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Sources on the history of Premonstratensian nunneries in medieval Bohemia in Czech archives and libraries*

Zarys treści: Likwidacja klasztorów norbertanek w Doksanach i Chotěšovie w Czechach w wyniku reform Józefa II w końcu XVIII w. miała bezpośredni wpływ na przetrwanie źródeł do ich dziejów. Obecnie są one rozproszone w wielu miejscach, zarówno w archiwach, jak i bibliotekach. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zwrócenie uwagi na instytucje i zespoły, w których przechowywane są te źródła do dziś.

Abstract: The dissolution of the female Premonstratensian convents of Doksany and Chotěšov in Bohemia during the reforms of Joseph II at the end of the eighteenth century had a direct impact on the preservation of the sources of their history. Now, they are scattered in more places, both archives and libraries. This paper aims to draw attention to the institutions and fonds where these sources are deposited today.

Słowa kluczowe: Czechy, norbertanki, Zgromadzenie Sióstr Kanoniczek Regularnych Zakonu Premonstratensów, kasata klasztorów za Józefa II, Chotěšov, Doksany, Louňovice pod Bláníkem

Keywords: Bohemia, Premonstratensians, Order of Canons Regular of Prémontré, dissolution of monasteries under Joseph II, Chotěšov, Doksany, Louňovice pod Bláníkem

The abolition of Premonstratensian convents in Bohemia due to the reforms introduced by Joseph II directly impacted the preservation of their historical sources, which are scattered in many places now. This paper aims to draw attention to the institutions and fonds containing these sources today.

The introduction of the Premonstratensian Order to the Czech lands is mainly attributable to the bishop of Olomouc, Jindřich Zdík (1126–1150), who became acquainted with the order during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹ At his instigation, Duke and later King of Bohemia Vladislaus II (1140–1172), together with his wife Gertrude of Babenberg, founded the first Bohemian religious house of the Premonstratensian Order in Prague at Strahov (1143). In close connection with the foundation of the male monastery, a female convent was established as well. At that time, the original idea of so-called double monasteries, where male and female monasteries existed side by side in one location, had already

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¹ N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense: Id est Historia Circariarum atque Canoniarum candidi et canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis*, vol. 1, parts 1–2, Berlin 2018, p. 339.

been abandoned. Therefore, the female convent was located in Doksany, approximately 50 kilometers north of Prague. It was a prestigious foundation intended for the daughters of the ruling Přemyslids and leading noble families, who were also sent to convents to be educated. According to tradition, one of the girls educated in the monastery was St Agnes of Bohemia, the founder of the monastery of the Friars Minor and the Poor Clares in Prague Na Františku.²

The second Premonstratensian convent was founded from the monastery in Želiv only a few years later, around the middle of the twelfth century, southeast of Prague in Louňovice pod Blaníkem. The foundation of the Louňovice cloister was the work of the abbot of Želiv Gottschalk; according to the chronicler Jarloch (Gerlach), the implementation of this plan was entrusted to the canon Heinrich, a learned man and physician, who had come to Bohemia from Steinfeld with a group of monks led by Gottschalk to take care of the vacated monastery in Želiv. Gottschalk's niece Judith was one of the first nuns to arrive in Louňovice from the convent of Dünwald. In the early years of its existence, the monastery seems to have thrived with Gottschalk's generous support, which made it possible to populate the nunneries in Pernegg, Austria, and Kounice, Moravia, from Louňovice a few years later.³

The foundation of the last Premonstratensian nunnery in Chotěšov in West Bohemia is closely associated with the Premonstratensian abbey in Teplá and its founder, Blessed Hroznata, who established Chotěšov with the help of his sister Vojslava between 1197 and 1201. Although Chotěšov did not achieve the same prestige as Doksany, it became a respected institution entered by girls from the surrounding noble families in its region. After the fall of King Přemysl Otakar II, the cloister was plundered, but in 1282, it was reconsecrated. The Chotěšov convent flourished during the reign of Charles IV when it became one of the wealthiest Czech cloisters.⁴

The fates of all three convents were significantly affected by the Hussite Wars when the cloisters were attacked and destroyed by the Hussite hordes. In the case of Louňovice, this attack led to the dissolution of the convent,⁵ also resulting in the absence of any direct written sources on its history.

² The basic literature on the history of the Doksany convent with references to earlier literature, see: N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratenses*, pp. 347–350; K. Čermák, *Premonstráti v Čechách a na Moravě: stručné vypsání osudů jednotlivých bud' ještě stávajících neb již vyhlazených klášterů toho řádu dle roků jich založení*, Praha 1877, pp. 129–173; P. Vlček, P. Sommer, D. Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů*, Praha 1997, pp. 212–216. From the earlier literature, see esp. J. Míka, *Das ruhmwürdige Doxan*, Leitmeritz 1726. A modern publication on Doksany history is still lacking; from smaller works, see H. Kuchařová, *Kláster premonstrátek v Doksanech*, in: *Slánské rozhovory 2012: Klášter premonstrátek v Doksanech a Slánsko*, Slaný 2013, pp. 9–14; and the works of Hana Pátková dealing with not only Doksany but also Chotěšov: H. Pátková, *Chotěšov a Doksany ve 13. století. Dva kláštery premonstrátek v době posledních Přemyslovců*, in: *Košciól w monarchiach Przemyslidów i Piastów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Gniezno, 21–24 września 2006 roku*, ed. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2009, pp. 251–258; ead., *Ženské kláštery v pohusitských Čechách – premonstrátky*, in: *Sanctimoniales. Zakony żeńskie w Polsce i Europie Środkowej (do przelomu XVIII i XIX wieku)*, eds A. Radzimiński, D. Karczewski, Z. Zygalski, Bydgoszcz 2010, pp. 151–161.

