
MATEUSZ ZIMNY^{*}

THE PREACHING OF INDULGENCES FROM THE ROMAN HOSPITAL SANCTI SPIRITUS IN SAXIA IN POLAND, LITHUANIA, SILESIA AND PRUSSIA IN THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES¹

Abstract: The Order of the Holy Spirit conducted a campaign of preaching the indulgences that spread throughout Europe, combined with a collection of alms for the Roman Hospital of the Holy Spirit. From the fifteenth century onwards, special commissaries preaching indulgences also reached Poland, Lithuania, Silesia and Prussia. This article presents the activities of the commissaries in areas on the basis of the surviving source material, in particular the letters of indulgence they issued.

Keywords: Order of the Holy Spirit, Hospital Sancti Spiritus in Saxia, indulgences, letters of indulgence

^{*} Mateusz Zimny – Doctor of History and Spanish philologist working in the Library of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Kraków; e-mail: mateusz.zimny@upjp2.edu.pl; ORCID: 0000-0003-4541-7400.

¹ This article constitutes a part of the research project 2019/35/N/HS3/03797 “Relacje duchackich klasztorów w Polsce z domem generalnym w Rzymie do końca XVIII wieku” (“Relations of the Polish Priors of the Order of the Holy Spirit de Saxia with the Mother House in Rome until the eighteenth century”) financed by the National Science Centre (Poland). My deepest thanks to Dr Andreas Rehberg (Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rom) for his kind help with this project.

Indulgences were an inseparable part of the religious practices of Late Mediaeval Western Christianity.² One of the aspects of this phenomenon was the linkage of a spiritual privilege received for alms given. The large-scale alms collection, as Andreas Rehberg observes: “still awaits holistic study reflecting the multitude of its theological, legal, social and cultural aspects on the European scale.”³ In the spiritual dimension, alms purged sins and the almsgivers “stored up for themselves treasures in heaven.”⁴ Such a conception of almsgiving can be found, for example, in Innocent III’s treatise on alms. Eloquenty, the pope conveys the spiritual significance of the offering: “Eleemosyna mundat, eleemosyna liberat, eleemosyna redimit, eleemosyna protegit, eleemosyna postulat, eleemosyna impetrat, eleemosyna perficit, eleemosyna benedicit, eleemosyna justificat, eleemosyna resuscitat, eleemosyna salvat.”⁵

The collection of alms was widespread especially among newly founded religious orders. Military orders allocated the alms raised for their activities in the Holy Land, which later included military expeditions forming part of the Crusade movement.⁶ Similar indulgence campaigns were also undertaken by hospitaller orders.⁷ In Karl Borchardt’s words:

² Robert Norman Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³ Andreas Rehberg, “Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii. L’ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia e la raccolta delle elemosine nel periodo avignonese,” *Mélanges de l’école Française de Rome* 115.1 (2003): 20; Idem, “L’Ordine di Santo Spirito e le sue filiali dal medioevo al primo cinquecento,” in *Storia di un priorato dell’Ordine di Santo Spirito: Ospedaletto di Gemonia*, ed. Anna Esposito, Andreas Rehberg and Miriam Davide (Udine: Forum, 2013), 52–55.

⁴ “[F]or almsgiving saves from death and purges all sin. Those who give alms will enjoy a full life” (Tobit 12:8–9; Matthew 6:20).

⁵ Innocent III, “Libellus de Eleemosyna,” in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, vol. 217 (Paris: Apud J.-P. Migne, 1855). Innocent III’s words were recalled by the Order of the Holy Spirit’s visitor to Poland in the mid-seventeenth century, when reviving the Holy Spirit confraternity in Kraków, aggregated (admitted) to the Roman confraternity. See Mateusz Zimny, “O pobycie w Polsce wizytatora i komisarza duchaków Pietro Sauniera w roku 1651,” in *Podróż w świecie nowożytnym (XVI–XVIII w.)*, ed. Patryk Kuc and Weronika Kruszyna (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Jagellonica, Koło Naukowe Historyków Studentów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2021), 113–114.

⁶ E.g. Axel Ehlers, *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Marburg a. d. Lahn: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2007).

⁷ Andreas Rehberg, “Una categoria di ordini religiosi poco studiata: gli ordini ospedalieri: prime osservazioni e piste di ricerca sul tema Centro e periferia,”

Beginning in the second half of the eleventh century and especially through the twelfth- and thirteenth- centuries institutions financing themselves by appealing to the faithful developed a whole industry of *nuntii* or *questuarii* who travelled Christian countries to collect alms and promised spiritual rewards or indulgences in return. Examples were the hospice on the Great St. Bernard Pass, St-Antoine-en-Viennois, the hospice at Altopascio near Lucca or, most prominently, Santo Spirito in Sassia near the Vatican in Rome.⁸

Indulgences granted to that particular Roman hospital operated by the Order of the Holy Spirit are the topic of the present study.⁹

The Order of the Holy Spirit, founded by Guy (Gui) of Montpellier at the end of the twelfth century, was one of the first hospitaller orders not to be a military order.¹⁰ Benefiting at its inception from the extraordinary support of Innocent III, it took over the custody of the Roman hospital at the Church of Sancta Maria in Saxia, in the early

in *Gli ordini ospedalieri tra centro e periferia. Giornata di studi, Roma, Istituto Storico Germanico, 16 giugno 2005*, ed. Anna Esposito and Andreas Rehberg (Rome: Viella, 2007), 57–63.

⁸ Concerning the role of indulgences in the activities of Teutonic Kings, see: Ehlers, *Die Ablasspraxis*; Karl Borchardt, “Late Medieval Indulgences for the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order,” in *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters: Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext*, ed. Andreas Rehberg (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 196.

⁹ Concerning the indulgence campaign of the Order of the Holy Spirit, see especially: Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1923) (mit einer Einleitung und einer Bibliographie von Thomas Lentjes, Darmstadt: Primus, 2000), 199–206; Paul Brune, *Histoire de l'Ordre hospitalier du Saint-Esprit* (Lons-le-Saunier: C. Martin, 1892), 149–152; Andreas Rehberg, “*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem ... quam papa*. Der Heilig-Geist-Orden und seine Ablasskampagnen um 1500,” in *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters: Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext*, ed. Andreas Rehberg (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 219–270.

¹⁰ Concerning the Order of the Holy Spirit, see: Balbino Rano, “Ospitalieri di Santo Spirito,” in *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, ed. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, vol. 6 (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1980), 988–994. See also Brune, *Histoire de l'Ordre*; Pietro De Angelis, *L'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia*, vol. 1–2 (Rome: Tipografia D. Detti, 1960, 1962). These monographs of the Order are, in A. Rehberg's words, “in many aspect outdated.” Among some recent studies, see: Gisela Drossbach, *Christliche caritas als Rechtsinstitut: Hospital und Orden von Santo Spirito in Sassia (1198–1378)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005); Rehberg, “Una categoria,” 15–70.

thirteenth century.¹¹ Similarly to other charitable works at the time, its upkeep was provided for by the collection of alms for the sick and the poor.¹² By his bull *Inter opera pietatis*, of 1204, Innocent III permitted the order to organise a general collection on a European scale.¹³ The foundations were also regulated by the Order's own rule (the chapter titled *De helymosinis colligendis*).¹⁴ In return for alms given in support of the Order's activities, especially the Holy Spirit hospital in Rome, the almsgivers had the opportunity to receive spiritual graces allotted to them by the Apostolic See, including the right of absolution *in articulo mortis*, involving a plenary indulgence attached to absolution in the hour of death. Over time, a succession of popes confirmed the privileges accrued to the Order.¹⁵

The collection was reinvigorated following the renewal of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit by Pope Eugene IV.¹⁶ The extant *Liber fraternitatis* dating to that period contains several thousand entries made for confrères throughout Europe, including more than 250 named

¹¹ Gisela Drossbach, "Caritas cristiana. Innocenzo III fondatore dell'ospedale e dell'ordine di Santo Spirito," *Il Veltro* 45.5–6 (2001): 85–94.

¹² Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii," 41–42.

¹³ See Gisela Drossbach, "Der Hospitalorden von Santo Spirito in Sassia als Geldtransfer-Netz," in *Kommunikation und Region*, ed. Carl A. Hoffmann and Rolf Kießling (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2001), 231–248. Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii," 42.

¹⁴ Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii," 59.

¹⁵ See Andreas Rehberg, "I Papi, l'ospedale e l'ordine di S. Spirito nell'età Avignonese," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 124 (2001): 35–140.

¹⁶ For more on this topic, see: Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii"; Idem, "Ubi habent maiorem facultatem"; Andrea Fara, "L'Ordine e la Confraternita del Santo Spirito dalle origini allo sviluppo di una vocazione di frontiera ai confini orientali della Christianitas latina: la Transilvania tra Medioevo e prima Età moderna (XIV–XVI secolo)," in *Profili istituzionali della santità medioevale: culti importati, culti esportati e culti autoctoni nella Toscana occidentale e nella circolazione mediterranea ed europea*, ed. Cesare Alzati and Gabriella Rosetti (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2008), 369–442; Anna Esposito, "L'ospedale di S. Spirito di Roma e la confraternita veneziana dello Spirito Santo alla fine del '400," in *Gli ordini ospedalieri tra centro e periferia. Giornata di studi, Roma, Istituto Storico Germanico, 16 giugno 2005*, ed. Anna Esposito and Andreas Rehberg (Rome: Viella, 2007), 251–272. For the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit see also: Klara Antosiewicz, "Bractwo Ducha Świętego, jego geneza i rozwój," in *Christianitas et cultura Europae: Księga jubileuszowa profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego*, ed. Henryk Gapski, vol. 1 (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1998), 43–52.

individuals from Polish territories.¹⁷ Enrolment in the Confraternity took place at the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome, either in person or through a delegated representative.¹⁸

Simultaneously, the same spiritual graces could be received by joining the Confraternity through the mediation of commissioners (also known as *nuntii* or *quaestarii*), travelling all over Europe for that purpose.¹⁹ Besides the commissioners appointed directly by the Order's general in Rome, the promulgation of indulgences was also the work of local convents acting on plenipotentiary powers delegated to them by the Order's master general.

