

Female Messages from the High Altar

Kristina Potuckova

Mlynica,¹ now a small village nested under the High Tatra Mountains in the Spiš region of present-day Slovakia, was once a small town of some importance. First mentioned in 1268, Mlynica was inhabited by German settlers and their descendants and remained largely German until World War II.² The town is listed as a member of the League of 24 Spiš towns and its parish priest as a member of the fraternity of Spiš parish priests, although probably at a lower rank than the priest of the prosperous trading town of Levoča.³ In a situation typical of medieval Hungary's small towns and villages, the written sources are silent on any details of Mlynica's life or indeed Mlynica itself. The scattered mentions here and there are, however, complemented by a remarkable work of art, the late medieval high altar of St. Margaret of Antioch (around 1515-1520), the patron saint of the parish church. The altar was donated by Hedwig of Teschen from the Silesian branch of the Polish Piast dynasty, widow of the influential Hungarian magnat Stephen Szapolyai.

In the central shrine of the altarpiece looms the statue of St. Margaret (159 cm; fig. 1) flanked by panel paintings of four female saints. The most easily recognizable is St. Barbara holding a chalice. Her counterpart is most likely St. Elisabeth of Thuringia feeding the poor. The other two saints have not been identified so far. They obviously do not belong to the virgin martyr type. The female saint on Margaret's right is a widow holding two black birds (this panel has suffered substantial damage), her counterpart, a married woman, holds a banderol reading *nil scripsi scripsi*. At the feet of both women one can recognize a naked baby.

¹ Mühlenbach in German, Malompatak in Hungarian. Throughout the text I am using the Slovak topographical names.

² Julius A. Loisch, ed., *Mühlenbach – ein Dorf am Fusse der Hohen Tatra* (Kežmarok, 1997), 17.

³ Juraj Žáry, *Dvojld'ové kostoly na Spiši* (Two-aisle churches in Spiš) (Bratislava, 1984), 242.



Fig. 1: St. Margaret, 1515/20, Mlynica, parish church

The arrangement of the Mlynica altarpiece seems to be a variation of the *Viereraltar* type – typically, Virgin Mary in the center of the shrine is joined by four female saints on the sides, most often an entourage of virgin martyrs, occasionally combined with St. Helen, St. Elisabeth of Thuringia, or St. Mary Magdalene. The current art historical consensus is that this type of altarpiece was imported from Silesia in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, gaining significant popularity in the Spiš region where the cults of Virgin Mary as well as virgin martyrs seem to have held a large appeal.⁴

When the wings are closed, the viewer can see two rows of esteemed holy women, each identified by a specific attribute: St. Mary Magdalene, St. Lucy, St. Christine, St. Apollonia, St. Martha, and St. Genevieve. Two of these panels are actually scenes of martyrdom. St. Ursula embraces martyrdom together with the eleven thousand virgins and so do St. Mauritius and the Theban legion, the only male elements in the main iconography.⁵

⁴ János Vég, “O křídlových oltároch,” (On winged altarpieces) in *Gotika* (Gothic art), ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava, 2003), 351- 363.

⁵ Christ in the company of Foolish and Wise Virgins can be seen on the predella. Three other small-sized male figures , St. Cosmas, St. Damian and St. Anthony stand above the shrine.

The open wings (231 by 87 cm) display four scenes from the life of St. Margaret conforming to the legend's retelling in the Golden Legend.⁶ In the first scene Margaret is approached by a servant of Olibrius. Olibrius, observing the scene in the background with a small entourage, desires the lovely virgin, attired in rich clothing with a crown on her head, herding sheep (fig. 2).



