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Pilgrimage movement in Galicia in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century in the reports of the Galician press

The subject of the research undertaken in the article is the picture of pilgrimages of Galicians and the inhabitants of other partition in the Galician press. Pilgrimages constituted an important aspect of religious life in Galicia and in the second half of the 19th century they started to become mass events. Galician pilgrims travelled not only to holy places located within the partition but also courageously went on pilgrimages to Rome and the Holy Land. The authors of articles pointed out not only the religious dimension of the described Polish pilgrimages but also showed them as the opportunity to cultivate unity and the national tradition and to become more familiar with the national history.

Key words: pilgrimage, Galicia, Galician press, Holy Land, Rome

Going on a pilgrimage can constitute a source for research on religious culture, morals as well as the broadly defined mobility of the society. "The custom of making pilgrimages is derived from the most basic experiences of man and occurs in every religion". It can be explained as "a journey to a holy place or sanctuary either in the pilgrims country or abroad, the aim of which is to achieve a certain material, moral or spiritual value". Also as "atonement and worship of holy places, having impact on deepening one's faith and in the second half of the 19th century, on showing support for the pope's actions".

¹ Ks. J. Górecki, *Pielgrzymki na Górnym Śląsku w latach 1869–1914*, Katowice 1994, s. 11.

² Ks. J.J. Janicki, 100 rocznica II polskiej pielgrzymki do Ziemi Świętej (1909) w świetle wspomnień jej organizatora, o. Zygmunta Janickiego z zakonu Braci Mniejszych, "Pietas et Studium. Rocznik Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego Prowincji Matki Bożej Anielskiej Zakonu Braci Mniejszych w Krakowie" 2009, t. II, s. 555.

³ Ks. R. Szczurowski, Ksiądz Wincenty Smoczyński – przewodnik pielgrzymów do Rzymu w latach 1888 –1900, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1999, t. 91, s. 316.

Pilgrimage movement in the 19th century gained a special importance. Pilgrimages sustained and developed religious life of Poles divided by the borders of the three partitions. They were also of political significance since pilgrimage destinations integrated pilgrims arriving from different partitions.⁴ In the 19th century pilgrimage movement to the Holy Land was revived and its intensive development could be seen at the end of the 19th century when previously individual travels took the form of collective pilgrimages.⁵ Sometimes the number of the participants amounted even to 500–800 people. The social composition of pilgrims also changed as their ranks were joined by peasants.

Galician newspapers constitute a remarkable source of knowledge on the subject of organisation, course and directions of pilgrims' journeys. The subject of the research in the present study is the picture of pilgrimages made by Galicians and inhabitants of the other partitions presented in the Galician press.

"Wieniec Polski" and "Pszczółka Ilustrowana", newspapers aimed mainly to peasants, endeavoured to propagate on its pages the idea of organising the first national pilgrimage to the Holy Land which was supposed to take place in spring in 1889 but in reality was postponed to 2 years later. The reason for the delay was the imprisonment of the main initiator of the enterprise – the priest Stanisław Stojałowski. Already in 1885 he encouraged the readers of "Pszczółka Ilustrowana" to make the effort of participating in the first Polish pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Faced with the misfortunes suffered by the Polish nation, which can lead to "the annihilation of faith and nationality", he saw the necessity to lead pilgrims to Jerusalem in order to seek help there by following the example of famous statesmen faced with national misery.

In the same year a series of articles was published in "Pszczółka Ilustrowana", written by the priest Józef Pelczar, Ph.D. – *Przewodnik do Ziemi Świętej* [A guide to the Holy Land] in which the author described his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1872.

The opening article by Rev. J. Pelczar presented the beginnings of pilgrimages from the times of the apostles, gave examples of individual and mass pilgrimages in the early Middle Ages, the difficult times of Crucibles and various motives for this type of journey. He underlined the common respect shown to those pilgrims who happily returned from the Holy Land.⁶ The author deplored the transformation in religiousness commenced in the 14th cen-

⁴ Cf. ks. J. Myszor, *Pielgrzymki Górnoślązaków w XIX i na początku XX wieku*, "Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne" 1982, R. XV, s. 151.

⁵ D. Olszewski, *Polska kultura religijna na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa 1996, s. 187.

⁶ They wrote: "On their way back many died, those were considered to be martyrs; those who happily returned were greeted with respect and joy, led with a procession to the church,

tury, lasting until the 19th century, which lead to practical renouncement of pilgrimaging among Europeans until the mid-19th century. Its revival at that time led to the creation of institutions in the Western Europe dealing with their organisation such as "Dzieło pielgrzymek do Ziemi Świętej" [The work of pilgrimages to the Holy Land], established in 1852 under the patronage of the archbishop Sibour or the Viennese Saint-Severin Society. The corollary of these tendencies in 1872 was the Easter journey of 300 Roman Catholic pilgrims to Jerusalem, including 30 Poles.

