



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Shaping the future of the Dutch-language book of hours in print: Gerard Leeu's Duytsche ghetiden (1491)

Dlabacova, A.

Citation

Dlabacova, A. (2025). Shaping the future of the Dutch-language book of hours in print: Gerard Leeu's Duytsche ghetiden (1491). *De Gulden Passer*, 102(2), 11-28. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4252021>

Version: Accepted Manuscript

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

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4252021>

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

Shaping the future of the Dutch-language Book of Hours in print: Gerard Leeu's *Duytsche Ghetiden* (1491)*

Gerard Leeu was the first printer to publish a Book of Hours in Dutch under the title *Duytsche ghetiden*. Work on the book was completed on 16 August 1491 in his Antwerp printing shop.¹ By the early 1490s, the Middle Dutch Book of Hours, in the translation attributed to Geert Grote (traditionally dated to 1383 or 1384), had been in circulation for over a century. These texts circulated in thousands of manuscripts, whose content was significantly shaped by the preferences of patrons and readers, as well as by prevailing devotional trends and regional influences – all of which played a crucial role in defining the unique character of each handwritten Book of Hours.² Gerard Leeu's 1491 edition was not the first attempt by a printer to publish the Dutch-language Hours in print (the first known edition was issued in Delft in 1480). However, Leeu's work appears to have exerted a significant influence on subsequent editions, more so than any of the editions issued before Leeu entered the market for vernacular Books of Hours.

On the title page of Leeu's book, the title *Duytsche ghetiden* is prominently displayed above a woodcut of the Annunciation [Fig. 1]. Both the woodblock and the title are surrounded by decorative borders. In her magisterial study of woodcuts employed in incunabula published in the Low Countries, Ina Kok has described and analyzed the use and re-use of the woodcuts Leeu first used in his *Duytsche ghetiden*.³ She later adopts the title *Duytsche ghetiden* (or spelling variations thereof, e.g. *Duytsche getijden*) for any Dutch-language Book of Hours as a substitute for the Latin *Horae*, using it as a hypernym for any Book of Hours in the Dutch vernacular.⁴ Given the state of research – the vernacular Books of

* This article was written as part of the project 'Pages of prayer: The ecosystem of vernacular prayer books in the late medieval Low Countries, c. 1380–1550' (2023–2028) supported by ERC grant PRAYER, Grant agreement no. 101041517, funded by the European Union. Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council Executive Agency. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

[Note that this is a preprint version of this article; the published version is available via <https://bibliofielen.be/product/anna-dlabacova-shaping-the-future-of-the-dutch-language-book-of-hours-in-print-gerard-leeus-duytsche-ghetiden-1491/>]

¹ As with any of these kinds we of course always need to make the caveat 'as far as we can tell based on extant copies'. *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek*, Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. 8vo. ISTC no. ih00430300, GW 13417.

² Edition of the 'Book of Hours of Geert Grote' in Nicolaas van Wijk, *Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote; naar het Haagse handschrift 133 E 21*, Leiden 1940. The diversity within the manuscripts and printed books containing the Hours is currently being studied as part of the 'Pages of Prayer' project, based at Leiden University. In the 1990s, Rudolf van Dijk conducted significant work in mapping the textual cycles in manuscript Books of Hours: Rudolf Th.M. van Dijk, 'Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote. Terugblik en vooruitzicht' in *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 64 (1990), 156–194 and Rudolf Th.M. van Dijk, 'Methodologische kanttekeningen bij het onderzoek van getijdenboeken' in Thom Mertens (ed.), *Boeken voor de eeuwigheid. Middelnederlands geestelijk proza*, Amsterdam 1993, 210–229 and 434–437.

³ Ina Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula printed in the Low Countries*, 4 vols, Houten 2013, vol. 1, no. 107.

⁴ Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, e.g. on p. 597: 'the second edition of the *Duytsche getijden* by the Canons Regular' and p. 573: 'six editions of the *Duytsche getijden*'.

Hours printed in the Low Countries have never been subjected to in-depth analysis – this approach is understandable. However, labelling any printed book that contains the Hours in Dutch as *Duytsche ghetiden* may lead to confusion and obscure significant (dis)similarities between fifteenth-century and later editions of Books of Hours in Dutch.

Just as with their Middle Dutch manuscript counterparts, printed Books of Hours can differ substantially in terms of the cycle of texts they include. To understand the relationship between various editions, and, for example, assess the influence of a particular edition on both printed and manuscript Books of Hours, it is imperative to analyze the contents of printed Books of Hours at the level of the individual textual elements. Since these kinds of texts are generally transmitted in cycles or series, their transmission is best analyzed and understood in relation to each other rather than as individual texts. This is how Middle Dutch prayer books are presently studied within the ERC-funded project ‘Pages of Prayer. The Ecosystem of Vernacular Prayer Books in the Late Medieval Low Countries, c. 1380–1550 [PRAYER]’.⁵

More than a century ago, in his study of one of Leeu’s Latin Books of Hours, Bonaventura Kruitwagen already pleaded for a similar approach to printed liturgical books, arguing that the ‘independent’ (textual) components of these editions – to be understood as one or more gatherings containing a complete text or cluster of texts – can easily be combined with components from other editions.⁶ This, in turn, dovetails with the recent argument made by Kathryn Rudy to study manuscript prayer books as ‘modular books’.⁷ A simple example of ‘built-in’ modularity in printed Dutch-language Books of Hours are the Hours of the Holy Sacrament that were apparently offered as an optional text with the 1480 and 1484 Delft editions.⁸ The extent to which Dutch-language printed Books of Hours were modular in nature remains to be determined through a close examination of individual copies.⁹

In the present contribution, I propose to reserve the designation *Duytsche ghetiden*, as well as any variant spellings thereof, for a well-determined cycle of texts that was first brought to the press by Gerard Leeu in Antwerp and which sparked a wave of imitations, first within the city of Antwerp itself and later also in the Northern Netherlands and in France. I argue that Leeu’s *Duytsche ghetiden* can be viewed as a turning point in the production of printed Books of Hours in the Dutch vernacular, not only in terms of their appearance but also – and perhaps primarily – in regard to their content. Before providing some initial insight into the way(s) the *Duytsche ghetiden* shaped the future of the printed Book of Hours in Dutch, I will first discuss the place of the *Duytsche ghetiden* within Leeu’s publisher’s list and in relation to the earlier Dutch-language Books of Hours.

⁵ On the approach and data model underlying the project’s database and the rationale behind the descriptions of the books, see Anna Dlabáčová & Irene Van Eldere, ‘Modelling the Middle Dutch prayer book (c. 1380–1550): The PRAYER data model for manuscripts and early printed books’ in *Quaerendo. A Journal Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*, accepted for publication.

⁶ Bonaventura Kruitwagen, ‘Het Horarium van Gerard Leeu, Antwerpen 1489, 27 juli’ in *Het Boek*, 2 (1913), 1–19, 209–218, 246–254, there esp. 12–13.

