2. CHANGES OF TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN POLAND

The history of evolution of Catholic Church’s administrative-territorial structure in Poland can be divided into seven periods (cf. Kumor 1969) determined by historic turning points and administrative reforms of the Church itself:

− Independent Poland (968 – 1772/95),
− Partition period (1772/95 – 1918),
− Interwar period (1918 – 1939),
− Nazi occupation years (1939-1945)
− First period of the People’s Republic of Poland – the biggest persecutions of the Catholic Church (1945 – 1972),
− Second period of the People’s Republic of Poland (1972 – 1992),
− Period after the great administrative reform of the Church in Poland, time of Polish transformation (after 1992).

During the first, and at the same time the longest period, there have been two metropolises in Poland – in Gniezno (since 1000) and in Lvov (since 1375). However, the first bishopric and diocese – in Poznań was founded soon after the baptism of Poland (966/967). During the congress of Gniezno in the year 1000 the papal bulls were announced and introduced the first church province in Poland. The borders of the new metropolis and Diocese of Poznań were the same as the borders of Poland during this period (Jakubowski, Solarczyk 2007; Kumor 2003a) – cf. Map 1. As E. Wiśniowski (2004) underlines, the parish network, or more specifically – the church network was developing on the basis of the existing network of fortresses, especially those of major economic significance. Such locations enabled Christianization of neighbouring lands, and when needed, defense of clergy and churches from potential threats.

In the ages to come, administrative structure of the Church was very dynamic. In the early 11th c. the Diocese of Kołobrzeg was liquidated and a new diocese was established in Kruszwica (1031). In 1075 a new diocese was founded in Mazowsze (with capital in Plock). In the early 12th c. a diocese in Lubusz was established, followed by Diocese of Pomerania based in Wolin. It is noteworthy that not only the borders of bishoprics, but also their seats

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1 Chapter based upon author’s habilitation thesis.
2 However, in the 13th c. the Diocese of Chełmno, or as indicated by J. Szymański (1966) – Dioceses of Sambia, Pomesania and Warmia, belonged to Riga metropolis.
3 Formally, Dioceses of Wrocław, Cracow and Kołobrzeg became part of the metropolis. The Diocese of Poznań was directly subjected to Rome (cf. Figlus 2008).
changed. The bishops moved from Kruszwica to Wloclawek (Diocese of Wloclawek) and from Wolin to Kamień Pomorski (Diocese of Kamień Pomorski) – cf. Sułowski 1966. The parish structure also developed rapidly during this period. The churches were founded by the overlords within the borders of their lands. The churches served not only their founders, but also local inhabitants. The range of church administrative units was identical to the range of private lands of the feudal lords, combining administrative functions of both church and secular structures. The number of parishes in Poland in the 12th c. is estimated at approximately 800-1000 (Wiśniowski 2004).

Map 1. Territorial structure of the Catholic Church in Poland, 1000
Source: based on S. Litak, 1991, Kościół łaciński w Polsce około 1772 r., Wyd. KUL, Lublin

In the 13th c., Diocese of Chelmnoe was founded and in the later stage, partially incorporated to Diocese of Riga. As indicated by B. Kumor (2003b), it was a period of rapid development of parish network. Frequently, single villages received their own parish districts. It is estimated, that in late 13th century there were approximately 3000 parishes in Poland. Creation of new administrative units brought the development of the entire area – schools and hospitals were also built (Map 2).
In the 14th century Polish Church expanded to the east – Vilnius Bishopric and Archdiocese of Halicz were created. The latter was later moved to Lvov. As a result of founding the second metropolis, the post of Primate of Poland was also established. At the same time, dioceses in Seret (Moldova), Kamieniec and Kiev were created and incorporated to Archbishopric of Lvov. In the late Middle Ages the parish network was clearly outlined. Their number was estimated at approximately 6000, most of which were located in Dioceses of Wrocław, Cracow, Kamieniec and Poznań. In the areas of solid and dense settlement network, the general administrative layout or Church’s territorial administration remained unchanged until the 20th century, namely regions of Wiślica, Sandomierz, Plock, Lublin, Radom and Warmia. Comparing to the rest of medieval Europe, Polish administrative structure seems slightly underdeveloped. For example, in the 13th c. England had over 9000 parishes, while France – 42000 (Wiśniowski 2004) – cf. Map 3.
A hundred years later, the structure of Polish Roman Catholic Church comprised two metropolises and 21 dioceses. In 1772 the number of dioceses dropped down to 17. These were based in: Chełmno, Gniezno, Livonia, Cracow, Plock, Poznań, Smolensk, Vilnius, Włocławek, Samogitia, Bacău (Moldova), Chełmno, Kamieniec, Kiev, Lvov, Lutsk and Przemyśl. Additionally, two dioceses were directly subjected to the Holy See – Dioceses of Warmia and Wrocław (Jakubowski, Solarczyk 2007). During this period, the number of churches (both, parish and filial) reached 6472 – most of them located in the Diocese of Wrocław (1326) and Cracow (1077). Filial churches constituted over 25% of the total number of churches. During that time 4691 parishes operated, with their average size of 182 km². Both, the parish size and number of churches were spatially diversified. The higher density was observed in the western province. It was dominated by parishes with area size below 80 km² (Table 1) – cf. Litak 1991.
The partition period brought huge, not always positive, and unwelcome changes. In 1782 the “Diocese of Belarus” which had existed since 1773, was shifted to Archbishopric of Mogilev. In 1818 the Diocese of Kingdom of Poland was transformed into Metropolis of Warsaw. At the same time, Catherine II liquidated Dioceses of Vilnius, Kamieniec and Lutsk. The diocesan structure got its final shape by the power of bull of Pope Pius VI from 1798 (Kumor 2004a). In the same year, the same pope established the Diocese of Warsaw. The changes were also introduced in the lands of Austrian partition. The most important one included the establishing Diocese of Lublin. The year 1818, or rather political changes it brought, were a crucial moment in the history of Polish Church administration. That year the Kingdom of Poland and the Free City of Cracow were established. As a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Diocese</th>
<th>Area (km²)</th>
<th>Parishes</th>
<th>Parishes based in cities</th>
<th>Average parish size in km²</th>
<th>Churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gniezno</td>
<td>Chelmno</td>
<td>5 900</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48.36</td>
<td>176</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gniezno</td>
<td>40 585</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>60.04</td>
<td>877</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Livonia</td>
<td>39 600</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1320.00</td>
<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cracow</td>
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<td>888</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>60.81</td>
<td>1077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plock</td>
<td>23 300</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>77.93</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poznań</td>
<td>28 410</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>139</td>
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<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smolensk</td>
<td>14 100</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4700.00</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vilnius</td>
<td>226 000</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>530.52</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td>18 400</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>90.64</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samogitia</td>
<td>25 200</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>254.55</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lvov</td>
<td>Baciu</td>
<td>79 000</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2548.39</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chelmno</td>
<td>18 900</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>225.00</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamieniec</td>
<td>19 575</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>331.78</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kiev</td>
<td>63 200</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1975.00</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lvov</td>
<td>29 200</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>214.71</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lutsk</td>
<td>109 300</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>490.13</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Przemyśl</td>
<td>18 000</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>102.86</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dioceses directly subjected to the Holy See</td>
<td>Warmia</td>
<td>4 700</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60.26</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wroclaw</td>
<td>35 996</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>54.79</td>
<td>1326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>853 366</td>
<td>4 691</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>181.92</td>
<td>6472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: author’s own elaboration based on S. Litak, 1991, Kościół łaciński w Polsce około 1772 r., Wyd. KUL, Lublin.
result, the concordat between Alexander I of Russia and the Church gave Warsaw the title of metropolis. It included Archdiocese of Warsaw and the following dioceses: Janów, Cracow, Lublin, Plock, Sandomierz, Augustów and Kujawy. At the same time, the metropolitan of Warsaw received the rank of the primate of the Kingdom of Poland (Myszor 2003).

In the Prussian partition, Diocese of Poznań became a metropolis and Diocese of Wrocław was directly subjected to Rome. The changes during that period were mainly related to the growth of large dioceses at the expense of smaller ones, just like in case of Wrocław, Chełmno and Warmia Dioceses. In Austrian partition, the structure with Lvov metropolis remained unchanged until the 1830’s. In 1821, Diocese of Tyniec had been established and five years later transformed to Diocese of Tarnów. Further changes followed after the fall of the January Uprising. As part of the repressions against the Poles, the Tsar administration broke the concordat and liquidated dioceses in Kamieniec and Minsk. The agreement with the Holy See from 1880 guaranteed formal liquidation of the aforementioned administrative units as well as Diocese of Podlasie. At the same time, they were given the status of apostolic administrations1. Diocese of Kielce was also established. In the same year, Pope Leon XIII changed the borders of Diocese of Cracow and proclaimed it as the so-called excluded diocese (Kumor, 2004b).

