

PRACE GEOGRAFICZNE, zeszyt 111

Instytut Geografii i Gospodarki Przestrzennej UJ
Kraków 2003

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PILGRIMAGING IN THE HISTORY OF POLISH TOURISM

Abstract: Pilgrimages are considered one of the oldest forms of migration with non-economical reasons, similarly to tourism in a broad meaning of the word. For millennia up till now pilgrimages have been the only "spatial movement" of the poorer groups of the population.

Key words: pilgrimage, religious tourism, tourism, geography of pilgrimage

1.

Pilgrimage is now one of the most important religious, cultural, social and economical phenomena. Annually 300 million people all over the world participate in such wanderings to the centres of worship with an over regional range, 150 million of which are Christians. It has been estimated that in Europe only some 30-40 million Christians, mainly Catholics, devote their holidays, or parts of the holidays to pilgrimages (Jackowski, Sołjan, Bilska-Wodecka 1999).

Peregrinations to holy places have taken place almost from the beginning of the history of Mankind. Apart from their religious values pilgrimages have been an important factor in the development of the geographical and cultural horizon of the societies. They have always been one of the elements constituting the widely understood religious culture.

The role and place of Poland in the world pilgrimage migrations is essential. Yet we do not always realise the range and tradition of pilgrimages in Polish territories. Despite the complicated history and despite the periods when political situation made mass religious movements difficult, the tradition of pilgrimaging survived. Poland is one of those countries where the pilgrimage activity has been present since the very beginning of the state. During difficult time they have been an important element in the development of the national consciousness of the Poles. The pilgrimages have also stimulated the touristic interests of the Poles. All this is reflected in the rich literature concerning this subject.

Annually 5-7 million people (over 15% of the country's population) take part in the pilgrimage migrations. Next to the Roman and Greek Catholics Orthodox Christians

and Muslims go on pilgrimages. In the past members of the Jewish communities used to go on pilgrimages as well and in the period of Partitions also the Polish Protestants. The Poles are now 5% of all pilgrimaging Christians in the world and over 20% in Europe (Jackowski, Sołjan, Bilaska-Wodecka 1999).

In Poland there are over 500 pilgrimage sanctuaries (shrines), the majority of which (98%) belongs to the Roman Catholic Church. Within the Catholic centres those of Marian cult prevail – about 430, 200 of which have crowned images or figures of the Holy Virgin.

2.

Pagan centres have gradually been destroyed or have disappeared in the course of the expansion of Christianity on Polish territories. And although local pagan rites had still been present for a period of time, the main centres were eradicated.

The beginnings of Christian pilgrimages can be connected to the martyrdom of St. Adalbert in 997 and to the pilgrimage of Otto III in 1000 to his tomb in Gniezno.

In the Polish territories the cult of the hermits was somehow 'parallel' to the cult of St. Adalbert. Saint Andrew Świerad (Andrzej Świerad) (d. ca 1034) active in (among others) Tropie n/ Dunajcem was one of the most famous Polish eremites.

The relics and tombs of people who died in the opinion of holiness were visited by many pilgrims what was caused by the cult popular in the Middle Ages. Among the unusual personalities of the early period of Polish Christianity some were worshipped in a special way. St. Stanisław bishop and martyr, St. Jadwiga of Silesia, St. Kinga and Queen Jadwiga should be mentioned first of all. Despite the fact the the cult of those saints survived until now the "climax" of the cult was observed in the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the Renaissance.

Cracow has always been the main centre of the cult of St. Stanisław of Szczepanów. The first holiday after the canonisation of the Holy Martyr on 8 May 1254 was celebrated in a very solemn way. Thousands of pilgrims from both Poland, Bohemia and Hungary came for this famous "Cracow gathering". It was an event with great importance for consciousness of the national unity in the difficult period of the division of Poland into several kingdoms. Since the canonisation of St. Stanisław Cracow has for long become the most important religious cult centre with a national range. In 1434 Władysław Warneńczyk started the tradition of pedestrian pilgrimages of the Polish kings from the Wawel castle to Skalka, taking place one day before their coronation celebrations.

The climax of the pilgrimaging in Cracow took place in the 15th century when there were 17 *loca sacra* in the city (Witkowska 1984).

The 15th century Cracow is called "Felix saeculorum Cracoviae" what W. Schenk connects to the fact that there were six people active in Cracow at that time who later died in the opinion of holiness – Jan Kanty, Izajasz Boner, Michał Giedroyć, Stanisław called the Silent, Szymon of Lipnica and Stanisław Kazimierczyk (Schenk 1979). Numerous pilgrims visited also the places connected to the cult of Jacek Odrowąż, Salomea, Jan Prandota and Queen Jadwiga. The cult of the holy queen (canonised in 1997) started almost immediately after her death in 1399.

