

Wiktor Szymborski

UNIwersytet Jagielloński

Vice-regents of the Dominican *studium generale* in Krakow in the modern period – selected aspects

The history of the Dominican Order's *studium generale* in Krakow have been widely covered in many valuable dissertations concerning the Middle Ages. So far researchers have focused mostly on its origins. Pioneer work worthy of attention includes studies by: Paweł Kielar OP¹, Jerzy B. Korolec², Waclaw Bucichowski³, Robert Świętochowski OP⁴, Adam Chruszczewski⁵, Jerzy Kł-

¹ P. Kielar, *Studia nad kulturą szkolną i intelektualną dominikanów prowincji polskiej w średniowieczu*, [in:] *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972*, red. J. Kłoczowski, t. 1, Warszawa 1975, pp. 271–517; P. Kielar, *Organizacja szkolnictwa dominikańskiego w XIV w.*, „*Studia Philosophiae Christianae. Półrocznik Akademii Teologii Katolickiej Wydział Filozofii Chrześcijańskiej*” 5 (1969) nr 1, pp. 304–318.

² J. B. Korolec, *Studia nad szkolnictwem dominikańskim w Polsce*, [in:] *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972*, t. 1, op. cit., pp. 517–543; J. B. Korolec, *Lista lektorów dominikańskich prowincji polskiej w XIII–XIV wieku*, Warszawa 1962, pp. 196–213 (Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej, 2); J. B. Korolec, *Lista lektorów i szkół dominikańskich w Polsce XV wieku*, Warszawa 1965, pp. 276–334 (Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej, 4); J. B. Korolec, *Struktura organizacyjna szkół dominikańskich*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 3–25 (Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej, 9); J. B. Korolec, *Wstęp do badań nad życiem umysłowym dominikanów wrocławskich*, Warszawa 1974, pp. 126–159 (Materiały i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej, 8/19); J. B. Korolec, *Studium generale dominikanów klasztoru Świętej Trójcy w Krakowie*, [in:] *Dominikanie w środkowej Europie w XIII–XV wieku*, red. J. Kłoczowski, J. A. Spież OP, Poznań 2002, pp. 173–186.

³ W. Bucichowski, *Lista lektorów dominikańskich prowincji polskiej od erygowania prowincji (1225) do roku 1525*, „*Przegląd Tomistyczny*” 6–7 (1997), pp. 45–233.

⁴ R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów*, [in:] *Dzieje teologii katolickiej w Polsce*, red. M. Rechowicz, t. 2: *Od odrodzenia do oświecenia*, cz. 2: *Teologia neoscholastyczna i jej rozwój w akademiach i szkołach zakonnych*, Lublin 1975, pp. 213–284.

⁵ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos: 1520–1800*, [in:] *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972*, red. J. Kłoczowski, t. 2, Warszawa 1975, pp. 467–572.

czowski⁶, revised recently by Maciej Zdanek⁷, Krzysztof Kaczmarek⁸ and Tomasz Gałuszka OP⁹. In contrast to the medieval period, modern-age history of the Order of Preachers has not been given a more in-depth analysis; both the economic¹⁰ and the intellectual history of the order¹¹ are yet to be covered in monographs, prosopographic studies relating to the modern age are also absent¹². This gap cannot be fulfilled by publications of dictionaries by bishops

⁶ Cf. a series of articles on the subject of Dominican education system by J. Kłoczowski, *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (wielu) Narodów*, Poznań 2008, pp. 231–335.

⁷ M. Zdanek, *Szkoły i studia dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu*, Warszawa 2005; M. Zdanek, *Regensi dominikańskiego studium generalnego w Krakowie do 1596 r.*, „Przegląd Tomistyczny” 16 (2010), pp. 77–124.

⁸ K. Kaczmarek, *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza*, Poznań 2005; K. Kaczmarek, *Od studenta do magistra. Jak długo trwały studia polskich dominikanów w XV wieku?*, „Biuletyn Historii Wychowania” 1997 nr 1–2 (5–6), pp. 10–21; K. Kaczmarek, *Jeszcze o lektorach i studentach w średniowiecznej prowincji polskich dominikanów oraz ich szkołach w Krakowie i we Lwowie*, „Nasza Przyszłość” 88 (1997), pp. 59–89; K. Kaczmarek, *Głos w dyskusji nad początkami studium generalnego dominikanów w Krakowie*, „Nasza Przyszłość” 91 (1999), pp. 77–100.

⁹ T. Gałuszka, *Szkołnictwo konwentualne i partykularne w strukturach polskiej prowincji dominikanów XIV stulecia. Nowe ujęcie w świetle nowych źródeł*, „Roczniki Historyczne” 78 (2012), pp. 191–211; T. Gałuszka, *Studium generalne dominikanów polskich w XIV wieku?*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia” 20 (2014), pp. 35–65.

¹⁰ An overview of literature on the economic history of the Order of Preachers in Poland can be found in the work: W. Szymborski, *Mendykanci potrzebującym – czyli jak zakon żebraczy wspomagał żebraków w nowożytnej Warszawie, przykład konwentu dominikanów*, „Perspektywy Kultury” 11 (2014) nr 2, s. 103–104.