Regaining independence in 1918 brought a new stage in the history of Polish Church. Firstly, the plan of territorial structure-related activities was set. It consisted of several goals, among which the most important one included adjusting spatial division to the new state borders of Poland. The “opening balance” consisted of three metropolises – Gniezno-Poznań, Warsaw and Lvov. The fourth metropolis, Mogilev, was only partly located within the borders of Poland. There were 4 archdioceses, 12 dioceses and 3 others, divided by national borders, whose capitals lay in neighbouring countries – parts of Diocese of Wrocław (Śląsk Cieszyński, Górny Śląsk), Diocese of Samogitia (Brasław district) and Diocese of Spisz (Spisz and Orava). Parts of some dioceses were located outside Polish borders: Vilnius and Sejny (Lithuania), Lutsk and Minsk (Soviet Union), Chełmno (Germany, Free City of Gdańsk), Archdiocese of Poznań (Germany) and Archdiocese of Lvov (Romania).

Adjusting territorial structure of the Church to the new conditions involved not only adjustments in relation to Polish borders. The Church administration wanted the new divisions to reflect the number of inhabitants. Another goal was to establish diocese capitals in centrally located cities. Until 1925 the most important changes included: reinstating Diocese of Podlasie (1918), foundation of Diocese of Łódź (1920).

1 It means that the pastoral duties are performed on behalf of the pope by a designated administrator, not a bishop of a local church.
In 1925 a new concordat entered into force. It regulated the shape of territorial division of the Church in Poland. By its power, 5 metropolises were established – Gniezno-Poznań, Warsaw, Vilnius, Lvov and Cracow, as well as 21 dioceses and archdioceses (Map 4). Only 10 of them dated back to the times of the First Republic of Poland.

Map 4. Territorial structure of the Catholic Church in Poland, 1923

Unfortunately, the dioceses remained very diverse in terms of area size and size of the congregation. Diocese of Vilnius had the largest area – 53 860 km², while Diocese of Katowice – the smallest (4216 km²). The largest congregation populated Diocese of Warsaw (1 421 136), while the smallest one inhabited Diocese of Lutsk (195 109). The latter, as indicated by B. Kumor (2004b), was also characterized by the worst pastoral conditions – the average parish had an area of over 410 km². In comparison, an average parish in Archdiocese of Gniezno was only 22.9 km² in size. Ten years later the average number of the faithful per one diocese equaled 931 thousand and per one parish – 3.9 thousand. On average, one priest served 1.7 thousand Roman Catholics (Adamczuk 1991).

During World War II, there was a dramatic decline in the development of territorial structures of the Catholic Church, which was a result of the general, bad condition of the Church in Poland. The biggest losses were suffered in the areas incorporated to the Nazi Germany, in the so-called Kraj Warty (Warthegau). Within its borders were the prewar Diocese of Poznań and partly Gniezno, Włocławek, Warsaw, Płock, Częstochowa and Łódź Dioceses (Map 5). Of more than 1000 parishes from before 1939, only 60 (!) were allowed to function by the Nazis. Over 1300 churches were closed with 500 of them transformed into warehouses. 90% of the clergy was arrested or evicted. Churches were also being razed. In Warthegau, of almost 1700 churches and chapels 1300 are estimated to have been closed and 200 razed or dismantled. Similar losses were witnessed in Pomerania and Silesia. Better conditions were maintained within the borders of Generalne Gubernatorstwo (General Government), although the situation of the Church within its borders was far from satisfactory. Most of the churches in the areas annexed by the Soviet Union were closed and the inhabitants underwent atheistic indoctrination (Adamczuk, 1991; Sienkiewicz, 2003; Gryz, 2007).

After Poland had regained independence, a new stage in building the Roman Catholic Church’s organisational and administrative structures began. The years 1945-1972 are considered to be the period of the most intense persecutions of the Church and, at the same time, the temporariness of its territorial structures. After the concordat had been cancelled in 1945, the state-Church relations were regulated by the so-called 14th April 1950 agreement. Not all leaders of the Church favored the signing of this document (for example Cardinal A. S. Sapieha). Nevertheless, in the early 1950’s it seemed to be the only reasonable solution. Unfortunately, the authorities did not fulfill their declarations and the situation of the Church deteriorated dramatically after 1953.
The attitude of the state towards the Church was not the only determinant of its territorial organization's dynamics. There was also a change in Poland’s religious structure – approximately 90% of the Poles were Catholics, whereas before World War II their number did not exceed 65%. Moreover, the change of Polish borders’ layout was also a major factor. Dioceses of Gdańsk and Warmia, almost entire Archdiocese of Wrocław, free prelature of Piła, parts of Berlin, Prague, Olomouc and Meissen dioceses – all of them became part of Polish Church’s organisational structures. Most of
Lvov and Vilnius metropolises’ area remained across the Polish eastern border. In 1945, the newly acquired lands were incorporated as part of apostolic administrations\(^2\) in Gdańsk, Olsztyn, Opole, Wrocław and Gorzów. For 27 parishes in the Archdiocese of Lvov, which remained within Polish borders, an apostolic administration in Lubaczów was created while 56 parishes from Archdiocese of Vilnius were included in Białystok apostolic administration. At the same time, 35 parishes from Diocese of Pinsk were incorporated to the newly-created administration in Drohiczyn (Map 6).

Map 6. Territorial structure of the Catholic Church in Poland after 1945


Until the early 1950’s the parish network in Poland was being rebuilt rapidly. The completely new structures were mainly established in the Regained Territories. In the years 1946-1957, the number of parishes increased from 5897 to 6527. The churches, which had been destroyed during the war, were being rebuilt. As many as 551 churches were restored before 1950 and 116 new churches were additionally built before 1955. The communist government often manipulated the clergy in terms of building

\(^2\) At the level of metropolis.
materials’ allocation. Stories tell of the group of “patriot priests”\(^3\), who on one hand were jeopardizing the Church through their cooperation with the government, and on the other hand – they were helping save it. The directives of *Urząd do Spraw Wyznań – UdSW* (Religious Issues Office) were unambiguous – the construction of new churches had to be limited.

Another major issue of the post-war period was the seizure of other religions’ temples by the Catholic Church. In 1947 the Przemyśl curia adopted 24 fully-equipped, Eastern Orthodox churches. Evangelical churches and other buildings belonging to their clergy were also taken over, due to the fact that Evangelical religion was mainly associated with the Germans (Gryz 2007). According to W. Zdaniewicz (1979), in 1972 there were one to nine buildings in 1136 parishes, adopted from the Protestants after 1945. Moreover, the Roman Catholic Church used 92 Greek Catholic churches, 36 Orthodox churches and 11 Mariavite churches – either officially or not.

After another decree entered into force in 1956, the foundation of new parishes had to be consulted with “state authorities”. By the power of this decree, the authorities allowed mainly to rebuild churches, while the construction of new facilities was unwelcome. In the years 1956–1971, 194 churches were erected, including 41 rebuilt ones and 14 churches, whose construction began in 1939. In the years 1957–1967, only 235 new parishes were established (Kumor 2004b).

As estimated by L. Müllerowa (1982), the general parish network in Poland was established by the year 1952. However, the arrangement of Church’s territorial structure at the level of diocese was not conducted until 1972. It was enabled by the mutual agreement on the existing Polish-German border layout, between People’s Republic of Poland and West Germany. Formally\(^4\), it happened on 10th May 1972. At the end of 1972, Pope Paul VI issued the bull *Episcoporum Poloniae coetus* where a new territorial division of Polish Church was made. By the power of this document, 5 metropolises were established – Gniezno, Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań and Wrocław. The administrations in Lubaczów and Białystok remained as they were. The bull also mentioned construction of 4 new dioceses – Opole, Gorzów, Szczecin-Kamień Pomorski and Koszalin-Kołobrzeg (Map 7) – cf. Jakubowski, Solarczyk, 2007.

\(^3\) The name is associated with a group of priests, who were members of the *Komisja Księdzy* (Priests’ Comission) in *Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację - ZBOWiD* (Society of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy). Until the early 1950’s, 10% of the clergy belonged to ZBOWiD.

\(^4\) The peace treaty between Germany and Poland was signed on 7th December 1970. However it was not ratificated by Germany until 1972.
The total number of dioceses reached 27 (including 7 archdioceses), while the number of parishes totaled 7493. The average number of people per one parish was 4121. According to the statistical data collected by Instytut Statystyki Kościola Katolickiego – ISKK (Statistical Institute of the Catholic Church) in 1971, the number of parishes within dioceses was very diverse. Diocese of Wrocław consisted of 683 parishes, while Diocese of Łódź – only 152. These figures did not have any positive correlation to area or population size. The parishes with population of over 10 or 20 thousand were considered

5 Unfortunately, there is no coherent data regarding the number of parishes. It is partly caused by the statistical approach. Frequently, all pastoral facilities (parishes, vicariates, rectorates, monasteries) were included in the total amount of parishes. Additionally, the scientific approach to data collection methodology also differed – cf. Müllerowa 1975; Zdaniewicz 1975.

