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Spatial Changes of Pilgrimage Centers in Pilgrimage Studies – Review and Contribution to Future Research

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Pilgrimages and pilgrimage centres are a subject of research often undertaken from the perspective of geographic sciences. Geographical research on pilgrimage movement and sanctuaries is important due to its focus on the spatial aspect. This article analyses the current state of research on pilgrimage centres. The main trends of the current studies include: the phenomenon of pilgrimage in terms of religion, society, culture and tourism; as well as its impact, including on the development of the settlement and; studies of pilgrimage centres, in particular their impact on space in various spatial and temporal scales, as well as; the conclusions drawn from them. These were all examined and discussed. For the first time, special attention was paid both to the research on the sanctuaries of the Roman Catholic church, their spatial organization and the changes taking place in them, and on the works discussing the managing of pilgrimage centres. In addition, the terminology applied to contemporary sacred places was discussed. In the conclusion, gaps in the existing state of knowledge and research questions that still await an answer, as well as directions set for the future research on pilgrimage centres from the perspective of tourism geography and the geography of religion are indicated.

Key Words: pilgrimage studies, geographical research, pilgrimage centre, pilgrimage, sanctuary.

Introduction

The phenomenon of pilgrimage has an impact on the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of life (Vukonic, 1992; Park, 1994; Proctor, 2006; Timothy & Olsen 2006; Collins-Kreiner, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Collins-Kreiner & Wall 2015; Griffin & Raj, 2017). In recent years, a resurgence of journeys with religious motives has been observed around the world (Digance, 2003; Eade, 2015; Griffin & Raj, 2017); for example, in Europe, about 50 million Christians a year, mostly Catholics, go on pilgrimages.

Pilgrimages and religious tourism are an important subject of research, especially in tourism geography and the geography of religion, because of their spatial-temporal influence on geographical space (Rinschede & Sievers, 1987; Park, 1994; Rinschede, 1999; Jackowski, 2003; Proctor, 2006; Timothy & Olsen 2006; Collins-Kreiner, 2010a). The impact of religious phenomena on this geographical space, especially those associated with pilgrimage centres, has been emphasised for many years by numerous authors (Von Kasche, 1795; Defontaines, 1948; Fickeler, 1962; Butnner, 1979; Wirth, 1979; Sopher, 1981; Hoheisel, 1985; Margul, 1986; Rinschede & Sievers, 1987; Eade & Sallnow, 1991; Cohen, 1992; Cooper, 1992; Rinschede, 1992, 1999; Park, 1994; Holloway & Vallins, 2002; Jackowski, 2003). According to them, the proper reading and interpretation of manifestations of worship in space should be the role of the geography of religion. Deffontaines (1948) saw in religious phenomena the source of many processes occurring in the geographical environment, including factors related to the developing of towns and cities. He emphasised their influence on the creation and development of settlement. In the second half of the 20th century, attention began to be paid to the religious organisation of geographical space. Centres of worship are mentioned as one of the elements that sacralise space (Fickeler, 1962) and their significant influence on the changes in the socio-geographical environment, i.e. the generation of pilgrimage movement, also, as well as the changes in settlement, or the transformation of cultural landscapes (Sopher, 1981), are emphasised.

There is still a gap in research on pilgrimages and sacred space (Proctor, 2006; Timothy & Olsen, 2006) and filling it is the task for geographers (Holloway & Vallins, 2002; Proctor, 2006; Collins-Kreiner, 2010a).
In order to fill this gap in the future, it seems necessary to conduct a review and prepare a summary of the current state of research on pilgrimage centres and their influence on geographical space.

The aim of the article is to discuss the current state of research on pilgrimages and pilgrimage centres in Europe from the perspective of geographic sciences, in particular works on the space of pilgrimage centres and the changes taking place in them. At the beginning, concepts of sanctuaries are introduced and systematised on the basis of the literature. Particular attention is paid to focusing on the spatial organisation of Catholic pilgrimage centres in Europe. Next, the main theories and research approaches as well as conclusions from previous works are discussed. This paper indicates a possibility of conducting geographical research on pilgrimage centres based on the works in which sanctuaries are treated as part of geographical space.

