

**KAZIMIERZ ŁATAK CRL**

Faculty of Historical and Social Sciences  
Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw

## **THE ADMINISTRATORS OF THE KRAŚNIK PROVOSTSHIP OF CANONS REGULAR OF THE LATERAN FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO ITS REFORM IN 1628**

### **1. Concerning the Kraśnik provostship**

The Kraśnik provostship was one of the late medieval foundations of the Canons Regular of the Krakow Congregation, who were granted the privileges of the Lateran congregation in December 1503 via their confraternity with the Olomouc provostship, but did not become known as the Canons Regular of the Lateran until the early 17th century.<sup>1</sup> The Kraśnik provostship was the first monastic center founded in the region of Lublin under the auspices of the local magnates<sup>2</sup>. Its history dates back to the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The provostship was founded by Jan Rabsztyński of Tęczyn, Topór coat of arms, son of Andrzej Tęczynski (†1461) and Jadwiga Melsztyńska of Książ (†1457/1458), Leliwa coat of arms, husband of Barbara of Wola Konińska (†1509), Rawicz coat of arms, landlord of the Kraśnik estate since 1466, who died in the autumn of 1498 or in the spring of 1499.<sup>3</sup> The foundation of the monastery was strongly supported by his uncle, Jan Tęczynski (†1470)<sup>4</sup>. According to Jan Długosz, it was Jan Tęczynski who was the driving force behind the idea, and persuaded his nephew to settle the Canons Regular in Kraśnik<sup>5</sup>. Długosz's account is corroborated by Jan Rabsztyński himself, who acknowledged his uncle's role in the venture by requesting the Bishop of Krakow to authorize the foundation<sup>6</sup>. Jan Rabsztyński's foundation document

<sup>1</sup> K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni laterańscy na Kazimierzu w Krakowie do końca XVI wieku*, Ełk 1999, p. 73, 87-88; idem, *Kongregacja krakowska kanoników regularnych laterańskich na przestrzeni dziejów*, Kraków 2002, p. 106-111; M. Wrzeszcz, *Kraśnik*, in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 9, Lublin 2002, pp. 1223-1225.

<sup>2</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna kanoników regularnych św. Augustyna w Kraśniku w latach 1469-1583*, Lublin 2002, p. 31-34; idem, *Nekrolog klasztoru kanoników regularnych św. Augustyna w Kraśniku*, "Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego", 2/2010, pp. 79-125.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Tęczynscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 1997, p. 571; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, pp. 31-34.

<sup>4</sup> Son of Andrzej Tęczynski and Anna Gorajska of Kraśnik, Jan Tęczynski was most likely born in 1409. Tęczynski served as the Chatelain of Biecz, Starost of Lublin, Kraśnik, Rabsztyń, and Chełm, Voivode of Sandomierz and Kraków. A tenant of Urzędów and Luboml, Tęczynski also participated in the confederation led by Spytko of Melsztyń. He died on July 6, 1470 in Krakow. See J. Kurtyka, *Tęczynscy*, op. cit., pp. 549-553.

<sup>5</sup> J. Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* [hereinafter: Lb], vol. 3, p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> *Ad id eiam charissimi Patru mei Magnifici D[omi]ni Johannis de Thenczyn Castellani Cracoviensis [...] votes et consiliis et intercessionibus sollicitissimis moventibus, animum meum et voluntatem ad id libenter appono et*

states that the idea of establishing a monastery next to the parish church in Kraśnik came from his father, Andrzej Tęczyński, murdered in Krakow on July 16, 1461, although it remains a mystery whether the Canons Regular were the original choice or if any negotiations had been held in this regard while Andrzej was still alive. The nature of the foundation was unambiguously devotional, as corroborated by the foremost scholar of the history of the Tęczyński family, Janusz Kurtyka. At the same time, the new monastery was part and parcel of the Rabsztyn-based branch of the Tęczyński family to add luster to the main towns owned by the family, i.e. Książ Wielki and Kraśnik. The Kraśnik monastery and the adjacent Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary were intended as monuments to the power of the Tęczyński family, as emphasized by the heraldic symbolism of the church, which dates back to the marriage of Andrzej Tęczyński (†1411)<sup>7</sup> with Anna Dymitrówna of Goraj (†1441/1442)<sup>8</sup> in 1408. On the façade of the southern porch, Jan Rabsztyński commissioned an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary with several coats of arms: Topór, Leliwa (his mother Jadwiga Melsztyńska's coat of arms), Korczak (his paternal grandmother Anna Dymitrówna Gorajska coat of arms), and Rawicz (his wife Barbara's coat of arms)<sup>9</sup>. The founder of the monastery established an endowment to provide for nine monks (a provost and eight canons)<sup>10</sup>. The first canons arrived from the Corpus Christi Monastery in Kazimierz near Krakow, which was founded in 1405 by King Władysław Jagiełło, in cooperation with the Bishop of Krakow, Piotr Wysz<sup>11</sup>. The foundation document of the Kraśnik provostship, issued to the provost of the Krakow monastery, Fr. Jakub of Wadowice, was dated Wednesday, May 18, 1468. The Bishop of Krakow, Jan Lutek of Brzezcie, approved the foundation along with the choice of the first provost, made by the chapter of the Krakow convent, and subsequently (on Monday, March 13, 1469) issued a grant of ministry to the canons. The reasons behind the significant delay in the issue of the bishop's approval of the foundation have not been explicated to this date. The Kraśnik convent received the papal approval on April 9, 1487<sup>12</sup>. The foundation documents stipulated that the Kraśnik provost be a Polish-speaking monk, and that the monastic discipline and external activity of the monk emulate those of the parent monastery in Kazimierz<sup>13</sup>. The provostship, which was an important element of the religious and cultural landscape of the Lublin region, was active for the next 396 years until its suppression by the authorities of the tsarist Russia (Tsar Alexander II) on the night of

*presentibus realiter et effectualiter assentio* [...]. See National Archives in Krakow [hereinafter: ANK], perg. 887.

<sup>7</sup> Andrzej Tęczyński, Starost of Podolia, Chatelain of Wojnicz, father of Andrzej Tęczyński (murdered on July 16 1461 in Krakow), grandfather of the founder of the Kraśnik monastery, Jan Rabsztyński of Tęczyn.

<sup>8</sup> Anna of Goraj, daughter of Dymitr of Goraj, Grand Marshal of the Crown, Undertreasurer of the Crown, Marshal of the Court of King Władysław Jagiełło, guardian of the young Queen Jadwiga of Poland, veteran of the Battle of Grunwald. See K. Myśliński, *Dymitr z Goraja i początki Kraśnika*, in: *Problemy historii i archiwistyki*, Warszawa 1986, pp. 21-31.

<sup>9</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy*, op. cit., p. 501.

<sup>10</sup> LB, vol. 3, p. 172; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 107; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., as above

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>12</sup> ANK, perg. 887, 889; Archives of the Corpus Christi Monastery in Krakow [hereinafter: ABC], Reformationes Conventuum, [in:] *Summulae ex actis Capituli Generalia*, manuscript, b. file no.; *Metrica Conventus*, II, manuscript, b. file no., pp. 656-672; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 107; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., pp. 25-34; *Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej Sandomierskiej*, ed. F. Kiryk, Sandomierz 2002, no. 93, pp. 41-42.

<sup>13</sup> ANK, perg. 887; Lb, vol. 3, pp. 172-173.

November 27/28, 1864, as part of the post-January Uprising repressions. The suppression resulted from a general support lent to the uprising by the Canons, two of whom – Fr. Walenty Pajdowski and Fr. Szymon Sergiusz Pożyciński – directly participated in military operations against the Russian occupiers<sup>14</sup>. The last Canon Regular who completed his novitiate at the Kraśnik monastery and took his vows at the local church was Fr. Kazimierz Dionizy Gotz, who died in March 1909 in Chlina near Wolbrom<sup>15</sup>, while the last Canon Regular buried in Kraśnik was Fr. Teodor Grzegorz Honorski (d. September 3, 1858).

It is not, however, the history of the Kraśnik provostship that constitutes the direct subject of this study – although the very topic has not yet yielded an overdue monograph – but rather its administrators, specifically those who managed the provostship from the moment of its foundation to its reform in the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The academic and practical use of this study needs no intricate explications. Its added value is a given, both with regard to the history of the convent itself, and with respect to the history of the parish, town, commune, district, and the region. As per the monastery statutes and commentaries thereto, monks referred to their provost as they would to a vicar of God (*et praepositus qui tibi sit loco Dei vicarius*), who stood in for Christ himself (*praepositus locum tenet Christi in monasterio*)<sup>16</sup>. Whoever insults the provost, notes a medieval commentary to the statutes, which continued to be read at the Kraśnik convent as late as in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, insults God himself<sup>17</sup>. Granted, the provost held no absolute power, but he was involved in virtually every activity undertaken by the monastery. The provost also acted as the parish priest of Kraśnik and the surrounding villages, even though it was mostly the custodian of the local church (later known as the sacristan) who stood in for him on most occasions<sup>18</sup>. The administrators of the monastery, i.e. its provosts, evidently influenced the fate of their community, and determined the scope and forms of its activity, which invariably (albeit to a various extent) influenced the surrounding culture. It was the provosts who programmed the monastic activities and assigned responsibilities to the respective monks, while also approving prospective novices and taking decisions that left a lasting mark on the surrounding environment. The provosts were witnesses to, and – above all – actors in the history of the provostship. Their personalities, talents, intellectual and spiritual culture, as well as their connections exerted a decisive influence not only on the functioning of the provostship *ad intra*, but also on its cultural and civilizational impact on the immediate and more remote surroundings. Although a number of Kraśnik provosts ranked among the brilliant minds of their respective eras<sup>19</sup>, only a handful have been immortalized by biographic entries or mentions in different dictionaries, lexicons, and encyclopedias, while others were completely

<sup>14</sup> K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 110; P.P. Gach, *Kasaty klasztorów kanonickich*, op. cit., pp. 91-92; E. Jabłońska-Deptuła, J. Gryszakowa, *Zaangażowanie patriotyczne zakonów męskich 1861-1864*, op. cit., p. 130; E. Nebelski, *Nieprzejednani wrogowie Rosji. Duchowieństwo lubelskie i podlaskie w Powstaniu 1863 roku i na zesłaniu*, Lublin 2008, pp. 145, 193.

<sup>15</sup> ABC, Catalogus fratrum defunctorum Canoniorum Regularium Lateranensium Congregationis Cracoviensis ab introductione Cracoviam scilicet ab Anno 1405, manuscript, b. file no.; Memoriale fratrum et benefactorum defunctorum Congregationis Cracoviensis Canoniorum Regularium Lateranensium, manuscript, b. file no.

<sup>16</sup> K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, p. 142.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>19</sup> Provosts: Michał, Andrzej of Słupcza, Albert Tarnovita, Jan Chryzostom Korsak, Benedykt Adam Szamotulski, Aleksander Michał Galiński, Jan Herkulana ex Dowmont Matuszewicz, Antoni Firmin Lubaczewski.

glossed over by historiography, which either merely mentions their names disregards them entirely.

