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# Mendicant Orders and Urban Life in the Middle Ages: the Franciscans. Aspects of German Historiography since World War II

DIETER BERG

University of Hannover

*Die folgende Skizze verdeutlicht einerseits die Entwicklung der Franziskanerforschung nach 1945 auf institutioneller Ebene mit den wichtigsten Forschungseinrichtungen – von der Duns-Skotus-Akademie in Mönchengladbach bis zur „Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensforschung“ in Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. Andererseits werden „Haupttrends“ in der deutschen Mendikantenforschung aufgezeigt, die sich nach Krieg und Verfolgung durch die Nationalsozialisten zuerst der Grundlagenforschung zuwandte, die vorrangig das „Quellenfundament“ einer zeitgemäßen „vita minorum“ unter Rückgriff auf die frühesten Zeugnisse franziskanischen Lebens zu sichern suchte (mit Neuedition der Gründerschriften und Klärung der „Franziskanischen Frage“). Die bedeutendsten deutschen Franziskanerforscher aus dem Orden erwarben sich hierbei bleibende Verdienste, obwohl seit ca. 1980 die Grundlagenforschung zunehmend durch die italienische Mediävistik bestimmt wurde. Hinzu kam, daß sich seit Ende der 70er Jahre verstärkt „weltliche“ Gelehrte in Deutschland mit Problemen der Ordensgeschichte beschäftigten und unter dem Einfluß der französischen Geschichtswissenschaft („Annales“) andere und neue thematische Schwerpunkte entwickelten. Jüngere Forschergenerationen wandten sich intensiver modernen wirtschafts- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Themen zu, wobei sich die politische Spaltung Deutschlands mitunter in starken ideologischen Belastungen auch in den Studien zur Ordensgeschichte auswirkte. Seit den späten 70er Jahren beschäftigte man sich einerseits mit der „Mikrohistorie“ einzelner Franziskanerkonvente und mit der Komplexität franziskanischen Wirkens in der jeweiligen Stadt; andererseits widmete man sich zunehmend der Mentalitätsgeschichte und der Historie der franziskanischen Bewegung im weiteren politischen und gesellschaftlichen Kontext von Städten und Territorien. Aus der Vielzahl an Detailstudien werden daher im Folgenden lediglich einzelne, als paradigmatisch zu betrachtende Einzeluntersuchungen vorgestellt.*

## PRELIMINARY REMARK\*

This chapter will try to examine the essential features of historical research on the history of the Order of the Franciscans after the end of the Second World War, and especially the relationship between the Mendicants and citizenry, with regard to a historical re-

search inventory for the geographical area of today's Republic of Germany. As the field of research "Mendicants and City" cannot be studied in isolation, the major tendencies of the development of Mendicant historical research will be outlined with respect to sources and basic research. As a result, the field of research of "Franciscans and Citizenry" can be documented in detail. In the first part, reference will be made to general literature and manuals in which the problem is mentioned, as well as monographs of the history of certain monasteries which directly address the problem area. Due to the vast numbers of different studies, only a representative choice of works will be presented. In the second part, the most important aspects, such as the history of the monasteries or special studies on certain topics, will be used to explain the major conventions of communication between the Franciscans and the citizens in the urban area.

### IMPORTANT RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS IN EUROPE AND GERMANY IN PARTICULAR

The devastating occurrences of the Second World War inevitably had an impact on academic life both inside and outside the Order of the Franciscans. No major institution in the academic field worked just as an internal research and educational institution of the Order. The only two traditional research institutions of the community of the Franciscans in Europe that had supranational relevance and continued working were in Italy, and they tried to continue Franciscan research during the time of rapid rebuilding after the war. These two bodies were the Franciscan research institution near Florence and the University of Rome belonging to the Order of the Franciscans. Both institutions had been founded by the General Minister Bernardino dal Vago da Portogruaro in the 19th century. The "Collegio San Bonaventura", founded in 1877 in Quaracchi near Florence and transferred to Grottaferrata near Rome in 1971, was followed by the "Collegium S. Antonii Patavini in Urbe", which was used by the community of the Franciscans for an internal "studium generale" and renamed "Athenaeum Antonianum de Urbe" in 1938, and again in 2005, becoming "Pontificia Università Antonianum". Up to the present day, both institutions have dedicated themselves to the publication of Franciscan sources as well as to the research of the history of the several branches of the Franciscan family along with the updating of Franciscan thought<sup>1</sup>.

Due to intensive rebuilding after the destruction of the Second World War, it was possible to re-establish the internal studies of the Order in the provinces of the Franciscans at the beginning of the 1950s. This happened in the province of Cologne and Saxony by way of founding centres of study in Paderborn, Münster and Mönchengladbach. An intensification of the pursuit of Franciscan history and theology was experienced by the "Duns-Skotus-Akademie" in Mönchengladbach at the beginning of the 1960s, and from 1968, in the inter-provincial academy of German-speaking Franciscans and the Rheinisch-Westfälische Province of the Capuchins. It was in these two research and educational institutions that the most famous German Franciscan scholars of their time worked, mainly shaping the development of research about the Order. In 1970, the "In-

stitut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte” was founded by the “profane side”. This institution examined the history of European cities, and in this context looked at the role of the Mendicants in German cities in an interdisciplinary and comparative way<sup>2</sup>. Since 1975, similar aims have been followed by Kaspar Elm at the Freie Universität Berlin when founding a major research field “Vergleichende Ordensforschung”, and the publication of “Berliner Ordensstudien” within the “Berliner Historische Studien”. This series of monographs is rich in material and contains important contributions to the history of the relationship between the Mendicants and the cities in the Middle Ages<sup>3</sup>.

