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The schools and studies of the Dominicans in the Prussian contrata to the beginning of the sixteenth century¹

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The purpose of the school system organized by the Dominicans in the thirteenth century was to provide their congregation with a supply of preachers to further the mission expressed in the popular motto of the order: *contemplari et contemplata aliis tradere*. In the period when the first friaries were being organized, human resources for the order were the numerous friars recruited from university circles. This manner of acquiring educated friars would not, however, be a permanent solution especially in peripheral regions where there were not yet any universities. Hence, the order had to take upon itself the task of creating new personnel. This was the situation mostly in Northern and Central Europe, as well as in the Teutonic Order's Baltic jurisdiction in Prussia, where Dominican friaries operated that belonged to the Polish province of the order. This paper presents the system of Dominican schools functioning mainly in the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century within the Prussian contrata, a lower auxiliary unit in the order's administration, encompassing the Teutonic Prussia regions. In addition to the running of schools, the foreign studies of Dominican friars from this region will also be discussed.²

¹ This article essentially presents, in slightly extended form, the results of research which were published in Polish in the book R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów kontraty pruskiej od XIII do połowy XVI w.*, Gdańsk 2007.

² For the education system in the Polish province of Dominicans see K. Kaczmarek, *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza*, Poznań 2005; M. Zdanek, *Szkoły i studia dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2005.

The formation of the Dominican Order's structures in this region took place in the thirteenth century when five friaries were founded. Three of them were established on the Teutonic Order's initiative, which, expanding its settlement in the conquered tribal Prussia region, needed the support of a great number of priests and preachers. However, the order did not wish them to originate from monastic orders such as the Premonstratensians or the Cistercians, because they demanded high wages. Consequently, the order contributed to the creation of Dominican friaries in the three most important urban centres which were granted town privileges in this area, Chełmno (1236–1238), Elbląg (1239), and Toruń (1263), while it prevented the foundation of the Cistercians in Gardeja. There was one more Dominican friary founded by the Teutonic Order in the fifteenth century in the small town of Krylovo (German Nordenburg), located far to the east (1407, in 1428 the convent was moved to the town of Zheleznodorozhny (German Gerdauen)).³ After 1308, when the Teutonic Order captured the nearby Gdańsk Pomerania region, two more Dominican friaries, founded by the local princes, in Gdańsk (1227) and Tczew (1289) were included in its jurisdiction. Importantly, all the friaries belonged to the Polish province of the order, within which they would form in the fifteenth century a separate minor administrative unit called the Prussian contrata.⁴ Within the order's Polish province, from which after 1301 there were isolated friaries situated in Bohemia, to form a separate province, the Prussian contrata was at that time one of six units of this type.⁵ The contrata would also preserve its integrity past 1466, when five friaries were incorporated into Royal Prussia, while one, in Zheleznodorozhny, remained in the State of the Teutonic Order.⁶

³ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 19–38.

⁴ Apart from this, other names were also used for the lower administrative units within the order. These were *nationes* or *visitationes*, see W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and growth to 1500*, vol. 1, New York 1966, p. 174.

⁵ The other contratas within the Polish province were the Silesian, Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, Masovian, and Kashubian see J. Kłoczowski, *Dominikanie polscy na Śląsku w XIII–XIV wieku*, Lublin 1956, p. 18; R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 54–56.

⁶ However, from 1479 the friary in Zheleznodorozhny was subordinate to the authorities of the *Congregatia Hollandiae* which functioned as part of the Dominican Order, and was comprised of those friaries which adopted observance. See 'Supplementum ex registris litterarum magistrorum et procuratorum generalium (a. 1451–1600) (hereafter: Supplementum)', in: *Acta Capitulorum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*

1. Organization of Dominican education in the Prussian contrata

With the aim of the proper formation of friars, the Dominican Order created its own education system composed of several stages of study. The basic one was the conventual school present in every convent, which was headed by a lector.⁷ It was attended by all priest friars and clerics present in a friary, along with the prior.⁸ Candidates for the order were sought out chiefly among youths who had acquired at least the basics of education in parochial schools. Under the realities of the Prussian contratas, these were representatives of the lower strata of local townspeople, including the sons of craftsmen. Those usually came from cities with convents and from the immediate neighbourhood, places located in the collection district, and even from the countryside.⁹ Before entering the order, they went to parochial schools, where they learnt basic skills in reading and writing in German, and they also learnt elements of Latin used in liturgy (school students would obligatorily participate in singing while the liturgy was being held).¹⁰ For the most part, however, candidates for the order did not know Latin with even moderate proficiency. Which is why candidates entering the order would spend the first two years after the novitiate in friaries acquiring familiarity with the monastic life, liturgy, and singing. This time was also devoted to filling in the gaps in their skills of reading and writing in Latin.¹¹ The emphasis put on learning Latin is shown by the later name of these schools, *studium*

(hereafter ACPP), ed. R.F. Madura, Roma 1972, p. 600, no. 34. At a later time, however, the Polish province regained control over them.

⁷ H. Denifle, 'Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228,' *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1, 1885, p. 221.

⁸ W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, vol. 2, New York 1973, pp. 20–22.

⁹ See R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 133–135.

¹⁰ For parochial schools and town Latin schools in the State of the Teutonic Order, see E. Waschinski, *Erziehung und Unterricht im Deutschen Ordenslande bis 1525 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des niederen Unterrichtes*, Danzig 1907; B. Quassowski, 'Obrigkeitliche Wohlfahrtspflege in den Hansestädten des Deutschordenslandes (Braun- sberg, Elbing, Königsberg, Kulm and Thorn) bis 1525,' *ZWG*, 61, 1921, pp. 122–126; H. Bauer, 'Bildungs- und Bibliothekenwesen im Ordenslande Preussen,' *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekenwesen*, 46, 1929, pp. 391–406.

