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Łagiewniki in the System of Poland's and the World's Pilgrimage Centres

1. Introduction

Contrary to today's common-spread trends to secularise individual and social life the last two decades have witnessed an abrupt development of pilgrimage migrations. In the Roman Catholic Church and other churches they are doubtless related to John Paul II's numerous Apostolic Journeys. It is estimated that each year the total of over 250 million people participates in pilgrimages to super-regional religious worship centres. Out of the number ca. 110 million, i.e. 60-70%, are Christians. It is evaluated that in Europe itself ca. 30 million Christians, mainly Catholic, spend their time off work and their holidays (in full or in part) on pilgrimages.¹ New pilgrimage centres have appeared within the last several decades. They have attracted more and more of the faithful. The Shrine of the Divine Mercy in Łagiewniki, Cracow is one of such centres. Currently it has experienced incredible development both in national and international terms.

2. The world's main pilgrimage centres

The modern world witnesses an increasing concentration of pilgrimage migrations to several to a dozen or so main centres. About 40 million (over 25%) Christian pilgrims journey to 20 (around 3% of all) most important pilgrim centres. The world's biggest centres of religious worship that attract the total of over 30 million pilgrims (20% migrating believers) are Rome and Vatican (ca. 8 million), Lourdes (6 million), Jasna Góra (4-5 million), Fatima (4 million) and outside Europe the Mexican Guadeloupe (over 10 million). A similar phenomenon of pilgrimage concentration in major worship centres can also be noticed in other religions. For example, the 15 holy towns of Islam attract over 10 million Muslim pilgrims (25% of all), and Mecca itself – over 5 million (5% Islam believers going on pilgrimages). Similarly, out of Hindu super-regional centres of religious worship seven "holy towns" attract a considerable proportion of pilgrims (over 30%). The most impor-

tant ones are Varanasi (the former Benares, ancient Kaśi = “the town of light”), Hardvar and Kanchipuram, and additionally Allahabad located at the junction of three “holy rivers”: Ganges, Jamuna and the invisible, mythical river of Sarasvati (apart from millions of pilgrims coming here annually, ca. 10 million pilgrims come here every 12 years to take part in the Kumbh Mela ceremony). Moreover, there are some other centres related to other religions and denominations that attract millions of pilgrims.²

A digression should be made here which is important for further considerations: In relation to an issue as vulnerable as religion it is difficult to judge the range of individual centres based only on the numbers of the faithful that visit them. The turnout of the pilgrims is the function of a number of factors. On the one hand, it can depend on the number of the faithful of individual religions (on the global, national or regional scale), the centre’s geographical location or the degree of the centre’s availability to individual groups of believers (e.g. to women or members of certain social groups). On the other hand, on the degree of the communication infrastructure development, the wealth of the population, the level of religious awareness or the pilgrimage tradition. Sometimes the number of pilgrims may be affected by political conditions. Strict monastic provisions explain why the main spiritual centre of the Orthodox Church, i.e. the Holy Mount of Athos is annually visited by less than 50 thousand believers. The distance of Bodh Gaya (India), the most important Buddhist centre, from many regions inhabited by Buddhists and the poverty of the majority of them result in the fact that the number of pilgrims does not exceed 500 thousand a year. The unstable political situation in the Middle East for many years has not been conducive to pilgrims’ coming to Jerusalem and other holy places of the region. Finally, the example of the Orthodox centres of religious worship in Russia and Ukraine illustrates best the influence of the political situation over the vanishing of religious practices including pilgrimages. It is only recently that we have witnessed the rebirth of the religious life in the area.

While considering the subject in more detail we will focus on Christian sanctuaries. The majority of Christian, and especially western, pilgrimage places relate to the cult of The Virgin Mary (ca. 80%). The Virgin Mary sanctuaries belong – in the Holy Father’s opinion – to “*the spiritual and cultural heritage of a given people and have great attracting and radiating power.*” As early as in the Middle Ages there were great super-regional pilgrimage centres related to the cult of The Virgin Mary, for example: Walshingham in England (often called the Nazareth of the North), Le-Puy-en-Velay and Rocamadour in France, Montserrat and Saragossa in Spain, Altötting in Germany, Mariazell in Austria, Einsiedeln in Switzerland, Přebram in the Czech Republic and Levoča in Slovakia. Since the end of the 14th century Jasna Góra has gained more and more important role among the Polish sanctuaries. It became an international centre as early as in the 15th century.

