

MARCIN POLKOWSKI

A DUTCH PRAYER BOOK
WITH THE HOURS OF GEERT GROTE
FROM THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF THE JOHN PAUL II
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LUBLIN (BU KUL, LUBLIN, MS. 2626)

Abstract. This article presents new research on a Dutch prayer book from the collections of the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626). This codex, which transmits devotional texts in a translation by Geert Grote, a pioneer of the Modern Devotion movement, especially the Small Office of the Virgin Mary and the Middle Dutch adaptation of Heinrich Suso's *Hundert Betrachtungen und Bekehrungen*, offers valuable evidence of literary and religious culture in the late-medieval Netherlands. The article begins with a codicological description, followed by a preliminary analysis of the artistic program of the manuscript, a description of the structure of the codex and the identification of the most important texts. Textual evidence indicates that the codex most probably originated from the diocese of Utrecht.

Key words: prayer book in Dutch; University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin; Geert Grote; Modern Devotion.

INTRODUCTION

One of the treasured books in the Special Collections Department of the University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (BU KUL) is a manuscript which until recently was believed to be a codex in Middle High German with the text of the *Sachsenspiegel*.¹ In reality, however, this manuscript (BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626) is a prayer book in the medieval variant of the Dutch language, i.e. Middle Dutch.

Dr hab. MARCIN POLKOWSKI, prof. KUL—Department of Dutch Language and Literature, Institute of English Studies, The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin; address for correspondence—e-mail: polkowski@kul.pl.

¹ Cf. *Inwentarz rękopisów BU KUL*, vol. 10, [Lublin: Biblioteka Uniwersytecka KUL], 174; Małgorzata Trojnecka, "Z cymeliów," *Przegląd Uniwersytecki* 2015, no. 158: 2.

Most late-medieval Dutch prayer-books in Polish libraries are recorded in manuscripta.pl and *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta & Impressa* (BNMI).² Although Ms. 2626 has been recently recorded in the former as a Book of Hours in Dutch ('getijdenboek'),³ as of the date of writing of this article it was absent from BNMI.⁴ The current state of research on the medieval Dutch prayer book in Poland comprises several studies from the disciplines of art history, book history, library studies and Dutch philology. These deal from various angles with specific aspects of medieval Dutch prayer books from the collections of several major Polish libraries with large holdings in the area of medieval manuscripts,⁵ but much work still remains to be done.

In contrast to the finely-illuminated Netherlandish prayer books which have drawn the attention of art historians, the Lublin manuscript is much more soberly executed, and therefore may seem less attractive as an object of research. In this article, combining the methodologies of traditional philology, art history, cultural history and the history of language, I will attempt to demonstrate that as a matter of fact this prayer book is a rich source of information for scholars studying the religious culture of the late-medieval Netherlands.

Altogether about eight hundred medieval Dutch Books of Hours with the Small Office in Grote's translation exist in the world's libraries (although

² *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta & Impressa*, accessed on 24 November 2017, <https://bnm-i.huuygens.knaw.nl/>.

³ *Manuscripta.pl* — A guide to medieval manuscript books in Polish collections, accessed on 24 November 2017, http://manuscripta.pl/loca/lublin_bibl_kul.htm.

⁴ Query performed on 24 November 2017.

⁵ The first thorough examination of Dutch manuscripts in the libraries of Central and Eastern Europe was performed by Robrecht Lievens, *Middel nederlandse handschriften in Oost-Europa* (Gent: Secretariaat der Academie, 1963). A brief bibliography must include publications by Stanisław Prędoła (in particular Stanisław Prędoła, Marijke A. Mooijaart, Piet G.J. van Sterkenburg, *Een laatmiddeleeuws gebedenboek uit de kring van de Moderne Devotie. Hs. Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna 716* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1998), Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa ("The Genesis and Description of a Miniature Dutch Prayer Book from the National Library in Warsaw," *Polish Libraries Today* 2005, no. 6: 5–10) and Maria Woźniak ("Konserwacja *Modlitewnika niderlandzkiego*," *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 2001, no. 33/34: 105–110) examined Warsaw, National Library of Poland, Ms. 3779. Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus surveyed Netherlandish prayer books from the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow (in *The Catalogue of Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures in the Princes Czartoryski Library and Museum. Part 1. The Netherlands (15th-16th Centuries)* (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie & Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2010). Finally, Ms. 83 from the University Library of the Nicholas Copernicus University in Toruń has been studied by Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, "Niderlandzki modlitewnik 83 ze zbiorów toruńskich – przyczynek do badań nad warsztatem iluminatorskim w późnym średniowieczu," *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo* 2011, no. 42: 469–503.

this figure⁶ may be an underestimate). This makes Ms. 2626 unexceptional, although as the only medieval Dutch manuscript in the BU KUL, it certainly has profound symbolic value for the community of scholars and students of Dutch language and literature at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. From a scientific point of view, however, the existence of this prayer book invites a series of questions relating to its artistic value, provenance, structure and contents, linguistic features and to its significance as a product of the religious and literary culture of the Modern Devotion. The purpose of this article, conceived as an initial presentation of BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626, is to provide some preliminary answers to these questions while identifying problem areas that require further investigation.

