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## The Function of History in the Dominican Order and Factors Shaping the Historical Memory of the Dominican in the Middle Ages

Historiography is the work of Greek/Roman ancient culture, and its forms in their essential frames/basis were adopted and cultivated in the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> As for medieval theory of literature, historiography was one of its genres, more precisely one of its three genres of *narrationes*, i.e. stories/tales. In accordance with the convention then adopted, *historia* is a *narratio* of events which had really taken place long before.<sup>2</sup> Let us add that works treating of things which had actually happened in the distant past are bear various titles, i.e. apart from *historia*, also *chronica*, *chronicon*, *chronografia*, *annales*, *res gestae*, *vita*, *legenda*, *fundatio*, *genealogia*, *catalogus*, *narratio* and they usually characterise their content. However, in certain cases they contain texts so manifold/diverse that it is difficult, if not impossible, to qualify them under only one of the aforementioned “genres.” It has therefore been righteously pointed that crossing boundaries between those literary

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<sup>1</sup> See among others: H. Barycz, *Szlakami dziejopisarstwa staropolskiego. Studia nad historiografią w. XVI–XVIII*, Ossolineum, Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków—Gdańsk—Łódź 1981, p. 5; J. Serczyk, *25 wieków historii. Historycy i ich dzieła*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 1994, p. 15 and further, 39; A.F. Grabski, *Dzieje historiografii*, Wprowadzenie R. Stobiecki, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2003, pp. 12 and further, 28, 57.

<sup>2</sup> The remaining types of *narrationes* are: *fabula*, speaking of fictional issues and *argumentum*, treating of fictional events which could still have happened: “Fabula est, quae neque veras neque veri similes continent res, ut eae sunt, quae tragoedis tradite sunt. Historia est gesta res, sed ab aetatis nostrae memoria remota. Argumentum est ficta res, quae tamen fieri potuit, velut argumenta comoediarum.” This definition is found in the first book of the popular in the Middle Ages (since the 9<sup>th</sup> century) *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, written in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, yet then mistakenly attributed to Cicero (106–43 BC). The Dominican Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1184/1194–1264) placed it in *Speculum doctrinale*, col. 297 (it is a second volume of an extremely popular work in the Dominican order entitled *Speculum maius*) through *Ethymologia* by Isidor the bishop of Sevilla (ca. 560–636 AD).

forms was natural, thus their division is only a theory.<sup>3</sup> Establishing *historia* as one of literary genres, it has been made subordinate to rhetoric and grammar. Judging from this angle, it seems entirely comprehensible, why *historia* was not added to academic studies developing in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (due to its knowledge outmatched by theology, law or medicine) and left in the vicinity of fine arts, where in the *artium* faculty it was most often joined with rhetoric therefore, if it was decided upon to be taught at all. It was due to the fact that the medieval rhetorical school tradition took over only to a certain extent the Greek-Roman historiography and it was seldom used as a pattern.<sup>4</sup> *Historia* could be written both in prose as well as in verse, which essentially implicated the way it was read. In accordance with the canon functioning in the Middle Ages, the rhymed works, usually created in folk languages, served to be read out loud, thus to be listened to. Whereas texts written in prose, among which Latin dominated, were designed to be a personal read, thus were approached silently.<sup>5</sup> Although historiography was included in one of the genres, it seems not to have been treated as art, and it definitely was not high in academic studies hierarchy.<sup>6</sup> It has been

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<sup>3</sup> It must necessarily be remembered that Medieval works recording past events most often did not have any titles and were later given them by copyists, i.e. in the period when it was considered essential to differentiate the forms and content of presented information – see: J. Wenta, *Dziejopisarstwo w klasztorze. Środowiska a formy dziejopisarskie na przykładzie Prus*, [in:] *Klasztor w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, ed. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, M. Derwich, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole 1995, pp. 160, 170; J. Wenta, *Wstęp*, [in:] Piotr z Dusburga, *Kronika ziemi pruskiej*, transl. S. Wyszomirski, introduction and commentary J. Wenta, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, Toruń 2004, p. VII; J. Knappe, “Historie” im Mittelalter und fruher Neuzeit. Begriffs- und gattungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen im interdisziplinären Kontext, Baden-Baden 1984 (*Saecula Spiritualia*, Bd. 10), pp. 49, 58 and further, 102 and further; H.-W. Goetz, *Die “Geschichte” im Wissenschaftssystem des Mittelalters*, [in:] F.-J. Schmale, *Funktion und Formen mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreibung. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1985, p. 172 and further, 194 and further; F.-J. Schmale, *Funktion und Formen mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreibung. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1985, p. 105 and further; K.P. Schumann, *Heinrich von Herford. Enzyklopadische Gelehrsamkeit und universalhistorische Konzeption im Dienste dominikanischer Studienbedürfnisse*, “Quellen und Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Religionsgeschichte”, Bd. 4, 1996, p. 174; H.-W. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im hohen Mittelalter*, Berlin 1999 (*Orbis mediaevalis—Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1), p. 135 and further.

<sup>4</sup> H. Grundmann, *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter. Gattungen—Epochen—Eigenart*, Göttingen 1978, p. 5; H.-W. Goetz, *Die „Geschichte“*, pp. 170-174; see also: J. Spörl, *Grundformen hochmittelalterlicher Geschichtsanschauung. Studien zum Weltbild der Geschichtsschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderts*, München 1935, p. 18; A.F. Grabski, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> J. Wenta, *Dziejopisarstwo w klasztorze*, pp. 161-162.

<sup>6B</sup> Gładysz, *O łacińskich oficjach rymowanych z polskich źródeł średniowiecznych*, “Pamiętnik Literacki,” vol. 30, 1933, no. 3-4, pp. 313 and further.

further stated that an interest and dealings with history rarely did increase the chance for court (administrative) or clerical career in the Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> Unarguably, however, did the knowledge of past pose certain moral and educative authority. Being familiar with events and behaviour in various life situations, was to a medieval man an important repertory of examples which prompted comparison, later followed by evaluation and taking the right decisions (*historia docet, historia magistra vitae*), as well as standards creation. These were the tales of actions of positive characters from far and recent past that would constitute a pattern of conduct for their contemporaries, whereas information about the present events were to serve as a model for the descendants. Researching this kind of literature it has aptly been put that it was neither the chronological order of the depicted relations, nor critical attitude towards sources of information or the respect for historical realities that mattered, as much as the moral lesson learned from history, which essentially played the most important role, and that was exactly what historiography was supposed to preach (the aspect of *moralitas*).<sup>8</sup> This in turn, as it was believed, would lead to *prudencia*, that is prudence<sup>9</sup>. We also know, however, that *historia* in the Middle Ages was supposed not only to build and preach, but also to entertain (the aspect of *delectatio*) as well as play pragmatical, i.e. political-propaganda, a role (the aspect of *utilitas*). According to some of the Medieval historiographers, for instance Otto of Freising (ca. 1112–1158), Gervase of Canterbury (ca. 1141 –ca. 1210), its role was the maintenance and pursuit of truth, while others, such as John of Salisbury (ca. 1115–1180), claim that it was to recognise (understand) God's spirituality and the fear towards him.<sup>10</sup> *Historia*, as a story of events

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<sup>7</sup>W. Nawrocki, *Średniowiecze*, Naukowe Wydawnictwo Piotrkowskie, Piotrków Trybunalski 2004, p. 197.

<sup>8</sup>The didactics of historiography was not an invention of the Medieval, however. It had been borrowed from the Antiquity, as may easily be guessed. It was from Sallustius (ca. 86–34 BC), Livy (64 BC–12 AD), Plutarch (ca. 46–ca. 120/125 AD) or Suetonius (ca. 70/75–ca. 140/160 AD), among others, that not only the skills of dramatising an account, using anecdotes, analysing the motifs driving politicians and commanders or attributing them with fake speeches, but also the moralising attitude were learnt—W. Nawrocki, *op. cit.*, p. 197; see also: R. Gustaw, *Rozwój pojęcia historii Kościoła od I do XVIII wieku*, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Poznań—Warszawa—Lublin 1964, p. 43; F.-J. Schmale, *op. cit.*, p. 68, 184; K.P. Schumann, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>9</sup>E. Kessler, *Theoretiker humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung*, München 1971, p. 41. Gottfried of Viterbo (ca. 1125–1192/1200) had even expected that thanks to the knowledge of history he would always be wise: “ad futura omnia sapientior inveniri”—*Gotifredi Viterbiensis Memoria seculorum*, ed. G.H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum [further quote: MGH. Scriptorum], vol. 22, Hannoverae 1877, p. 106.

<sup>10</sup>F.-J. Schmale, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 72; H.-W. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 131; see: J. Knappe, *op. cit.*, p. 63; H.-W. Goetz, *Die “Geschichte,”* pp. 212-213; K. P. Schumann, *op. cit.*, p. 105, 157-173.

which actually happened, was also seemingly the easiest method of lecturing the Bible, as such type of exegesis was all about the literal understanding of the text which later served as basis for allegorical, tropological (moral) and anagogical (directed towards the Final Judgment) explanation of the Holy Script.<sup>11</sup> Its aim was to read from the pages of the *Bible*, full of historic changes (*mutabilitas*), plans of the Maker towards the World and mankind (*per praeterita cognoscentur futura*).<sup>12</sup> It led to linking the histories with the history of sacrifice and salvation, thanks to which they had become an important factor in finding and believing in God.<sup>13</sup> Let us now see how history in the dominican order fared.