The history of the Kraśnik provostship is comprised of two periods, divided by a rather rigid (temporal, canonical, and problem-related) caesura. The earlier period spans from the foundation of the provostship in 1468 until the reform implemented in 1620 under pressure from Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski, when the provostship lost its autonomous status (Kraśnik's ties to the parent provostship in Krakow and its remaining branches were strictly determined by the documents of the respective confraternities, drafted after 1480). Conversely, the second period encompasses the years between the 1620 reform – adopted based on Pope Paul V's bull dated May 25, 1618, which stripped the provostship of its autonomy and subjugated it to the provost of its parent provostship, and to the general chapter of the congregation – and the suppression of the monastery in 1864. In the first period, the office of the provost was lifelong, in accordance with the statutes at the time, although in certain cases it was possible for the provost to retire voluntarily or be recalled from the post pursuant to canon law. The provost was elected by the local chapter of the Canons Regular upon subsequent approval by the Bishop of Krakow<sup>20</sup>. The supplication for the bishop's approval was submitted either by the chapter of the convent or by the newly elected provost himself, along with the act of his election, signed by the members of the chapter. Analogically, the provost's resignation had to be submitted to the bishop rather than the chapter of the convent. Acts of resignation – such as that submitted by the Kraśnik provost Andrzej of Bodzentyn (1531-1535) – were drafted by the notaries of the judicial vicar of Sandomierz. In justified circumstances, and upon due inspection, provosts could also be recalled from their post by the local bishop. At times, as in the case of Provost Marcin of Mielec (1594-1607), amicable solutions were used. Pressed by the weight of arguments against his service, the provost could resign of his own accord, with the bishop kindly granting his approval. After 1620, new provosts were appointed no longer appointed by the local chapter, but by the provost of the parent provostship in Krakow in communication with the general chapter, which included representatives of the local chapters. Following the election of a suitable candidate, the general provost of the congregation submitted the candidacy for the bishop's approval and the subsequent canonical institution. Several such documents have survived in the Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow<sup>21</sup>. In 1628, it was agreed that the sole lifelong office in the congregation would be that of the general provost of the order, while the local provosts would be elected for three-year terms. From that moment on, each general chapter began with the local provosts submitting documents issued by the general provost of the congregation and a similar document issued by the bishop, which certified their previous election as provosts.<sup>22</sup> Upon conclusion of each general chapter, such documents were most likely destroyed, given that not a single copy has survived in the archives of the parent provostship. This study is limited solely to the administrators of the Kraśnik provostship in the first stage of its history, since this period remains largely understudied and, as a consequence, underrepresented in the subject literature. Our reconstruction of the chronology of life and activities undertaken by

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<sup>20</sup> K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

<sup>21</sup> Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow [hereinafter: AKMKr], Producta, manuscript, b. file no.

<sup>22</sup> ABC, Acta Capituli Generalis Conventus S[acra]ti[s]imi Corporis Christi Casimiriae ad Cracoviam Canonico-regularium S[an]cti Augustini, manuscript, b. file no., sheet 5.

the administrators of the provostship is based chiefly on archival materials, held a.o. at the Archives of the Kraśnik Parish Church, Archives of the Corpus Christi Monastery of the Canons Regular of the Lateran in Krakow, Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow, Archives of the Metropolitan Curia in Lublin, Diocesan Archives in Sandomierz, State Archives in Krakow, Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, Czartoryski Library in Krakow, Polish Academy of Sciences/Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences Library in Krakow, and the State Archives in Lublin, among many others.

## 2. Administrators of the provostship

### 2.1. Fr. Jan of Bytom (1468/69-1470)

Referred to by Jan Długosz as the cornerstone and founder of the Kraśnik convent<sup>23</sup>, Fr. Jan of Bytom may have been born to Barbara and Michał Fleyschetyn of Bytom, whose obituary lists them among the major benefactors in the Krakow provostship<sup>24</sup>. The future Kraśnik provost most likely began his education in Bytom. He joined the Canons Regular having received his university education in Krakow, studying with the likes of St. Stanisław Kazimierczyk (1433-1489)<sup>25</sup>. We may, therefore, identify him as Jan of Bytom (de Beythom) who, in February 1460, during Jan of Olkusz's term in office as the dean of the Faculty of Liberal Arts (Artium) of the University of Krakow, graduated from the said faculty<sup>26</sup>. Jan completed his novitiate and took his vows at the Krakow convent, by 1462 at the latest, under Fr. Gaspar Polak as its provost (1439-1464), having studied among such notable Canons Regular as the outstanding copyist Fr. Salomon Wierzbanowicz (†1484), and the eminent panel painter Fr. Jan of Nysa. Jan of Bytom received his holy orders around 1463, since the seminary studies for candidates with academic degrees lasted no longer than two years at the time<sup>27</sup>. In 1468, Provost Jakub of Wadowice, with whom Jan Rabsztyński of Tęczyn and his uncle Jan Tęczynski negotiated the new foundation in Kraśnik, appointed Jan of Bytom as the candidate for the provost of the Kraśnik convent, which indicates that he must have demonstrated the appropriate spiritual and intellectual qualities, as well as noteworthy administrative skills. While Kraśnik did have its own parish at the time, with a new gothic church under construction<sup>28</sup>, the monastery

<sup>23</sup> LB, vol. 3, p. 172. See also: S. Ranatowicz, *Casimiriae civitatis*, op. cit., sheet 16v, 17v; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 64; J. Kurtyka, *Tęczynscy*, op. cit., p. 501.

<sup>24</sup> Listing the parents of a deceased monk in his obituary was commonplace at the time, as corroborated by the cases of Provost Gaspar Polak, Provost Jakub of Wadowice, Fr. Mikołaj Davidis, Fr. Mikołaj Lammel, Fr. Paweł Tylich, or lay brother Mikołaj Preischwicz. The collected source materials on the history of the Canons Regular seem to indicate that upon the priest's holy orders (or the monk's vows), his parents would routinely transfer his due inheritance to the monastery. Since, in some cases, these donations were substantial, the monk's parents were referenced in his obituary as the beloved benefactors of the convent.

<sup>25</sup> See Fr. Krzysztof Łoniewski's opinion printed as part of St. Stanisław Kazimierczyk's hagiography, published in 1617.

<sup>26</sup> *Księga promocji Wydziału Sztuk Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z XV wieku*, A. Gąsiorowski, Kraków 2000, p. 49, 60/22.

<sup>27</sup> K. Łatak, S. Nalbach, *Ze studiów nad kulturą umysłową*, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>28</sup> The construction of the church began after 1443, and before 1450. The new building was financed by Andrzej Tęczynski and supervised by the local parish priest, Fr. Andrzej Kaliński, who died in the spring of 1468. When the Canons reached Kraśnik, the church presbytery and sacristy had already been erected. Master Jan Długosz must have seen the building personally, having mentioned a visit to the nearby Batorz in his *Liber beneficiorum*, during which he accompanied Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki and assisted him at the consecration of the local church, which was likewise founded by Andrzej Tęczynski.

itself had to be erected from scratch. The subsequent development of the church and the construction of the new monastery were no doubt financed by the family of its founder, yet the administrative expertise of the newly appointed provost must have been of assistance, too. The Bishop of Krakow (Jan Lutek of Brzezie) approved the appointment on March 13, 1469<sup>29</sup>. It is difficult to determine if the provost settled in Kraśnik prior to that date, or after the bishop's investiture. In any case, the first mention of his activity while in office comes from February 8, 1470, which marked his appearance at the judicial vicar's consistory in Lublin<sup>30</sup>. So far, historians have assumed that Jan of Bytom was in charge of the monastery as late as in March 1491. He is also attributed with the development of the monumental church and the erection of the monastery. His dismissal from the office and the subsequent return to the Krakow convent have been estimated at the turn of 1498/1499, while his death – at 1507 in Krakow<sup>31</sup>. Meanwhile, a repeat analysis of the files of the Krakow Bishops in the years 1466-1471 brings forth an intriguing court entry dated July 17, 1470 and referring to the case of the Cistercian abbey in Koprzywnica, which mentions one Fr. Augustyn as the provost of the Kraśnik convent at the time<sup>32</sup>. If the entry is not erroneous with respect to the provost's name, it must be assumed that the first provost of the Kraśnik monastery spent as little as a year in office. Neither the Kraśnik obituary record nor its Krakow counterpart mention a Kraśnik provost named Jan among the monks who died in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which can only mean that he must have resigned his position in Kraśnik and returned to Krakow. In his description of the Kraśnik parish and convent, Master Jan Długosz failed to mention a replacement of one provost with another, yet his reference to Fr. Jan of Bytom was made in the past tense<sup>33</sup>.

## 2.2. Fr. Augustyn (1470)

The subject literature on the Kraśnik provostship published to date makes no mention of a provost named Augustyn. The name does not figure in the surviving obituary records of the Kraśnik and Krakow convents, either. Conversely, the figure of Fr. Augustyn is mentioned in the files of the Bishop of Krakow, Jan Lutek of Brzezie. On Tuesday, July 17, 1470, Bishop Lutek resolved a dispute between the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Koprzywnica, Mikołaj Trebnic (1452-1474), and the venerable Stanisław Szyrek and Stanisław Zemła of Rczyszyn (Rczischin) and Vogt Prandota of Zakrzów, concerning the overdue tithes payable to the monastery. The trial also involved Fr. Augustyn, the provost of the Kraśnik convent, since the tithes collected on the vogt's fields in Zakrzów were payable to the church in

<sup>29</sup> ANK, Perg. 889.

<sup>30</sup> Archives of the Lublin Diocese [hereinafter: AAL], Acta consistori foranei Lublinensi, file no. 3, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 31, 64-65; idem, *Nekrolog*, p. 87; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; K. Łatak, S. Nalbach, *Ze studiów nad kulturą umysłową*, op. cit., p. 125; S. Gołub, *Kościół p.w. Wniebowzięcia NMP w Kraśniku – wyniki badań archeologicznych*, [in:] *Kościół, cerkwie i klasztory Lubelszczyzny w świetle badań archeologicznych*, ed. E. Banasiewicz-Szykuła, Lublin 2013, pp. 11-35.

<sup>32</sup> AKMKr, Acta episcopalia, vol. 1, sheet 40.

<sup>33</sup> *Eratque monasterii praefati in Craszyk primarius praepositus et lapis Johannes de Beythom frater ordinis et monasterii praefati, qui cum aliis fratribus ex monasterio Corporis Christi de Casimiria in adiutorium sibi per fratrem Jacobum Corporis Christi praepositum Davis, primum monasterium in Craszyk annis pluribus rexit et utiliter gubernavit*. SeeLB, vol. 3, p. 172.

