



A HOLY MATRON AND HER DAUGHTERS SAINT SOPHIA IN LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARY¹

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Contemporary texts and works of art show that people in late medieval Europe were amply equipped with saints. These saints guarded every step of their protégés, gave advice on their problems if requested, and could be invoked for assistance in difficult moments. The established habit of resorting to the aid of saints had increased conspicuously by the fifteenth century.² Their essential function as mediators between earthly and heavenly matters had been preserved from early times, but during the late Middle Ages many of them were characterized primarily by the faculty of helping.

However, the persons venerated in the late Middle Ages were no longer the living saints of earlier centuries whose direct personal power accomplished miracles. Notwithstanding, late medieval saints were as alive as their predecessors in the eyes of believers. While the demand for authenticated biographies had lost relevance, various lively versions of the legends of earlier saints continued to flourish. Concluding from prayers, legends, and folk traditions associated with saints, it is tempting to assume that they operated almost like a spiritual medicine cabinet, from which one could produce and apply the appropriate remedy for each trouble. Besides the best-known saints, who were venerated in almost every corner of Europe in the late Middle Ages—like Saints Anne, George, Sebastian, and Christopher—there were characters of local importance, accessible and meaningful only for a limited audience. Saint Sophia seems to have been one of these.

The idea to study the late medieval iconography and cult of Saint Sophia and Her Three Daughters was initiated by their representation on several Upper Hungarian (Slovakian) altarpieces (*Figs. 1–5 and cover illustration*). Although most of them are set into different programs of images (an issue that will be discussed below) their conspicuously constant iconography immediately caught my

¹ This paper is an excerpt from my MA thesis “Scantifying Virtues: Saint Sophia and Her Daughters, Their Image, and Their Role in Late Medieval Hungary”, (Budapest: Central European University, 2004). Here I would like to thank again those who have been helping me from the beginning of my work.

² The phenomenon of the late medieval cult of saints has been thoroughly treated by many scholars, see e.g. Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1994); Norbert Wolf, *Die Macht der Heiligen und ihrer Bilder* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2004).

attention. The mother, always fitted out with a crenellated crown, is most often either seated or standing in the middle of the composition, with the maidens placed in a row before her or sitting in her lap. There are variations, of course, but generally the depictions do not bear the sign of any substantial modification through the period of popularity—roughly one century—of the four saints. Clinging to an established scheme may sound uninteresting, but in many cases in the history of art specific reasons are hidden in the background. Popular late medieval saints were, indeed, represented on altarpieces by motionless figures with their attributes unless they were bound into narrative scenes taken from their lives. Saint Sophia and Her Three Daughters have more in their composition than simply being fixed in a convenient posture.

In addition to the iconography, the names of the four figures themselves seemed significant, because the three daughters of Sophia are called Fides, Spes, and Caritas. Their names suggest that it is worth taking these figures seriously; they are principally abstract concepts whose representation expresses their hierarchy and relations with each other. They can be identified as personifications in the sense that otherwise impalpable things receive human form.³ Since the most evident and probably only device for bringing abstract ideas closer to the common mind is to animate them and weave a plot around them, Sophia and Her Three Daughters could be concepts at the same time as they were saintly women described in legends. How could they talk, act, be of different ages and linked by family ties if they were not real persons?

All the same, the closer concepts come down to earth imagined as persons, the more they lose their immateriality. By striving to give form to their invisible object, both literary and visual representations (primarily the latter) deprive it of its essential unattainability.⁴ Much earlier in art, the influential image of a frontally represented, enthroned figure already solved this problem fairly well by giving limitless scope for associations. The wide range and variability of personifications which accompany the seated figures, extending to virtues, muses or

³ See L. Deubner, "Personifikationen antiker Begriffe," in *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher, vol. 3 (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1897–1909), coll. 2068–2169; Emma Stafford, *Worshipping Virtues. Personification and the Divine in Ancient Greece* (London: Duckworth, 2000), 1–36 (hereafter: Stafford, *Worshipping*). Concerning the Middle Ages, see Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*. Subsidia Hagiographica 18. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1973, first edition 1955), 5–6.

⁴ Moshe Barasch, *Icon. Studies in the History of an Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 6–9, 185–253; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 45–46; Stafford, *Worshipping*, 14.



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artes, makes strict classification senseless.⁵ In the present case, Saint Sophia gently dominates the other three as she embraces them into a unity.

The classical source for the trio of Faith, Hope, and Charity is in Saint Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, where they are meant as conditions of the real knowledge of God, that is, Wisdom (1 Cor. 13).⁶ According to Saint Paul, it is definitely Charity who should encompass the others. The indivisible unity of these three virtues—only later called “theological”—with Wisdom and with each other was treated also by Augustine in *De Fide, Spe et Charitate*, where charity again emerges as the real sense, the cohesive material of every other thing.⁷ A verse from Proverbs reveals no contradiction but rather interchangeability when Wisdom says: “I love them that love me; and those that seek me early shall find me (Prov. 8:17).”⁸

These preliminary considerations have arisen from first impressions of the paintings. Nevertheless, delving into the elucidation of the four names and the iconographic scheme may lead towards remote, indeed, too remote, fields because late medieval representations do not appear to preserve much of their abstract origins. A wide hiatus can thus be perceived between the late antique—early medieval “prehistory” of Saint Sophia and Her Three Daughters and their late medieval existence, which will be discussed here.

Although the paintings that gave the idea and also the subject matter of this article stem from Upper Hungary, these pieces are strongly related to the more copious Polish material.⁹ The distinct area of the spread of the cult is

⁵ For the connections between Muses, virtues, and sciences, see Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art, from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1989, reprint of London: Warburg Institute, 1939); L. D. Ettlinger, “Muses and Liberal Arts. Two Miniatures from Herrad of Landsberg's Hortus Deliciarum,” in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to R. Wittkower*, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon, 1967, second imp. 1969), 29–35.

⁶ The notion of what man's primary duty is was changed: in the Book of Wisdom it is the fear of God, while here it is faith in him.

⁷ Augustinus, “Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive De Fide, Spe et Charitate,” in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed by J.-P. Migne (Paris: J.-P. Migne, facsimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1967) vol. 40, coll. 231–290; see also Eugen Biser, “Mater Pulchrae Dilectionis,” *Das Münster* 11 (1958): 180–182.

⁸ The immense richness of medieval interpretations concerning Wisdom, Christ and Charity, would have led the argumentation too far, therefore they are only mentioned here.

