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IN DIE TRIBULATIONIS: THE ORDAINING OF PRIESTS
FOR THE DIOCESE OF LUBLIN
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A b s t r a c t. A major problem of the diocese of Lublin during the Second World War was the replenishment of its clergy. In the initial period of the war, Lublin Seminary remained closed. Its bishops were arrested and deported from Lublin. In these circumstances, it was necessary to use some extraordinary efforts to continue the formation of seminarians and lead them to ordination. Right after the Germans entered Lublin in September 1939, the Lublin Auxiliary Bishop, Władysław Goral, still succeeded in ordaining a few seminarians in the seminary church. Then, in 1940, the auxiliary bishop of the Diocese of Pinsk, Karol Niemira, arrived in Lublin and ordained a large group of seminarians. In 1941, one seminarian was ordained in Vilnius. Some regularity in ordination returned in the years 1941-1944, when the Germans allowed the Lublin Seminary to reopen. The seminarians had to travel in small groups to Nowy Sącz, though, where the bishop of the diocese of Lublin, Marian Leon Fulman, was interned. They were secretly ordained by him in the private chapel of the rectory. Shortly after he returned to Lublin, but before the war was ended in 1945, Bishop Fulman ordained another seminarian in his bishop's chapel. In total, during the Second World War, fifty-seven new priests were ordained for the diocese of Lublin.

Key words: the Second World War, the Diocese of Lublin, clergy, ordination.

In the first guide containing a comprehensive description of the Lublin diocese, which was written by Fr. Marek Tomasz Zahajkiewicz in 1985, a group of 37 priests ordained during World War II was mentioned.¹ Most of them were still active in the diocese. Unfortunately, in the following dec-

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¹ *Diecezja lubelska. Informator historyczny i administracyjny*, ed. M.T. Zahajkiewicz, Lublin: Episcopal Curia Publishing House, 1985, p. 428.

ades, the circumstances of the ordinations of those priests were not documented. Today, it is too late for that as all priests from the group died.²

This article aims to develop the issue of ordaining new priests for the diocese of Lublin during World War II. Therefore, it concerns the circumstances of the minor and major orders, the full list of the ordained, the ministers of the orders, the time and place of receiving the orders, and the occupation specificity of all these activities. The intention is to make the article informative. At the same time, it is the first attempt to present the issue in a comprehensive way. The individual post-mortem biographies of priests did not discuss the issue of the circumstances of ordination. They usually mentioned only the date of the presbyterate, without describing – so to speak – the process of ordination. Thus, the information on the ordination of the Lublin priests during the war is often incomplete, incoherent, and misleading.

The basic source are the personal files of the priests ordained during the war. In many cases the files are incomplete. The problem is that there are no books of the ordained priests and of episcopal activities as they are likely to be lost due to war circumstances. Important information, however, can be found in the seminar chronicle, run by the seminarians since 1942, and the correspondence of the seminar authorities with the bishop. The priceless texts of the memoirs of the three priests ordained during the war, issued in print in the form of short articles, complement the source material.

The issue is presented in chronological order, which corresponds to its dynamics. This emphasizes the circumstances of the ordinations changing with the subsequent years of occupation. Therefore, the article is divided into eight parts according to the time and place of ordination.

1. LUBLIN 1939

The entry of the Germans to Lublin on September 17, 1939, indicated great difficulties in leading a normal religious life in its current form. Starting a new formation year in the seminary was in question. As a result, it was not known how the next and subsequent promotions to priestly ordination

² The last priest from the group to die was Father Józef Bieńkowski, ordained in 1944. The date of his death was 18 September 2010; *Kalendarz liturgiczny i skrócony informator Archidiecezji Lubelskiej na rok 2011*, ed. Cz. Krakowiak, H. Czarnecki, Lublin: Metropolitan Curia Publishing House, 2010, p. 197.

would be put into practice. Perhaps, nobody thought about it at the time, because it seemed to be too early for that.

In the 1938/1939 academic year, 78 clerics studied in the Lublin seminary. The 1939 diocesan schema listed 18 first-year students, 14 second-year students, 11 third-year students, 15 fourth-year students, and 20 fifth-year students. All third-year seminarians received the minor orders: Ostariate, Lectorate, Exorcistate and Acolytate. Also fourth-year seminarians, except one who received the tonsure, received the minor orders. In the case of fifth-year students, the situation was more complicated, because four seminarians were already deacons, while the others received the minor orders.³

The German army entered the seminary immediately after entering Lublin. There was a plan to take professors and seminarians hostage, which was eventually given up. German vehicles were parked in the square in front of the seminary church, so that their crews could rest. The visits of German soldiers in the seminary were temporary, but they anticipated that the buildings located in the city center would be occupied by the Germans, and so it happened. On September 24, German line troops occupied the seminary buildings. A field hospital was established there, though some of the educators and professors of the seminary were still there for several weeks.⁴

When it turned out that there are no chances for the seminary to resume its activity, the Lublin bishops, who had the relative personal freedom, decided to ordain the fifth-year seminarians. It should be noted that the clerics *in gremio* did not return to Lublin from their vacation. It was also difficult to urge them, considering precarious conditions of wartime. Therefore, they were a small group, with the limited possibility of action.

In the first post-war schema of the Lublin diocese, one can find a list of priests ordained in 1939. These were: Józef Frankowski, Feliks Gąska, Stefan Młynarczyk, Roman Puzynowski and Stanisław Rysz.⁵ Some concern is raised by the figures of Roman Puzynowski and Stanisław Rysz as they were not on the pre-war list of seminarians.⁶ Indeed, Fr. Rysz came to the Lublin

³ *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1939*, Lublin: Episcopal Curia Publishing House, 1939, pp. 25-27.

⁴ Z. GOLIŃSKI, *Wojenne losy naszych gmachów kościelnych*, "Wiadomości Diecezjalne Lubelskie" (hereafter: WDL) 1946, no. 5, pp. 186-187; IDEM, *Diecezja w latach 1939-1945. Prześladowania niemieckie duchowieństwa w diecezji lubelskiej*, WDL 1946, no. 9, p. 328; S. MŁYNARZYK, *Seminarium Diecezjalne Lubelskie*, WDL 1964, no. 8-12, pp. 132-133.

⁵ *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1948*, Lublin: Episcopal Curia Publishing House, 1948, p. 226.

⁶ *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1939*, p. 25.

region only in the autumn of 1945, as he left the Capuchin Order and was incardinated to the Lublin diocese.⁷ At the same time, Fr. Puzynowski began to serve in the diocese. His situation was different because he was a repatriate, a priest who belonged to the Lutsck diocese.⁸ The other three were ordained in Lublin, as evidenced by the residual archival materials preserved in their personal files.

The most important document certifying the initiative of the bishops in Lublin regarding ordination addressed the deacon Stefan Młynarczyk. On September 23, 1939, Archbishop Marian Leon Fulman entrusted the suffragan bishop Władysław Goral with ordaining Stefan Młynarczyk. Bishop informed that the ordination would take place the day after, that is, on September 24, in the seminary church of the Transfiguration of Christ in Lublin.⁹

In the case of the other two clerics, the situation was more complicated. The proofs of their priesthood promotion in a specific place and date in 1939 are less obvious. Undoubtedly, on June 18, 1939, they received the subdiaconate ordination.¹⁰ In contrast to Stefan Młynarczyk, they were not deacons on the day of the outbreak of the war. It is worth noting that on September 23, 1939, Młynarczyk made an oral and written statement before receiving the presbyterate ordination, which was required by canon law. The document contained the information that Bishop Młynarczyk listened to and accepted this statement on September 25, 1939.¹¹ Both Józef Frankowski and Feliks Gąska on the same date as Stefan Młynarczyk, that is, on September 23, 1939, made statements before receiving the diaconate ordinations, and on September 24, 1939, before receiving the presbyterate ordinations. Bishop Goral signed all the documents on September 25.¹² This may suggest that

⁷ Archdiocesan Archives of Lublin (hereinafter: AAL), Rep. 60 IIb R31, Personal files of Fr. Stanisława Rysz, no pagination, Information card.

⁸ AAL, Rep 60 IIb P72, Personal files of Fr. Roman Puzynowski, no pagination, Letter of the Primate S. Wyszyński to Bishop P. Kałwa of 20 September 1952.

⁹ AAL, Rep 60 IIb M87, Personal files of Fr. Stefan Młynarczyk, no pagination, Copy of the letter Bishop M.L. Fulman of September 23, 1939 with a note from Bishop W. Goral from September 24, 1939.

¹⁰ AAL, Rep 60 IIb F27, Personal files of Fr. Józef Frankowski, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 IIb G73, Personal files of Fr. Feliks Gąska, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939.

¹¹ AAL, Rep 60 IIb M87, Declaratio of September 23, 1939 with the note of Bishop W. Goral from September 25, 1939.

