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The monastic rule versus the colors of Polish and Bohemian Cistercian architecture in the 12th and 15th centuries

Introduction

The color scheme of Cistercian architecture, which has been preserved to this day, most often results from numerous transformations. Its origins are connected with the formation of the Cistercian order and the foundation of the first monastery in Burgundy near Dijon in 1098, which was later called Cîteaux. Numerous reconstructions and renovations of Cistercian monasteries that were carried out over the course of nearly five hundred years contributed to the significant destruction of medieval polychromes. Conservation works, sometimes carried out without any research, disrupted the medieval color scheme. However, they became the basis for the stereotype of the austerity and asceticism of Cistercian architecture and thus its "colorlessness" and modernity as understood at that time. Le Corbusier, who was invited to write an introduction to the book about the Cistercian abbey Le Thoronet, also succumbed to this stereotypical thinking. He found confirmation of his own ideas in Cistercian buildings - all construction techniques were of equal value if they were used in a minimalist spirit. This spirit should not arise from a pointless and secular search for a decorative effect. It was supposed to result from an intellectual and humble attempt at creating forms which could be sanctioned by their use itself. Their task was to give reinforced concrete the properties of a natural material of the same rank as stone. Truth and technological austerity were to be expressed, for example, by leaving intentional and accidental traces of construction works. For Le Corbusier and the modernist movement of the time, the gray

The aim of the article is to compare theoretical ideological assumptions of the monastic rule with their practical application in shaping color of Cistercian buildings in the territory of contemporary Poland and the Czech Republic. At the beginning, the focus was on discussing the principles of the rule. Cistercian statutes, which were published in print, constitute important sources of information on this subject [1]. The order rule is also discussed in many works on the history of the order [2]–[7].

and raw material of Cistercian architecture was a perfect illustration of the construction and technological truth. We find similar words in the Cistercian treatises which were written by St. Bernard (1190-1153), abbot of the Clairvaux monastery in Burgundy. During his lifetime, there was a real expansion of the order; by 1153, 343 monasteries were established. The first branches of the monastery in Cîteaux were established in France in Morimond (1017), La Ferte (1113), Pontigny (1114), Clairvaux (1115) and they were later recognized as the order's proto-abbeys. Until 1118, monasteries in French Preuilly and Trois-Fontaines were founded. The first Cistercian abbeys in Italy were established in 1120, in Germany in 1123, in England in 1229, in the territory of today's Switzerland in 1131, in the territory of today's Belgium and Spain in 1132, in Austria in 1135 and in the 1140s Cistercians appeared in Ireland, Norway, Denmark, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. From the 1140s up to the 15th century, 46 male abbeys were founded in the territory of Bohemia and Poland - 33 monasteries in Poland and 13 monasteries in the lands of Bohemia. From the 1140s till the end of the 12th century, 14 abbeys were founded, in the 1st half of the 13th century -28 abbeys; in the 2nd half of the 13th century -17 abbeys, in the 2nd half of the 13th century – two monasteries and in the 1st decade of the 15th century – the next two. Thus, the greatest dynamics of the spread of monasteries in this area was in the 13th century (Fig. 1).

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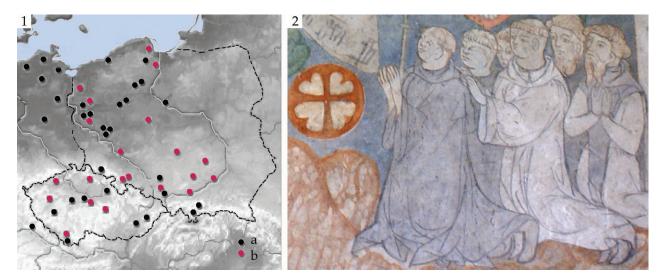


Fig. 1. Cistercians in Poland and Bohemia in the 12th and 15th centuries:

1 – location of male monasteries, a) transformed color scheme of the building, b) preserved color scheme of the building,

2 – convent, fragment of a painting from the abbey in Ląd (elaborated and photo by E. Łużyniecka)

II. 1. Cystersi na terenie Polski i Czech w XII–XV w.: 1 – lokalizacja męskich klasztorów, a) przekształcona kolorystyka budowli, b) zachowana kolorystyka budowli, 2 – konwent, fragment malowidła z opactwa w Lądzie (oprac. i fot. E. Łużyniecka)

The main part of the article consists of research conclusions concerning color transformations of Cistercian buildings from the 12th to the 15th century. The subject of the study were color combinations in abbeys of male convents. The knowledge on this subject is scattered and unordered – it has been included in many publications, therefore we will limit ourselves to indicating publications concerning the territory of Poland and the Czech Republic. The first group of publications includes synthetic reviews of the Cistercian architecture of the above-mentioned countries or their selected regions [8]-[15]. The second type of studies consists of catalogs of monastic architecture, in which there are descriptions of individual abbeys [16], [17]. Another group are discussions of medieval architecture that include descriptions of abbeys [18]-[20]. Mural paintings which can be found in some abbeys are also worth mentioning [21]–[27]. A lot of valuable information is also provided by unpublished works stored in conservation offices and the results of conservation works posted on the websites of offices, monasteries or communes. Both authors of the article, who have been dealing with Cistercian issues and studies of monasteries for over 30 years, focusing mainly on historical (e.g. [6], [28], [29]) or architectural (e.g. [30]–[32]) issues.

Research methods and the subject of analysis

The research work was carried out in two ways. It began with the analysis of color guidelines contained in the Cistercian monastic rule. During the research, we applied the classic method of research in the field of history based on the analysis of written sources and the use of studies on the rule contained in the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the documents of the annual General Chapter meetings. The next stage of works was to strictly define the subject of the research. The term "color scheme", which denoted col-

ored works of similar characteristics appearing in a particular place, was introduced. Their complexity will depend on the state of preservation. The selected works will include both the relics of the polychrome columns or keystones as well as painting decorations of the entire room, e.g. a chapel. When selecting examples for the analysis, several criteria, which made it possible to compare the objects in terms of history and style, were adopted. The initial criterion was the territory limited to present-day Poland and the Czech Republic. The second criterion was the time limit connected with the period of establishing Cistercian seats in the Polish and Bohemian lands – from the beginning of the 1140s till the end of the Middle Ages, conventionally adopted as the 15th century. Color obviously appeared when the first buildings were built. The third criterion is the limitation of Cistercian buildings to male monasteries, i.e. complexes of buildings usually surrounded by a wall with a monastery church, an enclosure, a chapel and farm buildings. Buildings outside these complexes (e.g. buildings in grange, properties in cities) were not taken into account. After selecting the buildings, the next stage of analyzing the examples took place. Some of the color schemes were discovered by the authors themselves, others were revealed during restoration works. Several methods, starting with the aforementioned classical method, were used during this stage. In some monasteries, in situ architectural field research, which concerned the analysis of the polychrome structure, was also carried out as well as stratigraphic and technological comparisons. The photographic documentation was prepared by the authors of this article. Some measurements were developed by the method of simplified analog photogrammetry and digital photogrammetry correlated with computer graphics programs, mainly with AutoCad environment applications. In these cases, the works of the team of the Faculty of Architecture of Wrocław University of Science and Technology were used.