³ *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2, ed. J. Emler, Pragae 1874, pp. 484–485, 498–504. The basic literature on the history of the Louňovice convent with references to earlier literature, see N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, pp. 364–365; K. Čermák, *Premonstráti v Čechách*, pp. 239–243; P. Vlček, P. Sommer, D. Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů*, pp. 352–354. Further reading, see P. Radoměský, *Nejstarší dějiny Louňovic pod Blaníkem*, part 1, “Časopis Národního muzea”, 133, 1964, pp. 67–90; id., *Nejstarší dějiny Louňovic pod Blaníkem*, part 2, “Časopis Národního muzea”, 134, 1965, pp. 12–27; V. Brych, Z. Dragoun, R. Křivánek, *Geofyzikální průzkum zaniklé kanonie premonstrátek v Louňovicích pod Blaníkem (předběžné výsledky v roce 2008)*, in: *Vladislav II.: druhý král z Přemyslova rodu: k 850. výročí jeho korunovace*, eds M. Mašek, P. Sommer, J. Žemlička, Praha 2009, pp. 107–115.

⁴ The basic information on the history of the Chotěšov nunnery with references to earlier literature, see N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, pp. 343–346; K. Čermák, *Premonstráti v Čechách*, pp. 393–433; P. Vlček, P. Sommer, D. Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů*, pp. 254–257. Unlike the previous monasteries, Chotěšov and its history is the subject of a monograph by M. Hlinomaz, *Dějiny kláštera premonstrátek Chotěšov*, České Budějovice 2009. For the earliest history of the convent and its founders, see P. Kubín, *Ctihodná Vojslava: nejstarší životopis české šlechtičny*, “Minulostí západočeského kraje”, 38, 2003, pp. 35–44; id., *Bl. Hroznata z Teplé ve světle nového bádání*, “Minulostí Západočeského kraje”, 52, 2017, pp. 10–35. On the abolition of the convent, see J. Krček, *Rušení klášterů na Plzeňsku: Kladruby, Plasy a Chotěšov v době josefínských reforem*, Plzeň 2013, pp. 127–149.

⁵ The convent was probably attacked in August 1420, when the Taborites occupied the hill Malý Blaník near Vlašim, see, most recently, F. Šmahel, M. Drda, F. Janda, J. Bumerl, *Tábor I. Od počátku osídlení do roku 1452*, Praha 2020, pp. 108–109,

Therefore, information can only be drawn from sources outside the convent itself, for the earliest period of the history of the nunnery mainly from the chronicle of the abbot of Milevsko Jarloch,⁶ and for the later period from reports concerning the possessions of the convent.⁷

The nunneries in Doksany and Chotěšov did not disappear, but the post-Hussite period was a time of economic hardship and a decline in monastic life. The cloisters did not flourish again until after the Battle of White Mountain, when the economic situation of both convents gradually consolidated, and their complexes underwent a Baroque reconstruction.⁸ Because of the focus of the order, the Premonstratensian nuns devoted themselves to choral prayer and contemplative life in strict seclusion, as a result of which their convents were included among the cloisters to be dissolved during the Josephine reforms. The dissolution was effected by the court decree of 8 March 1782.⁹ In the case of both convents, it also meant the disappearance of their archives and libraries, which directly impacted the preservation of sources and their history.¹⁰

The execution of the decision to dissolve the convents was entrusted to commissions headed by commissioners appointed by the Bohemian Land Gubernium (České gubernium). In the case of the Chotěšov convent, it was the governor of the Pilsen region, Kasimir Wiedersperger von Wiedersperg, and in the case of Doksany, it was the governor of the Rakovník region, Philipp Franz Count Kolowrat-Krakowský.¹¹ The access of the commissioners to the libraries and archives of the dissolved monasteries was regulated by the imperial rescript of 12 January 1782. Nevertheless, only three days later (on 15 January 1782), it was followed by the issuance of another decree, which ordered the commissioners carrying out the dissolution of individual monasteries and convents in the regions to take special care of books, manuscripts and documents. According to this decree, their inventories were to be made by persons appointed by the commissary directly in the cloister. The court decree of 20 May then ordered that all the books, manuscripts and documents from the dissolved monasteries and convents in Bohemia be transferred to the Imperial-Royal University Library in Prague. The task of taking over the books was entrusted to its librarian, Karel Rafael Ungar.¹² The archive and the library from Chotěšov already arrived in Prague on 30 May.¹³ Still, the receipt of the shipment from Doksany was confirmed by Ungar as late as 3 July 1782, when he took over the archive and the library, stored in 15 boxes, as well as two globes and the old seal-devices of Doksany.¹⁴ It was not until the court decree of 23 September 1782 that the libraries, manuscripts and documents were assigned to the university and lyceum libraries in the lands where the cloisters were located. Duplicate books were allowed to be sold at

390, note 49. In 1437, Emperor Sigismund gave the city of Tábor two towns and 33 villages from the property of the former convent in Louňovice, *ibid.*, pp. 233–235.

⁶ *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 2, pp. 484–485, 498–504.

⁷ Synoptically, see P. Radoměský, *Nejstarší dějiny*, part 1, pp. 72–76.

⁸ P. Vlček, P. Sommer, D. Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů*, pp. 213–215, 255–257.

⁹ E. Winter, *Josefinismus a jeho dějiny: příspěvky k duchovním dějinám Čech a Moravy 1740–1848*, Praha 1945, pp. 117–123; K. Beránek, V. Beránková, *Rušení klášterů v Čechách za Josefa II.*, in: *Pražské arcibiskupství 1344–1994: sborník statí o jeho působení a významu v české zemi*, eds Z. Hledíková, J.V. Polc, Praha 1994, pp. 209–224.