¹² AAL, Rep 60 IIb F27, Declaratio of September 23, 1939 with the note of Bishop W. Goral from 25 September 1939; Declaratio of September 24, 1939, with a note of Bishop W. Goral from September 25, 1939; Rep 60 IIb G73, Declaratio of September 23, 1939 with the note of

they either received the diaconate ordinations on September 23 and the presbyterate ordinations on September 24, together with Stefan Młynarczyk, or received the diaconate ordinations on September 24, when Młynarczyk received the ordination, and the presbyterate ordination on the next date. This is clarified by a document issued by Bishop Fulman, analogous to the permission relating to the ordination of Stefan Młynarczyk. Namely, on September 23, 1939, the Ordinary entrusted Bishop Goral with ordaining Frankowski and Gąska deacons on the next day. The suffragan confirmed it with his signature.¹³

The recollections of Fr. Młynarczyk, published two decades later, are a valuable source of information confirming the above observations based on the analysis of materials contained in personnel files are. He wrote about direct preparations for ordination in the seminary: "The seminarians began a retreat that was celebrated in a quiet infirmary room in the old building, from textbooks, on their own. But in the meantime, it was necessary to find among the rubble of the cathedral sacristy the pontificate, the bishop's garments least ruffled by shrapnel, dalmatics and chasubles. It was a strange retreat, because the first month of the war was strange. [...] In such circumstances, Bishop Władysław Goral in the seminary church, on Sunday, September 24, 1939, ordained the deacon St [efan] Młynarczyk as a priest, and the subdeacons J [ózef] Frankowski and F [elix] Gąska as deacons. Jan Poddębniak, prosecutor of the seminary, Fr. J [an] Lenart, professor and Fr. Piotr Stopniak, rector of the seminary, assisted in the ministrty."¹⁴

It should also be noted that Bishop Goral ordained one more seminarian as a deacon, namely the subdeacon Bolesław Świś.¹⁵ Fr. Młynarczyk wrote: "In the afternoon, the subdeacon Bolesław Świś appeared in the seminary. The following day, on Monday, September 25, also in the seminary church, Bishop Fr. Wł [adysław] Goral ordained the deacons Józef Frankowski and Felix Gąska as priests, and the subdeacon Bolesław Świś as a deacon."¹⁶ For unknown reasons, the newly ordained deacon Świś did not receive the priestly ordination in 1939, but in the spring of 1940.

Bishop W. Goral from September 25, 1939; Declaratio of September 24, 1939 with a note of Bishop W. Goral from September 25, 1939.

¹³ AAL, Dz. IV 3771, Ordinations of the alumni of the Major Seminary in Lublin, card 1r.

¹⁴ S. MŁYNARCZYK, *Jubileusz 25-lecia święceń kapłańskich (1940-1965)*, WDL 1965, no. 1-7, p. 163.

¹⁵ AAL, Rep 60 Iib S184, Personal files of Fr. Bolesław Świś, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939.

¹⁶ S. MŁYNARCZYK, *Jubileusz 25-lecia*, p. 163.

To sum up, in 1939 in Lublin, a few days after the Germans entered the city, the diaconate and presbyterate ordinations were held in the seminary church of the Transfiguration of Christ in Lublin. It is certain that on September 24 Archbishop Władysław Goral ordained one seminarian as a presbyter and two other seminarians as deacons. On September 25, two newly ordained deacons were ordained as presbyters, and another seminarian was ordained as a deacon.

2. LUBLIN 1940

On November 17, 1939, both Lublin bishops along with a group of priests from the curia and the seminary were arrested by the Germans and imprisoned in the Lublin Castle. Soon, their trial took place before the police ad hoc court. They received the most severe sentences, ultimately turned into life-long prison sentences, as a result of the application of measures of clemency by the general governor, Hans Frank. They were placed in the Sachsenhausen camp in Oranienburg. Bishop Goral stayed there in solitary confinement until his death in the spring of 1945. Bishop Fulman was released on 9 February 1940. Then, he was interned in Nowy Sącz. Probably on 25 February 1940, he managed to get permission to stay at the rectory of the Collegiate Church of St. Margaret in Nowy Sącz. Initially, he was required to register with the police on a weekly basis, but after three months, probably due to his old age and health condition, which did not raise concerns of escape, he was exempted from that requirement.¹⁷ In any case, starting from mid-November 1939, there was no bishop in Lublin who could, even in a secret way, ordain priests.

In the spring of 1940, Germany attempted to organize relations with the Church in the General Government. This was related to the visit of Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop to the Vatican. As a result, the Lublin priests received a directive, which required the vicar general of the Lublin diocese to come out, who previously had served undercover. The vicar was Fr. Zygmunt Surdacki, who was appointed to this office by Bishop Fulman in the occupation conditions, in the autumn of 1939. A curia was organized at the rector church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary the Victorious

¹⁷ J.R. MARCZEWSKI, *Powojenne losy biskupa Mariana Leona Fulmana*, [in:] *Pater Ecclesiae Lublinensis. Studia w 65. rocznicę śmierci biskupa Mariana Leona Fulmana (1866-1945)*, ed. J.R. Marczewski, Lublin: Gaudium Publishing House, 2010, pp. 293-295.

in Lublin. There was a need to supplement the staff of the diocese of Lublin, weakened by arrests, exiles to the camps and executions of the clergy. Taking advantage of the favorable climate, Fr. Surdacki decided to ordain the priests who had received a significant degree of formation in the pre-war period, providing the necessary preparation for undertaking tasks in the extraordinary circumstances of ecclesiastical life. These were the clerics who completed the fifth year of study before the war. Probably in consultation with Bishop Fulman, who had come to Nowy Sącz a few weeks earlier, Fr. Surdacki brought bishop Karol Niemira, a suffragan of Pinsk, who lived in Warsaw at that time, to Lublin. It is unclear whether this action was known to the occupation authorities. Fr. Piotr Stopniak, rector of the seminar in 1932-1946, claims that Fr. Surdacki obtained the appropriate permission from the Gestapo and officially brought the plainclothes bishop Niemira to Lublin, using the Polish Red Cross car. He is wrong, however, when he says that Bishop Niemira ordained priests in Lublin only in March 1940, which makes us skeptical about his testimony as such.¹⁸ Fr. Zbigniew Starnawski provides comprehensive information about the war martyrdom of the priests of Lublin. He writes that Bishop Niemira visited Lublin twice, in March and April 1940. However, he follows Fr. Piotr Stopniak's opinion on the permission of the occupation authorities for ordinations.¹⁹ Doubts about this are aroused by the course of events, of which the account was given by one of the then ordained priests, Fr. Piotr Gąder: "I received priestly ordination secretly from Bishop Karol Niemira. Consequently, he ordained me as a priest, because the bishops of Lublin had been arrested by the Germans. I remember the exact moment. There were twenty of us. We had been discreetly called by letter for the agreed date to the chapel at Zielona Street in Lublin. We were all dressed in civilian clothes. Everyone went in separately so as not to arouse suspicion of the Germans. When we gathered in the chapel, a truck got in front of it, from which an old, tall man, also dressed in civilian clothes, got off. I remember that we were touched when it turned out that it was Fr. Bishop Karol Niemira who came to ordain us. Previously, we had had special preparatory conferences at various secret locations in Lublin, but the letters we had received did not explain why we were going to Lublin.

¹⁸ P. STOPNIAK, *Diecezja w latach 1939-1945. Sprawozdanie z losów i prac seminarium duchownego za lata 1939-1945*, WDL 1946, no. 7, p. 260.

¹⁹ Z. STARNAWSKI, *Martyrologium duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej w latach 1939-1945. Słownik biograficzny*, p. 20 [manuscripts available in AAL].

Our experience was even greater as we stood in front of a bishop in civilian attire.”²⁰

In any case, regardless of the issue of the German permission, ordinations in Lublin in 1940 were held in two dates. The 1948 diocesan schema listed seventeen priests ordained. These were: Michał Dudkowski, Czesław Furtak, Piotr Gąder, Władysław Kłos, Waclaw Kosmala, Józef Kuniec, Jan Lewczyński, Bolesław Mazurek, Piotr Mazurek, Marian Mroczek, Jan Rolla, Stefan Roszkowski, Tomasz Rusek, Wojciech Sikora, Bolesław Świś, Czesław Wiśliński i Longin Ziarek.²¹

It should be noted, however, that three of them: Władysław Kłos, Józef Kuniec and Bolesław Mazurek, were ordained as deacons even before the war. Bolesław Świś was ordained as a deacon in September 1939. The other priests were subdeacons.²² The aforementioned four deacons on 19 March 1940 submitted a writing request to be ordained as priests and made a proper doctrinal statements before receiving the orders.²³ These deacons were ordained as presbyters by Bishop Niemira in the church of St. Josaphat in Lublin on the following day, that is, on Holy Wednesday, March 20, 1940.²⁴

²⁰ P. TARNOWSKI, *Śp. Ks. Piotr Gąder (1914-1993)*, “Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej” 1994, no. 3-4, p. 190.

²¹ *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1948*, p. 227.

