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**PRAYERS ON THE PASSION IN LATE MEDIEVAL
HUNGARIAN-LANGUAGE
CODICES: FUNCTIONS AND CONTEXT**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

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by

Ágnes Korondi

(Romania)

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.

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I, the undersigned, **Ágnes Korondi**, 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, 16 May 2012

Signature

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1. Introduction

A couple of years after the death of King Matthias Corvinus, sometime between 1492 and 1494, the Pauline fathers in the monastery of Nagyvázsony prepared a beautiful manuscript for the wife of their noble patron and the founder of their monastery, Pál Kinizsi (1431?-1494), a former general of Matthias and a legendary warrior in the anti-Turkish wars. The lady, Benigna Magyar (c.1465?-1526) was the daughter and heiress of Kinizsi's stepfather, Balázs Magyar (?-1490), another renowned general of Hunyadi. The gift, an expensive parchment codex written in Hungarian was a book of hours with several illuminations, among them the coats of arms of husband and wife (see Figure 1 in the Appendix). Whether it was the usual practice to compile devotional works for aristocratic patrons in this Pauline community (some other manuscripts copied by them may suggest this¹) as elsewhere in Europe, or whether the book was commissioned by the lady herself as an object for representational purposes or out of piety, is unknown. Some might call Benigna Magyar's piety into question since later she was convicted for arranging the murder of her ill-reputed and probably philandering third husband. Her life was spared only out of consideration for her father and first husband.² Be that as it may, she was a gracious patroness to the monastery of Nagyvázsony until her goods were confiscated as a result of the trial. The Pauline brothers made her another prayer book in 1513.

One may wonder in what manner and for what purpose such a rich and influential noble woman was praying. Her actual practice of prayer is impossible to find out from her books since her contribution to the selection of the texts is unknown. What

¹ See Cyrill Horváth, "Világiak régi magyar imádságos könyvei" [Hungarian prayer books for lay people], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 5, no. 3 (1895): 257-281.

these texts do reveal, however, is how the monks preparing the manuscripts thought about the devotional habits and needs of their patroness.

The first prayer book, named after its nineteenth century owner *Festetics-kódex*,³ contains *The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, one of the usual components in books of hours, the introduction of the Gospel of John, the seven penitential psalms in Petrarch's rewriting, and some private prayers addressed to Mary. The second manuscript, the *Czech-kódex*,⁴ copied by a Brother M., repeats some pieces from the earlier book. In addition it contains the summer vespers from the Saturday Office of the Virgin and several new prayers. The first group consists of texts centered on the passion of Christ, which were highly popular in the Late Middle Ages. Among these the first two are the cycle attributed to Saint Bridget of Sweden and the *Rhythmica oratio ad unum quodlibet membrorum Christi patientis et a cruce pendentis* circulated under the name of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. The liturgical elements (psalms, hymns, antiphons, responsories of the *Little Office*) in the two collections do not formulate personalized demands, but the private prayers addressed to the suffering Savior or to the Virgin reveal more about the devotee's fears and wishes as seen by the compilers of the book. One of the texts of the *Festetics-kódex* was said for the recovery of the gravely ill Pál Kinizsi. Others ask sincere repentance, the love of God, the remission of the lady's sins, or a good death.

Benigna Magyar's two books were not the only Hungarian-language prayer books copied in this period. Other manuscripts were compiled for the use of Mendicant

² The royal pardon issued by Louis II on April 4, 1520 was published in Gábor Döbrentei, ed., *Régi Magyar Nyelvmélekek 2: Kinizsi Pálné Magyar Benigna imádságoskönyve 1513* (Buda: Magyar Tudós Társaság, 1840), VII.

³ At present preserved in the National Széchényi Library under the shelfmark MNY 73; critical edition: *Festetics-kódex: 1494 előtt*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 20, ed. Csilla N. Abaffy (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1996). Digital version: <http://nyelvmélekek.oszk.hu/sites/nyelvmélekek.oszk.hu/files/festetics.pdf> (accessed on May 1, 2012).

nuns or different lay persons from the last decade of the fifteenth to the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. Most of them have several prayers focusing on the suffering of Christ.

1.1. Sources and approach to studying passion prayers

My thesis is going to discuss the functions and context of late medieval Hungarian prayers referring to the passion of Christ, a popular devotional topic of the Late Middle Ages. I shall contextualize these texts, copied into books of prayer or miscellaneous devotional manuscripts, by analyzing, first, the textual tradition and literary practices behind the prayers (books of hours; the wide range of passion meditations; sermons; respectively, medieval writing and translation techniques), second, the spiritual tradition behind them (the passion mystique; the influence of the *devotio moderna*), and third, the immediate artistic context (images, sculptures, etc.). My aim is to discover what practical and spiritual purposes these prayers fulfilled, what kind of protection they offered and where their power originated from. My sources are approximately fifteen late medieval Hungarian-language codices published in the *Nyelvemléktár*, *Codices Hungarici*, and *Régi Magyar Kódexek* series, Latin books of hours,⁵ sermons and meditations on the suffering of Christ, and fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Hungarian and Central European book illuminations, woodcuts, frescoes, altarpieces, sculptures, and crucifixes representing passion-related topics.

The methods I will apply are adapted to the character of my sources. First of all, in order to understand the functioning of the separate prayers, one must look at the codices they were included in. The codices in which the prayers can be found were

⁴ Preserved in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences under the shelfmark K42; critical edition: *Czech-kódex: 1513*, *Régi Magyar Kódexek*, 4, ed. Csilla N. Abaffy, intro. Csilla N. Abaffy and Csaba Csapodi (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1990).

⁵ Mainly Nicolaus Salicetus' *Antidotarius animae* and the *Hortulus animae* collections.

copied in different scriptoria, usually by several scribes. Some of them revealed their name and profession on the pages of the manuscript they produced. In some cases the name of the intended owner or commissioner is also known. The volumes are of different dimensions, they may or may not be illuminated, and they may have marginalia, drolleries, or later additions. All this data needs to be considered in order to draw valid conclusions regarding the function of the books and the texts contained in them. These codicological considerations will serve both as a starting point for the textual analysis and as a suitable way for checking the validity of the later results.

The prayers will be submitted to a series of comparative textual analyses. Several of them were copied into more than one codex usually in different versions, which need to be compared. Apart from the Hungarian variants, I will also consider the Latin redactions, sources. This comparison will be carried out in the spirit of New Philology.⁶ I am not interested in the “best” textual variant or the possible relationship between the versions, but rather in the communities and prospective users who were behind the birth of a new redaction. The textual differences, especially in the introductory rubrics and the closing requests, can reveal the objective the praying person meant to achieve by reciting the text. An often modified element of the prayers are the references to the person of the devotee turning to the suffering Christ. The gender or even the name of the intended or actual users can be thus discovered, as well as the praying practices of the communities the texts circulated in. The validity of the observations made related to the latter issue can be verified by comparing the results of this textual analysis with the normative and theoretical texts regulating or offering

⁶ Trend in the study of philology which breaks with the nineteenth-century positivist ideal of reconstructing the “original” text focusing rather on the study of manuscript variation. For more detail see the various articles in *Speculum* 65 (1990).

advice about devotional activities. Apart from the *artes orandi*,⁷ which focus on the textual, rhetorical elements of the prayers, some treatises or *regulae* elaborate on the necessary preparations, the optimal state of mind for, and the content of prayer.⁸ Comparing the Latin and Hungarian variants, it is possible to make some remarks on the literary practices of the translators and scribes who produced these texts. These statements should be compared to the views widely accepted in scholarship about these issues.

As a next step I am going to outline the textual (and spiritual) tradition surrounding the prayers. To this end I am going to perform a comparative narratological analysis of several selected prayers and some of the popular passion narratives of the age (e.g., *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini* or the passion sermon of the *Wesprémi codex*⁹). By this I will be able to point out which elements of the passion narratives were considered the most important for the compilers of prayers and whether there was some connection between the selected narrative parts and the formulated requests.

The next step will be to check the visual context of the passion prayers. The topic of the passion had a powerful imagery which was interwoven with the textual and spiritual tradition. The visual material was determined by the narrative texts (gospels, apocrypha, meditations); the pictorial representations of Christ's suffering may have served as sources of inspiration for later texts. Devotional images were often parts of the practice of prayer. The books of hours popularized certain image types connected to

⁷ See Barbara H. Jaye, "Artes Orandi," in Marianne G. Briscoe and Barbara H. Jaye, *Artes Praedicandi and Artes Orandi*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, 61 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 79–117.

⁸ Such texts can be found even in some of the Hungarian codices. E.g., in *Vitkovics-kódex* the chapter on prayer is translated from Bonaventure's *Regula novitiorum*. *Vitkovics-kódex: 1525*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 12, ed. Zsuzsanna Papp, intro. István Pusztai (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 1991), 1–23.

certain texts.¹⁰ Several of the prayers to be analyzed contain the advice that the prayer should be said before the crucifix, the image of Mary or Christ. Therefore, one can deduce and discuss the role of the visual element in the devotional practice related to the texts. In my thesis I use sources originating from late medieval Hungary and Central Europe, because these, or similar works, must have formed the immediate artistic environment of the Hungarian codex users.

Considering all these aspects, carrying out all these analyses, I am going to formulate some statements with respect to the mentality of the devotees projected in the prayers. By grouping the most important requests, needs, and fears formulated in texts and revealed during the analytic process, I will try to sketch the general outlines of the persons in whose lives the prayers on the passion must have played an important role.

1.2. Late medieval Hungarian prayer books and the birth of vernacular literature

The prayer books which will be analyzed here belong to a corpus of vernacular texts known in Hungarian literary history as the “late medieval monastic literature,” the first large group of codices written in Hungarian. The approximately forty-five¹¹ surviving manuscripts are probably only a small part of the entire body of vernacular books prepared in late medieval Hungary. War, pillage, as well as the dissolution of many monasteries during the Reformation led to the destruction of a significant portion of the written records. Scholars researching the remaining material assume that several

⁹ *Weszprémi-kódex: A XVI. század első negyede*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 8, ed. István Pusztai (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1988), 1-113. (As it is usual in the literature, when referring to the codex text, I give the *pagina* numbers of the manuscript and not the page numbers of the critical edition.)

¹⁰ For example the prayer of “The Seven Os” was connected to the representation of the Mass of Saint Gregory or to the Man of Sorrows image type.

¹¹ Some manuscripts have fallen apart or have been divided into smaller units. The resulting parts are sometimes counted as different codices.

hundred Hungarian-language codices could have existed during the Late Middle Ages.

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According to János Horváth, whose literary history, though rather old, contains the best general discussion of the corpus, most of them were the result of the monastic reform movements that took place in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. As other factors contributing to the process he mentions the development of the Hungarian language and the spread of literacy in Hungarian society, as well as the availability of inexpensive printed books in Latin.¹³ Elemér Mályusz contests Horváth's position, arguing that the flourishing of this vernacular literature was not a direct consequence of monastic reforms. He thinks that, important as they were, the rise of a new spirituality propagating a personalized religiosity was far more decisive. The more personal spirituality detectable in the manuscripts copied after 1500 compared to the few originating from earlier decades, closer to the reforms, reflects such a change. Instead of translations of liturgical texts, parts of the breviary popular in the fifteenth century, the bulk of the sixteenth-century collections consisted of legends, parables, sermons, meditations, and treatises urging a devout life and a personal connection with God through the humanity of Christ.¹⁴

The difference in content between the two prayer books made for Benigna Magyar mentioned in the introduction may support Mályusz's argument. The *Czech-kódex* contains many more private prayers than its sister manuscript copied twenty years earlier. The compilers of most of the other prayer books prepared after the turn of the century also preferred texts formulating personalized requests to parts of the *The*

¹² Edit Madas, ed., "*Látjátok feleim...*": *Magyar nyelvemlékek a kezdetektől a 16. század elejéig* ["Do you see my brethren...": Relics of the Hungarian Language from the beginnings to the early sixteenth century] [Exhibition catalogue] (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009), 10.

¹³ János Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* [The beginnings of Hungarian literary culture from Saint Stephen to Mohács] (Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1931), 111-125.

Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Nevertheless, the existence of several psalm translations, among them three complete Hungarian psalters (*Keszthelyi-kódex*,¹⁵ *Kulcsár-kódex*,¹⁶ *Döbrentei-kódex*¹⁷) points to the continued popularity of liturgical spirituality. Sándor Lázs's study comparing the readings of the Dominican nuns on Saint Margaret Island, Hungary, to the library of the reformed Saint Catherine Nunnery in Nuremberg offers additional arguments for the major impact of the reform on the development of up-to-date vernacular literature.¹⁸

The exact role of the monastic reforms of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century in triggering the increase in the number of vernacular texts may be debated, but that the spirit of reform in general influenced the texts cannot be denied. The new spirituality perceivable in the Hungarian codices raises the question of the influence of the *devotio moderna*. This movement, which started in the Netherlands in the fourteenth century, propagated a practical spirituality accessible to both lay people and ordained persons centered on reading the Bible, meditation on the passion, and the imitation of Christ.¹⁹ László Mezey has argued that the movement had an impact in Central Europe.

²⁰ Although his view on the Modern Devotion is rather outdated (he considers it a product of crisis), the literary evidence he brings is worth taking into consideration.

¹⁴ Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Clerical society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 299–304.

¹⁵ *Keszthelyi-kódex: 1522*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 30, ed. Lea Haader (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 2006).

¹⁶ *Kulcsár-kódex: 1539*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 23, ed. Lea Haader and Zsuzsanna Papp (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 1999).

¹⁷ *Döbrentei-kódex: 1508*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 19, ed. Csilla Abaffy and Csilla T. Szabó (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1995).

¹⁸ Sándor Lázs, “A Nyulak szigeti domonkos apácák olvasmányainak korszerűsége” [The modernity of the readings of the Dominican nuns on Rabbits’ Island], in “*Látjátok feleim...*”: *Magyar nyelvemlékek a kezdetektől a 16. század elejéig* (Exhibition catalogue), ed. Edit Madas (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009), 123–139.

¹⁹ On *devotio moderna* in the Netherlands see: Susanne Krauß, *Die Devotio moderna in Deventer: Anatomie eines Zentrums der Reformbewegung* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007) and John van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

Elemér Mályusz demonstrated the presence of *devotio moderna* ideals within the order of the Pauline Hermits, mainly in the works of Gergely Gyöngyösi, an early sixteenth-century vicar general.²¹ Nevertheless, Mályusz did not want to describe the similarities in the spirituality of the Hungarian order and the Western movement in terms of influence. He rather spoke of similar results deriving from different historical, cultural, and devotional developments recognized and exploited by the Pauline author.²² Later, Andor Tarnai pointed out that the Pauline author borrowed long passages from Thomas à Kempis, a major author of the movement in the Netherlands, in his biographies of the Pauline vicar generals.²³ The literary influence of this reform movement in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Hungary, including the Hungarian-language codices, cannot be denied. Nevertheless, its impact was restricted to monasteries and no lay communities were created as happened in the Low Countries.

In addition to the different social backgrounds in the two regions, the vernacular literature created in late medieval Hungary lacks the most characteristic genre of the Modern Devotion, the *rapiarium*.²⁴ Such personal collections of edifying passages or spiritual diaries do not exist in the Hungarian material. These codices were copied mostly for the use of nuns. They contain rules, treatises on a good life, on death, on virtues and vices, collections of sermons and legends to be read for the community aloud or in private, as well as meditations, prayers, hymns, and biblical passages, mainly for private use. A few codices, containing mainly prayers, were prepared for lay persons. The scribes did not write the text for themselves; they worked for their

²⁰ László Mezey, “A Devotio Moderna a dunai országokban (Csehország, Ausztria, Magyarország)” [The *devotio moderna* in the Danubian Countries (Bohemia, Austria, Hungary)], *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* 5 (1970): 223–237.

²¹ Elemér Mályusz, “A pálosrend a középkor végén” [The Pauline Order at the End of the Middle Ages], *Egyháztörténet* 3(1945): 1–53.

²² Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 262–274.

²³ Andor Tarnai, “A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik:” *Irodalmi gondolkodás a középkori Magyarországon* [“The Hungarian language starts to be written:” Literary thinking in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 113–114, 130–137.

community (as did Sisters Lea Ráskai and Márta Sövényházi in the Dominican cloister on Saint Margaret Island), for a lay patron (as did Brother M. in Nagyvázsony), or for a family member (as did Brother András Nyújtódi, who translated the Book of Judith for his sister).²⁵

In this *corpus* the most personalized texts are the prayers. They may contain references to the intended users (name, sex, occupation, family). Some of them give the opportunity of introducing a personal request orally, others have unique functions. In order to investigate these functions, a general overview of their textual and artistic context is required. This will be offered in the next two chapters. Chapter two discusses generic issues (prayer as a genre and prayer books as a manuscript type); chapter three will focus on the theme selected for investigation, the passion of Christ as narrated in Latin and Hungarian meditations and sermons and in visual arts. Against this background chapter four analyzes the use and function of Hungarian passion prayers addressing the issues of translation and narrative techniques, authority, the role of images, and the main role of these texts in securing a good death and admittance to heaven for their users. By doing so I wish to demonstrate something I realized several years ago when my fascination with the Hungarian-language codices began: seeing these texts merely as “relics of the Hungarian language” cuts them off from a most intriguing web of cultural relations, their original and true mode of being.

²⁴ On *rapiaria* see van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers*, 278-281.

²⁵ Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség*, 138-144. Lea Haader, “Arcképtöredékek ómagyar scriptorokról” [Fragmentary portraits on old Hungarian scribes], in “*Látjátok feleim...*”: *Magyar nyelvemlékek a kezdetektől a 16. század elejéig* (Exhibition catalogue), ed. Edit Madas (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2009), 53-78.

2. Prayers and Prayer Books in the Late Middle Ages

2.1. Research on medieval prayers and prayer books

Before embarking on a discussion of prayer as a genre and of the prayer book as a manuscript type, I am going to present briefly the scholarly works I rely on in my further statements regarding these specific topics. The collection of studies entitled *La Prière en Latin de l'antiquité au XVI^e siècle: Formes, évolutions, significations*, edited by Jean François Cottier,²⁶ offers a good overview of the history and evolution of Latin prayers, from the pagan Etruscan and Roman *precationes* to the private devotions of the sixteenth century. The theoretical remarks of Patrick Henriët (a French scholar who published several works on medieval prayers²⁷) formulated in the first of the two studies he published in this volume²⁸ have been especially inspiring. He emphasizes the importance of the social embeddedness of prayers and the need for contextualization in research. Deconstructing the opposition of pure, disinterested prayer and functional prayer (“prière pure” and “prière pour”), he warns about the danger of using such binary descriptive categories. Michel Lauwers’ approach to the social functions of medieval prayers,²⁹ as well as of the two studies on their efficacy,³⁰ is closely similar to mine.

²⁶ Jean François Cottier, *La Prière en Latin de l'antiquité au XVI^e siècle: Formes, évolutions, significations* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

²⁷ See also: Patrick Henriët, *La Parole et la prière au Moyen Âge: Le Verbe efficace dans l'hagiographie monastique des XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Brussel: De Boeck Université, 2000).

²⁸ Patrick Henriët, “Prière, expérience et fonction au Moyen Âge: Remarques Introductives,” in Cottier, *La Prière en Latin*, 197-207.

²⁹ Michel Lauwers, “La prière comme fonction sociale dans l'Occident médiévale (V^e-XIII^e siècle),” *ibid.*, 209-227.

³⁰ Patrick Henriët, “*Invocation sanctificationum nominum*: Efficacité de la prière et société chrétienne (IX^e-XII^e siècle),” *ibid.*, 229-244; Piroška Nagy, “Au-delà du Verbe. L'efficacité de la prière individuelle au Moyen Âge entre âme et corps,” *ibid.*, 441-471.

The collection of texts introduced and annotated by Nicole Bériou, Jacques Berlioz, and Jean Longère offers a good insight not only into the history of prayer texts and practices, but also into the theoretical texts on praying written by theologians and devotional authors.³¹ Such theoretical treatises are discussed by Barbara Jay's introduction to the *ars orandi* as a genre.³² Her book, published in the *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* series, outlines some new tasks for further research and offers an extensive bibliography to the topic as well.

André Wilmart's³³ and Jean François Cottier's books³⁴ contain important philological results related to the *opera* of Saint Anselm, whose collection entitled *Meditationes et orationes* was a turning point in the history of private prayers. These devotional writings were the model of several pseudo-Anselm texts. The attributions were sorted out from among Anselm's authentic works by Wilmart and commented on extensively by Cottier in the context of the eleventh-century religious reforms. The attribution of devotional texts to famous spiritual authors was a common practice in the field of devotional literature, as I will show in chapter four, below. Anselm's role in the development of Christian meditations and private prayers was also addressed by Benedicta Ward, who pointed out the similarities between the spirituality of the English theologian and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux.³⁵

Another important moment in the history of private prayers was the emergence of the book of hours as a popular type and its development from its liturgical origins

³¹ Nicole Bériou, Jacques Berlioz, and Jean Longère, ed. *Prier au Moyen Age: Pratiques et expériences (V^e-XV^e siècles)*, intro. Nicole Bériou (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991),

³² Jaye, "Artes Orandi."

³³ André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Age latin* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1971).

³⁴ Jean François Cottier, "*Anima mea*": *Prière privées et textes de devotion du Moyen Age latin: Autour des prières ou méditations attribuées à saint Anselme de Cantorbéry (XI^e-XII^e siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

³⁵ Benedicta Ward, "The Place of St Anselm in the Development of Christian Prayer," in *Signs and Wonders: Saints, Miracles and Prayers from the 4th Century to the 14th* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992), XVI (72-81).

towards a collection of private prayers. Paul Saenger's study discusses these collections and the praying practices they favored related to the spread of silent reading in the fourteenth and fifteenth century.³⁶ The approach encountered in Eamon Duffy's richly illustrated volume on the English book of hours, although not completely applicable to the much less numerous Hungarian material, offers a perspective on these manuscripts which I have found useful for my discussion.³⁷ Duffy argues that these devotional collections were highly individualized and he presents several cases when the owners of such prayer books added some personal element to their copies. The inclusion of names in the case of defensive prayers, additional texts or images, personal data, notes on memorable historical events, or pious remarks offer insight into the usage of the collections as well as a rich source for social historical research.³⁸

Many of the prayers included in the Hungarian codices which I study promise miraculous effects and a few of them were meant to be used as amulets. Therefore, when analyzing their functions I have utilized Edina Bozóky's introduction to the study of protective charms and prayers³⁹ as well as Don C. Skemer's book, which examines the ritual practice of textual amulets in the Western world in the Middle Ages.⁴⁰

The research on medieval Hungarian prayers is not very extensive. They were mainly subjected to philological investigations in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Leading literary scholars of the era looked for the sources and interrelations of the Hungarian prayer texts and evaluated their literary merits. Apart from János Horváth, who discusses them in his literary history, grouping

³⁶ Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989), 141-173.

³⁷ Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

³⁸ For the discussion of these aspects see especially: Ibid., 23-52.

³⁹ Edina Bozóky, *Charmes et prière apotropaïques*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 86 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

them according their function,⁴¹ Áron Szilády,⁴² Lajos Katona,⁴³ Kálmán Timár,⁴⁴ and Flóris Szabó⁴⁵ identified the Latin sources of most of the prayers copied into the Hungarian codices. Saint Bridget's prayer, copied into eight codices, was subjected to comparative philological analyses first by József Gy. Bárdos,⁴⁶ than by Sándor Lázsz.⁴⁷ The latter has recently published several other articles on some of the Hungarian-language prayer collections.⁴⁸ The article he co-authored with Gábor Bolonyai on the amulet texts of the *Peer-kódex* was especially useful for me in the analysis of prayer functions.⁴⁹ The catalogue of the exhibition presenting Hungarian linguistic relics organized by the National Széchényi Library in 2009-2010 must also be mentioned as a recent general handbook on the codex literature, since it contains a series of scholarly studies besides descriptions of the manuscripts.⁵⁰ Last but not least, the introductions to volumes in the *Régi Magyar Kódexek* series must be mentioned. These studies accompanying the facsimile and transliterated texts of the Hungarian-language codices

⁴⁰ Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

⁴¹ Horváth, *A magyar irodalmi műveltség*, 164-170.

⁴² [Áron Szilády,] "Codexeink forrásai" [The sources of our codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 6 (1896): 199-203, 377-379, 498-500.

