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FOLIA GEOGRAPHICA
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KRAJOBRAZ SAKRALNY I PAMIĘTANIE
W CZASACH POSTSEKULARNYCH
– KOŚCIOŁY, KRZYŻE, CMENTARZE

THE SACRAL LANDSCAPE AND REMEMBRANCE
IN A POSTSECULAR AGE
– CHURCHES, CROSSES, CEMETERIES

pod redakcją
Anny Janiszewskiej
Ewy Klima
Anity Kulawiak



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Tomasz Otock

TREE STAND OF THE OLD CEMETERY IN LODZ AND PLACE OF THE OLD CEMETERY AMONGST LODZ'S CEMETERIES ALONG THE LODKA RIVER

Abstract: The article concerns tree stand of the Old Cemetery at Ogródowa street in Lodz. Circumferences of trees at breast height in the main avenue have been measured. Also circumferences of other old trees in the cemetery and two other cemeteries have been measured. Value of tree stand in the Old Cemetery has been assessed.

Assessment of the area and tree stands of former cemeteries in the Lodka valley has been done. Position and time of foundation of cemeteries in relation to the Lodka River is presented in the paper. The article covers size and distance of cemeteries from the oldest part of agricultural Lodz.

Keywords: tree stand, trunk circumference, BHT, area of a cemetery, foundation date, the Old Cemetery in Lodz, natural value.

1. Introduction

Cemeteries are generally considered verdant, defined not only by tombs, chapels, sculptures and avenues but also by trees, bushes, creepers and herbaceous species. Plants of different size and habit set the vibe of a sacred place. Some flowers or trees are considered more appurtenant to mood of pensiveness and reminiscing. These are chrysanthus, periwinkles among herbaceous plants, ivies among creepers, yews, platycladuses among trees or bushes and many others. Old cemetery in Lodz is often considered the oldest one in Lodz and thus most verdant. It can be assumed that there were at least two earlier cemeteries. The oldest cemeteries in Poland are to be found in closest vicinity of churches. Most probably the oldest church in Lodz was built in XIV or XV century. More concretely between 1364 and 1382 at the capitol of bishopric in Włocławek sat Zbilut Golanczewski. Archbishop Bogoria Skotnicki ruled in Gniezno until 1371. As the second one erected the parish of Lodz upon newly built church during the term of office of Galanczewski, so it is assumed that the first Lodz church was founded between 1364 and 1371 (Krawczyk 2007).

Ł. Krawczyk described the position of the first church as placed on the western side of Piotrków highroad in the region of nowadays Zgierska and Drewnowska streets (Krawczyk 2007). Accordingly to Głab the church was founded to the north from square of Lodz. It took place between the end of 80-ties of XIV century and 1414 (Głab 2007).

It may be concluded that the oldest churchyard was founded around the church, the way it was practised in the middle ages. Inhabitants of the town had to bury their dead and ground surrounding the church seems to be the most probable place for natural formation of the graveyard. The area around contemporary the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary church was the oldest of Lodz's cemeteries (Pawlak 2014).

Nonetheless the first cemetery of Lodz was situated at the backyard of nowadays presbytery of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary church (Grzegorzczak 2011). Arguably, the two cemeteries – around the church and in the rear of the vicarage could function collaterally, at least at intervals. The more revered inhabitants could be buried in the closest vicinity of the gothic wooden church, ordinary inhabitants behind the parsonage.

2. Aims, scope and methods of the research on tree stands of chosen cemeteries along the Lodka River

The purpose of this article is to assess the density of contemporary cemeteries, area of decommissioned cemeteries and to reconstruct features of once existing tree stands. The article focuses on stating the level of burial plots density that prevents development of tree stands of natural value. The aim of this article is to present structure and changes of tree stand of the Old Cemetery with special regards to the main alley. This paper examines position, area and time of foundation of cemeteries in relation to the Lodka River.

For the needs of this paper research on stand of the Old Cemetery has been done. Some research, at more limited scope has been done at Mania Cemetery and Doły Cemetery.

At the Old Cemetery circumferences at the breast height (TC) of 102 trees were measured. For needs of the article, not all of the data has been used. For some trees breast height parameter (DBH) was calculated. At Mania and Doły (Catholic part) Graveyards TC of 4 trees were measured, respectively. The measures were carried out with a tape measure. Trees for measurement were chosen on the basis of subjective assessment of their size. The biggest trees were chosen. It doesn't apply to the main avenue in the Old Cemetery. In this case all the trees up to the distance of 5 meters from the kerb of the avenue and with BHT above 9.55 cm (30 cm of circumference) were taken into account. For needs of this paper circumference at the breast height has been used, as idea more frequently used in conservation.

Location of measured trees of the Old Cemetery, Mania Cemetery and Doly Cemetery has been described in the text.

Characteristics of stand structure for the main avenue of the Old Cemetery has been presented using chart of circumference at the breast height for years 2011 and 2017. The charts have regard to species of trees in the main alley.

On the basis of literature diagram of distance from the former centre of Lodz has been created (Fig. 1). Once existing fort on the Lodka River has been chosen as point zero for the X-axis of the chart. The fort was situated in a close vicinity of the place of crossing the Lodka River and Nowomiejska street. The nowadays crossing is the starting point of the chart. The centres of cemeteries have been placed in the chart with respect to their distance both from the Lodka River and the point zero, that is crossing of the river Nowomiejska street.

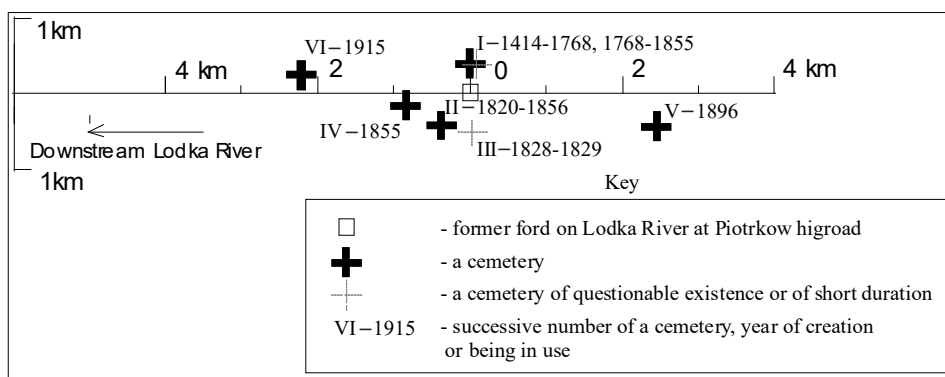


Fig. 1. Position and time of being in use of the cemeteries in relation to the Lodka River

Source: own elaboration.

Accordingly to the rule of quantitative generalization (Faliński 1990–1991) chart of the size and distance from the former fort on the Lodka River has been created. Neither the relative position of a cemetery in regard of side of the river nor distance from it were not taken into account for the chart (Fig. 2). The size of non-existing cemeteries at Plac Kościelny has been assessed assuming that density of burying plots was ca. 1 715/ha.

Data of density of contemporary 4 Catholic cemeteries and one Evangelical cemetery in the Lodka valley were collected on 2,3 of June, 2020. For collecting the data method of telephone interview with cemetery offices has been used. In cases of Catholic cemeteries particular values of burial plots and areas of cemeteries were obtained. In case of the Evangelical cemetery (part of the Old cemetery) possible data would range in scope of 10, so an approximation was necessary to make the data more consistent.

Photographic documentation of measured trees has been done.

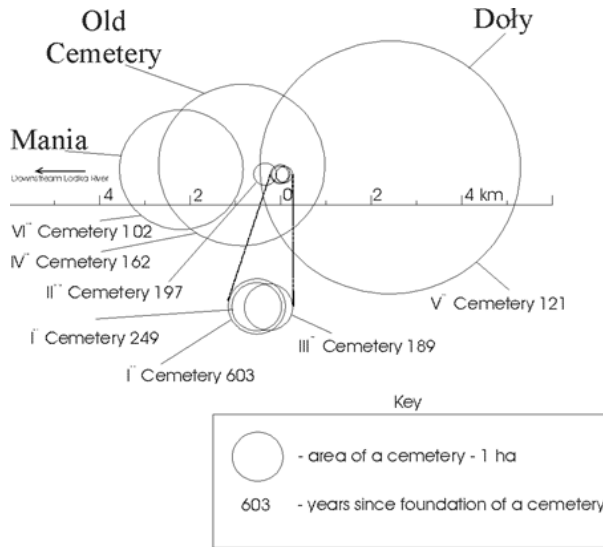


Fig. 2. Areas of cemeteries along the Lodka River

Source: own elaboration.

3. The size and density of the cemeteries

Size of cemeteries differs depending on the time of founding a cemetery. As number of inhabitants in a city grew, size of newly founded cemeteries in that city grew as well. The cemeteries in Lodz can be divided, by convention, into two groups. One group consists of old cemeteries, founded before 1820, which is cut-off date of agricultural Lodz's existence. Second group is formed by cemeteries founded after 1820. Old cemeteries include first and second cemetery at Plac Kościelny, cemetery in vicinity of Legionów street. In turn to the second, latter group of cemeteries one can account cemetery at Freedom Square, the Old Cemetery, Doły cemetery and Mania cemetery.

Lodz had around 100 residents at granting city's rights (Grzegorzczuk 2011) by Włocławska Chapter in 1414 (Krawczyk 2007). The city had 80 plots at the time (Krawczyk 2007). There is some inconsistency between the data of the two authors as 80 plots given by Krawczyk for times of granting city's rights (Krawczyk 2007) at factor of 5–6 (factor understood as number of family members in an average family of the time, for this paper – factor f_m) equals 440 inhabitants of Lodz. The number of families per plot would be higher than one and this would yield even higher number of inhabitants accordingly to number of plots given by Krawczyk (Krawczyk 2007). Referring to the ascertainments of the two authors number of inhabitants was between 100 and 500. Assuming that average number of families

per plot was definitely higher than one (higher than 1.14) the last number could by far exceed 500.

A. Zand calculated that in years 1470–1589 the number of families living in Lodz increased from 44 to 102. At factor f_m of 5 to 6 it results in 220–264 to 510–612 people (Grzegorzczak 2011). Relating to inventory of Włocławek domain, Lodz had 80 plots in 1598. Since location of the city the number of plots had been more or less the same. Similar numbers were given by other sources, especially from XVI century (Grzegorzczak 2011).

Noteworthy the name of street – Kościelna was firstly mentioned in 1400 (Krawczyk 2007). This in turn suggests that the area between Old Square and Plac Kościelny was gradually being developed, bespeaking of growing number of inhabitants of Lodz.

Taking into account the above the number of inhabitants of Lodz increased from around 100 to 500 in 1414 to 612 in 1589. This leads to some estimation on the size of the cemetery. As annually around 1 to 3% of people may die, the same percentage of burial places gained the cemetery. Taking into account the life expectancy estimated for 30 years in middle ages, not less than 1% to 3% of population died annually at times of first church and cemetery existence. In some cases life expectancy for a newborn in central Poland in Middle Ages was even lower than 30 years, only 25,4 years (Budnik, Liczbinska, Gumna 2004). If the burial plots had been in existence for 50 years, the cemetery would have accounted around 50 to 150 burial plots at 100 inhabitants. Therefore very rough estimation leads to conclusion the cemetery ranged from 50–150 to 250–750 burial places in 1414 and around 306 to 918 in 1589. Inhuming the dead at the burial plots of their ancestors would have significantly reduced the above numbers. What is more, as life expectancy was gradually rising, number of burials per given number of inhabitants was falling. Contemporary fatality rate for the whole population of Poland equals 10‰ (*Ludność w wieku 60 lat i więcej*, 2016). Nowadays average life expectancy has amounted to 73.6 for men, 81.6 for women in 2015 (*Trwanie życia w 2015*, 2016). That means even on the premise that fatality rate might rise to more than 10‰ for some periods, number of burials in 50 years at 100 newly born inhabitants (for a cemetery) would these days amount to around 20 to 58 only.

Density of burial plots in contemporary Lodz differs. St. Joseph cemetery, which is catholic part of the Old Cemetery, has got ca. 30000 burial plots/10.65 ha, that is 2816 burial plots/ha. Mania cemetery is characterized by very similar value of density, around 30000/10.9 ha, that is 2752/ha. St. Vincent cemetery (catholic part of Doły cemetery) has got 44111 burial plots/7,63 ha. Thus the density for the cemetery is 5781/ha. Density for a cemetery outside of the Lodka valley, Zarzew cemetery is 4624/ha (86000/18.6 ha). Medium value of burial plots density for the four cemeteries equals 3993/ha.

Density of newly founded burial plots in contemporary Poland is ca. 1715/ha (12000/7 ha) as it is in a newly created part of Łostowicki Cemetery in Gdańsk (*Cmentarze-gdanskie* 2017). The Evangelical Cemetery founded in 1855 may possibly have similar value of density. Accordingly to data obtained from the cemetery office there are from 500 to 1000 burial plots per cemetery section. There are scarce sections with 100 plots per section. Taking into account there are 50 sections in the cemetery there are from near 25000 to 50000 burial plots. Area of the cemetery is 9.5 ha. Density of burial plots is ranging from ca. 2631/ha to 5263/ha. For some sections it is 526.3/ha. It is clear, that the cemetery is very heterogeneous for this aspect. Some parts of the cemetery have got density close to the highest found within Lodz cemeteries, some have tenfold lower density. According to the site inspection conducted by the author of the paper in 2011–2020, the least number of tombs can be found in sections to the south and south-west of The Chapel of Karol Scheibler. This is consistent with distribution of the oldest and biggest trees of the Old Cemetery.

Assuming the density of burial plots at the first Old Lodz's cemetery close to the above mentioned medium value retrieved for the four cemeteries of Lodz (3993/ha), it is possible to assess its stretch. The area of the first parish cemetery is estimated at around 0.01 ha to 0.19 in 1414 and at about 0.08 ha to 0.23 ha in 1589. The first cemetery in Lodz was situated around or in close vicinity of parish church in Lodz, founded in 1430, at nowadays Plac Kościelny.

The second graveyard was placed also at Plac Kościelny. It was the churchyard of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church, which was built in 1765–1768. In 1819 the cemetery didn't have fences (*Cmentarium.sowa.website* 2007). What is more it was in a very poor condition as animals were dragging around corpses of the buried (*Cmentarium.sowa.website* 2007). Most evidently the cemetery was in very bad shape. Its state was inconceivable as for nowadays standards.

Accordingly to A. Wiercińska (2012) the churchyard was placed at Górka Plebańska (nowadays Plac Kościelny) and in use since XV century till 1855. This means the first cemetery in Lodz and the churchyard of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church were one and the same graveyard. As it didn't have walls exact borders were difficult to define. Its area would be estimated at 0.2 ha.

The turning point in development of Lodz's cemeteries was 1820. That year Lodz has been chosen as so called 'factory town'. The decision of Rembieliński's Commission was announced in Kingdom of Poland Vicegerent decree on 18 of September 1820 (Papińska 2001). From then on rising population changed thoroughly the scale of needs for cemeteries and their characteristics. All new reasonable investments had to be in accordance with capitalistic, rapid growth of the city.

In 1820 a new graveyard was founded at so called Retkińska Road, between contemporary Ogrodowa, Zachodnia and Legionów Street. Its area was 8000 cubits, that is approximately 2600 m² (0.26 ha). In 1828 the cemetery had to be enlarged by 4380 cubits, that is circa 1402 m² (0.14 ha). Regardless of swampy terrain it had to be enlarged yet many times in years 1838–1855. It took place due to sharp incline in number of Lodz's inhabitants. There were 767 inhabitants of Lodz in 1820, 15500 in 1840 and 40121 in 1865 (Liszewski 1999). This graveyard was closed down in 1856. As it was mentioned, one year earlier the cemetery at Plac Kościelny was officially decommissioned (*Cmentarium.sowa.website* 2007).

In 1826 the first Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession parish was founded at Freedom Square in Nowe Miasto. The church was completed in 1829. At the yard the church the first colonists of Protestant religion were buried (*Cmentarium.sowa.website* 2007). Burials took part there in years 1828–1829 (Wiercińska 2012).

There was a cholera outbreak in Lodz in 1852. There were 253 victims, including 169 of Catholic confession. This led to overflow of the cemetery at Retkińska road and forced the authorities of Lodz to undertake a decision of creating a new cemetery. In 1854 grounds of the new cemetery were determined by the Lodz magistracy, Custodianship of Catholic Church and Evangelical Church Council. The original area of the graveyard was 8.8 ha. The Evangelical part numbered 3 ha, Catholic 5 ha. The parts were divided by a narrow strip of Orthodox part (0.8 ha) (Pawlak 2014).

The Old Cemetery was founded (on agricultural lands) in 1855. The consecration of new necropolis took place on 9th of September the same year. The cemetery has been founded on municipal cornfield where three-field system had been practised (Koter 1974).

The magistracy protocol dated 1858 characterized the area of the latter cemetery as rye land of third class and hilly. The magistracy bought the land from 38 owners for 393 roubles. First burials took place at the end of 1854, before the official inauguration of the cemetery (Winnik 2005).

Rapid increase of Lodz population led to overfilling of the graveyard. The number of residents of Lodz grew to 108.45 thousand in 1885 (Liszewski 1999). Rising number of inhabitants of Lodz led to surrounding the cemetery by suburban housing. In 1886 Gubernia authorities forbade further purchases of adjacent grounds. They ordered finding sufficient areas for a cemetery outside of Lodz's borders (Dominikowski 2004).

Lacking in burial plots at the Old Cemetery and risk of necessity of burying the dead at the graveyard's avenues changed the Gubernia authorities' position. The authorities gave consent for joining new areas to the cemetery in 1888 (Wiercińska 2012). The graveyard reached the area of 21 ha. It still wasn't enough for fast growing city.

Within borders of Lodz there weren't enough burial plots. Population of Lodz reached 168.5 thousand people in 1895 (Janczak 1982). The area of deserted Doły village was chosen for founding a complex of graveyards in 1896 (Wiercińska 2012). Part of the cemetery is placed on the slopes of Lodka River valley. Nowadays the cemetery has got diversified stand, both for its species composition and age structure (Photo 1). Nonetheless the *Acer platanoides* is prevailing among oldest trees there.



Photo 1. Tree stand at Doły cemetery

Source: photo by T. Otocki.

The subsequent cemeteries were distant from the old center of Lodz and Lodka River. These were Evangelical-Augsburg cemetery at Old Rokicie (1898) and catholic cemetery at Zarzew (1898), nowadays Przybyszewskiego 325 Street. Increase of Jewish society in Lodz led to foundation of Jewish cemetery at Doły village in 1892, nowadays Bracka 40 Street.

18th of October 1906 territory of Lodz was increased (Wiercińska 2012). The population of Lodz increased to 329 thousand (Janczak 1982).

Lack of cemeteries in western part of Lodz led to foundation of St. Anthony catholic graveyard in Mania quarter, near city forest, todays Solec 11 Street (Wiercińska 2012). It took place in 1915 (*Cmentarze-lodz...* 2017), a year after Lodz reached 477.9 thousand inhabitants (Liszewski 1999). The area of the cemetery totals 10.9 ha. Some old trees on territory of the cemetery are remnants of bygone forest (*Cmentarze-lodz...* 2017) and may have witnessed of primeval past of the district. The other side of Wieczność Street extends so called Mania forest, retaining many features of natural forest. For example it is characterized by diversity of trees and abundance of undergrowth plants, such as *Anemone nemorosa*.

The first cemeteries in Lodz were created generally along Lodka River from east to west successively. Taking into account needs of the western part of the city graveyard in Mania district was the next one in sequence. All of the mentioned above cemeteries except Old Rokicie and Zarzew were built in close vicinity of Lodka River although were set in different distances from local watershed and banks of the river. Jewish cemetery at Bracka 40 is close to Lodka Valley, nonetheless it stretches to vicinity of spring areas of Bałutka (*zwik.lodz.rzeki-lodzi* 2017) river.

4. Features of once existing tree stands

Tree stands of decommissioned cemeteries functioning before the Old Cemetery are difficult to define. It is difficult to assess any features of tree stands of former cemeteries. Contemporary tree stands, are dependent on nowadays land use. Still, the possibility that they refer in a way, for example throughout their species composition, to former land use – cemetery, cannot be profoundly ruled out. Reconstruction of features of once existing tree stands can be based on analysis of iconography and photography.

A figure presenting the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church in Lodz, completed 1768, shows trees around the church, probably maples and poplars. In the figure there are 10 trees within a fence around the church, thus on territory of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary Church cemetery (Grzegorzczuk 2011). Other source of information may be a photography of Scheibler's chapel in the Old Cemetery. Photographies are accessible at City of Lodz Office page (UMŁ, *Protestantyzm* 2020). The photography was taken in 1896 by photographer Bronisław Wilkoszewski. It shows foreground and background of the chapel with some area around it. The photography has been taken towards north-east. Trees are visible in the background, to the right, farther to the east a tree stand is visible, most probably belonging to the main avenue of the Old Cemetery. Assessment of the species of trees doesn't seem to be possible. To the left, behind the chapel there is a tree, probably birch around 10 m high. There are bushes in the foreground. There is also a photography of newly built Scheibler's chapel, taken probably in the same times. The photography has been take towards south-east. To the right, behind the chapel there are visible leafy trees, several meters high. Taking into account dimensions of the chapel, level from which the picture was taken (roughly 5 m) and perspective, one can approximately estimate height of the trees behind the chapel to the east. The height of the chapel is 37 m, it is 25 m long and 13,5 m wide. Considering the above the height of the trees, was most probably around 10–15 m at the end of XIX century.

5. Tree stands of cemeteries in vicinity of the Lodka River

Out of cemeteries in north-eastern, central and western part of Lodz the most valuable as for its natural assets seems to be the Old Cemetery. The graveyard is well known for its old trees and park-like setting. Some trees there are nature monuments (Winnik 2005). Stands at Doły cemetery haven't reached the dimensions of those at Old Cemetery. Nonetheless some areas in Doły cemetery are abundant in trees. Mania cemetery has different character from the Old Cemetery. Trees there are dispersed, growing loosely among tombs; it is possible to see the other end of the graveyard from the vicinity of main entrance. Regardless of their sparsity, the trees of Mania cemetery are supposed to be remainders of anterior forest (*Cmentarze-lodz...* 2017).