²² List of churches and clergy of the Lublin Diocese of 1939, p. 25; AAL, Rep 60 Iib D60, Personal files of priest Michał Dudkowski, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib F24, Personal files of Fr. Czesław Furtak, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep. 60 Iib L28, Personal files of Fr. Jan Lewczyński, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib M106, Personal files of Fr. Piotr Mazurek, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib M114, Personal files of Fr. Marian Mroczek, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib R30, Personal files of Fr. Jan Rolla, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib R36, Personal files of Fr. Stefan Roszkowski, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep. 60 Iib S153, Personal files of Fr. Wojciech Sikora, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib W78, Personal files of Fr. Czesław Wiśliński, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib Z66, Personal files of Fr. Longina Ziarek, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939.

²³ AAL, Rep 60 Iib K138, Personal files of Fr. Władysław Kłos, no pagination, Declaratio of 19 March 1940; Request for the presbyterate ordination of 19 March 1940; Rep 60 Iib K159, Personal files of Fr. Józef Kuniec, no pagination, Declaratio of 19 March 1940; Request for the presbyterate ordination of 19 March 1940; Rep 60 Iib M98, Personal files of Fr. Bolesław Mazurek, no pagination, Declaratio of 19 March 1940; Request for the presbyterate ordination of 19 March 1940; Rep 60 Iib S184, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 19 March 1940.

²⁴ AAL, Rep 60 Iib K138, Document of the presbyterate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 Iib K159, Document of the presbyterate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep 60 Iib M98, Doc-

The situation of the seminarians who were subdeacons was slightly different. On 19 March 1940, all seminarians, except Stefan Roszkowski who did so at a later date, made the doctrinal statements.²⁵ The next day, they were ordained as deacons by Bishop Niemira in the same church.²⁶ However, they had to wait for the priestly ordination. It should also be added that on March 20 two younger seminarians, Aleksander Furmanik and Stefan Kędzierski, were ordained as deacons.²⁷

It is worth mentioning that some ordained deacons submitted requests for ordination without setting a date, as confirmed in their personal files.²⁸ It seems that ordinations were held on an ad hoc basis and the required formalities were not completed beforehand. Only the doctrinal statements were made, which was necessary from the point of view of canon law. The applications were less important, especially in the case of prior approval by Bishop Fulman.

ument of the presbyterate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib S184, Document of the presbyterate ordination of 20 March 1940.

²⁵ Rep. 60 I Ib D60, Request for the Diaconate Ordination of 19 March 1940; Rep 60 I Ib F24, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep 60 I Ib K135, Personal files of Fr. Waclaw Kosmala, without pagination, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep 60 I Ib L28, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep 60 I Ib M106, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep 60 I Ib M114, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep 60 I Ib R30, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep 60 I Ib R33, Personal files of Fr. Tomasz Rusek, no pagination, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep. 60 I Ib S153, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep 60 I Ib W78, Declaratio of 19 March 1939; Rep 60 I Ib Z66, Declaratio of 19 March 1939.

²⁶ AAL, Rep. 60 I Ib D60, Request for the diaconate ordination of 19 March 1940; Request for the presbyterate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib F24, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib K135, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib L28, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib M106, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib M114, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib R30, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib R33, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib S153, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib W78, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep 60 I Ib Z66, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940.

²⁷ AAL, Rep 60 I Ib F28, Personal files of Fr. Alexander Furmanik, no pagination, Document of the diaconate ordination of 20 March 1940; Rep. 60 I Ib K149, Personal files of Fr. Stefan Kędzierski, no pagination, Document of Holy Orders of the diaconate of 20 March 1940.

²⁸ AAL, Rep. 60 I Ib F24, Request for the diaconate ordination; Rep. 60 I Ib M106, Request for the diaconate ordination; Rep. 60 I Ib R30, Request for the diaconate ordination; Rep. 60 I Ib W78, Request for the diaconate ordination; Rep 60 I Ib Z66, Request for the diaconate ordination; Diocesan Archives in Sandomierz (hereinafter: ADS), Personal files of Fr. Piotr Gąder, no pagination, Request for the diaconate ordination.

Bishop Niemira visited Lublin again in mid-April. Ordained less than a month earlier, the deacons now began their preparations to the presbyterate ordination. The earliest date, March 22, appears on the application for the ordination of Jan Lewczyński.²⁹ On April 10, Piotr Mazurek requested for his ordination to be held.³⁰ Dudkowski, Furtak, Gąder, Kosmala, Mroczek, Rusek, Sikora, Wiśliński and Ziarek submitted their requests on 12 April.³¹ Only Rolla did it on 13 April.³² All the statements made were dated 13 April, which was expressed before receiving the presbyterate ordination.³³ The ordinations took place on 14 April 1940, as before, in the church of St. Josaphat. In contrast to the March stay of Bishop Niemira in Lublin, this time, the ordination documents were probably not issued to the neo-presbyters. In any case, there is no trace of such documents in archival materials. Nevertheless, the date and place of the presbyterate ordinations do not raise any doubts. Even nominations for pastoral posts in the diocese indirectly confirm that. During the occupation, they were usually issued the day after ordination. Dudkowski, Furtak, Kosmala, Lewczyński, Mroczek, Rolla, Sikor and Ziarek received nominations dated in such a way.³⁴ In addition, in the certificates issued after the war for Dudkowski and Kosmala for the purpose of their teaching of religion in school, it is written that they were ordained on

²⁹ AAL, Rep. 60 IIb L28, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940.

³⁰ AAL, Rep 60 IIb M106, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 10 April 1940.

³¹ AAL, Rep. 60 IIb D60, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb F24, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb K135, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb M114, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb R33, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb S153, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb W78, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb Z66, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940; ADS, Personal files of Fr. Piotr Gąder, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 12 April 1940.

³² AAL, Rep. 60 IIb R30, Request for the presbyterate ordination of 13 April 1940.

³³ AAL, Rep 60 IIb D60, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb F24, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb K135, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb L28, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb M114, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb M106, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb R33, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb S153, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb W78, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb Z66, Declaratio of 13 April 1940; ADS, Personal files of Fr. Piotr Gąder, Declaratio of 13 April 1940.

³⁴ AAL, Rep 60 IIb D60, Nomination of 15 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb F24, Nomination of 15 April 1940; Rep 60 IIb K135, Nomination of 15 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb L28, Nomination of 15 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb M114, Nomination of 15 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb R30, Nomination of 15 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb S153, Nomination of 15 April 1940; Rep. 60 IIb Z66, Nomination of 15 April 1940.

14 April 1940.³⁵ Gąder, Rusek and Sikora also confirmed this date in their biographies.³⁶

The situation of the seminarian Stefan Roszkowski was more complicated, who seemingly did not make an effort to arrive on time for the ceremony of the diaconate ordination in March (as we know, the clerics came from their places of residence). Quoting the content of the conspiratorial letter calling for the ordination, Fr. Młynarczyk wrote that “the subdeacon Stefan Roszkowski did not come to Lublin, who was afraid to leave his home village Uchanie. Who would have thought that the following notice: „come on March 17, because a noble aunt wants to give you a great fortune” means that the Church wants to give you ordination?”³⁷ As a result, Roszkowski had no chance to be ordained as a deacon until the April visit of Bishop Niemira in Lublin. Roszkowski’s request for the diaconate ordination and his doctrinal statement are dated 10 and 13 April,³⁸ but he was not ordained along with other seminarians on April 14. Fr. Młynarczyk wrote: “There was one more student from our course, who could not come from the far village Uchanie together with others, because it was not easy to travel over a hundred kilometers by cart under the constant threat of round-ups. He was ordained as a deacon in the Lublin cathedral [...].”³⁹

In these circumstances, we can risk saying that Bishop Niemira stayed in Lublin for several days and ordained Stefan Roszkowski and Hieronim Świć as deacons in the Lublin cathedral, as Świć’s doctrinal statement was also dated 13 April 1940.⁴⁰

3. NOWY SĄCZ 1940-1941

The relative freedom of Bishop Fulman interned in Nowy Sącz made it possible to organize many elements of the life of the diocese. One of them

³⁵ AAL, Rep 60 Iib D60, Certificate of January 23, 1957; Rep 60 Iib K135, Certificate of 28 February 1957.

³⁶ AAL, Rep 60 Iib R33, Biography of 10 May 1956; Rep. 60 Iib S153, Biography of 2 December 1953; P. TARNOWSKI, *Śp. Ks. Piotr Gąder*, p. 190.

³⁷ S. MŁYNARCZYK, *Jubileusz 25-lecia święceń kapłańskich (1940-1965)*, WDL 1965, no. 8-12, p. 259.

³⁸ AAL, Rep. 60 Iib R36, Request for the diaconate ordination of 10 April 1940; Declaratio of 13 IV 1940.

³⁹ S. MŁYNARCZYK, *Jubileusz 25-lecia*, p. 260.

⁴⁰ AAL, Rep 60 Iib S194, Personal files of Fr. Hieronim Świć, no pagination, Declaratio of 13 April 1940.

was the issue of preparing candidates for the priesthood and ordination. It is true that the seminary did not function yet, but it was not a problem as the seminarians were obliged to study and take examinations individually with designated professors who at that time worked in the diocese in official or pastoral positions.⁴¹ These activities, of course, were of a conspiratorial nature, as were the orders given by Bishop Fulman.

