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The town-formative function of the Jasna Góra shrine

In research on the geography of towns, much attention has been devoted to problems of the functional development of city centres. Defining the notion of its “function,” was first applied to a town by F. Ratzel in 1891, the emphasis is mostly on “*the activity of a town directed outwards, which is the reason for its existence and a basis of development, and generating resources that are vital for this existence*¹.” The functions of a town do not always have an economic character. There are towns that beam with spirituality: they have a religious function. These are primarily pilgrimage centers, to which sometimes hundreds of thousands, or even millions of believers come. They come to visit a “*locus sacer*,” a holy place, often being a sacred building of particular cultic value. The mere existence of a shrine² and its town-formative function to a great extent, often exclusively, determines the creation and development of such towns. The town-formative function of a shrine emerges in the process of development of the spatial structure of the place, in its management, and physiognomy³. One can see this influence in many pilgrimage centers, regardless of the kind of religion. Christian examples of these towns are Rome, Lourdes, Fatima, and also Częstochowa with its Jasna Góra Shrine.

The Jasna Góra Hill is a singular place within the Częstochowa region: a physiographic entity including a fragment of the Częstochowa Uplands (from the gorge of the Warta River by Częstochowa to the peak of Castle Mount, 504 m above sea level in the Ogrodzieniec village), and the Wieluń Uplands. Here the Warta River divides the Jura Mountain range in two parts: eastern and western, which differ completely in landscape. In the eastern part rise the plentiful monadnocks: rocks often of an unusual shape which resisted the destructive activity of the weather, and offer evidence as to the form of the Jurassic geological table-land. In contrast, the limestone rocks of the western part are hidden deep under the ground, rarely showing their peaks in rocky outcroppings. The Jasna Góra Hill is one of the few heights of this kind. It dominates the surrounding area, reaching an altitude of 295 m above sea level. Geologically it is a lime table, surrounded at its base by a layer of the dark Middle Jurassic loam. The bright color of the rock probably contributed to the name of the height: “*Clarus Mons*.” This name is found for the first time in the Olsztyn starost’s document dated October 30, 1388, mentioning Jacob

the Abbot of Jasna Góra⁴. Placed at a relatively small distance (about 2 km) from a narrowing in the Warta River Valley, allowing a ford, and due to its defensive advantages, Jasna Góra could play an important role in the progress of the area's settlement in relatively early period.

The oldest remains of human activity found in the Częstochowa area date to the later Stone Age (stone tools, pieces of pottery), but most of the finds come from the Bronze Age, and from the initial periods of the Iron Age⁵. The oldest historical account mentioning the existence of permanent forms of settlement in the territory of present Częstochowa, comes from December 25, 1220. The account included in the document of Cracow's Bishop Ivon, confirming the tithes collected from about a dozen villages, among them from Częstochowa and Częstochówka, for benefit of the monastery of canon regulars, living in the nearby of village Mstów⁶. Częstochowa was also mentioned in Pope Innocent IV's Bull of 1250, among the villages contributing tithes for the benefit of the canon regulars in Wrocław (the Mstów monastery was one of its branches).

The name of Częstochowa originates from the Slavonic name "Czestoch", while the name Częstochówka originates likely from Częstochowa and suggests its later foundation, or the smaller size of this locality⁷. Częstochowa was a riverside village placed partly in the wet and boggy valley of the Warta River, and partly on its terraces, raised higher and drier. Częstochówka, placed at a distance of about two kilometers west from Częstochowa, occupied territories neighboring Jasna Góra in the north. Location of Częstochowa was also to a great extent determined with regard to communications. The Wieluń road led this way: at the end of the fourteenth century this road was one of more important routes connecting Cracow with the western districts of Poland.

The neighborhood of Częstochowa was famous for its iron ore, which was extracted and melted down in local furnaces, as reported in the historical accounts of the fourteenth century. For centuries, also limestone was burned to lime, and also used for the construction of houses, gradually replacing wood. In the mid-fourteenth century Częstochowa was legally a knightly village, as shown by its location privilege of August 24, 1356. Rapid development of this village, mainly as a commercial settlement, allowed it to secure a city charter between 1370 and 1377⁸.

The event that decisively influenced the fate of the town was the establishment of the Jasna Góra Monastery. Its founder was Prince Władysław Opolczyk (Ladislaus of Opole). He settled the Paulines on Jasna Góra: the monks of St. Paul the First Anchorite Order, immigrating there from the monastery of St. Lawrence near Buda in Hungary. On June 22, 1382, the hitherto parochial church⁹ dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary in Jasna Góra¹⁰ was transferred to them, and on August 9 of that year, the foundation ceremony of the monastery was held. Furthermore, two ducal villages neighboring Jasna Góra, Częstochówka (then called Old Częstochowa), and Krowodrza (part of contemporary Częstochowa called Kawodrza), were given to the convent. The ironworks and the grange beside it, also became monastery property.

