

Franciszek Mróz <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6380-387X>
Pedagogical University of Krakow
Institute of Geography
Department of Tourism and Regional Studies
franciszek.mroz@up.krakow.pl

CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS TOURISM IN POLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Abstract: This study presents changes in religious tourism in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century. These include the development of a network of pilgrimage centers, the renaissance of medieval pilgrim routes, the unflagging popularity of pilgrimages on foot as well as new forms using bicycles, canoes, skis, scooters, rollerblades and trailskates; along with riding, Nordic walking, running and so on. Related to pilgrimages, there is a growing interest in so-called 'holidays' in monasteries, hermitages and retreat homes, as well as a steady increase in weekend religious tourism. Religious tourists and pilgrims are attracted to shrines by mysteries, church fairs and religious festivals, in addition to regular religious services and ceremonies.

Keywords: religious tourism, pilgrimages, shrine, pilgrim routes, *Camino de Santiago* (Way of St James).

1. INTRODUCTION

Religious tourism is one of the most rapidly developing types in the world. According to data from the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) from 2004, during that year approx. 330 million people took trips with a religious or religious-cognitive aim by visiting major world pilgrimage centers (*Tourism can protect and promote religious heritage*, 2014). The clear development of religious tourism in the last thirty years has been caused by many factors including religious, historical, economic, geographical, socio-cultural and political. This development is influenced by the promotion of shrines, the renaissance of medieval pilgrim routes and the creation of new ones, the availability of transport, as well as the expansion of the tourist infrastructure in pilgrimage centers. Its growing popularity has not been weakened by the intensified secularisation of public life (Jackowski, 2003).

Poland is a country with great pilgrimage and religious tourism potential. This is the result of a constantly growing network of pilgrim routes and shrines, a centuries-old tradition, along with activities (wardens, groups, associations, religious congregations) caring for a given shrine, enriching and promoting its pastoral program, its historical, cultural and architectural value, improving its accessibility, developing transport links and expanding the tourist and pilgrimage infrastructure.

This article reviews the main trends and changes in religious tourism and pilgrimage in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century. It is worth noting that in the analyzed period a number of events took place which have left a mark on the pilgrimage movement and religious tourism in Poland: the last pilgrimage of John Paul II to Poland (16-19.08.2002), Poland's entry into the European Union (1.05.2004), the death of Pope John Paul II (2.04.2005), the pilgrimage of Pope Benedict XVI to Poland (25-28.05.2008), Poland's accession to the Schengen area (21.12.2007), the beatifications and canonizations of Polish figures, the Extraordinary Jubilee of Mercy (8.12.2015-20.11.2016), celebrations of the 1050th anniversary of Poland's conversion to Christianity ('Baptism of Poland'), as well as the World Youth Days in Kraków (26-31.07.2016) with the participation of Pope Francis and 2.5 million young people from 187 countries (Pokojska, Pudelko, 2016). This work considers only changes in religious tourism related to the pilgrimage centers and routes of the Catholic Church.

The presented study is the result of personal participation and field studies conducted since 1995 on pilgrimage in Poland. The field research was conducted in 400 shrines and on 22 sections of the *Camino de Santiago*, over a dozen sections of the 'Trail of the Pope' and on the cross-border 'Light from the East' (*Światło ze Wschodu*)

Marian Way. As part of the field research, observations were made, in-depth interviews with shrine wardens were held, while archives and shrine libraries were investigated (analysing books on pilgrimage among others). In the elaboration of the research results descriptive-analytical, dynamic-comparative and cartographic methods were used.

2. CHANGES IN THE NETWORK OF PILGRIMAGE CENTERS AND ROUTES IN POLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

The contemporary network of shrines in Poland is the heritage of centuries-old tradition and an expression of the folk piety of generations of believers. The shrines include those of the Latin Catholic, Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic, Armenian Catholic and Catholic Byzantine-Slavic rites, as well as pilgrimage centers of Judaism (among others at Kraków, Leżajsk, Bobowa and Nowy Sącz) and Islam (Bohoniki and Kruszyniany). Currently (as of 1 June 2019) more than 800 shrines and pilgrimage centers are registered in Poland with those of the Catholic Church definitely dominating (Fig. 1).

Here, it is necessary to draw attention to an important aspect regarding the number of shrines operating in Poland. The author has been conducting detailed research in this area (mainly in relation to those of the Catholic Church) and investigating plans and diocesan magazines for over twenty years. The list of shrines was verified in 2018 on the basis of consultations with diocesan chancellors and on the basis of lists in specific dioceses which the author received from each Metropolitan and Diocesan Curia. As a result of those consultations and investigations, and on the basis of current lists, it can be concluded that currently more than 790 shrines of the Catholic Church are registered in Poland. These are shrines that (as of June 1, 2019) have been established by episcopal decree, as well as centers which in the official lists of individual dioceses and in the documents of the local ordinary were named as a 'shrine'.¹ An important problem is the fact that over half of the pilgrimage centers which are called 'shrine', do not have an appropriate decree defined by the provisions of the Code of Canon Law (*Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego*, 1984, can. 1230), however, due to the centuries-long tradition of pilgrimages, church fairs and the significant number of pilgrims who have visited them, they have become known as shrines and are considered so on official diocesan lists (Baginski, Kamiński, Opaliński, 2012). The list of pilgrimage centers in the Diocese of Drohiczyn includes 14 shrines and 7 'churches of special worship' although very often such centers perform the same functions as shrines with the official approval of eccle-

siastical authority. The *Directory on popular piety and liturgy* emphasizes that such centers "form part of the 'geography' of faith and piety of the people of God, a community that lives in a specific territory and which, in the spirit of faith, pilgrims to heavenly Jerusalem" (*Dyrektorium o pobożności ludowej i liturgii*, 2003, p. 187).

Among Catholic shrines, over 520 centers (i.e. approx. 70% of the total) are Marian, of which 239 centers pride themselves on having an image of Our Lady crowned under papal law, i.e. "in the name and seriousness of the Pope" after receiving the appropriate permission from the Congregation for Divine Worship. Other Catholic shrines are associated with the cult of Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity (shrines of Our Lord – 104 centers) and the cults of saints and the beatified (over 150 shrines) (see Datko, 2014; Mróz, 2016).

