

## MEDIEVAL SOUTH MORAVIAN PATRON SAINTS – A SURVEY

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### ABSTRACT

The study analyzes the dedications of the parish, filial and monastery churches as well as of the solitary public chapels in the southern part of medieval Moravia. The text focuses mainly on the following problems: frequency of dedications, foreign influence in the choice of dedications, specific features of the dedications of city parish churches and changes of dedications. There were 499 dedications found, the number of appearing patron saints was 51. The most frequent patron saints were Virgin Mary (12.8%), John the Baptist (7.6%), Peter/Peter and Paul (7.2%), Wenceslaus (6.8%) and James the Great (6.4%). The most important indigenous patron saint was Wenceslaus, while foreign influence was related mainly to patron saints from France (e.g. Giles, Leonard) and German lands (e.g. Cunigunde, Gotthard, Ulrich). Patron saints coming from other European countries were rather uncommon (e.g. Francis of Assisi, Gall, Stanislaus).

**Key words:** the Middle Ages, Moravia, church history, cultural history, patron saints, dedications

Although the study of patron saints has quite a long tradition in Czech history – the first studies were published in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup> – there is still no comprehensive study of this issue available. The aim of this paper is to sum up several partial studies published between 1993 and 2014, which concerned the south

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<sup>1</sup> The most important Czech studies concerning this issue: H. Jireček, *Kaple a kostely sv. Klimenta*, “Památky archeologické” (PA) 1859, 3, pp. 229–332; idem, *Kaple a kostely sv. Klimenta* [in:] *Sborník velehradský*, ed. J. Vykydal, Brno 1880, pp. 207–213; idem, *Ještě slovo o kultu Svato-Klimentském v zemích našich*, PA 1889, 14, pp. 242–243; Z. Boháč, *K otázce využití zasvěcení kostelů v oboru historické geografie*, “Československý časopis historický” (ČsČH) 1968, 16, pp. 571–584; idem, *Časové vrstvy patrocinií českých měst a jejich význam pro dějiny osídlení*, “Historická geografie” (HG) 1970, 4, pp. 7–38; *Patrocinia kostelů při nejstarších kláštorech a kapitulách v českých zemích*, HG 1970, 5, pp. 51–77; idem, *Patrocinia románských kostelů v Čechách*, HG 1972, 8, pp. 31–52; idem, *Patrocinia jako jeden z pramenů k dějinám osídlení*, ČsČH 1973, 21, pp. 369–388; L. Hošák, *Patrocinium sv. Petra jako doklad pro vývoj moravských sídel*, “Časopis Matice moravské” (ČMM) 1972, 91, pp. 327–328; idem, *K svatováclavským patrociním na Moravě*, ČMM 1970, 89, 3–4, pp. 184–188.

Moravian patron saints.<sup>2</sup> The researched area consists of the recent Moravian districts Blansko, Brno, Břeclav, Hodonín, Třebíč, Vyškov and Znojmo, as well as the Moravian parts of districts Jihlava, Jindřichův Hradec and Žďár nad Sázavou with an area of about 11 000 km<sup>2</sup> what equals roughly a half of the whole Moravia. Nevertheless, in the Middle Ages this southern part had more developed church structures than the northern part. We can see it taking the example of parish churches and local chapels, because there were 477 such sacral objects in the southern part, while the total number in the whole Moravia is currently estimated at about 700.<sup>3</sup> The research concerns a period from the beginning of the Christianity in Moravia (the 9<sup>th</sup> century) to the beginning of the Hussite wars (1419) and focuses on those places of worship, which were primarily intended to serve the spiritual cure of population – in other words, parish churches, local chapels and the most of monasterial churches. However, this research does not deal with other places of worship, such as private chapels, castle chapels, hospital churches/chapels, etc.

Generally speaking, medieval Moravian dedications were not in spotlight of historians up to now, in contrast to some other Central European lands and territories, like Slovakia,<sup>4</sup> Hungary,<sup>5</sup> Saxony,<sup>6</sup> Silesia<sup>7</sup> Lesser Poland<sup>8</sup> or State of the Teutonic Order.<sup>9</sup> Probably it was caused – besides other factors<sup>10</sup> – by relative lack of sources. In Moravia, for example, there are no systematic medieval sources describing the parish organization, such as accounts of the visitations, records of Peter's Pence, etc., available. That is why it is necessary to seek the mentions of both sacral objects and dedications in later sources to a large extent. It concerns not only sources from the times immediately coming after the researched period (i.e. from the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I mean primarily following papers: P. Jokeš, M. Rychlíková, *Výzkum patrocinií na jihozápadní Moravě*, ČMM 1993, 112, pp. 55–76; P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace na středověké západní Moravě*, Brno 2011; idem, *Soupis patrocinií na jižní Moravě*, ČMM 2013, 132, pp. 113–149; idem, „...beate Marie virginis gloriose, in cuius honorem eadem parochialis ecclesia sit consecrata...” *Pohledy do světa středověkých patrocinií na jižní Moravě*, ČMM 2014, 133, pp. 3–24.

<sup>3</sup> T. Baletka, *Proměny farní sítě na Moravě mezi pozdním středověkem a raným novověkem* [in:] *Církevní topografie a farní síť pražské církevní provincie v pozdním středověku*, “Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia” 8, Praha 2007, p. 140 mentions 1022 parishes, but more realistic appears the J. Mezník's estimation of 700 parishes, J. Mezník, *Lucemburská Morava*, Praha 2001, pp. 116–117 and footnotes 159 and 161 on the p. 451. Cf. P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, pp. 170–171.

<sup>4</sup> J. Hudák, *Patrociniá na Slovensku*, Bratislava 1984.

<sup>5</sup> A. Mezö, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest 2003.

<sup>6</sup> H. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Kirchenpatrozinien in Sachsen auf siedlungsgeschichtlicher Grundlage*, Berlin 1940.

<sup>7</sup> H. Tukay, *Oberschlesien im Spannungsfeld zwischen Deutschland Polen und Böhmen-Mähren. Eine Untersuchung der Kirchenpatrozinien im mittelalterlichen Archidiakonats Oppeln*, Köln–Wien 1976; W. Marschall, *Alte Kirchenpatrozinien des Archidiakonats Breslau*, Köln 1966.

<sup>8</sup> J. Rajman, *Średniowieczne patrocinia krakowskie*, Kraków 2002.

<sup>9</sup> W. Rozyrkowski, *Patrocinia kościołów parafialnych w diecezji chełmińskiej w średniowieczu*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 2000, 65/3–4, pp. 45–70; idem, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. Studium nad kultem świętych w diecezjach pruskich państwa zakonu krzyżackiego*, Malbork 2006.