In 1382, Prince Władysław Opolczyk bestowed the icon of the Madonna and Child upon the monastery in Jasna Góra. It was imported from Russia, and already was surrounded by veneration and a cult. The presence of the Icon of Blessed Virgin Mary, famous for its miracles, soon made the place one of the most important pilgrimage centers in Central Europe, and the Marian Cult related to the Częstochowa Icon started to receive increasing approval from the Apostolic See¹¹. The pilgrimage movement was accompanied by the simultaneous influence of the Jasna Góra Shrine on the development of the settlement next to the monastery. The process of this influence, the manifestation of town-formative function of the shrine, can be divided into the following periods: up to mid-seventeenth century, from mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the First World War, the inter-war period, and the period after the Second World War.

The period up to mid - seventeenth century

The growth of pilgrim traffic to Jasna Góra at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century, made it necessary to undertake the job of guaranteeing the needs of visiting pilgrims. An extension of monastery was initiated, and the adaptation of existing quarters, as well as construction of new buildings next to Jasna Góra was undertaken. The funds for this purpose were obtained from private endowments for the monastery's activity, and some were received thanks to numerous of land grants from King Władysław Jagiełło (Ladislaus Jagiello) (among others, they included villages: Szarlejka, Lgota, Kalej, Grabówka).¹²

In 1430, the Jasna Góra Monastery was a victim of armed robbery and assault, during which the Icon of the Madonna was profaned and seriously damaged. It was sent to Cracow, where it underwent a thorough renovation accomplished by unknown artists¹³. As evidence of the extraordinary mastery of that job, contemporary researchers and conservators are not able to pronounce definitively whether only the damages were repaired, or a copy of the original work¹⁴ was made.

In the second half of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth century, the influence of the monastery as a town-forming center on the surrounding territory strengthened¹⁵. To a considerable extent, it resulted from economic benefits obtained by the local population in serving the pilgrimage traffic¹⁶. The fees for lodging offered to pilgrims coming to Jasna Góra in great number, particularly for indulgence days and important ceremonies, were an important source of incomes of home owners near the monastery. Regular markets (weekly on Mondays) and fairs were organized¹⁷. Profits were obtained from selling food and horses' feed to the pilgrims.

Apart from houses, inns and boardinghouses played an important role in serving the pilgrimage traffic of that time. Poorhouses, where ill and impoverished pilgrims could find shelter, played an essential role. They were built due to the financial help of the monastery, and to funds donated for this purpose by landlords

and rich citizens. Częstochowa craftsmen, who made great profits from the pilgrimage trade, also distinguished themselves with their generosity. Considerable profits were obtained from selling rosaries, books on religious topics, and the other devotional articles to pilgrims and to merchants trading in the other pilgrimage centers¹⁸. These articles were bought in numerous market stalls, located around the monastery buildings, and also in the neighboring settlements, mostly in Częstochówka¹⁹.

In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, an observable growth of painting workshops was a characteristic phenomenon in Częstochowa. They manufactured holy pictures, primarily representations of the Częstochowa Blessed Mary²⁰. These pictures, bought by pilgrims, went to many Polish shrines and homes, and also abroad²¹.

Servicing the pilgrimage traffic and the growth of wealth of inhabitants, often led to rivalry among the various villages to obtain a preferential position in this type of service. Such clashes were recorded mostly between the inhabitants of Częstochowa and Częstochówka²². Testifying to their seriousness are the numerous complaints of citizens of Częstochowa to the king, aiming to limit incomes from pilgrim trade and services of the population of Częstochówka. At this time, the construction of new residential and service buildings for pilgrims was begun not only within the borders of the existing settlements (Częstochówka, Krowodrza, Częstochowa), but also beyond them along the roads leading to the monastery. More and more, Jasna Góra was becoming a central point of the developing system of settlement around it.

At the turn of the sixteenth century, the economic development of the settlements was restrained due to a crisis in the local iron industry. Many ironworks closed or underwent devastation. In that time, fires often broke out in Częstochowa and the remaining settlements. The fire of 1652 caused the most destruction; almost all Częstochowa was consumed. Epidemics caused considerable population losses, particularly in 1629-1630, after which almost one quarter of Częstochowa homes stood empty.