Rev. Pelczar regretted that previously it was impossible to organise a national pilgrimage to the Holy Land. However, he noticed that many people were interested in such a quest, especially among peasants and priests. He rebuked "those more financially endowed" for wasting abroad "the heritage of their fathers on excesses and luxuries" and bringing back "scorn for religion, aversion to fatherland, void in their minds, hollowness in their hears, ruined wealth and undermined health". 7 He debunked the misconception that "a pilgrimage to the Holy Land can only satisfy a simpleton; on the contrary, even for the most rarefied minds it can have an inexpressible charm, if only the mind has sufficient faith. Even religion has its unique beauties [...], he added". 8 The perspective from which Rev. Pelczar evaluated the possibility of making the effort of such a long journey is also interesting; he wrote: "do not even think that the pilgrimage to the Holy Land is too burdensome and costly. Indeed, it requires effort and sacrifice, namely the sea voyage during storm is unpleasant and horse-riding is disagreeable for those unaccustomed. But on the other hand these efforts are not so enormous that they could not be overcome, nor are the costs so high [...] especially today when steam brough countries together closer, and inns scattered all over Palestine give pilgrims free shelter and kind help".9

In its successive issues, the fortnightly published precious advice offered by Rev. Pelczar updated with address information for pilgrims traveling in groups. The advice concerned the preparation of proper documents, manner and time of travelling, prevention of diseases, financial security, choice of proper outfit and luggage and even the most necessary words in Arabic. The author recommended the following choice of itinerary of the pilgrimage: "the best is to start in Trieste and go by sea to the Holy Land. Having arrived to Jaffa you need to go to Jerusalem on horseback or on a donkey, then you visit Bethlehem, the Monastery of St John in the wilderness, Jordan and the Dead Sea. From Jerusalem you can

listened to their stories, asked for blessings from them and a pinch of soil from the Holy Land or a few drop of waters from Jordan", "Pszczółka Ilustrowana" 1885, nr 6, s. 45.

⁷ Tamże, s. 46.

⁸ Tamże.

⁹ Tamże.

take a trip to Nazareth through Samaria or coming back to Jaffa, sail to Kaiffa and from there you can take a trip to Nazareth, to Mount Tabor and to the Sea of Galilee. From Kaiffa you can sail back to Trieste".¹⁰

Other fragments of *Przewodnik do Ziemi Świętej* published by "Pszczółka Ilustrowana" constituted an erudite story about the curiosities regarding nature, architecture, cutler and history of visited places, the customs of the local population. They described in detail the biblical story of Christ's crucifixion. In each text the magazine included thematically related illustrations of places or events presented by the author, e.g. "Jaffa", "Carmel", "Chapel", "Erection of the cross", "Church of Christ's sepulchre", "Cenacle" or "Dinner in the East". Rev. Pelczar's guide certainly was an unputdownable read for pilgrims preparing for their journey.

In 1889 prospective pilgrims were asked to send declarations of participation in the planned peregrination the schedule of which was to be sent to parishes.¹² There was information about "a Golden Lamp" which the pilgrims were to take with themselves to the Holy Land as votive offering. 13 The lamp was created by the Lviv bronzing workshop of Jan Wypasek. The fortnightly in its consecutive issues printed lists of surnames of donors, almost several hundred in total. He also presented a drawing of the lamp to its readers. 14 Finally, the May issue of "Wieniec Polski" in 1981 reported that the editorial board could personally examine the already created lamp, which, allegedly, aroused a lot of interest. In April 1891 "Wieniec Polski" published the schedule of the national pilgrimage. Taking the advice of father Norbert Golichowski, the date of departure was delayed from 4th to 11th of May so that pilgrims could reach Jerusalem after Pentecost, when swarms of pilgrims from other nations would be gone. The itinerary was planned in the following way: from Cieszyn to Budapest (length of journey: about half a day) from Budapest to Fiume, below Trieste (1 day), from Trieste to Jaffa (10–12 days by ship). The stay in the Holy Land also took 10-12 days and included Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth. The return journey went the same way. 15 40 pilgrims mainly from Galicia and partly from Silesia declared their participation.

¹⁰ Przewodnik do Ziemi Świętej przez X. Dr. Józefa Pelczara (ciąg dalszy), "Pszczółka Ilustrowana" 1886, nr 1, s. 6.

¹¹ See "Pszczółka Ilustrowana" 1886, nr 8, s. 61–63; nr 9, s. 68–70; nr 10, s. 76–78; nr 12, s. 93–94; nr 13, s. 100–101; nr 15, s. 116–117; nr 19, s. 152–153; nr 22, s. 172–173; nr 25, s. 196–198.

