

MARIA KONIECZNA, The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow
ORCID: 0000-0002-8180-4662 (doctoral student)
maria.konieczna@interia.pl

THE CARMELITES OF THE ANCIENT OBSERVANCE AND ST. STEPHEN PARISH IN KRAKOW IN THE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES

ABSTRACT: Towards the end of the 18th century the authorities of the Austrian invaders of Poland made the decision to pull down the St Stephen Parish Church in Krakow and then to transfer the parish to the Church of the Carmelites of the Ancient Observance “na Piasku”. For over a hundred years two church communities coexisted under one roof and ran their own separate activities. At first the cooperation went well. With time, it became weaker and after several years, it turned into an open conflict. The issue involved church and lay institutions as well as the general public. Numerous attempts undertaken for years in order to resolve the dispute were not effective.

KEYWORDS: The Carmelite Order of the Ancient Observance, St Stephen Church, the Carmelite Church “Na Piasku”, Krakow.

Year 1797 marked the beginning of the coexistence of two ecclesiastical communities – the Carmelites of the former Observance, popularly referred to as the Carmelites “na Piasku”, and St Stephen’s parish in Krakow. At that time, by a decision of the Austrian authorities, the church in Szczepański Square was to be demolished and the parish of St Stephen was to be moved to the Carmelite Church on Karmelicka Street. Over the years, this initially promising cooperation turned into an open conflict engaging ecclesiastical and secular institutions and public opinion. What began was a period of almost thirty years of difficult relations between the two communities, which were forced to function in one church. The following article is an attempt to describe the course of the conflict that lasted for more than a century and to show endeavours at resolving it. This issue has not been addressed so far, although such relationships between two religious communities have not been exceptional.¹ While touching on

¹ The Grey Nuns (the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paulo) were in a similar situation, who for more than a century, shared a church with the

this topic, we can pose a number of research questions, nonetheless, these would require deeper study.

The archival materials concerning this issue are scattered and are located in several archives. The largest number of documents has been collected in the Archives of the Carmelite Fathers in Krakow. One of the most interesting documents is *Memoriał w sprawie Zgromadzenia OO. Karmelitów na Piasku przeciw Parafii św. Szczepana o realność* (Memorandum regarding the Congregation of the Carmelites in Piasek against the Parish of St Stephen on the actualities) from 1895 describing the issue from the point of view of the Carmelite Fathers. Some of the archival materials enabling us to have a broader view of the issue can be found in the Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow, and in the National Archives in Krakow.

One of the elements of the partitioning policy of Austria, Prussia and Russia after the partition of the Polish lands was the liquidation of the Polish monasteries and churches. Krakow was also not exempted from such fate. One of the first monasteries in the city which was liquidated was the Carmelite monastery of the former Observance at the Church of St Thomas on Szpitalna Street. Subsequently, the following monasteries were dissolved: the monastery of the Holy Spirit at the Church of the Holy Spirit, the Trinitarian Monastery in Kazimierz, the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre in Stradom, two monasteries of the Discalced Carmelites, and the monastery of Canons Regular of Penance at St Mark's Church in Krakow. Apart from the monasteries, churches were also liquidated – among them the Church of St Matthew's in Szczepański Square, St Jadwiga's Church at Stradom, the Church of St Philip and St James in Kleparz, St Peter's in Grabary and St Michael's and St George's on the Wawel Hill.²

Greek Catholic parish in Marijampolė by order of the secular authorities. See: J. Marecki, *Stuletnia „walka” o świątynię w Mariampolu* (in print).

² See: A. Bruździński, *Kasaty klasztorów męskich w Krakowie na przełomie XVIII i XIX*, [in:] *Kasaty klasztorów na obszarze dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i na Śląsku na tle procesów sekularyzacyjnych w Europie*, vol. 1, Wrocław 2014, pp. 150-156; P. Gach, *Kasaty zakonów na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i Śląska 1773-1914*, Lublin 1984; D. Rederowa, *Studia nad wewnętrznymi dziejami Krakowa porozbiorowego (1796-1809)*, p. 1, „Rocznik Krakowski”, vol. 34, 1958, p. 174; W. Chotkowski, *Ks. Prymasa Poniatowskiego spustoszenia kościelne w Krakowie: przyczynek do dziejów Uniwersytetu*, Kraków 1918; M. Rożek, *Nieistniejący kościół św. Szczepana w Krakowie*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, R. 34, 1974, p. 215;

Such was also the fate of St Stephen's Church, located in the square now known as Szczepański Square, and which was one of the Krakow's largest parishes, and which was erected at the end of the 13th century. Almost until the end of the 16th century it was administered by the diocesan clergy and was under the royal patronage. In 1579, the parish was entrusted to the Jesuits, and in the mid-18th century to the Krakow Academy.³ At the end of the 18th century, the church was dilapidated and neglected.⁴ In December 1786, a decree was issued announcing the liquidation of the church, and a copy of the decree nailed to the church door. In April of the following year, a hearing was held before the consistory court, which stipulated that the church was to be completely demolished and barracks were to be built in its place.⁵ By decree of the Austrian authorities of 17 August 1797, the parish of St Stephen's was to be moved to the Carmelite Church "na Piasku".⁶

The Carmelites arrived in Krakow from Bohemian Prague in 1397. King Władysław Jagiełło and Queen Jadwiga organised their arrival and were the founders of the church and monastery "in Piasek". The monks were endowed with royal privileges and received numerous legations from the inhabitants of various parts of the town.⁷ The church, built at that time outside the walls of Krakow, was severely damaged in 1587 during the siege of the town by Archduke Maximilian, and subsequently during

B. W a n a t, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce. Klasztory Karmelitów i Karmelitanek Bosych 1605-1975*, Kraków 1979, pp. 69, 108, 199-200.

³ M. R o ż e k, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216, 222.

⁴ According to Emanuel Murray, the author of the monograph about Krakow, the church "is almost collapsing from an old age and there is nothing to attract attention, perhaps some of its hardly worthy gravestones". See: K. E s t r e i c h e r, *Emanuela Murraya Opisanie Krakowa a literatura o Krakowie i plan Kolltątajowski*, „Rocznik Krakowski”, vol. 48, 1977, p. 125.

