



## THE DOMINICANS IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY KIEVAN RUS': HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

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This article developed from research on a history of Gothic architecture in Lviv (Lwów, Lemberg) that included the local Dominican convent and the associated church of Corpus Christi (no longer preserved in its original state), which are among the most significant examples of this style.<sup>1</sup> The foundation date of the convent is not known. The problem of dating required the application of data from related disciplines, in particular religious history and a history of the Dominican order in Rus'. What emerged from this research was that by the end of the twentieth century a detailed but contradictory "historical picture" of the Dominican presence in Kievan Rus' had been created in the historiography.

The earliest period of the Dominican presence was usually dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth-century. It was often connected to the missionary activity of the Polish Dominican St Hyacinth (St Jacek, Jacek Odrowąż, d. 1257) or, in some cases, to the religious piety of the Princess Konstancia.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to a rich historiography, source materials for the history of the Dominican order in thirteenth-century Rus' are limited; thus, scarce information in primary sources often contradicts the plethora of details in the secondary literature. By repeating similar information, existing historiographic material both created and perpetuated a certain set of information called "tradition." Medieval monuments, including the Dominican church of Corpus Christi in Lviv, are often dated "according to tradition."

Attempts to understand this "tradition" and to see how it was created and rooted in the historiography evolved into the research presented here. This problem can be formulated as follows: How were "traditions" created? Furthermore, can these "traditions" be confirmed by existing primary sources? The subject of this paper was further broadened by summarizing the present state of knowledge on the earliest traces of the Dominicans in Rus' and by investigating

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<sup>1</sup> The impetus for this paper began during the research for my MA thesis, "Gothic Churches of Lviv" (MA Thesis, Budapest: Central European University, 1997) and continued in "Zakhidno-yevropeys'ka techiya v seredniovichniy architekturi Lvova" (Western European developments in the medieval architecture of Lviv) (Ph.D. dissertation, Lviv: National University Ivan Franko, Ukraine, in preparation).

<sup>2</sup> Often represented as a patron of the Dominican convent in Lviv, Konstancia was a daughter of King Béla IV of Hungary (1235–1270), married to Leo I (d. 1301) a son of Prince Daniel (d.1264), ruler of the Galicia-Volhynian Principality.



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how information presented in the secondary literature corresponds to existing primary sources. The aim is not to create a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, but to demonstrate a general tendency in how the current understanding of the early Dominican history in Rus' was established. Therefore, some works (especially those repeating information already known) are omitted.

### The First Mention of St Hyacinth in Rus'

The narrative *De vita et miraculis sancti iacchonis*<sup>3</sup> from the mid-fourteenth century is the earliest among the sources to mention St Hyacinth's mission to Kievan Rus'. First published for secular scholarly circulation in 1884, it represents the earliest known example of the *Vitae* of St Hyacinth, which was written a century after the death of the saint. It connected the first Dominican mission to this region with the name of St Hyacinth.<sup>4</sup> According to the text, the Dominican saint received the existing convent of St Mary in Kiev, where he stayed for four years and accepted a number of clergy into the Order. His presence in the town is reported to have lasted from 1222 until 1226 or 1227, when he left and Friar Godino took over care of the convent.

A century later, *Historia Poloniae* by Jan Długosz (1415–1480) also referred to the Polish Dominicans in Kievan Rus', not mentioning, however, the name of Jacek Odrowąż in this context and giving a different date—1233.<sup>5</sup> From this text it is clear that the missionaries came from the convent of Sandomierz,

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<sup>3</sup> *De vita et miraculis sancti iacchonis (Hyacinthi) ordinis fratrum praedicatorum auctore Stanislao lectore Cracoviensi eiusdem ordinis*, ed. L. Cwikliński (henceforth *De vita et miraculis*), *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (henceforth MPH), vol. 4, ed. A. Bielowski (Lviv: Nakładem własnym, 1884), 818–903.

<sup>4</sup> "A.D. MCCXXII. Venit s. Iazecho cum sua societate, videlicet fratre Godino et fratre Floriano, et fratre Benedicto in Kyiow, ubi verbum vite disseminando et multis prodigiis et miraculis corruscando in eadem civitate conventum in honorem Virginis gloriose fratrum predicatorum recepit ibique quatuor annis moram fecit, et numerosam multitudinem sacerdotum ac clericorum ad ordinem recepit. Quinto vero anno inchoante iter versus Cracoviam arripuit, dimissoque fratre Godino in Kyiow," *De vita et miraculis*, 857–859.

<sup>5</sup> "Sub a. d. 1233. Wladimirus Kyoviensium Dux, veritus ritum suum Graecorum per fratres Praedicatores, videlicet Martinum de Sandomiria priorem Kyoviensem et alios fratres eius, utpote viros religiosos et exemplares pessumdari et confundi, praefatos fratres de ecclesia S. Mariae in Kyow ordini praefato consignata, et circa quam habebant conventum, expellit, redeundi facultate eis interminata." Joannis Długosii, *Historiae Poloniae libri XII*, in Jan Długosz, *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Przezdziecki, vol. 11 (Cracow: "Czas", 1873), 240 (hereafter Długosz, *Historia*).



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situated near the Polish-Ruthenian border. They were expelled from Kiev in 1233 and that probably terminated the presence of the Order in the town. In addition, Długosz gave information about the foundation of a Dominican house in Halych in 1238, also attributing it to friars from Poland.<sup>6</sup> St Hyacinth was mentioned under the date of his death as someone who “worked a great deal for the spread of the sacred faith in Poland and Rus’.” Praising the saint’s accomplishments, Długosz nevertheless does not refer to any particular mission to Rus’ undertaken by this Dominican.

The work of Długosz was used in the sixteenth century by Martin Kromer in his chronicle *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* (1555).<sup>7</sup> Kromer described the arrival of St Hyacinth in Cracow and the foundation of the first Dominican convent there, adding that many convents were built for the Order later, even as far away as Kiev and Halych. There is no direct statement here that houses in Kiev and Halych were founded by St Hyacinth himself. In fact, Kromer did not add anything new to what had been written by Długosz.

### Historiography of the Seventeenth Century: The Creation of the Tradition?

The sixteenth century witnessed the beatification (1526) and canonisation (1594) of St Hyacinth. After the beatification he was venerated in the Dominican convent of Lviv—the main house of the Order in Galician Rus’ territories. His name (*In die S. Jacinti*) appeared in the convent’s calendar under the years 1551 and 1554.<sup>8</sup> Most likely at the same time the altar of St Hyacinth was built in the Lviv Dominican church of Corpus Christi.<sup>9</sup> This altar was indicated on a plan of the Lviv convent made by Martin Grüneweg, a friar, in the early sixteenth

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<sup>6</sup> “Sub a.d. 1238. Fundatio monasterii fratrum Praedicatorum in Halicz. Apud halicziensem civitatem monasterium fratrum Praedicatorum fundatur, et fratres provinciae Polonicae domum illic accipiunt,” Długosz, *Historia*, 229.

