 1918 the political barriers making pilgrim migration difficult ceased to exist. The style of pilgrimage changed. More frequently trains were used and pilgrimages could travel by special trains with appropriate discounts depending on the size of a given group. In the late thirties people travelled also by bus.⁴¹ Pilgrimages on foot constituted approximately 25% of all groups arriving.

The Church wanted to help the nation reach its identity and spiritual strength in the face of internal difficulties that were typical to a young state and the dangers resulting from the policies of neighbouring countries. That is why the Episcopate of Poland, being aware of the enrooted tradition of the Marian Cult of Jasna Góra, tried to concentrate the whole society - all of its strata and trade groups around Jasna Góra, the sanctuary of the Queen of Poland. This goal was to be attained by pilgrimages, as it was necessary to unite a society suffering from the separatism resulting from the Partitions and to strengthen the nation's spirit to cope with the difficult tasks of building a free country and new social order.

A national pilgrimage on 3rd May 1926 was dominated by women (around 50 thousand) coming with a prayer for the regained independence by Poland and a plea for the further rule of St. Mary over the Nation. They placed symbolic votive offerings before the painting, namely a sceptre and globe.

In the thirties, Marian sodalities, societies, Catholic organizations and trade unions started to influence the style of pilgrimages. They often initiated a pilgrimage that would lead to the deeper experience of certain social and trade groups.

A decisive event was the celebration of the 550th anniversary of bringing the painting of Our Lady to Jasna Góra that were planned for the period between 15th August 1932 and 15th August 1933. The invitation of the General of the Pauline Order - Father Pius Przeździecki to various organizations and social groups was met with approval. *“Let the power of our homage be strengthened by the fact that in 1917 because of the war we could not celebrate the Jubilee of the Coronation of the Wonderful Painting that occurred then... its celebration should be more solemn... because the great burden of the economic crisis is on our shoulders. In the West there is a threat of war from a hostile neighbour. From the East, from the Antichrist ‘Bolshevia’ flows a wave of upheaval and crime, trying to throw the country into the depths of anti-religious anarchy. Our homeland is endangered by the defeat of faith and virtue in the nation, therefore we must renew them”*.⁴²

At the beginning of the jubilee celebrations on 14th August 1932, the Bishop of Częstochowa, Teodor Kubina, an advocate of social justice in his teaching cried out: *“We will not allow the difficulties of our times to break us, on the contrary - we shall use all our power to show and fulfil the great goals that have been laid upon us by God. Let us build a new Poland, let us build a new world, a new social order! Let us built it with undeterred faith!”*.⁴³ Calls from Jasna Góra to create order in social life according to papal encyclicals and to begin reforms were heard. During the jubilee celebrations on 15th August 1932 with the President of the Republic of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, government officials and the Episcopate of Poland headed by the Primate of Poland Cardinal August Hlond, in the presence of 400 thousand pilgrims praying in front of the Wonderful Painting that was brought onto the bulwarks, Jesuit Father Jan Rostworowski appealed: *“Today we need love and unity more than ever before as difficult times are approaching, we must change many things in our social order, forget a lot and understand”*.⁴⁴

The whole jubilee year 1932-1933 was filled with parish, state and trade pilgrimages. The number of participants was estimated to be more than a million. Pilgrimages were divided into those coming for summer Sundays and Marian indulgences - as these still gathered the greatest number of participants. The indulgence of 26th August, i.e. the ceremony of Our Lady of Częstochowa, became the central celebration (for example, in 1934, 200 thousand people took part; 30 additional trains arrived).

To have a complete view it is necessary to mention the pilgrimages on the occasion of the Eucharistic Congress in Częstochowa (6-9th September 1928 - approx. 500 thousand); 550 years of Jasna Góra (1932 - 26th August - approx. 250

thousand, 8th September - approx. 150 thousand); the Provincial Synod (26th August 1936) with the participation of Cardinals: Papal Legate - F. Marmaggio, A. Hlond, A. Kakowski, 56 bishops, approx. 250 thousand believers, the Third Order Congress (8-10th July 1939 - about 120 thousand). The clergy accompanying pilgrimages was estimated to be approximately 2500 per year.

In total the pilgrimage movement in the interwar period consisted of 19,340 pilgrimages with 4,803,062 pilgrims representing at least 2,140 parishes, which is 38.7% of all parishes of the Latin Confession on the territory of the Republic of Poland in 1939. This high percentage confirms the high activity level of the basic church communities, i.e. parishes in organizing the pilgrimage movement. Nevertheless the engagement of societies and organizations in the pilgrimages was large and increased. During the twenty years, in pilgrimages of a state - occupational type were 1,140,174 pilgrims (over 23.7% of all pilgrims) who came in 6,340 groups (32.8% of all groups). The number of pilgrims coming from abroad in the years 1919-1939 was 140,582 (approx. 3%) in 804 groups (over 4.2%). Amongst these the majority were Silesians and representatives of Polish emigration from many countries all over the world.

The peak level of pilgrimage was reached in the last three years before the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1938 Jasna Góra was visited by nearly a million pilgrims. The level of the pilgrimage traffic was more or less the same as Lourdes (approx. 1-1.2 million per year).⁴⁵ The above figure shows that about 5% of all Catholics of the Latin Confession participated in the movement. Therefore, one may notice a decrease in the pilgrim activity of Poles in comparison to the last years before the First World War. This situation resulted chiefly from a decrease in living standards for a sizeable part of the population caused by wars and economic crises.

Students started a series of pilgrimages of state-trade groups with the national pilgrimage of 22nd May 1936 in which 20 thousand students and 100 thousand other pilgrims took part. The students made Our Lady of Częstochowa, the Queen of Poland their Patron and swore to build Poland according to the rules of the Gospel. In this way the process of changing the Jasna Góra Marianity was to become stronger. It was to form active participants of social and political life based on Christian values.⁴⁶

In 1937 a national pilgrimage of teachers was organized with the participation of 20 thousand people, i.e. 28.6% of all teachers who were Catholics (approx. 70 thousand), belonging to three trade unions including ZNP (the Polish Teachers' Association). Some people tried to use the latter to secularize society. The majority of participants included teachers working in primary school. This type of pilgrimage participation was considered favourable, as schools teachers at this level had contact with the widest range of society. This factor, for religious-patriotic education, was of considerable importance.⁴⁷

The gathered teachers spoke the words of the oath: "*Holiest Mother of the Lord, Mary Blessed by God. We the Polish teachers, members of the Polish Nation, the righteous children of the sacred Church, to your protection and care we place ourselves and our families, and the children whom we look after...*

Thou who give a rebirth to the Nation's Spirit! We promise, and decide that in the battle for the soul and good of the child, we shall not give ground, and that Catholic parents will always find us on in the same side. By word and example of our lives these children we shall protect and all bad influence repel from them.

Therefore, we will not stop in helping our youth grow into honest men, conscientious workers, zealous Catholics, good Poles and valiant citizens of our Country".⁴⁸

In the oath sworn by the teachers; apart from the duty to protect the Catholic religion and the Church, also an increase of the profession's ethics and educating in the spirit of Catholic principles were considered important.

The teachers continued the tradition of leading pilgrim excursions against the will of tsarist authorities dating back to the period before the First World War. On the basis of surveys we note that out of 559 school groups, 388 were led by teachers. This was nearly 70% of all pilgrim guides. From 1928, 2850 youth groups with 390 thousand people participating were recorded at the sanctuary. 1,655 youth groups from 560 state and private high schools came, which was 60% of the schools at that time. The years 1918-1939 brought 547 groups from vocational schools with the participation of 25,573 pupils. Apart from the above mentioned pilgrimages, about several hundred student representatives took part in the Congresses of Marian Solidarities of high schools in the years 1924, 1930, 1934 and 1936.

