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THE SANCTUARY AS A MEANS OF ORGANIZING URBAN SPACE: ACASE STUDY OF SELECTED SANCTUARIES IN POLAND

Abstract: This paper attempts to show that a sanctuary can alter urban space. A sanctuary is a very special place because of its religious nature and attracts both pilgrims and tourists. The spatial structure of a sanctuary is determined largely by changes in the volume and nature of pilgrim 'traffic'. Modern pilgrimage centres are becoming more open to visitors who wish to take part in the life of a sanctuary, even if this involves non-religious activities. The sanctuary's religious offering is supplemented with typical tourism attractions. The establishment of a sanctuary affects the development and spatial organization of a city in a variety of ways. Large sanctuaries favour the development of sanctuary service zones that cater for pilgrims. This is also true in Poland. There are, however, some large and midsize sanctuaries that have no additional facilities designed for pilgrims and this is almost always true of regional and national sanctuaries in Poland.

Key words: sanctuary, city/town, pilgrimages, Poland.

1. INTRODUCTION

Sanctuaries are places of religious devotion with a special purpose. What makes sanctuaries different from other sacred places is their ability to attract pilgrims who will flock to a given sanctuary to see a special object of devotion such as a relic or to experience a blessing effected by a sacred picture. *The Dictionary of the Polish Language* (SZYMCZAK, ed. 1983) and *The Dictionary of Religion* (PONIATOWSKI, ed. 1969) define a sanctuary as a sacred place with special cultural meaning. The Catholic Church defined a sanctuary in 1983 as a "church or another sacred place permitted to be used by its director as a place of pilgrimage due to a special object of devotion" (*Canon Law*, DUDZIAK 1983). This definition is interpreted to mean a church, chapel, cemetery, altar or a grave (DUDZIAK 1983). In reality, a sanctuary can be a much larger complex of buildings and special sites which serve the needs of pilgrims and the general needs of the given sanctuary.

A sanctuary may affect its surroundings in a number of ways. From a purely academic point of view, a sanctuary raises the value of a given area from 'common space' to 'holy space'. ELIADE (1993) calls this a separation of *sacrum* from *profanum*.

The geography of religion treats sanctuaries as a means of organizing and managing religion-oriented space as well as a driver of change organizing urban space (PARK 1994, RINSCHEDI 1995).

The establishment of a sanctuary creates sacred space within a given city that can be used by pilgrims

and regular tourists alike. Pilgrimages are treated as a part of tourism (JACKOWSKI 1998). In this sense, a sanctuary is a tourism attraction visited by both tourists and religious pilgrims. Pilgrims visit to see religious sites and buildings without paying special attention to the architectural or cultural meaning of the place they are visiting. However, in terms of general tourism value, sanctuaries are more interesting because of their architecture and cultural value.

Sanctuaries have helped cities grow since ancient times. Some of these cities became known as 'holy cities' including Rome, Varanasi, Jerusalem and Mecca. The sacred places of each major religion can have a significant impact on the establishment and functioning of a city (JACKOWSKI, SOLJAN 2008). The best example of this is Mecca – a city off limits to non-believers. There are other cities where only the faithful of a particular religion may enter its temples. This is true of the Shiva Temple in Varanasi and mosques in Qom and Karbala. These sacred places create strictly religious enclaves within each given city. Catholic sanctuaries, on the other hand, are open to all pilgrims and all tourists.

The effect of a sanctuary on the management of urban space depends on a number of factors including:

- history of the sanctuary,
- history of the settlement,
- importance of the sanctuary,
- spatial impact of the sanctuary,

