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BOOKS FOR CELEBRATING THE LITURGY OF THE WORD AND BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE 9TH TO THE 12TH CENTURY IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ARCHDIOCESAN ARCHIVE OF GNIEZNO

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ABSTRACT

The Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno holds in its collections seven codices (with the proviso made about Ms 600) and nine manuscript fragments containing Biblical texts or books for the liturgy of the Word, dated for the period up to the end of the 12th century. This list will be completed or corrected only after all manuscripts are precisely dated according to their paleographical traits. The present account, unfortunately, does not fully reflect the reality of codices functioning in medieval Gniezno because library catalogues for this period did not survive.

Manuscript fragments were being removed from the bindings of acts or other library codices, mostly in the early 1960s. Dating of these acts or codices indicates that the discussed fragments of parchment were used as waste material, mainly in the 17th century, and until that time, they were stored on the premises of the

archives and the chapter library, either uncut (leaves in unused books) or as loose parchment waste. However, for years now, the deconstruction of early-modern bindings produced using manuscript codices has not been continued in Gniezno; hence, few findings in this area can be expected. Discoveries may instead result from further studies within the project “Manuscripta.pl”.

KEYWORDS: The Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno, the Gniezno Cathedral, Biblical manuscripts, parchment fragments

The Archdiocesan Archive in Gniezno keeps the former cathedral library of the oldest archiepiscopal seat in Poland. Its abundant collections include a group of Biblical codices and books for celebrating the liturgy of the Word.

Gniezno is the home to the following Biblical codices and books for celebrating the liturgy of the Word dating from the discussed period; all are in Latin and written on parchment:

- Ms 1: an Evangeliary known as Carolingian, the 1st half of the 9th century / MSPL 10¹;
- Ms 600: an Evangelistary known as *Codex pretiosus*, the 1st half of the 11th century / MSPL 885²;
- Ms 1a: an Evangelistary known as the Golden Codex of Gniezno, the 3rd or 4th quarter of the 11th century / MSPL 11³;
- Ms 149: a missal, a so-called *missale plenarium*, late 11th / early 12th century / MSPL 678⁴;
- Ms 67: a lectionary, the beginning of the 12th century / MSPL 656⁵;

1 The designation MSPL indicates the number in the Internet guide to Polish medieval manuscripts, available at www.manuscripta.pl. Catalogue record: J. Rył, ‘Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki Katedralnej w Gnieźnie’, *Archiwa Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 1982, vol. 45, p. 13. Unless otherwise indicated, I follow the dating of the manuscripts according to this guide.

2 J. Rył, ‘Katalog rękopisów...’, op. cit. p. 200.

3 Ibidem, p. 14.

4 Ibidem, pp. 94–95.

5 Ibidem, pp. 58–59.

- Ms 2: an Evangeliary known as the Evangeliary of Kruszwica, ca. 1160 / MSPL 576⁶;
- Ms 110: a psalter, with interlinear and marginal glosses, the 2nd half of the 12th century / MSPL 682⁷

Except for manuscripts Ms 110, all the others were the subject of at least one scholarly publication.⁸

1.1 THE EVANGELIARY, KNOWN AS CAROLINGIAN

This evangeliary belonged to the Gniezno cathedral since times immemorial, which means that it could have been the property of the cathedral since the restoration of the catholic faith in the 2nd half of the 11th century. It is in the form of a codex, bound in wooden boards covered with velvet claret fabric (the binding was made in the 1960s). It contains 151 parchment leaves measuring 195 × 160 mm; the text is written in one column, the surface covered by the text measures 115×110 mm, and 20-21 lines are on each page. Pagination 1-299 was added in the 18th century. The page numbers were added when folios with the beginnings of all four Gospels were already missing in the codex. In the early 1960s, the previous binding, which consisted of wooden boards covered with a parchment folio taken from a 14th-century antiphonary, was removed. A large initial 'R' and musical notations of the Christmas Office were visible there.

The manuscript attracted the attention of the first modern researcher of the Gniezno manuscripts, Bishop Wojciech Anzelm Brodziszewski, in 1845.⁹ It interested him also because of the in-

6 Ibidem, p. 15.

7 Ibidem, pp. 81-82.

8 Certain segments of this paper were previously included in: P. Goniszewski, C. Korzec, J. Nowaszczuk, S. Rosik, M. Sołomieniuk, 'Raport z realizacji projektu Biblia Ottona z Bambergu', *Colloquia Theologica Ottoniana*, 2023, vol. 39, pp. 227-253.

9 Brodziszewski used to write his occasionally extensive Latin comments about the codices in ink directly on the old manuscript. Full contents of these comments in Ms 1, with a Polish translation, were published by M. Sołomieniuk, 'Biskup Wojciech Anzelm Brodziszewski i jego intuicje naukowe', in: *Europa Środkowa i Wschódnia jako przestrzeń spotkania. Na szlakach tradycji kultury*, ed. K. Święcicki, Gniezno 2012, pp. 44-45.

triguing inscription at the end of the Gospel of John: V Ī DCCC, which suggests the year 800. In the 20th century, the codex was the object of scholarly research by Rev. Prof. Feliks Gryglewicz and Rev. Dr. Bogdan Bolz.

Rev. Gryglewicz researched the text of the Gospel with preceding prologues and ‘tables of content’ focusing on paleography and textual criticism.¹⁰ He reached the following conclusions:

(1) The codex came from the Benedictine scriptorium of Saint Martin Monastery in Tours. As Saint Adalbert lived there for some time, he could have brought the manuscript to Gniezno.

(2) The codex could have been written in 800, after the corrections to the text of the Gospel made by Alcuin of York. *Terminus ante quem* would be the year 853 when the Normans destroyed the monastery in Tours.

(3) The text of this codex is of better quality than the text of the best-known Alcuin manuscripts.

Gryglewicz’s analyses have two weaknesses. First, the scholar neglected the marginal notes related to the liturgical use of the fragments of the Bible. Their enormous importance and the fact that they were written by an Irish clergyman was discovered later by Rev. Bogdan Bolz. This invalidates the hypothesis that Saint Adalbert brought the codex to Gniezno from Tours. Rev. Gryglewicz’s argument based on the lack of decorative initials is also challenging to accept because the leaves with all the beginnings of the Gospels were torn out from the evangeliary. We cannot determine whether and what miniatures and decorative initials were in the book before these leaves were pulled out.¹¹ Grylewicz’s other

10 F. Gryglewicz, ‘The St. Adalbert Codex of the Gospels’, *New Testament Studies*, 1965, vol. 11, pp. 256–278. This important paper was never quoted or discussed in Polish publications. It seems necessary to use this opportunity to present the results of Rev. Gryglewicz research, almost sixty years after they were published.

11 Since the 6th century, evangeliaries occasionally contained imagined portraits of the four evangelists (or images of their symbolic animals) as well as iconographic cycles related to the life of Christ. In western evangeliaries, there are illustrations with scenes from the Gospels placed before each Gospel, i.e., in four cycles. However, in the Carolingian period, such ornamentation of the evangeliaries

analyses and conclusions remain valuable indications for further research.

The already mentioned Rev. Bolz devoted his first paper about the Carolingian codex to the oldest calendar in the Gniezno manuscripts found precisely in Ms 1.¹² More specifically, it contains *Capitulare evangeliorum*, which accompanied evangeliaries to facilitate their use on the liturgy of the Word during Mass. After all, the text displays the complete series of traits of a calendar. Analysing the liturgical calendar, the author briefly describes the codex's substantive contents and presents a paleographical assessment, but not of the entire codex, only of the discussed *Capitulare evangeliorum*. According to Rev. Bolz's analyses, the codex is 'a witness to the cult celebrated by the Pope and only within the territory of Rome. (...) there are no changes, no added local ceremonies, no innovations of the liturgy intensifying in the Middle Ages. (...) [this codex] is an unquestionable witness to the fact, that next to Rhenish and Bavarian sources, Poland was also subjected to much earlier, purely Roman influences'.¹³

Rev. Bolz's second paper dealt with marginal notes in the discussed codex¹⁴. They were written in the margins of 73 leaves in the part of the codex, which contains the text of the four Gospels and figures in 'the company' of concordance notes. They were added once the work on the evangeliary was finished. These marginal inscriptions were written in Latin, but the majority of letters, as far as paleography is concerned, belong to a type of writing not used on the continent. All notes were written by the hand of the same scribe. The scholar considers that the letters are examples of Irish majuscule vel half-uncial used between the 7th and 9th centuries.

was still rare; see Ch. Winterer, *Das Evangeliar der Äbtissin Hilta. Eine ottonische Prachthandschrift aus Köln. Miniaturen, Bilder und Zierseiten aus der Handschrift 1640 der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt*, Darmstadt 2011², pp. 10–11.

