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Patrociny Settlement Names in Europe

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Patrociny Settlement Names in Europe

Edited by

VALÉRIA TÓTH

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Foreword

In January 2010 I contacted European onomasticians with the call to join a research programme aiming to map the European situation regarding a special settlement name type—patrociny settlement names. The call was welcomed, 15 researchers from 10 countries indicated they would like to participate in the project. The final outcome is that 11 studies are being published in the volume entitled "Patrociny Settlement Names in Europe" which you have in your hands.

The aim therefore was to present the situation of patrociny settlement names in Europe, introducing their region-specific features. When requesting the authors to write about this particular name type, I considered the fact that patrociny settlement names are characteristic of only certain parts of Europe (primarily Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and the Carpathian basin).

In order to view the European attributes of patrociny settlement names in a unified framework (e.g. the circumstances of their formation, factors playing a role in their alterations, etc.) I collected the aspects which should guide the authors in their studies. Accordingly, the majority of studies reveal information regarding the following: the impact of religious organisation on the origin and distribution of the name type; how and from what time colloquial variants replace the Latin names; what kinds of chronological characteristics the name type has in certain language territories; onomato-geographical differences; the process and direction of the distribution of the name type. In addition, from certain studies we may get an impression about the linguistic or structural qualities of patrociny settlement names and their change processes.

During the editorial work I have not interfered with the use of terms in certain studies since I consider the unification of terminology created and used in given language areas arbitrary and unjustified. Since the authors managed to precisely explain the terms they used, I believe the non-homogenous nature of the terminology does not hinder the comparison of phenomena.

This collection of studies about patrociny settlement names does not aim at bringing to a close the relevant onomastic research; on the contrary, it wishes to widen it, providing a pattern for further research. A similar international research programme which would also compare a toponymic phenomenon's features in different languages but within more specific circumstances would also be quite informative: related languages (e.g. Hungarian and Finnish), or

languages not related to but in physical contact with each other (e.g. Finnish and Swedish) would be presented equally. In other words, research like this may bring to the surface features originating from a genetic relationship just as much as from interference phenomena growing out of languages living together.

In the fervent hope of further collaboration as efficient as this one, and as a representative of the editorial board of "Onomastica Uralica", we would be glad to receive further studies from European onomasticians.

Debrecen, May 2011

The Editor

Pierre-Henri Billy (Paris, France)

Patrociny Settlement Names in France

The christianization of territories which, much later, constituted France, is a long story. On good authority, until the middle of the 3rd century, the territories christianized by the Gauls were Provence and the Rhone valley, as well as the Roman province of Narbonne. The first bishops had already settled in cathedrals dedicated, for the greater part, to Saint Étienne, lined with baptistries dedicated to Saint Jean-Baptiste. They presided over vast territories, the dioceses which the council of Chalcédoine in 451 called *parochia*, spread over the whole *civitas*, or civil district of the Empire.

In the 5th century every *civitas* of Gaul was finally endowed with a cathedral-church and constituted a diocese. Meanwhile, villages *(vici)* and certain fortified cities *(castella)* contained either a church *(ecclesia)* without relics, or a basilica *(basilica)* dedicated to the saint whose relics were deposited and worshipped there. In addition there were numerous places of worship in the countryside *(oratoria)* built by owners of big domains *(villae)*.

In the 6th century the works of Grégoire of Tours gave us places of worship dedicated to the holy apostles, to other scriptural saints, to martyrs of the Roman Empire, and finally to the local saints. The construction of places of worship encouraged the population in the vicinity to frequent these new places, enabling the formation of new parishes.

It was not until the Carolingian period that significant development of the former parishes took place, thanks to imperial legislation which created new parishes stemming from the dismemberment of the former or from clearings on their margins. In the 11–13th centuries, new parishes were created by this process, and also by further encroachment on forests, uninhabited areas *(deserta)* and the lower slopes of mountains. There were diverse motivations behind the creation of these various new districts: abbeys were used for the purpose of asset management (in the 11–12th centuries), military orders for territorial influence (12–13th centuries), and lay Lords for the purpose of attracting the local population (10–14th centuries) through the construction of a church in or around the castle *(castrum)* and the construction of new towns (*nova villa, bastida, castelnau*, etc.). The construction of numerous churches outside of towns led to the movement of the population and to the creation of new parishes.

1. Latin was the official language of the Church from the time of the Roman Empire. It was also the language of royal power until the 14th century. The rural Lords and cities used Latin until the 13th century but abandoned it more

quickly than other institutions in favour of Occitan (in the 11th century) and in French and Franco-Provençal (13th century). However, these institutions lagged behind literary use as some works were written in French from the 11th century and some years later in Occitan.

In Latin texts, the hagiotoponyms (i.e. patrociny settlement names) which appeared the earliest in vernacular languages were written in Old High German in the 8th century, in Old Breton in the 9th century, in Old Occitan in the 10th century and in Old French and Franco-Provençal in the 11th century. According to the types of source materials, hagiotoponyms were mainly written in vernaculars from the 13th century. We must not overlook the numerous *pouillés* (statements of income of every diocese or ecclesiastical province) during the 18th century: all place names were still written in Latin, the form of which is often far removed from that seen in writing in the 13th century.

The hagiotoponyms usually derived from the local church name: this is a well-known metonymic method *(ecclesia sancti Nazarii > villa Sancti Nazarii),* hence the church dedication name becomes first the church name, then the name of the place (village or other) where is the church located. When the church is dedicated to two or more patron saints, one is chosen to give his name to the place: for example, *Saint-Cyrice* (Tarn-et-Garonne) gets its name from the church dedicated to St. Cyr and his mother St. Julitte. This method may be of popular origin, but also ecclesiastical or seigneurial, according to the decision of an authority that had control of the spot where the place of worship was located. There are also many hagiotoponyms that designate places which are owned by an abbey, a priory, church, fraternity or a military order: these places may contain a church; cf. the *villam Sancti Remigii* in 966 (SCHIEFFER 1977: n° 40), later Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (Bouches-du-Rhône), which is an abbey dependency of Saint-Remi of Reims, with its church and territory dedicated to St. Remy. There are also places without any houses such as *campo Sancti Mauricii* in 1222 (RIGAULT 2008: 667) in Autun (Saône-et-Loire), a dependency of the secular lordship of Saint-Maurice, situated over 20 km away. In addition there are places of popular worship without any buildings such as *Fontaine de Sainte-Claire* in 1757 (RIGAULT 2008: 647), in Mont (Saône-et-Loire), dedicated to the saint known to restore sight to the blind.

The texts offer very little evidence to determine exactly who gave the name to a place. The place founder (of an abbey or priory, etc.) is often presented as the one who gave his name to the place. As reported in his life, written in 784–791 (MGH, SRM, VI, 288), the abbot Trond founded in about 660 a *villam ex nomine sancti patris Trudonecas appellavit,* the village today called *Trognée* (Belgium), whose church is dedicated to St. Trond. Likewise, as reported in the Life of St. Agile written in 684–690 (AASS, Août VI, 582), a certain Radon

founded a monastery in about 630: *quod ex suo nomine Radolium vocavit,* the village today called *Reuil-en-Brie* (Seine-et-Marne). The monastery Marmoutier (Bas-Rhin), called *Loewatzell* in 720 (referring to the St. Leopard monastery; BISCH–MULLER-ZEIGER 1995: II, 31), was destroyed during the 8th century and rebuilt by abbot Maur: it is attested as *monasterium Mauri* in 834–835; here it is likely that the new name was chosen by the monastic community. In contrast, the cathedral city of *Convenae,* whose name dates back to ancient times, in the 12th century took the name *urbs Sancti Bertrandi* (> *Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges,* Haute-Garonne), attested to St. Bertrand's life written after 1174 (BLADÉ 1893: 346), in tribute to the former bishop Bertrand who ruled from 1073 to 1123 and was canonized by Pope Honorius III in 1220. The worship conducted on that site from the mid-12th century provoked an Episcopal investigation and in particular, the allocation of its name to the city by the *vox populi.*

Both cartularies in the earliest records about the foundation of abbeys and priories, and saints' lives (whether abbots or not) show the prominent role of the place founder: he gives his name to the institution he founded, to the place where he founded it, or changes the previous name of the institution or place. To the extent that these sources emanate from religious authorities, they highlight the action of such figures in the appointment of these places. On the other hand, the acts of kings and their history show that they have too tended to identify places or to change their previous names: a source before 1108 specifies that the city of Compiegne was nominated *Karlopolis* 'Charles City' because it had been founded by King Charles the Bald and named by himself: "Karolis igitur Calvus… aedificavit in regno suo Compendium villam et eam Karlopolim suo de nomine vocari praecepit" (VINCENT 1937: 68).

The motivations of place names formed on a saint's name are varied and can be different depending on whether the name is "simple" *(Saint-X)* or syntagmatic *(Y-Saint-X).*

For "simple" names, the oldest and most common motivation is formation from the patron saint's name of the local church. In the 6th century, according to the works of Gregory of Tours, the *basilicae* were dedicated to saints whose contain the body (St. Aubin in Angers, Maine-et-Loire), or relics (St. Nazaire in the place which will be called *Saint-Nazaire* in 1050, Loire-Atlantique). This process continued even under the Old Regime. The place names come from the names of saints who died there, whether martyrs or not, such as Bishop Quentin in *Saint-Quentin* (Aisne) in 895. The abbot and founder of the monastery: Lupicin in *Saint-Lupicin* (Jura) in the 14th century. The name of the saint who founded the parish: St. Martin of Vertou in *Pont-Saint-Martin* (Loire-Atlantique) in 1179. The name of the saint who founded the abbey or priory: St. Omer in *Saint-Omer* (Pas-de-Calais) in 864–875. The local bishop's

name: St. Pol in *Saint-Pol-de-Léon* (Finistère) in 869–870. The (legendary) builder of the monument: St. Benezet in *Pont-Saint-Benezet* in Avignon (Vaucluse) in 1307. The place name of the saint's birth: St. Bénilde in *Rue Saint-Bénilde* in Thuret (Puy-de-Dôme) in the 20th century. The name of the saint whose cult is connected to a spring on this site: St. Claire in *Fontaine de Sainte-Claire* in Mont (Saône-et-Loire) in 1757. The name of the patron saint of the abbey or priory there: St. Michael in *Saint-Mihiel* (Meuse) in 756. The name of the patron saint of the church there: St. Menehould in *Sainte-Menehould* (Marne) in 1148. The name of the patron saint of a religious institution: St. John the Baptist in *Saint-Jean-de-Marsacq* (Landes) in the 12th century. The name of the patron saint of the parish (but not the church): St. Julien in *Saint-Julien-du-Verdon* (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) in 1300. The abbey or priory on whose name the place depends: Saint-Remi of Reims in *Saint-Remy-de-Provence* (Bouches-du-Rhône) in 966. Other motivations, in far fewer cases, can still be found according to the medieval and modern literature.

For the syntagmatic names, the oldest motivation is the formation on the abbey, priory or church name on which the place depends: Saint-Pierre de Mâcon in *Grange Saint-Pierre* (Saône-et-Loire), attested as *Aream Sancti Petri* in 827–926 (RIGAULT 2008: 354). Place names are also names formed from locally born saints, St. Bernard of Menthon gives us *Menthon-Saint-Bernard* (Haute-Savoie), so called since 1943. Saints who died in the locality, such as St. Andéol in *Bourg-Saint-Andéol* (Ardèche) in 1368. The local bishop: St. Corentin in *Quimper-Corentin* (Finistère) in 1085. The patron saint of a religious institution at that site: St. Mary in *Moustiers-Sainte-Marie* (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) in 1847. However, most of these names are formed from a place name in *Saint-X*, a nearby town name; e.g. the merger of two towns as *Boisset-Saint-Priest* (Loire) in 1801, or the merger of two communities before the creation of communes in 1790, as in *Alise Sainte Reine* (Côte-d'Or) in the 17th century. We can also cite the city capital of the canton (one purpose of distinguishing between homonyms), as in *Bretteville-Saint-Laurent* (Seine-Maritime) in 1856; a hamlet: *Beaumerie-Saint-Martin* (Pas-de-Calais) before 1818; a castle: *Laval-Saint-Roman* (Gard) in 1778–1779; a wood: *Villiers-Saint-Frédéric* (Yvelines) in 1801; or a local mountain: *Plan-d'Aups-Sainte-Baume* (Var) in 1993.

In syntagmatic names, adding a name to *Saint-X* has as its principal aim the distinction between two homonyms, within the same diocese before 1789, in the same department from 1790, or even within the whole French territory. Thus, on the 9th of September 1847 the Postmaster General asked the town of Moustiers (at the time in the Basses-Alpes) to change its name to distinguish it from Mouthier (in Doubs), suggesting the *-Fountains* suffix because of its water or *-Saint-Beauvezer* because of a neighbouring chapel; on October the 24th the city decided to add *Sainte-Marie* to its name—the former monastery

which was at the origin of the city name *(monasterium > Moustiers)* (cf. Le Magasin pittoresque 34 [1866]: 238).

A few linguistic processes have served over the centuries to form hagiotoponyms. They can all be dated to the 5–7th centuries. Apparently the oldest and most common is metonymy: *ecclesia sancti Nazarii > Saint-Nazaire*. In any case, that is the earliest attested: the short testament of St. Remi mentions, before 533, the *villam Sancti Stephani* which became *Saint-Étienne-sur-Suippe* (Marne) (STRATMANN 1998: 100). In the same period appear the first names coming from derivatives and compounds. The only process used later to form hagiotoponyms is remotivation: for example *Santollam* (in 1119) is interpreted as *Sancte Olle villam* in 1144, now *Sainte-Olle* (Nord), and it does not correspond to any known saint name (POULET 1997: 107).

2. The first hagiotoponyms that appear in the documentation must be dated earlier than 533, during the drafting of the short testament of St. Remi, archbishop of Reims. The creation by metonymy of place names in *Sanctus* begins most likely around the year 500. The baptism of the Frankish king, Clovis, on December 25th between 496 and 509, by the archbishop led to the increased Christianization of cities especially rural areas.

The study of current etymons of French communes' names suggests that only about 1% of names with roots going back with near certainty to a period prior to the 8th century are based on a saint's name. In the early 19th century, approximately 15% of names of all communes formed between Antiquity and 1800 were based on a saint's name. This difference came about during the Middle Ages, the most productive period being between the 10th and the 13th centuries: the foundation of new parishes resulted in new names; the renaming of former parishes resulted at times in the choice of a hagiotoponym. This is proved by texts of the 9th to 13th centuries (mostly during the 11–13th centuries) and the phenomenon is considerably rarer thereafter. This trend is symptomatic of an era when religion took precedence over politics: more religious buildings were constructed in both cities and the countryside, and the change of name may have come from the *vox populi*, or from a decision of the clergy or a lay lord, or else the lay people who managed cities (mayors, councils, consuls, etc.).

From the 14th century, the creation of new parishes became very rare: toponymic creations too. While some parishes continued to be created until the 1990s in the larger cities, without causing the birth of new municipalities, the latest creation of a parish that has led to the creation of a new municipality concerns the parish Saint-Joseph, built by order of January 14th 1857 with his new church in the rural village of Brix, in the territory of the parishes of Brix and Tamerville. An Act of April 9th 1929 erected a new municipality, *Saint-Joseph*, whose territory covered a portion of those of Brix, Tamerville, Négreville and Valognes (Manche).

However, the name changes that affect cities and towns are not only more rare, but mostly do not favour more hagiotoponyms. The last case concerns the municipality of *Sainte-Eugénie-de-Villeneuve* (Haute-Loire): following the merger of the village called *Fix-Bas* with the municipality called *Fix-Saint-Genès*, the commune's *Fix-Villeneuve* was replaced by that of *Villeneuve* under an Act of May 29th 1858, and was then called *Sainte-Eugénie-de-Villeneuve* by a decree of 1860 (CHASSAING–JACOTIN 1907: 249–250). This name change is obviously due to the gratitude from the municipality to Emperor Napoléon III who chose to give the village the patron saint's name of his wife, Eugénie. There is no parish here, but only the appearance of a speedy beatification by the *vox populi.*

3. The spread of hagiotoponyms in the whole territory is due to several factors. One of these is pilgrimage. King Louis VII, on his return from St-Jacques de Compostela, went to Saint-Sernin at Toulouse in 1155 and afterwards founded a chapel dedicated to St. Sernin in his castle of Fontainebleau (Seine-et-Marne) (VOLAT 1996: 80–81). In Gascony in particular, the pilgrim routes to St-Jacques are dotted with place names such as *Sainte-Eulalie* referring to St. Eulalie of Merida (HIGOUNET 1958: 112).

The road, apart from any pilgrimage, is another way to spread the cult of a saint: places named *Sainte-Radegonde*, in Merovingian Aquitaine, were clearly located on or near major pathways (HIGOUNET 1953: 164). It is the same for the places named *Saint-Maurice*, in the Merovingian Limousin (AUBRUN 1981: 263–264).

Rivers and streams are means of conveying sacred relics, especially in times of invasion. This is the case of the relics of St. Émilien, bishop of Nantes in the 4th century, whose name is found in *Saint-Émilien* near Nantes (Loire-Atlantique), and who sailed up the Loire and skirted the Morvan to be sheltered in Autun, hence the names *Saint-Émiland* near Tonnerre (Yonne) and near Autun (Saône-et-Loire).

Roads are another way to convey relics. Thus those of St. Fauste, an Eastern martyr of the 4th century, reacheding Vic-Fezensac (Gers) in the 8th century, hence the parish name of *Sainte-Fauste* a few kilometers away. In 864 monks of Solignac transported them to Brivezac (Corrèze), whose church was once dedicated to this saint, hence the name *Sainte-Fortunade* (Latin *fausta* and *fortunata* means 'happy') given to a parish a few miles away and dedicated to St. Martial a long time ago, becoming *parrochia Sanctae Fortunatae* in 894 (AUBRUN 1981: 331). In 1237 the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of La Prée in Ségry (Indre) sought authorization to commemorate the saint's memory and in 1247 the relics were finally transferred to La Prée (LEMAÎTRE 1985 [1987]: 117), hence the parish name of *Sainte-Fauste* formerly named *La Ferté*, a few miles away.

The creation of new settlements often led to the foundation of a church and a new parish entity (cf. MORINEAU 1986: 288). In some areas of medieval dioceses, hagiotoponyms are more numerous than in others. Thus, in the diocese of Béziers (Hérault), one village out of two on the heights of the Causses bears a saint's name, but only one out of fifteen on the plain (BOURIN 1990: 35). This phenomenon is repeated across France, but in very different proportions depending on the area. The large density of these hagiotoponyms is very often due to a high density of parishes: the many parishes come from the division of larger, earlier parishes bearing a name formed before the 8th century; this division was mostly performed between the 8th and the 12th centuries. On the periphery of the diocese of Périgueux (Dordogne), the Merovingian parish of Vieux-Mareuil was dismembered during the Carolingian period, during which time three new parishes were named *Saint-Pardoux, Saint-Priest* and *Saint-Sulpice* (HIGOUNET-NADAL 1983: 58).

It is noteworthy that this phenomenon is far more important on the periphery of old dioceses than within their territories: zones of high hagiotoponymy reflect areas where the Church influence was made later. Typical of Episcopal wills are parishes named *Saint-Étienne* in the diocese of Uzès (Gard), where the cathedral is dedicated to St. Étienne; *Saint-Julien* in the diocese of Le Mans (Sarthe), whose cathedral is dedicated to St. Julien; *Saint-Maurice* in the diocese of Angers (Maine-et-Loire), whose cathedral is dedicated to St. Maurice; *Saint-Privat* in the diocese of Mende (Lozère), whose cathedral is dedicated to St. Privat; *Saint-Étienne* in the diocese of Cahors (Lot), whose cathedral is dedicated to St. Étienne. Such churches were named during the 10th century or around the year 1000: because of such names in the diocese of Uzès (Gard), and of the patron saint change in the cathedral of Le Mans dedicated to Sts Gervais and Protais before the 10th century. Similarly, it is undisputed that most parishes and other places named *Sainte-Colombe* are limiting to dioceses before the 14th century: it appears that his cult was especially developed from the mid-7th century (TERRIEN 2007: 131) for the new foundation of parishes during the 7–8th centuries.

These different modes of religious propagation and the different hagiotoponymic motivations have undoubtedly affected the saints' name distribution throughout the territory. Notwithstanding, there are regional patterns that can be observed.

In Breton Brittany, a little over 52% of communes' names are based on a saint's name: it is the highest rate in France. About 65% of them are compounds whose first element is an Old Breton word, the most frequent are *plou* 'parish', *lann* 'hermitage', *treff* 'village' and *lok* 'sacred place'. Place names formed on these common nouns were created around the 8th century, those based on *lok* around the 11th century and after. At the origin of these formations

are group migrations from the island Britannia (modern Great Britain) led by monks and other clerics that the local population, once installed in Brittany, treated like saints. The population evinced a religious cult, giving names to the primitive churches, which later became parish and village names.

By contrast, Alsace, with just under 3% of communes' names based on a saint's name, has the lowest percentage in France. It seems that the main reason is the tight networking of villages which existed in the 8th century, preventing a more or less massive creation of parishes later. Here, the earliest attested names are formed solely on the saint's name (e.g. *Ostwald* and *Walburg* in the Bas-Rhin), or a compound (in 720: *Loewatzell* > *Marmoutier*, Bas-Rhin), in the 8th century. The few compounds in *domnus* go back to this period. The first syntagm in *sanctus* is attested in the 9th century (*Saint-Hippolyte*, Haut-Rhin), replacing an older name for the parish church name.

Similarly, the Pyrenean foothills from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean contain very few communes' names based on saints' names. An examination of these municipal areas, related to the historical records, suggests that such parishes were established later, after the break-up of existing parishes. In the department of Pyrénées-Orientales, where Carolingian documentation is very abundant, parishes founded during this period are numerous, but only the parishes of prior origin remain as matrices, and managed to survive until the end of the Ancien Régime, while most of the Carolingian parishes disappeared during the late Middle Ages, following the destruction of churches or the loss of their parish status.

The mountainous centre of France, that is to say the Massif Central, concentrates the largest proportion of communes' names based on saints' names, between 14 and 30%. The process that led to such developments can be found in the reading of a polyptych from the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens (first half of the 9th century), which lists the domains owned by the abbey in the mountainous area at the edge of the current departments of Cantal and Corrèze, at the time the dioceses of Clermont and Limoges (ROUCHE 1993). Of the 132 domains, 25% refer to an *ecclesia* or *capella* with his dedication and nearly a third of these churches gave their names to the villages where they are located. These places are located in mid-mountain countries around ancient Gallo-Roman areas; the polyptych provides evidence that these mountains were won by the parishes' dismemberment before the 9th century (FOURNIER 1962: 120–121). Similar trends are found in most areas more or less mountainous and (then) forested of the Massif Central, including Limousin. The parish network of the 18th century seems to have been established quite early in these areas.

The countries of western France, from Gironde to Haute-Normandie included, are experiencing a similar widespread distribution of communes' names based

on saints' names, between 16 and 29%. In the region of Entre-Deux-Mers, that is to say between the river Dordogne and Gironde, almost 30% of these names are thus formed, but much later than in the Massif Central: third designating parishes established before the 9th century, more than half of the parishes established between the 11th and the 13th century (FARAVEL 1991). It seems that in other areas of these countries, the phenomenon is identical during the same periods, due to the break-up of existing parishes, creation of new parishes by clearing (relatively frequent in Normandy, for example; BEAUREPAIRE 1981: 36), replacing the old names. However, we must not generalize: in the Charente region, for example, "the parish organization is almost entirely up to the end of the Merovingian period " (DEBORD 1984: 36), that is to say that very few hagiotoponyms are formed after the year 1000.

The regions of eastern and northern France, unlike other areas, have a relatively low presence of communes' names based on saints' names. The reason seems to be the same almost everywhere: the parish system was established before the 11th century, and few new parishes which appeared later bore a saint's name. As a basis for this we can take the example of the diocese of Autun, through its oldest pouillés (LONGNON 1904: 63ff.), one from the 11th century, the other before 1312. The oldest pouillé is incomplete, damaged by the bookbinder and age. However, its data are useful in determining a small increase in the number of parishes, and the number of hagiotoponyms is very low. This is related to two factors: the increasing number of parishes on the one hand, and the replacement with the parish church names of original place names (Gallo-Roman) on the other. In addition, many of the current hagiotoponyms replaced the original places names only during the 14–15th centuries.

We do not know the reason why, in the 10th century, the proportion of parishes named after a saint varies so much area by area. We saw above many arguments based on local and ecclesiastical history. Further arguments have been advanced concerning agricultural history (LEROY-LADURIE 1983), and strongly rejected by the relevant historians (see MORINEAU 1986). An argument of geo-historical order has so far not been invoked: the areas of France where hagiotoponymy is weaker belong to Lotharingie after the division of the Frankish Empire in 843. It may be reasonable to expect that the movement to create new parishes was sharply reduced in this vast territory from the 9th century, thus preventing a possible increase in the number of hagiotoponyms.

4. The hagiotoponyms appear in different forms. The simple form is neither more frequent nor the oldest, apparently. The first example is attested in Alsace in 713: *Laurentio* > *Lorentzen* (Bas-Rhin). The church dedicated to St. Laurent leaves no doubt about the interpretation of the name. Bearing in mind that the names of places formed on the simple patron saint name appeared very early in the sources, either in simple form, derived or compounded, that such a

formation is common especially in Brittany where hagiotoponyms are both early and frequent, and that this tradition has continued even during the Middle Ages until today (cf. on the one hand the many places named *Madelaine,* on the other hand many cases of hesitation between employment and absence of *Saint-* from the Middle Ages to the 19th century, both in the parishes and localities names), it is clear that we need to consider place names not preceded by *Sanctus-* ~ *Saint-* as popular forms, names preceded by *Sanctus-* ~ *Saint-* as forms produced by various ecclesiastical authorities.

The simple forms can also appear feminized: in the 11th century for *Albanne* (Savoie) < St. *Albanus.*

One gender and number change is notable, only attested in the early 14th century for *Lauresses* (Lot) < St. *Laurentius;* it is surely more ancient (FONT-RÉAULX 1961: 451).

The derivative forms are apparently the oldest and are characteristic of the 5–7th centuries.

With the Latin suffix *-anum,* typical of southern areas between the 2th and 5th centuries, *Martian* (Gers) formed on the name of St. *Martinus* (died in 397). The site is located in a vast area where the Latin suffix is more present in the ancient names than the suffix *-acum.*

With the Latin suffix *-acum* of Gallic origin, but which was used to form names between the 1st century B.C. and the 6th century, *Générac* (Gironde) formed on the name of St. *Genesius* (died in c. 303), or *Pédernec* (Côtes-d'Armor) on the Welsh name of St. *Paterne* (5–6th centuries). The suffix is one of the oldest in French toponymy, but spread over an expansion more or less depending on the area.

The suffix *-iacum,* a late variant from *-acum,* was commonly used in names formed principally during the 5–6th centuries, e.g. *Martigny* (Aisne, Calvados, Manche, Seine-Maritime) formed on the name of St. *Martinus.* About fifteen communes' names have undoubtedly been formed in this way, where the parish saint patron is identical to the place name eponym. Its use is more common in the North than in the South of France, and is characterized by a radical often of Germanic origin: a common noun or a personal name.

The Latin suffix *-anicum,* already used in classical Latin to form adjectives on country names, was used only during the 5–6th centuries in the French toponymic nomenclature, e.g. *Martignargues* (Gard) formed on the name of St. *Martinus.* This suffix use is characteristic of the Massif Central and especially its eastern part from North to South.

The Germanic suffix *-ing,* was probably in use from the 5th century in Gaul, e.g. *Welferding* (Moselle) formed on the name of St. *Walfridus;* its late attestation

(*Welfertingen* in 1508), subsequent to *S. Walfredo* in 1221 (HIEGEL–HIEGEL 1986: 368) in regular use until the 16th century, could be considered most certainly as a very late reconstruction on a toponymic suffix well known in the area. This suffix was indeed used to form, from the fall of the Roman Empire, many place names throughout the quarter eastern France especially, and particularly in Germanic Lorraine and Alsace.

The oldest compounded forms during the 5–7th centuries all have the distinction of not using the epithet *sanctus* or *dominus* (or even *beatus*).

The Latin *villa* 'domain' > 'village', wherever it was used in composition in names during the Middle Ages, is difficult to date precisely in the absence of firm data; we can cite as an example, *Marteville* (Aisne) formed on the name of St. *Martinus.*

The medieval Latin *curtis* 'enclosure' > 'domain' > 'village', wherever used in composition in names during the High Middle Ages alone (5–8th centuries), created a few names, of which we can cite *Martincourt* (Oise) formed on the name of St. *Martinus.* This is particularly characteristic of the northern part of France through its high frequency, but is not absent from the South either.

The Frankish *heim* 'dwelling, home', used in composition from the 7th century, gives us a few names, e.g. *Lorentzen* (Bas-Rhin), attested *in Loranzenheim* in 746 (BISCH–MULLER-ZEIGER 1995: II, 30), formed on the name of St. *Laurentius.* This is particularly characteristic of Alsace and Germanic Lorraine.

The Latin *cella* 'cellule; monastery', commonly used in composition (but more often in a syntagm) likely from the 7th century, hence the old name of Marmoutier *Loewatzell* in 720 (translation from Latin **Leopardi cella*). With a saint or founder name (whether abbot or not), this type is quite common all over France during the High Middle Ages.

A little later, from the 7–8th centuries, other compounds appeared formed on other common nouns: some belong to the religious vocabulary, such as *altare* 'altar', *atrium* 'churchyard; burial-place', *capella* 'chapel', *crux* 'cross', *ecclesia* 'church', *hospitale* 'hospital', *monasterium* 'monastery; church (Eastern)', *oratorium* 'oratory; chapel' and the others to topographic vocabulary such as *mons* 'height; castle', *pons* 'bridge', *rocca* 'height; castle', *vallis* 'valley'. All the compound names formed until the 10th century have the distinction of not using the epithet *sanctus* or *dominus* (or even *beatus*); when they are first attested in a syntagmatic form, the epithet may appear before the year 1000. After that, the use as an epithet dominates.

It is notable that place names formed on *Domnus* + hagionym are all compounds, e.g. *Dommartin;* that those formed on *Sanctus* + hagionym are nearly all syntagms, such as *Saint-Martin.* There are a few exceptions, especially notable in Berry since the 11th century, such as *Sancerre* (Cher) < *castrum*

Sancti Satyri (BOYER–LATOUCHE 1926: 326), where *Saint* is no longer recognizable because it is phonetically and graphically advanced. In addition, when place names are themselves used as determinants, those with *Domnus* are systematically compounds such as *Domartemont* (Meurthe-et-Moselle), while those with *Sanctus* are almost all syntagms, such as *Mont-Saint-Martin* (Meurthe-et-Moselle), except in rare instances in the East of France, e.g. *Saint Pieremont* in 1144–1145, now *Saint-Pierremont* (Vosges) (MARICHAL 1941: 393).

Latin texts throughout the Middle Ages used three epithets before a saint's name derived from ecclesiastical vocabulary (*ecclesia, basilica, capella, oratorium,* etc.), in order of decreasing frequency: *sanctus, domnus* and *beatus* (DELEHAYE 1927: 24–69). This is relatively frequent in a lexical sequence, it is very rare in a toponymic one such as *porta Beati Eparchii* in 769 in Angoulême (Charente) (LEFRANCQ 1930: n° 31). Well represented in the Latin forms of place names until the mid-18th century, it has left no trace in current names.

The epithet *domnus* has already been well studied (AEBISCHER 1936). From the 5th to the 8th century, the contracted form of *dominus* was usually used before a saint's name as an honorific, i.e. '(my) lord'. Whereas previously the charters and authors used *domnus* after *basilica* only in the expression *basilica sancti domni X* 'basilica of the holy Lord X', in the acts of the Council of Paris (in 573) the expression *domni basilica Petri* (in Paris) appears (CLERCQ 1963: 215), where *domnus* now means the same thing as *sanctus* 'holy'. In toponymy, *domnus* appears the century after: *Domnofronte* in 675 to designate *Domfront* in Maine (BOUCHARD 2004: n° 1). In vocabulary, after the year 1000, *domnus* is hardly in use before abbots' names and sometimes has its old sense of 'lord'; cf. *Villar-Saint-Anselme* (Aude) 1319: *de Vilario,* 1351: *de Vilari Domini Ancelli,* 1571: *le villa de Moussen Anssel,* 1706: *le Vila Saint Anselme;* where Old Occitan *moussen* means 'my lord' (SABARTHÈS 1912: 470). In toponymy, there are only rare examples after the year 1000 with *Domnus* used as an alternative to *Sanctus* in place names: this is the case of *Villiers-Saint-Georges* (Seine-et-Marne): *Vilers Dangeorge* in 1249, *Villers Saint George* in 1497 (STEIN–HUBERT 1954: 573). In Latin name forms, *Domnus* is not always agglutinated with the saint's name; in the French forms, on the contrary, it still is. *Domnus* place names are widespread only in the northern half of France, with the highest frequency in the East. Their distribution corresponds to historical data: tokens are almost absent from Brittany, Aquitaine, absent from Septimania and Provence, however, they are present in Neustria, Austrasia and Burgundy. Clearly, this distribution suggests that, in essence, it predates the mid-8th century, that is to say, before the rise in Frankish power in the western and southern provinces won by Charles Martel.

The epithet *sanctus,* which appeared in place names from the 6th century, is rarely used in the case of names in *Domnus,* if these are not of great antiquity; e.g. *Dommartin-le-Saint-Père* (Haute-Marne) was *capella Sancti Martini* in 857, then *Domnus Martinus* in 1263 (ROSEROT 1903: 59). The reverse situation also occurs for *Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray* (Saône-et-Loire), which was *oratorium Domni Leodegarii = oratorium Sancti Leodegarii* in 696 (DÉLÉAGE 1936: n° 1). The use of the epithet has continued in vocabulary and toponymy, whether in Latin or in vernacular languages, to this day. Its use is unstable in the written names because it often fails in oral use: thus in Brittany, in many place names beginning with *Saint-,* Breton people pronounce only the simple saint's name: *Saint-Barthélemy* is pronounced *Bertelame* in local Breton (VALLERIE 1995: 182). The distribution of *Saint-* names in the French territory is due to geo-historical (see above at the end of the part 3) and historic-linguistic motivation (such formations in Breton Brittany start to become numerous only from the 10th century).

5. Hagiotoponyms have undergone many changes over the long term that can be classified according to linguistic terminology as phonetic, morphological, syntactic, semantic or onomastic changes.

Phonetic changes. Many are those related to changing the saint's name inside syntagms like *Saint-Yorre* (Allier) and compounds like *Dangeul* (Sarthe), both formed on the name *Georgius.* Such a change may also affect the first element *Sanctus,* from lexical origin, which may result in syntagms in *Sanch-* by deglutination (1292: *Sancti Yleri* > 1270: *Sanchele* > 1437: *Saint Chile* > *Saint-Chély-du-Tarn,* Lozère; BRUNEL 1925: 95), or in *t-* by wrong segmentation (c. 1200: *Sanctum Errehaudum* > 1427: *Saint Terrehault* > 17th century: *Terre Haute* > *Terrehault,* Sarthe; VALLÉE–LATOUCHE 1952: 887); in compounds in *San-* (1034: *castrum Sancti Satyri* > *Sancerre,* Cher; BOYER–LATOUCHE 1926: 326), even denasalized *Se-* (1438: *capella S. Maximi, St. Mesme* > *Semème,* Mayenne; BESZARD 1910: 246). Some phonetic changes require research on the medieval forms to find the true etymon. Such a change may also affect the saint's name in a compound, such as denasalized *Samer* (Pas-de-Calais) from *Sanctus Ulmarus* in 1112 (LOISNE 1907: 352).

Morphological changes. The distinctive hagiotoponymic feature is volatile: *Saint-Pol-de-Léon* (Finistère) is attested as *oppidum Pauli = oppidum Sancti Paulinanni* in c. 869–870 (VALLERIE 1995: 206). On the contrary, *Sixt-sur-Aff* (Ille-et-Vilaine) is attested as *Siz* in 848 and *plebe Sancti Sixti martiris* in 1037 (COURSON 1863: n° CVI and CCCXXX). We can also note the unusual absence of *sanctus* in the church name: *aecclesia Sixti martiris* in 879 (n° CCI). This hesitation in using *Saint-* or not continued in parish names until the 18th century, and in locality names into the 20th century.

Compound formation from a common noun is attested very early: *Loewatzell* in 720. Such a toponymic formation is characteristic of the High Middle Ages: after the year 1000 syntagms took over, such as *La Celle-Saint-Avant* (Indre-et-Loire), *Cella Sancti Adventi* c. 1089 (CARRÉ DE BUSSEROLLE 1879: II, 52).

The composition of a hagiotoponym based on an existing place name is rare but well documented: *Chaer* in 856 becomes *Loc Maria Kaer* in 1082 and *Loumariaker* in 1548, finally *Locmariaquer* (Morbihan) (VALLERIE 1995: 104). However, the process is much more common with syntagms: for example *Fontaine-Notre-Dame* (Aisne) 955: *Fontana* > 1276: *territorio Fontanis Beate Marie* (MALSY 1999: 419).

Some place names show the popular hypocoristic use of the saint's name: *Domprot* (1145: *Damperet,* Marne; LONGNON 1891: 90), *Saint-Bresson* (1144: *de Sancto Bricio* > 1275: *de Sancto Brecone,* Haute-Saône; La Haute-Saône 150). This phenomenon does not appear earlier than the 12th century. It can lead to confusion between two saints: the church of *Saint-Antonin* (Alpes-Maritimes), place named *Sanct Antolin* c. 1200 (COMPAN 1995: 59), is in fact dedicated to St. Antoine of Lérins celebrated on December 28th and not St. Antonin celebrated on September 2nd.

Syntactic changes. Relatively many instances have both members of the hagiotoponymic syntagm reversed in time, the determiner becomes the determined, and vice versa: *La Chapelle-Montlinard* (Cher) is *Mons Linardi de Capella* in 1106, then *villa Capella de Molinart* in 1256 (BOYER–LATOUCHE 1926: 91). This phenomenon has lasted until today: *Saint Martin de Cande* in 1479 became *Candes-Saint-Martin* in 1949, a famous place where St. Martin died. We can note that the trend has been very strong since the early 19th century to put the hagiotoponym determiner after the determined toponym: the reason is probably the desire to emphasize the secular name in front of the clearly religious name. It is neither a clean rejection from religious place names (names in *Saint-* would have been deleted) nor a clean membership (they would have been left at the head of the syntagms), but a willingness to create uniformity on a given type, clearly inherited from the revolutionary period. Most of these syntactic changes occurred before 1837 when a law fixed the formal name change of communes (MOTTE et al. 2003: 32).

Semantic changes. Hagiotoponyms have undergone a renewed motivation. Thus, *Saint Mars* in 1301 was renewed as *Cinq Mars* in 1547, today *Cinq-Mars-la-Pile* (Indre-et-Loire) (CARRÉ DE BUSSEROLLE 1882: IV, 196): this process was facilitated by the fact that *saint* and *cinq* 'five' are homophones before a consonant. Sometimes place names have been renewed in hagiotoponyms: among them, *Quinque Casae* c. 1050 was renewed as *Saint Chaize* in 1626, today *Saint-Chaise* (Eure-et-Loire) (MERLET 1861: 162; cf. also **Cinquatia* > 1287: *Sana Casa* 'good home' > 1334: *Saint Caise* > today: *Saincaize*

(Nièvre); SOULTRAIT 1865: 163). Homophony of *cinq* and *saint* is still the reason why. Notwithstanding, the oldest remotivation is the Old High German translation of a Latin hagionym: *Loewatzell* in 720 ('monastery of the lion') that translates the Latin **Leopardi cella* ('monastery of St. Léopard'), today Marmoutier (Bas-Rhin).

Onomastic changes. They concern the saint's name itself. In many parishes, the arrival of new relics in a church or some other event may cause a change to the church's patron saint. The parish then retains its former one, and the church gets the new one. Thus *Sanctus Hilarius de Cuneo* in 1179 became *S. Fiacrius de Cognio* in 1574, now *Saint-Fiacre* (Loire-Atlantique) (QUILGARS 1906: 253). The patron saint change of the eponymous abbey can also lead to a place name change: e.g. the dependency of the abbey of Saint-Ouen in Rouen—the place is called *Crux Sancti Audoeni* in 844 but *Crux Sancti Leufredi* in 1198 in St. Leufroy's memory, founder of the monastery, hence the current name *La Croix-Saint-Leufroy* (Eure) (BEAUREPAIRE 1981: 97). It is the same for the city of Saint-Claude (Jura): the monastery Saint-Oyend so dedicated during the 8th century gave its name to the city after the year 1000; but the pilgrimage to the relics of St. Claude led the change of the monastery's patron saint during the 13th century, which gave its new name to the city at the beginning of the 15th century. Throughout the 15th century, however, many documents again mention the name *Saint-Oyend* for both the abbey and the city. The late changes to churches' patron saints, however, affected very few place names, and the local churches ensured that the new saint's name was phonetically similar to that of the former: at *Charlemont* (Ardennes), *St. Charlemagne* was replaced by *St. Charles-Borromée* in 1858, and thus the town's name was not affected.

Among the changes, those that occurred during the French Revolution deserve a special mention (FIGUÈRES 1901). In 1793 and 1794, the National Convention and Popular Societies decide to make French society secular and republican in its entirety: institutions, religion, proper names, etc. So communes, districts and streets names were secularized, but so also were Christian names (after the revolutionary calendar instead of the Gregorian calendar) and some surnames. These changes continued for a greater or shorter time depending on the local fervour. Regarding the communes' names, Napoleon the 1st put a definitive end to the revolutionary experience. In some rare cases, the revolutionary name has been preserved like *Bellevue-la-Montagne* (Haute-Loire) (CHASSAING–JACOTIN 1907: 24), before 1793 called *Saint-Just-près-Chomelix* and again from 1795 to 1896 when a decree at the municipality's request returned its revolutionary name; the other French commune which was given the same name in 1793 quickly regained its prior name of *Saint-Benezet-de-Cheyran* (Gard).

In each department of France, at least one name in *Saint-* was changed by the revolutionaries. However, this change was rarely systematic. Names in *Dom-* whose etymology was rarely understood, were hardly affected: *Dommartin* (Vosges) > *Martin-Libre*, but *Saint-Pierre-lès-Calais* (Pas-de-Calais) was replaced by *Dampierre-les-Dunes.*

As before, we present a few aspects of phonetic, morphological, syntactic, semantic, onomastic changes.

Phonetic changes. The French hagionym is replaced by its dialectal form with aphesis: *Saint-Hippolyte-de-Montaigu* (Gard) > *Polithe-Montaigu; Saint-Symphorien-lès-Charolles* (Saône-et-Loire) > *Phorien-lès-Charolles.* On the contrary, the dialectal hagionym is replaced by its French form: *Saint-Lary* (Haute-Garonne) > *Mont-Ilaire; Saint-Forgeot* (Saône-et-Loire) > *Ferréol.*

Morphological changes. The basic principle of revolutionary secularism is the abolition of *Saint(e)-* in place names: thus *Saint-Apollinaire* (Hautes-Alpes) > *Apollinaire.*

When the hagionym is retained, a common noun may be added as the determined: thus forming a compound, *Saint-Arnoult* (Cher) > *Arnoultval,* or *Saint-Médard* (Gers) > *Montmédard;* most often forming a new syntagm, *Saint-Martin-de-Renacas* (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) > *Mont-Martin.* Hagionyms rarely undergo apocopation: *Saint-Félicien* (Ardèche) > *Félisval.*

If the adjective is placed inside a toponymic syntagm, adjective and hagionym are generally removed, replaced by a proper name or a common noun, or by nothing at all. Rare are the exceptions, like *Le Bois-Sainte-Marie* (Saône-et-Loire) > *Bois-Marie.*

The hagionym may rarely undergo hypocoristic suffixation: *Saint-Christol* > *Christolet, Saint-Cyr* > *Ciran, Saint-Victor* > *Victoral* (all in Ardèche). The last form is based on a suffix borrowed from the vocabulary of the new revolutionary calendar: all the names of the months of spring end in *-al.*

The use of the suffix may also be intended solely to replace the hagionym by the common noun which corresponds to its adjectival etymon: *Saint-Clément* > *La Clémence* ‘mercy’ and *Saint-Félix* > *La Félicité* ‘bliss’, both in Charente-Maritime.

Syntactic changes. The determiner can become the determined, and vice versa: *Saint-Martin-des-Bois* (Loir-et-Cher) > *Bois-Martin; La Chapelle-Saint-Pierre* (Oise) > *Pierre-la-Montagne.*

Semantic changes. Hagiotoponyms are obviously the subject of renewed motivation. Thus, *Saint-Cyr* (Loir-et-Cher) became *Cinq-Bougies* (‘five candles’): a process facilitated by the fact that *saint* and *cinq* ‘five’ are homophones before a consonant, and *Cyr* homophonous with *cire* ‘wax’. In most cases, the renewed

motivation concerns the only hagionym: *Saint-Cierge* (Ardèche) > *Cireval* (*cierge* 'candle' > *cire* 'wax').

The use of translation aims to transform the hagionym into a well-known common noun: *Saint-Jal* (Corrèze) > *Coq-Hardy;* in Occitan from Limousin, *jal* means 'cock'.

Onomastic changes. The pun is the main vector for change in onomastics. Secularizing the names is not enough: it is time to mock religion. When the place name is taken in its entirety, *Saint-Dau* (Lot) becomes *Ceint-d'Eau* ('surrounded by water'), *Saint-Pience* (Manche) > *Sapience* ('wisdom'), *Saint-Genest* (Haute-Vienne) > *Sans-Préjugé* ('without prejudice': *Genest* has been interpreted *gêné* 'embarrassed'). When only the adjective *Saint-* is omitted, *Saint-Pierre-le-Vieux* (Saône-et-Loire) becomes *Pierre-Neuve* ('new stone'). When only the hagionym is targeted, *Saint-Bohaire* (Loir-et-Cher) becomes *Bien-Boire* ('drink well': *Bohaire* and *boire* are homophones), *Saint-Maur-des-Fossés* (Val-de-Marne) > *Vivant-sur-Seine* ('living': *Maur* and *mort* 'dead' are homophones) and *Saint-Bonnet* (Charente-Maritime, Corrèze, Saône-et-Loire) > *Bonnet-Rouge* ('red hat', a revolutionary symbol).

6. French hagiotoponymy now appears much more varied in time, space and linguistic structures than was previously assumed. The parallel study of parishes' and churches' patron saints is needed to better understand the various forms of these place names and their motivations. Each name has a particular history: it is a proper name. And by combining and comparing these specific stories we can draw a picture, even if imperfect, about patrociny settlement names.

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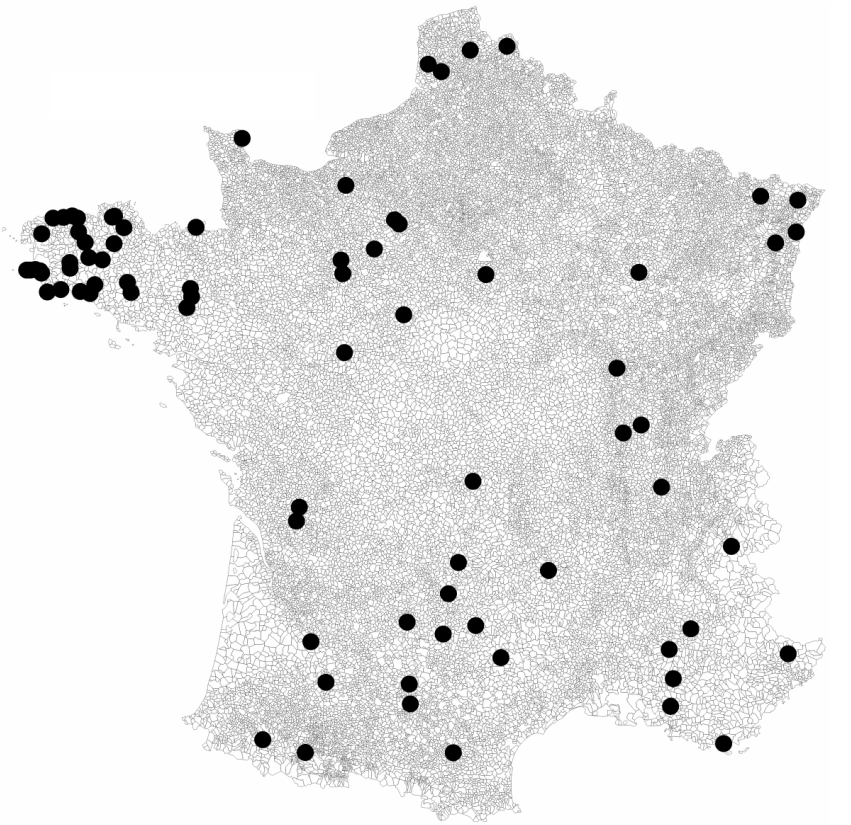
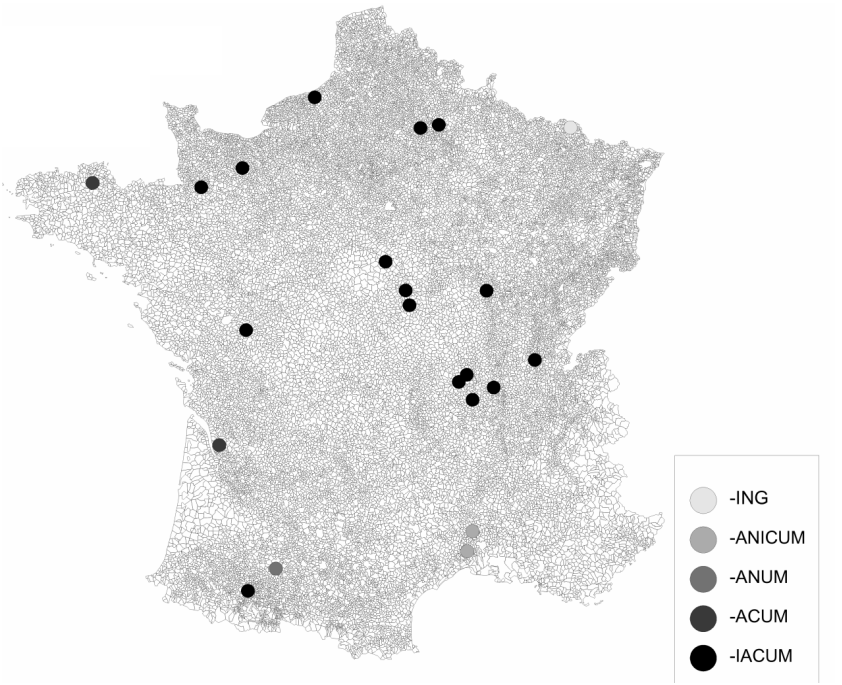
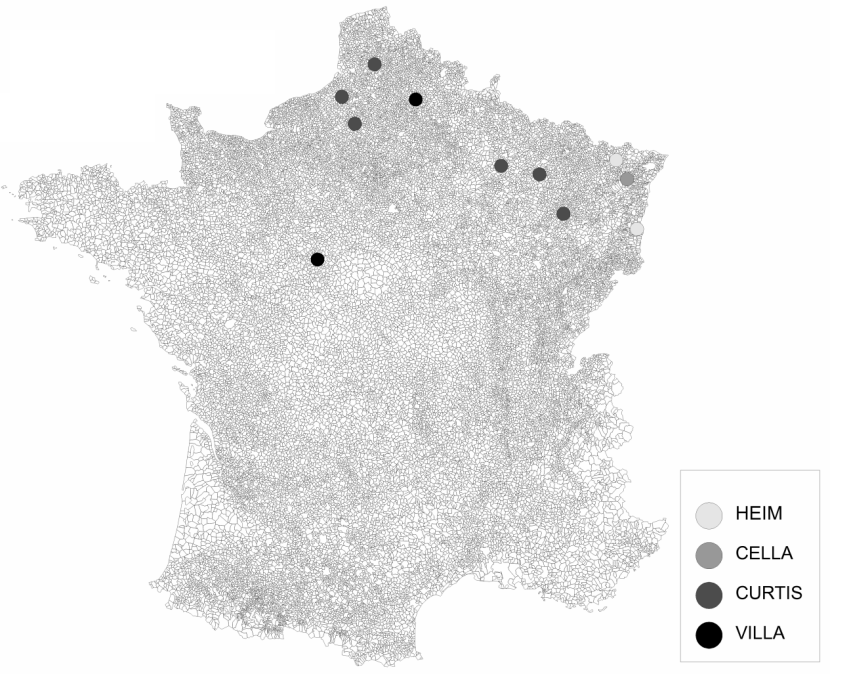


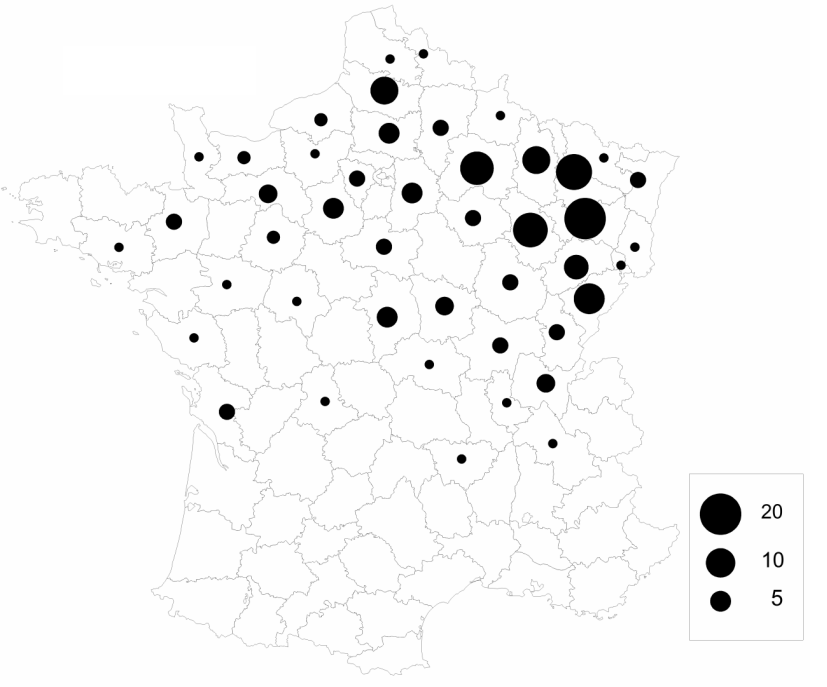
Map 1 *Simple names.*



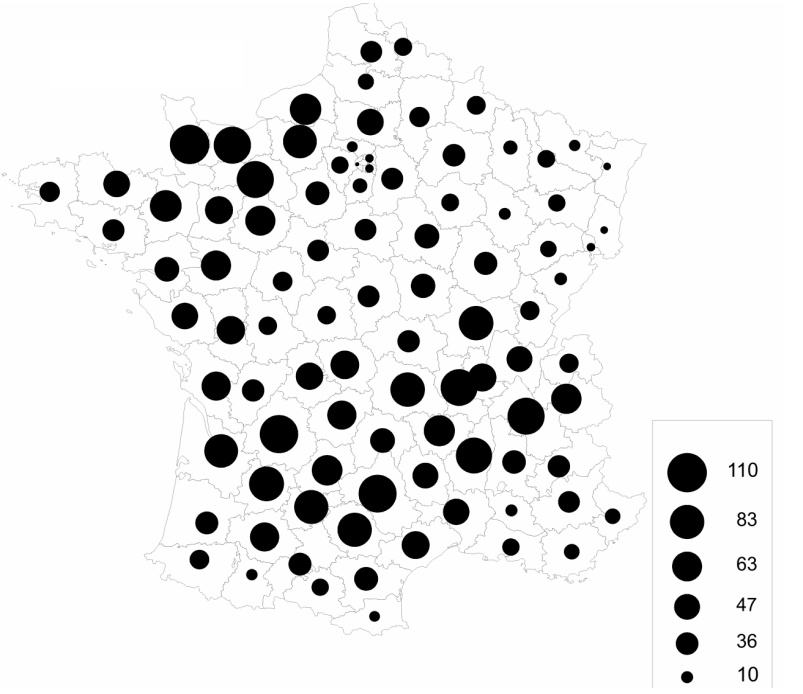
Map 2 *Derived names (5–7th centuries).*



Map 3 *Compound names (5–7th centuries).*



Map 4 *Domnus, -a.*



Map 5 *Sanctus, -a.*

Gérard Taverdet–Stéphane Gendron (Dijon–Tours, France)

*Patrociny Settlement Names in France**

"et monsieur le Curé
De quelque nouveau saint charge toujours son prône"
(La Fontaine, *Fables,* VIII, 2)

In France, the study of church dedications is often considered as a poor relation of broader toponymic studies. Indeed, in most manuals of toponymy, we find simply a brief sentence giving the biography of the eponymous saint. Thus, in the dictionary of DAUZAT, Saint Nicolas is accorded the following entry: Saint-Nicolas from Greek Nicolaos, bishop of Lycia, 4th century. We find out nothing about the circumstances which led to this figure from the region of Asia Minor giving his name to several villages in France. It is rather as if the researchers regretted having lost the pre-Christian name (linguistically doubtless much more fascinating) in favour of a name about which little information is available. Places of which we know the pre-Christian name (when, indeed, it existed) are quite rare. For example, in Saône-et-Loire, the village of Saint-Hippolyte was formerly *Actum Quiranda villa* (in 949), and in this we may be able to recognize the still older *Equiranda,* a Gallic word designating a ford, which has already spawned numerous papers, and which is in any case much more fascinating than the name of the saint, antipope and martyr, who was probably chosen at random by the monks of Cluny.

In defence of toponymists, we need to recognize just what a complex problem is presented by the history of places of worship. There are many uncertainties and even more name changes (some of which we shall explore later), and it is widely believed (and to a large exact true) that the choice of patron saints was very often arbitrary or down to passing fashion. It would be impossible in the present context to look at all the saints of France, and we shall limit ourselves to those who seem to us the most representative.

1. General facts

1.1. The dedication

The act of consecrating a church to a specific saint is its dedication *(dédicace).* This term, after undergoing a regular phonetic evolution, can be found in the North of France and in Walloon Belgium, with the meaning of 'patron saint's

* The translation of the study was made by Jeremy Parrott.

day', under the form *ducasse.*[1] There is in Burgundy (Bourgogne) a less well-known and isolated variant: *dicasse.* Additionally, there are various other words with rather less clear etymologies, for example *apport* (Central France), which probably does not refer to bringing temporary stalls to a country fair, but rather to bringing relics to a new church. We also know of an etymological debate concerning the word *vogue:* the name of the patron saint's day around Lyon.[2] The FEW (17, 606b) sees a Germanic root here, revolving around the idea of dancing, whereas PIERRE GUIRAUD has considered it as evolving from **(festa) votica*. However phonetically absurd this may appear,[3] it is semantically much more satisfactory than the other suggestions.

Such votive holidays are the cause for big celebrations, which these days have become completely secularized with funfairs and country dancing. However, in some villages, groups of musicians still go through the streets and stick posters representing the local saint on house doors.[4]

1.2. Place names

Numerous villages were named after the saint honoured by the church. The principal rule is for the name of the person to be preceded by the adjective *Saint-*, e.g. *Saint-Martin, Saint-Germain.* We can observe some rare cases of agglutination, such as *Sembadel* (instead of *Saint-Baudel*) in Haute-Loire, *Sancergues* (instead of *Saint-Cergues,* a popular form of *Saint-Cyr*) in the Cher, or even *Cintegabelle* (instead of *Ste-Gabelle*) in the Haute-Garonne. Next to this most general type, we also find the type *dominus* > *Dam-* or *Dom-*, especially before *Pierre* and *Martin,* from which *Dompierre*[5] and *Dommartin* are formed. Sometimes this occurs in the feminine before *Marie* (e.g. *Dannemarie* in Seine-et-Marne, *Dammarie* in Loiret). In the East of France, are more particularly in Lorraine, the list of *dom-* namings is quite substantial. In the county of Vosges we can note *Damas* 'Saint Médard', *Damblain* 'Saint Bénigne', *Dombasle* 'Saint Basile', *Dombrot* 'Saint Brice', *Domèvre* 'Saint Èvre', *Domjulien* 'Saint Julien', *Dommartin, Dompaire* 'Saint Pierre?' (even though the church is under the patronage of Saint Nicolas), *Dompierre, Domptail* 'Saint Étienne', in 1152: *Domnum Stephanum cum ecclesia* (a church dedicated to Saint Céline, then to Saint Pierre), *Domremy* 'Saint Rémy' (vil-

[1] This term appears in the usual dictionaries, such as "Petit Larousse".

[2] This term appears in the usual dictionaries, such as "Petit Larousse".

[3] Cf. "As a synonym of *fête votive, vogue* might in this context be considered as deriving from *votum* 'vow' (i.e. **votica*)" (GUIRAUD 1982: 523).

[4] These posters are generally printed in Épinal (Vosges); they always represent the same character, with the same prayer. Only the name varies.

[5] It seems that these names were not always well understood by users, whence some unlikely changes: e.g. *Dompierre-sur-Chalaronne* (Ain) was passed to Saint Georges's patronage.

lage of Joan of Arc), *Domvallier* 'Saint Vallier', *Denèvre* 'Saint Èvre' (from *aper*). Elsewhere we can note some obscure names, such as *Dannemoine* ('Yonne Saint Monique?') and *Domsure* ('Ain, Saint Théodore').[6] Phonetic evolution sometimes masks the name of the saint, such being the case with *Damas-aux-Bois* (Vosges), a church dedicated to Saint Médard.

Finally Saint Madeleine is rarely preceded by the adjective; we should not forget that this name was at originally an adjective. Thus we find *Madeleine* in North, near Lille. The same principle applies to the names of churches, giving us both the *Madeleine* of Paris and of Vézelay.[7] The phonetic variations of *saint* (sometimes *sant* in Franco-Provençal and in Occitan) are rarely retained in the official forms. However, we can increasingly hear the form *sant* in ethnic names. Thus the inhabitants of Saint-Germain-du-Bois (Saône-et-Loire) in the zone of *oïl* are known as *Sant-Germinois*, but these forms seem recent and are generally used by sports papers.

In Brittany, the names of the patron saints are not preceded by *saint*, except in gallicized names. The name of the saint is preceded by *loc* 'place' which indicates especially small parishes[8] (e.g. *Locronan* 'place of Saint Ronan', *Loperhet* 'place of Saint Brigitte', *Locquirec* 'place of Saint Guirec'); or even more frequently by *lan* 'sacred space' (e.g. *Landudal* 'Saint Dudal's sanctuary', *Lannédern* 'Saint Édern's sanctuary'); by *plou* 'parish, church which can offer baptism' (from Latin *plebs*): *Ploudaniel* 'Saint Daniel's church', *Plougoulm* 'Saint Colomb's or Saint Colomban's church', *Ploéven* 'Saint Even's church' (Finistère). Also of note is a settlement in Mayenne (in the *gallo* zone, French of oïl) by the name of *Landivy*, in which we may discern *Lan-david* 'Saint David', a well-known Welsh saint already cited by Chrétien de Troyes in the 13th century.[9] This interpretation would allow us to conjecture that there were Breton settlements to the East of the generally recognized line.

The name of the saint appears mostly as the sole element of the place name (e.g. *Saint-Étienne*, Loire). In case of there being a risk of homonymy, espe-

[6] The church is indeed under the protection of this saint (1325: *Donezuerro*). This is plausibly related to the bishop of Sion (Swiss Valais) who fabricated the relics of Saint Maurice. This isolated worship would seem to show an ancient spiritual community between the districts of ancient Savoy.

[7] We could add the mysterious (and unique) *Nompatelize* (Vosges) where the ancient forms allow us to identify a *Saint Neorpaldus*, a saint unrecorded elsewhere.

[8] We shall use the terms of parishes *(paroisses)* and municipalities *(communes)*. In rural areas, parishes constituted the basic administrative unit until 1790. Then, as a result of the secularization of the administration, we can speak about municipalities, but the territories themselves did not change. In urban zones, cities were generally divided into several parishes.

[9] See Chrétien de Troyes, *Conte du Graal*, v. 4114; *par mon seignor saint Davi//Que l'an aore et prie an Gales.*

cially for toponyms in the same county, the authorities added a second element (*Saint-Bérain-sur-Dheune* and *Saint-Berain-sous-Sanvignes*, Saône-et-Loire). Less often, when the main name is too widespread, we can add the name of the saint of the parish (e.g. *Magny*, Côte-d'Or, became from the 13th century *Magny-Saint-Médard* because there were seven parishes of the same name in the region).[10] The name of the saint can also enable us to differentiate between two nearby parishes which were separated by a county border. This is the case of *Tournon-Saint-Pierre* (Indre-et-Loire) and *Tournon-Saint-Martin* (Indre), formerly a single village.

2. An attempt at establishing a chronology

It is the historian MICHEL ROBLIN whom we must thank for throwing light on questions raised by these hagionyms. In his thesis (ROBLIN 1971) and in numerous papers, he was able show the wealth of information that could be extracted from the names of the saints to which churches were dedicated. It is not only a matter of taking into account names of villages formed on the name of the church, but also those saints whose name did not go any further than the nave. In earlier times, county topographical dictionaries did not always give us this information. But from the beginning of the 20th century, for every village we have been able to know to which saint the parish was dedicated.

2.1. Ancient worship

In the pre-Christian period, places may have been dedicated not to saints, but to divinities. Definite instances are rare, often due to the paucity of the archaeological evidence. In the long list of Gallic gods, the most widespread name is *Eppona*, the goddess of horses, traces of whose name are preserved along ancient routes. It is she that we find in *Apoigny* or *Ampilly* and her worship continued into the Roman period. Among the Roman gods, we can mention *Mercury*, which we may be able to discern in *Mercurey* (Saône-et-Loire); or *Minerva* which we think is preserved in *Ménesbles* (21; 1178: *Minervis*) and *Neptune* (perhaps in *Luthenay*, Nièvre), god of the sea and the waters generally, who possibly succeeded another bearded figure, the Gallic *Granno* who had

[10] This system is never a hard and fast rule; thus Nuits-Saint-Georges (Côte-d'Or) does not concern the patron of the parish (who was Saint Julien, then Saint Symphorien), but a famous vineyard, the name of which was added in 1892. The same pattern is applicable to *Morey-St-Denis* (id.). Sometimes too the added name of a saint indicates a place and not a saintly person. This is the case of *Curtil-Saint-Seine* (id.), due to its proximity to Saint-Seine abbey, even though its church is under the patronage of Saint Jacques and Saint Philippe; similarly Vaux (e.g. *Saint-Seine*) which has a church under the patronage of Saint Pierre; and also *Villotte-Saint-Seine* (the topographic dictionary suggests *Villotte-lès-St-Seine*) which has a church under the patronage of Notre-Dame. Finally it should be noted that in these three names, common nouns form the main elements (*curtil* 'garden, field'; 'valley'; 'small village').

partially the same attributes. We could lengthen the list by considering the Emperor *Augustus* as a god. We find his name in *Aoste*, *Autun* (Saône-et-Loire), *Authumes* (id.; **Augustomagus*) and in the ancient forms of Clermont-Ferrand, Limoges, Senlis, etc.

Are we dealing with gods or saints? Manifestly, some saints took over from antique gods. As an example we can cite *Saint Nicolas.* We can find the legendary Saint Nicolas in several sites. He was certainly one of the successors to Neptune (or to the Gallic *Granno*, a bearded god, like Neptune) and we find him as the patron saint of sailors in several port towns such as Chartres, Auxerre, Chalon-sur-Saône and Montmerle (Ain, on the banks of the Saône). Afterwards, he became the patron of Lorraine; for this reason perhaps, passes named after Saint-Nicolas are generally oriented in the direction of this province (Beaune, Dijon); see Anecdotes.

