

**ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION
OF THE POLISH CISTERCIAN MONASTERY OF ŁĄD:
THE EVIDENCE OF BEINECKE MS. 883 ***

by
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Yale University Beinecke Ms. 883, a late twelfth-century liturgical manuscript from the monastery of Łąd on the Varta River in Great Poland ¹, has some artistic interest because of its two, fine illuminated initials (fols. 7v and 42v). However, the historical value of the manuscript is arguably greater than its aesthetic merit. The abbey for which it was produced was one of the first Cistercian houses established in Poland ², a community whose origins remain today a matter of considerable scholarly debate. Copied around the time of Łąd's foundation, Ms. 883 offers tantalizing clues to the abbey's early history. Having been used for more than four hundred years, it also testifies to the changing cultural orientation and political allegiances of the Polish Cistercians in the Late Middle Ages.

Composed of 151 folios measuring 229 × 152 (171 × 114) mm, the manuscript is bound by wooden boards covered in badly worn, stamped and tooled leather. Ms. 883 is a collectar, that is, a book containing the prayers and the chapter readings for the divine office ³. In addition to the texts for the liturgical year, which make up the bulk of its pages (fols. 7v-123), it also possesses additional material: a computus table (fol. 6v); incipits of various antiphons and responsories (fol. 7); a litany for the rogation days (fols. 123-126); instructions and texts to accompany the blessing of the sick and burying of the dead (fols. 126-146v); a blessing for the tonsure of novices (fols. 146v-147); a ceremony for a priest receiving his vestments (fols. 147-148); and a rite for professing monks (fols. 148-151v).

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1. For basic historiography and bibliography on Łąd and other Cistercian houses in Poland see Andrzej M. WYRWA, *Monasticon Cisterciense Poloniae*, 2 vols., Poznań, 1999. Also by the same author: *Procesy fundacyjne wielkopolskich klasztorów cysterskich linii altenberskiej: Lekno, Łąd, Obra*, Poznań, 1995 and "Cistercian Monasteries in Wielkopolska: Historical Background and State of Research", *Cîteaux*, t. 43, 1992, pp. 343-390.

2. A total of twenty-five Cistercian abbeys were established in Poland during the Middle Ages. Twenty (Łąd among them) were in the filiation of Morimond. See Jerzy KŁOCZOWSKI, "Les Cisterciens en Pologne, du XII^e au XIII^e siècle", in *La Pologne dans l'Église médiévale*, Aldershot, 1993, no. vii, pp. 115-116.

3. See David HILEY, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 311-312.

Perhaps the most important of the texts in Beinecke Ms. 883 is the calendar (fols. 1-6), intact except for the January page. This document was either not originally bound with the prayers and ceremonies with which it is now combined or was placed at the end of the codex ⁴. Although we cannot be sure when the two elements in the present manuscript were united, the evidence suggests that both were at the monastery of Łąd by the early thirteenth century. An entry in the calendar for March 15 reads, “*dux Mescho fundator domus landensis*” (fig. 1). This memorial to Mieszko III, duke of Great Poland, was penned in after the founder’s death in 1202 and is one of three specific references to Łąd in the manuscript. The name of the monastery is also recorded on the October page of the calendar (fol. 5), where a marginal text stipulates that the dedication of Łąd’s church is to be celebrated on the Sunday after the feast of St. Denis. A third contemporary reference appears in a blessing for a professing monk in the main section of the manuscript (fol. 148). A late-twelfth or thirteenth-century hand has added “*Lynda ordinis cisterciensis*” to the prayer as an interlinear gloss ⁵.

The Obscure Beginnings of Łąd

The origins of Łąd remain controversial. Two versions of what purports to be the foundation document are preserved in later copies, one in a thirteenth-century charter now in Cologne, and another in Polish cartularies from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ⁶. Both versions of the document date the establishment of Łąd to April 23, 1145. In them the founder announces:

“I, Mieszko, duke of Poland by the grace of God desire that it be known to all the faithful of Christ present and future that [...]. I established at the place which is called Łąd on the Varta River monks of the Cistercian Order brought from faraway lands, that is, from the monastery of Altenberg, in as far as they were lettered men, celebrators of the divine, and contemplators of the celestial...” ⁷.

4. The folio bearing the incipits of some of the year’s hymnody (the verso side of which marks the beginning of the collectar proper) shows signs of being against the edges of a leather binding. Also pointing to the separate origins of the two sections of the manuscript is the fact that the folia in the calendar are fastened to stubs and are more severely damaged than their successors. Finally, unlike the rest of Ms. 883, the calendar pages are trimmed at the top, cutting into their ornamental lettering. I would like to thank Bob Babcock for bringing these details to my attention.

5. The manuscript was subsequently owned by a seminary in the city of Poznań. It bears that institution’s stamp on its inner cover as well as on folio II, and III, “Biblioteka Seminaryja Poznańskich”. The codex was sold at auction by Sotheby’s in December 1996 and was purchased by the Beinecke from H. P. Kraus Rare Books and Manuscripts in August 1999.

6. See Tomasz JUREK, “Dokumenty fundacyjne opactwa w Łądzie”, *Roczniki historyczne*, t. 56, 2000, pp. 7-53.

7. ... nos Miesco Dei gracia dux Polonie universis christi fidelibus tam praesentibus quam futuris notum esse cupimus, quod [...] monachos ordinis Cisterciensis de longinquis partibus terrae adductos, de coenobio videlicet Bergensi, pro viris literatis, divinorum celebratoribus celestiumque contemplatoribus, collocavimus in loco qui vocatur Landa super fluvium Vartam... Jurek has edited the two documents as an appendix to the article cited in note 6, pp. 46-51. See also *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 1, Poznań, 1877, charter 10.

The existence of competing foundation charters has frustrated attempts of modern scholars to give a definitive account of Łąd's early history. In a 1994 article, Henryk Waraczewski asserted that Łąd was founded around 1175 by way of Łekno, another Polish house in the Altenberg line. After an unknown crisis and the virtual dissolution of the community, a new group of monks arrived directly from Altenberg sometime after 1193. According to Waraczewski, the first foundation charter was probably drafted around 1175 but was later lost. The two surviving versions were drawn up not in the twelfth century but in the mid-thirteenth when the monks of Łąd needed to bolster their claims to tenure over land which had come into their possession in recent times ⁸.

