

Recreating the Sacred Urban Space Warsaw Churches from the End of the Second Northern War Until the End of the Reign of John II Casimir (1657-68) in the View of the Urban Onto Ontology

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Abstract During the Second Northern War (1655-60) the sacred urban space of Warsaw was demolished. Only four out of 20 church buildings survived the war intact. The others were totally destroyed or severely damaged. The aim of this article is to verify whether the continuity of the functioning of Warsaw churches was maintained in the post-war crisis period until the abdication of King John II Casimir Vasa in 1668. The analysis of changes in urban space is based on the Urbanonto ontology, which is used to describe the changes taking place within the space of the European town between the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Keywords Urban space. 17th century. War damage. Reconstruction. Ontology.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Sacred Space. – 3 Warsaw: War and Topography. – 4 Religious Denominations in Warsaw. – 5 Sources. – 6 Recreating the Sacred Urban Space of Warsaw. – 7 Methodological Comment. – 8 Summary.



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1 Introduction

The Swedish-Transylvanian troops left Warsaw on 29 August 1657. This date marks the end of the period which started in September 1655, and left the town ruined by three occupations, imposed contributions, looting, and war damage. Although the Second Northern War continued until 1660, the area of the town itself ceased to be directly affected by the struggles after 1657 (Bogucka 1984b, 185; Wegner 1957, 131-5). The literature on the subject presents the Second Northern War, known in Poland as the Deluge, as a turning point in the history of both the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the urban space of Warsaw alike, as the destruction of that period negatively influenced the further development of the Polish state. The sacred urban space of Warsaw was demolished, too. Before the war there were 20 church buildings in Warsaw, but only four survived intact. The others were totally destroyed or severely damaged. The aim of this article is to verify whether the continuity of the functioning of Warsaw churches was maintained in the post-war crisis period. I will look at the development of church topography after the end of the war until the abdication of King John II Casimir Vasa in 1668, taking into account how individual buildings changed over time (getting rebuilt, restructured or moved), but still continued to be identified as the same object. I intend to analyse the continuity of such objects in the urban space. Using the example of churches, I will discuss the issues of continuity and changes in the functioning of the town.¹ Urban reconstruction required appropriate financial resources, which were difficult to obtain in Warsaw, as it was devastated both materially and demographically. In this context, I will check which actors were responsible for individual churches, whether it was the king, church authorities, magnate families, specific religious orders, municipal authorities or the townspeople themselves.

The analysis of changes in urban space was based on the Urbanonto System, which is made up of three components: the ontological component (the Urbanonto ontology), the database component and the data presentation component (Geoserver and RDF triple store) (Garbacz, Grądzki 2021, 4).² The creation of the Urbanonto ontology was one of the goals of the “Historical Ontology of Urban Space” (HOUSE) project. It is a domain ontology which aims to conceptualise the history of topographic objects as depicted in topographic maps

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1 To read more about the issue, see Madurowicz 2017.

2 To read more about the usage of The Urbanonto System, see Garbacz, Grądzki 2021.

(Garbacz, Grądzki 2021, 5).³ The use of ontologies in relational databases serves the purpose of efficient data retrieval and information sharing. The Urbanonto ontology is another example of implementation ontology in historical research (Słomska-Przech, Słomski 2022, 2). It could be used to describe the changes taking place within the space of the European town between the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the twentieth century and identify the permanent elements which constitute the town. In the Urbanonto system, ontology serves as a glossary of terms connected with urban representation and as a resource containing the data used in the database (list of topographic object types and list of functions). What is more, the Urbanonto ontology makes direct use of two other ontologies: BDOT10k ontology and ontohgis ontology (Garbacz, Grądzki 2021, 5). BDOT10k ontology is based on the Topographic Object Database (*Baza Danych Obiektów Terenowych*). It is a vector database which accumulates the spatial location of topographic features along with a description of their properties. The content and detail level of the Topographic Object Database corresponds to a traditional topographic map at the scale of 1:10,000.⁴ Ontohgis ontology is a predecessor of The Urbanonto ontology. It is a domain ontology focused on settlements units and administrative units (Garbacz 2019, 471).⁵

The database, which is managed with PostgreSQL, by means of Postgis extension, contains information about specific topographic objects and manifestations of such attributes of these objects as: name, location, function and type. It also includes data on the mutual origin of these objects (Garbacz, Grądzki 2021, 8). The database is made up of two diagrams: "ontology_sources" and "ontology". The first includes tables with 'raw' data. The second presents 'refined' data, especially for locations (which are purified by a cartographic expert) and dates (imprecise dates are automatically remapped as precise) (Garbacz, Grądzki 2021, 8). The database aggregates information on the elements of the historical space of Warsaw that can be depicted on a town map. Various sources, from monographs, to encyclopaedias and atlases, are used to try to collect information about objects that exist or have existed in the town. Each of the objects is described using such categories as their assigned names, location, ontology type, and other functions it could have performed or its connections with other objects. This, in turn, allows to register

³ The Urbanonto ontology is stored in a git repository, see: <https://github.com/urbanonto>.

⁴ <https://www.geoportal.gov.pl/dane/baza-danych-obiektow-topograficznych-bdot>.

⁵ To read more about ontological foundations for building historical geoinformation systems project and ontohgis ontology, see Szady 2019.

how a given object has changed and how it was referred to in different periods. The important question of identity is analysed in foundational ontologies in several different ways.⁶ Also, the definition of 'place', which is very significant for the Urbanonto Ontology, is differently specified in other ontologies (Ballatore 2006; Hamzei, Winter, Tomko 2020).

The implementation of the Urbanonto Ontology and database may be useful in the process of development of further studies in the series of historical town atlases conducted under the auspices of the International Commission for the History of Towns. This project is meant to form the basis for comparative studies of urban spaces.⁷ However, before this can be achieved, it is necessary to check the usefulness of the tool in relation to available sources and try to define what it means that an object ceases to exist or what conditions must be met for one object to be replaced by another. Sources and studies will not always be easy to enter into the database and may require interpretation.

An example of describing changes in the urban space using The Urbanonto System is the Church of St. George of the Canons Regular in Warsaw. The first object was a wooden church which existed from 1339 until 1453, when its function was taken over by a new brick church with the same *patrocinium*. Both objects, despite the same name and function, are two different entities according to the ontology. The brick church of St. George was in use until 1819. Then this building became a factory and in 1897 it was finally demolished. In this case, although the same building existed in the same place without significant break, the change of function meant that church and factory are also two different entities.

The Urbanonto System takes into account that a given type can have not only dominant functions, but also additional ones. They can be defined both at the ontology level (they can appear with all objects of a given type) and in the database, as functions which are characteristic for a specific object. In the urban landscape, churches also function as landmarks, e.g. as unique, often monumental buildings which make it possible to describe the urban space and define the location of other elements of space in relation to their own positions.⁸

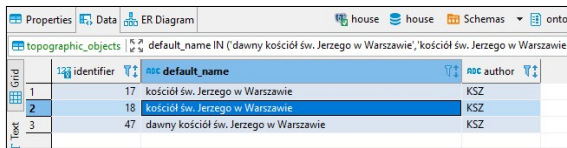
⁶ To read more about foundational ontologies and methodology for validating the ontological adequacy of taxonomic relationships, see: Borgo, Galton, Kutz 2022; Guarino, Welty 2009.