¹⁰ For more details on the Chotěšov library, see M. Hlinomaz, *Dějiny kláštera*, pp. 156–162; M. Hradilová, ‘*Habent sua fata libelli*’. *Osudy knihovny premonstrátského kláštera v Chotěšově v době josefínských reforem*, in: *Lux secretis inclusa claustralibus. Ženské kláštery zrušené v době josefínských reforem*, ed. L. Heilandová, Praha 2023, pp. 61–78. For both libraries, see R. Modráková, *Knihovny ženských klášterů v pohusitském období*, “*Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae – Historia Litterarum*”, 65, 2020, pp. 29–31; and M. Hradilová, *Prameny k dějinám knihoven premonstrátských klášterů v Doksanech a Chotěšově*, “*Knihy a dějiny*”, 30, 2023, pp. 117–130.

¹¹ The inappropriate approach of Count Kolowrat to the dissolution of the convent led to his dismissal and the appointment of a new commission, headed by the governor of the Kouřim region, Karl Josef Biener of Bienenberg, most recently, see H. Kuchařová, *Osudy poslední komunity kláštera premonstrátek v Doksanech*, “*Minulostí západočeského kraje*”, 52, 2017, pp. 165–166.

¹² M. Pavlíková, *Pražská univerzitní knihovna za správy K.R. Ungara*, “*Ročenka Univerzitní knihovny v Praze*”, 1957, p. 17.

¹³ Národní archiv České republiky (National Archives of the Czech Republic; hereinafter: NA), fonds České gubernium – Publicum, box 688, shelf mark F2, 21/11, letter of 6 June 1782.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, box 685, shelf mark F2, 21/10, consignment of 3 July 1782.

auction, and the money raised could be used to buy new books. Added copies or damaged books marked as worthless could be sold as waste paper. The Court Library in Vienna then had the right to select the most valuable books according to the catalogues that were to be sent to it. At the same time, the decree contained provisions on how the monastery archives were to be dealt with. Books and documents of an economic nature (e.g. accounts and land registers) were to be returned to the economic authorities or the administration of the chamber estates. Endowment and foundation charters were to be deposited with the Vienna Court Library,¹⁵ which, however, requested only a few documents over ten years. The archives of the dissolved monasteries and convents were much more severely affected in 1811, when most documents were handed over to the House, Court and State Archives in Vienna. In the case of Chotěšov, this concerned 103 charters from 1213–1761, and in the case of Doksany, it was 54 charters from 1226–1754.¹⁶ As part of the archival separation of 1920, these charters were returned to Czechoslovakia and deposited in the Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, a predecessor of the current Národní archiv České republiky (National Archives in Prague). The archival materials that remained in the University Library were not taken over by the Archives of the Ministry of the Interior until 1950 in exchange for some manuscripts.¹⁷ These documents now form a separate fonds in the National Archives, namely the Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II (the Archives of the Bohemian Monasteries Dissolved under Joseph II; AZK),¹⁸ ordered alphabetically by individual monastic orders and religious houses in Bohemia.

The collection of the medieval charters of the Doksany convent contains 62 documents from the period between 1226 and 1521. Twenty-four rulers' charters mainly concern monastic estates; only Louis II of Hungary granted the convent in 1519 a seal and the right to seal with red wax. Extant charters include those of Přemysl Otakar I (1226), Wenceslas I (1232, 1249), Přemysl Otakar II (1261, 1276 – 3x), Wenceslas II (1290, 1291), John the Blind (1331, 1336 – 2x, 1339), Charles IV (1334 – still as Margrave of Moravia, 1358), Sigismund of Luxembourg (1436), Vladislaus of Bohemia/Vladislaus II of Hungary (1479, 1480, 1482, 1490, 1505), and Louis II of Hungary (1519 – 3x). In addition, the convent had the charter of protection issued by Pope Gregory X (1273) and the exemption of its estates from tithes granted by Pope Boniface IX (1399). In 1519, two charters of the superior of the Bohemian province of the Dominican Order were granted to the order for its participation in the spiritual graces.¹⁹

The Chotěšov collection of documents begins with the charter of King Přemysl Otakar I from 1213; and until 1526, there were 272 deeds in total. It is worth mentioning the very numerous documents from the Hussite and post-Hussite periods, specifically 137 documents from 1421–1500 and 23 from 1501–1526. In terms of content and issuers, the collection contains a relatively large number of rulers' charters (78 documents), beginning with Přemysl Otakar I (1213), followed by Wenceslas I (1235, 1236, 1238, 1248), Přemysl Otakar II (1253, 1266, 1271, 1275), Wenceslas II (1284, 1288 – 2x, 1297, 1299), John the Blind (1315, 1325 – 5x, 1339), Charles IV (1354, 1358 – 2x), Wenceslas IV (1383, 1387, 1406 – 2x, 1418), Sigismund of Luxemburg (1421 – 6 deeds of pledge for monastic estates, 1422, 1423, 1430, 1434, 1437), Ladislaus the Posthumous (1453 – 4x, 1455), George of Poděbrady (1463, 1464, 1467, 1468 – 3 deeds of pledge, 1469, 1470 – 4 deeds of pledge, 1471), Vladislaus of Bohemia /

¹⁵ M. Pavlíková, *Pražská univerzitní knihovna*, pp. 17–18.

¹⁶ A. Schubert, *Urkunden-Regesten aus den ehemaligen Archiven der von Kaiser Joseph II. aufgehobenen Klöster Böhmens*, Innsbruck 1901, pp. XXIV–XXV. An overview of the documents deposited in the Prague University Library: Doksany: documents from 1349–1758; Chotěšov: documents from 1274–1761, pp. 216–230.

¹⁷ Some have remained part of the National Library collections to this day, for more details, see K. Beránek, *Soupis archivních rukopisů a jiných archiválií v Univerzitní a v Strahovské knihovně v Praze*, “Sborník archivních prací”, 21, 1971, pp. 185–234.