6 Questionaire survey in dioceses.
large (the average for Diocese of Łódź in 1973 was over 10 thousand people). The total number of churches during this period was estimated at 9856. On average, that meant one church per 3104 people and the area of 31.7 km². In contrast, in Diocese of Łomża one church served the average area of 90 km², while in Diocese of Drohiczyn – over 106 km². The average parish size exceeded 40 km². In Diocese of Warsaw, statistically there was one church per 8 thousand people and in Łódź – 6.5 thousand (Kumor 2004b; Zdaniewicz 1975). It is worth to indicate, that the disproportions resulted not only from the communist authorities’ meddling with Church affairs, but also from the demographic situation in particular parts of Poland and in case of Warsaw and Łódź dioceses – from their urban nature.

Of course, the parish structure of the Church in Poland began to change after the 1972 reform. At that time, as much as 18% of all Polish parishes were established in the years 1946–1972. In Diocese of Szczecin-Kamień Pomorski, the “postwar” parishes made over 82% of their total number and in Diocese of Koszalin-Kołobrzeg – over 56%. On the other hand, in Dioceses of Płock and Łomża the parishes established after 1946 made no more than 4% of all parishes. A more dynamic growth of the parish network followed in the 1980’s. In 1989, there were 8573 parishes in Poland, with the average of 4386 people in one parish. However, the increase in the number of parishes was not as rapid as in the number of people, especially in relation to urban areas.

Another change in the borders of metropolises and dioceses occurred 20 years later. It resulted from political changes in Poland. The papal bull Totus Tuus Poloniae populus, issued by John Paul II, proclaimed the foundation of new organisational units and confirmed the existing ones. Thirteen new dioceses were established: Bielsko-Żywieć, Elbląg, Elk, Gliwice, Kalisz, Legnica, Łowicz, Radom, Rzeszów, Sosnowiec, Toruń, Zamość-Lubaczów and Warsaw-Praga. Poland was divided into 13 metropolises – Gniezno, Cracow, Poznań, Warsaw, Wrocław, Przemyśl, Szczecin-Kamień Pomorski, Gdańsk, Warmia, Białystok, Częstochowa, Katowice and Lublin (Map 8). The changes were determined by pastoral requirements.

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7 Calculations based on statistical data of ISKK, collected in questionnaire survey conducted in parishes in 1972 (Zdaniewicz 1979).
Map 8. Territorial structure of the Catholic Church in Poland, 1992

The last adjustments of the territorial structure of the Church were conducted in 2004. Two new dioceses were established – Bydgoszcz and Świdnica. The Archbishopric of Łódź was raised to the level of metropolis. Nowadays, there are 14 Roman Catholic metropolitan archdioceses and 27 dioceses (with one additional field ordinariate) – cf. Map 9.

According to data from ISKK, in 2007 there were over 10 thousand parishes with an average number of approx. 3600 people per parish. The parishes with extremely low (below 500) and extremely high (over 10 000) number of people make only a small percent in the total number of units. The parish structure is dominated by rural parishes (64.8%), while urban parishes make as much as 20% of the total. The remaining parishes are urban-rural in their nature. Only 650 parishes are monastic parishes. The remaining parishes are diocesan (Statystyka... 2009). In comparison, there are 19 thousand
parishes in the USA and two thirds of them are urban. On average, there are 3000 people per parish. As much as 25% of all parishes are populated by less than 200 families, which is approx. 450 people (Davidson and Fournier 2006).

Map 9. Territorial structure of the Catholic Church in Poland, 2009
Source: based on www.episkopat.pl

The number of parishes in Poland is constantly increasing. At the same time, the average number of people per parish is decreasing (Table 2). Diocese of Tarnów has the highest number of parishes. The lowest amount of parishes can be observed in Diocese of Drohiczyn. On average, there are 244 parishes per one diocese.
The area size of parishes is decreasing. In 1972, an average parish had no more than 41 km², in 2007 – almost 31 km². Quoting L. Müllerowa (1982), it is important to remember that in the 17th and 18th c. western provinces held parishes of 56 km² in size. As the author says, comparing this data to the figures from the early 1970’s, the changes are not so significant. However, the difference can be clearly seen thirty years later (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of parishes (diocesan and monastic) and congregation size in Poland in the years 1972-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of parishes</th>
<th>Average number of people in a parish</th>
<th>Average size of a parish (in km²)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>7 493</td>
<td>4 121</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>7 604</td>
<td>4 223</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>8 429</td>
<td>3 957</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>8 863</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>9 471</td>
<td>3 810</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>9 617</td>
<td>3 630</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>9 990</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>10 082</td>
<td>3 622</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


The structure of parish network cannot depend solely on the size of the country’s territory. Another important factor is the size of the congregation. As mentioned above, there is a large spatial diversity in this field. Unfortunately, the data used for analysis is only an estimation. According to these figures, the diocese with the largest congregation was based in Katowice. The lowest number of Roman Catholics inhabited Diocese of Drohiczyn. At the same time, Diocese of Przemyśl had the lowest density of people per parish, while Diocese of Łowicz – the highest. However, it was not Diocese of Łowicz that had the highest average number of priests in a parish, but rather Diocese of Białystok. Observations show, that the number of parishes in a diocese increases with the number of people.

One particular feature of Poland’s parish network is its relatively young age (the same can be said about the church network). Almost 50% of parishes were founded in the 20th c. and more than a third of them – after 1945 (Table 3). A completely different situation can be observed in countries, such as Great Britain⁸, Italy or France, where parish structures are deeply rooted in

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⁸ In England, the term “civil parish” is still in use. It is the lowest, fourth tier of civil administration. Both, the name and the division are related to the structure of the
Changes of territorial structure of the Catholic Church in Poland

history. Back in the medieval times, they were, in a way, counterweight to the framework imposed by the strict, feudal authorities. In such case, they can become a foundation for creating coherent local communities and building a civil society (cf. Putnam 1995; Tocqueville 1994). This, on the other hand, allows to use it as a basis for the state administration structure, especially one of the lowest tier.

Table 3. Churches built and parishes established throughout the centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>10th c.</th>
<th>11th c.</th>
<th>12th c.</th>
<th>13th c.</th>
<th>14th c.</th>
<th>15th c.</th>
<th>16th c.</th>
<th>17th c.</th>
<th>18th c.</th>
<th>19th c.</th>
<th>20th c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parishes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>5006a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>1230</td>
<td>1728</td>
<td>2554b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"a – before 2007; b – before 1972


Church of England. Nowadays, the parishes are based in the areas of low urbanization level.
3. CREATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH’S SPACE IN ŁÓDŹ

Religious space is an important element of every human being’s space. Such space can only be delimited from natural or man-made environment. It is born along with creation of settlements and development of settlement network. In Łódź, it was none the different. The early settlement movement in the area was closely related to the construction of sacral buildings. It is a known fact, that Łódź and the area comprising the Diocese of Łódź nowadays was incorporated to Metropolis of Gniezno (cf. Map 1).

Łodzia village, located on the left bank of the Ostroga River, was first mentioned in 1332. The document of Duke Władysław of Łęczyca and Dobrzyń, mentions it, among 14 others¹, as a property of the Włocławek Chapter². Władysław allowed the bishops to grant them German or Polish town rights. It was conducted on 10th June 1387. Łódź, along with a nearby village of Wizew, received a German law charter. At the same time, a new settlement³ started to emerge on the right bank of the Ostroga River. In this very location, a couple of years earlier in about 1366, the Wniebowzięcie Najświętszej Maryi Panny⁴ Church was built and the first parish was founded. Unfortunately, the precise location of the first church in Łódź remains unknown. A. Zand (1931; citing after Stefański 1995) claims, it was built on the intersection of present-day Zachodnia and Lutomierska streets, on the so-called Górki Plebańskie (Church Hills).

The building was made of wood, with shingled roof and ornamented with a small tower (Stefański 1995). Piotr Śliwka was the first parish-priest. M. Budziarek (2005) indicates that next to customs house and river crossing, the parish church was a major city-forming factor which attracted new settlers.