The shepherd could not perform liturgical functions in a public way, hence except the living room he had another room at the rectory in Nowy Sącz, which was adapted to his private chapel. It was well suited to ordaining small groups of candidates for the priesthood. It should be noted that the specificity of the collegiate church, which was the center of the charity campaign of the local parish priest, Roman Mazur, made potential guests from Lublin feel comfortable. The Lublin priests and clerics could easily hide among lots of visitors and avoid unnecessary and potentially dangerous contact with the Germans.⁴²

Stefan Roszkowski was the first priest ordained in the chapel at the rectory. As we know, he failed to receive the ordination along with other seminarians. Fr. Młynarczyk says that "Roszkowski held a retreat at the Dominicans in Lublin and was ordained on September 21, 1940 by the bishop of Lublin, Marian Leon Fulman, interned in Nowy Sącz, [...], which was witnessed by Jan Poddębniak, priest from Lublin and Władysław Jędruszak, parish priest of Niemce."⁴³ In the following year, other candidates followed Roszkowski.

Since the pre-war fifth-year seminarians were ordained, it was time for the fourth-year seminarians to receive the orders. The 1939 schema listed fifteen clerics as the fourth-year students.⁴⁴ It seems that, all in all, thirteen of them were ordained: Stefan Brewiński, Waclaw Chromiak, Aleksander Furmanik, Stefan Kędzierski, Feliks Kępski, Władysław Krześniak, Stanisław Malikowski, Jan Meger, Jan Nieróbca, Franciszek Surtel, Hieronim Świć, Kazimierz Truchel and Józef Walczak.⁴⁵ In June 1939, four of them: Furmanik, Kędzierski, Krześniak and Świć were ordained as subdea-

⁴¹ P. STOPNIAK, *Diecezja w latach 1939-1945*, p. 260.

⁴² M. WIELICZKO, *Kontekst historyczny losów biskupa Mariana Leona Fulmana w czasie drugiej wojny światowej*, [in:] *Biskup lubelski Marian Leon Fulman. Pedagog trudnych lat*, ed. E. Walewander, Lublin: Learned Society of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, 2010, pp. 115-116.

⁴³ S. MŁYNARCZYK, *Jubileusz 25-lecia*, p. 260.

⁴⁴ *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1939*, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁵ *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1939*, pp. 227.

cons.⁴⁶ They were, therefore, ready for the major orders, namely the diaconate and the presbyterate. In the spring of 1940, Furmanik, Kędzierski and Świć were ordained as deacons by Bishop Niemira.

The first group of four seminarians went to Nowy Sącz in mid-June 1941. On 12 June, after making their doctrinal statements, the deacons: Aleksander Furmanik, Stefan Kędzierski, Hieronim Świć and the subdeacon Władysław Krześniak swore an oath and confession of faith before the vicar general Fr. Józef Kruszyński.⁴⁷ On the same day, the Rector of the seminary, Fr. Piotr Stopniak wrote to Bishop Fulman with a request for their diaconate and presbyterate ordinations.⁴⁸

Possible doubts as to the numerical size of the first group of the priests ordained in Nowy Sącz, and the dates of their ordinations, are dispelled by a biography written by Fr. Hieronim Świć during his vicar stay in the Kamionka parish, in the years 1946-1947: "In 1941, after completing my exams in May, I left together with three other colleagues, being first of my course, to Nowy Sącz, where I was ordained a priest on June 15 by His Excellency Marian Leon Fulman, the Bishop of Lublin, who was then in exile."⁴⁹ This fact can also be confirmed by the biography of Fr. Aleksander Furmanik, written in the same time: "For two years of war from June 1939 to June 1941, I stayed at my parents' house preparing for priestly ordination and after exams in May 1941, I was admitted to it. I was ordained a priest on June 15, 1941 in Nowy Sącz, by His Excellency Marian Leon Fulman, the Bishop of Lublin."⁵⁰ Therefore, if priests were ordained on 15 June, Stefan Kędzierski was probably ordained on the same day. The only doubt concerns the time of the diaconate ordination of Władysław Krześniak. Was it held on the eve of priestly ordination? It seems very likely. Since on June 12, the aforementioned clerics swore an oath before the vicar general in Lublin, it was probably the day after they set off for the morning train to Nowy Sącz. It

⁴⁶ Archives of the Metropolitan Seminary in Lublin (hereinafter: AMSDL), XIII-H-1, Correspondence of the seminary in 1871-1944, at the age of 16; AAL, Rep 60 Iib K129, Personal files of Fr. Władysław Krześniak, no pagination, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep. 60 Iib K149, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib S194, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939; Rep 60 Iib F28, Document of the subdiaconate ordination of June 18, 1939.

⁴⁷ AAL, Rep 60 Iib F28, Declaratio of June 12, 1941; Rep. 60 Iib K149, Declaratio of 10 June 1941; Rep. 60 Iib S194, Declaratio of 10 June 1941; Rep 60 Iib K129, Declaratio of June 12, 1941.

⁴⁸ AAL, Dz. IV 3772, Ordinations of the alumni of the Major Seminary in Lublin, card 1r, 2r.

⁴⁹ AAL, Rep 60 Iib S194, Curriculum vitae.

⁵⁰ AAL, Rep 60 Iib F28, Biography of 21 January 1947.

was a train on the Chełm-Nowy Sącz route. The train departed from Lublin at 7.00 am. It arrived in Nowy Sącz around 6.00 pm.⁵¹ The diaconate ordination could therefore be held on the following morning, June 14. Finally, priesthood ordinations of the four would be held on June 15, 1941. That course of action seems to be most likely. Of course, one should not rule out other possibilities, such as the possibility of ordaining all seminarians in one day or ordaining Krześniak as a deacon when the others were ordained as presbyters and postponing his presbyterate ordination for the next day.

Jan Meger was another seminarian ordained by Bishop Fulman in Nowy Sącz. Unfortunately, in his case, there is no chance to identify the circumstances of receiving each major order. However, as his biography revealed, he was ordained as a presbyter on July 6, 1941.⁵² This date suggests that he was ordained as a subdeacon on July 4 and as a deacon on July 5, in accordance with the then paradigm.

It is likely that Stefan Brewiński, Stanisław Malikowski and Franciszek Surtel received the major orders during one visit in Nowy Sącz, lasting several days. First and foremost, this is evidenced by the content of Piotr Stopniak's request: "The clerics of the fifth course of the seminary, with tonsure and minor orders, Brewiński Stefan, Malikowski Stanisław and Surtel Franciszek were prepared for the subdiaconate, diaconate and priestly ordinations as far as possible. The retreat was held within four days. In accordance with the requirements of the Code of Canon Law, can. 998 and the provisions of the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments about the gathering of opinions about candidates for ordination, the announcements were made in the relevant parishes and the parish priests sent their positive opinions about the candidates. From the personal observation of the candidates during their four-year stay in the seminary and contacts with them during the war, I came to the conclusion that the above-named three clerics are worthy to allow them to receive the major orders. I dare therefore to ask Your Excellency for the gracious consideration of the requests [...] and for giving them the subdiaconate, diaconate and priestly ordinations. [...]. I am asking Your Excellency for granting them a dispensation of *a tempore sacrae ordinationis et ab interstitiis* [...]."⁵³

⁵¹ Z. GOLIŃSKI, *Diecezja w l. 1939-1944. Lublin – Oranienburg – Nowy Sącz – Lublin. Lata 1939-1945 w życiu J.E. Ks. Bpa Fulmana*, WDL 1945, no. 4, p. 108.

⁵² Archives of the Bishop's Curia of the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese, Personal files of Fr. Jan Meger, no pagination, Biography of 25 May 1959.

⁵³ AAL, Dz. IV 3671, Opinions about alumni and correspondence regarding the seminary in Krężnica Jara, card 4r-v.

In addition to the letter of the rector, the statements made by the seminarians under one date before receiving three major orders are also of great importance, with each of the statement by the name having a different, subsequent degree of ordination.⁵⁴ Since all statements were submitted in Lublin on September 10, it can be assumed that the seminarians went to Nowy Sącz in the morning of 11 September. In that case, on September 12, they would receive the subdiaconate ordinations, on September 13 – the diaconate ordinations, and on September 14 – the presbyterate ordinations. Based on the biography of Stanisław Malikowski, one can confirm the last date: “After graduating from the seminary, I was ordained on September 14, 1941 by His Excellency Marian Leon Fulman, the Bishop of Lublin, in Nowy Sącz.”⁵⁵ Such a course of events is also confirmed by the appointment of Fr. Surtel as a neo-presbyter to pastoral work on 15 September.⁵⁶ At that time, such an instant nomination was an ordinary curial practice, as is already known.