⁵ A. Z a b i e l s k a, *Architektura i sztuka zburzonego kościoła świętego Szczepana w Krakowie*, Kraków 2011, p. 23. Ultimately, the plans to build barracks were not fulfilled. See: D. R e d e r o w a, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.

⁶ AKKr 838/481, *Memoriał w sprawie Zgromadzenia OO. Karmelitów na Piasku przeciw Parafii św. Szczepana o realność pod lk. 68/75 dz. IV w Krakowie*, p. 2; S. C h o j n a c k i, *Zarys dziejów kościoła i klasztoru OO. Karmelitów w Krakowie na Piasku ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem XIX i XX wieku*, manuscript in the collection of the Carmelites, p. 69.

⁷ T. T r a j d o s, *Fundacja klasztoru Karmelitów Trzewickowych na Piasku w Krakowie*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, vol. 60, 1983, pp. 100-10; J. W y r o z u m s k i, *Fundacja klasztoru OO. Karmelitów na Piasku*, „Rocznik Krakowski”, vol. 77, 2011, pp. 100-103.

the Swedish invasion of 1655.⁸ From the 16th century onwards, a cult of the miraculous image of Our Lady of Mount Carmel commenced to develop there, which attracted numerous pilgrims.

After the announcement of the decree ordering the relocation of St Stephen's parish to the church "na Piasku", talks commenced that referred to the formulation of the rules for the co-existence of the two church communities. In September and November 1797, pre-arrangements were agreed on with the representatives of the West Galician Governorate and the consistory. These predominantly concerned the placement of priests, the allocation of sacristies and temporary rooms for the equipment from St Stephen's Church. According to these arrangements, the priests were to live in the former Carmelite novitiate building at number 75.⁹ The house had to be adapted appropriately for new inhabitants – the monks proposed bricking up the entrance from the novitiate to the monastery corridor, and extracting a new external entrance to the building. The building was to be repaired with parish or public funds, whereas the costs of maintaining the church remained in the hands of the monks. Only the costs of repairing the church bell and organs were to be shared equally. In the adopted arrangements, the prior insisted that the parish priest had no jurisdiction over the church. It was decided that the Bracka chapel was to be used as a sacristy, and its vault was to store items from St Stephen's Church.¹⁰ The parish was also given a main altar and two side altars. The offerings from the trays were to be shared equally. Efforts were also taken to regulate liturgical matters – on Sundays and feast days monks were to celebrate one Mass sung for the benefactors of the monastery, after vespers they were to sing "Salve Regina" in the church and the Litany of Loreto in the chapel. They were also to celebrate votive masses at the main altar on the indulgence days and octaves of St Mary, the feast of St Elijah, St Mary

⁸ W. Włodarczyk, *Kościół Karmelitów na Piasku*, „Rocznik Krakowski”, vol. 36, 1963, p. 132.

⁹ More about the building itself, see: Ł. Szatanek, *Co pozostało z nowicjatu Karmelitów przy ulicy Garbarskiej w Krakowie*, „Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa”, vol. 36, 2018, pp. 75-84.

¹⁰ AKKr 836/A25, *Kopie dotyczące się kościoła i części klasztoru Nowicjatem zwanego dla Proboszcza od Szczepana na mieszkanie 1801 odebranego klasztorowi*; AKKr 100/23, *Copia Intimationis circa transferendam Parochiam cum adclusis meadem duobus Comissionis per acta Protocollis*, k. 173-179.

Magdalene de Pazzi and St Simon Stock.¹¹ The above arrangements were confirmed by a governorate decree of 20 September 1801. Both documents obliged the parish to pay rent for the use of the house at No. 75, which was to amount to 500 zlotys a year.¹²

On 11 October 1801, the last service was held at St Stephen's Church. On the second day, the relics of the saints were moved to the Carmelite church in a solemn procession. Some of the church equipment were also moved and the remaining equipment was to be publicly auctioned.¹³

As has been mentioned, the cost of repairing a damaged and unusable former Carmelite novitiate building was to be incurred from the reparation fund of St Stephen's rectory or general city funds, therefore the municipal authorities were to restore the house. The parish priest and his vicars moved in after the renovation probably at the end of 1804 or early 1805.¹⁴

In 1812, Bishop Andrzej Gawroński¹⁵, referring to the decreasing number of monks, decided to take over the Carmelite monastery and incorporate its property to the parish. This decision was then fully supported by the provincial of the Carmelites. At the beginning of September 1812, he sent a letter regarding this fusion, justifying it with the decreasing number of monks. Nonetheless, he stressed that such a fusion could be effectuated provided that the number of monks would fall to two persons.¹⁶ According to the bishop's letter, the number of monks decreased then to three persons. Consequently, in order to provide proper service to the parishioners and pilgrims, the bishop proposed to increase the number of diocesan priests, yet a place to live was to be found for them. In the letter to the Holy See of 18 September 1812,

¹¹ B. Tomaszewski, *Dzieje klasztoru OO. Karmelitów na Piasku w Krakowie*, Kraków 1970, a manuscript in the collection of the Carmelites, pp. 99-100. It should be emphasised that the rhythm of the liturgical life of the monks was not always the same as the liturgical rites of the diocesan clergy.

¹² AKKr 838/481, pp. 3-5.

¹³ D. Rederowa, *op. cit.*, p. 108; A. Zabiel ska, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-29.

¹⁴ AKKr 838/481, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵ Bishop Andrzej Gawroński (1740-1813), Jesuit, Bishop of Krakow in the years 1804-1813. See: J. Poplatek, *Andrzej Gawroński (1740-1813)*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 7, Kraków 1948-1958, pp. 323-324; K. Prokop, *Poczet biskupów krakowskich*, Kraków 1999, pp. 209-214.

