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The stonemasonry centre in Dębnik under the management of the disalced Carmelites in Czerna

The Order of Disalced Carmelites was brought to Poland in the year 1605, first to Kraków, and then to Lublin (1610) and Lwów (1613),¹ as well as to other localities.² In the year 1617, the Polish province was defined and dedicated to the Holy Spirit. According to the Teresian Carmel constitution each province – in keeping with the charism of the order – was beholden to have its own hermitage – a secluded monastery set at a distance from urban centres, where hermits appointed by the superior of the order were to live, pray and contemplate God. Agnieszka Firlejowa (*née* Tęczyńska), widow of Mikołaj Firlej and sister of Voivoide of Kraków Jan Magnus Tęczyński, founded just such a hermitage for the Polish province, allocating the western slope of the mountain in Czerna. The hermitage was officially founded on 17 May 1631 (fig. 1).³

Founding the hermitage, Firlejowa gave the Carmelites a series of gradually purchased landed estates, taking in the villages of Siedlec, Żbik with the Chechelski mill (part of today's village of Dubie), part of the village of Żary as well as Paczółtowice with the hamlet of Dębnik, on terrain from which black and pink limestone were mined even in those days, and which sources referred

¹ Currently, Lviv, Ukraine, in modern Times, part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

² M. Brykowska, *Pustelnia w Czernej*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 2 (1981), p. 151–158; J. B. Wanat, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce. Klasztory Karmelitów i Karmelitanek 1605–1975*, Kraków 1979, p. 301–346; J. B. Wanat, *400 lat fundacji Zakonu Karmelitów Bosych w Krakowie i jego rozwój w 1. połowie XVII wieku w Polsce*, [in:] *Cztery wieki Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce 1605–2005*, red. A. Ruszała OCD, Kraków 2005, p. 39–54; W. Graczyk, J. Marszałska, *Klasztor karmelitów bosych w Czernej od pierwszej połowy XVII do końca XIX wieku. Dzieje – kultura – ludzie*, Kraków 2014.

³ J. Wanat, *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej*, Kraków 1992, p. 14–22.

to as marble.⁴ The estates that had been purchased by her, and the income that came from them, became the main basis for the day to day existence of the monastery. The monks managed to resolve the convoluted legal matters relating to the estates in a short period of time. As the historian Louis reflected about the properties, “they had become very neglected, having been divested of heirs, and treated as perpetual collateral and longstanding leases.”⁵ Firstly, lists of subjects were drawn up, and detailed surveys of the land carried out, and the range of the feudal duties was established, as well as other obligations, such as work relating to the construction of the monastery itself.⁶ Tenants on properties belonging to the monastery were obliged to submit livestock, as well as actual products. The Carmelites swiftly developed large farms in Paczółtowie, Żbik and Siedlec, and permanent employees were enlisted to work at the monastery. Supervision of the manors was carried out by laymen, as a rule a steward who was paid a regular salary by the monastery.

The stonemasons’ settlement in Dębnik certainly differed from other villages that belonged to the monastery in Czerna (fig. 2).⁷ Precious ores were already being mined and processed there at the time when the Carmelites took over the running of the territory. However, contrary to the mistaken conclusion that has been espoused in earlier studies that this was a medieval phenomenon, a notion indeed repeated in recent monographs about the monastery in Czerna, the steady mining of marble in Dębnik got underway no earlier than the turn of the 17th century, as evidenced by the oldest works of art, for instance the small slabs for the epitaphs of Adam Górski (d. 1595) and Andrzej Żarski (d. 1614) at the Domin-

⁴ The individual stages relating to the purchase of properties constituting the endowments of the monastery are discussed in detail in: J. B. Wanat, *Maryjne sanktuarium...*, op. cit., p. 12–18; T. Małkowska-Holcerowa, *Paczółtowie. Dzieje kościoła parafialnego pod wezwaniem Nawiedzenia Najświętszej Marii Panny od średniowiecza po czasy współczesne*, Kraków 1988, p. 44–63.

⁵ J. Louis [Wawel], *Wieś Paczółtowie*, Kraków 1874, p. 35.

⁶ Archiwum Krakowskiej Prowincji oo. Karmelitów Bosych [Archive of the Kraków Province of the Discalced Carmelite Fathers] (in Czerna, currently in Kraków, cited further: АКС), no. 62, *Inwentarz majątności i wszystkich procentów do klasztoru Puszcze Świętego naszego ojca Eliasza należących*, 1643, p. 5–6; J. Louis, *Wieś Paczółtowie*, Kraków 1874, p. 35–36.