These setbacks were not enough to cause a long-term economic deterioration, and the population overcame each threat which appeared. In 1550, 1,500 people inhabited Częstochowa, while in the first years of the seventeenth century about two thousand, and in the middle of this century about two and a half thousand. This put the town in first place among the towns of the western Małopolska region²³. Besides pottery, coopers, wheelers, and blacksmiths, new branches of crafts emerged: alcohol distilling, beermaking, tailoring, and furriers. Due to development of pilgrimage traffic, bakery and butchery grew especially²⁴.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the need to protect the Jasna Góra Shrine against continuously threatening assaults and robberies became more and more important. This was associated with the current political conflicts and wars, undertaken mostly by the Silesian sovereigns. Establishment of a system of fortification and defense that could successfully guard the group of monastery buildings against external attack, appeared to be necessary.²⁵ The construction of fortifica-

tions, very modern for those times, started in 1620 at the initiative of Zygmunt III Waza (Sigismund III Vasa). King Władysław IV Waza (Ladislaus IV Vasa), in particular gave the monastery considerable support, offering large sums of money for the work constructing the defenses. In 1648, the essential part of the planned defense construction was finished. They formed a system of fortification structures, surrounding the rectangular area where the monastery buildings with the church and the chapel of the Miraculous Picture stood. The surface area of the fortress within the walls was 13,650 m². The walls were surrounded by a moat, crossed by a drawbridge to the fortress gate. Along with the construction of the defensive system, work on the reconstruction of sacral buildings, replacing wooden with brick construction also continued. In 1639, a brick pharmacy for the use of monks and the population of nearby Częstochówka as well as pilgrims, was opened heeding the danger of another epidemic²⁶. Foundation of the monastery-related printing house in the 1790's was another important event²⁷.

Parallel to the construction work continued in Jasna Góra, the extension and construction of new buildings outside the monastery took place. This activity included, among others, the churches of St. Sigismund, St. Jacob, St. Barbara, and St. Roch, also poorhouses for pilgrims. In 1642, construction of the monastic novitiate on the road leading from Jasna Góra to the monastery village of Krowodrza, began at a distance of about one kilometer from the monastery. The design and style of the erected buildings was subordinated to the architectural pattern applied at that time in Jasna Góra. The atypical orientation of St. Barbara's church to the south (instead of to the east), as an attempt to subordinate the church to its mother convent in Jasna Góra²⁸, is evidence of this trend. Materials from old, demolished monastery buildings were often used for new construction. Today one can still find a Gothic brick from Jasna Góra that was used to face the walls. Investment activity of great impetus, was a manifestation of the increasing significance of the Jasna Góra Shrine as a Marian Cult and pilgrimage center, with a strengthening influence on the development of settlements in the surrounding areas.

The period from the mid - seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century

An event which greatly influenced the further fortunes of the Jasna Góra Shrine and the villages in its vicinity, was the siege of Jasna Góra by the army serving the King of Sweden, Carol Gustav X, in November and December of 1655. The six-week siege was in fact only one episode of the Polish-Swedish war, however the unconditioned withdrawal of the aggressors resounded over all Poland, enormously strengthening the spirit of struggle and consolidating Polish society of that time. The heroic defense of Jasna Góra under the command of the abbot, Father Augustyn Kordecki, strengthened the Marian Cult, integrating the religious values of the Jasna Góra Shrine with national ones, and making them the one comprehensive symbol of Polish patriotism. Blessed Mary was seen as the primary advocate of the defensive efforts and the victory was attributed to her as well. This influenced

General view from the church tower of Jasna Góra (photo. by J. Dańda)
Reproduction of a postcard from The Graphics Collection of the Jagiellonian Library,
call number IF 11737, vol. 129

the widespread consolidation of her commonly known image as the Queen of Poland²⁹. Ceremonial oaths made by King Jan Kazimierz (John Casimir) in the Lvov cathedral on April 1, 1656, proclaiming the Blessed Virgin Mary as the Queen of Poland, were manifestations of this appreciation.

The villages surrounding Częstochowa were substantially robbed and devastated by the invaders. Częstochówka almost entirely burnt down. In Częstochowa, almost 60 % of buildings were demolished, and the number of inhabitants decreased to less than a half (some 950 persons). The number of craftsmen decreased as well, from 125 to 51³⁰.

In the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century, the vicinity of Jasna Góra and Częstochowa were an area of continuing social unrest and of armed battles that caused deepening economic regression of the demolished villages. The population of Częstochowa was smaller than at the end of sixteenth century and in 1787 it counted scarcely 1250 people³¹.