Among the religious cult centres of that time the sanctuaries with the relics of the Holy Cross played a very important role (at some point the most important). The most famous was Świąty Krzyż which has been one of the main pilgrimage centres in Poland since 1655. The kings, lords as well as peasants coming from sometimes distant places in Poland used to pilgrimage to this sanctuary. Numerous miracles have been noted. Władysław Jagiełło was one of those who worshipped this place with special attention.

The cult of the Holy Virgin came to Poland together with Christianity. And from the very beginning this cult played an important role in the history of both our country and nation.

Marian cult and pilgrimages intensified after the Lwów vows of Jan Kazimierz taken on 1 April 1656 when he officially proclaimed The Holy Virgin the Queen of Poland. It was a form of thanksgiving for the miraculous defence of Jasna Góra in 1655, which among others made it possible for the king to return to the territory of the Commonwealth of Poland.

The historians agree that the Lwów vows started the state and national character of the Marian cult in Poland (Olszewski 1988). It was most intense during the period of the Partitions and in the most recent time during the communist period. Marian sanctuaries have always played an integrational role in the life of the Poles from different parts of the country and with various different social and professional status. It was manifested most of all during numerous pilgrimages.

The more intense development of Marian cult took place in the 13th and 14th centuries. Together with that the number of centres with miraculous pictures of Our Lady increased. The location of the Paulinite Fathers together with the placement of the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Częstochowa in Jasna Góra (1382-1383) was certainly the turning point in this process. The more intense cult of miraculous pictures developed not earlier than in the 15th century and it was the most intense during the baroque era.

What should also be mentioned are the miraculous revelations and apparitions, which occur almost only in legends and stories. The Gietrzwałd Apparitions are the only Polish apparitions that had been approved by the Church.

The Apparitions of the Holy Virgin in Gietrzwałd took place in the period from 27 June until 16 September 1877. The range and fame of the Gietrzwałd apparitions covered almost the whole Europe and it even reached some non-European countries. Within a very short period of time Gietrzwałd became a well-known pilgrimage place where tens of thousands of pilgrims started to come. During over one hundred years a number of miraculous cures happened in Gietrzwałd. Because of the Apparitions Gietrzwałd was called "Polish Lourdes".

The Apparitions alarmed the Prussian authorities. They considered them dangerous because of the increase of patriotism within the Poles they were supposed to have caused. And indeed the Poles felt encouraged by the apparitions of the Holy Virgin in Gietrzwałd. The Mother of God spoke to them not in German but in their own language that was then persecuted by the Prussians. The Apparitions played an important role in the history of Warmia. They are also considered the main cause of the national

awakening of the Poles from Warmia. Because of the Apparitions Gietrzwałd became the first and one of the most important centres of the Polish movement in the Warmia region (*Studia Warmińskie* 1997)¹.

Group (parish) pilgrimages at big and small distances became a regular and common habit of all orders of society. Contemporary descriptions of the Polish territories as well as the literary sources confirm the popularity of the best known centres. The works of Jan Długosz (1415-1480) *Chorographia Regni Poloniae* (The Chorography of the Kingdom of Poland); Marcin Kromer (ca 1512-1589) *Polska czyli o położeniu, ludności, obyczajach, urzędach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie* (Poland or About a Position, People and Customs, Public Offices and Public Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland, Two Books) (1575); or Szymon Starowolski (1588-1656) *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego* (Poland or a Description of the Position /Site/ of the Kingdom of Poland) (1632) deserve special attention. These authors notice a specific character of the pilgrimage places and their works are the major source material for the research of many centres of this kind. Next to these works there were also some attempts of a description of particular pilgrimage centres. It concerns most of all Jasna Góra (Piotr Rydzyński, Mikołaj Wilkowiecki z Wilkowiecka, Grzegorz z Sambora, Wespazjan Hieronim Kochowski).

Special publications were edited with the intention of the pilgrims. Today they would be classified as touristic. They were "guide books" about the sanctuaries with miraculous pictures all over the country (Pruszcz 1662) or in particular places. Among the latter two city guides describing the churches of Cracow (P.H. Pruszcz 1603 and 1647) are worth mentioning. At that time also Jasna Góra had already had some experience in the literature of this kind. Other centres with similar 17th century descriptions are as follows: Kalwaria Zebrzydowska (1618, 1669), Sierpc (1652), Bardo Śląskie (1655), Czerwińsk (1682). In the 18th century most of the religious cult centres had guides of this kind.