¹¹ Cf. an overview of literature and sources on the history of the Dominican *studium generale*: W. Szymborski, *Źródła do historii dominikańskiego studium generale w Krakowie w epoce nowożytnej. Stan badań i perspektywy badawcze*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia” 18 (2012), pp. 193–211.

¹² Cf. an analysis of the personnel of the Wrocław convent in Middle Ages: K. Kaczmarek, *Konwent dominikanów wrocławskich w późnym średniowieczu*, Poznań–Wrocław 2008; cf. also K. Kaczmarek, *Dominikanie krakowscy w księgach święceń biskupów poznańskich*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia” 19 (2013), pp. 59–72, pp. 59–72; J. Szczepaniak, *Dominikanie w XVII-wiecznych krakowskich wykazach święceń*, [in:] *Historicus Polonus-Hugarus. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Ojcu Józefowi Puciłowskiemu OP w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, red. T. Gałuszka OP, P. Attila i in., Kraków 2010, pp. 591–639; H. Gapski, *Profesi dominikańscy konwentu krakowskiego w latach 1509–1650 (Na podstawie księgi profesji)*, [in:] *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce 1222–1972*, t. 1, op. cit., pp. 647–686; H. Gapski, *Rekrutacja do zakonów męskich w Polsce w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku na przykładzie krakowskiego ośrodka zakonnego*, Lublin 1987; H. Gapski, *Klasztory krakowskie w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku. Analiza przestrzenna środowisk zakonnych*, Lublin 1993; S. Olczak, *Dominikanie w poznańskich księgach święceń z lat 1588–1619*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 34 (1986) nr 2, pp. 381–385; cf. also certain studies on the *studium*’s regent masters in the modern period: W. Szymborski, M. Miławicki, „*Vir sapientiae et morum*

of mendicant orders¹³ or biographical extracts from Vatican archives concerning Church officials, where notes on the Order Preachers are found¹⁴.

The present study outlines selected aspects of the work of bachelors of Krakow's *studium generale*. In the Krakow *Liber Studii Generalis Cracoviensis*¹⁵ the writer published a list of bachelors of the *studium generale*; only for the 17th century the list contains as many as 50 persons¹⁶. To present profiles of all friars would mean going far beyond the scope of the subject. Instead of elaborating on individual biographies, only selected facts related to the work of Dominicans in the 17th century are presented¹⁷; considering how significant studying outside the province was for intellectual formation, special attention was given to this aspect of the life of the bachelors of the *studium generale* in Krakow. The administrative activities of the *studium's* bachelors was intentionally omitted, as many of them not were elevated only to the prestigious position of the *studium's* regent master¹⁸, but also appointed provincial superiors and priors in many convents.

probitate clarus". *Regensi studium generalnego polskiej prowincji dominikanów w XVII w.*, „Przegląd Tomistyczny” 16 (2010), pp. 125–225; see also W. Szymborski, *Z Przybyszewa w świat, czyli uwagi o życiu Jana Damascena Łubienieckiego*, „Przegląd Tomistyczny” 20 (2014), pp. 239–260.

¹³ Cf. K. R. Prokop, *Polscy biskupi dominikańscy. Słownik biograficzny*, Kraków 2013.

¹⁴ Cf. a series of articles entitled: *Wypisy źródłowe do biografii polskich biskupów i opatów z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów oraz niewoli narodowej doby zaborów (XVI–XIX w.)*, by Krzysztof R. Prokop published in the periodical „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”.

¹⁵ The Dominican Archive in Krakow (hereinafter „ADK”), ms. Kr 20, p. 132. The list provided in the manuscript was copied by the order's chronicler M. Siejkowski, *Świątница Pańska to iest Kościół Boga w Troycy ss. iedynego z Klasztorem ww. oo. Dominikanów w Krakowie, znaczniemi Świętych Pańskich Relikwii, Kapicami, Ołtarzami, Obrazami y różnemu Apparencyami przyozdobiona*, Kraków 1743, p. 376.

¹⁶ As revealed by research referring to the catalogue of regent masters, the records from the Krakow *Liber Studii* need verification; the number of bachelors was probably greater than in the preliminary list compiled in the 18th century. The order's clerk started the list of bachelors from Father Marcin Nepelski, in office in the years 1596–1598.

¹⁷ The choice of such timeline is supported by the fact that *Liber Studii* does not contain any list of bachelors prior to 1596. In addition, the year 1700 saw the foundation of the second *studium generale* in the Polish province, located at the convent of St Jack in Warsaw. The establishment of another *studium* radically changed the role and significance of the Krakow convent.