1. MATERIAL DESCRIPTION AND PROVENANCE

The manuscript is bound in a 19th-century⁷ tooled vellum binding; a rectangular ribbed border encloses a lozenge pattern with a fleur-de-lis in the centre of each field. The tooled elements appear to have been stained either gold or yellow (lines of the diamond-shaped pattern) or black (fleurs-de-lis). Straw-coloured marbled paper was pasted on the inside of the book boards. Across the spine of the book three binding ribbons are placed. The flyleaves are made of paper, without a watermark, and bear the small round stamp “Biblioteka Uniwersytecka KUL”.

The codex is written on fine, thin parchment. Leaves are approximately 9,5 cm wide by 14 cm high; the written surface is ca. 5,5 cm wide by 75 cm high. The text is laid out in a single column made up of 18 lines; the lineation was done in pencil. The hand is a regular *littera textualis*. The foliation is as follows: ii + 177 + ii.

The manuscript displays some traces of material damage. It lacks the first part of the Hours of the Virgin Mary (the Matins) and most probably a calendar which was usually placed before the Hours in a standard vernacular prayer book from the Low Countries. The typical length of these missing texts indicates that several quires from the Lublin Book of Hours have been lost.

⁶ Fritas van Oostrom, *Wereld in woorden. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1300–1400* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013), 492. The same figure is given by Nicolaas van Wijk in Geert Grote, *Getijdenboek*, ed. Nicolaas van Wijk (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1940), 2.

⁷ The author would like to thank the Head of BU KUL’s Special Collections Department, dr Arkadiusz Adamczuk, for sharing his insights regarding the book’s provenance. Cf. Trojnačka, “Z cymeliów,” 2.

Their absence means that any provenance marks, which might have been found there or on the front flyleaves, have been irretrievably lost as well. Owing to the lack of these parts we can no longer determine the origin of this Book of Hours by the *usus* of the calendar. Another consequence, moreover, is that it is no longer possible to ascertain whether the manuscript originally contained the Translator's Prologue by Geert Grote which immediately precedes his translation of the Hours of the Virgin Mary in some copies (e.g. KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 2).

Material damage to Ms. 2626 is, on the whole, slight although certain traces may be found on fol. 49, where the lower margin was cut off, and on fols. 104–123, in the form of similar damage to the right-hand margin. Fol. 9 is soiled, and the writing is barely legible. Traces of soiling may also be found on the facing leaves (8v and 10r). Otherwise, the manuscript is in a good state of preservation.

Catchwords marking the order of the quires may be discerned; these are written horizontally in the lower right-hand corner of verso leaves (fols. 8v, 18v, 24v, 40v, 48v, 56v, 64v, 80v, 88v, 98v, 104v, 120v, 122v—one line of only partly legible text, 153v; 161v; 169v). A series of faintly visible annotations may be found across the outer margin of the recto leaf running either vertically from top to bottom (fols. 82r, 83r, 87r, 87v) or horizontally (84r, 85r, 89r, 90r, 92r, 93r, 95r, 132r). Some of these annotations appear to have been erased (fol. 87v). Small numbers are written by pen in late-medieval script on the right-hand margin (fols. 90r—"39" and "42" are legible; 95r and 97r—illegible). The foliation, which is modern and done in pencil in the upper right hand corner of each recto leaf, is consecutive and does not take account of the missing leaves.

The stamp of BU KUL is the only ownership mark in the codex. The shelfmark 'Rkps 2626' is written in pencil on the recto side of the first flyleaf. This inscription has been written over another one, likewise done in pencil and erased, of which faint traces still may be discerned. On the same page is an annotation concerning the number of leaves: 'k. 177.' No other inscription, which might provide a clue as to the prayer book's provenance, may be found on the flyleaves, or for that matter anywhere else. The verso side of the final leaf of the codex has been left blank.

No information appears to be available about when and how the prayer book found its way into the KUL collection. In the typewritten inventory of manuscripts in BU KUL the prayer book, incorrectly described as the *Sachsenspiegel*, is classified as belonging to the "older collections" ("St.[arszy]

zas.[ób] B-ki KUL”)⁸ but no information is available as to how the codex found its way into the Library.

2. DECORATION

A sparsely decorated codex, Ms. 2626 features neither miniatures nor historiated initials. Decorative elements are limited to characteristic large, 7-line blue and red pen-work initials placed on the first leaves of the principal sections of the book, and a series of smaller, 3 or 4-line initials with red and grey flourishes.⁹ In addition, there are a number of two-line Lombard initials executed in blue or red ink (the initial I being longer, extending for 4 or 5 lines in the margin) as well as minor one-line plain alternating red and blue Lombard initials. Paragraph signs were frequently used by the copyist to divide the text into smaller sections.

The artistic form of the large initials corresponds to those from a number of Northern Netherlands vernacular books of hours produced in the second half of the 15th century, mainly in South Holland (Delft) or Utrecht. Similarities may be detected between an initial H from three comparable late-15th century Northern Netherlands prayer books executed in a similar style (cf. fig. 1, KB, The Hague, Ms. 79 K 23, fol. 12r; fig. 2, KB, The Hague, Ms. 130 E 4, fol. 14r; fig. 3, KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 21, fol. 19r) and the initial H (fig. 4, fol. 55r in BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626, *incipit* of the Hours of the Holy Cross).

Of the three manuscripts selected for this comparison, two (KB, The Hague, Ms. 130 E 4 and KB, The Hague, Ms. 79 K 23) are described in the catalogue of the National Library of the Netherlands (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) as having pen-work initials with Utrecht “crown” elements, sometimes combined with the Delft “block” style (the latter defined by alternating

⁸ *Inwentarz*, vol. 10, 174.