The largest pilgrimage of youth in Poland was held on 24th September 1938 when 100 thousand members of the Catholic Union of Young Men (Katolicki Związek Młodzieży Męskiej), i.e. 80% of the organization members that constituted one of the four columns of Catholic Action. Primary schools brought 2,500 groups with the participation of 95,739 pupils. The participation of school youth in pilgrimages to the national sanctuary had not only religious significance but was also an opportunity to form patriotic attitudes.

60 thousand people took part in the Polish Pilgrimage of the Catholic Union of Women in 1936. The Polish pilgrimage of the Catholic Society of Catholic Husbands in 1937 consisted of 80 thousand members.

Polish pilgrimages had also delegations of other nations joining in. Most frequently these were Catholic organizations from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and France. Foreigners came to Jasna Góra on the occasion of international congresses and conferences that were organized in Poland.⁴⁹

In due time the Catholic elite started to change into medium of living faith. One must stress the characteristic Marian features that were expressed by the swearing of oaths by numerous social groups. Therefore, thanks to the integrating role of swearing oaths in front of the Queen of Poland, a consolidation of the believers into Christian life took place. This was done so that it could penetrate the social life of the Nation.

It is necessary to note a sceptical attitude towards these pilgrimages in some circles of journalists who showed certain marginal or negative moments or negation, or interpreted them politically - in order to diminish their importance. An example

of this was the standpoint of W. Lewandowicz who in 1936 was a co-author of a protest against an academic pilgrimage but later changed his opinion, as one may presume, due to the observed effects.⁵⁰ During the last years before the outbreak of the Second World War, a mobilization was underway to protect the endangered sovereignty of Poland.

4. Contemporary times marked by totalitarianism and the pontificate of John Paul II

During the Second World War organizing pilgrimages was forbidden. Pilgrims came to Jasna Góra individually or in small groups. The annual Pilgrimage of Academic Youth was continued in conspiracy (Karol Wojtyła participated twice - 1942 and 1943). The new social-political situation in Central and Eastern Europe after the end of the War, resulting from the take over by the Communists, obviously could not have been without an effect on the pilgrimage movement that was marked by the war experiences of the participants. Many people, not only from Poland, went on pilgrimages in the spirit of thanks for survival, fulfilling oaths sworn during the war. A national pilgrimage with the participation of Cardinal August Hlond and the Episcopate of Poland took place on 8th September 1946 on the occasion of devoting Poland to the Immaculate Heart of the Virgin Mary. Members of parish communities (500 thousand) took part in it.

In 1951 the style of pilgrimages changed under the pressure of state authorities which intended to erase Catholicism from Poland. The pageant side of the pilgrimages and the associated folklore cease to exist. The celebrative type of pilgrimages was replaced by that which was private and individual. The dissolution of church organizations, including church brotherhoods, eliminated the participation of secular persons as organizers and guides of pilgrimages. As a result, the members of the clergy became responsible for the pilgrimages. With the exception of the Walking Pilgrimage from Warsaw, other pilgrimages to Jasna Góra ceased to exist. The Warsaw pilgrimage started to change into a national one and later into an international one. The pilgrimage on the occasion of the Ceremony of Our Lady of Częstochowa on 25th August 1956, in an atmosphere of social tension after the bloody massacre of workers in Poznań (June 1956), gathered nearly a million worshippers who swore the oath prepared by Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, then in prison. Occupational pilgrimages were resumed with a pilgrimage of doctors on 2nd December 1956 with the participation of Poland's Primate, Cardinal Wyszyński, who had been released from prison.⁵¹

The Peregrination of the Copy of Jasna Góra Painting blessed by Pius XII inaugurated the Celebration of Our Lady of Częstochowa on 26th August 1957 with the participation of nearly a million people. This was to be a means, within the Great Novena, of a religious-moral renewal of Polish Society in the perspective of the approaching Millennium of Poland's embrace of Christianity.

The Episcopate of Poland chose, as one of the chief elements of ministrative strategy, nationwide pilgrimages to Jasna Góra because of a return by the Commu-

nist authorities to a policy of administrative and ideological battle against the Church. These types of pilgrimage were connected with the most important Jasna Góra celebrations - the Ascension of Our Lady (15th August), the Feast of Our Lady of Częstochowa (26th August) and the Queen of Poland (3rd May) - were tolerated by the totalitarian regime. All others were considered illegal gatherings.

The national pilgrimages were preceded by ministerial letters of the Episcopate of Poland. The Marian Committee of the Episcopate worked out ministerial materials that were to prepare the parishes and put the programme into practice.⁵² Because group pilgrimages were suppressed by the state administration in the seventies, the movement was dominated by individual pilgrimages. Only 10% of pilgrims came in groups. This had an influence on evangelization. The pilgrims, deprived of a joint programme, had only what the ministers of the sanctuary could offer them.⁵³ Let us list some of the pilgrimages. In 1962 - on 26th August the National Youth Pilgrimage took place with the participation of 500 thousand parish members. It was an important event in the year of the Great Novena devoted to youth: "*The Polish Youth Loyal to Christ*" was the motto. The socio-political context present in Poland showed the importance of this pilgrimage. It was held after religious education had been removed from schools and an intensive secularization offensive towards youth had been initiated in a connected attempt on the part of the state administration to stifle the catechism teaching conducted at churches.⁵⁴

The National Pilgrimage of Women and Girls on 26th August 1965 gathered over 300 thousand parish representatives. The women - mothers through the act of devotion to St. Mary committed themselves to nurture Marian religiousness in their circles in the spirit of responsibility for faith and human life.⁵⁵

The international interest in the Second Vatican Council forced the Communist authorities to tolerate the autumn pilgrimages of parish delegations in the years of the Council sessions. In 1962 autumn pilgrimages from all around Poland were initiated. During their stay at Jasna Góra the representatives of parish communities often offered the Church the toil of night prayer watch, the struggle for moral renewal of their own communities and reconciliation and concord. Symbolic signs were passed in the sanctuary, such as: candles, sermon hosts, paintings that created spiritual ties between the parish community, the working Council and the praying Church in Poland. They called to form Christian attitudes of mutual love and concord. Their participants, due to the lack of objective information concerning the sessions of the Council, received it here and passed them on in their own circles.

A very important event in 1965 was the taking of copies of the Our Lady of Częstochowa image by parish delegations. The copies later visited the families in the parishes. This family peregrination was linked with the target of Marian religiousness, i.e. with an ecclesiastical dimension connected with the Act of submission to St. Mary for the freedom of the Church. On this occasion reconciliation took place between neighbours and the rebirth of community ties in many circles occurred. It is necessary to stress that the parish delegations came to Jasna Góra with books of promise of spiritual gifts offered via the Church for the Council.⁵⁶ The pilgrimages of

parish delegations during the Council that were planned by the Episcopate of Poland proved to be fruitful in many circles. In the following years they continued spontaneously.