Out of many The Virgin Mary centres the most important ones today are: Lourdes, Jasna Góra (Częstochowa), Fatima, and outside Europe - Guadeloupe

(Mexico). They have a worldwide range and at the same time they are major – next to Rome – pilgrimage centres for the Roman Catholic Church. One should realise that Jasna Góra is the biggest The Virgin Mary centre in the world whose foundation and development were not related to The Virgin Mary revelations.

The nature of other major The Virgin Mary centres in Europe is not so clearly international or especially global. Such centres as Montserrat, Mariazell, Altötting, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Einsiedeln are in fact visited almost exclusively by foreigners from European countries. One of the newest centres is Medjugorje with the dynamically growing number of pilgrimages. Currently The Virgin Mary pilgrimage centres have appeared in non-European countries. Some of them were founded due to the translocation of The Virgin Mary of Częstochowa (among others the USA, Australia, Africa).

Extensive cult of The Virgin Mary can also be noted in the Orthodox Church, especially in Rus. The icon of The Virgin Mary of Vladimir was the most important one in The Virgin Mary iconostas. It is famous for many graces and miracles. The image of The Virgin Mary in St. Sofia Cathedral in Kiev or the icon of The Virgin Mary's Falling Asleep in Pechersk Lavra in Kiev also enjoyed particular worship. In the past Poczajów (today's Ukraine) used to play an important role in developing The Virgin Mary cult in the eastern Poland. A Virgin Mary icon kept at the Greek island of Tinos called the "Ourdes of the East" enjoys particular worship out of the areas of the former Rus.

Places connected with the revelations of The Virgin Mary have played an essential role in the development of the cult of The Virgin Mary and related pilgrimage centres. Out of numerous places where such revelations occurred the following places in Europe are the major ones for the contemporary Catholicism: La Salette (1846), Lourdes (1858) and Fatima (1917). Medjugorje (1981) is also important, though officially the revelations in this town have not been accepted by the church authorities yet. The biggest centre outside Europe is Guadeloupe, Mexico (The Virgin Mary's revelation in 1531). The Orthodox Church too has many places where The Virgin Mary herself or her miraculous icon is said to have appeared. Consider for instance Mary's appearing in Poczajów that is said to have happened in 1198 and 1260 or the appearing of the miraculous icon of The Virgin Mary in the village of Kolomienskoje (today a district in Moscow) in 1917.

The eastern monasticism is related to the most worshipped place of the Orthodox Church – the Holy Mount of Athos (Greece). Other important places are Sergijev around Moscow and one of the Solovetskiye Islands on White Sea. The Polish Grabarka is gaining more and more importance as a European pilgrimage centre for the Orthodox Church believers.

Major centres related to the cult of the Lord's Passion or to the cult of saints are basically visited by pilgrims from the continent concerned. The exceptions are: the Holy Land with Jerusalem attracting the faithful from the whole world – both Christians and Jews, as well as Muslims, and Rome with Vatican (St. Peter's and

St. Paul's tombs, the pope's site). Pilgrimages to the grave of St. Jacob the Greater in Santiago de Compostela have become more numerous recently. Attempts are being made to reactivate the medieval "St. Jacob's trails."

Recently there has been a growing interest of the faithful in journeys to centres related to the cult of the Lord's Passion. The main centre of such cult is Jerusalem with Calvary, Christ's Tomb and other places connected with His life and martyrly death. At the beginning of the 15th century Calvaries appeared in Europe. They were miniatures of Jerusalem. Passion Mysteries are still held during the Holy Week in some towns having Calvaries. Often they date back to late Middle Ages. The ceremonies attract tens of thousands of people from all around Europe (and in the case of e.g. Philippines from the Asian continent) who come because of religious or simply touristic reasons. A Polish example is Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. To support the pilgrimage movement in Calvary centres the cult of the Lord's Passion was often joined with the cult of The Virgin Mary (in Poland e.g. Kalwaria Zebrzydowska or Kalwaria Paclawska). The biggest number of Calvaries can be found in Austria (164), Hungary (111), Germany (62), and Poland (52). It is estimated that today there are over 600 Calvaries in Europe and several in Latin America. Despite such a great number only some Calvaries are called sanctuaries of the Lord's Passion (in particular the ones founded between the 15th and mid-18th centuries). The best known and still functioning ones are: Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Varallo Sesia, St. Radegund, Domodossola, Wambierzyce, Góra Świętej Anny, Wejherowo, Eisenstadt, Bańska Szczawnica.