<sup>10</sup> It's worth noting, that in communist Czechoslovakia any research concerning history of church, religion, etc. was unwelcome, what has had a negative effect on a present condition of this branch of history at Czech Republic.

centuries), but also from the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, because the oldest (unfortunately incomplete) systematic sources, the dean registers, as they are called, originate from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the oldest known systematic and complete description of the whole Olomouc diocese (which was the only Moravian diocese until 1777) containing all – or almost all – dedications is dated back to 1771–72. Thus, it is necessary to compensate for the lack of systematic medieval sources, carrying out a very detailed archival research focused on various sources, often searching difficultly for accidental mentions of dedications.

### FOUND PATRON SAINTS

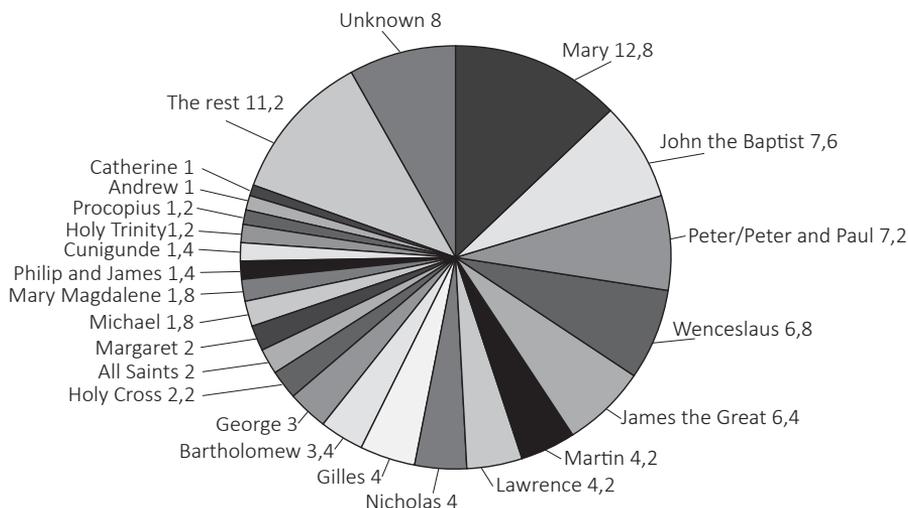
There were 499 dedications found, distributed to 477 churches and local chapels, the number of appearing patron saints is 51. Number of dedications to particular patron saints shows the following table:

No.	Patron saint	Number
1.	Mary	64
2.	John the Baptist	38
3.	Peter and Paul/Peter alone	36
4.	Wenceslaus	34
5.	James the Great	32
6.	Martin	21
7.	Lawrence	21
8.	Nicholas	20
9.	Giles	20
10.	Bartholomew	17
11.	George	15
12.	Holy Cross	11
13.	All Saints	10
14.	Margaret of Antioch	10
15.	Michael the Archangel	9
16.	Mary Magdalene	9
17.	Philip and James	7
18.	Cunigunde	7
19.	Holy Trinity	6
20.	Procopius of Sázava	6
21.	Andrew	5

22.	Catherine	5
23.	Gotthard	4
24.	Leonard	4
25.	Ulrich	4
26.	Anne	3
27.	Barbara	3
28.	Clement	3
29.	Gall	3
30.	Mark the Evangelist	3
31.	Stanislaus	3
32.	Vitus	3
33.	Corpus Christi/Body and Blood of Jesus Christ	2
34.	Elizabeth of Hungary	2
35.	Francis of Assisi	2
36.	Hippolytus of Rome	2
37.	Adalbert of Prague	1
38.	Anthony of Padua	1
39.	Benedict	1
40.	Holy Spirit	1
41.	John the Evangelist	1
42.	Lambert	1
43.	Luke	1
44.	Maurice (?)	1
45.	Oswald	1
46.	Pantaleon	1
47.	Sigismund	1
48.	Simon and Jude	1
49.	Stephen	1
50.	Thomas	1
51.	Wolfgang	1
	Unknown	40
	In total	499

Percentage of the most common patron saints shows the chart no. 1:

Chart no. 1: Percentage of the most common dedications



Both the table and the chart are a good illustration of a diversity of dedications. The number of 51 patron saints is comparable to the number of patron saints appearing in other parts of Central Europe: for example, Tukay in archdeaconry of Opole has found 43 patron saints,<sup>11</sup> Helbig in Saxony 53,<sup>12</sup> Marschall in archdeaconry of Wrocław 28<sup>13</sup> and Rozynkowski in four dioceses of the State of the Teutonic Order – those of Culm, Pomesania, Ermland and Samland – 58.<sup>14</sup> Regardless of methodological differences between cited studies, it can be stated, that numbers of patron saints in various parts of Central Europe were similar.<sup>15</sup>

As for an origin, the most numerous group is that of the medieval dedications (Wenceslaus, Giles, Cunigunde, Procopius, Gotthard, Leonard, Ulrich, Gall, Stanislaus, Elizabeth, Francis of Assisi, Adalbert, Anthony of Padua, Benedict, Lambert, Oswald, Sigismund, Wolfgang – 18 in all), but almost the same – 17 – is number of dedications connected with the New Testament (Mary, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul/Peter, James the Great, Bartholomew, Holy Cross, Mary Magdalene, Philip and James, Andrew, Anne, Mark the Evangelist, Corpus Christi/Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, John the Evangelist, Luke, Simon and Jude, Stephen, Thomas). Less numerous, but also relatively large, is a group of 12 patron saints linked to Early

<sup>11</sup> Until 1500. H. Tukay, *Oberschlesien*, pp. 281–287.

<sup>12</sup> Until the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. H. Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, p. 375.

<sup>13</sup> Until the Mongol invasion. W. Marschall, *Alte Kirchenpatrozinien*, pp. VII–VIII and 66.

<sup>14</sup> Until middle of 15<sup>th</sup> century. W. Rozynkowski, *Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei*, pp. 176–178.

<sup>15</sup> However, the situation in Central Europe differed from that in Western Europe, where the number of appearing patron saints was noticeably higher. Cf. G. Jones, *Saints in the Landscape*, Stroud 2007, pp. 33–38 and H. Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, p. 375.

Christianity or late antiquity: Martin, Lawrence, Nicholas, George, Margaret, Catherine, Barbara, Clement, Vitus, Hippolytus, Maurice and Pantaleon. Besides these three big groups are there dedications of All Saints, Michael the Archangel, Holy Trinity and Holy Spirit. Quite a lot of dedications (40) remain unknown. Excepting one case,<sup>16</sup> unknown dedications are those of defunct churches, mostly in deserted medieval villages or in the former Great Moravian centres.