⁴³ Lajos Katona, "Újabb adalékok codexeink forrásaihoz" [New data on the sources of our codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 16 (1906): 105-120, 190-201, 332-347.

⁴⁴ Kálmán Timár, "Adalékok kódexeink forrásaihoz" [Additional data on the sources of our codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 36, no. 1, 2, 3 (1926): 42-53, 169-184, 264-270. Kálmán Timár, "A Lázár-kódex forrásai" [The sources of the *Lázár-kódex*], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 41, no. 3 (1931): 277-284, 42, no. 1 (1932): 32-40.

⁴⁵ Flóris Szabó, "A hóraskönyvek hatása kódexirodalmunkra" [The influence of the books of hours on our codices], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 71, no. 2 (1967): 163-167.

⁴⁶ József Gy. Bárdos, *Szent Brigitta tizenöt imádsága codexeinkben* [Saint Bridget's fifteen prayers in our codices] (Budapest, 1903).

⁴⁷ Sándor Lázsz, *Szent Brigitta tizenöt imájának magyar fordítása és átdolgozása egy XVI. századi kódexcsoporthoz: Szöveggyűjtemény és közép-kori magyar nyelvű kódexeinkben* [The Hungarian translation and adaptation of St. Bridget's fifteen prayers in a group of sixteenth century codices: Passing on texts in the medieval Hungarian language codices], Academic Doctoral dissertation (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1991).

⁴⁸ Sándor Lázsz, "A Gyöngyösi Kódex írói és műveltségük" [The writers of the *Gyöngyösi Kódex* and their culture], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 111, no. 4-5 (2007): 421-457; Sándor Lázsz, "A Pozsonyi kódex írói és műveltségük" [The writers of the *Pozsonyi kódex* and their culture], *Századok* 143 (2009): 467-486.

⁴⁹ Sándor Lázsz and Gábor Bolonyai, "Antik varázslás elemei a Peer-kódex amulett-szövegeiben" [Elements of antique magic in the amulet texts of the *Peer-kódex*], *Vallástudományi Szemle* 4, no. 2 (2008): 129-148.

⁵⁰ Madas, ed., "Látjátok feleim..."

not only summarize the previous research on the given manuscript, but often contain new results as well.⁵¹ Besides literary historical data, they offer detailed codicological, paleographic, and linguistic information.

2.2. *Passion prayer: Towards a working definition*

To give a concise definition of passion prayers is a good starting point in a discussion of the late medieval Hungarian prayers and prayer books. This is not an easy task, even if one has a more or less well-defined notion about what the word “prayer” means: an act of communication with the transcendent, in a Christian context, with God. However, trying to give some particular features, one gets enmeshed in a rather long series of binary attributes. Prayer can be: verbal or mental, oral or written, private or communal, liturgical or personal, silent or said aloud. As referred to in the previous subchapter, Patrick Henriët warned against the dangers of such oppositions.⁵²

The problems posed by these categories become evident as soon as one tries to apply them to particular prayers; in the present case to the passion prayers in Hungarian codices. At first glance these seem to be definitely verbal. Nevertheless, most of the texts were meant to produce emotions and mental states such as compassion, penance, love, or even mystical union with Christ, which points beyond the power of verbal expression. Do these qualify only as effects? Do they belong to the “reception” of the prayer? Or are they part of the prayer itself? Can the text be divided from the mental process? Although for the users of the codices the mental process may have been the most important, for scholarly research only the texts are accessible. Their rhetorical structure, poetic imagery, narrative strategies can be analyzed; the effect they induced

⁵¹ E.g. the substantial introduction to the *Gömöry-kódex: 1516*, Régi Magyar Kódexek 26, ed. Lea Haader and Zsuzsanna Papp (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 2001), 7-134.

⁵² Henriët, “Prière, expérience et fonction...”, 205.

in their readers can be discussed as the process of their reception. The only human-God relationship which can be investigated in their case is the one projected by the texts. In this way the starting definition, prayer is an act of communication with God, has already been modified to: prayer is a text featuring a speech whose addressee is God; its aim is to help the reader connect on an emotional, mental level with certain religious content. The person of the addressee needs further specification on the basis of the analyzed texts. Besides Christ, Mary or different saints can also be spoken to, since they are believed to have the power of interceding with God on behalf of the praying person. Therefore the definition would go: a prayer is a text featuring a speech whose addressee is God or a person believed to have the power of intercession with him; its aim is to help the reader connect on an emotional, mental level to certain religious content.

Proceeding to the problem of orality, the case seems clearer than with the first pair of attributes. The present investigation is based on written texts. Nevertheless, chapter four will show that the translation and compilation techniques used in creating them may have been influenced by the oral transmission of vernacular religious formulae.

The private or communal pair needs somewhat more consideration. Benigna Magyar's prayer books presented in the introduction are good illustrations for this problem. They were produced as books of hours for the private use of this aristocratic lady. However, the Hours of the Virgin, an office, is a text type rooted in genuinely communal practice of prayer. Moreover, the prayer for Pál Kinizsi's health in the *Festetics-kódex*⁵³ is modeled on liturgical texts that have a responsorial form. According to its introductory rubric it was said by "all priests and monks in every church" (probably on the Kinizsi estates). In the case of the codices copied for cloisters,

⁵³ *Festetics-kódex*, 178-181.

especially those containing miscellaneous texts, it is uncertain whether the passion prayers were read aloud for the entire community along with the sermons and *exempla* rather than used as private readings. Therefore, when discussing the private or communal character of a text, one must differentiate between the origin, the intended function, and the actual use of a prayer.

The examples given from the *Festetics-kódex* have already suggested that liturgical and personal features may coexist in some cases. Initially, liturgical texts were often used in private, personal devotional practice. Although written for non-liturgical purposes, many prayer texts were constructed from repetitive liturgical formulas. In chapter one, discussing the continued popularity of liturgical spirituality, I have mentioned the Psalter translations in the *Keszthelyi-kódex*. Apart from the psalms, it also contains some short prayers. Three of them are connected to the passion. The first is about Christ's death, the second about the Eucharist, and the third is about the Holy Cross.⁵⁴ Asztrik Gábel, in his book on the Hungarian codices modeled on breviaries, discusses the role of the brief prayers included at the end of the *Keszthelyi*- and *Kulcsár*-codices.⁵⁵ They are commemorations consisting of an antiphon, a *versiculus*, and a *collecta* (*oratio*) used when two feasts fell on the same day. While the entire *officium* of the greater feast was recited, the less important one was only remembered by such a *commemoratio*.⁵⁶ Therefore, praying by remembering the passion was not confined to private devotional texts; it had a place in liturgical practice as well.

Considering all this, it is possible to define the passion prayers which are in the center of the present thesis. They are written texts bearing some characteristics of orality, most of them prepared for a private use, and they heavily rely on communal and

⁵⁴ See the table in the Appendices.

⁵⁵ The two codices are related. All the prayers of the *Kulcsár-kódex* figure in the *Keszthelyi-kódex*, but the latter has additional commemorations, too.

⁵⁶ Asztrik Gábel, *Breviárium-típusú kódexek* [Breviary type codices] (Budapest, 1934), 25.

liturgical forms of worship. They feature a speech addressed to God or a person believed to have the power of intercession with him and their aim is to help the reader connect on an emotional, mental level to the passion of Christ. This may be far from a precise and unquestionable definition, but it seems appropriate for an investigation focusing on functions and usage which can be deduced from such texts.

2.3. Hungarian prayer collections

Having looked at the genre of prayer, the manuscripts gathering these texts must also be discussed. The Hungarian scholars mentioned above, Szilády, Katona, Timár, and Szabó, have pointed out the relationship between Latin books of hours and the Hungarian codices. They state that the direct sources were two popular collections: the *Hortulus animae* and Nicolaus Salicetus' *Antidotarius animae*, both of which had several printed editions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Timár specifies that while the former was intended for the use of lay people, the latter served the needs of priests and monks. Consequently, the *Antidotarius* omitted the liturgical texts figuring in the breviary as well.⁵⁷ The structure of these prayer books differs from that of the earlier books of hours, which had well specified elements. Victor Leroquais, who catalogued the handwritten primers in the National Library of France, distinguished basic, secondary, and additional elements in them. The calendar, the *Little Office*, the seven penitential psalms, the Litany of All Saints, suffrages, and the Office of the Dead were the basis, to which gospel passages for feast days, the Passion according to John, offices of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, and two famous Marian prayers (*Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*), Mary's five, seven, nine, and fifteen joys, and the seven requests to the Lord were added as secondary parts. Gradual Psalms, offices of different saints, and

⁵⁷ Timár, "A Lázár-kódex forrásai," 34-35.

various private prayers could occur among the additional elements.⁵⁸ The role of private prayers had increased by the fifteenth century, as the structures of the two Latin collections demonstrates. The Hungarian prayer books hardly resemble the earlier model. A calendar figures only in the *Winkler-kódex*,⁵⁹ the *Little Office of the Virgin* appears only in Benigna Magyar's two codices. Although liturgical elements occur in them, most manuscripts contain private prayers often mixed with other types of texts. In order to contextualize the passion prayers discussed in chapter four, I am going to present briefly two different types of Hungarian codices from among my most important sources.

The *Peer-kódex*,⁶⁰ copied on paper by several hands during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, is a rather small (148 x 110 mm) manuscript, preserved in the National Széchényi Library under the shelfmark: M. Nyelvemlék 12. It was named after its late eighteenth century owner, Jakab Peer. Although it is not lavishly illuminated, the codex contains several marginal ornaments (drolleries, foliate tendrils) and pen-flourished initials drawn by the first two hands of the codex in brown, green, or red ink. The only almost-page-sized drawing is on folio 88r,⁶¹ it will be discussed in chapter four.⁶²

The origin of the manuscript is still debated in Hungarian literary history, although several scholars have argued for a Pauline provenance.⁶³ Regardless of the scribes' identity and eventual monastic affiliation, the collection was probably prepared for the use of a layperson named Simon. Kálmán Timár, who favored a Pauline origin,

⁵⁸ Victor Leroquais, *Livres d'Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1927), referred to in Bériou, Berlioz, Longère, ed. *Prier au Moyen Age*, 35–36.

⁵⁹ *Winkler-kódex: 1506*, Codices Hungarici 9, ed. István Pusztai (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988).

⁶⁰ *Peer-kódex*, Régi Magyar Kódexek 25, ed. Andrea Kacskovics-Reményi and Beatrix Oszkó (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2000).

⁶¹ 175 in the edition.

⁶² See the image and another page of the codex among the images (Figures 2 and 3).

⁶³ For the different opinions and arguments see the "Introduction" to the edition containing the facsimile and transcribed text of the codex, *Peer-kódex*, 15–16.

conjectured that the intended first owner was Simon Chepeli, a noble patron of the Pauline monastery in Nagyvázsony.⁶⁴

The book contains mainly prayers, but, it begins with two legends (about Saint Alexis and Saint Paul the First Hermit), a few hymns and *cantilenas*, and some miracle-working series of masses also figure in it. The *cantilenas* are important literary historical documents. András Vásárhelyi's song about Mary has an acrostic with the name of the author; Ferenc Apáti's work is a satirical poem about the vices and foibles of different social groups. The song about Saint Ladislás is copied in both Hungarian and Latin, each Latin stanza being followed by its vernacular variant. The relationship of the two versions (whether one is a translation of the other, or whether they were composed simulatenously) has been much-debated.⁶⁵

There are some interesting prayers in the collection from the point of view of their functions. The texts copied on folios 124r-139v⁶⁶ were meant to protect Simon, the owner of the book, against arrows, daggers, fever, and other forms of sudden death. A Latin diagram against epilepsy was also drawn on folio 173v (346). As Sándor Láz and Gábor Bolonyai have shown, these texts contain several Latin phrases and words of Hebrew and Greek origin which go back to Classical magical practices.⁶⁷

Such a prayer book, copied for a layman, fitted to his needs and system of beliefs, differs in many respects from a collection of texts prepared for a nun. The *Lobkowicz-kódex*⁶⁸ is a 175x120 mm paper codex preserved in its original velvet binding. It was named after the princely family in whose library it was discovered and who still own it. It is preserved in the manuscript collection of the National Library in

⁶⁴ Kálmán Timár, "Magyar kódex-családok" [Hungarian codex families], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 37 (1927): 221.

⁶⁵ For a summary of the scholarly opinions on these poems see the introduction to the codex edition: *Peer-kódex*, 23-25 and the more recent: Madas, ed., "*Látjátok feleim...*", 143-148, 348-349, 356-359.

⁶⁶ 247-248 in the codex edition.

⁶⁷ Láz and Bolonyai, "Antik varázslás elemei..."

Prague. Its outer appearance reveals that the intended user was a wealthy or important person. The feminine formulas of its prayer texts point to a woman; the references to Franciscan saints suggest an abbess of the Poor Clares. It was copied by five hands in 1514, but it is uncertain in which religious house. Sárospatak and Óbuda have been suggested, but no conclusive proof can be raised for either alternative.⁶⁹

The texts selected for the codex are miscellaneous: parts of Saint Francis' legend, the life of Saint Alexios, numerous exempla, meditations by Saint Bonaventure (*De perfectione vitae ad sorores*) and chapters from Kempis' *De Imitatione Christi*, and various prayers. Some were to be said at different moments during the mass, others praise the Virgin or remember the passion. Looking at the introductory rubrics, it is apparent that the scribe's or commissioner's preferred texts with miraculous origins (one rubric narrates how Saint Bernard obtained the prayer from the devil) or which offer indulgences. Considering the many parables, one may even conjecture that these little stories also served to amuse the owner while ensuring her about the efficacy of the prayers. Nevertheless, no textual amulets or magic formulae are to be found in this book.

Differences in the addressee and general contents of the Hungarian prayer books suggest differences in the uses of the text. The same texts copied in different collections suggest various devotional practices. Therefore, the function and use of each prayer depended largely on its immediate textual environment.

⁶⁸ *Lobkowitz-kódex: 1514*, Régi Magyar Kódexek 22, ed. Andrea Reményi (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1999).

⁶⁹ See the arguments in the edition's introduction: *Lobkowitz-kódex*, 18.

3. The Passion of Christ in Late Medieval Devotional Culture

3.1. Approaches to the passion

The theme of the prayers selected for analysis in this thesis is the passion of Christ. Having looked at the literary form and the manuscript types in which the requests are conveyed, the topics and imagery by means of which the various demands were formulated can now be examined. First of all, the most important recent scholarly approaches to the medieval perception of the passion of Christ should be summarized.

Representations of Christ's suffering and death on the cross have brought to the fore several problems related to the historical conceptualization of bodily and spiritual pain and suffering. Beginning in the 1970s, the cultural turn in historiography catapulted the issues of the body and sexuality to the center of scholarly attention. The works of such prominent authors as Michel Foucault⁷⁰ and Norbert Elias⁷¹ provided a starting point for reinterpreting the body as a social and cultural construct subject to historical modifications. The emerging feminist criticism of this era emphasized the gender issues behind such cultural creations. The introduction of cultural anthropological and gender perspectives to the study of medieval history and culture gave rise to an interest in the social aspects and symbolic value associated with the body during the Middle Ages. Christianity shaped a new set of views on the anthropological structure of men and women. Peter Brown's seminal work, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*,⁷² started a new line of investigation in this respect.

⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988-1990); and others.

⁷¹ Norbert Elias, *Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

⁷² Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

Research was also conducted in this field related to later periods. Regarding the Later Middle Ages and Early Modern period the much-debated book by Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion*,⁷³ may be considered one of the catalysts of such investigations. Caroline Bynum's highly influential books⁷⁴ have reinterpreted the role of female bodies in late medieval religious culture. Roy Porter's study⁷⁵ gives a good overview of the major issues of and approaches to the body as an object of historical research up to the beginning of the 1990s.

The studies included in the collected volume edited by Sarah Key and Miri Rubin in the mid-1990s⁷⁶ illustrate the various research possibilities of this topic in the history of the Middle Ages. Other volumes focused on particular aspects of this subject (e.g., theological interpretation,⁷⁷ the Eucharist,⁷⁸ and the body of Christ⁷⁹).

One of the major research issues related to the body is pain. Esther Cohen has published excellent studies on the perception of suffering in the Middle Ages, analyzing, for example the role of legal practice and vocabulary in the evolution of the conceptual framework.⁸⁰ Donald Mawbray's book tackles the university debates in

⁷³ Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

⁷⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1987); Idem, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991); etc.

⁷⁵ Roy Porter, "History of the Body," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 206-232.

⁷⁶ Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, ed., *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

⁷⁷ Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, ed., *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body* (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 1997).

⁷⁸ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁷⁹ Sarah Bewick, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture, and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁸⁰ Esther Cohen, "Towards a History of European Physical Sensibility: Pain in the Later Middle Ages," *Science in Context* 8, no. 1 (1995): 47-74; Idem, "The Animated Pain of the Body," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 36-68.

thirteenth-century Paris about different kinds of suffering (the suffering of Christ, gendered pain, penitential and voluntary suffering, suffering in hell).⁸¹

The textual and visual representations of the passion of Christ have attracted special attention since it was the center of (especially late) medieval religious culture. Thomas Bestul has analyzed devotional and social perspectives on Christ's passion (e.g., the representation of torture, women, and Jews) in Latin passion narratives.⁸² The collective volume entitled *The Broken Body* presents and investigates devotional practices centered on the passion.⁸³ James H. Marrow's book on passion iconography⁸⁴ is a landmark in the study of late medieval visual representations of the topic.

Following the pronouncedly "physical" and social perspectives on pain and suffering (e.g., the institution of torture and the physical suffering of Christ) of the 1980s and early 1990s, the emphasis shifted towards emotions. Due to the emergence of the history of emotions as a field of study,⁸⁵ the scope of scholarly pursuits directed to the topic of body and pain widened significantly. Several studies such as those edited by Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy in the volume *Le Sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*⁸⁶ or Miri Rubin's *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures*,⁸⁷ discuss the culture of the era from this perspective. The volume

⁸¹ Donald Mawbray, *Pain and Suffering in Medieval Theology: Academic debates at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009).

⁸² Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

⁸³ A. A. Macdonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann, ed., *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998).

⁸⁴ James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk, Belgium: Van Ghemmert, 1979).

⁸⁵ A concise summary of this process is given in the introductory chapter of: Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1-29. For recent developments in the research of medieval emotions see the studies published in the thematic issue of the French journal *Critique* edited by Piroska Nagy: "Émotions médiévales," *Critique* 63, no. 716-717 (2007).

⁸⁶ Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, ed., *Le Sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008).

⁸⁷ Miri Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009).

edited by Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio⁸⁸ contains studies mostly by Italian scholars on the interpretation of sorrow and pain within a medieval history of emotions.

3.2. Narrative texts

All these new approaches led to an increased interest in textual and visual representations in the later Middle Ages; this period saw changes in the devotional practice of Western Christians.⁸⁹ One of the most important shifts was a change in the perception and representation of Christ. The image of a triumphantly resurrected divine Savior was replaced by a sorrowful but loving and merciful figure of the human Christ⁹⁰ whose death became a focal point in the piety of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁹¹

The history of the Passion was a favorite topic in the devotional literature of the later Middle Ages. Sermons, treatises, meditations, and prayers elaborated on the details of Jesus' suffering, compelling the pious audience to feel compassion and compunction and to reform their lives by contemplating such love and sacrifice. From the Latin devotional literature these texts found their way into vernacular literatures. Sometimes

⁸⁸ Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, ed., *Piacere e dolore: Materiali per una storia delle passioni nel Medioevo* (Florence: Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009).

⁸⁹ "The images provide striking evidence of how much the representation of God and Christ, as well as the understanding of the judgment of the human soul, had changed since the twelfth century. Both in the 'theology of piety' and in sacred art, the image and role of Christ was transformed: from the withdrawn dignity of heavenly emperor to the utter misery of the very human figure of the Passion; from the severity of *Christus iudex* to compassionate Judge; from one who handed down verdicts that inspired fear and terror to the consolatory figure who awoke hope and trust on the Day of Judgment. The language of 'transformation' and 'displacement,' however, should not mislead. We come closer when we speak of a certain tendency in comparison with the Early and High Middle Ages. There was a shift in emphasis, a thematic re-prioritizing, a change of accent. An examination of conceptions of mercy, protection, intercession, consolation, and hope makes this clear: innovative aspects emerged that either had not existed or had been discernible only in traces," Berndt Hamm, "Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology," trans. John M. Frymire, *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, no. 4 (1990): 341.

⁹⁰ For the shift of emphasis from the divine to the human side of Christ see Giles Constable's study on the history of the idea of the imitation of Christ: Giles Constable, "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ," *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143-248.

⁹¹ "From the eleventh and twelfth centuries, through the end of the fifteenth, the Passion of Christ gained an increasingly significant place in theology, piety, liturgy, poetry, and the visual arts," Hamm, "Normative Centering:" 348.

the latter produced popular works worth translating into Latin as well.⁹² Late medieval Hungarian monastic codices contain several such translations conveying this passion-centered piety. Passion prayers are only one segment of this corpus. Before embarking on a discussion of the latter, I will present in brief some of the most popular Latin narratives and the passion treatises and meditations included in the Hungarian codices. Afterwards, as an insight into the literary technique of such texts, I will give a short narratological analysis of a pseudo-Anselm dialogue.

Thomas Bestul, in the second chapter of his book, provides a historical overview of the most important Latin texts elaborating on the suffering of Christ.⁹³ He launches his discussion by stating that all retellings of the passion go back to the spare narrative of the gospels. Apocryphal accounts, such as the Gospel of Nicodemus, furnished additional elements. These were embellished and extended in the process of typological exegesis with details taken from the Old Testament.⁹⁴ James H. Marrow's extensive analyses of Latin and vernacular textual and sources from the Netherlands show how Old Testament prophetic imagery was rhetorically elaborated and transformed into "historical" description.⁹⁵ Bestul emphasizes the significance of the *Glossa ordinaria*, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, and Iacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*.⁹⁶ The first devotional texts for private use connected to the passion were introduced into prayer books during the Carolingian age.⁹⁷

The major turn in passion devotion, however, came in the eleventh century with the activity of Anselm of Canterbury, whose decisive impact on the development of prayer as a genre was already mentioned in chapter two. His meditations and prayers

⁹² E.g., Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* is the author's own Latin redaction of his own German language book, *Das Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit*.

⁹³ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 26-68.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 26-30.

⁹⁵ For example, in case of the description of Christ' suffering: Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, 44-67.

⁹⁶ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 30-33.

are not exclusively centered on the passion; nevertheless, his prayer to Christ presents affective language, the importance of mental images, a focus on the role of Mary, and a desire for active participation in the events which later became the main characteristics of passion narratives.⁹⁸ John Fécamp's contemporary meditations attributed to Augustine were similar to Anselm's texts in many respects.

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and his Cistercian followers had a major influence on passion devotion. Although most of the passion narratives circulating under Bernard's name during the Middle Ages (e.g., the highly affective Marian lament *Quis dabit capiti meo aqua*) were not authored by him, some of his authentic sermons dwell on the passion and encourage the love of the crucified God.⁹⁹ The humanity of Christ plays a central role in his mystical theology as well.¹⁰⁰ His disciple, Aelred of Rievaulx, included a highly emotional and subjective section on the passion in his *De institutis inclusarum* urging active participation in Christ's suffering.¹⁰¹ Another influential work of the twelfth century, the *Stimulus amoris*, written by the Benedictine monk, Eckbert of Schönau, was often attributed to Bernard or Anselm on account of its closeness to their work. Eckbert was an important source for later writers; the *Stimulus'* allegorical crucifixion points to Bonaventure's passion treatises and some features of this meditative writing anticipate the late medieval devotion to the *Arma Christi*.¹⁰²

Thirteenth-century passion narratives were dominated by Franciscan spirituality. Bonaventure's two treatises, the *Lignum vitae* and *Vitis mystica*, while relying heavily on previous passion texts and sharing the affective tone, organize their material around allegories (the tree, the vine). Bonaventure conferred paramount attention on the

⁹⁷ Ibid., 34-36.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 36-37.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 38.

¹⁰⁰ See Étienne Gilson, *La Théologie mystique de Saint Bernard* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1986), 101-107.