¹¹ W.A. Hinnebusch *The History of the Dominican Order...*, vol. 2, pp. 22–23.

grammaticae.¹² The next stage of education was the three-year *studium artium*, also called the *studium logicae*. Collective schools of this type were organized in one of a contrata's friaries, where friars from several nearby houses were assigned.¹³ It was a three-year, single-class school. After three years, teaching began with the first year, with the provincial chapter choosing different programmes for a given year for each school functioning within a province, because their study cycles started at different times. After graduating from a *studium artium*, friars continued their study of philosophy by learning physics, metaphysics, and Aristotelian ethics. Schools implementing this programme were called *studia naturarum* or *naturalium*.¹⁴ Friars who completed this stage of education went to theology schools referred to as *studium particulare theologiae*, which were organized in every province.¹⁵ Classes there were conducted by lectors and cursors (novice lectors). In monastic sources they are named according to the classes they conducted, as lectors of arts (*lector artium*), logic teachers, philosophy lectors (*lector philosophiae*), and Holy Bible lecturers (*lector biblicus*). There were also private higher studies, referred to as general studies, in the order. Initially, there was only one such school in Paris to which each province could send three candidates. The great influx of students prompted the general chapter to establish in 1248 more general studies in Oxford, Bologna, Montpellier, and Cologne.¹⁶ Then, individual provinces could send two students to each of these general study programmes. The order's needs for the higher education of friars were, however, constantly growing. Thus, in 1304 it was decided that a school of this type should function in every province of the order. An exception was then made only for several provinces, e.g. for the Polish

¹² Ibidem, pp. 20–23. There are records from 1458 mentioning the Latin lectors (*lector grammaticae*) Abrendius and Petrus Tvilde in the Toruń friary, R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 151, no. 1; p. 185, no. 579.

¹³ W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order...*, vol. 2, pp. 23–28. The records of the synod held in 1279 in Buda stipulated three types of studies for Poland and Hungary: *studium grammaticae*, *studium logicae* (*studium artium*), and *studium theologiae*, P. Kielar, 'Studia nad kulturą szkolną i intelektualną dominikanów prowincji polskiej w średniowieczu,' in: *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972*, vol. 1, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Warszawa 1975, p. 275.

¹⁴ W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order...*, vol. 2, p. 23–28.

¹⁵ Ibidem, p. 29.

¹⁶ *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, vol. I ab anno 1220 usque ad annum 1303*, ed. B.M. Reichert, Roma 1898, pp. 34, 38, 41; W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order...*, vol. 2, p. 39.

province, where a general school was not established in Kraków until about 1405–1410.¹⁷

All of this did, of course, affect the organization and functioning of the schools within the order's Prussian contrata. Unfortunately, very little is known about their organization in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The information available from the very few extant sources refers mostly to conventual schools, the existence of which is indicated by mentions of their lectors.¹⁸ Information indicating that particular schools (*studium particulare*) also existed in the Prussian contrata dates to as late as 1378. At that time, a *studium artium* and a theology school, in which Peter Lombard's *Sentences* were taught, operated in Toruń.¹⁹ Furthermore, incomplete records of the provincial chapter from 1384 contain information on the existence of *studia artium* in Toruń and Elbląg, a *studium naturarum* in Elbląg, and *studia theologiae* in Toruń and Elbląg.²⁰ Whereas the absence of information on the teaching of philosophy (*studium naturarum*) in Toruń could result from the fragmentary nature of the source.²¹ The system of particular schools in the Prussian contrata was at that time among the best organized from throughout the Polish province of the order. Only in the Silesian (10) and Lesser Poland (6) contratas were there more.²²

Significantly more is known about the functioning of these schools in the second half of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries since a greater number of minutes from meetings of the chapters

¹⁷ K. Kaczmarek, 'Głos w dyskusji nad początkami studium generalnego dominikanów w Krakowie,' *Nasza Przeszłość*, 91, 1999, pp. 77–100; idem, *Szkoły i studia...*, pp. 338–345; M. Zdanek, *Szkoły i studia dominikanów...*, pp. 104–105.

¹⁸ The first lectors in friaries were recorded, in the following order, in Gdańsk (1287), Toruń (1301), Chełmno (1308), Elbląg (1327), and Tczew (1475). The previous existence of a monastic school in Tczew is indicated by the mention of a teacher of young friars (*imbutor iuvenum*) from 1413, R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 91; W. Roth, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Deutsch-Ordensland Preußen bis zum Jahre 1466*, Königsberg 1918, pp. 61, 66, 74–75, 81, 84, 86.

¹⁹ P. Kielar, 'Organizacja szkolnictwa dominikańskiego w XIV w.,' *Studia Philosophiae Christianae*, 5, 1969, fascicle 1, p. 317; K. Kaczmarek, *Szkoły i studia...*, p. 222, 253; R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 93.

²⁰ T. Gałuszka, 'Szkolnictwo konwentualne i partykularne w strukturach polskiej prowincji dominikanów w XIV stuleciu. Nowe ujęcie w świetle nowych źródeł,' *RH*, 78, 2012, pp. 197, 200–201, 204; idem, 'Fragment of the Acts of the provincial chapter of the Polish Dominicans from the 1390s. Historical study and text edition,' *RH*, 79, 2013, pp. 12–14.

²¹ T. Gałuszka, *Szkolnictwo...*, p. 198.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 207.

of the Polish province of the order are available. At the time, *studia theologiae* operated near Toruń,²³ and Elbląg,²⁴ and Gdańsk.²⁵ Including staff, these schools numbered up to about a dozen people per friary. For instance, in 1512 the provincial chapter decided to send to Gdańsk theology, philosophy, and arts lecturers and to assign students separately for studies in theology and philosophy. In all, 15 students were to be sent to Gdańsk at the time, seven to study theology and eight philosophy.²⁶ Sending as many as three lecturers, separately to lecture on theology, philosophy, and the arts indicates the existence of a school consisting of three levels (the first – art, the second – philosophy and the third – theology). While in 1514, seven students were sent to Elbląg.²⁷ Periodically, these schools probably did not have a full course, confining their scope to the *studium artium* and the *studium naturarum*, or only to the *studium artium*.²⁸ For example, in 1447, in Elbląg there was probably only a *studium artium*,²⁹ and this school would have functioned in this form even later (1450, 1458, 1462).³⁰ A school teaching friars from several friaries (only the *studium artium*) also existed temporarily in a friary in Chełmno, and this was the case in 1450, 1501, and 1519.³¹ The curriculum at the theology school consisted of two years and covered lectures on the Holy Bible and Lombard's *Sentences*. The Bible course was conducted under

²³ An active theology school was recorded in 1450 (ACPP, p. 40); 1458 (ACPP, p. 49); 1483 (ACPP, p. 114); 1507 (ACPP, p. 166), 1510 (ACPP, p. 179), 1512 (ACPP, p. 191); R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 93.