The entrants were issued written certificates, which were referred to as letters of indulgence (*littera indulgentiarum*) and attested to the spiritual graces granted, often taking the form of an ornate parchment diploma with a seal. As a result of the invention of the printing press,

¹⁷ Because the topic of this study is the preaching of indulgences outside of Rome, entries made for Polish pilgrims in the Eternal City are not discussed. See: Jacek Wiesiołowski, "Pielgrzymowanie Polaków do Rzymu na przełomie XV i XVI w. (1478–1526)," in *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. Halina Manikowska and Hanna Zaremska (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1995), 160–164; Halina Manikowska, "Źródła wrocławskie (i wrocławian dotyczące) do 'wielkiego pielgrzymowania' u schyłku średniowiecza," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 61.1 (2006): 48–50. For the *Liber fraternitatis* see: *Liber fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe*, in *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*, vol. 2, ed. Pietro Egidi (Roma: Istituto Storico del Medioevo, 1914), 107–446; Pietro Egidi, "Per la storia esterna del *Liber Fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe* (cod. Lancisiano n. 328)," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano* 34 (1914): 257–264; Vince Bunyitay, *Liber Confraternitatis Sancti Spiritus de Urbe. A római Szentlélek-Társulat anyakönyve 1446–1523* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1889); Hana Pátková, "Češi v římských bratrstvech na sklonku středověku," *Listy filologické* 126 (2004): 153–172; Karl Heinrich Schäfer, *Die deutschen Mitglieder der Heiliggeist-Bruderschaft zu Rom am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1913); Johannes Lindbaek and Gustav Stemmann, *De danske Helligaandsklostre. Fremstilling og Aktstykker* (Copenhagen: Fremstilling og Aktstykker, 1906); Darius Baronas, "Pilgrimai iš Lietuvos – Romos Šv. Dvasios brolijos nariai 1492–1503 m.," *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis* 38 (2012): 15–28; Krzysztof Rafał Prokop, "*Liber fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe*. Nieustrzeżone źródło do badań nad prozopografią późnego średniowiecza Pomorza Zachodniego i Polski," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 48.2 (2004): 137–143.

¹⁸ In the latter case, the accession procedure was thus *per procura*. Halina Manikowska, "Wstęp," in *Księga odpustów wrocławskich*, ed. Halina Manikowska (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2016), LXVI–LXX.

¹⁹ Rehberg, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii."

“mechanically copied documents entered into use, though with the same contents as those done by hand,” phasing out the latter.²⁰ The preserved letters of indulgence constitute a precious source from the perspective of the history of the Order of the Holy Spirit’s indulgence campaigns.

The presence of Roman collectors in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is attested to from the middle of the fifteenth century onward.²¹ The manifestations of the broad activity of the Order of the Holy Spirit in relation to its indulgences – recorded in the Kingdom of Poland, Grand Duchy of Lithuanian, as well as Silesia and Prussia – are the topic of the present study.²²

The campaign of 1456

One of the earliest sojourns of Roman questuaries in the discussed region dates to mid-1456. Three friars from the Roman Hospital of the Holy Spirit – Christopher of Rome, Nicholas of Arezzo and Francis the Spaniard – reached the vicinity of Gdańsk and the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Attested to in June of that year is their stay in Pomerania, where they admitted the Cistercian monks of the Abbey of Oliwa to the Confraternity.²³ Three months later, in September 1456,

²⁰ Wiktor Szymborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Iagellonica, 2011), 45. The earliest prints of this kind, issued by members of the Order, date back to 1485. See: Gedeon Borsa, “Ein bisher unbekannter gedruckter Bruderschaftsbrief der Hospitaliter vom Hl. Geist,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 54 (1984): 142–144. Concerning the impact of the proliferation of print on indulgence practices, see: Falk Eiserman, “The Indulgence as a Media Event: Developments in Communication through Broadides in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Robert Norman Swanson (Leiden and Boston MA: Brill, 2006), 309–330.

²¹ Fara, *L’Ordine e la Confraternita del Santo Spirito*, 404. For example, collector Dominicus de Runcho, who occupied himself with enrolling members into the confraternity in exchange for alms collected in Bohemia and Poland, used printed standard forms for issuing his letters of indulgence; see: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke: 0864020, 0864030, 08641. <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/DOMIRUN.htm>.

²² For a deep study into the Order’s indulgence campaign, especially in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, see Rehberg, “*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*,” 219–270.

²³ The contents are only known from a copy: *Originalurkunde im geheimen Archiv [zu Königsberg]*, Schiebl. LVII, Nro. 34. Dat. anno dom. 1456 decima die mensis Junij pontificis sanctissimi in christo patris et domini domini Calixti pape tercii diuina

members of the confraternity at the Franciscan Church in Vilnius were aggregated into the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome by the same three officials.²⁴ The parchment issued by the commissioners on the occasion survives in one of the archives in Kraków and is a telling witness to the Order's campaign in the lands of Lithuania, Christianised seven decades prior.

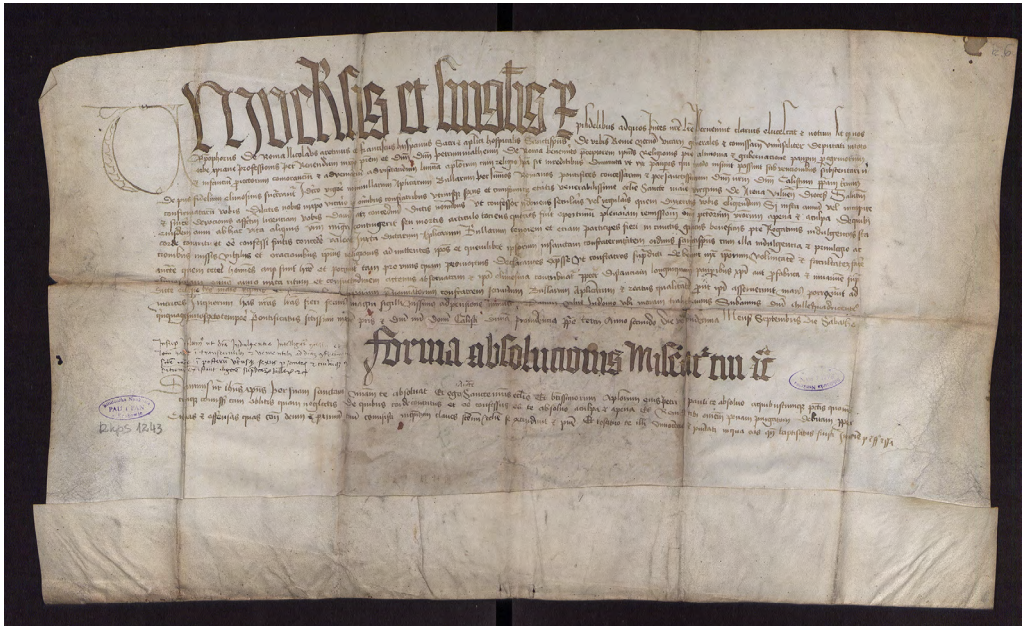


Fig. 1: Christopher of Rome, Nicholas of Arezzo and Francis, the Spaniard, admit the members of the brotherhood at the Franciscan Church in Vilnius to the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome, Vilnius, 1456. Academic Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków, Ms 1243, fol. 6

providencia anno secundo. Neues allgemeines Archiv für die Geschichtskunde des Preußischen Staates, vol. 2, ed. Leopold von Ledebur (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1830), 340. The original is probably not extant: the archival found in the State Archive in Gdańsk, *Akta klasztoru cystersów w Oliwie*, ref. 940, is preserved only in part, with just two of the oldest documents surviving. See: Czesław Biernat, *Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku. Przewodnik po zasobie do 1945 roku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1992), 181, 462.

²⁴ Discussed in detail in: Mateusz Zimny, "The Letter of Indulgence of AD 1456 for the Fraternity of the Franciscan Church in Vilnius. A Foray into the History of the Order of the Holy Spirit de Saxia" (in print).

Silesia

Since the mid-fifteenth century, the Order's indulgence campaign reached Silesia, mainly the diocese of Wrocław (Breslau, Wratislavia), especially the *terrae* of Głogów (Glogau) and Łużyce (Lusatia, Lausitz, Lužice). That is, the location of the Silesian cluster of Holy Spirit convents.²⁵ Other than Ścinawa (Steinau), founded in 1290,²⁶ there were also convents in Lubin (Lüben) (founded between 1302 and 1319),²⁷ Głogów (bef. 1318),²⁸ Chobienia (Köben) (bef. 1454 r.),²⁹ and Wschowa (Fraustadt) (bef. 1426).³⁰ The Silesian priory also included the convent in Cottbus in Lusatia (belonging to the Order since 1462).³¹ For a long time, the

²⁵ Concerning the Order's presence in Silesia, see: Maria Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2006), 136–140.

²⁶ Kazimierz Dola, "Opieka społeczna i zdrowotna w Głogowie do czasów pruskich (1742)," in *Misericordia et veritas. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci księdza biskupa Wincentego Urbana*, ed. Jerzy Mandziuk and Józef Pater (Wrocław: Kuria Metropolitalna Wrocławska, 1986), 125. For more details on the convent in Ścinawa, see: Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, 136; Kazimierz Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1: Rozwój historyczny," *Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego* 1 (1968): 282; Heinrich Schubert, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Stadt Steinau an der Oder* (Breslau: Verlag von Max Woywod, 1885), 145–159.

²⁷ Konrad Klose, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Lüben* (Lüben: Verlag Kühn, 1924), 53–54; Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, 137–139; Hermann Neuling, *Schlesiens Kirchorte und ihre kirchlichen Stifungen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Breslau: E. Wohlfarth's Buchhandlung, 1902), 182; Bogusz Steinborn, *Lubin* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969), 128; Stanisław Solicki, "Od formowania się plemion prapolskich do przełomu XV/XVI wieku," in *Lubin. Zarys rozwoju miasta na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. Krystyn Matwijowski (Wrocław: DTSK Silesia, 1996), 65; Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1," 275.

²⁸ Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1," 267–268; Idem, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 2: Funkcjonowanie," *Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego* 2 (1970): 177–208; Idem, "Opieka społeczna i zdrowotna," 124–133; Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, 137–140.

²⁹ Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, 138, 140.

³⁰ Tomasz Jurek, "Zapomniany szpital zakonu Świętego Ducha in Sassia we Wschowie," in *Pro pana profesora Libora Jana k životnímu jubileu*, ed. Bronislav Chocholáč, Jiří Malír and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matices moravská, 2020), 667–675.

