



Universiteit
Leiden

The Netherlands

Vele schoone beelden die noyt ghesien en waren: new pictorial and meditative layers in Thielman Kerver's 1522 Dutch-language book of hours

Dlabacova, A.; Melion, W.S.; Pieper, C.; Smith, P.J.; Traninger, A.

Citation

Dlabacova, A. (2025). Vele schoone beelden die noyt ghesien en waren: new pictorial and meditative layers in Thielman Kerver's 1522 Dutch-language book of hours. In W. S. Melion, C. Pieper, P. J. Smith, & A. Traninger (Eds.), *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture* (pp. 35-62). Leiden: Brill.
doi:10.1163/9789004712966_004

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Creative Commons CC BY 4.0 license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4212111>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Vele schoone beelden die noyt ghesien en waren: New Pictorial and Meditative Layers in Thielman Kerver's 1522 Dutch-language Book of Hours

Anna Dlabačová

Abstract

The Parisian printer Thielman Kerver published eight Dutch-language Books of Hours between 1500 and 1522. From the very beginning of his engagement with the Book of Hours in Dutch, Kerver introduced important visual innovations. As declared on the title page of the edition of 1522, a new image cycle, never seen before by readers of Dutch-language Books of Hours, had been added to the Penitential Psalms and the Vigil. Focusing on the metalcuts that tell the story of King David and accompany the Penitential Psalms, this chapter explores the new pictorial elements introduced in Kerver's final edition and argues that they provided readers with a detailed narrative upon which to meditate while reciting the psalms and taking on the voice of the Psalmist as their own. Simultaneously, the episodes from David's life could also have prompted readers to create a narrative of their own, based on personal experience.

Keywords

Book of Hours – book history – text and image – religious practice and reading

On 10 March 1522 the Parisian printer Thielman Kerver published the last of his eight editions of a Dutch-language Book of Hours.¹ Kerver, of German origin and seen as a key figure in the transition from incunabula in a Gothic style to the 'modern' book in Parisian book production, had first printed a Book of

1 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522), *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC), (<https://www.ustc.ac.uk>), last accessed 5 March 2024, no. 410169; Nijhoff W. – Kronenberg M.E., *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 2 vols. with supplements (The Hague: 1923–1971) (NK) 1000.

Hours in Dutch at the turn of the century, in 1500.² With that edition, Kerver not only became the first Parisian printer independently to publish a Book of Hours in Dutch but also laid an important foundation for the further development of the Dutch-language Book of Hours among Parisian printing presses. In the colophon to the 1500 edition, he emphasised that his motives were altruistic; the book would be particularly beneficial for those not versed in Latin: 'and [he, i.e., Kerver] has printed them [i.e., the Hours and prayers] at his expense for the benefit of all good Christian people who do not understand Latin'.³

A previous edition of a Dutch-language Book of Hours produced in Paris in 1497 was commissioned by an Antwerp publisher and bookseller, Willem Houtmaert (or van der Meer), who was to sell the books in Antwerp 'in the House of the Bird, outside the Cammerpoort', a dwelling on the Steenhouwersvest that simultaneously housed Govaert Bac's printing business and had previously been the home of Mathias van der Goes, the first known Antwerp printer.⁴ The House of the Bird was undoubtedly a well-known location for potential book buyers. Houtmaert's preference for commissioning work with Parisian printers appears to have been exceptional among Antwerp printers.⁵ Yet, it was precisely Houtmaert's decision to have the Book of Hours in Dutch printed in Paris that appears to have been decisive for the development of the Dutch-language Book of Hours in print. Houtmaert possibly became acquainted with the Book of Hours in Dutch through Bac, with whom he shared premises.

Bac was one of the Antwerp printer-publishers who published a Dutch-language Book of Hours in a textual and visual make-up closely related to an edition published by Gerard Leeu in the same city in 1491, with a new series

2 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen met vele schoon loven ende oracien* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 15 February 1500), USTC no. 436606; NK 997. On Kerver's position in Parisian book (of hours) production: Claerr Th., "L'édition d'Heures du 21 avril 1505: Une œuvre charnière dans la production de Thielman Kerver?", in Hindman S. – Marrow J.H. (eds.), *Books of Hours Reconsidered* (London: [2013]) 409–417.

3 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1500). Copy: The Hague, RL, 150 E 7, fol. q4r, '[...] ende heeftse ghedruct met sijnen coste ten orbore van allen goeden kerstenen menschen die gheen Latijn en verstaen'.

4 Adam R., *Vivre et imprimer dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (des origines à la Réforme)*, vol. 1 (Turnhout: 2018) 103. *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (Paris, [Johannes Higman] for Willem Houtmaert: 1497), ISTC no. ih00431350; GW 13080 and GW 13077 (differences in type setting in a copy of which only fragments are preserved suggest more than one issue: Buchanan-Brown J., "Fragments of a Paris-printed Ghetiden", *The Library*, 5th Ser. 19 (1964) 208–212. Copy: Groningen, UL, uklu INC 96, colophon: '[...] voir willem houtmert wonende Tantwerpen int voghelhuys buyten die Camerpoorte: ende daer salmense vinden te coepe'.

5 On Houtmaert's strategy, see Adam, *Vivre et imprimer* 102–103.

of woodcuts that, as observed by Ina Kok, 'have a decidedly French quality'.⁶ Heribert Tenschert and Ina Nettekoven have classified the series as 'in the style of the Master of the Apocalypse Rose' of the Sainte-Chapelle.⁷ Following Leeu's example, several Antwerp editions appeared that are presented as *Duytsche ghetiden* on the title page and reproduce a – particularly within the Dutch tradition – remarkably stable cycle of texts. The longer texts appear in the translation ascribed to Geert Grote, founder of the *Devotio Moderna*, who is believed to have translated several Hours, the Penitential Psalms, Litany and Vigil in 1383–1384.⁸ That the translation resonated with late medieval readers is attested by the high numbers of extant manuscripts (estimates range from 800 to c. 2000 manuscripts) and more than forty printed editions that appeared from 1480 onward.⁹

Houtmaert's initiative to commission Books of Hours in Paris appears to have transferred the *Duytsche ghetiden* – and the Dutch-language Book of Hours as such – to one of the most important hubs for the production of Books

6 I hope to publish an article in which I discuss Leeu's edition and provide a preliminary exploration of the role of this edition in shaping Dutch-language Books of Hours in print. *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (Antwerp, Gerard Leeu: 16 August 1491), *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) (<https://data.cerl.org/istc>), last accessed 5 March 2024, no. ih00430300; *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (WG) (<https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>), last accessed 5 March 2024, 13417. The woodcuts are discussed in Kok I., *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, vol. 1 (Houten: 2013) 227–285, no. 107. Bac's edition was published in or not long after 1493: *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (Antwerp, Govaert Bac: [1493–1494]), ISTC no. ih00430400; GW 13418. Bac's woodcut series, cut after Leeu's, is discussed in Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula* 523–529, no. 251.

7 Tenschert H. – Nettekoven I. (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 365 gedruckte Stundenbücher der Sammlung Bibernmühle: 1487–1586*, vol. IX (Ramsen: 2015) 3948–3950, no. 11. A direct source is nevertheless difficult to identify. Possibly Leeu commissioned the designs in Paris and had the cuts made in Antwerp: Tenschert H. – Nettekoven I. (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 365 gedruckte Stundenbücher der Sammlung Bibernmühle: 1487–1586*, vol. V (Ramsen: 2014) 1874, no. 11.5.

8 Edition: Wijk N. van, *Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote; naar het Haagse handschrift 133 E 21* (Leiden: 1940). See also Dijk R.Th.M. van, "Methodologische kanttekeningen bij het onderzoek van getijdenboeken", in Mertens Th. (ed.), *Boeken voor de eeuwigheid: Middel Nederlands geestelijk proza* (Amsterdam: 1993) 210–229 and 434–437, at 225.

9 Dijk R.Th.M. van, "Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote: Terugblik en vooruitzicht", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 64 (1990) 156–194, at 161. The Book of Hours in Grote's translation first appeared in print 1480 in Delft: *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (Delft, [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer]: 8 Apr. 1480), ISTC no. ih00429300; GW 13424. The estimate of the number of printed editions is based on a survey of the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* and Nijhoff – Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*.

of Hours.¹⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly, since none of them was a native speaker, the printers in Paris did not make many alterations to the Dutch texts. They did, however, leave their mark in the presentation and visual make-up of these books: in the Parisian editions the Dutch texts would be subject to the latest trends in Parisian book publishing. The Dutch texts became a fixed framework onto which visual innovations and image cycles were fitted that were first developed in Latin Books of Hours, mostly aimed at the French market. Kerver's 1522 edition can be viewed as the final stage in this process.¹¹ In this edition, Kerver introduced what he announced as 'many beautiful and new images that had never been seen', which undoubtedly sparked the curiosity of potential buyers.¹² What were these novel images? And how did they shape the experience of reading Geert Grote's translations?

I will first chart the 'new images' introduced in the 1522 edition. To answer the second question, I will focus on the images incorporated in the Penitential Psalms. I argue that, on the one hand, Kerver added a new pictorial layer to the Dutch-language Book of Hours because these images also appeared in his Latin editions from 1520 onwards, and he simply updated the Dutch-language Book of Hours to accord with the latest trends in his book production. On the other hand, the inclusion of new images gave the Book of Hours in Dutch a new lease of life by creating a meditative dimension geared toward narrative elements of the Old Testament. This new meditative dimension deserves further exploration.