Research on tree stand of the Old Cemetery has been carried out by Winnik (Winnik 2005). The subject of her study has been species diversity of trees and bushes in the Evangelical and Orthodox parts of the Old Cemetery. She also examined the origin of found species. The aim of her study was to present age structure of tree-stands in the cemetery and to carry out inventory of trees and bushes.(Winnik 2005).

A. Winnik started her research on dendroflora of The Old Cemetery on 20.03.2004. She found that dendroflora of the cemetery consists of 98 species. The most frequently verified species were *Acer platanoides*, *Thuja occidentalis*, *Acer pseudoplatanus*, *Buxus sempervirens*, *Rosa sp.*, *Hedera helix*, *Vinca minor*. 11 trees have been taken under species protection, including 9 in evangelical part and 2 in orthodox part (Winnik 2005).

A. Winnik stated that taking into account circumference at 1.3 m above ground 77 trees could be qualified to be a nature monument (Winnik 2005). Among the trees there are 40 Norway maples (*Acer platanoides* L.), 13 horse chestnuts (*Aesculus hippocastanum* L.), 7 black locusts (*Robinia pseudoacacia* L.), 5 ashes (*Fraxinus excelsior* L.), 4 sycamores (*Acer pseudoplatanus* L.), 2 beeches (*Fagus sylvatica* L.), 2 silver birches (*Betula pendula* L.), 1 small-leaved lime (*Tilia cordata* L.), 1 Crimean lime (*Tilia x euchlora* L.), 1 red horse chestnuts (*Aesculus x carnea* L.), 1 European white elm (*Ulmus laevis* L.).

A. Winnik posited considering the maple-beech-hornbeam avenue in eastern part of Evangelical cemetery as a monument of nature (Winnik 2005). She concluded occurrence of 4 tree specimens recognised as monuments of nature within the avenue. What is more she found there 11 tree specimens qualified for protection as nature monuments.

Three species of strict protection were concluded by A. Winnik on the area of the cemetery (Winnik 2005). These were: *Hedera helix*, *Lonicera periclymenum*, *Vinca minor*. There was also one species of partial protection – *Taxus baccata*.

Research conducted in years 2016, 2017 confirms the value of stands at the Old Cemetery found by A. Winnik (Winnik 2005). Trunk circumferences at 130 cm (TCs) of the measured trees in western part of Evangelical graveyard exceed 400 cm. These were one specimen of *Quercus robur*, trunk circumference at 130 cm (TC) 481 cm (Photo 2), two specimens of *Acer platanoides*, TC 401 cm, 485 cm (Photo 3).

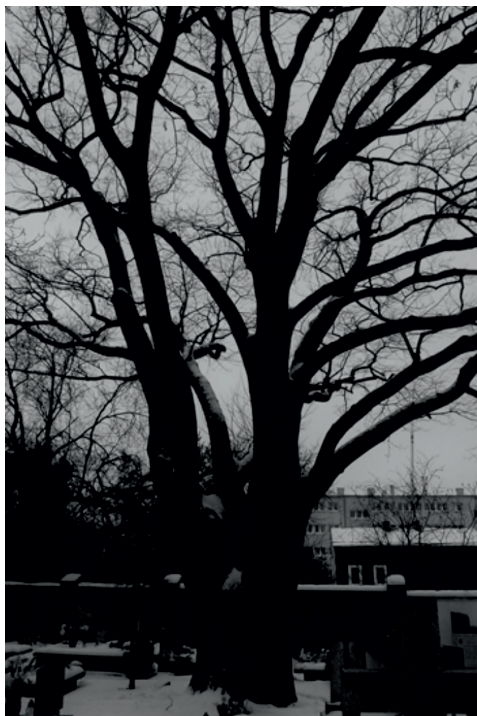


Photo 2. *Quercus robur* in western part of the Old Cemetery, TC 481 cm, Jan 2017

Source: photo by T. Otockki.



Photo 3. *Acer platanoides* in western part of the Old Cemetery, TC 401 cm (the foreground), TC 485 cm (the background), Jan 2017

Source: photo by T. Otockki.

What is more in south-western part of the cemetery there are other trees distinguishing themselves from other trees by their dimensions. There are two specimens of *Acer platanoides*, TC 388 cm and 250 cm in 2017. There is also one specimen of *Robinia pseudoacacia* that reached TC of 340 cm the same year (Photo 4).

The dimensions of these trees can be closely related to history of the area. If the territory of nowadays cemetery was formed by fields belonging to 38 owners it is possible that there were 37 to 39 balks. The oldest trees could grow there before the inauguration of the cemetery. Circumferences of some trees in central and south-western part of Evangelical cemetery suggest that these trees could be over 170 years old. Taking into account table of trees sizes by L. Majdecki (*Tabela wiekowa drzew*, 1980), the biggest oak in the western part of the Evangelical Cemetery is about 333 years old.



Photo 4. Tree stand in central part of the Old Cemetery, autumn, 2nd of Nov 2016

Source: photo by T. Otocky.

Dimensions of trees in the maple-beech-hornbeam avenue in Eastern part of Evangelical cemetery, described by A. Winnik are diversified (Winnik 2005). Research conducted by author of this paper in 2011 and 2017 shows some aspects of this diversification (Table 1, Table 2, Fig. 3).

Table 1. Trunk circumferences of trees in the main alley in the Old Cemetery in 2011*

Oak (Qr)	Horse chestnut (Ah)	Silver birch (Bv)	Common hornbeam (Cb)	Sycamore (Aps)	Common ash (Fe)	Common Aspen (Pt)	White cedar (Toc)	Common beech (Fs)	Norway maple (Ap)
287	177	201	133	140	100	157	41	269	67
			189	181	141	162		335	159
				203				366	164
								377	182
									184
									185
									212
									256
									264
									269
									276
									278
									291
									293
									308
									339

*Abbreviations for names of the species are the same for Table 1 and Fig. 3. Figures in cm.

Table.2. Trunk circumferences of trees in the main alley in the Old Cemetery in 2017*

Oak (Qr)	Horse chestnut (Ah)	Silver birch (Bv)	Common hornbeam (Cb)	Sycamore (Aps)	Common ash (Fe)	Common Aspen (Pt)	White cedar (Toc)	Common beech (Fs)	Norway maple (Ap)
292	178	204	136	170	103	170	41	270	82
			195	187	144	177		335	174
				203				–	177
								387	183

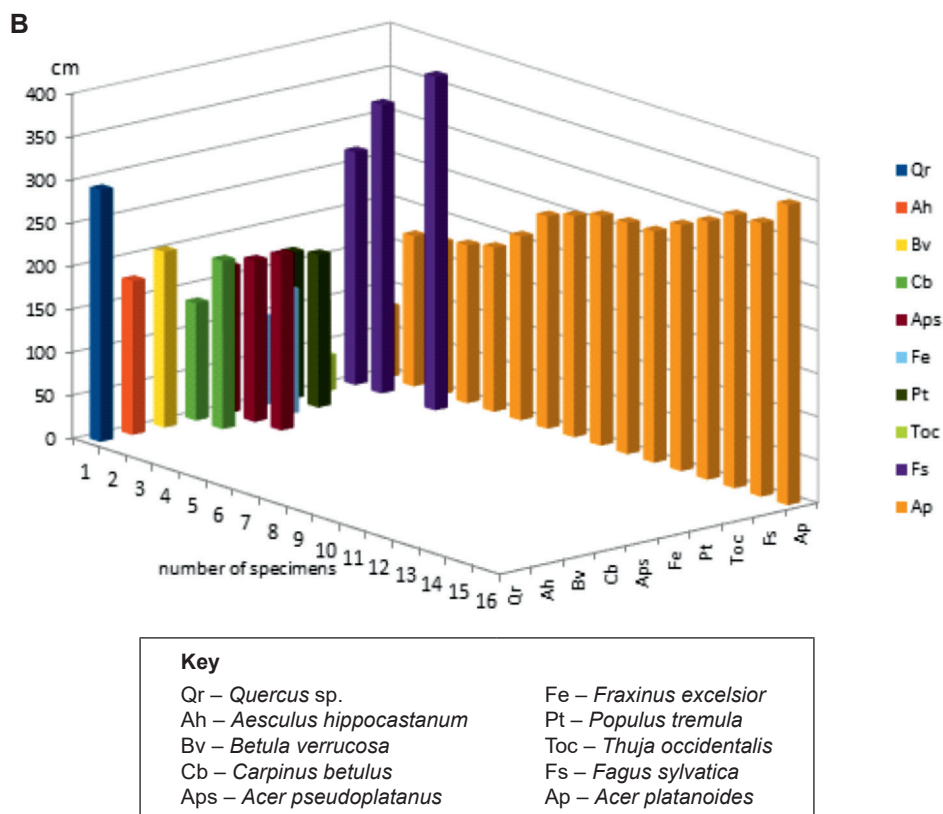


Fig. 3. Comparison of circuits of trees in the main alley in Evangelical part of the Old Cemetery in Lodz in 2011 (A) and 2017 (B)

Source: own elaboration.

There are 9 specimens of *Acer platanoides* with TC above 250 cm, including 2 specimens with TC above 300 cm in 2011 and 3 in 2017. There are 2 specimens of *Fagus sylvatica*, characterized by TC above 330 cm. One beech tree of the diameters, present in 2011 was missing in 2016. Different pace of growth for individual specimens of *Acer platanoides* is well indicated in Fig. 3B, compared with Fig. 3A. There is one specimen that has TC close to 350 cm (TC 348 cm). There is one *Betula verrucosa* with TC exceeding 200 cm. *Quercus* sp. specimen is partly covered in remnants of cut off *Hedera helix* sprigs that influence its circumference measurement, somewhat inflating it. Because of the dimensions of the trees, the alley can be considered the main in the cemetery (Photo 5, 6).



Photo 5. The main avenue in the Old Cemetery, Nov 2011

Source: photo by T. Otocky.



Photo 6. The main avenue in the Old Cemetery, Jan 2017

Source: photo by T. Otocky.

There is a parallel avenue at the cemetery, consisting of oaks (*Quercus robur* or *Quercus sessilis*) (Photo 7). It is situated about 20 m to the west from the maple-beech-hornbeam avenue. The value of TC for one of the trees in the oak avenue was 226 cm. That was one of biggest trees in the alley. There are obvious differences between the two avenues. There are at least 10 species in the main alley and 2 in the oak alley. Trees grow in irregular distances from each other and from the axis of the alley in case of the maple-beech-hornbeam alley and in relatively regular distances in the oak alley. Two lines of trees are placed closer to each other in case of the oak avenue. The trees are characterised by similar dimensions, that suggests they were planted at the same time.

The biggest measured trees at Doły cemetery were 3 specimens of *Acer platanoides* with following TCs: 274 cm, 258 cm, 251 cm. Specimen of TC 258 was partly covered by *Hedera helix*, what might slightly increase its TC. One measured *Tilia platyphyllos* had TC totalling 245 cm. All of the trees were measured in southern part of the cemetery, close to Telefoniczna street, along the main avenue.

Trees measured at Mania cemetery belonged to more species, and had lower TCs. Specimen of *Quercus robur* had TC amounting to 261 cm. Specimen of *Quercus rubra* had TC totalling 247 cm. *Tilia cordata* was characterised by TC of 188 cm and *Picea abies* by TC of 174 cm (Photo 8).



Photo 7. The oak avenue in the Old Cemetery, Jan 2017

Source: photo by T. Otock.



Photo 8. Trees stands are sparse at Mania cemetery, Jan 2017

Source: photo by T. Otock.

6. Discussion

The Old Cemetery is one of 3 cemeteries situated in the vicinity of Lodka River. It is possible to present its placement, size and time of establishment in relation to other cemeteries and the Lodka River (Fig. 1, 2).

It is very distinctive, that cemeteries established before 1821 were small. In 1808 Lodz had 434 residents. The fraction of Jewish in Lodz was rising (around 60 people after 1808), they were numerous enough to found their own cemetery between Rybna, Bazarowa, Limanowskiego and Zachodnia street in 1811 (Wiercińska 2012). At the time there was a small tributary of the Lodzka river, nowa-

days dried out. Shape of its valley is visible nowadays in grassy area between Limanowskiego and DREWNOWSKA street, to the north of Karskiego street. As it was mentioned above Lodz in 1820 had 767 inhabitants. Two cemeteries weren't sufficient for burying the dead. In 1820 a new cemetery was founded, enlarged in 1828, totalling then to 0,4 ha, probably 2 times bigger than the cemetery at Plac Kościelny. Regardless of latter enlarging, the cemetery at Legionów street couldn't have been vast. The first Evangelical cemetery, functioning only 2 years doesn't change the overall picture. All the mentioned cemeteries were placed no farther to north or south of Lodka River than 500 m and no farther than 500 m to the west. The subsequent 3 cemeteries were placed not farther to the west or east from the fort on the Lodka River than 2.5 km. As for the distance to south or north of the river, the cemeteries are characterised by the same value (Fig. 1). Regardless of manifold increase of cemeteries area they follow the same pattern of distance from the Lodka River (Fig. 1, 2). The growth of distances to the west or east after 1820 is derived from the growth of Lodz. It is possible to talk about a group of cemeteries along the Lodka River probably because slopes of the river were in agricultural use. Meridional development of Lodz after 1820 might left the Lodka valley undeveloped, making it a good area for foundation of consecutive cemeteries.

The size of the cemeteries grew accordingly to number of residents of Lodz. The first cemeteries along the Łódka river were decommissioned as too small, also due to sanitary reasons. Area of the first cemeteries could range from 0.01 ha or 0.04 ha at the beginning of XV century to 0.23 ha or 0.54 ha at the end of XVI century, depending on burial plots density. Assuming that possible cemetery at Górka Plebańska (Grzegorzczak 2011) would be treated as one with the cemetery around the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary church, the latter values are more probable.

The Old Cemetery is characterised by rich tree stands. There are many old trees, parts of the Evangelical cemetery are covered by canopy. Trees are twined with ivy, what combined with dimensions of trees makes the cemetery exceptional. The two other cemeteries – Doły cemetery and Mania cemetery aren't that valuable as for their stands. Trees there are smaller and there is fewer of them. Value of stands seems to depend more on age and history of the area of cemetery than on its size (Fig. 1, 2).

Doły cemetery is actually a conglomerate of 7 cemeteries. The municipal cemetery seems to be the most valuable as for its stands. The oldest trees are placed at the maple avenues stretching across the cemetery (Photo 9).

Trees between tombs are smaller thus younger, although there are some old trees among them.

Cumulative value of TCs for 3 biggest measured trees at the 3 cemeteries seems to attest, that the older cemetery, the bigger trees. The cumulative value

for the Old Cemetery (Evangelical part) is 1367 cm, for Doły (municipal part) cemetery it is 783, for Mania cemetery it is 696. Years from foundation of the cemeteries total respectively: 165, 124 and 105. To put it other way this is in relative values 1.96:1.13:1 respectively for TCs and 1.57:1.18:1 respectively for ages of cemeteries. This also confirms the value of stands of the Old Cemetery.



Photo 9. Main maple avenue at Doły municipal cemetery, April 2017

Source: photo by T. Otocky.

Accordingly to (*Geoserwis*, 2020) there are 5 trees that are monuments of nature in the Evangelical Cemetery. One of them is most unusual dimensions is the oak in western part of the cemetery. Accordingly to documentation (*Dziennik Urzędowy Województwa Łódzkiego*, 1990) not later than in 1990 the biggest oak in western part of the necropolis reached TC 375 cm. TC of the tree measured in 2011 was 465 cm, in 2016 482 cm. That would mean an increase of BHT from 148 cm to 153 cm, that is by 5 cm in 5 years (2011–2016). Natural value of the tree can be better depicted by comparison. The biggest tree enlisted by City of Lodz Office is an oak in Źródłiska Park. It's TC in 1996 was 475 cm, so it's BHT was then 151 cm.

There were at least 3 cemeteries preceding the Old Cemetery in Lodz. It is difficult to determine whether if there were any stands and assess their value. This is due to the fact the 3 cemeteries are decommissioned. An attempt of determination the size of the cemeteries was undertaken with overall approach, that the bigger cemetery, the higher probability of existence of tree stand within a cemetery. Due to some inconsistencies in data, possible size of cemeteries ranged significantly. Nevertheless the cemeteries had to be relatively small (around 0,25 ha or less), mainly due to small number of inhabitants of pre-industrial Lodz. Thus probability of existence of tree stands on them is low. Trees were probably treated as a source of firewood and it was only sacred character of a cemetery that would reduce felling.

Both iconographical and photographic sources are valuable as for information about former tree stands of cemeteries. They allow to gain knowledge on presence of tree stand in a cemetery. This concerns both existing and decommissioned cemeteries. Depending on trustworthiness of iconography and quality of photography it is possible to assess height, placement and species composition of tree stands.

There is also question of relation of density of burial plots to abundance of trees in a particular cemetery. An idea that the lower density of burial places means higher chance of developing tree stand seems to be obvious. The question to be answered is, what is the level of density at which chances for development of tree stands of natural value get higher? This can be done with respect to collection of data concerning the most valuable trees of particular cemeteries.

The density of burial plots in the Old Cemetery (Evangelical part) is variable for its different parts, let arbitrary choose the middle of retrieved data for density which is 2631/ha. For Doły (Catholic part) cemetery it is 5781/ha, for Mania cemetery it is 2752 ha. The above data presented in relative values is respectively 0.95:2.1:1. Overall density of burial plots seems to correspond with the value of tree stands, taking into account that tree stand at the municipal part of Doły cemetery are older and more numerous and more valuable to those at the catholic part of the cemetery. Nonetheless the Evangelical Part of the Old cemetery characterised by valuable trees has got the lowest density of burial plots. Taking into account the quarters with the lowest density within the cemetery, placed to south and south-west and east of Scheibler's chapel the relative values are 0.19:2.1:1. This shows that loosely growing between tombs, valuable tree stands may develop when density of burial places is 5 times lower than typical for Lodz's cemeteries. If the underlying data is average density for investigated Lodz cemeteries (3993/ha), the outcome will be more significant. Let average density $3993/ha = 1$. Then relative values for the quarters, the two cemeteries and the average are: 0.13:1,45:0,68:1. This means development of loose group of old, valuable trees would be possible if density of burial places is close to 8 times lower than the average. The above calculations depend on reliability of data obtained from cemetery offices. Discrepancies of data may depend on different ways of collecting data. Also former ways of demarcating the plots may influence the number of tombs on particular area. As conducted interview show practices of joining adjacent tombs belonging to one family, lower size of burial places for children, reduction of spacing between the tombs, presence of mass graves can lead to difficulties with quoting fully reliable data on number of burial places in a cemetery. Catholic cemeteries in Lodz has got highest burial places densities and lowest qualities of tree stands, as most of funerals of inhabitants takes place there. Relation between burial places density and value of tree stands would require further investigation.

The comparison of the outcome of TCs measured at the Old Cemetery in 2011 and 2017 presents pace of growth of the trees. The increase of TCs is different for each tree, in some cases it wasn't measured. A tree may not grow because of its health status. The same TC after 6 years may be also a as measurement error as it can reach about 3 cm in case of old trees. The growth of trees in the main avenue of the Old Cemetery ranges from 0 to 34. 2 negative growth of *Acer platanoides* are most probably TC reading error. Still it might happen that bark of the tree has been reduced. Trees may be used for tacking notices on them. Medium value of TC growth is 9.3 cm for all the trees of the main avenue and 12,4 cm for *Acer platanoides* specimens in that alley. The ongoing growth of the trees underlines their value. They have reached impressive trunk circumferences and they are gradually reaching primeval dimensions.

On-site verification shows that contemporary relation of some individuals to natural values of the cemeteries is far from being appropriate. Shoots and trunks of old ivies are being cut down, especially in the central part of the Evangelical cemetery. The biggest flowering ivy specimens should be protected as nature monuments.



Photo 10. Cut down trunks and shoots of ivy on a trunk of tree in central part of the Old Cemetery

Source: photo by T. Otock.

Extensive crown lifting of many trees takes place, especially at Catholic part of the cemetery. This is highly reprehensible, as this activity harms the trees, especially because of leaving big wounds and reducing foliage area. Besides

it rises centre of gravity of a given tree. Functions of avenues, such as wind protection and shading are reduced by high pruning. Avenue trees irremediably lost their habits.

7. Conclusion

The density of burial plots in contemporary cemeteries taken into account differ. The quotient of the highest to lowest density equals 2.1 (5781/ha/2752/ha).

The cemeteries existing before 1821 were relatively small and are now decommissioned. The cemeteries created after 1820 along Lodka River were about 100 times bigger as for their area and trees there were treated as integral part of the cemetery.

Determination of old cemeteries tree stands demand further research. Nonetheless presence and species composition for one case have been stated on basis of iconographic source. Analysis of the source leads to conclusion, that tree stand was to underline separateness of a graveyard. The presence of trees placed around the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church in Lodz in 1768 accented also individuality of sacred character of the church compound. Analysis of photographic sources depicting the Old Cemetery in 1896 show presence of tree stand of the main alley and height of tree stand exceeding 10 m.

Probability of valuable tree stands development depends on density of burial plots. The density that is 5 to 8 times lower than average allows formation of valuable tree stands. At higher densities tree stands can be present in form of avenues.

The most valuable tree stand is present at the Old Cemetery. The biggest maple *Acer platanoides* reached there TC totalling 485 cm and the biggest oak *Quercus robur* had TC of 481 cm. There are two valuable avenues at the cemetery. The eastern the maple-beech- hornbeam avenue and more central oak avenue have many trees with TCs above 220 cm. Tree stands of Doły and Mania cemeteries are less imposing, although there are trees exceeding TCs of 200 cm. It is worth mentioning that in recognition of the weight of Old Cemetery all its three parts were listed to national register of historic monuments in 1980 (*Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa...* 2017). What is more, 35 years later, in 2015, the cemetery has been recognized as a Polish historical monument (*Niektóre łódzkie zabytki...* 2017).