¹⁸ In the 17th century the following bachelors were appointed to the post of regent master (which was occupied by a total of 50 bachelors): Marcin Nepelski (regent master 1602–1603), Jacek Suski (1603–1606), Adam Zaremba (1606–1609), Ignacy Kownacki (1609–1611), Jan Chryzostom of Ropczyce (1615–1618), Tomasz Różański (1623–1626), Kamil Wojciech Jasiński (1626–1629), Samuel Wiechowski (1629–1633), Jan Konstantyn Morski (1641–1645), Augustyn Lipczyński (1645–1648), Ludwik Barankowicz Agnellus (1657–1660), Jan Waxman (1663–1666), Tomasz Tomicki (1669–1671, 1670–1672), Bernard Slewicz (1672–1675), Placyd Komuński (1675–1678), Kazimierz

A general description of the significance of the *studium*'s bachelors in the Order of Preachers was provided by Robert Świętochowski¹⁹. The researcher emphasized high qualifications required of the candidates for the position. Order regulations stipulated that being appointed to the office of bachelor required 10 years' teaching experience (a directive of the general chapter of 1574), including 4 years' philosophy lectures (an directive of the general chapter of 1553). The candidate also had to pass an exam (a directive of the general chapter of 1596), as well as hold the office of *magister studentium* – the latter requirement was first introduced in the Lithuanian province (1658), whereas in Poland the stipulation was implemented in 1748. The *proregens* could be dismissed if the quality of lectures was unsatisfactory (1515). The bachelor held the position for 4 years; in Poland the term usually lasted 3 years. The *studium*'s bachelor was the assistant (or vice-) regent (*proregens*). He lectured on moral theology, which according to Robert Świętochowski “modo speculativo, according to F. Wierzbny's instructions (1586), had to be taught in a manner suited to practical implications of the work performed by confessors and preachers”²⁰.

These preliminary characteristics clearly indicate that the office was held by exceptional, distinguished persons, which could be ranked among the intellectual elite of the Order of Preachers back then. Therefore it should not come as a surprise that 17th century bachelors of the *studium* had held other high positions in the Polish province before being appointed; after the end of his term as regent master, a bachelor was often elected provincial superior. Understandably, the intellectual formation of the milieu was shaped by the studying, both in the Polish province and beyond. It is worth mentioning that up to 1700 there was only one *studium generale* – i.e. in the Krakow convent, where the bachelors were educated.

Obviously, a group of *studium* bachelors was a real intellectual elite of the Order, as they held one of the highest positions in the *studium generale*, that of the vice-regent. It is hardly surprising that most of them had been educated in renowned Dominican centres of Western Europe. Province authorities usually recommended studying in Italy; in many cases in the Bologna convent. Among the alumni of the Bologna convent were, for example: Marcin Nepelski²¹ (*studium*

Leżeński (1678–1681), Mikołaj Oborski (1693–1695), W. Szymborski, M. Miławicki, „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus*”..., op. cit., passim.

¹⁹ R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 215.

²⁰ R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 215.

²¹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, S. Barącz, *Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum in Polonia, Russia et Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae Mortuorum*, 1887, p. 484.

bachelor in the years 1596–1598²²) was delegated to study in Bologna on 16th September 1587²³; Marcin Młodochowski²⁴ (bachelor in 1603–1605)²⁵, Gabriel of Widawa (Olewiński)²⁶ (bachelor in 1608–1609)²⁷, Cratillus of Vilnius²⁸ stayed in Bologna in 1615 (bachelor in 1622–1625), Mikołaj Oborski²⁹ sent to Bologna on 25th February 1676, then moved to Rome (bachelor in 1687–1691)³⁰. An Adam from the Krakow convent (probably Adam Zaręba³¹ delegated to study on 26th October 1595, bachelor in 1605–1606)³² studied in Pisa. Jan Waxman³³ studied in St Thomas' College *sopra Minerva* in Rome, delegated by authorities on 8th November 1639³⁴ (bachelor in 1653–1655). Tomasz Smitt³⁵ (bachelor in 1669–1671) became Abraham Bzowski's grant holder (the scholarship enabled him to study in Rome at the *sopra Minerva* college³⁶) on 16th February 1663. The *sopra Minerva* college also educated Ferdynand Januszowski Ohm³⁷ sent by the authorities

²² Dates in the office below will be provided according to ADK, ms. Kr 20, p. 132.

²³ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 76, p. 479.

²⁴ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 467.

²⁵ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 92–95, p. 480.

²⁶ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, pp. 514–515; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., pp. 273–274; E. Ozorowski, *Olewiński (Udovius, Vidavius, z Widawy) Gabriel*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 3, red. H. E. Wyczawski OFM, Warsaw 1982, p. 245.

²⁷ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 82, p. 479.

²⁸ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 155.

²⁹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 501; B. Natoński, *Oborski Mikołaj h. Roch II*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 3, op. cit., pp. 237–238.

³⁰ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 431–450, pp. 499; no. 457–459, p. 500.

³¹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 758.

³² W. Szymborski, M. Miławicki, „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus*”..., op. cit., Annex 4, p. 170.

³³ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 723.

³⁴ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 278–286, p. 489.

³⁵ R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 228.

³⁶ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 380–386, p. 496.

