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SOURCES OF MAINTENANCE OF THE FIRST FRANCISCAN OBSERVANT MONASTERIES IN THE KINGDOM OF POLAND (UNTIL THE MID-16TH CENTURY)

Źródła utrzymania pierwszych klasztorów franciszkanów obserwatorów w Królestwie Polskim (do połowy XVI wieku)

Abstrakt

Artykuł podejmuje zagadnienie uposażenia zakonników żyjących według reguły zabraniającej przyjmowania pieniędzy i rzeczy mających jakąkolwiek wartość materialną. Również oni zabiegali o utrzymanie klasztorów. Różne były, jak się okazuje, źródła dochodów klasztorów. Ignorowany przez nich pieniądź, będący w XIII w. synonimem bogactwa, stał się, w miarę upływu czasu, środkiem płatniczym używanym przez wszystkie warstwy społeczne. Z tego względu autorzy ustaw i konstytucji zakonnych łagodzili na przestrzeni wieków surowe nakazy św. Franciszka z Asyżu, dzieląc tym samym opinię franciszkanów na temat ubóstwa.

Słowa kluczowe: Zakon Franciszkański, historia Kościoła w Polsce, Obserwancja Zaalpejska, bernardyni, klasztor, ubóstwo, uposażenie

Abstract

To begin with, it should be considered whether it is justified to discuss the problem of the endowment of monks living according to the rule that forbids accepting money and things of any material value. It seems it is, indeed, as they also strove to maintain their monasteries. There were various sources of income for monasteries. The money Bernardine monks ignored as synonymous with wealth in the 13th century, became, in the course of time, a means of payment used by all social classes. For this reason, the authors of laws and monastic constitutions have mitigated the strict orders of St. Francis of Assisi, sharing the Franciscans' opinion on poverty.

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At the outset, it should be considered whether it is justified to discuss the issue of monks' belongings since they live according to rules which forbid them to accept any donations of money or valuable things. It seems it is, indeed, as they also strove to maintain monasteries. It turns out that sources of monasteries' maintenance were varied. Money, which was at first ignored by Bernardine monks as it was a synonym of wealth in the 13th century, over the time became a legal means of payment among all social groups. For this reason, authors of monastic constitutions over the centuries have mitigated the harsh orders of St Francis of Assisi, thus sharing Franciscan monks' opinion on poverty². Minor Friars were not allowed to own but only to use things that were necessary for everyday life and work. Therefore, they assigned lay people to dispose of material things donated to monasteries. Thus, they acted according to the official ownership law which subordinated all monks' and monasteries' belongings to the Holy See.³

St. John of Capistrano was a propagator of radical poverty in monastic life (1386-1456). His ideas were later taken over by the Bernardine society established by him in Poland. Therefore, alms were almost the only source of Bernardine monasteries' maintenance in the 15th and 16th centuries. Monks' gradual departure from the idea of harsh life caused the appearance of new sources of maintenance such as benefactors' legacies, mass offerings, real estates, and other forms of donations from the faithful. Previously mentioned economic problems concerning some Bernardine monasteries founded until 1465 in the Kingdom of Poland⁴ will be described in the present article.

1. Alms

Almsgiving – voluntary funds such as money or donors' property intended to subsidise the needy⁵ – has been a sure way of supporting Bernardine monasteries for centuries. According to the monastic rules, the Bernardine Fathers could only accept alms wisely, without accumulating larger reserves.⁶ General inspectors severely punished any abuse in

² J. Kłoczowski, *Wspólnoty zakonne w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Lublin 2010, p. 259-288; L. Hardick, J. Pyrek, *Ubóstwo*, in: *Leksykon duchowości franciszkańskiej*, ed. W.M. Michalczyk, Kraków–Warszawa 2006, col. 1883-1910; H.E. Wyczawski, *Krótką historia Zakonu Braci Mniejszych. Dodatek*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, p. 593; J.R. H. Moorman, *A history of the Franciscan Order from its origin to the year 1517*, Oxford 1968.

³ Immovables and movables which were not reserved by donors for themselves were subordinated by pope Innocent IV to the Holy See by a papal bull, *Ordinem vestrum* issued on 14th November 1245 – R. Prejs, *Za Franciszkiem – dzieje Pierwszego Zakonu Franciszkańskiego 1209-1517*, Kraków 2011, p. 159; L. Iriarte, *Storia del Francescanesimo*, Napoli 1982, p. 91-92; H. Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg im Brisgau 1909, p. 66.

⁴ Presented monasteries are the following: Krakow – St Bernard founded in 1453, Warsaw – St Anna – 1454, Poznan – 1457, Tarnów – 1459, Lwów – 1460, Kalisz – 1465.

⁵ D. Flood, W.M. Michalczyk, *Jalmużna, kwesta*, in: *Leksykon duchowości franciszkańskiej*, ed. W.M. Michalczyk, Kraków–Warszawa 2006, col. 551-560; A. Młotek, *Jalmużna*, in: *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 7, ed. J. Duchniewski, Lublin 1997, col. 738-741.