200 thousand believers took part in the pilgrimages of parish delegations in 1972. It was a year of prayer for Polish Youth.⁵⁷ The greatest intensity of visits was achieved by parish delegations in 1978 which were devoted to a special prayer for Polish families. At the Sanctuary, the delegations received a Bible and rosary which were to peregrinate around families in the spirit of Church's teachings - the family is the Church of the home.⁵⁸ The high participation (500 thousand people) in the parish delegations in 1978 was caused by the election of John Paul II to the Papal Throne. A similar intensity was reached by parish delegations in the Marian Year 1987 when the parish representatives came in diocese pilgrimages with their bishops in order to start the peregrination of the Jasna Góra painting once again. 500 thousand people took part in the the delegations' pilgrimages.⁵⁹

The Millennium Celebrations of Poland's Baptism on 3rd May 1966 were celebrated under the leadership of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, representing Paul VI who had been refused a visa by the authorities, and the celebrant Archbishop Karol Wojtyła. Although this happened an atmosphere of political aggression and terror, it still gathered 300 thousand pilgrims.

The Pilgrimage of Men and Young Men on 28th August 1966 under the motto "*Te Deum of Men for the 1000th Anniversary of Christianity in Poland*" was held with the participation of 250 thousand people. Cardinal K. Wojtyła entreated the gathered for a responsible experiencing of the Christian calling.⁶⁰ With time other pilgrimages became possible, for example pilgrimages of combatants in 1973, while trade ones became less feasible. The intensity of the pilgrimage movement in the years 1962-1978 was on the level of 1.5-3 milion.⁶¹

In the years 1979-1987 the number grew to 3-5 milion. The majority of pilgrims came to Jasna Góra during the Pilgrimages of John Paul II (1979, 1983 and 1987).⁶² In 1981 the character of Polish pilgrimages to Jasna Góra was modelled by workers - members of the "Solidarity" trade union, who initiated a revolution without bloodshed that ultimately led to the fall of Communism in Europe. After the introduction of Martial Law (13th December 1981), the Communist authorities tried to limit the pilgrimage movement once again, especially that on foot, which always constituted an environment for independent public expression of opinions. In 1982, at the initiative of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, the First Pilgrimage of the World of Workers arrived.⁶³ In the forthcoming years this pilgrimage, marked with banners and flags of the Solidarity regions, was the pilgrimage most attacked by the Communist authorities.

Likewise in workers' circles, a need to organize trade pilgrimages appeared. The majority of these were initiated by secular persons. Before the Solidarity trade union was formed, the authorities tolerated two vocational pilgrimages, namely of the health services and of teachers. In the eighties, the following national pilgrimages became a feature of the calendar: Bankers, Businessmen, Power Workers, Electricians and Electronics Specialists, Miners, Railway Employees, Merchants, Teach-

ers, Seamen, Gardeners, Communication workers, Water Distribution Plant Workers, Environment Protection workers, Lawyers, Tourist Guides, Bee-keepers, Farmers, Craftsmen, Veterinary Services and those of Artistic Circles.

Apart from the above enumerated, pilgrimages from various places of work arrived. Furthermore, some occupations had special walking pilgrimages - for example the farmers from the Zielona Góra-Gorzów diocese (from 1983 with 1000 to 1500 people participating).⁶⁴

Trade pilgrimages took place with the participation of cardinals and bishops as the Presidents of the Ministerial Committees of the Episcopate of Poland. These were a chance of uniting trade circles in the spirit of Catholic social teachings. Secular specialists of certain disciplines took part in the evangelizing. They analysed the social teachings of John Paul II contained in his encyclicals. The largest number of people participated in the Pilgrimages of the World of Workers and Farmers, each of them gathering 100 to 200 thousand people. The Holy Father addresses his letters or telegrams to these pilgrimages with suggestions for dealing with the most contemporary religious and social problems.

Nearly in each pilgrimage of this type, ministers of related departments or their representatives take part and organize meetings (mainly) with the representatives of Solidarity which probably leads to a decrease of social tensions.

As a result of the collapse of the totalitarian system in 1989, the structure of the Jasna Góra pilgrimage movement broadened. Institutions, circles, trade groups that were obliged to take part in propaganda atheisization or could not reveal their religious beliefs now take part in them. President Lech Wałęsa was officially on pilgrimage several times, also the Prime Ministers of the Republic of Poland and ministers of various departments. Not all of these pilgrimages have become annual, although they have changed certain stereotypes. For example after a 50 year break, the Polish Army with about 20 thousand soldiers of all formations, including generals and high ranking officers, came on 9th September 1990. On 6th January 1993 a pilgrimage of school superintendents with the Minister of Education Prof. dr hab. Z. Flisowski and Department Directors also visited the sanctuary (130 people).⁶⁵ It seems that since 1990 the annual Pilgrimage of Voivodes and Civil Service employees with about 500 to 1000 people has become a tradition.

Some vocational pilgrimages invite representatives of trade unions of related trades from abroad. This is done by the employees of the Polish State Railways. Others simply express their solidarity with other Churches, for example the Pilgrimage of Bank Employees gave liturgical items as gifts to Churches in Belorussia and the Ukraine.

Approximately 1 million people participate in trade pilgrimages to Jasna Góra, about 25% of all annual pilgrims. Because of the number of participants and the variety of represented occupations in the Jasna Góra pilgrimage movement, they are a unique phenomenon in the Christian world.

The socio-political changes occurring in Poland after 1989 are visible as far as the pilgrimages of school children and youth are concerned. There has been an flood of school groups with teachers that usually come by coach. In the past, teachers were

fired for such activities. The changes occurring in youth pilgrimages are best seen in the example of pilgrimages of pupils before sitting the examination for the secondary school certificate, although the figures available are definitely much lower than the real scale of the movement.

Already in the eighties the number of diocese pilgrimages of secondary school graduates became an important feature of the pilgrimage movement. In 1987 nearly all dioceses in Poland organized such pilgrimages.

A significant increase in the number of participants of these pilgrimages was noticed after the fall of the Communist system in Poland and their number nearly doubled in the years 1989-1995. In 1989, 44,770 participants were recorded which was 10.65% of all that year's secondary school graduates; in 1995 the number was 82,697 which is 22.1%.⁶⁶ This is an increase of over 47 thousand graduates. This high number of graduate pilgrims is evidence of the commitment of the newly created dioceses. In the Church this seems to be an isolated phenomenon. For the ecclesiastical-social formation of the young, an important role is performed by meetings with Bishops. Sometimes they include witnesses of faith engaged culture at the highest level or with participants of public life, for example the well-known film director Krzysztof Zanussi and editors of Catholic periodicals.

Teachers take part in pilgrimages with graduates most frequently, for example in 1995 - 170 teachers and 56 ministers came with 4,800 graduates.⁶⁷ The active participation of teachers exceeds the religious dimension and presumably causes an increase in trust which is necessary in the upbringing of the young generation. And the youth themselves became the subject of evangelization through discussions on the Way of the Cross and the Mysteries of the Rosary. Troupes of young people presented their artistic programmes on religious matters. For many the pilgrimage could be an important step in achieving religious and social maturity.

Students came on a different pilgrimage with an evangelical programme realized by the most renowned professors, ministers and journalists. In 1985, 40 thousand people took part in the 50th academic pilgrimage.⁶⁸ Students participate in pilgrimages that go on walking and they are often the co-organizers of the pilgrimage programmes. In 1981, the Diocese Academic Walking Pilgrimage from Warsaw was established. It consists of several thousand participants although not all of them are students.

National pilgrimages of post-school and working youth that are organized in June and in which 10-40 thousand people take part have another religious-social value.⁶⁹ The evangelization performed is aimed at increasing the level of personal culture of their lives as well as preparing them for life in the family.