Some sanctuaries had a considerably big range of influence. Some of them played an important role in the integrational process of various social, national and religious groups. This phenomenon was observed both during the period of independent Commonwealth of Poland and during the Partitions. Centres in the Eastern boundaries of Poland played a very specific role.

In the 17th century the Warmia "łosiery" (votive pilgrimages) emerged. They flourished in the 18th and especially 19th centuries.

Already then the religious cult centres (not only Marian ones) played an important role in the creation of various customs [customary and cultural role]. Pilgrimage provided an opportunity for widening up interests as well as for the acquaintance with different environments, regions and places. A person who never visited a holy place or never went on a longer pilgrimage was considered and informally called "simpleton".

From the beginning of the 17th century calvaries became popular pilgrimage places. The cult of the Passion of Christ soon started to be connected with the cult of the Mother of God.

¹ Concerning the 100 years anniversary of the Apparitions of the Holy Virgin i Gietrzwałd.

Coronations of miraculous pictures of the Holy Virgin became popular religious celebrations. The first such coronation in Poland was the coronation of Our Lady of Częstochowa (1717). It was also the first ever coronation of a picture of the Holy Virgin beyond Rome. In the 18th century 29 coronations took place. Such events usually gathered tens sometimes even hundreds of thousands of pilgrims. Due to the Partitions of Poland the coronations ceased to take place for nearly 80 years.

Towards the end of the 18th century a significant decline in the pilgrimage movement could be observed. It was a result of the political social and economical situation caused by the Partitions (from 1772 on) and the loss of independence. Very often the political changes of borders decided about the future of particular sanctuaries.

A. Witkowska states that the Partitions, together with a division of the territory of Poland into [other countries] dismembered the sacred space marked by the Marian *loca sacra* (Witkowska 1995).

The vast majority of centres of the Marian cult (yet not only Marian!) integrated communities on both local and regional as well as supra regional or even international scale (e.g. Jasna Góra). Those centres played an important role in the process of integration of the nation against the religious or social differences.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the main pilgrimage centre of the Kingdom of Poland (as well as of the whole territory of Poland) was Jasna Góra; of Silesia – Piekary Śląskie, Góra Świętej Anny, Wambierzyce, Bardo Śląskie; Galicia – Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Sokal, Stara Wieś, Kalwaria Pałacowska, Kraków, Tuchów, Kochawina, Borek Stary; Warmia – Gietrzwałd and Święta Lipka; Kaszuby – Wejherowo; the Wilno region – Ostra Brama and Troki. Jasna Góra was the centre of the all-Polish character yet Gietrzwałd, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska and Wilno welcomed pilgrims from the whole territory of Poland as well.

The Silesian centres played an important though now underestimated role at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially Piekary Śląskie and Góra Świętej Anny. Piekary Śląskie have then become a Polish religious, patriotic and educational centre of the Upper Silesia (Górny Śląsk). The popularity of the centre increased after the calvary had been built in the years 1862-1896. The calvary was founded by the people of Silesia, especially the miners and steelworkers. An active pilgrimage movement to Góra Świętej Anny was observed every year. Góra Świętej Anny was visited by a few tens of thousands of pilgrims, the majority of which (about 65% of the total number) were pilgrims from the Silesian region.

The Polish Country-Lovers' Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze) founded in 1906 played an important role in the popularisation of many of the religious cult centres. The main purpose of the society were the excursions and trips also to the pilgrimage places. Aleksander Janowski was a great propagator of those wanderings. Mieczysław Orłowicz was also one of the main figures in the developing touristic and geographic movement at the beginning of the 20th century. In the period of 1906-1954 he published over 100 guides and over 100 touristic descriptions of various regions of Poland, with a lot of attention to the religious cult centres (also the less known ones). The pilgrimages were written of in the touristic periodicals. They were as follows (in chronological order): *Przyjaciel Ludu* (1834-1849), *Wędrowiec* (1863-1906, 1911-1912),

Ziemia (1910-1950), *Orli Lot* (1920-1950), *Przegląd Turystyczny* (1925-1934), *Wiadomości Krajoznawcze i Turystyczne* (1930-1935), *Przegląd Krajoznawczy* (1932-1933, 1937-1938), *Zbliża i z daleka* (1933-1939), *Turyzm Polski* (1938-1939). The subject was also presented in numerous regional papers (Jackowski 1979).

The Regaining of Independence in 1918 widened up the spatial range of difficult during the Partition period pilgrimage migrations. Transportation system changed as well. Railway became more and more popular. Organised foreign pilgrimage groups (mainly of Polish emigrants) began to come.