⁶ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyńi warszawscy. Dzieje klasztoru św. Anny w Warszawie, 1454-1864*, Kraków 1973, p. 60; Cz. Bogdalski, *Bernardyńi w Polsce, 1453-1530*, vol. 2, Kraków 1933, p. 71.

this respect. As an example, one can give the incident which occurred in the monastery of St Anne in Warsaw during a visitation carried out by a Bernardine friar of Inglostadt before 1459. The commissioner was unfamiliar with the local difficulties of supplying the monastery on a daily basis, which was easily achieved in other countries, so he concluded that the amount of beef in the monastic pantry, which was stored there to last for several days, was too much and that this was an offence against the monastic rules. He therefore instructed the guardian and the collector to take the food to the city centre, distribute it to the poor and publicly apologise to the townspeople for taking too many alms for themselves, which should have been distributed to the poor.⁷ During the same general inspection, the monastery suffered serious damage at the hands of the Bernardine inspector from Ingolstadt, who, under the pretext of taking care of monastic poverty, deprived the monastery of valuable choir and library books that the monks had acquired from donors.⁸

Usually, alms were received in two ways – the donors provided them themselves or the religious collectors asked for them. In this connection, one can ask the question about the social background of the social donors. First of all, they came from the nobility, for whom the founders of monasteries were undoubted role models. A perfect example of a benefactor of the St. Anne's Monastery in Warsaw was its founder – Princess Anna of Mazovia, widow of Bolesław III. In her will, the foundress apparently set aside some money for the monastery, and also urged her heirs to remember to donate to the monastery every year. The tradition of annual donations to the monastery in Warsaw, later taken over by Polish kings and formulated as a written privilege by Anna Jagiellon, was started by the dukes of Mazovia. The second great benefactor of the monastery in Warsaw at the beginning of the 16th century was Anna Radziwiłł, Duchess of Mazovia, Conrad III's wife and mother of the last Mazovian princes – Stanisław and Janusz. The princess imitated her namesake Anna Jagiellon (the founder of the monastery) in her kindness towards the Bernardines and in her habit of making annual donations to the monastery. Before her death she bequeathed a substantial sum of money for the reconstruction of the burnt church. Queen Anne Jagiellon belonged to the group of the greatest benefactors of the monastery in the 16th century. In a privilege of 30 November 1582, she guaranteed that until the time of her reign the monks would receive permanent alms in the form of 60 bushels of rye, free cutting in the forest of Bródno, and would receive for their daily needs 1 zloty a week, which was given to the collector every Friday.⁹ Some of the benefactors of the monastery in Poznan were king Casimir Jagiellon, who let the monks settle in Poznan, and the Leszczyński family of Leszno.¹⁰ Not only the founder Jan Amor Tarnowski but also his son, also Jan Amor, took care of the material supplies for the Tarnów monastery. According to Kasper Niesiecki, "as long as he lived, he generously supplied them with provisions." The generosity of the founder of the Bernardine monastery in Lvov, Andrzej Odrowąż of Sprowy, was followed by the Podolia voivode Jan Tworowski

⁷ K. Katak, *Bernardyni polscy 1453-1572*, vol. 1, Lwów 1933, p. 17.

⁸ A. Chadam, *Poznań*, in: *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, p. 267.

⁹ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 60.

¹⁰ J.A. Mazurek, *Bernardyni w Poznaniu, 1455-1655*, „Studia Franciszkańskie”, 4/1991, p. 257.

(d. 1540)¹¹ who donated *magnas eleemosinas* to the monastery, and the nobleman Marcin Kowalkowski (d. 1588).¹²

Among the benefactors of monasteries, we can also find ordinary citizens, e.g., the inhabitants of Poznan were sponsors of the Bernardine Fathers' monastery.¹³ Jan Wilczek,¹⁴ the councillor in Lvov, gave the monks in Lvov a.o., 50 zlotys of alms. Another Lvov townsman, Albert Żaboklicki (d. around 1578), donated a reserve of food.¹⁵

Clergy were also among those who supported monasteries. One of the regular benefactors of the St Anne's Monastery in Warsaw was the Bishop of Wrocław, and from 1581 also the Archbishop of Gniezno, Stanisław Karnkowski. Benefactors of the Poznań monastery included Bishop Andrzej of Bnin, Jan Lubomirski, and the cathedral canon Jan of Góra.¹⁶ One of the sponsors of the Lvov monastery was, among others, Father Martin of Kurov – custodian of the cathedral in Przemyśl in the years 1535-1547.¹⁷

