

A MAPPING SENTENCE FOR THE PROCESS OF SACRALISATION. THE CASE STUDY OF GDYNIA

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Abstract: The purpose of the paper is the identification and description of factors affecting the process of sacralisation as well as the implementation of theoretical concepts in a case study of the Baltic city of Gdynia. The time range of the research is limited to the postwar period (1945–2013). It has been assumed that the formation of any religious landscape occurs under two main circumstances: (1) the need to express faith and (2) the opportunity to do it. The former is an internal factor and depends on religiosity, while the latter is closely related to politics, environment, economy and social life. A detailed scheme was constructed around this statement in the form of a mapping sentence. The research is based on qualitative measures which include field observation, analysis of source documents, and an analysis and criticism of bibliographic sources. Visual documentation and participant observation have also been used. There are two main conclusions coming out of this paper. Although any religious landscape is a mixture of different factors, by the 1980s the sacralisation of Gdynia was determined mainly by political factors, and later by economic and cultural ones. Furthermore, for three decades some tendencies, typical also for the whole country, have also been recognised in Gdynia: monumentalism, privatisation of sacred sites and the “John-Paul-the-Second-isation” of public spaces.

Keywords: sacralisation, mapping sentence, Gdynia, religious landscape

Introduction

This research paper on sacralisation contributes to an existing extensive bibliography of different disciplines focused on the interpretation of the presence of religion in modern society. Following the era of the secular paradigm in the social sciences, many European and American researchers have begun treating the phenomenon of

religiosity seriously as an important element of the public and private sphere, which is also worth studying. This paper is one such work and it is especially concerned with sacred spaces and “society-religion-landscape” themes, which have already been taken into consideration by geographers (Park 1994; Jackowski 2003; Stump 2008; Zelinsky 2010; Klima 2011; Biłska-Wodecka 2012; Sołjan 2012; Havlíček and Hupková 2013) and other scholars (Tweed 1999; Everett 2002; Derdowska 2006; Nelson, ed., 2006; Theije 2012; Davie 2013).

The paper uses the example of a city in northern Poland to illustrate the various facets constituting the process of sacralisation based on a detailed scheme of a mapping sentence used by Paul Hackett (1995). First, this theoretical concept and the notion of sacralisation are explained, followed by an outline of factors affecting the development of the religious landscape of Gdynia up to 1945. Then there is a description of the various facets mentioned in the model. In this part of the research, qualitative measures were used including field observation, analysis of source documents, analysis and criticism of the bibliography, visual documentation, and participant observation. Special attention has been paid to the political impact of socialism and the democratic transformation in the 1980s on the number of parishes and religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church and the usage of religion-related names for the city's streets, squares, roundabouts, etc. (e.g. St. Peter's street). The paper is limited to the Roman Catholic Church, as it has been the overwhelming religious denomination throughout the history of Gdynia. This nearly religiously homogenous society has developed its own specific landscape. It must be emphasised that some conclusions in the paper can undoubtedly be compared with the general situation of Poland in Europe. The case study of Gdynia mirrors general factors and tendencies in contemporary Poland in terms of the visual sacralisation of public spaces.¹

Sacralisation and the mapping sentence

Until the early 1990s, the secularisation of modern societies was generally assumed in the research literature (Davie 2013). From that time on, the secularity of Europe began to be treated as distinct, something particular to this part of the world. The renowned British sociologist of religion, Grace Davie (2013, 63), states that “the active religiosity in the United States, the massive shift to the South of global Christianity and the emergence of Islam as a major factor in the modern world order” made scholars coming out of the European context rethink their views. In the preface to

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the second edition of “Sociology of Religion. A Critical Agenda,” Davie states that religion is increasing in significance in many parts of the world.

Mariusz Czepczyński (2012) states that sacralisation, historicalisation, aestheticisation and animation are new processes of change of public spaces and are observed in small towns in Pomorskie Voivodeship, with sacralisation being the most vivid and dynamic contemporary socio-spatial process. It is expressed by establishing and renovating figures of saints, crosses, papal monuments and plaques in central parts of towns including marketplaces; however, he does not give a definition of sacralisation. In the author’s opinion, the process of sacralisation could be defined as an increase in the visibility of religion-related sites in public spaces. In other words, it is landscape sacralisation or a visual manifestation of religion in the landscape. Czech geographers (Havlíček, Hupková 2013, 103), when describing sacred structures in rural areas in the Czech Republic have also used the term sacralisation as “a process leading to an increase in sacred manifestations.” So-called religious landscape (Park 1994; Klima 2011; Havlíček, Hupková 2013) or sacred space (Jackowski 2003; Stump 2008) is the result of sacralisation observed in public spaces – natural spaces and built-up areas.

The field research described in this paper for different parts of Poland was conducted in recent years and proves that sacralisation is a process that affects all of Poland and is not limited to one province or town. During the last three decades, the process of sacralisation of public spaces has accelerated and is represented by the incorporation of various aspects of visual and significant sacred symbols into many spheres of public life in Poland. The city and townscapes as well as rural and often natural landscapes have been marked, and sometimes even dominated, by large signs of the cross and other religious icons. Overwhelming Catholic symbols are visible on religious and civic buildings. Churches, wayside crosses and chapels, figures, and monuments create a specific kind of “architectural sacralisation.” The other feature of sacralisation is related to a growing demand for religious titles and names given to schools, streets, buildings, and sites, thus creating a “nominative sacralisation.” “Temporal sacralisation” is observed in new and old religion-related rituals taking place in public spaces. Thus, the process of sacralisation is a multithreaded one. It possesses many forms, kinds, and aspects driven by different determinants. *Homo religious* is the subject of sacralisation.