Despite a deep crisis characterizing the time after the Swedish invasion, enlargement of the defensive facilities and the restoration and rebuilding of the sacral buildings began in Jasna Góra.³² In that period, the pilgrimage traffic developed to a considerable extent. On September 8, 1682, one hundred forty thousand pilgrims participated in the ceremonies commemorating the three hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Miraculous Picture to Jasna Góra, and the ceremony of

coronation of the Picture on September 8, 1717, was attended by two hundred thousand believers³³.

Due to the increased affluence of pilgrims, the monastery-related villages, particularly Częstochówka, started to revitalize. In the daily life of this settlement, the main role was played by trade and services for pilgrimage traffic, and also for retainers of visiting royalty and magnates attending religious ceremonies in the Jasna Góra Shrine. Manufacture of devotional objects was also developing. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Częstochówka was gradually attaining economic ascendancy over Częstochowa. In its physiognomy and spatial arrangement, it increasingly resembled a town, with its marketplace through which ran a through-road, and a net of streets around it. Due to the efforts of the Paulines, Częstochówka got its city charter in 1717, assuming the name of Nowa Częstochowa or Górna Częstochowa. At the convent's initiative, the construction of a town hall was started in Nowa Częstochowa. This was one of the manifestations of the influence of the monastery at that time on the architectural development of the Jasna Góra vicinity, not only through development of sacral construction, or dwelling and business facilities construction to serve the needs of the order, but also through the construction of administrative facilities³⁴.

The period from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the First World War

In this period, the influence of the Jasna Góra Shrine as the town-formative center on the surrounding area found its expression in the increasingly salient functional and territorial relationships between Częstochowa and Jasna Góra, and neighboring Częstochówka. The endeavor to integrate these two localities into one town organism was becoming stronger. The ratification of this unity came after the issuance of the appropriate legal act by the Council of the Polish Kingdom on August 19, 1826. The basic foundation of the urban concept unifying the two neighboring towns was the layout of the Avenue of Blessed Virgin Mary, called then a "road guiding from Old to New Częstochowa and Jasna Góra"³⁵. Since that time, this road has become the main axis of development of a new town system and its primary means of pedestrian and wheeled communication. Soon, the new town center, called Nowe Miasto or New Town, dominated by administrative and public services (with a new town hall, built in 1828-1836 half-way between Częstochowa and Częstochówka), began to form along this road³⁶. Aside from public service buildings, private construction also developed. The development activity was subordinated to the supervision of construction authorities, which contributed to preservation of aesthetics and harmony of architectural styles of the emerging facilities.

The placement of the Avenue of Blessed Virgin Mary (directing it not toward the center of Nowa Częstochowa, for example toward the marketplace, but straight toward the Jasna Góra Tower) is the most convincing proof of the great relevance of the Jasna Góra Shrine in the process of architectural development of its surroundings. The specificity of placement of the holy place found its reflection in the

A view of the Jasna Góra monastery from Wieluński Square
Reproduction from "Jasna Góra. An Album", Częstochowa 1928

concern of designers in obtaining a proper aesthetic effect, to welcome the mass of pilgrims to the object of their trek, to the Miraculous Picture. In this way, they strived *"due to the view of the monastery hill surmounted by the tower, to take maximum advantage of the opportunities of eliciting an emotional charge, with an intensification of the effect along with the approach to culmination"*³⁷. In this way the Polish *"via sacra"* emerged, which over time became the road of pilgrims in a worldwide sense. In 1846, the line of the Warsaw-Vienna railroad reached Częstochowa. This increased communication access to Częstochowa for the arriving pilgrims. However, because of political concerns, access of pilgrims to the Jasna Góra Shrine was seriously limited by the partitioning authorities (particularly after the collapse of the January Uprising, in which many priests and monks took part, in 1864). Pilgrimages, organized despite prohibitions and dangers, were becoming an opportunity for patriotic demonstrations, and religious feelings gave a community feel to believers from different parts of Poland. Despite the political repression, the five hundredth anniversary of the monastery was celebrated in Jasna Góra in 1882. At that time, four hundred thousand of pilgrims on foot, and fifty thousand by train, came to the shrine. Even larger masses of pilgrims gathered during ceremonies of

the second coronation of the Częstochowa Mother of God Icon in 1910: nearly nine hundred thousand pilgrims³⁸.

The pilgrimage traffic influenced the development of trade and public services. The sales of manufactured goods, including the trade of devotional objects, was dominated almost exclusively by Jewish wholesalers and merchants³⁹. In 1861, there were 21 hotels and inns, 25 restaurants, pubs, cafe bars and groceries in Częstochowa⁴⁰.