⁷ Kathryn M. Rudy, *Piety in pieces. How medieval readers customized their manuscripts*, Cambridge 2016, esp. 17–49.

⁸ *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek*, Delft: [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer], 8 Apr. 1480. 4to. ISTC ih00429300, GW 13424 and *Horae* [Dutch] *Ghetiden van onser liever vrouwen*, Delft: Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer, 19 July 1484. 4to. ISTC ih00430000, GW 13425. The quires with the Hours of the Holy Sacrament are signed aa–ff and ISTC records extant copies with and without these quires.

⁹ This research is presently undertaken as part of the ‘Pages of Prayer’ project, see n. 5.

The *Duytsche ghetiden* in context

Leeu published his first and only Book of Hours in the Dutch vernacular relatively late in his career, in 1491, just one year before he succumbed to an injury sustained during a fight with his punchcutter, Henric van Symmen.¹⁰ By August 1491, Leeu had printed at least four Books of Hours, all in Latin. Leeu's first known Book of Hours, the only one he published while still in Gouda, was the first edition ever issued in the Low Countries in 16mo.¹¹ For this edition, Leeu used several woodblocks from an extensive cycle of woodcuts depicting scenes from Christ's life, which he also reused for his Rosary editions.¹² The same woodcut series appeared in his 1487 Book of Hours published in octavo, now paired with newly cut borders specifically designed for these woodblocks.¹³ A new series of woodcuts, in the minute format required by the 32mo imposition scheme, was created for Leeu's other 1487 Book of Hours.¹⁴ Leeu had yet another new series of woodcuts made for his fourth known edition, which he completed on 27 July 1489.¹⁵ He appears to have used this series only once.¹⁶ The two octavo editions printed by Leeu in Latin (1487 and 1489) both open with a cycle of seven short Hours, one for each day of the week, culminating with the Marian Mass for Saturday. Following this weekly cycle, these editions contain the traditional core of a Books of Hours, i.e., the Hours of Our Lady, Penitential Psalms, Litany, and Vigils.¹⁷ Based on the weekly

¹⁰ L. Hellinga, 'Gheraert Leeu, Claes Leeu, Jacob Bellaert, Peter van Os van Breda' in *De vijfhonderdste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden*, Brussel 1973, 283–308, there 308, no. 139. According to Valkema Blouw, Leeu's punchcutter, Henric van Symmen, was probably the same man as Henrick Lettersnyder or 'die Lettersnyder', born in Rotterdam: Paul Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and publishers in Delft' in Paul Dijkstra & Anthonie R.A. Croiset van Uchelen (eds), *Dutch Typography in the sixteenth century. The collected works of Paul Valkema Blouw*, Leiden 2013, 1–20, there 11.

¹¹ *Horae: ad usum Traiectensem*, [Gouda: Gerard Leeu, between 1483 and 11 June 1484]. 16mo. ISTC no. ih00426500, GW 13413. Hellinga, 'Gheraert Leeu', 285 and pl. 66, reproduction from the only extant, illuminated copy, Cambridge, UL, INC.7.E.3.2[2885], which belonged to an 'Adrianus', custos of the Old Church in Delft: see the Material Evidence in Incunabula database, <https://data.cerl.org/mei> (last consulted 28 March 2024). See also Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. I, 187.

¹² Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, series 76. On the Rosary editions see Anna Dlabačová, 'Marian devotions from a printer's perspective: the Rosary, the Seven Sorrows, and Gerard Leeu (d. 1492)' in Barbara Haeger, Elliott Wise, James Clifton (eds), *Mary Mother of God. Devotion and Doctrine in the Visual Arts, 1450–1700*, Leiden 2024, 64–111, there 82–89.

¹³ *Horae: ad usum Romanum*, Antwerp: [Gerard Leeu], [between 25 July and 17 Dec.] 1487. 8vo. ISTC no. ih00358500, GW 13399. Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, 195–196 and 199. This edition also contains Kok no. 169 (*Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. I, p. 391), a woodcut originally made for Bellaert. See also Tatjana Dolgodrova & Alexander Kusnetzov, 'Das unbekannte Antwerpener Stundenbuch' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 74 (1999), 113–121, esp. 115. Dolgodrova & Kusnetzov also mention Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, no. 74.71 as one of the woodcuts included in the edition. See pp. 116–118 of their article for reproductions from the unique copy kept at Moscow, Russian State Library.

¹⁴ *Horae: ad usum Romanum*, Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 1487. 32mo. ISTC no. ih00358600; GW 13400. Kok did not include these woodcuts in her inventory, and refers to William Martin Conway, *The woodcutters of the Netherlands in the fifteenth century: In three parts* (Cambridge 1884), 251, 12.5:1–5, who mentions 'five 32mo cuts made for this *Officium*' (Annunciation, The Virgin and St John standing by the Cross, Last Judgement, Vigils of the Dead and the Mass of St Gregory) and assigns these cuts to the 'Haarlem School at Antwerp'.

¹⁵ *Horae: ad usum Romanum*, Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 27 July 1489. 8vo. ISTC no. ih00362000; GW 13401. Kruitwagen, 'Het Horarium van Gerard Leeu'. Note that Dolgodrova & Kusnetzov, 'Das unbekannte Antwerpener Stundenbuch', 121, erroneously ascribed this edition to De Keyser.

¹⁶ Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. I, series 95, p. 259.

¹⁷ These observations are based on the descriptions in Dolgodrova & Kusnetzov, 'Das unbekannte Antwerpener Stundenbuch', and Kruitwagen, 'Het Horarium van Gerard Leeu', respectively. I have not been able to examine

cycle and the inclusion of the Mass, Dolgodrova and Kusnetzov have argued that the 1487 octavo edition has to be recognized as ‘typologically and genetically independent’ of the Books of Hours produced in Paris, the most important center for the production of this type of book.¹⁸ The other two editions, published in 16mo and 32mo respectively, appear to be more traditional in terms of content.¹⁹

The *Duytsche ghetiden* of 1491 differ both in content and visual appearance from Leeu’s earlier Latin editions, as it incorporates an entirely new series of woodcuts. Ina Kok notes that the woodcuts ‘have a decidedly French quality and were without doubt entirely or partially copied from French woodblocks by Leeu’s woodcutter’.²⁰ Todor Petev also observed that ‘[t]he woodcut scenes and the border segments in Leeu’s 1491 edition suggest French influence, a topic that deserves greater attention’.²¹ Ina Nettekoven and Heribert Tenschert have now catalogued the series as ‘in the style of the Master of the Apocalypse Rose for Gerard Leeu’.²² A direct source for this woodcut series is, however, difficult to identify.²³ According to Nettekoven and Tenschert, an important inspiration was a 1489 series by the Master of the Apocalypse Rose for Jean Dupré and Pierre Le Rouge. However, the compositions indicate that the designer of the series was well-acquainted with the designs of the Master of the Apocalypse Rose, which were not yet available in print in 1491. Rather than being direct copies of a French woodcut series, the designs for Leeu’s woodcuts appear to be ‘free variations’ based on drawings or metalcuts by the Master. Nettekoven and Tenschert, therefore, propose that Leeu may have commissioned the designs in Paris and then had the cuts made in Antwerp.²⁴