¹⁰¹ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 39.

physical details of Christ's suffering. The bruised, bleeding, and deformed body of the Savior, Isaiah's leper-like figure, became a common image of both textual and visual representations of the passion from this moment on. This Franciscan author emphasized Mary's co-suffering and the desirability of the devotee's personal involvement in the events as a form of conformation to God.¹⁰³

During the Middle Ages Bonaventure was credited with one of the most influential passion narratives of the age, the early fourteenth-century *Meditationes vitae Christi*.¹⁰⁴ This voluminous work, originating in an Italian Franciscan milieu, encompasses the entire life of Christ. The chapters narrating the passion are organized according to the seven canonical hours, a recurrent pattern by this time. The tortured body of Christ and Mary's suffering are central in the narrative. The Marian line connects the text to such popular treatises as the already mentioned *Quis dabit* lament and the *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione domini*.¹⁰⁵ Narrating the passion according to the canonical hours is an organizational device which appears in another narrative of doubtful origin, *De meditatione passione Christi per septem diei horas libellus*, published among the *spuria* of the Venerable Bede in the *Patrologia Latina*. James Marrow considered this third person narrative, often interrupted by "pious interjections meant to incite compassion," "the precursor of the majority of later meditations on the passion."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Ibid., 40-41.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 43-48.

¹⁰⁴ Péter Tóth and Dávid Falvay have contested the dating of the *Meditationes* (after 1336-1360) by Sarah McNamer, editor of the critical edition of the text, returning to the traditional date, the beginning of the fourteenth century, Péter Tóth and Dávid Falvay, "Jakab Apostoltól Bonaventuráig: Egy ál-apokrif a *Sermones dominicales* passió beszédében" [From James the Apostle to Bonaventure: Pseudo-apocrypha in the passion sermon of the *Sermones dominicales*], in *Magistrae discipuli: Tanulmányok Madas Edit tiszteletére* [Magistrae discipuli: Studies in honor of Edit Madas], ed. Előd Nemerkenyi (Budapest: Argumentum, 2009), 326-339.

¹⁰⁵ For their discussion see: Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 51-54.

¹⁰⁶ Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, 12.

Such narratives were often embedded in extensive meditative texts on the life of Christ in the fourteenth century. Besides the *Meditationes vitae Christi*, Ubertino da Casale and Ludolphus of Saxony compiled such exhaustive biographies. The latter's *Vitae Christi* is perhaps the most monumental and learned achievement in this field. Compared to the previous highly affective treatises on which it relies, its emotional tone is somewhat tempered by the numerous scholarly references. Due to its scholastic apparatus, it must have appealed to a more learned readership than the *Meditationes vitae Christi*.¹⁰⁷

The fifteenth century brought new discussions of the passion by such authors as Jean Gerson and Thomas à Kempis, as well as a variety of texts in vernacular languages. Bestul mentions French, German, Italian, and English narratives.¹⁰⁸ Marrow's analysis relies on several German and Netherlandish texts.¹⁰⁹ The latter emphasized the influence of the German mystic movement and of the *devotio moderna* on vernacular passion tracts:

Adoption of the vernacular expands the authorship and readership of passion literature in both movements, and tendencies towards intensely emotional religiosity, related in part to the large numbers of women in the two movements, lead to a dramatic rise in pathetic content. In place of the abstract and speculative theology of the mystics, the *Devotio Moderna* embraces a piety that is centered upon devotion to Christ; passion meditation becomes the prevalent form of devotion in the religious movement of the Lowlands, and the passion tract reaches its greatest degree of narrative elaboration.¹¹⁰

The late medieval Hungarian codices also contain some fairly elaborate accounts of the passion. Some of them are translations of Latin treatises. The *Apor-*

¹⁰⁷ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 56-59.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 64-68.

¹⁰⁹ Marrow, *Passion Iconography*.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

kódex contains part of the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini*.¹¹¹

The *Nagyszombati-kódex* begins with a partial translation of Henricus Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*.¹¹² The Latin work does not deal exclusively with the passion; it is a dialogue between *Sapientia* and *Discipulus* about the mystical journey toward God, eternal wisdom. The Hungarian translation contains several parts which refer to the passion. According to Tamás Balogh, this is probably the result of the translator's choice, for whom these segments carried the central ideas of the work.¹¹³ Two codices, the *Nádor*¹¹⁴ and the *Winkler*¹¹⁵ have Marian laments, their Latin source, however, is unknown. Several passion-connected treatises and meditations figure in the *Érsekújvári Kódex*.¹¹⁶

Most of the Hungarian passion narratives are included in sermons. Such sermons have been copied into the *Debreceni*,¹¹⁷ *Döbrentei*,¹¹⁸ *Nádor*,¹¹⁹ *Winkler*,¹²⁰ and *Weszprémi* codices.¹²¹ I do not wish to discuss their sources and relationship to one another in detail, as this has been done by Ödön Pusch¹²² and the introductions of the codex editions. Suffice it to say that while their direct sources, as far as is known, are Latin sermons compiled by fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century authors, such as

¹¹¹ *Apor-codex*, Nyelveléktár 8, ed. György Volf (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1879), 157-186.

¹¹² *Nagyszombati Kódex: 1512–1513*, Régi Magyar Kódexek 24, ed. Csilla T. Szabó (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2000), 1-158.

¹¹³ Tamás Balogh, "A nagyszombati-kódex 'Teljes Bölcsesség'-ének lehetséges mintái" [The possible models of the *Complete Wisdom* of the Nagyszombati codex], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 98, no. 2 (1994): 248-253.

¹¹⁴ *Nádor-kódex: 1508*, Régi Magyar Kódexek 16, ed. István Pusztai, intro. István Pusztai and Edit Madas, (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1994), 342-388.

¹¹⁵ *Winkler-kódex*, 74-117.

¹¹⁶ *Érsekújvári Codex*, Nyelveléktár 9–10, ed. György Volf (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1888), 19-24, 26-64, 65-73, 77-102. The forthcoming new edition of the manuscript will offer new results with regard to the Latin sources. I am grateful to Edit Madas for communicating some of these to me.

¹¹⁷ *Debreceni Kódex: 1519*, Régi Magyar Kódexek 21, intro. Edit Madas and Andrea Reményi (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1997), 607-624.

¹¹⁸ *Döbrentei-kódex*, 1-13.

¹¹⁹ *Nádor-kódex*, 143-307.

¹²⁰ *Winkler-kódex*, 137-234.

¹²¹ *Weszprémi-kódex*, 1-113.

Pelbárt of Temesvár and Johannes Herolt; through these sermons the Hungarian texts go back to the earlier passion narratives discussed above. They are structured according to the rules of the scholastic *ars praedicandi*, having multiple divisions and subdivisions; nevertheless, the natural flow of the passion narrative tends to override this artificial structure. A brief glance at the structure of the sermon copied into the *Weszprémi-kódex*, probably to serve as a private reading,¹²³ proves this. The text starts with the scholastic *thema* taken from Job 19:21 (*Miseremini mei, miseremini mei saltem vos, amici mei*) and its application to Mary. A triple division follows: there are three reasons why we have to take pity on the suffering Christ: because our Savior suffers, because he suffers on account of his love for us, and because of the cruelty of his pain. After urging the audience to feel compassion for Christ in an affective tone and including a short prayer, the text introduces a new division: one must consider the following topics: What led to Jesus being killed by the Jews; how the Lord's death was decided on by pagans; and what benefits result from it for us. The first topic is again divided in three: the causes of Christ's death. While discussing these causes, after only a few pages, the sermon turns into a lengthy narrative of the passion and the compilation ends with a brief reference to the resurrection without any rounding out of the original structure. Clearly, for the compiler of text, it was more important to furnish material for private meditation with all the elements of the passion story as it was known in the early sixteenth century than to preserve the structure of the sermons he used as primary sources.

¹²² Ödön Pusch, *Vallásos elmélkedések kódexeinkben* [Religious meditations in our codices] (Kolozsvár, 1910), 9-30.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 12.

3.3. Narrative techniques in Pseudo-Anselm

Before finishing this overview of the passion narratives which formed the background to the Hungarian passion prayers, I will provide a short narratological analysis of a particular passion treatise in order to reveal the narrative techniques used in such texts. This will serve as a basis of comparison for the chapter summarizing the narrative devices of the passion prayers.

As I mentioned before, one of the most popular late medieval passion texts was a dialogue attributed in the age to Anselm of Canterbury, the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini*.¹²⁴ Although this opus was usually included among his writings, Anselm is not the actual author, but one of the interlocutors in the dialogue.¹²⁵ The presence of his name in this text can be explained by the fact that he was a respected authority in the field of passion-centered devotional literature on account of his *Orationes sive meditationes*, which exercised a huge influence on later passion literature. The *Dialogus* was translated into Hungarian, at least in part, in the fifteenth century. Six and a half chapters of the Latin work, as published in the *Patrologia Latina*, form the third part of the *Apor-kódex*, a codex bound together from three manuscripts of Premonstratensian origin.¹²⁶ The text, which is the last piece of the codex, ends suddenly in the middle of a sentence. This suggests that the subsequent parts, though they must have existed, have been lost.

The dialogue is in fact a retelling of the passion of Christ narrated by the Virgin at the request of Anselm, her devoted disciple. Anselm's questions are usually short,¹²⁷ appearing rather to be pretexts for Mary's recollections than real questions, with the

¹²⁴ Anselm of Canterbury, "Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini," in Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera omnia*, ed. Gabriel Gerberon, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, 159, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1841-1857; facsimile reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1982-1993), coll. 271-290.

¹²⁵ The *Patrologia Latina* edition of Anselm's work includes it among the *spuria*.

possible exception of the inquiries referring to Mary's feelings. Since the text is a narrative, the possibility of a narratological analysis is given *ab ovo*. Because the Hungarian text is unfinished and an English translation would be required whenever quoted, I am going to use the Latin text for my analysis. There are some differences between the two redactions, which I will not describe here, but they are not crucial from a narratological point of view.

Modern and postmodern literary theories, as a rule, may not be easy to apply to most medieval texts. In the case of a passion narrative, however, the suitability of narratology as a method of textual analysis¹²⁸ cannot be denied. Though the function fulfilled by texts, the methods of producing and reading them, and the whole structure of literature may have changed since the Middle Ages, the nature of narratives has not changed so much as to make the descriptive language of narratology, which has been used successfully even in the analysis of Homeric epic poetry, inapplicable. Narratological terminology and methods can help the analyst to describe the structure of the passion narrative and the characteristics of narrating¹²⁹ without losing sight of the text's primary devotional function. During the analysis I will focus mainly on the Virgin's role as the ideal narrator of the passion story.

As I mentioned before, in the *Dialogus* the passion narrative is embedded in a framing story. According to it, Anselm, by means of long devotional and ascetic practices obtained the grace that the Virgin revealed to him the mode of her son's passion. This quick-paced, short, and non-focalized framing narrative has an extra- and

¹²⁶ For the description of the codex see: Edit Madas, "Apor-kódex," in "*Látjátok feleim...*", 261. The modern edition of the text was published in: *Apor-codex*, 157-186.

¹²⁷ The prototypical question is: *Dic mihi quid factum fuit post haec?*

¹²⁸ T. A. Schmitz, "Narratology," in *Modern Literary Theory and Ancient Texts: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 43.

¹²⁹ On the difference between narrative and narrating see: Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, tr. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 27.

heterodiegetic¹³⁰ narrator whose function is to sketch the circumstances of the embedded narrative. The two characters introduced here are going to become the narrator and narratee in the inner level. Before passing on to this, it is worth summing up what this introductory part reveals about the two figures.

The Virgin, according to this, is telling the story of the passion after her assumption, after she has been elevated above the normal human condition. Therefore, her narrative should have an unlimited perspective or focalization. She knows everything about the passion, even the aspects she did not experience as a participant. The narratee, on the other hand, is the perfect listener. He has recognized the perfect story and the perfect narrator for the story. The story is the passion of Christ, with which Anselm, the character presented by the framing narrative, must, of course, have been familiar with before. Why this interest then in listening to it again and from another narrator? One can form some suggestions for answers to this question by contrasting the former narrators of the story with the desired one. Anselm, as a devout Christian and scholar, has naturally studied the narratives offered by the Gospels, but seemingly their perspective does not satisfy him. But why would the Virgin's story be more satisfactory?

The difference between the evangelists and Mary as narrators consists in a difference of narrative level. While the evangelists are heterodiegetic narrators (at least if limiting oneself to the analysis of the Gospel narratives and not taking into consideration the identification of two evangelists with two disciples of Christ), Mary is homodiegetic, having been a major participant in the events.¹³¹ According to this, the ideal narrator of the passion story, first of all, should be one who was a direct witness to the events. She even emphasizes the fact that she can reveal events which were not

¹³⁰ A descriptive narrator, not participating in the plot.

¹³¹ For the terms 'heterodiegetic' and 'homodiegetic' see: Ibid., 248.

mentioned by the evangelists. (*Audi, Anselme, quod modo referam nimis est lamentabile, et nullus evangelistarum scribit.*¹³²) Nevertheless, she borrows liberally from the four Gospels (the text is full of quotations), seeking rather to emulate them than to deny the value of their text.

Mary is more than a simple eyewitness; her position in eternal bliss (*glorificata sum*¹³³) gives her the perspective of an omniscient narrator able to reveal motives, details, and aspects hidden to everyone else, whereas her inability to weep, to be carried away by sorrow (*flere non possum*¹³⁴) makes her able to tell, without excessive affective outbursts, a story which cannot be told without great effusions of tears.¹³⁵

These features of the Virgin as a narrator can be discovered throughout the narrative. She reveals hidden connections between the story of the passion and story of Joseph from the Old Testament, who is an archetype of Jesus: the dinars paid to Judas for his betrayal were the same as the ones for which Joseph was sold by his brothers. She also knows that Christ's soul descended into limbo and liberated the Old Testament saints. The narrative she produces also reflects that she can situate the story of the passion in a larger framework. Flashbacks and flashes forward (analepses¹³⁶ and prolepses¹³⁷) are encountered on several occasions. The Virgin refers back to Christ having warned Judas several times about the dangers of avarice.¹³⁸ At the end of the narrative she speaks about the future of Joseph of Arimathea and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans as punishment for the murder of Christ.¹³⁹ There is an even

¹³² Anselm, "Dialogus," coll. 282.

¹³³ Ibid., coll. 271.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ *Tanta et talia passus est dilectus filius meus, quod nullus sine lacrymarum effusione dicere potest. Tamen, quia glorificata sum, flere non possum: ideo tibi passionem mei filii per ordinem explicabo*, Ibid.

¹³⁶ Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 48-67.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 67-78.

¹³⁸ *Judas vero ita avarus fuit quod, quando denarios vidit, Christum pro eis vendidit, et licet Christus ei praedixisset saepius, tamen ille Judas per hoc non fuerat emendatus*, Anselm, "Dialogus," coll. 272.

¹³⁹ *Judaei autem propter invidiam recluserunt Joseph vivum in muro, Quia Christum sepelivit; uxor autem ejus locum filio ejus Josepho post ostendit. Tandem post annos quadraginta venerunt Titus et*

greater diversion from the timeline of the narrative; a reference to the present of the narrating, which informs the reader that the crown of thorns was at the time of the narration preserved by the French king.¹⁴⁰ Despite the omniscient narrator features, in some places Mary's narrative reflects internal focalization; the common grief she speaks about when depicting the scene of lamentation helps her slip into the different mourners' perspectives, voicing their sorrow empathically.¹⁴¹

By means of these narrative devices, the Virgin is represented as an ideal narrator for a passion narrative. This is due to her advantageous position as both a character of the story and an omniscient quasi-divine figure elevated above the human condition. She can both distance herself from re-experiencing the pain of the passion and narrate the sorrow of others empathically. She reveals this model narrative to her devoted disciple, Anselm. Could he, the character of the framing narrative, allegedly identifiable with Anselm, the spiritual writer, thus have become an ideal narrator of the passion story as well? The *Dialogus*, this work so often attributed to him, had certainly become a standard devotional work by the late Middle Ages. The narrator type he embodies and especially that embodied by the Virgin, as well as the techniques used in this text, recur in several other passion texts meant to arouse compassion and emotional identification with the protagonists of the story during meditation.

3.4. Visual Representations

Texts were only one, though crucial, segment of passion representations. The detailed and emotional passion narratives such as the *Meditationes vitae Christi* often

Vespasianus, Hierusam destruentes, et Joseph vivum in muro invenerunt. Et sicut Judaei Christum pro triginta denariis emerunt, ita triginta Judaeos pro uno denario vendiderunt, Ibid., coll. 283.

¹⁴⁰ *Hanc coronam habet Rex Franciae*, Ibid., coll. 280.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., coll. 287.

urged the readers to create mental images about the scenes of the passion. In this way they could become participants in the events. Moreover, by inscribing the image of the passion in their memory, their “book of the heart,”¹⁴² devotees made actual physical imprints on their minds according to the neurophysical theories of the age. By dwelling on a mental image for a long period or by recalling it from time to time, the imprint became deeper; it became a constant part of one’s physical matter, which could influence one’s actions.¹⁴³

Apart from the inner picturing of Christ’s suffering, the texts also gave rise to a wide variety of visual representations: wall paintings, sculptures, altarpieces, miniatures, and woodcuts. Thomas Bestul in launching his analysis of passion narratives emphasized that the texts “are on a reciprocal relationship with the representation of the Passion in the visual arts as well.”¹⁴⁴ James H. Marrow’s seminal work on passion iconography in Northern art refers to both written materials and pictorial renderings of Christ’s suffering. In order to understand the use of passion prayers, one must, therefore, consider their visual context as well.

Hans Belting, in his book entitled *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, considers the end of the Middle Ages the “era of the private image.”¹⁴⁵ In this period wider layers of society had access to the religious images, which were no longer the privilege of institutions. This led to the flourishing of

¹⁴² On the history of this metaphor see Eric Jager, “The Book of the Heart: Reading and Writing the Medieval Subject.” *Speculum* 71 (1996): 1-26.

¹⁴³ For an ingenious description of medieval conceptions on the working of memory see: Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), especially 56-98.

¹⁴⁴ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 2.

¹⁴⁵ See especially chapter nineteen: Hans Belting, “The Dialogue with the Image: The Era of the Private Image at the End of the Middle Ages,” in *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 407-457.

the private image,¹⁴⁶ which did not differ much in form and content from the public ones:

Individual citizens did not want an image different from the public one so much as they needed one that would belong to them personally. They expected the image to speak to them in person... They thus demanded of the image a kind of painted act of speech, which henceforth would determine the aesthetic system. The image's speech either was delivered to the beholder, or it occurred *within* the image *between* the figures, which were talking about the beholder. In this way the image forsook its traditional aloofness and was ready to address the beholder in a way that produced a private dialogue as it happens between living persons. In this way the image offered itself to the beholder's gaze and thus admitted a subjective moment that could lead to an anecdotal narrative for the benefit of the beholder. The old cult image, in contrast, steadfastly refused to allow its content to be manipulated by the wishes of the beholder.¹⁴⁷

Such private images could furnish an ideal starting point for meditation. It is more than mere accident that the practice of using images for meditation purposes became widespread in the thirteenth century,¹⁴⁸ the same period when Franciscan spirituality created a wide variety of passion narratives. The personal and affective relationship between image and beholder, a requirement for this new function, as well as the parallel development of texts and visual materials resulted in the development of some highly successful image types representing the passion, such as the narrative passion cycles, the Man of Sorrows and the Mass of Saint Gregory.

To summarize the late medieval history of the passion in the visual art would be an enormous task. Even to present the Hungarian works of art roughly contemporary with the prayers I am discussing is too wide a topic for this chapter. Instead of a comprehensive summary I will present the main visual forms and image types which must have been familiar to the users of the late medieval Hungarian passion prayers.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 410.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ See David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and the Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 166.

The use of images for meditation purposes was indeed a practice known in medieval Hungary. Gergely Gyöngyösi, a vicar general of the Pauline Order, recommended in his *Directorium* thematic meditation and prayer before altars representing the different stages of Christ's life.¹⁴⁹ This may suggest the availability of altarpieces suitable for such a devotional practice in Hungarian monasteries. However, one must take into account that Gyöngyösi was deeply influenced by the *Devotio moderna* and, as Mályusz suggested, his writings tend to describe the situation of the Netherlandish communities considered as models rather than Hungarian conditions.

Although the Pauline monasteries may not have been furnished with a series of altarpieces representing the different stages of the passion, altarpieces with passion representations suitable to establish a dialogue with were available in many churches.¹⁵⁰ The Calvary Altar from Garamszentbendek, painted by Tamás Kolozsvári in 1427, is such a piece. Its Crucifixion (see Figure 3), with the copiously bleeding figure of Christ, the Virgin collapsing under her grief, Longinus with his lance symbolizing the pagans who will convert, as well as the Roman centurion in whom the artist portrayed King Sigismund of Luxemburg, all organized in a powerful and dramatic structure could well have triggered compassion and identification with the characters. Similarly, the representation of the Carrying of the Cross (Figure 4) with its central Christ figure, looking back at his mother, speaks about human emotions and suffering. The tormentors of Christ are also vividly pictured; their faces reveal cruelty, anger, and hate.¹⁵¹ The lyrical suggestiveness of Master M.S.'s early sixteenth-century passion

¹⁴⁹ Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom*, 265.

¹⁵⁰ On late medieval Hungarian altarpieces see: Radocsay Dénes, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [The panel paintings of medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955); Géza Galavics, Ernő Marosi, Árpád Mikó, and Tünde Wehli, *Magyar művészet a kezdetektől 1800-ig* [Hungarian art from the beginnings to 1800] (Budapest: Corvina, 2001), 195-211.

¹⁵¹ On the altarpiece see: András Mucsi, *Kolozsvári Tamás Kálvária-oltára az esztergomi Keresztény Múzeumban* [The Calvary altar of Tamás Kolozsvári in the Christian Museum in Esztergom] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon and Corvina, 1978).

representations from the altarpiece of Selmezbánya (Figures 5 and 6) reveal the suffering of a fragile, pitiable, human Christ.

Despite their powerful symbolism, such representations contain numerous anecdotic narrative elements from the history of salvation (e.g., the bones of Adam and Eve at the foot of the cross on both crucifixion pictures). Other image types take the figure of the suffering Christ out of its “historical” background, focusing on the timeless act of sacrifice. The Throne of Majesty (Figure 7) and the Man of Sorrow (Figures 8) representation types, as well as the popular Gothic pietas (Figure 9) or gory crucifixes (Figure 10) of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century are private images *par excellence*. Naturally, placed on altarpieces they must have had communal functions as well, but they or other representations similar to them could have functioned as a basis for private devotional practices, too.

Books of hours served as an ideal medium for such *Andachtbilder*. Nevertheless, in late medieval Hungarian, no such richly illuminated prayer books were produced as in France or the Low Countries (although some illuminated books of hours produced abroad may have been used in Hungary). The most frequent passion pictures in both manuscripts and later in printed books were the canon images of missals (Figures 11 and 12).

The introduction of printing had a considerable impact on religious images. Woodcuts and engravings representing scenes of the passion circulated both as individual devotional sheets and as illustrations beside passion texts. Printed prayer books, especially, favored such pictures.¹⁵² They were sometimes copied into manuscripts. The *Érsekújvári Kódex* contained eighteen images originating from an

¹⁵² Such an illustrated German printed prayer book and its manuscript copy also containing the images (the latter was probably prepared for Queen Mary of Habsburg, wife of Ludovic II of Hungary) is presented by Éva Knapp in her article entitled: “Gilgengart. Egy német nyelvű imádságoskönyv a 16.

Austrian woodcut series.¹⁵³ Most of them are parts of a narrative passion series, while four are devotional images without a precise context (the Veronica image, the Man of Sorrows).¹⁵⁴ These images and the drawing in *Peer-kódex* are the only passion images to be found in the Hungarian-language codices. Engravings and woodcuts served as a source of inspiration for the elaboration of panel paintings as well. Emese Sarkadi in her PhD dissertation on Transylvanian altarpieces emphasizes the influence of Dürer's and Lucas Cranach's works on Transylvanian paintings.¹⁵⁵

Apart from altar pieces, sculptures, and book illustrations, late medieval Hungarian devotees could also encounter representations of Christ's suffering in other media. Mural paintings from before the fashion of winged altars, liturgical objects (crosses, reliquaries) and liturgical garments could remind one of the passion. Thus, it is hardly possible that a visual representation did not influence the imagination whenever someone read or recited a passion prayer in Hungarian.

század elejéről" [Gilgengart: A German-language prayer book from the early sixteenth century] *Magyar Könyvszemle* 110, no. 2 (1994): 130-154.

