NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN PILGRIMAGES

A NEW GOLDEN AGE

Edited by
Antón M. Pazos

Nineteenth-Century European Pilgrimages

During the Nineteenth-Century a major revival in religious pilgrimage took place across Europe. This phenomenon was largely started by the rediscovery of several holy burial places such as Assisi, Milano, Venice, Rome and Santiago de Compostela, and subsequently developed into the formation of new holy sites that could be visited and interacted with in a wholly modern way. This uniquely wide-ranging collection sets out the historic context of the formation of contemporary European pilgrimage in order to better understand its role in religious expression today.

Looking at both Western Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Europe, an international panel of contributors analyse the revival of some major Christian shrines, cults and pilgrimages that happened after the rediscovery of ancient holy burial sites or the constitution of new shrines in locations claiming apparitions of the Virgin Mary. They also shed new light on the origin and development of new sanctuaries and pilgrimages in France and the Holy Land during the nineteenth century, which led to fresh ways of understanding the pilgrimage experience and had a profound effect on religion across Europe.

This collection offers a renewed overview of the development of Modern European pilgrimage that used the new techniques of organisation and travel implemented in the nineteenth century, in intensive ways. As such, it will appeal to scholars of religious studies, pilgrimage and religious history as well as anthropology, art, cultural studies and sociology.

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Dedicated to Professor José Andrés-Gallego on the
occasion of his 75th anniversary

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A new golden age of pilgrimages

Antón M. Pazos

If the nineteenth century came to be known as the century of pilgrimages, this was mainly due to the new means to have emerged in Europe at the time for transporting people from A to B. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to claim that the second half of the nineteenth century was the communications era, whether physical or involving people or things. By the end of the century, millions of people were able to move around in large groups much more comfortably – at least some, installed in luxury carriages or cabins – and much more quickly, even the poor. Trains and steamships – or steam itself – were the symbol of a civilisation in universal expansion and in flux, particularly within the national sphere. Although mostly disjointed, rail lines sprang up, going on to form networks covering part of the European continent. In the United States, this saw the country definitively conquered from coast to coast.

Trains not only influenced travellers, but just like in contemporary times, the new technologies forced changes that had repercussions in people's everyday lives. Clocks – which until then would vary by minutes across the same region, according to each town's location in relation to the sun – were unified across the entire nation or for large areas within the same nation, such as in Russia or the United States (due to their sheer size) in order to establish rail links. This meant that anyone boarding a train in Paris did not have to adjust their watch upon arrival in Bordeaux, and that connecting with another train would not entail worrying about the local time. Pilgrimages could thus also be combined on a national level, with trains collecting new carriages of pilgrims at railways' convergence points.

Food was also able to be brought in from much further away. Honeymoons became popular among the bourgeoisie. Villages with railway access grew and those more isolated languished. The world became smaller. Mass tourism was not yet a reality, but it was certainly on the horizon.

The new methods of transport also allowed people to get around without a concern for much more than where to eat and sleep. As Stefan Zweig once wistfully remarked,

> Before 1914 the Earth had belonged to all. People went where they wished and stayed as long as they pleased. There were no permits, no

visas, and it always gives me pleasure to astonish the young by telling them that before 1914 I travelled from Europe to India and to America without passport and without ever having seen one. One embarked and alighted without questioning or being questioned, one did not have to fill out a single one of the many papers which are required today. The frontiers which, with their customs officers, police and militia, have become wire barriers thanks to the pathological suspicion of everybody against everybody else, were nothing but symbolic lines which one crossed with as little thought as one crosses the Meridian of Greenwich.[1]

Such was the context of the new golden age of pilgrimages in nineteenth-century Europe.