Table 1. Location and origin of selected sanctuaries in Poland

City	Population	Sanctuary	Origin	Impact	City foundation date	Sanctuary foundation date	Location in the city
Bardo Śląskie	2,758	Our Lady of Lower Silesia the Guardian of Faith	Devotion to the miraculous figure of the Mother of God	regional	10 th -12 th century approx. 1300	11 th century	center
Białystok	294,153	Our Lady of Mercy (cathedral)	Picture of Our Lady of Ostra Brama	regional	15 th century / 1749	2 nd half of 20 th century	center
Białystok	294,153	God's Mercy	Picture of the Merciful Christ, grave of the blessed Michał Sopoćko	supra-regional	15 th century / 1749	1993	urban built-up zone
Bochnia	29,605	Our Lady of the Rosary	Devotion to picture of Our Lady of the Rosary	regional	12 th century / 1253	17 th century	center
Częstochowa	242,300	Our Lady of Częstochowa	Devotion to picture of Our Lady of Częstochowa	international	13 th century / 1377 Stara Częstochowa, 1717 Częstochówka	1382-1384	urban area
Dukla	2,126	St. John from Dukla	relics of St. John from Dukla	regional	14 th century / approx. 1403	17 th century	urban area
Gniezno	67,737	St. Adalbert	Grave of St. Adalbert	national	8-9 th century / 1243	998	near of historic center
Gostyń	20,512	Holy Rose of Święta Góra	Picture of the Mother of God	regional	13 th century / 1278	16 th century	peripheral
Kalisz	107,140	St. Joseph	Picture of the Holy Family	supra-regional	2 nd century, 9-10 th century / 1253	17 th century	near of historic center from 14 th century
Kalwaria Zebrzydowska	4,493	Passion-Marian	Way of the Cross, Picture of Our Lady of the Calvary	international	1617 / 1617	1602	peripheral
Kraków - Łagiewniki	756,183	God's Mercy	Devotion to Picture of the Merciful Christ, Devotion to St. Faustina	international	10 th century / 1257	1970s	urban area
Kraków-Mogiła	756,183	The Holy Cross	Devotion to the Miraculous Crucifix	supra-regional	10 th century / 1257	15 th century	peripheral
Leżajsk	14,166	Our Lady of Consolation	Picture of Our Lady of Consolation	supra-regional	13 th -14 th century / 1397	approx. 16 th century	peripheral
Limanowa	14,781	Our Lady of Sorrow	Figure of Our Lady of Sorrow	regional	beginning of 16 th century / 1565	17 th century	center
Nowy Sącz	84,475	Our Lady of the Transfiguration	The Veraicon Picture	regional	11 th century / 1292	16 th century	center
Piekary Śląskie	58,832	Our Lady of Piekary	Picture of Our Lady of Piekary	national	13 th -14 th century / 1948	17 th century	urban area
Szczyrk	5,500	Our Lady the Queen of Poland	Picture of the Mother of God	regional	17 th century / 1973	1990s	peripheral
Trzebinia	20,102	Our Lady of Fatima	Figure of Our Lady of Fatima	supra-regional	14 th -15 th century / 2 nd half of 18 th century	2 nd half of 20 th century	peripheral
Tuchów	6,528	Our Lady of Tuchów	Picture of the Mother of God	supra-regional	12 th century / 1340	approx. 16 th century	peripheral
Wadowice	19,288	Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Devotion to the Bless. John Paul II	The icon of Our Lady of Perpetual Help	supra-regional	14 th century / 14 th century	approx. 19 th century	center
Wejherowo	46,579	Our Lady of Wejherowo, Calvary	Picture of Our Lady of Wejherowo, Calvary	supra-regional	1643 / 1650	1643	peripheral
Zakopane	26,846	Our Lady of Fatima	Copy of the figure of Our Lady of Fatima	national	16 th -17 th century / 1933	2 nd half of 20 th century	peripheral

Source: author's own work based on *Miasta polskie...* (1965), *Miejsca święte* (1998), as well as the web pages of selected sanctuaries.

– size and function of the settlement.

The paper focuses on the evolution of sanctuaries in Poland and their impact on their surroundings. Tables 1 and 2 show the twenty Catholic sanctuaries selected for analysis. The sanctuaries selected differ in terms of spatial impact: some are regional in nature, some international. The paper does not focus on sanctuaries exerting only a local impact.

2. THE ISSUE OF LOCATION

The location of a given sanctuary is the product of historical factors including issues associated with the establishment of its parent settlement. Political considerations often played a key role in the past. This was especially true of the Middle Ages when religion was inextricably linked to politics. Having a famous

sanctuary within one's borders increased the political prestige of the government and the local Church authorities. In Poland, the city of Gniezno and the city of Kraków were good examples of this. Gniezno Cathedral and Wawel Cathedral in Kraków were designated sanctuaries primarily for political reasons. The relationship between the church and the state helped these sanctuaries grow and prosper. Each sanctuary was established in the most important part of the city – close to the seat of power. When the city of Kraków became the new capital of Poland, the former capital (Gniezno) began to experience fewer pilgrims and the Sanctuary of St. Wojciech lost some of its importance. In modern times, political considerations are no longer that important, with the possible exception of the communist period in Poland's history from 1945 to 1989.