¹² See ks. S. Stojałowski, *Pierwsza narodowa pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej*, "Wieniec Polski" 1889, nr 21, s. 321–322.

¹³ See ks. S. Stojałowski, dz. cyt., s. 322.

¹⁴ See "Wieniec Polski" 1890, nr 21, b.n.s.

¹⁵ Pilgrims had to incur charges related to the journey in the amount of 90 Rhenish zlotys 60 kreuzers and bring their own food rations for almost 40 days. The total amount of spending was estimated at about 150 Rhenish zlotys.

In August 1891 Rev. Stojałowski wrote about the happy return of the pilgrims to the country and the equally lucky avoidance of the epidemic of cholera which started to spread just after their leave from Jerusalem. The first national pilgrimage to the Holy Land ended as a success. The editor of the magazine promised to collect the accounts from the journey and publish them in a separate volume which would be sent to the participants in the pilgrimage and readers of "Wieniec Polski". 16

Three more pilgrimages departed from Galicia to the Holy Land, all organised by the Committee of the Holy Land with its seat in Lviv established in Galicia in 1902 where Rev. Zygmunt Janicki vigorously operated and when he obtained the nomination for the commissioner in 1911 he moved the seat to Cracow.¹⁷ Pilgrimages took place in 1907, 1909 and 1914, just before the outbreak of WWI. The peasant press did not follow their course with that considerable interest and mentions about it were only published in "Ojczyzna" and "Rola". The subject was sparingly treated by the Cracow "Czas", which focused on the short account from the greeting of the pilgrims returning to Cracow on 21.09.1907. "Rola" in turn on the basis of the account by the priest/participant in this journey [most probably Rev. Janicki] included the descriptions of holy places visited then by the pilgrims in Jerusalem and Jericho. 18 "Ojczyzna" informed about the planned third pilgrimage (its beginning was scheduled at the 22nd of June 1914), its costs and intended visits in the places of Christian cult such as Haifa, Nazareth, Mount Carmel, Jerusalem and the vicinity of Bethlehem, "St John's church in the wilderness".19

A frequent destination of Galicians' pilgrimages was Rome. According to Rev. Jan Górecki, the pilgrimage movement to Rome intensified in the second half of the 19th century since "in the center of Christianity, among other things, people were looking for support for the Polish cause and also they wanted to support the Vatican City State at least in the material form".²⁰

The pilgrimage to Rome in 1888 was reported on the first pages of "Pszczółka Ilustrowana". It gathered about 800 pilgrims, both Poles and Ruthenians, who were invited by the pope Leo XIII to an audience. The address was read by the archbishop Lviv metropolitan Seweryn Tytus Morawski, and after the

¹⁶ See ks. S. Stojałowski, *Słowo po pierwszej polskiej pielgrzymce do Ziemi Świętej*, "Wieniec Polski" 1891, nr 1, s. 1–3.

¹⁷ Cf. K. Jarkiewicz, Śladami Chrystusa. Ziemia Święta w oczach reformaty ks. Zygmunta Janickiego [w:] Kulturotwórcze i religijne aspekty podróży duchownych, red. D. Quirini-Popławska, Ł. Burkiewicz, Kraków 2014, s. 687–715.

¹⁸ See *Miejsca święte w Jerozolimie*, "Rola" 1907, nr 13, s. 7–10.

¹⁹ See *Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Świętej*, "Ojczyzna. Tygodnik dla ludu" 1914, nr 15, s. 187.

²⁰ Ks. J. Górecki, Fenomen pielgrzymowania Europejczyków do Rzymu na podstawie czasopisma "Katolik" (1869–1914), "Peregrinus Cracoviensis" 2007, z. 18, s. 48.

pope's words, performances followed: pilgrims sang an Easter song and received the papal blessing. As reported by "Pszczółka Ilustrowana" on the basis of a telegram from "Czas", the pope addressed the pilgrims also with the following words: "... I am glad that I can see a unity of feelings in the variety of languages and rites. It is a quality of the Church to unite all nations in one common love. The Church is happy to see nations preserving faithfully their traditions and customs, recognizing differences validated in this manner. With pious respect maintain harmony and do not stop following in the footsteps of your famous ancestors". 21 This pilgrimage was an example of the unity of Greek and Roman Catholics in the face of papacy, especially in the context of the crisis of the Uniate Church in the Chełm diocese.²² In the account of "Czas", archbishop Morawski stressed the participation in the pilgrimage of archbishops of three Catholic rites together with their followers from the Austrian Galicia, the Grand Duchy of Cracow and the Duchy of Bukovina. He emphasised Leo XIII's care for "the Catholic faith between Ruthenians" by the creation of the capitol of the Ruthenian bishopric in Stanisławów²³ and the preservation of the Armenian Church in this unity. The wife of marshal Tarnowski handed a letter to the pope in which a dozen Lviv and Cracow ladies confirmed the readiness to pay for the education of two alumni: one Latin and one Ruthenian for the period of six years in Roman colleges.