12 B. Bolz, 'Najstarszy kalendarz w rękopisach gnieźnieńskich: MS 1 z roku około 800', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 1967, vol. 12, pp. 23–38.

13 Ibidem, p. 37.

14 B. Bolz, *Irlandzkie zapiski marginesowe w gnieźnieńskim kodeksie MS 1*, *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 1972, vol. 17, pp. 51–66.

Irish provenience of these texts is confirmed by mistakes made in writing some Latin words, errors typical for Irish scribes.

The issue of dating based on the inscription 'V̇ I DCCC', noticed already by Bishop Brodziszewski, requires an explanation. He mistakenly solved the abbreviation as 'Verbi Incarnati [anno] octingentesimo' (in the year 800 [counting from] the Incarnation of the Word).¹⁵ However, the correct solution is: 'versus [habet] mille octingenti' ([counts] one thousand eight hundred lines). The inscription is written stichometrically, like in many other codices.¹⁶ In the codex of the Bible, call number Ms Car C 1 in the Zürich Central Library (dated to the years 820–830), there are stichometric notes next to the *explicits* of the individual books. At the end of Genesis (l. 20r), we read: 'Explic[it] liber Bresit id / est Geneseos v[ersu]s hab[et] ·IIĪ DCC·', the Roman numeral three with a horizontal line on top is one of the ways of recording the number 3000 (another is MMM); at the end of the Book of Exodus (l. 35r), we read: 'Explicit Ellesmoth / id est Exodus. Habet versus IIĪ'. In the Gniezno codex BK Ms 1, there is only one such inscription because the *explicits* of the remaining Gospels are lost.

For the sake of comparison, at least several evangeliaries from the Carolingian period are connected to the Czech lands. Two, dating from the 2nd half of the 9th century, are held in the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague: the sparingly decorated evangeliary, call number KMK B 66 (contains only four calligraphic initials), and the luxurious evangeliary KMK Cim. 2.¹⁷ The first hails from the former Benedictine Saint-Bertin Abbey in today's French town of Saint-Omer (between Calais and Dunkirk), and the second from an unidentified monastery in northern France. Two more examples worth mentioning are the Strahov Evangeliary dated to ca.

15 Semkowicz repeats the erroneous interpretation of this inscription as a record of date, but suggests that the date was copied from an older codex which served as the model to the copyist, see W. Semkowicz, 'Katalog rękopisów...', op. cit., p. 271.

16 See J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry*, London 1893, p. 57.

17 K. Kubínová, *Cim. 2. Pražský evangeliář Cim 2: rukopis mezi zeměmi a staletími středověké Evropy*, Praha 2017, p. 11. The abbreviation KMK stands for: Knihovna pražské metropolitní kapituly.

860, preserved in the Premonstratensian monastery in the Strahov district in Prague (call number DF III 3), and an Evangeliary from north-eastern France, written in the mid-9th century and used in the 11th century by the Chapter in Stará Boleslav. The latter currently belongs to the Vatican Apostolic Library (Reg. Lat. 14).

1.2 CODEX AUREUS GNESNENSIS



FIG. 1. The Golden Codex of Gniezno, the last quarter of the 11th century, the pericope for Palm Sunday, The Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno (BK Ms 1a).

The evangeliary, called the Golden Gniezno codex, is the greatest pride of the Cathedral Library in Gniezno. Prof. Jacek Soszyński describes this historical treasure as follows: „The Golden Gniezno Codex (...) was produced in late 11th century in a scriptorium in Southern Germany. It is an evangeliary, i.e., a type of a liturgical book frequently found in medieval collections, which contains pericopes of the Gospels read during mass. The exceptional importance of this relic for the history of Gniezno Metropolitan Cathedral

is not based on its content but rather on its artistic qualities. The book was produced in an unusually lavish manner. It was written using golden letters on parchment and richly decorated with magnificent initials, numerous miniatures, and fantasy borders around all pages. Unsurprisingly, it is taken out of the cathedral treasury only for special occasions and was venerated for centuries as a truly exceptional book. A legend suggests that it was given to the archdiocese by its patron Saint Adalbert”.¹⁸

Czech scholars consider the Gniezno codex part of the ‘Group of Vyšehrad Codex’, which includes the dated to the 2nd half of the 11th century Vyšehrad Codex (a coronation evangelistary), the Codex of St Vitus Cathedral in Prague (an evangelistary) – both held in Prague and the Pułtusk Codex (an evangeliary), preserved in Kraków.¹⁹

The codex numbers 111 leaves made of calf parchment in 15 quires; it originally contained 91 liturgical celebrations and was decorated with twenty full-page illustrations. Text is written in one column, ca. 18 lines per page, using painter’s gold, i.e., a paint imitating gold (made of powdered brass mixed with egg white).²⁰ Additionally, there are gilded areas in the backgrounds, in details, and initials; there is also some silvering.²¹ Apart from the full-page miniatures with images of the Evangelists and scenes from the Gospels, there are many initials in the pericopes using plant motifs, and each page has an all-around border filled with continu-

18 J. Soszyński, Recenzja: ‘Ewangelistarz. Złoty kodeks gnieźnieński / Evangelistary: The Golden Codex, red. nauk. Michał Sołomieniuk, Kraków 2016, 798 pp., ilustr.’, *Analecta. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki*, 2019, vol. 28,1, pp. 249–250.

19 A. Merhautová, P. Spunar, *Kodex vyšehradský. Korunovační evangelistář prvního českého krále*, Praha 2006, p. 8. Bibliography provides details concerning call numbers and places where the codices are held. The latest summary discussion of this group of codices is available in the catalogue: *Otevři zahradu rajskou. Benediktini v srdci Evropy 800–1300*, ed. by D. Foltýn, J. Klípa et al., Praha 2014, pp. 206–217.

20 J. Rogóż, P. Szroeder et al., ‘Badania nieniszczące i fizykochemiczne’, in: *Ewangelistarz. Złoty kodeks gnieźnieński / Evangelistary: The Golden Codex*, ed. by M. Sołomieniuk, Kraków 2016, pp. 177, 179–180.

21 M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, ‘Iluminacje kodeksu gnieźnieńskiego na tle późno-ottońskiej tradycji obrazowej’, in: *Ewangelistarz. Złoty kodeks gnieźnieński...*, op. cit., p. 112 ff.

ous ornamentation. Neither the initials in the pericopes nor the page borders are from the artistic point of view repetitive. The ornaments display a narrow colour range, somewhat wider in the borders and, in turn, very narrow in the initials. The use of gold highlighted, on the one hand, the importance of the Gospels in the liturgy and, on the other, the role of the archiepiscopal seat. It was as well a manifestation of the ruler-donor's grandeur.²²

From the point of view of paleography, we see a clear predominance of the majuscule *capitalis*, modeled on *capitalis elegans*.

King Boleslaw the Generous could have donated the codex for his coronation in 1076, or it could have been given to the cathedral later, during the reign of Duke Władysław Herman, who apparently renovated and decorated the cathedral in 1092. The consecration of the cathedral in 1097 could have been a still later occasion for the donation.²³ However, originally, the codex did not include the periscopes for either the feast of Saint Adalbert or for the royal coronation.