¹⁸ An inventory of the fonds: J. Pražák, K. Beránek, F. Beneš, *Listiny českých zrušených klášterů 1115–1784, Inventář SÚA*, Praha 1961. The charters from both convents are published in the *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Bohemiae* (hereinafter: CDB) and *Regesta Diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae* (hereinafter: RBM), *Regesta Bohemiae et Moraviae aetatis Venceslai IV* (hereinafter: RBMV), vol. 5/1/1–3; A. Schubert, *Urkunden-Regesten*; and digitally on the Monasterium portal: <https://www.monasterium.net>.

¹⁹ Individual charters are also deposited in other fonds of the National Archives. Specifically one medieval charter from 1413 is placed in the fonds Archiv české koruny (Archives of the Crown of Bohemia).

Vladislaus II of Hungary (1472 – 3 deeds of pledge, 1473, 1475 – 2x, 1478, 1480, 1481 – 3x, 1483, 1487 – 2x, 1490, 1492, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1500, 1509 – 2x, 1523 – 2x). Several of these documents are privileges or confirmations; most concern individual monastic estates. Among other issuers, we should note the charter issued by Pope Gregory X, who took the monastery under his protection and confirmed its rights to its estates (1272). The spiritual life is the subject of the documents of various issuers. First of all, these include the letters of indulgence: for the faithful visiting the convent in 1380, 1383, 1406 – 2x; for specific persons in 1471 (the provost Jiří), 1473 (the nuns Ludmila and Anna). In 1463, Pope Pius II allowed the provost of Chotěšov to choose a confessor. Several times, the charters concern confraternity with another religious house or participation in spiritual graces: 1465 – the Premonstratensian monastery in Speinshart, 1473 – Franciscan Observants, 1494 and 1495 – Dominicans, 1511 – the Augustinian monastery in Rokycany, 1516 – the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia in Rome. The internal life of a monastery and the monastic discipline were covered by the charters of the Chotěšov provosts Oldřich (1380), Hartman (1384) and Sulek (1390). The status of the provosts, specifically the use of pontificals, is addressed in the charters of the abbots of Prémontré from 1460, 1464 and 1485.²⁰

In addition to the original documents, the AZK fonds also includes files of copied materials. Especially for Doksany, it is a fascicle entitled *Privilegia monasterii Doxanensis e veris originalibus ... per Norbertum preaeositum Doxanensem 1676*.²¹ It is a collection of modern copies of various ages. From the pre-Hussite period, it includes a charter of Pope Boniface IX from 1400, one of Wenceslas IV from 1413, and several charters of Doksany provosts (Jimram: 1405, Mikuláš: 1405, 1410, 1414, 1415) concerning monastic estates. From a later period, there are copies of the rulers' charters, specifically of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1436), Ladislaus the Posthumous (1454, 1456 – 2x), Vladislaus II (1479 – 2x, 1487, 1493, 1503, 1511), Louis II of Hungary (1519), of the charter of Jindřich Berka of Dubá (1457) and again of the charters of the provosts, namely Václav (1483, 1484) and Jan (1524). The charter of the provost Děpolt from 1460 is in a fascicle concerning the relationship between the convents in Chotěšov and Teplá.²²

The files of copied materials of the AZK fonds also comprise documents from Chotěšov, namely a copy of a bull of Pope Gregory X with a redrawn *rota*, abstracts of documents from 1410–1558, and a vidimus of the privileges issued by the town of Pilsen in 1750.²³ The other two fascicles contain copies of the confirmation of the charters by Ferdinand II, a copy of a charter issued by John the Blind (1325), the confirmation of a bull of Gregory X by Charles IV, the so-called Hroznata's Will – the charter of the founder of the Chotěšov and Teplá convents, in Czech and Latin, and its vidimuses by the city of Pilsen from 1598. Three of these vidimuses have been preserved in the original. From the same year, 1598, there is an extant vidimus of a charter of Duke and Bishop Henry Bretislaus (1197), along with plain copies of the charters of Charles IV (1334) and George of Poděbrady (1459 – 2x).²⁴ Documents are filed in this somewhat disorderly manner, not in chronological order, in other fascicles as well. These include copies of the charters of Vladislaus II (1489, 1502), Wenceslas I (1238), Wenceslas II (1299), Provost of the Mělník Chapter Otto (1243), Master of the Commandery of St John in the Lesser Town of Prague Jan (1253), Bishop of Prague Jan (1274), the visitor of the Order of St Mary Magdalene, Valter (1282), Provost Conrad (1303),²⁵ Prior Jan (1363), Mother Superior Markéta (1378, in German), Hartman of Touškov (1299), and Bušek of Radyně and his brothers (1324). From the post-Hussite period, there

²⁰ Likewise in this case, individual items are deposited in other collections as well, namely a charter from 1242 in the fonds Archiv české koruny and one charter from 1454 in the fonds České gubernium – Publicum.

²¹ NA, Archivy českých klášterů zrušených za Josefa II, box 52, inv. no. 2768.

²² Ibid., box 55, inv. no. 2816.

²³ Ibid., box 53, inv. no. 2775. The cover of the *vidimus* was made from a sheet of parchment from a Latin manuscript, probably from the early fourteenth century.

²⁴ Ibid., inv. no. 2776. The first fascicle with the confirmation of privileges is inserted into a cover made from a folio from the same medieval manuscript as the previous *vidimus*.