Saint Christophe. He too is a legendary saint. We know that he carried Christ when He wished to cross a ford (whence comes his name). We often find him at river crossings, such as *Cessey-sur-Tille* (Côte-d'Or) or *Saint-Christophe-du-Jajolet* (Orne). In Angers, a gigantic figure oversaw the traffic at the Porte Chapelière, at the head of the bridge over the Maine. The dedication is also attested from the 10th century at *Bléré* (Indre-et-Loire, 6th century: *vicus Briotreidis*), composed from the Gallic *briva* 'bridge', the ancient bridge on the River Cher.

Saint Éloi. This saint, Dagobert's Minister, is well known from a popular song. He became the patron of horses and this title allowed him to play a role formerly attributed to the goddess Eppona. Some *Saint-Eloi* are on important roads, such as the *chapel Saint-Éloi*, at the crossing of two ancient roads (in Fromenteau, Côte-d'Or),[11] *Saint-Éloy-de-Gy* in the Cher, on the ancient Roman road from Bourges to Orléans, and also *Saint-Éloy-les-Mines* (Puy-de-Dôme) where we can still find the Roman road from Clermont to Bourges.

Saint Sorlin. This is a local deformation of *Saturninus.* A medieval text (of dubious authority) informs us that in this village in Ain there was formerly a temple dedicated to Saturn. PHILIPON informs us that it was this god whom the Christians transformed into a saint "according to a well-known practice" (1911: 386).[12]

Saint Chéron. Three settlements in France carry this name, all in the region around Chartres. According to GUY VILLETTE, these derive their name from

[11] Sometimes a confusion is possible with *Saint Eulalie* (at Saint-Eloi, Ain).

[12] We leave the responsibility for this somewhat contentious assertion with the author. It is evident that all places named *Saint-Sorlin, Sernin* cannot be temples to Saturn. Men of this period inevitably bore heathen names: *Junien, Denis, Mamert* and even the great *Saint Martin* (of *Mars*, Roman god of the war).

the consecration of a body taken from Saint Chéron—the ancient cemetery of Chartres (1991: 198)—itself doubtless a Gallic term indicating a mound *(caraunos).*[13] Such a figure was then turned into a saint, for whom an artificial biography was created.

2.2. The first martyrs

Saint Étienne was the first martyr. The first altars were always dedicated to a martyr (relics were sealed in the stone of altar).[14] It is to him that the first cathedrals were dedicated. In France we can cite Bourges, Auxerre, Sens, Meaux, Châlons-sur-Marne, Toul, Metz and Limoges. In Paris, in the earliest times of the cathedral, it was placed under the patronage of this saint, between the Virgin and Saint Germain. From 807, the Virgin was the only patron of the cathedral, a situation which continues to this day. As well as urban worship, Étienne was also honoured in the countryside, though rather later. RIGAULT has noted that the worship of this saint was particularly well-developed along access routes to the future capital.

But as well as the cult of the proto-martyr, the worship of a large number of local martyrs developed, these being considered rightly or wrongly as the founders of the local churches. In Lyon it was *Saint Irénée*[15] and *Saint Pothin,* who failed to produce toponymic offspring. In the vicinity of Autun, we find *Saint Symphorien*[16] (several villages) and **Saint Pancrace** (Pancratius became modified to *Brancher* as a result of the phonetic evolution, or else *Prancher,* Vosges) a church in Ain.[17] The phonetic variants of Pancratius are numerous: *Saint-Pancré* in Meurthe-et-Moselle, *Saint-Planchers* in Manche, *Saint-Plancard* in Haute-Garonne. In Saulieu (Côte-d'Or), we can find **Saint Andoche,** present in *Fouvent-Saint-Andoche* in Haute-Saône. In Paris, the key figure was **Saint Denis** *(Dionysius).* His worship spread throughout France, as defined by the treaty of Verdun (843),[18] and whence the Parisian suburb of *Saint-Denis.* There are five churches of this name in Côte-d'Or, but no villages. We could

[13] See DELAMARRE 2001, *carnitu* "il a érigé une tombe"; cf. the place-names *Charigny* (Côte-d'Or; under the patronage of Saint Martin), and *Charnay* (Saône-et-Loire), one under the patronage of Saint Grégoire, the other under the patronage of Saint Pierre.

[14] We find even some villages which are simply called 'holy body', such as *Corsaint* (where the body of a local saint may be interred) and *Écorsaint* (Côte-d'Or, Hauteroche).

[15] Few traces remain, however, just 3 churches in Ain.

[16] This worship developed almost everywhere, including in the Paris region, thanks to the influence of the bishop Saint Germain of Paris, who had been previously the abbot of the Saint-Symphorien monastery in Autun (ROBLIN 1971: 164).

[17] The success of Pancrace (even in London, UK) was, as with Symphorien, doubtless due to the influence of Saint Germain of Paris.

[18] However this worship is also very widespread east of the Rhône and the Saône, which may well mean that he was prior to the division of the Carolingian Empire.

make a very long list of dedications to *Laurent* (a Spanish deacon tortured on the rack). From the 6th century his name was given to a church in Paris, and there are 18 such churches in Côte-d'Or. In the case of *Julien*, a martyr from Brioude (Auvergne), 4 churches in Côte-d'Or are dedicated to him. **Saint Sébastien** was famously pierced by arrows in Rome in 288. In the 9th century his body was transferred to the abbey of Saint-Médard at Soissons. He is present in some names of municipalities (Creuse, Gard, Isère, Loire-Atlantique, Manche); 3 churches in Côte-d'Or, but no toponymic traces there. **Saint Blaise,** an Armenian martyr celebrated on February 3rd, the birthday of Gargantua: from this source we find *Saint-Blais* (Vienne), *Saint-Blaize* (Haute-Savoie); 4 churches in Côte-d'Or (but no toponymic traces) and 4 destroyed chapels, plus 8 in Ain.[19] **Saint Vincent,** another Spanish martyr, under Diocletian at the beginning of the 4th century, who became (probably as a result of a play on words with *vin*) the patron of wine growers; to him 9 churches in Côte-d'Or were dedicated. It is probably under the influence of the royal family that his worship was introduced to the diocese of Tours from the 6th century. After his expedition to Spain in 541, King Childebert had a basilica built in honour of the saint, where he was ceremonially buried in 558. The worship of **Saint Georges,** a martyr in Palestine in the 4th century, flourished throughout the Middle Ages. There are 12 such churches in Côte-d'Or, but no villages bearing his name. Numerous phonetic variations across France: *Geoire, Geoirs* (Isère), *Joire* (Eure, Meuse), *Yorre* (Allier).

We should note that these founding martyrs often bear names of Greek origin. Certain historians think that we are dealing here with traders of oriental origin, rather than with priests, who cannot be compared with modern missionaries but are rather closer to the Arabic traders who propagated Islam in sub-Saharan Africa and the East Indies. We have few precise data about their lives, other than pious biographies which are too late to be credible. In Dijon (Côte-d'Or) such was the case with **Saint Bénigne,** who bears a typically Latin name. In the 6th century the inhabitants of the city started to worship a stone considered as the grave of a "beneficent one" (in Latin *benignus*). The official Church was concerned about this barbaric cult, but bishop Grégoire of Langres had a dream: it was indeed the grave of the founding martyr. His name was unknown but he continued to be worshipped under the name of *Benignus.* Some villages in the east and central regions preserve this name, generally deformed by local phonetics: *Broingt*, *Bérain*, *Baraing*, *Branchs*, perhaps *Domblain* in the Jura. He is still to this day the saint patron of the diocese of Dijon.

It is more difficult to classify **Saint Maurice.** According to tradition he was tortured in the high valley of the Rhône (in Agaune, modern *Saint-Maurice*,

[19] In Dommartin (Ain), the church dedicated to Saint Martin came under Saint Blaise's patronage.

Swiss Valais), together with 300 of his companions of the Theban legion.[20] Later King Sigismond of Burgundy, a convert to Catholicism, founded an abbey at the presumed place of martyrdom. Today Saint Maurice is doubtless the most frequently encountered martyr in church- and place-names (Côte-d'Or: 11 churches and 1 village).[21] Grégoire of Tours dedicated a note to Saint Maurice, patron of the cathedral of Tours. He is the patron of three churches located in Candes, Chinon and Barrou (Indre-et-Loire). The great success of his cult may be connected to the substantial development to the Abbey of Valais. As for King Sigismond, he was murdered, but the church made him a saint. Today his relics are in Prague. However, his name is barely remembered in French toponymy, other than a Savoyard village and a village of the Loiret (which the inhabitants had formerly called Saint Simon), the place where he was murdered in 524. It is true that he is celebrated on May 1st, while Maurice is celebrated on September 22nd, a date more in favour for popular festivities.

There are some causes of confusion, such as with **Saint Suzanne.** She was probably a martyr from the end of the 3rd century, whereas the Middle Ages considered her to be the chaste Suzanna of the Bible: "Sainte Susanne garis dou faux tesmoing" ("Saint Suzanne saved you from perjury", from *Ami and Amile,* a chanson de geste of the 13th century).

2.3. The founding Saints

After the blood of the first martyrs has been spilled a calmer period followed. This was the time when the countryside was christianized, as symbolized by Saint Martin, the bishop of Tours.

Saint Martin (c. 316–400); a native of Pannonia (modern day Hungary), this officer of the Roman army spent the greater part of his life in Gaul. The episode of the future Saint Martin sharing his coat with a saint doubtless took place in Amiens (the scene is represented in most of the churches which are dedicated to him). He became bishop of Tours and was considered as the real founder of the Church in France, especially as the evangelist of the countryside.[22] The French have dubbed him the thirteenth apostle.[23] He was the first saint who

[20] This may be the reason why this saint is often represented with African features; we should also take into account the play on words *Moor ~ Maurice.*

[21] In Roman (Ain) he supplanted the great Saint Martin.

[22] The peasantry would have been amongst the last to convert to Christianity. It so happens that Martin is at the root of a false etymology which seeks to explain the French *païen* 'pagan' on the basis of *paganus* 'peasant'. In martinian etymology, we can also cite *chapel (capella);* we are supposed to believe that these religious structures were so named because they preserved a fragment of Saint Martin's coat *(cappa).*

[23] Martinian evangelization was a real cultural revolution. Modern archaeologists have found heathen sites abandoned (without any trace of destruction or plunder), around the year 370.

was not a martyr to whom altars were dedicated. He is also the most widespread saint from the point of view of toponymy. In the Paris region, dedications to Saint Martin represent 18% of all patronages, and in Indre-et-Loire, 13% of the patronages of the diocese. In Saône-et-Loire, we can note 71 parishes under the patronage of Saint Martin (approximately 15%), 7 rural chapels, and 12 municipalities which have preserved his name. In Côte-d'Or, we have 69 parishes (approximately 9%), 6 rural chapels, but only 2 municipalities. This permanent presence of the apostle of the Gauls is further increased by the significant number of natural features that bear his name. Everywhere we find fields called *Saint Martin* (perhaps the property of a parish), and still more important, place names like *Pas Saint-Martin* (Côte-d'Or, Essonne, Manche, Meuse, etc.). We can even find rocks where, with a little imagination, we can make out an outline of the saint's donkey (TAVERDET 1993: 2003).[24]

We may ask ourselves if Saint Martin actually took over from an ancient god, whose worship would have been celebrated at the top of mountains. This might explain the number of *Saint-Martin-du-Mont, -du-Puy* or *-du-Tertre* (we can find 8 such instances across the whole of France). In Burgundy, there is a chapel Saint Martin in Mont Beuvray (the ancient Bibracte mentioned by Caesar), whilst another one dominates the valley of the Saône at Sennecey-le-Grand. The church of Dettey, on a remarkable mound, is also under the patronage of the saint. Finally, *Saint-Martin-du-Mont* (Côte-d'Or) dominates a valley and the church was partially built with stones from the Gallo-Roman temple at the source of the Seine.[25]

For RIGAULT, parishes dedicated to Saint Martin are among the most ancient of France. He is probably right, but it is advisable not to draw general conclusions from this point. In the diocese of Tours, he is the patron of places of worship in four *vici* that bore ancient names: *Brèches, Candes, Chinon* and *Langeais*. We can also cite *Renève* (Côte-d'Or; probably a Gallic name, and the place where cruel Frédégonde put Brunehaut to the rack), which has a church under the patronage of Saint Martin. But we can also quote the history of the chapel of Saint-Martin in the suburbs of Dijon. Formerly, there were two chapels in Dijon, one dedicated to Saint Martin and the other to Saint Nicolas. Around them suburbs developed, and in the village of Fontaine, there were two roads: the road to Saint Martin and the road to Saint Nicolas. In the

Such is the case of a hotel site near the source of the Seine. This is certainly not a matter of local populations who would have wanted protection from barbarians, but rather a matter of failures incommerce (cf. TAVERDET 2004).

[24] According to rural traditions, Saint Martin went about on a donkey (like Christ), whereas, according to the official iconography, Saint Martin used a horse, like all Roman officers.

[25] In the West of France, it is the archangel Michael who seems to have played this role; it is him whom we find in the famous *Mont Saint-Michel* and also on the mountain *Saint-Michel*, the highest point in Brittany.

20th century, the village became a town and it was necessary to build a new place of worship. A chapel was constructed on the road to Saint Nicolas, but the chapel was placed under Saint Martin's patronage, doubtless because this saint's history (sharing with the poor) was considered more respectable than his accomplice Nicolas, who in any case was closer to legend than to history.[26] Let us add that churches were still being dedicated to Saint Martin at the end of the Middle Ages, such as that of Saint-Catherine-de-Fierbois (Indre-et-Loire), built in 1431 and elevated in 1540.

Saint Germain. There were certainly several saints of this name, but the most famous is the Saint Germain of Auxerre, celebrated for his fights against the heretics, and who died in Ravenna in 448. Another Germain was a bishop of Paris (died in 576) who left his name to the famous church of *Saint-Germain-des-Prés*. A little further afield, we can find the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois. But both saints are not always as sharply distinguished as they are in the capital. Thus, in Côte-d'Or, we can note 31 churches named *Saint-Germain* of which only one relates with certainty to the inhabitant of Auxerre and one other to the Parisian. In Touraine, the worship of *Saint Germain* of Auxerre, introduced into the diocese by Queen Clotilde in the 6th century, explains the presence of a basilica to *Saint Germain* in Tours at the beginning of the 6th century. Nonetheless, the other churches of this region could owe their patronage to the bishop of Paris.

Saint Rémy (437–533). A bishop of Reims celebrated on October 1st and not on January 15th as the modern calendar would have it. It is he who baptized Clovis and his army in 496. He enjoyed a renewal in popularity during the transference of his relics to the church *Saint Remy of Reims*.[27] Numerous churches are dedicated to him, among which *Domrémy* (Meuse), the village of Saint Joan of Arc, and *Domrémy* in the Haute-Marne and the Meuse. We should also note Cerny-en-Laonnois, the presumed place of his birth. There are 11 such churches in Côte-d'Or (of which one is the name of a village).

Saint A(i)gnan (died in 453) and **Saint Geneviève** had comparable fates. The bishop of Orléans was the heart of the resistance to Attila and urged the Huns to raise the siege of the city, whilst Geneviève acted similarly in Paris. However, their patronages are very different. Even in the Paris region, churches to *Ste-Geneviève* are rare (in Côte-d'Or, there are 5 churches dedicated to Saint Aignan and none to Saint Geneviève).[28]

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[26] Finally there is a church in Ain going under the name of the translation of *Saint Martin* (Fleyriat, village of Viriat).

[27] In this instance, we do not use an accent, to respect the pronunciation of Reims.

[28] ROBLIN (1971: 183) thinks that the followers of the saint *(Génovévains)* were in the habit of dedicating their places of worship to Saint Pierre and Saint Paul, whence the absence of the

It remains to cite the very numerous bishops of this period who left their names to churches or to sites, such as *Austrégisile* (whose name is indeed Germanic), a bishop of Bourges at the beginning of the 7th century. By phonetic change this became *Outrille* (one village in Cher). We can wonder why he retained his learned form in a chapel of the mountains of the Haute-Loire.[29] Perhaps because he was also the bishop of Lyon. And then there is *Saint Bonet*[30] *(Bonitus),* a bishop of Clermont whose worship is very widespread in central France (in Saône-et-Loire, 4 villages of this name, but in Côte-d'Or, none). Finally, let us add *Sulpice,* a bishop of Bourges.[31] In short, with such saints at his disposal, *Charlemagne* had good patronages for his churches.[32]

2.4. The Merovingian martyrs

The period of the Merovingian kings, especially towards the end, does not seem to have been very kind to the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church. It is true that the bishops of this period were the only persons who knew how to read, which allowed them to play a very important role, being at the same time bishops and prefects, and thus able to enforce both morality and the law. For this very reason they became intolerable to the kings. The accession to power of the Carolingians marked a change in politics. To distinguish themselves from their godless predecessors, the new masters (especially Charlemagne) honoured these martyrs with new churches.

Saint Didier *(Desiderius).* He was an archbishop of Vienne (Isère). He was stoned to death in 608 on the orders of Queen Brunehaut (whom he had dared to reprimand and who was killed a little later by a rival) in a place named *Priscianus.* The place then became *Saint-Didier-sur-Chalaronne,* and the church, under the patronage of Saint Pierre and Saint Paul, was dedicated to the new saint. His worship developed considerably c. 800.[33]

Saint Médard. This bishop of Noyon (died in 545) had a late, but intense popularity. The church in Paris seems to have been constructed in the 12th

saint herself. However, the modern period was more favourable to her because in the 18th century the church of *Sainte-Geneviève* of Paris was built (it became the Pantheon, but retained the frescoes of the Saint). On the other hand she became the patron saint of the gendarmerie.

[29] This is Clavas (Riotord).

[30] Generally written *Bonnet* (in dialect, *Bounot, Bonne,* etc.).

[31] The famous church of *Saint-Sulpice* in Paris is a Carolingian foundation; in Ain, *Saint Sulpice* was replaced by *Saint Antoine,* after the year 1350 (we have no other data).

[32] It is advisable, however, not to generalize from this; Saint Prix of the Paris region is later. It was in the 11th century that the church was given over to a priory, also dedicated to the saint from Auvergne (ROBLIN 1971: 177).

[33] There is another Didier who was a bishop of Langres, which he saved from the Vandals; it is he who is honoured in *Saint-Dizier* (Haute-Marne).

century. His popularity extended to meteorology, because it is recommended to watch out for rain on his name day (June 8th). As a result of phonetic evolution, he is sometimes confused with *Saint Marc*, which is the case with *Saint-Marc-sur-Seine*.[34]

Saint Léger (*Leodegarius*, a Germanic name). He was a bishop of Autun, murdered c. 678 by Arras. His worship was also very widespread in the Carolingian period; 16 churches in Côte-d'Or and 2 villages,[35] one municipality in the Somme: *Domléger* (1108: *Domnus Leodegarius*).

Saint Rambert *(Ragnebertus)* was a nobleman from Jura. He was put to death by Ébroin, a palace functionary, in 680, for unknown reasons (PHILIPON 1911: 395a). We do not know why the Church elevated him to the level of sainthood. A monastery called *Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey* was founded in his name in 807 and his name replaced the ancient name of the site which was *Bebronna.*[36] His worship was quite widespread around Lyon *(Saint-Rambert-sur-Loire, Saint-Just-Saint-Rambert, Saint-Rambert-d'Albon).* In Feillens (Ain), Saint Rambert even replaced the Virgin as the dedicatee of the parish church.

Saint Flovier *(Flodoveus).* A saint of Germanic origin whose worship is purely local and whose legendary acts alone we know of, collected at the beginning of the 20th century. His name is attached to a parish, *Saint-Flovier* (Indre-et-Loire) and to an ancient sacred fountain.

Saint Riquier *(Ricarius)* was a converted landowner who became a hermit in the 7th century. He was the founder of the abbey of Centula, later *Saint-Riquier* (Somme). His worship is found in the counties of Seine-Maritime and the Somme.

We could also add the famous names of *Prétextat*, bishop of Rouen, murdered in 586 by Queen Frédégonde, rival of Brunehaut; of *Praejectus*, murdered in 676 near Volvic (Puy-de-Dôme) by a man whom he had condemned. The phonetic variants are numerous in the toponymy: *Saint-Préjet* (Haute-Loire), *Saint-Priest* (Allier, Ardèche and Cher), *Saint-Prayel* (Vosges), *Saint-Prix* (Aisne, Allier, Ardèche, etc.); 3 churches in Côte-d'Or.[37] Some other martyrs had no comparable celebrity, and their worship was limited to a specific place. Such is the case of *Saint Vulbas (Wilbaldus)*, who was murdered by a palace functionary, and whose relics were transferred by monks to the church of the priory (c. 642).

[34] The church is indeed under the patronage of Saint Médard (992: *altare sancti Medardi*).

[35] Of which one has passed to the patronage of the Assumption of the Virgin.

[36] This is a name of Gallic origin meaning 'the river of beavers'.

[37] To him the abbey of Flavigny (Côte-d'Or) was dedicated, founded in 722 *(Basilica sancti Prejecti)*, at the time when Charles Martel was gradually gaining ascendancy.

2.5. The saints of the Mediterranean

For obvious reasons, Christianity arrived in Gaul from the South, along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Legend has it that the main actors in the Gospels ended their lives in Provence, e.g. *Marie-Madeleine* in *Sainte-Baume*. But what is more certain is that their worship developed at first in the South and went North along the valley of the Rhône. We can note *Saint André,* and add *Saint Gilles* (a hermit from Provence, near Marseille, in the 7th century). His worship developed c. 1000; using Saint Gilles's abbey as a staging-post it reached in whole Europe. The foundation of a church under his patronage shows strong economic vitality at the beginning of the second millennium. We can note one church in Côte-d'Or. *Saint Baudèle* was a martyr from Nîmes (unknown dates); his worship doubtless developed much later; two churches in Côte-d'Or. In toponymy: *Saint-Boys* (Ain), *Saint-Boil* (Saône-et-Loire), *Saint-Baudelle* (Mayenne), *Saint-Bauzille* (Hérault). His worship even spread to the Paris region (Neuilly-sur-Marne, Brou). Elsewhere we will speak about *Saint André* and *Saint Saturnin,* who seem to have followed the same paths.

2.6. The "Atlantic" Saints

From the end of Charlemagne's reign (c. 810), the French coasts were threatened by the arrival of the Vikings or the Normans (who gave their name to *Normandie*). It therefore became a matter of urgency for abbeys founded near to the coast to guard their treasure from the invaders, including the relics of Saints, who were often the founding Saints. Thus the relics of **Saint Philibert,** abbot of Jumièges, left the abbey of Noirmoutier for the banks of the Saône, a remoter and safer place; indeed they went to Tournus, where they are still kept to this day and where the church is now dedicated to him. At the same time, the worship of Saint Philibert, up until then limited to western France (especially Vendée and Loire-Atlantique), spread to the East. Thus we find in Côte-d'Or a village which had borne a very commonplace name becoming *Saint-Philibert.* We should note that the late arrival of the relics allowed us to know the ancient name. We also find a rural chapel in Chardonnay (Saône-et-Loire).

A similar situation applies to **Saint Radegonde** (519–587), abbess of Poitiers and wife of Clotaire, who lived part of her life in the dioceses of Poitiers and Tours. She founded the Sainte-Croix monastery in Poitiers, then a monastery close to the basilica Saint-Martin. This nun had been a queen of the Francs (wife of Clotaire I). Her worship was quite widespread in the West of France (Deux-Sèvres, Vendée, for example). However, the temporary transfer of her relics enabled her worship to spread to eastern France. Thus, in Saône-et-Loire,

we can find a village formerly known under the name of Chassigny[38] becoming *Sainte-Radegonde* in the 16th century, following the name of the church (formerly under Saint Blaise's patronage).[39] We can also find a hermitage in Cluny (Saône-et-Loire).

Other relics were accommodated at least temporarily in Paris, such as those of *Saint Erbland* (interred in Rouen, honoured in Loches and in Bagneux), *Saint Leufroy* (a Norman saint whose relics were sheltered in Saint-Germain-des-Prés; a church to Suresnes, a chapel at Péaule in Morbihan, a municipality in Eure named *Croix-Saint-Leufroy*). Finally we should mention *Saint Malo* (or *Maclou*), whose relics were returned to Aleth[40] and of which he was a bishop (celebrated in Conflans-Sainte-Honorine). (See RIGAULT 1971: 178).

2.7. The Irish saints

During the Merovingian period, the strength of Christianity waned somewhat and heathen worship regained ground. Gaul then became fertile ground for missionary work, principally by Irish monks. At this time Ireland was the only really faithful country in Europe, doubtless due to the influence of Saint Patrick. The presence of these missionaries was particularly important in the East. Another islander, English Robert, the founder of Cîteaux, had a considerable influence, but he does not seem to have left onomastic tracks, other than in the patronage of the abbey which he founded in 1075 at Molesme (Côte-d'Or).

2.8. The universal Church

Saint Pierre. The leader of the apostles is well represented—a fact which should not surprise us. But in fact his worship is more complex. Under Charlemagne's reign, an attempt was made to strengthen the links between the Empire and the Church of Rome. It was thus normal to honour the founder of the Roman Church, whence we can find a large number of places of worship. But it seems that the same play on words was made as by Christ himself, by moving closer to *Petrus* and *Petram* ("Tu es Petrus et super hanc Petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam"). For this reason we can sometimes find remark-

[38] A name known since the 11th century under Latinized forms; this ancient name continued to be well known as it was temporarily restored during the Revolution.

[39] This change of name may result from a political desire to bind royal power to religious power. We might also consider an effort by the postal services to eliminate the name Chassigny since it has homonyms. In addition, it is more suggestive of an oak wood than the name of its ancient Gallo-Roman owner.

[40] Little town in the county of Aude; bishop's palace until 1790.

able stones[41] in places dedicated to *Saint Pierre*. It is this play on words which could explain why the patronage of Saint Pierre was chosen for church of *Perrusson* (Indre-et-Loire, 856: *Petrucius*). It is probably also this fact which accounts for the ancient forms of *Dampierre* often being in the feminine: thus *Dampierre-en-Montagne* was *Dompna Petra* in 978, *Dampierre-sur-Vingeanne* was then *Dompna Petra* in 1134; and still feminine in 1263 at *Dampierre-en-Morvan*.[42] In Haute-Saône, *Dampierre-lès-Conflans* was *Dampetra* in 1115, *Donna Petra* in 1275; *Dampierre-sur-Salon* was *Domna Petra* in 1235.

Further places of worship dedicated to Saint Pierre developed later, amongst which we can cite *Saint-Pierre-aux-Liens* (at Gex and Marlieux, both in Ain; and in Pouillat, where this saint supplanted Marie-Madeleine) and at *Saint Pierre de Majesté* (Doubs). Finally local phonetics sometimes transformed *Petrus* into *Père*, especially in central France (e.g. *Saint-Père-lès-Vézelay*, in provincial dialect *Pé*).

Saint André. He was one of the twelve apostles. He became a bishop of Patras and his worship developed at first in the Eastern Church. His worship seems to have arrived in Gaul through the Greek colony of Agde, and thence to have gone up the valley of the Rhône. He then became the patron saint of the house of Burgundy (RIGAULT 1971: 159); in Côte-d'Or, 5 churches but no village, which would seem to show the recent character of this worship.

2.9. The figure of Christ

It was not the custom in the ancient period to place churches under the patronage of Christ himself. However, towards the end of the Middle Ages we do find some churches under the patronage of *Saint Sauveur*, the mystic name of Christ. *Saint-Sauveur* (Côte-d'Or) is in reality an ancient monastery founded in 883, and placed under this patronage. Christ thus gave his title to the village, and the parish church is under the same patronage. But there are numerous exceptions as well: in *Saint-Sauveur-Levasville* (Eure-et-Loir), the patron of the parish is Saint Martin; the *Chapelle-Saint-Sauveur* (Saône-et-Loire) has a church under the patronage of the Holy Trinity; *Varennes-Saint-Sauveur* (Saône-et-Loire) has a church under the patronage of the Beheading of Saint-

[41] By "remarkable stone", we can also understand natural, prehistoric megaliths, which served as Roman milestones; the creators of our place-names were unable to make a distinction between these different types of stones.

[42] Other saints' names met the same fate; it is the case of *Saint Dove*, martyred in Sens (and whose worship would have been favoured by Saint Éloi); sometimes confused with the Latin *columna* 'column'. We might make the same remark concerning *Saint Flamine*, tortured at the foot of the biggest menhir in Auvergne. But we still need to find a more credible linguistic solution (perhaps by comparison with the Breton *peulvan* 'menhir').

Jean-Baptiste. We may consider that, in these cases, *Saint-Sauveur* was the name of an ancient establishment, probably of a monastery, preserved in the name of the parish, but lost in the name of the parish church.

2.10. Saints of the roads and roads of the Saints

We should also take this opportunity to pay tribute to some minor and neglected saints, whose worship is limited to a few villages or, in some cases, just one. Such saints' names are legion in France.

When the great Saint Germain of Auxerre died he was in Ravenna in Italy. Some meritorious young women were designated to accompany his body. The road to Gaul was long and hard and some of these girls died along the way. Such was the case of *Magnance,* who left her name to *Sainte-Magnance* and, some milestones further on, of *Camille,* whom we find commemorated in *Escolives-Sainte-Camille* (Yonne).

Some historians have tried to create a narrative which would connect particular holy martyrs with the feast days on which they are celebrated. It is thus conjectured that bands of looters were terrorizing the local population during their withdrawal to Germanic regions. The victims of their savagery were afterward considered to be true martyrs. So, it was allegedly on August 23rd that Saint Ursin was killed (a saint about whom we know absolutely nothing and who is honoured solely by the village of *Chailly-sur-Armançon,* Côte-d'Or). On September 7th, it would seem, Saint Reine was beheaded (at *Alise-Sainte-Reine*).[43] On September 27th, it was Florentine's turn (to the North of Dijon); on October 27th, then Florent's (at Til-Châtel, where he is still the patron of the church).[44] The link between these names and dates may well seem arbitrary, particularly when we look at the sources of the stories. We might rather consider that various villages preferred to choose saints whose feast-days coincided with the end of the summer work in the fields. In any case, it is clear that we still have very scant knowledge about the earliest times of the Church in France, and about these obscure martyrs whose memory is only preserved by some small rural chapels (MARILIER–RICHARD 1978: 91). Further

[43] Always greatly honoured in this place, several theatrical pieces have been written about this martyr, plays which were inspired by the story of Saint Marine of Antioch. Alise and Saint Reine seem to have been in competition since the 8th century. It is likely that there were two parishes, one dedicated to Saint Reine (and named *Sainte-Reine*) and the other to Saint Léger and named *Alise.* In the modern period, *Sainte-Reine* was in favour first then, in the 19th century, it was the turn of *Alise* (because the village was recognized as the site of the battle of Alesia between the Gauls and the Romans).

[44] We should note the similar names *Florentine* and *Florent;* perhaps originally the same character who was martyred somewhere else.

to the North, we could make similar remarks about Saint Élophe[45] (in the Vosges) who left his name to the village where he was martyred (on highway 74, the ancient Roman road from Lyon to Cologne, which is still visible on the map, and parallel to the modern road). He is celebrated on October 16th.

2.11. The saints of the universal church

Saint Marie. The mother of the Christ is obviously, in Catholic worship, the most important of all the saints and, along with Saint Martin, she is the best represented in terms of church dedications. For example, in Saône-et-Loire, 62 churches are dedicated to the Assumption; 11 to the Nativity; 1 to the Purification; 20 without particular attributes; thus a total of 94 churches, while the names of parishes are just 2. In Côte-d'Or, 41 to the Assumption; 1 to the Immaculate Conception; 46 to the Nativity; 30 without attributes (simply Notre-Dame); thus a total of 117, while the names of parishes are again just 2.[46] We can thus see a great disproportion between the names of churches and those of villages. The explanation is very simple: when places of worship started to be dedicated to the Virgin (from the 13th century), most villages had already received a name and the onomastic importance of the Mother of Christ was greatly lessened in this area.[47] See also the Abbeys.

Saint Jean. *Saint Jean le Baptiste* (Saint John the Baptist), in his guise as a martyr, was honoured from very early times. As RIGAULT (1971: 191) notes, his worship doubtless developed early enough to name baptistries; then his influence was extended to churches themselves, especially from the Carolingian period. In Côte-d'Or, more than 20 churches are dedicated to him.[48]

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[45] This saint, under his Germanic name, is considered as the apostle to Lorraine. Little is known about him except his region of origin. We find, however, a variant *Éliph* in *Eure-et-Loir*. According to VILLETTE, his worship would have been introduced on the occasion of a seigneurial marriage (1991).

[46] One of these two names is rather recent; the name of the parish had started to acquire bad associations and the very Christian King Louis XIII authorized the village to take the name of the church (at the beginning of the 17th century).

[47] Later churches were dedicated using more diverse attributes, such as *Notre-Dame des Neiges* in Bettans (Ain). In the same county, we have a beautiful (and justified) example of name change: the village is called *Saint-Trivier-de-Courte,* with a church dedicated to *Notre-Dame-de-Consolation;* the church dedicated to the saint was far from the centre of the village and it was abandoned (from the 17th century). The new church, more easily accessible, was dedicated to the Virgin.

[48] The Evangelist had little success in this area (one only church in Côte-d'Or). Confusions are possible; there were other Jeans, such as Saint Jean de Réôme, the confessor and the founder of the monastery, who is honoured around Dijon and whose name is preserved in *Moutiers-Saint-Jean* (Côte-d'Or; the parish church is dedicated to the Conversion of Saint Paul).

The situation is similar with respect to the other main actors from the first phase of Christianity. **Saint Paul,** whose fundamental role in Christian theology we know so well, is rarely present, in any case less than Saint Étienne (it is said that Paul kept the garments of the first martyr). In France, we can note nonetheless 42 *Saint Paul*s and some *Saint Pal*s (a phonetic variant in Haute-Loire). There are no important place names in the two counties under closer study, but some churches are dedicated to him: 7 in Saône-et-Loire and 3 in Côte-d'Or.[49] However, we find him more frequently in association with Saint Pierre. In Saône-et-Loire, we have a few such cases;[50] 12 in Côte-d'Or.

2.12. The Crusades

The expeditions to the East provided the opportunity for western knights to encounter new forms of worship and new saints. We can well imagine that Byzantine traders took advantage of the presence of these warriors to sell them more or less authentic relics. These relics thus took the road back to France, where they were able to replace more local saints.

It seems that the names of some saints were brought back from the Crusades. But it was too late for this new worship to have any toponymic influence. Such was the case of Saint Ambrosinien (an Armenian name?), honoured for a while around Dijon. The Crusades seem to have increased the worship of relics. The Crusaders bought (or stole?) a large quantity of saints' relics (true or false) and installed them in the West. This was the case of the crown of Christ,[51] and fragments of the Holy Cross which we can find in the richest in abbeys. From this fact we derive the name of *Sainte-Croix* (in Côte-d'Or, three churches dedicated to the Exaltation of the Cross; in Saône-et-Loire, one village carries this name).[52] The cult of Sainte Hélène (credited with inventing the symbol of the cross) has given its name to one village in Saône-et-Loire.

2.13. Local saints

Saint Gengoux. This saint with a Germanic name (we can easily recognize *wulf* in the last syllable *-oux*) lived around Avallon (Yonne) c. 8th century. His worship spread in the East of France. In Saône-et-Loire, two churches are under the patronage of this saint and his name was given to two villages: *Saint-*

[49] We can find a contemporary church in a suburb of Dijon.

[50] Of these we might mention *Sagy,* where, however, the worship of Saint Pierre seems much earlier than that of Saint Paul. The topographic dictionary did not make an inventory of this double patronage.

[51] As celebrated in *chansons de geste:* "De joins marraiges et d'espines poignans Vos coronnerent celle mauvaise gens" ("these bad people have given you a crown of rushes and prickly thorns").

[52] In the 19th century, some over-imaginative local historians claimed that it was the site of the battle between Constantine and his rival Maxence.

Gengoux-de-Scissé and *Saint-Gengoux-le-National.* In Côte-d'Or, two parishes, but no village with this name; we can add a rural chapel. We find him in the French-Swiss city of *Saint-Gingolph.* This is rather little for a local saint, but he was also considered as the patron saint of cuckolds. In the Paris region, it is Saint Arnoult who played this role and he is doubtless at the origin of Arnolphe in "L'Ecole des femmes" ("The School for Wives") by Molière. It looks rather as if the name-element 'wolf' has contributed to a play on words.

2.14. Abbeys

At the time of their foundation, abbeys were often placed under what can be considered a double patronage. The name of the abbey may be the primitive name of the site, but it may also be made up from scratch, with a more or less mystic value. So, in the founding charter of the *Abbaye du Miroir* (1131–1158) we read "abbatiam quae *Miratorium* dicitur". We can understand, behind this concise formula, that the name is not the primitive name of the site,[53] but a name created by the founders, to be interpreted in the following way: the abbey has to be a site of mystic observation, because Christ recommends us to be constantly on our guard. We can also think of the formula used in the litanies of the Virgin, considered as the mirror of divine justice *(speculum iustitiae).* Among the names of abbeys, we can note *Clairvaux* (Aube), *Bonlieu*[54] (Jura), *Abondance* (Haute-Savoie), *Mont-Chevrier*,[55] *Oelenberg*[56] (Haut-Rhin). These names have often remained in use up to the present.

In addition to the name strictly speaking, abbeys wanted to place themselves under the patronage of a great saint, and it was mostly the Virgin that they chose. The abbey of the Mirror ("daughter" of Cîteaux) was placed under the celestial patronage of Notre-Dame of the Assumption, exactly like its parent, Cîteaux, and Fontenay, the second "daughter" of Clairvaux. The abbey of Saint Seine (Côte-d'Or) was also placed by its founder under the patronage of the Virgin (according to a dubious formula of 695: *beata Maria segestrensis*), as well as the abbey of Molesme, founded in 1075, and the monastery of Moutier-Saint-Jean (founded in the 5th century: *abbatia sanctae Mariae* in 885). But this only concerns a patronage and rarely extends to the attribution of a name. The real name or the name of the founding saint usually imposed itself little by little. On the other hand, rivalry with the local parish church is not without interest. For example, in Saint-Seine, the church was at first under Saint-

[53] This term is found elsewhere with the meaning of 'look-out post'.

[54] This became the name of the settlement in the 19th century to replace the unfortunate sounding *Petites-Chiettes* ('little houses', but easily misunderstood as 'little toilets').

[55] We might rather see this *Mons Calvaria.*

[56] German name: 'the Mount of Olives'.

Didier's patronage.[57] Then a new church was built under Saint-Gilles's patronage.[58] During the Revolution, the monks disappeared, abandoning the abbey church, which thereby became available to the faithful in that area. In the 19th century the parish church was demolished and stones from it were used to build washhouses. It was thus Saint Seine who finally asserted himself, even if the local feast continues to be celebrated on the day of Saint-Gilles (September 1st).

However, this name has created a big methodological problem for toponymists, who often seem to confuse manuals of toponymy and post office directories. The oldest Saint Seine is manifestly the name of the abbey and this is the origin of all homonyms. It would thus be advisable to cite this place first. Moreover, it is impossible to explain the name of this saint (Latin *Sequanus*)[59] without taking into account the immediate proximity of the source of the Seine (Latin *Sequana*). The success of the abbey certainly overshadowed the nearby pilgrimage to the goddess of the springs.

Some abbeys were also dedicated to Saint Pierre, such as Flavigny (Côte-d'Or; in company with Saint Prix from 841, then on its own from 897), and Firminy (Loire). But the influence of abbeys was often felt indirectly. For example, Claude founded the abbey of Saint-Oyand-de-Joux[60] at Condate and its Gallic name disappeared. The name of the foundation was not retained, but that of the founder was used for the dedication of numerous churches. However, *Saint Oyand (Sanctus Eugendus)* was not forgotten and all around the monastery we can find churches dedicated to this saint, under diverse forms: *Saint-Oyen* (Montbellet, Saône-et-Loire, 906: *ecclesia Sancti-Eugendi;* a priory depending on Saint-Claude); *Saint-Yan* (id.); *Mouthier-en-Bresse*[61] (id.; 926: *Monasterium Sancti-Eugendi;* a priory depending on Saint-Claude but with a parochial church under Saint Vit's patronage). We can also find traces in the Italian *Valle d'Aosta.* These monachal influences probably contributed to the creation of onomastic areas.

2.15. Two toponymic failures

In medieval France, few men played such important roles as *Bernard de Clairvaux* and *Louis IX* (later *Saint Louis*). The former founded Cîteaux and

[57] A word preserved in the name of a piece of ground. It doubtless relates to the martyr of Langres.

[58] From *Aegidius,* a Provençal hermit. His worship seems to have developed in the north of France c. 1000, which may indicate some development to the village during this period, as a new church was built there.

[59] Perhaps due to contamination with a Germanic name the exact shape of which has not survived. We might be tempted to associate it with the root *sig-* 'victory'.

[60] The 4th abbot of the abbey, established by Saint Romain.

[61] It is as well to remember that *Mouthier* is a phonetic form of *monasterium.*

preached in support of the Crusades. He also played a major role in the theology of the period, in particular in his disputes with Abélard. In spite of his historic importance, few churches are dedicated to him. In his native region, we can find only the church of his home town, Fontaine, but even this is recent.[62] In Côte-d'Or, there is also a village named *Saint-Bernard,* but again, this is a recent creation by the monks of Cîteaux (1613), and the church depends on that of a nearby village.[63] The saintly *King Louis IX* (1214–1297; canonized in 1297), played an important role in history, if only as the model for other kings who did not possess his virtues, as celebrated by the Sire of Joinville. Nonetheless, we find but few churches on his behalf; in Côte-d'Or, a single church[64] and no place name.[65] He was to become, much later on, a symbol in the political ideology of Louis XIV and, in newly discovered or conquered lands, places bearing the name of Saint Louis were founded (in North America, Senegal, La Réunion, Alsace). We can also add the churches of *Saint-Louis des Invalides* (in Paris) and *Saint-Louis-des-Français* (in Rome).

In short, these great saints arrived on the scene too late, when the toponymy of France had already been fixed.

2.16. Anecdotes

We have termed "anecdotes" certain small facts which show that the choice of a saint is sometimes down to chance. In the main we are dealing with recent events that are quite easy to follow chronologically.

Saint-Nicolas-lès-Cîteaux (Côte-d'Or). Here we need to look at a major trend in history. At the beginning of the 17th century, Lorraine was devastated by war and the monks of Cîteaux decided to welcome some colonists from this region who could find a little peace in the Kingdom of France. The 23 family heads found in this sanctuary Nicolas, the patron saint of the Lorraine. This takes us far beyond the concise formula of ALBERT DAUZAT.

Saint Eugénie (Haute-Loire). For DAUZAT, this comes from a holy martyr from the year 262; but the village was called *Villeneuve* until 1860. In this

[62] This church was dedicated to Saint Martin. Recently it has been dedicated to the local saint, who was born 100 meters away from there. There is also a church *Saint-Bernard* in Dijon, built in the middle of the 20th century. And it was in the 19th century when *Saint-Just* (Ain) became a parish under the patronage of Saint Bernard.

[63] There are the other *Bernard*s, for example *Saint Bernard of Menthon,* a Valdotain priest, honoured in Alpine passes and in some parishes (a rural chapel at *Brénod,* Ain). Confusion with *Saint Barnard,* bishop of Vienna (Isère), is also possible (Ain).

[64] Chanceaux, a village on a road through which Louis XIV passed; the church seems to have previously been dedicated to another saint.

[65] There are, however, some parishes under this dedication, such as *Abergement de Varey* (Ain), from 1808, but they are recent.

period Emperor Napoleon III (who was a great builder of churches) reigned over France, and his Empress was Eugénie. This explanation is not valid of course for the other *Sainte-Eugénie*s, among which *Sainte-Ouenne* (Deux-Sèvres) is attested from 1210, and which is the result of a phonetic evolution.[66]

Saint Agnès (Jura). The name of this martyr is rare; a single patronage in Saône-et-Loire and a hospice in Charolles. But this name, which is rare in toponymy (3 municipalities in France: Alpes-Maritimes, Jura, Isère), was also that of a princess of Burgundy. This village seems to have been a frontier post, because it was the first village one would come to when entering the lands of the duke of Burgundy.

Saint Joseph. A Hebrew name; the husband of the Virgin. Few municipalities carry the name of this important saint. But we should not forget that in the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church wanted to make of him the patron saint of industrial labour. Thus, in the new popular districts, churches were established under his patronage, as well as technical schools of the same name. This was the case in the region of Saint-Étienne (Loire). The district grouped around its new church, needed a name to become a municipality, and so the municipality of Saint Joseph was created.[67]

Saint Edmond. This was certainly the last municipality of France to acquire an eponymic saint. This former hamlet, which gained in importance thanks to the presence of a road, was set up as a municipality. It took the name from its recently constructed church, dedicated to this English saint, simply because it was the first name of the priest-builder (TAVERDET 2009).

2.17. Recent churches

We should mention these for the record. In the 20th century, new churches were built in new districts. These were dedicated to saints who undoubtedly belong to verifiable history. Thus we can find examples like *Sainte-Bernadette, Sainte-Jeanne-de-Chantal,*[68] *Saint-Jean-Bosco, Saint-Jean XXIII, Saint-François-Xavier.* But these new acts of naming had no impact on the general toponymy, not even on the names of streets. *Joan of Arc,* canonized in 1920, left her name to some suburban churches and some catholic youth centres, and also to sports teams, which are these days completely secularized, except in their name.

And where is God in all this? At Ferney (Ain), Voltaire had the parish church knocked down and replaced it with a chapel bearing the inscription *Deo erexit Voltaire,* making it "the only church in the universe dedicated to God alone".

[66] There have been ancient churches under this patronage, such as Armix (Ain) since at least 1400.

[67] A parish under Saint Joseph's patronage in Ain, Vésines, since 1808.

[68] Named more simply *Chantal* from the end of the 19th century, whence the female first name.

2.18. Plays on words

Sometimes a saint seems to have been chosen because his name recalled the primitive name of the site, in a way predestined to be the place of worship of a saint. We can mention the case of *Firminy* (Loire) which possesses a church under Saint Firmin's patronage. This city of the Loire seems to have been built on the ancient route from Lyon to Le Puy. Nothing suggested that this should become a place of worship to this obscure saint, other than the name (of a Gallo-Roman owner, perhaps). We should remember that there was an abbey to Saint-Pierre in this place which did not leave any traces behind. The same play on words can be found in the county of Ain at *Germagnat* where the church is under Saint Germain's patronage. Here too we have the name of an ancient Gallo-Roman site (domain of Germanius, a person who, if it existed, had no connection with Saint Germain). The same situation obtains too in Haute-Marne with the village of *Santenoge.* The etymology of this name is obscure, but people thought they could see in it *Sainte Nativité* (Holy Nativity), which is phonetically difficult to accept, but quite sufficient for them to seek the patronage of the Virgin.

Sometimes, the inverse approach was taken: from an obscure name, a saint's name was created. Thus there is *Saint-Igny-de-Roche* (Saône-et-Loire) which was in the 10th century *Sanctae Mariae Santiniaci vel Centigniaci.* In the 17th century this would become *Saint-Igny,* who was not recognized by the Church as the place of worship is still under the patronage of the Assumption of the Virgin.

2.19. The French Revolution

During the French Revolution of 1789, it was the goal to erase from French geography names which recalled the two dominant social orders (nobility and clergy).[69] Everything was thus altered to some degree and the names of saints were sometimes replaced by the names of more or less important characters from the Convention. Here are some examples taken from Saône-et-Loire: *Saint-Alban* became *Blandement; Saint-Albain > Mont-Marat; Saint-Ambreuil > Loi-sur-Grosne; Saint-Berain-sous-Sanvignes > Brains-les-Bois; Saint-Berain-sur-Dheune > Berain-la-Dheune.* These are just a few examples, but we could considerably expand this list. Pre-Christian names too were revived; thus *Moutiers-Saint-Jean* (Côte-d'Or) took back its ancient name of *Réôme.* But our revolutionaries were not linguists and they could not know that this name meant (from the Gallic *Rigomagus*) 'the market of the king'.

[69] Certain names were secularized well before the Revolution, but for practical reasons. So, in Ain, *Saint-Didier-de-Renom* became little by little *Plantey* (its current name), because the patron of the parish had changed—*Didier* being abandoned in favour of *Pierre.*

These rather banal names, which spawned many homonyms (an annoying problem for the postal services) did not have time to assert themselves, and Consul Bonaparte, in the year X, restored the ancient names. There are very few survivors from this disturbed period. In Burgundy, *Vaux-Saint-Seine* became *Vaux-Saules,*[70] and the name was not modified. It is true that this only affects the second element of the place name, of little currency in present-day usage and largely reserved for administrative purposes. We can also mention *Jean-de-Saône* (Montbellet, Saône-et-Loire) which was the ancient *Saint-Jean-de-Saône* (a chapel under Saint Jean's patronage). But this is just the name of a hamlet. Finally *Saint-Sorlin (Sanctus Saturninus)* became *La Roche-Vineuse* in 1793; its Christian name was restored in the year VIII, and this was the name used by local writer Alphonse de Lamartine. However, at the end of the 19th century, the name of *La Roche-Vineuse* reappeared, doubtless to avoid postal confusion with homonymous villages.[71]

Nonetheless, some revolutionary forms were maintained, if only to avoid postal confusion. Such is the case of *Saint-Martin-de-Senozan*[72] (Saône-et-Loire) which became *Belle-Roche* in 1793, and finally *Saint-Martin-Belle-Roche* in 1894. The same situation obtains with *Saint-Amour* (Saône-et-Loire), becoming *Bellevue* in 1793, then *Saint-Amour-Bellevue* in 1908. We can well imagine that the postal authorities were involved in these modifications.

2.20. Changes of Saints

When we read in county dictionaries the brief histories of parishes, we see rather often that names are not constant and that the holy protectors could easily be dismissed and replaced by another saint. These issues are often only addressed in footnotes. To a large extent we are ignorant of the reasons behind such modifications, but we would be inclined to think that the parishioners wanted to replace an old, worn out saint (*Sanctus defatigatus*, according to Romain) by a new and more effective one. However, in every instance that we have been able to find more precise explanations, we could see that it in fact concerned a physical change to the place. For example, in *Saint-Trivier* (Ain), the ancient church was abandoned for a more central church. In *Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye* (Côte-d'Or), the parochial church of Saint Gilles was destroyed to adopt the abbey church of Saint Seine, bigger and more beautiful. We could give many similar examples.

[70] *Saules* (the name of a fortified house), became farm (from the Germanic *sal* 'castle', in French *salle*). No link with 'willow'. The explanations given in classic works of onomastics must be abandoned.

[71] There is another *Saint-Sorlin* in the nearby county of Rhône.

[72] From the name of a nearby village.

2.21. Towards a geography of hagionyms

A comparison between the names of toponymic saints in the neighbouring counties of Côte-d'Or and Saône-et-Loire (which were never separate historically) may well be of interest. In Côte-d'Or, of a total of 717 parishes, we have 41 names starting with *Saint,* to which we can add 3 names with *Dominus.* In Saône-et-Loire, of the 591 parishes, we have 110 names using *Saint-*, and 4 *Dominus.*[73] We might imagine that the impact of Catholicism was stronger in the South than in the North of the region, because the proportion of place-names with *Saint-* is almost three times as strong in the South as in the North. But the reality is more complex. The North is a region formed from calcareous layers with important springs. This fact permitted the development of human settlement that was both stronger and more ancient. At the time of christianization, the place names were already quite fixed and hagionyms were rarely imposed. In the South, we have (except in the regions of vineyards) regions covered with forests. Little by little these would become cultivated and churches were built to serve the newcomers. Often, in this region of scattered houses, the church was the only focal point and houses were gradually constructed around the place of worship. On the other hand, in regions of more ancient settlement, the church was built in the centre of an already existing—and named—village.[74] In the newly colonized regions, it was thus easier to adopt a name using *Saint-*. It is as well to remember though that the place name *Saint-Martin* is not a means of honouring Saint Martin; it is rather a way of naming a new site.[75] And finally a point common to the whole of France: by the year 1200, everything had been settled and few new religious place names were created—only when new churches were built. This precocity gives to French toponymy its exclusively Catholic appearance.[76]

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[73] We find the same disproportion for chapels; in Côte-d'Or, no village is called *Chapel,* against 10 in Saône-et-Loire.

[74] We can use as an illustration of these facts two extreme examples. In *Mercurey* (Saône-et-Loire), we are in a region of vineyards, between Autun and Chalon (towns mentioned by Caesar). It is very possible that the church was built in the middle of an existing village, in the place of a temple to Mercury. However, in order to find traces of the god, it would be necessary to destroy the current church. Thus we shall never know the truth. In *Saint-Martin-du-Mont* (Côte-d'Or), the region was cultivated by monks at the end of the Merovingian period. This important site was *Segestre* (nowaday *Cestres*), a Gallic name, doubtless a stopping point between Langres and Autun; the church was built away from the village and it attracted new construction. It became then the centre of the village and *Cestres* is no more than a hamlet.

[75] We find the same fact in urban toponymy; a street named *Pasteur* is of course a tribute to the great scholar. But a street called *Saint-Martin* is only the street of the church of Saint Martin.

[76] Protestantism developed only when everything has been settled (toponomastically at least) and, in most regions of France, Catholicism was the only religion until 1798. In the eastern Lutheran regions, Protestants transformed Roman Catholic Churches into temples, but often they preserved the ancient name, such as *Saint-Martin* in Montbéliard (Doubs).

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*Hagiotoponyms in Catalonia (Spain)**

A study of the general scope and geographical distribution of religious place names

1. Introduction

I propose undertaking an empirical study of the presence of religious place names (hagiotoponyms or patrociny names) within the toponymy of Catalonia. My starting point for this is a very simple consideration: a hagiotoponym is a place name that alludes to a *holy* or *sacred* place; and, by extension, a hagiotoponym is a place name that alludes to any aspect of religion (MOREU-REY 1965: 89, 1982: 95).

As a general rule, and at least among European countries, the significance of their hagiotoponymy, or religious toponymy extends well beyond a simple consideration of its taxonomy; that is, a concern for the problem of classifying toponyms. Indeed, hagiotoponyms provide us with a wealth of qualitative information about very basic aspects of a region's history. And, furthermore, albeit indirectly, religious place names provide us with information about important aspects of that region's geography. On this point, the words of ENRIC MOREY-REY, recognised as one of the first scholars to take an interest in the hagiotoponymy of Catalonia, are particularly apposite. In referring expressly to the historical value of religious place names in Catalan toponymy, he writes: "The information that can be derived from the presence of hagiotoponyms is highly valuable, because, in general, the devotion expressed for a saint can be perfectly framed in a given epoch or period of our history. In Catalonia, for example, most of its hagiotoponyms can be traced to the first half of the Middle Ages." (1982: 96).

To date, studies of the hagiotoponymy of Catalonia have taken a predominantly historical focus and adopted an approach that can be described as above all thematic. In other words, they have, in the main, undertaken analyses of documented evidence and have, typically, examined the introduction of a given religious invocation (understood in its broadest sense and considering all possible implications). A good example of this approach (in Catalonia) is provided by the case of *Sant Martí de Tours*, as discussed by MOREU-REY in his thesis (1967). Thus, the central concern in his study is the 470 places (of great diversity, ranging from villages, churches, chapels and other buildings even to moorland) identified with a toponym formed with an invocation to

* Sincere thanks are due to Iain Kenneth Robinson for his linguistic assistance.

Sant Martí. But the author aims to do much more than simply analyse these 470 names: after locating them on the map, he converts them into "reference points" from which he draws a range of different data (archaeological, geographical, ethnographic, bibliographic and historical) that are related, directly or indirectly, to these places. By so doing, the author seeks to build up sufficient information to be able to offer a reliable interpretation of the problem he seeks to solve: that is, providing a detailed understanding of the chronology of the devotion to *Sant Martí* in Catalonia (a chronology directly influenced by the historical vicissitudes of the age), its importance for the society of the age and an explanation for the differences in the diffusion of this invocation from one place to another in Catalonia. In short, the hagiotoponymic study conducted by MOREU-REY, which focuses on a specific invocation, gradually becomes a unique means of reconstructing history, in its broadest sense, within the framework of a given region and society.

Here, the analysis I propose undertaking is quite distinct. My aim is to study the hagiotoponymy from a geographical perspective (that is, emphasising the distribution of this type of toponym throughout the region), and focusing on its present-day significance (rather than on its historical importance). However, I should stress that when I speak of a place name's "significance", I allude to its relevance as a toponymic element endowed with spatial meaning (and which can be depicted on a map) and capable, therefore, of transmitting specific information about a given place.

In conducting this study I have drawn on a number of relatively new sources of information which have facilitated my analysis greatly: I refer, specifically, to the official gazetteer of Catalan toponymy (henceforth NOTMC).[1] In the 2009 edition of this source a total of 52,700 toponyms are included; of these, I calculate 3,121 are hagiotoponyms (that is, 5.92%).

Basically, my analysis centres on a study of this set of 3,121 toponyms. I am interested in understanding the characteristics and the most notable features of this set of names, highlighting the most frequent invocations and the particular

[1] Its full Catalan name is "Nomenclàtor oficial de toponímia major de Catalunya" (NOTMC), published in September 2009 by the Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan Government); now in its second edition, it consists of three volumes (first edition 2003). The concept of "toponímia major" (principal toponymy) refers to the set of place names included in the official topographic maps drawn at a scale of 1: 50 000. These then are the principal place names in the region, both spatially and geographically: from mountain ranges, hills and main rivers and their tributaries to towns, villages and other types of settlement. Not included among the principal toponymy, as is pointed out in the section outlining the methodology used (Nomenclàtor I, XVIII), are certain categories of names that are not easily defined spatially, such as moorland and woodland, and the areas known in Catalonia by the name *partides de terra* (a traditional land division in Spain that particularly concerns rural space).

elements of the region's geography to which the names make reference (single standing buildings, the nuclei of a settlement, relief features, river courses, or other elements). This is complemented by an epigraph in which I study the relevance of Catalan hagiotoponyms formed from the invocation to *Sant Martí*. Finally, I include a section of conclusions that seeks to make a number of basic reflections on the subject studied here.

2. A brief note on the importance of Catalonia's hagiotoponymy

Catalonia, which since the introduction of the 1978 Constitution has acquired the political status of an autonomous community within the Spanish state, is a historical nation with deep roots in the Christian tradition. In fact, its incorporation within the territory of the Roman Empire (undergoing a comprehensive process of Romanization from the end of the 1st century BC) and its subsequent assimilation within, first, the Visigoth (after the 5th century) and, later, Carolingian dominions (after the 8th century), facilitated the diffusion and progressive hold over the lands of Christianity and its institutions—specifically via the Catholic Church. The period from the 9th to the 12th centuries was particularly important in the political construction of Catalonia, to the extent that it was during these years that its process of territorial unification and institutional independence was achieved. At the same time, it was the period in which Catalonia became a "frontier territory" (within the so-called *Marca Hispánica*), standing as it did between the Carolingian and Muslim Empires, and during those years it experienced a major reorganisation of its settlement pattern and the colonisation of its lands, a process in which the monasteries and churches played a leading role. For all these reasons, it is of little surprise that in these centuries hagiotoponyms took root in Catalonia, a process that was characterised by two main features: a) the greater prevalence of hagiotoponyms in the north and east of the country, coinciding with the area of earliest agrarian settlement and colonisation (see the map of religious place names in MOREU-REY 1967: 5, for further details); and b) the co-existence of a medieval ecclesiastical colonisation with other forms of colonisation; a co-existence that would favour, in practice, the diversification of Catalan toponymy, which was already very diverse, as COROMINES points out (1965: 7–30).

A present-day example of the significance of hagiotoponyms within Catalan toponymy can be seen by examining the names of the region's municipalities. In Catalonia, there are currently 947 municipalities, each with its corresponding name. Of these names, 112 are hagiotoponyms; that is, 11.83% of the total. Their characteristics and prevalence are very uneven (and, to a certain extent, mirror the main traits described below for Catalan hagiotoponymy as a whole): 89 are male hagiotoponyms (79.46%), while 23 are female (20.54%). Among the former, the most frequent invocations are to *Sant Martí* (8 cases),

Sant Pere[2] and *Sant Feliu* (6 cases each), *Sant Joan* (5 cases) and *Sant Jaume, Sant Julià, Sant Llorenç* and *Sant Vicenç* (4 cases each). Among the latter, *Santa Maria* (7 cases) and *Santa Coloma* (4 cases) stand out above all the others.

Questions concerning the region's hagiotoponymy acquire considerable social significance in Catalonia, related in all probability to what is known in Spain's contemporary history as the religious question (that is, the tension between ecclesiastical power and civil society, which on a number of occasions has resulted in open conflict). Evidence of this is the debate caused by changes to municipal names when they involve a religious invocation; that is, when a hagiotoponym is affected. Historically, the most illustrative case in this regard was the "secularisation" of the hagiotoponyms of the Catalan municipalities during Spain's revolution and civil war (1936–1939), which the author has examined elsewhere (TORT 2007).[3]

3. An initial analysis: male and female hagiotoponyms

It is certainly significant that more than two thirds of the hagiotoponyms in Catalonia (2,246 to be specific, or 71.96% of the total) are invocations of male saints. The remaining 875 (28.04%) correspond to female hagiotoponyms.

First, I should point out that I do not intend to examine here the reasons for this imbalance in the hagiotoponyms by gender, although there must have been historical and religious reasons for this development. However, the approach adopted in this study, which seeks above all to understand the present-day reality, prevents me from considering questions with a marked chronological component.

Below I look at each set of hagiotoponyms in turn in order to establish a basic characterization of their make-up.

3.1. Male hagiotoponyms: general considerations

The 2,246 male hagiotoponyms are formed from a total of 138 invocations, of which only 44 appear ten or more times as place names. These 44 invocations account for 1,802 hagiotoponyms (that is, 80.23% of the total), and are distributed as follows: *Sant Pere* (193 cases, 8.59%), *Sant Miquel* (181 cases, 8.06%), *Sant Joan* (155 cases, 6.90%), *Sant Martí* (137 cases, 6.10%), *Sant Jaume* (82 cases, 3.86%), *Sant Salvador* (82 cases, 3.65%), *Sant Antoni* (61 cases, 2.72%), *Sant Julià* (54 cases, 2.40%), *Sant Feliu, Feliuet, Fèlix* or

[2] These six cases become seven if we consider the toponym *Santpedor*, a name formed from a hagiotoponymic base *(Santpedor < Sant Pere de l'Or)*.

[3] For a historical reference on this question, see PAU VILA 1979.

Felip (50 cases, 2.23%), *Sant Roc* (49 cases, 2.18%), *Sant Sebastià* (49 cases, 2.18%), *Sant Bartomeu* (39 cases, 1.74%), *Sant Vicenç* (39 cases, 1.74%), *Sant Esteve* (38 cases, 1.69%), *Sant Cristòfol* (37 cases, 1.65%), *Sant Llorenç* (34 cases, 1.51%), *Sant Marc* (34 cases, 1.51%), *Sant Andreu* (33 cases, 1.47%), *Sant Jordi* (31 cases, 1.38%), *Sant Pau* (31 cases, 1.38%), *Sant Romà* (31 cases, 1.38%), *Sant Sadurní* or *Serni* (31 cases, 1.38%), *Sant Quirze, Quiri, Quir* or *Quirc* (30 cases, 1.34%), *Sant Genís* (27 cases, 1.20%), *Sant Climent* or *Climenç* (23 cases, 1.02%), *Sant Ramon* (23 cases, 1.02%), *Sant Francesc* or *Francisco* (20 cases, 0.89%), *Sant Isidre* (18 cases, 0.80%), *Sant Ponç* (18 cases, 0.80%), *Sant Josep* (16 cases, 0.71%), *Sant Iscle* (14 cases, 0.62%), *Sant Just* (13 cases, 0.58%), *Sant Marçal* (12 cases, 0.53%), *Sant Nicolau* (12 cases, 0.53%), *Sant Baldiri* (11 cases, 0.49%), *Sant Cugat* (11 cases, 0.49%), *Sant Grau* (11 cases, 0.49%), *Sant Gregori* (11 cases, 0.49%), *Sant Quintí* (11 cases, 0.49%), *Sant Cebrià* (10 cases, 0.45%), *Sant Cosme* (10 cases, 0.45%), *Sant Diumenge, Domènec, Domí* or *Domingo* (10 cases, 0.45%), *Sant Mateu* (10 cases, 0.45%), *Sant Valentí* (10 cases, 0.45%).

A number of interesting features are worth mentioning in relation to the distribution of these 44 invocations. First, there is the pre-eminence among them of four names: *Sant Pere* (193 cases), *Sant Miquel* (181), *Sant Joan* (155) and *Sant Martí* (137). Taken together they account for 666 occurrences, which is equivalent to almost 30% (or 29.65% to be exact) of all the male hagiotoponyms in Catalonia. Second, there is the surprisingly poor showing of certain names that have enjoyed and continue to enjoy considerable popularity as first names in Catalan society: such is the case of *Sant Josep* (16 cases), and even *Sant Jordi*, with slightly more uses (31 cases) but still relatively few compared to the main four. By contrast, certain saints' names of more restricted use (when considered from a more general point of view) stand out because of their high number of occurrences: this is the case, for example, of the invocations to *Sant Salvador* (82 cases), *Sant Julià* (54 cases), *Sant Roc* (49), *Sant Sebastià* (49), *Sant Llorenç* (34), *Sant Marc* (34) and the variants of *Sant Feliu* (50) and *Sant Quirze* (30).

The remaining 444 male hagiotoponyms are formed from invocations to a total of 94 saints, none of which is referred to on more than nine occasions. Of these, 42 figure just once in the gazetteer. The detailed list of these invocations (included below) provides further evidence of the nature of Catalonia's hagiotoponymy and highlights the need to study them in the local context in which they occur.

The following saints' names appear: *Sant Adjutori* (1 occurrence), *Sant Adrià* (4), *Sant Agustí* (5), *Sant Aleix* (2), *Sant Alís* (4), *Sant Amanç* or *Amand* (8), *Sant Ambròs* (2), *Sant Ampèlit* (1), *Sant Aniol* (5), *Sant Antolí* (1), *Sant Aventí* (2), *Sant Beado* (1), *Sant Benet* (9), *Sant Berger* (1), *Sant Bernabé* (9), *Sant*

Bernat (4), *Sant Blai* (8), *Sant Boi* (2), *Sant Bonifaci* (2), *Sant Briç* (1), *Sant Camil* (1), *Sant Cap* (1), *Sant Carles* (2), *Sant Celdoni* (1), *Sant Celoni* (1), *Sant Cels* (1), *Sant Clem* (1), *Sant Corneli* (8), *Sant Crist* (9), *Sant Cristau* (1), *Sant Cristol* (1), *Sant Dalmau* or *Dalmai* (3), *Sant Daniel* (6), *Sant Donat* (3), *Sant Elies* (5), *Sant Elm* (1), *Sant Eloi* (4), *Sant Ermengol* (8), *Sant Esperit*[4] (4), *Sant Eudald* (3), *Sant Eugini* (1), *Sant Fermí* (1), *Sant Ferran* (2), *Sant Ferriol* (4), *Sant Formatge* (1), *Sant Fost* (1), *Sant Fruitós* (9), *Sant Gabriel* (3), *Sant Gaietà* (1), *Sant Gallard* (1), *Sant Germé* (1), *Sant Gervàs, Gervasi* or *Girvé* (6), *Sant Gil* or *Gili* (4), *Sant Guillem* (2), *Sant Guim* (4), *Sant Hilari* (6), *Sant Hipòlit* (1), *Sant Honorat* (4), *Sant Ignasi* (1), *Sant Ildefons* (1), *Sant Jeroni* (7), *Sant Llàtzer* (7), *Sant Lleïr* (3), *Sant Lliser* or *Llíser* (2), *Sant Llobí* (2), *Sant Llogari* (2), *Sant Llop* (7), *Sant Lluís* (2), *Sant Magí* (8), *Sant Mamet* (9), *Sant Marcel* or *Marcell* (4), *Sant Mauri* (1), *Sant Maurici* (8), *Sant Maximí* (1), *Sant Medir* (6), *Sant Mer* (4), *Sant Moí* (1), *Sant Mori* (1), *Sant Muç* (2), *Sant Narcís* (2), *Sant Nazari* (9), *Sant Nofre* or *Onofre* (6), *Sant Oleguer* (1), *Sant Onís* (1), *Sant Pare* or *Santpare*[5] (8), *Sant Patllari* (3), *Sant Pelai* (1), *Sant Pelegrí* (5), *Sant Pius* (1), *Sant Pol* (8), *Sant Pou* (3), *Sant Prim* or *Prims* (2), *Sant Privat* (2), *Sant Procopi* (2), *Sant Rafael* (1), *Sant Romanç* (2), *Sant Ruf* (1), *Sant Sadovè* (1), *Sant Salvi* (1), *Sant Segimon* (3), *Sant Semison* (1), *Sant Sepulcre* (2), *Sant Silvestre* (5), *Sant Simeó* (1), *Sant Simó* (1), *Sant Simplici* (3), *Sant Sixt* (1), *Sants Metges* (4), *Sant Telm* (1), *Sant Tirs* (3), *Sant Tomàs* (5), *Sant Tou* (3), *Sant Urbà* (2), *Sant Valerià* (1).