³¹ See: "Heiliggeistorden-Hospital (Kreuzhof) Cottbus," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Niederlausitz*, ed. Rudolf Lehmann (Köln: Böhlau, 1972), 85–87; "Cottbus, Heiliggeistorden-Hospital (Kreuzhof)," in *Historisches Ortslexikon für die Niederlausitz*, ed. Rudolf Lehman (Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2013), II: 62–63.

convents were under the supervision of the priory in Vienna, which was at the helm of the province referred to as *in Almania inferior*.³²

One of the first attestations of the promulgation of indulgences by the Order of the Holy Spirit's Silesian members dates to the mid-fifteenth century. On 24 May 1452, Pope Nicholas V addressed a *breve* to the Bishop of Wrocław, Piotr Nowak. In the document he commanded that protection be given to the privileges and rights bestowed on the masters of the hospitals of the Holy Spirit de Saxia in the diocese of Wrocław, i.e. to proclaim the Word and to collect alms, "et omnia et singula exequi et exercere possint."³³

The *breve* can be linked to the appointment, in the autumn of 1452, of brother Tillmann aus Selbach (Thilimandus de Selbah) as visitor or commissioner, "in partibus inferioris Alemanie." Tillmann's powers extended to convents dependant on Vienna, which were the headquarters of the *Alemania inferior* province, as well as convents located in Silesia and in Poland.³⁴ The mandate issued by the General of the Order, Pietro Matteo of Rome, explicitly mentioned the right to conduct the quest in the dioceses of Merseburg (Merseburgensis), Naumburg (Naumburgensis), Lubusz (Lubucensis), Wrocław (Wratislaviensis), and Poznań (Posnaniensis) for the benefit of the Order's houses in Ścinawa, Lubin, and Głogów.³⁵

After arriving in Silesia, he was given the office of master of the hospital in Głogów. There are no records of his undertaking of a collection relating to indulgences. It is known, however, that as early as three years later, he contemplated leaving the order, by which he drew the ire of the Order's general.³⁶ His successor, brother Paulus Puechensros

³² Rehberg, "L'Ordine di Santo Spirito," 41–68.

³³ Breve of Nicholas V of 24 May 1452: *Brevia Romanorum Pontificum ad Poloniam Spectantia*, ed. Henricus Damianus Wojtyska. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones 64 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1986), I: 5.

³⁴ Rehberg, "Die fratres von jenseits der Alpen im römischen Hospital S. Spirito in Sassia mit einem Ausblick auf die Attraktivität Roms für den europäischen Ordensklerus im Spätmittelalter," in *Vita communis und ethnische Vielfalt. Multinational zusammengesetzte Klöster im Mittelalter: Akten den internationalen Studientags vom 26. Januar 2005 im Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rom*, ed. Uwe Israel (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 136. Rehberg, "Ubi habent maiorem facultatem," 238.

³⁵ Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), Ospedale Santo Spirito (OSS) 212, f. 89.

³⁶ Rehberg, "Ubi habent maiorem facultatem," 238.

(Pulchenstrolz), who was to have him arrested, was simultaneously tasked with organising a collection in the diocese of Wrocław.³⁷

A rationale for the later activities of the Order's collectors in the territory of that diocese in the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century is a document issued on parchment by Innocent VIII and preserved in Wrocław.³⁸ Appointing two collectors in 1487, the pontiff charged them with the recovery, not only of the sums collected by the deceased collector Marino de Frigeno for a crusade against the Turks,³⁹ but also of, "some sums by way of indulgence offerings collected by the questuaries of the Order of the Holy Spirit de Saxia."⁴⁰ The preservation of this papal bull in the archives in Wrocław bears witness to the promulgation of indulgences in the territory of the diocese by commissioners arriving from the Eternal City, for the benefit of the Roman *nosocomium*.

The sources confirm that the reception of indulgences also occurred on the level of local convents in Silesia.⁴¹ On 20 November, the aforementioned bishop of Wrocław, Piotr Nowak, issued a *vidimatio* of Pope Nicholas V's confirmation of existing privileges issued for the Holy Spirit hospitallers in Ścinawa, just short of half a year prior, on 12 June.⁴² With the confirmation also came a new grant of a 40-day indulgence for the residents and benefactors of hospitals in Ścinawa,

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Dokumenty Miasta Wrocławia, no. 5686.

³⁹ It is known that Marino de Frigeno managed a collection of alms in Poland before 24 July 1464 – *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. 17, ed. Gustav Storm, Henrik Jørgen Huitfeldt-Kaas and Alexander Bugge et al. (Christiania: Aktie-Bogtrykkeriet, 1902–1913), 1052, no. 1084.

⁴⁰ "Plurime alie pecuniarum summe per nonnullos questores elemosynarum hospitalis nostri sancti Spiritus in Saxia de Vrbe ordinis sancti Augustini collecte" – edited in: *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 619–623. See also: *Acta Pontificum Danica*, ed. Laust Moltesen (Copenhagen: I kommission hos G. E. C. Gad, 1904), I: 393, no. 3069. The task of collecting the funds raised by the deceased bishop of Cammin, Marino de Frigeno, was given by the pope in 1486 to Günter von Büнау (*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, 614). The appointed collectors were Johannes Antonius, abbot of the Cistercian abbey de Sanctogemino (Sancto Gemmino), and Herman Tuleman, papal acolyte and canon at Utrecht.

⁴¹ A detailed bibliography is listed opposite each convent below. For more details on the activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit in Silesia, see: Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1"; Idem, „Opieka społeczna i zdrowotna w Głogowie.”

⁴² Siegismund Justus Ehrhardt, *Neue diplomatische Beyträge zur Erläuterung der alten Niederschlesischen Geschichte und Rechte* (Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn dem ältern, 1773), I: 49–50.

Głogów and Chobienia.⁴³ Although the grant itself bore no direct link to the indulgences of the Roman hospital, the document itself must be seen in the context of the Order's broader indulgence activities.

Towards the turn of the sixteenth century, the promulgation of indulgences was undertaken by the friars from the convent in Cottbus, at that time a dependency of Ścinawa and Głogów. However, some of the questuaries' activities must have sparked controversies, given that, around 1500, the king of Bohemia, Vladislaus II, prohibited the collection of alms by the Order in Lusatia.⁴⁴ Rather than giving up, the brothers turned to the elector of Brandenburg for permission.⁴⁵ In effect, on 6 August 1500, Elector Joachim I issued a document in support of the activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit in Cottbus and recommended them to the Lusatian League, an association of Six Cities in Upper Lusatia (*Lužické Šestiměstí, Oberlausitzer Sechsstädtebund*).⁴⁶ Fifteen years later, in 1515, matters took a different turn, since the Bohemian King Vladislaus II expressly ordered the Six Cities not to oppose the collection of indulgences by Adam Neumann, prior of the religious house in Cottbus.⁴⁷

The Silesian brothers also continued their campaign in the territory of the diocese of Wrocław several years later. There is a document issued on parchment by Bishop Jan V Thurzo (Bishop of Wrocław in 1504–1520) at the beginning of the sixteenth century, probably in 1506.⁴⁸ Through it, Bishop Jan notified the clerics of his diocese of a papal letter instructing the local clergy to accept and not impose difficulties on the activities of brothers, "sive nuntios S. Spiritus de Urbe," if coming in *habitu clericali* to churches and cemeteries. The pope allowed the

⁴³ A similar document had been issued by Nicholas V four years before (1450) for a convent in Litovel, in Moravia (Státní okresní archiv Olomouc, Archiv města Litovle 1287–1945 (1956), svazek I, A-II-8). It can be interpreted in the broader context of the Order's endeavours in defence of its prerogatives.

⁴⁴ The year 1472 is the date of a breve addressed to the archbishop of Salzburg in support of the collection of alms in Lower Lusatia, although managed by a brother from the Vienna convent (Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 238).

⁴⁵ Dola, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1," 251, fn. 53 (cited after: Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Urząd Miasta Bolesławca, ref. 86/150/0/1/2249, nos 139 and 140).

⁴⁶ "Heiliggeistorden-Hospital (Kreuzhof) Cottbus," 85–87.

⁴⁷ Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 256, 263.

⁴⁸ The exact date is illegible.

participation of the people in their services, even in locations placed under an interdict.⁴⁹

Several years later, in 1520, at Świdnica, Johannes Libalth, who was the prior of Ścinawa and Lubin at the time, admitted Nikolaus Hertwig, the commander of the Knights of Saint John in Zittau (Žitava), into the Confraternity.⁵⁰ The aforementioned document is, at the same time, the last trace of the Order's indulgence activities in Silesia.



Fig. 2: Johannes Libalth admits the commander of the Knights of St John in Žitava, Nikolaus Hertwig, into the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit, Świdnica, 1520. Národní archiv Praha, Maltézští rytíři – české velkopřevorství (1085–1875), RM 1196

⁴⁹ Wykaz regestów dokumentów Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego we Wrocławiu, ed. Wincenty Urban (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1970), 236, doc. no. 1484.

⁵⁰ Národní archiv Praha, Maltézští rytíři – české velkopřevorství (1085–1875), RM 1196. Rehberg, “Ubi habent maiorem facultatem,” 256.

Głogów and Toruń (1504)

At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the brothers from the Silesian convents also developed extensive activities outside of Silesia itself or at the limits of the diocese of Wrocław.⁵¹ It was in this connection that they obtained, on 24 April 1504, a letter of recommendation from Prince Sigismund Jagiellon, the younger brother of King Vladislav II of Bohemia, and his governor in Silesia (later King Sigismund I the Old of Poland).⁵² The prince addressed himself to the bishop of Warmia (Ermland), Lucas Watzenrode, informing his 'friend' (in the prince's own words) that the commissioners enjoyed the protection of the Apostolic See and of the master of their own Order. He went on to request suitable letters of commendation from the bishop to the clergy of the diocese to enable the commissioners to operate freely.

It is granted that the document does not specify whether the recommendation was being given to the brothers from Silesia or commissioners from Rome. There are, however, reasons to believe that local friars were intended. In Głogów, where Prince Sigismund resided at the time and was also the local duke, the Order had its own convent, and the document issued several months later by members from Ścinawa, attesting to the admission of Benedictine nuns from Toruń to the Confraternity, can be linked to the mission of which the Polish-Lithuanian prince wrote to notify the bishop of Warmia.

The document issued in Toruń in 1504, indisputably attests to the activities of Silesian members of the Order in Northeastern Poland. It is handwritten on parchment, dated 15 November, and records the admission of the Torunian Benedictine sisters to the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit. Fortunately preserved in the original in the Diocesan Archive of Pelplin, the document saw print as early as 1860, for which reason it is well known in the subject literature.⁵³ The issuers of the

⁵¹ See: Dola, "Szpitale średniowiecznego Śląska. Cz. 2," 193.

⁵² *Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego (1501–1506)*, ed. Fryderyk Papée (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1927), 410, no. 243 (misidentified as originating from, "the Order of the Holy Spirit from the hospital in Rohina in Saxony"). The publisher was familiar with a copy in *Teki Naruszewicza* (current reference: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Ms 27, f. 51, document no. 16).