⁷ Issues relating to the organisation of workshops and the characteristics of certain products were recently explored by M. Wardzyński, *Organizacja pracy i praktyka warsztatowa w kamieniołomach dębnickich od drugiej ćwierci XVII do początku XVIII a “długie trwanie” form późnomanierystycznych i wczesnobarokowych*, [in:] *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, t. 11, red. I. Rolska, K. Gombin, Lublin 2012, p. 331–368; M. Wardzyński, *Marmur i alabaster w rzeźbie i małej architekturze Rzeczypospolitej. Studium historyczno-materiałoznawcze przemian tradycji artystycznych od XVI do początku XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2015, p. 275–287.

ican Monastery in Kraków.⁸ The mining industry only truly started to flourish there in the 1620s, thanks to Italian stonemasons operating in Kraków, who were acquiring prefabricated blocks or even partially finished works. There was a great deal of interest in the material mined at Dębnik owing to the realisation of a series of prestigious commissions in Kraków, including the furnishing of the church in Bielany, part of a Camaldolese hermitage, the shrine of St. Stanisław, the Zbaraski Chapel, as well as several minor projects. All this activity resulted in the appearance of a colony of artisans on the terrain of the Carmelites' stonemasonry settlement.⁹ A stonemason by the name of Szymon Lepiasz, known as *Spadek*, was recorded as being in Dębnik, renting the quarry referred to as "The Carmelite Mountain" or "The Grey Mountain." As of 1631, Bartolomeo Stopano from Olkusz was likewise recorded there. He had previously worked in Kraków at the Palace under the Rams (Pałac Pod Barany), where he had installed well casing in 1613.¹⁰ He had also executed the main altar steps of the church in Bielany in 1623. A number of figures are recorded as working with him in Dębnik at that time, namely a stonemason known as Krzysztof of Lanckorona, Jan Fresel of Raclawice, Piotr known as Feliks (Lucky), Krzysztof Kapiczka, Tomasz and Jan Szafir, a man known only by the surname of Terzi, as well as Szymon Witkowski, all hired by the Carmelites just as Stopano had been. The stonemasons who settled in Dębnik were treated like other subjects of the monastery (peasants, smallholders and cottagers). The relations between the monks and their subjects is perfectly illustrated by the instance of the death of one of the tenant farmers. As recorded in documents following his death in 1638, "such cattle greatly fit for working the land, as well as the implements for them and other utensils from the household, were taken by the holy fathers to the manor house, particularly the cattle, other objects were listed in a register and given for keeping until due notice to Krzysztof the stonemason, the son-in-law of the deceased, leaving him as the

⁸ *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, pt. 3: *Kościół i klasztor śródmieścia*, 2, red. A. Bochnak, J. Samek, Warszawa 1978, p. 167.

⁹ A. Małkiewicz, *Zespół architektoniczny na Bielanych pod Krakowem (1605–1630)*, Kraków 1962, p. 143–183 (*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, nr 45, *Prace z historii sztuki*, z. 1); A. Małkiewicz, *Z historycznej i artystycznej problematyki kościoła kamedułów na Bielanych pod Krakowem*, Kraków 1972, p. 87–107 (*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, nr 302, *Prace z historii sztuki*, z. 10); J. Gajewski, *Kościół i klasztor kamedułów na Bielanych pod Krakowem w świetle materiałów archiwalnych*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 38 (1976) nr 4, p. 374–377; M. Rożek, *Katedra krakowska w XVII wieku*, Kraków 1980, p. 125–159; S. Tomkowicz, *Kaplice kościoła oo. Dominikanów*, "Rocznik Krakowski" 20 (1926), p. 77–96.

¹⁰ S. Tomkowicz, *Przyczynki do historii kultury Krakowa w pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, Lwów 1912, p. 125–126.

tenant of that cottage.”¹¹ Having found another tenant, the Carmelites handed over “to him everything that was his due, notably four oxen, two horses, one cart and half of a second, two harrows, a plough, a chain, a coulter, and grain that is good for winter and summer, and other utensils for the household.”¹² Stonemasons were treated in the same manner. An area where a quarry was located was leased to them, together with a small piece of farmland near the residence, a furnished house, and a stonemason’s workshop equipped with basic tools.