In 1988, the management of the Franciscan Province of Saxony decided to found its own research institution. Its objective was to document completely the history of the province in the context of the history of the whole Order, as well as the history of the cities and the country examined in its geopolitical areas. This task is being carried out by Dieter Berg at the “Institut für franziskanische Geschichte (Saxonia)”, and, apart from editing several research series, the Institute has begun to publish the first complete portrayal of the history of the German Franciscan Province from the 13th to the end of the 20th century<sup>4</sup>. Then in the late 1990s, the “Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft” decided to establish a special research field “Institutionalität und Geschichtlichkeit”, and within this a research project called “Institutionelle Strukturen religiöser Orden im Mittelalter” at the University of Dresden. Led by Gert Melville, this project is devoted to the investigation of institutional structures of religious orders in the Middle Ages within a range of comparative problems, the main one being the Mendicants and their role within German cities during the Middle Ages<sup>5</sup>. Since July 2005, these activities have been expanded through the creation of the “Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte” at the University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. This research institution, which is mainly supported by the “Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft”, regards itself as a centre for coordination of international research of the Orders, striving to obtain a comparative analysis of the history of certain Orders with the inclusion of relevant partner science<sup>6</sup>.

## BASIC FRANCISCAN RESEARCH UNTIL CA. 1980

### Publication of the Works of Francis of Assisi

The serious destabilisation of the Order of the Franciscans brought about by the Second World War and the National Socialist dictatorship of terror<sup>7</sup> led to a renewed compilation of the central aspects of Franciscan life. As on many occasions, the Order again faced the question about a modern shaping of the “vita minorum”, this time from amongst the post-war rubble. The decision of many German Franciscans not only to find new ways to shape the life of the Order, but also to realise them, was typical of their determination. They decided on a new fundamental orientation through dedication to the very sources of the Order, especially to the rules of the community. In 1955, a working group led by Lothar Hardick published the *Werkbuch zur Regel des Hl. Franziskus*<sup>8</sup> with the support of the General Minister Augustin Sépinski. This work helped the

Franciscan brothers because of its thorough study and orientation. On the one hand it held important interpretative elements about the *Inhalt der Regel und die Ideale der Frühe* [Contents of the rule and the ideals of the early period], while on the other hand it contained a programme of the new academic edition of the Franciscan set of rules and regulations. Later, Lothar Hardick, David Ethelbert Flood<sup>9</sup>, Engelbert Grau, and especially Kajetan Eßer devoted themselves to studies of the history of tradition and the critical edition of the works of the founder of the Order with particular emphasis on the early Franciscan rules. Their importance as the norm for the spiritual work a member of the Franciscan Order had to undertake in the 20th century was constantly emphasised<sup>10</sup>. After approximately 20 years of work, in 1976, Kajetan Eßer was able to publish a critical edition of the *Opuscula* of Francis of Assisi. This was followed by a revised text edition by Engelbert Grau in 1989<sup>11</sup>. Despite the objections which were made against Eßer's principles of editing and textual revision, a solid editorial basis had been established for the basic works of the Order of the Franciscans<sup>12</sup>.

### German Translations of Early Franciscan Works

Apart from the attempts to create a secure basis of the most important normative sources of the early Order of the Franciscans, the researchers mentioned above realised the necessity of allowing access to a broader public, and had the major Franciscan sources translated. Owing to the striving for a spiritual renewal, the important series of "Franziskanische Quellenschriften" was published. Mainly shaped by Lothar Hardick<sup>13</sup> and Engelbert Grau, this series not only tried to present the most important early Franciscan writings using a current translation, but also to experience the *Geist des Ordensstifters* [Spirit of the founder] and to respond to the challenges of modern times<sup>14</sup>. The objective was not so much the presentation of new research to a broad public, but more an introduction to Franciscan spirituality. Several annotated translations of early Franciscan sources served for this purpose, such as the vita of Aegidius of Assisi, the writings of Saint Antonius of Padua, the chronicles of foundations of Jordan of Giano and Thomas of Eccleston and the vita about Saint Francis of Saint Bonaventura and of Julian of Speyer – a publishing project which proved to be very successful<sup>15</sup>. Since the millennium, most of the texts of this ten volume series have served as the basis for the concept of a complete work of modern translations in German of all early Franciscan sources, which at the same time tried to allow access to Franciscan thought by a broader public<sup>16</sup>.

### Studies of Manuscript Tradition for Early Franciscan Historiography

A consequence of the new edition of the early Franciscan sources, including the sources of historiography, was the necessity for the German researchers to become intensively occupied with the *Franziskanische Frage* [Franciscan Question]. Since the publication of a critical biography of Saint Francis by Paul Sabatier in 1894<sup>17</sup>, the aim had been to reveal the mutual dependence and the ties to specific times of the early sources of Franciscan historiography. As the historiography of the Order had been an important medi-

um for the documentation of “true” Franciscan life since the early times, the official and critical works of Franciscan historiography played a key-role in the understanding of the history of the Mendicant communities until the late 14th century<sup>18</sup>. After decades of fruitless discussion between European researchers about the origin and objectives of the most important early Franciscan sources, the leading German researchers turned to the *Franziskanische Frage* [Franciscan Question] – problems concerning the history of manuscript tradition. Apart from Kajetan Eßer, it was mainly Sophronius Clasen and, after his death, Engelbert Grau who developed their own new system pertaining to the tradition of early Franciscan sources, following extensive studies into the manuscript tradition<sup>19</sup>. However, their conceptualised theories of manuscript tradition only received attention in German-speaking countries. After the death of Engelbert Grau († 1998), this discussion reached its temporary end in Germany, mainly due to basic research done by Italian scholars since the middle of the 1990s. Beginning with the 1970s, German research outside the Order on the studies of Franciscan historiography concentrated mainly on the questions of concept and mentality. This brought the community of the Mendicants closer in context to the changes of the Church and society of that time<sup>20</sup>.