⁹ These initials may be found on fol. 9v — initial G (3 lines); fol. 13v (3 lines); fol. 15v (3 lines); fol. 18v (3 lines); fol. 21v (4 lines); initial B — fol. 27r (3 lines); fol. 32r — initial M (7 lines); 34r — initial H (4 lines); 39v — initial G (3 lines); 43r — initial G (3 lines); 45r — initial G (3 lines); 46v — initial G (3 lines); 48r — initial G (3 lines); 50r — initial G (4 lines); 52v — initial B (3 lines); 55r — initial H (3 lines); 62r — initial G (3 lines); 65v — initial G (3 lines); 67v — initial G (3 lines); 70r — initial G (3 lines); 72r — initial G (3 lines); 74r — initial G (4 lines); 77r — initial B (3 lines); 79v — initial A (7 lines); 100r — initial H (7 lines); 121r — initial O (3 lines); 125v — initial O (3 lines); 126v — initial O (3 lines); 129r — initial O (3 lines); 130r — initial O (3 lines); 135r — initial U (3 lines); 137r — initial O (3 lines); 138r — initial M (7 lines).

red and blue rectangular blocks of ornamental pen-work). Both manuscripts date from the fourth quarter of the 15th century, and were probably produced in South Holland or in or near the city of Utrecht.¹⁰ In contrast, the decorative “crown” elements are much simpler, and less precisely executed in KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 21 (fol. 19r. This book of hours, which has not yet been examined by art historians, has been traced on the basis of dialectal features to the eastern provinces of the Northern Netherlands.¹¹ Of these three aforementioned prayer books, the first two bear a strong resemblance to the Lublin Book of Hours through their “crown-like” complementary fields of red and blue within the body of the letter. The third one (KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 21, cf. fol. 19r), however, resembles the Lublin Book of Hours not only by its colour scheme (although the colours are reversed) but also by its delicate marginal pen-work consisting of long spidery lines and circular motifs (“beads”) filling the spaces around the body of the letter. Interestingly, these ornamental lines in KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 21 and BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626 share the same colour scheme: red and silver (or grey).

A recent study by Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz shows that the “crown-shaped” form of the initial and the fine ornamental flourishes are characteristic of the work of Utrecht and South-Holland decorators. A variant, which is specific to the ateliers in the city of Utrecht, is the so-called “crown-and-dragon” style. Its name comes from the playful figures of dragons which in certain manuscripts may be found nestled inside the eye of the initial.¹² The red-blue combination of interlocking “crown-like” elements by itself is much more frequent and may also be found in manuscripts decorated by South-Holland illuminators.¹³

A typical element found in the Lublin codex, which may point to Utrecht, is the abovementioned fine ornamental pen-work fanning out across the margin.¹⁴ An example may be seen in Ms. 5 J 27, a prayer book from the Uni-

¹⁰ KB, Ms. 130 E 4, KB. Koninklijke Bibliotheek. Nationale bibliotheek van Nederland, accessed on 24 November 2017, <http://opc4.kb.nl/DB=1/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=311784070>; KB, The Hague, Ms. 9 K 23, *ibidem*, accessed 24 November 2017, <http://opc4.kb.nl/DB=1/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=341219487>.

¹¹ Grote, *Getijdenboek*, 8–9.

¹² Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz, “Het Utrechtse draakje,” in *Bijzonder onderzoek. Een ontdekkingsreis door de Bijzondere Collecties van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht*, ed. Marco van Egmond, Bart Jaski, Hans Mulder (Utrecht: Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, 2009), 1–25.

¹³ This style of decoration was still in use when the first printed books arrived on the scene. Cf. a hand-painted initial “H” on fol. 1r of KB 169 G 57, a book of hours which came off the press of Jacob Jacobszoon van der Meer in Delft on July 19, 1484.

¹⁴ Gerritsen-Geywitz, “Het Utrechtse draakje,” 24.

versity Library of Utrecht (Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht).¹⁵ The fine twig-like pen-work in the margins accompanying the smaller Lombard initials (e.g. fol. 74r in UBU, Utrecht, Ms. 5 J 27)¹⁶ is not unlike the decorative scheme of the Lublin Book of Hours (cf. initial B on fol. 27r [fig. 5], initial G on fol. 43r). In conclusion, our working hypothesis is that the Lublin Book of Hours might have been decorated in an atelier situated in or near the town of Utrecht or in South Holland (perhaps Delft).

Yet while the abovementioned places are likely, it is equally impossible to exclude the hypothesis that this book originated in a north-eastern part of the Low Countries (Guelders or Overijssel), in any case, in a centre with close ties to the Modern Devotion. Around 1400 a uniform decorative style became prevalent in the scriptoria of the Brethren of the Common Life and the Augustinian Canons, which is characterized by vertical lines running along the margin and decorated with roundish “pearl-shaped” motifs.¹⁷ These codices, as described by Johan P. Gumbert, are “characterized by sobriety and cool restraint.”¹⁸ Their type of ornamentation approximates the decorative programme of the Lublin Book of Hours, although the latter lacks the characteristic straight vertical lines which in the former extend along the body of the text. While acknowledging that further research is required, it will be interesting to see which of these hypotheses relating to the origins of the prayer book can be corroborated by evidence gathered from its contents.

3. STRUCTURE

First, the overall composition of the prayer book will be examined; this will be followed by some remarks on individual texts. Below, the title of each section is given, followed by the rubric and the *incipit* in the Middle Dutch language and in an English translation¹⁹:

¹⁵ Rianne Piening, “Een beestachtig getijdenboek,” Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, Bijzondere Collecties, accessed on 28 November 2017, <http://bc.library.uu.nl/nl/een-beestachtig-getijdenboek>.