It has been assumed that the formation of any religious landscape occurs under two main circumstances: (1) the need to express faith and (2) the opportunity to do it. The former is an internal factor and depends on religiosity, while the latter is closely related to politics, environment, economy, demographics, and culture. A detailed scheme was constructed around this statement in the form of a mapping sentence used in facet theory and applied, for example, in the explanation of the complex notion of environmental concern and in an integrated model of international students’ experiences (Hackett 1995, 2014). Facet theory is an approach to

social science research specifically designed for inquiries into complex multivariate events, whereas “a mapping sentence states a research domain’s contents in terms of its important facets, elements of these facets and connects these facets using everyday language in order to suggest how facets are related to the research domain” (Hackett 2014, 168). A mapping sentence is a definitional scheme, not a map; it may be thought of as a tool in which the researcher may readily see the correspondence (or lack of such) between theoretical hypotheses in the sentence and systematic relationships in the data gathered.

Figure 1 illustrates a kind of model that emphasises different components of the term “landscape sacralisation.” It can be used to interpret, step by step, the complex phenomenon of visual manifestation of religion in the landscape. A form of a mapping sentence gives a definition of sacralisation as well as enables to explore its facets leading to a comprehensive study of the characteristics of one or a group of listed elements. A detailed approach can be focused either on different kinds of needs (A1, A2) or possibilities (B) of *homo religiosus* when expressing faith in public spaces. One can pay attention to visual forms of sacralisation divided in Figure 1

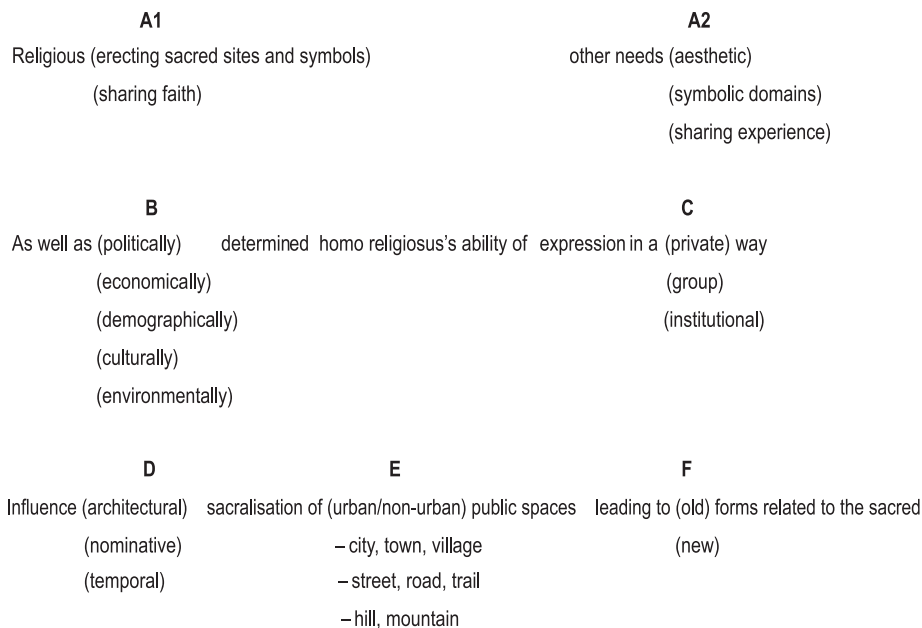


Fig. 1. A mapping sentence of the process of sacralisation

Source: Author's own study based on Hackett's (1995) scheme.

into collective and individual ways of expression (C), mentioned above aspects of sacralisation (D), early and contemporary forms of the sacred (F) of various spatial units (E). Later on in the paper, this multidimensional model of sacralisation is applied to the case of Gdynia.

Development of the religious landscape in Gdynia by 1945

The religious need to express faith in the “other” world as well as the opportunity to do just that must have been well-developed before World War II, because in a relatively short period of time, less than two decades, a village of small fishermen was transformed into a large city with several new churches and convents. The Roman Catholic Church census issued in 1938 (*Ordo et Elenchus pro 1938*) states that Gdynia consisted of 96.7% Catholics, 0.3% Greek Catholics, 0.4% Orthodox, 0.7% Protestants, 1.8% Jews and 0.1% believers of other faiths. This nearly homogeneous denominational structure was reflected across Gdynia’s urban space prior to World War II.

The contemporary religious landscape of Gdynia – and the city itself – is a result of historical events. The fundamental factor driving other intermediate factors (demographic and spatial development of the new city) was the political and economic decision of Poland to build the seaport of Gdynia, which triggered rapid urban development and related migration processes resulting in a growing urban structure. The participants of the project “city from sea and dreams,” as Gdynia was called, included clergymen, friars, and nuns. Church involvement in the process was by no means determined by the financial capability of particular religious communities. Moreover, we must not forget about the natural environmental factor (Gdańsk Bay, beaches, salty air), which from the beginning of the 20th century had a growing impact on the decisions of various religious orders to establish their houses in coastal Gdynia.

Up to mid-1926, Gdynia belonged to Oksywie Parish, which was dedicated to St. Archangel Michael, one of the oldest in Pomerania, erected as early as 1253. Several months following the day of granting city rights to the city on February 10, 1926, the first parish was formed in the former fishing village of Gdynia. The establishment of St. Mary Queen of Poland Parish (Najświętszej Marii Panny Królowej Polski) and other parishes was strictly linked with the construction of the seaport in Gdynia in the 1920s. This huge economic investment project resulted in the population growth of the village, and later the young city, due to immigration to the new municipal and port centre. The city population grew also as a result of new territories being annexed by the municipality as the city developed. The two phenomena, demographic and territorial growth, resulted in the establishment of numerous Roman Catholic parishes and religious order houses in Gdynia (Przybylska 2008).

