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The Pilgrimage to the Holy Face of Lucca in 1896: Documents and News from the Archive of the Congregation of the Holy Face

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ABSTRACT

100 records and many other documentary testimonies regarding the Congregation of the Holy Face of Lucca are stored within the funds of the Historical Diocesan Archive of Lucca. The Chapters of the Society of the Holy Face are present within the same Archive; this document is dated back to 1306-1308 and it is brought up together with the minutes of the meetings in a paper register of 16th-17th century, the only one remained concerning the renewed Society of the Holy Sacrament and the Holy Face. The brotherhood recovered importance during the 19th century mostly thanks to some priests of Lucca, including the Abbot Pietro Pera (the future Archbishop between 1845 and 1846). Specifically, two important moments regarding the renewed interest for the relics of Lucca can be registered after the Napoleonic Era. First, a competition for the construction of a golden lamp for the chapel of the Holy Face was carried out between 1835 and 1836, and Abbot Pera was charged to supervise the enterprise. Related documentaries as well as the various drawings presented for the competition are stored in the Archives of the Congregation of the Holy Face. Moreover, a pilgrimage to the *simulacrum* of Lucca took place during 1896. This event was very successful: the City and the entire Diocese accurately organized the arrival of about 132,000 pilgrims by controlling pilgrims' overnights and daily meals, and developing a visiting route concerning the shrines of the City.

Keywords: Lucca; Pilgrimage; Holy Face; Holy Cross; Religious Association

Cento registri e numerose altre testimonianze relative alla Congregazione del Volto Santo di Lucca sono conservati tra i fondi dell'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca. Nello

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stesso archivio, infatti, è possibile leggere i Capitoli della Compagnia del Volto Santo, un documento scritto su pergamena tra il 1306 e il 1308. Quei capitoli sarebbero stati poi ripresi e aggiornati in un registro cartaceo del XVI-XVII secolo con i resoconti delle riunioni, unico superstite della rinnovata congregazione che fu ricostituita con il nome di “Compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento e Volto Santo”.

Ancora, la confraternita avrebbe vissuto nuovo vigore in epoca contemporanea, soprattutto ad opera di alcuni sacerdoti lucchesi dell'Ottocento, fra cui anche il futuro vescovo e abate Pietro Pera (arcivescovo dal 1845 al 1846).

Nello specifico, due momenti più rappresentativi del rinnovato interesse verso la reliquia di Lucca possono essere registrati dopo l'era napoleonica. In primo luogo, un concorso per la realizzazione di una lampada d'oro per il tempietto del Volto Santo che si svolse tra il 1835 e il 1836 e per il quale l'abate Pera fu incaricato di supervisionare l'iniziativa. Le testimonianze documentarie nonché i vari disegni presentati al concorso si conservano proprio nell'Archivio della Congregazione del Volto Santo. Inoltre nel 1896 si svolse il pellegrinaggio al simulacro lucchese. La città e l'intera diocesi organizzarono accuratamente l'arrivo di circa 132.000 pellegrini, gestendo i pernottamenti e i pasti giornalieri e sviluppando un percorso di visita che riguardava i santuari della città.

Keywords: Lucca; Pellegrinaggio; Volto Santo; Santa Croce; Congrazioni Religiose

1. The devotion to the Holy Face of Lucca

The devotion to the *simulacrum* of the Holy Face stems from Middle Ages (Ferrari & Meyer, 2005; Lazzarini, 1982; Pacifici, 1982). The Holy Face is a wooden crucifix that has been venerated in Lucca since 742 AD, and it is stored in its own chapel inside the Lucca Cathedral since 1484 AD. The chapel is a carved Carrara marble temple situated in the left nave, realized by the artist Matteo Civitali (D'Aniello & Filieri, 2011; Fosella, 2005). The complete legend of the *simulacrum* is described in the text “Report on creation, discovery, and translation of the Holy Face” (*Relatio de revelatione sive inventiva ac translatione sacratissimi vultus*) by deacon Leboinus dates back to the 12th century (Ciuffarini, 1582). The aim of this paper is not to fully report the history of the Holy Face, considering that a large amount of literature has fully dealt with this theme (e.g., Martinelli, 2016; Savigni, 2005). It is here sufficient to highlight that, according to the ancient legend of Leboinus, the Holy Face was carved by Nicodemus, who deposited Christ in the Sepulcher with the assistance of Joseph of Arimathea. Nicodemus himself sculpted the bust of the Holy Face, but the evening arrived and he fell asleep without completing the face. The following morning, he woke up and discovered that the Crucifix had been completed by the angels during the night. Subsequently, Nicodemus entrusted the statue to Isacaar, who hid it in a cave. The Holy Face was here preserved for years until Bishop Gualfredo found it in the 8th century and loaded it onto an unmanned ship. Bishop Gualfredo hoped that the statue could reach a safer place, out of Judea that had been conquered by the Muslims. In the meantime, the Bishop of Lucca (i.e., Giovanni I) received during a dream the revelation about the arrival of the

sculpture at Luni (i.e., an ancient port village located in Liguria and abandoned in 1058; Angeli Bertinelli, 2012), and he travelled to receive and transport the precious wood to Lucca. So, the Holy Face has been venerated in Lucca since 742, first in the Basilica of San Frediano and then in the Lucca Cathedral (Lazzarini, 1980).

