

Morphological Transformations within the Area of the Former Łódź Ghetto

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Zarys treści: Artykuł porusza tematykę przekształceń morfologicznych na terenie łódzkiego getta, które funkcjonowało jako obóz pracy przymusowej dla ludności żydowskiej w latach 1940–1944. Autor analizuje ewolucję przestrzeni miejskiej na tym obszarze, opierając się na pojęciach morfologii miasta oraz morfogenezy. Badania obejmują okres od formowania się jednostek morfologicznych do 2024 roku. Kluczowym celem było ustalenie, jak przekształcenia osadnicze, społeczno-gospodarcze i polityczne wpłynęły na obecny kształt terenu byłego getta. Zastosowano metody rekonstrukcji kartograficznej i analizy planu miasta w oparciu o źródła archiwalne, które pozwoliły na identyfikację poszczególnych okresów osadniczych. Artykuł rozszerzono o stratyografię osadniczą i wydarzenia, które są odniesieniem do procesu przekształceń morfologicznych.

Słowa kluczowe: morfologia miejska, przekształcenia morfologiczne, Łódź, getto łódzkie, Litzmannstadt Ghetto

Abstract: This article examines morphological transformations in the area that was the site of the Łódź Ghetto, an urban formation that included forced labour facilities distributed across the designated territory. The author traces the evolution of urban space in the area, applying the concepts of urban morphology and morphogenesis. The study covers the period from the formation of the morphological units to 2024, with the primary aim of establishing how settlement, socio-economic, and political transformations have affected the present-day layout of the ghetto area. To this end, a cartographic reconstruction and town-plan analysis were employed, based on archival sources, to identify different settlement periods. The paper also includes a stratigraphy of the settlement and a timeline of events that have affected the morphological transformations in question.

Keywords: urban morphology, morphological transformations, Łódź, Łódź Ghetto, Litzmannstadt Ghetto

Introduction – the research problem and the aim of the study

In the scientific literature, the term *urban organism* is used to denote a phenomenon that resembles a living organism, identifiable by its body structure, appearance, and unique history, which begins at birth and continues through growth and development. In urban planning, this genesis – together with the external structure (physiognomy) and internal structure (morphology) of the urban organism – is addressed within the scientific field of urban morphology.¹ According to Marek

Koter, “in research [morphology *sensu lato*] takes into account the location and physiographic conditions [morphology *sensu stricto*], [...] as well as a set of different factors affecting the foundation, development and transformations of the physical form of a city [morphogenesis]”.² These factors are shaped during settlement, economic, social or political processes.

are used in the literature, where the former includes morphology *sensu stricto* and morphogenesis. At the same time, the latter encompasses morphology and physiognomy.

² M. Koter, ‘Od fizjonomii do morfogenezy i morfologii porównawczej. Podstawowe zagadnienia teoretyczne morfologii miast’, in: *Geografia historyczna i polityczna w badaniach Marka Kotera. Wybór prac*, ed. M. Barwiński (Łódź, 2015), pp. 81–90.

¹ Here, it must be emphasised that since urban morphology is a broad concept, the terms morphology *sensu lato* and morphology *sensu stricto*

In morphology sensu lato, the term morphogenesis refers to the reconstruction of an urban organism's developmental past, i.e., identifying its parts and the transformations they undergo, thereby making it unique.³ This, in turn, helps the researcher, through the use of appropriately selected tools, to distinguish different settlement-morphological periods – periods which “differ noticeably from others as regards conditions for settlement formation, whereby this differentiation is manifested not only in the socio-economic sphere, but also in the spatial arrangement of settlements”.⁴ Spatial units typical of these periods are morphological units (one-time planned and founded settlements). Here, the question arises as to the nature of the morphological transformations mentioned in the paper's title. Koter argues that they can be compared to a film in which each frame represents a specific process of filling in, completing and transforming the urban structure.⁵ It is then the researcher's task to identify the different development stages and to examine the nature of these transformations, i.e. to distinguish and define the settlement-morphological periods.

Morphological transformations have been a long-standing research subject.⁶ The morphogenesis of the former ghetto area in Łódź was indirectly analysed by

Koter, who distinguished several settlement-morphological periods and stages in the city's history and described transformations within the urban tissue.⁷ While valuable details on the city's physiognomy and inhabitants at the time under study were compiled by Oskar Flatt and Filip Friedman, another noteworthy publication is Marek Sygulski's detailed history of Bałuty.⁸ All these works present a statistical and historical description of Łódź, but Friedman also depicts the history of the Jewish population in Stare Miasto (Old Town). More recently, other researchers have also examined the factors that determined the origins and location of the Jewish diaspora in Łódź.⁹ When writing about the Łódź Ghetto, several studies focusing on the martyrdom of the Jewish population must be taken into account, the majority of which address the operation of the ghetto itself or everyday life during the Second World War.¹⁰ However, there are also works that present transformations of the urban space which have occurred within the former ghetto area.¹¹

³ Ibid. As regards the former ghetto area, the ingredients are (from smallest to largest): morphological components (monuments, streets, land plots, buildings), morphological units (urban blocks), morphologically simple arrangements (a set of identical urban blocks), and morphologically complex arrangements (large city districts). According to Koter, all these may constitute a separate research subject (e.g. the Łódź Ghetto as a morphologically complex arrangement).

⁴ M. Koter, 'Struktura morfogenetyczna wielkiego miasta na przykładzie Łodzi', in: *Geografia historyczna i polityczna*, pp. 49–80.

⁵ Koter, 'Od fizjonomii do morfogenezy', pp. 81–90.

⁶ M.R.G. Conzen, *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town-Plan Analysis* (London, 1960); M. Koter, *Geneza układu przestrzennego Łodzi przemysłowej* (Warszawa, 1969); M. Koter, 'Relikty osadnictwa średniowiecznego w planie współczesnej Łodzi', *Przegląd Geograficzny*, 48, no. 4 (1976), pp. 667–87; Koter, 'Struktura morfogenetyczna', pp. 49–80; M. Koter, M. Kulesza, 'The study of urban form in Poland', *Urban Morphology*, 14, no. 2 (2010), pp. 111–20; R. Szymtykie, *Metody analizy morfologii i fizjonomii jednostek osadniczych* (Wrocław, 2014).

⁷ Koter, 'Struktura morfogenetyczna', pp. 49–80; M. Koter, 'Kształtowanie się tkanki miejskiej Łodzi do 1918 r.', in: *Łódź: monografia miasta*, ed. S. Liszewski (Łódź, 2009), pp. 62–97; M. Koter, 'Tkanka miejska Łodzi w latach 1918–1989', in: *Łódź: monografia miasta*, pp. 218–51.

⁸ O. Flatt, *Opis miasta Łodzi pod względem historycznym, statystycznym i przemysłowym* (Warszawa, 1853); F. Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów w Łodzi od początków osadnictwa Żydów do r. 1863. Stosunki ludnościowe, życie gospodarcze, stosunki społeczne* (Łódź, 1935); M. Sygulski, *Historia Bałut: osada fabryczna Bałuty Nowe, ludność-zabudowa-posesje 1857–1915 (1939)* (Łódź, 2006).

⁹ I. Kersz, *Szkice z dziejów Gminy Żydowskiej oraz cmentarza w Łodzi* (Łódź, 1999); P. Samuś, 'Społeczność żydowska wielonarodowej Łodzi (do 1939 r.)', in: *Fenomen getta łódzkiego 1940–1944*, ed. P. Samuś, W. Puś (Łódź, 2006), pp. 15–62; A. Rykała, *W reakcji na powojenną przemoc antysemitką. Samoobrona Żydów w Łodzi – uwarunkowania społeczno-polityczne i przestrzenne* (Łódź, 2020).

¹⁰ A. Löw, *Getto łódzkie/Litzmannstadt Getto. Warunki życia i sposoby przetrwania* (Łódź, 2012); M. Trębacz, 'Oficjalne i intymne. Getto łódzkie w fotografiach', *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 16 (2020), pp. 393–413; A. Sitarek, 'Utworzenie i organizacja "dzielnic zamkniętej"', in: *Łódź historia miasta poprzez wieki 1914–1945*, ed. J. Kita (Łódź, 2024), pp. 502–16.

¹¹ M. Kulesza, A. Rykała, 'Zmiany w użytkowaniu przestrzeni Starego Miasta w Łodzi w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach XX w. na przykładzie obszaru dawnego getta żydowskiego', in: *Łódź, wybrane zagadnienia*

Having specified what urban morphology and the process of settlement-unit transformation are, one must also stipulate how the term *ghetto* is used and understood in this paper. In 1516, the persecution of the Jewish population led to the creation of a separate quarter on the island of Ghetto Nuovo in medieval Venice to curb the influx of Jewish settlers.¹² In later years, the phenomenon bearing the familiar-sounding name *ghetto* (already recognised as a proper name) occurred in other European cities as a tool for segregating the population. A similar etymology of the word *ghetto* can be found in dictionaries.¹³ In the mid-20th century, however, the concept was expanded to refer to an urban formation that included forced labour facilities distributed across the designated territory created by the Nazis for the Jewish population. Whereas today, a neighbourhood described as a ghetto most frequently implies either an area beleaguered by negative social issues, often derelict and usually inhabited by one ethnic group, or phenomena of an indirect nature as presented in the scientific literature, e.g. the ghettoisation of urban space.¹⁴

In this paper, the term *ghetto* is taken to mean a complex urban formation created

during the Second World War. In Łódź, such a facility was founded in 1940, and more precisely in February 1940, when the *Lodscher Zeitung* newspaper announced “a police decree on the housing and residence rights of Jews”, which basically initiated relocations.¹⁵ Although the original boundaries of the Jewish quarter were made public only a few days later, they were repeatedly modified over time, and for this reason alone, any research into the “Łódź Ghetto” must first specify the urban space under study. In this paper, the area within the ghetto boundaries as of 1942, together with a buffer zone demarcated by the author to cover the site of the present-day Park Staromiejski (Old Town Park) and the Łódź Marysin railway station. While the core ghetto zone is defined by studies that identify this particular area as the location of the camp, the buffer zone represents the part of the urban space whose present-day morphology is an indirect effect of the transformations that occurred during the war.¹⁶

Research objectives and scope

The main research objective was to examine the morphological transformations within the area of the former Łódź Ghetto. The purpose of this study is to determine how successive socio-economic, political, and functional changes have shaped the morphological structure of the area of the former Łódź Ghetto. This particular site was chosen because it constitutes one of the most historically and spatially diverse parts of Łódź, where the legacy of medieval settlement, the rapid and largely unregulated industrial-era suburban expansion of Bałuty, the wartime destruction

zagospodarowania przestrzennego, ed. T. Marszał (Łódź, 2006), pp. 7–30; G.J. Horwitz, *Ghettostadt: Łódź and the Making of Nazi City* (Harvard University Press, 2008); T. Pupa, ‘Przekształcenia fizjonomiczne i atrakcyjność krajobrazu kulturowego obszaru byłego getta łódzkiego’, *Space – Society – Economy*, 35 (2024), pp. 39–74.