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¹ Dąbrowa, Gnichowo, Godaszewice, Komorniki, Łaznów, Niesulków, Przynowice, Siedlec, Sobota, Strupin, Transzew, Zagniszowice, Żywoćin.
² In 1464, Łódź was pawned for the period of one year to the wojewoda (Voiwode) of Łęczyca. The town, along with neighbouring lands, was worth 1000 Hungarian florins (Zwoliński 1994).
³ The settlement was initially called Ostroga, and it was Ostroga that originally received a town charter from Władysław Jagiełło’s hands. The documents that followed, used the name “Łódź” instead. (Budziarek 2005a).
⁴ As Stefański (1995) indicates, some documents mention the name of Matka Boska Wniebowzięta Church. The building was funded by the Bishop of Włocławek, Zbilut Gołańczewski (Galanczewski).
Apart from Łódź, the new parish also comprised the villages: Doly, Rogi, Lipniki, Bałuty, Stara Wieś, Radogoszcz and Rokicie, which belonged to the Cracow Chapter. These villages had originally belonged to the already existing parishes – Zgierz, Mileszki and Kazimierz. During the two centuries that followed, the Church administrative division of modern Łódź’s area have not changed significantly. At the end of the 16th c. Zgierz parish comprised the villages: Kały, Lagiewniki and Modrzew. In the later stage (18th/19th c.), Grabieniec was added. The parish in Kazimierz comprised Jagodnica and Zlotno. Moskule belonged to Dobrów parish, while Mileszki parish comprised Chojny Duże, Chojny Małe, Wiskitno, Stoki, Sikawa (Wola Mieckkowa at that time) and Budy Stokowskie (Wola Stokowska at that time).

With time, Mileszki parish was expanded with: Dąbrowa, Janów, Olechów, Górki, Henryków, Antoniew and Kowlaszczyzna. The villages belonging to Łódź parish included: Bałuty, Brus, Doly, Lipniki, Radogoszcz, Rogi, Rokicie, Stara Łódź, Widzew, Wólka (Mierzączka) and the town of Łódź. It was later expanded with: Żabieniec, Karkoszka, Augustów and Koziny. The Pabianice parish comprised: Retkinia, Ruda Pabianicka and Chocianowice (Łaski 1880-1881; citing Rosin 1980; Baranowski 1976). The fate and the condition of the Wniebowzięcie Najświętszej Maryi Panny Church varied throughout the ages. Until the 16th century, the parish functioned successfully. After Bałuty and Radogoszcz were lost, the parish fell into decline. After his visit in the parish in 1594, Bishop H. Rozdrażewski wrote in his report: “the church was so neglected, that chickens ran freely within its walls” (Muznerowski 1922). In the same year, Rozdrażewski ordered to build a hospital next to the church. It is also known, that in the later period, a school operated in vicar’s house (Zwoliński 1994). Therefore, the social significance of the parish cannot be underestimated.

The history of the aforementioned church and parish in Mileszki is even richer than that of the Wniebowzięcie Najświętszej Maryi Panny. The Acts of Warsaw Consistory mention, that the building was erected in 1048, thus only 82 years after Poland had been baptised. In 1200, the village and the church were marked on the Duchy of Masovia map. Initially, it was this parish, that the village of Łodzia was associated with (Dzięciuchowicz and others 2004). The present building of the Św. Dorota and Jan Chrzciciel Church dates back to 1766. It is the third building in the history of the parish. Its filial church, the Św. Wojciech Church built in Chojny in the Middle Ages, was a funded in 1493 by Stanisław Chojeński. Just like the other churches, it was a wooden structure. The new, masonry church was not consecrated until 1929 (Grymin

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5 It is considered to be a lost settlement. Although the documents confirm its existence, its location and range have not been yet determined until today.
6 Lagiewniki and Modrzew were still part of Szczawno parish in the early 16th c.
7 It remained a filial church until 1892.
Development of Catholic Sacral Space’s Structures in Łódź

Łagiewniki became an important centre of religious life. In the late 17th c., Samuel Żelewski, the owner of the Łagiewniki lands, built a wooden shrine devoted to St. Antoni and brought Conventual Franciscans to Łagiewniki. The story has it, that there were two reasons for Żelewski to do this. Firstly, the shrine was a votive offering for stopping the cattle epidemic. Secondly, in this very spot St. Antoni miraculously manifested himself to Jerzy – a carpenter in service of Żelewski. In 18th March 1681, papal nuncio Pallavicini proclaimed Łagiewniki a sanctuary – a miraculous place. At the same time, the Franciscans were announced as its “eternal occupants”. Soon afterwards, the construction of a wooden church and monastery followed. It was three years later, when the church was consecrated. It became the Trójca Święta, NMP Niepokalanie Poczęcia, Św. Antoni z Padwy i Św. Jan Chrzciciel Church. The shrine was relocated towards the pond. Soon, Łagiewniki became a major pilgrimage site, which attracted pilgrims from both, the surrounding area and other parts of the country. This resulted in the construction of a masonry church in 1701. It was consecrated in 1726 as the Św. Antoni Cudotwórca Church. The wood from the old church was used to build chapels in the nearby forest – Przemienienia Pańskiego, Matki Boskiej Anielskiej, Św. Walenty and Św. Roch chapels. The pilgrimage movement remained alive and soon a monastery was erected, funded from the pilgrims’ offerings and contributions (1748).

When the Wniebowzięcie parish was founded, almost the entire area of today’s Łódź was subjected to Archdiocese of Gniezno, the Archdeaconate of Łęczyca. Łódź, however, belonged to the Bishops of Włocławek. This dual nature resulted from an immature administrative structure of the Catholic Church in Poland and became a source of numerous conflicts.

8 Bishopric of Włocławek had its properties in Archdiocese of Gniezno already in the 13th c. These were the so-called farming estates, based near Piotrków in: Wolbórz, Smardzewice, Grabów, Czarnocin, Łaznów and Niesulków. In 1582, they comprised two towns – Łódź and Wolbórz, along with 51 villages. It was Wolbórz, where the Bishops of Włocławek resided in their palace. Thus, they broke canon law which prohibited bishops from residing outside their diocese. In 1761, Bishop of Włocławek A. S. Dembowski proposed to exchange the parishes from Wolbórz, Smardzewice and Grabów farming estates with parishes bordering the Archdiocese of Gniezno. Unfortunately, the bishops of Gniezno rejected this proposal. They said, that although a small Wolbórz was given in exchange of a larger Bydgoszcz, for Gniezno it was still unprofitable. The incoherence of the proposed structure was another argument against this agreement. The Wolbórz estates would become an enclave of Kujawy within the borders of Metropolis of Gniezno. The solution to this situation came from Rome, on 3rd August 1764. Pope Clement XIII issued a decree, transferring collegiate church in Wolbórz with the parish, along with seven other
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 Kujawy and thus, excluded from Archdiocese of Gniezno.

One year later, the construction of a new church began – the old one was not even fit for repairs. The church was funded by Bishop A. K. Ostrowski and erected further away from the market square, in the location of present Plac Kościelny (Church Square). The location is described by B. Baranowski (1976):

The church in Łódź was located north of the market square (...) and built in the highest point of the town, on the hills of a local watershed between the valleys of Łódka and Bałutka Rivers. This elevation, although not visible in today’s topography shadowed by high-rise buildings, was a major landmark in the past.

The building was wooden, just like its predecessor, but constructed on a wall base, with shingled roof. It was erected on the rectangular base, its sides 23 and 13 łokcie⁹ long with presbytery facing west. The church was surrounded by graveyard. A couple of years later (1796), when Łódź was under the partitions, it was transformed into a Royal-Prussian town. The transition was related to forms of ownership and management. As a result, the bishops’ properties were secularized. From the Church administration’s point of view, initially nothing changed. It was not until 1815, when the area became part of the Kingdom of Poland and incorporated to Archdiocese of Warsaw (in 1818).

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Prussian authorities initiated intense settlement activities in Łódź. During that period, such boroughs as Nowosolna, Karkoszka, Antoniew, Augustów and Olechów were founded and German settlers were brought to colonise them. At the same time, Polish colonies were also established – Grabieniec, Kowalszczyzna, Górki, Łódka (south of today’s Mickiewicza Street) and Koziny. The real changes began in 1830’s, when the authorities decided to industrialize Łódź and the first settlers from Prussia, Bohemia, Silesia and Wielkopolska. Since then, the town population began increasing rapidly. Ethnic and religious structure of Łódź also changed. Back in 1820, the town was inhabited by no more than 770 people. Eight years later there were almost 4300 and in 1850 – over 15.5 inhabitants. It was also a time (1850) of Evangelicals’ domination in the religious structure (44.1%). It is important to underline, that the religious

parishes: Czarnocin, Niesulków, Łódź, Gałków, Nagórzynce, Chorzęcin and Łaznów to the Bishops of Włocławek (Kumor 1969).

⁹ Łokieć was an old-Polish measure of distance, equal to approximately 0.59 meters. Thus, the dimensions of church’s base were approx. 7.7 x 13.7 meters.
structure did not completely match the ethnic structure\textsuperscript{10} - e.g. Polish Catholics or German Evangelicals. Part of German population was Roman Catholic, especially the Silesian settlers and the so-called \textit{Niemcy Sudeczy} (Sudeten Germans).

