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DOMINICANS AND FRANCISCANS IN WARKA. THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS

Dominikanie i franciszkanie w Warce. Kontekst religijno-społeczny fundacji klasztornych Abstrakt

Zakony mendykanckie, dominikanie i franciszkanie, odegrały znaczącą rolę religijną, gospodarczą i kulturową na przestrzeni minionych wieków w Warce na Mazowszu. Fundacja klasztoru dominikanów historycznie związana była z osobą księcia Siemowita I. Klasztor dominikanów w Warce, fundowany w połowie XIII stulecia, obok klasztorów pw. św. Dominika w Płocku i św. Mikołaja w Sochaczewie należących do kontraty mazowieckiej, zaliczany jest do najstarszych fundacji tego zakonu na ziemiach polskich. W połowie XVII w. do Warki zostali sprowadzeni franciszkanie. Fundatorką klasztoru była Katarzyna z Boglewic Trzebińska. Swoją obecnością franciszkanie przyczynili się do religijnego ożywienia miasta.

Słowa kluczowe: Warka, fundacje, klasztory, dominikanie, franciszkanie

Abstract

The mendicant Orders, Dominicans and Franciscans, played a significant religious, economic, and cultural role over the past centuries at Warka in Mazovia. The foundation of the Dominican monastery was historically linked to the person of Duke Siemowit I. The Warka Dominican monastery, founded in the middle of the 13th century, next to the monasteries of St Dominic in Płock and of St Nicholas at Sochaczew belonging to the Mazovian contract, is considered one of the oldest foundations of this order in Poland. In the mid-17th century, the Franciscans were brought to Warka. The foundress of the monastery was Katarzyna of Boglewice Trzebińska. With their presence, the Franciscans contributed to the religious revival of the town.

Keywords: Warka, foundations, monasteries, Dominicans, Franciscans

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Dominicans at Warka

Until now it has been generally accepted in the historiography of the Preaching Order that the foundation of the Dominican monastery at Warka took place in 1279 on the initiative of Duke Bolesław II. This dating was advocated by Dominican scholars Abraham Bzowski (c. 1567-1637)² and Sadok Barącz (1814-1893),³ and much later by the jurist and historian Wincenty Hipolit Gawarecki (1788-1852).⁴ The latter, citing 1279 in his findings on the foundation of the Warka Dominican monastery, also referred to the works of previous Dominican historians of the Old Polish period, Felicjan Nowowieyski (c. 1689-1760) and Michał Siejkowski (c. 1695-752).⁵

In his study, Gawarecki pointed to Duke Bolesław II as the founder of the monastery, and attributed to Trojden the transfer of the Dominican monastery to a new place in 1321, writing: "the monastery of Dominican priests boasted its antiquity at Warka, originally founded by Bolesław, the duke of Mazovia in Płock in 1279, and by Trojden, the duke of Czersk, to the place where its ruins stand today, in 1321 it was moved."⁶

Bronisław Chlebowski, in his entry in *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, also provided information regarding this foundation, stating that the Dominicans were brought to Warka in the middle of the 13th century by Duke Siemowit I (d. 1262), who was to settle them in the castle, entrusting the monks with the care of the chapel and probably the maintenance of the parish established at that time.⁷ On the other hand, Jerzy Kłoczowski's research into a list of Dominican monasteries in the Polish province compiled by the famous Dominican historian and inquisitor Bernard Gui (Guidonis) (1261/1262-1324) has shown that the origins of the Warka Dominican monastery

² A. Bzowski, *Propago D. Hyacinthi Thaumaturgi Poloniae seu de rebus praeclare gestis in Provincia Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Venetiis 1606, p. 7. In addition, Bzowski is the author of numerous works, the most valuable being a continuation of Cesar Baronius' work, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, on which further work was commissioned to Abraham Bzowski by Pope Paul V., which was criticised by the Jesuits and Franciscans. See E. Ozorowski, *Bzowski Abraham Stanisław (c. 1567-1637)*, in: *Słownik Polskich Teologów Katolickich* [Hereafter SPTK], vol. 1, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1981, p. 267-271.

