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## **The desecularisation of religiousness or the secularisation of a pilgrimage? Religious tourism as an element of the Polish religiousness**

### **Introductory remarks**

Pilgrimages and religious tourism attract the attention of various fields of knowledge, including history and the history of religion, architecture, anthropology, archaeology, theology, psychology, sociology and even economy<sup>1</sup>. The scholars' inquisitiveness has a few reasons. First of all, going on pilgrimages is one of the oldest and most common forms of migration undertaken for extra-economic reasons, it also constitutes an extremely permanent religious practice – it is assumed that journeys of this kind had already taken place in prehistoric times, while until recently it has been the only tourist activity available to the poorest social classes. We can therefore say that pilgrimages deserve a universal and timeless value<sup>2</sup>.

In this article I would like to analyse the phenomenon of pilgrimaging as one of the practices gaining significance to the present-day Catholics in Poland<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Wyrwa, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad średniowiecznymi podróżami z ziem polskich do "grobu" św. Jakuba Apostoła*, in: *Drogi św. Jakuba w Polsce. Stan badań i organizacja*, A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz (ed.), Kraków – Nowy Targ – Więclawice Stare 2008, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> A. Jackowski, I. Sołjan, *Pielgrzymki do Santiago de Compostela w czasie i przestrzeni*, in: *Drogi św. Jakuba w Polsce. Stan badań i organizacja*, A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, I. Hodorowicz (ed.), op. cit., pp. 15-26.

<sup>3</sup> I will focus on Roman Catholics, although also people declaring their relationship with other Churches, religions and even atheists take part in religious tourism and pilgrimages. However, in Poland the destination of the most numerous journeys of religious nature are Catholic sanctuaries, while Catholics are the group which goes on pilgrimages most often.

After the Second World War, far-reaching changes occurred in the religiousness of the Western European societies, for example the issue of attending Masses and church services, which had formerly been obvious, ceased to be perceived as an obligatory practice and became a matter of individual choice. As Witold Zdaniewicz points out, the answers to the question: What does it mean to be a Christian, can refer to various ideas of what is a prerequisite for sustaining the self-definition of being a Christian and what is not. Moreover, the models of religiousness fulfilled by believers also contain extra-religious elements, such as a family and national tradition, customs, fashion and others, which have a certain significance to forms of religiousness, although they are not decisive<sup>4</sup>.

The declining participation of believers in religious rituals, which is shown in the research of sociologists of religion, does not have to mean the weakening of attachment to religion. Sociological analyses of institutional religion in our country are centred around chosen indicators, most often around the self-declarations of faith or the connection with religion, participation in Masses and church services as well as rites of passage (baptism, the First Communion, a wedding, a funeral). However, in such a conceptualisation of religiousness we will not find "ideas, projects, offers shaping the contemporary *model of piety* (...), which by expressing religious needs via present-day means of culture, would find a wide social acceptance of various social groups, creating religious culture of future generations of the Catholics in Poland"<sup>5</sup>.

One of the directions of change in the religiousness of Poles is the expectation of a shared presence in physical space, which is not limited to their own parish and local community. Journeys of religious nature are such a kind of practice, the intensity of which is not weakening in Europe at all, but on the contrary – we can observe their accelerated development<sup>6</sup>. It is worth mentioning that the activity of Poles connected with pilgrimaging is especially large when compared with other European societies – about 15% of Poles go on a pilgrimage every year, which constitutes about 20% of Christian pilgrims in Europe<sup>7</sup>.

Another form of the presence in the public sphere can be the axiological shift of the Catholics in Poland, who turn to citizens' initiatives, which has been noticed by W. Świątkiewicz. Such undertakings were based on creating the so-called independent media, where ideas excluded from the mainstream broadcasting were expressed. Marches taking place in large and small cities, among other things in order to explain

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<sup>4</sup> W. Zdaniewicz, *Model katolickiej religijności*, in: *Postawy społeczno-religijne Polaków 1991-2012*, L. Adamczuk, E. Firlit, W. Zdaniewicz (ed.), Warszawa 2013, pp. 103-104.

<sup>5</sup> W. Świątkiewicz, *Religijne praktyki i zwyczaje w pejzażu kultury polskiej rodziny*, in: *W poszukiwaniu ciągłości i zmiany. Religia w perspektywie socjologicznej*, I. Borowik (ed.), Kraków 2012, pp. 263-287.