The decision about Łódź region’s industrialization was not only linked with investment plans, but also urban plans. The town whose new part was founded \textit{in cruda radice}, was precisely and meticulously designed, which is reflected in the symmetrical layout of the streets (Koter 1980). The religious infrastructure for Roman Catholics was completely forgotten. In case of the Evangelicals, the organization of religious life and places of worship started to appear with the coming of the first settlers\textsuperscript{11}. The Św. Trójca Church, located on Plac Wolności (New Town Market) right by the Piotrkowska Street, was the first public facility in the new part of the city and, at the same time, the first masonry church in Łódź. It is also an example of Evangelical existence in virtual and actual governmental space – the church was located opposite the town hall, in almost an identical\textsuperscript{12}, late-neoclassical building (Fig. 1). Unfortunately, the church was built of poor-quality materials and soon after its opening (1829) it had to undergo repairs. Several years later (1891), the Evangelicals erected a new church in the same location. It was a more monumental, Renaissance building, topped with a distinctive dome with six towers. Its body resembled the Berlin Cathedral and St. Peter’s Basilica in Vatican. The church was much larger than its predecessor and clearly dominated the space of New Town Market.

\textsuperscript{10} One must remember that the terms “nationality” and “national identity” were not as significant in Central Europe in the early 19th c. as they are today. The terms “German-speaking” or “German culture-related” would seem more accurate in their description.

\textsuperscript{11} It refers not only to Łódź, but also neighbouring locations, where the settlers from German lands had already arrived.

\textsuperscript{12} Similar solutions could be found in earlier urban plans, such as Piazza del Popolo and Santa Maria di Montestano and Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Rome.
The Catholics used the church in the Old Town. In 1822, it was a parish church for 27 localities. B. Baranowski (1980) estimates, that the number of people living within its range was 2864. K. Stefański (1995) indicates, that in 1828 there were approximately 1500 Catholics in Łódź itself, while W. Puś (2005) mentions 2500 parishioners in the entire town. Some parts of modern Łódź also belonged to five other parishes at that time – Mieszki, Dobroń, Zgierz, Kazimierz and Pabianice. However, the situation was not very stable. Church documents show proof of a relatively high dynamics of the territorial structures in the area of Łódź (cf. Zwoliński, 1998).

The increasing population and its language diversity resulted in secular and church authorities’ actions to develop church infrastructure. In 1835, the expansion works on the Wniebowzięcie NMP Church began. Five years later, the construction was finished and the church became much larger. It was 51 lokcie long and 16 lokcie wide. It was built from wooden logs, on a wall base, with shingled roof (Stefański 1995). Unfortunately, the church soon turned out to be too small. Moreover, it was located away from Osada Łódka (Łódka Settlement), which was inhabited by Catholics from Bohemia and Sudety.

The discrepancies may result from the interpretation of the term “residents”. Some sources are based on the number of permanent residents, while others refer to the residents actually staying within town’s borders.
A rivalry of two religious groups was visible – Polish-speaking and German-speaking\(^{14}\). It was particularly intensified in 1843, when the position of the parish priest of Łódź became vacant. Both communities wanted their candidate to fill the vacancy. The vacancy was filled in 1843. The new parish priest, H. Plater, fuelled another conflict\(^{15}\) – related to schooling. The fear of

\(^{14}\) It needs to be reminded, that although the holy mass was performed in Latin, in case of the sermon and pastoral announcements (as well as the direct communication with the priest) native languages were used. This so-called Tridentine Rite was in effect until 1962, when the Second Vatican Council proclaimed the Roman Missal.

\(^{15}\) As P. Zwoliński indicates (1994), it was neither the last conflict nor the last problem of the Church in Łódź. The religious space of the town was also influenced.
parish’s division into Polish (poorer) and German (richer) parts and its subsequent decline became, next to financial problems, a key factor for not building another, filial church in Łódź. The idea itself was born in 1836. Initially, it was supposed to be a chapel, located by the so-called Rynek Bielnikowy (Bleachers’ Market), today’s Plac Katedralny (Cathedral Square). The concept of building another church was approached again in 1848. Its location was set at Nowy Rynek (New Town Market), on the Średnia (today – Pomorska) Street. Such location would please the inhabitants of both, older and newer parts of town, but at the same time it would be a symbol of Catholic presence in new Łódź. After all, the construction works never started.

As mentioned before, the new part of Łódź was urbanistically well planned. The urban pattern referred to neoclassicism. The buildings of New Town were patterned on the medieval plans, with frontage build-up and a market square as a town centre (Kalinowski 1984). The boroughs planned in a later stage, south of New Town, were also regular in their layout. Practically, each of them had a market square, where all social life was focused. In Łódka, the marketplace was located at Rynek Bielnikowy, in Szlezyng (Ślązaki Settlement) – Górny Rynek (Plac Reymonta), in Nowa Dzielnica - Wodny Rynek (Plac Zwycięstwa). Therefore, in the landscape of developing Łódź there were sites for new shrines to be built. For multiple reasons, mainly financial, political and organisational, none were erected.

The concept of building second church returned in the 1850’s. In 1854, Łódź was about to erect a large neo-gothic church, which would become the largest temple in town. This time, the highest and centremost site in Łódź was chosen for its location – the corner of Przejazd and Dzika Streets (today - Tuwima and Sienkiewicza), as all the plots at Nowy Rynek and Piotrkowska Street were already built-up. Although the building was initially supposed to have its presbytery facing Piotrkowska Street, it was built the other way round. It was also one of major issues addressed by the builders – the church was supposed to “open itself” to the main street of Łódź (Stefański 1995). Thus, the church was “accidently” oriented on the east-west axis. Św. Jakub Church (currently Podwyższenie Św. Krzyża Church) was being constructed until 1885. The final plan was made by F. Tournelle, giving the body of the church a Romanesque form. The three-nave basilica with a transept was initially attended by the German-speaking Catholics. In 1855, a parish was also founded. It was a considerable achievement, although it was still not sufficient in terms of Łódź’s and its inhabitants’ needs. The
number of Roman Catholics at that time is estimated\textsuperscript{16} at 40 – 150 thousand. At the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the Łódź parish could serve over 70 thousand Catholics. The number of funerals increased from 74 in 1818 to 2820 in 1900, while the number of baptisms – from 55 to 4320 within the same timeframe (Archiwum... citing Zwoliński 1998). With such figures, it is hard to speak of any pastoral or evangelistic activities, especially if the number of clergy was not sufficient for people’s needs.

In 1888, construction of the new Wniebowzięcie NMP Church in Plac Kościelny (Church Square) began. The investment was ready in 1897. The old building was moved\textsuperscript{17} to the old cemetery, by the road to Retkinia. It was reopened in 1888, but did not keep its original shape. The church was enlarged with two, side naves and covered with wooden siding (Koter and Kulesza 2005) – Fig. 3.

The new Wniebowzięcie Church represented the so-called Vistula-Baltic style\textsuperscript{18}. The three-nave, neo-gothic shrine stood on an artificially raised hill and was surrounded by a wooden fence. It still remained a dominant height feature and a symbol of Catholic Łódź, well visible from afar. However, not only the Catholics contributed to its construction. A large contribution was made by Evangelical families of Kunitzers and Scheiblers as well as Izrael Poznański, who funded the flooring (Budziarek 2005b). It was not the only example of the industrialists of different religions, participating in the construction costs of Catholic churches. For example, the Scheiblers had funded the statues of saint evangelists on the tower of Podwyższenie Św. Krzyża Church. Many consider it to be an evidence of mutual, good relations of people of different religions in Łódź (cf. Koter and others 2005). On the other hand, the support of different religious groups in building Orthodox churches was enforced by the authorities (Stefański 1995).

\textsuperscript{16} 40 thousand is mentioned by J. Janczak (1982), while the higher value was published by J. Dzieciuchowicz (2004). The discrepancies may result from the difference between permanent residents and residents actually staying within city’s borders.

\textsuperscript{17} The building could be preserved, thanks to a tricky idea of the parishioners. The painting of St. Nicholas was placed inside the church, as a token of gratitude for Tsar Nicholas’s successful return journey from Japan. After this evasive manoeuvre, the authorities in St Petersburg allowed the church to remain.

\textsuperscript{18} The name refers to brick, neo-gothic constructions. The reference to native architectural sources, especially from Pomerania, was of significance (Stefański 2000).
Łódź entered the 20th c. with two Catholic churches, two Evangelical churches – the second stood next to Podwyższenie Św. Krzyża Church in Dzika Street, three Orthodox churches – St. Alexander Nevsky Church in Widzewska (currently Kilińskiego) Street, St. Alexius Metropolitan of Moscow Church by the military garrison (Jerzy Street) and St. Olga Church in Olińska (currently Piramowicza) Street, as well as two synagogues – in Spacerowa Street and in Wolborska Street. There were also churches of other religious groups in Łódź at the time – the Moravian Church (in Św. Andrzeja Street) and the Baptists (in Nawrot Street). The construction works on the shrine of the Evangelical-Reformed church were also underway. The turn of the centuries is considered to be a major turning point in the shaping of religious space of Łódź, especially the Catholic space. In case of Catholic Church, the 1820–1900 period is characterized by underdevelopment of organizational and functional structures. In late 19th century, 160 thousand people were served by three churches and two parishes. Thus, it is not surprising that the next stage (1900–1920) is full of great quantitative changes of the religious landscape of Łódź.