The Europe of the pilgrimages

In the summer of 2019, with this book almost in print, I visited Lourdes. Although my time in the city was short, I was able to participate in the Eucharistic pilgrimage and the torchlight procession. Both are magnificent examples of the union between traditional piety and the technique of mass control, of such importance in Lourdes. Thousands of the sick in their wheelchairs and thousands of pilgrims make the necessary movements in the procession with pinpoint accuracy and apparent spontaneity. Behind this, however, is watertight organisation, involving hundreds of volunteers and a now wholly secular experience. What did I see there? Certainly a strand of emotive piety with theological – Marian and Eucharistic – roots and, more importantly here, a reflection of the Church's universality, encompassing a mass delivered in Chinese at six o'clock in the morning, an international group of gypsies, Italian and French Diocesan pilgrimages, as well as hundreds of Spaniards and Asian Catholics of striking piety. There were also many couples and families on the edges of every group. These final two characteristics seem to constitute the most striking change in the last ten years, in which organised groups have dropped by 44 percent and pilgrims from outside Europe – whether from the Philippines, India, Sri Lanka or the Americas – have grown to almost outnumber the Europeans, certainly the French, with the 2018 torchlight procession formed of 90 percent foreign pilgrims.[2] Latin, used in countless hymns, seems to have regained its universal appeal, while French is generally used in the sanctuary and somewhat overrepresented in the prayers given during the official acts.

In the nineteenth century, the situation was the inverse, as the pilgrimages almost always took place in Europe and were national in character[3] and organised. In some ways, although Lourdes was the symbol of the new "century of pilgrimages", pilgrimages were carried out across the entire European continent, from Portugal to Russia. In the widest sense, therefore, the routes spanned the territory between the Atlantic and the Ural Mountains, with a particular concentration in Catholic and Orthodox countries.

Such is the Europe contemplated in this book. A Europe that is also combative and penitent: many pilgrimages had political-social dimensions, such as in Spain, Italy and partitioned Poland, or were a reaction to the misfortunes of the pilgrims' homeland, such as France in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War.

Obviously, the demarcation of Europe has never been unequivocal or simple. And perhaps the European Union is particularly mistaken in its current quite desperate search for an identity intended to rest on universal principles, which may be considered contradictory. For some, the Lisbon Treaty is a clear example of how the European Union attempts to define Europe by blending universal values and geographical limits, with the former an inadequate means of demarcation and the latter lacking the very precision of a border.[4]

Although it may seem paradoxical, perhaps the nineteenth century had a clearer idea of what Europe was, or at least a clear idea of what it wasn't. And, in referring to Europe, we are also referring to Europeans, for whom the criteria were clearer still. They were based on a common religion – Christianity, in its three main variations – a common ethnicity – with various gradations – and several languages derived from the Romance, Germanic and Slavic branches, with regional exceptions. These were the European pilgrims of the nineteenth century, whose activities ranged from the traditional local pilgrimages of the Orthodox world to the rediscovered pilgrimages in Great Britain and the very European – Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox – pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society somewhat coincides with the Thomas Cook enterprise, or at least with its founder's focus on piety, organisation and hotels. Perhaps the pilgrimage site which best represents this highly European – and new Western, particularly American – set of sensibilities and interests is Palestine. We may refer to these pilgrims as having shaped ecumenism, or at least interconfessional friction and coexistence, which was not the case for any other European pilgrimage. The aim of such a pilgrimage – to discover the traces of Christ on Earth – was common to all three branches of Christianity to have spread across Europe.

The transnational character did not, however, only emerge in the Holy Land. As Olaf Blaschke highlights in his contribution to this work, ultramontanism exerted a unifying effect crossing the territorial borders of Catholic countries and among nations traditionally at loggerheads, such as France and Great Britain, sometimes in the face of confusion from non-Catholic citizens. Such was the case when the "Earl of Norfolk led the first National Pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial".[5] If the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars had put an end to the classic, elitist Grand Tour of the eighteenth century, ultramontanism internationalised the new pilgrimages, peacefully combining Europeans from various nations in an organised manner, without them being run on a national basis. Otherwise, they served to unify nations such as "Poland, conspicuously absent from 19th-century maps of Europe",

but which were clearly European and with a European conception of what it meant to be a nation, both then and now, i.e. a strong perception of a national identity that was well defined within a common identity. It was also in Paray-le-Monial in 1873 that "a new ritual [appeared], destined to underline the public presence of different nations and bodies represented in each pilgrimage".[6]

It would not be inaccurate to speak of a religious "Grand Tour" to have emerged in the nineteenth century that was unimaginable in the eighteenth century, but which had the same global character and different aims: the pilgrims of Paray-le-Monial were able to afterwards make their way to Lourdes or Rome, without abandoning Walsingham. This represents a shift from a cultural Grand Tour to a "cultual" Grand Tour, as it were. The classic Grand Tour and the aristocratic taste for Roman excavations certainly paved the way for the Romantic interest in medieval history,[7] however this new interest was not purely cultural, as it often implied a spiritual commitment to that which it sought or visited.[8] This community of sensibilities across the entirety of Europe allowed the excavations made to Santiago Cathedral to be connected to the boom in sacred archaeology all across Europe, for example. The new crypt holding the remains found in these excavations was fashioned according to Roman models, in line with the Medieval Revival that permeated the continent in the nineteenth century, also contrasting with the classicist and decidedly unreligious spirit of the elitist eighteenth century.

