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3. CHURCHES IN CITY'S LANDSCAPE – CONTRADICTION OF PERCEPTION. AN EXAMPLE OF ŁÓDŹ

3.1. Introduction

Churches are an inseparable element of landscape of Polish cities. However, their significance in spatial structures is undergoing constant evolution. New sacral buildings are no longer central points or dominants within even the closest surroundings. In the process of spatial succession, the power landscape is dominated by banks and office buildings. Church as an institution became a less significant actor. A withdrawal from religion and religiousness is observed, although some prove that this process is only ostensible (cf. Casanova). On the other hand, it appears that church as a building is still a center of religious space, for both religious people and those who declare, that their bond with religion is not too strong.

The goal of the article is to analyze the aforementioned phenomena. The inhabitants and churches of Łódź are the subject of this study. The detailed goals include:

- 1) evaluation of religiousness of Łódź inhabitants in comparison to Poland, where religiousness is perceived as a determinant of relation to churches,
- 2) evaluation of Church's significance as an institution in the eyes of city's inhabitants,
- 3) establishing the properties of sacral space of Łódź, based on churches' situation analysis (location, appearance),
- 4) establishing churches' significance in sacral space of Łódź inhabitants.

The article is supposed to prove that there are contradictions between three phenomena – religiousness and relation to Church as an institution, place of churches in city's spatial structures and place of churches in religious space of the faithful. Apart from analysis and synthesis of derivative statistical data (mainly reports of *Public Opinion Research Center* – CBOS), questionnaire study, field study and inventory were used.

3.2. Significance of Church and Religion Nowadays

It is easy to find empiric evidence of change of Poles' attitude towards the Catholic Church and decrease in their religiousness. According to data published by Public Opinion Research Center, the number of positive opinions about Church decreased (from 68% to 61%) and the number of negative ones increased (from 20% to 30%) during the last four years (Wenzel 2009). When compared to 1989, the decrease is even more profound. These days, public support for Church reached 80% (Roguska, Wciórka 2000). However, Church is still among the most trusted public institutions. Despite this fact, Polish people object to clergy's engagement in politics (86% of respondents) and emphasize the importance of distinction between the state and the Church (85% of respondents). In 2007 only 11% of CBOS respondents strongly approved or approved of Church's involvement in politics. In 1985, their number totaled almost 30%. The respondents mostly approved of their priests' involvement in education and upbringing of children and youth, social care and support, moral issues and family life (Roguska 2007).

The citizens of Łódź responded almost identically in similar opinion polls. In 2002 almost 40% of respondents considered Catholic Church to be a trustworthy institution and considered it fit for tasks such as education, social support, morality and spirituality. At the same time they rejected Church's involvement in politics (Dzieciuchowicz and others 2004). The inhabitants of the city (as well as province and archdiocese) differ from the rest of Poles in terms of their attitude towards religion. When asked about their religiousness, the respondents from Łódź were given three options to choose from: deeply religious, religious and neutral. The majority chose the second option (67%). First and second options were chosen by similar number of respondents (about 14%). Among the respondents, 1% of them could not determine their attitude towards religion. These results are similar to the results of the polls conducted earlier among the Catholics in Łódź. The earlier polls (2002) showed that less than 10% of respondents are deeply religious, 62% of them religious and about 22% - neutral (Dzieciuchowicz and others 2004). Both the earlier and the current results slightly vary from the results for the entire Łódź archdiocese, where deeply religious and religious respondents dominate (total of 88%) – cf. Mariański 2004. A much higher level of religiousness was declared by the respondents of CBOS – 95% of religious respondents, including 13% deeply religious.

The Poles are more frequently admitting to the fact, that religion has a positive influence on their lives. It is one of the elements of mental welfare, mentioned together with age, marriage, income and friends (Czapiński and others 2007). For the 77% of CBOS respondents, religion was more than something rather important or very important in their lives. At the same time,

only or as much as 28% of respondents indicated religion as the most important value of their lives. A higher score was awarded to tranquility (42%), other people's respect (42%), professional life (45%), honesty (52%), but above all – health (80%) and family (79%). Religion was more important than patriotism, friendship, education and freedom of speech (Boguszewski 2006). In case of the entire Łódź province, only 10% of respondents indicated God to be the supreme value, while 25% admitted to praying (Czapiński and others 2007).