Craftsmen had to pay a fixed rent for the lease of the house and the field, as well as a separate mining tax, commonly called *olbora* (from the German – Urbar, orbor, in Poland fee for the exploitation of mines ore), which was calculated from every block of mined marble. Once excavated from the quarry, the block was precisely measured and weighed by a monk delegated to carry out this task, or indeed by the stonemason himself in the presence of the monk. From the outset, the Carmelites strove to be in complete control of the mining, and they were punctilious in obtaining all due fees. As early as 1643 it was stipulated that: “Stonemasons may never measure [the marble] themselves or pass it to another person without the knowledge of the monks of the monastery or those chosen by them to supervise the matter,” also, “if the marble is taken to other monasteries for our needs, we should pay for the quarrying that has been done by the stonemasons without the *olbora*.”¹³

The level of the *olbora* was fixed in advance. As of the 1640s there were three methods of calculating the tax. The first depended on the dimensions of the block, the second on the number and size of individual pieces, and the third on the weight, in cases of more problematic items. The *olbora* for a cubic block, when the length and width of a side measured one cubit (about 60 cm), amounted to 2 *złote*, while a block that had a length and width of half a cubit (about 30 cm), came to 1 *złoty*. When marble flooring was concerned, the level of the mining tax depended on the number of pieces. For sixty pieces (*kopa*) of flooring in three-quarter size pieces (with the length of one side of the slab measuring about 45 cm), the Carmelites were paid 8 *złote*, and when the pieces were half-size (with the length of one side of the slab measuring about 30 cm), they obtained 6 *złote*, and when quarter-size (with the length of one side of the slab measuring about 15 cm), the level was 2 *złote*. Meanwhile, “for other pieces that do not occur in such measurements, they must be sold according to the weight that is gauged

¹¹ AKC, no. 62, *Inwentarz majątności...*, p. 7.

¹² AKC, no. 62, *Inwentarz majątności...*, p. 7.

¹³ AKC, no. 62, *Inwentarz majątności...*, p. 15.

by the monastery.” The most expensive, as they were difficult to excavate in one piece, were large, uniform slabs for tombstones (*grobsztyny*), which cost 2 *złote* per cubit.¹⁴

Every *olbora* was scrupulously recorded in the monastery’s ledgers. Regrettably, the oldest surviving example of such a book dates to 1646, and the first entries for the period 1646–1648 contain only succinct information about the level of the *olbora* paid by Bartolomeo Stopano, or other stonemasons who were not mentioned by either their christian or surname, but who were renting the second quarry (the so-called “Carmelite” quarry). It was only from 1649 onwards that in addition to the rate of the *olbora* itself, the Carmelites likewise noted the christian names and surnames of stonemasons, architects and indeed sometimes the founders themselves who had ordered a complete work or a raw block of marble. Sometimes, the ultimate destination of a complete work or a prefabricated block was also recorded. Thus efforts to clarify attributions in the Carmelite archives of works prior to this period will bear no fruit.

The *olbora* was important as a relatively regular and frequent type of income, but it was not the most important source as regards replenishing the monastery’s treasury. The rate of the *olbora* varied from year to year. Essentially, one has to concur with the statement of a certain Carmelite chronicler who, when describing the profits from the lease of mines, concluded: “Sometimes it happens that our monastery obtains several hundred *złote* from this, sometimes a thousand, sometimes more and sometimes less, depending on whether the Good Lord is able to provide us with a buyer.”¹⁵ According to my calculations, the combined amount garnered from the tax over the years 1646–1691 came to approximately 42,617 zł. The average annual income that the Carmelites obtained wavered around the sum of 947 zł. One can observe more lucrative years (1658, 1683–1684) and less successful ones (1649–1650, 1657, 1668, 1677, 1688–1689), as regards the earning capacity of the Dębnik workshops. There were indeed times when the revenues from *olbora* payments dropped to virtually zero, as was the case in 1656, 1660 and 1672.¹⁶ The most serious fall in revenues took place in the years 1655–1656, during the war with Sweden. Meanwhile, the highest payments occurred during the construction of several prestigious chapels at Wawel Cathedral (Gamrat,

¹⁴ AKC, no. 62, *Inwentarz majątności...*, p. 15.

¹⁵ AKC, no. 62, *Inwentarz majątności...*, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁶ Revenues from the quarries ceased to be recorded in the ledgers of the monastery in Czerna between 1673 to 1675, for reasons that remain unclear.