³⁷ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, pp. 293–295; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 264; E. Ozorowski, *Januszowski Ohm (Januszowitz) Ferdynand*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 2, red. H. E. Wyczawski, Warszawa 1982, pp. 169–170.

on 3rd May 1666³⁸ (bachelor in 1682–1683). During the session of the Krakow convent held on 25th August 1681 Józef Sadkowski³⁹ from Krakow was granted the Bzowski scholarship and delegated to study in the Roman college *sopra Minerva*⁴⁰ (bachelor in 1693–1695). Among the Italian convents which provided further education for future *studium generale* bachelors one should mention Naples, to which on 26th February 1626 Petroniusz Kamiński⁴¹ from Vilnius was sent (future founder of the Lithuanian province, bachelor in 1635–1637)⁴², Stefan Woźnicki⁴³ studied in the Panormitan *studium generale*, who in 1646 was granted approval to take the lectureship exam⁴⁴ (bachelor in 1663–1665).

Prospective vice-regents of the Krakow *studium generale* were also educated in France, mainly in Paris – from 1600 Andrzej Radawiecki⁴⁵ (bachelor in 1611–1614)⁴⁶, and Grzegorz Othonowski⁴⁷ from 1626 (bachelor in 1631–1633)⁴⁸. The Paris convent also enrolled Ludwik Barankowicz-Agnellius⁴⁹ (bachelor in 1645–1647). He left Paris for health reasons on 14th November 1623 and moved to St Dominic's convent in Naples⁵⁰. Karol of Łekno (probably Karol Kuropatwa⁵¹) was

³⁸ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 380–386, p. 496.

³⁹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 597.

⁴⁰ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 460–465, p. 501.

⁴¹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, pp. 321–322; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 265; J. Mandziuk, *Kamiński Petroniusz*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 2, op. cit., pp. 257–258.

⁴² R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 193–195, p. 484; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 265.

⁴³ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 743.

⁴⁴ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 318–322, p. 492.

⁴⁵ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 570–571; E. Ozorowski, *Radawiecki Andrzej*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 3, op. cit., pp. 477–478.

⁴⁶ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 98–101, p. 480.

⁴⁷ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 522.

⁴⁸ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 193–195, p. 484.

⁴⁹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 7; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., pp. 257–258; B. Ozorowski, *Barankowicz (Agnellius) Ludwik*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 1, red. H. E. Wyczawski OFM, Warszawa 1981, p. 98.

⁵⁰ W. Szymborski, M. Miławicki, „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus*”..., op. cit., Annex 19, p. 191; see also R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., pp. 257–258.

⁵¹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 387.

sent to study in Toulouse on 23rd June 1628 (bachelor in 1647–1650)⁵². Among monasteries located in Spain one must mention: Cordoba – which hosted Samuel Wierzchoński⁵³ (bachelor in 1625–1627)⁵⁴ in the years 1612–1615, and Salamanca Bernard Ślewicz⁵⁵ (bachelor in 1667–1669)⁵⁶.

Available sources do not always specify the exact location where a given friar was educated. In some cases they merely provide a note that the friar was sent to study in Italy (Hieronim Makowski⁵⁷, bachelor in 1639–1641, returned from either Italy or Spain in 1617; Jan Konstantyn Morski⁵⁸; bachelor in 1637–1639, was delegated to study in Spain or Italy), among those sent to Spain was (from 25 June 1647) Ambroży Grzybowicz⁵⁹ (bachelor in 1673–1676)⁶⁰, or more precisely, to Lombardy – where Stefan Przybyło⁶¹ (bachelor in 1650–1661) was sent on 29 February 1633.

Bachelors of the Krakow *studium generale* had excellent qualifications attained in reputable Dominican institutions all around Europe. The exceptional mobility of the group is best confirmed by the following examples. Just Słowikowski⁶² from the Krakow convent (bachelor in 1678–1680) was delegated to the *sopra Minerva* college in Rome in 1667. The order's authorities decided that the lectures he attended in Spain were credited towards the 3-year formal studentate,

⁵² R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 212–220, p. 485.

⁵³ Regarding biographical facts, see C. J. Wichrowicz OP, *Samuel Szymon Wierzchoński OP jako teolog moralista*, Kraków 2008 (cf. for further reading).

⁵⁴ W. Szymborski, M. Miławicki, „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus*”..., op. cit., Annex 11, p. 181; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 281.

⁵⁵ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 634; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., pp. 279–281.

⁵⁶ W. Szymborski, M. Miławicki, „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus*”..., op. cit., Annex 24, p. 197.

⁵⁷ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 419; R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 169–166, p. 483

⁵⁸ W. Szymborski, M. Miławicki, „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus*”..., op. cit., Annex 15, p. 187.

⁵⁹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 249; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 263.

⁶⁰ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 323–331, p. 492; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 263.

⁶¹ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 567; R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 244–255, p. 487.

⁶² Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 637; E. Ozorowski, *Słowikowski Just*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 4, red. H. E. Wyczawski OFM, Warszawa 1983, pp. 109–110.

and on 14th February 1671 he was granted approval to take lectureship exam in Bologna⁶³. In its decision of 1672, the chapter originally intended to send Jacek Jarocki⁶⁴ (bachelor in 1691–1693), a friar from Poznań, to study in France, but in 1675 provincial superior Marcin Borowski⁶⁵ decided to change the country of destination to Spain. The sources contain a mention of Jarocki's studies in Milan (from 8 August 1676); he lived in Venice from 1679⁶⁶.