## CITIZENRY AND THE ORDER OF THE FRANCISCANS IN HANDBOOKS OF GENERAL HISTORY ABOUT THE CHURCH AND THE ORDERS

The most important handbooks of ecclesiastical history and the history of the Orders focused on the Mendicants in cities during the Middle Ages, at least at a fundamental level. The huge and multi-volume ecclesiastical history works such as *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* by A. Hauck, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* by H. Jedin, and *Geschichte des Christentums in the High and Late Middle Ages* by N. Brox, together with smaller presentations such as the ecclesiastical history by K. Bihlmeyer and H. Tüchle and the handbook of *Kirche in ihrer Geschichte* edited by K.D. Schmidt and E. Wolf, as well as encyclopaedic works about the medieval church by M. Borgolte and I.W. Frank, for example, documented the work of the Franciscans<sup>21</sup>. There are also monographs about the history of the Orders in the Middle Ages published by, among others, L. Holtz, L. Iriarte and J.R.H. Moorman, which appeared after the basic works of H. Holzapfel and M. Heimbucher<sup>22</sup>. Works covering several epochs of the history of certain regions or historical areas and their ecclesiastical history are also informative. Amongst these are studies about the history of the church in Westfalia by A. Schröer and the ecclesiastical history of Lower Saxony by H.-W. Krumwiede<sup>23</sup>. The vast collection of works “*Germania Sacra*” about the history of German bishoprics in the Middle Ages up to modern times, which was first published by P.F. Kehr from 1929 to 1944 and since 1956 by the Max-Planck-Institute for History in Göttingen, is also to be considered, as it gives information about the history of certain Franciscan monasteries<sup>24</sup>. Also to be taken into account are some volumes of the “*Helvetia Sacra*” which hold information about the history of the Mendicants in Switzerland<sup>25</sup>. Finally, one must not forget the regional “*Klosterbücher*”, which contain information about spiritual institutions in certain re-

gions and also about the relevant monasteries of the Franciscans. Some examples are the *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Klosterbuch*, the *Hessisches Klosterbuch*, the *Westfälisches Klosterbuch*, the *Württembergisches Klosterbuch* and the *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch* (to be published). As these works are like handbooks, they are very informative and often contain important hints about the functions of the Mendicants in the urban world<sup>26</sup>.

## CITIES AND FRANCISCANS IN MONOGRAPHS OF CERTAIN PROVINCES OR REGIONS

The portrayals of the history of the Mendicant monasteries, mainly published by members of the Order of the Franciscans, within the provinces or a certain territory, are often richer in material than the regional descriptions mentioned above. Since the 19th century, Franciscan historians have concentrated primarily on the documentation of the history of their own province. Such studies are represented by K. Eubel about the “Oberdeutsche Minoriten-Provinz”, R. Banasch on the monasteries of the Franciscans between the Weser and the Elbe, P. Schlager and K. Eubel on the province of Cologne, L. Lemmens and H. Hoogeweg on the Franciscan monasteries in the “Provincia Saxonica” (Lower Saxony), one by F. Jansen about the development of the province of Thüringen and one about Silesia by L. Teichmann. Although they are quite old, most of these works are still helpful today, especially because of their rich sources of material which has since been partly lost or destroyed<sup>27</sup>. After the Second World War, some Provinces continued this preoccupation with their own history and created large series of publications such as “*Alemania Franciscana Antiqua*” and “*Bavaria Franciscana Antiqua*”. These document the history of the Provinces in a non-structured series of smaller monographs about single monasteries. Furthermore, these histories of the monasteries examine major aspects of Franciscan life in certain cities, thereby investigating the often intensive and fruitful cooperation between the Mendicants and the citizens. Later questions about the history of social matters or the history of mentality are often missing from these works which focus mainly on the chronology of events. However, they can be very useful as collections of material<sup>28</sup>. The series “*Saxonica Franciscana*” takes these later aspects of research into account. Apart from monographs about certain Franciscan monasteries in the area of the former “*Provincia Saxonica*”, it includes investigations pursuing systematic and comparative research regarding the entire history of Saxonica and the relationship between the city and the Mendicants<sup>29</sup>.

Since the 1980s, external authors, not belonging to the Order of the Franciscans, have turned towards the investigation of the history of certain provinces of the Franciscans. Such works include those by D. Berg and R. Nickel about the Franciscans in Westfalia, G. Streich about the Mendicant monasteries in Lower Saxony, H.J. Schmidt about monasteries in Brandenburg und Hessen, T. Berger about the Mendicants in the archbishopric of Mainz, L. Teichmann about the medieval Franciscan monasteries in middle and eastern Germany, M. Werner about the Mendicants in Thüringen, I. Ulpts about the Mendicants in Mecklen-

burg, A. Rütger about the Franciscans in Alsace, and B. Schmies and K. Rakemann about the "Provincia Saxonia". All the works mentioned above mostly examine several monasteries and document the efficiency of the Mendicants in a certain region based on the rich local sources of material<sup>30</sup>.