3.2. Female hagiotoponyms: general considerations

The 875 female hagiotoponyms present among the principal place names of Catalonia include 625 names linked to female invocations (or to the names of saints) and 250 names corresponding to the Virgin.

It should be borne in mind here that in the Catalan tradition of onomastics the usual form of dedication to the Virgin is via the expression *Mare de Déu* 'Mother of God': *Mare de Déu de Gràcia, Mare de Déu de la Bovera, Mare de Déu de la Devesa, Mare de Déu de les Fonts, Mare de Déu del Far, Mare de Déu del Remei, Mare de Déu del Roser,* etc. However, the expression is not exclusive, as it coincides frequently with that of *Santa Maria*. But given its toponymic importance and its widespread use throughout Catalonia, we discuss it in more detail below.

[4] Strictly speaking this is not an invocation, but the hagionymic form used in referring to the Holy Spirit.

[5] Likewise, not strictly speaking an invocation. In the Catholic Church, the allusion to *Sant Pare* 'Holy Father' is equivalent to an allusion to the Pope, or the head of the Church.

Significantly 524 occurrences of female saints' names (the equivalent of 83.84% of the 625 names with a female invocation) correspond to the fifteen names listed below: *Santa Maria* (185 cases, 29.60%), *Santa Magdalena* (67 cases, 10.72%), *Santa Margarida* (46 cases, 7.36%), *Santa Eulàlia* (34 cases, 5.44%), *Santa Llúcia* (33 cases, 5.28%), *Santa Anna* (26 cases, 4.16%), *Santa Bàrbara* (26 cases, 4.16%), *Santa Creu* (26 cases, 4.16%), *Santa Fe* (21 cases, 3.36%), *Santa Cecília* or *Cília* (19 cases, 3.04%), *Santa Eugènia, Eugina* or *Eugínia* (15 cases, 2.40%), *Santa Coloma* (14 cases, 2.24%), *Santa Cristina* (11 cases, 1.76%), *Santa Agnès* (11 cases, 1.76%), *Santa Susanna* (11 cases, 1.76%).

Of particular note in the list is the pre-eminence enjoyed by *Santa Maria:* 185 occurrences, representing almost 30% of all cases. The invocation that follows this in the list, *Santa Magdalena,* only occurs on 67 occasions—approximately, two-thirds fewer. In relative terms, the pre-eminence of *Santa Maria* is much greater than the highest percentage recorded by the male hagiotoponyms. Recall that the most frequently occurring name, *Sant Pere,* accounted for just 8.59% of male saints' names.

However, if we ignore *Santa Maria* for a moment, it is significant that the most frequent occurrences in the female hagiotoponymy are fairly similar to the most frequent figures recorded among the male names: *Santa Magdalena* accounts for 10.72%, and *Santa Margarida* 7.36%; figures that do not differ greatly from 8.59% and 8.06%, the percentage values that head the male ranking.

The other names occur fewer than ten times (and, in fifteen cases, only once). What should be noted, however, is the great diversity of names: up to a total of 32, which are listed below to illustrate the particular nature of Catalan religious place names: *Santa Afra* (1), *Santa Àgata* or *Àgueda* (5), *Santa Blanca* (1), *Santa Brígida* (1), *Santa Càndia* or *Càndida* (5), *Santa Caterina* (8), *Santa Digna* (2), *Santa Elena* or *Helena* (7), *Santa Engràcia* (2), *Santa Escolàstica* (1), *Santa Florentina* (1), *Santa Francesca* (1), *Santa Isabel* (1), *Santa Joleta* (1), *Santa Justa* (2), *Santa Llogaia* or *Llocaia* (6), *Santa Madrona* (8), *Santa Marina* (4), *Santa Marta* (1), *Santa Obina* (1), *Santa Oliva* (1), *Santa Pau* (1), *Santa Paulina* (1), *Santa Pellaia* or *Pelaia* (4), *Santa Perpètua* (5), *Santa Quitèria* (2), *Santa Rita* (2), *Santa Rosa* (4), *Santa Seclina* (3), *Santa Tecla* (1), *Santa Tereseta* or *Teresita* (2) and *Santa Victòria* (1).

4. On the thematic nature of Catalan hagiotoponyms

In this section I analyse an aspect of the hagiotoponymy that can be considered quite novel: the kind of referent to which the name alludes or, in other words, the material concept that embodies its spatial and territorial meaning. Here, I

am concerned with answering the following question: what object is actually designated by the hagiotoponym?

The question is by no means banal. It is very much related to the consideration raised at the beginning of this discussion: a hagiotoponym can be understood in a narrow sense, but also more broadly (and, in this latter case, the scholar of hagiotoponymy faces an even more complex problem). As early as 1960 FRANCISCO MARSÁ warned of the ambiguity surrounding this situation: "The vacillating concurrence of a saint's name with the denomination accorded that place is not exclusive to the type of toponym under discussion, but rather it affects hagiotoponymy in general. The link between the hagionym [or *saint's name*] and another toponymic element, occurring through the dedication of a church or parish, often creates an area of uncertainty." (1960: 84).

To what extent is it possible to delimit this *area of uncertainty* by means of toponymic analysis? It is, without doubt, a complex task. But, for the purposes of this study, the use of a source such as the NOTMC facilitates affairs. It should be stressed here that all the toponyms included in the gazetteer are characterised according to a given geographical element (from a total of 17 possible concepts).[6] And, while for 52,700 toponyms this is a somewhat restricted conceptual framework, it is nevertheless useful for providing general classification guidelines.

For the purposes of this study, and given the impossibility of undertaking an exhaustive analysis of all the hagiotoponyms included in the NOTMC, I focus my attention on the hagiotoponyms formed from the most frequent invocations: four for male saints' names *(Sant Pere, Sant Joan, Sant Miquel* and *Sant Martí),* and three for female saints *(Santa Maria, Santa Magdalena* and the hagiotoponyms formed with the expression *Mare de Déu).* Likewise, in conceptual terms, I have reduced the possible categories of classification (or geographical concepts) for these toponyms to just five: religious buildings (churches, chapels and hermitages); settlements or elements of a settlement in general (grouped or individual); relief elements (mountains and relief features in general), hydrographical elements (rivers and smaller fluvial courses) and a final category of other concepts. Above and beyond this somewhat schematic nature, the five categories chosen do enable me to offer an initial picture of the "thematic distribution" of the hagiotoponymy of Catalonia today.

4.1. The nature of male hagiotoponymy

As indicated, I concentrate on the hagiotoponyms formed from the four most frequently occurring male invocations: *Sant Pere, Sant Miquel, Sant Joan* and

[6] For the details of these concepts, see NOTMC, Índex, p. 9.

Sant Martí. The classification of these occurrences by category gives the following results (in absolute and relative figures):

a) Hagiotoponyms formed with *Sant Pere* (193 cases, 8.59% of all the male hagiotoponyms). Religious buildings: 102 (52.85% of the total); the settlement and its elements: 35 (18.13%); relief elements: 32 (16.58%); hydrographical elements: 18 (9.33%); other: 6 (3.11%).

b) Hagiotoponyms formed with *Sant Miquel* (181 cases, 8.06% of all the male hagiotoponyms). Religious buildings: 97 (53.59% of the total); the settlement and its elements: 26 (14.36%); relief elements: 26 (14.36%); hydrographical elements: 22 (12.15%); other: 10 (5.52%).

c) Hagiotoponyms formed with *Sant Joan* (155 cases, 6.90% of all the male hagiotoponyms). Religious buildings: 69 (44.52% of the total); the settlement and its elements: 31 (20%); relief elements: 32 (20.65%); hydrographical elements: 16 (10.32%); other: 7 (4.52%).

d) Hagiotoponyms formed with *Sant Martí* (137 cases, 6.10% of all the male hagiotoponyms). Religious buildings: 67 (48.91% of the total); the settlement and its elements: 38 (27.74%); relief elements: 15 (10.95%); hydrographical elements: 14 (10.22%); other: 3 (4.48%).

4.2. The nature of female hagiotoponymy

Here, I concentrate on the two female invocations that occur most frequently, *Santa Maria* and *Santa Magdalena,* and on a specific consideration of the hagiotoponyms constituted with the expression *Mare de Déu.*

a) Hagiotoponyms formed with *Santa Maria* (185 cases, 21.14% of all the female hagiotoponyms). Religious buildings: 128 (69.19% of the total); the settlement and its elements: 24 (12.97%); relief elements: 11 (5.95%); hydrographical elements: 11 (5.95%); other: 11 (5.95 %).

b) Hagiotoponyms formed with *Santa Magdalena* (67 cases, 10.72% of all the female hagiotoponyms). Religious buildings: 43 (64.18% of the total); the settlement and its elements: 7 (10.45%); relief elements: 10 (14.93%); hydrographical elements: 7 (10.45%); other: —.

c) Hagiotoponyms formed with the expression *Mare de Déu* (250 cases, 28.57% of all the female hagiotoponyms). These toponyms present quite distinct behaviour. Thus, virtually all the occurrences (241 of the 250, i.e. 96%) correspond to "religious buildings" (that is, churches, chapels and hermitages), while only nine names are associated with "other concepts". The main distinction to be made in this group is between the hagiotoponyms associated with a religious element (for example: *Mare de Déu de Fàtima, Mare de Déu del Roser,* etc.), which represent a total of 82 cases (32.80% of the total), and

the hagiotoponyms associated with a toponymic element (for example: *Mare de Déu del Castell, Mare de Déu de la Font, Mare de Déu de Carrànima*, etc.), which represent the greatest number of cases (168 occurrences, 67.20% of the total).

4.3. A concluding note on the nature of Catalan hagiotoponymy

A general appraisal of these results highlights the tendency of Catalan hagiotoponymy to present (in terms of its thematic nature) a dual orientation: on the one hand, a (predominant) orientation towards what has traditionally been its genuine "semantic field", i.e. the names of specific religious buildings; and, on the other, an orientation towards or a link between the hagionyms and other "toponymic elements" (features of relief, hydrography and settlement), in line with the reflections of MARSÁ noted above. Among these other toponymic elements, those linked with features of a settlement record fairly high percentages (27.74% in the case of *Sant Martí* and 20% in that of *Sant Joan*); also of significance, are the percentages related to relief features (20.65% in the case of *Sant Joan* and 16.58% in that of *Sant Pere*). By contrast, the percentages related to hydrographical elements are, in general, lower (with a maximum prevalence of 10.32% in the case of *Sant Joan* and 10.45% in that of *Santa Magdalena*).

In general, more conservative behaviour is seen (or, rather, behaviour that is reactionary to change) in the female hagiotoponymy compared to that recorded in the male. Among the former, the prevalence for the denomination of religious buildings accounts for 64.18% of occurrences in the case of *Santa Magdalena* and 69.19% in that of *Santa Maria.* Among male toponyms, by contrast, it fluctuates between 44.52% for *Sant Joan* and 53.59% for *Sant Miquel.*

The reasons for this difference in behaviour lie outside the scope of this study; however, I would venture that perhaps they are related to their respective chronologies (for example, a later introduction into the territory of the female invocations). Likewise, I would venture that this might also be the reason why the hagiotoponyms formed with the expression *Mare de Déu* show an almost absolute correspondence with religious buildings and, in turn, a minimal tendency to be linked with other elements of the toponymy.

5. Case study: hagiotoponyms formed with *Sant Martí*

In the preceding pages this study has provided an overview of Catalonia's hagiotoponymy (as a subset of its present-day toponymy considered at a general level throughout the Catalan region, in the framework of what I have referred to as its "toponimia major") and of the main features of its geographical distribution. It is interesting, at this juncture, I believe, to complete

the study with a brief examination of one specific case study: hagiotoponyms formed from the invocation of *Sant Martí*. Reference was made to this case in the introduction, as it was one of the first invocations to be studied systematically in Catalonia. And, for this reason, it serves as an interesting counterpoint, given the detail it offers, for the more general overview provided up to this juncture.

The study of the invocation of *Sant Martí* and its importance in Catalan toponymy began with the research undertaken by FRANCISCO MARSÁ into the historical relevance of this name among the villages and settlements of Catalonia (1960). The scholar recorded a total of 46 toponyms with this invocation, serving as the name for groups of dwellings and for settlements, and he noted that their distribution in Catalonia was far from homogenous. Specifically, the name was found to concentrate in the north and northeast of Catalonia, near to the border with France, and that this concentration coincided by and large with certain ecclesiastic districts: the dioceses of Vic, Girona and Barcelona, on the one hand, and those of Solsona and Urgell, on the other (that is, the central area of the region referred to by historians as *Catalunya Vella*, or "Carolingian Catalonia"). The main conclusion MARSÁ drew from his observations was related to the historical process of colonisation of these lands; in other words, the introduction of a new model for the settlement and farming of the land, which historians refer to as the "medieval repopulation". This process took place in these dioceses between the 9th and 10th centuries and the hagiotoponymy of the period serves as evidence of the construction of these new settlements. For MARSÁ, the specific invocation of *Sant Martí* allows us to determine quite clearly the areas of Catalonia affected by this process of colonisation and repopulation around the year 900.

MOREU-REY took his analysis of the importance of this Catalan hagiotoponymy, linked to *Sant Martí*, much further (1967). The 470 places identified by the author are indicative of the detailed nature of his study; above all if we compare this number with the 46 toponyms analysed by MARSÁ (associated solely with settlements or groups of dwellings) and with the 137 place names identified in this study (forming part of the "toponimia major" of Catalonia). MOREU-REY's research is characterised above all by the innovative nature of his cartography: the detailed map that he drew to illustrate his findings which allowed him to draw his most relevant conclusions about the historical and geographical diffusion of hagiotoponyms formed with *Sant Martí* within Catalonia. By way of summary, the scholar makes the following observation: "As for what affected the chronology and geography of the devotion to Sant Martí, the map reveals a marked density of places of worship in *Catalunya Vella*, that is, the lands conquered from the Moors before the 11th century; this contrasts with the scarce number of such invocations in *Catalunya Nova* (the southern lands of the provinces of Lleida and of Tarragona), in the kingdom

of Valencia and the Balearics. These findings are highlighted on the map if we consider the approximate frontiers of the territory re-conquered between the years 850 and 950. (…) Sant Martí is the most frequently occurring invocation, following that of Santa Maria, in the bishoprics of Girona, Elna-Perpignan and Solsona (accounting for between 9 and 12% of all the ancient parishes), and the second in that of Seu d'Urgell." (1967: 6).

I feel that MOREU-REY's "geographical reading" of his data is also important because of its innovative nature. Here, he provides possible interpretations of his data, keys that can provide insights into the characteristics of the geographical setting occupied by the places linked to the devotion to *Sant Martí.* I speak, for example, of his references to altitude (that is, the high or prominent sites occupied by the settlements) as realised in toponyms such as *El Puig, Puigbò, La Mota, Peralta, Sacosta* and *La Serra;* to strategic sites of defence, in names such as *Miralles, Sarroca, Montseny, Guàrdia, El Far* and those formed from references to *Castell* 'castle' or *Torre* 'tower'; and he refers, also, to aspects related to the highways, using toponyms such as *Estrada, La Portella, Pontons, La Clusa* and names formed from *Pont* 'bridge'.

In practice, I believe that the approach taken by MOREU-REY, in adopting an open interpretation of the hagiotoponymy, can be of great interest to us today: methodologically, because his study is founded on a rigorous empirical approach that is well-defined in both space and time; and, scientifically, because, far from restricting himself to a simple analysis of hagiotoponyms, his multifaceted study takes a broad approach, open to all possible interrelations and connections. It is here that I believe the most innovative aspect of his work can be said to lie.

6. Conclusions

Hagiotoponymy is a branch of onomastics of many and varying interests. Appearing initially as a fairly limited, conservative field of study in terms of its research possibilities and its highly specialised researchers, the adoption of a broader approach has served to emphasise its potential as a more general area of study. Two reasons, I feel, make it potentially attractive: the universal nature of hagiotoponyms (to the extent that these names, beyond their initial function and value as denominations, eventually generate toponyms of a wide open thematic spectrum), and the intrinsic aptitudes observed in hagiotoponymy for establishing connections and correspondences with names of all types.

In Europe, hagiotoponymy as an object of study has acquired particular importance. The fact that Europe was the setting for the development and consolidation of Christianity from antiquity, and the far-reaching influence that this religion has exercised, at many different levels, on the life of the

peoples and cultures of the continent, make it easy to understand why today hagiotoponyms, in general, still have such weight of significance (despite the progressive secularisation of society) in the toponymy of Europe. The specific case of Catalonia is, in relation to this question, very much a reference point: the data used in this analysis indicate that approximately 6% of toponyms (at least, among what I have referred to as the "toponimia major") are hagiotoponyms. The undertaking of comparative studies in different countries, involving analyses of this type, should provide interesting findings in the future. The growing availability of data-bases of statistical sources of onomastics, adequately organised, should be of great assistance in this work.

Finally, I should stress the need to establish methodological diversity in the studies of hagiotoponymy by way of principle. If historical analyses have traditionally predominated, the academic development of onomastics is opening up new paths of analysis and offering new possibilities for research. In this study, albeit a somewhat introductory approach, I have sought to make this point evident. An emphasis on written documents and the systematic exploration of the archives continues to be, in many ways, an indispensable task. But we should not lose sight of the qualitative value of the information inherent, on numerous occasions, to the new toponymic sources (be it statistical in form or derived from an exploitation of a data base). Its innovative character, and the connections that it can frequently establish with immediate reality (and which are often impossible to obtain via other sources), constitute an aspect worthy of the greatest attention.

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Contributions to Spanish Hagiotoponyms

From all the studies of Hispanic hagiotoponymy published to date it is, in our opinion, that published by LUIS LÓPEZ SANTOS in the "Enciclopedia Lingüística Hispánica" (Hispanic Linguistic Encyclopedia), with the heading *Hagiotoponimia*[1] *(Hagiotoponymy)* which stands out (I, 579–614). Although this essay is already fifty years old, it is still current due to the large number of place names it contains which are related to hagionomy in the widest sense of the term. Therefore, our contribution will consist in the input of more examples[2] to those already included by LÓPEZ SANTOS with the sole end of ascertaining which Christian inspired hagionomy has given its name to cities, towns and villages of the Spanish geography.

To this end we have structured our research proposal in three parts. First, we make reference to hagiotoponymy[3] derived from the name of the Virgin Mary and that of the twelve apostles; next, those of martyrs, and finally by considering the names of holy bishops, confessors and preachers in general, who have left their mark on some Hispanic cities, towns and villages. Due to the fact that our essay is also of a lexical nature, we are going to make some linguistic commentaries that will aid in our explanation of the current forms of the hagiotoponyms to which we refer. However, as we have already pointed out, our greatest interest is in determining which Hispanic macrotoponyms are represented by the different hagionomy of the Christian tradition.[4]

1. The Virgin

From the beginnings of Christianity, which was a religion set up by the Roman Empire throughout the Iberian Peninsula, the Virgin Mary has, due to her enormous virtue, been revered by Christians as being the divine, chosen one, and for her assistance to those in need. The glorification of the Virgin Mary began when the Archangel Gabriel greeted her with the words: "Hail, Mary

[1] In fact, we cite hagiotoponyms extracted from this study.

[2] We must point out that we have selected those hagiotoponyms which we believe to be the most representative because they have given names to places in Spain which represent a religious tradition seated in this country for many centuries.

[3] In all cases we refer to macrotoponyms understood as a concept which encompasses the names of cities, towns, villages, places and geographic accidents which represent a large territorial unity.

[4] We must advise the reader that we will offer a sufficient list of Spanish hagiotoponyms, although this will not be necessarily complete as our object of study is the representativeness of each studied name.

full of grace, the Lord is with you! Blessed art thou among women!" With which he informed her of the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God. In the Christian Church, the pious veneration of the Holy Virgin Mary can be seen in the number of festivities by which the Church commemorates different events from her life and in the great quantity of toponyms bearing her name: *Santa María de Cayón* (Cantabria); *Santa María de Dulcis* (Huelva); *Santa María de Guía* (Gran Canarias); *Santa María de Huerta* (Soria); *Santa María de la Alameda* (Madrid); *Santa María de la Vega* (Zamora); *Santa María de las Hoyas* (Soria); *Santa María de los Caballeros, Santa María de Berrocal* and *Santa María de Tiétar* (Ávila); *Santa María de los Llanos* (Cuenca); *Santa María del Campo* (Burgos); *Santa María del Camí* (Balearic Islands and Barcelona); *Santa María de Palautordera, Santa Maria de Merlès, Santa Maria de Corcó* and *Santa Maria de Martorelles* (Barcelona) and *Santa María de las Hoyas* and *Santa María del Päramos* (León) and the Basque toponym *Andramari* (San Sebastian).

2. The Twelve Apostles

Undoubtedly, the names of the twelve apostles have left their mark in Spain, although this is not entirely uniform, as we will see in the cases of Saint Philip and Saint Jude.

San Andrés (Saint Andrew). Andrew, who was born in Bethsaida, was initially a disciple of John the Baptist, who later followed Christ, to whom he also introduced his brother Peter. According to tradition, after the Pentecost, he predicted Evangelism in many regions and was crucified in an 'X' shape in Achaia, a province of the Roman Empire. The name, 'Saint Andrew', appears in Spanish hagiotoponyms such as *San Andrés* (Gran Canarias), *San Andrés del Congosto* (Guadalajara), *San Andrés del Rabanedo* (León), *San Andrés del Rey* (Guadalajara), *Santo André de Paradela* and *Sant André de Boimente* (both in Lugo), *Son Santandreu* (Palma de Majorca), *San Andrés de Teixido* (La Coruña), *Sant Aadreu de Calbinyà* and *Sant Abdreu de Castellbó* (Gerona) and *Sant Andreu de la Barca* (Barcelona), amongst many other examples.

San Bartolomé (Saint Bartholomew). This apostle, according to tradition, preached Evangelism in India, after the ascension of Jesus, where he received the crown of martyrdom. There are various municipalities and villages in Spain where we find the invocation of the saint: *San Bartolomé,* a parish from the Asturian council of Belmonte de Miranda; *Aldeanueva de San Bartolomé,* a town in Toledo; *Cumbres de San Bartolomé,* a town in Huelva; *Riaguas de San Bartolomé,* a town in Segovia; *San Bartolomé,* a town in Las Palmas; *San Bartolomé de Tirajana,* a town in Las Palmas; *San Bartolomé de Béjar,* a town in Ávila; *San Bartolomé de la Corneja,* a town in Ávila; *San Bartolomé de la Torre,* a town in Huelva; *San Bartolomé de las Abiertas,* a town in

Toledo; *San Bartolomé de Pinares,* a town in Ávila; *Sant Bartomeu del Grau* and *Sant Bartomeu de la Quadra,* which are two municipalities in Barcelona; *San Bartolomé,* a depopulated village in the municipality of Valle de Mena, which belongs to the province of Burgos; *San Bartolomé,* a barrio in Murcia; *San Bartolomé,* a hamlet in Orihuela.

San Felipe (Saint Philip). Philip was amongst the followers of John the Baptist and was to be found with him when he first pointed out Jesus as the Lamb of God. The day after Peter had been called Jesus came across Philip, and beckoned him to also follow him. He was the fifth apostle to be called. Philip obeyed the calling and preached in Hierapolis, which is now Turkey, where he died in old age. The few macrotoponyms to be found in Spain that bear this saint's name suggest that his invocation did not root strongly: *Castillo de San Felipe* in Ferrol, in Puerto de la Cruz (Tenerife) and on the island of Menorca.

San Juan (Saint John). John was a disciple of Jesus Christ to the point of being one of his closest friends. A native of Galilee, he was the brother of James the Great and the son of Zebedee. By trade a fisherman in the Sea of Galilee, like other apostles, he was the youngest of the Twelve. The invocation of the apostle saint is present in various villages and cities such as *Sant Joan Despí*, *Sant Joan de Vilatorrada* and *Sant Joan de Mediona* in the province of Barcelona, and *Sant Joan de les Abadesses* and *Sant Joan de les Fonts* in the province of Gerona. On the island of Menorca we find *Sant Joan de Binissaida* and on Ibiza, *Sant Joan de Labritja.* Outside the Catalan linguistic domain we should mention places such as *San Chuan* in the province of Huesca, *Alcázar de San Juan* in that of Ciudad Real, *Seoanedo do Courel* and *Sanxilleo* in that of Lugo and *San Juan* de Alicante which are examples of the most representative municipalities that contain the apostle's name.

San Judas (Saint Jude). He was one of Jesus Christ's twelve apostles, and Jesus' first cousin. He was also known as Jude of James or just Thaddeus. We do not find a tradition of the saint's name in Spanish toponymy, although his invocation is strong in some South American countries such as Panama, Peru, Mexico and Guatemala.

San Mateo (Saint Mathew). He was an apostle and presumed to be the author of one of the four gospels. His invocation has given names to various places such as *San Mateo* in Santander, *Sant Mateu* in Castellón de la Plana, *San Mateo de Gallego* in Huesca, *Sant Mateu de Bages* in Barcelona and *Sant Mateu de Quart* in Gerona.

San Pablo (Saint Paul). Paul of Tarsus, originally Saulos, was also known as Saint Paul Apostle, the Apostle of the Gentiles and Saint Paul of Tarsus. He did not belong to Jesus' circle of apostles, although he is considered to be the

greatest apostle of Christianity. He died in Rome in the year 67. His invocation can be found in the Spanish macrotoponyms such as *San Pablo de los Montes* in Toledo, *San Pablo de Buceite* in Cadis, *San Pablo de la Moraleja* in Valladolid, *Sant Pau de Segúries* in Gerona, *Sant Pau de la Guàrdia, Sant Pau de Pinos, Sant Pau del Ordel* and *Sant Pol de Mar* in Barcelona and the aggregate of *Sant Pol* in the province of Gerona.

San Pedro (Saint Peter). He was also known as Cephas or Simon Peter, a fisherman, who was called the prince of the Apostles. According to Christian tradition he was the first Pope of the Catholic Church. The diffusion of the hagionomy in Spain can be found in *San Pedro del Pinatar* in the province of Murcia, *San Pedro de Alcántara* in that of Cáceres, *San Pedro de Cardeña* in that of Burgos, *San Pedro del Arroyo* in that of Ávila, *Sant Pere de Ribes, Sant Pere de Vilamajor, Sant Pere de Riudebitlles* and *Sant Pere de Torelló* in the province of Barcelona, *Sant Pere de Rodes* in that of Gerona, *Samper de Salz,* a locality of Saragossa, on the left of the river Almonacid, close to the confluence with the Aguas, on level ground. It derives from the Latin *Sanctu Petru de illo salice* 'San Pedro del sauce' (Saint Peter of the willow). This same phonetic evolution of *Samper* can also be found in *Samper de Calanda* (Teruel) and in the Valencian surname *Sempere.*

San Simón (Saint Simon). The Apostle Simon, also called Simon the Zealot, is one of the twelve apostles who preached in Egypt, Libya and possibly Persia. He died a martyr on the coast of the Black Sea, close to the Caucasus. There are not many Hispanic hagiotoponyms which bear the saint's name, although we can mention that of *Sant Simó* on the island of Menorca, *San Simones* in the province of Ávila, that of the island of *San Simón* in the Galician estuary of Vigo and the places *San Simón* in the provinces of Lugo, Orense and Pontevedra.

Santiago apóstol (Saint James Apostle). He is the patron Apostle of Spain, who is known as James the Greater. His remains were transferred to Spain from Palestine, which is where he found martyrdom. Without doubt, the hagionomy has given the name to an extremely important city of medieval pilgrimage: *Santiago de Compostela,* capital of the autonomous community of Galicia. Other Spanish toponyms which bear the name of the saint are *Santiago del Teide,* a municipality of Tenerife island; *Santiago de la Ribera,* main nucleus of San Javier, in Murcia; *Santiago,* a parish of the Asturian council of Valdés; *Santiago,* a parish of the Asturian council of Sariego; *Santiago de la Barca,* a parish of the Asturian council of Salas; *Santiago-Pontones,* a municipality of the province of Jaén; *Santiago de la Espada,* a locality of the province of Jaén; *Santiago de la Puebla,* a municipality of the province of Salamanca; *Santiago de Medio Cudeyo,* a locality of Cantabria; *Santiago del Molinillo,* a locality of the province of León; *Santiago del Tormes,* a municipality located

in the province of Ávila; *Santiago del Collado,* a municipality located in the province of Ávila; *Santiago de Alcántara* and *Santiago del Campo,* which are both municipalities located in the province of Cáceres; *Santiago de Mondoñedo,* a parish of the Town Hall of Mondoñedo; *Santiago de Tudela,* a minor local entity in the province of Burgos which belongs to the Town Hall of Valle de Mena and *Horcajo de Santiago,* a municipality of Cuenca. We must also remember that *Santiago* is also *Jaime* in Spanish and *Jaume* in Catalan. We must mention at least two Catalan municipalities with these names: *Sant Jaume d´Enveja* in Tarragona and Sant *Jaume de Frontanyà* in Barcelona.

San Tomás (Saint Thomas). This was an apostle who was characterized by his questions of faith and who, according to the Christian tradition, was martyred in India in the year 72. In Galicia, there are two *Santomé,* which are both in the province of Lugo in the councils of Cospeito and Cervo, which have an agglutination of the name. In the province of Jaén we find the municipality of *Santo Tomé,* in that of Segovia, we find *Santo Tomé del Puerto* and in Lleida, a place called *Sant Domí,* where *-nt-* is devoiced *(saindu > santí)* (LÓPEZ SANTOS 1960: 614).

3. The martyrs

San Adrián (Saint Adrian). Although there were three martyrs who bore the name Adrianus, the Hispanic toponyms refer mostly or entirely to Saint Adrian of Nicomedia (Bithynia), who was a soldier, a Hispanic saint of eastern origin and martyr who died on March 4th in the year 304. In his honour Pope Honorius I (7th century) turned a room of the Roman Senate into a church. Some Hispanic toponyms which contain the martyr's name are, for example, *Sant Adrià de Besòs,* a Barcelonan locality on the Banks of the Besós river, next to its mouth; *San Adrián* (Navarra), *San Adrián del Valle* (León), *Santradao* (Pontevedra), *Santadrao* (Lugo) and *Santandrán* in Villaboa, a locality of Pontevedra.

San Acisclo (Saint Acisclus). He was the first martyr of the city of Cordoba, who died a martyr in the year 313. We find his invocation in places such as *San Acisclo* in the province of Lugo, *Sant Iscle* in that of Barcelona and in *Santocildes* in that of Burgos.

San Baudilio (Saint Baudilus). From a relatively old date (NIETO BALLESTER 1997: 310) we find the cult of Saint Baudilus or Saint Baudiliom, martyr of the French city of Nimes (3rd–4th centuries) documented in Spain. Perhaps the most representative Spanish toponym which alludes to this martyr is that of *Sant Boi de Llobregat,* an industrial locality of the Baix Llobregrat in the province of Barcelona, which is a part of the metropolitan area of Barcelona. The form *Boi* can be explained without problems from Baudii, a genitive derived from the expression *ecclesia sancti Baidilii,* with monophthongization of *au,* loss of inter-vocalic *d* and of the remaining *l.*

San Celedonio (Saint Celedonius). He was a Spanish Saint and soldier, martyred in Calahorra (Logroño), who has given his name to the Barcelonan municipality of *Sant Celoni,* a district of Vallès Oriental, to the north of the city of Barcelona, between the Montnegre and Montseny sierras.

San Cosme (Saint Cosmas). He was a martyr and doctor decapitated around the year 300 by order of Diocletian. In Galicia we find the toponym *San Cosmede* which suggests the name has been declined in *-atis* or *-adus.*

San Claudio (Saint Claudius). Due to geographical proximity, it seems that *San Cloyo* in Asturias could refer to the martyr Saint Claudius of Leon who was martyred in the 1st century.

San Cristóbal (Saint Christopher). Also known as Saint Christopher of Lycea, was a Christian martyr from the first era of Christianity. His invocation is maintained in names such as *San Cristóbal de La Laguna* (Tenerife), *San Cristóbal de Segovia* (Segovia), *San Cristóbal* (Asturias), *Sancristobalejo* (Salamanca), *Sant Cristòfol* (Gerona) and *Sant Cristòfol de la Donzell* and *Sant de la Vall* (Lérida).

San Cucufate (Saint Cucuphas). Saint Cucuphas, Latin Cucuphate, is a Barcelonan martyr who died during the persecution of Diocletian in the year 306, supposedly in the city of Sant Cugat del Vallès, an industrial municipality in the district of Barcelona. *Sant Cugat Sasgarrigas* is another Catalan toponym which gives name to a municipality of the Alto Penedès in the province of Barcelona. In Galicia we find *Sancobade* (Lugo) and in Asturias *San Cucao.*

San Emeterio (Saint Emeterio). He was a soldier of the seventh Roman legion who died, martyred, at the end of the 3rd century due to the cleansing measures ordered by Diocletian and Maximian. He received special worship in Spain, as is demonstrated in the toponym *Santander,* which is an important city in Northern Spain and the capital of Cantabria, and appears in medieval documents as *Santemder* (NIETO BALLESTER 1997: 315) which in turn comes from the Latin *ecclesia Sancti Emeterii.* Other toponyms derived from this Latin base which present phonetic evolutions of special difficulty are: *San Mederi* in the province of Álava, *San Medel* in those of Burgos, Salamanca and Segovia, *San Madero* in that of Orense and *Samitier* in that of Huesca.

San Esteban (Saint Stephen). He was a deacon and proto-martyr from the 1st century. The invocation of this saint in Spain can be found in *Santisteban,* a place in Santander, Jaén and Lugo; *Sant Esteban de Gormaz* in Soria, *San Esteban del Valle* in Ávila, *San Esteban de Pravia* and *San Esteban de Cuñaba* in Asturias, *San Esteban de Litera* in Huesca, *San Esteban de la Sierra* in Salamanca, *Sant Esteve de Sesrovires* and *Sant Esteve de Palautordera* in

Barcelona, *Sant Esteve d'en Bas, Sant Esteve de Guialbes* and *Sant Esteve de Llémena* in Gerona and *Sant Esteve de la Sarga* in Lérida.

San Facundo (Saint Facundus). This martyr died on the banks of the river Cea in 304 where it passes through Sahagún, which is undoubtedly derived from *Sanctus Facundus.* Other towns in Spain that remit to this Latin base are *San Facundo* in León and Asturias and *San Facundo de Ribas de Miño* in Lugo.

San Félix (Saint Felix). The considerable extension of Saint Felix (Feliu in Catalan) in Catalan hagiotoponymy seems to indicate that it is a case of *Sanctus Felix,* a martyr of Gerona from around about the year 300, more than San Félix de Nola, who was an African martyr. The evolution of *Felicem,* a Latin accusative, into *Feliu* is regular in Catalan. Within the Principality we find the following cities and towns with the name of the martyr: *Sant Feliu de Llobregat* and *Sant Feliu de Codines* in the province of Barcelona and *Sant Feliu de Guíxols, Sant Feliu de Pallarols, Sant Feliu de Boada* and *Sant Feliu de Buixalleu* in the province of Gerona. In other Hispanic regions, especially those of the north of the Iberian Peninsula, *Felicem* has given *Fiz,* which is a hagiotoponym present in places such as *San Fiz do Seo* in the province of León, *San Fiz de Cangas, San Fiz de Asma* and *San Fiz de Vilapedre* in Lugo and *San Fiz de Monfero* in the province of La Coruña. Also derived from *Felicem* are the forms *Santelices* in Burgos, *Selices* in Cuenca and Guadalajara and *Sanfelismo* in León.

San Fructuoso (Saint Fructuosus). He was Bishop of Tarragona and martyr of Christian Spain who died in 259. The worship of this saint is to be found in localities such as *Sant Fruitós de Bages* in Barcelona and *San Frechoso* in Asturias. *San Frutos* in Segovia probably refers to *San Frutos,* a hermit monk from Sepúlveda in the 7th century.

San Genesio (Saint Genesius). Saint Genesius is a martyr who, in Arles (Pronenza), while still a catechumen and undertaking the trade of scribe, sought his salvation by fleeing, after having refused to act against the Christians. However, he was detained by soldiers and baptised with his own blood in the year 304. The worship of this French martyr appears documented in a series of Spanish toponyms which can all be explained by *sanctu Genesiu: Sanxenxo* is a municipality of the province of Pontevedra formed through the union of many parishes and nuclei of population (Santa María de Adigna, San Pedro de Bordones, San Estebán de Noallas, amongst others), *Ginzo* (Pontevedra), *Sangés* (Valladolid and Lugo), *San Ginés* (Orense), *Sant Genís* in Amer (Gerona), *Sant Genís de Palafolls, Sants Genís dels Agudells* and *Sant Genís de Dalt,* all of which are in the province of Barcelona, and the Asturian surname *Genicio.*

San Gervasio (Saint Gervasius). He was a martyr in the times of the persecution of Antoninus (161–168) who died alongside Protasius, who was possibly his brother. Some Spanish toponyms which bear the name of the saint are *Hervás* in the province of Cáceres, *Santervás de la Vega* in that of Palencia, *Santervás de la Sierra* in that of Soria, *Santervás de Campos* in that of Valladolid and *Sant Gervasi*, which is a well-known barrio of the city of Barcelona.

San Jorge (Saint George). He was a Saint of Cappadocia who was martyred in the year 303 by Diocletian because he professed his Christian religion against the emperor's wishes. The veneration of this saint had great importance and antiquity in the Peninsula, as can be seen by the great number of place names which present many variations derived from the Latin *ecclesia Sancti Georgi: San Xurxo* in Orense, *Santiurjo* in Asturias, *Santiurde de Reinosa* in Santander, *San Jorde* in Palencia, *Santurdejo* in Logroño, *Santurce* in Vizcaya, *San Jorge de Alor* in Badajoz, *Sant Jordi Desvalls* in Gerona and *Sant Jordi* in Castellón and Palma de Majorca, among other examples.

San Julián (Saint Julian). He was a martyr alongside his wife Basilissa in Egypt at the beginning of the 4th century. Various toponyms remind us of the worshipping of the saint: *Illán de Vacas* (Toledo), *Illano* (Asturias), *Santillán de la Vega* (Palencia), *Santillán* (Burgos, Santander), *Santullán* (Santander), and *Santullano* in Asturias. *Barruelo de Santullán* (Palencia), *San Xiao* in Orense and *San Julián*, which is a hamlet in the province of León.

San Lorenzo (Saint Lawrence). Saint Lawrence was one of the seven deacons of the city of Rome, where he was martyred on a grill in 258. A monastery of world fame was erected in Madrid with the name *San Lorenzo del Escorial.* In Lugo the invocation of the martyr is remembered in the place *San Lourenço*, in Burgos in that of *San Llorente de la Vega* and in the Catalan linguistic domain we must refer to toponyms such as *Sant Llorenç de Morunys* in Lérida, *Sant Llorenç de Savall* and *Sant Llorenç d´Hortons* in Barcelona, *Sant Llorenç de la Muga* in Gerona and *Sant Llorenç des Cardessar* in the Balearic Islands.

San Mamés (Saint Mammes). He was a western Christian martyr from the end of the 4th century. Some variants of the saint's name are *San Mamed* (Lugo), *San Mamede* (La Coruña) and *San Mamede de Hedrado* (Orense).

San Mancio (Saint Mancio). He was a martyr from the 6th century who has given his name to at least two toponyms: *Villanueva de San Mancio* (Valladolid) and *Sanmances* (Orense).

San Mauricio (Saint Maurice). Saint Maurice was an official of the Theban legion of the army of Emperor Maximilian Hercules, which was comprised of Christians from Higher Egypt. Maurice, like his fellow men, refused to follow

the Emperor's orders to make sacrifices to the gods to guarantee one of their victories. Maximilian ordered that the entire legion of more than six thousand men be murdered. The legionnaires were encouraged by their faith in Maurice. The name of Maurice has evolved in Catalan towards forms such as *Mori* in *Sant Mori,* which is a place of barely a hundred inhabitants in the province of Gerona, and *Maurici* in the well-known natural park in the Lérida region called *Aigüestortes and estany de Sant Maurici* and in the Barcelonan town of *Sant Maurici de la Quar.*

San Pantaleón (Saint Pantaleon). He was a martyr of the 4th century. Place names which refer to the name of the saint are *San Pantaleón de Aras* (Santander), *Sant Pantaleón de Losa* (Burgos) and *San Pantayon* (La Cortuña).

San Quirico (Saint Quiricus). This is a Saint who, at an early age, was a victim of the anti-Christian edicts of Emperors Diocletian and Maximian. In Catalonia, the saint's name appears in hagiotoponyms such as the following, which originated in the Latin *Quirici,* nominative *Quiricus: Sant Quirze Safaja* and *Sant Quirze del Vallès* in the province of Barcelona and *Sant Quirze de Besora* and *Sant Quirze de Colera* in the province of Gerona. In contrast, for the rest of the forms of the name we use the accusative *Quiricum* until we reach the form *Quíles/Quílez, Quiricio* and *Quirce: San Quiles* and *San Quílez,* which are both places in Logroño, *San Quiricio* in the province of Burgos, *San Quirce de Riopisuerga* in Palencia, from many examples.

San Román (Saint Romanus). He was deacon of Caesarea, and a Christian martyr of the 4th century who hailed from Antioch. The saint's name appears in toponyms such as *Sant Romà de Tavernoles* (Lérida), *San Román* (Huesca), *Sant Romà de Sau* and *Sant Romà de la Clusa* (Barcelona).

San Saturnino (Saint Saturninus). It seems that the Spanish toponyms refer to Saint Saturnino of Alexandria, a martyr from the 4th century, although we cannot rule out the option of Saint Saturnino of Alexandria, a martyr in times of Decius, around the 3rd century. The invocation of the saint is maintained in *Sant Sadurní d´Anoia* and *Sant Sadurní d´Osormort* (Barcelona), *Sant Sadurní de l´Heura* (Gerona), *Saornil de Voltoya* (Ávila), *Valsadornín* (Palencia) and *Zadornil* (Burgos) and *Valsadornín* (Palencia).

San Sebastián (Saint Sebastian). He was a Christian martyr from the 3rd century. One of the best known cities bearing the name of this saint is *San Sebastián,* a locality of the Basque Country. Its origin is probably due to a monastery consecrated to Saint Sebastian which was founded at the current location of the 'Palacio de Miramar' (Miramar Palace), next to the El Antiguo barrio. As we have already said, the medieval town was founded by the Navarre King Sancho el Sabio (Sancho the Wise) around 1180 in the vicinity of the monastery and he, in turn, in a population charter, established that the

town should, for this reason, be called *San Sebastián.* Due to the fact that the document was redacted in Latin, the name that appears mentioned is that of *Sanctus Sebastianus,* which in Romance evolved into the name *San Sebastián.* We must remember that the normative form of *San Sebastián* in Basque is *Donostia,* which is a derived form of the old Basque denomination of the patron saint, **Done Sebastiane,* and that the current form came about through the following steps, as KOLDO MITXELENA, a notable linguist, explained more than half a century ago in his book "Apellidos vascos" (Basque surnames) from 1953: "the Basque name of San Sebastián, whose approximate evolution would have been »Donasa (b) astiai, Donasastia, Donastia, Donostia«" (MITXELENA 1955: 96). We must not forget that in Basque Donosti is used twice more in reference to this saint: the hermit of San Sebastian (in Basque *Jaun Donosti*) in Orendain, and another half in ruins, in Arano, which shares the same name. The name of San Sebastián reappears, amongst other examples, in *San Sebastián de los Reyes* (Madrid), *Sant Sebastià dels Gorgs* (Barcelona) and *San Sebastián de la Gomera* and *San Sebastián de Ballesteros* which are both in the province of Córdoba.

San Tirso (Saint Thyrsus). He originated from Toledo and was a martyr during the persecution of Decius (249–251). The extension of the hagionym throughout the Iberian Peninsula has given rise to different phonetic evolutions: *San Tirso* and *San Tirso de Abres* in Asturias, *Santiso* in Lugo and Pontevedra, *Santotis* in Burgos, *Pla de Sant Tirs* (Lleida) in Guadalajara and Santander, and *Santiz* in Salamanca.

San Torcuato (Saint Torquatus). He was the first bishop of Guadix (Granada), a martyr and evangelist from the south of Andalusia alongside the so-called Seven Apostolic Men sent to Hispania as disciples of the apostles. His name remains represented in place names such as *Santorcaz del Jarama* in Guadalajara, *San Torcuato* in Zamora and Logroño and maybe in *San Trocate* (Pontevedra) and *San Trocado* (Orense).

Sant Ponç (Saint Pons). He was the bishop of Gerona martyred at the beginning of the 4th century. In Catalonia there are at least a couple of places that bear the martyr's name: *Sant Ponç,* a place in the municipality of Gerona, and *Sant Ponç,* a place in the municipality of Clariana de Cardener (Lérida). In the province of Seville, in Andalusia, there is a town to the north-east of the capital with the name of *Santiponce,* which is an agglutination of the Latin *ecclesia Sancti Pontii.*

San Verísimo (Saint Verisimo). He was a martyr in the time of Tarquinius of Rome. His name appears in the toponyms *Samblismo* in Asturias and *Sambreixo* in the province of Lugo.

San Víctor (Saint Victor). He was a martyr who, under the mandate of Diocletian, suffered martyrdom in Braga at the end of the 3rd century. The

Spanish toponyms which remit to the saint's name all originated from the base *Sancti Vitores: San Vitores* in Santander, *San Vitero* in Zamora and *Sahechores* in the province of León with a complex phonetic evolution.

San Zoilo (Saint Zoilo). Saint Zoilo of Córdoba was the first of twenty Cordoban martyrs who perished at the beginning of the 4th century under the persecution of Diocletian. At the present time Saint Zoilo is the patron of the city Carrión de los Condes (Palencia). Some Spanish toponyms which derive from the form *ecclesia Sancti Zoili* 'church of Saint Zoilo' are *Sansol*, a Navarre town in rugged terrain watered by the Melgar River, *Sanzoles* (Zamora) and *Sonsoles* (Ávila), with the addition of the phoneme *[s]* to the form of the Latin genitive.

Santa Águeda (Saint Agatha). This is the famous saint of Catania who died a martyr during Decius' persecution in the middle of the 3rd century. The name of the martyr presents the following variants: *Santa Gadea del Cid* and *Santa Gadea del Alfoz* in the province of Burgos, *Santa Gadía* in Asturias. Other toponyms which contain the saint's name are *Santa Águeda* in Santander and in the province of Alicante.

Santa Bárbara (Saint Barbara). She was a virgin and Christian martyr from the 3rd century, whose real existence has been placed in doubt by some authors. However, she is a part of the official list of worshipped martyrs of the Catholic Church and, according to the Catholic calendar or calendar of saints, her celebration is held on December 4th. Places in Spain with the name of the saint are *Santa Bárbara de Casa* in the province of Huelva, *Santa Bàrbara de Pruneres* in that of Gerona and the well-known castle of *Santa Bárbara* in Alicante.

Santa Cecilia (Saint Cecilia). It appears that the Spanish hagiotoponyms refer to Saint Cecile of Rome, a virgin and martyr, noble Roman, converted to Christianity, who was martyred due to her faith towards the end of the 2nd century. Therefore we are referring to places such as *Santa Cecília de Voltegrà* in the province of Barcelona, *Santa Cecília del Alcor* in that of Palencia, *Santa Cilia de Jaca* with the loss of *-ly-* in the province of Huesca, *Santecilla* in that of Burgos and *Santa Icía* in that of La Coruña and Lugo.

Santa Claudia (Saint Claudia). She was a martyr of Rome from the 1st century who seems to have left a mark on the place name of *Santa Croya de Tera* in the province of Zamora.

Santa Coloma (Saint Columba). She was a Gaul-Roman virgin martyred at the beginning of the 3rd century, especially worshipped in Galicia and Portugal. The places which present this hagionym are many. In some cases the Latinism has been kept the same while in others different phonetic evolutions have occurred which are characteristic of the Romance vernacular of each area

(NIETO BALLESTER 1997: 314): *Santa Columna de Veigue* and *Santa Comba* in the province of La Coruña, *Santa Columba de Ribadelouro* in that of Pontevedra, *Santa Columba de Órrea* and *Santa Coloma de Villapún* in that of Lugo, *Santa Colomba de las Carabias* in that of León, *Santa Coloma de Gramenet* and *Santa Coloma de Cervelló* in that of Barcelona and *Santa Coloma de Farners* in that of Gerona.

Santa Eufemia (Saint Euphemia). She was a saint from Chalcedon, martyr of Emperor Diocletian in the 4th century, and patron of some Galician localities such as Orense and Tuy. Her worship spread throughout the West after the fourth ecumenical council in Chalcedon in 451. Some Spanish hagiotoponyms which bear the name of the saint are *Santa Eufemia*, a town in Córdoba; *Sant Eufemia del Barco* in Zamora, *Santa Eufemia del Arroyo* in Valladollid and *Santa Eufemia de Oscos* in Asturias. Other names which derive from the Latin *sancta Eufemia* and present a greater phonetic complexity are *Santoña* in Santander, *Santovenia* in the province of León, *Santoveña* and *Santueña* in Asturias.

Santa Eugenia (Saint Eugenia). She was a Christian martyr from the 3rd century. Toponyms which bear her name are *Santa Eugènia de Berga* (Gerona), *Santa Eugènia* (Palma de Majorca), *Santa Eugea de Ribeira* (La Coruña) and probably *Santimina* which seems to be identified with a "monasterium Santae Eugenia" (LÓPEZ SANTOS 1960: 610).

Santa Eulalia (Saint Eulalia). Saint Eulalia of Mérida was martyred during the persecution of Maximian at the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th when she was twelve years old, according to the testimony of Prudentius. Her worship had an enormous devotion in Spain as can be seen in the hagiotoponyms that bear her name. *Eulalia* is of Greek origin and composed of *eu* 'good' and *labeo* 'speak'. In Catalan, the *l* has occasionally dissimilated in *r* with which the form *Eulària* is frequent, although in toponymy the form *Eulàlia* is maintained in *Santa Eulàlia de Ronçana* in the province of Barcelona and *Santa Eulàlia del Río* on the island of Ibiza. Outside the Catalan linguistic domain, the hagionym appears with relative frequency in the Spanish dominion under the patrimonial form *Santa Olaja* (NIETO BALLESTER 1997: 315), which is the result of the Spanish evolution *-li-* to *-j-*. Therefore we can mention *Santa Olaja* in the province of Burgos, *Santa Olaja de Eslonza*, *Santa Olaja de Porma* and *Santa Olaja de la Acción* in that of León, *Santa Olaja de la Vega* in that of Palencia. In spite of this, in the same historic Castile we find the name *Olalla* in names like *Santa Olalla de Aguayo* (Santander), *Santa Olalla de Bureba* (Burgos) and *Santa Olalla de Yeltes* (Salamanca) and in the province of Huelva *Santa Olalla del cala.* Other evolutions of the hagionym are *Santa Olaria de Ara* (Huesca).

Santa Juliana (Saint Juliana). She was a martyred victim of the persecution of Maximian. The antiquity of the toponyms derived from the name of this saint evidence the importance of her worship in the Iberian Peninsula: *Santillana del Mar,* an important town located in rugged land close to the sea; *Santayana* also in Cantabria, *Santillana de Campos,* a hamlet of Osorno la Mayor, Palencia; *Illana* in the province of Guadalajara.

Santa Leocadia (Saint Leocadia). She was a Toledo martyr from the 4th century. Her invocation is maintained in the Asturian toponym *Santa Llocaya.*

Santa Lucía (Saint Lucia). She was a virgin and Christian martyr in the times of Diocletian. *Santa Lucía de Tirajana* (Gran Canarias), *Santa Lucía de Gordón* (León) and *Santa Lucía de Ocón* (Ciudad Real) are toponyms which refer to the saint's name.

Santa Marina (Saint Marina). She was a virgin and martyr from Western Europe. *Santa Marina de la Torre, Santa Marina del Rey* and *Santa Marina de Valdeón* are three Leon municipalities with the name of the saint. In Lugo, we also find the municipality of *Santa Mariña.*

Santa Susana (Saint Susan). She was a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian in the 4th century. We find the hagionym in *Santa Susanna,* a locality of Barcelona.

4. Saints in general: Confessors, bishops and preachers

San Agustín (Saint Augustine). He was the bishop of Hippo and one of the great fathers of the Church. His worship can be found in the following place names: *San Agustín de Guadaliz* in the province of Madrid, *San Agustín* in that of Teruel, *Sant Agustí de Lluçanès* in that of Gerona and *Sant Agustí des Vedrà* on the island of Ibiza.

San Antonino (Saint Antoninus). He was a Florentine bishop who lived during the 15th century. In the north of Spain we find at least two places with the name of the saint: *Santueña* in Asturias and *Santantuiño* and *Santuño* in Lugo.

San Antonio (Saint Anthony). The Spanish hagiotoponyms which contain the name of the saint must be on the whole related to Saint Anthony abbot, an Egyptian hermit of the 3rd and 4th century AD., and Saint Anthony of Padua, a Portuguese preacher from the 13th century. It would be very difficult to mention all the cities and places under the invocation of Saint Anthony, although we will mention some of them which illustrate the worship of the saint in Spain: *Sant Antoni de Portmany,* a town on the island of Ibiza; *San Antonio de Benagéber* in Valencia; *San Antonio de Requena,* a hamlet of the Valencian municipality of Requena; *Sant Antoni de Calonge* in Gerona. What seems to

be clear is that the toponyms having the name of *San Antón* are linked to the worshipping of the hermit: *Isla de San Antón* in La Coruña and Pontevedra and *San Antón* in Málaga, Almeria, Burgos and Seville, amongst other places in Spain.

San Ataúlfo (Saint Ataulf). He was the bishop of Santiago de Compostela who, in the 9th century, wished to fight against the relaxation of the clergy's customs. In northern Spain we find two toponyms which remind us of the name of the saint, *Santo Dolfo* in Asturias and *Sandolfe* in Lugo, and in Catalonia *San Tou,* in the Tordera neighbourhood (Barcelona).

San Carlos (Saint Charles). This is the name of a famous Milanese archbishop (1538–1584) and nephew of Pope Pius IV. From this name originates the well-known name of *Sant Carles de la Ràpita,* a city on the coast at the entrance to the Alfaques, in the province of Tarragona. After the Re-conquest it was ceded by Count Ramon Berenguer IV to the monastery of Sant Cugat who, in turn, gave it to the knights of the Temple. It was practically uninhabited until Charles IV decided to turn it into an enormous Mediterranean port which turned into a city with the name of *San Carles* (Saint Charles). Other toponyms of the Iberian Peninsula with the name of this saint are *Villanueva de San Carlos* and *San Carlos del Valle* which are both in Ciudad Real, *San Carlos* on the island of Ibiza (Balearic Islands), *Villarreal de San Carlos* in Cáceres (Extremadura) and *San Carlos Minas* in Córdoba.

San Cipriano (Saint Cyprian). He was a bishop of Carthage in the 3rd century. Some toponyms with the name of the saint are *San Cibrao de Viña* (Lugo), *Sant Ciprià dels Alls* (Gerona), *Sant Cebrià de Vallalta* (Barcelona), *San Cibrián* (Pontevedra) and *San Cibrao de Las* (Orense).

San Clemente (Saint Clement). He was the Pope of Rome at the end of the 1st century. Some places in Spain that bear this saint's name are *San Clemente* (Cuenca), *San Clemente de Valdueza* (León), *San Clemente del Valle* (Lugo), *Sant Climent de Taull* in the Lérida region Pyrenees, *Sant Climent Sasebas* (Lérida) and *San Climent de Llobregat* (Barcelona).

San Dalmacio (Saint Dalmacio). He was an abbot who lived during the second half of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th century. It is very probable that the toponym of *Sant Dalmay* (Gerona) alludes to this saint.

San Fausto (Saint Faustus). Although it is not clear in which period he lived, it seems that around the 12th or 13th century he dedicated his life to evangelising Saracen regions. In the province of Barcelona we find *Sant Fost de Campsentelles* which remits to the saint's name.

San Isidro (Saint Isidore). He was a labouring saint, patron of the city and community of Madrid, who lived during the 15th century. *San Isidro* (Tenerife)

and *Sant Isidre de Albatera* (Alicante) are two names which remind us of the worshipping of the saint.

San Justo (Saint Justus). It is not at all clear if the Hispanic hagiotoponyms with the name of this saint refer to Saint Justus of Lyon, a French bishop who died at the end of the 4th century, to Justus the child or to another saint Justus, such as Saint Justus of Alcalá in the 4th century or Saint Justus of Beauvais from the end of the 3rd century, of many. In any case it is a representative toponym of the Hispanic linguistic domain: *Sant Just Desvern* in the province of Barcelona, *San Justo de Doriga* in Asturias; *San Justo de Cabanillas, San Justo de la Vega, Sant Justo de las Regueras* and *San Justo de los Oteros* in the province of León; *San Justo de Valmuza* in Salamanca; *San Justo,* a municipality of Zamora; *Santiuste* in Guadalajara and Segovia and in the four provinces of Galicia we have various places and parishes with the name of *San Xusto,* as well as *San Xusto da Repostería* a parish of the council of Palas de Rei in the province of Lugo and *San Xusto de Cabarcos* a parish in the council of Barreiros which is also in the same province of Lugo.

San Marcial (Saint Martial). He was a bishop from the 1st century. His worship is conserved in toponyms such as *Sant Marçal* (Barcelona), *Samartiño* (Orense), *Sant Martivell* (Gerona) and *Samartiños* (La Coruña).

San Martín (Saint Martin). Martin de Tours is one of the saints to whom the greatest number of places of worship are dedicated on the whole planet. In the dioceses of Gerona alone, there are already 50 churches and parishes which have him as their patron. However, this number is insignificant when compared with the more than 3 500 parishes which are dedicated to him in France. The devotion to Saint Martin of Tours extends all over the world: France and Germany head the list, although we also find examples in Catalonia (*Sant Martí Sarroca, Sant Martí de Tous, Sant Martí de Centelles, Sant Martí Sarroca;* see also MARSÁ 1995), in Spain *(San Martín de la Vega, San Martín de Montalbán, San Martín de Trevejo, San Martín de Valdeiglesias, San Martín del Rey Aurelio)* and in other countries in general, his life has marked a period.

San Millán (Saint Emilian). He is a saint from the 6th century who lived in what are now the surroundings of the monastery of *San Millán de la Cogolla* (Logroño). Some toponyms with the name of the saint, other than the aforementioned, are *San Millán de Juarros* (Burgos), *Saminao* (Burgos) and *San Millán* (Álava).

San Miguel (Saint Michael). The name of the Archangel has allowed this hagionym to be worshipped in places where he is the patron. Some examples are *Sant Miquel de Fluvià* and *Sant Miquel de Cruïlles* in Gerona, *Sant Miquel*

de Balansat (Balearic Islands) *San Miguel de Arbona* (Tenerife), *San Miguel de Salmas* (Alicante), *San Miguel de Valero* and *San Miqueles* (Salamanca).

San Orencio (Saint Orentius). He was a bishop of Aquitaine who lived in the 5th century. Places with the name of this saint are *Sandrenzo* and *San Orente* (La Coruña) and *Santorens* (Huesca).

San Roberto (Saint Robert). It seems that *San Robredín* (Lugo) refers to Saint Robert of Molesmes, one of the founders of the Cistercian order who lived in the 11th century. It would not be preposterous to think of him as being Saint Robert Melarmino who lived in the 16th century, although we are more inclined towards the first option.

San Urbano (Saint Urban). He was a Pope of the Church who died in the year 230. His invocation appears in the toponym *San Urbez*, a place in the locality of Huesca.

San Vicente (Saint Vincent). Saint Vincent Ferrer is the patron of the Valencian Community (Spain). He was born and died in Valencia (1350–1419). He was a Valencian Dominican, miracle worker, preacher, logician and philosopher. His worship extends over most the parts he travelled through during his pilgrimage. His elevation to the altars in the middle of the 15th century infused enormous vitality into the recollection of his acts and fame. Spanish places bearing the name of the saint are *San Vicente del Raspeig* (Alicante), *San Vicente de la Barquera* (Santander), *San Vicente do Mar* (Pontevedra), *San Vicente de Alcántara* (Badajoz), *San Vicencio* (Orense) and *San Vicente de la Sonsierra* (Logroño).

Santa Ana (Saint Anne). An old tradition, which began in the 2nd century, attributes the names of Saint Joachim and Saint Anne to the parents of the Virgin Mary. The worship of Saint Anne had already been introduced into the Eastern Orthodox Church in the 6th century, and from there it passed to that of the West in the 10th century. In Spain we find hagiotoponyms with the name of the saint such as *Santana* in Palencia, *Santa Ana de Pusa* in Toledo, *Santa Ana de Bolueta* in Bilbado, *Santa Ana la Real* in Huelva and *Santa Ana* in Albacete, Cáceres and León.

Santa Brígida (Saint Brigitta). Saint Brigitte of Kildare or Brigitte of Ireland (5th century) was a nun, abbess, and Irish Christian founder of various convents who was worshipped as though a saint. Although her worship spread through northern Europe, it is in the island of Gran Canarias where we find the municipality of *Santa Brígida*.

Santa Magdalena (Saint Magdalene). It seems that the toponym of *Santa Magdalena de Pulpis* (Castellón) refers the name of *Maria Magdalena* (Mary Magdalene), who was one of the first women who met and followed Jesus.

Santa Marta (Saint Martha). She was a saint who welcomed Jesus in her home in Bethsaida. Her name appears in the following places: *Santa Marta de Tormes* (Salamanca), *Santa Marta de Magasca* (Cáceres), *Santa Marta de los Barros* (Badajoz) and *Santas Martas* (León).

Santa Paula (Saint Paula). She was a Roman saint from the 4th century. It seems entirely probable that the *Santa Pola* in Alicante remits to the name of this saint.

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Patrociny Settlement Names in Italy

1. A great number of place names in Italy derive from the name of a saint. In Italian a *toponimo* 'place name' deriving from an *agionimo* 'the name of a saint' is called an *agiotoponimo;* all the names having this kind of origin form the *agiotoponomastica.*[1]

The patrociny settlement names depend on the naming of churches, chapels or altars in a church or something else or from different circumstances. For instance in *Santo Stefano Roero,* a town in Piemonte already documented in 1065 as *castro Sancte Stefani,* the ancient church or chapel, dedicated to this saint, which gave its name to the place does not exist anymore and has not been mentioned ever since 1345. However, in the parish church, named after Santa Maria del Podio, there is an altar dedicated to Santo Stefano (cf. DTI).[2]

It is not always easy to interpret and identify the name of a saint who determined the name of a town, also due to different overlapping traditions and to the frequent alteration of linguistic forms.

Patrociny settlement names are particularly interesting for cultural and religious history as well and are strictly connected to the religious background of a territory.

They began to appear only at the end of the 6th century (ROHLFS 1972: 75) but the documentation grew richer and richer during the 12–13th centuries.

The toponyms deriving from the name of a saint refer to small and big towns (parishes and hamlets) in Italy and to a lot of microtoponyms. They represent the expression of a deep popular devotion, of a religious tradition which has been deeply rooted in the territory since the first few centuries AD.

Generally speaking, patrociny settlement names are formed by *sant(o)* or *san,* and *sant(a),* which in some cases is not visible anymore as it has been either integrated into the name or was lost. In some linguistic areas of Italy (where

[1] A brief profile of the *agiotoponomastica* of Italy can be found in ROHLFS 1972: 75–89 and in PELLEGRINI 1990: 398–403; a list of the names of the saints present in toponyms in Italy can be found in IMBRIGHI 1957. Usually, in research focused on the toponymy of a place, a municipal territory or a larger area, where the material is organized according to the types of form, it is possible to find a paragraph dedicated to places named after a saint. DESINAN (1993) presents a complete and thoroughly documented research on the use of the patrociny settlement name *San Michele* in Friuli. For research on patrociny settlement names, it is useful to take into consideration "Biblioteca Sanctorum" (1961–1969) and "Martirologio" (1886).

[2] The adjective *Roero* derives from an aristocratic family living in that area.

people are bilingual or multilingual, for example they speak German, Slovenian, Albanian, etc.) there are different forms of patrociny settlement names. They can be formed by the name of a saint only, i.e. *San Clemente* (Emilia–Romagna) or by other elements preceding or following it: *Borgo San Siro* (Lombardia), *Sant'Agata del Bianco* (Calabria).

Given the great number of patrociny settlement names produced by some saint's names, in order to avoid homonyms, various elements have been added, especially since the unification of Italy (1861); on the other hand, some saints' names have been added in order to avoid homonymy between homophonous place names.[3]

In Italy it is not possible to find proof of the ancient tradition of appointing the name of a saint with *domnus (domina)* as an alternative to *sanctus (sancta);* this is due also to the presence of *don* and *donna* as names of deference that are still used nowadays in Southern Italy and Sardinia. As a consequence, a place name like *Don Giovanni* cannot be certainly considered a patrociny settlement name.[4]

Sometimes it is difficult to reconstruct the history of these place names both because of the disappearance of the references from which the name of a town derived and because of the linguistic development of a name, which often underwent alterations in popular and dialectal tradition. Given the great dialectal tradition in Italy and the distance which can exist between language and dialect, patrociny settlement names too can have a double tradition, the one in the official language and also the dialectal one, so that, for instance, *Santa Maria di Sala* (Veneto) is popularly known as *Sala; Santa Elisabetta* (Sicily) is *Sabètta* (DETI) in the local dialect.

In various cases it is necessary to know the linguistic features of a territory in order to identify the corresponding saint from the current form, as for example *San Cattauro* (Sicily) or *San Venditto* (Campania) which represent the popular outcome respectively of *San Cataldo* and *San Benedetto* (ROHLFS 1972: 78, CARACAUSI 1993). Graphic features too can make the identification even more difficult: this is the case of *Santa Mada* (Sardinia), which resulted from *Sant'Amada* (ROLHFS 1972: 77).

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[3] For instance, with a Royal Act in 1863 the homonymous toponyms of Lombardia *Sant'Angelo* became respectively *Sant'Angelo Lodigiano* and *Sant'Angelo Lomellina.* Using a different approach, in 1872 *Santo Stefano* in Abruzzo acquired the new name *Villa Santo Stefano.* The town of *Villa* (Lazio) became *Villa Santa Lucia* in 1863, acquiring a new name from the local patron saint (DTI).

[4] ROHLFS (1972: 75) quotes, as a possibile use of *domina* with the meaning of 'sancta' the name of the church of *Donnaromita* in Naples, even though the origins of the form *Donnaromita* are still not clear. (See also DORIA 1979: 151.)