It is also worth emphasizing that from the beginning of 2001 to June 1, 2019, according to the provision of canon 1230 of the *Code of Canon Law*, by decree of a local Ordinary over 250 new shrines of the Catholic Church were established (see Mróz, Mróz, 2018). If only for this reason, the latest publications in the subject literature referring to the number of shrines in Poland at the beginning of the 21st century, unfortunately, should be considered obsolete (see Jackowski, Bilska-Wodecka, Sołjan, 2014). The largest percentage increase of new shrines has been for those of the saints and the beatified, and shrines of Our Lord. In the analyzed period, as a result of decrees from a local Ordinary, up to 90 shrines of saints and the beatified have been created (i.e. almost 60% of all such shrines in Poland) and 32 shrines of Our Lord (over 30% of all Our Lord shrines). The establishment of 'new' shrines of saints and the beatified should be connected above all with the renaissance of the cults of saints seen in many centers which enjoyed great reverence among believers during the Middle Ages and in the period of post-Tridentine renewal. These include St Joseph (shrines in Bolesławów, Częstochowa, Kielce, Nisko, Prudnik, Ruda Śląska, Siedlce, Słupsk and Wadowice), St James (shrines in Brzesko, Santiagoów, Lębork, Małujowice, Szczyrk and Więclawice Stare), St Francis of Assisi (Jutrzyzna), St Anthony (Chelm, Ostrołęka, Ratowo, Susz, Warsaw), St Florian (Chorzów), St Stanislaus, Bishop & Martyr (Piotrawin), St Barbara (Strumień), St Casimir (Kraków), St Kinga (Nowy Korczyn), St Hyacinth (Legnica), Bl. Salomea (Grodzisko near Skala), St Giles (Wyszków), St Hubertus (Żołędowo) and St Roch (Mikstat, Osiek) (see Mróz, Mróz, 2018). The emergence of new shrines of saints and the beatified is also a consequence of the canonization and beatification of a large group of Polish women and men, as well as church devotion to 'popular' saints e.g. St Pio of Pietrelcina (shrines in Terliczka, Przeprośna Górka and Warsaw), St Rita (shrine in Nowy Sącz), and Francis and Jacinta Marto – the St Fatima Children – (shrines in Szczecin and Pajęczno).

The most numerous among ‘Our Lord’ shrines established after 2000, are Shrines of the Divine Mercy (18 in total: Gdańsk-Wrzeszcz, Łódź, Poznań, Kielce, Sosnowiec, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Toruń, Biała Podlaska,

Elk, Świdnica, Świebodzin, Sokołów Podlaski, Olsztyn-Nagórki, Olsztyn-Zator, Zawiercie-Blanowice, Ostrów Wielkopolski, Suwałki and Bielsk Podlaski), as well as Shrines of Christ’s Passion (shrines of the relics of the

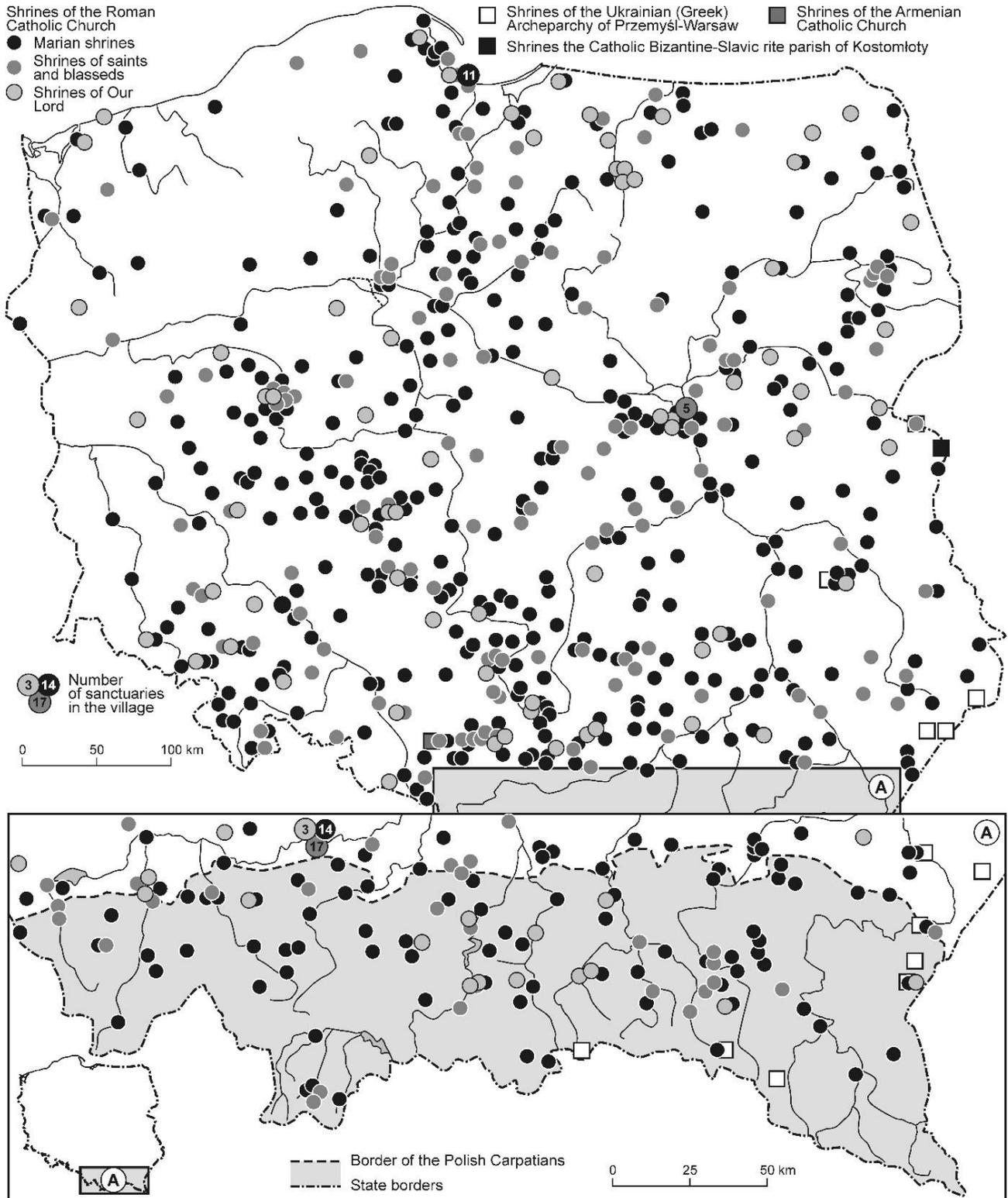


Figure 1. Shrines of the Catholic Church in Poland (as of 1 June 2019)
Source: author

