

Dorottya Uhrin

THE CULT OF SAINT DOROTHY IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2018

THE CULT OF SAINT DOROTHY IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

by

Dorottya Uhrin

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

Examiner

Budapest
May 2018

THE CULT OF SAINT DOROTHY IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

by

Dorottya Uhrin

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Reader

Budapest
May 2018

THE CULT OF SAINT DOROTHY IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

by

Dorottya Uhrin

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Supervisor

Budapest
May 2018

I, the undersigned, **Dorottya Uhrin**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 15 May 2018

Signature

Abstract

The present thesis discusses Saint Dorothy's cult in medieval Hungary. How did the cult arrive?

Who were the promoters? What were the main features of the cult?

The first two chapters provide the historical circumstances of the formation of virgin martyrs' cult and the emergence of Saint Dorothy's cult in Europe. Saint Dorothy was a young virgin, who during the reign of Emperor Diocletian suffered martyrdom in Cappadocia in the Late Antiquity. Legends were produced about her life from the early Middle Ages, however, only from the mid-fourteenth century did she become popular in various European regions, including Italy and Germany. She was particularly popular in German-speaking territories.

The third chapter presents the arrival of Saint Dorothy's cult in Hungary and shows that she was unknown in the Árpáadian period. It seems that the cult emerged during the Angevin era. Her veneration became widespread only from the 1360s. Probably Dorothy's cult connected to clerics from Poland, who arrived in the entourage of Queen Elizabeth Piast, wife of Charles I. Other traces suggest German origin, since her cult was mostly popular in the German-speaking territories of Hungary. The two origins do not exclude each other, because the Polish towns were also frequently populated by Germans. Dorothy's veneration centered in Szepesség in Hungary, where an extensive fresco cycle commemorates her suffering.

The fifteenth and sixteenth-century textual and pictorial representations emphasize the importance of Dorothy's intercessory power. Besides her *imago*, the most frequent depiction was her rose miracle. On late medieval altarpieces she accompanied Virgin Mary with other virgins, which refers to her status as *sponsa Christi* and to her intimate relationship with the mother of Christ. Interestingly, hospitals were also dedicated to Saint Dorothy (usually she was a co-patron), which might have derived from the fact that she promised that she would help to rescue people from poverty.

Acknowledgements

First and foremostly I would like to thank my supervisor, Gábor Klaniczay for his support and his guidance throughout the last years. I owe thanks in particular to the academic writing instructors Eszter Timár and Zsuzsa Reed for their effective helps during the writing period. I am deeply indebted to Béla Zsolt Szakács, who always helped me in art historical questions, and to Bálint Lakatos, who helped me with some problems of papal charters. I am indebted to Anna Kinde for our inspiring conversations and for her friendship.

Table of contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1 – The virgin martyrs	4
Martyrs and virgins	5
The popularity of virgin martyrs.....	9
Chapter 2 – The tradition of Dorothy’s legend	13
Saint Dorothy in the West (A German tradition).....	16
Chapter 3 – Dorothy arrives in Hungary.....	19
The role of the Augustinians in the formation of the cult.....	19
Dorothy in Southern and Northern Hungary	21
Dorothy in Szepesség.....	27
The frescoes of Lőcse	29
Chapter 4 – Late medieval cult	43
Among the fourteen Holy Helpers	48
Texts and visual representations	50
Saint Dorothy in the shrines.....	51
Latin and vernacular Hungarian texts about Saint Dorothy.....	55
Legends of Dorothy	57
Conclusion	63
Bibliography	66

Archival sources.....	66
Primary sources.....	66
Secondary literature	68
Appendices.....	83
Table	83
Illustrations	85

List of Tables and Illustrations

- Table 1. The chapels and churches dedicated to Saint Dorothy, was made by the author
- Fig. 2.1. St Katherine, St Margaret, St Lucia, St Dorothy, St Christina. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; cod. 874; fol. 3v. C. 1330. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 05315.)
- Fig. 3.1. St Dorothy on the murals of Nagyócsa. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 012738.)
- Fig. 3.2. St Dorothy on the murals of Podolin. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 012222A.)
- Fig. 3.3. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011752.)
- Fig. 3.4. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011753.)
- Fig. 3.5. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011754.)
- Fig. 3.6. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011755.)
- Fig. 3.7. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011756.)
- Fig. 3.8. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011757.)
- Fig. 3.9. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011758.)

- Fig. 3.10. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011759.)
- Fig. 3.11. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011760.)
- Fig. 3.12. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011761.)
- Fig. 3.13. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011762.)
- Fig. 3.14. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011763.)
- Fig. 3.15. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011764.)
- Fig. 3.16. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011765.)
- Fig. 3.17. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011766.)
- Fig. 3.18. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011767.)
- Fig. 3.19. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011768.)
- Fig. 3.20. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011769.)
- Fig. 3.21. St Dorothy Cycle in Lőcse. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture
<http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011770.)

- Fig. 4.1. Altar of Virgin Mary, Busóc. (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 011577.)
- Fig. 4.2. Altar of Virgin Mary, Szepesszombat. The picture was taken by Péter Molnár
- Fig. 4.3. Altar of Saint Anne, Bártfa. The picture was taken by Péter Molnár.
- Fig. 4.4. Altar of Nativity, Bártfa. The picture was taken by Péter Molnár.
- Fig. 4.5. Altar of Virgin Mary in Berethalom (Salzburg University, Institute for Material Culture <http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/> Number of picture: 014939.)

List of Abbreviations

BHL = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, Subsidia Hagiographica 12 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes 1898–1901) and *Novum Supplementum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986)

DL = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Hungarian National Archives – MNL OL), Diplomatikai Levéltár (Medieval Charters – DL).

DF = Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Hungarian National Archives – MNL OL), Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (Collection of Photocopies – DF).

AOkI = *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár: Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*. 46 vols. Edited by Gyula Kristó, and others. Budapest – Szeged: S. n., 1990–2017.

ZsO = *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*. [Charters from the Age of King Sigismund], 13 vols. Edited by Elemér Mályusz, and others. Budapest, S. n., 1951–2017.

Introduction

Saint Dorothy, the late antique virgin martyr, suffered martyrdom during the reign of Diocletian because she refused pagan religion and was the bride of Christ. Each virgin martyr's legend starts similarly; in the late Middle Ages their gripping stories resulted in their extreme popularity all over Central Europe, however their cults appeared in different periods. The present study focuses on the arrival and the flourishing of Saint Dorothy's cult in medieval Hungary.

The temporal and the spatial frames of the thesis are *medieval times* and *Hungary*. It is easier to define the latter: I will focus on Saint Dorothy's cult in the Carpathian basin, meaning present-day Hungary, and parts of Austria, Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Poland and Ukraine. To define *medieval times* is harder. Dorothy's veneration emerged during the Angevin period in Hungary, which provides the starting date. The ending date is less accurate. It is generally accepted that in Hungary, the Middle Ages ended around 4 pm on 29th August 1526, when the Hungarian army lost the battle of Mohács and the king died. However, there are recent attempts to broaden the upper boundaries of the Middle Ages in Hungary.¹ The present thesis will analyze Saint Dorothy's cult from the fourteenth century until the first third of the sixteenth century. I chose this ending date, because there are surviving vernacular Hungarian codices from that period. The Érdy Codex, composed in 1526, is the latest source which I use for the study.

Saint Dorothy's cult of is a little researched topic. This thesis is the first in-depth analysis of her cult in Hungary. However, there are some publications which have touched upon the topic. The principal work is an excellent monograph by Kirsten Wolf, who not only sheds light upon the Icelandic cult of Saint Dorothy, but also give an outstanding overview of

¹ Last access May 13, 2018.

http://reformacio.mnl.gov.hu/reformacio_kori_iratok_digitalizalasa_a_magyar_nemzeti_leveltarban

the formation of the cult and the philological problems of the legends.² My second chapter is based mainly on this book. A well written analysis from an art historical point of view, Kristina Potuckova's MA thesis at Central European University focuses on the images depicting the *virgines capitales* on Upper Hungarian altarpieces.³

Regarding the broader subject of this thesis, there is further literature which has impacted it. I cannot omit the first monographer of the *virgin martyrs*, Karen A. Winstead, who studies how their cult had changed during the centuries from the point of view of the history of literature.⁴ Stanley E. Weed scrutinizes the cult of the *virgines capitales* (four main virgin martyrs, usually: Saint Katherine, Saint Dorothy, Saint Barbara and Saint Margaret) concentrating on literature and art in German-speaking regions, analyzing their veneration within the context of the Fourteen Holy Helpers.⁵ Moreover, recent studies of Ottó Gecser shed new light on the veneration of Holy Helpers, which has shaped also my views.⁶

The thesis is divided into four main chapters. The first chapter offers a short overview of the formation of the cult of virgin martyrs. This chapter does not intend to examine the cult from the angle of gender studies; it rather concentrates on the historical circumstances of the emergence of the cult of virgins and martyrs. The second chapter presents the tradition of Saint Dorothy's legend as well as the main versions and features of the texts. Later, it takes a look at the development of her veneration in the West. The third chapter turns to the arrival of the saint's cult in Hungary, and the first century of her veneration. The main questions of this

² Kirsten Wolf, *The Icelandic legend of Saint Dorothy* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997).

³ Kristina Potuckova. "Virginity, Sancity, and Image: The Virgines Capitales in Upper Hungarian Altarpieces of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" (MA Thesis, Central European Univ., 2007).

⁴ Karen A. Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997).

⁵ Stanley E. Weed, "Venerating the Virgin Martyrs: The Cult of the Virgines Capitales in Art, Literature, and Popular Piety," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 41 (2010): 1065–1091.

⁶ Ottó Gecser, "Holy Helpers and the Transformation of Sainthood at the end of the Middle Ages," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 174–201; Ottó Gecser, "Helper Saints and their Critics in the Long Fifteenth Century," in *Bridging the Historiographical Divides: Religious Transformations in New Communities of Interpretation in Europe (1350-1570)* ed. by Élise Boillet and Ian Johnson, forthcoming. I am indebted to Ottó Gecser who provided me his unpublished article.

chapter are the origin of the cult, the promoters and the possible role of Augustinians in spreading of the cult. The fourth chapter concentrates on the peak of Dorothy's cult: the main sources of the analysis are pictorial and textual representations. I will not include all of them, my intention is rather to demonstrate the main attraction of the cult, which is Dorothy's intercessory power.

The short literature survey above has revealed that the cult of Saint Dorothy can only be examined from an interdisciplinary point of view. Albeit I am a historian, my aim was to use the results of other disciplines, such as art history, literary history, codicology, philology and others. Accordingly, my sources are multifarious: I use legends, charters, codices, art historical representations, naming tradition, chronicles and liturgical sources for drawing the complexity of Saint Dorothy's cult. However, the picture I provide on the following pages cannot be full because of the terrible loss of sources in and on Hungary.

Chapter 1 – The virgin martyrs

There is a special group among the saints, the so-called virgin martyrs. Saint Dorothy was one of them, thus the present chapter demonstrates the common features of the virgin martyrs' legends, as well as the formation of their cult.

According to any virgin martyrs' *vitae*, a beautiful young woman, daughter of a nobleman vows to remain chaste because the only bridegroom she desires is Christ. The conflict of the story starts when either a heathen ruler or a prefect threatens the saint's virginity through an offer of marriage or his intention of making her his concubine. The saint refuses the proposal because of the Christian idea of sexual purity. The pagan arrests the saint and asks about her origin so she confesses her noble status and her faith in Christ. Then she fights against the human antagonist: Saint Katherine, for example, protests against sacrifices made for pagan gods. Thus the heathen ruler, Maxentius gathers fifty of the wisest philosophers to defeat her arguments, but finally she wins the debate and converts them all to Christianity. On the other hand, Margaret fights against demons, who appear in the form of a dragon and a black man. The virgin comes on for trial before the pagan man, and the process often includes the threat of sexual assault and physical tortures. The saint endures her suffering and finally she gets beheaded and her soul is received into Heaven.⁷

The historical authenticity of these legends is doubtful. In addition to their folkloristic elements, the protagonists of the legends cannot be found in contemporary sources. Most probably, their legends were invented during the Middle Ages. The very first traces of virgin martyrs appeared in *martyrologies*, however, these sources contain only short notes about martyrs. These one-sentence descriptions developed to thousands and thousands line-long legends by the end of the Middle Ages. The popularity of their cult can be explained by the

⁷ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 6.

fact, that the virgin martyrs embodied the two most significant Christian values: martyrdom and virginity.

Martyrs and virgins

In the first centuries of Christianity, undertaking martyrdom was the most important way to prove someone's faith. The sex of the martyr was immaterial: man and woman were equal in martyrdom, because the same divine grace filled them. The early Christian authors found it venerable how women endured the tortures during their martyrdom.⁸ These early female martyrs were not only virgins, they could be mothers or widows as well,⁹ because martyrdom was more appreciated than virginity.¹⁰ The legends of early female martyrs also demonstrate this perception, because many early martyrs were married. The story of Perpetua and Felicitas displays this. The young mother, Perpetua chose martyrdom, however, this meant that her newborn child would also die, because she could not feed the baby. The pregnant Felicitas also chose martyrdom instead of raising her child.¹¹

Brigitte Cazelles argued that the main model of female sanctity was the self-sacrifice and excruciation of the woman in the early centuries of Christianity. This also explains why the legends overemphasized the tortures of female martyrs.¹² The main parts of these legends recount the different torments that the female martyrs suffered. For example, Saint Agatha was tortured: her breast was severed, and her naked body was put on the mixture of ember and

⁸ Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo. A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 510–1.

⁹ Peter Brown, *The Body and Society. Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1988), 150.

¹⁰ Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 510–1.

¹¹ Thomas J. Heffernan, "Shifting Identities: From a Roman Matron to Matrona Dei in the Passio Sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis" in *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, ed. by Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2010), 1–16.; Thomas J. Heffernan, *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Brent D. Shaw, "The Passion of Perpetua" *Past & Present* 139. (1993): 23.; Brown, *The Body and Society*, 74–6.

¹² Brigitte Cazelles, "Introduction," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Tímea Szell (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 16.; Larissa Tracy, *Torture and Brutality in Medieval Literature: Negotiations of National Identity* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 31–69.

broken shards.¹³ Saint Lucy was taken to a brothel to be raped, but when she was there, the men were unable to move and rape her. Finally, a sword was stabbed in her throat.¹⁴ Saint Christina was beaten by twelve men, then her flesh was drawn with hooks of iron, and Christina took part of her flesh and threw it in the visage of her father. “The father then ordered her flesh to be torn off with hooks and her tender limbs to be broken; and Christina picked up pieces of her flesh and threw them in her father’s face [...]” She suffered many other torments, finally she was beheaded.¹⁵

Regarding the early martyr legends, Karen A. Winstead explored the possible origin of the virgin martyrs’ legends; she argues that the story of Saint Paul and Thecla resembles mostly the legends of virgin martyrs.¹⁶ This legend recounts that Saint Paul converted the young virgin, Thecla in Iconium. The conversion of the young woman caused that she quarrelled with her family and fiancé. The pagans wanted to execute her together with Saint Paul, but finally God saved them by miracles.¹⁷ Besides the similarities of the legend of Paul and Thecla to the stories of virgin martyrs, the main motives are also similar. The women appeared more positively than men in these stories. For example, when Thecla was sentenced to death, the women of Antioch provided support for her.¹⁸ Moreover, when she was put in front of lions, the lioness saved her from the lion.¹⁹ A possible reason behind the polarization of genders – that is the positive roles of women in contrast to men – was that early Christian family conflicts are reflected in these stories.²⁰ The perception of family had changed and was reinterpreted by Christianity. The conversion of family members to Christianity could cause conflicts in late

¹³ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Reading on Saints*, trans. by William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 154–7.

¹⁴ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 27–9.

¹⁵ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 385–7.

¹⁶ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 7.

¹⁷ J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 364–74.

¹⁸ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 7; Stephen J. Davies, *The Cult of Saint Thecla. A Tradition of Women’s Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 8–10.

¹⁹ Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 364–374.

²⁰ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 8.

antique families, which, in extreme cases, resulted in the disruption of families. Moreover, in the Christian perception, blood relations were substituted by relations within the Christian community: the members of the community were sisters and brothers and they became a new family.²¹ A new female model was outlined in early Christianity in which the biological family and earthly love was substituted by the celestial family and heavenly love. Jesus became the fiancé of the virgin. John Chrysostom promised to the faithful virgin, that the love of Christ is ‘hotter’ than any earthly love which was imagined by the virgin.²²

The growing importance of virginity in the third century can be demonstrated with Cyprian’s perception. He distinguished two types of becoming a martyr: red martyrdom and white martyrdom. Red martyrdom happened when someone was tortured and died during the persecutions, while white martyrdom was associated with the sexual abstinence and asceticism.²³ By the end of the Christian persecutions, the chance for being martyr became limited, but reaching holiness was still important for zealous believers. From the fourth century onward, asceticism replaced martyrdom. The ascetics thought of themselves as the heirs of the martyrs, who follow the model of Christ by penance.²⁴

This transformation resulted in that virginity became one of the requirements of female sanctity from the sixth century. Virginity was put on the pedestal. Saint Paul already referred to the Church as virgin Eve.²⁵ In medieval thinking, the wholeness of the virgin’s body symbolized the Church and the Christian community. The abstinent clerics by their virginity differed from both males and females, because their virgin bodies were whole and perfect.²⁶

²¹ Susanna Elm, *The Virgins of God. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996), 374.

²² Elizabeth A. Clark, “Antifamilial Tendencies in Ancient Christianity,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5 (1995:3): 368.

²³ Cyprian, Ep. VIII.; Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman. Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 63.

²⁴ Sebastian P. Brock “Early Syrian Asceticism,” *Numen* 20.1 (1973): 2.

²⁵ II Cor, 11, 2–3.

²⁶ P. H. Cullum, “Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Later Medieval England” in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. by D. M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), 178–196.; Brown, *Body and Society*, 71–73.

However, female virginity both symbolized perfection and was frightening, because, by becoming a nun or by remaining chaste, the women were out of men's control.²⁷ Heavenly love started with the resistance to earthly desires, however, they refused not only earthly pleasures, but attendance in the political and family hierarchy and gender subordination.²⁸ Dyan Elliott draws attention to the phenomenon that in those marriages which were chaste the authority of the husband decreased.²⁹

Women's only religious role in the early Middle Ages was to become nuns. However, while there were influential abbesses and holy queens and a few female monasteries, until the eleventh century, mostly men were cloistered. The rise of the number of the cloistered women started in the twelfth century, with the appearance of the double monasteries of Fontevrault and the Guilbertines, and when the Cistercians and Premonstratensians, after some resistance, also accepted to found monasteries for women. The emergence of mendicant orders brought an impetus to the religious movements of women. Saint Clare of Assisi founded a convent for women. She originally wanted to create a mendicant order, similar to that of Saint Francis, but for women. Nevertheless, ultimately she was compelled to build a cloistered female community.³⁰ There were many advantages of living a cloistered life in the Middle Ages. Women were saved from the possible brutality of marriage, and from death in childbirth. Moreover, to be the fiancé of Christ is a tempting religious ideal. Virginity was understood as a marriage fulfilled in heaven. The virgin martyrs incorporated this ideal for women. Virginity was more important for women than man, because, as Peter Brown formulated, the body of a

²⁷ Introduction to *Medieval Virginites*, ed. by Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans and Sarah Salih. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2003), 6.

²⁸ Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints. An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 14.

²⁹ Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage. Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton: University Press, 1993) 55–58.