³ S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, Lviv 1861, p. 331; see also M. Banaszak, *Barącz Sadok Wincenty Ferreriusz (1814-1892)*, in: SPTK, vol. 1, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, p. 102-104.

⁴ H. Gawarecki, *Opis miasta Warki nad Pilicą położonego*, Warsaw 1845, p. 176.

⁵ F. Nowowieyski, *Phoenix decoris et ornamentis Prov. Poloniae S. Ord. Praed. S. Hyacinthus Odrovansius Posnaniae 1752*; B. Natoński, *Nowowieyski Felicjan (ca. 1689-1760)*, in: SPTK, vol. 3, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1982, p. 234-235; M. Siejkowski, *Dni Roczne Świętych, Błogosławionych, Wielebnych y Pobożnych Sług Boskich Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego S. Oycy Dominika [...] [...] do druku podane*, Krakow 1749; B. Natoński, *Siejkowski (Siejkowski) Michał (1695-1752)*, in: SPTK, vol. 4, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Warsaw 1982, p. 62-64.

⁶ „klasztor księży dominikanów szczył się starożytnością w Warce, fundowany pierwsiestkowo przez Bolesława księcia mazowieckiego na Płocku w r. 1279 a przez Trojdena księcia czerskiego w to miejsce, gdzie dziś jego zwaliska stoją w 1321 przeniesiony został.” W.H. Gawarecki, *Opis miasta Warki...*, p. 176.

⁷ B. Chlebowski, *Warka*, in: *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, eds. B. Chlebowski, F. Sulimierski, W. Walewski, vol. 12, Warsaw 1892, p. 954-956. The author also mentions (p. 954) the original Dominican endowment, writing that it was not very big and consisted of a mill on the Pilica River with a pond and a piece of land, a lake at Winiary (a village between Old and New Warka), with meadows on the Pilica River and a square on which the original monastery stood, as well as fishing and grazing rights. This statement indicates that the original monastery probably stood at Stara Warka by the castle town or in the castle town of Warka, and that it was only under Trojden that the monastery (and probably the castle town) was moved to the developing marketplace.

can be deferred to later times.⁸ The problem of dating the Dominican foundation raised by Kłoczowski as well as the issue of the credibility of the ducal documents for the monastery at Warka, were not taken up until Adam Rutkowski's⁹ research in the 1960s. His studies of the oldest documents relating to the Warka Dominican monastery resulted in shifting the time of the foundation to the period of the reign of Duke Siemowit I, between 1247 (the beginning of the Duke's independent rule in Mazovia) and 1254. Michał Skoczyński, the latest researcher of the history of the Dominicans in Mazovia, is also in favor of such a date arguing in the publication, *Contrata Masoviae. Dominikanie na Mazowszu od XIII do XVI wieku*,¹⁰ "that there is also no doubt that the founder of the monastery was Duke Siemowit I, who was mentioned both in the confirmations of privileges issued by his son Bolesław II and grandson Trojden I."¹¹

It should be noted that all monastic foundations both in the Middle Ages and in the Old Polish era were subject to certain rules. The person of the founder and the family he descended from were always indicated. This was the case with the monastic orders (Benedictines, Cistercians) and the mendicants in the 13th/14th century (Dominicans, Franciscans, and a little later, the Discalced Carmelites). The time of the foundation and the circumstances that led to it were important. Foundations were combined with Christianisation (missionary work) and colonisation (Cistercians) or religious events, e.g., the canonisation of the bishop of Krakow, Stanislaus of Szczepanów (1253/4). Moreover, an important element of the foundation was the endowment, i.e., defining the material basis for the functioning of the monastery.