¹⁵³ See Figure 12 for an illustrated page of the codex.

¹⁵⁴ See: Tünde Wehli, "Az Érsekújvári Kódex illusztrációi: Könyvfestés a margitszigeti dominikánák kolostorában 1530 körül" [The illustrations of the Érsekújvári Kódex: Book illumination in the Dominican cloister on Saint Margaret's Island around 1530], in Madas, ed., "*Látjátok feleim...*," 159-172.

¹⁵⁵ Emese Sarkadi, "Produced for Transylvania – Local Workshops and Foreign Connections: Studies of Late Medieval Altarpieces in Transylvania," PhD. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2008), 157.

4. Texts, Functions, Practices: Hungarian Prayers on the Passion

After such an extensive discussion of the different contexts of Hungarian passion prayers, I will turn to the texts themselves and the functions that can be deduced from the different versions. In order to facilitate the reading of this chapter by non-Hungarians and for those who are not familiar with the corpus I am working with, I have included in the Appendices a table containing important data on the passion prayers analyzed here. Beside the page number, a short title, and a list of textual parallels, one column gives the introductory rubric and/or incipit of the prayers. The rubrics, if included, provide crucial information about the supposed origin of the text, and more importantly from my point of view, the purpose for which they were read. In some cases even the frequency and the exact time when a prayer had to be said is given. The penultimate and largest column of the table contains the requests formulated in the texts and the placement of multiple demands within the rhetorical structure.

4.1. Translation and accommodation: Techniques of production

In the late Middle Ages, the transmission of texts, whether involving a change of language or not, meant a literary practice different from modern methods based on faithfulness to the original.¹⁵⁶ Texts, except for a few significant groups, could be

¹⁵⁶ On the topic of medieval translations in general see, for example: Jeanette Beer, ed., *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1997); Jeanette Beer and Kenneth Lloyd-Jones, ed., *Translation and the Transmission of Culture between 1300 and 1600* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995); Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); *The Medieval Translator: Traduire au Moyen Age*, ed.

shortened, expanded, or rearranged in any way considered necessary by the copyist or translator according to the needs of the intended audience.¹⁵⁷ This was especially true for devotional texts. Many of the prayers I analyzed were copied into several codices. For instance, Saint Bridget's prayer figures in no less than eight codices, Saint Gregory's Seven Os is included in five, Bede's verses about Christ's seven words on the cross into three, and the eucharistic text known as *Anima Christi* from its Latin incipit into three manuscripts.

Comparing the Latin and Hungarian versions of these texts, it can be immediately observed that the part most liable to change is the introductory rubric and the eventual commendation, that is, the paratexts of the strictly considered prayers. The logic behind this is simple; while the miraculous words of a saint or a text blessed by popes may lose its efficacy if changed, the origin of a text may or may not have been considered important by the compiler or commissioner of a collection. As I have shown above, some manuscripts (e.g., the *Lobkowicz-kódex*) have a decided preference for long introductory rubrics. The lack of a rubric may have caused a change in the function and use of the prayer as well, since the main text usually is not closely connected to the function conferred on it. In new conditions it could be used for different purposes.

Another variable of the passion prayers are the parts referring to the user. The masculine forms of the Latin versions were usually changed to feminine (*szolgálóleányod* substituted for *servus*) when the manuscript was prepared for women. Personal names (Benigna, Simon) were included when the collection was prepared for a single person (characteristically a lay patron). Adjectives such as "miserable," "sinful," etc. may also have been added freely to the nouns and pronouns designating the

Roger Ellis, René Tixier, and Bernd Weitemeier, vol. 6. Proceedings of the International Conference of Göttingen (22-25 July 1996) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

¹⁵⁷ On the procedures applied in the Hungarian codices see Tarnai, "*A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik*," 227-327.

devotee, and the addressees of texts, Jesus and Mary, may also have been attributed various epithets: “good,” “sweet,” “pure,” “loving,” “beautiful,” etc. Christ’s suffering may have been embellished by adding synonymous adjectives, too.

In the case of several Hungarian texts no Latin sources/variants have been found. They may easily be original Hungarian compositions. They are built on similar structures and formulas as the texts which have Latin versions as well. This points to the fact that the great number of similarly structured prayers made possible the creation of an almost infinite number of new *oratio*s by using well-known phrases. Sometimes the differences in translations may also be the result of the application of such formulas, a phenomenon well describable by Andor Tarnai’s concept of “secondary orality.”¹⁵⁸

4.2. Learned Fathers and Saintly Visionaries: Authorities on the Passion of Christ

Authorship was one of the important features of transmitted prayers subject to change. The “mistaken attribution of a ‘modern’ work to an ‘ancient’ and distinguished writer is symptomatic of medieval veneration of the past in general.”¹⁵⁹ In the case of devotional texts such misattributions were almost a norm. The popular late medieval works on the passion, for instance, were often circulated under the name of Church Fathers. Thomas Bestul claims that these attributions can be considered “a creative act of literary criticism that opposes the ideals of strict canon formation.”¹⁶⁰ He argues that it renders the texts timeless, removing them from their historical context. More than “mere strategies of elevation and prestige,” these attributions “are acts of appropriation that become a way of developing, maintaining, and extending a textual community

¹⁵⁸ Tarnai, “*A magyar nyelvet írni kezdik*,” 234.

¹⁵⁹ A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1988), 9.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 15.

united by veneration” for exemplary spiritual authors such as Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, or Bonaventure.¹⁶¹ Therefore, if one wishes to discuss late medieval passion texts one should pay attention to the issue of authorship. The eventual misattributions should be interpreted as being more than mere philological mistakes to be set right by critical observations. They are usually important components of the texts that connect them to a spiritual tradition presented as valuable for the intended audience; moreover, they may enhance certain spiritual contents in these works.

Among late medieval Hungarian texts on the passion there are several such misattributed writings. The attributions may not be specific to this corpus, since they may have originated from the Latin sources; nevertheless, they offer useful information on the spirituality of the community which used these texts. The following table presents some significant cases of misattributed works related to the passion:

Title of the work	Author	Attribution	Hungarian translation	Comments
<i>Meditationes vitae Christi</i>	John of Caulibus? ¹⁶²	Saint Bonaventure	DebrK. 308/2–315/13	Fragment inserted into an authentic Bonaventurian work, <i>De perfectione vitae ad sorores</i> .
<i>Horologium sapientiae</i>	Henry Suso	Saint Anselm of Canterbury	NagyszK. 1-158	
<i>Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini</i>	unknown	Saint Anselm of Canterbury	AporK. 157-186	
<i>De imitatione Christi</i>	Thomas à Kempis	Saint Bernard of Clairvaux	DebrK. 238-246, 275-283, 283-291, 292-296, LobkK. 31–37, 38–48,	Short quotations from Kempis interpolated into other texts occur under Jean Gerson’s name: GuaryK. ¹⁶³ 133-134,

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 16.

¹⁶² Dávid Falvay and Péter Tóth have reconsidered the authorship of the text presenting convincing arguments for a new attribution. Their soon-to-be-published study is bound to bring significant changes to the philology of the *Meditationes*. I am grateful to them for allowing me to read the manuscript.

¹⁶³ *Guary codex*, Nyelvemléktár 15, ed. Lajos Katona (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1908).

			48–49, 61–85, 86–94, 101–103, 104–110	WeszprK. ¹⁶⁴ 132–134. In other codices chapters appear without any attribution: LázK. ¹⁶⁵ 120–139, 195–199, 239–307, NádK. 7–8.
<i>Salve mundi salutare</i>	unknown	Saint Bernard of Clairvaux	CzechK. 43–67, ThewrK. ¹⁶⁶ 282–297	
<i>Oratio Sanctae Brigittae</i>	unknown	Saint Bridget of Sweden	GyöngyK. ¹⁶⁷ 7–24, GömK. 98–128, KrizaK. ¹⁶⁸ 2–67, LázK. 150–190, 193–194	The text figures without any attribution in: PozsK. ¹⁶⁹ 1–21, WinklK. 244–260, ThewrK. 1–34, CzechK. 1–42 (in this case the beginning of the text is missing due to a lost page).
<i>Oratio Sancti Gregorii</i>		Saint Gregory	LobkK. 244–247, LázK. 215–221,	Other variants only mention that some popes granted indulgencies for the persons reciting the prayer: ThewrK. 205–209 (Gregory, Calixtus, and Syxtus); PozsK. 23–25/11 (Innocent IV). In PeerK. 176–180 the prayer appears without any mention of authority.

Four of the texts included in the table are meditations; one is a hymn which could have functioned as a meditation or a prayer, and two are prayers. The *Meditationes vitae Christi*, one of the largest meditative texts on the passion, was usually attributed to Saint Bonaventure during the Middle Ages. This attribution was far

¹⁶⁴ *Weszprémi-kódex: A XVI. század első negyede*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 8, ed. István Pusztai (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1988).

¹⁶⁵ *Lázár Zelma-kódex: XVI. század első negyede*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 14, ed. Csilla N. Abaffy (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1992).

¹⁶⁶ *Thewrewk-kódex: 1531*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 18, ed. Judit Balázs and Gabriella Uhl (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 1995).

¹⁶⁷ *Gyöngyösi-kódex: Az 1500-as évek elejéről*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 27, ed. Adrienne Dömötör (Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete, 2001).

¹⁶⁸ *Kriza-kódex: 1532*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 5, ed. Csilla N. Abaffy (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1988).

¹⁶⁹ *Pozsonyi Kódex: 1520*, Régi Magyar Kódexek, 29, ed. Csilla Abaffy, Erzsébet Abaffy, and Edit Madas (Budapest: Pharma Press and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2004).

from arbitrary. The text originated from an Italian Franciscan milieu and was dedicated to a community or one single nun belonging to this mendicant order.¹⁷⁰ Bonaventure himself had similar works. One of them, a spiritual manual written for Poor Clares, *De perfectione vitae ad sorores*, has a chapter on remembering the passion of Christ. In the *Debreceni Kódex*, the *Meditationes vitae Christi* part (the meditation connected to Prime) is interpolated into this authentic Bonaventurian text. Thomas Bestul observes that the style of the *Meditationes* “is more historical, less affective and apostrophic” than Bonaventure’s texts on the passion.¹⁷¹ Therefore, the insertion of its text into the less narrative *De perfectione vitae* chapter and its attribution to Bonaventure expands the Franciscan author’s work and modifies the image one could form about his devotional writings in order to suit the preference of the compiler/audience for proper narrative texts over lyrical apostrophic pieces.

The attribution of Suso’s *Horologium* to Anselm encountered in the *Nagyszombati Kódex* is not as widespread as the former Bonaventurian case. Tamás Balogh, however, argues, correcting in this respect the editor of the texts’ critical edition, that the *explicit* of an early manuscript, *Explicit sapientiae horologium fratris A. ordinis praedicatorum domus C.*, may have sometimes been interpreted as an allusion to Anselm.¹⁷² Although one cannot be sure about the reasons of the translator or copyist who made the attribution in the case of the Hungarian translation, the readers of the codex must have found the authorship of the eleventh-century theologian plausible since his name was associated with several devotional works on the passion in the Late Middle Ages. The next item in the table, the *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini*, translated partially in the *Apor codex*, is such a text. Nevertheless, Anselm here is not the author, but one of the interlocutors in the dialogue.

¹⁷⁰ Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 48.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

This work, however, was usually included among his works, as I have mentioned it in the previous chapter.

The next two items were attributed to one of the favorite authorities of the age: Bernard of Clairvaux. The Late Middle Ages can be considered the golden age of the pseudo-Bernardian works. Several pieces of writing (prayers, meditations, treatises) were circulated under his name. The Hungarian codices also contain several texts attributed to him. Thomas à Kempis' *De imitatione Christi*, although it does not focus only on the passion, is the central work of the *devotio moderna*, a movement in which the humanity of Christ and his sacrifice are a recommended topic of meditation. Chapters of the *Imitatione* were copied into several Hungarian codices, but none of the fragments figure under the real author's name.¹⁷³ Some are unattributed; other short passages, included as quotations in different treatises and probably taken over from the source texts, appear under Jean Gerson's name, one of the main candidates for the authorship of the work. The fact that two of the longest translations attribute the work to Bernard demonstrates the importance of this ecclesiastical writer as an authority for the spirituality of the age. The other text, the *Salve mundi* hymn, described as a prayer by the Hungarian translators, passed for an authentic Bernardian work even long after the Middle Ages. It was one of the pseudo-works on the basis of which the Cistercian saint was considered the "father of passion meditations." Although among his authentic texts there are no such devotional writings, the Bernard of the Late Middle Ages must be looked at through the mirror of the works attributed to him in the age.

Attributions functioned in a slightly different manner for prayers. The two popular late medieval prayers included into the table, one connected to Bridget of Sweden, the other to Pope Saint Gregory, explain the origin of the text by a miracle

¹⁷² Balogh, "A nagyszombati-kódex...": 248-253.

story. Both Bridget and Gregory, on account of their special devotion to the suffering Christ, saw visions which revealed to them some aspects of the passion described in the prayer. Not all the versions narrate the story or give an authorial name as the table shows, but some copyists seemed to prefer texts the efficacy of which was guaranteed by such miraculous origins or the name of a saint or Church Father.¹⁷⁴

Other examples could be added (attributions to Saint Augustine, the Venerable Bede, and various popes) to those enumerated in the table, for these attributions were a common practice in devotional literature of the age. These few show that a careful analyst should not discard the mistaken authorial names either by referring to them as errors or by simply stating that they were meant to confer authority on the texts. They must be analyzed in each case in order to reveal why such an attribution could work and what information it offers on the spirituality, mentality, and literary views of the compilers, translators, copyists, and readers. In the case of the passion prayers the attributions refer to learned ecclesiastical authors under whose names treatises and meditations on the suffering of Christ were circulated in the age or in whose legends some miraculous episode revealed a special devotion to this event (e.g., the mass of Gregory, Christ bowing down from the cross to embrace Bernard). Thus, these prayers are closely connected to other devotional texts about the passion and enhance the fame of certain authors as authorities on this topic.

4.3. Evoking the Passion: Narrative Techniques in Passion Prayers

The passion treatises, meditation, and sermons discussed in chapter three provided ample place for the elaboration of a narrative rich in details. Passion prayers,

¹⁷³ For details see: Rafael Miklós, *A Krisztus követése magyar fordításai* [The Hungarian translations of *The Imitation of Christ*] (Szombathely, 1935), 18-28.

on the other hand, are usually shorter, therefore they cannot retell the entire story. The longer ones, such as the Bridget prayers, attempt to summarize briefly all the important moments of the elaborate story. Their narrator, the devotee herself, enumerates the events in short concise sentences, each reminding Christ of a certain pain he suffered (the prayer in the garden, betrayal by his disciple, false condemnation, beatings, disrobement, crowing by thorns, etc.). The narratee, Jesus, of course does not require a more detailed reminder, and those reading the text were also familiar with all the events from the grand narrative texts. The prayer is only a short reminder, a collection of memory devices which help recall the entire story. By the act of recollection, the passion is made present. A compassionate meditation upon it makes the praying person a participant of the events and thus a beneficiary of its salvation effect. The aim of these concise narratives is to make possible the compassionate participation which eventually will obtain the graces asked for at the end of the prayer. No wonder that several texts included in the table ask among other things for compassionate remembering of the passion.

Some of the most popular organizational methods of the texts are to recount the passion in a sevenfold division: according to the seven canonical hours (e.g., the *Patris sapientia* translation in the *Winkler-kódex*), the seven words of Christ on the cross (the Pseudo-Bede prayer), the seven sorrows of the Virgin, or the seven Os of Gregory. Although the narrative may lack the details, the sacred number confers a higher type of perfection and completeness onto these texts. In these cases a symbolic and highly affective order is superposed on the narrative-historical layer. These less-narrative texts can be compared with the decontextualized devotional image types discussed above, such as the Man of Sorrows representations.

¹⁷⁴ The *Lobkowitz*- and the *Lázár*-codices for example contain several such introductory rubrics.

The placement of the requests in relation to the narrative element is another important technical issue of the texts. The longer series, such as Saint Bridget's prayers, formulate different requests at the end of each unit. These are, of course, interconnected, but each of them connects thematically to the narrative part included in it. This logic can be perceived in shorter texts as well; by repeating the seven words of Christ, one can obtain the remission of the seven deadly sins; by remembering the words of Christ addressed to his mother, the Virgin will attend the hour of one's death as a helper. A prayer figuring in both in the *Czech-* and the *Thewrewk-kódex* formulates various requests, each related to one element of Christ's passion: for the sake of his imprisonment let Christ liberate the praying person's body and soul from all imprisonment, for the sake of his unjust condemnation let him preserve her from unjust condemnation, etc. The shortest pieces place only one request at the end of the narrative part. The *Patris sapientia*, after recounting the events of the passion divided according to the seven canonical hours, formulates only a commendation: I commend these holy prayers to you, Christ, with piety and gratitude because you suffered great pain for me in your great love. A few texts do not formulate any direct request. They are either lauds or meditational pieces. For example the "Remember, o, Christian..." in *Winkler-kódex* recounts in brief the history of salvation emphasizing the passion; afterwards it just urges Christians to meditate on Christ's suffering in order to be able to see him at the hour of their death.

Despite being much shorter than the passion treatises and meditations, the prayers discussed here operate with various narrative and organizational devices. These have been selected according to the purpose and intended use of the prayers. Longer, meditative texts may include numerous narrative elements, while shorter ones (to be said before or after the eucharist, for example) only use allusions to the most important

elements of the passion from the perspective of the particular aim (e.g., an allusion to the Last Supper in case of a eucharistic text).

4.4. Praying with Images: The Role of Visual Representations

The use of images as a starting point for meditation was a well known method in the age, even late medieval preachers tried to benefit from the application of visual instruments.¹⁷⁵ Therefore it seems natural that some introductory rubrics to prayers specify that the text must be recited before an image or the cross. A prayer about Christ's five wounds in *Gömöry-kódex* (the Latin versions attribute it to Saint Gregory) obtains indulgences if said devoutly kneeling before the crucifix. Such an instruction suggests that different senses had to be utilized in order to achieve the necessary state of compassionate union with the wounded Christ. The *Lobkowitz-kódex*'s introduction to Saint Gregory's prayer concludes by warning: "it has to be said before the *pietas*."

Such a *pietas* has been drawn in the *Peer-kódex* before the same prayer (see Fig. 1.) It is a rather non-professional ink rendering of a half figure Christ rising from a sarcophagus as the Man of Sorrows. He is depicted with some of the *arma Christi*: the crown of thorns, the cross, the scourge, and the three nails. The iconographic type of the Man of Sorrows, as mentioned above, was a widely spread devotional image in the Late Middle Ages, with several subtypes (e.g., Christ pointing to his side wound; bleeding into the chalice;¹⁷⁶ supported by the Father; accompanied by angels, by the Virgin and Saint John, etc.). Its popularity was due to its affiliations to two of the most important and to a certain degree interrelated devotional topics of the Late Middle Ages: the

¹⁷⁵ On the implementation of this method in late medieval Hungary see: Edina Ádám, "Pelbárt of Temesvár and the Use of Images in Preaching," M.A. thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 2008).

¹⁷⁶ On the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows and its significance in Central Europe see: Dóra Sallay, "The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Late Medieval Art," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000): 45-80.

Passion and the Eucharist.¹⁷⁷ A frequent version depicts the suffering Christ in relation to the miraculous mass of Saint Gregory: the Man of Sorrows appears before the pope on the altar during transubstantiation to convince those who would doubt the real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist. In books of hours this image often accompanies a prayer attributed to Gregory himself;¹⁷⁸ therefore it is no coincidence that the drawing in *Peer-kódex* introduces the translation of this Latin prayer.

Nevertheless, considering the picture and the prayer text as a devotional unit, one might wonder whether in this particular case the two indeed have eucharistic content. Bernhard Ridderbos, analyzing the transformation of the Man of Sorrows representation type from its Byzantine origins to its different European realizations, emphasizes the different interpretational possibilities depending on context and variations.¹⁷⁹ Following his model of analysis, one may observe that this picture is dominated by the visual elements recalling the resurrected Christ: crossed arms, which according to Ridderbos allude to the entombed, then-risen Savior,¹⁸⁰ open eyes, and the scepter-like position of the scourge and reeds. These latter might suggest that Christ's power and kingship originates from his suffering and death. On account of this power he can be an effective protector as well as a merciful judge at the hour of one's death and at the Last Judgment. The Latin inscription below the drawing also emphasizes the Lord's mercy. The prayer accompanying the image reinforces the same message. It mentions the hour of the praying person's death as well as the possibilities of the afterlife, beseeching Jesus to grant a good end to the devotee. Moreover, this text is

¹⁷⁷ For their central role see, for example: Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 83-89, 96-102.

¹⁷⁸ On the eucharistic aspects of the Man of Sorrows representations see: Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 308-310.

¹⁷⁹ Bernhard Ridderbos, "The Man of Sorrows: Pictorial Images and Metaphorical Statements," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, ed. A. A. Macdonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 143-182.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 160.

followed by a series of other prayers appealing to divine mercy by describing different parts of the Passion and the figure of the suffering Christ. Although the manuscript contains two eucharistic prayers, these are very short and the imagery of the *Corpus Christi* is rather underdeveloped. One may conjecture, therefore, that the scribes who planned the codex or their commissioner perhaps did not lay much emphasis on eucharistic devotion to enhance the other layers of meanings in a devotional image and prayer often connected with the holy host.

This example of an image used as a praying tool has shown that the visual environment of the passion prayers could modify their function and use. Unfortunately, no similar prayer illustrations have survived in the Hungarian codices, nevertheless, when thinking about the use of passion prayers one must always consider the possibility that users may have enhanced the effect of their textual imagery with pieces of visual art.

4.5. The Intended Functions

Having discussed various aspects of the prayers, it has become evident that praying with the passion was a varied and multilayered religious activity. Some texts (those without specific requests) suggest a meditative use in line with the traditional unity of *lectio-oratio-meditatio-contemplatio*. The suffering figure of the human Christ as the icon of redemption was indeed a suitable topic for such monastic practices. Especially the affective and highly poetic texts such as the Pseudo-Bernard *Rhythmica oratio*, situated on the borderline between prayer, hymn, and meditation, could have functioned in this way. In these cases the text was only a starting point for the inner

spiritual process by which the devotee strived to abandon all earthly words and images and to become united with God.

A small segment of the prayers are of liturgical character (e.g., the short prayers of the *Keszthelyi-kódex*), as I have shown in the second chapter. They were part of liturgical activity and their function was intertwined with the aim of the entire rite.

Some of the other texts, especially the eucharistic prayers, had the well-defined role of preparing the devotees for holy communion by pointing out the connection between the suffering Christ and the eucharist. Others, said after partaking of the sacrament, helped the pious to preserve the unity with Christ thus achieved by dwelling on the mysteries of the rite.

The prayers promising protection against the different forms of sudden death, such as those in the *Peer-kódex* against arrows or daggers are related to the apotropaic texts discussed by Edina Bozóky¹⁸¹ and Don C. Skemer.¹⁸² Certain modes of using the textual amulets analyzed by Skemer are close to the utilization of some Hungarian passion prayers. Although many of the short protective texts written or printed on pieces of paper, parchment, or other support were worn unread on the body, others were meant to be read or even performed. Loud reading would give additional force to the sacred words, and the combined senses of seeing and hearing would make the memorization easier.¹⁸³ These amulets were based on the magical efficacy of words and a belief in the divine power of writing.¹⁸⁴ Some prayers of the *Peer-kódex* show a similar belief in the magical power of words. Even the practice of formulating one's requests by quoting sacred words (e.g., Christ's seven words on the cross) has a slight affinity with the set of beliefs behind the magical practice.

¹⁸¹ Bozóky, *Charmes et prière apotropaïques*.

¹⁸² Skemer, *Binding Words*.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 144-156.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1-5.

Not only were the passion prayers recalling the functions of apotropaic amulets used as a protective instrument, a significant segment of the analyzed corpus consists of prayers granting indulgences. Their power granted by different popes, these texts promise to shorten the period one has to spend in purgatory. In this way they also work as protective tools.