2. In Italy, sacred toponyms which derive from the names of *Maria di Nazareth* and *San Pietro* are present everywhere, even though with varied intensity, documenting thus a popular devotion for these names. Other important elements in the diffusion and in the intensity of the presence of a patrociny settlement name are when the saint lived and when his/her cult arose. In this perspective, it is interesting to note that place names named after *San Benedetto,* founder of the Benedictine Order, are more than the ones referring to *San Francesco d'Assisi,* patron saint of Italy, who lived a few centuries later. It is important to consider also how much the saint is linked to folk worship. For instance the name of *San Rocco,* who lived in the 14th century, and who is popularly considered the saint providing protection against the plague, is recurrent in numerous toponyms.

The relationship between toponymy and worship can be exemplified also by place names derived from *San Michele Arcangelo,* the warrior saint, patron of the Longobardi people who thereby gave great impetus to the cult of this saint. It is interesting to underline that these toponymic testimonials (such as *San Michele,* but also *Sant'Angelo, Sant'Arcangelo*) find support in the Longobardi's presence in that area.[5]

The worship of *San Martino,* introduced in Italy by the Franks, is often present in the names of places where previously there had been a chapel or hospice dedicated to the saint protector of wayfarers. Reminders of *San Martino* devotion are often founded along the path of the *via romea* and some other ancient routes.

The patrociny settlement name *San Martino in Strada* (Lombardia) already documented in 1115 as *Sanctus Martinus qui dicitur in Strata* quite reasonably refers to the presence of a hospice on the road between Cremona and Milano; the parish church as well is dedicated to *San Martino* (DTI). The name *San Martino Canavese* (Piemonte), documented since 1036 as *Sanctus Martinus,* refers to a place along the road which from Turin leads to Ivrea, where there was probably a church devoted to the saint (DTI).[6]

The toponyms of sacred origins, especially if considered in an interdisciplinary perspective, can be precious material for increasing the knowledge of local territories, in particular for the centuries that elapsed between antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Some patrociny settlement names are present in specific areas and are due to peculiar circumstances. The worship of *Saint-Etienne, Saint-Eloi, Saint-Médard*

[5] As demonstrated by recent research on *San Michele* in the toponomastica of Friuli by DESINAN (see note 1).

[6] *San Martino* since 1862, while the name *Canavese* refers to the area where the town is.

was introduced by the Normans and is reflected in toponyms such as *Sant'Etiena* (Campania) or *Sant'Aloia* (Basilicata) and even *Sant'Aloi*, *San Loe* (Sicily), *San Metaro* (Puglia) (PELLEGRINI 1990: 402, CARACAUSI 1993).

The devotion to *San Gottardo* is reflected on some place names in Northern Italy; it is rarely present south of the River Po, completely non-existent south of the city of Bologna (ROHLFS 1972: 86). San Gottardo (960–1038), bishop of Hildesheim, is invoked against lightning and hailstorms.

The cult of *San Germano,* which can refer either to the bishop of Auxerre or to the bishop of Paris, is widely present in Piemonte. The toponym *San Germano Vercellese* is directly connected to this devotion; in this case, it is interesting to remember that the bishop of Auxerre came to Vercelli in 425 during one of his various preaching journeys (DTI).

The worship of *San Venanzio,* martyr and patron of Camerino (whose celebration falls on 18th May), which is superposed on to one of several other saints with a similar name, is present mostly in the region of Umbria, in Marche and in Emilia–Romagna and is at the root of the toponym *San Venanzo* (Umbria; whose patron is *San Venanzio*), of *San Venanzo,* the name of two towns in Marche, and of *San Venanzio* two towns located in Emilia–Romagna (see IMBRIGHI 1957 and DTI).

San Vigilio, bishop of Trento and martyr at the end of the 4th century (whose celebration falls on 26th June), is at the origin of the various places named *San Vigilio* in Lombardia and Trentino. According to his biography, *San Vigilio,* as bishop for a period of fifteen years, converted all the area from the Adige River to the Oglio River, even though his work and his fame were not known beyond this area (see IMBRIGHI 1957 and GRASSO 1900, particularly p. 5).

The devotion to *San Canziano* (or *Canciano*) is typical of the Friuli region and is reflected on the toponym *San Canzian d'Isonzo,* documented from 819 as *vico Sanctorum Cantianorum* and around 1100 as *S. Cancianus.* The oldest testimony refers to the martyrs from Aquileia Canziano, Canzio and Canzianilla.

San Frediano is the name of two places in Tuscany but it can be found also in the urban toponymy in Florence, deriving from *San Frediano* bishop of Lucca, who lived in the 6th century and whose celebration falls on 18th March.

The worship of *Sant'Elpidio* is present especially in the region of the Marche, and from it derive: *Sant'Elpidio a Mare, Sant'Elpidio a Morico* (Marche) and *Sant'Elpidio* (in Lazio) (see IMBRIGHI 1957 and DTI).

In Southern Italy it is possible to find toponyms referring to saints connected with the influence of the Greek church such as *San Procopio, San Calogero* and many others. From *San Gavino,* whose worship is deeply rooted all over Sardinia (where many churches are sacred to this saint), derives the toponym

San Gavino Monreale.[7] Sardinia is the centre from which the devotion to this saint developed; his name is also found in some place names in Corsica and in a town situated in the Tuscan Appennine region (ROHLFS 1972: 88).

Tuscany is the focus from which the devotion of *Santa Reparata* (patron saint of the cathedrals of Pisa and Florence) developed. Her name can also be found in some toponyms in Tuscany, Sardinia, Abruzzo and even in Corsica (ROHLFS 1972: 88).

It can be also observed that the word *saint* appears with different meanings: i.e. *Santa Croce,* which is present in toponyms such as *Santa Croce del Sannio* (Campania), *Santa Croce sull'Arno* (Tuscany) and even *Santa Spina* (Calabria), *Santa Luce* (Tuscany). *Santissima Trinità* is also present in some toponyms as *Trinità,* which can be found in different places in Piemonte, such as *Santa Trinità* (Campania), *Trinità d'Agultu* (Sardinia), *Trinitapoli* (Puglia) (see DTI).[8]

It is useful to consider the place name *Santopadre* (Lazio) as well, which is linked, according to folk tradition, to the local patron saint, *San Folco,* named *Santo Padre* because of the many miracles attributed to him. Upon his return from the Holy Land in the 7th century, San Folco decided to settle here instead of his native country (England).[9]

The toponym *Santa Quaranta* (present in three towns of Southern Italy) refers to the once widely diffused worship of the Quaranta Martiri, since a saint with this name does not exist (ROHLFS 1972: 82).

3. There is not a single region in Italy without a certain number of patrociny settlement names. According to IMBRIGHI's estimation,[10] the place names deriving from them represent more or less 20% of all the place names; about 3% are toponyms resulting from *San Pietro,* 8% from *Maria di Nazareth* while

[7] It was known as *San Gavino* until 1866; the new name is due to the fact that the town is located close to *Monreale* castle (DTI). Both *Gavino* and *Gavina* are typical Christian names in Sardinia.

[8] The name *Trinitapoli* 'city of the Holy Trinity', a Greek-like form created in order to ennoble it, is of recent origin, dating back to 1863, while in vernacular tradition it is known as *u Casàle* 'the farmhouse'. The village, which once was apparently known as *Casale de Palia,* had been called *Casale de Fabrica* and around the 12th century *Casale della Trinità* or *Casal-trinità,* as it was donated by the Benedictine monks of the Holy Trinity Abbey in the Monte Sacro on Gargano.

[9] In some place names, traces of pagan forms of worship and folk beliefs are evident, as in *Settefrati* (Frosinone) a form created with the number *sette* 'seven', traditionally believed to carry magic powers. According to the tradition, the name was given to the place by Benedictine monks in order to commemorate the seven sons of Santa Felicita, murdered in Rome in the 2nd century during Christian persecutions (see DTI).

[10] IMBRIGHI used a map of Italy scale 1 : 250 000 published by Touring Club Italiano.

the remaining are patrociny settlement names. Obviously, the percentage data is based on names whose origin from a saint's name is clear.

Toponyms of sacred origins are concentrated especially in some regions of Italy: Emilia–Romagna, Piemonte, Lombardia, Tuscany, Veneto, Campania, Marche; the regions with the lowest number of patrociny settlement names are Sardinia, Valle D'Aosta and Basilicata (see IMBRIGHI 1957).[11]

The most frequent place names are those referring to *Maria di Nazareth,* both in the form of *Santa Maria* (the most frequent of all) and of *Madonna*, also in the rare term of endearment *Madonnina* and *Madonnetta.* The names *Nostra Signora* and *Beata Vergine* are quite rare and are generally linked to the presence of sanctuaries (*Nostra Signora della Vittoria* and *Nostra Signora di Montallegro* in Liguria, *Nostra Signora del Monte* and *Nostra Signora di Gonare* in Sardinia; *Beata Vergine* and *Beata Vergine del Soccorso* in Lombardia; *Vergine Maria* in Sicily, which is in the city of Palermo). The recurrent presence of toponyms referring to the cult of Mary is due to many different reasons: the presence of a place of worship sacred to the Holy Virgin; the expression of gratitude to Mary for the deliverance from some danger; the influence of religious orders, especially those committed to the diffusion of the cult of the Virgin (see IMBRIGHI 1954). In short, there are many elements that explain the secular devotion and adoration in Italy of the Holy Virgin.

The next group with the highest frequency are the toponyms related to *San Pietro Apostolo* (Simon Pietro di Bethsaida) (see IMBRIGHI 1953), considered by the Roman Catholic Church its first pope, whose worship thoroughly penetrated the Italian peninsula. These toponyms are usually in the form *San Pietro*, even though there can be some popular variations like *San Piero, San Pier* as in the case of *San Pier d'Isonzo* (Friuli–Venezia Giulia).[12]

According to the evaluations made (IMBRIGHI 1957: 26), the place names attributed to the *Madonna* number 2133, compared to *San Pietro* 643, followed by *San Martino* 160, *San Giovanni* 128, *San Lorenzo* 79, *San Giorgio* 68, *Sant'Andrea* 65, *San Michele* 64; among the female saints the most common is *Santa Lucia* with 45 topomyms.

Some names of saints are not frequent as patrociny settlement names; for instance, in some cases there is only one example, at least in the macrotoponymy (towns and hamlets in Italy). For example, *Sant'Olcese* (Liguria), whose name resumes the legend of the bishops Olcese and Claro, who escaped from

[11] If considering the density of patrociny settlement names compared to the population, the regions with the highest percentage are Valle d'Aosta and Umbria.

[12] It has also officially acquired the local place name while until 1932 its official name was *San Pietro all'Isonzo*.

Gallia following the invasion of the Vandals and of the Alani people and who lived in Val Polcevera until their death.[13]

Amongst the toponyms deriving from a saint's name documented just once there is *San Lupo* (in Campania), attested in the form of *Sancto Lupulo in Valle Telesie* in 1150. It results from the saint's name San Lupo, bishop of Troyes, whose celebration falls on 29th July (DTI).

San Prisco (Campania) is called so because it arose in Late-Antiquity near a Christian cemetery where San Prisco was buried. The saint, first bishop of Capua, according to the tradition, was one of Jesus's followers who accompanied Saint Peter in Italy (DTI). *San Miniato* (Tuscany) is the name of a town which developed around a church sacred to the Florentine martyr San Miniato; in the past, it was called also *San Miniato del Tedesco* because the town was the residence of imperial vicars from the time of the kingdom of Ottone I (DTI). The toponym *Sant'Alfio* (in Sicily) derives from San Alfio (patron of the town together with San Filadelfo and San Cirino); *Sant'Alfio* is known in dialect as *Santarfi a vara*, literally *Sant'Alfio la Bara*, to distinguish it from the near village of *Trecastagni*, locally known as *Santarfiu*, which means Sant'Alfio, because of a very famous religious celebration dedicated there to Sant'Alfio (see DTI).[14] *Santa Fiora* (Tuscany) derives its name from a nearby church of ancient foundation sacred to Santa Fiora and Santa Lucilla.[15]

A Sicilian town founded in the 18th century resumes the name of its patron saint *Santa Ninfa*. Martyr of the faith, she was the daughter of the Prefect of Palermo; her celebration falls on 10th November. The name of *San Dalmazzo* (or *Dalmazio*) is rare as well, and it is reflected in the toponym *Borgo San Dalmazzo* (Piemonte) documented since 1098 as *Sanctus Dalmacius*, then in 1166 as *Burgus Sancti Dalmacij*. According to the tradition, San Dalmazzo was martyred in that place and to commemorate him a church was built in 450, around which a Benedectine abbey arose in the 7th century (DTI).

In some cases the assignment of a patrociny settlement name has been added in recent times to a previous toponym in order to avoid homophones or to resume an ancient tradition or for some different reasons.[16] So, for instance, *Mosciano Sant'Angelo* (Abruzzo) had been named *Mosciano* up until 1863 when it took the current form which recalls the *ecclesia S. Angeli in Musano*

[13] The toponym was handed down in the 12th century as *plebeio sancti Ursicini, sancto Olaxio, Laxio, Yrsicino,* while a tombstone dated 1155, kept in the parish church, commemorates the finding of Ursicino's body in 1155 (DTI).

[14] This religious celebration is also mentioned in the novel "I Malavoglia" by G. Verga.

[15] The town is located in the province of Grosseto; another town with that name can be found in the province of Arezzo (see IMBRIGHI 1957, DTI).

[16] See also note 5.

of the medieval documents and the *badia di Sant'Angiolo a Mosciano* of the 18–19th century. *Ripe San Ginesio* (Marche) derives its patrociny settlement name from the proximity with the town of *San Ginesio* which, in its own turn, derives its name from the patron saint.[17]

A patrociny settlement name could have replaced a previous name, like *Santa Maria del Cedro* (Calabria) established in 1968 instead of *Santa Maria* which, in 1955, replaced the previous *Cipollina* (while in dialect *Cipullina* is still currently in use) (DETI, DTI).

A change in the place name can depend on the birth of a new town hall. For instance, the town of *Soriasco* (Lombardia) acquired the name of *Santa Maria della Versa* in 1893, *la Madòna* in vernacular, because the town hall was placed in the neighbourhood of *Santa Maria della Versa;* thus, *Soriasco* became a hamlet (DETI, DTI).

The written testimonials of a name are sometimes unreliable. This is evident upon considering the origin of the name *Sant'Antonino di Susa* (town in Piemonte) which in various medieval documents is quoted as *Antolino* (and in some other variations) probably due to a phonetic mistake to exclude its interpretation as a diminutive of the well known *Sant'Antonio.* This hagionym has at its origin *Sant'Antonino,* a martyr from Apamea in Syria (DTI).

For some toponyms, which seem to derive from saint's name, the saint has not yet been identified, as in the case of *Sant'Avignone* (the name of a town in Sicily).

4. In Italian toponymy there are some names that seem to find their origins in the name of a saint. Nevertheless, they are actually folk etymologies which meet the need to restore the transparency of a name beginning with *San-* that could easily be perceived as referring to *san(to).* A good example of this dynamic is the name *(Canal) San Bovo* (in Trentino)[18] which derives from the vernacular term *sanbovo* 'elder tree' which is not understood anymore as it has been replaced by *sambugàro.* Another example is *San Genito* (in Campania); originally, it was the name of a plant, a sort of reinterpretation of the words *sanguineto* or *sangineto,* derived from the Latin word *sanguine* which means 'cornel'.

The toponym *Sanluri* (Sardinia), *Seddóri* in dialect, is usually perceived as a patrociny settlement name. However, it is not a compound name with *Luri,* a shortened form of the name *Lorenzo* (in the dialect), as it would be reasonable

[17] Rare place name originating from a saint's name in Italian toponymy, which can be found in some places in Marche (see IMBRIGHI 1957, DTI)

[18] PELLEGRINI (1990: 401) informs us that a statue of the saint has been placed in the parish church.

to think, a hypothesis supported also by a documented (already interpreted as a saint's name) form *Sanctuluri* in 1364–1365, but it is actually an offshoot of the name of a plant *séllaru* 'celery' through a displacement of the accent and with *-ll-* > *-dd-*.

San Colombano Belmonte (in Piemonte) seems to derive from **campus Columbanus* as suggested by many testimonials on ancient maps (*Cancolumbanum* since 1350), with the pronunciation Franco-Provençal of Latin *Ca-* then simplified in spoken language in *sa-* and then compared to *San,* with a reinterpretation of the toponym as a patrociny name. The name *Belmonte* (from the nearby sanctuary of Belmonte) dates back to 1862.

There is uncertainty about the origin of the toponym *San Ponso* (Piemonte) as well, which may derive from **Campus Pontii,* from the Roman *Pontius,* thus being an ancient name which refers to the Roman division of land. The passage from toponym to patrociny name would then have occurred later on, in any case, as the place is referred to as *Sanctum Poncium* since 1286.

The patrociny origins are not clear for *San Vito al Torre* (Friuli–Venezia Giulia) either, even though the patron of the town is San Vito and the place has been mentioned as *San Vitum* since 1149. The saint's name is unclear due to the antiquity of the settlement, as, in this perspective, it could be considered as an outcome of the Latin word *vicus* 'village', which resulted in the Friulian *vit,* homophone of *Vit,* correspondent to the Christian name *Vito.* A false etymology could be at the root of *San Vito al Tagliamento* (Friuli–Venezia Giulia) too, mentioned as *San Vitus* in the 10th century and whose patrons are San Vito and San Modesto.

A partial influence of (Santa) Lucia is observed in the place name *Mascalucia* (Sicily) which derives from the ancient French word *mareschalcie* 'stable', a term imported by the Normans.

The transition from a place name with different sources to a patrociny settlement name can happen even when the name does not begin with *San-*. For instance, this happened to *San Predengo* (Lombardia) from *Pedringus* (from the Christian name *Petrus* with the German suffix *-ingo*) to which has been arbitrarily added the denomination of saint (PELLEGRINI 1990: 401).[19] *Santa Severina,* a well known town of Calabria, is a secondary patrociny settlement name too. At its origin there is *Siberene,* an ancient city of Bruzio mentioned in the 5th century, while around the 9–10th century, in Byzantine ecclesiastical documents it is mentioned as *Hagia Seuerine,* that is *Sancta Severina,* from which derived the current name. Even though in the hagio-

[19] The same origin from the personal name *Petrus* + suffix *-ingus* gives us *Pedrengo,* a toponym in Lombardia.

graphic tradition there is actually a *Sancta Severina,* she is not celebrated in that diocese (still following Greek rites until the 13th century). It is thus an apocryphal tradition resulting from folk tradition which has replaced the ancient idea with a new one (see ROHLFS 1974).

5. Toponymy deriving from saints' names is usually a quite clear discipline, although it is not always easy to find its reasons for identifying the particular saint, among various homonyms, from whom a place name derives.

An additional complicating factor is that there are place names which have been affected by the various dialects spoken in Italy, particularly frequent in the microtoponymy, which are less subject to interventions aimed at making them conform to the vernacular tradition of the Italian language. Among the Italian town names which still preserve a vernacular form there are toponyms such as *Santu Lussurgiu* (Sardinia) which corresponds to *Santo Lussorio,* patron of the town; Christian Martyr murdered probably in Fordongianus (Sardinia) at the beginning of the 4th century; his celebration falls on 21st August (DTI).[20] Some other forms have been quite altered by folk tradition and thus it is now very difficult to identify the corresponding saint.

The toponym *San Fratello* (Sicily) results from the name *Filadelfo,* one of three brothers (the others being Alfio and Cirillo), Christian martyrs, through a popular transition is evidently influenced by the expression 'three brothers' (DTI).[21]

Sant'Oreste (Lazio)[22] is a toponym resulting from *San Edisto,* a name which, in the Middle Ages, was pronounced *Eristo* or *Aristo.* The form *Sant'Oreste* resulted from this element, even though this has not been an obstacle to the patron saint's celebration that still occurs nowadays on 12th October, the day of Sant'Edisto (see ROHLFS 1972: 77 and DTI).

The place name *Santo Stino di Livenza* (Veneto) results from *Santo Stefano,* patron of the town, through the diminutive form *Stefanino.*[23] The case of *San Remo* (Liguria) is well known, given the popularity of the city. The toponym results from *San Romolo,* locally pronounced *San Römu,* and from this pronounciation results the official name which then represents an adaptation of the vernacular one; and *ecclesia Sancti Romulii* and its corresponding *castrum*

[20] The name of this saint, even though slightly altered, can be found in *San Rossore,* in the area of Pisa and in this city there is also a church of *San Lussorio* (ROHLFS 1972: 88).

[21] In the territory of San Fratello there is an Arabic–Norman sanctuary of the Three Holy Brothers; however, the patron of the town is San Benedetto il Moro (Benedetto Manassari) who was born in San Fratello in 1524 and died in Palermo in 1589.

[22] Locally pronounced *Santrèsto* (DETI).

[23] The reduction to *Stino* (in dialect *Stin*) is interpreted as a phonetic result of *Stevanìn* > *Steanìn* > *Steenìn* (DTI).

were mentioned in 962 as the direct property of the church of Genova.[24] *San Lùcido* (Calabria) results from the vernacular alteration of *San Niceto*, pronounced *Nìceto*, as confirmed by a document of the 14th century in which it is underlined that the place was named *San Niceto* even though sometimes it was called *San Lucido* as well.[25]

San Fili (Calabria) is the vernacular form from *Sanctus Felix*, through the nominative.[26] A toponym *San Fele*, with the same saint's origins, can be found in Basilicata.[27]

The place name *San Didero* (Piemonte) results from *San Desiderio* and the *ecclesia Sancti Desiderii* has been documented since 1065.[28] In Venice's urban toponymy *San Marcuòla,* from *Hermagoras,* that is *Ermacora* or *Ermagora* (who was the first bishop of Aquileia in the 2nd century) takes its name from the church sacred to the saints Ermacora and Fortunato, while *Sant'Aponàl*, in Venice too, reflects *Apollinare. San Gillio* (Piemonte) is the Italianization of *Gilles,* a French form derived from the Latin *Aegidius;* the parish church, in fact, is dedicated to Sant'Egidio. *Sant'Arpino* (Campania) seems to come from *Sant'Elpidio,* who is the patron saint of the town, transformed by the vernacular pronounciation.

Some patrociny settlement names result from the mingling of two saints, like for instance *San Trovaso* (Veneto), which can be found in Venice's urban toponymy too, and which derives from the fusion of the names *Protaso* and *Gervasio*, while *San Cosimano* (in Lazio), *San Cosimano, San Cusumano* (in Sicily) result from the fusion of *Cosma* and *Damiano.*

Various patrociny settlement names are characterized by diminutive suffixes, generally expressing love, veneration or gratitude to the saint. This kind of structure is reflected in toponyms such as *San Giuseppuzzo* (Sicily), *San Giovanniello* (Campania), *San Donatino* (Tuscany) (ROHLFS 1972: 84). In some cases it is a misinterpretation of final vowel and an interference between

[24] The cult of this saint is linked to the hermitage on the mountains where Romolo, bishop of Genova in the 4th century would have retired, and to his grave (DTI).

[25] San Niceto is reflected in other toponyms in Calabria, such as *Santu Nicitu,* a hamlet of Motta San Giovanni (DTI).

[26] According to ROHLFS, through the French *Saint-Félix* (1972: 89). The town's patron is San Francesco di Paola, while an image of San Felice can be found above an altar in the parish church. According to folk tradition, the name *San Fili* would derive from a bandit called *Santo* and his *Fili* 'sons' (DTI).

[27] It was already documented in 1150–1168 as *Sanctum Felem* (DTI).

[28] The worship of San Desiderio is widely present in Northern-West Italy as demonstrated by various toponyms such as *Pré-Saint-Didier,* literally 'the meadow of San Desiderio' in Val D'Aosta (DTI). ROHLFS (1972: 77) derives from *San Desiderio* also *San Disdagio* (Tuscany) and *San Didasio* (Lombardia).

santo and *santa;* for example, *Santo Saba* has become *Santa Saba* (Sicily) and from *Santo Foca* resulted *Santa Foca* (Friuli–Venezia Giulia).

The current *Santomenna* (Campania), which resulted from *San Menna*, whose celebration falls on 11th November, has been named so since 1881; previously, it used to be named *Santamenna*, with *santa* instead of *santo* due to the influence of the final *-a*.[29] As is evident from the example of *Santamenna*, in some toponyms there has been a fusion between the title and the name of the saint: *Sanniccandro di Bari* and *Sannicandro Garganico* (both in Puglia)[30] evidently derive from *San Nicandro; Sannicola* (Puglia) corresponds to *San Nicola; Sannazzaro de' Burgondi* (Lombardia) from *San Nazzaro*, patron of the town;[31] *Sammichele di Bari* (Puglia) from *San Michele*.[32]

In some cases, names written as one word, and phonetic alterations, now make the identification of the saint's name difficult. The name *Santeramo in Colle*[33] results from *Sant'Erasmo* (from Antiochia) patron saint of the town; in this case, not only is the spelling altered but there is also evidence of a retraction of the accent resulting at a phonetic level in *sn* > *mm* > *(m).*

The toponym *Sandrigo* (Veneto) is interpreted as the vernacular result of *Sant'Ulderico.*[34] *Valsanzibio* (Veneto) corresponds to *Valle San Zibio*, that is *San Eusebio* and in fact in the town there is a chapel sacred to the saint (see OLIVIERI 1961). The toponym *Santhià* (Piemonte) results from *Sant'Agata*, already documented in 999 as *Sancta Agatha*, through a phase **Santhiate* then apocopated according to the local phonetics of Piemonte's dialect; it is interesting to note the permanence of *-h-* in the written form, which can be explained as an attempt at scholarly reconstruction.[35]

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[29] A similar transition from masculine to feminine can be found in Sicily as well*: Santa Menna*, name of an hamlet (CARACAUSI 1993).

[30] *Sannicandro di Bari* used to be *San Nicandro* until 1862 (DTI).

[31] *San Nazzaro* until 1863; the new name represents an allusion to an ancient settlement of the Burgundi (DTI).

[32] It was called *San Michele* until 1863 but in folk tradition is usually called *u Cuasalë* 'the farmhouse', its inhabitants are both called *sammichelini* and *casalini* (DETI). It is a town founded in 1615 by the signior Michele Vaaz, to whom is due the choice of San Michele as patron saint. Originally, the town was populated by a Serbo-Croatian colony.

[33] *Santeramo* until 1863, the town developed around the monastery of *S. Erasmus*, already documented in the 12th century (DTI).

[34] *San Dorligo della Valle* (Friuli–Venezia Giulia) corresponds to Sant'Ulderico too, patron of the town, which was named *Dolina* until 1923, a name of Slovenian origin from *dolina* 'valley'; it has been preserved in the local tradition and it has been translated by the expression *della Valle* (DTI).

[35] The place took the name *Sancta Agatha* when the empress Teodolinda, a convert to Christianity, had a church erected there (DTI). The cult of Sant'Agata, martyr of the faith in

It is very difficult to identify *Sant'Anatolia,* the saint patroness of the town, in the toponym *Esanatoglia* (Marche), which has been known as *Sant'Anatolia* or *Santanatoglia* until 1862. The new toponym is not the result of a vernacular misinterpretation but a new creation decided by the town council of the time. In fact, to avoid homophony with *Santanatoglia di Narco* (Umbria), a toponym *Esa,* which was supposed to be the ancient name of the town, has been added to *(Sant')Anatoglia* (DTI).

Sanzeno (Trentino) does not result from the name of the saint *San Zeno* (or *Zenone*) but, in a misinterpreted form, from *Sisinio,* martyred at the end of the 4th century; in fact, in 1329 the place is mentioned as *Sancti Sisinii.*

In some other toponyms it is not possible to reconstruct the saint's name as they have lost their appellative *san-* as in the case of *Orzivecchi* (Lombardia) which derives from *San Giorgio,* to whom a chapel was dedicated, already documented in 1184: *[capella] Sancti Georgii.*[36]

Origins from a saint's name are not clear in toponyms of Calabria such as *Jacurso* and *Joppolo,* the ancient *hágios* of the saints *Akursios* and *Euplos* (latinised in *Opulus*), being almost lost (ROHLFS 1972: 79, DTI). It is interesting to note also the story of the town name *Gerace* (Calabria) which, during the Byzantine domination, was named *Hagia Kyriaké (ecclesia sanctae Cyriacae)* then becoming *Hiérax* (genitive *Hiérakos*) in the 12th century. This is a case of etymological reinterpretation, due to a link with the Greek word *hiérax* 'sparrow-hawk' which then prevailed over the religious tradition.[37]

6. In the various bilingual and multilingual areas of Italy there are patrociny settlement names which can present a double tradition: the local and the Italian one, or a single name as the result of ancient forms.

As it has already been put forward as evidence, in Greek-speaking areas of Italy the word *hágios* 'saint' is still present, currently pronounced as *ajo* and *as* in those areas. For instance, in the Salento region there are place names such as *As Antoni,* near Bova (Calabria) *Ajom Betro,* that is 'Saint Peter'. The city of Galatina is called, in the local Greek dialect *As Petru* (from the patron

Catania, has spread all over Italy since the 6th century and her name is reflected in various toponyms all over the Italian peninsula. She is the patron saint of Catania where she has often been invoked during the eruptions of the volcano Etna (IMBRIGHI 1957: 57).

[36] In this patrociny settlement name the element *Saint* got lost and the initial consonant in *Georgius* has fallen away, from this *Orzi* and not *Iorzi,* because the *I* is perceived as an article, as confirmed by the local dialectal pronounciation of the toponym, which is *I Urs.* The addition of *-vecchi* is due to the foundation, in 1193, of a town nearby named *Orzinuovi,* for the Bresciani to confront the Cremonesi (DTI).

[37] The form *Gerace,* locally *Ieraci,* depends on the diminutive *hierákion* 'little sparrow-hawk' (ROHLFS 1972: 79).

saint) which corresponds to *San Pietro* (in the dialect of Salento *Sampiètru*), *San Donato* is called *Adunnao, San Cesario* is *Accisari* (ROHLFS 1972: 76).[38]

In the Slovenian-speaking areas of Northern-East Italy there are places such as *San Leonardo,* in Slovenian *Svet Lénart,* while *San Pietro al Natisone* is *Speter Slovenov* (see DETI).[39]

In Albanian-speaking territories there is the town of *Santa Sofia dell'Epiro,* in Albanian *Shën Sofi.*[40]

In the Greek cultural setting the word *kyrios* was used with the meaning of 'saint', analogous to the Latin *domnus.* Traces of this habit are still present nowadays in Southern Italy. They are mostly crystallised forms, whose origins from a saint's name are not clear, which do not have a double tradition (Italian and Greek). The toponym *Cersosimo* (Basilicata) belongs to this group, which derives from *Kyrios Zósimos* 'San Zosimo' to whom a monastery was dedicated, first belonging to the Basilian order, then to the Benedictines (DTI and ROHLFS 1972: 76).[41]

In the Alto Adige (Südtirol), bilingual area (German and Italian) which was added to Italy after World War I, the Italian toponym (prepared by Ettore Tolomei) was juxtaposed with a pre-existing German one.[42]

Among the remaining patrociny settlement names adapted by Italian there is *Jenesien,* translated as *San Genesio,* to whom a church is sacred, a place already documented in the Latin form in 1186: *in monte sancti Genesii;*[43] *Sankt Pankraz,* from the name of the patron, became *San Pancrazi*[44] whilst *Sankt Lorenzen* corresponds to *San Lorenzo di Sebato.*[45]

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[38] Since 1863 they have been called respectively *San Donato di Lecce* and *San Cesario di Lecce.*

[39] *San Pietro al Natisone* was named, in the Italian tradition, *San Pietro degli Schiavi* until 1869.

[40] In an articulated form *Shën Sofija; dell'Epiro* was added to the Italian form in 1863 (DETI).

[41] ROHLFS quotes the names of towns in Calabria *Cernostasi, Cerantoni, Ceramarta* resulting from the saints *Anastasius, Antonius* and *Martha.*

[42] Ettore Tolomei (1865–1952), scholar and irredentist, appointed senator of the Kingdom of Italy in 1923, has been the main promoter of the rivendication of Alto-Adige for Italy. He is the author of the Italianization of the toponymy of Alto Adige (Südtirol) in "Prontuario dei nomi locali dell'Alto-Adige" (1935). In the process of Italianization, Tolomei followed some criteria as: 1. adaptation of the German forms into Italian; 2. translation from German into Italian; 3. creation of local names (neo-creation); 4. resumption or restoration of various local names of (neo)Latin origin present in the documents (see PELLEGRINI 1990: 413–414).

[43] In the Italian version it was called *San Genesio* until 1929, when it took the determination of *Atesino* (DTI).

[44] *San Pancrazio* is at the origin of various toponyms in Italy (IMBRIGHI 1957).

[45] At first it was named *San Lorenzo in Pusteria;* the current name dates back to 1939; *Sebato* alludes to an ancient Roman settlement *civitas Sebatum,* of which archaeological testimonies remain; a toponym of pre-Roman origin, extinct and recently resumed (DTI).

The toponym *Innichen* of German tradition (and of probable pre-Latin origin) is rendered by the hagionym *San Candido,* which refers to the collegiate's patron saint (DTI); this is a neo-toponym deriving from the name of a saint.

However, for *Sankt Ulrich in Gröden* of German tradition (*Sankt Ulrich* derives from the patron saint), for Italian toponymy *Ortisei* was the name chosen. This name was present in that area and belongs to the Ladin tradition of the Val Gardena (in German Gröden) and in nearby territories.[46]

The process of Italianization of hagiotoponyms from other languages has taken place in Val D'Aosta, a Franco-Provençal dialect area (French and Italian bilingualism). This process was the result of the linguistic policy and the xenophobic ideology of Fascism. When the dictatorship ended the original names were once again used (it is the only form in the official toponymy as well with *Saint* 'saint' of French tradition). For instance, it is interesting to consider the toponyms which were Italianized in 1939 and then returned to their original form in 1946: *Pré-Saint-Didier* became *San Desiderio Terme; Saint-Rhemy* is *San Remigio; Saint-Vincent* is *San Vincenzo della Fonte;*[47] *Challant-Saint-Anselme* is *Villa Sant'Anselmo; Rhemes-Saint-Georges* is *Val di Rema.*

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[46] Both the place names have a documented tradition that dates back to the Middle Ages, in 1336 there is the attestation *S. Ulrichs mulgrei,* in 1288 *Ortiseit,* the latter being a name which derives from *urtica* 'nettles' through *urticetum* (DTI). As for the Ladin tradition, it is the so called *Ladino Dolomitico* also known as *Ladino centrale,* which belongs to the neo-Latin varieties of Italy and which, according to the 1999 law (n. 482, December 15), belongs to the group of the "historical linguistic minorities" of Italy.

[47] The name *Fonte* is due to the presence of homonyms in Italy and derives from the fact that the town is a hydromineral station of the low Valle d'Aosta.

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Patrociny Settlement Names in Eastern Germany

1. Introduction

First of all I want to welcome the aim of developing a systematic review of hagiotoponymy in Germany, i.e. of settlement names with reference to saints of the Christian church. Neither such a fundamental manual like ADOLF BACH'S "Deutsche Namenkunde" (Heidelberg[3], 1978) nor the "International Handbook of Onomastics" (HSK 11, Berlin–New York, 1995–1996) could realise this intention, because already for one European state it needs the co-operation of a team to work on this theme.

Settlement names with the element *Sankt* in their official forms are relatively rare in Eastern Germany. While in Southern, Western, and North-Western Germany we can find a lot of them, their occurrence or representation is very limited in the regions of Saxony, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thuringia, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. On the one hand German *Sankt* is a sure sign for such a patrociny settlement name, on the other hand it is very difficult to find out whether a personal name like *Peter* in an official toponym represents the name of the saint, i.e. of the church in the settlement, or of the founder or owner of the village, etc.

On checking the lexicon "Müllers Großes Deutsches Ortsbuch 2005" we found this result: Names with *Sankt* + hagionym (the name of the saint) can be names of villages, of localities, i.e. parts of villages, of small places with only a few inhabitants, even of groups of single houses, and of ecclesiastical institutions. But here we will mainly refer on the names of settlements.

2. The names in the survey

In the first part we will give a survey of such names with regard to the villages, of small places with only a few inhabitants, even of groups of isolated houses, and of ecclesiastical institutions listed there. Of course we prefer to refer only on the names of settlements. In this first part we will make a survey of such names with regard to the five different federal states of Eastern Germany.

2.1. Saxony

St. Egidien, a village with 3704 inhabitants: 1320: *Ecclesia Sancti Egidii in Lun[k]wicz,* 1405: *die Longwicz zu sant Egidy,* 1582: *Sanct Illing,* 1720: *Sanct Egidien*—with a saint-Ägidius-church till 1812 (HON Sachsen 1: 231, HENGST 2003: 36).

St. Michaelis, originally a village, now part of the town Brand-Erbisdorf: 1348: *Sanct Michahelen,* 1409: *zcu sente Michel,* 1428: *Michillsdorff,* 1503: *Michel,* 1532: *St. Michael,* 1791: *St. Michael, wird auch Michels genannt*— named after the church (HON Sachsen 2: 36).

In addition there are three monasteries founded in the 13th century around which settlements developed. Now their official names are compounded with *St.* 'saint' plus *Maria* 'Saint Mary' and *-stern* 'star' respectively *-thal* 'valley':

St. Marienstern in Eastern Saxony near Bautzen: 1248: *Stella Sanctae Mariae,* 1354: *Clostir Merienstern,* 1367: *Merginstern* (HON Sachsen 2: 13).

St. Marienthal in Northern Saxony near Mügeln: 1243: *vallis sancte Marie … prope Mogelin,* 1389: *Mergintal* (HON Sachsen 2: 13).

St. Marienthal in Eastern Saxony near Görlitz: 1234: *monasterium, quod vallis sancte Marie dicitur,* 1360: *in valle Sanctae Mariae,* 1394: *Mergintall,* 1491: *Marientall* (HON Sachsen 2: 13–14).

Only solid historical name studies show us still more names of villages based on the names of patron saints. But up till now only the federal states Saxony and Brandenburg possess such complete lexicons with all toponyms recorded from the Middle Ages in Eastern Germany. So we can present two observations in Saxony.

An original *Sankt* existing in the period of settlement can be lost later on:

Lorenzkirch is an example: 1274: *plebanus sancti Laurencii,* 1308: *Sanctus Laurentius,* 1350: *apud sanctum Laurentium,* 1406: *Lorenczkirche,* 1513: *Lorentzkirch* (EICHLER–WALTHER 1966: 177).

Marienthal, a former village, now part of Zwickau: 1192: *villa, que vallis sancte Marie nuncupatur,* 1212: *villa, que dicitur Vallis sancte Marie,* 1348: *Meriental,* 1354: *Mergental* (HON Sachsen 2: 13).

Mergendorf a village, now part of Riesa: 1214: *Sentemariendorf,* 1234: *villa sancte Marie,* 1266: *Mergendorf,* 1297: *Mariendorf,* 1336: *Mergendorf* (EICHLER–WALTHER 1966: 197, HON Sachsen 2: 28).

Martinskirchen, a village near Bad Liebenwerda in Brandenburg: 1251: *Martinskirche,* 1253: *ad Sanctum Martinum,* 1314: *villa beati Martini* (CROME 1968: 67).

Niklasgasse, in former times a little village near to Chemnitz: 1493: *yn Sant Niclasgassen* (HON Sachsen 2: 116).

Sankt 'saint' plus the name of the patron can follow after another name. In this way the result is an official name with three constituents. The first of them is the name of a small river or stream. And the following names of the

patron saints allow us to differentiate between the villages along the waters. These names are documents of the primary official differentiation:

Mülsen St. Jacob in Western Saxony near Zwickau: 1421: *zcu sente Jacoffe,* 1460: *Milsen ad sanctum Jacobum* (HON Sachsen 2: 65, HENGST 2003: 77–79).

Mülsen St. Micheln near Zwickau: 1421: *zcu sente Michele,* 1460: *Milsen ad michaelem, Milsen ad sanctum Michaelem* (HON Sachsen 2: 66, HENGST 2003: 79).

Mülsen St. Niclas near Zwickau: 1421: *zcu sente Nigklause,* c. 1470: *Nicolai in der Mulsen,* 1540: *Millesen zu S. Niclas* (HON Sachsen 2: 66, HENGST 2003: 79–80).

Later on people differentiated such settlements only by *Ober-* 'Upper' and *Nieder-* 'Lower', and these forms could get official status:

Niedermülsen near Zwickau: 1453: *in der nyder Milßin,* 1460: *nyder Milsen,* 1519: *ym dorff der Nidermilsen* (HON Sachsen 2: 66, HENGST 2003: 80).

Niederlungwitz near Zwickau: 1460: *Lungkwicz ad sanctum Petrum,* 1489: *in der Nider-Lungkwitz,* 1531: *Inn der Lunckewitz zu Sant peter,* 1720: *Niederlungwitz* (HON Sachsen 1: 628, HENGST 2003: 72–73).

Oberlungwitz near Zwickau: 1482: *in der obirn Lungkewitzt,* 1547: *Ober Lunnkwitz zu S. Mertten* (HON Sachsen 1: 628), with a church named St. Martin (HENGST 2003: 73–74).

According to historical documentation official or popular name-giving practice resulted in single unofficial saint-forms in the 14th century:

Jahna, a village in Saxony: 1203: *ecclesia in Gan,* 1250: *Heidenricus de Gana,* 1313: *in villa Gana ad sanctum Gothdehardum vulgariter nominata,* 1317: *in Gana,* 1338: *in villa apud sanctum Gothardum,* 1552 *Gane* (EICHLER–WALTHER 1966: 120, HON Sachsen 1: 449).

And in the 15th century the patron's name could be temporarily incorporated into the official name of a village:

Dittelsdorf in Eastern Saxony near Löbau and Zittau: 1369: *Ditlichstorf,* 1420: *Dittelsdorf,* 1424: *Dytrichsdoff alias S. Pancracii,* 1437: *in Pankraz,* 1558: *Dittelsdorf* (HON 1: 184).

Finally there are settlement names of towns founded only in the 15–16th centuries. They were named with the help of patrons' names, but in the meantime the names in German use lost *Sankt* respectively the abbreviation *St.*

Annaberg: 1496: *St. Annabergk,* 1500: *zu der Nawenstadt … sanntt Annabergk,* 1535: *vff Sant Anaberg,* 1555: *Annebergk* (HON Sachsen 1: 20).

Marienberg: 1523: *S. Marien Berg,* 1530: *unsrer neuen Berg-Stadt Marienberg,* 1586–87: *S. Mariabergk* (HON Sachsen 2: 12).

These names of towns in mining regions were given to secure blessing and abundance.

This is also true for the following names of towns having already belonged to Bohemia for a century:

Sankt Joachimsthal, now **Jachimov:** 1522: *sant Joachimstal,* 1526: *Perkwerch Joachimsthal* (LUTTERER–ŠRÁMEK 1997: 112).

(St.) Katharinaberg, now **Hora Svaté Kateřiny:** 1480: *Catternpergk,* 1528: *Hora Swate Katherziny,* 1787: *Katharinaberg, Katerberg, Mons S. Catharinae* (LUTTERER–ŠRÁMEK 1997: 93–94).

(St.) Sebastiansberg, now **Hora Sv[atého] Šebestiána:** 1571: *Bastianperk,* 1596: *Sanct Sebastian,* 1626: *Städtell S. Sebastiansbergk* (Profous 1: 690).

Of course there are too single *St*.- dwelling-places in such towns with former mining activities. These names continue to be primary mine names:

St. Georg in Marienberg—a mine in the 16th century (BOGSCH 1966: 262).

St. Johannis in Wolkenstein—a mine in the 16th century and once more revived from 1947–1954 (BOGSCH 1966: 266).

One name represents a very late formation without *Sankt* in the official name of a village:

Petersbach near Bautzen in Eastern Saxony got its name only after 1730 with respect to St. Peter because the settlement was an ecclesiastical donation (HON Sachsen 1: 167, EICHLER–WALTHER 1975: 224). But it is not possible to conclude that names with the compound *Peter* or another holy person's would be due to a patron's name.

2.2. Thuringia

St. Bernhard, a small village with about 300 inhabitants and an old church (Leonhardi IV, 672). Situated to the north-west of Hildburghausen the village is rather early documented: 956: *Bernriod,* 1187: *Bernrit* (WALTHER 1971: 308). These forms show us that the name continues the personal name *Bero* in connection with uprooting. Even in 1521 the name was *Bernriet* (Regesten Kloster Veßra Nr. 844, S. 427). Only in the 16th or 17th century the name was brought into association with Saint Bernard.

St. Gangloff, a village with 1356 inhabitants in Eastern Thuringia: 1266: *De villa Warte, das man ytzt sant Gangolff nennet* 'village Warte, now called saint Gangolff'. Since the 13th century the village was named according to its little church of pilgrimage.

St. Kilian, a village in Western Thuringia with 3279 inhabitants as a result of the union of five villages in 1991, among them one with the name *St. Kilian.* At the end of the 14th century a chapel was founded around which this settlement developed there in connection with a hospital founded only in 1419 (Leonhardi III, 644–645).

Klosterlausnitz in Eastern Thuringia with the first element *Kloster* 'monastery' indicates the origin of the settlement: 1137: *Cella Sanctae Mariae.* The little water or run, 1117: *Lusenitz,* later on got part of the official name without the name of the patron (ROSENKRANZ 1982: 62, Eichler SON 2: 109).

It is very interesting to mention the following. In medieval times an old town in the western region of Thuringia became too small, and therefore new settlements grew outside of the town wall. These new suburbs of course got their own churches. And the names of these churches were used to identify the settlements: *St. Georgi, St. Nicolai, St. Martini, St. Margarethen,* and *St. Petri*—so still in the 19th century, i.e. all the time before total incorporation into the town of Mühlhausen (KIRCHNER 2010: 61). This example clearly shows that still more such patrociny names will surely be found by further toponomastic research.

In addition we have single dwelling-places, i.e. parts of towns or villages, originally named according to a chapel or small church in the late Middle Ages.

St. Adelheid, part of the town Greiz (Nördl. Vogtland 281).

St. Jakob, part of the village Munschwitz (ROSENKRANZ 1982: 66).

St. Wolfgang, living place of Hermannsfeld, but only in the 18th century so called after the patron of a hunter's house (Leonhardi IV, 793).

2.3. Saxony-Anhalt

To the north of Saxony and Thuringia we find only a few names of dwelling-places in towns with *Sankt* in conformity with the patron of the church.

Sankt Micheln in Mücheln not far from Merseburg: 1806: *Micheln* oder [or] *Sanct Michael, zur Stadt Mücheln gehörendes Dorf* 'a village belonging to Mücheln' (Leonhardi I, 623).

Sankt Ulrich in Mücheln: 1806: *Sanct-Ulrich ein Rittergut mit Dorf* 'a country-seat with village' (Leonhardi I, 622).

St Julian in Sangerhausen: 1802: *Waldstädt oder* [or] *St. Julian* (Leonhardi I, 688).

With the help of church-names an official differentiation is demonstrated in historical time in Obhausen near Merseburg, up to the 19th century: 1804:

Obhausen St. Petri, Obhausen St. Johannis, Obhausen St. Nicolai (Leonhardi III, 579).

2.4. Brandenburg

Mariendorf, a village in former times, now belonging to Berlin: 1373: *Mariendorff,* foundation of a Christian order in honour of the Holy Virgin (SCHLIMPERT 1972: 133).

Marienfelde, once a village, now part of Berlin: 1344: *in villa Merghenfelde,* 1373: *Marienfelde,* cf. Mariendorf (SCHLIMPERT 1972: 123, FISCHER 2005: 112).

Martinskirchen, cf. Saxony.

And two names of dwelling-places:

St. Jürgen in Darritz near Neuruppin: 1753: *St. Gürgen,* 1799: *St. Jürgen,* with reverence to Saint George, in Low German called *Jürgen* (FOSTER 1998: 73).

Marienfließ in Stepenitz near Pritzwalk: 1246: *Ecclesie Beate Marie virginis in stepenitz,* at first the name of a church in honour of the Holy Virgin near a stream (WAUER 1989: 169).

2.5. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern

Only a roll of names from 1938 (Müllers Ortsbuch 1938) mentions the following three patrociny names: **Sankt Jakob,** an inn near Wismar; **Sankt Jakobshof,** a village near Wismar; **Sankt Jürgen,** a monastery on the Isle Rügen.

Müllers Ortsbuch 1926 presents the following name from former Eastern Prussia (now part of Western Russia):

Sankt Lorenz Samland near Fischhausen (now called Primorsk). Now the village has the Russian name *Sal'skoe* (Nördliches Ostpreussen nach 1945: 45). The postscript *Samland* was necessary with respect to two other *Sankt Lorenz* in Bavaria. The name is noted 1326: *Abendam et Pubetam,* 1327: *unam tabernam, que sita est iuxta ecclesiam, que Abende, Obende vulgariter nuncupatur,* 1369: *die Einwohner von Abende,* and only from 1589–90: *Sanct Lovrenz, Sanct Lorenz.* It is an ecclesiastical name with the sense 'Holy Communion' shortened in popular German practice *(Abendmahl > Abende).* When a church was built there in honour of the Holy Laurentius in 1450 the name changed to *Sankt Lorenz* (BLAŽIENĖ 2000: 139).

We can add three further previous German names from former Pomerania (Müllers Ortsbuch 1938):

Sankt Andreasberg, name of a dwelling-place once belonging to the town Wormditt (now Orneta in Poland).

Sankt Georg, once a by-farm of Stolp (now Słupsk in Poland).

Sankt Johannes, a village near to former Küstrin (now Kostrzyn in Poland), today called *Świętojańsko* and belonging to Krzeszyce.[1]

3. Interpretation of the patrociny settlement names in Eastern Germany

3.1. Early data of this type and the role of Latin

The relation between Latin and the vernacular language in historical documented forms can be characterised in this way. Until the 14th century Latin is dominating while we can find vulgar forms only later on. There are only isolated colloquial German forms in the 13th and 14th centuries: 1214: *Sentemariendorf* (Mergendorf), 1251: *Martinskirche* (Martinskirchen), 1266: *De villa Warte, das man ytzt sant Gangolff nennet* (St. Gangloff), 1336: *Mergendorf*, 1348: *Mariental* (Marienthal), 1354: *Clostir Marienstern*, 1367: *Merginstern* (St. Marienstern), 1389: *Mergintal*, 1394: *Mergintall* (St. Marienthal).

3.2. Motivations and reasons for the creation of patrociny settlement names

The analysis of the documented official forms allows the conclusion that all these names from the Middle Ages were used by upper class people, i.e. by representatives of the Christian church in connection with the lords as the owners of certain territories. And especially in clerical and secular offices all the names were written down to differentiate and to identify the settlements in documents as property of a monastery or another landowner. However, it is rather difficult to decide the various possible reasons for the individual name-giving process with respect to every separate village. We can assume one reason was always to secure the protection of a saint for the village and its inhabitants.

The deeply religious population in the Middle Ages was surely thankful for such name-giving. For their part peasants and other inhabitants of a village probably named the settlement of their neighbours by using the patron's name of the church—and they did so in the vernacular. In the case of an "artificial" name-giving in Eastern Germany then it was at once completely accepted by everybody, i.e. it was accepted like popular name-giving and followed by a popular name-using practice from the beginning. Up till today people use these names in shortened forms, i.e. in colloquial speech they use only the name of the saint with respect to the village, e.g. *he/she lives in Jakob, went to Niklas, came back from Micheln*, etc.

[1] Information from the thankful letter (18th of march 2010) by MONIKA CHOROŚ, Opole, Instytut Śląski (Poland).

Our material allows us to state that even in the 15th century and later on the same reasons and motivations determined the formation of patrociny names for new settlements in the eastern regions of Germany.

It is evident that the church was a characteristic feature to differentiate one settlement from another. Therefore even later on the patrons' names were used to differentiate and to identify villages along a small river even in the 15–16th centuries. But these forms were always only written variants and represent the more official language while dialectal forms were the reduced ones.

Historical forms from the late Middle Ages show us additional differentiation with the help of the patron's name in Saxony:

Niederlungwitz near Zwickau: 1460: *Lungkwicz ad sanctum Petrum,* 1489: *in der Nider-Lungkwitz,* 1531: *Inn der Lunckewitz zu Sant peter,* 1720: *Niederlungwitz* with a church St. Peter.

Oberlungwitz near Zwickau: 1482: *in der obirn Lungkewitzt,* 1547: *Ober Lunnkwitz zu S. Mertten* with a church named St. Martin.

An official differentiation with help of the church-names is demonstrated in **Obhausen** near Merseburg (Saxony-Anhalt) up to the 19th century: 1804: *Obhausen St. Petri, Obhausen St. Johannis, Obhausen St. Nicolai.*

3.3. The formation process of patrociny settlement names

The formation process of such patrociny settlement names can be described in this way:

a) It is primarily a process of compounding with three elements: *Sankt* 'saint' + hagionym + radical word (*-berg* 'hill', *-dorf* 'village', *-feld* 'field', *-fließ* 'run', *-kirche* 'church', *-stern* 'star', *-thal* 'valley').

b) A secondary form is represented by only two elements: *Sankt* + hagionym.

c) And since the 13th century it is possible to observe a process of shortening those names with three elements, i.e. they could lose the first member *Sankt.* In this manner they got adapted to other German settlement names with the same structure consisting of personal name plus radical word, e.g. *Petersbach* and *Petersberg.* But *Sankt* was always preserved in the official names of villages with nearby old monasteries.

3.4. Chronological features of the name type

Observations on the chronology of patrociny settlement names in Eastern Germany enable us to distinguish two periods:

a) These names had their origin in the period of rural colonisation mainly by German settlers from the time of the 12th century on.

b) There followed a second wave in the 15–16th century in connection with an early industrial development when new towns were founded by dukes in Saxony.

Later on we find only very rare examples for using a patron's name with respect to a village, but new dwelling places could get such names. In Saxony they continued as the primary names of mines. This type of naming has been absolutely out of use since the 19th century.

3.5. The area of patrociny settlement names

The spreading of this name type in eastern Germany is relatively limited. Several examples can be found in Saxony, but it rarely spread to the other federal states. This seems to be dependent on its use during the time of rural colonisation in the western and eastern regions of Saxony while all other regions signify only isolated nominations. With regard to the names of this type in western Saxony the reason can be that the settlers came from the South of Germany, especially from the northern regions of Bavaria, while in eastern Saxony the primary names of monasteries were transferred to the villages.

3.6. Structure and changes of patrociny settlement names

The structure types of settlement names in Eastern Germany are characterised by compounds of two elements, mainly a) a personal name plus a generic word with the function of a radical word, e.g. *Albertsdorf* (*Albert* + *-dorf* 'village', so-called anthropotoponyms) or b) two appellatives in the role of determinative plus radical word as e.g. *Kirchberg* ('church + hill') or *Wolkenstein* ('cloud + rock'). The patronymic settlement names formed the so-called hagiotoponyms, and their official forms were absolutely adopted to the anthropotoponyms by eliminating the element *Sankt*, e.g. *Sankt Annaberg* > *Annaberg* or *Sankt Marienthal* > *Marienthal*.

Vernacular hagiotoponyms such as *St. Niklas* were reduced and now only the pure hagionym (without *Sankt*) is habitually used. These forms follow another type of German toponym called simple names (simplicia), e.g. *Thurm* 'tower' or *Dittrich* (a pure first name).

Changes to settlement names of patrociny origin are not observable and this did not occur even in the atheistic decades of socialism. Only the loss of *Sankt* in connection with the adaptation to the rules of German toponymic formation as already described can be mentioned. But this formal change beginning in the 13th century and lasting for several centuries did not concern all names of patrociny origin and was not connected with a change in meaning. On the contrary names like *Annaberg, Marienberg, Lorenzkirch, Martinskirchen, Marienthal, Mariendorf, Marienfelde* are clearly ecclesiastically

determined names for everybody. Only *Mergendorf* with the dialectal form of *Saint Maria* is an exception. Furthermore, we can note that a small number of dwelling places in some villages and towns were named after the patron saints of nearby churches from the 17th to 19th centuries.

In conclusion it is possible to say that patrociny settlement names in eastern Germany have a very low frequency but that they are typologically in agreement with the rules of toponym formation in the German language.

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Patrociny Place Names in the North-Western Territories of Germany

1. The North-Western territories

1.1. Size, population and bio-geographical surface

The following article[1] deals with patrociny place names in the North-Western territories of Germany. Throughout this article, the North-Western territories are defined as the area comprising the German federal states of Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen and Lower Saxony as well as the North Rhine-Westphalian territories of Westphalia and Lippe. While Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and (North Rhine-)Westphalia are territorial states, Hamburg and Bremen are city-states, urban centres that are characterized by a high building density, and have been since the Middle Ages. The different regions also differ greatly in their current size and population.

The Hanseatic City of Hamburg is the second largest city in Germany with a population of 1.8 million inhabitants.[2] The territory of Hamburg with its 756 m^2 is relatively small. Compared to Hamburg, the city of Bremen with its 650.000 inhabitants is considerably smaller, although the actual territory also comprises the area of the city of Bremerhaven which is 60 km away in Lower Saxony. These two city-states are contrasted by the territorial states. Lower Saxony has the largest area, with about 8 million people populating 48,000 km^2.[3] The area of Westphalia is considerably smaller with its 21,427 km^2; however, with 8.3 million inhabitants, the population is higher than in Lower Saxony. Adding the 1,246 km^2 of Lippe,[4] another 350.000 people are accounted for. Finally, Schleswig-Holstein—the most northerly German federal state—is significantly less densely populated than the other regions, featuring 2.8 million residents in an area of 15,800 km^2. This region, which is to be examined below, is of considerable dimensions comprising 85,000 km^2 in total.

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[1] I would like to thank Dr. Michael Flöer and Uwe Ohainski for their suggestions, help and corrections. I am very grateful to Jana Vanessa Nielsen and Benjamin Bühring for their skilful translation.

[2] Unless otherwise stated, the following information is based on the official statistical data of the individual German federal states, cities and municipalities.

[3] Lower Saxony is the second largest German federal state after Bavaria.

[4] Modern day North Rhine-Westphalia is made up of three larger areas, North Rhine, Westphalia and Lippe. Though they form one state, each individual region has its distinctive identity, with Westphalia and Lippe being more closely related.

It is also characterized by widely varying types of landscape as well as diverse settlement patterns. These will be discussed below, but first the most salient bio-geographical units need to be briefly outlined, because they influence not only the structures of settlement but also their local options as well as the time frame. This is crucial because settlement in this region had been established before Christianisation and thus prior to the possibility for patronymic place names. On the other hand, a lot of settlements were not established until the inland colonization in the High Middle Ages.

In the North the area in question has a share of the coastlines of the North and Baltic Seas. This affects mainly the territory of the German federal state of Schleswig-Holstein.[5] Particularly in the coastal area of the Northern Sea, with its storm floods and greater tidal forces, the embankment of the land and the construction of dwelling mounds began early. These marshes in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony, with their mostly fertile soil, are more inland, adjacent to geest areas which consist partially of heath- and moor-land. The biggest rivers leading into the Northern Sea in the area of Hamburg and Lower Saxony are the Elbe and the Weser. Geest and marsh areas can be found here too. The latter are characterised by rather humid ground and numerous water-courses and moors because they are sometimes situated even below sea level. The neighbouring area to the south, with its partially paludified heath and moor land,[6] also features pebbly and sandy grounds. Even further to the South, a broad band of very fertile soil, the so-called Börde, stretches from the Helmstedt-Brunswick area throughout Hildesheim and the Soest Börde towards the West. In Westphalia, the landscape is shaped by the Westphalian lowland bay. To the North, East and South delimited by highland (Weserbergland, Osning and Süderbergland) the terrain is flat or slightly hilly and the water table somewhat high. Besides the aforementioned geest, marsh and Börde regions, the area this article concerns itself with also contains highland and mountains, which more often than not have remained unsettled to this day. These are the Harz Mountains, the Weserbergland, the Osning, the Leinebergland and the Süderbergland with their highest elevations being the Teutoburger Forest, the Solling, and the Wiehen and Weser mountains.[7]

[5] This is also true for the coast of Lower Saxony along the Northern Sea.

[6] The largest part being the Lüneburger Heide; Zevener and Achim-Verder Geest are located to the West.

[7] Compare the "Handbuch der naturräumlichen Gliederung" with its individual chapters providing detailed information on geo-morphological structure, surface configuration, hydrographical conditions and dominant soils as well as vegetation.

1.2. The settlement patterns

Partly contingent upon these varying bio-geographical structures, the settlement patterns within the territory in question also vary markedly. For instance, in the embanked regions with their dwelling mounds it is almost impossible to establish larger settlements consisting of more than a couple of houses. Southern Lower Saxony, the adjoining Börde regions in the North and the heath lands further in the North (old inland geest) are characterized by built-up areas. These consist of several or a multiplicity of houses, which are "more or less evenly spread across the space. The average distance between the villages is about two to three kilometres. However, this smoothly spun web of settlements is being disrupted by larger areas of forest without any settlements. In the hilly uplands, these are mountain ridges in which the cultivation of the land is inhibited by preconditions like the falling gradient of the land, the condition of the soil or the level of the ground water." (MÜLLER 1952: 138).

As mentioned before, the regions which are subject to extremer natural constraints are far less populated, for example the Solling, Elm and Harz Mountains. In addition to that, numerous deserted villages can be found. Deserted villages are villages that were abandoned due to unfavourable environmental conditions after they had been established during the medieval settling initiatives (inland colonization). Throughout the Solling for example, 60% of all recorded place names denominate deserted villages.[8] Although they were usually very small, it is assumed that those settlements resembled villages.

The situation is very different in large parts of Westphalia and the West of Lower Saxony where isolated farms are dominant until this day. As a matter of course, larger villages and cities already existed in the Middle Ages. Clustered as farming communities (SCHÜTTE 2007: 149–151), isolated farms were—and still are—scattered around them. Some of those farms are extremely old. However, research on the history of these farms is difficult due to numerous renamings after changes of ownership. A comparable settlement structure can be found in the moor- and marshlands in northern Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein: isolated farms and small settlements prevail alongside larger ones. However, they often are more recent, because they only developed successively after dyking and the gradual exploration of the wetlands. The landscape and its settlement were changed considerably by natural catastrophes such as the flooding that created the Dollart and the Jade estuary.[9]

[8] This data is based on the place name inventory for the district of Holzminden (NOB VI).

[9] The most notable one being the Kosmas and Damian flood on the 26th of September 1509. It caused the Ems to breach near Emden, following an extension of the Jade estuary to the Northwest and the largest extension of the Dollart recorded to this day. For further information cf. HOMEIER 1969.

1.3. The age of the settlements

Nevertheless the regions of Westphalia and Eastphalia can be classified as old settlement areas. This classification is based on archaeological examination and analysis as well on the—unfortunately not yet fully finalized—onymic report, as illustrated in the study by JÜRGEN UDOLPH (1994). It would be taking matters to far to go into further detail here.

Still, it is necessary to briefly comment on current research, because it is substantially related to patronymic place names. Prevailing research trends suggest that during the time of barbarian migration in the 4th and 5th century these regions were mostly abandoned. Following this argument, a vacancy or at least a massive decrease of settlement should be expected (cf. GENRICH 1959 passim or BACH 1953–1954: § 483.5). The basis for this theory is the scarcity of archaeological finds for the time span in question. The suggestion of such a period without any settlement would have substantial consequences for the study of place names. Because names were passed on by word of mouth during this period, if depopulation took place and settlements were abandoned, place names would have been lost. Another consequence would be that the resettlement of these deserted areas could be expected only from the 6th and 7th century onwards and therefore place names would date from that period. Finally, such a discontinuity of settlement during the barbarian migration then has to be related to the strong Frankish influence on naming that some researchers suggest.[10] Unfortunately, neither comprehensive archaeological surveys nor corresponding analysis exist.

However, ROLF BÄRENFÄNGER (1988: passim) compared records of early place names and archaeological finds for settlements and burial places and concluded that "the map of recorded place names and the archaeological map only correspond to each other to an extremely small degree. In areas where, due to archaeological finds, extensive settlement is suggested, only few places are recorded, while in the regions where more of these can be found, only few archaeological sites exist" (BÄRENFÄNGER 1988: 292). The conclusion is clear: "The majority of settlement already existent in the early Middle Ages must have been located in places where we still find settlement" (1988: 292).

For the region of Wolfenbüttel, district of Lower Saxony, and the city of Salzgitter, which is located in this district, the published archaeological finds have been gathered and evaluated. Special attention was paid to the centuries AD and the question of a continuity of settlement, especially during and after the barbarian migration. This analysis is summarized as follows: "One cannot

[10] For directional place names supposedly based on Frankian influence or rather a Frankish coordinated inland colonization (cf. e.g. NITZ 1994, JOCHUM-GODGLÜCK 1995). UDOLPH (1998) and MÜLLER (1970) voice criticism on that topic.

claim a lack of finds for the time of the barbarian migration." (NOB III, 33). She continues: "Thus, it can be maintained that the area under investigation had been broadly populated before the time of written records. This is especially true for the period of time before Christ, the Roman Iron Age and onwards. On the basis of archaeological finds, there cannot be ascertained a lack of settlements for the time of the barbarian migration. In fact, the settlements that could be traced before usually continued to exist." (NOB III, 35). Needless to say, this analysis covers only a small part of the area this article concerns itself with. However, BÄRENFÄNGER's conclusions are valid for the entire area of Lower Saxony, which is more than half of the area in question. In addition, the district of Wolfenbüttel can be regarded as being representative for the vast lands of the Börde.

From an onomastic point of view a large portion of North-Western Germany needs to be classified as an old settlement area, sometimes very old. JÜRGEN UDOLPH substantiated this in his elaborate study, though numerous names definitely need to be added. However, the study does show that derivation by means of suffixation is a wide spread phenomenon north of the German Mittelgebirge, in Westphalia and in the central areas of Lower Saxony. In Germanic naming, this derivation process is regarded as a very early one and is sometimes even considered to link back to times before the single-language period. This is also true for other elements of names or primary elements like *-leben, -brink, -tun, *-hlaiw* and the like (cf. UDOLPH 1994: passim). Actually, within the entire area under examination, there could be found only one single patrociny place name built by means of suffix derivation.[11] This is due to the fact that this type of place name formation had already ceased to be productive before names could be built based on a Christian patron or at least Christian names.

1.4. Previous onomastic studies

JÜRGEN UDOLPH's study—which broadly covers the area in question, albeit with a different approach and only selectively—is mainly based on a collection of names from secondary literature, which is not comprehensive. The only extensive achievements in respect to place names within the area are presented in WOLFGANG LAUR's book on Schleswig-Holstein "Historisches Ortsnamenlexikon von Schleswig-Holstein" (1992). The book presents approximately 8,000 names, however, these are not only place names but also names of landscapes and water bodies. Moreover, very young names were also included, for example the *Friedrich-Wilhelm-Lübke-Koog*, a polder that had not been embanked until 1954 and was given the name of the deceased prime minister of

[11] † *Pentling* in the district of Soest, though this is not a proper patrocinic place name (see below).

Schleswig-Holstein (LAUR 1992: 260). So far, no other comparable dictionary has been published.

A dictionary of Lower Saxonian and Westphalian place names has just been started (see below). Therefore it is not possible to determine the exact number of names needed for further research. This is especially true when considering not only existing settlements but also names of deserted villages. Those add up to between 30 and 60% of all names in Westphalia and Lower Saxony (cf. CASEMIR 2010). The research project "Ortsnamen zwischen Rhein und Elbe — Onomastik im europäischen Raum" (Place names between Rhine and Elbe — Onomastics in Europe) is assessing around 30,000 names for Westphalia, Lippe and Lower Saxony. It has to be said though, that the respective place name dictionaries will be limited to names with the first written record dated before 1600. Even further restrictions were made for isolated farms.[12] Therefore, many younger names will not be included. These confinements have been made because the primary goal of the project is to survey all settlements and their names that emerged until the end of the inland colonisation in the late Middle Ages. Furthermore, younger settlement names are often easily explained. Additionally, they follow different trends and patterns of name formation. In compliance with the approach of that project, this article will also comply with that timeline and neglect younger patrociny place names. This seems justifiable since most patrociny place names were existent prior to 1600.