The size of the endowment reflected the founder's abilities and was a good opportunity to promote the founder or the family. In the case of medieval foundations, researchers often ask themselves: What was the motive for this or that monastic foundation? Was it a religious (devotional) objective, or did it result from e.g., economic (colonisation) activity, which is perfectly visible in the case of the Cistercian Order known for its outstanding colonisation activity, which also guaranteed, a.o., good management of vast areas with the simultaneous influence of the Order on the local population and its religious attitudes?¹² These questions must be asked whenever foundation documents are analysed, both in the Middle Ages and in the Modern Age.

Having analysed the manuscripts and printed sources as well as the existing literature on the subject, Michał Skoczyński highlights several important aspects that influenced

⁸ J. Kłoczowski, *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów. Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce*, vol. 3, Poznań 2008, p. 61.

⁹ M. Skoczyński, *Contrata Masoviae. Dominikanie na Mazowszu od XIII do XVI wieku*, Krakow 2019, p. 470, as cited in A. Rutkowski, *Dominikanie i Franciszkanie na Mazowszu od połowy XIII do końca XIV wieku (fundacje i podstawy gospodarcze)*, Warsaw 1969, TS in the collection of the University of Warsaw.

¹⁰ M. Skoczyński, *Contrata Masoviae...*, p. 54-55.

¹¹ „iż nie ulega też wątpliwości, że fundatorem klasztoru był książę Siemowit I, który był wzmiankowany zarówno w potwierdzeniach przywilejów wystawianych przez jego syna Bolesława II, jak i wnuka Trojdena I.” Ibidem, p. 55.

¹² More on this topic, see J.M. Marszalska, *Opactwo cystersów w Szczyrzcycu od XIII do końca XX wieku. Dzieje – gospodarka – kultura*, Krakow 2011, p. 31-44; J. Dobosz, *Proces fundacyjny i pierwotne uposażenie opactwa cystersów w Jędrzejowie*, in: *Cystersi w Polsce. W 850-lecie fundacji opactwa jędrzejowskiego*, ed. D. Olszewski, Kielce, 1990, p. 40-80; A.M. Wyrwa, *Powstanie zakonu cystersów i jego rozwój na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, in: *Monasticon Cisterciensae Poloniae. Dzieje i kultura klasztorów cysterskich na ziemiach polskich i dawnej Rzeczypospolitej od średniowiecza do czasów współczesnych*, vol. 1, eds A.M. Wyrwa, J. Strzelczyk, K. Kaczmarek, Poznań 1999, p. 217-255.

the motives for the medieval foundation of the Dominicans at Warka. Its founder was Duke Siemowit I; perhaps the duke's decision was influenced by his contact with the Dominicans of Płock, founded by his father, Duke Konrad, in the castle town of Płock, and also by the duke's wife, Duchess Pereyeslava, mentioned in the Krakow obituary as a benefactress of the monastery.¹³

This aspect of the foundation can be described as partially religious. The purpose of the foundation may have been to strengthen the duke's position in the Czersk district where Warka lay, received during the lifetime of his father (Duke Konrad of Mazovia).¹⁴ Therefore, political and economic goals become apparent here. The favourable location of Warka on the banks of the navigable Pilica River which fostered the development of the town, especially trade and commodity exchange seen already in the 14th and 15th centuries, was not without significance here. The foundation of the monastery may have been the result of a religious revival in Poland caused by the canonisation in Assisi (1253) of St. Stanislaus, bishop and martyr, and its solemn celebration in Krakow in 1254. To commemorate this event, the monastery church was then given the name of St Stanislaus, which was quite significant. On the other hand, the monastery's auspicious location from a pastoral and fundraising point of view (a well-developed network of churches, the navigability of the Pilica River), guaranteed the favourable economic development¹⁵ for the new foundation.