²⁵ This charter is accompanied by a note stating that it is a copy from the monastic annals, which were written by the provost Zacharias Bandhauer (1639–1657).

is a copy of a notarial act of Notary Vít of Mirovice (1429, redrawn signet), and Cardinal of St Sergius and St Bacchus Gabriel (1478).²⁶ Another file contains copies of the charters of Vladislaus II (1509, in Czech and German), Bishop of Simbalia Jan (1498) and the town of Dobřany (1487, again in Czech and German). Several subsequent inventory numbers contain copies of the charters of Vladislaus II (1497), Bishops of Prague Řehoř (1298) and Jan (1312),²⁷ Pope Gregory X (1272, the graphic elements of the charter are redrawn, including the signets of the cardinals),²⁸ and Přemysl Otakar II (1276), abstracts of charters from 1290, 1232, 1295, 1336 and 1516, an undated charter of King Wenceslas, and a virtually complete copy of a charter from 1528. These abstracts also contain information on the external features and surviving seals as well as on the place of the deposition of the respective documents. The file devoted to the relations between the convents of Chotěšov and Teplá contains copies of charters from the late fifteenth century (Jan, the prior of Chotěšov – 1460).²⁹

Sources on the history of both convents can also be found in other fonds in the National Archives in Prague.³⁰ The extensive fonds Archiv pražského arcibiskupství (Archives of the Prague Archbishopric; APA) contains several documents, but these mostly include later material dating from the second half of the sixteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century. They comprise relatively few medieval documents and only in copies or extracts.

Specifically for Doksany, there are two copies of a charter of Louis II of Hungary on the seal of the provosts from 1519, and an extract from the privileges of Vladislaus II made in the 1640s, probably in connection with a dispute over the position of the provosts of Doksany in relation to the mother monastery at Strahov.³¹ Concerning Chotěšov, there is an undated text from the seventeenth century, *Quanta olim dignitas fuerit praepositi Kotteschoviensis probata ex Chronica*, an account of the story of Provost Sulek (c. 1384–1412) and his fighting on the side of Wenceslaus IV.³² For both convents, there are also extant documents concerning benefices, dating from the eighteenth century, but containing, among other things, extracts from confirmation books from the fourteenth century and extracts from monastic annals.³³

Another extensive collection containing copies of medieval documents from Doksany and Chotěšov is the fonds Stará manipulace (Old Manipulation; SM). Nevertheless, most of the documents, both copies and originals, come from the period between the late sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. For the Chotěšov convent, there are copies of a bull of Pope Gregory X from 1273 with redrawn graphic elements and a copy of a privilege of Přemysl Otakar I from 1226, also partly with redrawn graphic elements; both copies are written in one hand and were made based on notarial copies from 1685, as evidenced by the transcribed notarial signatures.³⁴ The collection further comprises ‘Vajtah z majestátuo v a fundací ... MDXLIX’ [Extracts from the Letters of Majesty and Deeds of Foundation], two-paper double sheets sewn together. It contains brief abstracts of charters concerning the monastic estates of the convent in Doksany and records of donations. A copy of the provisions on the relation between the abbot of the Strahov monastery and the provost of Doksany from 1670 includes an insert of a charter from 1348 in which Abbot of Prémontré John regulates this relation.³⁵ A plain copy of a charter issued by Louis II of Hungary in 1519 appears separately³⁶ and as a copy of a notarial copy from 1731.³⁷

²⁶ Ibid., box 54, inv. no. 2794.

²⁷ Ibid., box 55, inv. nos. 2801, 2802.

²⁸ Ibid., inv. no. 2807.

²⁹ Ibid., inv. no. 2816.

³⁰ J. Křečková, P. Nevimová, *Přehled pramenů chotěšovského kláštera ve Státním ústředním archivu v Praze*, “Minulosti západočeského kraje”, 28, 2003, pp. 207–221.

³¹ NA, Archiv pražského arcibiskupství (Archives of the Prague Archbishopric; APA), box 2126, shelf mark C 123/4.

³² Ibid., box 2115, shelf mark C 121/5, LXI.

³³ Ibid., box 2439, shelf mark D 96/2.

³⁴ NA, Stará manipulace (Old Manipulation; hereinafter: SM), box 594, shelf mark D 8/1.

³⁵ Ibid., box 595, shelf mark D 8/3.

³⁶ NA, SM, box 595, D 8/2.

³⁷ NA, SM, P106, box 1727.

Similarly, a copy of a charter of Přemysl Otakar II from 1226 also appears with a copy of the notarial signature from 1731.³⁸

Nevertheless, we shall return to the Prague University Library, where Karel Rafael Ungar, based on inventories and physical inspection, sorted the books from the libraries of the individual monasteries into three groups: 1) books selected for the university library, 2) “useful and necessary” books, which could be sold profitably at auction, 3) “unnecessary” books, which were to be sold as waste paper or destroyed.³⁹ Most of these were printed books, although the items marked as unnecessary also included several files, especially those containing old monastic correspondence. The manuscripts that were originally part of the library collections were then often listed in inventories together with manuscripts from the monastery archives.⁴⁰

For Doksany, such an inventory of manuscripts has been preserved as part of the protocol⁴¹ that the university library received from the commission, along with the books sent in. The inventory lists fifteen volumes, and although the individual descriptions are brief, some manuscripts can be identified in the National Library collection. One of them is the oldest extant manuscript from Doksany, a martyrology with a necrology, written at the request of Sister Hedvika in 1373 by Strahov Premonstratensian Albert.⁴² This manuscript is the only remnant of the Doksany medieval library, probably destroyed during the Hussite Wars. Another manuscript, the statutes of the Prague mansionaries from the beginning of the fifteenth century,⁴³ probably came to the library later, as did a legal manuscript from 1524.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, it has not been possible to identify the manuscripts containing, according to the inventory, the lives of the saints of the order, the statutes of the order, the Rule of St Augustine, or a sermon on St Norbert.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the library collection contains a memorial book of Doksany monastic estates covering the period between 1522 and approximately 1600.⁴⁶ It is usually referred to as an *urbarium* or, based on the prevailing content, as a copybook and registers. The manuscript contains extracts from the registers of landed property (*tabulae terrae*, land tablets; s.d., 1499–1546), an *urbarium*, registers of correspondence, copies of several documents, an inventory of church jewels from 1522 and a record of the consecration of churches from the same year, as well as several memorial entries from 1453–1531, a copybook created after 1522, and variously inscribed instructions for the treatment of cattle. The book of remembrance from 1561–1619 contains records of *emptio venditio* (purchase and sale), contracts, testaments and other legal obligations of the subjects of the Premonstratensian nunnery in Doksany.⁴⁷ Another book of remembrance of the parish in Bohušovice includes records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁸ The manuscript listed in the inventory as ‘Garten Buch’ comprises documents from 1631–1644 concerning the gardens in Nové Kopisty, which were leased by the monastery in Doksany.⁴⁹