1 Old Texts with Novel Images

The 1497 edition commissioned by Houtmaert introduced the *Duytsche ghetiden* as *Die ghetiden van onser lieuer vrouwen met vele schone louen ende*

¹⁰ On the production of Books of Hours in Paris see Delft M. van, "Illustrations in Early Printed Books and Manuscript Illumination: The Case of a Dutch Book of Hours printed by Wolfgang Hopyl in Paris in 1500", in Wijsman H. (ed.), *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair: Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries* (Turnhout: 2010) 131–164, at 135–141 and Reinburg V., *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400–1600* (Cambridge: 2012) 26–49.

¹¹ This was not the final edition, however. In 1533 his widow Yolande Bonhomme published another edition, which appears to be a reprint of the 1522 edition: *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen ende vanden helylighen cruce* (Paris, Yolande Bonhomme: 1533), USTC no. 410294; NK 3090.

¹² This remark appears on title page and in the colophon, see n. 14 and 15 below. Also briefly signalled in Bruin H. de, "Illustraties in gedrukte getijdenboeken uit en voor de Nederlanden", *Millenium, tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies* 14 (2000) 104–127, there 119.

oratie (The Hours of Our Dear Lady with many beautiful laudations and prayers).¹³ With the exception of spelling variations or omissions, this longer title was maintained in the Dutch-language Books of Hours produced in the French capital until Kerver's 1522 edition. The title page of the latter edition lists the main sections of the book and concludes with the following remark: 'Item also many beautiful and new images have been employed here, that had never been seen'.¹⁴ Kerver also advertised the inclusion of novel images in the colophon. Here he is more specific as to their location within the book: '[...] and in this latest edition many beautiful images have been employed that had never been seen, as anyone may notice in the seven psalms and in the matins for the deceased'.¹⁵ Kerver thus directed readers to two sections in which they would encounter the previously unseen images: the Penitential Psalms and the Vigil for the Deceased.

True to late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French convention, the Penitential Psalms are preceded by a full-page metalcut of King David spying on Bathsheba [Fig. 2.1].¹⁶ In fact, Kerver was the first printer to couple the Penitential Psalms in Grote's translation with this iconography in his 1500 edition.¹⁷ Gerard Leeu had opted for a different episode from David's life in his influential 1491 edition, i.e., David's victory over Goliath, which was also taken up in the 1497 Paris edition commissioned by Houtmaert.¹⁸ Manuscripts with

13 *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (1497). Copy: Groningen, UL, uklu INC 96, title page. See n. 4 above.

14 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). Copy: The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. A1r, 'Item voert vele schoone ende nieuwe beelden [sijn h]ier inghesedt die noyt ghesien en waren'.

15 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. R8r, '[...] ende in dese laeste printe sijn gheset vele schoone beelden die noyt ghesien en waren, ghelijc een iegelijck mercken mach in die seuen psalmen ende in die mettenen voer die ouerledene'.

16 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H2r. Wieck R.S., "Prayer to the People: The Book of Hours", in Hammerling R. (ed.), *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 2008) 389–416, there 408–409. Costley C.L., "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms", *Renaissance Quarterly* 57.4 (2004) 1235–1277.

17 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1500). The Hague, RL, 150 E 7, fol. g5v. Here, Kerver employed a copy of an image of Bathsheba's bath that was part of an influential Parisian series of metalcuts originally employed by Pigouchet for Vostre and designed by the Master of Anne de Bretagne. On the introduction of the bathing Bathsheba in printed Dutch-language Books of Hours, see also De Bruin, "Illustraties in gedrukte getijdenboeken" 117.

18 The 1497 edition includes a double image that also shows David with the head of Goliath met by a group of music-making women of Israel (1 Sam. 18:6–7). Understood as the victory of good over evil, David's triumph over Goliath often accompanied the Penitential Psalms in Italian manuscript Books of Hours from the fifteenth century: Wieck, "Prayer



FIGURE 2.1 David and Bathsheba. Metalcut. *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522). 80. The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H2r

the Middle Dutch Book of Hours tended to combine the Penitential Psalms with scenes of the Last Judgement, while images of the penitent King David absorbed in prayer also occurred.¹⁹ The latter became more common in the final decades of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century, when the theme of the bathing Bathsheba also started to appear.²⁰ Although the pairing of the Penitential Psalms in Grote's translation with an image of David and Bathsheba was relatively recent, Kerver's inclusion of a portrayal of David spying on Bathsheba in his 1522 edition was evidently not original since, as noted above, he had already introduced this iconography in his edition of 1500. Even though he had not used this specific composition before (see below), it did not meet the claim of novelty made in the colophon.

The pictorial novelty Kerver advertised for this section undoubtedly lay in the full-page metalcuts that were placed before the beginning of each of the six subsequent Penitential Psalms and that portray scenes from King David's life after he had seduced Bathsheba and committed the sin of adultery.²¹ As established, such a pairing of the Penitential Psalms with scenes from David's life is rare in Middle Dutch manuscripts.²² These metalcuts employed by Kerver are

to the People" 408. On the series employed in Houtmaert's editions, see Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V.*, vol. ix, 3955–3961.

19 Wieck, "Prayer for the People" 409. An example is discussed in Wüstefeld H.C. – Korteweg A.S., *Sleutel tot licht: Getijdenboeken in de Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica* (Amsterdam: 2009), 129, cat. no. 16. A miniature of the Last Judgement was often also combined with the penitent David set in a historiated initial: Broekhuijsen K.H., *The Masters of the Dark Eyes: Late Medieval Manuscript Painting in Holland* (Turnhout: 2009) 28.

20 Broekhuijsen, *The Masters of the Dark Eyes* 33.

21 Brief overview of the subject matters of the metalcuts in Zöhl C., "Thielman Kervers und Yolande Bonhommes bilderreiche Stundenbücher der 1520er Jahre (Nrn. 117–122)", in Tenschert H. – Nettekoven I. (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle 1490–1550*, vol. 3 (Rotthalmünster: 2003) 961–967, at 965.

22 An exception is a manuscript illuminated by the Masters of the Dark Eyes: (The Hague, KB, 76 G 9; c.1490) that combined the Penitential Psalms with a miniature of the Last Judgement and let each psalm commence with a historiated initial with a scene from David's life. Yet, the image-cycle, starting with his victory over Goliath through his coronation and ending with his adultery with Bathsheba and his repentance, focusses on a different part of the Biblical narrative. See Broekhuijsen K.H., "Decoration Programs in Books of Hours by the Masters of the Dark Eyes", in Hindman – Marrow (eds.), *Books of Hours Reconsidered* 353–364, esp. 360 and 364. See also Broekhuijsen, *The Masters of the Dark Eyes* 39. I would like to thank Irene Van Eldere for pointing me to this manuscript. Broekhuijsen, *The Masters of the Dark Eyes* 36–37, discusses other manuscripts with 'David cycles' in the Penitential Psalms illuminated by these Masters but none contains the same topics as Kerver's edition. Several miniatures in a manuscript from 1535 (The Hague, RL, 74 G 9) are based directly on Kerver's metalcuts: De Bruin, "Illustraties in gedrukte getijdenboeken" 121.

copies of a series originally designed by the Parisian artist and publisher Jean Pichore for a 1509 edition of a Latin Book of Hours.²³ The artist who made the rather loose copies for Kerver borrowed elements from German graphic art, especially Dürer's woodcuts.²⁴ Kerver started using this series around 1520 in Books of Hours in Latin.²⁵ In 1522 he then used the series throughout his edition of the Dutch-language Book of Hours.

In the Vigil, the other section he specified as containing new images, he included a selection of five of the eleven metalcuts offered by the series to be paired with texts in the Office of the Dead. Caroline Zöhl has extensively discussed the series' full image cycle for this Office, Pichore's originals as well as the German-influenced copies made for Kerver. The series consists of two opening metalcuts and three cycles of three images each for the three nocturns to be recited during matins.²⁶ In his 1522 Dutch-language edition Kerver lifted five images from the series: the two opening metalcuts and the cycle for the first nocturn. He was unable to fit the full eleven-part cycle into the Dutch recension since this was an abridged version of matins, comprising the first nocturn only.²⁷ Readers of the Dutch-language edition therefore only encountered the first cycle, which consists of three images from Genesis that, in Zöhl's words, 'relate to the creation of Man, the origins of death that lie in the rebellion against God, and the knowledge of God's omnipotence over life'.²⁸ The three readings from the Book of Job in the first nocturn are paired with images of the Expulsion from Paradise, Adam and Eve living in the post-paradisiacal world and Cain slaying Abel (combined in a single metalcut), and Adam praying to God. Zöhl has underlined the uniqueness of these images in the Vigil in Books of Hours.²⁹ Kerver also employed the two opening metalcuts that

23 Zöhl C., *Jean Pichore: Buchmaler, Graphiker und Verleger in Paris um 1500* (Turnhout: 2004) 149–151. Zöhl, "Thielman Kervers und Yolande Bonhommes bilderreiche Stundenbücher" 962.

24 Zöhl, "Thielman Kervers und Yolande Bonhommes bilderreiche Stundenbücher" 961–962. Zöhl C., "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading in the Office of the Dead", in Oosterwijk S. – Knöll S. (eds.), *Mixed Metaphors: The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2011) 325–360, at 339.