The Holy Face is nowadays the symbol of Lucca in the world. Its importance has been recognized in various Statutes of the Commune and of the City, both in the Middle Ages and throughout the Early Modern Period. For over a thousand years, the night between 13th and 14th September the event called "La Luminara" takes place in Lucca, a night candlelight procession with the participation of all the parishes of the Archdiocese (Guidi, 1920). Moreover, the image of the Holy Face has been used for the realization of coins and seals: the "Denaro grosso" coined in silver in 1209 during the empire of Otto IV presents the Holy Face on the reverse and Otto's monogram (i.e., "TT") on the obverse, and similarly for the "Grosso d'oro" or "Fiorino lucchese" realized in 15th century that had the Holy Face on the obverse and San Martino on the reverse (Vanni, 2005). During Early Modern Period the "Doppia lucchese" was coined in Lucca in 1749, along with many other silver coins (Massagli, 1870). As for seals, the use of the image of the Holy Face was used for both civil and ecclesiastic authorities. For instance, the seal of the Commune of Lucca represented the effigy of the Holy Face. Moreover, there exists a well-preserved red wax seal used by Bishop Giovanni III in an act sanctioning the union of the church of San Dalmazio with the monastery of Santa Maria of Fregionaia on 16th November 13911: the iconography of this seal presents the two emblems of the Diocese of Lucca, that is, the Holy Face and St. Martin (Rossi, 2016).

The worship of Lucca in the *simulacrum* was also manifested with the creation of an apparel of garments and jewels (Lettieri, 1958). In 1654 the offertory for the merging of a crown for the Holy Face started. The coronation ceremony took place solemnly on 12th September 1655. The relic has been continually adorned for many centuries, reaching its present state (i.e., with crown, sceptre, jewel, collar, maniple, *fascia*, footwear, stole, velvet dress, chalice, paten, and the four gold keys of the City; Casentini & Lazzareschi Cervelli, 2014). Over time, the simulacrum has inspired the work of great Saints from Lucca: St. Anselm of Lucca, St. Allucio of Campugliano, St. Leone I of Cava, St. Zita, St. Giovanni Leonardi, Blessed Angelo Orsucci, Servant of God Maria Luisa Biagini, St. Antonio Maria Pucci, Blessed Maria Domenica Brun Barbantini, St. Gemma Galgani, and many others (Lazzarini, 1980). The Holy Face has been also revered by many other illustrious foreign characters: St. Simeon of Mantua, Emperor Henry II the Saint, St. Davino Armeno, the Swedish Bishop Silao, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Bernardino of Siena, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, and many others (Lazzarini, 1980).

This little information is sufficient to highlight how much the cult of the Holy Face was in the past and is to date deeply rooted in the soul of the citizens of Lucca, who nowadays numerously take part to the celebrations concerning the Holy Cross.

2. The Archive of the Congregation of the Holy Face

A Number of documentary evidences concerning the devotion of Lucca to the Holy Face are preserved in the Historical Diocesan Archives of Lucca. For instance, a small membrane code containing the *Relatio* by the deacon Leboinus is in the Feliniana

Chapter Library. Code 626 (i.e., *Relatio de revelatione sive inventiva ac translatione sacratissimi vultus*) dates back to the 14th century and consists of 24 sheets (Paoli, 1986; Pomaro, 2015)². The *Relatio* itself is stored in a refined membrane code that has belonged to the Tucci Tognetti family and that has been produced during 14th century by the will of the Congregation of the Holy Face³. There are also present the history of the miracles of the Holy Face (i.e., *Miracula Sanctissimi Vultus*) and two versions of the Statutes of the Society of the Holy Face (i.e., *Ordinamenta Societatis Sancti Vultus*) written in 1306 and confirmed in 1308 (Mayer, 2005; Pomaro, 2015). Another example of devotion to the Holy Face is in the beautiful miniature at the opening of an *incunabula* that dates back to 1474 (i.e., *Super Primo Libro Decretalium* by Nicholaus de Tudeschis) in which the Holy Face dominates a particular view of Lucca from Porta San Donato with the representation of the medieval Walls and San Regolo and San Paolino, respectively patrons of the Lucchese Republic (with the blue coat of arms and “Libertas” inscription in gold) and of the City (Pomaro, 2015)⁴.

Further testimonies come from the Archives of the Chapter of the Lucca Cathedral: a parchment containing the Chapters of the Society of the Holy Face (1306-1308) decorated by the image of the *simulacrum* (a very rare decoration in a membranous document)⁵, along with a register containing the official reports of the meetings realized between 1545 and 1635 by the renewed Society of the Holy Sacrament and the Holy Face⁶. The register has two painted wood blankets: in the front blanket there is reported the crucifixion, while in the back cover the representation of the consecrated *Chalice* and *Hostia*, a clear reference to the headlines of the Company itself.