Nevertheless, this survey only shows numbers of particular patron saints. Taking their “popularity” into consideration (i.e. number of churches/chapels named after certain saints), the situation is different: the largest group is that connected with the New Testament (232 places of worship), smaller is the group linked to Early Christianity’s or late antiquity’s patron saints (105 places of worship), while to medieval patron saints were dedicated only 97 places of worship. Among the remaining dedications the most popular was that of All Saints (10 occurrences), followed by Michael the Archangel (9) Holy Trinity (6) and Holy Spirit (only 1).

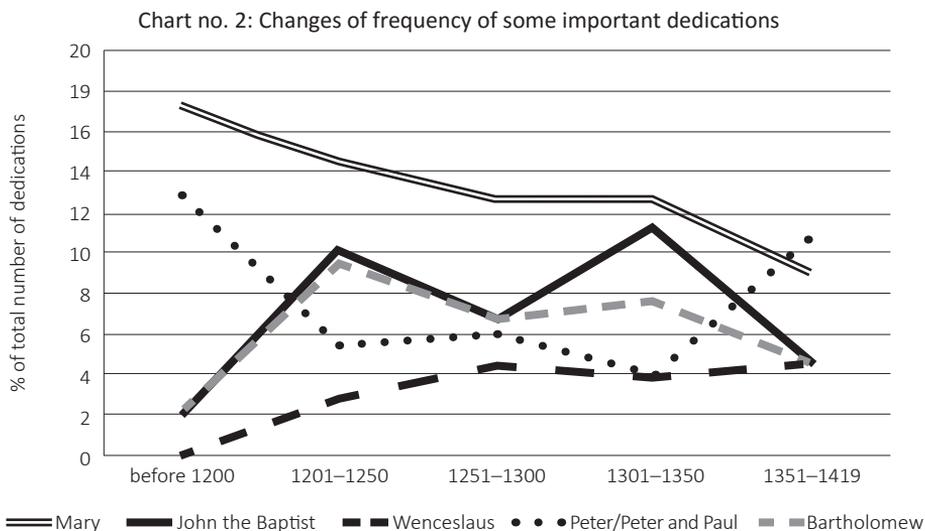
Unfortunately, most of dedications are not frequent enough to be analysed with statistical methods. It is possible only in the group of the most frequent patron saints, but even in this instance it is necessary to be careful, especially with the earliest period (before 1200), because at that time there were generally only few places of worship in Moravia. Thus the number of dedications was small as well<sup>17</sup> and if the number of dedications to a patron saint varies from 1 to 3, apparently it is impossible to draw relevant conclusions from it. Moreover, even the frequency (and its changes) of frequent and very frequent dedications is often hard to interpret, because it is not always easy to distinguish changes being the result of particular tendencies in spiritual life (e.g. adoption of new cults) from accidental fluctuations. That is why only a few curves showing development of frequency of the most distinctive dedications – Mary, John the Baptist, Wenceslaus, Peter/Peter and Paul and Bartholomew – are presented in chart no. 2.

The most remarkable is the curve of St. Peter’s dedications (Peter or Peter and Paul).<sup>18</sup> This dedication was very popular in the earliest period, later the number of new dedications declined (between 1200 and 1350), but in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century its frequency noticeably increased again. The reasons of such changes are unknown for now. Anyway, it is interesting, that the course of St. Peter’s dedications is complementary to those of John the Baptist and Wenceslaus – in the periods, when popularity of St. Peter/Peter and Paul grew up, the popularity of John the Baptist and Wenceslaus fell off and vice versa. Another fact seemed to be relevant is the difference between churches dedicated to St. Peter/Peter and Paul in the both periods of their high popularity. In the first period, this dedication could be often found by important churches, such as the church of Benedictine

<sup>16</sup> Church in Benetice near Třebíč in Western Moravia, which was temporarily abandoned in 17<sup>th</sup> century, cf. P. Jokeš, M. Rychlíková, *Výzkum patrocinii*, p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> In Moravia, the fully-developed parish organization came into existence only during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, pp. 117–136.

<sup>18</sup> In Moravia, a dedication of St. Peter often appears together with that of St. Paul. By some places of worship, in the oldest sources only St. Peter appears, but later St. Paul was added too.



monastery in Rajhrad,<sup>19</sup> St. Peter's church in Brno (probably founded by Vratislav, a Přemyslid duke of Brno, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century; later seat of provost and chapter<sup>20</sup>), the church of a hypothetical ducal residence in Řeznovice near Brno,<sup>21</sup> perhaps also the church of burh in Podivín.<sup>22</sup> A good example of the St. Peter's dedication of an important church in the early period is also the St. Peter's church in Olomouc, which was the cathedral until 1141, when the bishop's seat was relocated to the church of St. Wenceslaus (nevertheless, Olomouc lies outside the researched area).<sup>23</sup> On the contrary, in the second period of high popularity (1350–1419) is the occurrence of St. Peter's dedications for provincial, mostly village churches typical.

The development of frequency is interesting also in the case of the Virgin Mary. She was the most frequent patron saint for almost all the researched time (excepting the period 1350–1419), but the curve of her popularity permanently declined. Generally, between middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of Hussite wars many of previously popular cults were fading: besides Mary also John the Baptist, Wenceslaus and some other dedications, which cannot be included in the chart, like Jacob the Great and Giles. However, except the strong revival of St. Peter's popularity, at that time it is hard to find some new, rapidly growing cults replacing the fading patron saints. The popularity of some patron saints really grew, but rather moderately, like

<sup>19</sup> P. Jokeš, *Soupis patrocinii*, pp. 136–137.

<sup>20</sup> *Dějiny Brna I.*, ed. R. Procházka, Brno 2011, p. 511; *Dějiny Brna II.*, ed. L. Jan, Brno 2013, pp. 673–690.

<sup>21</sup> B. Novotný, *Archeologický výzkum hradu „Rokyten“ na Moravě z 11. až první poloviny 12. století, jeho hradský obvod a románský dvorec Řeznovice*, "Archaeologia historica" 1981, 6, pp. 234–236.

<sup>22</sup> P. Jokeš, *Soupis patrocinii*, p. 134.

<sup>23</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae (CDB) I.*, ed. G. Friedrich, Prague 1904–2007, no. 115, pp. 117–118. About dating of this document: J. Bistřický, *Pisemnosti olomouckého biskupa J. Zdíka*, "Sborník archivních prací" (SAP) 1983, 33, pp. 32–74.

that of Bartholomew (see chart no. 2), and the descending percentage of some dedications follows mainly from the high diversity of appearing dedications (32 appearing patron saints in 1350–1419 compared to 18 before 1200) and parallel asserting of many little cults such as Andrew, Cunigunde, Holy Trinity, Margaret, Mary Magdalene, Philip and James, Stanislaus (all have 3 new dedications in 1350–1419).