Jasna Góra was the centre with the biggest number of pilgrims, yet other centres played an equally significant role: Wilno, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Tuchów, Górka Duchowna, Kalwaria Pałacowa, Troki, Dąbrówka Kościelna. In many small previously unknown sanctuaries a revival of pilgrimage movement was observed as well.

Pilgrimages in the Warmia region encountered more difficulties especially after the plebiscite of 1921. Yet the Polish *łosiery* to Gietrzwałd continued and they survived until 1940. In the period between the wars both Gietrzwałd and Święta Lipka remained important centres of Marian cult for the inhabitants of the Eastern Prussia and for the Polish emigrants in Germany.

Jasna Góra was still the main pilgrimage centre of the country. The biggest number of pilgrims came for the religious celebrations (especially 15 and 16 August and 8 September). For the celebration of the 550 years Jubilee (1932) over 700 thousand pilgrims visited the sanctuary. The climax of the pilgrimages took place in 1938 (about 1 million people).

In the discussed period Jasna Góra was a centre of international while Kalwaria Zebrzydowska and Wilno (Ostra Brama) – of European range. Marian cult began then to lose its polycentric character and became more monocentric with the centre in Częstochowa.

Liga Popierania Turystyki (the Tourist Support League) (founded in 1935) played an important role in the development of pilgrimage movement in the mid-war period. One of the achievements of this organisation was the opening of the so-called “popular pilgrimage trains” („pociągi popularne pielgrzymkowe”) to Częstochowa, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Piekary Śląskie and Wilno. Next to the popular trains the League organised also the “mass pilgrimage tourism” („masowa turystyka w zakresie pątnictwa”), organising transport, accommodation and catering. One of the main investments of the League was the “pilgrim house” („dom dla pątników”) in Częstochowa (Jackowski 1996).

The outbreak of the World War II together with the Nazi occupation, and in the East the Soviet occupation, resulted in the decline/decrease of the mass pilgrimage movement. Yet despite the difficulties pilgrims in small groups or individually still visited the sanctuaries.

After 1945 the pilgrimage movement in Poland underwent various phases: from the development right after the war, through a considerable decline in the 1950s and 60s until a rapid development around the middle 1970s.

Due to territorial changes in Poland there were now centres of religious cult that used to be outside of the country before the war (e.g. Góra Świętej Anny, Gietrzwałd, Święta Lipka, Bardo Śląskie, Wambierzyce).

Several miraculous pictures (or their copies) of Our Lady were brought to Poland from the area of the former Eastern Territories of Poland, that after the war were taken over by the Soviet Union.

At the beginning of the 1950s a clear decline in the pilgrimage migration was observed. For many reasons organising of a pilgrimage became considerably difficult and met various obstacles and restrictions. For many years the communist authorities did not give permits for organising group pilgrimages especially of a walking character (the only exception was the Warsaw Pilgrimage). Despite these restrictions the pilgrimages took place very often illegally. The pilgrims were persecuted, very often lost their jobs with summary procedure. The authorities persecuted in most cases the secular guides of the pilgrimages who met the most difficulties. That is why the clergy took this function over. In the organisation of pilgrimages frequently people actively engaged in the touristic movement took part. Under the label of 'excursion' very often a pilgrimage led to various shrines was hidden. The participation in a pilgrimage had both spiritual and patriotic reasons as it was also during the time of the Partitions. This phenomenon was especially visible in the 1980s.

The pilgrimages of the end of the 1970s and 80s were an essential unifying factor in the process of the building up of the local and regional bonds but what is more important they provided one of the most crucial elements of the national integration of the Poles. Pedestrian pilgrimages especially those going to Marian sanctuaries played and still do play a unique role. During the few days journey on the pilgrimage route the pilgrims met inhabitants of different parts of Poland, people of various professions, inhabitants of the cities and of the countryside. An invisible thread of reconciliation has been born then together with a sense of a special community spirit – religious but also social and national.

3.

Major Catholic centres are of international range. They are as follows: Jasna Góra in Częstochowa, Niepokalanów, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Góra Świętej Anny, Kraków and Licheń. Oświęcim (Auschwitz) is a special centre where quasi pilgrimages of people of different religions from all over the world meet.

A group of places of a regional (country) range consists of centres with different pilgrimage traditions: Piekary Śląskie, Gniezno, Warszawa and Zakopane-Krzepiówki.

25 sanctuaries can be placed in a group of centres with an over regional range (usually covering the area of a few dioceses). The best known are as follows: Bardo Śląskie, Wambierzyce, Trzebnica, Ludźmierz, Tuchów, Kalwaria Paławska, Kodeń, Leśna Podlaska, Gietrzwałd, Święta Lipka, Wejherowo, Swarzewo, Święty Krzyż, Dukla, Kałków-Godów. A group of sanctuaries of a regional range consists of nearly 135 sanctuaries, while 330 are of a local range.