Kraśnik pursuant to its founder's will<sup>34</sup>. If, as signaled above, the provost's name was not confused in the records, it ought to be assumed that between February 8 and July 17, 1470, provost Jan of Bytom removed himself from Kraśnik and was replaced by Fr. Augustyn. A Canon of that name hailing from Krakow is listed among the monks affiliated with the Krakow monastery until the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. His rule in Kraśnik did not span longer than three years. In any case, at the Lublin consistory held on Monday February 11, and Friday February 22, 1474, the Kraśnik convent was represented by a provost named Jan<sup>35</sup>. Fr. Augustyn must have resigned his position by then, because otherwise he would have been included in the obituary records of the Krakow monastery. Following his resignation, Fr. Augustyn returned to Krakow. Starting on March 13, 1476, he occasionally represented Provost Jakub of Wadowice in different capacities, including at the Krakow consistory<sup>36</sup>. He died at the Krakow monastery in January 1485 or 1486.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.3. Fr. Jan of Piekary (1473/1474-1497)

Fr. Jan of Piekary is first mentioned as the provost of the Kraśnik convent in an entry dated February 11, 1474, which lists him as a party in a dispute with Cleric Michał of the Lublin seminary, resolved by the judicial vicar of the Lublin consistory<sup>38</sup>. Fr. Jan's monastic life began at the Krakow monastery around the turn of the 1450s and 1460s. His tenure as the Kraśnik provost was relatively active. As a signatory of the confraternity contract signed on Wednesday, May 31, 1480, and certified on Tuesday, August 30, 1484, Fr. Jan regulated the bilateral relations between the Kraśnik provostship and its parent monastery in Krakow<sup>39</sup>. In 1485, he began to canvass for a papal confirmation of the Kraśnik foundation, backed by both its founder and the Bishop of Krakow, Jan Rzeszowski. In a document issued on February 9, 1486, Pope Innocent VIII designated the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Koprzywnica, Jan Trebnic, to oversee the confirmation procedure, which spanned over a year. The confirmation document was issued on Thursday, April 9, 1487, and likely promulgated that same month in Kraśnik<sup>40</sup>. In the 1480s, the monastery began to enroll novices. Prior to 1500, the list of Canons behind the gates of the Kraśnik convent included Frs. Stanisław, Michał, Maciej, Albert, Jakub, Jan, Piotr, and Tomasz. Over that same period – as may be

<sup>34</sup> [...] *quas religiosus dns Augustinus prepositus monasterii in Craszyk fideliter decimabit apud ipsos advocatos.... Ipse Augustinus prep[os]i[tus] de Craszyk [...]*. See AKMKr, Acta episcopalia, vol. 1, sheet. 40.

<sup>35</sup> AAL, Acta Consistorii Foranei Lublinensi, 4, sheet 232v.

<sup>36</sup> AKMKr, Acta officialia, vol. 13, p. 767.

<sup>37</sup> ANK, ms K 888, n. 1; Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej w Lublinie (hereinafter: BGUMCS), manuscript, file no. III 608, p. 74.

<sup>38</sup> AAL, Acta consistorii foranei Lublinensi (1465-1480), file no. 4, sheet 230, 232v.

<sup>39</sup> ABC, Parchment documents, file no. 108; BGUMCS manuscript, file no. III 608, p. 74; E. Zielińska, *Filia fidelis. Klasztor Kanoników Regularnych w Kraśniku a klasztor Kanoników Regularnych w Kazimierzu w drugiej połowie XV i pierwszej połowie XVI wieku*, [in:] *Klasztor Bożego Ciała Kanoników Regularnych Laterańskich w Krakowie w okresie przedtrydenckim. Ludzie, wydarzenia, budowle, kultura*, ed. K. Łatak, Łomianki 2012, pp. 365-377.

<sup>40</sup> Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej Sandomierskiej (hereinafter: AKKS), Parchment documents collection, file no. 93; ADL, Acta consistorii foranei Lublinensi, file no. 60, pp. 192-204; ABC, Reformationes Conventuum, [in:] *Summulae ex actis Capituli Generalia*, manuscript, b. file no., pp. 131-138; *Metrica Conventus Sacratissimi Corporis Christi*, manuscript, b. file no., pp. 643-646, 656-672; *Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej Sandomierskiej*, opr. F. Kiryk, Sandomierz 2002, pp. 41-42. Transcripts of the documents were made on April 1, 1585 in Urzędów and on September 6, 1610 in Sandomierz.

inferred from the Krakow obituary records – saw the deaths of seven monks, beginning with Fr. Marcin, followed by Brother Stanisław, Prior/Sacristan Mikołaj, Fr. Mikołaj of Sandomierz, Fr. Tomasz, Fr. Jakub, and Fr. Piotr. As per the Krakow obituary records, two among the deceased, i.e. Fr. Piotr and Fr. Tomasz, were captured by the Tatars (*capti per Tatharos*), which no doubt refers to the Tatar raid of 1498/1499, which saw the burning of the church in Urzędów<sup>41</sup>. Apart from prayers and parish duties, the monks practiced the art of writing, as evidenced e.g. by the codex containing several theological treatises and an obituary record currently kept by the Main Library of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. The said codex also includes a transcript of the Kraśnik statutes which, as it appears, is the sole surviving copy of the Krakow Obedience from before the Council of Trent<sup>42</sup>. Provost Jan of Piekary also supported the local school, paying the local rector a salary of 5 grzywnas<sup>43</sup>. An entry in the records of the Lublin consistory, dated September 1, 1473, mentions Michał, a teacher at the Kraśnik school, who entered a court dispute with Leonard, a parish priest of Ostrów; another entry, dated October 7, 1473, references Cleric Jan of Kraśnik as a party in a dispute with Michał of Kraśnik<sup>44</sup>. Two students hailing from Kraśnik, who may have graduated from the Kraśnik school (Piotr, son of Mikołaj, and Mikołaj, son of Grzegorz), enrolled in the Faculty of Liberal Arts of the University of Krakow in 1477 and 1486, respectively. Piotr would go on to become the altarist of St. Mary's Basilica in Krakow<sup>45</sup>. On March 1, 1491, the provost appeared at the Lublin consistory, accompanied by Fr. Maciej, in order to close down an agreement with the local stonemasons, Stanisław and Marcin<sup>46</sup>. The construction works in Kraśnik were underway and the monks were in need of dressed stone, which the stonemasons agreed to deliver on Pentecost. The entry made in the consistory records is the last known mention of Jan of Piekary as the provost of the Kraśnik monastery, although it seems it must have been him, too, who accepted the bequests made by Dorota of Opole, widow of Bartłomiej, landlord of Leśnik, which were entered in the records of the Sandomierz consistory of May 2, 1491, as mentioned in a note made by Provost Michał in 1504<sup>47</sup>. On Saturday, January 27, 1497, Provost Jan of Piekary arrived at the Krakow consistory, filing his resignation to Judicial Vicar Jan of Szebnie, who granted his request<sup>48</sup>. The circumstances of Provost Jan's resignation are unknown. In the wake of his resignation, the provost moved back to Krakow. He died on February 16, 1507 at the Krakow monastery, while serving as the deputy prior and novice master at the convent<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> A. Walewander, *Kronika klęsk elementarnych w Polsce w latach 1450-1586*, Lwów 1915, p. 82; P. Jusiak, *Najazdy tatarskie na ziemię chełmską i lubelską w XV i pierwszej Polowie XVI wieku oraz ich skutki*, passim.

<sup>42</sup> BGUMCS, file no. III 600.

<sup>43</sup> LB, vol. 3, p. 173; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>44</sup> ADL, Acta consistorii foranei Lublinensi, file no. 4, p. 211, 217.

<sup>45</sup> These mentions are part of entries made between 1480 and 1482. See AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 3, sheet 201.

<sup>46</sup> ADL, Acta consistorii foranei Lublinensis, file no. 5, p. 253.

<sup>47</sup> National Library in Warsaw [hereinafter: BN], manuscript, file no. III 8044, sheet 79. For a detailed discussion of the entry, see E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>48</sup> AKMKr, Acta Officialia, vol. 18, p. 537.

<sup>49</sup> ANK, ms K 888, n. 70; BUMCS III 608, p. 74; ABC, Memoriale, p. 47; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., pp. 63-64; K. Łatak, S. Nalbach, *Ze studiów nad kulturą umysłową*, op. cit., p. 125.

#### 2.4. Fr. Michał (1497-ca. 1515)

A local professed monk, Fr. Michał is first mentioned as the provost of the Kraśnik convent in an entry dated May 4, 1501<sup>50</sup>. His appointment as provost came in February 1497 at the latest. As of his election, Fr. Michał must have been an ordained priest for quite some time, having garnered a proven track record as a monk in Kraśnik. Based on St. Stanisław Kazimierczyk's biography, we know that no monk was allowed to hold office within the first five years of taking his vows, which means that, as of his appointment as provost, Fr. Michał must have been at least 30 years of age. He was born around 1460, and entered the convent around 1485. During his provostship, the Kraśnik monastery counted eight monks *in sacris* and at least one lay brother. The construction works conducted at the time included the completion of the church redevelopment, initiated under Provost Jan, as well as the foundation of the main altarpiece, consecrated on Sunday, March 22, 1506 by the Bishop of Przemyśl, Maciej Drzewicki, the future Primate of Poland. The altar was dedicated to Our Lady of Ascension, St. Anne, the Conversion of St. Paul the Apostle, St. Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr, and St. Augustine<sup>51</sup>. A comparison of the available records demonstrates that the altarpiece – which was a triptych, whose centerpiece depicted the coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary – was made in Krakow and financed by the Tęczyński family (Barbara and her sons, Jan and Andrzej). In the autumn of 1502, the Tatars raided Poland again and ravaged Kraśnik, as referenced by Marcin Bielski's chronicle<sup>52</sup>. The destruction must have been severe, given that in 1504 Jan Rabsztyński, a royal courtier and the landlord of the Kraśnik estate, requested King Aleksander Jagiellończyk to exempt him from paying the due tax on the estate. Granting his request, the king exempted Kraśnik and the surrounding villages from taxes for a period of eight years. After 1505, which saw the death of Jan Rabsztyński (son of the founder of the Kraśnik provostship), the Kraśnik estate was inherited by his brother, Canon Andrzej, who was consulted by his mother, Barbara of Wola Konińska, lady-in-waiting to Queen Elżbieta Rakuszanka (Elisabeth of Austria), and high-maid-in-waiting to princess Elżbieta<sup>53</sup>. On Thursday, May 1, 1508, Barbara Rabsztyńska and Canon Andrzej donated the income obtained from customs duties paid in Kraśnik and Urzędów to the Kraśnik provostship, as corroborated in a separate document issued on Wednesday, September 13, 1508 in Trokai by King Sigismund the Old<sup>54</sup>. On February 9, 1509, Provost Michał arrived in the judicial vicar's office in Krakow, accompanied by Barbara Rabsztyńska and Canon Andrzej Rabsztyński, to register the bequest in church records<sup>55</sup>. The said entry may have been related to the ongoing construction works in the Kraśnik church and monastery. Regrettably, Barbara Rabsztyńska and Andrzej Rabsztyński both died in 1509, resulting in a transfer of the Kraśnik to Zofia Słaboszowa (née Tęczyńska), Andrzej Rabsztyński's aunt, who gave up Kraśnik to Anna of Wola Konińska, widow of Gabriel Tęczyński (Andrzej Rabsztyński's cousin) and her sons Jan

<sup>50</sup> ABC, *Reformationes Conventuum*, p. 158, 159; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., pp. 51, 67.

<sup>51</sup> E. Zielińska, *Znaleziska w ołtarzach kościoła Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kraśniku*, [in:] *Kościół Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kraśniku*, red. J. Zamorski, Kraśnik 2013, p. 67.

<sup>52</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy*, op. cit., p. 580.

<sup>53</sup> Tamże, p. 572-573, 578-580.