⁵³ Archiwum Diecezjalne w Pelplinie, Klasztor Benedyktynów w Toruniu, parchment document no. 14. Edited document in *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, vol. 2,

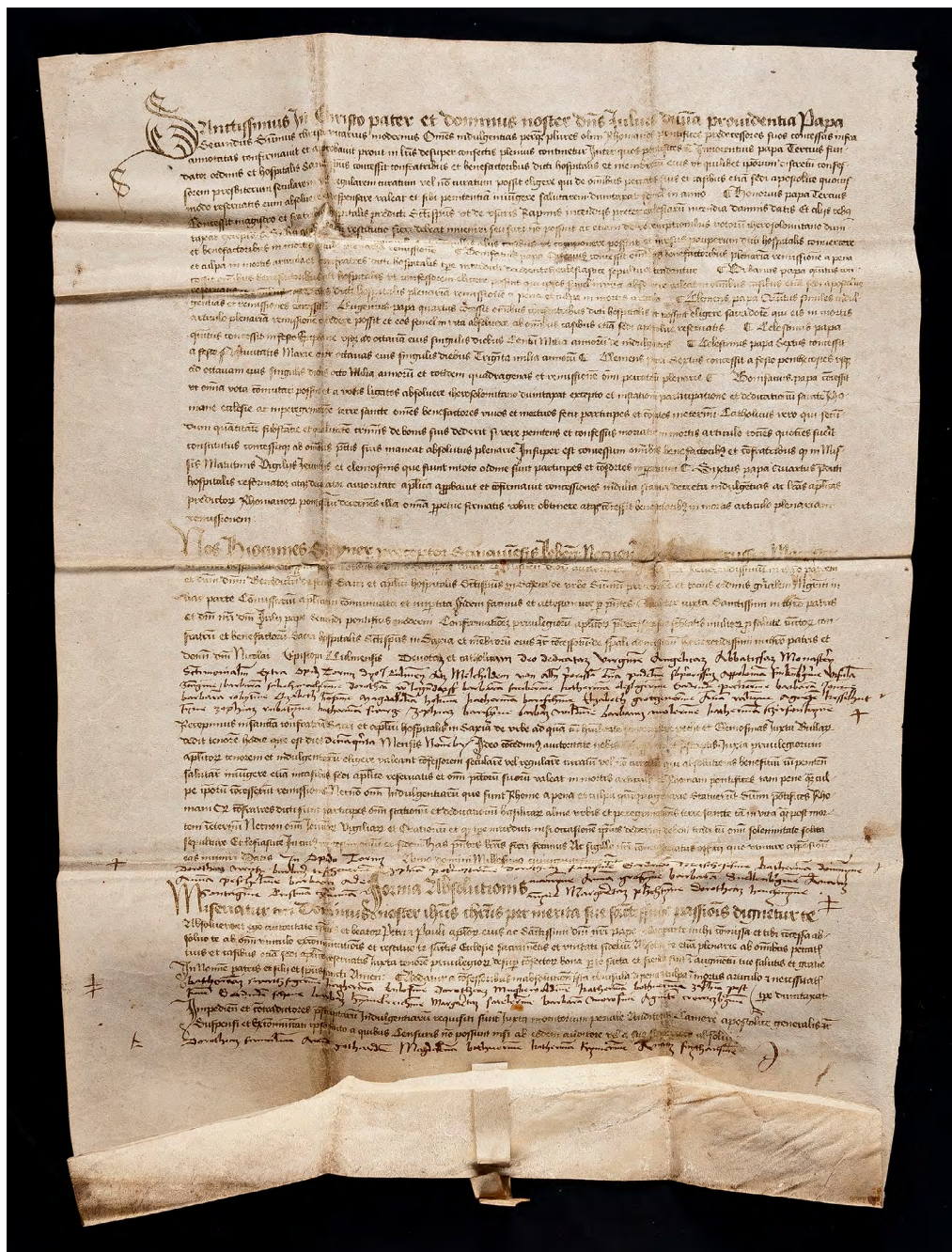


Fig. 3: Jan Steyer and James of Prussia admit the Benedictine Nuns of Toruń to the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome, 15 November 1504. Diocesan Archive in Pelplin, Benedictine Nunnery in Toruń, parchment document no. 14

documents, receiving the recipients into the Confraternity, were the following named members of the Order of the Holy Spirit: Johann Steyner, preceptor in Ścinawa and Chobienia, and Jacob of Prussia, master and prior of the hospital in Cottbus.⁵⁴

Teutonic Prussia and Gdańsk⁵⁵

The activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit attested to in Toruń in 1504 continued, at least until 1508 in the Teutonic State. It is during that year that the Order secured the Hochmeister's approval for the establishment of a convent in Prabuty and for collections within the territory of the Teutonic State – the dioceses of Warmia, Sambia and Pomesania.⁵⁶

Based on sources, Mario Glauert describes how the collection played out in practice and that for nearly fifteen years members of the Order operated in Teutonic Prussia.⁵⁷ Initially reluctant to acquiesce, the Teutonic Knights were persuaded by the promise of one quarter of

ed. Carl Peter Woelky (Danzig: Commissionsverlag von Theodor Bertling, 1887), 621–623, no. 766; Szymborski, *Odpusty*, 536, no. 1427; Manikowska, “Wstęp,” LXIX–LXX; Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses*, 203.

⁵⁴ “Hioannes Steyner preceptor Stinaviensis Coben[is] necnon Jacobus de Prussia, magister et prior hospitalis sancti Spiritus foris Cotbus, Ordinis sancti Spiritus Wratislaviensis et Misnensis diocesum.”

⁵⁵ The activities of the Order of the Holy Spirit in Prabuty are described in detail by Mario Glauert, “Kościoły, klasztory i szpitale między Kwidzynem a Suszem w czasach średniowiecza (do 1525 r.). Przyczynek do topografii sakralnej i prozopografii niższego duchowieństwa w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach,” in *Parafie w średniowiecznych Prusach w czasach zakonu niemieckiego od XIII do XVI w.*, ed. Radosław Biskup and Andrzej Radziwiński. *Ecclesia Clerusque Temporibus Medii Aevi* 4 (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015), 99–103. This article is a partial translation of Mario Glauert, “Kirchen, Klöster und Spitäler zwischen Marienwerder und Rosenberg im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Sakraltopographie und Prosopographie des Niederklerus im Deutschordensland Preußen,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußen* 20/21 (2006/2008): 9–111. The material listed above provided the basis for the discussion of indulgence activities later in this section.

⁵⁶ See: Rafał Kubicki, “Uwagi na temat roli zakonów mendykanckich w duszpasterstwie na terenach wiejskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach,” *Studia Historica Gedanensia* 7 (2016): 32; Idem, “Monastycyzm na Pomorzu do początku XIX wieku – uwagi na temat organizacji struktur i działalności zakonów,” in *1050. rocznica Chrztu Polski*, ed. Krzysztof Lewalski (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2016), 163, 172.

⁵⁷ Kubicki, “Uwagi,” 163, 172.

the sums collected. In return, the Order of the Holy Spirit received the right of “stationes, collecten und almosen funder zu halten,” but they could visit any given town or village only once. The questuaries were to be accompanied by a scribe delegated by the Knights to supervise the collection. One fourth was to go to the Apostolic See, and a half of the rest to the Teutonic Order.

Little is known about the friars involved directly in the quest. The sources only mention the name of Valentin Repergk.⁵⁸ Some data, however incomplete, paints a picture of the collection (*collecten und stationes*): from the alms collected in Königsberg and Friedland, the Teutonic Knights received 94 marks, and from those collected in Altstadt and Löbenicht (historical districts of Königsberg) as well as surrounding towns and villages 102 and a half were collected. Königsberg was the site of a collection again in 1509. At the same time, in connection with the construction of conventual buildings in Prabuty, the Order of the Holy Spirit received an exemption from certain mandatory fees. The Order enjoyed the support of the favourably disposed bishop of Pomesania, Job von Dobeneck, who on several occasions supported their annual efforts to renew the Hochmeister's approval for the collection.

Nevertheless, the campaign constantly sparked conflict and controversy. Competition came from the Anthonians, whose analogous and almost parallel indulgence activities led to a conflict between the members of the respective orders.⁵⁹ The Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit also had a conflict with the burgesses of Gdańsk in 1513. The former promulgated indulgences and collected alms despite the lack of approval from the aldermen and sharp objection from the burghers.⁶⁰ The offended burgesses went as far as to complain to the Polish king.

The Order continued its activities in the following years until 1522, which is when the local clergy, following the death of the supportive

⁵⁸ In 1515, ‘Reberk’ is recorded as the parish priest of Culm (Chełmno) – *Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Episcopo A. 1667–72 factae*, ed. Bruno Czapla (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1902), 115.

⁵⁹ Joseph Kolberg, “Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte des beginnenden sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zur Geschichte der Antoniter in Frauenburg,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 19 (1916): 308–312; Eugen Brachvogel, “Die Anfänge des Antoniterklosters in Frauenburg,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 27 (1939/1942): 420–424.

⁶⁰ Glauert, *Kościół*, 51–107.

Bishop von Dobeneck, were firmly prohibited from giving any assistance to questuaries.

The activities of collectors can be linked to the medieval seal of the chapter of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome, found in Gdańsk during archaeological research.⁶¹

Printed letters of indulgence from the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit in Silesia

As noted before, the Hospitallers' indulgence campaigns are attested to by letters of indulgence issued by them, either handwritten or printed. It has already been stated that the invention of print quickly transformed the indulgence campaign by allowing certificates of admission into the Confraternity to be issued with much greater efficiency.⁶² Three printed forms commissioned by the Silesian members of the Order have been identified thus far.

The first one is the no longer surviving printed letter published by Konrad Baumgarten's press in Gdańsk in 1498.⁶³ A proof copy, found and laconically described in the printer's biogram by Aleksander Birkenmajer, burned in Krasiński Library, when the building was set on fire in 1944 by the occupying Germans in Warsaw.⁶⁴ The issuer was a Holy Spirit brother, 'Joannes de Steynovia,' who is likely identified as Prior

⁶¹ See Tomasz Maćkowski, "Średniowieczna pieczęć Zakonu Ducha Świętego odnaleziona przy ul. Toruńskiej w Gdańsku," *Archeologia Gdańska* 8 (2021): 65–72. It is worth mentioning another sphragistic relic, the seal piston with a representation of the Order's emblem, a double cross, excavated in the Old Market Square in Poznań during research carried out by the Archaeological Museum in Poznań, which is still the subject of research.

⁶² Eiserman, "The Indulgence as a Media Event," 309–330.

⁶³ *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol. 2, ed. Maria Bohonos, Michał Spandowski, Eliza Szandorowska et al. (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1994), 326. Letter mentioned in: Szyborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, 45 and discussed in detail in Zimny, "List odpustowy duchaka Jana de Steynovia."

⁶⁴ The list of losses suffered by the National Library in Warsaw includes 2337 bibliographic items (4600 together with copies) for incunables alone, not including manuscripts or old prints after AD 1500; for more on this subject: Michał Spandowski, "Die verlorenen Inkunabeln. Von den Arbeiten am Zentralkatalog der Inkunabeln in Polen," in *Johannes Gutenberg. Regionale Aspekte des frühen Buchdrucks. Vorträge der Internationalen Konferenz zum 550. Jubiläum der Buchdruck-*

Johannes Steyner of Ścinawa and Chobienia, and later also Prabuty, mentioned above in the context of the admission of the Benedictine nuns of Toruń to the Confraternity in 1504. As a result, the dating of the commencement of the promulgation of the Holy Spirit indulgences by the Hospitallers of Ścinawa can be traced back to the end of the fifteenth century, preceding the dynamic development that would occur one decade later (which will be discussed further below).