The members of the convent were interested primarily in biblical, theological and philosophical issues. There was, however, a righteous conviction amongst them, of the truth (knowledge) has numerous faces and that it might be perceived and passed in various ways. It led them to undertake studies in other disciplines. Thus, they would create, among others, works of

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<sup>11</sup> It is well reflected in the words of St. Hieronymus (347–429): “historie veritas... fundamentum est intelligentiae spiritualis.” As it should be understood, those four types of *Bible* translations are presented well by H.A. Oberman, *Marcin Luter. Człowiek między Bogiem a Diabłem*, trans. E. Adamiak, Marabut, Gdańsk 1996, p. 196 on the example of Jerusalem and Babylon, among others. Jerusalem in literal (historical) interpretation is a city in Judea, yet in its allegorical interpretation, it is the good people; in topological interpretation it is the virtues and in anagogical one –the rewards. Babylon in the literal (historical) interpretation is a city in Mesopotamy; in the allegorical one –the evil people; in the topological one –vices and in the anagogical interpretation –the punishment; see also: J. Wolny, *Kaznodziejstwo*, [in:] *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce*, v. 1: Średniowiecze, ed. M. Rechowicz, TN KUL, Lublin 1974, p. 278; F.-J. Schmale, *op. cit.*, p. 77; M. Menzel, *Predigt und Geschichte. Historische Exempel in der geistlichen Rhetorik des Mittelalters*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1998 (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, H. 45), pp. 48-49; A.F. Grabski, *op. cit.*, p. 59. It must be informed that historiography as *scientia (doctrina)* belonged in the Middle ages to two branches, i.e. “history” understood as an exegesis (historiographer and exegetist in the early medieval times meant basically the same thing) and “chronography” understood as a part of *quadrivium*, which is anatomy, to be precise. As it was seen, “history” had become a *fundamentum* for further forms of *Bible* interpretation (i.e. allegorical, tropological and anagogical), whereas chronography became somewhat a *fundamentum fundamenti* of recognising God and His activities—F.-J. Schmale, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 83; see also: H.-W. Goetz, *Die “Geschichte,”* pp. 194 and further.

<sup>12</sup> R. Gustaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44; see also: H.-W. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 414, 418-419. In literature, an opinion may be found stating that in the Middle Ages works of historiography of developing and moralising character were sought more than the stories of salvation “ab origine mundi”—K.P. Schumann, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> Wipo, a historiographer (died after 1046), in *Gesta Chuonradi II. imperatoris* (p. 7) wrote that he deals with history because “nulla vetat religio.” Truly, no faith forbids it and the fact must be considered yet another reason for undertaking historical studies. On the other hand, it is the only utterance of that sort known to us. We should also inform here that historical aiding materials were also used in theological and political discussions.

physics, zoology, botanics, mineralogy, medicine, mathematics, logic, music, rhetoric, grammar, pedagogy, law and politics.<sup>14</sup> As effects of their studies, works of various types appeared, i.e. monographics, encyclopedic compendias, summas, commentaries, concordances, compilations, dictionaries or textbooks. A number of dominicans devoted themselves to writing historical works. Let us insight into the reasons why some of the Preaching Brothers had taken up this branch of science. It must be stated that the Dominican order in its actions was not directed towards itself, unlike old convents (i.e. essentially towards self-sanctifying), but towards the outer world (i.e. towards the neighbour).<sup>15</sup> The main activities, through which establishing contact with the surrounding world was sought, relied essentially on preaching sermons and hearing confessions. Either of them had the Dominicans approached “mehodically and scientifically,” so as to say, almost since the very beginnings of the convent’s existence. At first, the brethren were equipped with aids to hear confessions, which would mean that they did handle sermons better than perform in the confessional. In the years of 1217–1226 four “penance summas” had appeared, i.e. textbooks informing the priest of the confession hearing regulations.<sup>16</sup> It was only shortly after

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<sup>14</sup>W.A. Hinnebusch, *Dominikanie—krótki zarys dziejów*, [in:] *Dominikanie. Szkice z dziejów zakonu*, ed. M. A. Babraj, W drodze, Poznań 1986, p. 117; T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, vol. 1, Romae 1970, pp. 3-409; *idem*, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, vol. 2, Romae 1975, p. 3-544; *idem*, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, vol. 3, Romae 1980, pp. 9-360; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi*, vol. 4, Romae 1993, pp. 13-490.

<sup>15</sup>With that, even the most intimate of spiritual activities, i.e. meditation, had to abide, which was an absolute *novum*. Their leading slogan presents their attitude well: “contemplare et contemplata aliis tradere,” which means “to pass the results of one’s conclusions (contemplation) to others”—J.B. Korolec, *Studium generalne dominikanów klasztoru Świętej Trójcy w Krakowie*, [in:] *Dominikanie w środkowej Europie w XIII–XV wieku. Aktywność duszpasterska i kultura intelektualna*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, J.A. Spież, W drodze, Poznań 2002 (Studies over Dominican history in Poland, vol. 3), p. 173. The difference between the Dominicans and the Mendicants was aptly put by John of Dorsten (1420–1481), an Augustian-Eremit from Erfurt, a respected professor of theology at the local university (in the years 1465–1481). He explained that the main task (supposedly in the spiritual fight against evil) of the former was to be silent, whereas the latter to speak—*Chronicon Ecclesiasticum Nicolai de Siegen OSB*, hrsg. von F.X. Wegele, „Thüringische Geschichtsquellen“, Bd. 2, Jena 1855, pp. 177-178; C. Proksch, *Klosterreform und Geschichtsschreibung im Spätmittelalter*, [in:] *Kollektive Einstellungen und sozialer Wandel im Mittelalter. Neue Folge*, hrsg. von R. Sprandel, Bd. 2, Köln—Weimar—Wien 1994, p. 221.

<sup>16</sup>These were: *Flos summarum* by several anonymous Dominicans from St. James’ monastery in Paris, *Summa de poenitentia* written by Paul of Hungary (died 1242) written in the years of 1219–1221, *Summa confessorum* by Conrad of Höxter (died 1236) composed on the years of 1221–1226, *Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio* (*Summa de casibus poenitentialibus*) by Raymond of Pennaforte (died in 1275; a general of the order 1238–1240) written in first edition in the years of 1224–1226 (second edition in 1234). In the 13<sup>th</sup> century

the year 1225, when John of Mailly (ca. 1190–ca. 1260) composed, with the intention of creating textbooks for preachers, *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum*, comprising a compilation of short hagiologies, ordered according to ecclesiastical year.<sup>17</sup> The direction set by John found its followers,<sup>18</sup> and the literature work of every Dominican was henceforth to bear a servient

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the Preaching Friars composed six more textbooks of that type, which when compared with only two “penance summas” written in the analogical period by non-Dominicans, shows the importance which they had attributed to confessions and the mental effort taken in this respect—T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 284-285; vol. 3, pp. 206-207, 285; J. Woroniecki OP, *Św. Jacek Odrowąż i wprowadzenie zakonu kaznodziejskiego do Polski*, Księgarnia św. Jacka, Katowice 1947, p. 55; M. Plezia, *Wstęp*, [in:] Jakub de Voragine, *Golden Legend*. Selection, transl. J. Pleziowa, ed. M. Plezia, PAX, Warszawa 1983, pp. 24-25; P. Kielar, *Studia nad kulturą szkolną i intelektualną dominikanów prowincji polskiej w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Studies over Dominican History in Poland 1222–1972*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 1, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, Warszawa 1975, p. 275. Further on the topic of confessional textbooks composed by Dominicans in the Middle Ages—M. Bukala, *Zagadnienia ekonomiczne w nauczaniu wrocławskiej szkoły dominikańskiej w późnym średniowieczu*, “Atut”—Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe, Wrocław 2004, pp. 54-55, 162-163, 175—further literature in preparation.

<sup>17</sup>Of the aims set for that work, John speaks in the prologue in the following way: “*Since many priests do not possess the passion and biography of saints, and their duties require them to know these and profess them to people to awaken the worship of saints among the faithful, we have summarised shortly the lives of those in the first place, who are mentioned in church calendars, so as our book would not scare anyone with its volume, and, at the same time, so that the lack of a proper textbook would not be an excuse for the parish clergy.*” Thus, it was to be available in parishes which do not have well-equipped libraries, on which basis a sermon could be composed, preaching of worshipping saints and avoiding boring the audience thanks to its short forms of biographies and passions—M. Plezia, *Introduction*, pp. 21-22. More on this work—among others, K.-E. Geith, *Die “Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum” von Jean de Mailly als Quelle der Legenda aurea*, “*Analecta Bollandiana*” [further quote: AB], vol. 105, 1987, pp. 289-302. It must be stated that the period from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century was the time of development of Medieval literature. It is characterised by a considerable variation and enhancement of literature and intellectual levels, up to then having been rather poor. It considers hagiography as well, where one may especially notice a certain increase in critical attitude. Also, literary expectations had increased, which was mainly seen in the frequent use of sophisticated rhetorical prose decorated with verses. Yet, this type of ambitious hagiography was intellectually unavailable and rather unattractive to simple minds who sought for popular content with approachable moral and considerable emotional charge. It created the need for a new type of hagiography, one not only more comprehensible for the general faithful public, but also easier to use in every-day preaching practice. The so-called “shortened legends” were supposed to meet that demand. These were based on a conscious resignation from scholarship and rhetorics when summarising lives of the most important saints, with highlighting moments which could count on understanding and feedback among wide masses of the faithful—M. Plezia, *Introduction*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>18</sup>This work is of essential importance to Dominican legendaries created later in the 13<sup>th</sup> century—M. Plezia, *Introduction*, pp. 21-22.

character towards its most important activity, i.e. preaching. It may especially be seen in the instance of the first Dominicans, who had seen it necessary to prepare various sorts of works collecting and ordering knowledge as well as providing the very material to composing sermons.<sup>19</sup> The Dominicans had also compiled, for that reason among other, a considerable amount of hagiologies of both the brethren as well as common saints (the individual and collective ones).<sup>20</sup> Thus it may be stated that literature played a purely

<sup>19</sup> The most valuable work putting the teachings of Aristotle in agreement with the Roman Church doctrine, i.e. *Theological summa*, was written in the years of 1265–1273 by the ingenious St. Thomas of Aquinas (1225–1274). For those preaching sermons, wrote: Cuthbert the Sabaudian (died 1267) in the years of 1243/44–1250 *Manuale curae pastoralis*; Steven of Bourbon (ca. 1190–ca. 1261) with his later extremely popular work *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*, and Humbert of Romans (ca. 1200–1277; general of the order in 1254–1263) whose several years later (i.e. ca. 1266–1277) wrote an analogical textbook entitled *De eruditione praedicatorum*. Also, collections of mirabilis, exemplar, sentences and sermons were edited. One may list here: Bartholomew of Trident (ca. 1200–nor before 1251), who in 1244–1251 wrote *Liber miraculorum B. Mariae Virginis*; Martin of Opawa called the Pole (died after 22 June 1278), the author of *Sermones de tempore, de sanctis. Promptuarium exemplorum*; Aldobrandini of Tuscany (died after 1293), who composed *Sermones de tempore, Sermones de sanctis, Summula exemplorum*; Erbo of Strasbourg (died at the turning of the 13th/14th cent.), the creator of *Auctoritates sanctorum philosophorumque et poetarum collectae*, among others. Whereas the Genoese John of Balbis (died after 1286) was the author of a considerably eagerly read throughout the further three centuries dictionary-encyclopaedia entitled *Catholicon sive Prosodia* composed in the year 1286—see: T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 42–44, 46, 173, 261, 371–372; vol. 2, pp. 287–288, 380–383; vol. 3, pp. 115, 354–355. Preaching aids were obviously also created in later centuries. There is a notion in literature that their majority was created in the 15<sup>th</sup> century—F. Stinger, *Geschichte der Schriftpredigt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Predigt*, “Beiträge zur Geschichte, Theorie und Praxis der Predigt”, Bd. 2, 1920, pp. 116–119.