⁹ For an extensive description see Helena Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej ikonografii i kulty Św. Zofii z trzema córkami w Małopolsce” (The late medieval icon-

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possible to define from altar and church dedications, together with the panels found either in museums or in situ. The altarpieces which contained these panels were donated to chapels or churches, and a few mentions of altar foundations in honor of Sophia are, indeed, the first references to the beginning of her cult. It expanded over the medieval boundary between Poland and Hungary, which is not surprising if one considers the close contacts of the two countries.¹⁰ The cultural inseparability of this territory is affirmed by the iconography and the style, although they do not provide enough support for reconstructing the flow of influences.

In Poland it seems that, at least in the beginning, the cult was not limited to the southern part of the country because in the oldest known Polish source, from 1406, mentions the raising of an altar to Saint Sophia in Lublin, Greater Poland.¹¹ Two years later another altar was dedicated to her in Poznań, and among other sites from the following decades Cracow can also be found, which may have been the most important of all because it was the capital. Among extant representations the most important and probably earliest is a fresco in Kazimierz, today a district of Cracow.¹² It was discovered in the ambulatory of the Augustinian cloister and is dated by Malkiewiczówna to approximately 1430. Thus, the fresco is roughly contemporary with the chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Sophia founded in the Wawel cathedral by Queen Sophia, fourth wife of King Władisław Jagiello, in 1431 or 1432.¹³ The

ography and cult of Saint Sophia and her three daughters in Lesser Poland),” *Folia Historiae Artium* 26 (1990): 27–70 (henceforth Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej”).

¹⁰ For the artistic connections see e.g. Gyöngyi Török, “A Mateóci mester és köre” (The Master of Matejovce and his followers), in *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* (Art in Hungary c. 1300–1470) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 715–720 (henceforth *Magyarországi művészet*).

¹¹ Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 42.

¹² Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 27–30.

¹³ After Queen Sophia, whose previous name was Sonka Holszańska, married Władisław Jagiello and converted to Catholicism, Saint Sophia was chosen as her patron saint. See Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 43; Karel Estreicher, “Tryptyk św. Trójcy w katedrze na Wawelu (The Triptych of the Trinity in Wawel cathedral),” *Rocznik Krakowski* 28 (1936): 47–125. see also Joannes Długossius, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, Book 11. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964–1985). On the policy of rebaptizing Orthodox people according to Catholic rules as a means of strengthening the state, see Jerzy Kłoczowski, “La Pologne et la christianisation de la Lithuanie,” in Jerzy Kłoczowski, *La Pologne dans l'Eglise médiévale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993): 137–157.

initial decoration and furnishings of this chapel are not known, but as late as 1467 an altarpiece of the Holy Trinity was placed there, with a sculpture of Sophia and Her Daughters, paired with another of Saint Anne with the Virgin Mary and Jesus in its pediment. It may have been modeled after an earlier one, carved for the original furnishing in the 1430s. This sculpture is also of that particular type which is characteristic of all the Polish and Upper Hungarian examples, therefore it was presumably developed in this more or less circumscribed area. The supposed relation between the queen's choice of this saint and the popularity of the latter in Little Poland may be another reason for the importance of this sculpture.

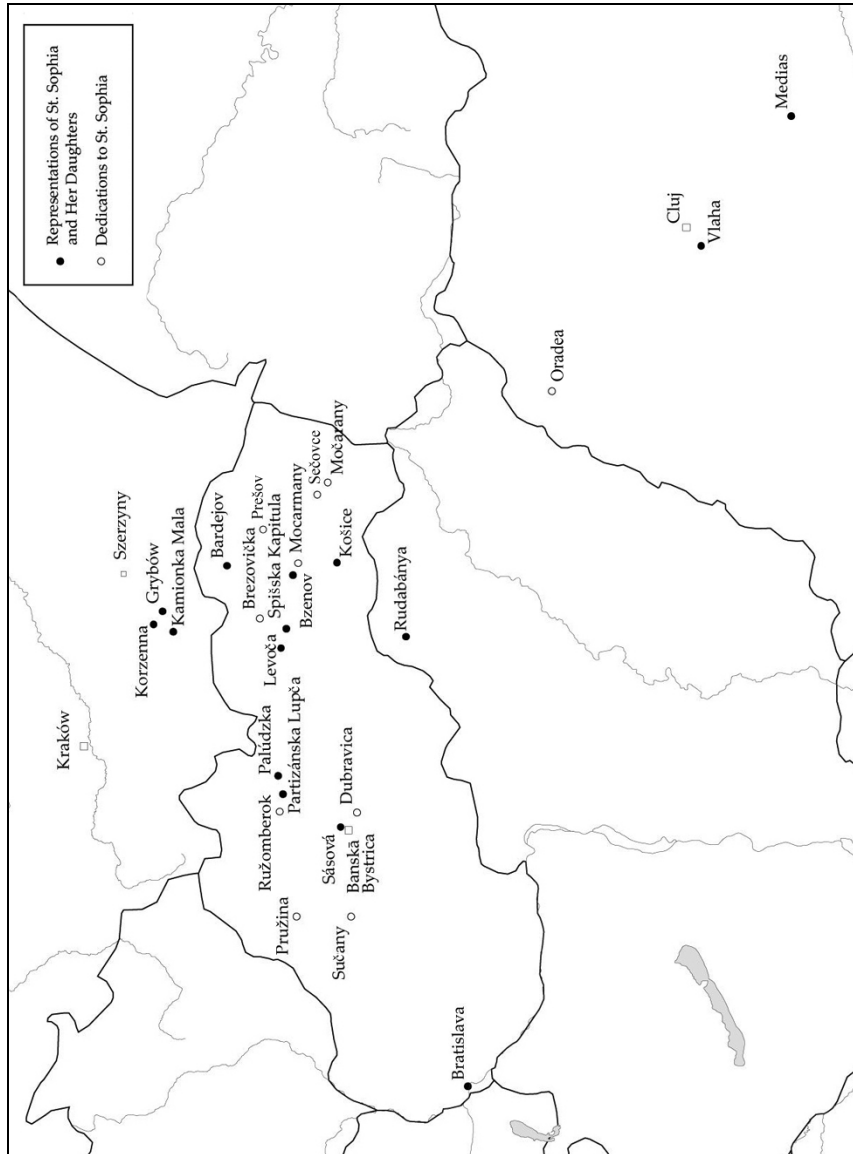
In Upper Hungary, present day Slovakia, the map of the former cult area of Saint Sophia takes shape from surviving altarpieces and frescoes as well as written sources which mention dedications. It is like an incomplete mosaic put together from pebbles of different types. Probably all the churches and chapels under her patronage contained visual representations of the saint, but various reasons, e.g. replacing the “old-fashioned” altarpieces with up-to-date ones in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, may have contributed to the disappearance of many. Thus it can be inferred that her images which have survived to this day represent only a fraction of the whole.