⁷ To read more about the project, see: <https://urbanonto.ihpan.edu.pl/about-project/>; and about The European Historic Towns Atlases, see: <https://www.uni-muenster.de/Staedtegeschichte/en/portal/staedteatlanten/index.html>, <https://www.historiaurbium.org/activities/historic-towns-atlases/>.

⁸ Churches retain their landmark function to this day. To read about churches as landmarks in contemporary Upper Silesian cities, see Bierwiazonek 2011.

In addition, other functions of churches may be associated with political purposes (they may be used to celebrate state or municipal ceremonies), or linked to taking advantage of the prestige or defensive qualities of the building.

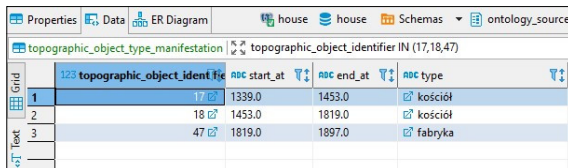
In the database “ontology_sources” diagram for the Church of St. George of the Canons Regular in Warsaw, data were provided in several tables. First, in the “topographic_objects” table there are three unique objects: ID 17 - Church of St. George in Warsaw, ID 18 - Church of St. George in Warsaw, ID 47 - former Church of St. George in Warsaw [fig. 1].



id	identyfikator	nazwa domyślna	autor
1	17	kościół św. Jerzego w Warszawie	KSZ
2	18	kościół św. Jerzego w Warszawie	KSZ
3	47	dawny kościół św. Jerzego w Warszawie	KSZ

Figure 1 Church of St. George in Warsaw in the topographic_objects table

Then in the “topographic_object_type_manifestation” table we entered data about types from the Urbanonto ontology related to those objects: ID 17 (wooden church building) had a church type from 1339 to 1453, ID 18 (brick church building) had a church type from 1453 to 1819 and ID 47 had a factory type from 1819 to 1897 [fig. 2].



id	topographic_object_identyfikator	start	koniec	typ
1	17	1339.0	1453.0	kościół
2	18	1453.0	1819.0	kościół
3	47	1819.0	1897.0	fabryka

Figure 2 Church of St. George in Warsaw in the topographic_object_type_manifestation table

In the “topographic_object_provenances” table we provided data on the substitutability of objects. When the brick church replaced the wooden one, there is a record where ID 17 is an ancestor and ID 18 is a successor. Then when the church building was used as a factory, we have got a record where ID 18 is an ancestor and ID 47 is a successor [fig. 3].

id	ancestor_id	successor_id	historical_evidence	identifier
1	17	18	2	742
2	18	47	2	744

Figure 3 Church of St. George in Warsaw in the topographic_object_provenances table

In the “topographic object name manifestations” we provided data about all known names of those objects with additional information about date of use and whether it is a primary (*nazwa podstawowa*) or secondary name (*nazwa oboczna*) [fig. 4].

id	start	end	name	name_type
1	17	18	kościół św. Jerzego w Warszawie	nazwa podstawowa
2	17	18	kościół św. Jerzego w Warszawie kanoników regularnych w Czerwińsku	nazwa oboczna
3	18	18	kościół św. Jerzego w Warszawie kanoników regularnych w Czerwińsku	nazwa oboczna
4	18	18	Kościół św. Jerzego	nazwa oboczna
5	47	18	Świątynia kościół św. Jerzego w Warszawie, dzierżawiony przez fabrykę odzieżową Braci Etmus	nazwa oboczna

Figure 4 Church of St. George in Warsaw in the topographic_object_name_manifestations table

Data about location of objects are provided in two tables. In the “location_raw” table we provided ID for location. In this example all objects had the same localisation, so in the table there is only one record with ID 6 [fig. 5].

id	identifier	geom_text	name
1	6	52.2518100, 21.0074700	kościół św. Jerzego w Warszawie

Figure 5 Location of Church of St. George in Warsaw in the location_raw table

Then, in the “topographic object location manifestations” table we linked ID of objects with ID of location and added information about dates and type of this link (for example exact or approximate location) [fig. 6].

id	topographic_object_location_manifesta	topographic_object_idenf	topographic_object_idenf IN (17,18,47)						
1	1339.0	1453.0	dokladnie	371	location_idenf	6			
2	18	1453.0	1819.0	dokladnie	372	location_idenf	6		
3	47	1819.0	1897.0	dokladnie	405	location_idenf	6		

Figure 6 Church of St. George in Warsaw in the topographic_object_location_manifestations table

In the database there are also other tables where data is entered if necessary. All tables of the “ontology_sources” diagram are presented in figure 7 [fig. 7].

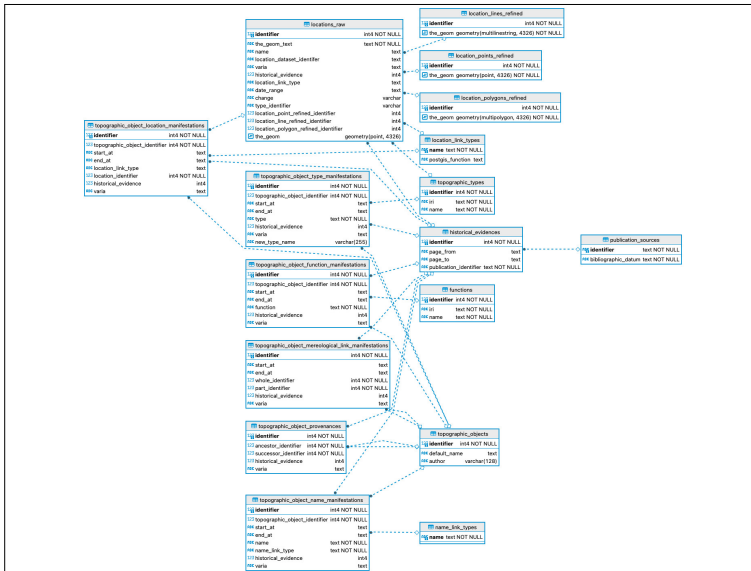


Figure 7 Tables of ontology_sources diagram (Garbacz, Grądzki 2021, 10)

For the purpose of this article, the analysis of sources will be limited to objects which were classified as representing the ‘church’ type in the Urbanonto ontology. This type belongs to a group of buildings which were intended foremost to be used for religious purposes (i.e. also an Orthodox church, a mosque, a synagogue, and a free-standing chapel). A church is defined as “a building in which a religious community gathers to hear the word of God, conduct a group or private prayer and celebrate the sacraments”, while a free-standing chapel is defined as “a small Christian sacred building used for worship purposes (e.g. to conduct a mass or pray) or (rarely) as a burial place,

which include an altar or altars”.⁹ These two definitions are quite similar to each other, which results from the lack of a clear boundary between the afore-mentioned types of buildings.¹⁰ The distinction is based primarily on the observer’s assessment of whether the size of a given temple indicates that it is still small enough to be a chapel or already big enough to be called a church, as well as canon law, established naming conventions or the intentions of the entity that initiated the construction of the building. Churches were also meeting and social places and shaped the space around them (e.g. through the houses or entire streets inhabited by the clergy, establishment of schools and cemeteries, or nearby streets and squares being named after the church). Among the sources taken into account, only the 1669 Inspection includes a reference to a “chapel” – one related to the Moscow Chapel in Krakowskie Przedmieście. In this case, indication of the object’s type is part of its proper name.