In 2000, Tomasz Jurek engaged in a fresh examination of the sources, concluding that 1145, or rather 1146, is the correct date of Łąd's foundation ⁹. Jurek observes that, unlike the longer version, the shorter foundation charter neither mentions immunity from the *seigneurie banale*, won only after the founder himself was dead, nor property gained in the thirteenth century. Therefore, it is an authentic twelfth-century document. According to Jurek, the witness list of the short version suggests that it was drawn up around 1195, when Łąd was given a new lease on life by an infusion of personnel from Altenberg. This occurred in the wake of the Cistercian General Chapter's retraction in 1193 of its order of two years earlier that the community be dissolved ¹⁰.

Jurek argues that the 1195 document contains an echo of the original foundation charter. He draws attention to the indiction and exact used in the dating of the document, noting that they would be correct if they referred not to April 23, 1145 but to March 25, 1146. He points out that in a surviving late-medieval calendar from Łąd, the foundation date is given as March 18 ¹¹. Jurek uses this evidence to argue that the monastery was probably endowed by Mieszko in the early spring of 1146.

Łąd's Early Years and Beinecke Ms. 883

Beinecke Ms. 883 provides evidence to support a relatively early foundation of Łąd. Containing all the prayers used in the office liturgy as well as the texts for initiation and death rituals, the manuscript would likely have been among the first books in the abbey's collection. Indeed, a Cistercian statute of the first half of the twelfth century states that a new house such as Łąd

8. Henryk WARACZEWSKI, "Proces fundacyjny klasztoru cystersów w Łądzie nad Wartą", *Nasza Przyszłość*, t. 83, 1994, pp. 167-168. See also Zofja KOZŁOWSKA-BUDKOWA, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej*, Krakow, 1937, pp. 43-47.

9. T. JUREK, "Dokumenty fundacyjne opactwa w Łądzie", art. cit., pp. 7-52.

10. Chrysogonus WADDELL ed., *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, Brecht, 2002 (*Studia et Documenta*, 12), 1191, no. 17 and 1193, no. 52. The statutes are also found in Joseph-Marie CANIVEZ ed., *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 8 vols., Louvain, 1933-1941, t. 1, 1191, no. 17 and 1193, no. 54.

11. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, t. 5, Lwów, 1888, p. 466.

could not be established without a full set of liturgical books, of which the collectar is one ¹².

The addition of Bernard into the calendar suggests that it was originally copied before the saint's canonization in January of 1174 (fol. 4) ¹³. It should be noted, however, that it is unclear whether this addition was new or merely an over-copying of a worn reference. Bernard's name is written over an erasure, and stipulations alongside this entry as to the number of lessons to be read use a different ink (fig. 2). A plausible explanation for this is that another saint (Philibert, perhaps) was originally celebrated on this day, and his name was replaced by that of Bernard. It is also possible that Bernard's name had been there from the beginning and was scraped in order to rewrite it more prominently.

An additional clue that the calendar was written before the mid 1170s is the fact that Thomas Becket, venerated among the reform-minded Cistercians after his canonization in 1173, is missing from the original strata of saints. Strangely enough, however, his name was not added to the calendar in Ms. 883 (fol. 6) until much later, perhaps in the fifteenth century.

Speculations about the date of our calendar are complicated further by the presence of St. Francis (canonized 1228) in what appears to be the original hand (fol. 5). Closer inspection, however, reveals that while the ink and script are very similar to the twelfth-century originals, the style in which Francis' name is written has one significant difference. The ascender of the *f* curves to the left at the bottom while other examples in the calendar either have no curve or end with an upward stroke to the right ¹⁴.

All the mentions of *Lad* itself in Ms. 883 are additions, suggesting that neither section of the manuscript was copied there. Indeed, the scribe writing out the prayer for professing monks placed a capital *N* where the name of the community was to be intoned. Considering the monastery's connections with Altenberg, the most probable hypothesis is that the elements in Ms. 883 were copied at that house and transported to Poland. Located just to the east of Cologne, Altenberg was a daughter of Morimond and a participant in its mother house's campaign of eastward expansion in the twelfth century. It was also one of a group of Cistercian houses in the Rhineland with a productive medieval scriptorium ¹⁵.

Comparison of the paleographical and artistic features of surviving Altenberg manuscripts with those of our codex (figs. 3 and 4) suggest that Ms. 883 could have been produced in that monastery ¹⁶. Düsseldorf Ms. C54, a

12. Chrysogonus WADDELL ed., *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, Brecht, 1999 (Studia et Documenta, 9), p. 408.

13. This is the primary Bernardine feast day. Bernard's translation is also added, fol. 3v.

14. For example, see "*ferit*" on the top of fol. 4v and "*felicis*" at the bottom of fol. 4.

15. See Ursula PERKOW, "Beiträge zur Bibliotheksgeschichte der ehemaligen Cistercienserabtei Altenberg", *Cistercienser Chronik*, t. 81/3, 1974, pp. 32-35 and t. 81/4, 1974, pp. 1-8 as well as Gisela POTZEK-WEDERHAK, "Buchmalerei in Zisterzienserklöstern", in *Die Zisterzienser: Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit*, Aachen, 1981, p. 361.

16. Most are now in Düsseldorf. See Hans MOSLER, *Das Erzbistum Köln, 1: Die Cisterzienserabtei Altenberg*, Berlin, 1965 (Germania Sacra, NF, 2), pp. 36-47 and Günter GATTERMANN ed., *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, t. 1, Wiesbaden, 1993, pp. 289ff. Images of Altenberg

liturgical book containing the gospel readings for the year, is paleographically closer to Ms. 883 than any of the manuscripts considered in this study (fig. 5) ¹⁷. The scribes of both codices form *g*, *a*, *h*, *e*, and *r* in the same manner; they both add hats to long letters such as *d*, *l*, *b*, and *h*; and both employ the ampersand for *et* (although our scribe uses the tironian symbol more frequently), *e* for *ae* as well as the gothic *r* with *o* and other round letters.