The Roman pilgrimage of Galicians in 1888, apart from unifying different confessions of faith, had also a national character. Is was organised under Polish leadership and with the participation of peasants and numerous aristocrats in national dresses.²⁴ It was not only an example of preserving unity of different confessions but a manifestation of the national autonomy of Polish pilgrims from Galicia.

In September 1891, in turn, youth pilgrimage on foot to the Apostolic See took place under the leadership of the canon, Rev. Wincenty Smoczyński from Cracow. In the account from "Wieniec Polski" only 18 young people from Poland but thousands from other European countries took part in it. With respect to its international character, Polish pilgrims did not participate in the individual

 $^{^{21}}$ Posłuchanie pielgrzymów naszych u Ojca Św., "Pszczółka Ilustrowana" 1888, nr 8b, s. 129.

²² It was assumed that "Uniate clergy from Galicia buried the hopes for the church union in the Chełm diocese", ks. B. Kumor, *Historia Kościoła. Czasy najnowsze 1815–1914*, cz. 7, Lublin 1991, s. 406.

²³ "Czas" 1888, nr 96, s. 1.

²⁴ The group included also Rev. Adam Sapieha, count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, count Stanisław Tarnowski, count Jan Szeptycki, duchess Marcelina Czartoryska, the marshal's wife Tarnowska, duchess Adamowa Sapieżyna, countess Stanisławowa Tarnowska, see "Czas" 1888, nr 95, s. 1.

audience with the pope, Leo XIII but were represented by a three-person deputation consisting of August Cyfrowicz, Roman Jordan and Marceli Łuszczkiewicz. When Rev. Smoczyński introduced the young pilgrims to the pope, Leo XIII in Latin addressed the visitors with the following words: "I bless your youth, I bless Poland which I love very much". 25 Young people from Poland laid a silver lily with an inscription in Polish as votive offering from Marian youth from Galicia on the grave of St Stanisław Kostka in St Andrew's Church through the agency of cardinal Mieczysław Ledóchowski. The magazine mentioned also the accompanying "riots and attacks [on pilgrims] instigated by godless Italians".26 The Cracow "Czas", in turn, added that during the audience with the pope on the 2nd of October the Latin address from the Catholic youth was read. It included the youth's desire that "God thwarts the designs of evil people and brings the restoration of the violated social order". ²⁷ In response, the pope warned the youth against "the destructive and ill-conceived theories, recommending devotion to the Apostolic See". As we read in the Cracow magazine, in his next words Leo XIII indicated that "those who claim that the pope is free falsify the idea of freedom. [Ha called] [...] young pilgrims to defend the cause of papacy with all available legal means". ²⁸ Admittedly, the journal described in detail the incidents in Pantheon initiated by French pilgrims, which were of political nature, but it did not explain it.²⁹ Improper or provocative behaviour of the pilgrims was perceived as "an insult to the memory of the great king, the father of the homeland". 30 In this way pilgrims became a party in the glowing conflict between papacy and the authorities of the Roman Republic.³¹

²⁵ "Wieniec Polski" 1891, nr 7, s. 106.

²⁶ Tamże.

²⁷ "Czas" 1891, nr 225, s. 3.

²⁸ Tamże.

²⁹ "Czas" 1891, nr 226, s. 3. In the Pantheon before the tomb of Viktor Emanuel some pilgrims did not show sufficient respect and "noisy incidents" took place. Three pilgrims from France were arrested. In response there was a demonstration in the streets of Rome. The demonstrators made a racket, whistled in front of the hotels where pilgrims lived and demanded that the owner should hang out the national flag. Around midnight street demonstrations came to an end in the area of Piazza d'Espagna. Roman citizens in protest against insults to the king, hurried to the Pantheon to write their names in the register of those visiting the tomb of Viktor Emanuel. The Apostolic See had to express its regret to the authorities in Rome in relation to the incident.

³⁰ Tamże.

³¹ The reason for these incidents could be the many years' conflict between papacy and the Italian state. Leo XIII wanted to restore the lost influence of the Holy See on the united Kingdom of Italy. In 1870 Victor Emanuel II seized Rome and moved the capital of Italy there starting a conflict called the Roman Question. Leo XIII thanks to his diplomatic skills "reached an agreement with protestant and orthodox church countries but could not reach a consensus with his own nation and homeland, Italy", ks. B. Kumor, dz. cyt., s. 228.