Therefore, the time of the monastery's foundation should be shifted to around the middle of the 13th century. The basis of the duke's foundation and thus the original endowment of the monastery was "a mill on the Pilica River with a pond and a piece of land, a lake at Winiary (a village between Old and New Warka), with meadows on the Pilica River and a square on which the original monastery stood, as well as fishing and grazing rights."¹⁶ The endowment was considered rather modest, given that the founder was a prince. However, the most important endowment for the Dominican convent of Warka is considered the privilege of Trojden of 1321, when in addition to approving the earlier privileges, the duke also gave the monks one third of the income from customs collected in Warka, as well as 6 grzywnas in rent from the town's revenues.¹⁷ The original monastery probably stood at Stara Warka near or at the Warka castle town, and it was only during the reign of Trojden (son of Siemowit I) that the monastery (and probably the castle town) was moved to the thriving market place. It is worth noting that after 1262 the monastery, along with the whole town, was moved, after the destruction of the castle town during the Lithuanian-Ruthenian invasion (in which, incidentally, Siemowit I was killed) a few kilometres further (4 km) to the west, to a more favourable place for development.¹⁸

Undoubtedly, the Warka Dominican monastery of St Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr, founded in the mid-13th century, along with the monasteries of St Dominic in Płock and St

¹³ Ibidem, p. 56.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 57.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 56-57.

¹⁶ „młyn na Pilicy z sadzawką i kawalem roli, jezioro w Winiarach (wsi między Starą a Nową Warką), z łakami nad Pilicą i plac na którym stał pierwotny klasztor, tudzież prawo do rybołówstwa i pastwiska.” B. Chlebowski, *Warka*, p. 954.

¹⁷ M. Skoczyński, *Contrata Masoviae...*, p. 113, as cited in: Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Księstwa Mazowieckiego No 55, in: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [AGAD], Metryka Koronna 45, card 177.

¹⁸ M. Skoczyński, *Contrata Masoviae...*, p. 58.

Nicholas at Sochaczew, belonging to the Mazovian contract, is one of the oldest foundations of this Order in Poland.¹⁹ Like the monasteries in Płock and Sochaczew, it was linked to the dynasty of the Mazovian Piasts, to whom it owed its foundation and original endowment. The Dominicans had gained the support of the Mazovian ducal dynasty, which was expressed in endowments to churches (privileges, material donations). Also, in religious aspect, the fact of the ducal burials in Dominican churches becomes indicative.²⁰

It cannot be ruled out that the pastoral (preaching) activities undertaken by the Order were of vital importance to the dynasty's ruling of the area, namely by ordering obedience to the duke through skillful religious subordination of the population. The medieval foundation of the Dominicans at Warka is part of an important research on the presence of orders of various observances in Poland, their influence, importance, dependence (or not) on the founder's person. The presence of the Dominicans in Mazovia in the first half of the 13th century (including Warka) was a testimony to the foresight of the Mazovian dukes in relation to the rapidly developing new mendicant order, whose establishment in the ducal estates was conducive to the dynasty's policy and, at the same time, provided a visible religious aspect important for strengthening the position of the ruling duke. In the Middle Ages, a strong and structurally well-organised convent provided such a guarantee.

Franciscans at Warka

Almost four centuries later, in the 1730s, under completely different political, social and religious circumstances, the Franciscans (*Ordo Fratrum Minorum Conventualium*) were brought to Warka. At that time Warka was already an important urban centre in the Mazovia region, which was home to thriving craft guilds of saddlers, boilermakers, bakers, goldsmiths, shoemakers and, above all, brewers.²¹ Warka, located on the Pilica River, was an important navigable and commercial centre with fairs taking place, and from the 16th century, just after

¹⁹ D.A. Dekański, *Początki zakonu dominikańskiego prowincji polsko czeskiej: pokolenie św. Jacka w zakonie*, Gdańsk, 1999, p. 153-155.