Jasna Góra is the main pilgrimage centre (annually 4-5 million people). Kalwaria Zebrzydowska is considered the second (over one million pilgrims). From the beginning of the 1970s the importance of Niepokalanów as a pilgrimage centre connected to the cult of the Immaculate Virgin and the Saint Franciscan Maksymilian Kolbe has grown. Warsaw with the tomb of priest Jerzy Popiełuszko became in the 1980s a patriotic pilgrimage place.

Pilgrimages to Cracow have always been traditionally connected to the cult of St. Stanisław Bishop and Martyr patron saint of Poland and to the cult of St. Queen Jadwiga as well as the Passion cult in Mogiła. Yet the majority of religious visits (annually over 1 million) has recently been connected to the Sanctuary of the Divine Mercy in Łagiewniki and the cult of St. Sister Faustyna.

What has to be mentioned is the phenomenon of special pilgrimages of the Poles going to meet the Pope John Paul II during his apostolic visits in his Fatherland in the years: 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2002. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims often from very distant places come for the main celebrations conducted by the Holy Father. All meetings with the Holy Father become at that certain moment the major pilgrimage centres of the country. What is special about these meetings is certainly the unique atmosphere, not very common during other religious celebrations. During the communist time those meetings re the source of strength and the feeling of solidarity for all the Poles.

4.

Jasna Góra is one of the biggest and most important religious cult centres in the world and not only within Christianity. After Lourdes it is the second Marian cult centre in Europe. And what is also important, it is the biggest in the Christian world Marian cult centre whose development was not connected to the Apparitions of the Holy Virgin. Because of the importance of the Jasna Góra sanctuary in the history of the Polish nation as well as in the history of the vast part of our continent this place is considered a spiritual centre of Poland and one of the most important centres of this kind in Europe. From the very beginning of its existence Jasna Góra played a crucial role in the Universal Church. Numerous visits of the representatives of various Churches from all over the world together with the pious visits of the Holy Father at the end of the Millennium were visible signs of the situation. In Jasna Góra on 4 June 1979 John Paul II took *an Act of devoting himself, his fatherland, the Church and all the people and continents* to the Holy Virgin. The Holy Father invited young people from all over the world to Jasna Góra for the 6th World Youth Day (August 1991) and Our Lady of Częstochowa almost all over the world is called *the pope's Madonna*.

According to records in the 16th century pilgrims used to come to Jasna Góra from over 200 places. The importance of this place can be strengthened by the fact that all the Polish kings went on pilgrimages to Jasna Góra (except Stanisław August Poniatowski) some came several times. A revival of the pilgrimage movement was observed especially after the defence of Jasna Góra against the Swedish army (1655) and after the Lwów vows of the king Jan Kazimierz (1 April 1656). The cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa as the Queen of Poland was also established then.

In the 17th century a pilgrimage to Częstochowa became such an important religious practice that nobody dared to forbid the villein peasants to participate in it. Already then special pilgrimage routes began to emerge. In the 17th century a tradition of permanent walking pilgrimages to Częstochowa started to be born. The number of those pilgrimages grew in the following centuries. Among others the Warsaw Pilgrimage

has been organised since 1711. Jasna Góra played a crucial role especially during the period of Partitions of Poland (1772-1918).

During the national servitude the pilgrimages were an important form of both religious and patriotic manifestations. Many outstanding people connected with culture used to visit Jasna Góra, among others Zygmunt Krasiński, Stanisław Moniuszko, Jan Matejko, Jan Chęłmoński, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Władysław Stanisław Reymont, Cyprian Kamil Norwid, Władysław Syrokomla, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz. Poets, writers, painters and musicians very often devoted their works to the Jasna Góra Sanctuary.

During the period of the Second Republic of Poland (1918-1939) Jasna Góra had a worldwide range. Apart from the religious aspect pilgrimages were also a crucial element in the process of integration of the Polish society not divided any more by the Partitions. In August 1920 after the battle called 'Miracle upon the Vistula River' (Cud nad Wisłą) people lying with their arms outstretched in the main square of the Jasna Góra monastery once again proclaimed Our Lady of Częstochowa the Queen of Poland.

During the World War II pilgrimage movement to Jasna Góra did not cease to exist. Despite great danger small groups of pilgrims were observed yet the vast majority came individually. Throughout the whole occupation period and even during the Warsaw Uprising the Warsaw Pedestrian Pilgrimage continued to take place. Also student pilgrimages were of an organised character (1940-1944). In the pilgrimages of 1942 and 1943 Karol Wojtyła, now the pope John Paul II took part as a representative of the students of the underground Jagiellonian University.