³⁰ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1987), 14–5.

woman “was both a mirror of the purity of her soul and a physical image of the virgin earth of the garden of Eden”³¹

Virginity was one of the criteria of female sanctity until the twelfth century. The canonization of Elizabeth of Hungary and Bridget of Sweden both pious married women, with several children, then even more pious widows, changed the requirements of female sanctity. Although from that time on not only the virgins were venerated as saints, chastity remained still important.³²

The popularity of virgin martyrs

The stories of those saints who suffered martyrdom in the Mediterranean became popular from the eleventh century in parallel to other saints, such as Saint George. The literature connected the spread of their cult with the crusades, i.e. the knights imported these cults from the Holy Land. Although this contains the kernel of truth, the process must have been more complicated.³³ The legends of the virgin martyrs centered upon the confrontation between Christianity and paganism.³⁴ The most popular legendary of the Middle Ages, the *Legenda Aurea*, written by Jacobus de Voragine describes virgin martyrs as fearless heroines: their torments, miracles and efficacious intercessory powers were emphasized in their lives.³⁵ In these legends, the virgin martyrs defeated their pagan enemies (in debates or morally) and albeit they were martyred, they gained the crown of martyrdom and eternal life next to God, illustrating the goal of the crusades. These legends located their protagonists to Middle-Eastern

³¹ Brown, *The Body and Society*, 299.

³² Brigitte Cazelles, *The Lady as Saint. A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 73.; Katherine J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000), 84.

³³ Juliana Dresvina, *A Maid with a Dragon. The Cult of St Margaret of Antioch in Medieval England: Handbook with Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 14.

³⁴ Karen A. Winstead, "Changing Patterns of Conflict in Middle English Virgin Martyr Legends," *Medieval Perspectives* 4 (1989-1990), 229.

³⁵ Sherry L. Reames, *Legenda Aurea. A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 197–209; Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 66–9.

towns, Antioch, Caesarea and Alexandria, recaptured by the crusaders, and thus the virgin martyrs could be related to the conquest of those places. The reason behind this was that these saints' legends located their shrines in territories that fell to Islam. Tracey Sands argues that these legends could be read as a "narrative reconquest of those territories" and the persecutors of the saints could be interpreted as representatives of Islam.³⁶ The Muslim conquest resulted in the increasing popularity of martyr saints because persecuted Christians of the early Islamic world imagined themselves as the heirs of the early Christian martyrs. They could easily draw a parallel between the ancient persecutions in the Roman Empire and the contemporary suffering under Muslims.³⁷ The crusades and the cult of "eastern saints" are connected because with the crusades people became more open to eastern stories.

During the Middle Ages the cult of virgin martyrs spread in all social groups, not only those venerated them who vowed to remain chaste. The number of the legends of these saints in medieval *legendaria* is outstanding compared to other saints. The popularity of virgin martyrs among clerics can be explained by the fact that the legends of these virgins emphasized the distance between lay people and those who vowed celibacy.³⁸ These stories were popular among lay people as well, because the narrative was very interesting and full of folkloristic elements. Mainly the late medieval versions of the legends of virgin martyrs teemed with globally spread folkloristic motives. For example, in the late medieval versions of the legend of Saint Katherine, the story of her birth appeared. According to this, the parents of Saint Katherine had hoped for a child. The mother of Saint Katherine only got pregnant after they had consulted an astrologer. Another example when Saint Margaret fought with a dragon. The main motives of the legend of Saint Margaret are parallel to the Cinderella story as Juliana

³⁶ Tracey R. Sands, *The Company She Keeps. The Medieval Swedish Cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria and its Transformations* (Tempe, ACMRS, 2010), 1, 19.

³⁷ Christian Sahner, "Old Martyrs, New Martyrs and the Coming of Islam: Writing Hagiography After the Conquest" in *Cultures in Motion: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. by Adam Izdebski and Damian Jasiński (Cracow: Jagellonian University Press, 2014), 89–90.

³⁸ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 11.

Dresvina has pointed out. Hagiography, mainly in vernacular languages, was a very complex genre, because it combined mythological and folk elements with theology, politics, novels, and descriptions.³⁹ Bruce A. Beatie, by examining the legends of Saint Katherine, shows that these legends developed similarly to folk tales. He argues that there is reality behind the legend of Saint Katherine, i.e. a young woman could have done something in late antiquity which resulted in her execution. The story initially was an unwritten tradition, later it became more and more colorful.⁴⁰ The transformation of these stories can be seen in the case of Apollonia. Eusebius recounted that she was an old women, and the Pagans knocked out her teeth and burnt her alive.⁴¹ In contrast to this, the medieval stories represented her as a young princess, daughter of a nobleman, who was tortured by her father.⁴²

The other reason behind the virgin martyrs' popularity was that their legends demonstrate, that even the most vulnerable creatures, women could defeat the corporeal desires. In addition, the legends of virgin martyrs display the conflicts that Christians had to face: the rejection of earthly wealth, the choice between faith and the world. However, the life of virgin martyrs could also show that sanctity and earthly goods do not exclude each other, because the protagonists of the legends were wealthy nobles or queens. Marriage and sexuality are also emphasized in these stories by comparing earthly and heavenly love, and the legends show the priority of heavenly love.⁴³

These legends could serve as an example for believers, thus the historical authenticity of the stories was unimportant. The point was that the content has meaning in different historical situations.⁴⁴ Perhaps, the authors of the legends of virgin martyrs used old

³⁹ Dresvina, *A Maid with a Dragon*, 68.

⁴⁰ Bruce A. Beatie, "Saint Katherine of Alexandria: Traditional Themes and the Development of a Medieval German Hagiographic Narrative" *Speculum* 52 (1977): 785–800.

⁴¹ Eusebius, *History of the Church*, trans. G. A. Williamson (New York: Penguin, 1965), 276.

⁴² Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 9.

⁴³ Winstead, *Virgin Martyrs*, 12–13.

⁴⁴ Anke Bernau, "A Christian Corpus: Virginity, Violence and Knowledge in the Life of St Katherine of Alexandria" in *St. Katherine of Alexandria. Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*, ed. by Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis (Turnout, Brepols Publishers, 2003) 124.

martyrologies and existing topoi and motives to create new and interesting stories which could serve as an example for people.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Wolf, *The Icelandic legend of Saint Dorothy*, 14.

Chapter 2 – The tradition of Dorothy's legend

In this chapter I introduce the formation of the legend of Saint Dorothy. Recently Kristen Wolf published an excellent book about the legend of Saint Dorothy and the spread of the cult, thus I mostly base my chapter on her book.⁴⁶

According to the legend of Saint Dorothy, she suffered martyrdom on February 6 or February 12 in 287 or in 304 together with Theophilus in Cappadocia during the reign of Emperor Diocletian. Although her life and death were located to the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, her person and her cult were unknown in the Greek tradition.

The earliest source which kept Saint Dorothy's name is the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, an ancient *martyrology*, which was wrongly attributed to Saint Jerome. The work itself originates from the fifth-century Italy, however, its manuscripts survived only from a few centuries later, thus, not all saints in the *martyrology* had necessarily a cult as early as the fifth century. Because of the genre of *martyrology*, information about Dorothy provided by this work is scant. Only her, and her co-martyr's names are listed with the day and place of their martyrdom. According to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* Saint Dorothy together with Theophilus died on February 6 in Achaia. This is in contrast with the widespread location of her martyrdom, which was Cappadocia.

The earliest version of Dorothy's legend remained in the treatise of Saint Adelhelm (639–709) entitled *De laudibus virginitatis*. This work was written to the abbess of Barking, Hidelitha. The aim of the treatise was to encourage the nuns to live a chaste life. For that Saint Adelhelm included several legends of male and female virgins as examples. One of them was the life of Saint Dorothy.

⁴⁶ Wolf, *Icelandic legend of Saint Dorothy*.

The main early martyrologies contain the legend of Dorothy and Theophilus, such as the work of Bede Venerabilis, the anonymous cleric of Lyon, and Florus of Lyon, Ado of Vienna, Notker and Usuard, however, they provide little information. The *martyrology* of the archbishop of Mainz, Hrabanus Maurus (843–854) has more details about the life of Dorothy. He recounts that she had two sisters, Christa and Calista, who died because they were put to a boiling cauldron.⁴⁷

There are different versions of the legend of Saint Dorothy, which were indicated as BHL 2321, BHL 2322, BHL 2323, BHL 2324 and BHL 2325. Basically, two main versions of the legend of Saint Dorothy spread in the Christian West, the BHL 2323 and BHL 2324. The BHL 2323 was written earlier and it is longer than the BHL 2324.

The BHL 2323 version does not contain the names of Dorothy's parents and their escape from Rome, the baptism of Dorothy nor the date of her martyrdom. However, the legend emphasized the virtues of Dorothy and her holy life. It seems that the virginity of the saint was less important in the legend than the refusal of pagan sacrifice. Another interesting feature of this version is that a long part of the story deals with Theophilus. The legend also recounts her torture. According to this version, she was put on a rack, then her sisters were executed, and she was put on a rack again. Then she was tortured by flaming torches, her face was beaten with fists, and finally she was beheaded. After the death of Dorothy a four-year old child angel appeared, and brought apples and roses in a basket.

The BHL 2324 became the most popular version of the legend of Saint Dorothy. The main reason behind this, is that the (later editions of the) *Legenda Aurea* contains this version.⁴⁸

The story recounts that during the reign of Maximian and Diocletian Christians were persecuted. Dorus and Thea with their two daughters fled to Caesarea, Cappadocia. Their third

⁴⁷ Wolf, *Icelandic legend of Saint Dorothy*, 2–3.

⁴⁸ Wolf, *Icelandic legend of Saint Dorothy*, 9–10.

daughter was born there, and a bishop baptized her secretly. Saint Dorothy was a beautiful young woman, thus the prefect, Fabricius fell in love with her, and he offered to marry her. Dorothy rejected him, because she was the bride of Christ. The angry Fabricius put her in a boiling cauldron full of oil, but she remained unharmed. Then, she was put to prison for nine days without food, but angels nourished her. Then, Fabricius threatened her with hanging if she rejected the sacrifice to idols. The idol was put on a pillar, but the angels threw it away and destroyed it, which made the devils complain. Then Fabricius gave the order to hang Dorothy upside down on a gibbet, to tear her body apart with hooks and to scourge and burn her breast. Dorothy was put to prison again, but she appeared unharmed the following day. Saint Dorothy's two sisters left Christianity, thus Fabricius asked them to convince Dorothy. Instead, Christen and Calisten were converted. They confessed their faith which led to their death: they were bound back to back and burned. Then Dorothy confessed her love for Christ, which resulted in that she was beaten again. On the following day, she was unharmed. Finally, Fabricius commanded Dorothy's beheading. On the way to the scaffold, she met with Theophilus, who was a scribe or protonotary. He mocked Dorothy and asked her to send roses and apples from the garden of her spouse. It was in winter, but Dorothy promised to do so. Before her execution she kneeled and said:

She prayed to Our Lord for all of those whom in honor and worship of Almighty God, did any kind of thing in remembrance of her passion, that it might be the cause of their salvation—especially from the worldly shame of grievous poverty, also that they be delivered from shameful slander and loss of their name. She also prayed that they might have grace before they depart from this life, to have true contrition and have true remission from all the sins. She prayed for all women who, with devotion in her name, pray or call for help, especially in the time of childbirth, so that they may have relief and aid from their sorrows and ailments. Finally, she prayed that in whatever house a book of her passion or an image of her was kept in remembrance, it might be preserved from al peril from fire, and that no manner of lightning hurt it.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, "The life of Saint Dorothy" in *Women of the Gilte Legende: A Selection of Middle English Saints Lives*, ed. and transl., by Larissa Tracey (Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2003) 37–8.

A heavenly voice (Christ) welcomed her as his spouse. Then a barefooted child appeared with a golden basket containing apples and roses and offered it to Dorothy. Dorothy asked the child to bring it to Theophilus. Then, she was beheaded. Theophilus, together with half of the people of the town, was converted to Christianity after he had received the gift. Theophilus was also tortured and he had to die because of his new faith.

The original version of the *Legenda Aurea*, edited by Jacobus de Voragine in the thirteenth century, did not include the legend of Saint Dorothy. Most probably, because the legend contains magical elements, such as the remission from all sins and poverty. These promises cannot have a good impact on morality, because why should anyone live a virtuous life, if only the Saint Dorothy's veneration will rescue from sins.⁵⁰

Saint Dorothy in the West (A German tradition)

The virgin martyrs became popular from the twelfth century in Europe. Saint Dorothy is belated compared to the other virgin martyrs. As I have demonstrated above, several *martyrologies* contained her feast, and her legend started to spread from the eleventh century⁵¹ but she only became popular from the fourteenth century.⁵²

Regarding the spread of the cult she was popular mostly in German speaking territories.⁵³ Her cult spread in Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Hungary, Scandinavia and Italy (mostly northern Italy).⁵⁴ She was less popular in France, and in England.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Reames, *The Legenda Aurea*, 160.

⁵¹ Wolf, *Icelandic legend of Saint Dorothy*, 9.

⁵² Sofia Boesch Gajano, "Santa Dorotea e Pescia. Una martire antica per un nuovo patronato," in *Santa Dorotea patrona di Pescia. Atti del Convegno „Santa Dorotea martire, patrona di Pescia” per il XVII centenario del martirio*, ed. by Amleto Spicciani (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2015), 18–9.

⁵³ Engelbert Kirschbaum and Günter Bandmann, eds., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Roma–Freiburg–Basel–Wien, Herder, 1968–1974), VI. 89.

⁵⁴ About the Italian cult see Boesch Gajano, "Santa Dorotea e Pescia" and Istituto delle Suore Maestre di Santa Dorotea, ed., *Santa Dorotea nel XVII centenario del suo martirio*, (Città del Vaticano: Tipografia Vaticana, 2005).

⁵⁵ However, some vernacular English lives were produced. See: Larissa Tracy, "The Middle English "Life of Saint Dorothy" in Trinity College, Dublin Ms 319: Origins, Parallels, and Its Relationship to Osbern Bokenham's "Legendys of Hooley Wummen"" *Traditio*, Vol. 62 (2007), 259–84.

Her popularity in German-speaking territory is clear. As it was mentioned above, Saint Dorothy's legend was a later addition to the *Legenda Aurea*, the extra *lives* in the manuscripts of the *legendaria* reflect local interests. Saint Dorothy appears in a large number of manuscripts of the *Legenda Aurea* in Central Europe, mostly north of the Alps.⁵⁶ As early as the fourteenth century German vernacular versions of her legend were produced. These versions, together with the Latin versions, are mostly based on BHL 2324. One of the earliest vernacular German poems about Saint Dorothy was probably produced in Bavaria in the early fourteenth century. By 1400 several poetic versions were born in vernacular German language: the *Dorotheen passie* was written in East Middle German, *Sunte Dorotheen passie* in Middle Low German (perhaps composed in Ostfalen). Another version survived in Klosterneuburg, which was produced either in Bavaria or in Austria.⁵⁷

Besides the poems, Saint Dorothy plays were popular in German-speaking territories. Most of these plays perished, only a fragment has remained. The *Ludus de Sancta Dorothea* was composed in Eastern Saxony or Bohemia around 1350. The sources recount that they were extremely popular in Central Europe: these plays were played in Lambach, Kulm, Mergentheim, Dresden, Butzbach, Zwickau, Nimwegen, Eger (Czech),⁵⁸ and in Eperjes (today Prešov, Slovakia, Preschau in German). A source from 1413 recounts that during a Saint Dorothy play in Bautzen a tragedy happened which caused the death of thirty people.⁵⁹ This source reflects the popularity of Dorothy-plays in the early fifteenth century.

From the fourteenth century she appeared in artistic representations. One of her earliest depictions is in a codex kept in the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, (Fig 2.1.)⁶⁰ which

⁵⁶ Tracy, "The Middle English" 261. n. 2.

⁵⁷ Wolf, *Icelandic legend of Saint Dorothy*, 19–45.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁹ Heinrich Schachner, "Das Dorotheaspiel," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 35 (1903): 158.

⁶⁰ Around 1330, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; cod. 874; fol. 3v.

shows her with other virgin martyrs. She became one of the favorite subjects of German painters in the fifteenth and sixteenth century as thousands of artworks testify.

Her attributes are the crown, which symbolizes her martyrdom, the peacock feather (similarly to Barbara and Agnes, fifteenth century), the sword (similarly to Katherine), the book (fifteenth century), the cross (similarly to Margaret) and the lily. Her individual attribute is a basket with roses and apples and the messenger from heaven. However, the apples rarely appeared, she is mostly depicted only with roses. The messenger is sometimes depicted as Jesus Christ.⁶¹

She was in the company of other saints as well, such as in the choir of saints (e.g. Florence, fourteenth century). She is frequently depicted together with other virgins who surround Virgin Mary. Moreover, she was depicted in the scene of the engagement of Saint Katherine or in the scene of the death of Saint Clare. She was also represented together with the *virgines capitales* and the Fourteen Holy Helpers.⁶² Only two scenes of her legend are frequent: the beheading of the saint and the rose miracle (with the conversion of Theophilus). The other parts of her legend are rarely depicted, the most extensive cycle of her life can be found in medieval Hungary, in Lőcse (today Levoča, Slovakia, Leutschau in German).⁶³

The present chapter has demonstrated the formation of Saint Dorothy's legend as well as the early spread of the cult. It seems that she was mostly venerated in German-speaking territories. The following chapters will concentrate upon the Hungarian cult, and analyze how the Hungarian cult fits to this frame.

⁶¹ Kirschbaum and Bandmann, eds, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, VI. 89–90.

⁶² About the *virgines capitales* and Fourteen Holy Helpers, see Chapter 4.

⁶³ Kirschbaum and Bandmann, eds., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, VI. 91–2.

Chapter 3 – Dorothy arrives in Hungary

The cult of Saint Dorothy emerged in Hungary only in the mid-fourteenth century. In the earlier period, her name and feast day had not appeared in the liturgical books,⁶⁴ and neither churches nor altars dedicated to her are mentioned in the sources.⁶⁵ In addition, it seems that Dorothy was not among the usual given names in the Árpáadian Age,⁶⁶ only in the 1320s did this name appear.⁶⁷ The questions arise how the cult of Saint Dorothy arrived in Hungary and who the promoters of the cult were. This chapter will explore the origin of the cult of Saint Dorothy.

The role of the Augustinians in the formation of the cult

The cult of Saint Dorothy is not frequently studied in Hungarian scholarship, although the well-known folklorist, Sándor Bálint, included her feast in his *Ünnepi kalendárium* (Festal Calendar). In his three-volume book, Bálint wrote a few pages on each ecclesiastical feast and saint venerated in Hungary. He argued that the cult of Saint Dorothy spread in Hungary from Breslau (today Wrocław, Poland) by the Augustinian order, after they had founded a church dedicated to Dorothy there in 1351.⁶⁸ It is true that Dorothy was popular among Augustinians, since we know of medieval Augustinian monasteries consecrated to her honor—mostly in German-speaking territories.⁶⁹ In addition, as shown in the previous chapter, she was popular

⁶⁴ Polycarpus Radó and Ladislaus Mezey, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973).

⁶⁵ András Mező, *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Patrocinia in medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Metem, 2003); György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical geography of Árpáadian Hungary], 4 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963–1998).

⁶⁶ Katalin Fehértói, *Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000–1301)* [Personal name repertory of the Árpád age] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 2004); Jolán Berrár, *Női neveink 1400-ig* [Our female names until 1400], A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai 80 (Budapest: A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1952); Mariann Slíz, *Anjou-kori személynévtár (1301–1342)* [Personal name repository of the Angevin Age (1301–1342)] (Budapest: Históriaantik Könyvesház, 2011).

⁶⁷ AOKl IX. 209. No. 372. Cf. Mariann Slíz, “Névtörténet, genealógia és mikrotörténelem” [Name history, genealogy and microhistory], *Helynévtörténeti. Tanulmányok* 9 (2013): 140.

⁶⁸ Sándor Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium* [Festal Calendar] (Budapest: Mandala Kiadó, 1998), 228–9., Slíz, “Névtörténet,” 139.