The Altenberg evangulary may also assist in dating our manuscript. Neither Thomas Becket nor Bernard of Clairvaux appear among the saints originally noted, suggesting that it was copied before 1173. Considering the similarities of Düsseldorf Ms. C54 with Ms. 883, it would seem that our manuscript, too, was produced before the canonization of Thomas and Bernard.

If we bring into evidence other late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Rhenish Cistercian liturgical manuscripts, a missal from Himmerod ¹⁸ and an evangulary from Camp ¹⁹, we might reinforce our case that Ms. 883 was copied at Altenberg. The Himmerod missal shares many of the same paleographical features as the Ląd manuscript. However, it most certainly post-dates our manuscript and perhaps for this reason presents a different aspect. Particularly notable is the wavy cap that the Himmerod scribe adds to long letters. Also distinctive is his execution of the letter *x*. In Ms. 883 the bottom of the first stroke hooks left in most cases whereas it turns right in the Himmerod hand. Also, many examples of *i* and *q* in our manuscript hook left at the bottom in the manner of *j* whereas this feature is not present in the Himmerod codex. On the other hand, the *x* of the Altenberg evangulary hooks left like that of the Ląd manuscript as, at times, does its *i*.

The *r*, *a*, *h*, and *d* in the Camp evangulary, which is probably nearer in date to Ms. 883 than the Himmerod example, are similar to those in our book. Moreover, as in the Ląd manuscript, the *x* in the Camp codex hooks left at its base. On the other hand, the Camp scribe does not employ the hooked *i* or the *e* with a pronounced tick in the top right quadrant as do the copyists of the Ląd and Altenberg manuscripts. In addition, the Camp scribe emphasizes sharp angles. This can be seen particularly in his *g*, whose lower bowl, in contrast to the roundness of that in our collectar or the evangulary from Altenberg, is diamond shaped.

Other books from Altenberg also contain common paleographical features with Ms. 883. Düsseldorf Ms. A3 is a huge manuscript that formed part of the abbey's Old Testament (fig. 6) ²⁰. Copied in the early thirteenth century and reflecting changing styles, the aspect of its letters is less round than that of Ms. 883 and the previously mentioned Düsseldorf Ms. C54. On the other hand, it features the *q* turning left; the *d*, *b*, and *l* with hats; the *e* with the tick; and a left-hooking *x* that swoops underneath the preceding letter. The hand in

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17. See G. GATTERMANN, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, op. cit., p. 424.

18. *Buchmalerei der Zisterzienser: Kulturelle Schätze aus sechs Jahrhunderten. Katalog zur Ausstellung 'Libri Cistercienses'...*, Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 108-111.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-51.

20. G. GATTERMANN, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, op. cit., pp. 291-292.

Düsseldorf Ms. B18 (fig. 7) also features many of the same distinctive elements as that of the Lād codex: the ticked *e*, the rounded *g*, the hooked *i*, and the *x* curving left underneath the previous letter. On the other hand, the scribe's penchant for long extensions below the lines makes the overall appearance quite different from the measured formality of our manuscript²¹.

Comparison of the decorative elements in Ms. 883 with those in codices from Rhenish Cistercian houses and Altenberg in particular also points to common roots. The manuscript features many two-line initials in combinations of green, slate-blue, red, and ochre found frequently in Cistercian books dating from after the mid-fifties of the twelfth century, including those of Altenberg²². There are also four large, more elaborate initials in the manuscript, two of which (fols. 7v and 42v) are particularly well-executed. The first is a six-line *E* in red, green, and blue with interlocking vine patterns (fig. 8). The other is a six-line *D* in red and blue with green tracery and the same sort of intertwined vegetation (fig. 9).

These letters featuring swirling vines with palmettes seem to have been modeled on designs in the pattern books that we know were possessed by Germanic Cistercian monasteries²³. Our initials, for example, are close in style to an illuminated *P* in a late twelfth-century manuscript of Peter Lombard's glosses on the epistles of St. Paul from Himmerod²⁴. Both Ms. 883 and the Himmerod example use red ink as a base, adorning the bows and extenders of the letters in the same color. They also employ the same shade of blue and green ink to color the internal space of the letter, although the latter also employs ochre to frame it.

The previously mentioned Altenberg Old Testament book also features multiple letters of this design in one color (figs. 6 and 10), frequently incorporating zoomorphic forms. Analogous pattern-book ornamentation is also employed in the already noted Düsseldorf Ms. B18. Particularly remarkable is the red pen-work *P* with green and blue highlighting on fol. 156, executed in a style very much like those of Ms. 883 (fig. 11). Also noteworthy is the poorly realized ornamental *E* on fol. 124v (fig. 7). The design, like that of Ms. 883, fol. 7v (fig. 8), uses the base of a capital *C* to which is added a blocky middle bar. Comparable letters are also employed in Düsseldorf Ms. B16 (fig. 12), which, like those in Düsseldorf Ms. A3, sometimes feature fanciful beasts as well as vegetative motifs²⁵.

The manuscript from Altenberg that most closely evokes the style of ornamented lettering used in Ms. 883 is Düsseldorf Ms. B51, a combination of two books, the second of which is collection of the works of John Cassian

21. On Düsseldorf Ms. B18 see *ibid.*, p. 311.

22. See Düsseldorf Mss. C54 and A10.

23. See, for example, the pattern book produced at the scriptorium of Rein, Austria, in around 1220. *Buchmalerei der Zisterzienser*, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

24. *Cîteaux 1098-1998: Rheinische Zisterzienser im Spiegel der Buchkunst*, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 89. See also Ambrosius SCHNEIDER, *Skriptorium und Bibliothek der Zisterzienserabtei Himmerod im Rheinland*, Manchester, 1952, plate 1, a reproduction of another initial from Himmerod with similarities to the examples in Ms. 883.