Holy Cross in Jelenia Góra, Klebark Wielki, Rększowice and Wałbrzych, the Shrine of the Holy Cross in Pustków, and the Shrines of the Passion in Praszka, Serpelice, Tyniec Legnicki and Ziębice). In the 21st century, there have also been two Shrines of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in Dąbrowa Górnicza Strzemieszyce and in Warsaw, and the well-known Shrine of the Blessed Sacrament in Sokółka, in north-eastern Poland.

In the 21st century more than 130 Marian shrines have been established. However, it should be emphasized that from the beginning of 2001 to June 1, 2019, 39 canonical coronations and more than 90 episcopal coronations of the Mother of God have been performed. Considering these Marian holy places from 2001, the most numerous are Shrines of Our Lady of Consolation, Our Lady of Fatima, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Our Lady of the Scapular and Our Lady of Sorrows.

Currently, there are ten Christian pilgrimage centers with an international rank in Poland. In this group, nine are shrines of the Catholic Church (the Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa at Jasna Góra, the Passion and the Marian Shrine in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, the Shrine of the Divine Mercy in Kraków-Łagiewniki, the Shrine of St. John Paul II in Białe Morza in Kraków, the Shrine of St. Maximilian Kolbe in Niepokalanów, the Shrine of St. Anne on Święto Góra, the Shrine of bl. Jerzy Popiełuszko in Warsaw, the Shrine of Our Lady of Fatima in Zakopane-Krzepitówki, Wadowice – the birth place of St. John Paul II), and one Orthodox at Święto Góra, Grabarka. In 2018, these shrines were visited by a total of approx. 12 million people: the largest number of pilgrims visited Jasna Góra (4.5 million), Kraków-Łagiewniki (approx. 2 million) and Kalwaria Zebrzydowska (1.8 million). It should be noted that in the 21st century, two new pilgrimage sites whose current status is international, have emerged in the pilgrimage space of Poland: the Basilica of the Divine Mercy in Kraków-Łagiewniki (consecrated and proclaimed in 2002 by St. John Paul II, the “capital of the Divine Mercy devotion”) and the Sanctuary of John Paul II at Białe Morza in Kraków.

3. THE RENAISSANCE OF PILGRIMAGES: WALKING THE MEDIEVAL PILGRIM ROUTES

In the last two decades in Europe, there has been a renaissance of the medieval routes of *peregrinationes maiores*: religious journeys to the three major Christian holy places: the Shrine of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the tombs of Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, and the tomb of St James the Greater, the first martyr of the Apostles, in Santiago de Compostela (Manikowska, 2002; Onorato, Rizzi, 2017). The pilgrimage route to the tomb of St James at Santiago de Compostela, the *Camino de Santiago*, has become the most well-known. The *Ca-*

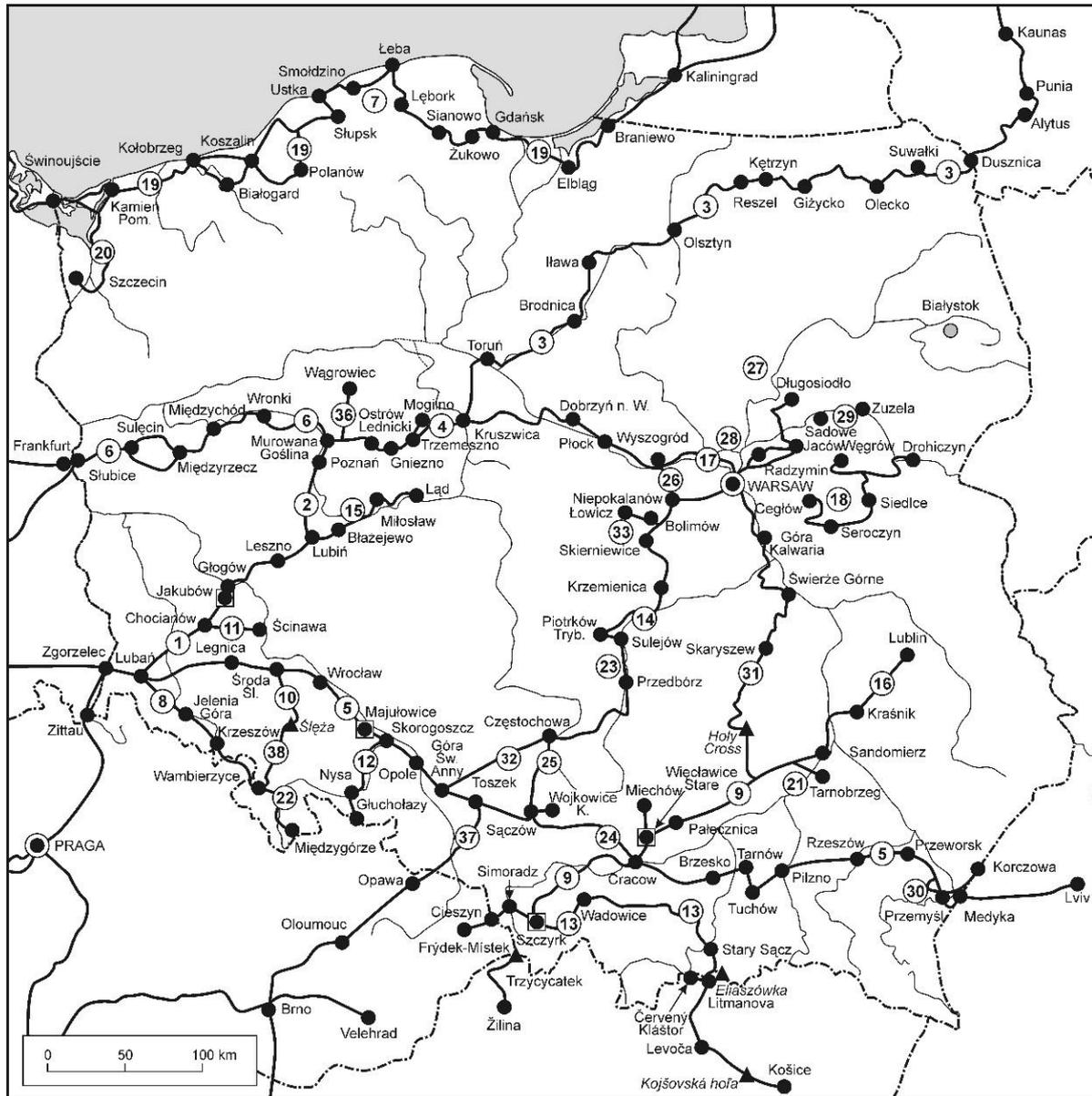
mino, often called ‘the most beautiful pilgrimage trail in the world’ and the ‘main pilgrimage trail of Europe’, was recognized by the Council of Europe in 1987 as its first European Cultural Route, in 1993 (on the territory of Spain) and in 1998 (in France) and in 2015 was inscribed on the UNESCO list of world cultural and natural heritage.