Sanctuaries devoted to Jesus Christ constitute nearly 8% of all centres of religious worship in Western European countries. It is estimated that their proportion in the world does not exceed 10% of all centres of religious worship. Most sanctuaries can be found in Germany (ca. 120), Spain and Austria (over 100), Italy (around 40), Switzerland, Portugal and France. Researchers into Christ's worship stress that sanctuaries devoted to Him are a phenomenon of the Iberian-German religiousness. Most worship centres were founded during Counter Reformation. Contrary to the medieval times when the aim of a pilgrimage was to worship the Holy Cross relics or the instruments of the Lord's Passion, during the Reformation it was miraculous images of Christ that were objects of worship. The Lord's sanctuaries established during that period on the European continent inspired the translocation of the worship to North and South America. Baroque saw the development of the Infant Jesus worship. Infant Jesus sanctuaries were founded as pilgrimage centres as late as in the 17th and 18th centuries in Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Austria, the Czech Republic, Mexico or Philippines. The best known is the Infant of Prague. The Prague figurine of Infant Jesus was officially recognised by the Church in 1655. All copies denote the sovereign status of the Infant. Today there are ca. 40 sanctuaries devoted to Infant Jesus in the world.

Among the world's major pilgrimage centres there are at least three groups that can be described as "large," "big" and "medium." The first and most important

group is that of Rome-Vatican, Lourdes, Jasna Góra, Fatima and Guadeloupe, which host at least 4 million pilgrims per annum. For several decades now the centres have played the leading role among pilgrimage centres of not only Christian world. In the case of Lourdes and Fatima it is reflected by an elaborate religious function that manifests itself a/o in the specific town infrastructure. Jasna Góra has functioned in different political conditions. The communist system made all efforts to separate the town of Częstochowa from the Sanctuary of Jasna Góra. It was reflected among other things in a kind of political “embargo” on state investment that would serve the pilgrims. The other group (the “big” centres) is made up of centres that host 1.5 to 4 million pilgrims per annum. It includes for instance both American (Luján in Argentina or Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré in Canada) and European centres (e.g. Santiago de Compostela and Montserrat in Spain or the French sanctuary at Rue du Bac in Paris).

Finally the third group (the “medium” centres) includes centres that host ca. 1 million pilgrims a year. The dominant part of this group includes the centres located in Latin and North American countries. European centres that belong to the group include among others: Altötting, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Licheń, Knock, Mariazell, Medjugorje, Syracuse, Cracow-Łagiewniki.

3. Poland's major pilgrimage centres

Pilgrimages in Poland have a long-established tradition that we may not always be aware of. The development of pilgrimage migrations has been affected – apart from religious factors – by a series of political and socio-economic conditions in individual periods of the Polish history. The pilgrimage tradition dates back to pagan times. It is regarded that the first Christian pilgrimage here was the coming in the year 1000 of a German emperor Otto III to Gniezno, to St. Adalbert's grave. Since the 14th century the cult of The Virgin Mary had played more and more important role. It was finally established in the 15th century. The monastery on Jasna Góra played an important role in this process (1382). The sanctuary of Jasna Góra was particularly significant at certain stages of the Polish history: during the nation's captivity (the three country's partitions) and the communist regime. At such times Jasna Góra became for the Polish a symbol of national identity and unity.

Today there are 500 pilgrimage sanctuaries in Poland. Nearly 98% of them are connected with the Roman Catholic Church. The Virgin Mary sanctuaries are definitely dominant – there are ca. 430 (over 85%) of them, out of which 200 have crowned images of The Virgin Mary.

Nearly all existing sanctuaries hosted pilgrims in the 19th century, and some of them even earlier. The newest centres include Niepokalanów referring to the cult of St. Maksymilian Kolbe; Warsaw (graves of priest Jerzy Popiełuszko murdered in 1984 by secret police and of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński the Millennium Prima-

te, who died in 1981) and the Sanctuary in Cracow-Łagiewniki related to the cult of God's Mercy and to St. Faustyna Kowalska; the sanctuary of The Virgin Mary of Fatima in Zakopane-Krzeptówki and of The Virgin Mary the Sorrowful the Queen of Poland in Kałków - Godów. It should be pointed out that new centres of varied spatial range were created after the second World War whose creation was related to miraculous images of The Virgin Mary brought from the eastern part of the Second Republic of Poland taken over by the former Soviet Union.