2 Sacred Space

There is a relatively long tradition of writing about the presence of objects strongly related to the sacred sphere in urban spaces. Mircea Eliade pointed out that every manifestation of the sacred is a paradox – just like a sacred stone that at some level still remains just a stone (Eliade 2008, 7-9). Similarly, a building dedicated to worship is also just another object located in a specific physical place. The sacred can manifest in multitude ways within the urban space, which allows for conducting studies from many perspectives.¹¹ Halina Manikowska mentioned several types of studies on urban sacred space: sacred geography, sacred topography and ecclesiastical topography. According to her, sacred geography is most comprehensive in its approach, as it deals with activities which are undertaken by communities with the aim of harmonising the material framework of their environment with the supra-material rules that govern their lives. Such actions result in the creation of places which are predisposed to bring the temporal in contact with the supernatural. In such an approach, sacred geography differs from sacred topography and ecclesiastical topography, which deals only with institutional and social issues. On the contrary, it puts emphasis on the perception of

⁹ Both definitions are taken from the HOUSE ontology available at the following URL address: <https://github.com/UrbanOnto/urbanonto>.

¹⁰ Jerzy Rajman uses the term “church in the rank of a chapel” for all temples which are not cathedrals, and collegiate or parish churches, cf. Rajman 2021, 512.

¹¹ The topic of the links between the contemporary city and the sacred sphere was discussed in Kowalewski, Królikowska 2011.

time and space and analyses the relations between these two categories. Sacred geography is mobile and dynamic, which means not only that the number of churches, altars, and celebrated holidays keeps growing, and the liturgy continues to develop, but also that some elements can disappear, temporarily or completely (e.g. when there is a church fire and the building is not used for some time) (Manikowska 2010, 51-6). The dynamics of the sacred – successive waves of sacralisation and desacralisation of space – are characteristic for many places and clearly visible in research on contemporary towns, as exemplified by works on contemporary Warsaw or Prague (Madurowicz 2002; Derdowska 2006).

These issues are also described in the works devoted to the sacred space of the towns where the influence of different denominations or religions collided. Using the example of seventeenth-century Lyon, Natalie Zemon Davis demonstrated how the sacralisation of space changed depending on whether Calvinists or Catholics dominated in a given town. In 1562, the Huguenots desecrated the Catholic sacred space, by, among other things, changing the functions of sacred buildings (chapels, monasteries, chapter houses) to secular purposes (shops, craftspeople's workshops or residential buildings), organising public squares in cemeteries or marking out new streets where the demolished monasteries used to stand (Davis 1981, 58). Similarly, Andrew Spicer demonstrated how the Huguenots seizing the power in Orleans in 1562-63 and 1567-68 influenced the reorganisation of sacred space. Some temples began to serve the needs of Protestants, and some were used for secular purposes (as stables, arsenals or residential buildings), with these temples getting destroyed before the Huguenots left the town in 1568. In the case of Orleans, Catholics tried to restore the destroyed religious infrastructure when they regained control of the town in 1563 and 1569 (Spicer 2007a, 253-8).

Studies of sacred spaces in the Middle Ages and early modern times indicate that the rigid division between sacred and profane remained largely a postulate only, and that the boundary remained blurred in everyday life (McNamara 2015, 215-16).¹² The sacred not only meets the profane in places designated for this purpose, but also mixes with it, and the very difference between the sacred and the temporal is largely in the eye of the beholder. The Reformation brought a new understanding of the sacred, one which did not identify places which were especially sensitive to contact with the sacred – a radical departure from the Catholic approach. However, it had to contend with the habits of congregations concerning the sacredness of specific places, as well as new beliefs linking the concept of sacred-

12 Collective works on sacred spaces include such significant publications as: Hamilton, Spicer (2006); Coster, Spicer 2007; DeSilva 2015.

ness to places of worship, as demonstrated for England and Scotland by Andrew Spicer (2006; 2007b). Similarly, Terese Zachrisson (2019) discussed the problems with believers creating and using unofficial places of worship located along roads, in fields, or forests in early modern Lutheran Sweden. The higher-ranking clergy treated such unofficial temples with suspicion, as a sign of superstition or idolatry.

The very location of churches and other sacred sites and their influence on the surrounding space has also been the subject of separate studies. Referencing the example of pre-location Polish settlements such as Cracow, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Sandomierz and presumably Płock, Marian Morelowski (1966) hypothesised that monumental ecclesiastical and secular buildings were located along the most important roads in such a manner as to form the shape of a cross. Krzysztof Skwierczyński (1996) used his analysis of the location of churches in Polish bishopric seats in the eleventh and twelfth century to propose that they were arranged in space in a very intentional way to ensure that the central church was surrounded by a ring of ecclesiastical foundations, and in some cases, the churches would form a cross within the layout of the town space. Gábor Klaniczay's study was devoted to the analysis of the location of two sacred sites in medieval Buda – the Mountain of St. Gerard and the Margaret Island – and their influence on the town and its inhabitants (Klaniczay 2016). Hélène Noizet (2020) tried to analyse how medieval churches of a certain type, belonging to various orders, influenced the development of their surroundings, using the example of Paris between the ninth and nineteenth century.

3 Warsaw: War and Topography

The layout of seventeenth-century Warsaw was heterogeneous. It included: two royal towns with medieval origins located on the Vistula Scarp above the Vistula River, known as Stara Warszawa (Old Warsaw) and Nowa Warszawa (New Warsaw), vast areas of suburbs, and *jurydyki*¹³ – small privately-owned towns exempted from the jurisdiction of Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa whose owners included representatives of nobility and clergy, but also monasteries and hospitals. The beginnings of the development of nobility-held *jurydyki* precedes the outbreak of the war by a few years. Leszno was established in 1648, and Grzybów in 1650. By 1721, there were 16 *jurydyki* on the left bank of the Vistula and another two on its right bank (Radziwonka 2019, 52-8; Lileyko 1984, 26-7). There was also

13 *Jurydyki* (sing. *jurydyka*) were enclaves owned and ruled by entities other than the governing authorities of the town where a given *jurydyka* was located.

a noticeable size disproportion between the area of the royal towns (which together covered about 26 hectares) and the expanding suburbs and *jurydyki* (which together held a larger area than the two chartered towns combined) (Bogucka 1984a, 19).

The growing popularity of Warsaw was related to several decisions that facilitated its growth as a political centre. The meetings of the Warsaw *sejmik* (dietine) began to be held in Warsaw already in the sixteenth century. Both the general *sejmik* of the Masovian Voivodship and the general *sejm* (diète) were moved to Warsaw in 1569, and the elections of the new rulers of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were also held in the town's immediate vicinity. The final confirmation of the town's new central status came with the permanent transfer of the royal court to Warsaw. The move began in 1596, after the fire at the royal apartments at the Wawel Castle, and ended in 1611 (Bogucka 1984a, 13-14; Radziwonka 2019, 32; Wrede 2013). The presence of the royal court was a huge draw, attracting not only members of the political elite who built their own palaces in the suburbs of Warsaw, but also merchants, craftsmen, and servants. The number of permanent and temporary residents of Warsaw increased, the suburbs grew, taking up more and more space, with the number of new buildings rising in tandem. The town continued to expand in an almost uncontrolled manner until the start of the war, which heralded its material and demographic catastrophe.