Table 1. Color combinations from the 12th and 15th centuries in Cistercian abbeys in the territory of present-day Poland and the Czech Republic (elaborated by E. Łużyniecka)

Tabela 1. Zestawienia kolorystyczne z XII–XV wieku w opactwach cysterskich na terenie obecnej Polski i Czech (oprac. E. Łużyniecka)

Town	Abbey foundation	Country	Number of color depictions	Location of color combinations
Bierzwnik	1286	Poland	1	eastern cloister
Henryków	1222–1228	Poland	8	church, chapter house, eastern and northern cloister
Hradiště	~1177	Czech Republic	1	flooring
Jędrzejów	1140–1149	Poland	8	church, chapter house, northern cloister, flooring
Kamieniec Ząbkowicki	1247	Poland	1	church
Kołbacz	1173–1176	Poland	1	church
Koprzywnica	1186	Poland	10	church
Ląd	1175?	Poland	8	oratory, eastern cloister, abbey chapel
Lubiąż	1163/1175	Poland	5	church, cellar, flooring, roofs
Mogiła	1222/1228	Poland	7	church, chapter house, eastern cloister, flooring
Oliwa	1178–1186	Poland	3	church
Osek	1198	Czech Republic	3	church, sacristy
Paradyż	1232–1235	Poland	4	church
Pelplin	1276	Poland	4	church, northern cloister
Plasy	1144	Czech Republic	6	church, Royal Chapel
Rudy Raciborskie	1252–1258	Poland	3	church
Sedlec	1142	Czech Republic	1	church
Sulejów	1176	Poland	7	church, chapter house
Wąchock	1179	Poland	10	church, chapter house, refectory, eastern cloister
Zlatá Koruna	1263	Czech Republic	1	chapel
Žďár	1251	Czech Republic	5	church

Among the discussed group of 46 Polish and Bohemian abbeys, the authors found relics of color combinations from the 12th and 15th centuries, which could be analyzed, in 21 abbeys only (Table 1). The remaining monasteries were either completely remodeled in the Baroque style or their paintings were removed during restoration works. In these cases, the paintings were destroyed or exist under later plasters and are waiting to be discovered. A total of 97 color combinations of varying complexity were tested. It was a material color scheme, i.e. a combination of colors resulting from differences in the building material used, as well as polychrome and thus architectural painting. It includes architectural polychrome, the compositions of which were devoid of narration and subject only to the forms of architectural details and other elements of the building. If, on the other hand, painting compositions have their own narrative layer and only partially

refer to architectural forms, we will call them polychrome painting. Both color combinations were characteristic of the building's façade and interior. They were most often found in monastery churches and chapels as well as in enclosure buildings – usually in chapter houses, refectories, and cloisters.

Color guidelines in the Cistercian monastic rule

The most important rules of the Cistercian order were developed in the 12th century. These were usually guidelines for the spirituality and organization of the religious life. Among them there were also architectural guidelines of two types – mainly general recommendations for the functional organization of the monastery and individual rooms. They did not define precisely either the projection, the body, the architectural detail, and even the technique

of creating architecture. The second group of guidelines, which were contained in the Cistercian rule, included architectural recommendations dealing with selected liturgical equipment, elements of architecture or furnishings. This group comprises a few aesthetic guidelines, including color ones.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux is widely recognized as the creator of the aesthetic program of Cistercian buildings. He was the author of letters which were copied and read in every monastery's abbey. His most famous letter "Apologia ad Guillem" from the years 1123-1125 discussed, among other things, architecture and sculptural decoration, which resulted in a conflict between the Cluny and Clairvaux Abbeys. In this letter, St. Bernard criticized the exaggerated size and expensive furnishings of the Church of Cluny III. He was also a staunch opponent of the sculptural décor of cathedrals from the mid-12th century, which abounded in zoomorphic representations, e.g. sirens and griffins depicting themes from the Apocalypse and the Old Testament. Cistercian architecture was to be characterized by asceticism understood as a liking for simplicity and the choice of the most tried and tested types of structures. However, asceticism should not be equated with the poverty of architecture because Cistercian buildings were to be durable and solidly constructed [12, pp. 99–106], [13, pp. 74–80].

In the 1st quarter of the 12th century, the document "Exordium cistercii", which was edited with the participation of St. Bernard and in which the origins of the Cistercians and the norms of conduct in the order were presented, was published. The annex to the document was the text of "Capitula", which included the first color guidelines. Gold and the derivative colors were prohibited. This applied to liturgical vestments – chasubles were to be single-colored, and none of the items used by monks could be made of gold, silver, or precious stones. The exception was the chalice and tube for receiving the Blood of the Lord (fistula). "Capitula" also included a key guideline for our considerations – paintings were allowed exclusively on wooden crosses [15, p. 24].

The guidelines contained in "Capitula" were repeated and supplemented in the Statutes enacted in 1134. According to the statutes, it was forbidden to place pictures in churches and monastery rooms because they could be an obstacle to meditation and contribute to looseness of religious discipline. The only exception was a permission to paint crucifixes [1, pp. 16, 17]. It was also not possible to use colored stained glass and windows had to be filled with white glass without any figural representations [1, p. 31].

In the ordinance of the chapter of 1148, it was forbidden to make decorative flooring in the church and in the monastery [1, p. 486]. The chapter meeting in 1157 forbade the use of gold on crosses. However, it agreed on painting church doors white. At that time, there was also a ban on building stone or wooden bell towers of considerable height next to churches. These buildings did not comply with the rules of the order's asceticism [1, p. 61]. Care was taken to observe the prescribed rules, for example the chapter of 1159 ordered the removal of multi-colored stained glass windows within three years, if such were placed in churches [1, p. 70].

Summarizing the above considerations, it can be stated that the guidelines of the Cistercian rule, which were defined as early as in the 1st half of the 12th century, in practice prohibited the use of any multi-colored architectural decorations. Granting permission only to paint crucifixes, in fact, meant that it was forbidden to decorate the interior with any paintings. Moreover, there was no permission for fixing stained glass and it was prohibited to make decorative flooring in the church and other rooms of the monastery. However, it was possible to paint the church door white.