<sup>7</sup> Martini Cromerii *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1589). Polish translation: Marcin Kromer, *Kronika Polska ksiąg XXX* (Sanok, 1857), 384 (hereafter Kromer, *De origine*).

<sup>8</sup> Archiwum O. O. Dominikanów w Krakowie (hereafter ADK), sygn. Lw. 18, p. 244, 299. All references to this archive are taken from Robert Świętochowski, “Na marginesie artykułu F. Markowskiego “Gotycki klasztor dominikański we Lwowie w świetle rękopisu z XVI wieku” (Comments on the article by F. Markowski “The Gothic Dominican friary in Lviv in the light of a sixteenth-century manuscript”) (henceforth Świętochowski, “Na marginesie”), *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 14, no. 2 (1969): 89–104.

<sup>9</sup> Świętochowski, “Na marginesie,” 96.



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century.<sup>10</sup> Commenting on the plan, Grüneweg also remarked upon the early history of the convent, seemingly as it was understood by the Dominicans themselves. According to this version, the site of the order had been occupied previously by a Ruthenian church, which was given to the Dominicans by a local duke for building a convent.<sup>11</sup> This appears to be one of the earliest statements that a local ruler was the founder of the Lviv Dominicans. Moreover, Grüneweg mentions the existence of some written confirmations ("de/n priwilegien") of this fact. Apparently, local Dominicans from the sixteenth century did not trace their origin from a foundation by St Hyacinth, as would sometimes be stated later in historiography, but from a nobleman, "Der Fuerste," who was later interpreted as one of the princes of the Galicia-Volhynian Principality, usually Leo I of Galicia.

How the Dominicans of Lviv saw their history can also be understood from legal materials of long-term territorial disputes that lasted from 1519 until 1762 between the Order and neighboring Armenians.<sup>12</sup> A reference prepared by the Order for a court of law in the late sixteenth century states that Konstancia of Hungary built a chapel on the left side of the Dominican church of Corpus Christi, where she was later buried.<sup>13</sup> Another reference in the legal material says: *Monasterium fundatum ante annum Domini 1297. In curia principis et caenobii loco S. Basilii Monachorum...*<sup>14</sup> Both these references signify that by the end of the sixteenth century the Lviv Dominicans dated their convent to the thirteenth-century, seeing their founders in the local rulers. In this way, Lviv became one more Dominican house of Rus' dated to the thirteenth century, apart from Kiev

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<sup>10</sup> The plan in Grüneweg's description of the convent in Lviv is preserved in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, rkps 1300, s. 1350–1352. It was published under the title "The description of the convent and the church of the Dominicans in Lviv prepared in the sixteenth century by Martin Grüneweg, known as Friar Wacław from Gdańsk" in Feliks Markowski, "Gotycki klasztor dominikański we Lwowie w świetle rękopisu z XVI wieku" (The Gothic Dominican friary in Lviv in the light of a sixteenth century manuscript), *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 14, no. 2 (1969): 65–88 (hereafter Markowski, "Gotycki klasztor").

<sup>11</sup> "An dieser stelle sol vor eine Reusische kirche sein gewesen, welcher der Fuerste samt seinem Hoewe dabei den bruedern gab, das kloester daran zubawen: wie den solchs noch heutthe ist zusehen aus den priwilegien..." cited in Markowski, "Gotycki klasztor," 84.

<sup>12</sup> ADK, sygn. Lw 572, in Świętochowski, "Na marginesie," 97.

<sup>13</sup> 2320/II. Primordium conventus ord. S. Dominici Leopoliensis et locationis prolixa descriptio. Pap., fol. K. 12. W. XVI. Wrocław, Ossolineum. Cited in: *Lwów dawny i dzisiejszy* (Lviv, ancient and contemporary), ed. Bogdan Janusz. (Lviv, 1928), 10.

<sup>14</sup> ADK, sygn. Lw 572, cited in Świętochowski, "Na marginesie"



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and Halych. However, by the sixteenth century there were already different versions regarding what endowments had been made (i.e. only an Orthodox church or the palace and the Basilian (Orthodox) monastery).

During the seventeenth century a number of works by Dominican authors propagated a history of the Dominican order of Poland and/or the life of St Hyacinth. One such work, published in Venice in 1606,<sup>15</sup> dates Hyacinth's missionary expedition to Rus' to 1228. Typically for this literature, Bzovius presents the saint as a model of an ideal Dominican and a patron saint of the Polish province.

The story about the origin of the Lviv convent appeared in the work *Relatio status almae archidiocesis Leopoliensis* (1615) by a local canon, Tomasz Pirawski.<sup>16</sup> According to this author, the origin of the convent was connected to the name of Konstancia of Hungary (wrongly identified by the author as *uxor Danielis* instead of the wife of Leo).<sup>17</sup> In his work, Pirawski emphasizes Konstancia's personal involvement in the foundation of the Dominican friary in Lviv. Mentioning in this context her sister, St Kinga, the author clearly refers to the dynastic cults of the Hungarian royal court. By establishing a convent and accepting the habit, Konstancia would follow the example of her holy sisters, thus assuming the right to be called "blessed" or "saint" herself. However, we have no confirmation that there was an attempt to canonise her nor is a *Vita* extant nor was a collection of miracles created to justify the claim of Konstancia's sanctity.

In addition, Pirawski stated that the friary was built by members of *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium propter Christum* (SFP) *primum ligno, deinde cum accepissent donatas villas a duce Russiae et Opoliae Ladislao seniore a.d. 1297 muro*.<sup>18</sup> The Hungarian princes were supposed to have favored Dominicans from the SFP missionary organisation. This is a clear anachronism, since the SFP was established only circa 1300 or 1324 and the Dominicans of Rus', forming a

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<sup>15</sup> Abraham Bzovius, *Thaumaturgus Polonus Seu de vita et miraculis S. Hyacinthi confessoris ordinis ff. praedicatorum Commentarius* (Venice, 1606), 10–11.

<sup>16</sup> Tomasz Pirawski, *Relatio status almae archidiocesis Leopoliensis*, ed. C. Heck (Leopoli: Sumptibus Soc. Hist., 1893) (hereafter Pirawski, *Relatio*).

<sup>17</sup> "Hic primum ante conditam urbem Leopolim ingressi cum bulla Gregorii Noni obtinuerunt curiam a principe, in qua monasterium collocarunt forte impetrante b. Constantia, sorore b. Cunegundis, sive matre sive noverca Leonis fundatoris, ... quam hic Leopoli primam monialium tertii habitus ordinis s. Dominici miraculis illustrem mortuam et ignotum in qua parte ecclesiae sepultam traditum conservatum..." Pirawski, *Relatio*, 108.

<sup>18</sup> Pirawski, *Relatio*, 109.