¹⁶ UBU, Utrecht, Ms. 5 J 27, Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, Bijzondere Collecties, accessed 24 November 2017, http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-339008&lan=nl&_ga=2.23134713.2121412250.1513867184-104535147.1481796194#page//12/92/65/129265490372655519310686486636714740725.jpg/mode/1up.

¹⁷ Van Oostrom, *Wereld in woorden*, 495.

¹⁸ Johan P. Gumbert, *The Dutch and their Books in the Manuscript Age* (London: The British Library, 1990), 40; also referred to by F. van Oostrom, *Wereld in woorden*, 495.

¹⁹ In the transcription, the punctuation and use of capital letters have been adapted to contemporary usage. Proper names and names of spiritual beings (God and the persons of the Holy Trinity) have been capitalized. In accordance with principles applied in the Netherlands with

- (i) fols. 1r–31v. The Small Office of the Virgin Mary, lacking standard elements such as a calendar and a part of the Matins.

Incipit: ‘Men ghelovet di te wesen toecome⟨n⟩de richter. Daer omme bidden wi di, help dinen dienres, die du mit dinen dueren bloede heves verlost’ [‘We believe that you will come, and be our judge. Come then, Lord, and help your people, bought with the price of your own dear blood...’]²⁰.

fols. 1r–1v. Matins (incomplete).

fols. 1v–9v. Lauds — ‘Die morghen love’.

fols. 9v–13r. Prime — ‘Die p⟨r⟩ime’.

fols. 13r–15v. Terce — ‘Die tertie’.

fols. 15v–18v. Sext — ‘Die sexte tide’.

fols. 18v–21v. None — ‘Noentide’.

fols. 21v–27r. Vespers — ‘Vesp⟨er⟩ tide’.

fols. 27r–31v. Compline — ‘Compleet tijt’.

- (ii) fols. 31v–54v. The Hours of the Holy Spirit—‘die ghetide van den Heilighen Gheest’ (in reality—the Small Hours of Divine Wisdom, cf. below).

Incipit: ‘Mine siele hevet di begheert in der nacht ende in minen geest...’ [‘My soul has longed for Thee at night and in my spirit...’] (fol. 32r).

fols. 33r–40v. Matins — ‘Die metten tide’.

fols. 40v–43r. Lauds — ‘Die morghe⟨n⟩ love’.

fols. 43r–45r. Prime — ‘Dit is die prime tijt’.

fols. 45r–46v. Terce — ‘Die tertie tide’.

fols. 46v–48r. Sext — ‘Dit is die sexte tide’.

fols. 48r–50r. None — ‘Die noentide’.

fols. 50r–52v. Vespers — ‘Die vesper’.

fols. 52v–54r. Compline — ‘Compleet tide’.

- (iii) fols. 55r–78v. The [Long] Hours of the Holy Cross — ‘Die ghetide des heilighen cruces’.

regard to the critical edition of historical texts the use of i/j and u/v/w has been systematized in conformity with modern-day orthographic standards. Scribal abbreviations have been expanded between “less than” and “greater than” signs. The expanded parts of words are spelled as they would have been in Middle Dutch. Letters omitted by the copyist but not indicated as abbreviations have been placed between square brackets. Obvious scribal errors have been rectified; the extent of these corrections is recorded in the footnotes. An English translation of the *incipits* and longer portions of texts is provided in square brackets; the translation is by the author of this article, unless noted otherwise.

²⁰ “Te Deum laudamus,” in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed 18 April 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Te-Deum-laudamus>.

Incipit: ‘Here Jhesu Criste, des lewendighe(n) Gods sone, ic da(n)c ende love di bi wes gracien ic bin, bi wes o(n)tfarmharticheit...’ [‘Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, I thank Thee and praise Thee, through whose grace I am, through whose mercy...’].

fols. 55r–62r. Matins — ‘Metten’.

fols. 62r–65v. Lauds — ‘Die laudes ghebet’.

fols. 65v–67v. Prime — ‘Dit is die prime’.

fols. 67v–72r. Terce — ‘Tertie’.

fols. 72r–74v. Sext — ‘Die sexte tide’.

fols. 74v–77r. Vespers — ‘Die vesper tide’.

fols. 77r–79r. Compline — ‘Compleet’.

- (iv) fols. 79r–99v. The Hundred Articles of the Passion of Christ — ‘die hondert articulen’.

Incipit: “Hier beghinnen die hondert articulen, dat sijn markinghe of ghepensinghe vander passien ons lieven heren Jhesu (Ch)risti welke elck jongher ons heren elkes daghes sel lesen ende overdencken ende hem selven oetmoedelike onsen here Jhesu Cristo in sine passien ghe- liken. Die eerste artikel...” [‘Here begin the Hundred Articles, that is to say, observations and meditations on the Passion of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, which every young man dedicated to our Lord should read and contemplate every day and humbly conform to Our Lord Jesus Christ in His Passion. The first article...’].

- (v) fols. 99v – 109v. The Seven Penitential Psalms — ‘Hier beghinnen die seven psalme(n) in duutsche’ [‘Here begin the Seven Psalms in the Dutch language’]

Incipit: ‘Here, in dijnre v(er)bolghenheit en straffe mi niet ende in dinen toerne en berispe mi niet...’ [‘O Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath...’]²¹.