By 1933, the number of parishes rose to 11 resulting in the establishing of the Gdynia deanery. In the late 1930s, there were 2 monasteries and 6 nunneries. Apart from benefiting from the health and leisure aspects of the coastal location, nuns and friars contributed to the infrastructural development of the rapidly growing city. The Sisters of Charity, for example, built and worked in a hospital. The pre-war religious landscape was also characterised by several patron saints (St. Peter, St. Adalbert, St. John) present in the names of streets in the centre of the city. Wayside figures and crosses, typical as Park (1994) states for regions of Catholic tradition, were popular in Gdynia, too.

The extent of the changes in pre-war Gdynia deserves emphasis: in the years 1922–1945 the city spread tenfold to 65.8 km² whereas the population grew from 1,300 residents in 1921 to 114,000 in 1937 (*Gdynia Statistical Yearbook 1996*). Gdynia's port in 1934 was the leader among Baltic ports in terms of cargo handled. Some of the buildings constructed in that period of time are considered today to be the pearls of European modernism (Kosecki 1994).

The years of World War II in Catholic Church history feature huge losses in the number of clergymen deported to German labour camps or murdered in the Piaśnica Woods near Wejherowo. All religious order houses, except for the Sisters of St. Elizabeth, were abandoned in December of 1939 under pressure from German authorities. During the Nazi occupation, in the years 1939–1945, the city did not suffer severe devastation although some precious figures of saints and old St. Joseph's Church were demolished. The above mentioned Church of St. Mary Queen of Poland was converted by the Germans in 1939 to a Protestant church dedicated to Martin Luther and St. John's Street (ul. Świętojańska) to Hitlerstrasse.

Sacralisation in Gdynia today

Needs (A)

As mentioned in the introduction, the Roman Catholic Church has always dominated in Gdynia. Postwar churches and parishioners in 1947 in Gdynia are recorded in only one census: 66,604 Catholics and 688 followers of other religious communities including 620 Jehovah's Witnesses, 60 Protestants, 2 Orthodox Christians (*Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji chełmińskiej*, 1947). It has been estimated that at the beginning of the 21st century other denominations have still a very small number of followers at less than 1% of Gdynia residents (Przybylska 2008). Today, Gdynia is inhabited by nearly 250,000 residents and belongs to the Gdańsk Diocese with a rate of 93.0 Catholics per 100 inhabitants (*Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 2011*, 207). Religiosity in the diocese, measured by the percentage of registered parishioners

and active parishioners (dominicantes, communicantes) is comparable to the average in Poland. In 2012, 39.6% of Catholics in the Gdańsk Diocese went to church on Sunday (40% in Poland, overall) and 17.7% received holy communion every Sunday (16.2% in Poland) (*Church in Poland Statistics* 2013).

There are “pure” religious needs such as sharing faith, evangelisation, fulfilling vows (A1 in Fig. 1), which all can lead to so-called sacred space or religious landscape. However, there are other feelings and motives determining the process of landscape sacralisation (A2 in Fig. 1). Pride in the great Polish citizen, John Paul II, a pope in the years 1978–2005, famous all over the world, is one non-religious reason to pursue sacralisation. Gdynia was among the first cities, which erected papal monuments in the 1980s. Most of the existing 640 papal memorials in Poland (Klima 2011) were created at the turn of the 21st century (Oźóg 2007). They are usually located in prestigious places or near churches. In Gdynia, both criteria fit because the papal monument stands along the historical St. John’s Street near St. Mary Queen of Poland Church.

In 1994, a similar symbolic location was chosen for a 25-metre cross built on the top of a hill called Stone Hill (Kamienna Góra), which is the best viewpoint in the city. The cross towers over the city. It is illuminated during the night hours. Another monumental cross, an 18-metre cross, built in prestigious surroundings in the 1990s, stands in close proximity to City Hall. Commemoration means approval. The memorial expresses the idea of solidarity with the people who had died to help future generations live in a free state; moreover, these two crosses can be read as a sign of the hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church in post-communist Poland; they constitute a symbolic domain, using the term of Nijakowski (2006).

Memorial crosses, very common in Gdynia, are both a sign of the spontaneous need to share the experience of death and a sign of religiosity, as instead of a symbol of Christianity, one can choose flowers or stones to commemorate something. Memorial crosses help people who had unexpectedly lost a friend or a family member to cope with emotional shock, with intense thoughts of a fatal place and the beloved person gone forever. An American folklorist (Everett 2002, 14) states that “roadside memorial markers offer a meeting place for communication, remembrance and reflection, separate from everyday.”

The final outlook of religious enterprise is also modified by the aesthetics of believers and end users. In Gdynia, for example, there are sometimes artificial or fresh flowers attached to memorial crosses, whereas in front of the above mentioned monumental crosses – only fresh wreaths are found. The architectural form of sacred sites mirrors end users’ sense of beauty, too. In Gdynia, as well as in Poland, many churches and sacred sites have a so-called “traditional look.”

In summary, the most important personal needs affecting a religious landscape (and sacralisation) are religious ones. Other needs (aesthetic, psychological) are

of secondary importance. They are “shaping factors” that determine the form of sacred sites contrary to crucial religiosity forcing people to reorganise the environment in a specific manner leading to what is called religious or sacred landscape. Religious expression is strongly determined by external factors such as politics, culture, natural environment, economics and the number of adherents, all of which are addressed next.

Opportunities (B)

Apart from the natural environment (coastal location of Gdynia) and economic factors (financial capacity of religious communities), political conditions are clearly of key significance, particularly after 1945 when the socialist system began to dominate in Poland. After World War II, the internal policy of the state affected the development of religious order houses and the network of parish churches. Up to 1989 Poland's government followed the communist ideology and hampered or even made it impossible to develop sacred architecture and conduct religious ceremonies. Certain positive changes occurred in the relationship between the State and Church in Gdynia during the October thaw of 1957, also following the events of 1970, and after the Solidarity strikes in the year 1980. This is the explanation why some sacred structures were built in the age of socialism.