Modernity, democratisation and women

The aforementioned European character, with its community of literary, artistic and religious interests and to have filled the continent with medieval-style buildings, fully coincides with other nineteenth-century characteristics that are also reflected in the pilgrimages analysed here. I shall now examine two of these characteristics that some have identified as significant and that appear in the following chapters, and these are the pilgrimages' modern and democratic character. And they were modern not only in terms of their destinations, which were completely new, with the British press criticising the Catholic pilgrimage to Lourdes as "typical of that severance from antiquity which is characteristic of modern Roman Catholicism".[9]

The continental movement constituting a new golden age of pilgrimages would not have been possible without modernisations to transport and the development of an intermediate social group, between the poor and the elites. This was a group that, in terms of pilgrimages, grew over the course of the century in parallel to the development of the railways and the consequent reduction in ticket prices, as more affordable prices attracted humbler pilgrims. The Countess of Pardo Bazán, a Spanish writer covering the national pilgrimage to Rome in light of Pope Leo XIII's jubilee in 1887, recalls a comment another pilgrim made to her when purchasing a ticket for

the train that would carry them to Rome: "I am – she said to me with the communicative expansion so characteristic of Spanish people – a miserable domestic servant, and have saved every penny I've earnt to pay for this trip, and now I'm going to see the Pope".[10] These trips – at least those normally analysed thanks to their participants' written accounts – seem to be those so painstakingly planned by Thomas Cook to offer his customers the greatest security and comfort possible. The reality of the pilgrimages was somewhat different, however. Many pilgrims travelled with only the clothes on their backs, moving along slowly in wooden carriages for hundreds of kilometres in conditions constituting an involuntary form of penance. The hardships of the humblest pilgrims' everyday lives were not soothed by the pilgrimages, and the conditions of rest, shelter and meals only worsened. But these pilgrims, who numbered in their thousands, fed the large democratic base of nineteenth-century pilgrimages, especially in the sphere of Catholicism and the Orthodoxy. Such a situation was perhaps less marked in the Protestant world, whose circles were more closed and often more affluent.

The modern character of the pilgrimages – distanced as they were from the idealised times of the Middle Ages, despite their aim to imitate them – was marked by facets highly specific to their historical time period. One of these was organisation. I do not refer here to the organisation of trips, as mentioned, but instead the complex organisational system that sustained the pilgrimage movement across the entire continent. This organisational system became increasingly specialist over time, but first appeared in the early years of the century. It was perhaps the military background that was harnessed to provide the logistics necessary to mobilise hundreds or thousands of people and achieve precise goals in a highly specific timeframe. The experience of the Napoleonic Wars remains a point of reference when considering organisational capacities, while the army was an eternal school for logistics – in the form of the administrative division – and mass management. It is not by chance that many organisers of the material side of pilgrimages were – and still are – former army officials. This organisational thirst also appears from the outset in the less material side to the pilgrimages.

There is little doubt that a specifically modern characteristic of the pilgrimage revival was organisation, with the French example particularly significant. The fact that ecclesiastical control also combined with spontaneity is also certain. This was the case for the pilgrimage to the site of the Marian apparition in Marpingen, Germany in 1876, whose free, non-organised character was not approved by the church authorities and "contradicts any teleological idea that the degree of organisation was increasing during the nineteenth century", according to Blaschke.[11] Despite these exceptions, however, organisational efforts were a clear hallmark of nineteenth century pilgrimages, which continued into the twentieth century. When Blaschke asks "What was modern about pilgrimages in the nineteenth century?", he classifies pilgrimages according to their degree of organisation, running from the spontaneous to the more centralised.[12] Obviously, what was archaic in

the past – pilgrimages by foot – is post-modern today, but this does not apply to the nineteenth century: pilgrims travelling on foot, who had always existed were exceptions, and normally, very poor – without so much as a train ticket – or penitent – in exceptional cases – or from nearby parishes, such as in Trier or Compostela. This modern sense of organisation often had nothing to do with modern transport. In the case of Trier in Germany, "pilgrimage was modern because the flow of pilgrims was perfectly organised from top to bottom and all that without railways, all that in the early 19th and not in the late 19th century".[13]