²⁴ An active theology school was recorded in 1483 (ACPP, p. 114), 1507 (ACPP, p. 166), 1510 (ACPP, p. 179), 1512 (ACPP, p. 189); R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 92–93.

²⁵ An active theology school was recorded in 1450 (ACPP, p. 40), 1465 (ACPP, p. 82), 1483 (ACPP, p. 114); 1507 (ACPP, p. 166); 1510 (ACPP, p. 179), 1512 (ACPP, p. 191); 1519 r. (ACPP, p. 256); R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 91–92.

²⁶ 'Conventui Gedanensi [...] Pro studentibus theologiae fr. Hermanum, fr. Joannem Hogenwalt, fr. Michaelem Frenzel, fr. Maternum, fr. Blasium, fr. Johannem Lanificis et fr. Jodocum. Pro studentibus philosophiae fr. Bartholomaeum, fr. Petrum Schonerke, fr. Paulum Hogensteyn, fr. Caspar, fr. Joannem, fr. Gregorium, fr. Mathiam Fabri et fr. Johannem Cygan,' ACPP, p. 191.

²⁷ 'Item conventui Elbingensi [...] Item pro studentibus particularibus: fr. Bartholomaeum Rischeiter, fr. Joannem Altenhowff, fr. Paulum Crausze, fr. Georgium Lithowff, fr. Simonem, fr. Sebastianum, fr. Aegidium,' ACPP, p. 209.

²⁸ 1461 (ACPP, pp. 60–61), 1501 (ACPP, p. 136), 1505 (ACPP, s. 154–155); R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 91–94.

²⁹ ACPP, p. 30.

³⁰ ACPP, pp. 40, 50, 71.

³¹ ACPP, pp. 39, 137, 257.

the guidance of Holy Bible lectors. The above data suggest that schools with a full curriculum (including the *studium theologiae*), which admitted students not only from the Prussian contrata area but from the entire Polish province of the order, were run in the largest and simultaneously the most affluent friaries of the contrata: Gdańsk, Toruń, and Elbląg. Interestingly, friars from the Prussian contrata also studied at schools operating in other friaries of their own province. Such situations were, however, exceptional.³² Selected friars were also sent to a *studium artium* outside the province. In 1490, as was decided by the order's general that Valentinus and Andreas from the Gdańsk convent were to be sent to the *studium artium* of the Leipzig friary.³³ Similarly, in 1519 Friar Dominicus from Toruń was sent to Heidelberg *pro studente particulari pro secundo anno*.³⁴ These students probably continued their education later at the order's general studies, which existed in both of the cities mentioned.

2. Studies of friars from the Prussian contrata

Education in the order's general studies was also regulated by the congregation's internal regulations (monastic constitutions and decisions of general chapters). In order to be eligible to teach education, lectors had to attend lectures for at least four years.³⁵ This included two years at a *studium theologiae* in the provinces and two years at a general school. At the request of province authorities and by the decision of the general chapter, the most talented lectors received nominations to attend *pro gradu et forma magistri* lectures at a *studium generale*, which would last for a total of four years. In practice, these studies were often interrupted by other forms of friar activities. Upon completion of said lecture course at the general school, the lector would receive at the university the degree of master of theology,³⁶ whereas the bach-

³² In 1461 the following friars were sent from Toruń: Henricus to Płock, Thomas to Wrocław and Hieremias to Kraków (ACPP, p. 60); in 1462 Petrus Gladiatoris from Gdańsk to Pasewalk (ACPP p. 71); in 1465 Petrus from Toruń to Kraków (ACPP, p. 81), in 1468 Gregorius Rosenau from Tczew to Greifswald (ACPP, p. 93), in 1517 Alexius from Gdańsk and Lasarus from Zheleznodorozhny to Kraków (ACPP, p. 238).

³³ Supplementum, p. 614, no. 61.

³⁴ ACPP, p. 259.

³⁵ 'Nullus fiat publicus doctor, nisi per iiii annos ad minus theologiam audierit,' H. Denifle, 'Die Constitutionen...', p. 223.

³⁶ P. Kielar, 'Organizacja szkolnictwa w Polsce...', p. 162.

elor's degree denoted a lecturer of Lombard's *Sentences*. As part of the programme (*pro gradu et forma magistrī*), obligatory lectures started with those on the Bible (*lector biblicus*), followed by those on the *Sentences*. Candidates who had completed lectures covered by the programme would become masters of students and were appointed to lecture on moral philosophy and selected texts by St. Thomas. During the subsequent year, they would begin their formal lectures on the *Sentences*. From that moment, they would also become proper bachelors (*baccalarius formatus*). From this point, they were to lecture on the *Sentences* for four years until they obtained promotion to the master's degree. Because of the need to staff monastic schools in their own provinces, or for other reasons, some candidates were recalled from general studies and they would remain bachelors for the rest of their lives. This was probably the case of friars from the Prussian *contrata*; bachelor of theology degrees were held by Henricus Capsflors from Gdańsk (1450) and Petrus Episcopi (1528), who was, however, granted permission to attend the lectures required for obtaining a master of theology degree.³⁷ Others affiliated with the Prussian *contrata* were Nicolaus de Paradiso (from Paradyż – a bachelor of holy theology 1492), Melchior Clementis from Elbląg (1514),³⁸ Michael de Culmine (from Chełmno – a master of theology 1477),³⁹ and the subprior of the Gdańsk friary Joannes de Raseiioro, a bachelor of theology (1492).⁴⁰

Since time spent in general schools was financed by the priory which sent friars there, students from friaries operating in large cities were much more numerous, because only these priories could afford such expenses.⁴¹ In the second half of the fifteenth century, friars from the Polish province had the opportunity to study at general schools in their own province in Kraków and Greifswald. Based on surviving records of provincial chapters (mostly from the years 1447–1519), which made decisions to send friars either to schools abroad or to the general schools within the province, we can determine the approximate scale of this phenomenon in the Prussian *contrata* convents. Information

³⁷ ACPP, p. 268.