Applying the monastic rule in creating color scheme

The Cistercian monastic rules presented here were unambiguous. Monks were supposed to achieve spiritual asceticism by renouncing and resigning from the sensual experiences which could be caused by multi-colored decorations of architecture. The purpose of the analysis of the preserved the color scheme remnants in the abbeys of Poland and the Czech Republic was to find an answer to the question of the extent to which the rules of asceticism were followed. As a result of the research, three periods in the formation of color combinations were distinguished. The first period was characterized by partial observance of religious rules (end of the 12th and the 1st half of the 13th century). The second was the beginning of departing from formal asceticism (the 2nd half of the 13th century) and the third was characterized by the omission of the original rules (14th and 15th centuries).

Partial asceticism – end of the 12th century and the 1st half of the 13th century

According to the current state of research, it was not until the end of the 12th century that the first brick buildings of Cistercian abbeys in Poland and Bohemia began to be erected. Then we can talk about the oldest color combinations, which were dominated by an ascetic approach to colors. Formal moderation accompanied the construction of monumental façades of monastery churches (Figs. 2.1-2.3). Façades were usually not plastered and their color scheme resulted from the materials used. Stone walls were subdued compositions composed of gray or cream-yellow dimension stones. In some buildings the contrast between the building material was small (Jędrzejów), whereas in others it was greater (Sulejów). However, only in the church in Wachock did the builders deliberately use differences between brown and yellow-gray sandstone. Sandstone dimension stones were arranged in stripes and the frames of round windows were made of voussoirs. This layout is visible both outside and inside the presbytery of the church. The same color composition was repeated in the southern aisle – the black and white polychrome of the window imitated the two-color layout of the building material (Fig. 3).

Brick façades in the period in question were most often ascetic in expression and thus corresponded to the monastic color rules. They were usually dominated by



Fig. 2. Material color of the façades of monastic churches: 1 – Sulejów, 2 – Wąchock, 3 – Mogiła (photo by E. Łużyniecka)

II. 2. Kolorystyka materiałowa elewacji kościołów klasztornych: 1 – Sulejów, 2 – Wąchock, 3 – Mogiła (fot. E. Łużyniecka)



Fig. 3. Material color of the interior of the church in Wąchock:

1 – eastern wall of the presbytery, 2 – presbytery window, 3 – polychrome of the southern aisle window (photo by E. Łużyniecka)

II. 3. Kolorystyka materiałowa wnętrza kościoła w Wąchocku:

1 – ściana wschodnia prezbiterium, 2 – okno prezbiterium, 3 – polichromia okna nawy południowej (fot. E. Łużyniecka)

was white, but it was most often used to subtly emphasize selected architectural elements only. This role was played by the joints in the façades of the abbey in Oliwa, Kołbacz and Mogiła – they formed a net of lines between the bricks. In a few cases, small, bright stone elements were used to decorate the arches of openings – for example, in the windows of the church in Mogiła, gray sandstone voussoirs were juxtaposed with red-brown ceramic fittings. A similar principle was applied in the interior of this church. Probably immediately after the construction, the strip layout of the building material was visible in the semi-columns of the aisles. The whiteness of the frieze background plaster in the aforementioned church in Mogiła and the slaked lime of panels in Oliwa were

slightly stronger in expression. The western gable of the

the red color of the building material. The second color

church in Kołbacz can be considered to be a unique work and definitely breaks the rules of formal asceticism. It is entirely filled with a decorative rosette made of radially arranged tracery elements.

The gable of the church in Kołbacz may prove that from the very beginning the Cistercian rule was not strictly followed with regard to minor architectural elements. Another confirmation of this tendency is represented by multi-colored floor tiles which have survived in Polish and Czech abbeys. Therefore, the decree of the chapter of 1148, which forbade making decorative flooring, was ignored. Some of the oldest tiles were discovered during excavations in Lubiąż and they were single items. A significant number of tiles were found in Wąchock; some of them were placed again in the church triforium flooring during its renovation. The elements around the church in

Hradiště had a similar form. Originally, they were compositions of small forms which created large quarters. The tiles were often glazed in green, yellow, brown, and red colors. They were arranged in various geometric motifs – star-shaped rosettes, herringbone, scale, etc. Probably from the middle of the 13th century, the variety of decorative motifs increased. Glazed tiles were decorated with a braided-palmette ornament of various patterns, e.g. tiles in the presbytery in the church in Mogiła (Fig. 4).

The observance of asceticism in color scheme of Cistercian abbeys was thus partly connected with the size of the building work and was probably facilitated in the initial period of establishing Cistercian abbeys. At that time, monks were busy securing the basic needs of life because in most cases they came to previously undeveloped areas. Only sporadically did Cistercians take over already existing buildings, e.g. the gord church in Jędrzejów and probably the Benedictine church in Lubiąż (both relict preserved). Most often, monks were on their own and after arriving at a given place they built makeshift houses. It was only later that they prepared themselves for construction works on a larger scale. These were difficult and long-lasting actions and were referred to as the process of "nesting" in source literature. At least one generation passed from the moment of foundation to the construction of the first brick monastery buildings and their color combinations. Thus, it was not a time when people thought about colorful decorations.

Departure from asceticism – 2nd half of the 13th century

With the passage of time, the original rules of the Cistercian rule were gradually alleviated. In the 2nd half of the 13th century, the principle of restraint in decorating façades continued. Color combinations were subdued and almost exclusively limited to material combinations. Similarly to the previous solutions, brick elevations were diversified with stone elements. This two-color material composition from the end of the 13th century has been preserved in the western portal of the Silesian abbey in Rudy. Cream sandstone elements of supportive columns and arches were juxtaposed with red and brown ceramic fittings.

We can see an increase in the number of preserved polychrome relics dated to the mid-13th century. In the abbey temple in Henryków, on the arcades of the chapel's wreath, the relics of authentic architectural polychrome have been preserved. In the southern line of chapels, the brick arch was painted in two colors, alternating with red and gray (Fig. 5). On the border of the northern line of chapels and the transept, there are finished heads and shafts of supportive columns, which were covered with red, gray-bluish, and azure paintings [30, p. 251].