²⁰ On the question of burials, Michał Skoczyński's statement, "the relationship of the princes with Dominican spirituality" (p. 359) seems debatable and definitely exaggerated. It should be noted that wherever we deal with the foundation of monastic churches, the founder reserved the right to be buried in the temple of his foundation. This was an unshakeable rule. Can we say that the 13th-century Mazovian Piast dukes (Konrad of Mazovia, Siemowit I, Trojden, or Kazimierz of Kuyavia) were religiously educated enough to speak of Dominican spirituality in their case? In his mid-19th-century monograph, *Krótki zarys historyczny kościołów parochialnych* (vol. 3, Poznań 1863, p. 190), Józef Łukaszewicz questioned the idea that the dukes were buried in monasteries arguing that "according to Święcicki, [...] the church of the Dominicans was to contain the tombs of Trojden and Siemowit, the Mazovian dukes, and Duchess Anna, Witold's sister. Twenty-four years earlier, i.e., in 1606, the same is said by Bzowski in his work «Propago Divi Hiacinthi,» and the St Stanislaus Monastery of Warka is famous for the graves (sepultura) of the greatest Mazovian dukes. Whether the corpses of these dukes were actually deposited in the church of the Warka Dominicans, though, and whether the dukes had any gravestones there, I cannot say, because from the words of Święcicki sepulchra visuntur it cannot be inferred that there were gravestones with an inscription dedicated to their memory."

„w kościele xx dominikanów podług Święcickiego miały znajdować się groby Trojdena i Ziemowita, xx mazowieckich i księżnej Anny, siostry Witolda. Dwadzieścia cztery lata wcześniej, tj. w 1606 roku, powiada to samo Bzowski w dziele «Propago Divi Hiacinthi», waweczki zaś klasztor św. Stanisława słynie grobami (sepultura) najjaśniejszych książąt mazowieckich. Czy istotnie zwłoki tych książąt złożono w kościele dominikanów waweczki i czy książęta mieli tu jakieś nagrobki, nie umiem powiedzieć, bo ze słów Święcickiego sepulchra visuntur nie można wnosić, że były nagrobki z napisem poświęcone ich pamięci."

²¹ B. Chlebowski, *Warka*, p. 955.

Warsaw, it was also the first town in the former Czersk and Warsaw areas. This information was provided in *Topographia sive Masoviae descriptio* by Jędrzej Świącicki, a notary of Nur, administering half of the Warka aldermanship and thoroughly educated by the Jesuits of Pułtusk who wrote that “Warka has a considerable number of excellent craftsmen, six churches and a very magnificent seventh one with a Dominican monastery, in which are the tombs of Trojden, Siemowit, the Mazovian dukes, and Anna, Witold’s sister.”²²

What, then, could have been the reason for bringing the Franciscans to Warka, whose development over the past centuries was quite evident? Although the Rule of St Francis of Assisi was still very much appropriate in its principles, the fact that it had been departed from in many cases was evidence of a split that had taken place in the structures of the Order. This resulted in the formation of the minorite branch (Bernardines), who in the 17th century had numerous monasteries conducting pastoral activities in Poland.²³ However, it was not the Bernardines, popular among the old Polish society at the time, but the so-called Conventual Franciscans (*Ordo Fratrum Minorum Conventualium*) who were brought to Warka by the foundress, Katarzyna Trzebińska from nearby Boglewice, already a widow then. This raises the question of whether the Dominicans operating at that time were properly fulfilling their ministry among the townspeople of Warka and the surrounding population. Did the foundress, filled with the new religious spirit of the Council of Trent like other women of her time, implement its recommendations or was her motivation based on deep piety and a desire to win glory after death? Or, perhaps, starting a new foundation was an act of expiation for committed sins? It is worth mentioning that this was not an isolated attitude at that time. Among the foundresses of monasteries in the 17th century was the crown marshal’s wife, Elżbieta Sieniawska, on whose order a brick monastery for Benedictine nuns was built in Sandomierz,²⁴ Teofila Sobieska née Daniłowicz (mother of King Jan III), the great benefactress of the Carmelite nunnery in Lviv and foundress of the Dominican cloister at Żółkwiew,²⁵ or Agnieszka Firlejowa née Tęczyńska, foundress of a monastery – hermitage of the Discalced Carmelites at Czerna.²⁶

Thus, in the 17th century, pious women (magnates, noblewomen, wealthy townspeople) were also the protectresses of monastic orders (alongside men), seeing in their founding

²² „Warka posiada znaczną liczbę wybornych rzemieślników, sześć kościołów i siódmy bardzo wspaniały z klasztorem dominikanów, w którym są groby Trojdena, Ziemowita, książąt mazowieckich i Anny, siostry Witolda.” See T. Lalik, *Najstarszy Opis Mazowska Jędrzeja Świącickiego (Topographia sive Masoviae descriptio autore Andrea Świącicki)*, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 66/3/1975, p. 492-496.

