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Religion at the Times of Changes in Łódź
Organizational, Spatial and Social Structures

Abstrakt

RELIGIA W CZASACH ZMIAN W ŁODZI. STRUKTURY ORGANIZACYJNE,
PRZESTRZENNE I SPOŁECZNE

Wpływ religii na kształtowanie przestrzeni miejskiej należy rozpatrywać, w co najmniej dwojaki sposób. Po pierwsze możemy mówić o tworzeniu się miast wokół miejsc kultu religijnego (por. Jackowski 2003, Beaujeu-Garnier, Chabot 1971). Po drugie o wykształceniu miejsc kultu religijnego w przestrzeni miasta. W obu przypadkach pojawia się pojęcie przestrzeni religijnej, przez analogię do przestrzeni turystycznej S. Liszewskiego (1999) i pielgrzymkowej A. Jackowskiego (2004), nazwać ją można podprzestrzenią przestrzeni geograficznej wytworzoną w ze względu na pełnione funkcje. Wydaje się także, że nie mniejszą niż funkcje wagę dla przestrzeni religijnej miasta ma przypisywane jej przez ludzi znaczenie. Celem artykułu jest dokonanie analizy przemian przestrzeni religijnej Łodzi. Zagadnienie to zostało przedstawione na tle ewolucji podziału wyznaniowego łodzian od początku XIX wieku do czasów obecnych. W opracowaniu zostały wykorzystane różnorodne materiały źródłowe: dane spisowe, dokumenty archiwalne, dane statystyczne publikowane przez instytucje wyznaniowe, wywiady i badania kwestionariuszowe.

Introduction

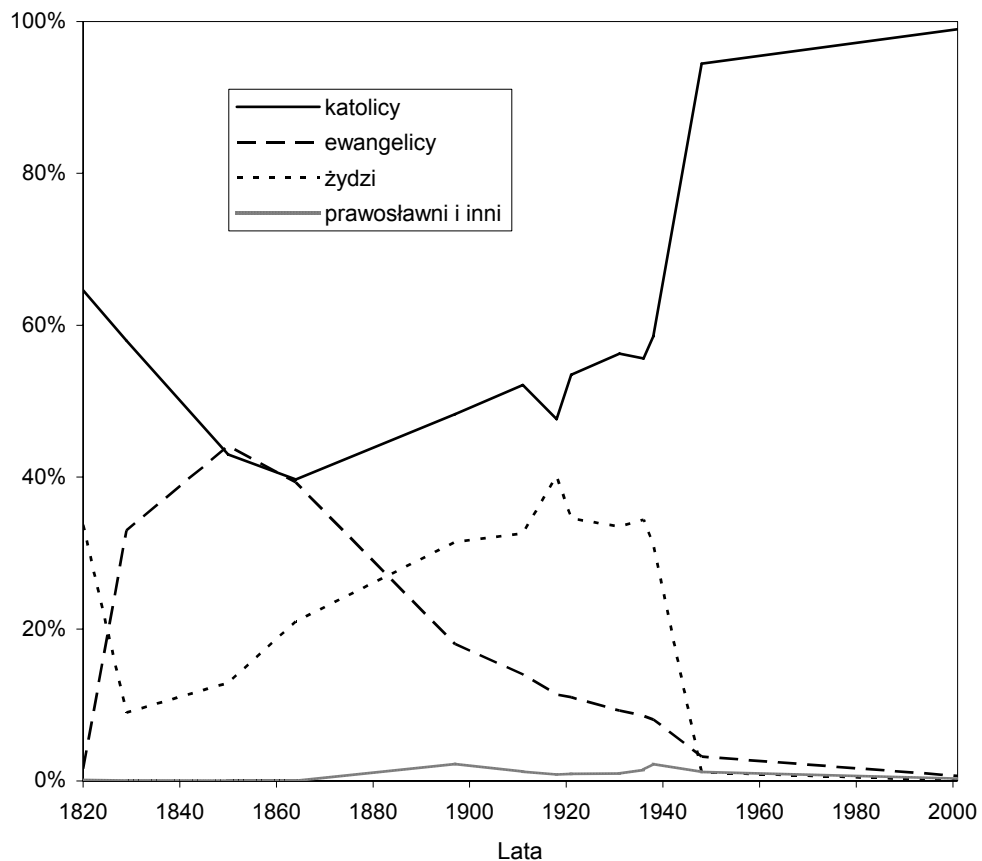
The influence of religion on shaping the urban space has to be considered in at least two ways. Firstly, we have cities being created around the places of religious worship (Jackowski 2003, Beaujeu-Garnier, Chabot 1971). Secondly, we have places of religious worship created within the urban space. In both cases, we are dealing with the term of

religious space, which by analogy to S. Liszewski's tourist space (1999) and A. Jackowski's pilgrimage space (2004) can be defined as subspace of geographical space, created in relevance to its functions. It also seems that for the religious space of the city, its meaning defined by people is no less important than its functions. This article aims to analyze the changes of religious space in Łódź. The issue is presented in relation to the evolution of religious structure of Łódź citizens, from the early 19th century to present times. Various source materials have been used to create this article: census data, archive documents, interviews and questionnaires.