The documentary production of the Congregation of the Holy Face stored in Chapter Archive is particularly evident during the 19th and the 20th centuries: more than 50 registers of Mass, more than 30 administrative registers, and numerous cardboard boxes. The total consistency exceeds 100 archival units and some special objects (e.g., brooches, typographic plate, wooden panels, etc.): this is a rich and heterogeneous archive, consisting of classic administration series (i.e., existing in any lay or religious association) along with series derived from the organization and management of particular events, such as the competition for the Golden Lamp of the Holy Face.

As for the latter event, Abbot Pietro Pera (i.e., the future Archbishop of Lucca between 1845 and 1846) started in 1835 a competition for the construction of a golden lamp to be placed in the Chapel of the Holy Face (Pera, 1836). The interested artists had to send a drawing that the Deputation of the Holy Face passed to the Academy of Saint Luke of Rome to be judged. The winner would have received a relic of the Holy Face in a golden coin engraved with his name. In the meanwhile, a collecting to finance the lamp started: to feed the devotion of the faithful, it was decided to make a copper engraving the simulacrum to make circulate out of the City. The winner of the competition was the architect Giuseppe Pardini (Romiti, 1998). All the drawings realized for the competition, numbered 1 to 10, are stored today in the Archives of the Congregation of the Holy Face, with the exception of the no. 10, the one of the winner that was used to make the lamp. In this Archive there are also present the copper engraving the simulacrum commissioned by Abbot Pietro Pera and a wooden board used to collect the offers on which there is written “Oblazioni per ultimare la lampada d’oro al Volto Santo” (i.e., Oblations to complete the lamp of the Holy Face), as well as several objects realized for the Pilgrimage to the Holy Face of 1896 (which will be the focus of the next

paragraphs), along with devotional libraries with the history of the Holy Cross of Lucca published in English and German at the end of 19th century (Seeböck, 1892; Vansittart, 1898).

3. The regional pilgrimage to the Holy Face in 1896

In the summer of 1884 an epidemic cholera was spreading throughout Italy. Some areas of the country, including the province of Lucca, were preserved (Tognotti, 2000). In 15th, 16th and 17th August, Archbishop Niccola Ghilardi invited the people to get a special blessing at the Holy Face. In agreement with the Bishopric, the City Authorities ordered that the foreigners were not allowed to enter the City Wall during the Holy Cross festivities. This ordinance was adopted for reasons of public order and to prevent any cholera propagation. On 10th September, a few days before the public celebrations, the Prefect forbade them because of two possible cases of cholera occurred in the Lucca countryside. After number of complaints by both citizens and the Chapter of the Lucca Cathedral, and by the Archbishop himself, the Prefect authorized public celebrations⁷. Considering that the preservation of Lucca from Cholera was attributed to the Holy Face, the Tuscan Committee for the Work of the Catholic Congresses (that was based in Lucca) promoted a subscription among the citizens to offer a tribute to the Holy Face. The list of donors reached over 30,000 names (Guerra, 1897).

At the end of February 1896, the same Committee promoted a pilgrimage from all Tuscany to the Holy Face of Lucca. On 19th March, the day of Saint Joseph, it was officially announced that the pilgrimage to the Lucchese *simulacrum* was to begin on 3rd May and it was to last all during September. On 6th April, Archbishop Niccola Ghilardi issued a notice in which he also announced that Pope Leo XIII had publicly expressed his approval for the pilgrimage by giving a special blessing to the pilgrims⁸.

The pilgrimage organization was formally arranged: the Steering Committee issued a special Regulation for the pilgrimages (*Regolamento pei pellegrinaggi della Campagna lucchese*), so that pilgrims could systematically move. According to the Steering Committee, people deputed by the pastor to lead the pilgrimage should wear a brooch on their chest with the Holy Cross of Lucca. A special commission was charged to carry on agreements with hotel and restaurant keepers in order to facilitate foreign pilgrims. Many operations were adopted: special discounts on the train ticket; stamped recognition cards; *vade mecum* with all the information about accommodation, cost of food, and pilgrimage program. A Welcoming Committee was set in order to directing pilgrims at the arrival of trains or cars and at the entrance in the Lucca Cathedral. A special Relief Committee was established for any needs in public welfare (Guerra, 1897).

The opening of the pilgrimage took place on 3rd May 1896 at the presence of the whole Lucchese Clergy, including the Archbishop Niccola Ghilardi. A long procession started from the Basilica of San Frediano. The procession was opened by a *gonfalone* (i.e., a banner) with the effigy of the Holy Face, followed by the Capuchin Fathers, the Minor Observant, the Reformed of Saint Francis, Carmelites, Dominicans, Passionists, and Canons Regular of the Lateran. They followed the pupils of the Pia Casa dei Chierici, the priests of the Collegiata of Sant'Alessandro and of the Church of Santi Paolino and

Donato, the Seminary and Collegiata of San Michele in Foro, the Seminary of San Martino, and then the Archbishop. The citizens attended the procession suitably dressed with the cross of the pilgrimage on their chests, without the cloaks of the various religious companies and confraternities. The parishes could expose their own banners, followed by children taking in their hands a candle to be offered to the Holy Face. There were also garlands and carts of flowers, some of them in the shape of a pyramid, a fountain, or a ship. In particular there were some in the form of a small ship inspired by the ship that, according to tradition, carried the Holy Face from Palestine to the Italian peninsula (Guerra, 1897).