**Terminology**

A discussion which explains concepts such as sanctuary and pilgrimage centre should begin with explaining more general terms such as a sacred place and sacred space.

**A sacred place and the sacred space**

These concepts have been developed on the basis of religious and sociological studies (Van der Leeuw, 1933; Turner, 1969, 1973; Turner & Turner, 1978; Chidester & Linenthal, 1995; Eliade, 1999). In the literature on the subject, they are often treated as identical and used interchangeably in relation to Catholic pilgrimage centres. In terms of religious studies, a sacred place is a place of grace which attracts pilgrims (Van der Leeuw, 1933). As a result of hierophany (a revelation of the sacred), the profane is transformed into the sacred, it becomes significant space, a source of strength and sacredness (Eliade, 1969). These transformations are of qualitative nature, making a specific part of space become sacred in its nature. In the fundamental concepts of sacred places, the most important feature is the presence of the sacred, broadly understood in various religions. Mircea Eliade (1969) defines a pilgrimage as a religiously motivated journey to a symbolic centre of the world - axis mundi, or its representation, i.e. a very sacred place, a place of the sacred, separated from the profane zone. The postmodernist approach is definitely not in favour of separating what is sacred from what is secular. Chidester & Linenthal (1995) emphasise that a sacred place does not have to be the opposite of a profane zone, and separated from it by a clear border, since the sacred zone is inextricably linked with social and environmental reality.

Hecht (1994) describes a sacred place in situational and relational categories. In this approach, they agree with Leeuw's (1933) theory, in which religious buildings are a consequence of the impact of a sacred place; building a chapel is a consequence of the sacredness of a place. According to Turner (1969), a pilgrimage can be analysed as a process of transition, i.e. it is liminal in nature. Excluded from everyday life, a pilgrim is on the way to direct contact with the sacred. The destination of a pilgrimage (the centre) is usually ‘there’, therefore, a pilgrim must make a journey to a place, but it may also be, not necessarily, spatial and symbolic in nature. A pilgrim, therefore, goes to the periphery of their everyday life (Turner, 1973; Turner & Turner, 1978). Highlighting the migration of a pilgrim to a specific place that can constitute a sanctuary is important in this approach.

In the typology of pilgrimage centres, Cohen (1992) attempted an interpretation of sacred places on the basis of Eliade's (1999 & 1973) theories. The most important pilgrimage centres in the world are places formally approved by religions and the authorities. Cohen (1992) lists the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and St. Peter's Basilica in Rome as the main catholic pilgrimage sites. Today, formal sacred places also constitute smaller pilgrimage centres, i.e. other sanctuaries and shrines (Cohen, 1992). In this matter, he agrees with the statement from religious sciences that each sacred place is one in which divine power is manifested. Soja (1980) describes religious sites as a ‘third space’, existing beyond and between the lived and anticipated world. Sacred spaces are a unique space in the imagination of religious and secular tourism (Collins-Kreiner & Wall, 2015).

The sacredness of a place is a result of the presence of the broadly understood sacred, and the believers’ affection towards it (Van der Leeuw, 1933; Turner, 1973; Cohen, 1992; Vukonie, 1996, 2000; Eliade, 1999). Sacred places and the sacred space are those areas where the sacred (Eliade, 1999) or power (Van der Leeuw, 1933) manifest themselves. The unique character of this space can be perceived only by religious people, since its nature is subjective (Van der Leeuw, 1933). A non-religious person perceives space as homogeneous, while, for a religious person, one’s space is varied due to the presence of the sacred
In the current state of the research on sanctuaries, the following main trends can be distinguished:

- **Research on the phenomenon of pilgrimage:**
  - in terms of religion, society, culture and tourism, including the examination of the size, structure and motivations of pilgrimage movement,
  - the impact of pilgrimage, including the impact on the development of cities, towns and villages.

- **Research on pilgrimage centres:**
  - the occurrence of pilgrimage centres in various areas and monographic works on selected sanctuaries;
  - the impact of pilgrimage centres on the organisation of space in various spatial and temporal scales.

These themes are now discussed.