Zadzik, Vasa), as well as at the Basilica of Jasna Góra in Częstochowa, (Denhoff Chapel) or the Camaldolese Church in Pożajście, near Wilno.¹⁷

The leasing of the quarries represented only a small percentage of the overall revenues of the monastery. The current state of research, at least as regards the second half of the 17th century, does not allow for a precise assessment of the percentage of the revenues provided by the *olbara* payments. However, based on data from certain years, one can say that they amounted to between 10 and a little over 20 percent of the entire monetary revenue recorded in the ledgers of the monastery. This is due to the fact that the basis of the monastery's maintenance was the income from the estates bequeathed by the foundress Firlejowa, as well as numerous "*elmosyne*" – voluntary donations to the monastery that were given by pious visitors, as well as well-disposed representatives of the upper classes. Tenants brought in fixed payments on estates, such as those leased to aristocratic families such as the Opalińskis, the Potockis and the Firlejs. The level of the payments varied considerably, ranging from 400 zł (Łukasz Opaliński in 1653) to 5000 zł (castellan of Kraków Andrzej Potocki in 1686).¹⁸ In spite of this, the Carmelites valued the *olbora* payments made by the tenants of the mines, the undeniable merits of which were their regularity, and the ease with which the tax was enforced.

The late 1650s and early 1660s constitute a marked turning point, both in terms of the quantity of excavated marble, and in the production of complete works. Thanks to the efforts of the Czerna monks, King Jan Kazimierz granted a privilege, on the basis of which "their craftsmen [those of the Discalced Carmelites – author's note] concerned with the marble are free from any hindrances (which until this time they have met with) from the masters of the guilds, and also from the association of craftsmen, thus with no encumbrance to their work, all marble altars and other works that do occur, should be obtained, bartered and made

¹⁷ A. Dylewska, *Kaplica Denhoffów pw. św. Pawła i Pustelnika na Jasnej Górze (1644–1676)*, "Studia Claromontana" 3 (1982), p. 343–364; J. Pagaczewski, *Marmury i roboty kamieniarskie dostarczone w latach 1675–1690 do Eremitów w Pożajściu za interwencją klasztoru bielańskiego przy Krakowie przez marmurników Sieleckich przy Czernie*, "Sprawozdania Komisji do badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce", t. 6, from 2 and 3, Kraków 1900, p. LII–LIII; I. Rolska-Boruch, *Kościół i mauzoleum Paców w Pożajściu w świetle nieznanych archiwaliów (1675–1709)*, "Barok" 15 (2008) 1(29), p. 139–148; M. Rożek, *Źródła do fundacji i budowy królewskiej kaplicy Wazów przy katedrze na Wawelu*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 35 (1973), from 1, p. 3–9; K. Targosz, *Kaplica biskupa Jakuba Zadzika w katedrze na Wawelu i jej architekt Sebastian Sala*, Kraków 1991, p. 237–308 (Studia do Dziejów Wawelu, t. 5).

¹⁸ AKC, no. 322, *Accepta pieniędzy z różnych prowentów, folwarków naszych w roku 1646*, p. 26v, 72v.

in all cities of our kingdom and wherever those masons are employed”.¹⁹ This document was a milestone as regards the further development of the stonemasonry centre. The artisans settling there, as subjects and leaseholders of the Discalced Carmelites at Czerna, were enabled to work beyond the structures of local guilds. It was something of the vein of a royal *serwitoriat*.²⁰ It guaranteed the freedom to carry out work, and it enabled access to markets throughout the entire Commonwealth. The independence of the Dębnik stonemasons in the spheres of acquiring commissions and executing complete works – privileges which had been obtained thanks to the Carmelites – led to the flourishing of several workshops, including that of Wojciech Zielaski (which operated from 1653 to 1666) his son Jacek (operated 1672–1700), Adam Negowicz (operated 1649–1681), Stefan Bystrzycki (operated 1682–1696), Michał Poman (recorded in Dębniku as of 1677, and permanently in the years 1691–1711) and Jakub Bielawski (1679–1710), as well as family stonemasonry businesses in the 18th century: the Stachowskis, Maciejowskis and Góreckis.

The role of the Discalced Carmelites with regards to the Dębnik stonemasons was not solely confined to administrative and accounting work and guaranteeing the legal protection of the craftsmen. The monks also strove to ensure that the masons were able to access new and rich deposits, financing surface mining for this purpose. This kind of investment was not only expensive, it was also risky. The clearing away of a considerable layer of soil or red clay did not always result in the discovery of a usable stratum. In 1635, artisans employed at Kraków’s Bielany hermitage excavated marble from “the Paczółkowska Mountain”, and therefore the prior of the monastery in Czerna permitted the Camaldolese at Bielany “to take away all the marble, which was allowed to be quarried at our costs in our Paczółkowska Mountain and which lies on the square, for the *olbora* payment of but 1 and a half zloty”.²¹ It is possible that the figure responsible for the surface

¹⁹ Copy from the year 1720 in: AKC, no. 83, *Lomy marmuru klasztoru oo. Karmelitów Bosych w Dębniku 1670–1954*, p. 7–8. The full text of the privilege can also be found in: S. Kučka [o. Romuald od św. Eliasza], *Monografia klasztoru oo. Karmelitów Bosych w Czerny, Czerna 1914*, p. 65; W. Tatarkiewicz, *Czarny marmur w Krakowie*, “Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki” 10 (1952), p. 88–89.