Churches and chapels dedicated to Saint Sophia are documented within the boundaries of medieval Hungary in Dubravica (1432, church), Sečovce (Gálszécs; 1469, chapel), Brezovička (Hamborg; 1439, chapel), Močarany (Mocsár; 1439, church), Močarmany (Mocsármány; 1438, wooden chapel), Pružina (Pruzsina; chapel), Ružomberok (Rózsahegy; 1397, 1399, church), and Sučany (Szucsány, mentioned only in 1590).¹⁴ Beyond these places in Upper Hungary, where no material evidence has remained, the dedications and parts of altarpieces are known from Sásová and from (Kispalugya). According to scattered mentions and preserved panels, two groups of places can be distinguished in Upper Hungary where the painted accessories of the cult are attested.¹⁵ One is in the eastern area, including Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa), Prešov (Preschav, Eperjes) and Spišská Kapitula (Zipser Kapitel, Szepeshely); the other is centered around Banská Bystrica (Neusohl, Besztercebánya) and Liptovské Mikuláš (Liptószentmiklós) (see *Table 1* and *map* below).

¹⁴ See András Mező, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* (Church dedications in medieval Hungary) (Budapest: METEM, 2003), 496–497 (hereafter Mező, *Patrocíniumok*).

¹⁵ For the non-Polish panels see Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* (Panel paintings of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955,) (hereafter Radocsay, *Táblaképek*).

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Map. 1. Evidence of Saint Sophia in historical Hungary, with selected Polish locations



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Testaments, another kind of written source mentioning donations for altars, shed light on the great importance of saints and their role in piety. Quite a large number of last wills from Prešov register the bequest of a sum for Saint Sophia's altar in the parish church of St. Nicholas.¹⁶ The testators required masses to be celebrated for their or someone else's salvation in return for the endowment. A similar practice can be seen at other places, like Bardejov.¹⁷ However much Saint Sophia may have been venerated in Upper Hungarian towns, her popularity did not reach that of Saint Anne, Saint Barbara, the Corpus Christi or the Rosary, to all of which confraternities were established.¹⁸

The data listed are those that can be directly connected with Saint Sophia's presence in Hungary. Unfortunately, the records of churches and altars are not very communicative in themselves. Depictions can tell much more, as has already been hinted; but before turning to the discussion of selected examples, the literary sources should be cited. The late medieval version of the legend, which has several variants, contributed importantly to the specific iconography. Its prototype was probably invented in Poland, because the earliest example, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, is to be found there.¹⁹ This legend was usually inserted in later editions of the *Legenda aurea* from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and it is noteworthy that in Hungary two of these redactions are in the vernacular.²⁰ Nevertheless, none of these manuscripts can be identified with any of the Hungarian cult places.

¹⁶ Béla Iványi, *Eperjes szabad királyi város levéltára. Archivum liberae regiaeque civitatis Eperjes 1245–1526* (Szeged: Szeged Városi Nyomda és Könyvkiadó Rt, 1931), documents no. 441, 653, 667, 895, 902, 915, 1016, 1196, 1201, 1239.

¹⁷ Béla Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára. Oklevélregeszták* (The archives of the royal free town of Bardejov. Registers of the charters) vol. 2. 1501–1526. Budapest, Széchényi National Library, Department of Manuscripts, Fol. Hung. 2940, e. g. documents no. 3627, 4146, 4485, 4850. See also Lajos Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* (Religious life of the Hungarians during the Jagiellonian era) (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940, reprint Budapest: METEM, 2000), 25–29, 73–80. Without any reference to altars the author writes that St. Sophia was the patron saint of the tailors in Prešov.

¹⁸ For a thorough study on Upper Hungarian confraternities see Marie Madeleine de Cevins, *L'Église dans les villes hongroises à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320–vers 1490)* (Budapest–Paris–Szeged: METEM/Publications de l'Institut Hongrois de Paris, 2003).

¹⁹ Malkiewiczówna, "O późnośredniowiecznej," 56 ff, and also footnote 119, where codices in Polish libraries which contain this legend are listed.

²⁰ Edit Madas, "Középkori Zsófia-legendáink latin forrása" (The Latin source of our medieval legends of Saint Sophia), 173–179, in *Tarnai Andor-emlékkönyv*, ed. Gábor Kecskeméti (Budapest: Universitas, 1996) (henceforth Madas, "Zsófia-legendák"). For medieval Hungarian legends in general, see Cyrill Horváth, *Középkori legendáink és a*

Both the translations and the local amplifications of the text show that the book was read everywhere; they are full of new elements and modified details compared to the earlier legends. These alterations indicate a change in the attitude to religious issues. According to them, Sophia was an offspring of the Persian royal family; her father, Mamfredus (or Naufredus) ruled over seven countries.²¹ By the decision of her parents, Sophia was married to a prince called Demetrius and they had three daughters: Fides, Spes, and Caritas, named in a distorted Greek Tyspes, Alpes and Agapes in the *Érdy Codex*. Demetrius, together with the exiled Pope Anacletus, headed for Rome with the aim of suffering martyrdom, and they soon succeeded. They earned the *palma martyrii* at the command of Hadrian, the successor of Decius. In paintings of Saint Sophia, there are usually several crowns on the heads of and around the figures: they can be explained by the saint's dream in which angels offered one crown to each daughter and seven to their mother. Sophia interpreted this correctly as encouragement to imitate her husband in volunteering for martyrdom in Rome. The number of crowns presaged how many deaths they would face, thus Sophia was promised seven and her daughters one each. They were awarded them at last, at the end of innumerable cruel torments.

In spite of such an exciting narrative, no episodes were rendered from it in Central European painting, except for one case. This is the altar of Saint Sophia from Sásóvá, the only known extant winged altar dedicated to this saint²² (Fig. 1). On its central panel the symmetrical group of the four saints can be seen and on the wings the martyrdom of two of her daughters is visible. On the third panel a crowned woman receives communion before an altar and on the fourth the same person is being beheaded. Earlier scholarship, rather surprisingly, regarded these as episodes of anonymous saints²³ or the martyrdom scenes of Saint

Legenda Aurea (Medieval Hungarian legends and the *Legenda Aurea*) (Budapest: n.p. 1911). The “Zsófia-legenda” is in Latin; for versions in the vernacular see *Nádor-kódex, 1508. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* (Facsimile edition and transcription of the codex with an introduction and notes) (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1994), 1205–1307. (fols 304r–329v), and *Érdy-kódex*, ed. György Volf, *Nyelvemléktár vols 4–5* (Series of old text publications) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1876), 437–447.