**Research on the phenomenon of pilgrimage**

The first research on the phenomenon of pilgrimage focused on traditional pilgrimages understood as journeys with religious motives. This trend dominated until the end of the 20th century (Collins-Kreiner, 2010a). The most extensive group of studies is focused on the spatial range, size and structure of pilgrimage movement (selected papers include: Jackowski, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1990a, 1990b, 2003; Rinschede & Sievers, 1987; Jackowski & Smith, 1992; Jackowski et al., 1999; Bilska-Wodecka, 2003; Raj & Morpeth, 2007; Braga et al., 2013; Rizzello & Trono, 2013; Bond et al., 2015).

In pilgrimage focused research, sanctuaries are presented as places of destination of journeys with religious motives. This trend dominated until the end of the 20th century (Collins-Kreiner, 2010a). The most extensive group of studies is focused on the spatial range, size and structure of pilgrimage movement (selected papers include: Jackowski, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1990a, 1990b, 2003; Rinschede & Sievers, 1987; Jackowski & Smith, 1992; Jackowski et al., 1999; Bilska-Wodecka, 2003; Raj & Morpeth, 2007; Braga et al., 2013; Rizzello & Trono, 2013; Bond et al., 2015).

In pilgrimage focused research, sanctuaries are presented as places of destination of journeys with religious motives. Research on pilgrimages covered various spatial ranges, i.e. it was carried out in individual sacred places, in areas of given countries and regions, and in a global perspective (Osterrieth, 1997; Rinschede, 1997; Stoddard & Morinis, 1997). It introduced into geographical research, definitions and classifications of pilgrimages based on the range of impact of a given sacred place (e.g. a sanctuary) and the size of pilgrimage movement, distinguishing international, national and local pilgrimage centres. In addition, it distinguished three criteria for the study of pilgrimages, such as:

1. the length of the journey,
2. pilgrimage routes, and
3. the number of pilgrims (Stoddard, 1994).
On the other hand, Jackowski (2003) classified Christian pilgrimage centres using the international, national, supra-regional and local scale. Based on the analyses by Nolan and Nolan (1989), Griffin and Raj (2017) distinguished three types of Christian pilgrimage centres in Europe: pilgrim shrines, religious tourist attractions, and sites of religious festivals.

Religious motives are still one of the most common reasons for travelling around the world (UNWTO). More and more research is currently being conducted on pilgrims’ motivations (Nolan & Nolan, 1989; Smith, 1989, 1992; Cohen, 1992; Collins-Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Fleischer, 2000; Collins-Kreiner & Gatrell, 2006; Shinde & Rizello, 2014; Lois-González & Santos, 2014; Abad-Galzacort & Guereño-Omil, 2016; Griffin & Raj, 2017, Liro et al., 2018) and their experience at a sacred place (MacCannell, 1973; Turner & Turner, 1978; Cohen, 1979, 1998; Krešić et al., 2012; Lopez, 2013; Bond et al., 2015; Mora-Torres et al., 2016). The secular pilgrimage, however, retaining the structure and behaviour corresponding to pilgrimages, but devoid of religious motivation, is also mentioned (selected: Reader & Walter, 1993; Seaton, 1999, 2002; Digance & Cusack, 2001; Alderman, 2002; Digance, 2003; Stone, 2006; Reader, 2007; Magry, 2008; Hyde & Harman, 2011).

Many authors emphasise that the motivations for travelling to sacred places become diverse and comprise features characteristic of pilgrimages, religious tourism and tourism in the traditional sense (Rinschede, 1997; Tomasi, 2002; Santos, 2003; Shinde & Rizello, 2014; Griffin & Raj, 2017). For example, people travelling along the routes to Santiago de Compostela and along the St. Ignatius trail represent motivations ranging from religious ones to typical tourist motivations, and they are difficult to classify (Lois-González & Santos, 2014; Abad-Galzacort & Guereño-Omil, 2016). Similar findings were provided in the surveys of people visiting the sanctuary in Krakow (Poland) (Liro et al., 2018). Pilgrimage centres are visited by pilgrims with mainly religious motives, religious tourists guided by religious and cognitive motives, as well as by tourists with tourist-only motives. Religious motivation can be of diversified importance in making decisions. It can be the only major reason (Rinschede, 1999) in the case of pilgrimages in the traditional sense, as well as one of many (Santos, 2003; Timothy & Olsen, 2006) in religious tourism. Religious practices may accompany a tourist trip, and typical tourist behaviour may accompany a religious trip (Santos, 2003; Liro et al., 2018). Apart from religious motives, there may also be the desire to experience a sense of identity with a place of historical and cultural importance (Nolan & Nolan, 1989). Pilgrimage centres are, in a sense, characterised by tourist values (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Therefore, today, motivations of people visiting sacred places can co-exist and change from tourist to religious, and vice versa, at every moment of the journey, even without the participants being aware of it (Collins-Kreiner & Kliot, 2000; Porier et al., 2003, 2004; Collins-Kreiner, 2010a).