<sup>6</sup> D. Ptaszycka-Jackowska, A. Jackowski, U. Gospodarek, *Piesze pielgrzymowanie na Jasną Górę, "Peregrinus Cracoviensis"*, 1998, no. 6, p. 111.

<sup>7</sup> A. Datko, *Sanktuaria i pielgrzymki*, in: *Rocznik statystyczny. Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1991-2011*, Warszawa 2014, p. 222.

the Smolensk plane crash, marches “Obudź się, Polsko” (Wake up, Poland) etc., in which tens of thousands of participants have taken part<sup>8</sup>, are of similar character. The mentioned social practices – going on pilgrimages as well as civic participation have the following common features:

- focusing on the physical presence in the public sphere, where the participants can not only count one another, but they also become visible to others,
- participants act as a group, the basis of which is the shared attitude towards the Christian values and not as a number of individuals with diverse motivation,
- active form of participation,
- expectation of being freed from restrictions – spatial, religious, political and other.

In this article, I will concentrate on one form of presence in the public sphere – religious tourism and going on pilgrimages.

### The sacred and the profane in journeys

Due to the presence of the sacred element, religious practices can be found on a scale between the sacred and the profane. In religious symbols a profane dimension might gain a basic value. It causes the loss of the motivational and experiential aspect of religiousness connected with a given symbol<sup>9</sup>. It also concerns pilgrimages, in which case religious values do not exhaust its significance. It is complemented by cognitive, relaxational and recreational purposes, while during the partitions of Poland also patriotic purposes additionally appeared, when pilgrimaging served national integration<sup>10</sup>. According to the quoted author, in our times the cognitive and relaxational functions constitute not only additional purposes of pilgrims, but even predominate<sup>11</sup>, as a result of the development of the “tourist industry”.

The co-occurrence of secular (tourist) and religious dimensions of contemporary pilgrimaging is perfectly depicted by the latest history of Santiago de Compostela (the Way of St. James), where the decisions of religious and secular authorities intertwine. Both of them have contributed to strengthening the high position of this place as a destination of pilgrims. The revival of the pilgrims’ route began with announcing by John Paul II in 1982 the “European Act” and granting it an honorary title of the “First Route of Europe” by the Council of Europe. In 1987 this route was awarded the “European Cultural Route” status, in 1989 the World Youth Day took place there, in

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<sup>8</sup> W. Świątkiewicz, *Między rodziną a życiem publicznym – ciągłość i zmiana orientacji na wartości w polskim społeczeństwie*, in: *Postawy społeczno-religijne Polaków 1991-2012*, L. Adamczuk, E. Firlit, W. Zdaniewicz (ed.), op. cit., p. 196.

<sup>9</sup> W. Świątkiewicz, *Religijne praktyki i zwyczaje w pejzażu kultury polskiej rodziny*, op. cit., p. 267.

<sup>10</sup> A. Datko, *Ruch pielgrzymkowy jako przedmiot badań socjologicznych*, in: *Socjologia życia religijnego*, S. H. Zaręba (ed.), Warszawa 2009, p. 301.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem.

1993 it was included in the UNESCO List of World Heritage Sites, in 2000 the city of Santiago de Compostela was announced the World Capital of Culture<sup>12</sup>.

Due to the motivation of participants three kinds of journeys to the places of religious worship are distinguished in the literature on the subject:

– a pilgrimage, which aims at a religious experience, prayer, penance, miracle healing, etc.

– religious tourism, where religious and cognitive motives coexist,

– cultural tourism, based on cognitive motives<sup>13</sup>.

In the first two cases the journey is connected with visits to holy places of “your own” religion, while in the third – any locus sacrum<sup>14</sup> can be the destination. Moreover, the three above types of journeys differ in the attitude to a religious experience – in a pilgrimage it should appear, in religious tourism it can occur additionally, in cultural tourism – an individual experience in a holy place is not taken into account whatsoever.

Tourism and pilgrimaging also have common features. They include corporality and sensuality, a pilgrimage is not only a spiritual quest, but also the movement in a physical space, during which the hardships and inconvenience are experienced similarly to any other kind of journey. During a pilgrimage sensations play a crucial part – visual (the beauty of nature, works of culture), auditory (the birds singing, the rustle of trees, religious music), or even olfactory (flowers, forests, incense), etc.<sup>15</sup> The fact of setting off on a journey, using the same tourist infrastructure, the seasonal character – this activity is undertaken most often from springtime to autumn, as well as the influence on a town where a holy place is located are common to religious and tourist journeys<sup>16</sup>.