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separate *Contrata Russiae*, were not incorporated in it until as late as 1377/78.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Wladislas of Opole, who ruled Galician Rus' on behalf King Louis the Great of Hungary in 1372–1378, indeed made rich donations to the Order in Lviv during the 1370s, but could not have done it in 1297. These historiographic developments in the seventeenth century demonstrate that events of the fourteenth century were projected back into the thirteenth century. Regardless of the incorrect dating, the quotation above from Pirawski indicates that it was the donation of Wladislas (who used the title *dux Russiae*) which allowed the Order to build the convent of stone. Supplementing this information with Grüneweg's story, one may infer that the anonymous duke ("der Fuerste") could be Wladislas, the duke of Opole and Galician Rus', and not any earlier Ruthenian dukes (e.g. Leo I of Galicia). This could be an indirect answer to the question of who was the real founder or patron of the Lviv Dominicans.<sup>20</sup>

Later, in 1646, the work of another Dominican historian appeared—*Russia florida rosis et liliis* by Szymon Okolski—giving similar information concerning the foundation of the Lviv convent.<sup>21</sup> In his opinion, Konstancia *Regina Haliciae* founded the Third Order (whose member was *inter alia* Magdalena Armena) and finished her life as a Dominican nun, being famous for her miracles.<sup>22</sup> This was

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<sup>19</sup> Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Kontrata ruska w polskiej prowincji dominikańskiej w XIV–XVI wieku" (*Contrata Russiae* in the Polish Dominican province from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century), *Ukraina: kulturna spadshchyna, nacionalna svidomist, derzhavnist* 5 (Lviv: Instytut Ukrainoznavstva im. I. Krypiakevycha, 1998), 302 (hereafter Kłoczowski, "Kontrata ruska").

<sup>20</sup> The Order in Lviv indeed possessed the charters confirming the donation of the villages (Krotoshyn, Zashkiv and Kostiiv near Lviv) made by Duke Wladislas of Opole in 1377. They were published at the end of the nineteenth century. See: *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polski z Archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie* (hereafter AGZ) (Documents of the castle and lands from the so-called Bernardine Archive in Lviv), vol. 2, no 7. (Lviv: Halicky Wydzya Krajowy, 1870). Since the earliest known references to the Dominicans of Lviv are from the 1370s, it is possible to assume that the local house was founded around that time.

<sup>21</sup> Simon Okolski, *Russia florida rosis et liliis. Hoc est, Sanguine, Praedicatione, Religione et Vita. Antea FF. Ordinis Praedicatorum peregrinatione inchoata, nunc conventuum in Russia stabilitate fundata. Priore Tysmienicensys luci exposita* (Leopoli: Typis Coll. Societ. Iesu, 1646) (hereafter Okolski, *Russia florida*).

<sup>22</sup> "vidua Constantia Regina Haliciae locum a filio impetraverat Ordini, quia ratificata in fide Christi a Patribus Peregrinantibus constituerat consecrare Domino dies vitae suae. Quapropter suscepto habitu sororum Ordinis in proxima ecclesiae habitatione una cum virgine Magdalena Armena, atque caeteris Virginibus dies sacros in paenitentia et oratione finivit, et clara miraculis in eadem ecclesia sepulta fuit," Okolski, *Russia florida*, 72.



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one more attempt to project the late fourteenth-century situation on the thirteenth century: Magdalena Armena, who is regarded as a founder of the Third Order in Lviv in 1393, was not a contemporary of Konstancia.

The seventeenth century was the time when the legend about a Hungarian princess as the founder of the Lviv Dominicans was widely spread. It is difficult to clarify when it was created and what exactly caused its creation. A possible reason for the creation and spread of such a legend can be found in the history of the Polish province during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and in a conflict within the province that occurred at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>23</sup> This conflict concerned the status of those Dominican houses in Rus' that had belonged to the SFP from 1378 until 1456 and thus had special rights and privileges. These privileges guaranteed a solid economic foundation (e.g. the right to possess lands and other real estate) as well as relative independence for the *contrata Russiae* within the organisation. After the dissolution of the SFP in 1456, the Dominican houses of Rus' were included in the Polish province. The growing opposition around 1580 between the Lviv house and the convent of Cracow indicates the beginning of a separation process which took final form between 1596 and 1612.<sup>24</sup>

Consequently, the works of contemporary Dominican historians might have aimed at proving the right of one side or the other in the conflict. It may be that the legend of Konstancia as the founder of the friary was created to show a long-term tradition of the convent as a part of the SFP and not the Polish-Bohemian province of the Order. Okolsky appears to be one of those who supported the idea of independence from the Polish province. A later Dominican historian from the nineteenth century—Sadok Barącz—pointed out Okolsky's partisan interpretations and statements.

Another reason for the creation of "the tradition" could have been the necessity to attract more faithful to the convent and to gain new patrons, especially from among town patricians. The Dominican friary of Lviv was blocked on two sides by districts inhabited by a non-Catholic population (Armenians and Ruthenians), therefore its sphere of influence among Catholics of the town was rather insignificant. In order to raise the prestige of the convent and attract people, the Dominicans made an attempt to create a centre of pilgrimage. The legend about a miraculous burial place of a descendant from a royal saintly dynasty (in this case Konstancia of the Árpáds) would certainly have raised the prestige and attractiveness of the monastery. This, in turn, would have contributed to the financial well-being of the friars. Legends that the Order

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<sup>23</sup> Kłoczowski, "Kontrata ruska," 302.

<sup>24</sup> Kłoczowski, "Kontrata ruska," 307.





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surrounded itself with followed typical themes: apart from the legend of Konstancia mentioned above there were stories about a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary painted by St Luke and about a miraculous sculpture of the Virgin Mary brought to the convent by St Hyacinth himself.<sup>25</sup>

Józef-Bartolomej Zimorowicz, the author of the history of Lviv *Leopolis triplex* (1672), also mentioned Konstancia of Hungary, "whose confessors were Franciscans and Dominicans sent to Rus' to preach the true faith."<sup>26</sup> It is clear that for him it was not important which order she favored. Zimorowicz cited the work of Okolski and the story about the Hungarian princess being a patron of the Dominicans. At the same time, he also pointed to another version regarding the "monastic period" of her life, which connected her name with the Franciscans. He found this version in M. Kromer's chronicle, where it was written that after the death of her husband (wrongly identified as Prince Daniel) Konstancia joined her sister Kinga in the St Clare nunnery in Sącz (Poland).<sup>27</sup> However, Zimorowicz's aim was not to perpetuate Mendicant historiographic traditions. He used the legend to demonstrate a long-term (i.e. almost from the time of the town foundation) presence of a Catholic population in Lviv. Symptomatically, he contrasted the image of pious and gentle Catholic princess Konstancia with that of "wild" and aggressive Orthodox prince Leo I. Such clearly biased characteristics were most likely the result of acute tensions between the Orthodox and Catholics in early modern Lviv, and were inspired by religious polemics that tried to prove Eastern Christianity erroneous and incorrect, clearly inferior if compared to Catholicism. The work of B. Zimorowicz demonstrates another application of the legend of princess Konstancia.