Changes of religious structure in Łódź

Łódź was granted its civic rights in 1423. However, until early 19th century it was a small village with only 767 inhabitants, which was part of the clergy goods (Bishops of Włocławek). It was the rapid development of textile industry that spurred a significant demographic increase as well as diversification of its religious structure.

Since the creation of cloth settlement Nowe Miasto (New Town) by Kingdom of Poland, followed by the creation of flax-cotton settlement Łódka, many manufacturers, mostly from Great Poland, Prussia, Saxony, Moravia, Bohemia and Silesia, started to move to Łódź. The majority of them was originally of Polish origin but as time passed, more Germans and a certain amount of Czech settlers started to dominate. As a result of those migrations, until mid-nineteenth century the participation of Protestants (Evangelical) in religious structure of Łódź increased, with simultaneous decrease of Catholics. In 1850 Łódź was inhabited by 6862 Protestants (Evangelical), who constituted 44,1% of total population. Their participation was slightly higher than that of Catholics (43,0%) (Pic. 1).



Pic. 1. Religious structure of Łódź, 1820-2001

Source: Janczak (1991), Gałęcki and others (1997), Puś (1987), questionnaire researches

In 1825 Łódź, as well as other major cities of Kingdom of Poland, imposed restrictions concerning settlements and professions of Jews, which led to a catastrophic overpopulation of Jewish quarter in the Old Town and smaller population growth of Jewish people in the whole city (Puś, 2001). As a result of this, the participation of Jews in total population of Łódź temporarily decreased, reaching 9,0% (331 people) in 1829. From 1829 to 1850 their participation slowly increased (up to 12,9%).

Important changes in the religious structure of Łódź came in the 1865-1914 period. They were caused by rapid inflow of rural population into the city, as a result of dynamic development of Łódź textile industry. During the heyday of largescale industry in Łódź the total population increased almost 12 times, reaching 477,9 thousand in 1914, of which more than a half (55,3%) was made up of temporary inhabitants (Puś, 1987). If the city's strongly

urbanized suburbs (Bałuty and Chojny) were also considered, the total population would even exceed 600 thousand.

The aforementioned economic and social processes caused mainly the rapid increase of participation of Catholics and Jews in religious structure of Łódź and simultaneous decrease of Protestant (Evangelical) participation. It is clearly seen in the datasheets from 1911, where among all the inhabitants of the city and the suburbs, Catholic population constituted more than a half (52,1%), Jews almost 1/3 (32,6%), whereas Protestants (Evangelical) only 14,0%. It is also worth to mention that at that time Łódź, beside Warsaw, was the biggest cluster of Jewish population on Polish lands, with 167,1 thousand people.

Some Orthodox Christians appeared in Łódź in 19th century (Janczak, 1980). It was not until the January Uprising (1863) and the 1905 Revolution when their importance in Łódź, connected with the expansion of tsarist administrative, police and military structures, started to grow. The participation of Orthodox Christians (together with soldiers and their families) in 1897 reached 2,3% (7,1 thousand) and in the years 1905-1906 it went up to 3%. In the late 19th century some minor religious groups, such as Moravian Friars, Czech Friars, Baptists, Methodists and other neoprotestant churches appeared in Łódź. In the early 20th century first Mariavite, Polish Catholic and Old Catholic parishes were established.

World War I brought catastrophic property loss, caused by the mass pillage of industry by the Germans, as well as an enormous decrease of population (from over 600 thousand in 1914 to 342 thousand in 1918, which is 43%). It was mainly Catholics and Protestants (Evangelical) that were conscripted. It resulted in a significant decrease of their populations in the city's religious structure. Their participation in a total number of inhabitants decreased to 47,6% (Catholics) and 11,4% (Protestants – Evangelical). As a result of evacuation of Russian institutions and offices, the percentage of Orthodox citizens decreased to 0,4%. At the same time Łódź witnessed a slightly lower decrease rate of Jewish people, therefore their participation in the total population of Łódź temporarily reached 40,1% (Tab. 1).

Table 1. The population of Łódź and its religious structure in the years 1820-2001

Year	Religion				
	Total	Catholic	Evangelical	Jewish	Orthodox and other

Thousand					
1820	0,8	0,5	0,0	0,3	0,0
1829	3,6	2,1	1,2	0,3	0,0
1850	15,6	6,7	6,9	2,0	0,0
1864	40,4	16,0	15,9	8,5	0,0
1897	314,0	151,7	56,5	98,7	7,1
1911	512,5	267,1	71,9	167,1	6,4
1918	341,8	162,8	38,9	137,2	2,9
1921	452,0	241,8	49,8	156,2	4,2
1931	604,6	340,2	56,1	202,5	5,8
1936	638,9	355,4	54,6	219,6	9,3
1938	665,2	389,5	53,7	207,0	15,0
1948	532,1	502,7	17,0	6,0	6,4
2001	763,8	756,0	5,2	0,2	2,4
Percent (%)					
1820	100,0	64,6	1,6	33,8	0,0
1829	100,0	58,0	33,0	9,0	0,0
1850	100,0	43,0	44,1	12,9	0,0
1864	100,0	39,7	39,3	21,0	0,0
1897	100,0	48,3	18,0	31,4	2,3
1911	100,0	52,2	14,0	32,6	1,2
1918	100,0	47,7	11,4	40,1	0,8
1921	100,0	53,5	11,0	34,6	0,9
1931	100,0	56,2	9,3	33,5	1,0
1936	100,0	55,6	8,5	34,4	1,5
1938	100,0	58,5	8,1	31,1	2,3
1948	100,0	94,5	3,2	1,1	1,2
2001	100,0	99,0	0,7	0,0	0,3