25 Zöhl, "Thielman Kervers und Yolande Bonhommes bilderreiche Stundenbücher" 961–962.

26 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 339–357.

27 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fols. 18v–M3r. The same recension can also be found in Gerard Leeu's *Duytsche ghetiden* (1491). Copy: The Hague, RL, 150 F 48, fols. 73v–94v.

28 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" esp. 346, see also 359.

29 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 342–347. As Zöhl notes on p. 343, the first image is strongly related to Dürer's Small Passion woodcut series.

portray the legend of the Three Dead and the Three Living.³⁰ Since the Vigil in the 1497 edition commissioned by the Antwerp bookseller Willem Houtmaert opened with a diptych-like opening of the same theme, Kerver's purported novelty applied solely to the three images in the first nocturn.³¹

Another aspect that, compared to previous editions of Books of Hours in Dutch, remained unmatched until Kerver's 1522 edition was the inclusion of full-page images that mark every single hour in the Short Hours of the Holy Cross. The images portray episodes from the Passion linked to each hour, for example Christ being taken down from the Cross for vespers.³² Why Kerver did not feel the need to refer to this section in his colophon remains open to speculation. Perhaps he felt that these images were all too common. Moreover, from the very beginning of his engagement with the Book of Hours in Dutch, Kerver introduced important visual innovations. Strictly speaking, he had already included images from the Passion in his earlier editions as he was the first printer to introduce into the Dutch-language Book of Hours figurative borders in which representations of Christ's life are paired with prefigurations from the Old Testament. In the colophon of his 1500 edition, he mentions that the texts are printed '[...] with the life of Our Lord taken from the Bible and cut in images'.³³ In terms of images, the 1522 edition was indeed particularly innovative with regard to the matins of the Vigil and the Penitential Psalms. In the final section I will focus on the latter to explore how the new pictorial layer framed the readers' prayers in terms of a Biblical narrative.

2 A New Pictorial and Meditative Frame to the Penitential Psalms

The combination of the Penitential Psalms in the translation ascribed to Geert Grote with a seven-part image cycle of episodes from King David's life, starting with his moral downfall and closely following his moral and spiritual development until his succession by Salomon, is exceptional. As noted above,

30 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fols. P8v–Q1r. According to Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 341, the theme was rare in Books of Hours until c. 1500.

31 *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (1497). Groningen, UL, uklu INC 96, fols. g8v–h1r.

32 The influence of Dürer's Small Passion series is evident in this case. *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol G6r.

33 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1500). The Hague, RL, 150 E 7, fol. q4r, 'ende metten leuene ons heeren vuter biblen ghenomen ende in figuren ghesneden'. The same edition also included borders with the fifteen signs of the Apocalypse (f3v–f7r and repeated from l3r onward). His later editions also include borders with the Dance of the Death.

scenes from the life of King David were rarely included in manuscripts with 'Geert Grote's Book of Hours'. The new pictorial layer in Kerver's 1522 edition was moreover paired with textual elements that were equally crucial to the readers' experience: below each metalcut readers found a quatrain that elaborated on the image. The first edition in which Pichore's original designs were used (1509) already attached quatrains in the French vernacular to the images, which has led Zöhl to suggest that the verses were possibly part of the original concept.³⁴ She also notes that the verses are not derived from the texts in Books of Hours nor do they appear to be directly related to them.³⁵ In Kerver's Latin editions these French verses are either simply copied or replaced by unrhymed quatrains in Latin.³⁶ For Kerver's Dutch language edition, the French verses were rewritten in Dutch (see below). Speech banners in Latin in several of the metalcuts add a further dimension to the scene.³⁷ These textual elements need to be appreciated as an integral part of the analysis if we are to understand the effects of the insertion of the new image cycle on readers and on their recitation of the Penitential Psalms in the Dutch vernacular.

In her analysis of the images for the Office of the Dead, Zöhl has argued that the speech banners (in Latin) emphasise the meditative function of the images for prayer while the quatrains (in French) are 'catchily-rhymed mnemonics' that can at times be read as a continuous narrative. Her analysis of the images for the first nocturn led Zöhl to conclude that, while they do not illustrate the non-narrative readings of the Office, there is 'a continuous connection to the intrinsically nongraphic text'.³⁸ As such, the images 'promote a pictorial meditation [...] developed in the course of the nocturnal prayer'.³⁹ Accordingly, Books of Hours with Pichore's cycle for the Office of the Dead 'offered the choice between different modes of reception' that required different educational backgrounds: readers could read the Latin offices, fathom the

34 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 358–360. According to Zöhl, all fifty-five images had quatrains attached to them in the 1509 edition. In Kerver's 1522 Dutch-language edition, stanzas only appear beneath images outside of the Hours of the Virgin.

35 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 316.

36 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 358. For an overview of the French quatrains see for example Tenschert and Nettekoven (eds.), *Horae B.M.V.*, vol. 3, 982–984, no. 118. Further copies of the 1509 image cycle exist that appeared from the 1520s onward and were coupled with English verses: Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 339. An example in Wieck R.S., *Painted Prayers. The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: 1997) 50, cat. no. 35.

37 For an overview, see Zöhl, "Thielman Kervers und Yolande Bonhommes bilderreiche Stundenbücher" 965.

38 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 358–359.

39 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 333.

meaning of the images, read the 'illustrations' in connection to the vernacular (or Latin) quatrains, or take up two or more options in parallel.⁴⁰

I argue that rather than existing as separate reading modes, the reading of the images, verses and psalms in the Dutch-language Penitential Psalms merged into a single, integrated practice in which the function of the images and verses is comparable to that of the framing texts in the Hours (antiphons, responsories, versicles) that aid the person praying in understanding the textual component in the specific context of the office.⁴¹ With regard to the Hours of the Virgin Roger Wieck notes that '[t]hrough the antiphons that begin and end, as a kind of frame, each Psalm, its themes are applied to the Mother of God'.⁴² The Psalms were not only multi-interpretable according to the liturgical setting in which they were to be recited, they in particular were to be read as if they were deeply personal prayers, 'uttered amid the deepest compunction of heart'.⁴³ In her discussion of Jan Mombaer's *chyropsalterium* (hand-psalter) – a technical aid or prop that allows the person praying 'to inhabit [the psalms], to make them their own' – Rachel Fulton Brown shows how psalms were seen to have many different dispositions and voices that could spark devotion and lead to different effects in the person praying.⁴⁴ The Penitential Psalms specifically, especially in the context of the Dutch-language Books of Hours, became personal prayers that helped readers reflect on their mental and bodily state.⁴⁵

This means that despite the apparent independence of the David cycle's images and verses from the non-narrative Psalms, they create a frame through which readers may associate them with episodes of penance and spiritual growth in King David's life (David was considered to be the speaker of the Psalms), which in turn would help them apply the words of the Psalms to their own experiences. As Augustine explained in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, David's story serves as an example to make readers aware of their sins; David has the same function for the devotee that Nathan had for David: both are sent

40 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 325.

41 Matter S., *Tagzeitentexte des Mittelalters: Untersuchungen und Texte zur deutschen Gebetbuchliteratur* (Berlin: 2021) 33–34.

42 Wieck, "Prayer to the People" 403.

43 Quote from Abba Isaac (7th c.), quoted in Brown R.F., "My Psalter, My Self; or How to Get a Grip on the Office According to Jan Mombaer: An Exercise in Training the Attention for Prayer", *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 12–1 (2012) 75–105, at 80.

44 Fulton Brown, "My Psalter, My Self", quote on p. 75.

45 Scheel J., "Sich selbst sehen – der Betrachter in und vor dem Bild: Spiegel- und Stifterfiguren in Texten und Bildern des 15. Jahrhunderts", in Koch E. – Schlie H. (eds.), *Orte der Imagination – Räume des Affekts: Die mediale Formierung des Sakralen* (Leiden: 2016) 279–309, at 287–288.

by the Lord to remind them of their sins.⁴⁶ By proclaiming the psalm verses, the reader takes on a double role: that of the Psalmist (David), and that of the speaker of the prayers who relates the texts to his own experiences.⁴⁷ Relating the different components (image, verses, Psalm) to each other rather than viewing them as separate or at best parallel modes, makes it possible to determine the role of the images and verses in establishing the context within which readers were to recite and interpret the psalms. The use of the vernacular for both the verses and the Psalms, moreover, diminishes the need for differentiation between several educational backgrounds as highlighted by Zöhl.⁴⁸ Since both verses and Psalms were present in the Dutch vernacular, their reading was connected more directly. The only dimension that was possibly not accessible to all readers were the Latin speech banners.