## BETWEEN INDIGENOUS CULTS AND FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Connections between patron saints and cross-border phenomena such as expansion of new monastic orders, various spiritual movements or social, political and cultural changes (like the German colonization in Central Europe) counts among the most interesting and important aspects of dedications. But this issue is also very difficult, because spreading of cults of saints was very complicated in medieval Europe. It depended on a lot of factors – of great importance were primarily translations of saints' graves or relics, which then depended on numerous phenomena such as expansion of Islam, Crusades, activities of the monastic orders or various personal experiences, avocations and contacts of influential persons.

Research outcomes are in accordance to the more or less peripheral position of Czech lands in medieval Europe. The importance of indigenous patron saints, except for Wenceslaus, was rather small. There were four Czech saints in the Middle Ages: Ludmila, Wenceslaus, Adalbert and Procopius of Sázava (lined up chronologic, according to their time of life).<sup>24</sup> The cult of Ludmila was very specific, closely related to the Benedictine convent of Saint George in the Prague Castle and characterized by a very low number of churches/chapels dedicated to this saint,<sup>25</sup> thus it is not surprising, that in the researched area there was no dedication of Ludmila found. By contrast, Ludmila's grandson, Saint Wenceslaus, became the most popular patron saint of medieval Czech lands, principal patron saint of Přemyslid dynasty, as well as the whole Bohemia and Moravia, crucial person of the medieval Czech state ideology. As mentioned above, 1141 Wenceslaus became the patron saint of Olomouc cathedral, too.<sup>26</sup> According to it, Wenceslaus was one of the most frequent patron saints in our research as well. Being a patron saint of 34 places of worship (what makes almost 7%), he was the fourth most popular patron saint in south Moravia. Wenceslaus is also considered the protector of medieval Czech state's borders,<sup>27</sup> although there is no visible concentration of that dedications in borderlands. There was only one dedication of St. Adalbert in south Moravia – the second bishop of Prague. A well-known missionary and one of the most important Czech saints was worshiped more abroad,

<sup>24</sup> Specific was position of Gunther and Radim Gaudentius, two figures who were objects of local cult, but they were not officialy canonised. M. Dragoun, *Vintíř a Radim – lokální kultury českého vrcholného středověku*, "Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica" 1999, 6, pp. 65–74. About Gunther also P. Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů. Seven Přemyslid Cults*, Praha 2011, pp. 195–218.

<sup>25</sup> P. Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů*, pp. 81–123.

<sup>26</sup> Vide footnote no. 23.

<sup>27</sup> L. Hosák, *K svatováclavským patrociniím*, pp. 184–188.

especially in Poland and Hungary, than in his homeland. After all, the only dedication of Adalbert in the researched area was found in Strážnice, near the Slovakian (former Hungarian) border, what indicates a probable connection with the neighbourhood of Hungary, where the cult of Adalbert was more vigorous.<sup>28</sup> The last Czech saint, who was canonized during the Middle Ages, was Procopius of Sázava. The Benedictine monk, co-founder of Sázava abbey – an important centre of Old Church Slavonic liturgy and literature in the 11<sup>th</sup> century – was an object of a moderate cult, manifested by six dedications, mainly of village churches, but also of quite important St. Procopius' church in Staré Brno,<sup>29</sup> which had – besides other things – relation to the medieval mint in Brno.<sup>30</sup>

All in all, only 41 places of worship were dedicated to indigenous patron saints, what makes 8,2% (naturally, all those patron saints had medieval origin), while to foreign medieval patron saints 55 (11%). Majority of them – 25 – came from France (Giles, Leonard, Sigismund), quite many – 18 – from German lands (Cunigunde, Gotthard, Ulrich, Elizabeth, Wolfgang). Dedications to medieval patron saints coming from other European countries were rather uncommon: 4 to Italian saints (Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Benedict), 3 to Swiss (Gall), 3 to Polish (Stanislaus), one to Dutch (Lambert) and English (Oswald) saints. It's worth noting, that we cannot find any patron saint coming from Hungary in this summary, although this part of Moravia was next to the Hungarian kingdom (specifically to present-day Slovakia, so called "Upper Hungary"). But in fact, there are two dedications related to Hungary, both near the Slovakian border. The first is St. Adalbert's dedication of church in Strážnice (see above), the second dedication is to St. Elisabeth in Vnorovy. St. Elisabeth was a Hungarian princess, but she lived mainly in Germany, where she died and where (in Marburg) was the main centre of her cult, so she is considered a German saint. However, her cult was intensive in her original Hungarian homeland as well, and the Hungarian influence is the most likely explanation of mentioned dedication.<sup>31</sup>

Certainly, this sorting of dedications according to the country of origin is only a simplified scheme, because territories and borders of European countries are changing. Moreover, such a simple classification is often impossible. St. Leonard, for example, geographically comes from France, but, in Central Europe, his cult is typical at the area of South Germany and Austria.<sup>32</sup> Thus, Leonard's cult did not come to Moravia immediately from France, but via mentioned South German lands, what a distribution of Leonard's dedications shows: all places of worship dedicated to Leonard are located

<sup>28</sup> Various authors are giving various informations about number of Adalbert's churches in Slovakia. According to M. Slivka, *Pohlady do stredovekých dejín Slovenska (Res intrinsecus lectae)*, Martin 2013, p. 120, the cult of St. Adalbert was limited to south-west Slovakia, what corresponds to nearness of the Esztergom Cathedral, dedicated to Adalbert. Cf. A. Mezö, *Patrociniumok*, pp. 28–31 (enumerates 14 Adalbert dedications in medieval Hungary) and J. Hudák, *Patrocinia*, p. 285 and 343.

<sup>29</sup> Staré Brno (Old Brno) was a predecessor of medieval royal city of Brno. In Staré Brno was situated the former seat of Přemyslid dukes of Brno and ducal mint, too. *Dějiny Brna I.*, p. 505 and 515.