The book underwent a full restoration in 2012 conducted by Nicolaus Copernicus University experts from the Department of Leather and Paper (The Faculty of Fine Arts). Professor Elżbieta Jabłońska was the manager of the conservation project.²⁴ During ca. three decades, two different phototypical editions with accompanying scholarly texts were published. The edition from the 1980s was provided with a scholarly commentary by Rev. Professor Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki,²⁵ the 2016 edition contains a multi-author and interdisciplinary monograph produced by experts in history, art history, paleography, and conservation of old books.²⁶ The Gold-

22 R. Michałowski, *Princeps fundator. Studium dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 103–105.

23 J. Zachwatowicz, 'Katedra romańska', in: *Katedra gnieźnieńska*, ed. by A. Świechowska, vol. 1, Poznań–Warszawa–Lublin 1970, p. 24.

24 M. Pronobis-Gajdzis, E. Jabłońska, 'Projekt konserwatorski i jego realizacja', in: *Ewangelistarz. Złoty kodeks gnieźnieński...*, pp. 139–180.

25 T. Dobrzeniecki, *Codex Aureus Gnesnesis. Commentarii*, Warszawa 1988.

26 *Ewangelistarz. Złoty kodeks gnieźnieński ...*, op. cit. The entire book is bilingual, Polish-English.

en Codex was listed in the Polish national Register of the UNESCO program “Memory of the World” in 2014.²⁷

Research into this codex and others from the so-called Group of Vyšehrad Codex also included expert liturgical analysis. It was conducted in 1967 by Pavel Spunar from Prague,²⁸ and corrected, completed and published by the author of the present paper in 2022.²⁹ In this last study, we read:

“Different codices – liturgical books of the same type – were produced in the same scriptorium during ca. the same period. Close relationship between these books does not mean that they are all based on the same codex used as a model. In the 11th century, there was still a certain flexibility although the possibilities for individually ordering the liturgical template were limited because it was strongly influenced by the previous tradition present in older (...) manuscripts. Manuscripts KodGn, KodWysz and KodŚw³⁰ were probably not produced as full mechanical copies of older models, but as unique combinations of various evangelistaries, available in a given scriptorium”.³¹

1.3 CODEX PRETIOSUS

There is a valuable manuscript, older than *Codex aureus*, composed of six leaves of an evangelistary from the mid-11th century, call number BK Ms 600.³² It is, in fact, rather a manuscript fragment, although it was grouped with codices several decades ago.

27 A. Laszuk, M. Sołomieniuk, ‘Program UNESCO Pamięć Świata i obecność dokumentów kościelnych na jego listach’, in: *Archiwa kościelne w niepodległej Polsce*, ed. by Anna Laszuk, Warszawa 2020, p. 308.

28 P. Spunar, *Nová fakta a úvahy o genezi Kodexu vyšehradského a rukopisů s ním souvisejících*, Praha 1967. The author has a digital copy of the typescript in his collection.

29 M. Sołomieniuk, ‘Ewangelistarze grupy Kodeksu Wyszehradzkiego i missale plenarium z Gniezna: liturgioznawcza analiza porównawcza’, in: *Textus, pictura, musica. Średniowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny jako przedmiot badań interdyscyplinarnych*, ed. by M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, M. Czyżak, Toruń 2022, pp. 11–60.

30 Kod Gn = the Golden Gniezno Codex, KodWysz = Vyšehrad Codex, KodŚw = St Vitus Cathedral Codex in Prague.

31 M. Sołomieniuk, ‘Ewangelistarze grupy Kodeksu...’, op. cit., p. 24.

32 J. Rył, ‘Nieznany Złoty kodeks Biblioteki Katedralnej w Gnieźnie’, *Studia Gnesnensia*, vol. 5, 1979–1980, pp. 323–327.



FIG. 2. *Codex Pretiosus*, the mid-11th century,
The Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno (BK Ms 600).

This historical object was named by the Rev. Sister Dr. Jadwiga Rył *Codex pretiosus*. During at least 200 years, it was an addition to the Golden Gniezno Codex, placed as its first quire. Many evangelistaries included, before the first liturgical ceremony, the text with Jesus' genealogy from St Matthew's Gospel, which may be why BK Ms 600 was placed at the beginning of the codex. During the liturgical ceremonies which required the reading of this pericope, the priest 'returned' to the first quire. The reference to St Matthew's genealogy also exists in the Golden Codex; however, originally, it did not include leaves with this genealogy. Another evangelistary preserved in fragments was probably used, and the genealogy was added when the evangelistary was re-bound in the 2nd half of the 16th century or the 18th century. In 1979, during the preparations of the phototypical edition of the Golden Codex, the additional quire was taken out of the codex and assigned an individual call num-

ber. It was originally a quaternion; currently, two middle leaves are missing. Except for the leaf 1v, the quire is written in Romanesque minuscules,³³ using painter's gold. Characteristically, 'Z' is always written as a majuscule, even in mid-word.³⁴ The beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel ends on leaf 3r; on leaf 3v, there is an incomplete text of the pericope for Palm Sunday from St. Matthew's Gospel. Evangelical texts are placed within ornamental borders with non-recurring motifs. The question of why only one quire of this evangelistary survives today remains difficult. If it was bound with the Golden Code (Ms 1a) in the 17th or 18th century, it is possibly a remnant of a codex destroyed during the Swedish deluge (1655-1660).

Paleographically, the Ms 600 is similar to the evangelistary of Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague (call number Cim. 3).³⁵ Both manuscripts are golden codices, i.e., their entire text was written in painter's gold, predominantly using the Romanesque minuscule script. The Prague Cathedral's codex begins with Jesus's genealogy from St Matthew's Gospel (l. 4r-5v). While there is a paleographical similarity between the two manuscripts, there are many differences in the text. It is particularly noticeable in Jesus's genealogy, as shown in Table 1. The Vyšehrad Codex is in this respect identical to *Codex pretiosus*.

- 33 I use in principle Władysław Semkowicz's terminology, who calls Latin minuscule script from the 10th-12th century 'Romanesque minuscule' distinguishing between book minuscule and diplomatic minuscule, see W. Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, Kraków 2002², pp. 257-265. However, Gieysztor, Petrucci and Bischoff call the minuscule script before the appearance of Gothic writing, "Carolingian minuscule", A. Gieysztor, *Zarys dziejów pisma łacińskiego*, Łódź 1973, p. 115-121; A. Petrucci, *Breve storia della scrittura latina*, [Roma] 1992², pp. 115-119 and: B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Berlin 2004³, pp. 160-171. Bischoff dates the beginning of the Gothic script to the early 12th century.
- 34 Such Z, as large as a majuscule, was typical for the Merovingian script called 'a z' from Laon, 8th c. See <https://spotlight.vatlib.it/latin-paleography/feature/11-1-bookhands-of-the-frankish-regions> [Accessed February 5, 2023].
- 35 Catalogue record: A. Podlaha, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých. Knihovna kapitulní v Praze*, Praha 1903, pp. 20-30.

TABLE 1: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MS 600 AND THE PRAGUE CODICES IN THE SPELLING OF PROPER NAMES IN THE GENEALOGY OF JESUS

Item #	Ms 600 (Gniezno), l. 2r-3r	Cim. 3 (Prague), l. 4v-5v	XIV A 13 (Prague)
1.	Ysaac	Ysaach	Ysaac
2.	Zara	Zamram	Zara
3.	obeth	obed	obeth
4.	urię	uriae	Vrię
5.	Iosiam; Iosias	Iosiam; Iosyas	Iosiam; Iosias
6.	Marie	Mariae	Marie

Additionally to simple spelling differences (ę / ae; e / ae; i / y; c / ch), there are more important variations (Obed / Obeth). The form ‘Zamram’ should be mentioned here, as it does not occur in any other codex of the so-called Vyšehrad Codex group. However, from the point of view of textual criticism, it is possible to compare the pericopes for ‘Dominica indulgentię id est in palmis’ in Ms 600 and in the Vyšehrad Codex. In the *Codex Pretiosus*, the text for this day is Mt 26, 2-4. 27b-57³⁶, in the Vyšehrad Codex, it is the entire pericope Mt 26,2 - 27,66. *Codex Aureus Gnesnensis*, on the other hand, displays Mt 21, 1-9 (ending with words ‘nomine Domini’), and the observance itself is labeled briefly ‘Dominica in palmis’. The Prague codex Cim. 3 contains Mk 11, 1-10, and the observance is given the same name as in the *Codex Aureus*.³⁷ It is not possible to compare the pericope from this observance with the relevant observance in the Missale plenarium from Gniezno because the text of the pericope in this missal is Mt 21, 1-9.