Examining more closely the requests formulated in most of the prayers (true contrition, remission of sins, to know the hour of one's death, a good death, protection against the devil, salvation, a place in heaven, etc.), they all converge towards a single point: anxiety about and preoccupation with one's eternal fate. Members of the French Annales School, such historians of mentalities as Philippe Ariés,¹⁸⁵ Jacques Le Goff,¹⁸⁶ and Jean Delumeau¹⁸⁷ as well as other scholars, for instance, Peter Dinzelbacher¹⁸⁸ or the authors of the collected volume entitled *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*¹⁸⁹ have discussed in detail late medieval ideas about death and afterlife. The safest way to eternal life was through a good death, which meant that people were supposed to confess their sins, take holy communion, and receive the last unction before dying. The *ars moriendi* treatises popular in the Late Middle Ages elaborated a detailed ritual of death. Dying was considered a *rite of passage*,¹⁹⁰ which had to be performed correctly in order to be able to integrate into the next state of life. The passion and death of Christ

¹⁸⁵ Philippe Ariés, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

¹⁸⁶ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of the Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990).

¹⁸⁷ Jean Delumeau, *La Peur on Occident (XIV^e–XVIII^e siècles): Une cité assiégée* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1978); Idem, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture: 13th–18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).

¹⁸⁸ Peter Dinzelbacher, *Angst im Mittelalter: Teufels-, Todes- und Gotteserfahrung: Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996).

¹⁸⁹ Edelgard E. Dubruck and Barbara I. Gusick, ed. *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.

¹⁹⁰ For the antropological use of the term see: Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). For its application in the field of history see: Nicola F. McDonald and W. M. Ormond, ed., *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).

was the exemplary passage for the Christians in the Middle Ages. His patience, constant praying, and innocence were a model to be imitated. Passion narratives can therefore also be regarded as *artes moriendi*. By memorizing the events of the passion, the devotees could literally imprint the exemplary death on their heart. No wonder that when they wished to pray for a good end they did it by references to the passion.

Conclusions

My thesis has offered a contextual and functional analysis of late medieval Hungarian-language passion prayers copied into various codices intended for the use of nuns and lay persons. By looking at these texts against the background of late medieval prayer books and passion representations, as well as by describing the different creative procedures through which they were prepared, I have offered a glimpse into the world of the late medieval Hungarian praying people as revealed by the manuscripts.

Seen against their textual and visual world, their literary and spiritual concepts, the praying practice shown by their prayer books has come to life. Instead of representational objects, empty liturgical formulas, or superstitious incantations, passion prayers may have been a life preserver for the individual soul swimming in the dangerous flow of the world. Even a rich and influential aristocratic lady like Benigna Magyar, with whom this investigation began, could have regarded the texts copied for her as a guide and a protective tool during the turbulent years of her life.

The present thesis is an attempt to outline a new approach to this corpus based on the interdisciplinary perspective of cultural studies, rather than a thorough analysis of the texts. After the mainly philological research of previous scholarship, I have pointed out the importance of passion prayer as a source for the history of mentalities. In the literature discussing medieval prayers in general I have encountered only a few studies investigating the function of such texts, none of them focusing on late medieval materials. Nevertheless, the great number of private prayers circulated in this period would justify such inquiries. I have tried to elaborate a methodology by the aid of which further textual investigations could be carried out. Further research may analyze other vernacular prayer texts, not necessarily connected with the passion as well as the vast

Latin material. Another new approach I applied in my thesis has been the analyses of visual and textual Hungarian passion narratives. The impact of visual media on late medieval Hungarian-language devotional literature is a field which still offers ample possibilities for historical research.

Appendices

Passion Prayers and the Requests Formulated in Them

	Pages	General denomination	Introductory rubric and/or incipit	Requests	Parallel versions
	Peer-kódex				
	117-131	Prayer about/to Mary CEU eTD Collection	<p><i>az en zereto fyam kyben kedwem bée tél'l'ésédeek Pr nr · Aue maria Iesus az puztaba witetek...</i></p> <p>The beginning of the text is missing, therefore no title or attribution figures. It seems to be a short devotion based on the life of Christ. After each episode a <i>Pater noster</i> and an <i>Ave Maria</i> is recommended. The passion has prominent role.</p>	No requests are formulated.	
	131-166		<p><i>azzonnjóm zÿz mariarwl walo ÿmadsagh Meltosagws ees zentseges zÿz maria</i></p>	Introductory prayer and 8 requests. Probably meant for eight days, because several references are made to the fact that Mary should turn the praying person's sorrows to joys during these 8 days. First request	

			(Prayer about my lady the Virgin Mary. Honorable and holy Virgin Mary...) 8 requests to her, her joys mentioned.	relevant, after appealing to Mary by reference to the joys she felt when Jesus was conceived and born, then it narrates the entire passion concisely through the requests addressed to the Virgin. The general request formulated in the introductory prayer: to listen to his prayer, protect him, keep sins away from him and in the hour of his death to keep away temptations and the gate of hell. The wish demanded in the first request before the passion scenes: to console him and to listen to his demand in these 8 days.	
	176-180	St. Gregory's seven Os	No title or attribution, though a <i>Misericordia Domini</i> picture before it. <i>O wram iesus cristus : jmadlak tegédét az keresztfan fűggotted...</i> (O, my lord Jesus Christ, I adore you on the cross...)	1 st request: to be delivered from the "beating" angel. 2 nd request: Christ's wounds to become the remedy of his soul (cf. PozsK. his life). 3 rd request: Christ's death to be the life of his soul. 4 th request: that Christ may preserve the just, justify the sinners, have mercy on the faithful, and be gracious to the praying one. 5 th request: mercy to the soul in the hour of death. 6 th request: not to go to hell. 7 th request: to receive mercy (much shorter than in than in the PozsK.).	Antidot. an., Hort. an., LobkK. 244-247, PozsK. 23-25/11, LázK. 215-221, ThewrK. 205-209
	194-199	The prayer of the Venerable Bede CEU eTD Collection	Attribution within the text to the Venerable Bede <i>Aldoth cristus keresztfan het iget meg monda...</i> (The blessed Christ said seven words on the cross...) Prayer in verse about Christ's seven words on the cross.	Requests: remission of the seven deadly sins, promise from Christ in the hour of one's death to be admitted in heaven, and the Virgin to be granted as one's companion. Whoever says this prayer on his knees every day will see the Virgin and be forewarned thirty days before his death.	Hort. an., Antidot. an., GömK. 160-166. VitkK. 103-108.

	205-213	Prayer to Christ's tortured body parts	<i>Idvoz leg ur iesus cristusnak zent feýe...</i> (Hail, holy head of the lord Jesus Christ...)	After saluting all the suffering body parts of Christ asks forgiveness for his sins. Demands that he may love Christ with all his body and soul and that he may serve him faithfully. Asks for mercy for his parents, siblings, sons, relations, and all those who have been good to him in this world and the other.	Hort. an., GömK. 216-223, ThewrK. 82-87
	225-229	Prayer with indulgences	<i>Oratio valde vtilis ad Christum propter peccata venialia et mortalia et petici eorundem habet indulgencias xxxiii annorum</i> <i>Orok mendenhato istensegnnek aldot zent fýa...</i> (Blessed, holy son of the eternal, omnipotent God...) consisting of four units	By referring to Christ suffering on the cross asks for mercy in the hour of one's death, protection against eternal death, admittance to heaven, and protection from the enemy.	
	229-231	Prayer to be said in the moment of death CEU eTD Collection	<i>Vala melý ember halalanak ýdeýn meg olwassangýa awag meg oluastatýa the hath ketsegnelkúl menorsaba megýen</i> <i>Kerlek vram ihs cristus az vires verednek hullasaert</i> (Whoever reads this prayer or asks it to be read at the time of his/her death, will go to heaven without doubt. I ask you, my lord,	Asks for the remission of one's sins, remission of the suffering, and to go to the bliss of heaven.	ThewrK. 47-48

			Jesus Christ for the outpouring of your crimson blood...)		
	250-278	Protective prayers against arrow and dagger	<i>O nyl al'meg...</i> (O, arrow, stop...) A series of short prayers, not particularly about the Passion, but several elements of it are mentioned, especially the cross and the other instruments of the passion resembling the weapons against which Simon seeks protection.	Asks for protection on each day of his life against visible (robbers, murderers) and invisible enemies, protection against sudden death by any means, especially of arrows or dagger (in fact orders these weapons to stop or be averted), protection against enemies, and salvation.	
	283-284	Prayer to be said after the Lord's Prayer	<i>post pater noster oratio kerlek tegedet wram ihus keserosegre kyt scenwedel...</i> (I ask you my lord, Jesus Christ, by the sorrow you suffered...)	By referring to Christ suffering on the cross and especially the moment of his death, it demands mercy upon one's soul in the moment when it will leave the body.	
	Pozsonyi Kódex				
	1-21	Saint Bridget's prayers CEU eTD Collection	<i>Kezdetyk Iesusrol walo tyzen ewth jeles ymadssagh Elsew ymadssagh o iesus Tegedeth zeretewnek edessegh...</i> (Here begin fifteen excellent prayers about Jesus. First prayer. O, Jesus, sweetness of	1 st prayer asks for true confession and the remission of sins before death. 2 nd prayer asks for fear of God to be able to serve Christ. 3 rd prayer requests that the remembrance of Christ's sorrow may be the remission of the praying person's sins. 4 th prayer asks Jesus to free her from her visible and	Antidot. an., Hort. an., WinklK. 244-260, CzechK. 1-42, GömK. 98-128,

		CEU eTD Collection	those who love you...)	<p>invisible enemies and to protect her.</p> <p>5th prayer requests that in the hour of her death she may be shown mercy and may see Christ's face in heaven.</p> <p>6th prayer: that Jesus may be the object of faith for her in any bodily and spiritual misery.</p> <p>7th prayer: to extinguish bodily desires and the thirst for the world.</p> <p>8th: worthy communion in the hour of death.</p> <p>9th: not to forsake her in the hour of her death.</p> <p>10th: that she may keep Christ's commandments.</p> <p>11th: to deliver her from her sins, to be hidden in Christ's wounds.</p> <p>12th: that Jesus may write his passion into her heart, that she may read it there and that she may be grateful until the hour of her death.</p> <p>13th: pity in the hour of death and deliverance from the enemy, admittance to heaven.</p> <p>14th: to be able to resist the body, the world, and the devil, to be dead for sin, to live for Christ, to admit her soul to the heavenly wedding in the hour of her death.</p> <p>15th: to be wounded by the love of Christ, the sorrow over Christ's passion and death to become living bread for her, that Christ may live in her heart, to be grateful for these goods received, to preserve the sign of his love in her heart, that Christ may help her in the hour of her death.</p> <p>Closing prayer: to be freed from her sins, to be preserved in Christ's service, to have good death and</p>	<p>GyöngyK. 7-24, LázK. 150-190, 193-194, ThewrK. 1-34, KrizaK. 2-67</p>
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				receive eternal bliss.	
	23-25 ¹¹	St. Gregory's seven Os	<p><i>Valaki ez kevetkezendew jmachagokath az yesusnak fezewletinek elotte megh mongya heth pater noster al annye Aue mariawal terden alwan / ez ember wal harmync keth ezer eztendeig walo bwchwth / Mel jmachjagoth negjed Innocencius Papa megh confirmalth az vag megh erossytheth Melj jmachagok ez kepen kezdehnek O Vram iesus christus jmadlak theghedeth az kerezthfan fjgghesederth / es az thewyskoronath fejdedbe wyselesederth...</i> (If someone says the following prayers kneeling before the crucifix of Jesus with seven <i>Pater noster</i>s and as many <i>Ave Marias</i>, he will be granted thirty-two thousand years of indulgences. The prayer was confirmed by Pope Innocent IV. The prayers begin in this way:</p>	<p>1st request: to be delivered from the “beating” angel. 2nd request: Christ’s wounds to become the remedy of her soul. 3rd request: Christ’s death to be her life. 4th request: that Christ may preserve the just, justify the sinners, have mercy on the faithful, and be gracious to the praying one. 5th request: mercy to the soul in the hour of death. 6th request: not to go to hell. 7th request: to be forgiven before the judgment and to receive mercy. (The Latin text has different order.)</p>	Antidot. an., Hort. an., LobkK. 244-247, PeerK. 176-180, LázK. 215- 221, ThewrK. 205-209

			O, my lord, Jesus Christ, I adore you for your hanging on the cross, and for wearing the crown of thorns on your head...)		
	25 ¹² -16	Short prayer	<i>Egh aýtatos imachyagh kezdetýk</i> (Here begins a devout prayer.)	My Lord, omnipotent God, I ask you today and ever that your wounds may protect me from the devil from hell in the hour of my death, amen.	
	25 ¹⁷ -26 ⁵	Prayer obtaining indulgences	<i>Nagh buchus ymachagh eez merth wagyon harom ezer eztendeýgh valo / Buchuýa</i> (Prayer with a big indulgence, for it has three thousand years of indulgence.)	Requests eternal life by referring to Christ's suffering.	PozsK. 43 ¹⁷ -44 ¹ , LobkK. 248, GömK. 318
	30 ¹⁰ -42 ⁵	Prayer about Mary's sorrows CEU eTD Collection	<i>El kezdetik az ziz Marianak epesegherol walo aýtatos imachagh O Een Nemes azzonýom orok zenthseghes ziz maria...</i> (Here begins a devout prayer about the Virgin Mary's sorrow. O, my noble lady, eternal, holy Virgin Mary...) The prayer is followed by a short not too pious note made by the scribe: <i>yay hogh faradek Bor ythlan</i> (O, how I have labored without drinking wine)	Not all the sorrows refer to the passion, nevertheless most of them do. Only general requests formulated, mercy and compassion in one's misery and trouble, forgiveness for one's sins, safeguarding against sin, strengthening one in the love of Christ, that Mary may be a mediator with her son for the faithful and for the devotee. She asks for general spiritual goods: faith and hope, perfect love, true faith, pure contrition, tears, pure confession, satisfaction for sins, protection from sin, contempt for the world, love of God and one's neighbor, carrying Christ's death in one's heart, carrying out one's promises, to keep doing good deeds, community with the Virgin, happy death, complete penitence, peaceful rest for the soul of one's parents, relations, friends, benefactors, and all the	Hort. an., FestK. 141-160, CzechK. 104-122, NagyszK. 388-397, GömK. 175-190

		ETD Collection	<p>After this indulgencies are promised: <i>Valaky ez ymachyagokath aytatossagal azzonywnk maria kepe eleth megh monghya terden alwa Innocenciu nyolczad papa enghedeth kenthwl ee bynthol walo thelyes Bochwth Annezor menyzer megh mongya De wgh hogh megh gyowonth ees thoredelmes legyen</i> (Pope Innocent VIII has given complete indulgence from torment and sin to anyone who says these prayers kneeling before the image of our lady Mary as many times as one says them. But one must have confession beforehand and must be contrite). This rubric is considered to belong to the following prayer by the editors of the codex, but its parallel in NagyszK. proves that it is connected to this.</p>	<p>faithful, for the living good luck, when they die, eternal glory.</p>	
	43 ¹⁷ -44 ¹	Short Latin prayer	<p>Latin version of a short prayer figuring before in</p>	<p><i>O nuda humanitas O magnum matírium / O profunda wlnera / O virtus sanguinis · O mortis acerbítas /o</i></p>	<p>PozsK. 25¹⁷-26⁵</p>

			Hungarian	<i>diuina dulcedo / adiuua nos ad eternam felicitatem / Amen</i>	
	44 ² -45 ¹⁷	Prayer obtaining indulgences O domine Jesu Christe...	<i>Njölcad Bonifacius Papa ez ýmachagoth megh mondonak aýtatossaghal Enghedeth / thelyesseghel walo Buchuth / Sequitur oracio / O Vram Iesus cgristus halaath adok the neked / kÿ ezwýlagnak ýduessegherth Chwda keppen akaral megh thestoswlni... (Pope Boniface VIII devoutly granted complete indulgence for those who say this prayer. Here follows the prayer: O, my lord, Jesus Christ, I thank you who wanted to become miraculously incarnate for the salvation of this world...)</i>	The prayer sums up Christ life, focusing on his suffering. By referring to his pain and cross it requests to be saved from hell and taken to heaven.	Antidot. an., GömK. 144-147, GyöngyK. 50
Gyöngyösi Kódex					
	7-24	Saint Bridget's prayers <small>CEU eTD Collection</small>	Introductory prayer: <i>Ez ýmadsagokra walo malaztnak keereke Kegylmes Wram ieszus cristus meltoltas engemeth tegedet dýchernem ees az</i>	Although according to Lázcs the text is close to the version of the PozsK., the order of the prayers is different: prayer 2 here is prayer 4 in PozsK.; prayer 3 is prayer 2 there, prayer 4 is prayer 3, after prayer 5 the order is the same again. The commendation is present as well.	Antidot. an., Hort. an., WinklK. 244-260, CzechK. 1-

		CEU eTD Collection	<p><i>the Zenthseges kenodnak dýcheeretýt mondanom ag ennekem hatalmath az the ellenseegýd ees en ellenseegým ellen: Amen</i> (Asking blessing for these prayers: My merciful lord, Jesus Christ, make me worthy to praise you and to say praises of your holy passion, give me power over your enemies and mine, amen.)</p> <p>The introductory rubric attributes the prayers to St. Bridget: <i>Kezdetýk Iesusrol walo týzenewth ýeles ýmadsaag kýt zent Brigida az feezwlethnek eletthe naponkeeth alazatos ees aýthathos ziwel mond wala Elew o Iesus tegedet: Zerethewknek edessege...</i> (Here begin fifteen excellent prayers said by Saint Bridget daily before the crucifix with a humble and devout heart. The first. O, Jesus, sweetness of those who love you...)</p>	<p>To each request a short closing demand is attached: Hail merciful, gracious, beloved, powerful, etc. (in each case another adjective is used) Jesus, have mercy on me, a sinner...</p> <p>Exactly the same requests formulated as in PozsK.</p>	<p>42, GömK. 98-128, LázK. 150- 190, 193- 194, PozsK. 1- 21, ThewrK. 1- 34, KrizaK. 2-67</p>
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	28 ³⁻¹⁵	Saint Augustine's prayer	<i>Sequitur de sancto augustino</i> <i>O megh fezevth ieszus cristus a te kenod legen nekem meznel edesb...</i> (O, crucified Jesus Christ, let your passion be sweeter than honey for me...) Short prayer to the crucified Christ.	Asks to feel compassion with Christ, to hold Christ's passion above anything else, asks for <i>imitatio Christi</i> (write on the board of my heart your holy wounds with your holy blood) and, after a happy death, eternal life.	
	28 ¹⁶⁻²⁴	Short prayer about the passion	<i>En vram mendenhatto isten...</i> (My lord, omnipotent God...)	Speaks about receiving the merits of Christ's death though being an unworthy sinner, no specific request.	CzechK. 67-69
	50-51	Short prayer usually attributed to Saint Augustine	<i>Erek myndenhatho isten ky ez vylagnak valchagareth...</i> (Eternal, omnipotent God, who for the redemption of this world...) The indulgences of the other versions are not mentioned.	After briefly mentioning the main episodes of the passion asks to be saved from hell and to be taken to heaven.	GömK. 142-147, PozsK. 44 ² -45 ¹⁷
Keszthelyi-kódex					
	410 ¹² -411 ³	<i>Commemoratio</i> of Christ's death eTD Collection	<i>Mykoron isten halalaerth soltaar olwastatyk azkoron ez ymadsagoth kel mondany</i> (When psalms are read for the death of God this prayer should be said)	General commendation of the people into God's attention by reference to the passion.	Kulcsk. 365
	435 ⁷⁻²³	<i>Commemoratio</i> of the Eucharist	<i>wronkrol walo ymadsaagh</i> (Prayer about our Lord),	Asks to honor the secret of the Eucharist, which is the memorial of the passion, and to benefit from the	

			Short <i>commemoratio</i> consisting of an antiphon, verse, and prayer.	redemption.	
	435 ²³ - 436 ¹³	<i>Commemoratio</i> about the cross	<i>Ez ymmar zenth kerezthrewl walo ymadaag</i> (This is already a prayer about the holy cross). Consists of an antiphon, verse, and prayer.	Asks for protection when making the sign of the cross as a remembrance of Christ's passion.	
	Czech-kódex				
	1-42	Saint Bridget's prayers CEU eTD Collection	Beginning missing.	1 st prayer asks for true confession and the remission of sins before death. 2 nd prayer asks Jesus to free her from her visible and invisible enemies and to protect her. 3 rd prayer asks for fear and love of Jesus to be able to serve Christ. 4 th prayer requests that the remembrance of Christ's passion may be the remission of her sins and keep away from her all evil. 5 th prayer requests that in the hour of her death she may be shown mercy and may see Christ's face in heaven. 6 th prayer: that Jesus may be the object of faith for her in any bodily and spiritual misery. 7 th prayer: to extinguish bodily desires and the thirst for the world. 8 th : worthy communion in the hour of death. 9 th : that Christ may not forsake her in the hour of her death. 10 th : that she may keep Christ's commandments and	Antidot. an., Hort. an., WinklK. 244-260, GömK. 98-128, GyöngyK. 7-24, LázK. 150-190, 193-194, PozsK. 1-21, ThewrK. 1-34, KrizaK. 2-67

				<p>to be taken in Christ's love.</p> <p>11th: to deliver her from her sins, to be hidden in Christ's wounds.</p> <p>12th: that Jesus may write his passion into her heart, that she may read it there and that she may be grateful until the hour of her death.</p> <p>13th: pity in the hour of death and deliverance from the enemy, admittance to heaven.</p> <p>14th: to be able to resist the body, the world, and the devil, to be dead for sin, to live for Christ, to admit her soul to the heavenly wedding in the hour of her death.</p> <p>15th: to be wounded by the love of Christ, the sorrow over Christ's passion and death to become living bread for her, that Christ may live in her heart, to be grateful for these goods received, to preserve the sign of his love in her heart, that Christ may help her in the hour of her death.</p> <p>There is a closing prayer: thanksgiving.</p> <p>On page 42 there are notes by a 17th century hand (Countess Mária Viktória Balassa, later owner); it was her Friday prayer.</p>	
	43-67	Saint Bernard's prayer <i>Rhythmica oratio</i>	<i>Kowetthkozyk ymmar zent Bernald doctor ymadczaga</i> (Here follows the prayer of Saint Bernard Doctor).	Various requests within the poem, asks for compassion and union with Christ, remission of sins, a good death, and salvation.	ThewrK. 238-297
	67-81	Passion prayers	<i>kowetkoznek meeg ys ygon zeep ymadsagok Idwozeytenknek kennyarol halaarol</i> (Some very	Triple structure: request for a good and benefic remembrance of the passion, narration of the passion, requests connected to each element. Various requests, each formulated related to one	ThewrK. 111-122

			beautiful prayers follow about the passion and death of our Savior).	element of Christ passion: for the sake of his imprisonment let Christ liberate her body and soul from all imprisonment, for the sake of his unjust condemnation let him preserve her from unjust condemnation, etc.	
	81-87	Passion prayer	<i>Ez ymaadsaag ys wasyon ydwozeytenk krystus Iesusrol. ky ygon seep ees ygon ayeetatos. O Vram Iesus kristus orok dyczosegnek kyralya...</i> (This prayer is about our Savior Jesus Christ. It is very beautiful and devout).	Various requests: knowledge of Christ and herself, faith, hope, and love for him, humbleness, remission of sins, power to defeat her enemies' temptations, the sins of body and the allurements of the world, to see and love God with his chosen.	
	88-100	Mary's five sorrows CEU eTD Collection	<i>Kezdetnek ymar azzonyonk zyz marianak oth epesegyrol walo ymadagok. kyket ha walaky ayetatossagwal meg olwassa. nagy bwczyat ees erdometh weesy. o. zent fyatwl</i> (Here begin the prayers about the five sorrows of our lady, the Virgin Mary. If someone reads them with piety receives great indulgence and reward from her son).	Out of the five the third, the fourth, and the five refer to the passion. The third prayer about Christ's imprisonment requests liberation from all troubles, imprisonments, and all dangers and to be freed and protected from all evil for ever with my parents, all my relatives, friends, and enemies. The fourth prayer about the crucifixion asks to be lighted by the fire of Christ's passion, not to forget about it and if she would be unable to remember it because of illness or some other cause, let her be granted as many benefits as if she said the prayers for the canonical hour in the memory of Christ passion. The fifth prayer requests by reference to Mary's sorrow at the descent from the cross to receive Mary's mercy and protection in body and soul and to be able	Remotely similar prayers: Antidot. an., WinklK. 329-337, NagyszK. 382-393, Gömk. 11-13, PozsK. 23-31, ThewrK. 103-104

				to thank her for her mercy forever.	
	104-122	Prayer about Mary's sorrows	<p><i>Valaky ez alaayrth ymadsagokath harmyc napyg ayetatoson mondandya. zentsegos kenyanak vronk Iesus kristusnak tyztossegere: ees bodog zyz marianak o annyanak tyztossegere: Valamyt meeltooth keerend. ketseegnekwl meg nyery: kyth gyakortha istenfeelok yelos byzonagwal meg keeseertottek</i></p> <p>(If one says these prayers for thirty days with piety in honor of our lord, Jesus Christ and the blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, she/he will receive without doubt whatever worthy thing she/he asks, which was often proved to God fearing people with great proofs.)</p>	<p>Not all the sorrows refer to the passion, nevertheless most of them do. After the main part of the prayer referring to Christ's incarnation, his passion, resurrection, ascension, the events of Pentecost, and the last judgment from Mary's point of view the devotee can demand what he wants (<i>It keeryed myth akarz</i>. Here ask for what you want.) Afterwards a closing prayer formulates general requests, mercy and compassion in one's misery and trouble, forgiveness for one's sins, safeguarding against sin, strengthening one in the love of Christ, that Mary may be a mediator with her son for the faithful and for the devotee; she asks for general spiritual goods: faith and hope, perfect love, true faith, pure contrition, tears, pure confession, satisfaction for sins, protection from sin, contempt for the world, love of God and one's neighbor, carrying Christ's death in one's heart, carrying out one's promises, to keep doing good deeds, community with the Virgin, happy death, complete penitence and eternal life for the soul of her parents, for her relations, sisters, and all her benefactors.</p> <p>(The indulgences promised by the versions in NagyszK. and PozsK. are missing.)</p>	Antidot. an., Hort. an., FestK. 141-160, GömK. 175-190, NagyszK. 388-397, PozsK. 30-42
	176-178	Commendation of rosary prayers	Commendation of the second fifty <i>Ave Marias</i>	The prayers are said in the memory of Mary's and Christ's suffering. The devotee demands mercy for the souls in the purgatory, for all the dead, the living sinners, and for herself.	