Based on the significance of the religious factor in the motivations, some authors attempted to identify the types of people visiting sacred places. Among visitors to Christian pilgrimage centres in Europe, Nolan and Nolan (1989) distinguished: traditional pilgrims, members of organised religious tours, and mass tourists. In turn, among the Christians visiting the Holy Land, Collins-Kreiner and Kliot (2000) distinguished five categories: pilgrim, pilgrim>tourist, tourist=pilgrim, tourist>pilgrim, and secular tourist, which they based on the pilgrims-tourist path (Smith 1992). Next, based on Collins-Kreiner and Kliot’s (2000) model, Canoves and Forga (2016) proposed three types of people visiting Montserrat: pilgrims who are mainly guided by religious motives and strongly connected to the sacred place, religious tourists who are guided by the religious motive as one of many and are enjoying the tourist attractions of the place, and tourists who visit Montserrat as one of the items of their tourist itinerary. Similar profiles, supplemented with an analysis of behaviour (i.e. where objects in the pilgrimage centre are visited) were also distinguished among visitors to the sanctuary in Krakow (Poland) (Liro et al. 2018).

Research on pilgrimage centres

The second mainstream section of research to be distinguished is the wide range of studies comprising general information on the history and size of pilgrimage movement in a selected study area (see Table 1).

The comprehensive works of the Nolans, describe a network of 6,150 Christian pilgrimage centres in 16 Western European countries in selected historical periods (Nolan, 1987a, 1987b; Nolan & Nolan, 1989). The publications by Jackowski describes pilgrimage centres in Poland (1987a, 1990b). Case studies and monographs of individual sanctuaries stand out from these works (Table 2). First of all, they present the history of a given centre, and partially a description of the size and structure of pilgrimage movement.
Table 1. Selected studies comprising general information about sanctuaries and the size of pilgrimage movement in different study areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Study area</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>World, a general study</td>
<td>Aradi, 1954; Park, 1994; Stoddard, 1994; Stoddard and Morinis, 1997; Jackowski et al., 1999; Jackowski, 2003; Margry, 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>Rinschede, 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>Hole, 1954; Gillett, 1957; Dowse, 1963; Shackley, 2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own study.

Table 2. Case studies of selected sanctuaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Sanctuary</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Author, year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Shrine of Our Lady Queen of Bavaria</td>
<td>Altötting</td>
<td>Hoeldl, 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Shrine of Our Lady</td>
<td>Clearwater</td>
<td>Swatos, 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Sanctuary of Our Świętokrzyska Lady of Sorrows</td>
<td>Kalków-Godów</td>
<td>Ryszka, 2000; Sawa, 2001; Mergalska and Suligowski, 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sanctuary of Our Lady Conсолer of the Afflicted</td>
<td>Kevelaar</td>
<td>Oomen, 1976; Boymann and Boymann, 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Sanctuary of St. John Paul II</td>
<td>Kraków</td>
<td>Soljan and Liro, 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Santa Casa Sanctuary</td>
<td>Loreto</td>
<td>Rinschede, 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Shrine of Our Lady Queen of Peace</td>
<td>Medjugorie</td>
<td>Vukonic, 1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Sanctuary of the Miraculous Medal</td>
<td>Paryż</td>
<td>Zachwieja, 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Selected sanctuaries in Quebec</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>Rinschede, 1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own study.
In addition to the studies of Rinschede (1987, 1988, 1995) and Sołjan (2011, 2012), spatial organization was also presented on the example of Calvary sanctuaries (Liro 2015), the Sanctuary of St. John Paul II in Krakow (Soljan & Liro 2014), and the Marian sanctuary in Licheń Stary (Liro & Sołjan 2016). The terminology and methodologies developed by Rinschede (1987, 1988, 1995) and Sołjan (2012), which presents a sanctuary as a fragment of geographical space, allows the conduct of research into the spatial development of pilgrimage centres.