Information on the Chotěšov manuscripts is provided by a catalogue marked as an extract from the inventory of documents and books of the Chotěšov convent, which was made in the university

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ These were mostly prayer books, legends, mystical and ascetic literature, disputations and other books that did not conform to Enlightenment ideas; see, M. Pavlíková, *Pražská universitní knihovna*, p. 18.

⁴⁰ Mostly memorial books, copybooks of privileges and necrologies, etc.

⁴¹ NA, České gubernium – Publicum, box 685, shelf mark F2, 21/10, Consignation from 3 July 1782.

⁴² Národní knihovna České republiky (National Library of the Czech Republic; hereinafter: NK), shelf mark XIII D 25. Some manuscripts preserved in the National Library are accessible on the Manuscriptorium portal: <https://www.manuscriptorium.com>.

⁴³ NK, shelf mark XII F 2. The manuscript was probably originally deposited in the Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of St Vitus in Prague.

⁴⁴ NK, shelf mark XVII C 24. The manuscript contains a Czech translation of the Saxon-Magdeburg municipal law book called Weichbildvulgata; see, U. Oppitz, *Deutsche Rechtsbücher des Mittelalters*, vol. 1: *Beschreibung der Rechtsbücher*, Köln–Wien 1990, p. 48, no. 2.5 (manuscript 1277, with further references).

⁴⁵ It is likely that these were the manuscripts from the early modern period that K.R. Ungar discarded as worthless.

⁴⁶ NK, shelf mark XVII B 14.

⁴⁷ NK, shelf mark XVII C 38.

⁴⁸ NK, shelf mark XI C 10.

⁴⁹ NK, shelf mark VI D 19.

library and is now placed in the Archives of the National Library.⁵⁰ Whereas the descriptions of the contents of the manuscripts initially deposited in the archives are detailed and enable safe identification of the individual volumes, like in the case of the *urbaria* mentioned below, the descriptions of manuscripts that were part of the library collection are, with a few exceptions, very short and contain only a brief indication of the content of the manuscript, its format and the writing material. Today, the library collection includes 26 manuscript volumes from the Chotěšov convent,⁵¹ one of the oldest of which is a missal from around 1340.⁵² The monk depicted on the canon leaf is probably the provost of Chotěšov himself, Petr I (1326–1354), who is considered the commissioner of the manuscript.⁵³ For the monastery, he also procured a manuscript containing the collection of sermons *Sermones super epistolas dominicales* by Bertrand de la Tour and the collection of exempla *Pantheon miraculorum* by Stephen of Bourbon.⁵⁴ In the mid-fourteenth century, Scribe Jan copied directly for the Chotěšov nunnery a breviary and a psalter decorated with initials with amateurishly executed fleurons.⁵⁵ A manuscript from the fifteenth century is the Chotěšov necrology, started in 1489 but written based on earlier texts.⁵⁶ Valuable sources on the property situation of the monastery are the two *urbaria* (land registers) mentioned above, namely the *urbarium* of the Chotěšov monastic estate⁵⁷ and the *urbarium* of the Encovany estate in North Bohemia.⁵⁸ This estate was also the property of the Chotěšov convent, but it was far from the monastery. The *urbarium* of the Chotěšov estate is definitely a copy of the 1367 *urbarium* made in the early sixteenth century, before 1510. The Encovany *urbarium* has been a subject of debate. The extant text was written in the early sixteenth century, but opinions vary regarding whether it is a copy of the 1367 text or a different *urbarium* from the early sixteenth century.⁵⁹ Two manuscripts of great importance for the history of the convent were written by Chotěšov Provost Zacharias Bandhauer (1639–1657). The first of them was *Diarium secundum*, recording events from 1645–1657, and the other *Annales monasterii Chotieschoviensis* from 1641–1656, in which annalistic records are supplemented with a number of copies of historical documents, contemporary reports and Bandhauer's reflections.⁶⁰

Our discussion of the two convents should not neglect their male counterparts, the monasteries at Strahov and Teplá. Because of the close institutional and personal ties between these cloisters, some of

⁵⁰ Archiv Národní knihovny ČR (Archives of the National Library in Prague), fonds Veřejná a universitní knihovna Praha (Public and University Library Prague) (1522) 1777–1918 (1919), premonstrátsky Chotěšov, inv. no. 594. The entire catalogue was originally entitled: *Auszug aus dem Verzeichniss über den Chotieschauer Kloster Documenten und Bücher*.