The religiousness and significance of religion declared by the respondents does not go hand in hand with religious practices. *Catholic Church Statistical Institute* quotes that in 2008, *dominicantes* level is above 40%, with *communicantes* level at 15%. The values for the entire Łódź diocese are even lower – respectively 27% and 11%. When analyzing data from the last 28 years, a decrease in percentage of mass attendees is observed with an increase in percentage of people accepting the Holy Communion. The results of Łódź diocese are very different from Polish average (fig. 3).

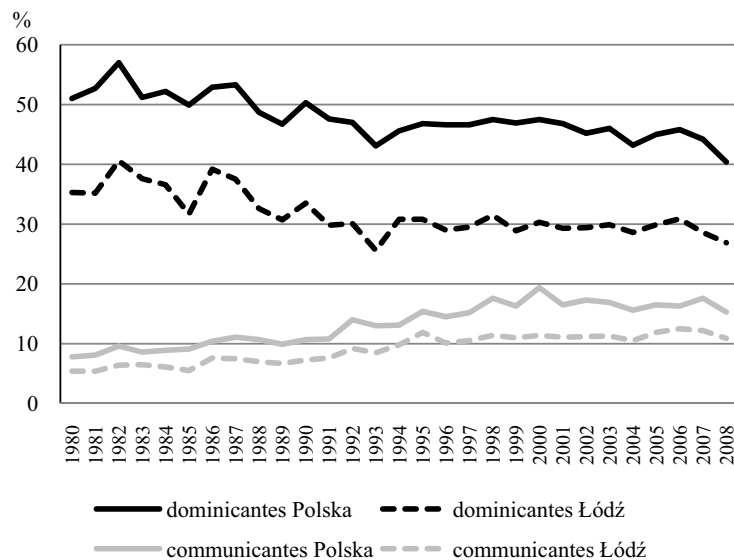


Fig. 3. Dynamics of *dominicantes* and *communicantes* for Poland and Łódź, 1980–2008 (percentage)

Ryc. 3. Dynamika *dominicantes* i *communicantes* dla Polski i Łodzi, 1980–2008, (proc.)

Source: author's own elaboration based on data from *Catholic Church Statistical Institute*, <http://www.iskk.ecclesia.org.pl/praktyki-niedzielne.htm>

The thesis about metropolitan character of Łódź, which determines high level of laicization of its population, seems to be hard to support. The results in Łódź are much lower than those from Warsaw and other large cities (tab. 3).

Table 3. How often, monthly, do you participate in masses or other religious meetings? (percentage)

Tabela 3. Jak często przeciętnie w ciągu miesiąca bierze Pan(i) udział w nabożeństwach lub innych spotkaniach o charakterze religijnym? (proc.)

Social-demographic group	0 times	1–3 times	4 times	more than 4 times
In general	28,91	25,03	32,88	13,18
Place of residence				
Warsaw	47,09	16,55	25,41	10,96
Łódź	65,37	14,15	15,61	4,88
cities with population > 500 thousand	45,02	16,34	28,38	10,25
cities with population of 200-500 thousand	37,14	23,34	26,98	12,54
cities with population of 100-200 thousand	34,30	23,80	25,80	16,10
cities with population of 20-100 thousand	34,00	24,92	28,89	12,19
cities with population < 20 thousand	29,66	25,32	33,73	11,29
Villages	17,31	28,40	39,53	14,75

Source: Czapiński J., Panek T., (red.), 2007, *Diagnoza społeczna 2007. Warunki i jakość życia Polaków*, Rada Monitoringu Społecznego, Warszawa.

3.3. Sacral Space of Łódź

It can be assumed, that the history of Church in Łódź can be divided into seven periods:

1. before 1820 – preindustrial Łódź period,
2. 1821–1919 – dynamic development period,
3. 2nd Polish Republic, creation of Łódź diocese,
4. 1940–1945 – World War II,
5. 1946–1972 – period of deepest persecutions of Catholic Church in People’s Republic of Poland,
6. 1973–1988 – period of relatively good relations between the state and Catholic Church,
7. After 1989 – transformation period.

Caesuras delimit the most important dates for both city and Church. During that time, the meaning of religion in the life of societies changed. The place of temples in city landscape changed as well. Throughout the ages, both their location and form determined them as dominants in the surrounding space. As M. Grymin proves (2009), Łódź had been no different, but only until its rapid industrialization began. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and later, during the interwar period, there were no new churches built in the newly created residential districts. Księży Młyn district and St. Anne's Church can be an example. Although the church was founded by the Herbsts (Evangelical), the building was erected outside the district.