For the analysis of possible patrociny place names, a discrete corpus was created. This corpus is based on three different kinds of sources. First, the existing place name dictionaries,[13] which unfortunately cover only a small portion of the area. Second, the historical settlement registers for Lower Saxony which provide the historical records for the settlements. Third, some volumes of the inventories of cultural monuments,[14] which are almost comprehensible for the area of Westphalia and Lower Saxony. In addition to this, use was made of individual publications for specific areas or types of place names and a set of collections of official documents (so called "Urkundenbücher") for areas uncovered otherwise. Although the corpus created on the basis of these sources is rather extensive, future research might still be able to add to it.

[12] See the website www.ortsnamen.net for further information.

[13] Next to the NOB and WOB volumes already published, collections of place names were used which were gathered for the work-in-progress volumes.

[14] These are useful, at least partially, but only to a limited extent. This is due to three major reasons. First, most of them are considerably old. Second, most of them do not consider every settlement or abandoned village of a district. Third, a lot of them do not give any historic tradition of place names which is properly documented.

1.5. The christianisation of the area

Per definitionem, patrociny place names exhibit Christian references. Therefore it is necessary to preliminarily investigate the Christianisation of the area in question. There are close ties to the extension of the manorial system, the influence of religious institutions and the general settling development. Since these processes have already been described in great detail in the comprehensive reports on the state history of Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Westphalia,[15] only some remarks shall be made to highlight the most important developments.

Early attempts of evangelisation by missionaries from the British Isles did not have a lasting effect. Christianity did not start to spread until Carolingian time. This gradual process was characterised by varying levels of cooperation and opposition, leading to differing progress in the diverse regions of the area. HAMMEL-KIESOW and PELC note for Nordelbien: "Though 300 years had passed since the first Christian missionaries had arrived in Nordelbien, at the beginning of the 12th century the success of Christianity was of regionally varying intensity. While the Saxonian districts and Schleswig had presumably been Christianised long ago, the first missionary attempts in Wagrien and Polabien failed because of the Slavic resistance in 1006." (1996: 106). Due to this inhibited process, there was no configuration of a structured and comprehensive system of religious institutions. In fact, the initially erected monasteries, cloisters or churches were solitary. These were "especially in the beginning closely linked to the royal domain" (MITTELHÄUSSER 1985: 287). They can be regarded as "focal points" (BALZER 1983: 237). Concerning the bishopric of Hildesheim SCHUBERT concludes that "around the turn of the millennium only 14 parish churches can be assumed" (SCHUBERT 1997: 337). In the beginning the main focus was on the founding of monasteries. Only later on an extended network of parish churches did emerge. The earliest of these were established at the main yard of the villication belonging to the religious manorial lords (BALZER 1983: 241). Similar to the afore mentioned processes, this development was regionally diverse in respect to duration. In East Holstein and Lauenburg a comprehensive system of parish churches was not established until the 13th century (HAMMEL-KIESOW–PELC 1996: 107).

Both the proliferation of Christianity and the extended influence of religious manorial lords had an effect on the development of settlement. In the areas advantageous for settling they encountered an extensively populated land: "Archaeological, onomastic, historical and geographical research focused on

[15] Cf. especially the relevant articles MITTELHÄUSSER 1985, LAST 1985, PATZE 1985, SCHUBERT 1997, HIRTE 1996, HAMMEL-KIESOW–PELC 1996, WINKELMANN 1983, BALZER 1983, PRINZ 1983.

settlement reveals that the settlement structure deducted from the written records throughout the middle ages was largely predetermined around 800" (BALZER 1983: 232). The results of historical research for Lower Saxony seem to be applicable for the entire area in question: "Around the turn of the millennium the settlement situation was characterised by small scaled patterns, a settlement landscape made up of numerous isolated settlement groups between forest and waste land as well as a general orientation towards castles, larger estates and similar regional centres" (MITTELHÄUSSER 1985: 288).

A process of inland colonisation slowly enlarged this small scale settlement landscape. Areas disadvantageous for settlement were made accessible and older places were expanded. In earlier periods this is mainly done by launching secondary settlements (so called "Tochtersiedlungen"), later primary settlements ("Altsiedlungen") were enlarged (MITTELHÄUSSER 1985: 295, BALZER 1983: 238). Hence, the monasteries and accordingly the religious manorial lords became actively involved: "The emergence of new forces among the monasteries—notably the Cistercian variety—contributed to the structural change of the settlement pattern. With the principal building as their natural centre, the earliest monasteries had initially organised and used only the dispersed property that had been bestowed to them. Then, many monasteries started to realign the borders of their estates by clearing forests as well as exchanging and acquiring land. Though their main goal was to increase their income, eventually they substantially reshaped the landscape. Cistercian monasteries were not launched in completely uncultivated areas. Instead they emerged in the near proximity of older settlement areas, sometime even cities, and always close to forests." (MITTELHÄUSSER 1985: 326). In some areas the inland colonisation was intensified by the influx of settlers from other areas, for example Westphalians, who took up residence around Warder in the district of Rendsburg-Eckernförde, or Dutch settlers who chose to establish themselves close to Eutin (HAMMEL-KIESOW–PELC 1996: 68–69).

This extensive inland colonization throughout the area in question was disrupted in the 13th and 14th century. A period of negative settlement activity began which culminated in the diminishing and even abandonment of a greater number of especially younger places. Against this background, the question arises whether how religious institutions are reflected in place names.

2. Place names referring to church and christianity

2.1. Place names containing terms for religious buildings or offices

One can generally differentiate between two types of place names with a religious reference (in the area under inspection). The first group of place names are those where either the primary element or the determiner are a

word for a religious building like *Kirche, Kloster, Klause* or an office such as *Mönch, Abt* or *Pape.* Approximately 30 different appellatives with such a Christian reference could be identified. Those that feature *Kirche, Heilig, Mönch, Bischof, Pape* or *Kapelle* are more numerous than others,[16] some only appear one or two times. A close relation to real patrociny place names can be stated for some of them, as e.g. the determiner *Lilie*—an attribute of Holy Mary—appears in the place name *Lilienthal*, district of Stade.[17] Naming with appellatives with a direct Christian reference was generally not very common in North-West Germany. This group of names consists only of approximately 300 names and is therefore relatively small. In addition, a significantly high amount of those settlement whose names were formed with *Bischof, Mönch* or *Pape* became deserted and their respective primary words—often *-hagen, -rode, -hof* and to a certain extent *-husen*—point to relatively late creation.

Among this first group, a special subgroup can be identified. Here, a Christian particle is added as a secondary differentiating element to an existing place name. *Kirchbrak* in the district of Holzminden—thus differentiated from the near *Westerbrak* since the 14th century (cf. NOB VI, 135–136 and 216–217)—and *Klein Schöppenstedt*—which was called *Mönche-Schöppenstedt* to distinguish it from *Schöppenstedt* until the 20th century (NOB III, 289–291)—can serve as examples. The religious reference is only secondary in order to tell apart two places with the same name. With very few exceptions, the chosen element is *Kerk-, Kirch-*. This is plausible, since not all settlements had a church and the existence of such an institution was highly suitable as a means of identification. This group of names differs from the one already discussed in that the place names already existed—sometimes even for centuries—before a Christian appellative was added as distinguishing feature.

2.2. Christian personal names and names of saints in place names: the problems of differentiation

While this first group will not be discussed further, the second group of place names consists of those that feature a Christian personal name within the determiner. This can be either the name of a Saint—which would create a "true" patrociny name—or a personal name with Christian or biblical reference. With their non-Germanic basis these personal names from Greek, Latin or Hebrew are therefore easily identifiable.

"While biblical figures or Roman, Franconian, Anglo-Saxon and Irish ante types were raised to the Glory of the altars in the early Middle Ages, more and more names of local Saints and also of oriental ones came in use."

[16] *Kirchen*-names are dominant by far.

[17] Maria also was the patron of the local monastery.

(FLACHENECKER 1999: 148). This statement by HELMUT FLACHENECKER points to a relevant problem for the search and identification of patrociny place names: "Local Saints" bear local, in this case Germanic names. It would be absurd to assume, that in place names that were formed with personal names like *Adalbero,*[18] *Adalbert,*[19] *Brun*[20] or *Winfried*[21] always the Saint of that name was meant. Nor is the existence of a church in that settlement of much help. To give an example: the volume on medieval patrociny place names based on patrocynia deducts—though with a question mark—a patron named *Udalricus* (KRUMWIEDE 1960–1988: II, 215) from the place name *Ulrichshagen* (cf. NOB VI, 201). It is true that a number of Saints with that name are known. On the other hand, the personal name *Odalrik, Olrik, Ulrik* is among the very well documented and often used personal names in the German language area (FÖRSTEMANN 1900: Col. 1190–1192; SCHLAUG, 1962: 141, 1955: 133). Therefore, the place name alone is not a strong enough argument for the deduction of such a patrociny place name.

In addition, patrocynia of a religious institution can change with time. "Patrocynia were thus depended on prevailing trends. Only with limitations can one deduct the time of creation from present-day patrocynia of churches or altars."—FLACHENECKER explains (1999: 147). He continues: "In the High Middle Ages, the number of Saints and their origins became unfathomable. Many patrocynia were only short-lived due to the following regionalisation of cult and therefore the patrocynia." (1999: 149). When the patrocynium changed a once existing correlation between a patrocynium and a place name could be obscured. The patrociny place name would not concur with the patrocynium anymore.

Consequently, the search for patrociny place names faces the difficulty having to decide, whether it is a case of a "normal" personal name or that of a patron, a Saint. Even the existence of a correspondent church or altar patrocynium might not be of any help. *Friedrichsdorf* in the district of Gütersloh for example has a church named *Sankt Friedrich.* It is named after and dedicated to Bishop Friedrich of Utrecht (died on the 18th of July 838). Therefore one could justifiably assume that this Friedrich is also the eponym for the place name. However, this is not the case. The eponym was Prince Friedrich August, prince-bishop of Osnabrück, Duke of York and Albany as well as Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg (Hanover) who gave permission to the foundation of the settlement on the 9th of February 1786. The church was only built much later between

[18] Adalbero of Augsburg, died 28th of April 909 (cf. LThK I, Col. 126).

[19] Adalbert of Magdeburg, died 20th of June 981 (cf. LThK I, Col. 130).

[20] Brun of Köln, died 11th of October 965 (cf. LThK II, Col. 732).

[21] Winfried Bonifatius, died 5th of June 754 (cf. LThK II, Col. 591–594).

1863 and 1866. Such wrong conclusion can also be drawn with personal names of a non-Germanic origin as the example of *Georgsmarienhütte* (district of Osnabrück) proves. With *Georg* and *Maria* two known Saints are represented in the place name. Several other place names have them as their eponym. But also in this case the name stems from secular persons rather than Saints. The *Georgs-Marien-Hütten-* and *Bergwerksverein* (an incorporated mining company) was named after George V. and his wife Mary. It founded an iron and steel plant in the vicinity in 1856 and four years later, the corresponding workers colony became the present-day town of Georgsmarienhütte.

This phenomenon mainly appears in the modern era as these two examples show. Many more could be added. But there is another reason for the restriction to the time before 1600. While I tried to detect whether a place name was formed using a Saint's name for all place names with a non-Germanic personal name, this could not be done for place names that were formed with Germanic personal names. This is mainly due to the vast number of place names within the area in question that follow the personal name + primary word pattern. According to hitherto existing findings, not less than half of all place names are of that type, which would account for approximately 20,000 names. Such a detailed analysis did not seem to be necessary for two reasons.

Firstly, the number of true patrociny place names in the area under inspection is relatively small. Secondly, a large part of this area is covered by two comprehensive patrocynia inventories: "Mittelalterlichen Kirchen- und Altarpatrozinien Niedersachsens" (Medieval church and altar patrocynia of Lower Saxony) by WALTER KRUMWIEDE (1960–1988) and "Patrozinien Westfalens von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches" (Patrocynia of Westphalia from the beginnings until the end of the Holy Roman Empire) by PETER ILLISCH (1992). With the help of these publications one can quickly detect whether a place or the religious institution belonging to a place have a known patrocynium or patrocynia and whether they correspond to the personal name in the place name. However, one needs to be careful, because at least in HANS-WALTER KRUMWIEDE's book, sometimes possible patrocynia are deduced from the place name itself. The place name or the personal name in the place name is used to provide evidence for a patrocynium that cannot be accounted for otherwise. This method is sometimes faulty, as the example of *Bartolfelde* in the district of Osterode proves. KRUMWIEDE (1960–1988: II, 146) deduces—though with a question mark—a possible patron named *Bartoldus.* From an onomastic point of view, this proposition is proven wrong as *Bartolfelde* is found as *Bardenevelt* and *Bardelvelde* in the written records (NOB II, 19–20). This does not only rule out a personal name *Bartold* as determiner; it also shows that there cannot be a personal name within the place name *Bartolfelde* because the obligatory genitive construction *(-es)* is missing.

I will elaborate only briefly on place names featuring a (non-Germanic) personal name with a Christian background without it being the name of a patron. Only a few female names like *Anna*[22] occur. Predominantly, male names were found: *Christian* in *Cashagen* in the district of Ostholstein (1320: *thome Kerstenhagen,* LAUR 1992: 197), *Kastendieck* in the district of Diepholz (1521: *Carstendyke,* GOV Hoya Nr. 1263), *Kastorf* in the district of Lauenburg (1286: *Kerstendorp,* LAUR 1992: 377), *Kerstlingerode* and † *Kerstlingerode* both in the district of Göttingen (NOB IV, 236–237), *Martin* in *Martensrade* in the district of Plön (1433: *Martensrod,* LAUR 1992: 450), and *Martinsbüttel* in the district of Gifhorn (c. 1220, copy 14th century: *Mertenesbutle,* GOV Gifhorn Nr. 394; see also CASEMIR 1997: 169), or *David* in *Vitzdorf* in the district of Ostholstein, which is named after a liege of Waldemar II (1231: *Dauidthorp,* LAUR 1992: 668). The number of differing names is however limited with male names as well. Only *Johannes, Nikolaus ~ Kla(u)s, Christian* and *Peter* are relatively widespread. Altogether, the number of place names formed with a Christian personal name remains small. This is at least true for the names recorded prior to 1600. Such formations can be detected much more often for younger settlement foundations (cf. the many more recent *Marien*-place names in Schleswig-Holstein in LAUR 1992: 447–448). This is not at all surprising since Christian personal names only came into use centuries after Christianisation took place.

Christian personal names started to become more popular from the 12th century. They were usually based on the names of Saints, though this process is not homogenous or synchronous in the German language area. When the data is transferred to a map (KUNZE 2004: 40, fig. A) it is clearly visible that Christian personal names spread from West to East. In the area between the Weser and the Elbe Christian personal names were more widespread than Germanic personal names only in the 15th century. We see three patterns concerning the distribution of Christian personal names. 1. Women were given Christian personal names earlier more often than men, because, in the case of men, the principle of naming a person after someone else was practised longer. 2. The direction of spread is from towns to the countryside. 3. Christian personal names were first given to socially high-ranking people, rather than to middle and lower class members. KOHLHEIM sees the following reason for the change in personal name choice: "This change in nomenclature is an indication of a decisive change in mentality in medieval society in Europe. It has to be seen in conjunction with those subjectivist-individualistic tendencies in thought and feeling that surface more and more from c. 1100." (1996: 1051).

[22] *Anstedt* in the district of Diepholz can be found as *Annenstede* in 13th century records (GOV Hoya Nr. 62), although it does not have a church.

Although women were baptized and given Christian names earlier than men, there are only a few such names as part of place names. Generally, female names in place names are infrequent until the end of the medieval inland colonization. EDWARD SCHRÖDER only states that the ratio cannot be established easily. He gives an upper limit of about 20%, though this is based only on one single written document—the Vita Meinwerci—which does not give all the names for an only roughly defined area (1944: 252). An area that has been analysed comprehensively is Southern Lower Saxony. Here, only 1% of all place names had a female name in them. There is more evidence that the number has to be quite low from the first volumes of the Westphalian place name inventory. The percentages are between 0.5 and 1.7%. The relatively small number of male Christian personal names in place names is also easily explained, because the inland colonization took place before the growth in Christian personal names. Moreover, it was the populace of the cities who first took to the new naming and they did not usually participate in the local inland colonization. In fact the rural population was responsible for it and in their case, naming after Saints started only afterwards.

2.3. Patrociny place names

Before we can focus on "true" patrociny place names, one remark needs to be made on the settlements that are here referred to with place names. The foundation of a cloister or another religious institution is often the point of origin for a patrociny name. These institutions could be established within an already existing settlement, in an area that was otherwise unsettled or outside but close by a settlement. This usually meant that close ties to the village or city existed, e.g. of a commercial or personal basis. When the settlement or city gradually expanded, it incorporated the religious institution over time. Often it is not possible to decide whether a settlement had existed around a religious institution that was outside of another settlement or city. It is not possible to decide whether the name referred only to the cloister or to the inhabited area.

Brunswick, with its many religious institutions, may serve as an example. The collegiate church of St. Cyriacus was situated south of the city. Written records prove that a small settlement developed around it in medieval times. Similar to that were the leprosarium *Sankt Leonhard* in the southeast and the *Kreuzkloster* in the northwest. All of the areas concerned are part of the city nowadays and the names did not continue as names of city boroughs. Then again the *Magni-Church* stands on city ground and is the eponym for a quarter, the so called *Magniviertel*. The situation in the city of Münster is comparable, with its boroughs of *Aegidii, Martini, Mauritz* and *Sankt Mauritz*. The names of these boroughs can all be traced back to a church that was named after their patron or one of their many patrons. For each individual case it would be necessary to analyse whether separate settlements developed around the church

buildings, whether they had always belonged to the city's area,[23] or whether the existing religious buildings were "devoured" by the expanding city without an independent settlement having established in the first place. Since this task cannot be accomplished for the whole of the area in question, I will keep to one side the names of city boroughs and names that quite certainly only describe a religious institution without a corresponding settlement.

Assuming approximately 40,000 place names in the whole of the area in question and regarding the aforesaid restrictions, only slightly more than 100 true patrociny place names could be identified. With a proportion of approximately 0.25% therefore, we are dealing with an extremely small number. Even if we presume that some more might be found by a meticulous search, the proportion would not grow substantially. By the way, "cultic" place names—place names that refer to (non-Christian) gods, creatures of popular believe like *Elfe*, *Troll* and sanctuaries—are equally seldom found in this area (cf. the remarks by UDOLPH 2001).

The following questions will act as guidelines when the focus now turns to patrociny place names. Which names of saints were used? Can something be found out about the age of the place name? Are there any peculiarities with the settlements of such name? How were the place names constructed?

2.3.1. The names of saints in particular

Firstly, it should be noted that, with this name type, the proportion of female saints is significantly higher than with female names in place names generally. Next to *Anna*,[24] *Katharina*,[25] *Klara*,[26] and *Margarethe*,[27] *Maria* is the name most often used,[28] appearing in approximately 30 names. Names of male saints

[23] For example, *Münster-Dom* is a district of Münster named after Münster cathedral.

[24] In *Sankt Annen* in the district of Osnabrück, † *Annenhusen* close to Peckelsheim in the district of Höxter, and *St. Annen* in the district of Dithmarschen.

[25] In *Kathrinhagen* in the district of Schaumburg and *Katharinenheerd* in the district of Nordfriesland.

[26] In *Klarenberg*, city of Dortmund.

[27] In *Margarethenkoog* in the district of Nordfriesland and *Sankt Margarethen* in the district of Steinburg.

[28] These are: *Heiligenberg* in the district of Diepholz (in older records as *Mons sanctae Mariae*); *Marienwehr* in the district of Emden; *Mariaspring* in the district of Göttingen; *Mariengarten* in the district of Göttingen; *Frenswegen* in the district of Grafschaft Bentheim (older *nemus beate Marie* and *St. Marienwolde*); *Marienau* in the district of Hameln-Pyrmont; *Mariensee* in the region of Hannover; *Marienwerder* in the region of Hannover; *Marienberg* in the district of Helmstedt; *Marienthal* in the district of Helmstedt; *Marienhagen* in the district of Hildesheim; *Marienburg* in the district of Hildesheim; *Marienrode* in the district of Hildesheim; *Marienchor* in the district of Leer; *Marienthal* in the district of Lüneburg; *Marienau* in the district of Lüneburg; *Scharnebeck* in the district of Lüneburg (older as *in rivo St. Mariae quod vulgo dicitur Scerembeke*); *Marienhafe* in the district of Norden; *Marienstein* in the

are naturally more numerous in this group as well. Although numerous in the sense that the number of individual names is higher, concerning absolute frequency, *Maria* is by far the most often applied name. None of the male names appears as often as *Maria* does. The most frequent male saints' name is *Georg*, sometimes in its Low German variation *Jürgen*.[29] *Peter*,[30] *Johannes*[31] and *Michael*[32] also feature somewhat frequently. All others can only be found once or twice in place names. These are *Andreas* (*Sankt Andreasberg* in the district of Goslar), *Antonius* (*Tönnieshof* in the district of Northeim; *Tönnieshäuschen* in the district of Warendorf), *Appollonius* (*Plönjeshausen* in the district of Rotenburg), *Cyriacus* († *St. Cyriacus* in the city of Braunschweig), *Crispin* (*Schützenhof* in the district of Osnabrück, which for some time was named *Crispinsburg* after the secondary patron of the cathedral; cf. GOV Osnabrück Nr. 1292), *Dionysius* (*Sankt Dionys* in the district of Lüneburg), *Jakob* (*Jakobsberg* in the district of Höxter), *Jodocus* (*Sankt Joost* in the district of Cuxhaven; *Sankt Joost* in the district of Friesland), *Leonhard* († *Sankt Leonhard* in the city of Braunschweig; and temporarily *Sankt Peterskoog* in the district of Nordfriesland, named *Leonhardskoog* after Saint Leonhard for some time, cf. LAUR 1992: 564), maybe *Magnus* (in *Sankt Magnus* which belongs to the city of Bremen nowadays; cf. GOV Bremen Nr. 214),[33] *Markus* (*Marx* in the district of Wittmund), *Martin* († *Mertesloh* in the district of Minden-Lübbecke), *Mauritius ~ Mauritz* (*Moritzberg* in the district of Hildesheim, as well as *Sankt Mauritz* close to Münster, which 1142: *in suburbio maioris ecclesie situs est*, WUB II, Nr. 240), *Nikolaus* (*Nikolausberg* in the

district of Northeim; *Hude* in the district of Oldenburg (older as *rubus sanctae Mariae*); *Marienkamp* in the district of Wittmund; *Marienmünster* in the district of Höxter; *Marienloh* in the district of Paderborn; † *Marienau* in the district of Dithmarschen; *Marienwohlde* in the district of Lauenburg; † *Marientempel* in the district of Ostholstein; † *Marienfeld* in the district of Plön; † *Marienhude* in the district of Stormarn. There are other names of which the eponym is unclear or the names refer to a monastery or cloister without an adjecent settlement.

[29] In *Georgswerder* in the city of Hamburg; the borough of *Sankt Georg*, the name of which derives from the St. Georgs leprosarium founded around 1200 (and therefore is not a genuine place name); *Sankt Georgiwold* in the district of Aurich; *Sankt Jürgen* in the district of Osterholz; *Jürgensby* in the district of Flensburg; *Jürgensgaard* (also originally a leprosarium) in the district of Flensburg; *St. Georgsberg* in the district of Lauenburg; † *Jürgensburg* in the district of Schleswig; *Sankt Jürgen* in the district of Schleswig.

[30] † *Petershof* in the district of Hameln-Pyrmont; *Petershagen* in the district of Minden-Lübbecke; *Sankt Peter* in the district of Nordfriesland; *Sankt Peterskoog* in the district of Nordfriesland (also recorded as *Leonhardskoog* for some time); † *St. Peterswarf* in the district of Dithmarschen.

[31] *Sankt Johanniskoog* in the district of Nordfriesland; † *St. Johannis* in the district of Nordfriesland; † *Johannisborn* in the district of Ostholstein.

[32] *Michaelstein* in the district of Goslar; † *Michaelshagen* in the district of Osterode; *St. Michaelisdonn* in the district of Dithmarschen.

[33] Since no earlier records could be found it is included, but not without reservations.

district of Göttingen), *Pantaleon* († *Pentling* in the district of Soest),[34] *Viktor* (*Victorbur* in the district of Aurich) and *Vitus* (*Sankt Vit* in the district of Gütersloh; † *Vitho* in the district of Nordfriesland). Concerning to other names like *Liudger* (situated in † *Ludgerskerk* which was lost in the Dollart) or *Udalricus* (*Ulrichshagen* in the district of Holzminden, for which KRUMWIEDE 1960–1988: II, 119 deduces a patrocynium for Ulrich on the basis of the place name) it is debatable, or at least somewhat unsafe, whether they constituted a patrociny place name. It is also possible that the personal name of somebody who was named after a saint is the actual referent. Three place names are special cases. *Mönkhof* in the district of Lübeck was earlier on named after the Heilig-Geist-Hospital (a local hospital; cf. 1316: *curiam Sancti Spiritus;* LAUR 1992: 564) and therefore did not bear the name of a saint. The syntagmatic determiner in † *Unserer-lieben-Frauen-Hove* near Hemme in the district of Dithmarschen refers to Maria. For *Heiligenberg* (1198: *Sanctus mons;* WUB II, Nr. 575) in the district of Höxter, the saint in question is St. Michael. The plural determiner in *Heiligenkirchen* in the district of Lippe refers to the patrocynium Cosmas and Damian.

Because of the saint in the place name I will go into more detail about *Sankt Hülfe* in the district of Diepholz. Originally, the place was called *Nutlo.* This original name was by and by superseded by the name of the patrocynium belonging to a chapel that was erected at *Nutlo* in the 14th century and over time became a popular place of pilgrimage (cf. e.g. 1396: *Zunte Hulpe to Nutlo,* GOV Hoya Nr. 1841). The patron of this chapel is *Sankt Hülfe,* a saint that cannot be found in the catholic canon. She is in fact a mythological saint of popular belief who was never formally canonized. The Church tolerated her cult anyway. Legend has it that she was the daughter of a pagan Portuguese king. In order to avoid marriage with a pagan duke, she got engaged with Jesus and prayed for a beard to distort her face. After her plea was granted, her father ordered her to be crucified. Other than the saint described thus far, Sankt Hülfe is a non-real, legendary figure. In the known figurative depiction of her, she is seen as a crucified, crowned, bearded and wearing a long garment. HERMANN GROTEFEND believes that these pictures are actually older depictions of the vested and bearded Jesus Christ and did not show a woman (1891: 86). They were combined with legends of Wilgefortis ~ Liberata or Sankt Kümmernis (cf. also KRUMWIEDE 1960–1988: II, 165, where additional literature can be found) only at a later date. It is to be noted that Sankt Hülfe was popular with the people in Northern Germany until the 18th century, inde-

[34] The settlement was in possession of the monastery St. Pantaleon of Cologne, where the name derives from. Thus, it is not a genuine patrociny place name but named after its proprietors. The suffix *-ing* here is a possessive suffix which refers to the inhabitants or property of St. Pantaleon.

pendent of the origins[35] of such of a saint. Furthermore, she was the patron of the travelling people (cf. SCHUBERT 1995: 148). Patrocynia are detected in Braunschweig, Bremen, Dorstadt, Hildesheim, Sankt Hülfe, Lüdingworth and Oldenburg. With the exception of the chapel patrocynium in Sankt Hülfe, these are all altar patrocynia. Church patrocynia do not exist. These findings show how unusual the appearance of the name of a popular saint in a place name really is.

2.3.2. Renaming as a frequent phenomenon

The change of name from *Nutlo* to *Sankt Hülfe* points to a frequent phenomenon with patrociny place names: renaming. Within the whole of the corpora only very few renamings can be detected. At the most, secondary differentiating additions such as with *Kirchbrak* and *Westerbrak* (see above) are more common. The scattered changes of name or base word and/or determiner often take place in relation to a (temporary) desertion of the specific place.

Patrociny place names are the exceptions to this rule. Here, renaming is relatively frequent. Religious institutions that emerged in an already established settlement usually bear a differing name, very often that of its patron. As soon as the religious institution gains influence or even becomes dominant—economically, manorial or in other ways—it is not unusual for the surrounding settlement to adopt the name that initially only referred to the religious institution. These changes did not happen quickly or spontaneously, but took place rather gradually.

Nikolausberg in the district of Göttingen may serve as an example. The earliest references are from 1162 (copy 14th century), differentiating between *ecclesie sancti Nycolai in monte qui dicitur Wlrideshusen* (cf. the article on Nikolausberg in NOB IV, 299–301), meaning the church and *Ulradeshusen* etc. when referring to the place. This differentiation has been lost over time and in the course of the 16th century *Nikolausberg* (also *Klausberg*) prevails. In this example, the parallel existence of the names continued for more than 400 years. In other cases the process of name-changing did not take such a long time. More often than not, the period of alternating between two names lasted as long as a whole century, frequently even longer. The names can be found alongside syntagms like *alias dicitur, antea ~ olim dicebatur, quod quondam … dicitur*.

[35] The main reasons are reinterpretation of imagery and a certain fondness for legends of folk religion, although linguistics might have played a decisive role, too. At first there might have been an expression of pleading for help that is holy (*der Heiligen Hilfe*, meaning the help from someone holy, i.e. the saint). By and by this might have been shortened into 'Holy Help' *(Heilige Hilfe)*, until in the end the 'help' *(Hilfe)* was anthropomorphised into the person of a Saint, *Sankt Hülfe*, similar to *Saint Michael* and the like.

Occasionally contaminations occur, as for example in the place name *Moritzberg* in the district of Hildesheim. First mentioned in 1085 as *coenobium sankti Mauritii,* it was situated next to *Bergdorf* (1354: *Berghdorpe,* UB H. Hild. V, Nr. 566, 337). The original determiner of the place name *Berg-* became the base word and the name of the saint functioned as the (new) determiner.

There are a few cases where renaming did not prevail. This is the case for *Scharnebeck* in the district of Lüneburg (1307: *in Rivo St. Mariae quod vulgo dicitur Scerembeke,* UB Scharnebeck Nr. 134, 102) and for *Rengering* in the district of Paderborn. Due to the foundation of a Cistercerian monastery in 1246, the latter appears in the written records as *Marienbach* for some time (e.g. 1257: *conventus monasterii de libro sancte Marie in Reggeric,* WUB III, Nr. 621, 328), however, this name did not succeed.

In a few cases the place name alternated between different names with a Christian reference. Examples could be *Heiligenberg* in the district of Diepholz (known as *Heiligbergh* in 1216 but described as *mons sanctae Mariae* in 1235, GOV Hoya Nr. 946) and the afore-mentioned *Sankt Peterskoog* in the district of Nordfriesland, which was known as *Leonhardskoog* for some time.

The most common renaming process though is replacing an established place name without Christian reference by substituting it with the name of a religious institution. A renaming can be detected for 20% of all patrociny place names, which is a very high proportion. This is an illustration of the exceptional position patrociny place names occupy.

2.3.3. The non-vernacular naming

The tradition of place names happened almost exclusively in the vernacular during times when written records were composed in Latin. Place names sprang from the communication of the people living in and around a place. It is therefore reasonable that they were created using the local language. The only exceptions are two groups of names.

One contains newly established settlements ending in *-rode* and *-hagen,* which were sometimes described by using their Latin equivalents *novale* and *indago.* This is especially true for those names that were simplex[36] or constructed using determiners like *nien* 'new' or *old* 'old'. The Latin words only appear in the earliest records, which often correlate with the beginning of the settling or clearing process. Therefore it is questionable whether the Latin words are already names or still remain appellatives. This might be suggested by one of the earliest *-rode*-names recorded, the abandoned settlement *Duringesrode* in

[36] Compare the deserted settlement *Rode* close to Diemarden in the district of Göttingen, which 1201–1207 (copy 15th century) is described as *Novalia cum decima inter Geismariam et Dimerden iacencia* (NOB IV, 343–344).

the district of Wolfenbüttel. Following a note in a codex traditionum from the 8–9th century, a certain *Thurinc de Saxonia* endows the *novale, quod dicitur Duringesrod* (cf. NOB III, 132–133). Due to the phrase *quod dicitur, novale* is to be understood as an appellative. The same can be assumed for other cases. Again, it must be emphasized that this phenomenon appears only occasionally and, in contrast with the vernacular name, does not persist.

Concerning the second group of names, the patrociny names, this is different. Latin descriptions or designations survive disproportionately longer. Additionally, the individual particles are not fixed but unsteady. They are replaced by various equivalents over and over again. It is even common for German and Latin to blend. This may be illustrated by the shortened tradition for *Mariengarten* in the district of Göttingen: 1246: *Orto sancte Marie;* 1257: *ecclesiam beate Marie virginis, que dicitur ad Ortum;* 1266: *monasterium in Garden;* 1268: *clastrum, quod dictum est Ortus beate Marie;* 1280: *monasterium de Orto;* 1285: *ecclesie dicte Garten;* 1297: *sanctimonialium sancte Marie virginis in Gardhen;* 1340: *provest is to dem Garden;* 1341: *conventus in Orto;* 1480: *stifftes unser leven frowen thome Garden;* c. 1588: *Mariengarten, Hortum Mariae* (cf. NOB IV, 266–267). Not only do the terms for the main patron, Mary, interchange between *Sancte Marie, beate Marie virginis, sankte Marie virginis, beate Marie, Marie* and *unser leven frowen,* also, Latin and vernacular elements vary and are combined with each other until the 16th century. Among many other possible patrociny place names, the traditions for *Mariental* and *Marienberg* in the district of Helmstedt could serve as excellent examples (cf. the respective articles in NOB VII).

When compared to place names in general, the signifying aspect seems to be less important when it comes to patrociny place names. Regular place names are usually fixed from the beginning and change only due to basic principles of ongoing linguistic change.[37] Since their specific function of identification remains, which is typical for a name, they cannot be classified as appellatives, however, it is reasonable to assume a stronger proximity to appellatives. Another assumption can be made in relation to the frequent and prolonged use of Latin forms when compared to other place names. Patrociny place names usually take their name from monasteries or cloisters and their inhabitants were much more likely to use Latin due to their clerical status.

2.3.4. Names of saints as place names

Finally, patrociny place names possess a third distinctive feature. The place names in the area in question can be formed in three different ways. First we have derivational suffixation, which is much older than the second process—

[37] This change can happen for example by means of vowel gradation in secondary syllables, assimilations, dissimilations or other dialectal developments.

the composition of a primary word and a determiner. Compounding[38] is much more frequent than derivation and it is still productive. The third class consists of simple words, the so-called simplexes. They are very infrequent as well and originated at various points in time. Apart from patrociny place names, all of these simplexes belong to the appellative field and are not personal names.

Though the formation with primary word + determiner is more frequent, at least some place names to this day consist solely of the saint's name with a prepositioned *St.* or *Sankt*, like *Sankt Jürgen* in the district of Osterholz or *Sankt Dionys* in the district of Lüneburg. Examining the tradition for these two examples, it becomes evident that this is the terminal point of a process originating in a syntagma.

The development of *Sankt Jürgen*'s is as follows: 1299: *in villa beati Georgii* (UB Lilienthal Nr. 109, p. 119), 1329: *in villa sancti Georgii* (UB Lilienthal Nr. 152, p. 153), 1363: *to Sunte Iurgene* (UB Lilienthal Nr. 220, p. 211), 1396: *an den dorpe to sunte Jurian* (UB Lilienthal Nr. 312, p. 288), 1399: *in den dorpe to zunte Jurigen* (UB Lilienthal Nr. 327, p. 305), 1399: *in villa Sancti Georgii* (UB Lilienthal Nr. 328, p. 306), 1430: *in sunte Juriens lande* (UB Lilienthal Nr. 438, p. 417), 1468: *in sunte Jurgens lande* (UB Lilienthal Nr. 551, p. 537). In the first records, the saint's name is in the genitive singular and stands in a possessive relation to the afore-mentioned *villa.* The vernacular records either have a prepositional construction *(dorpe to sunte Jurian)* or use the genitive as well *(in sunte Jurgens lande).* More often than not, the basis of the construction *(villa* or *dorpe)* is clearly present, so we rarely encounter cases in which the prepositional or genitive phrase alone represents the name. The contemporary name of *Sankt Jürgen* can be regarded as the remains of the original formation, although its present form does not take on the genitive but the dative, which derived from the prepositional construction. This pattern applies to most of the other patrociny names as well. Since single personal names do not normally occur as place names,[39] neither in genitive nor any other case; this is a distinctive feature of patrociny place names.[40]

2.3.5. Primary words used in patrociny place names

In order to form other types of place names, personal names are combined either with a suffix or more often with a primary word. The latter is also the

[38] These include the non-genuine composita in JAKOB GRIMM's terminology.

[39] The names given by KAUFMANN (1961)—as far as they belong to the area in question—should not be understood as genitives. They are to be explained differently. Place names ending on *-mar* do not contain a compound personal name using this element. Instead it is a primary word for a place name referring to an inland water body.

[40] And maybe with some very young names as well.

most common formation type when it comes to patrociny place names. While several different primary words appear, most of them can only be found once or twice within the group of patrociny place names. An exception is *-berg*, which is after all used in nine names *(Sankt Andreasberg, St. Georgsberg, † Heiligenberg, Jakobsberg, Clarenberg, Heiligenberg, Marienberg, Moritzberg* and *Nikolausberg)*. The relatively high frequency of this primary word is simply due to the advantages of an elevated location for a settlement or a religious institution. It does provide a certain amount of protection as well as a visible presence within the landscape. The corresponding *-tal (Mariental* and *Marienthal)* can be found too, though much less frequently.

Some other primary words relating to the bio-geographic position within the landscape refer to bodies of water. The most prominent are *-au* (*Marienau, Marienau, † Marienau, Sankt Peter*, which was formerly in possession of such a primary word), *-beke* (*Scharnebeck*, earlier called *Marienbeck*, as well as *Rengering*, which succeeded *Marienbach*), *-born* († *Johannisborn*), *-koog*, describing embanked land *(Sankt Johanniskoog, Margarethenkoog, Sankt Peterskoog), -see (Mariensee), -spring (Mariaspring), -warf* († *St. Peters-warf*), *-wehr (Marienwehr)* and *-werder (Georgswerder, Marienwerder).*

References to forests are less frequent. Only *-loh (Marienloh, † Merteslo)* and *-wald ~ -wolde* appear *(Sankt Georgiwold, Marienwohlde* and *Frenswegen*, with older records having *Marienwolde).* The primary word *-wald* is generally very rare within the Lower German language area and was used only infrequently and in relation to younger place names. Much more common are names composed by means of *-loh*, sometimes *-holt.*

Another semantic group are primary words relating to settlements and buildings. Descriptions referring directly to religious institutions are generally uncommon, though we can find appellatives like *-kapelle* († *Vitho*, older *Vitz Capell*), *-klus* († *Simonsklus*), *-münster (Marienmünster)* and *-tempel* († *Marientempel*). A settlement without restriction to a religious institution is described by the use of *-bur (Victorbur), -burg (Schützenhof*, in earlier times also as *Crispinsburg, † Jürgensburg, Marienburg), -by (Jürgensby), -ga(a)rd (Jürgensgaard, Mariengarten), -heerd (Katharinenheerd), -hof ~ -hafe (Marienhafe, Marienhafe, Tönnieshof, Mönkhof, † Petershof* and maybe † *Unser-lieben-Frauen-Hove), -husen ~ -häuschen (Annenhusen, Plönjeshausen, Tönnieshäuschen).*[41]

Interestingly, those primary words that are generally among the most common in name formation within the area in question are rarely used in the construction

[41] Other primary words in the corpus are *-feld* († *Marienfelde*), *-hagen (Kathrinhagen, Marienhagen, † Michaelshagen, Petershagen), -hude* († *Marienhude, Hude*, older records also giving *Marienhude*), *-kamp (Marienkamp), -rode (Marienrode)* and *-stein (Marienstein, Michaelstein).*

of patrociny place names. Some do not appear at all. Though names with the components *-rode, -hagen, -husen, -dorp, -stedt* and *-hem* are not spread equally across the area, one or two of these are generally dominant within a district. 60% of all place names in the districts of Göttingen and Northeim in Southern Lower Saxony are names composed by using *-rode* and *-husen*. The primary words *-husen* and *-dorp* make up 50% of all place names in the district of Lippe. Because they are normally very frequent, their infrequence with patrociny place names is striking. Possible explanations can be found on the one hand by examining the semantic content of the primary words and on the other hand by discerning the time of their prevalence. The lexemes *-dorp, -stedt* and *-hem* for example often denote single farmsteads as well as enclosed rural settlements and all three were at least partially used to refer to very old settlements (cf. NOB III, 395–400, 403–421 and 482–491). The establishment of a religious institution—mostly churches, only rarely monasteries—took place at a point in time when the name of that settlement had already been established. It can be assumed that the inhabitants had no intention of renaming the place after the patrocynium of a subsequently erected church or chapel. This assumption might be supported by considering the renaming processes mentioned above. Those were not caused by church patrocynia or chapel patrocynia but by a larger religious complex like a monastery or cloister.

2.3.6. The age of patrociny place names

Well-documented individual cases aside, it is generally very difficult to determine the age of a place name. If attempted, the results are not very accurate. This of course applies to patrociny place names as well. None of the place names in the written records for Lower Saxony dating from before 1000 is a patrociny (cf. CASEMIR–OHAINSKI 1995 passim). According to the latest research, this is also true for the rest of the area in question.[42] Only very few patrociny place names can be found for the 11th century,[43] though among other things this might be due to the fact that written records of that time are generally scarce. More place names of this category are to be found in records of the 12th and (especially) 13th centuries, while some do not appear until

[42] SCHNEIDER cites a document for *Jakobsberg* in the district of Höxter (1936: 74), taken from the Corveyer Wohltäterverzeichnis and dated to the 9–10th century. However, this cannot be dated that far back, the more so as the settlement was not renamed until much later, when in consequence of the increasing pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela it is named after the patron (see Trad. Corb. 178, Nr. 34).

[43] Compare for example *Marienstein* in the district of Northeim, which is described in 1055 (copy 16th century) as *capellam nomine Steina*. The determiner *Maria* was not added until the 12th century (NOB V, 257). Another example would be *Moritzberg* in the district of Hildesheim.

sources from the 15th and 16th centuries are examined. This is particularly true for parts of Schleswig-Holstein and smaller settlements or sets of houses. Places in which a monastery or cloister was established or placed that existed in close proximity to these can usually be found in written records starting in the 12–13th centuries, mostly at the time when the religious institution itself was founded or confirmed. When combining the somewhat haphazardly written tradition with the name elements that are either of the younger type or have a longer period of productivity, as for example *-feld* or *-beke*, we can draw the following conclusion. The patrociny naming processes did not evolve until after the first millennium, and the appearance of patrociny place names was activated in the following centuries by the increased founding of monasteries and comprehensive church organisation.

3. Final note

As a final note it has to be pointed out that patrociny place names remain a marginal phenomenon within the nomenclature of North-Western Germany. They also exhibit characteristics separating them from other naming patterns. Therefore, the attempt to reconstruct patrocynia on the basis of place-name determiners needs to be approached with great caution. The same is true for inferring formerly existing churches and chapels on the basis of place names.

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Sankt Blasien — Sammarei — Helena

Place Names with Sankt *in Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg*

1. Objective and status quo of research

At first sight the place names *Sankt Blasien*, *Sammarei* and *Helena* seem to have nothing in common. However, when historical spellings are analysed, it becomes clear that the addition *S.* appears in all three historical records before the name of a saint: 1392: *s. Blesien* (KRIEGER II, 734); 1233–1319/1733: *S. Mariam* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 242); 1593: *S. Helena* (HONB Neumarkt).

Today the spelling of this component of settlement names is regulated by official guidelines: in Bavaria it is written in full *Sankt*, in Baden-Wurttemberg abbreviated to *St.*[1] A search in the official registers of both states reveals that there are quite a few settlement names which contain the word *Sankt.* Yet there is no linguistic onomastic research available for Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg, dealing specifically with this name type. This is all the more astonishing in that this type also appears in other countries and languages and is widespread.

This project thus closes a research gap, and the present essay intends to close that gap for the states of Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg. It must be noted that the spectrum of names in these two states has not yet been analysed exhaustively, which complicates the work of evaluating and comparing certain types of place names.

In the case of Bavaria, we can refer to the 30 volumes hitherto published of the "Historisches Ortsnamenbuch von Bayern" (HONB 1951–2009), each of them dealing with the place names of a former administrative district. In addition, the "Lexikon bayerischer Ortsnamen" (REITZENSTEIN 2006) and the "Lexikon fränkischer Ortsnamen" (REITZENSTEIN 2009), and individual research by a number of people provide valuable material. There is in fact individual research to hand for Baden-Wurttemberg. In particular the work of LUTZ REICHARDT (1982–2001) and the "Topographisches Wörterbuch von

[1] In Bavaria the spelling of place names is regulated by the "Verordnung über kommunale Namen, Hoheitszeichen und Gebietsänderungen nach dem Gemeindeverzeichnis" or by the "Amtliches Ortsverzeichnis", cf. http://www.gesetze-bayern.de/jportal/portal/page/bsbayprod.psml?showdoccase=1&doc.id=jlr-NHGVBY 2000rahmen&doc.part=X, OV, BAUER 1996: 1790–1791; In Baden-Wurttemberg the spelling of place names follows the form in the "Amtliches Gemeindeverzeichnis", cf. WAIBL 2007: 30, "Amtliches Gemeindeverzeichnis von Baden-Wurttemberg" on http://www.statistik-portal.de/Online-Verzeichnisse/.

Baden" (KRIEGER I–II) are worth mentioning, affording insight into the different *Sankt* names.

The existing material is to be analysed specifically with respect to two questions: which different types of *Sankt* names exist and how does the change in reference from a saint's name to a place name manifest itself in terms of its morphology (cf. GREULE 2000: 21).

Before this can be done, the origin of this place name type needs to be investigated. Moreover, it is necessary to consider and analyse not only the historical background, but also the geographical spread, the chronology of occurrence and the reasons for the bestowal of the names. Once these components have been clarified, the different types of *Sankt* names can be categorised within the name topography of the area under investigation.

2. Origins

Before the *Sankt* names can be subjected to a linguistic analysis, the circumstances of their origins, in which the church played an important role, should be examined more closely.

2.1. Historical background

2.1.1. Church history

As early as the late Roman period, the church had imposed its structure on the Roman territory—to which large parts of the area to be examined belonged. Therefore, in agreement with BACH (II/2: § 491) and EBERL (1925: 93), it can be assumed that place names influenced by the church came into existence at an early date. If we look at the Bavarian and Baden-Wurttemberg place name topography, we can see that numerous place names are to be found here which point directly to an ecclesiastical establishment or to persons from ecclesiastical life. As examples, names including *-kirchen, -münster, Pfarr-* or *Bischofs-* are given here.[2] Some of these names are very old and can already be found in the earliest layers of the tradition of German place names, as e.g. *Pfarrkirchen* (Rottal-Inn, Lower Bavaria): 874–897: *Pharrachiricha,* 1196: *Pfarrechirichen,* 1288: *Pharrchirchen,* 1460: *Pfarrkirchen* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 210).

The Christianisation of the German-speaking territory is intensified in the 6th and 7th centuries. The Iro-Scottish mission in particular influences the church of this period. The second wave of conversions by Anglo-Saxon priests is of greater significance in central and northern Germany. The structure of the

[2] More information on the naming of places after ecclesiastical establishments or people from ecclesiastical life is given in chapter 7.

Bavarian church is decisively influenced by Boniface who was entrusted with this task by the Pope in 737 (cf. HERBERS 1988: 301–307).

After the conversion to Christianity of the Germanic tribes has been completed, veneration of the Christian saints increases significantly in the 10th and 11th centuries (cf. KOHLHEIM 1996: 1051). As a result, Christian first names become more widespread (cf. KOHLHEIM–KOHLHEIM 2004: 688). From the second half of the 12th century onwards, it is possible to speak of a new principle in name giving: chosen first names are based on the names of Christian saints (cf. TIEFENBACH 1996: 1200, DEBUS 1987: 67, BAUER 1998: 145).

The veneration of saints played an important role in the medieval church.[3] Since the 2nd century tombs of martyrs are known to have been important places of prayer (cf. Wörterbuch des Christentums 1073). From the 4th century on, remains and other saints' relics are transferred elsewhere to new repositories. The relics then become an important part of the rituals of faith in the new surroundings (cf. Wörterbuch des Christentums 1073, GLEBA 2008: 46, HERBERS 1988: 316, TR 649).

2.1.2. Saints, relics and patrocinies: reasons for the giving of a name

Up to the present day there exists no comprehensive, universally valid, definition of a saint (cf. TR 641, HERBERS 1988: 298). According to FLACHENECKER (1999: 145; see also TR 641–642), a saint is characterised by the duality of his or her earthly/heavenly existence. From beyond the grave, the saint succours his or her charges, who turn to the tomb or the relics of the saint for help.

The church recognises different circles of saints: first the apostles, then the martyrs and finally, from the end of the 4th century onwards, the confessors (cf. Wörterbuch des Christentums 464–465).[4] Very different saints are subsumed into the group of confessors, e.g. ascetics, reformist monks, founding bishops and secular leaders (cf. TR 651). This classification of saints reflects the development of the Christian religion and its institutions (GLEBA 2008: 45).

Over time, the cult of the saints changes: not only are very different kinds of people now welcomed into the fold and recognised as saints, but also the idea of the saint changes and with it his or her function. They gain additional powers, and the stories of their miracles are embellished (cf. HERBERS 1988: 315). For instance, certain classes of people chose a particular saint as their patron, and some saints could be appealed to in the case of certain illnesses (cf. HERBERS 1988: 339, TR 653, KNOBLOCH 1996: 1820). Saints intercede

[3] The first official record of the sanctification of a person dates from the 10th century (cf. Wörterbuch des Chritstentums 464).

[4] See also TR 648–652 and 115, the circles of saints are differently drawn, differentiated and confined in literature; see also GLEBA 2008: 45–46, MITTERAUER 1993: 104.

on behalf of believers before God; they take up people's earthly concerns and, in addition, act as advocates at the Last Judgement (cf. FLACHENECKER 1999: 145, TR 649 and 653, HERBERS 1988: 331).[5]

In medieval times people had very graphic ideas of the actions of the saints. The saints operated through the material things they had left behind: their remains and the objects they had been in contact with while still alive. The physical presence of the relics guaranteed the efficacious intervention of the saint (GEBA 2008: 47, FLACHENECKER 1999: 145, HERBERS 1988: 311, MITTERAUER 1993: 106). This is why colourful pilgrimages to the tombs and other repositories of the relics of saints evolved, turning these places into centres of faith and also of commerce. The pilgrims brought money and it was necessary to cater to their needs (cf. GEBA 2008: 46–47, HERBERS 1988: 338, TR 641).

The relics were kept in churches and were worshipped there. The actual patron of a church is always Jesus Christ. The *Salvator* patrociny therefore was the original one. However, it was soon supplanted by various saints' patrocinies (FLACHENECKER 1999: 146; see also TR 116). Thus the settlement name *Sankt Salvator* (Passau, Lower Bavaria) is significant: 1289: *predioli dicti ad Saluatorem,* 1295: *pro capella sancti Saluatoris,* 1303: *in cella sancti Saluatoris,* 1305: *dem gotshaus hintz sand Saluators,* 1566/67: *S. Saluator,* 1797: *St. Salvator* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 244).

The first entries can—according to REITZENSTEIN (2006: 244)—be translated as *at the holy saviour, for the chapel of the holy saviour* and *the holy saviour.* The name refers to the patron saint of the church and monastery, Jesus Christ, our saviour. The settlement name *Sankt Salvator* is, therefore, the only surviving *Sankt* name in the area under examination[6] which does not show a saint's name[7] as second component.

A large number of churches have been consecrated to saints since medieval times.[8] The saint assumed the patronage of the church, but also acquired

[5] For more information on the idea of the saints' functions in the Middle Ages see HERBERS 1988: 313.

[6] A former place named *Sankt Salvator* (Ostalbkreis, Stuttgart) can be found in Baden-Wurttemberg. The church in this place was also consecrated to the Holy Saviour. Today there is no longer a settlement in this place, only the pilgrimage church *Sankt Salvator* remains (cf. REICHARDT 1999: 138–139).

[7] In fact there is a *Saint Salvator.* However, this saint was not born until 1520 and was canonised in 1938 (cf. WIMMER–MELZER 1982: 730, SEIBICKE III, 704).

[8] On the meaning of a church consecration see BENZ 1975: 5–7. Also the day of the church consecration can in some cases be the decisive factor for the choice of the patrociny if the church was consecrated on the anniversary of a saint. Similarly, children were often given the

worldly claims (cf. TR 115 and 653, FLACHENECKER 1999: 145–146, BACH II/2: § 491). The patron of the church was regarded as the actual owner of the material wealth of the church and, at the same time, as its true protector. Donations took place in the name of the saint at his or her altar (TR 116, FLACHENECKER 1999: 150). In contrast to other personal names which serve as components in toponyms, here we know the relationship between the bearer of the name and the respective place: the place was named after the patron saint of the local church, chapel or monastery (cf. GREULE 1997: 246 and 252, FEIGL 1986: 219, WIESINGER 2000: 341, BACH II/2: § 337 and § 340, GREULE 2000: 21).

The reasons for the choice of a saint as church patron vary according to the time, the region and the reasons of the persons or institutions for choosing the patrociny (cf. TR 116, FLACHENECKER 1999: 146–147, DORN 1932: 6). The choice of saint as church patron often shows the affiliation of a church or its founder to a certain group or establishment. There are saints who receive special veneration in certain dioceses, e.g. Saint Wolfgang and Saint Emmeram in the diocese of Regensburg, saints appearing frequently in patrocinies of monasteries, e.g. John the Baptist for the Benedictines, or saints indicating certain class interests, e.g. the knights' saints George, Mauritius and Sebastian (cf. FLACHENECKER 1999: 148, MITTERAUER 1993: 106). Such a connection between the church's patrociny and its founders can exist, but this is not necessarily always the case. The name alone cannot provide information about such a relationship; rather the historical background would have to be examined in each individual case (cf. FLACHENECKER 1999: 147). It would certainly not be possible to discover the reasons for the choice of a certain saint as church patron in every case.

In some cases the saint's name in a toponym can also be derived from the monastery and not the patrociny of the respective minster (cf. FEIGL 1986: 219). A saint's name in a place name can also express the fact that the place belonged to a monastery, because the name of the founder of the order or a saint particularly venerated by the order was chosen (cf. WIESINGER 2000: 341–342).

2.2. Chronological classification

2.2.1. On the first appearance of Sankt *names*

There are records of numerous patrociny settlement names from the Old High German period onwards. However, the main era for this type of place name comes later. Right up to the present day toponyms have been formed using

name of the saint whose anniversary occurred on the day of their birth (cf. MITTERAUER 1993: 331 and 335).

the same pattern (cf. BACH II/2: § 491, EBERL 1925: 93, DORN 1932: 3). That is why the origin of *Sankt* names cannot be generally assigned to a certain time frame. For Upper Austria WIESINGER observes that saints' names are documented in some toponyms as early as the 9th century. Nevertheless, the vast majority of such settlement names do not appear until the time of the growing veneration of saints, from the 12th century onwards. At this time also, the latest phase of settlement expansion begins with the names of forest clearings (cf. WIESINGER 2000: 343). It may be assumed that there was a similar development in the area under investigation. It would be wrong to assume—as is often the case in older research literature (cf. DORN 1932: 4)—that toponyms containing saints' names are always the original names in forest clearing areas and could not have superseded older settlement names.[9]

In the case of very early documented *Sankt* names, research assumes that these generally have replaced older settlement names (cf. BACH II/2: § 491, EBERL 1925: 93). The replacement of an older place name is often difficult to prove, because the historical records for earlier ages are often only fragmentary (cf. FEIGL 1986: 220). Sometimes the structure of a village throws light on the origin of the settlement name: usually the settlement was founded first, and only when it had grown to an appreciable size, was a church built for the inhabitants of the place. In such cases, either the toponym contains no indication of ecclesiastical persons or establishments, or it has been renamed (cf. EBERL 1925: 94, FEIGL 1986: 218), for instance, because a church or the pilgrimage resulting from it has become the defining feature of the place. There are some examples where the church really forms the nucleus of the settlement. It can then be supposed that a place name pointing to an ecclesiastical establishment is the original one (cf. FEIGL 1986: 218). However, the results of such analyses are not necessarily conclusive and cannot ultimately explain why the place name was given.

At the time of the Reformation, there was a wave of renaming of settlements with *Sankt* in their names. Since Martin Luther rejected the intercession of the saints (cf. TR 654, Wörterbuch des Christentums 464), it was only consistent that the Protestant Church should have ridded itself of all its patrocinies, but no uniform regional development can be ascertained. It may be that, in reformed areas, old patrocinies have indeed been perpetuated in the names of churches and places, or it may also be that, in places which have reverted to the Catholic faith, former patrocinies, together with their names, were forgotten and have now been replaced (cf. TR 117).[10] The history of such developments would have to be examined in each individual case.

[9] A good example illustrating this is the toponym *Sankt Oswald* discussed later in this point.

[10] A similar development can be observed for first names (cf. KOHLHEIM–KOHLHEIM 2004: 691).

From the point of view of linguistics three alternatives can be given for the origin of *Sankt* names.

a) The *Sankt* name appears as a place name without supplanting an older settlement name.

In most cases, it is not evident from the records when the name of the patron saint was used not only in naming the church, but also for the nearby settlement. It is usually not possible to establish when the name was transposed. Often the *Sankt* name has probably supplanted an older settlement name, because the eponymous church or the eponymous monastery was founded first and the settlement developed later. One example of this type is the name of both the settlement and the monastery *Sankt Märgen* (Breisgau-Hochschwarzwald, Freiburg): 1125: *monasterium sancte Marie,* 1275: *cella sancte Marie in Nigra silva,* 1311: *sant Marien,* 1399: *sand Marienzell,* 1468: *sant Meryen,* 1530: *sant Mergen* (KRIEGER II, 762–768).

b) The *Sankt* name supersedes an older settlement name.

Originally *Sankt Oswald* (Freyung-Grafenau, Lower Bavaria, 1396: *Sand Oswald … closter zue Sand Oswald,* 1431: *monasterium sancti Oswaldi,* 1578: *Sannct Oswalts Closter,* REITZENSTEIN 2006: 243–244) was the name of the monastery estate only, the place itself was called *Draxlschlag.* It was only in the course of the 19th century that the name of the former monastery was transferred to *Draxlschlag.* Today the patrociny settlement name has almost completely supplanted the older toponym (ELLER 2007: 30).

c) The *Sankt* name is superseded by another toponym altogether.

Today *Sankt Jörg* (Füssen, Swabia) is the unofficial name of the town centre of Rückholz: 1474: *der Kirchen zu Sant Jörgen vff dem Berg,* 1569: *im Rickholcz bey Sannt Jörgen,* 1579: *im Holtcz bei Sanndt Jörge,* 1673: *ex Rickholz de S. Georgis* (HONB Füssen 151).

This settlement name originally served as a more exact place description within the bigger district named *Holz,* later *Rickholz.* Since the actual centre of Rückholz has now developed there, this more precise designation is no longer necessary (HONB Füssen 151).

2.2.2. Patrociny settlement names as an age criterion?

To what extent can saints' names and patrocinies be utilised for the investigation of settlement history? This question has often been posed in literature (cf. FLACHENECKER 1999: 150) and there is no simple answer.

Although there are—as explained above—different saints' circles and saints who were particularly revered by different classes, no universally valid timeline can be established for the founding or naming of churches and places after

certain saints (cf. TR 115). The saints reflect their respective era—which means that the degree of veneration can change (cf. Wörterbuch des Christentums 464, FLACHENECKER 1999: 52).[11] For instance, there is no particular saint to whom altars in forest clearings were consecrated (cf. DORN 1932: 7).

As with all other place names, it is also valid for *Sankt* names that the settlement may be considerably older than the first record leads us to suppose (cf. WIESINGER 2000: 343).

It becomes clear that research in the field of patrociny settlement names also relies on complete, closely examined records. Only with the help of these records is it possible to interpret a place name with any certainty, or to find out anything about the potential age or about a former divergent name. Moreover, for this special name type it is also necessary to look into the history of the respective church or chapel on which the eponymous patrociny is or was based, in order to be able to give a safe etymology of the place name and its age.

It is nevertheless possible to make some universally valid statements:

a) The name *Maria*—which presumably refers in nearly all cases to the Mother of God—is not documented at all in German toponyms before the year 1100 (cf. BACH II/2: § 492).

b) The place names which include *Sankt* offer—as with the spreading of Christian names—no indication that the names of saints particularly venerated in certain regions occur more often in the place names of the area (cf. TIEFENBACH 1996: 1200, KOHLHEIM 1996: 1053, BAUER 1998: 146).

c) If "Müllers großes deutsches Ortsbuch" is taken as a basis for investigation into the occurrence of Christian names in patrociny settlement names, it is found that of 131 *Sankt* names listed for Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg only 13 are formed with female saints' names. Thus male saints' names are obviously more frequently represented in settlement names. In place names with male saints' names, the names *Johannes* or *Johann* (12) and *Georg* (9) are most frequent, followed by *Leonhard* (8) and *Wolfgang* (8) (Ortsbuch 873–875). Research into patrocinies would have to investigate whether these saints were chosen exceptionally often as patron saints of churches and monasteries and, therefore, appear more often in settlement names.

[11] WIESINGER observes in the case of Upper Austria with great caution, as he puts it, that *Peter, Paul* and *Stephan* are documented earlier in place names than *Thomas, Bartholomäus, Philipp, Joseph, Georg* and *Leonhard* (2000: 344). To posit such a thesis for the area under investigation it would be necessary to do a historical and etymological analysis of all—even the former—*Sankt* place names first.

2.3. Special linguistic features

Beside the *Sankt* names, South Germany, and Bavaria especially, has a place name type which is very similar to these names: toponyms where the first element is *weih-*. These do not necessarily have a personal name as second component, as seen in the settlement names *Weihenbronn* (Heilbronn, Stuttgart), *Weihenzell* (Ansbach, Central Franconia), *Weihenberg* (defunct, Ludwigsburg, Stuttgart) and *Weihenlinden* (Rosenheim, Upper Bavaria). In fact, often the element *weih-* is attached to the name of a saint, as in the settlement names *Weihmichl* (Landshut, Lower Bavaria), *Weihenstephan* (part of the city of Freising, Freising, Upper Bavaria) and *Weihmörting* (Saint Martin; cf. BACH II/2: § 491; Passau, Lower Bavaria).

As an example the place name *Weihmichl* is examined here: 1060: *Wihenmichel*, 1186: *Wihemichel*, 1296: *Weihmichel*, 1334: *Weihenmichel*, 1578: *Weihmichel die Pfarr*, 1867: *Weihmichl* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 300).

The place name is composed of the saint's name *Michael*—here in the Bavarian diminutive form (SEIBICKE III, 319)—and the Old High German adjective *wīh* 'holy' (cf. REITZENSTEIN 2006: 300, SCHÜTZEICHEL 2006: 415). This is based on a former eponymous church patrociny.[12] This example reveals that the meaning of *Sankt* and *Weih-* is the same in toponyms, namely *sanctus* or *holy* (cf. GREULE 2010: 1 and 4).

The lexeme *weih* goes back to the Germanic adjective **weiha-*, Gothic *weihs*, Old High German *wīh* 'holy, consecrated, numinous' (KLUGE 2002: 979, PFEIFER 1989: 1952–1953). The Germanic adjective was already in use at an early date for things put aside for the (religious) service of the gods (GREULE 2010: 3). Therefore, *weih* can already be assigned to pre-Christian theolexic communication. The lexeme *weih* eventually took on a loan meaning taken from the Christian faith (cf. GREULE 2010: 3), which is why it has not disappeared completely from the vocabulary. In the Bavarian language area in particular, Old High German *wīh* is a variation of Old High German *heilag* ~ *heilīg* as a translation of the Latin *sanctus* (cf. GREULE 2010: 4). Nevertheless, in the development of standard German the adjective *heilig* asserts itself (cf. BACH II/2: § 491).

The addition *Sankt* used in place names is derived directly from the Latin participle *sanctus* 'holy' and has been used in this form since the 9th century (KLUGE 2002: 785, Latein Wörterbuch 561). Old High German *sancta* ~ *sancti* (adj.) 'holy' (SCHÜTZEICHEL 2006: 291, 2004: 105–106), Middle High German *sancte*/*sante* 'holy (before saint names)' (LEXER II, Sp. 603), and

[12] As the church in Weihmichel is consecrated to Saint Willibald the patrociny must have changed (cf. REITZENSTEIN 2006: 300).

early New High German *sannd* ~ *sant* 'holy (before names)' (BAUFELD 1996: 200) are almost exclusively used before saints' names.

Since the majority of settlement names today containing the element *Sankt* are documented first in a Latin context and are written there as, for example, *ad sanctum Blasium* (KRIEGER II: 733), it cannot be said that names containing *weih* are basically older than *Sankt* names. What can be said is that it is possible that *Sankt* names could also have been formed later, while names containing *weih* are found exclusively in the oldest layer of settlement names.

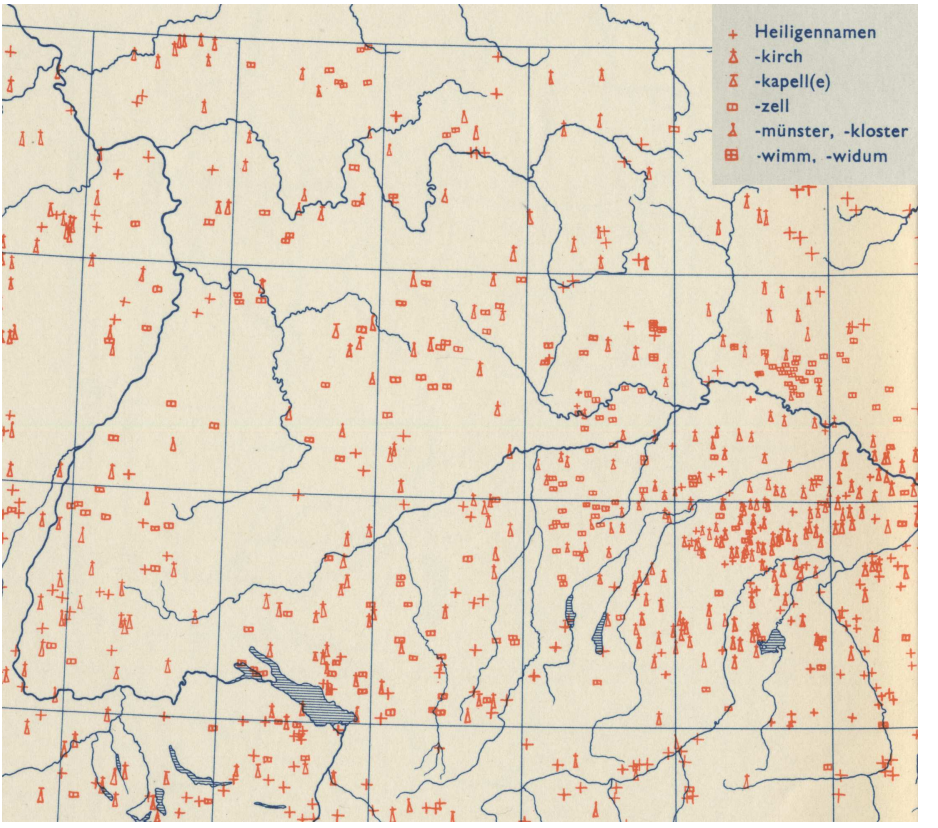
3. Geographical distribution

Just as there is no template for the chronological categorisation of the different saint's names in *Sankt* place names, no simple 'saint's geography' (FLACHENECKER 1999: 153) can be set up, describing the distribution of individual saints according to regions.