³⁸ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 175, no. 432; p. 181, no. 521.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 176, no. 434.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 100.

⁴¹ See J. Kłoczowski, 'Ze związków Polski z krajami zachodnimi u schyłku średniowiecza. Studia zagraniczne dominikanów prowincji polskiej,' in: *Polska w Europie. Studia Historyczne*, ed. H. Zins, Lublin 1968, pp. 125–126.

is available on a total of 28 friars sent to foreign schools from Prussian convents. They came from the major friaries of Elbląg (11), Toruń (8), Gdańsk (7), Tczew (1), and Chełmno (1).⁴² There is no information on friars from Zheleznodorozhny going to study abroad. Assuming that important functions in their convents were usually taken by friars who graduated from foreign schools, this number can be increased by 12 more persons who studied abroad, but there is no information about them being sent there by the Prussian contrata convents (Elbląg – 2, Gdańsk – 4, Toruń – 6).⁴³ A few of them studied in more than one general school. Thomas Tyrbach from Elbląg studied in Padua and Cologne, Martinus Sonnenborn from Elbląg studied in Padua, Perugia, and Cologne, while Paulus de Dersovia from Tczew studied in Bologna and Paris.⁴⁴ It is interesting to analyse the distribution of general schools where friars from the Prussian contrata went to study. Predominantly, they studied in Italy and the Empire. In Italy, friars studied most often in Perugia (6) and Padua (4), but also in Florence (3) and Bologna (3). In the Empire, the leading destination was Cologne (8). Only single friars were sent to other places (Leipzig, Erfurt, Heidelberg, and Magdeburg). Friars from the Prussian contrata friaries also went to study in Paris (2), Olomouc (2), and Louvain (1). Interestingly, it was quite similar with friars from other friaries of the Polish province who studied abroad. Most often they were sent to general schools of the order in Cologne, Perugia, and Padua.⁴⁵ Furthermore, six friars from Prussia studied at the general school in Kraków.⁴⁶ As has been mentioned, in the years 1447–1519 friaries of the Prussian contrata sent abroad a total of at least 28 students. To compare, during that time the largest friaries in the Polish province of Wrocław, Kraków, and Świdnica sent 23, 14, and 11 students,

⁴² Table 2 in the appendix is a reprint from R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, Table 4, pp. 214–215. The data, including the statistics for the Prussian contrata and the list of individual friars, were compiled by J. Kłoczowski, 'Ze związków Polski...', pp. 123 and 129–135; K. Kaczmarek, *Szkoły i studia...*, pp. 373–385. Z. H. Nowak, 'Die Rolle der Gelehrten in der Gesellschaft des Ordenslandes Preußen,' in: *Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Sozial- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. R.Ch. Schwinges, Berlin 1996 (*Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, Beiheft, 18), p. 219.

⁴³ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, Table 4, pp. 214–215.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ On the scale of the entire Polish province of the order, out of all Dominican students, 44.5% went to Italy and 38% to Germany, cf. J. Kłoczowski, 'Ze związków Polski...', pp. 120–121; K. Kaczmarek, *Szkoły i studia...*, p. 383.

⁴⁶ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 96.

respectively. Obviously, in the case of Kraków, the majority of friars studied at the order's local general school. Taking into consideration all the friaries in each contrata, the Silesian contrata was in the lead (39), followed by the Prussian contrata (28), Lesser Poland (16), and Greater Poland (5), while the other ones sent only six friars in all.⁴⁷ The largest friaries in the province, which were in Wrocław, Kraków, Świdnica, Elbląg, Gdańsk, and Toruń, combined provided four-fifths of all the friars from the Polish province who studied abroad.⁴⁸ This testifies not only to the potential in terms of personnel and the affluence of these friaries, but indirectly also to the high level of the particular schools operating there (*studium particulare*). The significance of those operating in the Prussian contrata is reflected to a high degree in the numbers of friars sent there from other convents in the province, and in some exceptional cases also from outside of it.⁴⁹ For example, in the years 1447–1468 the most placements were in the following order: Kraków (68), Wrocław (21), Toruń (19), Gdańsk (14), Elbląg (13), Kościan (8), Greifswald (8), and seven each in Świdnica, Ząbkowice, Racibórz, and Poznań, Głogów (6), Sandomierz (5), Płock (the St. Dominic friary – 4), and Żnin (3). The following nine convents received only a total of 12 friars, including one each in Tczew and Chełmno.⁵⁰ It follows from the data cited that Kraków was the predominant destination, which is clearly related to the existence of a general school there (the statistic also includes those teaching in the particular school). Second place goes to Wrocław, and the three following places to the Prussian contrata friaries of Toruń, Gdańsk, and Elbląg. Looking only at the association of individual friaries with their corresponding contratas, the role of the Prussian contrata is even more evident. On a provincial scale, outside of Kraków, the dominant friaries in the years 1447–1468 were those of the Silesian (5) and Prussian contratas (3).⁵¹ The same situation was noted in the years 1505–1519, when the largest numbers of friars comprising the teaching staff of particular schools were sent to Kraków (24), Wrocław (21), Gdańsk (16), Świdnica (9), Elbląg (7),

⁴⁷ J. Kłoczowski, 'Ze związków Polski...', pp. 123–124.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 124.

⁴⁹ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 98.

