



This portrait by an unknown photographer, c. 1900, shows a hermit of the Roussillon or Rosseló, the southernmost French province which represents Catalunya north of the Pyrenees. He holds his *capelleta*, a portable container for religious objects, especially aids for the veneration of saints – statuettes, votive cards, medallions and so on. Hermits visited hamlets and farms, offering spiritual comfort in return for gifts. In this they bolstered particular saintly cults. How old the practice was is unknown. One peripatetic hermit recorded in southern Catalunya in the sixteenth century toured the countryside in time of drought, with an image of the local saint Magí on his shoulders. This and other examples of *capelletas* are discussed by Roland Serres, “Pavordes” et ermite’, in *Chapelles et Eglises Oubliées de la Catalogne Nord* (Perpignan, Guide Touristique Conflent, 1988), pp. 26–32 – Editor.

SAINTS OF EUROPE

Studies Towards
A Survey of
Cults and Culture

Edited by

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Saints' Cults and Pilgrimage Sites in the Netherlands¹

CHARLES CASPERS and PETER JAN MARGRY

1. *A Survey of the Sources*

In The Netherlands, a parish-by-parish survey of religious cults in the Middle Ages cannot begin with the parish archives. During the Dutch Revolt of 1568–1648, parish life in large parts of what is now The Netherlands was impeded or impossible. Indeed, after the Peace of Munster in 1648 and even into the nineteenth century, parishes did not even exist, officially. Parish institutions such as the Table of the Holy Spirit were often continued in another manner by the Reformed Church, but this was emphatically not true for the maintenance of altars and other tasks which had to do with the cult of saints. Phenomena such as pilgrimage and the cults of saints went 'underground' for a long time, at least in their public guises. Their material inheritance (relics, reliquaries, paintings, ex-votos, *et cetera*), as well as the documentation which accompanied them (indulgence books, miracle registers, and so on) were carelessly disposed of, despite several rescue attempts by Catholics.² From the Dutch monasteries likewise, only fragmentary sources regarding the Middle Ages are preserved. Those monasteries not already destroyed and pillaged during the Dutch Revolt were not permitted to take on new postulants after 1648 and so died out within a few decades.

¹ Our primary intention in discussing the typology of sources, historiography and current state of research into the veneration of saints in The Netherlands is to set out some markers for further research. To a large extent this essay draws on our research experience in bringing to completion the project called 'Places of Pilgrimage in The Netherlands', which, as we shall show, shares a number of characteristics with TASC: P. J. Margry and C. Caspers, *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, 3 vols. (Hilversum/Amsterdam, 1997–2000), hereafter 'Margry and Caspers, *Bedevaartplaatsen*'. See also P. J. Margry and P. Post, 'The "Places of Pilgrimage in The Netherlands" Project. An Orientation', *Modern Pilgrim. Multidisciplinary Explorations of Christian Pilgrimage* (Louvain, 1998), pp. 49–88.

² A. van Lommel, 'Berigten aangaande reliquiën van heiligen of h. zaken uit Noord-Nederland ontvoerd, annis 1582–1630', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 7 (1879), pp. 90–155.

It is remarkable, given this background in which a dominant Protestant church which condemned the veneration of saints replaced a dominant Roman Catholic church which propagated the veneration of saints, that relevant source material can still be found in national, provincial and municipal archives. Thus documents regarding properties, privileges, municipal ordinances, court decisions (chiefly in respect of 'enforced pilgrimages'),³ wills, financial arrangements, and so on, indirectly yield information about the veneration of saints. Like their counterparts elsewhere in Europe, churches and monasteries had at their disposal at the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt, income from gifts for religious purposes accumulated during previous centuries. We can obtain through such documents, therefore, a reasonably systematic overview of the patron saints of churches, chapels or altars in The Netherlands during the Middle Ages, or at least the later part of that period.

A parish-level survey, based on a range of sources and complemented by a collection of geographic maps, was in fact made between 1913 and 1938 and remains an outstanding point of departure for an investigation of the type proposed for TASC.⁴ For information regarding monasteries, the researcher has the *Monasticon Batavum*, though it is flawed and of limited scope. Its limitations are illustrative of the dearth of sources in The Netherlands, certainly in comparison with Belgium and its impressive *Monasticon belge*.⁵ The *Acta Sanctorum*, that 'universal' source edition of hagiographic writings, frequently from the Middle Ages, is indispensable for tracing and illustrating cults at a local level.⁶ In addition there are the surviving liturgical books, such as *libri ordinarii*, which provide information about the procession of relics in collegiate churches.⁷ Van der Aa's nineteenth-century *Aardrijkskundig*

³ See note 30, the study of J. van Herwaarden.