In the context of such organisation and in line with modernity, the importance of the press must also be mentioned. Newspapers, and even those published in England, as is demonstrated in the chapter on the English press by Milagrosa Romero, followed the new pilgrimage movement with interest. The same occurred in other countries, while the nineteenth century saw the Europe-wide construction of a veritable network for the Catholic press, which was known in Spain – and in other Catholic countries – as the "good press".[14] In France, this was even more specialist, with press exclusively dedicated to serving the pilgrimages also appearing. The same occurred in the Orthodox world, which experienced "an explosion in religious print literature",[15] according to Worobec. And mentioning the press also means mentioning advertising, until that point limited to printed paper.

If a comparison between the modernity of the nineteenth century with present times must be made, several correlations seem clear. The explosion in the press would be equivalent to that of our modern-day internet; the lowering of transport prices thanks to steam technology would correspond to our low-cost flights; and the pilgrimages organised hierarchically would have their equivalent, although not exclusively, with today's tour operators specialising in religious tourism. We might nowadays affirm, however, that we have in some sense returned to the tourism of the Grand Tour, distanced from religion, if it were not for the fact that modern tourists do not have cultural interests, as they did in the eighteenth century. For this reason, the Grand Tour's travellers, according to Dyson, paved the way for a "complicated 'tourist memory' industry . . . whose products replaced the relics and indulgences of the religious pilgrims".[16] The opposite occurred in the nineteenth century, when trips were religious and democratic. It was probably the first time that people were able to travel in such a continuous fashion across Europe to visit places of different types of religious worship. This marked the start of the overlap between pilgrimage and tourism. The pilgrim always had other motives apart from worship, with nineteenth-century tourists making their way to Rome – and this is perhaps the clearest example – also interested – even the humblest – in the marvels of the surroundings. The pilgrimages revealed a new world democratising for the masses what had previously been reserved for the very few.

The slow process of suppressing political and social differences to have developed in the nineteenth century, beginning in an oligarchic fashion and

ending in a democratic fashion, widely influenced the pilgrimages. Pilgrimages were (and still are) a popular phenomenon, in the strictest sense of the word, and this continued to be the case in the nineteenth century. And now this may be the case more than ever, as the Catholic "working classes" are able to travel, as we have seen, to places unimaginable a few years ago. This was in perfect alignment with the organisations at the base of the different religions, parishes and monasteries. The democratising force of the nineteenth-century pilgrimages was probably more significant than that which may be glimpsed in reports by some of the most select pilgrims. The fact that the pilgrimage trains featured third-class carriages does not point to a true democratisation of the group. A considerable percentage of the 8,000 Spanish pilgrims[17] making their way to Rome in 1876 were humble travellers: one of the various trains used in the expedition had four first-class carriages, two second-class carriages and four third-class carriages. This suggests that almost half of the passengers were "sons of work", to use the euphemistic expression provided by the trip's chronicler.[18]

The same spirit of "democratisation" is present in the Orthodox world in the emancipation of Russia's serfs in 1861. Along with the dramatic growth in Russian railway lines, these measures prompted a considerable development of pilgrimages which were markedly working class. A similar phenomenon occurred with Catholic emancipation and the reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England, which facilitated the liberal organisation of mass pilgrimages on a clearly working-class basis, in line with what was British or Irish Catholicism.

The role of women must also be highlighted in the context of this democratising process. By slowly normalising their situation over the course of the century, women came to occupy a prominent place in nineteenth-century pilgrimages.[19] Apart from the nineteenth century's feminisation of piety, the pilgrimages represented a great opportunity for women to travel, at least across a large section of Europe. The most democratic countries – particularly the United States – saw a significant number of emancipated women travelling in an increasingly consistent fashion. There were considerable numbers of North American tourists in Europe, which also meant many female pilgrims. As Dyson writes in his book, "the other group added to this new Roman 'pilgrimage tourism' both European and American, was women . . . . Part of this increased interest in a religious tourism focused in the Early Christian Rome grew out of the increased presence of women as tourist".[20]