Codex Pretiosus and the Vyšehrad Codex offer, in principle, no variants in the text of the pericope for Palm Sunday. There are only four instances where they vary, including another form of the proper name for the Mount of Olives and using a different verb.

36 The bifolium in the middle is missing, and the text ends interrupted in mid-sentence - as further leaves of the codex are missing.

37 M. Sołomieniuk, ‘Ewangelistarze grupy Kodeksu...’, op. cit., p. 36.

TABLE 2: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MS 600 AND THE VYŠEHRAĐ CODEX IN THE TEXT OF THE PERICOPE FOR PALM SUNDAY

Item #	Reference in Mt	Ms 600 (Gniezno), l. 4v–8v	XIV A 13 (Prague), l. 30r–33r
1.	26,30	Oliueti	Olivarum
2.	26,41	non intretis	intretis
3.	26,43	Et iterum venit	Et venit iterum
4.	26,55	apud vos sedebam	apud vos eram

The paleographic similarity to one codex and textual similarity to another prove that the origin of *Codex Pretiosus* is not clear-cut.

1.4 MISSALE PLENARIUM MS 149

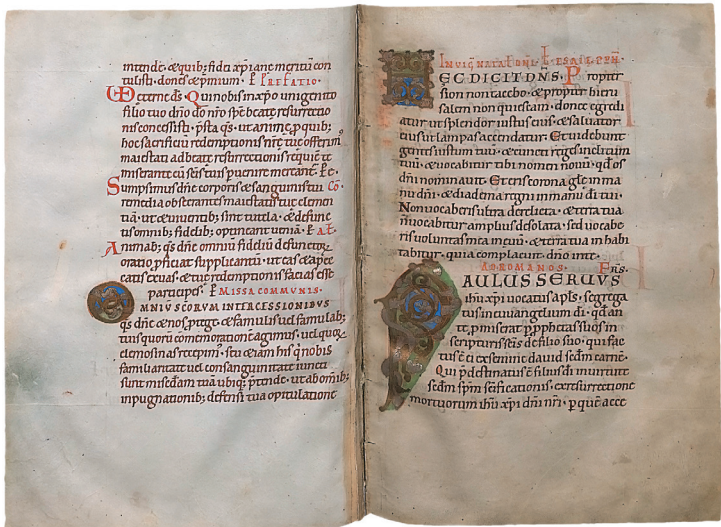


FIG. 3. *Missale plenarium*, the early 11th/late 12th century, the beginning of a lectionary, The Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno (BK Ms 149).

Missale plenarium, mentioned above, is, in fact, a *missale compositum*, i.e., composed of liturgical books bound together but not corresponding to the liturgical calendar. The artefact is dated to the years 1070–1131.³⁸ The codex numbers 272 leaves + 4 protective

38 R. Michałowski, *Princeps fundator. Studium dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1993, p. 98.

leaves at the front and 2 at the back. It includes the following parts: (1) *ordo Romanus antiquus*, (2) a calendar, (3) *Antiphonale Missarum*, (4) *Prosarium*, (5) *Sacramentarium*, and (6) *Lectionarium*. From the point of view of the liturgy of the Word, the last part is important, as it contains readings (along with the Gospel) for the main feasts, *Commune sanctorum* [common texts about the saints] and *missae votivae*.³⁹ Half a century ago, an English language monograph about this artefact was written by Krzysztof Biegański (a musicologist) and Jerzy Woronczak (a linguist and a medievalist).⁴⁰ It was accompanied by a sepia-toned edition of the codex. Despite the unusually high scholarly quality of the publication, musicological studies of the described codex should be undertaken again, and a phototypic edition should be published using contemporary reprographic techniques; the expert paleographic and liturgical studies should also be expanded. Such undertaking would require, in particular, a study of the Lectionary with the Evangelistary, the most important from the liturgical point of view. It contains only 64 observances, divided into four parts: (a) *temporale* of the first part of the year, intermixed with *sanctorale*, (b) *proprium de sanctis* of the second part of the year, (c) *commune de sanctis*, (d) votive masses. Evidently, the *temporale* of the second half of the year is missing.

1.5 LECTIONARY MS 67

This early 12th-century lectionary, call number BK Ms 67, still awaits the publication of an individual scholarly study.⁴¹ The codex numbers 157 leaves + 2 protective leaves at the front and 2 at the back. It includes 282 liturgical observances. The first researcher who studied the codex, Rev. Wojciech Anzelm Brodziszewski, wrote the following in ca. 1840, on the leaf 2r:

39 T. Dobrzeński, *Codex Aureus Gnesnesis...*, op. cit., p. 120.

40 K. Biegański, J. Woronczak, *Missale plenarium, Bibl. Capit. Gnesnensis, Ms. 149*, Graz 1970–1972.

41 M. Sołomieniuk, 'Dwunastowieczny lekcjonarz Ms 67 z zasobu Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Gnieźnie', in: 'Memento mei scriptoris'. *Sesja naukowa z okazji dziewięćdziesięciolecia urodzin profesora Edwarda Potkowskiego*, ed. P. Tańkowski, Warszawa 2025, pp. 39–78.

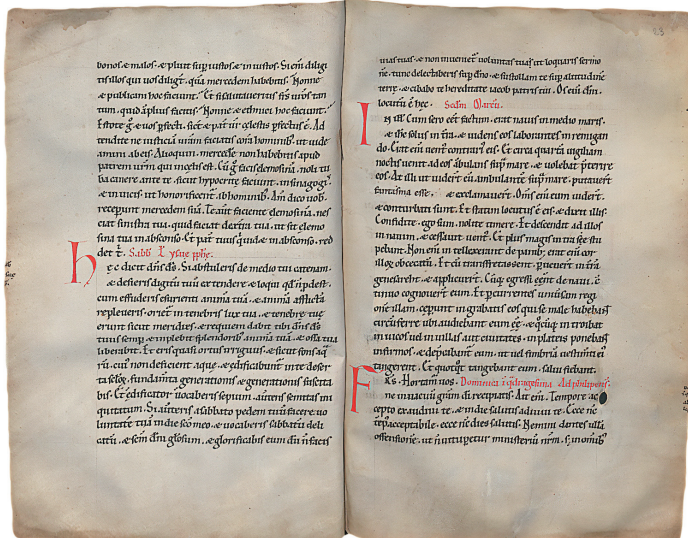


FIG. 4. A lectionary from the 12th century,
The Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno (BK Ms 67).

Liber Epistolarum et Evangeliorum per totum anni circulum pro omnibus dominicis et festis diebus. Manuscriptum hoc creditur omnino esse antiquissimum, ex hac causa quia nulla inveniuntur in illo festa recentiora, nisi sola festa primitivæ Ecclesiæ – proinde suppono pro satis certo librum hunc esse faetus⁴² [sic!] sæculi NONI aut DECIMI.

The scholar, basing himself exclusively on an expert liturgical analysis, did not consider paleographical issues. Paleographical traits of the codex exclude an early origin of the book (i.e., the 9th or 10th century), pointing out rather to the first quarter of the 12th century.