²⁰ The word *serwitoriat* comes from Latin *servitor* (serving) = servant. It is the privilege bestowed by King craftsmens, consisting in excluding them from the home jurisdiction city and surrender the power of the king.

²¹ The document ends with a signature with the following statement: “For our faith, I give this document written in our own hand with the impression of our seal Dan Sielcy die 5 Augusti 1635 / Fr. Franciscus a SMO P[rovi]n[cia]lis and Super / L/C/S/ Die ut supra Don Andreas Pres. Camelulens ad rationem this marble already quarried, which should be taken for 100 Polish złote according to the contract;” see: Archiwum Kamedułów na Bielanych [Archive Camaldolese in Bielany],

mining and the mining was none other than the aforementioned Bartolomeo Stapano, who later obtained the lease for “the Paczółkowska Mountain.” In 1660 and 1661, the Carmelites recorded further outings in their accounts *pro eruendis marmoribus*.²² The clearly burgeoning number of orders compelled the owners of the stonemasonry centre to carry out extensive geological surveys. When the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac signed a contract with the Carmelites in 1667 for architectural elements for the construction of the Camaldolese Church in Pożajście, beforehand, “Father Prior undertook to penetrate the mountain so deeply as to reach the black and good marble suitable for the works, for which he is to obtain 500 Polish złote from his honour the Chancellor via the hands of the Camaldolese of the Silver Mountain, and once the mountain is already open, and they reach the beautiful black marble, then from one ordinary cubit of this black marble if it is cut by Mister Adam Negowicz from his own contract, then his honour the chancellor should pay 1 and a half Polish złoty. Furthermore, his honour the chancellor also made certain that the Carmelites do not sell to any other party marble from the mountain, which was penetrated with money given to his honour, for as long as his honour approaches them with to meet with his needs, in accordance with his tally and measure.”²³

From the very beginning of operations at the stonemasonry centre, the priors of the monastery at Czerna acted from time to time as intermediaries between those placing the orders and the Dębnik stonemasons. The monks carried out the correspondence in the case of the order from the Camaldolese in both Kraków and Pożajście, and they were likewise the guarantors of the reliability and punctuality of the local artisans, as is exemplified in the contract for the main altar of the cathedral in Frombork, where “for the entire security of this Contract. I the undersigned, and in the name of the Priors that succeed myself, likewise the entire holy Congregation of our Monastery in Czerna, I provide the assurance for the aforementioned masters who belong to the noted monastery, and who remain on our estates, that they will in all things follow this contract, all of them and their heirs and Masters, so I confirm this in good faith with my signature

without signature, 5 VIII 1635, *Zezwolenie wydane kamedułom na Bielanach pod Krakowem przez konwent karmelitów bosych w Czernej na wydobywie marmuru w łomach paczółtowickich*.

²² AKC, no. 321, *Jesus Maria, Liber accaptuarum et expensaum conventus Eremitici S. P. N. Eliae Frat[rum] Carmelit[arum] Discalc[eratorum]*, p. 90r, 91r, p. 95r.

²³ AKC, no. 38, *Varia Documenta Authentica Conventus Carmelitarum Doscalceatorum in Ere-mo 1614–1899*, k. 53r, the contract of Krzysztof Pac with the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna, 3.02.1667.

and seal.”²⁴ Private patrons also turned to the Carmelite priors as intermediaries in transactions, as is exemplified by Elżbieta Sieniawska, regarding the furnishing of the palace chapel in Łubnice.²⁵