The generosity of benefactors used to increase when the Bernardines started building or renovating a monastery or church. According to the monastic rules, when building a monastery, monks could obtain larger sums of donations, and collectors could use a cart with a coachman. When the Bernardine Fathers in Krakow attempted to build a brick church and monastery, King Casimir Jagiellon gave them part of the land belonging to the monastery in 1454, which was bought from the townspeople, while the construction was started by Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki. After his death in 1455, the construction work was continued by the canon Jan Długosz and then by the monastery trustee Martenbelsza (Marcin Bełza). The funds left by Oleśnicki for the upkeep of the building were supplemented by donations from: Hińcza of Rogów, the Voivode of Sandomierz; Jan Rzeszowski, the bishop of Cracow; Marcin Czech, a medical doctor; Maciej, a glazier; Jan Stöchs; Piotr, a juror; Paulbar, a councillor, and Jan Bone.¹⁸ After the fire in St Anna's church in Warsaw in 1507, Bernardine Fathers rebuilt it thanks to financial support of a council man, a wealthy citizen of Warsaw – Baltazar Bulchorczer. After another fire in Warsaw, it was the duchess Anna Radziwiłł, Conrad III's widow, who founded building of the Bernardine church.¹⁹ After the

¹¹ K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 9, p. 157; A.K. Sitnik, *Geneza, rozwój fundacji i kasata klasztoru i kościoła oo. Bernardynów w Tarnowie, 1459-1789*, in: *550 lat oo. Bernardynów w Tarnowie – zarys dziejów*, ed. F. Rydzak, K. Moskal, Tarnów 2009, p. 37.

¹² Bernardine Provincial Archives in Krakow (futher: BPAK) rkps XXII-a-1, *Liber vitae seu catalogus fundatorum, confratrum et benefactorum conventus Leopoliensis ad S. Andream Apostolum Fratrum Minorum de Observantia defunctorum. Copia manuscripti olim in nostra bibliotheca Leopoliensi ad S. Andream Ap. sub N. IX asservati et modo in bibliotheca Universitatis Leopoliensis sub signis Rk. 85 reperibilis. Cura P. Norbert Golichowski [-] a. 1895 mense Martio per fratres Clericos transsumpta*, 1460-1754, c. 8v, 9v.

¹³ J.A. Mazurek, *Bernardyni w Poznaniu*, p. 257; BPAK rkps W-58, *Archivum conventus custodialis Posnaniensis [Poznań] Fratrum Minorum de Observantia S.P.N.F., cuius fundatio, initia, progressus ac res memorabiles ad haec usque tempora recensentur*, 1455-1793, p. 372.

¹⁴ K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. 9, p. 332.

¹⁵ BPAK MS XXII-a-1, *Liber vitae*, c. 9.

¹⁶ J.A. Mazurek, *Bernardyni w Poznaniu*, p. 257.

¹⁷ BPAK MS XXII-a-1, *Liber vitae*, c. 9.

¹⁸ H.E. Wyczawski, *Kraków – św. Bernardyn*, in: *Klasztory bernardynskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, p. 155; K. Kantak, J. Szablowski, J. Zarnecki, *Kościół i klasztor oo. Bernardynów w Krakowie*, Kraków 1938, p. 13, 22.

¹⁹ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 27, Jan z Komorowa, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, ed. K. Liske, A. Lorkiewicz, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 5, Lwów 1888 (reprint Warszawa 1961), p. 313.

church and monastery in Lvov burned down in 1509, the city council of Lvov decided to support the friars' efforts to rebuild the church by donating wood from the city forests and burnt bricks. A similar situation occurred in 1588.²⁰ When founding a Bernardine church and monastery in Kalisz, the Archbishop of Gniezno Jan Gruszczyński tried to arouse the generosity of the faithful by issuing a document in Opatówek on 7 July 1466 in which he granted an indulgence for 40 days to all those who would visit the church and contribute in any way to its construction or furnishing. Ten years later, on 14 August in Krakow, Apostolic Nuncio Mark granted a 100-day indulgence to all who would donate to the church, go to confession, receive communion, and visit the church on the appointed days.²¹

The Bernardine Fathers were very grateful for the generosity of their donors. This can be seen in their services both in the conventual churches and in various pastoral activities. They also celebrated masses for the intentions of their benefactors.

It turns out that the monks' gratitude was expressed not only through prayers. The Bernardine Fathers also agreed to bury the bodies of many benefactors in the monastery cemetery. In those days, this was a great honour for the deceased and a privilege for his family. Family members often proved to continue the tradition of supporting the monastery or at least carried out the last will of their ancestor. Some of the donors, supposedly even before their death, were able to choose the place of their burial. To some extent, it obliged them to personally donate to the monastery or when monks collected donations, so called collection. In St Anne's church in Warsaw the following donors are buried: duchess of Masovia Anna Radziwiłł, Conrad II's wife (1522); canon of Kalisz Stanisław Gelitowski (1548); Anna Jagiellon's chamberlain – Elisabeth Maciejowska (1582); Elizabeth Stanisławska of the Herburt family (1597); Barbara Wołowiczowa of the Herburt family (1597); an Italian nobleman of Nuncio's Rangoni court – Franciszek Bossio (1599).²²

The role of collector in the order remained basically unchanged. The duties of the collector required a great deal of tact, so the office was entrusted to responsible and organised Bernardine friars. According to the monastic rules, this role could be fulfilled by a priest or a monk, as a *socius*.²³ Similarly, at the Lvov monastery in 1577, the vicar Martin of Lvov and the monk Lukasz of Belz were appointed as collectors.²⁴ Over the time priests relinquished this office to friars.