There was a timetable set by the Steering Committee which indicated the days when the parishes would have to go to Lucca singing hymns, including the *Hymn of the Pilgrims to the Holy Face of Lucca in 1896*, written by canonist Rodrigo Biagini to the purpose, that was printed in over 100,000 copies and distributed to all pilgrims. The refrain recited: «Evviva la Croce,/ La Croce evviva;/ Evviva la Croce/ E chi l'è saltò» (i.e., «Hooray for the Cross,/ Hooray for the Cross,/ Hooray for the Cross,/ Hooray for them who celebrated it»); Guerra, 1897).

4. The pilgrimages from the parishes of the Diocese of Lucca

The documentation stored in Historical Diocesan Archive of Lucca allows a correct reconstruction of the history of this pilgrimage⁹.

After the official opening, on 11th May, pilgrims began to arrive from the Diocese's countryside. There were 65 devotees from the far-away village of Fibbially di Medicina (counting 150 inhabitants) that moved despite the heavy rainfall striking the city. The same day 200 people who were inmates within the Pia Casa di Beneficenza in Lucca visited the Holy Face. Moreover, the pupils of the school of Santa Dorotea's nuns, the girls of the "Leo XIII" female institute, and the Daughters of Saint Camillus with the Sisters of Santa Zita, arrived, for a total of about 600 people.

On 14th May, there arrived 305 pilgrims from San Gemignano di Moriano, then those from San Pancrazio and Ciciano (about 420 people) with a gold interwoven chasuble as a gift. On 17th May, 2,000 people arrived from Pieve San Paolo, Toringo, Parezzana, Mugnano and San Filippo, and 350 more came from Pedona (Camaione) walking about 14 miles in the rain. 3200 pilgrims came from Porcari, 170 from Massa Pisana and finally 900 from San Pietro a Vico. On 24th and 25th May, walking in the rain, 100 people travelled from Deccio di Brancoli, 420 from Antraccoli, 2,000 from the district of San Concordio in Contrada and 830 from Matraia. A few days later, 400 pilgrims arrived from Carraia and 1,300 from Gagnano, as well as 1,550 men and women from Valfreddana (i.e., the villages of Monsagrati, Torcigliano, Fiano, San Martino in Freddana, Santa Maria di Albiano, Orbicciano, and Fibbiano Montanino). There were moreover 30 pilgrims from Granaiola, 360 from Cerasomma, and 260 from the villages of Tramonte and Palmata.

On 1st June, there arrived many pilgrims from Anchiano (250 people) and on 14th June arrived 330 people from Pieve di Brancoli, Gignano, and Sant'Ilario di Brancoli, 850 more pilgrims from Saltocchio, 2,200 from Marlia, and 230 from the village of Mommio. From Versilia district arrived many pilgrims: 400 men and women from Pieve a Elici, and

about 700 from Stiava. On the same day, the Lucchese Parish of San Luca (Regi Ospizi and Ospedali) visited the Holy Face (200 people) and offered a picture of the coat of arms of the parish made with silver coins. More than 3,600 pilgrims arrived from near villages Arliano, Farneta, Maggiano, Formentale, Nozzano, Santa Maria a Colle, San Macario in Piano, Ponte San Pietro, and Nave.

On Sunday 21st June there arrived the inhabitants of Monte San Quirico, about 1,500 people, and then the pilgrims from Sesto and Santo Stefano di Moriano, Aquilea, and Mastiano (1,300 people). 350 pilgrim arrived from Montigiano and 70 from Vico Pancellorum, coming on feet from one of the farthest villages of the Archdiocese. In the afternoon, there arrived pilgrims from Monteggiori, Santa Lucia in Vegghiatoia, and Capezzano (1,200 people), moreover 3,000 faithful arrived from Camaiore, and from Istituto dei Poveri Vecchi in Viareggio (80 elderly). They were followed by the villagers of San Donato (750 people) and Vorno, Guamo, Coselli, and Badia di Cantignano (2,450 men and women overall). The children of Vorno and Badia offered to the ancient effigy of the Holy Face over 100 silver medals (Guerra, 1897). On 24th June, 450 pilgrims arrived from the village of Carignano, 500 from Corsanico, and 500 from San Michele di Moriano. A large banner with the Holy Face depicted waved before the banners of Coreglia, Tereglio, Ghivizzano, Pian di Coreglia, Vitiana, Lucignana, Gromignana, Gioviano, San Romano, Motrone, and Cardoso (at the time it was into the Diocese of Massa) for a total of about 1,350 pilgrims which walked about 18 miles. With them arrived Arsina's parishioners (230 people). On Sunday 28th June, 800 pilgrims arrived from Bargecchia, 750 from Montuolo, 310 from Valpromaro and Migliano, and 450 from Corsagna. The following day arrived 1200 pilgrims from the village of Santa Maria del Giudice, and 650 from San Giusto di Brancoli, San Lorenzo di Brancoli, and Piaggione. 650 pilgrims came from the village of Collodi, 200 from Vetriano, and 100 from the small village of Lugliano in Val di Lima.