⁴ *Geschiedkundige atlas van Nederland*, many vols., esp.: *De kerkelijke indeeling omstreeks 1550, tevens kloosterkaart*. Vol. 1: S. Muller, *Het bisdom Utrecht* (The Hague, 1921); vol. 2: J. G. C. Joosting, *De bisdommen Munster en Osnabrück (in Groningen en Friesland)* (1921); vol. 3: J. S. van Veen and A. A. Beekman, *De bisdommen Munster, Keulen en Luik; het bisdom Doornik en de kloosters van Windesheim en de huizen van de Broeders en Zusters des Gemeenen Levens* (1923); vol. 4: A. H. L. Hensen and A. A. Beekman, *De nieuwe bisdommen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1559-1561* (1922).

⁵ M. Schoengen, *Monasticon Batavum*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1941-2); D. de Kok, *Monasticon Batavum*, vol. 1: *Supplement* (Amsterdam, 1942).

⁶ *Acta Sanctorum*, 69 vols. [Jan. 1-Nov. 10] (Antwerp/Brussels, 1643-1931); 43 vols. [Jan. 1-Sept. 18] (Venice 1734-1770); 60 vols. [Jan. 1-Oct. 29] (Paris, 1863-1870). A selection from this involving the Low Countries is: J. Ghesquierus, *Acta Sanctorum Belgii Selecta*, 6 vols. (n.p. 1783-1794). As an example of *cultus* information that is to be found in the AASS we cite Dordrecht, H. Sacrament, in Margry and Caspers, *Bedevoertplaatsen*, 1, *Noord-en Midden-Nederland* (1997), pp. 308-10. Also very useful is M. Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen. Heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen* (The Hague, 1981).

woordenboek (*Geographical Dictionary*) may be considered as a further primary source, spanning the whole of The Netherlands, since it often links landscape features which have since disappeared with cults of saints of centuries gone by.⁸ The search through the genres of sources listed here is now made much easier by the availability of a number of other resources. These include on-line documentation files; source publications with which are provided academic introductions and indices;⁹ inventories of archives (whether or not on-line);¹⁰ inventories of ecclesiastical properties;¹¹ collection catalogues of material objects (especially 'pilgrimage insignia');¹² and on-going bibliographies in magazines and on-line.¹³

2. Historiography

Veneration of saints in The Netherlands during the Middle Ages has a long and fascinating historiography, though scarred by the Protestant/Catholic conflict for the greatest part of its development. That the front which divided Western Christendom into two parts ran through the Low Countries helps to explain why, during the Counter-Reformation from the time of the Council of Trent (1546-63), a great hagiographic project under the direction of the Jesuits was put in hand close to the Dutch border in what is now Belgium. Its result was the *Acta Sanctorum*. This undertaking, still incomplete after four centuries, was accompanied by a stream of publications in which the

⁷ See the (not complete) survey in A.-G. Martimort, *Les 'ordines', les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux* (Turnhout, 1991).

⁸ A. J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 14 vols. (Gorinchem, 1839-1851; reprint Zaltbommel, 1976-1980).

⁹ For example, the series of the 'Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën' (The Hague, 1905), some vols. on medieval topics; also A. J. de Groot and E. C. C. Coppens, *Manuscripta canonistica latina. Elenchus codicum necnon diplomatum iuris canonici ante a. 1600 in bibliothecis ac archivis neerlandicis* (Nijmegen, 1989).

¹⁰ L. M. Th. L. Hustinx et al. (eds.), *Overzichten van de archieven en verzamelingen in de openbare archiefbewaarplaatsen in Nederland*, 14 vols. (Alphen a.d. Rijn, 1979-1991), partially on line.

¹¹ Especially the 'Stichting Kerkelijk Kunstbezit in Nederland' (Utrecht), see for example Margry and Caspers, *Bedevoertplaatsen in Nederland*, 1, pp. 563-567 (Nibbixwoud, Cunera).

¹² H. J. E. van Beuningen and A. M. Koldewij, *Heilig en profaan. 1000 laatmiddeleeuwse insignes uit de collectie H. J. E. van Beuningen* (Cothen, 1993) and *Heilig en profaan*, 2, *1200 laatmiddeleeuwse insignes uit openbare en particuliere collecties* (Cothen, 2001).

¹³ *Repertorium van boeken en tijdschriftartikelen betreffende de geschiedenis van Nederland* (The Hague 1900-1991); see also the bibliographies in *Ons geestelijk erf* (1927-), and in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (1906-). Bibliographical guides with some accent on the Low Countries are J. M. Romein and J. Haak, *Apparaat voor de studie der geschiedenis* (Groningen, 1979; 9e ed.); R. De Keyser et al., *De zoektocht van de historicus. Bibliografische wegwijzer* (Leuven/Apeldoorn, 1996).

eneration of saints in the Middle Ages was highly praised as the faith of the fathers.¹⁴ Because it was the intention of these books to call up the past, and to convince the reader with precise citations and other persuasive features, these Early Modern representatives of the historiography of the saints still have major value as 'surrogate sources'. Also, certain seventeenth-century Roman Catholic visitation reports and Protestant synodical decisions which deal meticulously with cults of the saints from days long past have similar documentary value.¹⁵ The concluding, crowning glory of this Early Modern Catholic historiography, with its great attention to the saints, was provided by Van Heussen's monumental work.¹⁶ This presents numerous documents regarding institutions and rites founded in the Middle Ages, and in particular, testimony to the veneration of saints in cities and towns.