Source: Janczak (1991), Gałecki and others (1997), Puś (1987), questionnaire researches

The specific evolution of Łódź religious structure during the 2nd Polish Republic period (1918-1939) was simultaneous with city's economic and demographic development. Under the influence of migration processes and gradual polonization of Łódź Germans and Jews, changes in favour of Catholic religion started to take place. Due to the census data from 1921, the Catholics constituted 53,3% of city's population. Next census from 1931 shows the increase of this group's participation to 56,3%, and census from 1938 – another increase up to 58,6%. In contrast, the Evangelical population showed steady and slow decrease in its

participation in the city's population from 11,0% in 1921 to 8,1% in 1938. At the same time, the participation of Jewish community also decreased slightly: from 34,6% to 31,1%. As the 1931 census showed, during the period between WW I and WW II, except for the three main religions (Catholic, Evangelical and Jewish), Łódź was inhabited by religious minorities, both Christian (2667 people) and non-Christian (10 people).

During the Nazi occupation (1939-1945) the religious structure created in the past was completely altered. It was mainly the huge range and variety of means of extermination of both the Jewish and the Polish that contributed to it. Among the Nazi repression methods in Łódź were different kinds of camps (ghetto, compulsory working camps, displacement camps, special youth camps), prisons, executions and displacements. Due to data from 1946, the population loss in Łódź during the WW II reached 372 thousand people (53% of total population), 75% of which were murdered by the Nazi. It is estimated that about 170 thousand Łódź Jews were killed by the Nazi.

After 1945 Roman Catholics became unquestionably the largest religious group in Łódź. Just after the war some new Churches (The Church of Evangelical Christians) and religious groups were granted an official status, but later their actions were hindered by country's administration. The nationalization of such Church institutions as kindergartens, schools, hospitals and community centres was also an important event.

In mid-eighties, some traces of larger religious liberties appeared. Some religions, which had previously been illegal, registered officially, some others could settle their official status with the country's administration. After 1989 groups whose properties had been confiscated, could retrieve their lost goods and return to full social life. Many new Churches, religious groups and sects started to settle in Łódź. Free Christians, Mormons and two Buddhist groups registered in Łódź at that time.

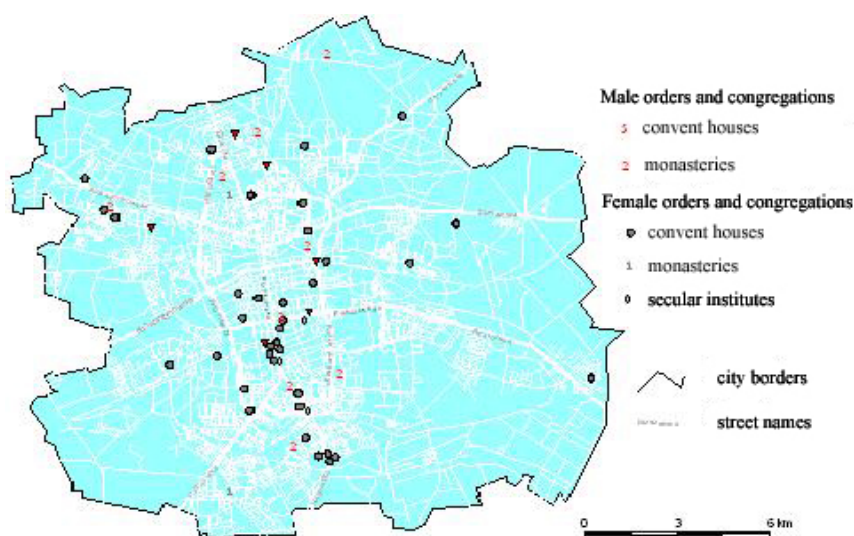
Roman Catholics sacred space organization

It was the Catholics that had the biggest influence on the current shape of Łódź. There are no evident documents indicating the date of foundation of the first parish in historical Łódź. There are some assumptions, that the first church was built in 14th century, when Zbilut Galanczewski was the Bishop of Włocławek. The parish of Ascension of The Holy Virgin Mary was founded by the Archbishop of Gniezno – Jarosław Bogoria Skotnicki, who held his office to 1374. Before the first parish in Łódź was founded, Łódź, Widzów and Widzewnica