¹² P. Samuś, W. Puś, ‘Słowo wstępne’, in: *Fenomen getta łódzkiego 1940–1944*, ed. eid. (Łódź, 2006), pp. 5–10; M. Pirveli, Z. Rykiel, ‘Getto a nowoczesność’, in: *Gettoizacja polskiej przestrzeni miejskiej*, ed. B. Jałowiecki, W. Łukowski (Warszawa, 2007), pp. 73–83.

¹³ *Praktyczny słownik współczesnej polszczyzny*, ed. H. Zgółowska (Poznań, 1997); *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, ed. L. Wiśniakowska (Warszawa, 2005); *Słownik wyrazów obcych*, ed. B. Surówka (Warszawa, 2020).

¹⁴ Pirveli, Rykiel, ‘Getto a nowoczesność’, pp. 73–83; N. Stępień-Lampa, P. Grzywna, ‘Gettoizacja przestrzeni miejskiej na przykładzie poprzemysłowych miast górnego śląska’, in: *Oblicza demokracji lokalnej. Wyzwania dla rozwoju miast*, ed. M. Obrębska (Katowice, 2018), pp. 37–46; M. Głogowski, ‘Uchwały krajobrazowe narzędziem walki z gettoizacją przestrzeni miejskiej w Polsce’, *Zarządzanie Publiczne*, 3(43) (2018), pp. 349–60.

¹⁵ *Lodscher Zeitung*, 9 Feb. 1940, no. 40, pp. 1–12.

¹⁶ *The Chronicle of the Łódź ghetto 1941–1944*, ed. L. Dobroszycki (Yale University Press, 1984); J. Baranowski, *The Łódź ghetto 1940–1944 / Łódzkie getto 1940–1944: Vademecum* (Łódź, 2003); Kulesza, Rykała, ‘Zmiany w użytkowaniu’, pp. 7–30; Horwitz, *Ghettostadt: Löw, Getto łódzkie*. Several studies on the Łódź Ghetto have utilised the same map, drawn up by Z. Janeczek in 1999.

and segregation policies of the Nazi occupation, and the socialist redevelopment projects intersect within a relatively small area. Analysing this location enables tracing how each historical period left distinct, identifiable layers in the present-day urban fabric, offering insights not only into the morphogenesis of this district but also into the broader processes that have shaped Łódź as a multicultural and post-industrial city. Not only is this issue relevant to Holocaust studies, but it also provides a better understanding of Łódź's history, which nowadays seeks to pay tribute to its multicultural past, e.g. the renovation of Park Staromiejski. An intermediate objective was to update the morphogenetic structure provided by Koter exclusively for the former ghetto area.¹⁷ In addition, this paper offers an expanded settlement stratigraphy incorporating a timeline of “events” which give the transformations under study a broader perspective. The research covers the period from the formation of morphological components and units to 2024.

Resources and methods

Comprehensive studies in the field of historical morphology must employ retrogressive methods to explore the subject and accurately determine settlement periods fully. One such method is cartographic reconstruction, which the author has used to analyse maps produced before 1900. Since this method involves positioning map items in logically corresponding locations within a geographical space, it also requires access to written resources and the most accurate historical maps available.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the former ghetto area is problematic in this respect since it was still not a single administrative unit as late as the early 19th century. Specifically, its southern part was within the limits of Łódź,

while its northern part remained part of the villages of Bałuty Nowe and Bałuty Stare. For this reason alone, the author has had to use maps of the different settlement units retrieved from the State Archives in Łódź. The adopted approach also required obtaining inventory cards for the various heritage sites in the area from the Provincial Office for the Protection of Monuments in Łódź so that a timeline of “events” could be compiled within the settlement stratigraphy. Once the archival records were collected, a town-plan analysis was employed to identify the morphological units and determine the different settlement-morphological periods.¹⁹ Finally, the collected material was digitised in QGIS software (version 3.34), and the spatial development of the study area was compiled.

The settlement-morphological periods for the area of the former Łódź Ghetto

The term “settlement-morphological periods” in this paper refers to the stages in which the spatial structure of the study area was shaped. These specific periods differ from others in terms of settlement patterns and conditions, as well as socio-economic, political and functional transformations.²⁰ The terminology used in this paper to describe individual periods accounts for the various morphological transformations undergone by the components and units of the urban organism. In view of the assumptions above and the findings by Koter, the following settlement-morphological periods have been distinguished for the area in question:²¹

- I. The 12th century to 1819: the formation of morphological components and units within the area that would later become the Łódź Ghetto;

¹⁹ Ibid.; Szmytkie, *Metody analizy*; M. Chmielewska, *Morfologiczne przekształcenia przestrzeni miejskiej Katowic* (Katowice, 2016).

²⁰ Ibid.; M. Jasnosz, ‘Współczesna struktura morfogenetyczna Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego’, in: *Czas i przestrzeń w naukach geograficznych. Wybrane problemy geografii historycznej*, ed. M. Kulesza (Łódź, 2008), pp. 204–11.

²¹ Koter, ‘Struktura morfogenetyczna’, pp. 49–80.

¹⁷ Koter, ‘Struktura morfogenetyczna’, pp. 49–80.

¹⁸ Ibid.

- II. 1820–1859: the gradual development of the infrastructure in Stare Miasto compared to the southern part of Łódź;
- III. 1860–1944: the colonisation of the northern suburbs of Łódź and formation of morphologically complex urban systems;
- IV. 1945–1989: the redevelopment of the borough of Bałuty during the socialist period;
- V. Since 1990: filling in the gaps in the spatial structure of the former ghetto area and renovation of its morphological components.

Although the former ghetto area is entirely within the administrative borders of the city today, this was not always the case (Fig. 1). For instance, the southern part of the “residential district” for the Jewish population partially covered the area of what was once medieval Łódź, while the northern part was only incorporated into the city limits in 1915 by the Germans during the First World War.²² Thus, the Łódź Ghetto, founded in 1940, encompassed areas of settlement units that the city had absorbed at different stages of its development. The fact that some were established in the early 15th century, while others in the mid-18th century, combined with the vigorous urbanisation of Bałuty after 1860, has resulted in a complex morphological urban system in which heterogeneous units are discernible.

First settlement-morphological period (12th century to 1819)

Four morphological units were formed in the first settlement period. In the 12th century, the village of Łodzia was established south of the then-ghetto’s edge, i.e. where Park Staromiejski and Franciszkańska Street are found today. In the 14th century,

the village of Doły was founded to the south of the New Jewish Cemetery and later in the same century, the village of Bałuty was also established, most likely on the site of the present-day Park Szarych Szeregów (Grey Ranks Park). The early 15th century witnessed a major event when the urban settlement of Nad Ostrogą was created by virtue of the bishop’s municipal charter, later to be renamed Łódź.

The spatial arrangement of Łódź remained quite irregular till the late 18th century. Koter explains that the eastern and northern quarters of the city are most likely the vestiges of the old village grid.²³ Plac Kościelny (Church Square) boasts a trapezoidal shape, while Stary Rynek (Old Market), the focal point of the morphological unit, is rhombus-like. To the west and south, the area features a more regular layout. Among the roads built at this time, some are still present today, including Wolborska Street and Wojska Polskiego Street.²⁴ However, their courses in the past differed significantly, i.e. today they intersect at a right angle. In 1811, in addition to other morphological components, the Old Jewish Cemetery was established in the north-west of Łódź, near the border with the then village of Bałuty. Initially, the necropolis covered a relatively small area of approximately 600 square metres.²⁵

Second settlement-morphological period (1820–1859)

Several processes and events began during this period: a change in policy towards the Jewish population,²⁶ the foundation

²² K. Stefański, ‘Rozwój przestrzenny miasta. Urbanistyka Łodzi 1820–1914’, in: *Łódź historia miasta poprzez wieki 1820–1914*, ed. J. Kita (Łódź, 2023), pp. 341–55.

²³ Koter, ‘Kształtowanie się tkanki miejskiej’, pp. 62–97.

²⁴ When referring to present-day roads by time of construction, the author means those traffic routes, whose course may have changed in later periods, but the first sources in the literature or city maps indicate that they belong to a particular time period. Present-day roads at the time of construction are mapped in Fig. 4.

²⁵ Kersz, *Szkice z dziejów*; C. Jaworska-Mačkowiak, T. Mačkowiak, *Cmentarze łódzkie* (Łódź, 2019).

²⁶ As indicated by Friedman, Jewish settlers faced no major impediments in Łódź until 1820.