Fig. 2: St. Margaret is approached by a servant of Olibrius

The story is familiar enough and moves along swiftly along the lines of a typical female virgin martyr legend. The constitutive elements of a virgin martyr story are all present: the refusal of a marriage proposal (or some other threat to the saint's virginity), the torture with an identifying element-attribute (a result of the

⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., tr. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993), vol. 1, 368-70 (henceforth: *The Golden Legend*).

saint's refusal to give up her physical purity and/or spiritual integrity), and the martyrdom (usually by beheading).⁷

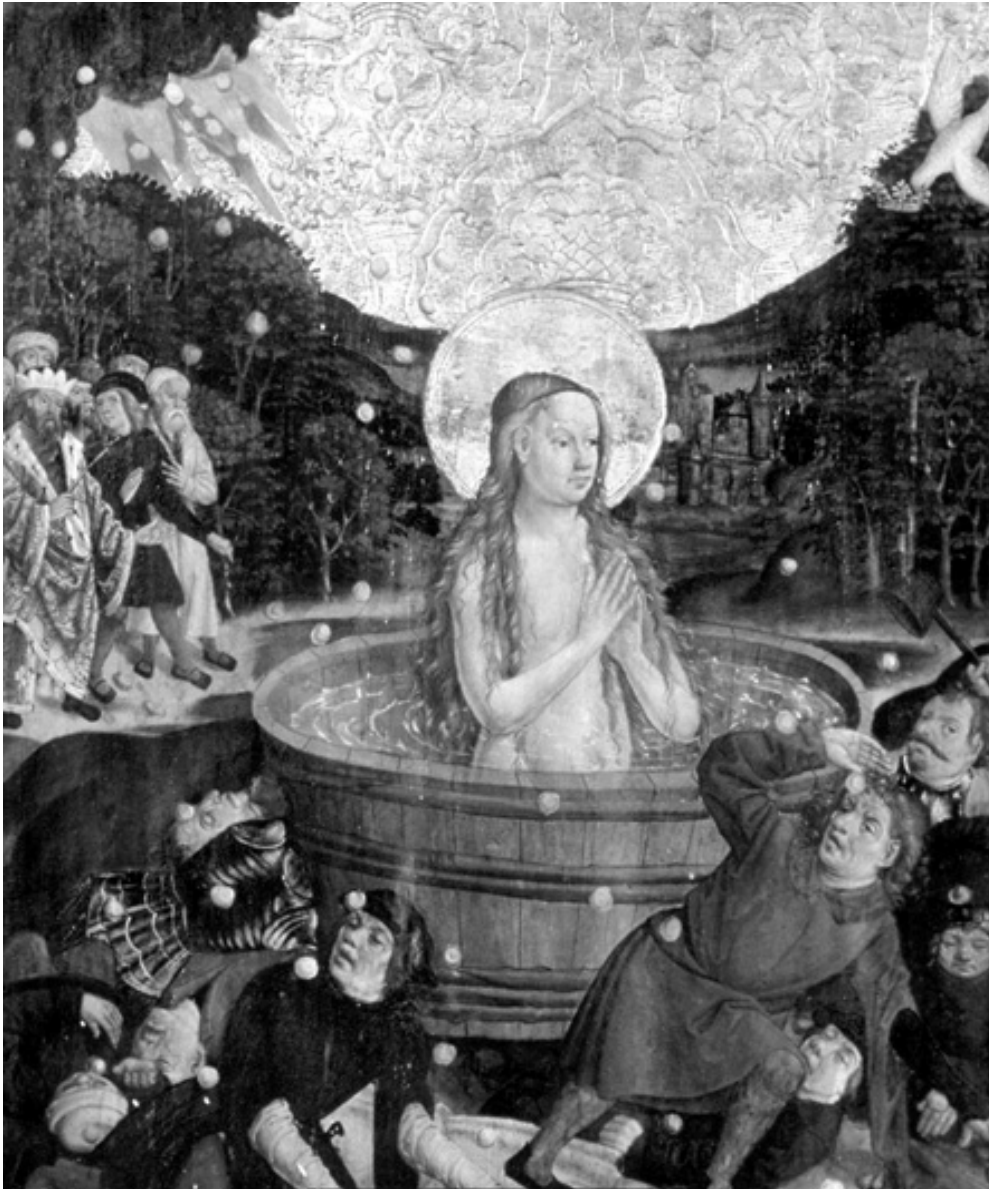


Fig. 3: St. Margaret is tortured in a barrel of water

St. Margaret, having refused Olibrius' advances (both of sexual and religious kind), is tortured sitting in a barrel of water (fig. 3). The most emblematic scene, in which the incarcerated St. Margaret drives away the dragon devil with a cross in her hand, is simultaneously the most reductionist one, the only one devoid of