⁵⁰ Data compiled by J. Kłoczowski, 'Studia w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej za prowincjała Jakuba z Bydgoszczy (1447–1478),' in: *Europa – Słowiańszczyzna – Polska. Studia dla uczczenia prof. Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, ed. J. Bardach, Poznań 1970, p. 469.

⁵¹ J. Kłoczowski, 'Studia w polskiej prowincji...', p. 472.

and Toruń (6).⁵² It should be stressed, however, that there was a general school in Kraków at that time, and Wrocław was pursuing a similar status. We also learn indirectly about the size of particular schools from the number of persons sent there on single occasions to give lectures.⁵³ A clear increase in numbers sent to Wrocław and Toruń was noted in 1450–1462. As many as six friars were sent to Toruń, four to Gdańsk, and three to Elbląg.⁵⁴ On the scale of the entire Polish province, beside the Silesian and Prussian friaries, the particular school in Kraków was the most important. The latter operated in conjunction with the general school of the Polish province, where in the years 1447–1468 lectures were conducted by about 70 teaching staff altogether.⁵⁵ Of course, the number of lecturers in particular schools was related to the number of students and the curriculum (*studium artium, naturarum, theologiae*). Regrettably, the fragmentary character of the surviving records of provincial chapters makes it impossible to reproduce the precise data on the number of students sent to respective schools.⁵⁶ In this situation, a certain idea can be extrapolated from data on one-time placements at certain friaries in particular years.⁵⁷ Considering only those cases in which a minimum of five friars was sent on a single occasion, apart from Kraków, other such destinations were Wrocław (8 – 1468, 10 – 1505, 15 – 1514, 11 – 1517), Gdańsk (9 – 1501, 6 – 1505, 15 – 1512), Żnin (5 – 1461, 8 – 1462), Świdnica (7 – 1507, 6 – 1512 and 1519), and Elbląg (7 – 1514). This confirms the significance of the particular schools in Gdańsk and Elbląg on the scale of the entire Polish province. Unfortunately, these listings are based on very incomplete data found only in partially surviving chapter records. This is shown explicitly by the example

⁵² Data from the records of provincial chapters from the years 1505, 1512, 1514, 1517, and 1519 were taken into account. Due to the fragmentary condition of data, the years 1507 and 1510 were omitted.

⁵³ J. Kłoczowski, 'Studia w polskiej prowincji...', p. 471.

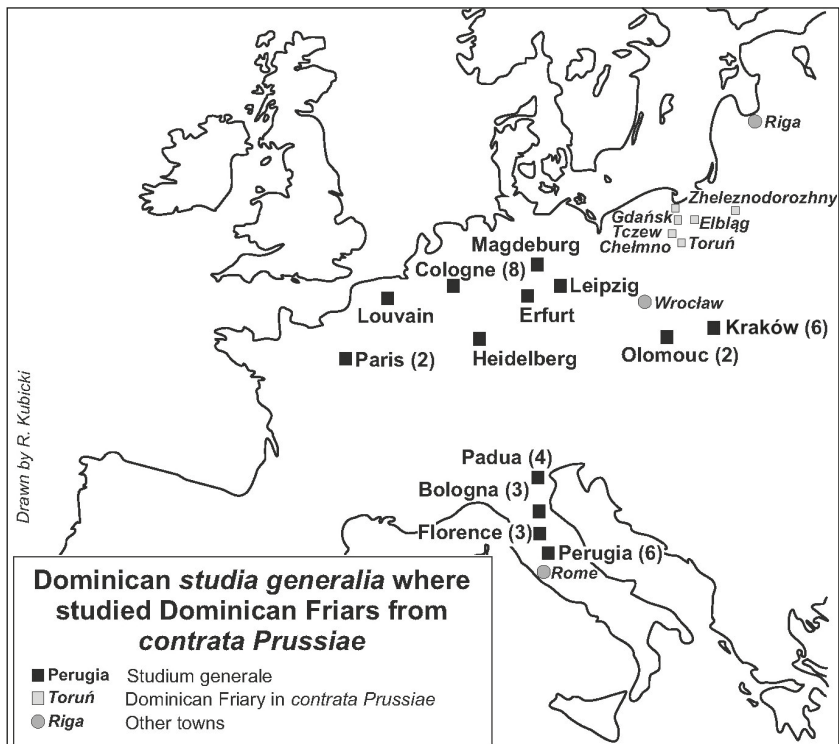
⁵⁴ Toruń: 1450 – 3, 1458 – 5, 1461 – 4, 1462 – 6, Gdańsk: 1450 – 4, 1458 – 2, 1461 – 4, 1462 – 1; Elbląg: 1450 – 2, 1458 – 3, 1461 – 3, 1462 – 2, J. Kłoczowski, 'Studia w polskiej prowincji...', p. 471.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 470.

⁵⁶ The records of the order's chapters from the second half of the fifteenth century contain only partial lists. This is because they survive in late copies, in which there are many omissions; see F. Madura, 'Obecny stan badań źródeł historii prowincji dominikanów w Polsce,' *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL*, 7, 1953–1956, p. 65.

⁵⁷ In the years 1447–1478, in particular schools supposedly about 150–200 friars studied. Estimated after J. Kłoczowski, 'Studia w polskiej prowincji...', p. 472.

of the Toruń convent. In the years 1447–1468, 19 friars were sent there to teach at the particular school, whereas the records of provincial chapters did not mention any students sent to said school.⁵⁸



The presence of particular schools and the monastic education system also had an indirect bearing on the functioning of convent libraries and the friars' writing activities. These problems, however, will not be investigated in detail here. Suffice to say, Prussian friaries had relatively well-stocked libraries. The perhaps very incomplete data contain references to 35 books in Elbląg, 265 in Toruń, 707 in Gdańsk, and about 60 in Chełmno.⁵⁹ Little is known about the friars' writing activities. Presumably it was Elbląg where the Dominican Ryntfleisch

⁵⁸ For a breakdown of all the lecturers and staff of particular schools as well as preachers and preacher generals in the Prussian *contrata*, see R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 198–204.

