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Gheerkin de Hondt

Voor mijn ouders  
*For my parents*

# **Gheerkin de Hondt**

**A SINGER-COMPOSER IN THE  
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LOW COUNTRIES**

**VÉRONIQUE ROELVINK**

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Simon Bening, *The celebration of Mass* (see page 160).

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# Gheerkin de Hondt

A SINGER-COMPOSER IN THE  
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LOW COUNTRIES

Proefschrift  
ter verkrijging van  
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,  
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## Abbreviations

1535 <sup>8</sup>	Ottaviano Scotto/Andrea Antico, <i>Il primo libro de le canzoni francese</i> , Venice 1535.
1536 <sup>17</sup>	Ottaviano Scotto/Andrea Antico, <i>Il primo libro de le canzoni francese / Canzoni francese di messer Adriano</i> , Venice 1536.
1551 <sup>18</sup>	Tielman Susato, <i>Het ierste musyck boexken mit vier partyen daer inne Begrepen zyn xxvij nieuue amoreuse liedekens in onser neder duytscher talen, Gecomponeert by diversche componisten, zeer lustich om singen en spelen op alle musicale Instrumenten</i> , Antwerpen 1551.
1552 <sup>15</sup>	Pierre Phalèse, <i>Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties, nouvellement composez &amp; mises en Musique, convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix</i> , Louvain 1552.
1553 <sup>24</sup> (reprint 1556 <sup>13</sup> )	Pierre Phalèse, <i>Premier livre des chansons a cinq et six parties, nouvellement composez &amp; mises en Musique, convenables tant aux instruments comme à la voix</i> , Louvain 1553.
B	Bassus
BHIC	Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 's-Hertogenbosch (former Rijksarchief in Noord-Brabant, 's-Hertogenbosch)
BHIC 1232	Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, 's-Hertogenbosch, Toegangsnummer 1232, Archief Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch, (1291) 1318 – 2005



CambraiBM 125-8	Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, Manuscripts 125-128 ( <i>olim</i> 124)
CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
Ct	Contratenor
GAD 435	Gemeentearchief Delft, Archiefnummer 435 (Delftse Parochiekerken)
GdańPAN 4003	Gdańsk (Poland), Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska, MS 4003 ( <i>olim</i> Mus. q. 20)
ILVB	Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, 's-Hertogenbosch
Inv. no.	Inventory number ( <i>inventarisnummer</i> )
Leiden 1442	Regionaal Archief Leiden, Kerken, nummer toegang 502, inventarisnummer 1442 (Boek E)
LU	Liber Usualis
MS / MSS	Manuscript / Manuscripts
OCMW-B	Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn Brugge
QP	Quinta Pars
RAB	Rijksarchief Brugge
RAB 88	Rijksarchief Brugge, Inv. no. 88, archives of the church of Sint-Jacob
RISM	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i>
S	Superius
SAB	Stadsarchief Brugge

SAB, OA	Stadsarchief Brugge, Oud Archief
SAHt	Stadsarchief 's-Hertogenbosch
SAHt, ASJ	Stadsarchief 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief Sint-Jan tot 1629
SAHt, ASJ, Charters	Stadsarchief 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief Sint-Jan, Collectie Charters
SAHt, OSA	Stadsarchief 's-Hertogenbosch, Oud Stads Archief
St	Saint
's-HerAB	's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap The archives are kept in the BHIC, except for the polyphonic choirbooks, which are in the Zwanenbroedershuis, Hinthamerstraat 94, 5211 MS 's-Hertogenbosch, Netherlands. For the inventory of the archives see: <a href="http://www.bhic.nl">http://www.bhic.nl</a> (BHIC 1232).
T	Tenor

## Notes on names/numbers, glossary, dating style, currencies

### Names/numbers

All general names are given in their modern equivalent in the original language, unless they are specific names of persons, in which case they are spelled according to their most frequent appearance. For example: *Sint Jacop* has been rewritten as *Sint-Jacob*, but *Pierkin* or *Pierken* has not been replaced by *Pierre*. If there are many variants in names, they are given in a note. Names of towns that have an English equivalent are written in English (for example: Bruges, Brussels, Ghent, The Hague, but 's-Hertogenbosch). Roman numerals are not replaced by Arabic ones.

### Glossary

For some Middle Dutch and current Dutch words it is not possible or even preferable to translate them into English; these have been italicised. Sometimes both Middle Dutch and the modern English translation are used in the same text.

basconter	bass singer
bastonnier	verger ('rod carrier')
beierman	man playing bells rhythmically, without the activation by a keyboard, therefore by using hammers or clappers directly on the bells or indirectly through strings attached to them
belfort	belfry
bonenfanten / bonifanten	schoolboys helping or singing chant during liturgy in (chapter) churches; sometimes also in the meaning of choirboys: boys singing polyphony
bovensanck	highest/high voice

Bruederscap vanden Heyligen Eerwerdigen Sacramente cantor	Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament originally one of the canons of a chapter church in charge of singing the seven canonical hours (Divine Office); if functioning in addition to the <i>zangmeester</i> , then more ceremonial; sometimes used as equivalent for <i>zangmeester</i>
capelaen	chaplain
choralen	choirboys capable of singing polyphony
Commuun	college of the seven canonical hours, also called <i>Communitas chori</i> or <i>Zeven- getijdencollege</i>
contratenor	high male voice, probably alto
coraelmeester	see: <i>zangmeester</i>
Dis (also: Armendis)	poor relief
discant	equivalent of polyphony
discanters	singer of polyphonic music
exequie	memorial service
hoogconter / hoogtenor	high male voice, probably alto
Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady
intoneerder	precentor
heer (or Her)	priest (Latin: Dominus)
heer	Lord (ruler)
kovel	hood
koster	sexton
Lof	sung liturgical service in honour of for example the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Holy Cross, the Holy Sacrament or a Saint
magister cantus	see: <i>zangmeester</i>
maître de chant	see: <i>zangmeester</i>
meester	Master (French: Maître), title of a university degree
musycke	literally: music, meaning polyphony
Nieuwe Kerk	'New Church'
ommeganck	procession
Onze Lieve Vrouw	Our Lady

orgelblaser	organ/bellows blower (giving the organ wind)
Oude Kerk	'Old Church'
proost	provost
provisoer/provisor	agent
Sacramentsbroederschap	Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament
sancmeester/sangmeester	see: zangmeester
simpelen sanck	equivalent of Gregorian chant
Sint-Donaas	St Donatian
Sint-Jacob	St James
Sint-Jan	St John
Sint-Salvator	St Saviour
Sint-Walburga	St Walpurga
stadspijper	city trumpeter
succentor	see: zangmeester
tabbert	tabard, gown
tafeldrager	scribe in a church who among other things keeps the attendance lists of singers
zangmeester	choirmaster (as in director of the choir of singers); not to be confused with the government of a <i>zeven-getijdencollege</i> , sometimes also called <i>sancmeesteren</i> (the <i>zangmeester</i> then mostly had a different name, like <i>coraelmeester</i> , <i>succentor</i> , <i>magister cantus</i> )
zeven-getijdencollege	group of men singing the seven canonical hours (Divine Office), also called <i>Commuun</i>

## Dating style<sup>1</sup>

In general all medieval styles (Easter style, Christmas style, Brabant style) have been modernised to the new style (n.s.) if known which style was meant (otherwise a note is given).

---

<sup>1</sup> Based on: Grotefend 1991<sup>13</sup>; Van den Bichelaer 1998, pp. 230-232; Verhoeven 1993a, p. 47.

A split financial year (for example from the feast of St John to the feast of St John a year later) is written as 1539/40. A period of two years is written as 1539-1540.

## Currencies<sup>2</sup>

Between 1520 and 1550, several local monetary units were used in Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch, like the Carolusgulden, the Flemish groat and pound and the pound of Holland. The rates of exchange were fixed between 1496 and 1548. Since 1521, the *Carolusgulden* (consisting of twenty *stuivers*) was the official prevailing money of account in the Low Countries. For the purpose of comparing the remuneration Gheerkin received (Chapter 9), the amounts of money have been converted to the *Carolusgulden* and the *stuiver*. Below, a survey is given of the monetary units found in documents in Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch that have been used for this book, as well as a survey of the different exchange rates.

### Delft (1520-1532)

pond Hollands, Rijnse gulden, Carolusgulden, schelling, Vlaamse groot, stuiver, denarius, patard (= French for stuiver)

### Bruges (1530-1540)

Accounts church fabric Sint-Jacobs: pond, schelling, groot, denarius (Vlaams)  
Accounts Commuun Sint-Jacobs: pond Parisis, schelling Parisis, Vlaamse groot  
Accounts Dis Sint-Jacobs: pond Parisis of 20 Vlaamse groot  
Accounts city: pond, schelling, denarius (Vlaams)

### 's-Hertogenbosch (1520-1550)

Carolusgulden, gulden, stuiver, oord, denarius, pond payement

#### 1 Carolusgulden (also called Rijnse gulden) equals

- 20 stuivers (French: patards) = 40 denarii = 80 oord
- 3 1/3 schelling Vlaams = 1/6 pond groot Vlaams = 40 groten Vlaams = 960 Vlaamse mijten
- 2 pond Parisis
- 1 1/3 pond Hollands = 320 penningen Hollands

---

<sup>2</sup> Based on: Van Beek 1986-2002; Munro 1974; Enno van Gelder 2002.

**1 pond Vlaams (also called 1 pond groot) equals**

- 20 schellingen Vlaams = 240 groten Vlaams
- 6 Carolusgulden
- 12 pond Parisis
- 8 pond Hollands

**1 pond Parisis equals**

- $\frac{1}{2}$  gulden = 10 stuivers
- $\frac{1}{12}$  pond Vlaams =  $1\frac{2}{3}$  schellingen Vlaams = 20 groten Vlaams

**1 pond Hollands equals**

- $\frac{3}{4}$  gulden = 15 stuivers = 240 penningen Hollands
- $\frac{1}{8}$  pond Vlaams = 30 groten Vlaams

**1 pond payement equals**

- 7 stuivers

## Introduction

For many decades musicologists have studied music of the Renaissance Low Countries, formed by the current Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and the north-western part of France. This period is particularly interesting, because in the 15th and 16th centuries, this region of Europe played the leading part when it came to music. The musical capacities of the many singers and composers from the area literally set the tone. Every self-respecting small town had at least one major church where liturgy was celebrated with great ceremony, including polyphony.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, several European courts had their own groups of singers and musicians. Together they formed a network of professionals who spread the musical heritage of the Low Countries all over Europe. Masters like Guillaume Dufay, Johannes Ockeghem, Jacob Obrecht, Josquin des Prez, Pierre de la Rue, Benedictus Appenzeller, Lupus Hellinck, Nicolas Gombert, Thomas Crecquillon and Adriaen Willaert were highly placed men in important churches and at courts, not only in the Low Countries but as far afield as Italy and Spain, who also left us many compositions of high quality. They overshadowed numerous colleagues who sang in less important surroundings, of whom we do not have much biographical information or for whom only a few compositions have come down to us. One of those so-called *Kleinmeister* was Gheerkin de Hondt.<sup>4</sup>

At the beginning of the 20th century, the German musicologist Robert Eitner described Gheerkin de Hondt as ‘ein sehr begabter, gewandter und erfindungsreicher Komponist, dessen Kompositionen so ansprechend sind, daß man das hohe Alter derselben fast vergißt’.<sup>5</sup> Such an opinion can only act as an invitation to closer research into Gheerkin’s life and work. The purpose of this book therefore

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<sup>3</sup> Polyphony is many-voiced music in which the different parts (voices) move rhythmically and melodically independently (Elders 1985, p. 181).

<sup>4</sup> Variants in name: Gheerken/Gerit/Gerrit/Gerryt/Gheeraert/Geerhart/Gerard/Gerart de Hont/die Hont/die Hondt. In musicological literature this composer has always been called Gheerkin de Hondt, after the name that occurs above the Superius and Tenor parts of his *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* (Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale MS 125-28, fol. 48v). ‘Gheerkin’ is the (affectionate) deminitive of ‘Gheeraert’ and means ‘little Gheeraert’ (see also De Coussemaker 1975<sup>2</sup>, p. 75 and Fétis 1862, p. 365).

<sup>5</sup> ‘A very gifted, skilful and inventive composer whose compositions are so attractive that one almost forgets how extremely old they are’ (Eitner 1900-1904, volume 5, pp. 199-200).



is twofold. On the one hand a picture will be given of Gheerkin de Hondt in his time. Where did he live and work? What were his duties and what was his social-economic status? On the other hand a sketch will be drawn of Gheerkin's music. Which compositions do we have and in which sources? How and where were they used? What was Gheerkin's position in the European network of singers and composers?

Up till now, only small paragraphs on Gheerkin's life and work have been published in the musicological literature. Besides the information by Eitner and the short texts in the well-known music encyclopedias *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, C.E.H. de Coussemaker, F.J. Fétis, J.A. Bank, A. Smijers, M.A. Vente, A. Dewitte, G.K. Diehl, H. van Nieuwkoop and P. Andriessen dedicated a few words to Gheerkin.<sup>6</sup> Together, these publications give us a list of Gheerkin's compositions and of the cities and churches where he has worked: between circa 1520 and 1524 and from 1 August 1530 up to February 1532 in Delft (Nieuwe Kerk), between at least July 1532<sup>7</sup> and the end of 1539 in Bruges (Sint-Jacobskerk), and from 31 December up to 2 October 1547 in 's-Hertogenbosch (chapter of Sint-Jan and Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap). In October 1547 Gheerkin left 's-Hertogenbosch for 'Vrieslant'; he was fired, because his wife had not taken good care of the choirboys.<sup>8</sup> And although not all information we now have proved correct, as we shall see, our starting point will be to follow in Gheerkin's footsteps, which seem to lie only in the Low Countries.

Archives and libraries in the Low Countries and beyond offer us many treasures with information on social, political, economic, religious and musical life in the 16th century. A variety of contemporary sources allows us an understanding of the circumstances under which people lived. In the case of Gheerkin de Hondt, we can draw on different types of accounts and documents related to the institutions Gheerkin worked for, and to the cities he worked in. The number of contemporary sources in Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch especially is so large, that a choice had to be made. The sources of the churches and institutions Gheerkin worked for provide the basis for his biography. Furthermore, the available city accounts of the cities

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<sup>6</sup> De Coussemaker 1975<sup>2</sup> (facsimile of 1843 edition), pp. 75-76, 78; Fétis 1862, p. 365; Bank 1939a, p. 103; Bank 1940, p. 52; Smijers 1948-1955, pp. 222-230; Vente 1963a, p. 34; Dewitte 1971, p. 347; Diehl 1974, pp. 173-176; Van Nieuwkoop 1975, pp. III-VI; Vente 1980, p. 88; Andriessen 2002, pp. 267-269.

<sup>7</sup> Roelvink 1995, pp. 11-12.

<sup>8</sup> Although many *zangmeesters* were priests in those days, Gheerkin de Hondt clearly was not, also confirmed by the fact that the church accounts usually address him as *meester*, not as *heer*.

Gheerkin worked in have been examined for the years he lived in that particular city, in order to get a general idea of the situation during his employment. Where city accounts have not been preserved, contemporary chronicles were used where available. The administrative legal sources of Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch covering the years Gheerkin worked there have only partly been studied. This was not an easy decision, because the sources may contain information on Gheerkin or his family. However, the time it would have taken to go through all these thousands of pages would not balance the results that might have been achieved in relation to the purpose of this book.

Not many sources survive from the period Gheerkin worked in Delft. The city was struck by a huge fire in 1536, four years after Gheerkin had left the town. Furthermore, the religious troubles of 1566, the Revolt of 1572 (the year Delft chose the side of the rebels against Spain and switched from Catholicism to Protestantism) and the fire in the city hall in 1618 caused a tremendous losses of documents.<sup>9</sup> We are therefore lucky that we still have any documents of the Nieuwe Kerk (and the Oude Kerk) at all, although they show us a far from complete picture. In the course of history, documents concerning the church have been spread over several collections, among others the archives of the diocese of Haarlem. Since the second half of the 1980s most documents are kept in the Gemeentearchief Delft.<sup>10</sup>

The sources from the Nieuwe Kerk that do survive are rather complicated and fragmentary, and they only give us an incomplete view of daily life in the church. We know that at least three administrative accounts were kept in the Nieuwe Kerk: one by the *kerkmeesters* (the church masters; responsible for the building, but also for the payment of the organist), one by the *getijdenmeesters* (the administrators responsible for the payment of the singers) and one by the *heilige-geestmeesters*<sup>11</sup> (in charge of poor relief). For the periods Gheerkin de Hondt worked in Delft, fragmented information on singers, liturgy and music in general comes from two registers of the

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<sup>9</sup> According to former city archivist D.P. Oosterbaan (Oosterbaan 1973, p. 9).

<sup>10</sup> Under Archiefnummer 435 (from now on referred to as GAD 435). Under this number we find documents up to 1572 of the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk, as well as documents of which is unknown to which of the two churches they originally belonged (if they belonged to one of the churches at all). The inventory is to be consulted on the internet: <http://www.archief-delft.nl/>, click Archieven A-Z, search 17.01.03 Parochies, click 435 Delftse Parochiekerken. The previous document numbers of the Archief Bisdom Haarlem, used by Vente 1980, are added to the survey in Appendix 1. Vente 1980 also refers to archival documents in the city archives in Delft that were not yet listed at the time.

<sup>11</sup> We know that only from GAD 435, Inv. no. 165, being a charter signed by the *heilige-geestmeesters* (GAD 435, Inv. no. 165).

*getijdenmeesters*: one for the years 1520-1524 and one for the years 1524-1554.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, we have some charters that are very important in the scope of this study, among them the foundation charter of the *zeven-getijdencollege*.<sup>13</sup> Finally, some fragmentary information comes from several documents, which will be mentioned in the chapter on Delft and in the list of archival documents (Appendix 1).

Another contemporary source that gives us information on life in the Nieuwe Kerk is a chronicle that is nowadays in the British Library in London (Add. MS 25050). The chronicle was once owned by Michiel Vosmeer (23/08/1545–17/04/1617). An extensive edition of it has been published.<sup>14</sup> We do not know who wrote the chronicle, but since the last entry by the original writer is from 1516, it probably dates from about that time.<sup>15</sup> This chronicle was the basis for three later chronicles.<sup>16</sup>

It is probably due to the lack of (medieval) sources that there is no recent general historical study on the city of Delft. However, several publications on sub disciplines make up with this loss.<sup>17</sup> The first person to publish on musical life in Delft in the Middle Ages was J.A. Bank in 1940,<sup>18</sup> but his articles should be treated with much care. A second attempt was made by M.A. Vente, who published many facts on musical life in both Delft churches, but also left out many important details and made some mistakes.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, if it had not been for the work of Bank and Vente, we wouldn't have known that Gheerkin de Hondt worked in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft at all.

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<sup>12</sup> Respectively GAD 435, Inv. no. 191 and 186. For the period before 1520 and after 1532, two registers of the church masters have been kept, one for the years 1497-1507 (GAD 435, Inv. no. 156) and one for the years 1536-1546 (GAD 435, Inv. no. 151). Also one register of the *getijdenmeesters* has been kept for the pre-Gheerkin period 1498-1513 (GAD 435, Inv. no. 187).

<sup>13</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 181.

<sup>14</sup> Oosterbaan 1958.

<sup>15</sup> Verhoeven 1992, p. 64 mentions the large number of miracle stories from the period 1505-1516 and therefore reaches the conclusion that the manuscript must have been written in that period. For detailed information on this chronicle and for suggestions on the authorship see Appendix 2.

<sup>16</sup> Van Bleyswijck 1667-1680; Van Rhijn 1720; Boitet 1729 (1972).

<sup>17</sup> De stad Delft 1979; Verhoeven 1992; Verhoeven 1993b; Oosterbaan 1973; Oosterbaan 1966; Van Berckel 1897/1899/1901/1904.

<sup>18</sup> Bank 1940.

<sup>19</sup> Vente 1980; Vente 1979.

In Bruges the situation is completely different. Here many documents of the once very extensive medieval archives of Gheerkin's church, the Sint-Jacobskerk, have come down to us.<sup>20</sup> To begin with, we have all yearly accounts of the three church administrations: the church fabric (generally responsible for the building), the *Commuun* (generally responsible for the liturgy) and the *Dis* (generally responsible for the poor relief).<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, we have many original foundation charters or copies of them containing information about liturgy and music. Quite a few of these foundation charters were copied into the *Cartularium Communitatis* from the *Commuun*, a register called *Registrum Contractuum Communitatis*, and the *Register van de verbanden* from the *Dis*.<sup>22</sup> Important for information on the appointment and activities of the singers is a *Resolutieboek* (book of resolutions).<sup>23</sup> We also have two registers of graves, giving us information about memorial services.<sup>24</sup> And finally, there is an interesting register called *Planaris*, containing an overview day by day of the feasts and foundations for memorial services and poor relief.<sup>25</sup>

Besides the rich archives of the Sint-Jacobskerk, we also can draw information from many medieval sources of the city of Bruges.<sup>26</sup> Important for the present study are for example the city accounts, including the accounts of the *rentenier* (the city

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<sup>20</sup> For the archives of the Sint-Jacobskerk see: Rombauts 1986. There is a short supplement by Nuyttens 1999 (my sincere thanks go to Dr. Nuyttens for sending me this supplement). All documents are in the RAB, except for the church accounts of *Commuun* and *Dis* and a *Cartularium Communitatis* which are in the archives of the Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn in Bruges (OCMW-B; see below). Furthermore, a few documents are in the Stadsarchief Brugge (SAB, OA), but they were not important for this study (see Vandewalle 1979).

<sup>21</sup> The accounts of the church fabric are now in the Rijksarchief Brugge (RAB), Inv. no. 88, nos. 23-55 (1419-1797, with only a few lacunae). The accounts of the *Commuun* and *Dis* are kept in the archives of the OCMW-B. A preliminary inventory is available: De Duytsche 1955.

<sup>22</sup> Respectively in the OCMW-B and the RAB 88, nos. 237 and 888.

<sup>23</sup> RAB 88, no. 21.

<sup>24</sup> RAB 88, nos. 197 and 198.

<sup>25</sup> RAB 88, no. 158. As far as I can determine, the word *Planaris* seems to be typical for Bruges, since all major churches had one or more *Planarii* (see also Dewitte 1997b). The word *Planaris* is most likely derived from the Latin word *plenum*, meaning 'full moon'. Therefore the word *Planaris* might be translated as monthly (liturgical) survey. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Karl Enenkel from Universität Münster for this explanation. Van Dromme 1908, p. 393 translates the word as *stichtings- of jaargetijdenboek*, meaning 'foundation or memorial service book'.

<sup>26</sup> Available in the Stadsarchief Brugge (SAB, OA). For the inventory see Vandewalle 1979. Many series of documents have been made accessible since then through computer databases (search system Marcus, accessible in the Stadsarchief, not on the internet).

treasurer).<sup>27</sup> From these it became evident that the name De Hondt was very common in 15th- and 16th-century Bruges. Several other series of documents also frequently mention the name, including legal sources. Some of them are easily accessible, since they have a contemporary index by name. These sources have been used for this book.<sup>28</sup> Others remain to be studied.<sup>29</sup>

The richness of the Bruges archives has encouraged many people to write about the history of the city. A bookcase full of the beautifully published books and journals would deal with many different subjects. The first general study on the history of Bruges appeared in 1910; it was followed by several others.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, various monographs deal with aspects of Bruges's history, for example on Bruges and the Renaissance, Bruges and the Hanse and Bruges and Europe.<sup>31</sup> On the history of the church of Sint-Jacobs, several articles are significant for the scope of the present study.<sup>32</sup> With regard to music, four important books should be mentioned, namely the ones by George Karl Diehl, Reinhard Strohm, Pieter Andriessen and Nele Gabriëls.<sup>33</sup> For the Renaissance period (in particular the 16th century), the large number of articles by the pioneer Alfons Dewitte must be referred to specifically, since they made the musical history of Bruges more widely accessible and formed the basis for many musicologists throughout the world who wanted to study the life and music of singers and composers in Bruges. However, there is still much more information available than that published by Dewitte.

Similar to Bruges is the situation in 's-Hertogenbosch, where many contemporary sources invited scholars over the centuries to publish on the history of the city. Numerous large and thorough studies are available to give us an impression of

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<sup>27</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. nos. 216 and 219. As we shall see later, these two types of accounts were part of one account in the city of 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>28</sup> For example SAB, OA, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen ('amendments of the law'), search system Marcus; SAB, OA, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, books 1528-1534 and 1534-1541 n.s.; SAB, OA, Inv. no. 165, Civiele Sententiën Kamer, for the period 1532-1540; SAB, OA, Inv. no. 198, Klerken van de vierschaar, search system Marcus; SAB, OA, Inv. no. 208, Wezenoederen (orphans' goods), search system Marcus.

<sup>29</sup> For instance SAB, OA, Inv. no. 199 (Procuraties, onvolledige reeks) and Inv. nos. 204-205 (Wezerij Ferieboeken-Wezerij voogdijschappen).

<sup>30</sup> Duclos 1910; Van Houtte 1982; Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999; Ryckaert 1991; Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996; Jacobs 1997.

<sup>31</sup> Martens 1998; Vandewalle 2002a and Vandewalle 2002b; Vermeersch 1992.

<sup>32</sup> Hodüm 1954; Rotsaert 1962; Rotsaert 1977/1978/1979/1980; Rotsaert 1975; Declerck 1971.

<sup>33</sup> Diehl 1974, Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>, Andriessen 2002, Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>.

medieval life in the Brabant town. An inventory of the old city archives of 's-Hertogenbosch by Jozef Hoekx and Valentijn Paquay with its extensive descriptions of the documents including references to literature and a general overview of the history of the town and its documents is an excellent starting point for research.<sup>34</sup>

Already in the 16th century, the city clerks Petrus van Os and Willem Moel wrote a history of their town.<sup>35</sup> Many followed, among them an anonymous writer producing what we call today the chronicle of the Sint-Geertrui convent,<sup>36</sup> and Aelbertus Cuperinus, who gave valuable information on Gheerkin de Hondt.<sup>37</sup> In the year 2000 a general and very extensive city history up to 1629 was published by P.Th.J. Kuijer.<sup>38</sup>

Many monographs have seen the light during the decennia. The general history of art in 's-Hertogenbosch in the Middle Ages by Jos Koldewey is very valuable for those dealing with art history.<sup>39</sup> The most important subject of art, the church of Sint-Jan, has been the theme of many voluminous books, all equally beautiful in their times. The most recent one is by Harry Boekwijt, Ronald Glaudemans and Wim Hagemans, offering us fine-looking 3D-drawings of all the building phases of the church.<sup>40</sup> Extensive studies on several subjects are all very helpful in creating a view of 's-Hertogenbosch in the 16th century.<sup>41</sup> Very important for the scope of this book is the history of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap by Lucas van Dijck.<sup>42</sup> On the musical history of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Albert Smijers was the pioneer, beginning with a series of publications of the musical entries from the accounts in the *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* in 1932. He stopped his research with the account of 1540-41, which was then completed by Maarten Albert Vente, who published his – less

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<sup>34</sup> Hoekx/Paquay 2004.

<sup>35</sup> Editions provided for by Van Lith-Drooglever Fortuijn/Sanders/Van Synghel 1997; Hoekx/Hopstaken/Van Lith-Drooglever Fortuijn/Sanders 2003.

<sup>36</sup> Edition by Van Bavel/Kappelhof/Van der Velden/Verbeek 2001.

<sup>37</sup> See § 7.6. Edition by Hermans 1848. Since we have so many official contemporary sources (among them the city accounts and accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap) and secondary literature, the many and extensive chronicles that have been written about 's-Hertogenbosch have been left out here, except of course for the one by Cuperinus. On the chronicles in general: Van Oudheusden 1991.

<sup>38</sup> Kuijer 2000.

<sup>39</sup> Koldewey 1990b and Koldewey 1990c.

<sup>40</sup> Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010.

<sup>41</sup> Only to mention a few: Schuttelaars 1998; Jacobs 1986; Blondé 1987; Hanus 2010; Van Drunen 2006; Van den Heuvel 1946; Van de Meerendonk 1967; Nauwelaerts 1974.

<sup>42</sup> Van Dijck 1973.

extensive, more compact – results up to and including the year 1620 in the same *Tijdschrift* (in 1963). Because both founders of archival musicological research in the Netherlands left some blanks, I published a study on the (polyphonic) music history of the Broederschap between 1519 and 1568 in 2002.<sup>43</sup> In the same period, Ike de Loos studied the chant books of the Broederschap with a group of students at Utrecht University.<sup>44</sup> A new inventory of the archives of the Broederschap was provided by Jan Sanders in 2005.<sup>45</sup>

The source material in 's-Hertogenbosch is very rich if we look for city documents and accounts<sup>46</sup> and the archives of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. The extensive Bosch' Protocol (a wide-ranging series of legal documents, so-called *schepen protocollen*) has been omitted here, since it would take many months to read only the acts of the few years that Gheerkin de Hondt spent in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>47</sup> The medieval archives of the Sint-Jan church did not stand the test of time: only fragments of what was once an unquestionably rich archive have come down to us. Matters are complicated, because the available inventory is outdated and subject to a thorough update; therefore important documents may easily be overlooked until this new inventory is ready. A nice surprise are the archives of the Sacramentsbroederschap, containing information on their musical activities in the Sint-Jan. The situation of the episcopal archives is extremely sad: there is no inventory and the archives have been closed to the public since the summer of 2012.

In the case of 'Vrieslant' the first question to be answered is which area is meant by this term. Pieter Andriessen states that this was Vriesland near Rotterdam, because he assumes that Gheerkin's final destination was Bruges again.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, there was a small village near Rotterdam called Vriesland (the polder of Vriesland already existed around the year 1200), which had a church, but that actually belonged to the

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<sup>43</sup> Roelvink 2002.

<sup>44</sup> De Loos 2000c.

<sup>45</sup> Accessible on the internet: <http://www.bhic.nl> (Toegangsnummer 1232), click Archieven en boeken; search Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. For Roelvink 2002 I used the old inventory by Van der Does de Bijle 1874. A concordance is given in the inventory by Jan Sanders.

<sup>46</sup> Complete from 1496 onwards, partly published by Van Zuijlen 1861. On the subject: Jacobs 1986, pp. 168-182; Van Synghel 2007, pp. 117-124.

<sup>47</sup> The general 18th-century index of names – not reliable – has been checked, but did not give any information on Gheerkin de Hondt. On the subject: Van Synghel 1993.

<sup>48</sup> Andriessen 2002, p. 268. Besides the fact that Gheerkin's return to Bruges is no argument for 'Vrieslant' being the village close to Rotterdam, the assumption that Gheerkin returned to Bruges at all will turn out to be wrong, see § 5.2.

nearby village of Hekelingen, which was situated just across the dike. The church was demolished shortly after 1850.<sup>49</sup> None of the archives of the church have survived, so we cannot reconstruct if this church was a (chapter) church where professional singers worked.<sup>50</sup> Although we do have to bear in mind that it is possible that Gheerkin left for Vriesland near Rotterdam, it is more likely, however, that the accounts of the Broederschap refer to the region of what is today called the Province of Friesland.<sup>51</sup> For this book I therefore assume that Gheerkin de Hondt chose that area to work in when he left 's-Hertogenbosch.

In the Frisian archives of today, the situation is very poor. The records of the towns and villages have been spread all over the province and even beyond.<sup>52</sup> Many church archives were destroyed after the Frisians permanently turned to Protestantism in 1580. The situation with the general archives of the towns and villages is not much better.<sup>53</sup> Because it is a mystery where exactly Gheerkin de Hondt worked in 'Vriesland' the main goal of my research for this area was to get a general overview of where a highly-trained professional like Gheerkin might have

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<sup>49</sup> Today, both Hekelingen and Vriesland are districts of the town of Spijkenisse. Information taken from a brochure of the municipality of Spijkenisse: Van Trierum 2008, pp. 12-13 (including maps).

<sup>50</sup> Kind notification of Mrs. E. Lassing-van Gameren of the Streekarchief Voorne-Putten en Rozenburg (23-08-2011). There is also no archival material of this church left in the archives of the dioceses of Utrecht (now at Het Utrechts Archief, see <http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl>) and Haarlem-Amsterdam (kind notification of Mr. Floor Twisk, archivist of the diocese; see also Verhoofstad 1959).

<sup>51</sup> In the 16th century spelled as 'Vrieslandt' or 'Vrieslant'. If 'Vrieslandt/Vrieslandt' was mentioned in the accounts of the Broederschap, always the area Friesland in the upper north of the Low Countries is meant. In the Gheerkin de Hondt period 'Vrieslandt' is described in the so-called *Beneficialboeken* of 1543, as containing the districts of Oostergo, Westergo and Zevenwouden (see § 8.1). The books were published in 1850 by Van Leeuwen. The originals are in the Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum Tresoar in Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer 14, Hof van Friesland, Inv. nr. 86 (Oostergo), 87 (Westergo) and 88 (Zevenwouden), see <http://www.tresoar.nl>. A map of 'Vrieslandt' was published in Kalma/Spahr van der Hoek/De Vries 1980<sup>2</sup>, pp. 172-173. These areas correspond to the current province of Friesland (officially called Fryslân). See also the map in AGN, volume 5, p. 314.

<sup>52</sup> The inventories of the most important archives for this book were accessible through one of the following websites: <http://www.tresoar.nl>; <http://www.gemeentearchief.nl> (Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden); <http://www.friesarchiefnet.nl>. Quite a few inventories have been made accessible in print in the 20th century, for example for the cities of Franeker and Franekeradeel (Obreen 1974), Sneek (Keikes 1955), Bolsward (Keikes 1952), and Harlingen (Obreen 1968).

<sup>53</sup> That medieval Frisian sources are rare is also stated by Verhoeven 1994, p. 13.



found convenient conditions in this region. Therefore, a detailed study of local, social and cultural history as has been made for Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch has not been done for Friesland. Instead an overview will be given of where singers of Gheerkin's calibre were singing the seven canonical hours, and – more important – where they sang polyphony. The basis for this survey was provided by the book by Auke Hendrik Vlagsma on the Frisian organs.<sup>54</sup> Vlagsma's research shows that from the period around 1547, the accounts of only one of the many churches in the district have been kept, namely those of the church of Bozum.<sup>55</sup>

As in Delft, the poverty of the sources has restricted writing about the history of medieval 'Vrieslant', although the Middle Ages and different (religious) aspects of the Frisian history around 1550 have been represented in several books<sup>56</sup> and a number of articles.<sup>57</sup>

Part I of this book is the biographical part. Chapter 1 sketches an overview of the situation in the Low Countries in the first half of the 16th century, mainly concerning the musical tradition. The origins, political situation, daily life, social circumstances, religion and music in the cities where Gheerkin de Hondt worked are the themes of Chapters 2, 4, 6 and 8. Chapters 3, 5 and 7 deal with Gheerkin's employment: what do we know about his appointment, his colleagues, the tasks he had to fulfill and the music he had at his disposal? Chapter 9 tries to place Gheerkin in his surroundings: what was his social-economic status as *zangmeester* and composer?

In Part II the musical context of Gheerkin's works is the essential subject: which compositions have come down to us, in what sources do they occur, and what do these sources tell us about the distribution of his music? First, the list of works currently known are given (Chapter 10), followed by a description of the sources of

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<sup>54</sup> Vlagsma 2003.

<sup>55</sup> Now kept in the Regionaal Historisch Centrum Groninger Archieven, Toegangnummer 622, Borg Lulema 1400-1900, Inv. no. 68, Rekening kerk Bozum 1515-1556. I have consulted the above mentioned inventories and asked several archivists if there were any other church accounts from the period around 1547, but as far as we know now, none have survived. I am grateful to Mrs. Marga ten Hoeve (Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden), Mr. Otto Kuipers and T. Busstra (Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum Tresoar), Mr. Robyn Steensma (Fries Archief Net) and Mr. Wietze Ypma (Stichting Archief- en Documentatiecentrum voor r.k. Friesland) for their help in this matter.

<sup>56</sup> Kalma/Spahr van der Hoek/De Vries (eds.) 1980<sup>2</sup>; Verhoeven/Mol 1994; Mol 1994; Spaans 1997; Breuker/Janse 1997; Faber 1972; Woltjer 1962; Kunst 1999; Schroor 2011; Hallema 1931.

<sup>57</sup> Vlagsma 1996; Theissen 1913; Teltling 1856; Hallema 1953b; Faber 1972.

Gheerkin's compositions (Chapter 11). Then a small discussion of the authenticity problem is presented (Chapter 12). Finally, the music itself is discussed (Chapters 13-15). Models, settings by other composers and Gheerkin's use of text are the central themes. How he is influenced by other composers is traced, in relation to his biography. A complete edition of Gheerkin's works is in preparation. It is explicitly not the purpose of this study to provide a detailed musical theoretical analysis of Gheerkin's work. I would gladly invite other scholars to pick up that gauntlet.



# Part I



# Biography



# Chapter 1      **The musical tradition in the Low Countries in the first half of the 16th century**

## 1.1      **The secular and ecclesiastical organisation of the Low Countries**

In 1543 Emperor Charles V added the duchy of Guelders to his realm.<sup>58</sup> It was the end of a long period in which the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty had slowly expanded.<sup>59</sup> 'The Low Countries by the Sea' finally came together under one ruler, although not for long.<sup>60</sup> Charles's empire was large, and therefore in 1518 he delegated the daily government of the Low Countries to his aunt Margaret of Austria, who was Governess until she died in 1530.<sup>61</sup> In 1531 Charles's sister Mary of Hungary took over the government until 1555, when she retired together with him. Just like her aunt Margaret, Mary would stimulate the arts in the Low Countries in a very strong way.<sup>62</sup>

The period between 1492 and 1530 was a relatively peaceful one in the Low Countries.<sup>63</sup> The economy flourished, manifesting itself among others in the art sector. But from around 1520 until 1559 the Burgundian-Habsburg state almost

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<sup>58</sup> Blockmans/Prevenier 1997, p. 253. As we shall see, 's-Hertogenbosch suffered intensively from this war (§ 6.8).

<sup>59</sup> On the history of the Burgundian-Habsburg realm, especially on the Low Countries: Blockmans/Prevenier 1997 (an English edition of this book is available: Blockmans/Prevenier 1999) and Blockmans 2010.

<sup>60</sup> A map of the Low Countries in 1543 (situation lasting until 1579) is in AGN, volume 5, p. 314; in this volume, the annexation of Tournai and the northern Low Countries (Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe, Overijssel and Utrecht) in the first half of the 16th century are described (pp. 492-505).

<sup>61</sup> Margaret was already governess from 1506 to 1515 at the request of Charles's grandfather Maximilian, on behalf of Charles, who was still a minor (Blockmans/Prevenier 1997, pp. 234-235).

<sup>62</sup> Koldeweij 1993.

<sup>63</sup> Blockmans/Prevenier 1997, p. 236.

continuously was in war with France, which weakened both realms. As a consequence, the cities seized their opportunities and slowly became more and more autonomous.<sup>64</sup>

The political, secular power in the Low Countries was interwoven with the ecclesiastical authority. Charles V had a large share in the appointment of clerics in high (and less high) places.<sup>65</sup> The clergy was numerous in medieval Europe, and not all of them functioned or behaved well within a system that became under more and more pressure. The many clerical abuses at all levels grew in the 16th century to the point where new forms of religion were initiated by men like Martin Luther, John Calvin and Menno Simons. The religious troubles led to the iconoclastic fury of 1566, but it would be until the last decades of the 16th century when Protestantism became the dominant faith in the northern Low Countries.<sup>66</sup>

The Catholic Church took measures to change her structures. Also as a result of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), Charles V prepared a redivision of the dioceses in the Low Countries. This resulted in 1559 in the subdivision of the six dioceses (Utrecht, Liège, Cambrai, Tournai, Arras and Thérouanne) into a total of nineteen bishoprics (the existing ones remained, to which among others 's-Hertogenbosch, Bruges, Ieper, Mechelen, Haarlem, Leeuwarden and Groningen were added). The dioceses of Mechelen, Utrecht and Cambrai were the new archbishoprics; Liège (diminished) remained under the direction of Cologne.<sup>67</sup>

Until 1559 the Flemish/Dutch speaking districts of the Low Countries only had one cathedral (the Utrecht Dom). Every town and even many small villages in the 16th-century Low Countries had their own church. In larger communities there were often more churches, one of which was usually a collegiate church.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, there were separate chapels (founded by guilds, brotherhoods or rich citizens) and convent churches.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Blockmans/Prevenier 1997, p. 256. In the next chapters, the history of the towns where Gheerkin de Hondt worked – Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch – will be briefly sketched, all with their own circumstances.

<sup>65</sup> Blockmans/Prevenier 1997, pp. 243-245. For example bishops, but also benefices and prebends for singers. On the assignment of prebends in Flemish chapter churches: Wouters 1998, pp. 16-17.

<sup>66</sup> The southern 's-Hertogenbosch came under Protestant rule in 1629.

<sup>67</sup> Selderhuis 2006, pp. 268-272, including maps of the situation before and in 1559.

<sup>68</sup> An overview of the chapter churches in the separate area's is given in Post 1954, pp. 366-368 and Bouckaert/Schreurs 1998, p. 11. For Flanders specifically: Wouters 1998, pp. 15-16.

<sup>69</sup> These two types of churches will be left out here, since professional musicians (singing polyphony) only incidentally performed here, at special requests.

Collegiate churches – also called chapter churches – were ruled by canons,<sup>70</sup> singing the Divine Office and a High Mass every day. There were about twelve to thirty canons in each church, receiving a prebend, but not always residing.<sup>71</sup> The canonical hours were also (even originally) celebrated in convents. In both cases city dwellers had no part in this liturgy; they had their own parish churches, although in some cases a collegiate church also functioned as parish church.<sup>72</sup> However, in the cases where the church had a double function, the official canonical liturgy was performed behind a screen (often a rood screen), only accessible to the canons.

The Divine Office originally consisted of eight hours: Matins (after midnight), Lauds (at dawn), Prime (6 a.m.), Terce (9 a.m.), Sext (midday), None (3 p.m.), Vespers (at sunset) and Compline (before retiring). An important part of the Office was singing the 150 Psalms every week, but also other canticles, both in combination with antiphons, responsories and hymns.<sup>73</sup> Soon, the Matins and Lauds were combined, and hence the eight canonical hours were in fact seven, corresponding to the symbolism of the divine number seven.<sup>74</sup> The daily High Mass was usually celebrated between Terce and Sext (therefore between 9 and 12 a.m.).<sup>75</sup>

In the 15th century, more and more parishioners wanted to celebrate the canonical hours in their own churches. Individuals made foundations for celebrating the Divine Office and from then on the so-called *getijdencolleges* developed, as a kind of surrogate chapters.<sup>76</sup> First, the Divine Office was only sung on special days, like Christmas, but soon foundations made it possible to sing them all year long. Originally a group of priests was responsible for singing the Divine Office, mainly in Gregorian chant and often (at least for parts of the Office) accompanied by

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<sup>70</sup> On canons in Flemish chapter churches: Wouters 1998, pp. 16-19.

<sup>71</sup> It was not unusual that canons often had prebends in other churches where they were appointed canon too; they then appointed a replacement (a *vicaris*) to whom they paid a portion of their income from the prebend (Wouters 1998, pp. 18-19).

Bouckaert/Schreurs 1998, p. 11, mention twelve to twenty-four canons, but as we shall see, 's-Hertogenbosch had thirty. Wouters 1998, p. 18 mentions thirty in Sint-Donaas in Bruges and even forty-one in Sint-Servatius in Maastricht.

<sup>72</sup> For example – as we shall see – in the case of the 's-Hertogenbosch Sint-Jan.

<sup>73</sup> Roche/Lingas, ('Office'); Korteweg 1983, pp. 9-10, 21, 25, 30.

<sup>74</sup> Jas 1997, pp. 5-6. The eldest known charter of a college of the seven canonical hours dates from 1424 (Bruges), see § 4.6.

<sup>75</sup> Korteweg 1983, p. 10.

<sup>76</sup> On the origin and development of the colleges of the Divine Office: Post 1954, pp. 368-383; Jas 1997, pp. 2-29; Selderhuis 2006, p. 88; Nolet/Broeren 1951, pp. 243-247; Declerck 1971. Jas describes specific colleges of the northern Low Countries.



schoolboys. But by the end of the 15th century, professional (non-priestly) singers were hired and polyphony slowly took on an important place in this type of liturgy.<sup>77</sup>

## 1.2 Liturgy

Singing the Divine Office and a High Mass every day was the basis for the liturgy in collegiate churches and churches with a *zeven-getijdencollege*.<sup>78</sup> But shortly after the foundation of these *colleges*, the liturgy was extended with other Masses, feasts, feasts of saints, processions, *Lof* services, personal foundations, Requiem and memorial services and services related to other 'inhabitants' of churches like brotherhoods and guilds.

The Mass consisted of two parts: the Mass Ordinary and the Mass Proper.<sup>79</sup> The Ordinary contains five parts – Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei – used in every Mass and bearing the same text every time. It was this cycle of Mass items that developed from the 14th century onwards into the polyphonic Mass Ordinary. The texts of the Mass Proper are different in every Mass, typical for the day of the year (for example a feast). These Proper texts were sometimes also set to polyphonic music, but since they could not be used in every Mass and sometimes even only once a year, they were less popular for composers. The chants of both the Ordinary and the Proper differed widely from diocese to diocese, also because of the difference in local saints' days. Consistency was enforced by the Council of Trent with the Roman Order of the Mass; a new missal appeared only in 1570. Still, local differences in feasts of saints were allowed, although considerably less than before the reform.

A special category is that of the votive Masses, Masses that were not part of the official liturgical year, but were celebrated for a special intention. Examples are Masses of the Holy Cross, the Holy Sacrament, the Virgin Mary, patron saints, and Masses for special occasions like the conquest of Emperor Charles V, peace or a disease like the plague.<sup>80</sup> The Requiem Mass (often called the *Missa pro fidelibus*

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<sup>77</sup> See below under Singers and Musicians and see the chapters on Delft and Bruges for specific examples.

<sup>78</sup> On the different manuscripts used for these services: Hughes 2004 and Korteweg 1983.

<sup>79</sup> This paragraph is based on McKinnon ('Mass').

<sup>80</sup> Hagg 1988, pp. 383-384.

*defunctis*) also is a votive Mass, sung at funerals, but also during memorial services.<sup>81</sup> A standard version of the Requiem Mass – like the polyphonic Mass Ordinary – was only developed after the Council of Trent.<sup>82</sup>

The medieval liturgical calendar counted many feasts: fixed feasts (for example Christmas), movable feasts (Easter and the cycle linked to it) and feasts of saints (for example St John the Evangelist or St Donatian). On the high feast days the labourers were not allowed to work and people had to attend Mass.<sup>83</sup> The number of feast days and the importance of the same feasts differed from diocese to diocese, but on average, there were about seventy days a year.<sup>84</sup> On some of these days so-called mystery plays were performed: for example on Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday and Easter.<sup>85</sup> Mystery plays were also presented during processions. Processions were held in or outside the church. Every medieval town had at least one big yearly procession, organised by the government of the town and the church(es) together and often combined with an annual fair.<sup>86</sup> These processions attracted many people from the entire region.

The liturgy in churches was often given extra lustre by foundations made by (rich) parishioners. In many church archives we find fine examples of foundations for the seven canonical hours or other feasts (in the early existence of a *zeven-getijdencollege*), but also (in a later stage) for extra pomp on feasts that were already celebrated.<sup>87</sup> It was no exception that different people made foundations for the same liturgical event. Sometimes even private chapels with personal altars were furnished in a church, at which daily Masses were read and sometimes even sung in polyphony. Important in the category of personal foundations are the memorial services, which could come in many varieties, differing from region to region, but also from church to church; even within one church it was possible to put together one's own service: with or without bell tolling, (polyphonic) music, extra psalms, et

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<sup>81</sup> Death, life after death and remembrance were important issues in the Middle Ages. In this thesis only the musical features will be considered. For other aspects see, for example, Van Bueren 1999, Van Bueren 2005 and Ariès 2003.

<sup>82</sup> Bergé/Christiaens 2011, p. 54. See there on the history of the Requiem Mass in general. Also: Fitch ('Requiem Mass').

<sup>83</sup> Post 1954, p. 389.

<sup>84</sup> In chapters 3, 5 and 7 calendars with feast days will be given for Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>85</sup> Post 1954, pp. 391-392. As we shall see, we find examples of mystery plays in all cities where Gheerkin de Hondt worked.

<sup>86</sup> Post 1954, pp. 393-396.

<sup>87</sup> The archives of the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges contain many foundation charters in which, for example, extra candles or bell ringing were ordered, and even polyphonic music was specifically mentioned.

cetera.<sup>88</sup> Remarkable is that other major personal events in Christian life, like weddings and baptisms, seem to have been much less or even not at all important.<sup>89</sup>

Besides the individual foundations, there were groups of people who had their own altar or even chapel in a church, where they had Mass celebrated regularly: the guilds and brotherhoods. Guilds were very characteristic for medieval towns; they united craftsmen of the same profession, but sometimes also craftsmen of different lines of work. The regulation of the workflow was their most important purpose. Every guild of craftsmen had its own patron, a saint connected to the craft, who was honoured by celebrating his feast(s) every year. Furthermore, the deceased members were remembered once or more times a year.<sup>90</sup> Contrary to the guilds, brotherhoods solely had a religious goal. A brotherhood or confraternity honoured, for example, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Holy Sacrament, the Holy Blood, or a saint, or prayed for the faithful souls in purgatory.<sup>91</sup> A brotherhood celebrated services every week, sometimes even every day. Here too, deceased members were remembered on special days.

A devotional service that was popular among brotherhoods was the so-called *Lof service*.<sup>92</sup> This service probably originated in a solemn series of songs of praise in honour of the Blessed Virgin, sung after Vespers. Later on, the number of hymns was extended and a separate service created.<sup>93</sup> Other types of *Lof services* came into being, for example in honour of the Holy Cross, the Holy Sacrament or a saint.<sup>94</sup>

To coordinate all these activities in one building, there were several church organisations, in larger churches usually three. First, there was the church fabric, responsible for the building (especially the building activities) and the interior, including for example the organ. Another organisation was in charge of the liturgy, for example the *zeven-getijdencollege* (in Bruges called *Commuun*<sup>95</sup>), under which

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<sup>88</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 5 on Bruges (§ 5.5.4) and Chapter 6 on 's-Hertogenbosch (§ 6.3.2).

<sup>89</sup> There are no references to these occasions in the accounts of the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges, nor in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>90</sup> Post 1954, pp. 383-384; Blockmans/Prevenier 1997, pp. 245-246; Van Bueren 1999, pp. 57, 59-60.

<sup>91</sup> Post 1954, pp. 384-386.

<sup>92</sup> There is no proper English translation for this word, since *Lauds* or *Salve* could also refer to other services.

<sup>93</sup> Post 1954, pp. 381-382.

<sup>94</sup> Hagg 1988, pp. 397-421.

<sup>95</sup> Probably derived from *communitas chori*, the choir of priests singing the Divine Office.

the group of singers fell.<sup>96</sup> Finally there was a group of men taking care of poor relief, called *armen Tafel*, *Tafel van de Heilige Geest* or *Dis*. In some churches there was a separate organisation for the memorial services.<sup>97</sup> The administrators were mostly men coming from the higher social echelon of the community, and they did not have to be priests.

Of course, there were many clergy working in the churches, according to a system that was common in most of the churches, with slight differences.<sup>98</sup> First, there was a parish priest, who was not always actually in residence, and therefore had substitutes, called, for example, *(vice)cureiten* or *vicarii*. Then there were several *cappellani* (chaplains), responsible for services at special altars, but never the high altar; they did not have any obligation of spiritual care. Furthermore, every church had a sexton; some brotherhoods even had their own. Another important position was that of the schoolmaster, taking care of the education of boys, who were obliged to sing during the liturgy. By the end of the Middle Ages, we see that tasks originally fulfilled within a church were taken over by local city governments, for example education and poor relief.<sup>99</sup>

### 1.3 Music, especially polyphony

The collegiate churches and the parish churches with *zeven-getijdencolleges* became the centres of the development of polyphony in the Low Countries.<sup>100</sup> In towns like Cambrai, Brussels, Bruges, Antwerp, Ghent, Leiden and 's-Hertogenbosch music played an important role in the everyday liturgy celebrated in houses of worship. Daily liturgy was also celebrated with professional singers at princely courts, for example that of Emperor Charles V. The rich archives of these institutions tell us about the highly trained singers and musicians performing music on a day-to-day basis.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> In many church accounts, the organist is paid by the church fabric, probably because the organ was the responsibility of the church masters.

<sup>97</sup> Nolet/Boeren 1951, pp. 337, 346-349.

<sup>98</sup> Nolet/Boeren 1951, pp. 333-346; Kuys 2004.

<sup>99</sup> This will be demonstrated in the chapters on the churches in Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>100</sup> Bouckaert/Schreurs 1998, p. 10.

<sup>101</sup> Many publications on music in various cities have seen the light. To name a few: Wright 1978 (Cambrai); Haggh 1988 (Brussels); Dewitte 1962, 1967, 1970, 1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1974, 1977, 1979, 1985, 1991, 1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1998b (Bruges); Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>

During Gheerkin's lifetime, there were roughly three main musical genres in the Low Countries, all three of them set by Gheerkin the composer: Mass, motet and chanson.<sup>102</sup> The first two belonged to the category of ecclesiastical music, the third to the secular type.

The polyphonic Mass Ordinary was the most popular and widespread genre. The unity between the five standard parts of this Mass was often formed by using pre-existing musical models of which (parts of) the material returned in every piece. Models could be chant melodies or complete polyphonic compositions like motets and chansons, in which case the Mass is called a parody Mass. If an existing melody (chant or monophonic chanson) is used in long note values in one of the voices (usually the tenor), the Mass is called a cantus firmus Mass; if the melody is used in different, smaller note values it is called a cantus prius factus Mass.<sup>103</sup> Masses were often named after their model, for example a *Missa L'homme armé* (after the famous chanson model *L'homme armé*) or a *Missa Alma Redemptoris Mater* (after the Marian antiphon *Alma Redemptoris Mater*), or after the feast they were written for, like the *Missa de Sancta Maria Magdalena* (for the feast of St Mary Magdalene). It was not unusual, however, for a Mass to have more than one name, depending on the scribe who had copied it or the occasion for which it was intended.<sup>104</sup> The fact that sacred Masses were based on secular chansons, sometimes even with rude texts, seems to derive from the 15th-century courtly environments in which the Virgin Mary was the model for ladies at the court (Mary as the Queen of the heavenly

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(Bruges); Andriessen 2002 (Bruges); Van den Nieuwenhuizen 1978 (Antwerp); Persoons 1978 (Antwerp); Forney 1987 (Antwerp); Wegman 1989 (Bergen op Zoom); Jas 1997 (Leiden); Bouckaert 2000c (Ghent); Roelvink 2002 ('s-Hertogenbosch); Bouwstenen (several cities); Wegman 1996 (several cities); Hagg/Daelemans/Vanrie 1994 (several cities).

<sup>102</sup> In those days, instrumental music had not yet developed in the independent form we know from later ages. Since we do not know any instrumental pieces by Gheerkin and he was above all a singer, instrumental music is not considered here. On the subject: Elders 1985, pp. 104-112, Polk 2005 (late 15th century up to 1575), Polk 1968 (especially the 15th century) and Polk 2008 (especially Bruges).

<sup>103</sup> On the terminology: Elders 1985, especially pp. 26-31, 45-46, 177 and <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

<sup>104</sup> Meconi 2004. Jas 1999, p. 32 gives the beautiful example of a Mass by Josquin des Prez, which was originally composed for Ercole I d'Este and named *Missa Hercules dux Ferrarie*; when it was written into a manuscript intended for Philip the Fair and Juana of Spain, it was 'renamed' *Missa Philippus rex Castilie*; the same Mass also appears as *Missa Fridericus dux Saxsonie* in a choirbook copied for Frederick the Wise of Saxony.

court). Sometimes, however, Masses based on naughty chansons were not accepted.<sup>105</sup>

By the early 16th century, the motet had become a very popular genre. The motet is a polyphonic composition with a sacred Latin text. Polyphonic psalms and sometimes hymns, for example, are usually gathered under the musical denominator motet. A 16th-century motet usually consisted of two parts: a Prima Pars and a Secunda Pars, but sometimes there was only one part (for example Gheerkin's *Benedicite Dominus*). Motets could be used in church (during the Divine Office, Mass, and memorial and *Lof* services), but also outside the church, for example during processions.<sup>106</sup>

Together with the motet, the 16th-century French chanson had developed into a popular genre in which well-known poetry, for example by Jean and Clément Marot and poetry from text books like *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, *Le Manuscrit Bayeux* and *La Fleur des Chansons* was set to polyphonic music.<sup>107</sup> Far less popular was the Dutch/Flemish equivalent: the lied or song. Not many Dutch songs have stood the test of time, also because of the fact that the great composers from the Low Countries around 1500 were not highly interested in the genre.<sup>108</sup> Both the chanson and the Dutch lied had a wide variety of subjects: love was of course an important theme, but also sacred topics were used, for example Psalm translations, and everything in between.

In 16th-century churches polyphonic music was sung on many occasions. Originally, the Divine Office in the collegiate churches was sung in Gregorian chant. But in the course of time polyphony entered the liturgy, together with professional singers. In the collegiate churches this group often had its place on the rood loft.<sup>109</sup> However, it is not that easy to determine when exactly which polyphony was sung. Since the professional singers were listed in the archival sources with different voice-types, one would expect that polyphony was sung on every day they had to perform. But this can only incidentally be confirmed from the same archival sources. Vague terms like 'solemneel' (solemn), 'singen' (to sing) and 'decantare' are sometimes to

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<sup>105</sup> Bloxam 2004.

<sup>106</sup> On the development of the motet: Elders 1985, pp. 22-25 and <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> ('Motet').

<sup>107</sup> On the general history of the chanson: Brown/Fallows/Freedman ('Chanson').

<sup>108</sup> An extensive study on the history of the polyphonic Dutch song in the 15th and 16th century is Bonda 1996. Dutch songs from the Middle Ages until the present time can be found online: <http://www.liederenbank.nl>.

<sup>109</sup> Wouters 1998, pp. 20-21; Bouckaert/Schreurs 1998, pp. 11-18.

be interpreted in more than one way, certainly before the 16th century.<sup>110</sup> The question if and when polyphony was sung during the Divine Office is even harder to answer, but as the most important parts, Compline and especially Vespers were the favourite services to adorn with polyphony.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, the terms ‘in discante’ and ‘in musycke’ usually mean that polyphony was sung,<sup>112</sup> and ‘simpelen sanck’ normally refers to chant. Based on the repertoire that has come down to us,<sup>113</sup> it would be safe to conclude that polyphony had entered the liturgy of Mass and Divine Office during Gheerkin’s career as singer/composer, although how much polyphony was sung and when could be different in every church.

We can be sure that polyphonic music sounded on special days, like feasts. In calendars of churches in the Low Countries, feasts are given different ranks. In general the distinction was made between simplex, duplex and triplex, but we also find divisions into semi-duplex, duplex and totum duplex (or magnum duplex), depending on the church.<sup>114</sup> The rank determined many aspects of a feast: the robes that had to be worn, the candles that had to be lit, the number of bells to be rung, the decoration of the church, but also the kind of music: chant or polyphony, or a combination of both.<sup>115</sup> For some churches statutes have come down to us with information on how we have to interpret the ranks.<sup>116</sup> In other cases we know from accounts when polyphony was sung, for example for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in ’s-Hertogenbosch, where a polyphonic Mass was sung every week on Wednesday. The collection of choirbooks of the same Broederschap shows us that also during the Vespers (celebrated every week on Tuesday and on special feasts) polyphony sounded.<sup>117</sup> In general we may assume that feasts of at least the duplex rank were adorned with polyphony.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Haggh 1988, pp. 98-100.

<sup>111</sup> Jas 1997, pp. 118-132.

<sup>112</sup> See also Wright 1978, p. 298.

<sup>113</sup> In the Netherlands today only two (incomplete) collections have been preserved: the Leiden choirbooks (Jas 1997) and the ’s-Hertogenbosch choirbooks (Roelvink 2002).

<sup>114</sup> More different names in: Grotefeld 1970, Band 1, ‘Festgrad’; also available online: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/gaeste/grotefeld/grotefeld.htm> (accessed May 2013).

<sup>115</sup> Bouckaert/Schreurs 1998, p. 36.

<sup>116</sup> For example for Brussels (Haggh 1988, from p. 257 onwards).

<sup>117</sup> See Chapters 6 and 7. The polyphony for the Vespers that has come down to us was especially for feasts that were celebrated by the Broederschap, but there is also a group of Magnificat settings in this collection.