Measured growth of the Old Cemetery tree stand confirms its value. It reached distinguishing dimensions and continues to grow.

The main the maple-beech-hornbeam avenue in the Old Cemetery should be protected as nature monument. The same applies to the oak avenue farther to the west and group of trees in south-western part of the cemetery.

The group of cemeteries along the Lodka River – both decommissioned and existing follow similar pattern of distribution. The only factor deciding on moving away the places of foundation of the cemeteries to east or west from old city centre is growth of the city.

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DRZEWOSTAN STAREGO CMENARZA W ŁODZI I MIEJSCE STAREGO CMENARZA WŚRÓD ŁÓDZKICH CMENARZY NAD RZEKĄ ŁÓDKĄ

Zarys treści: Artykuł dotyczy drzewostanu Starego Cmentarza przy ul. Ogrodowej w Łodzi. W głównej alei zmierzono obwody drzew w pierśnicy. Zmierzono również pierśnice innych drzew na tym cmentarzu, a także na dwóch innych. Dokonano oceny wartości drzewostanu Starego Cmentarza.

Słowa kluczowe: drzewostan, obwód pnia, BHT, powierzchnia cmentarza, data założenia cmentarza, Stary Cmentarz w Łodzi, walory przyrodnicze.

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CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL RELIGIOUS SITES IN RURAL CENTRAL EUROPE: CASE STUDIES IN THE CZECH-POLISH AND POLISH-SLOVAK BORDERLAND¹

Abstract: This study focuses on the local identities of children living in rural towns of Czechia, Poland and Slovakia. Cognitive maps, drawn by elementary school students in geographically proximate municipalities near international borders, provide a means of investigating the significance of local religious sites in the minds of young people. This research successfully examines everyday interactions between the subjects and their local landscape. It seeks to highlight religious elements of local identities.

The methods employed in this research present a more humanistic and qualitative approach, shedding light on the daily experiences of children in rural settings. Recognizing the inclusion and even the placement and artistic details of a religious site in a child-drawn map is a powerful way to move research “beyond the ‘officially sacred’”. The methods also allow for a blending of both passive – including a religious site in a cognitive map – and active – ranking a religious site among the top three important places – declarations of a religious element within local, territorial identity.

This study demonstrates how children use elements of the local religious landscape in constructing and re-constructing their community identity. The two Slovak municipalities showed the greatest affinity for religious elements among the expressions of local identity (children's cognitive maps). Poland's municipalities ranked in the middle and the two Czech municipalities scored lowest in terms of religious sites being considered important to the research participants.

Keywords: children's perceptions, religious sites, rural Central Europe, religious identity.

1. Introduction

Local territorial identities are an important facet of community life. Humans tend to acquire a sense of belonging and pride from familiar surroundings and familiar faces. Among other things, people often recognize visual elements of the

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local landscape as symbols of their community. Such symbols could be physical landforms – mountains or interesting rock formations – or prominent man-made structures – buildings or infrastructure.

Religious structures, in particular, can be a culturally significant element of the landscapes that contribute to local territorial identities. Religion has long been an important dimension of Central Europe's cultural traditions. And while its role and overall significance appears to be shifting due to broad societal changes (Wilford 2010), religion continues to serve as a component of local, regional and even national identities (Reeves 2015).

This study focuses on the importance that young people ascribe to religious sites in their own community. We explore two model regions and compare similar, rural towns on both sides of the borders between Czechia and Poland and between Slovakia and Poland. Relying on cognitive maps drawn by students in the fourth and eighth grade levels (10 to 14 years), we determine whether religious structures appear in the children's maps and what relative importance is attributed to such structures. Student created maps enable us to explore the degree to which international borders and religious and cultural differences among Czech, Polish and Slovak societies are reflected in the children's perceptions.

We chose to focus this study of local religious identity on young people for two reasons. The first was accessibility. Through schools it is possible to access and conduct research with groups of children that fairly accurately represent the communities in which the schools are located. The second was our desire to view local communities through the minds of their inheritors – the rising generation. Children seem to be less conditioned or inhibited by social norms (Hemming, Madge 2011). Their responses provide clearer insights into present conditions as well as the immediate future of local identities for the communities studied.

We seek to answer the following questions concerning religious sites in local communities.

- Do traditionally important religious sites have meaning for today's children?
- Do perceptions of religious sites differ noticeably among children living in different model areas and on different sides of international borders?

2. The role of post-secularism and religious identity in the perception of sacred sites

A number of recent studies focus on religious affiliation but fail to explore other dimensions of religiosity and religious identity. Post-secular society has experienced a transformation of religious identity accompanied by a general increase in the significance of religion and religious identities (Hammond 1988; King 2003). People are now more likely to declare their faith and religious organizations have become an integral part of the public square as well as its emerging virtual and

digital spaces. Furthermore, religion continues to play a significant role in the lives of many individuals, with religious services still accompanying important life transitions. Religion has acquired more influence in the daily lives of its practitioners and impacts their spatial behaviour, decision making, and their motivations (Klingorová 2016). Because religion now enjoys a greater amount of respect that it did just a few years ago in more strictly secular societies, believers find it easier to express their identity in public. This is sometimes described as a greater institutionalisation of religious life (Wilford 2010). Post-secularism also transforms the various forms in which religious identity depends on secular public institutions and alters its relationship with the democratic public sphere.

The religious landscapes of Europe, as a whole, and of Czechia, Poland and Slovakia have become significantly more diverse (Havlíček 2014) due to immigration, the decline of traditional churches and the growth of smaller, predominantly Christian communities and new religious movements. The presence of new religious communities can be seen in the emergence of new, often visually distinct, places of worship which transform urban space. Large cities tend to be more secularised and their religions more diversified than rural areas (due to a more liberal atmosphere, rationalisation, less social control, more options for leisure activities, more personal approaches to spirituality – Chromý, Jančák, Marada, Havlíček 2011; Potančoková, Berghammer 2015). Moreover, the religious landscape of Czechia, Slovakia and Poland is in many ways unique (Očovský 1995; Bilska-Wodecka 2006; Havlíček, Hupková 2008), at least in a European context. The religious dimension of this region's landscapes and societies has been significantly altered by communist regimes which sought to remove religious expression from public life. After 1989, religion has regained significance within Czech, Slovak, and Polish societies. This resurgence has been accompanied increased heterogeneity (Bilska-Wodecka 2005; Havlíček, Hupková 2008; Havlíček, Hupková, Smržová 2009; Havlíček, Klingorová 2018; Zachar Podolinska, Tižik, Majo 2019). Along with the rest of Central and Eastern Europe, these three countries experienced a revival of religious life (Henkel 2014), which has found expressions in the religious landscape (not only) through the emergence of new sacral structures (Havlíček, Hupková 2013; Havlíček, Klingorová 2018).

Despite noticeable influences from Christian culture and tradition, Czech society remains predominantly secular. Comparative international studies help to illustrate this point. Special Eurobarometer 225, compiled by the European Union in 2005, posed the question: "Which of the following statements comes closest to your beliefs?" While 80% of those questioned in Poland selected the statement "I believe there is a God," only 19% of Czech respondents and 61% of Slovak respondents professed a belief in God. A more recent study, the Global Religious Landscape (Pew Research Center 2012), published a measure of people unaffiliated with any religion for the three countries in this study. Czechia was

quite high in this measure at 76% (Hamplová (2013) describes an even higher percentage – 79.3 – claiming no affiliation to institutionalized religion). In contrast, 14% of Slovak respondents and a mere 6% of Polish participants claimed no religious affiliation. Czechia does however contain regions – primarily rural areas – where the percentage of Christians (Catholics, Protestants) remains high (Havlíček, Hupková 2008). Similarly, rural areas in Poland and Slovakia tend to show greater affinity for traditional Christianity.

These vast differences at the country level are likely indicative of significant regional differentiation in religious landscapes and the way that such landscapes are experienced and perceived. These possible differences along with curiosity regarding the aforementioned aspects of post-secularism led us to conduct research into young people's perceptions in rural border regions of Czechia, Poland and Slovakia.

3. Methods

It is difficult to ascertain how people really feel about their everyday surroundings and any attempt to measure such feelings and impressions presents additional uncertainties. In such a situation, it is best for researchers to proceed with a carefully defined method and then allow the method to shed what light it can on the research questions. Drawing on other studies using cognitive maps (Ellard 2015), we developed a method that can be effectively used to gather information on the places that people consider important in a locality they are familiar with. This method can be used to explore a wide variety of topical interests and various subsets of communities. In this case, the method focuses on children's views of religious structures in carefully selected towns.

To gather information on children's perceptions of their hometowns, we visited elementary schools and collected cognitive maps from fourth and eighth grade children. Initially, we had intended to use age as a different avenue for comparing results. However, due to limitations in the responses collected, age-based comparison is not feasible with this particular study.

We gave each student a blank sheet of white paper. Next, we – or the classroom teacher – gave students the following instructions.

1. Draw a map of your hometown that shows places that are important to you.
2. After your map is drawn, add numbers next to your important places. Place a number one by the most important, two for the second most important, *etc.*
3. Label your important places, either directly on the map or in a numbered list. Tell what the place is and why it is important to you.

Beyond the prepared instructions, a researcher or teacher must not give more information or examples, to minimize any influence – even unintentional influence – that additional examples could provide. This can be difficult, particularly with young children, but there is great value in being consistent and impartial. In

the elementary school setting, we found it very helpful to talk with the teacher beforehand to explain the instructions and the need to avoid providing examples or otherwise directing students' thoughts and preferences.

We discovered several instances where students that sat next to or near one another produced remarkably similar maps. It was apparent that one or both students took inspiration from their neighbor's map. We did not design the study in a way to effectively avoid this. We did consistently encourage students to submit their own work, reminding them that there were no wrong ways to create their own maps.

4. Selection of study sites

This study focuses on six communities in two distinct model areas as depicted in Figure 2. As the intent of the study is to explore perceptions regarding religious sites and to make cross-border comparisons of these perceptions, the defined model areas and selected communities had to match certain criteria. Within the model areas, we sought out communities that were similar in population and that were geographically proximate, but which represented opposite sides of an international border. Moreover, we intentionally picked settlements that were home to significant religious sites.

The case study in the Czech-Polish borderland includes three towns – two Czech and one Polish – in the Neisse-Nisa-Nysa Euroregion, a recognized region for cross-border cooperation among Czechia, Germany and Poland. The towns have similar populations (see Table 1 below) and each has a regionally significant religious site. We refer to this model area as Karpacz, the name of the largest of the three towns.

Ladomírová has the largest population of the case study in the Polish-Slovak borderland and thereby earns the distinction of being its namesake. This area includes two villages from eastern Slovakia and a third from across the border in Poland. Churches found in the Slovak villages are part of a UNESCO heritage site describing old wooden churches that have been carefully preserved. The nearby Polish village of Tylawa is similar in size and has its own prominent Catholic church. In comparison to the Karpacz area, Ladomírová has much smaller populations and is significantly farther to the East (Fig. 1).

The small and rural nature of the towns we conducted research in created some difficulties. We were limited in where we could conduct research by the presence or absence of elementary schools. Yet, even the presence of a school was not an assurance that it would include both fourth and eighth grade classes. Ladomírová only has grades one through five in its school while the school we visited in Tylawa only has higher elementary grades. As in other rural areas, many students commute to the selected elementary schools from the surrounding area.



Fig. 1. Location of communities included in the study

Source: authors.

Some student maps do not describe the target community, as we had envisioned it, but instead portray a different nearby settlement.

In the end, we decided to use all the maps we received from the six elementary schools, regardless of whether they depicted one of the selected communities or another village that happens to send students to the same school. From what we could ascertain, these additional villages include their own religious structures and the students had similar choices about what to include or exclude from their maps.

5. Determining a score

To compare the various communities with one another, we developed a score that accounts for all religious sites depicted on student maps and includes multipliers for any religious sites ranked in the top three “most important” places. The score includes two simple counts, one describing all maps that depict a religious structure and one describing all maps that rank a religious structure – with any number – as an *important* place. All maps that have a religious structure labelled as the number one *important* place are counted and multiplied by three. Maps ranking a religious structure at number two are counted and multiplied by two, while those ranking a religious structure with number three are counted and multiplied by one. These various counts and multipliers are added together for a given town and then divided by the total number of maps collected in that town. Expressed as a formula the score looks like this:

$$\text{SCORE} = \frac{\text{maps depicting RS} + \text{maps ranking RS} + (3 * \text{no. of 1}^{\text{st}} \text{ rankings}) + (2 * \text{no. of 2}^{\text{nd}} \text{ rankings}) + \text{no. of 3}^{\text{rd}} \text{ rankings}}{\text{Total maps in group}}$$

The score is set up in such a way as to account for maps that depict religious structures without ranking them as important as well as maps with any ranking

assigned to religious structures, regardless of whether this ranking is within the top three. Maps with religious structures ranked among the top three *important* places are counted and multiplied again to reflect the added significance that their creators have attributed to a religious site.

The same maps can be counted multiple times in the formula. For example, a map in which a religious structure is ranked with number one as an *important* place will be counted three different times – once as a map depicting a religious structure, once as a map ranking a religious structure and once as a map ranking a religious structure with number one – with the last of these being multiplied by three. Such a map would receive a score of five points that could then be averaged with others to describe a population sample.

We had a few cases, in which the same map had multiple religious structures ranked among the top three *important* places. These maps were only counted once in the depicting and ranking counts, but they did receive additional points in multipliers for first, second or third rankings. In theory, a single map could bring as many as eight points into the calculation of a group average score. The highest we observed was six points from a single map (religious structures ranked first and third).

The research described herein faces a number of imperfections. The populations and their representative samples are not equivalent; in some cases, they are not even close. The towns and villages differ from one another, as do their respective religious sites. The instructions were not always delivered in precisely the same way and students did not always work independently to complete their own cognitive maps. In spite of all this, we are pleased with the outcome and feel that the resulting student maps provide many insights into children's perceptions of their local landscapes.

6. Findings

Table 1 shows the six communities that were included in the study, two each from Czechia, Poland and Slovakia. The table depicts the division into the model areas of Karpacz and Ladamírová. It also describes the population – from the 2011 census, the number of maps we collected and analyzed (sample size), and the average score for each community.

Data on the populations of the six communities shed light on how the two model areas differ from one another. The three communities in the Karpacz group have populations in the thousands and are officially classified as towns. Krajná Poľana and Ladamírová are the primary population centers of their respective municipalities (they are not towns), while Tylawa is merely a village within the larger Dukla municipality. The three villages are quite small, particularly Tylawa and Krajná Poľana.

Table 1. Comparison of the six studied communities

Case study area	Country	Municipality/village	Population	Sample size	Score
Czech-Polish borderland	<i>Czechia</i>	Hejnice	2 696	68	1.059
		Jablonné v Podještědí	3 754	63	0.556
	<i>Poland</i>	Karpacz	5 026	30	1.6
Tylawa		381	15	1.667	
Polish-Slovak borderland	<i>Slovakia</i>	Krajná Poľana	213	22	2.955
		Ladomírová	991	10	3.0

Source: all populations are from the respective 2011 national censuses.

Sample sizes for the various communities differ substantially. As mentioned above, the school we visited in Tylawa did not have fourth grade students, while Ladomírová's elementary school has fourth grade but not eighth grade. The study would have benefitted from greater attention to the availability of students in the desired grade levels and stricter expectations concerning sample size.

All communities in the Karpacz group show lower scores than those in the Ladomírová group. The larger populations in the Karpacz area help to explain this, as there is simply a greater variety of things that could be included in student maps and labelled as important. We discuss this in greater detail below (see Table 2).

Considering the larger region of Central Europe, there is a general trend of increasing religiosity from west to east (Tomka 2005). This also aids in explaining the higher scores found in the populations in the Ladomírová group as they are located significantly farther east (see Figure 1). However, the very small difference between the scores for the two Polish communities, despite the geographical distance that separates them, seems to go against the notion of a west-east gradient.

In terms of comparing the three national societies, both scores from Slovakia are higher than the scores from Poland, which in turn are higher than those in Czechia (see Table 1). Slovak children appear more inclined to declare the importance of religious sites in their own community than those in Poland or Czechia, while the Czech children appear quite secular in comparison. These findings are in line with other recent studies of territorial identities in this area, in which Slovakia showed the highest level of religious identity followed by Poland and then by Czechia (Reeves 2015).

To further understand patterns in the ways children viewed their own community and the types of places important to them, we examined the top six important places from each map and placed these into categories. Not surprisingly, "my own home" was the most frequent category, appearing on almost every map. Other popular categories include friends' or relatives' home, recreation (parks,

playgrounds) and natural landmarks. Table 2 shows how many maps from each population show a religious site labelled as the first, second or third most important place. In contrast, it also has a count of commercial, public and cultural sites ranked in any of the top three spots. This count includes several more narrowly defined categories: public services (police stations, post offices, municipal offices), retail, cultural (movie theaters, pubs) and some recreational opportunities – i.e. not parks and playgrounds, but ski slopes, gyms and swimming pools. All of these counts are shown both as raw numbers from the various community samples as well as normalized ratios (number/sample size) that are comparable across the six communities.

The Karpacz group has higher ratios for the commercial, public and cultural sites and, apart from Karpacz's second and third rankings, much lower ratios for religious sites. This information corroborates the idea that the larger towns of the Karpacz model area provide a wider variety of places for children to select as their important places. The villages of the Lodomírová group tend to have much higher ratios in the religious site rankings.

With its row of totals at the bottom, Table 2 presents an opportunity to make comparisons against the entire collection of maps from these six communities. Ratios from any of the six communities can be easily compared with the overall ratio. It is clear from this data, for example, that Karpacz is above average in terms of maps ranking a religious site as second or third most important. The overall numbers show that maps ranking a religious site in the third most important slot (23) are slightly more common than those awarding a second rank (20), while religious sites depicted as the most important place are quite rare (11 from 208 total maps).

Table 2. Details of high-ranking religious sites and commercial, public and cultural sites by community

Municipality/village	Religious sites						Commercial, public and cultural sites	
	1 st rankings		2 nd rankings		3 rd rankings		no.	ratio
	no.	ratio	no.	ratio	no.	ratio		
Hejnice	3	0.044	2	0.029	5	0.074	55	0.809
Jablonné v Podještědí	1	0.016	3	0.048	1	0.016	32	0.508
Karpacz	1	0.033	3	0.100	6	0.200	27	0.900
Tylawa	0	0	4	0.267	0	0	5	0.333
Krajná Pořana	3	0.136	6	0.273	9	0.409	9	0.409
Lodomírová	3	0.300	2	0.200	2	0.200	5	0.500
Totals	11	0.053	20	0.096	23	0.111	133	0.639

Source: authors' calculations.

7. Qualitative findings

Cognitive maps collected in this way have great potential for qualitative research. Many inferences can be made from the way things are depicted and arranged on a map that is drawn by a research participant on a blank piece of paper.

This first map, from a fourth-grade student in Hejnice and presented as Figure 2, seems to place important things closer to the middle. “My home” [můj domov] is drawn near the center with great detail. The church [kostel] is also near the center of the map and labelled as the third most important place, behind home and school. We were impressed with the detail that many students used to depict the sacral landscapes that we were interested in seeing in their maps. The *Kostel Navštívení Panny Marie* [Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary] in Hejnice has three towers and three doors as depicted in Figure 2. The colored half circle and the faintly drawn character above the center doors depict a recessed statue of the Virgin Mary and infant Jesus. Figure 3 provides an actual photograph of this church for comparison.



Fig. 2. Fourth-grade student in Hejnice

Translation: 1. můj domov – my home, 2. škola – school, 3. kostel – church, 4. babička – grandmother, 5. les – forest. List in the lower right: 1. It is my home; 2. It is my school; 3. It is our church; 4. It is my grandmother’s home; 5. It is the forest



Fig. 3. Photograph of the Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in Hejnice

Source: Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain

The two distinct age groups involved in this study presented some interesting overall differences. It seems that fourth-grade students, in general, are not yet accustomed to the spatial organizations commonly present in published maps. They had a more difficult time arranging things spatially or depicting places and items to scale. Maps from eighth-grade students often looked much more like a traditional map, including street networks and a notion of scale (see Figure 4).

Figure 4 presents a map from an eighth-grade student in Karpacz. This map includes a street network and a number of different types of pathways. These appear to be sidewalks and stairways. Although this map's author has not marked a religious site as one of her/his important places, a church is depicted on the map – in the lower left with a cross on its triangular shaped steeple.

The next example of a map, Figure 5, is from an eighth-grade student in Krajná Poľana. This particular map, however, does not depict Krajná Poľana, but rather the nearby village of Hunkovce. The student demonstrates careful attention to detail in both the wooden church and the German cemetery, two elements of the village's sacral landscape. The actual wooden church in Hunkovce, *Chrám Ochrany Presvätej Bohorodičky* [Church of the Protection of the Mother of God], has an exterior that is divided into three distinct sections just as it is on this map. The German cemetery is the burial place for many German soldiers that lost their lives in the Battle of Dukla Pass in 1944. The tombstones all have a cross shape. The cemetery also contains a large cross monument and an abundance of rock masonry. These various elements are apparent in Figure 5.