From the second half of the eighteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth, Dutch saints appear to have been somewhat less in favour, at least among historians of Catholic persuasion.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it is striking that international surveys such as those by Butler and Hugues were judged important enough to be translated into Dutch.¹⁸ The translation of Butler's work, however, was only a selection: those entries treating saints (and other famous persons) who played important roles in The Netherlands – which

¹⁴ A selection: J. B. Gramaye, *Taxandria, in qua Antiquitates et decora Regionum 5. Coloniaram 6. Ducatum 3. Comitatum 7. Baronatum 5. Episcopatum 4.* (...) (Brussels: Rutger Velpius, 1610); Aubertus Miraeus, *Fasti Belgici et Burgundici* (Brussels: Joannes Pepermannus, 1622); Augustinus Wichmans, *Brabantia Mariana Tripartita* (Antwerp: J. Cnobbaert, 1632); Petrus Ribadineira and Heribertus Rosweydyus, *Generale legende der heylighen met het leven van Iesu Christi ende Marie* (...) (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1629; 7th ed. in 1711). See also note 6.

¹⁵ J. de la Torre, 'Relatio seu descriptio status religionis catholicae in Hollandia (...). Anno 1656', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 10 (1882), pp. 95–240, 11 (1883), pp. 57–144; *idem*, 'Descriptio status, in quo anno 1639 erat religio catholica in Hollandia', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 12 (1884), pp. 189–213, pp. 414–33. See also, with regard to the Calvinists, J. Reitsma and S.D. van Veen (eds.), *Acta der provinciale en particuliere Synoden, gehouden in de noordelijke Nederlanden gedurende de jaren 1572–1620*, 8 vols. (Groningen, 1892–1899) with numerous complaints about local remnants of 'Roman superstition'.

¹⁶ H. F. van Heussen, *Historia episcopatum foederati Belgii utpote metropolitani Ultrajectini* (...) (Antwerp: J. B. Verdussen, 1719) and other books of this author.

¹⁷ To be found with the aid of the indices in W. P. C. Knuttel, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van Kerkgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam, 1889).

¹⁸ A. Butler, *De levens der HH. Vaders, der martelaeren, en van d'andere voornaemste heyligen* (...), 8 vols (Bruges, J. de Busscher, 1791–4); [A. Butler], *Levens van de voornaemste heyligen en roemweerdige personen der Nederlanden*, 4 vols. (Mechelen: P.-J. Hanicq, 1827–9); M. A. Hugues, *De levens en daden van Gods heiligen, benevens breedvoerige onderrigtingen over de hooge feestdagen door het geheele jaer, over de feestdagen van de H. Moeder Gods, enz., enz.*, 12 vols. (Mechelen: P. J. Hanicq, 1844–5).

until 1830, it should be remembered, included both the present Netherlands and Belgium. It is also important to note that this selection was considerably supplemented by information from Dutch history and entries about persons not dealt with by Butler, whose work, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and Other Principal Saints*, had been devoted for the greater part to saints of Britain and Ireland.¹⁹

A change of direction set in from about the middle of the nineteenth century. The emancipation of Roman Catholics in The Netherlands and their gaining of near-equal civil rights created a fresh wave of interest among Catholics in native saints from before the Reformation. The new freedom made it possible to attempt once again to sacralise the Dutch landscape, which for centuries had been stripped of its holy places. Everywhere, once-famous cults from the Middle Ages, primarily Marian, were revitalised.²⁰ Pastors revealed themselves to be highly creative historians, discovering 'Willibrord's wells' in their own parishes.²¹ These 'inventors of tradition' have often led later investigators down false trails in search of medieval roots. Nor had Protestant authors lost their interest in saints from the Middle Ages. They too were still occupied with the topic, albeit from another, often anti-Catholic, point of departure: not to praise, but to bury their ancestors' beliefs by making them seem ridiculous.²² Nevertheless, they too must be given credit for the part they played in mapping out the medieval saints' cults.²³

¹⁹ It would appear that in this, use was made of the French edition which appeared at Louvain in the same period in 22 volumes, with additional material regarding Dutch saints. In 1854 once again a supplemented French version of Butler's work appeared, edited by F. X. de Ram (7 vols., Brussels, H. Goemaere).

²⁰ P. J. Margry, 'Teedere quaesties'. *Religieuze rituelen in conflict. Confrontaties tussen katholieken en protestanten rond de processiecultuur in negentiende-eeuws Nederland* (Hilversum, 2000), *passim*; P. J. Margry and H. te Velde, 'Contested Rituals and the Battle for Public Space: the Netherlands', in C. Clark and W. Kaiser, *Culture Wars. Secular-Clerical Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2003).