The Second Northern War was initially fought between Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and did not have a religious basis. When the Swedish king, Charles X Gustav, invaded the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he counted on a quick coronation. However, as the conflict continued, religious antagonisms between the sides came to the fore, and the Protestant attackers were pitted against the Catholic defenders. The defence of the Pauline Monastery of Jasna Góra and the Lwów Oath of King John II Casimir, in which the king entrusted the Commonwealth to the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, became the symbols of resistance against the Swedish forces. The heightening of religious sentiments was also noticeable in Warsaw. Reportedly, during the town's siege by the Transylvanian army, the churches were filled with people receiving the sacrament of penance, and the sermons called for a fight against the heretical enemy (Wegner 1957, 132).

According to the literature on the subject, the areas located outside the town walls saw greatest damage to town buildings. The town of Nowa Warszawa and the suburbs of Stara Warszawa were hit most severely (it is estimated that in certain streets between 50% and 90% of the buildings were affected) (Przybyłek 2015, 283). In 1656, while preparing the defence against advancing Commonwealth troops, the Swedish army secured church buildings located outside town gates, incorporating them into the defence system, and

set fire to the suburbs around Stara Warszawa and the area of Nowa Warszawa, thus destroying local buildings (Bogucka 1984b, 181-3; Wegner 1957, 74-5). Similarly, the suburbs and Nowa Warszawa were damaged again during the siege of 1657, when the town, protected by Polish troops, was attacked by the Transylvanian army led by George II Rákóczi, an ally of Charles X Gustav. The Polish troops set fire to the Church of the Bernardine Fathers, which led to the destruction of not only the sacral buildings, but also the food supplies stored at the monastery – a move which accelerated the capitulation of the town (Bogucka 1984b, 185; Wegner 1957, 131-5). Post-war Warsaw consisted of Stara Warszawa surrounded by town walls and expanses of devastated areas filled with ruins and fire-ravaged land.

The war resulted not only in the destruction of buildings, but also in significant population losses. According to the most recent estimates, the number of the town's inhabitants may have dropped from 18,000 to 5-6,000 in 1659, i.e. to the level of about one third of the original population (Przybyłek 2015, 283). On the other hand, Eugeniusz Szwankowski's earlier findings were even more pessimistic. Szwankowski (1952, 78) argued that the population of the town fell to 10% of its pre-1655 population. The main reason which makes it difficult to have an accurate estimate of the scale of population losses is the destruction of archival records during World War II, which has rendered it impossible to determine the size of Warsaw's population before 1655. Wanda Szaniawska (1966, 130-5) estimated that the 1620 population of Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa, together with the suburbs under municipal jurisdiction, amounted to 8,000. Maria Bogucka (1983, 96-7), in turn, estimated that the population of the entire Warsaw complex (including Praga and Skaryszew) amounted to 25,000-30,000 residents. The upward trend was to continue until the outbreak of the war, as the royal court and noble manors and palaces attracted new residents to Warsaw, including people from outside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Kersten 1971, 115-23). The demographic recovery of Warsaw's population probably occurred very quickly after the Second Northern War. At the end of the seventeenth century, Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa combined might have been inhabited by about 20,000 people (Bogucka 1984b, 188-9).

The history of Warsaw in the seventeenth century in a nutshell: in the first half of the century, the town developed very rapidly, its area grew, as did its population and the number of buildings – all driven by the actions of the king and his family, secular and clergy dignitaries, and also municipal communes and the townspeople themselves. Then came the war, which cut down this growth, followed by a period of recovery and rebuilding.

4 Religious Denominations in Warsaw

The sacral space of seventeenth century Warsaw was dominated by Roman Catholic churches. The Jewish commune, which had a synagogue inside the walls of Stara Warszawa, was dissolved in 1527 by virtue of a privilege issued by King Sigismund I the Old (Ringelblum 1932, 28-33). Until the 1760s, Jewish migration to Warsaw was sporadic, and despite some individuals and groups' attempts to settle in the town, no new commune was established. In 1570, Sigismund II Augustus confirmed his father's privilege, but allowed Jews to stay in Warsaw during the *sejm* sessions (Ringelblum 2018, 5-6). This presence at the *sejm* was also connected with the Jewish community's links to the nobility. The Council of the Four Lands, which was the central body of Jewish self-government in the Polish Crown, forbade Jews to settle in Masovia, because their moving could deplete tax revenues for their current communes (Ringelblum 2018, 8).

The Warsaw Protestants did not manage to obtain permission to build their own temple. In the times of the Duchy of Masovia, in 1525, the Duke Janusz III issued a privilege which forbade promoting Luther's teachings in Masovia under the penalty of death and forfeiture of one's property to the ducal treasury (Schramm 1963, 557). In the second half of the sixteenth century, there were attempts to build an evangelical church, but they proved unsuccessful. In the following decades the services were held in private residences of Protestant (mostly Reformed) magnates and nobility, especially during the *sejm* sessions. The situation changed in the mid-seventeenth century, when the Warsaw Lutherans (officers of the royal guard, officials and servitors of the royal court, as well as merchants and craftspeople) made efforts to obtain permanent pastoral care and received help from Bogusław Radziwiłł, who agreed to set up a separate parish for Warsaw at the local Reformed Evangelical church in Węgrów, a town of his which was located about 70 km east of Warsaw. Another concession came in 1671 when the Bishop of Poznań, Stefan Wierzbowski, recognised the Protestant merchant and craftspeople of Warsaw's right to the cemetery situated in Leszno, and allowed for prayers and religious singing to be conducted at home (Kriegseisen 2008, 9-11). The number of Protestants in Warsaw did not begin to grow rapidly until the first half of the eighteenth century (77).¹⁴

¹⁴ To read more about the Warsaw Evangelicals in later periods, see: Kuc-Czerep 2021, 210-29; Stegner 1992; Stegner 1993.