⁵⁹ R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, pp. 101–102, 104.

lived and wrote, who is credited with the authorship of an anonymous moral treatise with a practical theme,⁶⁰ while the best-known work is the *Prussian Chronicle* by Simon Grunau, who was affiliated with the friaries in Elbląg and Gdańsk.⁶¹ The evaluation of the level and significance of these works goes beyond the scope of this paper.

To summarize the remarks above, the momentous role of schools operating in the major friaries of the Prussian contrata (Gdańsk, Toruń, Elbląg) needs to be highlighted. The Dominicans, with their own system of monastic schools and particular theology studies, educated the staff required for their preaching work themselves. This staff prepared both novices who had entered a friary (*studia grammaticae*) as well as friars at further stages of education (*studium artium*, *studium naturarum*, *studium theologiae*). These schools belonged to the highest-ranking ones of the order on the scale of the entire Polish province. Testament to their level is not only the numerous personnel and the numbers of friars sent there from the entire province, but also the fact that their graduates continued their educations at the order's general schools. Especially talented friars participated in studies organized and conducted in a university-like fashion, in the principal centres of academic life in Europe at that time. Some of them received academic degrees and played important roles in the life of the order throughout the Polish province. Upon returning to their native convents, they would take the positions of lectors, preachers, and priors who were responsible for pastoral service and educating other friars during their preparations to work as preachers in the convent and monastic churches (see Table 2).

⁶⁰ H. Westpfahl, 'Beiträge zur Dorotheenforschung,' *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands*, 27, 1943, p. 149.

⁶¹ S. Zonenberg, *Kronika Szymona Grunaua*, Bydgoszcz 2009, pp. 21–34.

Appendix

Table 1. Number of mentions of the Dominicans of the Prussian contrata by the mid-sixteenth century

| No. | Convent | Date of founding | Number of known priors | Number of lectors | Total number of friars | Number of friars who studied in <i>studia generalia</i> |
|-----|------------------|------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---|
| 1 | Gdańsk | 1227 | 28 | 33 | 198 | 11 |
| 2 | Elbląg | 1239 | 21 | 26 | 198 | 13 |
| 3 | Toruń | 1260 | 27 | 25 | 169 | 14 |
| 4 | Chelmno | 1235 | 11 | 7 | 68 | 1 |
| 5 | Tczew | 1289 | 9 | 2 | 62 | 1 |
| 6 | Zheleznodorozhny | 1428* | 3 | – | 13 | – |

* Originally the friary in Krylovo (German Nordenburg) before 1407

Source: R. Kubicki, *Środowisko dominikanów...*, p. 151–202.

Table 2. Studies abroad of friars of the Prussian contrata

| Students sent as members of the Elbląg convent | | | | | |
|--|---|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Position held in the convent | Year left to study | Name and surname | Sent to | Source |
| 1 | cursor and lector | 1458 | Martinus Falkenau | Padua | ACPP, p. 52 |
| 2 | master of students, lector, prior | 1458 | Thomas Tyrbach | Padua, Cologne, Padua | ACPP, p. 52, 61, 73 |
| 3 | preacher, <i>baccalarius theologiae</i> | 1462 | Nicolaus de Paradiso | Florence | ACPP, p. 71 |
| 4 | | 1477 | Martinus Sonnenborn | Padua, Perugia, Cologne | ACPP Supp., p. 589, no. 70 |
| 5 | lector | 1477 | Melchior Grunenfelth | Perugia | ACPP Supp., p. 591, no. 82 |
| 6 | | 1481 | Andreas | died in Perugia | ACPP Supp., p. 602, no. 6 |
| 7 | | 1483 | Simon | Padua | ACPP, p. 115 |
| 8 | cursor | 1501 | Simon | Cologne | ACPP, p. 136 |

| Students sent as members of the Elbląg convent | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|--|
| | Position held in the convent | Year left to study | Name and surname | Sent to | Source |
| 9 | lector | 1501 | Rodericus | Perugia | ACPP, p. 136 |
| 10 | | 1501 | Georg | Cologne | ACPP, p. 137 |
| 11 | | 1505 | Dominicus | Olomouc | ACPP, p. 157 |
| Remaining graduate members of the convent | | | | | |
| 12 | master of students | 1447 | Baltasar | Leipzig | ACPP, p. 30 |
| 13 | lector | 1505 | Gasparus | Olomouc | ACPP, p. 155 |
| Students sent as members of the Gdańsk convent | | | | | |
| 1 | cursor | 1458 | Martinus Noszboni | Paris | ACPP, p. 52 |
| 2 | | 1490 | Valentinus | Leipzig | ACPP Supp., p. 614, no. 61 |
| 3 | | 1501 | Arnoldus | Cologne | ACPP, p. 137 |
| 4 | | 1512 | Georgius Pistoris | Magdeburg | ACPP, p. 191 |
| 5 | | 1513 | Petrus Episcopi | Cologne | J. Kłoczowski, <i>Ze związków</i> , p. 135 |
| 6 | | 1519 | Gregorius Norenberg | Cologne | ACPP, p. 259 |
| 7 | | 1519 | Theodor Fabri | Louvain | ACPP, p. 259 |
| Remaining graduate members of the convent | | | | | |
| 8 | lector | 1447 | Valentinus Galli | Kraków | ACPP, p. 31 |
| 9 | | 1450 | Joannes Drobolt | Cologne | ACPP, p. 52 |
| 10 | lector | 1458 | Georgium Göbel | Bologna | ACPP, p. 52 |
| 11 | | 1468 | Joannes | Kraków | ACPP, p. 92 |
| Students sent as members of the Toruń convent | | | | | |
| 1 | lector, master of students | 1458, 1462 | Habundus | Florence, Kraków | ACPP, p. 52, 63, 70 |
| 2 | | 1458 | Joannes Dalingen | Florence | ACPP, p. 52 |
| 3 | | 1468 | Peter Lange | Leipzig | ACPP, p. 95 |
| 4 | | 1483 | Henricus | Perugia | ACPP, p. 115 |
| 5 | cursor | 1483 | Mathias de Thorun | Bologna | ACPP, p. 115 |
| 6 | | 1519 | Joannes Bapt[ista] | Heidelberg | ACPP, p. 259 |
| 7 | | 1519 | Nicolaus Inge | Erfurt | ACPP, p. 259 |
| 8 | | 1519 | Dominicus | Heidelberg | ACPP, p. 259 |