	192-196	Evening prayers	<p><i>Mykoron le akarz fekonnye te agyadba. tahaat elozor olwas egy Pater nosterth. vronk Iesusnak zent halaalanak dyczeretyre. ees az zent koroztfanak tyztossegere. Azzonyonk marianak haarom Idwozlegy maryath. es zent oryzo angyalodnak egy kredoth. terdon aalwan aagyadnak elotte. Annak vtanna. mondyad ez ymadsagokat.</i> (When you want to go to bed say kneeling before your bed a <i>Pater noster</i> in the praise of the death of our lord Jesus and the honor of the holy cross, three <i>Hail, Marys</i> to our lady Mary, and a <i>Credo</i> to your holy guardian angel. After that say these prayers.)</p>	By reference to the sign of the cross, asks protection during the night from evil spirits and the devil, and evil thoughts. Demands to respect God's will, to be blessed, to be led to Christ and to live with him eternally.	
Lobkowitz-kódex					
	244-247	Saint Gregory's prayer <small>CEU eTD Collection</small>	Once the illustrious Pope Saint Gregory said the mass and our Lord the blessed Jesus appeared to him then in the secrete of his suffering.	1 st request: to be delivered from the "beating" angel. 2 nd request: Christ's wounds to become the remedy of her soul. 3 rd request: Christ's death to be her life.	Antidot. an., Hort. an., (to be said before the <i>imago</i>

			He composed the seven prayers written below in his piety. So that people may read it more devoutly he granted that whoever without a mortal sin says them contritely on her knees and says a <i>Pater noster</i> and an <i>Ave Maria</i> after each, will always receive twenty-three thousand years of indulgences. The prayer which is after that, the eighth was written by a holy pope who granted to it twelve thousand years of indulgence. However, if we count all the indulgences granted by other popes, it has seventy thousand years. But it has to be said before the <i>pietas</i> . 1514	4 th request: that Christ may preserve the just, justify the sinners, have mercy on the faithful, and be gracious to the praying one. 5 th request: mercy to the soul in the hour of death. 6 th request: not to go to hell. 7 th request: to receive mercy. 8 th request: to be forgiven before the judgment and that all her sins may be forgiven (does not figure in the other versions).	<i>pietatis</i>) PeerK. 176-180, PozsK. 17-19, LázK. 215-221, ThewrK. 205-209
	248 ¹⁰⁻¹⁵	Invocation to the suffering Christ CNU ETD Collection	<i>O mezetelen emberseg...</i>	<i>O mezetelen emberseg : O nag martíromság : O mely sebek O vernek íozaga O halálnak keserosege / O istení edesseg segel minket az erek bodogsagra ereke :Amen :/ olvas pater noster Ave</i> (Oh, naked humanity, oh, great martyrdom, oh, deep wounds, oh, goodness of the holy blood, oh, divine sweetness, help us to eternal happiness. <i>Pater noster, Ave Maria</i>)	LobkK. 248, PozsK. 25 ¹⁷ -26 ⁵ , 43 ¹⁷ -44 ¹ (Latin version)
	253 ⁵⁻²⁶	Prayer with indulgences (first	Whoever reads the following three prayers with contrition	Asks Christ to save her soul from all her sins and from eternal death at the time of her death as he	

		piece of a cycle of three prayers, the others are about the joys of Christ and Mary)	having confessed her sins, will receive indulgences from the Holy Roman Church: one thousand years for her sins, another thousand for the sins she has forgotten for the second, and another thousand for mortal sins for the third. <i>Uram íesus xc elew ístennek ffia ffogagiad ez ímatsagot ate zent halalodnak emlekezetire...</i> (My lord, Jesus Christ, son of the living God, receive this prayer in memory of your holy death).	saved many souls at the time of his death.	
	264 ⁶⁻²²	<i>Anima Christi</i> , prayer for the elevation of the host CEU eTD Collection	<i>O vram xpusnak zent lelke zently meg engemet... ez ímatsagot akor kel mondani mikor a pap íambor fel mutatia vronk íhusnak zet testet es kentwl byntwl valo bwchuia vagyon</i> (O, holy spirit of my lord, Jesu Christ, hallow me... This payer must be said when the priest elevates the body of our Lord Jesus and it has indulgences saving one from suffering and sin)	Each line formulates a request, e.g., O, holy soul of my Lord Christ, sanctify me, O, holy body of Christ save me... O, water coming from Christ's side, wash me. At the end she asks to be hidden among Jesus' wounds not to part from him, to be protected from the enemy and that Christ may call her to him in the hour of her death to sing his praises with his saints.	GömK., 151-152, LobkK., 251-252, ThewrK. 303-304
	344 ⁹ -	Prayer with	Pope Innocent III gave 6666	On account of the love he felt suffering on the	Antidot. (to

	346 ¹⁵	indulgences to be said after communion	days of indulgence to everyone who says devoutly this prayer. Afterwards Pope Sixtus IV in 1453 granted that whoever says this on her knees after communion without a mortal sin would ever receive absolution from suffering and sin. <i>En kegies vram iesus xpus kerlek teged anagy zeretetre...</i> (My gracious lord, Jesus Christ, I ask you on account of that great love...)	cross, she asks Christ to forgive her sin, to give her a good end and a happy and glorious resurrection.	be said before the crucifix), GömK. 163-164 (slight similarity), ThewrK. 213-215
Winkler-kódex					
	34-35	Eucharistic liturgical text in Latin	<i>O sacrum conuiuium...</i> Antiphon from the liturgy of the <i>Corpus Christi</i> by Saint Thomas Aquinas, <i>versiculus</i> , and prayer.		WinklK. 39-40
	39-40	Eucharistic liturgical text (translation of the former) eTD Collection	<i>Az othary zentseegreewl</i> (On the Eucharist)	Requests to be able to honor the Eucharist so that to become worthy of redemption.	WinklK. 34-35, Kesztk. 435 ⁷⁻²³ (the verse and prayer are the same, the translation differs)
	60-65	Hours of the Holy Cross/Little	<i>Patris sapientia...</i> , prayer on the passion in verses		WinklK. 118-120

		Office about the Lord's Passion (in Latin)	following the seven hours of prayer.		
	118-120	Hours of the Holy Cross/Little Office about the Lord's Passion	<i>Athyanak bolchesegehe isteny bizonsagh...</i> Translation of the previous Latin text.	After the events of the passion being recounted divided to the seven hours, there is a colophon formulating a request: I commend these holy prayers to you, Christ, with piety and gratitude because you suffered great pain for me in your great love. Be my joy at the time of my death.	WinklK. 60-65
	120-122	Verse about Christ's redemptory death	<i>Emlekeziel kerezthien az aldot ihesusrol artatlan halalarol...</i> (Remember, o, Christian, the blessed Jesus, his innocent death).	The prayer recounts in brief the history of salvation emphasizing the passion. It formulates no direct request towards God, only urging Christians to meditate on Christ's suffering in order to be able to see him in the hour of their death.	
	244-260	Saint Bridget's prayers CEU eTD Collection	No introductory rubric, space has been left for it.	1 st prayer asks for true confession and the remission of sins before death. 2 nd prayer asks Jesus to free her from her visible and invisible enemies and to protect her. 3 rd prayer asks to fear and love of Jesus, to be able to serve Christ. 4 th prayer requests that the remembrance of Christ's passion may be the remission of her sins. 5 th prayer requests that in the hour of her death she may be shown mercy and may see Christ's face in heaven. 6 th prayer: that Jesus may show her mercy in all her bodily and spiritual miseries, and to be comforted by him in all her sorrows. 7 th prayer: worthy communion.	Antidot. an., Hort. an., CzechK. 1-42, GömK. 98-128, GyöngyK. 7-24, LázK. 150-190, 193-194, PozsK. 1-21, ThewrK. 1-34, KrizaK. 2-67

				<p>8th: that Christ may extinguish her bodily desires and her thirst for the world.</p> <p>9th: not to forsake her in the hour of her death.</p> <p>10th: that she may keep Christ's commandments and to be taken in Christ's love.</p> <p>11th: to be hidden in Christ's wounds until his anger for her sins passes.</p> <p>12th: that Jesus may write his passion into her heart, that she may read it there and that she may be grateful until the hour of her death.</p> <p>13th: pity in the hour of death.</p> <p>14th: to be able to resist the body, the world, and the devil, to be dead for the world, to live for Christ, to receive her estranged and exiled soul in the hour of her death.</p> <p>15th: that her soul may be received by Christ in the hour of her death, to be wounded by Christ, that tears of love and penitence may be her daily bread, that Christ may turn her towards himself and her heart may be his abode, that her conversation may be pleasant to him, and that she may be worthy to see him after her death and praise him with his saints in eternity.</p>	
	261	Saint Bonaventure's prayer <small>CEU eTD Collection</small>	No introductory rubric. <i>Uram ihesus cristus az een zyuemeth a the sebeiddel sebosohed megh...</i> (My Lord Jesus Christ wound my heart with your wounds...)	Requests constant remembrance and meditation on the suffering of Christ.	
	329-	The seven	<i>Jduoz leegh Maria cristusnak</i>	After each sorrows a thematically close request is	Hort. an.

	337	sorrows of Mary	<i>kegos annya...</i> (Hail, Mary, Christ's pious mother) Only three connected to the passion.	formulated the fulfillment of which Mary should obtain from his son: 1 st : to have part in the merits of Christ's death. 2 nd : to be protected by Christ and to be received by him after death. 3 rd : to be taught by Christ how to search for him freely. 4 th : that Christ may pardon her sins and that she may praise him. 5 th : that Christ's blood may wash away the praying persons' sins. 6 th : to be protected and received by Christ after death. 7 th : that Mary should obtain the forgiveness of Christ for the devotees so that they may be received to his kingdom.	(only similar)
Gömöry-kódex					
	2, 139-140	Short requests to the suffering Christ	<i>Artatlan zent halalo jstennek artatlan zent fogsaga...</i> (Innocent and holy imprisonment of God who died innocently and in a holy way...)	Each passage of the prayer mentions one element of Christ's passion asking to be protected from similar afflictions. In each passage, except the last, the previous dangers against which one needs protection are also repeated. The prayer asks for protection against: imprisonment, every misery, suffering, wounds, bleeding, sudden death, terrible death, eternal death.	
	3	Prayer to the cross	<i>zenth kerezty Idwezehon engemeth...</i> (May his holy cross redeem me...) The beginning is missing.	Asks for the cross to protect her, to be with her, before, after, above, and under her because the devil fears it.	
	4-10 ³	Prayer about	<i>Istennek Elsew wta. 1555</i>	After remembering the passion divided in ten	ThewrK. 67-

		Christ's ways	<i>OOwram yesus Emlekezem megh Az te elsew vtadon walo zenth kenodrol...</i> (God's first way. 1555. O, my lord, Jesus, I recall your holy suffering on your first way...) Copied in 1555 into the codex.	ways, the prayer asks for the remission of the praying person's sins and of those for whom she is praying, for Jesus' love, for enlightening, strength to resist the temptation of sins, to fulfill the commandments, and to be united with Christ after death.	76
	11-13	Mary's five sorrows	<i>Ez Imadsag zyz marianak ewt keserwsege. ewt pater nosteruel es ewt Aue mariaual : ewzue. Uram yo ihus xpu elew istennek zent fya...</i> (This prayer is the Virgin Mary's five sorrows with five <i>Pater nosters</i> and five <i>Ave Marias</i> . My lord, good Jesus Christ, holy son of the living God...)	A request is formulated related to each sorrow: 1. to be freed from bodily and spiritual sorrow. 2. to be given true penitence with complete confession, devout communion, and ample forgiveness with eternal life. 3. to be freed from all kinds of imprisonments and bounds, the blemish of bodily and spiritual sins. 4. to be protected from bodily sudden and spiritual eternal death. 5. to be accepted by Christ, to be enlightened to praise Christ.	remotely related: CzechK. 88- 100, LázK. 108-119, ÉrsK. 262
	14-15 ⁷	Prayer for thirty days CEU eTD Collection	<i>Vala ky ez ymadsagot harmydcz napyg meg mongya. ha nyomorusagban vasyon meg menty ewteth az kegyes zyz maria. Ennek fewlewtte. sok bulchoya es vasyon ez ymadsagnak : - : - Oh zyz marianak egygyetlen egy fya...</i> (Whoever says this prayer for thirty days, if he/she is in misery, the	No special request, the text urges Christ to comfort his sorrowful mother and commiserates with them.	WinklK. 32, 44 (only four lines)

			gracious Virgin Mary will save him/her. Moreover, this prayer also has many indulgences. Oh, only son of the Virgin Mary...)		
	15-21	Mary's three sorrows		<p>After each sorrow there is a request:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. that Mary should show mercy for Cristina. 2. that Mary should obtain from Christ what the praying person wishes. 3. that Mary may obtain for her the blessing of the Holy Spirit and a good life. <p>Commendation: she recommends herself to Mary and chooses her as mother and protector.</p>	
	23-32	<p>Five prayers to Christ about the passion</p> <p>CEU eTD Collection</p>	<p><i>Imez ymadsagoth yduezzytenk ewnen maga Ielentette meg es istensegere fogatta mynd azzoknak kyk ew zent istenseget tyztelyk ez ymadsagual hogy soha el nem vezty ewket de malaztyaban es meg erewsseyty es meg targya ewket o io ihus : -</i></p> <p><i>O zerelmes ihus kerlek tegedeth az vyaskodaserth...</i></p> <p>(This prayer was revealed by our savior and he promised on his divinity that he will never destroy those who honor him with this prayer but will strengthen them in his grace</p>	<p>Connected with Christ's different sufferings several requests are formulated: Cristina asks for contrition and repentance, to be protected from sin, not to fall into sin in her last hours, to feel compassion with Christ so that Christ and Mary may have mercy on her and aid her as parents especially in the hour of her death, to give up transitory, worldly things, to be protected in the present troubles and dangers against demons and men alike, that Christ may appear and receive her soul in her last hour, that her heart may be distracted from worldly things, that she may await the hour of her death as a bride and not fear it, and that her soul may be forever with Christ.</p>	

			and preserve them. O, good Jesus! O, beloved Jesus, I beseech you for the sake of the struggle...)		
	33-37	Prayer to the body parts of Christ CEU eTD Collection	<i>Negyed syxtus papa ez ala meg yrth ymadsagokath kwldette fernaldos neuw kyralnak hogy ha ky ewket meg oluasandgya ielesben my yduezeytenknek fezwlety kepenek elewtte. tahat az napon keet negyuen ezer eztendeyg valo bulchokath val. pentek napon ha meg oluasangya keet anne bulchokat val. Nagy penteken ky meg mondgya tahat az napon kentul es byntwl odoztatyk es ha mely lelekerth meg oluastatyk Azon Nagy penteken mynden oluasasual egy lelket purgatoriumbul ky zabadeyth. Es myndeyyk ymadsag vtan kel mondany egy pater nosterth es egy Aue mariat. Az nyolczadyk vtan tyz pater nostert e tyz aue mariath: - Iduezlek yduezeytenknek kemenyseges teuyskekel meg</i>	Requests that devotees my experience Christ suffering through compassion.	ThewrK. 297-302

		ETD Collection	<p><i>koronazoth es sok veruel meg veresswlth zentseges feye...</i> (Pope Sixtus IV sent the prayers written below to a king named Fernaldus so that if somebody reads them once a day devoutly before the image of our savior's crucifix, he/she will be granted two indulgences of forty thousand years on that day. If he/she reads them on a Friday, will receive twice as much indulgence. If one says it on Good Friday, he/she will be absolved of suffering and sin on that day and if it is read for a soul on Good Friday, each reading will liberate one soul from purgatory. And after each prayer a <i>Pater noster</i> and an <i>Ave Maria</i> must be said. After the eighth ten <i>Pater noster</i> and ten <i>Ave Maria</i>. Hail, holy head of our savior crowned with hard thorns and blooded with much blood...)</p>		
	43-46	Passion prayer in verse	<p><i>mas Vram yesus xps elew ystenek</i></p>	After a short passion narration the prayer asks for protection against eternal death.	ThewrK. 46 ¹⁵ -47 ³

			<i>zent fya ky ez vylagnak byneert es en ydvsege mert magadat ygen alazad...</i> (Other. My Lord, Jesus Christ who debased yourself o greatly for the sin of this world and my salvation...)		(for the second part of the text)
	56-58	St. Gregory's prayer about Christ's five wounds	<i>Vala ky ez ewth ymatsagokat az fezy leth elet terden alua ayetatos sagwal meg mongya harom ezer eztendei es harmych het napy bulchoyat valya Iduezleg cristusnak altal zegezet iob keze...</i> (Whoever says these five prayers devoutly kneeling before the crucifix, will receive three thousand years and thirty- seven days of indulgence. Hail, Christ's nailed right hand...)	After praising the five wounds, the closing part of the prayer requests that Christ's wounds may be set in the devotees heart, that they may love Christ ardently, and that Christ may liberate them from in.	Hort. an.
	90-98	Rosary prayers	Some parts were said in memory of the passion.		
	98-128	Saint Bridget's prayers CEU eTD Collection	<i>Ez tyzen evth imadsagot ielentette iduezyttenk ihs xps zent brigida azzonnak Mert nagy aytatossagal akaria vala tudnya myne sebey voltanak volna felele ihs es monda En</i>	1 st prayer asks for true confession and the remission of sins before death. 2 nd prayer asks Jesus to free her from her visible and invisible enemies and to protect her. 3 rd prayer asks to fear and love of Jesus, to be able to serve Christ.	Antidot. an., Hort. an., WinklK. 244-260, CzechK. 1- 42,

		CEU eTD Collection	<p><i>sebeym en testeme voltanak en zerelmes leanyom evth ezer negy zaz hatuan evth Ha ezeket tyztelny akarod ez tyzen evth imadsagod mondyad Tyzen evth pater nosteruel e Aue mariaual evzue mondua</i></p> <p>O Iesus cristus. teged zeretevknek. evrekh edessegeg... (These fifteen prayers were revealed to Saint Bridget by our savior, Jesus Christ because she wanted to know devoutly how many wounds he had. Jesus answered and said: My beloved daughter, I had 5465 wounds on my body. If you wish to honor them say these fifteen prayers. Say them together with fifteen <i>Pater noster</i> and <i>Ave maria</i>. O, Jesus Christ, eternal sweetness of those who love you...)</p>	<p>4th prayer requests that the remembrance of Christ's passion may be the remission of her sins.</p> <p>5th prayer requests that in the hour of her death she may be shown mercy and be admitted to heaven.</p> <p>6th prayer: that Jesus may show her mercy in all her bodily and spiritual miseries, and to be comforted by him in all her sorrows.</p> <p>7th prayer: worthy communion.</p> <p>8th: that Christ may wake in her desire for perfect things and extinguish her bodily desires and her thirst for the world.</p> <p>9th: not to forsake her in the hour of her death.</p> <p>10th: that she may keep Christ's commandments for love.</p> <p>11th: to be hidden in Christ's wounds until his anger for her sins passes.</p> <p>12th: that Jesus may write his passion into her heart, that she may read it there and that she may be grateful until the hour of her death.</p> <p>13th: pity in the hour of death.</p> <p>14th: to be able to resist the body, the world, and the devil, to be dead for the world, to live for Christ who would receive her estranged and exiled soul in the hour of her death.</p> <p>15th: that her soul may be received by Christ in the hour of her death, to be wounded by Christ, that tears of love and penitence may be her daily bread, that Christ may turn her towards himself and her heart may be his abode, that her conversation may be pleasant to him, and that she may be worthy to</p>	<p>GyöngyK. 7-24, LázK. 150-190, 193-194, PozsK. 1-21, ThewrK. 1-34, KrizaK. 2-67</p>
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				<p>see him after her death and praise him with his saints in eternity.</p> <p>The commendation of the prayers requests the remission of Katerina's sins, hope, faith, and love, a good end. She asks Christ to let her know the time of her death and union with him in heaven. She also prays for a peaceful life and salvation of her relatives, friends, and benefactors.</p>	
	128-132	<p>Prayer with indulgences</p> <p>CEU eTD Collection</p>	<p><i>Valaky ez imadsagod. aytatosagal meg mondandya. Az elsevtwl ezer eztendey buchu. bochanando bwnerevl. . Az masykert. esmeg ezer eztendey buchu. el feledet bwneerevl. Az harmadykert. esmeg ezer eztendey buchu. Halalos bwnerevl. Es vgy hogy myndenyk elevt. egy pater noster. es egy Aue mariat. mongy. Es ezenkepen kezdyed el. mondua. Vram Iesu xps fogadyad. ez imadsagoth. az te zentseges halalodnak emlekezetyre...</i></p> <p>(Whoever say this prayer devoutly will receive one thousand years of indulgence of venial sin for the first, another thousand of forgotten sin for the second, and one</p>	<p>Only the first piece focuses on the passion. Its request is: that her soul may be freed from sin and eternal death in the hour of her passing.</p>	

			thousand of mortal sin for the third. Say a <i>Pater noster</i> and an <i>Ave Maria</i> before each. Start saying it in this way. My lord, Jesus Christ accept this prayer in memory of your holy death...)		
	136-138	Prayer about the crucified Christ	<p><i>Valaki ez imadsagoth mondandya tevredelmes zyuel hat ezer eztendey buchut val myndenzer mynezer meg mondyá - -</i></p> <p><i>Az nemesseges. menyeyi kyraly. ihs xps. my vrunk elev istennek zent fya. Alla az zent kereztfan...</i> (Everybody who says this prayer with a contrite heart will be granted six thousand years of indulgence each time she says it. The noble, heavenly king, Jesus Christ, our lord, son of the living God stood on the cross...)</p>	After a vivid description of Christ on the cross, the text requests that this image may be always present in the devotee's mind, it would protect her in the time of her death from bodily and spiritual evils.	Hort. an., remotely related LobkK. 344-346, ThewrK. 213-215
	138, 141-142	Eucharistic prayer for the elevation of the host CEU eTD Collection	<p><i>fylep chazar keresere innocencius papa ez imadsagert engedet keth ezer eztendey buchut kyk igazan tartnak penytenciat az az ky halalos bwn nekwł vagyón</i></p>	After a short recalling of the passion it asks protection against bodily and spiritual sins.	Hort. an., LobkK. 343-344, ThewrK. 238-241

			<p><i>eleuacyo koron kel mondanya ez imadsagot</i> <i>Vram ihs xps ky ez vylagnak. iduessegeerth. ez te zentseges testedet...</i> (At the request of Emperor Philip, Pope Innocent granted two thousand years of indulgence for this prayer for those who do real penance that is who are without mortal sin. This prayer must be said during the elevation. My lord, Jesus Christ, who for the salvation of this world took on this holy body of yours...)</p>		
	142-147	<p>Short prayer usually attributed to Saint Augustine</p> <p>CEU eTD Collection</p>	<p><i>Vala mely napon ez imadagot. meg mondandod. pokolbely az nap. neked nem arthat es semynemw ember nem banthat. Es valamyt istentwl kerendez. ky alkolmas. neked meg adya. Es ha az te lelked testedbevl - - az nap. ky megyen. pokolbe nem megyen - - Mely imadagod zerzzet. zent Agoston doktor. Es vagyon iruan romaba. zent Ianos egyhazaba. Es engetenek ez imadsagerth. kyk</i></p>	<p>After briefly mentioning the main episodes of the passion asks to be saved from hell and to be taken to heaven.</p>	<p>GyöngyK. 50-51, PozsK. 44²-45¹⁷</p>

		CEU eTD Collection	<p><i>terden alua. es aytatossan. meg mondanayak. nyolzuan ezer eztendey buchukat. az halalos. bwneknek bocsatasara. Es az el veztet wdevnek. meg vyulasara. Es tyzenegyed Benedek papa. vgyan ezent megh confyrmalta. eznek felete. nyolczat Bonefacius papa engedet ez imadsagert azoknak kyk teredelmessegel meg gyonuan negyven napon egymas utan aytatoson meg mondyak mynde bwneknek meg bochanatyat ezen kepen monduan - - Halakat adok teneked. en vram Ihs xps ky akaral. ez vylaknak valtasaert. zwletned.... (On the day you say this prayer neither hell creatures not men can harm you and whatever appropriate thing you ask from God he will grant it to you. And if your soul leaves your body on that day, it will not go to hell. The prayer was written by Saint Augustine and it is</i></p>	
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			written in Rome in Saint John's church. And eighty thousand years of indulgence to remit deadly sins and to renew the lost time are granted for this prayer if someone says it kneeling and devoutly. And Pope Benedict XI confirmed this, moreover, Pope Boniface VIII forgives all the sins of those who, having contritely confessed their sins, say it on forty days devoutly, saying in this way: I thank you my lord, Jesus Christ, who wanted to be born in order to redeem this world...)		
	151-152	Anima Christi, prayer for the elevation of the host	<i>masod imadsakh</i> <i>Uram iesus cristusnak zent lelke iduezych engemeth...</i> (Second prayer. O, holy spirit of my lord, Jesu Christ, redeem me...)	Each line formulates a request, e.g., O, holy soul of my Lord Christ, sanctify me, O, holy body of Christ save me... O, water coming from Christ's side, wash me. At the end she asks to be hidden among Jesus' wounds not to part from him, to be protected from the enemy and that Christ may call her to him in the hour of her death to sing his praises with his saints.	LobkK., 251-252, 264, ThewrK. 303-304
	160-166	The prayer of the Venerable Bede	<i>Ez het ige. kyket urunk ihs. az kereztfan monda. mykoron megh fezytek. Es az ev zent lelket. testebevl ky akarya</i>	After each word of Jesus a request is made related to Christ's words. 1. that Christ may forgive her sins. 2. that in the moment of her death she may be	Antidot. an., Hort. an., PeerK. 194-199, VitkK.