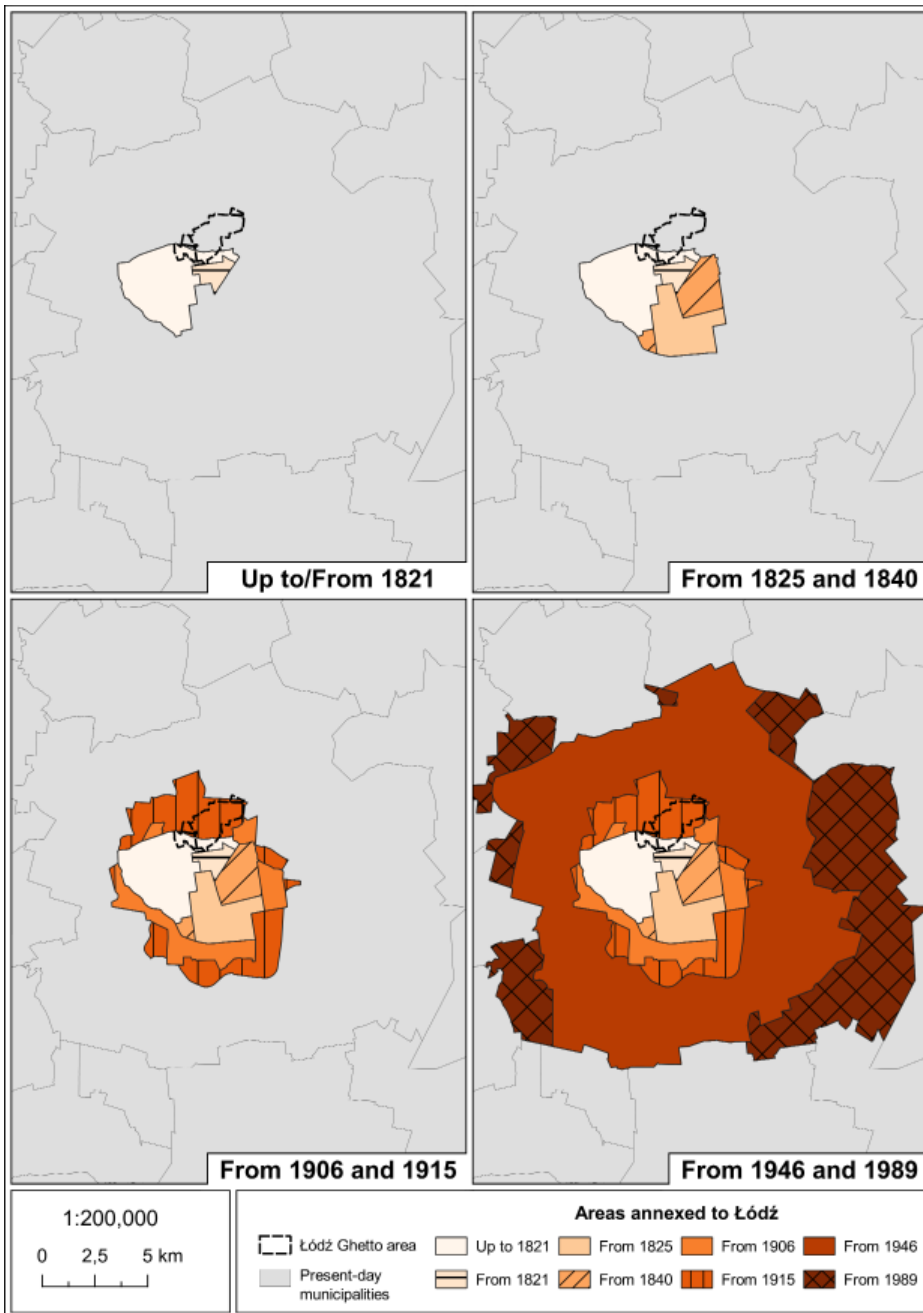


Fig. 1. The Łódź Ghetto in relation to the city's territorial development

Source: Author's own elaboration based on: Plan Łodzi. Łódź w roku 1821, 1921 (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/2919); Plan Łodzi. Łódź w roku 1825, 1921. (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/2920); Plan Łodzi. Łódź w roku 1840, 1921. (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/2921); Plan Łodzi. Łódź w roku 1906, 1921. (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/2922); Plan rozwoju m. Łodzi. 1915, (<https://rcin.org.pl/igipz/dlibra/publication/14730/edition/13370/content> [accessed: 13 Nov. 2025]); Miasto Łódź, województwo łódzkie. Plan orientacyjny miasta w granicach z roku 1946, 1948. (<https://rcin.org.pl/igipz/dlibra/publication/36795/edition/32279?language=pl> [accessed: 18 Sept. 2024]).

of Nowe Miasto (New Town),²⁷ and the reconfiguration of streets and buildings in the area of Łódź that would from then on be called Stare Miasto.²⁸ To this end, the streets surrounding Stary Rynek and Plac Kościelny, as well as Wojska Polskiego and DREWNOwska Streets, were given a more regular course. At the same time, existing roads were widened, and several new ones were built.²⁹ Facing the surge of settlers into the new industrial districts, the process had to be carried out quickly.³⁰

While the morphological components were being transformed in Stare Miasto, efforts were also being made in the Duchy of Warsaw to tighten up the settlement rights for Jews. In 1808, a ban on the acquisition of hereditary property was imposed. In 1809, a Jewish quarter was proposed in Warsaw – the first, but not the last solution of this kind in the Kingdom of Poland, a semi-autonomous state created in 1815.³¹ In 1822, following Warsaw's example and under a newly enacted law, settlement restrictions were implemented in other cities under its governance. A report on Jews in the Kingdom of Poland states that, of the 453 towns, 121 imposed some restrictions on the purchase of real estate, and by 1833, Jewish quarters were established in 30 towns.³²

In Łódź, the Jewish community faced no obstacles to purchasing property or choosing a place to live until the late 1810s, enabling Jews to own homes throughout the city. This changed after 1820 when the provincial authorities established a Jewish quarter while implementing transformations within Stare Miasto.³³ Various scenarios for the quarter borders were discussed, and, finally, the southern frontage of Podrzeczna and Wolborska Streets, as well as part of Stary Rynek that connected them, were allocated for this purpose by the 1825 decree issued by the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland.³⁴ The resulting zone marked the boundary between the cloth-making Nowe Miasto and Stare Miasto, which, in turn, meant the city of Łódź. The law obliged Jews to settle within the quarter's limits until 1827.³⁵ A limited group were exempt, but only upon meeting several requirements (Table 2).³⁶ Importantly, these were in force across all Jewish quarters within the Kingdom of Poland, thereby allowing better-educated and more affluent Jews to leave the districts (Fig. 2).

The legal restrictions still failed to curb the influx of Jewish settlers into the city. From 1825 to 1841, the number of Jews almost quadrupled (from 342 to 1359), thereby rendering the boundaries of the original Jewish quarter inadequate for the actual needs.³⁷ The 1839 efforts by the local authorities to resolve the issue received no approval until 1841, when a scheme to expand the quarter was eventually outlined.³⁸ Now the quarter was to

²⁷ According to Koter, as early as 1820, there had already been plans to establish a cloth-making settlement called Nowe Miasto, and these efforts intensified noticeably from 1821, when Łódź expanded to the south.

²⁸ Kulesza, Rykała, 'Zmiany w użytkowaniu', pp. 7–30; Koter, 'Kształtowanie się tkanki miejskiej', pp. 62–97. The process began in 1820 and continued until 1823.

²⁹ Koter, *Geneza układu przestrzennego*.

³⁰ Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*.

³¹ J. Kirsztot, *Prawa Żydów w Królestwie Polskiem: zarys historyczny* (Warszawa, 1917); Schiper, *Żydzi Królestwa*; Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*; W. Puś, *Żydzi w Łodzi w latach zaborów 1793–1914* (Łódź, 2003); A. Rykała, 'Żydowskie domy modlitwy w Łodzi – uwarunkowania rozwoju przestrzennego, rozmieszczenie, współczesne relikty i ich wykorzystanie', *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Geographica Socio-Oeconomica*, 12 (2012), pp. 221–44; A. Oniszczuk, *Pod presją nowoczesności. Władze Księstwa Warszawskiego wobec Żydów* (Warszawa, 2021).

³² M. Jastrow, *Beleuchtung eines ministeriellen Gutachtens über die Lage der Juden im Königreich Polen: veranlasst durch kaiserlichen Willen und bürokratische Willkühr* (Hamburg, 1859).

³³ Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*.

³⁴ Flatt, *Opis miasta Łodzi*; Kirsztot, *Prawa Żydów*; Schiper, *Żydzi Królestwa*; Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*; Puś, *Żydzi w Łodzi*; Rykała, 'Żydowskie domy'; Stefański, 'Rozwój przestrzenny'.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ In fact, until the 1862 abolishment of Jewish quarters, these were met only by a handful of bankers, factory owners and wholesalers.

³⁷ Flatt, *Opis miasta Łodzi*; Kirsztot, *Prawa Żydów*; Schiper, *Żydzi Królestwa*; Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*; Puś, *Żydzi w Łodzi*; Rykała, 'Żydowskie domy'; Stefański, 'Rozwój przestrzenny'.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Table 1. Legal requirements to reside outside the Jewish quarter in the Kingdom of Poland

No.	Prerequisite	Additional requirements
1.	Minimum savings of 20,000 zlotys; no debt; banking or trading profession	a) Applicant can read and write in Polish or French/German b) Applicant's children aged seven or more have been attending a state school, or the applicant undertakes to enrol them at the time of application c) Applicant uses no Jewish-specific signs and emblems
2.	Applicant owns a factory beneficial to the national economy	As stipulated above
3.	Applicant erects a brick-built house at a site of their choice outside the quarter	As stipulated above
4.	Applicant has a degree or is renowned for their artistic achievements (e.g. a painter)	As stipulated above
5.	Applicant is a wholesaler or merchant but not a retailer (and does not trade in alcohol)	As stipulated above

Source: Author's own elaboration based on O. Flatt, *Opis miasta Łodzi*.

include the entire Stary Rynek, and the following streets: Wolborska, Podrzeczna, Drewnowska and Stodolna (Fig. 2). Despite no official approval from the Committee on Internal and Clerical Affairs,³⁹ it still recommended that the purchase of property by the Jewish be unrestricted within the newly proposed area, which basically amounted to an unofficial expansion of the quarter.⁴⁰

For the next expansion, residents of the quarter had to wait until 1859, when a new scheme was submitted by the local authorities, including two primary objectives: the legitimisation of the 1841 boundaries and the expansion of the quarter to include the eastern part of Stare Miasto (Fig. 2).⁴¹ Having received and processed the new scheme, the Committee on Internal and Clerical Affairs forwarded it to the Administrative Council of Kingdom of Poland in 1861 and this time the decision was favourable, officially incorporating the

western and eastern parts of Stare Miasto into the quarter. However, this was a short-lived development, as the Kingdom of Poland instituted equal rights for Jews in 1862, which effectively abolished all Jewish quarters.⁴²

The morphological units established between 1820 and 1859 included the settlements of Kolonia Bałuty, located at the eastern border of the area that would later become the Łódź Ghetto, and Budy Gaciska, situated between Bałuty and Radogoszcz. The city's territorial and infrastructural development to the south of Stare Miasto, the core industrial district at that time, was discernible for approximately 40 years within the period in question. Stare Miasto remained a predominantly Jewish residential district. Interestingly, the quarter's area initially corresponded to the location of the medieval town. At the same time, in the future, it would also be the area incorporated by the Nazis into the Łódź Ghetto.

During this second period, major morphological transformations were the new

³⁹ Friedman states that this decision was motivated, inter alia, by a shift in policy towards Jewish quarters.

⁴⁰ Flatt, *Opis miasta Łodzi*; Kirsztrot, *Prawa Żydów*; Schiper, *Żydzi Królestwa*; Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*; Puś, *Żydzi w Łodzi*; Rykała, 'Żydowskie domy'; Stefański, 'Rozwój przestrzenny'.

⁴¹ To expand the quarter, new roads were to be built on uncultivated land: Aleksandryjska, Św. Jakuba, Jerozolimskal and Franciszkańska Streets.

⁴² Flatt, *Opis miasta Łodzi*; Kirsztrot, *Prawa Żydów*; Schiper, *Żydzi Królestwa*; Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*; Puś, *Żydzi w Łodzi*; Rykała, 'Żydowskie domy'; Stefański, 'Rozwój przestrzenny'.

