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THE STATE OF RESEARCH AND RESEARCH POSTULATES
FOR THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MONASTERY
OF THE CANONS REGULAR OF THE LATERAN
IN KRAŚNIK

Abstract. The monastery of the Canons Regular in Kraśnik functioned from 1469 to its dissolution by the tsarist Russia in 1864. Its history and contribution to the culture of the region have not been studied in detail so far. There are relatively few publications on the monastery of Kraśnik and they relate primarily to the issues of specific monuments. The main studies of the beginnings of the monastery in Kraśnik come from Ewa Zielińska (*Kultura intelektualna kanoników regularnych z klasztoru w Kraśniku 1469-1563*, Lublin 2002) and Janusz Kurtyka (*Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Cracow 1997).

There is no doubt about the date of founding the monastery and earliest emolument of the monastery. The founder is well-known. The reasons for the foundation are as follows: the wish of the founder's father; commemoration of father's memory; making the monastery in Kraśnik the necropolis of the Rabsztyńskis; Jan Rabsztyński's personal piety and concern for providing the local people with adequate pastoral care.

Research postulates. The problem of establishing the parish in Kraśnik has not been solved. It is a mystery why the bishop of Cracow Jan Lutek of Brzezia delayed issuing the document confirming the foundation and erection of the monastery in Kraśnik. There are doubts about existing a medieval scriptorium in Kraśnik.

Key words: Kraśnik; Canons Regular of the Lateran.

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The monastery of the Canons Regular of the Lateran in Kraśnik functioned from 1469 to its dissolution by the tsarist Russia in 1864. It is believed that for nearly 400 years it played an important pastoral and cultural role in the town of Kraśnik and in the district of Lublin. Despite this, its history and contribution to the culture of the region have not been studied in detail so far. This also concerns the foundation of the monastery, which is of special interest to us. Its beginnings were mentioned in the studies of a general nature, mainly devoted to the town of Kraśnik, its monuments, the congregation of the Canons Regular from Cracow or the Tęczyński family, who used the Topór coat of arms.

There are relatively few publications on the monastery of Kraśnik and they relate primarily to the issues of specific monuments, for example the church building, its equipment¹ and old books.

The main study of the beginnings of the monastery in Kraśnik comes from Ewa Zielińska. The author focused on the intellectual achievements of the Canons, especially their book collection. The first chapter of her work contains notes about creating the monastery and its beginnings. It is also a summary of current knowledge on this subject².

We also owe prof. Janusz Kurtyka a very good work devoted to the Tęczyński family (who used the Topór coats of arms), the founders of the monastery of Kraśnik³. It gives an excellent perspective of relationships between the Tęczyńskis and the circles of magnate's elite of those times; it shows their changing, but generally high, position in the political arena and their contribution to the economy and culture of Poland. Occasionally J. Kurtyka mentions the foundation of the monastery in Kraśnik. The relations of the Tęczyńskis with other magnate's families and their search for the place at the top of the social hierarchy can form the basis for seeking the motives for the foundation of the monastery of the Canons Regular in Kraśnik.

We will most often refer to these two above-mentioned studies later in this article.

¹ J.A. CZAJKOWSKI, *Opis kościoła parafialnego w Kraśniku i wiadomość historyczna o kanonikach regularnych lateraneńskich*, „Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny. Czasopismo ku zbudowaniu tak duchownych jako i świeckich osób” 8 (1845), no. 1, pp. 31-49; A. SZYSZKO, M. SOKOŁOWSKI, *Trzy kościoły halowe: Kraśnik, Olkusz, Kleczów*, „Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce” 9 (1913), pp. 131-244.

² E. ZIELIŃSKA, *Kultura intelektualna kanoników regularnych z klasztoru w Kraśniku 1469-1563*, Lublin 2002.

³ J. KURTYKA, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 1997.

The sources for the earliest history of the monastery in Kraśnik are the original foundation documents preserved in the National Archive in Cracow: the foundation act issued by Jan Rabsztyński in 1468⁴, the erection act issued by the bishop of Cracow Jan Lutek of Brzezia in 1469⁵, papal approval of the foundation in 1487⁶ and *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz⁷.

The conducted study allowed for determining most of the facts and circumstances related to the medieval history of the monastery, but some issues still need clarification or explanation.