Another indulgence letter was identified based on scant remains discovered by Paul Schwenke before 1895 in a book from Oliwa Cistercian Abbey in Gdańsk archives (possibly bound waste-paper flyleaves).⁶⁵ Its external appearance is only known from a phototypic reproduction published in 1895. It included a summary of the indulgences of the Holy Spirit Confraternity, followed by the admission formula with the issuer's name. By Schwenke's description, the remainder had not survived. On the basis of the mention of Pope Julius II, Schwenke dated the print to before 1513.



Fig. 4: Part of a letter of indulgence issued by James (Jacob) of Prussia

On the basis of surviving fragments, Schwenke identified the issuer as James, or Jacob, of Prussia (*Jacobus de Prussia*), at the time *praepositus* (provost) in Prabuty – the same person who, as the provost in Cottbus, together with Johannes Steyner, had received the Torunian Benedictine nuns into the Confraternity a decade beforehand.

erkunst am 26. und 27. Juni 1990, ed. Holger Nickel and Lothar Gillner (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1993), 189–192.

⁶⁵ Paul Schwenke, “Zur altpreußischen Buchdruckergeschichte,” *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten* 8 (1895): 80.



189

The third printed letter of indulgence issued by Silesian members of the Order is linked to a grant from 1517. The print was identified in the Ordensbriefarchiv part of the collections of the Secret Archive of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation in Berlin, mainly containing correspondence from the former archive of the Teutonic Order. It has passed almost entirely unnoticed by the subject literature.⁶⁶

The issuer was the aforementioned Johannes Steyner, his title at the time given as preceptor in Ścinawa (Steinau) and Cottbus, as well as Prabuty. According to the document, in 1517 he received a certain Joannes Roszeman into the Confraternity.

In addition to the local members of the Order, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the collections were also undertaken by commissioners from Rome. The sources mention two such commissioners with plenipotentiary powers for Polish territories. In 1503, Filippo Turriano (*Philippus Turianus*) was appointed vicar general, commissioner and visitator, as well as (in parallel) prior in Vienna. He was the general's plenipotentiary: "in partibus Alemanie inferioris, videlicet in Austria, Stiria, Carniola, Carinthia, Moravia, Slesia et terris illis adiacentibus in regnis Bohemie, Polonie, Ungarie et septem Castris ac domus de Pulgarn Pataviensis diocesis."⁶⁷

In addition, the second campaign, involving Fausto Sabeus from Brescia, with the date given as 20 August 1515, "should not be overlooked."⁶⁸ Territorially, his powers extended to: "universam Ungariam, Craoatiam, Bossniam, Boemiam, Transilvaniam, Siciliam, Polloniam, Russia, Prussiam, Lituaniam, Livoniam," as well as Pomerania, the Teutonic State and the Scandinavian realms.⁶⁹ Sabeus's presence in Poland (albeit not necessarily in the context of the indulgence campaign)

⁶⁶ [Letter of indulgence] *Confessionale pro confratribus ordinis S[ancti] Spiritus*, [1500/1517] Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA, OBA (Ordensbriefarchiv), no. 18379. So far, the letter has only been mentioned, together with the reference designation but with the issuer's wrong first name ('Nikolaus Steyner') in Kurt Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (Bonn: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1967): 220.

⁶⁷ *Iter romanum. Im Auftrag des hohen mährischen Landesausschusses in den Jahren 1852 und 1853 unternommen und veröffentlicht*, ed. Beda Dudík (Wien: F. Manz and Comp., 1855), 91.

⁶⁸ Rehberg, "Ubi habent maiorem facultatem," 260.

⁶⁹ ASR, OSS 111, fol. 53–56v (20 August 1515), see also fol. 59–61, 71–72v; 73–76; 76v–77, 77v–78.

is supported by two manuscripts from Silesia and Poland, remitted by himself to the Vatican library.⁷⁰

Convents affiliated to Kraków's priory

Whereas the activities of the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit from the Order's Silesian convents are somewhat clearly documented by sources, not many traces have been preserved of similar activities undertaken by the Polish brothers in the obedience of Kraków, a convent founded around 1221. For the period of thirteenth–sixteenth centuries, the Order also had convents in Sandomierz, Kalisz and Łańcut, as well as for a short time in Sławków and Radomyśl, and a parochial provostship in Biskupice.⁷¹

Accordingly, the authorisation received in 1503 by the prior of the convent in Łańcut (in the diocese of Przemyśl), brother Stanislaus (Stanisław) of Ciężkowice, is of special value. On 8 April of the same year, the preceptor of the Roman hospital and master general of the entire Order, Benedetto of Siena, authorised Stanislaus to preach indulgences and hold a collection.⁷² Stanislaus's jurisdiction is stated to be: “partibus Poznaniensis in Maiori Poloniae, in episcopatu Premisliensi, in terra Russiae et in dioecesis Cracoviensis.” This translates into most of the territories of the Kingdom of Poland. Local sources have not been discovered to contain any traces of the exercise of these powers, nor any other manifestations of the Kraków members' activities in relation to indulgences.

It thus seems that the reception of indulgences granted to the hospital at Rome took a primarily local dimension in the areas subordinate to Kraków – spiritual graces linked to papal grants to the Roman hospital, by way of *ad instar* papal privilege, could be obtained at hospital

⁷⁰ Rehberg, “*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*,” 260–261.

⁷¹ See: Klara Antosiewicz, “Zakon Ducha św. de Saxia w Polsce średniowiecznej,” *Nasza Przyszłość* 23 (1966), 167–176. See also Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem*, 128–144, and Mateusz Zimny, *Veni Pater pauperum. Duchowe i materialne dziedzictwo Zakonu Ducha Świętego de Saxia w Polsce. Katalog wystawy* (Kraków: Muzeum Archidiecezjalne w Krakowie, 2022).

⁷² ASR, OSS 109, f. 69r-v.

churches.⁷³ Such a grant was secured by the Kraków members of the Order in 1461, which is when Pope Pius II confirmed the Holy Spirit hospital and church in Kraków in all of the privileges held by the Roman hospital.⁷⁴ Another document was issued in 1483 by Pope Sixtus IV on request of Nicolaus de Cracovia, the master of the convent and hospital in Kraków.⁷⁵ On the eighth day of Saint Martin, hence the anniversary of the dedication of Saint Peter's at Rome (18 November) and on Holy Wednesday, the Kraków hospital was the site of grand festivities with the participation of the bishop as well as the royal court with the king himself. After confessing and giving alms, the faithful had the opportunity to receive indulgence. Also in 1517, Pope Leo X confirmed to Polish convents of the order all privileges granted to the hospital and the confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Rome. In this bulla, hitherto unknown, the houses of Sandomierz, Kalisz and Łańcut were mentioned, in addition to Kraków.⁷⁶

It is, on the other hand, certain that the southern parts of the Kingdom of Poland were reached by one of the most active commissioners of the Order of the Holy Spirit of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Dominicus *de Runcho*.⁷⁷ Traces of his indulgence-related activities in Bohemia and Moravia are found up to the present day, especially in the Bohemian archives in which letters of indulgence issued by him have been preserved. In 1492, he accepted the following into the

⁷³ The Church of the Holy Spirit in Kraków also had its own indulgence grants not directly linked to the Roman hospital. Granted by Pope Boniface IX on 9 November 1402 to all the faithful visiting the parish church (!) of the Holy Spirit in Kraków on the day of the Lord's Ascension, from the first to the second vespers (*Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 3, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś (Lublin and Rome: Fundacja Jana Pawła II and Polski Instytut Kultury Chrześcijańskiej, 1988), 144, no. 849). According to a handwritten note dating from the break of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Inc. 903 and 904), the church also had another grant for the time of Lent.

⁷⁴ *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia*, vol. 2, ed. Augustinus Theiner (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1861), 141–142, no. 79. See Szyborski, *Odpusty*, 444.

⁷⁵ *Vetera monumenta Poloniae*, 227–228, no. 153. Incorporated into the *bullarium* of the Roman house, see: ASR, OSS 1, f. 125–126v. See Szyborski, *Odpusty*, 488.

⁷⁶ “Cum a nobis petitur” (ASR, OSS 1, f. 298). This bull was engrossed by the bishop of Kraków, Jan Konarski. A copy of the document is preserved in two cartularies of the Order's privileges (Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, 498, Ms 19, f. 883 and Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv, 140, Ms 306, f. 30–31v).

⁷⁷ See: Rehberg, “*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*,” 245–246.

Confraternity: in March, in Jihlava – Nicholas Sporer (from the diocese of Regensburg); in April – the Dominicans of Olomouc;⁷⁸ in June – the canons regular of Třeboň⁷⁹ and the Poor Clares of Krumlov.⁸⁰ His extensive activities are furthermore attested to by three extant printed standard forms for letters of indulgence, dated 1492.⁸¹

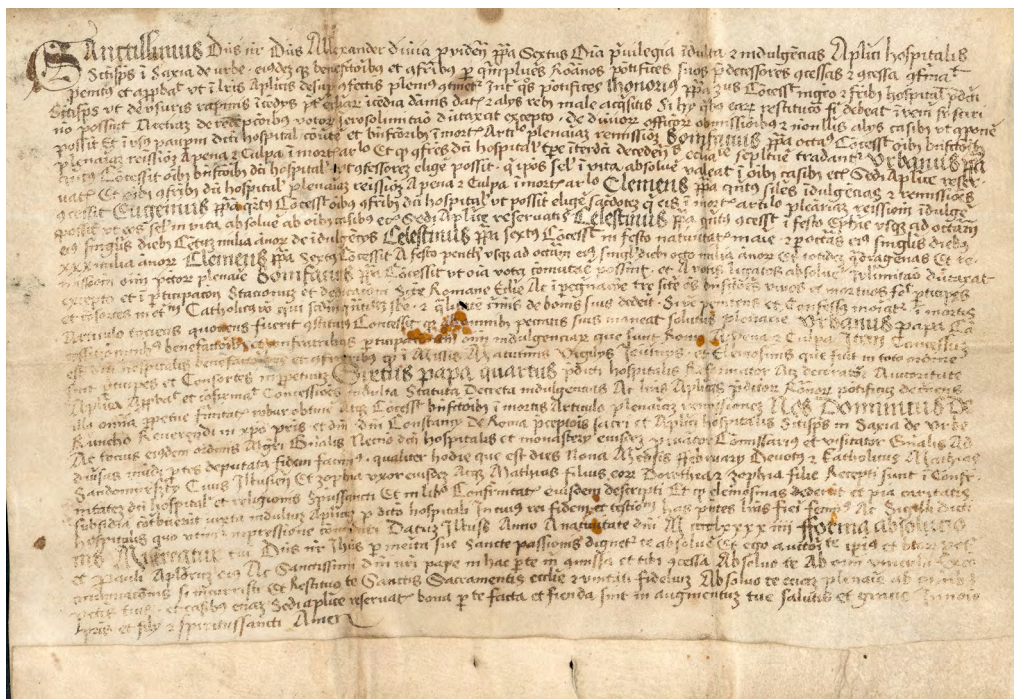


Fig. 6: Dominicus de Runcho admits burgess of Olkusz, Maciej of Sandomierz, together with wife Zofia, son Maciej and daughters Dorota and Zofia, to the Confraternity, Olkusz, 9 February 1494. National Archive in Kraków, parchment documents no. 1296

⁷⁸ "Urkunden des uralten Prediger-Ordens-Konventes zu Olmütz in Mähren," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dominikaner- oder Prediger-Ordens in allen Ordens-Provinzen*, ed. Ignaz Lamatsch (Znaim: Martin Hofmann, 1854), I: 162–164, no. 28.