The high qualifications of the Krakow *studium generale* bachelors are most evidently confirmed by their appointments as lecturers. It is worth noting that the lectures were given not only in the Polish province, to which the bachelors were obliged, but also outside the *studium generale* in Krakow. One should perhaps mention Jan Damascen Łubieniecki, Wincenty Kulesza⁶⁷ and Ferdynand Januszewski Ohm⁶⁸.

The person of Jan Damascen Łubieniecki best indicates how outstanding persons were entrusted with the function of vice-regent of the *studium generale*. Łubieniecki joined the Order of Preachers in Warsaw, which was where his education started, then continued at the *studium generale* in Krakow, and then he travelled to Saragossa (Spain) and Lyon (France)⁶⁹. Having returned to Poland, he lectured at the *studium conventuale* in his home monastery in Warsaw (1686–1687). He was vice-regent in Krakow in the years 1687–1689. The doctoral title in holy theology in Krakow on 10 February 1691 was the culmination of his career⁷⁰. His professional life did not deviate from the above-described educational paths of other *studium generale* bachelors until he assumed the responsibilities of a Casanatense theologian; he held the position from 1700 to 1704. The Cardinal of the title „San Silvestro in Capite” Girolamo Casanata in his last will drawn up on 5th October 1698 and executed after his death on 3rd March 1700 funded a college of six theologians at the Roman Dominican monastery of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Dominican friars who worked as lecturers were

⁶³ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 389–394, p. 496.

⁶⁴ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 295.

⁶⁵ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 93.

⁶⁶ R. Świętochowski OP, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 422–430, p. 499.

⁶⁷ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 385; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 268.

⁶⁸ R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 264.

⁶⁹ W. Szymborski, *Z Przybyszewa w świat...*, op. cit., p. 247.

⁷⁰ W. Szymborski, *Z Przybyszewa w świat...*, op. cit., p. 248.

obliged to explicate the teachings of St Thomas of Aquinas to laymen and clergy alike. Professors' duty was also to represent various regions/nations, hence the appointment of separate lecturers for a nation encompassing Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese, including the faithful residing in overseas colonies belonging to those countries, the people of France and its colonies, for England, Ireland and Scotland, for Belgians and the Dutch, as well as the German nation in which Poles and Hungarians were also included. All lecturers were expected to hold qualifications from top universities in Europe, e.g. Salamanca, Paris, Toulouse, Leuven; as for Germans, this could be the prestigious University of Cologne, the Viennese *studium generale* or the Krakow *studium generale*⁷¹. Note that the first theologian of the German nation was a Dominican *studium* lecturer and vice-regent in Krakow, Jan Damascen Łubieniecki.

Ferdynand Januszowski Ohm lectured both in Dominican schools as well as outside the order. Like his predecessors, he studied abroad on a Bzowski scholarship in Rome. Having returned to his homeland, he taught at schools of the Order of Preachers in Krakow, Poznań and Sandomierz. He achieved the highest scholarly title in the Dominican Order: the Master of Holy Theology; he also held the prestigious regency of the Krakow *studium generale*. In his lectures he focused mostly on moral theology, with references to the works of Mikołaj of Mościska. It is worth noting that he also lectured to Benedictine friars in Tyniec⁷². When discussing the question of lectures outside Dominican convents, one should mention Wincenty Kulesza (studium bachelor in 1695–1697). In 1682 Marcin Zamoyski, the Lublin voivode, requested Dominicans to delegate a friar who could take the chair of theology at the Zamojski Academy. This task was entrusted to Wincenty Kulesza. As noted by Robert Świętochowski, Kulesza's stay in Zamość is to be connected with an attempt at the foundation of a Dominican convent in the city. The attempt was a failed one, as Zamoyski died soon⁷³.

The fraternal movement was one of the key aspects of 17th century religiousness. From 15th century onwards, the Order of Preachers has popularised the concept of the Confraternity of the Rosary. The exact date of the establishment of the confraternity in the Krakow convent is unknown. Understandably, the bachelors of the *studium generale* were also involved in promoting this form

⁷¹ W. Szymborski, *Z Przybyszewa w świat...*, op. cit., pp. 241–242.

⁷² ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 294; E. Ozorowski, *Januszowski Ohm (Januszowicz) Ferdynand*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 2, op. cit., p. 169.

⁷³ R. Świętochowski, *Kulesza Wincenty*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 16, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1971, pp. 149–150.