What were the Bernardine collectors obliged to do? In the areas designated by the chapter and with the permission of the local bishop, they collected alms for the given monastery. Due to the considerable density of monasteries (e.g., in Krakow and Lvov) and the impoverishment of the peasantry, the main area of activity for the collectors became the manors of the nobility

²⁰ A.K. Sitnik, *Bernardyni lwowscy. Historia klasztoru i kościoła pod wezwaniem świętych Bernardyna ze Sieny i Andrzeja Apostoła we Lwowie (1460-1785)*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006, p. 72, 76; N. Golichowski, *Kościół oo. Bernardynów we Lwowie*, Lwów 1911, p. 9; B. Zimorowicz, *Domus virtutis et honoris per patres, fratres Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Observantium Leopoli constructa*, Leopoli 1672, p. 92; BPAK MS XXII-a-1, *Liber vitae*, c. 9v.

²¹ S. Szymański, *Dzieje klasztoru pobernardyńskiego w Kaliszu obecnie jezuitów*, in: *400 lat konsekracji pobernardyńskiego kościoła jezuitów w Kaliszu. Materiały z sesji popularnonaukowej poświęconej historii świątyni i przylegającego do niej klasztoru*, ed. J. Kacprzyk, A. Jacyniak, Kalisz 2007, p. 49-50.

²² W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 64.

²³ Ibidem, p. 65; K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 89, 217.

²⁴ Jan z Komorowa, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 393.

located outside the city.²⁵ The main objective of the collector was to secure the livelihood of the monastery. The responsibility for the upkeep of the monastery grew especially in times of war. Then it was difficult to obtain help from benefactors, and monasteries were often plundered or had to pay high ransoms to the enemy. In such situations, collecting alms was not a safe occupation. For example, the aforementioned monks, Marcin of Lvov and Łukasz of Belz, were attacked by Tatars when they were returning with the collected alms to the monastery in Lvov.²⁶

Collecting alms was not conducted at all costs. Monastic legislators clearly forbade collectors to raise alms outside a given district, on Sundays and on holidays, in inns and fairs. Quantity-quality restrictions concerned accepting alcohol and too many donations in kind or money. Monks were also not allowed to ease collections by selling cereal or products that were donated to them. Monks were obliged to bring to the monastery all the goods obtained by begging. Those regulations were, however, softened for collectors working for monasteries that were under construction.²⁷ As in all walks of life, also in this situation the legal relaxation of discipline in some individual cases gradually became everyday practice and even various abuses were detected. The Bernardine collectors enjoyed great popularity among all sections of society, since their monasteries were widely known, and the activities of their monks were highly appreciated by all.

So, who had right to dispose alms which were donated to the monastery directly by sponsors or obtained by collectors? According to monastic rules and laws it was an Apostolic trustee or his deputy (so-called substitute) who was authorized to do this. A trustee was independently chosen by the monastery's board. By virtue of a privilege granted by Pope Clement VII in 1530, the board delegated the running of the monastery's affairs outside the building to a trustee. The trustee, therefore, represented the order in various offices and at court hearings. He only collected larger sums of money belonging to the monastery and distributed them according to need. This process was not always free from misappropriations.²⁸ It was already early in the 16th century when it turned out that the fact that trustees dealt with monasteries' financial matters also had negative sides. Many difficulties arose especially when, after the death of a trustee, their family refused to return money to the monks. Such a situation occurred, for example, in 1522 after the death of the trustee of a Warsaw monastery, the councillor Michał Filipowicz, widely known as Michno Żeglarz (Navigator). Filipowicz as a trustee turned out to be very reliable, he even engaged in dealing with the situation after the fire on Krakowskie Przedmieście Street and in the monastery in 1515. Having control over the alms money intended for the rebuilding of the church, he paid the salaries of the lay masons and defended the interests of the monastery in the municipality. After the death of one of the convent's debtors – the so-called Wiercioszek – he persuaded the town council to secure the money from the debt in the form of two houses belonging to Wiercioszek's widow.

²⁵ J. Kłoczowski, *Zakony męskie w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.*, in: *Kościół w Polsce. Wieki XVI-XVIII*, vol. 2, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1969, p. 642.