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<sup>25</sup> Marek Słoń, "Życie religijne we Lwowie w XV wieku," ( Religious live in Lviv in the fifteenth century) (MA Thesis, Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, 1991).

<sup>26</sup> Józef-Bartolomej Zimorowicz, *Historia miasta Lwowa (od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1672)* (A history of Lviv from the earliest times until 1672) (Lviv: Wyd. Józef Schnayder, 1835), 81.

<sup>27</sup> Kromer, *De origine*, 578. There is nothing to confirm Kromer's statement. Daniel, who was not her husband, died in 1264, while her husband Leo I lived until 1301. At the same time, there is proof for a possible connection between the nunnery in Sącz and the family of one of the Ruthenian rulers, usually understood as Leo I. Polish chronicles reported on his daughter, the nun Swetosława: "1302. Domicella Swantoszka (Swetosława) filia magni principis de Russia ordinis sancte Clare obiit in Sendecz." See: "Rocznik Sędziwoja," *MPH* 2, 879.





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### Developments in Dominican Historiography in the Eighteenth Century and Later

The eighteenth century brought an important change to the Dominican convent of Lviv: in 1745 the old Gothic church of Corpus Christi was pulled down and the building of a new Baroque edifice begun. Two memorial tablets created in 1764 and placed in the newly built church referred to the early history of the convent. The first one was dedicated to

*Corporis Xti SS. Joannis Baptistae ac Petri et Pauli Apostolorum insignatam in ducalis olim palatii loco a archiepiscopo metropolitae leopoliensi, qui antiquissimam hanc basilicam titulo S-mi Leone Danielis regis Haliciae filio praedicatoribus peregrinantibus a Gregorio IX in Russia missos a. 1234 et a S. Hyacintho Odrowonizio 32 annis ante conditam Leopolim introductis primis istius urbis apostolis donato.*<sup>28</sup>

As is evident from this inscription, the legend about Leo I and his donation to the Dominicans was combined with another one about St Hyacinth, who appeared as an actual founder of the Order in Lviv. Apparently, at that time the foundation of a Dominican house thirty-two years before Lviv emerged as a settlement did not seem impossible.

The second inscription, which contained several earlier legendary motifs, said:

*...sacellum huic basilicae contiguum ab Constantia Belae IV Regis Hungariae et Mariae Alexii Imperatoris filia Regina Haliciae Matre Leonis Ducis Russiae, Sorore 3-tii ordinis S. Dominici imagini Deiparae Virginis olim constructum coram qua cum prostrata oraret.*<sup>29</sup>

The role of Konstancia was connected only to the foundation of a chapel built in the church of Corpus Christi for a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary.

This century saw further development in the history of the Dominican order in Rus'. The work of another Dominican historian, Ignacy Chodykewicz, published in 1780, was again concerned with the activity of St Hyacinth, interpreting it as wide scale apostolic missions. He offers a different picture of the history of the Lviv convent, associating the beginning only with the mission

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<sup>28</sup> Władysław Żyła, *Kościół i klasztor dominikanów we Lwowie* (The church and the convent of the Dominicans in Lviv) (Lviv: Biblioteka religijna, 1923), 74.

<sup>29</sup> Żyła, *Kościół*, 75.



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of the saint. Moreover, Lviv, the most important convent of Rus' in the author's time, appeared as the first place visited by the famous Dominican.<sup>30</sup>

While the interpretation of the history of the Dominicans in Lviv changed from century to century, information about houses of the Order in Kiev and Halych remained almost unaltered: they were dated to the thirteenth century and usually attributed to St Hyacinth. In later Dominican histories, such as that of Chodykiewicz, other houses (e.g. Zhytomyr, Volodymyr, and Owrucl) appeared to be dated to the thirteenth century and connected to the name of the saint. It seems that it was a question of prestige and importance to be founded by the venerated Dominican saint, therefore some later foundations (originating in the seventeenth century) were eager to create such "historical traditions."

Barącz's synoptic work on the history of the Dominicans used previous histories and documentary sources.<sup>31</sup> According to this author, the Kievan mission of the saint occurred "around 1228." This information was enriched with details of clearly legendary character: "Wolodymyr Riurykowych, the Kievan duke, being moved by the piety and miracles of Jacek Odrowąż, not only donated the place for a convent, but himself also unified with the Catholic Church."<sup>32</sup> As follows from this work, the foundation of the convent in Lviv "according to an ancient tradition" was also made by St Hyacinth, the "apostle of Rus' lands," although "the very place was forgotten because of bygone times and local turmoils."<sup>33</sup> He wrote that the place where the Dominicans built their convent and the church of Corpus Christi was previously occupied by the palace of Leo and the Ruthenian church, given to the Dominicans in 1270.<sup>34</sup> The Dominican convent in Halych, according to this author, was founded in 1238 by

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<sup>30</sup> "Venit ergo in Russiam anno 1233... ac primo in oppido... Leopoli... sub monte parvam S. Joannis Baptistae ecclesiam a sociis aedificari curavit, ipse vero pervenit in Haliciam... ubi domum fundavit... Russia illustrata progressus est in Moldaviam, Bulgariam, Cumaniam usque ad confinia maris nigri seu Euxini... ubi fundavit monasterium in Capha... inde per Constantinopolim, ubi fundavit caenobium... aedificavit caenobium in Chio... Inde divertit in Russiam magnam et visitavit Volodimiriam Volhyniae, Zytomiriam, Owruclum ac Cherniechoviam...pervenit Kijoviam." Ignacy Chodykiewicz, *De rebus gestis in provincia Russiae Ordinis Praedicatorum Commentarius libris XI* (Berdytchoviae, 1780), 10.

<sup>31</sup> Sadok Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce* (A history of the Dominican order in Poland), 2 vol. (Lviv: Zakład narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1861) (hereafter Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*).

<sup>32</sup> Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 2, 434.

<sup>33</sup> Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 2, 443.

<sup>34</sup> Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 2, 443.



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St Hyacinth, and he justified the absence of its remains with a reference to its destruction by Tartar attacks between 1260 and 1300.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, another place—Chernihiv near Kiev—was supposed to have been the location of a Dominican convent from St Hyacinth's times, but Barącz declared that "enemies' attacks eliminated all traces of its existence."<sup>36</sup> This work mixed and merged different versions of earlier Dominican histories. Although the author, like his predecessors, used some documentary sources, there did not influence his main ideas concerning the presence of the Dominicans in Rus' and did not reduce the number of legendary motifs and unsubstantiated versions.

Another contribution to Dominican historiography—*Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*—was published in 1930. This work deals with the history of the Order in general, and contains a short reference to Lviv as a place "*ubi Dominici Hungari prope Constantiam filiam Belae IV et uxorem Leonis de Halicz capellani erant...*"<sup>37</sup> Here, Konstancia reappears connected to Hungarian Dominicans.