Distinguishing religious tourism from pilgrimaging, based on the criterion of the sacred motivation, is difficult to apply. According to A. Jackowski and I. Soljan, already in antiquity differentiating “real” pilgrims from visitors was not an easy matter. The noticeable dualism of aims had been discernible in the Middle Ages and it appears in our times<sup>17</sup>. Taking the above mentioned problem into consideration, I will use the term “religious tourism” with regard to journeys with any sacred component, while

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<sup>12</sup> M. Kuster, B. Maćkiewicz, *Ruch pielgrzymkowy do Santiago de Compostela w opinii mieszkańców (komunikat z badań)*, in: *“Akt Europejski” bł. Jana Pawła II a renesans Drogi św. Jakuba*, A. Jackowski, F. Mróz (ed.), Kraków 2012, p. 177.

<sup>13</sup> K. Buczkowska, *Aspekty religijne w podrózach kulturowych osób starszych (na przykładzie słuchaczy UTW i ATW w Poznaniu)*, *“Folia Turistica”*, 2012, no. 27, p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> There are also other aspects of this problem, some authors do not regard journeys to holy places undertaken for reasons other than religious (e.g. to places of worship of a different religion from your own) as religious tourism, but as cultural tourism. Cf. A. Jackowski, D. Ptaszycka-Jackowska, I. Soljan *Światowy system ośrodków pielgrzymkowych*, *“Turizm”*, 2002, no. 12/2, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> M. Ostrowski, *Przestrzeń pielgrzymowania jako kategoria teologiczna*, in: *Geografia i sacrum*, B. Domański, S. Skiba (ed.), Kraków 2005, p. 270.

<sup>16</sup> A. Jackowski, D. Jackowska-Ptaszycka, I. Soljan, *Światowy system ośrodków pielgrzymkowych*, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> A. Jackowski, I. Soljan, *Główne problemy badawcze w zakresie turystyki religijnej*, *“Turizm”*, 2008, no. 18/1, p. 43.

the term “pilgrimage” in cases when there are no doubts that the contact with the sacred is the set and main aim.

## The popularity of religious tourism in contemporary Poland

Tours serving religious purposes had already occurred in antiquity. One of the best-known example are the Olympic Games held every four years in Greece in honour of Zeus since the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. It was connected with artistic performances as well as athletic games, which attracted tens of thousands of Greeks and Romans<sup>18</sup> to Olympia. Sports and cultural events were one of the forms of religious worship there, which is reflected in overlapping religious and touristic (cognitive) motivations<sup>19</sup>. The journey of the emperor Otto III to Gniezno to the grave of St. Adalbert in the year 1000 is regarded as the oldest Christian pilgrimage in the history of Poland. As any social phenomenon, religiousness as well as journeys connected with it change with time, but I will leave the deliberations on historical transformations of pilgrimages for another occasion and I will concentrate on the present time.

Religious tourism has been developing in Poland since the beginning of the 1990s and includes journeys, which range from pilgrimages to “ordinary” tourism<sup>20</sup>. The political transformations after 1989, the pilgrimages of John Paul II (especially journeys to Poland in the years 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2002) as well as the European Union Association Agreement, which has made it easier for Poles to travel around the Commonwealth countries are regarded as the reasons for the development of religious tourism in our country<sup>21</sup>. Franciszek Mróz seeks the beginnings of the pilgrimage movement revival a little earlier – in tourist migrations in Europe observed since the 1980s, while he associates the contemporary popularity of religious tourism with a renaissance of former pilgrimage centres as well as new ones being established. The fact that only from 2007 to 2013, 80 new sanctuaries were built in Poland shows the scale of such a phenomenon<sup>22</sup>.

Pilgrimage tourism is the most recognized Roman Catholic Church activity in the Polish society at a local level. According to the Centre for Public Opinion Research (CBOS), indeed, pilgrimages are the parish undertaking, which is most noticeable<sup>23</sup> by

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<sup>18</sup> A. Jackowski, *Wybrane problemy turystyki pielgrzymkowej*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Geograficzne”, 1987, no. 68, pp. 72-73.