The village Łodzia, located on the left bank of Ostroga River, was first mentioned in 1332. In 1387, Łódź together with nearby Widzew were granted Magdeburg Rights. Most likely, at the same time on the right bank of Ostroga, a new settlement³⁰ started to emerge. It was where Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary³¹ was erected around 1366 and the first parish was founded. The church was a wooden, larch building, covered by shingles, with an ornamental tower on the roof (Stefański 1995). M. Budziarek emphasizes, that together with customs house and river crossing, the parish church became a city-forming element, which attracted new settlers.

The Mileszki church and parish date further back in time. However, this area did not belong to Łódź in the 14th century. According to Warsaw Consistory Acts, the building was erected in 1048, so only 82 years after Poland's baptism. Initially, the village Łodzia was related to this parish (Dzieciuchowicz and others 2004).

In the medieval times, St. Adalbert Church in Chojny was erected. This area was also outside the administrative borders of Łódź. In the second half of the 17th century, Samuel Żelewski erected a wooden chapel, dedicated to St. Anthony, within his lands in Łagiewniki. He also brought Franciscan order to Łagiewniki. The church and the monastery were built within three years. Its patrons were Holy Trinity, Holy Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception, St. Anthony of Padua and St. John the Baptist.

At the beginning of 17th century, apart from Mileszki parish and Assumption parish in Łódź, there were also parishes in Zgierz, Kazimierz upon Ner, Dobra, Pabianice and Mileszki. The Łódź parish included the following villages: Bałuty, Brus, Doły, Lipinki, Radogoszcz, Rogi, Rokicie, Stara Łódź,

³⁰ The settlement was called Ostroga initially and it was Ostroga that received city rights from Władysław Jagiełło. The documents that followed contained the name "Łódź" (Budziarek 2005).

³¹ As K. Stefański (1995) stated, some of the documents had mentioned the name "Assumed Virgin Mary". The church was founded by the Bishop of Włocławek, Zbilut Gołańczewski (Galanczewski).

Widzew, Wólka (Mierzączka) and the city of Łódź. The next villages to join the parish were: Żabieniec, Karkoszka, Augustów and Koziny. The Pabianice parish included: Retkinia, Ruda Pabianicka and Chocianowice (Łaski 1880–1881; Rosin 1980; Baranowski 1976).

During the foundation of the Assumption parish, the area was subject to Archdiocese of Gniezno, Archdeaconate of Łęczyca. However, Łódź belonged to the Bishops of Włocławek. The final regulation regarding the allegiance of local parishes was issued in 1764 by the power of papal decree. Łódź and surrounding parishes were submitted to the Bishops of Kuyavia and thus, excluded from the Archdiocese of Gniezno. A couple of years later (1796) Łódź was transformed into a Royal-Prussian city, after the partitions of Poland began. The changes concerned forms of ownership and management. From the Church administration's point of view, the described area did not become part of Archdiocese of Warsaw until 1818. Almost a hundred years later, in 1920, by the power of *Christi Dominica* papal bull of Benedict XV, Diocese of Łódź³² was founded. It included five deaconates divided into 67 parishes.

The decision about industrialization of the Łódź region required creating investment – and urbanistic plans. The new part of the city, which was built from the scratch, had been designed very carefully and precisely. This precision can still be observed nowadays in the symmetrical layout of the downtown street network.

The period of World War I was particularly hard for the city. The population during the 1914–1918 period decreased by almost a third, down to 341.8 thousand, including 100 thousand people from the settlements incorporated³³ in 1915: Bałuty, Chojny, part of Widzew, Zarzew, Dąbrowa, Radogoszcz, Rokicie, Żabieniec and Antoniew.

The change of city borders is very important, as Łódź was incorporated into the network of ring railroad. Up to this day, this structure determines main functional-spatial features of the city. The development of Łódź was also spurred by the change in city's status in the structures of state and Catholic Church administration. In 1920, the “capital of textile industry” was promoted to the level of capital of newly created province and diocese. The foundation of military garrison was another factor. As a consequence, it became necessary to rearrange public areas. In 1927, the first³⁴ spatial development plan after the war was elaborated. After its rejection³⁵, three

³² First attempts started before the reclamation of independence, in 1913. It was initiated by Archbishop Aleksander Kakowski (Przybysz 2009).

³³ The city gained over 20 km² – an increase from 38.11 to 58.75 km².

³⁴ “The plan of Łódź development” was created during the war, in 1917.