There is no doubt about the date of founding the monastery. The dates of the foundation documents are accurate. Opinions differ as to the actual moment of bringing the Canons Regular to Kraśnik. In the nineteenth century it was believed that the first Canons Regular came to Kraśnik only in 1487 – after papal approval of Jan Rabsztyński's foundation and the erection act issued by Bishop Jan Lutek of Brzezie. That opinion influenced the information included in *Starożytna Polska (Ancient Poland)*⁸ by Michał Baliński and Tymoteusz Lipiński, the work which enjoyed popularity and was probably the prototype of the monumental *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego (The Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland)*⁹. Lipiński's thesis was repeated in popular publications, e.g. in the description of the church in Kraśnik provided by a parishioner from Kraśnik on the occasion of celebrations in honour of Saint Augustine, 28 August 1859¹⁰, or the article by Władysław Kornel Zieliński published in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*¹¹. Finally, one has to agree with E. Zielińska's opinion that the Canons came to Kraśnik as early as in 1469¹². The author sufficiently substantiated this thesis referring to the analogy with the mother house of Corpus Christi in Cracow, data from *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz and a document dating from 1480, containing the agreement on

⁴ National Archive in Cracow, ref. 887.

⁵ National Archive in Cracow, ref. 889.

⁶ National Archive in Cracow, ref. 898.

⁷ J. DŁUGOSZ, *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis cracoviensis*, vol. I-III, [in:] *Ioannis Długosz senioris canonici cracoviensis Opera Omnia*, vol. VII-IX, ed. A. Przeździecki, Cracoviae 1863-1864.

⁸ M. BALIŃSKI, T. LIPIŃSKI, *Starożytna Polska pod względem historycznym, geograficznym i statystycznym opisana*, vol. II, part 2, Warszawa 1845, p. 1152.

⁹ *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, vol. I-XV, ed. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, J. Krzywicki, W. Walewski, Warszawa 1880-1902.

¹⁰ *Uroczystość świętego Augustyna biskupa odbyta dnia 28 sierpnia b.r u księży kanoników regularnych laterańskich w Kraśniku, którą poprzedza zarys historii kościoła tamtejszego*, „Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny. Seria Nowa” 19 (1859), no. 12, p. 622.

¹¹ W.K. ZIELIŃSKI, *Kraśnik*, „Tygodnik Ilustrowany. Seria II” 8 (1871), no. 194, p. 135.

¹² E. ZIELIŃSKA, *Kultura*, pp. 30-31.

brotherhood between the communities of the monasteries in Cracow and Kraśnik. The last argument may be regarded as decisive, because it gives an incontrovertible proof that the monastery in Kraśnik existed before 1487.

It is a mystery why the bishop of Cracow Jan Lutek of Brzezia delayed issuing the document confirming the foundation and erection of the monastery in Kraśnik. The difference between dating bishop's document and the earlier one issued by Jan Rabsztyński is ten months. It is quite long as for normal procedure. The explanation for this problem could shed more light, e.g. on the attitude of the bishop to the foundation, and the role of the founder's uncle, Jan Tęczyński – the castellan of Cracow, in establishing this monastery.

Liber beneficiorum by Jan Długosz includes the information about the presence of a provost and eight monks in Kraśnik¹³, which is interpreted in such a way that as early as in 1469 nine Canons Regular came to Kraśnik¹⁴. Jan Długosz's mention seems to confirm the analogy with other Canons monasteries which had from 8 to 12 monks¹⁵. Was it really? It is not obvious. We only know that was the case at the end of the life of Jan Długosz (d. 1480), because *Liber beneficiorum* was written shortly before his death. The foundation document only shows that the church income was sufficient to maintain more monks in the monastery. We have reason to ponder whether the presbytery erected by the last parish priest, Jan Kaliński, was large enough to accommodate such number of Canons and whether it should have been expanded earlier. To resolve this dilemma, we should try to determine how many monks there were originally in the monastery in Kraśnik. This purpose can be achieved by analysing obituaries from the monasteries in Cracow and Kraśnik.

The founder is well-known. It was Andrzej, the son of the progenitor of the Rabsztyńskis branch in the Tęczyński family and, the castellan of Cracow Jan Tęczyński's nephew. J. Kurtyka's research eventually helped bury the monastic tradition of the foundation of the monastery in Kraśnik by Jan Rabsztyński, the real-founder's son. This tradition was still alive in the seventeenth century; as in the monastery of Corpus Christi in Cracow there is the painting, coming from that period, which depicts the founder Jan Rabsztyński of Tęczyn with the title of the Marshal of the Kingdom (Regni mareschalcus). The founder of the monastery was never marshal. His son, having the same name, was the Marshal of Court (not the Marshal of the Kingdom-painter's mistake)¹⁶.