¹⁶ ANK 29/68/0/2/27, A letter of the provincial father Alojzy Bartosiewicz to bishop Gawroński, Kraków 1 September 1812, k. 365-368.

the bishop asked that the entire endowment of the church and monastery, together with the revenues, be incorporated into the parish of St Stephen's and that the monastic church be changed to a diocesan.¹⁷ The bishops request was approved in December 1812 by Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna¹⁸ and an authorising decree by the Saxon King Frederick August.¹⁹ On 1 February 1813, Bishop Gawroński issued a decree of the suppression of the Carmelite monastery "na Piasku" and the fusion of its funds with those of the parish.²⁰ A decision of Bishop Gawroński was probably an attempt to save the monastery from possible claims of the Austrian authorities and possible confiscation of the monastic property. This is what Bishop Karol Skórkowski suggested when, in 1832, he formally

¹⁷ "The congregation, owing to recent circumstances, has been reduced to three priests who are able to do this kind of work, and there is no hope that this number will ever increase, especially since for a long time now there have been no novices nor directors to train them in religious discipline. Therefore, in order that the intention of the religious foundations was not lost, due to the negligence of the obligations imposed on the monastery, and the visiting people were not deprived of the services of the clergy, the undersigned Bishop of Krakow decided that their church and monastery, together with its endowment and all its revenues, be incorporated and forever integrated in St Stephen's parish". AKKr 836/A25, A copy of the letter of Bishop Andrzej Gawroński to the Pope, Kraków 18 September 1812; ANK 29/68/0/2/27, A letter of Bishop Andrzej Gawroński to the Ministry of the Interior and Religious Affairs, Kraków 18 September 1812, k. 345-352.

¹⁸ AKKr 836/A25, A copy of the letter of Archbishop of Viterbo and Tuscany, Apostolic Nuncio, Vienna 26 December 1812. Apostolic Nuncio committed the bishop to requesting for a papal bull enabling them to take over the Carmelite Church by the diocesan clergy.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, The certified extract from the Protocol of the Secretary of State, Dresden 11 January 1813.

²⁰ "We are converting the church of the Carmelite Fathers, where all parish foundations have been held since 1801, into a secular parish. [...] the Carmelite monastery with all its buildings, an adjoining garden and the Narama, Naręba manor, with its capital, lands, fields, rents, with all its endowments, property, crops, income, revenue, Confraternities of the Holy Scapular and of St Ursula, rights, privileges, benefits and advantages of every name, nature, species, quality and quantity, whatever they may be, all names, nature, species, quality and quantity, however they may be expressed, which the Carmelites used and possessed, with all their assets, equipment, vault, church apparatus to the funds of the church of St Stephen and the church herein, now changed into a parish church. We incorporate, integrate and appropriate it in such a way that these church funds will be combined into one, or more specifically, the parish funds of St Stephen", *Ibidem*, a copy of the letter of Bishop Andrzej Gawroński, Kraków 1 February 1813.

restored the Carmelites.²¹ The suppression, as it was mentioned, was to be effectuated only when the number of members of the convent would amount to two. Since this did not happen, it was not formally implemented.

The parishioners protested against signing the decision on suppression. In 1827, a representative of the monks forwarded a letter to the High Representative Chamber of the Free and Neutral City of Krakow, in which he wrote, among other things: "It cannot be assumed that the Order moved from Prague to Krakow in 1397 by the Great King Jagiełło and Jadwiga His Wife in 1397, generously endowed by the King's, should collapse! [...] Do not allow the Carmelites to fall, but attempt to preserve them according to the rule of law and secure their further existence".²² Although suppression was not ultimately formalised, the monastery and the church were in the hands of the diocesan clergy for 17 years, that is from the time the decree was issued by Bishop Gawroński.²³

On 27 September 1829, an agreement was signed between the parish and the Carmelites. It was decided that pastoral care in St Stephen's parish would be provided by the vicars from the order, who were to be maintained by the monastery, but who were to be subordinate to the monastery in pastoral matters. The Carmelites complied with these conditions, but due to the difficulty of the provision of six, as stipulated in the agreement, the Carmelites agreed temporarily to three diocesan vicars.²⁴

²¹ „Praesul Cracoviensis iure merito pertimesceret, ne suppressis nonnullis Religiosorum coetibus bona eorundem ab Ecclesia alientur et in proprietatem Fisci converterentur, iniit Concilium Ecclesiam Regularem RR. PP. Carmelitarum erigendi in Saecularem Parochialem St. Stephani, nec non uniendi eidem cuncta eorum bona ac reditus [...] Quad sane etsi ad plenam et omnimodam exemptionem non fuerat deductum, peculiari tamen Decreto praedicti Praesulis die 1ma Februarii anno 1813 sub certis conditionibus fuerat sancitum”. ANK 29/33/0/3.2.3/Kr 7248, Ingrossatio Decreti Episcopalis, Kraków 30 May 1833, k. 169-170; AKKr 836/A25, A copy of the letter of the Carmelites to the Bishop, Kraków 30 October 1879.

²² AKKr 836/A25, A copy of the letter of Adam Sieniawski to the High Representative Chamber of the Free and Neutral City of Krakow, Kraków 3 December 1927.

²³ Changes were then introduced with reference to symbolism. The richly decorated red liturgical cope donated by King John III Sobieski had its hood embroidered in gold with the image of St Elijah removed and replaced by a hood with an embroidered image of St Stephen. AKKr 649a/684, *Kronika klasztoru oo. Karmelitów w Krakowie na Piasku od 1914*, k. 22.

²⁴ AKKr 836/A25, *Uгода między proboszczem kościoła parafialnego św. Szczepana a komisarzem wyznaczonym przez Prowincję polską Zakonu Karmelitów ściślejszej*

In time when the political situation was stabilised, the monks made efforts to revoke the signed act of suppression. They turned to the Holy See to formally revoke it. The Pope agreed to this request. In January 1830, the Apostolic Nuncio sent a letter to the Bishop of Krakow regarding the return of all possessions to the Carmelites. This consent was contingent upon the following factors: the Carmelites were to maintain six or at least four priests from their own funds, they were to provide temporary maintenance for the parish of St Stephen, and ensure freedom to perform their duties.²⁵ These conditions were essentially the same as those agreed in September 1829 between the monks and the parish. Finally, the Bishop of Krakow, Karol Wincenty Skórkowski,²⁶ by a decree of 17 July 1832 and on the basis of the earlier papal breve, revoked the act of suppression.²⁷

The decree of suppression was revoked, but new obligations were imposed on the Carmelites at the same time. They were obliged to assist the parish priest in his work and to maintain diocesan priests at the monastery's expense (in the absence of the required number of friars). They did not get the novitiate building back, they did not pay the overdue rent and the annual house rent.²⁸

The decision on the suppression of the order which was nullified in 1813 did not avert some of the changes that had already been made. In the period between the issuing of the act of suppression and restitution, the parish considered itself the rightful owner of the used building. At the regulation of the mortgage in 1824, the parish was recognised

reguły w sprawie klasztoru tegoż Zgromadzenia w Krakowie na Piaski, na Piasku, Kraków 27 September 1829.