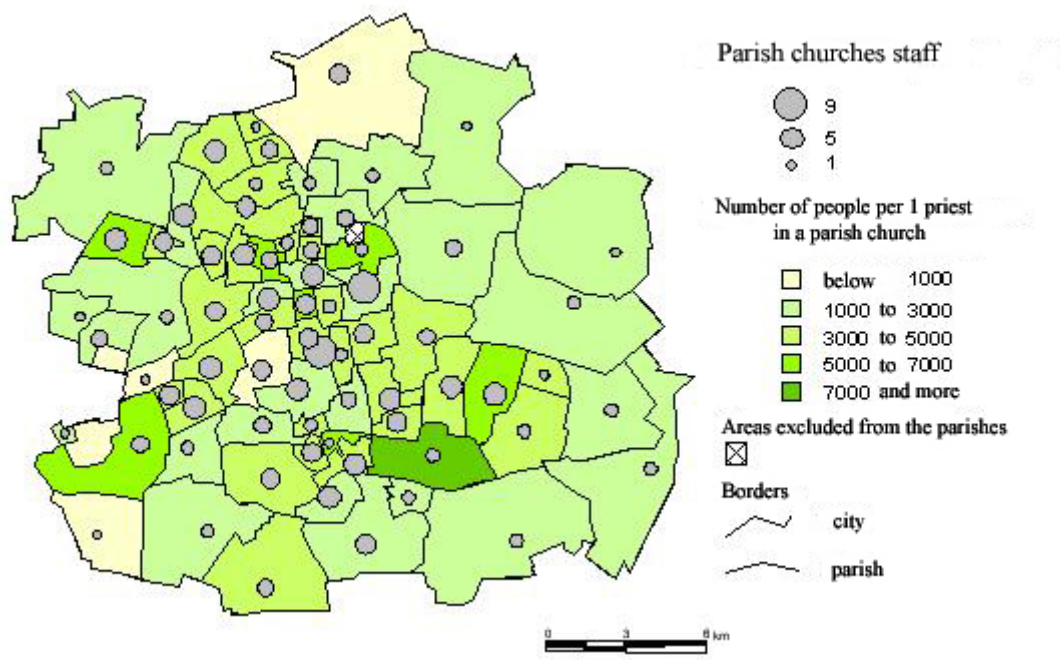
belonged to the parish in Mileszki. As a result of city's spatial development in the following years, the Mileszki parish was incorporated into Łódź and is now the oldest parish in the whole city.

Nowadays, there are 12 decanates and 65 parishes in Łódź. In the pre-partition period only 3 parishes were founded, during the partition – 12, and in the 1918-1939 period – 10. During the People's Republic of Poland period the founding of new parishes was slowed down. Until 1970 only 5 parishes were founded. After that year the relations between the state and the Catholic Church started to improve, which resulted in the increased number of new parishes in the city. The state thus fully controlled their number in the specific area. Most of the new parishes (21) were founded after the political changes in 1989.

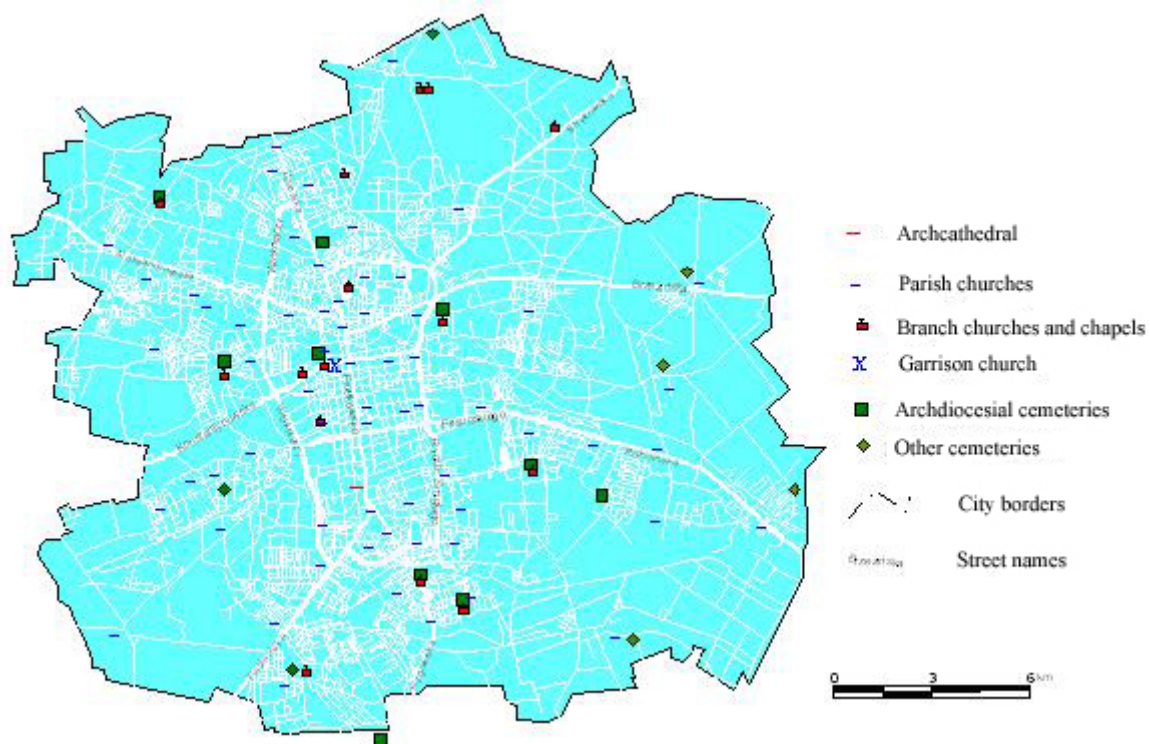
There are 221 priests in all the Roman-Catholic parish churches in Łódź. There are 139 friars in 15 male religious orders and 461 nuns in female religious orders. The largest male order is the Order of Friars Minor – The Conventuals (OFMConv.) – 42 friars. The largest female order is the Order of Carmelite Nuns of The Baby Jesus (86 nuns) (Pic. 2). The parishes in Łódź are very different as far as number of priests is concerned. There are parishes with only one priest (5) and with nine priests (2), but the most frequent pattern is the parish with two priests (Pic. 3). In most of the parishes, there are 1000 to 5000 people per each priest (58 parishes). In five parishes there are less than 1000 people / priest. There is one exception to this rule – in one of the parishes the ratio is 7000. There are also other religious and social facilities in Łódź, which belong to the Roman-Catholic Church. Apart from 65 parish churches, it is worth to mention 16 major cemeteries, 16 chapels and branch churches (Pic. 4), 20 church offices and institutions, 10 head offices of Catholic movements and associations, 10 universities, 3 high schools and 3 colleges. Many of these structures are located in the surroundings of Łódź Cathedral. Almost 20 from 193 structures and social facilities are located there (Pic. 5). In other parts of the city, these structures tend to flock to downtown areas and some parish churches. It is worth to mention that Catholic Church is the owner of 110 land plots of total area of 1543 hectares (5,2% of city's area) (Pic. 6).