¹³ J. DŁUGOSZ, *Liber beneficiorum*, vol. III, p. 173.

¹⁴ E. ZIELIŃSKA, *Kultura*, p. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

¹⁶ J. KURTYKA, *Tęczyńscy*, pp. 578-579.

The earliest emolument of the monastery is not the subject of disputes in the historiography. It is clearly stated in the foundation document of Jan Rabsztyński of 1468 and in *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz. Thanks to these sources, it was sufficiently presented and described. J. Kurtyka also made an assertion that the foundation of the monastery in Kraśnik was possible due to the money received from the founder as compensation from the townspeople of Cracow for the murder of his father, Andrzej in 1461. This claim should be considered valid.

To understand the genesis of the monastery, it is important to ask about the motives of this foundation. There were attempts to reconstruct them referring to the foundation document, which allowed for discovering some circumstances that led Jan Rabsztyński to bring the Canons Regular to Kraśnik. In principle, it was E. Zielińska who focused on this issue¹⁷. The earlier literature ignored this issue and concentrated on the already existing foundation. The reasons for the foundation are as follows:

1. The wish of the founder's father, Andrzej Rabsztyński of Tęczyn, who, according to his son, had wanted to bring monks to Kraśnik. We do not know whether Andrzej Rabsztyński thought of the Canons Regular or of any other order¹⁸. In any case, we can presume that Jan Rabsztyński implemented his father's plans and thus also honoured his memory.

2. Commemoration of father's memory is the second reason for the transformation of the parish church into the monastery. There was also another motive-salvation of Andrzej Rabsztyński's soul, who was murdered by the townspeople of Cracow in 1461¹⁹ (the assassination was described in detail in the Annals of Jan Długosz²⁰, and it was the result of battering an armourer from Cracow by Andrzej Rabsztyński). It was not an isolated act of the Tęczynskis – e.g. they provided regular income for the chapel in the parish church in Książ Wielki as a votive offering for the salvation of Andrzej Rabsztyński's wife, Jadwiga of Książ²¹. Foundation activity of the Tęczynskis is undoubtedly associated with their aspirations to grace the family, and the foundation in

¹⁷ E. ZIELIŃSKA, *Kultura*, pp. 32-47.

¹⁸ „[...] cuius animus dum adhuc in humanis agebat fervencius et intimius ad hoc estuabat et quotidie hoc perficere cogitabat nec non successorum meorum et heredum peccaminum remedio” (National Archive in Cracow, Perg. 887).

¹⁹ „[...] pro salute olim magnifici viri domini Andree de Thanczyn” (National Archive in Cracow, Perg. 887).

²⁰ *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego. Księga dwunasta 1445-1461*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 401-404.

²¹ J. KURTYKA, *Tęczynscy*, pp. 498-501.

Kraśnik emphasized the importance of a separate new family line – the Rabsztyńskis.

3. The third motive is closely connected with the two previous ones: making the monastery in Kraśnik the necropolis of the Rabsztyńskis. E. Zielińska doubts that Andrzej and his son were inspired by such a plan, as evidenced by the fact that Jadwiga of Książ was buried in Książ Wielki and the local chapel in the parish church was provided with regular income as well as Andrzej Tęczyński was buried in this place. According to this author, the church in Kraśnik became the necropolis of the Rabsztyńskis only in the middle of the sixteenth century. A similar opinion was expressed by J. Kurtyka²². The presented argumentation, however, does not prejudice the case. Burying Jadwiga Książska in the ancestral estates of the Melsztyńskis, which belonged to her and her family, is not surprising. Similarly, it is not surprising that Andrzej Rabsztyński was buried next to his wife. The monastery in Kraśnik did not exist at a time when they lived. E. Zielińska admits that the burial place of the founder, his wife and children is unknown²³. Without its discovery, we cannot dismiss the possibility that the foundation of the monastery was intended to be the ancestral necropolis. Of course, one cannot confirm that. An explanation of the riddle lies primarily with archaeologists. In the foundation document, however, there is the premise which allows for claiming that the founder of the monastery in Kraśnik thought of creating the ancestral necropolis there, namely there is the mention of funding it not only for his father's salvation but also for his own salvation and his successors²⁴. The idea of creating the family necropolis is therefore highly likely, even if some circumstances did not allow for implementing it immediately after the death of the founder.