In term of visual make-up and texts, the *Duytsche ghetiden* not only differ from Leeu’s earlier published Latin Books of Hours, but also from previous printed Books of Hours in Dutch. Since a detailed discussion of the latter falls outside the scope of this article, a brief overview of the main characteristics of these earlier editions may serve as an initial exploration of the corpus. A total of six known Dutch-language Books of Hours were issued before Leeu’s 1491 edition.²⁵ These editions range from ‘full’ or ‘comprehensive’ Books of

the copies myself. Both editions conclude with a series of short prayers that seem to diverge. Kruitwagen, ‘Het Horarium van Gerard Leeu’, 212–217 and Dolgodrova & Kusnetzov, ‘Das unbekannte Antwerpener Stundenbuch’, 113–114.

¹⁸ Dolgodrova & Kusnetzov, ‘Das unbekannte Antwerpener Stundenbuch’, 114–115.

¹⁹ Based on descriptions in ISTC and GW; both editions start with the Hours of Our Lady. Dolgodrova & Kusnetzov, ‘Das unbekannte Antwerpener Stundenbuch’, 114–115, also point to the traditional nature of the 32mo edition.

²⁰ Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 107, pp. 227–285.

²¹ Todor T. Petev, ‘A group of hybrid Books of Hours illustrated with woodcuts’ in Sandra Hindman & James Marrow (eds), *Books of Hours reconsidered*, London 2013, 391–408, there 402, n. 37.

²² Heribert Tenschert & Ina Nettekoven (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 365 gedruckte Stundenbücher der Sammlung Bibermuehle: 1487–1586*, Ramsen 2015, vol. IX, no. 11 (3948–3950).

²³ Heribert Tenschert & Ina Nettekoven (eds.), *Horae B.M.V. 365 gedruckte Stundenbücher der Sammlung Bibermuehle: 1487–1586*, Ramsen 2014, vol. V, no. 11.5 (1874).

²⁴ Tenschert & Nettekoven, *Horae B.M.V.*, vol. V, no. 11.5 (1874). The borders equally go back to borders used by Jean Dupré in his Books of Hours.

²⁵ In chronological order, these are: Delft: [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer], 8 Apr. 1480. 4to. ISTC ih00429300, GW 13424; [Brussels: Fratres Vitae Communis, between 9 June 1481 and 1484]. 8vo. ISTC ih00429400, GW 13423; Delft: Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer, 19 July 1484. 4to. ISTC ih00430000, GW 13425; Hasselt: [Peregrinus Barmentlo], 1488. 8vo. ISTC ih00430100; GW 13430; Hasselt: [Peregrinus Barmentlo], 1490. 8vo. ISTC ih00430150, GW 13431; Delft: [Christiaan Snellaert, [between 29 May 1490 and 10 Aug. 1491]. 8vo. ISTC ih00430200, GW 13426.

Hours in the translation attributed to Geert Grote to versions that offer a more basic selection of texts.

Printed in Delft and Hasselt, the comprehensive Books of Hours contain all or most of the Hours believed to have been translated by Geert Grote: the Calendar (for the use of Utrecht), the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Short Hours of the Holy Cross, the Hours of Eternal Wisdom, the Long Hours of the Holy Cross, the seven Penitential Psalms, the Litany of All Saints, and the Vigils of the Dead.²⁶ At times either the long or short Hours of the Holy Cross are missing, but all other texts are present, notably the Hours of Eternal Wisdom. The latter is a mystically tinted text rarely found in Books of Hours outside the Low Countries. It is based on the last chapter of the *Horologium Sapientiae*, the *Cursus Aeternae Sapientiae*, by the Dominican Henry Suso (d. 1366).²⁷ Apart from offering the reader a relatively large corpus of prayers – from those to be recited during and before Mass, during and after receiving communion, to prayers to the Lord, Mary and various male and female saints – these editions also display a tendency to include one or more longer texts *not* translated by Grote. One edition by Peregrinus Barmentlo (Hasselt), for example, appears to include the Hours of All Saints.²⁸ In the Delft editions printed by Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer, the texts ascribed to Grote were supplemented with the Hundred Articles of the Passion by Suso, a series of short prayers to be recited in remembrance of Christ's suffering.²⁹ As noted above, buyers could also opt for the Hours of the Holy Sacrament.³⁰

A Brussels edition from the early 1480s, printed in the workshop of the Brothers of Common Life, can be regarded as a more basic Book of Hours. The edition contains the core texts – the Hours of the Virgin, the Short Hours of the Holy Cross, Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Penitential Psalms and Litany, and the Vigils.³¹ Between the Litany and the Office of the Dead there is a section of circa ten folios with short (saints') prayers.³² The first edition of a Book of Hours in Dutch in which the texts were accompanied by printed images, published in Delft by Christiaan Snellaert, may also be described as a 'basic' Book of Hours, containing only the essential texts.³³ The cycle of texts included is similar to the Brussels edition, but seems to have lacked the Hours of the Holy Spirit, and with only two additional short prayers

²⁶ On the composition of 'Grote's Book of Hours' see van Dijk, 'Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote' and Idem, 'Methodologische kanttekeningen'. Most recent discussion in Youri Desplenter, 'Het getijdengebed in het Nederlands' in Anna Dlabáčová & Rijklof Hofman (eds), *De Moderne Devotie. Spiritualiteit en cultuur vanaf de late Middeleeuwen*, Zwolle 2018, 92–95. See n. 25 above for details on the Delft and Hasselt editions.

²⁷ Anton G. Weiler, *Getijden van de eeuwige wijsheid*, Baarn 1984. Anne S. Korteweg, 'Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands reconsidered: The Uses of Utrecht and Windesheim and Geert Grote's role as a translator' in Sandra Hindman & James H. Marrow (eds), *Books of Hours reconsidered*, London 2013, 235–61, there 237. A.J. Geurts et al., *Moderne devotie. Figuren en facetten*, Nijmegen 1984, cat no. 26 (106–109).

²⁸ Hasselt: [Peregrinus Barmentlo], 1490. Based on the description of the title page of the only extant copy (London, BL, IA.48220) in GW (no. 13431).

²⁹ Delft: [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer], 8 Apr. 1480. The Hague, RL, 169 G 49, fols s3r–v6r; Delft: Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer, 19 July 1484. The Hague, RL, 169 G 57, fols s3r–v6r. See José van Aelst, *Vruchten van de Passie. De laatmiddeleeuwse passieliteratuur verkend aan de hand van Suso's Honderd artikelen*, Hilversum 2011, 264–267.

³⁰ See n. 8 above.