On the occasion of the 600 years' jubilee of transferring the house of the Virgin Mary to Loretto, in spring 1895, the pilgrims departed from Cracow with the intent of reaching Loretto and Rome and other holy places in Italy. The information about the organisation of this journey could be found in "Niedziela".32 They departed in a special train from Cracow. As added by the Cracow "Czas", "there were 140 of them, from clergy, citizens and people coming both from the city and the village". 33 On the way they were joined by another group of pilgrims. The route went through Vienna, Padua, Loretto, Assisi to Rome and from there through Chiusi, Terentola, Florence, Bologna and Venice. On their way back the pilgrims could travel to any chosen place in Italy with the reservation that such a trip could not last longer than 60 days. Also the outfit was an element which distinguished the pilgrims from the Austrian partition as they were encouraged to wear the national dress, especially when staying in Rome. Peasants, in turn, were encouraged to wear the Cracow russet coat or a regional dress. Travel expenses were estimated.³⁴ The supervisor of the trip was Rev. Jan Siedlecki, a Loreto canon. However, due to his problems with health he was replaced by Rev. Wincenty Smoczyński, Ph.D. from Tenczynek. The date of departure was set to the 7th of May and the return journey – three weeks later. 35 "Niedziela" informed about their happy return to Cracow on the 30th of May 1895.36

On the 5th of May 1904 600 pilgrims from Galicia, the Kingdom of Poland, Luthania and the Grand Duchy of Poznan were received in Vatican by the successor of Leo XII in the Apostolic See – Pope Pius X. "Polak" reported that the pigrlims included 7 archbishops and bishops, 60 priests and many secular dignitaries.³⁷ The participants gave the Holy Fatheran address with the coats of arms of Poland and Lithuania. Apart from assurances of loyalty to papacy, Polish pilgrims informed the Holy Father about the deteriorating religious nad national situation on Polish lands under partitions.

One year later, on Easter Sunday in 1905 in the account of "Ojczyzna", the pope Pius X received "Polish youth together with professors during a separate audience". ³⁸ The next day there was an official audience for 700 pilgrims from Poland, among which there were students and prominent persons introduced to the pope by the bishop Józef Bilczewski. A more thorough account was pro-

³² Pielgrzymka polska, "Niedziela" 1895, nr 8, s. 124.

^{33 &}quot;Czas" 1895, nr 106, s. 2.

³⁴ The travel expenses in the 3rd class equalled 48 zlotys. Austrian guldens had to be taken in case of unexpected expenses.

³⁵ Cf. "Niedziela" 1895, nr 17, s. 264.

³⁶ Cf. "Niedziela" 1895, nr 23, s. 363.

³⁷ See *Pielgrzymka polska do Rzymu*, "Polak" 1904, nr 5, s. 79.

³⁸ "Ojczyzna. Pismo tygodniowe z obrazkami dla wszystkich" 1905, nr 19, s. 302. Jak czytamy, Pius X dopuścił osobiście do ucałowania stopy, co stanowiło wyjątkowy wypadek.

vided by the Cracow "Czas" by adding new information.³⁹ The ranks of the pilgrims included 350 students of secondary schools and teacher seminaries and about 50 professors (also parents and relatives of the young people). The route of the pilgrimage as reported by the magazine, went through Fiume and Ancona. In Fiume one of the students fell from the ship into the sea; however, this incident ended happily. Further, travellers went by train. Unfortunately, the strike of Italian railway men posed an obstacle to reaching Rome in time. Finally, young people stayed at the Sisters of Mercy House in Vatican. During their stay in Rome guides showed the sights to the pilgrims, i.e. museums, churches, and the statues of the Eternal City. Archbishop Bilczewski personally talked about the excavation sites in Forum Romanum and the history of the monuments in Rome. Some pilgrims went sightseeing in Naples.

The inter-partition pilgrimage movement was directed towards the cult of the Virgin Mary. The celebrations of crowning the images of the Mother of Jesus attracted flocks of pilgrims as was the case with the event in 1877 in Stara Wieś near Brzozów. It was the first crowning ceremony for 100 years on Polish lands under partitions. Till 1918 in the territory of the Austrian partition 9 crowning ceremonies were organised. The turn of the 19th century and the 20th century the main center of pilgrimages from all Polish lands was the Jasna Góra Monastery. [...] For Galicia: Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Sokal, Stara Wieś, Kalwaria Pacławska, Kraków, Tuchów, Kochawina and Borek Stary".

The celebrations of crowning the picture of the Heavenly Mother in Stara Wieś were thoroughly reported by the press, i.e. "Chata" and "Czas". The former one heartily encouraged its readers to participate in the religious celebrations, publishing the schedule of the church services from the 1st to the 12th of September in 1877. In the culminating point even 100 thousand pilgrims gathered during the celebrations. Also church dignitaries came to Stara Wieś: the Apostolic nuncio from the court in Vienna, the Thessaloniki archbishop Ludwik Jacobini, the Lviv archbishop of the Armenian rite Grzegorz Józef Romaszkan, the metropolitan Sylwester Sembratowicz and the Greek Catholic bishop from Przemyśl Jan Stupnicki. The crowing was not attended only by those Latin rite bishops who were sick or busy with inspections: the Przemyśl bishop Ma-

³⁹ Polska pielgrzymka w Rzymie, "Czas" 1905, nr 94, s. 2–3.