Back in the 1890’s, decision was made to erect several new temples. The most important investment was to be made in the old Łódka Settlement, in Podwyższenie Św. Krzyża parish. In the end, the construction started in front of St. Alexander’s hospital, old Rynek Fabryczny (Factory Square), opposite the Bleachers’ Market. The concept of the church was chosen through an international contest. It was won by architects from Łódź, from the company

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Fig. 3. The old Wniebowzięcie NMP Church, currently St. Joseph Church in Ogrodowa Street

Source: author’s own archives
Before the project was implemented, the concept of the building was slightly changed. Its location was also moved to the centre of Plac Szpitalny (Hospital Square). The construction works began in May 1901. It was accomplished in December 1912, with the consecration of the great altar, funded by Baron J. T. Heinzl. The parish was founded in 1909.

Unfortunately, in 1912 the construction was not fully finished – the tower was still missing. The citizens of Łódź had to wait for it until 1927, but even without a tower it was still the largest and the most impressive building in the entire city. It became a dominant, architectural height feature – not only in Łódź, but in the entire Łódź. St. Stanisław Kostka was chosen as its patron saint. The church is neo-gothic, its body reflecting German and French concepts, contrary to the church in Old Town, which reflected Baltic-Vistula style. It is a three-nave, basilica, oriented on the east-west axis, with a transept and a polygonal presbytery. The main entrance is accompanied by a vestibule, side entrances leading directly to the naves.

In 1905, before Św. Stanisław Kostka Church was built, Św. Anna Church was erected on the outskirts of Księży Młyn. Formally, it was located outside the administrative borders of Łódź. Initially, it was a filial church of Podwyższenie Św. Krzyża parish. In 1909, a new parish was erected. The construction site and building materials were funded by J. Meissner. Other costs were covered by the Herbsts, who wanted to use this opportunity to commemorate their late daughter, Anna Maria, who died at the age of nine. The church was designed to host up to 800 people. It is a one-nave building, oriented on the east-west axis, its style resembling Neo-Romanesque features. Its location was also distinctive. It was meant to serve mainly the inhabitants of the Scheibler Empire (Księży Młyn and Szlezyngboroughs), but was located outside its borders, in the old village of Zarzew, which was part of the outskirts of Łódź (Grymin 2009).

At the same time, Św. Wojciech Church was erected in Chojny. Its two locations were considered – Stare Chojny (Old Chojny) and Nowe Chojny (New Chojny). In the early 20th century, both settlements were located outside the borders of Łódź. Demographically, Nowe Chojny was developing at a faster pace. However, the church was erected in Stare Chojny. It was supposed to be located near the old filial church of the Mileszki parish, a parish church at that time – a parish was founded in 1892. Although such location was related to the history of the area, it had little to do with the ongoing situation – the church was built on the southern border of the settlement, instead of its centre, where the majority of people lived. Moreover, the inhabitants of Nowe Chojny did not want to pay for the construction...

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It is likely, that the project was co-created by a Berlin architect, Emil Zillmann (Budziarek 2005b). The names of J. Dziekoński, S. Odrzywolski and K. Sokołowski are also mentioned (Stefański 1995).
Creation of the Catholic Church’s space in Łódź

of the church located a couple of kilometers away from the place of their residence. Contrary to the Wniebowzięcie NMP and Św. Stanisław churches, and similarly to Św. Anna and Podwyższenie Św. Krzyża churches, it was not located on a square or a former marketplace, but by a road. It was a neogothic shrine, erected in Vistula-Baltic style.

Because it was hard to ignore the needs of Nowe Chojny inhabitants, in 1905 a chapel was built in Rzgowska Street. It was filial to Św. Wojciech Church. The parish was founded ten years later. In 1923, the expansion works began and were finished by 1938. The church was consecrated in 1925, as the Przemienienia Pańskiego Church (Budziarek 2005b).

Another church, which was erected during that period, was the Św. Kazimierz Church at 7 Niciarniana Street. Initially, it was just a chapel established inside one of the pavilions of the Łódź Industrial Fair, which took place in 1896 in Helenów Park. The new, non east-west oriented, masonry, Neo-Empire church was not consecrated until 1936. The parish was founded 25 years earlier, and the chapel was consecrated in 1902. It is one of the few examples of simultaneous development of religious infrastructure and area urbanization. In this period, the Łódź Thread Manufactory – Niciarka was built at 2/6 Niciarniana Street, along with workers’ housing estates around it.20

For over 60 years, the church was a distinctive landmark of the surrounding area (Fig. 4). The brick walls reflected the appearance of factory walls. In the early 21st century, the church was plastered and accomplished according to original plans. The works were finished in 2005. The Provincial Monuments Conservator, W. Szygendowski, commented the changes in Gazeta Wyborcza:

The building was deeply etched in the consciousness of Łódź inhabitants, as a church of Widzew’s working class. We were deliberating on keeping the original, brick structure, but the maintenance of brick would be much more expensive than the plasterwork (Gancikowska 2004).

20 During that period these were still the outskirts of Łódź (incorporated in 1915). The increasing inflow of people began before Niciarka was built. Widzew was mainly inhabited by workers from Łódź’s factories.
Fig. 4. Św. Kazimierz Church – first half of 20th c. (a); the church in 2009 (b)
Source: National Archives in Łódź (a), author’s own archives (b)
Another church, which was consecrated in the same period, was located in Bałuty (12/14 Pasterska Street) – Dobry Pasterz Church. It was built by the dolorists\(^{21}\) and funded by M. Kapuściński – a shoemaker and a shop owner. It was a small (18 x 9 meters) and modest building. It was similar in form to other churches in Łódź at that time – built in Zakopane style, which was considered a nationwide style. The altar was arranged in similar style, with a touch of ornaments, inspired by traditional Łowicz papercutting (Śtefański 2000). The present body of the church comes from the early 1980’s. The parish was founded relatively late, in 1951.

The period of World War I was particularly hard for Łódź. The population in the years 1914–1918 decreased by a third, down to 341.8 thousand (including 100 thousand inhabitants from Bałuty, Chojny, part of Widzew, Zarzew, Dąbrowa, Radogoszcz, Rokicie, Żabieniec and Antoniew, incorporated in 1915\(^{22}\)). The change of borders is a major fact, as almost the entire area of Łódź gained access to the ring railway. This structure still remains one of the major determinants of the city’s functional-spatial features. At the same time, new churches and parishes became incorporated within Łódź’s administrative borders.

During the period of the so-called industrial Łódź, a new specification of the city’s religiousness emerged. Two main, distinctive features can be determined – multinationality and low social status of the congregation, who consisted mainly of uneducated, poor factory workers. Polish Catholics, who originated mostly from rural areas and lacked aspirations and ambitions, were not as active and entreprenous as newcomers from Saxony or Bohemia. The Mariavites, schismatics of the Catholic Church, were also a brisk religious group, both in their pastoral and social activities. Their new followers were recruited among the people, who were dissatisfied with the performance of the Catholic clergy (Walaszczyk 2006). In the first years of city’s development, the access to pastoral services was limited and there were numerous animosities among the priests. Nevertheless, M. Budziarek (1995) says that the Church operated without any major disruptions at that time. In later period (19\(^{th}\)/20\(^{th}\) c.), the clergy successfully performed pastoral activities among the factory workers. It is also vital, that the creation of independent

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\(^{21}\) The Congregation of Sons of Our Lady of Sorrows – a non-habited congregation, founded by the Blessed Honorat Koźmiński. Łódź was also home to Honoratki (Congregation of Little Sisters of Immaculate Heart of Mary). The sisters, often called "Skrytki" (Secrets, as they, too, did not wear habits) focused on the evangelisation of female workers. They still reside in Łódź in two monastic houses, in Lokatorska Street and in Wierzbowa Street. Before late 1970’s, one of the monastic houses was also located in Główna Street.

\(^{22}\) The area increased by 20 km\(^2\) – from 38.11 to 58.75 km\(^2\).
Development of Catholic Sacral Space’s Structures in Łódź

Diocese was a result of adjusting Church’s structure to the specific needs of the local Catholics.

Speaking of the Catholic space of Łódź, around the year 1918, one has to remember about the cemeteries. As mentioned before, the first and for a long time, the only Catholic cemetery in Łódź was located at Górki Plebańskie, by Wniebowzięcie NMP Church. This kind of necropolis was typical for medieval towns. The condition of the cemetery, as well as the condition of the church itself, varied throughout the ages. The descriptions frequently mention that it was far from satisfactory, mainly due to lack of fencing (Muznerowski 1922).