⁷⁹ Original: Národní archiv Praha, Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II. (1115–1760), ŘA Třeboň 173; edition: *Urkunden-Regesten aus den ehemaligen Archiven der von Kaiser Joseph II. aufgehobenen Klöster Böhmens*, ed. Anton Schubert (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901), 13.

⁸⁰ Original: Národní archiv Praha, Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II. (1115–1760), ŘKI Krumlov 1565; Edition: *Urkunden-Regesten*, 178.

⁸¹ See fn. no. 20. Also described in detail in Vladislav Dokoupil, *Počátky brněnského knihtisku. Prvotisky* (Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna. Brno: Archiv města Brna), 87–89. See: Josef V. Polišenský and František Šmahel, *Knihťiska a kniha v českých*

De Runcho's presence in the vicinity of Kraków is attested to by a document of 9 February 1494, issued in Olkusz, a city located on the road from Kraków to Silesia. The commissioner admitted a burgess of Olkusz, Maciej (Matthias) of Sandomierz, together with his wife Zofia, son Maciej and daughters Dorota and Zofia, to the Confraternity.⁸² Although the seal under the document preserved in the National Archive in Kraków has not survived, its probable appearance is known from other documents originating from the same issuer in Bohemia. While it cannot be excluded that *de Runcho* engaged in similar activities in Kraków itself, the document of Olkusz is the sole known example of his activity in the Kingdom of Poland.

Abuses

"The history of the abuse of indulgences is as old as indulgences themselves."⁸³ The indulgence campaigning, which by its very nature involved the raising of significant funds from alms given by the faithful, provided opportunities for abuse. Indeed:

in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the mother house in Rome had to intervene repeatedly – from Spain to the Balkans and Hungary – against false and dishonest professional collectors (*questuarii*), whether they were in their own ranks or working for other orders. The clauses of the *capitula* [contracts] that the Hospital of the Holy Spirit concluded with its emissaries expressly obligated them to act fairly in matters of indulgences.⁸⁴

The scale taken by the abuses in the Order of the Holy Spirit itself is reflected by the fact that, in 1477, Pope Sixtus IV issued the constitution *Etsi universis*,

zemích od husitství do Bílé hory. Sborník prací k 500. výročí českého knihtisku (Praha: Academia, nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1970), 69; Gedeon Borsa, "Ein bisher unbekannter," 142–144; Kamil Boldan, "Brněnští prototypografové Konrád Stahel a Matyáš Preinlein a jejich úřední jednolistové tisky," *Brno v minulosti a dnes* 28 (2015): 61–83.

⁸² Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Parchment documents no. 1296. See Szymborski, *Odpusty*, 507.

⁸³ Rehberg, "*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*," 232.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

in which he referred to the overreach and usurpations of members of the Order, especially north of the Alps (*precipue in partibus ultramontanis*), also in the matter of the collections, and urged respect for the order's internal discipline towards the mother house in Rome. A few months later, the Pope returned to this issue and criticized some religious orders, hospitals and other *loca pia* – calling by name the Anthonians and the Order of the Holy Spirit! – for their controversial practices in the collection.⁸⁵

Abuses of a similar nature also occurred in the context of the campaign in the area that is of interest to us. It suffices to recall the aforementioned controversies in Gdańsk in 1513. Sometimes, the promulgation of indulgences was undertaken by false commissioners. False collectors were the topic of letters sent from Pope Paul II to, among others, King Casimir IV of Poland.⁸⁶ In a breve addressed also to the archbishop of Magdeburg, the pope warned the Polish king, and through the king the bishops, against the activities of Riccardo Pontano and certain other, “*Cerretani clerici*.”⁸⁷ Although no record of Pontano as a collector can be found in the Kingdom of Poland, the warning brought from Rome to the royal court of Casimir IV implies that Poland may have fallen within his sphere of interest.⁸⁸

The commissioners' activities must have sparked controversy at a later time as well, considering that, around AD 1500, King Vladislav II of Bohemia prohibited the friars of Cottbus from collecting alms in Lusatia, prompting them to seek the approval of the Elector of Brandenburg.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Ibidem, 240.

⁸⁶ “Materiały do historii Jagiellonów z archiwów weneckich,” ed. August Cieszkowski, *Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* 19 (1892): 4–5.

⁸⁷ See: Antonín Kalous, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli at the Court of the King of Hungary (1488–1490)* (Budapest and Rome: Gondolat Kiadó, 2021), LXXI–LXXII. There is a known letter of indulgence issued by collector Riccardo Pontano in Leipzig in 1485, as well as his diploma certifying the admission of the Teutonic brother, Nikolaus Creuder, later bishop of Sambia, in the Confraternity. Rehberg, „*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*,” 242.

⁸⁸ Rehberg, „*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem*,” 242.

⁸⁹ See note 42.

Indulgence *summaria*

One of the traces of the preaching of indulgences in Central and Eastern Europe are mediaeval codices listing them, which are known as summaries.⁹⁰ It is noted that, “in the fifteenth century, all sorts of inventories, summaries and registers of indulgences were clearly no novelty,”⁹¹ and they can also be found in manuscripts originating from this part of Europe.

An extensive list of the indulgences of the Order’s Roman hospital can be found in a manuscript from the collections of the University Library in Wrocław, containing, “inventories of indulgences granted to the churches and convents in Wrocław from the thirteenth century to the 20s of the fifteenth century.”⁹² The *terminus post quem* for the contribution to the Roman hospital in consideration of indulgences is, “set by the date of confirmation of the indulgences by the ‘present’ (*modernus*) pope, Alexander VI (14 September 1495).”⁹³ According to Hanna Manikowska: “the list of indulgences, as updated after such a confirmation, would be sent out to the outposts of the Order and of the Confraternity, and because it was printed simultaneously by Roman (and other) typographers, access to it was not difficult.”⁹⁴ The list of indulgences of the Roman hospital of the Holy Spirit opens the handwritten part of the codex. The list comprises: “the summary of the indulgences of the Roman Confraternity, the standard-form letter of admission thereto, and the formula for absolution *in articulo mortis*.”⁹⁵

⁹⁰ On the role of *summaria* see Ehlers, *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens*, 174–314. One of the examples of a list of this kind is the fifteenth century codex from the collections of the University Library of Augsburg, featuring – on f. 121va to 122ra – also the indulgences of the Order of the Holy Spirit; incipit: “He sunt indulgentie et beneficia a sede apostolica concessa omnibus benefactoribus hospitalis ordinis sancti spiritus in vrbe Roma eiusque membris usque in nouissimum diem,” Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. II. 1.20 38. *Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Die Signaturengruppe Cod. I.2.2^o und Cod. II.1.2^o 1–90* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996) 189, 196.

⁹¹ Manikowska, “Wstęp,” VII.

⁹² Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms 1562. A critical edition was compiled by Halina Manikowska. Manikowska, “Wstęp,” XIV–XV.

⁹³ Manikowska, “Wstęp,” LVII, LXVI.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, LXVII.

⁹⁵ Ibidem, LXVI.

Two other indulgence summaries of the Order of the Holy Spirit survive in the collections of the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, among manuscripts of Polish origin. The first summary is found in a manuscript of the *Tractatus sacerdotalis de sacramentis* of Nicolaus de Blonie (Mikołaj z Błonia, Mikołaj Pszczółka, Nicolaus Varsaviensis) and of a variety of theological and legal texts, also including, besides the indulgences of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome, the list of indulgences granted to the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁹⁶ The second summary is found in a manuscript formerly belonging to the Holy Spirit convent in Kraków.⁹⁷ Although the colophon contains the date 1565, it appears to be the copy of an older summary. The list follows the legendary account of the origins of the Order, penned by the same hand. Among the three identified summaries in Polish collections, this one alone originates from the Order itself. Singular attention is drawn to the inclusion of Sixtus IV's grant to the Kraków hospital of 1483.⁹⁸

In addition, the fame of the indulgences that could be obtained in the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit spread into Polish territories because of the special printed materials to which the Confraternity owed its unquestionably increasing popularity throughout Europe. One of the examples is Pope Sixtus IV's bull of 21 March 1477, brought to Kraków from one of his stays in Rome by Mikołaj Czepiel, a member of the clergy of Kraków, who was very active in Rome in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.⁹⁹ The popularity of this form of propagation of the Confraternity's indulgence activities is illustrated by the fact that

⁹⁶ Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Ms 2415, f. 341–342. Incipit: “Summa indulgenciarum Ordinis S. Spiritus. Innocencius Tercius fundator Ordinis Sancti Sp[irit]us dedit Indulgencias.”

⁹⁷ Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Ms 7044, f. 23v–29. This particular summary is described in detail in Wiktor Szymborski, “Uwagi o średniowiecznym przewodniku po odpustach nadanych szpitalowi duchaków w Krakowie,” *Studia Religioznika* 41 (2008): 157–165. The author gives a detailed list of the indulgences included in the summary, noting that some of the indulgence grants should be treated with caution. See there for the additional bibliography.

⁹⁸ Szymborski, “Uwagi o średniowiecznym przewodniku,” 161.