²¹ Willibrord, English-born apostle of the Frisians and archbishop of Utrecht (died 739), widely venerated in Holland and Luxembourg. (– Ed.)

²² L. G. Swaving, *Galerij van Roomsche beelden of beeldendienst der XIX eeuw* (Dordrecht 1824); D. Buddingh, *Mirakel-geloof en Mirakelen in de Nederlanden. Historisch-letterkundigen proeve* (The Hague, 1845); A. C. J. van der Kemp, 'De bedevarien onzer landgenooten', in: *Studiën en bijdragen op het gebied der historische theologie* 4/1 (1890), pp. 1–103. The Protestant author Willem Moll stands out as an exception to this. His publications on the church of the Middle Ages are still valuable, in part because they were not dominated by the then prevailing anti-Papism, see W. Moll, *Johannes Brugman en het godsdienstig leven onzer vaders in de vijftiende eeuw*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1854); *idem*, *Kerkgeschiedenis van Nederland vóór de Hervorming*, 6 vols. (Arnhem, 1864–1871).

²³ For example, F. Pijper, *Middeleeuwsch Christendom. De Heiligen-verering* (The Hague, 1911), *passim*, on the veneration of St Remaclus in Maastricht (for the rest, based on the *Acta Sanctorum Belgii Selecta*).

The greatest body of work comprehending Dutch hagiography came to completion at the beginning of the twentieth century from the pen of J. A. F. Kronenburg: an eight-volume work on Dutch saints (1898–1902), and a work on the veneration of Mary in The Netherlands, likewise in eight volumes (1904–1914; index published in 1931). Although with this author, a Redemptorist, the wish more than once became father of the thought, his cataloguing of sources and the treasure trove of information he provides make his work indispensable to anyone delving into Dutch hagiography.²⁴

The emphasis on native saints meant that historians devoted little attention to universal saints, who of course were also honoured in The Netherlands, often more intensively than the national saints. For a survey of the cultic sites of Anthony of Padua, Anna, James the Less, Quirinus, Wilgefortis, Nicholas, and so on, the investigator is generally referred to one of the many excellent monographs on saints which appeared in German before the Second World War, especially focusing on the region influenced by German culture.²⁵

In Western Europe in the decades after that war, thanks in part to the prestige of the French *Annales*, interest grew in the *religion vécue* and relevant branches of history such as historical demography and the history of ideas. However, it was only at the end of the 1970s that this movement got its feet on the ground in academic circles in The Netherlands.²⁶ Previously there had been a short period, beginning in the 1950s, during which there appeared several great syntheses regarding the history of piety and the Church in the Middle Ages in The Netherlands. These, classic in their approach, were nevertheless of very high quality.²⁷ As in other countries, the general public too began to show increased interest in the religious life of the Middle Ages. We refer, for example, to the hyperbole surrounding Ladurie's book about the Cathars of Montailou. Some aspects of the veneration of saints were more popular at the dawn of the twenty-first century than ever before. Generally, however, the literature involved translations of foreign best-sellers, chiefly

popularisations. Yet, despite several worthy attempts at its promotion, and their results,²⁸ hagiography in all its aspects was not intensively practised in The Netherlands.²⁹ In part this could be explained by the disappearance of confessional antagonisms among historians, and the lukewarm promotion in the universities of medieval history generally and of church history in particular.

3. *Status Quaestionis*

Since the end of the 1970s dozens of studies have appeared in Netherlands which could be considered as building blocks for the TASC project.³⁰ Their

²⁸ For instance, there exists in The Netherlands a 'Hagiographic Workgroup' to which the members of various university-level institutions belong. In addition, since 1989 there has been a Belgian-Dutch 'Contact Group for Social-Economic and Institutional-Juridical History of Religious and Ecclesiastical Institutions in The Netherlands in the Middle Ages' of about 110 members, which has since acquired its own journal, *Signum*, and sponsors annual symposia focusing on topics relevant to the study of saints' cults in the Middle Ages. At the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s there existed in The Netherlands a study circle which devoted its attention to St Anna, and to the geographic distribution of her cult. See T. Brandenburg, *Heilig familieleven. Verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan het begin van de moderne tijd (15de/16de eeuw)* (Nijmegen, 1990); E. Muller and W. Deeleman-van Tyen, *Handleiding bij de kaarten over de verspreiding van de Annadevotie in Nederland tot 1800* (Zeist n.d.). From time to time there appear exhibition-catalogues at the Museum for Religious Art at Uden (in 1986 on Birgitta of Sweden, in 1992 on Clara, in 1995 on Anthony of Padua and Anthony of Egypt, in 1997 on saints in the course of the year), and at the Museum Catharijneconvent at Utrecht (in 1985 on reliquaries, in 1997 on pilgrimage, in 2001 on veneration of relics). For a survey of the hagiographical production in The Netherlands during the past decades, see A. B. Mulder-Bakker, *Hagiographica* 6 (1999), pp. 153–68.