The Discalced Carmelites in Czerna ought to be regarded as not only administrators of the stonemasonry settlement in Dębnik, but also as promoters and founders of works of art from the material mined there, likewise within the confines of their own order. Elements of the furnishings of Carmelite churches were made from Dębnik marble, among them at Czerna itself, as well as in Lwów (the main altar, magnate Jan Branicki’s epitaph), Poznań (Wojciech Konarzewski’s epitaph, as well as flooring), Przemyśl (the main altar, flooring, portals, the ciborium, cyborium, the sarcophagus of Marianna Potocka, née Łaszcz, and the tombs of Grzegorz Jachimowicz and Jan Śnigurski), Warsaw (portal), and above all in Kraków, in the no longer extant Church of St Michael, (a series of altars, currently in Kraków’s Franciscan and Augustine churches, in the parish church in Jaworzno, as well as epitaphs, principally transferred to the Bernardine church.)²⁶

²⁴ Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie [The Archive of the Warmian Archdiocese in Olsztyn], Akta Kapituły, Rc 7a [XVIII–XIX Inventories and catalogues of the cathedral and parish church in Frombork], without pagination, copy of the contract between Jacek Łopacki and Tomasz Górecki, Franciszek Bielawski, Andrzej Formański and Jan Cękier for the main altar for the cathedral in Frombork, 20.03.1747. The entire copy of the contract was made available to me by Mrs Dąbrówka Lipska MA, which I am very grateful for. Cf. J. Obląk, *Kontrakty między kapitułą warmińską a rzeźbiarzami w Dębniku w sprawie ołtarza marmurowego*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 18 (1956), p. 295–296.

²⁵ In the year 1713 Jakub Bielawski writes to Sieniawska as follows: “Doszło pisanie wM Miłościwy x. Dobrodziejki naszej do J[ąśnie] Wielebnego Przeora na Puszcy Czernińskiej, który list do nasz O. Wielebny Przeor podał dla wyrozumienia roboty według upodobania W[aszej] J[ąśnie] Miłościwej Dobr[odziejki], którą robotę to jest posadzkę,” see: Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie [Czartoryski Library in Krakow], manuscript 5762, l. 1432, letter of Jakub Bielawski to Elżbieta Sieniawska, 2.08.1713.

²⁶ J. Wanat, *Maryjne sanktuarium...*, op. cit., p. 93–111; A. Betlej, *Kościół pw. Św. Michała Archanioła (Nawiedzenia Najśw. Panny Marii) i klasztor oo. Karmelitów Trzewickowych (pierwotnie oo. Karmelitów Bosych)*, [in:] *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, t. 20: *Kościół i klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego*, 2, red. J. K. Ostrowski, Kraków 2012, p. 144, 147; *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, t. 10: *Miasto Przemyśl*, pt. 1: *Zespoły sakralne*, red. P. Krasny, J. Sito, Warszawa 2014, p. 88, 91, 96, 97; J. Skrabski, “Czarny marmur” z Dębnika w Warszawie, [in:] *Kultura artystyczna Warszawy XVII–XXI w.*, red. Z. Michalczyk, A. Pieńkos, M. Wardzyński, Warszawa 2010, p. 63; J. Wanat, *Barokowe ołtarze w bazylice Franciszkanów w Krakowie*, [in:] *“Umiłowany od wszystkiego miasta”. W 770. rocznicę przybycia franciszkanów do Krakowa (1237–2007)*, red. A. Bruździński, Z. Gogola, Kraków 2007, p. 143–176.

In the 19th century, the stonemasonry workshops did not cease production, although their role essentially devolved into making minor products, such as flooring, prefabricated blocks or the mining and preliminary processing of raw blocks. One of those who made use of them was Leonardo Galli, “primo scarpelino del re di Polonia,” who had even been in Dębnik in the times of the last King of Poland Stanisław August Poniatowski (reigned 1746–1794), renting quarries from the Carmelites.²⁷ With the fall of the Commonwealth, Galli moved to Kraków, where he launched a stonemasonry workshop in Stradom. In 1808, the Carmelites signed a three-year tenancy contract with him, permitting the stonemason to have a free hand in the exploitation of the quarries, as well as in surface mining, but under the condition that he hired local workers. The monks signed such a contract with Galli, stipulating in advance the level due to be paid for the leasehold, and they did likewise with Mateusz Kuklewicz in 1811, and in 1817 with Mikołaj Galli, and ultimately in 1822 with Ferdynand Kuhn.²⁸ Both of the Gallis were no longer living in Dębnik in those times, rather they ran their workshop in Kraków; whereas Kuhn opened a workshop in the then developing spa of Krzeszowice. In the second half of the 19th century, the Carmelites took over the entire administration and management of the mines and the craftsmen working there. The huge demand for ore from Dębnik in connection with the reconstruction of the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries, as well as numerous orders for flooring for the monastery in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, the Kraków monasteries of the Capuchins and the Bernardines, and the stonemasonry workshops of Stehlik and Hochstin, contributed to an increase in production at the stonemasonry settlement in Dębnik. At the end of the 19th century, the Carmelites regulated various organisational-legal matters. Following their request, Piotr Strzelichowski made “a calculation of the main particulars of the stonemasonry

²⁷ T. Mańkowski, *Galli Leonard*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 7/1, from 31, Kraków 1948, p. 236.