<sup>19</sup> A. Mazur, *Turystyka religijno-pielgrzymkowa: zjawiska społeczne i gospodarcze*, Warszawa 2011, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> A. Datko, *Sanktuaria i pielgrzymki*, in: *Rocznik statystyczny. Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1991-2011*, op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>21</sup> A. Mazur, *Turystyka religijno-pielgrzymkowa: zjawiska społeczne i gospodarcze*, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>22</sup> F. Mróz, *Szlaki pielgrzymkowe w krajobrazie sakralnym Polski*, in: *Krajobraz sakralny*, Józef Partyka (ed.), Lwów 2014, p. 104, <http://docplayer.pl/14113005-Szlaki-pielgrzymkowe-w-krajobrazie-sakralnym-polski.html> [Retrieved on 16 III 2017].

<sup>23</sup> The knowledge of parish initiatives was surveyed. The result means that 86% of the respondents know that pilgrimages are organised by the parish.

the respondents – 86% of the surveyed declare that they are organized by the parish. Other undertakings were mentioned much less often: 67% of the respondents notice the help provided to the poor, 60% – publishing a parish magazine, organising summer trips for children – 55%, as well as sports and tourist events – 38%<sup>24</sup>. Going on pilgrimages also turns out to be a popular religious practice – 27% of the respondents took part in domestic pilgrimages in 2011, while 4%<sup>25</sup> – in those abroad. Additionally – contrary to other religious rituals – since 1994 there has been an increase in people declaring participation in domestic pilgrimages – by 6% and in those abroad – by 2%<sup>26</sup>.

The World Youth Day, which took place in 2016 in Krakow, has contributed to the popularisation of pilgrimages in Poland. On this occasion, Pope Francis stayed in Poland for five days as well as pilgrims from 187 countries from around the world, the fact that three million people attended the Ceremonial Mass reflects the scale of this event<sup>27</sup>. The Polish and local media have devoted a lot of broadcasting time for discussing various aspects of the WYD. However, first and foremost, apart from keeping track of the media coverage, which was declared by 63% of the Centre for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) respondents, direct contacts with pilgrims seem to be crucial: more than a quarter of Poles (26%) met pilgrims in the public sphere, in the streets, in parks, markets, 9% attended a mass, adoration or other event, which took place in church together with the pilgrims, while 6% – in a concert, picnic, fair, etc. organized by a parish, diocese or local authorities<sup>28</sup>.

## The experiential dimension of religious tourism

Experience-driven orientation is characteristic of contemporary culture and present-day tourists. The notion of experience appeared in the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council, although its meaning was variously understood and initially underspecified or even unclear. However, the mere presence of this category in the teachings of the Church indicates an increase in the meaning of the experiential dimension of religiousness<sup>29</sup>.

The term “experience” refers to the inner, personal, subjective dimension of religiousness, therefore the growing popularity of pilgrimages can be interpreted as an indicator of religion undergoing subjectivity. However, it is not identical with individualisation, a religious tourist visits a holy place of Catholicism – a sanctuary. The

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<sup>24</sup> CBOS, Survey report, *Spoleczna percepcja rzeczywistości parafialnej*, Warszawa 2014, no. 163/2014, p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> CBOS, Survey report, *Spoleczeństwo - Sfery życia - Religia, wiara*, Warszawa 2011, no. BS/141/2011, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> K. Domagała-Szymonek, *Światowe Dni Młodzieży 2016 w liczbach. Podsumowanie*, “Dziennik Zachodni”, 1.08.2016, <http://www.dziennikzachodni.pl/swiatowe-dni-mlodziezy/a/swiatowe-dni-mlodziezy-2016-w-liczbach-podsumowanie,10465682/> [Retrieved on 16 III 2017].

<sup>28</sup> CBOS, Survey report, *Co pozostało po Światowych Dniach Młodzieży 2016*, Warszawa 2016, no. 126/2016, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> E. Jarmoch, *Wiara i religijność*, in: *Postawy społeczno-religijne Polaków 1991-2012*, op. cit., p. 46.

sanctuary itself is institutional – it requires a canonical approval, which “constitutes the official recognition of a holy place and its specific purpose. It entitles to welcome the pilgrims of the people of God, who go there to worship their Lord, to profess their faith, reconcile with God, the Church and their neighbours, to beg for the intercession of the Blessed Virgin or a saint<sup>30</sup>. A pilgrim’s experience is individual indeed, but at the same time it is included in the institutional framework of a certain religion as well as a specific locus sacrum. On the one hand, going on pilgrimages makes a religion a personal experience, but on the other hand – the scope of this experience had already been determined by a religious system. We can say that through experiences accompanying religious tourism, an institutional religion becomes a personal, subjective reality of a tourist or a pilgrim.