²³ Bernardines is the common name of the Order of St Francis, the so-called Observants, referring to the original Rule of the order’s founder (*Ordo Fratrum Minorum de Observantia*), named after the first monastery on Polish soil – St Bernardine of Siena, founded in Krakow. The Order grew very quickly, establishing an extensive network of monasteries and creating several separate provinces: the oldest province, the so-called province of Lesser Poland of *Beatae Mariae Virginis*; the Ruthenian province of *Immaculatae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis*; province of Greater Poland (*Provincia Maioris Poloniae*) and province of Silesia (*Provincia Silesiae*). See *Żakony Męskie w Polsce w 1772 roku. Materiały do atlasu historycznego chrześcijaństwa w Polsce*, vol. 1, eds L. Bienkowski, J. Kłoczowski, Z. Sułowski, Lublin 1972, tab. 6, map X; tab. 7, map X, tab. 8, map X; tab. 9, map X.

²⁴ W. Czaplinski, J. Długosz, *Życie codzienne magnaterii polskiej w XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1976, p. 50-51.

²⁵ K. Targosz, *Jana Sobieskiego nauki i peregrynacje*, Wrocław 1985, p. 13-17; 191-192; S. Gąsiorowski, *Sobieska z Daniłowiczów Teofila Zofia (1607-1661)*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 39, Warsaw-Krakow 1999-2000, p. 479-480.

²⁶ More on this topic in W. Graczyk, J.M. Marszalska, *Klasztor karmelitów bosych w Czernej od pierwszej Połowy XVII do końca XIX wieku. Dzieje – kultura – ludzie*, Krakow 2014, p. 19-71.

the ultimate goal of salvation and the redemption of all sins committed during life. Charismatic confessors and monastic preachers preaching the word of God (Piotr Skarga) played a significant role in this process, suggestively depicting the goodness and eternal memory that the generous founders and foundresses of monasteries were to receive for their glory from posterity. The monastic churches they founded were also to be their final resting places.

Among the motives for the seventeenth-century Franciscan foundation at Warka one can mention, analogously to the medieval Dominican foundation at Warka, several important aspects shaping it. The person of the founder (foundress) and the family from which Katarzyna of Boglewice Trzebińska originated also played an important role here. The Boglewski family (coat-of-arms Jelita), which originated from the Czersk area, was considered as ancient. Seweryn Uruski described it as a first-class Mazovian family, which took its name from the village of Boglewice located near Czersk.²⁷ Historiography knows Ponięta as castellan of Warsaw and then, from 1343, as castellan of Czersk; Sławiec of Boglewice who held the castellany of Czersk as early as 1406-1422; and the same senatorial chair in 1452 was held by Jan of Boglewice.²⁸ Mikołaj Boglewski, on the other hand, was recorded as a Mazovian duke by the date of 1464, and he also sent a letter on behalf of the Mazovian dukes to Casimir Jagiellon claiming Płock.²⁹ Little information has been preserved about the foundress herself.³⁰ It is known that at the time of the foundation she was already a widow³¹ with a considerable fortune, as evidenced by the endowment of the future monastery. Could she have been in contact with the convent earlier or did she bring the Franciscans to Warka at someone's instigation? It is not impossible that, like other pious women of her time, she may have been influenced by some prominent monastic preachers of the Franciscan family. At the moment of bringing the Franciscans to Warka, which is assumed to be in 1629, the town is already a fully formed and efficient organism. Further, an important element of establishing a monastery on a specific terrain belonging to the founder or his family was the endowment of the new foundation, which provided the material basis for the functioning of the monastery. This aspect, as in the case of the medieval Dominican foundation, was of primarily economic importance. The endowment was also a visible sign of the founder's (foundress's) financial abilities and his/her social influence. As the original endowment for

²⁷ S. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1904, p. 270.