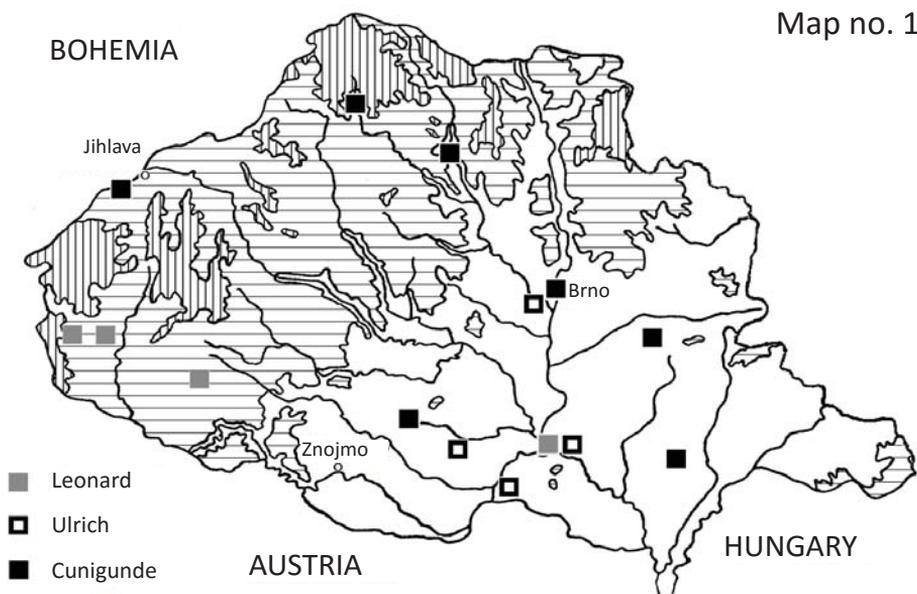
<sup>30</sup> *Dějiny Brna II.*, pp. 669–671.

<sup>31</sup> M. Slivka, *Pohlady*, p. 115–116; A. Mezö, *Patrociniumok*, pp. 74–83, enumerates 108 Elisabeth dedications in medieval Hungary.

<sup>32</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, München–Zürich–Stuttgart–Weimar 1980–1999, V, column 1894.

in southern part of researched area, along Austrian border<sup>33</sup> (see the map no. 1). Similar case is that of St. Oswald. To this patron saint, very rare in Czech lands,<sup>34</sup> only one church is dedicated, in Milovice near Břeclav. In all likelihood, St. Oswald's cult had come here with German settlers, because Oswald's churches are to be found in some German speaking Central European lands, e.g. Lower Austria<sup>35</sup> and Saxony.<sup>36</sup>

Reception of foreign patron saints had various forms. Naturally, there were differences in time of reception, because new cults came in various periods of time, but we can find differences in space, too. We can observe them comparing distribution of three saints – Cunigunde, Leonard and Ulrich (map no. 1).



All three patron saints have come to Moravia from or via Germany, but while Leonard and Ulrich are to be found only in southern part of the area, near to the Austrian border, or as the case may be, in the German speaking localities (Ulrich in mostly German Brno), Cunigunde appeared in various parts of researched area. It cannot be caused by different time when those dedications came to Moravia,<sup>37</sup> be-

<sup>33</sup> It concerns the churches in Mušov, Kdousov, Liděřovice and Matějovec.

<sup>34</sup> Originally a king of Northumbria from the 7<sup>th</sup> century. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VI, columns 1549–1550.

<sup>35</sup> H. Wolf, *Erläuterungen zum historischen Atlas der Österreichischen Alpenländer, II. Abteilung, Die Kirchen- und Grafschaftskarte, 6. Teil – Niederösterreich*, Wien 1955, pp. 211, 319 and 351.

<sup>36</sup> H. Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 230–231.

<sup>37</sup> Sometimes it can be the reason of differences in distribution of particular dedications. Generally, the older dedications are occupying lesser area, because by the time they were used some parts of the land were not populated yet.

cause Cunigunde, Leonard and Ulrich appeared in both earlier and later periods. So, the most likely explanation is a different reception: cults of Leonard and Ulrich were linked to immediate cross-border contacts and to German speaking population, while the cult of Cunigunde had a wider influence, probably because of the popularity among some part of the social elite.

There are at least three other saints from abroad to deal with: Anthony of Padua, Francis of Assisi and Stanislaus. The first appeared only once. During the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the church of the Order of Saint John in Staré Brno was dedicated to him for some time – it is worth noting, that dedication to Anthony of Padua appeared for the first time in sources in 1243, only 11 years after Anthony's canonization and 12 years after his death.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, Anthony was later replaced by John the Baptist. Very similar is the story of the dedication to Francis of Assisi in Doubravník, less than 40 km to the north of Brno. In 1229 or 1230 a nunnery came into existence there<sup>39</sup> and, in connection with it, a church of St. Francis appeared in two documents of the pope Gregory IX.<sup>40</sup> Also in Doubravník the dedication appeared very soon, only 3 years after canonization of Francis and 5 years after his death.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, there are no later mentions about it available. Probably the dedication to Francis was replaced by that of Holy Cross, which exists in Doubravník till now (the nunnery perished during Hussite wars).<sup>42</sup> Thus, these dedications are the evidence of both the contacts of Moravia with Italy in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (we can suppose, it concerns mainly the monastic milieu) and of the fact, that the impact of these contacts on medieval Moravian society was often only weak and transient. The cult of Stanislaus, the Polish bishop and martyr from the 11<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>43</sup> indicates the Polish influence. There were three churches dedicated to him, all from the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>44</sup>

Up to now the medieval saints, who came from abroad, were dealt with. But naturally, also the cult of other saints – connected both with the New Testament and with the Early Christianity or late antiquity – came to Moravia from abroad. Nevertheless, it is hard to determine how, when and where from such cults came, because many of the cults surely had already appeared at the time of Great Moravia, which is very poor in usable sources – both written and material (almost all Great Moravian churches perished during the Hungarian invasion around 900). What cults can be supposed to exist in Great Moravia? Surely some very important cults connected with the New

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<sup>38</sup> Anthony of Padua died 1231 and was canonized 1232. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, I, columns 732–733.

<sup>39</sup> L. Jan, *Augustiniánky nebo premonstrátky? (Opět k počátkům kláštera v Doubravníce)*, ČMM 1994, 113, p. 23 and J. Doležel, *Ante aream monasterii sancte crucis – klášter v Doubravníku ve světle dosavadních výzkumů*, “Pravěk” 1998, 8, p. 321.

<sup>40</sup> In 1231 “a convent of Saint Francis” was mentioned, 1233 “a church of Saint Francis.” CDB III, no. 8, p. 6 and no. 35, p. 35.

<sup>41</sup> Francis of Assisi died in 1226 and was canonized 1228. *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen 1957–1965, II, p. 1058.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, pp. 38–39.

<sup>43</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VIII, column 56.

<sup>44</sup> In Bošovice, Jemnice and Kunštát. Cf. P. Jokeš: *Soupis patrocinií*, pp. 116 and 127 and P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, pp. 52–53.