In summary, the cited works give quite different information about the Dominicans in thirteenth-century Rus': their presence in Kiev is dated variously to 1222, 1228, and 1233; in Halych to 1233, "after 1233," 1238; and in Lviv to 1234, 1270, "ante 1297," and "A.D. 1297." The writings of Dominican authors were of the same genre; it was characteristic for them to depict a glorious history for the Order and/or to propagate the Christian virtues of St Hyacinth. The function of these writings influenced the style, the interpretation of facts, and the presentation of information. The authors followed a similar method, moving data from one work to another, either enriching with additional details or transforming motifs according to contemporary needs. They created a vivid historiographic tradition, rich in details, often with contradictory schemes and clearly partisan interpretations, with mistakes in dates and other facts.

## Scholarly Studies in the Twentieth Century

The work of Ivan Malyshevsky can serve to open a group of modern studies.<sup>38</sup> He investigated sources for the history of St Hyacinth's missions to Rus' using

<sup>35</sup> Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 2, 419.

<sup>36</sup> Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu*, vol. 1, 311.

<sup>37</sup> Angelus Maria Walz, *Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, (Rome, 1930), 171 (hereafter Walz, *Compendium*).

<sup>38</sup> Ivan Malyshevskiy, "Dominikanets Jatsek Odrovonzh, mnimyi apostol zemli russkoi" (The Dominican Jacek Odrowąz, a pretended apostle of the Russian land) *Trudy Kijevskoi dukhovnoy akademii* 1 (Kiev, 1867): 25–80, 421–481.



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mostly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works, since the earliest *Vita* of the fourteenth century was not published until after his work. Despite his very critical approach to the idea of the saint's "apostolic activity" (as is already evident from the title *The Dominican Jacek, a Pretended Apostle of Rus' Land*), he accepted the fact of the Dominican mission to Kiev as trustworthy and dated it to 1228.<sup>39</sup>

Another historian, Mykola Dashkevych, took up this question while writing about sources for the history of Kievan Rus' in the fourth volume of *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, where the fourteenth-century *Vita* was published.<sup>40</sup> He called the *Vitae* of St Hyacinth "scant information," which, however, allowed him the following conclusions: the mission of the Dominican saint aimed first of all at expanding the Order and the sphere of its activity was limited to the Catholic community of Kiev. The author also emphasised that the information from the *Vita* should not be taken for granted and must be verified through comparison to papal bulls from the 1230s.

The famous Polish scholar Władysław Abraham paid a great deal of attention to the history of the Dominicans. His work on the emergence of the Catholic Church in Kievan Rus' represents a basic study in the religious history of this region.<sup>41</sup> Based on papal bulls from 1233 and 1234 he reached a conclusion similar to Dashkevych's, seeing the main purpose of the Dominican missions to this region as necessary to provide religious care for local Catholics.<sup>42</sup> The author accepted as true the information provided by Długosz concerning Polish Dominicans expelled from Kiev in 1233 and the report of the foundation of a Dominican house in Halych in 1238.<sup>43</sup> Since Długosz did not mention the participation of St Hyacinth in the mission, Abraham also questioned this fact (i.e. the presence of the saint in Kievan Rus'). Moreover, he had a low estimation of the *Vita* as a historical source: "From this only two or three dates can be verified in documents, the rest is a legend since his earliest

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<sup>39</sup> He was followed by E. Golubinskiy who also dated the mission to 1228. See: E. Golubinskiy, *Istoriya russkoy cerkvi* (A history of Russian church) vol. 1, part 2 (Moscow, 1904), 808.

<sup>40</sup> Nikolai Dashkevich, *Dannye dlia drevnerusskoi istorii v Monumenta Poloniae Historica* t. IV. (Data on the history of Old Rus' from *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* volume 4) (Kiev: Tipografiya Universiteta im Sv. Vladimira, 1885), 9.

<sup>41</sup> Władysław Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji kościoła łacińskiego na Rusi* (The emergence of the organisation of the Latin Church in Rus') (Lviv: Towarzystwo dlia popierania nauki polskiej, 1904) (hereafter Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*).

<sup>42</sup> Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, 165.

<sup>43</sup> Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, 111–112.



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*Vita...* was based on oral accounts and represents rather a list of miracles...[rather] than facts of his life."<sup>44</sup> This scholar pointed out that later authors (meaning those who worked after Długosz) did not have any trustworthy new material. According to Abraham, the second half of the thirteenth-century demonstrated the influence of Hungarian rather than Polish Dominicans due to the marriage between Leo I and Konstancia of Hungary.<sup>45</sup> However, this assumption cannot be established from the primary sources and became one more repetition of the popular legend.

An academic publication from the mid-twentieth century, the *Polish Biographic Dictionary*, reviewed the life of Jacek Odrowąż and its "Kievan period."<sup>46</sup> The entry opens with a statement that the course of the saint's life is "covered by a legend" recorded by the fourteenth century hagiographer and therefore raises many doubts while continuing to assume, however, that his mission to Rus' was real.<sup>47</sup> According to the *Dictionary*, the only problem with Hyacinth's mission is the dating; it suggests that the mission took place after 1223 and not in 1228, due to the fact of Jacek's participation in the foundation of a convent in Wrocław as early as 1226.<sup>48</sup>

Mykola Chubaty is one of few Ukrainian scholars who have treated the question of the Dominican presence in Kievan Rus' in the twentieth century.<sup>49</sup> However, this was not the main subject of his study, therefore he did it rather in passing using some previous studies, especially that of Abraham. In contrast to the Polish historian, Chubaty accepted the version of St Hyacinth as the founder of the Dominican house in Kiev. Moreover, unlike Abraham and Dashkevych, he speaks of a twofold task for the Polish Dominicans in Rus': first, "to support Catholics and to separate them from Eastern Christians;" and second, "to conduct a mission for the conversion of Ruthenians to Catholicism."<sup>50</sup> The first statement was confirmed with the papal bull against mixed marriages between

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<sup>44</sup> Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, 72–73.

<sup>45</sup> Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji*, 169.

<sup>46</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny* (Polish Bibliographic Dictionary), vol. 10, no. 2, (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1963), 263–264.

<sup>47</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 263.

<sup>48</sup> *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 264.

<sup>49</sup> Mykola Chubaty, *Istoriya khrystianstva na Rusi-Ukraini* (A history of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine) vol. 1 (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University, 1976).

<sup>50</sup> Chubaty, *Istoriya*, 590.



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Catholics and Orthodox,<sup>51</sup> but the second statement was left without documentary support.