<sup>118</sup> An assumption made by Wright 1978, p. 298, which will be confirmed by the collection of music of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in ’s-Hertogenbosch (see § 7.5).

On feast days paraliturgical events like processions and mystery plays also took place. On both occasions polyphony was sung.<sup>119</sup> The so-called *Lof* services that were often held on a daily or at least weekly basis were the liturgical moments for polyphony par excellence.<sup>120</sup> If polyphony sounded during funerals and memorial services, seems to have depended on the church: in some churches polyphonic Requiem and memorial services were allowed, in others they were not appropriate. Furthermore, the compilation of the service could strongly differ, even at the social level of the deceased.<sup>121</sup>

Sixteenth-century polyphony was usually written down in two formats: a choirbook or a series of partbooks. In the large choirbooks all the voices that sounded together were notated on two facing pages, such that if the book was open, all the singers could read their own part, every part forming a separate unit on the page. All voices ended at the same time, and if more space were required, signs were given on how to continue (like the word *verte* (turn) or a symbol which reappeared on the same or the next page). In the much smaller partbooks, the separate voice units were written in different books, each book containing one voice.<sup>122</sup> Both choirbooks and partbooks were written in luxurious fashion on parchment, but there were also much cheaper paper books (for daily use).

With the rise of printing in general, publishers started to print music. Officially, the first polyphonic music print dates from 1501 and is a series of partbooks by the Venetian printer Ottaviano Petrucci.<sup>123</sup> Many printers would follow in his footsteps, printing mainly partbooks, but also large choirbooks. It would, however, take a long time for the printed books to displace manuscripts and in Gheerkin's time they existed side by side.

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<sup>119</sup> A beautiful example will be given in the chapter on Bruges (§ 5.5.3.4).

<sup>120</sup> Examples will be given in Chapter 6.

<sup>121</sup> Wright 1978, p. 303 states that polyphonic Requiem Masses were performed in the cathedral of Cambrai, but that the tradition of the monophonic Requiem was also continued well into the 16th century. See also the discussion in Haggh 1988, pp. 338-348, 355. In the chapters on Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch the local customs in the churches where Gheerkin de Hondt worked will be considered.

<sup>122</sup> In some cases two voices were written down in one book, for example when a composition had five voices instead of the four of the majority of the compositions. Then – like in a choirbook – two of the voices were on two facing pages in one book, in a way that they could be sung at the same time.

<sup>123</sup> Boorman ('Printing and publishing of music, §I: Printing').



## 1.4 Singers and musicians

The singers and musicians working in churches and at courts were highly trained professionals. They were paid by church and court administrations, but were also hired by private institutions and persons, for example guilds, brotherhoods and rich men and women, mostly active in the churches. Each ensemble consisted of a leader, several adult singers, choirboys, an organist and sometimes instrumentalists.<sup>124</sup> These instrumentalists were usually players of wind instruments. Their availability and especially the quality of their performances were most of the time the factor determining if they were part of the group. The number of singers could vary from church to church (or court to court), also because of availability, but mainly depending on the financial situation of the employer.

Originally (already around the year 1000), the seven canonical hours in the collegiate churches were sung in Gregorian chant, led by one of the canons who was appointed *cantor*. In the course of time, polyphony entered the liturgy and at the same time professional singers entered the choir, almost always priests. They were more than welcome, since not all canons actually resided in their church and had good voices. The next step was to delegate the musical tasks of the cantor to one of these professional singers, the function of cantor becoming a more ceremonial one. Hence the position of *zangmeester* (also called *sub-cantor*, *magister cantus*, *maitre de chant*, *succentor* or *coraelmeester*) came into being, the most important musical function in a collegiate church. The *zangmeester* had the musical supervision of the group of singers, being one of the singers himself. He also became co-responsible for choosing the music – was often a composer himself – and selecting new singers and musicians, and undertaking the training of the choirboys. In the 16th century, many *zangmeesters* and singers were no longer priests.<sup>125</sup> They formed a separate group during the singing of the Divine Office, singing both chant (often solo's) and polyphony; in collegiate churches their place was often on the rood loft.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Haggh 1988, pp. 139-225.

<sup>125</sup> Like other *zangmeesters*, Gheerkin de Hondt was frequently called *Meester*, which is probably a reference to *zangmeester* and not the the title of *Meester* obtained at a university (see also Wegman 1996, p. xxv). If Gheerkin indeed had studied at a university, Leuven would have been the most logical choice in the Low Countries. The list of names of students of this university does not contain Gheerkin's name (Schillings 1962).

<sup>126</sup> Haggh 1988, pp. 139-225; Bouckaert/Schreurs 1998, pp. 11-18, 32-33; Wouters 1998, pp. 20-21.

Gheerkin de Hondt only worked in one collegiate church, namely that of Sint-Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch. During his stay there, this chapter still had its own *cantorie* (choir),<sup>127</sup> which was founded on 2 September 1425 by the testament of Albertus Buck (executed by his nephew Arnoldus Buck)<sup>128</sup> as a *simplex beneficium*, a benefice without the obligation of spiritual care. In the foundation act it was determined that the best singer among the canons would act as cantor. This man also had to be a subdeacon, or had to be able to become one within a year. The cantor would lead the singing of the seven canonical hours, standing before a lectern, together with his fellow canons. The last 's-Hertogenbosch cantor left town in 1629.<sup>129</sup> Since the professional singers entered the 's-Hertogenbosch Sint-Jan already in the 14th century,<sup>130</sup> parallel to other churches in the Low Countries, the cantor of the chapter was indeed more a kind of honorary position than a real musical one and the professional singers probably joined the canons singing the Divine Office from their place on the rood loft.

The group of professional singers – also called the *sangeren vander musycke*, *ghezellen vander muzycke* or *discanters* – contained different voice-types. The naming of these voices varies from institution to institution; in the accounts sometimes several names like *hoogconter* and *hoogtenor* indicate the same voice. In general, there were three main types: alto, tenor and bass.<sup>131</sup> The voice-type of the *zangmeester* was normally not indicated, but scholars assume he usually took the tenor part, since that part was the most structural line in a polyphonic composition; it often contained the cantus firmus and the (simple) long notes made it possible to sing and direct the choir at the same time.<sup>132</sup>

The top voice in the choir was usually sung by boys, generally called *bonenfanten*, *choralen* or *pueri*.<sup>133</sup> Here too the financial position of the church determined how many boys would be hired, but normally there were four to six, sometimes even eight or twelve. They almost always came from the town where the church stood or its direct surroundings, but sometimes they came from further away. Already in the 12th century, the Low Countries were famous for their musical education, which probably contributed to the high musical standards in this region

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<sup>127</sup> For an overview of the cantors: Coppens 1840, volume 2, pp. 93-95.

<sup>128</sup> Peeters 1985, p. 349.

<sup>129</sup> Frenken/Pijnenburg 1988.

<sup>130</sup> Van Dijck 1973, p. 51.

<sup>131</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 64.

<sup>132</sup> Bouckaert/Schreurs 1998, p. 32.

<sup>133</sup> In 's-Hertogenbosch there were considerable differences between the *choralen* and the *boni infantes* (see § 7.4). See on the subject also: Post 1954, pp. 442-452 and Post 1957, pp. 306-309.

that lasted for so many generations. Many choirboys lived in the house of the *zangmeester*, who was not only responsible for their singing education (both in chant and polyphony), but also for their clothing and feeding. A proper school education also was part of the package, given by a schoolmaster, usually at the Latin school (often the school of the chapter) in town.<sup>134</sup> Besides singing, the boys also read prayers, carried candles and had other obligations during the liturgy. Once a year they had their own feast: the feast of Holy Innocents (28 December), also called the feast of Boy Bishop, because the boys then took over the tasks of the canons in the chapter and one of them served as bishop. The Bruges composer Lupus Hellinck even wrote a song about this feast (*Nieuwe almanac ende pronosticatie*). After their voice had broken, the boys often became priests, went to university or simply went home, to follow in their father's footsteps, for example.<sup>135</sup>

Every church had at least one organ, but often there were more: a big church organ, a smaller one on the rood loft and a portative organ that could be carried to the place where it was needed.<sup>136</sup> Sometimes there were separate organs in private chapels; in the 1530s the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch, for example, ordered a new organ. The organs were played by an organist, assisted by a bellows blower (often called *orgelblaser*), who provided the organ with the necessary wind. Contrary to the modern liturgy, the medieval organist was not the accompanist of the polyphonic vocal music. Often music was performed in alternatim practice: vocal and instrumental music succeeded each other.<sup>137</sup>

A special person in church music was the so-called *beierman* (also *beyaerdman*). Originally the *beierman* rhythmically played bells without the activation by a keyboard, therefore by using hammers or clappers directly on the bells or indirectly through strings attached to them. Up to the 16th century it was not uncommon that the large church bells in the towers were also the bells used by the *beierman*, but there were also special smaller bells inside the church. Playing the bells – *beyeren* – was initially used to announce liturgical services. From 1500 onwards, a keyboard was attached to the bells and the so famous carillon, nowadays

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<sup>134</sup> On medieval schools in general: Selderhuis 2006, pp. 194-197. In the chapters on Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch the specific situations for those towns will be described.

<sup>135</sup> Bouckaert/Schreurs 1998, pp. 23-31; Wouters 1998, p. 22. On the situation in Brussels: Haggh 1988, pp. 149-167, 330-331.

<sup>136</sup> On organs in the Low Countries in the Renaissance: Peeters/Vente 1971 and Vente 1963b.

<sup>137</sup> See also Haggh 1988, p. 202. Written (or printed) organ music from the period is very rare (Caldwell ('Keyboard music')).

still widely spread in the Low Countries, was born, providing us with polyphonic music.<sup>138</sup>

That the Low Countries so literally set the musical tone in Europe in the Middle Ages and Renaissance period was without a doubt thanks to the well-organised musical education that formed such a strong foundation. Musicians from the Low Countries fanned out all over Europe and a widespread network of singers was responsible for the high musical standards in churches and courts. But even within one town, musicians went from church to church and back, improving their positions.<sup>139</sup> As far as we know, Gheerkin de Hondt never left the Low Countries to go to, for example, Italy, Germany, Spain or France. But even within the Low Countries he continuously found a new challenge and not only because of the very high professional musical level in the different political regions, which were formed into one in 1543. The main challenge was in the fact that the three cities where Gheerkin de Hondt worked – all important in their own region – all originated from different religious areas. Delft (county of Holland) belonged the diocese of Utrecht; Bruges (county of Flanders) was part of the bishopric of Tournai (Doornik) and 's-Hertogenbosch (duchy of Brabant) was a city in the diocese of Liège (Luik). For Gheerkin's work as singer/composer, working in a different diocese was probably more significant than living in another principality, because a different bishopric meant different feasts, a different routine and even different music.

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<sup>138</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 77-79.

<sup>139</sup> Beautifully represented in diagram form for Bruges by Pieter Andriessen (Andriessen 2002, pp. 216-219).

## Chapter 2      Delft: the city and its churches

### 2.1      Origin, population and economy

The city of Delft originated in the middle of the polder of Holland, most likely from the floods of 1164 onwards. The city was probably the result of an urban development plan. The first inhabitants settled on the shores of what used to be a region of creeks. To regulate the water levels in the area, the canal Delf (nowadays the Oude Delft) was dug and around this canal the town of Delft was created. The oldest document mentioning the city dates from between 1206 and 1215; the city was granted privileges in April 1246 by Count Willem II (of Holland).<sup>140</sup>

Delft developed as one of the leading cities of the county of Holland; around 1500 it was the third town after Dordrecht and Haarlem, and came before Leiden, Amsterdam and Gouda.<sup>141</sup> In 1514 a committee appointed by Emperor Charles V produced a report on the economic state of Holland, the so-called *Informacie up den staet*. Based on the facts in this report, the number of inhabitants of Delft around 1514 is estimated at about 10,000-12,000. A few decades later (in 1556) the population consisted of about 15,000 people. The Delft economy around 1514 had three pillars: industry (mainly textile industry and brewing), trade and transportation. The city was a regional market for the surrounding countryside and small towns like The Hague, and had two annual fairs: one around the feast of St Odulphus (12 June) and one around the feast of St Giles (1 September). Delft also was an important location on a shipping route from Amsterdam/Haarlem/Leiden to Rotterdam/Dordrecht.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Raue 1979 and Winsemius 1979, p. 11. On the history of the county of Holland see De Nijs/Beukers 2002.

<sup>141</sup> Verhoeven 1999, p. x. The present second largest city of the Netherlands, Rotterdam, was still a very small town in the 16th century.

<sup>142</sup> Verhoeven 1992, pp. 7-20. An edition of the 1514 report was made by Fruin 1866 (for Delft see pp. 322-339). See also Hoppenbrouwers 2002, pp. 143-145.

## 2.2 Churches and convents, especially the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk

As in all medieval cities religion played an important role in Delft. In the early 16th century there were two main churches (the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk, both parish churches), eight convents (of which three lay outside the city boundaries), five monasteries (two outside the city boundaries) and seventeen chapels. The chapels belonged to religious communities like beguines and to medical and social authorities like hospitals and orphanages. Thus the medieval citizens of Delft had an ample choice of where to attend mass.<sup>143</sup>

The Oude Kerk ('Old Church') was built next to the canal Delf; the tower even leans over the canal.<sup>144</sup> The oldest parts of the stone building probably date from around 1200; it was most likely preceded by an 11th-century wooden church. It is generally assumed that the church was originally dedicated to St Bartholomew and the Virgin Mary.<sup>145</sup> From 1396 onwards it was dedicated to St Hippolytus. Considerable money was spent on the interior: rich altars, paintings, stained-glass windows and organs adorned the church. Of particular interest within the scope of this study are several church bells that were ordered from the 's-Hertogenbosch family of bell-founders Moer in the years 1496-1502, the organ commissioned from Hendrik Niehoff from 's-Hertogenbosch that was built in 1545 and the baptismal font and choir screen that were ordered from Bruges craftsmen in 1438 and 1469.

Another interesting connection with Bruges is the fact that from 1465 until 1522 the parish priests almost all came from Bruges; more specifically, they were all canons of the Sint-Donaaskerk and also fulfilled tasks for their ruler.<sup>146</sup> As we shall also see in the section on Bruges, the titular parish priest was not obliged to reside in Delft.<sup>147</sup> One such was the famous choirmaster and composer Gilles Joye,<sup>148</sup> who held the post from 1465 until his death in 1483.

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<sup>143</sup> Kok 1979b and Verhoeven 1992, p. 19.

<sup>144</sup> This paragraph is based on: Oosterbaan 1973; Berends/Meischke 1979; Verhoeven 1992, pp. 21-24. Archival documents of the Oude Kerk are now kept in the Gemeentearchief Delft (GAD 435).

<sup>145</sup> Verhoeven 1992, p. 33 states that there are no sources for a dedication to the Virgin Mary, but that there are indications of a patronage by Bartholomew.

<sup>146</sup> Gilles Joye, Johannes Loesschaert and Anthonius Mettenye, based on Verhoeven 1992, p. 23, especially note 16 and Oosterbaan 1973, pp. 132-136. Gilles Joye was certainly not permanently active in Bruges as canon, since he was a member of the Burgundian court chapel from September 1462 until June 1468 or even 1471.

<sup>147</sup> Verhoeven 1992, pp. 22-24.

In 1451 a *zeven-getijdencollege* was founded in the Oude Kerk, which was responsible for singing the seven canonical hours every day.<sup>149</sup> At the beginning, the members of this *zeven-getijdencollege* were priests assisted by the sexton and the schoolmaster and his pupils. The schoolboys had to sing during Vespers on the eve of Sundays and holy days and on the days themselves at Matins, Mass and Vespers, so they had to sing at about a hundred days a year. Documents of the Oude Kerk show us that in the last decade of the 15th century professional singers and professional choirboys were hired to relieve the priests.<sup>150</sup> The turnover of these singers was high. The group usually consisted of a *zangmeester*, five to seven adult singers and about four to six choirboys.

Initially the Oude Kerk was the only church in town, but that had changed by the end of the 14th century. In 1351 or 1352 (31 January, 1 or 2 February) two men had a vision of Mary, sitting on a throne in a golden church.<sup>151</sup> During the next thirty years this vision was represented every year around the same time at the same place; the place being the east side of the market square, where sentences were executed.<sup>152</sup> In 1381 the city council decided to build a church there. The decision was probably influenced by the rising number of citizens, but the status of the city and the increasing request for (memorial) services must have been factors too.<sup>153</sup> That same year a wooden temporary church was put up and in 1383 the first stone of what was to become the Nieuwe Kerk ('New Church') was laid. The church was built in phases, and both church and tower were completed only in 1496.<sup>154</sup> The tower was crowned with a structure in the shape of an onion or apple. The Nieuwe Kerk was originally dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but already by 1404 a second patron had been chosen, St Ursula.<sup>155</sup> And coincidentally or not, relics of both Ursula and the patron of the Oude Kerk St Hippolytus were in Cologne.

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<sup>148</sup> On Gilles Joye see Fallows ('Gilles Joye'); Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>, pp. 27-29; Andriessen 2002, pp. 156-160; Oosterbaan 1973, pp. 132-135; Borchert 2005, pp. 153-154.

<sup>149</sup> Oosterbaan 1973, pp. 224-231; Vente 1979; Vente 1980, pp. 49-80 and 102-110.

<sup>150</sup> Vente 1980, pp. 49-80 and 102-110.

<sup>151</sup> Oosterbaan 1979, p. 38; Van der Kloot Meijburg 1941, pp. 17-18. Day and year are not precisely known. A document in Het Utrechts Archief describes the yearly ceremony of the remembrance of this miracle since 1383, including liturgical texts that were used, some of which were most likely sung in chant (Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Toegangsnummer 88, Inv. no. 283, dated end 16th-early 17th century).

<sup>152</sup> This was swampy ground and therefore people probably saw marsh gas, according to Van der Kloot Meijburg.

<sup>153</sup> Verhoeven 1992, p. 21.

<sup>154</sup> On the building history see Van der Kloot Meijburg 1941.

<sup>155</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 194-195. Verhoeven 1992, p. 318, note 81 mentions an earlier year: 1400.

The welcoming of several relics in the Oude Kerk in 1461 was the start of a new, yearly procession, held on the Sunday after the feast of St Pontianus (14 January).<sup>156</sup> Another relics procession was held on the Sunday after the feast of the Decollation of St John (29 August).<sup>157</sup> These two processions were not the only ones that were held every year. Medieval Delft had three more general processions: one on the day before Ascension Day, one in honour of the Holy Sacrament (Thursday after the first Sunday after Pentecost – Thursday after Trinity) and a so-called general *ommegang* (procession with relics along a particular route) on the Sunday after the feast of St Odulphus (12 June, during one of the annual fairs).<sup>158</sup> The first procession was held in good harmony between the churches (they fairly divided the proceeds of the collections),<sup>159</sup> but the last two processions were subject to rivalry. The churches argued about the starting and finishing point of the Sacrament procession, until in 1473 it was finally decided that the procession would start in the Oude Kerk and finish in the Nieuwe Kerk, both with equal pomp and circumstance. A similar discussion had taken place in the case of the general *ommegang* in June. The procession originated in the Oude Kerk, but after 1381 the Nieuwe Kerk was also involved, as was the city council, which was responsible for the general organisation and order. In fact, the entire community was part of the event; guilds for example had to perform plays, and people were expected to participate in and/or watch the procession. Both churches wanted their statue of the Virgin Mary to come first in line (Maria Jesse for the Oude Kerk and Maria ter nood Gods – a Pietà – for the Nieuwe Kerk).<sup>160</sup> The city council finally decided in 1450 that in even years Mary of the Nieuwe Kerk would come first, in odd years Mary of the Oude Kerk.

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<sup>156</sup> Verhoeven 1992, p. 34.

<sup>157</sup> Verhoeven 1992, p. 319, note 96.

<sup>158</sup> Verhoeven 1992, pp. 36-37. Oosterbaan 1973, pp. 240-265 gives details about some of the processions from documents of the Oude Kerk.

<sup>159</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. CXIJr-CXIJv.

<sup>160</sup> See on these sculptures and on their devotion: Verhoeven 1992.



### 2.3 The interior of the Nieuwe Kerk

A regrettable lacuna in the sources from the Nieuwe Kerk that have come down to us is information on the interior of the church. We have to rely on the 16th-century chronicler, who mentions some very interesting things,<sup>161</sup> later copied by Van Bleyswijck, which help us to form a picture of the interior of the church Gheerkin de Hondt worked in.

We read that a new altarpiece was made between 1484 and 1486 by Adriaen van Wesel, the famous Utrecht cabinetmaker who had also built the retable of the Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch about ten years earlier.<sup>162</sup> The altarpiece must have been placed on the altar table that was dedicated to Our Lady and St Ursula in 1476.<sup>163</sup> We have no information on how the altar by Van Wesel looked, and we do not know either if the two statues of Our Lady and St Ursula that stood next to the old one<sup>164</sup> also were placed next to the new altar. The crucifix that had hung above the old altar since 1449 probably remained in its place, but we cannot be sure about that either.<sup>165</sup> The chronicler also tells us about statues of the Apostles, which were on pillars in the presbytery, as is confirmed by a text in a private foundation for candlelight for the statue of St John the Evangelist in the presbytery, mentioning also the other statues of Apostles.<sup>166</sup>

The chronicler mentions three organs that were built, repaired or rebuilt for the Nieuwe Kerk from 1429 onwards. First an organ named Ursula was built by master Jannes from Brabant. An organist was hired, a priest called Michiel Claes Touwensz., who received one fat goose every year in addition to his yearly payment and who carried out his duties for more than twenty years.<sup>167</sup> A new organist was hired in 1451, a young priest called master Lambrecht, for whom a new organ – the *Cruys orghel* – was ordered in the same year, paid for by the guild of the Holy Cross. The organ was placed in the transept above an altar dedicated to St George (Sint-Joris).<sup>168</sup> Only a few years later, a larger organ was built because, as the document says, master

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<sup>161</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 202-256.

<sup>162</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 233-234. See also Halsema-Kubes/Lemmens/De Werd 1980, pp. 11 and 60. Halsema-Kubes assumes that the altar either was burnt down by the fire that struck the Nieuwe Kerk in 1528 (she probably means the fire of 1536) or that it was destroyed during the iconoclastic fury in 1566.

<sup>163</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 228.

<sup>164</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 199.

<sup>165</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 210. See also GAD 435, Inv. no. 160.

<sup>166</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 245-246; see also GAD 435, Inv. no. 160.

<sup>167</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 202-203.

<sup>168</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 211.

Lambrecht the organist was such a good player. The assignment was given to a certain master Adriaen Pietersz., who received a great deal of money and even a pension. The organ was placed in the west end of the church, against the tower. In the event, the church masters were not in fact satisfied with Adriaen's job; they were disappointed in the sound of the instrument, although they agreed that master Adriaen had done his very best. Master Adriaen died in 1480 in the *oude manhuys* (the old men's home).<sup>169</sup> In 1459 the organ called Ursula was renovated by master Zwits.<sup>170</sup> Ten years later, in 1469, the same master made adjustments to the big organ that was built by master Adriaen, who was already too old by then to do the job himself. But he did not succeed, the church masters still found that the sound of the instrument had not improved.<sup>171</sup> A new attempt was made in 1479-1480, when the organ-builder master Jan van Antwerpen was hired to replace the pipework, the wind chest and the bellows (windbag) of the instrument: only the organ-case remained. The organ builder received a payment of 52 Flemish pounds plus the material that he had replaced. At last the church masters were satisfied: finally the great organ was perfect. Master Jan was then asked to move the Cross organ from the transept to the middle of the church.<sup>172</sup> The Ursula organ needed another repair in 1492, and master Jan van Antwerpen was asked again to do the honours. He made a completely new pipework and, as with the great organ, the only thing that remained was the organ-case. He also built a new positive organ, which was delivered at Pentecost 1493.<sup>173</sup> It was probably this positive that was carried into the tower of the church on 6 September 1496, when the singers celebrated the placing of a big wooden cross on top of the tower by singing 'Te deum laudamus' in polyphony. The joy was of short duration, since the cross turned out to be too heavy and fell down about five weeks later during a storm on St Victor's day (10 October). The cross was replaced by a smaller one.<sup>174</sup> The organs kept being troublesome, since in 1501 the two largest ones had to be restored again. This time the job was done by master Jan van Zwanenbroeck. During the next few years new repairs were necessary, especially to the Ursula organ. The work was done by several organ builders, who remain anonymous.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 214-215.

<sup>170</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 218.

<sup>171</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 226-227.

<sup>172</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 230-231.

<sup>173</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 240-241.

<sup>174</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 245-246.

<sup>175</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 252.

In 1436 the bell tower was made larger, so that more bells could be purchased.<sup>176</sup> In 1485 several bells were bought from Gobel Moer, the 's-Hertogenbosch bell-founder, because the boys of the forging guild had broken the biggest bell – called Redemptor – during the ringing. Gobel Moer founded a new one, which was called Maria and had a weight of nine thousand pounds. He also was asked to found an even larger bell, called Jesus, which had a weight of eleven to twelve thousand pounds. Both bells were so big and heavy that the bell tower had to be adjusted to house them.<sup>177</sup>

A new wooden pulpit embellished the Nieuwe Kerk since 1490.<sup>178</sup> During the next years several lecterns and pews (in the middle of the church, only for women) were acquired. Reparations were carried out on the building, among others in the library.<sup>179</sup>

Finally, a remark must be made on the most famous piece in the interior of the church: the sculpture of Maria ter Nood Gods (a Pietà), the miracle sculpture, about which the chronicler recorded eighty-nine stories.<sup>180</sup> According to the legend, in about 1381 a cabinetmaker passed Delft on his way to Antwerp/Bruges. He had a wooden sculpture with him of Mary, sitting under the cross with Jesus on her lap (Maria ter Nood Gods). The builders of the Nieuwe Kerk wanted to buy the sculpture for their new church, but it turned out to be too expensive. The next day, however, the woodcutter could no longer lift the sculpture and sold it for a lower price to the church builders. Suddenly the sculpture was portable again and was removed to the church, where from then on it was involved in many miracles. It was honoured in all possible ways, for example by processions that were held several times a year.<sup>181</sup> And needless to say: it attracted many people to the church. The sculpture was put in a new wooden tabernacle in 1501. The builder of the tabernacle, Tieman Jansz., was also asked to carve new lecterns, chairs and other wooden furniture for the chapel in which the sculpture was housed.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 205.

<sup>177</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 234-236. The Moer-family was still founding bells for the church in 1539 (GAD 435, Inv. no. 177).

<sup>178</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 239-240.

<sup>179</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 240.

<sup>180</sup> Verhoeven 1992, especially pp. 50-53. For transcriptions see Oosterbaan 1958.

<sup>181</sup> Verhoeven 1992, p. 51.

<sup>182</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 252-253.

## 2.4 The *zeven-getijdencollege*

Another subject of rivalry for both churches was the foundation of the *zeven-getijdencollege* in the Nieuwe Kerk in 1456, shortly after the foundation of the same college in the Oude Kerk in 1451. We are very well informed on the purpose of this particular *zeven-getijdencollege*, since we still have the foundation charter.<sup>183</sup> The charter, promulgated by Schout, Schepen ende Raide (the city council) tells us the following:

- ✚ The *zeven-getijdencollege* is created by the richest and wisest people in town and by the parish priest, to increase the number of services in the Nieuwe Kerk in honour of God, the Virgin Mary and all saints. To accomplish this, every year at St Martin's Day (11 November), three or four *sancmeesters* will be chosen to serve as procurator.<sup>184</sup> The procurators are required to administer the rents and goods that are given to the college and they also have to pay the priests who sing the seven canonical hours. The city clerk will keep the books of the *zeven-getijdencollege*, just as he keeps the books of the church.
- ✚ The schoolmasters, together with the schoolchildren, are required to sing Vespers on the evening before a holy day; on the holy day itself they are required to sing Matins, Mass and Vespers. The schoolmasters will be dressed in a *superplicium* (surplice) without a *caproen* (cope) but with a *bonet* (biretta) on their heads. Furthermore, seven or eight priests, or as many as the church masters and *sancmeesters* think are necessary, will be appointed to sing the seven canonical hours every day in the presbytery, according to the Ordinary of the diocese of Utrecht. The sexton will sing with them, unless he has to do something else for the church. All singers will be dressed the way the schoolmasters are dressed. The parish priest will lead the singing in High Mass.

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<sup>183</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 181. A transcription is included in Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 265-268, containing errors. An explanation in Dutch on this text appears in Jas 1997, pp. 3-6.

<sup>184</sup> The word *sancmeester* is musicologically a misnomer: the procurators do not sing themselves and are not supposed to fulfill the role of choirmaster; they are responsible for the administration of the *zeven-getijdencollege*, and function under the church masters. Later, the men were called *getydemesters* (GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, first page, no folio number). The use of the word *sancmeester* for the administrators is probably why the choirmasters were often called *coraelmeester*, although they were also called *sangmeester* (for example GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXXr: *Ander uutgeven. Vanden sangmeester of choraelmeester syn an nemen ende betalingen*). The confusion also becomes clear in the chronicle on the Nieuwe Kerk, where on fol. 76v the word *sang* in *sangmeesters* has been crossed out (Appendix 3, 1486, around Christmas Eve).

- ✚ Every day a Mass will be read after Prime for all who have financially or otherwise supported the *zeven-getijdencollege*; this Mass will be read at the high altar, unless the altar is needed for something else. If one of the supporters of the college has died, a Requiem Mass will be sung by the priests on the Wednesday after the funeral, instead of the read Mass at the high altar. Candles and a *pelle* (pall) will be used. After the Requiem, a Miserere with Collect will be read. Furthermore, every priest will read a Vigil that same day. A general memorial service for all supporters who have passed away will be held every year, starting with a Vigil of nine lessons after Compline on the Tuesday after the octave of Epiphany (therefore the Tuesday after 13 January) and followed on Wednesday with a sung Requiem Mass after Prime. This yearly memorial service will be announced on the Sunday before it is held, reading all the names of those who have passed away.
- ✚ The priests, two procurators, the man reading the Epistle and the man reading the Gospel will serve at several feasts: Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Assumption of Our Lady, Epiphany, Corpus Christi, the procession of Our Lady, Saint Ursula, All Saints and Martinmas.
- ✚ Two of the priests will be chosen by the *sancmeesters* – advised by the parish priest – as leaders of the group.
- ✚ The church masters will tell the sexton when to ring the church bells before the seven canonical hours, at the discretion of the priests and *sancmeesters*.
- ✚ High Mass will end at ten o'clock, during Lent at eleven o'clock.
- ✚ If the seven canonical hours are discontinued at a certain time, supporters will be able to get their funding back. People also will receive their gift back if they want to change its use. If the seven canonical hours are no longer celebrated, but supporters do not ask for a refund of their endowment, the funds are transferred to the church.
- ✚ If the endowments are higher than needed to celebrate all the services mentioned in this charter, the church masters will receive the surplus and are allowed to use them to 'decorate' the church with books and other things that might be needed for the celebrations.

According to the 16th-century chronicle, already in 1455 a certain schoolmaster Zibrant had started to perform polyphony (*musijc*) on some feasts in the Nieuwe Kerk, 'for love' and without remuneration, with his students and some priests and other men who enjoyed singing polyphony.<sup>185</sup> As the foundation charter shows,

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<sup>185</sup> London, British Library, Add. MS 25050, fol. 71r; Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 215-216. See also Beckers/Leeuw 1979, p. 113. The date of 1455 is probably incorrect and should be 1456, since the *zeven-getijdencollege* was founded in January 1456. This would easily be

education and church were closely linked. From 1342 onwards Delft had a so-called *Latijnse school* (Latin school), where boys aged eight and over were educated to become members of the clerical order or to be prepared to go to university. The school was related to the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk and one of its most important tasks was to supply both churches with choirboys.<sup>186</sup> As the foundation charter tells us, the boys sang Vespers on the evening before a holy day, and on the holy day itself they had to sing Matins, Mass and Vespers. According to the 16th-century chronicle, this turned out to be too much for them, since it did not leave enough time for school. Thus in 1484 the city council decided that the schoolboys no longer had to sing Matins, except on the eight most important feasts; in return, they also had to sing Mass at the Saturdays in the *Quatertempore* (the *Quattuor tempora* or Ember Days; four Saturdays a year) and also on the eves of Easter and Pentecost.<sup>187</sup> Singing Vespers on the evenings of holy days and Mass and Vespers on the holy days themselves seems to have been continued; no longer singing Matins seems to have been the only restriction in comparison to the foundation charter.<sup>188</sup> The tasks of the priests were increased from then on<sup>189</sup> and documents of both churches tell us that professional singers and professionally trained boys were hired from the end of the 15th century onwards.<sup>190</sup>

In addition to the seven canonical hours, we know from the 16th-century chronicler that there were also *Lof* services in the Nieuwe Kerk. He mentions that a confraternity of the Holy Sacrament was founded in 1477, to sing a *Lof* on

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explained by the fact that the chronicler mixed up different calendar systems (as Oosterbaan concluded). Another explanation could be that the singing of polyphony was the immediate cause of the foundation of the *zeven-getijdencollege*, although the competition between the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk is probably a stronger argument.

<sup>186</sup> Oosterbaan 1966 and Beckers/Leeuw 1979.

<sup>187</sup> London, British Library, Add. MS 25050, fol. 76r; Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 236-237. It might be 1485, since the chronicler mixed up different time systems and the decision was made around *Vastelavont* (Shrove Tuesday, therefore before Easter).

<sup>188</sup> There is a lot of misunderstanding here in literature: Oosterbaan 1966, p. 38 mentions that from 1484 onwards the boys only had to sing High Mass and Vespers on Sundays, plus Matins on the eight most important feast and Mass at the Saturdays in the Ember Days and on the eves of Easter and Pentecost; Beckers/Leeuw 1979, p. 113 mention that the boys had to sing High Mass and Vespers on Sundays, plus eight Matins on important feast, plus several Masses; Vente 1979, p. 158 mentions that the boys had to sing High Mass and Vespers on Sundays. Jas 1997, p. 10 notices this all, but forgets to mention that the boys also had to sing the High Mass on holy days.

<sup>189</sup> Beckers/Leeuw 1979, p. 113 and Vente 1979, p. 158.

<sup>190</sup> Vente 1980, pp. 49-80 and 102-110 and also: Oosterbaan 1973, p. 228.

Thursdays.<sup>191</sup> From Christmas 1486 onwards, a *Lof* was sung on every day of the week: on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday and on Our Lady's days a Marian *Lof*, on Thursday a *Lof* of the Holy Sacrament and on Friday a *Lof* of the Holy Cross.<sup>192</sup> The chronicler explicitly mentions that the *zeven-getijdenmeesters* accepted this expansion of the number of *Lof* services and that they made their singers sing them in the presbytery.<sup>193</sup>

Singing the seven canonical hours in the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk created not only an element of rivalry between the two churches, but also between them and other churches in the region. In 1511 a document was drawn up together with the *zeven-getijdenmeesters* of the Sint-Jacobskerk in the neighbouring town of The Hague, in which the conditions were arranged under which singers were allowed to go from one church to another.<sup>194</sup> In this competition clause the church masters agreed not to employ a singer of one of the churches within two years after he had left the church where he had been contracted; if they did, they had to pay a fine. A similar document was signed by the two Delft churches and the chapter of Sint-Marie in The Hague in February 1517.<sup>195</sup>

The Oude and Nieuwe Kerk also worked together in getting funding for their *zeven-getijdencollege* to make all the services possible. The 16th-century chronicler mentions the foundation of a brother- and sisterhood (*broeder- en zusterschap*).<sup>196</sup> Indeed, a charter of the city council of 22 May 1462 and an act of approval of the Utrecht bishop David of Burgundy of 1 June 1462 mention this brother- and sisterhood.<sup>197</sup> It was founded by the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk together and named after Hippolytus and Ursula (the patrons of both churches). The purpose of the brother- and sisterhood was to achieve more financial scope with the money paid by the new members. It seems to have worked, although apart from the foundation charter no information remains on how the brother- and sisterhood actually functioned.

At least three other confraternities functioned in the Nieuwe Kerk. The first is a confraternity *des zueten names Jhesus* (of the sweet name Jesus), that was founded by

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<sup>191</sup> London, British Library, Add. MS 25050, fol. 74r; Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 229-230.

<sup>192</sup> London, British Library, Add. MS 25050, fol. 76r-v; Oosterbaan 1958, p. 237-238.

<sup>193</sup> See also Van Bleywijck 1667-1680, p. 210: ... *ende dese iij Loeven anvairden die Seven-Getijde-Meesters, ende dede die doen by hoir Sangers up hoich coor.*

<sup>194</sup> Vente 1980, pp. 102-103. The original is now in GAD 435, Inv. no. 8.

<sup>195</sup> Oosterbaan 1973, p. 229.

<sup>196</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 223.

<sup>197</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 10 (charter numbers 5342-5343). A transcription (with errors) of the charter of the city council is published in Van Berckel 1901, pp. 213-214.

the *ghesellen van den rethorijcke* (rhetoricians) in 1487.<sup>198</sup> It remains unclear whether the singers of the *zeven-getijden* had to sing during the liturgy celebrated by the new confraternity, although it seems at least possible, since the *zeven-getijdenmeesters* had the responsibility for the administration of the confraternity. The confraternity was also responsible for the so-called first Mass that was held on Sundays in the Nieuwe Kerk since 1493.<sup>199</sup>

In one of the documents from the period that Gheerkin de Hondt worked in Delft, we find an item telling us that the church masters received an amount of 20 *schellingen groot* (20 shillings of Flemish groats) each year from this confraternity.<sup>200</sup> For that, the confraternity received candlelight for the daily Masses and they were allowed to ring the large bell once a year. Rather mysterious is the statement that the organist played during the *Lof* services because of the seven canonical hours. This suggests that this confraternity contributed at least financially to the seven canonical hours and paid for the organ music during the *Lof* services.

A similar text can be found for the second confraternity active in the Nieuwe Kerk. The Heilich Cruys ghilde (the guild of the Holy Cross) paid an equal amount of 20 shillings of Flemish groats every year in January, also for candlelight and for the organist.<sup>201</sup> The third confraternity active in the Nieuwe Kerk is the confraternity of St Nicholas.<sup>202</sup> The confraternity celebrated the feast of St Nicholas every year with a sung, solemn Mass. In 1514 the organist and bellows blower were paid 3 *stuivers* each, the organist for playing *op tgroote werck* (the great organ). During several moments before, during and after the ceremonies the church bell called Maria was rung. Payments to singers are not mentioned; therefore it remains unclear if they were involved with the yearly Mass of this confraternity.<sup>203</sup> As we shall see in

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<sup>198</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 238-239 and 242. A series of 1500 'brijeffgens' ('little letters, notes', a sort of devotional picture) for this confraternity was printed between St Martin 1531 and 1532 (GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cjv). Two examples of these 'brijeffgens' are kept in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, objectnumber RP-P-1949-341 and RP-P-1908-1936.

<sup>199</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 242.

<sup>200</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. XLr.

<sup>201</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. XXXIXr.

<sup>202</sup> In Het Utrechts Archief, a booklet with the articles of association (written in 1572) has been kept (Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Toegangsnummer 88, Inv. no. 301). This document tells us that the confraternity was founded on 6 December 1508 (6 December being the feast of St Nicholas). I thank Jacobijn Kiel for pointing my attention to this document.

<sup>203</sup> Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Toegangsnummer 88, Inv. no. 301, fol. [6v-7r]. The agreement is between the church masters and the members of the confraternity of St Nicholas. The servants mentioned (sextons, organist, bellows blower and 'gravedigger') were all under responsibility of the church masters; the payments to the singers were the



's-Hertogenbosch, it is possible that the confraternities 'borrowed' the professional singers that were active in the church for their own services. Perhaps that is what is going on here. Van Bleyswijck, the 17th-century author of the history of Delft, refers to the many guilds that were hosted by the church, but except for the information mentioned above, the church documents do not inform us on how they functioned.<sup>204</sup>

Lack of information also hampers our knowledge of the so-called *Paasspel* (Easter Play, a mystery play performed on Holy Saturday) in which both the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk seem to have been involved. Van Berckel and Oosterbaan mention references to this play in documents of both the Oude and the Nieuwe Kerk, dated 1496, 1503 and 1520-21.<sup>205</sup> We may therefore assume that the play was an affair in which the entire Delft community was involved and of which the costs were split between several authorities. It remains unclear if it was held every year. It seems to have been quite a large play, with many people involved, and it was shown on a large stage. Interesting is that the music of one of the participants has come down to us on a parchment scroll that has a small cord on its bottom, probably to attach the document to the costume the actor was wearing.<sup>206</sup> The part is that of the *Phisicus*, the doctor talking to the women who are on their way to Jesus' grave to embalm him. Unfortunately, this is the only part of the play that is left. Therefore we cannot say if the music performed was for one voice, or polyphonic.<sup>207</sup>

Information on a similar play has come down to us through the 16th-century chronicle.<sup>208</sup> The writer mentions a play on the occasion of the feast of the Epiphany in the year 1498, celebrated the Sunday after Epiphany after Vespers at three o'clock in the Nieuwe Kerk. He tells us about priests playing the roles of the Three Kings, who entered the church on horseback. Angels were singing *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, standing near the great organ hanging on the wall, while herdsmen were playing under it. A 'living' crib of real people was set up in the presbytery.<sup>209</sup> The scene was

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responsibility of the masters of the *zeven-getijdencollege* and would not be mentioned here.

<sup>204</sup> Van Bleyswijck 1667-1680, pp. 245-247.

<sup>205</sup> Van Berckel 1904, pp. 316-322 and Oosterbaan 1973, pp. 221-224.

<sup>206</sup> The document is now in GAD 435, Inv. no. 216. It remains unclear to which church it belonged. Van Berckel gives pictures of the document, a transcription of the music that is in *Hufnagelschrift* and a translation in Dutch of the Latin text.

<sup>207</sup> Since the melodic line is coherent, and the music is written in *Hufnagelschrift*, it seems more likely that the music was performed for one voice.

<sup>208</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 246-249.

<sup>209</sup> According to the same chronicler, a new wooden crib was bought in 1502, mentioning that the *Bethleem* (as the group was called) normally stood next to the presbytery from Christmas until the feast of the Purification (2 February; Oosterbaan 1958, pp. 253-254).

completed with a star that was placed above the crib. The chronicler speaks of singing kings; therefore we know that music was involved, perhaps in the same way as it was in the Easter play. In this case it was definitely polyphonic music, since we have payments to the *ghesellen* and *jonghen* and the writer of the motets. *Ghesellen* were adults, and *jonghen* were choirboys, and therefore we know that different voice-parts were involved. Furthermore, motets always consist of several voices. We do not know if this play was performed every year, but it certainly appears to have been performed regularly.<sup>210</sup>

We may conclude that the city of Delft had a very vivid Catholic life. Nevertheless, it was also one of the first cities in the Low Countries where the reformation instigated by Martin Luther took hold at a very early stage and on a large scale. The principal of the Latin school was already suspected of spreading the new religion before April 1522. Soon the parish priest of the Oude Kerk also was one of the suspected persons and by 1525 Margaret of Austria called Delft one of the worst cases of heresy-infected cities of the entire county of Holland. That Delft was popular with followers of the new religion is not only shown by the many convictions for heresy, but also by the fact that the city housed a number of printers who published heretical literature.<sup>211</sup>

But before the city became a victim of the iconoclastic fury in 1566, it was hit by another disaster. On Friday, 3 May 1536, while the singers of the Nieuwe Kerk were singing the Magnificat during Vespers, Delft was struck by a great fire, which burnt down or heavily damaged 66 to 75 per cent of the city, including the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk. The restoration took about ten years, during which the income of the *zeven-getijdencollege* was used for rebuilding and not for singing polyphony. It was not until the first of January 1546 that the singing of the seven canonical hours was restored in its old glory and professional singers were hired again.<sup>212</sup> But that was not Gheerkin's concern. He had already left Delft in 1532.

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<sup>210</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cv-CJr mention payments in the late 1520s (exact years unknown), to *den ghesellen ... mitten jonghen* (the choirboys), who followed the *Betleem* in procession. It remains unclear who are precisely meant by the *ghesellen*, but the singers must have been at least among them. A payment was also done for the copyist of the motets that were sung during the procession: *Item noch ghegheven die controleur van die moutetten te scriven die zy inden ommeganck songhen vier stuvers.*

<sup>211</sup> Kok 1979c.

<sup>212</sup> Kok 1979a, pp. 98-99. See also GAD 435, Inv. no. 152, fol. 1r and XCXJr; Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXv, XCVr. The fact is also mentioned by our chronicler: Oosterbaan 1958, p. 256.

## Chapter 3      *Delft: Gerryt de Hont coraelmeester*

Around 1520, the city of Delft was – like many medieval towns – a walled city with a moat, accessible through six town gates.<sup>213</sup> There are no pictures of medieval Delft before the city fire of 1536, but we do have a painting of a map from shortly after the fire that is now in the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof in Delft.<sup>214</sup> This very detailed painting shows us the streets and buildings of Delft, including the town gates, the walls and the moat. We may assume that it presents a fine picture of the city Gheerkin de Hondt worked in twice between 1520 and 1532, although some of the houses may have been rebuilt in a different way after the fire. We also have a map by Jacob van Deventer of the third quarter of the 16th century, but that is far less detailed.<sup>215</sup> Finally, there is a painting called *Sybille Erythrea* by Maarten van Heemskerck of 1564, showing in the background buildings of Delft before the city fire, including the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk.<sup>216</sup>

### 3.1      **First appointment, 1521**

The sight of medieval Delft must have been impressive, with the imposing towers of the Nieuwe Kerk, the Oude Kerk, and the city hall. Here we catch the first glimpse of *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt: in 1940 J.A. Bank mentioned a ‘Gerrit de Hont’ as *zangmeester* of the Nieuwe Kerk in 1521,<sup>217</sup> referring to a *manuaal* (manual), containing receipts and expenditure from the *zeven-getijdenmeesters*.<sup>218</sup> The text,

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<sup>213</sup> Weve 1979. See especially volume II: Afbeeldingen, illustrations 163-180.

<sup>214</sup> ‘Plattegrond van Delft na de stadsbrand van 1536’; the exact date is unknown.

<sup>215</sup> A facsimile is in: Koeman/Visser 1992, 1. Zuid-Holland.

<sup>216</sup> Weve 1979, p. 80; De Jongh 1964. We know the painting shows us the situation before the fire, since the Nieuwe Kerk still has its apple/onion top on the tower, which was rebuilt differently after the fire. The painting originally was the sidepiece of an altarpiece and is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, object number SK-A-1910.

<sup>217</sup> Bank 1940, p. 52.

<sup>218</sup> At the time in the Bisschoppelijk Archief Haarlem, now in the Gemeentearchief Delft: GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. 49r. Bank incorrectly states that Gerrit de Hont is mentioned on folio 49r-v, but it is only fol. 49r. It remains unclear on what Bank bases the year

under the heading *Die coraelmeester*, tells us that Gerryt de Hont was appointed *coraelmeester* on 3 June, but the year is not mentioned.<sup>219</sup> The book containing the previous years is missing, so we do not know who preceded Gheerkin and when this predecessor left.<sup>220</sup> However, the manuscript mentioning Gheerkin's appointment starts at St Martin's Day 1520 (11 November)<sup>221</sup> and ends in 1524. Since this is the first entry of a *coraelmeester*, Gheerkin can not have started his duties before 3 June 1521.

The manual hides a few pieces of scrap paper, one of which gives us some more information on Gheerkin's early years in Delft.<sup>222</sup> The piece of paper has been written on both sides in two columns. One of the sides contains a payment to *meester Gheryt sanck meester* of 7 Rhine guilders with which he paid the rent of his house. The item before this one mentions a payment to a singer (the bass singer Anthonis) who had left Delft and still had a right to 8 ½ Rhine guilders. The bass singer Anthonis van Dordrecht was appointed 'Sacramenti anno 1521' (Corpus Christi, the second Thursday after Pentecost, being 30 May 1521). He was succeeded by Johannes Joliet at Pentecost 1522 (8 June), which means he had left before that date.<sup>223</sup>

Two items later, we find payments on the piece of scrap paper for two *pellen* (palls) to a certain Michiel Beck (Bock) of Mechelen. These payments for a total of 7 Flemish pounds, are also listed on folio LXXJr. The heading of the payments on that folio mentions that the palls had been bought in 1521, but the last payment indicates

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1521. Vente also mentions the document and folio number 49r, but he fails to give the correct date of the document of 1520-1524 (Vente 1980, p. 88).

<sup>219</sup> See Appendix 3, 1521, 3 June. The translation runs as follows: 'On the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of June, Gerryt de Hont is appointed *coraelmeester*. He shall have every month in addition to *loot* and *accidencien* 10 Flemish shillings plus a gown every two years. Therefore, he has promised to live honestly and to follow the order of the board. Our manager will pay him and make notes of that every month from this *coraelmeester* and all other *coraelmeesters* with the remunerations they receive.' The text has been crossed out, but since many appointment texts in this and other manuscripts have been crossed out, it probably was done to make it clear that Gheerkin was no longer an employee.

<sup>220</sup> The book preceding Inv. no. 191 contains data from 1498 until 1516: GAD 435, Inv. no. 187; we miss therefore the data from 1516 until 1520.

<sup>221</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. 1r: *Dit boeck is begonnen Martini anno xv<sup>e</sup> xx.*

<sup>222</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, between fol. LIIJv and LIIIJr (at the time of research, June 2008). See Appendix 3, 1522, before 8 June.

<sup>223</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LIXv. Vente mixes up two persons: bassus Anthonis from Dordrecht and *hoechconter* Franciscus de Namuro (Vente 1980, p. 89): Franciscus de Namuro (probably Franciscus from Namur) is mentioned on folio LXIIJr and Anthonis bassus on folio LIXv.

‘to be paid on Pentecost 1522’, which was on 8 June that year. So if we consider that the year changed at Easter, the cloth was probably ordered in the first half of 1522. Finally, the second column of this piece of paper mentions two dates on which three persons had to pay rents for the first time: 16 April and 27 May 1523. It was normal in those days to pay rents once a year and to make the arrangements about a year before the actual payment. So we may conclude that our piece of scrap paper is to be dated some time before 8 June 1522. That means that Gheerkin de Hondt was *coraelmeester* in the first half of 1522 and that his appointment of 3 June must indeed be dated 1521.

To find out until when Gheerkin was *coraelmeester*, we have to look at other appointments to *zangmeesters* in the manuscript. There turn out to be two:<sup>224</sup>

- fol. 49r: meester Jan vander Biest (Boest), appointed 13 April 1524;<sup>225</sup>
- fol. 49v: Goeswijn Anthonisz., appointed 21 August 1524.<sup>226</sup>

Our source, however, seems to be incomplete, since the archives of the Nieuwe Kerk also preserve another document, telling us that a certain Rogier Lansel was appointed *zangmeester* on 6 December 1523 for the period of five months, ending May of the following year. The text is in French, and also gives us the conditions under which the new *zangmeester* had to work: he was expected to speak Flemish with the choirboys, not French.<sup>227</sup> From this appointment we may hypothesize that Gheerkin had left the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft by December 1523. We therefore may conclude that he was *zangmeester* at the Nieuwe Kerk from 3 June 1521 until probably December 1523. However, there is one more catch: another piece of scrap paper in the manual mentions the application of a certain *heer* (priest) Christiaen Traif.<sup>228</sup> The date of the application is unknown. Since this choirmaster is not mentioned anywhere else, he might have been working in Delft for a very short time, which will likewise be the case with Rogier Lansel.

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<sup>224</sup> See Appendix 4 and also Vente 1980, pp. 87-88.

<sup>225</sup> Vente incorrectly gives the date April 1525.

<sup>226</sup> Goeswyn Anthonis was appointed *hoechtenor* on 2 July 1520 and *tenoer* on 28 July 1524 (GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXVIJ). It remains unclear how long he stayed in 1520 and if he had left Delft before he got his second appointment in 1524. Vente mentions that he was appointed choirboy on 2 July 1520, which is incorrect (Vente 1980, p. 87).

<sup>227</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 192. Bank already mentions this document (Bank 1940, p. 52). He concludes that Rogier Lansel was fired because of his lack of knowledge of the Flemish language, but that is not what the text of the document says (see Appendix 3, 1523, 6 December).

<sup>228</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, at the time of research between fol. XLV and LXVIJ (June 2008). Not in Vente. The piece of paper is bound in the manuscript, but that does not mean it should be dated between 1520 and 1524; it might be an earlier or later appointment.

Gheerkin's appointment text says that he will receive a monthly amount of 10 Flemish *schellingen* 'boven loedt ende accidencien' and a tabard (a gown) worth 20 *schellingen* every two years. As we have already seen, the piece of scrap paper tells us that Gheerkin also – at least once – received 7 Rhine guilders to pay his rent. Curious is the text 10 *scelling*en 'boven loedt ende accidencien', meaning 10 *schellingen* in addition to *loedt* and *accidencien*. From a ledger (*legger*) dated circa 1497-1508 we can reconstruct what *loedt* means: from May 1494 onwards, each priest would receive a *loot* for his duties during Mass and one for his duties during the *Lof*, a *loot* being something (most likely a piece of paper, a chit) with an amount of money written on it and either an M (Mass) or L (*Lof*).<sup>229</sup> Every half year, the priests would give the whole bunch of *loot* sheets to the church masters and receive money in exchange. If they were not present at the services, they would not receive a *loot*.<sup>230</sup> A '*loedt*' therefore in Gheerkin's time must have been a little note someone received as a sort of cheque, to be exchanged for cash later on. The '*loedt*' represented the amount of money the singer was entitled to according to his presence during the seven canonical hours. Not singing meant no '*loedt*'. What the *accidencien* mean is less clear. The word must be translated as 'incidental payments' and probably refers to extra income on feasts.<sup>231</sup> The 10 *schellingen* therefore were only a basic monthly salary. According to other appointment texts for *zangmeesters* in the Nieuwe Kerk, this was not the standard *zangmeester* salary. It turns out that Gheerkin earned about 20 per cent more than most of the *zangmeesters* before and after him; only two *zangmeesters* received the same basic salary. Apparently the monthly basic fee was subject to negotiation.<sup>232</sup>

The appointment text of 3 June also says that Gheerkin has committed himself to live honestly and that he will follow the order of the board (*Des heeft hy hem verbonden eerlick te leven ende dordonnancien naervolgende tbort te onderhouden*). The board contained the order of daily services in the church. The text also tells us that the *rentmeester* (administrator) will pay Gheerkin every month. But our source does not contain these monthly payments.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 156, fol. XLVIJr.

<sup>230</sup> Van Berckel 1901, p. 217 already mentions this, but he does not refer to his source and he says he speaks about the Oude Kerk. So either the Oude Kerk had the same texts in its documents, or Van Berckel is confusing the two churches.

<sup>231</sup> Details on the amounts the *loedt* and *accidencien* represent will be given in Chapter 9 on the socio-economic status of Gheerkin de Hondt.

<sup>232</sup> See Chapter 9. The appointment texts of other singers and choirboys show the same picture: their salary was subject to negotiation too. An explanation might be that Gheerkin was possibly expected to compose as well.

<sup>233</sup> Inv. no. 191 only gives payments to individual singers irregularly.

If we look at the two other appointment texts for *zangmeesters*, they say about the same, with a few important exceptions. Jan vander Biest is explicitly told that he must spend enough time in teaching the choirboys, so that he receives credit for his work and does not get any complaints from anyone.<sup>234</sup> Goeswyn Anthonisz. is told to maintain the oath of office of singing, to hire the choirboys and to teach them; furthermore he is only allowed to leave if he has announced his departure half a year beforehand; otherwise the *zeven-getijdenmeesters* will terminate this contract three months beforehand.<sup>235</sup> It is remarkable that Gheerkin's appointment text does not refer to hiring and teaching the choirboys, but we may assume that this was part of his job as well.

### 3.2 Colleagues and choirboys

Our source also gives us appointment texts of other singers, neatly written down in categories: *choralen* (choirboys), *bassen* (bass singers), *hoechconters* and *hoechtenoren* (sometimes also called *hoogconter*).<sup>236</sup> The choirboys sang the upper voices, the bass singers the lowest ones and the *hoechconters* and *hoechtenoren* the middle voices.<sup>237</sup> As we have already seen with the case of *zangmeester* Rogier Lansel, the lists of singers are probably not complete. Furthermore, the lack of documents of appointments from 1516 to 1520 and the lack of payments – and in relation to that the omission of departure dates – prevents us from obtaining a good view of the singers working in Delft during Gheerkin's employment there. Therefore, it is not possible to form an accurate picture of the group of singers; the best we can do is make an estimate of the number of singers. According to the foundation charter of 1456, there should be seven or eight priests to sing the seven canonical hours.<sup>238</sup> If we take a look at the appointed singers in the period 1520-1524, and we assume that a few of them were appointed before 1520, but were still part of the group between

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<sup>234</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. XLIXr.

<sup>235</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. XLIXv.

<sup>236</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LIIIIr to LXVIIJr. An overview of all the singers is given in Appendix 4. Vente also made an overview from the documents starting in 1498 and ending in 1554, but there are some omissions and mistakes in it, so the originals have to be checked if one wants to know something about a certain singer. For example, Vente did not mention any of the pieces of scrap paper, which contain so much valuable information (Vente 1980, pp. 87-95).

<sup>237</sup> See on this theme Roelvink 2002, p. 64.

<sup>238</sup> See § 2.4.

1520 and 1524, the number of seven to eight will still be right.<sup>239</sup> A survey of extra payments to the singers for singing at Easter, Pentecost and Christmas shows that on feasts seven to nine singers were paid.<sup>240</sup>

Remarkable is that most choirboys seem to have been contracted for one whole year at once, often starting on St Odulphus Day (12 June, the day of the yearly procession in Delft), and from then on the contract was extended.<sup>241</sup> The *zeven-getijdenmeesters* wanted the boys to look decent, since they yearly paid a *barbier* (hairdresser) to 'shave' the boys.<sup>242</sup> Another striking fact is that the difference in remunerations could be quite large, both for the choirboys and for the adult singers. Regarding the singers: a few of them were priests. In some cases that meant that they did not get the full payment a non-priest would receive or they got either the *loet* and/or the *accidentie*, but not the basic salary. In those cases the appointment texts and/or pieces of scrap paper mention that the priest would also be paid to read Masses.<sup>243</sup> One small loose piece of paper is very clear about the division: on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday *heer* Loys would celebrate Mass, on Wednesday and Thursday *heer* Zibrant, and on Friday and Saturday *heer* Bertelmees.<sup>244</sup>

The entries in the manual stop in December 1524; from then on the *getijdenmeesters* started a new book that goes from St Martin's Day (11 November) 1524 until 1554.<sup>245</sup> The first folio of the book gives a list of *getijdenmeesters*, four each year, and the remark that they are chosen every year on St Martin's Day.<sup>246</sup> This manuscript contains more information than the first register of 1520-1524, especially on the payments to the singers, and related to that on the terms they stayed in Delft and for what period.

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<sup>239</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>240</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. XLVJr up to and including fol. XLVJv.

<sup>241</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>242</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXXJr: *Meester Jan Barbier heeft alle jaers ingaende martini vanden coralen te sceren xx st.* (paid 1520, 1521, 1522 and 1523)

<sup>243</sup> See Appendix 4, Adriaen Hubrechtsz.

<sup>244</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXVIIJr. This is not according to the foundation charter, which says that the parish priest would celebrate the daily Mass. It confirms however, that the parish priest did not reside in the city (see § 2.2). The combination of the names lead to the conclusion that this piece of paper can be dated after September 1524.

<sup>245</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186.

<sup>246</sup> This is still according to the foundation charter, although the charter mentions three or four masters (see § 2.4).