⁶⁹ Eg. Dürnstein Abbey, Vienna.

with the German-speaking population as well. If the Augustinians of Breslau had a crucial role in the spread of the cult of Dorothy—as Mariann Slíz argues—they must have been very fast, because the first patrocinium appeared in southern Hungary in 1355.⁷⁰ And the question arises: How did the role of Augustinians manifest in the promotion of the cult of Dorothy in Hungary?

This question may be approached in two ways. The first is to analyze the possibility of the correlation between the geographical distribution of the traces of the cult of Saint Dorothy and the monasteries of the Augustinians. The second is to examine the dedications of Augustinian monasteries in Hungary. As will be demonstrated below, the cult of Saint Dorothy seems to have had its centers in the northern and the southern parts of Hungary, and indeed there were Augustinian monasteries in these parts, as well. However, Augustinians had monasteries in other parts of Hungary, where the veneration of Saint Dorothy was not notable, including many parts of Western Hungary.⁷¹ The dedications of the Augustinian monasteries in Hungary are also informative in this question. There were around forty Augustinian monasteries in medieval Hungary, some of them founded in the fourteenth century, but none of them dedicated to Dorothy.⁷² Based on this, the Augustinians role in the spread of the cult of Dorothy in Hungary cannot be proven.

Moreover, because Albert II, duke of Austria, was probably the founder of a chapel dedicated to Dorothy and Katherine—later Augustinian monastery—in Vienna in the 1350s,⁷³ the Hungarian cult could have originated partly from Austria. How did the idea of Augustinians' role in the cult emerge? Sándor Bálint based his opinion on a book by Leopold Schmidt who emphasized Dorothy's popularity with the Augustinians, as well as in Silesia and

⁷⁰ Slíz, "Névtörténet," 140.

⁷¹ Beatrix Romhányi, "Ágostonrendi remeték a középkori Magyarországon" [Augustinian hermits in medieval Hungary], *Aetas - Történettudományi folyóirat* 20. No. 4. (2005): 99–100. Cf. with the table in the appendices.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ It was consecrated in 1360 under the reign of Rudolph IV. See more in Eva Bruckner, "Formen der Herrschaftsrepräsentation und Selbstdarstellung habsburgischer Fürsten im Spätmittelalter," PhD diss. (University of Vienna, 2009), 52.

eastern Germany.⁷⁴ Focusing on the spread of drama, Schmidt argues that the Dorothy plays spread from Czech lands and Silesia in the sixteenth century. Schmidt, however, does not interfuse these two aspects as Bálint did it in his book.⁷⁵ I argue that although the Augustinians did play a role in the popularity of Saint Dorothy in Central Europe, the appearance of her veneration in Hungary can be explained by other factors, as described in the following. This statement leads us to the following question: if not the Augustinians, then who were the promoters of the cult?

Dorothy in Southern and Northern Hungary

Interestingly, the cult of Saint Dorothy was centered in Southern and Northern Hungary. This chapter gathers the earliest evidence for the cult in order to reconstruct its origin.

The name Dorothy (Dorothea) first appeared in the Hungarian sources in Nyitra County in 1325.⁷⁶ The next known Dorothy was mentioned in a charter in Zala County in 1340,⁷⁷ but the name did not become popular at all in the fourteenth century, which is attested to by the fact that hardly more than a dozen individuals were named Dorothy before 1400. Later her name was one of the most populars.⁷⁸ In contrast, Mariann Slíz found 70 individuals who were certifiably named Margaret between 1301 and 1359.⁷⁹

Although fourteenth-century liturgical books do list her feast, surviving charters dated by feast days testify that the cult of Saint Dorothy was less important than others.⁸⁰ Reviewing Hungarian charters from the Angevin period, the first charter dated by the feast of Dorothy,

⁷⁴ Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium*, 228–9.

⁷⁵ Leopold Schmidt, *Das deutsche Volksschauspiel* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1962), 177, 216, 324.

⁷⁶ AOKI IX. 33. No. 39.

⁷⁷ AOKI XXIV. 190. No. 409.

⁷⁸ Slíz, “Névtörténet,” 140.

⁷⁹ Mariann Slíz, *Személynévtörténeti vizsgálatok a középkori Magyarországról* [Studies on the history of personal names of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2017), 13, 32.

⁸⁰ Radó and Mezey, *Libri liturgici*, 30–1, 95–6, 101–2, 129–30, 140, 149–50, 295–6, 327–8, 359–60.

appeared as late as 1356.⁸¹ Up to the 1360s, the charters issued around February 6 were usually dated either by the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (February 2),⁸² or that of Saint Agatha (February 5).⁸³ Later evidence suggests that dating by Dorothy's feast was becoming widespread from the 1360s onwards,⁸⁴ which reflects the spread of her cult in Hungary.

The very first source is about a chapel dedicated to Saint Dorothy which was not built. The charter describes the litigation between the citizens of Sopron and their parish priest, Heric in 1354. Among many problems, one was that the former parish priest, Servatius, bequeathed clothes and garments (*vestes et vestimentum*) for the construction of a Saint Dorothy chapel, but Heric used them for his own purposes.⁸⁵ The source refers to the litigation only, thus the plan of constructing a chapel in the honor of Saint Dorothy must have been born earlier. The urban charters of that period are sparse, although, a charter from 1319, referring to Servatius as parish priest of Sopron, may serve as evidence.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, no other data survived, but since the 1354 litigation refers to a long-lasting problem with parish priest Heric, it is justifiable to suggest that Servatius made his testament between 1319 and c. 1350. The litigation case proves that Saint Dorothy had a cult in Sopron, although, it could not have been very intensive, because the chapel has not been dedicated to her in the following decades.⁸⁷ However, a side-altar must have been dedicated to her honor in the Saint Michael Parish

⁸¹ Imre Nagy, *Anjoukori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*, vol. 6, 1353–1357, (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága, 1891.), 432. No. 274.

⁸² Eg. 1328 AOkl XII 36. No. 56., 1339 AOkl XXIII. 48. No. 75., 1345 AOkl XXIX 93. No. 91., 1350 AOkl XXXIV. 96. No. 119., 1356 AOkl XL 91. No. 74., 1362, AOkl XLVI 40. No. 51., 1362 AOkl XLVI. 41. No. 52.

⁸³ Eg. 1346 AOkl XXX 59. No. 82., 1347 AOkl XXXI 69. No. 82. 74. No. 96., 1349 AOkl XXXIII 71. No. 83., 1350 AOkl XXXIV. 96. No. 120., 1357 DL 4913.

⁸⁴ Eg. 1358. AOkl. XLII. 60. No. 95., 1362. AOkl XLVI. 41. No. 52., 1366 DL 87403.

⁸⁵ AOkl XXXVIII. 253. No. 316., Jenő Házi, *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, pt 1, vol.1, *Oklevelek 1162-től 1406-ig* [History of Sopron free royal city: Charters from 1162 to 1406] (Sopron: Székely, Szabó és társa Könyvnyomdája, 1921.), 102–4, no. 168.

⁸⁶ Imre Nagy, *Sopron vármegye története: Oklevéltár*, vol. 1, 1156–1411 [History of Sopron County: Charter repository, 1156–1411] (Sopron: Litfass Károly Könyvnyomdája, 1889) 83, no. 70.

⁸⁷ Jenő Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete* [Medieval church history of Sopron] (Sopron: Székely és Társa Nyomda, 1939), 234. There was an altar, dedicated to Saint Dorothy in the early modern period. See: Vince Bedy, *A győri székeskáptalan története* [The history of the medieval chapter of Győr] (Győr: Győregyházmegyei Alap Nyomdája, 1938), 435.

Church, because a benefice house is mentioned in the sources.⁸⁸ The feast of Saint Dorothy appears in a missal, copied by Stephan Golso, priest of Sopron, in 1363, which highlights the local relevance of Saint Dorothy.⁸⁹ From the same diocese (Győr), an altar was dedicated to Saint Dorothy in the Saint Michael chapter in Vasvár in the course of the fourteenth century. The first mention of the altar comes from 1383 when Francis of Niczky, son of John, donated a possession to the chapter of Vasvár for daily masses at the altar of Saint Dorothy for his salvation.⁹⁰ In Mártonhely (today Martjanci, Slovenia), Saint Dorothy is represented among virgin martyrs on the frescoes of Johannes Aquilla from the late fourteenth century.⁹¹ In Nyitrakoros (Krušovce, today Slovakia) a medieval mural painting of Saint Dorothy was discovered in 2014. The fourteenth-century mural paintings on the vault represent Saint Dorothy and Saint Stanislaus.⁹² Dorothy was usually represented with other virgin martyrs, such as in the fourteenth-century murals of Ludrova (Ludrová, Slovakia), where Saint Dorothy was depicted with Saint Barbara and five wise and five foolish virgins.⁹³ Or on the mid-fourteenth-century frescoes of Nagyócsa (today Očová, Slovakia) with Virgin Mary and Saint Katherine (Fig. 3.1).⁹⁴ Saint Stanislaus was rarely depicted in medieval Hungary; thus, this representation may suggest connections with Poland.

The first known altar dedicated to Dorothy appeared in Pécs (Baranya County) in 1355. If the cult of Saint Dorothy originated from Silesia or Germany, how can we explain that the

⁸⁸ Ferenc Jankó, József Kücsán and Katalin Szende, *Sopron, Magyar Várostörténeti Atlasz 1* (Sopron: Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára, 2010), 23.

⁸⁹ Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete*, 328–30; Radó and Mezey, *Libri liturgici*, 140.

⁹⁰ Péter Kóta, *Középkori oklevelek Vas megyei levéltárakban*, vol. 1, *Regeszták a vasvári káptalan levéltárának okleveleiről (1130) 1212–1526* [Medieval charters from the archives of County Vas: Regestas from the charters of the Archives of Chapter of Vasvár], *Vas megyei levéltári füzetek* 8 (Szombathely: s. n. 1997), 68, no. 177, and 75, no. 203.

⁹¹ Dénes Radocsay, *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon* [Mural paintings in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1977), 151.

⁹² Krisztina Ilkó, “Stredoveké nástenné maľby v kostole v Krušovciach” [Medieval wall paintings in the Church of Nyitrakoros], *Pamiatky a múzeá* 65, no. 2, (2016): 2–8.

⁹³ Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei* [Mural paintings of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954) 243.

⁹⁴ Dvořáková, *Středověká nástěnná malba*, 128. However, I have not seen the attribute of Dorothy.

first altar appeared in Southern Hungary? For the answer, I examine the circumstances of the foundation of the altar. Bishop Nicholas of Neszmély (or Poroszló) founded a chapel dedicated to Virgin Mary, later called “gilded chapel” (*deaurata*), in the mid-fourteenth century. It was built northwest of the cathedral of Pécs. In 1355 Nicholas reported to the pope that he founded a chapel with eight altars and he asked indulgence for one hundred days for the visitors of the chapel.⁹⁵ It was later Nicholas’s burial place; thus, the chapel and its altars can be seen to reflect his religiosity. The altars were dedicated to Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislaus, Saint Emeric, Saint Martin, Saint Livinus, Saint Elizabeth, Saint Dorothy, and Mary Magdalene.⁹⁶ From this list Saint Dorothy and Saint Livinus are very interesting. A fifteenth-century source, the Missal of Pécs, recounts that Bishop Nicholas brought the relic: the history, the legend and the complete mass of Livinus from the Benedictine Saint Bavo Abbey of Ghent.⁹⁷ The motivation behind the Saint Dorothy altar could be different and may lie in the Silesian origin of Nicholas.⁹⁸ This also corresponds to the suggestion that the possible origins of the cult was in Silesia. Notably, there was an Augustinian monastery at Pécs, founded at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, without any connection to the cult of Dorothy.⁹⁹

Interestingly, there are two other pieces of evidence for the late fourteenth-century cult of Saint Dorothy in Baranya County. In 1377, a certain Nicholas of Volfry, son of Lawrence, asked permission for the foundation of a chapel in the honor of Saint Dorothy in Asszonyfalva.

⁹⁵ Árpád Bossányi, *Regesta supplicationum: A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai; Avignoni korszak*, vol. 2 [Regesta supplicationum: Documents from the Papal Supplication Books with Hungarian relevance], (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1916), 194, 295–6.

⁹⁶ László Koszta, “A püspökség alapításától (1009) a 14. század közepéig” [From the foundation of the bishopric of Pécs (1009) to the mid-fourteenth century], in *Pécs története*, vol. 2, *A püspökség alapításától a török hódoltságig*, ed. Márta Font (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány – Kronosz Kiadó, 2015), 163–64.

⁹⁷ *Missale secundum morem almae ecclesiae Quinqueecclesiensis*, Venice: Ioannes Paep, 1499; facsimile edition ([Szekszárd]: Schöck, 2009), ccxx.

⁹⁸ Mór Wertner, “I. Miklós pécsi püspök családi viszonyai” [Family relations of Nicholas I, bishop of Pécs], *Turul: A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társaság Közlönye* 1 (1911): 33–35.

⁹⁹ Koszta, “A püspökség alapításától,” 126–30.

The archbishop of Kalocsa gave permission for a *capellam seu oratorium absque cimiterio*.¹⁰⁰ Sadly, I have been unable to find any information about Nicholas Volfry or his chapel. The other evidence for Dorothy's cult is a mural painting from the Church of Saint Stephen in Mecseknádasd. The paintings of church, which in the Middle Ages was dedicated to St Ladislaus, survived in a fragmentary state. Only few pictures are identifiable: Christ, John the Baptist and Saint Dorothy with a child. In the picture, there is a female figure with a basket, and a kneeling child (Jesus), representing a scene of Dorothy's legend, when she sent roses and apples to Theophilius. Dorothy is represented with a crown decorated with Angevin lilies, thus the mural paintings are likely to have been made in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁰¹

Surviving sources suggest that the cult of Dorothy probably appeared in the diocese of Várad (today Oradea, Romania) in the mid-fourteenth century. The *Statutes of Várad* recounts that two altars were dedicated to Dorothy at that time. The source, completed in 1374, provides an insight into the religiosity of the fourteenth-century town. The first Saint Dorothy altar mentioned in the source was not exclusively dedicated to her but to two virgin martyrs: Saint Dorothy and Saint Margaret of Antioch. The *Statutes* also mention the founder of the altar, John of Puzsér, who was a canon (*per Johannem canonicum dictum Puser*).¹⁰² Unfortunately, this is the only surviving source that refers to him. The other altar was exclusively dedicated to Saint Dorothy, thanks to Bishop Demeter of Meszes (1345–1372), who offered a donation for the construction.¹⁰³ The dates of the foundations are problematic, because the *Statutes* does not provide the dates. However, a charter recounts that a certain Nicolaus was the director of the

¹⁰⁰ Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy, and Dezső Véghely, *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára: Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo*, vol. 4 (Budapest: Societatis Histor. Hung., 1878.), 15, no. 17.

¹⁰¹ Marianne Hokkyné Sallay, "A mecseknádasdi Szent István-templom falképei" [The frescoes of the Saint Stephen church of Mecseknádasd], in *Magyar Műemlékvédelem 1971–1972*, ed. Dezső Dercsényi, Géza Entz, Pál Havassy, and Ferenc Merényi, Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség Kiadványai 7 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 203–6.

¹⁰² Vincze Bunyitay, *A Váradi káptalan legrégibb statutumai* [The oldest statutes of the Chapter of Várad] (Nagyvárad, s. n., 1886), 74.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 75.

Saint Dorothy Altar of Várad in 1369.¹⁰⁴ Since it is improbable that a third altar was dedicated to Dorothy within a relatively short period, I suggest that one of the above-mentioned altars had already existed in 1369. Although the altar, founded by John was dedicated also to Saint Margaret, the text of the *Statutes* implies (*pro [...] construendo*) that the altar of Demeter of Meszes had not been executed by the time of the finishing of the *Statutes*. Emeric, the canon of Várad finished the *Statutes* in the end of 1374 (between October 31 and December 30), thus it seems, that the 1369 data refers to the dual altar of Saint Dorothy and Saint Margaret.¹⁰⁵ It is likely that the altar dedicated to both saints became known only by the name of Dorothy because Saint Margaret was less popular at that time in Várad. In contrast, Vince Bunyitay supposes that after Bishop Demeter's foundation of the other altar of Saint Dorothy, the "twin-altar" was known only by the name of Margaret.¹⁰⁶ The extant list of feasts in synodical decrees, albeit from 1524, testifies to the importance of the feast of Saint Dorothy in Várad, because compared it to the synodical decrees of Esztergom,¹⁰⁷ it reveals that the feast of Saint Dorothy was celebrated only in Várad with a holiday.¹⁰⁸ As a mural painting testifies, the cult of Saint Dorothy reached the easternmost regions of the Carpathian basin as early as the fourteenth century. The panels of the chancel in Almakerék (today Mălâncrav, in Romania, in German: Malmkrog or Malemkref) picture virgins martyrs: Saint Christina (or Macra), Dorothy, Ursula, Katherine, Clare (?), Margaret, Barbara, Virgin Mary, Luce Agatha, and Virgin Mary with Cloak.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ DL 36 825.

¹⁰⁵ László Solymosi, "Az egri káptalan dékánválasztási statútumai a XV. századból" [The statutes of the election of decans of the chapter of Eger from the fifteenth century], *Levéltári Közlemények* 63, no. 1–2 (1992): 137.

¹⁰⁶ Bunyitay, *A Várad káptalan*, 75, n. 2.

¹⁰⁷ László Solymosi, "Az esztergomi egyházmegye legrégebbi ünneplajstroma (Szent Adalbert, Szórád-András és Benedek tisztelete az erdélyi szászoknál) [The oldest list of feasts of the diocese of Esztergom (the veneration of Saint Adalbert, Zoerard-Andrew and Benedict among Saxons)]", in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes Emlékkönyv: születésének 70. évfordulója ünnepére*, ed. by Péter Tusor, Zoltán Rihmer and Gábor Thoroczkay, (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1998.) 88–95.

¹⁰⁸ Sándor Jaczkó, "A késő középkori hazai zsinati határozatok ünneplistái [The lists of feasts of the late medieval Hungarian synods]" in *Arcana tabularii. Tanulmányok Solymosi László tiszteletére*, ed. by Attila Bárány, Gábor Dreska and Kornél Szovák (Budapest and Debrecen: s. n., 2014.), 230–4.

¹⁰⁹ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei*, 14.

The last four pieces of written evidence from the fourteenth century, indulgence notes, are even more reticent. In the first case, indulgences were issued to the nuns of Veszprémvölgy in 1386, mentioning the feast of Saint Dorothy.¹¹⁰ The second indulgence is from 1397, which Pope Boniface granted to those who contributed to and visited the renovation of the Saint Dorothy chapel in Jászó (Jossau in German, today Jasov, Slovakia).¹¹¹ It is not known when the chapel was built or who the founder was, but it must have been built earlier than the aforementioned date, because the document was about the reconstruction of the chapel. Another indulgence recounts the chapel of Saint Katherine and Dorothy in Csepreg (see later). The fourth indulgence provides information about the existence of the Saint Dorothy church of Alcnó (or Szepestapolca / Szepes-Teplicz / Zeplitz in German, today Spišská Teplica, Slovakia), which was probably built in the fourteenth century.¹¹² Alcnó is a small village in Szepesség, where the cult of Saint Dorothy was apparently more intense in the following centuries, thus I will explore it in the following chapter.

Dorothy in Szepesség

The cult of Saint Dorothy in Szepesség is highly relevant here because she seems to have been extraordinary popular in this region. Szepesség is the name of the region which is in Szepes County. The territory became an independent county in the second half of the twelfth century.¹¹³ Beside the Hungarians, numerous German population came to this territory from the twelfth century, and Slavs were also lived there. Mostly, the presence of Germans defined

¹¹⁰ Szilárd Süttő, “A veszprémvölgyi apácák két búcsúengedélye 1386-ból (Adalék a búcsúk 14. század végi magyarországi történetéhez) [Two permission for indulgence to the nuns of Veszprémvölgy from 1386 (Additive to the history of the indulgences in Hungary at the end of fourteenth century)]. *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 1 (2000/1) 142–8.