<sup>20</sup> On the subject of authors and works written by them—among others, A. Kühl, *Die Dominikaner im deutschen Rheingebiet und im Elsas während des 13. Jahrhunderts: mit einem Exkurs über: Die Entwicklung dominikanischer Ordensgeschichtsschreibung*, Freiburg and. Br. Univ. Diss. 1923-Maschinenschrift (typescript in the Univesity Library in Freiburg im Breisgau), pp. 159–160, 171, 173–175; M. Plezia, *Wincenty z Kielc, historyk polski z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze,” vol. 7, 1962, p. 15–41; G. Labuda, *Tworczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincentego z Kielc*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze,” vol. 16, 1971, pp. 107–115; M. Plezia, “Rozbiór krytyczny” *pracy Gerarda Labudy pt. Tworczość hagiograficzna i historiograficzna Wincentego z Kielc*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze,” vol. 18, 1973, p. 275; J. Pleziowa, *Introduction*, [in:] *Wincentego z Kielc Żywot mniejszy i Żywot większy św. Stanisława*, “Analecta Cracoviensia”, vol. 11, 1981, p. 143–146; A. Latkowski, *Wincenty z Kielczy, dominikanin—życie i tworczość*, “Przegląd Tomistyczny,” vol. 5, 1992, p. 63–70; A. Wiśniewska, *Henryk-Heidenryk pierwszy biskup chełmiński*, Pelplin 1992, p. 81–84; K. Ruh, *Geschichte der abendlandischen Mystik*, Bd. 2: *Frauenmystik und franziskanische Mystik der Frühzeit*, München 1993, pp. 81–110; R. Sweetman, *Thomas of Cantimpre, Mulieres religiosae and purgatorial piety: hagiographical Vitae and the Beguine “voice,”* [in:] *A distinct voice. Medieval studies in honor of Leonard E. Boyle OP*, ed. J. Brown, W.P. Stoneman, Notre Dame 1997, p. 606 and further; M. Zdanek, *Stanisław (zm. po 1371 a przed l. 1385–1392)*, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 42/1, no. 172, 2003, p. 7–9; B.W. Häuptli,

utility role and constituted an extension of the actual pastoral role. That is why the tendency to a thorough presentation of the whole given subject in a textbook form had appeared amongst the brethren; textbooks which were supposed to be approachable for the clergy reader, which correlated with teaching, the main task of the order.<sup>21</sup> This fact caused the Dominican literary works not to bear, essentially, the characteristics of belles-lettres literature, mores the pity, as more often than not the literary-gifted brethren would reach to quills for the means of it.<sup>22</sup> We also know precisely, thanks to the findings of other researchers, what goal they (but also other mendicants)

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*Bartholomaeus von Trient*, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon [further quote: BBK], Bd. 22, 2003, col. 56-61; B.W. Häuptli, *Jean de Mailly*, BBK, Bd. 23, 2004, col. 728 and further; M. Woskowski, *Wincenty z Kielczy. Człowiek i dzieło*, [in:] Kult św. Stanisława na Śląsku, ed. A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole 2004, p. 107-117; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 18, 39-40, 48-49, 55, 118, 152-153, 172-173, 209-210, 275, 279, 292-293, 306-307; vol. 2, pp. 10, 15, 29, 35-37, 165-167, 222, 320, 348-359, 473-475, 480-481, 543-544; vol. 3, pp. 53-54, 66, 105, 114, 131-132, 164, 220-221, 224-225, 226, 235, 252, 254-255, 276-278, 288-289, 329, 350, 476-479; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 50-51, 62, 64, 68, 91, 94, 108, 140, 156, 159, 161, 178, 230, 235-236, 258, 298-299, 327-328, 333-334, 344, 339-342, 345-347, 351-352, 389, 427, 476—these works contain references to sources and further extensive literature.

<sup>21</sup> M. Plezia, *Introduction*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>22</sup> It has been concluded that the literature of the 13<sup>th</sup> century did not, contrary to the 12<sup>th</sup>-century one (looking up to ancient authors and seeing in following them an ideal of stylistical perfection), pay particular attention to purely literar values. It was the period of fast development of mostly philosophy, theology and natural science; sciences whose content is primal to their form. It was due to the Dominican order that various types of schools developed in that period, which at the same time popularised Latin (see: K. Kaczmarek, *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza*, Wydawnictwo BIS, Poznań 2005, p. 55 and further; M. Zdanek, *Szkoły i studia dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu*, Neriton, Warszawa 2005, p. 21 and further). It was not, however, a language referring to classical patterns, yet one adapted to the new needs of the developing intellectual life which preferred clear and precise manners of speech. It had led to a serious technicalisation of Latin, which in turn fostered the deterioration of its artistic level—M. Plezia, *Wincenty*, p. 37. It should not be puzzling then, that rarely did the Dominicans express themselves in verse. The necessity of frequent or even utterly massive addresses had undoubtedly influenced the choice of an easier form of speech (communication). i.e. prose. Despite the popularity of its use among the Preaching Friars, there were still incidental authors who had decided to create in verse. The subject of those authors and their works—among others: H. Kowalewicz, *Zabytki średniowiecznej liryki liturgicznej o św. Stanisławie*, „Analecta Cracoviensia,” volt. 11, 1979, p. 221 and further; B. Gładysz, *op. cit.*, p. 313 and further; M. Plezia, *Wincenty*, pp. 37-38; *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski*, edit. M. Plezia, IW PAX, Warszawa 1987, p. 239; M. Perz, *Staropolskie opracowania polifoniczne tekstów związanych z kultem św. Stanisława biskupa*, *Summarium*, Catholic University of Lublin Scientific Society Proceedings, 7 (27), 1978, p. 109 and further; A. Latkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68; P. Ochsenbein, *Scherl Johannes*, *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* [further quote: DLMVL], Bd. 8, 1992,



aimed at in a historiographical work.<sup>23</sup> It was not about stipulating the past facts, but about joining the historical element with the didactic one, where the latter played a decisive role<sup>24</sup>. It was connected with sermons preached by the mendicants, which were written with the use of historical textbooks, among others. Obviously, mainly the basics of faith were taught, yet they also informed of present events and of what had recently been read. It might be said that sermons used to substitute to the folk both school and books, to a certain extent. A preacher, therefore, had to possess not only theological but also general education, so that the sermons would reassure their listeners in faith and be interesting for uneducated audience, who constituted the majority of society.<sup>25</sup> These were the reasons why those who preached the Word of God, apart from explaining the doctrine, had also included general knowledge, secular stories, morality or amusing tales in their sermons,<sup>26</sup> so

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pp. 644-645; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 10, 69, 255, 292; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 342—these works contain references to sources and further extensive literature.

<sup>23</sup> See among others: J. Dworzaczkowa, *Kronika pruska Szymona Grunaua jako źródło historyczne*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze," vol. 2, 1958, pp. 128-129.

<sup>24</sup> See: *Flores temporum auctore fratre ord. minorum*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH. Scriptorum, vol. 24, Hannoverae 1879, p. 230: "Cum ergo in predicacionibus populo dicerem: 'hodie tot anni sunt, quod iste sanctus migravit ad celos', admirantes fratres et clerici pertinaciter exegerunt me copiam exemplaris et numero usuali." These words, cited by a Swabian minor at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century on giving the reason for editing a world chronicle are often quoted, in order to present through them the function of historiography in the begging orders. Their historical works have been defined as "pantries" or textbooks exploited when preaching sermons—among others: O. Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 1, Berlin 1876, p. 6-7; F. Baethgen, *Franziskanische Studien*, "Historische Zeitschrift", Bd. 131, 1925, pp. 435-436; J. Wenta, *W służbie rady miasta. Historiograficzne kompendia kaznodziejskie*, [in:] *Klasztor w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, ed. M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, (Opera ad historiam monasticam spectantia, Series I: Colloquia 4), Wrocław—Opole 2000, pp. 317-318; J. Wenta, *Gdańskie aspekty zaginionej kroniki dominikańskiej*, [in:] *Dominicans. Gdańsk—Polska—Europa*, ed. D.A. Dekański, A. Gołębniak, M. Grubka, Bernardinum, Gdańsk—Pelplin 2003, p. 547.

<sup>25</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *op. cit.*, p. 128; S. Zonenberg, *Kronika Szymona Grunaua*, Wydawnictwo Uczelniane UKW, Bydgoszcz 2009, p. 107 and further. On the subject of commonly known in the Middle Ages requirements set by St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) for preachers—D. Roth, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie und das Manuale Curatorum des Johann Ulrich Surgant*, "Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft", Bd. 58, 1956, p. 119; on guidelines set by Dominican general Humbert of Romans in the work entitled *De eruditione praedicatorum* for friars composing their homilies and sermons—B. Humberti *de Romanis quinti praedicatorum magistri generalis, Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier, vol. 2, Romae 1889, p. 373 and further; see also: D. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 56 and further.