This female presence probably also influenced the character of the pilgrimages, which were generally very different from the tourist excursions. Logically, an analysis would be required of the differences between the religious groups, and within them, the different countries. There are various differences in the reports to have survived, however. One of these is the acceptance of discomfort, i.e. the penitent character of the pilgrimages, even the Catholic British pilgrimages, such as that held to Lourdes in 1873

and led by the Duke of Norfolk. As one English reporter wrote: "Nothing can be farther from the truth than the suggestion that pilgrimage has partaken of the character of a pic-nic".[21] Although this specifically refers to material difficulties and time constraints, it also touches on the intensive religious activity sustained throughout the expedition. This was normal in Catholic pilgrimages, which began with a religious ceremony, sometimes with a bishop's blessing, and included various pious exercises throughout the entirety of the journey. All of this had a strong female component. It was no accident that many chronicles make significant mention of the presence of "countless priests and women" in the expeditions.[22] Women undoubtedly marked the tone of the century's pilgrimages, and most of them were working-class women. The chroniclers make a special point of mentioning the "ladies" or "aristocrats" that joined the pilgrimages, perhaps to make them seem more exotic or to exemplify the fact that the upper classes signed up for trips that were so distinct from their normal system of leisure.

Chapters and authors

Although I have just summarised the geographical and thematical framework of this book, a brief explanation of the contents made by each contributor shall also be useful at this point. After a general introduction, the volume is divided into three large sections corresponding to the great currents of pilgrimages undertaken in the nineteenth century: Europe, both Western and Eastern, and the Holy Land.

Christopher Gerrard's on "The medieval revival: romanticism, archaeology and architecture" focuses on the eighteenth-century vision of archaeology and ancient architecture, which helped shape Romanticism and the Gothic Revival. This serves as both a theoretical introduction to the current of thought that paved the way for historicist Romanticism, ever present in the nineteenth-century Christian revival. Gerrard's text analyses the eighteenth-century excavations, the taste for ancient ruins and the restoration – or invention in one case – of many of those appearing in England. Such an atmosphere – with different nuances, depending on the country – paved the way for the later enthusiasm for sacred architecture, particularly in Rome, but also in the rest of Europe.

Massimiliano Ghilardi, in "The Roman catacombs in the nineteenth century: 'Cradle and Archive of the Catholic Church'", studies the evolution of the view on the Roman catacombs, which also shifted with the passage of time. While they initially served as a centre supplying relics to the Catholic world, by the end of the century they had been converted into a privileged research site and a site of religious sentiment that brought pilgrims into contact with the martyrs to have given witness to their faith over the course of the centuries. Ghilardi's description of the systems of extraction for relics and their evolution is of particular interest.

Beginning after these two initial chapters, the first section focuses on the three classic pilgrimage centres: Jerusalem, Rome and Santiago de Compostela. The first two witnessed a boom in the nineteenth century unimaginable a few decades prior, while the third rather unsuccessfully attempted to engender its own new golden age but had to wait until the twenty-first century to see this dream realised. Its attempt was, however, sparked by sacred archaeology, by means of the search for the remains of St James, hidden for centuries.

In her chapter on "Geopietism and pilgrimage", renowned specialist in tourism to the Holy Land, Ruth Kark, analyses pilgrimages to Palestine as well as the figure and activities of Thomas Cook. This pious pioneer of mass tourism not only organised and planned his tours of the East in detail, when political circumstances allowed, but also launched charity initiatives in the Holy Land among the local populations. Kark's chapter discusses the different groups that organised travel to the Holy Land, whether Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox, as well as prominent travellers. This also gives an idea of the economic boost the pilgrimage revival gave to the territory.

The other classic pilgrimage hub was Rome, with distinct focuses before and after Italian unification. While pilgrims making their way to Rome pre-1870 did so in order to see the city and to see the Pope, after unification they went to see the Pope and to see Rome. But Rome was not only a spiritual city and the See of Peter but was also for many the site of an exceptional concentration of art and architecture. This is the focus adopted by Stephen L. Dyson in his chapter entitled "The Grand Tour and after: secular pilgrimage in Rome from eighteenth to the twentieth centuries", also demonstrating the relationship between the two means of approaching the Eternal City. The "secular values" of the age were manifested in the countless groups of travellers who undertook what the author refers to as "cultural secular pilgrimages". The analysis of the non-Catholic groups that visited Rome in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reveals this presence of "secular values", as well as their penetration by spiritual values, particularly by means of the many women who formed part of the groups, particularly from North America.