The image that introduces the Penitential Psalms is a 'highly unusual depiction' of David and Bathsheba (see Fig. 2.1).⁴⁹ Some art historians have suggested that images of David and Bathsheba when paired with the Penitential Psalms were opportunities to insert a measure of erotic excitement.⁵⁰ In his discussion of an earlier Latin edition of 1513 by Kerver, Roger Wieck claims that '[i]mages in these late Horae seem to offer less of an admonition against sin than an occasion for it'.⁵¹ The metalcut used by Kerver, however, lacks an overt erotic charge. Architectural elements – towers, arches, windows, portals, and passages – and vistas dominate the composition, creating an atmosphere that underscores the secrecy of the sin that is about to take place. Significantly, the bathing Bathsheba is not central to the image. She is represented in a room situated on the first floor of a building opposite King David's terrace, which lifts her to his eye level. David's messenger, caught in the act of opening the door to Bathsheba's house, is placed in the foreground, thus stressing David's initiative. The four witnesses hiding behind archways and watching through a window further highlight the immorality of David's lust. The many

46 Quoted in Scheel, "Sich selbst sehen" 286.

47 On assuming multiple roles through prayer texts see Buschbeck B.K., "Sprechen mit dem Heiligen und Eintauchen in den Text: Zur Wirkungsästhetik eines Passionsgebets aus dem 'Engelberger Gebetbuch'", in Breitenstein M. – Schmidt Ch. (eds.), *Medialität und Praxis des Gebets. Sonderheft Das Mittelalter* 24 (2019) 390–408, esp. at 399.

48 Zöhl, "A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading" 325.

49 Zöhl, "Thielman Kervers und Yolande Bonhommes bilderreiche Stundenbücher" 962: 'höchst ungewöhnliche Darstellung'. It is the only image in the David-cycle that is not based on a composition from Pichore's 1509 series.

50 Costley, "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms" 1261–1263.

51 Wieck, *Painted Prayers* 95, cat. no. 74.

narrow windows, one of which takes the shape of a keyhole, insinuate that there might be more onlookers. The composition suggests that David's transgressions will not remain hidden and will eventually place him in a difficult position.

The verses placed below the image underscore David's initiative. According to the verses David was pacing in his bedchamber. Beguiled upon seeing Bathsheba, he sent for her to 'come to him without delay':

Dauid in sijn slaepcamer wandelende
Daer ontrent die schone bersabee sach
wert becoort / op die stond om haer sendede
Dat sij by hem quame sonder verdrach.⁵²

[When] David [was] walking in his bedroom,
he saw thereabouts the beautiful Bathsheba
[and] became tempted / he immediately sent for her
So that she would come to him without delay.

The rubric, placed on the verso of the leaf before the start of the first Penitential Psalm – 'Hereafter follow, in Dutch, the seven penitential psalms that are commonly read against the seven deadly sins' – invites the reader to consider David's behaviour in the context of the cardinal sins. This preamble further lets the words of the Psalmist resonate with the verses and image: taking on the role of the Psalmist/David, the devotee acknowledges his weakness and repenting asks to be healed of his grievous sin: 'for I am weak, heal me, for all my bones are troubled' ('want ick cranc ben: make my ghesont, want alle mijn ghebeenten syn mede verstoert') (Ps. 6:3).⁵³ The verses 'every night I will cleanse my bed with my tears; and I will flood my bedding spread upon it' ('ic sal mijn bedde wasschen op elcke nacht met mijnen tranen: ende ic sal beghieten mijn ghespreyde bedde') (Ps. 6:7) echo the first line of the quatrain

52 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H1r. In French: 'Comment dauid fut adulterye // Ung iour vit Bersabee au bain // Qui manda querir pour luy complaire // Et en feist son plaisir mondain'. Tenschert and Nettekoven (eds.), *Horae B.M.V.*, vol. 3, no. 118, p. 982 (transcription from Kever's edition of 10 September 1522).

53 I quote the passages from the Penitential Psalms from Kerver's 1522 edition and refer to the line numbers as used in Heymans J.G. (ed.), *Psalters der Moderne Devotie* (Leiden: 1978). *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H1v.

that positions David in his bedchamber, the same space where he will eventually repent his sin.⁵⁴

The verses below the second image directly connect the death of Bathsheba's husband, Uriah, to David's first sin: 'after David's adultery followed homicide' [Fig. 2.2].⁵⁵ The Latin words in the banderole in the image, 'Adulterium causas homicidium litere Vrie' (adultery is the cause of murder, as Uriah's letter says), underscore the causality between the two sins and refer to the letter David gave to Uriah to pass on to Joab (2 Samuel 11:15). To cover his deeds, David ordered Joab to place Uriah in the frontlines of the battle where he would certainly be killed, as the verses below the image remind the reader-viewer: 'he [i.e., David] placed him in the heat of the battle where he could never prevail' ('Int alder sterckste des strijts hem settede / Daer hi immer niet en kouste [sic] wederstaen'). The composition of the metalcut emphasises the hopelessness of Uriah's situation – his helmet and broken sword lie on the ground – and hence underscores David's active role in manslaughter. Again, the reader may have read the subsequent Psalm (Ps. 31(32)), which focuses on the acknowledgement and eventual forgiveness of sin, as penance for his own as well as David's sins.

The third image represents a shift from sin to penance and portrays the prophet Nathan, sent by the Lord in order to rebuke David for his sins (2 Sam. 12:1–25) [Fig. 2.3]. The two men appear engaged in a conversation. Nathan, dressed in a robe lined with fur and a girdle, occupies a superior position to David who, wearing what appears to be a simple penitential robe, is portrayed in a half-crouch, as if caught in the moment when he realises that he cannot justify his actions and falls to his knees. A banderole places the words 'initium salutis notitia peccati', ascribed to Epicurus in Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius*, in David's mouth: 'the beginning of salvation is the knowledge of transgression'.⁵⁶ The verses below the image tell the reader that 'for this great evil' Nathan rebuked King David very shamefully ('zeer scandelick'), but within a year David humbly acknowledged his offenses.⁵⁷

54 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. Hiv.

55 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H3v, 'Nae dauids ouerspel / die moortslach volgede'.

56 Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 28.9, in Fink G., *Lucius Annaeus Seneca: Epistulae morales ad Lucilium / Briefe an Lucilius*. Band I (Berlin: 2007) 162–163.

57 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H5r, 'Die prophete Nathan om dit groot quaet // Berespte coninck dauid zeer scandelick // Maer eert iaer omme quam / by nathans raet // Bekende sijn mesdaden ootmoedelick'.

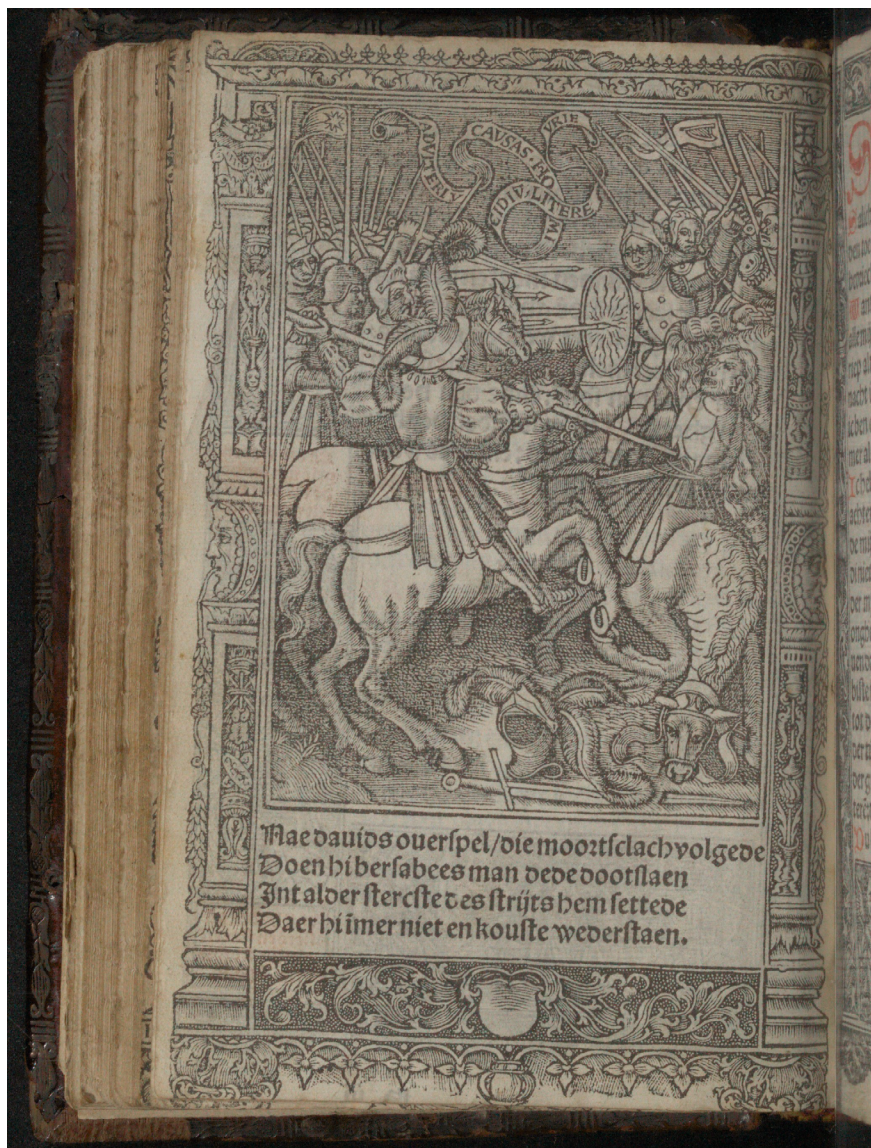


FIGURE 2.2 The Death of Uriah. Metalcut. *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522), 80. The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H3v