<sup>26</sup> Majority of them had already been written and circulating as exempla among preachers—J. Dworzaczkowa, *op. cit.*, p. 129; see also: P.T. Dobrowolski, *Wincenty Ferrer. Kaznodzieja ludowy późnego średniowiecza*, IH PAN, Warszawa 1996, p. 80.

as to decrease the tension which accompanied them<sup>27</sup>. That is why in the beggary convents history was taught, without which the preachers' erudition would have been much poorer.<sup>28</sup> In order to prepare themselves to nearly every-day presentations, Dominicans would collect in their cluster libraries books of theological, philosophical or hagiographical topics, belles-lettres literature and materials of historical contents<sup>29</sup>. What is more, capitulum generale used to encourage self-writing, which was highly regarded in the order. As an effect of this strive, mainly theological-philosophical thesis appeared, yet also of other disciplines, including history. The preaching friars would most often create monumental world chronicles,<sup>30</sup> but also the

<sup>27A</sup> student in 1408, while listening to a sermon about the Antichrist by a charismatic Dominican Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419), was said to take leave of his senses—see: P.T. Dobrowolski, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>28O</sup> Lorenz, *op. cit.*, p. 7. It is assumed in literature that it was the medicants who taught history in towns and cities—O. Lorenz, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Historical topics must have also been popular among clergy themselves, since an abbot had successfully stimulated the asleep-falling friars during one of his sermons in the following way: „udite, fratres, audite, rem vobis novam et magnam proponam; rex quidam fuit, qui Artus vocabatur”—*Caesarii Heisterbacensis Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 1, bearb. von J. Strange, Coloniae 1851, p. 205.

<sup>29</sup> J. Dworzaczkowa, *op. cit.*, p. 128; see: K. Zawadzka, *Biblioteki klasztorne dominikanów na Śląsku (1239–1810)*, „Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis,” no. 2121 (Bibliothecalia Wratislaviensia V), Wrocław 1999, p. 26 and further (in this work on pp. 19–21 a review of chapter *De officio librarii* from B. Humberti *de Romanis quinti praedicatorum magistri generalis, Opera de vita regulari*, vol. 2, pp. 263–265, which regulates the functioning of Dominican libraries); W. Kwiatkowska, *Biblioteka klasztoru dominikanów toruńskich w średniowieczu. Uwagi o zawartości tematycznej*, [in:] *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*, red. R. Czaja, J. Tandecki, vol. 2, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, Toruń 1996, pp. 156–171.

<sup>30</sup> See among others: J. Schwalm, *Einleitung: Chronica novella des Hermann Korners, Die Chronica Novella des Hermann Korners*, hrsg. von J. Schwalm, Göttingen 1895, pp. III, VI–VIII; H. Müller, *Das Onomasticum mundi generale des Dominikanermonches Johannes Lindner zu Pirna und seine Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie des Reformationszeitalters*, „Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde“, Bd. 24, 1903, pp. 218–247; J.H. Beckmann, *Studien zum Leben und literarischen Nachlas Jakobs von Soest OP (1360–1440)*, „Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland“ [further quote: QFGDD], H. 25, 1929, p. 73 and further; E. Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, München—Berlin 1936, p. 123 and further; N. Raponi, *Antonino Pierozzi*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani [further quote: DBI], vol. 3, 1961, pp. 530–531; O. Lorenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–24; E. Kleinschmidt, *Die Colmarer Dominikaner-Geschichtsschreibung im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert. Neue Handschriftenfunde und Forschungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, „Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters“, Jg. 28, 1972, p. 418 and further; M. Haeusler, *Das Ende der Geschichte in der mittelalterlichen Weltchronistik*, Köln—Wien 1980, p. 73–95, 123–127; A.-D. von den Brincken, *Zu Herkunft und Gestalt der Martins-Chroniken*, „Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters“, Jg. 37, 1981, pp. 694–735; K. Grodziska-Ozóg, *Marcin Polak i jego twórczość*, „Nasza Przeszłość,” vol. 58, 1982, pp. 169–201; K. Colberg, F.J. Wortsbrock, *Konrad von Halberstadt d. J.*, DLMVL, Bd. 5, 1985, p. 191–194; A.-D. von den Brincken, *Martin*

*gesta* of secular and clerical sovereigns<sup>31</sup> or towns and states chronicles<sup>32</sup> (in considerable majority those works were edited in the forms of chronicles, yet

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von Troppau, [in:] *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, hrsg. von H. Patze, *Vorträge und Forschungen*, Bd. 31, 1987, p. 155-193; R. Sprandel, *Studien zu Heinrich von Herford*, [in:] *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von G. Althoff, D. Geuenich, O.G. Oexle, J. Wollasch, Göttingen 1988, p. 557-571; F.W. Bautz, *Antoninus*, BBK, Bd. 1, 1990, col. 192; K.P. Schumann, *op. cit.*, p. 13 and further; B.W. Häuptli, *Bartholomäus*, col. 56-61; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 82-83, 113, 173-174, 282, 394; vol. 2, pp. 8, 38, 198, 225, 245; vol. 3, pp. 71, 118-123; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 90, 138, 197; J. Soszyński, *Sacerdotium—Imperium—Studium. Władze uniwersalne w późnośredniowiecznych kronikach martyńskich*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Aspra-JR, Warszawa 2006, p. 19 and further—these works contain references to sources and further extensive literature. Still more on world chronicles in—among others: A.-D. von den Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik bis in das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising*, M. Triltsch, Düsseldorf 1957; K.H. Krüger, *Die Universalchroniken*, Turnhout 1976 (*Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, fasc. 16)—earlier literature to be found in these works.

<sup>31</sup> See among others: L. Schmugge, *Fiadoni Bartolomeo (Tolomeo, Ptolomeo da Lucca)*, DBI, vol. 47, 1997, pp. 318-319; M. Wiszniewski, *Historia literatury polskiej*, vol. 1, Kraków 1840, p. 47; M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, Bd. 1, Paderborn 1933, p. 510; J. Fijałek, *Dwaj Dominikanie krakowscy: Jan Biskupiec i Jan Falkenberg. W pięćsetną rocznicę odwołania Satyry antypolskiej Falkenberga w Rzymie 1424 r.*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci O. Balzera*, vol. 1, Druk. Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, Lwów 1925, p. 271 and further; K. Colberg, *Hermann von Lerbeck*, DLMVL, Bd. 3, 1981, pp. 1069-1071; S. Dobrzanowski, *Biskupiec Jan*, *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, vol. 1, 1981, pp. 165-166; K. Colberg, *Nederhoff Johannes*, DLMVL, Bd. 6, 1987, p. 869; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 225, 343, 478; vol. 3, p. 19, 237; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 138, 146, 172, 233, 323-324—these works contain references to sources and further extensive literature.

<sup>32</sup> See among others: L. Weiland, *Die Chronik des Predigermonches Johannes von Mailly*, "Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde", Bd. 12, 1874, pp. 469-473; M. Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, p. 510; A. Kühl, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169; J.H. Beckmann, *op. cit.*, p. 66 and further, 74; F.W. Bautz, *Fabri Felix*, BBK, Bd. 1, 1970, p. 1586-1587; G. Labuda, *Twórczość*, pp. 116, 136; K. Colberg, *Hermann*, pp. 1069, 1071; F.J. Worstbrock, *Jakob von Soest*, DLMVL, Bd. 4, 1983, pp. 488, 492-494; S. Dobrzanowski, *Wincenty z Kielc*, *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, vol. 4, 1983, pp. 438-439; G. Labuda, *Zaginiona kronika z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku w Rocznikach Królestwa Polskiego Jana Długosza. Próba rekonstrukcji*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 1983, p. 5 and further, pp. 164-171; H. Grundmann, *op. cit.*, p. 47; K. Colberg, *Nederhoff*, pp. 868-870; M. Tilly, *Jakob von Soest*, BBK, Bd. 2, 1990, col. 1484-1486; K. Lohrmann, *Jacobus a Voragine*, BBK, Bd. 2, 1990, col. 1414-1416; B.W. Häuptli, *Jean*, col. 728-732; A. Latkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 68; M. Chazan, *Jean de Mailly et la chronique de Robert d'Auxerre: hagiographie, histoire et "autorité"*, « Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum », vol. 68, 1998, p. 121; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 7-9, 246-247, 343, 368, 473-474, 500; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 138, 159—these works contain references to sources and further extensive literature.

annals also tend to appear<sup>33</sup>).<sup>34</sup> Their task, apart from delivering materials for sermons, was also to seek and pass truth, as only in truth God's intentions could be recognised, which was what everybody wanted at the time.<sup>35</sup> At the Dominicans, chronology constituted a fragment of history of the world and salvation. Thus, they had not seen historiography as a part of art, but most often (not always, however, as it should be highlighted) as a provider of real and pertinent (proper) information for sermon creation,<sup>36</sup> which were

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<sup>33</sup>See among others: K. Köster, *Die Geschichtsschreibung der Kolmarer Dominikaner des 13. Jahrhunderts*, [in] *Schicksalswege am Oberrhein*, hrsg. von P. Wentzcke, Heidelberg 1952, pp. 1-100; O. Lorenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-20; E. Kleinschmidt, *Die Colmarer*, p. 371-438; E. Kleinschmidt, *Colmarer Chronik*, DLMVL, Bd. 1, 1978, pp. 1295-1296; H. Rossmann, *Bartholom(a)eus von Lucca*, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1, 1980, pp. 1495-1496; G. Labuda, *Zaginiona*, pp. 166, 170-171; A. Latkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 68; L. Schmutz, *op. cit.*, p. 318; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 246; vol. 3, pp. 57, 253-254; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 322-323—these works contain references to sources and further extensive literature.

<sup>34</sup>In preacher's duties the most significant works needed comprised historiographical compendia, grouping important events in secular and sacral history, as well as world chronicles systematically presenting the past in its entire dimension and with division into further *aetates mundi*—J. Banaszkiwicz, *Kronika Dzierzwy—problem wykładu dziejów ojczystych w XIV wieku*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze," vol. 22, 1979, p. 90.

