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 Magi 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.
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Saints’ Cults and Pilgrimage Sites in the Netherlands

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. 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.

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.

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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'),

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 belgicum. ⁵ The Acta Sanctorum, that 'universal' source edition of hagiographic writings, frequently from the Middle Ages, is indispensable for tracing and illustrating collegiate 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 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; inventories of archives (whether or not on-line); inventory of ecclesiastical properties; collection catalogues of material objects (especially 'pilgrimage insignia'); and on-going bibliographies in magazines and on-line. ⁹

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

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


For example, the series of the 'Rijks geschiedkundige publicatieën' (The Hague, 1905), some vol. 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 bibliothece ac archivis neerlandicis (Nijmegen, 1989).


Especially the 'Stichting Kerkelijk Kustboek' (Utrecht), see for example Margry and Caspers, Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland, 1, pp. 563-567 (Nijmichewoud, Crujera).

H. J. E. van Beuningen and A. M. Koldewey, Heilig en profaan. 1000 laatmiddel­s-eeuwse 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).

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 (1926-). 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 naar de historici (Leuven/Apeldoorn, 1996).

⁷ See note 30, the study of J. van Herwaarden.

³ Geschiedkundige atlas van Nederland, many vols., esp.: De kerkeleide indeeling omstreeks 1350, 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 Brüders und Zusters des Gemeenen Levens (1921); vol. 4: A. H. L. Hensen and A. A. Beekman, De nieuwe bisdommen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 1559-1561 (1922).

⁶ A selection from this involving the Low Countries is: J. Ghesquier, Acta Sanctorum Belgii Selecta, 6 vols. (n.p. 1783-1794). As an example of cultus information that is to be found in the AAAS we cite Dordrecht, H. Sacrament, in Margry and Caspers, Bedevaartplaatsen, 1, Noord-en Midden-Nederland (1997), pp. 308-10. Also very useful is M. Carasso-Kok, Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de middeleeuwen. Heiligenleven, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen (The Hague, 1981).
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veneration 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'.\(^{17}\) 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 the nineteenth, Dutch saints appear to have been somewhat less in favour, at least among historians of Catholic persuasion.\(^{17}\) Regardless, 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 monumental work,\(^{16}\) which 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.


J. de la Torre, 'Relatio suum 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 Heussen, Acta der provinciale en particuliere Synodes, gebonden in de noordelijke Nederlanden gedurende de jaren 1577–1620, 8 vols. (Groningen, 1892–1899) with numerous complaints about local remnants of 'Roman superstition'.

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

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


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.\(^{23}\)
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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 Montaillou. 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


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

26 W. Frijhoff, ‘Van “Histoire de l’Eglise” naar “Histoire religieuse”. De invloed van de perspectieven daarvan voor Nederland’, in A. Mulder-Bakker and M. van Uden, Nederlandse verspreiding en waardering van de middeleeuwse heiligen (Assen, 1978); A. D. A. Monna, *Zwefvloot met middeleeuwse heiligen* (Amsterdam, 1988); G. Verhoeven, *Devotie en negatie* (Hilversum, 1994). 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 Montaillou. 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

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founders had foreign projects in mind as their models, projects begun - but
alas never completed. Great European landscape would be mapped out. In fact the Dutch project's
limited discretely within national boundaries would serve as an invitation for
pilgrimage project. The hope was that the assembly of a documentation file
be explained in part by a parallel train of thought behind the origins of the
establishment of pilgrimage sites. Nevertheless, many of the characteristics
involving these sites are also applicable, ultimately, to cults of saints in
reached beyond the local community: that is to say, those which led to the
work has focused only on cults with a reputation and drawing-power which
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
as never completed.

4. Saints’ Cults in the Perspective of European Ethnology

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
‘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.

31 For example, 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.
Leuven, ‘De kerkhistorische produktie in Nederland betreffende de middeleeuwen
273–95.

32 See the appendix to this essay for a guide to the arrangement of our inventory.
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 captured 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 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. 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 cultures 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? 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 mark of honour and veneration, it is unavoidable that in a database incommensurable wills 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.

Scholars in folklore studies have experience, from their own academic practice, of historical and ethnological-geographical methods applied in 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. 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. 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). 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.
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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 Italocentric 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 diachronic 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 of local and regional historical associations. 40 There is an extraordinarily good infrastructure network of local and regional historical associations. 41 possibilities present in our country for charting out saints' cults, both in the Middle Ages, and thereafter. There is an extraordinarily good infrastructure of local and regional historical associations. 40 and the country is almost entirely covered by a cartographic tradition;42 and the country is almost entirely covered by a network of local and regional historical associations.43

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 Pilgrimage Sites'.

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;
(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 (devotionalia) 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.