Also in the abbey in Jędrzejów, there were paintings from the 2nd half of the 13th century, which were preserved in the chapter house that does not exist today. We know



Fig. 4. Floor tiles, re-laid or discovered during excavations: 1 – Wąchock, 2 – Hradiště, 3 – Mogiła (photo by E. Łużyniecka, K. Charvátová)

II. 4. Płytki posadzkowe, wtórnie ułożone lub odkryte w czasie wykopalisk: 1 – Wąchock, 2 – Hradiště, 3 – Mogiła (fot. E. Łużyniecka, K. Charvátová) them from the descriptions by Władysław Łuszczkiewicz [33, p. 108] made on the basis of drawings and watercolors by Bolesław Podczaszyński. This description shows that the stone portal of the chapter house was multicolored and artistic effects which were obtained by the chiaroscuro of sculptures of architectural details were supplemented with a color that distinguished their individual elements. The red-painted portal shafts of the columns were contrasted with multi-colored paintings of capitals and bases. Their background was the color of natural stone, whereas some elements of plant ornaments were colored red and others green or yellow (Figs. 5.2–5.4).

The color solutions, which have been preserved to this day in the monastery interiors, also come from the period in question. It became a rule to put whitewash or thin plaster on surfaces. Geometric or floral ornaments in a linear-plane style were painted on them. Lines imitating the pattern of dimension stones have been preserved in Koprzywnica on the walls of the church [25, pp. 197, 198] and on the western portal.

The decorations on one of the keystones in the church in Wachock were made in a similar way. On its circular, yellow palate, which was outlined with a black line, there was a cross with arms in the form of double red and black petals, fastened in the middle with a red flower with a colorless border [32, pp. 423, 444]. Further traces of polychrome have been preserved inside the chapter house – remnants of red, black, green and yellow paint have survived on the capitals of the columns, and whitewash relics with a medallion surrounded by an inscription dated to the 2nd half of the 13th century have survived on the southern wall (Fig. 5.5).

According to this principle, the interior design of the refectory in Wachock, which is dated for the years 1260-1275, was made [34, p. 57]. The walls of the refectory were painted in a light yellow color and against this background there were red lines imitating the construction of the wall. It should be added here that the painted composition did not correspond to the actual location of the joints between dimension stones. On the western wall there is a circle with a tendril of the palmette and the image of a lily, and on the eastern wall - a drawing of a bird. The wall with windows was covered with slaked lime and a light yellow color, and two circles were painted in its upper part. The best preserved is the eastern circle with a lily-shaped cross, filled with light gray, red, blue, and black. The round arches and ribs of the two vaulted bays were painted in light gray, red, light gray, blue, and black



Fig. 5. Polychromes in the monastery interiors:

1 – the arcade of the northern line of chapels in the church in Henryków (photo by E. Łużyniecka),

2–4 – portal little columns and a cantilever in the non-existent chapter house in Jędrzejów (source: [33, p. 108]),

5 – chapter house in Wąchock, 6, 7 – refectory in Wąchock (photo by E. Łużyniecka)

II. 5. Polichromie we wnętrzach klasztornych: 1 – arkada północnego ciągu wieńca kaplic w kościele w Henrykowie (fot. E. Łużyniecka), 2–4 – kolumienki portalu i wspornik w nieistniejącym kapitularzu w Jędrzejowie (źródło: [33, s. 108]), 5 – kapitularz w Wąchocku, 6, 7 – refektarz w Wąchocku (fot. E. Łużyniecka)



 $Fig.~6.~Polychromes~in~the~interiors~of~the~monastery~in~Plasy: \\ 1-4-Royal~Chapel~(photo~by~K.~Charvátová), \\ 5-reconstruction~of~the~decoration~of~the~western~portal~of~the~church~E.~Łużyniecka$

II. 6. Polichromie we wnętrzach klasztoru w Plasach:
 1–4 – kaplica Królewska (photo by K. Charvátová),
 5 – rekonstrukcja dekoracji portalu zachodniego kościoła (fot. E. Łużyniecka)

stripes. Vaulted arches were entirely covered with light gray and were fragmented with apparent grouting in the form of wide red stripes or red stripes with a black line in the middle. These were graphic compositions with a delicate drawing and subdued colors (Figs. 5.6–5.7).

The painting decoration of the Royal Chapel in the abbey in Plasy was characterized by similar features [28, pp. 263–267]. This detached chapel was erected to the east of the church in around 1265. In the Baroque period, it was incorporated into a magnificent granary. In around 1270, the lower floor of the chapel was decorated with frescoes which were placed on a sand background (Figs. 6.1–6.4). It is the oldest and almost complete example of the color scheme of a Cistercian interior in the researched group. Decorations were made in a linear-plane style with a predominance of geometric motifs. Figural representations, which were not present in the previous examples, also became a part of the decor. These were the figures of saints, i.e. Wenceslaus, Vitus and Benedict, which were placed inside medallions. Colorful decorations were also made on the chapel's rood arch. The face of the arch was painted in stripes, alternating red, blue, and sand-like. On the soffit of the arch, this motif was repeated and supplemented with medallions depicting the Lamb of God. The coverings of the five-section non-rib vault were to symbolize the bright sky with images of red points in the form of trefoils, four-leaf and five-pointed stars. The edges of the vault were highlighted with a thick red and blue line. They converged in a key which was accented by a six-pointed star with a white circle in the center. The polychrome also covered the brackets, where the red color was juxtaposed with blue and yellow.

The polychrome of the portal of the monastery church in the abbey refers to the color style of the Royal Chapel in Plasy (Fig. 6.5). It is a linear composition painted in two colors, alternately red and light sandy. The frame of the composition is an arch surrounded by two lines with a triangular geometric ornament between them. The interior of the composition was designed in the form of a cross, the arms of which are outlined with a double red line. The outer fields were filled with a thick scale ornament which was additionally decorated with a dot inside each scale. In the central point of the cross there is a drawing of a labyrinth which in the symbolic sphere is a metaphor for human life and a journey into one's own interior – it reflects the "paths of Jerusalem".



Fig. 7. Material color of the church façades in the 14th century:

1 – Sedlec (photo by K. Charvátová), 2, 3, 5 – Pelplin, 4 – Lubiąż, 6 – polychrome in Henryków (photo and elaborated by E. Łużyniecka),

7 – painting in Oliwa (photo by A. Piwek)

II. 7. Kolorystyka elewacji kościołów w XIV w.: 1 – Sedlec (fot. K. Charvátová), 2, 3, 5 – Pelplin, 4 – Lubiąż, 6 – polichromia w Henrykowie (fot. i oprac. E. Łużyniecka), 7 – malowidło w Oliwie (fot. A. Piwek)

Skipping the rules - the 14^{th} and 15^{th} centuries

From the 14th century, the monastic rules regarding color of Cistercian buildings ceased to be applied. The color compositions of the stone façades created at that time were still connected with the building material – for example, gray-sand walls made of slate in Kamieniec Ząbkowicki and of dimension stones in Sedlec (Fig. 7.1). The red color was still dominant in brick façades, however, gray additions were more and more decorative. An interesting example of such an approach is the *porta mortuorum* in the northern arm of the church transept in the Pomeranian church in Pelplin (Fig. 7.2). The portal was made of gray-cream carving decorations of artificial stone and red-brown ceramic fittings (Fig. 7.3).