The presence of church authorities in a given city has a generally positive effect on the establishment of a sanctuary. From a religious perspective, sanctuaries are still treated as privileged places which attract the faithful in large numbers. For this reason, sanctuaries are often established in cities designated as seats of diocesan and metropolitan church authorities. In this case, sanctuaries are often established in the central part of the city.

The Elk Diocese was established in 1992. Two years later, the local bishop designated the Elk Cathedral of St. Wojciech as the Diocesan Sanctuary of Our Lady of Fatima. The seat of the Archdiocese of Wilno was moved to Białystok following World War II. This event initiated the development of a devotion to Our Lady of Ostra Brama in the city of Białystok. Białystok Cathedral became designated the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Mercy. The Białystok Diocese became an archdiocese in 1992 and the Bishop of Białystok (Edward Kisiel) pronounced Our Lady of Ostra Brama to be the patron saint of the new archdiocese.

The above-mentioned examples suggest that the location of a sanctuary is often associated with the location of an existing church building which became designated a sanctuary at a certain point of time. The conversion of regular churches into sanctuaries became quite popular during the Baroque during a time when devotion to miraculous pictures became commonplace in Poland. The same trend was not observed in Catholic countries in Western Europe. When a religious picture became known as a miraculous picture, or when a miraculous picture was permanently displayed in a given church, that given church became known as a sanctuary. Examples of this include the sanctuaries in Bochnia, Tuchów and Limanowa – small towns with just one church in their centre.

Religious orders in Poland also played a key role in the establishment of sanctuaries. The monastic nature of many religious orders in the Middle Ages

required that their convents and monasteries be built outside cities or at their very edge. This changed in the 13th c. when mendicant orders began to settle in the centres of cities, which was the case with the Dominicans and the Franciscans in the city of Kraków (KŁOCZOWSKI 1987). Members of religious orders were generally more active than the local clergy, which made sanctuaries located next to monasteries more popular with pilgrims. Some cities developed in a way that left some sanctuaries outside their borders until modern times. The Sanctuary of Jasna Góra was initially located on a limestone hill quite far from the village of Częstochowa. One reason for this was the ascetic nature of the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit.

The village of Częstochówka grew up around Jasna Góra and merged with Old Częstochowa in the early 19th c. Today the Sanctuary of Jasna Góra is located near the 19th c. centre of the city of Częstochowa. Some sanctuaries managed to maintain their peripheral location. These include Gostyń, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska and Leżajsk (Table 1). In the case of Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, one part of the sanctuary is located in the town and another outside. This is especially true of sanctuaries dedicated to the crucifixion of Christ.

The city of Kraków annexed the village of Mogiła in 1948 along with its sanctuary. The Shrine of Łagiewniki, which became the site of the Sanctuary of God's Mercy, was also built in a village that had been annexed by the city of Kraków in 1941.

When a sanctuary is located in the centre of a city, it can help the city grow. This was especially true in the Middle Ages. Today this is rarely the case but with notable exceptions such as Fatima – a major shrine in Portugal. A good example from the Middle Ages is the Shrine of Bard Śląski, which was taken over by the Cistercians in 1299. The town next to the shrine began to grow rapidly and became officially recognized in 1300. It then grew dynamically thanks to pilgrims until the 19th c. when the Cistercian Order was abolished. The establishment of monasteries dedicated to the crucifixion of Christ gave rise to small towns such as Góra Kalwaria (BOGUĆKA, SAMSONOWICZ 1986). However, many sanctuaries remain outside municipal limits despite their prominent role in the development of their 'daughter' settlements, for instance Kalwaria Zebrzydowska and Wejherowo.

The diverse array of factors behind the establishment of a sanctuary is dominated by the issue of religion. A religious event in itself may determine the location of a sanctuary – a location that may or may not be favourable to its future development.

The organization of urban space is affected both by the location of a sanctuary and the manner in which it came into existence. Three basic sanctuary development mechanisms have been identified that determine

the degree to which urban space is altered by the establishment of a sanctuary:

a) a sanctuary is established at an existing sacred site, which does not meaningfully alter local land use – only the inside of the building undergoes changes. In such cases, only the function of the site changes in that it becomes a sanctuary (e.g. Białystok Cathedral).

b) a sanctuary is established at an existing sacred site, however, the site begins to expand thanks to the construction of new churches and pilgrim facilities (e.g. Częstochowa, Kraków-Łagiewniki, Tuchów, Trzebinia).

c) a sanctuary is established at a site not related to religion and creates a new type of sacred space within a city (e.g. Białystok, Sanctuary of God's Mercy, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Szczyrk).