In 2003, the Western European *Camino de Santiago* network reached the German-Polish border at Görlitz – Zgorzelec, giving an impulse to mark its route in Poland. The first Polish section of the *Camino de Santiago* – Lower Silesian – was opened on July 24, 2005 (Mróz, 2015). Currently (as of July 1, 2019) 38 Polish sections of the *Camino de Santiago* network, with a total length of 6,908 km, form the longest pilgrimage and cultural trails in Poland. They are linked to the European network leading to the tomb of St James at Santiago de Compostela. The network in Poland is connected with sections of the *Camino de Santiago* in Russia (in the Kaliningrad region), in Lithuania, Ukraine, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Germany (Fig. 2).

On the basis of the research it is possible to estimate that around 2,000 pilgrims walk Polish sections of the *Camino de Santiago* during a year. A growing trend of group pilgrimages has been recorded, especially as part of initiatives called ‘Sunday pilgrimage along the *Camino de Santiago*’ or ‘weekend on the *Camino de Santiago*’. The initiators of these are, above all *caminowicze* including members of the Brotherhood of St James, ‘lovers and friends’ of the *Camino de Santiago*, members of associations connected to it, students and scouts (Mróz, 2018b).² On Polish sections of the *Camino de Santiago* there are not only pilgrims who go on foot, on bicycle and on horseback, but also on skis (Pilgrimage of the Beskid Mountains) and by kayak (Kayak Pilgrimage on the River Nyska).

It is worth paying attention to the mutual relationship between the growing number of *caminowicze* from Poland who received a ‘*Compostela*’ (i.e. a document confirming the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela by walking at least the last 100 km or on horseback, or 200 km by bike) in the last decade, and the growing number of new sections of the *Camino de Santiago* in Poland (Fig. 3). In 2018, 4,785 Poles registered their arrival at the Pilgrimage Office of the Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela (*Estadísticas*, 2019). For comparison, in 2004, 357 were from Poland (*Estadísticas*, 2019). From the beginning of the 21st century, each year on average, more than 20 people have set off from Poland itself to Santiago de Compostela in accordance with the medieval custom, that is from the threshold of their own homes, on foot or by bike, for at least 3,000 km (Krogmann, Šolcova, Mróz, Mróz, 2013).

In October 2018 in Poland, a study was begun to determine and mark the Polish section of the ‘Jerusalem Camino’, the world’s longest cultural ‘peace trail’ which



- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| ① Lower Silesian Way of St. James (Głogów–Jakubów–Lubań–Zgorzelec) | 164 ⑮ Nadwarciańska Way of St. James (Łąd–Miłosław–Lubiń) | 111 ⑳ Way of St. James "Miracle on the Vistula" (Radzymin–Kobyłka–Ossów–Warsaw) | 40 |
| ② Greater Polish Way of St. James (Gniezno–Poznań–Głogów) | 234 ⑯ Lublin Way of St. James (Lublin–Kraśnik–Sandomierz) | 136 ㉑ Primate's Way of St. James (Zuzela–Prostyn–Sadowne) | 52 |
| ③ Polish Way (Camino Polaco) (Ogrodniki–Olsztyn–Toruń–Trzemeszno) | 651 ⑰ Mazowsze Way of St. James (Warsaw–Płock–Dobrzyń nad Wisłą) | 175 ㉒ Tuligłowy Way of St. James (Wola Rokietnicka–Tuligłowy–Rokietnica) | 13 |
| ④ Way of St. James "Szlak Piastowski" (Mogilno–Gniezno) | 47 ⑱ Nord-East Mazowsze and Podlasie Way of St. James (Drohiczyn–Przesmyki–Rozbity Kamień–Węgrów–Siedlce–Seroczyn–Cegłów) | 227 ㉓ Holy Cross Way of St. James (Warsaw–Holy Cross–Kotuszów) | 294 |
| ⑤ Way of St. James Via Regia (Medyka–Korczowa–Pilzno–Cracow–Góra Sw. Anny–Brzeg–Zgorzelec) | 957 ㉒ Pomeranian Way of St. James Via Baltica (Braniewo–Elbląg–Gdańsk–Łębork–Słupsk–Kolobrzeg–Kamień Pom.–Swinoujście) | 722 ㉔ Częstochowa Way of St. James (Częstochowa–Lubecko–Góra Sw. Anny) | 103 |
| ⑥ Lubuska Way of St. James (Muruwana Goślina–Słubice) | 279 ㉓ Szczecin Way of St. James (Swinoujście–Szczecin) | 33 ㉕ Łowicz Way of St. James (Bolimów–Łowicz–Kalisz) | 236 |
| ⑦ Łębork's Way of St. James (Sianowo–Łębork–Smoldzino) | 122 ㉔ Tarnobrzeg Way of St. James (Tarnobrzeg–Sulisławice) | 34 ㉖ Dobrzyńsko-Kujawska Way of St. James (Dobrzyń nad Wisłą–Kruszwica) | 33,5 |
| ⑧ Sudetic Way of St. James (Krzeszów–Jelenia Góra–Lubań) | 105 ㉕ Kłodzko Way of St. James (Międzygórze–Kłodzko–Radków) | 21 ㉗ Kalisz Way of St. James (Kalisz–Milicz–Ścinawa) | 172 |
| ⑨ The Lesser Polish Way of St. James (Sandomierz–Cracow–Szczyrk) | 317 ㉖ Staropolska Way of St. James (Piotrków Tryb.–Częstochowa) | 69 ㉘ Wągrowiec–Dąbrówka Kościelna | 39 |
| ⑩ Śląska Way of St. James (Ślęza–Sobótka–Środa Śląska) | 55 ㉗ Miechów Way of St. James (Miechów–Więclawice Stare–Cracow) | 155 ㉙ Śląsko-Morawska Way of St. James (Toszek–Sosnicowice–Racibórz–Strahovice) | 120 |
| ⑪ The Copper Way of St. James (Ścinawa–Lubiń–Chocianów) | 45 ㉘ Jasna Góra Way of St. James (Częstochowa–Lubsza–Sączów) | 35 ㉚ Sowiogóra Way of St. James (Góra Ślęza–Wambierzyce) | 75 |
| ⑫ Nysa Way of St. James (Głucholazy–Nysa–Skorogoszcz) | 100 ㉙ The Chopin Way of St. James (Wyszogrod–Niepokalanów) | 56 | Length in km |
| ⑬ Beskid Way of St. James (Eliaszówka–Stary Sącz–Podegrodzie–Myślenice–Wadowice–Szczyrk–Cieszyn) | 316 ㉚ Independence Road of St. James (I. Sadowne–Loretto–Jadów II. Długosiodło–Wyszków–Jadów–Ossów) | 35 | --- State borders |
| ⑭ Warsaw Way of St. James (Warsaw–Skiermiewice–Piotrków Tryb.) | 230 | 168 | — Existing sectors of the Way of St. James |
| | | | ● Shrine of St. James the Apostle |
| | | | ▲ Ślęza Mountain peaks |
| | | | ~ Rivers |