- (vi) fols. 109v–121r. Litany of the Saints (‘Letanien’) followed by a Supplication and Prayers for the Church and Faithful.

Incipit: ‘Here ontferme di onser, Criste ontferme di onser...’ [‘Lord, have mercy upon us; Christ, have mercy upon us...’].

²¹ *Incipit* of Psalm 38 (37) “Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me.” The English translation has been cited after: *The Latin Vulgate*, accessed 18 April 2018, <http://www.latinvulgate.com/verse.aspx?t=0&b=21&c=6>.

fol. 119r – *Agnus Dei* – *Incipit*: ‘Lam Godes, die ofnemes die sonden der werelt, spaer o(n)s, Here...’ [‘Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, o Lord...’].

(vii) fols. 121r–126v. Eucharistic Prayers – ‘Vanden heilighe(n) sac(ra)m(ent)’. *Incipit*: ‘Ic gae totten hoghen weerdighen sacramente...’ [‘I am about to partake of the high, most worthy Sacrament...’].

(viii) fols. 126v–138r. Prayers to the Virgin Mary, Guardian Angel and St. Peter – ‘Va(n) ons(er) vrouw(en)’. *Incipit*: ‘O alre suetste Maria, moeder ons heren Jhesu Cristi ende weerdighe vrouwe, ic bevele mi u al die daghe mijns levens...’ [‘O most sweet Mary, mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and most worthy lady, I entrust myself to you all the days of my life...’].

(ix) fols. 138r–177r. Office of the Dead — ‘Die vigilie van neghen lessen’. *Incipit*: ‘My hebben om bevanghe(n) die suchten des dodes...’ [‘Sighs of death have enclosed me...’].

The structure of the Lublin Book of Hours is a standard arrangement which resembles other vernacular prayer books from Low Countries from the milieu of the Modern Devotion. KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 21²² may referred to here as a representative example:

BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626	KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 21
(missing)	Calendar
Small Office of the Virgin Mary	Small Office of the Virgin Mary
(not present)	Hours of the Holy Spirit
(not present)	Short Hours of the Holy Cross
“Hours of the Holy Spirit” (actually, the Small Hours of Divine Wisdom)	Small Hours of Eternal Wisdom
[Long] Hours of the Holy Cross	Long Hours of the Holy Cross
Hundred Articles of the Passion of Christ	Eucharistic Prayers
Seven Penitential Psalms	Seven Penitential Psalms

²² Grote, *Getijdenboek*.

Litany of the Saints	Litany of the Saints
Eucharistic Prayers	(see above)
Office of the Dead	Office of the Dead

The content of the manuscript forms a thematic unity combining devotional exercises centred on the figure of the Virgin Mary (the Small Office of the Virgin Mary, various prayers) with Christological meditations (the Hours of Eternal Wisdom, the Hours of the Cross and the Hundred Articles of the Passion). Additionally, there is a Litany of the Saints and prayers for the faithful, while a section dedicated to penance (the Penitential Psalms and the Office of the Dead) completes its structure.

4. CONTENTS

We will begin by identifying and analyzing the contents of the Small Office of the Virgin Mary, restricting ourselves for the sake of brevity to this text as one of the most important in Ms. 2626, but also referring to other key devotional texts. The *Hundred Articles of the Passion* are one of those which certainly deserve a closer analysis, but owing to their complexity, they will be discussed by the present author in a forthcoming publication; we will limit ourselves here to a few preliminary remarks.

A. SMALL OFFICE OF THE VIRGIN MARY

Geert Grote's translation of the Small Office of the Virgin Mary into the Middle Dutch language was a major contribution by the founder of the Modern Devotion to the dissemination of important devotional texts in the vernacular. Grote accomplished this work when towards the end of his life he was suspended from preaching by the ecclesiastic authorities of the diocese of Utrecht.²³ Geert Grote's authorship of the Small Office of the Virgin Mary is well attested.²⁴ It is uncertain, however, what his sources

²³ R[egnerus] R[ichardus] Post, *The Modern Devotion. Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), 137–8.

²⁴ Grote, *Getijdenboek*, 1–2.

were²⁵ or whether he referred in his work to some earlier vernacular translation, which, as Nicholaas van Wijk admits, was probably the case.²⁶

The Small Office in the Lublin Book of Hours comprises the standard parts (Matins—partly missing, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers). The composition of each of these parts corresponds to the Small Office in the translation of Geert Grote. The text may be identified through a comparison with another vernacular Book of Hours known to contain Grote's work, e.g. Ms. 133 E 21²⁷. The *incipit* of BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626 ('Men ghelovet di te wesen toecome(n)de richter...', fol. 1 r), is the beginning of the vernacular paraphrase of the hymn *Te Deum laudamus* ending the Matins. An identical translation of this hymn may be found on fol. 22r in KB Ms. 133 E 2²⁸:

BU KUL, Lublin, fol. 1r

Men ghelovet di te wesen toecome(n)de richter. Daer omme bidden wi di, help dinen dienre^s, die du mit dinen dueren bloede heves verlost. Laet begavet werden mit dinen heilighen in die ewighe glorie. H(er)e, maec ghesont dijn volc ende benedie dijn erfenisse. Ende regierse ende v(er)hoghese tot in ewicheiden. Alle daghe benedien wi di. Ende wi love(n) dinen name welike ende y(m)mermeer.