| Students sent as members of the Elbląg convent | | | | | |
|---|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| | Position held in the convent | Year left to study | Name and surname | Sent to | Source |
| Remaining graduate members of the convent | | | | | |
| 9 | | 1451 | Bernardus Galli | Padua | ACPP Supp., p. 578, no. 6 |
| 10 | | 1462 | Caspar Joseph | Paris | ACPP, p. 70 |
| 11 | | 1501 | Simon Zeler | Kraków | ACPP, p. 135 |
| 12 | cursor | 1512 | Otto Remigii | Cologne | ACPP, p. 191 |
| 13 | | 1517 | Andreas | Kraków | ACPP, p. 238 |
| 14 | | 1519 | Joannes de Thorun | Kraków | ACPP, p. 256 |
| Students sent as members of the Tczew and Chełmno convent | | | | | |
| 1 | | 1461 | Paulus de Dersovia | Bologna, Paris | ACPP, p. 63 |
| 2 | | 1477 | Michael de Culmine | Perugia | ACPP Supp., p. 591, no. 87 |

Lectors and School Personnel

1. Lectors

Gdańsk

Johannes 1287 lector (PU, no. 420); Johannes Tyngil 1386 lector (W. Roth, op. cit., p. 61); Gerhard Bandschneider before 1427 lector (CDW, IV, no. 179, 181, 186); Heinrich Munkenbeke 1430 lector of theology (APG, 300, 27/2, f. 26 v); Petrus Cistificis 1450 cursor (ACPP, p. 40), 1452 lector (ACPP Supp., p. 579, no. 14); Nicolaus de Holandia 1450 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 40); Martinus Noszboni 1458 cursor (ACPP, p. 52); Georg Göbel 1458 lector (ACPP, p. 52), 1465 cursor (ACPP, p. 82); Marcus 1461 lector (ACPP, p. 60); Paulus 1462 lector, 1463 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 70); Valentinus Galli 1465 lector (ACPP, p. 82); Mathias de Thorun 1483 cursor, 1485 lector (ACPP, p. 115); Briccius 1501 lector (ACPP, p. 136); Simon 1501 lector (ACPP, p. 136); Christophorus 1501 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 136); Georgius Pistoris 1505 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 154); Georgius Beres 1505 lector (ACPP, p. 155); Arnoldus Galli 1505 lector (ACPP, p. 154); Simon 1505 lector (ACPP, p. 154); Petrus Elgasth 1510 lector (ACPP, p. 175, 181); Simon 1512 lector (ACPP, p. 191); Arnoldus 1512 lector (ACPP, p. 191); Bregedorn de Olomunez 1512 lector of theology (ACPP, p. 191); Marcus Morgenstern 1512 lector (ACPP, p. 191); Henricus de Plawen 1512 lector of philosophy (ACPP, p. 191); Simon de Prato 1514 lector (ACPP, p. 208); Arnoldus 1514 lector (ACPP, p. 208); Petrus Episcopi 1514 cursor, 1517, 1519 lector (ACPP, p. 208, 240, 256); Gregorius Noremberg 1514 lector of philosophy (ACPP, p. 208); Henricus 1519 lector of philosophy (ACPP, p. 256); Joannes Falkar 1540 lector of theology (ACPP, p. 279)

Elbląg

Wilhelmus 1327 lector (UBS, no. 251); Johannes 1382 lector (CDW, III, no. 130); Johannes Munc 1384 lector of philosophy (T. Gałuszka, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 199); Johannes Crucenow 1384 lector in arts (T. Gałuszka, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 197); Nicolaus Volmer 1409 lector (APG, 368/II,26); Nicolaus Dobryn 1431 lector (CDW, IV, no. 363); Paulus Witemberg 1447 cursor, 1465 and 1472 lector (ACPP, p. 29, 82; APG, 368/II,75); Martinus Munter 1458 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 50); Petrus Zugelia 1458 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 50); Matthias Sculteti 1458 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 50); Martinus Falkenau 1459, 1461 cursor, 1462, 1472 lector (ACPP, p. 52, 61; APG, 368/II,75); Dominicus Zylaw 1462 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 71); Thomas Tyrbach 1472, 1477 lector (APG, 368/II,75; ACPP Supp., p. 590, no. 75); Baltasarus Heze 1472 *lector biblicus* (APG, 368/II, 75); Dominicus 1492 lector (ACPP Supp., p. 616, no. 15); Jodocus Tryrbach 1499 *cursor biblicus* (APG,492/785, p. 325); Simon Aldehoff 1499 *cursor biblicus*, 1514 lector (APG,492/785, p. 325; ACPP p. 209); Melchior Grunenfelth 1499 *lector biblicus* (APG,492/785, p. 325); Simon 1501 cursor (ACPP, p. 136); Rodericus 1501 lector (ACPP, p. 136); Gasparus 1505 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 155); Simon 1505 lector (ACPP, p. 155); Melchior Clementis 1514 lector (APG, 368/III,49); Erasmus 1514 lector of philosophy (ACPP, p. 209); Bartholomeus 1517 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 239); Georgius de Quercu 1519 lector of philosophy (ACPP, p. 256), Erasmus Galli 1519 lector (ACPP, p. 256)