Figure 2. Routes of the Camino de Santiago in Poland (as of 01.07.2019)

Source: Mróz, Mróz (2019)

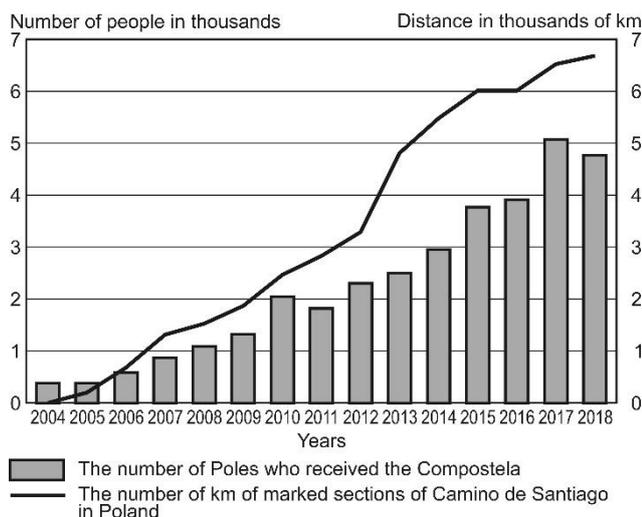


Figure 3. Pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela from Poland (and the development of the network within Poland): 2004–2018
Source: author

runs through 15 countries. Its length from Finisterre in Galicia to Jerusalem is approximately 7,500 km. In turn, in March 2019, the Pedagogical University of Kraków, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń and the Municipality of Wadowice were admitted to the 'Associazione Europea Romea Strata' whose task is to recreate and mark the medieval pilgrimage 'Romea Strata' leading from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, i.e. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania through the countries of Central Europe (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Slovenia) to Venice and then to Rome.

4. NEW PILGRIM TRAILS IN POLAND

The impressive development of the *Camino de Santiago* and the growing popularity of walking it, started a process called 'caminonization' by Peter Margry, i.e. the 'worldwide development of sacred or spiritual trails, stimulated above all by the success and appropriation of the 'Camino' concept. This process involves spreading the idea of a spiritual path that stimulates people all over the world to embark on a spiritual journey or a reflective search for a meaning of life' (Margry, 2015, p. 186). In the last two decades, the process of creating and developing new pilgrimage and religious trails has been seen in Poland. In addition to the already mentioned *peregrinationes maiores* trails, the following international routes deserve special attention (*Via Misericordia* – the Camino of Mercy, the European Cemeteries Trail, the Jewish Heritage Trail, the Mariazell to Częstochowa international pilgrimage trail, the *Via Sacra* Route, the 'Trail of the Pope', and the cross-border 'Marian Trail – Light from the East') along with the routes of saints and the beatified canonized by St. John Paul II, Pope Benedict XVI and Pope Francis (Mróz, 2014).

The 'Trail of the Pope' includes a network of hiking (mainly mountain), canoe and bicycle trails in Poland, on which Fr Karol Wojtyła, later Pope John Paul II, used. Currently, the 'Trail of the Pope' network covers over a dozen sections in the Polish Carpathians, the Sudetens, the Kraków-Częstochowa Upland, and the Pojezierze region (Matuszczyk, Własiuk, 2002; *Szlaki Papieskie w Polsce*, 2019).

The idea of delimiting and marking the *Internationale Pilgerstraße – Marienweg* connecting Częstochowa with Mariazell was established in the 1990s in Austria. Work on marking the Polish section of this trail from Częstochowa to Zakopane started in 2006. Currently, the International Pilgrimage Route connects national Marian shrines: Jasna Góra in Poland, Levoča in Slovakia, Mariazell in Austria and Marija Bistrica in Croatia.

The cross-border Marian Trail, 'Light from the East', (*Svätomariánskapúť – Svetlo z východu*) forms part of the network of pilgrimage and cultural routes in Poland, created as part of the Cross-Border Cooperation Program *Interreg V-A Poland-Slovakia 2014–2020*, co-financed by the European Union from the European Regional Development Fund. There are 28 pilgrimage centers on the route, including 21 in Poland and 7 shrines in the Prešov region in Slovakia (Mróz, 2018a).