Fig. 4. Eighth-grade student from Karpacz

Translation: I. skocznia – ski jump, II. Jamnik – name for a store, III. szkoła – school, IV. Orlik – sports field(?), V. Park. Text to the right of numbered list: Places important for me are those where I enjoy meeting with friends/acquaintances

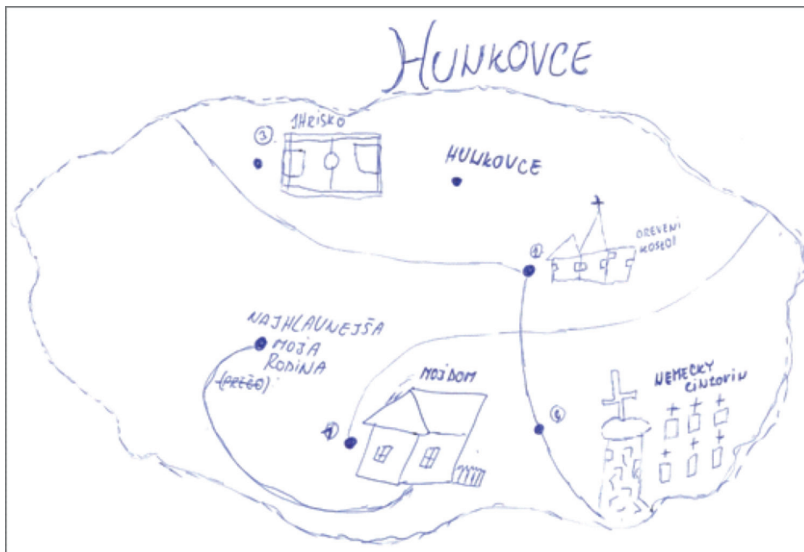


Fig. 5. Eighth-grade student in Krajná Poľana

Translation: 1. moj dom – my house, 2. Dreveni kostol – wooden church, 3. Ihrisko – playing field, 4. Nemecky cintorin – German cemetery. Additional text: Najhlavnejša moja rodina – most important is my family

Some participants in the study expended more effort to explain why places depicted on their maps were important to them. The map shown in Figure 6, for example, from a student in Tylawa, had detailed statements describing the significance of each of the numbered sites. Next to number two it reads, “The church, because I go there on Sunday with my family to pray.” The combination of a visual depiction of the church, drawn from memory, that depicts details of its architecture and a statement explaining the student’s practice of regularly going to the church to pray make a powerful statement concerning this sacred landscape in the eyes of one beholder.



Fig. 6. Eighth-grade student from Tylawa

Translation of legend: droga – roadway, kościół – church, domy – houses, las – forest, plot – fence, mostek – bridge

The final map that we include – Figure 7 – is from a fourth-grade student in Lodomírová. It shows more of the landscape-oriented scenery that typifies the fourth-grade maps. The student’s three important places are, in order of importance, the church, home and nature. This map looks quite impressive in colour, with its flowers, butterflies, mushrooms and fruit trees. The church in Lodomírová, *Chrám svätého Michala* [Church of St. Michael the Archangel], has a large and distinct bell tower that stands as a separate structure next to the actual church building. This explains the dual structure near the label *kostol* [church] and yet again demonstrates the significance of sacred landscapes to children within the respective local communities.



Fig. 7. Fourth-grade student from Ladomírová
Translation: kostol – church, dom – house, priroda – nature

8. Conclusion

We structured this research study around two questions that we can now answer. First, do traditionally important religious sites have meaning for today's children? Yes, the inclusion of traditional religious sites on many of observed maps, even without being labelled as important, demonstrates the meaning that these sites have for children in a post-secular age. This particular study focuses on rural areas where the impacts of secularism and post-secularism are less evident. Using the same methods to research children's perceptions in urban areas of Central Europe would be an excellent follow-up to this research.

The second research question: Do perceptions of religious sites differ noticeably among children living in different model areas and on different sides of international borders? The study provides evidence to say that yes, perceptions of local religious sites are different both in the two distinct model areas and in the three countries of the study. Differences were also apparent among the three countries, with the Slovak communities showing the highest affinity for their religious sites, followed by Poland and then Czechia. We should point out here the potential fallacy in comparing these results directly to one another. Every village and town is unique in myriad ways, as are the children that inhabit said villages and towns. So, while comparing the results for similar-sized towns within proximate areas is insightful, it should not be interpreted in the same way as hard scientific data.

The methods used in this study have great potential for a wide variety of additional studies. This research focused on children's perceptions of religious sites. Any number of topics beyond religion could be examined in much the same way; retail centers, recreational opportunities or natural landmarks, to name a few. Different age groups or other segments of a population could also be targeted and/or compared one with another.

After viewing several of these student-created cognitive maps, it becomes clear that they are communicating a great deal of information regarding local territorial identity. Accurate portrayals of unique details of local sacral landscapes demonstrate that children are, in many cases, utilizing religious sites as building blocks of their own community identity. In addition, numerically ordered indications of the importance of specific locations depicted on their maps provide children another avenue to express preferences and describe their own hometown. Many children singled out churches and cemeteries as important places within their hometowns.

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**POSTRZEGANIE PRZEZ DZIECI MIEJSC KULTU RELIGIJNEGO
NA TERENACH WIEJSKICH EUROPY ŚRODKOWEJ:
STUDIA PRZYPADKÓW NA POGRANICZU
CZESKO-POLSKIM I POLSKO-SŁOWACKIM**

Zarys treści: Niniejsze opracowanie koncentruje się na badaniu lokalnej tożsamości dzieci mieszkających w małych miastach na pograniczu Czech, Polski i Słowacji. Mapy poznawcze, sporządzane przez uczniów szkół podstawowych w gminach położonych w pobliżu granic państwowych, pozwalają zbadać znaczenie lokalnych miejsc kultu religijnego w umysłach młodych ludzi. Badanie to z powodzeniem analizuje codzienne interakcje między badanymi a ich lokalnym krajobrazem. Ma na celu podkreślenie religijnych elementów tożsamości lokalnej.

Metody zastosowane w badaniach prezentują bardziej humanistyczne i jakościowe podejście, rzucając światło na codzienne doświadczenia dzieci mieszkających na wsi. Mapy szczegółowej lokalizacji miejsc kultu religijnego szkicowane przez dzieci są doskonałym narzędziem na przeniesienie badań poza sferę „oficjalnie sakralną”. Metody te pozwalają również na wymieszanie na mapie elementów zarówno pasywnych (miejsca sakralne na mapie poznawczej), jak i aktywnych, zaliczających dany obiekt religijny do trzech najważniejszych preferencji elementów religijnych, w ramach lokalnej tożsamości terytorialnej.

Niniejsze badanie pokazuje, w jaki sposób dzieci wykorzystują elementy lokalnego krajobrazu religijnego do konstruowania i rekonstruowania tożsamości społecznej. Dwie słowackie gminy wykazały największą sympatię do elementów religijnych. Polskie gminy uplasowały się pośrodku, a dwie czeskie gminy uzyskały najniższe oceny pod względem miejsc kultu religijnego uznanych za ważne dla uczestników badania.

Słowa kluczowe: percepcja dzieci, miejsca kultu religijnego, obszary wiejskie Europy Środkowej, tożsamość religijna.

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NEGOTIATIONS, EXPROPRIATION AND COMPENSATION FOR ESTABLISHING CEMETERIES IN POLAND AN OVERVIEW OF THE SUBJECT MATTER

Abstract: The subject matter of this work is the functioning of a specific market of undeveloped real estate intended for cemeteries. There is a need in Poland not only to expand the existing cemeteries but also to establish new ones. However, such investments are successfully made only in a few gminas, not to mention big cities, where they seem even harder to be carried out. The aim of this article is to outline the issues of negotiations, expropriation and compensation in the process of investment implementation in Poland. In the negotiation process between a gmina (commune) and a private entity, carried out for the purchase of land intended for cemeteries, it has been proved that the gmina must assume the cost of the investment at approximately 55% of the purchase price of land intended for single-family housing on a given local market. Additionally, the author indicates the limitations associated with the location of investments in local spatial development plans as well as the limitations in terms of conducting effective negotiations for purchasing land intended for cemeteries by means of an agreement. The main problem indicated in the work is the location damage (suffered or not), which has largely contributed to blocking the contractual purchase of land and substantially complicates and delays termination of the expropriation procedure.

Keywords: expropriation, compensation, cemeteries, Poland.

1. Introduction

Cemeteries are not only places of burial of the deceased, but also places of meditation and reflection on varied cultural aspects as well as natural, architectural and scenic values (NIK 2016: 5). These places are reserved for the burial of the dead, regardless of the legal status, owner/manager or the size of the area, and include elements of greenery (GUS 2015). The indicated fundamental aim of the functioning of a cemetery is associated with the religious function of this place

in Poland. Apart from this, cemeteries in Europe begin to fulfil the need of local communities, in particular in big cities, to have access to large public spaces serving as places of reflection, contemplation, inspiration, relaxation, places where people can walk to work, to a bus stop or to other public services, and even as places of mutual social and intercultural relations (Cf. Deering 2010; Niță *et al.* 2014; Swensen *et al.* 2016; Woodthorpe 2011).

Research on cemeteries has been conducted mainly by historians (e.g. Skłodowski 2013), geographers (e.g. Klima 2011; Wiercińska 2012; Tobiasz-Lis 2016), sociologists (e.g. Herman 2010), urbanists (e.g. Bennett, Davies 2015; Coutts *et al.* 2011; Kjølner 2012) and philologists (e.g. Kolbuszewski, Karasek 1996). A few economists have also undertaken this subject matter, focusing on some of its aspects. For instance, B. Faye and F. Channac (2017) as well as P. Canofari *et al.* (2013) have analysed the prices of burial plots, I. Hussein and J. Rugg (2003), M.E. Wickersham and R. Yehl (2013), T. Longoria (2014), have studied the management of cemeteries, while D. Harrington and J. Treber (2013) have examined the market for funeral services.

In this background, a few basic conclusions may be drawn. First of all, there are hardly any analyses made by economists referring to the subject matter of cemeteries in Poland. Secondly, there occur some serious economic problems in the process of establishing new cemeteries in Poland, especially in terms of prices and market values of purchased or repossessed real estate. It is highlighted that these issues are becoming more and more important for the sustainable development of cemeteries in Poland. Comparing the relation between the area of cemeteries to the area of selected large cities in Poland (Warszawa, Poznań, Szczecin), which amounts to 0.7%, it shall be noticed that these cities resemble the average in French cities, which equals 0.69% (Faye, Channac 2017: 2840). Nonetheless, when we take a look at some cities which are smaller in terms of their area, this relation drops to 0.4%, as in Kalisz for example. It shall be noticed that not many gminas have established new cemeteries or considerably expanded the territory of the old ones in the 21st century. There is a wide information and statistical gap concerning this matter in Poland, which makes it quite difficult to provide accurate data. Cemeteries are constantly being filled up, with some already not having any more vacant places. On the one hand, what hinders future investments in this respect is the lack of proper areas which would meet legal requirements (Cf. NIK 2016). Furthermore, there are some fundamental problems in the process of purchasing land for cemeteries.

Thus, it seems justified to study the issue of the existing limitation in the process of expropriation and compensation, and consequently the shape of the market of real estate intended for cemeteries. This study is only an outline of the issues and a contribution to further in-depth research in this area. The first part of the study presents the legal and location conditions for establishing cemeteries in Poland. In

the subsequent part, the author indicates possible price space for negotiations in the purchase of land for the cemetery by a gmina from private entities. Finally, the last part deals with the issue of property compensation.

2. Location and legal conditions for establishing cemeteries in Poland

There are two types of cemeteries in Poland: civil cemeteries, which serve the purpose of burying civilians, and military cemeteries, serving as burial places for soldiers. Among civil cemeteries there is a large number of municipal cemeteries, amounting to approximately 1880, and a much smaller number of denominational cemeteries. The largest number belongs to cemeteries which used to be denominational, and in the 1970s–1990s were handed over to local governments under municipalisation decisions and became municipal cemeteries (NIK 2016: 5). Establishing and expanding municipal cemeteries belongs to the so-called own tasks of gminas, whereas church authorities decide upon the establishment or expansion of denominational cemeteries. The establishment or expansion of cemeteries is decided upon by the Gmina Council or Town/City Council (in towns/cities with powiat rights) in the case of municipal cemeteries, and by church authorities in the case of denominational cemeteries, after obtaining permission from a right sanitary inspector (Article 1 of UCiCHZ). Local governments are obliged to provide proper sanitary and technical conditions to cemeteries as well as to finance their maintenance. The receipts from charges for cemetery services constitute gminas' own income. Maintaining and administering municipal cemeteries belongs to commune heads, town mayors and city mayors. In practice, these tasks are frequently delegated to gmina-owned enterprises and local government budgetary establishments, and less frequently to contractors chosen by means of public procurement. However, delegating most tasks to external entities does not exempt the gmina organs from the obligation to control and supervise (NIK 2016: 5).

A predominant assumption following from the literal interpretation of Article 3 of UCiCHZ and judicial decisions is that the basis for locating a cemetery shall only be a local spatial development plan (Cf. e.g. District Administrative Court in Bydgoszcz, II SA/Bd 1119/12). In the case of lack of a local spatial development plan, there is an assumption that it is impossible to establish the location for a new cemetery or expand the borders of an existing one by means of a decision to establish the location for a public investment under Article 50, point 1 of UPiZP (Contradictory viewpoint in: Brzezicki, Fisz 2014). The gmina organs responsible for locating a cemetery on a given area should design areas for cemeteries in local development plans in such a way so as to guarantee the fulfilment of the requirements concerning its location, in particular the requirement which says that there shall be no residential buildings within 50 meters of the borders of

a cemetery (RSan, § 3 ust. 1). Additionally, permission to establish a cemetery may be granted only when the proceedings taken by a sanitary inspector prove that all sanitary conditions have been provided in order to meet the objective of protecting human health (e.g. District Administrative Court in Lublin, III SA/Lu 497/11).

Taking into consideration the necessity to adapt or change the local spatial development plan for the part of a gmina which would make it possible to localise or enlarge a cemetery on a given area, it shall be highlighted that it is a very lengthy and costly process. On the one hand, there occurs a problem of NIMBY objects (Not In My Back Yard), to which cemeteries definitely belong (Zuziak 1995; Dmochowska-Dudek 2011). On the other hand, real estate owners are entitled to compensation due to a change in the local spatial development plan (Article 36, point 1 and 4, UPiZP). If the access to the real estate or some of its parts in the current manner or according to the current purpose is no longer possible or greatly limited due to an adaptation of a new development plan or a change in the existing plan, the owner of the real estate may demand compensation from a gmina for the actual damage (location damage) suffered or demand buying out the real estate or some of its parts. This claim expires after the period of 10 years (Supreme Court 2016, II CSK 53/16). In the case of a decrease in the real estate value due to an adaptation of a new development plan or a change in the existing one, when the owner sells the real estate and does not exercise the above rights (location damage), they may demand compensation from a gmina equal to the decrease in the real estate value. Such claims may be made within 5 years of the day in which the development plan or its change comes into force.

In the light of the above, gminas have to take into consideration the financial effects of adapting or changing local spatial development plans. What has to be noticed at this point is that social awareness of the location damage at the date in which the damage occurred is still relatively low. This problem is further deepened by the fact that the information about adapting or changing development plans in Poland is not provided directly to real estate owners affected by the change. Moreover, owners do not monitor gminas' activities concerning the adaptation of or change in the plans. Consequently, the owners would like to add compensation for the location damage to the value of the real estate sold to a gmina by means of an agreement, through negotiations for purchasing or repossessing the real estate by the decision about expropriation or a different decision about compensation. This element constitutes one of the greatest limitations for conducting the proceedings connected with purchasing areas intended for cemeteries.

As a result of the above-mentioned aspects, it is difficult to obtain proper areas for locating cemeteries in cities. In the face of these limitations, municipal cemeteries have begun to emerge in smaller gminas, with an aim to fulfil the needs of neighbouring agglomerations which administered them. Thus, there is

a systemic departure from the provisions of the law, since the maintenance and administration of cemeteries should belong to the heads and mayors of gminas, towns and cities within which the cemeteries are located (Article 2, point 1 of UCiCHZ). According to the Supreme Audit Office (NIK 2016: 11), it is crucial to introduce a regulation which would make it possible to locate a municipal cemetery outside the borders of a gmina, the community of which the cemetery would be intended to serve, with a simultaneous introduction of a regulation specifying the manner of dividing the authority within making local law and administering the necropolis, including the authority of the organs of the gmina on the area on which the cemetery is located as well as the authority of the gmina whose purposes the cemetery will serve.

3. Prices of areas purchased for cemeteries achievable in negotiations between a private entity and a gmina – initial conclusions from the city of Kalisz

The first stage of the process of purchasing real estate for a cemetery requires holding negotiations between a gmina and the real estate owner in order to purchase the area by means of an agreement. In the case of cemeteries, we are dealing with an atypical real estate market. Nationally, the turnover of this type of undeveloped real estate intended for cemeteries is very modest (several transactions per year). During negotiations between natural or legal persons and the gmina, it is necessary to estimate the value of the property, which is a reference point. It is not the intention of this text to present the approaches and methods of property valuation. The relationship between the unit prices of land for cemeteries and the prices of land for single-family housing is shown to illustrate the costs of investment implementation by municipalities. Moreover, it is emphasized that only selected aspects of the case study of the city of Kalisz have been used.

In order to illustrate this relation, the author has examined the city of Kalisz located in the south-west part of Poland, on the South Greater Poland Lowland (Nizina Południowowielkopolska), in the Prosna River valley. There are approximately 102 thousand residents registered both permanently and temporarily in Kalisz (at the end of December 2016). The city of Kalisz is one of four cities with powiat rights in the Greater Poland (wielkopolskie) voivodeship. On 1 January 2000, the administrative borders of the city were expanded to encompass the sołectwo of Dobrzec, Sulisławice and Sulisławice Kolonia. The unemployment rate in Kalisz ranked below the average in the Greater Poland voivodeship and much below the average in Poland. The authorities of the city of Kalisz and the business environment in the city have played an active role in obtaining domestic and foreign investors. The city is a seat for companies from such sectors as aviation, food, light industry and automotive industry. The road

and sewerage infrastructure is systematically extended. The city is also characterised by its academic potential.

The temporal scope of the research encompassed the years 2015–2017. In that time, there were 5 purchase-sale transactions involving undeveloped real estate intended for cemeteries. The real estate was located on the outskirts of Kalisz. A monthly price change was assumed at the level of 0.15%. The transactional prices updated with a time trend ran within the range of 44 zł/m² to 53 zł/m², with an average price amounting to 47 zł/m², standard deviation of 4 zł/m² and a median of 46 zł/m². The diversity of the sample under analysis is slow, with a coefficient of variation being 8%.

In comparison, in the same period of time there were 225 transactions including the real estate intended for single-family residential housing in the city of Kalisz. A monthly price change was assumed at the level of 0.15%. The transactional prices updated with a time trend ran within the range of 25 zł/m² to 229 zł/m², with an average price amounting to 91 zł/m², standard deviation of 38 zł/m² and a median of 83 zł/m². The diversity of the sample under analysis is high, with a coefficient of variation amounting to 42%.

The relation between the medians of the two groups of undeveloped real estate intended for different purposes, i.e. for cemeteries and for single-family residential housing, is 46 zł/m² to 83 zł/m². Thus, the updated transactional prices of the real estate intended for cemeteries run at the level of approximately 55% of the transactional prices of the real estate intended for single-family residential housing. Such a difference, in the case of changing the intended use of the real estate from single-family residential housing areas to cemetery areas in a local spatial development plan, indicates a location damage suffered by the owner when the plan is changed. It is obvious that the estimated bases for determining the compensation due to the location damage may differ from the presented comparison of the median of updated transactional prices. Nonetheless, this comparison fully reflects the essence of the problem. The negotiations between a gmina and a real estate owner for purchasing the real estate by means of an agreement frequently encompass the issue of the location damage (actual or not), which is not included in the scope of the negotiations.

4. Compensation rules for areas repossessed for cemeteries

In the case of a failure at the stage of negotiations, a procedure of direct expropriation is launched with the aim of transferring the real estate ownership rights. The expropriation of real estate may be executed if public goals cannot be realised in a way other than by depriving or limiting someone's rights to the real estate, and these rights cannot be purchased by means of an agreement. A district governor, who executes tasks within the scope of government administration, is

the right organ with regard to the expropriation matters. In this case, the public goal is establishing and maintaining cemeteries (Article 6, point 9 of UoGN). Expropriation of the ownership rights to real estate shall be executed in return for compensation to the expropriated person equivalent to the values of lost rights. The basis for determining the compensation is the market value of the real estate specified by a real estate appraiser.

In an appraisal report on the real estate intended for cemeteries and expropriated by means of an administrative decision, a compulsory and fundamental task of an appraiser is to refer to the principle of advantage included in Article 134 of UoGN. While determining the market value of real estate, the appraiser should take into consideration primarily its type, location, manner of use, intended use, condition of the real estate and the current shape of prices in real estate trade. The value of the real estate for compensation purposes is specified according to the current manner in which it is used, if the intended use of the real estate, consistent with the purpose of expropriation, does not cause a growth in its value. If the intended use of the real estate, consistent with the purpose of expropriation, results in the growth in its value, the real estate value for compensation purposes shall be determined according to an alternative manner of its use, resulting from this intended use. There are two possible groups of solutions while determining the value of the real estate intended for cemeteries, making up two basic scenarios, i.e.:

1. No, without an advantage: Current manner of use > Alternative manner of use;
2. Yes, with an advantage: Current manner of use < Alternative manner of use.

In the case where the current manner of real estate use differs from its intended use following the purpose of expropriation, different market analyses should be made for the condition corresponding with the current manner of use of the real estate and the condition matching the intended use in accordance with the purpose of expropriation. If the results of the analyses of real estate transactional prices corresponding with the current manner of use and intended purpose of the real estate following the purpose of expropriation indicate prices at a similar level, separate valuations should be conducted and a higher value of the real estate should be taken as the basis for the valuation of compensation. However, if the results of the analyses of real estate transactional prices corresponding with the current manner of use and intended purpose of the real estate following the purpose of expropriation indicate prices at different levels, the valuation should be conducted on the basis of the analysis indicating a higher level of prices.

UoGN indicates correctly that if the intended use of the real estate – public goal as the purpose of expropriation – causes its value to grow, then the market value shall be determined according to the manner of use resulting from this intended use (Bieniek *et al.* 2012: 798). In this case, the directions specified in the Judgement of the Supreme Administrative Court of 8 April 2016, sygn. I

OSK 1686/14, seem to be of particular importance: “If the value of the real estate determined according to its intended use for the purpose of expropriation is higher than the value specified according to its current manner of use, the legislator shall grant the expropriated persons the advantage right in the form of establishing compensation on the basis of the intended use of the real estate – according to the criteria which increase the real estate value. The expropriated persons are entitled to compensation adequate to the existing possibilities of developing the real estate, since the value of the real estate is determined not only by its current manner of use, but also by the entire range of possibilities of using it within the existing law”.