5 Sources

In this article, I will focus on the reign of King John II Casimir Vasa, until his abdication in 1668. This decade was a key period for the reconstruction of Warsaw. It was also suggested at that time that the town's urban space should be reorganised in a more orderly manner (which did not come to pass, due to a complicated land ownership structure) (Bogucka 1984b, 188-90). The literature about Warsaw promotes the opinion that the town itself was basically rebuilt by 1670, and the following years constitute the period of its expansion (Szwankowski 1952, 78-9). A comparison of the following two sources will be used to reach the goal set for this analysis: *Rewizja Gospód Starej i Nowej Warszawy z 1659 r.*¹⁵ (Inspection of the Taverns of Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa of 1659) and *Rewizja Gospód Starej i Nowej Warszawy z 1669 r.*¹⁶ (Inspection of the Taverns of Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa of 1669). Editions of both these sources were published side by side in 1963 in a volume titled *Źródła do Dziejów Warszawy. Rejestry Podatkowe i Taryfy Nieruchomości* (Sources for the History of Warsaw. Tax Registers and Property Tariffs), which already suggests that they are interlinked. The same cannot be said about the manuscripts which were used as the basis of these editions. The 1659 Inspection is now part of unit no. 1431 in the Warsaw Town Books: Economic Fonds in The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. It contains unbound files, including: a list of real properties in Stara Warszawa and its suburbs from 1655, a fragment of the Masovian Voivodship inspection concerning the Warsaw starosties from 1660, an inspection and measurement in rods (*pręty*) of Warsaw streets for paving from around 1700, a fragment of the inspection of Stara Warszawa from 1722 and the inspection of Stara Warszawa from 1669. The last of the mentioned documents is stapled together with the inspection of 1659 (1659 Inspection, 156),¹⁷ which is of interest for this article. Taking into account the titles themselves, the subject matter of the documents collected in this unit focuses mainly on real properties in Stara Warszawa. On the other hand, the 1669 Inspection is based on a document constituting part of the code created for the Grand Marshal of the Crown, Józef Wandalin Mnisch (1670-1747), which is kept by the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow. In addition to the inspection, it includes documents regard-

15 Hereinafter: "1659 Inspection".

16 Hereinafter: "1669 Inspection".

17 WE, Warszawa-Ekonomiczne, ref. no. 1431, Warsaw: The Central Archives of Historical Records, digitalised copies are available on the Search the Archives website: <https://www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl/jednostka/-/jednostka/17726774>.

ing the functioning of marshal offices and the above-mentioned measurements (in rods) of Warsaw streets for paving from 1700. In this case, the unit in which the inspection is stored is focused on documents concerning the functioning of the office of the Grand Marshal of the Crown, which also covered matters related to accommodation. The publishers of both sources, Anna Sucheni-Grabowska and Hanna Szwankowska, noticed a similarity between *Rewizja Gospód Starej i Nowej Warszawy z 1669 r.* and the above-mentioned inspection of Stara Warszawa from 1669 kept in the Central Archives of Historical Records, and used the latter to correct errors made by the code's writer in the surnames (1669 Inspection, 201).

The publishers noted that the Inspections of 1659 and 1669 were similar in scope and focused primarily on recording the number of plots of land available for use, along with information about the entities authorised to allocate them to users. In 1659, the inspection was conducted while checking the town's condition after the war, and, in 1669, it was done for the approaching first *sejm* under the reign of the new king, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1659 Inspection, 157-8; 1669 Inspection, 198-201). The church buildings were recorded in the inspections as side notes, as recognisable points of reference in the urban space. The inspectors did not pay attention to the condition of the church buildings, their operation or even decommissioning, and they sometimes overlooked the locations of a small number of temples. The inspections are also similar because of their nature, as they both constitute physical inventories. The persons responsible for the inspections walked along certain streets, holding papers in their hands, and listed real properties they passed along the way. What is more, the edition of the documents links the places mentioned in the manuscript with the land and mortgage register numbers assigned to individual plots of land in 1784, which basically survive to this day (Sucheni-Grabowska 1963, 16). Consequently, it was possible to connect objects from the past with the currently existing ones. One of the goals of the HOUSE project also is to link information about objects that existed in the same places, such as plots.

In the case of both inspections, information about urban space was preserved by means of a long transmission: the data entered into the database is taken from the edition of sources that the publishers took from the manuscripts created as a result of the town's physical inspections.

6 Recreating the Sacred Urban Space of Warsaw

When judged in the context of the entire country, Warsaw was not a significant ecclesiastical centre. It was the seat of the Archdeaconry of Warsaw and an enclave of the Catholic Diocese of Poznań, directly bordering the Archdiocese of Gniezno and the Dioceses of Płock and Cracow. Warsaw itself was located near the border of the archdeaconry, while the area on the right bank of the Vistula was part of the Płock diocese (Nowacki 1964, 35-9). The highest-ranking church in the hierarchy was the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist, located within the walls of Stara Warszawa, which also served as a parish church and provided services to the king and his court (Putkowska 1991, 195). The second parish church of medieval origin, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, was located in Nowa Warszawa. In 1626, a third parish was established, with its seat in the Church of the Holy Cross in Krakowskie Przedmieście, until then, a filial church to the collegiate church (Nowacki 1964, 587). The Warsaw parish churches were located along the north-south line: the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Nowa Warszawa, the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist within the walls of Stara Warszawa, and the Church of the Holy Cross in Krakowskie Przedmieście. Warsaw's ecclesiastical topography was reorganised in the first half of the seventeenth century, during the reign of Sigismund III Vasa (1587-1632) and his son, Ladislaus IV Vasa (1632-48). Before this period, there were only six churches in the town. However, numerous foundations were established in Warsaw (mainly monasteries) before the Second Northern War, with new churches built in their vicinity. According to Jolanta Putkowska, wooden places of worship were built first (temporary free-standing chapels or churches), and brick churches were erected only at a later stage (Putkowska 1991, 184). By the outbreak of the war, there were 15 churches in total in Warsaw, and four more were under construction. Potentially, there could also have been some sort of temple next to the monastery of the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God in Leszno, and even though not much is known about it, for the purpose of this article I will assume that it existed.¹⁸ That gives 20 buildings in total. Taking into account the location of the individual churches, it is possible to distinguish four topographic units: Unit I within the walls of Stara Warszawa, Unit II in Nowa Warszawa, Unit III in the northern suburb of Stara Warszawa - from Freta Street, along Długa Street -, and Unit IV in Krakowskie Przedmieście. Unit I included the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist (a brick building), the

¹⁸ A. Kersten notes, maybe on the basis of the writings of Julian Bartoszewicz, that a wooden building and a monastery and the Church of Brothers Hospitallers were built in 1650 (Kersten 1971, 36; Bartoszewicz 1855, 233).

Church of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine (a brick building) and the Jesuit Church (a brick building). Unit II included: the parish Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary (a brick building), the Church of St. George of the Canons Regular of Czerwińsk (a brick building), the Church of St. Benno which belonged to the St. Benno's Brotherhood (a brick building), and the Franciscan Church (a wooden building). Unit III included: the Church of the Holy Spirit under the auspices of the town council of Stara Warszawa (a brick building) and the Dominican Church (a brick building), two Piarist churches (one wooden and one brick building under construction) and the Bridgettine Church (brick), which was under construction. Unit IV included the churches of Bernardine Fathers and Bernardine Sisters (both brick buildings) and the churches of the Discalced Carmelite Friars and Nuns under construction (both brick buildings), as well as the Visitationist Church (a wooden building) and the parish Church of the Holy Cross (a wooden building). Only the Church of the Franciscans Reformed at the Sigismund Embankment in Senatorska Street (a wooden building) and the Church of the Brothers Hospitallers in Leszno (probably a wooden building) remained peripheral to these units.