In some cases, color of brick façades was additionally enriched by introducing different shades of bricks. Color differences connected with the method of burning the building material were used. Cherry-colored bricks were juxtaposed with dark brown ones, achieving the effect of a black "spotted" red plane or creating a rhombus pattern (Figs. 7.4, 7.5) – for example churches in Lubiąż, Koronowo, and Pelplin.

The tricolor effect in the façade was sometimes achieved by means of painting. The polychrome of the window and the cornice has been preserved on a fragment of the eastern wall of the southern transept of the church in Henryków (Fig. 7.6). The redness of bricks in the wall was strengthened, the grouts were underlined with a white stripe, the under-eaves cornice was painted in red and gray-blue stripes, and the double fan and window glyphs were covered with red and gray-blue alternately, creating a checkerboard pattern. Painted decorations were also sometimes placed in previously built panels. For example, in the 13th-century façade of the northern arm of the transept in Oliwa, in the 14th century painting decorations were made (Fig. 7.7). On a dark gray background,

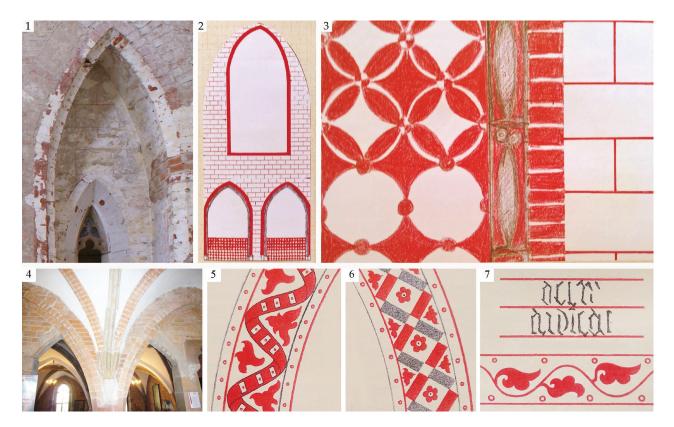


Fig. 8. Painted decor in the interior.

Monastery church in Lubiąż: 1 – transept, 2 – eastern wall, reconstruction, 3 – fragment of decoration, inventory (photo and elaborated by E. Łużyniecka). Chapter house in Sulejów: 4 – current state of preservation (photo by E. Łużyniecka), 5–7 decorations of passage openings and walls (acc. to [35, tabl. X])

Il. 8. Wystrój malarski we wnętrzach.

Kościół klasztorny w Lubiążu: 1 – transept, 2 – ściana wschodnia, rekonstrukcja, 3 – fragment dekoracji, inwentaryzacja (fot. i oprac. E. Łużyniecka). Kapitularz w Sulejowie: 4 – obecny stan zachowania (fot. E. Łużyniecka), 5–7 – nieistniejące zdobienia otworów przejścia i ściany (wg [35, tabl. X])

an image of a two-part tracery, painted with a light gray line was placed.

From the 14th century on, in Cistercian abbeys not only paintings were sometimes introduced, as was the case in earlier periods. It almost became a rule to highlight important parts of the monastery by placing multi-colored decorations inside them. The ban on polychromes was forgotten. At the end of the 13th century and in the 1st half of the 14th century, linear compositions referring to the layouts of building materials were still painted. In the church in Lubiaż, red lines imitating dimension stones were placed on the white background (Figs. 8.1–8.3). Structural elements, i.e. frames of portals, arcades, and recesses, were distinguished by red painting with white lines imitating the shape of bricks. The profile of arcades was additionally decorated with an ornament, which was outlined with a strip and lightened inside the interior in a gray-blue to light gray color. In the most decorative way, color of the walls of the altar arcades recesses was developed. A pseudo dado with a geometric composition which consisted of interpenetrating white and red circles was situated on them.

Decorations of the passage openings in the abbey chapter house in Sulejów also had a geometric form, however, they have not survived until today (Figs. 8.4–8.7). They

were made of red and gray lines placed on the white background – we know their form from drawing documentation from the beginning of the 20th century [35, tabl. X]. One opening was decorated with a belt with a winding ribbon and floral motifs. The second one has a belt with geometric decorations and four-leaf elements. Originally, a painted frieze with a winding plant tendril ran above the chapter-house pews. The decoration was complemented by a partially preserved inscription.

The discussed period is also a time of introducing more formal freedom. Apart from linear and geometric decorations, wavy and spiral forms were performed. In the monastery in Mogiła, in the window glyphs of the presbytery and on the arcades between the nave and aisles, there was a wavy ornament resembling the edge of lace. The cream-colored lace was placed in adjoining quarters with two different backgrounds, i.e. red-brown and greengray (Fig. 9.1). A similar decorative motif was used in the decoration of the engaged column in the southern aisle (Fig. 9.2). Interestingly, the 14th-century lace ornament referred only to the red and gray color of the building material of the engaged column which was built in the 13th century. However, it did not repeat the belt layout, but was based on a spiral form. A light-gray spiral ribbon winding around a thin shaft was also a motif in the painting



Fig. 9. Decorations of the interior.

The monastery church in Mogiła:

1 – arcades and vaults,
2 – engaged column.

The chapter house in Henryków:
3, 5 – relics of open works,
4 – portal
(photo by E. Łużyniecka)

II. 9. Polichromie wnętrz
klasztornych. Kościół w Mogile:
1 – arkady i sklepienia,
2 – kolumna przyścienna.

Relikty kapitularza w Henrykowie:
3, 5 – przeźrocza, 4 – portal
(fot. E. Łużyniecka)

of arcades between the bays of the southern aisle of the church in Mogiła. It was accompanied by gray stripes with dark and light shades as well as red-brown stripes. Similar colors were used in the decoration of the vaulted ribs in the aisle in question. The profiles of ribs were painted with gray-green and red-brown stripes which were separated by white lines. This striped composition was enriched with a deciduous ornament. It should be added that the described paintings were later supplemented twice. In the 16th century, the vaults were decorated with delicate floral ornaments and in the 19th century, the arches of arcades were filled with representations of plant tendrils with large flowers.