The spatial range of the centres of religious worship is varied. A simplified typology might include sanctuaries whose range is 1) international, 2) national, 3) super-regional, 4) regional, 5) local.

The most important are the international centres. They include: Częstochowa (Jasna Góra), Niepokalanów, Warsaw, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Cracow, Góra Świętej Anny and Auschwitz (attracting Christians and Jews), and Grabarka for the Orthodox Church.

Four Catholic and one Orthodox centre of varied pilgrimage traditions constitute a group of towns whose range is national. They include Piekary Śląskie, Licheń, Gniezno, Zakopane and the Orthodox Jableczna.

The group of super-regional centres (i.e. encompassing several dioceses) includes 25 sanctuaries. The best known ones are: Bardo Śląskie, Wambierzyce, Trzebnica, Ludźmierz, Tuchów, Kalwaria Pałacowska, Kodeń, Leśna Podlaska, Gidle, Gietrzwałd, Święta Lipka, Wejherowo, Borek Wielkopolski, Święty Krzyż, Kałków - Godów, and the Orthodox centre of Supraśl.

There are 134 regional centres. They are usually confined to a diocese. 330 sanctuaries can be regarded local. They would generally be confined to a parish or an aggregation of parishes.

There are clearly some areas of particularly dense network of pilgrimage centres in Poland. This is true especially of the Carpathians with the 130 centres of religious worship concentrated in the area (nearly 15% of such towns in Poland). Their exceptional significance is manifest in the fact that there are over 30 crowned images of The Virgin Mary (over 20% of such images all over the country) in the Carpathian sanctuaries. Vast majority of centres (over 80%) is of local range. The major centres include Kalwaria Zebrzydowska (international range), Zakopane (national range) and Ludźmierz, Tuchów and Kalwaria Pałacowska (super-regional range). Such density of religious worship centres distinguishes the Carpathians from among other mountain areas both in Poland and in the Christian world.

Considerable accumulation of religious worship centres can also be found in the uplands called Wyżyna Krakowsko-Częstochowska. Over 40 such centres are located here (8% of all in Poland), out of which almost 15 have crowned images of The Virgin Mary (9% of all). Like in the Carpathians or other regions the majority, i.e. 80% of the centres are local ones. However, at the same time the region includes Częstochowa with Jasna Góra, which is one of the (Christian) world's four

major pilgrimage centres as well as Cracow (international range) or Gidle (super-regional range). Other regions, whose spatial and quantitative range is however much smaller, are e.g. Wielkopolsko-Kujawski, Świętokrzyski, Dolnośląski, Podlaski or Warmiński regions.

An overwhelming majority of pilgrimage centres in Poland are in rural areas and in small towns. It is true especially of super-regional and regional centres. What is interesting is the fact that it is town centres, both big (Cracow, Warsaw), medium (Oświęcim), and small (Kalwaria Zebrzydowska) that dominate in the group of international range. Such a constellation should affect the centres' spatial management programs.

The following are centres of specialist pilgrimage function: Częstochowa, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Niepokalanów (international range) and Licheń (national range). Częstochowa is at the same time a great urban centre with developed administrative, industrial (the capital of an industrial region), cultural and other functions. Yet because of the religious importance of Jasna Góra in the Roman Catholic Church all over the world, which has lately become manifest through the translocation of the cult of Black Madonna beyond the Polish border, the centre should be regarded as one having specialist religious function.

Towns of partly specialised pilgrimage and religious function include among others: Góra Świętej Anny (international range), Piekary Śląskie (national) as well as Bardo Śląskie, Borek Wielkopolski, Gietrzwałd, Kalwaria Pałacowska, Kodeń, Leśna Podlaska, Różanystok, Rywałd Królewski, Święta Lipka, Wambierzyce (super-regional range).

Today 5-7 million people a year participate in pilgrimage migrations, which makes over 15% of the Polish population. Thus Polish pilgrims make up nearly 5% pilgrim Christians in the world and about 20% in Europe. The data imply that Poland can be counted among the countries of exceptionally well-developed pilgrim activity - not only in the Christian world.