Contemporary development of Częstochowa (it became the fourth city in size in the Russian partition of Poland, after Warsaw, Łódź, and Lublin) was concerned to a considerable degree with the growth of local industry. Foreign capital, particularly German, French and Belgian, played a significant role in the establishment of industrial enterprises, mostly textile, chemical, metallurgical, and of construction materials.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, much construction work in Jasna Góra was accomplished. Among others, one should mention the reconstruction of the monastery tower, which burnt down in a fire of 1900. This work was finished in 1906. Their result was a monumental structure 106 meters in height, crowning the perspective of the Avenue of BVM. Much attention was devoted to a renovation of the Jasna Góra parks. Founded in 1826 and finished in the mid-19th century, they started to serve the needs of inhabitants of the neighboring districts⁴¹ as the places of rest. In 1903 to 1914, the Stations of the Cross were built in the monastery park. In architectural style, they harmonize perfectly with surrounding greenery.

The inter-war period

In the inter-war period, the influence of the Jasna Góra Shrine on the process of spacial organization of the surrounding area underwent notable intensification. This was linked with the constantly growing pilgrimage traffic. Its greatest intensity was recorded during the Marian holidays, during congresses, synods, and the other important meetings of prominent persons and representatives of Church administration. The year 1938 was particularly notable for the approximately one million believers who visited the shrine⁴². Additional trains (including those especially for the ill) were arranged for the pilgrims, and the lodging and catering facilities were developed. In this respect, the League of Tourism Support, the association established in Poland by an initiative of the Ministry of Transportation in 1935, played an important role. In 1936, the number of pilgrims arriving in Jasna Góra who took advantage of the services of the association, was about two hundred and thirty seven thousand persons.⁴³ The important investment aim of the association was at that time the construction of a house for pilgrims in Częstochowa (shortage of the lodging facilities⁴⁴ prevented most of the pilgrims of staying for more than one day). In this period, the enlargement and modernization of the technical infrastructure and of many communal facilities in the area of the town were accomplished. Among them, the water and sewage systems, the electric lighting of streets, and city bus transportation commenced. Included was work aimed to make entry to Jasna

Góra easier for pilgrims, among them, two new bridges over the old moat, and increasing the capacity of the monastery gates. Manifestation of the town-formative function of the Jasna Góra Shrine was also an investment aim. It was included in the Częstochowa Regulative Plan project and elaborated in the second half of the thirties. According to its postulates, there was going to be further growth of the third sector concerning primarily the meeting of pilgrims' needs. The outbreak of the Second World War shattered those projected ambitions.

The period after the Second World War

After the war, the Jasna Góra Shrine even further emphasized its role as the Altar of the Fatherland, a place presenting the highest values related to the spiritual life of the Polish nation. It followed the situation of a widespread threat to the Church institution and religious values resulting from Communist totalitarianism, comprising the structures of State and society. In this predicament, of particular relevance were the Jasna Góra prayers for the freedom of the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, imprisoned by the Stalinist authorities, which on August 26, 1956, assembled a million believers at Jasna Góra. Through the praying of the New National Oath, it became the religious and patriotic manifesto of the Poles. The ceremonies of the Millennium of the Baptism of Poland on May 3, 1966 were of comparable importance. During them, the whole Episcopate declared the *“Act of Submitting Poland to the Maternal Bondage of Mary, the Mother of the Church, for the Liberty of Christ’s Church.”*

The systematic obliteration of the infrastructure of the religious function of Częstochowa was the mark of the anti-clerical policy of the Communist regime at that time. A process of “distancing” of Częstochowa from Jasna Góra was introduced, despite the existing architectural integration⁴⁵. Steering the functional development of the town, according to the cardinal principal of the socialist system, industrialization, lead to the intensive development of the industrial sector, among others: textile, machinery, and chemical, and especially metallurgical. The biggest post-war development in Częstochowa, the Bierut ironworks (now called the Częstochowa ironworks), was the most visible mark on the appearance of the city. Parallel with the industrial plants, new housing settlements for the workers sprang up, whose spatial design departed from the hitherto, historically formed Jasna Góra axially, and designated a new axis of development in the north-south direction. The consequence of this policy of functional and spatial development for Częstochowa was the emergence of a kind of “vacuum” around Jasna Góra, manifesting the laicizing intentions of the administrative authorities, proceeding *“against the logic of normal development of the city structures and its fundamental qualities, coming from the fact of possessing such an interesting object, both for the pilgrims and for the tourism, in its area”* to break the spiritual ties of the city with the shrine⁴⁶.

The visit of the Holy Father John Paul II in June 1979, was a far-reaching event in the postwar history of the Jasna Góra Shrine. In the three days of his stay, about three and a half million believers met with the Pope. A common prayer with

the Holy Father strengthened the Poles in their difficult struggle for a free Poland. The following visits of the Pope to Jasna Góra, in 1983, 1987, and 1991, held equally great religious and spiritual implications.