The 2nd July was dedicated to the children of Lucca's schools (about 360 children). On 5th July arrived the inhabitants of Vicopelago, Gattaiola, Pozzuolo, and San Michele in Escheto (overall 910 people), followed by 250 pilgrims from Massaciuccoli, 960 from San Macario in Monte, Stabbiano, Fibbialla dei Canonici, Vecoli, and Piazzano. After that, 800 pilgrims came from the Nozzano Castello. A few days later, on 9th July, 320 people arrived from Limano, Lucchio, and Casoli in Val di Lima. On 12th July 2,200 devotees arrived from Capannori, 1,150 from Fondagno, Domazzano, Partigliano, Valdottavo, and Tempagnano di Valdottavo; 700 pilgrims came from San Vito. On 19th July, the Holy Face was visited by 1,500 people from Segromigno in Monte, 200 from San Cassiano di Moriano, 220 from Gualdo and 700 from San Colombano and Sant'Andrea in Caprile, 850 from Camigliano, 1,200 from Villa Basilica, Boveglio, and Colognora di Valleriana. 500 pilgrims arrived from Verciano, 350 from San Quirico di Moriano, and 500 from San Bartolomeo in Silice (i.e., Arancio). The last day dedicated to the pilgrimage in July was the 26 with over 9,000 visiting people: 530 pilgrims from Santa Margherita, 950 from Quiesa, 1,300 from Segromigno in Piano, 1,400 from Colle di Compito, 300 from Ruota, 850 from San Gennaro, 100 from Oneta, 700 from Pieve di Compito, 850 from Sant'Alessio, and 3,000 from Lammari¹⁰.

On 2nd August, 250 pilgrims arrived from Meati and 300 from the near Chiatri, 120 from Gugliano, 500 from Torre, and 1,400 from San Ginese di Compito; specifically, among the crowd there was a 93-year-old man taking the village's offer for the Lucchese

simulacrum (Guerra, 1897). From Diecimo and Dezza 450 pilgrims came, while 300 from Gello and Celle; 170 more people from Colognora Val di Roggio, 1,200 from San Cassiano a Vico, and 1,200 from Lunata. The next Sunday, August 9, there arrived 300 inhabitants of Valgiano, 160 from Ombreglio, and 200 from Piazza di Brancoli. In the afternoon there came the parishioners of Borgo a Mozzano, Cune, Rocca, and Pieve di Cerreto (about 900 people), 200 pilgrims from San Quirico di Valleriana, and 450 from Fagnano. 600 devotees came from Sorbano del Vescovo, and 2,400 people from Bozzano and Massarosa. In the middle of the month, on 15th August, there arrived 120 pilgrims from San Giusto di Compito, 700 from Sant'Andrea di Compito, 1,000 from Massa Macinaia, 450 from Castagnori, and 150 from Pieve Santo Stefano. In particular, the parish of Sant'Anna *extra moenia* (i.e., nowadays a populous neighborhood of Lucca) astonished for its devotion, since over 2,400 pilgrims participated to the pilgrimage. The following day 200 faithful were counted from San Concordio di Moriano, 350 from San Pietro a Marcigliano, 320 from Colognora di Compito, 500 from San Leonardo in Treponzio, and 600 from Pontetetto. On 23rd August there entered in Lucca the villages of Aramo and Medicina with 210 people, Nocchi with 300 pilgrims, and Castelvecchio with 700 devotees; then 800 pilgrims arrived from Tassignano. On 30th August, 550 people arrived from Tofori and from Petrognano, and 1,160 pilgrims came from Montemagno, Pontemazzori, Torcigliano di Camaio, and Pieve di Camaio. 890 pilgrims arrived from Compignano, Castiglioncello, and Balbano. In the following days, Lucca hosted 420 devotees from Santissima Annunziata, 2,000 from San Marco, and 400 from Tempagnano di Lunata.