3. STRUCTURE OF THE SANCTUARY – ORGANIZATION OF SACRED SPACE

From the perspective of religion, the most important part of the sanctuary is the core – also known as the sacred centre. This is the site of the object of devotion or the location of the event that prompted the establishment of the sanctuary. Other parts of a sanctuary may include:

- other sacred sites dedicated to religious devotion such as churches, chapels, field altars, stations of the cross;
- religious sites not related to religious devotion (e.g. convents);
- cultural sites such as museums and observation decks;
- facilities serving pilgrims such as stores selling religious items, hostels and information desks.

In summary, a sanctuary may be described as a sacred establishment centred around a sacred core and featuring other buildings and sites designed for pilgrims as well as general sanctuary operations.

Table 2 shows examples of sanctuary structure. The significance of a sanctuary is usually reflected in its size, and those of national and international standing tend to have large buildings and well-developed grounds. Local and regional sanctuaries tend to be regular parish churches. This is an oversimplification, as sanctuaries tend to develop dynamically and their status can change, not always reflected by observable changes in the organization of their sacred space. The physical size of a sacred establishment is sometimes determined by the nature of the sanctuary involved. Sanctuaries dedicated to the crucifixion of Christ tend to be very large (hundreds of hectares) due to the distribution of sacred sites over large areas (Fig. 1).

The passage of time also plays a meaningful role in the ways that sacred sites are organized and managed. Contemporary sanctuaries tend to be more open to pilgrims and tourists and their non-religious needs as well. Social progress has also affected the ways pilgrims make their pilgrimage. Modern pilgrims demand higher quality accommodation and other features of modern life. While pilgrimages used to be focused within, this is no longer the case, true at both new sanctuaries and very old ones. Older sanctuaries often convert old buildings or parts of old buildings into accommodation for pilgrims. A part of Bard Monastery is now a hostel for pilgrims. Previously restricted buildings at Jasna Góra now serve as museums. The newest sanctuaries and those experiencing rapid growth usually take the form of large sacred complexes focused on both religion and the natural landscape. One possible way to describe them is using the term *pilgrimage park*. This term is used by MIKOWSKA (2001) to describe some sacred establishments dedicated to the crucifixion of Christ and appears to be most appropriate. This form of sanctuary development not only applies to sanctuaries in Poland but is even more pronounced at the largest sanctuaries that have evolved in Western Europe since the middle of the 19th c. (Lourdes, San Giovanni Rotondo, Knock, to some extent Fatima). Another key change in the organization of sacred space is a new type of sanctuary which has become popular in the last 30 years. A characteristic feature of the new sanctuary type is a two-storey building with chapels on the ground floor, making it possible to offer different masses to different groups of pilgrims at the same time. There are three sanctuaries of this type in Poland: Kraków-Łagiewniki, Licheń, Sanctuary of God's Mercy in Białystok.

In addition to organizing urban space in a particular way, sanctuaries also offer a variety of activities to both pilgrims and tourists. This offering, in itself, helps cities grow and prosper. In addition to offering religious activities, modern sanctuaries also tend to offer non-religious ones which contribute to their overall development and the overall development of their parent settlements. This includes the opening of pilgrim hostels, museums, permanent and temporary exhibitions that serve to draw pilgrims and tourists to sanctuary grounds.

The following types of sanctuaries (Table 2) have been identified based on spatial organization and the types of activities offered to pilgrims and tourists:

- original sanctuary – pilgrim activity limited to the sanctuary core;
- basic sanctuary – pilgrim activity beyond the sanctuary core limited to a giftshop or hotel;
- developed sanctuary – consists of the sanctuary core and several (2 to 5) additional buildings or sites for pilgrims – increased variety of attractions;