²¹ Mamfredus in the *Érdy Codex* and in the Polish legends, see also Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 56. The seven countries are those of the Medes, the Africans, the Ethiopians, the Chaldeans, the Arabs; Alexandria, and Egypt.

²² Banská Bystrica, Central Slovakian Museum; Török “A Mateóci mester és köre,” 717–719; Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 30–32 and footnote 10 and 13.

²³ Radocsay, *Középkori falképek*, 66; P. Stintzi, “Heilige Sophia,” in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, col. 384.

Dorothy, Saint Agatha and Saint Susanna, as well as the communion of Saint Ursula.²⁴ Helena Malkiewiczówna recognized that the episodes on the wings were explicitly linked to the main panel.²⁵

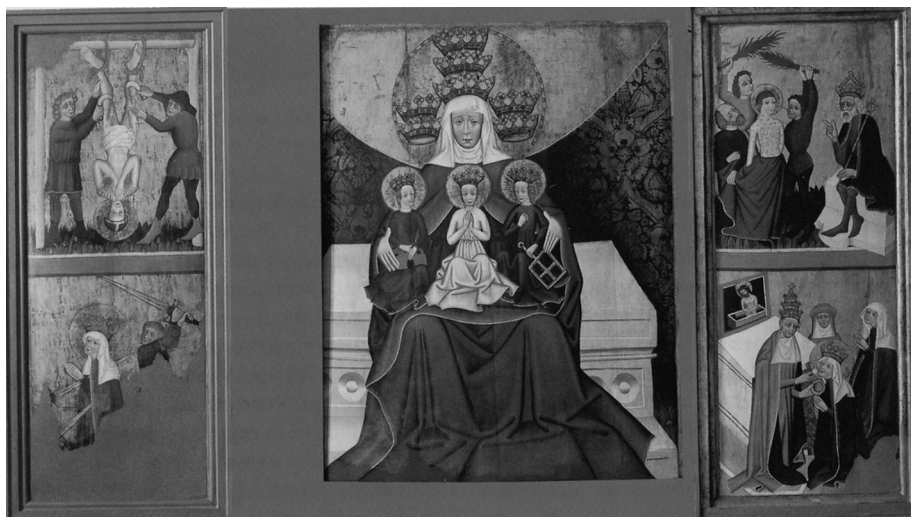


Fig. 1. *The Altar of Saint Sophia from Sásová, with wings opened, ca. 1440.*
Banská Bystrica, Central Slovakian Museum

Sophia is seated on a bench apparently carved of stone and embraces her underproportioned daughters, who sit smartly in her lap. The colour scheme of her clothes, a green and red dress and a cloak with a white scarf, corresponds to most of the other cases because these are the colours of faith, hope, and charity. She wears a threefold crown and two others are placed on each side: a similar solution can be observed on the Saint Sophia panel of an altarpiece from Kamionka Mała from around 1460.²⁶ Her head is encircled by a halo punched

²⁴ Kornél Divald, *Magyarország csúcsveszkori szárnyasoltárai* (Gothic altarpieces from Hungary) vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1911), 7–8; Libuše Cidlinská, *Gotické krídlové oltáře na Slovensku* (Gothic winged altars in Slovakia) (Bratislava: Tatran, 1989), 72.

²⁵ Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 62–63.

²⁶ Tarnów, Diocesan Museum, Inv. no. MDT 148. Jerzy Gądomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1420–1470* (Gothic panel painting in Lesser Poland) (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981), 78–79, 117, figs. 63–64. Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 32–33 assumes a later date.

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into a golden, crescent-shaped field beneath which painted gold brocade makes up the background.

Based on the style and composition of the panel and taking into account characteristic details like the embroidery and the bench, the altar was connected to a fairly well-defined group of altarpieces. They come from different places in Lesser Poland and Upper Hungary and are attributed to the so-called Master of Matejovce, the painter—probably a workshop—of the Altar of Saint Stephen and Emmerich there.²⁷ The Saint Sophia panel from Grybów offers an even more interesting comparison because it depicts the same saint. Besides similarities—of the composition, in the attributes of the daughters and the decorated throne—differences are also evident. The works associated with the “Master of Matejovce” represent a phase in painting, as most scholars have emphasized, when the so-called Beautiful Style was gradually replaced by a sharper one in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The dating is, however, uncertain, since it depends on the supposed mutual relation of the panels.²⁸ In general, a dating circa 1440 is accepted for Sásová and approximately 1455 for Grybów.²⁹

Another altarpiece which contains an image of Sophia and Her Three Daughters and focuses on the theme of martyrdom, though it does not represent the fate of the little girls, is the Altar of Saint Apollonia in Bardejov (*Fig. 2*). This altar, as can be seen today, is a work assembled from different parts over a long period.³⁰ The structure was made and the wings painted probably in the second decade of the sixteenth century, although three fifteenth-century sculp-

²⁷ István Genthon, *A régi magyar festőművészet* (Old Hungarian painting) (Vác: Pestvidéki Nyomda, 1932), 33–34; Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 65–75, esp. 66–68; Karol Vaculík, *Gotické umenie Slovenska* (Slovak Gothic art) (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 1975), 45–46; (hereafter: Vaculík, *Gotické umenie Slovenska*); Gyöngyi Török, “A Mateóci mester művészetének problémái” (Questions concerning the art of the Master of Matejovce), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1 (1980): 49–80, esp. 53–54, 715–720; (hereafter Török, “A Mateóci mester művészetének problémái”); *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* (Gothic. History of fine arts in Slovakia), ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava: Slovenská Národná Galéria, 2003), 265, fig. 224 (henceforth *Gotika 2003*).

²⁸ Some scholars insisted on the precedence of the Master of Sásová, even appointing him the tutor of the Master of Matejovce or at least taking them as contemporaries, see Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 66, others have regarded the Master of Sásová as a less talented follower of the workshop, see Török, “A Mateóci mester művészetének problémái,” 53 (with references).

²⁹ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 66–67; Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 30–32.

³⁰ It was the altar of the sieve-makers according to Jana Božová, Gabriel Drobniak, and František Gutek, *Kostol Sv. Egídia v Bardejove—The Church of St. Egidius in Bardejov—Die St.-Agidius-Kirche in Barfeld* (Bardejov: Sajancy, 1998), 73, (henceforth: *St. Egidius*)

tures are placed in the altar case. Saint Anne, with small figures of Mary and Jesus in her arms, stands in the middle. She was moved here from her own altar, dated 1485, where some rearrangements were also made.³¹ Beside her stand Saint George and Saint Apollonia, both from the fifteenth century. Scenes of slaughter are painted on the inner side of the panels: the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Martyrs of Nicomedia and the Massacre of the Innocents occupy the upper panels, while a selected group of the Fourteen Holy Helpers and Saint Sophia with Her Three Daughters follow on the lower. Four saints who are rarely represented, Fabian, Eligius, Canute, and Urban, appear on the exterior.