The last group of priests ordained in 1941 consisted of five seminarians: Kazimierz Truchel, Feliks Kępski, Jan Nieróbca, Waław Chromiak and Józef Walczak. They made their statements on the day before their ordinations, which was as follows: Kazimierz Truchel – on November 15, Feliks Kępski and Jan Nieróbca – on November 27, and Waław Chromiak and Józef Walczak – on December 10.⁵⁷

On the certificate issued to Józef Walczak by the Lublin curia in 1957 for the purposes of his employment in school, the date of his ordination appears that was December 14, 1941.⁵⁸ Several decades later, the same date was mentioned by Jan Nieróbca in his will. He described the circumstances of the ordination ceremony as follows: “Nowy Sącz. In the catacomb way, we received the chasuble to celebrate the Holy Mass, and in the distance we could

⁵⁴ AAL, Rep 60 Iib M116, Personal files of Fr. Stanisław Malikowski, no pagination, Declaration of 10 September 1941; Rep. 60 Iib S189, Personal files of Fr. Franciszek Surtel, no pagination, Declaration of 10 September 1941; ADS, Personal files of Fr. Stefan Brewiński, no pagination, Declaration of 10 September 1941.

⁵⁵ AAL, Rep 60 Iib M116, Biography of 23 December 1946.

⁵⁶ AAL, Rep 60 Iib S189, Nomination of 15 September 1941.

⁵⁷ Archive of the Zamojsko-Lubaczów Diocese (hereinafter: ADZL), Personal files of Fr. Kazimierz Truchel, no pagination, Declarations of 15 November 1941; AAL, Rep 60 Iib C51, Personal files of Fr. Waław Chromiak, no pagination, Declaration of 27 November 1941; Rep 60 Iib N31, Personal files of Fr. Jan Nieróbca, no pagination, Declaration of 27 November 1941; Rep 60 Iib K174, Personal files of Fr. Feliks Kępski, no pagination, Declaration of 10 December 1941; Rep 60 Iib W66, Personal files of Fr. Józef Walczak, no pagination, Declaration of 10 December 1941.

⁵⁸ AAL, Rep 60 Iib W66, Certificate of 24 January 1941.

hear the menacing sounds of war.”⁵⁹ Also, the 1995 schema of the Zamość-Lubaczów Diocese mentions that Kazimierz Truchel was ordained on December 14, 1941.⁶⁰

Therefore, it can be assumed that on December 11, Truchel, Kępski, Nie-róbca, Chromiak and Walczak left Lublin and came to Bishop Fulman in order to receive their priestly ordinations. Probably, they were ordained as subdeacons on December 12, as deacons – on December 13, and as presbyters – on December 14.

It should also be mentioned that on 9 and 10 February 1941, the seminarian Stefan Sawecki, who had completed the second year of seminary studies before the war, received the tonsure and the minor orders. The documents preserved in his personal file show that in the 1930/41 academic year he continued the clerical formation – as the Lublin seminarian – in the Pallottine Seminary in Ołtarzew. With the consent of Bishop Fulman, he received the minor orders from Bishop Karol Niemira. The ordination was held in the seminary chapel.⁶¹

Moreover, in the first half of 1941, Stanisław Piekarewicz was ordained as a subdeacon and then as a deacon. Before the war, he studied in the Lublin seminary, but in September 1939 he entered the territory occupied by the Soviet Union. As a result of his efforts, he was allowed to continue his education in the seminary in Vilnius. However, he was still dependent on the church's structures in Lublin. In Vilnius, he first received the minor orders,⁶² and then the vicar general of the Lublin diocese agreed that he would receive the two first major orders from the Archbishop of Vilnius, Romuald Jałbrzykowski.⁶³

Ordained in 1941 to the deacon of Lublin diocese, studying in the Vilnius seminary, Piekarewicz probably did not become a presbyter. His efforts to return to Lublin did not bring the desired effect, despite the formal help from the Lublin curia. Therefore, in February 1943, Piekarewicz, who stayed in

⁵⁹ AAL, Rep 60 IIb N31, Testament of 1 January 1992.

⁶⁰ *Schematyzm diecezji zamojsko-lubaczowskiej. Rocznik I po erygowaniu diecezji w 1992 r., stan z dnia 1 grudnia 1994 r.*, ed. F. Greniuk, L. Cybruch, Zamość: Diocesan Curia Zamość, 1995, p. 110.

⁶¹ ADZL, Personal files of Fr. Stefan Sawecki, no pagination, Request for permission to accept tonsure and minor orders of 28 December 1940; Certificate of acceptance of the minor orders of 5 February 1942.

⁶² AAL, Dz. IV 10, Correspondence regarding the seminary and the Catholic University of Lublin, card 12r

⁶³ AAL, Dz IV 3671, card 11r.

the parish of Sokółka, tried to obtain permission from the vicar general of Lublin, Fr. Józef Kruszyński to receive priestly ordination from another bishop.⁶⁴ However, the correspondence preserved in archival materials has ceased on this letter to Bishop Kruszyński. No other sources confirmed the fact of Piekarewicz's further orders.

All in all, in 1941, at the rectory in Nowy Sącz, nine seminarians received all the major orders from Bishop Fulman, one received the diaconate and presbyterate ordinations, and three received only the presbyterate ordinations. Thirteen seminarians received the priestly ordinations. Moreover, one Lublin cleric received the minor orders in Ołtarzew, and another seminarian received the subdiaconate and diaconate ordinations in Vilnius.

4. NOWY SĄCZ 1942

As a result of the efforts of the Church hierarchy in the General Government, on 11 March 1941 the German authorities announced their agreement to launch seminaries in all dioceses of this occupied territory. The condition for reactivating the Lublin seminary was to move it outside the city.⁶⁵ The seminary buildings were occupied by the army. In these circumstances, Krężnica Jara was the appropriate accommodation, where the seminary began to function in a house belonging to the Sisters of Charity. Fr. Piotr Stopniak was still the rector of the seminary. Fr. Tomasz Wilczyński, who also served as a parish priest in Bełżyce during the war, was the vice-rector of the seminary. Karol Konopka was the spiritual director of the seminary. The supply and organization of material facilities were entrusted to Fr. Zdzisław Goliński. The seminary was to be opened on 25 January 1942 due to logistical reasons. 25 seminarians arrived at the seminary, who were in the II, III and IV courses.⁶⁶ It seems that from then on, the ordinations of the Lublin seminarians received the default acceptance of the occupiers.

Interestingly, the first candidate for ordination in 1942, Paweł Nieużyła, did not come from the Lublin seminary. He was a deacon incardinated in the diocese of Częstochowa. On November 15, 1941, he addressed directly to Bishop Fulman in Nowy Sącz, asking him to be admitted to the Lublin clergy

⁶⁴ AAL, Dz IV 10, card 88r.

⁶⁵ Ibid., card 16r, 17r.

⁶⁶ Ibid, card 59r-v; Dz IV 3670, Chronicle of the Lublin seminary with the headquarters in Krężnica Jara, 23 January 1942-21 December 1943, card 3r-5r.

and ordained as a presbyter. In agreement with Teodor Kubina, the bishop of Częstochowa, Fulman decided to accept his request as reported by him on January 7, 1942.⁶⁷ After receiving the document of excardination, dated January 13, Bishop Fulman included deacon Nieużyła to the Lublin presbytery on January 31.⁶⁸ On 1 February 1942, he was ordained. A written confirmation of this fact was signed by Bishop Fulman on February 3 and sent to the Lublin curia.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, the first seminarians preparing for the ordination in the seminary in Krężnica Jara were admitted to it only after the lectures were finished, that is, in the first half of July 1942. Fr. Stopniak, who stayed in Nowy Sącz from June 7 to 12, probably discussed the details with Bishop Fulman.⁷⁰ As a result, from July 4 to 8, seminarians appointed to the orders held a statutory retreat under the guidance of Fr. Prof. Antoni Słomkowski.⁷¹ On July 6, Fr. Stopniak addressed to Bishop Fulman with a request for the tonsure and the minor orders of Jan Dudek and Bolesław Szklarczyk, a newly promoted fourth-year seminarians, who were the only ones from this course not having these orders.⁷² On the same day, he also requested for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations for three seminarians of the older age group: Edmund Idziakowski, Edward Kowalski and Józef Tatarczak.⁷³ Candidates submitted all relevant declarations on July 7 before being ordained.⁷⁴ On July 8, they went to Lublin and then to Nowy Sącz together with the vice-rector Tomasz Wilczyński. On July 10, Dudek and Szklarczyk received the tonsure and the minor orders, while Idziakowski, Kowalski and Tatarczak received the subdiaconate ordinations. On July 11, the diaconate ordinations were held, and on July 12 Idziakowski, Kowalski

⁶⁷ AAL, Rep 60 Iib N19, Personal files of Fr. Paweł Nieużyła, no pagination, Letter of Bishop M.L. Fulman to Bishop T. Kubina from 7 January 1942.

⁶⁸ Ibid, Litterae excardinationis of 13 January 1942 with note of Bishop M.L. Fulman from 31 January 1942.

⁶⁹ Ibid, Certificate of ordination issued by Bishop M.L. Fulman from 3 February 1942.

⁷⁰ AAL, Dz IV 3670, card 31v-32r.

⁷¹ Ibid., card 42r.

⁷² AMSDL, XIII-H-1, card 23r.

⁷³ Ibid., card 23v.