Churches located within the walls of Stara Warszawa survived with the least amount of damage. On the other hand, according to the inspection of royal estates of 1660, Nowa Warszawa was completely burnt down (Wawrzyńczak 1989, 29). The parish and Franciscan churches located in the area were most likely destroyed by fire as well, while the Church of St. Benno was damaged, but managed to avoid burning. The fate of the Church of St. George is unknown (Kałamajska-Saeed 2001, 2, 5, 25).¹⁹ The suburban Dominican church was damaged during the war and required renovation. What is more, two villages which constituted the endowment of the monastery were also destroyed, which limited the financial resources of the order after the war (Przybyłek 2015, 270; Kałamajska-Saeed 2001, 41). The Church of the Holy Spirit (turned into part of the town fortifications) and the Piarist monastery complex in Długa Street were also destroyed (Putkowska 1991, 230). However, the Bridgettine Church at the end of Długa Street, which had been under construction since 1652, got through the war unscathed.²⁰ On the southern side of Warsaw, the churches were either destroyed (churches of the Bernardines, the Discalced Carmelite Friars and Nuns, and the Visitationists) or damaged (churches of the Holy Cross and the Francis-

19 A different opinion was formed by Ryszard Mączyński (2008, 38) who believes that the buildings of the brick churches of Nowa Warszawa and the northern suburbs (the parish church of Nowa Warszawa, as well as the Church of St. Benno, St. George Church, St. Hyacinth Church, and the Church of the Holy Spirit) remained standing after the war, although they had been "chipped".

20 Putkowska 1991, 230.

cans Reformed) (Putkowska 1991, 230). It is possible that the Leszno buildings which belonged to the Brothers Hospitallers were also destroyed during the war (238).²¹ The condition of the Church of the Bernardine Sisters after the war is unknown. To sum up: all churches of Unit I survived the war with no significant damage; in Unit II, two churches were burnt down and had to be rebuilt, one was damaged, and the fate of one church is unknown; in Unit III one church was damaged, three were destroyed, and one suffered no significant damage; and in Unit IV one church was damaged, four were destroyed, and there is no data about one church. Of the two remaining churches, one was damaged and the other destroyed.

When discussing the presence of churches in the post-war space of Warsaw, it should be noted that each of the sources taken into account covered a different area of the town. While their core is common (including Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa, the suburb from Freta Street through Długa Street, and Krakowskie Przedmieście), the scope of coverage of the Warsaw suburbs varies across the documents. In the context of the study of Warsaw churches, the most important issue is the fact that the buildings in Leszno appear in the 1669 Inspection, but are not recorded in the 1659 Inspection, so there is no information on the monastery buildings of the Brothers Hospitallers two years after their last occupation. The table below summarises information on the recorded churches, and where no church was noted, it indicates which other object of a given congregation was registered or notes that it was not included in a given document. Buildings which were funded after the date of a given source are entered into the table with the “not applicable” annotation.

Table 1 Own work, based on the 1659 Inspection and the 1669 Inspection

No.	Church	Topographic unit	1659 Inspection	1669 Inspection
1	Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist	I	church	church
2	Jesuit Church	I	church	church
3	Augustinian Church	I	church	church
4	Parish church of BVM	II	church	church
5	Church of St. Benno	II	church	church
6	Franciscan Church	II	church	new church, old church
7	Church of St. George of the Canons Regular	II	church	not included

²¹ A. Kersten (1971, 97) mentions a Carmelite church in Leszno as one of the churches destroyed during the war. The order was brought to Leszno in 1677, and the church was built in 1683-1731. The author may have meant the Brothers Hospitallers.

No.	Church	Topographic unit	1659 Inspection	1669 Inspection
8	Dominican Church	III	church	church
9	Church of the Holy Spirit	III	church	church
10	Piarist Church I	III	not included	house
11	Piarist Church II	III	not included	house
12	Bridgettine Church	III	church	church
13	Church of the Bernardine Sisters	IV	church	church
14	Church of the Bernardine Fathers	IV	not included	church
15	Church of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns	IV	two empty plots	church
16	Church of the Discalced Carmelite Friars	IV	church	church
17	Visitationist Church	IV	monastery	church
18	Parish church of the Holy Cross of the Vincentians	IV	church	small church
19	Church of the Franciscans Reformed		indication of the direction: "from the Bernardine Reformers"	church
20	Church of the Brothers Hospitallers in Leszno		not applicable	small monastery
21	Church of the Brothers Hospitallers in the suburb		not applicable	monastery

Information presented above leads to the conclusion that despite the extensive damage brought by the war to the urban and suburban buildings, most of the Warsaw churches which had existed before this conflict (nos 1-20) remained identifiable in 1659 and 1669. The 1659 Inspection mentioned 13 churches directly, and the 1669 Inspection listed 17. According to the first document, in 1659, the non-existent churches include the unfinished Church of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns (the inspection mentions only an empty square where the entire monastery complex used to stand) and the Visitationist Church (only the monastery was recorded in the inspection). Furthermore, the Franciscan Reformers were mentioned twice as a point of reference for the chosen direction, without any specific mentions of any of their properties, and the churches of the Piarists and Bernardine Fathers were not included in the inspection. On the other hand, in 1669, the following churches can be classified as non-existent: the Piarist Church (only a house is mentioned) and the Church of the Brothers Hospitallers (the inspection records the order's old monastery in Leszno and a new one in the suburbs). The inspection ignores the Church of St. George, which still existed at that time, but

records that the land belonging to the provostry of this church on Świętojska Street was built-up (1669 Inspection, 557).

Identifying the location of pre-war and post-war churches is another issue that has to be taken into consideration. Most of the churches destroyed or devastated during the war were rebuilt in the same places or on the same plots of land. In Warsaw, there were only two cases of significant transfers of foundations: the Discalced Carmelite Nuns and the Brothers Hospitallers. The buildings which belonged to the Carmelite Nuns were completely destroyed. The founders' daughter, Helena Tekla née Ossoliński, and her husband, Aleksander Lubomirski, decided to renew the foundation in 1661 and, a year later, moved it into part of the Kazanowski Palace adjacent to the Bernardine Fathers monastery. The fact that the church is mentioned as located in the new place as early as in 1669 is interesting because, as was established in the literature of the subject, the actual construction of the Church of St. Teresa of the Discalced Carmelite Sisters did not begin until 1696-99 (Lorentz 1962, 64; 1669 Inspection, 251; Putkowska 1991, 233). It indicates that the afore-mentioned church could have been a temporary, wooden temple.

The Church of the Brothers Hospitallers changed its location for different reasons. The order's monastery was founded in 1650 in the *jurydyka* of Leszno by its owner, Bogusław Leszczyński. The Brothers Hospitallers themselves decided to change its location and, after signing an agreement with Tobiasz Morsztyn, moved to a plot of land located on the road between Krakowskie Przedmieście and the Grzybów *jurydyka*. In return, the Hospitallers promised to build a family mausoleum within the new church. According to the literature on the subject, the construction of the church was to begin in 1665, but the inspectors did not register such a building in 1669. On the other hand, the construction was never completed. After Tobiasz Morsztyn's death, his brother, Jan Andrzej, became the sponsor, but when he was forced to flee Poland for political reasons, the construction stopped. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Brothers Hospitallers were moved again and were granted new buildings (Putkowska 1991, 211-13).