Fig. 2. Inner side of the winged altar of Saint Apollonia, 1510s.
Parish church of St. Egidius, Bardejov

³¹ *St. Egidius*, 70 and 83–86. As far as I know, the reasons for and the time of these replacements are unknown.

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A peculiar feature of these paintings is the differing proportion of the figures appearing in one and the same scene. The master otherwise seems to have been well-informed on recent trends in the visual arts: in certain details he relied on woodcuts, widely used as models in that period.³² This is also apparent in the scene of the Massacre, but it is most conspicuous in the group of Sophia where, from her size, one cannot decide whether the youngest daughter (Caritas?) is standing or sitting on her mother's arm. Her head is as small as her sisters' hand.³³ The distribution of crowns is also curious: one of the girls does not have any, but Sophia wears an impressive sevenfold "tiara."

However, that the painter was aware of the latest style in the period manifests itself not only in the compositions but in the colours as well.³⁴ He employed tones that spread from the most prominent masters' work, like moss green, different crimsons, and pale yellow. Sophia's dress not have the customary green-white-red colors either. Her place among themes and compositions which show the direct impact of south German painting denotes the appropriation of her image by painters working in this region.

Concerning another aspect of the iconography of Saint Sophia, a nineteenth-century reference to the altarpiece from Sásová is not without interest. Arnold Ipolyi, writing about this locality, the residence of the region's landowner, described the image in the newly built or reconstructed church as that of "Sancta Maternitas."³⁵ Considering the multiple meanings of Sophia, it has to be admitted that his guess was correct. One only has to observe her place

³² He must have known, for example, Dürer's woodcut *Ten Thousand Martyrs of Nicomedia*, c. 1497–1498.

³³ I assume that a Saint Anne with the Virgin Mary and Jesus on her arms, accompanied by two virgin martyrs was repainted to show Saint Sophia with Her Daughters, but this is not supported yet by any investigation.

³⁴ He is connected to the Master of Okolično whose works are characterised by conservatism of the background contrasted to the modernity of the figures; see Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 177 and *St. Egidius*, 72.

³⁵ Arnold Ipolyi, *A besztercebányai egyházi műemlékek története és helyreállítása* (The history and renovation of religious monuments in Banská Bystrica) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878), quoted by Miklós Csánky, *A székesi és sárosi táblaképfestészet 1460-ig az emléktárgy leírásával és képes bemutatásával* (Panel paintings from Spiš and Šariš until 1460, with a catalogue and illustrated discussion of the works) (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1938), 22 (hereafter Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*). Ipolyi cannot be blamed for dating it too early—"after the middle of the fourteenth century"—because in the nineteenth century the material was not well known and the method for comparative analysis was just under formation. He also added that it might have been a later copy of the original.

in different contexts and amidst different companions. She has the distinguishing attribute of a head shawl beneath a crown, that is, a sign referring to her majesty on the top of a garment associated with matrons. This goes together with the usual balanced composition of the four figures, and thus the group is reminiscent of Saint Anne with the Virgin and the Infant Christ. Their “kinship” does not remain latent: in several instances, as on the pediment of the Holy Trinity altarpiece in the Wawel cathedral or on the wings of the altarpiece from Kamionka Mała, they are placed beside each other. Two further examples can be mentioned here from the Hungarian material: the Altar of Saint Anne with Mary and the Child from Bzenov (Berzenke) and the Altar of Saint Anne from Vlaha (Magyarfenes) in Transylvania.

A whole “choir” of saintly women is represented on the Altar of the *Mettertia* from Bzenov.³⁶ Surrounding the central panel of the titular saints with Mary Magdalene and Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, three venerable matrons appear on the wings: Saint Helen on the left, Saint Sophia and Saint Hedvig on the right (*Fig. 3*). Saint Mary of Egypt was also admitted, having obtained indulgence. In the group of Sophia and Her Daughters the mother’s position is less strict than in Sásová: she leans her head to the right. This detail resembles several Polish examples from the early sixteenth century, and indicates a modest attempt to enliven the established composition by emphasizing the human aspect of the figures portrayed. A peculiarity here is the arrangement of the crowns in a crescent above the figures’ heads. While forming a rather decorative element they also refer to the visionary origin of the motif. The exclusively female character and, moreover, the comparatively large number of mother saints on the altarpiece suggests a focus on women’s virtues: charity work, chastity, prudence, and maternity. Saint Sophia, being a mother, might also have principally addressed women.³⁷

³⁶ C. 1500; Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 55. 834. 1–9; Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 129, 281; János Vég, “Mettercia-oltár nyitott szárnyakkal Berzenkéről” (Altar of the *Mettertia*, with opened wings, from Bzenov), in *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Régi Gyűjteményei* (Collections of Old Hungarian Art in the Hungarian National Gallery) (Budapest: Corvina, 1984), no. 80.

³⁷ However, occasionally female saints may also have been venerated by men: see Karen A. Winstead, “St. Katherine’s Hair,” in *St. Katherine of Alexandria. Texts and Contexts in Medieval Western Europe*, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 185.

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Fig. 3. The upper right panel from the altar of Saint Anne with Mary and the Child from Bzenov, ca. 1500. Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery

The altar from Vlaha, the only example that has survived among Transylvanian altarpieces, is similar to that from Bzenov in that it also represents only female saints.³⁸ Saint Anne and the Virgin with Jesus in her lap are seated on a bench in the central picture. God the Father and the Dove of the Holy Spirit appear in a golden halo above them. Four female saints can be seen on the inner side of the wings: Saint Claire and Saint Sophia on the left, Saint Barbara and Saint Ursula on the right. This piece is a good example for acknowledging that there was relative liberty in the choice and grouping of the most popular female saints.

In the late medieval personality of Saint Anne, concerns of purity, sanctity, wisdom and (grand)motherly virtues were blended—just like in the figure of

³⁸ C. 1490–1500; Alba Iulia (Romania), Batthyaneum. Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 180, 384–385. For the moment, I could access only an old photograph of this altarpiece from the collection of Edith Hoffmann, a Hungarian art historian active in the first half of the twentieth century.