Political transformations which started to occur in Poland in the eighties gave Częstochowa an opportunity to oppose the post-war tendencies of “*spatial discrimination*” against Jasna Góra by administrative authorities, and to regain its deserved place in the life of town. A particularly important task was the construction of an infrastructure, which could satisfy the needs of the continuously growing pilgrimage traffic. In spite of putting into use John Paul II’s Pilgrim’s House, the existing lodging facilities of Częstochowa (2,400 year-round beds, and 11,600 seasonal ones)⁴⁷ cannot satisfy needs of even ten percent of the pilgrims arriving to the Jasna Góra Shrine⁴⁸. The distribution of the lodgings is irregular; only 4% of the total number of beds are in hotels⁴⁹.

The town-formative role of the Jasna Góra Shrine finds its reflection in the plans for spatial development of Częstochowa, which initiate supplying the city with structures for the reception and service of pilgrims and tourists at European standards⁵⁰. If these plans are realized, Częstochowa could become a world pilgrimage-tourist center. Already now, the number of visitors approaches 4 to 5 million a year⁵¹, including about four hundred thousand from abroad⁵². Aside from the preservation and restoration of the religious, historical, and artistic heritage (Jasna Góra is on the UNESCO World Heritage List), reaching this goal requires the creation of a system of reception, and catering centers, and other pilgrimage and tourist services. There is an urgent need to reconstruct the communication network of Częstochowa, particularly to relieve the city of through-traffic, and to supply Jasna Góra and the Stare Miasto with better access to transportation. The area directly surrounding the monastery requires suitable development, which should be subjected to precise architectural and aesthetic requirements. The further structural development of Częstochowa, allowing for the continuation of the vital and organic ties of the city with the shrine, a place deciding the identity of the surrounding area for over six centuries, will depend on realization of these planned objectives. Taking into account the decisive role of the shrine in the process of forming the functional and spatial structure of Częstochowa is an indispensable condition for attaining the level of development of the infrastructure, which would allow Jasna Góra to live up to its rank as one of the world-centers of pilgrimage. Nonetheless, it is one of the most important, besides Waranasi, Mecca, Lourdes, Fatima, and Rome, pilgrimage centers in the world.

Notes:

¹ J. Beaujeu-Garnier, G. Chabot, *Zarys geografii miast* (The Outline of the Geography of Towns), 1971, Warszawa: PWE, pp. 118-119.

² In the Roman Catholic Church, the new Canon Law of 1983 defines a shrine as “*a church or another sacred places, to which, -by the approval of the responsible church authorities, believers make pilgrimage, because of their exceptional piety*” (can. 1230). Cf. A. Jackowski, *Zarys geografii pielgrzymek* (The Outline of the Geography of Pilgrimage), *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, Prace Geograficzne*, 1991, No. 85, pp. 20-21.