⁷⁴ AAL, Rep 60 Iib I9, Personal files of Fr. Edmund Idziakowski, no pagination, Declaration of 7 July 1942; Rep 60 Iib K190, Personal files of Fr. Edward Kowalski, no pagination, Declaration of 7 July 1942; Rep 60 Iib T37, Personal files of Fr. Józef Tatarczak, no pagination, Declaration of 7 July 1942; Rep. 60 Iib S193, Personal files of Fr. Bolesław Szklarczyk, no pagination, Declaration of 26 June 1942 with a note from 7 July 1942; ADZL, Personal files of Fr. Jan Dudek, no pagination, Declaration of 26 June 1942 with a note from 7 July 1942.

and Tatarczak were ordained as presbyters.⁷⁵ Then, as noted by Fr. Stefan Młynarczyk, “three neo-presbyters, of course in civilian clothes, returned to Lublin by train and then went to their home villages.”⁷⁶

The last graduate of the 4th year of studies, Tadeusz Malec, initially prepared for the major orders together with his colleagues. The record in the seminary chronicle of July 4, 1942 seems to correspond to the belief of the then seminarians that their older colleague was admitted to the priesthood with the others.⁷⁷ Indeed, he filed the statements before receiving each degree of ordination from July 2 to July 6.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Malec’s name was not mentioned in Stopniak’s letter of request to Fulman dated July 6.⁷⁹ On August 2, 1942, the parish priest from Tomaszów Lubelski wrote a letter, which revealed more information on this issue. In his letter, he stated that “regarding the priesthood of the cleric Tadeusz Malec there was no longer any concern about his personal safety.”⁸⁰ Consequently, this might have been about the connections regarding war and occupation matters. In any case, on October 14, the rector received the necessary declarations from Malec and asked the bishop for a sacrament of ordination.⁸¹ At the same request, Bishop Fulman noted the fact of priestly ordination, which was held on 19 October 1942 in Nowy Sącz.⁸² The seminary chronicle confirmed this date of ordination, informing about the arrival of the neo-presbyter on October 22 and celebrating his first mass on October 23.⁸³ The correspondence between Stopniak and the Curia in Lublin reveals that on October 17, Malec was in Nowy Sącz upon receipt of a telegram.⁸⁴ It can be assumed that on that day he received the subdiaconate ordination, and on the next day he received the diaconate ordination.

⁷⁵ AAL, Dz IV 3670, card 42r.

⁷⁶ AAL, Rep 60 IIb T37, Posthumous memoir by Fr. S. Młynarczyk from 20 October 1980.

⁷⁷ AAL, Dz IV 3670, card 37r.

⁷⁸ AAL, Rep 60 IIb M94, Personal files of Fr. Tadeusz Malec, no pagination, Declarations of 2, 4 and 6 July 1942.

⁷⁹ AMSDL, XIII-H-1, card 23v.

⁸⁰ AAL, Rep. 60 IIb M94, Letter of Fr. F. Woźniak to Fr. P. Stopniak from 2 August 1942.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Declarations of 2, 4 and 6 July 1942 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak from 14 October 1942.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Rector P. Stopniak’s request to Bishop M.L. Fulman for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 14 October 1942 with a note from Bishop M.L. Fulman.

⁸³ AAL, Dz IV 3670, card 55r.

⁸⁴ AAL, Rep. 60 IIb M94, Letter of Fr. P. Stopniak to the Lublin Curia from 17 October 1942.

It should also be mentioned that another priest working in the Lublin diocese in 1948 was Zdzisław Witkiewicz, a priest ordained in 1942.⁸⁵ However, his personal file reveals that he was a member of the Missionary Oblates. After the war, he served in the Lublin diocese and was incardinated on December 10, 1948.⁸⁶

5. NOWY SĄCZ 1943

The academic year 1942/1943 in the seminary in Krężnica was the first one since the outbreak of the war, which ran according to the customary order. Formation classes began on August 19, 1942.⁸⁷ On October 16, the rector Stopniak informed the clerics that fourth-year seminarians would be going to Bishop Fulman to Nowy Sącz in separate groups in order to receive the minor orders.⁸⁸ These were: Józef Bieńkowski, Jan Błaszczak, Bronisław Falenta, Edward Kiełb, Tadeusz Kłoczewski, Bolesław Kołyś, Michał Kot, Henryk Kurzępa, Marian Niedziółka, Piotr Sadowski, Jan Skowronek, Zbigniew Starnawski and Stanisław Szubartowski.⁸⁹ However, Kurzępa was soon forced to break the formation. It is true that on 18 October, together with other colleagues, he applied for the tonsure and the minor orders, but in January 1943 he was arrested by the Gestapo and taken to the Dachau camp. It was not until July 8, 1945, after the end of the war, in Germany, that he received the tonsure, ostiarate and lectorate ordinations from Bishop Józef Gawlina.⁹⁰

The initial plans for group travels to Nowy Sącz changed, because on May 3, 1943, the rector informed the seminarians about the forthcoming ordinations planned for the entire class.⁹¹ On May 4, a telegram came from Bishop Fulman, calling the candidates to come to Nowy Sącz. The class heard the conferences preparing for ordination, and on May 5 made a profession of

⁸⁵ *Spis kościołów i duchowieństwa diecezji lubelskiej 1948*, p. 227.

⁸⁶ AAL, Rep 60 Iib W83, Personal files of Fr. Zdzisław Witkiewicz, no pagination, Letter of Bishop S. Wyszynski from 10 December 1942.

⁸⁷ AAL, Dz IV 3670, card 43r-v.

⁸⁸ Ibid., card 54v.

⁸⁹ Ibid., card 8v, 17v, 80r.

⁹⁰ AAL, Rep 60 Iib K179, Personal files of Fr. Henryk Kurzępa, no pagination, Request for tonsure and minor orders from 18 October 1942; Document of acceptance of tonsure, ostiarate and lectorate from 8 July 1945; Request for permission to complete his studies from 30 October 1946.

⁹¹ AAL, Dz IV 3670, card 71r-v.

faith, an anti-modernist oath and an oath of loyalty in the service of the diocese in the seminary chapel before the rector Stopniak. On the same day, the seminarians guided by the spiritual director Karol Konopka went to Lublin by train. On May 6, they went to Nowy Sącz. Immediately after arriving, around 7:00 pm, the delegation paid a visit to Bishop Fulman. The minor orders were held in the collegiate church on the morning of 7 May 1943. On the same day, in the afternoon the seminarians headed back to Lublin.⁹²

A few days after the return of the fourth-year seminarians, the Rector informed the seminary community about the end of lectures, examinations, retreats and the date of priestly ordinations for the fifth-year seminarians.⁹³ Jan Dudek, Franciszek Gzik, Marian Nabielec, Jerzy Ochalski, Stefan Sawecki, Bolesław Szklarczyk, Franciszek Sysa and Stanisław Witkowski were the candidates for ordination.

On June 18, they finished the exam session and began a six-day retreat before the ordination. On June 24, they the required statements.⁹⁴ On June 25, they went to Nowy Sącz via Lublin, guided by Fr. Zdzisław Goliński.⁹⁵ It is worth noting that it was necessary to get permission from the occupying authorities for the passage. This had to be done in advance due to the need to reserve hotel rooms in Nowy Sącz and to complete other preparatory activities.⁹⁶ Bishop Fulman ordained priests in the following order: on June 27 – as subdeacons, on June 28 – as deacons, and on June 29 – as presbyters.⁹⁷

⁹² Ibid., card 71v-72r.

⁹³ Ibid., card 72v.

⁹⁴ AAL, Rep 60 Iib G63, Personal files of Fr. Franciszek Gzik, no pagination, Declaration of 24 June 1943; Rep 60 Iib N20, Personal files of Fr. Marian Nabielec, no pagination, Declaration of 24 June 1943; Rep 60 Iib O36, Personal files of Fr. Jerzy Ochalski, no pagination, Declaration of 24 June 1943; Rep 60 Iib S185, Personal files of Fr. Franciszek Sys, no pagination, Declaration of 24 June 1943; Rep. 60 Iib S193, Declarations of 24 June 1943; Rep 60 Iib W63, Personal files of Fr. Stanisław Witkowski, no pagination, Declaration of 24 June 1943; ADZL, Personal files of Fr. Jan Dudek, Declaration of 24 June 1943; Personal files of Fr. Stefan Sawecki, Declaration of 24 June 1943.

⁹⁵ AAL, Dz IV 3670, card 76r.

⁹⁶ AAL, Dz IV 10, card 89r-v.

⁹⁷ AAL, Rep 60 Iib G63, Request for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 9 June 1943 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak; Rep. 60 Iib N20, Request for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 12 May 1943 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak; Rep. 60 Iib O36, Request for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 9 June 1943 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak; Rep. 60 Iib S185, Request for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordination from 10 June 1943 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak; Rep. 60 Iib S193, Request for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 10 June 1943 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak; Rep. 60 Iib W63, Request for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 12 May 1943 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak; Curriculum vitae of 11 De-

To sum up, in 1943, twelve seminarians received the minor orders from Bishop Fulman in Nowy Sącz. Other eight Lublin clerics received the major orders.