25. G. GATTERMANN, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

from the twelfth century ²⁶. One could choose any number of initials from this codex to illustrate the commonalities. A red pen-work *C* with additional blue and green coloring on fol. 62v, for example, features swirling palmettes similar to those in the Ląd codex in appearance and dimension but with the addition of a knot and an unassuming rabbit among the foliage (fig. 13). Also notable in this regard is a capital *B* on fol. 167 (fig. 14). A series of *P*s in this manuscript (figs. 15, 16, and 17) are evocative, as well, of the letters in Ms. 883, illustrating at the same time the creative freedom accorded to Rhenish Cistercian illuminators copying initials from pattern books.

The Calendar in Ms. 883 and the Later Middle Ages at Ląd

Paleographical and artistic comparison of our manuscript with those of German Cistercian houses suggest that Ms. 883 was copied in the Rhineland and that it likely accompanied monks setting out for Poland from Altenberg sometime before 1173. The calendar bound into the codex informs us of the abbey's subsequent transformation. The fifteenth-century historian of the Polish kingdom, Jan Długosz, reports that both Ląd and its sister house of Łekno were reserved for citizens of Cologne on account of the honorable treatment accorded to the founder during his pilgrimage to the relics of the three kings in that city ²⁷. Scholars have been justifiably suspicious of this account ²⁸. The purported remains of these biblical figures were not transferred to Cologne until 1163. Długosz implies, however, that Ląd had been ceded to the burghers of that city from its founding in 1145 ²⁹. It is noteworthy in this regard that the reservation is not present in either of the competing foundation charters. This suggests that the custom developed after the second version of the document was drawn up in the mid-thirteenth century and that Długosz is reporting a legend subsequently developed to justify it ³⁰.

Our calendar contains some evidence to suggest that links between Ląd and Cologne were present from the monastery's advent. The 11,000 virgins (fol. 5), Cologne's signature saints, appear in the calendar in the original hand. Also well-represented are saints from areas now in Northern France and the Low Countries but which were under the sway of the archbishop of Cologne or the Holy Roman Emperor in the Middle Ages. Vedastus, bishop of Arras (d. 539); Amandus (d. 676) and Lambert (d. ca 700), bishops of Maastricht; Servatius, bishop of Tongres (d. 384); and Gorgonius, Roman martyr whose relics lay at Metz, all appear. It must be admitted, however, that

26. *Ibid.*, p. 327.

27. *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae*, t. 5, Warsaw, 1973, pp. 33-34.

28. See Klaus MILITZER, "Kölner Bürgersöhne im Zisterzienserorden: Die soziale Zusammensetzung rheinischer und polnischer Zisterzienserkonvente", *Historisches Jahrbuch*, t. 99, 1979, pp. 163-165 and Max PERLBACH, "Die Cistercienser-Abtei Lond im stadtkölnischen Archiv", in *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, t. 1, 1883, p. 72.

29. *Joannis Długossii Annales*, t. 5, *op. cit.*, p. 308, note 33.

30. K. MILITZER, "Kölner Bürgersöhne im Zisterzienserorden", *art. cit.*, p. 164. See also Andrzej M. WYRWA, "Die 'kölnischen Klöster' der Altenberger Linie in Großpolen", *Analecta Cisterciensia*, t. 54, 2002, pp. 189-195.

these saints as well as the 11,000 virgins were also venerated in the archbishopric of Gniezno, in which Łąd was situated. The Cistercians, too, celebrated the feast of the virgins and the other saints in this list, further complicating the issue of the early connection of Łąd with Cologne ³¹.

Not surprisingly, our calendar also indicates devotion of the abbey's monks to the saints of Burgundy, the cradle of the Cistercian Order. Among the saints of this region who appear are Desiderius, bishop of Langres (d. 407); Urban, pope and martyr who was confused with the Langres bishop of the same name and whose relics rested in Auxerre; Leudegar (Léger), bishop of Autun (d. 680); Germanus, bishop of Auxerre (d. 448); Seine, a sixth-century monastic pioneer in the Côte-d'Or; and the legendary Bénigne of Dijon. Also present are saints from other areas of France, such as Denis, founding bishop of Paris and patron saint of the French monarchy; Remigius (d. 530) for whom the city of Reims is named; as well as Anianus (d. 453) and Evortius (d. 340), bishops of Orléans.

The predominance of saints from France and the Northwestern part of the Empire in the calendar of Ms. 883, though hardly surprising, is not without political significance. The veneration of Western saints at Łąd provided a cultural anchor for the colonial project in which the monastery was engaged. The audience for such cults was not just the monks themselves but also the settlers clustering in villages founded at the abbey's behest or in preexisting ones that came under Łąd's authority. Some of these towns were ethnically German while others lured foreign settlers with the benefits of "German law," that is, freedom from duties and taxation by Polish lords and princes ³². Our calendar illustrates the cultural contribution Łąd made to the colonization of the Polish countryside, perpetuating the memory of traditional French and German saints and with them the glory of the homeland ³³.

Subsequent additions in Ms. 883 show that allegiance to Western saints continued at Łąd throughout the Late Middle Ages. In addition to Bernard, Thomas Becket, and Francis of Assisi, Malachy, bishop of Armagh in Ireland and friend of St. Bernard (canonized 1190), was penned in (fol. 5v). Robert of Molesme, canonized in 1222, and Hugh of Semur, abbot of Cluny (d. 1109), canonized in 1120 (fol. 2), were added. Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, whose relics lay at the Cistercian house of Pontigny, was inserted after his canonization in 1246/7 (fol. 5v). Martial, patron saint of Southern French city of Limoges (fol. 3) and Dominic (fol. 4), founder of the Order of Preachers, canonized in 1234, were appended as well. Also indicating a Western focus was the inclusion of Louis IX of France (fol. 4), canonized in 1297, and Thomas Aquinas (fol. 1v), canonized in 1323. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Gereonis (fol. 5) and his companions, late-Roman martyrs venerated in Cologne, were added in the thirteenth or

31. See Hermann GROTEFEND, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, t. 2/1, Hannover, 1898, pp. 52-56 (Gniezno), pp. 82-86 (Cologne), and t. 2/2, pp. 20-23 (Cistercians).

32. The Łąd cartulary now in municipal archives of Cologne provides examples. See M. PERLBACH, "Die Cistercienser-Abtei Lond im stadtkölnischen Archiv", art. cit., pp. 84-117.