Toruń

Petrus 1301 lector (PU, I, no. 598, 599); Peter 1321 lector (PrUB, II, 312c); Johannes 1339 lector (PrUB, III/1, no. 233); Johannes 1374, 1386 lector (APG, 368/I,29; ADP, no. 1, f. 19r); Nicolaus Carpentarii 1378 lector in arts (P. Kielar, *Organizacja szkolnictwa dominikańskiego w XIV w.*, SPCH, 1, 1969, p. 315); Johannes Kaldeborn 1378 *lector Sententiae* (P. Kielar, *Organizacja szkolnictwa dominikańskiego w XIV w.*, SPCH, 1, 1969, p. 315); Nicolaus Intherb 1448 lector (ACPP, p. 31); Nicolaus Sculteti 1450 lector (ACPP, p. 39-40); David Hosen 1450 cursor (ACPP, p. 40); Nicolaus Finenberg 1458 lector (ACPP, p. 49); Nicolaus Haldenhoff 1458 lector (ACPP, p. 49); Abrendius 1458 *lector grammaticae* (ACPP, p. 49); Petrus Tvilde 1458 *lector grammaticae* (ACPP, p. 49); Habundius 1461 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 61); Nicolaus Grunberg 1461, 1465 lector (ACPP, p. 61, 76); Caspar Joseph 1462 cursor, 1463, 1464 (ACPP, p. 70); Valentinus Galli 1462 lector, 1465 lector (ACPP, p. 70, 82); Bernardus Galli 1462 lector (ACPP, p. 73); Mathias de Thorun 1483 cursor (ACPP, p. 117); Paulus 1501 cursor (ACPP, p. 136); Otto Remigii 1512, 1513 cursor (ACPP, p. 191); Brixius 1512 lector (ACPP, p. 191); Joannes Poscharsz 1512 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 191); Gregorius Dorn 1514 lector (ACPP, p. 209); Simon de Prato 1517, 1519 lector of theology (ACPP, p. 239, 256); Jodocus 1517 lector (ACPP, p. 240); Paulus Melentz 1523 lector (APT, kat. II, IX, no. 5, k. 89); Dionisius 1540 lector of theology (ACPP, p. 282)

Tczew

Paulus Braxatoris 1475 lector of theology (ACPP Supp., p. 584, no. 27); Georgius 1493 lector (ACPP Supp., p. 618, no. 39); Georgius Schmonckertegk 1514 lector (ACPP, p. 210–211)

Chełmno

Nicolaus de Sieradz about 1308 lector (Lites, p. 260–264); Johannes Robemus [?] 1450 lector in arts (ACPP, p. 39); Mathias Gasanki 1468 lector (ACPP, p. 93–94); Joannes de Moravia 1519 cursor (ACPP, p. 258); Georgius Schmonckertegk 1519 lector (ACPP, p. 262); Joannes Longum 1519 lector (ACPP, p. 257); Nicolaus Cothe 1519 lector (ACPP, p. 257)

2. School Personnel

Gdańsk

Henricus Capsflors 1450 *regens in studium theologiae*, bachelor of theology (ACPP, p. 40); Bartholomeus Grisebark 1451 master of students (ACPP Supp., p. 579, no. 17); Petrus 1461 organist, master of students (ACPP, p. 60); Petrus Binlia 1461 master of students (ACPP, p. 60); Mathias Tractus 1505 master of students (ACPP, p. 154); Henricus 1514 master of students (ACPP, p. 208)

Toruń

Nicolaus Finenberg 1450 master of students (ACPP, p. 40); Johannes Kivencz 1458 master of students (ACPP, p. 49); Habundus 1462–1464 master of students (ACPP, p. 70); Simon Funificis 1512 master of students (ACPP, p. 191); Joannes Przedborii 1475 master of students and *praedicator Polonorum* (ACPP Supp., p. 587, no. 49); Andreas 1478 master of students and *praedicator Polonorum*, 1480 master of students (ACPP, p. 109, 111); Simon Zeler 1505 master of students and *praedicator Polonorum* (ACPP, p. 155)

Elbląg

Baltasarus 1447 master of students (ACPP, p. 136); Nicolaus Slubenberg 1450 master of students (J. B. Korolec, *Lista lektorów i szkół dominikańskich w Polsce w XV w.*, MiSZHFSS, 4, 1965, no. 301); Thomas Tyrbach 1461–1462 master of students (ACPP, p. 61); Nicolaus de Paradiso 1462 master of students (ACPP, p. 71)

List of Abbreviations used in Appendix:

ACPP – *Acta Capitulum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. R.F. Madura, Roma 1972.

ACPP Supp. – ‘Supplementum ex registris litterarum magistrorum et procuratorum generalium’ (a. 1451–1600), in: ACPP.

ADP – Archiwum Diecezjalne w Pelplinie (Diocesan Archives in Pelplin).

APG, 368 – Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (The State Archives in Gdańsk: APG), Elbląg City Archives, Collection of Elbląg documents, sign. 368.

- APT, kat. II – Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu (The State Archives in Toruń: APT), Toruń City Archives, Catalogue II.
- CDW III-IV – *Codex diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands*, hg. v. C.P. Woelky, V. Röhrich, F. Liedtke, Braunsberg–Leipzig 1874–1935.
- J. B. Korolec, 'Lista lektorów' – J. B. Korolec, 'Lista lektorów i szkół dominikańskich w Polsce w XV w.,' *Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej*, 4, 1965, p. 276–308.
- Lites – *Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum*, vol. I, wyd. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1890.
- PrUB, II – *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, hg. v. M. Hein, E. Maschke, Bd. II, Königsberg–Marburg 1939.
- PU- *Pommerlisches Urkundenbuch*, bearb. v. M. Perlbach, Danzig 1881–1882.
- T. Gałuszka, 'Szkolnictwo' – T. Gałuszka, 'Szkolnictwo konwentualne i partykularne w strukturach polskiej prowincji dominikanów w XIV stuleciu. Nowe ujęcie w świetle nowych źródeł,' *RH*, 78, 2012, p. 191–211.
- UBS – *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Samland*, hg. v. C. P. Woelky, H. Mendthal, Leipzig 1891–1905.
- W. Roth – W. Roth, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Deutsch-Ordensland Preußen bis zum Jahre 1466*, Königsberg 1918.