⁹⁹ Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Inc. 104 Bull of Sixtus IV of 21 March 1477 (*Bulla, qua confraternitas Hospitalis S. Spiritus reformatur*, <Sixtus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei>; bull dated 22 March 1478 [ought to be ‘1477’] printed: Romae, Stephan Plannck), see prints in Hain Directory, nos 14809, 14810 and 14811. Czepiel bequeathed his books to the Jagiellonian University's Collegium Maius and his copy of Sixtus IV's bull survives in the collections of the Jagiellonian Library.

the collections of the same Jagiellonian Library in Kraków contain another copy from roughly the same period.¹⁰⁰

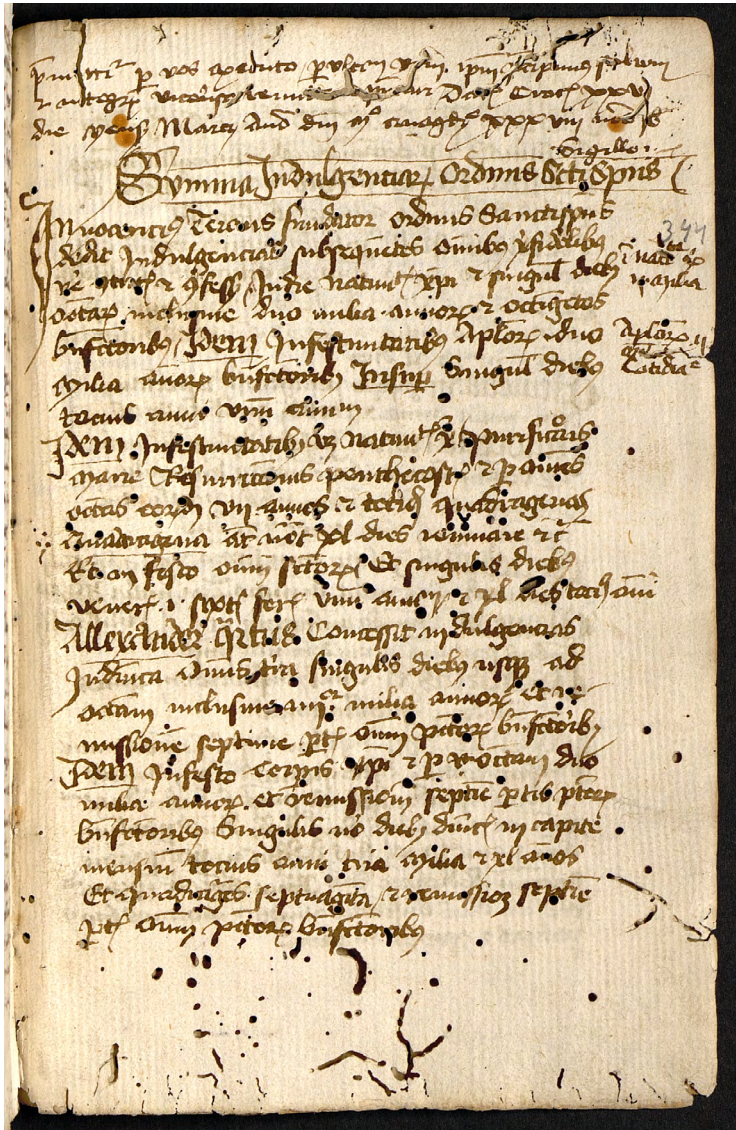


Fig. 7: Summarium of the Sancti Spiritus in Saxia Hospital in Rome's indulgences. Biblioteka Jagiellońska w Krakowie, Ms 2415, f. 344r

¹⁰⁰ BJ, Inc. 105, Sixtus IV, *Bulla de reformatione Confraternitatis Hospitalis s. Spiritus*. Roma: Eucharius Silber; post 21 March 1478.

Conclusion

Analysis of source materials from the territories of Poland, Lithuania, Silesia and Prussia permits the conclusion that, at least from the mid-fifteenth century, commissioners from the Order of the Holy Spirit ventured into Central and Eastern Europe. Attention is drawn to the relatively early mission of the three commissioners who reached Oliwa Abbey and Vilnius. The last trace of such type of activity dates to 1520.

Even taking the potential loss of source materials into account, one can clearly see that the greatest activity in the preaching of indulgences was shown by Silesian members of the Order, not only in their home diocese but also in the cities in the north of Poland, such as Toruń and Gdańsk, as well as Western Prussia. Poland's southern territories, on the other hand, were not a significant area of operations for the Order's indulgence commissioners. This type of activity is *de facto* only indicated by a surviving document issued within the limits of the Kingdom of Poland by the Roman commissioner, Dominicus *de Runcho*, and a licence for the promulgation of indulgences and collection of alms issued in 1503 for the provost in Łańcut, Stanislaus of Ciężkowice. Such a state of affairs contrasts clearly with the extensive operations of the Silesian members of the Order and with the documented activity of *de Runcho* himself in Bohemia. The reception of indulgences, on the other hand, had a local dimension: the Kraków convent, enjoying special *ad instar* indulgence grants from the Roman hospital, became an eminent *locus sacer* on the map of the capital city of the Kingdom of Poland.

The vestigial nature of the surviving source base, although it does identify the commissioners and delineate the territorial extent of their activities, does not permit the investigation of the realistic impact of the indulgence campaigns on piety. Nor is it possible to estimate the number of persons receiving grants from the commissioners. The controversies relating to the promulgation of indulgences in Gdańsk, as well as suspicions of abuse, demonstrate, however, the campaign's status as a noticeable event on the landscape of the social life of the era.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

- Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. HA, OBA (Ordensbriefarchiv), no. 18379
- Kraków, Archiwum Narodowe, 498, Ms 19 Perg. 1296
- Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Inc. 105, Inc. 903, Inc. 904, Ms 2415, Ms 7044
- Kraków, Biblioteka Naukowa Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ms 1243
- Kraków, Muzeum Narodowe, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Ms 27
- Lviv, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, 140, Ms 306
- Olomouc, Státní okresní archiv, Archiv města Litovle 1287–1945 (1956), svazek I, A-II-8
- Pelplin, Archiwum Diecezjalne, Klasztor Benedyktynów w Toruniu, dypl. 14
- Praha, Národní archiv Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II. (1115–1760), ŘKI Krumlov 1565; ŘA Třeboň 173; Maltézští rytíři – české velkopřevorství (1085–1875), RM 1196
- Roma, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Ospedale Santo Spirito (OSS) 1, 109, 111, 212
- Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe, Dokumenty Miasta Wrocławia, no. 5686; Urząd Miasta Bolesławca, ref. 86/150/o/1/2249, nos 139 and 140
- Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Ms 1562

Sources

- Acta Pontificum Danica: pavelige aktstykker vedrørende Danmark 1316–1536*, vol. 1, ed. Laust Moltesen, (Copenhagen: I kommission hos G. E. C. Gad, 1904).
- Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, wielkiego księcia litewskiego (1501–1506)*, ed. Fryderyk Papée (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1927).
- Brevia Romanorum Pontificum ad Poloniam Spectantia*, vol. 1, ed. Henricus Damianus Wojtyska. Elementa ad Fontium Editiones 64 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1986).
- Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 3, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś and Stanisław Kuraś (Lublin and Rome: Fundacja Jana Pawła II and Polski Instytut Kultury Chrześcijańskiej, 1988).
- Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, ed. Gustav Storm, Henrik Jørgen Huitfeldt-Kaas, Alexander Bugge et al., 21 vols. (Christiania: Aktie-Bogtrykkeriet, 1902–1913).
- Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, vol. 2, ed. Maria Bohonos, Michał Spandowski, Eliza Szandorowska et al. (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1994).

Iter romanum. Im Auftrag des hohen mährischen Landesausschusses in den Jahren 1852 und 1853 unternommen und veröffentlicht, ed. Beda Dudík (Wien: F. Manz and Comp., 1855).

Księga odpustów wrocławskich, ed. Halina Manikowska (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2016).

Lateinische mittelalterliche Handschriften in Folio der Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg. Die Signaturengruppe Cod. I.2.2° und Cod. II.1.2° 1–90, ed. Günter Hägele (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996).

Liber fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe, in *Necrologi e libri affini della provincia Romana*, ed. Pietro Egidi, 2 vols. (Roma: Istituto Storico del Medioevo, 1914).

“Materiały do historii Jagiellonów z archiwów weneckich,” ed. August Cieszkowski, *Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* 19 (1892): 1–73.

Neues allgemeines Archiv für die Geschichtskunde des Preußischen Staates, ed. Leopold von Ledebur, 2 vols. (Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1830).

Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Apud J.-P. Migne, 1855).

Quellen zur Geschichte der Niederlausitz, ed. Rudolf Lehmann (Köln: Böhlau, 1972).

Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm, vol. 2, ed. Carl Peter Woelky (Danzig: Commissionsverlag von Theodor Bertling, 1887).

“Urkunden des uralten Prediger-Ordens-Konventes zu Olmütz in Mähren,” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dominikaner- oder Prediger-Ordens in allen Ordens-Provinzen*, ed. Ignaz Lamatsch, 3 vols. (Znaim: Martin Hofmann, 1854).

Urkunden-Regesten aus den ehemaligen Archiven der von Kaiser Joseph II. aufgehobenen Klöster Böhmens, ed. Anton Schubert (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901).

Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia, vol. 2, ed. Augustinus Theiner, (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1861).

Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Episcopo A. 1667–72 factae, ed. Bruno Czapla (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1902).

Wykaz regestów dokumentów Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego we Wrocławiu, ed. Wincenty Urban (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1970).

Studies

Antosiewicz, Klara, “Zakon Ducha św. de Saxia w Polsce średniowiecznej,” *Nasza Przyszłość* 23 (1966): 167–176.

_____, “Bractwo Ducha Świętego, jego geneza i rozwój,” in *Christianitas et cultura Europae: Księga jubileuszowa profesora Jerzego Kłoczowskiego*, ed. Henryk Gapski, vol. 1 (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1998).

Baronas, Darius, “Piligrimai iš Lietuvos – Romos Šv. Dvasios brolijos nariai 1492–1503 m.,” *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis* 38 (2012): 15–28.

- Biernat, Czesław, *Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku. Przewodnik po zasobie do 1945 roku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1992).
- Boldan, Kamil, "Brněnští prototypografové Konrád Stahel a Matyáš Preinlein a jejich úřední jednolistové tisky" *Brno v minulosti a dnes* 28 (2015): 61–83.
- Borchardt, Karl, "Late Medieval Indulgences for the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order," in *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters: Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext*, ed. Andreas Rehberg (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017).
- Borsa, Gedeon, "Ein bisher unbekannter gedruckter Bruderschaftsbrief der Hospitaliter vom Hl. Geist," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 54 (1984): 142–144.
- Brune, Paul, *Histoire de l'Ordre Hospitalier du Saint-Esprit* (Lons-le-Saunier: C. Martin, 1892).
- Bunyitay, Vince, *Liber Confraternitatis Sancti Spiritus de Urbe. A római Szentlélek-Társulat anyakönyve 1446–1523* (Budapest: Franklin Társulat Könyvnyomdája, 1889).
- De Angelis, Pietro, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia*, vol. 1: *Dalle origini al 1300. L'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia e le sue filiali nel mondo* (Rome: Tipografia D. Detti, 1960).
- _____, *L'Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia*, vol. 2: *Dal 1301 al 1500* (Rome: Tipografia D. Detti, 1962).
- Dokoupil, Vladislav, *Počátky brněnského knihtisku. Prvotisky* (Brno: Moravská zemská knihovna. Brno: Archiv města Brna, 1974).
- Dola, Kazimierz, "Opieka społeczna i zdrowotna w Głogowie do czasów pruskich (1742)," in *Misericordia et veritas. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci księdza biskupa Wincentego Urbana*, ed. Józef Mandziuk and Józef Pater (Wrocław: Kuria Metropolitalna Wrocławska, 1986).
- _____, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 1: Rozwój historyczny," *Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego* 1 (1968): 239–292.
- _____, "Szpitale średniowieczne Śląska. Cz. 2: Funkcjonowanie," *Rocznik Teologiczny Śląska Opolskiego* 2 (1970): 177–208.
- Drossbach, Gisela, "Caritas Cristiana: Innocenzo III fondatore dell'ospedale e dell'ordine di Santo Spirito," *Il Veltro* 45.5–6 (2001): 85–94.
- _____, "Der Hospitalorden von Santo Spirito in Sassia als Geldtransfer-Netz," in *Kommunikation und Region*, ed. Carl A. Hoffmann and Rolf Kießling (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2001).
- _____, *Christliche caritas als Rechtsinstitut: Hospital und Orden von Santo Spirito in Sassia (1198–1378)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2005).
- Egidi, Pietro, "Per la storia esterna del Liber Fraternitatis S. Spiritus et S. Marie in Saxia de Urbe (cod. Lancisiano n. 328)," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico Italiano* 34 (1914): 257–264.