In the years 1945–2011, the number of religious order houses in the city grew more than threefold: from 6 to 22 (Fig. 2). In 2011, there were 17 convents for women, which belonged to 12 orders and congregations and 5 monasteries for men, which belonged to 2 orders and 3 congregations. It is characteristic that half of them were established before the beginning of the 1980s and the second half in the years 1981–2011. We can identify two main dependent-on-politics periods in the development of religious order houses in Gdynia after 1945. During the twenty years after the war, the number of religious order houses increased rapidly after 1957 following a 12-year period of stagnation in the establishment of new houses. After that date there was another year of stagnation, both unprecedented in the following decades. The years 1966–1998 noted a stable growth in the number of religious order houses with more intense growth in the 1980s and 1990s. The establishment of the Independent Trade Union *Solidarność* and the wave of strikes in 1980–1981 created a basis for a gradual (initially) and later complete change of government policy relative to the Roman Catholic Church. The 1980s saw the establishment of 6 new houses of religious orders in Gdynia, i.e. more than in the two previous decades.

Politics also affected the activity of religious orders. At the beginning of the 1960s, nuns were dismissed from work at schools and hospitals. Today in Gdynia, four educational facilities run by the religious were established after 1989, the year

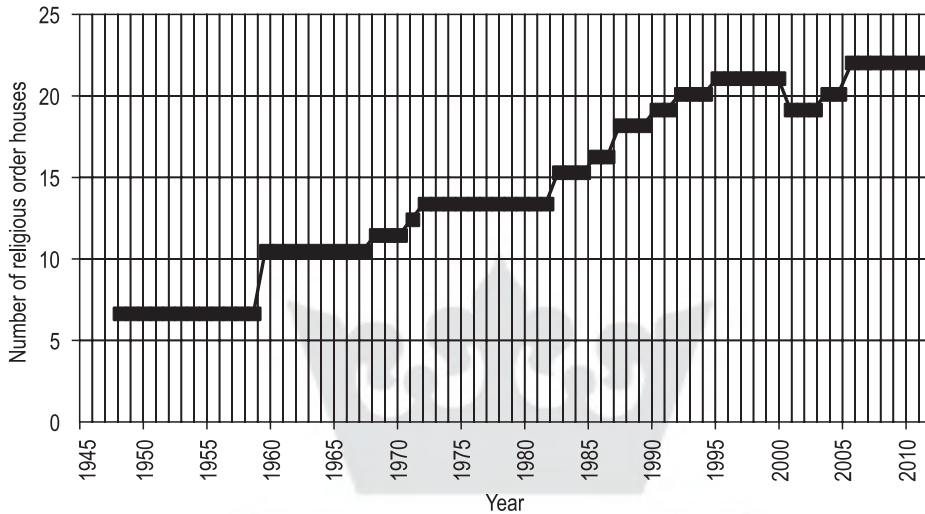


Fig. 2. Religious order houses in Gdynia in 1945–2011

Source: Author's own work based on *Schematyzm Archidiecezji Gdańskiej 2011* (2011) and Przybylska (2008).

of political transformation in Poland and most of Eastern Europe. The new political environment in socialist countries in the 1990s resulted in some church properties being returned to their former owners. Gdynia is again a good example. In 1994, a pre-war house located in Oksywie was returned to the Sisters of Congregatio Sororum Ancillarum who moved back in and opened an orphanage for children of pre-school age.

The turn of the 21st century saw the liquidation of two religious order houses and establishment of three new ones. Today, two decades after the democratic transformation, economic and demographic factors have replaced political ones. Contrary to the socialist lack of freedom, modern society faces other problems. In Gdynia, one of the convents was closed due to the falling number of vocations; the other because of high costs necessary to repair the building.

Political events have had a significant impact on the presence of parish churches in Gdynia, too. The uneven development of the parish system in Gdynia, particularly the long period in the years 1952–1973 when no parishes were established was determined by the country's political situation adversely affecting the activity of the Roman Catholic Church at the time (Fig. 3).

In the 1970s, the number of parishes grew a little until the 1980s (2 new parishes). Afterwards, the number of parishes increased rapidly in the 1980s, from 16 to 26, and

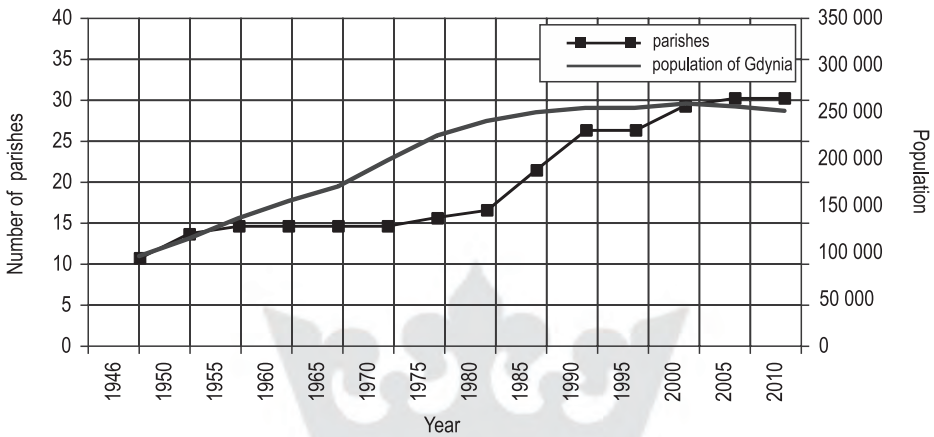


Fig. 3. Roman Catholic parishes and the population of Gdynia in 1946–2010

Source: Author's own work based on *Schematyzm Archidiecezji Gdańskiej 2011* (2011), *Statistical Yearbook of Gdynia City* (2001, 2006, 2011) and *Rocznik Statystyczny Miasta Gdyni 1986* (1986).

starting in 1990 the number of parishes remained stable up to the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the next century when only four new parishes were established. A similar level of sacralisation took place across Poland. The greatest transformation of the parish system during a single decade was observed in the 1980s. As many as 1,515 new parishes were established in Poland in one decade (Kumor 1996). In Poland, a parish means a community gathering at its own church or chapel, as each parish used to build its own small temporary chapel, often followed by a larger new church. Statistics on the number of churches are difficult to obtain, so parishes indirectly describe the quantity of sacred sites – churches.