Saint Sophia.³⁹ There are, of course, differences between the two saints: while Anne is a grandmother, holding Mary and Jesus—the children who justify her role—in her lap or her arms, Saint Sophia is the mother of three little girls, both in a real and in a spiritual sense. In the theoretical writings surrounding Anne there is much emphasis on her role as teacher of Mary and, symbolically, of all her devotees. The three-figure group of her with Mary and the Child embodies Wisdom in a way; and another type of representation alludes more overtly to Anne's educational activity. In many examples she is together only with Mary and teaches her to read from a book.⁴⁰ This teaching is evidently not limited to transferring practical knowledge; the book is a good means of objectifying a concept. Considering this, when Sophia or one of the daughters, in themselves examples of prudence and literacy, hold a book, it seems to be an almost superfluous stress on their characteristic feature. It is like this on the sculpture in Eschau (Alsace), Saint Sophia's Western European cult place, where the mother's attribute is a large opened book, and also on the wooden sculpture from the Spiš region in the Slovak National Gallery exhibited in Zvolen. (Fig. 4).

This latter is a unique example of this genre in Central Europe, although originally many Saint Sophia altarpieces may have had a carved representation instead of a painted panel as their central image.⁴¹ The mother is without doubt the dominant figure in this group; her daughters, standing close to her, seem to be of a different scale of magnitude. They indeed have a double function, as

³⁹ Beda Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna. Ihre Verehrung in Geschichte, Kunst und Volkstum* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1930), 423; (hereafter: Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*); Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "Introduction," in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990), 1–68; Ton Brandenburg, "Saint Anne. A Holy Grandmother and Her Children," in *Sanctity and Motherhood. Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 31–65.

⁴⁰ Kleinschmidt, *Die Heilige Anna*, 217 mentions compositional difficulties in the placing of two adults and a child. It is important that in this case compositional problems equal iconological ones. See also Pamela Sheingorn, "The Wise Mother: The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary," *Gesta* 32, no. 1 (1993): 69–71.

⁴¹ C. 1480–1490; 108.2 cm x 52 cm, with remains of paint; Bratislava, Slovak National Gallery, Inv. no. P 985. Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* (Wooden sculptures of medieval Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 67; Vaculík, *Gotické umenie Slovenska*, 73, cat. and fig. 176; Malkiewiczówna, "O późnośredniowiecznej," 33, 37; Anton Glatz, "Gotische Kunst," in *Kunst der Slowakei. Ständige Ausstellung der Slowakischen Nationalgalerie* (Bratislava: Slowakische Nationalgalerie, 1995), 66, no. 47. Mező, *Patrociniumok*, 497 mentions a sculpture from the end of the fifteenth century in Pružina: this information is to be checked, but if it is so, this would be an important contribution to the material known so far.

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attributes of a saint who does not show her real meaning except in their company and as daughters of this saint with their own importance. This three-dimensional representation from the end of the century summarizes in compact form the meaning inherent in the iconography.



*Fig. 4. Saint Sophia with Her Daughters, wooden sculpture, ca. 1480–1490.
Slovak National Gallery, exhibited in Zvolen Castle*

The daughters' faces are not as special as Saint Sophia's, who has strongly marked traits. She has a longish face with large, melancholic, almond-shaped eyes and quite a long nose from which her lips are rather distantly set. These features are so specific that they allow comparison with a panel painting in Budapest representing Sophia⁴² (*cover illustration*). Another feature in common

⁴² C. 1490–1500; Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. No. 3181. Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 127, 442 and pl. CXLII (four of the six panels) and János Vég, "Szent Zsófia Szepeshelyről" (St. Sophia from Spišská Kapitula), in *A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Régi Gyűjteményei*, no. 75 (hereafter: Vég, "Szent Zsófia Szepeshelyről"). They connect the panel painter to an important workshop in Spišská Kapitula; Glatz, "Gotische Kunst," 66, no. 47 identifies the sculptor as the Master of the Saint Anne in Spišská

with the panel is the tiara-form crown with its gradually diminishing tiers. Through this example both can be connected to the circle of the so-called Master of Spišské Podhradie (Kirchdrauf, Szepesváralja), who is in turn related to the workshop in Spišská Kapitula. This painter, named after the former main altar in Spišské Podhradie, seems to have been an interesting and important personality of the late fifteenth century who worked in a style of his own. The six paintings known as the “Gyöngyös” panels (because they were donated to the museum by the Franciscan friary in Gyöngyös) are attributed to one of his disciples.⁴³ These panels, including the one with Sophia, all belonged formerly to one and the same altarpiece.⁴⁴ In this image of Sophia only the youngest daughter is sitting on her mother’s knee, while the two older girls flank them. Except for the banderoles inscribed with their names, this painting strongly resembles the sculptural group. It is indeed the similarity of their iconography that excludes the idea that they once formed part of the same altarpiece.

Probably the only example from this sample where Saint Sophia takes a place in a context appropriate to her original meaning has been treated a bit marginally by art historical research.⁴⁵ The only reason for this is that it forms part of an extraordinary object which has attracted a great deal of interest because of its age and its two other scenes. This panel, a work from the early fifteenth century, is in secondary use as a predella below a later altarpiece, the Altar of Saint Catherine, in the parish church of Saint James in Levoča (*Fig. 5*). It

Nová Ves (Igló) whose artistic activity was influenced by the workshop in Spišská Kapitula.

⁴³ Végh, “Szent Zsófia Szepeshelyről,” infers that the Gyöngyös friars could have obtained the panels as gifts from their fellow members in Spišská Kapitula.

⁴⁴ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 127.

⁴⁵ Oskar Schürer and Erich Wiese, *Deutsche Kunst in der Zips* (Brno: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1938), 92, figs. 341–342; Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*, 8; Jenő Rados, *Magyar oltárok* (Hungarian altarpieces) (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 44, pl. XVI; Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 48–49; Ján Bakoš, “Štruktúra a genéza predely oltára Sv. Kataríny v kostole Sv. Jakuba v Levoči” (The structure and origins of the predella of the Saint Catherine Altar in the parish church of St. James in Levoča), *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University* 16 (1972): 73–90, German summary 87–90; János Végh, “A táblaképfestészet korai szakasza. Az első emlékek” (The early phase of panel painting. The earliest evidence), in *Magyarországi művészet*, 618; Malkiewiczówna, “O późnośredniowiecznej,” 36; Dušan Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei. Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky* (Weimar: VDG, 2000), 107 (hereafter Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei*); Milena Bartlová, “Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče” (The panel of Angels from Levoča), in *Gotika* 2003, 696, cat. no. 4. 14. (hereafter Bartlová, “Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče”).