KB Ms. 133 E 2, fol. 22r

Men ghelovet di te wesen toe comende richter. Daer om bidde wi di, help dinen dienre, die du mit dinen dueren blode heves verlost. Laet si beghavet werden mit dinen heilighen in die ewighe glorie. Here, maec ghesont dijn volc ende benedie dine erfnisse. Ende berichte sie ende verhoghet sie tot in ewicheiden Alle daghe benedie wi di. Ende wi loven dinen name ewelike ende ymmermeer.

[‘We believe that you will come, and be our judge. Come then, Lord, and help your people, bought with the price of your own blood, and bring us with your saints to glory everlasting. Save your people, Lord, and bless your inheritance. Govern and uphold them now and always. Day by day we bless you. We praise your name for ever’]²⁹.

The minor differences in the sample quotations (underlined) are essentially limited to grammatical and lexical variants ('dienre'—sg. or pl., 're-

²⁵ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 167.

²⁶ Grote, *Getijdenboek*, 3–5.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 43–70.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, 43. In quotations from this edition Nicholaas van Wijk's diplomatic transcription has been slightly modified according to the editorial standards set out in footnote 7, and obvious errors by the copyist have been corrected.

²⁹ "Te Deum laudamus," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed 18 April 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Te-Deum-laudamus>.

gierse' instead of 'berichte') which have been underlined in the left-hand column; variants such as these are acknowledged by Van Wijk³⁰.

B. REMARKS ON IDENTIFYING OTHER DEVOTIONAL TEXTS
IN THE LUBLIN BOOK OF HOURS

The text entitled the "Hours of the Holy Spirit" ('Die ghetide van den heilighen gheest') in Lublin, BU KUL Ms. 2626 does not match the text known by this name in other prayer books with the Hours of Geert Grote. Instead, it conforms to the Hours of Eternal Wisdom; this fact may be demonstrated by comparing the contents with, for instance, KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 2, fols. 83v-106v.³¹ The Middle Dutch translation of the Hours of Eternal Wisdom, which according to Anton Gerard Weiler³² may be ascribed with certainty to Geert Grote, had as its source Heinrich Suso's *Cursus de Aeterna Sapientia*. A comparison of the text of the Hours of the Holy Cross in Ms. 2626 with KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 2 (fols. 107r-134r)³³ proves that it matches the so-called Long Hours of the Holy Cross in the latter codex.

A comparative analysis demonstrates that the text of the *Hundred Articles* in Ms. 2626 conforms to the adaptation from the Southern Netherlands (*Zuid-Nederlandse bewerking*), as identified by José van Aelst.³⁴ This Southern Netherlands adaptation, completed in the monastery of Groenedaal (or in the vicinity thereof) slightly before 1350, was the oldest version of Henry Suso's devotional-meditative treatise composed in the Middle Dutch language. The source of this text in the Lublin codex was not, therefore, as one might expect, any of the younger Northern Netherlands adaptations which evolved from their Southern predecessor before 1400, and which were the most numerous among the several Middle Dutch paraphrases of Suso's *Hundert Betrachtungen*.³⁵

Evidence that we are dealing in Ms. 2626 with the Southern Netherlands adaptation stems from the fact that this text features none of the inter-

³⁰ Grote, *Getijdenboek*, 42, note 4, and 43, note 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 92–112. Unfortunately the restricted length of this article prevents the author from including a sample of both texts.

³² Geert Grote, *Getijden van de Eeuwige Wijsheid naar de vertaling van Geert Grote*, ed. Antonius Gerardus Weiler (Baarn: Amboboeken, 1984).

³³ Grote, *Getijdenboek*, 113–38.

³⁴ José van Aelst, *Passie voor het lijden. De «Hundert Betrachtungen und Begehrungen» van Henricus Suso en de oudste drie bewerkingen uit de Nederlanden* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2005).

³⁵ José van Aelst, *Vruchten van de passie. De laatmiddeleeuwse passieliteratuur verkend aan de hand van Suso's Honderd artikelen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 46–7.

polations typical of the Northern Netherlands adaptation, such as its characteristic prologue. Neither does it contain any of the exceptions allowed for by the editor of the Northern Netherlands translation (e.g. when a person is free not to kneel after reading article 74, whereas Ms. 2626 only has ‘Hier sel een mensche nedervallen ter eerden ende sel segghen dit versikel’ [‘Here one should kneel and say this versicle’], fol. 93r).³⁶ Finally, the Lublin version is arranged according to articles, similarly as in the original, and not additionally by the days of the week as in the majority of the Northern Netherlands adaptations.³⁷ A closer look at the reasons for identifying the text of the *Hundred Articles* from Ms. 2626 as the Southern Netherlands adaptation will be provided by the author along with a critical edition of the text in a forthcoming article.

5. ORIGINS: TEXTUAL INDICATIONS

Clues with regard to the geographic origins of Ms. 2626 may be found in the Litany to All Saints in the form of invocations to popular saints from the Low Countries. These include important early missionaries to this part of Europe: St. Boniface (fol. 112r) and St. Willibrord (fol. 113r), one of Willibrord’s companions, St. Adelbert of Egmond (fol. 113v), and the Frisian missionary St. Liudger (113r).