¹¹¹ ZsO I. 304. No. 2801., Lőrinc Spilka, *Jászó története 1243-tól 1552-ig* [The history of Jászó from 1243 to 1552] (Gödöllő: s. n., 1943), 11.

¹¹² ZsO I. 595–596. No. 5407. Ján Hudák, *Patrociniá na Slovensku* [Patrocinia in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Umenovedný ústav SAV, 1984), 299.

¹¹³ Attila Zsoldos, “Szepes megye kialakulása,” [The Origins of Szepes County] *Történelmi Szemle* 43 (2001): 19–31. More about the Szepesség: Martin Homza a Stanislav A. Sroka, ed., *Historia Scepusii* (Bratislava: Katedra slovenských dejín UK FiF Bratislava, 2009).

the characteristic of culture and religion.¹¹⁴ Slovakian art historian Dušan Buran's study provides the main baselines for the following discussion on the cult of Saint Dorothy in Szepesség.¹¹⁵

It is not known when the cult reached this region, although the dating of the charters contain some relevant information. The first charter issued by the Chapter of Szepes and dated by the feast of Saint Dorothy is from in 1386.¹¹⁶ According to Buran, Dorothy was the most frequently recorded name in fourteenth-century Szepesség.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, however, the surviving data does not allow drawing informed conclusions regarding the frequency of the name in this period and area. In this vein, it is notable that Buran's suggestion is based on three records of the name Dorothy, all from the early fifteenth century.

In addition to the above-mentioned evidence for the spread of the cult, a Church of Saint Dorothy certifiably stood in Alcnó (Szepestapolca, today Spišská Teplica, Slovakia) in 1398.¹¹⁸ As noted above, the church was mentioned in an indulgence, which implies that it had already existed in the fourteenth century. According to Jan Hudák, it was a fourteenth-century Gothic church.¹¹⁹ Thus, it seems, that the cult of Dorothy reached Szepesség in the second half of the fourteenth century, similarly to other parts of Hungary. Her *imago* can be found on the mid-fourteenth-century mural situated on the northern pillar of the arch (Fig. 3.2) in the church of Podolin (today Podolíneč, Slovakia, in German: Pudlein, in Polish: Podoliniec).¹²⁰ By the first half of the fifteenth century, she must have been very popular, because an extensive fresco

¹¹⁴ Kordé Zoltán, "Szepességi századok" [Saxons of Szepesség] in *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon* [Early Hungarian Historical Lexikon] ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 618–9.

¹¹⁵ 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, 2002). 84–6.

¹¹⁶ DF 274 392.

¹¹⁷ Buran also mentions 1462, which is not discussed here. Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei*, 84.

¹¹⁸ ZsO I. 595–6. No. 5407.

¹¹⁹ Hudák, *Patrocinia na Slovensku*, 299. Buran also included two other churches from present day Slovakia, but these churches were probably founded in the seventeenth century, and are thus irrelevant for the present thesis. Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei*, 84.

¹²⁰ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei*, 197.

cycle depicted her legend in Lőcse and perhaps another in Jekelfalva (today Jaklovce, Slovakia, German Jeckelsdorf). The identification of the protagonist of the mural paintings of Jekelfalva is problematic. Sándor Bálint identified the figure as Saint Dorothy,¹²¹ despite the fact that his source, Dénes Radocsay, explicitly stated that the identification of the saint had been disputed, and the frescoes had been demolished by his time.¹²² Nineteenth-century art historians identified the saint as either Saint Dorothy, or Saint Barbara or Saint Katherine.¹²³ The representations of Jekelfalva were demolished in the nineteenth century, only photos and fragments remained about the frescoes.¹²⁴ These pictures were kept in the National Committee of Monuments (later named as National Office of Cultural Heritage of Hungary, and more recently as Forster Center) which was discontinued. Because of the reorganization of the Hungarian cultural heritage management, these pictures are unavailable at the moment.¹²⁵ The description of these scenes is also too general to identify the saint.¹²⁶ In the following, I will analyze the mural paintings of Saint Dorothy in Lőcse.

The frescoes of Lőcse

An extensive fresco cycle represents the life of Saint Dorothy in the Church of Saint James in Lőcse.¹²⁷ The church was presumably built in the mid-fourteenth century.¹²⁸ The frescos depicting Saint Dorothy's legend were made in the late fourteenth or rather in the early fifteenth century¹²⁹ and located to the northern aisle. The cycle consists of twenty scenes which makes

¹²¹ Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium*, 229.

¹²² Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei*, 150–1.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Milan Togner and Vladimír Plekanec, *Medieval wall paintings in Spiš* (Bratislava: Arte Libris, 2012), 353.

¹²⁵ Last modified, May 6, 2018. <http://www.koh.hu/gyujtemenyek-magyar-epiteszeti-muzeum/fototar/657>

¹²⁶ 1. A virgin martyr before a king; 2. Beheading of the saint; 3. The soul of the saint received in heaven. Gerecze Péter, *Magyarország műemlékei*, vol. 1, *A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága Rajztárának jegyzéke* [Monuments of Hungary, vol. 1. The Register of the Drawings of National Committee of Monuments] (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Császári és Királyi Udvari Könyvnyomdája, 1905), 379–80.

¹²⁷ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország falképei*, 164–5. Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása and Karel Stejskal, *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku* (Praha and Bratislava: Odeon and Tatran, 1978), 117–8.

¹²⁸ Ernő Marosi, and László Beke, *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [Hungarian art around 1300–1470], vol. 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 315. Hudák, *Patrocinia na Slovensku*, 125.

¹²⁹ Mária Prokopp claimed that the frescoes were made in the late fourteenth century. Mária Prokopp and Gábor Méry, *Középkori falképek a Szepességben* [Medieval Mural Paintings in Szepesség] (Samorín: Méry Ratio, 2009),

it the most extensive depiction of the legend of Dorothy in the Middle Ages. Buran argued that the legend of Saint Dorothy is uncommon, because her cult spread only from the fourteenth century, when most of the churches had already been decorated.¹³⁰

The church originally had a door in the wall in front of the frescoes which served as entrance for illustrious burghers, thus the first glimpse of the entrants caught the *Life* of Saint Dorothy. The cycle relates to the two Christological cycles, *The Seven Acts of Mercy* and *The Seven Deadly Sins* which were depicted on the northern wall of the church.

The twenty scenes are divided into two rows. The top row goes from right to left, the lower row from left to right.

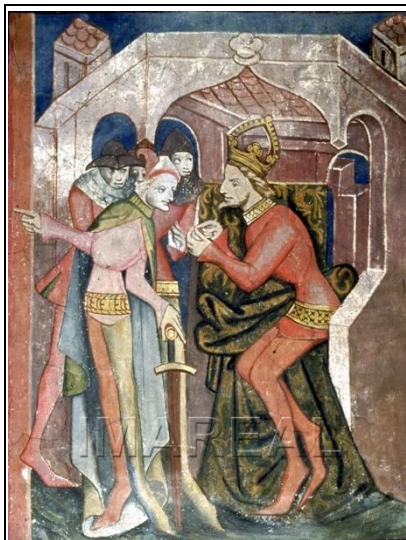


Fig. 3.3. The emperor persecutes Saint Dorothy's father, Dorus, because he despises idols. Dorus's hand points to the direction of reading.

79. while Buran argues that the church was decorated with the scenes of the legend of Dorothy in the early fifteenth century. Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei*, 70. The latter is the accepted date. Ivan Gerát, *Legendary Scenes. An Essay on Medieval Pictorial Hagiography* (Bratislava: Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2013), 240.

¹³⁰ Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei*, 71.

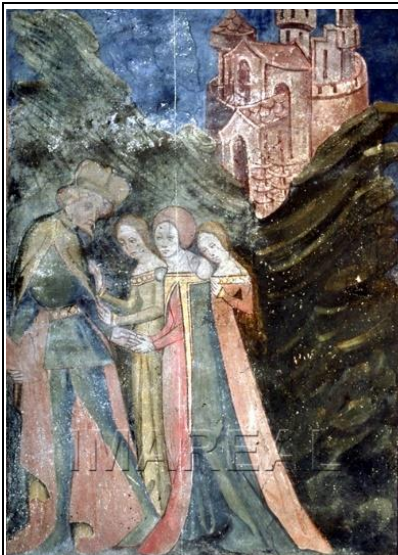


Fig. 3.4. Dorus flees to Cappadocia with his family.



Fig. 3.5. The birth of Saint Dorothy. Dorus settled in Caesarea with his wife, and their two daughters, Christa and Callista, and their third daughter was born there.



Fig. 3.6. An unnamed holy bishop baptizes Saint Dorothy in the circle of her family.



Fig. 3.7. Fabricius, the procurator, fell in love with Dorothy and proposed marriage but Dorothy rejected him. Dorothy admitted that she was the bride of Jesus Christ, which made Fabricius angry. The picture depicts the wrath of Fabricius. The older and younger men on either side of Dorothy are servants bringing Dorothy to the site of her torture and are not found in the *Legenda Aurea*. They might have been the invention of the painter or commissioner, in order to lead the viewer to the next scene.



Fig. 3.8. The beginning of the torture of Dorothy. She was put into a cauldron filled with hot oil. The people around her are wearing Phrygian hats to suggest that they were Pagans.



Fig. 3.9. The imprisonment of Dorothy. According to the legend she spent nine days in prison without any food or drink. The angels of God nourished her, thus by the end of the ninth day, she became more beautiful than ever. The visit of the angels is not depicted on the mural paintings of Lőcse.

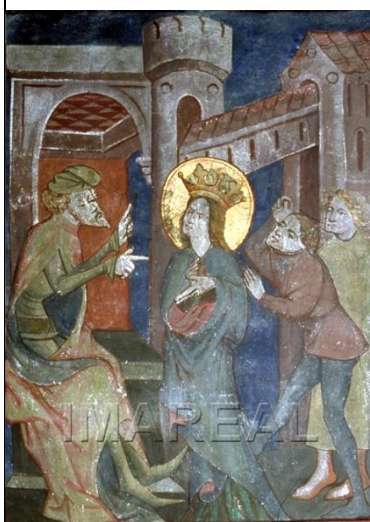


Fig. 3.10. Dorothy in front of Fabricius, who threatens her with torture, if she refuses to worship pagan Gods.



Fig. 3.11. Dorothy is tortured and hanged on a wooden construction. Her flesh is being torn by iron hooks, she is flogged, and a burning stake was put to her breast.



Fig. 3.12. Christ visited Dorothy. This scene is missing from the official version of Legenda Aurea. However, depicting Christ at this point of the legend has reason, because on the following morning, after the torture, Dorothy woke up unharmed.



Fig. 3.13. Dorothy destroyed the idols. This is the first picture of the lower row. Interestingly, this scene in the text of the *Legenda Aurea* followed the debate of Dorothy and Fabricius. Angels appeared and with their help, Dorothy destroyed the idols and killed the evils.



Fig. 3.14. Fabricius sat on a wooden throne, two of his pagan servant brought the older sisters of Saint Dorothy, Christa and Callista.



Fig. 3.15. The conversion of the sisters of Saint Dorothy. Dorothy read from a book (Bible) for her sisters, and they found again their Christian faith. They were enclosed to prison.



Fig. 3.16. Saint Dorothy was kneeling while two pagan men torture her. This scene also emphasizes her similarity to Christ.



Fig. 3.17. Because of the conversion of Christa and Callista, they were also sentenced to death. They were put to a bonfire and two pagans tortured them.



Fig. 3.18. Dorothy was closed to the prison again.



Fig. 3.19. Dorothy was brought to Fabricius. According to Buran two servants stand next to Dorothy.¹³¹ I suppose, one of them (the one on the right side) is Theophilus, because he mocked at Dorothy in this scene of the legend.



Fig. 3.20. On this scene, the death of Dorothy is depicted. She was beheaded, finally. On the right side of the picture, an angel and a child were represented. The child holds a basket with apples and roses.

¹³¹ Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei*, 77–78.



Fig. 3.21. This scene represents Theophilus as a child brought him apples and roses from the Paradise, as Saint Dorothy had promised to him.



Fig. 3.22. The burial of Saint Dorothy. She was surrounded by angels. This scene is missing from the legend. I think, it was borrowed from the legend of Saint Katherine, because the author of Saint Katherine's legend emphasized the burial of the saint.

The pictorial representation of the legend in Lőcse differs from the texts at several points. The order of some of the scenes was changed or extra scenes were added to the written version. Buran suggests that the order of the scenes derived from plays where it was changed so as to facilitate performance. However, he does not identify a play in which the order of the scenes corresponds to that in Lőcse.¹³² There are only two other pictorial cycles of the legend of Saint Dorothy on murals which can be compared to the representations of Lőcse: the frescoes

¹³² Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei*, 80.

of the cloister of Neustift (today in Italy) represent the *Life* of Saint Dorothy in six scenes, whereas the frescoes of Rakovník recount the legend in eight scenes. Both cycles were made around 1400. The main difference between these frescoes and those in Lőcse is that the latter emphasizes the Christological features of the scenes, while the other two do not.¹³³ Due to the lack of the sources the commissioner remains unknown. Buran supposes that he may have been a wealthy burgher of the town. Moreover, the Christological cycles together with the cycle of Dorothy could have been connected to the hospital of the town, because they were close to the sacristy, which served as a leper's chapel in that period.¹³⁴ (On the connection between the hospitals and Dorothy's cult, see the following chapter.)

It is hard to draw conclusions from these fragmented sources. However, it is clear that the cult of Saint Dorothy emerged in Hungary in the first half of the fourteenth century, but the veneration remained relatively scarce. The dating of the charters suggests that Saint Dorothy became popular only from 1360s onwards. Out of the five altars, three chapels and one church only one of the founders is relatively well-known. Nicholas of Neszmély might have promoted the cult of Saint Dorothy because of his own Silesian origin. Incidentally, the mural painting of Nyitrakoros also point towards Silesian origin. Interestingly, the earliest mention of the name Dorothy also comes from Nyitra County, presumably not coincidentally.

The mid-fourteenth century political situation of Hungary also straighten the hypothesis that the cult of Saint Dorothy did arrive from Silesia. King Charles of Hungary married Elizabeth Piast, the daughter of Władysław the Short, prince (later king) of Poland, in 1320.¹³⁵

¹³³ Buran, *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei*, 83–84.

¹³⁴ Togner and Plekanec, *Medieval wall paintings in Spiš*, 151.

¹³⁵ László Szende, "Piast Erzsébet és udvara, 1320–1380" [Elizabeth of Piast and her court, 1320–1380], Ph.D. diss. (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2007).

She arrived with a Polish, mainly Silesian retinue.¹³⁶ At that time, the Polish influence manifested primarily in church-affairs: for example, Bolesław, a relative of Elizabeth became the archbishop of Esztergom one year after the coronation of the queen.¹³⁷ In 1328, Bolesław's brother, Miesko, became the bishop of Nyitra, later the bishop of Veszprém.¹³⁸ Thus, one possible way of the arrival of Dorothy's cult was via clerics from Silesia, but—as I argued—the Augustinians most probably did not play a role in it.

At the same time, another possible origin and direction emerges from the sources. As demonstrated above, Saint Dorothy was popular in the settlements of Szepesség, a region mostly populated by Germans. Most of the Germans of Hungary had Saxon origin, thus they were most often called Saxons in the sources. The Germans, who lived in Szepesség were called Zipsers.¹³⁹ Beside the settlements of Szepesség, Almakerék was also a Saxon village in the called Saxon Land in Transylvania. The Silesian origin of and the German impact on the cult do not exclude each other. Breslau was also a partly German. The recent literature argues, that the cult of Saint Dorothy was supported by Germans in Breslau. The Saint Dorothy monastery in Breslau was originally dedicated to Saint Stanislaus, Saint Wenceslas and Saint Dorothy. The triple dedication reflects to three nations: Saint Stanislaus symbolized the Polish, Saint Wenceslas the Czech and Saint Dorothy the Germans.¹⁴⁰ Thus, I believe, the cult must have been connected to the Germans in Hungary as well. Besides the individual success of

¹³⁶ Stanisław Sroka, "Egy lengyel származású főpap a 14. századi Magyarországon: Boleszló esztergomi érsek (1321–1328)" [A prelate of Polish origin in fourteenth-century Hungary: Bolesław, archbishop of Esztergom (1321–1328)], *Aetas* 9 (1994): 89.

¹³⁷ Szende, "Piast Erzsébet," 83.

¹³⁸ Sroka, "Egy lengyel származású főpap," 89–95.

¹³⁹ Kordé, "Szepességi szászok", 619.

¹⁴⁰ Helmut Jan Sobeczko, *Liturgia Katedry Wrocławskiej według przedtrydenckiego Liber Ordinarius z 1563 roku* [The liturgy of the Cathedral of Wrocław according to the Liber Ordinarius from 1563] (Opole: Wydawnictwo Św. Krzyża, 1993), 186.; Katarzyna Zalewska-Lorkiewicz, *Kościół św. Doroty, Stanisława i Wacława* [The monastery of Saint Dorothy, Stanislaus and Wenceslas] (Wrocław: Studio "Sense II", 1999).; Ewa Łużyńska, *Gotyckie świątynie Wrocławia : Kościół Bożego Ciała, Kościół Świętych Wacława, Stanisława i Doroty* [Gothic churches in Wrocław] (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1999).

Dorothy as a venerated saint, the other reasons behind the spread of her cult can be sought in the changes of the cult of saints in general, as the following chapter describes.

Chapter 4 – Late medieval cult

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the cult of Saint Dorothy emerged in the fourteenth century. Her popularity reached its peak in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The present chapter describes the late medieval cult of Saint Dorothy, and shows how the cult spread, and what the features of the cult were. Moreover, it will concentrate upon a special group of saints, called the Fourteen Holy Helpers.

From the first half of the fifteenth century several altars and chapels were dedicated to Saint Dorothy's honor. An altar and a chapel were dedicated to her in Gyulafehérvár (today Alba Iulia, Romania).¹⁴¹ She had altars in Győr¹⁴², Vác,¹⁴³ Nagyszombat (today Trnava, Slovakia; German: Tyrnau),¹⁴⁴ Beregszász (today Beperove, Ukraine; German: Bergsaß),¹⁴⁵ Arad (today Arad, Romania),¹⁴⁶ Csanád (today Cenad, Romania),¹⁴⁷ Eger¹⁴⁸ and Veszprém. The founders of these altars and the date of foundation are mostly unknown. However, a data refers to the founder of the altar in Veszprém. Nicholas, the archdeacon of Segesd founded an altar to the honor of Saint Katherine and Saint Dorothy around the 1430s. Later the altar was

¹⁴¹ Géza Entz, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958), 203. The chapel was mentioned in 1411 and 1439. Pál Lukcsics, *XV. századi pápák oklevelei*, vol. 1, [Fifteenth-century popes' charters], A Római Magyar Történeti Intézet kiadványai 1., Olaszországi magyar oklevéltár (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1931) I. 179. no. 630.

¹⁴² Mentioned in 1417: ZsO V. 221. no. 696.

¹⁴³ Mentioned in 1420: Norbert C. Tóth, "A váci székeskáptalan archontológiája 1378–1526 [The Archontology of the Collegiate Chapter of Vác]," *Studia Comitatus, Új Folyam* 2. Szentendre, 2016. 26.

¹⁴⁴ DL 14 212 "Dorothee virg. et mart., ac Cristoforus S. Elisabeth vidue altaris rectores in ecclesia Tyrnaviensi."