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is not known for exactly what purpose it was made. Was it intended for personal piety or as a small altar in a church?⁴⁶



Fig. 5. The predella of the Altar of Saint Catherine in the parish church of Saint James in Levoča, ca. 1470–1490.

Its re-use in a new function led to an overpainting, which happened either still in the fifteenth or later, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.⁴⁷ It resulted in a misinterpretation of the central panel until a restoration in the 1970s, when it was revealed that the altarpiece shows a unique combination of a *Maiestas Domini* with attributes of the Ascension and the Apocalypse.⁴⁸ The right-hand representation of the Dream of Jacob is typologically related to this scene as a foretelling the divine epiphany for mankind. Thus the entire altar may have referred to the omnipotence of God, his providence, and his wisdom.⁴⁹ This implies the interdependence of all three scenes, which seems plausible considering the theological connotations of Saint Sophia. The alterations to the panel mentioned above were not the only changes it underwent over its history. As a closer glance at the Sophia panel reveals, the hilly landscape with trees and bushes remains from another scene, to which, presumably, the faint pair of

⁴⁶ Bartlová, “Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče,” 696, assumes that the parish priest Hermann could have been the patron of this small altarpiece.

⁴⁷ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 48 considers it improbable that the small altar served its original function only for half a century, therefore he assumes that it was applied as a predella in the “baroque” age. Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei*, 107 says it happened in the second half of the fifteenth century.

⁴⁸ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, Pl. VIII still shows the (rather curious) Trinity. Bakoš, “Štruktúra a genéza predely,” figs. 29 and 30 show the situation after restoration.

⁴⁹ Rados, *Magyar oltárok*, 44; Bartlová, “Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče,” 696 considers an angelological topic.



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wings behind Sophia's head also belonged.⁵⁰ This earlier image was certainly connected in iconology with the other two contemporary scenes because the singular iconographies reflect a thoroughly thought-out program. Several questions arise here: What was there initially? Why was it necessary to repaint it, and when did this happen?

Concerning the first question: either there was a Biblical scene, alluding, in parallel with Jacob's dream, to the knowledge of the Divinity (with at least one angel whose wings are still there) or Sophia was there from the beginning, although in another form.⁵¹ Whatever may have been there previously, Saint Sophia fits into the program perfectly as far as she embodies Wisdom with the theological virtues in a comprehensible way. The reason for the remodeling cannot be entirely separated from the first question because it may be connected to the intention of a new patron. One practical motive might have been the poor condition of the panel.⁵² The date of this modification is not easy to place and it is linked to one's view about the new function of the altarpiece.

The tall and slender figures in their exquisite clothes are an almost matchless example in this milieu. Radocsay⁵³ compared them to the Altar of the Female Martyrs in Kežmarok; others have contributed possible analogies in Flemish or Lower Rhenish painting,⁵⁴ but the roots are still to be found. As a consequence of general uncertainties the dating cannot be precise either: it ranges from around 1470 to around 1490–1495, since the Altar of the Female Martyrs in Kežmarok is dated 1493.⁵⁵

All the altars described, but especially this last example, have brought forward the issue of the patrons as well as the public of winged altarpieces. This takes us back to the starting idea about the "usage" of saints in the late Middle Ages during the last decades preceding the Reformation: Saint Sophia was, in addition to her motherly virtues, also an effective helper. Although the particular texts and images can only be brought together indirectly, her late medieval

⁵⁰ Végh, "A táblaképfestészet korai szakasza," 618; Bartlová, "Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče," 696.

⁵¹ Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*, 8 and Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 48 also suggests this latter solution but in this case the problem of the wings and the landscape remains.

⁵² Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*, 8.

⁵³ Radocsay, *Táblaképek*, 48.

⁵⁴ Rados, *Magyar oltárok*, 1938, 44; Bartlová, "Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče," 696.

⁵⁵ 1460–1470 in Malkiewiczówna, "O późnośredniowiecznej," 36; Bartlová, "Obraz svätých Anjelov z Levoče," 696, c. 1470; Csánky, *Táblaképfestészet*, 8 assumes the dating for 1470–1480; Rados, *Magyar oltárok* and Radocsay, *Táblaképek* suggest the later dating, to 1490–1495.



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career as a helping saint can be derived from them. Like other early Christian martyrs, the three daughters, on their mother's advice and then Sophia herself asked Christ to fulfil their vows by being merciful to those who remembered them in troubles or in their last hour.⁵⁶ This moment allowed worshippers to invoke the four saints in desperate situations: hopeless poverty, false accusations, and unfair judgments, but their competence covered practically all kinds of troubles; thus they were perfect helping saints. Consequently, this may be rightly considered as the chief explanation for the quite large number of representations of Saint Sophia, though not as many as of the more renowned holy helpers. They were never, however, included in the group "officially" known by the name Fourteen Holy Helpers, whose cult emerged around 1400.⁵⁷ Also, the region it covered overlaps approximately that of Saint Sophia, with the important addition of its source area, South Germany. A lengthy mass in Latin but with a few Hungarian marginal notes in the private prayer book of Boldizsár Batthyány, dated 1489, also bears witness to the helping function of Saint Sophia.⁵⁸ Unfortunately it remains unsolved whether Sophia, owing to her distinctive feature, wisdom, was an especially effective helper or only one from the multitude of similarly brave and resolute martyrs enlivened by the imagination of medieval European believers.

⁵⁶ Malkiewiczówna, "O późnośredniowiecznej," 57–58; Madas, "Zsófia-legenda," 175, f. 10. Adolf Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1902), 272–282; Ursula Borkowska USV, *Królewskie Modlitewniki. Studium z kultury religijnej epoki Jagiellonów (XV i początek XVI wieku)* (Royal Prayer-books. A study of the religious culture of the Jagiellonian period) (Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1999), 256–257, footnote 182 gives brief prayers to other saints.

⁵⁷ Its standard members were the Saints Achatius, Blaise, Christopher, Cyriacus, Denis, Erasmus, Eustache, George, Guy, Pantaleon, Vid, Barbara, Catherine of Alexandria and Margaret of Antiochia; see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3. *Iconographie des saints* II (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), 680–683; R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 170–171; Georg Schreiber, *Die Vierzehn Nothelfer in Volksfrömmen und Sakralkultur. Symbolhaft und Herrschaftsbereich* (Innsbruck, 1959); and Josef Dünninger, "Die Wallfahrtslegende von Vierzehnheiligen," in *Festschrift für Wolfgang Stammer (zu seinem 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern)* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1953), 192–205.