²⁵ AKKr 836/A25, A copy of the letter of Peter Archbishop of Thebes, Apostolic Nuncio to Bishop K. Skórkowski, Wiedeń 25 I 1830. ²⁶ Bp Karol Wincenty Skórkowski (1768-1851).

²⁶ Bp Karol Wincenty Skórkowski (1768-1851) – Bishop of Krakow in the years 1829-1851, from 1835 until his death, he stayed in exile in Bohemian Opawa. See: E. O r m a n, *Karol Wincenty Skórkowski (1768-1851)*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 38, Kraków 1997-1998, pp. 350-356; K. P r o k o p, *Poczet biskupów krakowskich*, Kraków 1999, pp. 220-227.

²⁷ AKKr 838/481, p. 7; AKKr 836/A25, A letter of the Bishop's Consistory of the Diocese of Krakow to Father Danielkiewicz, Prior of the Carmelites, Kraków 16 July 1833; *Ibidem*, A copy of *Reskrypt egzekucyjny dla braci Zakonu Karmelitów dawnej obserwacji względem przeistoczenia parafii świeckiej na zakonną*, Rzym 21 July 1876.

²⁸ *Karmelicy poddali się temu ciężarowi dla uniknienia dalszych nieprzyjemności*. AKKr 836/A25, A copy of *Reskrypt egzekucyjny...*, Rzym 21 July 1876.

as the owner of the former novitiate building, which it maintained. This formally complicated the whole situation. In 1822, when the Mortgage Act for the City of Krakow was introduced, the parish priest did not show his ownership rights to building at No. 75 before the Mortgage Commission. He only referred to a letter from the former Krakow Circular Office of 13 September 1803 telling about the reception of the restored house by the parish priest.²⁹ In 1829, the mortgage commission issued a property deed for the house to the parish, although, as it stated, there was no reasons for this in the document: “for lack of documents, the Mortgage Commission, in accordance with Article 86 of the Mortgage Act, records St Stephen’s rectory fund the owner of the buildings at No. 75 in Piasek”.³⁰ The mortgage entry officially reinforced the right of ownership of the house to the parish, which the parish later referred to.³¹ According to the mortgage records, the house formally became the property of the parish. The revocation of the deed of suppression in 1832 did not clarify these records. In addition, the rectory did not pay the agreed rent of 500 zlotys.³²

The bishop’s decree did not restore the pre-suppression state, but rather complicated it. The Carmelites forwarded letters referring to this case.³³ At first, they only requested that the unpaid house rent be

²⁹ AKKr 838/481, p. 38.

³⁰ AKKr 836/A25, *Wykaz hipoteczny – tytuł własności realności pod nr 75*, Kraków 17 II 1848; *Ibidem*, Property record addressed to the Prior of the Carmelites „na Piasku”, Kraków 14 January 1829.

³¹ At some later time, the parish claimed the right to the house by “usucaption”. ANK 29/204/0/9/127, vol. 1, Legal opinion on the ownership of the house of the Treasury Procurator’s Office to the Governor’s delegate, Kraków 24 October 1880, k. 2765-2773.

³² AKKr 838/481, p. 8; The rent was to be paid until 1809 r. ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 1, A letter from the Krakow Starosty to the Governor’s Office in Lviv, Kraków 24 April 1875, k. 1329; What is not clear is the role that Fr. Francis Zglenicki played (1767-1841), parish priest at St Stephen church, later auxiliary bishop and administrator of the Krakow diocese after departure of Bishop Skórkowski in 1835. It is known that after his death in 1841, the Senate of the then Republic of Krakow awarded the monks the sum of 18,690 zloty for the outstanding rent from his inheritance. The monastery received 1,360 zlotys from this amount. AKKr 836/A25, A draft letter of parishioners to the High Presidium of the Central Commission in Lviv, 20 February 1875; T. G l e m m a, *Krakowski konsystorz biskupi za czasów Andrzeja Rawy Gawrońskiego*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, vol. 4, 1948, pp. 227, 231-232, 238, 240.

³³ In 1852, Father Teodozjusz Zatorski (1799-1870), who made attempts to restore the monastery estates, was appointed the prior. AKKr 649a/684, *Kronika klasztoru*, k. 23;

incurred, and since this did not follow, they asked either for the parish to be entrusted entirely to them or to transfer it to another church. In 1851, they wrote to the Treasury Procuratorate in Lviv; and on 13 May 1853 and on 27 June 1854 to the national government in Krakow. They sent subsequent letters in August 1856, in October 1861 and in 1874. The national government in Krakow responded favourably to these proposals, whereas the consistory opposed adamantly.³⁴

In August 1856, there were many indications that the issue could be concluded and resolved peacefully. When the then parish priest Fr. John Kogutowicz was appointed archpriest and inflat at the

Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Krakow, the prior of the Carmelites addressed the consistory with a proposal that he be entrusted with the function of parish priest, and thus the parish would automatically pass to the monks.³⁵ The consistory did not comply with this proposal, referring to the incompatibility of such a move with the ecclesiastical laws³⁶ and brought forward a proposal to the Pope to annex the parish of St Stephen to the parish of St Anne. From the decree of the Congregation for Bishops and Religious, we learn that on March 6, 1857 the Pope gave consent to such a proposal.³⁷ After such combination, the Carmelite church and the former novitiate building were to be returned to the Carmelites without any hindrance. Nonetheless, it did not take place.

In turn, the parishioners of St Stephen's applied to the government authorities and to the consistory for the parish to be annexed to the Carmelites and for the order to be entrusted with the duties of running it.

B. P a n e k, *Prowincjałowie karmelitów na ziemiach polskich (1397-1997)*, „Saeculum Christianum”, No. 4/2, 1997, p. 76.