Although there have been attempts to compile such geographical distribution patterns for patrocinies, this is fraught with major problems. First it must be considered which patrocinies are to be included—only those of certain saints? It has to be decided what time frame is to be explored—numerous patrocinies are bound up with buildings which no longer exist or they have been re-dedicated. And which area should be examined? Political districts do not reflect the ecclesiastical divisions which, to complicate matters further, have often changed in the course of the centuries (cf. FLACHENECKER 1999: 153–158).

In any case, an investigation only of saints' names still included in place names would not be helpful. There are not enough patrocinies which have found their way into settlement names, and these are distributed irregularly about the area under investigation. A categorisation of saints' names passed on in place names would not produce a meaningful result, unless the names were compared and contrasted with the other patrocinies of an area. Then it would be possible to establish if there are certain saints who have been preferred at certain times in certain regions as church patrons. This would also reveal whether different regions favoured particular saints.

What can be shown, however, with the aid of the map included here, is the varying geographical distribution of *Sankt* names still in use today in the area under scrutiny. BACH states as an example that in Bavaria there are more patrociny settlement names on account of the forest clearing activities of monasteries. These newly founded places then offered the opportunity to name the settlement directly after a church or monastery (cf. BACH II/2: § 491). At the present stage of research, no conclusive statement can be made as to the reasons for this observation and as to the possible direction in which the *Sankt* names spread.



Map showing the geographical distribution of *Sankt* names in Southern Germany (adapted from HELBOK 1938: 67).

4. Morphology

If a place name is formed using a personal name, we must assume that there has been a change in reference, or, more precisely, an enlargement of context, of the personal name. The personal name no longer refers only to a person, but in certain circumstances, also to a place (GREULE 2000: 21).

A 'place' is defined in this essay as a settlement; also, names of church buildings standing alone and monastery complexes are to be regarded as places here according to SONDERGGER's definition (cf. GREULE 1997: 244–245). (The role that churches and monasteries played in the origin of *Sankt* names has already been dealt with in point 2.) The exact differentiation between church and monastery names and settlement names is problematic. The transition between the two categories is often fluid and an exact point in time for the change in reference cannot usually be ascertained. Often the monastery or church complex is also the only building of a settlement and is therefore

equated with the settlement name. In this case it becomes almost impossible to distinguish between the two.

It is easier to define more clearly the 'person' entity for the present essay as the name of an individual worshipped as a saint according to the Canonical Law of the Catholic Church (cf. Wörterbuch des Christentums 464).

Often the *Sankt* names adapt themselves to their syntactic function. Personal names appear in settlement names in secondary usage, namely as a—locatable place names—specifying dimension. They have left their original area of usage, the naming of individuals, and take on auxiliary functions in another name category (GREULE 1997b: 252).

What changes can be ascertained now in terms of morphology in view of the reference change described above? Theoretically, the 'embedding' of a personal name in a place name syntagma occurs as a sequence of different stages (or types), which pass through a multiple phase shortening process; namely from the paraphrase stage, which formulates explicitly the relation of a person to a place, right down to the ellipsis phase. The different stages can practically never be proved for one name (GREULE 2000: 22 and 27). GREULE knows three different types of generation for the German toponyms.

a) The relation of the person to the place is formulated in full, for instance, in the form 'place X is named after person Y'. This explicit explanation can be verified only in very few cases (cf. GREULE 2000: 22). This applies to the Germanic-German settlement names in general as well as to the *Sankt* names in particular.

For the place known as *Sankt Peter* (Breisgau-Hochschwarzwald, Freiburg), the historical record dating from 1093 for the foundation of the monastery is still extant: *in Alemannia dux Berthaldus monasterium novum in honorem sancti Petri in praedio suo in Nigra Silva a fundamentis exstruxit* (MGH SS 5: 456, KRIEGER II, 770). It expressly states that it concerns a monastery built in honour of Saint Peter, to whom the monastery therefore owes its name. Nothing, however, is mentioned about the transference of the name of the monastery to the settlement nearby.

The situation is different in the case of the records for *Sankt Johannis* (Bayreuth, Upper Franconia). The place is first called *Altentrebgast:* 1149: *Uetus Trebegast,* 1392: *zů Trebgast,* 1473: *zu Sannt Johanns bey Trebgast gelegen,* 1616: *St: Johanes sonsten Altentrebgast genant,* 1692: *S. Johannis … so vor alten Zeiten Alten Trebgast geheißen, hat von der Kirche S. Johannis Bapt. den Namen mit angenommen* (EICHLER–GREULE–JANKA–SCHUH 2006: 218–219).

Here it becomes clear that it concerns the transference of a name from the church patron to the settlement. Why the church was consecrated to John the Baptist is not mentioned.

b) The naming of a place after a person is no longer expressed in words, rather it is a simple attributive sequence 'place X of person Y'. X is a locative generic term and Y is a personal name in the genitive (GREULE 2000: 22). The place name *Petersaurach* (Ansbach, Central Franconia) is an example of this type. The settlement name is documented as 1311: *sante Peters Aurach,* 1387: *Petersaurach,* 1497: *Peters Aurach* (REITZENSTEIN 2009: 175–176).

The formation type b) is typical of Germanic-German place names which include personal names, but with the characteristic that the order in which the generic term and the personal name appear is not XY, but YX; the focus is on the personal name, since it comes first (GREULE 2000: 23). If *Sankt* names only are taken into consideration, this type is relatively rare.

The preceding particle *Sankt* is not necessarily abbreviated, as, for example, it is in the settlement name *Sankt-Georgen-Hof* (Reutlingen, Tübingen), which is recorded in 1917 as *St. Georgenhof.* In the local dialect, however, the addition *Saint* is missing (cf. REICHARDT 1983: 116).

c) It seems the ellipsis of the place appellative is favoured if type b) begins with a preposition of place (GREULE 2000: 23). This type is found relatively seldom in German place names: these are known as 'genitive place names' (cf. GREULE 2000: 23, KAUFMANN 1961).

Settlement names like *Sankt Peter* (Breisgau-Hochschwarzwald, Freiburg) belong to this type: 1217: *sancto Petro,* 1316: *ze sant Peter,* 1393: *gelgen bi sant Peter* (KRIEGER II, Sp. 770).

This type is formed in a way similar to other genitive place names, but the grammatical case is often adapted to suit the preceding preposition, so that also other cases can appear in early records, especially in a Latin context.

In their official present day form, the vast majority of *Sankt* names demonstrate this ellipsis. The paraphrase form for the settlement name *Sankt Peter* should be 'settlement at the monastery consecrated to Saint Peter' or briefly '(settlement by) Saint Peter('s) monastery' (cf. LAUR 1996: 1375). What remains is only the name of the saint—in this case, in the German shortened form of *Peter* (cf. SEIBICKE III, 510). The original subject of reference no longer forms a part of the settlement name. This development can be traced by looking at the records of the settlement named *Sankt Paul* (Erding, Upper Bavaria): 1231/1237: *ze sante Paulis kirche,* c. 1300: *sant Pauls hof,* 1482: *Zehntner zu sand Pauls,* 1571: *Sannt Pauls,* 1602: *St. Paullus* (HONB Erding 165).

Finally, a total ellipsis occurs when the particle *Sankt* is dropped altogether, as is the case with the toponym *Helena* (Neumarkt, Upper Palatinate). The name of the place is first documented as *Holtzheim:* 1364: *ze Holczheim auf dem perg,* 1469: *zu Sant Helena,* 1482: *zu Sant Helena,* 1493: *der kirchen*

Sant Helena zu Holczhaim auff dem perg, [c. 1490]: *Helena,* 1516: *Helena,* 1593: *S. Helena,* 1650: *St. Helena,* 1769: *gegen Helena* (HONB Neumarkt).

The paraphrase for this settlement name would also be 'settlement near the church consecrated to Saint Helena'. The contemporary speaker, however, only recognises a Christian name; the function of this person in relation to the place is no longer obvious in the settlement name. It is important that the personal name, which was transferred to the settlement, can no longer clearly be identified as a saint's name, since it could also be the name of a former owner of the place.

The formation types described above can be seen together as a syntactic-morphological contraction process (GREULE 2000: 27). Each of the *Sankt* place names must have passed through stage a), even though this is only documented in the rarest cases (cf. LAUR 1996: 1375). But the place name cannot stop at this stage. In a next step, step b), it is associated with a settlement. This step, too, is not documented for most *Sankt* settlement names. Some examples, however, are to be found in historical sources and even in today's official names, as the above-mentioned examples show. The last stage of the contraction process is step c), which not all names reach. The majority of *Sankt* names can be counted as belonging to this stage, because most of them show ellipsis. There is complete ellipsis only in a small number of the original *Sankt* names.

5. Inclusion in the area under investigation

The *Sankt* names represent only a small fraction of the settlement names surviving today in the area to be examined. Since for Baden-Wurttemberg—in contrast to Bavaria—no official register of place names exists, a minor statistical survey was carried out, based on "Müllers großes deutsches Ortsbuch", in which about 126,000 places are listed (Ortsbuch 2007).

For Bavaria, a total of 101 entries with the component *Sankt* are found in the official register, dating from 1989 (OV). "Müllers großes deutsches Ortsbuch" published in 2007 gives 102 place names of this type for Bavaria. In view of these figures it may be assumed that this register is relatively comprehensive.

The register of places for the whole of Germany lists a total of 232 names containing *Sankt.* 29 of these occur in Baden-Wurttemberg, 102 in Bavaria. It follows that more than half the *Sankt* names are found within the area to be examined; in Bavaria alone there are more than 43% of these names.

In the Federal Republic of Germany patrociny settlement names are widespread today, mainly in the South, although *Sankt* names are nevertheless relatively rare there. The official register for Bavaria counts a total of 41,994 entries for 1989, but 0,24% of these are places with the element *Sankt* in their name. In

addition, 61 of the 101 listed places with *Sankt* names are termed solitaire settlements or hamlets; and there are four places described respectively as church, chapel, cloister and forester's house.

If we take the data of "Müllers großes deutsches Ortsbuch" for Baden-Wurttemberg, a similar picture emerges: 18 of the 29 places with *Sankt* names are listed as hamlets, dwellings, farmyards or collections of houses. When evaluating the names containing *Sankt* in the books published by LUTZ REICHARDT, it is striking that, of the 17 names fulfilling this criterion, nine no longer exist; the surviving places of this name type are mainly smaller settlements (cf. REICHARDT 1982–2001). Based on these reference values it can be assumed that in Baden-Wurttemberg, too, mainly smaller places are to be found among the *Sankt* patrociny settlement names. Indeed, these make up only a small part of the body of place names.

Regarding the formation of names, it is noticeable that *Sankt* names mostly consist of two separate components, which stand alone. The German language prefers—with respect to place names as well—to form compounds if an expression is made up of several composites, as, for example, the place names *Dieterskirchen* (Schwandorf, Upper Palatinate) or *Mönchröden* (Coburg, Upper Franconia). Also toponyms containing *Weih* follow this principle in the area under investigation, e.g., *Weihmörting*. *Sankt* names follow the Latin construction, which has the participle *sanctus* unconnected before a saint's name. This formation method is found almost universally with *Sankt* names in ancient documents.

By way of the veneration of the saints numerous Hebrew, Greek and Latin names have entered the German vocabulary and found their way into place names (cf. GREULE 1997: 251). *Sankt* names are characterised mainly by the fact that they contain predominantly loan or foreign names (cf. GREULE 1997: 242) of Christian origin.

The chronological stratification and geographical distribution of patrociny settlement names has already been discussed in preceding points. It has to be stated that an in-depth categorisation of this name type in the area under investigation can only be ventured after a linguistic analysis of all the place names, including those now defunct.

6. Typology

Regardless of their morphological-syntactical development, *Sankt* names appear today in different forms, and one name can be attributed to different categories simultaneously. Looking at the documented historical forms of a settlement name, we see that it is possible for the name to change categories in the course of time.

6.1. *Sankt* in translation

Weih-

The Latin origin of the place name component *Sankt* has already been discussed in point 2.3. The place name *Sankt Florian* (Schärding, Upper Austria) shows that *Weih-* has in fact transferred its function to the particle *Sankt* in toponyms. This place is called *Weihflorian* in the local dialect (cf. BACH II/2: § 491). In the studies on place names in Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg published to date, no historical documents or dialect forms could be found which would corroborate such a development for the area under investigation. However, a Regensburg church is documented in 1089 as *Wihensanctipetri ecclesia* and in 1168 as *Wihensentepetrum* (cf. BACH II/2: § 491). Perhaps it will be possible to find evidence of this development in the area relevant to the present research, as soon as all place names have undergone onomastic examination.

divus

At a later date, the addition *Sankt* was perceived as being a word belonging to the German language and can therefore be replaced in Latin texts by the adjective *divus* 'godlike, of divine nature' (Latein Wörterbuch 194–195). However, this substitution is only rarely documented, in the records of *Sankt Engelmar* (Straubing-Bogen, Lower Bavaria), for example 1183: *apud sanctum Engelmarum,* 12th century: *siluestris cella sancti Engelmari,* 1305: *ad sanctum Engelmarum in foro,* 1724: *parrochiae ad Divum Engelmarum* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 243).

6.2. Form of the saint's name

Based on today's official spelling of settlement names *Sankt* names can be assigned to one of the two following types:

a) The saint's name appears in the nominative

Although most patrociny settlement names in historical sources are declined and adapt their grammatical form to the case required by their syntactical position or a preposition (cf. KAUFMANN 1961: 167), these—mostly Latin—endings disappear in the course of time, thus leading to name forms without endings or to names in the nominative form.

The settlement name *Sankt Nikolaus* (Alb-Donau-Kreis, Tübingen) is recorded as follows: 1364: *capellam crucis sancti Nicolay prope Albegg,* 1368: *sankt Nykolaus,* 1412: *Capelle sancti Nicolay in hospitali sancti Nicolay sito supra montem sancti Nicolay,* 1522: *hof vff sant Niclas Berg,* 1723: *St Nicolai Hoff* (REICHARDT 1986: 253). Today the settlement name contains the name of the saint in the nominative.

Some settlement names retain the Latin nominative ending, even if German variations of this saint's name exist, e.g. *Sankt Hubertus* (Ebersberg, Upper Bavaria) or *Sankt Franziskus* (Aichach-Friedberg, Swabia).

According to KAUFMANN, most commonly a development can be discerned, in which a Latin genitive singular ending *-i* formed the basis; the ending *-i* was weakened to *-e* in Middle High German, and was eventually omitted (cf. KAUFMANN 1961: 166).

Patrociny settlement names which no longer show the original Latin form, but were adapted to German, also manifest this development. The name *Sankt Johann* (Reutlingen, Tübingen) is a good example: 1465: *capellam sancti Johannis baptiste in Alpibus,* 1488/1489: *gen sant Johanns,* 1514 (?): *by dem ruhen sannt Johannes,* (1520): *gen Sankt Johanns,* 1522: *zu Sant Johannsen,* 16th century (?): *Rauh St. Johann,* 1798: *Rauhen Sanct Johann* (REICHARDT 1983: 116).

The settlement name was originally formed using the name of John the Baptist, known as *Johannes Baptista* in a Latin context. In the first record, the name appears as a Latin genitive singular form. Later records have the German genitive singular and, eventually, the German form *Johann* without the ending of the original Greek name *Johannes* (cf. SEIBICKE II, 578–583).

Numerous examples are to be found both in Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg to illustrate this type of name formation, e.g. *Sankt Anton* (Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Upper Bavaria), *Sankt Peter* (Freiburg-Hochschwarzwald, Freiburg) or *Sankt Paul* (Erding, Upper Bavaria).

The majority of *Sankt* names formed with Germanic-German personal names can also be added to this category. They show the saint's name in the nominative, e.g. the toponym *Sankt Wolfgang* (Erding, Upper Bavaria): 1480: *Sand Wolfgang im Purkholz,* 1485: *zu sant Wolfgang in der Schwyndaw,* 1524: *sand Wolfganng in der Svindaw,* 1796: *Burgholzen zu St. Wolfgang* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 244) or *Sankt Trudpert* (Breisgau-Hochschwarzwald, Freiburg) which shows at first Latin endings: 1159: *sanctus Trǒtpertus,* 1174–1183 forgery 13th century: *sanctus Trudpertus,* 1253: *sanctus Drupertus,* 1322: *ze sant Truhperte,* 1384: *ze sant Trudperht* (KRIEGER II, Sp. 779–780).

Place names like *Sankt Heinrich, Sankt Willibald* or *Sankt Hermann* also belong to this category.

In addition, settlement names in which the name of the saint was adapted to the local dialect can be listed under this type. The name *Sankt Kastl* (Pfaffenhofen a. d. Ilm, Upper Bavaria) goes back to the name of Saint Castulus (cf. SEIBICKE II, 659).

b) The saint's name appears in the genitive

The remaining *Sankt* names still in use today show, as second component, the saint's name in the genitive singular. An examination of the historical records of names of this type reveals that these toponyms were originally declined, as were settlement names with *Sankt* which contain today a saint's name without ending as a second component. The historical sources show different declension forms according to syntactic context or prepositional requirements. Usually during later centuries the genitive singular form of the saint's name (cf. BACH II/2: § 491) is fixed and becomes an unchanging place name.

An example of this development can be traced back in the historical records of the place names *Sankt Blasien* (Waldshut, Freiburg) and *Sankt Georgen* (Schwarzwald-Baar-Kreis, Freiburg). For the settlement name *Sankt Blasien* the following entries were found: 1093: *(apud) sanctum Blasium,* 1278: *von sante Blasiun,* 1279: *ze s. Blesien,* 1343: *ze sant Blesin,* 1371: *ze sant Blasien* (KRIEGER II, 733–734).

Saint Georgen is documented in the historical sources as: 1113: *de sancto Georgio,* 1271: *von sante Georgigen,* 1282: *apud sanctum Georgium,* 1316: *s. Gerigen in dem Swarzwalde,* 1396: *zů sancte Georgen* (KRIEGER II, Sp. 749).

Also in Bavaria there are instances of this name type, e.g. *Sankt Margarethen* (Rosenheim, Lower Bavaria) or *Sankt Georgen* (Traunstein, Upper Bavaria and Rottal-Inn, Lower Bavaria).

The examples show that, with weak declensions, the genitive form has often been retained, while, with strong declensions, the genitive ending was mostly weakened and has disappeared (cf. KAUFMANN 1961: 166).

Nevertheless, in the case of toponyms like *Sankt Lorenzi* (Eichstätt, Upper Bavaria) and *Sankt Antoni* (Dingolfing-Landau, Lower Bavaria) the Latin genitive ending has survived until today.

6.3. Adaptation of the saint's name to the local dialect

In the Middle Ages the Germanic personal name system was increasingly supplanted, approximately from the 12th century onwards, by names with Christian associations. Naming after saints was the determining factor in this change (cf. KOHLHEIM 1996: 1051). These Christian names were originally often taken from Hebrew, Greek or Latin (cf. DEBUS 1987: 67) and were then adapted to fit the German language. If the stress was not on the first syllable, as is usual with German words, there were two principal alternatives of adaptation. Either 1) the accentuation is transferred to the first syllable, mostly with a resulting weakening, contraction or erasure of final syllables, as for example *Johánnes* to *Jóhann* or 2) the stress is retained in the same

position, so that, in polysyllabic Christian names, the unstressed components were dropped, as, for example, the development of *Magdaléna* to *Léna* illustrates (cf. KOHLHEIM 1996: 1203).

In fact, over the centuries, Hebrew, Latin or Greek names passed through the same stages of development as all the other words in the German language. Their pronunciation and spelling were adapted to suit the German language (cf. KOHLHEIM 1996: 1203).

First names live in the spoken language, and sometimes this spoken variation finds its way into the written language (cf. KOHLHEIM–KOHLHEIM 2004: 690). This also applies to toponyms (cf. WIESINGER 2000: 342). Among the patrociny settlement names there are numerous examples of this development.

The place name *Sankt Veit* in Neumarkt-Sankt Veit (Mühldorf a. Inn, Upper Bavaria; 1269 copy 1345: *ze sand Veit*, 1301: *sant Vite, daz bi der Rote lit*, 1302: *sant Veit pei der Roth*, 1308: *monasterio sancti Viti*, 1351: *zu sand Veit*, REITZENSTEIN 2006: 180–181) can be traced to the monastery *Sankt Veit* with its church consecrated to Saint Vitus. *Veit* is the South German variation of the Latin Christian name *Vitus* (cf. SEIBICKE IV, 380).

If one looks at the historical documents containing the settlement name *Sankt Ilgen* (Rhein-Neckar-Kreis, Karlsruhe; 1341: *ad sanctum Egidium*, 1390: *zu sant Gilien*, 1435: *sanct Gilgen*, 1490: *Santgilgen*, 1504: *san Ilgen*, KRIEGER II, Sp. 758), the name of Saint Aegidius comes to light. The name of Saint Aegidius is found in numerous South German variations in a number of place names. As examples for Bavaria, the settlement names *Sankt Gilgen* (Starnberg, Upper Bavaria) and *Sankt Gilla* (Regensburg, Upper Palatinate) should be mentioned in this context.

Further examples of this type are found in both Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg: one of these being the settlement name *Sankt Bartlmä* (Neumarkt i. d. Opf., Upper Palatinate), which is derived from the name of Saint Bartholomäus (Bartholomew).

Very often it is, however, the case that spoken names do not enter the written language, and then the official name form is different from the local dialect form. Numerous examples illustrating this phenomenon can be given also from patrociny settlement names.

The settlement name *Sankt Nikolaus* (Alb-Donau-Kreis, Tübingen)—already mentioned in point 6.2.—is recorded as 1364: *capellam crucis sancti Nicolay prope Albegg*, 1368: *sankt Nykolaus*, 1412: *Capelle sancti Nicolay in hospitali sancti Nicolay sito supra montem sancti Nicolay*, 1522: *hof vff sant Niclas Berg*, 1723: *St. Nicolai Hoff* (REICHARDT 1986: 253). But the dialect form is [sãŋ̩d nɪ́glas] (REICHARDT 1986: 253). In the records, the dialect form appears in the entry 1522: *hof vff sant Niclas Berg.*

The records for *Sankt Leon* (Rhein-Neckar-Kreis, Karlsruhe) reflect the influence of the dialect only temporarily: 1157: *apud sanctum Leonem,* 1219: *villa sanctis Leonis,* 1289: *daz dorf von sante Len,* 1340: *sant Len,* 1401: *zu san Lene* (KRIEGER II, 760–761).

For the settlement name *Sankt Georgen* already mentioned under point 6.2., the following spellings are found in the records: 1455: *Sant Jeergen,* 1476: *sanct Jorigen,* 1507: *s. Jorgen* (KRIEGER II, 749). These spellings are based on the shortened form of the Christian name *Georg* which was widespread in the Black Forest in the 15th and 16th centuries (cf. SEIBICKE II, 595).

6.4. Omission of Sankt

As already discussed in point 4 in connection with the place name *Helena* (Neumarkt i. d. Opf., Upper Palatinate), the addition *Sankt* can also be dropped from settlement names. In these cases, only a Christian name remains, without revealing to the contemporary speaker the connection between the eponymous person and the settlement.

Taking the settlement name *St. Moritz* (Ulm, Tübingen) as an example, it becomes clear that the addition *Sankt* can also be dropped during a limited period or in isolated documents only: 1522: *gen Sant Mauritzen,* 1543: *Moritzi,* 1544: *Moritzen,* (1692): *St. Moritzen,* 1723: *St. Moritzen,* 1836: *St. Moritz* (REICHARDT 1986: 253).

More often the *Sankt* is omitted when a second, usually older place name is added. This case has also been illustrated in point 4, with the aid of the settlement name *Petersaurach.* Another example of this type of name is *Agatharied* (Miesbach, Upper Bavaria). The historical records (1215: *Riede,* 1376 [copy]: *pey sant Agathen Ryed,* 1377: *datz Sand Aytten Ried,* 14th century: *der hof zu sand Agatten,* 1507: *Agatenried,* REITZENSTEIN 2006: 8) show that the place originally bore the name *Ried.* The name of Saint Agatha was added on to the older settlement name after the construction of a chapel or church here, which was then consecrated to the saint (cf. REITZENSTEIN 2006: 8). The name of the Saint Agatha occurs mainly in the genitive form in historical sources. This shows that the saint appears quasi as a legal entity as the owner or advocate of the named place. The addition *Sankt* disappears in the course of time. One reason for this omission is the easier pronunciation of the settlement name. Another reason is that the name *Agatha* appears from 1507 onwards as determinative element in a composite name in the historical records. The saint's name and the older settlement name thus become one word. The addition *Sankt* would therefore change its point of reference and would, in consequence, no longer refer in the main to the saint, but to the settlement.

6.5. The saint's name as a determinative element

As described in the previous section, a saint's name transferred to a place can form a compound with an older settlement name. In these cases the saint's name becomes the determinative element of the resulting determinative composite.

6.5.1. Retention of Sankt

An example of such a composite, where the saint's name and the accompanying *Sankt* appear as a determinative element, is the now defunct settlement *Sankt-johannisweiler* (Tübingen, Tübingen): 1342: *ze Sant Johans wyler*, 1402: *Sant Johans wiler*, 15th century: *Sant Johannis Wiler ~ SantJohannswiler ~ Santjohanswiler* (REICHARDT 1984: 81).

From the morphological point of view, this kind of name formation would be assigned to type b) described in point 4.

This kind of name formation, in which the addition *Sankt* is preserved is very rare. Another example of the retention of the *Sankt* before a determinative composite is found in the settlement name *Sankt Johannisrain* (Weilheim-Schongau, Upper Bavaria).

6.5.2. Sankt *dropped*

In almost all cases the particle *Sankt* is dropped in place names if a primary word is added to the saint's name. See the examples already discussed, *Petersaurach* (Ansbach, Central Franconia) and *Agatharied* (Miesbach, Upper Bavaria) and also the settlement name *Benediktbeuern* (Bad Tölz-Wolfratshausen, Upper Bavaria, REITZENSTEIN 2006: 35).

The toponyms *Margretshöchheim* (Wurzburg, Lower Franconia) and *Veitshöchheim* (Wurzburg, Lower Franconia) show the saint's names as a differentiating addition:

1153–1156: *Hochheim*
1227: *Hochheim*
1330: *Hocheim sanctae Magarethae*
1362: *zu Margreten Hőcheim*
1378: *Margetenhocheim*
1590: *Margethochheim*
1801: *Margetshőchheim*
(REITZENSTEIN 2009: 138)

1097 (copy 14th century): *Hocheim*
1195: *Hochein*
1301: *Hőcheim ad sanctum Vitum*
1306: *Hocheim que ad sanctum Vitum dicitur*
1350: *Sant Veits Hocheim*
1430: *zu Veyts Hocheim*
1554: *Veitshocheim*
(REITZENSTEIN 2009: 229).

The settlement names *Jakobrettenbach* and *Johannrettenbach* (Erding, Upper Bavaria) prove that this differentiation method is not unusual. These toponyms

are documented in 1752 as *S. Jacobs Rettenbach* and *Rettenbach S. Johannes* (HONB Erding 160).

Saints' names with the addition *Sankt* can also occur in the names of other geographical appellations, e.g. in hydronyms. The *Königssee* (Berchtesgadener Land, Upper Bavaria) was also called *Sankt Bartholomä* after the pilgrimage chapel on the shore of the lake until the 19th century. *Sankt Bartholomä* is still the name of a settlement: c. 1133 (copy end of 12th century): *ad basilicam Chunigesse,* 1454: *Kchunigsee,* 1594: *auß Sandt Bartholomeen See,* 1795 *in den Barholomee- oder Königssee* (REITZENSTEIN 1991: 110).

6.6. Contraction

An example of the addition *Sankt* being subsumed into the following saint's name is the place name *Sammarei* (Passau, Lower Bavaria): 1233–1319 (copy 1733): *praedium ad S. Mariam,* c. 1300: *predium ad Sanctam Mariam;* side note: *datz sant Marein,* 1308: *de ecclesia sancte Marie,* 1381: *ze Sandmarein,* 1406: *Såmareinchirchen,* 1431: *Samarein,* 1452: *Samerey,* 1592: *Sammerey,* 1877: *Sammerei,* 1973: *Sammarei* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 244).

The records show that the place takes its name from a church consecrated to Saint Mary. The name *Maria* appears from the 14th century onwards in the Upper German affectionate form *Marei* (cf. SEIBICKE III, 189) which is contracted together with the Middle High German or Early New High German form *sant* of *Sankt* (LEXER II, 603, BAUFELD 1996: 200). The meaning of the settlement name is thus no longer transparent for the contemporary speaker.

7. Other local names with reference to ecclesiastical institutions

As already mentioned in point 2.1., there are numerous other settlement names in the area under investigation which can be traced back to ecclesiastical establishments or persons.

Settlement names, constructed according to the pattern of Germanic personal name plus radical word *-kirchen,* are often very old. The radical word *-kirchen* derives from Old High German *kirihha* ~ Middle High German *kirche* 'church, church building' (SCHÜTZEICHEL 2006: 187, LEXER I, 1580–1581). It usually occurs in the dative singular or sometimes in the dative plural (cf. DOLCH–GREULE 1991: 516). The personal name points to the owner of the respective church who then gave his name to the settlement. The reason for this kind of word formation goes back to the phenomenon of privately owned churches (Eigenkirchenwesen). In the early Middle Ages it was the usual practice for the nobility to build churches on their own property. The furnishings and the accoutrements as well as the income of these churches belonged to the owner of the church, making them a lucrative

proposition (cf. LINK 2009: 26–27, WIESINGER 2000: 333, SCHWARZ 1960: 154, BACH II/2: § 494).

An example of name giving using a first name—in this case a feminine name—in combination with the radical word *-kirchen* is the place name *Schweitenkirchen* (Pfaffenhofen a. d. Ilm, Upper Bavaria): 972–976: *Suidmuotochirihhun,* 1096: *Swîdmotekhírichun,* 1450: *Sweytenkirchen* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 255).

If a saint's name appears in such a composite, it could mean either that the name is based on a patrociny, or that the name belongs to the person who is the owner of the proprietary church or the settlement (cf. BACH II/2: § 492). In this case, only the records can yield—if at all—more precise information. There were not only proprietary churches, but also proprietary monasteries built by aristocratic families, so that, here too, personal names can often form an integral part of the settlement names. Bishops, too, founded their own proprietary churches and monasteries beyond the boundaries of their dioceses, and also many monasteries privately owned extensive property (cf. LINK 2009: 28). The names of these can also form part of the place names.

In contrast to the proprietary churches there were parish churches founded for the people, known as *Leut-* or *Dietkirchen* (Middle High German *diet* 'people'; cf. SCHWARZ 1960: 154, EBERL 1925: 94, BACH II/2: § 494). Furthermore, there are names including the component *-kirchen,* formed using the element *neu* or referring to the position of the church or its ground plan, its colour or similar things as their first element (cf. SCHWARZ 1960: 154, EBERL 1925: 94, FEIGL 1986: 218, HERRMANN 1986: 186, BACH II/2: § 494).

Münster is also often to be found as a radical word in a compound. It points to a monastery (minster) or collegiate church (cf. BACH II/2: § 493, LEXER I, Sp. 2231). The settlement name *Altmühlmünster* (Kelheim, Lower Bavaria) is one of these: 1316: *Mv̊nster,* 1415: *ze Mv̊nster an der Altmul gelegen,* 1499: *Altmülmünster,* 1665: *Altmühlmünster* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 15).

In addition, there are places named simply after an ecclesiastical building, e.g. *Kappl* (cf. SCHWARZ 1960: 155, BACH II/2: § 494), or having such a building as the determinative element, as in toponyms like *Kirchdorf* or *Kirchheim* (cf. EBERL 1925: 93). The settlement name *Kirchberg* (Regen, Lower Bavaria) offers evidence that such a name can also supplant an older patrociny settlement name: 1146: *montem qui dicitur sancti Gotehardi,* 1204: *in monte sancti Godehardi in Kirchperch,* 1254: *ecclesia Kirichperch,* 1558: *S(ankt) Gothardts Pfarrkhirchen zu Khirchperg,* 1643: *Kirchperg parochia* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 135).

Professions of faith are also used as patrocinies and are therefore also in some cases found as settlement names; for example, *Heiligen Blut* or *Heiligen Kreuz*

(cf. FLACHENECKER 1999: 147, also BACH II/2: § 493). This also applies to the toponym *Ave Maria* (Tugstein) (Göppingen, Stuttgart): 1372 (?): *unser frow zu Ave Maria,* 1474: *gotzhuse genannt zům Aue Maria,* 1477: *bei dem Ave Maria,* 1842: *Tugstein, Tuffstein oder Ave Maria* (REICHARDT 1989: 25).

The names of monasteries also appear in place names, as is evidenced by the name of the Cistercian monastery *Himmelkron* (Kulmbach, Upper Franconia): 1279: *Corona coeli,* 1520: *Hymelkron* (HONB Kulmbach 60).

Toponyms like *München*, *Münchsmünster* or *Nonnenwald* refer to the inhabitants (cf. SCHWARZ 1960: 155, HERRMANN 1986: 181, BACH II/2: § 493) of monasteries and convents. The island of *Frauenchiemsee* (Rosenheim, Upper Bavaria) takes the first element of its name from the inhabitants of the local convent: 894 annals 9th century copy 10–11th century: *in monasterio puellarum quod Chemissem dicitur,* 1062: *abbatiam Kiemisse,* c. 1244: *Nunnenwerde aput Chymse,* 1482: *zu Frawen Kyembse,* 1594: *Frauen Chiemsee* (REITZENSTEIN 2006: 84).

Also appellations like *Pfaffen-* and *Bischofs-* as first elements in settlement names clearly point to the connection with the church (cf. BACH II/2: § 492). The toponym *Pfaffenrot* (Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe) can be given as an example for this type of place name: 1262: *Pfaffenrode,* 1402: *Pfaffenrode,* 1516: *Pfaffenrod* (DIEMER 1967: 51). The name describes the forest clearing of one or more priests (DIEMER 1967: 51), the determinative element being Middle High German *phaffe ~ pfaffe* 'priest' (LEXER II, 220).

There are numerous other elements in settlement names which can be traced back to ecclesiastical establishments or persons. The examples chosen give only a little insight into this group, which is extremely interesting when viewed under the aspect of historical population development. At the same time, this compilation—albeit brief and incomplete—shows that patrociny settlement names make up only a very small part of toponyms with ecclesiastical associations.

8. Summary and perspectives

Sankt names occur within the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany mainly in the south. This name type represents only a small number of the different possibilities for the formation of place names.

Although—or perhaps even because—*Sankt* names describe only a small part of the name topography available, many special features are reflected in them. On the one hand, a large number of foreign names become part of German toponyms by way of the *Sankt* names. On the other hand, *Sankt* names break the established mould for the formation of place names using either a simplex, a derivative or a composite. With the help of the *Sankt* names as an example, it

is possible to describe the morphological and syntactical implications for a type of name when it moves beyond its original lexical field and is used instead to refer to other extra-linguistic objects—in this case places.

It is impossible to establish a general chronological categorisation of *Sankt* names because of the way these were used over the centuries. It would, however, be interesting to subject all the surviving and historical patrocinies to analysis, in order to draw conclusions with respect to the saints' names still included in place names. Only after the collation of these data would it be possible to say whether certain saints were more often chosen at certain times and in certain areas as the patron saints of churches. It would then be interesting to see to what extent this is reflected in the surviving *Sankt* names.

Furthermore, an exhaustive comparative historical evaluation of the *Sankt* names in Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg still needs to be carried out, although such a study can only be successful if it is based on comprehensive research into the settlement names in this area.

For the reasons already mentioned, the study of *Sankt* names in Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg can by no means be regarded as having been completed. On the contrary, it has only been possible to glean first impressions and to provide a stimulus to encourage further investigation into this type of place name.

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*Patrociny Settlement Names in the Carpathian Basin**

1. Introduction: processing of name types in the literature

In Hungarian historical toponomastics only two early toponym types were processed in monographs. MIKLÓS KÁZMÉR introduced the characteristics of a lexical-type toponym, those containing the lexeme *falu* 'village', in an independent volume; and ANDRÁS MEZŐ compiled a monograph about a semantic category—toponyms formed from the name of the patron saint of a church (1996a). Although the issue of the latter name type (patrociny settlement names) had attracted the attention of several researchers even prior to this, and acknowledged Hungarian etymologists and onomasticians (such as János Melich, István Kniezsa, Elemér Schwartz, Elemér Moór, Károly Mollay, Sándor Mikesy, Loránd Benkő, Lajos Kiss, Gyula Kristó) clarified numerous issues of detail, the turning point in this topic was still ANDRÁS MEZŐ's monograph, "Templomcím a magyar helységnevekben" (Patrociny in Hungarian settlement names, 1996a). The author, with his wide knowledge of philology, history and church history, made an attempt to present every detail of this important and colourful group of settlement names. Through this, he showed how a piece of our past, however small, may shed light on broader trends if presented by an expert (HOFFMANN 1998: 109). This monograph set an example for future generations of researchers, not only in defining an onomastic corpus and the methodology for data processing, but also by the definition and use of concepts, discovering the inner and outer relations of the system and by its interdisciplinary approach (loc. cit. and also HOFFMANN 2003: 177–178). According to those who appreciate it, the virtues of ANDRÁS MEZŐ's work make it worth mentioning as one of the best specialist monographs in Hungarian onomastics and Hungarian cultural history (cf. BENKŐ 1996: 98).

In defining the corpus, MEZŐ's main methodological principle was to aim at spatial and temporal completeness. The former criterion refers to the fact that the volume intended to collect and process the entire onomastic corpus of early medieval Hungary (11–15th centuries). The latter criterion refers to the fact that MEZŐ intended to take into account the whole time interval when this toponym type may have been formed by natural name-giving: in other words, he collected his linguistic corpus from the beginning of Christianity in Hungary (11th century) up to the 15th century. The fact that played a role in

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defining the upper time limit is that the main period of name-giving for Hungarian settlement names (including patrociny settlement names) had ended by the beginning of the 16th century (MEZŐ 1996a: 25). External (non-linguistic) factors played a role in the withdrawal of patrociny names themselves at the beginning of the 16th century, such as the division of the country into three parts due to the Turkish invasion (into territories under the Hungarian kingdom, the Turkish Empire and the Transylvanian principality). Furthermore, the expansion of Protestantism obviously did not favour this name type either (loc. cit.).

The scientific study of languages may take place based on various aspects, one of which is the attempt to discover what the given linguistic element group shows regarding the society's material and religious culture, in other words, what knowledge it conveys with respect to human culture in general, and national culture in particular (BENKŐ 1996: 93–94). Among linguistic elements, toponyms are probably the most suitable for the above, due to their role as cultural messengers. In addition, researchers of early toponyms—respecting a socio-pragmatic requirement—need to be able to identify themselves with the medieval people, as ANDRÁS MEZŐ did, since this is the way to find the hidden motivation of the period, which consequently leads to credible results (cf. MEZŐ 1996b: 126).

ANDRÁS MEZŐ's toponymic monograph attempts to shed light on the historical and cultural historical background of patrociny settlement name-giving by presenting the structural and etymological types of such names, the role of churches in the life of medieval people, the motives behind title choice and the patron saints who served as the bases for toponyms. In an appendix, he also provides the list of church titles which did not become settlement names. Both patron saints that served as the bases for toponyms and church titles which did not become settlement names offer an opportunity to discover relations between Hungarian culture and Eastern and Western culture, as well as to view the cult of domestic saints (HOFFMANN 1998: 116). Cultural historical, church and cult historical conclusions may be drawn solely from this wider perspective, since the degree of certain Hungarian saints' cult cannot be concluded solely from those settlements names which preserved their names, but also from medieval patrocinies (KRISTÓ 1996: 113, MEZŐ 1996a: 28). This thought obviously lead MEZŐ to publish his volume entitled "Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon" (Patrocinies in medieval Hungary, 2003) a few years later, which does not focus on titles which become toponyms, but rather presents churches bearing certain titles using a dictionary-entry style.

Our knowledge about patrociny settlement names in medieval Hungary and the Carpathian Basin, and the inner and outer relationships of name types have been placed in a unified framework primarily thanks to ANDRÁS MEZŐ's

work. At the same time, it is important to emphasise that MEZŐ's monograph did not complete the related research, but primarily summarised the results and indicated new research questions for which the database of the work may serve as the perfect starting point (cf. 1996a: 48–219, and MEZŐ 2003). The extent to which this work invigorated historical onomastic research is shown in studies inspired by "Patrociny in Hungarian settlement names" which basically rethought certain aspects of it. ISTVÁN HOFFMANN (1999), for example, added new aspects to the structural description of patrociny settlement names, and I myself presented the typical changes to them (TÓTH 2006). I also studied the circumstances of the origin of this name type (2007a), as well as its spatial characteristics (2010a). ANDREA BÖLCSKEI's work, meanwhile, illustrated a concrete change process—the phenomenon of name differentiation with patrociny settlement names. ANITA RÁCZ studied those names from Bihar county (an eastern Carpathian Basin comitat of a considerable size) which belong to this semantic group (1999). With regard to the issue of chronology in connection to patrociny settlement names, ANDRÁS MEZŐ had already pointed to the fact—and this observation may be true not only for the time factor—that in answering certain questions regarding this name type it is neither onomastics nor history that can primarily be of help, but archaeology (1996a: 231). From this point of view the archaeologist GÁBOR KISS's study is especially important, providing additional archaeological remarks concerning *Szentkirály* settlement names, which memorialized the name of the first Hungarian Christian ruler, King Saint Stephen (2011). They may serve as an example as to how archaeological excavations can narrow and consequently make more precise the chronological borders drawn by toponymic data. ANDRÁS MEZŐ, the author of the original monograph, was unable to comment on all these new issues himself due to his illness and tragically early death in 2003.

2. Patrocinies and patrociny settlement names in Hungary

The patrociny settlement name type belongs to the category of clerical names. Clerical names are settlement names which linguistically refer to 1. a church edifice or its part (e.g. *Fehéregyház* 'white church'); 2. the patron saint of the church (e.g. *Boldogasszony* 'Virgin Mary', *Szentistván* 'Saint Stephen', *Mindszent* 'all saints'); 3. persons or organisations belonging to the church (e.g. *Apáti* 'abbot's', *Káptalanfalva* 'village belonging to the chapter house') (cf. MEZŐ 1996a: 23–24). The concept of church names therefore basically refers to a set of linguistic elements which are characterised by identical cultural definiteness (HOFFMANN 1998: 113). Among these we may find patrociny settlement names (or in other words, names originating from the name of the patron saint of the church or the title of the church), to which Hungarian historical onomastic literature has applied several terms (summaries of these MEZŐ 1996a: 36, L. KISS 1996: 99, HOFFMANN 1998: 113, KMTL 534).

In Hungary, the process whereby churches and monasteries were built and named after a patron saint or saint began at the turn of 10–11th century (i.e. from the beginning of Christianity). This saint or saint secret, after which the church or chapel was named, is called a *patrociny* (KMTL 534). Italian, South Slavic, German, and perhaps Czech priests had a role in spreading this custom, characteristic of west and southwest Europe, to Hungary (MEZŐ 1996a: 36). According to certain opinions, when the church is ordained the patron saint is chosen by the patron himself or the believers (KMTL 534), but it is more likely that in this issue the church was the one who made the decision. And although the motives behind the choice of the title cannot be discovered, the influential role of certain factors needs to be taken into account. Among the primary motives are the obligatory celebrations, the celebration of the patron saint; if a saint had several celebrations, then the role of the calendar came into the picture as well; the choice of a name could have been influenced by the patron saint of the founder of the church; the spreading of an orders' favourite saints; the ruling family's patron saint, etc. Obviously, domestic saints took priority over foreign ones (cf. MEZŐ 1996a: 38–40).

In the territory of Carpathian Basin 150 different titles can be attested in the denotation of medieval churches and chapels. Documented medieval sources mention approximately 5900 settlements with a church name denoting a saint (see the database in MEZŐ 2003). From the frequency of occurrence we can conclude several interesting relationships. If we only look at the distribution of 150 titles among 5900 settlements, we may reach the conclusion that a title on average occurs in 39 church names. In reality the picture is far more complicated, and we may experience big differences in the frequency of occurrence of certain titles. Namely, while there are data which refer to a great popularity of certain saints, other saints lent their name to only one or two churches. We can learn about this disproportionality from the fact that the ten most frequent patrocinies *(Mária, Miklós, Márton, Mihály, György, Mindszent, Kereszt, Péter, Iván, László)* comprise more than 60% of all occurrences, and the most striking among them is Virgin Mary, after whom more than 1000 churches were named. One fifth (those which have more than the average 39 occurrences) of all the other titles provides for 89% of the church names (e.g. *András, Margit, Erzsébet, Jakab, János, Szenttrinitás, Szentlélek,* etc.).[1] More than 50 titles, one third of the total (e.g. *Ágoston, Bálint, Gyárfás, Mátyás,* etc.) became the patron saint of only one church in medieval Hungary. The first patrocinies are mentioned at the beginning of the 11th century in the western part of the country: e.g. 1002: de *monasterio sancti Martini* in monte

[1] Connections like these may be seen in the case of other linguistic elements, and what is more, not only in Hungarian, which points to the universal character of these connections (cf. HOFFMANN 1998: 116).

supra Pannoniam sito (Győr county, MEZŐ 2003: 266), 1024: *ecclesie beati Adriani* martiris preciosi de Insula Zaladiensi (Zala county, MEZŐ 2003: 31), 1024: Sacerdotes vero *capellarum Beati Georgii et Sancti Laurentii* de Pacha et de Rokolyan (Zala county, MEZŐ 2003: 233).

From almost 5900 church names, in almost one fourth of the cases a settlement name was derived and it is not surprising that at the top of this frequency list we can find the same ten patrocinies which were the most widespread as titles. However, while only one in every 14 or 15 of the 990 occurrences of the Virgin Mary's title became a settlement name (we found 68 *Boldogasszony* 'blessed [= saint] lady' ~ *Szentmária* 'Saint Mary' settlement names in medieval Hungary), the case of *Szent Kereszt* is quite different, with every second or third occurrence out of 266 church title occurrences becoming a toponym (106 *Szentkereszt* 'saint cross' ~ *Keresztúr* 'crucified [Christ] lord'). Among villages established around churches dedicated in honour of Saint Dienes all (we know of six villages from the studied period) received the name referring to the saint, *Szentdienes*. I will discuss chronological issues related to patrociny settlement names in a separate chapter; here I will only indicate that the first unambiguous data (i.e. data referring unequivocally to the settlement and not the church) of this name type can be documented from the 12–13th century, primarily in the western and southern comitats: 1192/1374/1425: *Scentpaul* 'Saint Paul' (Szentpál, Bács county, MEZŐ 1996a: 179), 1199: *Cusmadomian* 'Saint Cosmas and Damien' (Kozmadamján, Zala county, MEZŐ 1996a: 133), c. 1202–3: *Sencural* 'Saint King' (Szentkirály, Zaránd county, MEZŐ 1996a: 127), 1209: *Zengurg* 'Saint George' (Szentgyörgy, Pozsony county, MEZŐ 1996a: 81).

In the 1390 settlement names of patrociny origin, different groups of church titles and patrocinies occur. 1. 487 settlement names kept the names of the patron saints present in the Bible (35%): e.g. *Szentábrahám* 'Saint Abraham', *Szentmihály* 'Saint Michael', etc. 2. Martyrs and confessors also represent a characteristic group as patrocinies: it is striking, that while martyrs in church titles usually originate from eastern cultures (*Szentgyörgy* 'Saint George', *Szentmiklós* 'Saint Nicholas', *Szentkozmadamján* 'Saint Cosmas and Damien', etc.), confessors as patrocinies in Hungarian territories are usually chosen from western cultures (e.g. *Szentmárton* 'Saint Martin', *Szentbenedek* 'Saint Benedict', *Szentimre* 'Saint Emeric', *Szentkirály* 'saint king', etc.). 710 settlement names belonging to this group form 51% of all patrociny toponyms in the Carpathian Basin. 3. The extraordinarily frequent *Keresztúr ~ Szentkereszt* 'saint cross' and the less attested *Szentlélek* 'Holy Spirit', *Szenttrinitás* 'Saint Trinity', etc. patrocinies refer directly to god or divine persons. We found this lexical element in 135 settlement names (10%) in the Carpathian Basin. 4. Finally, 57 (4%) *Mindszent* 'all saints' settlement names, whose basis is a

church title referring to the celebration of all saints customised in the Hungarian church from the 11th century, form an independent category. (For further details about the types see MEZŐ 1996a: 225–227.)

3. The circumstances of name type formation

Name-giving after the patron saint of the church became more widespread in a certain period in the Carpathian Basin (see chapter 4, on chronological issues), as shown by the following statistics. The database compiled by ANDRÁS MEZŐ contains 1390 patrociny settlement names, approximately 7% of the estimated complete settlement name stock (20,000 settlements) in the 11–15th century, i.e. every 14–15th settlement's name belongs to this group (MEZŐ 1996a: 308, HOFFMANN 1998: 112). In the following I will analyse the factors that lie beneath the frequency of this name type.

According to Hungarian researchers, a patrociny (patrocynium, church title) becoming a settlement name is largely a popular name-giving process. If, however, we study the features of the name type more closely, we can find several factors which run counter to the notion that such formations are the result of a natural, popular name-giving process.

3.1. First of all, it is striking that, according to the data in the documents, the name type was not formed in Hungarian: the first occurrence of the settlement names formed from a name of a saint is mainly in its Latin form: e.g. the first occurrences of *Szentadorján* in Bihar county 1332–37/PR.: Johannes sacerdos de *Sancto Adriano; Szentandrás* in Abaúj county 1329: de *S. Andrea; Szentdemeter* in Arad county 1338–42: de *Sancto Demetrio; Szentdienes* in Baranya 1285: de *Sancto Dyonisio; Szentgyörgy* in Bars county 1276/1641: de *Sancto Georgio; Szentlászló* in Bodrog county 1287: p. *Sancto Ladislao,* etc. unequivocally point to this (for data see KMHsz. 1.). Although in early documents the use of Latin (or translation into Latin) is usual for other name types as well (e.g. *al-* 'lower', *fel-* 'upper' lexemes are often present as *inferior, superior,* several *Újfalu* 'new village' as *Nova Villa,* etc.), in patrociny settlement names it is surprisingly common (cf. also HOFFMANN 2004: 25–26). And we are not aware of a name type that has an obligatory occurrence in Latin form in documents (although settlement names originated from ethnonyms or profession names could have been just as easily translated into Latin).[2] An explanation may be the duality of oral and written culture (HOFFMANN loc. cit.), but even so, we have to pose the question why this duality only is visible

[2] In Hungarian documentation practice, translation into Latin is primarily connected to individual names. So the fact that the names of large rivers are almost without exception present in the documents in their Latin forms (*Duna* as *Danubius, Tisza* as *Ticia,* etc.) does not mean that river names used to be translated into Latin in documents.

in connection to patrociny settlement names, i.e. why only with regard to them did it cause such a move towards the Latin language.

The presence of a Latin variant of patrociny settlement names in documents may correlate with how the church titles themselves were recorded in documents. In other words, we may presuppose the use of Latin concerning patrocinies in the whole of Hungary, even at the time when patrociny settlement names themselves were represented by their Hungarian equivalent. *Szentiván* 'Saint Ivan' settlement and church in Zala county are mentioned in a document from 1419 in this way: *Herbathfelde* alio nomine *Zenthywan*, in facie cuius est constructa *ecclesia sancti Johannis* (MEZŐ 2003: 140); among data about *Szentmárton* 'Saint Martin' in Fejér county we can find the following: 1324> 1409: *Lowazfelde* … que alio nomine *Zenthmarton* vocaretur, in qua *ecclesia in honore sancti Martini* constructa (MEZŐ 2003: 269); about *Szentmiklós* 'Saint Nicholas' in Kolozs county this document mentions inter alia: 1358: *beati Michaelis archangeli* et *beati Nicolai* in *Zenthmiclos, parrochiales ecclesias* (MEZŐ 2003: 298), etc.

According to the Hungarian literature, using saints' names as patrocinies became the practice in Hungary from the end of the 12th century or even earlier (BENKŐ 1993: 18) under the influence of the Roman church, spreading from southwest Europe. It is beyond question that for some time the church played the decisive role in the choice of patrocinies (i.e. in determining the patron saints of churches): there is no evidence the population chose the patron saint of its own church (and settlement) (MEZŐ 1996a: 37). This kind of name-giving role of the church—basically realised via internal organisation—is completely understandable[3] if we take into account that, beyond its own institutional frames, the influence of the church was significant in medieval social organisation, public administration and jurisdiction (cf. KRISTÓ 2003: 52–102, KMTL *egyházi birtok* 'religious estate', *egyházi társadalom* 'religious society', *egyházmegye* 'diocese', MEZŐ 1996a: 30–36). The identity and self-consciousness of the church was increased by the fact that its members had a culture different from that of secular society, based on written records and its own languages (Latin, and in some cases, Greek), resulting in a communication system of its own (KMTL 182). And since this system was built on Latin, it is self-explanatory that patrocinies in Latin documents were recorded in Latin, thereby abiding by the general rules of formulation.

On the basis of all this I believe the name-giving activity of the church was not limited to denoting church names (patron saints), but also extended to having

[3] We also have to highlight that the church's name-giving role cannot be related to a central decision: for example, a decree made by the Pope, or a religious prescription (we know of no such examples), but rather we should consider the role of the local ecclesiastical persons and of church dignitaries (among whom primarily the bishops).

a role in transforming patrocinies into settlement names. It is another issue that this influence can only rarely be proved by written records. However, sometimes the documents themselves inform us about name-giving imposed by the upper echelons of the religious hierarchy: for example, in 1407 the monastery called *Szent Jakab* 'Saint Jacob' in Mórichida received approval to popularise an inhabited part and name it after the monastery's patron saint *Szentjakabfalva* 'Saint Jacob's village' (MEZŐ 1996a: 42). If we accept the impact of the church not only in naming patrocinies themselves, but also in forming patrociny settlement names, then this provides a logical explanation for the Latin occurrence of this name type. That is to say that, just as the patrociny was written in Latin in the Latin text of a document (on the pattern of other European models), initially the patrociny settlement names also occurred in Latin.

3.2. As well as Latin, the other important factor that has to be mentioned is that certain patrocinies occur alternating with their own synonyms, even in a data set referring to one settlement. And it can be difficult to understand (since there are no similar examples in connection to other name types) why a village is denoted by a name-giving and name-using community (i.e. the people living there) either as *Boldogasszony* 'blessed (= saint) lady' or *Szentmária* 'Saint Mary' only because Virgin Mary had both of these denotations in religious and secular language use. A settlement in Bács, which received its name after a church consecrated in honour of the Virgin Mary, was mentioned in medieval documents as *Szentmária* 'Saint Mary' (1413: *Szent-Mária*) and *Boldogasszonyfalva* 'blessed (= saint) lady's village' (1522: *Bodogazzonfalua*), and a settlement in Fejér county as *Szentmária* (1359/1368/1429: *Zenmaria*) and *Boldogasszonyegyháza* 'blessed (= saint) lady's village with a church' (1423: *Bodogazzonegghaza*) (for data see MEZŐ 1996a: 206–209, MEZŐ 1996b: 35–36).

Among settlement names originating from patrocinies, the *Szentmária* ~ *Boldogasszony* type of alternation is not unique: *Keresztúr* 'crucified [Christ] lord' ~ *Szentkereszt* 'saint cross' settlement names show the same type of alternation. The *(Garam)szentkereszt* in Bars county was first mentioned in documents as *Keresztúr* (1075/+1124/+1217: *Kerestur*, 1380: *Kerezthur*), then as *Szentkereszt* (1603: *Szenth Kereszt*), the *(Szász)keresztúr* from Küküllő county was first *Szentkereszt* (1270/1279: *Scenkerest*), then *Keresztúr* (1356: *Kereztur*), and the *Keresztúr* from Pozsega county was first *Keresztúr* (1412: *Kereztur*), and then *Szentkereszt* (1563: *Zenthkerezth*) (for data see MEZŐ 1996a: 113–118). This kind of alternation within the same settlement was probably less characteristic of spoken language, and more defined as a document-specific feature (HOFFMANN 1998: 116).[4]

[4] We have to add to all this that, for example, *Szentmária* name as patrociny could have been applied with dual name use. The *Szűz Mária* chapel in *Boldogasszonyfalva* settlement in Val-

3.3. The patrociny settlement names' chronological and onomato-geographical relations also exclude the possibility of spontaneous genesis. Since I discuss these issues in a separate chapter, here I will only refer to circumstances closely related to the formation of this name type. In so far as these settlement names were formed naturally, their appearance would have been expected already from an early period, since the church building was a prominent feature of a settlement when there only few such buildings. This was the situation, for example when, during the time of King Saint Stephen (1000–1038), a decree prescribed a joint church for every 10 villages. There are quite a few toponyms referring to churches from before the 14th century: +1093/1404: *Kerekyghaz* 'round church', +1256: *Feyereghaz* 'white church' (cf. KMHsz. 1: 89). However, most toponyms originating from church names started to appear from the 14th century, and then with overwhelming impetus. Maybe it is not accidental that Hungarian history defines the beginning of the 14th century as the end of the foundation of religious (and secular) administration (KRISTÓ 2003: 102). I discuss the possible parallelism between religious spatial organisational issues and the distribution of patrociny settlement names in the chapter about onomato-geography.

3.4. The assumption that in the distribution of patrociny settlement names the church played a vital role is strengthened by the way this name type appeared in non-Hungarian territories in the Carpathian Basin. Several Hungarian researchers have observed that, in the medieval onomastic corpus of the Croatian-Slavonian areas, there are many Hungarian settlement names originating from patrocinies. This is in harmony with the presumption that the name type spread from south Hungary (cf. MEZŐ 1996a: 229, HOFFMANN 1998: 116, BENKŐ 2003: 117). What causes a dilemma is that the southern toponyms appear in Hungarian in medieval documents. These name forms thus point to the great influence of the medieval Hungarian church (BENKŐ 1993: 18). With regard to this we have to mention the special dual toponyms of the Dráva–Száva interfluvial region, in which the Hungarian patrociny name-form frequently occurs with a Slavic toponym or anthroponym as a first component: *Obed-Szentkereszt, Bakva-Szentbertalan, Podgorja-Szentmihály, Berivoj-Szentiván, Vojk-Keresztúr,* etc. According to LÁSZLÓ HADROVICS, compound names like these are evidence that the majority of the population was Croatian but the religious organisation was under Hungarian governance (1970: 238). Both examples provide proof that in the formation of patrociny names in this area the church played a role—the same way as it did, in my opinion, in Hungarian language territories.

kó county was recorded in the following forms: 1333–34: capelle *Beate Virginis,* de capella *Sancte Virginis,* capelle *Beate Marie,* de capella *Sancte Marie* (MEZŐ 1996b: 32).

When we talk about the Hungarian variants of foreign language names it is worth mentioning the possibility that these Hungarian name-forms were not actually used, but that what is going on is rather a "Hungarianisation" of medieval Hungarian documentation (cf. BENKŐ 1998: 115). The number of these medieval Hungarian formants occurring in Croatian-Slavonian areas decreases in later centuries, and the already existing ones are present primarily in their Slavic language variant, without the lexeme *szent* 'saint': *Szentkirály > Krajevci, Szentgergely > Gregoravác, Szentmárton > Martinai, Szentpéter > Petrovina.* In the explanation of the above we should by no means presume the dominance either of the Hungarian population or the Hungarian church but, with a degree of caution, we may assume the opposition of two phenomena: the customs of document writing preferring Hungarian name forms and the spoken language which used Croatian name-forms (cf. BENKŐ 1996: 96).

3.5. The study of the circumstances determining the formation of patrociny settlement names has to explore the assumption that foreign patterns played a role in the genesis of this name type in Hungary. ANDRÁS MEZŐ does not agree with the earlier, traditional opinion in Hungarian onomastics, according to which behind the use of patrociny names there are European patterns (cf. e.g. BÁRCZI 1958: 154, BÁRCZI–BENKŐ–BERRÁR 1967: 387, BENKŐ 1987: 305), but claims that searching for foreign influence in the transformation of patrocinies into settlement names is completely superfluous (1996a: 44). Behind the difference in opinion there are different motives: MEZŐ bases his standpoint on the fact that this would be the only name type having foreign influence in its formation process (1996b: 120), BENKŐ—who represents the traditional point of view—bases his opinion on the fact that the name type's onomato-geographical description certainly shows a unified, connected cultural background, and the Hungarian language territory is in this respect most closely in contact with Italian, South German and South West Slavic territories (1996: 96, see also ZELLIGER 1991: 542, HOFFMANN 1998: 115). In my opinion, the fact that this name type spread across country and language borders, also correlates with the internationality of the church, the same church that during the Middle Ages maintained extremely intensive relations with the Neo-Latin territories (from where this name type originates). I do not believe that the language interferences (i.e. language-population contact) played a role in the distribution of patrociny settlement names; it was rather the role of the relatively unified cultural background. This name type would not have been so internationally spread and would not have shown such uniform features had it not been for the unified, European church representing international culture. It is not accidental that a toponym type carrying such an important ideological message was formed due to impact of foreign culture.

3.6. Numerous settlement names of patrociny origin have a variant used in parallel, and the reasons for this are not only due to the background settlement

history (cf. HOFFMANN 1998: 116): e.g. *Baróc ~ Szentborbálaasszony* 'Saint Barbara lady' 1439: *Baroch* alio nomine *Zenthbarbaraazon* (Fejér county, MEZŐ 1996a: 65), *Tőttős ~ Szentegyed* 'Saint Aegidius' 1346/1393: *Teuteus* alio nomine *Zentegyed* (Baranya county, op. cit. 70), *Bába ~ Szenterzsébet* 'Saint Elisabeth' 1416: *Baba* alio nomine *Zenthelsebeth* (Nógrád county, op. cit. 73), *Kisfalud ~ Szentgyörgy* 'Saint George' 1441: *Kysfalud* alio nomine *Zenthgywrgh* (Zala county, op. cit. 83). With regard to these parallel names we primarily need to emphasise the process that formed them: namely, the variants were caused by the fact that the patrociny name-form replaced the name of the settlement used earlier and from a different motivation. We are aware of more than 150 examples of patrociny names as secondary: e.g. *Régen* (1259/1270: *Regun,* MEZŐ 1996a: 196) > *Szenttamás* 'Saint Thomas' (1347/1378: *Scethomas,* op. cit.), *Födémes* (1239/1465: *Fedemus,* MEZŐ 1996a: 186) > *Szentpéter* 'Saint Peter' (1332: *Sanctus Petrus,* op. cit.), *Lovász* (1409: *Loaz,* MEZŐ 1996a: 154) > *Lovászfölde* (1409: *Lowazfelde,* op. cit.) > *Szentmárton* 'Saint Martin' (1409: *Zenthmarton,* op. cit.), etc., while we are aware of only two examples of patrociny names being primary and then being replaced by a name of different motivation: *Keresztúr* 'crucified [Christ] lord' (1290–1301: *Kerezthwr,* MEZŐ 1996a: 115) > *Újvásár* (1381: *Vyuasar,* op. cit.)—referring to the newly acquired right to organise fairs (cf. op. cit. 125), and *Szentlélek* 'Holy Spirit' (1335: *Zenthleluk,* MEZŐ 1996a: 142) > *Oldalfalva* (1632: *Oldalfalva,* op. cit.)—replaced by a name-form referring to the owner (op. cit. 143). It is highly possible that the two directions would have been more balanced had it been the case of a name type formed naturally, based on name models. The great vitality of patrociny settlement names again indicates that we are dealing with a name type supported from above.

This clarifies the reason why there is no name type in Hungarian of which the lexical-morphological changes have the same characteristics and frequency as those of patrociny settlement names. Since I discuss this issue in detail in chapter 7, here I will only indicate that exactly half of the patrociny settlement names underwent a change of some type, and this susceptibility to change (uncharacteristic of any other name type) is due to the language "conscience", attempting to change the artificial character of these names by adjusting them to other structural types formed naturally.

All factors (early Latin attestation in documents; alternation with synonyms even in the same settlement names; occurrences of Hungarian language variants in Slavic language territories; the impact of foreign language and culture; frequent structural changes) governing the circumstances of patrociny settlement name-formation mentioned here imply that in Hungary this name type was not formed naturally, but by religious governance (as a unique cultural name type). Since, however, these names were typologically not foreign to the Hungarian onomato-system (i.e. from a functional and formal aspect, this

name type shows relatedness to one of the most important name types of the early Hungarian settlement name system: toponyms formed from personal names without a formant), there was no system-related obstacle to their spreading. This is why, over time, this name-giving method freed itself from religious governance and resulted in spontaneous name-forms using already existing name models. From this time on patrociny settlement names can be regarded as characteristic of Hungarian territories. Consequently, we may conclude that the Hungarian onomato-system accepted this name-forming process as well (cf. HOFFMANN 1998: 116).

4. Chronological features of the name type

In Hungarian documents from the 12–13th century we may often find that certain places are awarded to certain saints: e.g. +1019/1328//1370: *dedimus Sancto Adriano,* 1075/+1124/+1217: *porcos sancti Benedicti, bestie sancti Benedicti, potestas sancti Benedicti,* and the given saint becomes the name giver of the settlement: *Szentadorján, Szentbenedek* (for further examples see KRISTÓ 1976: 44–45). According to the Hungarian literature, patrociny settlement names were first formed in the 11th century, when Christianity began to take root, but there is no data to support this assertion. What poses further difficulty in defining the chronological characteristics of the name type is that it is not easy to differentiate between data which record an occasional denotation of a religious estate by the saint's name and data which record the denotation of the village by the patrociny name (op. cit. 45). Undoubtedly, where there were churches from the beginning of the 11th century, the patrociny became a motivation for naming both the church and the village simultaneously. This name-formation process probably started when a given settlement only had one church and the founding of the village and building of the church happened almost at the same time. In villages with more churches, especially if the village had another name of different motivation, the patrociny becoming a settlement name was probably hindered by these factors (MEZŐ 1996a: 42). Analysing the data it is evident that patrocinies are found in documents from the 11th century, in a similar manner to the first (unreliable) data regarding patrociny settlement names.

The traditional historical toponym typology (as proposed by ISTVÁN KNIEZSA and GÉZA BÁRCZI) closed the formation of patrociny settlement names in the first third of the 14th century. GYULA KRISTÓ, however, asserts that such names (supported by data and matching the chronological borders of other toponyms without formants) were still being formed in the second half of the 14th and in the 15th century (1976: 47–48), what is more, we should not discount their limited vitality in the 16th century either (MEZŐ 1996b: 123, for chronological issues see MEZŐ 1996a: 231–236).

We can hardly draw a chronological map of patrociny settlement names without taking into account the chronological features of patrocinies themselves. In the chapter discussing the relationship between patrocinies and patrociny settlement names I have already mentioned the fact that the first data regarding both occur in the 11th century (although with regard to settlements these early data may not be denotations of settlements at all). First there was only a small number of them, then a steady rise, then during certain periods (e.g. at the beginning of the 14th century) a sudden rise, then a few decades of culmination and after that, from the turn of the 14–15th centuries, a decrease in the number of church names as well as a decrease in the number of patrociny settlement names. The diagrams below unequivocally demonstrate the parallel development of the two processes.