Other churches and monastic complexes indicate greater permanence of the link between the location and the sacred space. It was not unknown in Warsaw for a monastery to be planned for one place and, for various reasons, change its location, and later, once it began operating, to become almost permanently attached to the latter location. The Discalced Carmelite Friars were to arrive in the town as early as in 1622, but their assigned plot of land ultimately became the site of the Franciscan Reformers' monastery. Eventually, the Friars came to Warsaw in 1637, and from 1639, they used a wooden chapel located next to the monastery. Although the church under construction was destroyed during the war, the Carmelites were still linked

to the same plot (Lorentz 1962, 27). The Piarists' history is similar. They were invited by King Ladislaus IV in 1642 and meant to settle in Nowa Warszawa. However, these plans were thwarted by the resistance of the local parish priest and the Jesuit order. Consequently, the Piarists were moved to Długa Street, where they temporarily moved into already existing wooden buildings. The plans for the expansion of the complex included an addition of a wooden church and a second, small, brick church dedicated to Saints Primus and Felician, patrons of the date of the king's birthday, whose relics were gifted to the monks by the ruler. Due to problems with the terrain, the construction of a brick church was very cost-intensive and was never completed. The last mention of the brick church comes from 1648 and indicates that the construction was in danger of falling apart. In 1646, however, a wooden church was put into use (Samsonowicz 1990, 92-6; Nowacki 1964, 771). Despite the complete destruction of the entire Piarist complex, the Piarists returned to their plot of land after the war, and reportedly started building a new brick church there in 1660 (Putkowska 1991, 209-10). As in the case of the Brothers Hospitallers, the 1669 Inspection does not mention any Piarist churches.

The Franciscans are the last example of an order moving its foundation site at an early stage. They were brought to Nowa Warszawa in 1646 on the initiative of members of the royal court of Ladislaus IV. They sold the plot they had originally received and bought a new one on the corner of Zakroczymska Street, where a church and a monastery were built in 1646 (Kałamajska-Saeed 2001, 25). After the war, the buildings were reconstructed on the same site, despite the destruction of the entire monastery complex. The fact that the Franciscan Church was the only wooden church in Nowa Warszawa facilitated its quick reconstruction. In this case, it is worth noting the interchangeability of successive buildings fulfilling the same function. The 1659 Inspection mentions a church that was rebuilt after the war, while the 1669 Inspection mentions two: the old one located deep within the plot and the new one located closer to the market square (the new one was mentioned twice in the inspection) (1669 Inspection, 221, 224). This stage of the history of Franciscan buildings is usually missing from the literature on the subject. The volume of *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* (Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland) which describes this building provides information only about the construction of the church, its subsequent destruction, the construction of a new wooden church in 1662-63 (i.e. the second church mentioned in 1669) and its dismantling once a brick church was constructed after 1679 (Kałamajska-Saeed 2001, 25). The period in which two wooden Franciscan churches existed on that plot has been forgotten.

7 Methodological Comment

This begs the question: what makes it possible for certain buildings which exist in different periods to be classified as the same object? In our work on the ontology, we assumed that one such determinant is the ontology type - if it does not change, the object remains the same. This condition was met by the Warsaw churches before and after the Second Northern War and the type continuity was maintained. It should be noted that type is understood broadly. For example, after the Second Northern War, the Holy Spirit Church in Warsaw, previously under the patronage of the town council of Stara Warszawa, was in 1662 handed over by King John II Casimir to the Pauline Fathers for their services during the war (Kersten 1971, 68). This is also reflected in the inspections - in 1659, it is simply called the Church of the Holy Spirit, and in 1669, it is already referred to as the Church of the Holy Spirit of the Fathers of Częstochowa. However, this change did not affect the type (the church continued to function as a church although its affiliation changed), so the object remained the same.

The second important determinant is the location - if the type and location of objects are the same at different times, then they are classified as the same object. The example of the church, or rather churches, of the Warsaw Franciscans, shows that this requirement is not easy to fulfil. The Franciscan churches constitute several objects that inherit their function from one another and replace each other over time, which can also be traced in the database. This is a different approach than the one adopted by such publications as the Catalogue of Art Monuments in Poland series, where an existing building is the actual object, and the buildings that existed beforehand constitute, in a way, its variants. The object becomes an idea of sorts which is present in space through buildings existing at different times.

As for the destroyed church buildings reconstructed after the war, the continuity of the place was easier to maintain in the case of brick structures. The parish Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Church of Bernardine Fathers in Krakowskie Przedmieście were burned down during the war, but their remaining walls were used during the restoration and extension of the buildings (Putkowska 1991, 190-2). However, in the case of destroyed wooden objects, it was easier to create a new object that inherited the functions of its predecessor in a slightly different place within the same plot of land. In the case of churches which were completely destroyed during the war, the list of objects which were reconstructed on the basis of the remains and represented a direct continuity of the object includes: the parish Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Church of the Holy Spirit, the Church of the Bernardine Fathers and the Church of the Discalced Carmelite Friars. On the other hand, in the case of the Piarist Church, the Church of the Discalced Carmelite

Nuns, the Visitationist Church, and the Church of the Brothers Hospitallers, the buildings destroyed during the war were replaced with completely new ones.

Table 2 Own work

No.	Church	Objects before the war	Objects after the war
1	Parish Church of BVM	brick	brick
2	Franciscan Church	wooden	two new wooden ones
3	Church of the Holy Spirit	brick	brick
4	Piarist Church	a wooden one and a brick one under construction	new, brick
5	Church of the Bernardine Fathers	brick	brick
6	Church of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns	a brick one under construction	a new one, possibly wooden
7	Church of the Discalced Carmelite Friars	a brick one under construction	continuation of the construction of the brick church
8	Visitationist Church	wooden	new, brick
9	Church of the Brothers Hospitallers	wooden	the beginning of the construction of a new brick church

The next element of the description is the name of the object. It does not have to be constant – a given object may have different names at different times, and may also be called differently depending on the context or the person describing the space. For this reason, the database distinguishes between basic names, the official ones for given objects in a specific period, and secondary names, which are synonyms defining the object. The names of the churches appearing in the inspections of 1659 and 1669 refer mainly to the orders they served (hence the Jesuit Church or the Church of the Bernardine Sisters, etc.) without naming the church's *patrocinium*. There is one exception to this rule in the 1659 Inspection – the Church of St. Martin, which appears without reference to the Order of the Augustinian Hermits which in 1669 is already called the Church of the Augustinian Fathers. *Patrocinia* are provided mainly for parish churches and the Church of St. Benno which belonged to the St. Benno's Brotherhood. Hence, the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist is referred to as the Church of St. John in the inspections, and the parish church in Nowa Warszawa, as the Church of the Virgin Mary (1659) and the parochial (*farny*) Church of the Virgin Mary (1669). *Patrocinia* are also used in reference to churches whose origins or genealogy are older than the religious orders to which they were grant-

ed. This is the case of the parish Church of the Holy Cross, which derives from the sixteenth-century chapel of the same *patriocinium*, and which became the seat of the parish in 1627. In 1651, the Vincen-tians arrived in Warsaw in response to the invitation of Queen Marie Louise and took patronage over this church from the townspeople of Stara Warszawa (Putkowska 1991, 233; Nowacki 1964, 772). Nevertheless, in both inspections, the church is identified primarily by its *patriocinium*, and in the 1669 version, there was an additional reference to the fact that it belonged to the Vincentians. Moreover, the only reference to the size of the building which appeared in the 1669 Inspection concerned this very church, as it was referred to as a “small church” (*kościółek*) of the Holy Cross.