Management of pilgrimage centres

Pilgrimage centres can be also defined as a functioning institution (Park, 1994; Rinchede, 1999; Sołjan, 2012). Similarly to the possibility of managing tourist movement and tourist space, much the same actions seem necessary to be taken with regard to pilgrimage movement and pilgrimage centres. They are places of reception of very often large-scale pilgrimages, however, very few works take into account the issues of their management and marketing (Shackley, 2001, 2002, 2008; Brayley, 2010; Lo Presti & Petrillo; 2010). Paying more attention to the management strategy of pilgrimage places (Digance, 2003; Shackley, 2008), and the cooperation of hosts of sanctuaries, tourists, and tour operators in this respect are necessary (Bywater, 1994; Shackley, 2008). It seems that managing a pilgrimage centre which is visited by many people is a necessity today. However, most pilgrimage centres have a traditional and hierarchical management structure due to ownership relationships. Catholic pilgrimage centres may be the property of parishes, and indirectly subjected to diocesan authorities, they may be units directly subordinated to them, or be the property of a religious congregation. Attempting to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sanctuary</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rinschede, 1987; Wall 2010</td>
<td>Sanctuary in Lourdes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Rinschede, 1988</td>
<td>Sanctuary in Fatima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Rinschede, 1995</td>
<td>Sanctuary in Loreto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Jackowski, 1996; Ptaszynska-Jackowska and Jackowski, 1998</td>
<td>Sanctuary at Jasna Góra, Częstochowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sołjan, 2009</td>
<td>Sanctuary in Lourdes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Sołjan, 2011, 2012</td>
<td>The largest European sanctuaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sołjan and Liro, 2014</td>
<td>Sanctuary of St. John Paul II in Krakow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Liro and Sołjan, 2016</td>
<td>Marian Sanctuary in Licheń Stary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: own study.
explain the lack of management in centres with high numbers of pilgrims and tourists, Shackley (2008) argued that this may be due to a contradiction between the spiritual nature of a place and what would seem a secular need for effective management, in order to achieve economic benefits. Persons managing a sacred place usually see themselves as guardians of the place, and not as managers (Shackley, 2008).

The term management for religious tourism came into use in the 1980s, when the hosts of sacred sites in Western Europe and the United States saw the need to attract more visitors and the faithful, in order to maintain their popularity, and generate revenues necessary for the functioning of the place (Shinde, 2012). Taking advantage of their capabilities, sacred sites began to take action to support, organise, and manage pilgrimages and tourism (Nolan & Nolan, 1992). Projects of this type were sometimes joined by local government authorities in order to strengthen the local economy (Nolan & Nolan, 1992; Shackley, 2001; Timothy & Olsen, 2006). The research of Lo Presti and Pertillo (2010) indicated that the cooperation of private, public and church institutions contributes to the revitalization of buildings, and to the development of pilgrimages and religious tourism to the most important churches in Naples (Italy).

Managing pilgrimage centres can ensure positive experiences for pilgrims, and does not need to be in conflict with the spiritual identity of the place, because the revenues generated from this management may be allocated to protect the sacred place. In addition, the lack of management by the host of a place of worship can cause an unplanned and uncontrolled development of services surrounding the sanctuary. Managing a sacred place does not differ significantly from the management of secular tourist attractions, as all such facilities must be directed at satisfying the needs of visiting tourists and pilgrims. Digance (2003) emphasises the importance of proper management of a pilgrimage centre so that pilgrims driven by religious motives, as well as religious tourists who are additionally driven by other motives, could have access to it.