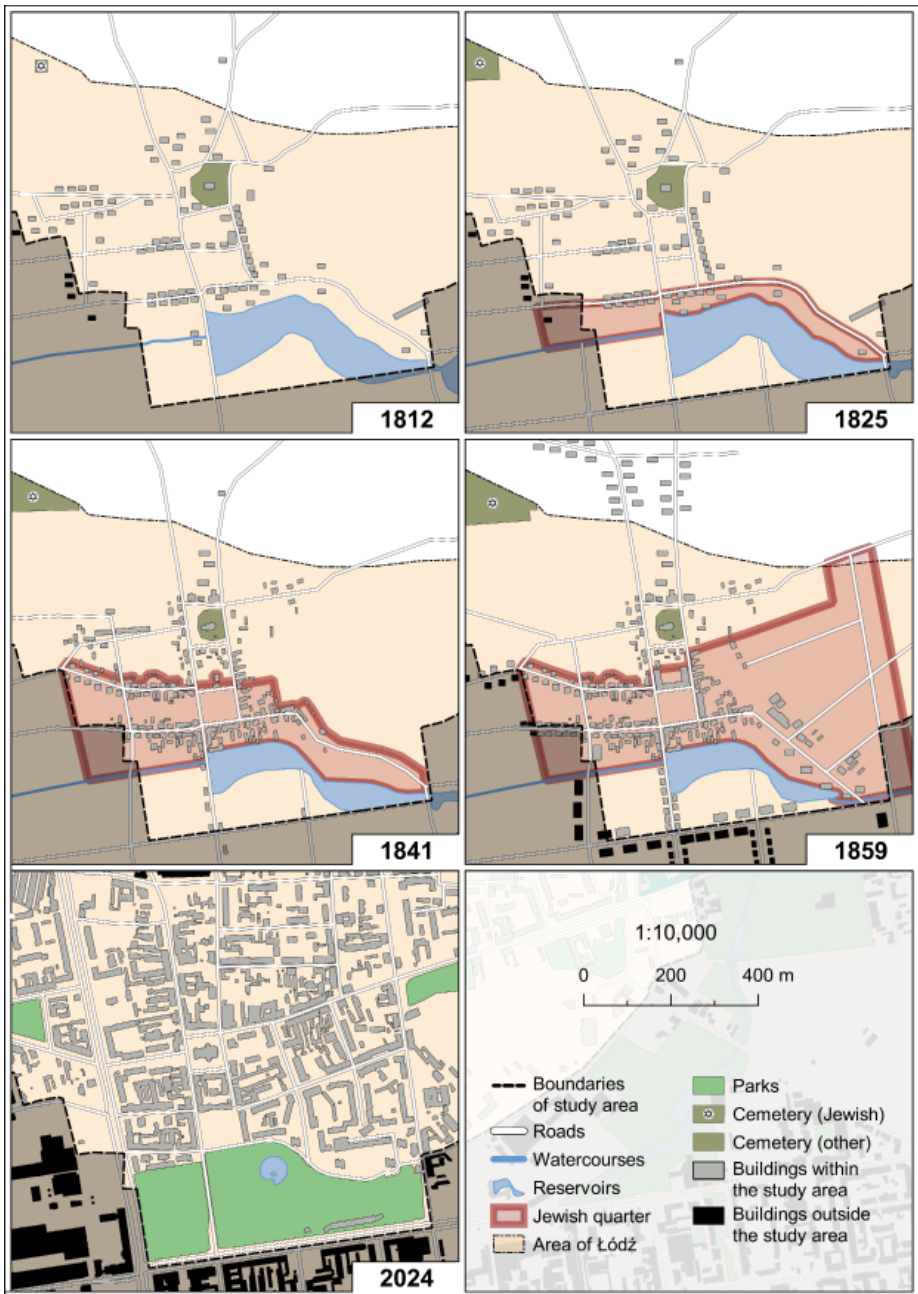


Fig. 2. Spatial development of the Jewish quarter in Łódź from the 19th century
 Source: Author's own elaboration based on: Flatt, *Opis miasta Łodzi*; Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*; Kersz, *Szkice z dziejów*; Samuś, *'Społeczność żydowska'*; Rykała, *'Żydowskie domy'*; Brulion. *Plan Klucza Łódzkiego, w Departamencie Warszawskim Powiecie Zgiersko-Łęczyckim sytuowanego, do Dóbr Narodowych, 1812* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/513); *Plan sytuacyjny części Starego Miasta Łodzi z oznaczeniem rewiru na zamieszkanie Starozakonnych zaprojektowanego, 1841* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/516); *Projekt rozprzestrzenienia rewiru na mieszkania dla Starozakonnych w mieście, w gruntach przez mieszczan staromiejskich na ten cel przeznaczonych, 1859* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/608).

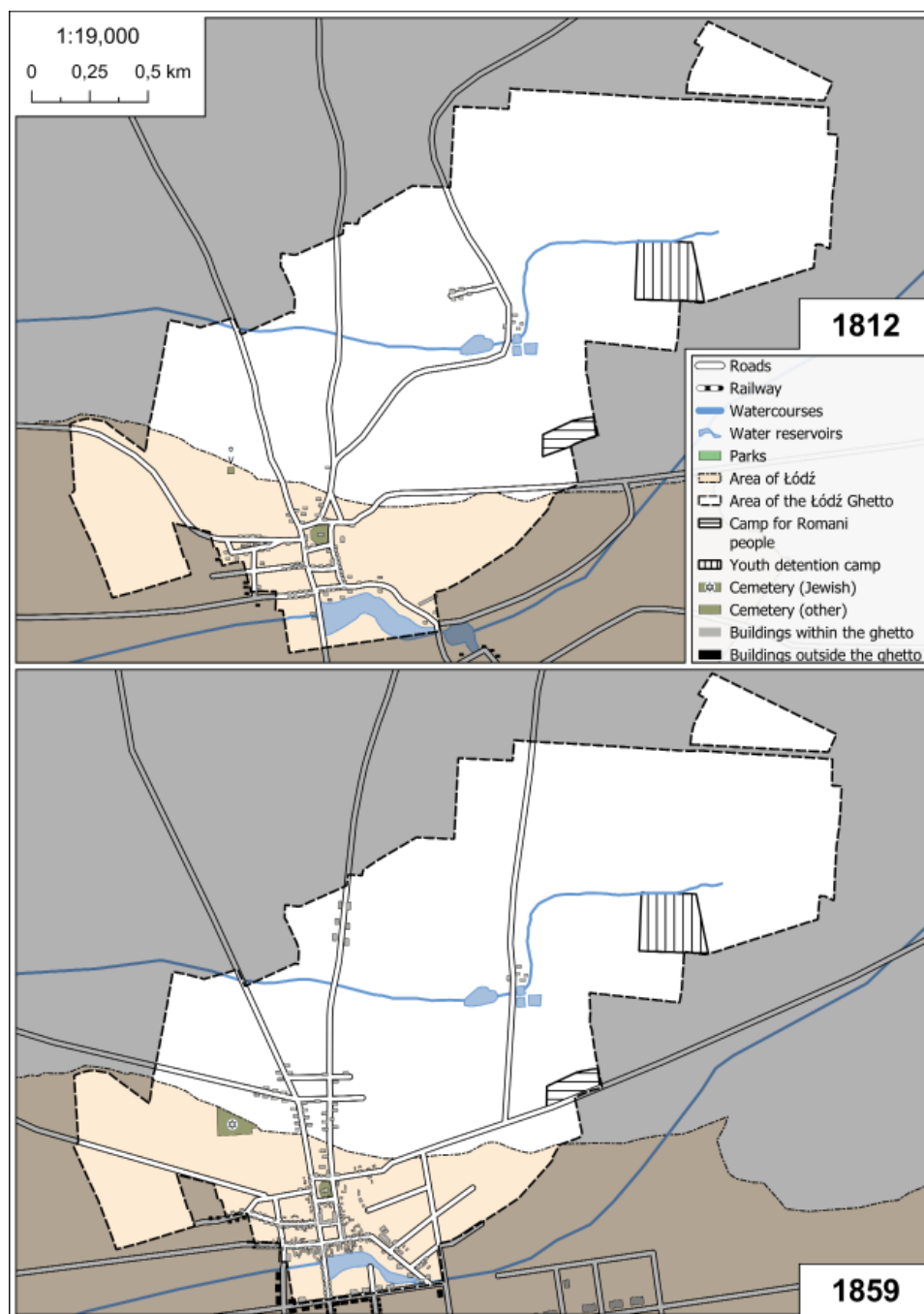


Fig. 3. Spatial development of the area of the former Łódź Ghetto (1812–1859)

Source: Author's own elaboration based on: Brulion. Plan Klucza Łódzkiego, w Departamencie Warszawskim Powiecie Zgiersko-Łęczyckim sytuowanego, do Dóbr Narodowych, 1812 (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/513), Plan Miasta Łodzi. 1855 (RCIN, <https://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=443> [accessed: 18 Sept. 2024]); Projekt rozprzestrzenienia rewiru na mieszkania dla Starozakonnych w mieście, w gruntach przez mieszczan staromiejskich na ten cel przeznaczonych, 1859 (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/608); Sygulski, *Historia Bałut*.

traffic routes mapped out in the east and the progressive reconfiguration of roads in Stare Miasto from 1820 (Fig. 3). Another event that undoubtedly shaped the city's identity was the emergence of the Jewish quarter. Despite the 1862 deregulation of the Jewish quarter, the local population in Stare Miasto remained unchanged. Wealthy Jews were replaced by other settlers (including those from Bałuty in the north), mostly petty merchants and labourers.⁴³ Given these transformations, the closing date for the second morphological period was set at 1859, when two Jewish merchants began establishing a new settlement by mapping out Bałucki Market (Bałuty Market), thus giving rise to another morphological unit at a later date.

Third settlement-morphological period (1860–1944)

In 1860, at the northern border of Łódź, Bałuty Nowe was established.⁴⁴ Originally an industrial settlement, it gradually became home to Jews who purchased property in Łódź. As Stare Miasto featured densely packed and mainly wooden, substandard housing at that time, Bałuty Nowe seemed an ideal location for the community crammed into the Jewish quarter.⁴⁵

The dynamic urbanisation of Bałuty Nowe prompted the mayor of Łódź to suspend any development there so that further expansion of the new settlement's spatial arrangement would not adversely affect the city itself. Concerns included the risk of famine arising from an uncontrolled influx of settlers. Despite the ban, property owners continued to designate new squares and streets for construction. When the ban was eventually lifted, Bałuty had already become a huge suburb with a chaotic grid

of roads built rapidly to meet the growing housing needs (Fig. 4).⁴⁶

A striking contrast is revealed when the modest 1812 development of the area that would later become the Łódź Ghetto is juxtaposed against that of later years. Although little had changed in the spatial structure of Stare Miasto, there was a pronounced rise in development in the north, mainly due to the emergence of Bałuty Nowe and the 1862 abolition of the Jewish quarter. The effects of the accelerated population influx are clearly visible on the 1914 maps (Fig. 3). The infrastructure that had developed by that time was confined to the south of the study area. However, what distinguishes the third period (1860–1944) is the creation of morphological components and arrangements across the entire area of the future Litzmannstadt Ghetto. Significantly, these transformations were mainly concentrated in the central, western and northern parts of the region.