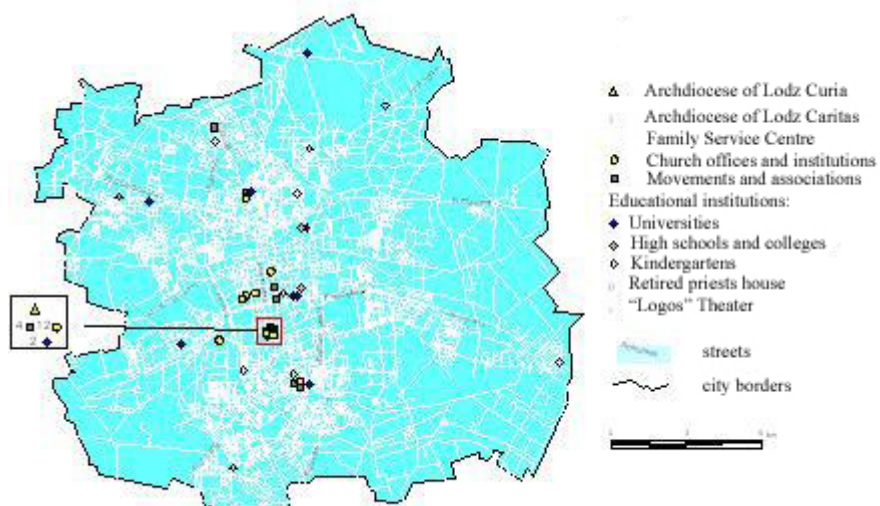
Pic.2. Institutes of consecrated life in Łódź in 2000



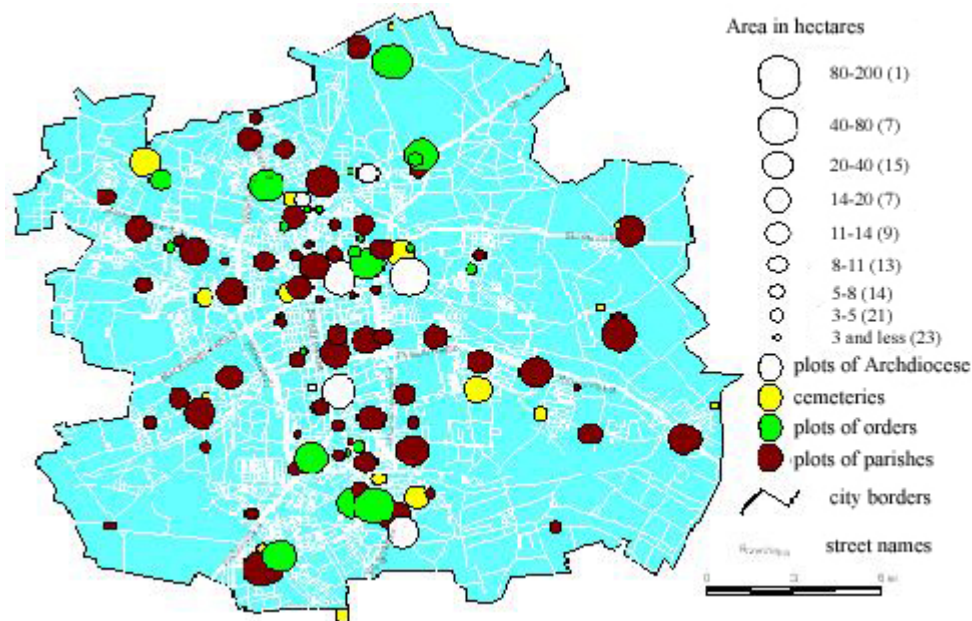
Pic.3. Priests in parishes in 2000



Pic.4. Sacral structures in Łódź in 2000



Pic.5. Church social facilities in Łódź



Pic.6. Land plots of Catholic Church in Łódź

Religious minorities' sacred space organization

There are 15 Churches and religious groups in Poland, whose relation to the state is regulated in separate acts of law. From among them, there are no Eastern Old Orthodox Church, Muslim Religious Association and Karaim Religious Association in Łódź. Other 138 Churches and religious groups are mentioned in "The Registry of Churches and other religious associations". In 2001, 10 such Churches and religious groups were present in Łódź (Tab. 2).