¹⁴⁵ S. n., *A szatmári püspöki egyházmegye emlékkönyve fennállásának századik esztendejében (Schematismus Centenarius) 1804–1904* [The Memorial Book of the Bishopric Diocese of Szatmár for the Hundredth Anniversary] (Szatmár: Pázmány Sajtó, 1904), 218.

¹⁴⁶ 1510. Emőke Gálfi, *Az aradi káptalan jegyzőkönyv-töredéke (1504–1518)* [The fragment of the register of the chapter of Arad] (Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2011) 63. n. 180.

¹⁴⁷ Mentioned in 1419. Péter G. Tóth, "A csanádi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő-középkorban (1354–1526) [The Composition of the Collegiate Chapter of Csanád in Late Middle Ages]" Ph.D. diss. (University of Szeged, Szeged, 2014), 153.

¹⁴⁸ Mentioned in 1468. Géza Balázs Nagy, "1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez [Data before 1580 for the History of the Bishopric Castle of Eger]," *Agria* 40. (2004): 166.

also dedicated to another virgin martyr, Saint Barbara.¹⁴⁹ It is not unique that an altar or a was chapel consecrated to more than one saint. A chapel in Nagyszeben (today Sibiu, Romania; German Hermannstadt) was consecrated to fourteen saints (including Saint Dorothy) next to Virgin Mary.¹⁵⁰

Although, the exact dates of the foundations of the altars are not known, the growth of the popularity of Dorothy's cult in the early fifteenth century is certain. Beside the altars, artistic representations were produced in the first decades of the fifteenth century. Two recently restored murals depict the *imago* or a scene of the legend of Dorothy. The frescoes of the church of Torna (Turňa nad Bodvou, today Slovakia; Germ. Tornau) were painted in the first decades of the fifteenth century. The commissioner, most probably, was Paul Özdögei Besenyő who had been the ban of Croatia and Slavonia. The lower zone of the southern wall of the chancel was decorated with the figures of female saints: Saint Margaret of Antioch with a dragon and a cross, Saint Christina with an arrow in her breast, Saint Ursula with an arrow, Saint Ludmila with a cluster of grapes and Saint Dorothy with a basket full with roses. This decoration is fascinating because the virgin martyrs in the lower zone of the chancel (instead of the Apostles) are rarely depicted.¹⁵¹ The other fresco is in the church of Baktalórántháza which was built

¹⁴⁹ Remig Békefi, *A Balaton tudományos tanulmányozásának eredményei*, vol. 3. *A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban* [The Results of the Scientific Studying of Balaton, vol 3. The Churches and Castles around Balaton in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Balaton-Bizottsága. 1913), 25.; Kálmán Magyar, "A középkori Segesd város és megye története, régészeti kutatása [The History and Archaeological Study of the Medieval Town and County, Segesd]," *Somogyi Almanach* 45–49. (1988): 66–7. Most recently, Balázs Karlinszky wrote about the altars. Balázs Karlinszky, "Karlinszky Balázs: Egy 15. századi veszprémi kápolnaalapítás margójára. A veszprémi Keresztelő Szent János-plébániatemplom Szűz Mária-kápolnája a 15–16. században [Notes about a chapel founding from the fifteenth century, The Virgin Mary Chapel of the John the Baptist Parish Church in Veszprém]" in *Vallásos kultúra és életmód a Kárpát-medencében 10. Konferencia Veszprémben a Laczkó Dezső Múzeum és a Veszprémi Hittudományi Főiskola közös szervezésében 2014. május 20-23*, ed. by. Erzsébet Pilipkó and Krisztián Sándor Fogl (Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 2017), 64–84.

¹⁵⁰ Carmen Florea, "The Cult of Saints in Medieval Transylvania (14th – 16th centuries)" (PhD. Diss. Babeş-Bolyai University, 2013) 114–5.

¹⁵¹ Zsombor Jékely, „A tornai plébániatemplom középkori falképeinek restaurálása,” last modified April 28, 2018, http://oroksegyfigyelo.blog.hu/2015/02/05/a_tornai_plebaniatemplom_kozepkori_falkepeinek_restauralasa. The shorter English version of this blog entry can be found here: <https://jekely.blogspot.hu/2014/12/restoration-of-wall-paintings-of-torna.html> April 28, 2018.; Zsombor Jékely, "Painted Chancels in Parish Churches – Aristocratic Patronage in Hungary during the Reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437)" in *Hungary in Context: Studies on Art and Architecture*, ed. by Anna Tüskés, Áron Tóth, Miklós Székely (Budapest: CentrArt, 2013), 51–2.

after 1340, and most probably decorated in the first third of the fourteenth century. Possibly, the commissioner was Gregory of Bakta.¹⁵² On the northern part of the arch, one scene of the Saint Dorothy's legend of appears. On the fresco she holds a basket, in front of her there is a tower in which a man stands. Below the tower there stands a small figure, who is Jesus Christ. The mural depicts the scene when Jesus visits Theophilus, who did not believe in Paradise.¹⁵³ The representation of her miracle reflects that Saint Dorothy could have become popular thanks to her intercessory power.

The belief in her intercessory power could have resulted in the fact that hospitals were dedicated to her honor. The hospital of Csepreg was dedicated to Saint Katherine and Saint Dorothy in 1399.¹⁵⁴ The chapel of Saint Elizabeth Hospital in Csanád was dedicated to Saint Elizabeth, Saint Katherine and Saint Dorothy.¹⁵⁵ Ladislav, the bishop of Nándorfehérvár (today Београд, Serbia) founded this institution in the first third of the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁶ According to Carmen Florea, a hospital in Segesvár (Sighișoara, Romania; Germ. Schäßburg) had a chapel dedicated to Saint Dorothy,¹⁵⁷ however I could not find it in the sources. The *patrocinia* of hospitals were not varied as much as the dedications of the churches. Most commonly, hospitals were dedicated either to Saint Elizabeth, or to the Holy Spirit or to Saint Anthony. The

¹⁵² Péter Németh and Juan Cabello, "Baktalórántháza, római katolikus templom [Baktalórántháza, Roman Catholic Church]" in *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcsban, Beregben és Kárpátalján*, ed. by Tibor Kollár (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2013), 78.

¹⁵³ Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács, "A baktalórántházi római katolikus templom középkori falképei [The Medieval Frescoes of the Roman Catholic Church of Baktalórántháza]" in *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcsban, Beregben és Kárpátalján*, ed. by Tibor Kollár (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2013), 90–1.

¹⁵⁴ "[...] ecclesiam hospitalis pauperum in Schepreg, Jauriensis diocesis, in honore s. Katherine et Dorothee fundatam" Katalin Szende and Judit Majorossy, "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary" in *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Hospitals and Institutional Care in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Martin Scheutz, et al. Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband; 51. (München and Wien: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008), 308.

¹⁵⁵ András Kubinyi, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdők és ispotályok a késő középkori Magyarországon [Curing, Pharmacist, Bathes and Hospitals in Late Medieval Hungary]" in *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*, ed. by András Kubinyi (Budapest, Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1999), 264.

¹⁵⁶ G. Tóth, "A váci székeskáptalan archontológiája," 231.

¹⁵⁷ Florea, "The Cult of Saints," 106. n. 74.

dedication of a hospital cannot be answered only by the popularity of a saint. For example, Saint Margaret of Antioch was very popular in Hungary from the twelfth century,¹⁵⁸ but none of the hospitals were dedicated for her, as far as the sources inform us. Saint Anthony and the Holy Spirit were commonly chosen as patron saints because the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony and the Holy Spirit order were responsible for these institutions.¹⁵⁹ Saint Elizabeth of Hungary founded a hospital during her lifetime, which offered an example to follow for noble women. Choosing Saint Elizabeth as the patron saint of a hospital was very popular in medieval Europe.¹⁶⁰

How can we explain that Saint Dorothy was also chosen as the patron saint of hospitals? Only few chapels have dedicated to her during the Middle Ages, but many of them were in hospitals (see the Table). Why was she overrepresented in these institutions? To answer these questions I will show the function of this type of institutions and compare it to Saint Dorothy's legend. Katalin Szende and Judit Majorossy summarized the aims of hospitals:

The main function of the hospitals was to shelter the poor and at the same time to provide religious assistance to cure their souls (and not their bodies). In those houses founded or run by priests, such assistance was evident, since the hospital had its own cleric for celebrating the masses (e. g. Pécs, Veszprém, Sopron, Eperjes, Pásztó, Olaszi, Váralja, Eger, Segesvár, Beregszász). In case of civic foundations, the founders or later the town as patron hired a priest or commissioned the nearby parish to exercise the religious tasks.¹⁶¹

I argue that choosing Saint Dorothy as the patron saint of an institution (or its chapel) whose main function was to take care of the poor, was in connection with Saint Dorothy's promise before her death:

She prayed to Our Lord for all of those whom in honor and worship of Almighty God, did any kind of thing in remembrance of her passion, that it might be the

¹⁵⁸ Dorottya Uhrin, "Antiochiai Szent Margit legkorábbi magyarországi kultusza: Álmos herceg egyházalapításai és a Szent Margit-szakramentárium [The Earliest Cult of Saint Margaret of Antioch: the Church Foundations of Duke Álmos and the Saint Margaret Sacramentary]" *Magyar Könyvszemle* 133 (2017) No. 1. 13–31.

¹⁵⁹ Kubinyi, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek", 260–7.

¹⁶⁰ Ottó Gecser, *The Feast and the Pulpit. Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235-ca. 1500* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2012.) 46.

¹⁶¹ Szende and Majorossy, "Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary," 301.

cause of their salvation—especially from the *worldly shame of grievous poverty*, [emphasized by me – DU] also that they be delivered from shameful slander and loss of their name.¹⁶²

The veneration of Saint Dorothy who promised to deliver from poverty those who were praying to her, in a poorhouse, is understandable. However, the joint veneration or depiction of Saint Dorothy and Saint Elizabeth can be approached from another point of view. Both Saint Elizabeth and Saint Dorothy were represented with a basket of roses.¹⁶³ However, the narratives of their legends are different, because in Saint Elizabeth's legend, the emphasis is on the transformation of food to roses, which saved her from lying,¹⁶⁴ while Saint Dorothy converted Theophilus by sending him roses and apples from Paradise. Maybe their similar iconography contributed to the common veneration in the case of Csanád.¹⁶⁵

The previous chapter discussed the possible Polish origin or connections of Saint Dorothy's cult in the fourteenth century. Saint Dorothy's growing importance in the fifteenth century can be seen in the fact, that Hungary exported a precious religious object to Silesia, a reliquary of Saint Dorothy. This artwork most probably was made in Upper Hungary in the 1430s and the most recent scholarship assumes that King Sigismund donated it to Breslau.¹⁶⁶

We have seen above that the intercessory power of Saint Dorothy was very attractive for believers. Beside her cult as an individual, the following chapter examines the numerous

¹⁶² Jacobus the Voragine, "The life of Saint Dorothy," 37–8.

¹⁶³ The iconography of Elizabeth: Kirschbaum and Bandmann, eds, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, VI. 133–40. The iconography of Dorothy was summarized in Chapter 2.

¹⁶⁴ Ottó Gecser, "Miracles of the Leper and the Roses. Charity, Chastity and Female Independence in St. Elizabeth of Hungary" *Franciscana Bollettino della Società internazionale di studi francescani* XV. (2013): 149–71.

¹⁶⁵ For example, Saint Dorothy was represented with Saint Elizabeth, and Virgin Mary on the frescoes of Erdőszentgyörgy (today Sângeorgiu de Pădure, Romania, in German: Sankt Georgen auf der Heide) Géza Entz, *Erdély építésze a 14–16. században* [Architecture in Transylvania from the fourteenth to sixteenth century] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 96.

¹⁶⁶ Imre Takács et al., ed., *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Art et culture au temps de Sigismond de Luxembourg, 1387–1437* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 377–8. (Etele Kiss), Evelin Wetter, *Objekt, Überlieferung und Narrativ: spätmittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst im historischen Königreich Ungarn*, *Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia*, (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2011), 82.

representations which testify that she was venerated together with other virgin martyrs, and her cult was in connection with the veneration of the fourteen Holy Helpers.

Among the fourteen Holy Helpers

As demonstrated above, Saint Dorothy became popular in Hungary in the course of fourteenth century. What are the reasons behind this? The cult of similar saints, i.e. virgin martyrs such as Saint Katherine or Saint Barbara, reached the peak of their popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The growth of their popularity corresponded to the general changes in the cult of saints.

Sainthood had two functions in the Middle Ages. Saints were both examples for proper Christian life, and heavenly intercessors. Although all saints possessed these two attributes, they did not have equal influence as intercessors.¹⁶⁷ Before the thirteenth century, the *Lives* of saints were mostly written for the clergy, and were tailored to the needs of nuns or monks, etc. Growing literacy from the thirteenth century resulted in broader audiences and the need of new versions of the legends that better suited the demands of laity. In this century the tone of the virgin martyrs' legends changed; as Karen A. Winstead summarized "[t]o begin with, they omitted long didactic and devotional passages and vividly depicted the confrontation between the saint and her adversary. In their legends, both the heroine and the villain became more aggressive than they had been in the past."¹⁶⁸

Another interesting, yet important change was the growing importance of images. Until the fourteenth century, the miracles usually took place next to the shrine or the relic of the saint. From the fourteenth century, the saints' miraculous power became more universal, and less connected to locations. Images partly took over the role of relics, and miracles could take place

¹⁶⁷ Eamon Duffy, "Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes: The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century England," *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990): 175–96.

¹⁶⁸ Karen A. Winstead, "Changing Patterns of Conflict in Middle English Virgin Martyr Legends," *Medieval Perspectives* 4/5 (1990/1989): 229–38.

through images.¹⁶⁹ From the end of the twelfth century onwards, “lay saints” were increasingly popular and the legends of such saints were complemented with the story of their conversion and birth. “The saints re-descended—so to say—from heaven to earth.”¹⁷⁰ However, this did not allow ordinary people to reach sainthood. The saints’ increasingly human character did not lessen their intercessory power, in fact, common people associated greater miraculous power to them.¹⁷¹

The significance of a saint’s intercession or auxiliary power increased from the fourteenth century.¹⁷² The increasing interest in the intercession resulted in the worship of a special type of saint, the so called holy helpers.¹⁷³ The holy helpers were saints whose individual power of intercession was believed to be particularly effective against various diseases. They “[...] are lesser saints: neither apostles, nor evangelists, but belonging to more populous categories, the rank and file of the heavenly court, such as martyrs and confessors.”¹⁷⁴ These fourteen holy helpers as a collective could protect against almost anything. There were sub-groups among holy helpers: bishop saints, knight-saints and virgin martyrs. The origin of their cult is unknown, but the earliest traces of their veneration lead back to early fourteenth-century Southern Germany, in the area of Nuremberg and Regensburg.¹⁷⁵ Numerous visual representations,¹⁷⁶ as well as written sources testify that from the fourteenth century Saint

¹⁶⁹ André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 444–53.

¹⁷⁰ André Vauchez, “Saints admirables et saints imitables: les fonctions de l’hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge?” In *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe-XIIIe siècle): Actes du colloque de Rome (27-29 octobre 1988)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), 165.

¹⁷¹ Vauchez, “Saints admirables,” 167–72.

¹⁷² Ottó Gecser, “Holy Helpers and the Transformation of Saintly Patronage at the end of the Middle Ages,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 199.

¹⁷³ The most common members of the group are: Barbara, Katherine, Margaret, Denis, Erasmus, Blaise, George, Achatius, Eustace, Christopher, Giles, Cyriac, Pantaleon and Vitus. About the fourteen Holy Helpers, see: Josef Dünninger, “Sprachliche Zeugnisse über den Kult der Vierzehn Nothelfer im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert,” in *Festschrift Matthias Zender: Studien zu Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte*, vol. 1, ed. by Edith Ennen and Günter Wiegmann (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1972), 336–46.; Klaus Guth, “Vierzehnheiligen und die Anfänge der Nothelferverehrung: Anatomie einer Wallfahrtsgenese,” in *Kultur als Lebensform: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, vol. 1, ed. by Elisabeth Roth (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1995–2009), 305–24; Gecser, “Holy Helpers,” 174–201.

¹⁷⁴ Gecser, “Helper Saints and their Critics.”

¹⁷⁵ Weed, “Venerating the Virgin Martyrs,” 1069.

¹⁷⁶ Marosi and Beke, *Magyarországi művészet*, 212.

Katherine, Saint Margaret, Saint Barbara and Saint Dorothy were frequently venerated together as a distinct group for their collective powers, called *virgines capitales* in Central Europe and Germany. Their cult was formed as an offshoot of the Fourteen Holy Helper. Originally only Saint Barbara, Saint Katherine and Saint Margaret were the three female members of the group, Saint Dorothy was added to them during the fifteenth century. The three or four virgins were commonly represented separately from the Fourteen Holy Helpers grouped with Virgin Mary or with Virgin and Child.¹⁷⁷ The following subchapter demonstrates, that their cult as a collective came to Hungary as well.

Texts and visual representations

A mass in a fifteenth-century Pauline codex reflects the common veneration of the virgins in Hungary, as well as their effective intercessory power:

God, who [gave] to the most holy virgins, Katherine, Dorothy and Margaret the palm of martyrdom, and turned the most blessed Mary Magdalen from crime to pardon, grant, we ask, that by the intercession of their chaste merit even the stains of our sins may be absolved.¹⁷⁸

Their veneration appeared not only in the liturgy, but more and more artistic representations were produced of the virgin martyrs. Saint Dorothy's growing popularity can be demonstrated by a home altar in Trencsén (today Trenčín, Slovakia; Germ. Trentschin). The altar originally was made around 1415. The picture in the middle of the altar depicted the Virgin with Child, on the open wings there are Saint Katherine and Barbara. The pictures of the closed wings were

¹⁷⁷ Stanley E. Weed, "Venerating the Virgin Martyrs: The Cult of the Virgines Capitales in Art, Literature, and Popular Piety," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 41 (2010): 1065–91.

¹⁷⁸ "De sanctis virginibus Katherine. D. qui sanctissimis virginibus Katherine Dorothee et Margarethe martirij palmam et beatissime Marie magdalene criminum veniam concessisti pr. qu. ut earum interuenientibus meritis et castitatis gracia decorari et a peccatorum nostrorum vinculis mereamur absolui" Radó and Mezey, *Libri liturgici*, 173. My translation is partly based on the translation of Weed, "Venerating the Virgin Martyrs," 1073.

from the late fifteenth century, and Saint Dorothy and Ursula appear on them. Perhaps, the change of the pictures reflects their popularity in private devotion.¹⁷⁹

Saint Dorothy in the shrines

In the shrines of Saint Dorothy's altars she must have been represented in the center, however, all medieval Saint Dorothy-altars have perished. The exception, perhaps, is the altar of Jánosrét (today Lúčky, Slovakia), however it is not written tradition, but the equal size of the statues of the shrine lead to the conclusion that the altar was consecrated to Virgin Mary and a female saint with a missing attribute (Saint Dorothy or Saint Katherine),¹⁸⁰ or the altarpiece in Sztankahermány (today Hermanovce, Slovakia), where the statues of Virgin Mary, Saint Katherine and Saint Dorothy were placed in the shrine. However, this altar is also only known as Virgin Mary-altar.¹⁸¹

Saint Dorothy, most often, was placed on the shrines with other virgin martyrs and/or Virgin Mary. Meaningful, when she (with other virgins) was placed in the shrine of a Virgin Mary altar. In these representations, Mary is in the center of the shrine, accompanied by virgin martyrs: *virgo inter virgines*. Usually, she was surrounded by the *virgines capitales*. Perhaps, the earliest Hungarian examples of this are on the altarpiece in Busóc (today Bušovce, Slovakia; Germ. Bauschendorf) (Fig. 4.1) and Zsigra (today Žehra, Slovakia; Germ. Schigra),¹⁸² both were made in the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century.¹⁸³ This scene can be found in Dénesfalva (today Danišovce, Slovakia, Germ. Densdorf),¹⁸⁴ in Szepesszombat

¹⁷⁹ Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, [Panel Paintings of Mediaeval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955) 456.