At the end of many readings, the words ‘domino deo nostro’ or other similar words were added in a different grammatical case. For instance, the reading Ro 1, 1-6 (for Christmas Eve) according to the text of the Vulgate ends in words: ‘in quibus estis et vos vocati Jesu Christi’, in the lectionary; at the end, there are added words:

42 It should probably be *factum*.

‘d[omi]ni n[ost]ri’. The same words are added in the lectionary of the discussed above codex Ms 149. Lectionary Ms 67 contains a whole series of *lectiones compositae* (‘composite readings’), e.g., for the Octave of Epiphany it offers a reading composed of verses from various chapters of the Book of Isaiah (25,1; 26, 11; 28, 5; 35, 1-2.10; 41, 18; 52, 13; 12, 3-4).⁴³ A preliminary analysis uncovers many errors and gaps. There are mistakes even in the names of the books of the Bible from which the readings are excerpted, e.g., in the reading for the 4th Sunday of Advent (l. 6v), instead of ‘Philippenses’, there is ‘ad corinthios’; for Christmas Mass, *in primo galli cantu*, there is ‘ad titum’ instead of ‘Isaiae’. It appears that the letter to Corinthians was misnamed the most frequently and without distinguishing which of the two letters was quoted. In certain observances, the first reading was omitted, and only the pericope of the Gospel was provided (e.g., for the eve of Epiphany l. 11v; for Friday of the Octave of Epiphany, l. 13v; for Saturday before the 4th Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany; additionally, this observance has no name, l. 15v, etc.).

As far as paleography is concerned, it seems that the lectionary was written by two hands. One writes pointed letters (an early predictor of gothic script), and the other produces rounded letters.

1.6 EVANGELIARY MS 2

Evangelary, called Kruszwica evangelary (Lat. *Evangelarium Crusvicense*), could have been funded by Mieszko III the Old (d. 1202) for the Kruszwica collegiate, is dated for the end of the 12th century. It has been held in Gniezno since 1848. Until now, it has been only tentatively researched and described.⁴⁴ It is a codex numbering 175 leaves (including two blank leaves) and measuring 320×225 mm.

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- 43 A list of composite readings is similar but not identical to the list provided in W. Frere’s *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy. III. The Roman Epistle-Lectionary*, Eugene 2011², pp. 92–93.
- 44 Ł. Krucki, “Ewangelarz kruszwicki”. XII-wieczny skarb diecezji wrocławskiej w zasobie Archiwum Archidiecezjalnego w Gnieźnie’, *Ateneum Kapłańskie* 183 (2024), fasc. 2 (693), pp. 214–237. The author focused primarily on the history of the codex and the list of illuminations.

It has been rebound on wooden boards covered with velvet. On the top cover, a 16th-century silver plaque with a Paschal lamb, a so-called *Agnus Dei*, is attached.⁴⁵

The layout of the content is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 3: THE CONTENT OF MS 2

Item #	content	Place in the codex	comments
1.	Prefatio sancti Iheronimi presbiteri de Evangeliiis et canonibus "Novuum opus facere me cogis"	f. 1r-3r	A letter to the Pope Damasus I
2.	[Canones Eusebiani]	f. 4r-9r	
3.	Item prefatio Iheronimi presbiteri "Plures fuisse"	f. 9v-11v	
4.	Prologus Math[ei] Evangelij: "Matheus ex Iudea"	f. 11v-12r	
5.	Capitula sancti Evangelii secundum Matheum	f. 12r-14v	352 "capitula"
6.	2 full-page illustrations	f. 15r-15v	
7.	[St Matthew's Gospel]	f. 16r-58r	The first three pages of the Gospel (Jesus's genealogy) are decorated
8.	Argumentum Evangelii secundum Marcum	f. 58r-59r	
9.	Capitula secundum Marcum	f. 59r-60r	233 capitula"
10.	5 full-page illustrations	f. 60v-62v	
11.	[St Mark's Gospel]	f. 63r-88v	The first page of the Gospel is decorated
12.	Argumentum Evangelii secundum Lucam	f. 88v-89r	
13.	Capitula [Evangelii secundum Lucam]	f. 89r-91r	
14.	5 full-page illustrations	f. 91v-93v	
15.	[St Luke's Gospel]	f. 94v-135r	The first page of the Gospel is decorated
16.	Prologus in Evangelium Johannis: "Hic est Iohannes evangelista"	f. 135r-136r	
17.	Capitula secundum Iohannem	f. 136r-137r	No pagination
18.	6 full-page illustrations	f. 138r-140v	
19.	[St John's Gospel]	f. 141r-173v	The first page of the Gospel is decorated, and the text on the 2nd page is written in painter's gold.

45 A wax medallion made out of a Paschal candle, blessed by the pope and called *Agnus Dei*, has the value of a sacramental.

In the text of each Gospel, there are references to the parallel texts in other Gospels (the so-called Ammonian Sections) written outside and inside the margins; however, there are no liturgical indications, or *capitulare evangeliorum* at the end.

1.7 A PSALTER WITH INTERLINEAR AND MARGINAL GLOSSES MS 110

The codex, bound in wooden boards covered in recycled book parchment, numbers 182 leaves. It is dated to the 2nd half of the 12th century. As indicated in the catalogue record written by the Rev. Sister Dr. Jadwiga Rył, before the first psalm, figures the apocryphal psalm (151: ‘Pusillus eram inter fratres meos’), and after the canonic book of psalms, cantics ‘Ysaiae’ were added: (Isa 12, 1-6; f. 179v-180r), ‘Ezechiaë regis’ (Isa 38, 10-20; f. 180r-181v), ‘Annæ’ (1 Sam 2, 1-10; f. 181v-182v) and ‘Moysi’ (Ex 15, 1-5a; f. 182v); this last one is incomplete – the last leaf of the codex is missing.

Below, I provide as a sample the first verse of Psalm 1 with both kinds of glosses:

TABLE 4: PS 1,1 WITH GLOSSES IN MS 110

Verse 1	Interlinear glosses	Marginal glosses
Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum	Deliberando de suggestione peccati	[1] Vir non femineæ mobilitatis [2] Gregorius: et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit. Cathedra quippe iudicis vel praesidentes esse solet. In cathedra autem pestilentiae sedere est ex iudicio praua committere. In cathedra pestilentiae sedere est et ex ratione mala discernere et tamen ex deliberatione perpetrare. Quasi in perversi consilii cathedra sedet qui tanta elatione iniquitatis attollitur ut implere malum etiam per consilia conetur.
et in uia peccatorum non stetit	Non est delectatus inmorando Nec in consuetudinem peccatum duxit quo ceteris peccandi daret exemplum	
et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit	In qua doctoribus pestilentibus sedere mos est	

The longer marginal gloss comes from St Gregory the Great’s *Book of Pastoral Rule* (part III, chapter 32, admonitio 33).⁴⁶ The following marginal gloss, relating to the second verse, was also taken from the same work. This means that the marginal glosses in this codex (if studies of the comments to the other psalms would con-

46 Gregorius Magnus, *Regula pastoralis*, Patrologia Latina, vol. 77, Parisiis 1849, col. 115.

firm it) were not taken either from *Glossa ordinaria*, or *Glossa media in Psalmos et epistolas Pauli* Gilberta de la Porrée or also from *Glossa magna in Psalmos et epistolas Pauli* by Peter Lombard.⁴⁷

2. FRAGMENTS OF MANUSCRIPTS

In the archive are fragments of manuscripts dated to the period that concerns us, which contain biblical texts written in Latin on parchment. They were either part of the private collection of the pre-war librarian and archivist of the chapter, Rev. Leon Formanowicz⁴⁸, or they have been removed from the bindings of the Gniezno manuscripts. Such removals were done before the war, as well as in the 1960s and 70s of the last century, during the tenure of Rev. Władysław Zientarski.⁴⁹ Today, such operations are not undertaken without the participation of an expert paper and leather restorer. Hence, further growth in the number of discoveries of similar fragments will remain rather insignificant.

- Ms Fragm 12: a fragment of the Book of Ezekiel, 12th century / MSPL 7879;
- Ms Fragm 18: a fragment of the Book of Ezekiel, 12th century / MSPL 8035;
- Ms Fragm 19: a fragment of St Luke's Gospel, 9th century / MSPL 8036;
- Ms Fragm 20: a fragment of the Book of Leviticus, 12th century / MSPL 8037;
- Ms Fragm 24: a fragment of Psalm 77, late 11th/early 12th century / MSPL 8041;
- Ms Fragm 77: a fragment of a lectionary, 12th century / MSPL 8364;

47 I consulted for this issue the French Internet page entitled *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae-electronicae* (Gloss-e): <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/> [Accessed February 29, 2024].