Pilgrimages of non-formal movements are unique in their character. This is due to the fact that for many years there were no organizations of a religious profile in Poland. They performed a formative function in preparing their members for evangelization. Let us list the most important: *Neokatechumenat*, *Ruch Światło-Życie - Oazy* (The Light-Life Movement - otherwise called the "Oasis"), *Ruch Odnowy w Duchu Świętym* (The Movement for Renewal in the Holy Spirit). In the years 1993-1996 their number rose to 100-200 thousand.⁷⁰ *Ruch Trzeźwości im. Maksymili-*

na Kolbe (The Maksymilian Kolbe Movement for Sobriety), *Krucjata Modlitwy* (the Crusade of Prayer) for the protection of conceived children are the most important examples. The representatives of local churches from other countries also participate. This forms the Universal Church through the mutual exchange of experience in the spirit of ecclesiasticity.

The 600th Jubilee of Jasna Góra in 1976 became a turning point in the walking pilgrimage movement in Poland. The Communist authorities, being aware of the social tensions caused by the economy crises, were forced to tolerate walking pilgrimages to a larger extent. That year, 89 walking pilgrimage groups were recorded at the Jasna Góra Sanctuary in which 34 thousand people took part. 50% of these were the participants of the Warsaw Walking Pilgrimage. Nevertheless, the turning point for pilgrimages on foot was the year 1979 when 120 walking pilgrimages were organized. They had the motto "*We Support The Pope John Paul II*". The number of participants reached approximately 150 thousand. In the subsequent years, the number of such pilgrimages increased. In the Marian Year of 1987 there were 29 pilgrimage routes (164,187 participants) that required 9 days to cover the distance. All dioceses had their own diocesan pilgrimages.⁷¹

Diocesan pilgrimages, with a bishop taking part, were considered ideal for ecclesiastical reasons. In 1987, Warsaw had the highest number of such pilgrimages, i.e. four with about 50 thousand participants. Pilgrimages consisting of 10-15 thousand were recorded from Cracow, Poznań, Wrocław, Radom, Opole, Tarnów and Siedlce. Many of them, divided into smaller groups, walked through the dioceses. That year, the ministering was performed by 2 thousand priests that were supported by nearly 2.5 thousand seminarians, by half a thousand nuns and numerous groups of secular assistants.⁷²

The first pilgrimage of John Paul II to Jasna Góra gathered about 3.5 million pilgrims. From then on the pilgrimage movement has become much more spontaneous. The successive pilgrimages of the Holy Father to Jasna Góra in 1983 and 1987 gathered record numbers of pilgrims. There were estimated to be about 5.5 to 6 million people.

In the year 1981-1989, approximately 300-450 thousand of the faithful took part in walking pilgrimages. These pilgrimages became a phenomenon on an international scale. The number of pilgrim groups, the distances covered and the number of participants cannot be compared with any other phenomenon of this type in Christianity.

As far as the ecclesiastical dimension is concerned, the participation of representatives of other nations in this movement shows a different role by the very fact of their presence at Jasna Góra and in their participation in walking pilgrimages. Larger groups of foreigners joined in for the very first time in the walking Pilgrimage from Warsaw in 1966. In 1978, 850 pilgrims from 17 countries walked from Warsaw. In 1987, representatives of 26 nations, numbering about 10 thousand, were on pilgrimage from 10 diocesan cities. Spontaneous solidarity and the ecumenical atmosphere formed between the representatives of various beliefs is caused by direct

contact.

Thanks to the presence of foreign pilgrims at the sanctuary, the Universal Church gains its palpability here. This happens particularly when bishops or cardinals - the representatives of local Churches or the Vatican, often performing the ministrations of words - take part in the Eucharist celebrations. After 1970, 25 on average and from 1979 over 100 representatives of different Episcopates came to Jasna Góra every year. A special role in experiencing the reality of the Church was performed by pilgrimages of official delegations of Episcopates. Let us name, for example, the delegations of the Episcopate of the United States with the Head of the Conference of the Episcopate Archbishop J. Bernardin on the occasion of 200 years of the Church's presence in the USA (10th May 1976); the delegation of the German Conference of Bishops with three cardinals of the German Federal Republic: Cardinal J. Hoefner, Cardinal J. Ratzinger, Cardinal H. Volk (12th September 1980); the delegation of the Conference of the Episcopate of the German Federal Republic headed by Cardinal J. Hoeffner (26th August 1986, approximately 200 thousand pilgrims participated).⁷³ The presence of the representatives of the Episcopate of Germany transcended the ecclesiastical dimension as it benefitted the reconciliation of the Polish and German nations. In 1988, 1985 groups from abroad were recorded. In 1989 due to the lifting of visa restrictions, a further increase of pilgrim migration occurred. Approximately 400 thousand people come in that year. The sanctuary was visited by 2353 groups from 91 countries. The numbers are as follows, from: the German Federal Republic - 387, the United States - 356, Italy - 272, USSR - 182, Britain - 122. The presence of representatives of other nations at Jasna Góra together with the hierarchy allows one to experience the universalism and unity of the Church. At Jasna Góra, The Truth of Faith: *"I believe in one, Holy, Universal and Apostolic Church"* gains new distinctness. The greatest celebrations gather 200-300 thousand pilgrims (15th August and 26th August).

After the fall of Communism the number of pilgrim-tourists has risen, to about 400 thousand per year,⁷⁴ and the same goes for the geographical range. Jasna Góra is visited by Chinese from Hong Kong and Taiwan, Koreans and the faithful from the Philippines and Thailand.

Visits to Jasna Góra by representatives of nations belonging to the Soviet Union and the Communist block became possible after the fall of Stalinism (1956), although this had to be done covertly in the form of tourism. Therefore, we do not know the number of these tourist-pilgrims. In the years 1968 - 1989 approximately 2,200 - 2,500 groups of people with Soviet passports decided to make contact with a guide in order to become acquainted with the life and history of the sanctuary. The social - vocational structures of these crypto-pilgrims and tourists was varied, as these were: members of the government of the USSR, secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist party, writers, artists, scientists, sportsmen, soldiers, manual workers - particularly miners. According to the guide, tourists-pilgrims with higher education background dominated (approx. 60 %). The writer V. Soluchin, the author of the then famous book *"A Meeting with Icons"*, published also in Polish,

was at Jasna Góra twice, in 1975 and 1978. In his book he defended the heritage of Russian culture, namely of the Orthodox Churches and icons, that was currently being destroyed.⁷⁵

It is quite probable that a certain percentage of these tourists-pilgrims were the representatives of the intelligentsia in opposition to the Communists.⁷⁶ The tourists-pilgrims, with Soviet passports, who came to the sanctuary received various religious items free of charge: Bibles, prayer books, Catechisms, popular monographs. Over 100 thousand copies were handed out, which due to the banning of such publications in the USSR, possibly had some influence on the development of evangelization in certain circles there.⁷⁷ In 1989, after the fall of the Communist authorities in Poland, 182 groups from the USSR were recorded which is 7.7% of all foreign groups visiting the Sanctuary.⁷⁸

A greater number of pilgrims came from Czechoslovakia after the country had gained some freedom as a result of the Prague Spring in 1967/1968. Until the moment of invasion by the Warsaw Pact armies of Czechoslovakia (22nd August 1968) the pilgrims from that country, as far as numbers are concerned, were as numerous as the ones from Poland. Furthermore, as far as outer splendour is concerned they even dominated, they came in special trains and walked the streets of Częstochowa with accompanying orchestras.⁷⁹ Despite the official expansion of tourist exchange in the seventies, going on pilgrimages could not be official in character. The number of recorded pilgrims decreased due to harassment on the part of the Communist authorities. In 1970, 14,970 people from Czechoslovakia came, while in 1976 only 1,978.⁸⁰ An exceptional example was a visit of Greek Catholic Church members with their own priests from Slovakia. Such a group came on 11th July 1970 and celebrated the liturgy according to the Eastern Confession in the Jasna Góra basilica.⁸¹