On 3rd September, there arrived 600 pilgrims from Casoli di Camaio, Metato, and Lombrici. On 6th September, there came 220 faithful from San Martino in Colle, 1,600 peoples from Viareggio, and 1,000 from Torre del Lago. Moreover there arrived 350 pilgrims from Gombitelli, 170 from Palleggio, 300 from Casabasciana, Cocciglia, and Crasciana, 400 from Sorbano del Giudice, 740 from San Martino in Vignale and Mutigliano. On 8th September, 600 people arrived from Paganico, 1,000 pilgrims from San Lorenzo a Vaccoli, 800 from Veneri and 2,030 from Pescaglia, Convalle, Loppeggia, Piegai, Pascoso, Foce di Pascoso, Villa a Roggio, and San Rocco in Turrite. 150 devotees came from Pariana, 500 from Picciorana, and 600 from Cappella. The people from Cappella brought a small carriage full of flowers with a banner painted by the famous painter Michele Ridolfi including the Holy Face with the inscription "from Luni to Lucca". On 21st September, the village of Badia in Pozzeveri, near Altopascio, sent 700 devotees to Lucca. On Thursday 24th September the parishioners of Sant'Angelo in Campo arrived in number of 1,000; 90 pilgrims came from Pieve di Controne and 160 from San Cassiano di Controne. Moreover, on 26th September there were 130 devotees from Val di Lima, 160 from Fornoli and Chifenti, 100 from Monti di Villa and Pieve di Monti di Villa, 160 from Ponte a Serraglio, 110 from Bagno alla Villa, and 100 from Montefegatesi.

The pilgrimage of the Diocese of Lucca overall registered 105,710 pilgrims.

5. The pilgrimages from the dioceses of Tuscany

On 2nd June, along with the inhabitants of Anchiano, 600 pilgrims arrived from the mountains and the borderlands: Barga and the villages of Loppia, San Piero in Campo, Sommocolonia, Tiglio, Castelvecchio, Albiano, Bolognana, and Perpoli (Comitato Pellegrinaggio Barga, 1896). Compared to those who enrolled cards distributed for the pilgrimage (about 1,333 units) many of the pilgrims were unable to participate. It should be noted that the veneration and worshipping of the Holy Face in the area of Barga was particularly widespread because until 1789 the same area belonged to the Archdiocese of Lucca (Rossi, 2010-2011). The following month, specifically on 12th July, there came to Lucca the first 100 pilgrims from Empoli, where the devotion to the Holy Face was largely widespread; as evidence of this, Empoli's inhabitants published a book containing poems and compositions in Greek, Latin, and Italian to celebrate the event.

On 23rd August, over 3,500 people from the neighbouring Diocese of Pescia arrived in Lucca, most of them travelling on special trains that gathered pilgrims from Valdinievole and Altopascio. On 10th September an unknown few number of people arrived from the Diocese of Pontremoli, followed three days later by 3,250 pilgrims coming from the Dioceses of Florence, Fiesole, and Leghorn. On 21st September 4,000 pilgrims arrived from Massa by one ordinary and two specials trains from Garfagnana villages. On 27th September a special train from San Miniato arrived with 6,000 pilgrims, along with 120 pilgrims from Volterra (15th September) and 200 citizens from Pistoia.

Worth to be mentioned is the pilgrimage conducted by the population of the Archdiocese of Pisa (Guerra, 1897). There were about 7,970 pilgrims who, on August 31, came from the Valdarno, Valdera, and Pisa's area by a special train of 50 carriages: they had to face many difficulties during their journey: The convoy had left at 8:00 am from the central station of Pisa. The pilgrims were to be in Lucca in front of the Basilica of San Frediano around 9:00 am, but near Rigoli (about halfway between Pisa and Lucca) the train broke and it took more than an hour to repair the damage. After the visit to the Lucca Cathedral, they had to come back at 6:00 pm, but the convoy met serious problems on the way and it was necessary to make another train arriving from Pisa, resulting in a delay of over an hour and an half. People participated with a great enthusiasm and energy to the pilgrimage: more than 500 devotees came from Buti, 300 from Bientina, 200 from Filetto, 200 from Marciana, 300 from Pietrasanta, 300 from Querceta, 200 from Ripafratta, 100 from Stazzema, Vallecchia, and Vicopisano. In this occasion a 32-page volume entitled *Remember the pilgrimage to the Holy Face of Lucca 31st August 1896* was compiled by the Cleric Lodovico Orlandini (Orlandini, 1896).

On 28th September the pilgrimage from the Archdiocese of Siena was expected, but it never took place. Similarly, no information are recorder about the Dioceses of Montepulciano, Chiusi, Pienza, Colle Val d'Elsa, Montalcino, Massa Marittima, Grosseto, Pitigliano-Sovana, Orbetello. From the Dioceses of Arezzo, Cortona, and San Sepolcro a small deputation made up by 30 people arrived on 31th August.

The pilgrimage of the dioceses of Tuscany overall registered 25,650 pilgrims.