Testament – Mary, John the Baptist, Peter. We can deduce from some circumstances and written sources, that in Great Moravia there was a cult of St. Clement in existence.<sup>45</sup> Great Moravian origin probably has the church (including a dedication) of Hippolytus in Hradisko svatého Hipolyta near Znojmo.<sup>46</sup> Because that time the bishopric of Passau and generally the Bavarian and Austrian part of Danube region had a great influence on Moravia, we have to keep in mind the patron saints from there (Stephen, Emmeram of Regensburg). Also the mission of Cyril and Methodius could bring – beside the mentioned cult of Clement – some other cults.

On the other hand, even cults of well-known saints connected with the New Testament or Early Christianity and late antiquity could come to Moravia rather late. It is a case of James the Great. In Moravia before 1200 there was only one church dedicated to this saint, in Černín to the north of Znojmo.<sup>47</sup> In contrast, during the 13<sup>th</sup> century this dedication became very popular, often in emerging cities (it's worth noting, that the 13<sup>th</sup> century was in Czech lands the time of a very intensive urbanization), such as Brno, Slavkov, Jihlava, maybe also Boskovice and Pohořelice.<sup>48</sup> In some cases also the connection between the dedication to James and the medieval mining is probable (Jihlava, maybe Jakubov u Moravských Budějovic and Jemnice as well). It indicates a link between the cult of St. James and German speaking settlers, who had played an important part in both urbanization of Czech lands and bloom of Czech mining in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly to some other cults (like Leonard or Ulrich), the south German Danube region is sometimes regarded as the place from which St. James came to Czech lands, especially in relation to the great importance of the Abbey of St. James in Regensburg. On the other hand, there were many dedications to St. James in localities, which had neither urban nor mining character, and without any sign of the medieval German population, too (Bukov, Dalečín, Omice, Osová Bítýška, Pustiměř, Rašov, etc.). Thus we can conclude that in Moravia the dedication to James initially related to German settlement, but the cult rapidly became naturalized also in the Czech speaking area and lost its German character. Considering the cult of St. James, it's also important to take all-European phenomena into account, primarily the rising popularity of the saint in connection with pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Written sources are showing, that Saint Cyril had found relics of Clement in the sea near Crimea and 867 brought it to Rome, so he had it surely also during his missionary work in Great Moravia between 863 and 867. It could undoubtedly initiate the cult of Clement. *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum (FRB) I*, ed. J. Emler, J. Perwolf, J. Kolář, J. Jireček, Praha 1873, pp. 12 and 35. Cf. H. Jireček, *Kaple a kostely sv. Klimenta* [in:] *Sborník velehradský*, ed. J. Vykydal, Brno 1880, pp. 207–213, A. Birnbaumová, *Kostely sv. Klimenta, Zvláštní otisk z Apoštolátu sv. Cyrila a Metoděje*, Olomouc 1948 and P. Jokeš, *Patrocinium św. Klemensa na Morawach – dziedzictwo misji św. Cyryla i Metodego?*, “Kraakowsko-Wileńskie Studia Slawistyczne” 2013, 8, pp. 311–318.

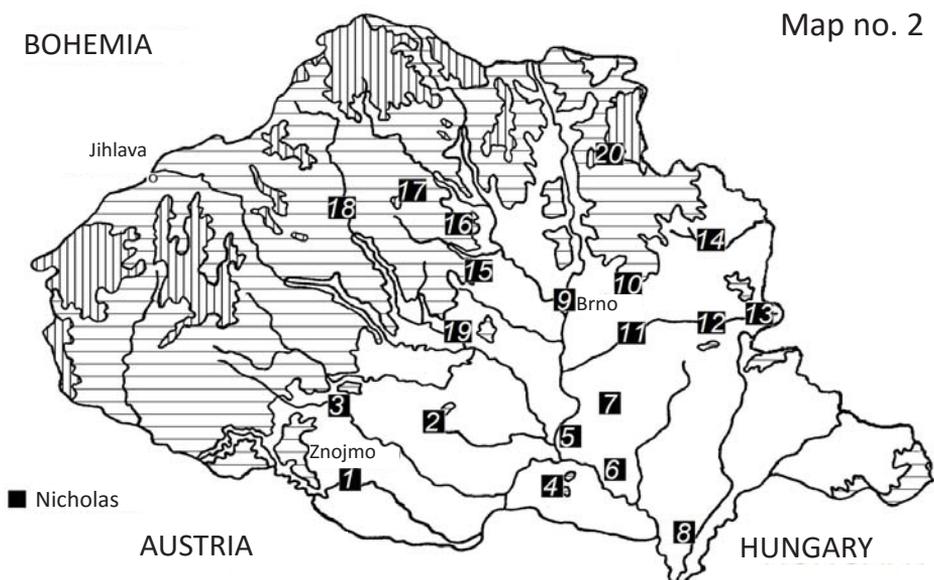
<sup>46</sup> Z. Měřinský, *České země od příchodu Slovanů po Velkou Moravu II.*, Praha 2006, pp. 600–601.

<sup>47</sup> P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, p. 32.

<sup>48</sup> The case of Pohořelice is ambiguous. In 1466 the church is mentioned as dedicated to St. Nicholas, but already 1483 appear a dedication to St. James, which is subsequently documented till modern times. The mention of 1466 might be a mistake.

<sup>49</sup> Already Z. Boháč, the founder of modern Czech research of dedications, has regarded pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela and founding of St. James monastery in Regensburg as two probable foreign

Similar to James the Great was the case of St. Nicholas. Popularity of this saint in Europe increased after the translation of his relics from Myra (nowadays Turkey) to Bari.<sup>50</sup> Also dedication to Nicholas was typical of cities – it might be related to the fact, that Nicholas was considered a patron saint of merchants.<sup>51</sup> In researched area, city churches dedicated to Nicholas appear in Brno, Znojmo and Velké Meziříčí, perhaps in Pohořelice, too.<sup>52</sup> Because of that relationship between Nicholas and merchants, an opinion arose, that churches near the trade routes were especially often dedicated to Nicholas. It was given an example of the trade route from Brno to the east, where really a noticeable group of Nicholas' churches is to be found (churches in Brankovice, Nevojice, Šaratice, Vážanice-Tvarožná, maybe also Letonice).<sup>53</sup> A map of discovered dedications to Nicholas can help to verify that surmise (map no. 2).<sup>54</sup>



impulses for expansion of worship of St. James in Czech lands. Z. Boháč, *Patrocinia jako jeden z pramenů*, p. 376.

<sup>50</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VI, columns 1173–1174.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem. Cf. T. Velímský, *Mikulášské zasvěcení kostelů a počátky trhových sídlišť a měst v Čechách*, “*Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica*” 1999, 6, p. 7–64.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. a footnote no. 48.