The history of Polish Dominicans has been the subject of research by the well-known Polish scholar Jerzy Kłoczowski. One of his studies refers to Dominican activities in thirteenth-century Rus' seen in the general context of the history of the Order in Poland. He indicates that the results of this activity "were doubtlessly modest"<sup>52</sup> As the author states, "Dominicans created a range of small stations there in the thirteenth-century. One of them, in the capital Kiev, must have been founded by Jacek Odrowąż himself." This scholar expresses his position more clearly elsewhere, writing: "the presence of Jacek in Rus' is confirmed by sources." Unfortunately, he does not provide a reference to these sources. However, Kłoczowski was quite critical of "later legends, which linked many convents in Rus' with St Hyacinth," because this is not evident from source materials.<sup>53</sup>

Two studies dealing with the Dominican presence in Kievan Rus' were written and published almost simultaneously in 1982 and 1983. The first one, an article written by the Russian scholar N. Shchaveleva, focuses on the "foundation of the Order's house in Kiev in the twenties and thirties of the thirteenth-century."<sup>54</sup> The author rightly points out the low value of the fourteenth-century St Hyacinth's *Vita* as a historical source. Still, she suggests that it is possible that "Jacek with friends could depart for Kiev at the end of 1222 or beginning of 1223, where he established the first foundations of the future house..., as well as in other places."<sup>55</sup> Regrettably, no explanation follows as to what exactly should be understood by "other places." Contradicting her

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<sup>51</sup> Chubaty, *Istoriya*, 593. As M. Chubaty interpreted it, the bull was a reaction of the pope to mandatory re-baptism introduced by Kievan Metropolitan Cyril (1224–1233) for those Catholics who wanted to marry Orthodox spouses. Most likely it was an anti-Latin campaign of the Metropolitan (himself of Greek origin) that resulted in the banishment of the Dominicans from Kiev. Moreover, this scholar assumes that local Latin clergy, who led far from a virtuous Christian life, might also have contributed to the expulsion of the Order.

<sup>52</sup> Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Zakon braci kaznodziejów w Polsce 1222–1972. Zarys dziejów" (The Dominican Order in Poland 1222–1972: An outline of their history) in *Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce* (Studies on the history of the Dominicans in Poland), ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1972), 36.

<sup>53</sup> All quotations from: Kłoczowski, "Zakon braci kaznodziejów", 37.

<sup>54</sup> Nadezhda Shchaveleva, "Kievskaya missia pol'skikh dominikantsev" (The Kievan mission of the Polish Dominicans) in *Drevneyshie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR. Materialy i issledovaniya 1982 g.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), 139–151.

<sup>55</sup> Shchaveleva, "Kievskaya missia," 146.



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own evaluation of the *Vita*, Shchhaveleva uses the information supplied by this hagiographic work to date the Kievan mission of the Dominicans and to attribute it to St Hyacinth.

The second work touches upon the same problem in the context of the Catholic Church in Rus' lands.<sup>56</sup> Its author, the Polish scholar Tadeusz Trajdos, had no doubt of the presence of St Hyacinth in Kiev, writing after Bzovius that "already in 1228 St Jacek along with a group of numerous brothers departed to Rus'."<sup>57</sup> Interestingly, three members of the Order mentioned in the *Vitae* (*fratre Godino et fratre Floriano, et fratre Benedicto*) grew in later centuries to "a group of numerous brothers" who followed the saint. Referring to "numerous missionary stations in Przemyśl, Halych and in Podolia" founded in the course of such an expedition, the author probably did not take into consideration the remark of Kłoczowski about the unjustified attributions of many of convents in Rus' to St Hyacinth. Trajdos used the works of Dominican historians extensively, who, in turn, borrowed their ideas from "notes and copies in the Dominican archive in Lviv." These "notes and copies," as is usual in such cases, were "unfortunately burnt, partially stolen."<sup>58</sup> Dominican hagiographic literature seems to influence the style and terminology of Trajdos' study, his interpretation of sources and treatment of events.<sup>59</sup> It is not surprising to find the following idea about the

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<sup>56</sup> Tadeusz Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Litwy za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386–1434)* (The Catholic Church in the Ruthenian territories of the Crown and in Lithuania during the reign of Władysław II Jagiełło [1386–1434]), (Wrocław, 1983) (hereafter Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*).

<sup>57</sup> Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*, 45.

<sup>58</sup> Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*, 48. Documents supposedly confirming speculative ideas have a strong likelihood of disappearing, getting lost or burnt. In the case of Lviv religious institutions, the Dominicans were no exception: a similar situation can be observed among the Franciscans. "According to the tradition [sic] the Franciscans ... were settled in Lviv in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. This should be proven by a foundation document issued in 1235, which was in the possession of the convent in 1633." See: Józef-T. Frazik, "Andrzej Koszyc, Włoch; mieszczanin przemyski" (Andrzej Koszyc, an Italian; a citizen of Peremyshl'), *Biuletyn Historiji Sztuki*, 1(1969), 214. One has to stress that Lviv, founded as a stronghold against Tartars (i.e. no earlier than the 1240s) was first mentioned in a chronicle under the year 1256. In 1261 Leo I was forced by Khan Burundai to destroy the stronghold, which, however, was later rebuilt. It is not realistic to suppose that a Catholic order would have been established there as early as the mid-thirteenth century. It seems that the growing importance of Lviv during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries motivated the invention of dates older than the town itself for some institutions.

<sup>59</sup> It is rather disappointing to read in a modern academic study about the "apostolic mission of St Jacek" in Rus' or about the saint's "friendly reception by the Kievan duke





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convent in Lviv: "the Dominicans in Lviv were settled by St Jacek Odrowąż in 1234."<sup>60</sup>

The information from the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (LexMA) sums up the present state of knowledge regarding the Dominican presence in thirteenth-century Rus'. It says: "Im russ.-ostslaw. Bereich entstanden zwei Häuser in Galič (zw. 1228–38) und Kiev (um 1228), von wo die D. aber bald vertrieben werden."<sup>61</sup> Supplementing this information with another entry entitled "Hyazinth," the LexMA states that, "In russ. Ostslaw. Bereich gründete er die Dominikanerkl. in Kiev (1228) und Galič (zw. 1228? 1238?),"<sup>62</sup> leading to the conclusion that "traditions" from Dominican historiographic and hagiographic sources have been admitted to contemporary scholarship as reliable. It follows from the LexMA that immediately before Kiev, Jacek may have founded houses in Gdansk (1227) and Wrocław (1226). Although his founding activities are depicted as very intense, this is hardly realistic. Moreover, while the convents in Polish territory: Cracow (1222), Wrocław, and Gdansk were recognized as only linked to his name ("wird mit H.s. Namen verbunden"), the fact of his personal involvement in the foundation in Kiev seems unquestionable to the authors. At the same time, the example of the LexMA indicates a certain revision of the early history of the Dominicans in Kievan Rus' by the end of the twentieth century: Lviv disappears from the list of the thirteenth-century foundations.<sup>63</sup> Only Kiev (1228) and Halych (1228–38) remain.