⁴⁰ See ks. B. Natoński, *W setną rocznicę koronacji obrazu Zaśnięcia i Wniebowzięcia NMP w Starej Wsi (1877–1977)*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1979, t. 51, s. 119–139.

⁴¹ See A. Jackowski, I. Sołjan, *Millenium polskiego pielgrzymowania*, "Peregrinus Cracoviensis" 2000, z. 8, s. 20.

⁴² Tamże

⁴³ See O koronacyi cudownego obrazu N. Panny w Starejwsi, "Chata" 1877, nr 18, s. 273–277.

 $^{^{44}}$ See O koronacyi cudownego obrazu N. P. w Starejwsi pod Brzozowem, "Chata" 1877, nr 19, s. 300.

ciej Hirschler, the Lviv archbishop Franciszek Ksawery Wierzchleyski and the Tarnów bishop Józef Alojzy Pukalski. 45 The absence of such important dignitaries was commented on by the Galician press which, however, never explained its reasons. 46 In "Czas" it was possible to read that "during the magnificent celebrations the lack of Latin bishops could be perpetually and painfully felt". 47 In turn, "Wiadomości Kościelne" quoted the diplomatic statement of the nuncio Jacobini, explaining the absence of Latin bishops as "speciales rationes", 48 while the above mentioned "Chata" did not touch upon this issue.

According to the author of an article in the Cracow "Czas", the coronation church fete was mainly of popular character but "at the same time it proved the unification of all classes in feelings of religious faith and foreboded [...] closer relations and reconciliation between nationalities and rites",⁴⁹ which was substantiated by the presence of the metropolitan and Przemyśl bishop along with the members of the two chapters and the representation of over 50 Uniate priests, joined by Ruthenian peasants. People shouted: "Unitas!, unitas! Unity of the Latin Church with the Greek-Uniate Church".⁵⁰ Simultaneously, the press expressed its concern about the durability of this religious unity,⁵¹ as still it was difficult to forget the recent crisis in the relations with the Uniate Church in the Chełm diocese.

The mass scale and the intensity of religiousness of the coronation celebrations in Stara Wieś came as a surprise for the press, which wrote: "the influx of groups of people hurrying for a week along all the roads and paths became so intensive yesterday that it is impossible to hide your emotions when describing them. It looks like a total state of a siege of a great army of white people praying and singing all the time [...]. The neighbourhood within ten miles, as confirmed by the coming pilgrims, have been completely depopulated".⁵²

The sanctuary was also visited by people from Cracow, Silesia and even Slovaks from Hungary, about 500 people, who also worshipped Virgin Mary

⁴⁵ See ks. B. Natoński, dz. cyt., s. 135–136.

⁴⁶ The already aged bishops M. Hirschler and F.K. Wierzchleyski indeed could refuse to participate in the celebrations due to poor health but the attitude of the Tarnów bishop J.A. Pukalski could constitute a manifestation of objection against the attempt to unify rites in the Virgin Mary celebrations.

^{47 &}quot;Czas" 1877, nr 207, s. 2.

^{48 &}quot;Wiadomości Kościelne" 1877, nr 19, s. 151.

⁴⁹ *Ze Starej Wsi*, under the pseudonym of D [probably Ludwik Zygmunt Dębicki], "Czas" 1877, nr 206, s. 1.

⁵⁰ Ks. I. Polkowski, Koronacja obrazu Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Starej Wsi, "Czas" 1877, nr 208, s. 2.

⁵¹ See "Czas" 1877, nr 207, s. 2.

⁵² "Czas" 1877, nr 206, s. 1.

from Stara Wieś.⁵³ Pilgrims in national dresses camped outdoors, "day and night launching an assault of prayers and hymns to the Mother of God, as if willing to gain her favours so that she will take the country and nation into her care".⁵⁴

The press also noticed the missionary celebrations in Borek Stary near Tyczyn, prepared on the occasion of the 550 years' anniversary of the Virgin Mary in the miraculous picture in the Jasna Góra Monastery.⁵⁵ Celebrations began on the 7th of August in 1886 and lasted eight days, 56 during which a short history of the local church and the Dominican monastery was presented. The uniqueness of the ceremony was underlined when on the day of Assumption two priests celebrated a votive mass in the Greek rite, accompanied by the choir of "voluntary singers from neighbouring villages", prepared by Rev. Nehrebecki, the parish priest from Zalesie.⁵⁷ It was stressed that this performance contributed to the popularisation of the beautiful but little known Eastern liturgy. In the celebrations in the Holy Mother sanctuary in Borek, in the account of "Pszczółka Ilustrowana", everyday up to 3 thousand pilgrims took part, but their numbers increased to 50 thousand in the culminating point. More pilgrims arrived: from Sandomierz, Bochnia, Sanok, joint processions from Tyczyn and Boguchwała, led by clergymen. "A huge number" of members of the intelligentsia was noticed and a relative small number of priests in relation to the number of pilgrims.