<sup>35</sup>Generally, in case of historical works written by Dominicans, one may yet speak of their various usage. Apart from preaching and eschatology, one may as well enlist *utilitas*, *delectatio*, individual reading and reading at the table, case study together with *disputatio*; also, *memoria* cannot be excluded (according to O.G. Oexle, *Die Gegenwart der Toten*, [in:] *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. H. Breat, W. Verbeke, Leuven 1983 [Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series 1, Studia 9], pp. 26-27, 29 in fragments of certain works of historiography, historiographical *memoria* and liturgical *memoria* are impossible to be separated).

<sup>36</sup>Let us inform that the trend based on compiling monasterial records and creating catalogues may be seen in the works of the greatest Dominican historiographer of the Middle Ages, i.e. Bernard Gui. His first historical work, began in 1297 and finished in 1312/1313 (or in 1315), was a compilation of a collection of capitulum generale resolutions. i.e. *Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Their historical values is of great significance. He had also edited catalogues of generals of the order and lists of prior provincials of several provinces. Thanks to some other works as well, concerning the order exclusively, he had become an important figure in the development of Dominican historiography. It must be underlined that Bernard was a stranger to any moralising tendencies. He had placed great importance, though, to statistical registers as an indispensable structure of each historical account. As a result, he may be announced the first and greatest convent statistician—A. Kühl, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-168; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 220-222; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, p. 51. That trend did not, however, find many followers in Dominican order—see among others: H. Finke, *Zur Geschichte Jakobs von Soest und Hermanns von Schildesche*, "Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde", Bd. 46, 1888, pp. 190-197; J. H. Beckmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-77; E. Ragni, *Benedetto da Montefi ascone*, DBI, vol. 8, 1966, pp. 441-442; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 186; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 138.

to direct towards the Maker (thus, the mendicant turn towards past had pragmatic foundation).<sup>37</sup>

It is an obvious fact, that benefiting from various types of historical works while preparing sermons, influenced the form of the individual historical memory of a Dominican to a considerable degree (monastic rule and capitulum generale did not intervene with the choice of set books of this kind, leaving it in the matter of free choice).<sup>38</sup> It is also worth considering whether apart from this factor, other ones occurred in the preaching order, which would influence the form of a Dominican's historical memory (collective or individual). In our opinion, there were several of them. The Dominican historiographic literature was begun by Jordan of Saxony (ca. 1190/1199-1237; general of the order in 1222-1237), with the writing of *Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum*, which contains an official hagiography of St. Dominic (1170/1173-1221) as well as the history of the initial period of the order's existence. The work was created as a response to younger friars' requests, who would complain about the lack of information on St. Dominic's life and the beginnings of the convent.<sup>39</sup> This little work and other works depicting the Castilian were eagerly read;<sup>40</sup> some of them were

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<sup>37</sup> It is assumed that the fact of extensive use of historical subjects in sermons had resulted in the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century historiography definitely approaching sermons, whereas history had become an additional aid in profecing (i.e. a discipline aiding theology)—M. Menzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 104 and further, 230-231. In this context it is worth mentioning the notion of J. Wenta, *Dziejopisarstwo*, p. 171, who rightly claimed that the shape of historiography in a given order depends on its rule, customs and educational profile.

<sup>38</sup> Let us inform that F.-J. Schmale, *op. cit.*, p. 21 presents a notion that in the Middle Ages there was no individual historical memory, yet only a collective memory of the group.

<sup>39</sup> *Libellus de Principiis Ord. Praedicatorum auctore Iordano de Saxonia*, ed. H.-Ch. Scheeben, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica [further quote: MOFPH], vol. 16, Romae 1935, p. 25-88. More on the subject—among others: H.-Ch. Scheeben, *Einfuehrung: Libellus de Principiis Ord. Praedicatorum auctore Iordano de Saxonia*, MOFPH, vol. 16, Romae 1935, pp. 3-24; A. Mortier, *Histoire des Maitres generaux de l'ordre des freres precheurs*, vol. 1, Paris 1903, pp. 137-274; H.Ch. Scheeben, *Der litrarische Nachlas Jordans von Sachsen*, "Historisches Jahrbuch", Bd. 52, 1932, pp. 56-71; H.Ch. Scheeben, *Beitrag zur Geschichte Jordans von Sachsen*, QFGDD, H. 35, 1938; B. Altaner, *Der hl. Dominikus. Untersuchungen und Texte*, Breslau 1922, p. 3 and further; A. Kühl, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>40</sup> One may mention among others: *Legenda Sancti Dominici* prepared in the years 1235-1239 by Peter Ferrand (died after 1254, perhaps in 1259); *Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum* written around 1243 by John of Mailly; *Legenda Sancti Dominici* composed before 1250 by Constantine of Orvieto (died 1256) by order of general John of Wildeshausen (1241-1252); hagiography of St. Dominic included in *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum* by Bartholomew of Trident; introduced in 1256 as a compulsory book *Legenda Sancti Dominici* by general of the order Humbert of Romans (it is almost entirely a literar compilation of the works of Peter and Constantine, supplemented with an extensive collection of post-mortem

even considered, as we have already mentioned, (individual) canon books of the Dominicans. They would form the collective memory of the Preaching Friars. The same role task used to be attributed to reading out book excerpts during meals consumption (recitation *ad mensam*), a common practise in monasteries since the Benedictan rule.<sup>41</sup> The custom had also been adopted by the Dominican order.<sup>42</sup> Admittedly, its rule did not require reading any given texts, yet its practical aims (structuring and consolidating friars)

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miracles by the Castilian); the hagiography of St. Dominic included in *Vitae fratrum* edited in the years 1256–1260 by Gerard of Frachet (1205–1271); the hagiography of St. Dominic included by Jacobus de Voragine (1228/1230–1298) in *Legenda aurea* written in the years of around 1263–1267; *Liber de vita et obitu et miraculis s. Dominici, et de ordine quem instituit*, which was written (between the years of 1285–1297) by Dietrich of Apolda (ca. 1228/1229–after 1297)—see among others: *Vita S. Dominici auctore Petro Ferrando OP*, ed. F. van Ortro, AB, vol. 30, 1911, pp. 54–87; F. van Ortro, *Pierre Ferrand OP et les premiers biographes de S. Dominique, fondateur de l'ordre des Freres Precheurs*, AB, vol. 30, 1911, pp. 27–54; *Legenda Sancti Dominici auctore Petro Ferrandi*, ed. M.-H. Laurent, MOFPH, vol. 16, Romae 1935, pp. 209–260; M.-H. Laurent, *Introduction: Legenda Sancti Dominici auctore Petro Ferrandi*, MOFPH, vol. 16, Romae 1935, pp. 197–208; A. Dondaine, *Jean de Mailly O.P.: Abrege des gestes et miracles des saints*, Paris 1947 (Bibliotheque d'histoire dominicaine, vol. 1); *Legenda Sancti Dominici auctore Constantino de Urbeveteri*, ed. H.-Ch. Scheeben, MOFPH, vol. 16, Romae 1935, pp. 286–352; H.-Ch. Scheeben, *Einfuehrung: Legenda Sancti Dominici auctore Constantino de Urbeveteri*, MOFPH, vol. 16, Romae 1935, pp. 263–285; *Legenda s. Dominici auctore Bartholomaeo Tridentino*, hrsg. von B. Altaner, [in:] B. Altaner, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–239; *Vita S. Patris Dominici sacrarumque exuviarum eius prima translatio, iuxta enarrationem fratris Bartholomaei Tridentini OP*, “*Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*,” vol. 22, 1935–1936 (Anno 43–fasc. 1), pp. 35–43; *Legenda Sancti Dominici auctore Humberto de Romanis*, ed. A. Walz, MOFPH, vol. 16, Romae 1935, p. 369–433; A. Walz, *Einfuehrung: Legenda Sancti Dominici auctore Humberto de Romanis*, MOFPH, vol. 16, Romae 1935, p. 355–368; *Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto O.P. Vitae Fratrum ordinis praedicatorum nec non cronica ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*, ed. B. M. Reichert, MOFPH, vol. 1, Lovanii 1896, p. 65–96; B.M. Reichert, *Introductio: Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto OP Vitae Fratrum ordinis praedicatorum nec non cronica ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*, MOFPH, vol. 1, Lovanii 1896, pp. XI–XXI; *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia lombardica dicta*, ed. T. Graesse, Lipsiae 1850, c. CXIII, p. 466–483; *Jakub de Voragine, Złota Legenda. Wybór*, transl. J. Pleziowa, edit. M. Plezia, IW PAX, Warszawa 1983, pp. 321–335; *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J.B. Sollerio, J. Pinio, G. Cupero, P. Boschio, vol. Augusti I, Antwerpiae 1733, pp. 370–373, 562–632 (Parisii—Romae 1867, pp. 371–374, 558–628); B. Altaner, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–189.

<sup>41</sup> It resolved that “at the table friars should never lack reading”—G. Holzherr, *Reguła benedyktyńska w życiu chrześcijańskim. Komentarz do reguły św. Benedykta*, Tyniec 1988, c. 38, pp. 161–163, 304–305.

<sup>42</sup> See: *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen. Voorgeschiedenis, Tekst, Bronnen, Onstaanen Ontwikkeling (1215–1237)*, ed. A. P. Thomas, Leuven 1965, dist. I, c. 9, p. 320, dist. I, c. 21, p. 332; *Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228*, hrsg. von H. Denifle, “*Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*,” Bd. 1, 1885, dist. I, c. 9, pp. 199–200, dist. I, c. 21, p. 206.

tended to read out specific excerpts. Therefore, the rule of the order was being presented,<sup>43</sup> with numerous hagiographies of saints (assumably, including the one of St. Dominic),<sup>44</sup> as well as works treating of the history of the convent, which was available at a considerable number.<sup>45</sup> We know that the Provansal capitulum in Montpellier in 1240, instructed the abbots of all the convents to appoint a friar who was to read the “hystorias” to his brethren.<sup>46</sup> The hagiography of St. Dominic was an important canon lecture not only to the monks but also for every novice. These comprised, at least in the West, Jacob of Voragine’s *Legenda aurea* and *Bonum universale de apibus* by Thomas of Cantimpré (ca. 1201–ca. 1270/1272).<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the

<sup>43</sup> Sandomierz capitulum in 1465 had strictly ordered that in every convent of the Polish province, at least once a month the *regula* would be read during meals: “volumus et ordinamus districtius mandantes, ut in quolibet conventu nostrae provinciae ad minus in mense semel statuta nostra in mensa legantur” —*Acta Capitulum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1 (1225–1600), ed. R. F. Madura, Romae 1972, p. 80.