Developed through the centuries, historiography has not created a clear picture of the first steps of the Dominicans in this region. The subject has been further complicated by modern historical scholarship, which, with few exceptions, was more willing to follow Dominican historiography instead of conducting independent research to solve contradictions and inconsistencies. All this indicated a necessity to return to existing primary sources in order to see what exactly can be verified about the Dominicans in thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'.

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who allowed him to establish a convent in Kiev." Certainly, no source for this information was indicated. See: Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*, 45.

<sup>60</sup> Trajdos, *Kościół katolicki*, 172.

<sup>61</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 3, (Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1999), 1215.

<sup>62</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, 242.

<sup>63</sup> However, this does not mean that the idea of dating the Mendicants' presence in Lviv to the thirteenth century and associating their presence with the oldest Latin churches in Lviv has been completely abandoned. See, for instance, Jan-Kazimierz Ostrowski, *Lwów. Dzieje i sztuka* (Lviv. Its history and art) (Cracow: Universitas, 1997), 16.



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### Primary Sources Reconsidered

The earliest collection of documentary sources consists of papal bulls from the 1230s. The first, from 1232, was addressed to *Dilectis filiis Priori provinciali, Jacobo et Domaslao, fratribus Ordinis Praedicatorum in Polonia commorantibus*.<sup>64</sup> Pope Gregory IX turned to the Polish Provincial, asking him to investigate the condition of Catholic clerics in Kievan Rus' and the possibility of establishing a Latin bishopric there.<sup>65</sup> This message confirms the idea that in the early stages of their activity the Dominicans sent to Rus' were more concerned with the local Catholics than with the Orthodox population.

The next year brought two more bulls. Among the recipients of the first message was again the Polish provincial; this time the Pope prohibited mixed marriages between Catholics and *Ruthenis schismaticis*.<sup>66</sup> The second bull, from 15 March 1233, was directed to *Priori provinciali Poloniae et fratribus Ordinis praedicatorum commorantibus in Russia* and listed rights granted to the Dominicans staying in Rus'.<sup>67</sup> This is the first direct evidence for the presence of the Order in these lands, making it possible to suggest that by 1233 the Dominicans had reached Kiev. However, the text of the bull does not imply that there was a previously founded house of the Order in the town or a previous mission, such as that of St Hyacinth.

It is difficult to confirm the presence of the Order in Kiev in the 1220s and equally difficult to establish the presence of St Hyacinth there. The only source mentioning the saint and the Dominicans in the town during the 1220s is the fourteenth-century narrative *De vita et miraculis sancti Iacchonis*. A characterisation of this source is given in the book *Ancient Polish Historiography* by Jan Dąbrowski, who states explicitly that this *Vita* of St Hyacinth, written a hundred years after his death, was a legend establishing the cult.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, the text mostly

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<sup>64</sup> AGZ, vol. 7, no 1.

<sup>65</sup> "...de conditione et statu cleri latini in Russia, ad erigendam eparchiam pro hac regione..." *Documenta pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainiae illustrantia*, ed. A. Welykyi, vol. 1 (1075–1700), (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University, 1953), no 6, (hereafter *Documenta pontificum Romanorum*).

<sup>66</sup> *Documenta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 7.

<sup>67</sup> *Documenta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 8.

<sup>68</sup> Jan Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie do r. 1480* (Ancient Polish historiography until 1480), (Warsaw: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1964), 98 (hereafter: Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo*)



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lists and describes miracles that were themselves based on oral traditions.<sup>69</sup> Dąbrowski lists reliable facts of the saint's biography: in 1228 he was mentioned as a friar of the Dominican convent in Cracow; in 1236 he was present in Kwidzyn; in 1238 he preached a crusade against Prussians in Gniezno; in 1257 he died.<sup>70</sup> Thus the *Vita* is weak grounds for the history of the Dominicans in Kievan Rus' and cannot verify the tradition concerning the saint's visit to Kiev or any other place there. Even less reliable is the information from the hagiographic literature, "traditions" which were often transformed according to ideological trends and needs of the Order. This undermines the idea of a Dominican house being established somewhere in the 1220s, as has been assumed in many publications, including the LexMA.

The presence of the Order in Kiev in 1233 or 1234 is confirmed by another papal message from 1234 with information about religious conflicts in the town that resulted in the banishment of the Dominicans.<sup>71</sup> Therefore one can believe in the information supplied by Długosz in his work regarding the Kievan mission of the Polish Dominicans. As is written there, the Dominicans obtained *ecclesiam S. Mariae* in Kiev, which was *ordini praefato consignata*. This implies that the Order received an existing church *circa quam habebat conventum*.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo*, 99. Recently, a detailed study of the texts of St Hyacinth's miracles revealed traces of the intentional promotion of his cult. The lists of witnesses showed that clerics (mostly Dominican friars) and well-off noblemen (notably the saint's relatives) were interested in St Hyacinth's canonization. See: Nelya Koteyko, "The Cult of St Hyacinth and Polish Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Cracow" (MA Thesis, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 2001).

<sup>70</sup> Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo*, 99.

<sup>71</sup> *Documenta pontificum Romanorum*, no 9. Pope Gregory IX issued another bull in the same year for "dilectis filiis fratribus ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum in terras Ruthenorum et Paganorum proficientibus" with further authorisations for the Dominicans. See: AGZ, vol. 7, no 1.

<sup>72</sup> Recent archaeological investigations have confirmed the existence of a rotunda on Starokyivska hill in Kiev. It has been dated to 961/962 and attributed to the mission of Bishop Adalbert. See: Yuriy Duba, "Rotonda 961–962 rr. u mezhach naydavnishoho horodyshcha na Starokyivs'kiy hori" (The rotunda from 961–962 on the territory of the oldest fortified settlement on the Starokyivska hill) *Zapysky NTSh*, vol. 235 (Lviv: Naukove Towarystwo im. T. Shevchenka, 1998), 524–558. It was suggested that this rotunda was the Latin church of St Mary to which the monastery of Irish Benedictines in Kiev was attached at the turn of the twelfth century. Perhaps the Polish Dominicans arrived at the same monastery. See: Vasylii Putsko, "Kammenyi relief iz kievskikh nakhodok" (A stone relief from Kievan finds) *Novoye v archeologii Kieva* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1981), 189–192.



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However, none of the documents indicate the personal involvement of St Hyacinth in the Dominican mission or his presence in Kiev. Similarly, it is difficult to find solid proof for the foundation of the Dominican house in Halych in either 1228 or 1238. References to such a house are absent in the report on the mission of the Hungarian Dominicans to *Hungaria Magna* between 1235 and 1238.<sup>73</sup> J. del Plano Carpini, who visited Rus' in 1246, also did not mention Dominican convents in these lands. Thus one cannot agree with Barącz that the house in Halych reportedly founded by St Hyacinth was devastated by the Tartars' between 1260 and 1300. The same is true for the rest of the houses supposedly founded in the thirteenth century, but later destroyed "with no traces left" (such as St Catherine's convent in Chernihiv). Moreover, no chronicles of Kievan Rus' refer to any Mendicant convent(s) there.