The increase in the intensity of the pilgrimage movement from countries of the Communist bloc took place after the election of John Paul II to the Papal Throne.⁸² In 1980 it was possible to establish that pilgrims from 80 towns and villages of Czechoslovakia arrived. Slovaks were present in the greatest numbers while Hungarians arrived from 60 towns and villages.⁸³

John Paul II, being convinced of the integrative role of the sanctuary of Our Lady of Częstochowa not only for kindred nations but also for the East and West, decided after the fall of the Berlin Wall (1990) to gather young people of the world at Jasna Góra, thinking especially of the youth of the Soviet Union and Western Europe. During the 6th World Youth Meeting the pilgrimage movement reached its highpoint in the history of Jasna Góra because 1.7 million pilgrims from 77 nations from all continents gathered at the sanctuary. In the period between 12-16th August 1991, approximately 200 thousand young people came from the USSR including 20 thousand from the Ukraine, and the same number from Lithuania. There were also many arrivals from Belorussia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Russia and even Siberia. For most of them it was the first journey abroad in their lives.

Officially 55,742 people from 15 countries of Western Europe came.⁸⁴ Unfor-

Unfortunately it was not established what Churches and confessions they represented. Possibly there were many people from the Byzantine-Ukrainian Church and some priests. A certain percentage of the Meeting's participants were people that did not identify themselves with any Church - the searchers. Some of them experienced conversion. They stated this in interviews for the press represented by more than 300 reporters from abroad.⁸⁵ Several thousand young citizens of the USSR took part in walking pilgrimages from various cities of Poland, others participated in teachings in Częstochowa performed by the world's most renowned preachers.⁸⁶

During the greeting, John Paul II indicated his purpose: *"It is necessary that what has been parted for many years by force comes together. So that Europe, for the good of the whole human family looks for a future in unity by returning to its Christian roots. These roots are to be found in the West and in the East."*⁸⁷ The individual meetings of the youth with the denizens of Częstochowa performed such an integrative function. Many young people from the USSR were astonished by the fact that there were so many people from Western countries. The atheistic propaganda of their country told them that religion was an anachronism in the West.⁸⁸

The coming together at Jasna Góra of representatives of the Catholic, Orthodox, and Eastern Churches took place when groups of children and youth spending their holidays here in Poland after the explosion (22nd April 1986) of the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl,⁸⁹ and also of groups travelling for annual meetings organized by the ecumenical community from Taizé, in various towns of Europe arrived in Częstochowa. A very large group of youth consisting of 400 people from Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania and Latvia came to Jasna Góra on 2-3rd September 1991 and participated in the Greek Catholic services before the Jasna Góra Icon. Amongst these, 40 percent were Greek Catholics, 30 percent Roman Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants constituted 30 percent.⁹⁰

In the Sanctuary (8th June 1985), the matter of aspirations of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches towards unity was realized never before. After the proceedings of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Mixed Committee for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church had come to an end in Opole, all its members went on a pilgrimage to Jasna Góra. Cardinal Jan Willebrans, the President of the Committee and Office for Unity Matters explained the purpose of the pilgrimages: *"We ask the Jasna Góra Mother of the Church for peace, for reconciliation; not only between nations but also between the believers in Christ."*⁹¹

The Russian Orthodox Church was represented by a bishop from Smolensk. Other Greek Orthodox Churches were represented by metropolitans: Parthenios, the Patriarch of Alexandria; Antonio from Transylvania in Romania; Stylianos, the Archbishop from Sydney in Australia. Catholic bishops: Alfons Nosol from Opole and Stanisław Nowak from Częstochowa were also present. The participants of this ecumenical pilgrimage were astonished by the large numbers of pilgrims coming to Jasna Góra. For the present pilgrims, the joint prayer of the Committee became a call to initiate responsibility for the unity of the Church that would be more full in its

dimensions.

The ecumenical openness is seen through the fact that more and more frequently Jewish Youth and other official delegations come to Jasna Góra. For example on 27th July 1992, a delegation consisting of 27 people of the Centre for Christian - Jewish Dialogue from the United States arrived after an official meeting in Warsaw on a special request of the Jewish party. The Rabbi Jack Bemporad, co-leader of the delegation said they “*had come to Poland on a pilgrimage of faith, remembrance and reconciliation*” while other participants added “*the journey could not end without visiting Jasna Góra as this holy place is the key to understanding the history of Poland and the heart of a Pole.*”⁹² The whole delegation was present during Mass that was celebrated under the leadership of Archbishop William Keeler.

Nowadays, the universalism that is a part of the pilgrimage movement to Jasna Góra is used to build ties between nations, also on the plain of ecumenical aspirations, which John Paul II wants to intensify with the perspective of the Third Millennium of Christianity before us.

Notes:

¹ *Zbiór dokumentów Zakonu Ojcu Paulinów w Polsce* (Collection of documents of the Pauline Order), ed. J. Fijałek, Cracow 1938, p. 30.

² M. Kowalczyk, *Cuda jasnogórskie spisane w roku 1435* (The Miracles of Jasna Góra Recorded in 1435), “*Analecta Cracoviensia*,” 15:1983 p. 319.

³ *Najstarsze historie o Częstochowskim Obrazie Panny Maryji - XV i XVI wiek* (The oldest stories about the Painting of Virgin Mary from 15th and 16th century), Issued by H. Kowalewicz from manuscripts and old prints, Instytut Wydawniczy Pax 1983.

⁴ J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum*, in: *Opera Omnia*, Cracoviae 1874, vol. 9, p. 123.

⁵ *Bądź z nami w każdy czas! Modlitwa Jana Pawła II za Ojczyznę* (Be With us at All Times! The Prayer of John Paul II for his Homeland), ed. S. Dziwisz and Co, “*Libreria Editrice Vaticana*”. 1983, p. 24.

⁶ U. Borkowska, *Jasna Góra w pobożności królów polskich* (Jasna Góra in the Religiousness of Polish Kings), *Studia Claromontana* (SC from here on), 4, 1983 p. 130.

⁷ *The Jasna Góra manuscript “Regestrum confraternitatis fratrum S. Pauli Primi Heremite” from the years 1517-1613* (prepared for print by J. Zbudniewek), SC 6: 1985, p. 248.

⁸ A. Zymicjusz, *Kincztartócska a világos czestohoy egyháznak, mely magában foglal historiáját csadátatos Boldog Asszony képéről*, Cracow 1618; I. Csapláros, *Z dziejów kultu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej na Węgrzech* (From the History of the Our Lady of Częstochowa Cult in Hungary), SC 11: 1991 p. 219.

⁹ J. Pirożyński, *Nastarszy zachowany, drukowany przekaz legendy o Obrazie Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej* (The Oldest Existing, Preserved Printed Record of a Legend about the Painting of Our Lady of Częstochowa), “*Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*” 23: 1973, p. 151.

¹⁰ A. Witkowska, *Kult Jasnogórski w formach pątnicznych do połowy XVII wieku* (The Jasna Góra Cult in Pilgrimage Forms till the Mid-17th Century), SC 5 to 1984, p. 151.

¹¹ S. Starowolski, *Diva Claromontana...* Cracow 1640, p. 36.

¹² A. Malski, *Regni Poloniae Palladium Marianum* (transl. and comment by M. Kowalewiczowa), SC 15:1995, p. 55.