In the first decade after the war the annual number of pilgrims was around 1 million. At the beginning of the 1950s the pilgrimage movement considerably decreased. Especially the number of pedestrian (walking) pilgrimages decreased. Until the middle 1970s walking pilgrimages were limited merely to the Warsaw Pilgrimage which has never been banned by the authorities (except for the incident of 1963) who have never dared to due to propaganda reasons.

The celebrations of 1966 connected to the Millennium of Christianity in Poland became a turning point for the revival of pilgrimage movement to Jasna Góra. The 600 years Jubilee of Jasna Góra started in 1976 was yet another impulse. Due to the internal situation of the country the communist authorities were somehow forced to respect the needs of the faithful pilgrimaging to the Black Madonna in organised groups (especially pedestrian) to a larger extent. The climax of pilgrimaging was connected to the respective visit of the Holy Father in Jasna Góra in the years: 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991 (6th World Youth Day), 1997, 1999 and the celebrations of the 600 years Jubilee of the monastery in the years 1982-1983. Some walking pilgrimages began in connection to this solemn anniversary.

Since the first pilgrimage of the Holy Father Jasna Góra has been annually visited by some 4-5 million pilgrims. Since the end of the 1970s a considerable increase of pedestrian pilgrimage movement to Częstochowa has been observed – annually approximately 200 thousand pilgrims. There are over 50 walking pilgrimage routes to Częstochowa across Poland, the length of which is from a few to a few thousand kilometres. Walking pilgrimages to Jasna Góra became a very specific religious, social and cultural phenomenon in the world scale.

5.

At the end of the 16th century the Passion cult was already known and well grounded in the territory of Poland. The only thing that was missing were the popular in the Western Europe calvaries. The tradition in Poland began in 1602 with a monumental Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. It has provided a model for many similar objects emerging during the 17th and the following centuries. The following calvaries were built respectively: Pakość nad Notecią (1628), Kalwaria Żydowska (1640), Kalwaria Żmudzka (1642), Wejherowo (1649), Werki near Wilno (1664), Paclaw (1668), Góra Kalwaria (1670), Krzeszów (1672), Wambierzyce (1681-1708), Góra Świętej Anny (1700-1709), Ujazdów (1731). Over 60 calvaries were built in the territory of Poland until the present day yet only some of them survived until now. New calvaries still emerge. The “youngest” are the calvaries in Leżajsk and Kałków-Godów.

Because of the religious importance of Kalwaria Zebrzydowska the Poles called the sanctuary “Częstochowa” or “Jasna Góra of the South”. During the twenty-year period between the world wars Kalwaria Zebrzydowska was the second, after Jasna Góra, pilgrimage centre of the country. It maintained the position until now. The Holy Father John Paul II was emotionally bound with this sanctuary already in his childhood. During his visit on 7 June 1979 he said that *there is something special about Kalwaria, something that drags a man inside*. Because of the relation of the Holy Father to Kalwaria Zebrzydowska the sanctuary is sometimes called the “Papal Calvary” or the “Calvary of the Pope” (Kalwaria Papińska). Annually over 1 million pilgrims come here. The biggest number of pilgrims is usually recorded during the Holy Week and during the August Marian festivities. The fact that on 1 December 1999 Kalwaria Zebrzydowska was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List (of Culture and Nature) proves the spiritual importance of this place.

From the beginning of the 17th century until now the calvaries have been an important element of the Polish religiousness and culture. In the time of national servitude they were the centres keeping up the spirit of the nation. They have an enduring place in the Polish landscape and from the very beginning of their existence they have been the “Polish Jerusalems”.

6.

In the history of the Polish nation one can easily find periods when the religious practices were closely connected to the patriotic current. The pilgrimages were subject to this phenomenon as well. Since the Swedish “flood” (1655) Jasna Góra has become a national and state symbol. The sanctuary sustained its symbolic meaning during the Partitions or the German occupation as well as during the decline of communism in 1989. It is also a national symbol now. Since the Lwów vows of the king Jan Kazimierz (1656) when he officially proclaimed Our Lady the Queen of Poland Marian cult has become a state cult. An important role in the process of integration of the Polish nation was played by the sanctuaries and shrines situated on the boundaries of the country.

The patriotic aspect of pilgrimages was prevalent during the Partitions. The pilgrimage sanctuaries became very popular. The Church became the most

important institution integrating the nation. What happened was the linkage of the national and religious consciousness, a phenomenon unknown in other European countries (Olszewski 1996). In the pilgrimage centres Poles from the area of all the Partitions met and the national integration process took place. The Partition authorities made it impossible to organise official pilgrimages to the sanctuaries especially to those best known. Pilgrimages going to Jasna Góra were persecuted to the largest extent.