Also Galicia became an important destination for pilgrimages from other regions of Poland, e.g. the pilgrimage from Silesia and Great Poland to Cracow in 1980. As can be read in "Wieniec Polski", it took place for two days of Whitsunday, i.e. that year on the 25th of May. 300 people were expected to come but, meanwhile, as the magazine reported, the number of pilgrims who already arrived in Cracow was twice bigger. The organisers were the editors of two Silesian peasant-folk magazines: "Catholic" published in Bytom and "Nowiny Raciborskie".

The Galician "Wieniec Polski" and "Niedziela" published a lot of information concerning the organisation and course of the pilgrimage. The reception of the pilgrims was organised by the Cracow citizens' committee, the chairman of which was the MP to the National Parliament, Ferdynand Weigel, an important

⁵³ See F. Mróz, Ł. Mróz, *Pielgrzymowanie do Sanktuarium Matki Bożej Starowiejskiej w Starej Wsi*, "Przeszłość i Teraźniejszość" 2014, s. 299 [accessed on 21.01.2020]; *O koronacyi cudownego obrazu w Starejwsi pod Brzozowem*, "Chata" 1877, nr 20, s. 306.

⁵⁴ Tamże. "Czas" 1877, nr 206, s. 1.

⁵⁵ Matka Boska na Jasnej Górze w Borku starym [sic!], "Pszczółka Ilustrowana" 1886, nr 22, s. 171.

⁵⁶ The day and month of the celebration was determined by the author based on the calendar from 1886 since the article mentions only the following information: "service (...) began on Saturday before Sunday VIII after Whitsunday", tamże.

⁵⁷ Tamże.

member of which was Franciszek Ksawery Konopka from Zaleszany and the vigorous secretary of which was the editor of "Kurier Polski", Józef Orłowski, who was also the author of the program of the pilgrims' reception. Greeting of the newcomers started already in Trzebinia where the members of the Cracow committee arrived. Guests from Great Poland and Silesia were offered a breakfast at the tables prepared for this purpose at the railway station by Józef Baranowski, the owner of Trzebinia.⁵⁸ At the Cracow railway station, in turn, the pilgrims were greeted by the committee members together with the "Sokół" choir and the municipal orchestra. There were only a dozen or so peasants.⁵⁹ Accompanied by the orchestra playing national songs, the travellers from the railway station went on foot, heading for the service to the Church of the Virgin Mary, celebrated by Rev. Władysław Chotkowski. After the end of the service everybody went to the building of the city council where in the meeting hall they were greeted on behalf of the city Cracow by the president Feliks Szlachtowski. Napieralski spoke on behalf of the pilgrims; subsequently, speeches were delivered by the president Grzybowski (on behalf of the academic youth) and by the prior of Paulinites, Rev. Ambroży Fedorowicz, underlining the significance of two places for the Polish people: Częstochowa and Cracow. After dinner, guests went in the form of a procession along Szpitalna Street, heading for the nearby monasteries of Franciscan and Dominican monks where they visited both churches and then they went on to see Wawel. There, the canon priest of the Wawel charter, Józef Sebastian Pelczar, gave a speech to those gathered at the grave of Saint Stanisław. He called the pilgrims to persist in their faith and to defend their mother tongue. He deplored the fact that the Upper Silesian princes, nobleman and townsmen had already been germanised and only peasants "retained faith and their mother tongue".60

In the next part of the visit, the pilgrims went to see the Wawel church and graves. Stanisław Tomkiweicz, Ph. D. showed them the chapels, while prof. Władysław Łuszczkiewicz "for three hours outlined the figures of kings and national history". From Wawel the pilgrims went to Skałka where they were taken care of by the prior Teodorowicz [rather Father Ambroży Ignacy Fedorowicz]. Fedorowicz]. Here

⁵⁸ See *Pielgrzymka Ślązaków i Wielkopolan do Krakowa*, "Wieniec Polski" 1890, nr 11, s. 178. We can read that apart from the large representation of the local intelligentsia, clergy and "a host of peasants", also count Antoni Wodzicki, the vice-president of the Chrzanów Poviat council and almost all owners of neighbouring properties came to the station. After welcoming speeches and a sumptuous breakfast, pilgrims went to Cracow in two trains.

⁵⁹ Tamże. "Wieniec Polski" 1890, nr 11, s. 178.

⁶⁰ Tamże, s. 180.

⁶¹ Tamże.