<sup>54</sup> ABC, *Reformationes Conventuum*, pp. 155-156; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>55</sup> ABC, *Reformationes Conventuum*, pp. 156-158; *Metrica Conventus*, II, pp. 646-653.

and Stanisław<sup>56</sup>. Apparently, the extinction of the founders' family line and the handover of the Kraśnik provostship to their cousins did not have major repercussions for the endowment, although the transition itself might not have been as seamless as it appears. Nonetheless, Jan Gabrielowicz Tęczyński continued to oversee the construction of the monastery and the decoration of the church. On July 15, 1510, Provost Michał arrived at the seat of the judicial vicar in Krakow in order to grant Fr. Piotr of Lwówek (*procurator causarum* of the Krakow monastery) the power of attorney to contract painter Joachim of Krakow and other artists as decorators of the Kraśnik church<sup>57</sup>. During his stay in Krakow, the Kraśnik provost likely commissioned the painter to decorate the interior of the redeveloped church, and appointed a proxy to negotiate the details, thus avoiding making repeated journeys to Krakow. According to a recently uncovered inscription in the presbytery, the painters finished their work in mid-October 1512 r.<sup>58</sup>. The year 1504 saw the rearrangement of the Kraśnik archives and library, as evidenced by the codex with the monastery's obituary records currently deposited at the Library of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, and the provost's entries made in one of the books that same year. The said entries contain information on the legacies bequeathed to the Kraśnik monastery between 1491 and 1504 (including the obligations they entailed), along with a number of notes specifying the loans granted by the monastery, a register of its debtors, as well as the reports on the convent's finances, commercial operations, contacts with the outside world, etc.<sup>59</sup>. The provost himself granted a loan to the Otwinowski family (taken out on May 5, 1501 in the amount of 50 florins), and accepted bequests made by Andrzej of Potok and his wife, Katarzyna of Opoka (made on October 16, 1502 in the amount of 80 grzywnas) and by Apolonia, wife of Andrzej, landlord of Rzeczyca (1504), along with the donations made by several other benefactors. The provost's notes also mention Jan Rabsztyński. In January 1512, the provost sold two butcher's shops in Lublin, which the monastery had received from the family of Fr. Jan of Lublin (or from Fr. Jan himself), to Fr. Jan Pszonka (parish priest of Bystrzyca). The transaction was concluded by Zmarzłek of Lublin, whom the provost issued a proper power of attorney. The loans granted by, and the bequest made to the monastery, along with the exchange of books with the Canons of the Opatów chapter, the surviving manuscripts, prints, contracts, sales contracts, and administrative cases filed at the consistories of Sandomierz, Lublin, and Krakow, are a testament to the local esteem of the Kraśnik convent and its harmonious relations with the family of its founders and the local landlords of the nearby estates (Potok, Opoka, Leśnik, Rzeczyca, Blinów), the clergy and the burghers of Kraśnik, Lublin, and Sandomierz, as well as the local craftsmen, such as the Sandomierz-based goldsmith Bartłomiej. The Kraśnik monks also mastered the art

<sup>56</sup> J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy*, op. cit., as above

<sup>57</sup> AKMKr, Acta officialia, vol. 32, p. 125. Painter Joachim was Joachim Lubnau of Drossen in Silesia, one of Krakow's foremost painters in the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He was licensed as painter in Krakow in 1496, on the recommendation of painter Marcin Czarny, to whom art historians attribute such paintings as the Madonna with an Apple (*Mater Salvatoris*) at the Church of Corpus Christi in Krakow. See K. Przybyszewski, *Jerzy, malarz krakowski (1501-1520)*, "Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności", 50/1949, vol. 10, pp. 566-567; idem, *Marcin Czarny – późnogotycki malarz krakowski*, „Studia Renesansowe”, vol. III, pp. 252-266; J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe*, Warszawa 1998, p. 84.

<sup>58</sup> E. Zielińska, *Malowana tablica z gotycką inskrypcją odkryta w prezbiterium kościoła Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kraśniku*, in: *Kościół Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kraśniku*, op. cit., pp. 63-66.

<sup>59</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 54.

of agriculture, husbandry, and bee-keeping, while also erecting a monumental brick church-and-monastery complex and continuously embellishing the interior of the church. Last but not least, the Kraśnik provost nurtured the local intellectual culture and saw to the due administration of monastic rules and ministerial duties. According to the obituary records of the Kraśnik and Krakow convents, Provost Michał resigned his office between 1513 and 1519. The final mention of the provost is dated October 28, 1512<sup>60</sup>. The reasons behind his resignation remain unknown. During his tenure, the Kraśnik convent was comprised of eight monks *in sacris* and one or two lay brothers. A document dated May 4, 1501, which remains one of the earliest written records in the Kraśnik provostship registry, lists the names of eight Canons who attended a session of the convent chapter. Also mentioned are two funerals (Fr. Jan of Lublin, Master of Arts, and lay brother Błażej). One should add that it was under Provost Michał, or perhaps after his stay in Krakow in 1510, that a note was made in the obituary records of the Krakow monastery next to Fr. Stanisław Kazimierczyk, which read: *miraculis clarens* (radiant with miracles). This short gloss remains the sole written record corroborating the cult of St. Stanisław Kazimierczyk in the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The said obituary records also list December 31, 1523<sup>61</sup> as the date of Provost Michał's death.

### 2.5. Fr. Maciej ( 1520/1521)

No information has been collected in the course of the conducted queries as to Fr. Maciej's background and childhood. As of March 1491, he was an ordained priest and served as the convent prosecutor in Kraśnik. Fr. Maciej accompanied Provost Jan on his journey to Lublin, where they reached an agreement with stonemasons Stanisław and Marcin on a delivery of dressed stone for the Kraśnik church<sup>62</sup>. In a document issued by the Kraśnik monastery, dated May 4, 1501, Fr. Maciej is mentioned as the fifth among the Canons affiliated with the convent<sup>63</sup>. Based on the above dates, he must have joined the enclosure by 1485 at the latest, at the end of his university education. He must have studied in Krakow, but it is difficult to identify him in the student registers and alumni records due to his unknown provenance, although he may have hailed from Lublin. The date of his appointment as provost remains unknown, contrary to the date of his resignation, which fell in November 1521, given that as of November 25 that year the Bishop of Krakow, Jan Konarski, had already approved his successor<sup>64</sup>. Fr. Maciej lived eleven more years as an emeritus, which seems to indicate that his resignation resulted not so much from health issues as it did from unfavorable circumstances within (or outside of) the Kraśnik convent. The supplication for the approval of his successor, submitted to the Bishop of Krakow by the convent, fails to mention his name, which suggests that Fr. Maciej did not participate in the electoral chapter or was outside of the cloister at the time. As per the obituary records of the Kraśnik convent, he died on May 26, 1532<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> AAL, Acta consistorii foranei Lublinensi, file no. 17, p. 143.

<sup>61</sup> BUMCS III 608, p. 74; ANK, ms K 888, n. 230; ABC, Memoriale, p. 8; E. Zielińska, *Nekrolog*, p. 111.

<sup>62</sup> ADL, Acta consistorii foranei Lublinensi, file no. 5, sheet 253.

<sup>63</sup> ABC, Reformationes Conventuum, p. 157; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>64</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, t. 8, sheet 131.

<sup>65</sup> BUMCS, file no. III 600, p. 74; ANK, ms K 888, n. 230; ABC, Memoriale, p. 8; VAKA, Liber Canonicorum Regularium Conventus Vilenensis in Antocollo ad Ecclesiam Sancti Petri, file no. F. 1 ep. 5b 8; S. Ranatowicz,

### 2.6. Fr. Łukasz (1521-1525)

Nothing is known of Fr. Łukasz's youth, family background, or education. He joined the convent after 1501, and was elected provost following the resignation of Provost Maciej. The Bishop of Krakow, Jan Konarski, approved the appointment on November 25, 1521<sup>66</sup>. The convent chapter that chose Maciej as their leader was comprised of as few as four Canons outside of himself, namely Fr. Michał, Fr. Albert, Fr. Tomasz and Fr. Franciszek. Not much is known of his activity in the capacity of a provost, nor do historical records mention much of the monastery and parish under his administration. The scarce number of monks participating in the electoral chapter, along with the absence of the retiring provost, Fr. Maciej, who had just filed his resignation, seems to suggest an internal crisis at the cloister, which perhaps resulted from unexpected deaths in the enclosure and/or diversions from rigid discipline and monastic culture. Indicative of the presumed internal problems at the Kraśnik convent is a mention of a subsequent inspection at the monastery, which took place in the autumn of 1522 or in the spring of 1523, on the recommendation of Bishop Jan Konarski<sup>67</sup>. The short period of Provost Łukasz's rule at the convent witnessed deaths of as many as three monks: Fr. Albert (1523), retiring provost Fr. Michał (1523), and Fr. Franciszek (1524). The death toll at the convent was likely the cause of Fr. Albert Casimir's arrival from the Krakow monastery. The final mention of Provost Łukasz's administration is dated June 25, 1525. On that day, he reached a settlement with Jan Węgrzyn of Trzydnik with regard to a grazing plot in Trzydnik, leased by the convent as a repayment of a debt taken out by Andrzej of Trzydnik<sup>68</sup>. Soon after the said settlement, Provost Łukasz submitted his resignation, as evidenced by the approval of his successor, dated July 25, 1525, issued by the Bishop of Krakow, Piotr Tomicki<sup>69</sup>. The obituary records of the Kraśnik and Krakow convents do not list Fr. Łukasz among the deceased monks, which suggests he died outside of the enclosure, perhaps having left for Kłobuck to replace Provost Łukasz of Wieluń in the aftermath of his unexpected death. If this presumption is correct, then it may be inferred from the records that Fr. Łukasz was, in fact, born in Kunów, and died in Kłobuck in 1543<sup>70</sup>.

### 2.7. Fr. Jan Chryzostom (1525-1531)

Fr. Jan Chryzostom either joined the convent no earlier than 1521 or, alternatively, he must have missed the convent chapter that convened in November to choose the new provost in the wake of Fr. Maciej's resignation. The latter scenario is the more probable of the two. Following Provost Łukasz's resignation in 1525, the chapter elected Fr. Jan Chryzostom as his successor. Aside from himself, the convent chapter included at least four Canons (Fr. Jakub, Fr. Maciej, Fr. Tomasz, and Fr. Andrzej of Bodzentyn). The surviving records do not state whether the resigning provost, Fr. Łukasz, was still at the convent at the time. Fr. Jan Chryzostom

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*Casimiriae civitatis*, op. cit., sheet 40v; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 67; idem, *Nekrolog*, p. 106.

<sup>66</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 8, sheet 131.

<sup>67</sup> The inspection is detailed in the records of a subsequent inspection, carried out on the recommendation of Bishop Jerzy Radziwiłł in 1592.

<sup>68</sup> BGUMCS, file no. III 608, p. 75; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>69</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 14, sheet 23v.