¹⁸⁰ Potuckova, "Virginity," 30. n. 72.

¹⁸¹ Dénes Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, [Wood statues of Mediaeval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), 219.

¹⁸² However, here only Barbara and Dorothy can be identified. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 225.

¹⁸³ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 158.

¹⁸⁴ 1490–1510, Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 161.

(today Spišská Sobota, Slovakia; Germ. Georgenberg) (Fig. 4.2.),¹⁸⁵ and in Felka (today Veľká, Slovakia).¹⁸⁶ Interestingly, in the shrine of the altarpiece of John the Baptist in Kisszeben (Sabinov, Slovakia; Germ. Zeben,), Virgin Mary is accompanied by John and Saint Peter and surrounded by the *virgines capitales*.¹⁸⁷ In the cases of winged altars, when the shrine was occupied by Virgin Mary and the *virgines capitales*, the open wings often shows scenes from the life of Mary, while the closed wings depict the Passion,¹⁸⁸ as on the altarpieces of Virgin Mary in Farkasfalva (today Vlková, Slovakia; Germ. Farsdorf),¹⁸⁹ Our Lady of the Snows in Lőcse,¹⁹⁰ Virgin Mary in Liptószentmiklós (today Liptovský Mikuláš, Slovakia; Germ. Sankt Nikolaus in der Liptau),¹⁹¹ and Virgin Mary in Nagyszalók (today Veľký Slavkov, Slovakia; Germ. Großschlagendorf).¹⁹² There are other variants of this pattern, when the closed wings represent something else (usually saints), as on the altar of Virgin Mary in Háromszléc (today Liptovské Sliache, Slovakia),¹⁹³ or in Bakabánya (today Pukanec, Slovakia).¹⁹⁴ Saint Dorothy

¹⁸⁵ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 216.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 164.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁸⁸ Potuckova, "Virginité," 31–2.

¹⁸⁹ C. 1480. Shrine: Virgin Mary with Saint Barbara, Saint Dorothy, Saint Margaret, Saint Katherine. Open Wings: Annunciation, Adoration of Magi, Visitation, Nativity. Closed wings: Capture of Christ, Christ in front of Pilate, Evve Homo, The carrying of the Cross. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 163.; Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 301.

¹⁹⁰ 1494–1500. Shrine: Madonna with Jesus, St Barbara, Saint Dorothy, Saint Katherine, Saint Margaret. Open Wings: Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation, Adoration of Magi. Closed Wings: Undressed Christ, 12-year old Christ in the Temple, Killing of the innocent, Flight to Egypt, Christ bidding farewell to Mary, Assumption, Dormition of the Virgin, Coronation of Mary. Predella: Enthroned Christ. Upper Structure: Christ and Man of Sorrow, St. James the Elder. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 194.; Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 377.

¹⁹¹ 1470–1480. Virgin Mary together with Saint Katherine, Saint Dorothy, Saint Barbara and Saint Margaret. Open wings: Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation, Adoration of Magi. Closed wings: *Vir dolorum*, *Mater dolorosa*, Saint John the Baptist, Saint John the Evangelist. Predella: *Vera icon* with two angels, and Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 190.; Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 370.

¹⁹² 1483. Shrine: Madonna with Child, together with Saint Katherine, Saint Dorothy and two female saints. Open wings: Visitation, Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of Magi. Closed wings: *Mater dolorosa*, Angel from Annunciation, *Vir dolorum*, Mary from the Annunciation. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 202.; Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 403–4.

¹⁹³ 1510–1520. Shrine: Virgin Mary together with Saint Katherine, Saint Dorothy, Saint Margaret and Saint Barbara. Open wings: Annunciation, Adoration of Magi, Visitation, Nativity. Closed wings Saint Apollonia, Saint Katherine. *Vera icon* on the predella. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 167–8.; Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 312.

¹⁹⁴ 1480–1490. Open wings: Annunciation, Dormition of the Virgin, Circumcision of Christ, Coronation of Mary. Closed wings: Saint Sebastian, Death of Saint Barbara, Virgin Mary, Saint Christopher, Saint Egedius, Saint George, Saint Michael, Saint John the Baptist. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 261.

sometimes accompanies Mary with other virgins. In the shrine of the Virgin Mary Altar in Dubrava (today Dúbrava, Slovakia), the Virgin and the Child are accompanied by Saint Dorothy, Saint Agnes, Saint Ursula and Saint Lucy.¹⁹⁵ In the shrine of the Virgin Mary Altar of Székelyzsombor (today Jimbor, Romania; Germ. Sommerburg) she is surrounded by Barbara, Dorothy, Margaret and Ursula.¹⁹⁶ This arrangement of the saints, that is, the closeness of the virgins to the Virgin, reflects that they belong to Virgin Mary's inner circle, they are in close relationship, which makes them effective intercessors.¹⁹⁷ The intimate relationship between Dorothy (or Katherine) and Virgin Mary can be demonstrated by an altar dedicated to both of them in Jánosrét around 1475. In the shrine of the altarpiece there are the equal statues of Virgin Mary and Saint Dorothy(?) stand. The open wings introduce male and female saints, the closed wings show scenes from the Annunciation.¹⁹⁸ Sometimes, Saint Dorothy is with her fellow virgins on the altar of Saint Anne. In the shrine of the Saint Anne Altar of Bártfa (today Bardejov, Slovakia), the Virgin and the Child are surrounded by Saint Apollonia, Saint Dorothy, Saint Elizabeth and Saint Barbara. The open wings represent scenes from the life of Saint Anne and Joachim, the closed wings demonstrate the life of Virgin Mary (Fig. 4.3.).¹⁹⁹ The shrine of the altarpiece of the Nativity in Bártfa depict the Nativity and *virgines capitales* (Fig. 4.4).²⁰⁰ On the Virgin Mary Altar in Kislomnic (today Lomnička, Slovakia), Mary is surrounded by the *virgines capitales*, on the wings, the life Christ is depicted.²⁰¹ Stanley E. Weed explains the representation of the *virgines capitales* with Saint Anna, Virgin Mary and

¹⁹⁵ 1510–20. Open wings: Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation, Adoration of Magi. Closed wings, Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian. Predella depict Christ with the fourteen Holy Helper. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 162.; Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 298.

¹⁹⁶ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 212.

¹⁹⁷ Weed, "Venerating the Virgin Martyrs," 1084.

¹⁹⁸ Saint Peter, Saint Bartholomew, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Barbara, Saint Elizabeth, Saint Margaret and Saint Elizabeth. The closed wings: Angel from the Annunciation, Virgin Mary from the Annunciation, Half-figure of Christ, a male Saint. Potuckova, "Virginité," 64.

¹⁹⁹ End of the 15th century. According to Radocsay it is from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 151.

²⁰⁰ 1480–90. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 152.

²⁰¹ Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, 182.

the events from the life of Christ, arguing that they were the brides of Christ which made them extended family members of the holy family.²⁰²

Saint Dorothy often appears in the shrines and altars of her fellow virgin martyrs. For example in the shrine of the altar of Csütörtökhely (today Spišský Štvrtok, Slovakia; Germ. Donnersmarkt), Saint Katherine was surrounded by Saint Barbara, Saint Margaret, Saint Dorothy and Saint Ursula. Saint Dorothy with Saint Margaret, Barbara and Katherine in the shrine. The representation of Saint Dorothy—together with other virgin martyrs—occurs on the altar of Szentjakabfalva (today Jakub, Slovakia)²⁰³ where Mary Magdalene occupies the shrine, while Saint Dorothy, Saint Agnes, Saint Katherine and Saint Barbara are on the open wings of the altar. Mary Magdalene became very popular by the late Middle Ages. The above mentioned liturgical text (p. 50.) and the altars demonstrate her common representation with virgins. In these cases Mary Magdalene symbolized the sin and the repentance next to virginity.

Saint Dorothy was depicted on several altarpieces which mostly survived in Upper Hungary and sometimes in Transylvania, however, the inclusion of all representations is not the aim of this paper. The altarpieces falsely reflect to the fact that Saint Dorothy was only popular in Upper Hungary. She must have been popular in other territories as in Transylvania, where, however fewer altars survived. The Saint Dorothy Chapel in Beszterce (today Bistrița, Romania; Germ. Bistritz)²⁰⁴ or the Saint Dorothy Chapel in Gyulafehérvár must have contained altars depicting Saint Dorothy in the shrine. Saint Dorothy's representation can be found on Transylvanian mural paintings and altarpieces, such as on the altar of Virgin Mary in Berethalom (today Biertan, Romania; Germ. Birthälm) together with the other members of

²⁰² Weed, "Venerating the Virgin Martyrs," 1081.

²⁰³ 1500–1510. Shrine: Mary Magdalene, Open wings: Saint Agnes, Saint Barbara, Saint Katherine, Saint Dorothy. Closed wings: Noli me tangere, Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ with her tears, Forgiveness of Mary Magdalene's sins, Assumption of Mary Magdalene, The duke's wife with a newborn, Dying knight, The dying wife was put to the land, Resurrected knight. Radocsay, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei*, 433.

²⁰⁴ Otto Dahinten, "Beiträge zur Baugeschichte der Stadt Bistritz", *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 50 (1944): 335–7, 390.

virgines capitales (Fig. 4.5),²⁰⁵ or on the altar of the parish church of Csíkszentlélek (today Leliceni, Romania) with Katherine and Barbara,²⁰⁶ and so on. Saint Dorothy's representations are scantier in Central Hungary, but she was venerated, as the survived vernacular legends testify.

Latin and vernacular Hungarian texts about Saint Dorothy

It is a commonplace among Hungarian medievalists that around 90% of codices once used in Hungary have perished. However, the texts which have survived the centuries can help us in the reconstruction of Dorothy's cult. In this chapter I will analyze a chronicle and Latin and vernacular Hungarian legends about Saint Dorothy. It is their common feature that the miracle of roses is emphasized.

Saint Dorothy's rose miracle must have been very popular in the fifteenth century, because Johannes of Thurócz referred to Saint Dorothy's feast by this miracle, without mentioning her name. This part of the chronicle is fascinating also from another point of view. Johannes of Thurócz published his chronicle in 1488, reporting the history of Hungarians from the Huns to his own age. He based his work on earlier chronicles, charters and eye witnesses of the events. While describing the assassination attempt and death of Charles the Short in 1386,²⁰⁷ Johannes of Thurócz said the plot against Charles the Short happened in the cold days of February near "the feast of the sacred virgin [Dorothy – DU], whom Christ sent roses and apples from his rosary".²⁰⁸ The main source of Johannes of Thurócz was Lorenzo Monaci's

²⁰⁵ Emese Sarkadi Nagy, *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections. Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2011), 128–31.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 141.

²⁰⁷ Charles II was the king of Hungary after the death of Louis the Great, however he was killed shortly after his coronation.

²⁰⁸ "[...] festo virginis sacrate, cui Christus rosas cum pomis suo misisse de rosario." Johannes de Thurócz, *Chronica Hungarorum, I. Textus*, ed. by Erzsébet Galántai, Gyula Kristó, Elemér Mályusz (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 202.

Chronicle²⁰⁹ about the events of Charles the Short's life.²¹⁰ However, in this part Johannes based his words on other sources. Lorenzo Monaci stated that the assassination happened when "the Sun was in Pisces".²¹¹ The fourteenth-century sources did not date the assassination to the feast of Saint Dorothy. It seems that the (later) German tradition of this story said that it happened on the day following the feast of Saint Dorothy (February 7).²¹² Interestingly, not only the wording is different, but the date as well: in this year the Sun reached Pisces on February 10.²¹³ Scholars accept that the assassination was on February 7, because Queen Mary's charter describes that it happened on the 39th day after Charles the Short's coronation (December 31, 1385). However, regarding the date of Charles' death, Szilárd Süttő considered the same charter biased, although he also based the date of the assassination on this source.²¹⁴ On the whole, Monaci's Chronicle is reliable, because he was a contemporary and he based his *opus* on Queen Mary's narration.²¹⁵ It is not clear why he gave another date, but I intend to call historians' attention to the fact that two contemporary writings based on Queen Mary's narration dated the assassination of Charles the Short differently. From the point of this paper the dating of Johannes de Thurócz shows that mention of the rose miracle reminded the reader of the feast of Saint Dorothy.

²⁰⁹ About Monaci, see: Ilona Edit Ferenczi, *Poetry of politics: Lorenzo Monaci's Carmen (1387). The Daughter of Louis I, Queen Mary of Hungary in Venetian Eyes* (Berlin: VDM Verlag, 2009).

²¹⁰ Introduction of Johannes de Thurócz, *Chronica Hungarorum*.

²¹¹ "Sol piscis habebat" Laurentii de Monacis, "Historia de Carolo II rege" in *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita*, ed. by Franciscus Toldy (Budapest, Bibliothecae Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae, 1986), 130.

²¹² Szilárd Süttő, "A húsvéti Exsurge-vasárnapról a visegrádi székesegyházig (Eberhard Windecke magyarra fordítva az 1384–86-os évek magyarországi eseményeiről) [From Exsurge Sunday to the cathedral of Visegrad (Mistranslations in the Hungarian translation of Eberhard Windecke about the Hungarian events of the years between 1384 and 1386)]" *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* XVI/4 (2015): 74.

²¹³ I am indebted to Márton Veszprémy, who calculated this date for me.

²¹⁴ Szilárd Süttő, "A II. (Kis) Károly elleni merénylet 1386. február 7-én [The assassination attempt against Charles the Short on February 7, 1386]" *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 113 (2000) No. 2.: 390. n. 105. Idem, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya. Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384–1387. évi belviszályok okmánytárával* [Twilight of the Angevin Hungary. The Political History of Hungary from Louis the Great to Sigimund, with the Repertory of the Internal Conflicts of the Years Between 1384 and 1387] (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2003), 111–126.

²¹⁵ Norbert C. Tóth "Királynőből királyné: Mária és Zsigmond viszonya a források tükrében" *Acta Historica* (Szeged) 132 (2011): 59–71.

Legends of Dorothy

Regarding the textual evidence, most probably only the BHL 2324 version of Saint Dorothy's legend spread in Hungary, most probably through the *Legenda Aurea*. To the best of my knowledge, Latin versions of Dorothy's legend have survived only in the codices of *Legenda Aurea*,²¹⁶ or at the end of the sermons of Pelbart de Themeswar and Oswald de Lasko.

The two famous Hungarian late medieval Franciscan preachers, Pelbart de Themeswar (c. 1435–1504) and Oswald de Lasko (c. 1450–1511) included the feast of Dorothy in their collections of sermons. Both of them were connected to Central Hungary: Pelbart taught in Buda and Esztergom, Oswald was the guardian of the convent in Pest.

Pelbart de Themeswar organized his sermons according to the liturgical year. Usually he provided four sermons to each feast.²¹⁷ He published three collections under the title *Pomerium Sermonum*. The first was the *Sermones de Tempore*, published in 1498. This contains 171 sermons for the Sundays and the feasts. The 211 sermons of *Sermones de Sanctis* were published in the following year; these sermons were about the feasts of saints. In the same year, the *Quadragesimale* was issued, which contains 50 sermons about sin, penance and the ten commandments.²¹⁸ Oswald de Lasko's collection of sermons is entitled *Biga salutis*, and consists of three volumes. The *Sermones de sanctis* contains 112 sermons on saints, and was published in 1497. The *Sermones dominicales* include 124 sermons, the *Quadragesimale Bige*

²¹⁶ Perhaps not all version of the *Legenda Aurea* contained the legend of Saint Dorothy, but I was unable to check all of them. Csaba Csapodi and Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi. *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt I–III*. [Bibliotheca Hungarica: Codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526]. (Budapest: MTA, 1988–1994); Edit Madas, “A Legenda aurea a középkori Magyarországon (Kódexek és ősnymtatványok, kiegészítések, a Legenda aurea mint forrás.” [Legenda Aurea in Medieval Hungary (Codices and Incunabula, Additions, the Legenda Aurea as a Source)] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 108 (1992): 93–9.

²¹⁷ Ildikó Bárcki, “A tematika sokszínűsége Temesvári Pelbárt prédikációiban” [Variegation of topics in the sermonsof Pelbartus de Temeswar] in *Emlékkönyv Temesvári Pelbárt halálának 500. évfordulója alkalmából. 1504–2004*, ed. by Piusz Berhidai and Ilona Kedves (Esztergom: Temesvári P. Ferences Gimnázium, Kollégium és Szakközépiskola, 2006) 65.

²¹⁸ Balázs Kertész, “Two Hungarian Friars Minor in the Late Middle Ages: Pelbart de Temesvár and Oswald de Lasko” in *Infima Aetas Pannonica. Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. by Péter E. Kovács and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina, 2009), 63–4.

salutis contained 44 sermons, both published in 1498.²¹⁹ Both authors' collections were published several times, which reflects the popularity of their sermons all over Europe.²²⁰

Only one Saint Dorothy-sermon was included in each collection of the Franciscans, which means that she was less popular with them. Pelbart starts his sermon with the rose miracle of Dorothy. Then he uses the rose as the metaphor of virginity and martyrdom, with the motive running through the whole sermon. For example, he compares the sweet smell of

²¹⁹ *Idem.*

²²⁰ Marianne Rozsonдай “Temesvári Pelbárt népszerűsége Európában” [Pelbart de Temeswar's popularity in Europe] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 100 (1984): 300–319.

the rose to the purity in the eye of God. Virginity was in the center of his sermon.²²¹ Oswald's sermon is different, because Oswald concentrates more exclusively upon virginity. Most of his sermon is about citing different church fathers' opinions about virginity. He starts with ranking different statuses: marriage is good, widowhood is better, but the best is virginity. After that, he cites Ambrose, Bonaventura, Jerome and others. Both authors published the legend of Saint Dorothy at the end of their text, which is the summary of the *Legenda Aurea*.²²² However, both excluded that Dorothy rescues the believers from poverty: Pelbart cited the text, but this part is missing:

Pelbart: *De Sancta Dorothea*

Legenda Aurea

Cum autem venit ad locum decollationis, rogavit Dominum, ut qui memoriam suae passionis peragerent, in omnibus salvarentur tribulationibus, et praecipue a verecundia et falso crimine, et in fine contritionem peccatorum obtinerent, ac mulieres parturientes ipsam invocantes celerem sentirent profectum in doloribus.²²³

Cum autem venit ad locum decollationis, rogavit dominum pro omnibus, qui ad honorem sui nominis suae memoriam passionis peragerent, ut in omnibus salverentur tribulationis et praecipue a verecundia, **paupertate** et falso crimine liberarentur et in fine vitae contritionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum obtinerent, mulieres vero parientes nomen ejus invocantes celerem sentiant in doloribus profectum.²²⁴

Oswald only mentions that who invokes Dorothy will be rescued from tribulation.²²⁵

²²¹ "De sancta Dorothea. Sermo cum legenda" last modified, May 6, 2018.

<http://sermone.elte.hu/pelbart/index.php?file=ph/ph054>

²²² "De sancta Dorothea virgine sermo XXVI." Last modified May 6, 2018.

<http://sermone.elte.hu/szovegkiadasok/latinul/laskaiosvat/index.php?file=os/os026>

²²³ "De sancta Dorothea. Sermo cum legenda."

²²⁴ Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea Vulgo Historica Lombardica Dicta*, ed. Th. Graesse (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969)

²²⁵ "In loco autem decollationis multum orans rogavit, ut qui eam invocarent, libarentur a tribulatione" "De Sancta Dorothea"

Regarding the vernacular Hungarian codices, only two of them contain a legendary intended to cover the entire year: the Érdy Codex and the Codex of Debrecen. However, the latter is incomplete. Saint Dorothy's legend can be found in the following vernacular codices: Codex Cornides, and two prayers to Dorothy in the Codex of Nagyszombat.