Table 2. Structure of sacred places at selected sanctuaries in Poland

City	Sanctuary	Sacred core	Other buildings used for devotional purposes	Other religious and cultural sites	Infrastructure for pilgrims	Other functions of the sanctuary	Type of sanctuary	Sanctuary zone or nearby facilities for pilgrims
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bardo Śląskie	Our Lady of Lower Silesia the Guardian of Faith	The Visitation of the Mother of God Church – for 5,000 faithful	Votive chapel in a convent	Redemptorist convent, Museum of Sacred Art, mobile Nativity scene	Pilgrims' hotel in a part of the convent (55 beds), religious items for sale	convent, parish	developed	none
Białystok	Our Lady of Mercy	Cathedral with a chapel of Our Lady of Ostra Brama	none	none	Religious items for sale	cathedral, parish	original	none
Białystok	God's Mercy	Upper Church with chapels of Our Lady of Mercy and Bless. M. Sopoćko. Lower Church with chapels of Our Lady the Queen of Peace and St. Faustina	Papal altar, chapel in parish building	none	Meeting hall, hotel rooms in parish building, gift shop in the church	parish	developed	none
Bochnia	Our Lady of the Rosary	St. Nicolas Basilica with a Chapel of the Mother of God	Rosary Square (construction started in 1986)	none	Religious items for sale	parish	basic	Pilgrims' hotel
Częstochowa	Our Lady of Częstochowa	Chapel with a miraculous painting of the Mother of God	Basilica, the Way of the Cross, Stations of the Rosary, Replica of the Room of the Last Supper	Convent, Pauline Fathers, Treasury, Knights' Hall, National Historical Museum, John Paul II Hall, Kordecki Hall, tower, walls	Jasna Góra Information Center, store with religious items, baggage lockers	convent	complex	Sanctuary zone, Pilgrims' Hotel, several religious gift shops, vendors on St. Barbara Street, 11 restaurants/cafes, Pilgrimage Museum, 2 hotels, hotel rooms in local convents
Dukla	St. John from Dukla	St. John from Dukla Church	Church of St. John in the Jungle, chapel on Góra Cergowa	Convent of the Bernardine Fathers	Religious items for sale, Franciscan Hotel (50 beds)	parish., convent	developed	none
Gniezno	St. Adalbert	Cathedral of the Mother of God and St. Adalbert	field altar, church	Archdiocesan Museum	none	Basilica of the Head of Poland's Catholic Church, parish	developed	Small sanctuary zone: bookstore, hotel, Palace of the Head of Poland's Catholic Church
Gostyń	Our Lady - of the Holy Rose	Basilica of the Immaculate Conception and St. Philip Neri	retreat chapel for 200 persons	The Way of the Cross (2006), convent, chapel by a miraculous spring	Retreat House (120 persons) with conference room and coffee bar	parish, convent	developed	none
Kalisz	St. Joseph	Church of the Assumption with a chapel with a miraculous picture of St. Joseph	none	none	Religious items for sale	parish	basic	Pilgrims' hotel
Kalwaria Zebrzydowska	Passion-Marian	Basilica with a miraculous picture of Our Lady of the Calvary	Stations of the Cross, Bernardine monastery	mobile Nativity Scene	Pilgrims' hotel, restaurant, shop with religious items	convent	complex	Private rooms
Kraków-Łagiewniki	Convent chapel with a picture of the Merciful Christ	Basilica of God's Mercy, Adoration Chapel, Way of the Cross, Rosary Stations, Chapel of the Suffering Christ, field altars	Convent of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, convent cemetery	Faustinum Society building, John Paul II Hall	Observation tower, information desk	convent, education center	complex	Sanctuary zone: shopping area, Pilgrims' Hotel, coffee bar, bar, conference room, family counseling, vendors selling religious items, convent headquarters, private rooms