²⁸ AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 38r–38v, contract of the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna with Leonardo Galli, 1808; AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 44r–44v, contract with Mateusz Kuklewicz, 19 x 1811; AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 49r–50r, letter from the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna to the Department of Internal Affairs and the Police in Kraków, 1822; AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 51r, letter from the Senate Governing the Free and Independent and Strictly Neutral City of Kraków and its Adjoining Territory to the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna, 1822. The Carmelites simultaneously obtained a similar permit from Krakow’s consistory, see: AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 62r, letter of the Consistory to Telesfor Sołtysik, 23.08.1822; AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 53r–57r, contract of prior Telesfora Sołtysik with Ferdynandem Kuhn, 2.08.1822. The agreement between judicial scribe in Krakow Antoni Matakiewicz was signed in the presence of agent of the court Adam Ekielski.

workshops in Dębnik, which at the request of the Reverend Fathers I carried out, and which I duly submit,” regulating the duties of the stonemasons, and the obligations of the monastery. A twelve-hour work pattern was established from 6 am to 9 pm, with a one-hour break, and the wage level was dependent on what was accomplished and the market prices for blocks.²⁹ At the end of that century, an attempt to lease all the Dębnik quarries was made by Edward Stehlik, the owner of a stonemasonry firm, and subsequently by the company of engineer Władysław Kaczmarski and architect Sławomir Odrzywolski. Finally, in 1894, the Carmelites leased the quarries to the Bratislava firm of Alfred Fleisser (Erste Galizische Marmor-Brüche und Industrie “St. Theresia”) cooperating with a firm by the name of John. In 1917, the Carmelites sold the quarries to the company Łucki-Służewski-Leitner, but as early as 1931 they bought back the mines, and in that same year they leased them to Wincenty and Jan Trembecki, the owners of Zakład Artystyczno-Kamieniarski oraz Fabryka WYROBÓW Marmurowych i Granitowych Bracia Trembeckcy.³⁰ Two years later Trembecki withdrew from the contract, although he continued to order marble from local stonemasons.³¹ In 1933, the quarries were leased to Andrzej Ziemiński (1890–1977).³² The end of the Carmelites’ management of the Dębnik stonemasonry settlement occurred together with the nationalisation of the Carmelites’ estates in 1953.³³ State companies took over the quarries, leading to often wasteful mining operations for the purposes of erecting buildings of the Central Committee of the Polish United

²⁹ AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 297r–297v, *Obliczenie głównych szczegółów zakładu kamieniarskiego w Dębniku, które na żądanie Przewielebnych OO uczynilem i takowe przedkładam*, Mikołaj Strzelichowski, without date.

³⁰ AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 370, Jan Trembecki’s letter to the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna, 15.11.1938; AKC, no. 89, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., *Kopaliny kruszców mineralnych i ich użytkowanie na terenie dominium klasztoru Karmelitów Bosych w Czernej*, c. 84r–85v, leasehold agreement of the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna with Wincenty and Jan Trembecki, 14.02.1931.

³¹ This is confirmed by entries in accounts books noting the number of excavated blocks: AKC, no. 84, *Książka wyszczególniająca ilość wybranych marmurów z łomów ww. OO. Karmelitów w Dębniku*, p. 121–122 (entry from 10.12.1935), 127 (entry from 25.04.1936), 131 (entry from 28.08.1936), 143 (5.06.1937). In the year 1938 alone, the Trembeckis ordered 2666 m³ of marble.

³² AKC, no. 84, *Książka wyszczególniająca...*, op. cit., p. 90, 116–117; AKC, no. 83, *Łomy marmuru...*, op. cit., c. 361r–363v, *Klasztor O.O. Karmelitów w Czerne koło Krzeszowic składa wyjaśnienie w sprawie podatku przemysłowego*, 14.04.1939.

³³ After the end of World War II, Poland became a part of the communist bloc. Communist government, dependent on Moscow, confiscated estates Polish aristocracy and property and land belonging to the church.