Another aspect of subjectivity within an institutional religion is the freedom of a contemporary pilgrimage, which does not belong to a set of obligatory practices<sup>31</sup>. It is worth mentioning on this occasion that the separation of the obligatory nature and the freedom of choice of a pilgrimage is neither explicit, nor is it a new invention. According to Victor Turner, even pilgrimages in the Middle Ages, “institutionalised in a great system of obligation (...) represented a higher level of freedom, choice, volition, structurelessness, than did, say, the world of the manor, village or mediaeval town. They were *Yin* to its *Yang*, cosmopolitanism to its local particularism”. To the quoted author, a pilgrimage is a form of “institutionalized or symbolic anti-structure”<sup>32</sup>.

Subjectivity and voluntariness are the reasons why religious tourism attracts even not very religiously engaged believers as well as non-believers. The surveys among the visitors to Compostela confirm that. Camino de Santiago is not regarded by all pilgrims only as a religious experience. Such a motivation was declared by 40% of pilgrims in 2010, another 40% set off on a journey both because of religious as well as cultural aims. For this reason many researchers do not use the adjective “religious” when referring to the Way of St. James (to avoid equating it exclusively with the Roman Catholic Church) and replace it with the term “spiritual”<sup>33</sup>. Yet another issue is worth mentioning on this occasion: the attractiveness of a journey to holy places for a present-day human being makes them a tool of evangelisation – even non-believing tourists visiting a sanctuary or on their way to it, undergo a religious influence<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Kongregacja ds. Kultu Bożego i Dyscypliny Sakramentów [Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments] *Dyrektorium o pobożności ludowej i liturgii*, Watykan 2002, as cited in J.M. Dyduch, *Pielgrzymowanie do sanktuariów ...*, in: *Geografia i sacrum*, B. Domański, S. Skiba (ed.), Kraków 2005, p. 264.

<sup>31</sup> V. Turner, *Gry społeczne, pola i metafory. Symboliczne działanie w społeczeństwie*, Kraków 2005, p.148.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 152, the English version retrieved on 03.04.2017 from: [https://books.google.pl/books/about/Dramas\\_Fields\\_and\\_Metaphors.html?id=OMMvhXCi8TkC&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.pl/books/about/Dramas_Fields_and_Metaphors.html?id=OMMvhXCi8TkC&redir_esc=y)

<sup>33</sup> E. Mendyk, “*Europa tchnij życie w swoje korzenie*”. “*Akt Europejski*” a renesans Drogi św. Jakuba – rozważania w drodze, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>34</sup> M. Ostrowski, *Turystyka/turystyka religijna - drogi nowej ewangelizacji Europy*, in: *Święci i błogosławieni na drodze św. Jakuba. w 800. rocznicę pielgrzymki św. Franciszka z Asyżu do Santiago de Compostela*, A. Jackowski, F. Mróz (ed.), Kraków 2014, p. 184.

## Joint nature of a journey

The basic experience of going on pilgrimages is a sense of community with other pilgrims. Emil Mendyk draws our attention to an interesting aspect, which distinguishes present-day pilgrims from those in the past centuries. As the quoted author indicates, at present a pilgrimage is most often a “one-way route”, while in the past the pilgrims going to a sanctuary met those who were returning. Such a situation reflects the solitude of a contemporary human being deprived of the natural way to exchange information and experiences. Having set off on a journey, they become convinced of their weakness, they “notice that they are not self-sufficient, that they need the help of others and they learn how to give it”<sup>35</sup>.

Another sphere of community is the sense of belonging to the institutional Catholicism. From this perspective I would like to refer once more to the Centre for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) survey on the World Youth Day in Krakow in 2016. It showed that the majority of participants was prone to regard the contact with pilgrims as an important spiritual experience. However, it did not translate into striking up closer relationships, only 8% of the respondents want to maintain friendships made during the WYD<sup>36</sup>. There is nothing surprising in these results, meeting new people or seeking friendships belongs to the motivation of a tourist and not a pilgrim for whom spiritual development and experiencing his or her own spirituality have the basic meaning<sup>37</sup>. The motif of a community as a part of pilgrimaging is institutionally ingrained, it relies on becoming aware that you are a part of a larger whole (in the case of the WYD at an international, or even global, level). It is a kind of “generalised mutuality” of positive emotions, the source of which is common faith, common experiences in a sanctuary or on the occasion of the WYD and not individualised relations. The basis of meeting other people is a sense of belonging to the same structure and not an individual attraction.