³⁴ AKKr 838/481, p. 9; AKKr 836/A25, *Wniosek postawiony przez delegata Expozytury ck Prokuratorii Skarbu na posiedzeniu konferencji w sprawie probostwa św. Szczepana w dniu 24 lutego 1875*; ANK 29/204/0/9/127, vol. 1, A letter of the Provincial of the Carmelites to the Governor Agenor Goluchowski, Lviv 7 October 1874, k. 1507-1511; *Ibidem*, vol. 2, A letter of the Carmelites to the Krakow consistory, Kraków 30 October 1861, k. 2205-2206; *Ibidem*, Legal opinion of the Exposition of the Procuratorate of the Treasury to the Delegate of the Governor, Kraków 24 October 1880, k. 2751-2755.

³⁵ Kr 836/A25, A copy of the prior's letter to the Consistory General of the Diocese of Krakow, Kraków 4 August 1856.

³⁶ APA 154, A letter of the consistory to the prior, Kraków 7 August 1856.

³⁷ AKKr 836/A25, A copy of the decree of the Sacred Congregation for Bishops and Religious, Rome 17 March 1957.

They referred not only to the existing practice of administering parishes by other orders, but above all, to the fact that after such a combination the monks would undertake the renovation of the church and building, and the parishioners would be exempted from repair fees.³⁸ However, the case was not finalised. In September 1859, the new prior requested the consistory to return the parish to the administration of the Carmelites, or to transfer it to another church.³⁹

At the beginning of the 1860s, there was every likelihood that the proposal would be settled. Both the consistory in May 1862 and the Krakow regional office in October 1864 responded positively to the request to hand the parish to the monks. Nevertheless, before the proposal was accepted, there was a change in the bishop's position and the new administrator of the diocese⁴⁰ withdrew the project.⁴¹

On 24 February 1875, a conference was convened at the Starosty in Krakow, the purpose of which was to clarify another issue – the right of patronage, right of presence. It was to be held by the Krakow Academy, which in the second half of the 18th century was the legal user of the parishes. Therefore, delegates of the Academic Senate were also invited to the talks.⁴² The conception of handing St Stephen's parish to the monks was discussed following the conditions below: the monks would withdraw their claim to the outstanding rent for the house at No. 75,

³⁸ *Ibidem*, A letter of the parishioners to the National Government and the Consistory of the Diocese of Cracow, no date provided; APA 154, A letter from the representatives of the municipalities to the consistory, July 1856.

³⁹ AKKr 836/A25, A letter of the Provincial Father Jakiel to the General Consistory, Lviv 10 September 1859.

⁴⁰ Bp Antoni Gałeczki (1811-1885), bishop administrator of the Krakow diocese in the years 1862-1879. See: T. G l e m m a, *Antoni Gałeczki (1811-1885)*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 7, Kraków 1948-1958, pp. 240-241.

⁴¹ AKKr 838/481, Report from 23 April 1865, p. 10.

⁴² It was connected, among other things, to the right to appoint the parish priests. ANK 29/204/0/9/127, vol. 2, A letter from bishop Puzyna to the Governor's Office, Kraków 28 December 1895, k. 3129-3133; AKKr 836/A25, A letter from the Delegate of the Imperial Governor to the Prior of the Carmelites in Cracow, Kraków, 9 November 1875; AKKr 838/481, p. 12-14; ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 1, A letter from the Treasury Procurator's Office to the Governor's Office, Kraków 28 July 1874, k. 1395-1412; *Ibidem*, A letter from the Magistrate of the City of Krakow to the Treasury Procuratorate, consistory, St. Stephen's parish committee, parish priest, Kraków 28 April 1905, k. 289-292; *Ibidem*, A copy of Cardinal Puzyna's letter to the Magistrate of the City of Krakow, Kraków 16 June 1903, k. 361-370.

provide pastoral service and maintain an adequate number of priests, an organist and a beadle, be subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop's consistory in matters pertaining to the parish, and incur the costs of maintenance.⁴³ The proposal was accepted by all the parties present at the conference, with the exception of the consistory delegate, who postulated that the parish be moved to St Mark's Church in Krakow. Both the university delegate and the parish proxy protested against this proposal. A common position was not reached.⁴⁴

In July 1876, the Carmelites obtained a decree of the Congregation of the Bishops and Monks and the approval of Pope Pius IX to incorporate the parish. The Pope was to instruct the apostolic administrator in Krakow to run this merger, which was to last until the new St Stephen's church was erected,⁴⁵ but the Krakow consistory opposed this in November and again proposed that the parish be transferred to St Mark's church.⁴⁶ In October 1876, also the Austrian authorities, that is the Galician Governorate, issued a decree calling the Bishop of Krakow to finally resolve the matter.⁴⁷

The proposal to annex St Stephen's Parish to St Anne's or St Mark's did not receive the approval of the parishioners. Fifty-seven property owners in the area of St Stephen's parish requested the Governor's Office in February 1878 that the administration of the parish be transferred to the Carmelites – only as a last resort they were willing to agree to the annexation to St Anne's.⁴⁸ In June 1878, they issued a formal request to incorporate St Stephen's parish to

⁴³ KKr 836/A25, A letter of the Delegate of the Governor to the Prior of the Carmelites in Krakow, Kraków, 9 November 1875; AKKr 838/481, pp. 12-14; APA 153, A letter of the Delegate of the Governor, Kraków 9 November 1875.

⁴⁴ ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 1, A letter from the Krakow Starosty to the Governor's Office in Lviv, Kraków 24 April 1875, k. 1327-1338; AKKr 838/481, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁵ AKKr 836/A25, A copy of *Reskrypt egzekucyjny...*, Rome, 21 VII 1876; ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 2, A letter from the Starosty to the Governor's Office, Kraków 9 March 1887, k. 2724; APA 153, Judgment of the National Court in the case of Carmelites vs. St Stephen's Rectory Fund to concede their real estate, Kraków 6 December 1899.

⁴⁶ ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 2, A letter of the Starosty to the Governor's Office, Kraków 9 March 1887, k. 2717-2739.

⁴⁷ AKKr 838/481, p. 23.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 28; The committee of the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, where the church was situated, also opposed this proposal. ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 2, A letter of the Starosty to the Governor's Office, Kraków 9 March 1887, k. 2725.