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Kraków-Mogila	Holy Cross	Church of the Assumption and St. Waclaw with a chapel of the Miraculous Crucifix	Stations of the Way of the Cross, field altar	convent	shop	abbey, parish	developed	none
Leżajsk	Our Lady of Consolation	Basilica of the Visitation	Leżajsk Way of the Cross, chapel in the Pilgrims' Hotel	Convent, Museum of the Bernardine Fathers' Province	Pilgrims' Hotel built in 2002 with 117 beds, a conference hall and a cafeteria	convent, parish	developed	none
Limanowa	Our Lady of Sorrow	Basilica of Our Lady of Sorrow	Short Way of the Cross, field altar	none	Pilgrims' Hotel (85 beds)	parish	developed	none
Nowy Sącz	The Lord's Transfiguration	St. Margaret's Basilica	none	none	none	parish	basic	none
Piekary Śląskie	Sanctuary of Our Lady of Piekary	Basilica of the Mother of God with a miraculous picture of Our Lady of Piekary	Stations of the Cross, 23 Rosary chapels, Way of the Cross at Rajski Square	Parish Museum	Pilgrims' Hotel, Pilgrims' Center, coffee bar	parish	complex	Hotel Górnik, shop with religious items
Szczyrk	Sanctuary of Our Lady the Queen of Poland	Church of Our Lady the Queen of Poland	Chapel of Revelation	Salesian convent, Chapel of the Mother of God	Youth Hostel, restaurant	convent	developed	none
Trzebinia	Our Lady of Fatima	Church of the Holy Heart of Jesus Christ with a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Fatima	The Way of the Cross	Monastery of the Salvatorians, Chapel of Our Lady of Lourdes	Retreat House	convent, parish	developed	none
Tuchów	Our Lady of Tuchów	Basilica with miraculous painting of Mother of God	none	convent, Mission Museum (1975), Sanctuary Museum (1993), Ethnographic Museum (1997)	Shop with religious items	parish	developed	Pilgrims' Hotel
Wadowice	Sanctuary of Our Lady of Perpetual Help	Basilica with an icon of Our Lady of Perpetual Help	none	none	none	parish	basic	none
Wejherowo	Dedicated to the Mother of God	Church with a miraculous picture of Our Lady of Wejherowo	26 Way of the Cross chapels	Church cellars	Shop with religious items	Parish, convent	complex	none
Zakopane	Our Lady of Fatima	Church of Our Lady of Fatima with a figure of Our Lady of Fatima	Chapel of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Papal altar	Prayer park with Marian chapels, Home of the Pallottine Fathers	Shop with religious items	parish	developed	none

Source: author's own work based on fieldwork, research at sanctuaries, and BOZNAŃSKI *et al.* (2000), web pages of sanctuaries.

- complex sanctuary - consists of the sanctuary core and a complex of many buildings and sites (more than 5) designed to serve pilgrims - substantial numbers of non-religious activities.

In light of the above criteria, the following trends have been observed in a group of twenty national and international sanctuaries in Poland:

All international-class sanctuaries located in Polish cities are classified as complex sanctuaries. This includes Częstochowa, Kraków-Łagiewniki and Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. Hence, the greater the reach of a sanctuary, the more complex its organizational structure and the larger its pilgrim offering. Sanct-

uaries dedicated to the crucifixion of Christ used to be the only complex sanctuaries, based on the criteria in this paper, due to their large number of chapels. Today the number of sites and attractions for pilgrims continues to increase and their variety is increasing as well. The trend towards the establishment of new types of sanctuaries and a richer pastoral programme is a general European trend. The Kraków-Łagiewniki Sanctuary is a part of this trend, as are a few other sanctuaries in Poland.

a) The Sanctuary of Jasna Góra is a particularly interesting case. It is a mediaeval sanctuary, which has been able to adapt its organizational structure to the

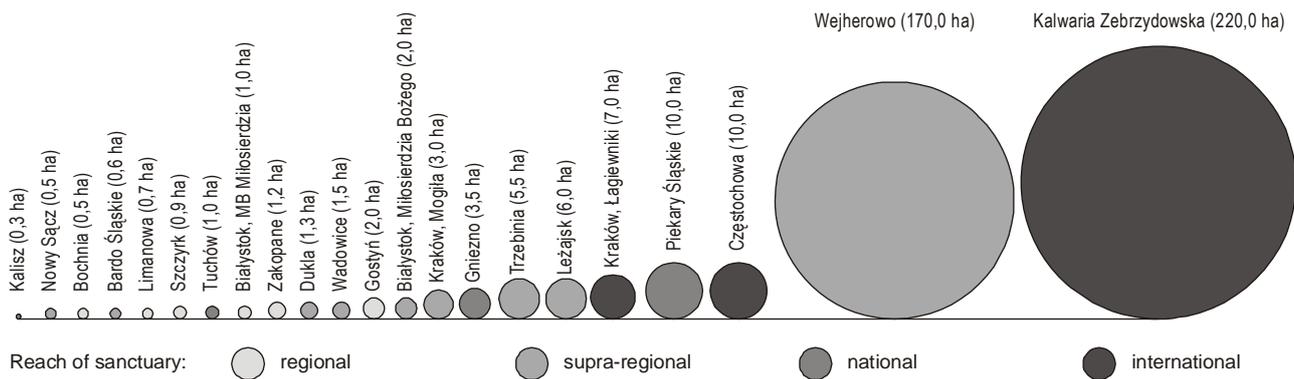


Fig. 1. Area of selected sanctuaries in Poland in 2010
Source: author's own work

needs of modern pilgrims in terms of cultural facilities (museums), religious features (Stations of the Cross next to the Monastery, Communion Hall, rosary stations) and educational facilities (audiovisual rooms).