<sup>70</sup> K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 67.

was approved as the new provost by the Bishop of Krakow, Piotr Tomicki, on July 25 that year<sup>71</sup>. Throughout the duration of Provost Jan Chryzostom's tenure, the cloister lost three monks, including Albert of Krakow (d. 1526), Jakub (d. 1528), and the long-time beekeeper, Fr. Tomasz (d. 1530). The post of the convent procurator was first assigned to Fr. Maciej (March 13, 1528)<sup>72</sup>, followed by Fr. Andrzej who, as recorded in the *Liber retaxationum* of the Diocese of Krakow, relayed the Kraśnik convent's financial statement for 1529 to the Bishop of Krakow, and paid the diocese its due subsidy<sup>73</sup>. The said statement indicates the annual income of the Kraśnik monastery at 48 grzywnas and 8 grosz. The financial potential of the Kraśnik provostship, however, far exceeded the above sum, given that on March 13, 1528, the convent granted a loan in the amount of 60 grzywnas to Anna and Andrzej Ostrowski, the landlords of the Leśnik estate<sup>74</sup>. Fr. Andrzej's financial statement also corroborates the existence of a parish school, whose rector was paid a salary of six grzywnas by the Kraśnik provost<sup>75</sup>. Around 1527, the monks launched the extension of the church thanks to the financial support lent by Jan Gabrielowic Tęczyński. The construction works involved the revamping of its aisles, and extended until 1541<sup>76</sup>. Provost Jan Chryzostom left the office in October 1531, with the Bishop of Krakow accepting his resignation on October 23 that year via the procurator of the Kraśnik provostship, Szymon of Kalisz (M.A.). The act of resignation was drafted by the notary public Stanisław of Sandomierz<sup>77</sup>. Having resigned the post, Fr. Jan Chryzostom lived for thirteen more years, which suggests that, while his resignation was voluntary, its root causes were grave. According to the obituary records of the Kraśnik convent, he died on July 5, 1544<sup>78</sup>. Fr. Jan Chryzostom's obituary record in the Krakow monastery fails to mention his tenure as provost.

## 2.8. Fr. Andrzej of Bodzentyn (1531-1535)

Fr. Andrzej joined the convent in 1521. He may have been the same person as his namesake, who in 1529 submitted the annual financial statement of the Kraśnik provostship to the Krakow curia, likely acting in the capacity of the convent's prior or procurator<sup>79</sup>. Fr. Andrzej was elected provost in the aftermath of Fr. Jan Chryzostom's resignation. The choice was approved by the Bishop of Krakow, Piotr Tomicki, on October 23, 1531.<sup>80</sup> Due to the shortage of records of his tenure, it is impossible to detail the full scope of his activities or the life of the convent in the period. One may infer that his time in office saw the redevelopment of the western aisle of the Kraśnik church, initiated by Jan and Stanisław Tęczyński. As

<sup>71</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 12, sheet 218v.

<sup>72</sup> ADS, Acta Officialia, vol. 101, sheet 408.

<sup>73</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>74</sup> ADS, Acta Officialia, vol. 101, sheet 408.

<sup>75</sup> *Księga dochodów beneficjów diecezji krakowskiej z roku 1529* (tzw. „*Liber Retaxationum*”), Z. Leszczyńska-Skrętowa, Kraków 1968, pp. 455-456.

<sup>76</sup> *Kościół Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kraśniku*, Kraśnik 2013.

<sup>77</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 14, sheet 23v.

<sup>78</sup> BGUMCS, file no. III 608, p. 121; ANK, K 888, p. 75; ABC, Memoriale, p. 8; VAKA, *Liber Canonicorum Regularium Conventus Vlnensis*, as above.; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 68; idem, *Nekrolog*, 106.

<sup>79</sup> *Księga dochodów beneficjów diecezji krakowskiej z roku 1529*, op. cit., p. 455.

<sup>80</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 12, sheet 218v; t. 13, sheet 477; vol. 14, sheet 23v.

per the obituary records of the Kraśnik convent, we also know his tenure saw the death of the former provost Maciej (May 26, 1532). Court records further demonstrate that on February 5, 1533, Councilor Walenty of Lublin sued the Kraśnik provost and the monastery for breaching the terms of a contract for the delivery of honey<sup>81</sup>. The said lawsuit is another proof for the existence of an apiary at the Kraśnik convent, which must have manufactured honey on a wider scale, constituting a vital facet of its economy at the time. It seems that the provost must have stepped down in late June or early July 1535, as attested by the approval of his successor by the Bishop of Krakow, Piotr Tomicki, dated July 17<sup>82</sup>. In the wake of his resignation, Fr. Andrzej remained at the Kraśnik convent. According to the cloistral obituary records, he died on February 24, 1537<sup>83</sup>.

### 2.9. Fr. Andrzej of Słupcza (1535-1561)

Although to any Polish reader of this piece, Fr. Andrzej's place of birth may conjure associations with the town of Słupca in the region of Greater Poland, which was spelled "Słupcza" at the time, the future provost of the Kraśnik convent was actually born in the village of Słupcza in the parish of Dwikozy, in the district of Sandomierz. He was most likely a descendent of the village's landlords, who used the Rawicz coat of arms. Fr. Andrzej joined the convent between 1521 and 1530, which indicates he was born around 1500. The scope of his responsibilities at the Kraśnik monastery from before his appointment as provost remains unclear. He was elected provost in the wake of the Andrzej of Bodzenty's resignation, as corroborated by the approval issued by the Bishop of Krakow, Piotr Tomicki, on July 17, 1535<sup>84</sup>. As the provost of the Kraśnik congregation, Fr. Andrzej of Słupcza oversaw the completion of the redevelopment and decoration works of the church aisles, and the construction of monumental stalls in the presbytery, of which only the sedilia have survived to this day<sup>85</sup>. He also furnished two early Renaissance-style chapels in the renovated aisles, along with a marble pulpit with an inscription: *Sub Anno Domini 1541*. According to Michał Wardzyński, the contractors were brought in from Krakow, while the dressed stone came from Stara Lubowla in the region of Spisz. The chapels and the altarpieces, devoted to the Transfiguration of Christ and to St. Thecla, respectively, may have been ordained by the Suffragan of Krakow, Dominik Małachowski in 1540, as indicated by the subsequent records of inspections (dated 1748), which state that in November 1540, the suffragan consecrated a wooden church at the Kraśnik hospital, founded after 1531 by Jan Gabrielowic Tęczyński<sup>86</sup>. In 1544, Provost Andrzej of Słupcza supervised the renovation of the library collection, as evidenced by an inscription on the casing of a missal currently kept by the Library of the Lublin Seminary<sup>87</sup>. Several volumes were donated to the convent library by the Tęczyński

<sup>81</sup> AAL, Acta consistorii foranei Lublinensi, vol. 12, sheet 205v-206.

<sup>82</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 14, sheet 23v.

<sup>83</sup> BGUMCS, file no. III 608, p. 121; ABC, Memoriale, p. 8; VAKA, Liber Canonicorum Regularium Conventus Vilnensis, as above; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 68; idem, *Nekrolog*, p. 104.

<sup>84</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 13, sheet 477.

<sup>85</sup> K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 108; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., passim; *Kościół Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kraśniku*, as above

<sup>86</sup> AKMKr, Visitationes, vol. 48, p. 158.

<sup>87</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., passim.

family, as per the *superexlibris* inserted in their covers<sup>88</sup>. October 1549 saw the death of the Landlord of Batorze, Stanisław Gabrielowic Tęczyński, who was buried at the Chapel of the Transfiguration in Kraśnik, which may suggest he was the founder of the said chapel. Stanisław's death was followed by that of Jan Gabrielowic Tęczyński, Landlord of Kraśnik, who passed away in May 1552, and was buried in the Chapel of St. Thecla, underneath a splendid tomb sculpture, made of stone imported from Stara Lubowla by a Krakow-based Italian sculptor<sup>89</sup>. Under Provost Andrzej of Słupcza, the Kraśnik provostship saw its economy stabilize, although not without a few spoons of tar in a barrel of honey, such as the massive flood of 1550, which completely destroyed the convent's fishponds, whose renovation dragged until 1592<sup>90</sup>. The cloister's income came principally from its granges, rent fees, duty taxes, tributes, donations, and trade. On March 1, 1550, King Sigismund Augustus granted the convent a royal prerogative to collect customs duties in Kraśnik and Urzędów<sup>91</sup>. Upon their completion, the church and cloistral complex towered over the Kraśnik skyline, dwarfing the nearby parishes and manors. The Canons' ministries were consonant with the local needs, and the liturgies were celebrated with luster, as evidenced by the surviving tablatures written down between 1537 and 1546 by Fr. Jan of Lublin, currently deposited at the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences/Polish Academy of Sciences collection in Krakow<sup>92</sup>. The Canons were also active outside of the enclosure, among others in Kielczewice, as attested by the contracts between Provost Jan of Słupcza and the local parish priest, concluded in July 1536 and March 1543, respectively.<sup>93</sup> In 1555, Jakub Sieneński located the town of Radomyśl, along with a small wooden church, serviced by the Canons Regular of the Kraśnik convent<sup>94</sup>. Apart from these, the provost maintained regular contacts with Krakow, as evidence by the entries in the obituary records of both monasteries. Affiliated in the Kraśnik convent under Provost Jan of Słupcza was the aforementioned Fr. Jan of Lublin (†November 14, 1552), an outstanding musician, organist, and author of tablatures. As per the obituary records of the Kraśnik convent, Provost Jan of Słupcza died on November 12, 1561; on the other hand, the Krakow obituary record list his date of death as January 7 that year, with an annotation praising him tenure as dignified (*vere dignum*). If the Kraśnik obituary records are correct as to the date of his death, the provost must have retired from office by January 1561, at the latest, given that entries in the records made in February that year list Fr. Jan Pomorzański as his successor<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>89</sup> *Kościół Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kraśniku*, op. cit., passim.

<sup>90</sup> AKMKr, Visitationes, vol. 45, sheet 91v-95.

<sup>91</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., passim.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>93</sup> AAL, Acta consistorii foranei Lublinensi, vol. 9, sheet 157-157v, 167v-168, 185; vol. 13, sheet 92, 213v.

<sup>94</sup> *Rocznik Diecezji Sandomierskiej 1994*, p. 153.

<sup>95</sup> BGUMCS III 608, p. 125; APK, ms K 888, n. 232; ABC, Memoriale, p. 11; VAKA, Liber Canonicorum Regularium Conventus Vilmensis, as above; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 68; idem, *Nekrolog*, p. 110.