³¹ [Brussels: Fratres Vitae Communis, between 9 June 1481 and 1484]. The Hague, RL, 150 E13.

³² [Brussels: Fratres Vitae Communis, between 9 June 1481 and 1484]. The Hague, RL, 150 E 13, fols 82r–90v.

³³ Delft: [Christiaan Snellaert, [between 29 May 1490 and 10 Aug. 1491]. The Hague, RL, 150 E 26.

– two prayers that also appear at the beginning of the prayer section in Leeu's edition – the cycle of 'loose' prayers is less extensive.³⁴

What choice(s) did Leeu make when publishing his Dutch-language Book of Hours? While the book is lavishly fitted with images and borders, in terms of Hours the *Duytsche ghetiden* are relatively constrained. The cycle of texts after the calendar consists of three sections: the core texts of the Books of Hours (the Hours of the Virgin, the Short Hours of the Holy Cross, the Penitential Psalms and Litany, and the Vigils), and two relatively extensive series of prayers. The first section opens with a reading from the Gospel of John (1:14), accompanied by an image of St John on Patmos.³⁵ The Hours of the Virgin appear in the translation by Geert Grote, with some notable differences from the text as edited by Nicolaas van Wijk. In matins, the hymn *Te Deum* is followed by a different versicle, and after the final collect, two short prayers have been added.³⁶ Each hour is accompanied by an image from Christ's infancy, from the Annunciation to the Flight into Egypt.³⁷

The Short Hours of the Holy Cross, preceded by a Crucifixion scene, are included in a version that, unlike the text edited by van Wijk, presents the reader with a different collect for each hour.³⁸ These closing prayers connect to the hymn to be recited during that respective hour, and thus follow the events in Christ's Passion from His arrest to the deposition.³⁹ The Short Hours of the Holy Cross are followed by the hymn *Veni creator spiritus* – in Dutch, with an antiphon and collect – accompanied by an image of Pentecost.⁴⁰ The Penitential Psalms, introduced by a woodcut of David's victory over Goliath, appear in a version closely resembling van Wijk's edition.⁴¹ The Litany, which follows immediately thereafter, is included in a shortened version that omits substantial parts of the text and replaces the final

³⁴ In the only extant copy (The Hague, RL, 150 E 26) almost the full gathering 'g' is missing. Moreover, this edition contains shortened versions of the Litany and Vigils. The prayers (the Verses of St Gregory/*Adoro te* and Anselm of Canterbury's *O bone Ihesu, o dulcissime Ihesu*) are on fols n5r–n8r.

³⁵ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols a1r–a2r. Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 107.65.

³⁶ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols a2v–e6v. 'Bidt voer ons heylige gods moeder dat wi werdich moeten worden die beloftenisse Christi' instead of 'Die here sal hoer helpen mit sinen aensichte. Ende mits hoer sal god bliuen onbeweghet' (Van Wijk, *Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote*, 43). The short prayers added after the final collect are the following: 'Die milde maget Maria moet ons ghebenedien met horen goedertieren kinde. Amen. Ghebenedijt ende gheloeft sy die heylighe gloriose soete naem ons liefs heren ihesu christi ende der gloriosen maget Marien sijnder lieuer moeder eeweliken Amen.' These prayers also occur in, for example, the 1480 Delft edition: Delft: [Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer], 8 Apr. 1480. The Hague, RL, 169 G 49, fol. d6r.

³⁷ Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 107.66–72. The woodcut of the presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple (no. 107.70) is used twice (sext and vespers, fols c8b and d6r).

³⁸ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols e7v–f4r. Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 107.73.

³⁹ The 'standard' collect is included as the final collect. Indestege edited this version in Luc Indestege, *Een Diets gebedenboek uit het begin der zestiende eeuw*, Gent 1961, 18–22.

⁴⁰ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols f4v–f6r. Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 107.74.

⁴¹ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols f6v–g7r. Van Wijk, *Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote*, 139–145. For other versions of the Penitential Psalms, see M. Wesseling, 'The rhetoric of meditation. Variations on Geert Grote's translation of the Penitential Psalms found in manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries in the Royal Library, Den Haag' in *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 67 (1993), 94–130. Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 107.75.

collect with two other collects.⁴² The fact that Mary Magdalene is mentioned as the first female saint may be viewed as a possible indicator for the use of Windesheim.⁴³ The Office of the Dead, finally, also represents an abridged recension that for matins comprises only the first nocturn. The text is paired with an image of Death attacking a man with a spear.⁴⁴

The division of the short prayers into two sections is chiefly based on the appearance of a longer, introductory rubric preceding each section, as well as the thematic coherence within each one. The first section is introduced by a rubric that first generally announces ‘many beautiful orisons or prayers’, and then moves on to introduce the opening prayer of the first section, the *Adoro te in cruce pendentem* with seven verses in Middle Dutch.⁴⁵ The Mass of Saint Gregory that accompanies the verses is taken from the slightly older woodcut series that Leeu used for his Latin Book of Hours of 27 July 1489.⁴⁶ This is the only image included in this first section of prayers. The section further includes a series of prayers to Jesus Christ, Passion prayers, communion prayers, and prayers to be recited during Mass, particularly for the elevation.⁴⁷ Prayers in this section include the Prayer to the Sweet Name of Jesus by Anselm of Canterbury, a cycle of fifteen prayers to Jesus interspersed with Pater Nosters and attributed to Bridget of Sweden (known as the Fifteen Oes in English and incidentally first printed in that language in the same year that Leeu published his *Duytsche Ghetiden*), and one to be recited during the elevation preceded by a rubric claiming that according to Johannes Chrysostomus (Jan Guldemont), those who recite this prayer daily will be spared a death without confession or the final sacrament.⁴⁸

The second section of prayers is introduced by a rubric that announces ‘many beautiful prayers to Our Dear Lady’.⁴⁹ The following folios comprise eight Marian prayers. The section opens with the Seven salutations to Mary (Pseudo-Thomas of Canterbury) accompanied by a woodcut of Mary’s coronation.⁵⁰ The other prayers are Dutch translations of *Obsecro te*, *O intemerata*, a rhymed version of *Stabat mater* (accompanied by a Pièta), the Pseudo-

⁴² Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols g7r–h2v (h2r blank). Van Wijk, *Het getijdenboek van Geert Grote*, 145–154. The list of saints is shortened and fols 150v–153r, 154r, 154v–155r in Van Wijk’s edition are missing.

⁴³ Korteweg, ‘Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands reconsidered’, 241.

⁴⁴ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols h3v–k8v. Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 107.76.

⁴⁵ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fol. 11r: ‘Hier na volghen vele schone oracien oft ghebeden. ende inden eersten sinte gregorius ghebeden die welcke dat seer verdientelic sijn ghelesen ende daer groten aflaet toe ghegheuen es van vele pausen den ghenen diese met deuocien lesen in staet van gracen sijnde voer die wapene ons heren ihesu christi...’.