⁷ The virgin martyr legends have garnered significant popularity among mainly literary scholars. The body of literature on the topic is consequently growing rapidly. Here, I list just a few works which I consider good starting points. For the analysis of the legends and its interpretations based mostly on the sources from England see Karen Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, 1997). Kathleen Coyne Kelly discussed the concept of virginity itself in *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages* (London, 2000). For different aspects of "virginity studies" see Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih, eds., *Medieval Virginites* (Cardiff, 2003).

any audience⁸ (fig. 4). The saint is standing in the doorway of her prison, not at all intimidated by the menacing presence of the dragon in her proximity. The image manoeuvres around the problematic, but well-liked,⁹ part of the legend when the dragon actually digested the saint, and presents it in a less controversial form. The dragon seems to be chewing on her clothes and reaches towards the saint with one of his paws.



Fig. 4: St. Margaret drives away the dragon devil

⁸ Ivan Gerát, “Život svätej Margity v stredovekej maľbe na Slovensku” (The life of St. Margaret in the medieval painting in Slovakia), *Pamiatky a múzeá* 3 (2002): 43-7.

⁹ This passage prompted the well-known comment of Jacobus de Voragine disputing its veracity, “What is said here, however, about the beast swallowing the maiden and bursting asunder is considered apocryphal and not to be taken seriously,” *The Golden Legend*, 369.



Fig. 5: Beheading of St. Margaret with the donor Hedwig of Teschen, 1515/20

At last, Margaret is eventually beheaded, Olibrius and his entourage again watching from some distance (fig. 5). Olibrius and his entourage are not the only witnesses to the saint's martyrdom. Kneeling humbly to the side of the saint, hands bound in prayer, a lone female donor figure venerates the saint, several times her size. The current scholarship identifies the donor as Hedwig of Teschen (fig. 6), the wife of Stephen Stephen Szapolyai, the palatine of Hungary and one of the eminent magnates of the kingdom.¹⁰

¹⁰ For the patronage activities of the Szapolyai family see Jiří Fajt, "Medzi dvorom a mestom. Maliarstvo na Spiši okolo roku 1500 a magnátska rodina Zápoľských" (Between the court



Fig. 6: The donor Hedwig of Teschen

It is a rare occurrence in the late medieval art of Upper Hungary (roughly the present-day Slovakia), that we can, with some degree of certainty, identify the donor and simultaneously have information available about his or her life that goes beyond a last will, a donation mentioned in passim, or a membership in a religious fraternity. Such a coincidence becomes even rarer if the donor is female. The present identification of the donor rests primarily on the patronage rights for the church of St. Margaret of Mlynica, which belonged to the Szapolyai family in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, at the time when the altarpiece was executed and Hedwig was already widowed (her husband died in 1499).¹¹ Hedwig's extensive art and church patronage activities in Spiš also speak in favour of this identification.

and the town. Painting in Spiš around the year 1500 and the magnate Szapolyai family), in *Gotika*, ed. Dušan Buran, 399-427.

¹¹ For the identification see Jiří Fajt's catalogue entry on the Mlynica altarpiece in *Gotika*, ed. Dušan Buran, 752-3 (henceforth: Fajt, "Catalogue"). The donor was previously identified as

The life of Hedwig of Teschen has only recently become subject of a more intense scholarly scrutiny. The following summary of her life and activities in Spiš is based mainly on the work of the Polish historian Stanisław Sroka¹² and an article of the Slovak PhD student Veronika Kuchárska,¹³ who is currently working on a dissertation on Hedwig.