Jasna Góra (Częstochowa) is Poland's major pilgrimage centre. Since John Paul II's first visit in 1979 the centre has been visited by an average of 4-5 million people per annum. This makes Jasna Góra one of the few greatest and most important centres of religious worship in the world (and it is not only in the Christian world). Around 400 thousand pilgrims come from abroad, from nearly 100 countries. It is estimated that each year Jasna Góra is visited by pilgrims from over 80% Catholic parishes in Poland. A record turnout of 7 million pilgrims was noted in 1991 because of the 6th World Youth Festival held on Jasna Góra. During the Festival itself (August) there were as many as 1.7 million pilgrims from all continents.

Since 1977 walking pilgrimages to Jasna Góra have developed significantly. About 150 groups totalling to 175 to over 200 thousand people are registered every year. The increasing pilgrimage movement and its rich several-centuries-long

traditions result in walking pilgrimages' to Częstochowa becoming a specific religious and social phenomenon on a global scale, and especially in the Christian world.

Kalwaria Zebrzydowska is still regarded in Poland a sanctuary second to Jasna Góra. Both the Passion Mystery and The Virgin Mary ceremonies held in August attract tens of thousands of pilgrims and arouse foreigners' growing interest. Up to day the centre is visited by walking pilgrims, particularly from Krakow and Śląsk Cieszyński. The pilgrimage movement to the sanctuary has clearly livened up over the last decade and today it reaches the level of 800 thousand to a million people per annum. Foreign pilgrims come mainly from the former Austrian-Hungarian monarchy countries.

Since early 1970s Niepokalanów has grown in importance as a pilgrimage centre – a national one at the beginning, and later on an international one. As we know, it is mainly related to the cult of St. Maksymilian Kolbe, canonised in 1982. The popularity and ecumenical nature of the saint attracts to Niepokalanów pilgrimages from the whole Europe and other parts of the world. It is also related to the centres of the Militia of Our Immaculate Lady established by St. Maksymilian and functioning in many countries. 600-800 thousand pilgrims come to Niepokalanów each year.

In 1980s Warsaw became a specific pilgrimage centre. Pilgrims target at the graves of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński the Millenium Primate (died 1981) and priest Jerzy Popiełuszko murdered in 1984 by communist secret police. Vast majority of pilgrims come especially to the latter. Within the ten years since the priest's death (1984-1994) the total of 12 million pilgrims visited his grave. The pilgrimages were the most frequent during the first years after priest Popiełuszko's death (2.4 million in 1985; 1.5 million in 1987). Today the turnout is smaller and recently it has not exceeded a million people.

Pilgrimages to Cracow are traditionally related to the worship of St. Stanisław the Martyr Bishop and the Patron of Poland (Wawel, Skalka) and of St. Jadwiga (Wawel) as well as to the cult of the Lord's Passion in Mogiła. Currently, however, most religious pilgrimages come to the Shrine of the Divine Mercy in Cracow-Łagiewniki and it is because of the cult of St. Faustyna Kowalska. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims from all over the country and the world come here to participate in major ceremonies held on the first Sunday after Easter. Pilgrimages intensify also during the summer holidays. Today over 800 000 people come here each year.

For centuries Góra Świętej Anny [St. Anne's Mount] used to be a Holy Mountain for the people living in the region of Śląsk (Silesia), and in particular from around the city of Opole. Lately, however, it has become more and more international in nature due to – among others - growing number of "ethnic pilgrimages" from abroad, mainly from Germany.

Lately the Orthodox Grabarka has established its international range. It attracts pilgrims from both the neighbouring and other European countries.

Several hundred thousand pilgrims and religious tourists come each year to Gniezno (national range), most of them during the ceremonies related to St. Adalbert's cult and in summer time. 10% of the visitors are foreigners. Visits to Licheń have grown in number over the last decade. Over a million people come here each year. On the last Sunday of May there is a male pilgrimage to Piekary Śląskie and it gathers 200-250 thousand men in total. Since late 1970s worker pilgrimages from all over Poland have become more and more frequent. The Virgin Mary of Fatima enjoys particular worship in the Krzeptówki sanctuary in Zakopane that attracts more and more numerous pilgrimages from all parts of Poland. Finally, growing number of Orthodox believers from the whole country come each year to Jabłeczna.