6. NOWY SĄCZ 1944

The next formation stage in the seminary in Krężnica seemed to be even more regular than the previous one. It began on September 1, 1943. The impression of a return to relative normality was additionally given by the admission of new candidates for the first year of studies, which, to the surprise of the diocesan administrative authorities, was approved by the German occupational authorities.⁹⁸ Soon, however, it turned out that the ordination had to be considerably accelerated due to the approaching battle front and the related uncertainty about the future of the diocese and its seminarians.

On 14 January 1944, a meeting of the Council of Professors was held, which approved the major orders for the fifth-year seminarians. In the following days, they submitted appropriate written requests and declarations.⁹⁹

cember 1946; ADZL, Personal files of Fr. Jan Dudek, Request for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 15 May 1943 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak; Personal files of Fr. Stefan Sawecki, Request for the subdeaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 12 May 1943 with the note of Fr. P. Stopniak; *Schematyzm diecezji zamojsko-lubaczowskiej. Rocznik I po erygowaniu diecezji w 1992 r., stan z dnia 1 grudnia 1994 r.*, p. 110.

⁹⁸ AAL, Dz IV 3670, card 79r.

⁹⁹ AAL, Rep 60 IIb B129, Personal files of Fr. Józef Bieńkowski, no pagination, Request of 15 January 1944 and Declarations of 14, 15 and 16 January 1944; Rep 60 IIb B127, Personal files of Fr. Jan Błaszczak, no pagination, Request of 15 January 1944 and Declarations of 16, 17 and 18 January 1944; Rep 60 IIb F21, Personal files of Fr. Bronisław Falenta, no pagination, Request of 15 January 1944 and Declarations from 15, 16 and 17 January 1944; Rep 60 IIb K142, Personal files of Fr. Edward Kielb, no pagination, Request of 15 January 1944 and Declarations of 16, 17 and 18 January 1944; Rep 60 IIb K195, Personal files of Fr. Bolesław Kołtyś, no pagination, Request of 23 January 1944 and Declarations of 22, 23 and 24 January 1944; Rep 60 IIb K173, Personal files of Fr. Michał Kot, no pagination, Request of 15 January 1944 and Declarations of 14, 15 and 16 January 1944; Rep 60 IIb N27, Personal files of Fr. Marian Niedziółka, no pagination, Request of 26 January 1944 and Declarations of 20, 23 and 25 January 1944; Personal files of Fr. Piotr Sadowski, no pagination, Request of 15 January 1944 and Declarations of 14, 15 and 16 January 1944; Rep 60 IIb S192, Personal files of Fr. Jan Skowronek, no pagination, Request of 15 January 1944 and Declarations of 16, 17 and 18 January 1944; Rep 60 IIb S191, Personal files of Fr. Zbigniew Starnawski, no pagination, Request of 22 January 1944 and Declarations of January 26, 1944; Rep. 60 IIb S179, Personal files of Fr. Stanisław Szubartowski, no pagination, Request from 15 January 1944 and Declarations from 16, 17 and 18 January 1944.

From January 22 to January 26, they participated in a retreat conducted by the spiritual director Konopka.¹⁰⁰

Due to the rush, Stopniak was unable to meet all the legal requirements regarding the examination of the candidates. Therefore, based only on the aforementioned decision of the Council of Professors, on January 26 he asked Bishop Fulman to ordain eleven candidates. These were: Józef Bieńkowski, Jan Błaszczak, Bronisław Falenta, Edward Kiełb, Bolesław Kołtyś, Michał Kot, Marian Niedziółka, Piotr Sadowski, Jan Skowronek, Zbigniew Staronawski and Stanisław Szubartowski.¹⁰¹ This group lacked Tadeusz Kłoczewski, who had to abstain from ordination for medical purposes.¹⁰²

On Tuesday, January 26, the aforementioned seminarians made the required statements, confession of faith and oath in the seminary chapel. In the evening, they went to Lublin, and, the next day in the morning, to Nowy Sącz. In the seminar chronicle, a priest participating in these events noted: "Our travel to Nowy Sącz was quite convenient. We stayed for a night in one of the local hotels. Fr. Prof. Goliński was the head of our group. At 8 am we received the subdiaconate ordinations in the private chapel of His Excellency Bishop Fulman. Eleven seminarians were ordained [...]. Bishop Fulman met with us at 3 pm. He offered us some tea and asked with great interest about the scientific conditions in Krężnica."¹⁰³

On Saturday, January 29, the seminarians received the diaconate ordinations. After the ordinations, they took a photograph with Bishop Fulman and a local parish priest, Fr. Mazur. Also this time, the bishop invited newly ordained clerics for afternoon tea.¹⁰⁴

On Sunday, January 30 at 7.00 am, with the participation of several guests, Bishop Fulman gave the seminarians the presbyterate ordinations. On behalf of the newly ordained priests, the dean Jan Skowronek thanked him for the ordinations. This time the local parish priest offered breakfast to the neo-presbyters. After a few hours, around 11.30, they left Nowy Sącz. They stayed overnight at the Capuchins in Rozwadów and on January 31 returned to the seminary in Krężnica.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ AMSDL, XIII-B-1, Chronicle of the Lublin Seminary on January 10, 1944, card 3v.

¹⁰¹ AMSDL, XIII-H-1, card 26r-v.

¹⁰² J. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Wspomnienie kapłana wyświęconego przez biskupa Fulmana w czasie wojny w Nowym Sączu*, [in:] *Biskup lubelski Marian Leon Fulman. Pedagog trudnych lat*, ed. E. Walewander, Lublin: Learned Society of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, 2010, pp. 233-234.

¹⁰³ AMSDL, XIII-B-1, card 4r.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 4v.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, card 4v; Rep. 60 Iib N27, Copy of the letter to Fr. Olędzki from 2 February 1944.

Interestingly, due to the extraordinary acceleration of ordination, Bishop Fulman wanted to be sure that the neo-presbyters would be prepared by the seminary studies, as far as possible. Therefore, on January 29, 1944, he issued the following statement: "To Fr. Zdzisław Goliński, I declare that your priesthood entitlements to celebrate Holy Mass, preach and perform all other liturgical functions, are suspended until you finish the seminary course. An exception can only be made for Easter. I appoint the Rector of the seminary as my delegate to these matters and in this way I rule out any possibility of intervention to me. You should behave in the seminary, as if you did not receive ordination. I decide what I have said for your own sake and for the sake of the order in the institution."¹⁰⁶ Indeed, this resolution entered into force. The neo-presbyters began further seminary studies, starting with the completion of the winter exam session, and they were nominated for priesthood work in Krężnica only on June 22, 1944.¹⁰⁷

All in all, at the beginning of 1944, eleven seminarians from Lublin received the major orders from Bishop Fulman. These were the last priests ordained by him in Nowy Sącz.

7. LUBLIN 1945

Bishop Fulman returned to the diocese in February 1945, and although the liberation of Lublin from the German occupation took place in July 1944, it was, formally speaking, still the time of the war, which in Europe ended in May 1945. Hence it is also worth noting that between the bishop's return and the surrender of Nazi Germany, there was still one priestly ordination held in Lublin. Tadeusz Kłoczewski received the ordination, who failed to be given the orders together with his colleagues, ordained by Bishop Fulman in Nowy Sącz at the end of January 1944. Kłoczewski's disease made it impossible to receive ordination.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, he continued his seminary formation in the academic year 1943/1944. His desire to receive ordination and the lack of obstacles in this regard enabled the canonical procedures. In December 1944, the necessary information from the parish priest and the faithful of

¹⁰⁶ AMSDL, XIII-H-1, card 27r.

¹⁰⁷ AMSDL, XIII-B-1, card 5r, 19r.

¹⁰⁸ J. BIEŃKOWSKI, *Wspomnienie kapłana*, p. 234.

Kłoczewski's family parish was collected as required by church law.¹⁰⁹ At the session of the council of educators and professors of the Lublin seminary, held on January 31, 1945, Kłoczewski obtained confirmation of his suitability for ordination and a positive opinion about his moral and mental level.¹¹⁰ He only had to wait for Bishop Fulman to come to Lublin. A quick return of Bishop Fulman was hoped, because Nowy Sącz had been occupied by the Red Army several days earlier, and thus the obstacle in bishop's getting to his own diocese disappeared.

On March 5, Kłoczewski submitted an application for ordination.¹¹¹ This was certainly the result of earlier arrangements that had been made with Bishop Fulman. On 6 March, the Rector formally informed the bishop that all the necessary requirements had been met by the candidate and asked for his ordination.¹¹² Bishop Fulman planned the celebrations in the following way: the subdiaconate ordination was to be held on March 11, the diaconate ordination – on March 17, and the presbyterate ordination – on March 23.¹¹³ This order was confirmed by the dates of submission of appropriate oaths and declarations by Kłoczewski. At each of the orders he submitted it on the eve of the respective ceremony.¹¹⁴ One should think that the three orders were held in a private chapel in the episcopal house, although there is no direct information about this. The reasons were more general, such as Fulman's poor health, the fact that the Lublin cathedral was destroyed, and the building of the seminary was not yet recovered. The presbyter Włodzimierz Gołkiewicz, a seminarian of the diocese of Lutsk, who was later included in the diocese of Lublin, was ordained there six months later, on September 22, 1945. This was described in Gołkiewicz's biography, which pointed more precisely to the episcopal chapel as a place of ordination.¹¹⁵ Thus, formally speaking, the ordination of Tadeusz Kłoczewski was the last priestly ordination for the diocese of Lublin during the Second World War.