33. See Robert BARTLETT, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and cultural Change, 950-1350*, New York, 1993, particularly pp. 18-23.

fourteenth century, testifying perhaps to an augmentation of Łąd's ties to what came to be its patron city.

Despite their devotion to Western saints, the monks of Łąd did not neglect regional patrons. Among the Poles granted an anniversary in our manuscript is Duke Kasimir of Łęczyca (1261/2-1294) (fol. 3), whose father, also named Kasimir (1211-1267), had a stronghold at Łąd in the mid-thirteenth century³⁴. Kasimir the elder gave the abbey permission in 1250 to establish German settlers in one of his enclosures (while preserving the rights of the Poles already there) and in 1251 confirmed the exemptions from Polish taxes and duties made by one of his predecessors in two other villages under the monastery's jurisdiction³⁵. Kasimir the younger died fighting the pagan Lithuanians in 1294. The date of his death, including the year, is memorialized in the calendar of our manuscript³⁶. Another crusader, Karl Bessart, Master General of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia to the northeast of Great Poland from 1311 until his death in 1324, is also accorded an anniversary in the calendar (fol. 1)³⁷.

Additional noted patrons include Count Dobeslaw (fol. 1v), who gave the monastery a major gift of land in 1297³⁸. The calendar of Beinecke Ms. 883 also contains an anniversary for Nicholas, judge of Venancia (Wenecja) (fol. 1), who appears in four different charters of 1399 involving the property he donated to Łąd³⁹. In the first instance he agreed to bequeath his estate of Makownicza to the monks upon his death provided that they perform special services on his behalf thereafter. The second charter is a confirmation of his gift by the king, while the third lays out the boundaries of the property being donated. Nicholas seems to have become particularly concerned that his will be carried out because in the final charter, dated a mere four months after the initial bequest, he decided not to wait until his death but to cede the property to the monks immediately.

The same fifteenth-century hand that recorded Nicholas' anniversary seems also to have penned in a memorial for a man named Wyczek (fol. 1), referred to in the inscription as *heres*. It is interesting that this name should appear on the same date, February 27, on which the first Polish abbot of Łąd, Johannes Wysocki (d. 1560), was remembered in the abbey's necrology⁴⁰. It seems a distinct possibility that this Wyczek was an ancestor of the future abbot, a man whose anniversary was later conflated with that of his more illustrious successor.

34. *The Annals of Jan Długosz: An English Abridgement*, trans. and ed. Maurice MICHAEL, Charlton, Sussex, 1997, pp. 190 and 201.

35. *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski* t. 1, *op. cit.*, charters 290 and 298.

36. M. MICHAEL, *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

37. Karl Bessart is also found in the Łąd necrology: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, t. 5, *op. cit.*, p. 474.

38. *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 2, *op. cit.*, charter 761. Dobeslaw is also mentioned in a later calendar from Łąd: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, t. 5, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

39. *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, t. 3, *op. cit.*, charters 1996, 2002, 2004, 2006. The Łąd cartulary now in Cologne contains an additional donation charter of Nicholas, dated 1397. See M. PERLBACH, "Die Cistercienser-Abtei Lond im stadtkölnischen Archiv", *art. cit.*, p. 94.

40. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, t. 5, *op. cit.*, p. 474. On Wysocki see also A. M. WYRWA, "Die 'kölnischen Klöster' der Altenberger Linie", *art. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

As was mentioned previously, the death date of the abbey's founder Duke Mieszko was also memorialized at Łąd. This stormy figure was a major power broker in his nation for more than half a century. The thirteenth-century *Cronica Poloniae Maioris* reports that he became the *de facto* king upon the passing of his older brother Boleslaw in 1147 (two years after the foundation of Łąd in the chronicle's account). For most of the latter twelfth century he struggled against his brother Kasimir and the nobles of Krakow for control of the kingdom⁴¹. The account given by Jan Długosz asserts that Boleslaw lived until 1173 when Mieszko became Poland's senior duke. According to Długosz, Mieszko ruled carelessly and was upstaged and repeatedly outflanked by the more capable Kasimir in subsequent years⁴². Mieszko was driven from the capital, Krakow, in 1174 and in 1179 his own son took from him half of his duchy of Great Poland. However, he stubbornly remained on the political stage, regaining control of Krakow in 1191 and holding power there until his death in 1202⁴³.

The addition of Polish patrons in the calendar of Beinecke Ms. 883 is complemented by the gradual accretion of national saints⁴⁴. Adalbert (d. 997), martyred bishop of Prague and friend of Emperor Otto III whose relics at Gniezno were the focal point of the Polish Church, was appended to the calendar around the middle of the thirteenth century (fol. 2)⁴⁵. Saints who were themselves native Poles, however, were not added until centuries later. Stanislaus, bishop of Krakow in the eleventh century and symbol of Polish patriotism (canonized 1253), appears in a fifteenth or sixteenth-century hand (fol. 2v)⁴⁶. Hedwig (canonized 1267), duchess of Silesia who died a Cistercian nun at her own foundation of Trebnitz near modern Wrocław, was also added in the fifteenth century (fol. 5)⁴⁷. Kasimir (d. 1483), patron saint of modern Poland and Lithuania, is an early modern interpolation (fol. 1v) as are the "five brothers" (fol. 5v), hermit missionaries (three of whom were Poles) martyred near Gniezno in the first decade of the eleventh century⁴⁸.

The late addition of these Polish saints takes on a great deal of significance when we consider the events that occurred at Łąd in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Cistercian General Chapter ruled in 1489 that the monastery was to admit candidates from among the local population⁴⁹. The

41. *Cronica Poloniae Maioris*, ed. Brygida KŮRBIS, Warsaw, 1970 (*Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Series Nova, 8), pp. 55-70.

42. M. MICHAEL, *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

43. George LERSKI, *Historical Dictionary of Poland, 966-1945*, Westport, 1996, pp. 355-356. See also "Mieszko III Stary", in *Piastowie leksykon biograficzny*, Kraków, 1999, pp. 107-115.

44. I owe thanks once again to Robert Babcock for help in dating these references.

45. His name was added at the same time as that of Robert of Molesme. On Adalbert see Pierre DAVID, *Les sources de l'histoire de Pologne à l'époque des Piasts (963-1386)*, Paris, 1934, pp. 91-106.