of piety. Walerian Litwanides⁷⁴ (bachelor in 1614–1616) was one of its promoters. Here is how Sadok Barącz, a distinguished dominican historiographer, described Litwanides's achievements in the popularisation of rosary: "He was the most ardent propagators of the rosary service in Poland, which, due to the well-deserved trust he had earned, he attracted the attention of the Order's General Nicholas Ridolfi, who made [Litwanides] his commissary, and then appointed him prior in Krakow"⁷⁵. Having attained his baccalaureate at the Krakow Academy's Department of Arts, he joined the Order of Preachers in Krakow, took his monastic vows on 10th February 1596. In the years 1630–1631 this eminent historiographer became the master of students in the Krakow monastery. This period coincided with a well-known dispute between the Jesuits and the University in Krakow. The conflict took on also a religious dimension, with religious brotherhoods involved, and both Jesuits and university masters striving to win over students and propagating membership in the Confraternity of the Rosary amongst scholars. The rector of the University Jakub Najmanowic resorted even to issue a ban on the membership in the Marian Sodality run by the Jesuits; his decision applied to teachers and students alike. At the same time, university authorities negotiated with the Dominican prior a chance to organise the Oratory of the Holy Rosary in August 1621. Najmanowic obtained permission to make available, for a preliminary period of 6 years, the venue for confraternity meetings in the Dominican chapter house⁷⁶. A Krakow Dominican Rajmund Mycielski⁷⁷ (bachelor in 1630) specified the following objectives for the confraternity: "We see only one aim of the Confraternity of the Rosary: with every day, as our strength and capabilities permit, the glory and the reverence of the Most Holy Virgin Mary should grow, the piety should fill the hearts of the young, and the principles of integrity and

⁷⁴ R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., pp. 268–269; ADK, ref. S 12/67b, R. Świętochowski, *Słownik biograficzny oo. Dominikanów w Polsce*, t. 2: H–Ż, Kraków 1978, ts., pp. 133–135; S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, t. 2, Lwów 1861, pp. 272–273; E. Ozorowski, *Litwanides (Andryanowic, Andrzejowicz, Litus, Litwinkowicz) Walerian Bartłomiej*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 2, op. cit., pp. 538–539.

⁷⁵ S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego w Polsce...*, op. cit., t. 2, p. 272.

⁷⁶ W. Szymborski, *Collegium Broscianum*, Krakow 2014, p. 83; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Najmanowic (Najmanowicz) Jakub*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 22, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1977, pp. 641–642.

⁷⁷ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 479; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 272; E. Ozorowski, *Mycielski (Micielski, Micielski) Rajmund*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 3, op. cit., p. 188.

flawlessness should be followed, and the salvation of human souls and assistance in the successful growth of the Church be facilitated”⁷⁸.

The activities of the confraternity initiated on the 8th September 1621 with the celebration of the Birth of Virgin Mary. A detailed description of the opening of the confraternity is contained in Jesuit Jan Wielewicki's diary: “On the very same 7th day of this month, on which Jakub Najmanowicz obtain the Dominican chapter house for the meetings of the Confraternity of Rosary for students, he announce in schools that on the following day, i.e. the celebration of the Birth of BVM, students were encouraged to attend the opening service in their academic confraternity, and those willing should enrol as members. The same went on in boarding houses, in which the seniors announced that the most honourable president of the university invites students who belong to the confraternity or wish to join it to arrive tomorrow morning at 7 to the Dominican chapter house, where they should, separately from the common folk, start practising rosary prayers to avert the danger posed to the Kingdom by the Turks, so that the young should make progress not only in learning but also in piety [...] On the day of the Birth of Blessed Virgin Mary, the chapter house was festively decorated. The president of the Academy arrived, accompanied by many professors and students; along came the prelates (ca. 12), a solemn service was given by the canon cathedral, most rev. Sarnowski, an instrumental and vocal performance was delivered by the orchestra and the cathedral choir as well as Franciscan friars, conducted by the cathedral bandmaster”⁷⁹. After 9 years the confraternity moved to the church of discalced Carmelites in Krakow, where it was active until 1643⁸⁰.

To cater for the needs of the confraternity Walerian Litwanides compiled a prayer book entitled *Pius modus recitandi ss Rosarium. [...] in gratiam Congregationis oratorii academici ss-mi Rosarii* published in Krakow in 1629⁸¹. Prior to the publication of Litwanides's work, the confraternity used *Syntagma sertii*

⁷⁸ K. Gumol, *Oratorium Św. Różańca Akademii Krakowskiej czyli Akademickie Bractwo Różańcowe u ojców dominikanów*, „Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego” 1 (1968), p. 168; W. Szyborski, *Collegium Broscianum...*, op. cit., p. 83.

⁷⁹ K. Gumol, *Oratorium Św. Różańca...*, op. cit., pp. 175–177; W. Szyborski, *Collegium Broscianum...*, op. cit., pp. 83–84.

⁸⁰ A. Bruździński, *Bractwa religijne w siedemnastowiecznym Krakowie. Zarys problematyki*, [w:] *Historia świadectwem czasów. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana ks. prof. M. T. Zahajkiewiczowi*, red. W. Bielak, S. Tylus, Lublin 2006, pp. 136–137; W. Szyborski, *Collegium Broscianum...*, op. cit., p. 85.