The most pilgrimages are organised during main religious festivals that are usually related to major indulgence fetes. There are over 470 such fetes ("indulgence days") total in Poland, out of which about 20 are held in international and national centres. They play a very important role in the life of each pilgrimage centre. Usually each sanctuary is privileged to solemnly celebrate several indulgence days. The custom dates back to the beginnings of Christianity in Poland. In general only some fetes (in smaller centres usually 1-2) are the so-called "great indulgence fetes" or "main fetes." They attract the most pilgrims and the celebrations often last for several days. Most indulgence fetes relate to the cult of The Virgin Mary. The most important and frequent are the ones related to the following holidays: The Virgin Mary's Visitation (May 31), The Virgin Mary's Assumption (August 15), The Virgin Mary's Birth (September 8). They are celebrated in most centres. Holidays connected with particular sanctuaries and Mary's images are celebrated in particular. One of the best known is the holiday of The Virgin Mary of Częstochowa (August 26). 20 sanctuaries in total have established holidays related to the images of Mary located there. Some sanctuaries practice indulgence fetes connected with the Lord's Holidays: e.g. the Holy Week, the Raising of the Holy Cross on September 14, the Finding of the Holy Cross on May 4, Christ's Holiest Blood on July 1, the Lord's Transfiguration on August 6, the Lord's Ascension, God's Mercy on the first Sunday after Easter. Fetes related to the cult of saints are less frequent. Usually several major indulgence fetes are held each year in a centre. In great agglomerations or centres whose religious function is well developed there are up to a dozen or so such ceremonies (e.g. Częstochowa, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Krakow). It should be born in mind that in certain centres "indulgence" ceremonies last several days, up to a week. It happens in particular in the case of the Lord's Passion Mysteries (e.g. Kalwaria Zebrzydowska) or the celebration of The Virgin Mary's Falling Asleep and Burial (e.g. Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Kalwaria Paclawska, Leżajsk). Apart from having religious content the fetes are also a review of regional customs, which are expressed in the rituals and in the richness of folk, dresses, groups, etc.

For at least a dozen or so years foreign pilgrimages have become more and more frequent. Based on the available data it can be estimated that 500-600 thousand

pilgrims come to Poland each year from over 100 countries. It is almost 10% of the total number of pilgrimage migration participants in Poland. More than a half of the number (65-80% depending on the year) come to Częstochowa (Jasna Góra), and many foreign pilgrims (over 50 thousand) come to the Shrine of Divine Mercy in Łagiewniki, Cracow. Other sanctuaries attract much fewer foreign pilgrims, usually around 10-20 thousand (e.g. Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Niepokalanów).

4. The Sanctuary of the Divine Mercy in Cracow-Łagiewniki as a pilgrimage centre

The above considerations make us realise that the Shrine of the Divine Mercy in Łagiewniki, Cracow belongs to a small group of the world's and Poland's most important centres of religious worship. It is developing extremely dynamically, attracting about one million pilgrims a year, many of them from abroad. Most religious visits to Cracow head for this particular sanctuary.

The sanctuary is a global centre of the cult of God's Mercy. The indulgence fete gathers several hundred thousand pilgrims a year. 30-40 groups of pilgrims a day and many individual pilgrims visit the sanctuary during summer holidays. In 1999 it attracted over 800 000 visitors. There has been a systematic growth in proportion of foreign pilgrims. People come from all continents and lectures are delivered in eight languages. Most foreigners come from Austria, Germany, France, Italy, Ireland, the United Kingdom, as well as from the United States, Canada, Japan and Philippines.

Notes:

¹ A. Jackowski, *Współczesne migracje pielgrzymkowe w Polsce (Contemporary Pilgrimage Migrations in Poland)*. in: A. Jackowski et al., *Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu religijnego i migracji pielgrzymkowych (Space and Sacrum. Geography of Religious Culture in Poland and Its Changes in the Period of 17th to 20th Centuries Exemplified in Religious Worship Centres and Pilgrimage Migrations)*, Kraków 1995, p. 45-46; A. Jackowski, I. Sołjan, E. Bilaska-Wodecka, *Religie świata. Szlaki pielgrzymkowe (Religions of the World. Pilgrimage Routes)*, Poznań, 1999 p. 19.

² A. Jackowski, I. Sołjan, E. Bilaska-Wodecka, op. cit., p. 19.

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