48 J. Nowacki, 'Leon Formanowicz', in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. VII, col. 1948-1958 and Ł. Krucki, Leon Maria Formanowicz (1878-1942), in: *Słownik biograficzny polskiego katolicyzmu społecznego*, vol. 3, ed. by R. Łatka, Warszawa 2022, pp. 426-430.

49 Ł. Krucki, 'Zientarski Władysław', *Rev.*, in: *Słownik biograficzny polskich archiwistów kościelnych*, vol. 1, ed. by J. Marecki, Kraków 2017, pp. 192-196.

- Ms Fragg 175: a fragment of an evangelistary, late 11th/early 12th century / MSPL 8488;
- Ms Fragg 182: a fragment of the Book of Numbers, 12th century / MSPL 8498;
- Ms Fragg 198: fragments of the Epistle of James and Acts of the Apostles, 12th century / MSPL 8507.

There are no scholarly analyses of these fragments, except Ms Fragg 19. On the other hand, in 2022, appeared a publication that combines traits of a catalogue and a scholarly study, including all fragments of manuscripts from the Czech lands until the 12th century.⁵⁰ It could serve as a valuable point of reference for Polish research.

2.1 MS FRAGM 12

This is a bifolium measuring 306×235 mm. The text is written in late Romanesque minuscule script in a single column, with 31 lines on each page; the 32nd line at the bottom of the page was cut off. The fragment belonged to Rev. Leon Formanowicz’s collection. The content under study:

TABLE 5: THE LAYOUT OF THE TEXT IN MS FRAGM 12

leaf	Biblical references	Incipit X explicit
1r	Ezek 7, 26-8,14	sacerdote, et consilium a senioribus X respiciebat ad aquilonem
1v	Ezek 8, 15-9,9	Et dixit ad me: Certe vidisti X magna est nimis valde, et re[pleta]
2r	Ezek 9, 9-10, 19	enim. Dereliquit Dominus terram X elevantia cherubim alas suas exaltata sunt
2v	Ezek 10, 19-11, 16	stetit in introitu porte X in terris ad quas venerunt

On the first leaf *recto*, in the cut-off line 32, there was the fragment: *et ecce ibi mulieres sedebant plangentes Adonidem* (Ezek 8, 14), and on the second leaf, in the cut-off part of the verse Ezek 10, 19, the fragment: *a terra coram me, et illis egredientibus, rotae quoque subsecutae sunt, et stetit in.*

50 D. Havel, *Die lateinische Schriftkultur in den böhmischen Ländern bis zum 12. Jahrhundert. Handschriften, Fragmente und Skriptoria*, Wien-Köln 2022. See the catalogue of fragments, pp. 87-400.

The text is divided into sections indicated by majuscule initials, written in elegant capital or uncial; each part is ca. three lines high. Some of the initials are at the beginning of the new line. Next to each initial were added marks that may be considered liturgical directions. Also, at the end of most sections (mainly in abbreviation) were added words: *Haec dicit dominus deus*. The division into sections and the liturgical comments are presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6: THE LAYOUT OF THE TEXT IN MS FRAGM 12 AND THE LITURGICAL INDICATIONS

Item #	Initial	Leaf and page	Biblical references	Liturgical indications	Comments
1.	F[actum]	1 r	Ezek 8,1-4	F[e]r[ia] III	
2.	E[t]	1 r	Ezek 8, 5-11	L[ectio] II	
3.	E[t]	1 r-v	Ezek 8, 12-18	L[ectio] III	
4.	E[t]	1 v	Ezek 9, 1-6	F[e]r[ia] IIII	
5.	E[t]	1 v	Ezek 9, 7-9	L[ectio] II	The bottom of the leaf was cut off; the passage was originally longer
6.	E[t]	2 r	Ezek 10, 2-15	L[ectio] III	
7.	C[umque]	2 r	Ezek 10, 16-22	F[e]r[ia] V	The bottom of the leaf is cut off; one line is missing in the middle of the passage. The first word written in majuscules and tinted red
8.	E[t]	2 v	Ezek 11, 1-7	L[ectio] II	
9.	G[ladium]	2 v	Ezek 11, 8-16	L[ectio] III	
10.	H[aec]	2 v	---	F[e]r[ia] VI	Only the top of the initial is visible. If the copyist omitted the words Propterea eloquent, the sentence could have begun with Haec dicit dominus deus.

This fragment belonged to the private collection of Rev. Formanowicz.

2.2 MS FRAGM 18

This fragment is written on both pages of a parchment leaf measuring 520 × 360 mm from Rev. Leon Formanowicz’s collection. The leaf was removed from a binding (the description does not specify which binding); hence, the page *verso* is difficult to read. The biblical text from the Book of Ezekiel (chapters 21 to 23) was written in a late Romanesque minuscule, in two columns, 45 lines each:

TABLE 7: CONTENT OF MS FRAGM 18

leaf	column	Biblical references	Incipit X explicit
1r	a	Ezek 21, 21- 22, 4	duarum viarum divinationem X annorum tuorum. Propterea
1r	b	Ezek 22, 4-25	dedi te obp[ro]briu[m] X Coniuratio p[ro]ph[et]aru[m]
1v	a	Ezek 22, 25-23, 10	leo rugiens capiensq[ue] X occiderunt gladio: et
1v	b	Ezek 23, 10-27	facte s[un]t famose X gl[ori]e tue. Et req[ui]...

On the page *verso*, in column ‘a’, a fragment of the leaf with the words *in medio ejus, sicut* (Ezek 22, 25) is missing. Above the field of text on the page *recto*, there is a red heading (*viva pagina*): *propheta*, on the *verso*: *Ezechiel*; in the headings, majuscule letters are mixed with minuscule. The Rev. Sister Dr. Jadwiga Rył dates the fragment to the late 12th or early 13th century. This fragment belonged to the private collection of Rev. Formanowicz.

2.3 MS FRAGM. 19

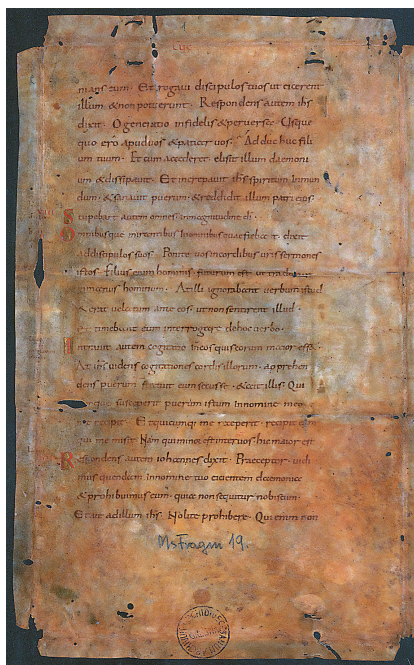


FIG. 2. A fragment of an evangeliary from the 9th century, The Archdiocesan Archive of Gniezno (BK Ms Fragm 19).

A study of this fragment of an evangeliary from the 9th century (Ms Fragn. 19) was already published half a century ago.⁵¹ The leaf measuring 300×160 mm is written in Carolingian minuscule. Its *recto* is legible, but on page *verso*, you can hardly decipher words or their parts because this leaf of an evangeliary was used in the binding of another codex. The fragment contains excerpts from the Gospel of St Luke (Lk 9, 39–62), and more precisely:

TABLE 8: CONTENTS OF MS FRAGM 19

leaf	Biblical references	Incipit X explicit
recto	Lk 9, 39–50	[di]lanians eum. Et rogavi discipulos tuos X Nolite prohibere. Qui enim non
verso	Lk 9, 50–62	est adversum vos, pro vobis est X retro aptus est regno dei ⁵²

Rev. Bolz provides somewhat different references: Lk 9, 40 – 10,1, disregarding the last words of verse 9, 39 and reading verse 10, 1, which is rather based on guesswork. The parchment is written in the Carolingian minuscule script displaying archaic traits (e.g., the occurrence of an open “lunar” “a”), and for that reason, can be dated, according to Bolz, to the mid-9th century at the latest, and was produced at a scriptorium in the German-French borderlands, in the upper reaches of the Rhine. In Bolz’s opinion, textual criticism connects this fragment to the southern French version of the Latin text of the Scriptures, reliant on the Spanish family of manuscripts. Until 1961, this folium served as a simple binding to a 16th-century print (BK Pl 64) from the collection of the Franciscans of Primitive Observance in Poznań.