²⁸ T. Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, Poznań 1879, p. 73.

²⁹ T. Święcki, *Historyczne pamiątki znamienitych rodzin i osób dawnej Polski*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1858, p. 18.

³⁰ Scanty information about Katarzyna is given by Seweryn Uruski in his coat-of-arms. He states that she was the daughter of Kacper, heir to the estates of Rytomoczydło and Nowa Wieś, and his wife Jadwiga Głoskowska; she had three sisters, Anna, married to Aleksander, Helena to Hieronim Jabłoński, and Zofia to Stanisław Bielawski; and five brothers: Mikołaj, Władysław, Remigian, Zachariasz and Olbracht. Uruski mentions only that Katarzyna was married to Jan Trzebiński, see S. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, p. 270-271.

³¹ The wording in the foundation document that Katarzyna of Boglewice Trzebińska was a widow at the time of the foundation seems unclear. Uruski mentions only one name of the foundress, while Adam Boniecki, writing about the division of the family estate between the siblings, notes that "sons Mikołaj, Władysław, Remigian, Zachariasz and Olbracht Boglewski and their sisters: Anna, married to Aleksander Jabłoński, Zofia to Stanisław Bielawski, and Katarzyna 1v. married to Jan Trzebiński, 2v. to Jan Boglewski, in 1615 completed the division of the Boglewice estate." Boniecki mentions nothing about their sister Helena. He points out that in 1615, Katarzyna was married to Jan Boglewski, and was therefore the widow of Jan Trzebiński(?). In historiography, she appears as Katarzyna of Boglewice Trzebińska, not the other way round, which seems closer to the truth. See A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski, cz. 1. Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich*, Warszawa 1899, p. 335-336.

the monastery she founded, Katarzyna of Boglewice Trzebinska allocated her hereditary plot at Warka for the new foundation, which therefore probably belonged to her as part of her dowry. She also purchased a house for the temporary residence of the monks arriving in the town, so that they would have a place to live before the monastery was built, and moreover, she allocated a considerable amount of 8,000 zlotys for its equipment from her own capital.³² The foundation process implying material foundations was complex and time consuming, ending with an entry in the town records of Warka at the castle at Czersk, on April 11, 1635. The legal process of the monastery's foundation started in 1629 and, approved by King Władysław IV Vasa, was completed with an entry in the town records of Warka at the castle at Czersk, on April 11, 1635: "Actum in Arce Cernensi Sabatho post Dominicam cantate proximo, Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Trigesimo Quinto. Ad Officium et Acta praesentia Castrensia, Capitanelia, Cernensia, personaliter veniens Religiosus in Christo Pater, Paulus Zabłocki Ordinis Minorum Conventualium, Sancti Francisci, Conventus Varcensis Guardianus, Infrascriptiam Approbationem Ereccionis conventualis in oppido Warka sacrae Regiae Majestatis Conventui suo a Sacra Regia Majestate gratiose collatam, eidem officio Actisque praesentibus inserendum obtulit tenoris talis. Vladislaus Quartus Dei Gratia Rex Poloniae, Magnus dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae."³³

According to Jakub Piasecki, the later monographer of the monastery and at the same time its guardian, the bishop of Poznań, Maciej Lubiński, in 1629, granted the Franciscans permission to do temporary services in a private chapel and in the same year, the Warka monastery was included "among the other monasteries of the Polish province" at the provincial chapter held in Kalisz.³⁴ Paweł Zabłocki, who contributed to consolidating the presence of the Franciscans in the awareness of the inhabitants of Warka was then appointed as the first guardian of Warka. This did not happen without opposition from the local parish priest and above all from the Dominicans who did not want to allow the new monastic foundation, seeing it as a real threat to themselves.³⁵