⁴⁶ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols 11v–13r. Mass of St. Gregory (Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 95.10, first state) and matching borders (nos. 95.11 and 95.12).

⁴⁷ The G-number(s) in this and the following notes are identification numbers that refer to the inventory of prayers created by Jan Deschamps and Herman Mulder, *Inventaris van de Middelnederlandse handschriften van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België*, vol. 15, Brussel 2013, 79–140. Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols 13r–n7r (G4).

⁴⁸ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols 13r–14r (G8), 14v–m5v (G78A, preceded by a long introductory rubric) and fols n4r–n5v (G63). Other prayers included are: fols m6r–m8v (G16), m8v–n2v (G13a+b+c), n2v–n4r (G17), n4r (G18), n5v–n6r (G134), n6r–n6v (G62), n6v–n7r (G56). On the Fifteen Oes (G78A) see the recent edition by Alexandra Barratt and Susan Powell, *The Fifteen Oes and Other Prayers. Edited from the Text Published by William Caxton (1491)*, Heidelberg 2021.

⁴⁹ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fol. n7r: ‘Hier na volghen vele schone ghebeden van onser lieuer vrouwen’.

⁵⁰ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols n7v–o1v (G77, with G77²). Kok, *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, vol. 1, no. 107.77.

Bernardian *Ave Maria ancilla sancte trinitatis*, a prayer in which the person praying asks Mary to always accompany him or her, and, finally, ‘Onser lieuer vrouwen lof’ or ‘Salve regina in duytsche’.⁵¹ The Marian prayers are followed by a string of prayers to the guardian angel, and male and female saints in hierarchical order: Michael and all H. Angels, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, John the Evangelist, Andrew, James the Great, Stephen, Lawrence, Christopher, Erasmus, Sebastian, Anthony, Roch, Adrian, Nicholas, Martin, Judoc, Anne, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Barbara, Margaret, Apollonia, Agatha, Clare, Gertrude, Lucy, Wilgefortis, Dymphna, Bridget, and Bridget and her daughter Catherine.⁵² Some of these prayers are internally subdivided into a versicle and collect, suggesting they are suffrages (i.e., short intercessory prayers with a fixed internal structure), but since not all components are clearly indicated nor present in all instances I prefer using the more general term *Saints’ prayers*.⁵³ At least one of the Saints’ prayers, the prayer to St Erasmus, has been translated from Latin.⁵⁴ A prayer to All Saints is the final prayer of the second cycle of short prayers and of the book as a whole.⁵⁵

The two sections with short prayers are relatively extensive, and the beginning of more than half of these Saints’ prayers is marked with a small woodcut ‘vignette’ that portrays the saint in question.⁵⁶ Noteworthy is also the inclusion of several Bridgettine prayers in both sections: the cycle of fifteen prayers to Christ ascribed to Bridget of Sweden in the first section, and, in the second section, a prayer directed to Bridget and one to her and her daughter Catherine. The inclusion of these prayers may provide clues about the origin of the manuscript(s) upon which Leeu’s printed book was based.⁵⁷

The *Duytsche ghetiden* as a turning point?

With his richly decorated Book of Hours, Leeu appears to have set a new standard that would prove influential well into the sixteenth century. Several editions were published in Antwerp in direct imitation of Leeu’s *Duytsche ghetiden*. The influence of this edition on the visual layout of printed Books of Hours has already been noted by Hanneke de Bruin, but the textual dimension has not yet been charted.⁵⁸ Since Adriaen van Liesvelt used Leeu’s original woodblocks, his three editions are the most striking in their similarity to Leeu’s edition.⁵⁹ The

⁵¹ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols o1v–o4v (G6), o5r–o6v (G7), o6v–p1r (Johan Oosterman, *De gratie van het gebed. Overlevering en functie van Middelnederlandse berijmde gebeden*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1995, vol. 2, no. 279), p1r–p2v (G5), p2v–p3r (G209), p3r–p3v (G47).

⁵² Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols p3v–s2v.

⁵³ Cf. Johan Oosterman, ‘Heiligen, gebeden en heiligengebeden’ in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker & Marijke Carasso-Kok (eds), *Gouden legenden. Heiligenlevens en heiligenverering in de Nederlanden*, Hilversum 1997, pp. 151–163, there 156.

⁵⁴ Oosterman, ‘Heiligen, gebeden en heiligengebeden’, 159–160.

⁵⁵ Antwerp: Gerard Leeu, 16 August 1491. The Hague, KB, 150 F 48, fols s2v–s4r.

⁵⁶ Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, nos. 107.82–103.

⁵⁷ I hope to explore this further in a later publication.

⁵⁸ Hanneke de Bruin, ‘Illustraties in gedrukte getijdenboeken uit en voor de Nederlanden’ in *Millenium, tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies*, 14 (2000), 104–127, esp. 113.

⁵⁹ *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek*, Antwerp: Adriaen van Liesvelt, 9 Aug. 1494. 8vo. ISTC no. ih00430450, GW 13419; Antwerp: Adriaen van Liesvelt, 29 July 1495. 8°. ISTC ih00431000, GW 13421; Antwerp: [Adriaen van Liesvelt], 1498. 8°. ISTC ih00432000, GW 13422. I have not been able to examine the only extant copy (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) of the third edition. Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, 284.

very fact that this was the first time a printed Book of Hours in Dutch was directly copied by another printer, speaks to the high regard in which Leeu's work was held by other printers, and to its great commercial potential and success. This becomes perhaps even more evident in the work of Govaert Bac, whose *Duitsche getiden* [Fig. 2] appeared in or after 1493 with a set of woodcuts based on Leeu's woodblocks, and decorative borders that at least partly, appear to be of French origin.⁶⁰ Bac's edition is, except for spelling variants and some small changes in the wording, identical to Leeu's in terms of layout and texts.

In 1496, Bac's blocks, together with additional border pieces, were used by the Collaciebroeders at Gouda for yet another edition of the *Duytsche ghetiden*, now simply called *Getyden*.⁶¹ The Collaciebroeders, a local variant of the Brethren of Common Life, were devoted to pastoral care and organized informal edifying conversations or 'collations', to which they welcomed city dwellers. From the late 1480s, they also ran a printing press.⁶² Their edition of 1496 differs in several respects from the previous ones. Perhaps this is not surprising – as the Brethren were deeply invested in pastoral care, they likely had a clear vision of what readers expected from a Book of Hours and which texts they could provide. The Collaciebroeders appear to have taken the sequence of texts of the *Duytsche ghetiden* as a solid basis that they tweaked according to their own insights. The contents of the Book of Hours may have been altered by one of their own members, or perhaps by a secular priest or a member of one of the other religious communities in the city. The latter scenario is not unlikely, since in the first decade of the sixteenth century the Collaciebroeders went on to publish a treatise explaining the allegorical meaning of the Mass written by a local Franciscan brother.⁶³