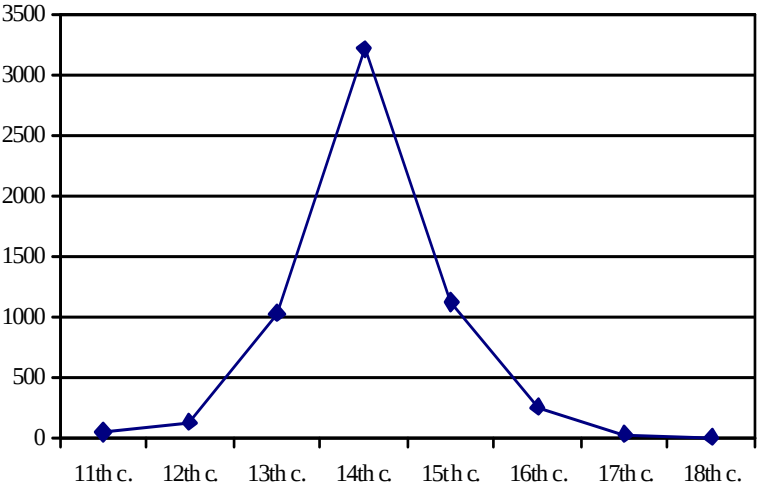


Diagram 1 *Chronological distribution of patrocinies.*

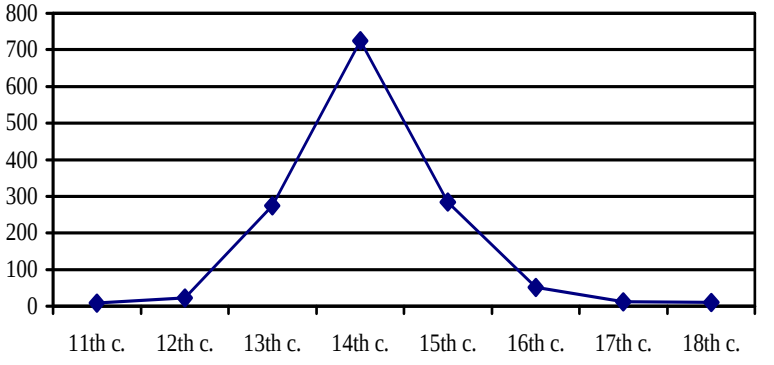


Diagram 2 C*hronological distribution of patrociny settlement names.*

The large leap in the number of patrocinies and patrociny settlement names experienced in the middle of the 14th century is obviously not independent

from the fact that the first country-wide census of all settlements paying a tithe happened exactly in this period. The papal registry of tithes established between 1332 and 1337 is the major source of data and it largely contributed to the above diagrams having a peak in the 14th century. However, when answering chronologically-related issues, we have to take into account the distortions caused by the uneven nature of secondary sources, emphasising the general thesis (which does not apply solely to patrociny toponyms) that the sources never document formations of individual names, but their subsistence and existence from a chronological aspect. When evaluating the two diagrams, we have to highlight that two things may distort the picture illustrated above. Firstly, the diagram may refer to all toponym types, what is more, to all toponym data, since it means that the amount of data grew proportionately with the number of linguistic records. (There may, however, be certain differences among different toponym types.) Secondly, this diagram may be, in connection with the change of settlements (their survival or disappearance), to a greater or lesser degree influenced by the fortunes of war.

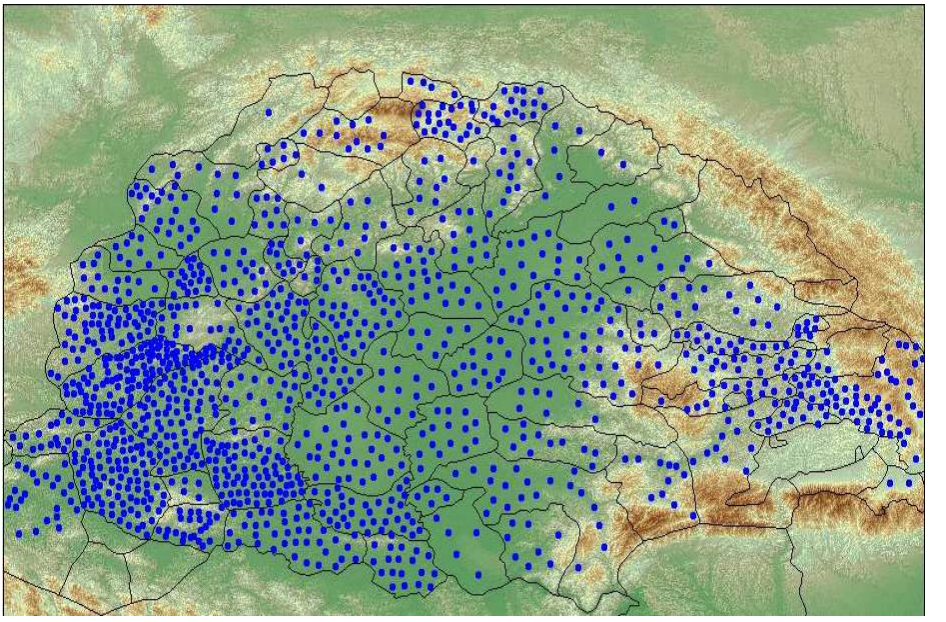
5. Onomato-geographical characteristics of patrociny settlement names

In ANDRÁS MEZŐ's monograph several problems arose whose solution was of interest not only to the author, but also to researchers before and after him. One such issue was whether, in the Carpathian Basin, the name type was formed following or disregarding European models and, closely connected to this, the issue of evaluating the name type's onomato-geographical features.

For an overview of the latter dilemma, i.e. for onomato-geographical mapping, the following map illustrating patrociny settlement names in the Carpathian Basin was created, which provides help for more precise statements about the spatial characteristics of the name type (see Map 1).

The map proves MEZŐ's observation that patrociny settlement names are more frequent in the southwest, south and west part of Transdanubia and this frequency decreases as we head north and east. The name type is rather frequent in Slavonian counties, due to Hungarian scribes and Hungarian documentation procedure (see above). In Transylvania the patrociny settlement names are quite frequent in Székelyföld (Szeklerland), probably partly due to the fact that Szeklers resettled from south and west Hungary in the 12–13th century, and took their name-giving practice with them (MEZŐ 1996a: 229).

Based on these observations, Hungarian historical toponomastics has generally accepted the thesis that patrociny settlement names spread from the southwest part of the Hungarian language territory to the east and north, signalling the cultural roots of the name type's genesis (HOFFMANN 1998: 116).



Map 1 *Settlement names of patrociny origin in the Carpathian Basin.*[5]

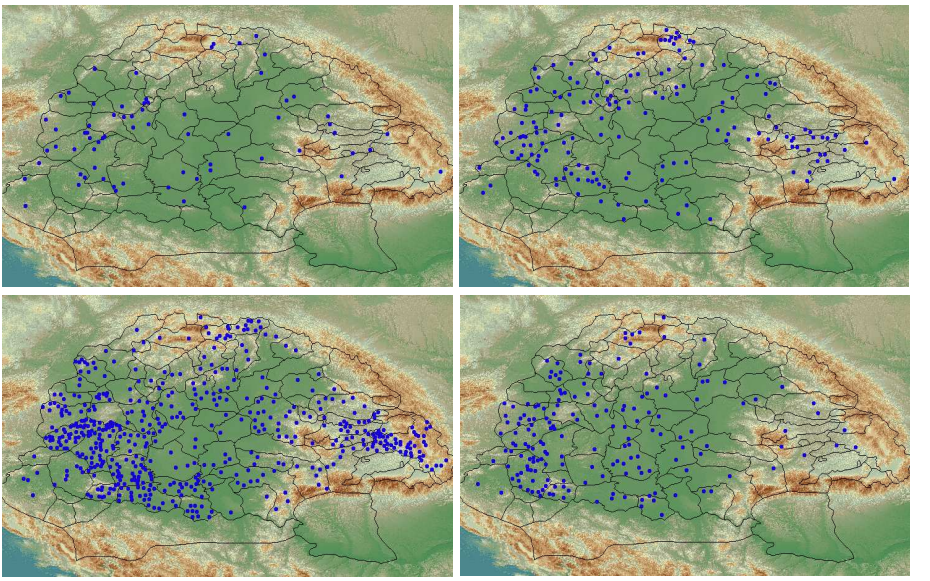
In so far as we wish to study more closely the procedure and dynamics of this name type's distribution, we need to illustrate the spatial relations of the occurrence of this name type in written documents in chronological segments. In the four maps below I have recorded four segments of the chronological change process. The first map shows patrociny settlement names whose first data occur before 1250. The second map shows patrociny settlement names occurring between 1251 and 1300, the third between 1301 and 1350 and the fourth patrociny settlement names occurring between 1351 and 1400 (see Map 2).

We may draw the following conclusions from these maps illustrating the distribution of patrociny settlement names in half-century intervals.

1. Besides the oft-mentioned southwest Hungarian centre there seems to be an early Transylvanian starting point.

2. Patrociny settlement names basically cover the whole Carpathian Basin between 1301 and 1350: the largest number of settlement names belonging to this group occurs in the documents at this time.

[5] On the map I have shown 1390 settlements based on ANDRÁS MEZŐ's database (1996a: 48–219).



Map 2 *Patrociny settlement names until 1250, 1251–1300, 1301–1350 and 1351–1400.*

The evaluation of maps, however, is made difficult by several factors. The growth in the amount of data between 1301 and 1350 was firstly influenced by the already mentioned 1332–37 papal census, which first recorded the names of settlements paying religious tax in the Carpathian Basin. We have already discussed the temporal coincidence of the occurrence of data and the relationship between data and sources when we discussed the chronological issues. What we said about spatial matters should be complemented by the observation that the above maps may accurately indicate the main tendency of patrociny settlement names' distribution, but the whole of the process should be dated to an earlier period. The frequency of patrociny settlement names which differ by areas also depends on how rich a settlement network is and consequently the settlement name-network in the given area. Therefore, we can determine a more accurate frequency of patrociny settlement names if we compare the number of patrociny settlement names in a given area to the total number of medieval settlements in a given county. Conducting certain studies like this we have reached the following results. We can find an above average patrociny settlement name frequency in the western comitats (e.g. Vas, Zala, Somogy, Baranya counties) and prominent frequency in certain southern areas (e.g. Bács, Bodrog and Csongrád counties). In the north, however, for example Abaúj and, further south, Szabolcs county, they remain below the average indicator and in Kolozs county we can find values close to the average. These proportions indicate that the frequency of patrociny settlement names in certain areas is only partly connected to name density.

Talking about the circumstances of formation of this name-type I have tried to provide evidence for the assumption that the church played a vital role in the distribution of patrociny settlement names. Consequently, the unified, international culture, which made patrociny settlement names fashionable in certain (well-defined) parts of Europe is the factor which should be taken into account when discussing the formation and popularisation of this name-type. The Hungarian literature already pointed to this circumstance in the early days: "Settlement name giving from patrociny names was present in French, Spanish, Italian and Bavarian-Austrian language territory, and also in Slovenian, Croatian, Slovakian and—although only as an exception—in Czech, Polish and other territories." (L. KISS 1997: 181). The cultural roots of patrociny settlement names clarify why south-west Hungary is where this name-type started to spread from. The appearance of another centre of the name-type in the east, in Szeklerland, is explained by their resettlement to the west. I believe, however, that we can take into account another phenomenon, which can serve as an explanation to the early occurrence of patrociny settlement names in certain parts of these areas.

Indeed, the distribution pattern for this name-type largely coincides with the spatial features of the documented organisation of religious governance in the Carpathian Basin. Of course the organisation of bishoprics and archbishoprics was already concluded before the patrociny settlement names were documented, but the first wave of religious governance (lasting till the end of the 11th century) shows the same spatial characteristics as the ones we can see in the distribution of patrociny settlement names a few centuries later.

Within the institutional system of bishoprics and archbishoprics, organisations with a smaller scope of authority developed, namely archdeaconries. Their development took place over two centuries and by c. 1300 the diocesan structure had received its final, previously stabilised inner division, and the archdeaconry network developed over the whole country (KRISTÓ 2003: 56–102, KMTL 184 and the map next to it). The relationships of the archdeaconry network correlated with the distribution waves of patrociny settlement names; what is more, I believe this is the level of organisation which played the biggest role in the formation and distribution of patrociny settlement names.

The parallels between these two processes (i.e. the development of diocesan organisation and distribution of patrociny settlement names) cannot be accidental. In my opinion, these coincidences may serve as another argument for proving that this name type of great vitality was formed by religious governance and the church effectively contributed to its deliberate dissemination. Besides organising the religious governance, the power of the church is best represented by looking at how dense the parallel network of villages with churches became. We already discussed this issue in chapter 2: based on AND-

RÁS MEZŐ's work (2003) we know of 5900 settlements like this, i.e. at this time every 3rd–4th settlement probably had a church.

To complete the onomato-geographical picture let us turn to two observations pinned down as conclusions of the series of maps illustrating the chronological aspect.

1. The earliest data of patrociny settlement names were recorded in the south-west part of the Hungarian language territory, but a fairly early distribution was also indicated in certain Transylvanian areas. Certain settlement historical reasons may lie in the background of this (the resettlement of Szeklers from the west part of the country), but religious historical factors may have also influenced the appearance of this name type (i.e. the early organisation of Transylvanian bishoprics).

2. The name data multiplied from the beginning of the 14th century. This obviously correlates with the problem of the survival of document sources and with the fact that the first country-wide settlement name census was conducted at this time. In this respect we may again presume a certain degree of interrelation with religious spatial organisation. Namely, the laying of the foundation for religious governance (i.e. the organisation of comitats and within them archdeaconries) was concluded by the 14th century, and this probably played an important role in patrociny settlement names gaining impetus.

6. Structural issues

The structural issue of patrociny settlement names has appeared in several works, and although there were a few different theoretical approaches applied to the descriptions,[6] the final conclusions were largely the same. In what follows I will introduce the structural features of the name type primarily based on the results from ANDRÁS MEZŐ (1996a: 238–249) and ISTVÁN HOFFMANN (1999). I use the concept from HOFFMANN's toponym analysis model (1993).

Patrociny settlement names can be of two kinds structurally. 1. In the first type the patrociny stands on its own as a toponym: e.g. *Szentkirály* 'saint king (= king Stephen)', *Szentmária* 'Saint Mary', *Szentmihály* 'Saint Michael'. 2. In the second type we find the patrociny constituent in a compound, and this group has two subtypes. 2.1. A second component, which can be both a common name and a proper name lexeme, is attached to the patrociny lexeme acting as the first constituent: examples for the former are *Boldogasszony/falva*[7] 'the

[6] Certain researchers approach the issue only from a descriptive, others only from a historical perspective, but the most effective method seems to be a multi-level linguistic description which takes into account both aspects.

[7] The / sign used in structural analysis and the presentation of change types serves to divide functional-semantic name constituents forming names.

blessed (= saint) lady's village', *Szentpéter/földe* 'Saint Peter's land', *Szentmihály/laka* 'Saint Michael's village' name forms; examples for the latter are *Boldogasszony/dörgicse* 'Dörgicse settlement with a church consecrated in honour of the blessed lady (Virgin Mary)', *Szentimre/sárosd* 'Sárosd settlement with a church consecrated in honour of the Saint Emeric'. 2.2. In the second type of compound toponym, the patrociny lexeme is a second constituent preceded by an adjectival first constituent: e.g. *Felső/szentkirály* 'upper (= more to the north) Szentkirály settlement', *Krassó/szentmiklós* 'Szentmiklós settlement located near Krassó river', *Baracska/szentgyörgy* 'Szentgyörgy settlement located near Baracska settlement'.

In a historical sense toponyms were formed in three ways: 1. change in meaning (here metonymy is the dominant name-formation method), 2. morphological editing (which in the medieval period almost exclusively referred to toponym-formation), 3. syntagmatic editing (from a possessive structure).

If we place these structural-etymological categories in a wider context, we see the following picture. After the settlement of Hungarians in the 9–10th centuries, different semantic and morphological settlement name types were formed in the early centuries in the Carpathian Basin. The most characteristic among these are the following.

formation / semantic type	**metonymy**	**morphological editing**	**syntagmatic editing**
anthroponym	*Péter, Pál*	*Péter-i, Pál-d*	*Péter/laka* (*lak* 'village') *Pál/háza* (*ház* 'village')
ethnonym	*Német* 'German' *Horvát* 'Croatian'	*Német-i, Horvát-i*	*Német/falu* (*falu* 'village') *Kraszna/horvát*
profession name	*Ács* 'carpenter' *Kovács* 'smith'	*Ács-i, Kovács-i*	*Lovász/földe* *Kovács/falu*
tribe name	*Nyék, Megyer*	*(Megyer-cs)*	*Alsó/nyék* *Káposztás/megyer*
patrociny	***Szentpéter*** ***Mindszent***	**—**	***Szentpéter/falva*** ***Szántó/szentpéter***

We can find the patrociny settlement names among the most characteristic semantic categories of Hungarian settlement name-giving. The functional-semantic content referring to the fact that there is a church in the settlement is usually denoted linguistically by a patrociny settlement name, either metonymically (without adding any formants to the saint name: *Szentpéter, Mindszent*) or through syntagmatic editing *(Szentpéter/falva, Szántó/szentpéter).* The name-giving process using derivational suffixes did not play a role with regard to this name-type; among 1390 patrociny settlement names there is only one such datum: *Szentkirályd*, which was formed from the title *Szentkirály*

'saint king' by adding a *-d* toponymic suffix. It is fairly obvious, however, that this form was not an existing name form, but rather an individual creation of the document's scribe. With regard to patrociny settlement names, we have to consider the limited presence of toponym-creation methods', since name-formation using topo-formants as a linguistic means is basically missing.

Among name-forming methods, the importance of metonymy is shown in that more than a half of all patrociny settlement names in the Carpathian Basin are found exclusively in this form. The *Szentpéter, Mindszent* type of name-forms created this way are mono-componential toponyms, which convey only one piece of information about the settlement: [a village] 'located around a church named X (Szent Péter, Mindszent)'. Although syntagmatic editing was less represented in the case of primary settlement names, we can find a few patrociny settlement names showing the potential of this name-giving method. *Boldogasszony/falva, Szentmiklós/háza* formed in this way can structurally be characterised as names in which a complement denoting a church is attached to the basic constituent denoting a settlement (e.g. village, residence, house, etc.), and all this in the majority of cases in an attributive possessive phrase. Name-forms like this only rarely denote a real possessive relation and rather refer to the fact that the denotatum is a village, land, etc. located in the vicinity of a church named X (Boldogasszony, Szent Miklós, etc.).

Syntagmatic editing as a name-giving method played a vital role in the formation of secondary name-forms (the *Szántó/szentpéter* type). In cases like this, an already existing patrociny settlement name received a secondary adjectival first component with the purpose of distinguishing it from other settlements with the same name: *Szántó/szentpéter* 'the Szentpéter settlement located near Szántó settlement', *Kis/keresztúr* 'the smaller of the two Keresztúr settlements', *Sajó/szentpéter* 'the Szentpéter settlement located near the Sajó river', etc. Among secondary patrociny settlement names we can also find the type where an already existing settlement name (of different motivation) receives an adjective referring to a patrociny: *Boldogasszony/hatvana, Szentpéter/dörgicse, Szentistván/baksa.* The functional-semantic content of these names can be represented in this way: 'that X (Hatvan, Dörgicse, Baksa) settlement, which has a Y (Boldogasszony, Szent Péter, Szent István) church'.

The table shown above represents the relationship between patrociny settlement names and other name types. Hungarian researchers usually relate this name type to the settlement names formed without a formant, and emphasise the semantic relationship especially to personal name giving (cf. e.g. KRISTÓ 1976: 48). The characteristic of the name type is that topoformants essentially do not play a role in forming patrociny settlement names, rather, its shows concordance with settlement names of tribe name origin, where we can find name giving with derivatinal suffix only sporadically and at most in secondarily

formed names. Furthermore, it is also characteristic of both name types that the compound, the syntagmatic editing is primarily present in the formation of secondary names; in primary names this name genesis method was rather less frequent than the other Hungarian settlement name types (e.g. toponyms of anthroponym, ethnonym, profession name origin).

7. Changes of settlement names of patrociny origin

The changes of patrociny settlement names are affected by the circumstances of the name-type formation. Since I have already discussed this issue in chapter 3, here I will only repeat the element which is relevant to the analysis of the alteration processes. In my opinion, the patrociny settlement name-type was not formed solely based on name models, but also with religious support, as a type of cultural name-type. This external support in applying patrocinies as settlement names resulted in the strong influence of the name-users on the structure of the names formed like this, which is visible in the great susceptibility to change of this name-type.

I wish to describe the change of patrociny settlement names using the general change typology which I introduced, partially in Hungarian (2005a, 2008) and partially in English (2005b, 2010b), in some of my earlier work. This model mainly focuses on the linguistic nature of the changes.

7.1. Certain linguistic signs do not show the same susceptibility to change: there are those that resist changes and there are those that are modified more easily. This difference within the group of toponyms is also present with respect to certain name-types. Changes of settlement names may involve several aspects: for example, the phenomenon of name replacement (e.g. *Újlak* 'new village' > *Szentjános* 'Saint James'), complementation by an adjective (*Szentbenedek* 'Saint Benedict' > *Garam/szentbenedek* 'Szentbenedek settlement located near Garam') or structural alterations (*Boldogasszony/falva* 'blessed [= saint] lady's village' > *Boldogfalva*, where the *asszony* 'lady' lexeme is lost, *Szentimre/sárosd* 'Sárosd settlement having a church consecrated in honour of Saint Emeric' > *Szentimre/sárosdja*, where the name is extended by a *-ja* suffix, expressing possession).

We can characterise certain name-types' susceptibility to change by the proportion of names changed and names unchanged within a given period. Exactly half of patrociny settlement names underwent some kind of change during their history, and this correlates to the proportion established for the whole group of the Hungarian settlement names as an average value (cf. TÓTH 2006).

Out of those names affected by a change, 36% of patrociny settlement names underwent name replacement (which in this case almost exclusively refers to replacing a name of a different motivation by a patrociny settlement name),

30% received an adjective and 34% had their structure modified—this last group is where we see the most interference by the name-user community in the linguistic life of patrociny settlement names.

When studying the name-types' susceptibility to change, it is worth highlighting purely linguistically motivated alterations, since name replacement and complementation by adjectives can primarily be explained by non-linguistic reasons, i.e. changes in reality. Contrary to this, adding a morpheme or deleting a lexeme (i.e. structural changes) has nothing to do with external reality; these changes are influenced by purely linguistic factors, and 17% of patrociny settlement names underwent such structural modifications.[8]

However, we are only able to evaluate this number if we compare it to the susceptibility to change of other name-types. I have chosen tribe names for this comparison, since regarding their linguistic form they are the only name-type whose members became toponyms via similar structural methods to patrociny settlement names.

Analysing the susceptibility to change of tribe names, we get a completely different picture: the number of names which underwent structural modification is below 1%. Obviously there is not enough space to discuss this analysis in detail (see TÓTH 2007b), only its conclusions. In this respect therefore there is a great difference between the two name types: compared to the 1% found in tribe names, the 17% of patrociny settlement names' susceptibility to change seems rather high.

7.2. The change typology I elaborated and applied here is based on the assumption that toponyms—like common nouns—can be defined as a relationship between two components: form and meaning. The changes in the form can be described as a modification in the lexical-morphological (and related to this, semantic) structure, while the modification in meaning can be described as a denotative meaning modification. Therefore, the typological system of alterations in toponyms should be built around changes in form and meaning. 1. I consider as c o m p l e x c h a n g e s those processes that lead to a change in both name-form and denotative meaning. 2. C h a n g e s i n m e a n i n g cause change solely in the meaning of the toponym, and not in its form. 3. M o r p h o l o g i c a l c h a n g e s are tendencies which leave the meaning unaffected and result in a change in name-form.

1. The concept of c o m p l e x c h a n g e covers name disappearance, name differentiation and name integration. The term **name disappearance**

[8] Naturally, when defining susceptibility to change we have to take into account not only the names affected by the change but all patrociny toponyms, hence we may talk about a 17% proportion (contrary to the above mentioned 34%, which showed the frequency of structural change only regarding patrociny settlement names that underwent change).

refers to the process when an existing settlement name disappears together with its denotatum without trace. This process may be as closely connected to the process of destroying villages in the Middle Ages as to any war event. The Hungarian settlement network for example was first affected by the Tatar invasion in the 13th century, then by Turkish invasion in the 16th century, wreaking havoc in the settlements. Naturally, this process affected patrociny settlement names as well. For example, the following settlement names are mentioned for the last time with the following dates: *Szentandrás* 'Saint Andrew' in Arad county in 1433 *(Zenthandras),* in Bács county in 1408 *(Zenthandras),* in Csongrád county in 1471 *(Zenthandras).* It is impossible even to find out the exact place of these villages today (for data see MEZŐ 1996a: 53).

The division of villages into two or more parts for different reasons (either concerning possession or population history) also caused changes both in the name and in the denotatum. *Szentiván* 'Saint Ivan' in Csanád county (1411: *Zenthyvan,* MEZŐ 1996a: 95) was divided into *Belső-* and *Külső/szentiván* 'inner and outer Szentiván settlement' parts (1431: *Belsewzenthywan, Kylsewzenthywan,* op. cit.), *Szentmihály/falva* 'Saint Michael's village' in Torda county (+1176: *Zentmihalfalva,* MEZŐ 1996a: 165) into *Alsó-* and *Felső/szentmihályfalva* 'lower and upper Szentmihályfalva settlement' (1394: *Felsezenthmyhalfalwa,* 1441: *Alsozenthmyhalfalwa,* op. cit.). The division of villages and the **name differentiation** resulting from it do not mean isolation, of course: semantically *Szentiván* and *Belső/szentiván* can be categorised as a partial–total relationship.

In the case of *Mindszent/bille* a process opposite to differentiation happened: what were once two villages in Zala county, *Bille* (1296: *Bylle,* MEZŐ 1996a: 217) and *Mindszent* 'all saints' (1350: *Menthzenth,* op. cit.) merged under the name *Mindszent/bille* (1372: *Mendzenth Bille,* op. cit.). The phenomenon of **name integration** was a less frequent phenomenon than name differentiation in the Middle Ages; what is more, it poses problems difficult to analyse even by means of historical science.

2. Changes in meaning. There were certain changes in the denotative meaning of settlement names which did not affect the modification of the name form. These changes can be best understood within the hierarchical frame created by the names. In speakers' minds, toponyms seem to be thought of in terms of superior–subordinate or partial–total relationships. This is due to the spatial visualisation of humans: a given place can be defined only in relation to another place. And it depends on the discourse situation which name is used by the speakers to denote a place in a given case (i.e. which level and element of the hierarchy they choose). Since the changes in meaning should be analysed within the group of denotata belonging to the same con-

ceptual category, three change processes match this criterion: extension of meaning, narrowing of meaning and revaluation of meaning. Among patrociny settlement names we can find examples to the latter type: the name forms we may mention here are settlement names whose structure remained unchanged but which do not denote a settlement but a part of another settlement. A medieval village named *Szentbenedek* 'Saint Benedict' in Somogy county (1417: *Zenthbenedek*, MEZŐ 1996a: 62) today denotes plough land near the border of Somogytúr settlement (cf. SMFN 79), *Szentegyed* 'Saint Aegidius' (1346/1393: *Zenthegyed*, MEZŐ 1996a: 70) in Baranya county today denotes a plain near the border of Almamellék settlement (cf. BMFN 1: 391).

3. Due to the variety and frequent nature of processes discussed here we need to present the m o r p h o l o g i c a l c h a n g e s of patrociny settlement names in the greatest detail. The common feature of morphological changes is that the morphological structure of the toponym is changed without affecting its denotative meaning. The morphological change may affect the whole form or only a part of it: the former is referred to as complete change or name replacement and the latter as partial change.

The **complete change** or **name replacement** within the group of patrociny settlement names counts as a rather frequent phenomenon as it represents 36% of the changes affecting this name-type. In the case of *Tóti* in Bihar county (1282: *Thothy*, MEZŐ 1996a: 67 < *tót* 'Slavic' ethnonym + *-i* derivational suffix) the name change correlates with settlement historical circumstances, that is with the disappearance of the village: in 1322 it is mentioned an uninhabited land with a church consecrated in honour of Saint Demetrius (cf. 1322: terram seu possessionem eorum vacuam et habitatoribus destitutam Toty vocatam, in qua ecclesia lapidea in honore sancti Demetrii martiris constructa, op. cit.), consequently, later the village was reborn as *Szentdemeter* (1373: *Zenthdemeter*, op. cit.). In the great majority of cases we are not aware of such external motivation, and what lies in the background of change of name is the great degree of vitality of patrociny settlement names.

Partial change is the change type only slightly affecting the structure of linguistic formulation, the structural elements of primary settlement names. These changes may be described as either regular alterations or else as irregular alterations which cannot be defined by tendencies.

3.1. Regular structural changes may result in longer or shorter name length, and may affect the syntactic structure of a toponym or its morphological structure. While the alteration of syntactic structure goes hand in hand with the change of both lexical-morphological and semantic structure, the semantic content is not modified during the alteration of the morphological structure.

A) One of the types of **change in the syntactic structure** is **complementation,** during which the name length is extended by a name constituent. This constituent may be a component with an adjectival function or a geographical common name. Example for the former: *Szentandrás* 'Saint Andrew' (1331/1588: *Zent Andoryas,* FNESz. 589) > *Hernád/szentandrás* (1864: *Hernád Szent András,* op. cit., *Hernád* hydronym and *Szentandrás* settlement name), whose semantic structure is the following: 'the Szentandrás settlement located near the river Hernád'. A specific case of complementation by adjective is when the former name of the settlement becomes the adjective of the customised patrociny name form. An example for this is *Igantő* in Keve comitat (1338: *Ygantew,* MEZŐ 1996a: 80, which became a settlement name from *Igan* hydronym + *tő* 'estuary' compound settlement name) > *Igantő/szentgyörgy* (1347: *Igatewscengurgh,* op. cit.), but the process could have had an opposite direction: i.e. the patrociny name becoming an adjective to the former name form, like *Szuha* in Gömör county (1278/1281/1386: *Zuha,* MEZŐ 1996a: 80, from *Szuha* hydronym by metonymic name-giving) > *Szentgyörgy/szuha* (1384: *Zenthgyerghzucha,* op. cit.).

Complementation by a geographical common name as a second constituent could have been caused by settlement historical factors or by analogy to two-componential linguistic patterns. *Szentgyörgy* 'Saint George' in Pest county (1426: *Zenthgywrgh,* MEZŐ 1996a: 81) was temporarily complemented to *Szentgyörgy/telke* 'Szentgyörgy land, plain' (1430: *Zenthgywrtelke,* op. cit.), and was probably a plain then. A settlement named *Szentiván* 'Saint Ivan' in Zala county (1388: *Zenthyuan,* MEZŐ 1996a: 97) had a secondary name *Szentiván/földe* 'Szentiván land' (1430: *Zenth Iwanusfelde,* op. cit.) and this name was also in relation to it becoming a plain, the same way as *Szentpéter* 'Saint Peter' in Heves county (1335: de *Sancto Petro,* MEZŐ 1996a: 186) was named *Szentpéter/egyháza* 'Szentpéter place with a church' (1415: *Zenthpetereghaza,* op. cit.). Although I do not wish to undermine the importance of settlement historical factors, I consider analogy, i.e. adjustment to the structural model of the already existing compound toponyms as the strongest factor influencing complementation by a second constituent.[9]

[9] Complementation was not only realised regarding geographical common names which could have been connected to villages becoming plains (such as *-telek* 'lot', *-föld* 'land', *-egyház* 'place with a church' lexemes), but this process could also make other geographical common names parts of patrociny settlement names. Among these the most frequent types include *-háza* 'house, village' (e.g. 1358: *Zenth Iwan* > 1411: *Zenthyuanhaza,* MEZŐ 1996a: 96, Liptó county), *-vára* 'castle' (e.g. 1337–38: *Zenchlerynch* > 1459: *Zenthlerinczwara,* MEZŐ 1996a: 145, Valkó county) and *-szállása* 'residence' (pl. 1477: *Zenthmartonzallasa,* MEZŐ 1996a: 155, Nagykunság), primarily in structures denoting possessive relation.

Ellipsis takes quite the opposite direction to complementation: during ellipsis, one of the name constituents is lost from the two-componential compound toponym, which thereby becomes a mono-componential name. Elliptic modification is not easy to observe in the adjectival name constituent since, for example, in the case of the name pair *Illye/mindszent* 'Illye person's Mindszent settlement' in Somogy county (1400: *Elyementhzenth,* MEZŐ 1996a: 216) ~ *Mindszent* 'all saints' (1564: *Myndzenth,* op. cit.) we cannot talk about loss of an adjective (even if it is suggested by the chronological order of data), but rather about the parallel use of the patrociny name and the adjectival form.

The other type of ellipsis involves the loss of the geographical common name. In changes like this linguistic and non-linguistic factors may play an equal role. Many times we see that the lexeme referring to the disappeared settlement (*-földe* 'land', *-telke* 'lot', *-egyháza* 'place with a church') is lost in the name of the renewed settlement, as shown for example in the change of *Szentlőrinc/telke* 'lot named Szentlőrinc' in Fejér county (1433: *Zenthlerinczthelekе,* MEZŐ 1996a: 144) > *Szentlőrinc* 'Saint Lawrence' (1434: *Zenthleurynch,* op. cit.) or *Szentmiklós/telke* 'lot named Szentmiklós' in Szatmár county (1298: *Zenthmyklostheleke,* MEZŐ 1996a: 173) > *Szentmiklós* 'Saint Nicholas' (1316: *Zentmiclos,* op. cit.). However, these are only sporadic cases. The intention to shorten an overlong name must have been the motivation for the change of *Szentfábiánsebestyén/szállása* 'residence named Szentfábiánsebestyén' in Csongrád county (1400: *Zenthfabiansebestyenzallasa,* MEZŐ 1996a: 75) > *Fábiánsebestyén* '(Saint) Fabian and Sebastian' (1560–6: *Fabian Sebestien,* op. cit.). We can mark the systematic influence of patrociny names as a major motive for the loss of geographical common names as a second component: *Szentadalbert/falva* 'Saint (Ad)albert's village' (1271: *Zenthadalberthfalwa,* MEZŐ 1996a: 49–50) > *Szentalbert* 'Saint Albert' (1518: *Zenthalberth,* op. cit. 50) in Győr county, *Szentmargitaasszony/falva* 'Saint Margaret lady's village' (1382: *Zenthmargytaazonfolua,* MEZŐ 1996a: 148) > *Szentmargitaasszony* 'Saint Margaret lady' (1416: *Zenthmargitaazon,* op. cit.) in Zala county.

B) The term **change affecting the morphological structure** covers alteration processes which cause change only in the lexical-morphological and not in the semantic structure of the name, i.e. the name does not gain or lose information regarding the place during the change. Reduction and extension both mean an alteration in the size of a name-element: the former reduces the name length and the latter extends it.

The result of **reduction** is for example *Szentmiklós/telke* 'Saint Michael's lot' in Küküllő county (1356: *Zenthmiclosteleke,* MEZŐ 1996a: 171) > *Miklós/telke* (1427: *Miklostelke,* op. cit., where the lexeme *szent* 'saint' is lost from the first name constituent), *Boldogasszony/falva* 'blessed lady's (= Virgin Mary's) village' in Bihar county (1443: *Bodogazonfalwa,* MEZŐ 1996a: 206) > *Bol-*

dog/falva (1472: *Bodogfalwa,* op. cit., where the lexeme *asszony* 'lady' is lost from the first constituent) or *Boldogasszony/falva* in Bodrog county (1289/1374: *Bodughazunfolua,* MEZŐ 1996a: 206) > *Asszony/falva* (1337: *Azunfalwa,* op. cit., where the name element *boldog* 'blessed' is lost from the first name-constituent as well). The reduction in name length is frequent when the name was formed from two saints' names: *Szentkozmadamján* 'Saint Cosmas and Damien' became *Szentdamján* in Baranya county (1542: *Zenth Damyan,* MEZŐ 1996a: 133, losing the name element *Kozma*), *Szentdamján* in Bihar county (1479: *Zenth Damian,* op. cit.) and *Szentkozma* (1587: *Zenthkozmah,* op. cit., losing the name element *Damján*). After multiple reductions to the primary name of *Szentkozmadamján* in Somogy county it became *Kozma* (cf. SMFN 658–9, losing both *szent* and *Damján* name elements). Not only the loss of a lexeme can cause reduction to this name type: a suffix morpheme expressing possessive relation is lost in *Szentmárton/kátá-ja* 'Káta settlement with a church consecrated in honour of Saint Martin' in Pest county (1390: *Sentmarton-kataya,* MEZŐ 1996a: 155) > *Szentmárton/káta* (1426: *Zenthmarthonkatha,* op. cit.) and in *Szentlélek/uzsá-ja* 'Uzsa settlement with a church consecrated in honour of the Holy Spirit' in Zala county (1536: *Zenthlelek Wsaya,* MEZŐ 1996a: 142) > *Szentlélek/uzsa* (1808: *Szent-Lélek-Uzsa,* op. cit.).

Extension by a lexeme transformed *Szenterzsébet/falva* 'Saint Elisabeth's village' in Pest county (1391: *Zenthelsebetfalua,* MEZŐ 1996a: 73) into *Szent-erzsébetasszony/falva* (1510: *zent ersebet azzon falva,* op. cit., here the *asszony* 'lady' lexeme was inserted into the first constituent); *Szentgyörgy* 'Saint George' in Pozsony county (1323: *Zenthgwrg,* MEZŐ 1996a: 81) became *Szent-györgyúr* (1394: *Zenthgyurghwr,* op. cit., where *úr* 'lord' became a name-element). *Szentmárton/mány* 'Mány settlement with a church consecrated in honour of Saint Martin' in Esztergom county (1339: *Zenthmartunmaan,* MEZŐ 1996a: 154) was twice extended by the *-a ~ -ja* suffix morpheme, referring to possessive relation: resulting first in *Szentmárton/mány-a* (1341: *Scent-martunmania,* op. cit.), later in the name form *Szentmárton/mány-á-ja* (1402: *Zenthmartonmanyaia,* op. cit.). Since the structure expressing possessive relation is rather frequent with compounds containing patrociny adjectives (e.g. *Csány* > *Szentmiklós/csány-a, Hatvan* > *Boldogasszony/hatvan-a, Mernye* > *Boldogasszony/mernyé-je, Páh* > *Boldogasszony/páh-a, Málas* > *Mindszent/málas-a,* etc.), those name forms, in which the differentiation was realised by an unmarked possessive attributive structure, served as the starting point for extension processes. A special case of extension is the attraction of the *szent* lexeme, for example in Kolozs county, *András/háza*—a name of anthroponym origin 'possessor named Andrew's village' (1348: *Andreashaza,* MEZŐ 1996a: 53)—resulted in: *Szentandrás/háza* 'Saint Andrew's village' (1464: *Zenth-andrashaza,* op. cit.).

Among changes affecting the morphological structure of patrociny settlement names is the phenomenon of **name-constituent replacement**. This matches the *-falva* 'somebody's village' > *-fa* 'village, but literally tree' change tendency generally affecting Hungarian settlement names, which started in the 14–16th century in the western part of the Carpathian Basin. Examples are: *Szentantal/falva* 'Saint Anthony's village' in Zala county (1464: *Zenthanthalfalwa,* MEZŐ 1996a: 59) > *Szentantal/fa* 'Saint Anthony's village' (1670: *Sz. Antalfa,* op. cit.), *Szentjakab/falva* 'Saint Jacob's village' (1296/1352: *Scenthiacobfolua,* MEZŐ 1996a: 102) > today *Szentjakab/fa* and *Szentmihály/falva* 'Saint Michael's village' in Baranya county (1330: *Scentmihalfolua,* MEZŐ 1996a: 162) > today *Szentmihályfa.* Among patrociny settlement names there are other examples of name-constituent replacement: e.g. the change in *Szentjános/falva* 'Saint James's village' in Transylvanian Fehér county (1387: *Zent Janusfalua,* MEZŐ 1996a: 104) > *Szentjános/hegye* 'Saint James's mountain' (1435: *Zenthjanoshegye,* op. cit.) could have been motivated by the parallel Saxon *Johannisberg* name variant, *Szentjános/telke* 'Saint James's lot' in Zaránd county (1498: *Zenth Janos theleke,* MEZŐ 1996a: 105) in which the *-telke* 'lot' name-constituent, referring to the place becoming a plain, was replaced by *-szere* 'settlement' (1556: *Zent János Zery,* op. cit.) after the renovation of the settlement.

Name-element replacement is what happened in *Boldogasszony/falva* 'blessed lady's village' in Baranya county (1333: *Bodughassunfolua,* MEZŐ 1996a: 206) *Boldoganya/falva* 'blessed mother's village' (1333: *Boduganafolua,* op. cit.) variant, where *asszony* 'lady' was replaced by *anya* 'mother'. In *Szenttrinitás* 'Saint Trinity' names, formed by partial translation, the *trinitás* name-element was over time replaced by its Hungarian equivalent, the lexeme *háromság,* as for example seen in the transformation of the name *Szenttrinitás* in Somogy county (1268: *Senthtrinitas,* MEZŐ 1996a: 199 > 1808: *Szent-Háromság,* op. cit.). Regarding affixes we may observe name-element replacement in the case of *Szentkirály/szabad-i* 'Szabadi settlement with a church consecrated in honour of the saint king' in Veszprém county (1371: *Zenthkiralzabady,* MEZŐ 1996a: 127) > *Szentkirály/szabad-ja* (1488: *Zenthkyral Zabadya,* op. cit.), where instead of *Szabadi* having an *-i* toponymic derivational suffix, we can see an *-a* ~ *-ja* suffix morpheme expressing a possessive relation, adjusting the newly created form to the afore-mentioned toponym structures with a marked possessive relation.

3.2. Among **irregular structural changes** there are examples of **desemantisation.** The main characteristic of this alteration is that the name's originally transparent lexical-morphological and semantic structure becomes opaque. For example, *Szentmária* 'Saint Mary' (pl. 1407: *Zentmaria,* MEZŐ 1996a: 207) becoming *Szemerja* (pl. 1567: *Zemerija,* op. cit.) ~ *Somorja* (pl. 1428:

Samarya, op. cit. 208) or *Szenttrinitás* 'Saint Trinity' (1411: *Zenthtrinitas,* MEZŐ 1996a: 199) > *Szenttorontás* (1575: *Zent Torontas,* op. cit.) type of modifications were quite frequently caused by co-articulatory phenomena and regular phonetic alterations.

Processes of a phonetic nature offer the possibility to transform non-transparent lexical structures in such a manner that they give way to new lexical-morphological and semantic structures. We can come across cases of **re-semantisation** among patrociny settlement names, too: e.g. *Szenttorontás* (in Marosszék) underwent desemantisation and after a short period of time became *Szentrontás* 'saint curse' (1602: *Szentrontás,* MEZŐ 1996a: 199), *Szentdienes* 'Saint Dienes' in Pest county (1401: *Zenthdyenes,* MEZŐ 1996a: 68) became *Szentgyenes* by regular phonetic alteration, and this later lead to *Szentegyenes* 'saint straight', *Szentkozmadamján* 'Saint Cosmas and Damien' in Zala county (1426: *Zenthcozmadomijan,* MEZŐ 1996a: 133), which is today *Szentkozma-dombja* 'Saint Cosmas's hill'.

4. These changes usually did not happen independently of one another, but intertwined, and are varied even in the data of a given settlement. In creating a form several changes may play a role, which can be divided only in the theoretical part of the description, but not in reality. Let us look at the example of *Szentmargitfalva* in Zala county. The data of the settlement (see MEZŐ 1996a: 62) show the following variants and changes: *Szentmargita* 'Saint Margaret' (1323: villa *S. Margarete*) > complementation, complementing *falva* 'village' geographical common name to a name: *Szentmargita/falva* 'Saint Margaret's village' (1379: *Zentmargitafalua*) > extention with the *asszony* 'lady' lexeme: *Szentmargitaasszony/falva* (1382: *Zenthmargytazon-folua*) > ellipsis, loss of *falva* second name-constituent: *Szentmargitaasszony* (1416: *Zentmargitaazon*) > reduction, loss of *asszony* name element: *Szent-margita* (1808: *Szent-Margitha*) > reduction, loss of *szent* lexeme: *Margita* (1808: *Margitta*). The question remains: in a change series like this, which are the real name-forms devised by name-using processes and which can be evaluated only as occasional forms created by scribes?

8. Summary

Settlement names formed from patrocinies in the Carpathian Basin occur in greater numbers in the 12–13th century and boom in the 14th century. Their territorial, onomato-geographical features indicate not only their cultural roots, but also a close connection with the spatial characteristics of the religious administration (and within it the organisation of archdeaconries). Religious influence and analogous European patterns had a great role in the formation of this name-type. With respect to structure, the majority of patrociny settlement names were formed by metonymy, and syntagmatic editing seems more

dominant in the formation of secondary names. On the basis of their structural and name-giving characteristics, patrociny settlement names are related to toponyms formed from tribe names, but from a semantic perspective their relatedness to toponyms of personal name origin can also be mentioned.

The patrociny settlement names' great degree of susceptibility to change and the diversity of changes not present in other name types are two features originating from what separates this from other name-types: such names, a new type probably formed due to religious initiative, could strike root because the name-users tried to assimilate these name-forms to various name and change models. It is not by chance either that the changes always accommodated a characteristic tendency of a given period: both complementation with different second constituents and the *-falva* > *-fa* type of change. This name-type with non-Hungarian cultural roots was able to become an organic part of the Hungarian settlement name-system precisely thanks to these changes.

The assumptions (primarily those regarding the formation of patrociny settlement names but also their European connections) discussed here can only be strengthened by an analysis which would apply to the whole of the name-type belonging to this culture. The study of the European situation and the characteristics of patrociny settlement names may bring us closer to better understanding the features of this rather special toponym type in different language territories, as well as in the Hungarian language territory. This aim is furthered by the present volume.

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Patrociny Settlement Names in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

0. Introduction

This article is devoted to so-called patrociny settlement names, that is, place names that have been motivated by the consecration of a church or chapel, in the territories of the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

It must be pointed out that the Czech Republic and Slovakia do not figure among countries in whose toponymic systems patrocinies play a dominant role. As a prominent Czech onomastician V. ŠMILAUER notes, in France, Italy, but also in Austria, Hungary and other countries, settlements were often not only named, but also renamed according to the patron saint of the local church. In Bohemia, these cases are rare: in the Middle Ages they are found almost exclusively in the region of Kutná Hora (territory of the Sedlec monastery); the majority of the other cases are newer formations (cf. ŠMILAUER 1963: 152), often from 18th or 19th centuries, many of which have a German background. As it will be shown below, in Slovakia the situation is different in this respect: most names of this type are of medieval origin and the number of later formations is very low. According to R. ŠRÁMEK (1999: 65), place names reflecting the consecration of the local church are common in southern Germany and partly also in Austria; this principle of naming villages is not so usual in Czech Republic and in Poland, and it is almost absent in the orthodox Slavic countries.[1]

Churches and other sanctuaries were immensely important also for the orientation and delimitation of a particular locality; for this reason they served as a motive for the naming of a number of villages. Besides the names derived from common nouns meaning church or chapel (in Czech Republic for example *Kostelec* or *Kostelík* 'little church', *Nová Cerekev* 'new church', *Církvice* or *Cerekvice* 'little church', *Kaplice* 'little chapel'; in Slovakia for instance *Kostolná Ves* 'church village', *Biely Kostol* 'white church'), also the proper names of the individual sanctuaries (i.e. patrocinies) can play an important role. Patrociny settlement names usually came into existence on the basis of

[1] ŠRÁMEK (1999: 65–66) also notes that patrocinies can be important for the study of settlement names in another way: patrocinies can reflect the chronological layers of settlement (churches consecrated to some patron saints are typical of a certain historical period) and thus they can be helpful in the chronological classification of the place name types characteristic of certain areas. (Cf. also BOHÁČ 1973 and 1980.)

the transonymisation process, i.e. transfer of an existing name to another onymic class (cf. ŠRÁMEK 1999: 56). For example, the village *Svatý Mikuláš* (Saint Nicholas) got its name according to the Saint Nicholas church next to which it was founded (the name of the church was transferred to the adjacent village). However, it is not always easy to determine exactly the moment of the rise of the new settlement name, because from historical records it is not always clear whether the particular name refers exclusively to the sanctuary, or whether it had already been transferred also to the settlement. This fact causes problems concerning the use of the historical records of the individual names; the records relating clearly only to the sanctuaries often cannot be excluded form the records of the individual settlement names, though in many cases it is clear that the settlement is of much later origin than the church.

While in the Middle Ages settlements got their names usually according to the consecration of churches, in the later periods, especially from the 18th century, we can observe a rise in the number of villages named according to the patrocinies of chapels. Also place names motivated by statues of the saints can be loosely assigned to patrociny place names, though these settlement names were not motivated by a patrociny in its strict sense. However, these place names are often identical with those motivated by patrocinies of churches or chapels and, without historical evidence, these two types can sometimes be hard to distinguish form one another. For example, the name of the colony *Svatý Jan* (part of the community of Třebešice near Vlašim) was named according to the statue of Saint John of Nepomuk; this place name is formally identical with several other names *Svatý Jan* motivated by the patrocinies of churches.

It must be pointed out, however, that some place names motivated by the names of the saints cannot be understood as patrociny place names at all. ŠMILAUER (1960: 326) adduces names like *Nepomuk* and *Xaverov,* motivated by Saint John of Nepomuk and Saint Francis Xavier, without the usual mediation of the name of a sanctuary. These names were popular especially in 18th century; they are closely connected with the counter-reformation processes in Bohemia. It is interesting that the name *Xaverov,* belonging to three different villages in Bohemia, is always connected with the property of the order of Jesuits, Saint Francis Xavier being a Jesuit patron saint.

Besides these names, we can find also some (though very rare) cases of place names having the prototypical form of patrociny settlement names (i.e. the attribute meaning saint + a personal name), but their motivation is different. The names of the settlements *Svatý Štěpán* and *Svatá Sidonie* in eastern Moravia are good examples of such names. The settlement of *Svatý Štěpán* was named according to its founder, count Štěpán Illésházy, owner of the local estates (first mentioned in 1872 as *Sankt Stephan, Svatý Štěpán*). According

to HOSÁK–ŠRÁMEK (1970–1980: II, 441), the settlement name *Svatá Sidonie* (belonging nowadays to a part of the town of Brumov-Bylnice) was named after some of the women of the Illésházy dynasty. According to the website of the town of Brumov-Bylnice, the owner of Brumov estates Jan Křtitel Illésházy founded a glassworks in 1788 and named it (after his wife Sidonie) *Huť Svaté Sidonie* 'Works of Saint Sidonia' (though no saint called Sidonia existed). Later, in 1815, Jan Křtitel's son Štěpán founded a new glassworks and named it after himself Saint Štěpán's Works.[2]

As J. HUDÁK (1984: 40) points out, in some cases the direction of motivation can be the opposite of what is usual, that is, some patrocinies (consecrations of churches) can be motivated by the name of the settlement. HOSÁK–ŠRÁMEK adduce a good example of this rare motivation from Moravia. Though the name of the village of *Hraničné Petrovice* near Šternberk was sometimes interpreted as a place name motivated by a patrociny, in reality, in this village of medieval origin the church was built no earlier than the 18th century. The place name, which must be therefore interpreted as patronymic, thus seems to have influenced the consecration of the local church (cf. HOSÁK–ŠRÁMEK 1970–1980: II, 239–240).

ČATAYOVÁ (2006: 385–386) notes that patrociny settlement names originally often belonged to a presbytery settlement consisting of a church, presbytery and several houses of serfs, which was placed in the middle of several villages. Names motivated by patrocinies often also belonged to the villages owned by monasteries and provostries.

The fact that patrociny settlement names are not very frequent in Czech Republic and in Slovakia lead us to summarise the names of both countries together in one article. The main advantage of this solution, which may perhaps seem slightly unusual, consists in a possibility of confronting the analysed name types in these two countries. It must be remembered, however, that substantial differences are found not only between the analysed place names of these two countries, but also the territories of Moravia and Silesia display major differences in comparison with both Bohemia and Slovakia.

The first part of the article will therefore summarize the most important differences among the territories of (1) Bohemia, (2) Moravia together with Silesia, and (3) Slovakia. In part 2 attention will be devoted to the main chronological features of the analysed names. Part 3 is to be dedicated to the languages of the early records of the individual toponyms. Part 4 will provide a formal analysis of the main structural types of patrociny settlement names. Part 5 gives an overview of the analysed names according to the consecration of the individual sanctuaries. Part 6 is focused on changes to the analysed names.

[2] Cf. http://www.brumov-bylnice.cz/cz/obec/samosprava/historie/ (17.8.2010.).

The main sources of the analysed names are: PROFOUS (1949–1957) for Bohemia, HOSÁK–ŠRÁMEK (1970–1980) for Moravia and Silesia, and VSOS (1977–1978) for Slovakia (with the help of HUDÁK 1984 and JUDÁK–POLÁČIK 2009). The analysed material includes names of settlements the historical records of which are available in these publications; names of minor settlements not included in these publications are not analysed here. Also the names of extinct villages are usually not analysed. For this reason, not all names included in HUDÁK (1984) are analysed here; besides this, some other names (especially the derived names) from his list have been excluded, because their motivation by patrocinies is questionable.[3]

1. Major territorial differences

The most striking difference concerns the extremely low frequency of patrociny settlement names in Moravia and Silesia in comparison with both Bohemia and Slovakia. While in Bohemia we can find 51 and in Slovakia as many as 67 patrociny settlement names, the number of Moravian and Silesian place names of this type is much lower; we can find only very few (in fact only seven) such names. For this reason, the territory of Moravia and Silesia must be often neglected in this article, because the number of names is too low for a relevant comparison. The comparison can usually be made only between Bohemia and Slovakia.

Another salient territorial difference concerns the chronological stratification of patrociny place names. An absolute majority of Slovak patrociny place names are of a relatively old, medieval origin (13–14th centuries) and no new names of this type came to existence during the Modern Age in Slovakia, whereas in Bohemia only 25% of patrociny place names are recorded before the year 1400 and 51% of them are attested as late as after the year 1750. This phenomenon is to be discussed in part 2 of this article.

Also the territorial difference concerning the languages of the historical records of the individual names must be mentioned. While in Bohemia (together with Moravia and Silesia) many of the records are in German, this language is used only rarely in Slovakia, where Hungarian was of a similar importance to German in the Czech countries (see below part 3).

More subtle differences in geographical distribution of the individual types of patrociny settlement names are not analysed because, especially due to the limited number of items, they are not very significant.

[3] Furthermore, our analysis does not include settlement names that have developed from the names of mines (e.g. *Hory Matky Boží* 'Virgin Mary's Mines'), which were often motivated by the names of the saints but are far from being patrociny settlement names.

2. Chronological features

As it has been already hinted above, patrociny place names belong to the oldest strata of settlement names in Slovakia. The first record of a name of this type comes from the year 1075 *(Monasterium, Ecclesia Sancti Benedicti)*.[4] 90% of patrociny settlement names in Slovakia are recorded before the year 1400, while in Bohemia only 25% of names of this type belong to this chronological layer (moreover, in some of these names the earliest recordings refer clearly only to sanctuaries, the settlement being of a later origin).

It is clear that in Bohemia (in contrast with Slovakia) patrociny place names do not belong among the usual types of medieval settlement names. These names are isolated and do not form a characteristic group that would be typical of the system of medieval place names in Bohemia.[5] The situation in Slovakia is different: 60 patrociny place names dating back before the year 1400 make it possible to speak about one of the usual types of medieval place names in this case. After the year 1400 the productivity of this name type declines rapidly here and the creation of patrociny place names comes practically to an end in the mid 15th century.[6]

As opposed to the situation in Slovakia, 61% of Bohemian patrociny place names did not come into existence before the year 1526.[7] A majority of the settlements newly founded in this period were located in the Bohemian border area and the colonists were often of German origin. This fact is probably an answer to the question why this place name type becomes more productive in Bohemia during the Modern Age, for patrociny place names are very common in many German-speaking areas.

3. Languages of the early records

In Bohemia the early records of patrociny place names attested since the Middle Ages are mostly in Latin (1350: *ad St. Nicolaum*, 1352: *Mons s. Jacobi*).

[4] It must be noted, however, that this record relating to the locality of the present-day village of Hronský Beňadik does not prove the existence of the settlement in this locality yet; it mentions only the monastery with the church of St. Benedict. In many records it is generally very difficult to determine the exact boundary between the names of sanctuaries and names of the settlements founded in their vicinity; it would therefore be inappropriate, in many cases, to separate the records clearly concerning exclusively the sanctuaries from the rest of historical records of the individual patrociny place names.

[5] Therefore ŠMILAUER (1960) in his book dedicated to the settlement of Bohemia on the background of place names does not distinguish this type of medieval place names at all.

[6] According to HUDÁK (1984: 40), the rise of patrociny settlement names in Slovakia is restricted to the Early and the High Middle Ages; these names are connected with the beginnings of colonisation and with christianisation of the territory.

[7] The year of the succession of the Hapsburgs to the Czech throne.

This is also due to the fact that the first records of these names often refer to churches and/or monasteries. When the name was transferred to a village founded around the church, Latin was usually replaced by Czech or German. However, occasionally we can also find names whose first records are in Czech (1352: *Wawrzynecz*).

The situation in Slovakia is different: only 46% of the first records of Slovak patrociny place names are in Latin, the remaining 54% are in Hungarian. The use of both these languages in recording the analysed settlement names was rather balanced; their use in the individual names often fluctuated even within a short period (1266: *Scentantollo,* 1276: *Sanctus Antonius;* 1282: *Sanctus Rex,* 1300: *Zenthkyral;* 1318: *Scenthkerezth,* 1330: *Sancta Crux;* 1264: *Zenthmarton,* 1284: *Villa Sancti Martini;* 1294: *Sanctus Georgius,* 1329: *Sentgurg*).

First recordings of Bohemian (as well as Moravian and Silesian) patrociny place names that came into existence during the Modern Age are almost exclusively in German (1790: *Schutzengel,* 1788: *St. Barbara,* 1840: *St. Wenzels-Vorstadt*).

4. Formal analysis

The analysis of the form of the individual names has shown that 67% of patrociny place names in Bohemia and only 24% of Slovak names of this type have the form "attribute meaning 'saint' + name of the saint (or the worshipped relics)", e.g. *Svatý Jan* 'Saint John', *Svatá Kateřina* 'Saint Catherine', *Svätý Kríž* 'holy rood'. This fact implies that patrociny place names are formally more diverse in Slovakia than in Bohemia, which is to be demonstrated later on.

An overview of the individual structural types:

(a) Attribute meaning 'saint' + name of the saint (or the worshipped relics): *Svatý Jan* 'Saint John', *Svätý Michal* 'Saint Michael', *Svatá Kateřina* 'Saint Catherine', *Svatá Maří Magdalena* 'Saint Mary Magdalene', *Svätý Kríž* 'holy rood'.

(b) Name of the saint without attributes: *Vavřinec* 'Laurence', *Martin, Pankrác* 'Pancras'.

(c) Attribute meaning 'saint' + name of the saint + prepositional phrase indicating a location: *Svatý Jan pod Skalou* 'Saint John below the Rock', *Svätý Ondrej nad Hronom* 'Saint Andrew upon the Hron'.

(d) Name of the saint + prepositional phrase indicating a location: *Martin nad Žitavou* 'Martin upon the Žitava', *Michal na Ostrove* 'Michael on the Island'.

(e) Attribute indicating location + attribute meaning 'saint' + name of the saint: *Moravský Svätý Ján, Borský Svätý Jur.*

(f) *Turčiansky Peter* 'Turiec Peter', *Liptovský Mikuláš* 'Liptov Nicholas', *Hronský Beňadik* 'Hron Benedict'.

(g) Names of variable structure with the name of the saint in an attribute (either concordant or non-concordant): *Hradiště Svatého Hypolita* 'Saint Hippolytus's Fort', *Lhota u Svaté Anny* 'Lhota near Saint Ann', *Svatogothardská Lhota* 'Saint Gotthard Lhota'.

(h) Derivatives from the names of the saints: *Romanov, Václavice, Křížovany, (Šarišské) Michaľany, Jurské, Martinček.*

As it has been stated above, the structural type **(a)** occurs both in Bohemia and in Slovakia, but in Bohemia it is much more frequent than in Slovakia.[8]

The type **(b)** usually came into existence by omission of the attribute meaning 'saint' (this attribute was most frequently omitted in the middle 20th century due to political reasons, e.g. *Svatý Jakub* > *Jakub*, *Svätý Kráľ* > *Kráľ;* see below part 6). However, there are also some instances of names whose historical records lack this attribute (e.g. *Vavřinec*, first recorded 1352–67: *Wawrzynecz*).

Names of the structural type **(c)** came into existence by an extension of some existing names of type (a); the localising attribute (post-modifier), whose dominant function is distinctive, was usually appended to the individual names relatively late, mostly during the 20th century. The only exception is formed by the name *Svatý Jan pod Skalou.* In this name—which originally belonged to a speluncar chapel (1037–55: *s. Johanni Baptiste in Ostrow dat capellam in spelunca s. Johannis Baptiste*)—the localising attribute is attested since the 15th century, though its form, especially the use of prepositions, was not settled and it changed during the development of the name (1421: *de Skala;* 1437: *sv. Jana Křtitele na Skále;* 1505: *od sv. Jana z Skály;* 1606: *sv. Jana v Skále;* 1714: *v kláštеře sv. Jana pod Skalou*). It is, however, difficult to determine when the original localising description which had not been a regular part of the name yet became an integral part; it was probably no earlier than in the 18th century when the form of the post-modifier became more stable.[9]

The names of the structural types **(d), (e)** and **(f)** occur only in Slovakia, in Bohemia they are not found at all. Types **(d)** and **(f)** can be understood as an extension of type (b); type **(e)** developed from type (a) similarly to type (c) (see above).

[8] In Moravia and Silesia only one name belonging to this type is attested (*Svatá Kateřina* in Moravia).

[9] The reasons leading to the extension of the individual patrociny place names by distinctive attributes are thoroughly analysed by ČATAYOVÁ (2006: 388).

Names of the type **(f)** belonged originally to type (a) *(Svätý Mikuláš).* In the majority of cases, they were later complemented by a localising attribute (*Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš;* type (e)). During the communist period, the attribute meaning 'saint' was omitted in all the names of the type (e), which were thus attached to the newly formed type **(f)** *(Liptovský Mikuláš).*[10] However, names of this new type could come into existence also directly from type (a), when the attribute meaning 'saint' was replaced by the localising attribute *(Svätý Beňadik > Hronský Beňadik).* See also part 6 below.

The structural type **(g)** is marginal and rather diverse, therefore it will not be analysed in more detail.

Type **(h)** is immensely interesting, for names such as *Romanov, Václavice, Krížovany, (Šarišské) Michaľany* could not be analysed as patrociny place names without historical evidence. The name *Romanov,* for instance, could be mechanically interpreted as a possesive place name indicating 'Roman's property' if we did not know that the village was founded near Saint Roman's church; the name *Václavice* was formed according to the pattern of patronymic place names (seemingly it could indicate 'Václav's people'), but again, its motivation is different: the village was named after Saint Wenceslas' church, near which the village was founded. Slovak place names *Krížovany* and *Michaľany* are, due to historical records, relatively new adaptations of older Hungarian names. All these formations are relatively late (18th century) and analogical; common existing models of place names were used for the creation of names of an entirely different motivation. Some names, for example *Kurimany* (1298: *Sanctus Quirinus*) and *Šamorín* (1238: *Ecclesia Sancte Marie*), that may be also attached to this type, can be interpreted as formations of unclear word-formation structure and concealed base; HUDÁK (1984: 39) refers to such formations as corrupted forms.

It must be also mentioned that not only the official forms of the names of the individual saints are found in the analysed patrociny place names. For example, only one community is named *Svätý Juraj* in Slovakia, while five Slovak place names include forms *Jur* or *Ďur,* which could be, from the synchronic point of view, understood as hypocorisms of the name *Juraj,* which is the official Slovak form of the name George. Similar cases are: *Beňadik* (in *Hronský Beňadik*)—form of the name *Benedikt* 'Benedict' and *Mara* (in *Liptovská Mara*)—form of the name *Mária* 'Mary'. This phenomenon is typical of Slovakia; we do not encounter it in Bohemia.

[10] It must be signed, however, that during the renaming process in the 1950s some names of the type (e) were changed to type (b) *(Turčiansky Svätý Martin > Martin),* i.e. not only the attribute meaning 'saint', but also the localising attribute was deleted.

5. Consecration of the individual sanctuaries

This part is to provide an overview of the analysed names from the point of view of the consecration of the individual sanctuaries that gave rise to the particular settlement names. This overview will be given in descending order according to the number of names (together for all the territories) based on particular consecrations.

a) Saint John

Eleven of the analysed settlement names include the name *Jan*/*Ján* 'John'. However, these names are based on consecrations to two different saints: John the Baptist and Saint John of Nepomuk. The cult of the Czech patron Saint John of Nepomuk dates back to the second half of the 18th century. Several villages in Bohemia founded in the 18th and 19th centuries were named according to objects (churches, chapels or statues) consecrated to Saint John of Nepomuk. All older villages in Bohemia and in Slovakia were named according to sanctuaries consecrated to Saint John the Baptist.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatý Jan	Bohemia/Uhl. Janovice	1787: St. Johanndorf	S. J. the Baptist[11]
Svatý Jan	Bohemia/Planá	1543: u Sv. Jana	S. J. the Baptist
Svatý Jan	Bohemia/Sedlčany	1849: Ort St. Johann	S. J. of Nepomuk
Svatý Jan	Bohemia/Unhošť	1545: vsi u Sv. Jana pusté	S. J. the Baptist
Svatý Jan	Bohemia/Vlašim	1844: St. Johann	S. J. of Nepomuk
Svatý Jan nad Malší	Bohemia/Trhové Sviny	1789: Kapelle zu St. Johann von Nepomuk	S. J. of Nepomuk
Svatý Jan pod Skalou	Bohemia/Beroun	1037–55: capellam in spelunca s. Johannis Baptiste	S. J. the Baptist
Janov	Bohemia/Soběslav	1790: St. Johannes	S. J. of Nepomuk
Svätý Ján	Slovakia/Nitra	1353: Sanctus Johannes	S. J. the Baptist
Liptovský Ján	Slovakia/Lipt. Mikuláš	1358: Zenth Iwan	S. J. the Baptist
Moravský Svätý Ján	Slovakia/Malacky	1449: Zenth Janos	S. J. the Baptist

b) Saint George

The equivalents of the name *George* are more frequent in patrociny place names in Slovakia (7 names). While in Bohemia we find only three settlements

[11] The colony of Svatý Jan was founded by the older St. John's church, which was the only relic of the extinct village of Krsovice.

Svatý Jiří, the form of Slovak place names is much more diverse: they include three different equivalents of the name *George (Juraj, Jur, Ďur).* Some names include additional attributes (both pre- and post-modifiers), one name *(Jurské)* was formed by suffixation (cf. part 4).

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatý Jiří	Bohemia/Chrudim	1199: ecclesia … in honorem sancti Georgi	
Svatý Jiří	Bohemia/Vysoké Mýto	1677: kaple sv. jiří	nowadays *Tři Bubny*
Svatý Jiří	Bohemia/Poběžovice	1586: dvuor u kostela sv. Girži	
Borský Jur	Slovakia/Malacky	1394: Zentgyurgh	
Jur nad Hronom	Slovakia/Levice	1276: Sanctus Georgius	
Jurské	Slovakia/Kežmarok	1294: Sanctus Georgius	
Svätý Juraj	Slovakia/Vranov n. T.	1438: Zenthgwrgh	
Svätý Jur	Slovakia/Sabinov	1307: Sanctus Georgius	
Svätý Jur	Slovakia/Bratislava	1209: Zengurg	
Horný Ďur	Slovakia/Vráble	1205–1235: Geurud	
Turčiansky Ďur	Slovakia/Turč. Teplice	1332: Sancti Georgii	

c) Saint Peter

Patrociny place names including an equivalent of the name *Peter* display a relatively high frequency in Slovakia, while in Bohemia and Moravia their occurrence is isolated: in both these territories we can find a village called *Petrovice*, whose name was motivated by the patrociny of Saint Peter's church (cf. HOSÁK–ŠRÁMEK 1980: 237; ŠMILAUER 1960: 296).[12]

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Petrovice	Bohemia/Opočno	1836: Petrowitz	
Svätý Peter	Slovakia/Levoča	1338: Sentpeter	
Svätý Peter	Slovakia/Hurbanovo	1332: Sanctus Petrus	
Svätý Peter pri Váhu	Slovakia/Hlohovec	1241: ecclesia b. Petri	
Borský Peter	Slovakia/Senica	1394: Zenthpeter	
Liptovský Peter	Slovakia/Lipt.Hrádok	1286: Zenthpetur	
Plavecký Peter	Slovakia/Senica	1394: Zenthpeter	

[12] In all other instances the name *Petrovice*, which is quite frequent in the whole Czech Republic, is a patronymic name indicating a village of Petr's people (cf. also part 4 of this article).