Despite its efforts, nineteenth-century Santiago de Compostela did not welcome the number of pilgrims customary for Europe's hubs at the end of the century. In "Compostela, Rome and the revival of the pilgrimages to Santiago", Antón M. Pazos outlines these attempts to revive pilgrimages at the end of the nineteenth century, when Archbishop Miguel Payá of Santiago de Compostela launched a comprehensive plan to restart the old pilgrimages, both from a religious and tourist perspective. At the heart of the project were excavations carried out in 1878–1879 in search of the apostle's remains and the construction of a new crypt to venerate the remains found, which improved the face of the Cathedral but failed to attract large European pilgrimages. Nonetheless, this did serve as a starting point for

reviving nearby pilgrimages, welcoming some from abroad and preparing for future developments with well-executed renovations to the sanctuary.

The second part of the book analyses the pilgrimages in several countries of particular significance. In "The golden age of pilgrimages in France in the nineteenth century", Marc Agostino summarises what the nineteenth-century Marian apparitions meant to French Catholicism and the pilgrimages organised – with varying degrees of success – around the new centres of piety. France is perhaps the country – and Lourdes the site – best exemplifying the set of modern advances facilitating the new golden age of pilgrimages: railway developments, advertising techniques and mass production. Lourdes is the standard for the new pilgrimage centres successfully uniting old rituals with the emergent travel culture and mass consumption.

Isaac Sastre de Diego's work on "Sacred archaeology in nineteenth century England" complements Gerrard's work in its singular focus on the sacred archaeology of the nineteenth century, also in England, which was very different in character to the eighteenth-century excavations. In the nineteenth century, more personal or spiritual commitment was shown by the scholars to have unearthed religious remains in ancient churches or the renewed pilgrimage centres. Although archaeologists, they were highly involved in spiritual matters and were conscious that they were revealing the traces of their own religious identity.

Milagrosa Romero Samper's investigation into the British press in "The path to pilgrimage: travel and devotion in the British press" is remarkable for its originality. It does, of course, analyse the view held among the British press of the pilgrimages, particularly focusing on the transformation to have occurred over the course of the century. In the nineteenth century, a kind of shift occurred in the mass media – travel guides included – from tones of derision to respect, before the adoption of an active interest in this new phenomenon that manifested a remarkable vitality. This was also supported by all of the technical possibilities offered by modern times.

Olaf Blaschke's work on "Pilgrimages, modernity, and ultramontanism in Germany" is also one of methodological reflection, with his investigation into pilgrimages in Germany approached in three stages. First, the issue is embedded in the context of scholarly debates concerning Catholicism in the nineteenth century, before a system of the 14 variations of pilgrimages is unfolded, and the two prominent examples of Trier (1844) and Marpingen (1876) are subsequently located in this framework.

The third section on Central and Eastern Europe deals with a fundamentally Orthodox terrain. The first chapter by Jan Perszon, entitled "Pilgrimages in times of trial: the pilgrimage movement and sanctuaries in Polish lands in the second half of the nineteenth century", provides an analysis of a country with significant Catholic pilgrimages not on the European map at that time. But this was Europe, and it was perhaps more Western than Eastern. Perszon's chapter starts by presenting the anti-Church policies of the "partitioners" (Russia, Austria and Prussia),

and then proceeds to discuss the pilgrimage movements associated with selected sanctuaries. Considering the different socio-political backgrounds of religious life in each of the partitions, the author discusses the following sanctuaries in turn: Kalwaria Zebrzydowska in the Austrian Partition, Laki Bratianskie in the Prussian Partition and Jasna Góra (Czestochowa) in the lands ruled by Tsarist Russia. In his summary, Perszon attempts to portray the unique characteristics of the Polish pilgrimage movement, that is, the sources of the religious unification (Catholicism) and the struggle for independence.

In "Orthodox faith on the move in late Imperial Russia", Christine D. Worobec provides an accurate and lively summary of Orthodox pilgrimages in Imperial Russia, analysing, more specifically, different aspects linked to Russian religious life, the pilgrims and forms of pilgrimage (short- and long-distance), the major sacred pilgrimage sites for Russian-Orthodox Christianity and the impact of the steam technology and the new means of transport (railway and steamship) on the Russian pilgrimages after the Emancipation period.