³⁵ Subsequent failures of the urban planners and city officials resulted from objections from the owners of real estates, who feared expropriation.

years later another one was created, and after its subsequent rejection, another one was finally approved in 1935. The main changes proposed, concerned the increase in the quality of life of city's inhabitants and included building of water-supply system, gas distribution and public transportation network. There were also attempts at changing the main axis of city's spatial development from N/S – Piotrkowska Street, to W/E – Anny/Główna Street. City squares were also to become an important element of city's image and territory. One of them was the Cathedral Square (Plac Katedralny), which hosted the Bishop's Palace and Seminary along two of its frontages. Moreover, the Tomb of an Unknown Soldier and monument of Father Ignacy Skorupka were also set there. Two sacral buildings became height dominants in city's landscape – the Cathedral and St. Anthony's Church (*Przestrzeń reprezentacyjna i publiczna w kontekście infrastruktury Łodzi okresu międzywojennego – drugie oblicze miasta* 2008).

After 1945, building churches became difficult, if not impossible. From the end of war until 1989, only 21 parishes were erected and 12 churches were under construction. For ideological reasons, churches were situated deep within residential areas and blocked out by high-rise buildings (e.g. Sacred Heart of Jesus Church in Retkińska Street or Mournful Virgin Mary Church in Paşjonistów Street). Very often, sacral buildings were not included in the plans of new residential districts. If there were any, they were built on plots of land, designated for services, greenery or sports and recreation (e.g. Holy Maximilian Kolbe Church in Tatrzańska Street) – cf. Grymin 2009. Therefore, it can be said that churches no longer maintained their status as elements of power landscape and spatial dominants.

After 1989, ideological motives no longer had any significance for the foundation of new parishes and erection of new churches. During the last twenty years, 22 new parishes have been created in Łódź, with 13 of them only in 1989. Their origin is twofold. They are created as a result of division of larger structures or are built "from the scratch". The "size" in this context is a measure of number of parishioners, not area. As a consequence, creation of a new parish in Łódź does not always involve construction of a new church and vice versa. During the transformation period, construction of 25 churches was started in Łódź, with just one church being constructed in 1989. Ten of them are still under construction. During this period, 20 investments have been accomplished, including five buildings, whose construction began before the transformation (tab. 4).

Table 4. Dynamics of parishes' and churches' amount growth in Łódź, in relation to historical periods

Tabela 4. Dynamika przyrostu liczebnego parafii i kościołów w Łodzi wg okresów historycznych

Period	Foundation of a parish	Beginning of church construction	Accomplishment of church construction
before 1820	2	3	1
1821–1919	11	11	9
1920–1939	9	12	13
1940–1945	0	1	1
1946–1972	6	2	5
1973–1988	15	10	5
after 1989	22	26	31
In general	65	65	65

Source: author's own elaboration based on author's own research.

Plots of land, designated for sacral buildings, vary in their size – from 0.07 ha (The Good Shepherd parish in Pasterska Street) up to 2.93 ha (St. Vincent Pallotti parish in Łagiewnicka Street) – fig. 4. Overall, plots of land covered by churches add up to 50 ha, which is only 0.17% of the city's area.



Fig. 4. Parishes' foundation date in relation to the size of land plots, where the churches are built

Ryc. 4. Rok erygowania parafii a wielkość działek, na których stoją kościoły

Source: K. Dmochowska-Dudek's elaboration based on author's research

The size of the buildings is just as varied as the plot size. The smallest church (chapel) is less than 70 m² in area (St. Michael the Archangel Church in Rysownicza Street). The largest church is St. Maximilian Kolbe Church in Tatrzańska Street – over 4600 m² (fig. 5). An average size of all Catholic churches in Łódź is 908 m². For churches erected after 1988 – 834 m². It is hard to determine a statistical relation between a date of beginning of church construction and plot size or church size, when analyzing all of Łódź churches. Such a relation can be observed in the analysis of the investments, made after World War II. The newer the church is, the larger it is in size ($r = 0.42$; for buildings erected after 1989, $r = 0.46$ – Pearson's correlation). This regularity can be explained through historical reasons. In times, when the number of newly built churches was controlled by the state, whenever there was consent for a new investment, a large building was constructed, in order to serve as many people as possible. A relation between size of a plot and construction time of a church is lower ($r = -0.27$ for investments made after 1989).

a**b**

Fig. 5. The smallest and the largest newly built churches in Łódź - a. St. Michael the Archangel Church in Rysownicza Street, b. St. Maximilian Kolbe Church in Tatrzańska Street

Ryc. 5. Najmniejszy i największy nowowybudowany kościół w Łodzi - a. pw. Świętego Michała Archanioła na Rysowniczej, b. pw. Św. Maksymiliana Marii Kolbego na Tatrzańskiej

Source: author's own archives.