Hedwig, a member of the Silesian branch of the Polish Piast dynasty, became the second wife of Stephen Szapolyai in 1486¹⁴ and bore him four children: the sons Ján (king of Hungary 1526-1540), and Juraj (d. 1526 in Mohacs); a daughter Magdaléna who died as a child and another daughter Barbara, who married the Polish king Sigismund the Old (she died in 1515). Stephen and Hedwig's marriage was possibly designed to enhance the prestige of the wealthy but not so long-standing Szapolyai family. Hedwig seems to have become especially active after the death of her husband in 1499, when she came to administer the vast property of her husband which could have comprised as many as seventy castles. Exact numbers aside, she was in charge of considerable land holdings and exercised a rather assertive matrimonial policy. She started several matrimonial projects for her children (unsuccessful negotiations for the hand of Anna, daughter of Ladislaus II of Hungary and Bohemia, for example). Her matrimonial plans came to fruition mainly in the case of her daughter Barbara. Hedwig did not live to see the ultimate realisation of the family's ambitions – her son Ján's ascent to the throne of Hungarian kingdom.

It is also worth noting that the Carthusian monastery in *Lapis refugii*, also in the same region, was originally – in 1299 – founded in honour of Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and Saint Margaret. In the early sixteenth century this same monastery became the recipient of an endowment from Hedwig of Teschen: two new cells, a chapel, and a *mensa* for the main altar; a fishpond and four vineyards for the upkeep. Hedwig even came, with the permission of the order, to the monastery, feasibly to inspect the fruits of her donations.¹⁵

Hedwig of Teschen led, for all intents and purposes, a campaign of church donations that was most probably designed to cement her husband's and sons' standing in this border region of the Hungarian kingdom. It has indeed been suggested that the Mlynica altarpiece accentuates the royal overtones of the virgin martyr legends, the inherent and undisputed nobility of these saints, as a means

Margaret Thurzo, a daughter from another prominent Hungarian family. Libuše Cidlinská, *Gotické krídlové oltáre na Slovensku* (Gothic winged altarpieces in Slovakia) (Bratislava, 1989), 62.

¹² Stanisław A. Sroka, *Jadwiga Zapolya piastówka śląska na Węgrzech w dobie panowania Jagiellonów* (Krakow, 2005).

¹³ Veronika Kuchárska, "Mecenát Hedvivy Zápoľskej" (Patronage activities of Hedwig of the Szapolyai family), *Studia archeologica slovacae mediaevalia* V (2006): 243-52.

¹⁴ For the date of the marriage and its circumstances see Stanisław A. Sroka, "Sobáše Štefana Zápoľského (1499)" (The marriages of Stephen Szapolyai), *Z minulosti Spiša* XII (2004): 35-40.

¹⁵ Kuchárska, "Mecenát," 247-251. The article also touches upon her support of other monastic order or clerics.

of showcasing Hedwig's royal aspirations for the Szapolyai family.¹⁶ It is a matter of some contention though – Mlynica, albeit undoubtedly doing quite well, was moving rather on the fringes of Upper Spiš, orbiting around the more vital trade towns in its vicinity and, thus, does not seem to be a likely place to search for a manifestation of royal ambitions. The medieval Hungarian kingdom had, through the founding Arpadian dynasty, quite a supply of its own venerated dynastic saints well-suited for such purposes: St. Stephen, St. Ladislaus, even St. Elisabeth of Thuringia could be considered a more appropriate choice.¹⁷

It is the Arpadians, however, who provided a strong stimulus for the spread of Margaret's cult in medieval Hungary. Bela III was educated at the Byzantine court (St. Margaret's cult first flourished in Eastern Christianity) and his first wife was Agnes of Antioch (d. 1184), the daughter of Raynald de Châtillon, Prince of Antioch.¹⁸ The skull relic of St. Margaret of Antioch¹⁹ was brought to Hungary by king Andrew II (1205-1235)²⁰ as one of the several relics he acquired during his expedition to the Holy Land in 1217-1218 in the course of the Fifth Crusade.²¹ The event is described by a chronicle, although the acquisition of the relic is mentioned only very briefly.²² St. Margaret's relic joined other such valuable items: relics of St. George, and a relic of one of the Eleven-thousand Virgins of St. Ursula. St. Ursula's cult was possibly mediated to Spiš through Queen Gertrude of Andechs-Merania, the German wife of Andrew II, and her people at the Spišská Kapitula church.²³ The church also kept relics of two of Gertrude's relatives: St. Elisabeth of Thuringia, and St. Hedwig

¹⁶ Fajt, "Catalogue," 753.