⁵¹ J. Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.r. bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, vol. 1, Pragae 1905, nos. 1054 (VI B 20), 1071 (VI C 13), 1332 (VII F 13), 1342 (VII F 23), 1377 (VII G 27); vol. 2, Pragae 1906, nos. 2009 (XI A 11), 2022 (XI B 5), 2084 (XII A 7), 2151 (XII D 6), 2310 (XIII D 18), 2387 (XIII G 20), 2457 (XIV B 18), 2464 (XIV C 3), 2545 (XIV E 11), 2553 (XIV E 19), 2682–2688 (XV A 3a–g), 2689 (XV A 4), 2690 (XV A 4), 2702 (XV A 5). An extract from Truhlář's catalogue, see: B.F. Grassl, *Die aus Tepl und Chotieschau stammenden lateinischen Handschriften der Prager Universitätsbibliothek*, Pragae [s.n., 1917?], pp. 115–117.

⁵² NK, shelf mark XIV C 3.

⁵³ M. Hlinomaz, *Dějiny kláštera*, p. 156.

⁵⁴ Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus abbreviatus*, NK, shelf mark XII D 6.

⁵⁵ NK, shelf mark VII F 23; NK, shelf mark XIII D 18.

⁵⁶ NK, shelf mark XIII G 20; edition: B.F. Grassl, *Das älteste Totenbuch des Praemonstratenser Chorfrauenstiftes Chotieschau (1200–1640)*, special issue of "Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk", 1, 1929.

⁵⁷ NK, shelf mark XV A 5; K. Haubertová, G. Hofmann, L. Lešický, *Soupis západočeských urbářů 2. pol. 13. století – 1773*, Plzeň 1993, pp. 77–78, no. 77 (including an overview of earlier research).

⁵⁸ NK, shelf mark XV A 4; K. Haubertová, G. Hofmann, L. Lešický, *Soupis západočeských urbářů*, pp. 76–77, no. 76.

⁵⁹ The *urbarium* was published by Josef Emler, *Decem registra censuum Bohemica compilata aetate bellum Husiticum praecedente*, Pragae 1881, pp. VI–VII, 23–52. For a discussion on the *Encovany urbarium*, see R. Nový, *Urbář encovanského statku chotěšovského kláštera (Poznámky k chotěšovskému urbáři z r. 1367)*, "Litoměřicko", 17–20, 1981–1984, pp. 71–77, reviewed by J. Čechura, "Husitský Tábor", 9, 1987, p. 377.

⁶⁰ NK, shelf mark XI B 5 (*Diarium*), XV B 4 (*Annales*). The Chotěšov annals have been studied in the long term by J. Opletová, *Tempus scribendi. Narativní prameny vzniklé v prostředí premonstrátských kanonií v Čechách a na Moravě v 17. a 18. století*, a PhD dissertation, the Department of Auxiliary Historical Sciences and Archive Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno 2005.

the books reached the male monasteries before 1782. Nevertheless, others were not moved there until after the dissolution of Doksany and Chotěšov. This may have been the work of the Premonstratensians who had been active in the two convents and returned to the mother monastery after their dissolution. As an example, we may mention the last abbot of Chotěšov, Pavel Novák, who lived in a house in Dobřany after the dissolution of the monastery. Before he died in 1797, he bequeathed his valuables and library to the Teplá monastery.⁶¹ Nevertheless, it was not until 1809 that his relatives gave the monastery a manuscript of the legend of Hroznata, *Vita fratris Hroznatae*,⁶² which, according to the colophon of Scribe Vavřinec of Bor, was written in the Chotěšov monastery in 1517 on the occasion of the tercentenary of Hroznata's death. The manuscript is included in the oldest part of the collection of the Teplá library (manuscripts, incunabula and early printed books), which was acquired by the National Library in Prague from the Teplá Abbey in 2006–2008.⁶³ Another medieval manuscript in the Teplá collection is the agenda of Chotěšov Provost Oldřich, part of which was copied by Scribe Eliáš directly in the monastery in 1376.⁶⁴ The most famous Chotěšov manuscript is probably the currently missing Sulek Missal, made for Chotěšov Provost Sulek (1384–1412).⁶⁵ Among later manuscripts, it is worth mentioning the convent's cartulary, started at the end of the sixteenth century, which contains copies of charters from 1197–1598, especially of charters granted to the monastery by the rulers of Bohemia, popes and the bishops of Prague.⁶⁶ The archival materials of the Teplá monastery are deposited in the State District Archives in Pilsen, in the fonds Klášter premonstrátů Teplá (Teplá Premonstratensian Monastery). There are three documents, one of them from 1351.

A similar situation applies to Doksany. The catalogue of the collections of the Strahov Library lists 34 manuscripts from this convent, mainly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Manuscripts of significance for the history of the Doksany convent include one from the middle of the seventeenth century, containing copies of Doksany privileges from 1226–1655,⁶⁷ and one containing the excerpts of Cyril Straka on the history of the Doksany convent from the manuscripts of the Strahov archives and a copy of the Doksany necrology.⁶⁸ These form part of the fonds Premonstráti klášter Strahov (Strahov Monastery Premonstratensians), deposited in the National Archives. These are primarily archival records of the Strahov monastery, with none of the surviving charters being related directly to Doksany.

⁶¹ Státní okresní archiv Cheb (State District Archives Cheb), fonds Klášter premonstrátů Teplá [Teplá Premonstratensian Monastery], inv. no. 648 (634), shelf mark X 9, literary estate inventory.

⁶² NK, Teplá MS b 1.

⁶³ According to the catalogue of František Hoffmann (*Soupis rukopisů knihovny Kláštera premonstrátů Teplá. Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae Monasterii Teplensis Ordinis Praemonstratensis*, Praha 1999), Chotěšov was the place of origin of the following manuscripts: no. 77, shelf mark B 16; no. 122, shelf mark C 7; no. 221, shelf mark D 4; no. 223, shelf mark D 6; no. 235, shelf mark D 18; no. 248, shelf mark D 31; no. 305, shelf mark E 37; no. 365, shelf mark a 7; no. 368, shelf mark a 10; no. 389, shelf mark a 29; no. 420, shelf mark b 1; no. 422, shelf mark b 1B; no. 423, shelf mark b 2; no. 426, shelf mark b 5 (*deperditum*); no. 428, shelf mark b 7; no. 439, shelf mark b 18 (?); no. 443, shelf mark b 22; no. 454, shelf mark b 33; no. 469, shelf mark b 48 (?); no. 476, shelf mark b 55; no. 524, shelf mark c 31; no. 525, shelf mark c 32; no. 557, shelf mark c 64 (?); no. 616, shelf mark d 36; no. 642, shelf mark d 62; no. 644, shelf mark d 64; no. 791, shelf mark f 33; no. 798, shelf mark f 40.