While the visual program remained largely the same, the Collaciebroeders, or possibly someone close to their circles, applied a number of significant changes to the textual contents: the Short Hours of the Cross appear in a somewhat shorter version, with the collects phrased more tersely. Moreover, the reader finds the Office of the Dead in the long version, with three nocturns and nine lessons instead of the first nocturn and three lessons only.⁶⁴ Further, the hymn *Veni creator spiritus* was moved to the beginning of the book, immediately after the passage from the Gospel of John, and reduced to the antiphon and collect.⁶⁵ Both series of prayers at the end of the book are somewhat condensed. Primarily, the Gouda edition omits

⁶⁰ *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek*, Antwerp: Govaert Bac, [1493–1494]; [not before 1493]. 8vo. ISCT no. ih00430400; GW 13418. Bac's woodcut series is discussed in Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, series no. 251, 523–529. According to Kok (p. 527) the borders were also copied after Leeu's series. She refers to them as 'free adaptations of Leeu's original borders', but the fact these borders include 'talking heads', one of which is labelled 'le medecin', makes it likely that at least some of Bac's borders were reused from another – French? – work. This was already noted in Wouter Nijhoff and Maria-Elisabeth Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540, 2 vols. with supplements*, The Hague 1923–1971, no. 3091.

⁶¹ Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, 528. *Horae: ad usum Traiectensem* (Utrecht) [Dutch], Gouda: Collaciebroeders, 20 April 1496. 8°. ISTC no. ih00427750, GW 13429.

⁶² Koen Goudriaan, 'Apostolate and printing. The Collaciebroeders of Gouda and their press' in Ulrike Hascher-Burger, August Den Hollander & Wim Janse (eds), *Between lay piety and academic theology*, Leiden 2010, 433–452.

⁶³ Gerrit van der Goude, Boexken van der missen (Gouda: Collaciebroeders, 1506). See e.g. Anna Dlabáčová, 'Seeing beyond Signs: Allegorical Explanations of the Mass in Medieval Dutch Literature' in Walter S. Melion, Elizabeth Carson Pastan & Lee Palmer Wandel (eds), *Quid est sacramentum? Visual Representation of Sacred Mysteries in Early Modern Europe, 1400–1700*, Leiden 2020, 199–226, there 212–219.

⁶⁴ Gouda: Collaciebroeders, 20 April 1496. Liège, UL, xv.c43, fols f4r–f7v and h7r–n7r.

⁶⁵ Gouda: Collaciebroeders, 20 April 1496. Liège, UL, xv.c43, fols b7v–b8r.

the cycle of fifteen Pseudo-Bridgettine prayers to Christ, has a single cycle of three communion prayers only, and presents the reader with four prayers to Mary instead of eight.⁶⁶ Some well-known prayers such as the *Obsecro te*, *O intemerata* and *Salve regina* are not included, while the rhymed version of *Stabat mater* is preserved. The prayer to the guardian angel as well as several prayers to female saints are absent in comparison with Leeu's (and Bac's) edition (Gertrude, Wilgefortis, and Bridget), and some prayers appear in a different version. A case in point is the prayer to Christopher, which is a short invocation instead of a prayer with a versicle and collect.⁶⁷ On the other hand, the prayer to Sebastian is included in a longer version.⁶⁸

The influence of the *Duytsche ghetiden*, though more subtle, can also be detected in editions produced in the Northern Low Countries that do not present themselves as *Duytsche ghetiden* nor contain an equally elaborate visual program. Furthermore, to complicate matters, these editions may also contain additional Hours. A case in point is the work of the Leiden printer Hugo Janszoon van Woerden. His 1494–1495 Book of Hours, for example, which he published in two issues – on 10 December 1494 and 12 January 1495 – presents readers with a small woodcut at the beginning of each hour within the Hours of the Virgin, apparently imitating the *Duytsche ghetiden* [Fig. 3].⁶⁹ The second issue ends with a sequence of prayers that appears to be a selection from the *Duytsche ghetiden*: after the prayer to the guardian angel follow the prayers to St Michael and all Holy Angels, St John the Baptist, Sts Peter and Paul, St Andrew, St Christopher, St Erasmus, St Anthony, St Roch, St Anne, St Catherine, St Barbara, St Apollonia, and St Bridget and her daughter Catherine.⁷⁰ These two editions, which together form one Book of Hours, seem an intriguing mix of texts drawn from the *Duytsche ghetiden* (as well as illustration choices based on the *Duytsche ghetiden*, e.g. in the Marian Hours) and prayers and Hours not included in that edition, such as the Hours of the Eternal Wisdom.⁷¹

The *Duytsche ghetiden*, however, not only influenced Books of Hours printed in Antwerp and in the Northern Netherlands, but also those produced in Paris, one of the most important centers for the production of Books of Hours.⁷² The first known Dutch-language Book of Hours printed in Paris was produced on commission for Willem Houtmaert (or van der Meer), an Antwerp publisher and bookseller.⁷³ Houtmaert may have become acquainted

⁶⁶ Gouda: Collaciebroeders, 20 April 1496. Liège, UL, XV.C43, fols o2v–o4v (Communion prayers; G13b, G56, G13c) and o7r–p6v (G77, Oosterman, *De gratie van het gebed*, vol 2, no. 279, G5 and G209).

⁶⁷ Gouda: Collaciebroeders, 20 April 1496. Liège, UL, XV.C43, fol. q6r.

⁶⁸ Gouda: Collaciebroeders, 20 April 1496. Liège, UL, XV.C43, fol. q7r.

⁶⁹ *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek*, Leiden: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, 10 Dec. 1494. 8vo. ISTC no. ih00430500, GW 13432, and Leiden: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, 12 Jan. 1495. 8vo. ISTC no. ih00430600, GW 13432. Copy: The Hague, RL, 150 G 4, fols a2r–e4v. Kok, *Woodcuts in incunabula*, vol. 1, 575–576. The text of the Marian Hours is the same as in Leeu's edition: see above, n. 36.

⁷⁰ Leiden: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, 12 Jan. 1495. The Hague, RL, 150 G 4, fols L7v–M8r.

⁷¹ Leiden: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, 12 Jan. 1495. The Hague, RL, 150 G 4, fols H2r–K3v.

⁷² See Marieke van Delft, '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 Hanno Wijsman (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, there 135–141 and V. Reinburg, *French Books of Hours. Making an archive of prayer; c. 1400–1600*, Cambridge 2012, 26–49.

⁷³ *Horae* [Dutch] *Getijdenboek*, Paris: [Johannes Higman], for Willem Houtmaert, 1497. 8vo. ISTC no. ih00431350, GW 13080 and GW 13077. Differences in type setting in a copy of which only fragments are

with the *Duytsche ghetiden* through Bac, with whom he shared premises and who had first-hand experience in printing the edition.⁷⁴ Houtmaert's decision to commission work from Parisian printers was exceptional within the Antwerp context and appears to have first brought the Dutch language Book of Hours to Paris.⁷⁵ The commissioned edition, however, did not slavishly follow Leeu's or Bac's edition of the *Duytsche ghetiden*, but, similarly to the *Getyden* printed by the Collaciebroeders at Gouda, differs in a number of respects from its predecessors.