In 1877, in the south – the site of Park Staromiejski today – the pond on the Łódka River was drained and built over, as was the quarter between Nowomiejska, Wolborska and Północna Streets. At the turn of 1892 and 1893, the nearby Plac Kościelny witnessed the construction of the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary in place of the former wooden temple.

During the First World War, Łódź came under the rule of several occupying powers. The ensuing warfare took its toll on the urban structure. Following artillery shelling and air raids, some buildings were damaged or destroyed, including some in Bałuty.⁴⁷ A significant event was the 1915 German occupation, when Bałuty Nowe – still formally a village boasting approximately 100,000 inhabitants – was eventually annexed to Łódź. Koter argues that the merger was long overdue as “Łódź

⁴³ Rykała, *Żydowskie domy*.

⁴⁴ Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*; Sygulski, *Historia Bałut*.

⁴⁵ S. Liszewski, 'Warunki życia mieszkańców Łodzi do 1918 roku', in: *Łódź: Monografia miasta*, ed. S. Liszewski (Łódź, 2009), pp. 160–67.

⁴⁶ Friedman, *Dzieje Żydów*.

⁴⁷ Koter, 'Tkanka miejska Łodzi', pp. 218–51.

was absorbing [...] a heavily urbanised area that was not only densely, chaotically and shabbily built up [...], but also poorly integrated with the overall spatial layout of the city”⁴⁸ Since the effective redevelopment of the area was hampered by the sheer number of morphological components, regulatory work had to be postponed.

After Poland regained its independence, new housing and commercial developments began to be implemented to the north of the area that would become the future Łódź Ghetto, yet little changed in Stare Miasto. In 1926, a railway siding was established north of the New Jewish Cemetery (the present-day Łódź Marysin Station). In 1929, Kolonia Marysin II was established near the station for summer use (later known as the ghetto’s summer resort and the site of youth summer camps). The same year, the Health Care Fund was also founded on Łagiewnicka Street, which would then become the headquarters of the Department of Health in the Łódź Ghetto.

Major changes in the urban structure occurred during the Second World War. In 1940, the Germans established the Litzmannstadt Ghetto, confining around 150,000 Jews within a quarter that measured about four square kilometres.⁴⁹ This extreme population density contributed to the rapid exploitation of the urban infrastructure there. The Nazis also conducted a large number of demolitions inside and outside the ghetto, e.g. an entire urban area was pulled down to create a sanitation zone between Wolborska and Północna Streets, and subcamps were opened, including a camp for Romani people, and a youth detention camp.

The establishment of the Łódź Ghetto in 1940 constituted a critical juncture in the morphological evolution of the area. Beyond its function as an instrument of

Nazi segregation policy, the creation of the ghetto imposed abrupt and large-scale spatial reorganisation within its boundaries. Streets were closed or rerouted to create an isolated zone, entire quarters were demolished to establish sanitary buffer areas, and significant modifications were made to rebuild the environment to accommodate the camp’s administrative and logistical needs. These changes not only redefined the internal circulation and land use within the district but also introduced physical barriers that disrupted the historical spatial continuity between Stare Miasto, Bałuty and adjacent neighbourhoods. The wartime transformations, marked by the degradation of infrastructure and selective demolition of buildings, produced enduring alterations in the urban fabric, many of which remained visible long after the ghetto’s liquidation in 1944.

Notably, the site selected for the Łódź Ghetto, which the Nazis initially called a ‘residential quarter’, was by no means accidental but justified by several factors: the fact that the 19th-century Jewish quarter in Stare Miasto had been situated there; the significant concentration of the Jewish population in Bałuty; the proximity of the Marysin railway depot, and the poor housing conditions in the area.⁵⁰

In the urban sphere, Germans made every effort to eradicate any signs of Polishness (monuments, memorial plaques, etc.) and Jewishness. As for the latter, however, these endeavours were on a far larger scale, e.g. entire synagogues of high historical value were razed to the ground.⁵¹

In liberated, post-war Łódź, numerous buildings within the former ghetto area were on the verge of collapse if not eradicated, while those that survived were either uninhabitable or in need of extensive

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 219.

⁴⁹ Baranowski, *The Łódź ghetto*; Pupar, ‘Przekształcenia fizjonomiczne’, pp. 39–74.

⁵⁰ Ibid.; F. Tych, ‘Typologia gett tworzonych przez okupantów niemieckich w Polsce (1939–1944)’, in: *Fenomen getta łódzkiego 1940–1944*, ed. P. Samuś, W. Puś (Łódź, 2006), pp. 77–90; Löw, *Getto łódzkie*; Sitarek, ‘Utworzenie i organizacja’.

⁵¹ Koter, ‘Tkanka miejska Łodzi’, pp. 218–51.

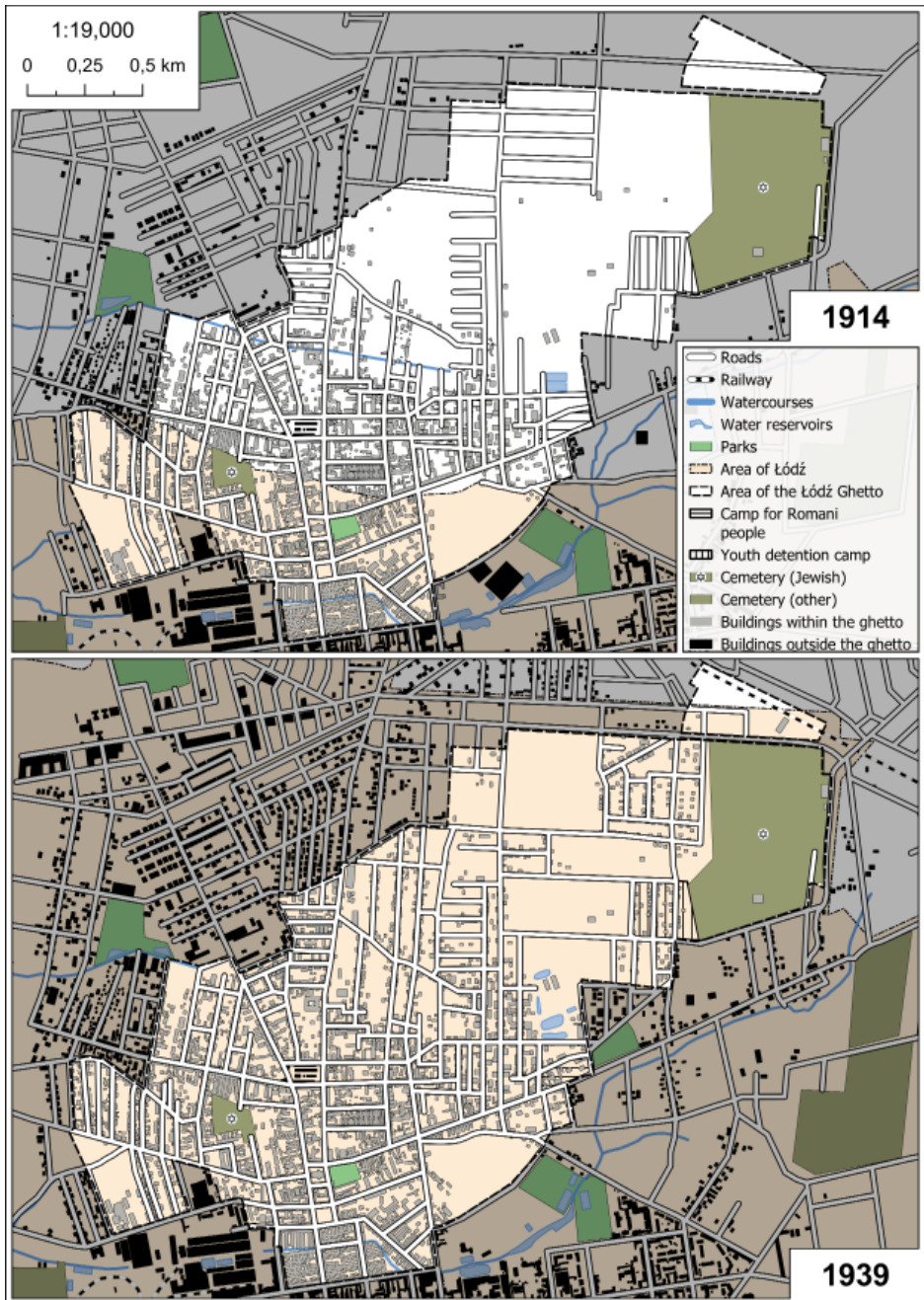


Fig. 4. Spatial development of the area of the former Łódź Ghetto (1914–1939)

Source: Author's own elaboration based on: *Plan Łodzi, Balut i Radogoszcz, 1913* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/549); *Gruppe Warschau XXIV 5-J. Mapa topograficzna – północna część Łodzi, gmina Radogoszcz, Brus, 1914* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/685); *Łódź, wieś Bałuty Stare, Kolonja Bałuty, Kolonja Bałuty Nowe i Kolonja Radogoszcz, 1915* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/2923); *Plan części dóbr Łagiewniki w powiecie łódzkim, 1920* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/4158); *Plan wojewódzkiego miasta Łodzi, 1939* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/566); 4129 G *Litzmannstadt Topographische Karte, 1940* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/2750a).

renovation. Kulesza and Rykała argue that this destruction did not so much allow as force the substantial transformation of the entire district.⁵² The post-war redevelopment of the former ghetto area was in many ways a direct response to the wartime spatial legacy. The extensive destruction, combined with the deliberate clearance of entire quarters during the ghetto period, created large vacant plots and disrupted street grids, which the socialist authorities perceived as opportunities for the construction of wide thoroughfares, large housing estates, and public spaces such as Park Staromiejski. At the same time, areas where wartime alterations had only partially erased the earlier structure were often subject to adaptive reuse rather than complete reconstruction, resulting in a diverse urban fabric in which fragments of the pre-war street network and building alignments persisted alongside mid-20th-century developments. This continuity and disruption, both stemming from the wartime transformation, became defining features of the district's morphogenesis in the socialist era.