## CITIES AND FRANCISCANS IN MONOGRAPH STUDIES ABOUT SINGLE MONASTERIES

Since the end of the 1960s, non-Franciscan research in particular has devoted itself to the question regarding the position of the Mendicants in the medieval cities of the German Reich. While B.E.J. Stüdeli investigated the position of the Mendicants in the public life of the medieval city, and J.B. Freed the role of the Mendicant orders in society in several provinces, K. Elm published a series of important works about the position and efficiency of the Mendicant orders in urban society. Works on the sociology of the cities were added, for example, A. Herzig's report about the Mendicants and the ecclesiastical politics of the cities<sup>31</sup>. The publication of works concerning conflict and cooperation between the Franciscans and the citizenry was intensified at the beginning of the 1980s. Very often an attempt at comparative research was made, comparing different German cities<sup>32</sup>. A clear attempt at comparative research can be detected in certain monographs about certain Franciscan monasteries in German cities, and since the beginning of the 1980s the number of publications has increased. However, these have been more extensive in material as they have been based on case studies. In these investigations, whose number is too vast to allow mention of all the titles, all major aspects of Franciscan work in the cities or communities as well as conflicts and cooperation between the Mendicants and the citizenry are examined<sup>33</sup>.

## STUDIES ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE FRANCISCANS IN CERTAIN GERMAN CITIES IN DETAILED SURVEYS

Apart from the investigations mentioned above, which mainly document the history in a comparative manner, many monographs or detailed studies about the history of single monasteries examine a multitude of different aspects, although only a few of these can be noted. Many monographs on monasteries extensively described the history of the foundation of the convent. The latter is difficult to explain, as detailed constitutional rules and regulations of the community of the Franciscans are missing<sup>34</sup>. The phenomenon of finding the Mendicant monasteries mainly on the periphery of cities was investigated in the context of urban topography, as well as social status, in the city under examination<sup>35</sup>. Prosopographic research methods were increasingly used, and investigations were made into the personnel, the social background and the family of the "fratres" and their social status within the cities<sup>36</sup>.

For a long time, research has paid great attention to the problem of the relationship between the Franciscans and the political authorities within the cities. This has been



because of the personal relationships between the Mendicants and the leading community families, particularly those represented on the city councils. These relationships were intensified as a consequence of the strict postulate of poverty of the Order, as the Franciscans were dependent on the participation of the political authorities in the use and management of their properties. Additionally, there were often problems concerning the possession of pensions and donations to the Mendicants. Historical investigations also examined the economic status of the communities. Finally, the Franciscans were involved in riots and political unrest in several German cities, where their postulate of peace and its realisation in communal reality was investigated<sup>37</sup>.

A different field of historical research concerns the relationship between the Franciscans and the bishop or the secular clergy of the towns. In the beginning, the Mendicants were welcomed by the leaders of the bishoprics, mainly because they improved the spiritual welfare in the communal centres. However, very soon, and especially as a consequence of intense papal privileges, a fierce rivalry developed between the Mendicants and the secular clergy, the latter seeing the Mendicants as a threat to their own economic income and therefore as annoying rivals. Hardly any city with Mendicant monasteries escaped rivalries or conflicts, which weighed heavily on the communities. Nevertheless, the spiritual welfare of the Franciscans and their activities in delivering sermons are an essential element of historical research because of their relevance to education within German cities<sup>38</sup>. The vast number of works on the importance of the Franciscans with regard to the reformation and the dissolving of Mendicant monasteries in certain cities, makes it impossible to discuss them in this essay. The same is also true for the innumerable monographs and studies on single members of the Orders, whose social and pastoral importance is often acknowledged in a glorifying and less critical way.

## SUMMARY

After the war and the persecution of the Mendicants during the era of National Socialism, there was an attempt at renewal by the communities concerned. In German society after 1945, Saint Francis and his message of peace and reconciliation was a particular matter of investigation. This had an impact on German historical research, which sought a new start after the misuse of history by compliant scholars in the time of National Socialism<sup>39</sup>. In particular, German research on the Franciscans tried to resume the direction that it had taken at the beginning of the 20th century. However, this was not a radical change of paradigms, but a turn towards an investigation of the “true Saint Francis”. In the first instance, it was an investigation of the objections of his “fraternitas” in the context of religious and social movements of that time, and in the second instance, it was admitted that basic research was needed for the analysis, which in turn required further research on the *Franziskanische Frage* [Franciscan Question], developed by P. Sabatier in 1894. It mainly concerned the interdependence of early Franciscan historical writing and its credibility. Research also turned to the conceptual

and jurisdictional fundamentals of the Order. These were the writings of the founder of the Order and, in particular, the regulations of the community.

Until the 1960s, research on Franciscan history, which had mainly been done by members of the Order, was concerned with the history of the Order in the context of religious development. This changed in about 1970 with the influence of historical research in Western Europe, the works of Jacques Le Goff and the French school of the “Annales” playing a particularly important role in shaping German medieval research<sup>40</sup>. Major research regarding the Mendicants and urbanisation were a role model for several German studies intensively occupied with the role of the Franciscans in the cities, about a decade later. Since approximately 1980, there have been not only the old studies about *Franziskaner und die soziale Frage* [Franciscans and the Social Question], but also the investigations on *Bettelorden und kommunale Entwicklung* [Mendicants and Urban Development], *Mendikanten und städtische Konflikte* [Mendicants and Urban Riots], *Mendikanten und die städtische Wirtschaft* [Mendicants and Urban Economy] and *Bettelorden im religiösen und geistigen Leben der Städte* [Mendicants and the Urban Religious and Intellectual Life]. Naturally, the political division of Germany has had an effect on the many areas of research concerning the Orders, and these areas have changed. For example, the communist historians in the GDR tried to describe the Franciscan movement as part of the class struggle and the early bourgeois revolution<sup>41</sup>.