- Ehlers, Axel, *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 64 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2007).
- Ehrhardt, Siegmund Justus, *Neue diplomatische Beyträge zur Erläuterung der alten Niederschlesischen Geschichte und Rechte* (Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn dem ältern, 1773).
- Eiserman, Falk, "The Indulgence as a Media Event: Developments in Communication through Broadsides in the Fifteenth Century," in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Robert Norman Swanson (Leiden and Boston MA: Brill, 2006).
- Esposito, Anna, "L'ospedale di S. Spirito di Roma e la confraternità veneziana dello Spirito Santo alla fine del '400," in *Gli ordini ospedalieri tra centro e periferia. Giornata di studi, Roma, Istituto Storico Germanico, 16 giugno 2005*, ed. Anna Esposito and Andreas Rehberg (Rome: Viella, 2007).
- Eugen, Brachvogel, "Die Anfänge des Antoniterklosters in Frauenburg," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 27 (1939/1942): 420–424.
- Fara, Andrea, "L'Ordine e la Confraternita del Santo Spirito dalle origini allo sviluppo di una vocazione di frontiera ai confini orientali della Christianitas latina: la Transilvania tra Medioevo e prima Età moderna (XIV–XVI secolo)," in *Profili istituzionali della santità medioevale: culti importati, culti esportati e culti autoctoni nella Toscana occidentale e nella circolazione mediterranea ed europea*, ed. Cesare Alzati and Gabriella Rosetti (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2008).
- Forstreuter, Kurt, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (Bonn: Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, 1967).
- Glauert, Mario, "Kirchen, Klöster und Spitäler zwischen Marienwerder und Rosenberg im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Sakraltopographie und Prosopographie des Niederklerus im Deutschordensland Preußen," *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußen* 20/21 (2006/2008): 9–111.
- _____, "Kościoły, klasztory i szpitale między Kwidzynem a Suszem w czasach średniowiecza (do 1525 r.). Przyczynek do topografii sakralnej i prozopografii niższego duchowieństwa w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach," in *Parafie w średniowiecznych Prusach w czasach zakonu niemieckiego od XIII do XVI w.*, ed. Radosław Biskup and Andrzej Radzimiński. *Ecclesia Clerusque Temporibus Medii Aevi* 4 (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015).
- Historisches Ortslexikon für die Niederlausitz*, vol. 2, ed. Rudlof Lehmann (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2013).
- Jurek, Tomasz, "Zapomniany szpital zakonu Świętego Ducha in Sassia we Wschowie," in *Pro pana profesora Libora Jana k životnímu jubileu*, ed. Bronislav Chocholáč, Jiří Malý and Martin Wihoda (Brno: Matice moravská, 2020).
- Kalous, Antonín, *The Legation of Angelo Pecchinoli at the Court of the King of Hungary (1488–1490)* (Budapest and Rome: Gondolat Kiadó, 2021).

- Klose, Konrad, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Lüben* (Lüben: Verlag Kühn, 1924).
- Kolberg, Joseph, "Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte des beginnenden sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zur Geschichte der Antoniter in Frauenburg," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 19 (1916): 308–312.
- Kubicki, Rafał, "Monastycyzm na Pomorzu do początku XIX wieku – uwagi na temat organizacji struktur i działalności zakonów," in *1050. rocznica Chrztu Polski*, ed. Krzysztof Lewalski (Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2016).
- _____, "Uwagi na temat roli zakonów mendykanych w duszpasterstwie na terenach wiejskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach," *Studia Historica Gedanensia* 7 (2016): 17–37.
- Lindbæk, Johannes and Gustav Stemmann, *De danske Helligaandsklostre. Fremstilling og Aktstykker* (Copenhagen: Fremstilling og Aktstykker, 1906).
- Maćkowski, Tomasz, "Średniowieczna pieczęć Zakonu Ducha Świętego odnaleziona przy ul. Toruńskiej w Gdańsku," *Archeologia Gdańska* 8 (2021): 65–72.
- Manikowska, Halina, "Źródła wrocławskie (i wrocławian dotyczące) do 'wielkiego pielgrzymowania' u schyłku średniowiecza," *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 61.1 (2006): 45–59.
- Neuling, Hermann, *Schlesiens Kirchorte und ihre kirchlichen Stifungen bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Breslau: E. Wohlfarth's Buchhandlung, 1902).
- Pátková, Hana, "Češi v římských bratrstvech na sklonku středověku," *Listy filologické* 126 (2004): 153–172.
- Paulus, Nikolaus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1923).
- Polišenský, Josef V. and František Šmahel, *Knihtisk a kniha v českých zemích od husitství do Bílé hory. Sborník prací k 500. výročí českého knihtisku* (Praha: Academia, nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1970).
- Prokop, Krzysztof Rafał, "*Liber Fraternalitatis S. Spiritus et S. Mariae in Saxia de Urbe*. Niedostrzeżone źródło do badań nad prozopografią późnego średniowiecza Pomorza Zachodniego i Polski," *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski* 48.2 (2004): 137–143.
- Rano, Balbino, "Ospitalieri di Santo Spirito," in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, ed. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, 6 vols. (Rome: Edizioni Paoline, 1980).
- Rehberg, Andreas, "I Papi, l'ospedale e l'ordine di S. Spirito nell'età Avignonese," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 124 (2001): 35–140.
- _____, "Nuntii, questuarii, falsarii. L'ospedale di S. Spirito in Sassia e la raccolta delle elemosine nel periodo avignonese," *Mélanges de l'école Française de Rome* 115.1 (2003): 41–132.
- _____, "Die Fratres von jenseits der Alpen im römischen Hospital S. Spirito in Sassia mit einem Ausblick auf die Attraktivität Roms für den europäischen

- Ordensklerus im Spätmittelalter,” in *Vita communis und ethnische Vielfalt. Multinational zusammengesetzte Klöster im Mittelalter: Akten den internationalen Studenttags vom 26. Januar 2005 im Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rom*, ed. Uwe Israel (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006).
- _____, “Una categoria di ordini religiosi poco studiata: gli ordini ospedalieri: prime osservazioni e piste di ricerca sul tema Centro e periferia,” in *Gli ordini ospedalieri tra centro e periferia. Giornata di studi, Roma, Istituto Storico Germanico, 16 giugno 2005*, ed. Anna Esposito and Andreas Rehberg (Rome: Viella, 2007).
- _____, “L’Ordine di Santo Spirito e le sue filiali dal medioevo al primo cinquecento,” in *Storia di un priorato dell’Ordine di Santo Spirito: ospedaletto di Gemona*, ed. Anna Esposito, Andreas Rehberg, and Miriam Davide (Udine: Forum, 2013).
- _____, “*Ubi habent maiorem facultatem ... quam papa*. Der Heilig-Geist-Orden und seine Ablasskampagnen um 1500,” in *Ablasskampagnen des Spätmittelalters: Luthers Thesen von 1517 im Kontext*, ed. Andreas Rehberg (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2017).
- Schäfer, Karl Heinrich, *Die deutschen Mitglieder der Heiliggeist-Bruderschaft zu Rom am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1913).
- Schubert, Heinrich, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Stadt Steinau an der Oder* (Breslau: Verlag von Max Woywod, 1885).
- Schwenke, Paul, “Zur altpreußischen Buchdruckergeschichte,” *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten* 8 (1895): 64–83.
- Solicki, Stanisław, “Od formowania się plemion prapolskich do przełomu XV/XVI wieku,” in *Lubin. Zarys rozwoju miasta na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. Krystyn Matwijowski (Wrocław: DTSK Silesia, 1996).
- Spandowski, Michał, “Die verlorenen Inkunabeln. Von den Arbeiten am Zentralkatalog der Inkunabeln in Polen,” in *Johannes Gutenberg. Regionale Aspekte des frühen Buchdrucks. Vorträge der Internationalen Konferenz zum 550. Jubiläum der Buchdruckerkunst am 26. und 27. Juni 1990*, ed. Holger Nickel and Lothar Gillner (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1993).
- Starnawska, Maria, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony krzyżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2006).
- Steinborn, Bogusz, *Lubin* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1969).
- Swanson, Robert Norman, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Szymborski, Wiktor, “Uwagi o średniowiecznym przewodniku po odpustach nadanych szpitalowi duchaków w Krakowie,” *Studia Religioologica* 41 (2008): 157–165.
- _____, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Jagellonica, 2011).

Wiesiołowski, Jacek, "Pielgrzymowanie Polaków do Rzymu na przełomie XV i XVI w. (1478–1526). Komunikat," in *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. Halina Manikowska and Hanna Zaremska (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1995).

Zimny, Mateusz, "O pobycie w Polsce wizytatora i komisarza duchaków Pietro Sauniera w roku 1651," in *Podróże w świecie nowożytnym (XVI–XVIII w.)*, ed. Patryk Kuc and Weronika Kruszyna (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Jagellonica, Koło Naukowe Historyków Studentów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2021).

_____, *Veni Pater pauperum. Duchowe i materialne dziedzictwo Zakonu Du-cha Świętego de Saxia w Polsce. Katalog wystawy* (Kraków: Muzeum Archidiecezjalne w Krakowie, 2022).

_____, "The Indulgence Letter of Johannes de Steynovia of the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit. Concerning Konrad Baumgarten's Missing Print of AD 1498" (forthcoming).

_____, "The Letter of Indulgence of AD 1456 for the Fraternity of the Franciscan Church in Vilnius. A Foray into the History of the Order of the Holy Spirit de Saxia" (forthcoming).