St Anne's church.⁴⁹ The matter still remained unresolved. In a letter to the Governorate in March 1880, the Carmelites wrote: "a year and a half has passed, and the matter in question remains unsolved".⁵⁰

The governorate decided to re-examine the ownership of the house at No. 75 "in Piasek".⁵¹ Following this, in March 1882, the starosty office confirmed the Carmelites' right to the former novitiate building: "It is unquestionable, therefore, that this house and the monastery church be returned promptly to the monastery".⁵² A decision was also made to learn about the position of the parishioners once again. In July 1882, the governor's office instructed the starosty to hear the parishioners' plenipotentiary and the plenipotentiaries of the municipalities belonging to St Stephen's parish, as well as the patron, parish priest and plenipotentiary of the parishioners of St Anne's.⁵³ Despite numerous endeavours, no conclusive final decisions were reached.

As a result of the ongoing dispute, the church "na Piasku" was not restored for years, and the continuous talks could not stop its slow destruction.⁵⁴ They were so severe that they began to threaten the safety of the faithful. In 1889, a commission sent from the city's building department, threatening to close the church, demanded that

⁴⁹ APA 152, A letter of the parishioners to the consistory, Kraków 1 June 1878; AKMKr, Minutes of the consistory activities for 1878; AKKr 838/481, pp. 28-29. Such a proposal was to be refused by the consistory in a letter of January 1879 "on the grounds that the parish service would be a hindrance to the young people studying at the Nowodworski Liceum, situated opposite the church, and that it would impede school services". The building of today's Bartłomiej Nowodworski Secondary School No. 1 was then located on St Anne Street, and was moved to Na Groblach Square in 1898. See: J. Bąk, *Kollątajka reforma szkół nowodworskich*, „Rocznik Krakowski”, vol. 48, 1977, p. 45.

⁵⁰ AKKr 836/A25, A copy of the letter of the Carmelites to the Central Governor's Office in Lviv, Lviv 18 March 1880.

⁵¹ AKKr 838/481, p. 26; AKKr 836/A25, A letter of the Central Governor's Office, 28 November 1877.

⁵² AKKr 838/481, p. 29.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, pp. 29-30; "It is the wish of the whole parish to be faithful to the Carmelites for good, as they have numerously requested" ŻAPA 153, A letter of priest Gawroński to the bishop, Kraków 4 April 1883; AKKr 839/600, „Czas”, No. 267, 22/11 1882, k. 1.

⁵⁴ For instance in January 1888 the committee from the Municipal Building Authority in Krakow inspected the state of the church indicating its numerous defects. ANK 29/33/0/3.2.3 7248, Protocol of 25 January 1888 drawn up on the occasion of the inspection of the poor state of St Stephen's church and parish building, k. 181-184.

the church was instantly restored.⁵⁵ For safety reasons, the Carmelites committed themselves to undertake thorough restoration of the church, immediately after the diocesan clergy would leave it.⁵⁶

However, it was the magistrate, as the administrator of the rectory funds, that first took action, ordering the demolition of three side altars and part of the choir.⁵⁷ The Krakow daily "Czas" ("Time") reported: "Today, the church is already open and cleaning has begun of the dust that settled while the altars were demolished. The walls are deserted and this neglected church leaves us with sad impression".⁵⁸ The renovation carried out by the city in agreement with the parish

⁵⁵ The church "is greatly desolate and neglected both outside and inside, which, if tolerated, could have led to serious consequences". The commission ordered that "the removal of the defective parts in the altars, steel, choir, roofing, vaults and doors be effectuated within 14 days under the threat of closure of the church". ANK 29/33/0/3.2.3/Kr 7248, Protocol drawn up with reference to the examination of the church of Blessed Virgin Mary "in Piasek" and its building 1.68 Dz. IV in Krakow in terms of police and construction, Kraków 23 March 1889, k. 201-203; AKMKr, Protocols of the activities of the consistory for 1889.

⁵⁶ AKKr 836/A25, A copy of the letter of the Carmelites to the Krakow Bishop, 14 May 1889.

⁵⁷ ANK 29/33/0/3.2.3/Kr 7248, Protocol drawn up with reference to the demolition of the altars by the choir in the church of Blessed Virgin Mary "in Piasek" for security reasons and the dismantling of the wooden chimney stack in the real estate at No. 68 Garbarska Street in the rectory of the parish church of St Stephen on 15 and 16 April 1889, k. 209-212; All three altars were dedicated to Saint Carmelites, that is St Elijah, St Mary Magdalene de Pazzi and St Angel Carmelite. See: A. D e t t l o f f, *Zespół osiemnastowiecznych ołtarzy bocznych w kościele karmelitów na Piasku w Krakowie – próba określenia stanu pierwotnego i kwestia autorstwa*, „Rocznik krakowski”, vol. 69, Kraków 2003, p. 124.

⁵⁸ AKKr 839/600, „Czas”, No. 90, 18/4 1889, k. 2. The newspaper "Dyabet" described the matter as follows: "It is well known that for many years a bitter dispute has been going on in Krakow between lay and religious clergy over the Carmelite church "in Piasek". In this priestly drama, in which ugly anger plays an uncommon role, a scene has been presented in the church, for which lengthy ... but not applause, would have belonged to the author. A few days ago, a great panic filled the church "in Piasek". Firemen came out of the church, and from the austere look people thought the church was on fire. I went into the church and there I learned from strangers that three altars had been chopped down while Mass was being celebrated, which was to put those staying there at risk". *Ibidem*, „Dyabet”, No. 8, 19/4 1889, k. 3. The newspaper also posed questions about the approach of the municipal conservator, and the entrusting of these activities to firefighters. Another issue of great controversy was the demolition of the altars itself, as the newspaper reported, it was effectuated during the Mass.

obliged the Carmelites to undertake similar actions – a year later they replaced the roof of the church at their own expense. At the time, following a complaint from St Stephen's parish, the magistrate said firmly that "the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary "in Piasek" is an undisputed property of the Carmelite Order.⁵⁹

The house at No. 75 was also falling into ruin. First, the part called "desolation" was used by the private individuals and soon after the remaining part inhabited by the clergy. As early as 1891, the magistrate by a decree issued on 10 July ordered that the house be vacated within 30 days for safety reasons. The above deadline was later extended. Initially, the magistrate prepared plans for the restoration of the house, but eventually in October 1897, the building was selected for demolition.⁶⁰

At this time, the Governor's Office, contrary to its previous decision, changed its mind in reference to the ownership of the house. In a letter to the Mayor of the City of Krakow dated 12 December 1891, it stipulated that the house at no. 75 "in Piasek" was not the property of the monks, but of St Stephen's parish.⁶¹ The Carmelites filed an appeal "from this decision that disproves the historical development of the case, not wanting to expose themselves to the grave charge of negligence and loss of property".⁶²

⁵⁹ AKKr 836/A25, Proclamation of the Magistrate of the Royal City of Krakow, Kraków 19 April 1890; AKMKr, Protocols of the activities of the consistory for 1890; AKKr 838/481, pp. 30-31.