Also mentioned in the Litany are saints venerated in specific regions of the Low Countries. Although their names are a geographic mixture, coming from both the Northern and Southern Netherlands, the former seems to dominate. From the Southern Netherlands we have St. Bavo (fol. 113 r), the patron of Ghent but also commemorated in Bruges; St. Servatius of Tongres (fol. 113v), whose cult was typical of the southern diocese of Liège, had as principal sites Tongres and Maastricht. Other saints mentioned in the Litany, Lebuinus of Deventer (fol. 113r) and Odulf of Brabant (fol. 113v), were commonly venerated, together with Willibrord, in the northern diocese of Utrecht.³⁸

An important clue as to geographic origins of Ms. 2626 is the fact that the Litany mentions St. Radboud of Utrecht (‘Sente Rabboet’, fol. 113v)—

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 50–1.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 53–4.

³⁸ Saskia van Bergen, “De productie van een getijdenboek in laat-middeleeuws Brugge,” *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 2004, no. 11: 13, note 13.

a cleric of Frisian-Frankish ancestry, chaplain to Charles the Bald, who was chosen to fill the bishopric of Utrecht in 889 and afterwards resided in Deventer. During the Middle Ages the cult of St. Radboud was limited to the diocese of Utrecht, the towns of Utrecht and Deventer being the main sites where his relics were venerated.³⁹ A Litany of Saints from a Utrecht manuscript, where his name is mentioned, is e.g. University Library, Utrecht, Ms. 5 J 27 (fol. 106v). This evidence is an argument in favour of the hypothesis that Ms. 2626 originated from the northern Netherlands and specifically from the diocese of Utrecht.

The part of the Litany dedicated to female saints is much more condensed by comparison. Names related to the geographic and cultural regions of the Low Countries (or adjoining areas) are, for instance, SS. Gertrude of Nivelles (Southern Low Countries), Walburga of Heidenheim (Germany, but also patron of several towns in the Northern and Southern Low Countries), Ursula of Cologne and her 11 000 virgin companions ('Sente Ursula mit dijne gheselse(n),' fol. 114r)—venerated not only in Cologne, but also in several places in the Netherlands, including Delft in the diocese of Utrecht, or Aldegonde of Maubeuge (Southern Low Countries, fol. 114v).

Ms. 2626 furthermore contains two prayers through the intercession of St. Peter (fols. 137r-137v). Although St. Peter was a popular saint in the Low Countries, there were two sites in the diocese of Utrecht, where he was especially venerated: Leiden and the city of Utrecht itself. In the former, St. Peter was the patron of the oldest parish church, whereas in the latter one of the most important chapter churches was consecrated to him.⁴⁰

Another textual trace leading to the diocese of Utrecht is the prayer for all of Christendom which ends the supplication after the Litany (BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626, fol. 118r-118v). In at least one Book of Hours which in the light of recent findings⁴¹ was indisputably made in Utrecht one may find a prayer with almost exactly the same contents (Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 5 J 27, fol. 113r-113v). The prayer mentions the pope, the Holy Roman emperor, bishops, priests, ecclesiastic and secular authorities, consecrated persons, as well as male and female laity.

³⁹ Kaj van Vliet, *In kringen van Kanunniken. Munsters en kapittels in het bisdom Utrecht 695-1227* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2002), 156-8.

⁴⁰ Jan Kuys, *Repertorium van collegiale kapittels in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), 289-91.

⁴¹ Piening, "Een beestachtig getijdenboek."

7. CONCLUSION:
A PRAYER BOOK FROM THE MILIEU OF THE MODERN DEVOTION
IN THE DIOCESE OF UTRECHT?

The University Library of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin is fortunate to have in its collections a vernacular Book of Hours in the Middle Dutch language, an important testimonial of the religious culture of the medieval Low Countries. Future venues for research include, among other things, studying the origins and provenance of this prayer book and exploring it as a linguistic specimen. The evidence unearthed in this article suggests that its origins lie in the milieu of the Modern Devotion in the 15th century, most likely in the diocese of Utrecht. Owing to the damage to the manuscript, however, we will probably never know the answer who were its first owners and users, but the mysteries connected to the Lublin Book of Hours are exactly what makes this manuscript such a fascinating object of research.

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MODLITEWNIK NIDERLANDZKI
Z GODZINKAMI GEERTA GROTE Z BIBLIOTEKI UNIWERSYTECKIEJ
KATOLICKIEGO UNIWERSYTETU LUBELSKIEGO JANA PAWŁA II
(SYGN. BU KUL, RKPS 2626)

Streszczenie

W niniejszym artykule przedstawiono nowe badania nad modlitewnikiem niderlandzkim, znajdującym się w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej KUL (sygn. BU KUL, rkps 2626). Kodeks ten, przekazujący m.in. utwory pobożnościowe w przekładzie Geerta Grote, propagatora ruchu *Devotio Moderna* w Niderlandach — zwłaszcza Małe Oficjum Najświętszej Maryi Panny — jak również będący dziełem anonimowego tłumacza przekład *Hundert Betrachtungen und Begehrungen* Heinricha Suso, jest cennym świadectwem kultury literackiej i religijnej w późno-średniowiecznych Niderlandach. Artykuł rozpoczyna się od opisu kodykologicznego, po którym następuje wstępna analiza programu artystycznego rękopisu, opis struktury kodeksu oraz ustalenie treści najważniejszych zawartych w nim tekstów. Zawarte w tekście rękopisu wskazówki pozwalają wysnuć wniosek, że obszarem, z którego wywodzi się kodeks, jest prawdopodobnie diecezja utrechcka.