¹⁷ On the problem of dynastic sanctity of the Arpadian dynasty see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, 2002).

¹⁸ Martin Homza, "Spišský hrad a spišské prepošstvo dve centrá včasnostredovekého Spiša," (Spiš castle and Spiš provostship – the two significant centers at Spiš in the early Middle Ages) in *Terra scepusiensis, Terra christiana 1209-2009*, ed. Mária Novotná (Levoča, 2009), 12. One of Bela III's daughters was also named Margaret. St. Margaret of Hungary (1242-1271), a niece of St. Elisabeth of Thuringia, was also an Arpadian princess.

¹⁹ Leanne Gilbertson notes the large number of churches claiming possession of the body of the saint, or the head, or other parts of her body, including several Italian and French churches, as well as the cathedral of Constantinople, and the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai; Leanne Gilbertson, "Imaging St. Margaret: *Imitatio Christi* and *Imitatio Mariae* in the Vanni Altarpiece," in *Images, Relics, and Devotional Practices in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. Sally J. Cornelison and Scott B. Montgomery (Tempe, 2005), 119-20.

²⁰ Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London, 2001), 89-95.

²¹ On Andrew II's expedition see, for example, Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1996), 60-76.

²² The Pictorial Chronicle recounts that the king obtained several relics, among them the skull of St. Stephen Protomartyr, the right hand of the apostles Thomas and St. Bartholomew, and the skull of St. Margaret, virgin and martyr; Július Sopko, ed., *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska* (The chronicles of medieval Slovakia) (Budmerice, 1995), 60.

²³ Homza, "Spišský hrad a spišské prepošstvo," 18-9.

of Silesia, a daughter and a sister of Gertrude respectively.²⁴ The cathedral church of St. Martin in Spišská Kapitula, the center of church power in Spiš, still houses the relic of St. Margaret.²⁵

St. Margaret's cult in Upper Hungary is often seen as an expression of the growing knightly culture and the function of the region (and Spiš in particular) as the kingdom's border, for which Margaret, who had defeated the dragon, offered protection.²⁶ Some place names in Spiš suggest that there indeed was a more intense veneration of the cult of St. Margaret: like a mountain of St. Margaret,²⁷ or a now vanished village.²⁸ Whether it was the border protection, the knightly aspect of the cult or simply the presence of the relic, it appears reasonable to conclude that the cult of St. Margaret held considerable appeal in Spiš.

Being able to identify the donor with reasonable certainty, only fractionally alleviates the problem of reaching the possible responses of the altarpiece's medieval viewers. The precise extent of the cult and its possible appeals to the faithful are hard to gleam – the images are, in fact, our largest extant source on the forms the veneration of saints took in late medieval Upper Hungary.²⁹ Written sources pertinent to late medieval devotion in Upper Hungary are scarce – the Golden legend is the one that one finds most frequently in fragments, liturgical sources are usually limited to the most representative of bishopric seats. The actual “uses” of the cult of St. Margaret are implied rather than directly expressed – Margaret's role as a protector in childbirth her most obvious one, common as it was all throughout Europe.³⁰

Literary scholarship has pointed to many potential uses and appeals female virgin martyrs could have³¹ – apart from invoking them in childbirth, a practice that could have taken several forms from prayers to amulets, they

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 17.

²⁵ The catalogue of the 2009 exhibition *Terra scepusiensis, Terra christiana 1209-2009*, summarises the recent scholarship on the history of the two power centers of Spiš, that is, Spiš castle and Spišská Kapitula.

²⁶ Sándor Bálint, “Die altungarische Verehrung der heiligen Margaret von Antiochien,” in *Festschrift Matthias Zender*, vol. I, ed. Edith Ennen and Günther Wiegmann (Bonn, 1972), 330-35. Bálint connects her cult with that of St. Ladislaus, an Arpadian saint whose legends can definitely be considered a part of the developing knightly culture in Hungary; Michal Slivka, “Uctievanie svätých na Slovensku,” (The veneration of saints in Slovakia), *Studia archaeologica slovacica mediaevalia* V (2006): 117.