46. On Stanislaus see *ibid.*, pp. 121-141.

47. On Hedwig see *ibid.*, pp. 151-154.

48. For bibliography on the five brothers see, "Benedictus, Johannes et soc. (quinque fratres) MM in Polonia", in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 6) and in *Novum Supplementum* (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 70), rubric 1147. See also P. DAVID, *Les sources de l'histoire de Pologne*, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-110.

49. J.-M. CANIVEZ, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium*, *op. cit.*, t. 5, 1489, no. 18.

monks of Łąd, however, won back their prerogative to receive only citizens of Cologne in 1491⁵⁰. The abbey faced new challenges after Sigismund I ascended to the Polish throne in 1506. This monarch, a vigorous proponent of national identity, promulgated legislation in 1537 aimed at purging Church and state of non-Polish elements, determining, among other things, that only Poles could hold abbatial office at the so-called Cologne cloisters. In the face of this decision the German monks of Łąd appealed to the emperor for help. He was able to do little but stave off the inevitable, and in 1551 a Pole was elected abbot. This was too much for many of the monks to bear, and two years later they fled back to Cologne with a number of their abbey's most important documents⁵¹. Judging from the later additions of native saints as well as the corrections to its liturgical texts in a seventeenth-century hand, Ms. 883 remained behind in a now predominantly Polish community.

The unusually long time-period in which Beinecke Ms. 883 was actively used by the monks of Łąd makes it an important document with which to consider the history of the monastery. For most of that era a Western orientation predominated. The alterations in the manuscript made from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century, however, reflect a changing spiritual and political orientation at Łąd. In particular, the addition of local saints to the liturgy testifies to the emergence of a Polish identity that had been held in abeyance by German members of the community for nearly four centuries.

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50. *Ibid.*, t. 6, 1491, no. 21.

51. Ambrosius SCHNEIDER, "Kolonisation und Mission im Osten", in *Die Cistercienser: Geschichte, Geist, Kunst*, Cologne, 1974, pp. 76-79. These documents are now preserved in the archives of Cologne. See M. PERLBACH, "Die Cistercienser-Abtei Lond im stadtkölnischen Archiv," art. cit., pp. 71-127. On the events of the fifteenth and sixteenth century at Łąd and other Polish Cistercian houses see also A. M. WYRWA, "Die 'kölnischen Klöster' der Altenberger Linie", art. cit., pp. 193-203; Louis LEKAI, "Germans and the Medieval Cistercian Abbeys in Poland", *Cîteaux*, t. 28/3, 1977, pp. 121-132; and K. MILITZER, "Kölner Bürgersöhne im Zisterzienserorden", art. cit., pp. 185-186.

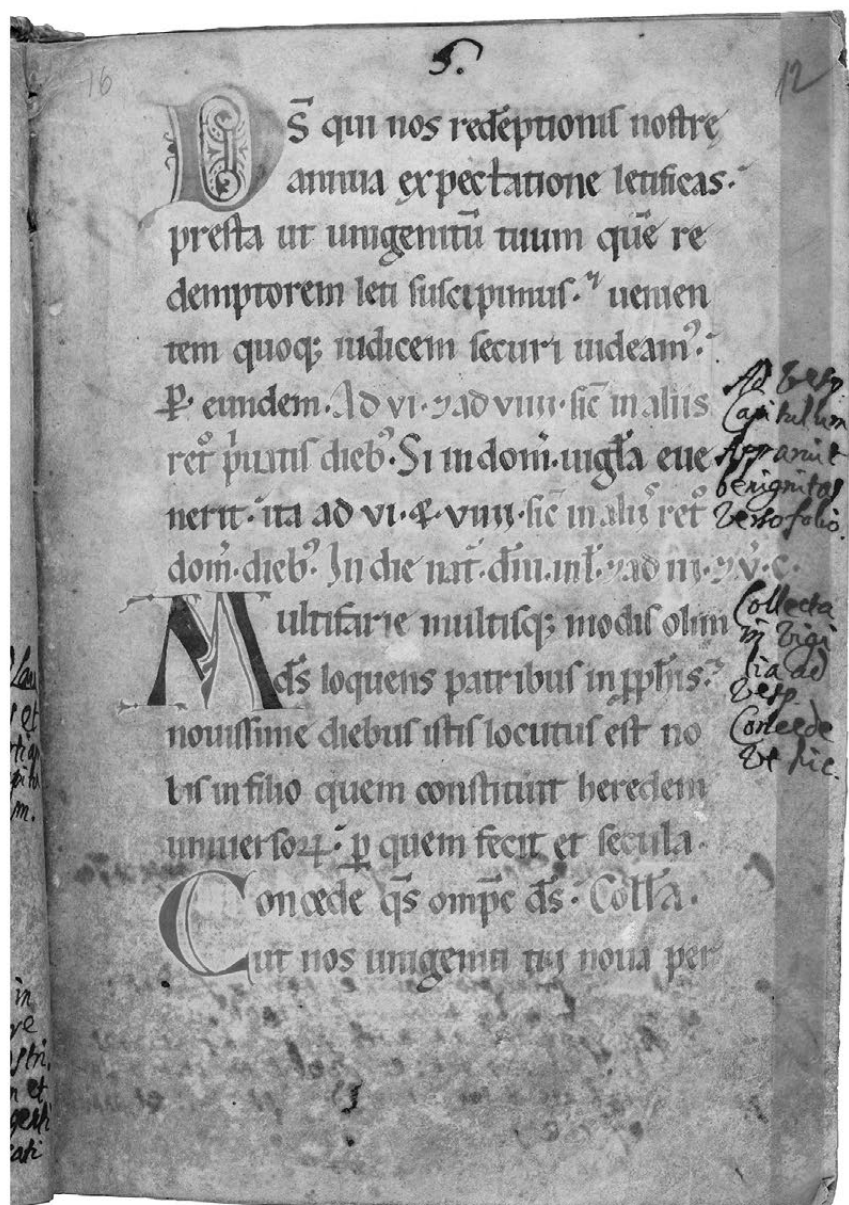


Fig. 3. — New Haven, Beinecke Ms. 883, fol. 12.