- ³ A. Jackowski, *Zarys geografii . . .*, op. cit., pp. 26-28; G. Schwarz, *Allgemeine Siedlungsgeographie*. In: *Lehrbuch der Allgemeine Geographie*, Bd. 6, Walter de Gruyter & CO., Berlin 1959, pp. 295-308; M. Sorre, *Les fondements de la geographie humaine*, vol. 3, "L'habitat - Conclusion generale," 1952, Paris: Armand Colin, pp. 222-225.
- ⁴ J. Braun, *Częstochowa, rozwój urbanistyczny i architektoniczny* (Częstochowa. Urban and Architectural Development), Warszawa 1959, p. 12.
- ⁵ J. Braun, op. cit., p. 14.
- ⁶ *Miasta polskie w tysiącleciu* (Polish Towns in the Millennium), Vol. 1, Wrocław 1965, Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, p. 432.
- ⁷ J. Braun, *Częstochowa, rozwój urbanistyczny . . .*, op. cit., p. 16.
- ⁸ Cf. J. Braun, *Częstochowa, rozwój urbanistyczny . . .*, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
- ⁹ The parish in Częstochowa originated in the thirteenth century. See: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, Vol. 1, Lublin 1989, p. 849.
- ¹⁰ At the moment of transferring it to the order of Paulines, the church of St. Sigismund in the town of Częstochowa (called then Nowa Częstochowa) took on the duty of parochial church.
- ¹¹ Z.S. Jabłoński, *Z dziejów kultu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej w XVI w.* (From the History of the Cult of Blessed Mary in Częstochowa in the Sixteenth Century), "Studia Claromontana," 1982, 2, p. 20.
- ¹² Through time, due to grants, endowments, donations, and transactions, the monastery became the owner of more than a dozen villages and granges, one group of estates, one town, and two starost estates. See, J. Braun, *Związki ekologiczne Jasnej Góry z Częstochową* (Ecological Ties of Jasna Góra with Częstochowa), "Studia Claromontana," 1982, 2, p. 457.
- ¹³ This was the first historically documented renovation of a work of art in Poland. See: J. Golonka, *Dzieje konserwacji Cudownego Obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej od XV-XX wieku* (A History of Renovation of the Miraculous Picture of Częstochowa Mother of God from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Century), In: *Jasnogórski Ołtarz Ojczyzny* (The Jasna Góra Altar of the Fatherland). Klasztor na Jasnej Górze, Częstochowa 1991, p. 27.
- ¹⁴ J. Golonka, *Dzieje konserwacji . . .*, op. cit., p. 34.
- ¹⁵ Z.S. Jabłoński, *Z dziejów kultu . . .*, op. cit., p. 67.
- ¹⁶ A. Witkowska, *Kult jasnogórski w formach pątniczych do połowy XVII wieku* (The Jasna Góra Pilgrimage Cult in the Pilgrimage Forms up to the Mid-seventeenth Century), "Studia Claromontana," 1984, 5, p. 151.
- ¹⁷ In the first years of the sixteenth century, one yearly fair was held there. In the mid-seventeenth century, their number increased to six. Cf. A. Jackowski, *Rozwój pielgrzymek w Polsce* (Development of Pilgrimages in Poland), In: *Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji pielgrzymkowych* (Space and sacrum. The geography of religious culture and its transformations from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century, in examples of cult centers and pilgrimage migrations). Instytut Geografii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1995, p. 20.
- ¹⁸ A. Jackowski, *Rozwój pielgrzymek . . .*, op. cit., p. 20.
- ¹⁹ M. Kołodziej, *Opis Jasnej Góry w "Dzienniku Podróży do Włoch i na wyspę Maltę" Piotra Andrejewicza Tołstoja w latach 1697-1699* (Description of Jasna Góra in the "Diary of the Journey of Piotr Andrejevich Tolstoy to Italy and to the Island of Malta"), "Studia Claromontana," 1984, 5, p. 252.
- ²⁰ A. Jackowski, *Rozwój pielgrzymek . . .*, op. cit., p. 20.
- ²¹ A. Jackowski, *Rozwój pielgrzymek*, op. cit., p. 20.
- ²² A. Witkowska, *Kult jasnogórski . . .*, op. cit., p. 151.
- ²³ S. Krakowski, *Stara Częstochowa. Studia nad genezą, ustrojem i strukturą ludnościowo-gospodarczą Częstochowy (1220-1665)* (Old Częstochowa. Studies on genesis, system, and the popula-

tional-economic structure of Częstochowa between 1220 and 1655), Częstochowa 1948, p. 55.

²⁴ *Miasta polskie . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

²⁵ The enclosure walls (erected in 1585-1593) that surrounded the Jasna Góra Monastery, did not have any defensive purpose. They served to enhance monastic obedience. See: K. Szafranec, *Z dziejów Jasnej Góry*, Warszawa 1980: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, p. 70.

²⁶ This pharmacy was closed in 1864. Beside it, also two other pharmacies existed in Częstochowa during the first half of the seventeenth century. See: W. Szczepański, *Apteka Jasnogórska* (The Jasna Góra Pharmacy), "Studia Claramontana," 1982, 2, pp. 333-334, 353.

²⁷ This printing house functioned up to the fall of the January Uprising in 1864, when Russian military authorities terminated it. See: H. Czerwiński, *Założenie drukarni paulinów na Jasnej Górze* (The Foundation of the Printing House by the Paulites on Jasna Góra), "Studia Claramontana," 1987, 8, p. 204.

²⁸ J. Braun, *Częstochowa, rozwój urbanistyczny . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²⁹ The Cult of the Częstochowa Blessed Mary as the Queen of Poland had formed already in the sixteenth century. See: S.Z. Jabłoński, *Z dziejów kultu . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

³⁰ J. Braun, *Częstochowa, rozwój urbanistyczny . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³¹ *Miasta polskie . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

³² In July 1690, a large fire broke out Jasna Góra. It caused the demolition of a major part of the structures. Only the Częstochowa Blessed Mary chapel presbytery, the vestry, and the library survived.