¹³ AJG 81 Parchment Diplomas.

- ¹⁴ Z.S. Jabłoński, *Nuncjusze i Legaci papiescy uczestnikami Jasnogórskiej Tajemnicy* (Papal Nuncios and Legates as Participants in the Mystery of Jasna Góra), "Jasna Góra" 7:1989 No 10(72) p. 6.; T. Chynczewska-Hennel, *Pielgrzymki nuncjuszy do Częstochowy* (The Pilgrims of Nuncios to Częstochowa) (XVI-XVII cent.) in: *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy* (Pilgrimages in the Culture of Old Europe), (ed. H. Mańkowska, H. Zaremska) Institute of History PAN, Warsaw 1995, p. 221.
- ¹⁵ K. Szafranec, *Z dziejów Jasnej Góry* (From the History of Jasna Góra), Warsaw 1980, p. 71.
- ¹⁶ K. Szafranec, *Z dziejów Jasnej Góry* (From the History of Jasna Góra), Warsaw 1980, p. 79.
- ¹⁷ Z. S. Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra w życiu Kościoła w Polsce* (Jasna Góra in the Life of the Church in Poland), *Chrześcijanin w Świecie* (The Christian in the World) (Further on abbr.: Chs) 9:1977 No 53/5, p. 8.
- ¹⁸ M. Krowicki, *Obrona nauki prawdziwej i wiary starodawnej krześcijańskiej* (In Defence of the True Teachings and Old Christian Faith), Pińczów 1560 fol. 260. Cf. J. Tazbir, *Różnowiercy Polscy wobec kultu Maryjnego* (Polish Heretics on the Marian Cult), SC 5: 1984, p. 227.
- ¹⁹ A. Gołdonowski, *Summariusz Historyey o obrazie Panny Mariey który iest na Iasnej Gorze Częstochowskiej z różnych Historiy starych polskich y lacińskich krociueńko zebrany* (A Summary of Stories Gathered about the Painting of the Lady Mary at Jasna Góra from Various Polish and Latin Stories in Short), Cracow 1637, chapter I.
- ²⁰ K. Girtler in his diaries from the years 1803-1857 wrote: "There is no single person in Cracow who has not at least once been to Częstochowa and has not with his forehead touched the Queen of the Crown of Poland, who has not prayed several times..."
Opowiadania, Pamiętniki z lat 1803-1857 (Stories, Diaries from the Years 1803-1857), Cracow 1971, vol. 1, p. 312.
- ²¹ U. Borkowska, *op. cit.*, SC, 4:1985, p. 126.
- ²² J. Kucianka, *Ruch pielgrzymkowy jako droga Śląska do Polski* (The Pilgrimage Movement as the Road of Silesia to Poland), "Coloquium Salutis," 2: 1970 p. 53; B. Kumor, *Austriackie władze zaborcze wobec kultu Królowej Polski i pielgrzymek na Jasną Górę* (Austrian Partition Authorities in Regard to the Cult of the Queen of Poland and Pilgrimages to Jasna Góra) (1772-1809), SC 1: 1981 p. 77.
- ²³ AJG 897. *Correspondence concerning guests and visits of prominent people at Jasna Góra 1721-1930.*; Sz. Z. Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra w życiu Kościoła w Polsce* (Jasna Góra in the Life of the Church in Poland), ChS 9: 1977 z. 5 p.s 5-23.
- ²⁴ Sz. Z. Jabłoński, *600 lat pielgrzymowania na Jasną Górę* (600 Years of Pilgrimages to Jasna Góra) in: *Jasnogórska Matka Cudownej Przemiany* (The Jasna Góra Mother of the Miraculous Transformation), Rome 1983, p. 80.
- ²⁵ 1833 - 144 groups - 15415 pilgrims; 1861 - 360 groups - 51228 pilgrims; 1862 - 471 groups - 8116 pilgrims (AJG, 358 p. 70 n.) AJG 359, *Spis kompanii przychodzących na Jasną Górę 1861-1882* (Register of companies coming to Jasna Góra in the years 1861-1882 s. 359 s. 1; Cf. R. Bender, *Rewolucja moralna 1861* (The Moral Revolution 1861), ZN KUL 4: 1961 z. 3, p.s 83-84.
- ²⁶ Sz. Z. Jabłoński *Zasięg terytorialny i natężenie ruchu pielgrzymkowego na Jasną Górę w latach 1864-1914* (The Territorial Range and Pilgrim Movement Intensity to Jasna Góra in the Years 1864-1914, SC3: 1982 p. 166.
- ²⁷ Cf. K. Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Struktura demograficzna narodu polskiego w latach 1864-1914, liczebność i rozmieszczenie* (The Demographic Structure of the Polish Nation in the Years 1864-1914, Number and Location) in: *Historia Polski* (The History of Poland), vol. 3, Part I ed. by Z. Kormanowa, J. Pietrzak-Pawłowska, Warsaw 1963, p. 99.
- ²⁸ Z. Jabłoński, *Pątnicze więzi diecezji kieleckiej z Jasną Górą w latach 1864-1914* (The Pilgrim Ties of the Kielce Diocese with Jasna Góra in the Years 1864-1914) in: *Księga Jubileuszu stulecia diecezji kieleckiej (1883-1983)* (The Book of 100th Anniversary of the Kielce Diocese), Kielce 1986, p. 341.