Figure 3 also illustrates tensions between needs and opportunities when expressing religious faith to the outside world. It must be emphasised that “demographics matter” to landscape sacralisation as far as people are religious. The growth of Gdynia's population was until the beginning of the 1980s very dynamic, as every 5 years the number of permanent inhabitants grew 15,000 or more resulting in an increase of the population of more than 200% (89,100 to 236,400 residents), while the number of parishes changed less dynamically at 60% (10 to 16 parishes). As in the following years, population growth was slowing down, and since 2000 even going down, the development of parishes had its “golden age” in the 1980s, as it was mentioned above, and a slight slowdown in the next decade. In the future, the number of people and parishes in Gdynia seems to be constant only if the political

environment is stable, the percentage of Catholics in the city is not going down rapidly, and new areas of Gdynia are not built up.

By the 1980s, the expansion of Gdynia's administrative boundaries had doubled the area of the city (66 km² to 138 km²), but this had a minor impact on further development of parish organisations in the postwar period (contrary to the situation before World War II). New districts, however, began to grow and in the years 1981–2011 as many as 8 parish churches were built or are still under construction. Western areas of the city have not been chosen for new religious order houses before 2006, the year sisters from the *Congregatio Angelicarum Sancti Pauli* settled in the remote district of Chwarzno-Wiczlino, preparing a new kindergarten for a growing community of blocks of flats.

Politically determined sacralisation is observed in municipal naming, too. As early as in the first years after World War II, Poland experienced the socialist system which was clearly reflected, among others, in street names. Although the number of streets, alleys, squares and roundabouts in Gdynia (category “streets and squares” in Table 1) had nearly doubled in the postwar period, from over 500 in the 1940s to nearly 1,000 in 2013, their names referring to patron saints have always constituted less than 1%.

Table 1. Nominative sacralisation of the streets and squares in Gdynia

Streets and squares	Gdynia city street plan – date of issue						Database TERYT
	1947	1957	1969	1987	1996	2006	03.09. 2013
Patron saint	4	4	4	4	6	9	11
Total	515	531	602	721	783	870	978

Source: Author's own study based on: *Przewodnik po Wybrzeżu* (1947), Database TERYT (2013) and city street plans: *Plany „Trójmiasta”* (1957), *Plan Gdyni i Sopotu* (1969), *Gdynia. Plan Miasta* (1987), *Gdynia. Plan miasta* (1996), *Gdynia. Sopot. Plany miast* (2006).

It is characteristic that all new streets and squares named after patron saints have appeared in the last two decades. In the years 1947–1987 as many as 4 pre-war “sacred” street names (St. Peter's Street, St. John's Street, St. Adalbert's Street and St. Nicolas' Street) remained – a small group somehow not erased from the socialist landscape. Saints have been chosen for 2 or 3 new street names every decade in Gdynia since the 1990s. Stable growth indicates constant interest in such a tradition. There is evidence that some trends, which occurred during a massive changing of street names in Polish towns and cities after the regime collapsed, have remained

in force. One such trend is religion-related names given to public spaces such as streets dedicated to saints or the blessed.

Beside patron saints, the clergy is present in street names. The phenomenon of naming streets after parish priests who had lived and worked in Gdynia for many years has been characteristic since the 1990s (Przybylska 2008). This group includes a street named after Hilary Jastak, the parish provost of the city centre parish called the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the years 1949–1984, an honorary citizen of Gdynia, who lived in the parish to the end of his days, as well as Stanisław Zawadzki (formerly Boczna Street), the parish provost of Holy Sorrowful Mother in Orłowo in the years 1973–1998, who had worked in the parish since 1952. These streets are located close to churches in which their patrons had been working for many years, so they contribute to the development of local bonds as well as parish and district identity. Moreover, in 2010, a monument of the walking provost Zawadzki was installed in a prestigious seaside park in Orłowo.

Some of the pre-war names were often changed in socialist times and restored again in the 1990s. In Gdynia, we note in the People's Republic of Poland period (Polish acronym: PRL) the absence of streets dedicated to priests, bishops, monks, etc. For example, the streets Ignacego Krasickiego and Stanisława Okoniewskiego, which are listed in the street plan in 1947 (*Przewodnik po Wybrzeżu* 1947), disappeared for several decades. The street called after the poet and Bishop Ignacy Krasicki was renamed in 1948 to Jana Krasickiego after the secretary of the municipal government in Lviv in the years 1939–1942, and in the case of a street named after Bishop Stanisław Okoniewski to Wincentego Pstrowskiego, the name of a miner and labour competition initiator in the years following World War II. Both street names of the original patrons were restored in the beginning of the 1990s.

The economy also affects the contemporary process of sacralisation. Table 2 shows two indicators of the standard of living. It is clear enough that improvements in the material aspect of the quality of life in Gdynia followed the political transformation in the late 1980s. In the years 1985–2010, the average number of persons per dwelling decreased from 3.3 to 2.36 and the number of passenger cars increased almost

Table 2. Rise of the standard of living in Gdynia in 1985–2010

Standard of living indicators	1985	1990	2000	2010
Passenger cars	27,718	40,075	77,421	111,965
Average number of persons per dwelling	3.3	3.14	2.85	2.36

Source: Author's own study based on the *Statistical Yearbook of Gdynia City* 2006 (for 1985–2000); *Statistical Yearbook of Gdynia City* 2011 (for 2010).