In 2019, the Knights of Columbus will mark the Polish section of the *Via Misericordia* – the Camino of Mercy, from Oświęcim to the shrine of the Divine Mercy in Kraków-Łagiewniki. The *Via Misericordia* was established in 2016, starting in Rome from where it leads through Assisi, Florence, Padua, Mariazell and Vienna to Kraków.

5. NEW FORMS OF PILGRIMAGES AND RELIGIOUS TOURISM

The renaissance of pilgrimage routes in Poland has affected the popularity of walking traditional Marian routes and the *Camino de Santiago* as well as new routes associated with the cults of saints and the beatified. Walking pilgrimages in organized groups to the National Shrine of Our Lady of Częstochowa at Jasna Góra are still a phenomenon in the Christian pilgrimage space in Poland. In recent years, more than 120,000 people have annually come to the Jasna Góra shrine on foot (in 2018, it was 124,000 in 255 organized groups) (Jasna Góra, 2019). A new initiative in this area combined with the "internal journey that allows you to look deep inside yourself and that teaches humility" is the 'Extreme Camino of the Cross' (Ekstremalna Droga Krzyżowa, 2019). This is an individual religious practice, walking alone along one of several hundred routes from 40 up to 133 km at night (usually on the last Friday of Lent), during which the participant considers individual Stations of the Cross.

The first Extreme Camino was organized on the route from Kraków to Kalwaria Zebrzydowska in 2009. The success of this religious initiative is best evidenced by attendance figures: in 2014, 6,000 participants took part; in 2015 – 12,000; in 2016 – 40,000; in 2017 – 60,000, and in 2018, 80,000 (Ekstremalna Droga Krzyżowa, 2019). In the fashion of the 'Extreme Camino of the Cross', the 'Extreme Camino to Bethlehem' is organized in Lublin and Alwernia before Christmas. In turn, since 2015, Jesuits have organized the so-called 'Camino of Abraham' – an extreme pilgrimage for men. The idea was based on a Jesuit pilgrim trial, known as the 'beggar trial', which is why participants in the 'Camino of Abraham' set off on one of several proposed routes without money, credit cards, phones and booked accommodation (*Droga Abrahama – pielgrzymka tylko dla mężczyzn*, 2019). In many regions of Poland, night pilgrimages to shrines are also organized during the year (e.g. from Przemyśl to Kalwaria Pałacowska, from Miedniewice to Niepokalanów, from Suwałki to Studzieniczna). Along with the development of a network of cycling routes and paths in Poland, the growing popularity of cycling and pilgrimage can be seen. Pilgrimages of this type have been organized for many years; however, in the last two decades, a noticeable development with religious or religious and cognitive motives has been registered, for example, in 2018, 133 cycling groups came to Jasna Góra; in 2001 there were 32 pilgrimages (*Szlaki pielgrzymkowe*, 2019). Polish pilgrimage space also includes a skiing pilgrimage (along the Beskid *Camino de Santiago*), kayaking pilgrimages (e.g. from Gródek to Supraśl, a water procession on the River Supraśl from Nowodworek to Wasilków, a water procession with the statue of Our Lady of Łąkowka on the River Drwęca from Nowe Miasto Lubawskie to Łąki Bratniańskie) and pilgrimages by boat on lakes and rivers (including from the parish of St. Zygmunt in Słomczyn to the cathedral in Płock, and from Nadola to Lubków through Lake Żarnowiec to St. Anne's Festivities in Żarnowiec). Horse riding pilgrimages have been known for centuries (e.g. to the shrines in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska and Jasna Góra) as well as the Maritime Pilgrimage of Fishermen to the Festivities of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul in Puck – which has been organized continuously since 1981 but dates back to 1217 – still enjoy popularity (Micun-Gusman, 2017).

New initiatives include caravaning, nordic walking, scooter, rollerblade and roller ski pilgrimages. More and more often, pilgrimage routes in Poland are a space for both prayer and competition among individual and relay runners (including a pilgrimage to Jasna Góra, the Małopolski Run along the *Camino de Santiago*, Santiago Half Marathon in Olsztyn). The number of sports and religious events of this type increases rapidly each year, for example in 2001, seven cross-country pilgrimages comprising 150 people arrived at Jasna Góra whereas

in 2018, there were 16 groups with 440 participants. Motorcycle pilgrimages are also very popular, especially for the beginning and end of the motorcycle season (including Dębowiec, Gietrzwałd, Jasna Góra, Jodłówka, Licheń, Lutogniew, Kalwaria Pałacowska, Markowice, Mikstat, Święty Krzyż, Wambierzyce). For example, the 16th *Złocie Gwiazdzistym* Motorcycle Rally to Jasna Góra, inaugurating the motorcycle season, took place on 6-7th April 2019 with over 50,000 bikers from all over the country arriving at the shrine of Our Lady of Częstochowa (Mototour.pl, 2019).

It should also be emphasized that due to the increasing number of low-cost flights from Poland, the number of pilgrimage travellers increases each year. For this reason, among other things, Poles are one of the foreign nations most frequently visiting major shrines in Europe; for example, in 2018, 11,928 went to the Shrine of Our Lady of Fatima, ranking Poles second behind Spaniards among foreign pilgrims (Santuário de Fátima, 2019).

6. CHANGES IN THOSE VISITING PILGRIMAGE CENTRES IN POLAND

In the last two decades, changes have also been seen in pilgrimage and tourist groups visiting pilgrimage centres in Poland. In numerous centres, in place of the traditional pilgrimages of professionals such as those of health care professionals, teachers, farmers or factory workers, new pilgrim groups have emerged: motorcyclists, firefighters, first communion children, the deaf, members of the „Amazonki” Association (an association of women after mastectomy), alcoholics anonymous, the homeless, the elderly and so on. In most shrines of at least diocesan rank, there is a steady increase in the individual pilgrimage movement and weekend religious tourism. In the pilgrimage season, in good weather on weekends and public holidays, hundreds of individual pilgrims come to these shrines. These are most often families with children who participate in a mass and then stay in the surrounding region. This development with religious and recreational or religious and cognitive motives is primarily fostered by the expansion of tourist infrastructure (catering and accommodation facilities) in pilgrimage centres, improvement of transport accessibility and the aforementioned development of new religious and cultural routes (e.g. the Wooden Architecture Route, the Cistercian Route, the Piast Route) as well as specialised tourism trails (a very good example in this case is the *Green Velo* route which passes through many shrines of regional and local rank).