PHOTO: EARLY EUROPEAN BOOKS – PROQUEST LLC

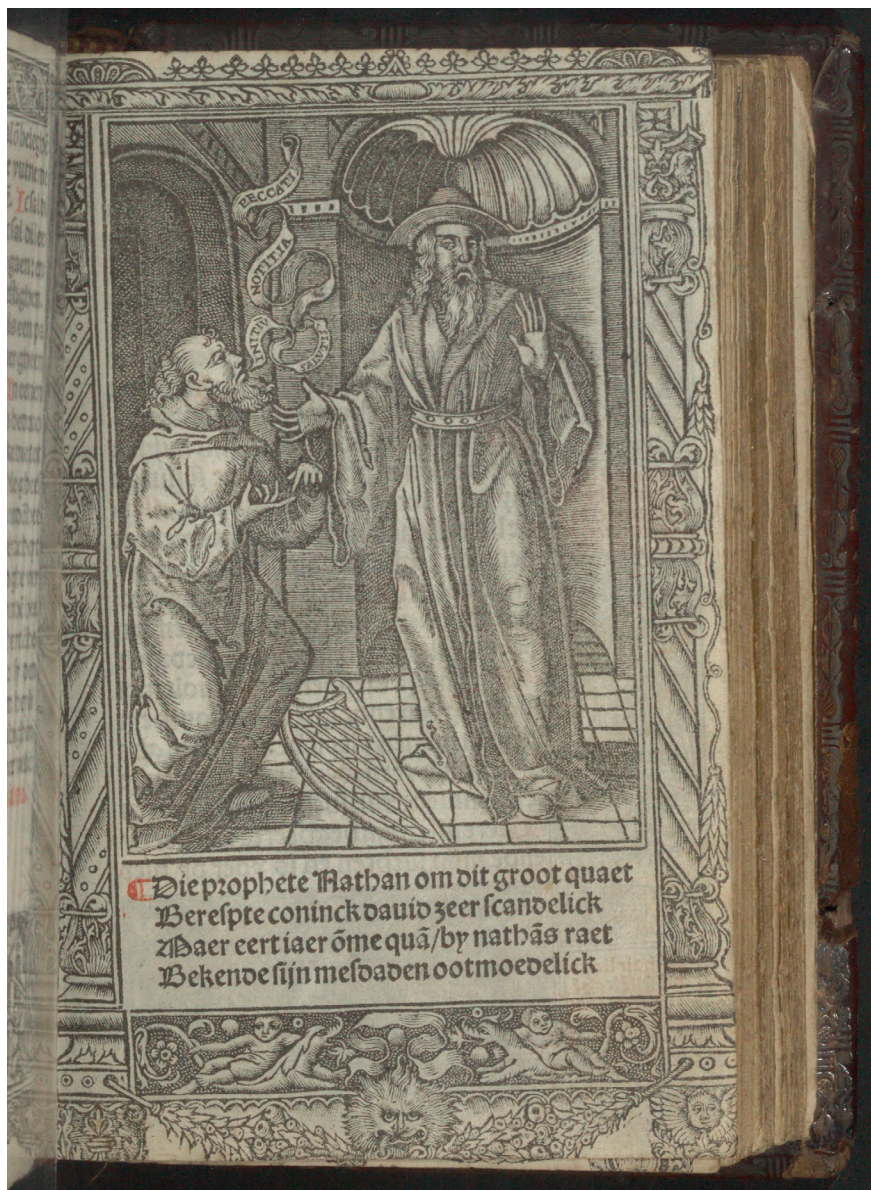


FIGURE 2.3 Nathan rebuking David. Metalcut. *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522). 8o. The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H5r
 PHOTO: EARLY EUROPEAN BOOKS – PROQUEST LLC

Nathan's authority and moral superiority are further emphasised by his stature, posture, and the architectural niche in which he is positioned. David's half-crouching position, on the other hand, seems to exhibit the oppressive weight of sin, as described at the beginning of the third Penitential Psalm (Ps. 37(38)): 'For my wrongdoings have gone above my head and are pressing on me as a heavy burden [...] and I am bowed down low [...]' (Ps. 37:5–7).⁵⁸ The confession of sin is another important theme, with the Psalmist – and the reader – exclaiming, 'For I shall proclaim my transgressions and consider my sins' (Ps. 37:19; cf. 2 Sam. 12:13).⁵⁹ The act of speech in the Psalm echoes the image in which David is portrayed speaking, which also contrasts with the Psalm's simile of the mute who does not open his mouth, can offer no reply, and waits to be heard by the Lord (Ps. 37:14–15).⁶⁰

The pictorial preamble to the fourth psalm, Psalm 50(51), is an image of David – now in his fur-lined royal robe, possibly referring to his pride – praying for forgiveness in the streets of Jerusalem while the avenging angel is sent by the Lord [Fig. 2.4]. The speech scroll has David utter the words, 'It is I who has sinned' ('Ego qui peccavi') (2 Sam. 24:17). The verses below remind the reader of the backdrop of this scene: after David had offended the Lord by conducting a census of Israel and Judah against His will, the prophet Gad offered David the choice between three punishments: famine, war, or pestilence. David chose the latter, which cost the life of seventy thousand men (2 Sam. 24:12–15).⁶¹ Stimulated by the image and verses, readers would have encountered several parallels between the Biblical narrative and the words of the Psalm. After asking for forgiveness, the Psalmist (David) explicitly voices his wrongdoings: 'For I acknowledge my transgressions and my sin is always in front of me' (Ps. 50:5), describing what both the penitent reader-viewer and David are doing and thus heightening the devotee's self-awareness.⁶² Further

58 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H5v, 'Want mijne boesheden zijn mijnen hoofde bouen ghegaen ende si sijn op my beswaert als een swaer last [...] ende ben ghecrommet [...]'.

59 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fols. H6r–v, 'Want ic sal voertkundighen mijne boesheit ende om mijne sonden dencken'.

60 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H6r, '[...] ende ghelijc als een stomme die welke die sijnen mont niet op en luket Ende ic ben gheworden ghelijc als een mensch die niet en hoort ende die gheene wedersprake en heeft in sijnen monde'.

61 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H7r, 'Doen prophete Gad: hadde Dauid voerseyt // Te kiezen / strijdt / honghre / of pestilence // Pestilence koos met groter bitterheyt // Tseuentich duyst steruen om die offence'.

62 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H7v, 'Want ic mijn boesheyt bekenne ende mijn sonde is altoes teghens my'. On this type of reflexive strategies, see Scheel, "Sich selbst sehen" 280–285.

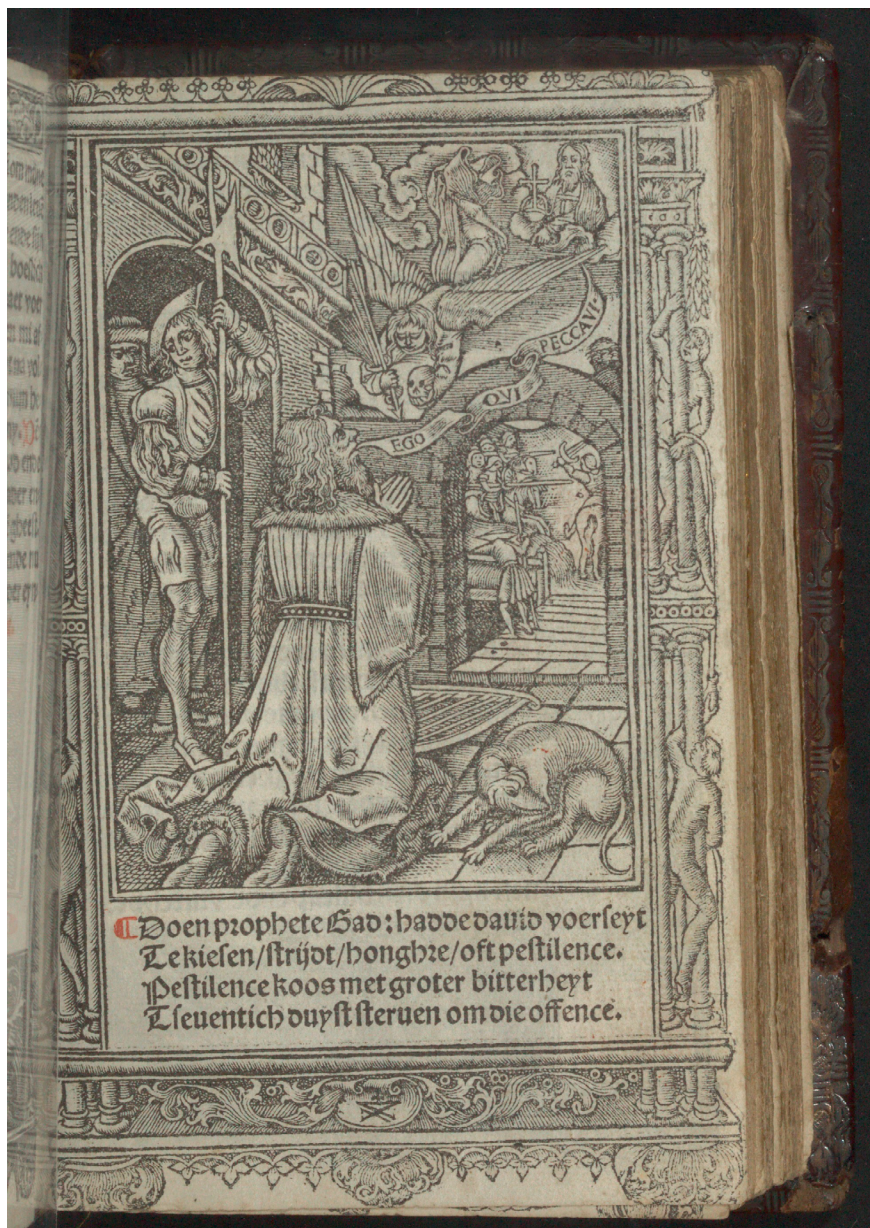


FIGURE 2.4 David in prayer on the streets of Jerusalem. Metalcut. *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522). 80. The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H7r