The basic research that had been carried out since the end of the war came to an end around 1980, mainly due to the fact that all the important German Franciscan researchers had died. Since then, research regarding the most important Franciscan sources has been continued primarily by Italians such as the group “Società di Studi Francescani” (Chairman: Grado Merlo) in Assisi, who published important editions and translations, and the “Centro Interuniversitario di Studi Francescani” in Assisi which was founded later, and supports Franciscan research projects all over Europe. Since 1980 German historians have not played a major role in the field of research on Franciscan sources and manuscripts. However, lots of medievalists within the Federal Republic, though not being members of the Order, have begun to work on aspects of Franciscan history in the context of general social and urban history. Furthermore, broader research about the development of the Mendicants in certain regions of the German Reich has been continued, although this had already been partly done at the beginning of the 20th century, mainly by members of the Order. Newly founded research institutions like the “Institut für franziskanische Geschichte (Saxonia)” in Münster have played a major part in this research. For example, in this institute, sources from archives as well as several monographs about the relationship between the Mendicants and the citizenry of Saxony from the beginning of the Middle Ages until the 20th century, have been systematically collected. Additionally, an increasing number of studies about certain cities and their Mendicant monasteries have been published by secular historians. Communist historians of the GDR were especially interested in the role of the Mendicants in communal revolts and political unrest, identified in cities of Northern Germany from the middle of the 14th century. Most works of German medievalists

are concerned with the history of single members of the Mendicant orders, examining such things as their activities in preaching within the cities, their theological relevance and their role within the Order etc.

Bearing in mind the development of German Franciscan research, a general trend in historical science can be established: on the one hand, the specialisation of research regarding certain people or single monasteries, and their social relevance, and on the other hand, the complete retreat from the area of basic research, which has been abandoned in the main to Italian researchers. An exception to this is the translation, currently being prepared, of the most important Franciscan sources, but even here German tardiness has been exposed as these texts have already been translated into the major languages of the world in great number and some time ago.

## NOTES

- \* I want to thank Ms Penelope Stonehouse David and Mr Arne Borstelmann for their help with the English translation.
- <sup>1</sup> *Il Collegio di San Bonaventura Quaracchi. Volume commemorativo del centenario della fondazione (1877-1977)*, "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum", 70, 1977, pp. 241-680; S. Gieben, *Centri ed organi di studi francescani*, "L'Italia Franciscana", 52, 1977, pp. 293-405. – See the latest information about the Order on the Internet sites: <http://www.fratiquaracchi.it> and <http://www.antonianum.ofm.org>. – The most important series of publications of the collegium are: "Analecta Franciscana", "Bullarium Franciscanum", "Sinica Franciscana" and the periodical "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum".
  - <sup>2</sup> A current overview about the different series of publications of the institute can be found on the Internet: <http://www.uni-muenster.de/Staedtegeschichte/Institut.shtml>.
  - <sup>3</sup> An updated overview for the published volumes of the "Ordensstudien" can be found in the bibliography of K. Elm in F. J. Felten - N. Jaspert (eds.), *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für K. Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin 1999, pp. 961-979.
  - <sup>4</sup> Regarding the tasks and series of publications of the IFG ("Saxonia Franciscana", "Saxonia Franciscana – Beihefte", "Franziskanisches Leben") see [http://www.dhm.de/gaeste/ifg\\_saxonia/books.htm](http://www.dhm.de/gaeste/ifg_saxonia/books.htm) as well as the short essay by D. Berg, *Franziskanisches Leben und franziskanische Geschichte in der Sächsischen Ordensprovinz. Zur Tätigkeit des „Institutes für franziskanische Geschichte (Saxonia)“ in Bochum 1988-1991*, in "Vita Seraphica", 72, 1991, pp. 145-150.
  - <sup>5</sup> A list of the publications of the members of staff in the SFB can be found at: <http://rcswww.urz.tu-dresden.de/~sfb537/teilprojekte/c/vc.htm>.
  - <sup>6</sup> Information regarding the perspectives of the research being presently done by this office, see: <http://www.vita-religiosa.de/FOVOG.htm>.
  - <sup>7</sup> As an example of the Franciscan victims of the terror and dictatorship of Nationalist Socialism e.g. in the Saxonian Province: Patres Kilian Kirchhoff OFM, Elpidius Markötter OFM and Br. Wolfgang Rosenbaum OFM. See the short biographies of O. Mund, *Blumen auf den Trümmern. Blutzeugen der NS-Zeit*, Paderborn 1989.
  - <sup>8</sup> *Werkbuch zur Regel des Heiligen Franziskus. Hrsg. v. den deutschen Franziskanern*, Werl 1955. Published at the same time as the series "Bücher franziskanischer Geistigkeit" (vols. 1 ff., Werl 1956). Here, General Minister Sępinski explained the attempt to get a systematic analysis of the Franciscan sources to discuss *Einzelfragen franziskanischer Geistigkeit* [special problems of Franciscan spirituality] and to point out their *Lebenswert für die Meisterung unserer heutigen Aufgaben* [importance for solving special problems nowadays] (vol. 1, Introduction p. 7).