4 times. In mid-1980s the rate had been 1 car per 8 inhabitants of Gdynia, and today every other person has a car. Economic growth in post-communist Poland had an indirect impact on sacralisation. It may be assumed that the more affluent religious people are, the larger the sum of money they will spend on churches, wayside sacred sites, etc. For example: since the 1990s there has been a tradition to illuminate some churches in the night hours and all wayside chapels, crosses and figures have been renovated. We may only speculate as to their condition if the standard of living in Poland had not improved.

Man's religious expression is also culturally determined as shown in Figure 1. Culture consists of material artefacts and intangibles, for instance works of art, technology, science, education, social rules, as well as means of communication (Bonnemaïsson 2005; Krzysztofek 2008). In the case of Gdynia, the role of culture has been observed in sacred architecture. Gdynia is situated in the Kashubia ethnic region of north-central Poland and some wooden carved wayside crosses represent the local Kashubian tradition. On the other hand, standard Virgin Mary figures in some modern wayside chapels seem to be a part of a homogenous religious culture driven by globalisation.

Finally, it must be emphasised that the natural environment determines the process of sacralisation in Gdynia, too. It has already been said that the city's coastal location has played a significant role in choosing Gdynia for some religious order houses. One must pay attention to a variety of natural elements, especially when considering sacralisation on a small scale such as a city or village. In the case of Gdynia, its topographic features and types of land use are quite relevant. The hilly and forested area of the Tricity Landscape Park (Trójmiejski Park Krajobrazowy), located between railway lines and Highway No. 6 in Figure 4, has always been a natural boundary of urban sprawl in the west of the city. The Baltic Sea, on the other hand, limits urban growth in the eastern direction. The natural environment did not initiate, stop or accelerate the process of sacralisation; nevertheless, geographic features helped it concentrate in a specific area. It is a post-glacial valley in which, already in the pre-war period, commercial and residential areas had been developed along the main Highway No. 468, which runs parallel to railways, as seen in Figure 4. The density of sacred sites measured in Gdynia in 2002 proves the interdependence of the distribution of sacred sites and residential areas (Przybylska 2006).

Aspects and forms of sacralisation (C–F)

Religious man's ability of expression can take different forms as listed in facets C–F in Figure 1. Memorial and monumental crosses illustrate the private/collective division in the manifestation of religiosity (facet C). Zelinsky (2010, 275), describing

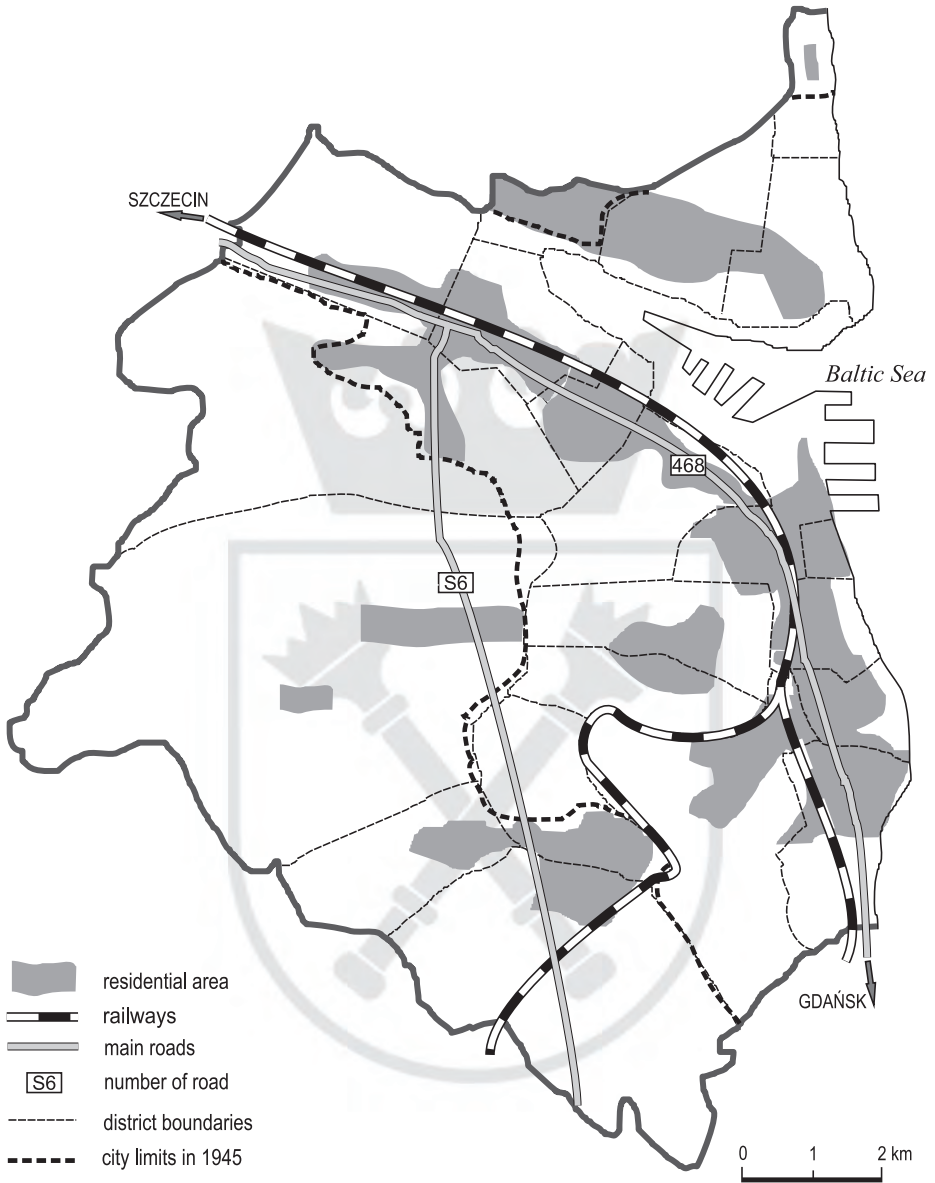


Fig. 4. Districts' boundaries of Gdynia

Source: Author's own work.