Perhaps the most prominent alteration is the use of metalcuts from the series of 'typological metalcuts of the Master of the Grandes Heures' of circa 1491.⁷⁶ The title page bears a slightly longer title, which would become the standard title of Books of Hours in Dutch printed in Paris: *Die ghetiden van onser lieuer vrouwen met vee schone louen en oration* [Fig. 4].⁷⁷ Although the textual contents show similarities to the Gouda edition in some respects, this edition also differs in several critical aspects from the one produced by the Collaciebroeders at Gouda. On the one hand, the Paris Book of Hours has, for example, the same prayers to St Christopher and St Sebastian as the Gouda edition.⁷⁸ On the other hand, however, the Paris-produced book includes several prayers omitted in the Gouda edition such as the prayer to St Gertrude, the prayer to be recited during the elevation with a rubric that mentions Johannes Chrysostomus, and, notably, adds a rhymed version of the *Salve regina*.⁷⁹ The Vigils are presented in the long version with nine lessons, but slightly vary in content from the Gouda edition.⁸⁰ Moreover, the Paris-produced book includes the same Short Hours of the Holy Cross as Leeu's edition, and preserves the full Dutch translation of the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*, which is not moved to the front of the book but retains its place after the Short Hours of the Cross. At the beginning of the book, before the calendar, a Zodiac man and an almanac have been included.

These features would become standard in Dutch-language Books of Hours produced in Paris. They also appear in the first edition of a Book of Hours in Dutch, produced independently by a Paris printer.⁸¹ This edition, completed by Thielman Kerver in February

preserved suggest more than one issue: J. Buchanan-Brown, 'Fragments of a Paris-printed Ghetiden' in *The Library*, 3th Ser. 19 (1964), 208–212.

⁷⁴ Renaud Adam, *Vivre et imprimer dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (des origines à la Réforme)*, vol. I, Turnhout 2018, 103.

⁷⁵ On Houtmaert's business strategy, see Adam, *Vivre et imprimer*, 102–103.

⁷⁶ The series was produced for the Marnef brothers or Antoine Vérard; see Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V.*, vol. IX, 3955–3961.

⁷⁷ Paris: [Johannes Higman], for Willem Houtmaert, 1497. Groningen, UL, UKLU INC 96, title page (not signed). I refer to the Groningen copy, but note that the copy in Besançon, BM, INC.926 contains another cycle of prayers after the colophon. These prayers appear to all have already been included in Leeu's 1491 edition and they include, for example, the *Obsecro te*, the Fifteen Oes ascribed to Bridget, and the prayer to Wilgefortis. Further research into the differences between the copies is needed, cf. also note 73 above.

⁷⁸ The prayers to St Christopher and to St Sebastian: Paris: [Johannes Higman], for Willem Houtmaert, 1497. Groningen, UL, UKLU INC 96, fols H3v–H4r and H4v–H5v.

⁷⁹ Paris: [Johannes Higman], for Willem Houtmaert, 1497. Groningen, UL, UKLU INC 96, fols E6r–E8v. Oosterman, *De gratie van het gebed*, vol 2, no. 84.

⁸⁰ Especially the order of the textual elements at the start and at the end seems to differ. Paris: [Johannes Higman], for Willem Houtmaert, 1497. Groningen, UL, UKLU INC 96, fols g8v–h1r.

⁸¹ *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen met vele schoon loven ende oracien*, Paris: Thielman Kerver, 15 February 1500. 8vo. USTC no. 436606, NK 997. Oosterman singled out this edition as highly influential, but did not note its relation to Leeu's *Duytsche ghetiden*: Oosterman, 'Heiligen, gebeden en heiligengebeden', 156, n. 10. Kerver explains in the colophon that he published the book at his own expense: The Hague, RL, 150 E 7, fol.

1500, reproduces the same series of texts found in Leeu's edition, with two important exceptions. First, after the excerpt from the Gospel of John, an antiphon, versicle, response, and prayer have been added, and these are directly followed by a prayer that, according to the rubric, is to be recited before praying the Hours of the Virgin ('Een ghebeth datmen lesen sal voer onser lieuer vrouwen ghetijden').⁸² Second, toward the end of the book, the prayers to St Bridget and to Bridget and her daughter Catherine are omitted.⁸³

For the images in his edition, Kerver employed copies of an influential Parisian series of metalcuts designed by the Master of Anne de Bretagne.⁸⁴ More notably, Kerver also introduced an important visual innovation to the Book of Hours in Dutch: figurative borders in which representations of Christ's life are paired with pre-figurations from the Old Testament, to which he also notes in the colophon: '[...] with the life of Our Lord taken from the Bible and cut in images'.⁸⁵ The fact that he continued to publish the Book of Hours in Dutch with the same constellation of texts until the 1520s – his widow Yolande Bonhomme would go on to publish another edition in 1533 – provides a first glimpse of the impact the *Duytsche ghetiden* of 1491 had on the Dutch-language Book of Hours in print.⁸⁶

Conclusion

Leeu's first and only Book of Hours in Dutch, published in 1491, seems to have achieved considerable success, influencing the development of Books of Hours printed both in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, as well as in France. I hope to have provided some preliminary indications of why his *Duytsche ghetiden* can rightly be viewed as a turning point in the production of Books of Hours in print, and why it is important to reserve the title – as, in fact, fifteenth-century printers did themselves – for a distinct cycle of texts and hence a specific Book of Hours. Compared to earlier editions of Books of Hours in Dutch, Leeu's 1491 edition offered a well-balanced selection of texts with the principal Hours and a rich selection of 'loose' prayers, presented in a richly decorated and thoughtfully designed layout in an international style. As such, Leeu certainly influenced what was available on the market for buyers of Books of Hours – through his own edition but also through the commercial potential of his edition that was exploited by other printers.

The *Duytsche ghetiden* appear to be a clearly distinguishable 'species' within the corpus of printed Dutch-language Books of Hours, and thus within the cultural ecosystem of prayer books, which should be understood as a dynamic assembly resulting from a wide range

q4r, '[...] ende heeftse ghedruct met sijnen coste ten orbore van allen goeden kerstenen menschen die gheen Latijn en verstaen'.

⁸² Paris: Thielman Kerver, 15 February 1500. The Hague, RL, 150 E 7, fols b7v–b8r.

⁸³ After the prayer to St Dymphna follows the prayer to All Saints. Paris: Thielman Kerver, 15 February 1500. The Hague, RL, 150 E 7, fols q2v–q4r.

⁸⁴ The series was originally used by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre. See Roger Wieck, *Painted prayer the book of hours in medieval and renaissance art*, New York 1997, 57, no. 38.