- <sup>9</sup> Cf. D.E. Flood, *Die Regula non bullata der Minderbrüder*, Werl 1967. Further studies based on different writings by K. Eßer, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zur Regula non bullata der Minderbrüder*, Grottaferrata 1974.
- <sup>10</sup> See – apart from the basic studies of the sources – K. Eßer, *Das Testament des Heiligen Franziskus von Assisi* (Münster 1949) and the programmatic work of the same author: *Anfänge und ursprüngliche Zielsetzungen des Ordens der Minderbrüder*, Leiden 1966 – Added are several smaller investigations: K. Eßer - R. Oligier, *La tradition manuscrite des opusculs de Saint François d'Assise*, Rome 1972; K. Eßer (ed.), *Studien zu den Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, E. Kurten - Isidoro de Villapadierna (eds.), Rome 1973.
- <sup>11</sup> K. Eßer, *Die Opuscula des Hl. Franziskus von Assisi. Neue textkritische Edition*, Grottaferrata 1976; 2 revised edition, Grottaferrata 1989.
- <sup>12</sup> For the acknowledgement of Eßer's works, cfr. H. Schneider (ed.), *Kajetan Esser – Leben und Werk*, Mönchengladbach 1998; A. Cacciotti (ed.), *Verba Domini Mei. Gli "Opuscula" di Francesco d'Assisi a 25 anni dalla edizione di K. Esser*, OFM, Rome 2003.
- <sup>13</sup> The most important works by L. Hardick on historical tradition can be located in: D. Berg (ed.), *Spiritualität und Geschichte. Festgabe für L. Hardick zu seinem 80. Geburtstag*, Werl 1993.
- <sup>14</sup> Preface to the 1st edition by K. Eßer - L. Hardick, in *Die Schriften des Heiligen Franziskus von Assisi. Einführung, Übersetzung, Auswertung v. K. Eßer, L. Hardick*, Werl 1951, p. 7.
- <sup>15</sup> "Franziskanischen Quellenschriften", vols. 1 ff., Werl 1951 ff.
- <sup>16</sup> The complete works will be published soon: *Die franziskanischen Quellenschriften deutsch*. Edited for the "Germanischen Provinzialen-Konferenz der Franziskaner" by D. Berg and L. Lehmann OFM Cap (vol. 1) as well as J. Schneider OFM (vol. 2).
- <sup>17</sup> P. Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, Paris 1894.
- <sup>18</sup> For the discussion about the "Franziskanische Frage" see *La "Questione francescana" da Sabatier a oggi*, Assisi 1974; D. Berg, *Armut und Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Studienwesens der Bettelorden im 13. Jahrhundert*, Düsseldorf 1977, pp. 12 ff.; S. da Campagnola, *Le origini francescani come problema storiografico*, Perugia 1979; L. di Fonzo, *Questione francescana*, in "Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione", VII, Rome 1983, coll. 1133-1154; F. X. Bischof, *Die "Franziskanische Frage": ein ungelöstes historiographisches Problem*, "Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift", 41, 1990, pp. 355-382; E. Menestò - S. Brufani (eds.), *Fontes Franciscani*, S. Maria degli Angeli – Assisi 1995, pp. 1299 ff., 1395 ff.; M.P. Alberzoni - B. Bartoli Langeli (eds.), *Francesco d'Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana*, Turin 1997, esp. the papers of E. Menestò (pp. 117-143) and R. Rusconi (pp. 339-357); J.M. Arcelus Ulibarrena, *Floreto de Sant Francisco*, Madrid 1998, pp. 211 ff.; E. Pásztor, *Francesco d'Assisi e la "questione francescana"*, Assisi 2000, pp. 15 ff., 31 ff.; E. Kumka, *La "Compilatio Assisiensis". Una prova dell'analisi strutturale e concettuale*, "Miscellanea Francescana", 103, 2003, pp. 233-306; E. Caroli (ed.), *Fonti Francescane*, Padua 2004<sup>2</sup>, pp. 221 ff.
- <sup>19</sup> The fundamental study of S. Clasen, *Legenda Antiqua S. Francisci. Untersuchung über die nachbonaventurianischen Franziskusquellen, Legenda Trium Sociorum, Speculum Perfectionis, Actus B. Francisci et Sociorum Eius und verwandtes Schrifttum*, Leiden 1967. This was continued in several articles about the historical tradition, mainly published in the periodical "Wissenschaft und Weisheit", but never collected in a single volume. E. Grau continued the work of Clasen: E. Grau, *Franziskusbiographie*, in *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi*, Vienna 1982, pp. 64-78; Id., *Die Dreieisfährtenlegende des Heiligen Franziskus von Assisi von Bruder Leo, Rufin und Angelus und Anonymus Perusinus*, Einführungen, Werl 1993, pp. 29 ff., 187 ff.
- <sup>20</sup> Examples of the work by K. Elm - D. Berg, *Vitasfratrum. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eremiten- und Mendikantenorden des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Festgabe für K. Elm zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by D. Berg, Werl 1994; D. Berg, *Armut und Geschichte. Studien zur Geschichte der Bettelorden im Hohen und Späten Mittelalter*, Kevelaer 2001.
- <sup>21</sup> A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 5 vol., Berlin 1911-1929<sup>3-4</sup>; H. Jedin (ed.), *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2/2, 3/1-2, Freiburg/B. 1966-1975; K.D. Schmidt - E. Wolf (eds.), *Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte*, Faszikel E, F 1, G 1-2, H, Göttingen 1966 ff.; N. Brox (ed.), *Die Geschichte des Christentums*