⁶² The magazine by mistake printed the surname Teodorowicz. The function of the prior of the Skałka Monastery at that time was held by father Ignacy Fedorowicz. See o. J. Zbudniewek,

the graves of distinguished people were visited. In the evening the guests saw a theatre play by Władysława Ludwika Anczyca entitled "Kościuszko in the battle of Racławice".

The second day of their stay, the pilgrims went on a trip to Wieliczka, in which 500 people took part as reported by "Wieniec Polski". In the underground chapel the service was celebrated by the local parish priest and prelate Henryk Skrzyński. After returning from Wieliczka, the guests went on another trip to the Kościuszko Mound where the visitors were greeted by prof. August Sokołowski, who described in detail the figure of the first peasant commander. After returning to the city, the pilgrims participated in a May mass in the Franciscan church after which they were addressed by the bishop Albin Dunajewski, who gave them his blessing. It was the last official part of the program of the pilgrimage after which the visitors went home. The weekly "Niedziela", published a report from this pilgrimage, summarising it in the following words: "it is difficult to describe the joy and emotions felt both by the guests and the inhabitants of Cracow when they greeted themselves and when they said goodbye, when they could get to know each other and get closer". 63

The presence of the Cracow dignitaries among those greeting the pilgrims from Silesia and Great Poland, the comprehensive religious and cultural program, hospitality of the organisers prove that this type of visits played a vital role in cultivating not only religious bonds but also the national ones between Poles.

A serious issue related to pilgrims' travels was the organisation of accommodation. It was mentioned by the magazine "Rola" in 1912, which focused on the lack of free-of-charge sleeping rooms for pilgrims in such locations of church fetes as Galicia, Kalwaria or Leżajsk. It referred to the organisation of accommodation facilities around the Jasna Góra Monastery where 13 sleeping facilities were offered for the capacity of maximum 1 500 pilgrims. It also announced the creation of accommodation facilities around the monastery for several thousand peasant pilgrims and in cooperation with the Hygienic Society – "public baths".⁶⁴

O. Ignacy Ambroży Fedorowicz (1836–1913), "Nasza Przeszłość. Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce" 1971, t. 36, s. 271–286.

⁶³ Pielgrzymka Górnoślązaków i Wielkopolan do Krakowa, "Niedziela" 1890, nr 22, s. 175.

⁶⁴ Bezplatne sypialnie dla patników, "Rola" 1912, nr 39, s. 621. We can read there: "next to the public sleeping rooms, well-lit, aired and equipped with washstands, tables, benches etc. there are also the much-desired cheap kitchens, especially during church fetes. There you can obtain bread, a cold meal and tea but also hot meals: borsch, cabbage soup, potato soup, etc." Public washrooms started to be built in 1914 as reported by "Codzienny Kurier Lubelski" of the 14th of June 1914. The buildings were made of brick and contained baths, tubs, showers, laundries and other facilities.

The authors of the accounts from pilgrimages presented in the magazines addressed to the general public, focused on their patriotic aspect. According to them, such was also the nature of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1891. Polish pilgrimages to holy places played the role of cultivating the national unity and tradition and teaching the native history. In detailed descriptions events proving the relation of Catholicism and the Polish nation were emphasised. Sometimes the political aspects of pilgrimages were shown when they integrated the inhabitants of Galicia of different denominations and nationalities under the Polish leadership. Press accounts highlighted also the attempts to overcome religious divisions between Catholics of different rites which happened in Stara Wieś and Borek Stary.

Galician magazines also stressed the cognitive advantages of pilgrimages. Sometimes the historical places visited by pilgrims were enumerated in great detail. Pilgrims quite often had the opportunity to participate in the cultural attractions prepared for them. Also information necessary for organising a pilgrimage was published in a form resembling tourist guides. Magazines in this way not only encouraged to go on pilgrimages but also became a valuable source of information about the unknown world.

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Streszczenie

Przedmiotem podjętych badań w niniejszym tekście jest obraz pielgrzymowania Galicjan i mieszkańców pozostałych zaborów przedstawiony w prasie galicyjskiej. Pielgrzymki stanowiły ważny aspekt życia religijnego Galicji, a w drugiej połowie XIX w. zaczęły nabierać charakteru masowego. Galicyjscy pielgrzymi podejmowali wyprawy pątnicze nie tylko do miejsc kultu w obrębie zaboru, ale także odważne wyprawy do Rzymu i Ziemi Świętej. Autorzy artykułów zwracali uwagę nie tylko na wymiar religijny opisywanych przez nich pielgrzymek Polaków do miejsc świętych, ale również ukazywali je jako możliwość kultywowania jedności i tradycji narodowej oraz bliższego poznania ojczystej historii.

Słowa kluczowe: pielgrzymka, Galicja, prasa galicyjska, Ziemia Święta, Rzym