b) Many regional and national sanctuaries are either original or basic sanctuaries. There are historical reasons for this. In times past, even large sanctuaries used to be just a single building without any special accommodation or attractions for pilgrims.

This paper is just a short summary of the various aspects of the organization of sacred space and focuses on the most important structural features of sanctuaries and their differences. A complex study of this subject would also involve an analysis of the cultural aspects of sanctuaries in order to show their tourism value and overall significance to the tourism industry in their parent settlements.

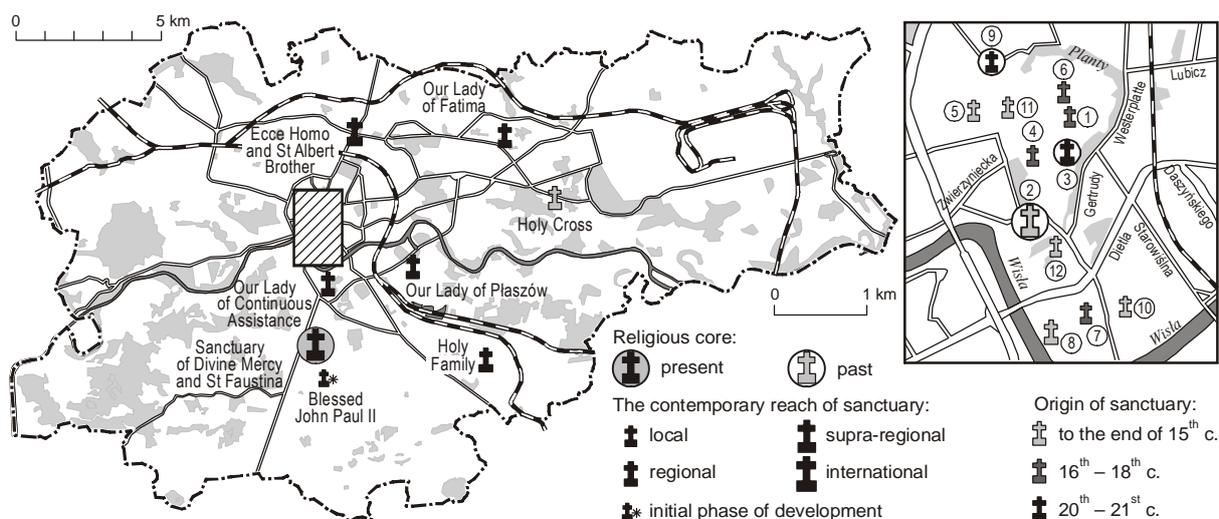
4. EFFECT OF THE SANCTUARY ON THE ORGANIZATION OF URBAN SPACE

A sanctuary's effect on its parent settlement may go beyond its own walls. The most important effect – which we will call a macro-effect – is the establishment of new residential communities around the sanctuary, changes in existing residential communities, as well as adjacent communities gaining municipal status. Changes of this type occur over time and a relevant issue here is the rate of change. The Sanctuary of Jasna Góra has certainly had an impact on the development of the city of Częstochowa starting from the village of Częstochówka. Polish sanctuaries dedicated to the crucifixion of Christ were also instrumental in the development of some settlements in Poland (JACKOWSKI 2005). The Polish research literature even has a term for this phenomenon being known as Calvary

settlements. This term applies to small towns founded primarily in the 17th c. and the 18th c. along with a sanctuary dedicated to the crucifixion of Christ. This includes Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Góra Kalwaria, Pakość and Wejherowo. This type of settlement-sanctuary evolution is unique to Poland.

A close relationship between a sanctuary and a settlement may benefit both. In addition to the development of Old Częstochowa being aided by the Jasna Góra Sanctuary, another example of this type of beneficial relationship is that of Bardo Śląskie, whose development had been aided for centuries by pilgrims. However, it is important to remember that the founding of new settlements, and rapid urban growth driven by the presence of a sanctuary are not frequent occurrences and are generally associated with large pilgrimage centres.