Workers' Party and the Palace of Science and Culture, thus breaking the local, 400-year stonemasonry traditions.³⁴

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³⁴ The fate of the quarries from the time of the nationalisation of the estates of the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna is not the subject of this essay. However, it is worth noting that the stonemasonry traditions were continued in that period by the Cekiers' family firm. Adam Cekier plans to describe all this in a forthcoming book. I would like to warmly thank him here for his hospitality, the material that he provided as well as a series of in-depth conversations on the subject of the history of the stonemasonry settlement.

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Abstract

One of the most famous centers of stonemasons' settlement in Poland is located in a small village Dębnik near Krakow, which from 1628 years belonged to the Monastery of the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna. Carmelites dealt with the administration, leasing stone mines, obtaining stonemasons and acquiring customers. The text examines the history of the stonemasons' settlement under the management of the Discalced Carmelites from the beginning of the seventeenth century until 1953, the administration of craft workshops, management and relations between religious and stonemasons in different historical periods.

Keywords

Dębnik, the Order of the Discalced Carmelites, masonry, marble from Dębnik, small architecture, sculpture, baroque

Abstrakt

Ośrodek kamieniarski w Dębniku pod zarządem karmelitów bosych w Czernej

Jeden z najsłynniejszych ośrodków kamieniarskich w Polsce jest położony w niewielkiej osadzie Dębnik niedaleko Krakowa, która od 1628 roku należała do klasztoru karmelitów bosych w Czernej. Karmelici zajmowali się administracją, dzierżawą łomów kamieniarskich, pozyskiwaniem kamieniarzy oraz zleceniodawców. W tekście omówiono dzieje osady kamieniarskiej pod zarządem karmelitów bosych od początku XVII wieku do roku 1953, sposób administrowania warsztatami rzemieślniczymi, zarządzania oraz relacje między zakonnikami a kamieniarzami w różnych okresach historycznych.

Słowa kluczowe

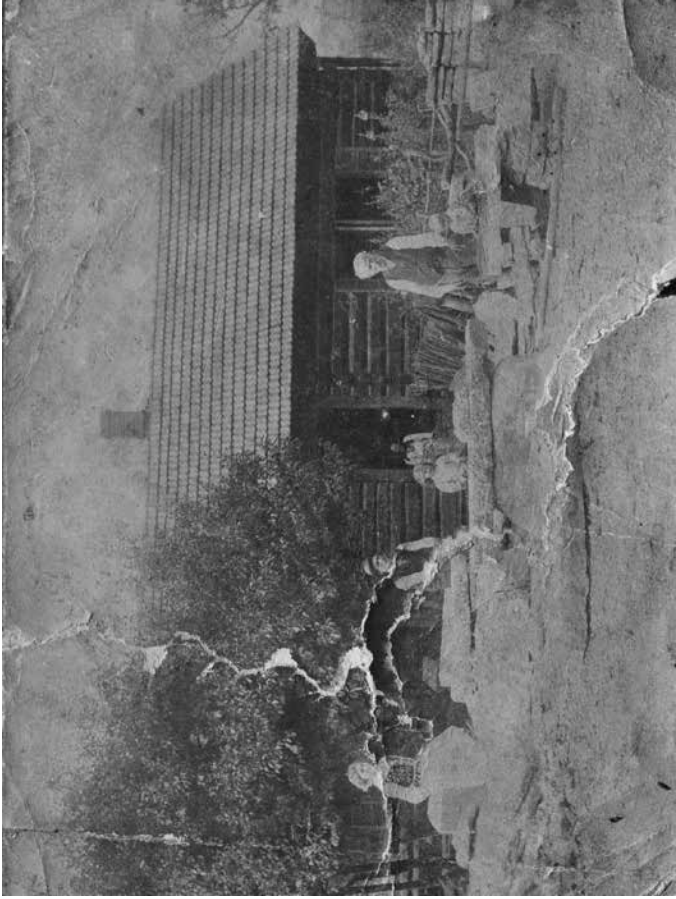
Dębnik, zakon karmelitów bosych, kamieniarstwo, marmur dębnicki, mała architektura, rzeźba, barok



1. View of the hermitage of St. Elijah. Engraving. Georgius Forstern, mid XVII century. Source: J. Wanat, *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej*, Kraków 1992



2. View of the possessions belonging to the monastery in Czerna, with a view of the Dębnik settlement. Engraving Georgius Forstern, mid XVII century. Source: J. Wanat, *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej*, Kraków 1992



3. The stonemasonry workshop of Ludwik and Maria Cekier. Phot. from the collection of Adam Cekier



4. Equipment for excavating blocks of marble on the terrain of Dębnik. Phot. J. Skrabski (2012)