René Gothóni, in "Pilgrimage and the becoming of Athonite monasticism", on the other hand, focuses on the history of pilgrimages to the well-known sanctuary of Mount Athos. The unique character of this monastery complex as a pan-Orthodox pilgrimage centre renders Gothóni's extensive historical study highly relevant, as an understanding of the characteristics of pilgrimages to Athos and the evolution of modern-day Athonite monasticism requires a clear picture of the early history of Athonite monasticism and the final centuries of Byzantium, which, unexpectedly perhaps, proved to be a period of a great Renaissance for many of the ruling monasteries. The author's aim in this chapter is thus first to outline the basic facts of the foundation of Athonite monasteries and the historical circumstances during the last centuries of Byzantium, and thereafter to focus on the periods of decline, crisis and change during the five centuries of Ottoman rule as well as on the renewal and revitalisation to have occurred during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – a process still underway today.

This section concludes with an analysis of the most famous Orthodox pilgrimage sanctuary in Greece, investigated by Jill Dubisch in her chapter on "Pilgrimage to the miraculous Church of the Annunciation, Tinos, Greece". While most pilgrims make their way to this location for personal reasons – to be healed of illness, for help with family problems, to pray for children, to fulfil a vow made in times of crisis or simply to experience the power of the shrine's miracle working icon – the church also holds layers of deeper meaning, for its history and symbolism are closely tied to the history and politics of Greece itself. Not only was the icon of the Annunciation that is the heart of the shrine purportedly discovered shortly after the beginning of the Greek struggle for independence in the early nineteenth century, other elements of the shrine's history tie it not only to early Orthodox Christianity but also to

pre-Christian Greece, thus asserting a long continuity of Greek identity as well as a history of struggle in times of darkness and adversity. Today the shrine embodies both Orthodox faith and its association with Greekness, as well as patriotism and military strength, and on major holidays provides a political platform for the expression of these values.

The chapters collected in this volume are obviously of interest in themselves, as remarks Simon Coleman at the end in "Lessons from a golden age: piety, publicity and mobility in nineteenth-century European pilgrimage". Although in some cases, the connection may seem stronger than in others with the new golden age of nineteenth-century pilgrimages, the set as a whole provides an accurate representation of the religious revival experienced throughout Europe over the course of the century. This was a century that was not only an era of secularisation but also one of spiritual revitalisation, manifesting itself in the harnessing of the century's techniques for relaunching the general pilgrimage movement. And in a significant number of countries, the masses participating in pilgrimages served to demonstrate Catholicism's vitality and rallying power.

Notes

 1 Zweig, *The World*, 308.
 2 Pistoletti, *cath.ch. Portail Catholique Suisse*, www.cath.ch/newsf/lourdes-baisse-de-frequentation-et-defis-pastoraux/. Accessed 27 August 2019.
 3 A single French priest gave a sermon in 1873 to 120,000 pilgrims in 20 pilgrimages in France. Besson, *L'Anné des pèlerinages*.
 4 See Engels, *Le Déclin*, 51.
 5 See in this volume Romero, "The Path to Pilgrimage".
 6 Ibid.
 7 As reflected in the title of Barush's classic work *Art and the Sacred Journey*.
 8 See in this volume Sastre, "Sacred Archaeology".
 9 *London Daily News*, 16 August 1886. Cit. Romero, "The Path to Pilgrimage".
10 Pardo Bazán, *Mi romería*, 13.
11 See in this volume Blaschke, "Pilgrimages".
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Pazos, "La buena prensa".
15 See in this volume Worobec, "Ortodox".
16 See in this volume Dyson, "The Grand Tour".
17 Carbonero, *Crónica*, 140.
18 Ibid., 136–8.
19 Up to 80 percent in some places. See Perszon, "Pilgrimage in Times of Trial" in this book.
20 See in this volume Dyson, "The Grand Tour".
21 *London Daily News*, 8 September 1873. Cit. Romero, "The Path to Pilgrimage".
22 Up to 60 percent in Trier or 80 percent in Jasna Góra Monastery. See Blashke, "Pilgrimages" and Perszon, "Pilgrimages in Times of Trial", in this volume.