³³ J. Braun, *Częstochowa, rozwój urbanistyczny . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁴ J. Braun, *Związki ekologiczne Jasnej Góry . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

³⁵ F. Sobalski, *Szkice i materiały z dziejów Częstochowy* (Essays and Materials on the History of Częstochowa), Ziemia Częstochowska, 1961, vol. 4, p. 116.

³⁶ *Miasto Częstochowa. Część I. Stare i Nowe Miasto, Częstochówka i przedmieścia* (Częstochowa. Part 1. The Old and New Town, Częstochówka and outskirts), In: (Eds.) Z. Rożanow & E. Smulikowska, *Katalog zabytków w Polsce* (The Catalogue of Monuments in Poland), New Series, Vol. 1, Warszawa 1995: Instytut Sztuki PAN, p. XV.

³⁷ J. Braun, *Częstochowa, rozwój urbanistyczny . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³⁸ S.Z. Jabłoński, *Jasna Góra. Ośrodek kultu maryjnego 1864-1914* (Jasna Góra. The center of the Marian Cult: 1864-1914), Lublin 1984, p. 193.

³⁹ The Jewish community in Częstochowa was established about 1700, and their members up to the Second World War were the majority of inhabitants of Częstochowa's Stare Miasto. See: *Miasto Częstochowa . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. XV.

⁴⁰ J. Braun, *Częstochowa, rozwój urbanistyczny . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁴¹ J. Braun, *Związki ekologiczne . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 471-472.

⁴² S.Z. Jabłoński, *Dynamika ruchu pielgrzymkowego na Jasną Górę w okresie II Rzeczypospolitej* (Dynamics of the Pilgrimage Movement to Jasna Góra in the Period of Second Republic of Poland). in: *Przestrzeń i sacrum. Geografia kultury religijnej w Polsce i jej przemiany w okresie od XVII do XX w. na przykładzie ośrodków kultu i migracji pielgrzymkowych* (Space and Sacrum. The geography of the religious culture and its transformations from the seventeenth to twentieth century, in examples of cult centers and pilgrimage migrations), Kraków 1995: Instytut Geografii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, p. 131.

⁴³ *Dwa lata popierania turystyki* (Two Years of Supporting Tourism), Warszawa 1937: Zarząd Główny Ligi Popierania Turystyki, p. 40.

⁴⁴ In the mid-thirties, there were only 7 small buildings of the pension-hotel kind in Częstochowa. See: T. Wilgat, *Rozmieszczenie przemysłu pensjonatowo-hotelowego w Polsce* (Distribution of the Pension-hotel Industry in Poland), "Turystyka Polska," 1939, 7-8, p. 140.

⁴⁵ R.J. Abramek, *Teologia sanktuarium Jasnogórskiej Bogarodzicy* (The Theology of the Jasna Góra Mother of God Shrine), Częstochowa 1991: Klasztor na Jasnej Górze, p. 13.

⁴⁶ R.J. Abramek, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁴⁷ In Częstochowa, for every thousand inhabitants there are barely 10 lodging places. In comparison, in Lourdes there are 5000, and in Fatima 1000 places. Cf. A. Jackowski, *Zarys geografii pielgrzymek* (The Outline of the Geography of Pilgrimage), *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, Prace Geograficzne*, 1991, No. 85, pp. 66, 68, and 72.

⁴⁸ A. Jackowski, *Współczesne migracje pielgrzymkowe w Polsce* (Modern Pilgrimage Migrations in Poland), In: *Przestrzeń i sacrum . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴⁹ At Lourdes, hotels are 30% of the lodging facilities (according to A. Jackowski, that percentage should be 45%). Cf. M. Drzewiecki, *Program rozwoju infrastruktury usługowej w Częstochowie dla ruchu pielgrzymkowego* (Program of the Development of Public Services Infrastructure of Częstochowa for Pilgrimage Traffic), *Problemy Turystyki*, 1994, Vol. 17, Warszawa: Instytut Turystyki, p. 23.

⁵⁰ The author of one of the designs is the Italian firm TEAM. Cf. Częstochowa, *Moving from Past to Future*, TEAM for Częstochowa, 1993.

⁵¹ In the Christian world, attendance of this magnitude has been observed only in Lourdes and Fatima. Cf. A. Jackowski, *Pielgrzymki i turystyka religijna w Polsce* (Pilgrimages and Religious Tourism in Poland), Warszawa 1991: Instytut Turystyki, pp. 95-96.

⁵² W. Bartoszewicz & J. Łaciak, *Wielkość i struktura ruchu pielgrzymkowego i turystycznego w Częstochowie* (The Size and Structure of Pilgrimage and Tourist Traffic in Częstochowa), *Problemy turystyki*, Instytut Turystyki, 1994, Vol. 17, p. 42.