Photo 1. A memorial cross in Morska Street
Source: Author's archive, 2011.



Photo 2. The memorable day of pope's death celebrated by his monument
Source: Author's archive, 2005.



Photo 3. The entrance to St. Anthony Church
Source: Author's archive, 2011.



Photo 4. A religious outdoor advertisement on St. Anthony Church
Source: Author's archive, April 2011.



Photo 5. Old *profanum* and new *sacrum*
 in post-socialist housing estate
Source: Author's archive, 2013.



Photo 6. Old *sacrum* and new *profanum*
 in waterfront
Source: Author's archive, 2010.

the American religious landscape, mentions that “with depressing frequency, one comes across small crosses, floral displays, photos, and inscriptions memorializing the family member who perished in an accident at that point in the highway.” The trend of spontaneous memorialisation referring to the placing of fresh flowers, lighted candles, religious symbols and photos at the sites of motor vehicle accidents and homicides is observed in Gdynia as well. What differentiates such memorials from others noticed all over the world for 20 to 30 years (Petersson 2010; Everett 2002) is the symbol of the cross used almost in every memorialisation (Photo 1). During field research in 2012, the author of the paper counted 15 sites marked with crosses and 2 secular spots (flowers, candles) along the main streets of Gdynia (52 km). These small memorial crosses are personal and mostly illegal initiatives unlike, as mentioned in paragraph 4.2, monumental crosses built as collective enterprises with local government approval.

Both monumental crosses, the one on display and the other next to City Hall, witness ceremonies and religious rituals. Since the 1990s there is a “Way of the Cross” procession before Easter. It ends or begins under the cross on the top of Stone Hill. The cross in front of City Hall is often chosen for patriotic and religious events. There is a ceremonial event in December when the “Polish 1970” protests had occurred in northern Poland in 1970. As a result of the riots in Gdynia, brutally put down by the Polish People’s Army and the Citizen’s Militia, at least 23 people were killed and many were wounded. One can also see wreaths and candles on All Saints Day and All Souls Day in November. The monument used to serve as a scene for a Corpus Christi altar during the procession along St. John’s Street from one church to another in the centre of Gdynia.

The latter ritual is by no means a part of assumed temporal sacralisation (facet D in Fig. 1). All the mentioned crosses as well as other sacred sites, especially churches, comprise an architectural aspect of the process of sacralisation. The patron saints of streets, mentioned in Table 1, yield a nominative dimension of sacralisation. The three aspects of sacralisation are not always distinct. The coexistence of an architectural and temporal aspect has been observed, for instance, around two monumental crosses as well as in front of the monument of John Paul II.

John Paul II is commemorated twice a year. Since 2001 there has been a nationwide celebration held on the Sunday preceding October 16th, the date of the election of the Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyła as Pope John Paul II. Another type of temporal sacralisation takes place in spring. Although the largest collection of candles, flowers, flags, pictures and prayers written on small pieces of paper was displayed in public places at the beginning of April of 2005 (Photo 2), the anniversary of his death on the 2nd of April has still been celebrated in Gdynia and on the main squares of almost every Polish city and town. In Poland, papal monuments are good examples of a group and institutional expression of religion.

Photos 3 and 4 show some examples of nominative and architectural sacralisation at one location. There is a wooden cross in front of the entrance to St. Anthony's parish church, which is run by Franciscan friars (Photo 3). So-called missionary crosses used to be erected next to parish churches in Poland after "The Holy Mission," i.e. special periodic teachings for the whole parish community; there are many small plaques on such crosses indicating the dates of holy missions. Flags accompanying a cross are worth emphasising, as they reflect subtle changes in the Polish religious and cultural landscape as part of a general pattern of the popularisation of flags in public spaces. McDonald's fast food restaurants and foreign-capital petrol stations were the leaders of "flagisation" in post-communist Poland. Since the 1990s more Vatican white and yellow and Marian white and blue flags have been regularly flown next to crosses, figures, papal monuments, chapels, monasteries, etc. Photo 3 shows not only architectural elements (church, cross) but nominative (words) as well. There is a kind of religious advertisement, typical of Catholic churches in Poland for about 10 years, hanged above the entrance to a church (Photo 4). It is changed several times a year based on holy events and the Catholic liturgical calendar. In 2011, following the construction of a Marian sanctuary in this church, one could observe the holy icon and read the following statement: "Queen Mary, Mother of Hope, Take care about our city."

Considering the type of space (facet E in Fig. 1), it must be emphasised that in spite of the fact that the majority of the manifestations of religion in Gdynia are visible in a highly urbanized area, there are some exceptions. The Monument of Jesus Christ Blessing the Sea was built in 2004 several metres from Orłowo Beach, simply at the end of a local street. It commemorates the same figure of Christ that used to stand by the sea from 1924 until it was demolished during World War II. It is called a "Blessing of the Sea" monument. It seems to demonstrate the need to restore the past, the golden age of Gdynia's pre-war period when the city emerged "from sea and dreams" as mentioned in paragraph no. 3. One can only wonder if this monument is a type of old or new sacred space (facet F in Fig. 1)?

Furthermore, the structure of sacred space differs in pre-war Gdynia and that in newly incorporated areas (post-1945). Wayside crosses and shrines dominate the religious landscape of the new western districts. They are mostly private initiatives, whose history is hidden in the local memory and literature. In 2002, they constituted 75% of sacred sites, whereas in "old Gdynia" less than 50% (Przybylska 2006).