²⁶ A. Prochaska, *OO. Bernardyni lwowscy*, Lwów 1919, p. 11; N. Golichowski, *Przed nową epoką. Materiały do historii oo. Bernardynów w Polsce*, Kraków 1899, p. 331.

²⁷ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 65, 66; K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 1, p. 215; also there, vol. 2, p. 285.

²⁸ K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 2, p. 197; H. Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, p. 82, 314.

This enabled him to quickly recover the entire debt, but he himself died shortly afterwards (1522). After his death his wife Anna did not admit to having any money, but together with her son Długosz appealed against the council's verdict to a mixed tribunal. The outcome of this case is not known, but some information found in Soviet archives casts a shadow on certain aspects of the trustees' mediation.²⁹

The Bernardines entrusted the function of trustees to wealthy and influential people, who were both benefactors and protectors of the monasteries. Among the trustees we could find some representatives of the city patriciate, often also acting as city councillors. Moreover, some trustees came from the nobility and sometimes even the clergy. At the beginning of 16th century, the following trustees were working for the monastery in Warsaw: Maciej Twardostój (1497) and Serafin Mahler (1507), who were representatives of the city council; some townspeople, later – city councillors, and in the second half of the 16th century, also some mayors.³⁰ In the cathedral of Poznan, canons worked as trustees. The earliest known trustee by name is Peter Schedell in 1593.³¹

In some cases, the Bernardines, when appointing someone as a trustee, rewarded him for outstanding services to the monastery. However, the friars were also attentive to a very sensitive issue, namely they did not want the trustees to have too much influence over the management of the monastery.³² The Bernardines courted their trustees. They allowed them not only to stay in the monastery but also to live there. The friars also invited the trustees to share meals in the refectory. They also paid the trustees for successful financial operations.

Apart from the monastic trustees, there were also deputies, otherwise known as procurators, who had influence on dealing with the monastery's finances. Most often these were trusted tertiaries or Third Order sisters, the so-called Bernardine sisters. The mediation of the latter was not always allowed by the management of the order, so it was often a peculiar mediation.³³ It consisted in obtaining benefactors for the monastery. Since the nuns themselves came from noble families, they found benefactors for Bernardine monasteries among their fathers and brothers. In the monastery of St Anne in Warsaw, the official procurator in 1504 was a Bernardine nun known only by her first name, Cathrine, who worked for many years at the monastery as a washerwoman.³⁴ Another example of such profitable family connections was the Bernardine nun of Lwów, Regina Tworowska (d. 1554), daughter of the Podolia voivode Jan of Tworów (d. 1540) and sister of Jan (d. 1553).³⁵ After issuing in 1530 by the Holy See a law regulating trustees' duties and powers, the only people who could hold the office of a substitute were tertiaries living in the monastery.³⁶

From all the collected alms the principal monastery had to maintain general provincial clerks who lived in the monastic community: the provincial and the secretary, as they did not have any individual income. Also, the cost of maintaining the provincial chapter was

²⁹ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 79.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ BPAK MS W-58, *Archivum conventus custodialis Posnaniensis*, p. 387.

³² Issues connected with subordinating benefactors were presented by: J. Kłoczowski, *Zakony męskie w Polsce*, p. 643.

³³ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 79, 80.

³⁴ BPAK MS S-wa-11, Files on beatification process of bl. Władysław z Gielniowa, 1632-1637, p. 31.

³⁵ N. Golichowski, *Kościół oo. Bernardynów we Lwowie*, p. 62-63; BPAK MS XXII-a-1, *Liber vitae*, c. 8v.

³⁶ H. Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, p. 82, 314.

covered by the monastery in which it took place. If the monastery could not find a sponsor, it collected alms from all provincial convents. The widow of King Zygmunt I the Old, Queen Bona Sforza, whose granaries in Mazovia were overflowing even during the 16th century disasters affecting various parts of the Commonwealth, did the Bernardine Fathers a great favour in 1554 by allowing them to organise a chapter in Warsaw. The country was then suffering from famine, and without the Queen's help, such an undertaking would not have been possible. Besides, Bona would endow the monastery with goods in kind until her departure from Poland in 1556.³⁷

Alms income, although the monastery could dispose of it without any regulations, was unstable. Therefore, it could hardly ever ensure an affluent life. For this reason, the Bernardine fathers had to find other sources of maintenance.

2. Legacies and mass donations

In the Franciscan order, legacies were legally allowed as a source of livelihood almost as early as almsgiving. The Superior General St. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1257-1274), feeling obliged to keep his vow of poverty, rejected the possibility of monks accepting money and fixed incomes, but allowed the modest collection of alms received and received bequests.³⁸

Legacies bequeathed to Bernardine fathers by benefactors (*pia legata*) were, in contrast to almsgiving, permanent monastic funds. Most often were they located in benefactors' grounds, tenements, or other real estates. Most of them had a specific aim or were connected with Bernardine Fathers' duty to say a certain number of Masses.