⁸⁵ Paris: Thielman Kerver, 15 February 1500. The Hague, RL, 150 E 7, fol. q4r, 'ende metten leuene ons heeren voter 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.

⁸⁶ *Die ghetijden van onser liever vrouwen ende vanden helyghen cruce*, Paris: Yolande Bonhomme, 1533. 8vo. USTC no. 410294, NK 3090.

of interactions between the book themselves, the images disseminated alongside the texts, the devotions connected to the texts, the producers, buyers and readers, and the groups and communities they belonged to.⁸⁷ Within the ecosystem, the *Duytsche ghetiden* also establish relationships with other types of prayer books and series of texts. As such, their influence reached beyond Books of Hours that are immediately recognizable as copies/imitations of Leeu's edition. In some editions, the influence was restricted to a certain section of the *Duytsche ghetiden*. As the ecosystem of Middle Dutch prayer books continues to unfold through research conducted within the 'Pages of Prayer' project, the ways in which Leeu's edition shaped printed Books of Hours and prayer books in general, while influencing the spirituality of numerous readers, will hopefully take on more solid contours. The printed books certainly had an impact on manuscript Books of Hours, a connection that will become increasingly apparent through further research.⁸⁸

Samenvatting (300-325)

Tussen 1480 en 1540 verschenen zo'n veertig nu nog gekende Nederlandstalige drukken die als getijdenboek geclassificeerd kunnen worden. Net als in de handschriftelijke overlevering van het zogenoemde 'getijdenboek van Geert Grote' kan de inhoud van de gedrukte getijdenboeken aanzienlijk variëren. De bekende drukker Gerard Leeu waagde zich pas laat in zijn loopbaan aan een getijdenboek in het Middelnederlands. Hoewel hij voor zover bekend maar één druk uitbracht, lijkt die druk, die op 16 augustus 1491 in zijn Antwerpse werkplaats voltooid werd en de titel *Duytsche ghetiden* kreeg, zeer invloedrijk te zijn geweest. De *Duytsche ghetiden* lijken de toekomstige drukken van getijdenboeken – zowel in Antwerpen als in de Noordelijke Nederlanden én in Frankrijk – in belangrijke mate gevormd te hebben, niet alleen wat uiterlijk betreft, maar vooral ook qua inhoud.

Deze bijdrage bespreekt Leeu's enige getijdenboek in het Middelnederlands, plaatst de druk in de context van zijn fonds en van eerder in druk verschenen Nederlandstalige getijdenboeken, en biedt een eerste verkenning van de invloed van de *Duytsche ghetiden* tot circa 1500. De Parijse druk van Thielman Kerver die in dat jaar verscheen, blijkt bijvoorbeeld op een tweetal kleine uitzonderingen na dezelfde cyclus van teksten te bevatten als Leeu's druk van een kleine tien jaar eerder.

De *Duytsche ghetiden* zijn een duidelijk te onderscheiden 'soort' binnen het corpus van gedrukte Nederlandstalige getijdenboeken, en daarmee binnen het culturele 'ecosysteem' rond gebedenboeken. Dit ecosysteem moet worden gezien als een dynamisch geheel dat het resultaat is van een breed scala aan interacties tussen het boek zelf, de afbeeldingen die naast de teksten werden verspreid, de devoties die met de teksten verbonden waren, de producenten, kopers en lezers. Binnen dit ecosysteem gingen de *Duytsche ghetiden* ook relaties aan met andere soorten gebedenboeken en reeksen teksten. Verder onderzoek zal hopelijk een meer duidelijk beeld kunnen geven aan de vormende kracht van Leeu's Middelnederlandse

⁸⁷ Dlabačová & Van Eldere, 'Modelling the Middle Dutch prayer book'.

⁸⁸ For a first indication, see Oosterman, 'Heiligen, gebeden en heiligengebeden', 156, n. 10.

getijdenboek – op drukken, maar ongetwijfeld ook op handgeschreven getijdenboeken, en daarmee op de spiritualiteit en het geloofsleven van talloze lezers.

English summary

Between 1480 and 1540, approximately 40 Dutch-language editions appeared in print that can be classified as Books of Hours. Similar to the manuscript tradition of the so-called ‘Geert Grote’s Book of Hours’, the contents of the printed Books of Hours can vary considerably. The well-known printer Gerard Leeu did not venture into this market for vernacular Book of Hours until late in his career. Although he only published one edition, the *Duytsche ghetiden* completed on 16 August 1491 in his Antwerp workshop, this edition seems to have been very influential. It shaped the future printings of Books of Hours significantly – both in Antwerp and in the Northern Netherlands as well as in France – not only in terms of appearance, but above all in content.

This contribution discusses Leeu’s only Book of Hours in Middle Dutch, places the edition in the context of his other work and of previously printed Dutch-language Books of Hours. It offers a first exploration of the influence of the *Duytsche ghetiden* until around 1500. Thielman Kerver’s Paris edition published in that year, for example, appears to contain the same cycle of texts as Leeu’s edition of just under a decade earlier, with two minor exceptions. The *Duytsche ghetiden* are a clearly distinguishable ‘species’ within the corpus of printed Dutch-language Books of Hours, and thus within the cultural ‘ecosystem’ surrounding prayer books. This ecosystem should be seen as a dynamic whole resulting from a wide range of interactions between the book itself, the images that were distributed alongside the texts, the devotions associated with the texts, the producers, buyers and readers. Within this ecosystem, the *Duytsche ghetiden* also established relations with other types of prayer books and cycles of texts. Further research will hopefully be able to provide a clearer view of the formative power of Leeu’s Middle Dutch Book of Hours – in print, but undoubtedly also in handwritten books of hours, and thus on the spirituality and religious life of countless readers.

Biographic note

Anna Dlabáčová is Associate Professor in Book History at the Leiden University Center for the Arts in Society (LUCAS). Her research currently focuses on the role of the book in Netherlandish religious culture in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. She is the PI of the ERC STG-project ‘Pages of Prayer. The Ecosystem of Vernacular Prayer Books in the Late Medieval Low Countries, c. 1380–1550 [PRAYER]’.

Captions

Fig. 1. Title page of Leeu’s *Duytsche ghetiden*, Antwerp, 1491. Cambridge, UL, INC.6.F.6.2[3394], fol. [a]1r (138 mm)

Fig. 2. Title page of Bac’s *Duitsce ghetiden*, Antwerp: Govaert Bac, [1493–1494]. Utrecht, MCC, ABM I29, fol. [a]1r.

Fig. 3. The Prime in the Marian Hours with a Nativity woodcut. Leiden: Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, 10 Dec. 1494. The Hague, RL, 150 G 4, fol. c1r.

Fig. 4. Title page with the Mass of St Gregory and the longer title in the edition commissioned by Willem Houtmaert. Paris: [Johannes Higman], for Willem Houtmaert, 1497. Groningen, UL, UKLU INC 96, title page