Let’s look at some examples for each of the scenarios. In the first group of solutions, there is a no advantage rule. There may occur a scenario in which real estate is intended for single-family residential housing, and one of its parts becomes expropriated in order to realise an investment related with establishing a cemetery. In such a case, the market value of the real estate intended for residential housing and the market value of the real estate intended for a cemetery should be appraised, and a higher value should be chosen: most frequently $MVRH > MVCM$, thus the current manner of use $>$ the alternative manner of use. In the second group of solutions, there occurs an advantage rule. There may be a scenario in which the real estate is intended for agriculture and one of its parts is expropriated for an investment related with establishing a cemetery. In such a case the market value of the real estate intended for agriculture and the market value of the real estate intended for a cemetery should be appraised, and a higher value should be chosen: most frequently $MVA < MVCM$, thus the current manner of use $<$ the alternative manner of use.

5. Conclusions

The issue of expanding and establishing cemeteries in Poland is growing, despite a partial change in the forms of burying the deceased. Gminas are obliged to provide public services to all the inhabitants, yet the accessibility of these services might be more and more frequently limited due to the lack of burying places on municipal cemeteries on the area of a given gmina (NIK 2016: 13). On the other hand, gminas do not undertake actions in order to eliminate the accessibility barrier for burying places by expanding existing cemeteries or establishing new ones, as well as by making inter-gmina agreements which would enable the functioning of a common municipal cemetery for more than just one gmina. The author of this work has also indicated planning limitations for localising new cemeteries, especially in big cities, as well as the problem of purchasing land for cemeteries. Dividing the process of setting up or expanding cemeteries into two crucial stages: localisation and purchasing of land (negotiations or expropriation, in case of a failure in negotiations), does not seem to

be an effective solution. This may result from the existence of location damage and the fact that its regulation takes place in the proceedings which are separate from land purchase. Furthermore, there occur situations in which real estate owners formulate expectations concerning the purchase price of land including the value of the location damage which they have not suffered. The expectations concerning the sale price offer are based on potential possibilities (not realised before) of using the real estate before a change in the local spatial development plan. In the negotiation process between a gmina and a private entity, carried out for the purchase of land intended for cemeteries, it has been proved that the gmina must assume the cost of the investment at approximately 55% of the purchase price of land intended for single-family housing on a given local market.

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NEGOCJACJE, WYWŁASZCZENIE I ODSZKODOWANIE W PROCESIE ZAKŁADANIA CMENTARZY W POLSCE ZARYS PROBLEMATYKI

Zarys treści: W opracowaniu podjęto problematykę funkcjonowania nietypowego rynku nieruchomości niezabudowanych przeznaczonych pod cmentarze. W Polsce występuje potrzeba powiększania i zakładania nowych cmentarzy. Nieliczne gminy potrafią skutecznie przeprowadzić takie inwestycje. Największe trudności występują w miastach. Celem niniejszego artykułu było zarysowanie problematyki negocjacji, wywłaszczeń i odszkodowań w procesie realizacji inwestycji w Polsce. W procesie negocjacji pomiędzy gminą a podmiotem prywatnym realizowanym dla nabycia gruntów przeznaczonych pod cmentarze dowiedziono, że gmina musi zakładać koszt realizacji inwestycji na około 55% ceny zakupu gruntów, przeznaczonych pod zabudowę mieszkaniową jednorodzinną na danym rynku lokalnym. W opracowaniu wskazano na ograniczenia związane z lokalizacją inwestycji w miejscowych planach zagospodarowania przestrzennego oraz ograniczenia w zakresie efektywnego przeprowadzenia rokowań o nabycie gruntów przeznaczonych pod cmentarz w drodze umowy. Wskazano, że głównym problemem jest szkoda lokalizacyjna (zaistniała lub nie), która w znacznym stopniu przyczynia się do zablokowania trybu umownego wykupu gruntu i zasadniczo komplikuje i przeciąga w czasie zakończenie procedury wywłaszczeniowej.

Słowa kluczowe: wywłaszczenie, odszkodowanie, cmentarze, Polska.

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TIME, SPACE AND THE SOCIAL LIFE NEW INTERPRETATION OF CEMETERIES IN THE CITY

Abstract: The article reveals the issue of time recorded in the urban space, which determines the specific rhythm, continuity and passing of consecutive generations and their social relations. Presented research results focus on cemeteries and appear to be helpful in better understanding of their identity in the city structure, as well as the factors shaping their perceptions by individual people. Qualitative research methods have been applied, in particular: visual materials (photos) analysis and the semantic field analysis.

It seems that the use of images and narratives opens up new possibilities for human geography, new sources of spatial exploration. The problem undertaken in the article is important both from the cognitive and practical perspective related to the appropriate shaping of the city space – modern, yet at the same time not rooted out of the tradition and identity of a particular place, where people would feel good, being able to find both a reference to the past and to the future.

Keywords: cemetery, place, space, time, cognition, human geography.

1. Introduction

Considerations concerning time as an essential attribute of reality and human cognition have been made for ages and are still vivid and vital. Although there is no uniform – broad, yet common, conception of time in social sciences, the reflections which are drawn from the works by representatives of different disciplines constitute an important voice in the discussion started in the second half of the 20th century over various approaches to time, which human geography frequently refers to (see further: Tobiasz-Lis 2016).

The issue of time being experienced, recorded and read by urban dwellers was touched upon by K. Lynch (1972) in his book *What time is this place?* One might risk a claim that this work serves as a supplement to the author's earlier book entitled *The image of the city* (1960), which has shed new light in urban studies conducted by various researchers: architects, geographers, sociologists, psychologists, drawing their attention to the issues of experiencing, perceiving,

remembering and projecting space by its users. The author noticed himself that a number of parallel statements which he had formulated on social representations of city space may also be attributed to social representations of time in this space.

It is evident that we should think of an environmental image that is both spatial and temporal, a time-place, just as we must design settings in which the distribution of qualities in both time and space are considered. Places are seen in the mind as changing or apparently static; their character and activity vary rhythmically; they connect the past and the future (Lynch 1972: 242).

The aim of this paper is to present the notion of time in urban space, reflected in particular places – cemeteries. Time is considered here from a broad perspective, as a basic element of urban reality and human cognition, specific rhythm of its usual and unusual functioning, continuity and evanescence of certain spatial structures – from the entire systems to small details; being an effect of changing social relations and serving as a “mirror” for the following generations. At the same time, urban space always contains elements which seem to “preserve” the changing surroundings. Preserved spatial structures, monuments, old parks, individual trees, memorial tablets – serve as the signs of the past which create the identity of the place and its inhabitants.

The paper contains an introduction, theoretical considerations over different traditions in applying the notion of “time”, both in human geography and in related disciplines, which serve as a background for subsequently presented results of the empirical research on the relations between space and time in a city, methodological issues and discussion on research results.

2. Time as a subject of interest in social sciences

The basis for philosophical considerations concerning the notion of time is depicting it as a chronological series encompassing the past, presence and future, which become distinguishable thanks to people’s memory, current perceptions and expectations. The psychology of time examines individual differences in temporal behaviors, orientation in time and time horizon of individuals. What follows from the research conducted by psychologists is the fact that people are far from perceiving time in a linear manner (Bajcar 2000). Works within the scope of sociology, on the other hand, may be divided into two trends of research conducted on the category of time. On the one hand, there is the issue of time budgets, free time and work time, where we consider a quantitative measurement of time units devoted to various kinds of everyday activities of individuals or entire social groups¹. This research, associated with the then-predominant

¹ This trend of research refers to the school of time geography developed in the 1970s by T. Hägerstrand, who examined the use of time and ecologic organization of the Swedish society.

physical approach to a society, does not say anything whatsoever about the specificity of time as an element of culture, social awareness, manners of thinking and evaluating. In this case, time is uniform, dividable, passes equally, the time of classical physics and common awareness shaped by modern Western culture – time measured by the clock and calendar. On the other hand, there is an area of research in sociology which treats the category of time itself as a subject for an analysis, an autonomic issue – not only a dimension of social phenomena, but rather a phenomenon itself. Thus, time is understood here as a socially and culturally changeable phenomenon, multilaterally conditioned, which cannot be reduced to simple quantitative indicators and characteristics. Such aspects as social issues, conventions, values and meanings connected with time are encompassed in this case in the social life. Time is a socially subjective category, experienced in particular social contexts. There occurs a characteristic shift from the concept of time as a measure to the concept of time as a value, a shift from economic time to anthropologic time.

Anthropologists and ethnographers are interested in the notion of time and the expectations associated with it as an element of the culture of societies. Some studies have been conducted with reference to the past, present and future as well as the manners of experiencing and measuring time (Leach 1950, 1956, 1961; Lévi-Strauss 1969, 1970). The results of the studies corroborate the fact that the issues of duration and evanescence, succession and change, as well as cyclical and linear manners of understanding time appear in all human societies, yet they vary in terms of their significance depending on the society.

Architects and urbanists identify time with a movement symbolising the evolution and internal energy of especially urban spaces. Time, perceived here as the fourth dimension, transforms all three-dimensional and three-directional transformations into four-dimensional and four-directional at the same time, dependent on time, its passing and pace. These transformations may be observed on the basis of the territorial expansion of cities, transformation of their internal structures, disappearance of old elements and emergence of new elements. A city is a rich, movable and changeable “mosaic in terms of the scale, size, age, form and character of the elements, collage of shades and lights, movement and time – a peculiar urban *perpetuum mobile*”, which is an effect of permeating and overlapping of different historical periods and cultural strata (Pećkowska 2012: 83–84). Architects are also interested in the immobile, stable and permanent background of the social life which takes place in a city, serving as a point of one’s spatial orientation and giving people a sense of security and a symbolic shield.

A consistent reflection both on the essence of time and space in geographical research may be found in the second half of the 20th century, being – similarly to most social studies – a result of crucial philosophical and methodological changes which led to reinterpreting the basic categories of reality. The previously

predominant naturalistic approach was juxtaposed with a humanistic approach, whereas the concept of objective nature of reality, independent from people's perceptions and needs, was confronted with a constructivist approach which emphasized the fact that reality is created by societies.

From the perspective of geography, the category of time is a particularly significant yet complex issue, since it constitutes – together with space – a fundamental dimension of human reality. Unlike space, time cannot be expressed geographically; it is, however, just like space, a key element of the social life. People live in certain space-time which consists of at least a few overlapping perspectives – from the macro perspective – the time of an era, time of culture, most frequently referred to by architects, urbanists and anthropologists, through the mezzo perspective – generations, to the micro perspective – personal time and everyday functioning, which is of particular interest for sociologists and social psychologists. People shape and use space in accordance to their current models and ideas, simultaneously experiencing and reading symbols written in this space in the past. Thus, there occurs accumulation of time, and space embeds time, opening an area of interest for geographers and geography, which may constitute a synthesis of all previously characterized perspectives.

The geography of time concerns “chronogeography” (time and space), i.e. the “individual existence” in the scale of a day, year or entire life (biogeography). The categories of time geography encompass the physical existence and life pathways of both people and the products of their activity, which makes it also possible to trace the evolution of landscape, i.e. its origins, changes, evaluation of its inhabitants and other users. By superimposing these two dimensions – space and time, it is possible to grasp the dynamics of the reality. Cities, as historical phenomena which have undergone various changes, make it possible to identify successive layers of time imprinted in their urban landscape, and thus may constitute a particular subject for a broad, interdisciplinary reflection on the complex essence of time. Separating time from space, which was postulated by Immanuel Kant², is impossible here (Thrift 1977, after: Węclawowicz 1983).

There are four geographical perspectives of defined relations between time and space which have occurred in the works of geographers over the last century. The first two: “space outside of time” and “time outside of space” emphasized only one of the dimensions. The other one, if it appeared at all in analyses, constituted their background or, at best, served as an explanatory variable. The third perspective defines time and space as co-dependent, yet still differentiates between them as

² Time and space belong to the categories used by Immanuel Kant to divide the entire knowledge about the world. Following this division, geography encompasses all aspects which refer to space, whereas history encompasses all aspects referring to time. This dichotomy did not only delimit the research area of these disciplines for two centuries, but also affected their research methods.

two separate categories (Agnew 1998; Massey 1999, 2005; Crang 2001). Finally, in the fourth perspective, time and space are treated as one, uniform analytical category referred to as space-time (Wallerstein 1998; May, Thrift 2001).

Time, interpreted broadly in urban space, serves as a measure of changeability and movement, which refer to both the evolution of the landscape by continual development of a city and overlapping of cultural strata, as well as a characteristic tempo and rhythm of everyday life, both in the sense of collective and individual practices. Both dimensions of changeability and movement of urban space constitute a “mirror” of social relations of successive generations of inhabitants, i.e. a mirror which records space. The time dimension of the social life in a city, which translates into particular spatial practices, may be depicted on the basis of three platforms which permeate one another (Table 1), i.e. (1) long duration *longue durée*, associated with centuries-old shaping of the essential frameworks of social life; (2) lifespan *dasein*, in which an individual cycle of man’s life or family life is encompassed in social life; (3) duration of daily life *durée of daily life*, determined by the rhythm of everyday practices which are closely related both to the institutional surroundings and an individual life cycle. Similarly, also based on three platforms, we may illustrate the spatial dimension of social life in a city. The broadest of the three are spatial practices which lead to shaping of space by entire societies. Another one is a place, interpreted by the meanings which are ascribed to city space by its users. Finally, there are individual spatial practices referring to the interactions between people and their personal space. All the platforms of time and space overlap with one another, creating a multi-dimensional image of the city’s space-time, in which man functioned in the past, functions in the presence and will function in the future. It shall be added that T. Hägerstrand’s suggestion of time geography fills only the last field of the matrix of relations between space, time and man.

Table 1. Time, space and social life

Space	Time	Long duration <i>Longue durée</i>	Lifespan <i>Dasein</i>	Duration of daily life <i>Durée of daily life</i>
Collective spatial practices		Social and spatial development (historical time)	Life strategies in spatial context	Geographical conditions for everyday spatial practices
Place		Local history, culture, traditions	Identity, geobiography	Valuating space
Individual spatial practices		Historical and cultural conditions for spatial practices	Life strategies versus spatial practices	Everyday spacetime rhythm (time geography)

Source: self-prepared by the author on the basis of K. Simonsen (1991).

3. Methodology

The issue of time in urban space discussed in this paper belongs to the field of human geography, the subject of which are people and their experiences. An access to this world may be reached through the signs of expressions in which it expresses itself. The methodology of human geography assumes the possibility of an indirect insight into human consciousness through observing its expressions such as: utterances, gestures, works of art. It is made possible owing to a wide range of methods – from phenomenology through hermeneutics, semiology, linguistics to structuralism – thanks to which we are able to look at a city from a different perspective – to get to the source of human knowledge concerning urban space-time.

The key empirical material in this paper is composed of 197 photo essays³ prepared in the years 2011–2016 by the 2nd-year MA-program students of geography at the University of Lodz, within the framework of the project “My image of Lodz”, as part of the course on “The image of urban space”. The students constituted a deliberately selected group of young people who are generally assumed to be the most attentive and critical observers of the reality (Mordwa 2003). Furthermore, a five-year training in geography made it possible to regard them as experts, particularly sensitive to the surrounding space. The students were asked to use their own cameras to present various places within the following categories being interrelated to perceptions of various dimensions of time (rhythm, tempo, changeability, cyclicity, repetitiveness: “a place where time passes fast”, “a place where time slows down”, “a place where time has stopped”, “a place where one can see development”, “a place where one can see crisis” and also duration and evanescence for the category of “a place which tells the story of the city”). Various features of time appeared also in other categories of places (e.g. “a place which brings about positive emotions”). The photographs expressed and distilled individual social reflections upon urban space, and constituted visual data for further quantitative and qualitative interpretation, as each picture had to be equipped with a caption of about 50–60 words – a justification for the choice of a given place or object.

The first perspective applied a method of a structural analysis of a photograph, which makes the image – separated from its author – the main subject of interpretation. Its character is mainly substantive, factual, aiming at discovering numerous levels in which social and cultural meanings are hidden together with

³ In English literature, this method is referred to as a “photo-projective method”, “photo-production” or “self-directed photography”. One may also find in this method a few elements similar to the most characteristic method applied in geographic research on experiencing time, that is time-space diaries (see more in: Schwanen 2009).

the code to understand these meanings (Sztompka 2005). Attention was paid to the places depicted in the photographs, the time when the photographs were taken (season, part of day) and time attributes associated with the place being photographed (old-new, fast-slow, dynamic-stable).

What should be highlighted here is the fact that the role of photography as a research method in social sciences is becoming more and more significant. The relationship between the geographical knowledge and analysis of visual representations of space has been the subject matter of a few studies, including M. Crang (1997) and G. Rose (2000, 2008), who emphasized the role of geographers in explaining the manners of presenting landscapes and places. The freedom and possibility of an individual interpretation of space while taking photographs, which is difficult to attain while conducting standard social research, are among the most frequently stressed advantages of applying visual methods in contemporary studies. Furthermore, despite the subjectivity of experiences and assessments of individual persons, as well as the freedom of the photography method, most images may be read as an illustration of typical impressions, common to all participants of the research.

The photographs which were included in the photo essays fulfil all five functions of photography in social studies referred to by P. Sztompka (2005) (1) stimulating attention and imagination during observation, which translates into a deliberate selection of photographed subjects, objects, events, contexts, recording experiences and impressions; (2) heuristic inspiration – photographs which are more suggestive than written words serve as a particular invitation to deduce, speculate and interpret the world from a wider perspective; (3) registration and recording of visual facts in a certain temporal and spatial context; (4) a pretext for a group discussion or a photo interview, which facilitates interest and mobility of the participants of social studies; (5) an illustration of concepts, categories and regularities of the social reality, which helps in its visual presentation.

Descriptions explaining the choice of particular categories of places which accompanied all photographs were analyzed with the use of a semantic field technique devised by R. Robin (1980). This technique consists in searching for words and phrases which appear in an analyzed text (in our case these are the descriptions which interpret particular photographs in the photo essays), forming a network of relations with the analyzed concepts (key words and phrases), and which make it possible to read their full meaning and the context in which they appear. This technique derives from linguistic studies which began in the 1930s. It may also be associated with a qualitative text analysis or discourse analysis. Analyzing the semantic field consists in separating the elements of a statement only to put them back together in accordance with their meaningful readability. The process is based on building an inventory consisting of:

- Definitions – indicating the features of the subject; (what it is like – the essence or demeanour of the subject);
- Associations – indicating what the subject is associated with, what it entails;
- Oppositions – indicating the opposites of the subject;
- Equivalentents – expressions which may substitute the subject in particular contexts – what the subject is identified with;
- Actions towards the subject – indications of the activities performed for the subject;
- Actions of the subject – indications of the subject’s activities and their effects (Fig. 1).

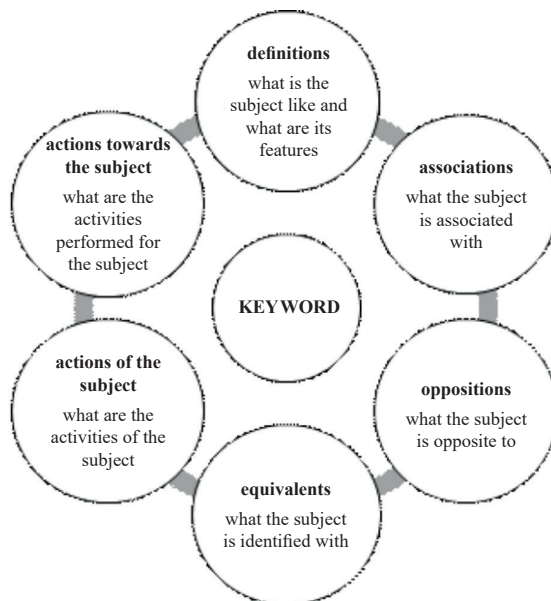


Fig. 1. The structure of the semantic field analysis

Source: author’s self-analysis on the basis of R. Robin (1980).

In this manner, an analysis was conducted of definitions regarding different contexts of time in the urban space enabling to redefine them from the perspective of social experiences and expectations concerning the city space-time.

4. The cemetery – the place where time slows down and finally stops

In the context of time defined as the “accompaniment for movement and change”, where time is assumed not to be measurable, but intuitively felt, students indicated such places in a city of Lodz where time flies fast and where in their opinion, time slows down. This was the way to go to present the contrasting, uneven and unstable space of the modern city – related to the subjective sense of unequal

expiry of time, depending on where we are and what we do. Cemeteries were the main category of places to be presented as these where the time “slows down” and where the time “has stopped”. Especially understanding of the latter category seemed to contain a deeper, existential dimension.

Composition of the semantic field, based on statements about “places where time slows down” accompanying photographs in photo essays, shows that these were most often identified with quietness and silence, lack of haste, the ability to break away from the everyday rush of the city, to forget about everyday duties (Table 2).

Such places, according to the authors of photo essays, are primarily green spaces – composing “oasis in the urban jungle”, where contact with nature allows for rest. Many associations involved churches and cemeteries, which, despite their location – often in the very heart of the city, are a refuge of silence. Their sacred space breaks the urban profane space, stops its momentum, calms the noise, calms down. At the threshold of the church or at the gate of the cemetery not only the continuity of space, as was written by M. Eliade (2008), but also the continuity of time is interrupted.

“The Old Cemetery in Ogrodowa Street is a place where time passes slowly [...] It’s a place that I associate with silence, calmness [...] with slowly passing time [...] where there is not crowded, there are not many people [...]” (essay 57/2013, woman, a resident of Lodz since 2008).

“The Old Cemetery is a place where time passes slowly. It is the most beautiful cemetery in Lodz, where most important people for the city rest in peace. The cemetery is a place where every person pauses for a moment to wonder about the meaning of his life” (essay 43/2014, female, a resident of Lodz since birth).