Turčiansky Peter	Slovakia/Martin	1323: Scenpeter	
Pôtor	Slovakia/Modrý Kameň	1332: S. Petrus	
Petrovany	Slovakia/Prešov	1304: Scenpetur	
Petrovice	Moravia/Blansko	1374: Preterslog	

d) Holy Rood

Both in Bohemia and in Slovakia we can find several place names including a name of the relic of the Holy Rood (a part of the True Cross, Crucifix). Again, in Slovakia these names are much more diverse than in Bohemia, where we can find only three settlements called *Svatý Kříž*. Three Slovak place names have been formed by suffixation.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatý Kříž	Bohemia/Havl. Brod	1530: Svatý Kříž	
Svatý Kříž	Bohemia/Jablonec n. N.	1695: bei dem heil. Kreuz	
Svatý Kříž	Bohemia/Planá	1363: ad S. Crucem	
Svätý Kríž	Slovakia/Lipt. Mikuláš	1360: Sancta Crux	
Svätý Kríž	Slovakia/Levice	1534: Kerezthwr	
Svätý Kríž nad Hronom	Slovakia/Žiar n. Hronom	1075: Kerestur	since 1955 *Žiar nad Hronom*
Zemplínsky Svätý Kríž	Slovakia/Sečovce	1263: Cristur	since 1955 *Zemplínska Teplica*
Kríž nad Váhom	Slovakia/N.Mesto n. V.	1297: Kereztur	
Krížová Ves	Slovakia/Kežmarok	1290: Krystur	
Krížovany	Slovakia/Prešov	1318: Scenthkerezth	
Krížovany nad Dudváhom	Slovakia/Martin	1390: Sancta Crux	

e) Saint Mary

It is interesting that only one of the patrociny place names in the investigated territories includes an official contemporary equivalent of the name *Mary,* which is *Mária* in Slovak. Czech names include the Old-Czech form *Maří*, two Slovak names include the form *Mara,* nowadays evaluated as hypocorism (cf. MAJTÁN–POVAŽAJ 1985: 71).

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatá Maří	Bohemia/Přimda	1318: Celle s. Mariae Virg.	
Svatá Maří	Bohemia/Vimperk	1352: Ad S. Mariam in Laz	

Svatá Maří Pomocná	Bohemia/Sokolov	1810: Mariahilfsberg	
Svätá Mária	Slovakia/Kráľ. Chlmec	1261: Villa Sancte Marie	
Svätá Mara	Slovakia/Turč. Teplice	1258: Ecclesia Virginis glor.	
Liptovská Mara	Slovakia/Lipt. Mikuláš	1466: Sancta Virgo	
Šamorín	Slovakia/Šamorín	1238: ecclesia Sancte Marie	

f) Saint Nicolaus

Mikuláš, Czech and Slovak equivalent of the name *Nicolaus*, occurs in 6 patrociny place names, three of which are found in Bohemia and the other three in Slovakia. One derived name *(Mikulovice)* is found in Silesia.[13] As it is usual also in many other cases, Slovak names (unlike the Bohemian ones) include distinctive attributes.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatý Mikuláš	Bohemia/Hlinsko	1350: ad St. Nicolaum	
Svatý Mikuláš	Bohemia/Kutná Hora	1413: Villam Bor S. Nicolai	
Svatý Mikuláš	Bohemia/Vysoké Mýto	1789: Nikolai	
Mikulovice	Silesia/Jeseník	1263: Villa Nicolai	
Borský Mikuláš	Slovakia/Senica	1394: Zenthmiklos	
Liptovský Mikuláš	Slovakia/Lipt. Mikuláš	1286: Zenthmiklos	
Plavecký Mikuláš	Slovakia/Senica	1394: Zenthmiclos	

g) Saint Andrew

Also the names based on an equivalent of the name *Andrew* are found especially in Slovakia. Two Slovak names reflect the form *Ondráš*, which is an unofficial variant of the name *Ondrej, Andrej* (MAJTÁN–POVAŽAJ 1985: 33, 78). The occurrence in Bohemia is isolated.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Ondřejov	Bohemia/Chvalšiny	1518: na Hoře sv. Ondřeje	
Svätý Ondrej	Slovakia/Trebišov	1459: Zenth Andras	
Svätý Ondrej nad Hronom	Slovakia/Banská Bystrica	1424: Zenthandras	
Ondrej	Slovakia/Poprad	1317: S. Andreas	

[13] The name *Mikulovice* is a later Czech adaptation of the German name *Niklasdorf*.

Liptovský Ondrej	Slovakia/Lipt. Mikuláš	1332: S. Andreas	
Ondrašová	Slovakia/Komárno	1268: Villa Sancti Andree	
Ondrašová	Slovakia/Turč. Teplice	1252: molendinum Andree	

h) Saint Michael

The name *Michal* has six occurrences in patrociny settlement names in Slovakia.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svätý Michal	Slovakia/Galanta	1334: Villa Sancti Michaelis penes Duduag	
Michal na Ostrove	Slovakia/Dunaj. Streda	1337: Zenmihal	
Michal nad Žitavou	Slovakia/Vráble	1332–1337: ecclesia Sancti Michaelis	
Liptovský Michal	Slovakia/ Ružomberok	1331: Ecclesia S. Michaelis	
Turčianský Michal	Slovakia/Turč. Teplice	1264: Ecclesia S. Michaelis	
Šarišské Michaľany	Slovakia/Sabinov	1248: Szent Mihaly	

i) Saint Catherine

In contrast to the preceding cases, the equivalent of the name *Catherine* occurs only in Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian patrociny settlement names; it is absent in Slovak names of this type.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatá Kateřina	Bohemia/Kutná Hora	1407: villas ad S. Katharinam	
Svatá Kateřina	Bohemia/Litomyšl	1789: St. Katharina	
Svatá Kateřina	Bohemia/Nýrsko	1790: Katharina-Gericht	
Svatá Kateřina	Bohemia/Přimda	1352: Capella Sanctae Katherinae	
Svatá Kateřina	Moravia/Blansko	1729: S. Catharina	
Kateřinky	Silesia/Opava	1805: Katharain	

j) Saint Anna

The majority of patrociny settlement names including the name *Anna* are of a relatively new origin, for the cult of Saint Anna became popular especially in

the Baroque period. All these newer place names occur in Bohemia, one name of medieval origin is found in Slovakia.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatá Anna	Bohemia/Kdyně	1789: Annaberg	
Svatá Anna	Bohemia/Písek	1840: St. Anna	
Svatá Anna	Bohemia/Horšovský Týn	1789: Kirche unter dem Namen der heil. Anna	
Svatá Anna	Bohemia/Tábor	1790: St. Anna	
Lhota u Svaté Anny	Bohemia/Volyně	1840: Lhota St. Anna	
Liptovská Anna	Slovakia/Lipt. Mikuláš	1396: Senth Anna	

k) Saint Martin

Four Slovak patrociny place names include the name *Martin.* This name is absent in Czech patrociny settlement names.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svätý Martin	Slovakia/Senec	1409: Zenthmarton	
Martin	Slovakia/Martin	1264: Zenthmarton	
Martin nad Žitavou	Slovakia/Zlaté Moravce	1272–1290: Zenthmarton	
Martinček	Slovakia/ Ružomberok	1332: Sanctus Martinus de Liptovia	

l) Saint James

Three patrociny place names contain the name *Jakub* (Czech and Slovak equivalent of *James*), one of them occurs in Bohemia, one in Slovakia, and the last one, formed by suffixation, in Moravia. All three patrocinies refer to Saint James the Greater.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Jakub	Bohemia/Kutná Hora	1352: Mons S. Jacobi	
Jakub	Slovakia/Banská Bystrica	1390: Villa Sancti Jacobi	
Jakubov	Moravia/Mor. Budějovice	1230: Jacobaw	

m) Saint Wenceslaus

The name of the Bohemian patron Saint Wenceslaus *(Václav)* occurs in two patrociny settlement names in Bohemia. It is not surprising that it is absent in the other territories.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatý Václav	Bohemia/Písek	1840: St. Wenzels-Vorstadt	
Václavice	Bohemia/N. Město n. Met.	1836: Wenzelsberg, Waclavice oder Sw. Waclaw	a newly fouded colony around the old church from the 14th century

n) Saint Hubert

Two place names of a relatively late origin have been motivated by the patron saint of huntsmen, Saint Hubert.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Svatý Hubert	Bohemia/Jesenice	1787: in dem … Hubertswalde	originally a hunting lodge
Svatý Hubert	Moravia/Bruntál	1935: Svatý Hubert	Saint Hubert's chapel

o) Consecrations with a single occurrence

There is quite a large number of patrocinies for which only one place name has been motivated in all the investigated territories. A survey of these place names (in alphabetic order according to the patrocinies) is provided in the following table.

Place name	Territory/district	First mention	Note
Abrahám	Slovakia/Sereď	1286: Scent Abraam	Church of Abraham the Patriarch
Svätá Alžbeta	Slovakia/Lipt. Mikuláš	1339: Ecclesia S. Elisabeth	Saint Elisabeth's Church
Anděl Strážce	Bohemia/Turnov	1790: Schutzangel	Probably a chapel with a picture of the Guardian Angel
Antol	Slovakia/B. Štiavnica	1266: Scentantollo	1276: Sanctus Antonius
Svatá Apolena	Bohemia/Přimda	1788: St. Apollonia	Chapel of Saint Appolonia
Svatá Barbora	Bohemia/Rokycany	1788: St. Barbara	Saint Barbara's church
Hronský Beňadik	Slovakia/Žiar n. Hronom	1075: Monasterium, Ecclesia Sancti Benedicti	Saint Benedict's monastery and church
Svätý Demeter	Slovakia/Rim. Sobota	1324: Zenthdemeter	Saint Demetrius' church
Svatá Dobrotivá	Bohemia/Zbiroh	1401: monast. S. Mariae et Benignae	Village named according to Saint Benigna (in Czech

			sv. Dobrotivá), whose relics were kept in the local monastery church
Erazim	Bohemia/Hostouň	1839: Erasmus	Former chapel of Saint Erasmus
Svatogothardská Lhota	Bohemia/Hořice	1835: Lhota St. Gotthard	Former name *Lhota* (1365 in Lhotie)[14]
Svätá Hadviga	Slovakia/Turč. Teplice	1392: Haduiga	Probably Saint Hedwig's church
Swätá Helena	Slovakia/B. Štiavnica	1477: S. Helena	Saint Helen's church
Hradiště Svatého Hypolita	Moravia/Znojmo	1226: prepositum Sancti Ypoliti	St. Hippolytus church
Ilija	Slovakia/Žiar n. Hronom	1266: Eccl. S. Egidii	Saint Egidius' church
Kilián	Bohemia/Zbraslav	1323: Eccl. S. Kiliani	Saint Kilian's church (colony founded as late as in 1788)
Kráľ	Slovakia/Rimav. Sobota	1282: Sanctus Rex	Church of Saint Stephen the King
Kurimany	Slovakia/Levoča	1298: Sanctus Quirinus	Saint Quirin's church
Majdalena	Bohemia/Třeboň	1397: ad novam capellam	original name *Svatá Maří Magdalena;* according to a chapel of Saint Mary Magdalene
Markovice	Bohemia/Chrudim	1349: S. Marcus	originally a chapel of Saint Mark
Margecany	Slovakia/Gelnica	1338: Szent Margitha	Saint Margaret's church
Svatý Mouřenec	Bohemia/Hartmanice	1369: ad E. S. Mauricij	Saint Maurice's church
Pankrác	Bohemia/Praha	1376: eccl. s. Pancracii	Saint Pancras' church
Svätý Pavol	Slovakia/Komárno	1268: Ecclesia S. Pauli	Saint Paul's church
Romanov	Bohemia/Mělník	1708: Romanow	Saint Romanus' chapel
Svatý Tomáš	Bohemia/Vyšší Brod	1522: das Gotteshaus St. Thomas	Saint Thomas' church; colony first mentioned in 1789

[14] The new attribute attached to the older name *Lhota* reflected the position of the village under Saint Gotthard's church.

Tročany	Slovakia/Bardejov	1270: Trochan; 1277: Sancte Trinitatis	Church of the Holy Trinity
Vavřinec	Bohemia/Uhl. Janovice	1352: Wawrzynecz	Saint Lawrence's church
Svatý Vojtěch	Bohemia/Teplá	1788: St. Adalberts-kapelle	Saint Adalbert's chapel
Svatá Voršila	Bohemia/Č. Budějovice	1789: St. Ursula	Originally Saint Ursula's chapel
Všechsvätých	Slovakia/Košice	1332: Mendscend	Church of All Hallows

6. Changes of the names

In the Middle Ages and the early modern period, many of the analysed names were not yet stable. In many cases it is even difficult to determine exactly the moment of the rise of a real place name, for the boundary between a mere descriptive designation of a church, chapel or some other object and a settlement name is not always clear (compare above the introduction). Many names are recorded in a number of rather instable variants, often in two or three different languages. For these reasons, it would be irrelevant to deal with the development and changes of patrociny settlement names before the 19th century, since when first systemic changes can be detected. However, it must be remembered that some names motivated by patrocinies replaced the existing names of some villages, and, on the other hand, some patrociny place names were replaced by names of other types.

In the 19th century, a localising distinctive attribute is attached to several Slovak place names: e.g. names *Svätý Mikuláš, Svätý Peter* were changed to *Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš, Plavecký Svätý Peter*. This process culminated in the 20th century, when the existence of a number of communities of the same name in Slovakia started to cause more problems. In 1920 some names belonging originally to the structural type (a) (see above the part 4) were extended by localising distinctive attributes, both pre-modifiers (e.g. *Borský Svätý Jur, Hronský Svätý Jur, Turčianský Svätý Martin, Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš*) and post-modifiers *(Svätý Michal nad Žitavou).* One such case can be found also in Bohemia in this period *(Svatý Jan nad Malší).*

In Slovakia after 1948, the attribute *svätý* 'saint' was, due to political reasons, often replaced by some other, usually localising attribute (*Svätý Peter > Dolný Peter* 'lower', *Svätý Michal > Michal na Ostrove* 'on the island', *Svätý Jur > Jur pri Bratislave* 'near Bratislava'), or it was simply deleted *(Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš > Liptovský Mikuláš, Plavecký Svätý Peter > Plavecký Peter, Moravský Svätý Ján > Moravský Ján),* sometimes even together with the localising attribute *(Turčianský Svätý Martin > Martin).*

In Bohemia the use of distinctive attributes in the changes of patrociny place names after 1948 was not usual (but cf. the illogical change of the name *Svatý Jiří* to *Nový Jiří* 'new George'; it is hard to say what the attribute *Nový* was to express); most changes consisted only in deletion of the attribute *svatý* 'saint' *(Svatý Jakub > Jakub, Svatá Kateřina > Kateřina, Svatý Kilián > Kilián, Svatý Mikuláš > Mikuláš).*

A specific case is formed by the name of the Slovak town *Žiar nad Hronom*, which was newly created in 1955. The original name of the town was *Svätý Kríž nad Hronom* 'Holy Rood upon the Hron'. This name became ideologically inconvenient in the 1950s. It was not renewed after 1989. A similar case was the name of the village of *Zemplínsky Svätý Kríž* which was changed to *Liptovská Teplica* in 1955. The village *Svätá Mária pri Bodrogu* was renamed *Bodrog* in 1960; after 1989 the name *Svätá Mária* was restored.

After 1989, the original forms of names used before 1948 were restored only in some cases both in Bohemia and Slovakia. For example, in the Bohemian district of Kutná Hora, the original names of the villages *Svatá Kateřina* and *Svatý Mikuláš* were renewed, but the place name *Jakub*, belonging to a nearby village, was not changed back to *Svatý Jakub.* In Slovakia the situation varies from one region to another. In the region of Liptov, for example, the attribute *svätý* was not restored (*Liptovský Mikuláš, Litovský Ján,* etc.), but it was renewed, for instance, in West Slovakia *(Borský Svätý Jur, Moravský Svätý Ján; Jur pri Bratislave* was changed back to *Svätý Jur).*

7. Conclusion

The aim of the article was to provide a linguistic analysis of settlement names motivated by patrocinies in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The subject of the analysis was therefore only the motivation of patrociny settlement names, not of the individual patrocinies (names of sanctuaries based on their consecration). The most notable conclusions are connected with the differences between the three examined territories: (1) Bohemia, (2) Moravia together with Silesia, and (3) Slovakia. While in Bohemia a majority of the analysed names are of a relatively new origin and medieval formations are rather rare, the situation in Slovakia is the opposite: a vast majority of patrociny settlement names are of medieval origin here. The most striking fact is the minimal occurrence of patrociny settlement names in Moravia and Silesia, which is hardly explainable by the linguistic facts. Perhaps a historical approach to patrociny settlement names, which has not been used in this article, but would be—for many reasons—immensely interesting, could in a way clarify this problematic question.

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Geographical Names Deriving from Saints' Names (Patrocinia) in Poland

The adoption and solidification of Christianity had a huge impact on all manifestations of life in Indo-European countries including language. Languages were enriched with respect to vocabulary, first names, as well as the lexicon of domestic names, including memorial names (this group, in Polish onomastic literature, includes *patrocinia*). In the Christian world, the cult of saints has its own dynamism. It is shaped and expressed in various manners in individual countries and is also related to the changeability of historical epochs.

A particularly clear and popular reflection of the cult of saints is the conferral of the names of holy patrons on children during baptism. This is accompanied by the intention to entrust the child to the care of a selected saint or by a wish that a child should take the saint as his/her role model.

The cult of saints (also the cult of the Virgin Mary, Christ and the Holy Spirit) is expressed, *inter alia*, by the adoption of a saint's patronage by newly established churches, chapels and monasteries cf. e.g. St. John's Cathedral, St. Anne's Church. Studies devoted to *patrocinia* indicate a special vitality to the cult of specific saints in a given country or region, for example St. Hedwig and St. Barbara in Silesia. On the other hand, church and parish *patrocinia* become the sources of such names as *Świętojańska* or *Świętojerska* streets in Warsaw or *św. Marka* and *św. Jana* streets in Cracow.

The presence of saints—as can be seen—has versatile manifestations in onomastics. The greater or lesser vitality and frequency of similar names, i.e. deriving from names of saints, corresponds to stronger or weaker (alternatively, to earlier or later) ties of specific communities with Christianity.

The objects under scrutiny are geographical names, for the most part the names of villages or cities, such as *Święta Anna* and *Święta Katarzyna*. From the formal side, they constitute the transfer of the name of a holy patron onto the name of a village, a city and sometimes onto the name of a mountain, a gorge, an island, a river or a bay. This practice has received some attention in Polish onomastic literature. BUCZYŃSKI (1997), PODLAWSKA (1990) and RZETELSKA-FELESZKO (2001) dealt with such issues.

In Poland, these types of local names are infrequent. The historical material has been derived from the card index resources of the Polish Language Institute at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow.

Barbarka, a lost settlement near Toruń: 1340: *mole uf dem bore,* 1400: *Waldmühle, Barmole, Barbaren, Bormole, Börmöl, Uormulen,* 1570: *Borowiecz* alias *Bormhule* vel *sancta Barbara,* 16th century: *Barbarka,* 1880: *Barbarka*. In 1299, a shrine of St. Barbara existed here; it was a pilgrimage destination from which the settlement took its name. The form *Barbarka* is a morphological transformation of the name of *Sancta Barbara* (with the use of suffix *-ka*).

Braniewo, a town in the former Elbląg Province: 1251: *Brunsbergk,* 1381: *Braunszberge,* 1682: *Bronsberg, Brunsberk,* subsequently *Braniewo.* The town was established by the Teutonic Knights in 1240 and named in honour of *St. Bruno,* patron saint of Prussia. Forms like *Brunsberk* constitute phonetic and graphic Polonization of the German name. The present-day *Braniewo* has the *-ewo* suffix instead of the German suffix *-berg.*

Florencja, today Kleparz, a district in Cracow: 1272: ecclesie *beati Floriani* in Cracouia, in *Florentia,* 1358: hoc est circa *sanctum Florianum,* 1392: *Klepars,* 1404: *Florencia* alias *Kleparz,* 1646: ciuitatis *Florentiae* alias *Kleparz,* later only *Kleparz.* The name derives from *St. Florian,* patron of a local church; the name was created on the model of the Italian Florence (Polish *Florencja*).

Frombork, a town in the former Elbląg Province: 1278: versus Civitatem *Frowemburg,* 1280: castrum *domine nostre,* 1288: castro *Domine Nostre Frawenburg,* 1331: *Frouwenburg,* 1486: de *Frambork,* 1569: *Frauenborg,* 1796–1802: *Frauenburg,* 1982: *Frombork.* The town was established in the 13th century by Bishop Henry I. In c. 1275 the construction of a wooden chapel of the Assumption of Virgin Mary was commenced, which influenced the name of the city. This is attested by entries from the 13th century: 'the town of Our Lady'. The Teutonic Knights called the city *Frauenburg* from *Frau* (having in mind their patron, Blessed Virgin Mary). The name became Polonized as *Frombork.*

Góra świętego Jana, today *Góra Jana,* former Nowy Sącz Province, Jodłownik Commune: 1346–58: Ecclesia de *Gora,* 1368: *Gora sancti Iohannis,* 1470–80: Ecclesiae *Sancti Iohanni in Gora,* 1581: *Gora s. Jana,* 1880: *Góra św. Jana,* 1964: *Góra Jana.* The name derives from *św. Jan* (St. John), a patron of the Church of Birth and Beheading of St. John the Baptist. In recent times, starting from the 1960s, the part *święty* (saint) has been omitted as a result of state policy.

Góra świętego Wawrzyńca, a lost settlement near Chełmno, in the former Toruń Province, 1881: *Góra świętego Wawrzyńca.* From the appellative *góra* (mountain) and from the name of *św. Wawrzyniec* (St. Lawrence), patron of the chapel; c.1690, the Chapel of St. Lawrence (Wawrzyniec) was built here.

Góra świętej Anny, a settlement in the former Legnica Province, Żukowice Commune: 1791: *Annaberg,* 1967: *Góra świętej Anny.* From the name of *św. Anna,* patron of the church, and from German *Berg,* Polish *Góra.*

Góra świętej Anny, a settlement in the former Wałbrzych Province, Szczytna Śląska Commune: 1743: *Annenberg,* 1789: *Annaberg,* 1967: *Góra świętej Anny.* From the name of *św. Anna,* patron of St. Anne's Church and from German *Berg,* Polish *góra.*

Góra świętej Anny, a village in the former Opole Province: 1679: *monte Helm,* 1783: *Annaberg, Święta Anna,* 1896: *Święta Anna, Sankt Annaberg,* 1941: *Sankt Annaberg, Góra Świętej Anny,* 1980: *Góra Świętej Anny.* Initially in the form deriving from Latin *Monte* and from word *chełm* 'hill'. Later, the German name *Sankt Annaberg* was used, which was a translation of the Polish name *Góra Świętej Anny,* also *Święta Anna,* from the name of St. Anne, patron of a local church.

Góra świętej Małgorzaty, a village in the former Płock Province, Góra Świętej Małgorzaty Commune: 1145: in *monte,* 1146: in *monte,* 1287: *Goram,* 1349: *Gora,* 1410: *Gora sancte Margarete,* 1839: *Góra st. Małgorszaty,* 1881: *Góra św. Małgorzaty,* 1980: *Góra Świętej Małgorzaty.* Initially *Góra (< góra),* later with the element deriving from the name of St. Margaret, patron of a local church.

Góra Wawrzyńca, a lost settlement near Tychy, former Katowice province: 1967: *Góra Wawrzyńca.* From the name of *św. Wawrzyniec* (St. Lawrence), patron of a church in Orzesze. There is also a hill called *Góra św. Wawrzyńca.*

Just, a hamlet near Tęgoborze, former village in the Nowy Sącz Province: 1415: circa *Sanctum Jodocum,* 1537: villa *sancti Jodoci,* 1538: *Mons sancti Iodoci,* 1581: *Jostowa gora,* 1672: *Justowa Gora,* 1794: *Iust,* 1882: *Just.* The name derives from *św. Just,* Latin *sancti Jodoci,* patron of a local church. Alternative form of *Justowa Góra.* The form *Just,* as a result of ellipsis, has become established.

Katarzyna, a village in the Przedecz Commune, former Konin Province: 1527: *Praedium Sanctae Catherine,* 1565: *Folwark Szwietei Katarzini,* 1674: *Praedium s. Catharinae,* 1789: *folw. S. Katarzyny,* 1827: *Katarzyna folwark,* 1882: *Katarzyna,* 1982: *Katarzyna, -ny.* In the 16th century, the name *Folwark Świętej Katarzyny* was used; it probably constituted a votive name from the name of St. Catherine. No information is available about the facility's affiliation to a church with the same name. In the 19th century, as a result of ellipsis, the form *Katarzyna* became established.

Kiszpork today *Dzierzgoń,* a city in the former Elbląg Province: 1200: civitate *Cristburg,* 1239: *Kirsberg,* 1247: *Cristburg antiquum, Aldin Cristburc,* 1251:

Christeburch, 1311: *Cristborch,* 1465: *Kirsborg,* 1480: *Kristborgk,* from 1565: *Kisparku* to 1570: *Kiszporku, Dzierzgoń* alternatively *Kiszpork,* German 1881: *Christburg,* 1941: *Dzierzgoń,* 1982: *Dzierzgoń, -nia.* An old stronghold existed here; after its destruction by the Prussians, the Teutonic Knights established a new one in 1247. The name derives from *Christ* and *Burg* 'city.' It is probably a votive name, as there are no remarks about Christ's Church. The name was Polonized as *Kiszpork.* After World War II, the name *Dzierzgoń* was adopted.

Malbork, a city in the former Elbląg Province: 1276: *Castrum Sentemarienburg,* 1285: *Castri sancte Marie,* 1296: *Marienburg,* 1346: *Mergenborg,* 1414: *Marienburg,* 1570: *Malbork,* 1682: *Malbork,* 1796–1802: *Marienburg,* 1884: *Malbork* al. *Malborg,* German *Marienburg,* 1981: *Malbork, -ka.* The city was established by the Teutonic Knights in 1274; they named it in honour of the patron of the Order of Saint Mary. The Latin element *sancte* was soon omitted and German name *Marienburg* was used. The name was Polonized as *Malbork.*

Mariackie, a part of Radom: 1967: *Mariackie.* From the adjective *mariacki,* in relation to the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary.

Mariówka, a part of Smogorzów, former Radom Province, Przysucha Commune: 1967: *Mariówka.* From the name of *Najświętsza Maria Panna* (Blessed Virgin Mary), patron of the nunnery of the Servants of Mary, with the suffix *-ówka.*

Mariańsko, a no longer existing locality; it was the property of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Sandomierz: 1191: *Margansko,* 1470–80: *Margansko.* From the name of *Maria,* patron of the church for which the village constituted an endowment, with the *-(ań)sko* suffix.

Mons Sanctae Mariae, alternant name of Pelplin, a town in the former Gdańsk Province: 1256: in *Samburia,* 1258/XV.: *Samboria,* 1260: videlicet *Montem Sancte Marie,* 1260: monasterio nostro novello dicto *Novum Doberan,* 1261: plantacionem novellam *Samburch* nuncupatam, 1274: ad fundadum… *Novum Doberan* dictum, quod vulgos a loci *Polplin* vocat, 1278: monasterium *Nowm Dobran*… et *Polplyn,* subsequently only *Polplin, Pelplin. Mons Sancte Mariae* 'Mount of St. Mary' is the alternant name of Pelplin. Prince Sambor II brought Cistercian monks from *Doberan* in Mecklenburg to Poland and established a monastery in Pomerania in 1258, giving it the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Periodically, it was also known as *Novum Doberan,* which emphasizes the relation of the Pelplin Cistercians with *Doberan* in Mecklenburg.

Marzenin, a village, former Sieradz Province, Sędziejowice Commune: 1331: *Marzenyno,* 1350: *Marzanyno,* 1392: *Marzanino,* 1511–23: *Marzenyn,* 1827: *Marzenin,* 1885: *Marzenin,* 1981: *Marzenin, -na.* From the name *Marzana* ~

Marzena (< Maria), patron of the Church of Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary from the 13th century, with suffix *-ino,* later *-in.*

Mikołajki, a town, former Suwałki Province; 1444: *S. Niclos, Sanct Niclas, Nicolaiken,* 1493: *Niklasdorf,* i.e. *Nikolaiken,* 1516: in village *St. Nicolai,* 1785: *Nickolayken,* 1885: *Mikołajki,* German *Nikolaiken, Mikołajki, -jek.* From the name of *Mikołaj, Sanct Nicolai,* patron of the Church of St. Nicolaus, initially in Latin form *St. Niclos, St. Nicolai,* Germanized as *Nikolaiken, Niklasdorf.* The Polonized form *Mikołajki* derives from the Polish equivalent of the name *Nicolai = Mikołaj,* with suffix *-ki,* typical for this region.

Probostwo świętego Ducha, a lost village in the Rypin Poviat, former Włocławek Province: 1890: *Świętego Ducha Probostwo.* The name was combined from the words *probostwo* (seat of a parish priest) and *Święty Duch* (Holy Spirit), patron of a chapel.

Skała, a village, former Cracow Province, Skała Commune: 1228: *Scala* ante Castrum, 1235: *Scala,* 1260: in loco, qui *Sancte Marie* uulgariter nuncupatur, 1275: *conuentus Magne Schale* vel in *Lapide Sancte Marie,* 1334: *Scala,* 1470–80: *Skala,* 1655: *Skała,* 1982: *Skała, -ły.* In the 13th century, the village occasionally had a Latin name, *Lapide Sancte Marie = Skała Panny Marii* (the Rock of Virgin Mary), also *Sancte Marie* from the name of *Najświętsza Maria Panna* (Blessed Virgin Mary), patron of the church and order of St. Clare. *Skała* became the established name.

Święta Anna, a village, former Częstochowa Province, Dąbrowa Zielona Commune: 1606: *Święta Anna,* 1827: *Święta Anna,* 1890: *Święta Anna,* 1982: *Święta Anna.* From the name of *św. Anna* (St. Anne) patron of a church built in 1606 next to a Bernadine monastery.

Święta Anna, also known as *Miejsce świętej Anny,* alternant name of *Smardzewice,* a village in the former Piotrków Province, Tomaszów Mazowiecki Commune: 1399: *Smarzeuicze,* 1412: *Smargowicze,* 1577: *Smarzowicze,* 1662: *Miejsce Świętej Anny,* 1890: *Święta Anna* al. *Smardzewice,* 1969: *Smardzewice, -wic.* The name derives from *św. Anna* (St. Anne), patron of the church. This was a church village. The name was in use periodically after the construction of the church.

Święta Anna, settlement to Sosnówka, former Jelenia Góra Province, Podgórzyn Commune: 1919: *Annahöhe (Bad zu Seidorf),* 1934: *Sankt Annahöhe,* 1950: *Święta Anna,* 1982: *Święta Anna, -tej -ny.* The name derives from *Sankt Anna,* Polish *Święta Anna,* patron of a chapel located on a hill, thence the *-höhe* element in German.

Święta Barbara, a part of Lwówek, former Poznań Province; 1545: Lwowek et *suburbium,* 1545: *ad sanctam Barbaram,* 1884: *Święta Barbara.* From the name of *św. Barbara* (Saint Barbara), patron of a local church.

Święta Helena, a part of Nowy Sącz: 1967: *Święta Helena,* 1982: *Święta Helena.* From the name of *św. Helena* (St. Helen), patron of an old church in Nowy Sącz.

Święta Katarzyna, a village in the former Kielce Province, Bodzentyn Commune: 1791: *Święta Katarzyna,* 1827: *Święta Katarzyna,* 1982: *Święta Katarzyna.* From the name of *św. Katarzyna* (St. Catherine), patron of the church. In 1478 there was a St. Catherine's Church here, next to which lived Bernadine monks. The church and the monastery made the place famous.

Święta Katarzyna, a village, former Wrocław Province, Święta Katarzyna Commune: 1257: *sancte Katherine,* 1264: *Dorf St. Katherinam,* 1295: in villa *ad Sanctam Katherinam,* 1329: *St. Katharina,* 1525: *S. Katthrin,* 1666: *Cathern,* 1845: *Kattern,* 1896: *Św. Katarzyna,* 1982: *Święta Katarzyna.* From the name of *św. Katarzyna* (St. Catherine) patron of a local church. Medieval Latin inscriptions of this name *(Sancta Katherina)* indicate that originally it had a Polish form. Later, it was Germanized as *Kattern,* yet in the second half of the 19th century, Polish people used to call it *Święta Katarzyna.*

Święta Rozalia, a gamekeeper's lodge, former village, Rzewnie Commune, former Ostrołęka Province: 1890: *Święta Rozalia,* 1982: *Święta Rozalia.* From the name of *św. Rozalia* (St. Rosalie), patron of a local chapel.

Świętojańsko, a village, former Gorzów Province, Krzeszyce Commune: 1822: *St. Johannes,* 1951: *Świętojańsko,* 1982: *Świętojańsko, -ka.* From the name of *św. Jan* (St. John), patron of a local church, initially in German form. The name of *Świętojańsko* was established officially from the name of *Święty Jan* in the form of a compound, with suffix *-sko.*

Świętomarz, a village in the former Kielce Province, Pawłów Commune: 1325: de *sancta Maria* seu Antiquotarzek, 1411: in *Szwyathomarza,* 1470–80: *Swathamarza, Swyatha Marza, Swyathomarz,* titulo antem ecclesiae praefatae, villa, *Szwyanthamarza* denominationem accepit a vulgo, quod ruditer in primordio fidei gloriosam Virginem Szwyanthamarza appellabant, 1564: *Swientomarza,* 1787: *Świętomarz,* 1890: *Świętomarz,* 1982: *Świętomarz, -rzy.* From the name of *św. Marza* (old Polonization of the name *Maria*), patron of a local church. The name has the form of a compound.

Świętopietrze, a suburb of Przemęt, former Leszczyńskie Province: 1439: finally *Swiętopietrze,* 1510: *ad sanctum Petrum,* 1563: Par. *Szwenthopietrze,* 1566: *Swethopietrze* suburbium in Przementh, 1890: *Świętopietrze.* From the name of *św. Piotr* (St. Peter), one of patrons of the local Chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the form of a compound.

Święty Gotard, a trading settlement from the beginning of the 11th century on the left bank of the Warta River before the granting of its incorporation

charter; from 1253 it formed a part of Poznań: 1244: *Sancti Gothardi.* From the name of *św. Gotard,* patron of a local church.

Święty Franciszek, part of the Piłatka village, former village, former Radom Province: 1967: *Święty Franciszek,* 1982: *Święty Franciszek.* From the name of *św. Franciszek* (St. Francis), patron of a local chapel.

Święty Jan, today Komandoria, a part of Poznań: 1187–93: ad honorem Dei antique *domum hospitatem* in Poznan, que dicitur sancti Michaelis, 1268: *domui Hospitalis beati Johannis* in Poznan, 1335: *Domus* sancti Michaelis prope civitatem Poznan, *Ordinis beati Iohannis Hospitalis,* 1338: *domus cruciferorum beati Johannis,* 1387: commendator ad *sanctum Johannem* ante Poznaniam, 1498: commendatori *domus s. Iohannis oridnis Hierosolymitanorum* ante Posnaniensem civitatem, 1564: we *Swętiian,* 1580: *Villa S. Joannis,* 1789: *Święty Jan,* 1902: *Dolina Św. Jańska,* 1921: *Świętojańska Dolina, Komandoria,* 1966: *Komandoria.* From the name of *św. Jan* (St. John), patron of the Church and Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The name was initially inscribed in Latin, later in the form of *Święty Jan* and as *Dolina Świętojańska.*

Święty Jan, a part of the Grzmucin village, former Radom Province, Gózd Commune: 1967: *Święty Jan,* 1982: *Święty Jan.* From the name of *św. Jan* (St. John), patron of a local chapel.

Święty Jan, a part of Starogard Gdański, former Gdańsk Province: 1790: *St. Johann,* 1890: *Święty Jan,* 1967: *Święty Jan.* From the name of *św. Jan* (St. John), patron of a local chapel of the Knights of St. John. The settlement and the chapel existed at least from 1310.

Święty Łazarz, a district in Poznań; a former settlement: 1890: *Święty Łazarz,* 1967: *Święty Łazarz.* From the name of *św. Łazarz* (St. Lazarus), patron of a local church.

Święty Marcin, a part of Poznań: 1252: de fundo *beati Martini* et sancti Adalberti, in quo civitatem ponere disposuimus et locare, 1404: circa *ecclesiam s. Martini* extra muros, 1482: *ad sanctum Martinum,* 1510: In *suburbia* circa *s-um Martinum,* de villa *S. Martini,* 1622: *Sancti Martini suburbium,* 1779: *Przedmieście św. Marcina,* known as Piekary, 1890: *Święty Marcin,* suburbs, 1982: *Święty Marcin.* From the name of *św. Marcin* (St. Martin), patron of a church outside the walls of Poznań after the granting of the incorporation charter.

Święty Marek, a hamlet, former Kalisz Province, Syców Commune: 1845: *St. Markusdorf,* 1887: *Markusdorf,* 1908: *Markusdorf,* 1948: *Święty Marek,* 1982: *Święty Marek.* From the name of *św. Marek* (St. Mark), German *Sankt Markus,* patron of a pilgrimage church constructed in 1624 (the first church fairs took place here in 1926), with German element *Dorf* 'village'. The name *Święty Marek* is an equivalent of the German name.

Święty Materna, today *Matarnia*, a part of Gdańsk, former village: 1470: Nicolaus plebanum *ad s. Maternum*, 1570: *Sant Matherna*, 1583: *Materna*, 1615: *Matern*, 1734: in *Maternam, Materna*, 1789: *Matern*, 1796–1802: *Mattern*, 1879: *Mattern ~ Maternia*, 1885: *Materna* al. *Maternia*, German *Mattern* al. *Matern*, 1921: *Matarnia*, German *Mattern*, 1925: *Maternia*, 1952: *Matarnia*, 1981: *Matarnia.* From the name of *św. Maternus*, patron of a church constructed by the Cistercians in the 15th century; the name was Polonized on the model of local names with the *-nia* suffix. Since the end of the 16th century, the element *Sant, Sanct* 'saint' has been omitted. The change of *Maternia* into *Matarnia* reflects the Northern Polish change of *er* > *ar*.

Święty Mikołaj, alternant name of Lądek, a town, former Konin Province: 1145: *Kossol*, 1213: *Cossol*, 1250: in foro *beati Nicolai*, subsequently *Kościół* and *Landek.* Initial name *Kościół*, periodically *Beati Nicolai = Święty Mikołaj*, from the name of *św. Mikołaj* (St. Nicolaus), patron of a local church. The name *Kościół* also makes references to this church.

Święty Pietr, a church and development near Sieraków, former Częstochowa Province, Ciasna Commune: 1845: *Swiety Pietr*, oder *sanct Peter*, 1886: *Sanctus Peter.* From the name of *św. Piotr* (St. Peter, in local dialect *Pietr*), patron of a local church of St. Peter and St. Paul, constructed in 1652. The German form *Sanct Peter* is the equivalent of the Polish name.

Święty Roch, a part of Nysa, former Opole Province: 1845: *Sankt Rochus*, 1864: *Kolonie St. Rochus*, 1886: *St. Rochus*, 1887: *Sankt Rochus*, 1941: *Sankt Rochus*, 1951: *Nysa-Święty Roch.* From the name of *św. Roch*, patron of a church in Nysa. The name was written in its German form, *Sankt Rochus*, whose Polish equivalent is the name *Święty Roch.*

Święty Roch, a hamlet, Syców Commune, former Kalisz Province: 1967: *Święty Roch*, 1982: *Święty Roch.* From the name of *św. Roch*, patron of a local chapel.

Święty Roch, buildings around a church, former Opole Province, Dobrzeń Wielki Commune: 1845: *St. Rochus*, 1886: *St. Rochus*, settlement, 1887: *St. Rochus*, 1908: *Rochus St.*, 1934: *Sankt Rochus*, 1948: *Święty Roch.* From the name of *św. Roch*, patron of a local church built in 1752. The German name *Sankt Rochus* was replaced after 1945 by its Polish equivalent *Święty Roch.*

Święty Roch, a part of Poznań, former suburbs: 1890: *Święty Roch*, suburbs, 1966: *Święty Roch.* From the name of *św. Roch*, patron of a local church from 1562.

Święty Roch, a hamlet, Krasne Commune, former Rzeszów Province: 1967: *Święty Roch*, 1982: *Święty Roch.* From the name of *św. Roch*, patron of a church in Krasne.

Święty Roch, an estate, Wieruszów Commune, former Kalisz Province: 1890: *Święty Roch,* 1982: *Święty Roch.* From the name of *św. Roch,* patron of a local chapel.

Święty Roch, a part of the town of Kowal, former Włocławek Province: 1967: *Święty Roch,* 1982: *Święty Roch.* From the name of *św. Roch,* patron of a church in Kowal.

Święty Swirad, today *Tropie,* a village, former Nowy Sącz Province, Gródek nad Dunajcem Commune: 1307: filius Sbroslay heres de *Sancto Sweredio,* 1335: *De Sancto Sverado,* 1382: Nicolai *de Swirad,* 1456: plebano *ad Sanctum Swirad,* 1629: *Swirad* al. *Tropie, Swierad,* later *Tropie.* From the name of *św. Swirad,* an apostle in these areas; a hermitage of St. Swirad used to exist there.

Święty Wawrzyniec, alternant name of Kościelna Wieś, a part of Kalisz, former village: 1219: de loco *sancti Laurencii,* 1348: ac prepositi *sancti Laurencii* sub appensione, subsequently *Kościół, Kościelna Wieś*. The old name was written in its Latin form *Sanct Laurentius (= Saint Lawrence),* from the name of *św. Wawrzyniec,* patron of a local church.

Święty Wit, a part of Żywiec, former Bielsko-Biała Province: 1967: *Święty Wit,* 1982: *Święty Wit.* From the name of *św. Wit* (St. Vitus), patron of a shrine in Żywiec.

Święty Wojciech, a no longer existing village, today a part of Kalisz: Jasco, tribunus Kalisiensis announces that 1299: cupientes melioriationem ecclesie *sancti Adalberti* site apud antiquum castrum, Swantoslao vendidimus hereditatem ibidem iacentem iure Novi fori locandam, 1512: in villa nominata *Swyathowoczeszka,* 1522: kmetones dictos *Swyathowoyczeszanye* contignos (!) ecclesie *s. Adalberti* extra muros Calissienses site tentute, 1579: *Swęti Woyczіech.* From the name of *św. Wojciech* (St. Adalbert), patron of a church in Kalisz. The name was initially inscribed in its Latin form.

Święty Wojciech, a village, former Gorzów Province, Międzyrzecz Commune: 1259: Ecclesia *s. Adalberti* de Medzirzecz, predicte Ville *sancti Adalberti,* 1278: de *villa Alberti,* 1419: *Suburbui sancti Adalberti,* 1420: kmethonem *swathego Woczecha,* 1475: *Swanty Woczyech,* 1510: *Swanthy Woczyech,* 1516: *przedmieście Św. Wojciecha,* 1564: Villa *Swięthy Uocziech,* 1580: *S. Adalberti,* 1893: *Wojciechowo,* 1902: *Wojciechowo,* 1951: *Święty Wojciech,* 1982: *Święty Wojciech.* From the name of *św. Wojciech* (in Latin *Sanct Adalbertus*), patron of a local church. The name was initially inscribed in its Latin form. It was later Polonized in the form of *Wojciechowo,* by addition of the *-owo* suffix. Periodically, the *Święty* element would disappear. After 1945, the historical name of *Święty Wojciech* was restored.

Święty Wojciech, a part of Poznań: Przemysł I gave the Church of St. Adalbert with a right of patronage to a bishop in 1244; the Church of St. Adalbert from

the 11th century, parish church since 1244; 1252: de fundo beati Martini et *sancti Adalberti* in quo civicatem ponere dispouimus et locare, 1408: de *Monte s. Adalberti* Poznaniensis, 1419: in Suburbio *sancti Adalberti,* 1531: in Suburbio *sancti Adalberti*, 1579: in bishop's village *Świety Wojciech*, 1619–1789: *Sanctus Adalbertus*, 1887: *Przedmieście Św. Wojciecha*, 1966: *Święty Wojciech*, commonly: *Wzgórze Świętego Wojciecha.* From the name of *św. Wojciech* (St. Adalbert), patron of a church around which former suburbs of Poznań were developed. The church is located on a hill which became established in the Latin form *Mons Sancti Adalberti* and the common name of *Wzgórze Świętego Wojciecha.*

Trójca Święta, a part of Koszęcin, former Częstochowa Province, Koszęcin Commune: 1845: *Sand* od. *Dreifaltigkeit, Na Pioska (Swęta Troica, Filialkirche),* 1864: die Weiler *Swięta trojca*, 1886: *Swięta-Trojca*, 1887: *Swienta Troica*, 1919: *Trojca = Swienta T.*, 1919: *Swienta = Trojca* subsequently, 1927: *Trójca*, 1930: *Trójca (Troica),* 1931: *Trójca Święta*, 1931: *Swięta Trojca, Swienta Troica, Trójca* po, 1982: *Trójca Święta.* From *Święta Trójca* (Holy Trinity), the name of a 15th century local wooden church.

Wawrzeńczyce, former *Ławrzeńczyce*, a village, former Kraków Province, Igołomia Commune: 1149: (de) *Laurencit*, 1167–85: de *Laurentic*, 1245: in *Laurincewic*, 1273: villam *Wawrzinczicz, Laurenczicze*, 1281: in *Laurinych*, 1325: Plebanus ecclesie de *Laurenticz*, plebanus ecclesie de *sancto Laurentio* banus ecclesie de *Laurenticz*, plebanus ecclesie de *sancto Laurentio*, 1397: *Laurzanczicze*, 1400: *Laurinczicze*, 1441: *Wawrzanczicze*, 1629: *Wawrzynczyce*, 1787: *Wawrzenczyce, Wawrzęcice*, 1827: *Wawrzeńczyce*, 1982: *Wawrzeńczyce.* From the name of *św. Wawrzyniec* (= Latin *Laurentius*), patron of a local church, with suffix *-ice.*

Witowa Góra, a no longer existing village near Biskupice, former Kalisz Province: 1419: gran. Sycorzyn, Biskupice et *Witowa Gora.* From the name of *św. Wit* (St. Vitus), patron of a church in Koszanów and from appelative *góra* (mountain).

Wola świętej Doroty, a no longer existing village in the former Radom Province: 1674: *Wola świętej Doroty.* From the name of *św. Dorota* (St. Dorothy), patron of a local church, and from *wola* 'libertas'.

Wszechświęte, a village, Oleśnica Commune in the former Wrocław Province: 1317: von *Allerheiligen*, 1376: apud *Omnes Sanctos*, 1743: *Allerheiligen*, 1845: *Allerheiligen*, 1941: *Wszyscy Święci*, 1951: *Wszechświęte*, 1982: *Wszechświęte.* The former German name of *Allerheiligen* was derived from *Allerheilige* 'All Saints', which was the name of a local church. The Latin form *Omnes Sanctos* is also testified along with its Polish translation *Wszyscy Święci*, in modern times *Wszechświęte* in the form of a phrasal compound.

Wsześwięte, today *Wszechświęte, -ty,* a village, Sadowie Commune, former Tarnobrzeg Province: 1422: *Wscheswante*, 1511–23: *Wszeswyathe*, 1511–23: *Wscheszwyante* villa habens ecclesiam in se parochialem Omnibus Sanctis dictam, Ipsa 1578: *Omnium Sanctorum*, 1881: *Wszechświete*, 1982: *Wszechświęte.* From *Wszyscy Święci* (All Saints), patrons of a local church in the form of a phrasal compound.

Researchers dealing with patrocinia also recorded 12 terrain names:

Adalbert, a field in Błociszewo, Śrem Commune, former Poznań Province. From the statue of St. Wojciech with an inscription reading *Adalbert.*

Chrystianów, a meadow in Kamienica in the Kazimierz lands, former Radom Province. Supposedly a former hermitage of St. Christian.

Góra Wszystkich Świętych, a hill in the Sudetes: 1951: *Allerheiligenberg*, 1951: *Góra Wszystkich Świętych.* The name probably derives from All Saint's Church, German *Allerheiligen*, Polish *Wszyscy Święci.*

Świętopietrze, parson's fields in Bojenice: they belonged to the Church of St. Peter in Gniezno, in the former Poznań Province: (XV) 1890: *Świetopietrze*, hence the name of the fields.

Święta Anna, a meadow in the cluster of homesteads known as Lądek, Słupca Commune, former Konin Province. The name derives from the feast of St. Anne when the meadow was granted to the priest.

Święta Anna, a part of the Błażejewo forest, Śrem Poviat, former Poznań Province. The name derives from the picture of St. Anne hanging on a tree.

Święta Trójca, a forest and a shrine, former Zamość Province, Biłgoraj Commune. From the name of the Shrine of the Holy Trinity.

Święty Jan, a field, former Leszno Province, Kościan Commune. From the name of the shrine of St. John.

Święty Jan, a field, former Leszno Province, Wolsztyn Commune. From the figure of St. John.

Święty Józef, a part of a forest, Środa Commune, former Poznań Province. From a picture of St. Joseph.

Święty Marcin, a part of forest, Środa Commune, former Poznań Province. A picture of St. Martin used to hang on a tree here.

Święty Marek, a forest and a field, village and cluster of homesteads known as Lubań, Czarnków Poviat, former Legnica Province. The name derives from the figure of St. Mark.

In total, 63 local names and 12 terrain names were collected. The majority of these names were created in the Middle Ages (19 names), mainly in the 13th

century (the earliest ones derive from the 12th century), in the 19th century (12) and in the 20th century (10). The table below shows that between the 16th and the 18th centuries, such names were created sporadically.

name	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th
Barbarka				x					
Braniewo		x							
Florencja		x							
Frombork		x							
Góra św. Jana			x						
Góra św. Wawrzyńca								x	
Góra Św. Anny							x		
Góra Św. Anny							x		
Góra Św. Anny						x			
Góra Św. Małgorzaty	x								
Góra Wawrzyńca									x
Just				x					
Katarzyna					x				
Kiszpork		x							
Malbork		x							
Mariackie									x
Mariówka									x
Mariańsko	x								
Marienberg		x							
Marzenin			x						
Mikołajki				x					
Probostwo Św. Ducha								x	
Skała Panny Marii		x							
Święta Anna						x			
Święta Anna			x						
Święta Barbara					x				
Święta Helena									x
Święta Katarzyna							x		
Święta Katarzyna		x							
Święta Rozalia								x	
Świętojańsko								x	
Świętomarz			x						
Świętopietrze				x					
Święty Gotard		x							
Święty Franciszek									x

Święty Jan	x								
Święty Jan									x
Święty Jan							x		
Święty Łazarz								x	
Święty Marcin		x							
Święty Marek								x	
Święty Materna				x					
Święty Mikołaj		x							
Święty Pietr								x	
Święty Roch								x	
Święty Roch									x
Święty Roch								x	
Święty Roch								x	
Święty Roch									x
Święty Roch								x	
Święty Roch									x
Święty Swirad			x						
Święty Wawrzyniec		x							
Święty Wit									x
Święty Wojciech		x							
Święty Wojciech		x							
Święty Wojciech		x							
Trójca Święta								x	
Wawrzeńczyce	x								
Witowa Góra				x					
Wola Św. Doroty						x			
Wszechświęte			x						
Wsześwięte				x					
	4	**15**	**6**	**7**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**12**	**10**

The names were created with the use of 32 names of saints. Among 20 male names, the most popular patron is *św. Jan* (St. John), whose name appeared in eight names and *św. Roch* (seven names); after these come *św. Wawrzyniec* (St. Lawrence) (four names), *św. Wojciech* (St. Adalbert) in the Latin form of *Adalbert* and in the Polish form of *Wojciech* (four names), *św. Piotr* (St. Peter) (three names), *św. Mikołaj* (St. Nicolaus), *św. Marek* (St. Mark), *św. Marcin* (St. Martin) and *św. Wit* (St. Vitus) (two names); names of remaining saints include: *Brunon, Chrystian, Florian, Franciszek, Gotard, Józef, Just, Łazarz, Maternus* and *Świerad;* they became the bases of individual names. Names of holy women appear in the names of the discussed type 11 times. The most popular patron is the Blessed Virgin Mary; her name in its full form of *Maria* (Polish, German and Latin) and in Old-Polish diminutive forms such as *Marza, Marzena, Marzana* was used for creating nine names. This resulted from the

special cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Poland. The name of *św. Anna* (St. Anne) was used to create eight names; *św. Katarzyna* (St. Catherine) was used to create three names, *św. Barbara* (St. Barbara) (two names); names of other saints, *św. Dorota, św. Helena, św. Małgorzata* and *św. Rozalia*, can be found in individual place names. The cult of saints in Poland is also testified by the names of patrons such as *All Saints* (three names) and holy persons: *Christ* (one name), *Holy Trinity* (two names) and the *Holy Spirit* (one name). According to the *patrocinia* division, names deriving from the names of male saints can be included among the so-called hagiographic *patrocinia*, encompassing addresses to Biblical saints, apostles, Evangelists and martyrs (among them the names of Slavic and Polish saints: *Wojciech ~ Adalbert* and *Swierad*). Among names deriving from names of holy women, Mary's *patrocinia* are dominant; they are created from the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Among *patrocinia* deriving from names of saints, there are Christological *patrocinia (Kiszpork)* and Trinitarian ones *(Trójca Święta, Probostwo Świętego Ducha).*

The above-listed local names were created in relation to names of saints who were patrons of churches in former developments. The church and potentially the land belonging to it constituted the property of the saint; the holy patron was almost a legal person who represented the Church and its property. This is testified by historical inscriptions of names which have been recorded since the Middle Ages, e.g. 1259: Ecclesia *s. Adalberti* de Medzirzecz, predicte Ville *sancti Adalberti* for the name of *Święty Wojciech* in the former Gorzów Province in the Międzyrzecz Commune. Gradually, the name of the church would be extended onto the development built around it, e.g. 1278: de *villa Alberti*. This would usually take place in such a manner that the name of a saint—by inflectional derivation—would be transformed from a genitive form into a nominative form, e.g. 1278: de *villa Alberti* > 1475: *Swanty Woczyech.*

The above fact explains the high number of compounds among local names, which are formally equal to the name of a saint: *Święta Anna, Święty Roch* (in total, 31 names).

These were original formations for the discussed type of local names. Other compounds are a different form of this type. These are such names as *Góra świętego Wawrzyńca, Probostwo Świętego Ducha, Folwark Świętej Katarzyny.* The term characterizing the location of a village or the character of a facility was supplemented by the name of a holy patron in the genitive, e.g. 1415: circa *Sanctum Jodocum* > 1537: villa *sancti Jodoci* > 1538: *Mons sancti Iodoci*, 1581: *Jostowa gora* > 1672: *Justowa Gora;* 1145–1349: *Góra* > 1410: *Góra Św. Małgorzaty.* There are 15 such names. Appellatives function as identifying elements: mountain, parish, well, grange, rock, place and suburb. Only 'mountain' appears several times (in eight names). The names have not always retained such form. Sometimes, they would appear periodically, e.g. a

place which today is called *Skała,* temporarily had a name which could be translated as 'the Rock of Blessed Virgin Mary' *(Skała Marii Panny):* 1228: *Scala* ante Castrum, 1235: *Scala,* 1260: in loco, qui *Sancte Marie* uulgariter nuncupatur, 1275: *conuentus Magne Schale* vel in *Lapide Sancte Marie,* 1334: *Scala;* in the 14th century, the name *Skała* was restored. Sometimes, the appellative element would disappear and only the name of the saint would remain, with or without the word 'saint', e.g. 1415: circa *Sanctum Jodocum* > 1537: villa *sancti Jodoci* > 1538: *Mons sancti Iodoci*, 1581: *Jostowa gora* > 1672: *Justowa Gora* > 1794: *Iust;* 1662: *Miejsce Świętej Anny* > 1890: *Święta Anna* al. *Smardzewice.*

Other morphological forms of names appear infrequently. Two names have the form of phrasal compounds, i.e. *Wszechświęte;* names of three places *Świętomarz* (original combination, later phrasal compound), *Świętopietrze* and *Świętojańsko* have the form of a compound with connective *o*.

Derivatives from the name of a saint with a suffix typical for Polish toponyms, e.g. *Mariackie, Mariówka, Mariańsko* and *Marzenin* are even rarer. There are only seven of them. Possessive formants were mainly used: *-ów (Chrystianów), -in (Marzeniu), -sko (Mariańsko);* in exceptional cases patronymic formants *(Wawrzeńczyce)* and the form of ancestral names *(Mikołajki).* These formants also appear in structural functions. This situation was justified by political and social facts. Poland adopted Christianity relatively late; for a long time, Christianity was the religion of the higher classes; the network of churches and monasteries—in comparison to Western Europe—was very sparse; furthermore, local and national saints were missing for a long time. Christian cult names were created upon the Western model; therefore, all derivational types were used and not every local name would undergo such developmental stages as in Western Europe. In this group, it is also necessary to include phonetic and morphological transformations of names that were originally German. In German, they had the form of composed names, proper to the forms of names of German monasteries and place names: *Brunsberg (> Braniewo), Christburg (> Kiszpork), Frauenburg (> Frombork), Marienburg (> Malbork).*

Linguistic processes which took place in the presented types of names are worth mentioning. In some names, the element *święty* (saint) would be subjected to ellipsis in the old times (1789: *folw. S. Katarzyny* > 1827: *Katarzyna folwark* > 1882: *Katarzyna;* 1276: *Castrum Sentemarienburg* > 1296: *Marienburg;* 1444: *S. Niclos, Sanct Niclas, Nicolaiken* > 1493: *Niklasdorf,* i.e. *Nikolaiken;* 1525: *S. Katthrin* > 1666: *Cathern;* 1845: *St. Markusdorf* > 1887: *Markusdorf;* 1470: *ad s. Maternum* > 1583: *Materna;* 1335: *De Sancto Sverado* > 1382: Nicolai *de Swirad* > 1629: *Świ(e)rad;* 1580: *S. Adalberti,* 1893: *Wojciechowo,* 1902: *Wojciechowo;* 1887: *Swienta Troica* > 1927:

Trójca); this resulted from close emotional ties between the believers and their patron. In the 1960s and 1980s the changes (e.g. 1967: *Góra Św. Jana* > *Góra Jana*) were initiated by the authorities; they were official and aimed at secularization of social life. Some names never had the 'saint' element in them: *Braniewo,* German *Brunsberg; Frombork,* German *Frauenburg; Góra Świętej Anny,* German *Annaberg; Góra Św. Anny,* German *Annenberg; Góra Wawrzyńca; Kiszpork,* German *Christburg; Mariackie, Mariówka, Mariańsko, Marzenin, Witowa Góra.* The motivation for the giving of such names is testified by historical data, confirming the existence of churches addressed to specific saints in such places. Sometimes, the names refer to localities with names that were originally German, making reference to commonly known holy patrons.

In some cases, such names as *Święty Jan* received additional elements, e.g. 1783–1896: *Święta Anna* > from 1941: *Góra św. Anny;* 1951: *Święty Roch* > *Nysa-Święty Roch;* 1779: *Święty Marcin* > *Przedmieście św. Marcina; Święty Wojciech* > *Przedmieście św. Wojciecha;* or were subject to additional morphological transformations, e.g. 1789: *Święty Jan* > 1902: *Dolina Św. Jańska* > 1921: *Świętojańska Dolina.*

In some cases, a deeply rooted earlier name of a settlement was replaced by a newer name related to a patrocinium, at least periodically, e.g. 1228: *Scala* ante Castrum, 1235: *Scala,* 1260: in loco, qui *Sancte Marie* uulgariter nuncupatur, 1275: *conuentus Magne Schale* vel in *Lapide Sancte Marie,* 1334: *Scala.* In other cases, the original patrocinium was later replaced by a completely different name, e.g. today's *Kleparz* (a part of Cracow) used to be called *Florencja:* 1271: *Święty Florian,* 1358: *Florencja,* 1392: *Klepars; Święty Swierad,* recorded from 1307 since 1629 called *Tropie:* 1307: filius Sbroslay heres de *Sancto Sweredio,* 1335: *De Sancto Sverado,* 1382: Nicolai *de Swirad,* 1456: plebano *ad Sanctum Swirad,* 1629: *Swirad* al. *Tropie, Swierad.*

Many among the discussed names are names inscribed originally in their Latin forms, sometimes solely in Latin. There are 23 of them and their inscriptions span the period from the end of the 12th to the 15th century. There are six names that are inscribed solely in Latin and they refer to facilities that no longer exist or that bear different names. They belong to names recorded in the 13th century: 1260: *Mons Sanctae Mariae,* today Pelplin; 1275: *conuentus Magne Schale* vel in *Lapide Sancte Marie,* today Skała; 1250: in foro *beati Nicolai,* today Lądek; until 1629: *Święty Swirad* > *Swi*(*e*)*rad,* today Tropie; 1219: de loco *sancti Laurencii,* today Kościelna Wieś; 1244: *Sancti Gothardi,* no longer existing.

There are 25 names that had Polish forms from the very beginning and they derive from a later period; in the main, they were recorded in the 19th century, e.g. 1881: *Góra świętego Wawrzyńca,* 1890: *Świętego Ducha Probostwo.*

However, there are also names whose history dates back to the Middle Ages and which had Polish forms, e.g. *Mariańsko:* 1191: *Margansko* and such whose original Polish form was periodically replaced by a Latin form, e.g. settlement *Świętopietrze:* finally 1439: *Swiętopietrze,* in the 16th century, the name was inscribed as 1510: *ad sanctum Petrum.*

The material also features a group of fifteen names with an original German form. They are recorded in greatest numbers in the 13th century and in the 18th and 19th centuries. Their German forms were adapted to the Polish language with respect to phonetics and morphology (e.g. *Marienburg* > *Malbork*) or constitute some sort of translation—the German form of a saint's name was replaced by a Polish equivalent, e.g. 1845: *St. Markusdorf* ~ 1948: *Święty Marek.*

Geographic distribution of such names in Poland shows that 25 of them (out of 75 names in total) appear in Western Poland, mainly in Wielkopolska, but also in Silesia (14) and in Pomerania (9), as well as in Central Poland, and even in the vicinity of the historical borders of Greater Poland (10). It is also necessary to note that there are 11 names of this type in the south of Poland. They do not appear in the eastern part of the country. In Greater Poland, there are also names of meadows, fields, forests such as *Święty Józef* (from the picture of St. Joseph) and *Święta Anna* (the meadow which was given to the priest on St. Anne's day). The geography of the discussed names confirms a suggestion expressed by M. BUCZYŃSKI that they emerged in Poland following a Western European model, and especially under German influence; they were modelled upon names introduced by Benedictine, Cistercian and Franciscan monks. The strangeness of such names in the Polish onomastic system is testified by their small number and the untypical form consisting in the transfer of a saint's name in the singular nominative form to a geographical name. Genitive forms testify to adaption to the domestic system, e.g. *Góra Świętej Anny* and derivative forms, e.g. *Wawrzyńczyce*—from the name of St. Lawrence's Church, *Mariańsko* and *Marzenin* from the name of Blessed Virgin Mary. However, such adaptations are relatively scarce.

The occurrence of geographical names, mainly place names, which derive from names of saints (patrons of churches, chapels and orders) is related to numerous factors, both general and local. Among general factors is—as it seems—the epoch during which there were conditions conducive to the establishment of such names. Poland adopted Christianity relatively late; hence, place names related to holy patrons are infrequent. Another important factor is the specific character of religious culture of the Mediterranean countries, where the cult of saints and the tradition of close co-existence with them resulted in the great popularity of names of this type. In Poland, the

Blessed Virgin Mary enjoyed particular worship, which is testified by this material, even though every church parish has always had its holy patron.

This state of affairs was determined by several factors. The first of them is related to the time of Christianization. In the 9th and 10th centuries, settlement was well developed in Poland and villages had their traditional names with topographic or ownership character. People showed strong attachment to the existing names, especially when they referred to the system of land ownership (possessive names). Moreover, Christianity was introduced in Poland in a top-down manner by the king and state authorities; bishoprics and monasteries were set up; churches were funded along with being awarded landed property. Apart from the mission of St. Adalbert, which has left its mark in Polish and Czech onomastics, Poland was not an area of missions. It is characteristic that in Poland there are no names deriving from St. Cyril and St. Methodius. Poland had very few of its own saints (for example Sw. Swierad) and their worship was not as vital and it did not develop to such a degree as in other European countries. In Poland, names of this type feature mainly names known from the Gospels, e.g. *Jan, Anna, Piotr, Józef, Marcin, Marek, Łazarz,* and also *Katarzyna, Barbara, Wojciech, Roch* and *Wit.* Furthermore, names like *Święta Anna* (in singular nominative, without derivation) are structurally foreign to Slavic onomastics. The name of a saint was also used with respect to religious buildings. In the course of time, it would be transferred onto settlements adjoining the church or the monastery.

It is necessary to add that this onomastic type is not limited solely to local names. It is encountered particularly frequently in the names of streets, e.g. streets of *Panny Maryi, Św. Franciszka, Św. Ducha* or *Świętoduska* in Lublin, streets of *Św. Piotra, Św. Wojciecha, Św. Mikołaja* in Gdańsk, streets of *Św. Jana, Świętokrzyska* in Warsaw, streets of *Św. Jana, Św. Marka, Plac Mariacki* in Cracow, streets of *Św. Floriana, Św. Trójcy,* square of *Św. Wojciecha* in Bydgoszcz. Names of streets deriving from names of patrons of churches located by such streets are encountered in practically all Polish cities. Patronal addresses solidified in the names of churches, chapels, cemeteries and other religious facilities are regularly transferred to names of streets and squares located nearby. They are also revealed in the names of institutions related to charitable and educational activities of the Church. This group features the names of hospitals, hospices, orphanages, common rooms, e.g. in Cracow, the hospital of St. Sebastian and St. Roch, the hospital of the Holy Spirit Hospitallers, in Warsaw the Clinical Hospital of Baby Jesus, in Bydgoszcz the Holy Spirit Hospital. The issue is similar with the names of schools and seminaries, e.g. the Catholic Primary School of Gniezno Archdiocese of St. Adalbert in Bydgoszcz. *Patrocinia* in these categories are encountered very often in contrast to local names and constitute a living category in municipal

onomastics. They have been subject to numerous changes caused by political factors. After World War II, names of streets deriving from holy patrons were changed, e.g. in Cracow, the street of St. Mark (and others) was renamed as *ul. Marka* (Mark's Street). It was only in the 1990s that historical names were restored. This phenomenon is also observable with respect to local names.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the names of saints who were patrons protecting people from various misfortunes in folk culture are present in the folk names of plants, e.g. *św. Piotra ziele* or *łysina* 'Scabiosa succisa, St. John's wort' counteracts charms cast upon cattle, whereas *świętojańskie ziele* 'Artemisia vulgaris' collected on the night of St. John protects from all diseases. According to the advocates of folk culture, herbs which have the names of holy patrons possess unique medicinal properties; they restore health and strength, cleanse the body and remove sickness, infirmity and unchastity, i.e. anything that can be associated with the workings of forces that bring evil to people, such as evil spirits and demons.

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