From the Church organizations' point of view, the most important sites are the temples, which are different kinds of places of religious worship. They can vary from churches, meeting houses, prayer houses, kingdom halls to chapels, synagogues and orthodox churches (Pic.7). Next map describes the location of other sites and burial grounds (Pic.8).

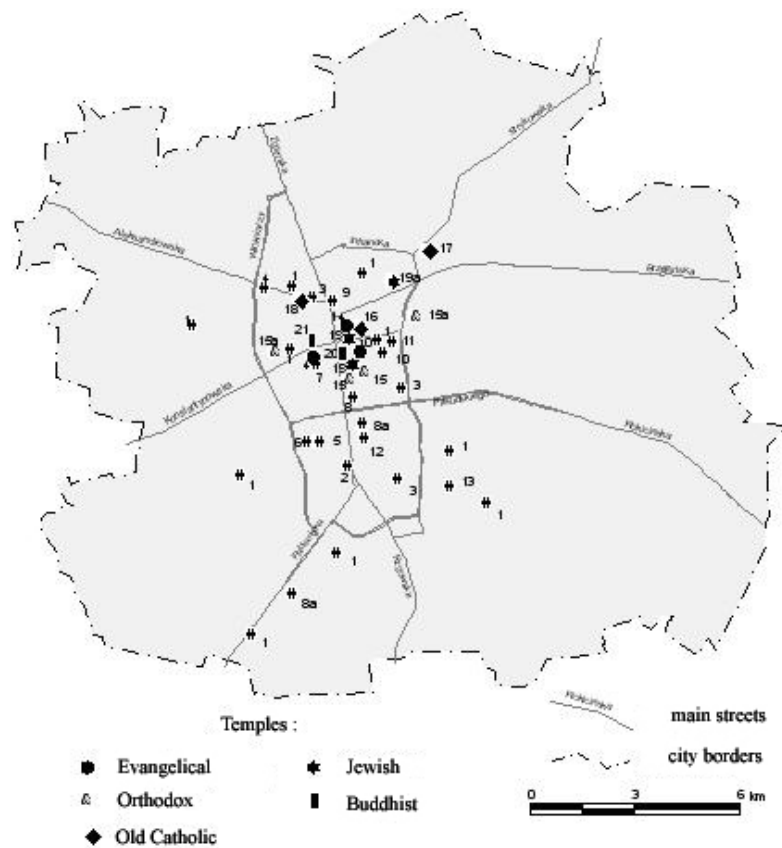
The location of Łódź temples indicates their concentration in the oldest parts of Łódź, inside the track network of ring railroad. The exception to this rule is the case of kingdom halls of the fastest developing religious group nowadays – the Jehovah's Witnesses. 11 kingdom halls are evenly located throughout the whole city which clearly increases their accessibility for the faithful.

Table 2. Religious minorities in Łódź

Churches and Religious Associations	Year of registration in Łódź	Priests/Ministers (2001) ^a	The faithful/the followers	
			1948-49 ^b	2001 ^c
Evangelical and of Evangelical traditions				
Evangelical-Augsburg Church in RP ^d	before 1800	3	15000	760
Evangelical-Reformed Church in RP ^d	1869	1	279	110
Baptist Christian Church in RP ^d	1868	2	426	90
Seventh Day Adventists' Church in RP ^d	1895	2	-	280
Evangelical-Methodist Church in RP ^d	1920	1	68	80
The Assemblies of God Church in RP ^d	1923	2	80	70
Christian Assembly Commune	1936	1	-	20
Jehova's Witness's Religious Association	1917	-	1000	3400 ^e
Secular Mission Movement "Epifania"	1924	10	150	96
Church of Evangelical Christians	1945	2	-	130
Sabbath Day Christian Church	1933	2	14	5
Free Christians' Church	1983	1	-	7
The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints	1991	1	-	120
New Apostolic Church in Poland	1906	1	-	50
Orthodox				
Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church ^d	1884	3	-	1000
Old Catholic				
Old Catholic Mariavite Church in RP ^d	1906	1	2500	900
Catholic Mariavite Church in RP ^d	1906	1	230	260
Polish Catholic Church in RP ^d	1934	3	2625	230
Non-Christian				
Jewish Religious Commune in RP ^d	1806	5	6000	242
Karma Kagyu Buddhist Association	1986	-	-	23
Zen Kwan Um School in Poland	1983	1	-	10