### 2.10. Fr. Jan Pomorzański (1561- 1580)

Fr. Jan Pomorzański's youth and family background are shrouded in mystery, outside of the few mentions collected in the course of the conducted queries, which suggest he came from the village of Pomorzany in the Rabsztyn Starosty, within the bounds of the Olkusz Parish (the village was subsequently incorporated in the city of Olkusz). Born around 1515, Jan Pomorzański joined the Canons Regular in the Diocese of Krakow. On July 1, 1552 he took his minor orders, subsequently serving as a notary at the Krakow curia. He was also known a beneficiary of a prebend at the Tęczynek Castle, which he received from the Chatelain of Chełm, Jan Boner, following the death of the Bishop of Chełm, Jakub Uchański<sup>96</sup>. Aside from the above, Fr. Jan Pomorzański was a protégé of Jan Chrzyciel Tęczyński, the last in the line of the Kraśnik landlords, and his appointment as provost of the Kraśnik convent no doubt resulted from the direct support granted by both Count Tęczyński and Chatelain Boner. In a minor publication on the Tęczyn Castle, Fr. Wincenty Smoczyński mentions that Fr. Pomorzański joined the Kraśnik convent in 1562. However, Fr. Pomorzański had already acted in the capacity of its provost in 1561, as per his personal annotation made on the endpaper of the books purchased in Lublin<sup>97</sup>. The Krakow consistory dated October 22, 1562, merely mentions the acceptance of his relinquishment of the prebend at the Tęczynek Castle, which he had filed in writing on October 6, via the Canon of the Krakow Cathedral, Zbigniew Ziółkowski<sup>98</sup>. It seems, therefore, that Fr. Pomorzański must have joined the Kraśnik monastery around 1560, with the prospects of assuming the role of its provost. His tenure in Kraśnik saw a number of court cases, including a dispute with Fr. Stanisław, Provost of the Church Hospital in Urzędów concerning 10 florins bequeathed to the monastery by the previous provost of the said hospital, Fr. Andrzej. In September 1563, the parish priest of Pniów, Fr. Marcin, accused the Kraśnik provostship of appropriating the tithes collected in Rzerzyca. The trial concluded on July 27, 1565 in Sandomierz. In 1568, the Kraśnik monastery entered a court dispute with the Cistercian abbey of Koprzywnica (represented by Abbot Jan Młodziejowski), concerning the tithes collected in Zakrzów and Sułów. The hearings began on May 28 and lasted through October 1 that year. Due to the frequent court hearings, Provost Pomorzański was a regular guest at the offices of the judicial vicars of Sandomierz and Lublin<sup>99</sup>. The records of the bishops and judicial vicars of Krakow do not mention any such visits from Fr. Pomorzański. In 1563, after the death of the last heir to the Kraśnik estate from the local branch of the Tęczyński family (Jan Chrzyciel Tęczyński), the estate was first administered by the Voivode of Belz, Andrzej Tęczyński, before a 1579 court verdict transferred the estate to Katarzyna née Tęczyńska (1544-1592), sister of Jan Chrzyciel and wife of the Prince of Słuck, Jerzy Olelkowicz (1531-1592); after Olelkowicz's

<sup>96</sup> AKMKr, Acta Officialia, vol. 83, sheet 809: *Ad altare seu prebendam in Arce Thenczin sittam per liberam resignationem R[everendissimi]mi in Christo Patris et D[omi]ni Jacobi Uchański e[pisco]pi Chelmen[sis] Venerabilem Joannem Pomorzański clericum in minoribus ordinis ad presentationem Magnifici et Generosi D[omi]ni Joannis Bonar de Balicze castellani Chelmen[sis].*

<sup>97</sup> *Opera Joannis Driedonis empta sunt per me Joannem Pomorzański Praepositum Crasnica[sem] Anno D[omi]ni 1561 mense Februario Lublini.* SeeL. Zalewski, *Biblioteka*, p. 12.

<sup>98</sup> AKMKr, Acta Officialia, vol. 104, sheet 769. The prebend was subsequently passed to Fr. Feliks Czerski, represented by the Starost of Lublin, Jan of Tęczyn.

<sup>99</sup> ADS, Acta Officialia, vol. 105, pp. 30, 33, 41, 45, 60, 99, 101, 105, 236, 447, 485, 489, 494, 531, 539, 542, 554, 588, 609.

death, the estate fell into the hands of Krzysztof I Radziwił (1547-1603)<sup>100</sup>. The tumultuous years of the Kraśnik legacy trials overlapped with the takeover of the local churches by the Protestants, including the church in Popkowice, which was transferred to the Protestants by Mikołaj Rej, and the church in Pniów, which was turned into a Protestant temple by the local landlord, Jan Słupecki of Słupcza. Around 1570, the Protestants also took over the parish churches in Rybitwy, Goraj, and Wysokie<sup>101</sup>. The conversion of Catholic Churches into their Protestant counterparts was not always seamless. The records of the subsequent inspections indicate that Pniów saw a murder of the local Protestant minister; also mentioned is a transfer of the church paraments from the parish in Wysokie to the church in Targowisko, where they were deposited for safekeeping<sup>102</sup>. By extension, these turbulent times afflicted the daily life of the Kraśnik convent and parish. First of all, the monastery lost much of its profits, with fewer parishioners paying the contracted rents, interests on deposits, missalia, and tithes. The fishponds were still destroyed after the flood, the apiary's yields dwindled, and some of the fields and grazing grounds fell into the hands of the Kraśnik estate leaseholder<sup>103</sup>. On the other hand, cloistral discipline, liturgies, educational activities and ministries at the convent were unimpeded by the external circumstances, at least based on the surviving records of the Krakow bishops and judicial vicars, which do not suggest otherwise. The parish school was still running, producing alumni such as the Kraśnik-born Fr. Albert, who was ordained in April 1575 and took up the post of a curate at the Nowy Sącz collegiate church; Fr. Albert, who was ordained in May 1584, becoming a mansionary at the Lublin Castle; and Fr. Piotr, who served as the rector of the Mielec school between 1594 and 1595. On top of the above, the Kraśnik canons were active in Radomyśl, striving to get the local church recognized by canon law, while also substituting for the provost of the Hospital Church in Kraśnik, Fr. Mikołaj, who according to the obituary records of the Kraśnik convent spent the final days of his life at the convent. No further information is available as to the possible works conducted within the cloistral complex, aside from the erection of Jan Chrzyciel Tęczynski's tombstone. Similarly, nothing is known of the convent's (and its monks') reaction to the course and decisions of the Council of Trent, which was about to conclude at the time, with its decrees implemented in Poland. On the other hand, we do know that the provost bought a number of books, which are currently deposited at the Library of the Lublin Seminary<sup>104</sup>. Fr. Pomorzański's tenure was accompanied by the activity of Fr. Walenty of Sędziszów (organist, +1572), Fr. Jan of Turobin (preacher, +1574), and Fr. Adam Rzczycki, author of numerous maxims and political commentaries on his times, which he made on the endpapers of his books. The last mention of Fr. Pomorzański's provostship is a 1578 provenance note on one of the books acquired by the provost. Fr. Pomorzański most likely died in 1580, however his death is not mentioned either by the Kraśnik or Krakow obituary records<sup>105</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 3; J. Kurtyka, *Latyfundium tęczyńskie. Dobra i właściciele (XIV-XVII wiek)*, Kraków 1999.

<sup>101</sup> AKMKr, AV, 1; AVCap, 65.

<sup>102</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>103</sup> AKMKr, Visitationes, 1, sheet 33-36.

<sup>104</sup> L. Zalewski, *Biblioteka*, op. cit., passim; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., passim.

<sup>105</sup> K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 68.

### 2.11. Fr. Stanisław Otrębka [Otremba] (1580-1584)

To all appearances, Fr. Stanisław Otrębka hailed from Wolbrom, where the Otrębka (Otrombka, Otrembka, Otrąbka) family were part of the local patriciate. In 1545, Fr. Otrębka purchased one of his books, a collection of sermons published in 1535 in Cologne, which ended up in the Library of the Lublin Seminary following the suppression of the convent<sup>106</sup>. Based on the above premises, it may be inferred that the future provost was born by 1520 at the latest. Between 1575 and 1578, Fr. Otrębka bought a number of homiletic books, including Jakub Wujek's *Postilla Catholica* (first published in 1574), which seems to indicate that he was active as a preacher<sup>107</sup>. In 1580, he began his tenure as the provost of the Kraśnik monastery began in 1580, which he navigated through a period of disciplinary and material difficulties. In a letter to the apostolic nuncio in Warsaw, Alberto Bolognetti, the Provincial of the Jesuit Order, Jan Paweł Campianus, dated September 14, 1582, Fr. Otrębka wrote that the Kraśnik convent was in disarray, and that Princess Katarzyna of Słuck considered replacing the Canons Regular with Jesuits. On the other hand, Provincial Campianus wrote with high regard on the Kraśnik monastery and church architecture (*bellissimo mansterio, molto bella chiesa*), which he saw as tailor-made for a Jesuit college<sup>108</sup>. In the end, the plan to remove of the Canons Regular from Kraśnik fell through. On another note, the Kraśnik canons had to fend off the competition from the Cistercian abbey in Koprzywnica, who owned the villages of Zakrzów and Sułów, which administratively belonged to the Kraśnik parish. Between 1576 and 1592, Abbot Mikołaj Luboracki erected a wooden temple in Zakrzów (St. Nicholas' Church), brought in a priest, and began to organize a parish, prohibiting the residents of the surrounding villages to pay tithes and pay visits to the church in Kraśnik<sup>109</sup>. Provost Otrębka did his best to defend the Kraśnik parish's rights to Zakrzów and Sułów, but his efforts were of little avail, since the Cistercian abbot prevailed thanks to his extensive clerical and political support. In 1584, Prince Aleksander of Słuck, who was the landlord of Kraśnik at the time, repealed the "de non tolerandis Judaeis"<sup>110</sup> law, which helped establish a demographically and economically resilient Jewish community in Kraśnik, which also benefitted the local provostship, as evidenced by the records of the subsequent bishop's inspections and other historical sources. The said records indicate that the convent contracted the Jewish residents of Kraśnik with a number of services, chiefly financial ones; on the other hand, inspections of the convent after 1617 also mention religious tensions in town caused by the co-existence of two different cultures within the community<sup>111</sup>. According to the obituary records of the Kraśnik monastery, Fr. Otrębka died on December 18, 1584. On the other hand, as per the obituary records of the Krakow convent (and the obituary records of the Vilnius monastery, created based on the Krakow register), he died in 1585<sup>112</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> L. Zalewski, *Biblioteka*, op. cit., as above; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>107</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>108</sup> *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. V, "Series Nuntiaturae Poloniae", ed. Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici in Polonia Epistolarum et Actarum pars I aa. 1581-1582, ed. E. Kuntza, C. Nanke, Kraków 1923-1933, p. 491.

<sup>109</sup> AKMKr, AV 1, p. 33-35; AVCap 31, pp. 210-211.

<sup>110</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>111</sup> AKMKr, AV 1, p. 32-33: [...] *in eodem villa proprio motu et autoritate extruxit Ecclesiam novam ligneam tituli S[ancti] Nicolai quae iam extructa ornavit et per hoc dismembrationem ab Ecclesia Monasterii Krasnicensis fecit.*

<sup>112</sup> ANK, K 888, n. 230; Memoriale, p. 8; VAKA, Liber Canonicorum Regularium Conventus Vilmensis, as above; K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni*, op. cit., p. 88; idem, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura*