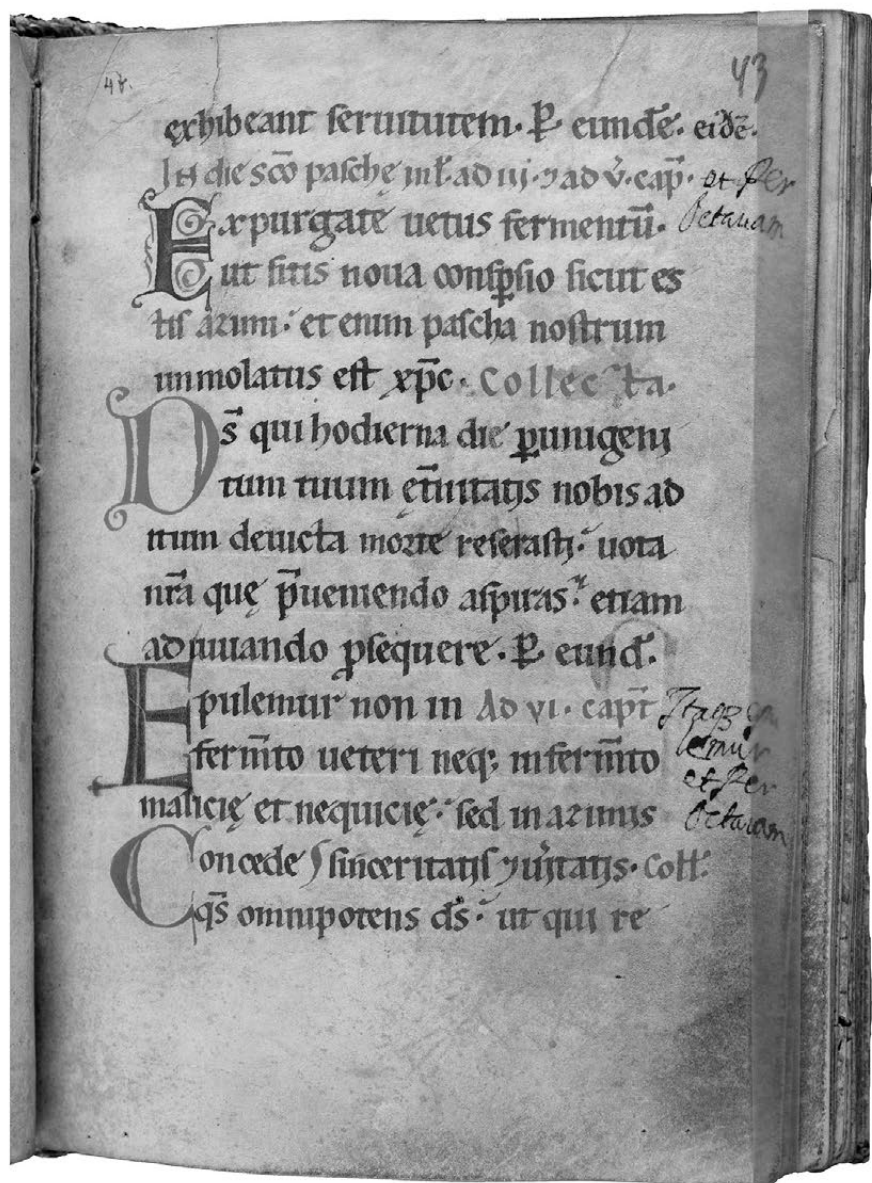


FIG. 4. — New Haven, Beinecke Ms. 883, fol. 43.

est quod me querebatis. Nesciebatis quia in his
 que patris mei sunt oportet me esse. Et ipsi nō
 intellerunt uerbu: quod locutus est ad illos.
 Et descendit cum eis & uenit nazareth: et erat
 subditus illis. & mater eius conseruabat omnia
 uerba hec: in corde suo. Et ihesus p̄ficiebat sa-
 pientia & etate et gr̄atia apud deum & homi-
 nes. In octauis Epiphanie. Salm̄ iohannem.
 nullo t̄p̄e. **U**idit iohannes dñm uenientē
 ad se: & ait. Ecce agnus dī: ecce qui tollit pec-
 cata mundi. Hic est de quo dixi. Post me ue-
 nit uir qui ante me factus est: quia p̄or me
 erat. Et ego nesciebam eum. S; ut manifes-
 tetur in istis: p̄pterea ueni ego in aqua bap-
 tizans. Et testimoniū p̄hibuit iohannes di-
 cens: quia uidi sp̄m̄ descendente quasi colu-
 bam de celo. & mansit sup̄ eum. & ego nescie-
 bam eum. Sed qui misit me baptizare in
 aqua: ille michi dixit. Sup̄ quem uideris
 sp̄m̄ descendente & manente sup̄ eum: hic
 est qui baptizat in sp̄u sancto. Et ego uidi
 et testimoniū p̄hibui quia hic est filius dei.

Fig. 5. — Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibl., Ms. C54, fol. 11v.

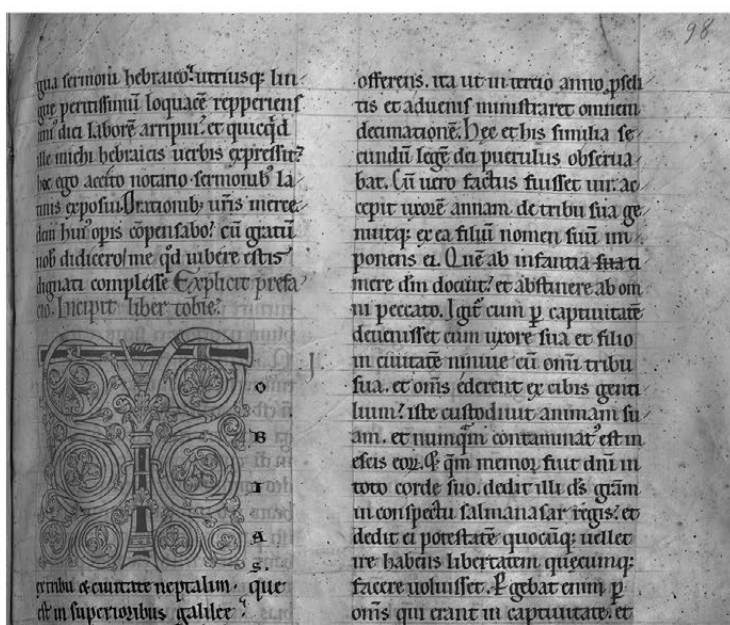


FIG. 6. – Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibl., Ms. A3, fol. 98.