Religious tourists and pilgrims are attracted to shrines, apart from regular services and ceremonies, mysteries, festivities and religious holidays are organized there, such

as the 'Mystery of the Passion of Christ' organized in the shrines in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Kalwaria Pałacowska, Piekary Śląskie, Wejherowo and Górka Klasztorna, the 'Craft Competition for Easter palms' in Lipnica Murowana, the 'Shepherds' Festival' (the spring and autumn movements of sheep) in the Shrine of the Shepherds (*Gaździna*) of Podhale in Ludźmierz, as well as the 'Jerusalem Mystery and the Burial of Jesus' in the Shrine of St. Kazimierz in Kraków.

7. 'VACATIONS' IN MONASTERIES AND HERMITAGES

One new trend that has emerged in religious tourism in Poland are vacation stays in monasteries, hermitages and retreat houses. This offer to travel and spend free time is dedicated to those who are looking for tranquility and rest from daily duties and workload, as well as those entangled in the addictions of civilization. In Western European countries, 'vacations' in monasteries include a diverse package: prayer silence, culinary courses that allow you to explore the secrets of monastic cooking, participation in the routines of monks' /nuns' lives: early rising, prayer, work, sleep in a monastic cell and modest meals (Mróz, Mróz, 2013). In Poland, this type of rest and retreat offer in religious facilities is diverse and expanding. The constant item in the agenda is 'silence', the *Salus per silentium* ("health through silence") therapy. People who choose to spend holidays in a monastery can join the rhythm of the religious community

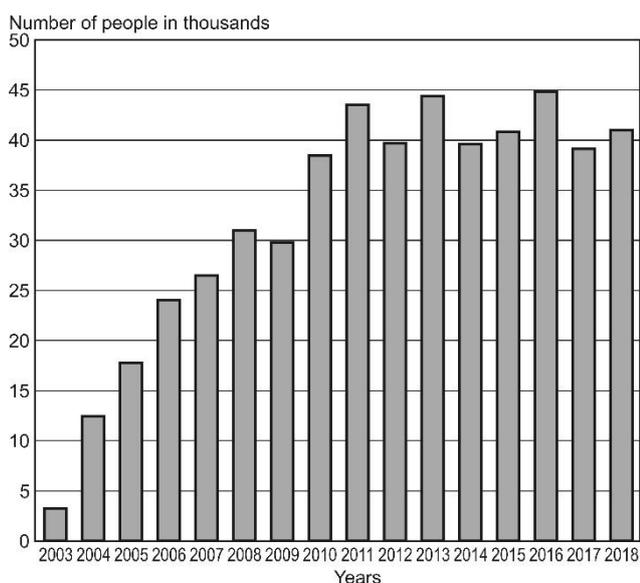


Figure 4. Recorded number of tourists at the *Pustelnia Złotego Lasu* (Golden Forest Hermitage) in Rytwiany in 2003-2018
Source: author

deepen their prayer experience, talk to a priest, walk through monastery gardens, and read works in the monastery library. The list of centres that offer such holidays increases every year. Currently, the most popular include *Pustelnia Złotego Lasu* (Golden Forest Hermitage) in Rytwiany (Fig. 4), the former Camaldolese Monastery in Wigrzy, Camaldolese Monastery in Bielany Kraków, Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec, Monastery of Marian Fathers of the Immaculate Conception in Stoczek Klasztorny, Pilgrim House in Czerna, Carmelite Prayer House of the Holy Trinity in Piotrkowice, 'Cenacle' Retreat House of Pallottines in Święta Katarzyna in the Świętokrzyskie Mountains, Dominican Retreat House in Korbielów, Pauline Pilgrim House in Leśna Podlaska, and Camaldolese Convent in Złoczew (cf. Mróz, Mróz, 2013). It should also be emphasized that in recent years, numerous religious congregations in Poland have prepared a rich offer of retreats and recollection days organized throughout the year in monastic retreat houses.

8. SUMMARY

The discussion in the paper has allowed the author to state that at the beginning of the 21st century, over the last twenty years there has been a noticeable development of religious tourism and new forms of pilgrimage in Poland. This is a result of many religious, economic, socio-cultural and historical factors. Over the last 18 years, the phenomenon of the renaissance of medieval pilgrimage routes (the *Camino de Santiago*, the Jerusalem Camino), the creation of new pilgrimage or joint pilgrimage and cultural trails, the development of new forms of pilgrimage and religious tourism, changes in those who visit pilgrimage centres in Poland as well as the growing popularity of vacations in monasteries, hermitages and retreat houses, has been found.

The growing popularity of travel with religious or religious and cognitive motives in Poland has not been weakened by the intensified secularization of public life and the growing process of secularization in Polish society (according to the Institute of Church Statistics, in 2017, 38.3% of obligated Catholics participated in a Sunday mass, while in 2001 the rate was 46.8% – Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego SAC, 2019).

If we add to this, the recorded increase in the number of pilgrims and tourists from abroad visiting Polish shrines, then it can be stated that Poland will strengthen its position as one of the leading countries in Europe in terms of pilgrimage and religious tourism. This will probably be facilitated by the approaching jubilees, such as the 100th anniversary of the birth of Karol Wojtyła and, above all, the Holy Year which falls in 2025.

ENDNOTES

¹ In the final verification of the list of Our Lord shrines in Poland, apart from the source materials (mainly diocese yearbooks, directories and diocesan and provincial magazines), the lists of shrines in particular dioceses, which the author received from all Metropolitan and Diocesan Curias, turned out to be very helpful.