Another confirmation of the violation of initial rules of the order is the colorful decoration of the chapter house in the Henryków Abbey [36, pp. 27–30]. During the research, relics of three openings were discovered – a portal and two open works. The open works were made of bricks and had openings in the form of cascades (Figs. 9.3–9.5). On all cascades the polychromes are preserved and have the form of stripes. Each successive strip was separated from the next one by means of a thin black line. In most cases, the stripes were painted in one color, e.g. gray, white, yellow or red. There were also more richly decorated surfaces. One of them is a red stripe with rhythmically repeated white rectangles which were outlined with a black

line. Elsewhere, a cascade with a linear ornament has been preserved – a laurel wreath with a black line was painted against the white background with a pattern on the inner ends of leaves. Another example was a white cascade with a repeating black ornament in the shape of a thin spool. A more complex decoration has been preserved in the upper part of the southern open work. It was placed between two thick yellow lines with black rims. Inside there was a braided ornament drawn with a black line and additionally shaded. Linear decoration also dominated the stone portal of the chapter house, but its form did not resemble paintings of open works. The column in the middle cascade of the portal was distinguished by means of a yellow color. The profiles at the little column were covered with slaked lime and had linear decorations which resembled beads. Other profiles were painted red or yellow. The soffit of the portal arch was decorated with a delicate plant tendril.

A drawing imitating a fabric hung on a stick or tape constituted an interesting decorative element which was introduced in the painting decor of Cistercian interiors in the 14th century. In the Middle Ages, such materials served as partitions or were hung near the walls on order to warm the interior. Over time, they became a decorative motif. This motif was found in Rudy Raciborskie and was part of the painted decoration of the church presbytery.



Fig. 10. Monastery in Ląd, painting decoration of St. James the Apostle Oratory in the eastern wing (photo by E. Łużyniecka) II. 10. Dekoracja malarska oratorium św. Jakuba Apostoła w skrzydle wschodnim klasztoru w Lądzie (fot. E. Łużyniecka)

Unfortunately, the decor was destroyed in the years 1947– 1950 and is known only from research and descriptions [37, p. 24]. On this basis, we know that the painting which imitated fabric was placed in the lower part of the presbytery walls. The fabric was hung on schematically sketched tapes which were rewound through painted circles and hooks. It was divided into gray-blue and vermillion layers, whereas the peripheral stripes were dotted with triangular and circular spots of various colors, i.e. red, yellow, and black on the blue, white, and yellow-red background. The described image of the fabric was placed against the background of red-brown bricks which were separated by a thin white line of grouts. Apart from this, the window jambs in the presbytery were decorated with a pattern imitating the brickwork bond which was on the plaster layer. The color scheme of the whole was complemented by a polychrome vaulted area. The white planes of the vaults were accompanied by paintings of ribs and vaulted arches in the form of red and white stripes which were separated by only black or black and white and black lines. In the nave part of the church, the white fields of vaulted arches were additionally decorated with red rosettes and their soffits were covered with a thin layer of plaster painted in light gray. The arches of openings were distinguished by reinforcing the redness of bricks and surrounding them with black and white stripes. The soffits of arches were gray-blue. In the jambs of the western portal, the profiles were colored rusty brown, whereas the rollers with little columns were coated with a gray-blue color which blurred differences of the fabric.

The painting decoration, which resembled a hanging fabric, was also part of the chapel's decor in the eastern wing of the monastery in Ląd, the so-called St. James the Apostle Oratorio [38, p. 65], This decor is one of the few

complete color compositions of the Cistercian interior in the group of monasteries in question. It is dated to around 1365 and is a perfect proof of a departure from the original monastic rules. It is a decoration in the following colors: yellow, brown, blue, red and black. The program of the composition was closely connected with the founder of the chapel, i.e. Wierzbięta of Palowice, the Greater Poland Province Starosta. The feudal character of the decorations is emphasized by the frieze of coats of arms around the interior of the chapel in the lowest part of the painting. The southern wall is occupied by a representation of John the Baptist and opposite the figure of Abbot John with a group of Cistercians. On the western wall there is a scene of the Adoration of the Magi, and on the northern wall – images of St. George and St. Martin. The eastern wall forms a kind of altar setting with the figures of Saints Peter and Paul, Benedict and Bernard, Bishop Wojciech and Bishop Stanislaus. The vaults and scenes under the wall arches were subordinated to eschatological themes and depict The End of the World, Christ the Judge, the Lamb of the Apocalypse, the resurrection of the saved and the condemned, respectively (Fig. 10).

In the 14th century, apart from the previously discussed painting decoration motifs, inscriptions also became popular. A well-preserved inscription has survived in the monastery church in Paradyż (Figs. 11.1, 11.2). The text, which was connected with the origins of Cistercians and the person of St. Bernard, was situated on the wall separating the ambit from the presbytery opposite the entrance. Dark gray letters were painted on the white slaked lime, whereas only the first letter of the text was larger and distinguished in dark red. The lines, which separated individual verses of the text and the linear border of the entire inscription, were painted in the identical color. Below the inscription an



Fig. 11. Inscriptions in the interiors of monastery churches: 1, 2 – Paradyż (photo by E. Łużyniecka), 3 – Oliwa (photo by A. Piwek).

II. 11. Inskrypcje w kościołach: 1, 2 – Paradyż (fot. E. Łużyniecka), 3 – Oliwa (fot. A. Piwek).

open work with small three-leaf openings was placed. The openings were decorated with a painting which formed a strip of red and dark gray geometric motifs. The inscription on the wall of the church in Oliwa had a slightly different character (Fig. 11.3). It concerned the foundation of the altar and was a composition of dark gray letters and red lines placed on a white background. There were double red lines between the verses of the text and the corners of the inscription frame were underlined with small circles.

The presented multitude of decorative motifs and the variety of color reflected the departure from formal asceticism in the decor of Cistercian abbeys. A frequent phenomenon was the multi-stage creation of polychromes and filling empty surfaces with paintings. This is how the painting decor of the church in Koprzywnica was created [25, pp. 197, 198]. The previously discussed decorations from the 13th century were limited to linear drawings of dimension stones. The drawings placed on the pillars of the southern aisle come from the second phase, probably from around the mid-14th century, i.e. the image of St. James the Apostle (Fig. 12.1), the scene from Mater Misericordiae and the death of a monk.