- (*Deutsche Ausgabe*), vol. 4-6, Freiburg/B. 1991-1994; M. Borgolte, *Die mittelalterliche Kirche*, Munich 1992; K. Bihlmeyer - H. Tüchle, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, Paderborn 1996<sup>20</sup>; I.W. Frank, *Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Düsseldorf 1997<sup>4</sup>.
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- <sup>23</sup> A. Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen vor der Reformation*, vol. 2, Münster 1967, esp. pp. 185 ff.; H.-W. Krumwiede, *Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens*, vol. 1, Göttingen 1995, pp. 86 ff.
- <sup>24</sup> Since 1929 published in three sections (vol. 1 ff., Berlin 1929 ff.), published in a New Series since 1962 by the Max-Planck-Institut (vol. 1 ff., Göttingen 1962 ff.).
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- <sup>26</sup> L. Schmitz-Kallenberg, *Monasticon Westfaliae*, Münster 1909; H. Kochendörffer, *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Klosterbuch*, Neumünster 1923; W. Dersch (ed.), *Hessisches Klosterbuch. Quellenkunde zur Geschichte der im Regierungsbezirk Kassel, im Kreis Grafschaft Schaumburg, in der Provinz Oberhessen und im Kreis Biedenkopf gegründeten Stifter, Klöster und Niederlassungen von geistlichen Genossenschaften*, Marburg 1940 (Reprint 2000<sup>2</sup>); K. Hengst (ed.), *Westfälisches Klosterbuch. Lexikon der vor 1815 errichteten Stifte und Klöster von ihrer Gründung bis zur Aufhebung*, vols. 1-3, Münster 1992-2003; W. Zimmermann - N. Priesching (eds.), *Württembergisches Klosterbuch. Klöster, Stifte und Ordensgemeinschaften von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Ostfildern 2003; H.-D. Heimann u.a. (ed.), *Brandenburgisches Klosterbuch. Handbuch der Klöster, Stifte und Kommenden bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2006.
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<sup>31</sup> B.E. J. Stüdéli, *Minoritenniederlassung und mittelalterliche Stadt*, Werl 1969; J.B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 1977; K. Elm (ed.), *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin 1981; Id., *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, Berlin 1989; Id., *Erwerbspolitik und Wirtschaftsweise mittelalterlicher Orden und Klöster*, Berlin 1992; A. Herzig, *Die Beziehung der Minoriten zum Bürgertum im Mittelalter*, "Die Alte Stadt", 6, 1979, pp. 21-53.

<sup>32</sup> To be mentioned as a paradigm the studies by R. Barth, *Argumentation und Selbstverständnis der Bürgeropposition in städtischen Auseinandersetzungen des Spätmittelalters [...]*, Cologne-Vienna 1974; N. Hecker, *Bettelorden und Bürgertum. Konflikt und Kooperation in den deutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters*, Frankfurt 1981; B.-U. Hergemöller, *Krisenerscheinungen kirchlicher Machtpositionen in hansischen Städten des 15. Jahrhunderts (Braunschweig, Lüneburg, Rostock, Osnabrück)*, in W. Ehbrecht (ed.), *Städtische Führungsgruppen und Gemeinde in der werdenden Neuzeit*, Cologne-Vienna 1980, pp. 313-348; B.-U. Hergemöller, *Verfassungsrechtliche Beziehungen zwischen Klerus und Stadt im spätmittelalterlichen Braunschweig*, in *Rat und Verfassung im mittelalterlichen Braunschweig*, Braunschweig 1986, pp. 135-186; B.-U. Hergemöller, *Pfaffenkriege im spätmittelalterlichen Hanseraum*, Cologne-Vienna 1988; Berg, *Bettelorden* cit. (passim); Id., *Leben* cit. (passim).

<sup>33</sup> Examples of the history of monasteries and their relationship to the cities in the following chapter.

<sup>34</sup> See the vast number of detailed investigations about the foundation of Franciscan monasteries in Berlin, Dortmund, Halberstadt, Halle, Hamburg, Hannover, Hildesheim, Kiel, Münster, Osnabrück and Paderborn, in Berg, *Leben* cit. (passim).

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. as an example Stüdéli, *Minoritenniederlassung* cit. ch. II/1; A. Mindermann, *Bettelordensklöster und Stadtopographie. Warum lagen Bettelordensklöster am Stadtrand?*, in Berg, *Könige* cit. pp. 83-103.

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. S. Logemann, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Lüneburg*, Werl 1996, ch. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Cfr. B. Neidiger, *Mendikanten zwischen Ordensideal und städtischer Realität. Untersuchungen zum wirtschaftlichen Verhalten der Bettelorden in Basel*, Berlin 1981; H.J. Schmidt, *Bettelorden in Trier. Wirksamkeit und Umfeld im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, Trier 1986; I. Ulpts, *Zur Rolle der Mendikanten in städtischen Konflikten des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Beispiele aus Bremen, Hamburg und Lübeck*, in Berg, *Bettelorden* cit. pp. 131-151; G. Wittke, *Franziskanische Friedensvorstellungen und Stadtfrieden. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen franziskanischen Friedewirkens in mitteldeutschen Städten im Spätmittelalter*, in Berg, *Bettelorden* cit. pp. 153-178; P. Müller, *Bettelorden und Stadtgemeinde in Hildesheim im Mittelalter*, Hannover 1994, ch. VI. – Especially the Marxist-influenced medieval research dedicated to the investigation of "revolutionäre kommunale Bewegungen" particularly "Bürgerkämpfen" and the role, which the Mendicants played in the