### 3.3 Second appointment, 1530

After leaving Delft in 1523, Gheerkin returned to the Nieuwe Kerk on 1 August 1530.<sup>247</sup> He is appointed *coraelmeester* again. The text is almost completely identical with the one from 1521, but now we are supplied with the list of all the monthly payments of 10 Flemish *schellingen*, running from August 1530 till February 1532.<sup>248</sup> This means that Gheerkin must have left Delft in March 1532. The payments are united through a bracket, to which the words *abijt hospite in salutato* [sic: *insalutato*] are added. Literally this means: he left without saying goodbye to his host or landlord. If landlord is really meant, then a final remark after the last payment becomes very interesting. It says: 'Master Gerrit still owes us 1 Flemish pound from the time he left, which we paid in his name to master Cornelis Aerntsz. *in de spiegel*.' Added to this remark are the words: *dit hout noch*, meaning 'this is still open'. The text says that Gheerkin had a debt to a certain *meester Cornelis Arentsz. in de Spiegel*. What might be meant here is that Gheerkin had to pay rent to master Cornelis Aernts, who lived in a house called De Spiegel (the mirror). Who was this master Cornelis Aernts? We know from a manual starting in 1520 that a *meester Cornelis Aerntsz.* was one of the three churchmasters of the Nieuwe Kerk in that year.<sup>249</sup> The same document mentions a payment for the bell tolling for *Grietgen meester Cornelis Artz. huysvrouw (his wife) in die groote spiegel*.<sup>250</sup> Secondary literature tells us that a *meester Cornelis Arentsz. vander Dussen in de Spiegel* was *schepen* (alderman) of Delft from 1522 until 1529. In 1530 he was *weesmeester* (administrator of the orphanage), in 1534 (possibly from 1530 onwards, but there is a lack of sources) he was *raad* (councilor, member of the city council) and in 1536 he became *stadssecretaris* (city secretary) until his death on 22 May 1556.<sup>251</sup> The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns the portrait of this man, entitled 'Cornelis Arentsz. van der Dussen (1481-1556). Secretaris van Delft sedert 1536'.<sup>252</sup> The house De Spiegel (or

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<sup>247</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, folio LXXXI(c)r.

<sup>248</sup> Appendix 3, 1530, 1 August. Curious is the payment of November 1531: it says that Gheerkin's payment should be decreased by 1 *Rynsgulden* because he has already received that, but the payment still is 10 *schellingen groot vlaams*, so there is no reduction.

<sup>249</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, title page.

<sup>250</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. CXVr.

<sup>251</sup> Boitet 1729 (1972), pp. 81, 121-122 and III. Hoofdstuk Namen der Heeren Stads Secretarissen (no pagenummer).

<sup>252</sup> Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, object number SK-A-1532. The museum dates the painting somewhere between 1530 and 1560, and mentions that it is a copy after an original by the famous Utrecht painter Jan van Scorel. Van der Dussen has a paper in his hand with

De grote Spiegel) was probably situated near the Spiegelbrug, which connected the Jacob Gerritsstraat and the Brabantse Turfmarkt.<sup>253</sup> Meester Cornelis Arendszoon is also mentioned in a tax book of 1543, even twice.<sup>254</sup> The first time he has to pay for a house in the Vlaminckstraet zuytzuyden. This street still exists today and is situated right behind (north-north-east of) the Nieuwe Kerk.<sup>255</sup> The second payment is for a house on the Pontemarct, today called the Brabantse Turfmarkt, situated south-east of the Nieuwe Kerk; this must be house De Spiegel, where Cornelis himself lived. For the house in the Vlamingstraat Cornelis was taxed 18 Flemish *schellingen*, for the second house he had to pay 3 Flemish pounds. The amounts represent 10 per cent of the (sometimes estimated) rentable value. The first house (De Spiegel) therefore had a rentable value of £ 30 (a year), the second of £ 9. Although we are not sure that the remark on Gheerkin's leaving refers to a *rental* debt and we have to consider that the tax book is dated eleven years after Gheerkin had left Delft and seven years after the great city fire of 1536, it is very tempting and even logical to assume that Gheerkin de Hondt rented living accomodation (rooms or a house) from master Cornelis Arendsz. close by the Nieuwe Kerk where he worked.

### 3.4 Colleagues and choirboys, 1530-1532

At his appointment, Gheerkin received a welcoming payment of 12 *stuivers*.<sup>256</sup> This is double the amount a regular singer received.<sup>257</sup> In the same chapter of extraordinary payments, we find payments to Gheerkin for travelling to Leiden, Haarlem and Gouda, to look for new singers. The first payment for travelling to Leiden is to find a new bass singer; Gheerkin is paid 6 *stuivers*. The second journey Gheerkin made was to Haarlem and Gouda, to find a bass singer again (or still), but this time also to look for two other *ghesellen* (singers). This second voyage was

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the inscription: *Sij gegeven aenden Eersame discreten [Corn]elis arentsz. secretaries tot delft.*

<sup>253</sup> Van der Beek 2008, p. 6.

<sup>254</sup> Edition by Verhoeven 1999, p. 25, nr. [669] and p. 45, nr. [1220].

<sup>255</sup> In the order of the tax book, it comes after a category entitled *Die huysen staende achter die Nyeuwe Kerck*, so we are talking about the same street.

<sup>256</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. CJr (Appendix 3, 1530, between August 1530 and February 1532).

<sup>257</sup> As we shall see later in this paragraph, a *zangmeester* received double payments too on feasts. In Chapter 9 we shall see that Gheerkin was one of the best paid *zangmeesters* of the Nieuwe Kerk.

further away and must have lasted longer, since Gheerkin received 3 Flemish *schellingen* for it.<sup>258</sup> The payments are not dated and are not placed chronologically, since the payment after the one to Gheerkin is for the welcoming of singer Gommaer Claesz. van Lier, who started singing in Delft before Gheerkin. By looking at the survey of singers in Appendix 4, we are able to date Gheerkin's travels more precisely. Both times Gheerkin went away to find a bass. During his entire second period as *zangmeester*, there was one bass, namely Dominicus Aeriaensz. van Benscoep, who stayed in Delft from November 1527 until the fire of May 1536. A second bass singer, Wouter vander Graeff, was appointed in August 1531. *Hoogconter* Lauweryn Heynricxz. and *hoogtenor* Hansselmus van Maistrycht were appointed in July and October 1531 respectively. Therefore, we might conclude that Gheerkin's travels were in the spring and summer of 1531.<sup>259</sup>

Hansselmus van Maistrycht is also mentioned on a piece of scrap paper, together with a certain Wouter, *meester* Gerrit and *meester* Willem.<sup>260</sup> These are all names of singers: *hoogtenor* Hansselmus van Maistrycht, *bass* Wouter vander Graeff, *zangmeester* Gerrit de Hondt and *hoogconter/zangmeester* Willem vander Turren. These singers were together in Delft from November 1531 up to and including January 1532. In December Hansselmus received his last monthly payment as *hoogtenor*; according to the piece of scrap paper he received a part payment in January. Since the payment is 2/3 of his normal remunerations, he probably left around 20 January 1532. Hansselmus is also given part of Wouter's remunerations, though it remains unclear why. On behalf of Wouter, two payments were made to a certain Jan Schoen – a baker – and his wife, living at the Pontemarct (today the Brabantse Turfmarkt); an amount of 1 Rhine guilder is paid in January and February, and therefore these are probably payments for rent. The same amount of 1 Rhine guilder is given to master Gerrit, but it remains unclear what it is for.<sup>261</sup> The payment in March to master Willem is perhaps a payment for replacing Gheerkin as *zangmeester* in the remaining days of March, since his official appointment started at the first of April, and Gheerkin must have left sometime in March. The piece of scrap paper, therefore, is to be dated in the first quarter of 1532.

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<sup>258</sup> See Appendix 3, 1530, between August 1530 and February 1532.

<sup>259</sup> See Appendix 4. Of course it is not certain that Gheerkin's travels resulted in hiring the two singers, but the need for new singers was there in those months.

<sup>260</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, between fol. XLVJ and XLVIJ (at the time of research, June 2008). Appendix 3, 1530, between August 1530 and February 1532.

<sup>261</sup> Remarkable is that the amount of 1 Rhine guilder is also the amount Gheerkin should have been docked in November 1531, but there does not seem to be any relation between the two.

The assumption that Gheerkin de Hondt was indeed responsible for hiring and teaching the choirboys during his first appointment between 1521 and 1523 is confirmed by an appointment text of the choirboy Gerrit Cornelisz. on the first of August 1531. The text mentions that the appointment was made in the presence of the boy's mother and of *meester Gerrit de sancgmeester*. There were some concerns about the boy's voice: he was only allowed to stay if his voice remained good.<sup>262</sup> This is the only appointment text of a choirboy during the years 1530-1532. The group of choirboys was a very steady group of five boys during Gheerkin's second period in Delft. This number corresponds to the numbers mentioned in the extra payments to the boys for the feasts of Easter, Pentecost and Christmas.<sup>263</sup> Only once there are six boys, at Christmas 1531, the sixth boy must have been a guest.<sup>264</sup> The choirboys received clothing from the *getijdenmeesters* once every two years, and – as in the years 1520-1524 – they got their hair cut by a *barbier* at the expense of the *getijdenmeesters*.<sup>265</sup>

Like the choirboys, the adult singers also got paid extra for singing at the feasts of Easter, Pentecost and Christmas.<sup>266</sup> A singer received 3 *stuivers* per feast extra, and a choirmaster was paid double the amount (6 *stuivers*).<sup>267</sup> Another extra payment was given to the singers on the feast of St Cecilia; the number of singers is not mentioned, but the amounts match the amounts of the other feasts.<sup>268</sup> According to the payments for Easter, Pentecost and Christmas during the years 1530-1532 there is an average of six to eight singers. This corresponds to the number of singers mentioned in the foundation charter and the estimated number of singers in the years 1520-1524 (see above). The survey of singers in Appendix 4 confirms this. If we take the date of 1 January 1532, we have a group of seven singers: two bass singers (Dominicus Aeriaensz. van Benscoep and Wouter vander Graeff), two *hoogconters* (Lauweryn Heynricxz. and Willem vander Turren), two *hoogtenoren* (Dirck/Derick Jansz. and Hansselmus van Maistrycht) and one *zangmeester* (Gheerkin de

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<sup>262</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXJ(d)v. Appendix 3, 1531, 1 August.

<sup>263</sup> One of the in total four schoolmasters also got paid extra on the feasts, on which they served in turn: GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. XCJr.

<sup>264</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. XCr.

<sup>265</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXIIJr (Jacop Evertsz. receives shoes and clothing), CJv (*tabbarden* and *bonnetten*) and CXVJr (hairdresser).

<sup>266</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXIXr.

<sup>267</sup> The survey of the payments must contain mistakes in the number of singers or in the payments, since the numbers do not always correspond to the payments, for example Christmas 1530 and Pentecost 1531 should be 3 *groot* less or one singer more.

<sup>268</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cr up to and including fol. CJv.

Hondt).<sup>269</sup> According to the foundation charter, the sexton was added to this group if he had nothing else important to do. In the period Gheerkin was *zangmeester* the presence of the sexton was probably not always necessary, since no payments to him were registered.<sup>270</sup> He did, however, get paid extra on the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and All Saints' Day, for singing the seven canonical hours.<sup>271</sup>

The turnover of the singers was rather high, therefore we find in several appointment texts that the singers were obliged to give notice several months before they wanted to leave. A similar term of notice was sometimes also applied to the *getijdenmeesters*, although theirs could be shorter than the one of the singers.<sup>272</sup> In spite of the high turnover of singers, our documents only once give us information on an application: around 1526 *heer* Ysbrant, bass singer, was paid 4 *stuivers* for his application, because he was not hired.<sup>273</sup> We find no clues as to guest singers. The payments of candidates and guest singers should have been in the registers of the *getijdenmeesters*, but since so many documents of the church seem to be missing, it is a bit risky to conclude that this group of singers was not paid at all.

We have only two documents telling us about misbehaviour by the singers. The first is the manual from 1520-1524, speaking about the payment of the *bienvenue* (welcoming) to the singers. It turns out that this extra payment was sometimes (or always?) for drinking with the new colleagues, causing confusion in the church (during the services) when the *bienvenue* 'had been drunk'.<sup>274</sup> The second document contains notes with complaints about a *zangmeester*, who among other things hit the choirboys in church, drank too much during the services, did not come to church together with the boys, did not teach the boys how to bow during the services, sang too hastily and shortened the hymns and other songs. He was dismissed from singing Vespers and from singing on the evenings of holy days. The document is not

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<sup>269</sup> This would mean that the two tenors (*heer* Dijemen Pietersz. vander Goereede and Cornelis Janss. van Rotterdam) were no longer part of the group at that time. The number of the average of six singers plus a *zangmeester* might be confirmed by a piece of scrap paper of about 1548 between folios LXXXV and LXXXVJ (at the time of research in June 2008), entitled *Memori voir die 7 getiden in die nyewe kerck tot Delff*, mentioning payments to two bass singers, two tenors and two *hoogconters*.

<sup>270</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. CXIJr, payments for February (1527?) and from November 1533 onwards.

<sup>271</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXVIIJr.

<sup>272</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, for example fol. LXXXJ(b)v (Willem vander Turren), fol. LXXXJ(e)r (Wouter vander Graeff), fol. LXXXJ(e)v (Hansselmus van Maistrycht). See also GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXVIJ (Goeswyn Anthoenisz.).

<sup>273</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cv.

<sup>274</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXXXv. Appendix 3, 1523, 8 March.

dated and we do not even know if it belongs to the Oude Kerk or the Nieuwe Kerk.<sup>275</sup>

In his book of 1667 the city historian Dirck van Bleyswijck gives us information on how the priests and singers should behave during the seven canonical hours in the Nieuwe Kerk, relying on an original document (*ordonnancie*), written on parchment, that has now been lost and is probably to be dated at the end of the 15th century.<sup>276</sup> The singers should stand upright, not leaning or having their heads leaning on their hands and not sitting down while the other singers are standing. They should sing at every service, without any immoral behaviour or unseemly coming together. The singers had to be present at all processions, remaining until the last moment, walking behind each other and not chatting to each other. Finally, the singers had to be present on time: for Matins they had to be in place before the end of the first psalm, and for the other canonical hours before the end of the first Gloria. The ones not present in time would not receive a *loot!*

### 3.5 The liturgical calendar

That the behaviour of the singers sometimes left something to be desired is no doubt also a consequence of the very tight schedule they had to follow, seven days a week. According to the foundation charter, they had to sing the seven canonical hours every day (including High Mass), following the Ordinary of the diocese of Utrecht. Furthermore, they had to sing at a number of feasts. The text mentions Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, the Assumption of Our Lady, Epiphany, Corpus Christi, the procession of Our Lady, St Ursula, All Saints' and Martinmas. Also, a Requiem Mass was to be sung on Wednesday, if one of the contributors to the college of the seven canonical hours had died. And once a year, in January, a general Requiem Mass was to be sung for all contributors who had passed away.

The foundation charter was written in 1456, and from the sources that have come down to us from the periods Gheerkin de Hondt worked in Delft (which is more than sixty-five years later), we know that a few things had changed in the course of time. A real expansion of the tasks of the singers was the *Lof* services, which started in 1477 and were extended in 1486, and which we already discussed in Chapter 2. We know about these services through the chronicle of the Nieuwe Kerk,

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<sup>275</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 227. Vente adds it to the documents of the Oude Kerk and dates it around 1500. For a transcription see: Vente 1980, p. 77.

<sup>276</sup> Van Bleyswijck 1667-1680, p. 245.

in which the writer explicitly states that the masters of the seven canonical hours accepted this expansion of work for their singers.<sup>277</sup>

Another expansion of duties for the singers might have been in the number feasts. The general number of feasts the medieval citizen of Delft had to respect (and on which he was not allowed to work) remained fairly constant. We have two documents of the diocese of Utrecht, dating from 1346 and 1525, mentioning the holy days for the churches that belonged to this bishopric, among them the ones in Delft.<sup>278</sup> The documents of the diocese of Utrecht show us that there were only a few changes in about two hundred years. Originally there were sixty feast days, which changed to fifty-three in 1525. Some changes probably were already accepted informally, and were made official in 1525. That the official diocesan order was not strictly followed in the parish churches in the bishopric is shown by several documents in the archives of the Nieuwe Kerk. Two documents indicate which feasts were celebrated: a ledger with receipts and expenditure (dated circa 1497-1508) that mentions the feasts on which the *providieres* had to be present, receiving hundred *stuivers* a year, and a document on the hiring of an organist (dated 3 January 1547).<sup>279</sup> A third document also gives us information on feasts: it is the ledger from 1524-1554 (containing Gheerkin's second period in Delft), which shows us on which feasts the *getijdenmeesters* held a collection in the church.<sup>280</sup> All surveys are placed side by side in Appendix 5, List of feasts in Delft.

The question remains on which feasts Gheerkin and his colleagues had to be present and on which feasts professional music was not required. A helping hand is given by a remark in the ledger from 1497-1508, which is already about fifty years after the foundation charter; it mentions that when the golden ornaments are used, the singers of the seven canonical hours *providieren* ('serve').<sup>281</sup> We are not informed

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<sup>277</sup> Appendix 3, 1477, around and 1486, around Christmas Eve. See also Van Bleyswijk 1667-1680, p. 210: ... *ende dese iij Loeven anvoirden die Seven-Getijde-Meesters, ende dede die doen by hoir Sangers up hoich coor.*

<sup>278</sup> Verhoeven 1993b. The information on these documents used in this chapter comes from this article.

<sup>279</sup> Respectively GAD 435, Inv. no. 156 and Inv. no. 178. GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. XCIII<sup>r</sup> mentions four *providieres*, or servants. Vente states that the *providieres* were the priests, the singers and choirboys (Vente 1980, p. 81). Since there were more than four singers, the question is who are meant with the four *providieres* in Inv. no. 186. Clearly the term *providieres* in Inv. no. 156 was used as a general term meaning all servants, including the singers.

<sup>280</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. XXII<sup>r</sup> onwards.

<sup>281</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 156, fol. XLIX<sup>v</sup>, not in Vente. The text also says that on days of the Holy Cross (like *invencionis ende exaltacionis*), the singers of the holy cross had to *providieren ende dienen*, probably the singers of the Holy Cross Guild (see Chapter 2). It

about the order of the feasts in the Nieuwe Kerk. But for the Oude Kerk, we do have that information.<sup>282</sup> ‘Golden’ days in the Oude Kerk in 1539 were Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, *ommegangsdag* (procession day), Hippolytus (church patron), Assumptio Marie, *kermisdag* (annual fair), Remigius and Bavo and All Saints’ Day. The days correspond rather well to the days mentioned in the foundation charter of the Nieuwe Kerk of 1456.<sup>283</sup> However, two questions remain. The first is why the *getijdenmeesters* would take the collection for funding for the seven canonical hours when the singers would not be singing. And the second question that remains is why the organist should play, if the singers were not required to sing. Of course, he could have accompanied the priests celebrating Mass and he could have played instrumental compositions to add lustre to the service, but it still seems strange that the singers of the seven canonical hours were not singing during all the most celebrated feasts. However, the only safe conclusion we may reach is that the feasts mentioned in the foundation charter of 1456 were still current during Gheerkin’s employment in Delft in the years 1521-1523 and 1530-1532, but Gheerkin probably also sang during the other feasts on the calendar.

### 3.6 Private foundations

We are very poorly informed about private foundations by (rich) parishioners in which the professional singers were involved. As we shall see in the chapter on the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges, private foundations were a normal development in a parish church. For the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, we only have a few entries in our documents and only a few copies of foundation texts that give us information on this kind of foundation.

The ledger from 1524-1554 has a few chapters with payments that refer to foundations of which the original charter has been lost. It is also not clear to whom exactly the payments are made and what these servants had to do to be paid. The first foundation was made by Gijsbrecht Jan Martynsz. in 1488. The ‘priests’ (who could be the professional singers in the 1520s and 1530s) received a payment on the octave of the feast of Corpus Christi (*Sacramentsdag*) for two Vespers ‘with the

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remains unclear who those singers are, but as we shall see for ’s-Hertogenbosch, it probably is the same group of men, but then paid by another authority.

<sup>282</sup> Verhoeven 1993b, pp. 166-168 and 172-173.

<sup>283</sup> Except for the difference in patron saints (Ursula and Hippolytus) and Remigius and Bavo in the Oude Kerk and Martinmas in the Nieuwe Kerk.



procession' and High Mass. In June 1531 this payment is reduced, though it is unclear why.<sup>284</sup> Another chapter in the ledger mentions a foundation by Bairtgen the widow of Claes Touwen on the feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord. The payments are extra payments besides the *loot*: 3 *stuivers* for the organist *opt grootste werck* (on the largest organ) and 2 *stuivers* for the bellows blower; the sexton, the assistant sexton, the *beyerman* (bell ringer) and the four *dienres* (servants, not specified) also received a small amount of money.<sup>285</sup> A last foundation in this ledger tells us about two sung Masses each week, founded by master Jan van Woerden alias Langhaels/Lanxhaels van Delft, a member of the council of the 'K.M.' (*Keizerlijke Majesteit*, meaning Emperor Charles V). The Masses should be sung on Wednesday and Friday, but since Friday was the day of the sung Mass for the Holy Cross, the Mass was transferred to Saturday. Both Masses were performed by the *zeven getijden*, but no (individual) payments are given. The text is not dated, but because of the reference to Emperor Charles V, it may be dated between 1519 and 1555.

A ledger which was begun in 1486 mentions several foundations, but only one of them mentions music. It is a foundation of a memorial service by Machtelt Nobels for herself. During the Saturday evening Vespers on the day before her actual memorial service on the Sunday before the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (2 February), there was organ music.<sup>286</sup> The payment of £ 2 *Hollants* will be made to the *gesellen vande memori* (the people of the memorial services); it remains unclear who exactly were part of that group of people.

Only one foundation charter has come down to us that mentions the singers of the seven canonical hours. It is a copy dated 3 September 1514, after an original of 21 March 1460.<sup>287</sup> The foundation was made by Geertruyt, the widow of Jan Willemsz., and contains several services. In one of the ceremonies the singers of the seven canonical hours are involved. On *palme dach* (Palm Sunday) they had to accompany 'Our Lord'<sup>288</sup> from the Ouden Gasthuys (the old hospital) in procession to the Nieuwe Kerk. Arriving at the church, they had to sing the hymn 'Vexilla regis prodeunt',<sup>289</sup> standing before the presbytery and before the holy cross. The group received £ 2 *Hollants* for their duties. There must have been many foundations like this, but they have not been preserved.

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<sup>284</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXIIIJr.

<sup>285</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXVr.

<sup>286</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 155, p. [146].

<sup>287</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 160.

<sup>288</sup> What is meant here probably is a figure acting Our Lord, or a wooden sculpture.

<sup>289</sup> The hymn was originally written for Passion Sunday (the Sunday before Palm Sunday). See also: Caspers 1992, pp. 74, 77.

Another possible reference to a foundation can be found in a manual of income which is dated 1520-1560. The manuscript mentions the receipts (of an offertory) during the *gulden mis*.<sup>290</sup> A *gulden mis* ('golden mass') was celebrated in many places in the Low Countries.<sup>291</sup> The *gulden mis* was sung early in the morning on Wednesday in the Ember Days, the Wednesday after the third Sunday during Advent, and therefore between 14 and 20 December. The subject of the mass is the same as the subject of the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (25 March), the incarnation of Christ. The liturgy of the Mass is almost the same as the liturgy on 25 March. The Mass was often celebrated with a so-called mystery play; we will see a beautiful example of such a play in the chapter on the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges.<sup>292</sup> The first reference in the manual of the celebration of a *gulden mis* in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft dates from 1520.<sup>293</sup> The manual mentions the *gulden misse figuyrlic gesongen ende gespeelt van de bootschap onser liever vrouwen* (the Annunciation of Our Lady was sung and played, probably in polyphony),<sup>294</sup> *mit personage* (with 'pageants').<sup>295</sup> The manual only gives us the total amounts that remained after all the costs were deducted, but no specification is given.<sup>296</sup> However, both D. van Bleyswijck and H. van Rhijn in their respectively 17th- and 18th-century histories of the city of Delft tell us in detail about a foundation made by a certain master Pieter Bonifaes.<sup>297</sup> Van Bleyswijck clearly had access to a foundation charter that now has been lost.<sup>298</sup> A year is not mentioned, but it is safe to assume that either

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<sup>290</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. XCVr: *Hier salmen teykenen alle incomen binnen elck jair als van woensdages inde quateremper voir kersmis inde gulden misse ...* [other days an offertory was held]... *beginnende van S. Mairtyns dage anno xv<sup>e</sup> xx.*

<sup>291</sup> See on the history of the *Gulden mis*: Kruitwagen 1906/1907. The general information in this paragraph is taken from this series of articles.

<sup>292</sup> See § 5.5.3.4.

<sup>293</sup> And probably before that, but the preceding document has not come down to us.

<sup>294</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. XCVr. The meaning of the word 'figuyrlic' remains uncertain: according to the Dutch medieval dictionary (Verdam 1994) 'figuyrlic' means 'in person/by a living example', but 'cantus figuratus' means 'song with measured rhythm' [polyphony] (Bernhard 2000, columns 394-5). Since the Golden Mass founded by Pieter Cottreel in Bruges in 1519 was sung in polyphony, both explanations could be valid here.

<sup>295</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. XCVIv.

<sup>296</sup> For the years 1520 onwards, until the city fire of 1536. Van Berckel only mentions the celebration of 1525 (Van Berckel 1904, pp. 322-324).

<sup>297</sup> Van Bleyswijck 1667-1680, pp. 243-244 and Van Rhijn 1720, pp. 143-144. For a transcription see Kruitwagen 1906, pp. 456-459.

<sup>298</sup> For a transcription see Kruitwagen 1906, pp. 456-459. We know that the same *meester* Pieter Bonifaes founded a *gulden mis* in the Oude Kerk, in 1546 (Van Berckel 1904, pp.

this charter dates from before 1520, or that the custom was in place before the foundation was officially created. The Mass is to be sung in the early morning between five and six o'clock; a *Lof* service is sung on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings. The singers had to sing during all three services, but the choirboys only had to sing during the *Lof* services. The organist and bellows blower also got paid, probably for the three services, but that is not specified.<sup>299</sup>

### 3.7 The music

Now that we know who Gheerkin's colleagues were and when they had to sing, a last question has to be answered: what did they sing? The single fact that several voice-types were necessary indicates that polyphony was sung. But there is more. In 1523, so probably during the time Gheerkin was *zangmeester* or shortly thereafter, several *musijck boecquen* were repaired. The titles of the books only give us a poor indication of what repertoire the singers had at their disposal.<sup>300</sup> None of these books has come down to us, so apart from the titles (most likely of the first compositions), we do not know precisely what was sung.<sup>301</sup> But it is nice to see that a Kyrie (perhaps an entire Mass?) by the very famous composer Jacob Obrecht (1457/1458 – 1505) was among the pieces.

Some more information can be found in the ledger that was started in 1524 and that contains so much valuable information on Gheerkin de Hondt and his

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103-105). It is possible that Van Bleyswijck confused the two foundations and that the charter was the one belonging to the foundation in the Oude Kerk.

<sup>299</sup> Van Berckel 1904, pp. 103-105.

<sup>300</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXXVIIr (see Transcriptions, 1523). Also given in: Van Berckel 1901, p. 221 and Vente 1980, pp. 95-96, both with some differences in transcriptions.

<sup>301</sup> The title *Urbs beata Jherusalem* probably refers to the hymn of the same name or even a Mass for the Dedication of the Church (see the information on the *Missa Urbs beata* by Courtois in Appendix 13). 'Recordare' might refer to a Requiem Mass or memorial service. *O quam suavis* is an antiphon for the feast of Corpus Christi (Cantus Database); 'gratia plena' must refer to *Ave Maria*. *Regina celi* also refers to a Marian text. 'Qui tollis' refers most likely to the Mass Ordinary (Gloria or Agnus Dei). It is a guess, but if 'Sanctam trinitas' should be 'Sancta trinitas', it probably refers to music for the feast of the Holy Trinity (for example the motet by Antoine de Févin, which was the basis for the *Missa Sancta Trinitas*, either by De Févin or Jean Mouton; see Appendix 13, 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 155). The meaning of the text 'Et Vobis nomine eius Jhuz.' remains unclear.

colleagues. Between September 1524 and June 1526, heer Bertelmees was paid to write thirty-seven sheets (paper or parchment?) with *muysicken* (polyphony) plus eighteen gatherings.<sup>302</sup> A bookbinder called Jan Janszo. was paid 8 Flemish *schellingen* on Ascension Day 1526 to bind the book.<sup>303</sup> And *zangmeester* Jan was paid 5 Flemish *schellingen* to correct the new book.<sup>304</sup> The *getijdenmeesters* took good care of their books, because between 11 November 1530 and 1531 they bought a key for a sort of cupboard where the *mouttet boecken* were stored. One of the motet books was given a new cover at the same time.<sup>305</sup>

Besides these references, we have already seen that a part of an Easter play has been preserved.<sup>306</sup> Another fragment in the archives of the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk in Delft is a piece of chant: a folio from an antiphonary containing music for the first Sunday in Advent, *ad primas vespere*s; it is not clear if it belonged to the collection of the Nieuwe or the Oude Kerk. The folio has no date, but the inventory estimates it at about 1450.<sup>307</sup>

More chant was already mentioned by Jan Bank in 1940.<sup>308</sup> Bank refers to a book now in Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht (BMH h149). It binds together four individual books and fragments of books: (1) a print from Gouda from 1505, called *Cantuale Traiectensis diocesis*; (2) a fragment of an unknown and undated print in the same style as the first one; (3) an *Antiphonarium/Graduale* in manuscript<sup>309</sup> and (4) a calendar from 1562.<sup>310</sup> The first part of the book is the most interesting and curious, because it is a print with handwriting: the staves and texts are printed, but the notes are written in by hand, although not all staves and texts

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<sup>302</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cr-v. Appendix 3, 1524, between 13 September and June 1526. Priest Bertelmees Pottier was *hoogtenoer* from 13 September 1524 up to and including June 1526 (GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXVIIJr and Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXVIIJr).

<sup>303</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cv, Appendix 3, 1526, 10 May (Ascension Day).

<sup>304</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cv, Appendix 3, 1526, between 22 November and 25 December.

<sup>305</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. CIIIJr. Appendix 3, 1530, between 11 November 1530 and 11 November 1531.

<sup>306</sup> See § 2.4. GAD 435, Inv. no. 216.

<sup>307</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 213.

<sup>308</sup> Bank 1939b, pp. 287-288 and Bank 1940, pp. 31-32.

<sup>309</sup> Dated by the Museum 1500-1509, but by Calvin Bower in the second half of the sixteenth century (Bower 2003, pp. 70-71). The book is clearly linked to Delft, since it starts with chant for the feasts of Hippolytus and Ursula.

<sup>310</sup> Two men have claimed the possession of the book by inscribing their names: Ghijsbert Cornelisz. and Jacobi Guilhelmi. The name of the second one comes on the verso side of the folio with the name of Ghijsbert, and is crossed out.

have notes. The book was made to teach the schoolboys of the diocese of Utrecht what to sing and therefore it might have been a book that Gheerkin used for teaching the choirboys. The schoolbook contains music for the seven canonical hours and was printed by the Collatiebroeders in Gouda.<sup>311</sup> The teaching aspect is confirmed by a Guidonian hand in the beginning of the book with musical notation under it; it remains unclear who added this to the book and when. Perhaps it was the same person who added a sketch of a man, probably a clergyman or a singer. The whole remains rather curious, as noted several scholars.<sup>312</sup>

All signs indicate that Delft was a fully-grown city when it came to housing professional musicians in the 16th century, musicians who sang and played on a high professional level, in no way inferior to other cities in the Low Countries. Even so, the information we have on Delft is poor and fragmented, and the many pieces of scrap paper in several manuscripts from the church masters and the *getijdenmeesters* of the Nieuwe Kerk suggest that there once was much more information than we have now. But we may conclude that the musical climate in Delft was lively and attractive, with the canonical hours and other liturgical services sung by professional singers in two churches every day. At least the professional atmosphere was good enough for Gheerkin, because after his first employment in Delft between June 1521 and probably 1523, he returned to the Nieuwe Kerk in August 1530 to stay there until February 1532. But then he got the chance to work in one of the most attractive musical cities of the Low Countries: Bruges.

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<sup>311</sup> Goudriaan 2004, p. 170.

<sup>312</sup> Besides Bank: Bower 2003, pp. 70-71; Goudriaan 2004, p. 170. See also Nijhoff/Kronenberg 1923, pp. 194-195 (referring to a reprint from 1517).

## Chapter 4      Bruges: the city and its churches

### 4.1      International trading centre

The history of Bruges is much longer than that of Delft. The oldest mention of the city of Bruges is in an official document in a text from the Sint-Baafsabdij of Ghent dated shortly after 851. Archaeological research in the last decades of the twentieth century has shown us that the origins of Bruges go back much further, at least to the first centuries of the Christian era, when the Romans inhabited the territory.<sup>313</sup> By the time the first inhabitants settled on the shores of what was to become the town of Delft, Bruges already had a small harbour and was trading intensively with England, especially in wool. The textile industry was flourishing.

The Hanseatic League (Hanse) dates from this period.<sup>314</sup> The Hanse started as a merchant guild with the purpose of stimulating trade and increasing profit. It connected cities in Germany (like Dortmund, Munster and Cologne) with the rest of Europe. The Hanse grew into a very powerful economic, social and cultural organisation in northern Europe, which had offices in the countries along the coastal area from northern France to Estonia. Bruges was one of the first four great trading posts, after London, Bergen (Norway) and Novgorod (Russia) and remained one of the leading towns at least until the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>315</sup>

Because of the city's prominent position in an international network, many foreigners came to Bruges and took up residence there. First there were the Germans, followed by the English, French (especially from northern France), Portuguese, Spanish (especially from Barcelona, Valencia, Mallorca, Burgos), Italian (especially from Lucca, Genoa, Florence, Milan, Venice) and Scottish merchants.<sup>316</sup> In the fourteenth century, Bruges was the most thriving city of Flanders, with about 42,000-45,000 inhabitants. Only Ghent, Paris and three north Italian cities had a larger population.<sup>317</sup> As an international trading centre, Bruges offered a platform for bankers, money-changers, granters of credit, brokers and hoteliers. The last two at that time were almost always united in one person. The exchange (Bourse, Dutch

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<sup>313</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 13-18.

<sup>314</sup> Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, pp. 12 and 24-26.

<sup>315</sup> Vandewalle 2002b, pp. 11-14.

<sup>316</sup> Vandewalle 2002b, pp. 27-62.

<sup>317</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 42-43.

*beurs*) practically originated in Bruges (together with Barcelona and north Italian cities), and is named after the Van der Beurse family. This family had an inn situated on a square named after them, the *Beursplein*, where trade was very lively. Already in 1400 there was a structural and well organised money market.<sup>318</sup>

## 4.2 Burgundy

Because Bruges had become an international trading centre, it had – as opposed to other cities – an extensive middle class of tradesmen with a large variety of activities.<sup>319</sup> By the mid-14th century, 25 per cent of the inhabitants worked in the textile industry, 38 per cent earned their living in the crafts oriented towards local needs (building industry, food industry, clothing industry) and 20 per cent made a living from trade.<sup>320</sup>

At the end of the century, the political situation changed. In 1384 Count Louis II of Flanders (Lodewijk van Male) died. His only heiress, Margaretha van Male, had married Philip the Bold of Burgundy and therefore the County of Flanders came under the rule of the duke of Burgundy. The dukes of Burgundy did not reside in Bruges at that time. Later, Philip the Good (reigned 1419-1467) and Mary of Burgundy (reigned 1477-1482) both chose Bruges as their main residence, although they spent most of their time in other residencies. Their accommodation became the Prinsenhof, situated on a large ground between the Moerstraat, Gheerwijnstraat, Noordzandstraat and Ontvangersstraat, and which they transformed into a luxurious palace.<sup>321</sup>

The frequent presence of the Burgundian court attracted many highly qualified artists and was very stimulating for the Bruges economy, which was already flourishing. The painters Jan van Eyck, Petrus Christus and Hans Memling (the so-called Flemish Primitives) and many anonymous artists all benefited from the reputation of Bruges as an international metropolis which had a large potential of patrons in Bruges and abroad. Luxury was the new fashion: painters, silver- and goldsmiths, illuminators like Simon Bening and Willem Vrelant (of the so-called Ghent-Bruges style), producers of luxurious manuscripts (like books of hours),

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<sup>318</sup> Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, pp. 12 and 34-35;

Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 78-79 and 82-83.

<sup>319</sup> On this early period in general, see also Murray 2005.

<sup>320</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 42-43 and 70-72.

<sup>321</sup> Ryckaert 1991, p. 165; Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 45-47.

people from the fashion industry and singers and composers all wanted to work in Bruges. The middle class also took advantage of the situation: their income increased spectacularly.<sup>322</sup> And although this all seems very materialistic, spiritual life was not forgotten.

### 4.3 Churches and convents

The city of Bruges belonged to the diocese of Tournai (Doornik).<sup>323</sup> The Christianization of the area around Bruges probably began in the seventh century.<sup>324</sup> The oldest church is Sint-Salvator and was founded in the middle of the 9th century as an annex to the nearby (country) parish of Snelleghem, or – more precisely – to another annex of the parish of Snelleghem, namely the parish of St Michael. The church became independent before 988. Soon after the foundation of Sint-Salvator, the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk (today Onthaalkerk Onze-Lieve-Vrouw) was founded from the nearby parish of Sijsele. The Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk became autonomous before 1089. In 1091 the church reached the status of collegiate church. A third place of worship was a chapel dedicated to Sint-Walburga (not to be confused with today's Walburgakerk), which served as the chapel of the count of Flanders. In the 10th century, count Arnulf I of Flanders had a church built close to his castle (*burcht*, on the place nowadays known as the Burg), dedicated to Our Lady and Sint-Donaas, soon to be the first collegiate church in town and dedicated to Sint-Donaas alone. The church also functioned as a parish church, but only for the people living and working within the walls of the castle.<sup>325</sup>

Around 1100 there were more (smaller) churches and chapels in Bruges, dedicated to St Christopher, St Amand, St John and St Peter.<sup>326</sup> Around the middle of the 12th century, Diederik van de Elzas, Count of Flanders, had his own chapel built, the Sint-Basiliuskapel. A second chapel was built above it, in honour of the relic of the Holy Blood (a drop of blood of Christ) that was brought to Bruges from

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<sup>322</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 103-107; Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, pp. 44-45.

<sup>323</sup> See on the medieval parishes in the diocese of Tournai: Vleeschouwers-van Melkebeek 1993.

<sup>324</sup> Rau 1987, volume 1, p. 9.

<sup>325</sup> Rau 1987, volume 1, pp. 9-10; Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, pp. 50-56; Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 24-27, 90; Vermeersch 1999.

<sup>326</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 89-90.



Constantinople in the first half of the 13th century.<sup>327</sup> Between 1239 and 1241 three new parishes were founded: Sint-Walburga (around the former count's Walpurga chapel) and Sint-Jacob, both separated from the Sint-Salvatorkerk, and Sint-Gilliskerk, a division from Onze-Lieve-Vrouw. A few decades later, in 1297, the parish of Sint-Kathelijne was split off from Onze-Lieve-Vrouw. Two centuries later, in 1497, a church dedicated to St Anne was built; it was an annex of Sint-Kruis, nowadays a borough of Bruges, but only from 1668 onwards an autonomous church. Finally, the beguines in the beguinage *ten Wijngaard* had their own church and formed their own independent parish from 1244-1245 onwards.<sup>328</sup>

Although only Sint-Donaas and Onze-Lieve-Vrouw were officially collegiate churches, the churches of Sint-Salvator, Sint-Jacob and Sint-Gillis had – as we will see later – a *zeven-getijdencollege*, a college of the seven canonical hours, in Bruges called *Commuun*.<sup>329</sup> On 27 September 1501, Sint-Salvator achieved the status of a collegiate church.<sup>330</sup>

In addition to the parish and collegiate churches, there were convents in Bruges where people could attend services. From the 13th century onwards, six male and two female mendicant orders found their way to Bruges.<sup>331</sup> Because of the international character of their orders, the conventuals were popular with the many foreigners who resided in Bruges. Almost every foreign *natie* (merchant association) had – besides its own house – its own altar or chapel in a church. The conventuals hosted many of them: the Germans, Catalans, English and Scots went to the Carmelites; Augustinians housed the merchants from Venice, Lucca and Genoa; the Franciscans accommodated traders from Florence, Castile and Biscay and the Dominicans lodged the Portuguese merchants.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 103-107; Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, pp. 14 and 97.

<sup>328</sup> Rau 1987, volume 1, pp. 10-12; Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, pp. 83-89 and 206-218; Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 92-94.

<sup>329</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 95. See on the *Commuun* in Sint-Gilles, Sint-Jacob and Sint-Walburga: Declerck 1971. Declerck emphasizes that the *communitas chori* (*Commuuns*) already existed in the churches of Sint-Gilles, Sint-Jacob and Sint-Walburga before the singing of the seven canonical hours was officially founded in those churches. However, in the 16th century, the *Commuun* is equal to the group of people singing the seven canonical hours.

<sup>330</sup> Dewitte 1967, p. 8; Dewitte 2000, p. 262.

<sup>331</sup> Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, pp. 83-86; Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, p. 28; Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 92-93.

<sup>332</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 77-82, 93; Vandewalle 2002b, pp. 34-39.

The Bruges churches benefited from the economic growth of the city. In the 15th century, all churches were enlarged and/or their interiors were embellished. Guilds, religious confraternities, individuals, foreign *naties* and private merchants all invested in the religious buildings and their interiors. Nowadays many medieval art treasures have been preserved.<sup>333</sup> For example, the Sint-Salvatorkerk still houses the choir stalls dating from the second quarter of the 15th century, and above them the escutcheons of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece from 1478. The Order also held a meeting in the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in 1468, and the escutcheons of that meeting are still kept in the church today.<sup>334</sup> Onze-Lieve-Vrouw also houses the tomb of Mary of Burgundy (1502; she had died in 1482) in the choir of the church. The tombs are best seen from the private chapel of Lodewijk van Gruuthuse, which was incorporated in his house and the church in 1472.<sup>335</sup> Many paintings were ordered for churches in Bruges too. A beautiful example is the painting that canon Joris van der Paele ordered from Jan van Eyck in 1434. The painting – of the Madonna and the canon himself with St Donatian and St George (Sint-Joris) – was meant to be placed above his grave in the Sint-Donaaskerk and was completed in 1436.<sup>336</sup> Other paintings that originated in Bruges were not meant to adorn the Bruges churches, but were intended for export, ordered by the merchants who resided in Bruges for their home towns. In the 1470s, for example, the Strozzi family exported several Flemish paintings to Italy via the Medici bank in Bruges (in the former Hof Bladelin). That the Bruges and Flemish paintings were already seen as very important pieces of art is proven by the story of a Memling painting. In 1467 the manager of the Medici bank in Bruges, Angelo Tani, ordered an altarpiece from Hans Memling (a Last Judgement) for a chapel recently renovated by the Medici in Badia Fiesolana (near Florence). When the painting was shipped to Italy in 1473, the ship was hijacked by shippers from Danzig (Gdańsk) as a retaliation in a commercial conflict, and transported to the Marian church there.<sup>337</sup> Sometimes a former Bruges citizen reciprocated. Today the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk still has a marble sculpture of a Madonna with child by Michelangelo. It was imported from Italy by the Bruges

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<sup>333</sup> Because the subject of this book is Gheerkin de Hondt, who worked in the Sint-Jacobskerk, only this church will be discussed at length (see below). From the other churches only a few examples are given here.

<sup>334</sup> See on the Order of the Golden Fleece (founded by Philip the Good in 1430 in Bruges): Marti/Borchert/Keck 2009, pp. 186-193.

<sup>335</sup> Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, pp. 60-65.

<sup>336</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 102, 104. The painting is nowadays in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges.

<sup>337</sup> Borchert 2002, pp. 138-145; Vermeersch 1992, pp. 16-17. The painting is now in Gdańsk, National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe).

merchant Jan Mouscron (or Moskroen), who resided in Italy and donated the sculpture to the church in 1514.<sup>338</sup>

#### 4.4 Welfare

All those wealthy citizens did think of their less fortunate fellow townsmen. Care for the poor, ill and old people was not forgotten. In Bruges, there were several ways the needy were supported. First of all, there were the churches, where rich parishioners remembered the poor in foundations. Poor relief was almost always an element in the memorial services founded by a person or his heirs after someone's death. This poor relief usually existed of so-called *armendissen* or poor tables.<sup>339</sup> The *Dis* was usually one of the three administrative organisations of a church, besides the church fabric (responsible for the church building) and the *Commuun* (responsible for the liturgy).<sup>340</sup> The principle of *Dissen* probably originated in the 11th century, when regular church care for the poor had declined. With the rise of cities, citizens started to take responsibility for all kinds of matters, and therefore also with poor relief. These charitable institutions all worked in their own parish, but sometimes foundations obliged a *Dis* to give help to the poor in another district. The *Dissen* literally set tables for the poor in the church (usually close to an entrance), and served them bread, butter, meat and other things like clothes (together called *provenen*). The poor<sup>341</sup> had received a so-called *teken* from the *Dis* (a token, in practice a leaden seal showing to how many *provenen* one poor person was entitled) which they could exchange for food and other things. Sometimes the *Dis* even paid for a funeral. The money to buy the goods was provided by the foundations made by parishioners. Therefore, the goods were almost always served after a memorial service in which the deceased donor was remembered.

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<sup>338</sup> Van Zeir 2002, pp. 81-82.

<sup>339</sup> Also called *Disch van den scamelen huusweken*, *Mensa pauperum*, *Table des pauvres*, *Dissen* or *Tafels van de Heilige Geest* (tables of the Holy Spirit); see Van Zeir 1960, p. 105.

<sup>340</sup> See on the Bruges *Dissen*: Van Zeir 1960. In Delft the *Dismeesters* are called *Heilige Geestmeesters*, there the *Commuun* is called *zeven-getijdencollege*.

<sup>341</sup> P. van Zeir defines the *armen huusweken* as all citizens who were so poor they couldn't take care of themselves: the unemployed, infirm, sick, elderly, widows, new mothers, large families, priests, et cetera who were at home.

Rich members of the Bruges community also founded almshouses (*godshuizen*<sup>342</sup>), where elderly people could live. They were small one-room houses, often built in groups around a inner garden. Good examples are the houses financed by Donaes de Moor (Boeveriestraat).<sup>343</sup> The houses were administered by the heirs of the founder or by the masters of the *Dis* of a church. These almshouses were not only initiated by private persons, they were also built by the guilds and crafts for their elderly members. Many of them still exist today, although of course adjusted to modern living.<sup>344</sup>

For needy people, there was the Sint-Janshospitaal (hospital of St John), of which the oldest mention dates from January 1188, when a hospital rule was made. In the first centuries, the hospital was not just for the sick, but also for travellers, elderly people, pilgrims and homeless people.<sup>345</sup> Parallel to the growth of Bruges, the number of charitable institutions increased. The Heilige-Geesthuis, the Potteriehospitaal, a house for the blind (house of the *Blindekens*), a house for the insane (*dulhuis* or *Sint-Hubrechts-ten-Dullen*), a leper house (Magdalenaleprozerie) and the *passantenhuizen* (houses especially for the homeless, pilgrims and poor travellers, for example Sint-Juliaans) were founded. They had in common that they all were the result of private initiatives.<sup>346</sup>

#### 4.5 The Sint-Jacobskerk<sup>347</sup>

As an effect of individual initiatives, by the end of the 15th century the Sint-Jacobskerk was a particularly rich church. The original small chapel was eventually extended to a hall church, which reached its final form in 1476.

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<sup>342</sup> As we shall see in the chapters on 's-Hertogenbosch, the word *godshuis* seems to have a different meaning in Bruges than it has in 's-Hertogenbosch. In Bruges it means house for the old and needy, in 's-Hertogenbosch a *godshuis* has the more general meaning of an organisation that puts into practice charity (Kappelhof 1981, p. 41, note 2).

<sup>343</sup> The houses still stand, nos. 52-76 (Martens 1992a, p. 266).

<sup>344</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, p. 57. The almshouses that still exist are shown in a map on page 219 of Ryckaert 1991, volume 2.

<sup>345</sup> Maréchal 1999; Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 54-57; Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, pp. 40-41; Smets 2001.

<sup>346</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 54-57.

<sup>347</sup> Unless otherwise stated, the paragraphs on Sint-Jacobs are based on: Rombauts 1986, volume I, pp. 8-33; Rotsaert 1975, pp. 122-135; Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, p. 211; Rau 1987, volume 1, p. 11; Jacobs 1997, pp. 126-129; Van Zeir 2002, pp. 26-40; Martens 1992a, pp. 262-290.

The tower of the church was equipped with bells. We have no any information on the old bells, but the accounts of the church fabric of 1525 onwards show us that a new set of bells was ordered in that year.<sup>348</sup> Three old bells were reused (among them probably one called Anna) and four new bells were founded and were solemnly dedicated on 10 December: Jacobus Maior (ut), Petrus (fa), Adriaen (mi) and Johannes (la). During the ceremony, the *ghezellen van de musyke* (singers of polyphony) of the church sang. Two years later, in 1527, the church fabric ordered four new small bells, called Philippus, Katharina, Ursula and Magdalena. These bells were dedicated on 30 May.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, many foreign merchants came to live in the parish, and the Prinsenhof (the Burgundian palace) was built in the area. Several trades had their own altars and/or chapels in Sint-Jacobs, for example the *beenhouwers* (butchers), *grauwwerkers* (furriers) and *tauwers* (tanners), *barbiere en chirurgijns* (barber-surgeons; dedicated to their patrons Cosmas and Damian), *kuipers* (coopers, barrel-makers; dedicated to Saint Leonard), *tegeldekkersknappen* (tiler/slater lads), *mutsereders* (hat makers), *schoeboeters* (shoe repairmen), *stoeldraaiers* (chair makers) and *waslichtmakers* (wax candle makers).<sup>349</sup>

Money was no problem for most of the parishioners and they generously donated to their church.<sup>350</sup> Among the donors were the later duke Charles the Bold, Tommaso Portinari (manager of the Medici bank in Bruges) and the local elite, among them Donaes de Moor and his wife Adriane de Vos, the Bitebloc family, the De Gros family, the Haghelsteen family, the Moreel family, the Van der Bieze family and the Agnelli family. The Sint-Jacobskerk also housed confraternities. One of the most prominent ones was the Confraternity of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded in 1499 by Jan Bertijn. From 1508 onwards the confraternity had its own altar and the feast of the Presentation (21 November) was celebrated officially and solemnly in the church.<sup>351</sup>

The interior of the church was constantly being embellished. The high altar for the new presbytery was financed by Donaes de Moor.<sup>352</sup> Together with the secretary of the Burgundian duke – Willem Haultin – Donaes financed the choir stalls in the presbytery. Donaes and his wife Adriane de Vos were also the benefactors of a small

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<sup>348</sup> Completely reproduced in Rotsaert 1962. This paragraph is based on the article by Rotsaert: see there for transcriptions of the account items.

<sup>349</sup> See also RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, especially the item *Ander ontfaenc van gheluden van feesten ende meessen inde voors. kercke ghedaen, binnen desen jare ende dat by maenden* (fol. 370v onwards).

<sup>350</sup> See § 5.5 and Appendix 8.

<sup>351</sup> I will return to this confraternity in § 5.5.3.3 and § 5.9.

<sup>352</sup> See on Donaes de Moor § 5.5.3.2.

chapel behind the new presbytery. The altar there was provided with a Lamentation triptych by the Master of the St Lucy Legend.<sup>353</sup> This Master owes his name to a triptych of the Legend of St Lucy dated around 1480, of which the middle panel is still in the Sint-Jacobskerk today. The painting shows the city of Bruges, with the tower of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw and the belfry.

Some paintings that are now very famous adorned the Sint-Jacobskerk in the 15th and 16th century. A few of them still are in the church, like the Coronation of the Virgin by Albert Cornelis. Of this painting, too, only the middle panel survives. The painting was ordered by the St Francis Guild (the trade of the wool shearers and wool fullers) in 1517 and was finally delivered in 1522.<sup>354</sup> A painting by the Master of the Holy Blood, also dating from the first quarter of the 16th century, is in the Sint-Jacobskerk today, but was possibly made for the church of the Franciscans. The panels show us scenes with the adoration of the Virgin, St John the Evangelist on Patmos, Ecce Homo, Mary, John and Francis, and Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl.<sup>355</sup> Another triptych in the Sint-Jacobskerk was painted by Lanceloot Blondeel and is dated 1523. It concerns the lives of SS Cosmas and Damian, but it remains unclear if it was originally made for the Sint-Jacobskerk.<sup>356</sup> Disagreement exists about whether two altar pieces – one by Rogier van der Weyden and one by Hugo van der Goes – were in the church; it even is a mystery what the subject was.<sup>357</sup>

A number of paintings that once were in the church, now are in museums all over the world. One of them is the triptych of Saint Christopher with SS Giles and Maurus that was commissioned by Willem Moreel from Hans Memling (delivered 1484) and is now in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges.<sup>358</sup> The Agnelli family also ordered a painting for their altar in the Sint-Jacobskerk, probably a retable of Saint John the Baptist. A triptych commissioned by Tommaso Portinari from Hugo van der Goes is now in the Uffizi in Florence. It is not certain if the panels were meant for the Portinari chapel in the Sint-Jacobskerk (built in 1474), or if they were ordered for Portinari's home town Florence in the first place. Another exclusive piece of art connected with Portinari is the so-called *Rondo* or medaillon by Luca della Robbia that today hangs near the chapel of Ferry de Gros in the Sint-Jacobskerk. The

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<sup>353</sup> Andriessen 2002, p. 233, note 31. See also Bloxam/Bull 2010, pp. 111-125.

<sup>354</sup> See on this painting in particular: Martens 1998, volume II, pp. 85-86.

<sup>355</sup> See on this painting in particular: Martens 1998, volume II, pp. 52-53.

<sup>356</sup> See on this painting in particular: Martens 1998, volume II, pp. 108-110. Jacobs states that it was ordered by the guild of the barber-surgeons in 1533 (Jacobs 1997, p. 126).

<sup>357</sup> See on this topic especially: Martens 1992a, pp. 266-278.

<sup>358</sup> Martens 1992a, pp. 280-287. See on this triptych also: Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, p. 111.

enamelled, colourful terracotta shows a portrait of the Virgin with Child and is dated in the second half of the 15th century.<sup>359</sup>

The De Gros chapel originally had a small diptych painted by Rogier van der Weyden (1460-1464), showing us a Madonna with Child on one panel (today in the Musée des beaux Arts in Tournai) and Jean de Gros on the other (today in the Art Institute in Chicago).<sup>360</sup> The chapel still has the remarkable grave monument with three recumbent polychrome sculptures that Ferry de Gros had made for his first wife Philippine Wielant († 1521), his second wife Françoise d'Ailly († 1530) and himself († 1544). These graves are unique; in the Sint-Jacobskerk it was more common at that time to have a copper memorial slab made.<sup>361</sup> Today the Sint-Jacobskerk has a small but rich collection of those copper plates from the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, a speciality of Flanders.<sup>362</sup>

A last important aspect in the medieval Sint-Jacobskerk is the organ.<sup>363</sup> Although it seems logical to assume that the church had at least one organ from the early days onwards, we only know for sure that in 1450 there was an organ on the rood loft and a positive. In 1520 a Jooris de Bus was asked to build a positive and a small organ with wooden pipes. Because the rood loft was renovated around that time, the great organ was taken off the wall and stored at De Bus's home. When the great organ was replaced, the positive was taken back by De Bus. A pattern for a complete new organ was drawn, but in the end – after advice from an Antwerp organ builder – the new organ was not commissioned. The old organ would last until 1553, when a new one was bought. In the meantime, Jooris de Bus and the bell ringer were paid to maintain the old organ.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> Martens 1998, volume II, p. 217 and Martens 1992a, pp. 287-288. See on the Della Robbia sculptures in general: Domestici 1992; Alloin 2002.

<sup>360</sup> See also on this painting: Huet 2009.

<sup>361</sup> Vandenberghe 1992.

<sup>362</sup> See on graves in the Sint-Jacobskerk in general: D'hondt/Vandamme 2003, with a very large section on the Sint-Jacobskerk, pp. 8-43. An important but unfortunately incomplete study is by Rotsaert 1977/1978/1979/1980. The problem with this last study is that it is often unclear from which sources Rotsaert took his information.

<sup>363</sup> Based on Dewitte 1971, pp. 342-344.

<sup>364</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening Kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 239v, and 1538, fol. 387r.

## 4.6 Music and liturgy in the churches

In all churches, music played an important role during the liturgy. Alfons Dewitte has written a series of articles in which he gives facts and figures on *zangmeesters*,<sup>365</sup> composers, the music, organists and organs in the churches of Sint-Donaas,<sup>366</sup> Sint-Salvator,<sup>367</sup> Onze-Lieve-Vrouw,<sup>368</sup> Sint-Gillis<sup>369</sup> and Sint-Jacob.<sup>370</sup> The information given by Dewitte was drawn from the archives of the churches, mainly the accounts.<sup>371</sup> Dewitte's articles in turn were the basis for Pieter Andriessen's overview of music and musicians in Bruges churches.<sup>372</sup>

All churches had professional singers, choirboys and organists at their disposal from the 14th century onwards. The wealth the city of Bruges had acquired certainly was visible in its musical life: many nowadays famous Renaissance composers found their way to Bruges as *zangmeester* from the 15th century onwards. The most famous ones worked for Sint-Donaas. The major church in town attracted composers like Jacob Obrecht (1485-1487, 1488-1491, 1498-1500), Lupus Hellinck (1523-1541) and Jacobus Clemens non Papa (1544-1545). The church also had prebends that were in the hands of Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois and Gilles Joye.<sup>373</sup> Sint-Donaas was not the only church where great composers worked. Sint-Salvator also had *zangmeesters* we still know as composers today: Antoine Busnoys (before November 1492), Johannes de Hollande (1538-1541) and Andreas Pevernage (1563). The most famous composer of the Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk is Lupus Hellinck (1521-1523), whose main career was later at Sint-Donaas. The rich parish of Sint-Jacob also managed to attract composers of whom we still have compositions today: Benedictus Appenzeller (1518-1519),<sup>374</sup> Antonius Barbe (1520-1528), Gheerkin de Hondt (1532-

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<sup>365</sup> Dewitte restricts himself to the *zangmeesters*, except for the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw. In the 1990s, the Alamire Foundation undertook research on all singers in the collegiate churches, but this research remains unpublished.

<sup>366</sup> Dewitte 1974, Dewitte 1973.

<sup>367</sup> Dewitte 1998a, Dewitte 1998b, Dewitte 1967. See also Van de Castele/Van der Straten 1870.

<sup>368</sup> Dewitte 1997a, Dewitte 1970, Dewitte 1962.

<sup>369</sup> Dewitte 1977.

<sup>370</sup> Dewitte 1971.

<sup>371</sup> Sint-Walburga is missing in this series, since the archives of that church were not available to Dewitte at that time (Dewitte 1974, p. 129).

<sup>372</sup> Andriessen 2002, pp. 119-319. The paragraphs on the Bruges churches other than Sint-Jacobs are based on Andriessen's book and on the articles by Dewitte.

<sup>373</sup> As we have already seen in § 2.2, Gilles Joye was parish priest of the Oude Kerk in Delft.

<sup>374</sup> On Appenzeller: Thompson 1975, Thompson 1978/1979 and Thompson 1984. Two references have been overlooked: *Benedictus Appelselders zancmeester* was fired on 10



1539), Eustachius Barbion (1541-1543) and Andreas Pevernage (1580-1584?) all served the church as *zangmeester*. The Sint-Jacobskerk may be seen as the second most important musical centre after Sint-Donaas, especially in the 16th century.<sup>375</sup> In the Sint-Gilleskerk Jean Richafort was *zangmeester* twice (1543-1544 and 1548-1550). Striking is that several *zangmeesters* changed church, some even more than once. The typical Bruges composer Petrus (Pierkin) de Raedt changed from Onze-Lieve-Vrouw (1514-1517) to Sint-Donaas (1520-1523) and back again to Onze-Lieve-Vrouw (1525-1526). Another example is Johannes de Hollande, who in 1541 exchanged Sint-Salvator for Sint-Donaas.<sup>376</sup> Not all changes were to be seen as promotions: it looks like the work atmosphere in the church (colleagues, remunerations, et cetera) and availability of positions was just as important.

The *zangmeesters* had the direction of about four to eight professional adult singers (depending on the church, many of them were also priests) and four to eight choirboys. The musical and liturgical instruction of the choirboys was often shared with a schoolmaster. The musicians in the churches were responsible for the daily liturgy, for special feasts and for commemorations specified in foundations. Sint-Donaas and Onze-Lieve-Vrouw were collegiate churches, as was Sint-Salvator from 1501 onwards. Other churches had a *communitas chori*, in Flemish/Dutch called *Commuun* or *zevengetijden-college*: Sint-Jacob (founded 27 September 1424), Sint-Gilles (from around 1453 onwards) and Sint-Walburga (before 1425). Therefore, in all six churches the seven canonical hours were sung every day.<sup>377</sup>

One of the churches for which we have the foundation act for singing the seven canonical hours is the Sint-Jacobskerk.<sup>378</sup> On 27 September 1424 the bishop of Tournai permitted the parish priest and church and *Dis* masters to have the seven canonical hours sung daily, as it was already done in the churches of Sint-Donaas, Onze Lieve Vrouw and Sint-Salvator. The request from the leaders of the church confirms that the parish was already on its way to singing the canonical hours in a more or less daily routine, depending, of course, on foundations by the parishioners. As the charter shows, in 1424 the seven canonical hours were not yet founded for

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July 1519 (RAB 88, No. 237, fol. LXXXr; also in Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>); *Benedictus Appelscelders* is also mentioned in a foundation dated 3 April 1519 (Inv. no. 237, fol. LXXXv).