In the third phase of decorating the interior of the church, dating back to the 2nd half of the 14th century, architectural polychromes of vaults (Fig. 12.2) and pilasters, which are now mostly reconstructed, were probably created. These include ornaments made of geometrically stylized leaves, textile and tracery decorations as well as fragments of representations of two figures of the abbots and the king on the wall of the northern aisle. Phase 4, dated to the 4th quarter of the 14th century, is connected with a poorly preserved two-part painting on the southern wall of the presbytery, which was supplemented during conservation and characterized by the black background color and figures with elongated proportions (Fig. 12.3). It depicts the

scenes of the Last Judgment, Mater Misericordiae, and the figure of Eve at the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. In phase V, which took place in the years after 1419 (?), a painting was probably made on the eastern wall of the presbytery. It depicted the figure of Christ with the soul of Mary and the image of a monk of Doliwa coat of arms and the Apocalyptic Mother of God. The figures of apostles painted on the walls of the nave above the pillars between the naves and the figure with a coat of arms on the northern wall of the northern aisle also come from the 15th century. Figural representations were probably made in the southern cloister of the monastery at a similar time. We know them from the description only because they have not survived to this day.

In the 15th century, the colors of the discussed Cistercian abbeys did not change significantly. The linear-plane style still dominated. This was the case in Žďár Abbey (Fig. 13). There are multicolored decorations of the interior of the eastern chapel of the church. The southern wall of the chapel is occupied by a partially destroyed painting with the Mother of God and the Child. The abbot with a miter on his head is kneeling in front of her and a group of monks before her. This work is dated after the year 1462, when the abbot of Žďár received pontifical rights. The color scheme of the whole was complemented by a polychrome vaulted area. There were linearly drawn stars on the white coatings of the vaults. They were contrasted with paintings of ribs and vault arches in the form of red and white stripes, separated by red lines. The soffits of the vault arches were covered with a thin layer of the plaster with the arrangement of the dimension stones painted with a red line. Their surfaces were in different colors: yellow, blue, gray, red. The arches of the openings are distinguished by a white and red polychrome imitating two-colored gables, alternately placed.



Fig. 12. Painting decorations in the church in Koprzywnica: 1 – nave pillar, 2 – keystone, 3 – presbytery (photo by E. Łużyniecka) II. 12. Dekoracje malarskie w kościele w Koprzywnicy: 1 – filar nawy, 2 – zwornik, 3 – ściana prezbiterium (fot. E. Łużyniecka)



Fig. 13. Painting decoration of the interior of the eastern chapel of the church in Žďár (photo by K. Charvátová)

II. 13. Dekoracja malarska wnętrza kaplicy wschodniej kościoła w Žďárze (fot. K. Charvátová)

Paintings in the Pomeranian abbey in Pelplin also date back to the 15th century. There are only few of them since the monastery interiors were repainted in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the church, an ambulatory pillar decoration has survived, probably made in the early 15th century and depicting the figure of St. Christopher. Paintings with scenes from the Holy Bible decorate the cloisters. In the northern cloister there is a painting with the scene of the Crucifixion and the Washing of the Feet, dated to the 1st quarter of the 15th century and repainted in 1885. In the eastern cloister, relics of the representation of the Angelic Pieta from the 2nd half of the 15th century and the Scala salutis from the 3rd quarter of the 15th century have been preserved.

Summary

While researching the colors of the selected Cistercian buildings in the present-day Poland and the Czech Republic, 97 color combinations of varying complexity were analyzed. This may seem a significant number in terms of quantity, but in fact it is only a fraction of medieval color decorations. According to the authors of the article, it does not exceed 2–5% of authentic color compositions. The reason for such a situation is primarily the relict state of preservation of the paintings, partly due to the delicate structure and unstable components. The paintings were easily damaged during fires and wars, they were removed during baroque transformations and during restoration works. A positive observation made during the discussed research is an increased awareness of the existence of the paintings. The preservative method of conservation applied over the past 20 years has led to the discovery and display of many new fragments.

When analyzing color, not only of Cistercian architecture, many problems with determining the chronology of the formation of color compositions appeared. Only in a few cases are there any written sources which help to date color and this usually refers to wall painting. It seems relatively easiest to conduct dating of material lists of external façades, as they are consistent with the construction time of the buildings. The time of the external façades color creation can be connected with the period of erection of a given building, whereas the time of designing the interior polychrome is virtually optional. Painting can be performed during the construction of a building (e.g. polychrome details) and it is also possible to paint the interior after completion of a certain stage (e.g. after building walls, but before installing vaults). There is also a possibility to place paintings at the end of construction, or even much later. Undoubtedly, however, the execution of the polychrome was expensive and probably in special cases only walls were painted once and completely immediately after their construction. The polychrome analysis is also limited by the frequent lack of stratigraphic and chemical studies. Without this research, technological differences are difficult to determine and it becomes almost impossible to develop reliable reconstructions. In research on polychromes, it is extremely important to define the phases of transformation of paintings. Two methods

were most often used to create new colors – either older decorations were completely painted over, or they were supplemented with new elements which filled subsequent surfaces of walls. Therefore, the currently existing color combinations were often created in several stages and could be connected with different historical periods.

Despite the poor state of preservation and many doubts about dating, as a result of the research, three periods were distinguished, which differed in the degree of adherence to monastic rules in creating color of Cistercian architecture in Poland and Bohemia. The first period was characterized by partial formal asceticism and was connected with the beginning of the construction of the first monastic buildings at the end of the 12th century and in the 1st half of the 13th century. At that time, the monastic rules were followed in relation to large architectural elements, e.g. walls - their color was modest and related to the building material. However, smaller elements of the decor were treated differently – ignoring prohibitions, multi-colored flooring was made and sometimes gables of the façades were decorated. The change in the approach to the application of religious principles can be connected with the 2nd half of the 13th century. The façades were still dominated by the material color, which can be considered a manifestation of the application of monastic rules. In the interiors, however, more and more often the multicolored construction skeleton was supplemented with single paintings. The polychromes of stone architectural details as well as geometric, floral, and figural ornaments in the linear-plane style come from that time. They are a manifestation of looseness of religious rules. The third period of enforcement of the aforementioned rules took place in the 14th and 15th centuries. It is characterized by an increase in number and a variety of colors. Façades were sometimes decorated with polychromes. In the interiors, selected walls were covered with figural paintings with a predominance of horizontal layouts, although two-zone and multi-quarter compositions were increasingly used. There were also inscriptions and the so-called stencil ornament, composed of slightly vague geometric and floral motifs. At that time, therefore, the Cistercian rule was no longer in force with regard to color.

It should be added that the first period of color transformations in Poland and Bohemia was not connected with the establishment of first foundations. Until the end of the 12th century, brick buildings of Polish and Bohemian monasteries probably did not exist yet. When the construction of abbeys began in the area in question, over 300 Cistercian seats functioned already in Europe (mainly in France) for almost a hundred years. In the 1st half of the 12th century, St. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote his letters about them and the principles of the monastic rule were elaborated at chapter meetings. They forbade decorating interiors with paintings and using any other multi-colored architectural decorations such as polychromes of structural elements, flooring, and stained glass windows. Despite the existence of recommendations, there were cases of breaking them already in the 2nd half of the 12th century.