The majority of churches are masonry buildings – over 90%. Half of them has a traditional orientation (E/W), and every third church has a N/S orientation. An average church is 10 meters high, so it is hard to expect them to be dominant among the high-rise housing estates. Sacral buildings are usually separated from the *profanum* zone by a fence. However, the areas surrounding the churches are very scant. Squares, located in front of churches, usually contain crosses, notice boards and statues. The areas are covered with greenery, mainly with grass and shrubs.

3.4. Church as a *Sacrum* Zone

Religious space, where the citizens of Łódź coexist, has certain nodal points. These include: parish church, other churches, cemeteries, roadside shrines, houses and apartments. Although we are dealing with an urban model of religiousness, a parish church and parish itself are important elements. More than 84% of the respondents were able to tell the saint patron of their parish and the street, where the parish church is located. Parish church was also the church most frequently visited by the respondents.

Every seventh respondent (every sixth reply given) visited churches other than their own parish church. Some of Łódź inhabitants admitted to having more than one church in their *sacrum* zone. About 40% of the respondents declared visiting one more church, and about 17% - two others.

The CBOS poll results show, that 72% Poles practice religion in their parish church and only 11% - in other churches (Wciórka 2008a). The results for Łódź, in terms of religious practices outside parishes, are higher than national average because of metropolitan character of the religious space – cities contain more churches, which are easier to access and their pastoral offer is more varied.

Almost two thirds of the respondents liked their own parish church. Only 15% “rather disliked” or “totally disliked” it. If the respondents could decide about the appearance of their temple, it would be architecturally traditional, it would have modest ornaments and it would be rather bigger, than smaller. It is noteworthy that for almost 16% of the respondents, the appearance of the church is insignificant (tab. 5).

Table 5. How the church building should look like (multiple choice question)

Tabela 5. Jaki powinien być budynek kościoła (pytanie wielokrotne)

Distinction	Replies	Observations
Traditional architecture	25.4	40.1
Modestly ornamented	20.6	32.5
Insignificant	15.6	24.6
Large and spacious	13.9	22.0
Small	9.9	15.6
I do not have an opinion	5.9	9.3
Modern architecture	4.6	7.3
Richly ornamented	4.2	6.7
Overall	100.0	158.0

Source: author's own elaboration.

If we were to measure the attractiveness of a church by the amount of marriages by couples from outside the parish, St. Dorothy's & St. John the Baptist's Church in Mileszki (fig. 6) would be the most attractive one in Łódź. It is a small, wooden, old church located away from the city turmoil. This phenomenon proves the attachment to tradition and a specific "romantic model" of sacral space. The other model can be called "monumental". Such image is reflected in answers to the question about the appearance of a church – large and spacious, modestly ornamented building.



Fig. 6. St. Dorothy's & St. John the Baptist's Church in Mileszki (Stoki)

Ryc. 6. Kościół św. Doroty i Jana Chrzciciela w Mileszkach (Stoki)

Source: author's own archives.

More than 50% of the respondents replied, that the amount of churches in Łódź was sufficient (fig. 3). Only 3% considered the amount to be too low. The results are similar to those from 2002, when about 3% also wanted to increase the number of Catholic temples in the city.

The modern location of the temples is a resultant of Church's expectations, certain traditions and "spatial opportunities" – general building requirements, accessibility of land plots, etc. One of the goals of the poll was to determine the expectations and opinions of the faithful. When asked about preferred church location, more than 50% of the respondents replied simply: "wherever it is easy to access". Every sixth respondent wanted to have the church situated in the central point of a parish. For 33% of the respondents the location was insignificant. The "away from the urban turmoil" option was only chosen by 8% of the respondents. Only a few Łódź inhabitants indicated a location, which would potentially exhibit the building.

The "functional" choice of location did not exclude the need for the distinction of places of worship from the surroundings (71% of the respondents – totally agree or agree). Such an approach was mostly popular among women, people with inferior educational level, people living outside Łódź before their 14th birthday and religious people. In any case, the relation between variables measured with V Cramer index, did not exceed 0.2. The respondents were additionally asked to indicate a function of sacral buildings in urban landscape. For the majority (65%) it was an architectural ornament and spatial diversity (42%), 38% of the respondents considered churches to be good landmarks and reference points. The number of answers, indicating negative functions of sacral buildings in the city, was low. Only 6% said that churches defaced the city. Furthermore, 2.5% said, that such buildings usually did not match the surroundings. More than 10% of the respondents considered places of worship not to have any spatial function at all (fig. 7).