When talking about a sense of belonging, it is worth paying attention to the usefulness of pilgrimage tourism in integrating social classes, the religiousness of which, measured with the use of indicators of a ritualistic parameter, is the least intensive. During the WYD the group which attended church events most often was made up of young inhabitants of large cities – with population of more than at least 500 thousand people – 20%, as well as pupils and students – 17%, among the participants there were also 4% of those, who declared a total lack of participation in religious

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<sup>35</sup> E. Mendyk, “*Europa tchnij życie w swoje korzenie*”. “*Akt Europejski*” a renesans Drogi św. Jakuba – rozważania w drodze, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>36</sup> CBOS, Survey report, *Co pozostało po Światowych Dniach Młodzieży 2016*, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> J. Płoszczyca, *Pielgrzymka do Santiago de Compostela w ofercie polskich biur turystycznych. Turysta czy pielgrzym?*, in: *1200 lat pielgrzymek do grobu św. Jakuba w Santiago de Compostela*, A. Jackowski, F. Mróz, Ł. Mróz (ed.), Kraków 2013, p. 310.

practices in their place of dwelling<sup>38</sup>. By contrast, the respondents of surveys conducted in the years 2013-2014 by Łukasz Mróz among pilgrims on the Polish part of the Way of St. James were mostly city dwellers – 79%, 94% of them assessed their financial situation as at least average, also 94% completed at least secondary education (68% higher education)<sup>39</sup>.

The data concerning the participants of pilgrimages also show a demographic change: in the 1950s and 1960s the majority of pilgrims were of old age, mostly coming from villages and small towns<sup>40</sup>.

To conclude, I would like to add that being part of a community does not have to refer to a religion or the Church, a national community can be a point of reference. From among the pilgrims who came to Jasna Góra in the 1990s, only 80-90% were driven exclusively by religious motives. The participation in pilgrimages – especially walking pilgrimages – back then was a manifestation of resistance to the dominating Communist ideology and political persecution<sup>41</sup>.

## Commercialisation of religious tourism

Present-day pilgrimaging has a lot in common with what had happened earlier – motives of mediaeval pilgrims were not limited to religion, but they also included a search of adventure<sup>42</sup>. Pilgrims in the Middle Ages were the first mass tourists, although in their case sightseeing and being interested in collecting souvenirs had a material dimension of spiritual quests. The difference lies in the fact that in the Middle Ages going on pilgrimages was connected with religious faith. At present this connection – especially among well-educated people – is not always maintained. Experiences and behaviours linked with religion appear in a secularized version<sup>43</sup>.

The commercialisation of a pilgrimage took place long ago – the mediaeval pilgrimaging was connected with fairs and markets, nowadays travel agencies specialised in religious tourism also offer trips to holiday fairs – for example to the Lubeck Christmas Market<sup>44</sup> or the Advent Market in Dresden<sup>45</sup>. Religious tourism, or even pilgrimaging

<sup>38</sup> CBOS, Survey report, *Co pozostało po Świątowych Dniach Młodzieży 2016*, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

<sup>39</sup> Ł. Mróz, *Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce w opinii pielgrzymów i turystów*, in: *Święci i błogosławieni na drodze św. Jakuba. W 800. rocznicę pielgrzymki św. Franciszka z Asyżu do Santiago de Compostela*, op. cit., pp. 317-320.

<sup>40</sup> A. Jackowski, *Współczesne migracje pielgrzymkowe w Polsce*, in: *Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji pielgrzymkowych*, A. Jackowski, A. Witkowska, Z. Jabłoński, I. Sołjan, E. Biłska (ed.), Kraków 1995, p. 42.

<sup>41</sup> D. Ptaszycka-Jackowska, A. Jackowski, U. Gospodarek, *Piesze pielgrzymowanie na Jasną Górę*, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

<sup>42</sup> G. Davie, *Socjologia religii*, Kraków 2010, p. 184.

<sup>43</sup> G. Holderness, Rome: multiversal city. The Material and the Immaterial in Religious, "CrossCurrents", 2009, Vol. 59, no. 3, p. 342.