⁵⁸ Budapest, National Library, Department of Manuscripts, Quart. Hung. 386. On its Hungarian calendar and marginal notes see Gyula Zolnai, "A Batthyány-misekönyv magyar naptára és lapszéli jegyzetei (The Hungarian calendar and marginal notes of the Batthyány prayer-book)," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 19 (1895): 106–116; Polikárp Radó, "Batthyány Boldizsár misekönyvének hitelessége (On the authenticity of the prayer-book of Boldizsár Batthyány)," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 65 (1941): 132–149.

Table 1. Paintings of Saint Sophia and Her Daughters from historical Hungary

Place of origin	Genre, location	Context	Composition, attributes	Date
1. Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa) Slovakia	Altar of St. Apollonia, lower right inner panel Parish church St. Egidius	Martyrs and scenes of martyrdom	All the four standing St. Sophia with a seven- level crown, two daughters with a simple crown, one without any; the daughters have swords	1510s
2. Bardejov (Bartfeld, Bártfa) Slovakia	Altar of the Pieta, upper right inner panel Parish church St. Egidius	St. John the Almsgiver, St. Paul the Hermit, St. Michael the Archangel with St. John the Baptist, Sts Cosmas and Damian	St. Sophia enthroned, one daughter on her lap, one standing on each side St. Sophia with a four- level crown, the daughters with simple crowns; with swords	1510s– 1520s
3. Boian (Bonnesdorf, Alsóbajom) Romania	Fresco on the northern wall in the sanctuary of the Lutheran church	Situated beneath a scene with the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand Martyrs	Fragmented; the four women kneel in a row, hands clasped in prayer Saint Sophia has a multi- level crown, the daughters have simple crowns(?)	Ca. 1500
4. Bzenov (Berzenke) Slovakia	Altar of St. Anne with Mary and the Child, upper right inner panel Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. no. 55.834 1–9	Female saints (Mary Magdalene, St. Anne, St. Elisabeth of Hungary, St. Helen, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Hedwig)	All the four standing, the mother embracing her daughters Six crowns in a crescent, plus one on each head; grate, sword, oven	Ca. 1500



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Place of origin	Genre, location	Context	Composition, attributes	Date
5. Košice (Kaschau, Kassa) Slovakia	Altar of the Death of the Virgin, lower left inner panel Cathedral of St. Elisabeth	Death of the Virgin (central panel), male saints (Sts Cosmas and Damian, St. Fabian with St. Sebastian, St. Blaise with St. Erasmus); female saints on the outer sides	St. Sophia standing, embracing her daughters St. Sophia with a seven- level crown, the daughters with simple crowns, swords and banderoles	1470s– 1480s
6. Levoča (Leutschau, Lőcse) Slovakia	Predella of the Altar of St. Catherine (later addition) Parish church St. James	On the left of a <i>Maestas Domini</i> , in pair with a Jacob's dream on the right	St. Sophia enthroned, her daughters standing before her St. Sophia with a three- level crown, the daughters with simple crowns; two with swords, one with oven	Ca. 1475– 1495?
7. Mediasz (Mediasch, Medgyes) Romania	Fresco in the northern aisle of the church of St. Margaret	Kneeling before a Crucifix? (the iconographic context is unclear) They belong to the second layer of frescoes	The four women kneel in a row, hands clasped in prayer St. Sophia has a multi- level crown, the daughters have simple crowns	Ca. 1490– 1500?
8. Palúdzka (Kispalugya) Slovakia	Altar of the Three Magi, lower right inner panel, probably from the former church of St. Sophia (or its successor) Slovak Nat. Gallery, Inv. no. H 2209	Adoration of the Magi (central panel), St. Barbara with St. Catherine, St. Anne with Mary and the Child and St. Helen, St. Sebastian with St. Denis	St. Sophia standing, embracing her daughters St. Sophia with a seven- level crown, the daughters with simple crowns and swords (cf. Košice)	1510s



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Place of origin	Genre, location	Context	Composition, attributes	Date
9. Partizánska L'ubča (Deutsch Liptsch, Németlipcse) Slovakia	Former high altar of the parish church, lower right inner panel Slovak National Gallery, Inv. No. O 319.	Scenes from the Passion and female saints (Sts. Barbara, Catherine, Cordula, Ursula; Martyrdom of St. Apollonia)	St. Sophia enthroned, holding her daughters on her lap St. Sophia and two daughters with three-level crowns, the third without any; oven, prayer and grate	Ca. 1460–1465
10. Rudabánya Hungary	Fresco on the northern wall of the Reformed church	Flanked by a fresco of St. Helen with the True Cross	St. Sophia enthroned, one daughter on her lap, one standing on each side St. Sophia with a three-level crown, the daughters with simple crowns; swords (+oven?)	Ca. 1420–1430
11. Sásová (Zólyomszászfalu), Slovakia	Altar of St. Sophia, central panel; from the Roman Catholic church Banská Bystrica, Central Slovakian Museum	Four scenes from the martyrdom of St Sophia's daughters on the wing panels	St. Sophia enthroned, holding her daughters on her lap St. Sophia with three-level crown+two on each side, the daughters with simple crowns; oven, prayer and grate	Ca. 1440
12. Workshop related to Spišská Kapitula/Zipser Kapitel/Szepeshely? Slovakia	Wooden sculpture, probably the central piece of a winged altarpiece Slovak National Gallery, Inv. No. P 985		St. Sophia sitting, embracing her daughters much smaller in scale St Sophia with a seven-level crown, the daughters with simple crowns, one holding a book	Ca. 1490–1500



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Place of origin	Genre, location	Context	Composition, attributes	Date
13. Workshop related to Spišská Kapitula/Zipser Kapitel/Szepeshely? Slovakia	Panel painting from an altarpiece (of which only six scenes remain) Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. No. 3181	On the verso: Christ in Limbo; and four further scenes: Virgin and Jesus, St. Catherine/Ascension, Virgin with St. Francis and Descent from the Cross	St. Sophia sitting, holding <i>Karitas</i> on her lap, Fides and Spes flanking them St. Sophia with seven-level crown, the daughters with simple ones Daughters signed with banderoles; two have swords, St. Sophia holds a glass globe	Ca. 1490–1500
14. Unknown Upper Hungarian (Slovakian) location	One of the outer panels of a winged altarpiece	St. Magdalene, a saint bishop, St. Nicholas, Christ and the helping saints	St. Sophia standing, her daughters stand before her in a row	1530–1560?
15. Vlahă (Magyarfenés), Romania	Altar of St. Anne, lower left inner panel Alba Iulia, Batthyaneum	Female saints (St. Anne with Mary and the Child on the central panel; St. Claire, St. Barbara, St. Ursula)	St. Sophia standing, her daughters before her in a row St. Sophia with a three-folded crown, the daughters without any?	Ca. 1490–1500