6. The organization of the pilgrimage and its conclusion

The preparation and organization of the pilgrimage to the Holy Face in 1896 was impressive: it is witnessed by an accurate documentation preserved in the Chapter Archive of Lucca by the Holy Face Congregation. Reading some of the registers, numerous documents report specific information about this pilgrimage. The work of the Steering Committee of the Tuscan Regional Pilgrimage to the Holy Face of Lucca, based in Via delle Trombe n. 3, was long and tiring. To date, there are two large registers containing the minutes of the numerous meetings (n=58) that the Committee held between 30th March 1805 and 28th June 1897. In the first volume there is the name of the members of the Committee: Canonic Archdeacon Professor Luigi Frosini (as President), Count Martino Bernardini and Canonic Professor Narciso Baccelli (as Vice Presidents), Canonic Professor Domenico Fanucchi (as General Superintendent), Canonic Abbot Michele Del Fiorentino, Canonic Enrico Bertocchini, Canonic Lodovico Rossi, Lawyer Raffaele Pfanner, Raffaele Giusti Vincenzo Scatena, Marquis Girolamo Tucci (Supervisor), Raffaele Raffaelli (Treasurer), Priest Luigi Giammattei, Paolino Baldassini, Priest Luigi Papera, and Raffaele Papera (the latter four were all Secretaries)¹².

The Steering Committee trained pastors and people to the pilgrimage in various ways, for instance by sending images of the Holy Face to the priests to be distributed to the devotees. The images were printed in three typologies: large, medium, and small. 4,547 images were distributed: 559 large, 2,168 medium, and 1,820 small¹³. The copper sheets used for the typographical impressions are nowadays stored in the Chapter Archive. The Printing had a decisive role. A special postcard taking two images was prepared: on one hand the prospect of the Chapel of the Holy Face in Lucca Cathedral and on the other the Chapel plant. An 8×11 inch leaflet was pressed with the Holy Face in the center and the story of the arrival of the relic from Palestine to Lucca around, along with the various miracles made by the prodigious *simulacrum*. A special 16×21 inch manifest was printed on 14th September 1896. It was entitled *Il Volto Santo omaggio del Comitato Lucchese pei pellegrinaggi nella Solennità di S. Croce del 1896* (i.e., *Homage to the Holy Face by the Pilgrimage Committee*) with the salm written by Canonic Professor Narciso Baccelli, Marques Lorenzo Bottini, Decanus of San Michele in Foro Giovanni Volpi, Professor Rodrigo Biagini, and Professor Raffaello Baralli. In the first page there is a special pray written by Archbishop Niccola Ghilardi (Comitato Lucchese Pellegrinaggi, 1896)¹⁴.

In addition to the devotional images, the Committee made arrangement for spreading special circular brooch in red cloth with a metal Lucca's Cross. Some of them were bordered by a gold ribbon to distinguish the accompany from the pilgrims. On a special register the names and the surnames of the co-operative members of the pilgrimage are reported, with the origin and the turn of each employee¹⁵. In another register all the numbers relating to the spread of these brooches are reported. It is known that over 5,000 brooches were sent to Pisa, over 3,000 to San Miniato, 2,000 to Pescia, 3,000 to Porcari, 2,000 to Tramonte, and so on for every single village of the Archdiocese of Lucca, for a total of over 110,000 brooches¹⁶.

Agreements were made with the trattorias and inns of Lucca and the neighboring areas, in order to impose an unique price for food and lodging¹⁷. More than 30 hoteliers

subscribed the proposal; some of the involved hotels are nowadays existing, such as the famous Royal Univers Hotel in Piazza del Giglio with 25 rooms ready to accommodate more than 40 people. The agreement provided a 15% discount on the following prices, that were already low for the event: 3.00 Lire for overnight staying in a room with bath including a candle for the evening; 1.00 Lira for breakfast (coffee or milk-coffee, chocolate, tea, with bread and butter); 2.50 Lire for lunch (with two dishes at choice, fruit, cheese and a glass of Chianti wine); 4.00 Lire for dinner with soup, three dishes, sweet, fruit, cheese and Chianti wine. The same prices and the same proposals were applied by the Regio Albergo and Restaurant La Croce di Malta in Via Burlamacchi (with 20 rooms), by the Hotel La Corona of the Dinucci brothers (with about 30 rooms), and by the Hotel and Restaurant La Campana by Virgilio Del Cittadino (with 20 rooms). Also trattorias adjusted their tariff for the pilgrims: bread 0.10 Lire, wine 1.20 Lire, soup 0.20 Lire, pasta 0.30 Lire, additional dish 0.30 Lire, fruit and cheese 0.25 Lire. The agreement was signed on 15th May 1896. There were also provided rooms in private houses; they were differentiated into three classes: first, second and third, for a total of 110 rentable rooms. A special register it remains written the name of the owner of the room to rent, the address and the floor. There are also sporadic notes about the capacity of the rooms (a single or double bed) and occasional information about the pilgrims who hosted in times¹⁹.

A great medal was coined at the end of the pilgrimage for remembering the event, engraving the Holy Face on the obverse and the Chapel of the *simulacrum* with inscriptions on the reverse. Five medals were commissioned to the goldsmith Luigi Giorgi: three were in bronze and two in gold, as decided by the Commission of the Congregation of the Holy Face²⁰. A single *specimen* was also created in gold and it was offered to Pope Leo XIII (Guerra, 1897).