The Codex of Debrecen was bounded from (at least) two separate codices. The second part contains meditations and belonged to the Clarisse Convent of Óbuda, and was completed in 1519. The first part is a legendary which was composed for a general audience, most probably, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.²²⁶ The author's main sources are the *Legenda Aurea*, Petrus Natalibus' *Catalogus sanctorum*, and the *Pomerium sermorum*. He based his Dorothy-sermon²²⁷ on that of Pelbartus,²²⁸ however, he shortened the original and reedited it.²²⁹ The author usually omitted the unbelievable miracles from the texts.²³⁰ He did the same with Saint Dorothy's legend: the deliverance from poverty is missing from Dorothy's prayer, although similarly to Pelbart's sermon, her help in all bitterness and during labor are included.²³¹

An anonymous Carthusian composed the Érdy Codex around 1526. His intended audience was broad: laic monks, nuns and youths.²³² His main sources were the *Pomerium sermorum*, the *Legenda Aurea* and the *Catalogus Sanctorum*²³³ to his preaches, but he

²²⁶ Sándor Lázs, *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon a XV–XVI. század fordulóján* (Budapest: Balassi, 2016), 284.

²²⁷ *Debreceni kódex, 1519. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata* [Codex of Debrecen, the facsimile and transcription of the codex]. Edited by Csilla Abaffy and Andrea Reményi, Edit Madas (Budapest: Argumentum, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1997) (Régi Magyar Kódexek 21.), 401–13

²²⁸ *Debreceni kódex*, 13.

²²⁹ Lázs, *Apácaműveltség*, 306

²³⁰ *Idem*, 288.

²³¹ *Debreceni kódex*, 413.

²³² Zsófia Ágnes Bartók, "Az Érdy-kódex célközönsége: Nyelvemlékkódex a nyomtatásos terjesztés küszöbén" [The Codex Erdy at the gate of the dissemination by printing] in *Szerzetesrendek a veszprémi egyházmegyében: A Veszprémi Érseki Hittudományi Főiskolán 2014. augusztus 27–28-án rendezett konferencia előadásai*, ed. by Balázs Karlinszky (Veszprém, Veszprémi Főegyházmegye, 2015), 233–248. Edit Madas, "A Karthauzi Névtelen kódexe" in *A Néma Barát megszólal. Válogatás a Karthauzi Névtelen beszédeiből* ed. by Edit Madas (Budapest: Magyar Hírmondó, 1985), 549.

²³³ Damján Vargha, *Codexink legendái és a Catalogus Sanctorum* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1923).

combined them with other works, including his orders' own sources and chronicles.²³⁴ For his Dorothy-sermon he used the works listed above and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* and Boninus Mombritius' *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*.²³⁵ While recounting Dorothy's legend, he based his text on the *Legenda Aurea*, because he did not omit the part about Dorothy's delivery from poverty.²³⁶

The Cornides Codex was used by the nuns of the Dominican convent in *Insula leporum* (an island between Buda and Pest, today Margitsziget). Lea Ráskai, the librarian of the nunnery, compiled the manuscript between 1514 and 1519. The codex consists of two parts: the first is sermons which follow the liturgical year, the second part is a collection of legends (Saint Dorothy, Saint Agatha, Saint Juliana, Saint Potentiana, Saint Helen, Visitatio Mariae, Saint Margaret of Antioch, Saint Praxedis, Saint Brictius, Saint Justina, Holy Thursday, Saint Lucy, Saint Agnes, All Souls' Day). However, Ráskai provided sermons instead of legends in the cases of Saint Margaret and Saint Dorothy.²³⁷ Saint Dorothy's sermon was a translation from the *Sermones de Sanctis* of Pelbartus. The selection of saints in the codex reflects the preferences of nuns, consequently, they especially venerated the virgin martyrs, including Saint Dorothy.

The Codex of Nagyszombat contains two prayers to Saint Dorothy. These texts were included in the last part of the codex among other prayers, but Saint Dorothy is the only saint addressed in the prayers.²³⁸ She is called a "kindly pearl" and "spring rose" and the prayers request her intercession.

²³⁴ The most recent work about the sources of Codex Érdy: Zsófia Ágnes Bartók, "Az Érdy-kódex exemplumai" (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd University, 2015), 19–22.

²³⁵ Last modified May 6, 2018 <http://sermones.elte.hu/erdy/>

²³⁶ *Érdy codex* [Érdy Codex], Nyelvelmléktár 4–5., ed. by György Volf (Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Bizottsága, 1876), 328–33.

²³⁷ Láz, *Apácaműveltség*, 296.

²³⁸ *Nagyszombati Kódex 1512–1513. A nyelvelmlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata*, [Codex of Nagyszombat 1512–1513], Régi Magyar Kódexek, 24., ed. by Csilla T. Szabó (Budapest, Argumentum, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2000).

Beside these versions, dramas must have existed in medieval Hungary, because a 1523 source recounts the students of Eperjes playing in her honor.²³⁹ However none of them survived the centuries.

*

The present chapter has discussed Saint Dorothy's late medieval popularity in Hungary. For that have I used different sources: charters, chronicles and art historical representations and legends. All of them emphasize Saint Dorothy's intercessory power and her rose miracle.

Perhaps her prayer in the *Legenda Aurea* resulted in the fact that several hospitals were dedicated to her honor in medieval Hungary. The other saints frequently chosen as the patron saint of institutions is Saint Elizabeth. Both Dorothy and Elizabeth were represented with roses which could have contributed to their joint veneration. By the fifteenth century, her cult must have been spread all over the country, however, artistic representations mostly survived in Upper Hungary. Saint Dorothy mostly appeared with her attribute, the basket of roses. In the shrines of altars she accompanied the Virgin Mary with other virgin martyrs, most commonly with the members of *virgines capitales*. The cult of the *virgines capitales* spread together with the cult of *holy helpers*. Dorothy's closeness to the Virgin Mary reflects her status: she was the bride of Christ, which makes her an effective intercessor. Altars, depicting Saint Dorothy did not survive in Central Hungary, although late medieval vernacular *legendaria* testify that she was popular also in this territory. These legends mostly emphasize her rose miracle and virginity. Remarkably, many of the texts exclude the motive that Dorothy can deliver people from poverty.

²³⁹ Bálint, *Ünnepi kalendárium*.

Conclusion

The four main chapters of my thesis discuss the cult of Saint Dorothy from its emergence until the late Middle Ages. Saint Dorothy was a young virgin, who during the reign of Emperor Diocletian suffered martyrdom together with Theophilus in Cappadocia in a February in the late third or early fourth century. She was a so-called ‘virgin martyr’, whose legends were based on certain motifs. The *Lives* of virgin martyrs became popular from the twelfth century onwards, unlike that of Saint Dorothy. Although legends were produced about her life from the early Middle Ages, however, only from the mid-fourteenth century did she become popular in various European regions, including Italy and Germany. She was particularly popular in German-speaking territories, but less popular in France or England.

The third chapter presents the arrival of Saint Dorothy’s cult in Hungary and shows that she was unknown in the Árpadian period. It seems that the cult emerged during the Angevin era. The dating of the charters refers to the popularity of Saint Dorothy, and according to them it seems that her veneration became widespread only from the 1360s. Earlier literature claimed that the cult was imported to Hungary from Breslau by Augustinians, however, as I argue in chapter three, this was believed because of the misinterpretation of sources. Probably Dorothy’s cult can be connected to clerics from Poland, who arrived in the entourage of Queen Elizabeth Piast, wife of Charles I. Other traces suggest German origins, since her cult was mostly popular in the German-speaking territories of Hungary. The two origins do not exclude each other, because the Polish towns were also frequently populated by Germans. Dorothy’s veneration centered in Szepesség in Hungary, where an extensive fresco cycle commemorates her suffering.

Besides Dorothy’s individual success as a venerated saint, other reasons behind the spread of her cult can be found in the general changes in the cult of saints. It was due to the

growing importance of images during the fourteenth century. In the earlier period, the miracles usually took place next to the shrine or the relic of the saint. During the late Middle Ages the saints' miraculous power became more universal, and less connected to locations. Another significant change in the cult of saints was the increasing interest in the saints' intercession, which resulted in a special type of saint, the so called 'holy helpers'. The cult of the Fourteen Holy Helpers was very popular in late medieval Central Europe. The original group did not include Saint Dorothy, but she was the most popular addition. Saint Dorothy with Saint Katherine, Saint Barbara and Saint Margaret were the *virgines capitales*, a subgroup of the Holy Helpers.

By the fifteenth century, Saint Dorothy became widely known in Hungary, as the chronicle of Johannes of Thurócz testifies. Johannes of Thurócz dates the death of Charles the Short by the feast of Saint Dorothy, without mentioning the saint's name. He borrowed the dating by this feast from the German tradition, and rejected the different date provided by Laurence of Monaci.

The fifteenth and sixteenth-century textual and pictorial representations emphasize the importance of Dorothy's intercessory power. Besides her *imago*, the most frequent depiction was her rose miracle. On late medieval altars she accompanied the Virgin Mary with other virgins, which refers to her status as *sponsa Christi* and to her intimate relationship with the mother of Christ. Interestingly, hospitals were also dedicated to Saint Dorothy (usually she was a co-patron), which might have derived from the fact that she promised that she would help to rescue people from poverty. This episode of her legend, however, might have become superstitious in the eyes of the late fifteenth-century preachers, because the late medieval Franciscans, Pelbart de Themeswar and Oswald de Lasko omitted this promise from their predications. The vernacular Hungarian versions of Saint Dorothy's legend were based on the sermons of these Franciscans, or additionally the compilers used the *Legenda Aurea*.

Altarpieces depicting Saint Dorothy mostly survived from Upper Hungary, however she was also venerated in Central Hungary as the vernacular legends testify. Nevertheless, she was less popular in this region than in the northern part of Hungary.

The present thesis showed the emergence of Saint Dorothy's veneration together with the flourishing of the cult. I tried to put it into Central European context, however Saint Dorothy's veneration is only little studied in this region, thus further researches can reveal more connections, which hopefully happen in the future.

Bibliography

Archival sources

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Hungarian National Archives – MNL OL),
Diplomatikai Levéltár (Medieval Charters – DL).

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (Hungarian National Archives – MNL OL),
Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (Collection of Photocopies – DF).

Primary sources

Abaffy Csilla, Andrea Reményi and Edit Madas. *Debreceni kódex, 1519. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata* [Codex of Debrecen, the facsimile and transcription of the codex]. Régi Magyar Kódexek 21. Budapest: Argumentum, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1997.

Bossányi, Árpád. *Regesta supplicationum: A pápai kérvénykönyvek magyar vonatkozású okmányai; Avignoni korszak* [Documents from the papal supplication books with Hungarian relevance]. Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1916.

Bunyitay, Vincze. *A Váradi káptalan legrégibb statutumai* [The oldest statutes of the Chapter of Várad]. Nagyvárad, s. n., 1886.

Eusebius, *History of the Church*. Translated by G. A. Williamson. New York: Penguin, 1965.

Gálfí, Emőke *Az aradi káptalan jegyzőkönyv-töredéke (1504–1518)* [The fragment of the register of the chapter of Arad]. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2011.

Házi, Jenő. *Sopron szabad királyi város története*, pt. 1, vol.1, *Oklevelek 1162-től 1406-ig* [History of Sopron free royal city, pt. 1, vol.1, Charters from 1162 to 1406]. Sopron: Székely, Szabó és társa Könyvnyomdája, 1921.

- Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea Vulgo Historica Lombardica Dicta*. Edited by Th. Graesse. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969.
- Jacobus de Voragine. “The life of Saint Dorothy.” In *Women of the Gilte Legende: A Selection of Middle English Saints Lives*. Edited and translated by Larissa Tracey. Rochester: D. S. Brewer, 2003.
- Johannes de Thurócz. *Chronica Hungarorum, I. Textus*. Edited by Erzsébet Galántai, Gyula Kristó, Elemér Mályusz. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985.
- Kóta, Péter. *Középkori oklevelek Vas megyei levéltárakban*, vol. 1, *Regeszták a vasvári káptalan levéltárának okleveleiről (1130) 1212–1526* [Medieval charters from the archives of Vas County, vol. 1, Regesta of charters in the Archives of the Chapter of Vasvár], Vas megyei levéltári füzetek 8. Szombathely: s. n. 1997.
- Kristó, Gyula et alii. *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár: Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*. 46 vols. Budapest – Szeged: S. n., 1990–2017.
- Laurentii de Monacis, “Historia de Carolo II rege” in *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximum inedita*, ed. by Franciscus Toldy (Budapest, Bibliothecae Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae, 1986
- Lukcsics, Pál. *XV. századi pápák oklevelei*, vol. 1, [Fifteenth-century popes’ charters]. A Római Magyar Történeti Intézet kiadványai 1., Olaszországi magyar oklevéltár. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1931.
- Mályusz, Elemér et alii. *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár*. [Charters from the Age of King Sigismund], 13 vols. Edited by Budapest, S. n., 1951–2017.
- Missale secundum morem almae ecclesiae Quinqueecclesiensis*, Venice: Ioannes Paep, 1499. Facsimile edition. [Szekszárd]: Schöck Kft., 2009.

- Nagy, Imre, Iván Nagy, and Dezső Véghely. *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára: Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo*, vol. 4. Budapest: Societatis Histor. Hung., 1878.
- Nagy, Imre. *Anjoukori okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis, VI. (1353–1357)*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága, 1891.
- . *Sopron vármegye története: Oklevéltár*, vol. 1, 1156-1411 [History of Sopron County: Charter repository, vol. 1, 1156-1411]. Sopron: Litfass Károly Könyvnyomdája, 1889.
- Radó Polycarpus and Ladislaus Mezey. *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973.
- T. Szabó Csilla. *Nagyszombati Kódex 1512–1513. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átírata* [Codex of Nagyszombat 1512–1513. Facsimile and transcription of the codex], Régi Magyar Kódexek, 24. Budapest, Argumentum, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2000.
- Volf, György. *Érdy codex* [Érdy Codex]. Nyelvemléktár 4–5. Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Bizottsága, 1876.

Secondary literature

- Bálint, Sándor. *Ünnepi Kalendárium* [Festal Calendar]. 3 vols. Budapest: Mandala Kiadó, 1998.
- Bárczi, Ildikó. “A tematika sokszínűsége Temesvári Pelbárt prédikációiban” [Variegation of topics in the sermons of Pelbartus de Temeswar]. In *Emlékkönyv Temesvári Pelbárt halálának 500. évfordulója alkalmából. 1504–2004*. Edited by Piusz Berhidai and Ilona Kedves. Esztergom: Temesvári P. Ferences Gimnázium, Kollégium és Szakközépiskola, 2006.

- Bartók, Zsófia Ágnes. “Az Érdy-kódex exemplumai” [The examples of Codex Érdy]. PhD dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, 2015.
- . “Az Érdy-kódex célközönsége: Nyelvemlékkódex a nyomtatásos terjesztés küszöbén.” [The Codex Érdy at the gate of the dissemination by printing] In *Szerzetesrendek a veszprémi egyházmegyében: A Veszprémi Érseki Hittudományi Főiskolán 2014. augusztus 27–28-án rendezett konferencia előadásai*. Edited by Balázs Karlinszky. 233–248. Veszprém, Veszprémi Főegyházmegye, 2015.
- Beatie, Bruce A. “Saint Katherine of Alexandria: Traditional Themes and the Development of a Medieval German Hagiographic Narrative” *Speculum* 52 (1977): 785–800.
- Bedy, Vince. *A győri székeskáptalan története* [The history of the medieval chapter of Győr]. Győr: Győregyházmegyei Alap Nyomdája, 1938.
- Békefi, Remig. *A Balaton tudományos tanulmányozásának eredményei*, vol. 3. *A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban* [The Results of the Scientific Studying of Balaton, vol. 3. The Churches and Castles around Balaton in the Middle Ages]. Budapest: Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Balaton-Bizottsága, 1913.
- Bernau, Anke, Ruth Evans and Sarah Salih. Ed. *Medieval Virginites*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2003.
- Bernau, Anke. “A Christian Corpus: Virginity, Violence and Knowledge in the Life of St Katherine of Alexandria.” In *St. Katherine of Alexandria. Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*. Edited by Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis. 109–130. Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2003.
- Berrár, Jolán. *Női neveink 1400-ig* [Our female names until 1400], A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság Kiadványai 80. Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1952.
- Boesch Gajano, Sofia: Santa Dorotea e Pescia. Una martire antica per un nuovo patronato. In: Spicciati, Amleto (szerk.): *Santa Dorotea patrona di Pescia. Atti del Convegno „Santa*

- Dorotea martire, patrona di Pescia*” per il XVII centenario del martirio. 13–24. Pisa: Edizioni ETS 2015.
- Brock, Sebastian P. “Early Syrian Asceticism.” *Numen* 20.1 (1973): 1–19.
- Brown, Peter. *Augustine of Hippo. A Biography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- . *The Body and Society. Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Bruckner, Eva. “Formen der Herrschaftsrepräsentation und Selbstdarstellung habsburgischer Fürsten im Spätmittelalter” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 2009.
- Buran, Dušan. *Studien zur Wandmalerei um 1400 in der Slowakei: Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Leutschau und die Pfarrkirche St. Franziskus Seraphicus in Poniky*. Weimar: VDG, 2002.
- Burrus, Virginia. *The Sex Lives of Saints. An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkely–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1987.
- C. Tóth, Norbert. “A váci székeskáptalan archontológiája 1378–1526 [The Archontology of the Collegiate Chapter of Vác].” *Studia Comitatusia, Új Folyam* 2. Szentendre, 2016. 7–33.
- . “Királynőből királyné: Mária és Zsigmond viszonya a források tükrében” [From queen to the wife of a king: the relationship of Mary and Sigismund] *Acta Historica (Szeged)* 132 (2011): 59–71.
- Cabello, Juan and Péter Németh. “Baktalórántháza, római katolikus templom [Baktalórántháza, Roman Catholic Church].” In *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcsban, Beregben és Kárpátalján*. Edited

- by Tibor Kollár. 74–9. Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2013.
- Carmen Florea, “The Cult of Saints in Medieval Transylvania (14th – 16th centuries).” PhD. Diss. Babeş–Bolyai University, 2013.
- Cazelles, Brigitte. “Introduction.” In *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*. Edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- . *The Lady as Saint. A Collection of French Hagiographic Romances of the Thirteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Clark, Elizabeth A. “Antifamilial Tendencies in Ancient Christianity,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5, No. 3 (1995): 356–80.
- Csapodi, Csaba and Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi. *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt I–III*. [Bibliotheca Hungarica: Codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526]. Budapest: MTA, 1988–1994.
- Cullum, P. H. “Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Later Medieval England.” In *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*. Edited by D. M. Hadley. 178–196. London: Longman, 1999.
- Dahinten, Otto. “Beiträge zur Baugeschichte der Stadt Bistritz.” *Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 50 (1944): 313–452.
- Davies, Stephen J. *The Cult of Saint Thecla. A Tradition of Women’s Piety in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Dresvina, Juliana A *Maid with a Dragon. The Cult of St Margaret of Antioch in Medieval England: Handbook with Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016),
- Duffy, Eamon. “Holy Maydens, Holy Wyfes: The Cult of Women Saints in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century England.” *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990): 175–96.