PHOTO: EARLY EUROPEAN BOOKS – PROQUEST LLC

on in the Psalm, he asks the Lord to save him from bloodguilt, to open his lips in the Lord's praise (Ps. 50:16–17) (recalling the opening verses in the Hours that created a setting of near physical intimacy with God⁶³) and to let Jerusalem prosper (Ps. 50:20).⁶⁴

The metalcut that precedes the fifth Psalm (101(102)) concludes the series of three images in which the reader-viewer has encountered David in penance and prayer [Fig. 2.5]. The image picks up the narrative where the last metalcut and verses had left off; it shows David sacrificing a lamb and praying at the Lord's altar. According to the verses, David, on the prophet Gad's advice, acknowledged his sins and made sacrifices to the Lord on 'mount Dareuna'.⁶⁵ Gad had indeed come to David and instructed him to build an altar on the threshing floor of Auranah the Jebusite. David obeyed and sacrificed offerings, after which the plague was stopped (2 Sam. 24:18–25). The fact that this scene of David praying appears to take place in the interior of a church suggests David's full conversion, which is also implied by the words in the banderole: 'Converti ad dominum certissima vita est' (Converting to the Lord is the most certain life).⁶⁶ David's regained faith is compared to that of Abraham when he sacrificed Isaac, for an image of the episode from Genesis (22:10) appears on the side of the altar. The image of David praying functioned as an example for readers seeking to evoke the right mental disposition for reciting the words of the Psalm: 'Lord, hear my prayer, and let my call come to you' (Ps. 101:2).⁶⁷ Perhaps the most direct parallel readers would have noted between this episode – David's prayer before the newly built altar and the ending of the plague – and the words of the fifth Penitential Psalm are the verses in which

63 Virginia Reinburg on the Hours of the Virgin in Wieck R.S., *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: 1988) 60–72, 41.

64 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. H8r–v, 'Verlosse mi vanden sonden god mijns heyls ende mijn tonge sal verhoghen dijn gherechticheyt. Here doet op mijn lippen ende mijnen mont sal voerkundighen dijn lof [...] Here doet goetelicke in dijn goeden wille met syon op dat die muren van iherusalem ghetimmert worden'.

65 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. I1r, 'Op den berch dareuna met gods ingheuen // Dauid sijn sonden bekende saen // Sacrificerende den god verheuen // Met die prophete gads raet was dit gedaen'.

66 Taken from Prosper of Aquitaine's *Epigrams* 74–7, in: Prosper Aquitanus, *Liber epigrammatum*, ed. Horsting A.G.A. (Berlin: 2016) 132: 'Converti namque ad dominum certissima vita est'.

67 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. I1v, 'Heere verhoere mijn ghebeth ende mijn roepen come tot di.'

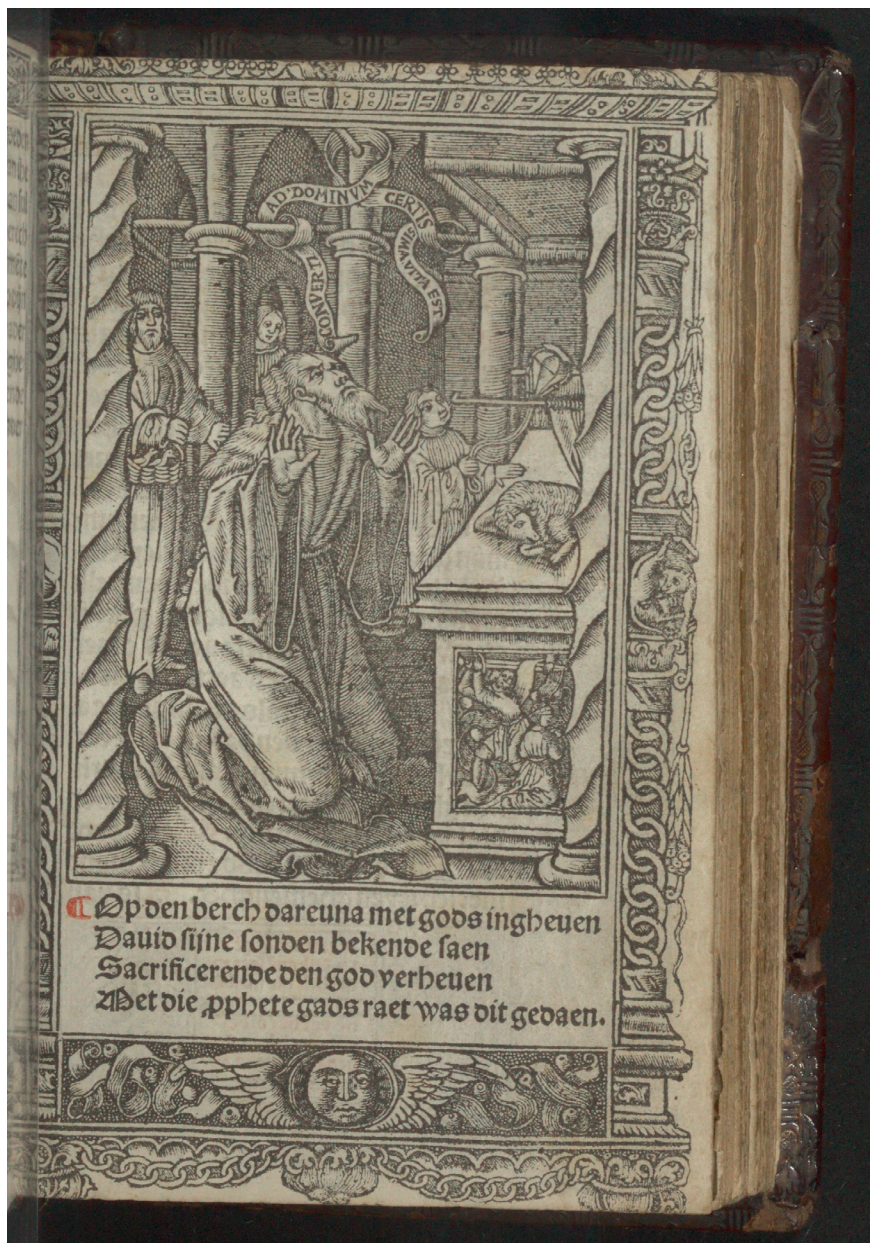


FIGURE 2.5 David offering a lamb and praying before an altar. Metalcut. *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522). 80. The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. 11r

PHOTO: EARLY EUROPEAN BOOKS – PROQUEST LLC

the Psalmist requests the Lord to take care of Sion 'for the time to look after Sion has come' (Ps. 101:14), and describes how future generations will 'declare the name of the Lord in Sion and his praise in Jerusalem' (Ps. 101:22).⁶⁸

The three central images of the David cycle that show the penitent David in a praying position, function as reflexive images – images in which the person praying is 'mirrored' and that assist him/her in reaching an increased level of self-awareness. Johanna Scheel has explored this type of image in the context of the Penitential Psalms and argued that images of the penitent David led readers to embody what they were verbalising (through the often reflexive language of the Psalms).⁶⁹ The new pictorial layer in Kerver's 1522 editions offered readers no less than three different types of a *David orans* as an example and 'mirror figure'.

The two final images that precede the sixth and seventh Psalm (129(130) and 142(143)) respectively, mirror and flip the two images at the beginning of the series. The first portrays an interaction with Bathsheba, but now not impelling her to collude in sinful behaviour [Fig. 2.6]. David is shown doing the right thing: as the verses elucidate, David 'vowed to Bathsheba with great inclination' that her son Salomon would become king (1 Kings 1:29–30). The first line of the quatrain refers to Nathan's role (not shown in the image) in this episode: David acted on 'the advice of the good prophet Nathan'.⁷⁰ David is portrayed enthroned, and the architectural niche above his head places him in a position similar to Nathan's in the third image. The words in the speech scroll surrounding the niche at the top of the throne, 'quod iustum est petito' (seek what is just) strengthen the image of David as a wise king doing what is righteous.⁷¹ The focus of the Psalm's verses on the Lord's forgiveness and the call for Israel to hope in the Lord, 'for with the Lord is mercy and with him is full redemption' (Ps. 129:7), would have resonated with David's own moral recovery at this stage in his life.⁷²

68 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. 12r, 'Al opuerstaende sulste di ouer Syon ontfermen: want die tijt te ontfermen is ghecomen want die tijt is ghecomen' and fol. 12v: 'Op dat sy voertkundighen des heeren naem in syon ende sijn lof in hierusalem.'

69 Scheel, "Sich selbst sehen" pp. 290–292. See also n. 62 above.

70 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. 13r, 'Byden raede der propheten nathans goet // Daud nae sijn rike ende leste iaer // Belofde bersa-been met groter moet // Salomon soude wesen coninck voer waer'.

71 The quote is lifted from *Disticha Catonis* 1.31.

72 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. 13v, 'Want bi den here is ontfermherticheyt ende bi hem is oueruolle verlossinge'.