Table 2. Semantic field for the category of the “place where the time slows down”

Elements of the semantic field	Fragments of photo essays
Definitions	Calm, silent, peaceful, oasis, of slow changes
Associations	Contact with nature, greenery, far from the traffic and noise of surrounding streets, minimum movement, lazy atmosphere of slow walks, queue, place of silence and reverie
Oppositions	Fast movement, noise
Equivalents	Place to rest, far from the rush of the city center, the collapse of the timespace continuum
Actions of the subject	Allows to break away from the everyday rush, take rest from the city, take a deep breath, forget about duties, invites us to reflect on lifespan
Actions towards the subject	“I recommend”, “I am always willing to be back”

Source: author’s self-analysis based on photo essays.

Interpretations of the “places where the time has stopped” broaden the discussion about the time subjectively perceived in the city space, in the context of the everyday experience of varying pace of movement and change. In this way, apart from the places in which the city seems to accelerate and slow down, information has been obtained about such parts of Lodz, where there is no movement, where there have been no changes over the years.

An analysis of the semantic field for the statements centered around “places where time has stopped”, presents them as an oasis of peace, places “detached” from the rest of the city, unchanging for years, making them look like old photographs, being a kind of journey into the past (Table 3). In this case the statements of the authors of the various essays were very emotional and consisted a deeper, existential dimension. They referred to the categories of duration, transience and memory. Attention was paid to the specific atmosphere of places that seem to be “guarding history”, forcing them to reflect on the passing of time and the passing life.

Table 3. Semantic field for the category of the “place where the time has stopped”

Elements of the semantic field	Fragments of photo essays
Definitions	Oasis of peace, outer world, „raisin” in the city rush, place where the city has stopped, place detached from the surrounding, unchangeable place, place of memories and reverie
Associations	Unique atmosphere, looks like from old photographs, old, small, wooden, historic
Oppositions	Modernity, development, change
Equivalents	The end, journey to the past
Actions of the subject	Symbolises peace and tranquility, transfers in time, looks like in times of its glory, calms down, upholds history, creates the atmosphere of the past
Actions towards the subject	Restoration works, must be preserved, target for tourists

Source: author’s self-analysis based on photo essays.

These fragments of the city space of Lodz, interpreted as places where the time has stopped included primarily old cemeteries: Old Cemetery in Ogrodowa Street and Jewish Cemetery. Also, the oldest church in Lodz, St. Joseph’s (Photo 1). In this case, as in the category of “places where the time slows down”, they were referred to their metaphysical character. Especially in the case of cemeteries, time has stopped both in the literal sense, in the perspective of the

inevitable end of human existence, but also in the broader sense of the passing of the city, in this case the multicultural community of Lodz composing the city in the 19th century.

“Old cemetery is a place where for many people the time has stopped. It tells the story of both ordinary and very important people who created this city in the past. A place that has not changed for years. Makes the impression of being asleep and encouraging reflection” (essay 53/2015, female, a resident of Lodz since 2010).

“Catholic church. St. Joseph. A small, isolated wooden temple. Its view brings to mind the times of agricultural Lodz. Who else still remembers this? The spirit of this church is guarding history, create the atmosphere of the past. As you listen carefully, you can hear the sound of carriages and cots. Anyone who wants to move in time for a while should come here” (essay 32/2011, woman, a resident of Lodz since birth).



Photo 1. Places where the time “slows down” or “has stopped”. Old Cemetery, Jewish Cemetery, St Joseph’s Church in Lodz
Source: photo essays.

Regardless of whether the individual essay referred to church, cemetery or other sacred space, as to the “place where the time slows down” or “has stopped”, attention was paid to their deep spiritual dimension, the mystery, the manifestation of God, which Man experiences crossing the boundary of *sacrum* and *profane*. The statements in the essays refer to the results of earlier research on the sacred space of the city (eg. Klima 2011) and confirm that these places are extremely important in the daily lives of the locals.

5. Conclusions

Time in the urban space constitutes a fundamental attribute of the city and human cognition. It determines the rhythm of the city life, duration and evanescence of successive generations, as well as their social relations reflected in space. Including the perspective of time in analyzing urban space makes it possible to better understand the city structure, as well as the factors which shape people’s perception concerning a given place.

Works of geographers indicate the complex nature of time and the manners of its understanding in relation to space, which differ not only among particular societies, but also inside these societies. Of particular importance, here is a shift from objective approaches to those which focus on relative forms of experienced time, as well as from treating time and space separately to the concept of space-time, in which these two categories of reality constitute an inseparable element.

It has been shown in this paper that the dimension of time constitutes a crucial subject for consideration in social sciences, yet a common, broad conception of time has not been attained. Time in city space should be – from a broad perspective – a measure of changeability and movement, which concern both the evolution of the urban landscape through constant development of the city and overlapping of cultural strata, as well as a characteristic tempo and rhythm of the city’s everyday life in the sense of collective and individual practices. Both the dimensions of changeability and movement constitute a certain “mirror” to social relations of successive generations of inhabitants recorded by space.

Cemeteries as they are the symbols of the past, recorded in the space of Lodz, constitute a vital element in creating local identity and positive relations between people and their surroundings, as according to statements in their photo essays, they wish to have modern city space, yet they also need to be anchored in the past. This anchor may be just a minor detail in modern space, but its power of influence on the evaluation of space by the inhabitants is large. In this respect, Lodz offers a number of possibilities – the well-preserved heritage of its history enriches its contemporary space, making it stand out among other large cities in Poland.

According to the photo essays collected between 2011–2016, cemeteries were presented as the main example of the “places where the time slows down” and

the “places where the time has stopped”. Especially understanding of the latter category seemed to contain a deeper, existential dimension. The authors referred to the categories of duration, evanescence and memory. They also highlighted the specific climate of depicted places, which seemed to “uphold history”, make us dwell on the passing of time and life.

It seems that the topic touched upon in this work is crucial both from the cognitive and practical perspectives. Further studies in this area might embrace in their scope more cities characterized by a different track of development, thanks to which it would be possible to make broader assumptions concerning the features of time in urban space and the manners of experiencing these two primary dimensions of the reality.

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CZAS, PRZESTRZEŃ I ŻYCIE SPOŁECZNE NOWA INTERPRETACJA CMENTARZY W MIEŚCIE

Zarys treści: W artykule poruszono problematykę czasu zapisanego w przestrzeni miejskiej, wyznaczającego specyficzny rytm, ciągłość i przemijanie kolejnych pokoleń oraz ich relacje społeczne. Zaprezentowano wyniki badań dotyczących postrzegania czasu w przestrzeni cmentarzy, które pozwalają lepiej zrozumieć nie tylko tożsamość tych miejsc w strukturze miasta, ale także czynniki kształtujące wyobrażenia jakie mają o nich mieszkańcy. Prowadzone badania miały głównie charakter jakościowy, wykorzystano metody analizy materiałów wizualnych (zdjęć) oraz pola semantycznego.

Wydaje się, iż wykorzystanie obrazu i słowa otwiera przed geografią człowieka nowe możliwości, nowe źródła eksploracji przestrzeni. Problem podjęty w tekście jest ważny zarówno z poznawczej, jak i praktycznej perspektywy związanej z odpowiednim kształtowaniem przestrzeni miasta – nowoczesnego, a jednocześnie niewykorzystanego z tradycji i tożsamości danego miejsca, w którym ludzie czuliby się dobrze, mogąc odnaleźć zarówno punkt odniesienia do przeszłości, jak i do przyszłości.

Słowa kluczowe: cmentarz, miejsce, przestrzeń, czas, poznanie, geografia człowieka.

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CMENTARZ W STRUKTURZE PRZESTRZENNEJ MIASTA

Zarys treści: Umieranie nie mieści się we współczesnej globalnej kulturze pop gloryfikującej młodość i witalność. Jeśli dodać do tego katolickie *sacrum-tabu* śmierci okaże się, że dzisiaj nie ma miejsca na cmentarze. Celem artykułu jest pokazanie, że nie da się ich jednak wyprzeć, że są częścią każdej cywilizacji i mają lokalizację w przestrzeni i krajobrazie. Ważnym spostrzeżeniem jest to, że znaczenie i miejsce cmentarzy zmieniało się tak, jak zmieniała się kultura. Posłużono się przykładem Łodzi.

Słowa kluczowe: cmentarze, lokalizacja cmentarzy, Łódź, łódzkie cmentarze.

1. Wprowadzenie

Cmentarze to immanentna część prawie każdej cywilizacji, prawie każdej społeczności. Chowanie zmarłych jest elementem bycia człowiekiem, choć z pewnością istnieją tu różnice kulturowe, a obyczajowość zmieniała się w czasie. Pochówek nie zawsze oznaczał, czy oznacza grzebanie. Zawsze jednak ludzie tworzą specjalną przestrzeń pamięci i kontaktu ze zmarłymi. J. Kolbuszewski (1996) nazywa cmentarze „tekstami kultury”, w których odbija się ludzki stosunek do śmierci i życia. Pisze:

Cmentarz jest przestrzennie określonym zbiorem grobów – znaków o jednostkowych, indywidualnych i niepowtarzalnych znaczeniach, których suma – nie będąca wynikiem arytmetycznego dodawania – tworzy znaczenie całości (Kolbuszewski 1996).

Cmentarze bardziej niż kościoły mają wymiar społeczny i kulturowy. Są w równym stopniu dostępne dla wszystkich, również dla tych, którzy nie identyfikują się ze wspólnotą wyznaniową¹.

¹ Szczególnie w miastach, coraz częstsze są pochówki osób niewierzących na wyznaniowych cmentarzach. Wynika to także z norm prawa świeckiego (por. *Ustawa o cmentarzach i chowaniu zmarłych z dnia 31 stycznia 1959 roku*, Dz.U., 1959, nr 11, poz. 62 z późn. zm.).

Gdy spojrzeć na zachowanie katolików okazuje się, że inaczej niż w przypadku wspólnot działających przy parafiach, będących egzemplifikacją społecznego oddziaływania Kościoła (oczywiście nie jedyną), nie ma tu (na cmentarzu) mowy o jakiegokolwiek hermetyczności. Wykluczenia są niezwykle rzadkie, a odmowa pochówku na ogół bywa źle przyjmowana przez lokalną grupę wiernych. Cmentarze miejskie, podobnie jak duże wspólnoty parafialne sprawiają, że odwiedzający je ludzie i znajdujące się tam groby pozostają anonimowi. Tylko niektóre nekropolie i mogiły są identyfikowane i stają się częścią nazwanej tożsamości – miasta, regionu, kraju. Tak jest z pewnością z cmentarzami powązkowskim, łyczakowskim i rakowickim. Tożsamość łodzian próbuje się budować odwołując do Cmentarza Starego, położonego przy ul. Ogrodowej. W wymiarze indywidualnym cmentarz i groby stają się miejscem duchowego spotkania z nieżyjącymi przodkami. To zaś buduje tożsamość każdego człowieka, daje szansę na określenie, skąd się jest oraz do jakiej grupy i do jakiej przestrzeni się należy – daje szansę na własną historię.

Celem artykułu jest zaprezentowanie ewolucji lokalizacji cmentarzy w mieście i pokazanie ich dzisiejszej lokalizacji na przykładzie Łodzi. Praca ma charakter kompilacyjny.

2. Cmentarze. Geneza i lokalizacja

Dzisiejszy wygląd i lokalizacja miejskich cmentarzy to efekt wieloletniej, jeżeli nie dłuższej, ewolucji stosunku ludzi do śmierci i zmarłych. Pojęciem pierwotnym jest tu z pewnością grób. Pojawia się on w kulturach, których członkowie zaczynają zadawać sobie pytanie o to, co dzieje się z człowiekiem po śmierci. Dzięki odkryciom archeologicznym wiemy, że w grobach grzebali swoich zmarłych już neandertalczyk². W neolicie na obszarze dzisiejszej Europy zachodniej (głównie we Francji) pojawiły się monumentalne menhiry³, na Bałkanach groby ciałopalne. Najprawdopodobniej w X wieku p.n.e. powstały pierwsze cmentarze lokowane poza osiedlami, zwyczaj upowszechnił się 500 lat później wraz z rozwojem miast. Wcześniej grzebano zmarłych w obrębie osad, a nawet w domach (Górniak 2003).

Od starożytności cmentarze były uważane za obszar *sacrum*, w związku z tym znajdowały się pod specjalną ochroną prawną. Miejsca pochówków były lokowane poza granicami miast, do czego obowiązywała litera prawa. *Prawo Dwunastu Tablic* oraz kodeks Teodozjusza nakazywały grzebać zmarłych poza granicami osad. Początkowo cmentarze podlegały jurysdykcji cesarzy. Później, za sprawą reformy wprowadzonej przez papieża Dionizego w III wieku n.e., zaczęły

² Odkrycia w jaskini Szanidar.

³ Menhiry to pojedyncze obeliski. Używa się także określenia megality, rozszerzając je również na bardziej złożone konstrukcje.

podlegać ustawodawstwu wyznaniowemu. W 313 roku Konstantyn Wielki ogłosił wolność wyznania w Cesarstwie⁴. Na kanwie tej decyzji rozpoczęła się budowa i adaptacja budynków na cele kościelne, w ślad za czym pojawił się zwyczaj przenoszenia relikwii męczenników do kościołów oraz grzebania wiernych w świątynnych murach. Na tamten okres datuje się również praktykę chowania zmarłych w sąsiedztwie ciał męczenników, ponieważ istniało przekonanie, że zachowa to zmarłych w pamięci potomnych (Dziobek-Romański 1998). Poza murami miast powstawały podmiejskie sanktuaria, które z upływem czasu zaczęły przekształcać się w bazyliki i skupiać ruch pielgrzymkowy. Świątynie przyciągające pielgrzymów stawały się pożądanym miejscem dla spoczynku zmarłych i tworzyły centrum nowego cmentarza. Wraz z rozwojem jednostek osadniczych włączano je w ich granice. Zdarzało się tak mimo wciąż obowiązującego zakazu grzebania w granicach miast. Ograniczenie zostało zniesione dopiero przez cesarza Leona VI w Cesarstwie Wschodnim, w Zachodnim odwołał je Synod w 563 roku w Bradze. Zezwolono wówczas na pochówki tuż obok murów kościelnych, jednakże tylko od zewnętrznej strony (Ariès 1989).

Cmentarze żydowskie natomiast, we wczesnym średniowieczu, były najczęściej tworzone poza miastem. W okresie kiedy chrześcijaństwo docierało na ziemie Słowian, na cmentarzach rozpoczęto wnoszenie świątyn po to, aby zamaskować ich pogański charakter. Na ziemiach polskich pierwotne cmentarze⁵ zostały przekształcone w chrześcijańskie nekropolie, stopniowo przenoszone do osad, głównie miejskich (Tanaś 2008; Długozima 2011).

W 1059 roku odbył się Sobór Rzymski, który zezwolił na lokowanie grobów przy kościołach. Zadekretoowano wydzielanie terenu o szerokości 60 kroków (jeśli pochówek miał być urządany w pobliżu świątyni) lub 30 kroków w przypadku, kiedy miejsce spoczynku zmarłego miało być urządzone wokół kaplicy. Synod w Tuluzie w 1093 roku nakazał tworzenie dwóch rodzajów cmentarzysk. Jedne były przeznaczone dla duchowieństwa i szlachetnie urodzonych, natomiast drugie dla pozostałych wiernych. Istotne jest to, że średniowieczne cmentarze nie były jedynie miejscem pochówku zmarłych, pełniły one również rolę miejsca publicznego. Pozareligijne aktywności na cmentarzach były krytykowane przez Kościół, co jest widoczne w notacjach Synodów lokalnego kościoła, np. w Polsce. Akty prawa kościelnego ukazujące się od XIII do XVIII wieku miały za zadanie chronić miejsca wiecznego spoczynku przed profanacją. Biskupi za ich sprawą zobowiązywali proboszczów do pielęgnowania odpowiedniego

⁴ Edykt Mediolański.

⁵ Pomimo tego, że wyraz „cmentarz” w polszczyźnie występuje już od początków chrześcijaństwa, został on zapisany dopiero na początku XV wieku jako *smentarz*, gdyż kojarzony był ze smutkiem, smuceniem się, smętkiem. W rzeczywistości wyraz „cmentarz” wywodzi się z łacińskiego słowa *coemeterium*. W grece mamy natomiast *koimeterion* – miejsce grzebania zmarłych, miejsce spoczynku.

porządku w miejscach spoczynku (Tabela 1). Pokazują one nie tylko to, jak cmentarz powinien wyglądać, by stać się miejscem *sacrum*, ale przede wszystkim, jak był wtedy traktowany przez wiernych.

Tabela 1. Zapisy porządkowe synodów od XIII do XVIII wieku dotyczące cmentarzy

Rok	Synod	Ustalenia
1233 1248	Prowincjonalny	Cmentarze ogrodzone, urządzone i poświęcone przez biskupów mają prawa <i>imminitatis eccl.</i> (schronienia), stąd gwałciciele ich podlegają klątwie i jako wyklęci ogłaszani być powinni
1512	Gnieźnieński	Ogrodzenie cmentarza murem, drewnianym parkanem lub okopane rowem, sadzenie drzew chroniących kościoł przed pożarami
1568	Włocławski	Obowiązkiem plebanów utrzymanie porządku na cmentarzach, zakaz paszenia bydła i wpuszczania nań trzody
1583	Chełmiński	W bramie cmentarza umieszczenie kraty żelaznej lub drewnianej broniącej wejścia zwierzętom; tylko patronom przysługuje grób murowany w kościele, inni powinni uzyskać zgodę biskupa, sadzenie drzew chroniących kościoł przed pożarami
1610	Warmiński	Zakaz rozwieszania pościeli, wystawiania i mycia naczyń kuchennych, browarnych, przesiewania lub suszenia zboża oraz innych prac pod utratą rzeczy na cmentarzach wyłożonych; kostnice powinny mieć gęste kraty, aby zwierzęta nie wchodziły, posiadać napis, wewnątrz krzyż zawieszony lub namalowany; groby w kościele powinny być min. 2 łokcie od ołtarza oddalone
1636	Żmudzki	Sprzeciw wobec pochówków w polu, postulat grzebania zmarłych na łonie Kościoła
1641	Łucki	Sprzeciw wobec pochówków w polu, postulat grzebania zmarłych na łonie Kościoła
1641	Włocławski	Odprawianie pogrzebów przed i po zachodzie słońca zabronione, zalecenie, aby zmarli nawet najubożsi byli z przyzwoitością chowani przez kapłanów
1641	Przemyski	Obowiązek grzebania biednych zmarłych kosztem plebana lub kościelnej skarby
1643	Płocki	Nakaz nauczania ludu, aby przechodząc przez cmentarz „modlił się za umarłych tam spoczywających”
1711	Krakowski	Grób murowany w kościele przysługiwał patronom (kollatorom)
1738	Poznański	Porządek i staranie o całość ogrodzenia należy do obowiązków plebana

Rok	Synod	Ustalenia
1744	Wileński	Za pochowanie w polu lub w lesie winny ma zakaz wstępu do kościoła przez trzy miesiące
1745	Chełmski	Kara za odmówienie lub zwłóczenie pogrzebu dla nieopłaconych pieniędzy
1762	Kijowski	Nałożenie na biskupów obowiązku poświęcenia cmentarza przy kościele lub innego miejsca przeznaczonego na grzebanie zmarłych i odłączenie go od świeckiego użytku, zakaz rozwieszania sukien świeckich i bielizny na terenie cmentarza; teren cmentarza nie powinien służyć za drogę publiczną, nie powinien być wykorzystywany do sprzedaży, targów lub jarmarków; fundusz na reparację i ogrodzenie cmentarza dają parafianie, oczyszczenie i zachowanie porządku należy do obowiązków plebana; aby cmentarz mógł korzystać z prawa azylu musi nań znajdować się krzyż wielki oraz naczynie z wodą święconą, jeśli groby w kościele są położone bliżej niż 2 łokcie od ołtarza to w ciągu 6 miesięcy usunięte; nakaz chowania zmarłych dzieci w oddzielnym grobie

Źródło: A. Długozima (2011).

Odpowiedzialna za cmentarze była *Ecclesia* – ściślej np. probostwo. Co więcej, cmentarze podlegały prawu patronatu. W miastach ten przywilej miała przede wszystkim rada miejska. Natomiast na wsiach nad nekropoliami czuwała szlachta. W XIII wieku pojawił się zwyczaj, który mówił, że tylko biskup może poświęcić cmentarz.

Pogląd mówiący o tym, że miejsce chowania zmarłych powinno znajdować się poza granicami miasta, w znacznej odległości od świątyni, pojawił się w Odrodzeniu. Teren na jakim mieli być grzebani zmarli ściśle określało prawo kanoniczne. Wymogiem było ogrodzenie i krzyż, których obecność miała uświęcać przestrzeń i pozwolić na włączenie cmentarza do obiektów *sacrum*. Kolejnym elementem był nakaz segregacji pochówków: groby zmarłych dzieci miały znajdować się w zupełnie innym miejscu niż dorosłych osób świeckich. Wydany przez Papieża Pawła V w XVII wieku tzw. Rytuał Rzymski⁶, pozwolił na uporządkowanie przestrzeni sakralnej. Dotyczył on przede wszystkim sposobu chowania ciała w grobie. Szczegółowo mówi o tym akt z 1614 roku, którego zapisy wyraźnie wskazują, że zwłoki powinny być składane w takim kierunku, w jakim wierzący znajdowali się w kościele, wschodnio-zachodni, z głową na wschód, zaś duchowni z głową na zachód (Dziobek-Romański 1998).