<sup>53</sup> L. Hosák, *Patrocinium sv. Petra*, p. 327.

<sup>54</sup> The numbers on the map denote the localities of dedication to Nicholas: 1 – Znojmo, 2 – Miroslavské Knínice, 3 – Jevišovice, 4 – Perná, 5 – Pouzdřany, 6 – Přitluky, 7 – Šitbořice, 8 – Tvrdonice, 9 – Brno, 10 – Tvarožná/Vážanice, 11 – Šaratice, 12 – Nevojice, 13 – Brankovice, 14 – Topolany, 15 – Veverské Knínice, 16 – Deblín, 17 – Heřmanov, 18 – Velké Meziříčí, 19 – Oslavany, 20 – Němčice.

Drawing conclusions from the map, it is necessary to be very careful, remember, that there could be some changes of dedications which didn't leave any tracks in sources, and avoid jumping to conclusions. However, it seems that the majority of dedications to St. Nicholas are really forming some lines, which could be considered as medieval trade routes. Generally, these lines begin in the most important centre of the whole region – Brno – and go in several directions: to the east (numbers 9-11-12-13), to the north-east (9-10-14, towards Olomouc and further to Silesia/Poland), to the south (9-11-7-5-4, towards Vienna) with a branching to south-east (5-6-8, towards Hungary), to the south-west (9-[19?]-2-1, towards Znojmo and further to Austria) and to the north-west (9-15-16-17-[18?], towards Bohemia/Prague). Remarkable is the situation in the western part of researched area, where no dedications to Nicholas are to be found. The most probable explanation lies in the old age of Moravian dedications to Nicholas: the main wave of Nicholas' popularity must have taken place, before the intensive settlement of western Moravia's uplands began.

Nevertheless, problem consists in the fact, that there is no line going to the north, where the route towards Bohemia is expected.<sup>55</sup> There is only one church dedicated to Nicholas to the north of Brno, in Němčice (no. 20 on the map), but this village is located in an outlying place in the highland, where no important medieval trade route is to be expected.

## CITY PARISH CHURCHES

A very distinctive group of medieval Moravian dedications are the dedications of city parish churches, especially in the royal cities. In medieval Czech lands, royal cities comprised a group of the most developed urban centres, which in some respects differed considerably from the rest of the country. That applies to dedications as well, what can be seen in chart no. 3.

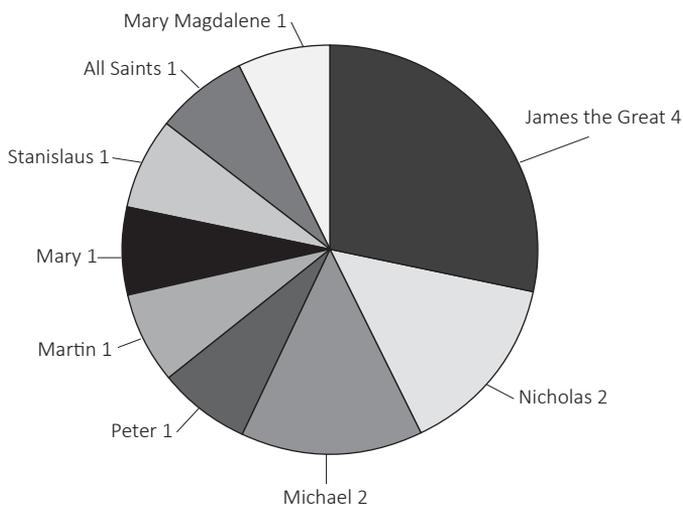
Compared with chart no. 1 (concerning dedications of all churches/chapels), there are many differences. While the most popular patron saints of all places of worship were Mary, John the Baptist and Peter/Peter and Paul, in the royal cities the most popular were James the Great, Nicholas and Michael. On the other hand – Mary, John the Baptist and Peter/Peter and Paul appeared in royal cities only once (Mary, Peter/Peter and Paul) or not at all (John the Baptist). The high frequency of James the Great and Nicholas is not a surprise, because these patron saints are traditionally considered to be related to medieval cities.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> P. Bolina, *Byl hrad Svojanov u Poličky posledním centrem tzv. úsobrnské provincie? (Příspěvek k historii moravsko-českého pomezí II.)*, ČMM 2005, 124, pp. 3–44.

<sup>56</sup> See above.

Chart no. 3: Dedications in royal cities



Worth of mentioning is the case of churches dedicated to Michael the Archangel in Brno, Znojmo and Olomouc.<sup>57</sup> Namely, all mentioned churches came to the existence in the pre-urban settlements preceding the foundation of a medieval city, and all are situated on hills (in Znojmo and Olomouc, Michael's churches are just in the highest parts of medieval cities, the situation in Brno is more complicated, but the church also lies in raised place). Moreover, all three cities were the most important centres of medieval Moravia. In the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries Brno, Znojmo and Olomouc were seats of local Přemyslid dukes, later the biggest and most developed royal cities. Two of mentioned churches (Olomouc, Brno) were in the 13<sup>th</sup> century given to Dominican Order. This uncommon similarity has induced considerations about possible connection between dedications to Michael and former pagan places of worship. First Václav Richter, an eminent Moravian art historian, held the view that St. Michael's church in Znojmo lies in the place of a former pagan shrine, "where the Christian church probably came into existence already in the Great Moravian times." Unfortunately, Richter did not support his theory by evidence.<sup>58</sup> Similar was Richter's opinion on the St. Michael's church in Olomouc,<sup>59</sup> what later archaeological excavations confirmed. According to conclusions of Josef Bláha, archaeologist, the hill where the church stands now, was originally a rocky hill with plenty of water springs, and it can be supposed, that it was a place of a big cult importance since the Germanic period.<sup>60</sup> Thus, we can speculate about the group of churches dedicated to

<sup>57</sup> The latter is lying outside the researched area.

<sup>58</sup> V. Richter, B. Samek, M. Stehlík, *Znojmo*, Praha 1966, p. 29.

<sup>59</sup> V. Richter, *Raněstředověká Olomouc*, Praha 1959, pp. 26–28.

<sup>60</sup> J. Bláha, *K funkci Michalského kopce v Olomouci. Několik úvodních poznámek*, *Historická Olomouc* XII, 2001, pp. 33–64; *Topografie a otázka kontinuity raně středověkého ústředí v Olomouci* [in:] *Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000*, eds. L. Polanský, J. Sláma, D. Třeštík, Praha 2000, pp. 182 and 194.