Each of the existing sanctuaries contributed to the process of strengthening the religious bonds as well as national, local and regional ones.

At the end of this discussion the Polish phenomenon of “national pilgrimaging” connected to Cracow must be mentioned. It started in the second half of the 19th century and lasted until the World War I. The National Tourist Society (Krajowy Związek Turystyczny) played an important role in the development of this kind of migration. In the above-mentioned period Cracow has again become the spiritual capital of Poland. For centuries the city has also been the national necropolis. In the period of the loss of independence this “accumulation of *the sacred*” together with the necropolis function made Cracow the most important “refuge of the Polish spirit” (Ziejka 1994).

The post war period confirmed the universal and timeless character of the co-existence of the religious and patriotic elements in the pilgrimages and it also proved that such phenomenon is strongest during the time of political, social and economical repression.

Jasna Góra played a special role during the communism. The pilgrimages to the Sanctuary (especially the walking ones) became a symbol of the unity of Church and nation. The peregrinations to Jasna Góra became a form of both religious and patriotic manifestation. They were also a form of protest against the communist system. The biggest intensity of such manifestations was observed during the Martial Law (Stan Wojenny). The Working World Pilgrimage (Pielgrzymka Świata Pracy) organised since 1982 by priest Jerzy Popiełuszko was the pilgrimage most persecuted by the regime.

The patriotic element in the pilgrimages of the Holy Father to his Fatherland as well as in all his ministrations and speeches during the service and various meetings should not be omitted, either. The Sanctuary of St. Stanisław Kostka in Warsaw – Żoliborz with the tomb of priest Popiełuszko murdered by the security service in 1984 became a very specific centre where the patriotic element was connected to the religious cult to the largest extent. Pilgrimages from all over the country used to come there also numerous foreigners were recorded. In the period of 1984-1994 over 12 million pilgrims visited the tomb of priest Popiełuszko. Especially the visit of the Pope John Paul II in 1987 was of a special significance.

7.

For centuries Poland has been a multinational and multireligious country. The pilgrimage migrations were a reflection of this situation.

Poczajów (after 1939 in Ukraine) has for ages been the main pilgrimage centre of the Orthodox Church and it played a similar role for the Orthodox people as Jasna

Góra for the Polish Roman Catholics. Both the Orthodox, the Uniates and the Catholics used to pilgrimage there.

In the 17th century there were probably over 100 Orthodox religious cult centres in the territory of Poland. The Polish Orthodox people have for centuries gone on pilgrimages to the main sanctuaries especially to Poczajów, Żyrowice, Jabłeczna and Grabarka. Nowadays the Orthodox Church in Poland has one centre of an international range (Grabarka), one centre of a country range (Jabłeczna), two supraregional centres (Supraśl, Góra Jawor) and over 10 of regional range.

Also the Jewish communities had their pilgrimages. They were most of all the pilgrimages to the graves of people that died in the opinion of holiness. The custom developed together with the development of Chassidism and kabala. Cracow has been one of the main centres of religious life of the Jews and it still is. Jewish pilgrims from all over the world visit the Remuh Cemetery. In the Carpathians Chassids used to visit the tzaddiks' residences in Dynów, Rymanów, Stary Sącz and Bobowa. Leżajsk has been an important centre of Chassidism since the 17th century and the international range of this city remained until now. After the World War II Oświęcim (Auschwitz) became a specific cult and memorial place.

The peregrinations of the Polish Muslims – the co-called Polish Tartars must be mentioned to make the picture of the Polish pilgrimages complete. For years they have pilgrimaged to two centres with a country range – Łowczyce and Sieniawce (former Nowogródek voivodeship). For Polish Tartars those pilgrimages replaced the pilgrimages to Mecca. At present the religious life of the Muslims in Poland is concentrated in Bohoniki and Kruszyniany.

8.

After 1989 travel agencies both church and secular started to specialise in the pilgrimage service. Religious tourism was also included in the activities of the Polish Touristic Society (Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczno-Krajoznawcze). A special infrastructure for the wandering pilgrims began to emerge. Also the touristic guide books and literature concerning this subject started to be edited as well as specialistic periodicals such as *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* edited by the Institute of Geography and Spatial Management of the Jagiellonian University or *Miejsca Święte* of the Pallotines. The majority of the pilgrimage centres has their own publishers editing books and periodicals for pilgrims.