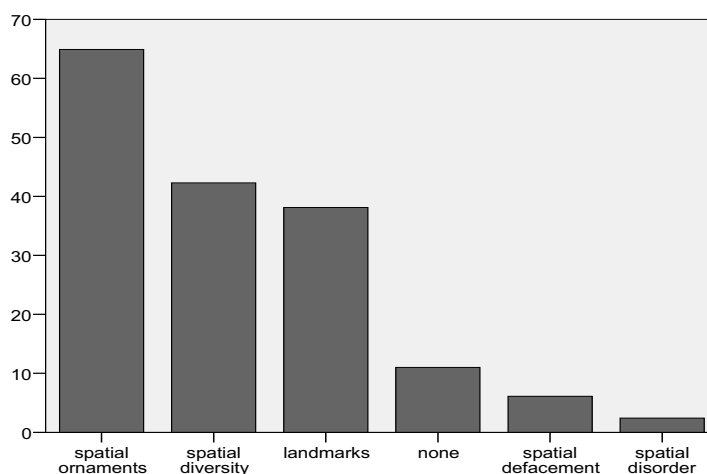


Fig. 7. Function of places of worship in urban space – percentage of respondents' valid responses

Ryc. 7. Funkcje pełnione przez obiekty sakralne w przestrzeni miasta

Source: author's own elaboration

Landmarks can become symbols of surrounding space. According to the respondents, the Archcathedral is the undisputed sacral symbol of the city. A few respondents indicated such locations as Jesuit Church of the Holy Name of Jesus (Sienkiewicza 60 Street), St. Matthew's Evangelical Church and Saint Thérèse's of the Child Jesus and St. John Bosco Church (Kopcińskiego 1/3 Street) – cf. tab. 6. Locations other than the Archcathedral were indicated by native Łódź inhabitants and people with good knowledge of the city.

Table 6. Sacral symbols of Łódź (multiple answers)

Tabela 6. Sakralne symbole Łodzi (odpowiedzi wielokrotne)

Location	Percentage of valid answers
Archcathedral	85.7
Jesuit Church	1.4
St. Matthew's	1.2
Saint Thérèse's	1.2
Church of the Pentecost	0.4
Others	10.6
There aren't any	0.6
I do not know	1.0
Overall	102.1

Source: author's own elaboration.

Over 50% of the respondents believed, that the surroundings of places of worship should match them. This supports the regulations, regarding the ban on opening liquor stores in churches' vicinity, which are in effect in many Polish cities. This opinion was the strongest among the most religious respondents (tab. 7). The arguments most frequently put forward, included the need for maintaining peace, respect and traditions.

Table 7. Should the functionality of the surrounding areas match the places of worship? (according to different religiousness categories)³⁶

Tabela 7. Czy powinno się dopasowywać funkcję otoczenia do obiektów sakralnej według kategorii religijności

The need for mutual match	A religious person	A rather religious person	A rather irreligious person	An irreligious person	Overall, according to the need for match
Yes	82.6	70.7	51.5	22.6	56.0
No	13.0	13.4	24.6	35.8	21.7
I don't know	4.3	15.9	23.8	41.5	22.3
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: author's own elaboration.

Although, according to the respondents, the appearance of a church has changed, its primary functions have not changed. Nowadays, just as in the past, church is a place of meeting with God, prayer and teachings about God. Moreover, such elements as the holy mass, meeting of the community and church as a place of refuge were mentioned. Nowadays, more and more people identify church with cultural events.

Some of the questions in the questionnaire concerned *sacrum* space in personal dimension. Based on the concept of hierophany by M. Eliade (1966) the questionnaire began with a question about sensation of God's proximity. Only 8.9% of answers were negative – “never” (I do not sense God's proximity). Almost a third of the respondents replied oppositely – “always” (I sense God's proximity). Most people declared that the feeling appears only in the moment of danger (37%). One of the questions concerned the place of intercourse with the divine (e.g. prayer). From the proposed locations, church appeared as the most frequent answer (44.7% answers and 55.6% respondents – multiple answers). Other popular answers included home (30.1%, 37.4%); not applicable (5.6%, 7%) and cemetery (6.7%, 8.3%). Previous

³⁶ The religiousness categories were determined according to the index, based on different variables, which are the basis for the operationalization of religiousness, according to W. Piwowarski (1990).

polls showed a similar structure of answers, although more people indicated cemetery as a meeting place with the divine. It is worth to mention that necropolis was the most frequently visited point of a “daily religious path”. As we can see, the visit itself does not automatically result in experiencing hierophany.