<sup>375</sup> Also stated by Dewitte 1970, pp. 112-113 and by Andriessen 2002, p. 200.

<sup>376</sup> A wonderful schedule of these changes is given by Andriessen 2002, pp. 216-219, as part of a survey of *zangmeesters* in Sint-Donaas, Sint-Salvator, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, Sint-Jacob and Sint-Gilles.

<sup>377</sup> See on the Bruges *Communuens* in Sint-Gilles, Sint-Jacob and Sint-Walburga: Declerck 1971.

<sup>378</sup> This pragraph is based on Declerck 1971, pp. 126-136 and 152-167.

every day of the week. But around 1450 that had been accomplished. The text of the ratification of 1424 by Bishop Jean de Thoisy of the articles of association of the seven canonical hours has survived.<sup>379</sup> Summarizing the relevant items for this book, it tell us the following:

- ✚ The *Commuun* consists of one parish priest, ten priests and four vicars.
- ✚ The four vicars are the sexton of the church, the schoolmaster, the assistant schoolmaster and the cantor, the last one instructing the children how to sing.<sup>380</sup>
- ✚ The parish priest will receive a remuneration of two parts, the priests of one part and the vicars of half a part. However, if the parish priest is not present himself, his substitute will receive one part, like each of the ten priests.
- ✚ To prevent absenteeism, the members of the *Commuun* are not allowed to serve in other churches for more than two masses a week.
- ✚ The members of the *Commuun* have to sing the seven canonical hours – Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext (called *Middach*), None, Vespers and Compline plus a High Mass – for every day of the week that they have been financed.
- ✚ The members of the *Commuun* have to sing the seven psalms during Lent, with the litany, prayer and offertory.
- ✚ On all feasts and Sundays and other festive days a High Mass is to be celebrated by a dean, deacon and subdeacon and a cantor (*zangmeester*).
- ✚ In addition to the seven canonical hours memorial services will be sung and a Mass for Our Lady on Saturdays.
- ✚ The parish priest, church and *Dis* masters are responsible for the appointment and dismissal of the members of the *Commuun*. They also appoint a scribe or *tafeldragher* who will keep attendance lists. The *tafeldragher* will pay the members of the *Commuun* every month, according to their presence.
- ✚ The members of the *Commuun* will receive together 20 *schellingen parisis* for every day they sing the seven canonical hours and the High Mass.
- ✚ If a person wants to have his/her grave in the presbytery, he/she has to pay 4 *schellingen groten* every year in hereditary rent-charge to have his memorial service celebrated every year. For other places in the church different rates are charged: for the chapel of Sint-Jacob 3 *schellingen groot* and 4 *denarii* (pennies), for the other chapels 3 shillings groat and for the *voorkercke* (vestibule) 2 shillings groat and 6 pennies.

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<sup>379</sup> OCMW-B, *Cartularium Communitatis Sint-Jacobskerk*, f. 1r-5v. According to Declerck, copies are also in Tournai, Rijksarchief, Fonds oud-Bisdom Doornik, Cart. 71, f. 78v-79r; Cart. 73, fol. 67r-68v; Cart. 75, fol. 82r-83r.

<sup>380</sup> In Bruges the term *cantor* (*cantere*) was used to indicate the *zangmeester* (according to RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XXJv).

The charter mentions that everyone who wants to be buried in the church is obliged to make a foundation for a memorial service. This was also common practice in the other Bruges churches. All churches had wealthy parishioners who made foundations. In addition to the memorial services, they were made to add lustre to the already existing seven canonical hours or feasts or for the celebration of new feasts. Some of those foundations required polyphony, as we shall see later in Chapter 5. Special foundations were made for plays. From the 14th century onwards payments occur in most of the church accounts for plays at Christmas, the feast of the boy bishop (28 December), Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Easter, and the Golden Mass (in the Ember Days in Advent). Processions too were often held in all churches.

It seems that musical life in the Bruges churches was more or less the same – more or less, because one church was richer than the other and they all made their own rules. But we find the principle of daily liturgy performed with professional singers in all churches. All church accounts also show payments for written music. But according to Alfons Dewitte, one of the churches stands head and shoulders above the rest: Sint-Donaas. None of the churches commissioned as many music and liturgical books as Sint-Donaas. Already in the 15th century the singers of that church had at least one hundred new masses and twenty new motets at their disposal. In the 16th century the production is less, but still impressive: seventy-seven new masses. Among the composers are nowadays famous ones like Johannes Ockeghem, Jacob Obrecht and Lupus Hellinck, the last two being *zangmeesters* of Sint-Donaas. In 1559, six large choirbooks are mentioned, altogether containing about four hundred motets. Unfortunately, almost the entire collection was destroyed between 1580 and 1584 when the city was ruled by a Calvinist administration. The church itself suffered the same fate: it was demolished between 1799 and 1802, during the French period of government.<sup>381</sup>

The last element of religious life in the medieval churches of Bruges to be discussed here briefly is education.<sup>382</sup> The oldest mention of a school is that of Sint-Donaas in 1127. The archives of the church of Sint-Salvator show us the next school, but it remains unclear if these two schools were permanent or depended on an available teacher. But a few centuries later, all the other churches seem to have followed this example and from the beginning of the 16th century onwards they all have schools. Children in need of education could also go to convents. From the

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<sup>381</sup> Rau 1987-1989, volume 1, p. 12; Van Zeir 2002, p. 13. The foundation of the church is nowadays visible as part of the basement of the Crown Plaza Hotel.

<sup>382</sup> This paragraph is based on Dewitte 1972a. This article also gives ample information on the educational programmes in the different types of schools. For the single churches see Dewitte's articles on those.

same period (around 1506) date the schools for poor children. The city of Bruges itself was rather late in establishing a school: only in 1512-1513 was the first Latin School founded. As we have seen, in Delft the first Latin school was founded in 1342, but there it was attached to the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk. Remarkable in Bruges is the existence of quite a few highly educated private teachers. But then again it is not that remarkable, considering the important international position and rich citizens Bruges had.

#### 4.7 Decline of trade<sup>383</sup>

Around 1450, Bruges was a very wealthy city. International trade was in full bloom and the town housed many rich people. The economy was flourishing. Citizens of Bruges did have to work hard to reach that status, but it did not go smoothly. In the Middle Ages, Bruges was also a cradle of social unrest. Once every twenty to thirty years, there was some sort of conflict, which might be between the citizens and the authorities (for example in 1436-38 against the duke of Burgundy) or between social groups.<sup>384</sup>

At the end of the 15th century another serious conflict arose between the Bruges citizens and the duchy of Burgundy. In 1482 the duchess Mary of Burgundy unfortunately died after she had fallen from her horse. Her husband, Maximilian I of Habsburg, became regent for their four-year-old son Philip the Fair. This was the direct occasion for another battle for power between the great Flemish towns and Maximilian, which ended in a defeat for Bruges in 1490; the power of the city was broken permanently.<sup>385</sup>

In the meantime, the city of Antwerp had grown into a major trading city. In contrast to Bruges, Antwerp had built up a different trading system, with less regulation and fewer restrictions. Where the foreign traders had first been protected by the Bruges rules, they now felt restricted by them.<sup>386</sup> Moreover, Antwerp had better access to the sea than Bruges. In Bruges large seaworthy ships never had the possibility to reach the city centre: their contents had to be unloaded on smaller ships in the outer ports of Bruges (mainly Sluis and Damme). At the same time, the Zwin suffered from the effort to acquire more land by creating polders and as a

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<sup>383</sup> See in general on this subject: Blockmans 1998.

<sup>384</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, p. 49.

<sup>385</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, p. 52; Wellens 1965.

<sup>386</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 84-85.

consequence had started to silt up. Bruges tried everything to keep the harbour accessible, but finally failed.<sup>387</sup>

As if this were not enough to suffer, Maximilian had instructed the foreign traders in Bruges to leave the city in 1484, by way of sanction against the rebellious city. At first, they responded to his command only sporadically. Therefore, he changed his request to an order for the merchant associations to leave Bruges. Antwerp was the most logical place to divert to and this was done. Bruges tried in every way possible to get the traders back, but the damage was done.<sup>388</sup>

While the role of leading trading town of the Low Countries had switched from Bruges to Antwerp around 1500, it did not mean that Bruges in all respects became a lesser place than it had previously been. The wages of the craftsmen still remained at the highest level of the Low Countries and the prosperity that had been carefully built up during the previous centuries continued. A huge capital had been accumulated in Bruges, and although rich people left the city, others stayed. The city continued to play an important role in international trade. Bruges craftsmen and tradesmen were highly educated and art, culture and religious life continued flourishing as before. Politically, however, Bruges no longer played an important role. The young Charles V received a warm welcome at his Joyous Entry in 1515. The message expressed in the pageantry showed the hope of a revival.<sup>389</sup>

As for the foreign merchant associations: not everyone left Bruges for Antwerp. The Spanish traders in particular stayed in Bruges. In 1540, Charles V came to help: he determined that wool (Spanish, English and Scottish) was to be traded in Bruges. The reason for this was simple: Charles wanted to create some economic balance between his districts. Therefore he decided to support the textile industry in Flanders. Other specialities of Bruges that remained were painting (for example Pieter Pourbus), manuscript production (Simon Bening and his workshop), the silversmith and goldsmith trade and tapestry. New was bobbin lace.<sup>390</sup> Bruges also became a meeting place for humanists like Erasmus, Thomas More and Juan Luis Vives. Erasmus even called Bruges the Athens of the North.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, p. 65.

<sup>388</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, p. 85.

<sup>389</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 115-118.

<sup>390</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 120-127.

<sup>391</sup> Martens 1998, volume I, pp. 35-36; Dewitte 1987. See on humanism in Bruges in the 16th century: Martens 1992b.

## 4.8 The 1530s

Although Bruges had lost its prominent position of first trading city of the Low Countries, in the first half of the 16th century it still continued to radiate the glory of its rich past.<sup>392</sup> In the 1530s Bruges was visited at least three times by its governess Mary of Hungary, in August 1532, in September 1534 and in August 1537. We know of these visits because the city accounts mention wine for the governess and her retinue.<sup>393</sup>

A special category of expenditure by the city government in the 1530s in the scope of this book are the expenses for music-related activities. First, there are the processions. There were two categories: the general processions and the Holy Blood procession. The general processions could be held on any occasion, for example to pray for relief from bad weather or an outbreak of disease, or to celebrate a triumph of the emperor. These processions started from one of the Bruges churches or convents. The city paid for the sermons that the conventuals held during the processions.<sup>394</sup> We do not find any payments to musicians and/or singers in these items.<sup>395</sup>

Second, and more important, there was the yearly procession of the relic of the Holy Blood. It was held on 3 May, the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, which fell in the middle of the annual fair (23 April to 22 May).<sup>396</sup> The city of Bruges organised the procession, in which many participated: convents, churches, trades, confraternities, Bruges citizens and of course the city government itself. If polyphony was sung, we do not know about it,<sup>397</sup> but chant was definitely sung during the

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<sup>392</sup> Blockmans 1998, p. 32.

<sup>393</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Rekening 1532/33, fol. CVIIJv, Rekening 1534/35, fol. LXXXv, Rekening 1536/37, fol. LXXXIXr.

<sup>394</sup> For example: SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, rekening 1531/32, fol. CVJr (January 1532), CVIJv-CXJv (21-07-1532); rekening 1532/33, fol. CVIJv (10-11-1532), fol. CVIIJr (May 1533); rekening 1533/34, fol. LXXXVJr (26-07-1534); rekening 1534/35, fol. LXXXIIIJr (28-02-1535); rekening 1535/36, fol. LXXXIIJr (05-09-1535), fol. LXXXVv (12-03-1536), fol. LXXXVIJr (12-06-1536); rekening 1537/38, fol. LXXXIIJv (20-01-1538), fol. LXXXIIIJr (25-11-1537), fol. LXXXVv (16-05-1538), fol. LXXXVIJr (19-07-1538), fol. LXXXVIJv-LXXXIIJr (12-08-1538); rekening 1538/39, fol. XCIJv (31-07-1539); rekening 1539/40, fol. LXXIXr (28-10-1539), fol. LXXXJr (16-11-1539).

<sup>395</sup> Andriessen states that singers were part of the processions and he is probably right (Andriessen 2002, pp. 43-44).

<sup>396</sup> Andriessen 2002, pp. 45-46; Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, p. 97.

<sup>397</sup> Jacob Obrecht's Holy Blood motet *O preciosissime sanguis* was probably sung in the chapel of the Holy Blood (the Sint-Basiliuskapel), but perhaps also during the

procession. We know that from two manuscripts of the beguines that have come down to us.<sup>398</sup> The city accounts of the 1530s mention payments to people involved with the organisation of a play: *tspel vanden helighen bloede*. For this play, paintings were made. Furthermore, the story of *De Vier Heemskinderen* (the four sons of Duke Aymon) and King Charles was depicted. In 1534 five jerkins and five pairs of shoes were ordered for this play;<sup>399</sup> other years show us payments for the maintenance of the four suits of armour.<sup>400</sup>

The city's expenditures also show us that some musicians were paid a fixed amount of money every year for their services and uniforms.<sup>401</sup> First there was the bell ringer. He received 15 Flemish shillings every year for his uniform. Furthermore, the city paid the bell ringer for ringing the bells of the city hall for special occasions.<sup>402</sup> Second, there were the city trumpeters, two in the 1530s, who received 5 Flemish pounds each a year (to be paid in October and April), for being on guard at the town hall and blowing a signal every hour. They also received 1 Flemish pound a year for their clothing.<sup>403</sup> Third, the city had a group of minstrels,<sup>404</sup> that received an amount of 1 Flemish pound each for their clothing. The group counted five to six men.<sup>405</sup> Their annual salary was not stable during the 1530s: it was reduced from 34 Flemish pounds a year for the entire group in 1532 to 26 Flemish pounds a year in 1533.<sup>406</sup> In 1536/37 it was raised to 28 pounds a year for the entire group, which means a little more than 5 and a half Flemish pounds each.<sup>407</sup> A certain Jan vander Schuere received an extra payment of 2 Flemish pounds in the year 1539/40,

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procession (Andriessen 2002, p. 238). The Holy Blood did also inspire Adriaen Willaert to compose his motet *Laus tibi sacra rubens* for the Sint-Basiliuskapel, where it was first performed on 22 November 1542 (<http://www.adriaenwillaert.be>, accessed June 2014).

<sup>398</sup> Hagg 2009; Andriessen 2002, p. 45; Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>, pp. 5-6. See on processional manuscripts related to Bruges also Huglo 1999, volume I, pp. 46-47 and 64, volume II, pp. 468-469, 477 and 501-502.

<sup>399</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, rekening 1533/34, fol. LXXXIIJr.

<sup>400</sup> Except for the year 1537, see SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, rekening 1536/37, fol. LXXXIIJr.

<sup>401</sup> On instrumental music in Bruges in general: Polk 2005, pp. 75-77.

<sup>402</sup> For example on the day of the renewal of the city government (*vermaken vander wet*) at the first of September (for example SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, rekening 1531/32, fol. XVIIJv) and the day of the procession of the Holy Blood (for example SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, rekening 1532/33, fol. CIIJv).

<sup>403</sup> For example SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, rekening 1537/38, fol. LIJr and LXXXVr.

<sup>404</sup> See on the Bruges minstrels and their tasks Andriessen 2002, pp. 55-91.

<sup>405</sup> Six in 1531/32 (SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, rekening 1531/32, fol. LXXIIJr), from then on until at least the account of 1539/40 five.

<sup>406</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Rekening 1532/33, fol. LXXVr.

<sup>407</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Rekening 1536/37, fol. LIIJr.

for special services that are not further specified. Shortly thereafter he must have died, since his widow received an extra payment of 1 and a half Flemish pounds because of his long service to the city and because he did not leave his widow any goods.<sup>408</sup> The minstrels were united in a guild and even had their own school from the late 13th century onwards.<sup>409</sup>

A fourth musical servant of the city was the carillon player. The *halle* (the market hall) had a tower, called the *Belfort* (belfry).<sup>410</sup> In this tower hung a carillon, which was renewed in 1528.<sup>411</sup> Shortly thereafter, the city account of 1532/33 mentions a payment to a certain priest – Adriaen vander Sluus – for playing on the carillon on *mesavende* (the evenings before feasts).<sup>412</sup> A year later he is paid the same amount of money for playing on Sundays and feasts.<sup>413</sup> Several payments concerning the carillon follow, even for expanding the number of bells.<sup>414</sup> We are not informed on the repertory that was performed on the carillon, but considering the fact that was played on evenings before a Mass, Sundays and feasts, it probably was religious music.

Last, but not least, we have to mention the musicians of Sint-Donaas in the list of music-related expenditures of the city government. The cantor, singers, organist and bellows blower were paid 20 Flemish pounds every year to sing the *Salve*, every evening.<sup>415</sup> According to Reinhard Strohm, this was a public concert, sung after *Compline* in the church of Sint-Donaas.<sup>416</sup>

When Gheerkin de Hondt came to Bruges in 1532 to become *zangmeester* of the Sint-Jacobskerk, he entered a city that was still flourishing in various ways. The town he had just left – Delft – only had two parish churches, whereas Bruges had three collegiate churches and at least three prominent parish churches. Where Delft had about 12,000 inhabitants and mainly had a regional function, the metropolis of

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<sup>408</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Rekening 1539/40, fol. LXXXIJr and fol. LXXXIXv.

<sup>409</sup> Dewitte 1972a, p. 154 and Dewitte 1974, pp. 133-134. It is not clear whether this was a real school, or the regular education expected to be offered by the guild.

<sup>410</sup> See on the history of the Bruges belfry: Dacquin/Formesyn 1984. A very short version is given by Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, p. 160.

<sup>411</sup> Dacquin/Formesyn 1984, pp. 24 and 43.

<sup>412</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Rekening 1532/33, fol. CIXr.

<sup>413</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Rekening 1533/34, fol. LXXXVJv.

<sup>414</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1534-35, fol. LXXXVIJv; SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1536/37, fol. LXXr; SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1537/38, fol. LXVJr; SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1537/38, fol. LXXXVIJv.

<sup>415</sup> For example SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, rekening 1538/39, fol. LXXXr.

<sup>416</sup> Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>, p. 39.



Bruges housed about 42,000 people, among them many foreigners from countries all over Europe. The cultural climate was still at its peak, certainly also musically speaking. A large group of professional *zangmeesters*, singers and musicians in general created a warm nest for every musician who wanted to exercise his profession at a very high level. The rise of protestantism was hardly successful in the Bruges community,<sup>417</sup> contrary to Delft, where it had already made inroads in the 1520s. Therefore the very vivid Catholic life, with all its pomp and circumstance and its incredibly rich musical climate, made Bruges a town that many musicians wanted to work in.

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<sup>417</sup> Ryckaert/Vandewalle/D'Hondt/Geirnaert/Vandamme 1999, pp. 136-139; Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, pp. 74-75. The iconoclastic fury of 1566 hardly hit Bruges, although the interior of the church of Sint-Jacob was heavily damaged (Rombauts 1986, volume I, p. 13). Unlike Delft, Bruges passed into the new religion only for a very short period of time (1578-1584), before the city was subdued by the Spanish army and became Catholic again.

## Chapter 5      *Bruges: Gheeraert de Hondt filius Jacob*

When approaching Bruges in the 1530s, one was struck by the many towers that dominated the skyline of the city. The large towers of the belfry and the churches of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw and Sint-Salvator were accompanied by many other towers of churches and convents. We are able to draw a rather accurate map of the city of Bruges at the time Gheerkin de Hondt worked there because quite a few drawings and paintings from the 16th-century city survive. First of all, there are the magnificent and colourful drawings that Antoon vanden Wijngaerde made around 1557-1558 and that give us a prospect of the city.<sup>418</sup> More detailed is a ‘painted plan’ of the city, which is dated around 1500. We only have a fragment of the painting today, which shows us the streets of the town centre; the surroundings of Bruges are now missing.<sup>419</sup> Furthermore, there is a plan by Jacob van Deventer, commissioned by Philip II of Spain and dated in the 1560s.<sup>420</sup> Finally, and most significant, there is the very complete map in a series of engravings by Marcus Gerards, commissioned by the city magistrate as propaganda material for Bruges as trading city and harbour. The plan was completed in 1562.<sup>421</sup> Gerards has drawn a bird’s-eye view of Bruges, showing us in a detailed way all the important public buildings, but also the individual houses. Especially the churches, convents, public buildings and the nine town gates show a reliable picture of their exterior in the 16th century.<sup>422</sup> Since many

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<sup>418</sup> Galera i Monegal 1998, pp. 170-171 and 189. The drawings all date from 1557-1558 and are now kept in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum, Department of Western Art Library, Print Room, L-IV-45 (r), B-I 331a (r), B-I 331b (r)) and Antwerp (Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, F-I-10 (r), inv. nr. 347). Galera i Monegal p. 150 also mentions a drawing showing a view of the surroundings of Bruges (a.o. Lisseweghe, Coolkerke, Damme, Sluis, Aardenburg), taken from one of the towers of the city, now kept in London (Victoria and Albert Museum, Print Room, (95-H-54) 8455-25 (r)).

<sup>419</sup> Ryckaert 1991, deel 2, pp. 10-15 and Ryckaert 1982a, p. 178. Nowadays kept in Stedelijke Musea Brugge, Inv. no. 0.410.

<sup>420</sup> Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, p. 15.

<sup>421</sup> Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, p. 10.

<sup>422</sup> Ryckaert 1982b, pp. 180-181. See on the town gates: Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, pp. 175-177 and Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, pp. 27-28. Four town gates still exist today: Gentpoort, Ezelpoort, Kruispoort and Smedenpoort.

of the buildings have disappeared, the Gerards plan is invaluable. Besides these four important plans of Bruges, there are several paintings showing us parts of the townscape as background in a larger whole.<sup>423</sup>

If we take an imaginary walk through the streets of 16th-century Bruges, we pass houses with names like 't Groot Beerken en de Beer, Huis Antwerpen, De Groote en De Cleene Veronycke, De Wulf, Groot Vlaanderen and Den Nood Gods.<sup>424</sup> Vlamingstraat 23 was called De Pelikaan; this was the home of Jan van Eyewerve, the man who ordered the painting from Pieter Pourbus, showing the portraits of him and his wife and a townscape of Bruges, with the famous city crane that Van Eyewerve could see from his house. In the same street, at number 55, lived another commissioner of a painting showing his family: Zeghere van Male, the man who was also the owner of the four paper partbooks that contain the majority of the works of Gheerkin de Hondt that have come down to us.<sup>425</sup> The house on Vlamingstraat 68-70, De Groote Veronycke, was bought in 1539 by the painter Ambrosius Benson, who was an important artist in Bruges and whose paintings are nowadays in museums all over the world. A colleague of Benson, Adriaen Isenbaert, bought Vlamingstraat 69 – 't Groen Huys – in 1536.<sup>426</sup> A third artist, Hugo Provoost, first lived in Sint-Jorisstraat 19 (Huis Kleve), but moved in 1530 to the double house at number 25 in the same street (De gulden Taerge and 't Caproenken), where he died in 1542. A last significant painter, Lanceloot Blondeel, lived in the same street from 1534 until 1560, at number 26. He also owned the adjoining houses Jan Miraelstraat 33-35.<sup>427</sup> The houses of these painters were positioned in the rich part of

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<sup>423</sup> For example the painting of the Master of the Lucy Legend (Lamentation of Christ, ± 1485, Minneapolis, The Institute of Arts), Gerard David's The Judgment of Cambyses (1498, Groeningemuseum Brugge), Hans Memling's Saint John retable (1474-1479, Memling Museum Brugge), the Donor and Saint Nicholas by Jan Provoost (Groeningemuseum Brugge ca. 1520), the portraits of Jan van Eyewerve and Jacquemyne Buuck, painted by Pieter Pourbus in 1551 (Groeningemuseum Brugge), the portraits of Filips Dominicle and Barbara Ommejaeghere by an anonymous painter (dated 1551-1560, Groeningemuseum Brugge) and the so-called Pardo-retable (1580, Groeningemuseum Brugge). In this context should also be mentioned the famous drawing of Simon Bening of the city crane (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 23638, fol. 11v).

<sup>424</sup> This paragraph is based on Beernaert/Leenders/Schotte/Vandamme 1998.

<sup>425</sup> See § 11.1. The painting of Zeghere and his family is still in the Sint-Jacobskerk today (Martens 1998, volume 1, p. 212 and volume 2, pp. 143-144).

<sup>426</sup> The wife of an Adriaen Ysenbaert was buried in August 1537 in the Sint-Jacobskerk (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1537, fol. 337v).

<sup>427</sup> Lanceloot Blondeel also paid the *Dis* of the Sint-Jacobskerk for a *rente* on a house on the Vlamingdamme from 1535 onwards (OCMW-B, Rekening Dis 1535/36, fol. XXXv).

the city, with the Prinsenhof and the houses of many foreign nations, where trade was very lively. It was in this part of the city that the parish of Sint-Jacob was situated.

## 5.1 Gheerkin de Hondt in Bruges

It is in the archives of the church of Sint-Jacob that we find the earliest reference to Gheerkin de Hondt in Bruges. The first mention is in a copy of a foundation charter by Jan Bertyn, dated 13 July 1532.<sup>428</sup> The text refers to *zangmeester* Gheeraert de Hondt as a member of the *Commuun* of the church, together with the parish priest's vicar, thirteen priests, a *geïnstalleerde* (most likely the schoolmaster) and the sexton.<sup>429</sup> A second reference to Gheerkin de Hondt as *zangmeester* dates from the feast of All Souls Day 1532, when *Gherardus de sangmeestre* is paid on behalf of the entire group of singers of polyphony (*ghesellen vander musicke*) for singing the High Mass *in discante* (in polyphony).<sup>430</sup> From then on up to and including 1539 we find yearly payments on (the eve of) Palm Sunday to Gheerkin for his so-called *keerle laken* (his gown). Here we also find out that his father was called Jacob.<sup>431</sup>

Further references to Gheeraert de Hondt are scarce. There are many references to *de zangmeester*, but most of the time Gheerkin's name is not mentioned. The book with the copy of the foundation text which first mentions Gheerkin de Hondt, the *Registrum Contractuum Communitatis*, contains ten more foundation texts from the period Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* in the Sint-Jacobskerk. Five of them mention Gheeraert de Hondt as *zangmeester* and member of the *Commuun*.<sup>432</sup> Another mention of Gheeraert de Hondt *zangmeester* is to be

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<sup>428</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXXXVIIJv to CXLv. The text is published in Hodüm 1954. See Appendix 3, 1532, 13 July. The text has been overlooked by Dewitte and Andriessen, who place Gheerkin de Hondt in Bruges from 1533 onwards.

<sup>429</sup> I will return to this charter below, § 5.5.

<sup>430</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 215v. See Appendix 3, 1532, 2 November. Also overlooked by Dewitte and Andriessen.

<sup>431</sup> Paid for by the church fabric: RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533 (fol. 242r), 1534 (fol. [267v]), 1535 (fol. 298v), 1536 (fol. 328v), 1537 (fol. 359r), 1538 (fol. 388v), 1539 (fol. 414v). From 1536 onwards partly paid by the *Dis*: OCMW-B, Rekening Dis 1535-1536 (fol. LXXVIIJr), 1536-37 (fol. LXXXv), 1537-1538 (fol. LXXXv), 1538-39 (fol. LXXXJv). See for the transcriptions Appendix 3.

<sup>432</sup> RAB, Inv. no. 237, fol. CLXXVIIJv (24-01-1534; foundation for singing five days the Great Canonical Hours on 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 October, originally made by Jan van Messem and his wife Elisabeth van der Banc), fol. CLIIIJr (09-12-1536; foundation for Mass and bell ringing and playing for the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary by

dated 1533, when Gheerkin receives a payment for the costs he had in maintaining a choirboy. The choirboy, Adriaen, stayed in Gheerkin's care at his home during sixteen days.<sup>433</sup> The individual payments to Gheerkin de Hondt for his daily work are not separately listed in the church documents. The administrators only mention the payments to the entire group of members of the *Commuun*.<sup>434</sup>

A curious payment to the bass singer Sybrant Hoijwaeghen on 10 December 1533 must refer to Gheerkin de Hondt, but – again – does not mention his name. Sybrant is paid for his expenses for renting a place to stay in Ghent. He was sent to Ghent by the administrators of the *Commuun* to bring back to Bruges the *zangmeester* of the church of Sint-Jacob. At that time Gheerkin de Hondt was the *zangmeester*. It remains unclear what Gheerkin was doing in Ghent and if it was business or private. But the fact that one of the singers was sent to Ghent, where he had to stay overnight, to bring Gheerkin de Hondt back makes clear that Gheerkin stayed (much) longer in Ghent than his employers wanted.<sup>435</sup>

The appointment text of Gheerkin de Hondt as *zangmeester* of the church of Sint-Jacob is mysteriously missing in the resolution book, which contains many assignments of singers and other employees from 1530 onwards.<sup>436</sup> We know that Gheerkin left Delft in February 1532 and that he was *zangmeester* in Bruges on 13 July 1532. But we have to look into the church accounts to see if we can narrow this down. As the accounts of the church fabric show us, shortly before Gheerkin arrived, two *zangmeesters* were active in the Sint-Jacobskerk. The last payment to Gheerkin's predecessor Servaes van Wavere seems to have been made on 4 March 1532.<sup>437</sup> According to the resolution book, a certain Claudius Joore from Béthune was

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Marie Claeys, widow of Lodewijk van Hille), fol. CLVv (1537; memorial service for Marie de Voocht), fol. CLXVIJv (08-11-1537; memorial service for mr. Joos de Roy) and fol. CLXIJv (26-07-1538; memorial service for Jacquemine vanden Poele). See Appendix 3 and Appendix 8.

<sup>433</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 242v. See Appendix 3, 1533.

<sup>434</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1532/33 (fol. [XXXVIJv]), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIIJv), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIIJv and XXXIXr), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIIJv), 1537/39 (fol. XLR and XLv). The account from Saint John 1539 to Saint John 1540 is missing. The next account starts at Christmas 1540 (until Christmas 1541).

<sup>435</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1533/34, fol. XLIIIr. See Appendix 3, 1533, 10 December.

<sup>436</sup> RAB 88, No. 21.

<sup>437</sup> A payment for singing according to the foundation of Willem Humbloot and his wife (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 206r). Servaes van Wavere was *zangmeester* from October 1530 onwards (RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 1r). Andriessen 2002, p. 217 mentions that Van Wavere was *zangmeester* until 1532 and that Claudius Joore was *zangmeester* in 1532-1533, followed by Gheeraert de Hondt (1533-1538).

appointed *zangmeester* on 7 April 1532.<sup>438</sup> It remains unclear if Joore really started his duties as *zangmeester*, or that Gheerkin de Hondt took his place soon after 7 April.

The last official reference to *zangmeester* Gheeraert de Hondt in the documents of the Sint-Jacobskerk is the payment for his gown in 1539, which was – as we have already seen – a yearly payment on (the eve of) Palm Sunday.<sup>439</sup> We know that Gheerkin de Hondt started his work as *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch on 31 December 1539.<sup>440</sup> This fits the appointment text in the resolution book of Pieter Jorjaen from Antwerp, who is appointed *zangmeester* in the Sint-Jacobskerk on the first of January 1540.<sup>441</sup> This also agrees with a mention in a legal document of the city of Bruges, in which *Gheeraert de zanghere* claims that a certain Anthuenis Michiels has not paid the four and a half Flemish pounds for a *bonte merrije* (a pied mare) that Gheeraert had sold to him. The deed of sale was dated 2 December 1539, when Gheerkin was still in Bruges. The legal document is dated 17 February 1540 and there *Gheeraert de zangher* is represented by Mattheus de Queestre.<sup>442</sup> This perfectly harmonizes the situation: Gheerkin de Hondt was in 's-Hertogenbosch by that time and not able to charge Michiels himself. It therefore seems that we are dealing with the singer Gheerkin de Hondt here, although we cannot exclude that it could be another singer with the name Gheeraert.<sup>443</sup> However, if we indeed have to do with Gheerkin de Hondt, there is another interesting aspect on this case. Since

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<sup>438</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2v.

<sup>439</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 414v. See Appendix 3.

<sup>440</sup> See § 7.1.

<sup>441</sup> RAB, Inv. no. 21, fol. 13r. From then on the church accounts mention Pieter Jorjaen as *zangmeester* (for example: RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1540, fol. 436v and fol. [448r]. Andriessen 2002, p. 217 gives Jan de Cornebitere as *zangmeester* in 1538. This is clearly not correct. Andriessen probably got his information from Dewitte 1971, pp. 346-348. The mistake was most likely made because of a misreading of the item of the account of the church fabric of 1538, fol. 390r. It says: *Betaelt meester Jan de Cornebittere presbyter ende den zancmeestre ende heer Mecghiel Porre presbyter nu ten tyde scoelmeestre deser kercke*. Dewitte and Andriessen interpreted this as Jan de Cornebittere *zangmeester*, whereas two persons are meant: Jan de Cornebittere and the *zangmeester*.

<sup>442</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, book 1534-1541 n.s., fol. 582r-v. See Appendix 3, 1540, 17 February.

<sup>443</sup> None of the collegiate churches Sint-Donaas, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw and Sint-Salvator has a singer named Gheeraert on their staff at that time (my sincere thanks go to Nele Gabriëls for checking this for me in the database of the Alamire Foundation). The names of the singers of Sint-Walburga and Sint-Gilles are not all known (only their *zangmeesters* are known through the articles of A. Dewitte).

the judgement was passed *Ten poorterssche*, both men had to be *poorters* (burghers) and therefore Gheerkin de Hondt was a burgher of the city of Bruges.<sup>444</sup> But neither the burgher books of the city nor the city accounts mention that he bought this citizenship. So Gheerkin had to be a *poorter* by birth (he was born in Bruges).<sup>445</sup> Assuming Gheerkin's first position as *zangmeester* was in Delft, in June 1521, we may estimate his year of birth around 1495.<sup>446</sup>

The name De Hondt was a current name in Bruges in the sixteenth century.<sup>447</sup> And Gheeraert was not an unusual first name either. In fact, there was another Gheeraert de Hondt in the parish of Sint-Jacob at the time *zangmeester* Gheeraert de Hondt worked there.

## 5.2 Another Gheeraert de Hondt

In June 1530, a child of a Gheeraert de Hont was buried in the parish of Sint-Jacob.<sup>448</sup> At that time we do not know where *zangmeester* Gheeraert de Hondt worked; we only know he worked in Delft from August of that year onwards. Since

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<sup>444</sup> People born in Bruges, or married to a Bruges citizen, automatically became burghers and are therefore not registered. See on the rights and duties Parmentier 1938, volume I, pp. VII-XIV. See on this subject also: Schouteet 1965-1973; Jamees 1974-1980.

<sup>445</sup> Jamees 1980, volume 2-2 and Parmentier 1938. See also SAB, OA, Inv. no. 130, *Poorterboeken*; the books for the years 1496-1530 are missing. The city accounts (SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216) have been checked from the account 1531-32 onwards. If Gheerkin de Hondt bought his burghership, it could not have been before February 1532.

<sup>446</sup> A comparison with other *zangmeesters* shows that most men were at least 25 years old when they first took the position of *zangmeester* in the Low Countries; based on the biographies of Benedictus Appenzeller, Jacques Barbireau, Noel Bauldeweyn, Cornelius Canis, Nicolas Gombert, Lupus Hellinck, Johannes Lupi, Pierre de Manchicourt, Jean Mouton, Jacob Obrecht, Jean Richafort, Cypriaan de Rore and Jacques de Wert (according to the encyclopaedia's [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com) and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and Elders 1985). Of course there is the (slight) possibility that Gheerkin de Hondt was already *zangmeester* elsewhere in the Low Countries before 1521, or that he was an exceptional talent or a late developer.

<sup>447</sup> The name even is a common name in the whole region and in Flanders. For example, in the nearby place of Axel (nowadays in Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the Netherlands), a Jacob de Hondt (1487-after 1525) is priest and organ player in the local church (my sincere thanks go to Dr. Bonnie Blackburn for pointing this out to me). See on this Jacob de Hondt: Wesseling 1966, p. 25 and De Mul/Truffino 1939/40, pp. 39-42.

<sup>448</sup> RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1530, fol. 124r (Appendix 3, 1530, June).

Gheerkin de Hondt was probably born in Bruges, he could have been there in June 1530 and it could be his child buried in Sint-Jacob. In the next years, the accounts of the church fabric mention the burial of several children of Gheeraert de Hondt or children of the *zangmeester*. If we have a closer look, there seems to be a difference in the mention of the father. Some burials refer to the child of Gheeraert de Hondt,<sup>449</sup> others refer to the children of Gheeraert de *zangmeester* or just *de sancmeester*.<sup>450</sup> The funeral costs are not always paid directly; sometimes they are paid one or more years later. After *zangmeester* Gheeraert de Hondt had left Bruges to become *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch, the funerals of children of Gheeraert de Hondt continue and even the burial of his wife is mentioned.<sup>451</sup> Therefore, we must have to do with two different men with the name Gheeraert de Hondt. The buried children of Gheeraert de Hondt were probably not children of Gheeraert de Hondt the *zangmeester*, but of another man with the same name.

Who was this other Gheeraert de Hondt? Documents of the city magistrate give a decisive answer.<sup>452</sup> On 2 September 1531, a Gheeraert de Hondt was chosen *vinder* (inspector) on behalf of the city government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (the hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold). He was therefore a *crudenier* (a grocer/herbalist). In the next decades, he regularly takes up a position in the administration of his trade as inspector or dean. He was first married to Loyse de Canleirs, with whom he had five children who remained alive: Mattheus, Antheonis, Jaques, Magdaleene and Cathelyne. His second marriage was to Jaquemijne Decker. After she died, he married Margriete Nock, former widow of Jan Drost. Gheeraert de Hondt hired a *crudeniers stalle* (a grocer stall) from the city of Bruges from March 1537 onwards. On 9 June 1543 he became the owner of the house *Den Ouden Wulf* in the Sint-Jacobsstraat. This house became the property of his son Mattheus<sup>453</sup> – also a *crudenier* – on 15 December 1559, but Gheeraert and his wife continued to live there. Gheeraert de Hondt was a member of the guild of the

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<sup>449</sup> June 1530 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1530, fol. 124r); July 1536 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1536, fol. 307r); see Appendix 3.

<sup>450</sup> October 1532 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 190r; also mentioned in October 1533 (fol. 225r) and finally paid in October 1534 (fol. 250v)); April 1533 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 221v; paid in April 1534 (fol. 247r); August 1537 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1537, fol. 337v). See Appendix 3.

<sup>451</sup> April 1541 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1541, fol. 455r); June 1544 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1544, fol. 542r), October 1544 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1544, fol. 544v), November 1548 (RAB 88, No. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1548, fol. 30v) and December 1548 (joncvrouw Jaquemijne, wife of Gheeraert de Hondt; RAB 88, No. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1548, fol. 31r). See Appendix 3.

<sup>452</sup> See for the references on this Gheeraert de Hondt Appendix 6.

<sup>453</sup> See for the references on Mattheus de Hondt Appendix 6.



Holy Sacrament in the church of Sint-Jacob. It was this Gheeraert de Hondt who was buried in March 1562 in the Sint-Jacobskerk.<sup>454</sup> He must have died late in February or early in March, because on 15 March the rent for the grocer stall was paid by his widow.

### 5.3 The De Hondt family<sup>455</sup>

*Zangmeester* Gheeraert de Hondt is mentioned in the accounts of the Sint-Jacobskerk as 'filius Jac.', son of Jacob.<sup>456</sup> The same accounts mention only one Jacob de Hondt: he is a *tegheldecker* (roofer/slater/tiler) and from 1532/33 onwards was appointed as *voogd* (guardian) of the choirboys in a foundation of Jan de Clerc and one of Adriane Montegny and Jan Humbloot.<sup>457</sup> In the last foundation the scribe of the church accounts refers to Jacob's profession as *tegheldecker* twice.<sup>458</sup> Although none of the references Gheeraert 'filius Jac.' de Hondt refers to Jacob the *tegheldecker*, the fact that there only seems to have been one Jacob de Hondt in Bruges in the years 1532-1539, who was highly respected in the city (see below), and that there is reference to Jacob de Hondt *tegheldecker* as guardian of the choirboys, leaves hardly any doubt that this *tegheldecker* was the father of Gheerkin de Hondt.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>454</sup> Diehl 1974, p. 176 states that it was *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt who died in 1562 and who was the member of the guild. According to Diehl Gheerkin had returned to Bruges after he had left 's-Hertogenbosch. We now know that it wasn't the *zangmeester*, but the *crudenier* who died in 1562.

<sup>455</sup> This paragraph is based on research in documents of the Sint-Jacobskerk, documents in the Stadsarchief Brugge, documents in the OCMW Brugge and secondary literature. See for the justification and all the references: Appendix 6.

<sup>456</sup> In all yearly payments for his gown made by the church fabric and in the payment for taking care of the choirboy Adriaen in 1533. The addition 'fil. Jac.' was probably made to distinguish between the *zangmeester* and the *crudenier* Gheeraert de Hondt. See Appendix 3.

<sup>457</sup> These foundations will be discussed in § 5.5.3 and § 5.7.

<sup>458</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1537, fol. 355v and RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 385r.

<sup>459</sup> The above mentioned priest and organist Jacob de Hont from Axel cannot have been Gheerkin's father, because he was born in 1487 (in Axel) and Gheerkin was born around 1495. Nevertheless, there always is a possibility that another Jacob de Hondt was Gheerkin's father.

Jacob de Hondt occurs in several accounts and documents of the Sint-Jacobskerk from 1509 until 1544.<sup>460</sup> In 1509 he became an inspector in the trade (*ambacht*) of the *tegheldeckers* for the first time and in 1518 he became dean. Jacob de Hondt was to hold both positions many times up to and including September 1546. This means that he was a man of distinction and that he was not only important in his trade, but also in Bruges. Being a member of ‘the board’ of the trade meant that he was also responsible for maintaining the order within the trade, for the observance of the regulations of the trade and for the inspection of the quality of the work a *tegheldecker* delivered.<sup>461</sup> Among the members of his trade, he was a top tiler: from the city account of 1514/15 up to and including the account of 1546/47 he is paid every year for his work as *tegheldecker* for the city.

Jacob de Hondt was married to Liesbette Joye, daughter of Abel Joye, who was a tailor (*sceppere*). In a document of 1562, we learn that there were at that time three children who shared the legacy of Jacob and Liesbette: Franchois, Magdaleene and Jooris, the last one also being a *tegheldecker*. Franchois and Magdaleene already occur in the accounts of the city in 1536/37, when they – as children of Jacob de Hondt, without the addition of *tegheldecker!* – receive a *lijfrente* from Adriaen de Hondt.<sup>462</sup> Their names are used in diminutive form, Franskin and Magdaleenekin, to indicate they were still minors.<sup>463</sup> This means that Gheerkin de Hondt had at least two brothers and a sister.<sup>464</sup> Gheerkin himself was already mature in 1536/37: he held a position as *zangmeester* for more than a decade and must have been married by then for quite a few years, since some of his children were already buried in the Sint-Jacobskerk. That Jacob de Hondt was a prosperous man is suggested by the large legacy Franchois, Magdaleene and Jooris inherited and that is mentioned in 1562: five houses and a small house in *sHeergeerwynstraete* (now Geerwijnstraat), next to the Prinsenhof. Jacob de Hondt must have died some time between September and December 1546. The accounts of the church fabric of Sint-Jacob are missing from 1 January 1545 until 31 December 1546, so we do not know when he was buried. But

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<sup>460</sup> See Appendix 6.

<sup>461</sup> See on the Bruges trades and how they functioned: Vandewalle 2008a; Vandewalle 2008c. Interesting studies on the Ghent trades (especially the social status of among others the trade of the tilers) are by Dambruyne 1997 and Dambruyne 1994.

<sup>462</sup> See on the subject of *rentes* Haggh 2010, pp. 34-36 and Tracey 1985, especially p. 8.

<sup>463</sup> In Bruges children were minors until the age of 25, see: Schouteet/De Groote 1973 and Godding 1987. I am very grateful to Dr. Noël Geirnaert, head archivist of the Stadsarchief Brugge, for offering me this information.

<sup>464</sup> The age difference between Gheerkin and Franchois and Magdaleene is that high, that it is realistic to consider the possibility that they had different mothers, that they were his half-brother and half-sister, from a second marriage of Jacob.

since all documents from after 1546/47 speak of the heirs of Jacob de Hondt, since he still is paid for his work as *tegheldecke*r for the city of Bruges in 1546/47 and was appointed inspector of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* on 2 September 1546, his death must be placed after September 1546, but before December 1546.

Jacob de Hondt was not the first De Hondt who was an important member of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* and also not the first member of the family to become the city roofer. A certain Cornelis de Hondt is paid for doing the *tegheldecke*r work for the city of Bruges from at least the year 1509/10 (and probably before that) up to and including the year 1513/14.<sup>465</sup> This Cornelis was also an inspector and later dean of the trade of the roofers. It seems logical to assume that Cornelis was Jacob's father, although this is not mentioned anywhere. Cornelis was also a parishioner of Sint-Jacob, where he was buried in February 1515. Cornelis de Hondt was probably the son of another Cornelis de Hondt who was also a tiler and who in 1460 had a son called Cornelekin (little Cornelis) who had reached maturity in 1472.<sup>466</sup>

There also seems to be a family tie between Jacob de Hondt and the already mentioned Adriaen de Hondt, who gave the *lijffrente* to the two children of Jacob in 1536/37. On 8 August 1526 Jacob de Hondt and his wife Lysbette handed over a *rente* to Adriaen de Hondt, which they had inherited from Lysbette's father Abel Joye. Adriaen was the son of a Cornelis de Hondt. It remains unclear what the exact relationship between Adriaen and Jacob was. But the fact that Adriaen died somewhere between November 1550 and May 1552 suggests that Adriaen and Jacob were brothers and therefore Adriaen was an uncle of Gheerkin.<sup>467</sup> Adriaen de Hondt was also a parishioner of Sint-Jacob in which church his wife had a pew. He owned a house called *Den Geltzac* standing *Inden Houden Zac*. Adriaen de Hondt was the holder of the office of the *scrooderie* (loading and unloading the wine barrels at the crane)<sup>468</sup> and clerk of Gillis Lauwereyns (until 1534/35). He succeeded Lauwereyns as holder of the right of the *reepgelt* (tax for the use of the crane) of the crane from 1 September 1535 onwards. He was married at least twice: to Joncvrouwe Marie Nettelets who was his wife between 3 June 1543 and 1550 and to Willemyne filia Claeys Hollebout who was his widow shortly before 5 May 1552.

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<sup>465</sup> See on this Cornelis de Hondt Appendix 6, Cornelis de Hondt II.

<sup>466</sup> See Cornelis de Hondt I in Appendix 6.

<sup>467</sup> Adriaen cannot have been a child of Jacob and Lysbette, since his father is mentioned as Cornelis.

<sup>468</sup> These so-called *officien* (public offices) were sold by the city. The public offices could be acquired by inheritance (father to son), or bought for life. In the first category fell the offices attached to loading and unloading points (bridges and markets); the second category contained bearer ships and measure ships and were sold by the city whenever a new officer was needed. See on the subject Vandewalle 2008c.

The family of Jacob and Cornelis de Hondt seems to have been a real roofer family.<sup>469</sup> The *Wetsvernieuwingen* (the ‘renewals of the law’, the change in the city magistrate each year on 2 September) mention more members of the De Hondt family who were roofers: Francois, Jan, Jooris, another Jooris and Joos. Between 1470 and 1577 almost every year a member of the De Hondt family is represented in the *Ambachtsbesturen* (boards of the trades).<sup>470</sup> The family also held the office of the city tiler for decades and decades. Only between 1546 and 1556 the Van Doorne family was responsible for the city’s *tegheldecker* work, and that is probably just because Jooris de Hondt (son of Jacob) was too young to fulfil the profession at that time.<sup>471</sup> In the fifteenth century, the *tegheldecker* profession was a profession with foresight, since from 1417 onwards, the city subsidized citizens who had their straw roofs replaced by tile roofs.<sup>472</sup> Even in the 1530s the city accounts are yearly mentioning the names of those who had their straw roofs replaced by tile ones.<sup>473</sup> The Bruges *tegheldeckers* had their own chapel in the church of Sint-Salvator.<sup>474</sup> Their house was in the part of town called Sint-Niclaaszestendeel, *up Sint-Joris* (probably the Sint-Jorisstraat).<sup>475</sup> The *tegheldeckerknappen* (tiler lads) held their services at Sint-Jacob, on St Catherine’s day (25 November), but in the 1530s they defaulted on their payment.<sup>476</sup>

Other men with the last name De Hondt had different professions. One side of the De Hondt family produced quite a few grocers: Christiaen, Felix, Gheeraert, Jan (three persons), Joos, Mattheus and Pieter. Often it remains unclear whether we have to do with two men with the same first name, or with one man having different professions. Felix de Hondt beats them all: he seems to have had two professions (he was a *crudenier* and a trader at the bird market/dairy market) and he held the office of the *tweerstscip van den vissche* (the right of supervision on the fish to be sold in the city) at the fish market.<sup>477</sup> Although it seems strange that one person could be

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<sup>469</sup> This paragraph is entirely based on the results presented in Appendix 6.

<sup>470</sup> And probably before that, but there is a gap in the data between 1442 and 1467.

<sup>471</sup> The Van Doorne family also supplied men to the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* for many decades.

<sup>472</sup> Geirnaert/Vandamme 1996, p. 27; Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, pp. 109-110.

<sup>473</sup> For example: SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1534/35, fol. LXXVv and Stadsrekening 1537/38, fol. LXXVjv: payments to Adriaen de Hondt for replacing (part of) the straw roof of his house standing *inden houden sack* by a tile roof.

<sup>474</sup> Gailliard 1977<sup>2</sup>, p. 89.

<sup>475</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Dis 1531/32, fol. XXVIIjr.

<sup>476</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533 (fol. 229v), 1534 (fol. 254r-v), 1535 (fol. [282r]), 1536 (fol. 314v), 1537 (fol. 343v), 1537 (fol. 359v), 1538 (fol. 373v), 1539 (fol. 401r).

<sup>477</sup> See on the fish market in Bruges: Vanhoutryve 1975.

working in three different trades (fish, herbs and dairy), we might have to do with only one person.<sup>478</sup> Like many people with the name De Hondt, Felix was a parishioner of Sint-Jacob, where the name De Hondt already occurs frequently in the 15th century.<sup>479</sup> We have to conclude therefore, that – since the name De Hondt is a very common name in Bruges and surroundings – it often is impossible to determine a family tie between different persons with the same last name, although some of those ties are obvious.

#### 5.4 The duties of *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt

As we have already seen, the appointment text of Gheerkin de Hondt as *zangmeester* has not been preserved in the resolution book which does contain other texts of that sort.<sup>480</sup> Nevertheless, the book shows us a few appointment texts of other

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<sup>478</sup> There are a few arguments for this. For the 17th century André Vandewalle states that since an office was not a full-time job, it was possible to held more than one office at the time and have another profession next to it (Vandewalle 2008b, p. 166). In the case of Felix de Hondt, we know that he leased out the office of the *weertscip vanden vissche*. Furthermore, the death of Felix de Hondt in 1532 is mentioned both in the church accounts of Sint-Jacob and several city documents. After that year, no Felix de Hondt appears anymore in those documents. Finally, the name Felix was rather rare in the first decades of the 16th century.

<sup>479</sup> Especially burials: RAB 88, No. 24, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1447, fol. 10r (11-09-1447, child Jan de Hondt); RAB 88, No. 24, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1452-1553, fol. 22r (29-11-1452, heer Jan de Hondt); RAB 88, No. 24, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1458-1459, fol. 38v (28-03-1459, child Christiaen de Hondt); RAB 88, No. 24, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1458-1459, fol. 39r (25-05-1459, Cornelis dHondt); RAB 88, No. 24, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1460-1461, fol. 42v (28-12-1460, Jan de Hondt); RAB 88, No. 24, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1464-1465, fol. 51r (child Christiaen de Hont); RAB 88, No. 25, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1489, fol. 22v (wife Joris de Hondt); RAB 88, No. 25, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1489, fol. 23r (September 1489, child Jor. de Hondt); RAB 88, No. 25, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1490, fol. 42r (Magdalena filia Christiaen sHonds from the parish of Sint-Gilles, buried by night); RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1522, fol. 482r, April 1522 (child Willem dHont); RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1514, fol. 298r (August 1514, Tannekin, the wife of Willem Dont); RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1514, fol. 299r (September 1514, child of Willem Dhont).

<sup>480</sup> RAB 88, No. 21. The fact that Gheerkin's appointment as *zangmeester* in Sint-Jacob is not mentioned in the official church document could indicate that Gheerkin was a local

*zangmeesters* who fulfilled the position before and after Gheerkin. The first one is that for Servaes van Wavere, who was *zangmeester* from October 1530 until 7 April 1532 at the latest. The text tells us that Servaes will receive a remuneration of together one part: half a part for himself and half a part ‘for the children’ (choirboys).<sup>481</sup> Furthermore, Servaes van Wavere will receive 12 *schellingen groot* for his gown every year around Easter, together with the children. As we have already seen in the paragraph on Gheerkin de Hondt in Bruges, Gheerkin received the same amount every year on (the eve of) Palm Sunday for his own gown. The money Servaes van Wavere received on behalf of the children was not for housing the children, but for teaching them.<sup>482</sup> During Gheerkin’s employment in Bruges, the choirboys of Sint-Jacob lived in a special house, together with the schoolmaster.<sup>483</sup> A description of the tasks of *zangmeester* Jan de Clerck in 1554 mentions that the choirboys go to the *zangmeester* twice a day, to learn how to sing *muzijcke*, that is polyphony.<sup>484</sup>

The appointment text of Servaes’s successor Claudius Joore refers to the terms of employment that Servaes had.<sup>485</sup> Gheerkin’s successors Petrus Jorjaen, Stasyns Barbion and Johannes Apele all had the same kind of appointment text.<sup>486</sup> These appointment texts do not tell us anything specific about the tasks the *zangmeester* had to fulfil. The archives of the Sint-Jacobskerk do not provide such a detailed job description either. However, based on these appointment texts and the foundation charter of the *Commuun* of Sint-Jacob, we may conclude that *zangmeester* Gheerkin

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man, ‘born and raised’ in the church as son of Jacob de Hondt *tegheldecke*, who was a parishioner and well-respected citizen of Bruges.

<sup>481</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 1r. This means that the *zangmeester* in 1530 has an equal part of the remunerations of the *Commuun* as the priests have, compared to the foundation text of 1424, when the *zangmeester* only had half a part (see § 4.6). This was not unique, because already in 1495, *zangmeester* Pieter Willems received a whole part (RAB, Inv. no. 237, fol. 5v, 4 July 1495), and in 1502 *zangmeester* Jan Raes also received a whole part of the distribution (RAB, Inv. no. 237, fol. XXJv-XXIJr, 09 January 1502).

<sup>482</sup> Also mentioned in 1502 for *zangmeester* Jan Raes: the second half of the remunerations was to teach the choirboys *in musicke ende discante*.

<sup>483</sup> We know that from the appointment texts of the schoolmasters. For example RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 6r (Jacob Wousslant) and 6v (Johannis de Cornebittere). Dewitte 1971, p. 338 says that this situation lasted from 1529 to 1544. An exception was made in 1533 and 1539, when two boys temporarily stayed with Gheerkin de Hondt (see § 5.6).

<sup>484</sup> Dewitte 1971, p. 339.

<sup>485</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2v.

<sup>486</sup> RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 21, Resolutie boek, fol. 13r (Petrus Jorjaen, 1 January 1540); RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 21, fol. 15r (Stasyns Barbion from Anthoin near Tournai, 14 September 1540); Johannes Apele (22 April 1543).

de Hondt was responsible for singing the seven canonical hours including High Mass every day, for singing the seven psalms during Lent, for singing a High Mass on all principal feasts and all Sundays, for singing a Mass for Our Lady on Saturday, for singing during the memorial services, for singing foundations and for the musical education of the choirboys. On the daily work of this last task, teaching the choirboys, we are also not informed.<sup>487</sup> But the numerous sources in the archives of the Sint-Jacobskerk today do help us to make a reconstruction of a musical-liturgical year during the time Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* in Sint-Jacob, for example for the year 1538.<sup>488</sup>

## 5.5 Music and liturgy in the Sint-Jacobskerk: reconstruction of the year 1538

### 5.5.1 The main sources

Yearly accounts survive from the three church administrations: the church fabric (responsible for the church building and other material aspects), the *Commuun* (responsible for the liturgy) and the *Dis* (responsible for the poor relief).<sup>489</sup> Furthermore, we have many original foundation charters or copies of them containing information about liturgy and music. There are also two registers of graves, giving us information about memorial services. And especially interesting is a register called *Planaris*, containing an overview day by day with feasts and foundations for memorial services and poor relief.<sup>490</sup>

To make the reconstruction, the *Planaris* is the proper source to start with, since according to the inventory of W. Rombauts, it was drawn up in the 16th century and kept current until 1690.<sup>491</sup> Closer inspection, however, shows us that the *Planaris* in fact is of a much later date. First of all, the handwriting looks more 17th-century than 16th. Moreover, foundations of a later date are placed above

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<sup>487</sup> For other towns we are better informed. See for example: Bouckaert 2000a; Bouckaert 2000b; Valkestijn 1989.

<sup>488</sup> The year 1538 is chosen because it was the last complete year Gheerkin worked at Sint-Jacob and several foundations demanding polyphony were founded in the 1530s.

<sup>489</sup> See Appendix 1 for an overview.

<sup>490</sup> RAB 88, No. 158. On the word *Planaris* see Introduction, note 22.

<sup>491</sup> Rombauts 1986, volume I, p. 96.

foundations of an earlier one.<sup>492</sup> Therefore, the manuscript was not chronologically written and older foundations must have been copied from another source. Indeed, the scribe makes reference to other manuscripts, including some that are still in the archives of the church today, such as the *Register vande verbanden*, the *Registrum Contractuum Communitatis*, the *Registrum Curati* and *Tregistre vanden nieuwen werke*,<sup>493</sup> but he also mentions books that we no longer have.<sup>494</sup> In addition, references are made to feasts of saints and Doctors of the Church who did not reach that status until the end of the 16th century.<sup>495</sup> Moreover, it becomes clear that many memorial services have been reassigned to other dates than they were originally founded for, according to their original charter.<sup>496</sup> Finally, the variable feasts like Easter, Ascension Day and Pentecost were placed on fixed dates, and therefore the Planaris should be more precisely dateable.

In this Planaris, Easter fell on 9 April, Ascension Day on 18 May and Pentecost on 28 May. A few years qualify in which these feasts were celebrated on these days.<sup>497</sup> Starting in the 16th century in the old dating style (that was used up till 1582), the years 1531 and 1542 match, and in the new dating style (after 1582) the years 1651, 1662 and even 1719 are to be considered. Since the manuscript contains many entries from after 1542, we can discard the idea that it is 16th-century. Rombauts based his conclusion that the manuscript was kept up to date until 1690 on notes made by a different scribe in the margins of the pages.<sup>498</sup> We therefore may conclude that the Planaris was written before 1690. The same scribe who added the remarks in 1690 also added a remark on 11 May referring to a death in the year 1665. Therefore, the manuscript must have been completed before 1665. It is the entry of 19 March that gives us the final clue. The text gives information on the feast of St Joseph, for which an endowment was made by parish priest Johannes Baccius who died on 26 October 1662. The date barely fits on the line, as if it had been added after the text later than the rest, but it is definitely the same scribe who wrote the rest of the

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<sup>492</sup> For example on 20 November, when we first read about the memorial service for Mattheus van Vyven, who died in 1562 and then about the one for Cornelis Clayssone, who died in 1505.

<sup>493</sup> Respectively RAB 88, nos. 888, 237, 377 and 98.

<sup>494</sup> For example the *Registrum membraneum communitatis* and *Register vanden commune*.

<sup>495</sup> For example on 7 March, 'S Thoma Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici 2x' [duplex] (Thomas Aquinas was only declared Doctor of the Church in 1567) and 'S Norberti' (saint since 1582). Checked with the help of Van der Linden 2002.

<sup>496</sup> For example the memorial services of Willem Humbloot and his wife Catheline Damhouders that were originally founded for 3 March and 22 May respectively (RAB 88, No. 466) are held in this Planaris on the same day, 16 February.