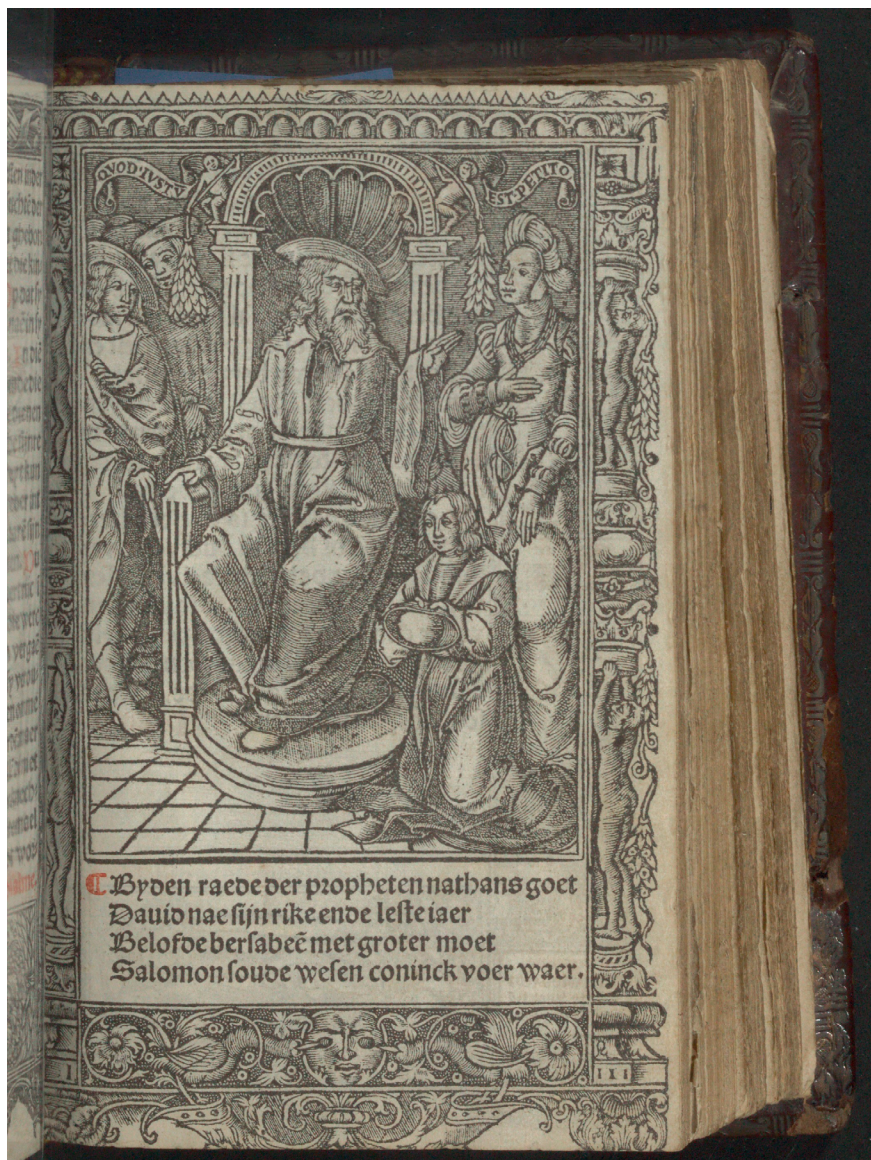


FIGURE 2.6 David enthroned with Bathsheba and Salomon. Metalcut. *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522). 8o. The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. 13r

PHOTO: EARLY EUROPEAN BOOKS – PROQUEST LLC

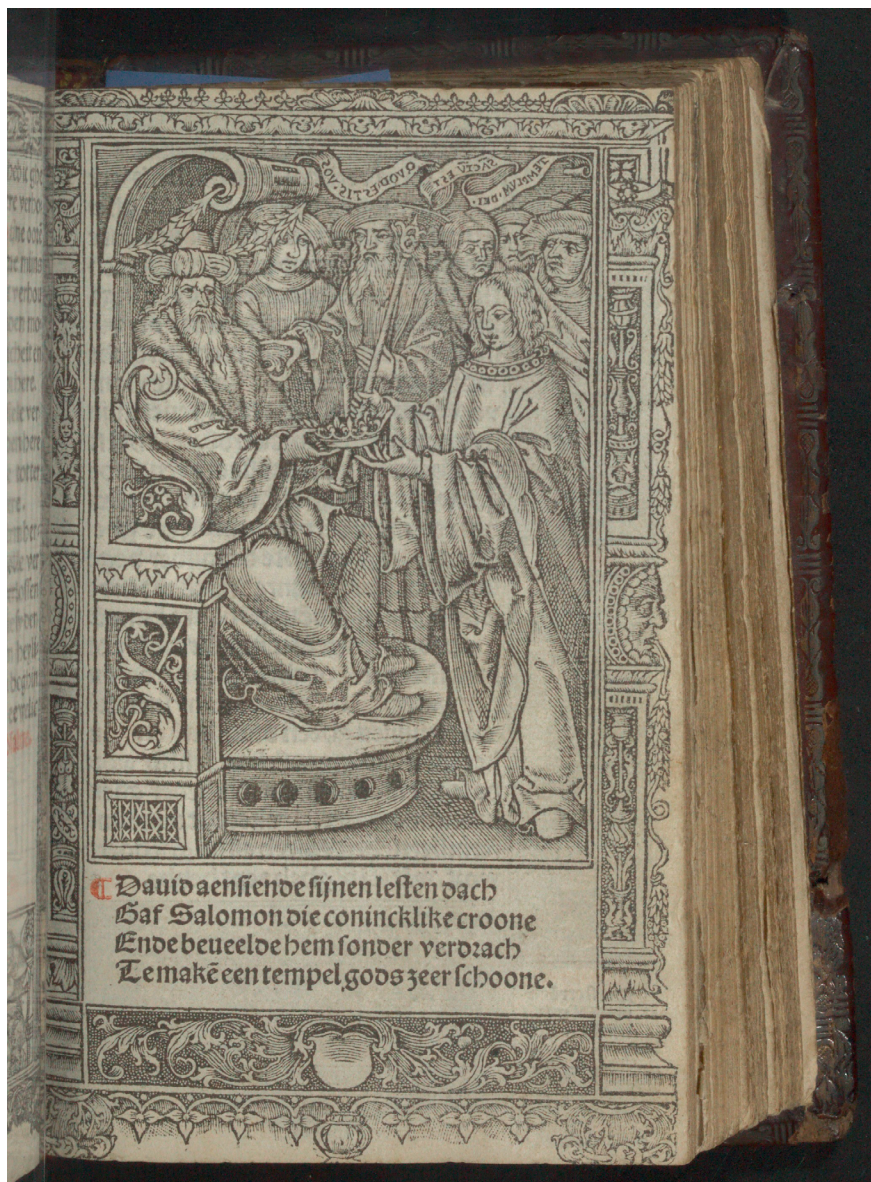


FIGURE 2.7 David enthroned, handing the regalia over to Salomon. Metalcut. *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522). 80. The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. 14

PHOTO: EARLY EUROPEAN BOOKS – PROQUEST LLC

The final image once again shows David enthroned, now handing over the regalia to Solomon. The verses, meanwhile, tell the reader of that David gave commanded Solomon to construct the Temple (1 Chronicles 28: 11–19): ‘David, approaching his final day, gave Salomon the royal crown and commanded him to build a very beautiful temple for God without delay’ [Fig. 2.7].⁷³ The bande-roule in the image, with a quote from 1 Corinthians 3:17, ‘templum dei est quod estis vos’ (you together are the temple of God [here written in reverse]), plays upon the spiritual sense of the building of the Temple. Through penance and a virtuous life, one could build a temple for God in one’s soul.⁷⁴ The metalcut therefore seems to portray not only the transfer of worldly power to Solomon but also of the moral wisdom King David gained over the years. The nature of the scene and quatrain – reflective yet at the same time forward-looking – forms an interpretive frame for the Psalm-verses in which the Psalmist, along with the person praying, entreates the Lord to ‘make known to me the road I should go’ (Ps. 142:8) and ‘to teach me to do your will’, but also reflects on days gone and the works of the Lord (Ps. 142:5).⁷⁵ The latter verses may have provided readers with an opportunity to reflect once again on the earlier episodes from David’s life they had encountered paired with previous Psalms, and at the same time to look forward, not only in terms of the biblical narrative but also in their own moral and spiritual development.

Conclusion

Thielman Kerver’s 1522 edition of a Dutch-language Book of Hours is a trans-national product in the sense that it combines a corpus of Dutch texts with a series of French borders and a series of metalcuts based on a series of Parisian origin (Jean Pichore’s 1509 cycle) that in the copies used by Kerver had partly

73 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. 14r, ‘Dauid aensiende sijnen lesten dach // Gaf Salomon die conincklike croone // Ende beueelde hem sonder verdrach // Te maken een tempel gods zeer schone’.

74 On architectural allegories and the formation of the soul see, e.g., Falkenburg R., “The Household of the Soul: Conformity in the Merode Triptych”, in Ainsworth M.W. (ed.), *Early Netherlandish Painting at the Crossroads: A Critical Look at Current Methodologies* (New York: 2001) 2–17. Dlabáčová A., “Een kasteel voor Christus. De burcht als meditatief beeld aan het einde van de middeleeuwen”, *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 90(1–2) (2020) 19–62.