⁶⁰ "The possibility that the construction disaster of part or all the building could take place at any time cannot be excluded". ANK 29/33/0/3.2.3/Kr 7248, A copy of the protocol resultant upon the examination of the state of the building of St Stephen parish, Kraków 10 September 1897, k. 499-501; *Ibidem*, A letter from the Municipal Building Office to the Magistrate of the City of Krakow, Kraków 10 January 1890, k. 363-364; *Ibidem*, A letter from the Magistrate of the City of Krakow to the committee of the parish church of St Stephen, Kraków 29 October 1891, k. 145-147; ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 1, A letter from the Magistrate of the City of Krakow to the Governor's Office, Kraków 14 October 1897, k. 1563; AKKr 838/481, p. 31.

⁶¹ AKKr 838/481, pp. 31-32; ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 2, A letter from bishop A. Dunajewski to a delegate of the Governor's Office, Kraków 9 October 1891, k. 2693. They argued that the parish of St Stephen's was to sell a house located in Szczepański Square, and the funds from its sale were allocated to renovate the building of the "old novitiate", and also that after the renovation the house was to be handed directly to the parish and not to the Carmelites as their real owners.

⁶² AKKr 838/481, p. 32.

The matter of the ownership of the building was eventually brought to court. In December 1899, a hearing was held in the national court against the Carmelites of St Stephen's rectory over the ownership of the building. The parish substantiated their own claims to the building by, among other things, prescription. The trial was postponed three times due to lack of appropriate legal documents, but eventually the court awarded the Carmelites ownership.⁶³ Krakow newspapers wrote: "The judgment of the higher court confirms the verdict of the national court in its entirety, granting the Carmelites congregation the ownership of the disputed building. The parish committee will probably appeal to the highest court in Vienna, but the further trial will only be for the amount of 3.000 zlotys, for which the XX. Carmelite congregation purchased this building, considered desolated, and, at their request, auctioned and sold to them".⁶⁴ At the same time, the building, as completely unusable, was put up for auction, which took place on 24 March 1900.⁶⁵ According to the law, though, buildings considered "desolated" were subject to public auction.⁶⁶ Such an auction was authorised by the national court. Also the Carmelites themselves demanded that the magistrate sell the building,⁶⁷ which they eventually bought.⁶⁸ Therefore, the case of the ownership of the building was

⁶³ AKKr 837/A26, Judgement of the national court, Kraków 7 December 1899; AKKr 839/600, „Czas”, No. 7/12 1899, k. 11.

⁶⁴ AKKr 839/600, „Czas”, No. 15/4 1900, k. 11; The rectory's appeal was rejected in March 1900. AKKr 837/A26, Decision of the higher national court to dismiss the appeal, Kraków, 2 March 1900.

⁶⁵ ANK 29/33/0/3.2.3/Kr 7248, Permission to execute, Kraków 7 October 1899, k. 481-482; *Ibidem*, Licensing edict of the county court in Kraków, Kraków 7 February 1900, k. 535-536; *Ibidem*, The form of the auction held of the County Court in Kraków, Kraków 27 March 1900, k. 541-544.

⁶⁶ ANK 29/33/0/3.2.3/Kr 7248, A letter of the Magistrate of the City of Krakow to the Municipal Trustee Jan Hajdukiewicz, Kraków 18 September 1899, k. 495.

⁶⁷ ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 1, A letter from the parish priest of St Stephen to the Governor, Kraków, before 27 March 1900, k. 1785-1789; ANK 29/33/0/3.2.3/Kr 7248, A letter from the prior Fr. Wincenty Jarosiński to the Magistrate, Kraków 19 June 1899, k. 737-740; *Ibidem*, A letter from the prior Fr. Wincenty Jarosiński to the Magistrate, Kraków 18 February 1900, k. 701-702. They wrote that the abandoned house "serves especially at night time as a shelter for various vagabonds, who even sometimes use the light there".

⁶⁸ The course of the auction was described by the newspapers: "when they learned that it was a dispute about the ownership of the property between two church institutions and

finally resolved. Nonetheless, its complete deterioration contributed to this, not a mutual and voluntary agreement. Still though, the courts of two instances confirmed the monks' ownership of the disputed house.

One of the Krakow's newspapers recapitulated this dispute with the following comment: "One bishop after the other takes over the capital of the Krakow diocese, and none of them wants to end it. The trial between the parish and the Carmelite priests over the parish church has already come to an end in the courts and, naturally, with a satisfactory outcome for the Carmelites, for no one dares deny their possession of the church which was founded and erected for them."⁶⁹ The court settlement of the dispute ended only the matter of the house, but not the church.⁷⁰

During all these years, as has already been mentioned, both the parish priest of St Stephen's and the monks (who only used the chapel with the miraculous image of Our Lady of Piasek, and not the nave), did not undertake any major repairs to the church.⁷¹ The appointment of Fr. Elisha Sanchez-Paredes, from Spain, to the office of the provincial of the Carmelites in 1927 was a decision that determined the fate of both communities. However, before the new provincial took any action, the issue of the relationship between the parish and the monks was analysed by Archbishop Adam Stefan Sapieha with the Pope, the General of the Order and the Congregation for Religious in Rome in February 1928. The Metropolitan Bishop of Krakow promised then to settle the matter in agreement with the Krakow Chapter, which

that the Carmelite Fathers committed themselves to buying this estate for whatever amount, which had been theirs for centuries and constituted an inseparable complex of their property – the Old Believers all but one left the auction room. Only three bidders therefore competed for the purchase. The convent of the Carmelite Fathers of Krakow stayed in bidding." AKKr 839/600, „Czas”, No. 81, 28/3 1900, k. 11. The house was eventually demolished in c.1902 r. after: B. T o m a s z e w s k i, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁶⁹ AKKr 839/600, „Mieszczanin”, No. 21, 27/5 1900, k. 12.