The results are generally in line with the results of other researchers. For example, A. Suliborski (2005) proves that church is the highest ranked in the hierarchy of *sacrum* places. A cemetery, however important, is second in the hierarchy. Its significance, mentioned by author's respondents, contains the following contexts: family, historical, symbolic, emotional, sacred, sentimental and architectural. The relatively low score of the “sacred” significance derives from the fact, that the term “religious” is also perceived as a part of it and thus, reflects the results of the poll conducted in Łódź.

A variable, which highly determined the choice of a church as a meeting place with God, was religiousness – Cramer's V of 0.422 with relevance 0.000. Deeply religious respondents indicated church, while irreligious – did not. A relatively low relation was also observed with “education” and “attitude towards faith” variables. It appeared, that people who had lived outside Łódź before their 14th birthday, indicated church more frequently than those who were born in Łódź (68% vs. 48%).

The results described above had been confirmed by other questions. Two thirds of the respondents identified zones with and without hierophany, confirming that “there are places, where you can feel God's presence more than anywhere else”. Once again, the church was most frequently indicated (61%). Relatively many people also mentioned cemetery (18%) and a new category of space – nature. No more than 10 people indicated home, as a place of God's tangible presence.

The question about hierophany was transferred to a personal level. It enabled the possibility of breaking through the “religious correctness” of routine, stereotype answers, related to church religiousness. More than 45% of the respondents confirmed that such a zone existed. The characteristics of these respondents is identical to that of respondents, who previously declared that they felt God's presence and that there were places where His presence was felt more than anywhere else. In this context, the list of personal meeting places with the Creator is not surprising. Church was the most frequent answer, followed by home, others and cemetery. A certain group of people replied that the space existed inside of them. Thrice as little respondents indicated family.

Apart from the open question “Where is your sacred space located?”, the respondents were also offered a predefined list of locations. It contained locations not only directly connected with Catholicism (e.g. church), but also places which can be considered as *sacrum* in a pure social context (e.g. Tomb of an Unknown Soldier), or a family context (e.g. a dinner table at home).

Once again, a church was the most frequent answer, followed by family tomb and cemetery. Almost 50% of respondents considered “any place, where a man feels God’s presence” as *sacrum*. Almost 40% of them indicated their home. Less than every fifth respondent replied, that any place could be sacred if we only considered it to be this way. A dinner table at family home was mentioned by over 12% of respondents, which is the same percentage as with the Tomb of an Unknown Soldier. The replies of Łódź inhabitants show, that the symbolic messages of crosses and “sacred pictures” vary. The former are part of sacred space for 30% of respondents, while the latter – for only 9%.

Among the most important places for the respondents, chosen from predefined list, church is the most frequent answer (43%). It is followed by home (24%), any place where a man feels God’s presence (12%) and family tomb (6%).

3.5. Conclusion

The aforementioned data confirms the initial assumption – a change in expectations towards the Church and its role in a social life. When talking about Poland in general, we can observe mature Catholicism – increasing number of *communicantes*, a relatively large number of people who seek higher values in Church. On the other hand, we can observe a rejection of Church as a subject of political life. This image is more coherent in Łódź. The inhabitants are not religious and Church, as an institution and as a carrier of values, is marginalized. It is then interesting to see, how this situation affects the presence of Church in urban space.

Surrounding existing churches with a new urban tissue as well as matching the appearance of new churches with existing landscape depends on the aesthetics of an architect and investor, namely parish-priest. However, these sometimes differ and newly-built churches are often very different from the original plans. M. Grymin (2009), when elaborating parishes’ locations after 1945, delimits various types of locations in city’s landscape. These are: peripheral, greenery zones, prominent (nodal), dense residential, squares and interdistrict zones. The author notices, that placing churches in peripheral zones of residential districts is damaging to urban space. The churches can have a center-forming function, although only one new church in Łódź is located in such a way – St. Faustina’s Church at Niepodległości Square (Plac Niepodległości).