² *Caminowicz* – a term already accepted in the Polish literature on the subject meaning “a person traveling (on foot, by bicycle, on horseback, in a kayak or in any other way), individually or in a group, along the *Camino de Santiago*, and distinguished by the attributes of the *Camino de Santiago*, such as a shell, pilgrim’s stick, hat, or pilgrim’s passport (*credencial del peregrino*)” (Mróz, 2018, p. 36).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bagiński, R., Kamiński, J., Opaliński, T. (eds) (2012). *Sanktuaria miejsce pielgrzymkowe diecezji płockiej*. Płock: Płocki Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Datko, A. (2014). Sanktuaria i pielgrzymki. In: *Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1991–2011. Rocznik statystyczny* (pp. 220–230). Warszawa: Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego SAC i Główny Urząd Statystyczny.
- Droga Abrahama – pielgrzymka tylko dla mężczyzn. Retrieved from: <http://jezuici.pl/2018/03/droga-abrahama-pielgrzymka-dla-mezczyzn/> (10.04.2019).
- Dyrektorium o pobożności ludowej i liturgii. *Zasady i wskazania* (2003). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Pallottinum.
- Ekstremalna Droga Krzyżowa. Retrieved from: <http://edk.org.pl> (20.04.2019).
- Estadísticas. Retrieved from: <http://oficinadelperegrino.com/estadisticas/> (13.04.2019).
- Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego SAC. Retrieved from: <http://iskk.pl> (22.04.2019).
- Jackowski, A. (2003). *Święta przestrzeń świata. Podstawy geografii religii*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Jackowski, A., Bilka-Wodecka, E., Sołjan, I. (2014). Pilgrimages and religious tourism in Poland in the 21st century – Current situation and perspectives for development. *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego. Ekonomiczne Problemy Turystyki*, 4 (28), 253–270.
- Jasna Góra. Retrieved from: <http://jasnagora.pl> (15.04.2019).
- Kodeks Prawa Kanonicznego: przekład polski zatwierdzony przez Konferencję Episkopatu (1984). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Pallottinum.
- Krogmann, A., Šolcová, L., Mróz, F., Mróz, Ł. (2013). Pielgrzymowanie Polaków i Słowaków Drogą św. Jakuba na początku XXI w. *Peregrinus Cracoviensis*, 24, 137–162.
- Manikowska, H. (2002). Badania nad kultem św. Jakuba na ziemiach polskich – problemy i perspektywy. In: R. Knapieński (ed.), *Kult św. Jakuba Większego Apostoła w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej* (pp. 9–24). Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.
- Margry, P.J. (2015). To be or not to be... a pilgrim. Spiritual pluralism along the Camino Finisterre and the urge for the end. In: C. Sánchez-Carretero (ed.), *Heritage, pilgrimage and the Camino to Finisterre. Walking to the end to the world* (pp. 175–211). Cham: Springer International Publishing AG.
- Matuszczyk, A., Własiuk, U. (2002). *Pilnujcie mi tych szlaków: czyli o tym jak Ojciec Święty w polskie góry powraca*. Przewodnik. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Radamsa.
- Micun-Gusman, B. (2017). *Msza na wodach Morza Bałtyckiego? Niezwykła Morska Pielgrzymka Rybaków*. Retrieved from: <http://pomorskie.eu/-/msza-na-wodach-baltyku-niezwykla-morska-pielgrzymka-rybakow> (15.04.2019).
- Mototur.pl. Retrieved from: <http://mototur.pl> (20.04.2019).
- Mróz, F. (2014). Szlaki pielgrzymkowe w krajobrazie sakralnym Polski. In: M. Ostrowski, J. Partyka (eds), *Krajobraz sakralny* (pp. 133–148). Kraków-Lwów: Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie.
- Mróz, F. (2015). Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce – geneza i rozwój – w 10. rocznicę otwarcia pierwszego szlaku jakubowego. W: A. Wyrwa (ed.), *Camino de Santiago. Szkice historyczne do peregrynacji i dziejów kultu św. Jakuba Apostoła Większego (wydanie II)* (pp. 65–95). Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Mróz, F. (2016). Sanktuaria Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w przestrzeni sakralnej Polski. In: J. Latosińska, J. Mokras-Grabowska (eds), *Kultura i turystyka. Sacrum i profanum* (pp. 183–205). Łódź: Regionalna Organizacja Turystyczna Województwa Łódzkiego.
- Mróz, F. (2018a). *Szlak Maryjny – Światło ze Wschodu*. Kraków: Instytut Dialogu Międzykulturowego im. Jana Pawła II w Krakowie.
- Mróz, F. (2018b). Przedsiębiorczość jako czynnik rozwoju Camino de Santiago w Polsce. *Przedsiębiorczość – Edukacja*, 14, 292–312.
- Mróz, F., Mróz, Ł. (2013). Nowe trendy w turystyce. In: R. Pawłusiński (ed.), *Współczesne uwarunkowania i problemy rozwoju turystyki* (pp. 105–119). Kraków: Instytut Geografii i Gospodarki Przestrzennej UJ.
- Mróz, F., Mróz, Ł. (2018). Sanktuaria i ośrodki kultu św. Jakuba w sieci Camino de Santiago w Polsce. In: P. Roszak, F. Mróz, Ł. Mróz (eds), *Duchowość i przestrzeń w kontekście Camino de Santiago* (pp. 151–178). Kraków: Wydawnictwo „Czuwajmy”.
- Mróz, Ł. (2018). *Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce*. Przeworsk-Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Edytorial.
- Onorato, G., Rizzi, P. (2017). Il turismo culturale e la Via Francigena. In: G. Onorato, P. Rizzi (eds), *Turismo, Cultura e Spiritualità. Rifflessioni e progetti intorno alla Via Francigena* (pp. 55–68). Milano: EDUCatt.
- Pokojska, W., Pudelko, A. (2016). Światowe Dni Młodzieży w liczbach. Podsumowanie. In: E. Bogacz-Wojtanowska, Ł. Gaweł, A. Góral (eds), *Światowe Dni Młodzieży 2016 jako fenomen społeczny, kulturowy i religijny* (pp. 25–43). Kraków: Stowarzyszenie Gmin i Powiatów Małopolski.
- Santuário de Fátima. Retrieved from: <http://fatima.pt> (10.03.2019).
- Szlaki papieskie w Polsce. Retrieved from: <http://szlakipapieskie.pl> (10.03.2019).
- Szlaki pielgrzymkowe. Retrieved from: http://www.jasnagora.com/-tematy/Statystyki%20pielgrzymkowe/temat_61 (15.04.2019).
- Tourism can protect and promote religious heritage (2014). Retrieved from: <https://media.unwto.org/press-release/2014-12-10/tourism-can-protect-and-promote-religious-heritage> (15.04.2019).

Article received:

12 May 2019

Accepted:

18 July 2019