⁸¹ R. Świętochowski op, *Litwanides (Litus, Litwinkowicz, Adryanowic, mylnie Andrzejowicz) Bartłomiej*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 17, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1972, p. 488.

spiritualis. Ex fragrantissimis ss. Patrum viridariis aliisque ab Ecclesia Catholica approbatis auctoribus in usum Sodalium Oratorii ss. Rosarii Academicae Cracoviensis concinnatum by Rajmund Mycielski. announced in Krakow in the year 1622⁸². Apart from preparing a prayer book for the Krakow confraternity, Walerian Litwanides was involved in the establishment of the rosary confraternity in the Warsaw convent of the Order of Preachers. The confraternity in the Warsaw convent had been established before it was officially approved by the master of the order and the general chapter, of which we may learn from the record of 9th November 1603 in the monastic chronicle⁸³. Walerian, lecturer of holy theology made a great contribution to the foundation of the confraternity; the entity was approved by the Poznań prior Kamil, bachelor of theology⁸⁴. The above friars should be identified as Kamil of Sambor, bachelor of holy theology, who was promoted as master in 1605, in addition to being a lecturer in the Krakow *studium generale*, the prior in Poznań from 1604 until his death in 1606⁸⁵ and with Walerian Litwanides, an author of necrographies and works on the rosary prayers, serving as theology lecturer in Poznań. According to information provided by the Miechovite, it was Walerian Litwanides who initiated processions at the Krakow Market Square on the feast day of the Our Lady of the Rosary⁸⁶. It must be noted that confraternities of the rosary founded and popularised by the Order of Preachers constituted an important component among religious brotherhoods which developed so dynamically in the 17th century⁸⁷.

⁸² R. Świętochowski *op.*, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, *op. cit.*, p. 272; R. Świętochowski *op.*, *Litwanides (Litus, Litwinkowicz, Adryanowicz, mylnie Andrzejowicz) Bartłomiej...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 487–488.

⁸³ ADK, ms. Wa 91, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Archdiocese Archive in Poznań, AV 16, p. 10. I express my gratitude to dr Magdalena Biniaś-Szkopek for kindly making the copy available.

⁸⁵ Cf. footnote 40, W. Szymborski, M. Miławicki, „*Vir sapientiae et morum probitate clarus*”..., *op. cit.*, p. 46; ADK, ms. Pr 35, pp. 121–122; S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego w Polsce...*, *op. cit.*, t. 2, p. 178; A. Bzowski, *Propago D. Hyacinthi Łavmatvrgi Poloni*, Venetia 1606, p. 77.

⁸⁶ ADK, ref. S 12/67b, p. 134.

⁸⁷ Regarding Confraternities of the Rosary, cf. *Acta Capitulum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1 (1225–1600), ed. R. F. Madura, Roma 1972, section 12 of the provincial chapter in Lublin in 1593, pp. 490–493; see also chapter 5, p. 509; Z. Wichrowicz, *Konwent dominikański św. Trójcy w Krakowie w okresie średniowiecza ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem działalności bractwa różańcowego*, a master's thesis on the history of the Church written at the scholarly seminar at the Pontifical Department of Theology in Wrocław under the supervision of Rev. doc. dr hab. Józef Swastek, Wrocław 1988, p. 60 and a typescript in the collection of ADK, ref. 35; T. Gałuszka, *Dominikanie w Krakowie czy w Opatowcu? W poszukiwaniu pierwszego Bractwa Różańcowego w średniowiecznej Małopolsce*, „*Nasza Przeszłość*” 113 (2010), pp. 281–293; A. Bruździński, *Bractwa*

Attending to the growth of worship of saints associated with the Dominican order was a salient part of the duties of *studium generale* bachelors. One should perhaps mention the work of Jacek Suski⁸⁸, Jan Waxman or Jan Damascen Łubieniecki. Maciej Zdanek emphasizes that Jacek Suski, as the prior of the Krakow convent, was involved in promoting the worship of the relics of St Jacek Odrowąż. In 1601 the relics of the saint were divided. The items were then passed on to other churches. The head and an arm of the saint remained in the Church of the Holy Trinity, and a new silver reliquary was made for that purpose⁸⁹. The arm of the saint was given to the Warsaw convent, with the intention to spread the cult of the relics of Jacek Odrowąż⁹⁰.

Jan Waxman (bachelor in 1653–1655), intent on spreading the worship of the miraculous painting of St Dominic in the Calabrian Soriano (Italy), donated a copy of the work to the Krakow Dominicans. It was placed in the Myszkowski Chapel⁹¹. The painting is associated with the prayer: *O spem miram, Guam dedisti mortis hora te flentibus*. The prayer was inscribed on the so-called ‘holy measures’, which had the form of cotton stripes, 1.5 metre-long, the exact circumference of the painting, by the people living in the vicinity of Soriano.

Another noteworthy gift was donated by Jan Damascen Łubieniecki to the Krakow convent. In 1713 he gave a missal which had belonged to the Pope St Pius v: “A missal in glass encased, which he used in the Holy Masses he delivered, sprinkling it with his own tears”⁹². In the Dominican historiography there are reports that the relic was kept by the Warsaw instead of Krakow convent, as mentioned by the excellent dominican chronicler Sadok Barącz⁹³. The mystery

religijne w siedemnastowiecznym..., op. cit., pp. 116–120; J. Flaga, *Bractwa religijne w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2004, passim.

⁸⁸ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 670; R. Świętochowski op, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 278; E. Ozorowski, *Suski Jacek*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 4, pp. 230–231; M. Zdanek, *Suski Jacek (ok. 1563–1616)*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 46, Krakow 2009, pp. 54–57.

⁸⁹ M. Zdanek, *Suski Jacek (ok. 1563–1616)*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 46, Krakow 2009, p. 55.