<sup>44</sup> I.W. Frank, *Zur Studienorganisation der Dominikanerprovinz Teutonia in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts und zum Studiengang des seligen Heinrich Seuse OP*, [in:] Heinrich Seuse: Studien zum 600. Todestag (1366–1966), hrsg. von E. M. Filthaut, Köln 1966, p. 51.

<sup>45</sup> Dominicans would create both chronicles of a general-order characteristics and of a particular one—see among others: A. Kühl, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165, 168-172, 174; J.H. Beckmann, *op. cit.*, p. 77 and further; H. Ch. Scheeben, *Untersuchungen über einige mittelalterliche Chroniken des Predigerordens*, “Archiv der deutschen Dominikaner“, Bd. 1, 1937, p. 202 and further; C. Segre, *Bartolomeo da San Concordio (Bartolomeo Pisano)*, DBI, vol. 6, 1964, pp. 768-770; S. Orlandi, *Bernardoni Bernardo*, DBI, vol. 9, 1967, pp. 315-316; W. Fechter, *op. cit.*, p. 479 and further.; F.J. Worstbrock, *Jakob von Soest*, DLMVL, Bd. 4, 1983, pp. 493-494; M. Tilly, *op. cit.*, col. 1484-1486; N. Reimann, *Dortmund*, [in:] *Westfälisches Klosterbuch. Lexikon der vor 1815 errichteten Stifte und Kloster von ihrer Grundung bis zur Aufhebung*, Teil 1, hrsg. von K. Hengst, Münster 1992, p. 264; T. Kaeppli, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 171, 220-222; vol. 2, pp. 9-10, 37-38, 246, 320, 343-344, 473, 475, 478-480; vol. 3, pp. 67, 184, 217, 226, 356; T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 15-16, 46, 51, 56, 94, 120-121, 139, 159, 179-180, 220, 226, 232, 276—these works contain references to sources and further extensive literature. The practice of reading out the history of an order was found in other communities as well—see: S. Zonenberg, *Kronika Wiganda z Marburga*, WU WSP, Bydgoszcz 1994, pp. 76-77.

<sup>46</sup> *Acta Capitulum Provincialium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum premiere Province de Provence, Province Romaine, Province d’Espagne (1239–1302)*, ed. C. Douais, Toulouse 1894, p. 17; M. Menzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 112.

<sup>47</sup> I.W. Frank, *Zur Studienorganisation*, p. 51. *Golden Legend*, written on the basis of ca. 250 sources, almost equal to the *Bible* in volume, and containing a continuation of its positions, among others, in the extent of cosmology, Christology, angelology, anthropology or problematic of evil. Its major part consists of nearly 150 accounts of life and death of saints, written in a moralising form, supposed to be examples of a virtuous and devout life. *Legenda aurea* was composed with calendar method, according to the patrons of consecutive days in a year. The intention of Jacobus de Voragine was to provide, similarly to John of Mailly’s, those who preached sermons (primarily to their own friars) with a textbook they could use as a source of information useful in pastoral activities. It must be stated that the

obligatory curriculum accepted by capitulum generale was somewhat “soaked” with historical content. The basis of Dominican studies, to which all the priest-friars were obliged lifelong, was the Bible, being in fact a “great historic epopee” of Israelites. Additionally, in provincial theology schools and general studies, one of the main set books comprised *Historia scholastica* by Petrus Comestor (ca. 1100–ca. 1179), which is a synthesis of biblical history from the creation of the world until the Ascension of Jesus Christ. Encyclopaedic works, useful in didactics, were also solicitously used; for instance, those comprising all the historical knowledge of the Medieval, such

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author did not intend to treat individual hagiographies critically. They lack chronology and historical background. There are, however, vibrant anachronisms visible, and more often than not a naivety of the scenes told with full seriousness. Thus, *Golden Legend* is not a reliable source of information on persons it talks about. It is rather a great sesame, where Medieval fantasy placed its most popular creations—M. Plezia, *Introduction*, pp. 7-9, 23; K. Kunze, *Jacobus a (de) Voragine (Varagine)*, DLMVL, Bd. 4, 1983, p. 448 and further; K. Lohrmann, *op. cit.*, col. 1414 and further—these works contain extensive literature. However, as far as the work of Thomas of Cantimpre’s is concerned, it contains historical information taken over from written sources and oral literature (it was finished in 1263). The author most often used his autopsy and experience gathered on distant missionary journeys. *Bonum universale de apibus* does have a pragmatism tendency, yet it is not the most significant one. This “book of bees” is an effect of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century obsession with miracles. Thomas, a student of St. Albert the great, previously renowned for his reliable and well-grounded hagiographies, had hereof taken over without any criticism all the legendary tales and miraculous stories he had heard or read about. Still, E. Michael was wrong suspecting he would have done it because of his ill attitude, as apart from the supernatural sphere he does appear to be a man of moderate opinions and gentle judgment. *Bonum universale de apibus* should rather be assessed as a “product” of a given demand at that time, i.e. a collection of information of various type, useful to preachers, and not a strictly historical work. What is more, Thomas did not limit himself to contain in his work the events that had taken place in the order only, but also offers a substantial amount of information on events belonging to a sphere somewhat outside of Dominican interest, such as crusades, Tartar raid, information on individual sovereigns (described in a rather messy way more often than not), or presenting the bee society as a pattern of life for monastery clusters—*Thomae Cantipratani, s. th. doctoris, ordinis s. Dominici, et episcopi suffraganei Cameracensis Miraculorum, et exemplorum memorabilium sui temporis libri duo. In quibus praeterea, ex mirifica Apum Repub. universa vitae bene et Christiane instituendae ratio (quo vetus Boni Universalis, alludit inscriptio) traditur, et artificiose pertractatur*, typis B. Beller, Duaci 1605; *Thomae Cantipratani, Bonum universale de apibus: in quo ex mirifica apum repub. universa vitae bene et christiane instituendae ratio traditur et artificiose pertractatur*, typis G. Colvenerius, Duaci 1627; P. Kirsch, *Des Thomas von Chantimpre Buch der Wunder und denkwürdigen Vorbilder*, Gleiwitz 1876; E. Berger, *Thomae Cantipratensis bonum universale de apibus quid illustrandis saeculi decimi tertii moribus conferat*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1895; A. Kaufmann, *Thomas von Chantimpre*, Köln 1899; E. Michael, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, Bd. 3: Deutsche Wissenschaft und deutsche Mystik während des dritzehnten Jahrhunderts. Kulturzustände des deutschen Volkes während des dritzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1903, p. 162; A. Kühl, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.



as *Speculum historiale* written in the form of world chronicle by Vincent of Beauvais.<sup>48</sup> When enumerating factors shaping memory, one cannot omit *memoria*, i.e. collective prayers of monks performed for the salvation of the deceased (and living) brethren and benefactors.<sup>49</sup> Those people were

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<sup>48</sup> It is a part, dedicated to history, of an impressive in size, although only slightly critical work he began writing in 1230, entitled *Speculum maius*, which is a sort of encyclopaedia compiled on the basis of over 400 Greek, Latin, Arabic and Jewish authors (its other parts are: *Speculum doctrinale*, *Speculum naturale*, *Speculum morale*). In its original concept, the work was to serve as compendium comprising all the contemporary knowledge of the period, which would be used in preaching activities. *Speculum historiale*, is a conscientiously compiled history lecture, which uses numerous sources, and comprises general events stretching from the creation of earth to Saint Louis IX king of France (1226–1270), thus times contemporary to the author. The work excels in consequent chronological order, which simplifies searching for the given information. For that reason, it was often re-copied. Although Vincent of Beauvais did not compose a separate hagiographic compilation, *Speculum historiale*, for its 3793 chapters (compiled in 31 books), the number of around 900 (so, almost a quarter of them) speak of the lives and miracles of various saints. Undoubtedly, it was also dedicated to the aim of serving as a pocket hagiographical encyclopaedia to creators (compilers) of hagiographies and preachers, naturally. It must be added here that Vincent had also compiled an abridgement of *Speculum historiale* (it being a book of humongous size for a textbook) entitled *Memoriale omnium temporum* which enjoyed a considerable popularity, similarly to the main work—Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale (Bibliotheca mundi, seu speculi maioris Vincentii Burgundi praesulis Bellovacensis, ordinis praedicatorum, theologi ac doctoris eximii, tomus quartus, qui speculum historiale inscribitur*, ed. B. Belleri, Duaci 1624), [in:] Vincentius Bellovacensis (Vincent de Beauvais), *Speculum quadruplex sive speculum maius: naturale/ doctrinale/morale/historiale*, Graz 1965; *Vincentii Bellovacensis Memoriale omnium temporum*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH. Scriptorum, vol. 24, Hannoverae 1879, pp. 154-167; see also among others: T. Kaeppli, E. Panella, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 435-436, 440-446; M. Plezia, *Wstęp*, pp. 22-23; A. Fijałkowski, *Puer eruditus. Idee edukacyjne Wincentego z Beauvais (ok. 1194–1264)*, Meriton, Warszawa 2001, pp. 25-28, 36, 37; J. Serczyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 64; W. Erzgräber, *Europäische Literatur im Kontext der politischen, sozialen und religiösen Entwicklungen des Spätmittelalters*, Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, hrsg. von K. von See, Bd. 8, 1978, p. 26; A.-D. von den Brincken, *Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Vinzenz von Beauvais. Die Apologia Actoris zum Speculum Maius*, DAEM, Jg. 34, 1978, pp. 410-499; J.B. Voorbij, *Het Speculum historiale van Vincent van Beauvais: een studie van zijn ontstaansgeschiedenis*, Groningen 1991; A.-D. von den Brincken, *Tabula alphabetica. Von den Anfängen alphabetischer Registerarbeiten zu geschichtlichen Werken (Vincenz von Beauvais OP, Johannes von Hautfuney, Paulinus Minorita OFM)*, [in:] Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Sept. 1971, hrsg. von den Mitarbeitern des Max—Planck—Instituts für Geschichte, Göttingen 1972, p. 900-923; R. Weigand, *Vinzenz von Beauvais. Scholastische Universalchronistik als Quelle volkssprachiger Geschichtsschreibung*, Hildesheim—Zürich—New York 1991 (Germanistische Texte und Studien, Bd. 36); M. Paulmier-Foucart, *Historiographie et hagiographie dans le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais*, Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum, vol. 68, 1998, pp. 165-175.