⁶⁴ NK, Teplá MS D 4.

⁶⁵ NK, Teplá MS b 5 (*deperditum*). The information on the codex is very fragmentary, because the manuscript was stolen from the library of the Teplá monastery after 1950 and did not reappear until 1995 at auction in Hamburg, where it was sold into private hands. The description of the manuscript in the catalogue of Hoffmann was based on the earlier catalogue of R. Nentwich, see F. Hoffmann, *Soupis rukopisů*, vol. 1, pp. 330–331, 426 (10). K. Kubínová-Engstová, *Misál Sulka z Chotěšova*, "Minulostí západočeského kraje", 28, 2003, pp. 105–112.

⁶⁶ NK, Teplá MS D 31. For more on its contents, see F. Hoffmann, *Soupis rukopisů*, vol. 1, no. 248, pp. 211–212. Another manuscript containing copies of charters, letters and provisions concerning the Premonstratensian Order, especially the monastery in Chotěšov, is the shelf mark Teplá MS A 7, see F. Hoffmann, *Soupis rukopisů*, vol. 1, no. 365, pp. 283–285.

⁶⁷ Strahovská knihovna (Strahov Library in Prague), shelf mark, DJ IV 15, see B. Ryba, *Soupis rukopisů Strahovské knihovny*, part 4, Praha 1970, no. 2154, pp. 410–411.

⁶⁸ Strahovská knihovna, shelf mark DJ VI 6, see B. Ryba, *Soupis rukopisů*, no. 2171, p. 416.

Sources on the history of Premonstratensian nunneries in medieval Bohemia in Czech archives and libraries

Summary: There were three female convents in medieval Bohemia: Doksany (founded after 1143), Louňovice pod Blaníkem (established in the mid-twelfth century) and Chotěšov (founded between 1197 and 1201). During the Hussite Wars, all three cloisters were destroyed. The monastery of Louňovice disappeared, whereas Doksany and Chotěšov survived, but during the Josephine reforms (1782), they were included among the monasteries to be abolished. All the books, manuscripts and documents from the suppressed convents in Bohemia were to be transferred to the Imperial-Royal University Library in Prague. In 1811, some were sent to the House, Court and State Archives in Vienna. As part of the archival separation of 1920, these documents were returned to Czechoslovakia and deposited in the Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, a predecessor of the current National Archives in Prague. After 1950, the latter also took over the archival material that had remained in the University Library. These documents now form a separate fonds in the National Archives, namely the Archives of the Bohemian Monasteries Dissolved under Joseph II. Sources on the history of both convents can also be found in other fonds, especially the Archives of the Prague Archbishopric and Old Manipulation. As for manuscripts, some of them can be identified in the collections of the National Library in Prague. The only remnant of the Doksany medieval library is a manuscript of a martyrology with a necrology, written in 1373. From the Chotěšov convent, the library collection contains 26 manuscripts. Because of the close institutional and personal ties between male and female convents (Doksany and Strahov, Chotěšov and Teplá), some of the sources were placed in the collections of the male monasteries.

Źródła do średniowiecznych dziejów zakonu norbertanek w Czechach przechowywane w czeskich archiwach i bibliotekach

Streszczenie: W średniowiecznych Czechach działały trzy klasztory żeńskie: Doksany (założony po 1143 r.), Louňovice pod Blaníkem (założony w połowie XII w.) i Chotěšov (założony między 1197 a 1201 r.). Podczas wojen husyckich wszystkie trzy klasztory zostały zniszczone. Klasztor w Louňovicach już się nie odrodził, natomiast Doksany i Chotěšov przetrwały aż do czasu reform józefińskich (1782), kiedy zostały rozwiązane. Wszystkie książki, rękopisy i dokumenty ze zlikwidowanych klasztorów w Czechach miały zostać przeniesione do Cesarsko-Królewskiej Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Pradze. W 1811 r. część z tych zbiorów została przekazana do Archiwum Domowego, Sądowego i Państwowego w Wiedniu. W ramach podziału archiwów w 1920 r. dokumenty te wróciły do Czechosłowacji, zdeponowane w Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych, z którego później utworzono obecne Archiwum Narodowe w Pradze. Po 1950 r. instytucja ta przejęła również materiały archiwalne, które pozostały w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej. Dokumenty te tworzą obecnie odrębny zespół w Archiwum Narodowym, a mianowicie Archiwum Czeskich Klasztorów Zlikwidowanych za Czasów Józefa II. Źródła dotyczące historii obu klasztorów można również znaleźć w innych zbiorach, zwłaszcza w Archiwum Arcybiskupstwa Praskiego i tzw. Starej Manipulacji. Niektóre rękopisy można znaleźć w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej w Pradze. Jediną pozostałością po średniowiecznej bibliotece w Doksanach jest rękopiśmienne martyrologium z nekrologiem, spisane w 1373 r. Z klasztoru w Chotěšovie pochodzi 26 rękopisów z kolekcji bibliotecznej. Ze względu na bliskie powiązania instytucjonalne i personalne między klasztorami męskimi i żeńskimi (Doksany i Strahov, Chotěšov i Teplá) część źródeł została umieszczona w zbiorach klasztorów męskich.

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