## 2.12. Fr. Andrzej Zagórski (1585-1593)

Not much is known of Fr. Zagórski's origins, family background, and education. The information obtained in the course of the conducted queries seems to indicate he hailed from a noble family based in Blinów. It is uncertain when he joined the Kraśnik convent. He was ordained a priest in 1573 in Krakow, and elected provost of the Kraśnik monastery in late December 1584 or early January 1585. In any case, the first mention of his provostship dates back to April 1, 1585, which saw Provost Zagórski's visit to Urzędów, where he certified the papal confirmation of the foundation of the Kraśnik convent – issued on April 9, 1487 by the papal commissioner Abbot Jan of Koprzywnica – and a document issued by King Władysław Jagiełło in July 1403, certifying the bequest of the village of Rzerzyca to the Kraśnik parish by Beata Gorayska<sup>113</sup>. On July 18, 1589, Fr. Zagórski hosted Archduke Maximilian III Habsburg (1558-1618) on his way back to Vienna after his release from the Krasnystaw Castle, where had been imprisoned following a defeat in the Battle of Byczyna, suffered from the hands of Jan Zamoyski in the wake of Maximilian's failed bid at the Polish throne<sup>114</sup>. Provost Zagórski's rule in Kraśnik was a challenging one, both financially and ministry-wise, as signaled by the report from the inspection of the Kraśnik convent made on Friday, June 19, 1592 on the recommendation of the Archdeacon of Zawichost, Marcin Szyszkowski<sup>115</sup>. At the time, the Kraśnik estate was owned by the Orthodox Prince of Słuck, Jan Symeon Olelkowicz (†1592); the convent was comprised of seven canons: the provost, Fr. Grzegorz of Grodziec, Fr. Marcin of Mielec, Fr. Adam of Chroberz, Fr. Stanisław of Jedlna, Fr. Albert Lupka, and Fr. Teofil Kłosiński of Kłobuck; according to the report from the said inspection, the Kraśnik parish spanned the town of Kraśnik itself, along with the villages of Stróża, Słodków, Buczyn, Rzerzyca, Wyżnianka, Suchynia, Zakrzów, and Sulejów, with the provision that the affiliation of the latter two villages to the Kraśnik parish was in name only, given that (as mentioned above) the Cistercian abbot of Koprzywnica, Mikołaj Luboracki, *violating the will of the founders of the Kraśnik parish and the provisions of canon law*, erected a wooden church in Zakrzów and brought in a clergyman (Fr. Paweł of Bodzentyn) to establish an independent ministry in the village; the aforementioned report also indicates that the endowment of the Kraśnik church and cloistered had dwindled considerably; that the tenant of the Kraśnik estate and Standard-bearer of Sochaczew, Maciej Białyński, refused to pay the due tithes and lease, while also wronging and abusing the monks (*fratres infligit et opprimit*); that the fishponds had been destroyed long before by the overflowing river and had not been restored since; that the grazing grounds and fields of Trzydnik had been occupied by landowner Mikołaj Jaskulski, with whom the provost had entered a legal dispute, but to little avail; and that Zakrzów and Sułów had not paid their due tithes in years. The material situation of the monastery was far from perfect, as was evident at first glance to the inspector, who assessed the facilities as run down, perhaps due to labor shortages. While the interior of the church was not detailed in the report, we know it was adorned with no more than seven altarpieces, including the main one in the presbyter, followed by the altars of St. Anne, St. Paul the Apostle, St. Stanislaus, St. Augustine, St. Thecla, and the

*intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 98; idem, *Nekrolog*, p. 110.

<sup>113</sup> ABC, *Metrica Conventus*, II, p. 672; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>114</sup> E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 139.

<sup>115</sup> AKMKr, AV 1, pp. 33-35; AVCap 65, pp. 467-469; AVCap 12, pp. 10-12.

Transfiguration. Liturgies were celebrated on a regular basis, in compliance with the 1578 Agenda of the Gniezno Province. On weekdays, the monks recited the *officium divinum*, while on Sundays and holidays a full *missa cantata* was celebrated. The mass was celebrated on a daily basis (morning mass, votive mass, and high mass); sermons were preached on Sundays and holidays; the Catechism (Our Father, Hail Mary, Commandments, etc.) was recited by the faithful in unison with the preacher. The inspector's report does not mention processions, which must have been celebrated similarly to the other churches of the deanery, nor did he reference the donations collected on religious services. It does not seem, however, that the rates of donations exceeded those charged by the neighboring parishes (Borów, Potok), i.e. one grosz per baptism, wedding, and churching of women (*a quodlibet Sacramento*). Exceptions included funerals, due to the fact that the deceased would sometimes be buried in the church crypt. The list of books held by the sacristy included a new missal, as well as a gradual, an antiphonary, and two psalters written on parchments (which suggests their ancient origin), along with a new gradual and a book of responsories (the latter two volumes were not in use). The inspector visited the cloistral library and inspected its collections for heretical books, but none such were identified. No cases of ministerial negligence or depravation were stated among the monks. Located in a brick building, the parish school was deemed to be in working order. Its rector, who held the degree of a bachelor of arts, taught many students (*habet plurimos scholares*), whom he lectured on piety, etiquette, and liberal arts (*et eosdem in pietate, honestate moribus liberalibusque artibus instruit*). The list of books used at the Kraśnik school included Erasmus's *Colloquia*, among others. The canons of Kraśnik were also active at the hospital church, substituting for its provost, Fr. Piotr of Warka. When questioned by the inspector, the mayor of Kraśnik and the members of the town's council testified to the proper conduct of the convent and its provost. On a final note, the inspector instructed Provost Zagórski to file lawsuits against the appropriators of the cloistral property<sup>116</sup>. Provost Zagórski's tenure at the Kraśnik convent saw the death of at least one canon, Sebastian Wolik of Chodel (1587), along with the acquisition of two professed monks, Adam of Chrobierz (1585) and Albert of Przybyszew (1593). In 1592, Kraśnik was ravaged by pestilence. A year later, on December 18, 1593, Provost Zagórski died<sup>117</sup>, although according to the Krakow and Vilnius obituary records, he passed away in 1594<sup>118</sup>.

### 2.13. Fr. Marcin Nawoyski of Mielec (1594-1607)

Born around 1550 in Mielec, Fr. Marcin Nawoyski was a son of Jan Nawoyski, Korab coat of arms. In the examined records, his name is spelled Navoius, Nawoiowicz, Nawoyski, Mielecius, Mielecensis, or Mieleczki. Fr. Nawoyski likely began his education in Mielec, briefly continuing his studies at the Faculty of Liberal Arts of the University of Krakow<sup>119</sup>. He joined the Kraśnik convent no later than in autumn of 1573. On September 17, 1575, he was ordained a subdeacon in Krakow, receiving his diaconal orders on March 17, 1576, and

<sup>116</sup> Tamże.

<sup>117</sup> BGUMCS III 608, p. 125.

<sup>118</sup> APK, K 888, n. 230; Memoriale, p. 8; VAKA, Liber Canonicorum Regularium Conventus Vilnensis, as above; S. Ranatowicz, *Casimiriae civitatis*, op. cit., sheet 26v; L. Zalewski, *Biblioteka*, op. cit., as above; K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni*, op. cit., p. 88; idem, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>119</sup> *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, t. 3 (1551-1589), p. 127.

his ordainment on April 7, 1756 by Suffragan Marcin Białobrzeski<sup>120</sup>. Following his holy orders, Fr. Nawoyski's duties at the convent included preaching (among others). His Krakow obituary recollects him as an outstanding preacher (*facundus praedicator*)<sup>121</sup>. Fr. Nawoyski's election as provost fell in the last days of December 1593 or in the first days of January 1594. The Bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, approved the appointment on January 11, 1594<sup>122</sup>. As suggested by the compilation of various records, his tenure in Kraśnik was far from peaceful, especially given his apparent irritability with, and lack of understanding for, his brethren and parishioners. According to the surviving records of the Kraśnik Town Hall, his first visit at the town hall came as late as in April 1602, when he collected a sum of 24 zlotys and 10 grosz, bequeathed to the Kraśnik church by Małgorzata Gliczanka<sup>123</sup>. In 1598, the Kraśnik provostship was inspected by the Archdeacon of Zawichost on the recommendation of Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł<sup>124</sup>. The technical condition of the church and monastery raised no objections from the inspector. The sacristy was fully equipped with clerical garbs, liturgy books and utensils. 12 of the church chalices were silver and gilded, and several among the chasubles and copes were stitched with gold (*auro plicatae, ex auro contextae*). The parish school functioned as provisioned, paying an annual salary of 24 florins to its rector, who was also provided with accommodation and board. The Kraśnik parish comprised of the town and its suburbs, as well as the settlements of Słodków, Struża, Suchynia, Wyżlica, Budzyń, and Rzczyca. The canons also substituted for provost Piotr of Warka, running the Hospital Church of the Holy Spirit, and served at the Chapel of Our Lady of Ascension at the Kraśnik Castle, and a newly erected chapel for the poor at the Kraśnik town gate, designed by an Italian Artist (Bernard Calabrese). They also served at a venue (chapel?) in Rzczyca, noted for miraculous phenomena (*locus quem saepius claruisse miraculis*). On the other hand, when interviewed by the inspector, the Kraśnik canons bemoaned the conduct of their leader, which resulted in a hearing of Provost Nawoyski at the Krakow consistory on June 9, 1600, where he was questioned by the administrator of the Diocese of Krakow on account of continuing disagreements concerning the scope of his power at the Kraśnik provostship<sup>125</sup>. While the decisions made in the wake of the said hearing remain unknown, the problem was evidently far from being resolved, given that on May 4, 1604 the provost was summoned to Chodel, where he faced a commission appointed by the Bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski, comprised of Fr. Hieronim Renczajski, Fr. Sebastian Nucerinus, and Fr. Marcin Kłoczyński. The canons of Kraśnik continued to accuse their superior of maltreatment, malnutrition, and refusal to replenish their clothing. The complaints must have been firmly grounded in reality, given that the provost was admonished by the commission and obliged under church penalties to rightfully resolve all divisive matters within three months<sup>126</sup>. If Provost Nawoyski obliged, it was not for long. In March or April 1607, Bishop Piotr Tylicki sent a repeat inspection to Kraśnik, following which the provost resigned his office, with Bishop Tylicki granting

<sup>120</sup> AKMKr, Liber Ordinandorum ab Anno 1573 usque ad Annum Domini 1585, pp. 47, 53.

<sup>121</sup> ABC, Memoriale, p. 8.

<sup>122</sup> AKMKr, AVCap 12, p. 10.

<sup>123</sup> APL, Akta Miasta Kraśnika, file no. 2, pp. 106, 115.

<sup>124</sup> AKMKr, AV, file no. 12.

<sup>125</sup> AKMKr, Acta Administratoria, t. 8, p. 248.

<sup>126</sup> AKMKr, AV 4, sheet 159.

his request on July 31, 1607<sup>127</sup>. As it seems, Fr. Nawoyski's resignation came as an amicable solution, as the former provost was allowed to live in the vicinity of the hospital church in Kraśnik, with the convent pledging to pay him an annual stipend of 40 grzywnas to cover his living expenses<sup>128</sup>. As per the obituary records of the Kraśnik monastery, Fr. Nawoyski died on November 27, 1613<sup>129</sup>.

#### 2.14. Fr. Albert Sowiński Tarnovita (1607-1628)

Fr. Albert Sowiński hailed from Tarnów, and was hence referred to in the cloistral documents as Tarnoviensis or Tarnovita. According to the obituary records of the Kraśnik convent and a testimony deposited by Fr. Stefan Ranatowicz, his family name was Sowiński<sup>130</sup>. Conversely, the entry made in the records of pre-ordination exams of the Diocese of Krakow states that Sowiński's father's name was Tomasz Kaczorowicz<sup>131</sup>. The said entry may be erroneous, or the actual surname of Sowiński's father was confused with his nickname (e.g. Kaczorowic). Born around 1560, Sowiński began his education in Tarnów, which was home to a respectable collegiate school. In the winter semester of 1581, he enrolled in the Faculty of Liberal Arts of the University of Krakow<sup>132</sup>. He joined the Kraśnik convent at the turn of 1589/1590, having finished his novitiate, taken his holy orders, and completed his theological studies at the Corpus Christi Monastery in Krakow. Fr. Sowiński took his successive holy orders in Krakow, being ordained a subdeacon on March 14, deacon on May 23, and presbyter on September 21, 1592<sup>133</sup>. Following his holy orders, he resided at the Krakow convent until 1603, serving at the Church of Corpus Christi, as evidenced by the surviving baptism certificates<sup>134</sup>. On September 29, 1603, the Bishop of Krakow approved Fr. Sowiński's selection as the provost of the Kurozwęki convent, where he proved himself as an adept continuator of the renovation works in the local church, returned to the Canons Regular in 1595 by the Protestants following a twenty-year seizure and a court trial<sup>135</sup>. On April 16, 1607, he resigned his post in Kurozwęki<sup>136</sup>, assuming the position of provost at the Kraśnik convent on November 5<sup>137</sup>. As the leader of the monastic community in Kraśnik, Provost Sowiński was noted for his quiet piety. He regularly visited the Kraśnik Town Hall

<sup>127</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 38, sheet 17v-18.