The use of pilgrimage centres by both groups should not violate the needs of its other users, including the local community. The literature on the subject emphasises that effective management of a sacred place should:

- reconcile the interests of all those interested,
- provide socio-economic benefits to the local community,
- ensure the long-lasting conservation of the pilgrimage centre.

**Conclusion**

Pilgrimage tourism and pilgrimage centres are an interesting and often undertaken research topic in the geography of religion and tourism research, as well as in other sciences. In summary, the following definitions of sanctuaries / pilgrimage centres can be distinguished:

- a formal sacred place, separated from the profane zone, in which the presence of the sacred (Eliade, 1999) or power, manifests itself, and its reception is subjective (Van der Leeuw, 1997);
- a church or another sacred place where pilgrimage movement occurs owing to special objects of worship (The Original Catholic Encyclopedia),
- a fragment of space with a dominant religious function, organised around the most important sacred places. It is, therefore, an area functionally related to the main sacred object, being its immediate surroundings. It constitutes an integral whole, the determinant of which is the religious character of the place;
- an institution operating in social space carrying out specific tasks.

It is worth noting that the cited definitions of a sanctuary are semantically not mutually exclusive, and the differences between them result from different research approaches.

Today, numerous researchers have emphasised the strong need to supplement geographical research on the interaction between pilgrimages and geographical space (Rinschede & Sievers, 1987; Holloway & Vallins, 2002; Jackowski, 2002, 2003; Proctor, 2006, Timothy & Olsen, 2006, Collins-Kreiner, 2010a, Soljan, 2012). This trend also includes research on the sacred places that attract pilgrimage and tourist movement. These are extremely interesting from the scientific and application point of view.

Among many pilgrimage studies, sanctuaries are most often described as places where pilgrimage movement takes place, or these studies are monographs or case studies presenting a given pilgrimage centre in a general way.
In addition to the above-mentioned works (Rinschede, 1987, 1988, 1995; Wall, 2010; Soljan, 2012; Soljan & Liro, 2015; Liro, 2015), there is no geographical research addressing the development and organization of catholic pilgrimage centres. The terminology and methodology developed by Rinschede (1987, 1988, 1995) and Soljan (2012) presenting the sanctuary as part of geographical space makes it possible to conduct new research on the spatial development of pilgrimage centres. Defined in such a way, they are areas with a dominant religious function around the main sacred place (Jackson & Henrie, 1983; Rinschede, 1987; Rinschede & Sievers, 1987; Soljan, 2011, 2012). Highly intensive pilgrimage movement occurs in the area, and there are buildings with religious and other functions. Among the features that distinguish the space of contemporary pilgrimage centres, the following are mentioned:

- domination of the religious function,
- sacralisation of space, which endows it with a new qualitative dimension,
- its real or symbolic separation as a sacred zone,
- specific public space within which specific behaviour is required.

For the study to be complementary, pilgrimage centres should be considered in two basic dimensions, namely (1) as specific places in geographical space and (2) as institutions creating social space.

Therefore, it seems necessary to fill this gap in the state of research, especially in respect of the development of pilgrimage centres. In the present state of geographical research on pilgrimage centres, the following research questions remain still open:

- What is the spatial organization of pilgrimage centres?
- How do changes in the space of pilgrimage centres take place?
- What are the factors controlling these changes?
- What action is taken by the hosts of sanctuaries with regard to their management and administration?

The socio-cultural changes in the 20th and 21st century, i.e. the development of mass tourism and transport, and the blurring of the boundaries between tourism and pilgrimages on many levels, have affected the space of pilgrimage centres. Previously, sanctuaries almost exclusively performed religious functions connected with the pastoral care of visitors to them. Their religious role is still valid and most important, but pilgrimage centres are increasingly being extended to include other, non-religious functions. The transformations that have been taking place since the second half of the 20th century not only provide pilgrims with an appropriate standard of religious practices. The ongoing transformations are of a qualitative nature and aim at diversifying facilities (in terms of their number and function). In the context of the presented changes, it seems necessary to pay more attention to the possibilities of managing, responding to the multi-faceted needs of visitors, building a wide religious and non-religious offer of these places, while maintaining the sacred dimension of space.
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Gallimard.


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