At the time when Polish and Bohemian abbeys started to be erected, in European Cistercian monasteries there

was a certain loosening of the initial rules. The stage of acute asceticism lasted for a short time - until the death of St. Bernard of Clairvaux in 1153. It is commonly believed that the later years constituted the formation of the so-called second Cistercian order. The rules of abbey functioning at that time were adapted to the rapidly changing socio-economic situation. The life of Cistercians was not like that of the first white monks. They did not lead an extremely ascetic lifestyle and did not make a living by working with their own hands. Their functioning was based on valuable land grants of founders, various types of pensions, tithes, the work of peasants, incomes from the work of mills, etc. Cistercian abbeys became feudal units with numerous secular personnel specialized in economic actions. There was a growing desire to meet the expectations of founders and a desire to stand out from other monasteries. All this was conducive to the development of color decorations.

Due to the above-mentioned factors, the influence of the monastic rule on color of Cistercian buildings in the territories of today's Poland and the Czech Republic was small from the very beginning. The initial asceticism did not entirely result from monastic rules, but from the limited finances of monasteries. In the first period of functioning of abbeys, the focus was on construction works. The erection of basic parts of the seat took from several dozen to sometimes several hundred years. Thus, decoration of buildings was not a basic need or completely dependent on the economic factor. The color decor was expensive and connected with high dye-stuff prices. The dyes and decorative motifs were well known to Cistercians. Scriptoria were very popular in the abbeys from the very beginning. Hundreds of documents decorated with multi-colored miniatures were created there. The temptation to use these motifs in architectural decorations was great.

The authors of the article hope that the presented examples of Polish and Bohemian colors can enrich general knowledge about Cistercian color. In most European abbeys, many traces of painting decorations have not survived to this day. In the country with the largest number of abbeys, i.e. in France, the largest monasteries were demolished during the Great French Revolution in 1789. The remaining buildings or their ruins were kept under maintenance from the mid-19th to the 20th century under

the influence of the purist school created by Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1875) and his students [39, p. 45]. The purists' works consisted in keeping the style "cleanness" and removing all architectural layers, except for the oldest ones. The consequence of this was the destruction of many polychromes. Until today, no decorated Cistercian interior has survived in France in its entirety, only small relics of colored decorations have survived. These include the polychrome on the pillar of the church chapel in Obazine [40, p. 7], the decoration of the northern cloister bay in Cadouin [41, p. 14], the keystone of the church gallery in Valmagne [42, p. 117] and a relief in the Abbey d'Acey [43, p. 145].

A similar situation took place in England [10]. There, many Cistercian abbeys were demolished in the 16th century as a result of the split of the Roman Catholic Church and the establishment of the Anglican Church. In the 19th century, some monastic buildings began to be secured in the spirit of the developing romanticism, most often leaving them in the form of preserved ruins [44]. They became a decorative element of landscape parks, e.g. the abbey in Fountains [45, pp. 38-47]. In other cases, the ruins of abbeys were an exhibition of various technical solutions used in Cistercian construction, e.g. Tintern [46, pp. 58, 59]. The only color element preserved in the English ruins was the multi-colored flooring. Various compositions of small forms, which created large quarters, have survived in Byland Abbey [47, p. 10], as well as glazed tiles decorated with braided and palmette ornaments in the presbytery of the church in Rievaulx [48, pp. 22, 23].

The appearance of austere stone abbeys in France and England constituted the basis for the creation of the myth about asceticism of Cistercian architecture and the strict adherence to the original monastic rules with regard to color. It is not true in abbeys in Poland and Bohemia. The authors are convinced that further studies of the paintings in Cistercian monasteries will confirm this thesis. Today, the most important thing is to counteract the destruction of the relics of color combinations and to professionally subject them to conservation treatments.

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Abstract

The monastic rule versus the colors of Polish and Bohemian Cistercian architecture in the 12th and 15th centuries

The aim of the article is to show the relationship between the monastic rule and the color scheme of Cistercian buildings in the current territories of Poland and the Czech Republic in the 12^{th} – 15^{th} centuries. In the research, which constitutes the basis of the study, the following methods were used: stratigraphic and architectural in situ as well as historical, analytical and comparative.

The Cistercian monastic rule recommended formal asceticism and so it was forbidden to make colorful paintings, floors, and stained glass windows. As a result of the research, three periods in the color transformation of Cistercian architecture have been distinguished. The first period (end of the 12th century – 1st half of the 13th century) was characterized by partial compliance with the aforementioned rules. The second period, which took place in the 2nd half of the 13th century, was the beginning of a departure from formal asceticism. In the third period (14th and 15th centuries), there was a decisive departure from the original monastic rule. At that time, the color scheme depended on the financial condition of the order, the level of the painting abilities and the imagination of creators. The monastic rule fell into oblivion.

Key words: architecture, color, Poland, Bohemia, Cistercians, order, rule

Streszczenie

Reguła zakonna a kolorystyka polskiej i czeskiej architektury cysterskiej w XII-XV w.

Celem artykułu jest ukazanie powiązania reguły zakonnej z kolorystyką budowli cysterskich na terenie obecnej Polski i Czech. Przedmiot opracowania stanowi kolorystyka elewacji oraz wnętrz kościołów i klasztorów z XII–XV w., z których część została odkryta przez autorki artykułu, część ujawniono podczas innych prac konserwatorskich. W badaniach, będących podstawą opracowania, zastosowano metody: stratygraficzno-architektoniczna in situ oraz historyczno-analityczne i porównawcze.

W regule zakonnej cystersów zalecano ascezę formalną i zabraniano wykonywania barwnych malowideł, posadzek i witraży. Pierwszy okres (koniec XII–1. połowa XIII w.) charakteryzował się częściowym przestrzeganiem wspomnianych zasad. Drugi okres przypadający na drugą połowę XIII w. był początkiem odchodzenia od ascezy formalnej. W trzecim okresie (XIV–XV w.) zaczęto w sposób zdecydowany odchodzić od pierwotnej reguły zakonnej. W tym czasie elewacje klasztorów zdobiono niekiedy polichromiami, a we wnętrzach wybrane ściany pokrywano malowidłami figuralnymi o często kontrastowych zestawieniach barwnych. Wystrój kolorystyczny zależał wówczas od kondycji finansowej zakonu, poziomu warsztatu malarskiego i wyobraźni twórców. Reguła zakonna odeszła w zapomnienie.

Slowa kluczowe: architektura, kolorystyka, Polska, Czechy, cystersi, zakon, reguła