Chronologically, the first known endowment obtained by the Bernardine fathers in Poznan was a legacy bequeathed in 1533 by Karbowski, a canon of the Poznan cathedral. This donation amounted to 500 florins.³⁹ Some of the first chronologically known legations received by the Bernardine Fathers in Lvov were mostly burgher legations from the second half of the 15th century. Magdalena Frymard, among others, ordered her brother, Father Nikolai Bor, to pay the monastery in Lvov a compensation that amounted to 3 grzywnas in Polish half-penny. The widow Łucznikowa donated a total of 11 grzywnas to the monastery in 1466, as did the widow Lorenz in 1473, who donated a part of the house to the Bernardine Fathers in 1484. The Lvov citizen Stefan Komam donated two fines to the monastery in 1492, while the Danube citizen Maciej Parkanej donated a florin (Hungarian zloty) to each of the mendicant monasteries in Lvov two years later.⁴⁰ A document preserved in the Provincial Archives of the Bernardine Fathers in Kraków concerned the legacy of Dorota Duchnicka, who lived in the Halych suburb of Lvov. In a will written on 29 October 1569 by her confessor, a Bernardine from the Lvov monastery named Szymon, it was stated that the wife of Michał Garnarz bequeathed to the monastery *the whole garden starting from Simon's fence to the Bernardine's shelter*. The document was confirmed and implemented by Waclaw

³⁷ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 61.

³⁸ L. Iriarte, *Storia del Francescanesimo*, p. 101.

³⁹ J.A. Mazurek, *Bernardyni w Poznaniu*, p. 257.

⁴⁰ T.M. Trajdos, *Bernardyni lwowscy w XV w.*, in: *Pięćset pięćdziesiąt lat obecności oo. Bernardynów w Polsce (1453-2003)*, ed. W.F. Murawiec, D.A. Muskus, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006, p. 312.

Wygnanowski, a vicar *in spiritualibus* and general officer in Lvov.⁴¹ The Polish king, Stefan Batory, by a diploma written on 14th September 1578, ordered the mayor and councillors to supervise the execution of the testament by the guardians of deceased Dorota's children.⁴² From this situation, it can be concluded that her heirs wanted to claim the donation. By virtue of Duchnicka's legacy, the Bernardine fathers "came into possession" of the garden. Similarly, they later became "owners" of several properties. At the end of the 16th century, the potter Stanislaw Mazgaj and his wife Euphemia bequeathed the Bernardine fathers in Lvov land, a house and pottery (*bancus*).⁴³ Not all Bernardine monasteries were supported by bequests. For example, the Bernardine monastery in Poznań in the 15th century did not have capitals located in real estate.⁴⁴

It is impossible to mention all the people who bequeathed legacies to monasteries as there is a substantial number of them. As in the case of almsgiving, the people who left legacies to the monasteries mostly came from the nobility.

While addressing different types of legacies it is impossible to ignore the issue of foundation Masses, because they belonged to a perpetual duty of a monastery benefitting from a given foundation. Since they were strictly linked to the monastic endowment, Bernardine friars meticulously guarded all documents related to them (i.e., court records). The idea behind this behaviour was not only to document the monastic property but also to permanently remind the foundation of its duties or, if the foundations' property was lost, to reduce the obligation of Masses.

Generally, Bernardine fathers did not have any major problems enforcing the records. There were however single cases of frauds or even forgeries. Some executors of the will did not pay the Bernardine fathers their dues without any significant reason. Duchess Anna Radziwiłł, Conrad III's widow, regent of Mazovia and patroness of adolescent dukes Stanisław and Janusz, bequeathed 1000 florins to St. Anne's Bernardine church in Warsaw, thus obliging her sons to diligently execute her will. However, the dukes were not unanimous in their treatment of Duchess Anna's will. While the older brother complied with his obligation and paid his half of 500 florins, the younger duke Janusz reigning independently since 1522 paid only 90 florins and demanded that the guardian Jan of Komorów confirm receipt the payment of the whole debt. The monk, although unwillingly, acknowledged it as he did not want to sue the reigning duke.⁴⁵

As previously stated, Dorota Duchnicka's children were also not eager to fulfil their mother's will. All the above-mentioned situations resulted in an increase in the number of court records and sentences in monastic archives.

⁴¹ A.K. Sitnik, *Dokumenty papierowe i pergaminowe z lat 1571-1903 pochodzące z archiwum klasztornego oo. Bernardynów we Lwowie, przechowywane w Archiwum Prowincji oo. Bernardynów w Krakowie*, „Hereditas Monasteriorum”, 1/2012, p. 213-220; Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Krakow MS 5011, Lwów, c. 206.

⁴² A.K. Sitnik, *Dokumenty papierowe i pergaminowe z lat 1571-1903*, p. 220-222.