Michael the Archangel, which were built on natural hills where formerly the pagan places of worship had been.<sup>61</sup> It could be an analogue of situation in some other countries, e.g. England.<sup>62</sup> Also in Bohemian part of the Czech kingdom there are several churches dedicated to Michael in important Bohemian medieval centres to be found (especially those in Prague, Žatec and Litoměřice can be relevant), still the question of similarity between situations in these localities and in Olomouc, Brno and Znojmo remains a task of future study.<sup>63</sup>

## CHANGES OF DEDICATIONS

As far as changes of dedications are concerned, the places of worship researched in this study can be divided into several categories. The first and definitely the biggest one is that without changes found (389 churches and chapels, i.e. more than 81%). The second important category contains 40 churches (more than 8%), whose dedications are unknown.<sup>64</sup> Only in remaining 48 places of worship (about 10%) changes have taken place, although “classic,” typical changes (one patron saint is replaced by another) can be met only in 30 cases.<sup>65</sup> In 6 cases dedication was extended (original patron saint remained, but in addition appeared another, new one), 10 dedications, by contrast, were reduced (the number of patrons saints declined). In two cases, a combination of more than one type of changes appeared.

Quite a frequent change of dedication lied in, for example, adding St. Paul to St. Peter’s dedication, what happened, for example, in Brno<sup>66</sup> and Miroslav.<sup>67</sup> Characteristic are also the cases of adding, in modern times, patron saints harmonizing with new period’s needs (often the patron saints perceived as “national saints,” e.g. Wenceslaus or Methodius). Churches in Pouzdřany (Nicholas, now Nicholas and Wenceslaus),<sup>68</sup> Strachotín (Ulrich, now Ulrich and Methodius)<sup>69</sup> or Ostrovačice (John the Baptist, now John the Baptist and Wenceslaus)<sup>70</sup> can serve as an example. It’s worth noting, that although in the Baroque period in Czech lands an inflow of

<sup>61</sup> An important role of the idea of Michael as the winner over Hellish forces is here to be supposed.

<sup>62</sup> V. Richter, *Raněstředověká Olomouc*, p. 26; G. Jones, *Saints in the Landscape*, pp. 67–80.

<sup>63</sup> H. Pátková, *The Cult of Saint Michael in Medieval Bohemia*, “*Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae*” 2009, 14, pp. 109–122.

<sup>64</sup> Large majority of them are defunct churches, often in deserted medieval villages or in former Great Moravian centres (see above).

<sup>65</sup> I.e. roughly 6,3%. Thus, this value is very similar to 7% regarding dedications in Bohemia and mentioned by Z. Boháč, *Patrocinia v Čechách v době předhusitské a barokní* [in:] *Pražské arcibiskupství 1344–1994. Sborník statí o jeho působení a významu v české zemi*, eds. Z. Hledíková, J.V. Polc, Praha 1994, p. 176.

<sup>66</sup> P. Jokeš, *Soupis patrocinii*, p. 116.

<sup>67</sup> P. Jokeš, M. Rychlíková, *Výzkum patrocinii*, p. 65.

<sup>68</sup> P. Jokeš, *Soupis patrocinii*, p. 135.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 140.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 133.

new, distinctive cults can be observed, cases of replacing the original patron saint by a new, typically Baroque one, were rather infrequent. Among such cases rank the churches in Dyje (Lawrence, now John of Nepomuk)<sup>71</sup> or in Plaveč (Mary, now Francis Xavier).<sup>72</sup> Interesting is the case of dedication to Holy Trinity as well. Zdeněk Boháč has considered this dedication a typically baroque,<sup>73</sup> whereas results from the south Moravia are not so indisputable. There are four changes in favour of Holy Trinity, in Drnholec,<sup>74</sup> Babice,<sup>75</sup> Střelice<sup>76</sup> and Žatčany<sup>77</sup> (unfortunately it's not clear if all these changes happened in the Baroque period), but there are also six dedications of Holy Trinity without any hint of changes, and – what is especially important – three of them are documented in the Middle Ages.<sup>78</sup> Thus, it is demonstrable that dedications to Holy Trinity were not linked only to the Baroque period.

Anyway, it's necessary to be very careful studying the changes of dedications, because especially in the documents such as accounts of the visitations from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there are often dubious data to be found. After the Thirty Years' War, many of churches were deserted and/or abandoned (as well as many villages), so it was very difficult to ascertain the real dedication. That's why it is important to pay attention to a category of the source: documents written by local parish priests or deans can be considered more reliable than those written by persons from the outside.<sup>79</sup> Undoubtedly, it would be perfect to document every change using more sources. Unfortunately, lack of sources, mentioned above, makes it quite difficult.

Some time ago, Czech historians discussed the problem of the changes of dedications intensively, what was related to their worry about reliability of gained results.<sup>80</sup> Available studies show, that the frequency of changes was not too high,<sup>81</sup> thus the risk of distortion is rather tolerable. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, *conditio sine qua non* is both the very detailed archival research and very accurate work with historical sources.

<sup>71</sup> P. Jokeš, M. Rychlíková, *Výzkum patrocinií*, p. 59–60; P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, pp. 41. A dedication to Lawrence is documented in a description of Olomouc diocese from the years 1771–1772, Zemský archiv Opava, pobočka Olomouc, Arcibiskupská konzistoř Olomouc (ACO), kniha č. 23, pp. 1144–1145.

<sup>72</sup> P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, p. 77, footnote 750.

<sup>73</sup> Z. Boháč, *K otázce využití*, p. 583.

<sup>74</sup> P. Jokeš, *Soupis patrocinií*, p. 122.

<sup>75</sup> P. Jokeš, M. Rychlíková, *Výzkum patrocinií*, p. 56.

<sup>76</sup> P. Jokeš, *Soupis patrocinií*, p. 140.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 146.

<sup>78</sup> Královo Pole 1375, P. Jokeš, *Soupis patrocinií*, p. 125; Mohelno 1380, P. Jokeš, *Farní organizace*, p. 67; Cornštejn 1493, P. Jokeš, M. Rychlíková, *Výzkum patrocinií*, p. 58.

<sup>79</sup> P. Pieńkowska-Wiederkehr, *Kult św. Katarzyny Aleksandryjskiej w Polsce do końca średniowiecza w świetle wezwań kościołów i kaplic publicznych* [in:] *Kult świętych i ideał świętości w średniowieczu*, ed. R. Michałowski, Warszawa 2011, pp. 167–168. Cf. P. Jokeš, „...beate Marie virginis gloriose, in cuius honorem eadem parochialis ecclesia sit consecrata...”, pp. 21–23 and Z. Boháč, *Patrocinia jako jeden z pramenů*, p. 372, footnote 10.

<sup>80</sup> Z. Boháč, *K otázce využití*, especially pp. 571 and 582–583 and *Patrocinia jako jeden z pramenů*, p. 372.

<sup>81</sup> See the footnote 65.

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