			<p><i>vala. bochatany. Ez imadsak. igen kelemetes istennek . . . Elev igeye iesusnak. ez . . . vala. monduan . . Uram ihs xps. ky het igeth. az te Halalodnak ideyen. Az kereztfan fyguen mondal...</i></p> <p>(These are the seven words said by our lord Jesus on the cross when he was crucified and he wanted to let his soul out of his body. These prayers are very pleasing to God. Jesus' first word was this saying: My lord, Jesus Christ, you said seven words at the time of your death hanging from the cross...)</p>	<p>invited by Christ to paradise.</p> <p>3. to be attached to Mary by Christ's love and grace.</p> <p>4. that Christ may help her in all her troubles and sorrows, aid her, how mercy to her, and forgive her.</p> <p>5. that Christ may be the living fountain in her heart and that she may love him with all her heart.</p> <p>6. to be received by Christ.</p> <p>7. that in the hour of her death she may be invited as a bride into eternal life by Christ.</p>	103-108
	166-172	<p>Prayer to be said before the crucifix</p> <p>CEU eTD Collection</p>	<p><i>Mykoron. valamy nyavalyad vagyon. auagy bantalmad. az zent egyhaba be meny. aly az fezwled elevt. es ky teryezed. ket kezeydet. Es nagy aytatossagal. gondolyad. az te edes iegesednek. zent halalat. Es mondyad ez psalmost At te leuauui. oculos meos ez az oracio reaya Uram ihs xps. ky zepseges orczadal. myndent megh</i></p>	<p>The prayer consists of small pieces each accompanying a psalm. The pieces must be addressed to the five wounds of Christ which must be looked on meanwhile. The prayers ask that Katerina may be freed from sins and sorrows, protected from all troubles, from those who hate her, that she may be given constancy, and victory over the devil and human enemies.</p>	

			<p>lacz... (When you have some trouble or hurt go to the church, stand before the crucifix, and extend your arms. And think with great devotion about the holy death of your sweet bridegroom. And say this psalm <i>Ad te leuau. oculos meos</i>. This is the prayer for it. My lord, Jesus Christ, who with your beautiful face see everything...)</p>		
	175-190	<p>Prayer about Mary's sorrows</p> <p>CEU eTD Collection</p>	<p><i>Imar kexdetnek azzonyunk zyz maryarol valo dycheretek es igen zep imadsagog Es aytatosok zerelmesek az zyz marianak zolgalo leanynak zayokban es zyuekbe Valaky ez imadsagod tevredelmessege megh gyonvan terden alua negyuen napyk mynden nap megh monda valamit ker azzonyunk zyz mariatul my iduesegere vagyon megyon megh nyery O mondi domina O En azzonyom maria zwzegnek zwze...</i> (Now praises and very</p>	<p>Not all the sorrows refer to the passion, nevertheless most of them do. After the main part of the prayer referring to Christ's incarnation, his passion, resurrection, ascension, the events of Pentecost, and the last judgment from Mary's point of view the devotee can pray for different persons (<i>It neuezyed az nevet kyerth akarzy imadsagot tenned</i>. Here name for whom you want to pray.) Afterwards a closing prayer formulates general requests, mercy and compassion in one's misery and trouble, forgiveness for one's sins, safeguarding against sin, strengthening one in the love of Christ, that Mary may be a mediator with her son for the faithful and for the devotee; she asks for general spiritual goods: faith and hope, perfect love, true faith, pure contrition, tears, pure confession, satisfaction for sins, protection from</p>	<p>Antidot. an., Hort. an., CzechK. 104-122, FestK. 141-160, NagyszK. 388-397, PozsK. 30-42</p>

			beautiful, devout, and loving prayers begin for the mouths and hearts of the Virgin Mary's servant girls. If one says this prayer kneeling for forty days after a contrite confession, what she asks from our lady, the Virgin Mary for her salvation will be granted to her. Oh, my lady Mary, virgin of virgins...)	sin, contempt for the world, love of God and one's neighbor, carrying Christ's death in one's heart, carrying out one's promises, to keep doing good deeds, community with the Virgin, happy death, complete penitence and eternal life for the soul of her parents, for her benefactors, and for the soul of all faithful Christians and peaceful life for the living. (The indulgences promised by the versions in NagyszK. and PozsK. are missing.)	
	216-223	Prayer to Christ's tortured body parts ETD Collection	<i>Valaky ez imadsagod aytatossagual le terdepeluen meg oluasangya mynden iduezletytwl harom zaz napy buchut val monduan nagy aytatosagal Iduezleg. mynd ez vylagnak. hatalmassaganak. retenendev. iduezytenknek. iesus cristusnak . ev zentseges feje...</i> (Whoever reads this prayer piously kneeling will receive for each salute three hundred days of indulgence saying with great piety: Hail, holy head of our savior Jesus Christ, fearsome for all the powers of this world...)	After saluting all the suffering body parts of Christ the intended user (Katerina) asks forgiveness for her sins and for all the people for whom Jesus died. Demands that she, all her relatives and benefactors and those who asked her to pray for them may serve Christ faithfully with all their body and soul.	Hort. an., PeerK. 205-213, ThewrK. 82-87
	238-247	Dominican devotion for the	<i>My edes vronk ihus neueben kezdetyk Az nagy hetben valo</i>	The devotee says the prayers for a purpose chosen by herself. After each rubric there is a short prayer	ThewrK. 49-59

		<p>Holy Week</p> <p>CEU eTD Collection</p>	<p><i>aytatos ymadag: Verag vasar napon reguel az xpustnak fezwlety elewt fen aluan kezeyt ewzue foguan auagy kocholuan es nezuen az fezwletre mondgy harmydz harom pater notert es anne aue mariat: Ezeknek vtanna annak emlekezetyre hogy y vronk ihus xpus az ew embersege zarent ez vylagban harmycz harom eztendeyg ele. Ezeket meg gondoluan mongyad meg nagy aytatosson ez ymadsagoth: (In the name of our sweet lord, Jesus, the devout prayer for the Holy Week. On the morning of Palm Sunday say thirty-three Pater nosters and as many Ave Marias after these standing before the crucifix of Christ with folded hands looking on the crucifix in memory that our lord, Jesus Christ lived thirty-three years in this world as a man. Considering these say this prayer with great devotion:)</i></p>	<p>based on one element of the passion formulating a request by the praying person that she may receive the grace she is requesting.</p>	
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		CEU eTD Collection	<p><i>Ez Imadag meg monduan keryed az ayandokot es az malasztot akyt akarz kerny es azt keryed yo zyuel es byzony hyttel lelkednek yduessegere. Es ez keres meg tartassek mynd hetetzaka mynden napon hyuen. Nagy hetfewn reguel mezeytelen terden az fezwlet elewt mongy huzon negy pater nostert es anne aue mariat mykepen huzon negy teuyssek voltanak iesusnak feyeben mykepen zent agoston dogtor mongya. mongyad</i> (Having said the prayer ask for the gift and grace you wish to request and ask for it for your salvation with a good heart and adamant faith. And this request must be kept during all the days of the week. On the morning of Holy Monday say twenty-four <i>Pater nosters</i> and as many <i>Ave Marias</i> kneeling on your bare knees before the crucifix as there were twenty-four thorns in Jesus' head as Saint Augustine</p>	
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		CEU eTD Collection	<p>says. Say:)</p> <p><i>Es keryed az malaztoth az ky lelkednek yduessegere vagyon. Nagy kedden ehera az fezwlet elewt magadat le tegyed orchadual Es meg emlekezuen mykepen my uronk ihus negyuen ee napal az kyetlenben lewn es ekepen mongy negyuen pater nostert es anne aue mariat: es mongyad</i> (And ask for the grace which is for the salvation of your soul. On Holy Tuesday before eating fall on your face before the crucifix and remembering how our lord Jesus was for forty days in the desert, thus say forty <i>Pater nosters</i> and as many <i>Ave Marias</i> and say:)</p> <p><i>Es ezt keryed vygasagos zyuel es byzony hyttel lelkednek yduessegere: Nagy zerdan ehera Az fezwlet elewt mynden testedtel az fewldre le boruluan az az venyat teuen mongy harmydz pater nostert</i></p>	
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		CEU eTD Collection	<p><i>es anne Aue mariat Az harmydz penznek emlekezetyre kykkel iesust el arultak vala: es mon: (And ask for this with a glad heart and a firm faith for the salvation of your soul. On Holy Wednesday before eating prostrate yourself with your entire body before the crucifix and say thirty Pater nosters and as many Ave Marias in memory of the thirty silver coins for which Jesus was betrayed and say:)</i></p> <p><i>Es ezt keryed ha lelkednek yduessegere vagyon Nagy chewterteken ehera az fezwlet elewt mezeytelen terden alua mongy huzon keet pater nostert es anne aue mariat Annak emlekezetyre hogy vronk iesus az apastalokal meg eue az husuety barant: es meg mongyad: (And ask for this if it is for the benefit of your soul. On Holy Thursday say twenty-two Pater nosters and as many Ave Marias</i></p>	
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		CEU eTD Collection	<p>before eating kneeling on your bare knees before the crucifix in memory of our lord Jesus and the apostles having eaten the Easter lamb and say:)</p> <p><i>Es ezt meg neuezuen keryed yduessegedre. Nagy penteken ehera az fezwlet elewth mezeytelen terden le terdepeluen kezeydet el fezeytuen Es az ihsra nezuen nagy aytatossagual mongy ewt pater nostert es anne aue mariat. Es ieszusnak az ew ewt mely sebeert. Es az elsew pater nosteren. es aue marian meg chokolyad meg az eedes ieszusnak az yob kezen valo zent sebet: Es ennek mongyad: (And naming this ask for it for your salvation. On Good Friday before eating say five Pater nosters and as many Ave Marias with great devotion kneeling on your bare knees before the crucifix, opening your arms and looking on Jesus for the five</i></p>	
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		CEU eTD Collection	<p>deep wounds of Jesus. And at the first <i>Pater noster</i> and <i>Ave Maria</i> kiss the holy wound on Jesus' right hand and say to it:)</p> <p><i>Es azt neuezuen keryed: - Nagy zombaton ehera az fezwlet elewt fen alua es tartuan kezedben egy meg aluth gyergyat: ennek emlekezetyre es yegyere hogy ihus testh zerent meg holt. Es mongy tyzen hat pater nostert es anne mariat az negy marianak tyztesssegekre e banatyokra mellyeket vallanak az koporsonal fekew ihus kepeben. Es eznek vtanna mongyad ezt</i> (And naming it request it. On Holy Saturday before eating stand before the crucifix holding a blown-out candle in your hand in memory that Jesus died in body. And say sixteen <i>Pater nosters</i> and as many <i>Ave Marias</i> in honor of the four Marys and the sorrow they felt for Jesus lying beside the</p>	
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			<p>coffin. And after these say:)</p> <p><i>Es ezt keryed. ha yduessegedre vagy on es. Husuet napyan Ehera az fezwlet elewt mezytelen terden le terdepeluen tarsz kezeden egy egew gyergyat ennek emlekezetyre es yegyere hogy vronk ihus fel tamadot. Es mongy tyz pater nostert es anne aue mariat mykepen vronk ihus az napon tyzer ielent meg az teneytuanyoknak ez vtan mongyad ez ymadchagot</i> (And ask for it if it is for your salvation. On Easter Sunday before eating kneel on your bare knees before the crucifix holding a burning candle in your hand in memory of our lord Jesus' resurrection. And say ten <i>Pater nosters</i> and as many <i>Ave Marias</i> as our lord Jesus appear ten times before his disciples on that day. Afterwards say this prayer:)</p>		
	318 ¹⁴⁻¹⁸	<p>Invocation to the suffering Christ</p> <p>CTD Collection</p>	<i>o mezytelen emberseg...</i>	<i>o mezytelen emberseg onagy martyroms\ag omelsseges sebek o zent vernek yozaga oysteny</i>	LobkK. 248, PozsK. 25 ¹⁷ -

				<i>edesseg segely mynketh az evrwk bodogsagra A pater noster Ave maria</i> (Oh, naked humanity, oh, great martyrdom, oh, deep wounds, oh, goodness of the holy blood, oh, divine sweetness, help us to eternal happiness. <i>Pater noster, Ave Maria</i>)	26 ⁵ , 43 ¹⁷ -44 ¹ (Latin version)
Kriza-kódex					
	2-67	Saint Bridget's prayer CEU eTD Collection	The beginning of the introductory rubric missing. It narrates how it was revealed to Bridget praying before the cross the exact number of Christ's wounds (5465). It promises that whoever says the prayers with 15 <i>Pater nosters</i> and 15 <i>Ave Marias</i> each day during a year and honors Christ's each wound, will free 15 souls from among her kin from the purgatory, 15 sinners from among her kin will repent, 15 just persons from among her kin will become more perfect. She will become aware of all her sins and will have contrition, she will also receive the eucharist 15 days before her death and Christ's cross will protect her against her enemies. Her soul will be	1 st prayer asks for true confession and the remission of sins before death. 2 nd prayer asks Jesus to free her from her visible and invisible enemies and to protect her. 3 rd prayer requests fear and love of Christ and to her friends love. 4 th prayer that the remembrance of Christ's sorrow may be the remission of the praying person's sins and protection for her body and soul. 5 th prayer requests pure contrition, true confession and penitence and that she may be shown mercy then and in the hour of her death. 6 th prayer: that Jesus may help her in all bodily and spiritual miseries, needs, illnesses and may give her joy in all her troubles. 7 th prayer: to extinguish bodily desires and the thirst for the world. 8 th : to have Christ's body and blood as a remedy, consolation and salvation always and especially in the time of death and to receive the communion worthily. 9 th : that Christ may not forsake her then and in the hour of her death. 10 th : that she may keep Christ's commandments	Antidot. an., Hort. an., CzechK. 1-42, GömK. 98-128, GyöngyK. 7-24, LázK. 150-190, 193-194, PozsK. 1-21, ThewrK. 1-34, WinklK. 244-260

			taken and welcomed to heaven by Christ and Mary.	<p>and love him.</p> <p>11th: to be hidden in Christ's wounds and to receive mercy.</p> <p>12th: that Jesus may write his passion into her heart, that she may read it there and that she may be grateful until the hour of her death.</p> <p>13th: pity then and in the hour of death.</p> <p>14th: to be able to resist the body, the world, and the devil, to be dead for sin, to live for Christ, to admit her pilgrim soul to the heaven in the hour of her death.</p> <p>15th: to be wounded by the love of Christ, that the tears of penitence and love may become her bread, that Christ may live in her heart, that her life may please Jesus and the end of her life may be so good that she would deserve to see and praise Christ with his saints.</p> <p>Closing prayer: praises Christ's suffering and gifts.</p>	
Festetics--kódex					
	141-160	Prayer about Mary's sorrows	<p><i>Valaky ez alaayrth ymaadaagokath aahythathoson mondandya / zenthseeges keenyanak wrong yesus christusnak tyzthesseegeere / ees bodogh zyz maríanak ew annyanak thyzthesseegeere / valamyth meelthooth kerend...</i></p> <p>(Whoever will say the prayers written below devoutly in</p>	The same as in CzechK. The possibility of individual request appears here as well.	Antidot. an., Hort. an., CzechK., 104-122, GömK. 175-190, NagyszK. 388-397, PozsK. 30-42

			honor of the holy passion of our lord, Jesus Christ and in honor of the blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, whatever worthy thing he/she asks...) Five lines from the rubric are missing, space has been left out for them. <i>Zenth maría ewrewk zyzeknek zyze...</i> (Saint Mary, virgin of eternal virgins...)		
Nagyszombati Kódex					
388-398	Prayer about Mary's sorrows	CEU eTD Collection	<i>Bodog Azzonnac epesegerol valo ayetatos Imadsag / Imekeppen kezdetic Sentsegos azzonom maría orokke valo zíz....</i> (Devout prayer about the sorrows of Our Lady. It begins like this. My holy lady, Mary, eternally virgin...) There is also a closing rubric like in PozsK.: <i>Valakí ez felül meg írth ymaczagot halalos bín nekíl bodog azzon kepenec elotte harmícz napíg minden napon megmondanga ayetatossaggal Vr Inoccencíus papa neged / engedot neg zaz napí bulcut es ha valamí lehetőth kerend /</i>	Not all the sorrows refer to the passion, nevertheless most of them do. Only general requests formulated, mercy and compassion in one's misery and trouble, forgiveness for one's sins, safeguarding against sin, strengthening one in the love of Christ, that Mary may be a mediator with her son for the faithful and for the devotee. She asks for general spiritual goods: faith and hope, perfect love, true faith, pure contrition, tears, pure confession, satisfaction for sins, protection from sin, contempt for the world, love of God and one's neighbor, carrying Christ's death in one's heart, carrying out one's promises, to keep doing good deeds, community with the Virgin, happy death, complete penitence, peaceful rest for the soul of one's parents, relations, friends, benefactors, and all the faithful, for the living good luck, when they die, eternal glory.	Antidot. an., Hort. an., CzechK., 104-122, FestK. 141-160, GömK. 175-190, PozsK. 30-42

			<p><i>meg nerí es halalanac elotte harmad napon elotte azzíz maría nekí meg íeloníc</i> (Whoever says the prayers written above before the image of Our Lady without deadly sin for thirty days, Pope Innocent IV granted her four hundred days of indulgence and if she asks for something possible, it will be granted and three days before her death the Virgin Mary will appear to her.)</p>	<p>There is also a commendation of Christ's passion for the praying person's sins and the punishment deserved by them, for all her friends, living and dead, and for all those she has to pray for. The commendation grants twenty-four thousand years of indulgence.</p>	
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Images



Figure 1. *Festetics-kódex*, preserved in the Széchényi National Library, Budapest, copied before 1474, 2 verso

Source: <http://www.kepkonyvtar.hu/?docId=66805> (accessed on May 2, 2012)



Fig. 2. *Peer-kódex*, preserved in the Széchényi National Library, Budapest, copied in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, folio 88v

Source: *Peer-kódex*, Régi Magyar Kódexek 25, ed. Andrea Kacskovics-Reményi and Beatrix Oszkó (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó and Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2000), 398.