Streścił Marcin Polkowski

Słowa kluczowe: modlitewnik niderlandzki; Biblioteka Uniwersytecka KUL; Geert Grote; *Devotio Moderna*.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

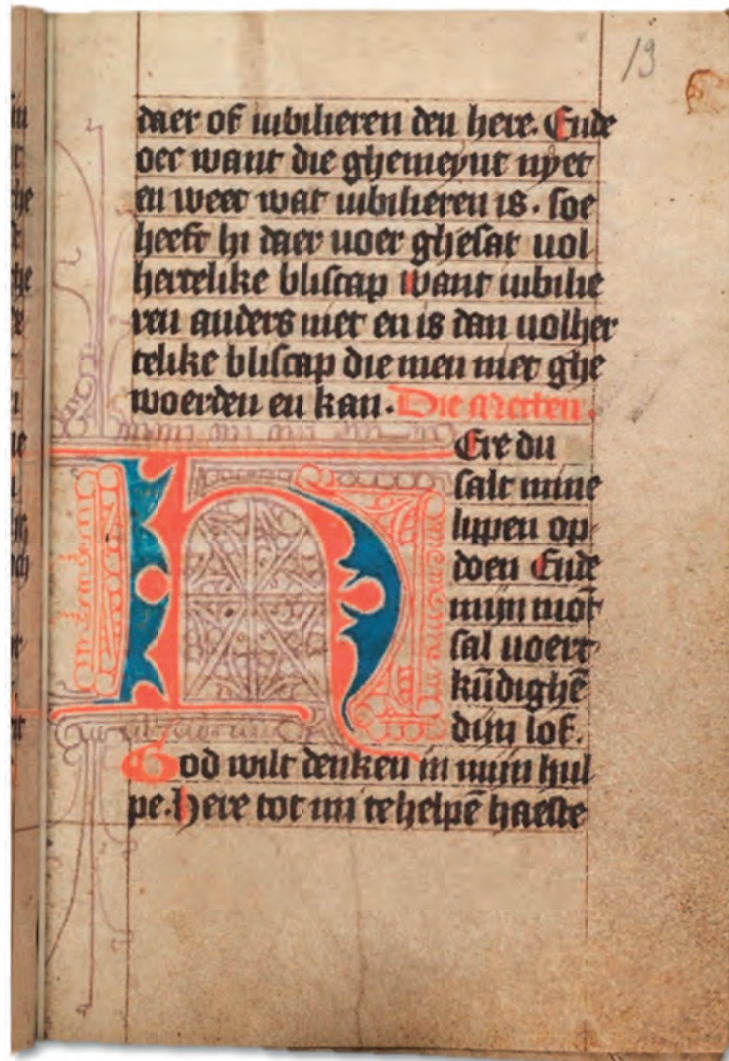


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Figs. 1–4. Comparison of decorative initials from four vernacular Books of Hours from the late-medieval Low Countries. Fig. 1. KB, The Hague, Ms. 79 K 23, fol. 12r; Fig. 2. KB, The Hague, Ms. 130 E 4, fol. 14r. Fig. 3., KB, The Hague, Ms. 133 E 21, fol. 19r (figs. 1–3 reproduced by courtesy of the National Library of the Netherlands). Fig. 4. BU KUL, Lublin, Ms. 2626, fol. 100r (reproduced by courtesy of BU KUL).

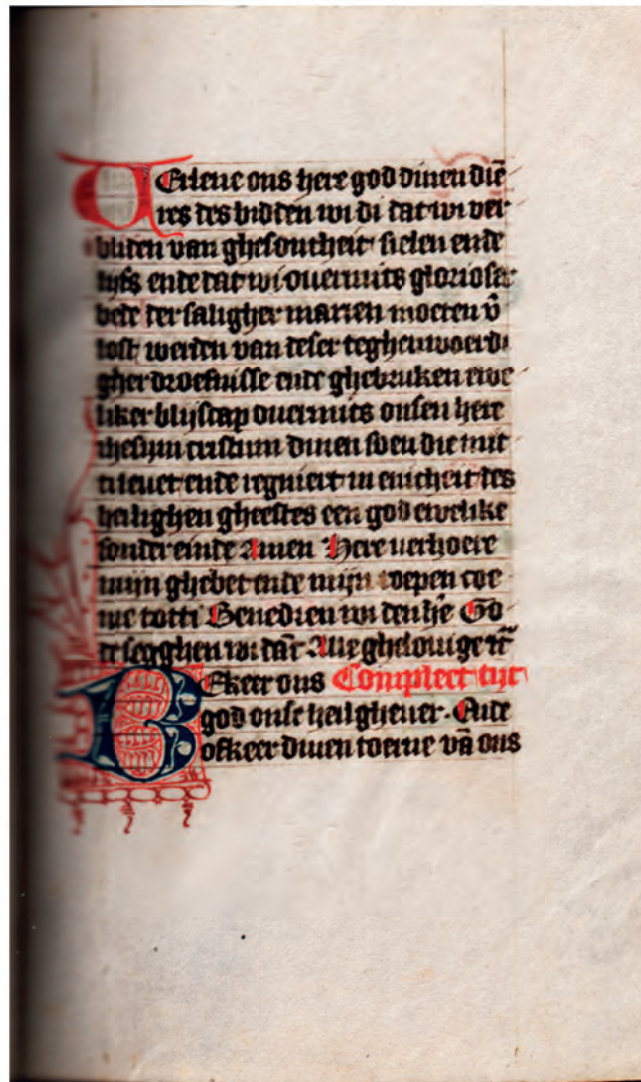


Fig. 5

Initial B with decorative marginal pen-work from BU KUL, Ms. 2626, fol. 27r.