⁴³ N. Golichowski, *Przed nową epoką*, p. 93; S. Barącz, *Pamiętnik zakonu ww. oo. Bernardynów w Polsce*, Lwów 1874, p. 367; A.K. Sitnik, *Produkcja rękopiśmienna kancelarii Klasztoru oraz Prowincji Ruskiej i Galicyjskiej oo. Bernardynów we Lwowie jako podstawa zbiorów archiwalnych*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 78/2002, p. 194; Scientific Library of the PAAS and the PAS in Krakow rkps 5011, Lwów, c. 45; BPAK MS XXII-a-1, *Liber vitae*, c. 10.

⁴⁴ J.A. Mazurek, *Bernardyni w Poznaniu*, p. 256.

⁴⁵ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 29; Jan z Komorowa, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 313.

In addition to daily collections and legacies, in-kind donations made at the altar were an important source of income. Generally, they were not permanent. Mass offerings were also closely linked to the altar gifts. The Bernardine Fathers gathered in 1597 at the Chapter in Poznań expressed their negative attitude towards the acceptance of concrete Mass pledges. They considered this practice, although not entirely fair, as a danger of the monastery losing its regular benefactors. Despite many doubts, from the end of the 16th century the Mass obligations began to change from universal, so-called *pro benefactoribus*, to simple Mass offerings. The faithful offered sacrifices to monks and thereby obliged them to say Mass for designated deceased persons. Mass offerings became one of the early legalised forms of monetary donations accepted by the Bernardine fathers.⁴⁶

3. Land endowments and other income

All the above-mentioned sources of maintenance of the first Bernardine monasteries were supplemented by benefactors through land endowments. These were modest in comparison to other non-mendicant monasteries and therefore they did not constitute a decisive element of the monasteries' maintenance. However, the Bernardine fathers did derive income from monastic gardens. In the case of St Anne's monastery in Warsaw, such an endowment was a garden at the church from which the monastery must have had some income. As evidence may serve the fact that the garden was at least three times widened in the 15th and 16th centuries. It is hard to believe though that the only reason for such widening was the lack of space for burying the dead, as it was stated in the contract of 1596 which concerned exchanging the ground for the nearby Nasierowski Street. And even if in this particular case it was only a matter of enlarging the cemetery, in previous two contracts with the city of 1468 and 1475 it was clearly stated that the Bernardine fathers possessed gardens in different places and they were separated from Mazovian dukes' grange properties. It is likely that the lands separated from dukes' properties in Warsaw were cultivated by the Bernardine fathers. The desire to exchange the land and expand the church garden is explained by the strict monastic laws of the Bernardine order at that time, which forbade possessing permanent sources of income. The extension of the garden under the pretext of enlarging the cemetery was a way to circumvent the ban. The land thus obtained was an extension of the churchyard and if need be they could really be turned into a cemetery. Before this happened, the land was cultivated.⁴⁷ In 1592 the wife of the Greater Poland general Adam Sędziwój, Jadwiga Czamkowska of the Iwiński family, gave the Bernardine fathers in Poznań a garden adjacent to the monastery by Dunajek pond. The Bernardines never possessed any substantial amount of land. At the time of its dissolution, the monastery in Poznań had only 2 morgens of orchard, 4 morgens of field, and 2 morgens of meadow.⁴⁸ The governor of Lvov and the council of Lvov, favourable for the Bernardine fathers, repeatedly donated to the monastery the land owned by the city, for instance in 1460 and next in 1463.⁴⁹ The churchyard garden in Lvov was systematically enlarged. In 1463 monks received a garden and outbuildings

⁴⁶ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 68; BPAK rkps XXII-n-4, *Zwód statutów Prowincji Ruskiej zakonu Bernardynów*, 1460-1640, p. 39.

⁴⁷ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 72.

⁴⁸ J.A. Mazurek, *Bernardyni w Poznaniu*, p. 256.

⁴⁹ N. Golichowski, *Kościół oo. Bernardynów we Lwowie*, p. 65.

bought by the city from the burgher Grzegorz of Lvov – coachman and stableman (*Gregorio vectore*) – for 30 grzywnas.⁵⁰ *Ponieważ ogródek dla Bernardynów w roku 1463 kupiony był zaszupły, przeto kupiło dla nich miasto ogród ościenny od Eufrozyny podkomorzynny i brata iey za 8 grzywien.*⁵¹ The city donated the garden to Bernardine fathers in 1472.⁵² However, the land in question did not belong to Eufrozyna as T.M. Trajdos claimed, but to the daughter of the merchant and starost Mikołaj Friedrich of Lvov (d. ca. 1460) – Eufemia – widow of the Podolia chamberlain Janusz Kierdej.⁵³ Another enlargement of the garden took place in 1569 and 1594.