In the early 19th century, as the town began to grow, the cemetery’s capacity became insufficient. It was closed in 1819 and a new, bireligious necropolis was opened on the suburbs of Łódź. The only remaining memento of the old cemetery is a monument, standing in the eastern part of Plac Kościelny.

The new necropolis was built by road to Retkinia. Nowadays it is the corner of Ogrodowa and Gdańska streets, although in the early 19th c. this area was located approx. 400 meters away from town’s borders. Eventually, this location also failed to meet the expectations. There was no proper fencing and cows were grazing among the tombstones. The necropolis was soon expanded (1833), so that it stretched to Zachodnia and Legionów streets. Although the problem with fencing may seem trivial, it is actually a significant issue, as the fencing separates sacrum from profanum. The strife of Church authorities is described by M. Różański (1995):

After the expansion, the Catholic cemetery was surrounded by a wooden fence with a gate in the front, and a pole fence on the other sides, as the wooden fence was partially devastated. The enclosure of the area did not go smoothly. (…) The Church authorities decided to entrench the around the cemetery and plant trees in order to protects its area from profanation. However, it was mentioned by the local engineering body, that although entrenchment and trees would be much cheaper than putting up a wooden fence, the area will be constantly swept by strong winds and the durability of such structure will be very low, thus requiring regular repairs. Moreover, the cemetery lay on the road to Piotrków and the entrenchment will not make a good, aesthetic impression. The construction of a wooden fence was a recommended solution (Różański 1995).

The fencing was finally built but the cemetery was only open until 1855. In was this location, where the old, wooden Wniebowzięcie NMP Church was relocated in 1888. In 1855, a new burial site was established – Cmentarz Stary (Old Cemetery) in Ogrodowa Street was opened in 185823 (Przybysz

23 The year 1854 can also be used, as the first burials were made back in 1854 (Dominikowski 2004).
Creation of the Catholic Church’s space in Łódź

It covered the area of 4.7 ha and was designated not only for Catholics, but also for Protestants and Orthodox Christians.

In 1880’s, the attempts were made at establishing a cemetery in the vicinity of today’s corner of Mickiewicza Alley and Włókieneckie’s Street. Unfortunately, they were not successful. In the same period, cemeteries were founded in Zarzew and Chojny (Rzgowska Street) – both outside city’s borders. In 1896, a new necropolis emerged in the village of Doly. Almost twenty years later, the construction of church in Mania started (Tanaś 2008).

City’s development was greatly influenced by the shift in Łódź’s position in administrative structures of both, the state and the Catholic Church. In 1920, the “the capital of textile industry” became a capital of newly-created province and a capital of newly-founded diocese. The diocese comprised five deaneries divided into 67 parishes. The area within the administrative borders of today’s Łódź already hosted 12 parishes. When the diocese was established, there were 9 parishes and 12 Catholic churches in Łódź. Two churches were filial and one was a garrison church. The latter is the example of incorporation of other religion’s space in the Catholic space. Namely, it was Święty Jerzy Church, adopted in 1918 from the former Orthodox church of St. Alexius. After it had been taken over by the Catholic Church, the Orthodox onion-shaped domes were removed.

The establishment of military garrison was another stimulant for changes and development. As a consequence, it was necessary to regulate public areas of the city. In 1927, the first post-war spatial development plan was elaborated. After it was rejected, another one was created three years later and after its subsequent rejection, another plan was prepared and finally approved in 1935. The most important changes were related to the direct improvement of the quality of life of the citizens – construction and modernization of the water supply, gas and transportation networks. Moreover, attempts were made at shifting the main spatial development axis from the N/S axis (Piotrkowska Street) to W/E (Anny/Główna streets). City squares became important element of Łódź’s image. One of them, the Cathedral Square, was built up with Bishops’ Palace and Theological College along

24 There were also cemeteries of other religions in Łódź. The total area covered by burial sites was 7.3 ha (Różański 1995). J. Dominikowski (2004) estimates the total area size of the cemetery in Ogrodowa Street at approximately 9 ha.
25 The attempts began in 1913, long before Poland regained independence. They were initiated by Archbishop Aleksander Kakowski (Przybysz 2009).
26 During WW I, in 1917 “Łódź development plan” was elaborated.
27 Subsequent failures of urban planners and city authorities were caused by the protests of property owners, faced with the threat of expropriation (Ołenderek 2008).
28 Initially, the building hosted St. Alexander’s city hospital. Because it did not meet the sanitary requirements, the authorities decided to donate it to the clergy (Grad 1992).
its two frontages. Additionally, two monuments were placed on the square – the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the monument of Fr. I. Skorupko (Olenderek 2008). New churches also appeared in the city landscape. They were located in the old part of Łódź, as well as in areas incorporated in the early 20th c. The most important ones were Matka Boska Zwycięska Church and Św. Antoni Church.

Św. Antoni Church was not finished before World War II started. Although the parish was founded in 1924, the building was not finished until 2000, when the construction of the tower was completed.

Matka Boska Zwycięska Church was built as a votive offering for Polish victory against the Bolsheviks in 1920. The cornerstone was placed in the 6th anniversary of the battle. In 1938, the church was consecrated but it was not completed until after the war, when the tower29 was built. It was the only sanctuary30 in Łódź. Its spiritual significance is reflected in urban functions. It was built as a closing point of the north-south axis of Łódź. Although the road network has changed, in the south it is still visible from several kilometres away. In a densely built-up city, it is a peculiar phenomenon. As described by M. Grymin (2009), the architectural features of the church also deserve attention. Its three-nave, neoclassical form is considered by many to be one of the most spectacular buildings, erected in Poland during that period.

Back in 1920’s, the Catholic Church acquired two Mariavite shrines – at 22 Podlesna Street (presently M. Skłodowska-Curie Street) and 104 Nawrot Street. Unlike the aforementioned Orthodox church in Jerzy Street, these shrines did not have to be “adjusted” to Roman Catholic religious space. No architectural changes were made. Both shrines were donated by Fr. E. Marks as compensation for his prior actions – as a Catholic priest, he converted to Mariavite Church, but a few years later he decided to convert back to Catholicism. Mariavite real estate properties were considered private, not belonging to the religious group without any formal, legal status. That is why after leaving the Mariavites, Fr. Marks was still the owner of these two shrines. Although all legal claims of the Mariavites were rejected in court, the Jesuits who adopted the church in Podlesna Street, decided to pay Mariavites the compensation fee.

During the 1920-1939 period, seven new parishes were founded or incorporated to the city. In 1938, the total number of parishes reached 16. The average number of parishioners in each unit was approx. 25 thousand. It was

29 It was in 1949. In 2008, the roof and the front were refurbished (Grymin 2009).
30 According to canon law, it is a place visited by pilgrims with the approval of the local ordinary (Can. 1230). The reason for pilgrimages is the mosaic depicting the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, donated to Matka Boska Zwycięska Church by Pope John Pope II in 1982.
a significant decrease in comparison to early 20th century, when almost 70 thousand people were clustered in one parish (Table 4).

Table 4. Number of parishes and parishioners in Łódź in the selected years, during the 1820-1938 period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of parishes</th>
<th>Number of Catholics according to Janczak (in thousands)</th>
<th>Average number of parishioners in one parish according to Janczak (in thousands)</th>
<th>Number of Catholics according to Dzieciuchowicz (in thousands)</th>
<th>Average number of parishioners in one parish according to Dzieciuchowicz (in thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>data n/a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>2.10 (year 1829)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>data n/a</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.80</td>
<td>6.80</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>6.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.50</td>
<td>11.50</td>
<td>data n/a</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.10</td>
<td>13.10</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19.40</td>
<td>19.40</td>
<td>data n/a</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.70</td>
<td>20.35</td>
<td>data n/a</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49.30</td>
<td>24.65</td>
<td>data n/a</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>70.80</td>
<td>35.40</td>
<td>151.70 (year 1897)</td>
<td>75.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>140.30</td>
<td>70.15</td>
<td>data n/a</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>164.60</td>
<td>82.30</td>
<td>data n/a</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>252.90</td>
<td>31.61</td>
<td>267.10 (year 1911)</td>
<td>33.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>241.80</td>
<td>26.87</td>
<td>241.80</td>
<td>26.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>340.20</td>
<td>28.35</td>
<td>340.20</td>
<td>28.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>355.40</td>
<td>22.21</td>
<td>355.40</td>
<td>22.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>389.50</td>
<td>24.34</td>
<td>389.50</td>
<td>24.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


When World War II started, Diocese of Łódź was divided. Its larger part was incorporated to Warthegau (105 parishes) and remaining parishes (26) became part of General Government. The city itself, by the power of special decree, was incorporated to Nazi Germany. Although local bishops, who were the only civic authorities to remain in Łódź (Litzmannstadt) after 1939, did all they could (considering the circumstances) to save the city’s church
infrastructure, their attempts were not successful. Soon after Church hier-
archs had been arrested, almost all churches were closed down. After October
1941, there were only four churches operating in the city – Św. Antoni, Św.
Kazimierz, Przemienienie Pańskie (Fig. 5) and Podwyższenie Św. Krzyża,
which was designated for Germans only (Wróbel 2005). There were only 8
operating churches in the entire diocese (Przybysz 2007).