- Dünninger, Josef. "Sprachliche Zeugnisse über den Kult der Vierzehn Nothelfer im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert." In *Festschrift Matthias Zender: Studien zu Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte*. vol. 1. Edited by Edith Ennen and Günter Wiegmann. 336–46. Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1972.
- Dvořáková, Vlasta, Josef Krása and Karel Stejskal. *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku*. Praha and Bratislava: Odeon and Tatran, 1978.
- Elliott, Dyan. *Proving Woman. Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- . *Spiritual Marriage. Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*. Princeton: University Press, 1993.
- Elliott, J. K. *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. 364–74.
- Elm, Susanna. *The Virgins of God. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Entz, Géza. *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház* [The Cathedral in Gyulafehérvár]. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958.
- . *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században* [Architecture in Transylvania from the fourteenth to sixteenth century]. Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996.
- Fehértói, Katalin. *Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000–1301)* [Personal name repertory of the Árpád age]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004.
- Ferenczi, Ilona Edit. *Poetry of politics : Lorenzo Monaci's Carmen (1387). The Daughter of Louis I, Queen Mary of Hungary in Venetian Eyes*. Berlin: VDM Verlag, 2009.
- G. Tóth, Péter. "A csanádi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő-középkorban (1354–1526) [The Composition of the Collegiate Chapter of Csanád in Late Middle Ages]" Ph.D. diss. University of Szeged, Szeged, 2014.

- Gaylhoffer-Kovács, Gábor. "A baktalórántházi római katolikus templom középkori falképei [The Medieval Frescoes of the Roman Catholic Church of Baktalórántháza]." "Baktalórántháza, római katolikus templom [Baktalórántháza, Roman Catholic Church]." In *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcsban, Beregben és Kárpátalján*. Edited by Tibor Kollár. 80–93. Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2013.
- Gecser, Ottó. "Holy Helpers and the Transformation of Sainly Patronage at the end of the Middle Ages." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 22 (2016): 174–201.
- . "Miracles of the Leper and the Roses. Charity, Chastity and Female Independence in St. Elizabeth of Hungary" *Franciscana Bollettino della Società internazionale di studi francescani* XV. (2013): 149–71.
- . *The Feast and the Pulpit. Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235-ca. 1500*. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2012.
- . "Helper Saints and their Critics in the Long Fifteenth Century," in *Bridging the Historiographical Divides: Religious Transformations in New Communities of Interpretation in Europe (1350-1570)*. Edited by Élise Boillet and Ian Johnson. forthcoming.
- Gerát, Ivan. *Legendary Scenes. An Essay on Medieval Pictorial Hagiography*. Bratislava: Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 2013.
- Gerecze, Péter. *Magyarország műemlékei*. vol. 1. *A Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága Rajztárának jegyzéke* [Monuments of Hungary, vol. 1. The Register of the Drawings of National Committee of Monuments]. Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Császári és Királyi Udvari Könyvnyomdája, 1905.

- Guth, Klaus. “Vierzehnheiligen und die Anfänge der Nothelferverehrung: Anatomie einer Wallfahrtsgenese.” In *Kultur als Lebensform: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, vol. 1, ed. by Elisabeth Roth. 305–24. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1995–2009.
- Györffy, György. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical geography of Árpadian Hungary], 4 vols. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963–1998.
- Házi, Jenő. *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete* [Medieval church history of Sopron]. Sopron: Székely és Társa Nyomda, 1939.
- Heffernan, Thomas J. “Shifting Identities: From a Roman Matron to Matrona Dei in the Passio Sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis” in *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, ed. by Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš. 1–16. Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2010.
- . *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Hokkyné Sallay, Marianne. “A mecseknádasdi Szent István-templom falképei” [The frescoes of the Saint Stephen church of Mecseknádasd]. In *Magyar Műemlékvédelem 1971–1972*. Edited by Dezső Dercsényi, Géza Entz, Pál Havassy and Ferenc Merényi, Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség Kiadványai 7. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974.
- Homza Martin and Stanislav A. Sroka. *Historia Scepusii*. Bratislava: Katedra slovenských dejín UK FiF Bratislava, 2009.
- Hudák, Ján. *Patrocíniá na Slovensku* [Patrocinia in Slovakia]. Bratislava: Umenovedný ústav SAV, 1984.
- Ilkó, Krisztina. “Stredoveké nástenné maľby v kostole v Krušovciach” [Medieval wall paintings in the church of Nyitrakoros]. *Pamiatky a múzeá* 65 no. 2 (2016): 2–8.
- Istituto delle Suore Maestre di Santa Dorotea. *Santa Dorotea nel XVII centenario del suo martirio*. Città del Vaticano: Tipografia Vaticana, 2005.
- Jaczkó, Sándor. “A késő középkori hazai zsinati határozatok ünneplistái” [The lists of feasts of the late medieval Hungarian synods]. In *Arcana tabularii: Tanulmányok Solymosi*

- László tiszteletére*, ed. by Attila Bárány, Gábor Dreska and Kornél Szovák, 223–34. Budapest and Debrecen: s. n., 2014.
- Jankó, Ferenc, József Kücsán and Katalin Szende. *Sopron*. Magyar Várostörténeti Atlasz 1. Sopron: Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára, 2010.
- Jékely, Zsombor. “Painted Chancels in Parish Churches – Aristocratic Patronage in Hungary during the Reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437)” in *Hungary in Context: Studies on Art and Architecture*, ed. by Anna Tüskés, Áron Tóth, Miklós Székely (Budapest: CentrArt, 2013), 41–58.
- . „A tornai plébániatemplom középkori falképeinek restaurálása” http://oroksefigyelo.blog.hu/2015/02/05/a_tornai_plebaniatemplom_kozepkori_falkepeinek_restauralasa. Last modified April 28, 2018. <https://jekely.blogspot.hu/2014/12/restoration-of-wall-paintings-of-torna.html>
- Karlinszky, Balázs: Egy 15. századi veszprémi kápolnaalapítás margójára. A veszprémi Keresztelő Szent János-plébániatemplom Szűz Mária-kápolnája a 15–16. században [Notes about a chapel founding from the fifteenth century, The Virgin Mary Chapel of the John the Baptist Parish Church in Veszprém]” in *Vallásos kultúra és életmód a Kárpát-medencében 10. Konferencia Veszprémben a Laczkó Dezső Múzeum és a Veszprémi Hittudományi Főiskola közös szervezésében 2014. május 20-23*. Edited by Erzsébet Pilipkó and Krisztián Sándor Fogl 64–84. Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 2017.
- Kertész, Balázs. “Two Hungarian Friars Minor in the Late Middle Ages: Pelbart de Temesvár and Oswald de Lasko.” In *Infima Aetas Pannonica. Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*. Edited by Péter E. Kovács and Kornél Szovák. Budapest: Corvina, 2009.

- Kirschbaum, Engelbert and Günter Bandmann. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Roma–Freiburg–Basel–Wien, Herder, 1968–1974.
- Kordé, Zoltán. “Szepességi szászok.” [Saxons of Szepesség] in *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon* [Early Hungarian Historical Lexikon] Edited by Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel and Ferenc Makk. 618–9. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.
- Kosztá, László. “A püspökség alapításától (1009) a 14. század közepéig” [From the foundation of the bishopric of Pécs (1009) to the mid-fourteenth century]. In *Pécs története*, vol. 1, *A püspökség alapításától a török hódoltságig*. Edited by Font Márta. 21–172. Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány – Kronosz Kiadó, 2015.
- Kubinyi, András. “Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdők és ispotályok a késő középkori Magyarországon [Curing, Pharmacist, Bathes and Hospitals in Late Medieval Hungary].” In *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*. 253–68. Edited by András Kubinyi. Budapest, Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1999.
- Lázs, Sándor *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon a XV–XVI. század fordulóján* (Budapest: Balassi, 2016.
- Lewis, Katherine J. *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000.
- Łuzyniecka, Ewa. *Gotyckie świątynie Wrocławia: Kościół Bożego Ciała, Kościół Świętych Wacława, Stanisława i Doroty*. [Gothic churches in Wrocław] Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1999.
- Madas, Edit. “A Karthauzi Névtelen kódexe” in *A Néma Barát megszólal. Válogatás a Karthauzi Névtelen beszédeiből*. Edited by Edit Madas. Budapest: Magyar Hirmondó, 1985.

- . “A Legenda aurea a középkori Magyarországon (Kódexek és ősnymtatványok, kiegészítések, a Legenda aurea mint forrás.” [Legenda Aurea in Medieval Hungary (Codices and Incunabula, Additions, the Legenda Aurea as a Source)] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 108 (1992): 93–9.
- Magyar, Kálmán. “A középkori Segesd város és megye története, régészeti kutatása [The History and Archaeological Study of the Medieval Town and County, Segesd].” *Somogyi Almanach* 45–49. (1988)
- Marosi, Ernő and László Beke. *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül* [Hungarian art around 1300–1470]. vol. 1. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.
- Mező, András. *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Patrocinia in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: METEM, 2003.
- Nagy, Géza Balázs. “1580 előtti adatok az egri püspöki vár történetéhez [Data before 1580 for the History of the Bishopric Castle of Eger].” *Agria* 40. (2004): 163–88.
- Potuckova, Kristina. “Virginité, Sanctity, and Image: The Virgines Capitaes in Upper Hungarian Altarpieces of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.” MA Thesis, Central European University, 2007.
- Prokopp, Mária and Gábor Méry. *Középkori falképek a Szepességben*. [Medieval Mural Paintings in Szepesség] Samorín: Méry Ratio, 2009.
- Radó, Polycarpus and Ladislaus Mezey. *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973.
- Radocsay, Dénes. *A középkori Magyarország falképei* [Mural paintings of medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954.
- . *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai*, [Wood statues of Mediaeval Hungary] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967.

- . *A középkori magyarország táblaképei*. [Panel Paintings of Mediaeval Hungary] Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955.
- . *Falképek a középkori Magyarországon* [Mural paintings in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1977.
- Reames, Sherry L., *Legenda Aurea. A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
- Romhányi, Beatrix. “Ágostonrendi remeték a középkori Magyarországon [Augustinian hermits in medieval Hungary].” *Aetas Történettudományi folyóirat* 20, no. 4 (2005): 91–101.
- Rozsondai Marianne. “Temesvári Pelbárt népszerűsége Európában” [Pelbart de Temeswar’s popularity in Europe] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 100 (1984): 300–319.
- S. n. *A szatmári püspöki egyházmegye emlékkönyve fennállásának századik esztendejében (Schematismus Centenarius) 1804–1904* [The Memorial Book of the Bishopric Diocese of Szatmár for the Hundredth Anniversary]. Szatmár: Pázmány Sajtó, 1904.
- Sahner, Christian: Old martyrs, new martyrs and the coming of Islam: writing hagiography after the conquest. In *Cultures in Motion: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*. Edited by Adam Izdebski and Damian Jasiński. 89–112. Cracow: Jagellonian University Press, 2014.
- Sarkadi Nagy, Emese *Local Workshops – Foreign Connections. Late Medieval Altarpieces from Transylvania*. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2011.
- Schachner, Heinrich. “Das Dorotheaspiel.” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 35 (1903): 157–96.
- Schmidt, Leopold. *Das deutsche Volksschauspiel*. Berlin: Schmidt, 1962.
- Shaw, Brent D. “The Passion of Perpetua” *Past & Present* 139. (1993): 3–45.
- Slíz, Mariann. “Névtörténet, genealógia és mikrotörténelem” [Name history, genealogy and microhistory]. *Helynévtörténeti Tanulmányok* 9 (2013): 139–152.

- . *Anjou-kori személynévtár (1301–1342)* [Personal name repository of the Angevin Age], Budapest Históriaantik Könyvesház, 2011.
- Sobeczko, Helmut Jan. *Liturgia Katedry Wrocławskiej według przedtrydenckiego Liber Ordinarius z 1563 roku*. [The liturgy of the Cathedral of Wrocław according to the Liber Ordinarius from 1563] Opole: Wydawnictwo Św. Krzyża, 1993.
- Solymosi, László. “Az egri káptalan dékánválasztási statútumai a XV. századból” [The statutes of the election of decans of the chapter of Eger from the fifteenth century]. *Levéltári Közlemények*, 63, no. 1–2 (1992): 137–56.
- . “Az esztergomi egyházmegye legrégebbi ünneplajstroma (Szent Adalbert, Szórád-András és Benedek tisztelete az erdélyi szászoknál)” [The oldest list of feasts from the diocese of Esztergom (the veneration of Saint Adalbert, Zoerard-Andrew and Benedict among Saxons)]. In *R. Várkonyi Ágnes Emlékkönyv: Születésének 70. évfordulója ünnepére*, ed. Péter Tusor, Zoltán Rihmer and Gábor Thoroczkay, 88–95. Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1998.
- Spilka, Lőrinc. *Jászó története 1243-tól 1552-ig* [The history of Jászó from 1243 to 1552]. Gödöllő: s. n., 1943.
- Sroka, Stanisław. “Egy lengyel származású főpap a 14. századi Magyarországon: Boleszló esztergomi érsek (1321– 1328)” [A prelate of Polish origin in fourteenth-century Hungary: Boleslaw, archbishop of Esztergom]. *Aetas* (1994): 89–101.
- Süttő, Szilárd. “A húsvéti Exsurge-vasárnaptól a visegrádi székesegyházig (Eberhard Windecke magyarra fordítva az 1384– 86-os évek magyarországi eseményeiről) [From Exsurge Sunday to the cathedral of Visegrád (Mistranslations in the Hungarian translation of Eberhard Windecke about the Hungarian events of the years between 1384 and 1386)]” *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* XVI/4 (2015): 72–80.

- . “A II. (Kis) Károly elleni merénylet 1386. február 7-én [The assassination attempt against Charles the Short on February 7, 1386]” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 113 (2000) No. 2. 379–94.
- . “A veszprémvölgyi apácák két búcsúengedélye 1386-ból (Adalék a búcsúk 14. század végi magyarországi történetéhez)” [Two permission for indulgence to the nuns of Veszprémvölgy from 1386 (Notes for the history of the indulgences in Hungary at the end of fourteenth century)]. *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 1 (2000): 142–48.
- . *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya. Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384–1387. évi belviszályok okmánytárával* [Twilight of the Angevin Hungary. The Political History of Hungary from Louis the Great to Sigimund, with the Repertory of the Internal Conflicts of the Years Between 1384 and 1387]. Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2003.
- Szende, Katalin and Judit Majorosy. “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary.” In *Europaeisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Hospitals and Institutional Care in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband; 51. Martin Scheutz, Andrea Sommerlechner, Weigl, Herwig, Weiß, Alfred Stefan. 409–54. München; Wien: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008.
- Szende, László. “Piaśt Erzsébet és udvara, 1320–1380” [Elizabeth of Piaśt and her court]. Ph.D. dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, 2007.
- Takács Imre et al., ed., *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Art et culture au temps de Sigismond de Luxembourg, 1387–1437* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 377–8. (Etele Kiss),

- Togner, Milan and Vladimír Plekanec, *Medieval wall paintings in Spiš* (Bratislava: Arte Libris, 2012), 151.
- Tracey R. Sands, *The Company She Keeps. The Medieval Swedish Cult of Saint Katherine of Alexandria and its Transformations*. Tempe, ACMRS, 2010.
- Tracy, Larissa. "The Middle English "Life of Saint Dorothy" in Trinity College, Dublin Ms 319: Origins, Parallels, and Its Relationship to Osbern Bokeham's "Legendys of Hooly Wummen"" *Traditio*, Vol. 62 (2007), 259–84.
- . *Torture and Brutality in Medieval Literature: Negotiations of National Identity* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 31–69.
- Uhrin, Dorottya "Antiochiai Szent Margit legkorábbi magyarországi kultusza: Álmos herceg egyházalapításai és a Szent Margit-szakramentárium [The Earliest Cult of Saint Margaret of Antioch: the Church Foundations of Duke Álmos and the Saint Margaret Sacramentary]" *Magyar Könyvszemle* 133 (2017) 13–31.
- Vargha, Damján. *Codexeink legendái és a Catalogus Sanctorum*. [Our codices and the Catalogus Sanctorum] Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1923.
- Vauchez, André. "Saints admirables et saints imitables: les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge?" In *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (IIIe-XIIIe siècle): Actes du colloque de Rome (27-29 octobre 1988)*. 161–72. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991.
- . *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Weed, Stanley E. "Venerating the Virgin Martyrs: The Cult of the Virgines Captales in Art, Literature, and Popular Piety." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 41 (2010): 1065–1091.
- Wertner, Mór. "I. Miklós pécsi püspök családi viszonyai" [Family relations of Nicholas I, bishop of Pécs]. *Turul: A Magyar Heraldikai és Genealogiai Társaság Közlönye* 1 (1911): 33–35.

- Wetter, Evelin. *Objekt, Überlieferung und Narrativ: spätmittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst im historischen Königreich Ungarn*, Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2011.
- Winstead, Karen A. "Changing Patterns of Conflict in Middle English Virgin Martyr Legends." *Medieval Perspectives* 4/5 (1990/1989): 229–38.
- . *Virgin Martyrs: Legends of Sainthood in Late Medieval England*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Wolf, Kirsten. *The Icelandic legend of Saint Dorothy*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997.
- Zalewska-Lorkiewicz, Katarzyna. *Kościół św. Doroty, Stanisława i Wacława*. [The monastery of Saint Dorothy, Stanislaus and Wenceslas] Wrocław: Studio "Sense II", 1999.
- Zsoldos, Attila. "Szepes megye kialakulása." [The Origins of Szepes County] *Történelmi Szemle* 43 (2001): 19–31.

Appendices

Table

Table: Chapels and churches dedicated to Saint Dorothy

Place	Type	Co-patron(s)	Date of foundation	First mention	Founder
Sopron*	Chapel	No	?	1354	Herric, parish priest of Sopron
Asszonyfalva	Chapel	No	1377	1377	Nicholas of Volfy
Jászó	Chapel	No	?	1397	?
Csepreg	Chapel in a hospitle	Saint Katherine	1399	1399	
Alcnó	Church	No	?	1398	?
Gyulafehérvár	Chapel	No	?	1411	?
Nagyszeben	Chapel	Virgin Mary and thirteen saints	?	1448	?

Segesvár?	?	?	?	?	?
Csanád	Chapel in a hospital	Saints Elizabeth and Katherine	first third of the fifteenth century	1419	Ladislav, the bishop of Nándorfehérvár
Szkalka	Chapel	No	?	1520	?

Illustrations



Fig. 2.1

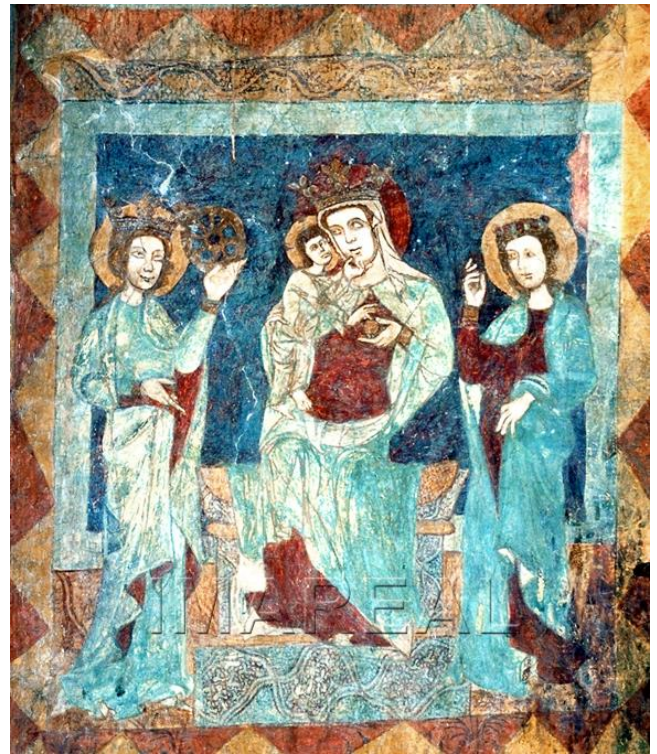


Fig. 3.1



Fig. 3.2.



Fig. 4.1.



Fig. 4.2.



Fig. 4.3.



Fig. 4.4.



Fig. 4.5