<sup>497</sup> Based on Grotefend 1991<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>498</sup> For example on 27 April.



calendar. So we may conclude that the Planaris shows the liturgical situation of the year 1662. Hence, the Planaris is not trustworthy for the reconstruction of the musical-liturgical year 1538, since that is too many years earlier.

The most reliable sources for the musical-liturgical reconstruction of the year 1538, then, are the church accounts, assuming of course that all the receipts and expenditures of 1538 have been written down in one of the accounts from the church fabric, *Commun* and/or *Dis*. All the accounts turn out to contain information on liturgy, even the accounts of the *Dis*. With these books we can make a long list of references to liturgical activities. However, hardly any information concerning the detailed content of the ceremonies is given. To find out if (polyphonic) music was involved, we have to dig into the church archives with the many (copies of) foundation charters.

The most important document is of course the foundation charter of 1424 of the college of the seven canonical hours. The text tells us that the members of this *Commuun* were supposed to sing the seven canonical hours every day, including a High Mass.<sup>499</sup> Furthermore, the group had to sing the seven psalms during Lent, and they were to sing at all principal feasts and all Sundays, during the Mass for Our Lady on Saturday, and during the memorial services of the parishioners.

Singing the seven canonical hours including High Mass is not mentioned separately in any of the church accounts of the year 1538. The same goes for 'all Sundays'. But we can safely assume that these services were held in 1538 according to the foundation charter of 1424.

We do find references for the weekly celebration of the Mass for Our Lady on Saturday. Every year we find payments in the accounts of the church fabric for the bell ringer for ringing the church bells before Mass. He also gets paid for bell ringing in the front of the church during the *Salve* as part of Vespers. Furthermore, he receives payments for ringing the bell called *Jacop de mindere* (James the Less) on the eve of all Marian feasts, although these feasts are not specified.<sup>500</sup>

Two references to the seven psalms during Lent are given in the accounts of the *Commuun*. A first receipt for this feast is for the *Commuun*, which receives money from a foundation made by the widow of Christiaen de Hondt (Katheline, the daughter of Maylin Wytroot) for singing the seven psalms during Lent.<sup>501</sup> Since the seven psalms are mentioned expressly in the foundation charter of 1424, this De Hondt foundation probably funds a feast that already existed. Christiaen and his wife also founded their memorial services in 1480; therefore the (extra) funding of

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<sup>499</sup> See § 4.6.

<sup>500</sup> See for example the payments of the year 1538, OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XLIJv.

<sup>501</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XXXIIJr.

the seven psalms during Lent must be dated around that time.<sup>502</sup> A second foundation for this feast was made by the priest Gillis van Beversluis: a payment from the *Dis* to the *Commuun*.<sup>503</sup> Since the foundation text is lost, we do not know what it specified.

### 5.5.2 Feasts on the official calendar

What applies to singing the seven psalms during Lent, namely that it is a foundation to add extra lustre to a feast that is already celebrated, most likely is true for other feasts that we come across in the three types of accounts of Sint-Jacob. But to determine which feasts were celebrated, we have to find a calendar first. However, no official calendar of feasts of the church dating from the 1530s has come down to us. The Planaris of 1662 mentions many feasts, even with their importance, but it is useless for the year 1538.<sup>504</sup> Bruges at that time belonged to the bishopric of Tournai, of which no official calendar seems to have survived either, though we do have the two calendars for the diocese of Utrecht for Delft.<sup>505</sup> However, to reconstruct the calendar for Sint-Jacob in Bruges, several types of sources are available.<sup>506</sup> First, there are quite a few calendars from the church of Sint-Donaas. Second, we have the so-called *obituaria* (obituaries) of the churches of Sint-Donaas and Onze-Lieve-Vrouw: books containing lists of memorial services for deceased people and feasts. And finally, we can use Books of Hours that originate from Bruges.<sup>507</sup> We have to be

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<sup>502</sup> See for the references on Christiaen dHont and his wife Katheline Appendix 6, Christiaen dHont III. It remains unclear if Christiaen is a relative of Gheerkin.

<sup>503</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1538/39, fol. LXVIJv. The payment is not registered transparently in the accounts of the Commuun.

<sup>504</sup> Not only because the degree of solemnity of the feasts might have been changed, but also since it mentions feasts that have been made official after 1538. For example, 6 June mentions St Norbert, who was only canonized in 1582. On the other hand, feasts that were celebrated in 1538 might have been cancelled in 1662.

<sup>505</sup> See Appendix 5, List of feasts in Delft.

<sup>506</sup> See Appendix 7, List of feasts in Bruges. A reconstruction has previously been made by Wieck 1988, pp. 153-156 but since Wieck 'only' used five sources for his reconstruction and I had more sources at my disposal, I put together my own list of feasts, which strongly corresponds to the one of Wieck. The calendar of the diocese of Tournai in Strubbe/Voet 1960, pp. 158-197 has not been used here since it is based on ('only') six sources from the early 15th century up to and including 1509 and it clearly does not completely match the Bruges calendars.

<sup>507</sup> Basic principle was to use calendars as close as possible to Bruges and the 1530s, resulting in a list of one print and six manuscripts. These were compared to calendars in

careful with the last category of sources, because the books have often been commissioned by private persons, who had feasts added to their calendars that were important to them personally but did not necessarily belong to the official calendar of the region in which they lived. On the other hand, books sometimes had feasts from the production centre where they were made. Comparing twelve Bruges calendars from the 15th and 16th century allows us to reconstruct a Bruges calendar with *principal* feasts for the 1530s. That is, with the feasts that were celebrated with great lustre on days that people were not allowed to work: in musical terms this probably indicates with polyphony. Appendix 7, List of feasts in Bruges, shows fifty-six such days. The moveable feasts like Easter and Ascension Day must then be added, for an estimated twelve more days. The total is about equal to the number of feasts in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft. Typical feasts for Bruges are the feasts of St Donatian (14 October) and St Basil (14 June). The Tournai calendars show us that the feasts of St Eleutheri (20 February), Eleutheri's Translation (25 August), the dedication of the church of Notre Dame of Tournai (9 May) and St Piat (1 October) are specific to that diocese.<sup>508</sup>

Now that we have the calendar, we can look for the feasts that had extra foundations, of which there are quite few in the accounts of Sint-Jacob. Starting in January, the feast of the Epiphany of Our Lord was celebrated with a kind of play, because the three kings are paid 2 Flemish shillings for their duties.<sup>509</sup> According to Alfons Dewitte, the play was mentioned for the first time in 1494 and abolished in 1555. In 1549 the *ghesellen vander musijcke* were paid for playing the parts of the three kings.<sup>510</sup>

Dewitte suggests that an Easter play was also performed on Palm Sunday and Good Friday.<sup>511</sup> The accounts of the early 1530s, however, only mention payments to the priest Anthonius Cant for singing the passions on both these days.<sup>512</sup> From 1536

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Books of Hours in the Royal Library in The Hague, which has a very large collection of Books of Hours. See on Books of Hours and calendars: Korteweg 1983, pp. 11-13 and 34-42; Van Bergen 2002; Van Bergen 2004; Van Bergen 2007; Wieck 1988.

<sup>508</sup> Also mentioned in the catalogue of The Royal Library in The Hague.

<sup>509</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533 (fol. 242r), 1534 (fol. [267v]), 1535 (fol. 298v), 1536 (fol. 328v), 1537 (fol. 359r), 1538 (fol. 388r), 1539 (fol. 414v).

<sup>510</sup> Dewitte 1971, p. 333. The accounts between 1533 and 1539 only mention payments for the three kings: *Betaelt upden derthien dach den drie conienghen by gratie naer costume ij schellingen groot.*

<sup>511</sup> Dewitte 1971, p. 333.

<sup>512</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533 (fol. 242r), 1534 (fol. [267v]), 1535 (fol. 298v).

onwards, the *zangmeester* is paid for fulfilling this task.<sup>513</sup> However, the adjoining payment to the *roededrager* for wine and *crakelingen* (a sort of crisp bread) on Maundy Thursday might suggest a play of the Last Supper, although this is not explicitly stated.

Another feast that is mentioned specifically in the accounts of the church fabric is All Souls Day (2 November). The High Mass on this day was sung by the *ghesellen van der musicke in discante*, meaning in polyphony. As we have already seen, in 1532 *Gherardus de sangmeester* (Gheerkin de Hondt) received payment for the entire group.<sup>514</sup> In this year there was an extra payment of 8 *groot*, for *met te gaan quispelen achter de kercke*,<sup>515</sup> from 1533 onwards the entire group is paid 18 *groot* together and the *zangmeester* is not mentioned separately.<sup>516</sup>

Two Marian feasts on the calendar are mentioned separately in the accounts of the *Commuun* of Sint-Jacob: the Visitation of Our Lady (2 July) and the *Festum de Marie Virginis*.<sup>517</sup> For adding extra lustre to the feast of the Visitation of Our Lady a foundation by Jacop Bieze was available.<sup>518</sup> From this fund payments were made to a preacher, the organist and bellows blower, the *canter* for his motet, dean and subdeans, the parish priest for the High Mass, the sexton, two *canters* in the choir and the *zangers vander muusike* for singing the Mass.<sup>519</sup> This feast therefore was definitely celebrated with polyphony. The original foundation text of 20 November 1466 has been preserved and provides even more information.<sup>520</sup> The feast was to be announced by heavy bell ringing and there had to be organ music and *discante* (polyphony). The *zangmeester* and his children (the choirboys) had to sing two

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<sup>513</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1536 (fol. 328v), 1537 (fol. 359r), 1538 (fol. 388r), 1539 (fol. 414v).

<sup>514</sup> See Appendix 3, 1532, 2 November.

<sup>515</sup> The meaning of the word *quispelen* remains unclear, but it probably means sprinkling with the aspergillum.

<sup>516</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 242r, 1534 (fol. 268r), 1535 (fol. 299v), 1536 (fol. 329v), 1537 (fol. 359v), 1538 (fol. 389v), 1539 (fol. 416v).

<sup>517</sup> Probably a word is missing here, for example *Nativitate* or *Assumptio*. Therefore, it remains unclear which Marian feast is meant by this.

<sup>518</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1531/32 (fol. [36r]), 1532/33 (fol. XXXVjr), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIjr), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIjr), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIjr), 1537/39 (fol. XXXVIIjv). First referred to as Jacop Bieze de Jonghe, in 1536/37 and 1537/39 Jacop Bieze d'Oude; see on the discussion on the different men with the same name Jacob Biese Appendix 8.b.

<sup>519</sup> For an example see OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XXXVIjr.

<sup>520</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXLJv.

motets after Vespers.<sup>521</sup> The foundation also provided for one adjoining week of singing the seven canonical hours<sup>522</sup> and for two memorial services, one each for Jacop and his wife Clare.

The *Festum de Marie virginis* contains payments to the bell ringer for ringing before the Mass, the organ player with the bellows blower and the church fabric for ringing the bells and lighting the candles. Singers and/or polyphony are not mentioned here.<sup>523</sup>

Besides these two Marian feasts, two priests of the church – Goossin van der Donc and Jan Bertijn – made foundations for several other Marian feasts. The foundation of Goossin van der Donc dates from September 1519.<sup>524</sup> It consisted of two parts: (1) funding for singing the *Inviolata, Integra etc.* on the seven Marian Feasts – Conception (8 December), Nativity (8 September), Presentation (21 November), Annunciation (25 March), Visitation (2 July), Purification (2 February) and Assumption (15 August) – and (2) singing the *Inviolata, Integra etc.* on the Sundays of Advent, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Epiphany of Our Lord (6 January) and every Sunday after Christmas until the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February). The singing was to be performed by three choirboys (each one verse) in the middle of the front church after the procession that was held before High Mass, and accompanied by the organ. The accounts of the *Commuun* of 1538, however, no longer mention the second part of the foundation, so it is doubtful if it was still observed by then.<sup>525</sup>

Jan Bertijn's foundation was enacted in 1532. On all Marian feasts,<sup>526</sup> after Vespers, the members of the *Commuun* had to go in procession from the choir of the

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<sup>521</sup> In 1538 they only sing one motet and get paid half the amount originally funded for two motets. The *zangmeester* also must have received his part of the amount the *Commuun* received, being a member of the *Commuun*. It is also a possibility that one motet was sung during Vespers on the eve of the feast and the other was sung on the day itself after the Vespers.

<sup>522</sup> Therefore an extra funding for the seven canonical hours that were already celebrated daily from 1424 onwards.

<sup>523</sup> OCBW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1531/32 (fol. [36r]), 1532/33 (fol. XXXVJr), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIJr), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIIJv), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIJr), 1537/39 (fol. XXXVIJr).

<sup>524</sup> See Appendix 8.c; RAB, Inv. nr. 237, Registrum Contractuum Communitatis, fol. LXXXIJr-LXXXIIJv.

<sup>525</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XXVr.

<sup>526</sup> The Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 December), Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February), Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (25 March), Visitation of Our Lady (2 July), Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 August), Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September), Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (21

church to the front of the church, singing *Beata Dei genitrix Maria*. Standing in the nave of the church, they then had to sing the antiphon *Salve Regina* and/or – according to the time of the year – one of the other Marian antiphons, *Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina celorum* or *Regina celi*. At the same time, the big church bell was rung. After the antiphon(s) the Collect was sung and the members of the *Commuun* went to the altar of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, kneeled and sang the litany of Our Lady in polyphony, with the verses and collects. After that, they all returned to the choir and sang *Ave Maria*.

Another parishioner who supported two feasts on the official calendar was the priest Jan Waters. He made foundations for the feasts of the Nativity of St John the Baptist (24 June) and the Beheading of St John the Baptist (29 August).<sup>527</sup> Several foundation charters related to the first feast have been preserved in the archives of Sint-Jacob, the oldest one dated 28 October 1440.<sup>528</sup> The foundation text of the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist does not survive, but the feast is mentioned in one of the charters for the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist.<sup>529</sup> The first charter for the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist tells us that principal feasts were celebrated with polyphony already in 1440: the *zangmeester* is to sing motets and *ander discant* (other polyphony) with the children, *gheliker wijs als in andren groten principalen kercefeesten* (as in other principal feasts).<sup>530</sup>

### 5.5.3 Individual foundations

It becomes more and more clear that polyphony is definitely part of the celebration of principal feasts from the foundation of the college of the seven canonical hours onwards. The accounts of the 1530s often mention the *cantre voor zyn motet* (the *zangmeester* for his – polyphonic – motet), specified in foundation charters as the *zangmeester* and the choirboys. The organist and the bellows blower are always part of these payments. The payments for the feast of the SS Cosmas and Damian (26

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November). A partial transcription of this foundation is given in Hodüm 1954, pp. 111-113. See for a transcription of the complete foundation Appendix 3, 1532, 13 July.

<sup>527</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1531/32 (fol. [36v]), 1532/33 (fol. XXXVJv), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIJv), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIJv), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIJv), 1537/39 (fol. XXXIXr).

<sup>528</sup> RAB 88, No. [398] = Regest 404 (= Charter 309; dated 28-10-1440), Regest 405 (= Charter 310; dated 28-10-1440), Regest 432 (= Charter 332; dated 12-03-1446) and Regest 439 (= Charter 337; dated 13-05-1447).

<sup>529</sup> RAB 88, No. [398], Regest 432 (= charter 332).

<sup>530</sup> RAB, Inv. nr. [398], Regest 404 (= Charter 309).

September) also mention this,<sup>531</sup> the underlying foundation for this feast probably dating from 28 August 1432.<sup>532</sup>

For other feasts we find particular payments for bell ringing, such as the feasts of the *Gulden Martelaers*<sup>533</sup> and St Gertrud on the day of the feast of the latter (17 March),<sup>534</sup> St Crispin (25 October) and St Francis (4 October)<sup>535</sup> and St James and St Christopher (both 25 July).<sup>536</sup> Singing is not mentioned in these payments. However, the feast of St James and St Christopher must have been celebrated with great splendour, since St James was the patron of the church and it was also an important feast on the Bruges calendars.<sup>537</sup>

As we have already seen, many feasts were enhanced and paid for by individual foundations.<sup>538</sup> If we go through the accounts of the church fabric, the *Commuun* and the *Dis* for the year 1538, we find about fifty references to personal foundations.<sup>539</sup> For some of them we have no clue about their contents: the

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<sup>531</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1531-32 (fol. [36v]), 1532/33 (fol. XXVJv), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIJv), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIJv), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIJv), 1537/39 (fol. XXXVIIJv-XXXIXr). The accounts of the church fabric mention a payment by the barbers for ringing the bells on this day. Since Cosmas and Damian are the patrons of the barbers, this probably is a separate celebration for their trade (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 373r).

<sup>532</sup> Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>, p. 57. The reference in note 62, p. 235 is not correct: the *Registrum sepulturarum novum* is in the RAB 88, No. 197 and does not equal SAB, OA, Inv. no. 450; fol. 3r-v do not contain this foundation.

<sup>533</sup> It remains unclear which martyrs are meant here.

<sup>534</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1531/32 (fol. [39v]), 1532/33 (fol. XXXIXv), 1533/34 (fol. XLv), 1534/36 (fol. XLJr), 1536/37 (fol. XLv), 1537/39 (fol. XLIJv). Gheeraert van Lil and Zegher van Ostende made foundations for the feast of St Gertrud (Appendix 8.c).

<sup>535</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1531/32 (fol. [40r]), 1532/33 (fol. XLr), 1533/34 (fol. XLJr), 1534/36 (fol. XLJv), 1536/37 (fol. XLv), 1537/39 (fol. XLIJv).

<sup>536</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1531/32 (fol. [40r]), 1532/33 (fol. XLr), 1533/34 (fol. XLJr), 1534/36 (fol. XLJv), 1536/37 (fol. XJv), 1537/39 (fol. XLIJv).

<sup>537</sup> The bell ringing was founded by Jacop de Haerst, hence the separate mention most likely.

<sup>538</sup> A study on foundations in the city of Ghent was published by Hagg 2010. Hagg took the registers of the Ghent alderman as the basis for her article, not the archives of the individual churches.

<sup>539</sup> See Appendix 8. In this chapter only the foundations interesting in the scope of this (musical) study are discussed in detail. Many foundation texts are partly quoted by Rotsaert 1977/1978/1979/1980. Although this study is of great importance for those interested in the subject, there are three major problems with it that made me leave it aside for this book: (1) the lack of documentation, as we only know in general what

descriptions in the church accounts are too vague and the foundation texts have been lost.<sup>540</sup> Another category does not involve music, for example foundations for daily Masses, read by priests.<sup>541</sup> However, this group contains two foundations that are of special interest to this study. One of them is a foundation by Willem Humbloot and his wife Katheline Damhouders which contains payments for the four choirboys of the church, made to their supervisor (the *zangmeester*) and their guardian.<sup>542</sup> The foundation was made in 1530/31 and mentions that the four choirboys (under the supervision of the *zangmeester*) are to read the seven penitential psalms on the four corners of the graves during the memorial services of Willem Humbloot, Katheline Damhouders, Jan Humbloot and Adriane de Montegny. Furthermore, the four choirboys are to *lesen* (read, say) a 'De Profundis' and 'Requiem Eternam' as well as a 'Pater Noster' and an 'Ave Maria' every Thursday after the Mass of the Holy Sacrament and every Sunday after the *Lof* of the Holy Sacrament. The *zangmeester* got paid for his supervision and for reading the 'De Profundis' with the collect<sup>543</sup> and the guardian received a payment for maintaining the boys.<sup>544</sup> The idea for this foundation was probably taken from the foundation for the memorial services of Jan de Clerc and his wife Marie Adriaens, which was founded on 18 October 1527.<sup>545</sup>

Third, we have a group of individual foundations that involved music, simply because the members of the *Commuun* were involved (and the *Commuun* included a group of professional singers) and/or the bell ringer received a payment.<sup>546</sup> However, it is not clear if polyphony is involved or not. Most of these individual foundations added lustre to a feast that was already celebrated, such as foundations for singing the seven canonical hours. These canonical hours were already celebrated, but according to the charters, were yet not funded.

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sources Rotsaert used, but we have to guess which one he used in describing the persons who made the foundations; (2) the use of the Planaris, which turned out not to be trustworthy for this study; (3) the study is incomplete: for the 16th century he only gives the families up to and including the beginning of the letter C (Castille, Bernard de).

<sup>540</sup> See Appendix 8.a.

<sup>541</sup> See Appendix 8.b.

<sup>542</sup> See on the guardian § 5.7 below.

<sup>543</sup> According to the accounts of the church fabric RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533 (fol. 240r), 1534 (fol. 265r), 1535 (fol. 296r), 1536 (fol. 326r), 1537 (fol. 355v), 1538 (fol. 385r), 1539 (fol. 412r).

<sup>544</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXXXVr-fol. CXXXVIJv.

<sup>545</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXXIJv/CXXIIIJr. See Appendix 8.e, Clerc, Jan de. The foundation of Jan de Clerc only provides for the choirboys to sing the seven penitential psalms during the memorial services.

<sup>546</sup> See Appendix 8.c.



Finally, in eleven cases (by nine founders) we find direct references to polyphonic music in foundation texts.<sup>547</sup> This category is the most interesting one in the context of this book. Three of the foundations have already been discussed above because they enhanced a feast on the official Bruges calendar (Jacop Bieze – Visitation of Our Lady and Jan Waters – Nativity of St John the Baptist and Beheading of St John the Baptist). The others are equally interesting.

### 5.5.3.1 Philips Bitebloc and Adriane van Beversluys

Philips Bitebloc and his wife Adriane van Beversluys belonged to the greatest benefactors of the liturgy celebrated in the church of Sint-Jacob in Bruges. According to the church accounts, they made six foundations, among which two memorial services.<sup>548</sup> It all started on 2 January 1472, when Philips and Adriane bought a grave in the church for themselves and their son Philippot.<sup>549</sup> A few years later – on 29 March 1475 – a charter tells us about three foundations made by Adriane, ‘widow’ of Philips:<sup>550</sup> (1) a daily Mass, read by a priest at the altar of St Adrian that was previously founded by Philips and Adriane, (2) a Mass for Our Lady, to be read by an assistant priest of the guild of the furriers (*lamwerckers, grauwerckers ende wiltwerckers*) or another priest on Saturday at the altar of the furriers and (3) a memorial service for Philips each year on 7 February, attended and supervised by the dean and guild of the furriers. After the daily Mass and the Mass for Our Lady, the priests were to go to the grave of Philips, where they were to read a ‘De Profundis’, with verses and collect. And, as good medieval citizens caring for the poor, Philips and Adriane founded a *dis* for poor relief, to be distributed after Philips’s memorial service.<sup>551</sup> From the fact that Adriane is referred to as ‘widow’ and that the foundation of the memorial service was enacted on 29 March 1475 to be celebrated on 7 February, we may conclude that Philips had died on 7 February 1475. But the accounts of the church fabric – with the funeral records – of that year are missing.

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<sup>547</sup> See Appendix 8.d.

<sup>548</sup> See Appendix 8.b, Appendix 8.c, Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e for references to the accounts.

<sup>549</sup> RAB 88, No. 197, fol. XLVIIv-XLIXr (26v/27r).

<sup>550</sup> RAB 88, No. [509] = Regest 525 = Charter 393, equals RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXCJr/J<sup>c</sup>XCVIIJr. Rombauts 1986, volume II, incorrectly refers to Regest 526 (most likely a typing error).

<sup>551</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. J<sup>c</sup>XCVIIJv-CCJr.

Because of the lack of the accounts from 1468 to 1488 we do not know when Adriane died. However, she most likely died in February 1487, since her first memorial service is celebrated in February 1488.<sup>552</sup> Shortly before Adriane died, she made three more foundations:<sup>553</sup> (1) a polyphonic Mass on the first Sunday of every month, being a Mass of the Holy Trinity, (2) a Mass on Trinity Sunday (the Sunday after Pentecost) and (3) a memorial service for Adriane herself. All foundations are to be supervised by the guilds of the furriers (Philips Bitebloc was a *grauwercker*) and cobblers (because they took care of the altar of St Adrian) and the sisters of the *godshuis* (almshouse) of St Obrecht.<sup>554</sup>

The two foundations in relation to the Holy Trinity are very interesting within the scope of this study. The twelve monthly Masses, on the first Sunday of every month, were to be sung in the choir of the church, with the entire choir, in the morning at seven o'clock (before Prime), with a priest, a deacon and a subdeacon and with the great organ. The Mass was announced by bell ringing. After the service, the graves of Philips and Adriane were to be visited, where the psalms *Miserere mei, Deus* and *De Profundis* were read, with the Collect, 'Inclina', 'Quaesumus' and 'Fidelium'.<sup>555</sup> After the Masses, a *dis* is available to the poor. It remains unclear whether this Mass was sung in polyphony or chant.<sup>556</sup>

This is not the case with the Mass that was to be sung on Trinity Sunday. This Mass was definitely a polyphonic Mass, because it was to be sung *in discante*. Like the monthly Masses, this Mass also was to be sung at seven o'clock in the morning, but now at the altar of St Adrian. On the eve before the feast and on the evening on the feast itself, both at seven o'clock, the major bell of the church (called James) was to be rung during half an hour. If ever a larger bell should be purchased, this larger bell would be rung. After the bell ringing, the bell had to be *beyaerde* for half an hour (which meant that it was rhythmically played but not activated by the keyboard),<sup>557</sup> until the bell stroke of eight o'clock. During the Mass itself, the large church bells had to be *beyaerde*. As during the monthly Masses, a priest, deacon and subdeacon

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<sup>552</sup> RAB 88, No. 25, fol. 2v.

<sup>553</sup> Dated 15 November 1486, documented in five places: RAB 88, No. 932 (= Regest 586 = Charter 438 and Regest 587 = Charter 439 (15-11-1486)); OCMW-B, *Cartularium Communitatis Sint-Jacobskerk*, fol. CLXIIr-CLXXr; RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CCJv-CCXVJr; RAB 88, No. 888, fol. IXr-XVIJv. RAB 88, No. [461] = regest 594 = charter 442 is the acceptance on 02-12-1486 of the *Commuun* to execute the services.

<sup>554</sup> St Obrecht (Aulbertus, Aubert) of Cambrai was the patron saint of the bakers.

<sup>555</sup> Normally 'Inclina' is sung for a man, 'Quaesumus' for a woman.

<sup>556</sup> Therefore, in Appendix 8 it is listed under c, Individual foundations, music involved (singing or bell ringing).

<sup>557</sup> On the term *beyaerde* see § 1.4.

and an organist were on duty, but here they were accompanied by the *ghezellen van der musijcke*, being at least six persons. If the six singers were not available, the *zangmeester* had to fill in the gap with the choirboys of the church, accompanied by two or three *ghezellen* (professional singers or priests?) of the church. After this Mass too, the priest, deacon and subdeacon had to visit the graves of Philips and Adriane. During the Vespers on the evening before Trinity Sunday and on the day itself, the members of the *Commuun* were to go into procession, bearing a cross, from the choir of the church to the altar of St Adrian, singing the antiphon and 'Magnificat'. Finally, the *zangmeester*, the choirboys and two singers were to sing a motet, still standing before the altar.

### 5.5.3.2 Donaes de Moor and Adriane de Vos

Donaes de Moor was a rich furrier and important citizen of Bruges. He and his wife Adriane de Vos were generous parishioners of the church of Sint-Jacob. Donaes and Adriane created a number of foundations in the church, the first being about 1479, when they donated a high altar.<sup>558</sup> On 12 May of the same year the church gave their benefactors permission to build their own small chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, St Donatian and St Adrian, situated close to the presbytery. The altar was provided with a Lamentation triptych by the Master of the St Lucy Legend, which is now in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid, including both benefactors as donor figures. Donaes and Adriane were buried in their own chapel. According to the conventions of their time, the couple also thought about the less fortunate citizens: in 1479, Donaes had thirteen almshouses built in the Boeveriestraat, today numbers 52-76. A few years later, in 1482, Donaes and Adriane financed the choir stalls of the church, together with Willem Haultin, secretary of Archduke Maximilian. Shortly thereafter, in May 1483, Donaes was banned from Bruges because he was accused of sympathy with Maximilian, at that time one of the most hated men in town.<sup>559</sup> He died in exile on 9 September 1483. His remains were brought back to Bruges sometime before 1486, that is after the quelling of the revolt.<sup>560</sup>

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<sup>558</sup> A contemporary overview of their donations for Sint-Jacob and other institutions in Bruges is given in Bruges, SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45.

<sup>559</sup> See § 4.7.

<sup>560</sup> Bloxam, 'Saint Donatian Mass'; Martens 1992a, pp. 264-266; Bloxam 2011, pp. 11-36; Bloxam/Bull 2010, pp. 111-125; Documentary on the DVD *Missa de Sancto Donatiano* by Cappella Pratensis (Challenge Records 2009, fl72414).

Previous to these material foundations, Donaes and Adriane had made foundations for liturgical services. After Donaes's death and the return of his remains to Bruges, on 19 February 1487 Adriane made five more liturgical foundations for the church of Sint-Jacob: (1) a daily Mass at Prime read by a priest; (2) a Mass of St Donatian;<sup>561</sup> (3) a Mass of St Adrian; (4) a memorial service for her deceased husband and (5) a memorial service for herself.<sup>562</sup> The Masses for their own patron saints St Donatian and St Adrian were polyphonic Masses, and therefore the most interesting foundations in the scope of this study.

The Donatian Mass was to be sung every year on St Donatian's Day (14 October). On the evening before the feast, at seven o'clock until eight o'clock the largest church bell called 'James' was to be rung (if ever a larger bell should be purchased, that was to be rung). For one half hour the bell was rung (pulled by ropes); the other half hour it was to be *beyaerden*. On the day itself, a solemn Mass was to be sung, in *discante* (in polyphony) in the chapel of Donaes de Moor and Adriane de Vos. The mass was celebrated by a priest, deacon and subdeacon at seven o'clock in the morning (or around that time), with the great organ<sup>563</sup> and the *ghesellen van der musike* – the polyphonic singers – of the church. There had to be at least six singers; if they were not available, the *zangmeester* and his children had to fulfil this duty. During the Mass, the great church bells were to be *beyaerde*. After the Mass, the priest, deacon and subdeacon were to go to the grave of Donaes de Moor and read the psalm 'De Profundis' with the collect. The Mass in honour of St Adrian (4 March) was to be celebrated in exactly the same way.

Reinhard Strohm discovered that the *Missa de Sancto Donatiano* by Jacob Obrecht was probably commissioned by Adriane de Vos especially for this foundation.<sup>564</sup> As we have already seen, Jacob Obrecht (1457/8-1505) worked at the Bruges church of Sint-Donaas during several years (1485-87, 1488-1491 and 1498-

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<sup>561</sup> See Appendix 8.d for the sources. Although the feast of St Donatian was an official feast on the calendar of the city of Bruges (Donatian was one of the patron saints), the foundation of this mass was a private foundation, not intended to increase the solemnity of the feast.

<sup>562</sup> RAB 88, No. 888, fol. XXIIJv-XXXr.

<sup>563</sup> Bloxam 2011, pp. 15-16 has a point wondering about the role the 'great organ' standing in the church itself, and therefore at some distance of the private De Moor chapel.

<sup>564</sup> Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>, pp. 57 and 145-147. See for a first analysis of the Mass Wegman 1996, p. 139 and pp. 169-174 and for a profound analysis Bloxam 2011, pp. 11-36. Both Strohm and Wegman did not know the original foundation text kept in the RAB: they only knew the abstract from the book of the furriers in the SAB, OA (SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45). Therefore they both date the foundation on 14 March 1487 instead of 19 February of that year. Strohm mentions that the Mass was to be sung in the evening at seven o'clock, but this must be the morning (*snuchtens ten zeven hueren*).

1500),<sup>565</sup> therefore during the time Adriane made her foundation. The premiere of the Mass must have taken place on 14 October 1487, eight months after the foundation was created. It remains unclear if Obrecht also composed a Mass for the foundation of the Mass of St Adrian, but if he did, it seems to be lost.

### 5.5.3.3 Foundations for the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary

In addition to foundations for private purposes, a group of foundations was created to give (polyphonic) enhancement to the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (21 November), a feast that in 1538 was not yet on the official calendar.<sup>566</sup> In the church, a confraternity of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (also called Our Lady of Milan) was founded in 1498/99.<sup>567</sup> The confraternity was allowed to have its own altar, with a statue, and to celebrate several services daily. No fewer than three foundations were made for the feast. First, it was funded in 1508 by the widow of Jan Claijes – ‘joncvrauwe Joessijne’ – and here too the original foundation act has been preserved.<sup>568</sup> It is of particular interest because it gives us a good example of how important feasts were celebrated. The members of the *Commuun* were responsible for celebrating first Vespers on the eve of the feast, including the *Salve Regina*, then on the day itself Matins, High Mass and second Vespers. Mass was celebrated by the parish priest or his substitute and a deacon and a subdeacon. Other officials were the two eldest *capelanen* (chaplains) holding the office of the *canterie* (the precentors<sup>569</sup>), the *canter* (*zangmeester*) for singing a motet during both Vespers, the *ghesellen vander musyke* for singing during High Mass and for singing ‘Te Deum Laudamus’ in polyphony, the bell ringer, the organist and the bellows blower, the *roedragher* (the ‘staff carrier’, verger) and the sexton.

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<sup>565</sup> A M. Jacop Obrecht *presbiter* was witness when Johannes Raes was given the *canterie* on 12 March 1499, at which time Raes was given 20 *schellingen groot* to obtain the status of priest. Raes had to promise to remain at the church, but if he wanted to leave anyway, he had to repay the money (RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XIJv). Raes left the church in 1504-1505 to become *zangmeester* in Antwerp (Dewitte 1971, p. 347).

<sup>566</sup> OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1531/32 (fol. [36v-37r]), 1532/33 (fol. XXXVJv), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIJv-XXXVIIJr), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIJv-XXXVIIJr), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIJv-XXXVIIJr), 1537/39 (fol. XXXIXr-v).

<sup>567</sup> Hodüm 1954, pp. 100-101.

<sup>568</sup> See Appendix 8.d for the sources. See also: Hodüm 1954, pp. 102-103 and 111-113 (transcription). For the payments in for example the year 1538: OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XXXIXr-v.

<sup>569</sup> As we shall see, in 's-Hertogenbosch they were called *intoneerders*.

A second foundation for the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was funded by Jan Bertijn in 1532, as part of the group of foundations of seven Marian feasts mentioned above.<sup>570</sup> For the feast of the Presentation, there was extra funding, among others to remember the deceased members of the confraternity. The Sunday within the octave of the feast would be celebrated like any other solemn feast with the office and singing (unless that was the first Sunday of Advent, when another day was determined); it remains unclear if 'singing' includes polyphony. After second Vespers the members of the *Commuun* sang the Vigil with three lessons. On the next day a prayer for the deceased was read, followed by a Requiem Mass (including the 'Dies Irae'). After the Mass, the celebrant, together with his servers and the priests, went to the middle of the choir, where they stood between the music stand of the singers and the lectern of the cleric reading the epistle; there the beadle spread a black rug. On the four corners of the rug four candles were lit, which burned during the office. The Bertijn foundation mentions a third celebration: a *Lof* (Salve) of the Holy Sacrament, to be sung on the Friday after the feast of Corpus Christi. No details about this celebration are given, so we cannot tell if polyphony was involved.

A final foundation that contributed to the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was made by Marie Claeys, the widow of Lodewijck van Hille, in December 1536.<sup>571</sup> The foundation was the formal confirmation of a tradition started by Lodewijck van Hille (one of the – former – church masters) in 1510,<sup>572</sup> to which the foundation text refers. Every year at eight o'clock in the evening on the feast of the Presentation a Mass was sung at the altar of the confraternity of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, standing in the choir of the church. The Mass was celebrated by the dean, subdean, the *gheselle van den musike* (the singers of polyphonic music), the organist and the bellows blower. The text does not give us any detailed information about the actual celebration of the Mass. Thorough information is also lacking on the bell ringing. We only know that the *houden Jacob* (the church bell called Old James) was to be rung from seven o'clock until eight o'clock in the evening before the feast of the Presentation and at the same time on the day itself. The hours of bell ringing were each split into two half hours: one half hour the bell was rung, the other half hour it was *beyarde*.

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<sup>570</sup> See for a transcription of the complete foundation Appendix 3, 1532, 13 July.

<sup>571</sup> See Appendix 8.d for the sources. A transcription of this foundation is given in Hodüm 1954, pp. 113-115, see also p. 103 (date incorrectly given as 1538). Since it concerns a foundation agreed by Gheerkin de Hondt, a complete transcription is also given in Appendix 3, 1536, 9 December.

<sup>572</sup> Hodüm 1954, p. 103.

A curious item in the yearly accounts of the church fabric related to the confraternity of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary is a reference to the *feeste* (party, feast) the *ghezellen van den choor* (the members of the *Commuun*) celebrated yearly. It took place on or within the octave of the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (21 November). The bell ringing was a gift from the church fabric; the members of the *Commuun* did not have to pay for it.<sup>573</sup> It was probably a contribution to the original celebration of the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>574</sup>

#### 5.5.3.4 Pieter Cottreel

A completely different and remarkable foundation specifying polyphony is the one by Pieter Cottreel for a *gulden mis* (Golden Mass) sung in polyphony, combined with a so-called mystery play.<sup>575</sup> *Meester Pieter Cottreel* was born in Tournai in 1461, became a canon there in 1489 and from 1508 onwards he was archdeacon of Bruges.<sup>576</sup> He died on 28 May 1545, at the respectable age of 84. The foundation Cottreel made for the church of Sint-Jacob was also celebrated in the cathedral church of Tournai (with slight differences), although the Bruges foundation was made about seventeen years earlier.<sup>577</sup> As we have already seen, the celebration of the *gulden mis* – on Ember Day, between 14 and 20 December – was not uncommon in the Low Countries.<sup>578</sup> According to the foundation text, Cottreel also had a

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<sup>573</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (fol. 196v), 1533 (fol. 229v), 1534 (fol. 254r), 1535 (fol. 281v), 1536 (fol. 314r), 1537 (fol. 343v), 1538 (fol. 373r), 1539 (fol. 401r).

<sup>574</sup> See also Hodüm 1954, p. 102.

<sup>575</sup> See Appendix 8.d for the sources. This foundation is the subject of several publications: Kruitwagen 1906, pp. 438-466, 131 and 1907, pp. 158-188, 394-420, 464-490, see in particular pp. 447-452; Le Beffroi 1863, pp. 165-178; Van Dromme 1908. A transcription of the part of the foundation text considering the *gulden mis* is given in Le Beffroi 1863, pp. 168-172, a large summary in Dutch is given in Kruitwagen 1906, pp. 448-451.

<sup>576</sup> According to Dewitte 1962, p. 267 Cottreel received the eleventh prebend of the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in 1534.

<sup>577</sup> On 7 March 1519 n.s. (Kruitwagen 1906, pp. 447-448). The transcription of the Tournai version of the foundation is given in Deschamps de Pas 1857; Le Beffroi 1863, pp. 172-178; Voisin 1860.

<sup>578</sup> See § 3.6. In Bruges the Golden Mass was also celebrated in the churches of Sint-Donaas (as early as 1380), Sint-Salvator (1563), the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw and Sint-Gilles (Dewitte 1977, p. 91).

university degree in law and made his foundation during the time he was the *prochipape* (parish priest) of the church of Sint-Jacob.<sup>579</sup>

The foundation consisted of two parts: (1) a polyphonic High Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary (celebrated as a *festum triplex*) on the Wednesday in Ember Week of Advent, on or after the Feast of St Lucy (13 December), a *gulden mis* (Golden Mass), combined with a mystery play, and (2) a Mass of the Holy Spirit for Pieter Cottreel on the day after Ember Day, to become a memorial service after his death.<sup>580</sup>

The rituals of the Golden Mass are specified in detail. On the Tuesday preceding Ember Day, after Vespers, two stages – in the shape of little chapels – are to be built. They should be six to seven feet high and embellished with beautiful curtains. One of them (for the Blessed Virgin Mary) is placed in the choir at the side of the chapel of the coopers, the other (for the angel Gabriel) on the side of the chapel of the tanners.

On Ember Day, during Matins, when the Gospel ‘Missus est Angelus’ is sung, and the sexton has prepared everything for the High Mass, two boys with high and beautiful voices (chosen by the *succentor* or *magister cantus* – *zangmeester*) are to get dressed in the sacristy as Mary and the angel Gabriel. Gabriel will hold a golden sceptre. During the eighth lesson, they have to be ready to come through the west door of the church, preceded by two schoolboys with candles and the beadle. After kneeling before the high altar and saying prayers, Mary and Gabriel take their places in their little chapels, and the curtains will be closed.

During the last lesson of Matins and the ‘Te Deum’, two singers come out of the sacristy, followed by the celebrating priest and two of his servers. The entire choir of the church follows, solemnly singing the triplex Mass ‘Rorate coeli’. As soon as the ‘Introitus’ starts, the curtain of Mary’s chapel is drawn. Mary kneels on a pillow before a lectern with a prayer book on it and two burning candles next to it. With lowered eyes, she prays. After the Epistle, the curtain of Gabriel’s chapel is also drawn. He is to stand, with the golden sceptre in his right hand. Neither Mary nor Gabriel is allowed to move. When the Gospel is to begin, the dean, subdean, two choirboys and the beadle climb to the rood loft to sing the Gospel.<sup>581</sup>

From here onwards, the Gospel of Luke 1: 26-38 (‘In illo tempore: Missus est angelus Gabriel’) is sung by the dean, Gabriel and Mary; it is precisely described who must sing what and how (high/low voice, standing, kneeling, et cetera). Finally, a

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<sup>579</sup> This proves again that the parish priest was not always residing in the parish, Cottreel – as a Tournai canon – most likely resided in Tournai.

<sup>580</sup> See on the Mass of the Holy Spirit in general § 5.5.4.

<sup>581</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 6, the rood loft was more often part of musical performances in liturgy.



dove – presenting the Holy Spirit – is let down. During the rest of the entire Mass, Mary and Gabriel keep praying in their chapels, Mary kneeling, Gabriel standing. During the ‘Agnus Dei’, the dove rises again. After the Mass, a ‘De Profundis’, ‘Kyrie Eleison’, ‘Pater noster’ and a ‘Fidelium’ are to be sung for all souls. While praying for the priest, the congregation and all who have died, Mary and Gabriel leave their little chapels and return to the sacristy, together with the priest and his servants.

On the eve before Ember Day, between seven and eight o’clock, and on the day itself during the High Mass, the great bells of the church will be rung, as is common practice in Sint-Jacob on high feasts. The *sociis de musica sive cantoribus* (the *gezellen van den musike*, singers of polyphony) receive their payment for *eorum discantu in missa predicta* (for singing polyphony in the aforesaid Mass). Furthermore, the choirboys, the organist and the bellows blower are paid for their duties.

#### 5.5.3.5 Adriana de Montegny

On 16 February 1535 Adriane de Montegny, widow of Jan Humblot, made a foundation to celebrate the feast of the Name of Jesus (15 January) with polyphony.<sup>582</sup> The feast was to be celebrated with the largest bell ringing, the best habits and thirty-six candles, each six weighing one pound. The candles were to burn during Vespers and *Lof* on the eve before the actual feast, and during Lauds and High Mass on the day itself. The bells of the church were to be rung two hours: one hour on the evening of the feast from seven until eight o’clock and one on the day itself from seven until eight o’clock. Both times, during the first half hour all the church bells were to be rung, the second half hour the bells were to be *beyaerde*. The parish priest – or in his absence the eldest priest of the *Commuun* – was to sing High Mass. During this Mass, the *ghezellen van der musike* were to sing *discant mottetten ende Te Deum* (motets and ‘Te Deum’ in polyphony). Together with the entire choir they went in procession and in the nave of the church they sang the ‘Inviolata’, including the verses and collects. During first Vespers they sang the ‘Salve Regina’ in the front of the church and during the second Vespers the ‘Alma Redemptoris’, both also including the verses and collects.

The second part of this foundation contains – as often – a foundation for a memorial service, to be held on the first suitable day after the feast of the Naming of Jesus.

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<sup>582</sup> See Appendix 8.d for the sources. See for a transcription Appendix 3, 1535, 16 February.

#### 5.5.4 Memorial services

In the foundation charter of 1424, singing memorial services is mentioned separately as a task of the *Commuun*.<sup>583</sup> The same text tells us that if someone wanted his or her grave in the church, he/she was obliged to make a foundation for a memorial service. Hence we see that many purchases of graves were combined with a foundation of a memorial service.<sup>584</sup> But some parishioners bought a grave first and made a foundation for a memorial service later.

Many texts of foundations for memorial services have been preserved.<sup>585</sup> Most of them refer to the 'customs' of the church and indeed there was a certain framework that formed the basis for each memorial service:

- on the evening before the actual memorial, a Vigil was held with three lessons;
- on the day itself a Commendation was read (a prayer for the deceased);
- after the Commendation a Requiem Mass was sung by the entire *Commuun*;
- after the Mass, the priest, deacon and subdeacon went to the grave of the deceased to read one or more psalms (*Miserere mei, Deus* and/or *De Profundis*).<sup>586</sup>

This basis seems to have been the custom in many medieval European churches.<sup>587</sup> In Sint-Jacob in Bruges, the order of the rituals could differ: some foundations mention that the psalms were read before the Requiem Mass, others afterwards. The days that were mentioned were also a little variable: if the day coincided with a feast or a Sunday, it was permitted to celebrate the memorial service one or two days

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<sup>583</sup> See § 4.6.

<sup>584</sup> See RAB 88, No. 197 (Register with acts of attributions of graves, 1398-1776) and no. 198 (Register with acts of attributions of graves, 1426-1480).

<sup>585</sup> This paragraph is based on the texts copied in RAB 88, No. 237 and RAB 88, No. 888.

<sup>586</sup> If a person was not buried in the church of Sint-Jacob but elsewhere, a memorial service was held around a blue gravestone in the middle of the front of the church, placed there especially for those whose graves were in other churches (see RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLXVIIJr: *ten ghemeene sepulture vanden commune ligghende inden middele vanden voorkerke verdeckt met een blaewwen steen*). An exception was Jozijne Remeirs (see Appendix 8.e), for whom the psalms were read at the grave of her father, who was buried in Sint-Jacob.

<sup>587</sup> Haggh 2007, pp. 59 and 79-85. Haggh mentions two elements that do not seem to have been practised in Sint-Jacob, namely the Vespers for the dead (before Vigils) and the Lauds (after the Vigils). Truus van Bueren states that there were many ways to celebrate a memorial service, but that there were three basic elements: the Vigil, the Requiem Mass and the visit to the grave where prayers were read (Van Bueren 1999, p. 60). As we saw in § 2.4 in Delft this standard framework was used to remember all benefactors of the church once a year in January.

before or after the specified date. The basis could be extended, for example with candles (variety in size and weight), the psalms (only one or both), (extra) incense and/or holy water, cleaning the grave and poor relief. Above all it was the rich parishioners who already made other foundations who wanted their memorial services to become something special. We find them, for instance, in the group of memorial services of the parishioners who also made foundations for polyphonic services.

Adriane de Montegny for example, wanted her grave to be cleaned before the memorial service, which was to be announced in the church on the Sunday preceding it.<sup>588</sup> During the Vigil and Commendation, the church bell called 'James the Less' had to be played rhythmically ('*cloppen*') and rung. Four candles were to burn on the corners of her grave. During the Mass, the four choirboys of the church were to read the seven penitential psalms at the grave, each standing at a corner. The guardians of the boys received 5 *schellingen groot* for the maintenance of the boys, a considerable amount of money in those days.<sup>589</sup> After the service, a *disch* was given to the poor.<sup>590</sup>

The memorial service of Philips Bitebloc also provided for cleaning the gravestone, candles and a *disch*.<sup>591</sup> The dean, sworn members and cleric of the guild of the furriers were to be present to check if everything was observed according to the text of the foundation.

The memorial services of Donaes de Moor and Adriane de Vos were the same as the ones of Adriane de Montegny and Philips Bitebloc.<sup>592</sup> Since Adriane de Vos was still living when she founded the memorial services for her husband, for herself a Mass of the Holy Spirit (*eene messe vanden heleghe gheeste*) was to be celebrated every year until the day she died (to become a memorial service from then on). This Mass of the Holy Spirit was founded more often by other parishioners, to commemorate themselves before they died. It could be any kind of mass.<sup>593</sup>

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<sup>588</sup> The text mentions that the annunciation was a normal custom in the church. See Appendix 8.e for the sources and Appendix 3, 1535, 16 February for a transcription.

<sup>589</sup> A same sort of foundation was made by Jan de Clerc and his wife Marie Adriaens (see Appendix 8.e for the sources).

<sup>590</sup> See on the principle of a *disch* § 4.4.

<sup>591</sup> See Appendix 8.e for the sources.

<sup>592</sup> See Appendix 8.e for the sources.

<sup>593</sup> The widow of Baptiste Agnelli wanted her Mass of the Holy Spirit to be a solemn mass, accompanied by organ music (RAB 88, No. 237, fol. LXXXv-LXXXIjr and fol. XCVIIv-CVIIv; RAB 88, No. [530] (= Regest 615 = Charter 459); RAB 88, No. [528] (= Regest 718 = Charter 532); Pieter Cottreel also wanted organ music (RAB 88, No. 237, fol. LXXVIJv-LXXVIIjr). See also Appendix 8.e, Agnelli and Cottreel.

A question that remains open is why the scribe of the Planaris<sup>594</sup> entered so many 15th-century memorial services that are not in the accounts of the church for the year 1538.<sup>595</sup> There seems to be only one cogent explanation, namely that some foundations are no longer recognizable in the accounts of 1538. For example, if the payment of the *rente* that was the basis for a memorial service had been transferred to a person with another name, we do not recognize it anymore as the *rente* that had to be paid for that particular memorial service. In those days it was common practice to transfer *rentes* (especially on houses) to family members after someone's death. And if the relative had another last name, it becomes unrecognizable.<sup>596</sup> This is most likely the case with the Planaris, and it would mean that we have at least 170 memorial services more in 1538 than the 92 the church accounts already mention. Some memorial services might have dried up between 1538 and 1662; for others we have no foundation date and in 76 of the 170 cases we have a memorial service for a married couple or more than two family members, which might have been split in 1538. In the Planaris some memorial services have been displaced to another date, and that is perhaps even the strongest argument that they were still celebrated in 1662 and therefore also in 1538. This means that about 270 times a year a memorial service was celebrated.<sup>597</sup> Another mystery is why several memorial services that were founded shortly before 1538 were not mentioned in any of the church accounts.<sup>598</sup> It might well be that the financial arrangements were not in order.

Another important question that remains open is what parts if any of the memorial services were sung in polyphony. The evidence suggests that in Sint-Jacob most parts were sung in chant, in particular the Requiem Mass itself. First of all, from that period and from the Low Countries, in relation to the frequent usage of this Mass, only a few polyphonic settings of the Ordinary of the Requiem Mass have come down to us.<sup>599</sup> Even in the local partbooks of Zeghere van Male with its

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<sup>594</sup> RAB 88, No. 158.

<sup>595</sup> The accounts of 1538 mention ninety-two memorial services. See Appendix 8.e.

<sup>596</sup> This would also explain why in several cases we do not find the payments from one of the church administrations to another. For example: the payment from the church fabric to the *Commuun* for the memorial service of Madame la contesse de Saint-Pol is only found in the account of the church fabric (See Appendix 8.e, Saint-Pol) and not in the account of the *Commuun*.

<sup>597</sup> Some memorial services fell on the same day.

<sup>598</sup> See Appendix 8.e, the foundations of Jan du Bosquel (14 May 1536), Phelipe de Carion (14 December 1537), Jan van Messem and his wife (24 January 1534), Jan Poitan (01 March 1537) and Marie de Voocht (1537).

<sup>599</sup> Fitch ('Requiem Mass'). There also was no standardization as to which movements had to be set polyphonically. Confirmed in Bergé/Christiaens 2011, p. 54; from the group of

thirteen Masses, no polyphonic Requiem Mass is included.<sup>600</sup> Secondly, we know from the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch that in the 16th century the Broederschap maintained that polyphonic music was not suitable for the dead, although they twice attempted to introduce it.<sup>601</sup> However, for the psalms 'Miserere mei, Deus' and 'De Profundis' more than one hundred polyphonic settings have survived in sources between 1500 and 1600.<sup>602</sup> Therefore, it is quite possible that during this part of the memorial service polyphony was sung. It is even possible that these psalms were sung in the vernacular: Gheerkin de Hondt has left us a version for four voices of the psalm 'De Profundis' in a (free) French translation.<sup>603</sup>

Nevertheless, we have to take into account that it was probably a local decision to 'allow' polyphonic Requiem Masses or not, even on the level of the church itself. In 's-Hertogenbosch it was decided to sing in chant, but in the Pieterskerk in Leiden two polyphonic Requiem Masses were copied in one of the six choirbooks that have come down to us.<sup>604</sup> One is anonymous, the other by Richafort.<sup>605</sup> That gives us at least the suggestion that in Leiden it was possible to have a polyphonic Requiem Mass at one's funeral or memorial service. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility that in Sint-Jacob in Bruges polyphonic Requiem Masses were also sung, perhaps only incidentally or on special occasions.<sup>606</sup>

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earliest polyphonic Requiem Masses the Requiems of Ockeghem, De la Rue, Brumel and Richafort are discussed in detail (pp. 57-89).

<sup>600</sup> See on this source § 11.1.

<sup>601</sup> See § 6.4.6. Bergé argues that polyphonic music was seen as festively and even exuberant and that therefore the Catholic church was not an advocate of polyphony in Requiem Masses (Bergé/Christiaens 2011, pp. 52-53).

<sup>602</sup> Hagg 2007, pp. 69 and 76; Hagg refers to Thomas (Motet Database).

<sup>603</sup> See § 15.2.

<sup>604</sup> Regionaal Archief Leiden, Kerken, (1292) 1304-1574 (1828), nummer toegang 502, inventarisnummer 1440. The Leiden choirbooks are digitally accessible on <http://www.leidenarchief.nl/home/collecties/verhalen/koorboeken/bladeren-in-koorboeken>. See on memorial services in the Leiden Pieterskerk Jas 1997, pp. 38-46 and p. 119.

<sup>605</sup> In the choirbook itself it is misattributed to Josquin des Prez. See on the attribution Jas 1997, p. 111.

<sup>606</sup> At least in Sint-Donaas polyphonic Requiem Masses were sung as memorial services a few times a year already in the 15th century; on 8 January, 10 February, 14 February, 13 October and 25 October (based on BAB, Inv. no. A210; I am truly grateful to Dr. Bonnie Blackburn for sending me these entries). See also Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>, p. 96.

### 5.5.5 A *Lof* of the Holy Sacrament and the Virgin Mary and a Mass for the Holy Sacrament

The church accounts of 1538 add several types of ceremonies to the ones mentioned in the foundation charter of 1424, which included music and the professional singers, among them a daily *Lof* in honor of the Holy Sacrament and the Virgin Mary and a weekly Mass for the Holy Sacrament on Thursday.

The *Lof* and Mass are mentioned in the account of the *Commuun*, in two references to a foundation by Jan de Clerc: for a service (*dienst*, the Mass) and *Lof* of the Holy Sacrament.<sup>607</sup> The original charter of this foundation has been preserved and mentions that 5 *schellingen groot* for singing the *Lof* daily in Sint-Jacob will be available. The foundation dates from 18 October 1527 and mentions that the *Lof* is already sung in the church, therefore this has to be seen as a financial enhancement of an already existing service.

That the singers of the church were involved can be concluded from a foundation text of February 1499, in which it is stated that the singers will be paid every three months for their duties during the *Lof*.<sup>608</sup> Another foundation text, dated 26 April 1500, mentions that the *Lof* was not only sung in honor of the Holy Sacrament, but also in honor of the Virgin Mary.<sup>609</sup> This foundation also refers to the Mass of the Holy Sacrament, to be sung on Thursday. A few years later, 3 January 1505, Everaert Loyet donated a sum of money for celebrating the *Lof* during thirteen days after Corpus Christi – ‘usually mid-June’ – every year.<sup>610</sup> This too is extra funding for the existing *Lof*-service.

### 5.5.6 Processions

As in all medieval cities, in Bruges many religious processions took place during the year.<sup>611</sup> As we have already seen, there were two main categories: the general processions – to be held on any occasion<sup>612</sup> – and the yearly procession in honour of the Holy Blood.<sup>613</sup> In the last procession all churches participated, as did Sint-Jacob. In the different types of church accounts, we find a reference to the Holy Blood

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<sup>607</sup> See Appendix 8.c, Jan de Clerc.

<sup>608</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XIJv.

<sup>609</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XVJr.

<sup>610</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XXVv-XXVJv.

<sup>611</sup> Andriessen 2002, pp. 43-52.

<sup>612</sup> On this type of procession: Caspers 1992, pp. 121-124.

<sup>613</sup> See § 4.8.

procession only in the accounts of the *Commuun*, concerning wine.<sup>614</sup> The accounts do not tell us what exactly the participation of Sint-Jacob implied, and more specifically: if the singers were involved.

Most of the processions in medieval towns were small, and were held inside the church that organized them. That also seems to have been the case in Sint-Jacob. The accounts of the church fabric mention each year eight ‘*ommegancs*’<sup>615</sup> in the years Gheerkin de Hondt worked at Sint-Jacob: on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February), on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (25 March), on Easter Day, on Whit Sunday, on the *kermesdach* (the day of the dedication of the church to St James the Greater, 21 July),<sup>616</sup> on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 August), on All Saint’s Day (1 November) and on Christmas Day (25 December).<sup>617</sup> The singers (referred to as *sanghers*, *de ghesellen van den musycke* or *de musycyne*) were separately paid for singing on these days. Together they received between 16 and 18 *groten* for the entire group, probably depending on how many singers participated.<sup>618</sup> In addition to these eight processions, there was a procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, but the singers are not separately mentioned here.<sup>619</sup>

In some years, we come across incidental processions. The singers certainly participated in the incidental processions held on the feast of St James (25 July) in

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<sup>614</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1531/32, fol. [43r], 1532/33, fol. XLIIJr, 1533/34, fol. XLIIJv, 1534/36, fol. XLIIJv, 1536/37, fol. XLIIJr, 1537/39, fol. XLVv. On the distribution of the wine among the members of the *Commuun*, see a RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXXVIIJv/CXXIXr (28-05-1528).

<sup>615</sup> An ‘*ommeganc*’ is usually translated as a procession (Verdam 1994). See also the Dutch dictionaries *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* and *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* on <http://www.inl.nl>. In this case, however, it could have a double meaning, namely procession and collection (‘send the hat round’), because the ‘*ommeghancs*’ are listed under the receipts.

<sup>616</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 187v.

<sup>617</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (fol. 183r, 184v, 184v, 186v, 187v, 188r-v, 190r, 192r), 1533 (fol. 219v, 220v, 221v, 222v, 223r, 224r, 226r, 227r), 1534 (fol. 245v, 246r, 247r, 248v, 249r, 250r, 251r, 278r), 1535 (fol. 270v, 271v, 272r, 274r, 274v, 275v, 276v, 278r), 1536 (fol. 303v, 304v, 305v, 307r, 307r, 308r, 309r, 310v, 318v), 1537 (fol. 332v, 333r, 334r, 335v, 336v, 337r, 338v, 339v, 347r), 1538 (fol. 363v, 364v, 365r, 366v, 367r, 367v, 369r, 370r), 1539 (fol. 392v, 393r, 393r, 394r, 395r, 395v, 396r, 397r, 404v). All processions were mentioned every year, but they were not always held.

<sup>618</sup> These amounts are only mentioned in the years 1532 and 1533.

<sup>619</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (fol. 214v), 1533 (fol. 242r), 1534 (fol. 268r), 1535 (fol. 299r), 1536 (fol. 319r), 1537 (fol. 359v), 1538 (fol. 389r), 1539 (fol. 415r). It is unclear if the payments were made for a small procession inside the church or a larger procession outside, perhaps even together with other churches.

1535<sup>620</sup> and on the second of September 1537.<sup>621</sup> In 1532, on the feast of St Stephen (26 December), a procession was held, but the singers are not mentioned.<sup>622</sup> They are also not mentioned in the description of a procession held on 20 July 1539 before noon.<sup>623</sup> This procession was held to pray for the well-being of the emperor, Charles V, for a good harvest and against the *hastighen zicte* (the plague). The procession – with the relics of St Basil – went from Sint-Donaas through the Breydelstraat, across the Markt, through the Sint-Jacobsstraat to the church of Sint-Jacob.

The music that was sung during processions has not come down to us as such in the archives of the church of Sint-Jacob. As we have already concluded, chant was sung.<sup>624</sup> Because the accounts of the church fabric refer to *sanghers*, *de ghesellen van den musycke* and *de musycyne*, we may safely conclude that polyphony was also a part of the music during the processions organised by the parish of Sint-Jacob.