At the origins of the foundation, it is worth mentioning, the Franciscans obtained the right to hold services in the small wooden church of St Leonard (a foundation of the Warka townspeople), which due to their growing popularity among the local community, met with

³² J. Piasecki, *Opisanie kościołów i klasztorów księży franciszkanów (konwentalnymi zwanymi)*, Warszawa 1845, p. 161. The monographer of the Franciscan monastery at Warka, Jakub Piasecki (1794-1849), was a Conventual Franciscan and historian of his order. From 1829 he was guardian of the Warka monastery, and then held this position in Warsaw in 1833-1844. In the years 1840-1848, he was provincial of the Conventual Franciscans in the Congress Kingdom. Author of many historical works on the Franciscan Order and their preaching. See B. Kumor, *Piasecki Jakub (1794-1849)*, in: SPTK, vol. 3, ed. E.H. Wyczawski, p. 354-355.

³³ J. Piasecki, *Opisanie kościołów i klasztorów księży franciszkanów...*, p. 169-170.

³⁴ "pomiędzy inne klasztory prowincji polskiej." Ibidem, p. 161. Conventual Franciscan Church and Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Warka belonged territorially to the diocese of Poznań and the Mazovian voivodeship, whereas within the monastic territorial order it belonged to the Polish province, the custody of Lublin. See *Zakony Męskie w Polsce w 1772 roku...*, tab. 25, map XVII.

³⁵ In 1630, the then parish priest of Warka lodged a complaint against the Franciscans to Maciej Lubiński, the bishop visiting churches at that time. Maciej Lubiński: "the parish priest, together with his clergy, complained to the ecclesiastical visitor that the offerings from the chapel of St Leonard customary made by pious people, decreased very much due to the recent nearness of the Franciscans and the chapel built without the permission of the clerical authority, as a result of which the clerics had to leave the church." The bishop was requested not to allow the Franciscans to build a church and monastery in Warka to the detriment of the parochial church. See M. Baliński, T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, jeograficznym i statystycznym*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1843, p. 393-395.

dissatisfaction on the part of the local clergy. This was because, according to the original assumptions of the Order based on the Rule of St. Francis of Assisi, an important aspect of the monastery's functioning in the local community was basing the convent's life on the voluntary generosity of the faithful. The collection of alms among the local population carried out by fundraisers, following the activity of preachers, was an important and integral part of the support of any monastery. With this attitude, the Franciscans gained in popularity among the townspeople of Warka but were not accepted by the other clerics. In this situation, once again, the foundress Katarzyna of Boglewice Trzebińska marked her mighty presence, as emphasised by Jakub Piasecki in his work: "the church, though wooden, but very beautiful in construction, was built at the expense of the same foundress."³⁶

The seventeenth century was marked by numerous, so-called pious (monastic), foundations, which resulted from the specificity of the epoch and an active presence of many monastic orders in the life of Old Polish society, especially during the period of the struggle against the Reformation. The presence of a new monastery at Warka was, therefore, a striking fact, and the new foundation resulted from religious motives and the convictions of the foundress. Moreover, every religious foundation, especially a well-endowed one, strengthened the founder or foundress and the family from which they came. In this case, quite significant may have been Catherine of Boglewice Trzebińska's earlier contact with Franciscan preachers and their influence on the future foundress. Many women of the Old Polish era acted similarly, as is well documented. It should also be taken into account that in the seventeenth century the Dominicans played an increasingly insignificant role in the town. All these circumstances contributed to the foundress's decision to bring the Minorite Order to Warka, who, not without adversities, undertook pastoral work at Warka, thus becoming part of the history of the old town on the Pilica.

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³⁶ "kościół lubo drewniany, ale w budowie bardzo piękny stanął kosztem tejże samej fundatorki." J. Piasecki, *Opisanie kościołów i klasztorów księży franciszkanów...*, p. 162.

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