The Bridgettine Church was treated in a similar manner. In 1622, the Bridgettines settled near the existing municipal Chapel of the Holy Trinity, which they ultimately took over, and the church they built inherited the *patriocinium* from its predecessor (Borkowska 1997, 256-7; 2010, 321; Nowacki 1964, 776). Hence, in 1659, the church is referred to as the Holy Trinity Church, and the monastery as the monastery “of the Bridgettine Ladies” (*pań brygidek*), while, in 1669, the whole complex is recorded as the Church and Monastery of St. Brigid, the Holy Trinity. The name of the afore-mentioned Church of the Holy Spirit was supplemented in 1669 with information about the Pauline Order and was recorded as the Church of the Holy Spirit of the Fathers of Częstochowa.

It is more difficult to determine who exactly invested in the reconstruction of Warsaw’s churches during the reign of John II Casimir. More information is available for the later period, lasting until the end of the seventeenth century. Construction work was carried out throughout the period, expanding the existing churches and replacing wooden buildings with new brick ones. In the case of churches which belonged to religious orders, their post-war renewal depended mostly on the congregations and the resources they collected. In the case of the Franciscans, the construction of a brick church began in 1679, when the monks obtained funds from King Jan III Sobieski and Adam Kotowski, the pantler of Wyszogród (Putkowska 1991, 219). Similarly, the Bernardine Fathers could continue the reconstruction of the church after receiving financial support from the castellan of Wojnicz, Jan Wielopolski, in 1663 (Putkowska 1991, 191, 194; Murawiec 1973, 42-3). King Jan II Casimir provided financial support for the reconstruction of the Church of the Discalced Carmelite Friars (Lorentz 1962, 27-8, 33), and Queen Marie Louise provided aid to the Visitationists who helped them construct a new brick church in 1664 (Putkowska 1991, 233).

The townspeople’s participation in the reconstruction efforts is noticeable primarily through the transfer of funds for the reconstruction of the parish Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Nowa War-

szawa, which lasted until around 1690 (Kałamajska-Saeed 2001, 2; Putkowska 1991, 190), the St. Benno's Brotherhood providing funds for the renovation of the Church of St. Benno (Kałamajska-Saeed 2001, 10; Mączyński 2008, 39-42), or financing a new bell and repair of the belfry at the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist, which was destroyed during the occupation (Przybytek 2015, 271). The townspeople probably took part in collections conducted by various congregations, but the difficult post-war economic situation meant that their donations did not make a significant contribution to the reconstruction. The reconstruction of Warsaw churches was founded mainly by the ruling family and the representatives of the political elite who were the founders of various congregations.

8 Summary

The aim of the article was to check, based on the example of post war Warsaw, how the process of restoring churches in the urban space looked like and what was the impact of the extensive war damage on the continuity and durability of sacred urban space. The ecclesiastical topography of Warsaw, which was developed in the first half of the seventeenth century, proved to be extremely durable. There were 20 churches in Warsaw before the Second Northern War, including the ones which were still under construction. The ones which suffered the least damage were the three churches located within the town walls (the Collegiate Church of St. John the Baptist, the Augustinian Hermit Church, and the Jesuit Church) and the Church of the Holy Trinity of the Bridgettines, located on the town's periphery. Nine other churches were destroyed and four were severely damaged. There is no data about the condition of the two other churches. The reconstruction of the church infrastructure began almost immediately after the end of the hostilities. Thirteen churches are listed directly in the 1659 Inspection, and 17 are mentioned in the 1669 Inspection. Almost all churches have been restored on the plots of lands which are related to their original locations. The exceptions were: the Church and Monastery of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns, which were completely destroyed and moved by the founders to a completely new place, and the Monastery of the Brothers Hospitallers who, on their own initiative, moved closer to the centre of the town. In Warsaw, anchoring a church in a specific, permanent space was usually associated with the beginning of its operation. The order's arrival in the town could precede the choice of a place for their church or monastery. In the case of the Piarists, their chosen foundation site was contested and they moved to Długa Street, and the Franciscans decided to exchange the plot of land they had been given for another on their own. This persistent connection between specific places in the town

and the church buildings contrasts with the literature on the subject, which often included a view that ownership of secular plots underwent significant changes and the burghers' properties were taken over by the nobility (Bogucka 1984b, 190-3).

A similar process took place in Orléans after the end of the Huguenot rule. The restoration of the Catholic churches aimed not only to reconstruct the destroyed buildings, but also to return them to operation. After the period of destruction, the restoration of churches was also meant to symbolise the triumph of Catholicism and highlight its dominant role in the town and the state (Spicer 2007a, 268). Churches were not only places of worship, but also symbols of the domination of one religion, arriving after the period of unrest. In Warsaw, the church buildings emphasised the mono-confessional nature of the central town of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (at least in the context of build-up areas). Churches, as well as their construction and restoration, are inextricably linked with political and state events. The very restoration of the destroyed churches signified the triumph of Catholics over Protestants.

The continuity of functioning of individual churches was analysed in terms of the object description elements such as the type, location, and name of the object, which are used in the UrbanOnto ontology. No building which was classified as a "church" type before the war changed its type classification in the post-war period (if it still existed or was restored to operation). The churches destroyed during the war were treated in two ways: the buildings were either reconstructed in the same place using the remains of the original structures, which makes the pre-war and rebuilt objects the same, and maintains the continuity of the object, or they were replaced with new buildings (built on the same plot of land or in a completely different place) which inherited functions and names from their predecessors. It should be noted that the names could be unofficial ones, such as the Franciscan Church or the Carmelite Nuns Church. In this case, continuity is maintained by transferring the properties of the old church to a new building. The church names used in the discussed inceptions of 1659 and 1669 are predominantly meant to link churches and chapels to the correct order, which serves as their primary identification. The *patrocinia* are applied to churches other than monastery churches (parish churches, brotherhood's churches) or those that were granted to specific orders and whose *patrocinia* functioned for a long time as identifiers (such as the Church of the Holy Spirit which was given to the Paulines or the Chapel of Holy Trinity which was given to the Bridgettines).

The initiators of the reconstruction and expansion of churches were primarily the country's rulers and their families, as well as the noble elite and the orders themselves. Despite the war damage, these groups were able to collect funds to restore the destroyed or damaged church-

es to operation in the town space. The town, both the communes of Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa and individual residents, did not play a significant role in these efforts, which is the result of economic and demographic devastation brought by the war. Although there are records of individual bequests left to parish churches in Stara Warszawa and Nowa Warszawa or people participating in collections for the reconstruction of specific churches, the financial needs related to the construction of the church exceeded the financial capacity of municipal communes and the town's residents. It is worth emphasising that there were no new church foundations in Warsaw in the post-war period during the rule of Jan II Casimir. The only royal initiatives related to changes in the church network in Warsaw were related to bringing new orders to already existing places of worship: the Pauline Fathers to the Church of the Holy Spirit and the Observant Dominicans to the Moscow Chapel (Nowacki 1964, 764). The example of Warsaw visualised that in the face of the extensive destruction of churches in the urban space, the most important thing was to recreate the state from the pre-war period, then to create new church buildings in new places and reorganise the sacred urban space.

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