75 *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (1522). The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1], fol. 14v, ‘Ic ghedachte der ouder dagen ic peinsde in alle dijnre wercken: ende ic sal peynsen inden daden dijnre handen’ and fols. 14v–15r, ‘Maket my den wech bekent die welcke daer ic noch in wandelen sal’.

been adapted to German models. The longer texts are translations that originated in the late fourteenth-century Northern Netherlands, where Geert Grote created them. In this specific combination they were first published in Antwerp early in the 1490s. The book's visual elements took shape in several stages: in 1500 Kerver first used typological borders with scenes from Christ's life, and in later editions he added other figurative borders. The 1522 edition embodies yet another stage of this process: as Kerver declared on the title page and in the colophon, a new image cycle, never seen before by readers of Dutch-language Books of Hours, had been added to the Penitential Psalms and the Vigil.

As I hope to have shown above, the David cycle and accompanying verses inserted in the Penitential Psalms offered readers a meditative frame that significantly enriched their experience. Clare Costley has argued that the pairing of images of David and Bathsheba with the Penitential Psalms 'emphasizes not repentance, but sin – sexual sin, to be precise'.⁷⁶ While the image in Kerver's series undoubtedly calls attention to David's sin, it represents a shift to Biblical narrative and, in particular, to the story of the events that allegedly led to the composition of the Psalms, for David was believed to have composed them as penance for his transgressions against the Lord.⁷⁷ His sins remain central to the image cycle, and through their pairing with the psalms texts the theme of penance proves fundamental to this section in the Book of Hours. After all, it was through key episodes from David's life that readers were reminded give thought to their own sins.

Moreover, the central part of the image cycle consists of three successive images of a penitent David in prayer that, in combination with the Penitential Psalms' reflexive language describing the physical and mental state as well as the actions of the person praying the texts, would have heightened the self-awareness of readers, aiding them to examine their conscience. Costley has noted that cases where the Penitential Psalms are paired with a series of images, may diminish the effect of the naked Bathsheba.⁷⁸ The series used by Kerver, from the start underscores David's illicit sin of lust and its direct link to Uriah's death. The Penitential Psalms were an instrument to help readers repent their sins – as the rubric points out, the seven deadly sins in particular. The inclusion of the images and quatrains that tell of King David's guilt and repentance in seven episodes gave readers a detailed narrative upon which to meditate while reciting the psalms and taking on the voice of the Psalmist as their own. Simultaneously, the episodes from David's life could

⁷⁶ Costley, "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms" 1261.

⁷⁷ Cf. Costley, "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms" 1244.

⁷⁸ Costley, "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms" 1261.

also have prompted readers to create a narrative of their own, based on personal experience.⁷⁹

Bibliography

- Adam R., *Vivre et imprimer dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (des origines à la Réforme)*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: 2018).
- Buchanan-Brown J., "Fragments of a Paris-printed Ghetiden", *The Library*, 3th Ser. 19 (1964) 208–212.
- Broekhuijsen K.H., "Decoration Programs in Books of Hours by the Masters of the Dark Eyes", in Hindman S. – Marrow J.H. (eds.), *Books of Hours Reconsidered* (London: 2013) 353–364.
- Broekhuijsen K.H., *The Masters of the Dark Eyes: Late Medieval Manuscript Painting in Holland* (Turnhout: 2009).
- Brown R.F., "My Psalter, My Self; or How to Get a Grip on the Office According to Jan Mombaer: An Exercise in Training the Attention for Prayer", *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 12–1 (2012) 75–105.
- Bruin H. de, "Illustraties in gedrukte getijdenboeken uit en voor de Nederlanden", *Millenium, tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies* 14 (2000) 104–127.
- Buschbeck B.K., "Sprechen mit dem Heiligen und Eintauchen in den Text: Zur Wirkungsästhetik eines Passionsgebets aus dem 'Engelberger Gebetbuch'", in Breitenstein M. – Schmidt C. (eds.), *Medialität und Praxis des Gebets*. Sonderheft *Das Mittelalter* 24 (2019) 390–408.
- Claerr Th., "L'édition d'Heures du 21 avril 1505: Une œuvre charnière dans la production de Thielman Kerver?", in Hindman S. – Marrow J.H. (eds.), *Books of Hours Reconsidered* (London: 2013) 409–417.
- Costley C.L., "David, Bathsheba, and the Penitential Psalms", *Renaissance Quarterly* 57.4 (2004) 1235–1277.
- Delft M. van, "Illustrations in Early Printed Books and Manuscript Illumination: The Case of a Dutch Book of Hours printed by Wolfgang Hopyl in Paris in 1500", in Wijsman H. (ed.), *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair: Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries* (Turnhout: 2010) 131–164.

79 This article was written as part of the project 'Pages of Prayer. Pages of Prayer: The Ecosystem of Vernacular Prayer Books in the Late Medieval Low Countries, c.1380–1550 [PRAYER]' that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) (Grant agreement No. 101041517). I wish to thank Irene O'Daly (Leiden University) for carefully reading and correcting my text.

- Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 10 March 1522), USTC no. 410169, NK 1000. Copy: The Hague, RL, 232 G 3[1].
- Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen met vele schoon loven ende oracien* (Paris, Thielman Kerver: 15 February 1500), USTC no. 436606; NK 997. Copy: The Hague, RL, 150 E 7.
- Dijk R.T.M. van, "Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote. Terugblik en vooruitzicht", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 64 (1990) 156–194.
- Dijk R.T.M. van, "Methodologische kanttekeningen bij het onderzoek van getijdenboeken", in Mertens Th. (ed.), *Boeken voor de eeuwigheid. Middelnederlands geestelijk proza* (Amsterdam: 1993) 210–229 and 434–437.
- Dlabáčová A., "Een kasteel voor Christus: De burcht als meditatief beeld aan het einde van de middeleeuwen", *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 90.1–2 (2020) 19–62.
- Falkenburg R., "The Household of the Soul: Conformity in the Merode Triptych", in Ainsworth M.W. (ed.), *Early Netherlandish Painting at the Crossroads: A Critical Look at Current Methodologies* (New York: 2001) 2–17.
- Fink G., *Lucius Annaeus Seneca: Epistulae morales ad Lucilium / Briefe an Lucilius*. Band I (Berlin: 2007).
- Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (wg) (<https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegen.drucke.de/>).
- Heymans J.G. (ed.), *Psalters der Moderne Devotie* (Leiden: 1978).
- Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (Delft, [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer]: 8 Apr. 1480), ISTC no. ih00429300; GW 13424.
- Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (Antwerp, Gerard Leeu: 16 August 1491). Copy: The Hague, RL, 150 F 48.
- Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (Antwerp, Govaert Bac: [1493–1494]), ISTC no. ih00430400; GW 13418.
- Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek* (Paris, [Johannes Higman], for Willem Houtmaert: 1497), ISTC no. ih00431350; GW 13080 and GW 13077. Copy: Groningen, UL, uklu INC 96.
- Kok I., *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, 4 vols. (Houten: 2013).
- Matter S., *Tagzeitentexte des Mittelalters: Untersuchungen und Texte zur deutschen Gebetbuchliteratur* (Berlin: 2021).
- Nijhoff W. – Kronenberg M.E., *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 2 vols. with supplements (The Hague: 1923–1971).
- Prosper Aquitanus, *Liber epigrammatum*, ed. Horsting A.G.A. (Berlin: 2016).
- Reinburg V., *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600* (Cambridge: 2012).
- Scheel J., "Sich selbst sehen – der Betrachter in und vor dem Bild: Spiegel- und Stifterfiguren in Texten und Bildern des 15. Jahrhunderts", in Koch E. – Schlie H. (eds.), *Orte der Imagination – Räume des Affekts: Die mediale Formierung des Sakralen* (Leiden: 2016) 279–309.

- Tenschert H. – Nettekoven I. (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 365 gedruckte Stundenbücher der Sammlung Bibernühle: 1487–1586*, vol. v (Ramsen: 2014).
- Tenschert H. – Nettekoven I. (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 365 gedruckte Stundenbücher der Sammlung Bibernühle: 1487–1586*, vol. ix (Ramsen: 2015).
- Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), (<https://www.ustc.ac.uk>).
- Wieck R.S., *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: 1988).
- Wieck R.S., *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: 1997).
- Wieck R.S., “Prayer to the People: The Book of Hours”, in Hammerling R. (ed.), *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden: 2008) 389–416.
- Wijk N. van, *Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote; naar het Haagse handschrift 133 E 21* (Leiden: 1940).
- Wüstefeld H.C. – Korteweg A.S., *Sleutel tot licht: Getijdenboeken in de Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica* (Amsterdam: 2009).
- Zöhl C., “Thielman Kervers und Yolande Bonhommes bilderreiche Stundenbücher der 1520er Jahre (Nrn. 117–122)”, in Tenschert H. – Nettekoven I. (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibernühle 1490–1550*, vol. 3 (Rotthalmünster: 2003) 961–967.
- Zöhl C., *Jean Pichore: Buchmaler, Graphiker und Verleger in Paris um 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).
- Zöhl C., “A Phenomenon of Parallel Reading in the Office of the Dead”, in Oosterwijk S. – Knöll S. (eds.), *Mixed Metaphors: The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2011) 325–360.