²⁹ The investigations undertaken by P. Post, J. Pieper and M. van Uden into aspects of pilgrimage (albeit especially with the contemporary scene) occupies a special place in the research. Of the numerous collective publications by these authors, see particularly their joint book, *The Modern Pilgrim...* (above, note 1), with extensive bibliography.

³⁰ M. P. van Buijtenen, *Langs de heiligenweg. Perspectief van enige vroeg-middeleeuwse verbindingen met Noord-Nederland* (Amsterdam, 1977); J. van Herwaarden, *Opgelegde bedevaarten. Een studie over de praktijk van opleggen van bedevaarten (met name in de stedelijke rechtspraak) in de Nederlanden gedurende de late middeleeuwen (ca 1300 – ca 1550)* (Assen, 1978); A. D. A. Monna, *Zwerftocht met middeleeuwse heiligen* (Amsterdam, 1988); G. Verhoeven, *Devotie en negotie. Delft als bedevaartplaats in de late middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam, 1992); O. Thiers, *Bedevaart en kerkeraad. De Amersfoortse vrouwevaart van 1444 tot 1720* (Hilversum, 1994); A. B. Mulder-Bakker et al., *De kluizenaar in de eik. Gerlach van Houthem en zijn verering* (Hilversum, 1995). From about 1980 to 2000, several good studies appeared in the field of ecclesiastical institutions, especially on

²⁴ C. Caspers, "Een stroom van getuigen". Heiligenlevens en heiligenverering in katholiek Nederland circa 1500 – circa 2000', in A. Mulder-Bakker and M. Carasso-Kok, *Gouden Legenden. Heiligenlevens en heiligenverering in de Nederlanden* (Hilversum, 1997), pp. 165–79, esp. pp. 172, 178.

²⁵ See Margry and Caspers, *Bedevoartplaatsen* 1, p. 37, note 162. On the veneration of St Anna, see also note 28.

²⁶ W. Frijhoff, 'Van "Histoire de l'Église" naar "Histoire religieuse". De invloed van de "Annales"-groep op de ontwikkeling van de kerkgeschiedenis in Frankrijk en de perspectieven daarvan voor Nederland', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 61 (1981), pp. 113–53, is often cited as the pioneering study.

²⁷ R. R. Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland vóór de Reformatie van ± 1500 tot ± 1580* (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1954) and *Kerkgeschiedenis van Nederland in de Middeleeuwen*, 2 vols. (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1957); St. Axters, *Geschiedenis van de vroomheid in de Nederlanden*, 4 vols. (Antwerp 1950–1960; reprint Antwerp, 2000).

diversity is marked. Some are focused more on ecclesiastical institutions, others on devotion. It is striking that research into the parish system of the Middle Ages is what has lagged behind the most – in contrast, for instance, to what has been achieved in Belgium.³¹

The 'Places of Pilgrimage in The Netherlands' project deserves special attention as one of these building blocks because it shares with TASC a number of characteristics in terms of object and arrangement. Our data, like that of TASC, has been arranged according to location (or rather, place-name), and, as with TASC, we can, for example, reveal or suggest links between former cults and present names of landscape features such as chapels, wells, and so on, and between these earlier cults and later traditions. We present, as TASC does, data with regard to the location, object of the cult and form of veneration in a coherent way – and at least part of the intention behind this effort is to stimulate new research. As its name indicates, our work has focused only on cults with a reputation and drawing-power which reached beyond the local community: that is to say, those which led to the establishment of pilgrimage sites. Nevertheless, many of the characteristics involving these sites are also applicable, ultimately, to cults of saints in general.³²

The analogies linking the 'Places of Pilgrimage' project with TASC can be explained in part by a parallel train of thought behind the origins of the pilgrimage project. The hope was that the assembly of a documentation file limited discretely within national boundaries would serve as an invitation for colleagues in other countries to undertake similar tasks, until ultimately one great European landscape would be mapped out. In fact the Dutch project's founders had foreign projects in mind as their models, projects begun – but alas never completed.

medieval monasteries, among which the lead was established by P. A. Henderikx, *De oudste bedelordekloosters in het graafschap Holland en Zeeland* (Dordrecht, 1977); interest in collegiate churches is also growing somewhat: E. Palmboom, *Het kapittel van Sint Jan te Utrecht. Een onderzoek naar verwerving, beheer en administratie van het oudste goederenbezit (elfde – veertiende eeuw)* (Hilversum, 1995); B. van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk. De kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (Zutphen, 1997). Valuable is also W. H. Vroom, *De financiering van de kathedraalbouw in de middeleeuwen, in het bijzonder van de dom van Utrecht* (Maarssen, 1981).