The opinions of Łódź inhabitants differ from part of city’s architect postulates and from historical legacy. When asked about the preferred location of a church, most people reply, that the location is insignificant, or that the only factor here is accessibility. The most beautiful or the most exposed location

was indicated only by 3% of the respondents. The inhabitants describe spatial functions of sacral buildings in an interesting way. For two-thirds of the respondents a church is just an architectural ornament and a diversity of the landscape. Every third respondent from Łódź said, that churches are landmarks, which help navigate and make perfect reference points. This indicates that for the users of urban space, the churches are dominants after all. This confirms the need for a clear distinction of places of worship from the surroundings. The relatively low religiousness of Łódź inhabitants does not result in the rejection of places of worship from their surroundings. On the contrary, churches are a real *axis mundi* of their *sacrum* zone. As the research shows, this process can have a more mundane reason – the location of churches is often determined by the availability of land plots and the need for supplementing residential areas with religious functions.

Streszczenie

Kościół w krajobrazie miasta – sprzeczności percepcji. Przykład Łodzi

Kościół są nieodłącznym elementem krajobrazu polskich miast. Ich znaczenie w strukturach przestrzennych podlega jednak ciągłej ewolucji. Nowe budowle nie stanowią już punktów centralnych, czy dominant nawet najbliższego otoczenia. W procesie sukcesji przestrzennej w krajobraz władzy zdążyły już wpisać się banki i biurowce. Kościół jako instytucja stał się mniej znaczącym aktorem. Następuje również odejście od religijności i religii, choć jak dowodzą niektórzy jedynie pozorne (por. Casanova 2005). Z drugiej strony okazuje się, że kościół jako budowla jest centrum przestrzeni religijnej i to również, dla tych którzy deklarują, że ich związek z religią nie jest mocny.

Na przestrzeni ostatnich lat zmieniły się oczekiwania wobec Kościoła i jego roli w życiu społecznym. Gdy mówimy o całej Polsce to z jednej strony pojawia się dojrzały katolicyzm – rośnie wskaźnik *communicantes*, relatywnie duża jest liczba osób upatrujących w kościele wartości nadrzędnych, z drugiej strony mamy do czynienia odrzuceniem Kościoła jako podmiotu życia politycznego. W Łodzi obraz jest bardziej spójny. Mieszkańcy nie są religijni, a Kościół jako instytucja i nośnik wartości marginalizowany. Ciekawym jest zatem jak ta sytuacja przekłada się na obecność Kościoła w przestrzeni miasta. Otoczenie istniejących budowli nową tkanką miejską i dopasowanie nowych kościołów do istniejącego krajobrazu zależy od poczucia estetyki architekta i inwestora, czyli proboszcza. Te niestety często są rozbieżne, i gotowe budynki mają niewiele wspólnego z pierwotnymi projektami. M. Grymin (2009) pisząc o lokalizacji zespołów parafialnych po 1945 r. wydziela kilka ich typów widocznych w aglomeracji. Są to lokalizacje: peryferyjne, w obszarach zieleni, w miejscach eksponowanych (węzłowych), w obszarach zwartej zabudowy, przy placach i w strefach międzyosiedlowych. Autor zauważa, że ze szkodą dla tworzenia przestrzeni miejskiej jest „wyrzucenie” kościołów z centrów

osiedli. Mogą one mieć jego zdaniem funkcje centrowe, ale tylko zaledwie jeden nowy łódzki kościół ma taką lokalizację – pw. św. Faustyny na Placu Niepodległości.

W opozycji do części postulatów architekta i dziedzictwa historycznego pozostają opinie łodzian. Na pytanie gdzie powinien znajdować się kościół większość osób odpowiada – tam gdzie łatwo dotrzeć lub że nie ma to żadnego znaczenia. Na najładniejsze, czy eksponowane miejsce wskazywało nie więcej niż po 3% badanych. Ciekawie mieszkańcy miasta określają funkcje przestrzenne budowli sakralnych. Dla dwóch trzecich respondentów to przede wszystkim ozdoba architektoniczna i urozmaicenie krajobrazu. Co trzeci łodzianin stwierdził, że kościoły pozwalają na określenie własnego położenia i są miejscem orientacji w terenie. Wynika z tego, że w ocenie użytkowników przestrzeni miasta świątynie stanowią jednak dominanty. Potwierdza to stwierdzenie o konieczności wyróżniania się z otoczenia obiektów kultu religijnego. Relatywnie niska religijność łodzian nie powoduje, że wykluczają oni ze swojego otoczenia obiekty kultu religijnego, przeciwnie kościoły stanowią prawdziwe *axis mundi* sfery *sacrum*. Jak udowadniają badania taki proces może nastąpić z powodów bardziej prozaicznych – o lokalizacji kościołów często decyduje dostępność działek i konieczność uzupełnienia o funkcje religijne istniejących obszarów zabudowy mieszkaniowej.