Photo 5 and 6 provide examples of new and old forms of the manifestation of religion in public spaces (facet F in Fig. 1); both sacred monuments are located in the pre-war area of Gdynia. Among eight wayside Marian figures, one is called the "God's Mother of Gdynia" monument. The pre-war replica of the Mother of God and the Queen of the World statue was placed atop a 25-metre high pedestal during the Jubilee Year of 2000 (Photo 5). Two years later, figures of St. Adalbert and John

Paul II were additionally placed atop lower pedestals. The monumental group of statues occupies the square between socialist blocks of flats in Witomino; thus, it is a form of the new sacred and old secular. It is also an example of the vast number of sacred memorials erected in rural, urban and even protected areas in Poland at the turn of the millennium. The Marian statue was funded by a local parish as well as the people of Gdynia and other investors. The following refers to another collective initiative.

Tadeusz Wenda's Fishermen's Cross was built in 1922 during the construction of the Gdynia seaport. In wartime, however, it was removed like other typical Catholic symbols by the German occupying forces. It is a unique wayside cross for the citizens of Gdynia because it commemorates the early years of the Gdynia harbour and the Catholic tradition of a village and later a city. The cross is named after Tadeusz Wenda, the creator and builder of the port. In 2006 the importance of this symbolic site was officially confirmed by placing it, as the only one among other numerous wooden crosses, on a list of Gdynia Historical Monuments. The cross is an example of the old sacred surrounded by the new secular (Photo 6). Although it is found at a central waterfront location and illuminated in the night hours, it remains almost invisible due to its small height, especially when compared with buildings and trees in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the cross has recently acquired a new "rival" called the Sea Towers – a 142 meter high skyscraper completed in 2009. The second tallest residential building in Poland towers over the small cross and the whole city reinforcing the secular domain in the city; however, the monumental cross at the top of Stone Hill (mentioned in paragraph *Needs*), "does not allow" it to be the only dominant symbol in the city centre.

Conclusions

Following the analysis of the Gdynia case study, it occurred that a mapping sentence adopted from facet theory (Hackett 1995, 2014) seems to be a useful tool when describing determinants, aspects and forms of sacralisation. It enables a step by step exploration of different facets of the multidimensional process of landscape sacralisation. Research has shown that each facet can be the only subject of interest or numerous ones may form, for instance, a comprehensive research study. In the author's opinion, the sentence-like model of sacralisation is a unique conceptualization that significantly differs from drawings and tables common in the geography of religion literature.

The example of a city in northern Poland comprehensively illustrated needs and opportunities, described as facets A and B, as the basis for the development of sacred structures. Although any religious landscape is a mixture of different factors,

the sacralisation of Gdynia was substantially determined by religious and political factors. Catholic tradition, already well rooted in the pre-war rapid development of the city, still dominates in the city in terms of its denominational structure and religious landscape. In the case of post-socialist Gdynia, where for several decades following World War II the development of places of worship was restricted, the significant growth in the number of parish churches and religious order houses of the Roman Catholic Church as well religion-related names of public places is connected with political transformations in Poland in 1980–1981 and almost everywhere in Eastern Europe in 1989, which reflected religious freedom in the country and the growing influence of local communities on the decisions of local and national governments. In the author's opinion, religiosity and state politics are crucial factors in the Eastern European context. Other human needs (aesthetical, psychological) and opportunities (demographic, environmental, economic, cultural) have affected landscape sacralisation to a lesser extent. Instead, they served as "shaping factors," important in the case of certain features of sacred sites, e.g. shape, cost, height.

In Gdynia there exists a variety of aspects and forms of sacralisation, but because of a shortage of space, this was presented only briefly in the paper. What is important, all forms, titled C–F in the mapping sentence, are present in the religious landscape of Gdynia; in addition, they coexist. We find architectural, temporal and nominative aspects of sacralisation as well as group, institutional and private means of religious man's expression. Clergy as well as lay people promote different religious initiatives in public spaces. There are old and new sacred forms, too. However, architectural forms, due to the amount of space they occupy can be perceived as dominant in the landscape. Similarly, considering types of geographic space, there is a difference in sacred structures between different parts of the city. Old and heavily populated districts, which are part of pre-war Gdynia, have fewer wayside crosses and shrines than the farmland and forest part of new western districts. In the author's view, religion and space interdependences should be stressed in every geographic research study on religious landscapes, especially on the micro-scale of a city.

Furthermore, in the Gdynia case study, we can find such contemporary nationwide trends in religious landscape such as privatisation of the sacred, well observed in the case of memorial crosses, and "John-Paul-the-Second-isation." The last process implies sacralisation of public spaces referring to the personality and work of the Pope John Paul II (Czepczyński 2008). Furthermore, the Catholic faith's symbols found in public spaces in Gdynia mirror contemporary trends in Polish sacred architecture: majestic constructions, traditional looking structures, and regular use of flags, which may be called the "flagisation" of the landscape.

The increase in the manifestation of religion in recent decades in Gdynia can be interpreted in two ways. First, it is a response to 40 years of communist de-sacralisation. From the time freedom of speech and other democratic rights replaced the

communist regime, Poles have regained the occasion to express previously hampered or forbidden types of opinions and dreams. The construction of religious buildings and symbols as well as putting patron saints and clergymen on street plaques are part of the most spectacular process of making up for lost time. Second, the process of sacralisation is a visible sign of the Christian identity of the inhabitants of Gdynia; furthermore, it is evidence that the matter of religion is an integral part of modern society, as Davie (2013) claims. Religion in Gdynia, as in other parts of the world (Tweed 1999; Theije 2012), has played an important role in the process of transforming the cultural landscape and creating a collective identity. The contestation of the dominant position of Catholicism remains a part of public debate in Poland, well documented for instance in the magazine *Miscellanea – Anthropologica et Sociologica* (2013). However, the issue of the neutrality of public spaces has not been a source of societal tension in Gdynia thus far.

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