alleged "Klassenkämpfen". Cf. as an example K. Czok, *Zunftkämpfe, Zunftrevolutionen oder Bürgerkämpfe*, "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx Universität Leipzig, Gesell.gesch. Reihe", 8, 1958-1959, pp. 129-143; W. Mägdefrau, *Revolutionäre kommunale Bewegungen und spätmittelalterliche Bürgerkämpfe in den Städten des Thüringer Dreistädtebundes [...]*, Diss. phil. Jena 1971. Cfr. critics in the "bourgeois capitalistic research": C. Reinecke, *Bürgerkämpfe und Stadtpolitik im mittelalterlichen Braunschweig*, Oldenburg 1984; R. Averkorn, *Les clercs face aux émeutes au bas moyen âge dans le nord-ouest, nord et nord-est de l'Allemagne*, in *Les clercs au Moyen Âge*. Colloque du CUER MA, Université de Provence, mars 1995, Aix-en-Provence 1995, pp. 9-29; W. Ehbrecht, *Hanse und spätmittelalterliche Bürgerkämpfe in Niedersachsen und Westfalen*, in W. Ehbrecht, *Konsens und Konflikt. Skizzen und Überlegungen zur älteren Verfassungsgeschichte deutscher Städte*, Cologne 2001, pp. 103-128; B. Kannowski, *Bürgerkämpfe und Friedebriefe - rechtliche Streitbeilegung in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, Cologne 2001; R. Averkorn, *The Impact of the Religious Orders on Political Change in Medieval and Early Renaissance Europe*, in A. Cimдина (ed.), *Religion and Political Change in Europe*, Pisa 2004, pp. 33-56.

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. apart from the works already mentioned by Berg, *Armut* cit.; Id., *Leben* cit.; Berger, *Bettelorden* cit.; Ulpts, *Bettelorden* cit.; Logemann, *Franziskaner* cit.; Müller, *Bettelorden* cit. as well *Im Dienst an der Gemeinde. 750 Jahre Franziskaner-Minoriten in Würzburg, 1221-1971*, ed. Provinzialat und Konvent der Franziskaner-Minoriten in Würzburg, Würzburg 1972; M. Sehi, *Die Bettelorden in der Seelsorgsgeschichte der Stadt und des Bistums Würzburg bis zum Konzil von Trient*, Würzburg 1981; E. Schlothuber, *Die Franziskaner in Göttingen. Die Geschichte des Klosters und seiner Bibliothek*, Werl 1996; R. Averkorn, *Die Bischöfe von Halberstadt in ihrem kirchlichen und politischen Wirken und in ihrer Beziehung zur Stadt von den Anfängen bis zur Reformation*, in D. Berg (ed.), *Bürger, Bettelmönche und Bischöfe in Halberstadt. Studien zur Geschichte der Stadt, der Mendikanten und des Bistums vom Mittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Werl 1997, pp. 1-79; W.L. Adam, *Friedberg in Hessen und die Franziskaner. Eine Symbiose von Stadt und Kloster im Mittelalter*, Michelstadt 2004.

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. K.F. Werner, *Das NS-Geschichtsbild und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1967; P. Lundgreen (ed.), *Wissenschaft im Dritten Reich*, Frankfurt 1985; E. Schulin - E. Müller-Luckner (eds.), *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg (1945-1965)*, Munich 1989; K. Schreiner, *Wissenschaft von der Geschichte des Mittelalters nach 1945. Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten der Mittelalterforschung in geteilten Deutschland*, in Schulin, *Geschichtswissenschaft* cit., pp. 87-146; W. Schulze, *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945*, Munich 1989; K. Schönwälder, *Historiker und Politik. Geschichtswissenschaft im Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt-New York 1992; W. Schulze - O.G. Oexle (eds.), *Deutsche Historiker im Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt/M. 1999; H. Duchhardt - G. May, *Geschichtsforschung um 1950*, Mainz 2002; F.-R. Hausmann (ed.), *Die Rolle der Geisteswissenschaften im Dritten Reich 1933-1945*, Munich 2002; J. Laudage (ed.), *Von Fakten und Fiktionen. Mittelalterliche Geschichtsdarstellungen und ihre kritische Aufarbeitung*, Cologne 2003; H. Lehmann - O.G. Oexle (eds.), *Nationalsozialismus in den Kulturwissenschaften*, 2 vol., Göttingen 2004; P. Moraw, *Kontinuität und später Wandel. Bemerkungen zur deutschen und deutschsprachigen Mediävistik 1945-1970/75*, in P. Moraw - R. Schieffer (eds.), *Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*, Ostfildern 2005, pp. 103-138. – For the historiographic traditions since the Deutsches Kaiserreich see N. Hammerstein, *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft um 1900*, Stuttgart 1988; D. Berg, *Mediävistik – eine "politische Wissenschaft". Grundprobleme und Entwicklungstendenzen der deutschen mediävistischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, in W. Küttler - J. Rüsen - E. Schulin (eds.), *Geschichtsdiskurs*, vol. 1, Frankfurt 1993, pp. 317-330; O.G. Oexle, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeichen des Historismus. Studien zu Problemgeschichten der Moderne*, Göttingen 1996; P. Schörtler (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung als Legitimationswissenschaft (1918-1945)*, Frankfurt 1997; H. Cymorek, *Georg von Below und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft um 1900*, Stuttgart 1998.

<sup>40</sup> Basic studies by J. Le Goff, *Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale. L'implantation des ordres mendiants. Programme-questionnaire pour une enquête*, "Annales", 23, 1968, pp. 335-352; J. Le Goff, *Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale. Etat de l'enquête*, "Annales", 25, 1970, pp. 924-946. In general M. Bloch, *Schrift und Materie der Geschichte. Vorschläge zur systematischen Aneignung historischer Prozesse*, edited by C. Honegger, Frankfurt 1977; M. Erbe, *Zur neueren französischen Sozialforschung*,

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<sup>41</sup> A. Fischer - G. Heydemann (ed.), *Geschichtswissenschaft in der DDR*, 2 vol., Berlin 1990, see esp. P. Segl, *Mittelalterforschung in der Geschichtswissenschaft der DDR*, vol. 2, pp. 99-147.

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