### 5.5.7 Other services

In this overview of liturgy involving music, we miss two types of ceremonies. The first category is that of the funerals. We know that there were several ways in Sint-Jacob to bury someone: with bell tolling or without, in the church or in the graveyard, with candles or without, et cetera,<sup>625</sup> but we do not have any information on whether music was involved. Because of the differences in the burial ritual, it seems logical to assume that there was also a choice to have music or not.<sup>626</sup> And consequently it is logical to assume that rich people ‘hired’ the professional singers, and perhaps even polyphonic Requiem Masses were sung. But that is not to be found in the church records.

Another category of individual and incidental ceremonies is that of Masses celebrated by guilds and crafts. We know from the church accounts that several

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<sup>620</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1535, fol. 274v. This is the only year in the period 1532-1539 a separate procession was mentioned on the day of the patron saint of the church.

<sup>621</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1537, fol. 338r.

<sup>622</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 216r.

<sup>623</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 415v and SAB, OA, Inv. no. 120, Hallegeboden 1496-1796, fol. XXX<sup>c</sup> XXIIIJv-/XXX<sup>c</sup> XXVr, 19 July 1539.

<sup>624</sup> See § 4.8.

<sup>625</sup> See the accounts of the church fabric: each year they start with a monthly overview of the funerals.

<sup>626</sup> Funerals are not mentioned separately in the foundation charter of the *Commuun* of 1424 as a general task of the *Commuun* (see § 4.6), but memorial services are mentioned separately.



guilds and societies of craftsmen had altars in the Sint-Jacobskerk,<sup>627</sup> and as we have already seen, the Guild of the Presentation of Our Lady was one of them.<sup>628</sup> Of course there must have been guilds and trades that hired the professional singers, but the question is how many and how often. In two cases we know, because the foundation texts still exist.

The first is that of the guild of the *tauwers* (tanners), which made a foundation on 20 August 1484 that was still referred to in our reconstruction year 1538.<sup>629</sup> On the eve of the feast of their patron, St Giles, and on the day itself, the *Commuun* of the church sang Vespers and the 'Magnificat' and a procession was held to the altar of the guild. Before the altar, the *canter* (*zangmeester*) and his children were to sing a motet. On the feast of St Giles itself (1 September), at seven o'clock (in the morning?) a polyphonic Mass (*een messe in discante*) was to be sung by the *gesellen* (singers of polyphony). The group received 20 *groten* for that, no matter how many singers there were. All services were accompanied by the organ player and bellows blower. Like in other foundations, during the Mass, the middle bells of the church were *beijaerden*.<sup>630</sup> The tanners paid the church fabric for playing the bells; the 'servants' (among them the priests and singers) must have been paid directly by the tanners, since we do not find any payments to them in any of the church accounts.

A second foundation of a guild still to be found in the account of the church fabric of 1538 is that of the *tegheldeckersknappen* (tiler/slater boys). On 1 March 1472 the trade was given permission by the church masters to use the altar of SS Catherine and Barbara for their services.<sup>631</sup> On the eve of the feast of St Catherine, the middle bells of the church were rung before None, Vespers and Compline (*goeden avent*), and also on the day of the feast itself before Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, High Mass, None, Vespers and Compline, 'like the other guilds do according to the customs of the church'. The church was lit by wax candles. The members of the *Commuun* sang the two Vespers, the two Complines, Matins and High Mass. For the Vespers, during the 'Magnificat', they came from the presbytery and walked in

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<sup>627</sup> See § 4.5. See in the church account of our model year 1538 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538) especially the item *Ander ontfaenc van gheluden van feesten ende meessen inde voors. kercke ghedaen, binnen desen jare ende dat by maenden* (fol. 370v onwards).

<sup>628</sup> See § 5.5.3.3.

<sup>629</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XXXVJv and RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 372v.

<sup>630</sup> See § 5.5.3 above.

<sup>631</sup> RAB 88, No. 197, fol. LJr-LIJr and RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 373v. The reference in RAB 88, No. 197 is part of the larger foundation with the permission to use the altar, which is not important in the scope of this study.

procession to the altar of SS Catherine and Barbara, again ‘according to the customs of the church’. During Vespers, the *canter* (*zangmeester*) of the church sang with his children a *motet in discante*, for which he was paid directly by the guild. The organ player played a Hymn and Magnificat during both Vespers, and he played during the High Mass. Mass was celebrated by one of the priests of the *Commuun*.<sup>632</sup>

The archives of the individual guilds and crafts may provide much more information on the services they held and the music that sounded there: because according to the accounts of the church fabric, quite a few were attached to the church of Sint-Jacob. But that is beyond the scope of this study.<sup>633</sup>

It is impossible to reconstruct the musical-liturgical year 1538 at the church of Sint-Jacob in Bruges with precision, because we have to deal with inaccurate church accounts and with a loss of documents (especially foundation charters). But it certainly is possible to make an attempt, that is a minimum account of the situation in 1538:

- Daily:
  - \* Seven canonical hours, including High Mass
  - \* *Lof* in honour of the Holy Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin Mary
- Weekly:
  - \* Mass of the Holy Sacrament on Thursday
  - \* Mass for Our Lady on Saturday
  - \* High Mass on Sunday
- Yearly:
  - \* the Seven Penitential Psalms during Lent
  - \* Liturgical feasts: at least 68
  - \* Foundations: about 30 (some only increasing the solemnity)
  - \* Memorial services: at least 92, possibly more than 260
  - \* Processions: at least 9 a year

The total number of liturgical ceremonies in which the singers were involved (singing chant or polyphony) is very impressive. So the proverb ‘There is a time for everything’ does not seem to apply to the singers of the church of Sint-Jacob in Bruges in the year 1538: they had to hurry to get their work done.

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<sup>632</sup> Extra funding for these services was provided for on 18 February 1537 (RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 7r).

<sup>633</sup> The archives of the city of Bruges contain many archives of guilds. See Vandewalle 1979, p. 127 onwards. However, many archives from the medieval period have been lost or are incomplete.

## 5.6. Colleagues...

Bruges was a city of great splendour, with music on a very high level in five churches. As we have already seen, famous colleagues of Gheerkin de Hondt worked in town, before or after him, but also during the period he worked in Bruges himself.<sup>634</sup>

In the period Gheerkin was active as *zangmeester* in Bruges, his best-known colleague was no doubt the *zangmeester* of the church of Sint-Donaas, Lupus Hellinck. As we shall see in Chapter 13, Gheerkin no doubt admired his colleague since he used two of his motets as models for masses (*Panis quem ego dabo* and *In te Domine speravi*). The son of Johannes Hellinck from the diocese of Utrecht, Lupus (or Wulfaert) was born around 1494 (in Axel)<sup>635</sup> and became a choirboy at Sint-Donaas on 24 March 1506, where he remained until 1511. He returned in 1513 as verger of the church, to leave again in 1515, to study for the priesthood. In April 1518 we find him in Rome, where he was promoted to the priesthood. A few months later he probably served Sigismondo d'Este in Ferrara (June 1518-April 1519), finally to return to Bruges in October 1519 to become a cleric in Sint-Donaas. From 1521 to 1523 he was *zangmeester* at the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, a position he fulfilled in Sint-Donaas from June 1523 until his death in January 1541.<sup>636</sup> He probably lived in the Braambergstraat, on the east side, close to the Sint-Donaaskerk.<sup>637</sup> Hellinck had a son with the same name (Wulfuekin), who is mentioned in the account his executors made up after his death. The accounts of the city of Bruges confirm the existence of Hellinck's son: priest Hellinck bought a *lyfrente* for him and his son Wulfaerdekin in 1532<sup>638</sup> and again in September 1535<sup>639</sup> and September 1536.<sup>640</sup>

Other *zangmeester* colleagues of Gheerkin de Hondt in the period 1532-1539 are Jacop Lem (Sint-Gilles 1532-1538), Martinus de Zaghere (Sint-Gilles 1538-1539 and Onze-Lieve-Vrouw 1539-1547), Antonius De Breda (Onze-Lieve-Vrouw 1532-1534), Johannes Dorimont (Onze-Lieve-Vrouw 1534-1537), Johannes Despaers

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<sup>634</sup> See § 4.6.

<sup>635</sup> Recently Dr. Bonnie Blackburn discovered new information on Hellinck's family in Axel (Blackburn forthcoming, Introduction).

<sup>636</sup> Biographical information based on Blackburn ('Hellinck, Lupus [Wulfaert]') and Blackburn forthcoming.

<sup>637</sup> Andriessen 2002, p. 282. The information is derived from a notary act from 1556-1557 when Hellinck's neighbour sells the house next to the house of *Wulfaert Hellinck, zancmeestre binde kercke van St. Donaes in Brugge*, which means that Hellinck was still well known in Bruges by then.

<sup>638</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1531-32, fol. XCIJv.

<sup>639</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1534-35, fol. XCVJv.

<sup>640</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1535-36, fol. Cr.

(Onze-Lieve-Vrouw 1537), Willem De Roucourt (Onze-Lieve-Vrouw 1537-1539), Jacop de Ruelx (or Reulx, Sint-Salvator 1536-1538) and Johannes de Hollande (Sint-Salvator 1538-1541; after Hellinck's death he transfers to Sint-Donaas).<sup>641</sup> The priest Jacop Lem had just left the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft when Gheerkin de Hondt became *zangmeester* there for the second time in August 1530. Lem had been a priest and *hoechconter* in Delft from 10 October 1529 until January 1530.<sup>642</sup> In 1508 he was a singer at the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw.<sup>643</sup> Martin de Zaghere we know from the Sint-Jacobskerk, where he was appointed as member of the *Commuun* on 17 September 1531 and stayed at least until 24 January 1534.<sup>644</sup> According to Alfons Dewitte he became a member of the *Commuun* of Sint-Gilles in 1535 and from there went to the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, where he is mentioned as a composer.<sup>645</sup>

As we have seen, the individual payments to Gheerkin de Hondt for his daily work are not separately listed in the documents of the Sint-Jacobskerk. The administrators only mention the payments to the entire group of members of the *Commuun*.<sup>646</sup> Therefore it is impossible to make a complete list of Gheerkin's colleagues, including the choirboys, based on the accounts of the church. There are, however, two ways to attempt to reconstruct the constitution of this *Commuun*. The first one is through the resolution book, which contains documents of the appointments of singers and priests from 1530 onwards.<sup>647</sup> A second way to look for colleagues of Gheerkin de Hondt is to make lists of the names mentioned in the separate foundation texts from the period he worked at the Sint-Jacobskerk.<sup>648</sup>

The resolution book gives many documents of appointment for priests, sextons, bell ringers, professional singers and *zangmeesters*. For this book I will restrict myself to the professional singers, recognizable because the terms *bascontre/bassus*, *hoochcontre/contratenor* and *tenor* are added to their names.<sup>649</sup>

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<sup>641</sup> Andriessen 2002, p. 217, based on the articles of Alfons Dewitte.

<sup>642</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXIXv.

<sup>643</sup> Dewitte 1970, pp. 114 and 127.

<sup>644</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2r and RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLXXVIIv.

<sup>645</sup> Dewitte 1977, p. 98.

<sup>646</sup> See § 5.1 above.

<sup>647</sup> RAB 88, No. 21. See § 5.1 above, where we already concluded that the appointment text of Gheerkin de Hondt as *zangmeester* of the church of Sint-Jacob is mysteriously missing in this book. A resolution book from before 1530 has not come down to us.

<sup>648</sup> Based on RAB 88, No. 237: 13 July 1532 (fol. CXXXVIIv-CXLv); 24 January 1534 (fol. CLXXVIIv-CLXXXr); 7 January 1536 (fol. CXLVIIv-CXLIXr); 20 June 1536 (fol. CXLVIJr-CXLVIIJr); 20 June 1536 (fol. CLJr-CLIJr); 9 December 1536 (fol. CLIIJr-CLVr); 1537 (fol. CLVv-CLVIJr); 8 November 1537 (fol. CLXVIJv-CLXIXr); 14 February 1538 (fol. CLVIIv-CLXr); 26 July 1538 (fol. CLXIJv-CLXIIIJr).

<sup>649</sup> The names are given in Appendix 4.

For the period 1530-1539 the resolution book includes fifteen appointments of bass singers, seven for *hoochcontrel/contratenor* and four for tenor singers. Remarkable is the huge number of bass singers in relation to the other two voice-types. A possible explanation might be that good bass singers were rare, and therefore very demanding and choosy in where they wanted to work and under what circumstances. In the majority of the cases it remains unclear until when a singer was active in Sint-Jacob, but we can safely assume that there was not twice the number of bass singers in the group in relation to the other voice-types. Sometimes someone was explicitly fired, but most of the time we have to guess how long the singer stayed. So it still is impossible to put together the group of singers, but it would probably exist of six to eight adult singers, just as in Delft and 's-Hertogenbosch.

The foundation texts sometimes complicate matters. Many foundation texts of the period 1532-1538 start with the names of members of the *Commuun*. First there is the parish priest, followed by a large group of priests and chaplains (*priesters ende capellaenen*). Finally there are the schoolmaster, the 'clerks' and the *zangmeester*. When Gheerkin started his job in Bruges, between February and July 1532, a group of nine people was already there, who would remain in the service of the church of Sint-Jacob at least until the last available foundation text of the Gheerkin-period, that of 26 July 1538:<sup>650</sup> Martin de Raet/Raedt, the substitute of the parish priest,<sup>651</sup> Willem Obrecht/Hobrecht;<sup>652</sup> Anthonius Cant;<sup>653</sup> Caerle Reynaert, who was also the

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<sup>650</sup> In the 16th century it was quite common to leave a church and then return to it, as we saw for example with Gheerkin de Hondt himself in Delft. It is beyond the reconstruction of the constitution of the *Commuun* in Gheerkin's time to give detailed information about the individual members of the *Commuun*. For those who are interested, RAB, Inv, no. 88, no. 237 for example will supply with much more information on the individuals than is given here.

<sup>651</sup> Previously he was appointed schoolmaster on 5 December 1517 (RAB 88, No. 237, fol. LXXXIIJv/LXXXIIIJv). According to Dewitte 1971, p. 349 he died in 1554.

<sup>652</sup> He was buried in May 1551 (RAB 88, No. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1551, fol. 101r). It remains unclear whether this Willem Obrecht was a member of the family of the famous composer Jacob Obrecht, who also had a father named Willem (see § 4.6 and above, § 5.5.3.2). A Willem Obrecht is mentioned as friend of Erasmus by Dewitte 1987, p. 221 and Martens 1992b, p. 254 (in the year 1506), but this seems to be a different man. Dewitte states that Gerard Obrecht, who was *zangmeester* of Sint-Jacob from 1550-1551 and 1567-1579 is the son of Willem Obrecht (Dewitte 1971, p. 347).

<sup>653</sup> Anthuenis Cant was presented to the church as a choirboy by his father Malin in February 1499 (RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XIJr; the year 1499 is not mentioned, but since the entry is between November 1498 and April 1499, it must be that year). They might be related to the priest Jooris Candt, who was appointed sexton on 1 December 1495 (fol.

organist of the church, since the accounts of the church fabric mention him as such every year;<sup>654</sup> Jan Porret; Willem Maertins; Jan Paisdecuer;<sup>655</sup> Anthonius van Voorde and Guillebert/Ghijbsbrecht Massureel/Masureel/Masereel. All these men were priests.

Only a few names of singers (or even only one name) are mentioned at the beginning of each foundation text, and therefore the men mentioned clearly do not form the complete *Commuun*, but only represent the entire group of members of the *Commuun*. This is confirmed by the phrase *representerende tcommuun* (representing the *Commuun*) or the addition after their names *ende voort al tghemeen gheselschap ofte comune van den choore ende kercke van Sint Jacob* – ‘and furthermore all the members of the *Commuun* of the choir and church of Sint-Jacob’. The foundation texts mention an average of sixteen members in the period 1532-1539, whereas the foundation charter of 1424 mentions one parish priest, ten priests and four vicars. It seems therefore that the group had grown over the years. We also have to take into account that not all men (= names) had one complete share of remunerations; most priests only had half a share. At the time of the foundation charter of 1424, all priests had one share of remunerations.

Another complication is that some men were appointed as singers on a certain day, but were clearly already members of the *Commuun* before that date.<sup>656</sup> This could be explained by the fact that it was probably more lucrative to become a singer than to remain a priest only. As we may conclude from the appointments of priests, a priest received sometimes a remuneration of half a *pitantie* (he was supposed to acquire the rest of his income with other activities as a priest), whereas a singer would receive a remuneration of a whole part.<sup>657</sup>

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Vv). On 3 August 1511 Anthuenis Cant is appointed as the sexton of the church, by then he is already priest (RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XIJr, fol. LXIJv).

<sup>654</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (fol. 209r), 1533 (fol. 239v), 1534 (fol. 264v), 1535 (fol. 295r), 1536 (fol. 325v), 1537 (fol. 355r), 1538 (fol. 384v), 1539 (fol. 411v). According to Dewitte 1977, p. 99, Reynaert served as organist from 1528 to 1553 and fell in for his deceased colleague of Sint-Gilles in 1533, together with the organist from Blankenberge.

<sup>655</sup> On 12 December 1535 he became the assistant priest of the guild of the furriers (RAB 88, no. 21, fol. 5r).

<sup>656</sup> For example Roelof Huesch, who was appointed bass on 26 July 1534 (RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 3v), but is already mentioned as member of the *Commuun* in a foundation text of 24 January 1534 (RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLXXVIIJv). The same goes for Jaques le Varlet, who was already a member of the *Commuun* on 13 July 1532 (RAB 88, No. 21, fol. CXXXVIIJv), but was appointed bass on 16 January 1533.

<sup>657</sup> An exception was Laureyns de Corvet, who received double of the remunerations (RAB, Inv. no. 21, fol. 2v). Laureyns was a bass singer, so this would suggest that he was either

We may safely assume that all members of the *Commuun*, priests and professional singers, were singers of a certain level. The best illustration of this is the case of Francois Ysenbaert. He was the sexton of the church before 27 July 1526, when he handed over the position to Guillebert Massureel, who was born in Rouck.<sup>658</sup> From January 1529 until October 1531 Ysenbaert was *zangmeester* of the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, a position he fulfilled in Nieuwpoort in 1534.<sup>659</sup> On 13 May 1537 he was given back the position of sexton of the church of Sint-Jacob,<sup>660</sup> which he kept until 11 May 1539. He was then followed by another member of the *Commuun*, Coppen Cant,<sup>661</sup> to become *zangmeester* of the church of Sint-Gilles himself.<sup>662</sup> Ysenbaert also was a composer: his motet *Dixerunt discipuli* is in one of the choirbooks of the Pieterskerk in Leiden.<sup>663</sup>

As in Delft,<sup>664</sup> the singers in Bruges sometimes got in conflict with each other or the church masters. On 11 June 1534, bass Huson Carlier was fired because he had hit *hoochconter* Hercules Houset with a jug.<sup>665</sup> Presumably, Houset was not a model singer himself, because he received a reprimand on 4 April 1535: he was warned to stay away from evil and serve more diligently at the *Lof* services.<sup>666</sup> It was also a stone jug that cost Servaes van Gavere his job on 7 May 1536: he used it to hit contratenor Ysebrant Buus.<sup>667</sup>

Sometimes the church masters helped a singer who was in need. Bass Huson Carlier received 10 *schellingen groot* for his gown on 17 March 1531.<sup>668</sup> The church masters also paid for the funeral of the singer Symoen in 1523.<sup>669</sup> In 1535, Servaes

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a very good singer, or his voice-type was scarce. This would confirm my suggestion that good bass singers were rare.

<sup>658</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXXr.

<sup>659</sup> Dewitte 1970, p. 122.

<sup>660</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLVIJr.

<sup>661</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLXIXr. Coppen Cant might be a relative of Anthuenis Cant mentioned above.

<sup>662</sup> According to Dewitte 1977, p. 98, Ysenbaert became *zangmeester* at Sint-Gilles in 1539.

<sup>663</sup> Jas 1997, p. 101.

<sup>664</sup> See § 3.4.

<sup>665</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 3v.

<sup>666</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 4r.

<sup>667</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 5v. This is the same man as Servaes van Wavere, who fulfilled the position of *zangmeester* from October 1530 to April 1532, which confirms that men of the *Commuun* fulfilled different positions during their appointment at Sint-Jacob (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1535, fol. 299r crosses the G out for a W).

<sup>668</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1531, fol. 213r.

<sup>669</sup> RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1523, fol. 508v.

van Wavere received a pair of stockings worth 3 *schellingen* and 4 *denarii*.<sup>670</sup> Priest and *bascontre* Jan Willant received an amount of 2 *schellingen groot* in 1537, *in hoosscheden*.<sup>671</sup> Priest and *bassus* Niclaus Bermaryn also received money (3 shillings 4 *denarii*) *in hoosscheden*, to be spent for a *cappe* (a cope) for the feast of All Saints.<sup>672</sup> Another gift (*gratuweteyt*) of 10 shillings groat is given to *bassus* Petrus vander Veken, to induce him to stay another year at the church.<sup>673</sup>

The *Commuun* was completed by an organist and a bell ringer. As we have already seen, one of the priests filled in the position of organist. During the years Gheerkin worked in Bruges the position of organist was occupied by Caerle Reynaert. Because the document appointing Claeijs/Niclaus Grape/Rape, who became member of the *Commuun* and organist on 17 June 1515, has come down to us, we know very precisely what the tasks were that the organist had to fulfil and what his remunerations were.<sup>674</sup> The annual remuneration of the organist was a total of 14 Flemish pounds a year. To receive them, he had to play during the daily *Lof* of the Holy Sacrament, the weekly Mass of the Holy Sacrament, high feasts, the regular services (the seven canonical hours) and during Masses and other services of guilds and crafts and other altars in the church. The question is who fulfilled the task of bellows blower, because this position is not mentioned separately.

Directly under the payments to the organist in the accounts of the church fabric were the payments to the *clocludere* (the bell ringer).<sup>675</sup> Unfortunately, we do not have a job description for him, but the days he had to work must largely coincide with the ones on which the organist was supposed to play. We do have the names of the bell ringer: Gheleyn/Ghilam Robrechts (at least 1532 until his death in 1534),<sup>676</sup> Maertin de Smet (1535 until his death in 1538)<sup>677</sup> and Leenaert Vlamync (1539).

A complete overview of 'regular' singers of Bruges during the period 1532-1539 cannot be provided, but from the information we have, two singers in other churches are interesting in the scope of this study. First, the priest Franciscus de Namurio, who was a singer at Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in 1533.<sup>678</sup> Gheerkin had already

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<sup>670</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1535, fol. 299r.

<sup>671</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1537, fol. 359v. It is not completely clear what is meant by *in hoosscheden*, but it probably means a gift of courtesy.

<sup>672</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 416r.

<sup>673</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XLIIIv.

<sup>674</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. LXXIIJr-LXXIIJv.

<sup>675</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (fol. 209r-210r), 1533 (fol. 239v), 1534 (fol. 264v), 1535 (fol. 295r), 1536 (fol. 325v), 1537 (fol. 355r), 1538 (fol. 384v), 1539 (fol. 411v).

<sup>676</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1534, fol. 268r mentions his widow.

<sup>677</sup> Mentioned deceased on fol. 389v of RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538.

<sup>678</sup> Dewitte 1970, p. 126.



met him in Delft, at the Nieuwe Kerk, where he was appointed *hoogconter* on 10 August 1521.<sup>679</sup> A second singer of interest is Nicolaus Bergamyn. The church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in Bruges selected him in 1537, but as we have seen, he soon left for Sint-Jacob, where he was appointed on 13 January 1538. According to Dewitte, he then became a canon of Sint-Salvator.<sup>680</sup>

The city accounts do not give information on individual singers, except in one case. The singer Jacop (*Jacop de zangher*) bought the citizenship of Bruges in the year 1533-1534. It remains unclear if Jacop was one of the singers of the churches.<sup>681</sup>

Among other colleagues of Gheerkin de Hondt are the schoolmasters. As we already noticed, during Gheerkin's employment in Bruges, the schoolmaster was responsible for the daily care of the choirboys of Sint-Jacob. They lived together in a special house.<sup>682</sup> In the years Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* of Sint-Jacob, there were two exceptions to this rule: namely in 1533, when one of the choirboys was housed for sixteen days with *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt<sup>683</sup> and in 1539, when a choirboy auditioned, but did not get the position.<sup>684</sup>

During the period 1532-1539 as many as eight schoolmasters and their assistants (*onderschoolmeester*) were responsible for the education of the choirboys together with Gheerkin de Hondt. *Meester* Cornelis van Bambeke left the church of Sint-Jacob on 11 May 1532<sup>685</sup> and was succeeded by meester Joos Regis. He did not stay long: already on 12 August of the same year the priest Jan Paysdeceur was appointed schoolmaster.<sup>686</sup> In the meantime, Regis acquired an assistant schoolmaster in the person of deacon Franciscus Cordier on 12 May 1532.<sup>687</sup> Cordier

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<sup>679</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXIIJr.

<sup>680</sup> Dewitte 1970, p. 125.

<sup>681</sup> SAB, OA, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1533-34, fol. XXXVr. It cannot be Jacop Reyngoot, who became a singer at Sint-Jacob in 1533, because he was born in Bruges and therefore automatically had the citizenship of the town.

<sup>682</sup> See above, § 5.4.

<sup>683</sup> This must have been Adriaen Ysenbrant, who was appointed in 1530. See above, § 5.1.

<sup>684</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 416r: the (nameless) boy stayed at the house of Gheerkin de Hondt for fourteen days, for which Gheerkin received 2 Flemish shillings and 4 denarii. The same source mentions a boy who was housed with the schoolmaster for eight days and who was appointed; the schoolmaster received 16 *groten* for maintaining him.

<sup>685</sup> A *meester* Cornelis van Bambeke was given half a *pitantie* on 22 October 1536 (RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 6v).

<sup>686</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 213v-214r, 215r-v, 216r and OCMW-B, Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1532/33, fol. LXXXIJv.

<sup>687</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2v.

received half a *pitantie*, and from 21 June 1534 onwards he received another half as priest.<sup>688</sup> Paysdeceur remained the schoolmaster until about April 1535, when Jacob Woestland is mentioned in the accounts of the church in that position.<sup>689</sup> On 3 September 1536, Woestlandt (Woussland) was fired and replaced by the priest Boudewin Noorman<sup>690</sup> (in the accounts called Hoormans), who only remained for twelve days. Since he had been a member of the *Commuun* since 15 May of that year,<sup>691</sup> it appears that he was merely an interim schoolmaster. On 17 September the priest and *meester* Johannis de Coornebittere was appointed schoolmaster.<sup>692</sup> He kept the position until about 22 July 1538, when the priest Mecghiel Porret is his successor. Porret (Porre/Porree) originates from Ghoneheem near Betunne.<sup>693</sup> Less than a year later Porret had already left and *meester* Cornelis du Manyn (du Mannil) was appointed the new schoolmaster on 22 June 1539.<sup>694</sup>

The large number of schoolmasters (an average of one per year) suggests that the job was not a desirable one. There is no complete job description, but the appointment texts<sup>695</sup> do inform us that the schoolmaster was allowed to live in the school building. None of the texts tells us where that building was.<sup>696</sup> We also learn that the moveables of the building were at the disposal of the schoolmaster. The furniture was registered in an inventory and had to be 'returned' when the schoolmaster left. The position also gave rights to half a *pitantie* (part) for teaching the choirboys, including Latin; another half *pitantie* was for the schoolmaster

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<sup>688</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 3v.

<sup>689</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1535, fol. 272r. Paysdeceur stays as member of the *Commuun*, since he is mentioned as such in the foundation texts of that period.

<sup>690</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 6r. According to Dewitte, Woestlandt was appointed schoolmaster at the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in April 1539, to which he resigned on 21 June 1540 (Dewitte 1962, p. 273).

<sup>691</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 5v.

<sup>692</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 6v. See also RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1536, fol. 330r.

<sup>693</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 11r-v. See also RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 390r.

<sup>694</sup> RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 12v. See also RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 416r-v.

<sup>695</sup> The facts in this paragraph are based on RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 6r, 6v, 11r and 12v, the appointment texts of respectively Boudewin Noorman (3 September 1536), Johannes de Cornebittere (17 September 1536), Mecghiel Porret (22 July 1538) and Cornelis du Manyn (22 June 1539).

<sup>696</sup> According to Alfons Dewitte, the choirboys lived in a house in the Moerstraat from 1396 until 1529, when the house became no longer habitable. From 1547 onwards, the old house in the Moerstraat was habitable again, and the boys returned to it.

himself. Therefore, the schoolmaster – just like the *zangmeester*<sup>697</sup> – had a complete income of one part from his duties and did not have to look for other remunerations. In addition to that, the schoolmaster received 9 Flemish pounds a year for the maintenance of the choirboys (half of it paid by the *Commuun* and church fabric together, the other half paid by the *Dis*).<sup>698</sup> At the request of the priest and *zangmeester* Jan Raes, the number of choirboys the schoolmaster had to take care of had grown from two to three on 2 April 1499.<sup>699</sup> Somewhere between June 1514 and 5 December 1517 the number of choirboys was augmented to four,<sup>700</sup> which is also the number of choirboys singing under the direction of Gheerkin de Hondt in the 1530s.

## 5.7 ... and choirboys

We only find seven appointments of new choirboys – in documents of Sint-Jacob called *choralen* or *bonenfanten* – in the Resolution book for the period 1532-1539, which is about one a year.<sup>701</sup> That means that the group of choirboys was fairly constant. Since a boy could only serve until his (high) voice broke, we may safely assume that the boys were loyal to their employers. Most boys were delivered by their father or mother, who had to promise that their child would not run away. In exchange the boys would receive board and lodging (including clothing) and an education, especially mentioned are Latin and music. A punishment would follow if

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<sup>697</sup> The *zangmeester* also received a total of one part of remunerations: a half one for himself and a half one for teaching the choirboys. See above, § 5.4.

<sup>698</sup> This amount of money was paid for every year, for example in 1538: OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1538/39, fol. LXXXJr; OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1537/1539, fol. XLVv; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 365v, 375r, 375v, 390r.

<sup>699</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XIIJr.

<sup>700</sup> RAB 88, No. 237, fol. LXIXr (appointment text of *meester* Joes Risquart speaking of three choirboys) and fol. LXXXIIJv (appointment text of *meester* Martin de Raet speaking of four choirboys).

<sup>701</sup> Boukin Wyts 18 February 1532, Neilkin (Moreel?) 3 May 1533, Anthonne de Waly/Wally 6 December 1534, Danit vanden Brugghe 7 November 1535, Willekin Conwaert 1 January 1536, Franskin Brant 12 March 1537, Jeynnet/Jennet Molynnet 11 November 1539. See also Appendix 4.

the boys did not do what they were supposed to do: all the costs the church had laid out for maintaining the boy (board and lodging and clothing) had to be refunded.<sup>702</sup>

The tasks the choirboys had to fulfil are not described in the texts of their appointment.<sup>703</sup> Therefore we do not know if the boys had to sing on every occasion, or if they were allowed to miss a few services, as we saw in Delft.<sup>704</sup> Only two foundation texts mention the choirboys separately, namely those of Willem Humbloot and Jan de Clerc discussed above.<sup>705</sup> Both foundations mention a guardian of the children:<sup>706</sup> as we have seen above Jacob de Hondt fulfilled the function from 1532/33 until his death.<sup>707</sup> It remains unclear why a guardian was appointed, but it was common practice in those days to have family members or other people check the implementation of foundations.

The boys received special clothing for their duties in the church. Every year before Palm Sunday – at the same time the *zangmeester* received the payment for his new gown, the church fabric bought cloth to dress the choirboys. The colour of this clothing changed regularly, for example green (1532), red (1535), green (1536), red (1538) and dark green (1539).<sup>708</sup>

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<sup>702</sup> A transcription of this sort of appointment text is given in Appendix 3, 1532, 18 February (Boukin Wyts). The choirboys are listed in Appendix 4.

<sup>703</sup> This paragraph is based on the appointment texts in RAB 88, No. 21.

<sup>704</sup> And also at Sint-Donaas. Andriessen gives an overview of the activities of the choirboys at Sint-Donaas (Andriessen 2002, pp. 132-133), which suggests that the choirboys were present at almost every celebration in the church, but still were allowed to miss a few. See for a comparison of the choirboys at Sint-Salvator: Dewitte 1967.

<sup>705</sup> See § 5.5.3.

<sup>706</sup> Who was paid every year by the *Commuun*, see OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1531/32 (fol. [43v]), 1532/33 (fol. XXVIJr and fol. XLIIJv), 1533/34 (fol. XLIIJv), 1534/1536 (fol. XLVr), 1536/1537 (fol. XLIIJv) and 1537/1539 (fol. XLVJr); the *Dis*, see OCMW-B, Rekening Dis 1536/37 (fol. LXXXJr), 1537/38 (fol. LXXXJr) and 1538/39 (fol. LXXXJr); and the church fabric, see RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1537 (fol. 355v), 1538 (fol. 385r) and 1539 (fol. 412r).

<sup>707</sup> See § 5.3.

<sup>708</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (fol. 213r), 1533 (fol. 242v), 1534 (fol. 267v), 1535 (fol. 286v and fol. 299r), 1536 (fol. 329r), 1537 (fol. 348v and fol. 359v), 1538 (fol. 389r), 1539 (fol. 413r and fol. 416r). The lining was paid for by the *Dis* in 1532/33 (no folionumber) and the *Commuun* in 1533/34 (fol. lxxvjv and fol. LXXVIJv-LXXVIIJr) and 1534/35 (fol. LXXVIIJv). In 1533/34 the choirboys also received eight undershirts (probably two each). The colours of the years 1533, 1534 and 1537 are not mentioned.

## 5.8 The Sint-Jacobskerk in a group of miniatures by Simon Bening

Thanks to a group of miniatures of Simon Bening, we are able to form a picture of where the priests, singers and choirboys in Sint-Jacob were placed during the liturgical services and how these services were celebrated. Simon Bening came from a family of South Netherlandish illuminators and was one of the finest illuminators of his time.<sup>709</sup> He was probably born in Ghent around 1483 and died in Bruges in 1561. From 1500 onwards, he was active as a painter in Bruges, but only in 1519 did he become an official citizen (a *poorter*) of the city. From then on he stayed permanently in Bruges. He was one of the prominent members of the guild of St John and St Luke, where he was dean several times (1524, 1536 and 1546). Bening therefore knew the city and its citizens well.

Pieter Andriessen shows us one of Bening's miniatures of the interior of the church of Sint-Jacob, with priests, singers, choirboys and the organist (with probably an assistant and the bellows blower) and a view to the Moerstraat and the almshouse in the Vetvischpoorte (Illustration 5.1).<sup>710</sup> Andriessen does not mention the source of the miniature, but it turns out that it is from Bening's book of hours called the *Blumen-Stundenbuch*, now in Munich.<sup>711</sup> This book of hours is dated around 1520-1525. The liturgy placed with the miniature is that of a Marian Mass and a Marian office.<sup>712</sup>

Bening used the composition of his miniature more than once: variants are also found in books of hours now in Vienna and Waddesdon Manor in Great Britain.<sup>713</sup> The Vienna miniature is dated between 1510 and 1524, but does not include the

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<sup>709</sup> The biographical facts on Bening are based on Brinkmann ('Bening').

<sup>710</sup> Andriessen 2002, p. 197. It turned out that it was Alfons Dewitte who identified the miniature to be the interior of the church of Sint-Jacob, because of (1) the view to the Vetvischpoorte, (2) the big copper-colored pillars ('standvike') crowned with figures of angels and (3) the garden of copper balusters around the presbytery. Personal communication from Dr. Alfons Dewitte at the Bisschoppelijk Archief Brugge on 10 November 2009. See also Rotsaert 1975, p. 123 for a description of the presbytery of the church.

<sup>711</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23637, fol. 42v. I thank Frau Dr. Brigitte Gullath from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek for confirming the folio number.

<sup>712</sup> Brinkmann/König 1991, pp. 161-162. The actual facsimile itself unfortunately was not at my disposal.

<sup>713</sup> Brinkmann/König 1991, p. 143 ('Die Messe').

singers or the organ and will therefore not be considered here.<sup>714</sup> The Waddesdon manuscript is dated circa 1540 (Illustration 5.2).<sup>715</sup> The text added to the miniature is that of the Votive Mass to the Virgin ‘Salve sancta parens’.

The Munich and Waddesdon Manor miniatures are almost identical,<sup>716</sup> except for one very important difference: the faces of the people involved are clearly different. The entire miniature is so highly detailed (both in architecture and faces)<sup>717</sup> that it is very tempting to see the faces as those of real members of the *Commuun* of Sint-Jacob as could be seen by Bening, who, as mentioned, lived and worked in Bruges at the time of origin of the manuscript.<sup>718</sup> And in that case the Waddesdon Manor miniature is of course very relevant in the scope of this book, because if the date of circa 1540 is correct, that was the time Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* at Sint-Jacob (he left in 1539, shortly before 31 December). And thus, the singer in the left foreground, pointing to the location in the choirbook where they are – probably to guide the choirboys, could be Gheerkin de Hondt...

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<sup>714</sup> Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. Pal. Vindob. 2706 (*Hortulus Animae*), fol. 341v. I thank Frau Ingeborg Formann from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for the correct folio number. An edition is provided by Dörnhöffer 1911; see volume 2, pp. 37-39 for the dating of the miniature and volume 3, p. 682 for a facsimile.

<sup>715</sup> Delaissé/Marrow/De Wit 1977, p. 593. Although they have convincing arguments, the authors are not sure about this date: ‘the book could easily have been painted a decade before or after this date’.

<sup>716</sup> With slight differences, among others the Waddesdon Manor miniature has an extra person behind the man kneeling and extra faces watching the scene from behind the baluster.

<sup>717</sup> Confirmed by Delaissé/Marrow/De Wit 1977, p. 588. Here the moment of Mass is even suggested: the ‘Introibo’. I thank Rachel Jacobs and Pippa Shirley of Waddesdon Manor for providing me with a high resolution digital photograph.

<sup>718</sup> Of course we have to keep in mind that the artist could have used his example freely.

## 5.9 A painting of the presbytery of the Sint-Jacobskerk

Another image exists of the interior of the church of Sint-Jacob. As we have seen above, the church housed a confraternity of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>719</sup> The confraternity had its own altar, which was adorned with an interesting painting, now in the Devonshire collection in Great Britain (Illustration 5.3).<sup>720</sup>

The painting is anonymous, but might have been painted by Pieter I Claeissens, who was probably born in Bruges in 1499/1500 and died there in 1576.<sup>721</sup> The painting shows us the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the feast that was celebrated on 21 November. But instead of a temple, the presbytery of the Sint-Jacobskerk as it was after the placing of a wooden vault in 1518 – designed by Jan Provoost – serves as the location of the Presentation.<sup>722</sup> Besides the Virgin and her parents Anna and Joachim, we see another adult woman (she has not yet been identified) and other (young) women and one man standing in the right background. The choir stalls left and right in the scene show us fifteen men with hands joined in prayer, wearing albs. On the first row on the left, one man and four women are kneeling, also with their hands joined.

It is assumed that the men in the albs are the members of the Confraternity of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>723</sup> Remarkable is that the faces of the people in the choir stalls look like real persons. Since the founder and one of the most generous donors of this confraternity was the priest Jan Bertijn, the man on the first row on the left is probably Jan Bertijn himself joined by women of his family.<sup>724</sup> Another assumption is that Bertijn commissioned the painting and donated it to the church shortly before he died in June or July 1533.<sup>725</sup> In that case, the painting must

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<sup>719</sup> See § 4.5 and above, § 5.5.3.3.

<sup>720</sup> Great Britain, Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection, Inv. no. PA 499. I am very grateful to Charles Noble and Diane Naylor from Chatsworth House for sending me a colour photograph of the painting in 2003. See on this painting: Tahon 1998; Martens 1992a, pp. 264-265, 272; Rombauts 1986, volume 1, pp. 12, 19-21; Hodüm 1954, pp. 106-109.

<sup>721</sup> Suggestion from Tahon 1998. Tahon comes to this conclusion because the painting is on canvas and Pieter Claeissens was a pupil of the canvas painter Adriaan Becaert. In the Devonshire collection, it was formerly attributed to a pupil of Pieter Pourbus.

<sup>722</sup> It was J. Rotsaert who convincingly identified the presbytery of Sint-Jacobs (Rotsaert 1975, pp. 122-123).

<sup>723</sup> Hodüm 1954, pp. 106-109.

<sup>724</sup> Tahon 1998. The question is if this is a right assumption. Jan Bertijn was a priest, and the man on the painting seems to be a normal citizen. However, it seems logical that the man on the first row on the left is the benefactor of the painting with his family members, whoever they are.

<sup>725</sup> His funeral was in July 1533 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 223v).

have been made between 1530 and 1535.<sup>726</sup> If Jan Bertijn were indeed the donor of the painting, then my suggestion would be that he commissioned it in July 1532, at the same time that he made several foundations for the Marian feast, among them the one to honour and remember the deceased members of the confraternity.<sup>727</sup>

The fifteen men in the albs are members of the confraternity and they are the same persons as the members of the *Commuun* of Sint-Jacob.<sup>728</sup> The number of 15 members of the *Commuun* is low, however; we would expect more people (about 20-25).<sup>729</sup> It is again a long shot, but assuming the painting was indeed made on the occasion of the great Bertijn foundation of July 1532, this would mean that Gheerkin de Hondt – a member of the *Commuun* – could be portrayed on this painting. But if so, the question remains: which man is Gheerkin de Hondt?<sup>730</sup>

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<sup>726</sup> Tahon mentions that the archival documents of the church prove this, but I haven't been able to find this proof. The mention of Rotsaert 1975, p. 124 is not the proof expected here.

<sup>727</sup> See § 5.5.3.3 above.

<sup>728</sup> Hodüm 1954, p. 100. The clothing of the fifteen man looks very similar to the clothing of the singers on the Bening miniatures of Munich and Waddesdon Manor (see § 5.8 above).

<sup>729</sup> Based on the number of people mentioned in the foundation texts (an average of sixteen), the fact that this group of names was not complete, the number of appointments in the period 1532-1539 (according to RAB 88, No. 21) and the fact that some priests only had half a part of the remunerations.

<sup>730</sup> I have not been able to identify any of the persons on this painting with any of the persons on the miniature(s) of Bening.





Illustration 5.1 Simon Bening (b. c 1483, d.1561), *The celebration of Mass*. Great Britain, Waddesdon, The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust), Gift of Dorothy de Rothschild, 1971, acc. no. 3018, Book of Hours, MS 26, fol. 154v; vellum, ink, paint, gold, paper, velvet and pasteboard; 143 x 108 x 44 mm, 136 x 101 mm (leaves). Photo: Mike Fear © The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor (a full colour version is on the cover of this book).



Illustration 5.2 Workshop of Simon Bening, *The celebration of Mass*.  
Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 23637, fol. 42v (a  
full colour version is on the endpaper of the front cover).



Illustration 5.3 Pieter I Claeissens (?), *The Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*.  
Great Britain, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, Inv. no. PA 499.  
© Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of  
Chatsworth Settlement Trustees (a full colour version is on the endpaper  
of the back cover).

## 5.10 The music

As early as the 14th century, in the rich city of Bruges there were musical books, both for private<sup>731</sup> and for liturgical use.<sup>732</sup> All the Bruges churches had a collection of liturgical books, including choirbooks with masses and motets. For Sint-Jacob we already knew that several scribes received a request from the church to write (polyphonic) music.<sup>733</sup> Interesting in the scope of this book are two payments to now famous *zangmeesters* and composers of Sint-Jacob shortly before Gheerkin de Hondt was appointed *zangmeester*: Benedictus Appenzeller and Anthonius Barbe. Benedictus Appenzeller (Appeschelder) was *zangmeester* from 1518 until 1519 and received a payment of 5 Flemish shillings and 8 pennies for *tvereghen, ende vernieuwen diverssche sang boucken groot ende cleene* (to clean and renew several *sang boucken*, large and small).<sup>734</sup> What exactly is meant by 'renew' is unclear, but it probably means that Appenzeller had to write some new music in the books. The new music was undoubtedly polyphony, composed by himself or one of his colleagues. The payment of 10 shillings for large paper sheets to Anthonius Barbe is made to 'increase' the books of music (*Betaelt meester Anthuenis de cantere om groot papier om de boucken van der musicque te vermeersene, de somme van x schellingen groot*) in other words: to add polyphony to the choirbooks.<sup>735</sup>

Another interesting entry in the accounts is that of 1524 when bass singer Gheeraert van Weert is paid 25 *schellingen groot* and 4 denarii to write *boucken van musijke*, books with polyphonic music.<sup>736</sup> No further details are given. Finally there is

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<sup>731</sup> One of the finest examples of a book for private use is the Gruuthuse Manuscript (The Hague, Royal Library, 79 K 10), dated ca. 1395 – ca. 1408. See on this manuscript (including photographs of the entire manuscript) <http://www.kb.nl/bladerboek/gruuthuse/index.html>. See also: De Loos (†) 2012, pp. 18-20, 225-265; Willaert 2010; Andriessen 2002, pp. 93-111. Another great example is the chansonnier of Hieronymus Lauweryn van Watervliet of ca. 1505 (see Andriessen 2002, pp. 314-319; a facsimile in McMurtry 1989; liner notes from Peter de Groot (Egidius Kwartet 2006)).

<sup>732</sup> See for overviews of music books that have a relation with medieval Bruges: Census 1979-1988; Strohm 1990<sup>2</sup>; the articles of Dewitte; Andriessen 2002; Huglo 1999; Vanhulst 1995. See on books in general and libraries of collegiate churches in particular: Vandamme 1998.

<sup>733</sup> Dewitte 1971, pp. 335-337 and 342; Dewitte 1991, pp. 75-78; Dewitte 1970, pp. 112-113. There even was a priest named Jan de Hondt who wrote for the church (Dewitte 1971, pp. 335-337).

<sup>734</sup> RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1519, fol. 427v.

<sup>735</sup> RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1523, fol. 524v-525r.

<sup>736</sup> RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1524, fol. 550v.

an item of 1540, therefore shortly after Gheerkin had left the church, when the parish priest, church and *Dis* masters bought a *motet bouck* for the sum of 15 Flemish shillings.<sup>737</sup> The amount of money suggests that this was either a small book or a manuscript for daily use that had no luxurious miniatures.<sup>738</sup> All the liturgical books had to be maintained, and therefore we regularly find payments to book binders and other people in the accounts of the church between 1532 and 1539.<sup>739</sup>

Although we know Gheerkin de Hondt had access to several polyphonic choirbooks for usage during the liturgical services, none of the books of the church of Sint-Jacob seems to have survived. However, we do have the famous partbooks of one of the parishioners of the church, Zeghere van Male. The manuscripts contain many masses and motets that could easily have been used in the church.<sup>740</sup> We may at least say that the Van Male partbooks give us a good impression of what was popular in Bruges during the time Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* at Sint-Jacob. It would be an interesting topic – but beyond the scope of this book – to study the works in these partbooks and in other manuscripts related to Bruges to see if any of the compositions can be related to the feasts and foundations celebrated in the church of Sint-Jacob, the way the Mass for the foundation of Donaes de Moor was identified as being commissioned with Jacob Obrecht.

The splendour of Bruges had its effect on music in the city. Music was performed and composed at a very high professional level in many places. The church of Sint-Donaas was at the peak, but the church of Sint-Jacob, where Gheerkin de Hondt worked, was second best in the 16th century. Despite all this, Gheerkin de Hondt decided to leave his place of birth to apply for the job of *zangmeester* in the Brabant city of 's-Hertogenbosch. After Delft and Bruges, again a different diocese in other political surroundings. An unexpected step in his career, forwards or backwards?

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<sup>737</sup> RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1540, fol. 445v.

<sup>738</sup> Compared to money paid for the Alamire manuscripts in the early 1530s by the 's-Hertogenbosch Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap (see § 6.4.11).

<sup>739</sup> The references concern all kinds of liturgical books: RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (fol. 210v), 1533 (fol. 241r, fol. 243r), 1535 (fol. 297v, fol. 300r), 1537 (fol. 357v), 1538 (fol. 389v), 1539 (fol. 414r).

<sup>740</sup> Perhaps in another copy and not from the partbooks themselves. A description of the manuscript will be given in § 11.1, based on Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup> and Diehl 1974.

## Chapter 6 's-Hertogenbosch: the city and its churches

### 6.1 Origin, population and economy

The present city of 's-Hertogenbosch arose in the same period as the town of Delft, namely in the middle of the 12th century. The area was part of the domain of Orthen that belonged to the duchy of Brabant,<sup>741</sup> and was situated south of the place where the rivers Dommel and Aa flow into the river Dieze,<sup>742</sup> which in turn flows into the river Maas. The name 's-Hertogenbosch derives from 'wood of the duke' (*bos van de hertog*), since literally the trees of the forest of the duke of Brabant were uprooted to make place for the new town.<sup>743</sup> Around 1200 the Duke of Brabant granted the city privileges.<sup>744</sup>

The population of the new community consisted of merchants and craftsmen. As a consequence of the good geographical position of 's-Hertogenbosch near important trade routes by land and by water, the city soon became a central place in the north of Brabant and began to grow. In the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, 's-Hertogenbosch became the fourth capital city of the duchy of Brabant, after Leuven, Brussels and Antwerp.<sup>745</sup> In 1406 the duchy of Brabant came under the junior branch of the Valois house of Burgundy.<sup>746</sup> Politically, 's-Hertogenbosch was many times – as the most northern point in the duchy of Brabant – literally the buffer between Brabant and Guelders.<sup>747</sup> This did not prevent the city from growing:

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<sup>741</sup> On the history of Brabant: Van Uytven/Bruneel/Koldeweyj/Van de Sande/Van Oudheusden 2004.

<sup>742</sup> On the history of the Dieze: Verhagen 1998.

<sup>743</sup> Van Drunen 2006, p. 32. See on the name of the town Koldeweyj 2001a, especially pp. 144 and 147.

<sup>744</sup> Kuijer 2000, pp. 35-37 and Van Synghel 2010. On the content of the privileges see Jacobs 1986, pp. 5-11.

<sup>745</sup> Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 18 and 22. See also Van Uytven/Bruneel/Koldeweyj/Van de Sande/Van Oudheusden 2004, pp. 78-79.

<sup>746</sup> Kuijer 2000, p. 97.

<sup>747</sup> For example in 1397-1399, 1412 and from around 1480 till 1543 (Kuijer 2000, pp. 89-93, 254-256, 275-315). See also § 6.8 below.

around 1500 's-Hertogenbosch housed approximately 15,000 inhabitants, raising to circa 20,000 people in 1526 and stabilizing at this number until about 1550.<sup>748</sup>

Three conditions made it possible for 's-Hertogenbosch to grow fast economically: the city was situated at a junction of international trading routes, it had a central position in its region (the Meierij) and the inhabitants produced important export products.<sup>749</sup> In the 15th and early 16th centuries, several branches of trade and industry like the textile industry, goldsmith's craft, the production of shoes and leather, knives, pins, soap and hats made 's-Hertogenbosch a fully-developed medieval trading town.<sup>750</sup> The merchants of 's-Hertogenbosch sold their products at the international fairs of Antwerp and Bergen op Zoom.<sup>751</sup> After 1520 several branches of trade and industry became extinct (for example the textile industry),<sup>752</sup> among other reasons as a result of the decreasing role of the famous Brabant fairs. But pin making, the metal industry (especially knives)<sup>753</sup> and the linen industry kept flourishing,<sup>754</sup> in a city that was becoming a satellite of the flourishing Antwerp economy around 1552.<sup>755</sup>

## 6.2 Churches and convents

The early community that was to become the city of 's-Hertogenbosch belonged to the domain of Orthen and therefore the inhabitants went to the church of Sint-Salvator in that village. Soon after 's-Hertogenbosch received city privileges, its residents started to build their own church, which was dedicated to St John the

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<sup>748</sup> Estimates based on Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 46-77 and Hanus 2010, pp. 64-82. See also Blockmans/Prevenier 1974, pp. 25-31 and Hanus 2011. Figures from before 1496 are only available for the numbers of households (hearths).

<sup>749</sup> Hanus 2010, p. 232.

<sup>750</sup> Blondé 1987, pp. 94-130 and Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 22-24.

<sup>751</sup> Blondé 1987, p. 133.

<sup>752</sup> Blondé 1987, pp. 131-132.

<sup>753</sup> The famous 's-Hertogenbosch knives are depicted in paintings by Jheronimus Bosch (Janssen 2001; Janssen 2002; De Hond 2003, p. 100). Archaeological research over the years has brought many (broken) knives or semi-finished products back to daylight, for example in the Stooftstraat, where a knife maker had his workshop. His cesspit also revealed much information on the production process of knife making (Van Genabeek 2012).

<sup>754</sup> Hanus 2010, pp. 216-217.

<sup>755</sup> Blondé 2004, pp. 51 and 54.

Evangelist.<sup>756</sup> The oldest written mention of the church dates from 1222; the second reference is from 1274. The church was originally built outside the city walls; only when the city walls were replaced in the second quarter of the 14th century did the Sint-Jan become part of the area that was walled. It was not until 1413 that the pope declared the Sint-Janskerk to be officially a parish church.<sup>757</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch and its Sint-Janskerk belonged to the diocese of Liège, lying in the most northern point in the bishopric.<sup>758</sup>

The Sint-Jan remained the only parish church in town for many centuries. It was not until 1569 that the old town centre was divided into four parishes, appointing the four already existing churches of Sint-Pieter, Sint-Catharina, Sint-Jacob and Sint-Jan as parish churches, most likely a geographical choice.<sup>759</sup> That did not mean that until 1569 there were no other churches or chapels where inhabitants could fulfil their spiritual duties or have their spiritual care. Already in the 13th century, the first convents were established in 's-Hertogenbosch: the Franciscans came in 1229 and the Dominicans (*predikheren*) and Beghards (*bogarden*) around 1300. Before 1274 there was a chapel belonging to the hospital and a chapel for the great beguinage was built around 1300.<sup>760</sup> In the 14th century, eight churches were added to the already existing townscape of churches (among them three convent churches), followed by seven new convents and six new churches or chapels in the 15th century (for the hospital, 'guest houses' – all sorts, collectively together called *godshuizen* –, brotherhoods, refugee houses<sup>761</sup> and the beguinage). At the beginning

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<sup>756</sup> On the building history of the church and liturgy, see the next paragraphs.

<sup>757</sup> Kuijer 2000, pp. 59-61. Because the population of the new community went to church in Orthen, the original centre of the ancient town did not need a church and instead had a square today called Markt (Verhagen 1998, p. 15).

<sup>758</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch would remain in the diocese of Liège until 1559. In that year, 's-Hertogenbosch became an independent diocese, galling under the archdiocese of Mechlin, and the Sint-Jan became its cathedral (Peeters 1985, pp. 4 and 20). On the medieval diocese of Liège, see: Schutjes 1870, volume 1. Today the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch belongs to the archdiocese of Utrecht.

<sup>759</sup> Van Drunen 1983a, p. 90.

<sup>760</sup> In 1458 the chapel of the local hospital (Groot Gasthuis, see below) received parochial rights, but it was not open to the average citizen of 's-Hertogenbosch. The same goes for the church of the beguines at the *Groot Begijnhof* (Schuttelaars 1998, p. 25, note 44). From 1517 onwards, the church of the *Groot Begijnhof* was officially part of the chapter of Sint-Jan (Peeters 1985, p. 3).

<sup>761</sup> Many convents and abbeys in the country had a so-called refugee house within the walls of a town where the conventuals went when they did not feel safe in their remote buildings. At the beginning of the 16th century there were nine of them in



of the 16th century, 's-Hertogenbosch had at least twenty-two churches and chapels (thirteen of them convent churches), which is a remarkably high number in the nowadays Dutch part of the Low Countries.<sup>762</sup>

All these churches and chapels housed a considerable number of clergy.<sup>763</sup> In 1526 there were so many of them that 's-Hertogenbosch was also called *Cleyn Rome* (Little Rome): including the beguines, one out of every nineteen citizens belonged to the clergy.<sup>764</sup> Together they owned about 20 per cent of the total land of the city.<sup>765</sup> This was rather exceptional in the Low Countries and caused quite a few problems, for example in raising taxes, since the clergy was not obliged to pay taxes and the self-supporting convents<sup>766</sup> were competitive with the guilds and crafts.<sup>767</sup> Already during the rebellion of the guilds (*Gildenoproer*) in 1525 several storerooms in convents were plundered.<sup>768</sup> Reformational ideas therefore found fertile soil in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>769</sup> From 1525 to 1545 several citizens were executed for heretical behaviour. Even a sort of curfew was imposed on 22 November 1544 for five months: the bells of the church of Sint-Jan were rung for half an hour from 9.30 p.m. until 10 p.m. to warn people that they were not allowed to go outside without taking a light with them, to *alle periculen te scouwen* ('watch trouble'). In the same period three Lutherans were burned at the stake.<sup>770</sup> After 1545 until 1567 the city government seems to have closed its eyes for its own citizens, and mainly judged

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's-Hertogenbosch, this number growing in the second half of the century (Van Drunen 1991, p. 13).

<sup>762</sup> Based on Van Drunen 1983a, pp. 89-100; Van Drunen 1991, pp. 9-40; Van Drunen 2002b; Van der Heijden/Hoekx/Kleyne 1983. See also: Kuijer 2000, pp. 175-181. Most of the buildings have been demolished, especially after 1629, the year of the Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch by Frederik Hendrik of Orange, who added the city to the (protestant) Dutch Republic in that year.

<sup>763</sup> On the clergy and how they lived see: Van de Meerendonk 1967.

<sup>764</sup> Schuttelaars 1998, p. 24. Excluding the beguines it would be one out of every twenty-three citizens.

<sup>765</sup> Van Drunen 2002b, p. 59. A map of the area of the city centre of 's-Hertogenbosch with all the buildings of the clergy in the second half of the 16th century is in: Janssen 1983, p. 16 (added in: Schuttelaars 1998, p. 26).

<sup>766</sup> Several convents produced manuscripts and prints, among them music (chant) books (Koldewey 1990c, pp. 99, 119-129, 134-159, 174-183, 189, 194-195, 232-233; De Beer 1990; Van Veenendaal 1990; Haans 1990; De Beer 1991; De Loos 2000c; Kuijer 2000, pp. 181-182).

<sup>767</sup> Schuttelaars 1998, p. 27.

<sup>768</sup> Kuijer 2000, pp. 304-305.

<sup>769</sup> According to Schuttelaars also because of the many trading relations with Germany (Schuttelaars 1998, p. 27).

<sup>770</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396, fol. [h 11v-12r, 13v; sic: 12v-13r, 14v].

heretics from outside 's-Hertogenbosch. As a consequence, the Baptism movement was able to flourish. But it would take until the early 1560s before the Reformation would become successful, leading to the iconoclastic furies of August and October 1566.<sup>771</sup>

As in Delft, education was related to the church.<sup>772</sup> The first Latin school<sup>773</sup> was established before 1274; from that year dates the last will of Willem van Gent<sup>774</sup> in which he left 3 *solidi* to the *rector scholarum*, who had to sing with his pupils in the Sint-Janskerk during his memorial service. From 1366 (the year the Sint-Janskerk became a collegiate church; see below) until at least the early 17th century, the canons of the Sint-Janskerk were responsible for the Latin school. In the 16th century the Latin school was flourishing and probably counted 1,000 students around the middle of the century; the children came from the city itself, but also from the Meierij. The school educated pupils who were to become famous in their later careers, for example Jeroen Bosch<sup>775</sup> and Erasmus (1485-1487), although the last one was very negative about his education in 's-Hertogenbosch. A famous student and teacher at the Latin school in the first half of the 16th century was the friar Georgius Macropedius (Joris van Lanckvelt; 1487-1558). Macropedius was the author of several comedies and plays for which he composed music as well. His music is completely in the tradition of humanism and the *Devotio Moderna*: simple, mostly in unison, in service of the text, so that the text could be well understood and was not distracted by virtuoso music.<sup>776</sup> This humanist was one of the people who made humanism flourish in 16th-century 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>777</sup> Another important humanist in the light of this study was the Latin school headmaster, priest, notary and city secretary Symon van Couderborch (+ 1526), a many-sided man, who also

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<sup>771</sup> Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 27-31. See also: Van de Laar 1978. As mentioned above, it would last until 1629 (the year of the Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch by Frederik Hendrik of Orange) for 's-Hertogenbosch to become officially protestant. On the iconoclastic furies of 1566: Kuijer 2000, pp. 403-415 and Mosmans 1931, pp. 417-426. For the proces of the Reformation in Brabant, especially 's-Hertogenbosch, Eindhoven and the Meierij: Van Gorp 2013.