4. Jan Rabsztyński's personal piety and concern for providing the local people with adequate pastoral care. It is indicated in the content of the foundation document²⁵. In addition, it is well known that in the fifteenth century religious orders went through a crisis. The only one which resisted the decline

²² E. ZIELIŃSKA, *Kultura*, pp. 41-42; J. KURTYKA, *Tęczyńscy*, p. 501.

²³ E. ZIELIŃSKA, *Kultura*, p. 42.

²⁴ „[...] salutique meae [...] nec non successorum meorum et heredum preccaminum remedio” (National Archive in Cracow, Perg. 887).

²⁵ „[...] collegium sive conventum virorum religiosorum qui divina diurna pariter et nocturna officia possent peragere et sua vita laudabili pariter et doctrina salubri populum Dei sibi commissum in viam possint dirigere salutis ceterisque Christi fidelibus sua conversationem laudabili in normam esse et exemplum [...] ut ibi sit collegium sive conventus virorum religiosorum quorum vita et religio commendabilis tanquam lucerna super candelabrum posita multis luceat” (National Archive in Cracow, Perg. 887).

was the order of the Canons Regular. We can even talk about its heyday and huge popularity. The versatility of the Canons Regular definitely contributed to that. Their monasteries not only conducted pastoral work, but also ran schools and hospitals, and thanks to their passion for learning, they stimulated cultural development. The monasteries of the Canons were the places through which invigorating currents of renewal of the Church came to Poland. The above-mentioned reasons were probably essential when it came to choosing this particular order by Jan Rabsztyński.

5. J. Kurtyka claimed that the relationships of the Tęczyńskis with the Melsztyńskis, strengthened by Andrzej Tęczyński's marriage to Jadwiga Książka, affected the choice of the Canons Regular²⁶. It should be, however, noted that the Melsztyńskis were closely connected with the Augustinians, not the Canons Regular. The author made an obvious mistake here, also noticed by E. Zielińska, confusing those two totally different congregations, which were united only by the rule of St. Augustine, *nota bene*, also used by other orders. The difference between the Augustinians and the Canons Regular was adequately explained by K. Łatak²⁷. This motive of the foundation of the monastery can therefore be omitted.

Looking for the reasons for selecting the Canons Regular by the Rabsztyńskis, we take account of the possibility that one member of the Tęczyńskis belonged to this religious order. Until now, no one has paid any attention to it. If this supposition is confirmed, it will be a very important argument as to why the Tęczyńskis chose the Canons Regular.

There are doubts about existing a medieval scriptorium in Kraśnik. M.T. Zahajkiewicz²⁸ advanced a thesis that such a scriptorium existed in the monastery of the Canons Regular. Initially, K. Łatak agreed with it, but later he expressed some reservations about the truth of this assumption in private conversations. In his opinion, at the time of the creation of the monastery, creating a scriptorium was of secondary importance to the Canons Regular who came to Kraśnik. At the end of the fifteenth century, the invention of Johannes Gutenberg – printing press – became more and more popular, and scriptoria lost their *raison d'être*. More light on the issue could be shed by a detailed

²⁶ J. KURTYKA, *Tęczyńscy*, p. 501.

²⁷ K. ŁATAK, *Augustianie czy kanonicy regularni. Głos w sprawie poprawnej denominacji*, [in:] *Przemijanie i trwanie. Kanonicy Regularni Laterańscy w dawnej i współczesnej Polsce*, ed. K. Łatak, I. Makarczyk, Kraków [without the year], pp. 39-44.

²⁸ *Diecezja lubelska. Informator historyczny i administracyjny*, ed. M. T. Zahajkiewicz, Lublin 1985, p. 222.

study in terms of the place of origin of so-called *Mszał kraśnicki* (*the Missal of Kraśnik*), the most precious written text coming from the monastery in Kraśnik, currently held in the library of the Metropolitan Seminary in Lublin.