⁷⁰ In 1910, the Carmelites requested for the final settlement of the case once again. APA 154, Letters of the Carmelites to the Governor's Office in Lviv and Starosty in Krakow, Kraków 5 May 1910.

⁷¹ The Krakow press wrote: "The building was deteriorating even more and more, already reaching the point that various weeds and even small trees were growing peacefully in the cracks of the walls, enlarging the ruins of this historic building". *Ibidem*, „Czas”, No. 101 of 3/5 1930, k. 36. In 1910, the committee of the Magistrate of the City of Krakow drew attention to negligence, not only of renovation nature, but also of housekeeping. ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 1, A letter of the Magistrate of the City of Krakow to the Carmelites, Kraków 3 February 1910, k. 1031-1032.

was to oppose the handing of this large parish to the Carmelites. During the visitation of the Polish Province in September 1929, the General of the Order also paid a visit to the Archbishop of Krakow, inquiring about the decisions taken, he was then to receive an answer that no action would be taken in this matter.⁷²

After repeated unsuccessful attempts to settle the matter, the provincial Fr. Elisha Sanchez-Paredes, in agreement with the fathers and the general, undertook to restore the ruined church. He received a substantial loan in Rome for its restoration and, disregarding the consequences, began restoration. The key issue for the provincial was the restoration of the church, the decision that eventually led to the removal of St Stephen's parish. The renovation commenced with the main altar used by the parish. First, the side altars were dismantled, the pews were removed and then huge scaffolding was built, which made it impossible to hold service in front of the main altar.⁷³ The decision to take on large-scale renovation works, on the one hand, forced the relocation of the parish to another location, but on the other, caused serious tension in the relations between the monks and the Bishop of Krakow. For on 22 October 1929, Archbishop Adam Stefan Sapieha ordered a letter to be read from the pulpits of all churches, in which he said: "It hurts us above all that, despite our pleas and repeated representations, the Calced Carmelites, disregarding the glory of God, the sanctity of the place and the well-being of the souls are closing this church for the parish. We can no longer look at indignation taking place in a place dedicated to the service of God and we step down to put an end to these sad encounters."⁷⁴

The Carmelites faced clear condemnation from the Bishop of Krakow, and what is more, he refused all the fathers "in Piasek" to extend their jurisdiction to hear confessions, nor did he grant such

⁷² AKKr 649a/684, k. 26.

⁷³ He ordered earlier to transfer the tabernacle from the main altar to the miraculous chapel. Until then, two tabernacles had been displayed in the church. Soon after, a minor scandal erupted. During the Mass celebrated by the provincial, the vicar and a group of the faithful began to say the rosary loudly, thus deafening the Carmelite liturgy. *Ibidem*, k. 24-26.

⁷⁴ AKKr 124/A134, A copy of the letter by Bishop Adam Stefan Sapieha, Kraków 22 October 1929, k. 489bis. Nevertheless, not all the priests read this letter, some were clearly indignant at the bishop for such an official standing. AKKr 649a/684, k. 28.

permission to priests from other parishes. For over a year the church remained without confessors. The Carmelites made efforts to obtain this permission. They also wrote to the Pope twice, but received no reply.⁷⁵ However, the decision in this matter could only have been met by the bishop of the place. Also Archbishop Sapieha wrote complaints about the monks to the Pope and to the Sacred Congregation for Religious in Rome. Yet, these complaints also remained unanswered.⁷⁶

Looking at the history of the dispute, which actually lasted since 1813, when the decision on suppression was made, it was only when a foreign monk arrived in Poland, not fully acquainted with its peculiarities and atmosphere, that a complicated situation was resolved. Eventually, the parish of St Stephen moved temporarily to St Mark's church, and subsequently after the construction was completed in 1938, to a new church located on Sienkiewicza Street.⁷⁷

The topic discussed requires further study. The conflict was developing for years, but also those holding particular functions were changing, which caused that the nature of these relations was unstable. One of the main elements of this dispute was the maintenance of the church and its ongoing restoration. The archival documents show us the course of the dispute between the interested parties at the institutional level, while the question of how the relations were shaped at the personal level, between the prior and the parish priest, is a separate topic that calls for additional research and discussion.

The issue of the conflict between the Krakow parish of St Stephen and the Carmelites, especially at the end of the 19th century, reverberated in the entire city. As the newspapers reported, it was a topic that aroused avid interest. However, the nature of this dispute was complex. Initially, relationships were developing in a good way, it was expected at the time

⁷⁵ AKKr 649a/684, k. 28.

⁷⁶ AKMKr, Sapieha's correspondence with the Holy See, the Sacred Congregation for Religious and the General of the Order, TS XVIII/49-74.

⁷⁷ Talks about building a new church had been going on since at least 1902. ANK 29/204/0/9/127 vol. 1, A letter of Cardinal Jan Puzyna to the Governor's Office, Kraków 18 February 1904, k. 133-134; Ibidem, A letter of the delegate of the Governor's Office of Krakow to the Governor's Office, Kraków 11 December 1906, k. 157-158; After World War II, the Carmelites helped priests from St Stephen parish in running the parish church, particularly in education. In 2003, the Carmelites returned the main altar to St Stephen church.

that new premises for the parish would be found quickly. The decree of suppression of the monastery was a decision that undoubtedly put monks' trust in the church authorities to doubt. Mortgage records relating to the parish occupied by the parish priest and vicars of the building further complicated these difficult relationships. The reversal of the decision on suppression with new responsibilities and costs complicated the whole situation even further. The continuous requests written by the monks to various ecclesiastical and secular institutions, various negotiations, discussions with parishioners, the verification of records, the resistance of the consistory, unwillingness on the part of decision-making bodies – all this had a significant impact on mutual relations. Only the prolonged destruction of the church and the building led to finding a solution, although this as well had to be done by legal actions. Eventually in 1929, with the monks coming into conflict with the Metropolitan of Krakow, the matter was resolved.

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MARIA KONIECZNA – MA, graduate of history at the Jagiellonian University and philosophy at the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, a doctoral student at the Faculty of History and Cultural Heritage at the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, employee of the Institute of National Remembrance in Krakow.