<http://mek.oszk.hu/07500/07534/index.phtml> (accessed on May 2, 2012)

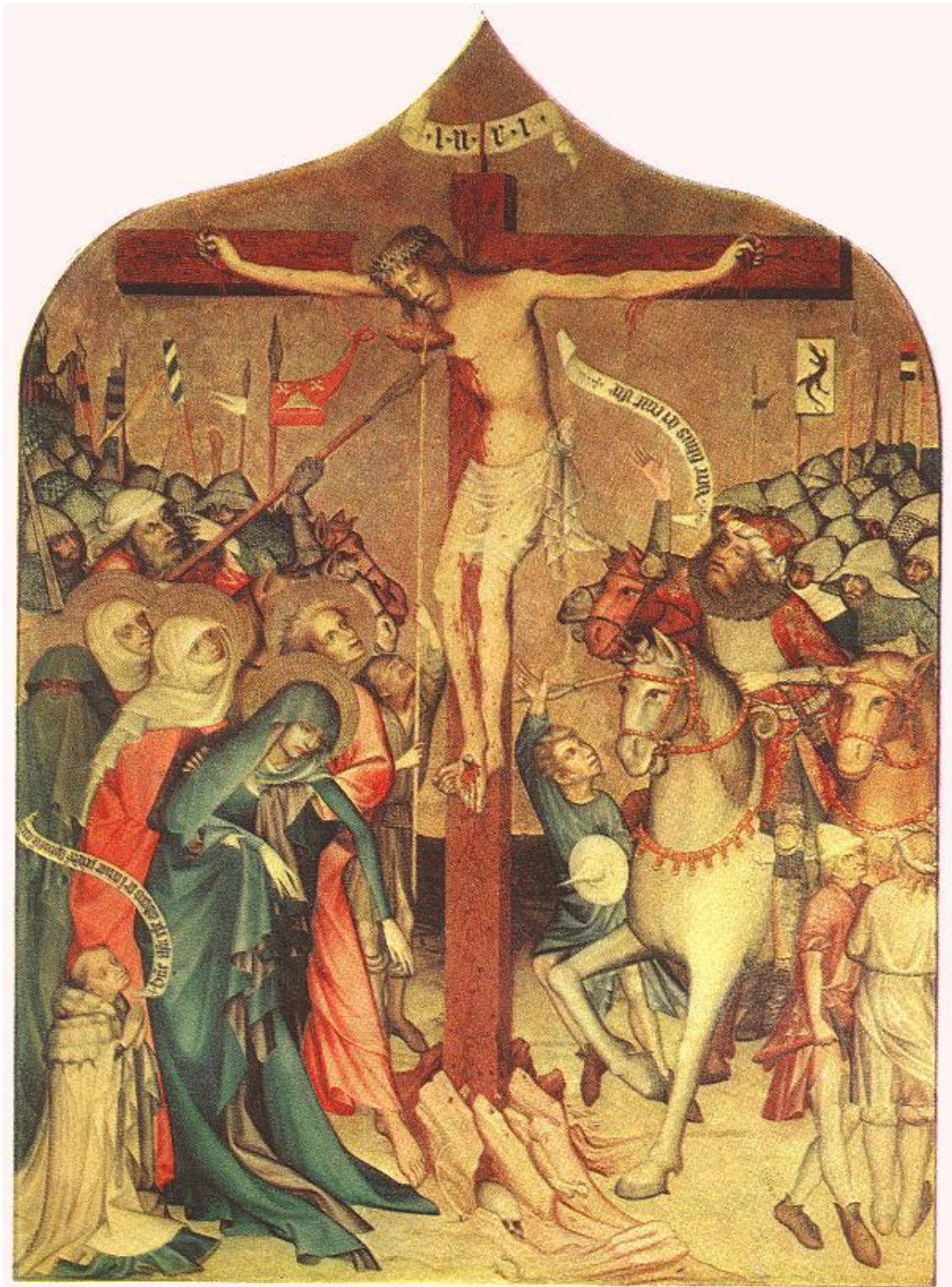


Figure 3. Crucifixion

Tamás Koložsvári, *Calvary Altar* from *Garamszentbenedek* (Hronsky Svaty Benadik), 1427, preserved in the Christian Museum in Esztergom, Hungary

Source: <http://www.hung-art.hu/tours/index.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)



Figure 4. Carrying the Cross

Tamás Kolozsvári, *Calvary Altar from Garamszentbenedek (Hronsky Svaty Benadik)*, 1427, preserved in the Christian Museum in Esztergom, Hungary

Source: <http://www.hung-art.hu/tours/index.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)

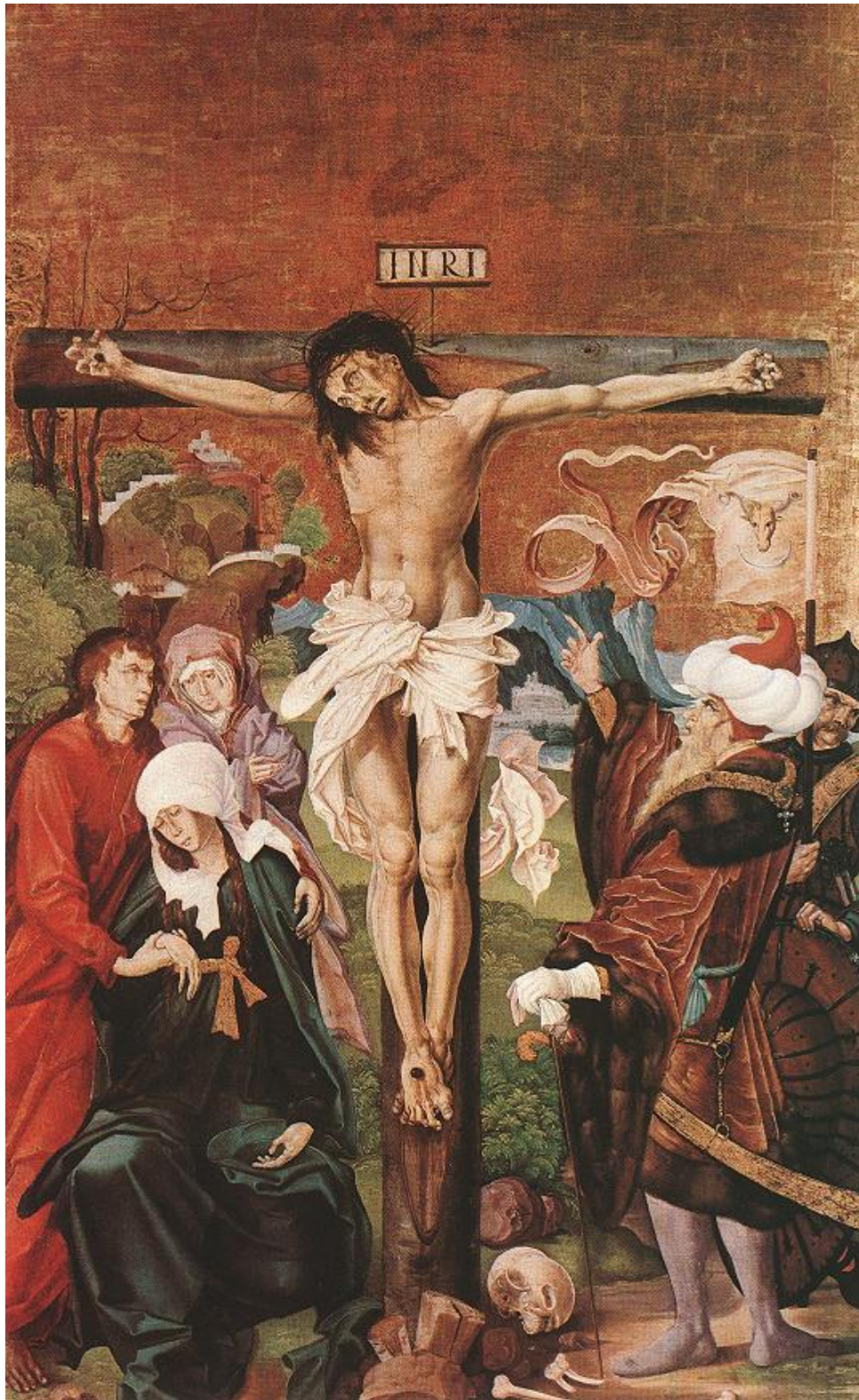


Figure 5. Master M.S., Calvary from the main altar of the parish church in Selmezbánya (Banská Stiavnica), 1506, preserved in the Christian Museum in Esztergom, Hungary

Source: <http://www.hung-art.hu/tours/index.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)



Figure 6. Master M.S., Carrying of the cross from the main altar of the parish church in Selmezbánya (Banská Stiavnica), 1506, preserved in the Christian Museum in Esztergom, Hungary

Source: <http://www.hung-art.hu/tours/index.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)

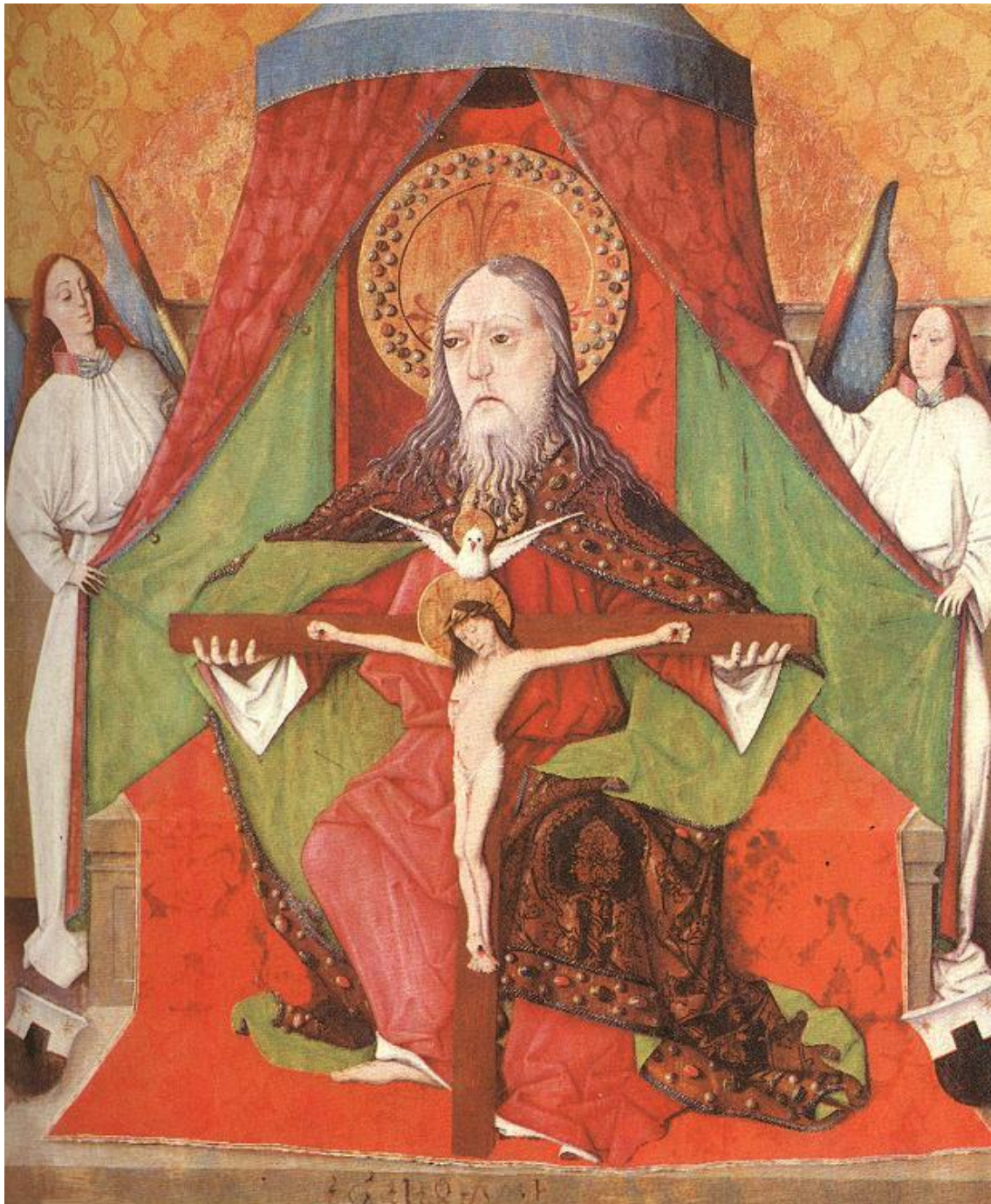


Figure 7. Master G.H., Throne of Mercy from the Holy Trinity altar of Mosóc (Mosovce), 1471, preserved in the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest
 Source: <http://www.hung-art.hu/tours/index.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)

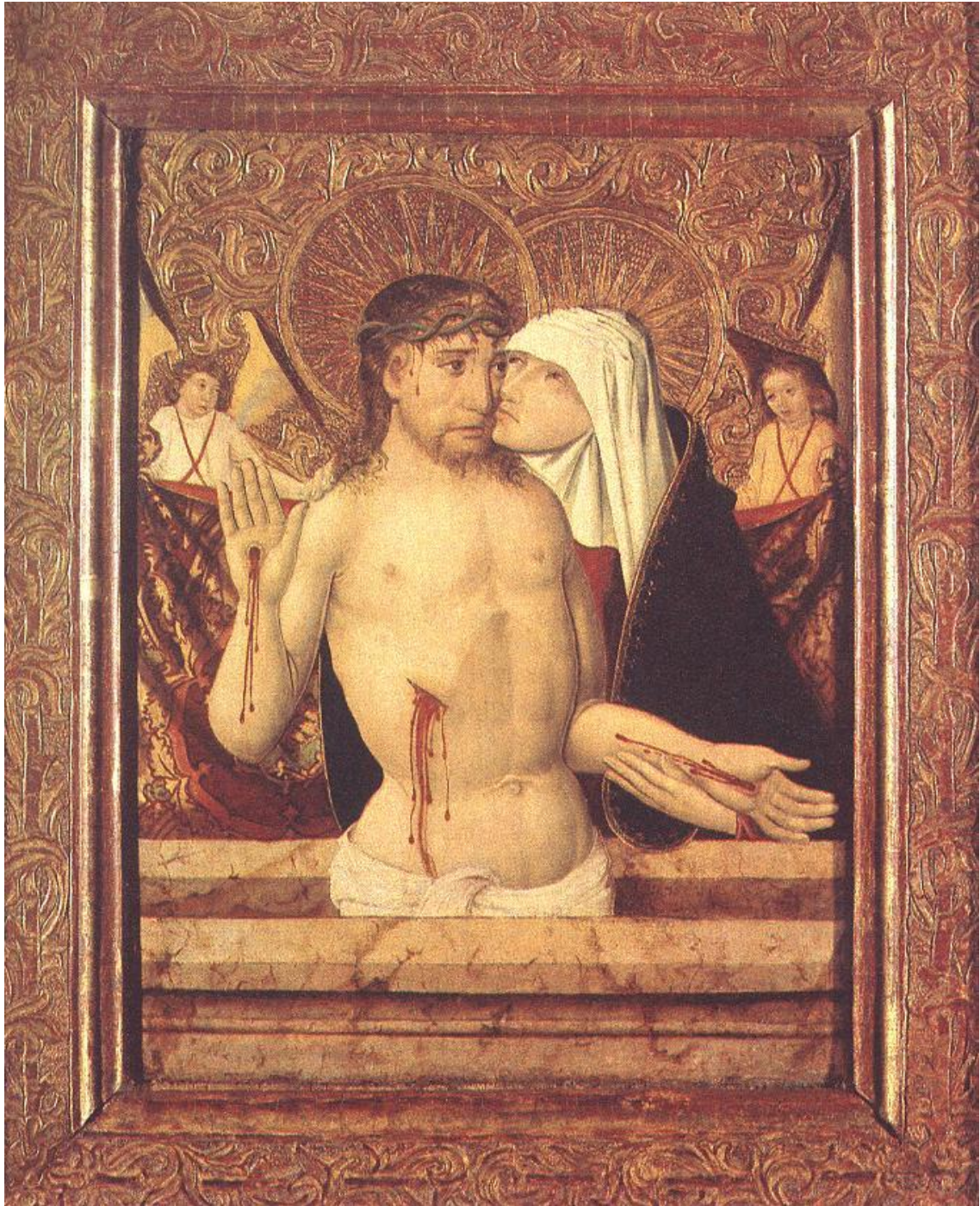


Figure 8. Unknown master, Man of Sorrows, 1470-1480, preserved in the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest

Source: <http://www.hung-art.hu/tours/index.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)



Figure 9. Unknown master, Pieta, around 1500, preserved in the Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest

Source: <http://www.hung-art.hu/index-hu.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)

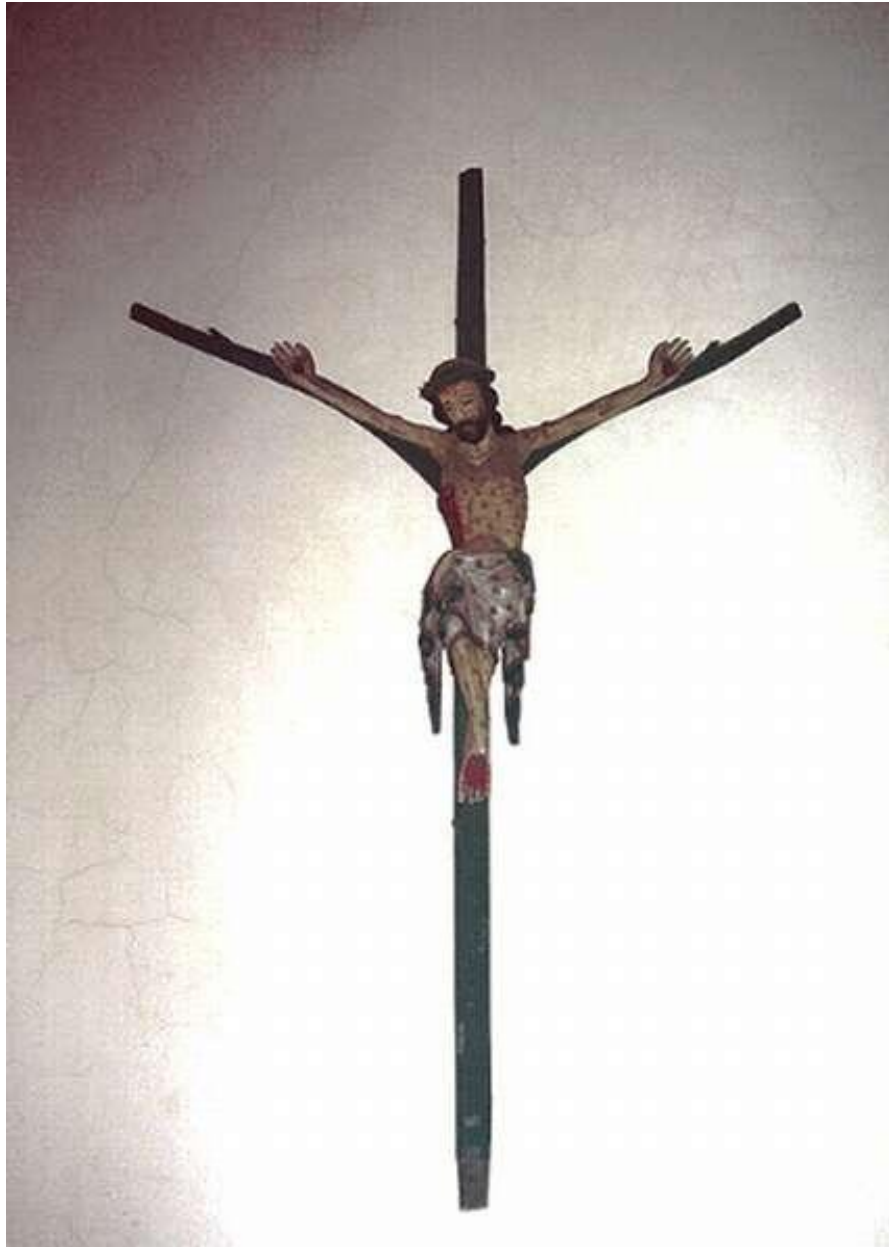


Figure 10. Unknown master, The Crucifix of Mateóc (Matejovce, Slovakia), first mystical crucifix in Hungary, second half of the fourteenth century, preserved in its original location Mateóc, today part of Poprád (Poprad), Slovakia

Source: *Lovagkirályok: Az Anjou- és Zsigmond-kor Magyarországon (1301-1437)* [Knight-kings: The Angevine and Sigismundian period in Hungary (1301-1437)] Encyclopaedia Humana Hungarica 3. Budapest: Enciklopédia Humana Egyesület, 1997.

<http://mek.niif.hu/01900/01948/html/index506.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)

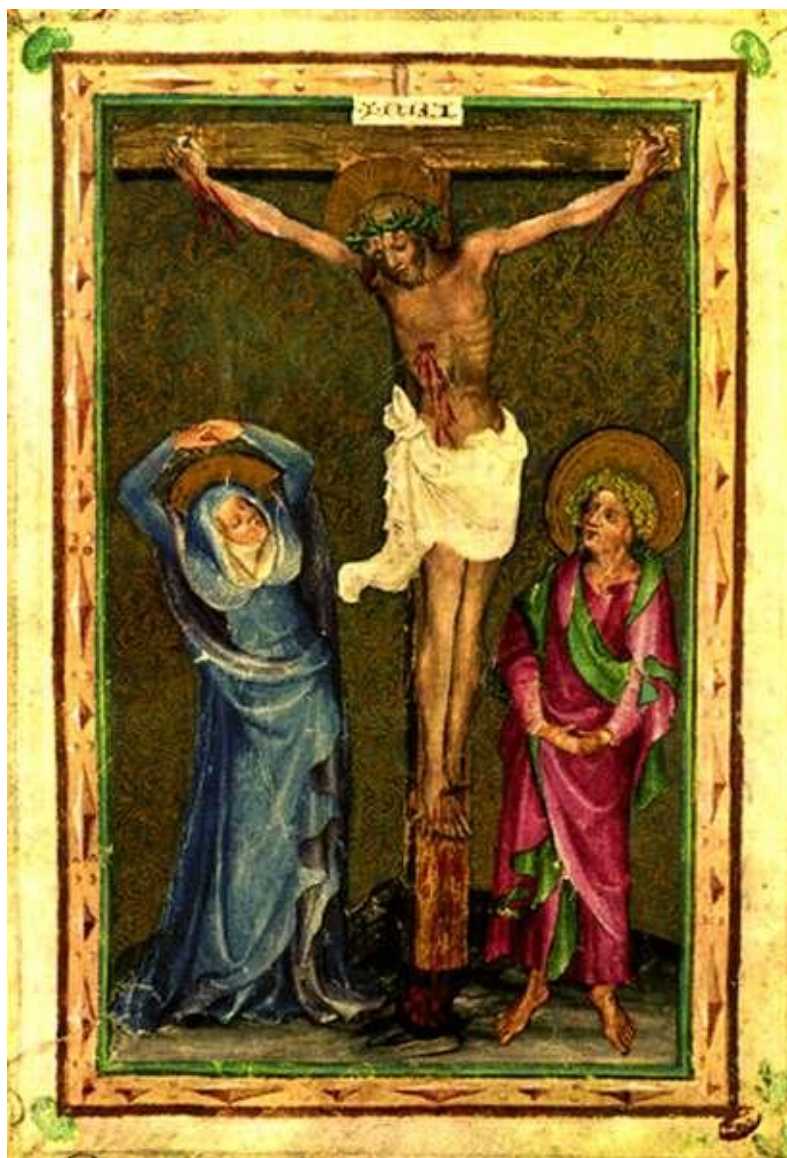


Figure 11. Crucifixion on the canon image in a Northern Hungarian missal, early fifteenth century, preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Prints and Drawings collection, 1938-3287, Budapest

Source: Ilona Berkovits. *Magyar kódexek a XI-XVI. században* [Hungarian codices in the 11-16th centuries].

Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1965. 20. colored plate

<http://mek.niif.hu/01900/01948/html/index610.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)

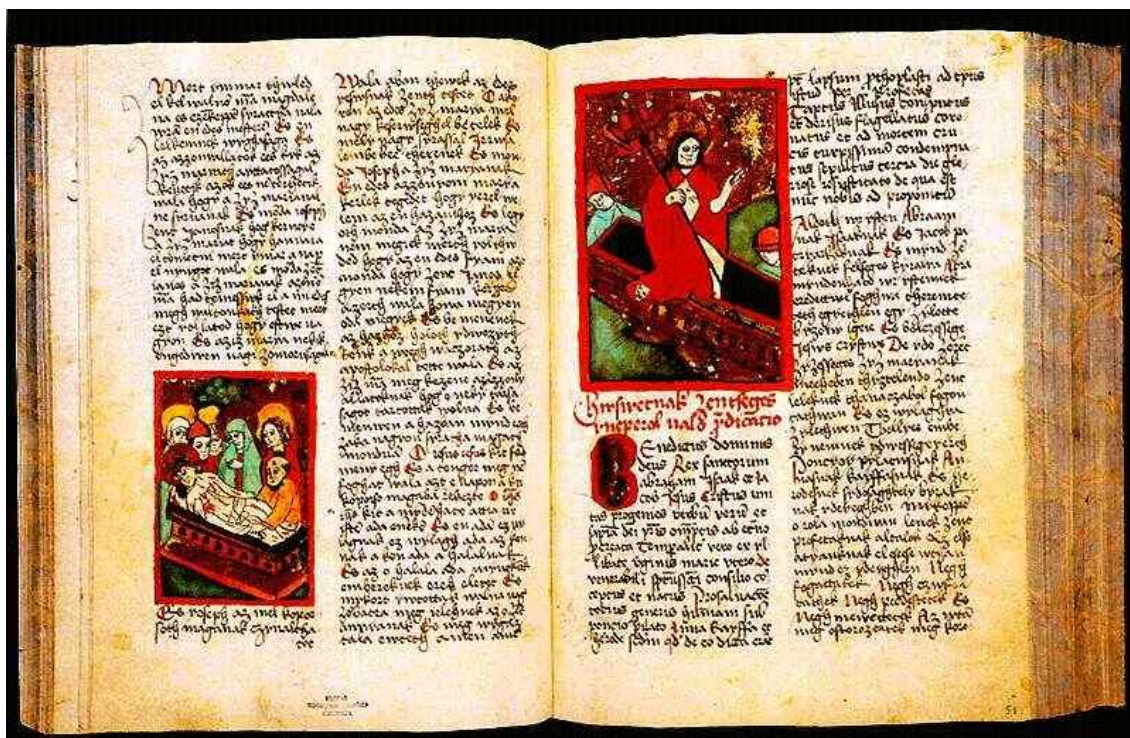


Figure 12. Illustrated page from the *Érsekújvári Kódex*, 1529-1531, preserved in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Source: <http://mek.niif.hu/01900/01919/html/index900.html> (accessed on May 2, 2012)

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