<sup>128</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>129</sup> APL, Files of the City of Kraśnik, file no. 1, p. 50; Files of the City of Kraśnik, file no. 2, p. 106, 115; ANK, K 888, n. 230; ABC, Memoriale, p. 8; BGUMCS III 608, p. 125; VAKA, Liber Canonorum Regularium Conventus Vilnensis, as above; S. Ranatowicz, *Casimiriae civitatis*, op. cit., sheet 26v; L. Zalewski, *Biblioteka*, op. cit., as above; K. Łatak, *Kanonicy regularni*, op. cit., p. 88; idem, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 111; E. Zielińska, *Kultura intelektualna*, op. cit., p. 98; idem, *Nekrolog*, p. 110.

<sup>130</sup> ABC, Memoriale, p. 330; S. Ranatowicz, *Casimiriae civitatis*, op. cit., sheet 34v-35.

<sup>131</sup> *Księgi egzaminów*, Z. Pietrzyk, n. 3437.

<sup>132</sup> *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, t. 3 (1551-1589), p. 125.

<sup>133</sup> AKMKr, Liber Ordinandum, vol. 2(1586-1596), p. 195; *Księgi egzaminów*, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>134</sup> ABC, Liber Natorum et Baptisatorum in Parochia Sacratissimi Corporis Christi Casimiriae ad Cracoviam ab anno 1578 ad annum 1616, manuscript, file no. 1-A-16.

<sup>135</sup> AKMKr, Acta Officilia, vol. 113, p. 1353; S. Ranatowicz, *Casimiriae civitatis*, sheet 34v-35; M.A. Gorczyński, *Schema de Canonicis Regularibus Lateranensibus Congregationis Cracoviensis*, op. cit., p. 107; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>136</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 38, sheet 61v.

<sup>137</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 38, sheet 38-38v.

in matters related to the local parish church and confraternity of the rosary<sup>138</sup>, which he founded on September 10, 1609, and confirmed with Bishop Piotr Tylicki on December 16 that same year<sup>139</sup>. Bishop Tylicki subsequently confirmed Provost Sowiński's right to collect tithes from the village of Lipnik (1614). In the autumn of 1618, the provost entered a court dispute with the provost of the church hospital, Jakub Kamiński, on the contested claims to the "tokarzewskie" and "wierzbieckie" land plots in Kraśnik<sup>140</sup>. For this reason, he was a regular guest to Krakow, as corroborated by both the records of the local judicial vicar but also the entries made in the book of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament at the Church of Corpus Christi<sup>141</sup>. Aside from the above, Fr. Sowiński oversaw a number of renovation works at the convent, and commenced the redecoration of its church. The report from an inspection conducted in July 1617 by Archdeacon Jakub Piasecki references a newly mounted altarpiece of the Holy Trinity in the nave of the church, while also mentioning a friars' chapel with an altar whose reredos held a newly sculpted and gilded icon of Virgin Mary<sup>142</sup>. A good organizer, Fr. Sowiński's Achilles' heel was economy. The convent, which counted nine monks, complained on the provost's lack of collegiality, his overt familiarity with the nearby manors, his proclivity for hiring morally dubious employees at the convent granges, and his imperfect financial policies<sup>143</sup>. In view of these accusations, Bishop Marcin Szyszkowski turned to the provost of the Krakow convent, Marcin Kłoczyński, whom he knew intimately from their work at Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł's curia, requesting him to inspect the cloister and reform the relations between the monks and their superior. The legal basis for the visitation was the foundation privilege of the Kraśnik convent, backed by Pope Paul V's permission to investigate the monastery. The papal bull authorizing the reform of the Kraśnik convent and its subjugation to the parent monastery in Krakow was issued on May 25, 1618. While we do not know when it reached Krakow, its execution fell in 1620. Although the provost signed the document, he did not change his administrative style. In view of his obstinacy, in the autumn of 1627 the general provost of the congregation, Marcin Kłoczyński, ordered a repeat inspection in Kraśnik, conducted by the prior of the Krakow convent, Jan Gelazy Zórawski. The inspection confirmed the neglect of the cloistral granges and the ill-advised financial decision making, whose effects were not always beneficial for the convent<sup>144</sup>. Having listened to the inspector's report and interrogated three witnesses summoned from the Kraśnik convent, the general chapter of the Canons Regular, which convened in Krakow on October 28, 1628, dismissed Fr. Sowiński (who did not turn up at the general chapter)

<sup>138</sup> APL, Akta miasta Kraśnika, file no. 1, p. 239v; Akta miasta Kraśnika, file no. 2, pp. 230, 268-269, 270, 308-309, 312.

<sup>139</sup> Founded on September 10, 1609, the confraternity was approved on December 16, 1609. See AKMKr, AVCap 34, sheet 13v; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, op. cit., p. 110; M. Kozera, *Bractwa religijne w archidiecezji zawichojskiej w XVIII wieku*, "Studia Sandomierskie", 20/2013, p. 14.

<sup>140</sup> AKMKr, Acta Episcopalia, vol. 41, sheet 459, 477v, 489, 510-515. The trial began on September 3, 1618 and finished on October 24, 1618. Fr. Sowiński was sometimes represented at the judicial vicar's court by Prior Albert Chamiec.

<sup>141</sup> ABC, Liber Vitae sive Album Dominorum Sodalium utriusque status et sexus Venerabilis Confraternitatis Sacratissimi Sacramento Casimiriae ab Anno Domini 1551, manuscript, b. file no., p. 21. Aside from the provost, entries to the book were made by Fr. Augustyn Żochowicz and Fr. Marcin Rzekiecki.

<sup>142</sup> AKMKr, AVCap 34, sheet 12-14v.

<sup>143</sup> AKMKr, AV 6, sheet 65v-66.

<sup>144</sup> Ibidem

from his office<sup>145</sup>. The author of this study failed to establish whether the dismissed provost remained at the Kraśnik convent or was moved to another congregation. Still, his trespassing must not have been as grave as it seems, given that the subsequent general chapter of the Canons Regular, convened on October 20, 1631, elected him provost at the Sucha Beskidzka convent, where he vitally contributed to the internal organization of the enclosure, which was consecrated in 1630, while also setting up its archives and library. He was also active in the convent's filial church in Krzeszów<sup>146</sup>. In June 1635, Kraśnik held a general chapter of the Canons Regular which, pursuant to the statutes of the congregation, was due to elect provosts of all local provostships in Little Poland and the Great Duchy of Lithuania. Due to unspecified purposes, the choice of the provost of the Sucha Beskidzka convent was delegated to the chapter of the general convent in Krakow, which did not choose a new provost for the Sucha monastery, but instead appointed Fr. Patryk Milewski as its administrator. Such a solution may have resulted from the ailing health of Fr. Sowiński, who died in Sucha on December 6, 1636, and was buried in the crypt of the canons' church there. Widely considered as a saintly, pious, and contemplative man, devoted to self-mortification and service to the poor, Fr. Sowiński's life inspired a brief biography written by Fr. Stefan Ranatowicz based on an account deposited by Fr. Krzysztof Łoniewski. Fr. Sowiński was also remembered kindly by such authors as Fr. Michał Akwilin Gorczyński's (whose monograph of the Canons Regular was published in 1707), and Piotr Hiacynt Pruszc. The Krakow convent commissioned his portrait, captioned *Albertus Sowiński de Tarnów*, which has survived until today. The figure of Fr. Albert Tarnovita has recently resurfaced in Małgorzata Pęgiej's article on the lives of saints and the pious featured in Fr. Stefan Ranatowicz's chronicle<sup>147</sup>.

### 3. Conclusion

Founded by the Tęczyński family in May 1468, the convent of the Canons Regular of the Lateran in Kraśnik was active until its suppression by the Russian occupiers in 1864. Known as a major social, religious, and ecclesiastical center of the Lublin region, the Kraśnik convent was one of its foremost cultural and civilizational hubs, vitally contributing to the urban development of Kraśnik. Unfortunately, the Kraśnik monastery still awaits a comprehensive historical monograph. The sole monograph on the convent published so far is that devoted to its library and, by extension, its intellectual culture, but even this lone account is selective and discontinues after 1563. Academics have also briefly outlined its musical culture in the context of the compositional exploits of Fr. Jan of Lublin, an author of a monumental tablature who served as the provost of the Kraśnik monastery and died here in 1552. Another study covers the Kraśnik church on the occasion of its major overhaul, which began in 2007 and concluded in 2013. Conversely, the above study focuses on the provosts of the Kraśnik monastery from its foundation to its reform in the 1620s. As expected, the source materials collected

<sup>145</sup> ABC, Acta Capituli Generalis, sheet 3. The witnesses included Fr. Jan Baptysta Malanowski, the prior, Fr. Wit Wnuczkowski, and Fr. Aleksander Bedoński.

<sup>146</sup> APS, Liber natorum Krzeszów 1623-1647, pp. 60-61.

<sup>147</sup> ANK, file no. K 888, n. 340; ABC, Memoriale, p. 330; S. Ranatowicz, *Casimiriæ civitatis*, sheet 34v-35; p. 125; M.A. Gorczyński, *Schema de Canonicis*, p. 110; K. Łatak, *Kongregacja krakowska*, p. 130; idem, *Ksiądz Stefan Ranatowicz*, pp. 176, 180; M. Pęgiej, *Żywoty świętych polskich w relacji Kroniki księdza Stefana Ranatowicza CRL (1617-1694)*, "Echa Przeszości", 14/2004, pp. 59-60.

in the course of the study failed to provide answers to all of the questions formulated at the preliminary stage of the project. Despite these shortcomings, it is my firm conviction that the resulting outline history of the Kraśnik provostship makes for a significant contribution to the studies on the history, culture, and prosopography of the said convent, as well as its place and role in the immediate environment and across the region.

**The administrators of the Kraśnik provostship of Canons Regular of the Lateran  
in Kraśnik from its foundation to its reform in the 17<sup>th</sup> century  
Summary**

This article focuses on the provostship of the monastery of the Canons Regular of the Lateran in Kraśnik from its foundation in May 1468 to the reform of 1620-1627. Founded by Jan Rabsztynski of Tęczyn, the owner of the Kraśnik estate, the convent was considered as a prominent center of religious, social, and cultural activity in the Lublin Region. Therefore, studying its history, culture, and religious activity is important in understanding the history of the town and the region. The culture of the monastery influenced the culture of the local environment, while the culture of the surrounding area left its traces in the culture and activities of the convent.

**Keywords:** Church prosopography, Canon Regular of the Lateran, history of culture, Kraśnik, Region of Lublin

**Note on the Author:** Fr. prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Łatak is a full professor at the Institute of Historical Sciences of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw, where he heads the Department of Auxiliary Sciences of History and the Department of Archive Studies.

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