- ²⁹ K. Guth, *Geschichtlicher Abriss der marianischen Wallfahrtsbewegungen im deutschsprachigen Raum* in: Handbuch der Marienkunde, Hrsg. W. Beinert, H. Petri, Regensburg 1984 p.s 721-848.
- ³⁰ Pilgrimages from 1157 parishes of the Polish Kingdom were recorded in 1913; there were 1631 parishes and in 1914 their number increased to 1823. Cf. Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra, ośrodek kultu maryjnego 1864-1914* (Jasna Góra the Center of the Marian Cult 1864-1914), Lublin 1984 (Anex); B. Kumor, *Ustrój i organizacja Kościoła polskiego w okresie niewoli narodowej* (System and Organization of the Polish Church During National Bondage) (1772-1918), Cracow 1980, p. 705 (Table No 7).
- ³¹ AJG (no ref.), Z. Jabłoński. *Przewodnicy pielgrzymek na Jasną Górę* (Pilgrimage Guides to Jasna Góra) (1901-1914), Lublin 1979.
- ³² K. Rozenfeld, *Higiena pielgrzymek do Jasnej Góry* (The Hygiene of Pilgrimages to Jasna Góra), Warsaw 1902, p. 4.
- ³³ H. Radecki. *Działalność duszpasterska ks. Grzegorza Augustynika proboszcza w Dąbrowie Górniczej w latach 1897-1916*. (The Activity of Father Grzegorz Augustynik, the Parish Priest in Dąbrowa Górnicza in the Years 1897-1916). "Częstochowskie Studia Teologiczne" 5: 1977, p. 185 n.; Jabłoński, *Ruch pielgrzymkowy* (The Pilgrimage Movement), p. 42.
- ³⁴ Cf. L. Grajewski, *Bibliografia ilustracji w czasopismach polskich XIX i pocz. XX w. (do 1918r.)* (The Bibliography of Illustrations in Polish Periodicals of the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Century (till 1918), Warsaw 1972, p. 343.; Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra*, p. 221.
- ³⁵ The traditions of town associations are continued at present in the Jasna Góra Pilgrimage movement. The representatives of towns constitute nearly 70% of the pilgrims. ArKUL. A. Krynicki, *Rola pielgrzymki w życiu religijnym katolików. Studium socjologiczne na przykładzie Jasnej Góry* (The Role of Pilgrimage in the Religious Life of Catholics. A Sociological Study on the Example of Jasna Góra), Lublin 1971, p. 205, mps. Cf. P. Honore. *Le situation religieuse en Russie. "Etudes Franciscaines"* 15: 1906 No E7 p. 262 n.; No 88, p. 443.
- ³⁶ S.Z. Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra w życiu Kościoła* (Jasna Góra in the Life of the Church), p. 11.
- ³⁷ AJG 897 A letter of 29th November 1903 to the Prior of Jasna Góra - Father Rejman, in: *Listy gości zapowiadających swój przyjazd lub dziękujących za gościnność* (Lists of guests announcing their arrival or thanking for hospitality) ref. 897.
- ³⁸ *Dzieła* (The Works) vol 10: *Literatura słowiańska w College de France* (Slavonic literature at College de France) (Lecture on 4th January 1842), Cracow 1955, p. 47.
- ³⁹ *Diariusz Jasnogórski O. Stanisława Kąpczyńskiego z lat 1839-1881* (The Jasna Góra Diary of Father Stanisław Kąpczyński from the Years 1839-1881), ed. by J. Zbudniewek, SC 7:1987, p. 353; Cf. M.Tanty, *Panslawizm, carat, Polacy. Zjazd Słowiański w Moskwie 1867* (Panslavism, Tsarism, the Poles. The Slavonic Congress in Moscow 1867), Warsaw 1970, p. 67.
- ⁴⁰ V. S. Soloviev, *Polskaja nacjonalnaja cerkow*, in: *Sobranie socinenij (1897-1900)*, St. Petersburg 1903, vol 8, p. 54; Cf.: Z.S. Jabłoński, *Le role historique et prophetique de Jasna Góra pour le Nations de l'Europe centrale et orientale*, in: *The Common Christian Roots of the European Nations* (An International Colloquium at the Vatican), Florence 1982, vol 2, p. 383.
- ⁴¹ A. Jackowski, *Rozwój pielgrzymek w Polsce* (The Development of Pilgrimages in Poland), in: A. Jackowski and Co, *Przestrzeń i sacrum* (Space and the Sacrum), Cracow 1995, p. 36.
- ⁴² AJG 2080, *Records concerning the Jubilee of 550 Years of Jasna Góra*, p. 24.
- ⁴³ *Uroczystości na Jasnej Górze* (The Celebrations at Jasna Góra), "Przegląd Katolicki" 70: 1932, p. 526.
- ⁴⁴ AJG 2711, *The Jubilee of 550 Years*, p. 123.
- ⁴⁵ G. Rinschede, *Das Pilgerzentrum Lourdes*, "Geografia Religionum," 1:1985, p. 198.
- ⁴⁶ Z. S. Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra w życiu Kościoła w Polsce* (Jasna Góra in the Life of the Church in Poland), ChS, 9: 1977, No 52/5, p. 9.

- ⁴⁷ W. Majdański, *Nauczycielstwo na Jasnej Górze* (Teachers at Jasna Góra), "Prosto z mostu" 3: 1937, No 32 (149), p. 1.
- ⁴⁸ Citation from Z. S. Jabłoński, *Na tropach pątniczych śladów nauczycieli* (On the Trails of Polish Teachers), "Jasna Góra" 5: 198, No 7 (45), p. 29.
- ⁴⁹ Z. S. Jabłoński, *Dynamika ruchu pielgrzymkowego na Jasną Górę w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej* (The Dynamics of the Pilgrimage Movement in the Period of the 2nd Republic of Poland), in: A. Jackowski and Co, *Przestrzeń i sacrum* (Space and the Sacrum), Cracow 1995, p. 131.
- ⁵⁰ W. Lewandowicz, *Dotychczasowe metody studiów religijnych katolickiej inteligencji w Polsce* (The Methods of Religious Studies of the Catholic Intelligentsia in Poland), Warsaw 1938, p. 23.
- ⁵¹ Z. S. Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra w życiu Kościoła w Polsce* (Jasna Góra in the Life of the Church in Poland), ChS, R.9 (1977, No 5 (53), p. 9.
- ⁵² The Episcopate of Poland in the period 1962-1987 issued two or three letters annually dealing with the Marian programme for a given year. These were linked with socio-political events in Poland and in the Universal Church. *Maryjne dzieło kard. S. Wyszyńskiego Prymasa Polski* (The Marian Work of Cardinal S. Wyszyński, the Primate of Poland) (1956-1966) ed. by J. Jełowicka, Jasna Góra 1985, vol. 1-8, AJG (mps); *Listy pasterskie Episkopatu Polski 1945-1974* (The Ministerial Letters of the Episcopate of Poland 1945 -1974), Paris 1978; *Listy pasterskie Prymasa Polski oraz Episkopatu 1975-1981* (The Ministerial Letters of the Primate of Poland and the Episcopate 1975-1981), Paris 1988.
- ⁵³ Z. Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra in the Life of the Church in Poland*, "The Christian in the World," 7 (1978), p. 21.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. A. Micewski, *Kardynał Wyszyński Prymas Polski i mąż stanu* (Cardinal Wyszyński - Primate of Poland and Statesman), Paris 1982, p. 202.
- ⁵⁵ *Maryjne dzieło kard. S. Wyszyńskiego, Prymasa Polski 1965-1966* (The Marian Work of Cardinal S. Wyszyński, Primate of Poland 1965-1966) ed. by J. Jełowiecka, Jasna Góra 1985, vol. 4, p. 93 (mps).
- ⁵⁶ Starting with 1st September 1965, parallel to the beginning of the 4th Session of the 2nd Vatican Council, parish delegations started to come with the intention of prayer. They brought "Books of Sacred Slavery" with them. A large library was formed from these books at Jasna Góra; B. Pylak, *Maryjno-duszpasterskie inicjatywy księdza Prymasa* (Marian-Ministerial Initiatives of Father Primate), *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL* 14 (1971), No 3, p. 59.
- ⁵⁷ Cf. *Pielgrzymki delegacji parafialnych na Jasną Górę od 1962* (Pilgrimages of Parish Delegations since 1962), AJG (mps).
- ⁵⁸ "Let us save the life in our Family! The Family is the Church of the Home. The Church of the Home - on service of Life in the Family! Let every Lord's Word in the Family become a Body and carry Joy and Peace, under the care of the Mother of the Incarnated Word, the Mother of the Church and the Queen of Poland! I bless with my heart the Family that opens the Book of Life + Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, the Primate of Poland, Gniezno 3.8.1978" - text in Bible given at Jasna Góra.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. P. Kosiak, *Bogarodzica z Nazaretu i Jasnej Góry odwiedza nasze rodziny* (The Lady of Nazareth and Jasna Góra Visits Our Families), "Jasna Góra" 5 (1987) No 12, p. 36.
- ⁶⁰ A. Micewski, *Kardynał Wyszyński Prymas i Mąż Stanu* (Cardinal Wyszyński Primate and Statesman), Editions du dialogue, Paris 1982, p. 258.
- ⁶¹ In 1966 about 2 mln people went on pilgrimages to Jasna Góra, Cf. *Kronika klasztoru jasnogórskiego* (The Chronicle of the Jasna Góra Monastery), op cit., p. 3.
- ⁶² Cf. A. Jackowski, *Wybrane zagadnienia geografii pielgrzymek w Polsce* (Chosen Topics of the Geography of Pilgrimages), "Folia geographica" (FG from now on), vol. XXII, 1988, p. 22.
- ⁶³ A significant factor was the participation of the Head of the delegalized "Solidarity" - L. Wałęsa and other leaders of the union, Cf. M. Królik, *Kalendarz wydarzeń jasnogórskich* (The Calendar of Jasna Góra Events), "Jasna Góra" 4 (1986), No 9, p. 53; Reports of the Custodian, AJG (no ref.).