Fig. 5. Postcard from the Nazi-occupation period,
Przemienienie Pańskiego Church (Rzgowska Street)
Source: author’s own archive

Rest of the churches were used for different purposes. The Wniebowzięcie
NMP Church was transformed to feather storage (Fig. 6). The church in
Łąkowa Street was used as a uniform sewing facility for German soldiers, the
Cathedral became straw shoes storage and its vaults were used for mushroom
farming. The Nazi also exterminated much of the clergy. As estimated by M.
Budziarek (2003), there were 8 priests in the entire city, populated by
360,000 people (after the expansion of its borders in 1940). The only
cemetery for Polish Catholics was located in Kurczaki – the other burial sites
were closed down.
The opening balance in January 1945 was relatively good for the Catholic Church in Łódź. Although many churches were devastated, the basic material tissue survived. During the war, only Św. Antoni Church was destroyed and Matka Boska Zwycięska Church was severely damaged.

Initially, the division to 16 parishes was maintained, but this was soon to be modified. The new spatial and organizational structures were greatly influenced by administrative decisions about Łódź’s expansion and the demographical consequences of war. In February 1945, the City National Council decided about the creation of the so-called Great Łódź. City’s borders were demarcated in exactly the same way as by the Nazis, thus expanding Łódź with new parishes and new churches. The new Łódź deanery
comprised 23 parishes, including 20 parishes situated with city’s borders (Przybysz 2007). The religious structure of inhabitants changed too. After Łódź was liberated, the number of inhabitants did not exceed 300 thousand, but it soon began to grow rapidly. The growth was mainly related to migration movement. It was the people from rural areas, practically 100% of them Catholic, that moved to Łódź (Dzieciuchowicz and others 2004).

It was symptomatic, that soon after the war the Catholic Church took over31 shrines of other religions. That was the case of Św. Trójca Church in Plac Wolności32, as well as churches in Sienkiewicza (Św. Jan), Liściasta33, Rudzka34 and Rzgowska35 streets.

During the 1945-1972 period, 5 new parishes were founded in Łódź. These were: Św. Andrzej Bobola, Matka Boska Nieustającej Pomocy (in Chochola Street), Zesłanie Ducha Świętego (in Plac Wolności – 2 Piotrkowska Street), Najświętsze Imię Jezus i Dobry Pasterz (in Pasterska Street). At the same time, the construction of 5 other churches was finished – Matka Boska Anielska (in Rzgowska Street), Św. Antoni (in Antoni Street), Święty Józef Oblubieniec Najświętszej Maryi Panny (in Farna Street), Najświętsze Serce Zbawiciela Maria Małgorzata Alacoque (in Zgierska Street) and Święta Teresa od Dzieciątka Jezus (in Kopcińskiego Street). None of the parishes was founded “from the scratch”. They were all newly accomplished investments from the pre-war period. Only the Św. Teresa od Dzieciątka Jezus and Św. Jan Bosko Church was completely new – it was supposed to replace the wooden shrine36, located nearby. Nowadays, the church is a well-recognized landmark in city’s landscape. It dominates its north-eastern skyline. The modifications of urban pattern, related to construction works at the Faculty of Law of the University of Łódź in 2009 (corner of

31 The term “abandoned churches” can be found in many writings (cf. Przybysz 2007), but it is noteworthy that abandoned does not mean deserted. The eyewitness records speak of dramatic circumstances of “taking over” of the Św. Trójca Church. On a late January night in 1945, two officers, one Polish and one Soviet, knocked on parish priest’s door. They offered him to disclaim the church, giving him documents to be signed, a pen and putting a gun on his desk. The Jesuits simply walked into the church, breaking open the lock. The final agreement on the property rights between the Catholics and Evangelists was not made until 1989.

32 It was taken over by the Jesuits.

33 It was adopted by the Discalced Carmelites.

34 It became a filial church of Św. Józef Parish in Ruda. In 1946 the building was adopted by Bernardine Nuns.

35 It was taken over by the Franciscans.

36 It was built in 1927 from demolition materials from the 15th c. Św. Wojciech Church. The construction plans of the new church were made in 1939 by Józef and Witold Korski (Wróbel 2005).
Kopcińskiego and Pomorska streets, eastern side), made the church visible from Stoki, thus making it a central point of the urban pattern (Fig. 7).

![Image](image-url)

Fig. 7. The original Św. Teresa od Dzieciątka Jezus and Św. Jan Bosko Church (a) and the church today (b)

Source: National Archives in Łódź (a); author’s own archives (b)

Łódź was also home to different types of chapels. There were 14 of them in 1947. In 1955, the authorities claimed that there were 8 public chapels, 9 hospital chapels, 10 home chapels, 7 cemetery chapels and 21 internal ones. During the discussed period, there were also 10 burial sites open for Catholics (Przybysz 2007).

The transition in Catholic Church’s structure during that period was completed by dividing Łódź into two deaneries (there had been only one insofar). The changes in quantity and quality of the Church administration and resources did not meet the needs of the developing city. However, it was not just the local tendency – it was also visible in the rest of Poland.

During the second stage of the development of Catholic Church’s territorial structures, in years 1972-1992, the investment activity was significantly
Development of Catholic Sacral Space’s Structures in Łódź

more intense. It was possible thanks to the political thaw of the early 1970’s in Poland. Before 1988, the construction of 10 new churches began with 7 more under construction between 1989 and 1991. Only three of these churches were part of the already existing parishes – Najświętsze Serce Jezusowe, Święci Apostołowie Piotr i Paweł (in Nawrot Street) and Święty Andrzeja Bobola (in Nowosolina). The remaining 14 were erected in newly-established parishes. The first parish to be established in the post-war period was Matka Boska Bolesna (in Pażonistów Street). The church construction was accomplished in 1976 (Dzieciuchowicz and others 2004). The Church had to respond to the increasing infrastructural shortages in the newly-built block-of-flats housing estates. After the foundation of Matka Boska Bolesna parish in Teofilów37, the next parishes were founded in the 1980’s – in Widzew Wschód (Matka Boska Jasnągórka parish), Dąbrowa (Św. Maksymilian Kolbe parish), Teofilów (Miłosierdzie Boże parish) and Retkinia (Najświętsza Maria Panna Królowa Polski and Chrystus Król parishes). During the 20-year period, 30 parishes were founded in total – five of them by the already existing churches (Table 5).

Table 5. Parishes founded during the 1972-1992 period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Parish name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Start of church construction</th>
<th>Consecration of the first church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Matki Boskiej Bolesnej</td>
<td>Pasjonistów 23</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Świętej Elżbiety Węgierskiej i bł. Anastazego Pankiewicza</td>
<td>Sporna 71/73</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Opieki Świętego Józefa</td>
<td>Liściasta 9</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Matki Boskiej Anielskiej</td>
<td>Rzgowska 41a</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Matki Boskiej Wspomożenia Wiernych</td>
<td>Wodna 36</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Błogosławionej Urszuli Ledóchowskiej</td>
<td>Obywatelska 60</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Matki Boskiej Jasnągórskiej</td>
<td>Gogola 12</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Świętego Maksymiliana Marii Kolbe</td>
<td>Tatrzańska 111</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Świętego Alberta Chmielowskiego</td>
<td>Bartoka 2</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Miłosierdzia Bożego</td>
<td>Baczyńskiego 156</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 Teofilów is a block-of-flats housing estate in Łódź.
The year 1992 brought significant change in the administrative structure of the Catholic Church in Poland. As mentioned before, by the power of papal bull Totus Poloniae Populus, the Diocese of Łódź was promoted to the rank of archdiocese. Since then, 8 new parishes were founded in the city, the construction works on 19 churches have started and 28 churches have been built. Considering the timeframe (no more than 20 years) and the decreasing number of Łódź’s inhabitants, it is a major progress (Map 10, Map 11).
Map 10. The age of churches in Łódź
Source: based on field researches
When asked about the amount of churches in Łódź, the inhabitants themselves claim, that there are too many of them (Dzieciuchowicz and others 2004; Klima 2010b). On the other hand, the average amount of parishioners per one parish is still very high in Łódź – 9.9 thousand (Map 12). If we take the total number of inhabitants into account, the value increases up to 11.6 thousand. This is almost three times higher than Polish average and may be a serious obstacle from the pastoral point of view.
Map 12. Parishes population
Source: based on field researches