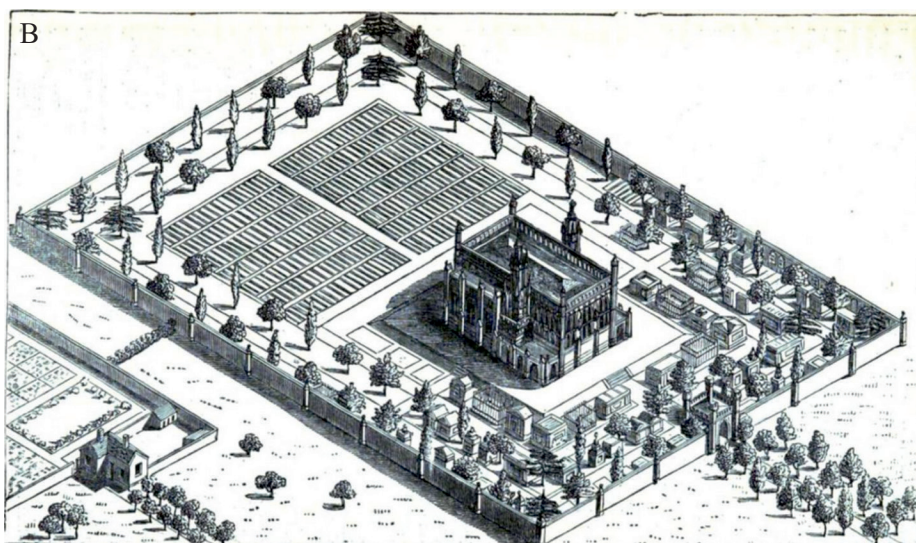
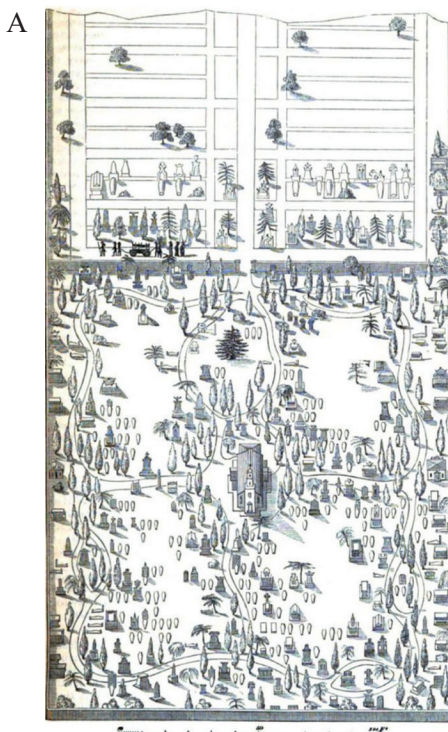
⁶ *Rituale Romanum*, księga obrzędowa Kościoła katolickiego.

W XVIII wieku cmentarze stały się przedmiotem zainteresowania władz świeckich. W 1763 roku w Paryżu z inicjatywy Zgromadzenia Narodowego odbyła się kontrola cmentarzy i kościołów pod względem sanitarnym. Przepytano wówczas komisarzy i rady kościelne i ostatecznie 12 marca 1765 roku przyjęto uchwałę o przeniesieniu cmentarzy poza granice miasta. Decyzja podyktowana była złą oceną warunków sanitarnych miejsc grzebalnych. Francuski parlament wydał ustalenie, które jasno mówiło, że wszystkie miejsca pochówku zmarłych i przykościelne dziecinie znajdujące się w miastach mają zostać zamknięte. Teren po ich likwidacji przez co najmniej 5 lat nie mógł być użytkowany. W dokumencie pojawił się również zapis, który mówił, że powierzchnia cmentarzy ma być proporcjonalna do liczby parafian, dla których miejsce to ma być przeznaczone. Każdy obszar pochówku zmarłych miał być ogrodzony kamiennym murem o wysokości 9 stóp, centralne miejsce miała zajmować kaplica, a cmentarze miały być wyposażone w specjalne zaplecze, m.in.: dom przedpogrzebowy, zaś napisy na nagrobkach mogły znajdować się tylko na cmentarnym murze. Cmentarz miał być tylko miejscem pochówku – brak pomników i zieleni. Wynikało to z przeświadczenia, że drzewa będą zaburzać cyrkulację powietrza (Ariès 1989). Co ciekawe, regulacje francuskie opublikowano także w Polsce i innych krajach europejskich, a nawet w Stanach Zjednoczonych⁷ (Kolbuszewski 1996).

Wiek XIX okazał się być przełomowy, jeśli chodzi o administrowanie cmentarzami. Upowszechniły się wtedy trzy wzorce: zarządzanie przez władze religijne, zarządzanie przez państwo lub miasto oraz zarząd prywatny.

Nadal trwały także dyskusje na temat lokalizacji cmentarzy. Za osiągnięcie uznać można *On the laying out, planning and managing of cemeteries and on the improvement of churchyards* Johna Claudiusa Loudona z 1843 roku. Dzieło to, jak się później okazało, miało ogromny wpływ na kompozycję angielskich cmentarzy, ze względu na szereg wytycznych lokalizacyjnych i projektowych. Te pierwsze określały, że teren ma być o ekspozycji północnej, o statusie umożliwiającym lokalizację cmentarza na planie prostym lub regularnym, gleba ma być sucha do głębokości 6,1 lub 9,1 metra, podłoże nie może być skaliste, a odległość od miasta jest uzależniona od ekspozycji, gleby i źródeł pozyskiwania wody pitnej. Wytyczne projektowe określały m.in.: ogrodzenie, którego wysokość i użyty materiał miały być zależne od charakteru miejsca, w którym cmentarz był lokowany. Do miejsca pochówku miała prowadzić co najmniej jedna główna brama i jedna główna droga (o szerokości od 3,7 m do 6,1 m). Plan zakładał również alejki, dróżki prowadzące do grobów, kaplice, szatę roślinną (Loudon 1843 za: Długozima 2011) – por. Ryc. 1.

⁷ Nowojorska Rada Zdrowia w 1806 roku powołała komisję, która miała czuwać nad raportem w sprawie zachowania koniecznych środków dla zapewnienia ochrony zdrowia mieszkańców, uwzględniającym sytuację w miejscach grzebalnych (Walker 1839 za: Długozima 2011).



Ryc. 1. Rysunki zamieszczone w pracy Loudona: (A) – tradycyjny cmentarz wiejski; (B) – projekt cmentarza dla wiejskiej parafii według przyjętych kryteriów

Źródło: J.C. Loudon (1843).

W tym okresie zaczęły ukazywać się kolejne świeckie regulacje dotyczące lokalizacji i organizacji cmentarzy. Wśród nich wymienić można: amerykański *Rural Cemetery Act* z 1847 roku, kanadyjski *The Cemeteries Cause Act*, z tego samego roku, brytyjskie *The Burial Acts*.

W konsekwencji w Stanach Zjednoczonych rozpoczęła się komercjalizacja usług pogrzebowych i cmentarzy – w każdym hrabstwie przedsiębiorcy mogli posiadać 1 km² ziemi przeznaczonej pod pochówki, a cmentarze wyniesiono na tereny pozamiejskie.

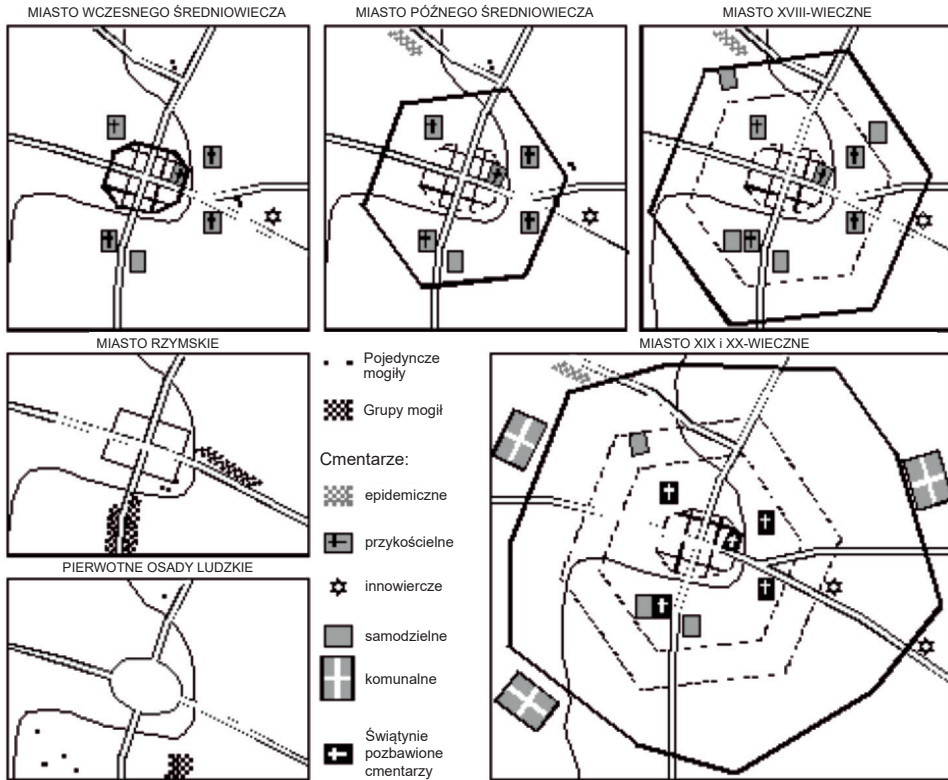
W Kanadzie zobowiązano właścicieli cmentarzy do opracowania planów obszarów w takiej skali, aby możliwe było jak najdokładniejsze przedstawienie pól grobowych. Wymuszono także numerację grobów korespondującą z księgami zmarłych i wykazem właścicieli danych pól grobowych.

W Wielkiej Brytanii w 1857 roku utworzony został angielski narodowy system cmentarzy publicznych. Izby pogrzebowe powołane przez parafie miały odpowiadać za tworzenie i urządzanie cmentarzy, ustalać opłaty za sprzedaż i utrzymanie pól grobowych. Kolejny akt, z 1894 roku, odpowiedzialnymi za cmentarze ustanowił lokalne władze (Długozima 2011).

Organizacja cmentarzy pozamiejskich przypominała tę z czasów rzymskich. Najbardziej okazałe pomniki powstawały w pobliżu murów. Najubożsi byli chowani w centralnych częściach nekropolii, w zbiorowych mogiłach oznaczonych jedynie krzyżem. Budowano także kolumbaria, przenosząc wzory grobów z kościołów.

Istotnym elementem przestrzeni grzebalnych była i jest zieleń. Do dzisiaj wysokie drzewa są czytelnym znakiem cmentarzy w krajobrazie polskich wsi. Drzewa były zresztą sadzone w takich miejscach już w kulturach starożytnych. Ich cykl życiowy, sezonowe obumieranie i odradzanie się, dawało nadzieję. Wertykalizm formy stanowił nawiązanie do wyobrażonej *axis mundi*. Dzięki tej osi połączyć się mogły światy żywych i umarłych. Po Chrystusie w procesjach żałobnych zaczęto nosić zamiast drzewa krzyż – nowy symbol łączności z *sacrum* (Kolbuszewski 1996). Jeszcze później drzewa zaczęły wyznaczać granice, strzec tajemnicy świętości. Gdy cmentarze przeniesione zostały poza mury kościelne, zaczęto je traktować jako element ozdobny i tło budujące nastrój do przeżyć duchowych (Sobczak 2003).

Od wieku XVIII funkcjonują cmentarze wyznaniowe i komunalne (świeckie). Jednocześnie zmieniały się poglądy na śmierć i żałobę, a co za tym idzie na funkcje cmentarzy. Kiedyś położone z dala od skupisk ludzkich, włączane były w obręb rozrastających się miast. Ludzie coraz częściej chcieli odwiedzać groby swoich bliskich. Wraz z rodzącym się nacjonalizmem, nekropolie zaczęły odgrywać ważną rolę narodotwórczą. Szczególnie istotne były w tym procesie cmentarze wojenne. W końcu miejsca wiecznego spoczynku stały się obiektami turystycznymi i ważnymi terenami zieleni w miastach (Ryc. 2) – por. S. Tanaś (2008).



Ryc. 2. Zmiany lokalizacji cmentarzy i ich funkcji

Źródło: oprac. A. Wosiak na podstawie S. Tanaś (2008) za: E. Klima (2011).

3. Geneza i lokalizowanie cmentarzy w Polsce

W Polsce pierwszą parafialną nekropolię pozamiejską⁸ założyli Księża Misjonarze z Warszawy w 1781 roku. Drugim warszawskim cmentarzem były otwarte w 1791 roku Powązki. Początkowo rozwiązanie takie przyjęto źle – do tego czasu poza terenami miejskimi grzebano jedynie osoby wykluczone – samobójców, skazańców *etc.* Działania te zbiegły się z orędziem Stanisława Lubomirskiego Marszałka Wielkiego Koronnego, który w 1770 roku pisał do władz kościelnych „aby ogólnie wszelkie cmentarze od dalszego pogrzebania zmarłych wolne zostały, a natychmiast inne miejsca od miast tutejszych dalsze, na wolnym powietrzu, ku obrządkowi temu pobożnemu zdadne, na spoczynek zmarłych wybrane i wyznaczone były” (Kolbuszewski 1996: 182).

⁸ Dzisiaj to zbieg ulic: Marszałkowskiej, Nowogrodzkiej, Emilii Plater i Wspólnej.

Na wszystkich dawnych polskich ziemiach od początku lat 90. XVIII wieku miało miejsce zjawisko delokalizowania cmentarzy – prowadzone przez Komisję Policji Obojga Narodów. Wydano wówczas dokument *Uniwersał do Miast Wolnych Względem cmentarzy i szlachtuzów*, który zakazywał grzebania zmarłych w kościołach oraz nakazywał lokowanie większych cmentarzy *extra muros*. Skierowany był on do wszystkich grup wyznaniowych, które na jego realizację miały kilka miesięcy. Jak się później okazało, czas był zbyt krótki, w związku z czym dokument nie był skuteczny. Koniecznym było wydanie nowego przepisu. W 1793 roku pojawił się tekst *Urządzenie względem ciał zmarłych*, którego autorem był Kazimierz Nałęcz Raczyński Marszałek Nadworny Koronny.

W Galicji pierwsze rozporządzenia wydane zostały w 1784 roku. Zgodnie z nimi groby i cmentarze kościelne, znajdujące się w obrębie osady, miały zostać zamknięte, a w stosownym oddaleniu miały powstać nowe nekropolie (Holly 2007). O odległości cmentarzy od budynków mieszkalnych decydowały władze administracyjne na podstawie decyzji rzeczoznawców. Kolejny dokument nakazywał usunięcie przykościelnych cmentarzy parafialnych oraz szpitali z obszaru miejscowości. Wydano zakaz o grzebaniu zmarłych w kościołach i na przykościelnych cmentarzach, ograniczono prawo stawiania nagrobków wydając decyzję o ich lokalizacji jedynie przy cmentarnym murze. Określone zostały ścisłe zasady, do których stosowano się określając odległość miejsca pochówku od zabudowy jednostki osadniczej:

- oddalenie było zależne od powierzchni cmentarza,
- teren miał być lokalizowany na północ lub północny wschód, zwłaszcza gdy był otwarty na działanie wiatrów w każdym kierunku,
- teren miał być zabezpieczony przed następstwami powodzi, zagłębien wody deszczowej i roztapiającego śniegu,
- teren był możliwy o rozszerzenie na kolejną parcelę,
- uwzględniony został kierunek biegu źródeł.

Warunkiem pozwolenia biskupa na poświęcenie nowego cmentarza było ogrodzenie go murem lub drewnianym płotem z bramą wjazdową oraz ustawienie wysokiego krzyża (Dziobek-Romański 1998).

Regulacje obowiązujące w Galicji określały także wytyczne w sprawie organizacji samej przestrzeni grzebalnej. Poza obligatoryjnymi elementami kompozycji (krzyżem i ogrodzeniem) na terenie cmentarza miała znajdować się trupiarnia służąca do czasowego przechowywania zwłok. Powinna być ona wyposażona w piec, po to, by uniknąć zamrożenia pozornie zmarłych. Kwestie konstrukcyjne obiektów były ściśle określone: drzwi wejściowe miały być cały czas zamknięte, jednak zamek zrobiony tak, aby możliwe było łatwe otwarcie ich od wewnątrz.

Na terenie zaboru pruskiego w 1773 roku Fryderyk II wydał decyzję o przeniesieniu cmentarzy poza miasta. W 1802 roku Departament Finansów Prowincji

Południowych Prus wydał zezwolenie na pochówek zakonników w grobach klasztornych, jednocześnie zakazując pochówków osób bez zezwolenia biskupa diecezjalnego. Do użytku zostały dopuszczone jedynie szczelnie zamykane groby, zniesiono zwyczaj chowania zmarłych w gołej ziemi. W zaborze rosyjskim, do którego stopniowo były włączane obszary wschodniej Polski, swoiste miejsce zajmowała Warszawa i jej cmentarze. 1783 roku powstał pierwszy cmentarz poza murami miasta, który obsługiwał mieszkańców Warszawy. Był to wspomniany wcześniej założony przez księży Misjonarzy cmentarz świętokrzyski (Dziobek-Romański 1998).

W 1846 roku wszystkie przepisy dotyczące nekropolii i obchodzenia się z ciałami zmarłych zostały zebrane i wydane w postaci ustawy *O grzebaniu ciał zmarłych*. Ustawa wprowadziła pojęcia grobów „stałych” z nagrobkami oraz „czasowych”. Artykuł 126 odnosił się do form nagrobków trwałych. Wykorzystywanymi materiałami mogły być kamień i żelazo. Nagrobki z tych tworzyw mogły być stawiane na grobach trwale zakupionych, na mogiłach ziemnych mogły stać nagrobki nietrwałe, np. drewniane krzyże. Kształt i napisy nie mogły być niemoralne i miały być pisane w języku polskim. Akt stanowił również o elementach kompozycji. Każdy cmentarz powinien być otoczony ogrodzeniem murowanym, kamiennym lub drewnianym o minimalnej wysokości 7 stóp z bramą. Każdy nagrobek miał zostać oznaczony numerem. Zaplanowano obsadzenie cmentarzy drzewami i krzewami z wykluczeniem drzew owocowych. Ustawa była rewolucyjna, ponieważ jako pierwsza ściśle określiła kryteria lokalizacji nekropolii – cmentarz odległy od miejsc zamieszkałych przynajmniej 800 metrów, położony w nieco spadzistym miejscu, otwarty od wietrznej strony, na terenach oddzielonych od miasta laskiem, pagórkiem lub wodą bieżącą (Dziobek-Romański 1998).

Przepisy prawne w poszczególnych zaborach uchylili dopiero *Ustawa z dnia 17 marca 1932 roku o chowaniu zmarłych i stwierdzeniu przyczyny zgonu*. Tę natomiast zmieniono obowiązującą do dzisiaj *Ustawą z 31 stycznia 1959 roku o cmentarzach i chowaniu zmarłych*.

4. Współczesne regulacje prawne dotyczące lokalizacji cmentarzy

W Polskim prawodawstwie kwestie pochówku regulują następujące akty prawne:

- *Ustawa z dnia 31 stycznia 1959 roku o cmentarzach i chowaniu zmarłych*⁹,
- *Rozporządzenie Ministra Gospodarki Komunalnej z dnia 25 sierpnia 1959 r. w sprawie określenia, jakie tereny pod względem sanitarnym są odpowiednie na cmentarze*¹⁰,

⁹ Dz.U., 1959, nr 11, poz. 62 z późn. zm.

¹⁰ Dz.U., 1995, nr 52, poz. 315 z późn. zm.

- *Rozporządzenie Ministra Infrastruktury z dnia 7 marca 2008 roku w sprawie wymagań, jakie muszą spełniać cmentarze, groby i inne miejsca pochówku zwłok i szczątków*¹¹,
- *Ustawa z dnia 28 marca 1933 roku o grobach i cmentarzach wojennych*¹².

Na terenie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej obowiązuje *Ustawa o cmentarzach i chowaniu zmarłych*, niezależnie czy miejsca pochówku były utworzone przed jej wejściem w życie czy też nie. Artykuł 3 jasno określa, że cmentarze zakłada się i rozszerza na terenach wyznaczonych w oparciu o plany zagospodarowania przestrzennego, a w przypadku ich braku o wytyczne do takich planów. Cmentarze komunalne zakłada się na terenie każdego miasta, gromady i osiedla, w pewnych przypadkach jeden cmentarz może być przeznaczony dla dwóch lub więcej gromad bądź osiedli.

W artykule 5. czytamy:

Cmentarze powinny znajdować się na ogrodzonym terenie, który spełnia odpowiednie wymogi sanitarne. Każdy cmentarz powinien być wyposażony w dom przedpogrzebowy lub kostnicę, które pełnią funkcje:

- składowania ciał zmarłych do czasu ich pochowania,
- są miejscem wykonywania oględzin zwłok do celów lekarskich, sanitarnych i milicyjnych,
- służą do innych czynności związanych z grzebaniem zwłok.

Istotne wydaje się omówienie jednego z wymogów utworzenia cmentarza, czyli planu miejscowego. Określono, że dla każdego terenu przeznaczonego pod miejsce pochówku, winien być sporządzony plan zagospodarowania terenu zatwierdzony przez organ państwowy nadzoru budowlanego. Ten dokument jest kluczowym przy urządzaniu i dalej funkcjonowaniu cmentarza. Plan powinien składać się z części opisowej i uwzględniać jego powierzchnię, położenie i granice oraz części graficznej z rysunkiem w takiej skali, aby możliwe było łatwe odczytanie zapisów. Rysunek powinien być skonstruowany w sposób jasny i czytelny z wyraźnie zaznaczoną granicą obszaru i liniami rozgraniczającymi tereny o różnym przeznaczeniu, uzupełniony w legendę z elementami oznaczeń.

Miejscowy plan zagospodarowania przestrzennego (MPZP) zawiera informacje dotyczące np. wejścia i wjazdu na cmentarz, położenia kaplicy i domu pogrzebowego wraz z ich powierzchnią i strukturą budowlaną, wysokości zabudowy techniczno-gospodarczej (nie większej niż 1 kondygnacja), wysokości ogrodzenia (minimum 1,5 m). W MPZP ustala się także drogi dojazdowe, lokalizację i powierzchnię parkingów, zalesienie (jeśli istnieje) oraz określa nachylenie terenu (jeśli istnieje).

Teren cmentarny nie może być ponownie włączony do użytku przed upływem 40 lat od chwili ostatniego pochówku. Po upływie tego czasu przeznaczenie terenu

¹¹ Dz.U., 2008, nr 48, poz. 284.