¹⁰⁹ AAL, Rep 60 Iib K133, Personal files of Fr. Tadeusz Kłoczewski, no pagination, Opinion of 9 December 1944; Information about the announcement from 10 December 1944.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., Rector P. Stopniak's request to Bishop M.L. Fulmana for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 6 March 1945.

¹¹¹ Ibid., Request for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 5 March 1945.

¹¹² Ibid, Rector P. Stopniak's request to Bishop M.L. Fulmana for the subdiaconate, diaconate and presbyterate ordinations from 6 March 1945.

¹¹³ Ibid., P. Stopniak's Request to the Bishop's Curia in Lublin from 6 March 1945.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., Declarations of 10, 16 and 22 March 1945.

¹¹⁵ AAL, Rep 60 Iib G78, Personal files of Fr. Włodzimierz Gołkiewicz, no pagination, Curriculum vitae of 4 October 1973.

8. THE LIST OF PRIESTS ORDAINED
FOR THE DIOCESE OF LUBLIN
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The ordination of priests for the diocese of Lublin during the Second World War posed serious ecclesiastical and practical challenges. It seems, however, given the prevailing conditions, that they were dealt with in the satisfactory way. For it was possible to ordain 57 of 78 pre-war seminarians, which constituted over 73% of this group. In addition, one more candidate from outside the diocese was accepted, which increased the number of new priests to 58. However, in fact, 59 candidates were ordained, but one of them was not a presbyter, and another was from outside the diocese.

Fourteen seminarians received all the minor and major orders during the war. The other nineteen received the major orders. In turn, twenty seminarians received the diaconate ordinations and the presbyterate ordinations, five seminarians received only the presbyterate ordinations, and one received the subdiaconate and diaconate ordinations.

All in all, there were 161 ordinations. It is worth noting that most priests (120) were ordained by Bishop Marian Leon Fulman. 33 priests were ordained by Bishop Karol Niemira, 6 priests were ordained by Bishop Władysław Goral, and 2 priests were ordained by Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski. Three-fourths of the acts of ordination were conducted by Bishop Fulman. 118 acts of ordination were held in Nowy Sącz, while 42, which is just over a quarter of all ordinations, were held in Lublin, two were held in Vilnius, and one was held in Ołtarzew.

As seen above, in principle, the ordinations during the war were the aftermath of the more or less advanced formation of pre-war Lublin seminarians continued in unfavorable occupation circumstances. It is difficult to talk about the development of vocations and chances for a significant increase in the number of the ordained. Therefore, the future of the Lublin ecclesiastical community seemed to be very bad, at least regarding the possibility of effectively supplementing the staffing of local clergy in the following years.

- LA – Lublin, The Metropolitan Cathedral of St. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist
- LJ – Lublin, the Church of St. Josaphat
- LK – Lublin, a chapel in the Bishop's house
- LP – Lublin, the Church of the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ

- NS – Nowy Sącz, bishop’s chapel at the presbytery of the collegiate church of St. Margaret
 OŁ – Ołtarzew, the Pallotines church
 WN – Vilnius
 KN – Bishop Karol Niemira
 MLF – Bishop Marian Leon Fulman
 RJ – Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski
 WG – Bishop Władysław Goral

- N – the minor orders
 S – the subdiaconate
 D – the diaconate
 P – the presbyterate

Table 1. Alphabetical list of priests ordained for the diocese of Lublin during the Second World War

Serial No.	Name	Date, Place, and Minister of Holy Orders			
		N	S	D	P
1.	Józef Bieńkowski	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
2.	Jan Błaszczak	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
3.	Stefan Brewiński		12 IX 1941 NS, MLF	13 IX 1941 NS, MLF	14 IX 1941 NS, MLF
4.	Wacław Chromiak		12 XII 1941 NS, MLF	13 XII 1941 NS, MLF	14 XII 1941 NS, MLF
5.	Jan Dudek	10 VII 1942 NS, MLF	27 VI 1943 NS, MLF	28 VI 1943 NS, MLF	29 VI 1943 NS, MLF
6.	Michał Dudkowski			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
7.	Bronisław Falenta	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
8.	Józef Frankowski			24 IX 1939 LP, WG	25 IX 1939 LP, WG
9.	Aleksander Furmanik			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	15 VI 1941 NS, MLF
10.	Czesław Furtak			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN

11.	Piotr Gąder			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
12.	Feliks Gąska			24 IX 1939 LP, WG	25 IX 1939 LP, WG
13.	Franciszek Gzik		27 VI 1943 NS, MLF	28 VI 1943 NS, MLF	29 VI 1943 NS, MLF
14.	Edmund Idziakowski		10 VII 1942 NS, MLF	11 VII 1942 NS, MLF	12 VII 1942 NS, MLF
15.	Stefan Kędzierski			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	15 VI 1941 NS, MLF
16.	Feliks Kępski		12 XII 1941 NS, MLF	13 XII 1941 NS, MLF	14 XII 1941 NS, MLF
17.	Edward Kielb	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
18.	Tadeusz Kłoczewski	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	11 III 1945 LK, MLF	17 III 1945 LK, MLF	23 III 1945 LK, MLF
19.	Władysław Kłos				20 III 1940 LJ, KN
20.	Bolesław Kołtyś	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
21.	Wacław Kosmala			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
22.	Michał Kot	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
23.	Edward Kowalski		10 VII 1942 NS, MLF	11 VII 1942 NS, MLF	12 VII 1942 NS, MLF
24.	Władysław Krześniak			14 VI 1941 NS, MLF	15 VI 1941 NS, MLF
25.	Józef Kuniec				20 III 1940 LJ, KN
26.	Jan Lewczyński			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
27.	Tadeusz Malec		17 X 1942 NS, MLF	18 X 1942 NS, MLF	19 X 1942 NS, MLF
28.	Stanisław Malikowski		12 IX 1941 NS, MLF	13 IX 1941 NS, MLF	14 IX 1941 NS, MLF
29.	Bolesław Mazurek				20 III 1940 LJ, KN
30.	Piotr Mazurek			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
31.	Jan Meger		4 VII 1941 NS, MLF	5 VII 1941 NS, MLF	6 VII 1941 NS, MLF

32.	Stefan Młynarczyk				24 IX 1939 LP, WG
33.	Marian Mroczek			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
34.	Marian Nabielec		27 VI 1943 NS, MLF	28 VI 1943 NS, MLF	29 VI 1943 NS, MLF
35.	Marian Niedziółka	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
36.	Jan Nieróbca		12 XII 1941 NS, MLF	13 XII 1941 NS, MLF	14 XII 1941 NS, MLF
37.	Paweł Nieużyła				1 II 1942 NS, MLF
38.	Jerzy Ochalski		27 VI 1943 NS, MLF	28 VI 1943 NS, MLF	29 VI 1943 NS, MLF
39.	Stanisław Piekarewicz		spring 1941 WN, RJ	spring 1941 WN, RJ	
40.	Jan Rolla			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
41.	Stefan Roszkowski			IV 1940 LA, KN	21 IX 1940 NS, MLF
42.	Tomasz Rusek			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
43.	Piotr Sadowski	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
44.	Stefan Sawecki	10 II 1941 OŁ, KN	27 VI 1943 NS, MLF	28 VI 1943 NS, MLF	29 VI 1943 NS, MLF
45.	Wojciech Sikora			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
46.	Jan Skowronek	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
47.	Zbigniew Starnawski	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF
48.	Franciszek Surtel		12 IX 1941 NS, MLF	13 IX 1941 NS, MLF	14 IX 1941 NS, MLF
49.	Franciszek Sysa		27 VI 1943 NS, MLF	28 VI 1943 NS, MLF	29 VI 1943 NS, MLF
50.	Bolesław Szklarczyk	10 VII 1942 NS, MLF	27 VI 1943 NS, MLF	28 VI 1943 NS, MLF	29 VI 1943 NS, MLF
51.	Stanisław Szubartowski	7 V 1943 NS, MLF	28 I 1944 NS, MLF	29 I 1944 NS, MLF	30 I 1944 NS, MLF

52.	Hieronim Świć			IV 1940 LA, KN	15 VI 1941 NS, MLF
53.	Bolesław Świś			24 IX 1939 LP, WG	20 III 1940 LJ, KN
54.	Józef Tatarczak		10 VII 1942 NS, MLF	11 VII 1942 NS, MLF	12 VII 1942 NS, MLF
55.	Kazimierz Truchel		12 XII 1941 NS, MLF	13 XII 1941 NS, MLF	14 XII 1941 NS, MLF
56.	Józef Walczak		12 XII 1941 NS, MLF	13 XII 1941 NS, MLF	14 XII 1941 NS, MLF
57.	Czesław Wiśliński			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN
58.	Stanisław Witkowski		27 VI 1943 NS, MLF	28 VI 1943 NS, MLF	29 VI 1943 NS, MLF
59.	Longin Ziarek			20 III 1940 LJ, KN	14 IV 1940 LJ, KN

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