³¹ For Belgium, see for instance Y. Coutiez and D. Van Overstraeten (eds.), *La paroisse en questions* (Ath/Mons/Saint-Ghislain, 1977). For surveys of church-historical production in The Netherlands during the past decades, see P. H. D. Leupen, 'De kerkhistorische produktie in Nederland betreffende de middeleeuwen (1959–1993)', *Trajecta* 3 (1994), pp. 1–18; J. Kuys, 'Kerk en godsdienstig leven in de middeleeuwse Noordelijke Nederlanden', *Trajecta* 7 (1998), pp. 273–95.

³² See the appendix to this essay for a guide to the arrangement of our inventory.

Of course the differences between the two projects also need to be touched on. In the first place, the pilgrimage project is concerned with all periods of the history of Christianity, with some accent on the present, whereas some TASC investigators find it difficult to come further forward in time than the Reformation. Secondly, the most important objective of the pilgrimage project was at first the publication of a multi-volume lexicon. The setting up of an electronic database, amenable to Geographic Information Systems (GIS) mapping, was connected in 2002 with the Internet site of the Meertens Institute (www.meertens.nl/bol) in 2001. A paper publication like 'Places of Pilgrimage' has one large advantage and one large disadvantage when compared with electronic publication in the form of a database, with or without GIS. The disadvantage involves the more general 'open-endedness' of an electronic system, with which 'hard copy' cannot compete: availability, keyword searches, and the possibility of ongoing correction and augmentation. The advantage of a 'definitive' form of publication in this case is that from its very inception the authors have had to make efforts, not only to collect source material, but also to weigh one item against another, so that they provide the public with correct information. The assembled data, as it happens, often contains internal contradictions. Indeed, though the lexicon was intended only as a clearer presentation of sources, in many cases the outcome – because of the weighting of source materials – has made in fact a significant contribution to the state of the research. In addition, the authors have endeavoured to present their information as coherent narrative, hoping that this will make it easier for the reader to create a picture of the subject for themselves. In the final analysis, the advantage is only temporary: the future of large-scale reference works lies not on paper but with the computer.

4. *Saints' Cults in the Perspective of European Ethnology*

After this *status quaestionis* of research into the veneration of saints in the Middle Ages in The Netherlands, and an introduction to the way in which the 'Places of Pilgrimage in The Netherlands' project was organised and carried out, we wish to emphasise the value of including all periods within TASC, making four essential points.

The first is that from our perspective, coloured by European ethnology, it is ahistorical in certain respects to truncate a systematic, comprehensive survey with the end of the Middle Ages as defined by the Reformation. Also, such a *terminus* will vary from country to country. In The Netherlands it is true that many medieval cults were broken off during the Reformation, but, on the other hand, some ran on 'underground' into the seventeenth, and sometimes the eighteenth century, sustained by a 'medieval' spirituality which lagged behind the times. Moreover, in The Netherlands the nineteenth century was the era of Catholic emancipation. The veneration of saints was frequently coupled with identity and 'tradition' during that period. To establish Catholic identity and the legitimacy of the culture of Catholic Dutch

men and women in the 'Protestant' Netherlands, various existing or revitalised cults were linked with new legends or ostensibly historical data ('invention of tradition') which carried the cults back to the Middle Ages. It was through the evaluation of these later developments that the 'Places of Pilgrimage' project was able to prevent slip-ups in their interpretation. Many nineteenth-century cults were disqualified as 'authentic' venerations from the Middle Ages, but their modern existence, including their historiography, from which it had long been assumed that one was indeed dealing with a devotion from the Middle Ages, was certainly real and relevant. The post-medieval historiography of saints' cults is therefore also defined in part by such continuities and discontinuities. In the light of research into religious culture, these historical periods are inseparably linked with one another. In other countries and regions, too, study of the post-Reformation period seems desirable, though ultimately the question of whether there is sufficient available source material may be a determining factor.

Sainthood and the veneration of saints still remain important themes in our European culture – this is our second point. Over the last few decades of the twentieth century, many kinds of related spirituality have recaptured public interest. An example is the life and music of Hildegard of Bingen. Further, never before had Rome been witness to so many canonisations. In ethnological research ('folklore studies'), and also at Amsterdam's Meertens Institute, considerable attention was paid to 'modern devotions': contemporary cults, often based on old traditions.³³ Because of the renewed, widespread interest in our contemporary society for religious culture and forms of holiness, the social significance of, and the base of support for TASC is considerably greater the more it is possible for present-day cults to be included. While the matter of research capacity will determine what can be done from country to country, region to region, it may be worth pointing out that in the case of our 'Places of Pilgrimage' project it appeared that nearly half of the pilgrimage cults dated from the Middle Ages. That figure might be a guide for saints' cults also.