<sup>44</sup> See <http://pielgrzymki.szczecin.pl/jarmark-bozonarodzeniowy-09-10-12-2017/>

<sup>45</sup> See <https://pielgrzymki-gliwice.pl/jarmark-adwentowy-w-dreźnie>

at present is included in a permanent tourist offer of travel agencies. Even the Way of St. James can be walked (instead of driving to Santiago de Compostela, you go on foot through the 150 km route), taking advantage of an offer of a tour operator specializing in mass tourism. In the advertisement of the "Itaka" travel agency you can read the following characteristics of the "party": "A pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James is an unusual spiritual experience. The walking tour starts in León and after hiking 150 km it ends in Santiago de Compostela. It was regarded as the first European Cultural Route and is enlisted in UNESCO World Heritage Sites (...) Every year about 100 thousand people complete the Way of St. James. After the pilgrimage there will also be time for rest at the Costa Brava. The total length of the trekking: about 153 km"<sup>46</sup>.

According to the data collected by the Polish National Tourist Office, the participants of pilgrimages are a very diverse group when it comes to age or income. Also the offer of travel agencies is varied, although in some ways the expectations of participants are similar – first of all, it is a pastoral offer (daily prayers, Mass, the Eucharist), secondly – higher and higher standard of travelling (speed, comfort, the courier's care, accommodation in 3-4 star hotels, etc.), thirdly – touring elements (sightseeing with a guide, lectures on the history of visited sites, etc.)<sup>47</sup>.

Religious tourism in our country also has its niche form, which is the Polish part of the Way of St. James. Contrary to Spanish routes, it does not undergo commercialisation, preserving the character of the route designated for small groups or lonely pilgrims. Its beginnings go back to 2003, when the European network Camino de Santiago reached the borders of Poland in Zgorzelec. In 2007 about 200 pilgrims of various denominations, outlooks on life or nationalities went through the Polish routes. Also people of various worldviews, related to Christian churches as well as non-believers interested in the cultural dimension of the Way, clergymen, academic researchers, local activists, employees of self-government engage in reconstructing the trail<sup>48</sup>.

## Closing remarks

Finally, I would like to return to the question concerning the importance of religious tourism to religiousness. Is the revival of pilgrimaging a sign of a trend contrary to secularisation? Does it mean that religions and religiousness undergo transformation in a changing environment, where the significance of certain practices is growing –

<sup>46</sup> See [http://www.itaka.pl/no-limits/hispania/camino-de-santiago,BCNTRK1.html?ofr\\_id=0cab9071f4be680c282fa06b9c627c507b3807b99c6d195ed309660bc89e2491&adults=2&childs=0](http://www.itaka.pl/no-limits/hispania/camino-de-santiago,BCNTRK1.html?ofr_id=0cab9071f4be680c282fa06b9c627c507b3807b99c6d195ed309660bc89e2491&adults=2&childs=0)

<sup>47</sup> *Turystyka pielgrzymkowa*, raport *Wiadomości Turystycznych* 2012, <https://www.zarabiajnaturystyce.pl/badania-i-analizy/statystyki-i-badania-newsy/turystyka-pielgrzymkowa-raport-wiadomoci-turystycznych> [retrieved on 16 III 2017].

<sup>48</sup> E. Mendyk, *Droga św. Jakuba w Polsce - nowy początek starej tradycji*, in: *Drogi św. Jakuba w Polsce. Stan badań i organizacja*, op. cit., p. 75.

pilgrimage and others is declining, for example the attendance in Masses and church services?

It was not my intention to analyse the Polish pilgrimaging in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in detail. I have tried to indicate the research areas, which will allow us to understand the contemporary meaning of this phenomenon, namely the relations between the sacred and the profane, being part of a community, commercialisation, the experiential aspect of pilgrimaging.

When interpreting the changes in religious tourism, researchers adopt two various stances. Some of them diagnose the presence of “the hunger for spirituality”, the need of the sacred, a sense of life, the answer to existential questions among present-day people, which favours an increase in the popularity of religious tourism and pilgrimaging<sup>49</sup>. They claim that spiritual quests may be a road to conversion within a certain religion, as E. Mendyk writes about the Way of St. James: “it is often the case that tourists go to Camino, but they reach Santiago as pilgrims”<sup>50</sup>. Religious tourism is perceived as one of the ways of re-evangelisation, another evangelisation of secularised societies of the West. The new evangelisation is based on “searching for new methods and means of expression in the tradition of the Gospel more adequate to the mentality of a present-day human being. Owing to the fact that it is adequately selected, the Gospel reaches the people more effectively and is able to touch their heart and conscience”<sup>51</sup>.