Fourth settlement-morphological period (1945–1989)

Post-war Łódź witnessed dynamic urban development as new multi-family housing districts were erected despite limited reconstruction resources.⁵³ The former ghetto area was subject to substantial transformations; the devastated urban tissue was demolished and replaced by blocks of flats incorporated into the old urban layout (Fig. 5). However, complete redevelopment was not always the case and alterations to existing buildings were made whenever possible⁵⁴ which are still visible in

the present-day physiognomy of the area, e.g. some buildings look peculiarly “incongruous”.⁵⁵

Besides improving housing conditions, transformations of the Bałuty spatial structure were also implemented as the communists desired to establish a model socialist residential district.⁵⁶ The redevelopment of the former ghetto area began as early as 1949, including the installation of a water supply system and sewage works.⁵⁷ The same year, the construction of Osiedle Staromiejskie (Old Town Residential District) began and continued until 1956.⁵⁸ The redevelopment included both the construction of new blocks of flats and the refurbishment of old buildings. In addition, the post-war infrastructure in the northern and eastern frontage of Stary Rynek was replaced, the street network to the east of Osiedle Staromiejskie was revised, the course of Wolborska Street was changed, and two new traffic routes were mapped out – Pacanowska (Eliasz Chaim Majzel) and Herman Konstadt Streets.⁵⁹ Jerozolimska Street was liquidated, as was, partially, Św. Jakuba Street, when its course was changed entirely. In 1953, Park Staromiejski was established to the south of the residential district, where the Germans had carried out heavy demolitions.⁶⁰ Thus, Nad Łódką Street, which ran through the park, was removed, and Wschodnia Street was shortened to terminate at the junction with Północna Street. The same year, a tram terminus with a turnaround loop in the south of the park was opened.

In the western part of Stare Miasto, the transformations began in 1951 with

⁵² Kulesza, Rykała, ‘Zmiany w użytkowaniu’, pp. 7–30.

⁵³ *Ibid.*; Koter, ‘Struktura morfogenetyczna’, pp. 49–80. The limitations were due to the relatively moderate war damage that Łódź had suffered.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* As Kulesza and Rykała said, mainly due to the urgent need for housing after the war and the limited resources for the complete redevelopment of entire districts.

⁵⁵ These are buildings located along non-existent or reconfigured streets, often surrounded by newer blocks of flats, e.g. the ‘misaligned’ tenement house at 10 Św. Jakub Street.

⁵⁶ Koter, ‘Tkanka miejska Łodzi’, pp. 218–51.

⁵⁷ Kulesza, Rykała, ‘Zmiany w użytkowaniu’, pp. 7–30.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Extended in 1970 northwards, connecting Podrzeczna Street with Wojska Polskiego Street.

⁶⁰ *Parki i ogrody Łodzi: ogrody nad Łódką*, ed. R. Olaczek (Łódź, 2010).

the construction of the “north-south” route. The Old Jewish Cemetery (already devastated by the Nazis) was liquidated when Zachodnia Street was extended. In its place, a new road and blocks of flats were built, some of which replaced the tenement houses once adjacent to the cemetery.

Among the morphological units within the former ghetto area, the following residential districts were erected: Bałuty (I, III, IV, V), Doły, Zgierska-Stefana, Inflancka, and Zagajnikowa. The latter three were built as part of Prime Minister Edward Gierek’s plan to develop and modernise Łódź, launched in 1971.⁶¹ Koter argues that these developments were implemented on a larger scale than Osiedle Staromiejskie. Given the severe devastation of the urban tissue within the former ghetto area, the new residential districts could boast more spacious designs, with greater spacing between buildings and a modified street network, which entailed both building new roads and widening old ones.⁶² However, these changes were not radical, mainly involving extensions of existing routes or connections to them (Fig. 3). This strategy was justified by the presence of the utility infrastructure within the area, the fact that the existing road surface was still in a satisfactory technical condition, and also by a frequent reluctance to demolish buildings that still represented some value.⁶³ As a result, the chaotic, disorderly spatial development of Bałuty before its incorporation into Łódź is still evident in the borough’s urban layout today.

Importantly, the fourth period witnessed numerous reconstructions of morphological components within the quarters, which also changed substantially

following the emergence of new residential districts and the adaptation of old pre-war buildings for housing. Several traffic routes were liquidated and road extensions were implemented, sometimes at the expense of existing buildings.

Fifth settlement-morphological period (after 1990)

This shortest period has been isolated due to the political transformation of 1989, when the demise of communism ushered in a new democratic chapter in Poland’s history. Positive in many aspects, the transition proved quite problematic for Łódź when compared to other regions. The challenges the city faced included vast areas in need of thorough redevelopment, the collapse of industry, a degraded inner city, and severe social issues (unemployment, low birth rate, etc.). Their scale and long-lasting impact are perhaps reflected in the 2016 revitalisation programme, which covered almost a staggering quarter of the city’s population.

As of 2024, four local spatial development plans (LSDP)⁶⁴ have been drawn up for the former ghetto area, covering 25.4% of the land plots.⁶⁵ In this study, it is relevant to mention provisions that would affect the region’s future physiognomy: LSDP no. LXVI/1683/18 addressed the need to put a “spatial emphasis” on the site of the former Alte Szil synagogue and the Łódź Ghetto footbridges, and pursuant to LSDP no. XXXIII/1089/20, the entire area of the defunct Old Jewish Cemetery in the west of Stare Miasto was placed under the care of the heritage protection office. The city’s multicultural past is also taken into account in ongoing investments, e.g. installations identifying the city’s Jewish past were added to Park Staromiejski in 2024.

⁶¹ T. Krystkowski, ‘Wielorodzinne osiedla i zespoły mieszkaniowe z lat pięćdziesiątych i sześćdziesiątych XX w.’, <https://atlas.ltn.lodz.pl/> (accessed: 18 Sept. 2024); T. Krystkowski, ‘Osiedla i zespoły mieszkaniowe z lat siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych XX w.’, <https://atlas.ltn.lodz.pl/> (accessed: 18. Sept. 2024); Koter, ‘Struktura morfogenetyczna’, pp. 49–80.

⁶² *Ibid.* One example is the widening of Inflancka Street in the mid-1970s.

⁶³ Kulesza, Rykała, ‘Zmiany w użytkowaniu’, pp. 7–30.

⁶⁴ Namely, LSDPs no. LXVI/1683/18, LXXI/1860/18, XXXIII/1089/20 and XV/634/19.

⁶⁵ Author’s own calculations.

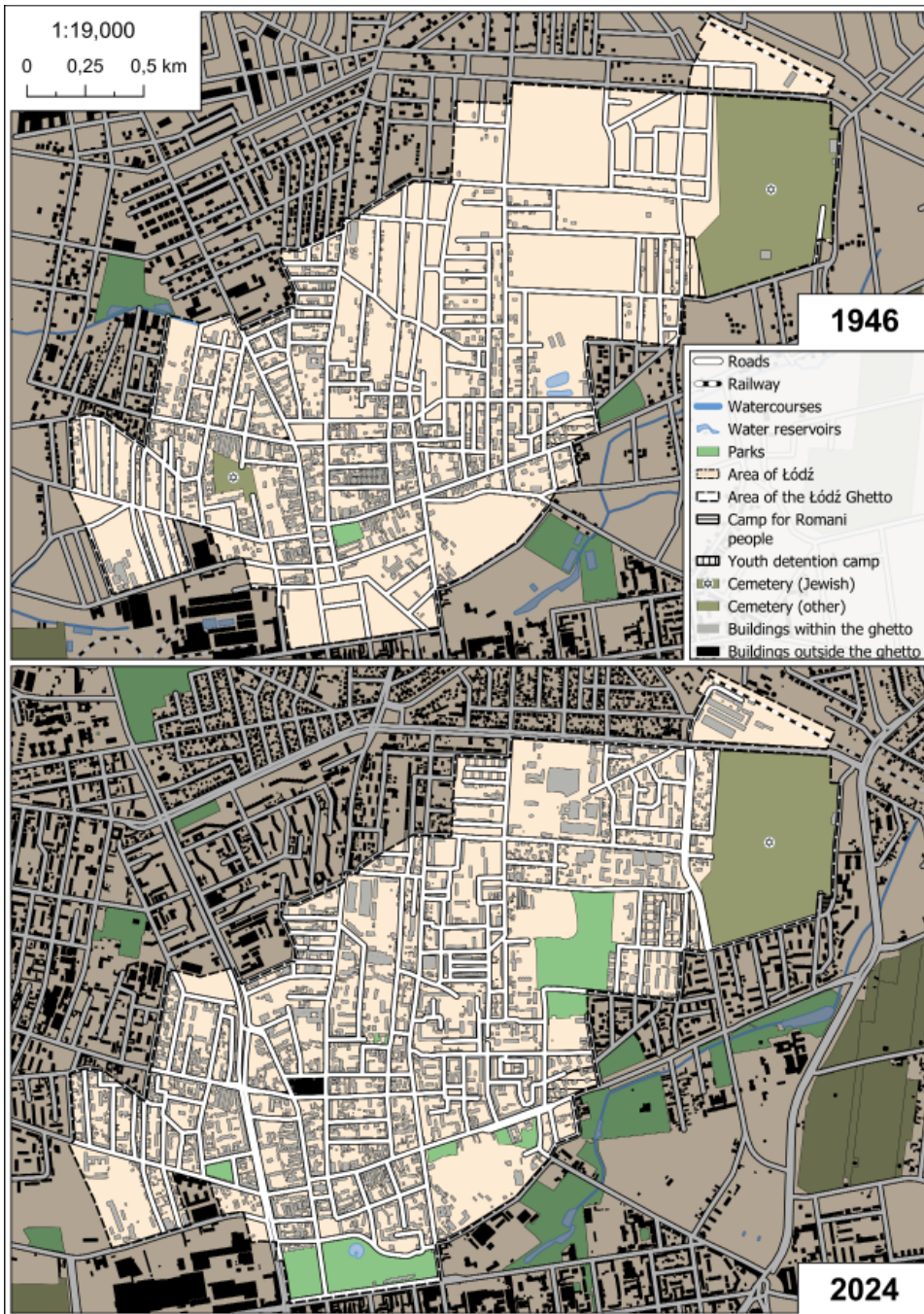


Fig. 5. Spatial development of the area of the former Łódź Ghetto (1946–2024)

Source: Author's own elaboration based on: *Miasto Łódź, Województwo Grodzkie. Plan orientacyjny miasta w granicach z roku 1946, 1948*, City Council, Spatial Planning Department (RCIN, <https://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/publication/36795/edition/32279/content> [accessed: 5 Jan. 2024]); *Plan m. Łodzi 1:2000. Sekcja N021, N022, N031, N032, N041, N042, N051, N052, NW21, NW22, NW31, NW31, NW41, NW42, NW51, NW52, 1945–1950* (SA Łódź, file no. 39/609/0/-/PRN.1).