- ⁶⁴ J. Tomziński, *Kronika Jasnej Góry* (The Chronicle of Jasna Góra), "Jasna Góra" 12: 1994, No 10 (131), p. 23.
- ⁶⁵ R. Majewski, *Kronika Jasnej Góry roku 1993* (The 1993 Chronicle of Jasna Góra), "Jasna Góra" 11:1993, No 3 (113), p. 27.
- ⁶⁶ In 1989, 421 146 pupils graduated from high schools and vocational high schools, in 1995 the number was 373 702. Year book 49:1989 Warsaw, p. 456; 55:1995, Warsaw p. 243.
- ⁶⁷ J. Tomziński, *Kronika Jasnej Góry* (The Chronicle of Jasna Góra), "Jasna Góra" 13: 1995, No 138, p. 29.
- ⁶⁸ Cf. A Przybecki, *Duszpasterstwo studentów w Polsce po 1945 roku* (The Ministering of Students after 1945), ChS 17 (1985) No 9-10, p. 110; J. Tomziński, *Kronika Jasnogórska roku 1985*, "Jasna Góra" 3 (1985), No 10, p. 50.
- ⁶⁹ These pilgrimages have been organized since 1958 by the Committee of the Episcopate for Ministering Youth and officials of the Ministers in dioceses. The author obtained this information from Father J. Pawlik - one of the organizers of pilgrimages (Jasna Góra, 25.06.1991).
- ⁷⁰ On 14th September 1983 at Jasna Góra, the first National Congress for Spiritual Rebirth in the Holy Spirit took place with the participation of Cardinal J. Suanens.
- ⁷¹ Documentation in the office of custodian at Jasna Góra.
- ⁷² Documentation in the office of custodian at Jasna Góra.
- ⁷³ Cf. Z. Jabłoński, *Rzeczywistość Jasnej Góry ważniejszymi wydarzeniami pisana* (The Reality of Jasna Góra Written down by More Important Events), in: *Tyś wielką chlubą naszego narodu* (ed. by K. Kunz), Jasna Góra 1991, p. 293.
- ⁷⁴ A. Jackowski, *Współczesne migracje pielgrzymkowe w Polsce* (Contemporary Pilgrimage Migrations in Poland), in: *Przestrzeń i Sacrum* (Space and the Sacrum), Cracow 1995, pages 45-86.
- ⁷⁵ V. Soluchin, *Spotkanie z ikonami* (A Meeting with Icons), Cracow 1975.
- ⁷⁶ A significant symptom of this was ordering a mass at Jasna Góra (5th May 1990) by phone from Moscow for the soul of the dead writer Benedykt Yerofiyev. J. Tomziński, *Kronika Jasnej Góry* (The Chronicle of Jasna Góra), "Jasna Góra" 8: 1990 8 (82), p. 59.
- ⁷⁷ The function of a guide in Russian and Ukrainian at Jasna Góra is performed by Regina Molko. Information obtained from R. Molko.
- ⁷⁸ J. Tomziński, *Z Jasnogórskiej statystyki za rok 1989* (From the Jasna Góra Statistics for the year 1989), "Jasna Góra" 8:1990, No 3 (77), p. 63.
- ⁷⁹ AJG (no ref. No) K. Szafraniec, *Na Jasną Górę w 1969* (To Jasna Góra in 1969), mps p. 23.
- ⁸⁰ *Reports of the Jasna Góra Custodian's office for the years 1970, 1973 and 1976* (compiled by K. Szafraniec and M. Królik).
- ⁸¹ *Greek Catholic pilgrims from Slovakia*, Bulletin of the Pauline Order, 5: 1970, No 7, p. 14 mps.
- ⁸² Cf. B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła, czasy współczesne 1914-1992* (History of the Church, The Present Day 1914-1992), Lublin 1992, part 8, p. 603.
- ⁸³ Cf. S. S. Jabłoński, *Historyczna i profetyczna rola Jasnej Góry wobec narodów Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*. (The Historical and Prophetic role of Jasna Góra for the Nations of Central and Eastern Europe), in: *Jasnogórska Matka cudownej przemiany* (The Jasna Góra Mother of a Miraculous Change) (ed. G. Lorenc), Rome 1983, p. 203.
- ⁸⁴ M. Przeworski, *Młódzież, Papież i Duch Święty* (Youth, the Pope and the Holy Ghost), "Więź" 34: 1991, No 11- 12 (397-398) p. 207; *Rosjanie na Jasnej Górze* (Russians at Jasna Góra), "Więź" 35:1992, No 8 (406), p. 70; E. and P. Przesławscy, VI Światowy Dzień Młódzieży-Częstochowa, sierpień '91. Raport z badań (6th International Day of Youth - Częstochowa, August '91. Report from Research), Warsaw 1991, p. 34.
- ⁸⁵ M. A. Koprowski, *W stolicy światowej młódności* (In the Capital of International Youth), in: *Młódzi*

z *Ojcem Świętym, VI Światowy Dzień Młodzieży* (The Young with the Holy Father, the 6th International day of the Youth), ed. K. Sokołowski, M. Duda, Częstochowa-Jasna Góra 1991, p. 130.

⁸⁶ More than 1000 Russians were on the walking pilgrimage from Warsaw with Poles and representatives of other nations. M. Przyciszewski, "Spotkania" 2: 1981, No 33, p. 5.p; J. Pach, W. Robak, *Kronika Jasnogórska roku 1991* (The 1991 Jasna Góra Chronicle); Z. J. *Młodzi ze Wschodu w przestrzeni Jasnogórskiego Spotkania* (The Young of the East in the Area of the Jasna Góra Meeting), "Jasna Góra" 9: 1991 No 10 (96), pages 52 and 70.

⁸⁷ John Paul II, *Cel naszego pielgrzymowania: słuchać i spełniać Słowo Boże* (The Purpose of Our Pilgrimages: Listen to and Fulfil the Lord's Word), in: *Spotkanie Jana Pawła II z młodzieżą Świata* (Meeting of John Paul II with the Youth of the World), Jasna Góra 14 - 16th August 1991, Olsztyn - Jasna Góra 1991, p. 26.

⁸⁸ L. C. *Uczono ich, że na Zachodzie religia jest już przeżytkiem* (They Were Taught That Religion is an Anachronism in the West Now), "Niedziela" 34: 1991 No 37, p. 3.

⁸⁹ J. Pach, W. Robak, *Kronika Jasnogórska roku 1991* (1991 Chronicle of Jasna Góra), "Jasna Góra" 9; 1991, No 10 (96), p. 64.

⁹⁰ J. Pach, K. Tymińska, *Kronika Jasnogórska roku 1991* (1991 Chronicle of Jasna Góra), "Jasna Góra" 9; 1991, No 11 (97), p. 44

⁹¹ J. Tomziński, *Kronika Jasnogórska roku 1985* (The 1985 Chronicle of Jasna Góra), "Jasna Góra" 13: 1985 No 10 (24), p. 57.

⁹² R. Majewski, J. Pach, *Kronika Jasnej Góry roku 1992* (The Chronicle of Jasna Góra of the Year 1992), "Jasna Góra" 10: 1992, No 9 (107), p. 61.