2.4 MS FRAGM 20

This unit comprises two fragments of one leaf (the middle lines are missing), each measuring 405×330 mm. The text of the Book of Leviticus is written on these fragments, in two columns, in the Romanesque minuscule, namely:

51 B. Bolz, ‘Nieznany fragment gnieźnińskiego rękopisu z IX stulecia (Ms fr. 19)’, *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium* 1973, vol. 1, p. 133–146.
52 The last entire word visible on the parchment is *retro*, and only the letters “a” and “s” can be deciphered from what remains of the next word.

TABLE 9: TEXT LAYOUT IN MS FRAGM 20

leaf	column	Biblical reference	Incipit X explicit	Comments
1r	a	Lev 18, 28b–19, 8a	[feceri]tis, sicut evomuit gentem X [porta]bit iniquitatem	Below, snippets of individual words from two consecutive lines
1r	b	Lev 19, 16b–23	stabis contra sanguinem X poma que ger[minant]	The last line has missing fragments, and below, single words from three following lines
1v	a	Lev 19, 33b–20, 3	fuerit inter vos X de semine suo Moloch	Below, fragments of five consecutive lines, difficult to decipher
1v	right	Lev 20, 10–17a	proximi sui morte moriantur X turpitudinem ejus illaque	Below, snippets of two consecutive lines
2r	left	Lev 19, 8b–16a	populo suo X susurro in p[o]p[u]lu[m]. Non	--
2r	right	Lev 19, 25–33	quinto autem X in terra vestra et morat[us]	--
2v	left	Lev 20, 4b–10a	dedit de se[mine] X p[er] petraverit cum conjuge	After the incipit, missing fragments of the parchment
2v	right	Lev 20, 17c–23a	[revelav]erint, et porta[bunt] iniquitatem X expulsurus sum ante vos	--

This analysis demonstrates that the fragments are two parts of the same leaf. Between the end of the record on l. 1r, in the left column, and the beginning of the record on l. 2r, in the left column, only the words *suam, quia sanctum Domini polluit, et peribit anima illa de* are missing, i.e., ca. two lines. Similarly, between the last words on l. 1r, in the right column and the first words on the l. 2r, in the right column, only words *immunda erunt vobis, nec edetis ex eis. Quarto autem anno omnis fructus eorum sanctificabitur, laudabilis Domino, ,* i.e., ca. three lines of text. Between the left column on l. v and the same column on l. 2v, the words *et contaminaverit sanctuarium meum ac polluerit nomen sanctum meum. Quod si negligens populus terrae, et quasi parvipendens imperium meum, dimiserit hominem qui,* are missing, i.e., ca. 3 lines. Between the right column on l. 1v and l. 2v, words *ejus, illaque conspexerit fratris ignominiam, nefariam rem operati sunt: occidentur in conspectu populi sui, eo quod turpitudinem suam mutuo* are missing.

The fragment was removed from the binding of an archival unit dating from 1603–1617, described as a ‘draft of decretals’, and mis-

takenly attributed the call number A Cap B 47⁵³ in the catalogue of manuscripts.

2.5 MS FRAGM 24

The fragment of a leaf, identified as Ms Fragn 24, was removed from an incunabula with the call number BK Inc 354. It measures 295 x 130 mm, is written in the Romanesque minuscule script, and contains:

TABLE 10: THE LAYOUT OF THE TEXT IN MS FRAGM 24

page	Biblical reference	Incipit X explicit
recto	Ps 77, 32-44	In omnibus his X convertit in sanguinem flumina eorum
verso	Ps 77, 45-56	et disperdidit eos X exacerbaverunt deum

On the *verso* of the page, the text of this psalm has been preserved from the middle of verse 45 to the middle of verse 56. Between the end of the text on the *recto* of the page and the beginning of the text on the *verso* of the page, parts of verses 44 and 45a are missing, i.e., the words *et imbres eorum, ne biberent. Misit in eos coenomyiam, et comedit eos, et ranam, et*. This fragment was written in the upper part of the page's *verso* (the leaf's upper part has not been preserved).

There are 26 lines of text written in one column on the *recto* of the page, and on the *verso*, 25 lines. The author of the working catalogue of fragments, the Rev. Sister Dr. Jadwiga Rył, wrote the following about the configuration of the text: '2 columns (there is only a trace of the second column)'. The author of the present study did not see traces of a second column.

Initials of all verses are written in the majuscule (*capitalis elegans* or uncial) in the left margin, i.e., outside of the field of text. On the *recto* of the page, out of seven initials 'E', there are five uncial and two capitals; on the *verso*, there are nine such initials, all uncial. Punctuation includes two signs: a full stop at the end of the sentence and a comma in the middle of each verse. The comma has the shape of a dot below the letter combined with a diagonal sign

53 In reality, this call number is attributed to a 20th-century archival unit.

written above the letter. It is similar to a double comma (it looks like a diagonal ‘exclamation mark’). To save the parchment, half of the verse was once written in the line above, in the empty space of the field of text (the preceding verse ended in the middle of the length of the line).

The main text is written in the late Carolingian minuscule script with *praegotica* traits, i.e., the letters are ‘sharp’, written within a rectangle rather than an oval; clear differences exist between wider and narrow or narrow (sharply) ending strokes.

On the *verso* of the page, there are two glosses. The condition of the parchment and the fact that the leaf has been cut off at the left side make it difficult to provide a more precise explanation of the glosses.⁵⁴

2.6 MS FRAGM 77

It is a narrow parchment strip measuring 45×202 mm, written on both sides and containing five incomplete verses of text in two columns. It used to be an insert in the incunable BK Inc 128. The first (left) column is cut off. The text is written in the late Romanesque minuscule script.

TABLE 11: THE LAYOUT OF THE TEXT IN MS FRAGM 77⁵⁵

page	column	Biblical reference	Incipit X explicit
recto	a	Lk 17,30-31	qua die filius X tollere illa e[t] qui
recto	b	1 Cor 13, 1-2	loquar e[t] ang[e]lor[um] X habuero prophetiam, et no...
verso	a	1 Cor 13, 11-12	loquebar ut parvulus do słów Videmus n[um]c X
verso	b	Lk 18, 31-33	per prophetas de Filio X et die tert[ia]

- 54 The first gloss is placed after verse 49 (it ends with the expression: *immissiones per angelos malos*). It probably runs as follows: ‘v[a]rie leg[es?] i[n] Xp[ist]o weniendo (?) nat[us?] su...’ (the next part is cut off). Below the end of the last word is an incomplete (cut-off) capital letter ‘C’. The second gloss is written in four lines, one or two abbreviated words to the right of verses 53-54. The gloss reads: ‘M qu[am] / Deus [...] vca[...] / in sac[r]ifi...’.
- 55 In this description, I disregard verses truncated in their upper half, with letters impossible to decipher and without vertical lines reaching upward into the interlinear space.

The layout of readings: 1 Cor 13, 1-13 and Lk 18, 31-43 corresponds to Pentecost Sunday. In the text, there is one truncated initial F[rates], written in red as *capitalis elegans*, over four lines in height. The fragment was inserted in the incunable Inc 128.

2.7 MS FRAGM 175

The fragment comprises five leaves (a loose leaf and a bifolium; leaf 1 is the loose leaf) measuring 305×210 mm. This unit was removed in 1962 from the binding of the volume of acts of the chapter, call number A Cap B 773, dating from 1667-1699 (l. 1), and A Cap B 721, dating from 1685-1698 (bifolium).