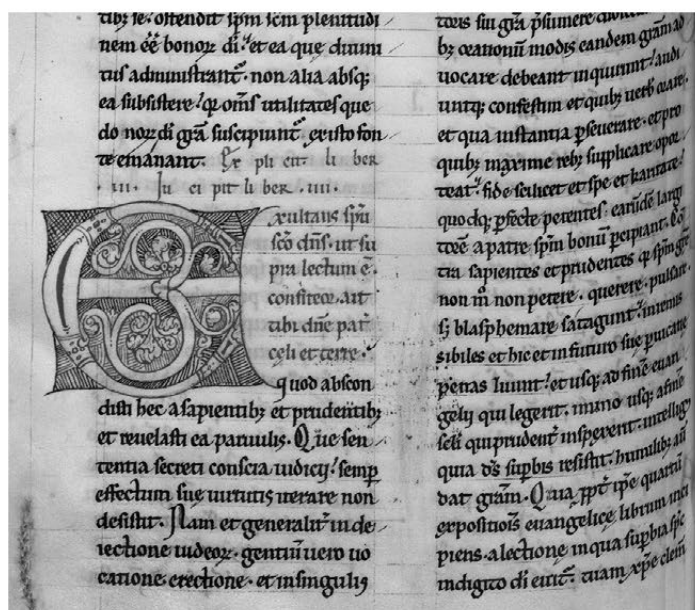


FIG. 7. – Ibid., Ms. B18, fol. 124v.

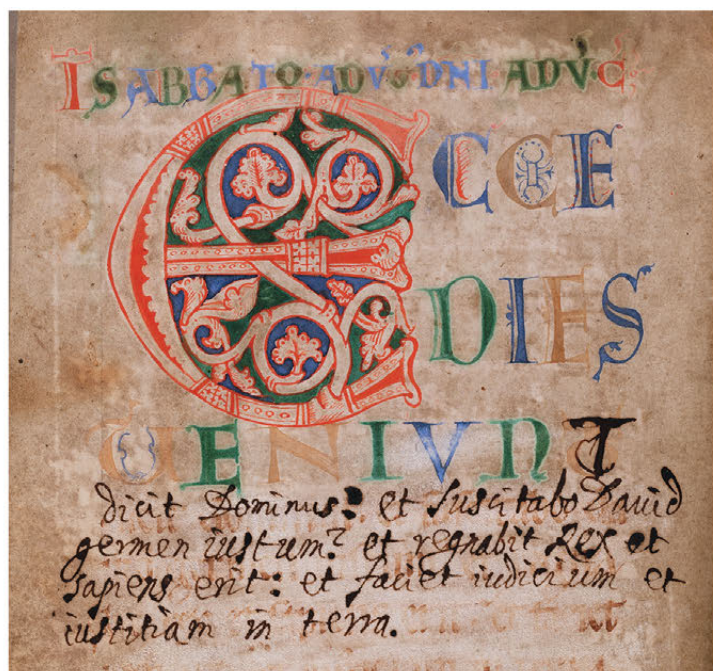


FIG. 8. – New Haven, Beinecke Ms. 883, fol. 7v (detail of capital E).

FIG. 9. – *Ibid.*, fol. 42v (detail of capital D).



FIG. 10.

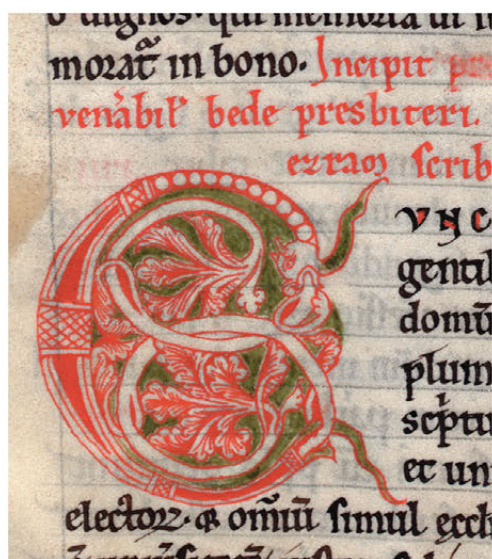


FIG. 12.



FIG. 11.



FIG. 13.

FIG. 10. – Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibl., Ms. A3, fol. 150v (detail of capital F).

FIG. 11. – *Ibid.*, Ms. B18, fol. 156 (detail of capital P).

FIG. 12. – *Ibid.*, Ms. B16, fol. 2v (detail of capital C).

FIG. 13. – *Ibid.*, Ms. B51, fol. 62v (detail of capital C).

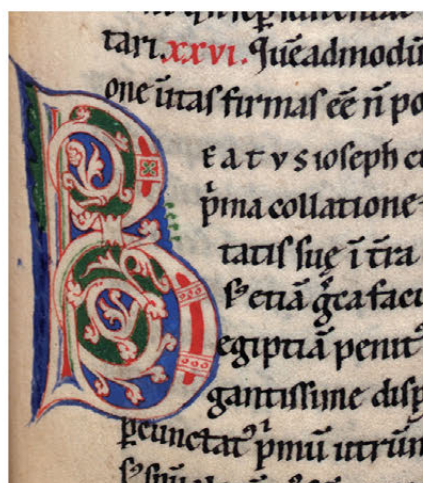


FIG. 14. – Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibl., Ms. B51, fol. 167 (detail of capital B).

FIG. 15. – *Ibid.*, fol. 173v (detail of capital P).

FIG. 16. – *Ibid.*, fol. 188v (detail of capital P).

FIG. 17. – *Ibid.*, fol. 193v (detail of capital P).