²⁷ *...de dicta autem via exiens tendit ad aquilonem versus montem beate Margarete...*; Richard Marsina, ed. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* 1 (Bratislava, 1971), 230.

²⁸ František Žižňák, “Listina z roku 1249 pre spišského prepošta ako historický prameň” (A charter for the Spiš provost from the year 1249 as a historical source), *Z minulosti Spiša* V-VI (1999): 85-6.

²⁹ The situation in the medieval kingdom of Hungary bears some resemblance to that of Sweden. See Tracey R. Sands, *The Company She Keeps – The Medieval Swedish Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria and Its Transformations* (Tempe, 2010), *passim*.

³⁰ Bálint, “Altungarische Verehrung,” 330-1.

³¹ Kristina Potuckova, “Virgin Martyrs and Their Late Medieval Audience,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 14 (2008): 109-20.

should have served as role models for young women in preserving their virginity, their Christianity, living a good Christian life (with varying degrees of emphasis on each). They were deemed to hold the undeniable appeal of a good story that involved exciting elements both in terms of the sexuality visualized and violence.

What we look at facing the Mlynica altarpiece appears to be a project sponsored by an ambitious woman who dedicated her life to the enhancement of her husband's family reputation. The extent to which she contributed to the actual content of the altarpiece is, as it is in many a medieval case, unknown and probably unknowable, although her dealings with the Carthusian order indicate she might have been very much involved in the execution of her projects. Her family's dynastic ambitions are well-known but it would be unusual for the Kingdom of Hungary, a kingdom that even tended to reject the regency by a woman, to have them expressed primarily in women, however saintly they might have been. By the fifteenth century the knightly associations seem to be subdued – the women saints are generally grouped together, even if sharing space with other male saints. There are entire altarpieces devoted to female saints, albeit very rarely to the extent of the Mlynica altarpiece. One of the side altars of St. Martin's cathedral church was dedicated to St. Ursula, St. Catherine, St. Dorothea and all the virgins, including St. Margaret (around 1478), a side altar of Virgin Mary with St. Lucy, St. Elisabeth, St. Apollonia, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, St. Barbara, and St. Dorothy can still be viewed and prayed to in the parish church of the neighbouring village of Veľká Lomnica. As a member of the *virgines capitales* group, the most important virgins, St. Margaret appears in over fifty extant altarpieces from Upper Hungary, uniformly identified by the dragon. As a member of the Fourteen Holy Helpers group she is presumably invoked to assist in a whole variety of precarious situations. That St. Margaret was popular seems undisputable but we are too short in sources other than the visual to be able to tell what the range of her appeal in the wider community was and if it indeed went beyond her virgin status and protection of women giving birth.

In the particular case of the High Altar of St. Margaret of Antioch in Mlynica, three major factors could have significantly contributed to its conception and iconography: the strong cult of the female virgin martyrs in Upper Hungary in general and of St. Margaret³² in Spiš in particular, and Hedwig of Teschen's desire to reflect the family's powerful standing in the region to an already established popular saint. I would argue that Hedwig's personal devotion did play a significant role implied by her presence as donor on the altarpiece itself. The unusual extent to which the iconography of the altarpiece favours fe-

³² In Mlynica St. Margaret's patronage dates back to the thirteenth century when the early Gothic church was built (1260). The Church of St. Margaret was then rebuilt several times with additions from the fifteenth century.

male saints could represent a result of Hedwig of Teschen's preferences but at the present such claim cannot be sufficiently substantiated.³³

* * *

The medieval history of the Mlynica altarpiece has an interesting epilogue. Shortly after the altarpiece was completed, Reformation arrived to Spiš. Mlynica was swept up in the wave of the new religious ideas as Juraj Leudischer, a Protestant priest, accepted the office of its parish church. Nonetheless, the ebb and flow of the movement in Spiš did return it to the Catholic church in 1555.³⁴ The altarpiece continued to serve the community until 2005 when it was moved to undergo restoration, still in progress, which will hopefully shed further light on its iconographic program and artistic execution.