The effect of a sanctuary on the organization of urban space is most readily visible in areas immediately adjacent to the sanctuary. This area is called a sanctuary zone and it is designed to meet the physical needs of pilgrims. This is an area of high pilgrim intensity and may include certain religious sites or institutions functioning in a complementary manner to the sanctuary itself. This zone is generally found only around the largest of sanctuaries due to the nature and magnitude of pilgrim 'traffic'. More than one million pilgrims are needed per year for a sanctuary zone to emerge. Other conditions include a fairly steady flow of pilgrims throughout the year, and pilgrims who choose to venture outside the sanctuary proper. Table 2 shows that only international-class sanctuaries possess tourism-type infrastructure in areas close to the sanctuary proper. Other sanctuaries feature only one or two additional buildings such as a hostel or giftshop. Even in the city of Gniezno – one of the earliest pilgrimage centres in Poland – there is only a small service zone near the Gniezno Sanctuary.



1 – MB Częstochowskiej, 2 – św. Stanisława bpa i św. Jadwigi, 3 – MB Różańcowej i św. Jacka, 4 – MB Bolesnej, 5 – Domek Loretański, 6 – MB od Wykupu Niewolników, 7 – MB Pocieszenia, 8 – św. Stanisława, 9 – MB Piaskowej, 10 – Sw. Stanisława Kazimierczyka, 11 – św. Jana Kantego, 12 – Szymona z Lipnicy

Fig. 2. Sanctuaries in Kraków
 Source: author's own work

The sanctuary zones in Częstochowa and Kraków-Łagiewniki are the best developed in Poland. Even so, they are much less developed than the sanctuary zones of those comparable in Western Europe (e.g. Lourdes, Fatima and Santiago de Compostela). Prior to the expansion of the Sanctuary of God's Mercy in Kraków, the only services available near the sanctuary were mini-stores and stalls along St. Faustyna Street. Today the sanctuary owns a hostel for pilgrims and a pastoral services centre which includes a restaurant, conference room, small stores and a parking area. The hostel is also home to the Catholic Family Life Centre (<http://www.milosierdzie.pl/>). In recent years, stalls with religious items and food items have appeared near the second entrance to the sanctuary - Motarskiego Street (JACKOWSKI, SOŁJAN 2010).

In Częstochowa, the sanctuary zone rings the sanctuary itself (about 500 m). The largest concentration of vendors and facilities serving pilgrims can be found along nearby Klasztorna Street. The sanctuary zone near Jasna Góra largely owes its existence to the initiative of the Pauline Fathers. Many of the facilities that serve pilgrims are located on Pauline-owned land and are run by the Pauline Fathers themselves. The Catholic Church operates about 80% of the hostel rooms in the sanctuary zone, the result of many religious orders renting out rooms to pilgrims wishing to stay close to the sanctuary.

The relationship between different sanctuaries located in the same city is also interesting from the perspective of urban space organization. Many large

cities have more than one sanctuary. This is especially true of the city of Kraków, with more than a dozen sanctuaries since the Middle Ages. The importance of each sanctuary in Kraków has changed over the centuries. Wawel Cathedral was the religious core of the city between the 13th and the 15th c. and then again during the 19th c. The Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Rosary and the Sanctuary of St. Hyacinth run by the Dominican Fathers constituted the religious core of the city between the 15th and the 17th c. The same was true of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Piasek between the 17th and 19th c. Today the new Sanctuary of God's Mercy in Łagiewniki is becoming a new religious core outside the historic centre of Kraków (Fig. 2).

5. CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to show that a sanctuary can help alter urban space. A sanctuary is a very special place because of its religious nature and attracts both pilgrims and tourists. The spatial structure of a sanctuary is determined largely by changes in the number and nature of pilgrims. Modern pilgrimage centres are becoming more open to visitors who wish to take part in the life of a sanctuary, even if this involves non-religious activities. A sanctuary's religious offering is supplemented with typical tourism attractions while its establishment affects the development and spatial organization of a city in a variety

of ways. Large sanctuaries favour the development of sanctuary service zones that cater to pilgrims and this is found in Poland. There are, however, some supra-regional and regional sanctuaries that have few or no additional facilities designed for pilgrims.

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