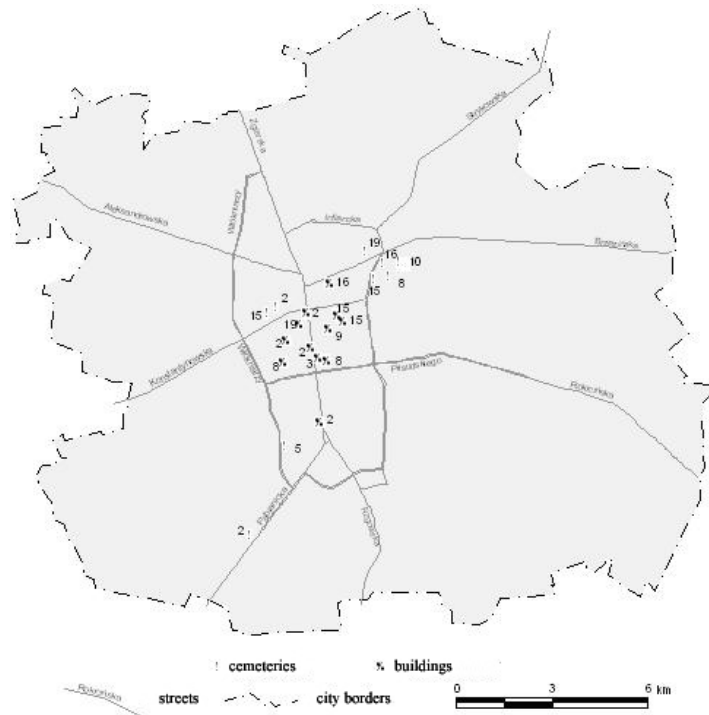
a authors' own questionnaire research. *b* According to *Łódź wielonarodowa i wielowyznaniowa a idea tolerancji*, 1997.

c authors' own questionnaire research, only the citizens of Łódź were questioned, *d* They function in Poland according to acts of law concerning specific Church's relation to the state, *e* only the so-called "preachers" living in Łódź



Pic.7. Religious minorities in Łódź. Temples and places of religious worship

1. Jehova's Witness's Religious Association (kingdom halls),
2. Evangelical-Augsburg Church (church),
3. Seventh Day Adventists' Church (church),
4. Church of Evangelical Christians (church),
5. Evangelical-Reformed Church (church),
6. Secular Mission Movement "Epifania" (prayer house),
7. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (meeting house),
8. Baptist Christian Church (church, a – chapel),
9. Evangelical-Methodist Church (church),
10. The Assemblies of God Church (church),
11. New Apostolic Church in Poland (catechist hall),
12. Christian Assemblies of God Association (church),
13. Free Christians' Church (meeting house),
14. Sabbath Day Christian Church (church),
15. Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church (orthodox church, a – chapel),
16. Old Catholic Mariavite Chuch (church),
17. Catholic Mariavite Church (chapel),
18. Polish Catholic Church (church),
19. Jewish Religious Commune (synagogue, a – pre-burial house),
20. Karma Kagyu Buddhist Association (sanga - centre),
21. Zen Kwan Um School (centre)



Pic. 8. Religious minorities in Łódź. Cemeteries and buildings used (index – see Picture 1)

Łódź religious sites obviously differ in age, size, look or architectural style. The city's oldest temples are Mariavite and Lutheran churches from the early 20th century. Other temples (such as Assemblies' of God church) were created in the last decade. The followers of some religions use monumental cathedrals (St. Mathew's Lutheran church) and churches, while others have to adapt small spaces within blocks of flats or tenement houses. The appearance of some buildings clearly indicates their religious function, while others (like Mariavite Chapel in Jarowa 20 Street) are not particularly distinguished from the surrounding buildings. Some structures are more exposed in the urban plan (the Orthodox church in Kilińskiego 56 Street), and some are more hidden (Mariavite church in Franciszkańska 27 Street). Jewish prayer house is hidden behind the front of the tenement house and in the case of New Apostolic chapel or Buddhist centres, you have to be very lucky to knock at the right door in the right apartment (usually rented in blocks of flats or tenement houses). Most of the structures, which belong to Łódź religious minorities, display information about the religious groups residing there. Sometimes it is only a sign with the name of the group on it, but in many cases you can also find out detailed information on their subject (ex. principles of faith, hours and dates of services and other gatherings, information about different courses, concerts etc.). The lack of any information about the specific religion was only found in the case of

the kingdom halls, belonging to Jehova's Witnesses. Only in some cases, an inscription saying "hall" appears next to the intercom. The other halls are anonymous¹.

Most of the buildings used by religious minorities combine both administrative and residential function. They are located in the central part of the city. It is worth to mention that especially in this particular category of structures, the ownership of the religious minorities was taken away in the 1940s. The lost buildings changed their function from religious to social, cultural or sports.

In the modern space of Łódź, nine necropolises used by religious minorities can be distinguished. Most of them is the part of two large cemetery complexes: at Doły and in Ogrodowa Street. Close to Doły, there is also a Jewish cemetery in Bracka Street – the largest in this part of Europe. Only two necropolises are located in a different, southern part of the city – Lutheran and Calvinist. Apart from them, a good observer would notice the traces of other cemeteries which are a testimony of religious minorities' inhabitation in Łódź. These are mainly the Lutheran burial sites, which lie close to the earliest settlements on Łódź outskirts. Their remains can be found next to the flyover in Dąbrowski Street, at Augustów Street, Zakładowa Street, Zbójnicka Street, Moskaliki Street, Nad Nerem Street and on the corner of Rąbieńska and Ciepłarniana Street (Radomiak, 1999).