<sup>772</sup> This paragraph is based on Nauwelaerts 1974. See also: Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 329-330; Kuijer 2000, pp. 236-241; Jacobs 1986, pp. 97-98 and 149-150; Desmense 1999.

<sup>773</sup> For children who could not enter the Latin school, a *schola maior*, there was a so-called basic education on one of the *scholae minores*; see the references in the previous note.

<sup>774</sup> On this last will: Van Bavel 1974a, pp. 20-25.

<sup>775</sup> Although there is no direct proof he visited the school. Koldewey 1999, pp. I.3-I.12.

<sup>776</sup> Grijp 2010. On Macropedius see: Giebels/Slits 2005; Bloemendal 2010; Bloemendal 2008 (with a previous version of among others the article of Louis Grijp).

<sup>777</sup> Tournoy 1990; Desmense 1999.

was a member of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, a singer and an organist.<sup>778</sup>

## 6.3 The Sint-Jan

### 6.3.1 Building history and interior

At the beginning of the 13th century, Duke Henry I of Brabant made a piece of land directly outside the city walls of 's-Hertogenbosch available to build a church for the inhabitants of the new town. A roman, brick basilica arose, to which a tower was added around 1230-1250.<sup>779</sup> The church was dedicated to St John the Evangelist. Soon it turned out to be too small for the growing population of 's-Hertogenbosch and at the beginning of the 14th century construction activities started to enlarge the church in the Gothic style. Around 1350 the decision was taken to build a complete new church, literally round the old building that was still in use and that was demolished in phases, every time when a part of the new one could be utilized.<sup>780</sup> At the beginning of the 16th century, money became a problem and the church was 'finished' provisionally, probably with the idea that building activities would restart as soon as new funds would be available. In 1522 the nave was completed and in 1529 the circa ninety-six meter high wooden middle tower (crossing tower) was crowned with an impressive large copper statue of St John. The roman west tower

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<sup>778</sup> Mosmans 1923; Smijers 1932, pp. 181-237; Nauwelaerts 1974, pp. 125-127; Tournoy 1990, pp. 526-527; Van den Bichelaer 1998, pp. 131, 144, and *Bijlagen op cd* no. 225; Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 457 and 497; Giebels/Slits 2005, pp. 62-63; <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, no. 293.

<sup>779</sup> This paragraph is mainly based on: Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010. This book contains impressive 3D-reconstructions of the church in all its phases. The Sint-Janskerk has been subject of restoration for more than 150 years. See on the last restoration and the types of stone used during the centuries: Glaudemans/Hagemans 2011. Equally important is Peeters 1985, published as a result of the large restoration finished in 1985. Largely outdated on the building history but important for their own (restoration) periods are: Mosmans 1931; Smits 1907; Hezenmans 1866. The chapel of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap was part of the Sint-Jan. It will be discussed in § 6.4.

<sup>780</sup> Recently it was discovered that fragments of this early Roman church were 're-used' for the foundation of a building in the nearby Kerkstraat (the street leading from the Markt to the Sint-Janskerk): Glaudemans 2010, pp. 65-67.

was not replaced but raised, probably between 1517 and 1524, and therefore the bottom of the tower still is the oldest part of the current church.

Only fifty-five years after the completion of the middle tower, late in the evening of the feast of St James (25 July 1584), a large thunderstorm approached 's-Hertogenbosch. Lightning hit the statue of St John and the middle tower caught fire. The flames destroyed parts of the church (the interior was already damaged by the iconoclastic furies of 1566), including the Gothic stone rood loft, several altars, the organ, the spire of the west tower and the bells in that tower. The spire of the middle tower was never rebuilt and 'replaced' by a dome.<sup>781</sup> The west tower acquired a new spire between 1600 and 1608.

The medieval Sint-Janskerk under construction attracted many artists of various disciplines. Sculptors and painters of all kinds, organ builders, clockmakers and gold- and silversmiths, they all found their way to 's-Hertogenbosch. Not only the church fabric, but also guilds and private persons invested a lot of money in the embellishing of their beautiful place of worship. And although the medieval archives of the Sint-Jan have been lost almost completely, quite a few masterpieces that were already in the church when Gheerkin de Hondt worked there have survived.

The church exterior was embellished exuberantly with rare *wimperg* reliefs (ornamental gables over portals or windows), statues and flying buttresses.<sup>782</sup> Completely unique in the history of building medieval cathedrals in general are the ninety-six sculptures (*luchtboogbeelden*) that adorn the flying buttresses and were placed on the arches of the nave between 1478 and 1517. The current sculptures date from the renovation between 1870 and 1885, based on the originals that were most likely designed by one of the building masters of the church, Alart Duhamel, who was clearly influenced by the famous painter Jheronimus Bosch ('s-Hertogenbosch, ca. 1450-1516).<sup>783</sup>

The medieval rood screen of the Sint-Janskerk – which played an important role in the liturgy (and therefore music) in the church – has been lost almost completely.<sup>784</sup> It consisted of two parts (a front (west) and a back (east) part) and it contained five arcs forming a gallery, of which the middle one gave access to the presbytery. From the presbytery the back of the rood screen looked like a massive

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<sup>781</sup> On the restoration of the dome in the early 21st century: Glaudemans/Hagemans 2011, pp. 81-85.

<sup>782</sup> For detailed descriptions see: Peeters 1985, pp. 238-290. For a detailed description of the sculpture in the transept portals: Koldeweyj/Adriaanse/Van Roosmalen 1982.

<sup>783</sup> Glaudemans 2004a. See also: Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, p. 176.

<sup>784</sup> This paragraph is based on Glaudemans 2012b. This article contains foundation maps and a description of the rood loft, that was most likely completed around 1445 and after heavy damages as a result of the fire in 1584, replaced in 1610-1613.

stone wall, to which the choir stalls were attached; the entrance was closed by two oak doors. The south side of the rood screen hid the stairs that gave access to the tribune with a Gothic balustrade, which had a small balcony, that was used as pulpit. On the balustrade stood several heavy metal candle holders. On the balcony a small organ was placed and on the north side there was an altar dedicated to the Virgin. Above this altar was a twisted baldachin<sup>785</sup> with the Marian statue under it. The ‘roof’ of the rood loft was used by the professional singers of the church. In the middle of the balcony was a so-called triumphal cross, flanked by statues of the mother of Christ and St John the Evangelist; in the Middle Ages both are mentioned as patrons of the church. In the gallery there were at least two altars, one of them on the north side, dedicated to St Luke the Evangelist. The complete rood screen was embellished with sculpture and statues of several saints painted in polychrome.

The rood screen gave access to the high altar in the presbytery, only to be used by the canons of the chapter. The presbytery was surrounded by a choir screen, which contained wooden friezes with sculpture. Thirty-two of the thirty-eight reliefs are dated between 1535/1540 and 1545.<sup>786</sup> The canons had their own choir stalls.<sup>787</sup> The impressive mid-15th-century wooden pieces of art are still largely original (but, for example, the so-called misericords are not). Some of the original figures have been restored or replaced, among them a group of singers.<sup>788</sup> We do not know much about the first altar in the presbytery, except that it had a retable with wooden sculptures from around 1490 (scenes from the Passion of Christ) and a triptych of the Creation painted by Jheronimus Bosch.<sup>789</sup> In 1620 a completely new altar replaced the old one.<sup>790</sup>

Just as in other towns, medieval guilds had their own altars in the church.<sup>791</sup> In the Sint-Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch their situation was quite exceptional. The building

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<sup>785</sup> This unique piece of sculpture of about nine meters high carries the year 1485 and still is in the same place in the church today: in the cross section of the church against the north-east pillar. It is often suggested but not to be provable that it was building master Alart Duhamel himself who designed and carved it. See on this magnum opus: Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 111 and 131; Peeters 1985, p. 261; Mosmans 1931, pp. 383-384. Mosmans mentions the year 1482 instead of 1485.

<sup>786</sup> Van der Vaart/Koldewey 1995.

<sup>787</sup> Koldewey/Van der Vaart/Van Oudheusden/Adriaanse 1991 (with complete descriptions and photographs); Peeters 1985, pp. 349-354, 379; Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 90-91; Mosmans 1931, pp. 375-382.

<sup>788</sup> On this group especially: Koldewey 1990c, p. 91.

<sup>789</sup> Bergé 1990, p. 441.

<sup>790</sup> Peeters 1985, p. 335-336; Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 162-163.

<sup>791</sup> On the 's-Hertogenbosch' guilds in general see: Van den Heuvel 1946; Van Dongen 1980.

masters had flattened the basis of very pillar in the nave on one side, in a way that every altar placed against a pillar was about the same size and the whole looked well-ordered.<sup>792</sup> Around 1500 there were about forty-eight altars in the church. Rich brotherhoods, guilds (among them the pedlars, fishmongers and smiths) and private persons all had their own space, though sometimes they shared an altar.<sup>793</sup>

A real eye-catcher in the present Sint-Janskerk is the baptismal font, delivered in 1492 after a commission by the church masters. The font was founded by Aert van Tricht from Maastricht. It shows us among other things the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan River by John the Baptist and the Virgin with child (in the 15th and 16th century often seen as second patron of the church) accompanied by St John the Evangelist (the patron of the church) and St Lambert (the patron of the diocese of Liège). The font had a heavy and high lid, that could be lifted by a special crane which was delivered with the font.<sup>794</sup>

A masterwork that has not survived the centuries and therefore is the more illustrious, is the so-called *Oordeelspel* ('Last Judgement play').<sup>795</sup> This fascinating astronomical clock was unique in the Low Countries and was placed in the Sint-Janskerk in 1513, only a few decades before Gheerkin de Hondt arrived. The tower was more than ten meters high and three meters broad and consisted of four layers: a bottom one with a calendar with the zodiac and the days and weeks, showing the feasts; a second layer with the actual clockwork and a now and then moving puppet show of the Adoration of the Magi; above them another group of moving puppets in a representation of the Last Judgement; the edifice was crowned with a small tower with chimes (a very small carillon) and two angels playing the trumpet. Even in our time, this mechanical play fascinates people just as it did to our 16th-century predecessors.<sup>796</sup>

Except for the small carillon in the *Oordeelspel*, real large church bells were in the west tower, the oldest one – called Grim or Margareta – dating from 1408 or

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<sup>792</sup> Peeters 1985, p. 336.

<sup>793</sup> Mosmans 1931, pp. 325-338, describes all the altars, pages 328-329 giving two maps of the altars in the church: between 1418-1427? and around 1550. Peeters 1985, p. 335 remarks that Mosmans's map is probably not entirely correct, since he places altars on pillars that did not have altar springs and left pillars with altar springs without an altar (see p. 373 for Peeters' map). Recently a new attempt was made: Van der Drift 2010, pp. 156-161; also available on <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>. See on the altars and their owners also: Schutjes 1873, volume 4, pp. 191-203.

<sup>794</sup> Hoekx/Koldeweyj/Adriaanse 1981; Peeters 1985, pp. 354-357.

<sup>795</sup> Lehr 1990; Le Blanc 1990, pp. 411-414; Peeters 1985, pp. 366-367.

<sup>796</sup> The *Oordeelspel* was reconstructed in the first decade of the 21st century and was placed in the Jheronimus Bosch Art Centre in 's-Hertogenbosch (Timmermans 2010).

1418, founded by Willem van Vechel.<sup>797</sup> In 1447 a bell named 'zielmisse' ('memorial service') is mentioned, serving for the funeral and memorial services.

's-Hertogenbosch was probably the oldest centre of bell founding which became a real tradition: it started with the Van Vechel family, then the Hoernken family and finally the Moer family, who made bells for several cities all over Europe<sup>798</sup> for more than a century, from around 1452 onwards.<sup>799</sup> In 1462 Gobel Moer delivered a bell called St John the Evangelist. Over thirty years later, in 1495, he founded the bells St Anne, St Mary and St Lambert.<sup>800</sup> Gobel died in 1504, leaving his company to his sons Willem (died ± 1520) and Jaspar (died ± 1551/52),<sup>801</sup> who in their turn left the company to Jan Jasperszoon (died in 1568 or 1569).<sup>802</sup> In 1505 Jasper and Willem delivered fourteen bells for the west tower, being the first *voorslag* (carillon) for 's-Hertogenbosch, on which polyphonic music could be played mechanically and by hand.<sup>803</sup>

Every medieval church had at least one organ, but in the large Sint-Janskerk there were more.<sup>804</sup> Because of the lack of sources, we do not know much about the first organs, but probably there was one large organ against the west tower and a

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<sup>797</sup> This paragraph is based on: Adriaenssen 1989; Adriaenssen 1988; Adriaenssen/Adriaenssen 2004; Peeters 1985, pp. 425-431 (also on the new bells); Lehr 1991, especially pp. 66-70, 100. For the art-historical approach and an overview of medieval bells in the former duchy of Brabant until 1559: Van Loon-van de Moosdijk 2004, pp. 175-191 especially on 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>798</sup> Among others for the Old Church in Delft, see § 2.2.

<sup>799</sup> In general, the bells of the Moer family were not all made in 's-Hertogenbosch, but usually close to the church or building where they were to be hung.

<sup>800</sup> The names of these bells are mentioned on a piece of scrap paper dated by an archivist 'early 16th century', together with the bells Grym, Salvator, Katharina, Barbara, Aghata and Magdalena, and a small bell referred to as *dat coorscelliken* ('the little choir bell'; SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2265). Behind the names are amounts of money, most likely paid for restoring the bells.

<sup>801</sup> Jaspar Moer had a daughter Aleyt, who became a nun at the convent of the Poor Clares sometime around 1540. Her father had bought her a *lijfrente* in a previous year (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1392, fol. 24v). Besides bells, Jaspar also sometimes delivered copper objects for the city government (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1393, fol. 164v; OSA 1395, fol. 285r). Jaspar bought an *erflosrente* on the first of April 1544 (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395, fol. 192v).

<sup>802</sup> Jan Jaspars. *clockgieterss.* functioned as a guard for two nights in 1543 during the siege of Maarten van Rossum (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 191v).

<sup>803</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2260.

<sup>804</sup> This paragraph is mainly based on: Vente 1963b, especially pp. 18-28, 75-78, 85 and 183-184; Peeters/Vente 1971; Peeters 1985, pp. 360-361; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 103-105 (incorrectly dated 1504 instead of 1505); Van Dijck 1980, pp. 117-129.

smaller one on the rood loft. And perhaps there was also a (movable) portative. The first reference to the large organ dates from 1499 when Hendrik van den Houwe renovated and ‘updated’ the organ.<sup>805</sup> After 1499 a certain Daniel van der Distelen was responsible for maintaining and extending the organ,<sup>806</sup> but it was Willem Boets van Heyst who on 10 February 1504 signed a contract with the church masters to add a new positive to the existing organ.<sup>807</sup> In January 1518<sup>808</sup> he signed a new contract with the church masters, to improve and extend the organ,<sup>809</sup> but the masters were not satisfied with the results. They appointed a certain Peter Woutersz.<sup>810</sup> and made him responsible for the work of Boets van Heyst.<sup>811</sup> When the work was finished, it was judged in February 1521 by four organists (master Hanrick Nobel from Utrecht, master Peeter vanden Graeven, master Jacob van Wyck and *heer* Jan die Gruter; the last one being the organist of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and therefore of the church of Sint-Jan) and Jannes *onse basconter* (our bass singer). It was disapproved.<sup>812</sup> A month later, master Willem Heyst was made responsible for maintaining and repairing the organ for the next

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<sup>805</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1389a. Wrong year (1498) in most of the references in literature. See on this document: Van den Bichelaer 1998, *Bijlagen op cd* no. 225.3. Van den Bichelaer 1998, pp. 230-232 explains that the Christmas style was the official style in the diocese of Liège, while the city accounts used the Easter style (Brabant style). In this act, *secundum stilum camera Busciducensis* means that the Easter style was used. See on the dating matter also: Verhoeven 1993a, p. 47.

<sup>806</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1389.

<sup>807</sup> Three documents concerning this contract are still in the archives of the Sint-Jan today: SAHt, ASJ, Inv. nos. 1386, 1387 and 1388. Nos. 1387 and 1388 are the actual contract in the form of a so-called chirograph (both documents have the same text with some minor spelling differences), no. 1388 being the upper half of no. 1387. No. 1386 is a kind of summary, heavily damaged: paper on the right side is missing.

<sup>808</sup> Vente incorrectly mentions 1517.

<sup>809</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1389b. The same text with slight differences in words and spelling: Inv. no. 1386a, but heavily damaged on the underside.

<sup>810</sup> Vente refers to him as the artist of the *Oordeelspel*, see above.

<sup>811</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1389c, the upper part of a chirograaf with the letters a b c d e f g h I k. Vente gives 4 May 1519 as date of the contract, but this is incorrect. The act is dated *opten maendach voer Ste. Barbaren anno xvc xix*, the Monday before the feast of St Barbara anno 1519, being Monday 28 November 1519.

<sup>812</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1393. Vente gives 1520, while with pencil ‘15 febr 1521’ is written on the original document. It is unclear which style is used here: the Christmas style of the diocese of Liège or the Easter (Brabant) style. If the Easter style is used, 1521 is correct, otherwise the year should be 1520.



twelve years.<sup>813</sup> However, in 1524, Johann van Munster was asked to finish the job.<sup>814</sup> In 1533 Boets van Heyst was burned at the stake since he had become a Lutheran. Between 1538 and 1540 – around the time Gheerkin de Hondt arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch – the greatest organ builder of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Low Countries, Hendrick Niehoff, who had recently built the new organ for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap,<sup>815</sup> modernised the great organ of the Sint-Jan or probably even built a completely new one.<sup>816</sup> It was destroyed during the fire of 25 July 1584 and not rebuilt.

As in Bruges, the 16th-century Sint-Janskerk where Gheerkin de Hondt worked must have been adorned with many paintings, embellishing the so numerous chapels and altars that were in the building. There probably were paintings from Jheronimus Bosch and his workshop. But we know hardly anything about the medieval paintings in the church, mainly because of the lack of sources and the fire that destroyed large parts of the nave (where many altars had their place).

### 6.3.2 Liturgy

Just as in Bruges and most likely in Delft, the church of 's-Hertogenbosch had three administrative organisations: a church fabric,<sup>817</sup> a liturgical administration and an organisation for poor relief (*Tafel van de Heilige Geest*).<sup>818</sup> None of the accounts of any of these organisations has come down to us before the 17th century.<sup>819</sup>

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<sup>813</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Charters, Inv. no. 1413 (13 March 1521, see my remark in the previous note on the dating style). An incomplete transcription is in the inventory of the archive of Sint-Jan, collectie charters.

<sup>814</sup> The 1524 document is in the archives of the Sint-Jan: SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1394. The paper is heavily damaged on the right side. A complete transcription, however, is provided in Vente 1956, pp. 88-89; in a note Vente thanks Jan Mosmans for the transcription.

<sup>815</sup> See below, § 6.4.

<sup>816</sup> Vente bases this fact on the chronicle by Cuperinus, no official original documents remain in the archives of the Sint-Jan.

<sup>817</sup> Glebbeek 1995; Glebbeek 2003.

<sup>818</sup> Peeters 1985, p. 2.

<sup>819</sup> Only fragments of accounts have been preserved, for example from 1514, 1516 and 1517 (Peeters 1985, p. 58; SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1410). They are in draft, since almost all pages or items have been crossed out, which suggests that they were copied into the official accounts. Besides, they seem to contain mainly receipts and only some expenditure for the church fabric. According to the introduction to the inventory of the charters of Sint-Jan, the first and only complete church account dates from 1616-17.

Therefore, we are not able to sketch a complete overview of the liturgy celebrated in the church during Gheerkin's employment there.

Nevertheless, we know that the Sint-Jan became a collegiate church in 1366, with a college of canons consisting of thirty men, who chose their own dean. We may assume that every day the seven canonical hours were celebrated in the presbytery, including a High Mass.<sup>820</sup> The college had the right to appoint the parish priest, who was often not resident.<sup>821</sup> The daily care of the congregation was left to a *plebaan* and his two assistants, called *viceplebaans* (or *vicecureyten*, *kapelanen* or *officianten*).<sup>822</sup>

In 1413 the pope declared the Sint-Janskerk officially a parish church. Since the parish of Sint-Jan was the only one accessible for every inhabitant of 's-Hertogenbosch, the large majority of all baptisms, confessions, marriages, funerals, memorial services and other personal religious moments – in some cases accompanied by music – had to be done in this house of worship. The high number of altars of guilds and confraternities in the church suggests an impressive spiritual life. And of course, without a doubt, many personal foundations were funded, as we have seen in Bruges. In short: the Sint-Janskerk must have been a round-the-clock place of prayer.

The former church archivist Jan Mosmans made a general survey of daily liturgical life in the Sint-Janskerk, as far as possible of course, based on primary sources and literature.<sup>823</sup> He starts with an overview of brotherhoods that were active in the church without going into their backgrounds: St Catherine, St Barbara, St Agatha, St Agnes, Sweet Name of Jesus, Holy Sacrament, St Blaise, St Martin of Tours, The Magi, St Quirinus, the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and the *Bare van alle gelovige ellendige zielen* ('the bier for all faithful souls', see below). Important in the scope of this book are the Sacramentsbroederschap and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap<sup>824</sup> and the *Bare van alle gelovige ellendige zielen*.

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<sup>820</sup> A confirmation of the fact that a High Mass was celebrated every day is for example given in a foundation text of 21-06-1540 (BHIC 1232, ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. 37r).

<sup>821</sup> On this matter: Van den Bichelaer 1998, p. 120.

<sup>822</sup> Peeters 1985, p. 3.

<sup>823</sup> Mosmans 1931, pp. 339-352. It is not always clear where he gets his information from and beyond that, in which year a described situation took place. For example, the four Masses in the morning celebrated in 1445 might have been changed by the time Gheerkin de Hondt worked in 's-Hertogenbosch a century later. Furthermore, since we only have fragments of the archives of the Sint-Janskerk, Mosman's descriptions of (daily) liturgy can only be seen as suggestions. The private archives of Jan Mosmans are in the Stadsarchief 's-Hertogenbosch and will be made accessible (Glaudemans 2004b, pp. 104-105).

<sup>824</sup> They will be discussed below in separate paragraphs (§ 6.4 and § 6.5).

This Bare was a foundation to comfort the faithful souls in the purgatory.<sup>825</sup> The organisation did not have any members, but took care of distributing bread to the poor on All Soul's Day (2 November) and played a role during memorial services.<sup>826</sup> An interesting manuscript now in the archives of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap is a book with copies of foundation texts dating from 1500 to 1540 regarding four yearly general memorial services in the Sint-Jan,<sup>827</sup> to be held on: 1) All Saints Day and All Souls Day (1 and 2 November), 2) the first Sunday and Monday after *Dertiendach* (Epiphany of Our Lord, 6 January) or if *Dertiendach* fell on a Sunday on that Sunday and the following Monday, 3) Low Sunday (the Octave of Easter) and the following Monday and 4) the first Sunday and Monday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>828</sup> On the parchment cover of the book is written: *Die fundatie van alle ghelovighe alleynndighe zielen* (the foundation of all the Faithful Miserable Departed). Two of the foundations, both dated 16 April 1522, concern the foundation of the Bare itself.<sup>829</sup> This Bare was founded in 1522 because in the almost twenty-five previous years a certain Liesbeth, daughter of Wouter vanden Broeck had made so many foundations to celebrate three of the yearly general memorial services – excluding the one on All Souls – that a separate organisation was founded to keep all the possessions made especially for these

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<sup>825</sup> Ebeling 1952, p. 25. The accounts of the Bare from 1558 to 1595 have been kept (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303; inventory in Brekelmans/Formsma/Smit 1952, pp. 94-101).

<sup>826</sup> Mosmans 1931, p. 340.

<sup>827</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175. Not known by Mosmans and Ebeling. The partly paper and partly parchment manuscript can be divided in two sections: the first part (fol. 1-56) with foundations dated from 1533-1540 (with the exception of the first one: 10-02-1500) and the second one (fol. I-CXXI) with foundations dated between 1500 and 1538. The general contents of the foundations have been described in *regesten* in the inventory of the Broederschap, accessible on the internet ([www.bhic.nl](http://www.bhic.nl), see Toegangsnummer 1232, Inv. no. 175). One of them was overlooked (fol. 46v-48v). From some of the foundations the original charters have been kept, see Inv. nos. 178-190 of the same archive (please note that 11 of these were previously archived in the inventory of Hoekx/Van de Laar 1980 as RANB [now BHIC], Kollektie Aanwinsten 1884, Inv. nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17a (13)). Other originals are in other archives: SAHt, ASJ, Inv. nos. 1206 and 2925; SAHt, Toegangsnummer 185, Inv. nos. 23 and 96. Note that some of the originals have come down to us in more than one copy (more than one original was written for the different organisations organizing the liturgical activities). The archives of the Bare itself do not contain any foundation texts (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 214; inventory in Brekelmans/Formsma/Smit 1952, pp. 94-101).

<sup>828</sup> BHIC 1232, Archief ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. LXVIJr-LXVIIJr.

<sup>829</sup> BHIC 1232, Archief ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. LXVIv-LXXVr and fol. LXv-LXVv.

celebrations.<sup>830</sup> These consisted mainly of a *bare* (bier), a pall with four skulls and a very large number of all sorts of candle holders (including four on the corners of the *bare* and a whole stand), financed by many different parishioners (among them many sworn members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap). A special *camerken* (little room) was built in or outside the church – in a little corner near the tower on the north side between two pillars – to store all these materials. The government of the *Bare* was divided into two parts: three *provisoren* (responsible for the liturgy) and three *wasmeesters* (responsible for the possessions).<sup>831</sup> Together they chose a *knecht* (servant), who was responsible for the building and removal of the bier and candle holders after the services.<sup>832</sup> The youngest *provisor* was always (ex officio) the youngest *proost* (provost) of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap; hence this manuscript with foundations probably ended up in the archives of the Broederschap. According to an inscription in the manuscript, originally there were two more copies: one was with the priests of the chapter and another one with the *vicecureyten*.

The general memorial services were organized by three different organisations together: the Sacramentsbroederschap (mostly), the Brotherhood of the Sweet Name of Jesus (seldom) and the Bare van alle gelovige ellendige zielen (from its foundation in 1522 onwards). The texts give us information on the way the ceremonies were celebrated. However, the information is given in incredibly long-winded paragraphs, with many repetitions, making the whole rather complicated. Furthermore, the texts were written in a span of time of about forty years, so sometimes it is not clear if a new foundation superseded another one or if it was ‘just’ an addition, and if the old foundations were still observed. Finally, it is clear that this book is not complete: there must have been more foundations; for example, the ‘mother’ foundation for the memorial services is missing.

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<sup>830</sup> We have to keep in mind that from 1522 onwards, Liesbeth was in some cases the intermediary between other people and the newly founded Bare. For example: BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. 11r, where it says: ...*bekennen ontfangen te hebbene van devoten persoonen doir handen Lysbeth dochter wylen Wouters vanden Broeck* (...acknowledge to have received from some devout persons through the hands of Lysbeth, daughter of the late Wouter vanden Broeck).

<sup>831</sup> *Wasmeesters* in guilds were responsible for the materials (Van den Heuvel 1946, pp. 250-252). The *wasmeesters* of the *Bare* mentioned in the foundation texts all belonged to the top of society (many of them were for example sworn Brethren of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap).

<sup>832</sup> From the accounts of the *Bare*, it becomes clear that the *beyerman* often functioned as *knecht* (SAHt, Toegangnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, p. 57v onwards).

Overseeing all the foundation texts, we may conclude that the procedure was as follows.<sup>833</sup> Before the actual services, three *sermoenen* (sermons) were held, the first one a week before the memorial services. These sermons announced the actual memorial services and explained the ceremonies to the ordinary parishioners. Furthermore, the priests giving the sermons told the members of the congregation how they were supposed to participate and when, what for example the meaning was of the responsories 'Libera me Domine' and 'Deus eterne' and that the congregation had to kneel when 'Qui in cruce' was sung. Important was of course that participating meant earning indulgences. On the four days the poor were also remembered with poor relief in cash and bread.

The celebrations then started on Sunday (or in the case of All Souls Day on All Saints Day): the *bare* (bier) was put up in the middle of the church between the altars of St Sebastian and St Eligius.<sup>834</sup> It was covered with the special pall and on the four corners of the *bare* four candle holders were assembled. Several large tallow and wax candles were lit next to the *bare*. Special attention was given to the doors of the church: they had to be kept closed as much as possible, so the candles would not drip or blow out. When everything was ready, a vigil was held by the priests of the chapter. This vigil was announced by bell ringing and *beieren*. After the vigil there was a visit to the bier. On the Monday thereafter the bells were rung again and a Requiem Mass was sung by the dean and priests of the chapter, in *simpelen sanck* (in chant), followed by a visit to the bier. During both visits to the bier (on Sunday and Monday), three choir boys sang 'Requiescant in pace', bearing a cross and candles, accompanied by seven *bonenfanten* of whom two also carried candles on two golden holders and four carried other *toertsen* (torches).<sup>835</sup> One of the *bonenfanten* also carried the holy-water basin and one of them held the book with chant. The boys were selected and guided by the *zangmeester*. After the ceremonies, the priests of the chapter returned to the presbytery. This all coincides largely with the general celebration of memorial services in the Low Countries.<sup>836</sup>

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<sup>833</sup> This reconstruction is based on the complete manuscript. Because of the above-mentioned problems, there might be some differences in detail. Since Gheerkin de Hondt became *zangmeester* in the Sint-Jan on 31 December 1539, the texts closest to that date have been given preference. See also the accounts of the Bare (SAHt, Toegangnummer 214, Inv. No. 1303, p. 57r onwards).

<sup>834</sup> Nos. 34 and 28 on the map of the altars around 1550 right before the rood loft (Mosmans 1931, p. 329). For a reconstruction of the altar map see also: Van der Drift 2010, pp. 156-161; also available on <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>.

<sup>835</sup> See on the *bonenfanten* § 7.4.

<sup>836</sup> See § 5.5.4.

At some point a *Lof* of the Holy Cross was added to the ceremonies, to be sung on Monday after the Requiem Mass.<sup>837</sup> The first mention is dated 26 August 1530 and speaks of *tot onderhoudenisse*, which means ‘for the maintenance (of the tradition)’. This suggests that the Holy Cross *Lof* already existed before 1530, so it is possible that this Holy Cross *Lof* had begun together with the memorial services. Curious too is that all the texts in this book refer to a Holy Cross *Lof* after one memorial service in particular, namely the one of the Sunday and Monday after the Epiphany of Our Lord. However, the accounts of the Bare from 1558 onwards have been kept and they confirm that this *Lof* was celebrated after every memorial service.<sup>838</sup> Therefore, the foundations mentioned in this book must be additions to already existing ceremonies.

We are particularly well informed on how this Holy Cross *Lof* was celebrated and best of all: its music has been preserved.<sup>839</sup> The musical manuscript was written by the Brethren of the Common Life. An inscription on page 3 of the manuscript tells us that the provosts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap owned this copy, but that another one was made for the *provisors* of the Bare.<sup>840</sup> At the beginning of this manuscript is the so-called *ordonnantie* (ordinance),<sup>841</sup> which we also find

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<sup>837</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. XLIIIIr-XLIXv. See also fol. 36v-37v; 46v-48v; 33r-34v; 49r-55v; Lr-LIIIIv, LIIIIa-LIIIIId.

<sup>838</sup> SAHt, Toegangnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, from page 57r onwards. Although these accounts date from more than ten years after Gheerkin de Hondt had left town, we may safely assume that the references to the Holy Cross *Lof* are also valid for the period Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester*, because they match the other descriptions we have from the foundation charters and *taeffelen* (the *taeffelen* will be discussed below).

<sup>839</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175. On this *Lof* see Roelvink 2002, pp. 45-46; Ebeling 1952; Van Hout 2000a.

<sup>840</sup> As we shall see in the paragraph on the Broederschap (§ 6.4), the polyphonic singers of the Sint-Jan were in the service of both the Broederschap and the chapter of Sint-Jan. Therefore it is not surprising for the Broederschap to possess a copy of the music, especially not since one of the *provisors* of the Bare was the youngest provost of the Broederschap. The scribe who wrote the entry might well be Everaert van den Water, who is mentioned as *provisor* of the Bare between at least 24 May 1537 and 21 June 1540 and who was the eldest provost of the Broederschap in 1529-30 and 1532-33 (as eldest provost he wrote the yearly account, hence the suggestion that he also wrote the *Lof* manuscript). If Van den Water wrote the entry as provost of the Broederschap, the manuscript may be dated between 1529 and 1533, which coincides with the date of the first mention of the Holy Cross *Lof*.

<sup>841</sup> Transcriptions are given in: Van Hout 2000a and Roelvink 2002, p. 290 (photograph of the original on p. 46). An English translation is in Haggh 1988, p. 420.

almost literally in one of the foundation texts;<sup>842</sup> it is shown in Table 6.1. Like the memorial services, this *Lof* was announced by several sermons.

Table 6.1 Ordinance of the Holy Cross *Lof*

Time	Item	Involved	Music
4.30 p.m.	Bell ringing (including the bell called Anna)	Sextons of the church plus four Brethren of the Common Life	
	<i>Beiaerden</i>	<i>Beierman</i>	
5.00 p.m. <sup>843</sup>	Procession from the presbytery to the bier	<i>Vicccureyt</i> (priest singing the collect), <i>zangmeester</i> , <i>discanters</i> , choirboys, organist	Organ music 'for a long period', during which the singers could reach the place of celebration in the middle of the church <sup>844</sup>
	Put lectern in front of the bier	Two assistants	
	Lay music book – received from <i>provisoren</i> or <i>wasmeesters</i> – on lectern	Two assistants	
	Place two large candle holders (for <i>toertssen</i> ) beside the lectern	Two assistants	
	Put <i>toertssen</i> in the candle holders	Two <i>bonifanten</i>	
	Join choirboys for singing the <i>Lof</i>	Two <i>bonifanten</i>	

<sup>842</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. XLIIIr-XLIXv (26-08-1530). See also the texts on folio Lr-LIIIJv (25-05-1533), 11r-20r (25-05-1533), 33r-34v (30-10-1539), 36v-37v (21-06-1540), fol. 46v-48v (19-06-1539), fol. 49r-55v (31-05-1537), fol. LIIIIar-LIIIIav (31-01-1535).

<sup>843</sup> The texts mentioned in the previous note are not entirely clear: most of them, however, say that the *Lof* started at 5 o'clock.

<sup>844</sup> Until 31 July 1537 the *Lof* was celebrated on the rood loft. On 31 May 1537 a foundation was made by Lysbeth vanden Broeck, in which she determined that the ceremonies would take place 'downstairs' and not above on the rood loft, 'just as it was originally founded' (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. 49r-55v).

Make sure the singers and organist sing and play the entire <i>Lof</i> 'according to the book'	Youngest provost of the Broederschap (ex officio <i>provisor</i> of the Bare)	
Sing/play the actual <i>Lof</i> in <i>simpelen sanck</i> (chant), 'just like it was done on Good Friday'	<i>Zangmeester</i> , <i>discanters</i> , choirboys	
	<i>Zangmeester</i> , followed by the other singers	Responsory 'Tuam crucem'
	Two boys	Verse 'Adoramus'
	Adult singers	Repetition of 'Adoramus'
	Boys	'Gloria'
	Adult singers	Repetition of 'Gloria'
Play for a long period	Organist	
Continuation of singing / playing the <i>Lof</i>	<i>Zangmeester</i> / organist	First / second verse of the hymn 'Vexilla regis', continuation in alternatim
Kneel down (congregation also kneels down) and sing slowly, repeating three times	Two boys	'O crux ave spes unica'
	Organist	'Te summa Deus' (last verse of 'O crux ave spes unica')
	Two boys	Verse 'Hoc signum crucis'
	Priest (singing)	Collect 'Deus qui sanctam crucem'
	Priest (singing)	'Dominus vobiscum' (music not in manuscript)
	Organist	'Benedicamus Domino' (music not in manuscript)
	Singers together	'O crux gloriosa'
Procession back to the presbytery	Singers together	



Besides the foundations for the memorial services and Holy Cross *Lof* on the days described, the book also contains a few foundations for other feasts.<sup>845</sup> For example there was a Holy Cross *Lof* on Ascension Day, to be sung by the singers *solemlyck in simpelē sanck* ‘just like on Good Friday’.<sup>846</sup> This *Lof* was celebrated in the same way as the Holy Cross *Lof* after the four memorial services.<sup>847</sup> Mosmans made an extensive description of this ceremony, which is in line with the celebrations of the Holy Cross *Lof* to be held after the general memorial services.<sup>848</sup> Also important is a foundation for a read Mass at 11 o’clock in the morning on the day of the yearly procession on the first Sunday after the feast of the Visitation (2 July). The Mass was founded by Lysbeth vanden Broeck to give the opportunity to people who came from outside the city and therefore had to leave their home town before the High Mass was celebrated there, to attend the obligatory Sunday Mass in ’s-Hertogenbosch.<sup>849</sup> Lysbeth vanden Broeck also made a foundation to sing three Ave Marias after the Marian *Lof* on the feast of St Anthony (17 January).<sup>850</sup> The same foundation was made for other feasts (Table 6.2).<sup>851</sup> The Ave Marias had to be sung *met solemniteit gelijk op groete hoechtijden* (with solemnity, just like on high feasts), and both the professional singers and the choirboys were involved. For the Wednesday in the Ember Days before Christmas, Lysbeth vanden Broeck also made a foundation on 11 September 1518 for a Golden Mass in which the *zangmeester* was involved.<sup>852</sup> The *sangmeester* and *discanters* also participated in the celebrations on

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<sup>845</sup> In this paragraph only the foundations of interest for the scope of this book are mentioned, those involving the *zangmeester*, singers, choir boys and organist. The manuscript contains many more foundations, for example for candles and sermons. The original (or one of the originals) of the foundation on fol. XLIIIr-XLIIIv (11-03-1530) is in the SAHt, ASJ, Charters, Inv. no. 1688.

<sup>846</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, loose sheet of paper between fol. XCVIjv and XCVIIjr (on the day of research, 20 May 2005). See also SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2375.

<sup>847</sup> The payments to the participants are from 1558 onwards kept in SAHt, Toegangnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, for example p. 60v-61r.

<sup>848</sup> Mosmans 1931, pp. 346-349. Mosmans was not familiar with the music of the *Lof* and the foundation texts described above.

<sup>849</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. 28v-32r. See also SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2382. The payments to the participants are from 1558 onwards kept in SAHt, Toegangnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, from fol. 61v onwards.

<sup>850</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. Vr. A foundation for singing three times ‘Ave Maria’ on a feast that is not specified is also mentioned in SAHt, Toegangnummer 185, Inv. no. 1204, first page. Most likely this is the same foundation.

<sup>851</sup> BHIC 1232, Archief ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. VIjr-v.

<sup>852</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. IXr. The Mass is also mentioned on fol. XXIIjv (24 April 1520; foundation by Otto Bolcx Janszoon and his daughter Johanna, widow of

the Monday and Tuesday before Shrove Tuesday, the Monday before St Nicolas (6 December) and the Tuesday before St Olav (29 July): they had to sing Mass at half past 8 (in the morning or evening?).<sup>853</sup>

Table 6.2 List of feasts on which three Ave Marias had to be sung after the Marian Lof (foundation by Lysbeth vanden Broeck)

Feast	Day
All Saints	1 November
St Elizabeth widow	5 November
St Martin, first and second day after	12 and 13 November
Wednesday in the Ember Days before Christmas	Wednesday after the third Sunday in the Advent
St Anthony	17 January
St Agnes	21 January
St Dorothy	6 February
St Apollonia	9 February
Mark the Evangelist	25 April
Eve of St Cunera and the day itself	11 and 12 June
St Anne	26 July
Beheading of St John the Baptist	29 August
St Giles	1 September
St Jerome	30 September
11,000 martyrs (St Ursula)	21 October

The inscription on the last page of the manuscript with the foundation texts for the memorial services and the Holy Cross *Lof* refers to so-called *taeffelen*: ‘the copy of the priests of the chapter also contains the *taeffelen*’. A little booklet, of which two copies have come down to us,<sup>854</sup> enumerates thirty-three summaries of these

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Lambrecht van den Kerkhof). Only the payment is mentioned, not the tasks the *zangmeester* had to fulfil.

<sup>853</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. XCIIIr-XCIIIv; see also SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2377.

<sup>854</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 177 (copy of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap) and SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2833 (copy of the priests of the chapter, to add to their *memorieboek*). In the copy of the booklet that is now in the archives of the Sint-Jan, someone (Mosmans?) added numbers to the different descriptions, putting corresponding numbers on several charters in the same archive. Numbers 1 and 6 in the booklet are to be found on SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2376; No. 2 in the booklet is on Inv. no. 2377; No. 3 corresponds to Inv. No. 2378, but is not written on it; No. 4 on Inv. no. 2384a; No. 5 on Inv. no. 2379; No. 7

*taeffelen*. The booklet is dated 22 May 1538, with an addition dated 12 July 1539, and refers to six books (booklets like this, or books in which the *taeffelen* had been written out?) that were in the possession of 1) the dean and priests of the chapter (to add to their *memorieboek*), 2) the three *vicecureyten* of the church, 3) the *provisors* of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, 4) the *rentmeester* (steward) of the beneficiaries, 5) the provosts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and 6) the church masters. Some (by far not all!) of the *taeffelen* mentioned in this booklet have been preserved in the archives of the Sint-Jan, although there we also find ‘new’ ones. An overview of the *taeffelen* found in the archives of Sint-Jan is given in Appendix 9.

These *taeffelen* or *tabula* were extracts from the complete foundation texts, written in Latin by a *scriptor*,<sup>855</sup> enumerating everybody involved, making sure everyone knew what to do and when and listing the remunerations after the functionaries. Some of the texts mention that the *taeffelen* were hung in the church. The question is where; probably in the presbytery, because the remunerations were also mentioned and that was most likely no public information. Although we would expect that these abstracts would be simpler than the actual foundations, that is far from the case. They were written in Latin and even Jan Mosmans stated that they were formulated ‘as elaborated as possible’ and ‘very comprehensively, without being clear in the same degree!’<sup>856</sup> That matters were already found complicated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is proven by the text in the little booklet with the enumerations of thirty-three *taeffelen*: *Mer diet belieft die waerheyt der taiffelen te ondersuecken, die overlese ende ondersuecke allen die brieven ende cedullen te samen wel, ende dan zall hij die wairheyt dair aff vynden, anders eest onmoegelijcken die wairheyt dair aff te vijnden*. In summary: if you do not have all the underlying foundation texts, it will be impossible to understand anything about these *taeffelen*.

A third type of document that belonged to the foundation texts and their *taeffelen* are the so-called *memorie briefkens* (memory notes). These were short

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on Inv. no. 2382; No. 8 on one of the sheets of Inv. no. 2381; No. 9 is on Inv. no. 2383a. Note that No. 4 written on Inv. no. 2384a does not match the description on fol. 9r of Inv. No. 2833 where it is written to (All Soul’s Day), but more the description of the second item on fol. 9v (if All Soul’s Day comes on a Sunday) although the amount of money spent does not exactly match either of the two descriptions.

<sup>855</sup> The accounts of the *Bare* from 1558 onwards mention *heer* Philippus de Spina as *scriptor* several times (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, from 58r onwards). This must be Philippus de Spina, priest, singer and scribe of musical choirbooks; see § 6.4.11.

<sup>856</sup> Mosmans 1931, p. 346. As already concluded: the same goes for the underlying foundation texts, which were not known to Mosmans.

notes, written by the *scriptor* of the *taeffelen*, to be handed over to the functionaries to remind (memorise) them in general what to do. The writing of the *memorie briefkens* occurs regularly in the foundation texts.<sup>857</sup>

Besides this extensive information on general memorial services, we also have some information on how feasts and personal memorial services in the Sint-Jan were celebrated. In the archives of the church, an *Obituarium* is preserved, a 'death book' containing the names of those parishioners who had passed away and for whom a memorial service was to be celebrated every year (and sometimes more than once a year).<sup>858</sup> The oldest part of this *Obituarium* was written around 1425-1435, as a copy of an older one that goes back to around 1280, and contains the names of the deceased parishioners in the form of a (daily) calendar.<sup>859</sup> The last entries date from around 1629 (the year 's-Hertogenbosch came under protestant rule). Unfortunately, the dates of death of the persons mentioned in the book are not given. Therefore, it is very laborious to determine when a person died. Since the church accounts are missing, and we do not know how long a certain memorial service was celebrated (as we saw in Bruges, many problems occur with sources like this; for example, foundations 'dried up' or were replaced),<sup>860</sup> in spite of the beauty of the source, it is not useful for giving an indication of the (number of) memorial services celebrated in the fifth decade of the 16th century.

In the second part of the *Obituarium*,<sup>861</sup> also in the form of a calendar (this time a monthly one), we find additional information on the contents of individual foundations for memorial services that were special, mostly in the form of

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<sup>857</sup> For example BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. 4v, 14v, on the content of the sermons of the *vicecureyten*. Perhaps the loose sheet of paper between fol. XCVIJv and XCVIIJr (at the date of research, 20-05-2005) is an example of such a *memorie briefken*. It deals with the Holy Cross *Lof* to be sung on Ascension Day.

<sup>858</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, pp. 14-378. I am truly grateful to Dr. Anton Schuttelaars for sharing his photographs of the manuscript and the database he made of it. See on the *Obituarium*: Schuttelaars 2010, especially pp. 40-41. See also: Spierings 1979, especially pp. 1-4 and Mosmans 1931, pp. 50-51.

<sup>859</sup> Pages 14-378. Spierings dates this part of the *Obituarium* around 1425-1435 and on pp. 5-61 gives a list of the original names occurring in it (the ones added later are not in her list); Mosmans dates this part of the *Obituarium* around 1450. An *Anniversarium* of the chapter priests has also come down to us, but dates from the early 17th century and is therefore beyond the scope of this study, although it does contain memorial services from the Gheerkin de Hondt period (see the discussion of the *Planaris* in § 5.5). On this *Anniversarium*: Schuttelaars, 2010, pp. 41-42 and Hezenmans 1886.

<sup>860</sup> See the discussion of the *Planaris* in § 5.5.

<sup>861</sup> Pages 381-472.

remunerations for those who were involved. In addition, we find information on feasts that were celebrated, also mostly in the type of remunerations. The dating of this part of the Obituarium is difficult: there seems to be one basic hand with more additional hands and – as in the Bruges Planaris – the entries are not always ordered chronologically from the first day of the month to the last. Contrary to the first part, some dates are mentioned here, all from the second half of the 16th century and clearly not in the basic hand. To find the clue to the date the basic hand ended his work, there are two sources available to do a few quick checks on the dates of death of the deceased having a memorial service: the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap<sup>862</sup> and the recent publication on the gravestones of the Sint-Jan.<sup>863</sup> This shows that the basic hand wrote the entries up to early January 1553 at the very latest, because Joseph Valckenborch died before 14 January 1553 and his own entry is in one of the additional hands.<sup>864</sup> The last entry that I was able to confirm in the old hand cannot date from before 1544, because it is the memorial service of Gerardus Herentals, who was remembered by the Broederschap on 9 February 1544.<sup>865</sup> This would mean that the basis of the second part of the Obituarium is to be dated somewhere between 1544 and 1553.<sup>866</sup>

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<sup>862</sup> Available on the internet: <http://www.bhic.nl>, every year under the item *Uitgaven van allerhande zaken*, the *exequien* (see § 6.4). For this book the references to deceased members from 1519 until 1568 were used.

<sup>863</sup> Van Oudheusden/Tummers 2010, to be consulted on the internet: <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>.

<sup>864</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 383. According to the accounts of the Broederschap, Magister Joseph Valckenborch was remembered with an *exequie* on 14 January 1553, and therefore had died before that date. The first reference after 1553 in a different hand than the basic one is on p. 472 where the memorial service of canon and dean Philippus de Spina is mentioned (died 17-12-1557; Van Oudheusden/Tummers 2010, volume 1, p. 191). This Philippus de Spina is not to be confused with the *intoneerder* Philippus de Spina (Roelvink 2002, pp. 127-128).

<sup>865</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 382. We have to keep in mind that a memorial service might have been funded (years) later than the date the person in question had passed away. The earliest reference in the basic hand before 1544 is that on p. 431 where the memorial service of cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt is mentioned, who died on 19 July 1534.

<sup>866</sup> I want to stress that it must be possible to narrow this down, if we use all medieval sources available in 's-Hertogenbosch, for example the city accounts and the renowned Bosch' Protocol. Prudence is called for, because sometimes there are people with the same name. For example the Everard de Aqua (van de Water) copied by the original scribe on p. 470 is the canon who died on 19 December 1503 (memorial service on 19 December, see <http://www.grafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>) and not his nephew who was a member of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap who died in October 1558 and who

Although the references in this second part of the Obituarium do not contain complete foundation texts, we do get an insight into how services were celebrated. Just as in Bruges, in 's-Hertogenbosch there seems to have been an à la carte menu for the memorial services.<sup>867</sup> The prospective deceased or his/her family was to chose if he/she wanted music with the memorial service or not, sometimes even organ music sounded. As we shall see in the paragraph on memorial services celebrated by the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, chant was preferred up to and including the first half of the 16th century; from then on polyphonic Requiem Masses were no longer regarded as 'not suitable for the death'.<sup>868</sup> This is partly confirmed in the foundation texts in the Obituarium. In early memorial services we find payments to the *cantores* and *chorales* (the singers<sup>869</sup> and choirboys),<sup>870</sup> sometimes even accompanied by organ music,<sup>871</sup> later on we find the terms *discantores* and *chorales* (polyphonic singers and choirboys).<sup>872</sup> This could indicate that polyphony was sung, although we have to be cautious, because as we saw above for the Holy Cross *Lof*, the *discantores* were also 'used' to sing chant. Besides, there are the foundations by two

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also had a son named Everaert who died in 1590. Another point to be considered is that not all additions were necessarily made in the year they mention: for example the addition that Petrus de Busco died on 9 April 1537 could have been added at any time after this date, and in this case the addition is not in an 'official' hand, but seems to have been added later.

<sup>867</sup> See § 5.5.4.

<sup>868</sup> See below, § 6.4.6. In short: on 4 November 1531 the singers requested to sing a polyphonic Requiem Mass, but the majority of the sworn members of the Broederschap shared the opinion that chant was more suitable for the dead. Therefore, a polyphonic Requiem Mass was no longer allowed. On 4 November 1559 and on 21 August 1562 polyphonic Requiem Masses were sung again. This time there is no mention of 'not suitable for the dead' (Roelvink 2002, p. 41). We may therefore conclude that singing polyphony in memorial services was not allowed in the first half of the 16th century, but was no longer a problem in the second half of the same century, although all the other *exequien* of the Broederschap were clearly sung in chant.

<sup>869</sup> One of the canons of the chapter of Sint-Jan functioned as cantor. See on the terminology: § 1.4.

<sup>870</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, pp. 390, 414, 430, 446 (Ghysselbertus Back); p. 439 (Theodoricus Jacobi de Hedel).

<sup>871</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 422 (Jo. Cock).

<sup>872</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 452 (for the parents of Lucas Dielen, decanus, on the feast of St Luke: *cantores musicos, organista, magister cantus cum choralibus, cantores*; Dielen became dean in 1563 and died in 1585 (Van Oudheusden/Tummers 2010, no. 472)); p. 471 (Jacobus Hannen, 16 December: *discantores, organista*; according to the Bossche Encyclopedie (<http://www.bossche-encyclopedie.nl>) the city accounts mention Hannen's death in 1556-1557).

canons of the church, Matheus Vijnck<sup>873</sup> and Petrus Moer, that do not match the theory of *discantores* only singing polyphony. Matheus Vijnck's foundation is clearly written in the basic hand (therefore probably in the first half of the 16th century), but Vijnck obviously required the *discantores*.<sup>874</sup> His memorial service started with a vigil with nine lessons, followed by a solemn Mass to be held under the rood screen (solemn meaning in chant?), with bells. The *discantores* and *chorales* had to sing psalms well (*ut bene psallant*). Finally, the grave of Matheus Vijnck in the presbytery had to be visited. The memorial service of Petrus Moer also required the *discantores* and organist.<sup>875</sup> We do not have any information on what might have been sung in polyphony, perhaps an entire Requiem Mass or 'just' one or more motets, for example the *De Profundis* and *Miserere mei, Deus*; the word *psallant* in the text of Matheus Vijnck points in that direction.

In foundations for feasts in the Obituarium, the *discantores*, the organist and his bellows blower (*famulus eius*) and the choirboys also appear. In the case of feasts it is certain that polyphony (*discant*) was sung. Most of the feasts were on the official calendar of feasts,<sup>876</sup> and therefore these foundations were probably additions to an already existing feast (for example to increase solemnity, or simply a payment for something that was already there, for example the organist), just as we saw in Bruges.<sup>877</sup> Remarkable among the feasts is the foundation of a Golden Mass, but here we do not have any indication that it was celebrated with a so-called mystery play, as it was in Bruges.<sup>878</sup> We do know however that the *zangmeester* participated, because as we have already seen funding for the Golden Mass – on Wednesday in the Ember Days before Christmas – was also given by Liesbeth vanden Broeck on 11 September 1518.<sup>879</sup>

Sometimes chant was explicitly mentioned in a foundation for a feast. For example during the procession in the nave of the church in the foundation of the feast St John before the Latin Gate (*cum organis et cantu gregoriano*)<sup>880</sup> and during

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<sup>873</sup> <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, no. 252 (kind notification from Dr. Anton Schuttelaars).

<sup>874</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 416, 31 May.

<sup>875</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 422, 13 June.

<sup>876</sup> See § 7.5.

<sup>877</sup> For an overview see Appendix 10.

<sup>878</sup> § 5.5.3.4.

<sup>879</sup> BHIC 1232, Archief ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. IXr. The Mass is also mentioned on fol. XXIIJv (24 April 1520; foundation by Otto Bolcx Janszoon and his daughter Johanna, widow of Lambrecht van den Kerkhof).

<sup>880</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 415.

the feast of the Holy Sacrament (*Te Deum in cantu gregoriano cum organis*),<sup>881</sup> both times the organ was also played.

The third and last part of the Obituarium<sup>882</sup> goes a step further and describes in detail how the services funded by, for example Arnoldus Bock and Ghiselbertus Back were celebrated. The memorial service of Ghiselbertus Back (died 24 July 1458) has already been described by Jan Mosmans:<sup>883</sup> on the evening before the actual remembrance day, a vigil was held, followed by a visit to the grave of Back, where *Libera Me, Miserere mei, Deus, De Profundis* and *Pater Noster* were sung. On the next day, a Requiem Mass was sung, announced with bell ringing. Afterwards, the grave was visited once more to sing the psalms again. This description seems to fit the general way of celebrating a memorial service in European medieval churches.<sup>884</sup> But from the examples given above, it seems that in the Sint-Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch it might have been 'allowed' to have polyphonic Requiem Masses, although polyphony in memorial services was clearly an exception, certainly up to and including the first half of the 16th century.

The archives of the church nowadays contain two more documents from the 16th century that give us a glimpse of musical liturgical life, even if numerous documents are difficult to place and were perhaps taken out of their context, because the texts belonging to them and the church accounts have been lost. An interesting charter in the scope of this book is a charter dated 12 November 1500.<sup>885</sup> Stephanus Becker gives, on behalf of his father Cristianus, an *erfcijns* (hereditary rent) worth 40 *schelling* under the condition that the profits of this *cijns* are used to buy wax candles in the winter *pro cantoribus et choralibus laudes beate marie virginis in dicta ecclesia supra ocsale decantantibus* (for the benefit of the singers and choirboys while singing the *Lof* of Our Lady on top of the rood loft). From another document we know that a Marian *Lof* was celebrated by the priests of the chapter on Saturdays.<sup>886</sup>

A manuscript in the city archives of 's-Hertogenbosch contains a copy of a document dated 16 April 1513 with another foundation for the Marian *Lof* sung by

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<sup>881</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 421.

<sup>882</sup> Pages 476-495.

<sup>883</sup> Mosmans 1931, p. 343.

<sup>884</sup> See § 5.5.4.

<sup>885</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Charters, Inv. no. 938. A summary is in the inventory of the charter collection.

<sup>886</sup> See below, § 6.4.7.



the priests of the chapter, contributing to the costs of the (polyphonic) singers.<sup>887</sup> Here we even find some information on how this *Lof* was celebrated: the *sengeren vander musijcken* will sing the *Lof* of Our Lady, on the one Saturday starting with a *Salve Regina* with the verse *Ave virgo vernulans*,<sup>888</sup> on the other Saturday they will sing *Alma Redemptoris* with the verse 'Maria Virginis' alternating with a 'Mater'. On every Saturday the *Lof* will be finished with an *Ave Maria*.

Finally, considering liturgy in the Sint-Jan, Jan Mosmans describes a so-called *Memorial*, dated by him in 1570.<sup>889</sup> Mosmans gives an edition 'in extenso' of this manuscript, which mentions 'every service the parish priest and his assistants had to maintain during a liturgical year, for example special Masses, sermons, *Lof* services and processions inside the church.' The *Memorial* is build up as a calendar and seems a bit odd, since it does not have many services and also contains over thirty to forty liturgical activities that had to be held outside the Sint-Jan, in the many chapels and churches elsewhere in 's-Hertogenbosch. Therefore, this *Memorial* cannot be seen as a liturgical agenda for the church of Sint-Jan.

A church like the Sint-Jan, being both a collegiate church and a parish church, must have had a very rich collection of musical manuscripts, both chant and polyphony. Today only two manuscripts have come down to us, both in chant.<sup>890</sup> The first manuscript is to be dated around 1500 and is a so-called *intoneerdersboek*, a book for the precentors.<sup>891</sup> The manuscript was written by the Brethren of Common Life of 's-Hertogenbosch. The music is for both the Office and Mass. The second (incomplete) manuscript is dated around 1530, with additions dated 1583.<sup>892</sup> This gradual-sequentiarium was also written by the 's-Hertogenbosch Brethren of Common Life and contains music for the Mass.

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<sup>887</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 72 (*Privilegeboek* of Marten 's Heeren Gerards: book with copies by city governour Marten 's Heeren Gerards written between 1575 and 1578), fol. 283r-v, foundation made by Lambert Millink.

<sup>888</sup> It remains a mystery which verse is meant here.

<sup>889</sup> Mosmans 1940-1941. Mosmans mentions that the *Memorial* is in the archives of the Bisdom, but I have not been able to find the original there. My remarks are therefore based on Mosmans' edition.

<sup>890</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. nos. 216-1 and 216-2. Inv. no. 216-1 has a calendar, to be discussed in § 7.5.1. The archives also contain a few prints, but they are left out here, because they all date from the last quarter of the 16th century (De Loos 2000c, pp. 101-104).

<sup>891</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 216-1. An extensive description of this manuscript and its content is given in two articles (De Loos 2000b and 2000a). On the precentors see below, § 6.4.

<sup>892</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 216-2. An extensive description of this manuscript and its contents is given in Zwitser 2000a.

The archives of the church of Sint-Jan do offer us two more references to musical books that are now lost: both refer to chant books written by the Brethren of Common Life. First there are two antiphonaries, commissioned by the church masters on 1 September 1500.<sup>893</sup> The books were to be written on parchment by one person and if he died, his work was to be continued by a priest having the same handwriting. The elongated initials would be in red and blue, and the rectangular ones also had to be embellished; the lines had to be drawn in red.<sup>894</sup> Both books had to be bound with copper fittings. The second order commissioned by the church masters dates from 16 August 1550.<sup>895</sup> This time it concerns a book for the *intoneerders*: a *librum intonationum pro succentoribus chori ecclesie sancti iohannis*, on parchment, also with red and blue letters and also bound and provided with copper fittings.<sup>896</sup> None of the books has stood the test of time.

### 6.3.3 Veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary

In 1380, a 1.15 meters high wooden sculpture of the Blessed Virgin Mary became the beginning of a flourishing Marian devotion that is still important in today's Sint-Jan. That we are so well informed on the origin of the cult is due to a so-called *Mirakelboek* ('miracle book'). This book consists of two parts: a poem of 594 lines (a copy from circa 1600 of an original from around 1400) and 481 miracle stories dated and written between 1382 and 1603, of which 461 stories are from the period 1382-1388.<sup>897</sup> It is the poem, written by a certain Joannes Ruermunt van Boekout, that tells us about the Marian statue.<sup>898</sup>

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<sup>893</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2911, chirograph. For a photograph and a description see Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 103-105.

<sup>894</sup> In the SAHt several fragments of chant books (reused in bindings) with red and blue ink are kept (Inv. nos. 166, 5436, 5543 and 5545). It cannot be determined if these fragments might come from the workshop of the Brethren of Common Life.

<sup>895</sup> SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2910, chirograph. See for a photograph and a description Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 103-105.