All photos: Institut für Realienkunde, Krems/Donau

³³ The same is true for the Arpadian royal connections of the cult and the region having influenced the concept of the altarpiece. Perhaps further investigation into the Silesian and Polish cult of St. Margaret and the forms of religious devotion in Silesia could provide further clues.

³⁴ For the Reformation in Spiš see Tadeusz M. Trajdus, "Reformacja i kontrreformacja na Spiszu" (Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Spiš) in *Terra Scepusiensis: Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša* (Terra Scepusiensis: The state of research on the history of Spiš), ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza (Wrocław, 2003), 467-86; Ivan Chalupecký, "Protirefomácia alebo 'rekatolizácia'?" (Counter-reformation or re-Catholicization?), *Historický časopis* 40 (1999): 131-40.

MEDIUM AEVUM
QUOTIDIANUM

60

KREMS 2010

HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON GERHARD JARITZ

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

niederösterreich kultur

Titelgraphik: Stephan J. Tramèr

ISSN 1029-0737

Herausgeber: Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters, Körnermarkt 13, 3500 Krems, Österreich. Für den Inhalt verantwortlich zeichnen die Autoren, ohne deren ausdrückliche Zustimmung jeglicher Nachdruck, auch in Auszügen, nicht gestattet ist. – Druck: Grafisches Zentrum an der Technischen Universität Wien, Wiedner Hauptstraße 8-10, 1040 Wien.

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Vorwort	4
Kristina Potuckova, Female Messages from the High Altar	5
Isabella Nicka ‚Möbel‘ als Analysekategorie der mittelalterlichen Bildwelt. Strukturierendes und funktionalisiertes Interieur in konfigurierten Innenraumdarstellungen	17
Romedio Schmitz-Esser, <i>Prudentia</i> in a Classroom? A Late-Medieval Mirror as Revealing Object in a Miniature from London, BL Harley MS 3828	36
Buchbesprechungen	46
Anschriften der Autoren	59

Vorwort

Das vorliegende Heft von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* beschäftigt sich vorrangig mit der Untersuchung und Analyse von verschiedenen Bereichen spätmittelalterlicher bildlicher Überlieferung und ihrer Bedeutungsmuster. Die Beiträge von Kristina Potuckova und Isabella Nicka sind die für den Druck überarbeiteten Vorträge der Autorinnen, welche sie am 45. International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo/Michigan im Mai 2010 in der Sektion „Intention and Response: Late Medieval Images and Public Space“ gehalten haben.¹ Beide Aufsätze zeigen in beeindruckender Weise, wie stark Alltag und materielle Kultur einerseits mit religiösen, andererseits sozialen und geschlechtsspezifischen Komponenten des mittelalterlichen Lebens verbunden waren. Sie vermitteln darüber hinaus, wie wichtig sich die Analyse der ‚Zeichensprache‘ von Bildinhalten des Zeitraums für ein besseres Verständnis der Wirkung visueller Botschaften darstellt.

Der Beitrag von Romedio Schmitz-Esser widmet sich der Neuinterpretation einer flämischen Miniatur aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts, die bis dato als die Wiedergabe eines Schulraumes für den Unterricht von Mädchen gedeutet worden war. Mit Hilfe des Herausarbeitens und einer Analyse der allegorischen und realistischen Bildelemente gelingt ihm ein wichtiger neuer Vorschlag zur Sinngebung der Darstellung.

Gerhard Jaritz

¹ Die Sektion wurde vom Department of Medieval Studies von Central European University (Budapest) und dem Consortium for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (Claremont, Kalifornien) organisiert. Die Vortragstitel waren: Kristina Potuckova, *Female Messages from the High Altar (Central Europe, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)*; Isabella Nicka, *Saintly Distance and Domestic Proximity: The Sign Language of Furniture in Late Medieval Art*.