<sup>49</sup> More on the subject of *memoria*—among others: O.G. Oexle, *Memoria und Memorialbild*, [in:] *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*,

remembered, as their names were written in special books.<sup>50</sup> In the Middle Ages, it was believed that only saints would go to heaven after death, and that the rest of the devout would remain in a state which could be called a place of purification (*purgatorium*). Prayers of the God-fearing people for that person were supposed to be helpful in this process of improvement.<sup>51</sup> The devout wanted to ensure for themselves, which is understandable, a tolerable and considerably short stay in purgatory. In order to do that a

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hrsg. Von K. Schmid, J. Wollasch, München 1984 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, Bd. 48), p. 384 and further; *idem*, *Die Memoria Heinrichs des Lowen*, [in:] *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von D. Geuenich, O.G. Oexle, Göttingen 1994 (Veröffentlichungen des Max—Planck—Instituts für Geschichte, Bd. 111 [further quote: VMPIG]), p. 128 and further; G. Althoff, *Zur Verwandschafts- und Schriftlichkeitsbildung von Memoria in Krisenzeiten*, [in:] *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von D. Geuenich, O.G. Oexle, Göttingen 1994 (VMPIG, Bd. 111), p. 56 and further; J. Gerchow, *Memoria als Norm. Aspekte englischer Gildestatuten des 14. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von D. Geuenich, O.G. Oexle, Göttingen 1994 (VMPIG, Bd. 111), p. 207 and further. Of *memoria*, as one of the most significant factors intervening life of a community—R. Holbach, *Identitäten von Sakularkanonikern im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Ständische und religiöse Identitäten in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, hrsg. von S. Kwiatkowski, J. Małek, Toruń 1998, pp. 37-38.

<sup>50</sup> Justification for creating such type of manuscripts is found in the Apocalypse by St. John 20,12: “I ujrzałem umarłych—wielkich i małych—stojących przed tronem, a otwarto księgi. I inną księgę otwarto, która jest księgą życia. I osądzono zmarłych z tego, co w księgach zapisano, według ich czynów”—*Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu (tzw. Biblia Tysiąclecia)*, red. K. Dynarski, A. Jankowski, L. Stachowiak, K. Romaniuk, Poznań-Warszawa 1980, p. 1414. During the mass they were placed upon the altar (which was a sign of belonging to a prayer community), which was believed to foster being given grace and, eventually, the eternal life—L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum*, Bonn 1952 (Theophaneia, Bd. 8), p. 18 and further; K. Schmid, J. Wollasch, *Die Gemeinschaft der Lebenden und Verstorbenen in Zeugnissen des Mittelalters*, Frühmittelalterliche Studien, Bd. 1, 1967, pp. 368, 400; O.G. Oexle, *Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im frühen Mittelalter*, Frühmittelalterliche Studien, Bd. 10, 1976, p. 77. The books were at the same time a tool of liturgy, which would make it possible to maintain memory of the deceased members of community and saying prayers for their souls (monks, writing down their names and “surnames” as well as praying for them, guarded their memory)—P. Oliński, *Cysterskie nekrologi na Pomorzu Gdańskim od XIII do XVII wieku*, *Annals of the Scientific Society of Toruń*, 88 (1997), no. 1, p. 16.

<sup>51</sup> Justification for this type of prayers is found in Book of the Maccabees 12: 46. In *Vulgata* used in the Middle Ages it is as follows: “Sancta ergo, et salubris cogitatio, pro defunctis exorare, ut a peccatis solvantur,” i.e. “Therefore it is saintly and salvating the belief to bego for the dead, so they are relieved from their sins”—I. W. Frank, *Die architektonischen Konsequenzen der Haufung der missae pro defunctis im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Die sakrale Backsteinarchitektur des südlichen Ostseeraums—der theologische Aspekt*, hrsg. Von G. Eimer, E. Gierlich, Berlin 2000, p. 16; see: the translation of the fragment in the *Holy Scripture of Old and New Testament (so-called Millenium Bible)* (p. 531); see also: the fragment of the gospel of St Matthew, 13: 31-32, speaking of forgiving sins in the other world.

community of people living in solidarity with the living and the deceased was supposed to be established, which was referred to as “*pietas erga murtous*,” that means respect (goodness, pity) towards the dead.<sup>52</sup> We know that monks of either Benedictine or Augustan order (as well as all their later modifications), were treated by the Medieval society as an intermediary between the worldly life and the Maker.<sup>53</sup> That is why people from outside the monasteries would strive to ensure their place in those prayers. Members of the regnant or noble houses, through founding clusters and equipping them generously, used to register to themselves in documents, constant solicitation of soul salvation for themselves, their ancestors and descendants. In the Dominican order, this type of prayers comprised an important part of liturgy, which a separate chapter, dedicated to such issues, in their abiding “*De anniversariis*” constitution, is an evidence for<sup>54</sup>. The duty of saying the prayers on behalf of brothers from outside the convent was also recalled for in the decisions of Paris capitulum generale from 1279. The care which the Dominican authorities took of order generals’ *memoria* precisely on the anniversary of

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<sup>52</sup> It bore the character of an emotionally strong (respectful) relationship between the dead and the living. Appropriately to that, the living were supposed to care for the fate of the dead. Therefore, the former were responsible for the salvation of the latter “on the other side,” thus to some extent, for the state of their souls after their death. Hence it may be said that rights of the dead existed there, which would take the form of pacts (treaties) of generations—I.W. Frank, *Die architektonischen*, p. 17.

<sup>53</sup> In the middle Ages it was believed that their prayers were received by God and brought specific benefits (thus, monks would become the warrants of salvation).

<sup>54</sup> *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen*, dist. II, c. 36, pp. 367-368: “A festo sancti Dyonisii usque ad adventum pro anniversario fratrum clericus psalterium, sacerdos tres missas, laici quinquaginta Pater noster dicant. Item faciant quilibet fratrum pro defuncto fratre sui conventus. Item fi at per totum ordinem pro magistro ordinis et comprovincialibus pro priore provinciali defuncto. Idem etiam fi at pro visitatore a domibus, quas visitare debet, si in visitatione moriatur. Idem etiam fi at pro diffinitoribus generalis capituli sive prioribus provincialibus sive aliis fratribus et eorum sociis, si eos in via mori contigerit, quod fit pro magistro ordinis mortuo. Item, in unaquaque provincia pro fratre illius provincie defuncto quilibet sacerdos celebret unam missam et quilibet conventus unam in communi et unusquisque aliorum septem psalmos. Anniversarium patrum et matrum tertia die post Purificationem sancte Marie, anniversarium benefactorum et familiarium tertia die post Nativitatem eiusdem est faciendum”; see: *Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228*, dist. II, c. 22, p. 221. The content of the constitution chapter was slightly changed in the years 1246–1248 (at three consecutive capitulum generale): “In constitutione ubi dicitur, anniversarium benefactorum, die tertia post nativitatem eiusdem faciendum est, deletur, tertia die post nativitatem eiusdem, et ponatur, tertia die post octavam sancti Augustini, anniversarium vero fratrum sequenti die post festum beati Dyonisii”—*Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1 (ab anno 1220 usque ad annum 1303), ed. B. M. Reichert, MOFPH, vol. 3, Romae 1898, pp. 34, 38, 41.

their death, may also be seen in it.<sup>55</sup> We are also aware that the number of “ordinary” secular people, desiring to gain a constant place in prayers taken to God by the Dominican choirs, would sum up in considerable amount. It all resulted in *memoria mortuorum* occupying a stable position in the liturgy of the preaching order, that is during the daily *capitulum*. After pronouncing the holiday of the saint on the given day, reading out a chapter of Gospel, alternatively a chapter of the orders’ constitutions, a collective or individual *memoria mortuorum et benefactorum* would commence.<sup>56</sup> For that reason the convent kept their own liturgy books, comprising *martyrologium (romanum)*,<sup>57</sup> orders’ constitutions, gospel books and *calendarium mortuorum*.<sup>58</sup> The latter, consisting of the calendar part and the commemorating inscriptions placed under individual days, which were dedicated to the deceased friars and benefactors of the monastery, were used in anniversary memorials (so-called annual) on a given day.<sup>59</sup> We are certain that the liturgy conducted on the

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<sup>55</sup>*Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, p. 204: “Obitus magistrorum ordinis defunctorum. priores universi vel eorum, vicarii in martyrologiis suis. in diebus sui obitus conscribant [vel scribi] faciant diligenter, et ut melius sciant, quomodo scribi debeant, scribant prout inferius continentur. Fr. Raymundus de Penna forti magister ordinis tercius, obiit in die epiphaniae. Fr. Iohannes Th eutonicus, magister ordinis quartus obiit pridie nonas novembris. Fr. Hymbertus de Romanis. magister ordinis quintus, obiit pridie idus iulii.”