Papal correspondence from the mid-thirteenth century concerning the religious union with Prince Daniel of Galicia contains a hint at the possible presence of the Dominicans in Galicia-Volhynian Rus' at that time. The text of one papal letter points to the prince's own will to have Dominican friars with him.<sup>74</sup> The friars invited by Pope Innocent IV to stay with Daniel (*ut perpetuo apud regem maneant*) were summoned from Bohemia in 1246.<sup>75</sup> This suggests the absence of a constant seat of the Dominicans in Rus' at that time. Almost nothing is known about these two friars. Still, their planned arrival and the fact that Daniel himself asked the Pope to send him friars from the Order could have given rise to legends about a foundation for the Dominicans made by this ruler. Nevertheless, it is impossible to prove with existing sources the fact that Prince Daniel or anybody else initiated the foundation of a house in either Halych or Lviv.

Similarly, there is no evidence for relationships between Konstancia of Hungary and the Mendicants in Rus'. In general, little is known about her life

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<sup>73</sup> *De facto Ungarie Magne a fratre Ricardo invento tempore domini Gregorii pape noni* in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, ed. E. Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1938), 535–542.

<sup>74</sup> "Cupientes tuis votis annuere et volentes in omnibus quantum cum Deo possumus tue satisfacere voluntati, dilectos filios fr. Alexium et... socium ejus, qui cum ipse fuit in Bohemia, O.P., tibi ad morandum tecum duximus concedendos...": *Historia Russiae Monumenta, ex antiquis exterarum gentium archivis et bibliothecis deprompta ab A. Turgenev* (hereafter *HRM*) (Petropoli: Typis E. Pratz, 1848), vol. 1, no 63. This fact was also mentioned in *Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum* and interpreted as follows: "Conatibus unionis ecclesiasticae anni 1246 habendae inter curiam Romanam et Danielem de Halicz vasallum Tatarorum fratres Praedicatores, e quibus uni Alexii nomen, intervenerunt," Walz, *Compendium*, 171.

<sup>75</sup> *HRM*, vol. 1, no. 63–64.



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after her marriage. The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle contains a laconic entry dated to 1247: "Daniel took his son Leo and the Metropolitan and went to the king [Béla] in Izvolyn [presently Zvolen in Slovakia] and took his [Béla's] daughter for his son for a wife."<sup>76</sup> More information about the princess is to be found in the 1302 *Vita et miracula s. Kungae*: "*Constantia tradita est Leoni duci Russiae quae corruscat miraculis in civitate Lwowensi*."<sup>77</sup> Kinga, another daughter of King Béla, entered the St Clare nunnery in Sącz after the death of her husband, the Polish King Boleslaw. She died in the nunnery in 1292 and was later venerated as a saint. Her *Vita* is the first source to mention miracles of Konstancia in Lviv, yet nothing is said about her contacts with the Dominicans. The strong support that the Mendicants received at the royal court in Hungary and the rapid development of their provinces there during the thirteenth century<sup>78</sup> suggest that Konstancia could possibly have favored the Order. This possibility was mentioned in the literature, although left without proof it became a further continuation of the "tradition."<sup>79</sup> Taking into account the circumstances that seem to have motivated the creation of the "tradition," it is possible that there might be no proof for it at all. Apparently, for monastic communities as well as for royal courts "the cult of divine rulers ... was always the fruit of a conscious investment, ... an invention of tradition."<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *Ipatyevskaya Letopis'* (Hypatian Chronicle) ed. A. Shakhmatov in *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, vol. 2 (Sankt-Peterburg: Archeograficheskaya Komissiya, 1908), 542. This chronicle does not mention the presence of the two friars who might have already arrived in Rus' by that time.

<sup>77</sup> *Vita et miracula s. Kungae*, MPH, vol. 4, 684.

<sup>78</sup> Beatrix Romhányi, "The Settling Features of the Orders in Medieval Hungary," (MA thesis, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 1994), 31–43.

<sup>79</sup> Despite the fact that there is no proof for relationships between the Dominican order and the princess, her legend has not been abandoned in contemporary times. Recent decades have seen a development in Dominican hagiography and the incorporation of Konstancia's legend in it. See Mary J. Dorcy, *St Dominic's Family*, (Washington, D.C.: TAN Books, 1983). An even more prominent example of the "tradition's" revival is to be found in a popular religious periodical. Here an article about Konstancia's holy and pious life is written in the style of a *Vita*: Piotr Stefaniak, "Konstancia Arpadówna, księżna halicka, zapomniana dominikanka ze Lwowa" (Konstancia of the Árpáds, a forgotten Dominican from Lviv). *Semper Fidelis* 1–2 (Wrocław, 2001): 48–51, 26–30.

<sup>80</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 396.



## The Dominicans in Thirteenth-century Kievan Rus'

### Conclusion

Existing primary sources allow the following conclusions concerning the history of the Dominican order in Kievan Rus' in the thirteenth century. Kiev appears to be the only place where the presence of the Dominican order can be proven. Their presence was followed by the foundation of a convent, most likely near the existing Latin church of St Mary. The Kievan mission was very short and can be dated to 1233/1234 according to papal bulls, but not to 1222, 1223 or 1228 according to the hagiographic literature. It was concerned mainly with the local Catholic population. After the expulsion of the Order, there is no trace of renewal of the Dominican presence in the town during the thirteenth century.

It is impossible to verify the foundation of a Dominican house in Halych in either 1228 or in 1238 with existing primary sources. Similarly, there is no confirmation for the presence of the Order in Lviv in the thirteenth century: the Dominican house here was first mentioned only in the 1370s. The versions of the story about Prince Daniel, Leo I or Konstancia of Hungary as possible founders of the Dominicans in Galician Rus' remain without solid documentary support.

There is no reliable evidence for the presence of St Hyacinth in Rus' either. All existing information concerning his missions in this territory is taken from hagiographic literature and requires further verification. One cannot reasonably speak of any convent in Rus' founded by this saint when his presence there is hypothetical.

Much additional information taken from Dominican historiography and hagiography can be qualified as mostly legendary, or, in better cases, as hypothetical. Regrettably, this information has not been completely revised in modern scholarship. This paper aimed at attracting attention to the fact that contemporary studies, consciously or not, cultivate certain old and weakly grounded postulates concerning the Dominicans in Kievan Rus' during the thirteenth century. The example of an early history of the Order in this territory reveals a tendency to borrow "traditions" created in hagiography and post-medieval historiography to form an unquestioned basis for much later studies. This method of rewriting and repeating that dominates these studies represents, in this way, a continuation of Dominican "traditions." Consequently, it has become customary to refer to "tradition," legitimised by constant repetition, as to a primary source, without the necessity to verify it. Such verification on the grounds of existing primary sources is essential since it can provide a different view, rather than a "historical picture" smoothly polished through the centuries.