Spatial dimension of religiosity

As the questionnaire research² has shown, Łódź Catholics have a very varied perception of religious space in general and religious space of the city. The religious site, most frequently visited by the respondents is their parish church. Their visits in other churches were related with their participation in such ceremonies as weddings, funerals, baptisms or family visits. The respondents had precise views about the appearance of the church. In the opinion of 57,1% of respondents, the interior of the church can influence the attitude towards the parish. Church should be rather small, with traditional architecture, moderately ornamented and located away from the city turmoil, not in the centre of the parish. This vision of church as a building is far from everything that Catholics have been told for many ages. Churches have always been centrally located and together with town halls determined not

¹ The lack of signs on structures belonging to Jehova's Witnesses can be a result of a general dislike towards them by the community of Łódź. The Witnesses themselves do not confirm this information, but members of other evangelical minorities do. They said that they met much dislike and humiliation from the citizens of Łódź, only because they were mistaken for Jehova's Witnesses.

² The research has been made in 2002, among the sample of 254 citizens of Łódź

only the centre of the parish but the city itself. The buildings have always been impressive and depending on the age of their construction, more or less ornamented.

The citizens of Łódź could tell the location of their parish church and its patron saint. The territorial range of the parish was a slightly more difficult task. The question about the nearest chapel was the last question regarding the parish. Chapel is a very characteristic element of Polish rural landscape, but it also appears in cities. However, chapels are not very visible in the city landscape – only 36,6% of the respondents could show the location of a chapel in their nearest surroundings.

As far as the number of churches in Łódź is concerned, the respondents had rather clear opinions. Only 2,4% of them said that there are not enough churches. They were mostly people from the oldest age group, right-wing sympathizers and people of strong faith.

The Archcathedral turned out to be the most important religious site in Łódź (over 78% of the respondents). The Catholics could also tell some places of cult of different religions. The most frequently mentioned among them was Orthodox church in Kilińskiego Street and Evangelical St. Mathew’s church in Piotrkowska Street.

It seems that the citizens of Łódź clearly separate *sacrum* place from *profanum* place. Half of the population agreed to the statement that there are places, where you can feel the close presence of God, like nowhere else. The most frequently mentioned place was the church and cemetery. Church was also the most popular place, where people would pray and meet God (tab. 3).

Table 3. Individual space of the respondents – places of meetings with God
Percentage of valid answers in a multiple-answer question

Place	Places, where I mostly prefer meeting God	Places, where you can feel the close presence of God, like nowhere else
church	55,6	83,3
cemetery	19,1	20,4
home	31,5	0,0
nature	0,0	14,8
anywhere	9,8	0,0
other place	4,2	1,8
nowhere	6,0	0,0

The stronger the respondents' faith, the more "formal" place of meeting God and prayer they indicated. Only the young people said that they can feel the close presence of God everywhere.

The questions about personal *sacrum* space also contained questions about religious symbols, their place and meaning. Almost 70% of all respondents and 90,7% of people who answered this question said, that items of religious meaning (holy pictures, rosaries, crucifixes) are present in the places of their everyday life. These places are mainly their closest surroundings – house, car, summer house, allotment). Significantly less people indicated their work and only 3,1% admitted to carrying such items with them (ex. in the wallet). However, for most of the people these items had big importance. 62,2% of all respondents confirmed their positive role in everyday life. Lack of any meaning at all was indicated by 37,1% and only 0,7% of the respondents said, they have negative meaning.

What is more interesting, there were no male respondents and no respondents over the age of 55 who carried religious symbols with them. It is hard to say whether the age determines the judgment on the meaning of these symbols. It is the education, sex and attitude to faith, that matter in a more significant way. It was the men, people with higher education and neutral in faith, that could see no effects of religious symbols in their surroundings. The correlation between the attitude to faith and opinion about the influence of religious symbols was 0,36.

Although most of the people had items connected with religion in their surroundings, the opinion about the existence of such symbols in public places differed. 48,5% were in favour of it, with 51,5% against it. In this case, the relation to the attitude to faith is also visible – correlation quotient 0,51. Another important factor is the political views – correlation quotient 0,67. The people accepting religious symbols in public places are the people of strong faith, right-wing supporters, more often women of low financial status, rather older, who spent their childhood outside Łódź (or outside other major city).

As the research showed, the citizens of Łódź are becoming less religious. Their religious space also narrows down. It has mainly institutional and formal dimension. Parish church, cemetery and Archcathedral are the main parts of that space.

Łódź has been lately shown in the media as a city of four cultures. Although this multicultural status can be seen within the city's space, not many people are aware of that. The *sacrum* space, in historical as well as in modern meaning, becomes the space which in everyday life is simply passed by or seen through the windows of the bus or tram.

Conclusions

In conclusions one can say that sacred or religious space is an important element of Lodz and its cultural landscape. It has been being created for last two centuries. Various groups of believers influenced that space in various periods of time. Jewish, Orthodox or Evangelical churches are easily recognized, although not well known, places in Łódź.

Since Roman-Catholics consist 99% of town population Roman-Catholic Church sites are the most visible in the city. Their development, limited in communist period, is now very rapid. Archcathedral can be called “religious” symbol of Lodz.

As far as spiritual perception of sacred space is considered one may say that it is relevant to actual organization of Catholic Church in Łódź. The churches and cemeteries are the most frequent mentioned places of contemplating God. On the other hand citizens of Łódź try to be closer to absolute by using rosaries, holy pictures and crucifixes.

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