TABLE 12: THE LAYOUT OF THE TEXT IN MS FRAGM 175

Item #	Leaf and page	Title of the liturgical observance and title of the pericope	Biblical reference	Incipit X explicit
1.	1r	-	Mt 27, 50-59;	Jesus autem iterum clamans X: reddi corpus. Et
	1v	-	Mt 27, 59-66;	accepto corpore X lapidem cum custodibus
2.	1v	Feria quinta in Cena Domini Sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum Ioannem	--	
	2r	--	Lk 6, 22-29;	ut moreretur mendicus; X habent moysen et
3.	2v		Lk 6, 29-31;	prophetas: audient illos X ex mortuis resurrexerit, credent
	2v	Dominica II post octavam ... ⁵⁶ Sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum Lucam	Lk 14-16;	In ill. Dixit Iesus discipulis suis parabolam hanc: Homo quidam fecit X in plateas et vicos civi[tatis]
5.	3r	--	Lk 5, 9-11	in captura piscium X secuti sunt eum
	3r	Feria VI Secundum Matheum	Mt 5, 20-24	In ill. temp. Dixit Iesus disci- pulis suis: Amen amen dico vobis, quia nisi habundaverit X relinque ibi
6.	3v		Mt 5, 24	Ibi munus tuum X offeres munus tuum
	3v	Secundum Marcum	Mk 8, 1-7	In ill. temp. cum turba multa esset X pisciculos paucos: et ipsos

56 The last word is illegible.

The text is written in one column, mainly in the Romanesque minuscule script, but in the names of observances, *capitalis quadrata* in light-red (minium) is used. Initials, at the beginning of the pericope, are written in two colours (green with blue additions); they reach from 3 to 6 lines in height and are placed in part entirely outside the field of text, in the external margin. Some sentences begin with light-red majuscule initials extending into the upper interline. If a verse commences with such an initial, the letter is painted outside the field of text, in the left margin.

2.8 MS FRAGM, 182

It is a fragment of one leaf measuring 350×170 mm, with considerable gaps in its upper part. The *verso* of the page is not easily readable. This fragment of parchment was removed in 1962 from the binding of a volume of acts of the chapter, call number A Cap B 736, dating from 1587–1589. On the *recto* of the page, there is (with gaps) the text of Nu 31, 17–36 ([quid]quid est generis X trecenta septem dta [sic!]), and on the *verso*: Nu 32, 21–39; [tran]seat donec [subvertat] X interfecto Amorræo). This text layout proves that the original codex was written in two columns. On the *recto* of the page, there is the left column of text, and on the *verso*, the right column. The width of the column measures ca. 110 mm. The entire text is written monochromatically in the Romanesque minuscule script without any ornamentations.

2.9 MS FRAGM 198

This unit is composed of two bifolia preserved with large gaps; they were removed in 1962 from the binding of acts of the chapter. The detailed provenience of the first bifolium was not recorded (two missing numbers were marked as 'xx'); it was removed from the volume of acts with the call number A Cap B 7xx. The second bifolium was removed from the binding of the unit with the call number A Cap B 759, dating from 1636–1639. Better preserved leaves measure 315×230 mm, and the field of text measures ca. 220×145 mm.

The first bifolium, containing fragments of the Epistle of James, (probably) at the stage of recycling for the purpose of binding, was folded the other way around, i.e., on the first leaf, there is currently the text from the ‘further’ part of the Epistle, and on the second, we have the text of the ‘nearer’ part of this Biblical book. Additionally, two small, loose pieces of parchment covered with text belong to this bifolium that must have been cut off from the main part during the process of recycling. The text is written in the Romanesque minuscule script.

The layout of the Biblical text in the first bifolium is presented in Table 13.

TABLE 13: THE LAYOUT OF THE TEXT IN MS FRAGM 198 – BIFOLIUM 1

Leaf	Biblical reference	Incipit X explicit
1r	Ja 2, 14–22	[o]pera autem non habeat x fides confirmata est
1r (part cut off)	Ja 2, 23–25	Dei appellatus est X per aliam viam exiens
1v	Ja 2, 26 – 3, 7	[mortu]u[m] est [ita et fides sine] operibus X et serpentium etiam
1v (part cut off)	Ja 3, 7–10	[doma]nt[ur] et domita X ore procedit benedi[ctio]
2r	Ja 1, 19–27	audiendum: tardus autem X et immaculatum [se] custo[dire]
2r (part cut off)	Ja 2, 1–3	Fratres mei nolite X habitu et intendat[is]
2v	Ja 2, 3–11;	[indu]tus est veste praeclara X Quod si non moechabe[ris]
2v (part cut off)	Ja 2, 12–14;	[faci]te sicut per legem X quis dicat se habere

Gaps due to the binding in the 17th century: on leaf 1r, between the main part and the cut-off part, one and a half of a Biblical verse is missing (Ja 2, 22–23); namely, the words: ‘Et suppleta est Scriptura, dicens: Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus’. Meanwhile, at the bottom of the cut-off part, the beginning of verse 26 is missing: ‘Sicut enim corpus sine spiritu’. Whereas, on page 1v, after both parts were folded, the words: ‘ceterorum doma[nstur]’ are missing from verse 7. There is a curious disproportion between the amount of missing text on the *recto* and on the *verso* of the page. In the second leaf, on the page *recto*, between the main part and the cut-off portion, the last words of the first chapter are missing: ‘[custodi]re ab hoc saeculo’. On the *verso* of the page, the lower part of letters in words from verses 11

and 12 are missing: ‘occides autem, factus es transgressor legis. Sic loquim[ini]’, as well as the entire words ‘et sic’. It means that no full verses are missing.

The second bifolium is somewhat more complete and its current physical condition mirrors the real layout of the Biblical text.

TABLE 14: THE LAYOUT OF THE TEXT IN MS FRAGM 198 – BIFOLIUM 2

Leaf and page	Biblical reference	Incipit X explicit
1r	Ac 24, 5–18;	omnibus Judeis et auctorem X non cum turba neque cum
1v	Ac 24, 18–27;	tumultu. Quidam autem X reliquit Paulum vinctum
2r (the main part along with the cut-off fragment)	Ac 27, 20–31;	exigua imminente, jam ablata X [c]enturioni et
2v (see above)	Ac 27, 31–42;	militibus: Nisi hi in navi X effugeret

In this manuscript fragment, the beginnings of sections of the text, called *capitula*, are marked in two distinct ways. The first type of indication is the initial of the first word in the section, written in majuscule, *capitalis elegans*. Its height is ca. 2–3 lines, and the initial is placed outside the field of text on the left. Above the first line of a new section, the copyist placed a Roman numeral in the empty space on the right (in the field of text). The height of these numerals is ca. 1 line. Both ways of marking the *capitula* use light-red colour and a thin stroke. In the first bifolium, this indication, in the form of the initial T, is placed on the 1r, at the beginning of the verse Ja 2, 19 (‘Tu credis’). The mark in Roman numerals was written partly on the missing parchment and, probably, was intended as VIIII. On the leaf 1v of the same bifolium, two majuscule initials and traces of a Roman numeral were preserved: N at the beginning of Ja 3, 1 (‘Nolite plures’), as well as E in the middle of the verse Ja 3, 5 (‘Ecce quantus’). The leaf 2r has a majuscule P at the beginning of Ja 1, 21 (‘Propter quod’)—the indication in Roman numerals: IIII. A bit lower down, we can see the initial S at the beginning of Ja 1, 26 (‘Si quis’); the corresponding Roman numeral indication: V. On the back (2v), the initial D appears in the middle of the verse Ja 2, 8 (‘Diliges proximum’); the Roman numeral indication is VII. In the cut-off part of this leaf is the numeral in-

dication VIII, after the end of verse 2. 13 – the next section would begin accordingly from 2, 14. In the second bifolium, such an indication appears on the leaf 1v, at the beginning of the verse Ac 24, 22 ('Distulit autem illos Felix'). The first letter of the verse was written as a light-red majuscule, on two lines. This initial sticks outside of the field of text, into the left margin. The indication in Roman numerals: "LXIII'.

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