The beginning millennium of the history of Poland is somehow embraced in two crucial religious events connected to the pilgrimages. At the beginning of Christianity in Poland and at the same time at the beginning of the Polish statehood the German emperor Otto III went in the year 1000 on a pilgrimage to the territory of Poland to visit the tomb of St. Adalbert in Gniezno. This date is considered the beginning of Christian pilgrimages in Poland. And thus at the end of the millennium in 1991 nearly two million young people from all over the world (not the king and his court this time) came to Poland for a meeting with the Polish pope to seek support for their aspirations to enter the third millennium as one great community, free of all the divisions and political borders.

There is yet another Polish accent – the greatly developing Passion cult and the cult of St. Faustyna Kowalska. One can state that as in the Middle Ages the cult of St. James the Greater of Compostella was the main factor in the development of the pilgrimage movement and the invocations of the Christian churches and shrines, the cult of St. Faustyna and the Divine Mercy plays a similar role in the contemporary world. The mentioned above events emphasise the universal and timeless character of the phenomenon of pilgrimaging that can be a specific proof of the cultural continuity of the inhabitants of our country and continent.

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Pielgrzymki w dziejach polskiej turystyki

Streszczenie

Rola i miejsce Polski w światowych migracjach pielgrzymkowych są znaczące. Niestety nie zawsze jesteśmy świadomi rangi i tradycji pielgrzymowania na ziemiach polskich. Mimo skomplikowanej historii i okresów, w których stosunki polityczne utrudniały rozwój masowych form pobożności – zwyczaj pielgrzymowania przetrwał. Polska należy do tych nielicznych krajów świata, w których wielka aktywność

pielgrzymkowa utrzymuje się nieprzerwanie od początków państwowości. W chwilach trudnych stanowiły istotny czynnik kształtowania się tożsamości narodowej Polaków. Wreszcie pielgrzymki odgrywały zawsze ważną rolę w pobudzaniu zainteresowań krajoznawczych i turystycznych wielu pokoleń naszych rodaków. Znajduje to odzwierciedlenie w bogatej literaturze dotyczącej tej problematyki.

W migracjach pielgrzymkowych uczestniczy 5-7 mln osób rocznie, a więc ponad 15% ludności Polski. Obok katolików obrządku łacińskiego i wschodniego pielgrzymują wyznawcy prawosławia i islamu. W przeszłości pielgrzymowali członkowie wspólnot żydowskich, a w latach rozbiorów również polscy protestanci. Polacy stanowią obecnie około 5% chrześcijan pielgrzymujących na świecie i ponad 20% w Europie.

W Polsce rejestruje się ponad 500 sanktuariów pielgrzymkowych. Zdecydowana większość (98%) ośrodków pątnicznych należy do Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego. W ośrodkach katolickich dominują sanktuaria maryjne – około 430, z tego ponad 200 z koronowanymi wizerunkami Matki Bożej.

Główne ośrodki mają zasięg międzynarodowy. W katolicyzmie są to: Jasna Góra w Częstochowie, Niepokalanów, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Góra Świętej Anny, Kraków oraz Licheń. W prawosławiu znaczenie międzynarodowe posiada Święta Góra Grabarka, w przypadku judaizmu Kraków. Wyjątkowym ośrodkiem jest Oświęcim, w którym rejestruje się „parapielgrzymki” wyznawców różnych religii z całego świata. Największą frekwencję rejestruje się na Jasnej Górze (4-5 mln osób rocznie).

Grupę miejscowości o zasięgu krajowym stanowią ośrodki o zróżnicowanych tradycjach pielgrzymkowych: Piekary Śląskie, Gniezno, Warszawa, Zakopane –Krzepitówki (katolicyzm), Jabłeczna (prawosławie), Kruszyńsk (islam).

Ponadto wyróżnia się około 30 sanktuariów o zasięgu ponadregionalnym, blisko 140 ośrodków o zasięgu regionalnym oraz 330 o zasięgu lokalnym.

Po roku 1989 usługi na rzecz pielgrzymów poczęły świadczyć wyspecjalizowane agendy czy biura turystyczne, zarówno kościelne, jak i świeckie. Turystyka religijna znalazła się ponownie w programach działalności Polskiego Towarzystwa Turystyczno – Krajoznawczego. Zaczęła powstawać specjalna infrastruktura, przeznaczona głównie na potrzeby wędrujących pielgrzymów. Pojawiła się literatura turystyczno – krajoznawcza dotycząca tej problematyki, a także specjalistyczne czasopisma, takie jak „Peregrinus Cracoviensis” – wydawane przez Instytut Geografii i Gospodarki Przestrzennej UJ, czy „Miejsca Święte” księży pallotynów. Większość sanktuariów, zwłaszcza tych większych, posiada własne wydawnictwa przeznaczone dla pątników.

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