The newly created morphological units have mainly featured housing blocks, often gated communities.⁶⁶ The scale of transformation in the fifth period is considerably smaller, though it primarily involves the repurposing of old buildings.⁶⁷ Interestingly, the fourth and fifth periods have something in common: frequent repurposing. Among the morphological components, the renovation of the existing urban tissue is predominant. Roads receive a new surface and are widened wherever possible.⁶⁸

The author intends that the selected periods be both homogeneous in their spatial arrangement of residential districts and relate to historical events that have shaped the city's socio-economic transformations, as the study area is directly connected to them. Based on the available literature and historical maps, the author has drawn up a morphogenetic structure of the former Łódź Ghetto area, which also features present-day roads (arranged by construction date) and morphological units divided by development period (Fig. 6).

Conclusion

The area where the Łódź Ghetto once stood faced no significant morphological transformations until the early 19th century, and very dynamic changes from 1860. Undoubtedly, a key stimulus behind the emergence of new morphological components was the designation of Łódź as a convenient location for industrial and residential development, which led to the reconfiguration of streets around Stary Rynek and defined the population composition as predominantly Jewish until the Second World War. The haphazard spatial layout preserved to this day is the product of the unplanned and unsupervised

development of Bałuty Nowe, which was eventually annexed to Łódź in 1915, a long overdue decision.

The analysis demonstrates that the morphological structure of the former Łódź Ghetto area is the cumulative result of layered transformations: from the initial medieval settlements, through industrial expansion and unregulated suburban growth in the 19th century, to wartime destruction, socialist-era redevelopment, and post-1990 adaptive reuse. These changes have produced a heterogeneous urban fabric in which traces of all settlement periods are still discernible, confirming that historical socio-political events directly shaped both form and function of this space.

It is not by coincidence that the Nazis established the ghetto in Bałuty, thus causing severe devastation to the urban tissue within just a few years. The plots demolished in the south of the ghetto were later used by the communist authorities to found Park Staromiejski while adapting the street grid for Osiedle Staromiejskie. In the following years, new developments were implemented, but existing buildings were also utilised and converted whenever possible. Since these re-adaptations co-occurred with the construction of new traffic routes, some pre-war buildings seem today 'misaligned', e.g. positioned at an angle that does not correspond to that of the adjacent street.

Following the fall of communism, there has been a perceptible refurbishment of old buildings. Neighbourhoods are being adapted without radical redevelopment, and demolition is rare. The memory of the past is preserved in new developments, regulated by provisions of local spatial development plans.

The analysis of the collected source data allowed the morphogenetic structure of the former ghetto area to be updated and the settlement stratigraphy to be mapped, thus complementing the morphogenetic

⁶⁶ E.g. the housing estates: Jarzębinowe and Apartamenty D43.

⁶⁷ E.g. the Apartamenty D77 housing estate erected on the site of a former factory.

⁶⁸ At times, this is accomplished at the expense of existing buildings, e.g. the reconstruction of the junction of Wojska Polskiego and Franciszkańska Street involved the demolition of a tenement house there.

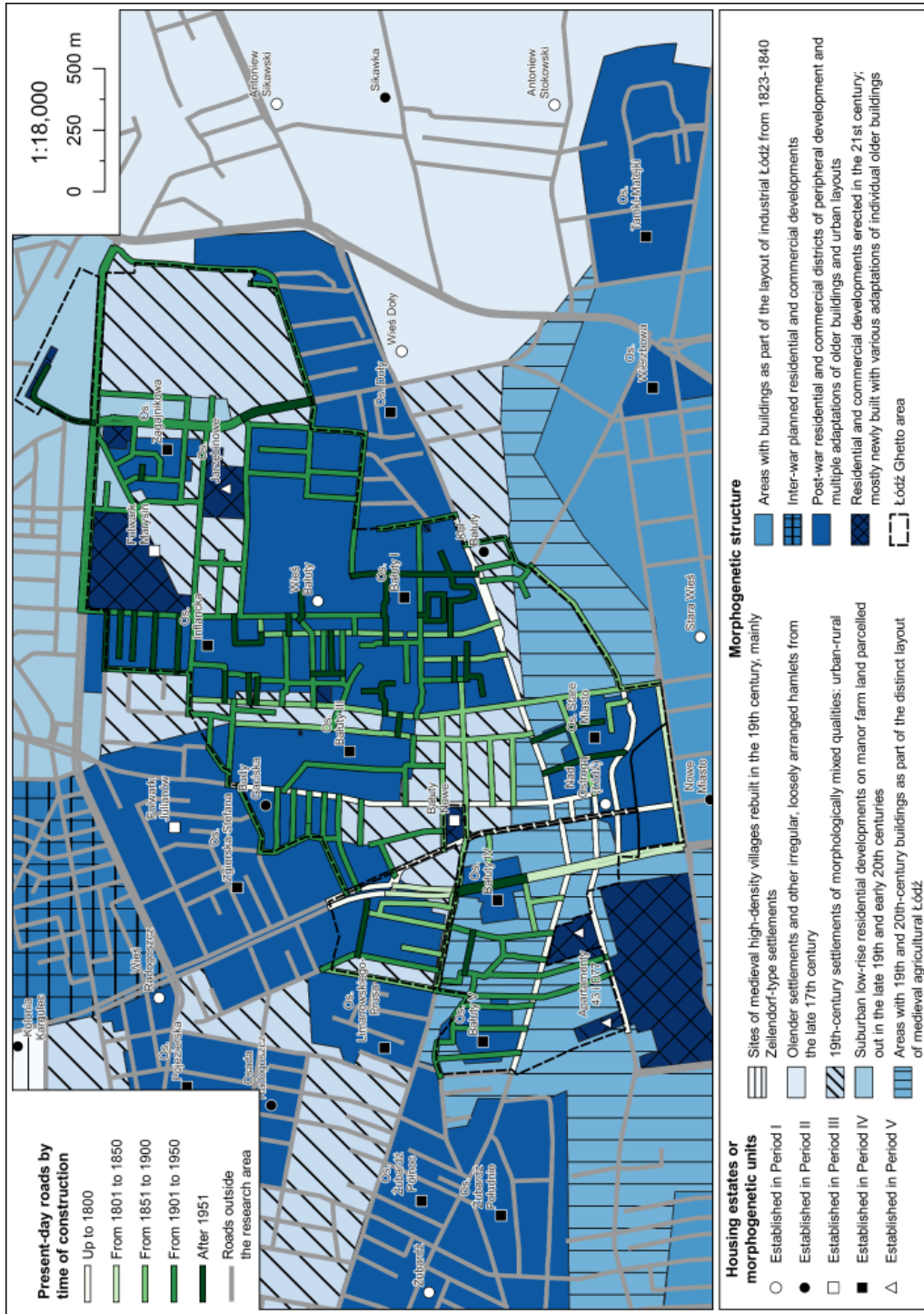


Fig. 6. Morphogenetic structure of the former ghetto area in Łódź
 Source: Author's own elaboration based on Koter, 'Struktura morfogenetyczna', pp. 49-80, and maps derived from the cartographic collection of the SA Łódź.

structure shown in Fig. 4. While selecting the morphogenetic units and settlements, the author applied a key criterion for period affiliation: the location within the study area.

The settlement stratigraphy has been coupled with a timeline of events (Table 2), primarily including those occurrences that

have had a direct impact on the area under study on a different scale – either individual morphological components (e.g. building a new road) or entire morphological systems (e.g. creating/abolishing the Jewish quarter). However, all these events relate to the dates cited and to the morphological periods. ■

Table 2. Settlement stratigraphy of the area that once was the Łódź Ghetto, with a timeline of events affecting its morphology

No.	Name of settlement or morphogenetic unit (in brackets: future name)	Presumed establishment period of the morphogenetic unit or dates of the event affecting the morphology of the study area	Comments
I. FORMATION OF MORPHOLOGICAL COMPONENTS AND UNITS WITHIN THE AREA LATER TO BECOME THE ŁÓDŹ GHETTO (FROM THE 12TH CENTURY TO 1819)			
1	Łodzia (Stara Wieś)	Est. in the 1st half of the 12th c.	A manor farm from the 16th century.
2	Doły	Est. in the late 14th c.	A village, completely dilapidated in the mid-17th or early 18th century.
3	Nad Ostrogą (Łódź)	Est. at the turn of the 15th c.	In 1414, the settlement was granted town rights under the bishop's municipal charter.
4	Bałuty (Bałuty Stare)	Est. in the 2nd half of the 14th c.	A village.
5	Łódź – the city	1423	In 1423, the settlement was granted city rights by King Władysław II Jagiełło.
6		1811	The (old) Jewish cemetery is located outside Łódź's boundaries. In the following decades, it is expanded with new lots as the city's Jewish community grows.
7		1818–1821	Linear redevelopment of Piotrków High Road from the church tower in Zgierz to the church tower in Łódź.
II. GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE IN STARE MIASTO, COMPARED TO THE SOUTHERN PART OF ŁÓDŹ (1820–1859)			
8		1821	At the motion of the chairman of the Mazovian Province Commission, Łódź is recognised by the Administrative Council of the Kingdom of Poland as a suitable place for the establishment of an industrial settlement.
9	Nowe Miasto	1821–1824	A clothmaking settlement with a new market square, established south of Łódź.
10		1823	Launch of the reconfiguration of the streets surrounding Stary Rynek and Plac Kościelny; reconfiguration of Wojska Polskiego, Kościelna, Wolborska, and Drewnowska Streets.
11	Łódka	1824–1828	A linen and cotton manufacturing settlement.
12		1825	A Jewish quarter is established in Łódź.
13		1841	The Jewish quarter is unofficially expanded.
14	Kolonia Bałuty	Est. in the 2nd half of the 19th c.	A village is founded to the northeast of the then boundaries of Łódź.
15	Budy Gaciska	Est. in the mid-19th c.	A village nestled between Bałuty and Radogoszcz.