The land near the monastery were mainly cultivated. It was cultivated for sure by a monk acting as a gardener. In his work he was helped by laymen, but not only since the authors of books for the education of novices recommended them, among many other tips, working in the garden.⁵⁴ Therefore, novices and seminarians assisted the local gardener in his undoubtedly hard work by taking care of assigned patches. What did Bernardine fathers cultivate in the churchyard garden? Most probably only commonly known vegetables, but they also planted fruit trees. However, the efforts of the gardener did not always bring the order the expected income. The reason for were natural disasters which repeatedly affected the whole complex of the church and monastery. In 1542 it was the locust which destroyed the churchyard garden in Warsaw, another time it was a flood.⁵⁵

The relatively high level of monastic discipline in the 15th and 16th centuries meant that the Bernardine fathers did not accept larger plots of land except for gardens. Tenement houses were a common source of income in the 16th century. In 1596 St. Anne's monastery in Warsaw received a house with a piece of a garden after exchanging the land with Nasierowski Street, however it is not known what it was used for. Since the 16th century a total of seven buildings have been given to the Bernardine Fathers in Lvov. The author of the source text only mentions that one of them was immediately sold and another burned down. What happened to the others? Apparently, the Bernardine fathers decided to use them as a stable source of income. Such behaviour may have been a violation of monastic rules, as the provincial chapter back in 1597 clearly forbade possessing tenement houses.⁵⁶ “In this case there were many other ways to solve the problem,” as priest Kamil Kantak states. “Lands, houses and money were passed on to a trustee”⁵⁷.

⁵⁰ M. Maciszewska, *Klasztor bernardynski w społeczeństwie polskim 1453-1530*, Warszawa 2001, p. 53; N. Golichowski, *Przed nową epoką*, p. 93; S. Barącz, *Pamiętnik*, p. 366; F. Waligórski, *Kościół i klasztor oo. Bernardynów we Lwowie*, „Strzecha”, 2/1869, z. 2, p. 46; B. Zimorowicz, *Historia miasta Lwowa, Królestw Galicji i Lodomerii, stolicy z opisaniem dokładnym okolic i potrójnego oblężenia*, Lwów 1835, p. 148-149; B. Zimorowicz, *Domus virtutis*, p. 86.

⁵¹ “Since the garden bought in 1463 for Bernardine fathers was too small, the city bought them a neighbouring garden from a chamberlain Eufrozyna and her brother for 8 grzywnas”. – D. Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa, 1340-1785*, Lwów 1844, p. 120.

⁵² N. Golichowski, *Kościół oo. Bernardynów we Lwowie*, p. 62; N. Golichowski, *Przed nową epoką*, p. 93; S. Barącz, *Pamiętnik*, p. 366.

⁵³ T.M. Trajdos, *Bernardyni lwowscy*, p. 311.

⁵⁴ A.K. Sitnik, *Paweł z Łęczycy, bernardyn (1572-1642)*, „Studia Franciszkańskie”, 12/2002, p. 497.

⁵⁵ BPAK rkps S-wa-1, *Archi[vum] Conventus Var[saviensis] Fratrum Minorum Obs[ervantium] ad Sanctam Anam in suburbio Craco[viensis] compilatum opera F.P. Joannis Kamieński [- -] Anno 1729, 1454-1731*, p. 155.

⁵⁶ W.F. Murawiec, *Bernardyni warszawscy*, p. 73.

⁵⁷ K. Kantak, *Bernardyni polscy*, vol. 2, p. 224.

Monks also gained some not very high income from so-called deposits, that is agreements under which the monastery accepted for safekeeping not only real estate but also many other things, usually left by the nobility and wealthy townsmen.⁵⁸ Accepting deposits by monks did not always bring positive results. The nobleman Jerzy left a “treasure” in the Lvov monastery. After some time, he probably openly accused monks of robbing him.⁵⁹

Conclusion

Bearing in mind such diverse sources of maintenance for the Bernardine fathers one might ask what happened to the ideas of St Francis of Assisi who called for following Christ not only through personal but also universal, total poverty. It turned out that people expected a whole ministry from the Minor Friars, not only accidental sermons. The ministry was, of course, linked to financial maintenance of the monastic community. The monastery included, apart from a permanent group of ministering monks also a novitiate and a philosophical or theological college, whereas the main monastery also housed a provincial see. All those monastic departments had their needs, not always unreasonable. Therefore, over time, the Bernardines became convinced that they needed a stable income. The profits drawn from it were the source of the daily maintenance of the convent in question and of all the property subordinate to the monastery (church buildings, monastery, gardens, fields, etc.). Given all these needs, the Bernardine fathers could not rely solely on such an unstable source of income as alms, which was allowed by the monastic rule. Therefore, sometimes they even had to violate monastic rules and look for other, diversified sources of maintenance. Hence, the opinion of Father Kamil Kantak became close to me, “It is hardly surprising that our monks not only trusted in Providence but also strove for some income to cover all expenses.”⁶⁰

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⁵⁸ A. Prochaska, *OO. Bernardyni lwowscy*, p. 14.

⁵⁹ Jan z Komorowa, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, p. 216.

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