That brings us to our third point, the definition of what constitutes veneration of saints. What must be included in a survey of saints' cults which proposes to be an aid to cultural studies and make possible the exploration of patterns of devotion?³⁴ From the perspective of cultural or folklore studies, we automatically link *cultus* with veneration, something which involves a certain devotional practice. However, in order to analyse and digest reports on cults in the usual way, as a rule an individual item of data is insufficient by itself. For example, since every dedication or mention can be viewed as a

³³ P. J. Margry, 'Merchandising and Sanctity. The Invasive Cult of Padre Pio', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 7 (2002), pp. 88–115; idem, 'World, Modern Marian Devotional Network', in G. J. Melton and M. Baumann, *The 21st Century Encyclopedia of the World Religions* (Santa Barbara, 2002).

³⁴ See G. Jones in the Introduction to this volume.

mark of honour and veneration, it is unavoidable that in a database incommensurables will be placed on an equal footing. This implies that it is necessary, from *cultus* to *cultus*, to indicate precisely what this means in terms of religious practice. This way of working has consequences for both the textual and cartographic design of the project.³⁵

Scholars in folklore studies have experience, from their own academic practice, of historical- and ethnological-geographical methods applied in Germany, The Netherlands and Belgium between the 1930s and 1960s. Though the work produced a large quantity of information, publication in textbooks and maps made manifest the limitations of the way this data had been acquired and processed. The studies by Zender, or the Dutch-Flemish ethnological atlas by P. J. Meertens and M. De Meyer, are familiar examples.³⁶ They offer valuable surveys of data, but in general contain hardly any qualitative evaluation, and therefore appear in practice to be of limited use only.³⁷ To give one example: if it were known that of six altars in a church, only one attracted to its titular saint a strong devotional practice, this would give a strong slant to the assessment of the other five. It is then necessary to add a 'body' of content around the core of that one saint's name in relation to that one altar. Another example applies to relics. Many large and wealthy churches (and by the end of the Middle Ages almost all) accumulated relic collections which sometimes represented dozens of saints (examples in The Netherlands would be the Dom in Utrecht and St Servaas in Maastricht).³⁸ However, this did not result in an equality of devotion to the known cults. It is incorrect to suggest that the simple presence of a relic necessarily points to a certain veneration. All this argues once again for a time-frame which extends beyond the Middle Ages, as our experience suggests that the necessary information about the lived faith surrounding the examples mentioned here of altars and relics, often dates from after the Middle Ages. Through the continuation of devotions and the existence of information from after the Middle Ages, one is often better able to characterise a cult.

³⁵ In many cases popular cults did not correspond with liturgical cults, see Arnold van Gennep, 'Cultes liturgiques et cultes populaires', *De Brabantsche Folklore* 13 (1933–4), pp. 249–61; and 'Liturgische Eeredienst en Volkseeredienst in Fransch Vlaanderen', *De Brabantsche Folklore* 14 (1934–5), pp. 289–303.

³⁶ Matthias Zender, *Räume und Schichten mittelalterlicher Heiligenverehrung in ihrer Bedeutung für die Volkskunde. Die Heiligen des mittleren Maaslandes und der Rheinlande in Kultgeschichte und Kultverbreitung* (Düsseldorf, 1959); P. J. Meertens and M. de Meyer (eds.), *Volkskunde-Atlas voor Nederland en Vlaams-België*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1959–1969).

³⁷ On the distribution maps of saints, the information about a saint, whether reports of an altar, or an actual pilgrimage site for the same saint, is all indiscriminately mixed together, as is also data from the Middle Ages and modern times.

³⁸ See Margry and Caspers, *Bedevaartplaatsen* 1 for Utrecht, 3 for Maastricht.

Not only may it be sensible for Medievalists to adopt a time perspective which comprehends the Modern period, but they may also find that methods and techniques applied, for example, in ethnological research (folklore studies) could be usefully employed. We would point to two work methods specifically. The first is the use of oral sources. Many smaller pilgrimage cults take the form of a customary, recurrent local ritual; little or nothing has ever been written about them; and confirmation of their existence can only be obtained from interviewing. The second work method is the utility of ethnological questionnaires. For the 'Places of Pilgrimage' project, questionnaires were mailed to specific audiences of local informants throughout the country, and this turned up many cults which had never before been recorded.

Other atlas projects indicate how important it is to maintain a broad cultural viewpoint. In 1995 in Italy's Piedmont region, a beginning was made on an European atlas of holy mountains, Calvaries and devotional complexes, supported by European funding. However, it was not cultic practice, but rather material values (art historical or architectural monuments), viewed from an Italo-centric approach, which were advanced as the point of departure. In addition there was insufficient realisation that elsewhere the situation might be different. Ultimately this ambitious plan was abandoned, and the people in the Piedmont worked primarily on the description of their own *sacri monti*. It is thus important in such projects that individual national positions are not taken as the points of departure, but that a truly European perspective is maintained. This is certainly true for the cults of saints, which after all, as a rule, take not the slightest notice of national borders, but had and have a great, trans-European presence.³⁹

In short, we argue for: (1) a definition of saints' cults which can be implemented and employed in practice, that can do justice to the meaning or value of the *cultus* for religious practice; (2) a diachronistic plan with an expansion into the present day, possibly in the form of a pilot project for certain countries or regions; (3) sufficient scientific interface with other countries and the deployment of 'European' lines of investigation; and (4) the use of methods and techniques from other disciplines.