⁹⁰ M. Zdanek, *Suski Jacek (ok. 1563–1616)*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 46, op. cit., p. 55.

⁹¹ R. Świętochowski op, A. Chruszczewski, *Polonia Dominicana apud extraneos...*, op. cit., no. 278–286, pp. 489–490.

⁹² M. Siejkowski, *Świątynia Pańska...*, op. cit., p. 39; W. Szyborski, *Z Przybyszewa w świat...*, op. cit., p. 254.

⁹³ ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 410; S. Barącz, *Rys dziejów Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego...*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 69; F. Nowowiejski, *Phaenix decoris et ornamenti Provinciae Poloniae S. Ordinis Praedicatorum*

was solved in the chronicle by Wawrzyniec Teleżyński⁹⁴. In his account of the Krakow celebration of Pius v's canonization in 1713, Teleżyński made a mention of Łubieniecki's gift of two missals which had belonged to the pope; one of them was given to the Krakow convent, another to the Warsaw convent. Note, however, that in addition to the missal, the Krakow convent received a corporal stained by the tears of the saint⁹⁵.

Obviously, this rather cursory overview of selected aspects of the activities of the Krakow *studium generale* bachelors is not exhaustive, merely indicating how important the bachelors were for the for the order and how multifaceted their work was. One could give numerous examples of the significance of friars in the office of *studium* bachelors for the Polish province. The involvement of those friars in extending the resources of dominican libraries both in the Krakow monastery and other convents (Jacek Suski enriched the Krakow library, Jan Damascen Łubieniecki – the Warsaw library, and Samuel Wierzchoński – the Lublin library). To this day historians studying the history of the Order of Preachers are able to use the monumental work of one of Krakow *studium generale* bachelors (1618–1620) Kamil Jasiński⁹⁶. Not only did he prepare extracts from the files of general chapters, first published in 1638 in Krakow⁹⁷, but his work came before a well-known compendium by Wincent Maria Fontana⁹⁸.

D. Hyacinthus Odrovansius redidivus..., op. cit., Posnaniae 1752, p. 178; J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawskie i ich wizerunki opisane pod względem historycznym*, Warszawa 1855, p. 190.

⁹⁴ Regarding the chronicler, see S. Brzozecki OP, *Historiografia dominikańska w czasach nowożytnych (xvii–xix w.)*, [in:] *Kościół w Polsce. Dzieje i kultura*, ed. J. Walkusz, vol. 6, Lublin 2007, p. 20; J. Wysocki, *Teleszyński (Teleżyński) Wawrzyniec (1743–1800)*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 4, op. cit., p. 318.

⁹⁵ BK, ms. 93, year 1713, Section 974, p. 260 recto; W. Szymborski, *Z Przybyszewa w świat...*, op. cit., p. 254.

⁹⁶ Regarding biographical facts, see ADK, ms. Pr 35, p. 297; R. Świętochowski OP, *Szkolnictwo teologiczne dominikanów...*, op. cit., p. 264; R. Świętochowski OP, *Jasiński Kamil Wojciech*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 11, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1964–1965, p. 49; E. Ozorowski, *Jasiński Kamil Wojciech*, [in:] *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, t. 2, op. cit., pp. 188–189.

⁹⁷ *Summarium Ordinationum Capitulum Generalium Ord. Praedicatorum...*, op. cit., Cracoviae 1638, cf. K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, t. 18: stolecie xv–xviii w układzie abecedowym, Kraków 1901, pp. 499–500.

⁹⁸ *Constitutiones, declarationes et ordinationes capitulum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum Ab anno MCCXX usque ad MDCL emanatae*, ed. V. M. Fontana, Pars prima, Romae 1655.

Abstract

The purpose of the study is to present selected aspects of the work of bachelors (vice-regents) of Krakow's *studium generale* in modern period, especially in xvii century. One of the aspects shown in the text was the importance of studying outside the province in Italy, France and Spain for the intellectual formation of the bachelors of the *studium generale*. Next attention has been given particularly to the fraternal movement as bachelors were involved in promoting this form of piety especially membership in rosary confraternities.

Keywords

Dominicans, education system, studium generale, vice-regents, Krakow

Streszczenie

Bakalarze dominikańskiego Studium Generalnego w Krakowie w epoce nowożytnej – wybrane zagadnienia

Celem pracy było ukazanie wybranych aspektów działalności bakałarzy studium generalnego w Krakowie w okresie nowożytnym; w tekście skoncentrowano się na analizie szczególnie wieku xvii. W toku pracy podkreślono wagę i znaczenie studiów odbywanych przez przyszłych bakałarzy studium – vice-regens, poza granicami prowincji, szczególnie we Włoszech, Francji i Hiszpanii. Okres zagranicznych studiów miał kluczowe znaczenie dla formacji intelektualnej przyszłych vice-regens studium generalnego. W dalszej części pracy zasygnalizowano aspekty związane z udziałem w ruchu brackim. Na uwagę zasługuje fakt zaangażowania bakałarzy studium w promowanie wśród wiernych idei bractw różańcowych.

Słowa kluczowe

dominikanie, system edukacji, studium generalne, bakałarz, Kraków

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