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1 The medieval revival

Romanticism, archaeology and architecture

Christopher Gerrard

The formative development of later medieval archaeology and architecture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Britain is a surprising story which must be told in the context of contemporary political ideas and cultural life. Four central themes are discussed here: the Landscape Movement in gardens, Romanticism in poetry and fiction, the Picturesque in painting and the Gothic Revival in architecture. Through this broad focus I hope to demonstrate the extent to which medieval archaeology (here AD 1000–1500) is itself a historical and cultural product.[1] Specifically, this chapter argues that engagement with the medieval past shifted from a largely literary and sensory appreciation dictated by the values of Romanticism and the Picturesque and characterised by a relative indifference to both archaeological sites and artefacts to one in which there was a greater desire for historical context and scholarship. This change is associated with the impact of the Gothic Revival in architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century and with a new shaping of national identities at a time of social upheaval and political revolution when many European countries opted to situate the birth of their nation in the Middle Ages. In turn, this created significant imbalances in the understanding of individual artefact types and monument classes, which were not corrected in Britain until well into the twentieth century. At the end of the chapter I reflect on the relevance of this northern European context for events in Santiago and the archaeological excavations in the cathedral there in 1879.

Gardens and Gothic patriotism

For much of the eighteenth century neo-classical was the architectural style of choice in Britain, but during the 1730s and 1740s buildings "of the Middle Ages" became a popular addition to parks and gardens as an alternative to those inspired by ancient Rome and Greece.[2] They were part and parcel of a taste for the irregular or "serpentine" style of gardening first practised by designer and architect William Kent (1685–1748). These new gardens created vistas in the "picturesque fashion", framing structures old and new within the garden and beyond its perimeters;[3] some were mere imitations

of medieval buildings while others boasted genuine medieval stonework. In 1743, for example, stones from the Premonstratensian monastery at Halesowen in Worcestershire were transported nearly 40 miles to construct a castle folly at Edge Hill in Warwickshire, while in 1756 a Norman chancel arch from a parish church was re-erected as an "eye-catcher" at Shobdon in Herefordshire.[4] Sometimes medieval buildings needed no further embellishment; at Studley Royal in Yorkshire after 1716 the Aislabie family created a 60 hectare water garden in the French style along the axis of the River Skell; the visual climax here being the grassy ruins of the Cistercian abbey at Fountains, which were cleared and tidied accordingly.[5]

How should we interpret this enthusiasm for Gothic in the Georgian garden, the "delicious game" in Macaulay's phrase?[6] The re-use of architectural fragments in later buildings is a well-documented phenomenon in archaeology[7] and often given to signify either a deliberate celebration of the past or a form of domination over it. Both meanings are appropriate here, so that the recycling of stonework in a sham castle might underline lineage and the legitimacy of authority as a deliberate reference to and revival of the medieval past, even while damaging or destroying its original archaeological context in the process.[8] On the other hand, ruined abbeys allowed Uvedale Price to "glory that the abodes of tyranny and superstition are in ruin",[9] so here the monastic ruins reaffirmed Anglican confidence and encouraged another kind of inward contemplation. Different classes of monument served different purposes and further subtleties of interpretation were implied by their condition. Thus, in their abandoned state, Gothic buildings might portray an ancient political and social order under threat, but when built anew this represented the resurgence of ancient liberties, in effect an anti-authoritarian statement. At Cirencester Park (Gloucestershire), the Earl Bathurst constructed Alfred's Castle in 1721 precisely as a symbol of the ancient constitution and a statement of his belief in the legitimacy of royal succession.[10] Likewise, at Stowe near Buckingham, the architect James Gibbs (1682–1754) was responsible for the Gothic Temple, built in 1744–1748 for the Viscount Cobham to indicate his support for ancient Parliamentary traditions and in opposition to what Cobham believed to be a trend towards continental absolutism under Hanoverian monarch George I and Whig leader Robert Walpole. In this case Cobham's choice of Gothic architecture for his temple stood for Saxon freedom, Protestantism and defiance against the imposed cultures of Catholicism and classicism – everything that was "foreign, illiberal, grandiose";[11] inside there is an inscription which reads "I thank God that I am not Roman". Whereas in the 1710s and 1720s Palladianism had triumphed, with its echoes of Britain as a new Rome, political circumstances were by now generating a new set of connections between architecture, politics and designed landscapes.

This notion of England as a "Saxon" nation had materialised during the previous century. In the 1610s James I had been accused of threatening "Saxon" parliamentary privileges and a generation later, during the English