Finally, the problem of establishing the parish in Kraśnik has not been solved. It is not the most important thing from the point of view of the foundation of the monastery, but it is interesting as the beginnings of the monastery of the Canons Regular in Kraśnik are closely linked with the history of the parish of Kraśnik. It seems that the most popular theory on creating the parish in Kraśnik is the one which holds that it was established after granting Dimitri of Goraj the castle in Goraj and the town of Kraśnik. The time of this donation was also under discussion. We know Louis of Anjou's document of 1377²⁹, officially confirming the donation. H. Grocholski believes that King Louis' document included the confirmation of an earlier endowment made by King Kazimierz the Great, and the creation of the parish in Kraśnik was dated to the time after 1374³⁰. This would then result from the foundation action of Dimitri of Goraj conducted simultaneously in Goraj and Kraśnik. Others, following the premises of *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz connect the beginnings of the parish in Kraśnik only with the activities of the Tęczyńskis, who received Kraśnik (before 12 November 1408) as a result of the marriage of Andrzej of Tęczyn, the castellan of Wojnicz and grandfather of the founder of the monastery, to Anna from Kraśnik, Dimitri Goraj's daughter³¹. Newer researchers, without entering into discussion on this topic, assume that the parish in Kraśnik was transferred from Stróża. The parish of Kraśnik functioned in the early fifteenth century, and later it was given to the Canons Regular³². The hypothesis of the late emergence of the parish in Kraśnik is based primarily on data from fourteenth-century records of so-called Peter's pence payment. These records contain the name Stróża, and there is no mention of the parish in Kraśnik. The problem is that the records of Peter's pence are the only source pointing to the existence of a parish in Stróża. Rev. Jan Ambroży Wadowski also drew attention to this detail³³. However, according to

²⁹ Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski, vol. III, no. 893, pp. 310-311.

³⁰ H. GROCHOLSKI, *Wokół początków Kraśnika*, [in:] *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego*, ed. K. Myśliński, J.R. Szaflik, Lublin 1963, p. 31.

³¹ K. MYŚLIŃSKI, *Początki miasta Kraśnika i Urzędowa na tle rozwoju południowej Lubelszczyzny*, [in:] *Z dziejów powiatu kraśnickiego*, pp. 19-20.

³² E. ZIELIŃSKA, *Kultura*, p. 26.

³³ Library of the Polish Academy of Learning and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, shelfmark 2375, p. 317 (Hieronym Łopaciński Provincial Public Library in Lublin, microfilm Mf 812).

an old tradition included, e.g. in the Armorial by Kasper Niesiecki (vol. II, p. 253), Kraśnik is a very old town existing in the thirteenth century³⁴. Lack of a church in such a town would be astonishing. K. Myśliński assumes that a church in Kraśnik existed in the fourteenth century, but he did not consider it a parish church. In addition, the hypothesis of transferring the parish from Stróża to Kraśnik can undermine the existence of a parish in the village of Grambienica mentioned by Jan Długosz in *Liber beneficiorum* and not included in the records of Peter's pence. It would therefore be necessary to consider the question of the beginnings of the parish in Kraśnik using all available sources and premises and applying thorough source criticism.

It is hoped that the archaeological work, which is almost finished, in the parish church in Kraśnik and a conference devoted to the history and the cultural role of the monastery of the Canons Regular in Kraśnik (12-13 June 2015) will contribute to a better understanding of this religious order, which is so important for the history of the district of Lublin.

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³⁴ MYŚLIŃSKI, *Początki*, p. 18.

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STAN BADAŃ I POSTULATY BADAWCZE
DO POCZĄTKÓW KLASZTORU KANONIKÓW REGULARNYCH
W KRAŚNIKU

Streszczenie

Klasztor Kanoników Regularnych w Kraśniku funkcjonował od roku 1469 do kasaty przez władze carskiej Rosji w 1864. Jego dzieje i wkład w kulturę regionu nie doczekały się dotąd szczegółowego zbadania i opracowania. Publikacje poświęcone wprost klasztorowi kraśnickiemu są stosunkowo nieliczne i dotyczą przede wszystkim kwestii szczegółowych. Najważniejsze opracowania dotyczące początków klasztoru kraśnickiego pochodzą od Ewy Zielińskiej (*Kultura intelektualna kanoników regularnych z klasztoru w Kraśniku 1469-1563*, Lublin 2002) i Janusza Kurtyki (*Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 1997).

Nie budzi wątpliwości czas powstania klasztoru i jego najwcześniejsze uposażenie. Znana jest osoba fundatora. Wśród powodów fundacji wymieniono następujące: uczczenie pamięci ojca; uczynienie z klasztoru kraśnickiego rodowej nekropolii Rabsztyńskich; osobista pobożność Jana Rabsztyńskiego i troska o zapewnienie miejscowej ludności odpowiedniej opieki duszpasterskiej.

Nierozwiązany jest problem czasu powstania parafii w Kraśniku. Zagadką pozostaje zwłoka biskupa krakowskiego Jana Lutka z Brzezia z wystawieniem dokumentu potwierdzającego fundację i erygującego klasztor w Kraśniku. Wątpliwości budzi sprawa istnienia w Kraśniku średniowiecznego skryptorium.

Słowa kluczowe: Kraśnik; Kanonicy Regularni Laterańscy.