Another viewpoint can be easily found in the literature on the subject, according to which the fact that currently millions of pilgrims set off on a journey does not mean the renaissance of a pilgrimage, but its secularisation. Although pilgrimaging is regarded as “spiritual tourism”, at the same time it is emphasised that the journeys take place in dissimilar circumstances, motives, which drive people setting out on a journey are different, also the social functions of pilgrimages vary. In addition, the form of pilgrimaging itself undergoes secularisation<sup>52</sup>. This process consists of deinstitutionalisation and subjectivisation, which loosen the bond between religious experiences and belonging to religious institutions. So you can meet pilgrims who do not practice on a day-to-day basis<sup>53</sup>. The case of Camino de Santiago may serve as an example of the secularisation of a pilgrimage. In our times the influence of the Church on the behaviours and attitudes of pilgrims is weaker than before. In the past pilgrims were dependent on Church institutions, which provided accommodation and food, supported hospitals financially, etc., this role has been currently taken over by local authorities, while various

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<sup>49</sup> S. Gołąb, *Los peregrinos - w kontekście przemian współczesnego świata*, in: *Święci i błogosławieni na drodze św. Jakuba. w 800. rocznicę pielgrzymki św. Franciszka z Asyżu do Santiago de Compostela*, op. cit., p. 293.

<sup>50</sup> E. Mendyk, *Europa tchnij życie w swoje korzenie. “Akt Europejski” a renesans Drogi św. Jakuba - rozważania w drodze*, in: *“Akt Europejski” bł. Jana Pawła II a renesans Drogi św. Jakuba*, op. cit., p. 114.

<sup>51</sup> M. Ostrowski, *Turystyka/turystyka religijna - drogi nowej ewangelizacji Europy*, in: *Święci i błogosławieni na drodze św. Jakuba. w 800. rocznicę pielgrzymki św. Franciszka z Asyżu do Santiago de Compostela*, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>52</sup> M. Kazimierzczak, *Duchowy wymiar podróżowania, czyli o spirytualizmie w turystyce*, *“Folia Turistica”*, 2012, no. 27, p. 11.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*.

organizations, for example numerous societies of friends of the Way of St. James, are responsible for the regulation of the pilgrims' movement<sup>54</sup>. Christian pilgrimaging in Europe has been changing its nature, becoming a cultural practice to a larger and larger extent.

In this article I have asked a question: what role will fall to pilgrimaging, bearing in mind the fact that it is a voluntary practice, perceived rather as an addition to the Church practices and not its basic form. The voluntariness and subjectivisation, autonomy and experientiality are the traits of pilgrimaging considered attractive in the contemporary culture. The situation of pilgrimaging seems rather paradoxical. On the one hand, the Church control over religious tourism is weakening, but on the other hand this ritual seems to be more adequate than other religious practices when it comes to the current spiritual demand. The inclusive nature of a religious journey is strengthening, which becomes possible in a few options – as a pilgrimage for believers as well as religious tourism or cultural tourism – for everyone. This in turn causes an increase in the meaning of religious tourism as a means of evangelisation.

*Stella Grotowska* – THE DESECULARISATION OF RELIGIOUSNESS OR THE SECULARISATION OF A PILGRIMAGE? RELIGIOUS TOURISM AS AN ELEMENT OF THE POLISH RELIGIOUSNESS

Declining participation of the faithful in religious rituals, does not necessarily mean the weakening of attachment to religion. In this text, religious tourism was analyzed as one of the practices gaining in importance for contemporary Catholics in Poland. The author poses the question about the meaning of this phenomenon.

Characteristic features of religious tourism, as voluntariness and subjectivisation, autonomy and experiencing are considered attractive in today's culture. On the one hand the Church control of religious tourism is weakened, on the other this ritual seems to be better than other religious practices in responding to the spiritual demands thereby increasing its role as a means of evangelization.

The analysis also drew attention to several key issues that matter as far as modern Polish religious tourism and pilgrimage is concerned: the relationship between the sacred and the profane, the areas of community, commercialization, experience and voluntariness, the problem of secularization of pilgrimage.

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<sup>54</sup> S. Gołąb, *Los peregrinos - w kontekście przemian współczesnego świata*, op. cit., p. 295.