¹² Dz.U., nr 39, poz. 311.

na inne cele jest możliwe, niedopuszczalne jest jednak uszkodzenie pamiątek o wartości historycznej, archeologicznej lub artystycznej. Pamiątki te mogą być przeniesione na inne, odpowiednie miejsca za zgodą właściwego organu administracji.

Ustawa określa także postępowanie z indywidualnymi grobami i zasady dotyczące traktowania osób zmarłych. Mówi, że grób nie może być użyty ponownie przed upływem 20 lat. Po takim czasie może nastąpić kolejny pochówek. Istnieje możliwość pogrzebania jako zwłoki lub poddania kremacji. W przypadku chowania bez spopielenia, zwłoki mogą być złożone w grobie murowanym, ziemnych katakumbach bądź przez zatopienie w morzu. Ciało poddane kremacji może być dodatkowo przechowywane w kolumbariach.

Utrzymanie cmentarzy należy do wójtów, burmistrzów lub prezydentów albo przedstawicieli związków wyznaniowych. Cmentarze projektuje się i utrzymuje jako tereny o założeniu parkowym.

Lokalizacja cmentarzy powinna wykluczać możliwość ich szkodliwego oddziaływania na otoczenie, przede wszystkim pod względem sanitarnym. Wyspecjalizowane organy (ministrowie) zajmujące się ochroną zdrowia i ochroną środowiska powinny ustalić szerokość pasów izolujących teren cmentarny od innych terenów, a w szczególności terenów mieszkaniowych, odległość cmentarza od źródeł ujęcia wody oraz wymagania co do poziomu wód gruntowych na terenach przeznaczonych pod cmentarze. Jeżeli to możliwe, nowe cmentarze powinny być lokowane na obrzeżach miast.

Przed ostatnią nowelizacją *Ustawy o cmentarzach*, minimalną odległość od zabudowań mieszkalnych ustalono na 150 m (50 m, jeżeli działa sieć wodociągowa). Odległość od ujęć wody o charakterze zbiorników służących jako źródło zaopatrzenia lokalnych ujęć zaś na nie mniej niż 500 m. W miarę możliwości cmentarze powinny być lokowane na wzniesieniach, poza terenami zalewowymi, o poziomie wód gruntowych nie wyższym niż 2,5 m, tam gdzie wiatry wieją od zabudowań, nie w przeciwną stronę (Sobczak, Gołda-Sobczak 2018).

Cmentarze winny być ogrodzone trwałym parkanem, nie niższym niż 1,5 m. Przewiduje się także wyposażenie tych obiektów w zielen o charakterze izolacyjnym i dekoracyjnym, w szczególności trawniki, żywopłoty, krzewy i drzewa, w drogi i ciągi piesze lub pieszo-jezdne, place i miejsca postojowe, miejsca przeznaczone na gromadzenie odpadów, punkty czerpalne wody i ogólnodostępne ustępy, dom pogrzebowy lub kostnicę, w szczególnych przypadkach kaplicę i zaopieczony plac administracyjny. Do każdego cmentarza należy zapewnić dojście i dojazd drogami utwardzonymi.

Minister infrastruktury dopuszcza kilka form grobów – ziemne, murowane, rodzinne, katakumby (pomieszczenie z niszami w ścianie, przeznaczone do pochówku zwłok) i kolumbaria (budowla z niszami przeznaczonymi do składania urn). Zakłada się, że przejścia między poszczególnymi mogiłami będą miały minimum 0,5 m, a ustawione nagrobki nie będą wykraczały poza obrys grobu.

Polskie prawodawstwo wyróżnia trzy typy cmentarzy: komunalne, wyznaniowe oraz wojenne i wojskowe. Cmentarze wyznaniowe, jak sama nazwa wskazuje, charakteryzują się tym, że ich podstawowym przeznaczeniem jest chowanie zwłok osób zmarłych należących do danego wyznania oraz sprawowanie obrzędów religijnych. Zarówno na terenie cmentarza wyznaniowego, jak i komunalnego obowiązują miejscowe regulaminy. To właśnie one ustalają ogólne zasady funkcjonowania cmentarzy od godzin otwarcia i zamknięcia, przez zakres usług cmentarnych, zasady utrzymywania porządku na cmentarzu, nakazy i zakazy obowiązujących zachowań, prace konserwatorów, odbywanie się pogrzebów po czysto estetyczne – zagospodarowanie i wygląd grobów, ustawienie nagrobków, pomników i nasadzeń.

Jeśli chodzi o cmentarze wojenne i wojskowe, do grobów zaliczanych do wojennych należą:

- groby poległych w walkach o niepodległość i zjednoczenie Państwa Polskiego,
- groby wojskowych, zmarłych w wyniku działań wojennych, bez względu na narodowość,
- groby sióstr miłosierdzia i innych osób, które w trakcie wykonywania swoich czynności poległy w trakcie działań wojennych,
- groby osób internowanych i jeńców,
- groby uchodźców z 1915 roku,
- groby wojskowych i cywilnych, bez względu na narodowość, które straciły swoje życie po 1 września 1939 roku,
- groby ofiar niemieckich i sowieckich obozów,
- groby osób, które straciły życie na skutek walk w okresie od 1944 do 1956 r.

Cmentarze wojenne są własnością Skarbu Państwa, który nabywa ziemię w drodze umowy bądź na zasadach określonych w przepisach o wywłaszczeniu ziemi na potrzeby urzędów użyteczności publicznej.

Zgodnie z obowiązującymi przepisami, nowe cmentarze powinny być lokowane poza zabudowaniami, na terenach przeznaczonych pod zieleń publiczną i z uwzględnieniem dobrego dostępu do sieci komunikacyjnej. Pierwszym etapem prac nad budową nowego cmentarza jest zbadanie, na podstawie planu sytuacyjnego w skali 1:500, środowiska przyrodniczego – gruntów do głębokości pierwszego poziomu wody gruntowej, z określeniem rodzaju, zawilgotnienia, struktury, stopnia kwasowości. Na podstawie tych badań tworzy się opis techniczny i kolejno wykonuje się pomiar spływu wód powierzchniowych, głębokość wód gruntowych oraz kierunek ich spadku. Badaniom poddaje się również roślinność. Na plan należy nanieść wszystkie zabudowania, studnie i ujęcia wody znajdujące się w promieniu 150 m. Przyjmuje się, że teren cmentarza powinien być położony na wzniesieniu, po to, aby uniknąć zalań i podtopień, a najbliższe ujęcie wody pitnej musi znajdować się w odległości od granicy minimum 500 m.

Kwestię zarządzania cmentarzem jako zabytkiem reguluje w Polsce *Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 roku o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad nimi*¹³. Do grupy najbardziej zakorzenionych w polskiej kulturze i jednocześnie zabytkowych cmentarzy należą cmentarze: Rakowiecki i Podgórski w Krakowie, Stary Cmentarz przy Ogrodowej w Łodzi, Stary Cmentarz na Powązkach i Grabiszyński we Wrocławiu. Wspomniana wyżej ustawa określa sposób opieki jaką należy sprawować nad cmentarzami oraz zasady ich konserwacji. Stanowi ona, że każda osoba, która wyraża własną i nieprzymuszoną wolę i działa na rzecz zachowania miejsc bogatych kulturowo, może sprawować nad nimi opiekę, zaś konserwacją mogą zajmować się jedynie profesjonaliści.

Osobnym zbiorem dokumentów jest prawo poszczególnych wyznań. W przypadku Kościoła katolickiego, Konkordat pozostawia inicjatywę zakładania cmentarzy władzom kościelnym, przy zachowaniu konieczności uzgodnień szczegółowych z odpowiednimi władzami świeckimi. Nigdzie nie definiuje się pojęcia „cmentarz”. Prawo określa jednak konieczność i zasady ich tworzenia. Kluczowe jest pobłogosławienie całego terenu, kwater lub pojedynczych grobów (Kan. 1240). Tylko ono sprawia, że miejsce staje się święte – wynika to także z treści Kanonu 1205. Dopuszcza się tworzenie cmentarzy parafialnych, zakonnych oraz należących do osób prawnych (np. bractw lub stowarzyszeń kościelnych) i rodzin. Prawo kościelne kanonizuje także szczegółowe przepisy prawa świeckiego dotyczące pochówków i cmentarzy (Kalinowski 2001). Najważniejsza w tym zakresie jest *Ustawa o cmentarzach i chowaniu zmarłych z dnia 31 stycznia 1959 roku*¹⁴.

5. Cmentarze Łodzi

Lokalizacja, wygląd i rozwój łódzkich cmentarzy był podobny jak cmentarzy w innych miastach Europy. Najstarszym i przez długi czas jedynym cmentarzem katolickim na terenie miasta był ten położony wokół kościoła – Wniebowzięcia NMP na Górkach Plebańskich (Muznerowski 1922). Gdy na początku XIX wieku miasto zaczęło się rozrastać, cmentarz ów stał się zdecydowanie niewystarczający. Zamknięto go ostatecznie w 1819 roku, gdy udało się uruchomić nową, podmiejską, dwuwyznaniową nekropolię. Powstała ona przy drodze retkińskiej. Dzisiaj są to ulice Ogrodowa i Gdańska, w tamtym czasie teren położony był ok. 400 m od granic miasta. Okazało się jednak, że ta lokalizacja nie spełniała oczekiwań. Brak było ogrodzenia, między mogiłami wypasano krowy, co stało w sprzeczności z obowiązującym już od średniowiecza prawem kościelnym (Starczuk 2006). Mimo to nekropolię szybko powiększono (1833 r.), tak że rozciągała się do obecnej ulicy Zachodniej i Legionów. Problem z budową parkanu może wydawać się

¹³ Dz.U., 2002, nr 162, poz. 1568.

¹⁴ Dz.U., 1959, nr 11, poz. 62 z późn. zm.

banalny, warto jednak zwrócić uwagę, że jest to istotna granica oddzielająca to, co święte od tego, co nieświęte. M. Różański (1995) tak opisuje zmagania łódzkich władz kościelnych o należyte traktowanie miejsca pochówków:

Po rozszerzeniu cmentarz katolicki był opasany z frontowej strony drewnianym płotem z bramą, z pozostałych zaś ogrodzony płotem z żerdzi, jako że parkan uległ zniszczeniu. Opornie jednak szło ogrodzenie tego cmentarza. [...] Dozór kościelny, chcąc zabezpieczyć teren cmentarza przed profanacją, postanowił go okopać i obsadzić drzewami. Budowniczy obwodu upomniał dozór, że okopanie cmentarza rowem i obsadzenie drzewami, chociaż jest o wiele tańsze niż postawienie parkanu, to jednak z uwagi na to, że cmentarz znajdował się na gruncie piaszczystym i na terenie niezabudowanym, to narażony będzie na wiejące z każdej strony wiatry. Nie będzie on miał żadnej trwałości i potrzebna będzie ciągła jego naprawa. Poza tym cmentarz leżał blisko traktu piotrkowskiego i okopany będzie stwarzał nieestetyczny widok. Zalecał więc, aby jak najszybciej przystąpiono do budowy parkanu wokół cmentarza (Różański 1995: 112).

Płot w końcu udało się wybudować, ale cmentarz był otwarty tylko do 1855 r. Wtedy wytyczono nowe miejsce grzebania zwłok – Cmentarz Stary przy Ogrodowej, który zaczął działać¹⁵ w 1858 roku. Zajmował on powierzchnię 4,7 ha i był przeznaczony nie tylko dla katolików, ale także protestantów i prawosławnych. W latach 80. XIX wieku, poza granicami miasta, powstały również cmentarze na Zarzewie i na Chojnach (ul. Rzgowska). W 1896 roku zlokalizowano nekropolię we wsi Doły. Niecałe dwadzieścia lat później zdecydowano o budowie cmentarza na Mani (Przybysz 2007). W ciągu następnych kilkudziesięciu lat, wraz z rozwojem przestrzennym Łodzi, podmiejskie nekropolie zostały włączone w granice miasta.

Przełom XIX i XX wieku w Łodzi był także okresem lokowania cmentarzy innych wyznań. W 1892 roku powstał cmentarz żydowski (przy dzisiejszej ulicy Brackiej), w 1907 roku na Ogrodowej wydzielono część dla baptystów. W tym czasie założono cmentarz dla parafii ewangelicko-reformowanej na Starym Rokiciu. W 1945 roku w Łodzi funkcjonowało łącznie 37 nekropoli (Tabela 2).

Po II wojnie światowej w Łodzi nastąpiły zmiany. Część cmentarzy ewangelicko-augsburskich miasto zamieniło na cmentarze komunalne, tak jak w przypadku cmentarza na Dołach. Cmentarz przy ul. Rojnej 60 przekształcono w skwer, cmentarz przy ul. Wileńskiej 57 w plac zabaw, a cmentarz przy ul. Skrzywanej 28 w park. Część cmentarzy przeszło pod zarządek parafii rzymskokatolickich, należały do nich cmentarz: ewangelicko-augsburski w Nowosolnej przejęty przez parafię rzymskokatolicką w Nowosolnej, cmentarz ewangelicko-augsburski w Radogoszczu dołączony do cmentarza rzymskokatolickiego na Radogoszczu. Przemianę przeszedł cmentarz ewangelicko-augsburski w Augustowie, na terenie którego zlokalizowano elektrociepłownię EC4 oraz cmentarz na Dąbrowie przekształcony w bocznice kolejową. Reszta cmentarzy tego wyznania została porzucona i zapomniana.

¹⁵ Można przesunąć jednak tę datę na 1854 r., wtedy to bowiem odbyły się tam pierwsze pochówki (Dominikowski 2004).

Tabela 2. Łódzkie cmentarze w 1945 roku

Organ administrujący	Liczba	Powierzchnia [ha]
Kościół Ewangelicko- Augsburgski	19	39,43
Kościół rzymskokatolicki	12	88,23
Polski Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawosławny	2	2,64
Kościół Starokatolicki Mariawitów	1	0,85
Kościół Ewangelicko-Reformowany	1	0,32
Kościół Chrześcijan Baptystów	1	1,86
Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska	1	40,35
Ogółem	37	173,68

Źródło: A. Wiercińska (2012).

Do miasta dołączono: Rudę Pabianicką wraz z cmentarzem rzymskokatolickim przy ul. Mierzejowej 1 i ewangelicko-augsburskim przy ul. Sopockiej 18, Chojny z cmentarzem rzymskokatolickim św. Wojciecha przy ul. Kurezaki 81/85 i św. Franciszka przy ul. Rzgowskiej 156/158. Łódź zyskała także wiejskie cmentarze rzymskokatolickie w Łagiewnikach i na Retkinii oraz 10 ewangelickich cmentarzy w Augustowie, Olechowie, Janowie, Moskulikach, Grabieńcu, Antoniewie, Dąbrowie, Nowym Złotnie, Karolewie i Górkach Starych. W tym samym czasie w granicach miasta znalazł się również cmentarz rzymskokatolicki św. Anny na Zarzewie, do którego w 1975 roku przyłączono tereny, na których powstał cmentarz komunalny „Zarzew” przy ul. Przybyszewskiego 325. Rozrost miasta umożliwił powstanie dwóch nowych cmentarzy. W 1949 roku przy ul. Szczecińskiej 96/100 utworzono cmentarz rzymskokatolicki Matki Boskiej Nieustającej Pomocy, a w 1988 roku cmentarz komunalny „Szczecińska” przy ul. Hodowlanej 28/30.

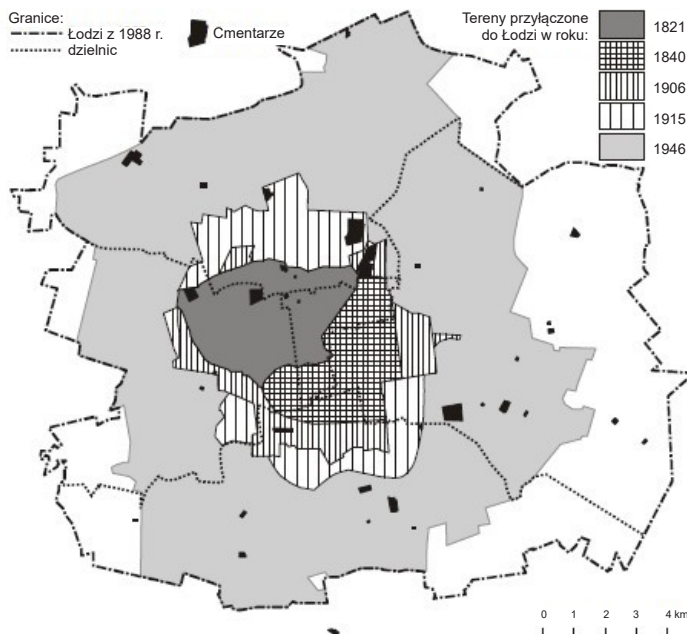
W 1988 roku, po ostatnich zmianach granic, włączone zostały cmentarze: rzymskokatolicki w Nowosolnej i Mileszkach, ewangelicko-augsburski położony w Andrzejowie oraz inne nieczynne cmentarze tego wyznania: w Wiączyńniu Górnym i w Łaskowicach. W 1992 roku powstał cmentarz rzymskokatolicki parafii p.w. Niepokalanego Poczęcia NMP w Andrzejowie, zaś w 2000 roku cmentarz rzymskokatolicki Wszystkich Świętych zlokalizowany przy ul. Zakładowej. Poza granicami administracyjnymi Łodzi znalazł się rzymskokatolicki cmentarz św. Maksymiliana Kolbego w Gadce Starej. (Tabela 3).

Na terenie Łodzi znajduje się 29 ogólnodostępnych nekropoli o łącznej powierzchni 207,45 ha, czyli 0,71% powierzchni miasta. Wszystkie tereny pocmentarne w Łodzi zajmują 12,9 ha co stanowi 0,04% powierzchni miasta (Tabela 3, Ryc. 3).

Tabela 3. Łódzkie cmentarze w 2011 roku pod względem powierzchni i organu administrującego

Organ administrujący	Liczba	Powierzchnia [ha]
Kościół rzymskokatolicki	16	119,18
Gmina Wyznaniowa Żydowska	1	39,22
Łódzki Zakład Usług Komunalnych	3	29,78
Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski	3	11,13
Polski Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawosławny	2	2,64
Kościół Zielonoświątkowy	1	2,47
Kościół Chrześcijan Baptystów	1	1,86
Kościół Starokatolicki Mariawitów	1	0,85
Kościół Ewangelicko-Reformowany	1	0,32
Ogółem	29	207,45

Źródło: A. Wiercińska (2012).

**Ryc. 3.** Cmentarze w przestrzeni miejskiej w Łodzi w 2012 roku

Źródło: A. Wiercińska (2012: 16).

6. Zakończenie

Problematyka lokalizacji cmentarzy może wydawać się marginalna w kontekście gospodarowania przestrzenią w miastach. Nie powinno tak jednak być. Nekropolie stanowiły i stanowią będą integralną część każdego krajobrazu kulturowego. Trudność i skomplikowanie lokalizacji i ich kształtu wynika z kilku czynników – przede wszystkim połączenia tego, co na wskroś przyziemne i pragmatyczne z tym, co wzniosłe i duchowe. Mamy więc z jednej strony wymagania sanitarne i strukturę demograficzną, a z drugiej strony religijność i tożsamość zarówno miejsca, jak i budowanej wokół niego wspólnoty. Cmentarze uczą historii. Gdy patrzymy na nagrobek na Starym Cmentarzu w Łodzi, na którym nazwisko najpierw pisane jest tak, że wiadomo, iż zmarły był niemieckojęzyczny, w kolejnym pokoleniu „spolszcza się” (np. „sch” przechodzi w „sz”) metafora palimpsestu staje się mniej metaforyczna.

Ewolucja podejścia do form i miejsc grzebania zmarłych pokazuje ewolucję szeroko rozumianej kultury. Widać tu jak świeckość przeplata się ze świętością. Widać także postęp nauki i wzrost świadomości dotyczącej elementarnych zasad higieny, ale także spadek lub wzrost znaczenia religii. Warto podkreślić również wielofunkcyjność cmentarzy. Dzisiaj niektóre nekropolie są atrakcjami turystycznymi (turystyka pamięci, turystyka sentymentalna) i miejscami wypoczynku. W Łodzi, w latach 2000. wyznaczono tzw. „Zielony Krąg Tradycji i Kultury”, w skład którego wchodzi Cmentarz Stary i Cmentarz Żydowski. Ma on m.in. wzbogacić ofertę turystyczną miasta. Jest to jednocześnie obszar ważny środowiskowo – poprawa jakości powietrza, ochrona przed hałasem, zapobieganie miejscowej wyspie ciepła.

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Akty prawne

- Rozporządzenie Ministra Gospodarki Komunalnej z dnia 25 sierpnia 1959 roku w sprawie określenia, jakie tereny pod względem sanitarnym są odpowiednie na cmentarze* (Dz.U., 1959, nr 52, poz. 315 z późn. zm.).
- Rozporządzenie Ministra Infrastruktury z dnia 7 marca 2008 roku w sprawie wymagań, jakie muszą spełniać cmentarze, groby i inne miejsca pochówku zwłok i szczątków* (Dz.U., 2008, nr 48, poz. 284).
- Ustawa z dnia 28 marca 1933 roku o grobach i cmentarzach wojennych* (Dz.U., nr 39, poz. 311).
- Ustawa z dnia 31 stycznia 1959 roku o cmentarzach i chowaniu zmarłych* (Dz.U., 1959, nr 11, poz. 62 z późn. zm.).
- Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 roku o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami* (Dz.U., 2002, nr 162, poz. 1568).

A CEMETERY IN THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF THE CITIES

Abstract: Dying is not part of the contemporary global pop culture that glorifies youth and vitality. If one considers the Catholic *sacrum-taboo* of death additionally, it turns out that there is no place for cemeteries today. The aim of the article is to show that cemeteries cannot be denied. They are part of every civilization and are baded in space and landscape. An important observation is that the meaning and location of the cemeteries has changed, as has the culture. The example of Lodz was used.

Keywords: cemeteries, location of cemeteries, Lodz, Lodz cemeteries.

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