The significance of a Dutch input in TASC lies in the sufficient possibilities present in our country for charting out saints' cults, both in the Middle Ages, and thereafter. There is an extraordinarily good infrastructure both for carrying out scientific cultural-historical research, and for the guardianship of the material (art, archaeological) and archival heritage; there is a long cartographic tradition;⁴⁰ and the country is almost entirely covered by a network of local and regional historical associations.⁴¹

³⁹ This becomes apparent, for example, in a small but unique complex of sources in The Netherlands: the pilgrimage insignia that provide information about cults in other countries (see note 12).

⁴⁰ We would mention, for example, the GIS Expertise Centre at Utrecht University.

⁴¹ A new cooperative project was due to begin in 2000 under the title of 'Holy

Appendix

The 'Places of Pilgrimage' lexicon is built up from entries arranged in alphabetical order, according to place-names. Every entry consists of five main components which ideally together provide a complete description of the *cultus*: 'Core data', 'Topography', 'Object of the cult', 'Veneration' and 'Sources'.

- *Core data*: this component contains general facts with regard to the location, diocese, object of the *cultus*, dates (including possible special feast days), period (from the origin to, if applicable, the date when the pilgrimage cult ceased to exist) and, if applicable, addresses for visitors or further information. To this data is added a brief characterisation of the pilgrimage in question.

- *Topography*: this component contains further information on the location of the pilgrimage site and its surroundings. Depending on the antiquity of the *cultus*, a history and description of the sacred space is given, with information about the buildings associated with the cult (churches and chapels, and if applicable their predecessors), and their art and architectural history (architectural styles and dates of construction). Further, the place of the cult object within the sacred space is more closely specified: if applicable, the locations of altars, processional parks, stations of the Cross, wayside chapels, wells, trees, grottos, and so on, are given.

- *Object of the cultus*: in this component the object to which the veneration of the pilgrims is addressed is described. First comes a presentation of the hagiographic and biographical data on the person venerated, and some information on the spread of his or her cult since it arose. Next comes a description of the cultic images and relics present (size, material, technique, date, iconographic characterisation, attributes, style, clothing, crowning, *et cetera*).

- *Veneration*: the central component of each entry is 'Veneration', containing the history of the pilgrimage practices and a description, so far as is applicable, of the situation at the time of the investigation. When considerable material about a certain veneration is available, details are discussed extensively; when only a small amount is known does the entry necessarily remain short. The following *foci* play a role in the construction of this component:

(1) narrative or legend of the origins (with possible variants); other stories; pilgrimage motifs;

Persons, Holy Patrons', regarding tendencies in sacrality in Modern and Early Modern times. This project was under the umbrella of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam (KNAW; Dr. P. J. Margry), already mentioned, and two universities, namely the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam (Prof. Dr. W. H. Th. Frijhoff) and the Tilburg Faculty of Theology (Prof. Dr. P. G. J. Post).

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(2) the most important dates and events in the history of the pilgrimage site;

(3) flowering, and if applicable, decay and revitalisation; changes in the nature of the *cultus* and/or its location;

(4) cycle of feasts, pilgrimage days and seasons, jubilee feasts and if applicable, indulgences linked to the pilgrimage

(5) spiritual context, support for the pilgrims from their own parishes or through members of a religious order; popular preaching missions;

(6) forms of pilgrimage: individual, confraternities and associations, processional or group pilgrimages; routes, intermediate 'stations' on the way;

(7) the pilgrims: motivations, gender, age, social background, places of origin;

(8) forms of the *cultus*, customs, rituals at the site (such as dedication, adoration of relics, processions or processional routes, blessings for people or animals); returning with holy water, bread, etc.; miracles (miracle books), intentions and intention books;

(9) visitor statistics; area from which the pilgrimage is/was practised, past and present; if applicable, also an indication of the spread of this veneration to other cultic locations or descendants;

(10) social-economic and political context, under which, for instance, might be included fairs or markets, a pilgrimage industry, friction between various interest groups or sects, tourism, reception and publicity for the pilgrimage site, *et cetera*.

In so far as it is known, the material culture of the pilgrimage (devotion-*alia*) is also described in conjunction with 'Veneration'. This can include: depictions of the *cultus* in art; votive and offering gifts; pilgrim's insignia, medals, candles, copies of the cultic object, pilgrimage souvenirs, *et cetera*. Devotional materials, such as pilgrimage brochures, litanies, pamphlets, pilgrimage songs, posters, prints, banners, and so on, but also children's books and church theatre, are likewise mentioned under a separate heading.

- *Sources*: here archival collections, written and printed sources, secondary literature, visual materials and other sources relating to the *cultus* in a particular place are listed under separate, successive headings.