No.	Name of settlement or morphogenetic unit (in brackets: future name)	Presumed establishment period of the morphogenetic unit or dates of the event affecting the morphology of the study area	Comments
16		1858	Yitzhak Bławat and Yitzhak Birenzweig purchase the land of the Bałuty Estate and begin mapping out the central square (Rynek Bałucki), land plots and new streets.
17		1859	The last expansion of the Jewish quarter, Aleksandryjska, Św. Jakub, Je-rozolimiska and Franciszkańska Streets are built for this purpose.
III. COLONISATION OF THE NORTHERN SUBURBS OF ŁÓDŹ AND FORMATION OF MORPHOLOGICALLY COMPLEX URBAN SYSTEMS (1860–1944)			
18	Bałuty Nowe	1860	A suburban settlement is established, following the dynamic expansion initiated by Bławat and Birenzweig; the old village of Bałuty is renamed Stare Bałuty; the arriving Jewish settlers purchase land plots adjacent to the Jewish quarter.
19		1860	Despite the central authority prohibiting the expansion of Bałuty Nowe due to its potential adverse impact on Łódź, the settlement continues to expand with new quarters being built.
20		1862	The Jewish quarter is abolished; free settlement is reinstated.
21	Folwark Julianów	Ca. 2nd half of the 19th c.	A manor farm is founded on the lands of the former Radogoszcz manor farm.
22	Bałuty	Ca. 2nd half of the 19th c.	A minor village soon to be merged with the suburban Bałuty Nowe.
23	Folwark Marysin 2 and 3	Ca. 2nd half of the 19th c.	Manor farms are parcelled out of the lands of the Bałuty Estate.
24	Osada Bałuty	Ca. 2nd half of the 19th c.	A settlement founded on the site of Budy Gaciska, among others.
25	Kolonia Marysin II and III	Ca. 2nd half of the 19th c.	A settlement founded on the lands parcelled out of the Marysin 2 and Marysin 3 manor farms.
26		1859–1871	The Alte Szil synagogue is erected on Wolborska Street.
27		1877	The pond in what is now Park Starmiejski is decommissioned; build-up of the quarter begins; Wschodnia St. is extended to reach Wolborska St.
28		1892	The New Jewish Cemetery is established.
29		1892/3	The Church of the Holy Virgin Mary is erected on Plac Kościelny in place of the former wooden temple.
30		1900	The first, unsuccessful attempt to incorporate Bałuty Stare, Bałuty Nowe and Kolonia Bałuty into the limits of Łódź, motivated by their proximity to the city.
31		1906	A Mariavite church is erected on Franciszkańska St.
32		1906	The village of Doły is partly annexed to Łódź by order of the Russian authorities.
33		1914–1918	The First World War – the city's once dynamic development gradually slows down.
34		1915	The German occupation authorities incorporated the heavily urbanised Bałuty Stare, Bałuty Nowe, Kolonia Bałuty and the sparsely urbanised manor farms of Marysin into Łódź.
35		1926	A railway siding is built north of Inflancka St. (the present-day Łódź Marysin Station).
36		1929	Kolonia Marysin II is parcelled out for summer use (later known as the ghetto's summer resort and the site of youth summer camps).

No.	Name of settlement or morphogenetic unit (in brackets: future name)	Presumed establishment period of the morphogenetic unit or dates of the event affecting the morphology of the study area	Comments
37		1929	The Health Care Fund in Łódź (Hospital One) was opened on Łagiewnicka Street (later, the headquarters of the Department of Health in the Łódź Ghetto and the home of Chaim Mordechaj Rumkowski, the head of the Jewish Council of Elders in the ghetto).
38		1939	Second World War – Germans begin persecuting the Jewish population; places of worship are being destroyed.
39		1940	A Jewish ghetto is established within the area of the Bałuty district.
40		1940–1944	Gradual deterioration of Bałuty due to the operation of the ghetto: buildings and quarters are being demolished, trees cut down; Nazis vandalise the Old Jewish Cemetery.
41		1941	A subcamp for Romani people is opened on Wojska Polskiego St.
42		1942	In the present-day Park Szarych Szeregów, a youth detention centre is established.
43		1944	The Łódź Ghetto is liquidated.
IV. REDEVELOPMENT OF THE BAŁUTY BOROUGH DURING THE SOCIALIST PERIOD (1945–1989)			
44		1949	The dilapidated former ghetto area is the site for planning new residential districts to exemplify a model communist neighbourhood; the memory of the Jewish population is being “erased”.
45		1949–1953	In the northern and eastern parts of Stary Rynek, new housing is erected in place of the old buildings (new addresses: Stary Rynek 1 and Stary Rynek 2).
46	Osiedle Stare Miasto (Staromiejskie)	1949–1956	The residential district is integrated into the old urban layout of the medieval Stare Miasto; several old buildings are adapted (Nad Łódką and Jerolimaska Streets are liquidated, Wschodnia St. is shortened, Wolborska St. is rerouted, and new streets are built – Majzel and Konstadt Streets).
47		1951	The ‘north-south’ route is built; Zachodnia Street is extended to run across the area of the former Old Jewish Cemetery, which is liquidated together with a group of adjacent tenement houses; new blocks of flats are erected, and a tramway is built.
48		1952–1953	Park Staromiejski is built.
49		1953	A tram terminus with a turnaround loop is built in Park Staromiejski.
50		1954	Bałuty is officially recognised as one of the seven (later five) boroughs of post-war Łódź.
51	Osiedle Bałuty I; Osiedle Bałuty IV	1951–1955	Residential districts (mostly blocks of flats) of peripheral development and sparse detached housing (reconfiguration of street networks within quarters).
52	Osiedle Bałuty III; Osiedle Bałuty V	1956 r. – 1960	Residential districts are developed in the former suburbs of Bałuty Nowe, Kolonia Bałuty, and the village of Bałuty; the old street layout is largely preserved, and numerous adaptations of old buildings are evident.
53	Osiedle Doły	1956 r. – 1960	A residential district consisting mainly of blocks of flats with some adapted buildings of the former Kolonia Bałuty housing estate.
54		1961	A general spatial development plan for Łódź up to 1980 is approved.

No.	Name of settlement or morphogenetic unit (in brackets: future name)	Presumed establishment period of the morphogenetic unit or dates of the event affecting the morphology of the study area	Comments
55		1971	Prime Minister Edward Gierek's plan for the development and modernisation of Łódź is launched.
56	Osiedle Zgierska-Stefana (Jagielly)	1971–1975	A residential district with a brand-new layout is being erected on the site of the former village of Bałuty, at the northern border of the former Łódź Ghetto.
57	Osiedle Inflancka	1971–1975	Boasting a completely new layout, a residential district is built on the site of Kolonia Marysin II.
58	Osiedle Zagajnikowa	1976–1980	A residential district developed on the grounds of old Marysin, west of the New Jewish Cemetery.
59		Ca. 1975	Inflancka Street is widened.
V. FILLING IN THE GAPS IN THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF THE FORMER GHETTO AREA AND RENOVATION OF ITS MORPHOLOGICAL COMPONENTS (FROM 1990)			
60		1995	The division of Łódź into boroughs is abolished; the division into residential districts and sub-municipalities is to be used instead.
61		2004	Sub-districts are extracted; the former ghetto area is now located within the sub-districts of Bałuty-Centrum, Bałuty-Doły and Julianów-Marysin-Rogi.
62	Osiedle Jarzębinowe	2011–2019	A gated community (blocks of flats only) located in the quarter between Okopowa, Zagajnikowa, Górnicza and Prózna Streets.
63		2016	A revitalisation zone in Łódź has been demarcated, with its boundaries including the southern part of the former ghetto area.
64		2018	A local spatial development plan is adopted for the quarter located inside Zachodnia, Krótka, Joselewicz, Franciszkańska, Ogrodowa and Północna Streets.
65		2018	A local spatial development plan is adopted for the quarter located inside Rybna, Ciesielska, Zgierska and Krótka Streets.
66		2019	A local spatial development plan is adopted for the quarter located inside Łagiewnicka, Spacerowa, Pasterska, Franciszkańska and Joselewicz Streets.
67		2020	A local spatial development plan is adopted for the quarter located inside Limanowskiego, Zachodnia, Drewnowska, Żytnia and Rybna Streets.
68	Apartamenty D43 and D77	2020–2023	Housing developments (blocks of flats) built on the site of a former factory at 43 and 77 Drewnowska Street.
69		2021–2023	Redevelopment of Stary Rynek.
70		2021–2024	Redevelopment of Wojska Polskiego Street with demolition of some adjacent buildings, including the pre-war tenement house at 39 Franciszkańska Street, which was part of the Łódź Ghetto.
71		2022–2024	Redevelopment of Park Starmiejski.

Source: Author's own elaboration based on: Kirsztrot, *Prawa Żydów; Friedman, Dzieje Żydów; Koter, Geneza układu przestrzennego; id., 'Struktura morfogenetyczna', pp. 49–80; id., 'Kształtowanie się tkanki miejskiej', pp. 62–97; id., 'Tkanka miejska Łodzi', pp. 218–51; G. Kobojek, *Łódź – Kalendarium XX wieku (Łódź, 2002); Puś, Żydzi w Łodzi; Kulesza, Rykała, 'Zmiany w użytkowaniu', pp. 7–30; Sygulski, Historia Bałut; Rykała, 'Żydowskie domy', pp. 221–44; Rykała, W reakcji na powojenną przemoc; Krystkowski, 'Wielorodzinne osiedla'; id., 'Osiedla i zespoły'; J. Wesołowski, 'Łódź epoki stalinowskiej', <https://atlas.ltn.lodz.pl/> (accessed: 18 Sept. 2024); Stefański, 'Rozwój przestrzenny'; inventory cards from the Provincial Office for the Protection of Monuments in Łódź.**

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Przekształcenia morfologiczne obszaru byłego getta łódzkiego

Streszczenie

Praca stanowi pogłębioną analizę morfogenezy i obszaru byłego getta łódzkiego, ukazując jego ewolucję w perspektywie ponad ośmiu stuleci. Autor koncentruje się na procesach kształtowania struktury przestrzennej w kontekście czynników społecznych, gospodarczych i politycznych. Szczególną wartość badania stanowi zastosowanie metod retrogresywnych, umożliwiających rekonstrukcję składu osadniczego na podstawie źródeł kartograficznych i archiwalnych, co pozwala uchwycić przekształcenia tkanki miejskiej.

Analiza dowodzi, że obecna heterogeniczna struktura urbanistyczna jest wynikiem nakładania się kolejnych warstw morfologicznych – od średniowiecznych jednostek osadniczych, przez XIX-wieczną industrializację i chaotyczną suburbanizację Bałut, po destrukcyjne przekształcenia okresu okupacji oraz powojenne projekty

sojalistyczne. Szczególną rolę w tym procesie odegrały wydarzenia związane z utworzeniem getta w 1940 r., które wymusiły radykalną reorganizację przestrzeni, takie jak powojenne działania modernizacyjne, prowadzące do powstania nowych osiedli i parku, kosztem wcześniejszych struktur.

Badanie ukazuje, że morfologiczne przekształcenia nie są jedynie efektem planowania urbanistycznego, lecz odzwierciedlają głębokie zmiany cywilizacyjne, ideologiczne i demograficzne. Wskazuje również na znaczenie pamięci miejsca w kształtowaniu współczesnych strategii rewitalizacji, które coraz częściej uwzględniają wielokulturowe dziedzictwo Łodzi. Opracowane wnioski mogą służyć jako podstawa dla projektów urbanistycznych, programów rewitalizacji i świadomego kształtowania polityki ochrony dziedzictwa. ■

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