<sup>56</sup>I.W. Frank, *Das Totenbuch des Mainzer Dominikanerklosters. Kommentar und Edition*, QFGDD. Neue Folge, Bd. 3, Berlin 1993, p. 4, 59; see also: *idem*, *Das mittelalterliche Dominikanerkloster als paraparochiales Kultzentrum*, Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte, Bd. 17, 1998, p. 136; *Zbiór formuł zakonu dominikańskiego prowincji polskiej z lat 1338–1411*, pub. J. Fijałek, with help: J. Woroniecki and A. Vetulani, Historical Committee Archives, vol. 12, part 2, (no. 71), 1938, no. 4, 52-53, 80, 84.

<sup>57</sup>It is about Roman martyrology, i.e. a listing of martyrs and other saints approved by the Catholic Church. It was pronounced during the celebration in a choir. Some orders have had separate martyrology, where they would have put saints of their congregation.

<sup>58</sup>I.W. Frank, *Das Totenbuch*, pp. 4-5. Passing those books to the cantor is addressed by the Dominican general Hubert of Romans in his convent officium instructions: “Tradere ea ei qui legit Kalendas, ut ea in conventuante illud: Commemoratio fratrum, familiarum.” However, as far as making records was concerned, he stated that: “vel anniversarium alicujus defuncti, vel memoria alicujus animae perpetuo per orationem aliquam in missa, debet hoc inserere per scripturam in libris, in suis locis”—*Instructiones de officiis ordinis*, c. 8, [in:] *B. Humberti de Romanis quinti praedicatorum magistri generalis, Opera de vita regulari*, vol. 2, pp. 239-240. The person responsible for keeping the records in books of that type was, more or less since the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a sexton: “Attendat de cetero sacrista quod defuncto fratre, scribat nomen eius”—*Necrologio di S. Maria Novella: Testo integrale dall’inizio (1235) al 1504 corredato di note biografiche tratte da documenti coevi con presentazione di Innocenzo Taurisano*, ed. S. Orlandi, vol. 1, Firenze 1955, p. 11. Whereas cantor was the one taking care of liturgy books—K. Zawadzka, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 92.

<sup>59</sup>I.W. Frank, *Das Totenbuch*, p. 4-5. For instance, in the Moguntian book of the dead from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the number of dated obituaries increases. What is

basis of , including chronological elements, would shape the historical memory of monks.<sup>60</sup> What is more, as the previously cited fragments of the constitution and capitulum generale's bill of 1279 informs us, Dominican convents, in order to enhance the requests directed to heaven, were obliged to (similarly to other convents) "put in a good word for" the deceased friars (convent generals, provincials etc.) from other provinces.<sup>61</sup> We must remember that the most famous and the strongest Dominican clusters kept

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more, in singular instances they expand to information of a chronical nature—I.W. Frank, *Das Totenbuch*, p. 7, 16. As it is known, prayers of such type used to be a constant element of celebrational order of liturgy in other congregations as well. The only variable was the spectrum of their vocabulary, place, order of the mass, joining or separating prayers for the dead or the living, individual or collective commemorations of people, and the form or records of those books. The manuscripts were given various names, for example: obituaries, books of the dead, books of the living and the dead, books of life, recollection books, necrologies, mortuaries. It was also stated that each of them had a specific meaning, that is would put pressure on a given aspect of functioning or define one of their types (in historical science they are generally called sources or memorative lore). We also know instances of joining such books with other liturgy books, for example, a missal with a necrologue. Generally, two groups may be distinguished in their perimeter: necrologies and books of the dead. The former would have *memoria* for the deceased *regulares* captioned under individual days; whereas the latter, unlike necrologies, do not contain chronological elements. They do, however, contain names of monasteries and convent members as well as secular persons (in liturgy, they were used to recollect a group of people). In Latin they were known as "libri memoriales," "libri mortuorum," libri vitae"—P. Oliński, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, 16, 18; on the subject see also among others: K. Schmid, J. Wollasch, *op. cit.*, p. 365 and further. We assume that these were the obituary notes, which contained chronological elements, that became the foundation of creating catalogues (listings), numerous in Dominican congregation, of higher officials.

<sup>60</sup> Let us add that we are also in dispose of sources referred to in German science as "Totenannales," in which obituary records were subordinate to annual-record system—O.G. Oexle, *Die Überlieferung der fuldischen Totenannalen*, [in:] *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, Bd. 2.2, hrsg. von K. Schmid, München 1978 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, Bd. 8/2.2), p. 447 and further; E. Freise, *Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria*, [in:] *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von K. Schmid, J. Wollasch, München 1984 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, Bd. 48), p. 502 and further; P. Oliński, *op. cit.*, p. 6. M. Zdanek, "Zaginiona kronika dominikańska" z XIII wieku. *Próba nowego spojrzenia*, [in:] *Fontes et historia*. Works dedicated to Antoni Gąsiorowski, ed. T. Jurek, I. Skierska, ICH PAN, Poznań 2007, p. 277, concluded that it was the strong relationship of historiography with personal exempla, dignitary catalogues and biographical studies caused necrologies to be treated as chronicles in the habitat of monks.

<sup>61</sup> We know that the clusters of other orders did even sign contracts of mutual praying obligations. For that purpose, special lists, so-called death rolls were created, in which names of the deceased friars were written to be passed to brotherly convents—P. Oliński, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 19; L. Delisle, *Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siecle*, Paris 1866, pp. 1-492; N. Huyghebaert, *Les documents necrologiques, Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental*, fasc. 4, Turnhout 1972, p. 30 (see also: p. 11-12, where literature of the subject is given).

numerous links (with dynasties, influential knight houses, extraordinary persons etc.), which crossed the boundaries of provinces and countries, which in turn influenced the spectrum of *memoria*. Without doubt, it had broadened both historical and geographical horizon of a praying Dominican.<sup>62</sup> Prayers for the dead during liturgy did not of course exclude individual recollections, which had soon led to the creation of special pieties for the specific deceased people. It must be stated that also in parish churches during service a collective and individual *commemoratio* of the dead would take place. The devout would deem it unsatisfactory, as they wanted *pia memoria mortuorum* to appear more often, “stronger” and eternal. It resulted in special *missae pro defunctis* prayers. This type of piety, which has become an important part of the cult of the dead, were extremely popular among the Dominicans in the Middle Ages.<sup>63</sup> As the main altar of a temple (*altare maius, altare magnum*) was considered to be dedicated to issues concerning the whole commune, therefore *missae (speciales) pro defunctis* were conducted at side altars (*altaria minora, altaria secundaria*). Due to the tendency of ordaining the side altars in early Middle Ages under some kind of a “name” and as a rule would be dedicated to a saint martyr, with time, the commemorative duty and cult of saints merged. The justification for such worship is found in St. John’s Apocalypse 6:9 and 8:3-4.<sup>64</sup> On the basis of

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<sup>62</sup> One must not forget of a significantly important value, which the possibility of being buried in the church (monastery) premises would pose to a Medieval man, as it was believed that it would foster being granted the grace of eternal life. In the case of the affluent, the burial was announced by sumptuous stone tombstones which included, among others, chronological elements, which to our mind would also shape historical memory. It allows us to say that tombstones used to belong to late-medieval church endowment, and that the deceased would actually be buried all over its perimeter (burials had become one of the most important tasks of the Dominican order, as well as other mendicant congregations, which turned their shrines into memorials, or “death zone” or “death memory carriers,” to be more concise)—W. Schenkluhn, *Ordines Studentes. Aspekte zur Kirchenarchitektur der Dominikaner und Franziskaner im 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1985, p. 32; I.W. Frank, *Das Totenbuch*, pp. 31, 36-37, 44 and further; see also: W. Schenkluhn, *Architektur der Bettelorden. Die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa*, Darmstadt 2000, p. 27 and further. Undoubtedly, among the factors shaping and broadening the historical and geographical horizons of a Dominican, were also the journeys practised by them (connected with gathering funds, relocations to other clusters, studies or pilgrimages).

<sup>63</sup> I.W. Frank, *Die architektonischen*, p. 19-21; see also: *idem*, *Das mittelalterliche*, p. 136; *idem*, *Das Totenbuch*, pp. 62-63. It also concerned the convents in the province of Poland—*Zbiór formuł zakonu dominikańskiego prowincji polskiej z lat 1338-1411*, no. 37, 52-57, 76, 77, 80, 84, 85, 92, 119, 169-171, 210, 264, 268-271, 275, 298, 301.

<sup>64</sup> *The Holy Scripture of Old and New Testament (so-called Millennium Bible)*, pp. 1402-1403: “ujrzałem pod ołtarzem dusze zabitych dla Słowa Bożego i dla świadectwa, jakie mieli” and “I przeszedł inny anioł i stanął przy ołtarzu, mając złote naczynie na żar, i dano mu wiele

these quotations, it was concluded that saints, taking part in heavenly liturgy, could also appear as mediators (*intercessores*). Therefore, a canonised martyr, through mediation (*intercessio*), was able to enhance effects of the holy mass. In such sense they would become patrons and a sort of advocates of a person summoning and worshipping them. Just as in the eastern church the iconostas was the way to get closer to them, so in the West it was meant to be achieved through their relics, which in turn caused the altar to become a saint's grave. It had led to establishing a strong community with saints (*communio sanctorum*),<sup>65</sup> whereas the *vita* of the canonised martyr, living in a given past and worshiped (in return, they were supposed to advocate in heaven), would arouse monks' curiosity (of those, who performed prayer service at a given side altar), as they wanted to get to know the patron and advocate of theirs and their flocks. In our opinion, all the aforementioned factors influenced the shape of historical memory of monks.<sup>66</sup> The Dominican preachers-friars may be called, due to the services adopted by their community, the carriers of particular memory, in which apart from the Bible, *memoria mortuorum* connected with *communio sanctorum* played, as it seems, an essential role.

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kadzideł, aby dał je w ofierze jako modlitwy wszystkich świętych, na złoty ołtarz, który jest przed tronem. I wzniósł się dym kadzideł, jako modlitwy świętych, z ręki anioła przed Bogiem.”

<sup>65</sup> I.W. Frank, *Die architektonischen*, pp. 22-24; see also: *idem*, *Das mittelalterliche*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>66</sup> In favourable circumstances they could have led to more intensive an interest in history, meningly in those Dominicans who showed predispositions towards that orientation.