The documentation allows to reconstruct part of the economic profit represented in Lucca's territory by the pilgrimage. In economic terms, the overall expenses of the pilgrimage were directly sustained by the Church of Lucca, which however benefited from numerous oblations and alms. In particular, the cost of brooches and holy pictures was sustained by pastors and parishioners of the Archdiocese, as well as by the Tuscan Dioceses, village by village. The oblations were different in nature: large candles and candles of various sizes offered by the children from every parish and also from the various youth circles entitled to Saint Louis Gonzaga, or from the various congregations of the Christian doctrine into the same Diocese. More offers were collected through the *ex-voto*, donations, and banners made by artists, often realized in silver and/or gold; there were also other ecclesiastical supplies. Money offers were collected in two ways: directly to the Cathedral (12,905.17 Lire) or put into special boxes placed near the Chapel of the Holy Face (7,435.37 Lire)²¹. In total, 20,340.54 Lire was collected from 10th May to 4th October; according to ISTAT Euro / Lira revaluation tables, this amount correspond to about 90,000.00 €. The cost of the whole pilgrimage can be considered fully paid adding the sale of postcards, brooches, commemorative medals, and various *pamphlets* pressed to make memory of the pilgrimage.

Similar pilgrimages were repeated in later years, especially in the early 20th century, but they did not achieve the numbers of the pilgrimage obtained in 1896. This movement of devotion attracted to Lucca 131,360 people for the veneration of the Holy Face.



Figure 1: Cod. 147: Nicholaus de Tudeschis, *Super primo libro Decretalium*, Venezia, Vindelino da Spira, 1473.
Source: A.S.D.Lu., B.C.F.,

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.Lu. = Archiepiscopal Archive of Lucca

A.C.Lu. = Chapter Archive of Lucca

A.C.V.S. = Archiepiscopal Archive of Lucca

A.S.D.Lu. = Historical Diocesan Archive of Lucca

A.S.Lu. = State Archive of Lucca

B.C.F. = Feliniana Chapter Library

1 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., *Atti capitolari*, † 1, 1391 novembre 16.

2 A.S.D.Lu., B.C.F., cod. 626: LEOINUS DIACONUS, *De inventione revelatione ac translatione Sanctissimi Vultus*.

3 A.S.D.Lu., B.C.F., cod. *Tucci Tognetti*: LEOINUS DIACONUS, *De inventione revelatione ac translatione Sanctissimi Vultus*.

4 A.S.D.Lu., B.C.F., cod. 147: NICHOLAUS DE TUDESCHIS, *Super primo libro Decretalium*, Venezia, Vindelino da Spira, 1473.

5 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Capitoli della Compagnia del Volto Santo*, 1306-1308.

6 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Libro dell'Alma Compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento e Volto Santo in San Martino che principia l'anno 1545 e termina l'anno 1635*.

7 A.S.Lu., *Regia Prefettura*, Decree of 12th September 1884.

8 A.S.D.Lu., A.A.Lu., *Editte e Bandi*, Notification of 6th April 1896.

9 For the reconstruction of the calendar and the number of pilgrims see, A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Registro dei pellegrinaggi 1896"; "Registro dei pellegrinaggi diocesani"; "Registro dei pellegrinaggi extradiocesani".

10 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Parrocchia di S. Alessio": the register reports the list of pilgrims from Sant'Alessio parish with the indication of supply (i.e., made up by money, wax and flower).

11 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo. Processi verbali del Comitato Direttivo (30 marzo-22 settembre 1896)"; "Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo. Processi verbali del Comitato Direttivo (23 settembre 1896-28 giugno 1897)".

12 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo. Processi verbali del Comitato Direttivo (30 marzo-22 settembre 1896)": meeting of 30th March 1896.

13 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Congregazione del Volto Santo. Conto delle Immagini e fotografie e Medaglie date per conto del Comitato del Pellegrinaggio ai Molto Reverendi Parroci della Città e Campagne e membri dei Comitati rispettivi".

14 The prayer recited: «Rex Christe Redemptor, regna super nos, ut sancti Vultus tui lumine irradiati fidem servemus et mandata tua fideliter custodiamus, expectantes beatam spem et adventum gloriae tuae. † Nicolaus Archiepiscopus».

15 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Turno de' Soci cooperatori".

16 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Nota delle Crocette dispensate ai Parroci della Diocesi".

17 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Registro delle Trattorie e Alberi della Città e del Suburbio".

18 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Tariffa concordata fra i trattori".

19 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Registro delle camere particolari affittabili"; "Repertorio per gli alloggi privati".

20 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Atti della Congregazione del Volto Santo*, pp. 123-125: meeting n=62 of 27th May 1896: «Sua Eccellenza Reverendissima Monsignor Arcivescovo [Niccola Ghilardi] sottopose all'esame della Commissione la proposta di acquistare alcune medaglie del Professore [Luigi] Giorgi commemorative del Pellegrinaggio del Volto Santo. Discussa tale proposta, e ritrovata onerosa per la Congregazione, ciò nonostante a riguardo dell'artista, e per avere un ricordo del Pellegrinaggio viene deciso di acquistarne soltanto cinque, e cioè tre di bronzo e due d'argento».

21 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Nota delle oblazioni".