<sup>896</sup> Although this description fits inv. no. 216-1, Ike de Loos refers to the fact that this new book should be written *in scriptura rotunda cum notis quadratis*, and 216-1 is not written in square notation. Therefore 216-1 cannot be this book, neither can it be the 'old book' that is referred to as the model for this new one (De Loos 2000c, p. 89 note 2).

<sup>897</sup> This is the second part of a book of which the original first part – most likely containing the stories from about 1380 to 1382 – has been lost, hence the first date is 1382.

<sup>898</sup> This paragraph and the next ones are mainly based on Verhoeven 1993a and Hens/Van Bavel/Van Dijck/Frantzen 1978. Verhoeven takes the edge of a few assumptions of Hens a.o. Hens a.o. contains a complete transcription, annotation, summaries of the wonders

For about forty-two years the wooden Blessed Virgin lay in a building shed of the church, until it was placed in the church. Many people thought she was old-fashioned and ugly. But when someone wanted to take the sculpture home, it turned out to be too heavy to remove. From then on, wonders happened around the 's-Hertogenbosch Virgin: sick people visiting the Marian sculpture were cured and she appeared in visions and dreams. The veneration of the Blessed Virgin in 's-Hertogenbosch was not unique in medieval Europe: it followed other cities in the Low Countries that had already honoured the Virgin Mary for many decades.<sup>899</sup> And as we have already seen, the exact same thing (a sculpture that suddenly was too heavy to move) happened a year later (1381) in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft with a Pietà.

The miracles held a large attraction for people from a wide area of about two hundred kilometres around 's-Hertogenbosch, and even beyond, as far as Gdańsk, now in Poland.<sup>900</sup> Some of them fulfilled a punishment, going on a pilgrimage to 's-Hertogenbosch; others came out of their own free will. They all brought gifts (jewellery and all sorts of 'decorations', but also money) that were very welcome to the church masters for their building activities. The sculpture soon acquired a place in its own chapel.

Around the statue of the Blessed Virgin arose a brotherhood.<sup>901</sup> The first mention dates from 1427, but it might be older. When 's-Hertogenbosch came under protestant rule, the sculpture of the Virgin was brought to a place of safety, first in Antwerp and later in Brussels, where it found a place in the church of Sint-Jacob-op-de-Koudenberg. The brotherhood ceased to exist until 1836, when it was re-founded.<sup>902</sup> The miracle sculpture of the Blessed Virgin returned to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1853, and since then the veneration of the Blessed Virgin flourishes in an almost medieval way.

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and an extensive introduction to the miracle book. A description of the sculpture is given in: Peeters 1985, p. 366. See also: Mosmans 1931, pp. 408-415.

<sup>899</sup> Van Dijck 1973, pp. 15-20.

<sup>900</sup> On the geographical origin of the pilgrims and the geographical distribution of pilgrim's signs (lead or pewter pins) see: Kruip 2010.

<sup>901</sup> Kuijer 2000, pp. 164-165.

<sup>902</sup> On this *Broederschap van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Den Bosch*, see: <http://www.zoetelievevrouw.nl>.

## 6.4 The Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap<sup>903</sup>

The wooden sculpture of the Blessed Virgin Mary around which a true Marian veneration began in 's-Hertogenbosch and is still an important goal for pilgrims today was not the first Marian statue that was venerated in the Sint-Jan. There was an older sculpture owned by an older Marian confraternity.<sup>904</sup>

At the beginning of the 14th century a group of clergymen gathered regularly in the Sint-Janskerk to honour the Virgin Mary. In the year 1318 the clergymen made their activities official and founded the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.<sup>905</sup> The charter of foundation of the Broederschap was approved among others by the bishop of Liège, the diocese to which 's-Hertogenbosch belonged.<sup>906</sup>

### 6.4.1 Members<sup>907</sup>

In the 14th century, the members of the Broederschap all came from 's-Hertogenbosch and its direct surroundings (de Meierij). During the first decades, only clerics were allowed, meaning men having received the tonsure and therefore

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<sup>903</sup> This chapter is largely a summary of my previously publications, see there for details: Roelvink 2002 (with many transcriptions of account items); Roelvink 2003; Roelvink 2000; Roelvink 1999. The accounts of the Broederschap are nowadays available on the internet: <http://www.bhic.nl> (Toegangsnummer 1232), click Archieven en boeken; search Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.

<sup>904</sup> On the history of this Broederschap, see: Van Dijck 1973.

<sup>905</sup> Van Dijck 1973, p. 21. The name that the Broederschap bears today (*Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* – Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady), goes back to its 16th-century Latin predecessor *confraternitas clericorum beate marie Virginis*. The founding charter of 1318 does not mention the name of the Broederschap, the accounts of the 14th century give several names, such as *confraternitas fratrum beate Marie*, *clercbroederscap onser vrouwen* and *onser vrouwe broederscap*. See Van Dijck 1973, pp. 35-36. In the 16th century the accounts mention names like (*eerwerdiger*) *broederscap van onser liever vrouwen* and *ons liever vrouwen bruederscappe*. In this book the name Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap is chosen, to distinguish it from a similarly named brotherhood also in 's-Hertogenbosch and still active, *Broederschap van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Den Bosch* (see the previous paragraph, § 6.3.3).

<sup>906</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch would belong to the diocese of Liège until 1559. In that year, 's-Hertogenbosch became an independent diocese, belonging to the archdiocese of Mechlin.

<sup>907</sup> Unless otherwise stated based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 13-16, 84-86 and Van Dijck 1973, pp. 20-47, 65-79, 180-187, 195-228.

belonging to the clergy. These clerics were called sworn Brethren because they had to swear an oath on the Gospel. The sworn members had to be present during the liturgical activities of the Broederschap. They paid a fee at their entrance and when they passed away a so-called *dootschult* was due. A new membership had to be approved by the other members.<sup>908</sup> The government of the Broederschap consisted of two *proosten* (provosts), an 'elder' and a 'younger' one, the younger one becoming the elder one after one year. Together they were responsible for the daily administration.

In the course of the 14th century other men and also women were allowed to become members of the Broederschap. For them a new kind of membership was created: the external member. In contrast to the sworn members these people did not have to swear an oath on the Gospel or participate in the daily (mainly liturgical) activities. They did pay, however, the usual fees, although the amounts were considerably less than the fees the sworn members paid. In the early days the external members came from 's-Hertogenbosch or its direct surroundings; from the 15th century onwards they came from all over Europe, although the majority came from the Low Countries and the direct surroundings. Around 1510 the highest number of members was reached: 14,000-15,000; from then onwards, the figure decreased.<sup>909</sup> The rising number up to 1510 is mainly to be explained because of the popularity of Marian devotion and the fact that the Broederschap had indulgences to distribute. In return, the Broederschap gave all their members every year (home delivery!) a candle on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February). A large network of *provisoren* (agents) made sure the fees were collected and the candles were delivered.

A third category of members was formed by the 'Swan Brethren' (*Zwanenbroeders*). From around 1400 the Broederschap sometimes received a swan to consume at a banquet. Swans were usually caught in moats from castles and therefore offered by rich and influential people. The Broederschap wanted to keep those men in their midst and created a special membership for them as honorary members. Swan Brethren often lived far away from 's-Hertogenbosch and did not have to participate in the regular (primarily liturgical) activities. In the middle of the 16th century there were about five Swan Brethren in the Broederschap. Together, the

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<sup>908</sup> Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 383-384. See also pp. 366-412 on the Broederschap and city government in general. Quite a few members had their grave in the Sint-Jan, so biographical information is also to be found in Van Oudheusden/Tummers 2010.

<sup>909</sup> A database of all the members up to and including 1642 is accessible on the following website: <http://www.bhic.nl> (Toegangsnummer 1232), click Archieven en boeken; search *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*. For an introduction see: Van Lith-Droogleever Fortuijn/Sanders/Schuttelaars 2010.

sworn Brethren (about eighty mid-16th century) and the Swan Brethren formed the core group of the Broederschap. A substantial percentage of this core group was involved in the city government or held some other high position in 's-Hertogenbosch society; some even played a political role in the European elite (for example at the court of Charles V). Among the core members were quite some renowned men, for example Jheronimus Bosch and William of Orange.<sup>910</sup>

The core members wore special clothing when they held their liturgical activities. The *kovels* (hoods) had a different colour every year, in a cycle of four colours: red, purple, blue and green. Until 1543 the group of singers serving the Broederschap also wore *kovels*; from then on they wore tabards of the same colour as the sworn Brethren's own clothing. A silver (or in the case of a Swan brother golden) *broetse* (pin) was worn on the hoods of the core members of the Broederschap. An exception was made for priests, who did not wear the pin.<sup>911</sup> The *broetse* consisted of a lily among thorns, provided with the motto of the Broederschap, *Sicut Liliū inter Spinās* (as a lily among the thorns), referring to the Song of Songs 2:2, in which the lily symbolises the purity and virginity of the Virgin and the thorns form the depraved world around her.<sup>912</sup> The device of the Broederschap is found on all sorts of attributes the Broederschap used, for example on their clothing<sup>913</sup> and the pewter tankards every sworn and Swan brother had.<sup>914</sup>

Today, the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap still exists in all its glory, although in a different form than in the Middle Ages. When Prince Frederik Hendrik conquered 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629, the Broederschap became one of the first ecumenical associations of the Netherlands, bidding farewell to the Marian veneration and all the liturgical activities that came with it. In the last quarter of the 20th century the Broederschap opened up and today it is an important part of the society in

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<sup>910</sup> Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 490-510 gives an extensive overview of the sworn and Swan Brethren of the Broederschap and their social positions (when known) between 1500 and 1580.

<sup>911</sup> According to the accounts the priests did have to pay for the pin; the reason why they did not wear it is not mentioned (Roelvink 2002, pp. 85 and 192 (note 492)).

<sup>912</sup> Examples of the pin are to be seen on two paintings: a triptych by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen (for a photo see: Roelvink 2002, p. 85; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 202-203) and a triptych from the workshop of Jheronimus Bosch (Van Dijck 1998, pp. 116-124, especially pp. 122-124).

<sup>913</sup> On embroidery for the Broederschap see: De Bodt 1990, pp. 482-486.

<sup>914</sup> On the tankards: Kooyman 1999.

's-Hertogenbosch (and abroad), among other things guarding its unique and important cultural heritage.<sup>915</sup>

#### 6.4.2 The chapel with the organ<sup>916</sup>

Because of the high total number of members of the Broederschap a large amount of money came in, not only from the fees the members paid, but also through gifts (for example in last wills). These sums were well invested and therefore the medieval Broederschap had a considerable amount of money to spend. The majority was spent on liturgical activities, which were celebrated with great lustre, in a private chapel in the church of Sint-Jan.

The building history of the successive chapels of the Broederschap is part of the building history of the Sint-Jan.<sup>917</sup> From the foundation of the Broederschap in 1318 onwards, it had access to its own chapel in the church. In view of the good financial position of the Broederschap, in the late 1460s plans were made for a completely new chapel, to be attached to the northern aisle of the presbytery. A plan by building master Alart Duhamel was carried out from 1478/79 onwards. On 23 April 1494 the new chapel was consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, St John the Evangelist, St Anne and Mary Magdalene by the bishop of Liège himself. Behind the new chapel was a sacristy (called the *gerfkamer*), where the Broederschap held its meetings and kept its archives.

A real showpiece in the chapel was the altar. It was commissioned in 1475 from the Utrecht cabinetmaker Adriaen van Wesel and delivered by him in 1477. The altar mostly contained scenes of the life of the Virgin, but also a group of music-making angels.<sup>918</sup> Two of the groups of the altar are still in the possession of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, showing St John the Evangelist on Patmos and the vision of emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl; the others have been

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<sup>915</sup> See on the developments after 1629 and the nowadays Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap: [www.zwanenbroedershuis.nl](http://www.zwanenbroedershuis.nl); Roelvink 2003; Van Dijck 1973.

<sup>916</sup> Unless otherwise stated based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 25-31, 82-83 and Van Dijck 1973, pp. 43-47, 120-146, 242-247.

<sup>917</sup> On the building history of the Broederschap chapel: Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 71, 101, 146-157. The recent restoration is described in: Glaudemans/Hagemans 2011, pp. 23-31. See also: Peeters 1985, pp. 22-25, 206-209, 296, 346-348, 391-392, 395.

<sup>918</sup> Halsema-Kubes/Lemmens/De Werd 1980, pp. 34-44, 78; Koldewey 2001b, pp. 70-78. Both publications give a general reconstruction of the altar.

scattered across the world.<sup>919</sup> The panels of the sculptured groups were painted among others by Jheronimus Bosch, who was one of the sworn members of the Broederschap; he depicted scenes of St John the Evangelist on Patmos, St John the Baptist and the Passion.<sup>920</sup> The sculptures themselves were polychromed, but only in 1508-1510. The place of honour on top of the altar was for the old Marian sculpture, which is now lost.

The Broederschap had its own organ already in the first chapel.<sup>921</sup> In the course of the centuries much money was spent on this type of musical instrument. In the early 1530s the Broederschap decided to purchase a completely new organ, in accordance with the latest techniques and taste.<sup>922</sup> The assignment was given to the Amsterdam organ builder Hendrick Niehoff, for whom this was one of the first organs in his flourishing European career. Hendrick and (later) his descendants, especially his son Nicolaas, would maintain the organ for several decades and would regularly adjust it to the newest fashion in organ building. One of the sworn members of the Broederschap left a large sum of money especially for this organ: Joris Sampson, who – as we shall see below in the paragraph on the procession – was a great music lover. The precious and expensive instrument was maintained well and not everybody was allowed near it. When Jan Bosschart from Bruges was appointed as the new organist in 1535-1536, he first got access to a training organ that was still used in 1542, perhaps also for training new organists. Next to the great organ, there was still a positive, which was sold to the count of Buren – Floris van Egmond Buren – in 1534-1535.<sup>923</sup> This small and portable organ was probably also used during the processions.

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<sup>919</sup> Based on the in the previous note mentioned literature among others in: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (six groups of sculpture); Gruuthusemuseum Bruges (reading Virgin); Williamstown Mass. USA (the Virgin showing her new born son).

<sup>920</sup> Three panels from Madrid (Fundación Lázaro Galdiano) and Berlin (two; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) have been identified by Koldewey/Vandenbroeck/Vermet 2001, pp. 70-78 and 94-95 as belonging to the altar.

<sup>921</sup> Van Dijck 1973, pp. 52, 157-160; Vente 1963b, pp. 18-28.

<sup>922</sup> Van Dijck 1973, pp. 271-275; Peeters 1985, pp. 360-361; Vente 1963b, pp. 78, 84-85; Roelvink 2002, pp. 29-30, 82-83.

<sup>923</sup> Also: Van Dijck 1973, p. 274. Floris van Egmond was the father of Maximiliaan van Egmond, who would become Swan Brother in 1543. That there was music in the house of Egmond Buren is also proven by the fact that the same Floris provided the city trumpeters with four *fluyten*, silver-clasped with the weapon of the count (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1390, Stadsrekening 1538-39, between 18 and 24 March 1539, fol. 235r-235v, copied as SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 3157; see also OSA 1391, fol. 120v, 124r; OSA 1396, fol. [k 1r]).



### 6.4.3 Their own house<sup>924</sup>

The chapel was the most important place where the sworn members met. In addition, they gathered at one of the members' homes, or in a public place. That changed when on 18 February 1483 the priest and sworn member Gijsbert van der Poorten determined in his last will that his house on the Hinthamerstraat (just across from the chapel of the Broederschap) should become the house of the Broederschap. Gijsbert died on 29 July 1484 and from then on the Broederschap had its own house.

In the early 1530s, the sworn members found Gijsbert's house not up to date enough. The Brethren asked the architect Jan Darkennes (also architect of the Sint-Jan, town hall, several town gates and defensive works)<sup>925</sup> to draw up a plan. In 1535 he received the assignment to modernise the house. After some discussion Darkennes completed his renovation (or rather re-building) of the house to the satisfaction of the Brethren. Although this house was replaced in the 19th century, we know how it looked from the outside (front), because several images of it have been preserved.<sup>926</sup> From the middle of the 1530s the sworn Brethren used their house more often for their banquets (see below). This was a budgetary question: in 1533 the Brethren concluded that dining in public places had become too expensive.

In the first half of the 19th century, the house from 1538 was demolished because of construction problems that were not remediable and the fact that – again – the house did not match the modern taste and demands of the Brethren anymore.<sup>927</sup> A neo-Gothic building replaced the old one. Today this beautiful masterpiece of neo-Gothic architecture at Hinthamerstraat 94 has a double function: besides the association's building of the Broederschap it is a museum, giving information on the rich history of the Broederschap and showing all the treasures that have stood the test of time.

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<sup>924</sup> Unless otherwise stated, based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 32-36; Roelvink 2003; Van Dijck 1973, pp. 113-116, 236-241, 394-395.

<sup>925</sup> On Darkennes: Van Dijck 1997; Kennis 1997.

<sup>926</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* (Roelvink 2002, p. 32); Heeswijk, *Kasteel Heeswijk*, Rotterdam, Historisch Museum, Stichting Atlas van Stolk, 1736 (Koldewij 1990c, pp. 110-111); private collection, water colour by A. Oltmans, 19th century (Van Drunen 1983b, p. 130); Tilburg University, Archives Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant, nr. H 55, Br. 2 (litho from 1832, coloured by J.W. Martens; Van Dijck 1973, between pp. 32 and 33). All dating from at least the 18th century. See also BHIC 1232, Inv. nr. 279 and for an overview of four of the five images Roelvink 2003, pp. 17-19.

<sup>927</sup> From the old house only two shutters have been kept, now in the Zwanenbroedershuis.

#### 6.4.4 Weekly Vespers and Mass<sup>928</sup>

For the sworn Brethren, there were several aspects to daily life related to their membership in the 16th century. The most important one was the weekly celebration of Vespers and Mass, on Tuesday and Wednesday respectively, from 1318 onwards for many centuries. It was rather unusual that the Broederschap chose Tuesday and Wednesday to honour the Blessed Virgin, because in the diocese of Liège Marian devotion took mainly place on Saturdays. The fact that an older brotherhood of chaplains had the right to celebrate a Marian Mass on Saturdays might have had to do with this choice.

The liturgical activities were led by a priest, who was called dean. He was assisted by a deacon and a subdeacon, who respectively sang the Gospel and the Epistle. Furthermore there were a sexton and two *bastonniers* (bastionarii, vergers). All men wore special clothing with the motto of the Broederschap *Sicut Lilium inter Spinās* embroidered on it.

From the early years onwards, the liturgy was embellished with vocal and instrumental music. In the beginning, there were only a few singers, growing to a mature group with an average of seven adult singers and four to six choirboys in the 16th century. Furthermore there were two *intoneerders* (precentors), who literally gave the chant intonation by singing the first words of a composition and who were always priests. And of course there was an organist with a bellows blower.

Both chant and polyphony were sung. On Tuesday, the Vespers were sung in chant and polyphony. On Wednesday, the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei) was sung in polyphony, the Proper (mainly) in chant.<sup>929</sup> As we shall see below, seven 16th-century handwritten choirbooks with polyphony have come down to us, one of them also containing chant, and therefore being also part of the nowadays collection of seven chant manuscripts.<sup>930</sup>

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<sup>928</sup> Unless otherwise stated, based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 37-38; Van Dijck 1973, pp. 33, 51, 248-253.

<sup>929</sup> Psalms were most likely also sung in polyphony now and then.

<sup>930</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 148, 149, 150, 152, 159, 162, 176 (chant) and Inv. nos. 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158 (polyphony). The Codex Smijers (Inv. no. 152) and all the choirbooks containing polyphony are exhibited in the Zwanenbroedershuis.

#### 6.4.5 Feasts<sup>931</sup>

In addition to the weekly Vespers and Mass, in the 16th century several feast days were celebrated with Vespers on the evening before and Matins, Mass and second Vespers on the day itself. First, there were six Marian feasts: Visitation (2 July), Assumption (15 August), Nativity (8 September), Conception (8 December), Purification (2 February) and Annunciation (25 March). A seventh Marian feast was that of the Presentation (21 November). Until 1535 the Brethren were only allowed to celebrate this feast with explicit permission of the priests of the chapter, unless the day fell on a Wednesday, when Mass was already celebrated. From the Broederschap accounts it becomes clear that the chapter gave permission every year.

Next to these Marian feasts, the Brethren officially celebrated the feasts of Mary Magdalene (22 July), St Anne (26 July), St John the Evangelist (27 December), St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gate (6 May), the day of the Dedication of the chapel (23 April),<sup>932</sup> Christmas (25 December, starting at 6 a.m.!) and the fourth day after Pentecost. The 16th-century accounts also mention the celebration of a Mass on the day of the July procession (see below), the Wednesday after St Lucy (Wednesday on or after 13 December; Wednesday in the Ember Days) and the Monday after Holy Innocents (Monday after 28 December).

All musical manuscripts today in the archives of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap show us chant and polyphony for these feasts. The chant books also have music for feasts not mentioned above, namely: the octave of Christmas (1 January), Circumcision (1 January), Epiphany (6 January) and All Souls (1 November).<sup>933</sup> We may therefore conclude that these feasts were also celebrated in the chapel.

The accounts give us one special mention concerning the feast of Easter in 1542, when Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester*. In that year the Resurrection of the Lord was played on the 'holy day of Easter', a performance including the singers and the beneficiaries of the church of Sint-Jan.<sup>934</sup> The account item refers to *nae alder gewoente* (according to the tradition), suggesting this type of mystery play was performed every year.<sup>935</sup>

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<sup>931</sup> Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 39-40; Van Dijck 1973, pp. 47-53, 106-109, 248-253.

<sup>932</sup> See § 7.5.2.

<sup>933</sup> Derived from the overviews of content of the Broederschap chant books in: De Loos 2000c.

<sup>934</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 40r. Appendix 3, 1542, 17 April.

<sup>935</sup> On the Easter play in general: Dauven 2001.

#### 6.4.6 *Exequien*<sup>936</sup>

Apart from the regular Vespers and Mass and the feast days, there were two types of memorial services for deceased members: 1) general ones that were held four times a year for all members (core and external) who had passed away (*exequien generael*) and 2) personal services (*exequien*) for the core members.

The general memorial services were celebrated with Vespers on a Friday and a Requiem Mass on Saturday. The four moments were spread over the year: on the Friday and Saturday after the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (after 15 August), after All Saints (after 1 November), after Laetare Sunday (variable) and before the feast of St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gate (before 6 May). During the Requiem Mass, the dean read all the names of the deceased members from the *dootboek* (the 'death book'). After the Mass, there was a *spynde*: a distribution of bread to the poor, taken care of by the masters of the *Tafel van de Heilige Geest*.<sup>937</sup> The structure of the entire celebration reminds us of the four memorial services held in the church of Sint-Jan, so there seems to have been a certain pattern in remembering deceased parishioners and loved ones in 's-Hertogenbosch.

The Brethren preferred chant for the memorial services. Nevertheless, the professional singers tried to have polyphonic Requiem Masses a few times. We know a polyphonic Requiem Mass was in the repertoire, because in 1496, sworn member Pauwels van Rode composed a polyphonic Requiem Mass that was copied in a book by one of the singers, Ariaen Smeeds. The book, which is no longer extant, also contained a *Missa Salve Sancta Parens*, three other Masses and a 'Patrem', copied by the famous scribe Petrus Alamire.<sup>938</sup>

In 1531 the singers were allowed to sing the Requiem Mass of the second *exequie generael* of the year (on 4 November) in polyphony, but this Mass *stont sommeghen nijet vael aen, sy pressen die olde manier ... vant dat is bequamer manier voer de dooden* ('did not please some of us, they preferred the old way ... because the old way is more suitable for the death'), ... *also niet mer* (therefore: not again). A few decades later, on 4 November 1559 and on 21 August 1562 polyphonic Requiem Masses sounded again in the chapel of the Broederschap during a general memorial service. However, it is clear that the Brethren preferred chant for the memorial services. None of the remaining polyphonic choirbooks of the collection of the

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<sup>936</sup> Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 41-43; Van Dijck 1973, pp. 49-50, 106-107, 252.

<sup>937</sup> On the *Tafel van de Heilige Geest* see § 6.7. Besides these four general *spynden*, there were eight small *spynden*, founded by sworn members of the Broederschap (Roelvink 2002, pp. 54-55 and Van Dijck 1973, pp. 285-289).

<sup>938</sup> Smijers 1932, p. 211; Roelvink 2002, p. 103.

Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap contains a polyphonic Requiem Mass. On the other hand: three of the chant books today in the collection of the Broederschap contain liturgy for the dead.<sup>939</sup>

The personal *exequien* were usually celebrated on the Saturday after the news of the death of the core member had reached 's-Hertogenbosch. The memorial service derived from the habit of the early years of the Broederschap, when funerals of sworn members began in their own chapel.<sup>940</sup> The costs were normally paid for by the *vrienden* (relatives) of the deceased. If there were no relatives, someone else (in the case of a priest, for example, the church) paid for the expenses; only in rare cases did the Broederschap itself take care of the costs.

We are rather well informed on the attributes used during the *exequien*. During the Masses, everybody was dressed in black, all clothing provided with the motto *Sicut Liliū inter Spinās* and skulls and crossbones. A separate bell was used *over die doode te schellen* (to toll over the death). Furthermore, a so-called *baercleet* (pall) was put on a bier, just as we have seen with the memorial services that were held in the Sint-Janskerk. In 1542 the Broederschap needed a new pall, for which they bought the fabrics – velvet in black and carmine red – in Antwerp. On the pall the *Sicut Liliū inter Spinās* was embroidered six times, together with a depiction of the Virgin in the sun. On the four corners of the bier, the four candles were placed, also newly purchased in 1542. The quality of the black velvet was not good, since it had to be replaced within a few years, a history that kept repeating itself.

#### 6.4.7 *Lof*<sup>941</sup>

The Broederschap took part in the celebrations of the Holy Cross *Lof* in the Sint-Janskerk, of which the ordinance and music have been preserved in the archives of the Broederschap.<sup>942</sup> Besides this Holy Cross *Lof*, the Broederschap celebrated a Marian *Lof*. We are very well informed on this Marian *Lof*, since we have access to a document carefully describing the ceremony. We have detailed information on the role played by the singers and organist, the voice-types of the singers, and the texts

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<sup>939</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 148, 150 and 162.

<sup>940</sup> This habit no longer existed in the 16th century: core members were still buried in the chapel of the Broederschap, but the accounts do not give any information on funeral services. Therefore, the funeral services must have taken place in the church itself, being the parish church (or even elsewhere, for example a convent church or chapel) and not in the chapel of the Broederschap.

<sup>941</sup> Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 43-46.

<sup>942</sup> See above, § 6.3.2.

that were sung. The Broederschap celebrated the Marian *Lof* every day except Saturday, on which it was celebrated by the chapter of the Sint-Janskerk.

The document that describes the ceremony in detail, is a charter from 1479,<sup>943</sup> in which Willem Haertscheen alias Pels funded the celebration of a daily *Lof*, except for All Soul's Day, Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and all the Saturdays when the chapter of Sint-Jan celebrated a *Lof* service. If the chapter did not celebrate the *Lof*, the Broederschap was allowed to do so.

The *Lof* was partly celebrated in the chapel of the Broederschap, partly on the tribune of the rood loft, which was accessible through special stairs. Before the actual service, the *beierman* had to *beieren* three times. Then, one of the middle bells of the church was rung for half an hour. In the period between Shrove Tuesday and 1 October, the bell tolling took place between five o'clock and five thirty in the afternoon, in the period between 1 October and Shrove Tuesday between four thirty and five o'clock.<sup>944</sup> Following on the bell ringing, the organist had to play a prelude of the *Salve Regina* or *Alma* [*Redemptoris Mater*]. This all did not take place on the days the Brethren celebrated the Matins in the evening; then the Marian *Lof* was sung directly after the Matins.

The *Lof* itself consisted of the singing in polyphony of three verses of the *Salve Regina* or *Alma* [*Redemptoris Mater*] on the rood loft of the church. Between the verses, the organist played. The first verse was sung by two choir boys, the second by two (mature) singers and the third by all singers together. Then two choir boys sang a verse in the chapel of the Broederschap, followed by a collect sung by a priest. Next two choir boys sang the 'Benedicamus'. From the rood loft in the church, the singers finished their job with a motet. Afterwards, the sexton of the church three times rang the bell called Ave Maria.

There had to be at least six mature singers: a tenor, three high tenors (*boeven zenghers*) and two *conters* (probably counter tenors or bass singers). Furthermore there had to be six choirboys. If they were not available, schoolboys who were able to sing polyphony replaced them. When there were not enough mature singers from the Broederschap to sing, other singers were allowed to take their place; in the worst

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<sup>943</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 147. A transcription is given in Roelvink 2002, pp. 288-289.

<sup>944</sup> Although several foundation texts in BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175 mention the Marian *Lof*, it does not become clear if and how the celebration of this *Lof* interfered with the Holy Cross *Lof* that was celebrated at five o'clock (fol. 51v, XIv, XVv, XXIv-XXIIr, XXXr, XXXIj, XXXVIIj-r-v, loose sheet of paper between XCVIjv and XCVIIj). Mosmans 1931, p. 349 assumes that the Marian *Lof* was sung after the Holy Cross *Lof*, which seems very plausible, because we have to take into consideration that the foundation of the Marian *Lof* dates from 1479 and the Holy Cross *Lof* probably started in a later year; the Marian *Lof* might have been moved to another hour.

case, schoolmasters and schoolboys had to take care of the *Lof*. In any case, the voice-types *boeven zengers* or *conters* were needed, otherwise the *Lof* could not be sung. Only the singers that actually joined the *Lof* were paid: not singing meant no income. If there was not enough money coming from the goods of Willem Haertscheen, the Brethren were allowed to pay the singers less. If more money came in, more singers were allowed to participate.<sup>945</sup>

The Marian *Lof* was fundamentally sung in polyphony, but if the singers wished, they could also use chant once a week. In 1561-1562 the priest and singer Philippus de Spina<sup>946</sup> was paid for writing *allen die collecten diemen tgeheel jair onder dat loff des avonts gewoenelyck is te singen, wair uuyt oick die priester des avonts onder tloff den oremus singt* (all the collects to be sung every year during the *Lof* in the evening, from which book also the priest sings the *Oremus*). The music Philippus de Spina wrote was bound together in a wooden cover. It has not been preserved.

#### 6.4.8 Processions<sup>947</sup>

One of the liturgical activities that drew a lot of people was a procession. In the 16th century, the Broederschap participated in at least four processions a year: a large procession at the beginning of July, a procession on the feast of St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gate (6 May), a procession on the feast of Corpus Christi (on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday) and a procession to the nearby Orthen on Wednesday in the Rogation Days (the three days before Ascension Day).

The most important procession was the one in July, also called the *kermis ofte ommeganck dach*.<sup>948</sup> It had its roots in the 14th century, and most likely originated on the initiative of the Brethren, carrying their Marian sculpture around town in veneration of the Blessed Virgin. Soon this event started to enlarge and then the city government of 's-Hertogenbosch took over the organisation, still giving the

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<sup>945</sup> The remunerations of the singers are not specified in the charter, so we do not know how much money was needed every week.

<sup>946</sup> On Philippus de Spina and his scribal work: Roelvink 2002, pp. 127-147.

<sup>947</sup> Unless otherwise stated based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 47-50, 291-303 and Van Dijck 1973, pp. 60-61, 108-112, 275-280.

<sup>948</sup> The procession originally coincided with the annual fair (*kermis*), and was held on the first Sunday after the feast of St John the Baptist (the first Sunday after 24 June). In 1511 it was transferred to the first Sunday after the feast of the Visitation (the first Sunday after 2 July). In 1545 it was not held on Sunday, but on Monday, because of the bad weather (... *mits dien die processie opten selven sonnedach overmits den quaden weder nyet gehouden en waert mair opten maendach*...; SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396, fol. [C9r]).

Broederschap a place of honour in the parade,<sup>949</sup> which attracted many people from far and near.

Spread all over the city accounts, we find general organisational information on the participation of the city in the period Gheerkin de Hondt worked in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>950</sup> First, messengers were sent to several places to invite people to participate or watch, among them the prelates of Brabant, the abbot of a nearby convent<sup>951</sup> (who had to celebrate the High Mass and carry the Holy Sacrament in the parade) and the inhabitants of 's-Hertogenbosch active in the Antwerp fair.<sup>952</sup> Extra men were hired to guard the city gates<sup>953</sup> and torches were bought for lighting the Holy Sacrament in the procession.<sup>954</sup> On the day of the procession a breakfast was organised in the 'chapter chamber' in honour of the abbot and his fellow clergymen for their duties at High Mass and in procession.<sup>955</sup> The guilds of St Catherine, St Barbara and St Agatha were paid for *hulpe vanden speele* (for the plays performed).<sup>956</sup> Someone is paid for preventing people to play the *kegelspel* (game of skittles) on the Markt (the general square where the procession came by), because *tselve belet dair veele woerden van blasphemien, quade reden, kyvagien, vechtinge ende meer ander sunden verhuet wordden* ('it prevented a lot of cursing and fighting').<sup>957</sup> The *beyerman* received an amount of money for prohibiting poor people from praying in the church of Sint-Jan.<sup>958</sup> Finally, *vuerpannen* ('fire pans') were lit on the eve of the day of the procession, in front of the city hall, which had to be kept burning the entire night until the following day.<sup>959</sup> That this is only an

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<sup>949</sup> Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 1-2, 117 (note 35), 413.

<sup>950</sup> The following examples are all taken from the account of 1539-40 (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391), in which year the procession was held on Sunday 4 July 1540. These examples are representative for all the processions in which Gheerkin de Hondt participated when he was in 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>951</sup> Usually the abbot of Berne, but in 1540 the abbot of Sint-Geertruiden. In 1544 and 1547 the tasks were fulfilled by the dean of the chapter of Sint-Jan and his priests (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395, fol. 231r and OSA 1398, fol. [B7r]).

<sup>952</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 75<sup>A</sup>v-77r. The inhabitants living in Antwerp seem not to have been invited every year.

<sup>953</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 126v-127r.

<sup>954</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 139r.

<sup>955</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 82r.

<sup>956</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 131v.

<sup>957</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 131v.

<sup>958</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 131v. This item is placed between other items considering the procession every year, but it mentions that the payment is made four times a year, so probably it was not only for the procession.

<sup>959</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 85v.



impression of extra organisational payments for the procession becomes clear from the fact that, for example, the *stadspijpers* (city trumpeters) were not paid extra; the procession must have been part of their regular tasks.

From other sources, we know that the actual procession started at around ten o'clock in the morning, and that the route went from the Sint-Janskerk to the Markt and back. The order of the participants was not chosen at random.<sup>960</sup> First the banner with little bells appeared, flanked by two large silver crosses. Then the representatives of the guilds came by, carrying the sculptures of their own saints. Behind them walked the representatives of the four civic guards, followed by the members of the chambers of rhetoric, also bearing their saint statues. Then, one of the highlights of the procession came: the sculpture of the Virgin of the Sint-Janskerk. Behind it marched the clerics: conventuals, priests, chaplains and canons of the church. Subsequently the Holy Sacrament was shown, mostly carried by a priest in a monstrance. Next, the third part of the procession came by: the administrators of the city. Behind them came the members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, bearing their own (older!) wooden statue of the Virgin on a stretcher, protected by a baldachin. The Brethren also carried a silver statue of St John the Evangelist, the patron of the church, also under a canopy. Finally, the parade was closed by beguines and groups from neighbouring villages. Halfway along the route, on the Markt, a mystery play was performed. Then the entire group returned via another street to the Sint-Jan, where again a play was performed. The Broederschap contributed to the costs of these players, who played the shepherds and the Magi.

For the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap itself, the feast began on the evening before.<sup>961</sup> From eight o'clock until nine thirty, the Brethren gathered in their chapel to listen to music performed by the singers, choirboys, organist and *stadspijpers* (city trumpeters). The singers sang three motets, *in manier van eenen love* (in the way of a *Lof*), and the organist played four motets. The *stadspijpers* most likely joined the singers and/or organist, but sometimes also performed their own music. The sextons of the church tolled the bells of the church one quarter of an hour for three times and the *beierman beierde*. Although this really seems to have

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<sup>960</sup> The next description is based on Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 1-2; Mosmans 1931, pp. 363-372; Van den Heuvel 1946, pp. 44-51, 252-256. A list of who carried candles and in which order is to be found in two manuscripts from the end of the 16th century containing copies of earlier privileges and other legal texts: SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 49, fol. XXIr and Inv. no. 50, fol. 29v. On Inv. no 49 (*Het Rood Privilegeboek*): Paquay 2009; Koldeweij 2004 (reaction by Van Dijck in *Bossche Bladen* 2004 (2), p. 49).

<sup>961</sup> Based on the account of 1539/40 (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 199r-200r).

been what we would call a concert today, liturgy was not forgotten: a priest sang a short prayer, the collect.

This concert was first given in 1526 and was paid for by Joris Samson,<sup>962</sup> who – as we have already seen – had also donated a large sum of money for a new organ. That Joris was a music-loving man is also proven by a painting dated 1518 by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen (or his workshop) that is now in the Museum voor Religieuze Kunst in Uden.<sup>963</sup> The triptych shows us Joris and his wife Engelken Colen and their (in part deceased) children. Joris has the pin of the Broederschap on his right sleeve. The middle panel shows us the Virgin and Jesus, accompanied by many angels playing all sorts of musical instruments; some of them even have written music. Joris Samson died in 1532, and was buried in the Sint-Jan.<sup>964</sup> A year later his widow once more paid for the costs of the concert, but from then on the Broederschap had to pay them. That lasted until 1542, when the concert was cancelled for the first time, to never reappear on the agenda again.

On the day of the procession itself, the Brethren started the day very early (at 6 o'clock) with a Mass, celebrated by the dean, deacon and subdeacon. No doubt the singers, choirboys and organist were also part of the ceremony; even several guest singers were paid for participating.

Many musicians and singers came especially for this procession to 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>965</sup> First there were the *stadspijpers* of 's-Hertogenbosch, but also their colleagues from other towns like Dordrecht, Haarlem, Utrecht, Nijmegen and even Germany participated in the procession. We not always have a clue about the instruments they were playing, but we do know that wind and string instruments were among them: trumpets, crumhorns, shawns, cornetts, harps and 'violins' are mentioned. The musicians often played around the statues of the Broederschap Virgin and St John. The regular singers of the Broederschap got paid every year for treating their guest colleagues who joined them in singing during the procession. We do not have any information on the music that was performed. No doubt, it was religious music, probably both chant and polyphony, probably a cappella and also accompanied by the musicians playing their instruments.

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<sup>962</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 47-48, a transcription is given in the appendix.

<sup>963</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 85; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 202-203. On Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen and his oeuvre: Meuwissen 2014 (pp. 216-217 specifically on the Samson painting).

<sup>964</sup> <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, number 213 (see there for biographical details). On Joris' and his family also: Van Dijck 2001.

<sup>965</sup> For the participants up to 1541 see: Smijers 1932/1932-1935/1940-1946/1948-1955. From 1541 to 1567, see: Roelvink 2002, pp. 291-303.

In addition to this great procession, the Broederschap was involved in three smaller ones, in which, however, their singers played no part; nor did they participate in the incidental processions that were held when special political or social circumstances arose.<sup>966</sup> The choirboys participated in the yearly procession to Orthen: they received cream and white bread as a treat.

#### 6.4.9 Banquets<sup>967</sup>

An important part of 16th-century life within the Broederschap were the banquets. What had started in the early years as a series of meetings to discuss the daily Broederschap life, accompanied by a simple meal, ended up in a series of an average of nine banquets a year for which the costs rose. The account items of the meetings do not tell us anything about what was decided, but they do inform us extensively on the food that was consumed. Furthermore, we are very well informed about the guests who joined the core group of members, and therefore at least the impression is given that culinary delight was more important than handling business affairs.

The banquets always took place on a Monday, except for the banquet of *Laetare Jerusalem*, held on Laetare Sunday, being a fish meal. At each meeting one of the core members served as host, regardless of the house in which the meal was consumed. One of the banquets had a special character: the so-called Swan Banquet, which was always consumed in the Broederschap house in the Hinthamerstraat; it was held on the Monday after the feast of the Holy Innocents (Monday after 28 December). A Mass in their own chapel preceded the meeting. After this liturgical moment, the Brethren walked *paer ende paer* (side by side) to the house across the street. During the banquet, the psalms *Miserere mei, Deus* and *De Profundis* were read. The two most important suppliers of swans were the bailiff of the duke of Brabant and the Van Egmond family, counts of Buren, living in Leerdam.<sup>968</sup> In 1573

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<sup>966</sup> An overview of the incidental processions is given in Van Dijck 1973, pp. 426-429. It is of course possible that the singers were hired by the chapter in these processions. The fact that they were serving the Broederschap in the great yearly procession is to be explained by the fact that this procession probably was the initiative of the Broederschap.

<sup>967</sup> Unless otherwise stated, based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 51-54.

<sup>968</sup> Maximiliaan van Buren became Swan Brother on the first of January 1543 (Roelvink 2002, pp. 233-234 (nos. 65, 69, 70 and 71)). On that same day, he joined a meal with other high-placed men, organized by the city government (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 106r). Maximiliaan was already in town for Christmas (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 106v). He and his troops were part of the defence of 's-Hertogenbosch during the siege of Maarten van Rossum.

the last Swan Banquet was held.<sup>969</sup> A same pattern is to be seen in the banquet on Laetare Sunday, which was funded by the widow of the knight and sworn brother Jan Back, Adriana van Wylick. Before the meeting, a Requiem Mass in honour of Jan and his son Otto was held in the chapel of the Broederschap. Afterwards, the grave of Jan and Otto in front of the altar had to be visited, where the psalms *Miserere mei, Deus* and *De Profundis* were read. These psalms were also read during the banquet: before the wine was served!

The singers were expected to sing during the banquets, both sacred and secular music, wearing their special robes. They did not get paid separately for these duties, which simply belonged to the weekly remunerations the singers received. Occasionally, guest singers or musicians from outside the city performed and they received separate mention in the accounts and separate payment. From 1561 onwards, the Brethren also owned five 'English' *violen*, which were played by the singers.<sup>970</sup>

#### 6.4.10 The group of singers and musicians<sup>971</sup>

In the course of the centuries, the Broederschap spent more and more money on music during its liturgical activities. Slowly, the group of professional singers increased, until in the 16th century there were about six to nine mature singers (of whom two were *intoneerders* – precentors, always priests) and six to eight choirboys. Furthermore, there was a professional organist, an organ-blower and a *beierman*, who had to play the bells rhythmically but not by the keyboard. In some years there even were instrumentalists, usually playing a wind instrument, for example a cornettist or a trumpeter. Most likely it was the quality of the musician that made the Broederschap decide to hire him and not the need for an instrumentalist in general.

The two *intoneerders* literally gave the chant intonation by singing the first words of a composition. With this task, they only earned about 50 per cent of their yearly remunerations. The other half was earned by priestly duties. Philippus de Spina also had an (extra) income since he was a scribe of musical manuscripts and all sorts of texts. In the chapel the *intoneerders* had their own chairs, covered with leather, separated from the other singers. These singers sang under the supervision of the *zangmeester*, who also was in charge of the *choralen*. The complete group had its position right in the centre of the chapel, and a bench to sit on when the singers

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<sup>969</sup> Van Dijck 1973, pp. 297-298.

<sup>970</sup> On the *violen*: Roelvink 2002, p. 87.

<sup>971</sup> Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 56-83, 310-321. See there on the details for the period 1519-1568.

did not have to sing. The singers also had their own lecterns: one with an eagle (purchased in 1526/27) and one for two books that could be turned, probably one side for the chant book and the other for a polyphonic choirbook. On 7 July 1542 a new metal lectern arrived from Mechelen, provided with the motto of the Broederschap, *Sicut Liliū inter Spinās*.<sup>972</sup> The numbers both of *intoneerders* and of *zangmeesters* in the period 1519-1568 are relatively low: their employment lasted in many cases for a number of years. The organists too served for a long time; the Broederschap generally had no difficulty at all in attracting an organist. This was most likely because of the good quality of the organs.

The Broederschap accounts show us that the complete group was paid once a week for their duties – on Wednesday, most likely after the weekly Vespers and Mass. None of the appointment texts has been preserved, so we cannot say for sure what those duties were. Nevertheless, it is clear that the group played an important role during the Vespers and Mass on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Furthermore, they were supposed to sing during the feasts the Broederschap celebrated (they only got paid extra for the feast of the Presentation), the *exequien* (general and personal; extra paid), the Marian *Lof*, the July procession (and for the years 1526-41 the concert on the evening before) and the nine banquets a year. Without a doubt core members of the Broederschap ‘hired’ the group of singers and musicians now and then for their own personal needs. But these services are of course not mentioned in the Broederschap accounts.

The singers and musicians served two masters: the priests of the chapter and the core members of the Broederschap. The priests and the Brethren jointly appointed the singers and musicians. Sometimes this caused problems. For example, Gheerkin de Hondt and his predecessor were also victims of the disputes the gentlemen sometimes had, as we shall see below. Once appointed by the Brethren of the Broederschap and the priests of the chapter, the singers also served other institutions: as we shall see below, the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament weekly employed the professional singers. We also may assume that rich and wealthy parishioners gladly hired the trained musicians for their own personal liturgical activities. And finally, as we saw in Bruges, the guilds and crafts most likely asked the group to perform at their most important feasts, although no actual evidence of this has come down to us.

The Brethren spent a considerable portion of their budget on the provision of music during the liturgy, the annual procession, and the banquets (between 25 per cent and 47 per cent of the total budget); they spared neither expense nor effort to bring the best singers and organists to 's-Hertogenbosch. The recruitment and selection of singers (most of them originating from the Low Countries) might

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<sup>972</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 27.

proceed with the utmost ease and efficiency, but might also lead to tremendous disappointments: some newly recruited singers never actually took up their employment. The Broederschap was not a bad employer: the salaries were duly paid every week and a singer in distress could always count on help, most of the time financial. None of the singers became a core member of the Broederschap; only organist Jan die Gruyter was chosen in 1506 as a sworn brother (he died in March/April 1540, but he was no longer the organist after 1524). Only a few of the singers (and almost all organists) became external members, among them the two *intoneerders* who served from the early 1530s until 1566 (Philippus de Spina) and the 1590s (Jan van Wintelroy),<sup>973</sup> which proves that the relationship between the Broederschap and its singers was almost strictly a business one.

Many guest singers and some guest musicians performed for the Broederschap between 1519 and 1568. Among them were several famous singers, like the *zangmeesters* of Emperor Charles V and of the Regent of the Low Countries. Although it is not always clear who is meant by these descriptions, there is a strong suspicion that Nicolas Gombert, Thomas Crecquillon, and Cornelius Canis honoured the Broederschap with a visit. Benedictus Appenzeller is known with certainty to have visited the Broederschap twice, in 1539 and 1545.

#### 6.4.11 Musical Manuscripts<sup>974</sup>

In the course of the centuries the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap bought many musical manuscripts and in the second half of the 16th century also printed musical choirbooks. Today, the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap still possesses seven manuscript and two printed choirbooks containing polyphonic music and seven manuscripts containing chant.<sup>975</sup> Of all the manuscript or printed music whose

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<sup>973</sup> Jan van Wintelroy died on 19 October 1596 at the age of about 83 (Nauwelaerts 1974, p. 83).

<sup>974</sup> Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 89-159, Roelvink 1999, Roelvink 2003 and De Loos 2000c, pp. 30-41, 55-87. Extensive descriptions of the manuscripts and their contents are given there; this paragraph only is a summary. In § 7.5 the contents of the manuscripts will be considered in the light of the daily routine of Gheerkin de Hondt.

<sup>975</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 148 (formerly 's HerAB 66), 149 (formerly 's HerAB 67), 150 (formerly 's HerAB 70), 152 (formerly Codex Smijers), 159 (formerly 's HerAB 68), 162 (formerly 's HerAB 71), 176 (formerly 's HerAB 69, Holy Cross Lof), all chant; Inv. nos. 152 (formerly Codex Smijers), 153 (formerly 's HerAB 72A), 154 (formerly 's HerAB 72B), 155 (formerly 's HerAB 72C), 156 (formerly 's HerAB 74), 157 (formerly 's HerAB 75), 158 (formerly 's HerAB 73), all polyphony. The Codex Smijers (Inv. no. 152) and all the choirbooks containing polyphony are exhibited in the Zwanenbroedershuis, except

purchase is recorded in the 16th-century accounts from June 1519 up to and including June 1568, no more than a half remain today in the Broederschap's archives. Even though a considerable part of the 16th-century collection of written and printed music has been lost, we may consider ourselves fortunate that these beautiful manuscripts have been preserved. This magnificent collection, in combination with the Broederschap's well-kept accounts, affords us an excellent view of musical life amongst the Brethren in the 16th century.

Three of the polyphonic manuscripts from the collection of the Broederschap come from the workshop of the famous music scribe Petrus Alamire.<sup>976</sup> Several questions in relation to the dating and origin of these manuscripts remain unanswered. It is not completely certain whether these choirbooks are indeed three of the four bought from Alamire in 1530-1531, because none of them corresponds exactly in its present state to the descriptions in the Broederschap accounts. However, Inv. nos. 153 and 154 could very well be the two manuscripts bought by the Broederschap from Alamire in July 1530; Inv. no. 155 seems to have reached the archives by another route. Although the accounts give the impression that Alamire wrote these manuscripts in person, it is in fact clear that several scribes were at work. The books all date from after 1520; the watermarks exhibit the same image.

The manuscripts all contain Masses and motets. In its present state, Inv. no. 153 includes seven Masses plus one anonymous, textless composition in two voices on its final page (fol. 151v).<sup>977</sup> Inv. no. 154 encloses eight Masses and one motet. The largest manuscript is Inv. no. 155, containing eight Masses as well as eight motets.

The choirbooks all have their own peculiarities. In Inv. no. 153, for example, two canonic masses are notated in a particular way. When the canonic voice has not yet finished at the turn of the page, the last few notes of the voice are repeated on the

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for Inv. no. 155, which is on loan at the Noordbrabants Museum. The printed choirbooks (BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 160 (formerly 's HerAB 76) and Inv. no. 161 (formerly 's HerAB 77)) are in the Zwanenbroedershuis too. Since they date from 1578 and 1587 respectively and therefore from a long time after Gheerkin de Hondt had left 's-Hertogenbosch, they are left out here. The prints are from Plantin and contain Masses by George de la Hèle and Philippus de Monte.

<sup>976</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 153 (formerly 's HerAB 72A), 154 (formerly 's HerAB 72B) and 155 (formerly 's HerAB 72C). See on these manuscripts also: Roelvink 1999 and Roelvink 2003.

<sup>977</sup> In 2011 Prof. Peter Urquhart identified the music of the fragment as related to the *Missa Du bon du cueur* that appears in three manuscripts, among them another one by the workshop of Petrus Alamire. The Mass is based on the chanson with the same name. My sincere gratitude goes to Prof. Urquhart for allowing me to publish his marvellous discovery before he was able to publish his thoughts on the fragment himself. Bernadette Nelson has proposed that the Mass is by Noel Bauldeweyn (Nelson 2001).

following page. This is done in a special little staff, prior to the voice's main musical staff. The 'portraits' of a knight and a lady on the opening pages of Inv. no. 154 seem to refer to real persons. If so, they may be the knight Jan Back, a sworn brother, and his spouse Jonkvrouwe Adriana van Wylick,<sup>978</sup> who were both well disposed towards the Broederschap. This manuscript and also Inv. no. 155 reveal some details about the production of a manuscript: in the centre, at the foot of the page, are recorded instructions for the music copyists, in a very small script.

A scribe who was clearly influenced by Petrus Alamire is Philippus de Spina. Two of the Broederschap's polyphonic manuscripts have already been known for some decades to have been written by De Spina, namely Inv. no. 158 (dated 1545, containing music for the Office – especially the Vespers –, thirty-three Magnificats, two Te Deums, a Kyrie Paschale, a Regina Caeli and two motets) and Inv. no. 157 (perhaps dated 1540-42, having ten Masses). Philippus de Spina was *intoneerder* with the Broederschap and during his term of service he fulfilled several scribal assignments for the Brethren.<sup>979</sup> Study of his script shows striking similarities between Inv. nos. 158 and 157 on the one hand and Inv. no. 156 (containing also ten Masses, of which two are by Gheerkin de Hondt) on the other. With certainty we can say that this last manuscript was also written by De Spina, probably this was the assignment given to him between 1540 and 1542. The beautifully coloured drawings on the first page of music in this manuscript have been added later, in all probability not by De Spina.<sup>980</sup> Similar study of the script of the polyphonic additions in the Codex Smijers shows that they too are very likely in De Spina's hand. When exactly he made these additions cannot be said with certainty, but the last gathering seems to have been added to the manuscript in the year 1542 or 1543. The polyphonic music consists of eight motets, three Dutch Christmas songs (the oldest nowadays known), one Introit and one Responsory.

The Codex Smijers – named after its discoverer Professor Albert Smijers, who was the first professor of musicology in Utrecht and who made an extensive study of the Broederschap accounts up to 1541 – is without a doubt the most beautiful chant choirbook in the current collection of the Broederschap. It is the only manuscript written on parchment – by the Brethren of the Common Life – and it is dated

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<sup>978</sup> Adriana van Wylick also donated for the general memorial services in the Sint-Janskerk (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. LXIXr).

<sup>979</sup> Without a doubt he also functioned as a scribe for the chapter. Even in the city accounts his name occurs: in 1545-46 *Philippus van Doeren priester* is paid for copying two arbitral judgements between the chapter and the city government on the goods of the chapter (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1397, fol. 266r).

<sup>980</sup> More information on this manuscript is given in § 11.2.



between circa 1529 and 1564. The choirbook has music for the Office and Masses. Inv. no. 149 also has Masses and music for the Office; the last type is also to be found in Inv. no. 162, there together with music for memorial services. Chant for the Office of the Dead was important for the Broederschap, because it is also to be found in Inv. nos. 148 and 150. This last book includes a calendar too (added in November 1536, written by the Brethren of the Common Life)<sup>981</sup> and a ferial (daily) Office. Just like the collection of the Sint-Janskerk, the library of the Broederschap also contained a book especially for the precentors, Inv. no. 159, that was written by Philippus de Spina. With the help of this book, it is possible to reconstruct which parts of the liturgy were sung by the *intoneerders* and which parts were sung by the professional singers, in chant or polyphony.

A curiosity in the Broederschap archives is a parchment bifolium containing a fragment of the sequence *Mittit ad virginem* for one voice, for the feast of the Annunciation (25 March). It is unclear how this piece entered the archives.

#### 6.4.12 Music for the Broederschap<sup>982</sup>

The Broederschap's collection includes music both by famous composers and by so-called *Kleinmeister*. The bulk of it consists of compositions for Vespers and Mass. The collection preserves music popular all over Europe, but also music written specially for the Broederschap. Both Inv. no. 158 (polyphony) and Inv. no. 152 (Codex Smijers) contain music undoubtedly composed for the liturgy of the Broederschap. From the other manuscripts, both musical settings of the text *O Salutaris hostia* were probably written for the especial use of the Broederschap, because the singers got paid a little extra to sing this during the elevation. The *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*, by Gheerkin de Hondt, could have been written during his employment at the Broederschap, since the Broederschap paid the singers on the (their) feast of St Cecilia.<sup>983</sup> For other compositions in the manuscripts, we are not able to demonstrate that they were written especially for the Broederschap.

The other way around – to try to connect a composition outside its archives with the Broederschap – is always dangerous. However, there are three motets that may be connected with the 's-Hertogenbosch Broederschap in one way or another. For example, there are only two motets in Renaissance music history with the title *Sicut Liliū inter Spinās*. One of them was probably written especially for the

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<sup>981</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 157.

<sup>982</sup> Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 161-176, see there for details and references.

<sup>983</sup> This Mass and its origins will be discussed in Chapter 13.

Broederschap: Thomas Crecquillon wrote it either at his own initiative or as a commission by Swan Brother Maximiliaan van Buren, to whom he was closely related (for example we know that Crecquillon also wrote a motet in honour of Van Buren). Jacobus Clemens non Papa probably gave his motet *Ego flos campi* to the Broederschap when he left 's-Hertogenbosch in December 1550, having been a guest there for several months. The motet is based on a text taken from the Song of Songs, with a homophonic passage on the words *Sicut Liliū inter Spinas*, the motto of the Broederschap. And finally, *Benedicite Dominus* was very likely one of the motets composed by *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt in honour of the Broederschap in 1540. The first two motets contain the motto of the Broederschap (*Sicut Liliū inter Spinas*), the third motet is a table blessing, probably used during the banquets.

## 6.5 The Sacramentsbroederschap

Some of the sworn members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap were also involved in the foundation of another confraternity in the Sint-Janskerk in 1480: the *Bruederscap vanden Heyligen Eerwerdigen Sacramente* or Sacramentsbroederschap (Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament).<sup>984</sup>

Confraternities of the Holy Sacrament were – like Marian brotherhoods – common in medieval Europe.<sup>985</sup> From the end of the 12th century onwards, the elevation of the Host after the consecration during Mass became the most important moment in Mass. The elevation of the Holy Sacrament had grown into a significant ‘eucharistic devotion’ by the 13th century: the Sacrament was allotted its own feast on the liturgical calendar in 1264: Corpus Christi, to be held on the second Thursday after Pentecost. In the following two centuries the popularity of the Sacrament grew further, and confraternities and processions were founded. As far as we know, the oldest confraternity in the northern parts of the Low Countries was founded in Zutphen in 1327; it was followed by many more, especially from the end of the 15th century onwards. The activities of these confraternities were largely identical with that of other confraternities, for example the ones for the veneration of the Blessed

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<sup>984</sup> This confraternity also still exists today, now called *Aloude Broederschap van het Hoogheilig Sacrament*, although it does not have its own building and is far less visible in 's-Hertogenbosch society. The members of the confraternity come together in the church of Sint-Jan once a month. Information is to be found on the websites of the Sint-Janskathedraal and the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch. In this book, it will be referred to as Sacramentsbroederschap.

<sup>985</sup> This paragraph is based on Caspers 1992, especially pp. 1, 115-124.

Virgin: liturgical services (in this case in honour of the Holy Sacrament), memorial services for their deceased members, joint meals, poor relief and maintaining their own altar in a church or chapel. The members were male and female, both clerics and lay persons. The liturgical activities consisted of Masses (if weekly, then on Thursday, because that was the day Christ held the Last Supper and instituted the Eucharist) and processions in which the Holy Sacrament was shown to the people.

Not much has been published on the 's-Hertogenbosch Sacramentsbroederschap,<sup>986</sup> especially not on the medieval years up to 1550, probably because the accounts have only been preserved fragmentarily.<sup>987</sup> Therefore, all authors agree that the origins of the Sacramentsbroederschap are a bit vague, also because there is confusion with a confraternity of the Holy Sacrament that was founded a few years earlier (in 1475) by the Dominicans. This caused a dispute that was brought to the highest church power: the pope of Rome. Nevertheless, the 1480 Sacramentsbroederschap survived and its articles of association were confirmed by the city government in 1495.<sup>988</sup> They show us that the main goal of the 's-Hertogenbosch Sacramentsbroederschap was – of course – the veneration of the Holy Sacrament. To achieve this, the Sacramentsbroederschap had its own altar in

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<sup>986</sup> Hoekx/Van de Laar 1980; Van der Steen 1929-1930; Heuvelmans 1994. None of the publications offers an extensive study of the history of this confraternity.

<sup>987</sup> (Fragments of) the accounts of the following years up to and including 1560 have come down to us: 21 Juni 1520 – 3 August 1523 (SAHt, Toegangnummer 185, Inv. no. 35); 1523 – 1524 (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1209); 1 February 1527 [sic: January 1528] – 30 September 1531 (SAHt, Toegangnummer 185, Inv. no. 36; two copies: one for the church fabric (complete), one for the Sacramentsbroederschap (incomplete)); 1 October 1531 – 31 May 1533, 1 June 1533 – 1 February 1544 (only considering a newly purchased altar from mr. Robbert/Robrecht from Antwerp), 15 July 1545 – 24 May 1550, 25 May 1550 – 16 April 1552, 2 June 1552 – 31 September 1553 (SAHt, Toegangnummer 185, Inv. no. 37); 24 May 1534 – 16 May 1535 (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1207); 24 May 1556 – 14 May 1559 (SAHt, Toegangnummer 185, Inv. no. 38). According to the copies of the accounts we have, originally there were three copies of each account: for the Sacramentsbroederschap itself, for the church fabric and for the chapter of Sint-Jan. There also is a *Memorieboek* from the first decade of the 16th century, in which notes were made on receipts and expenditure (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1196). Although payments to singers are sporadically mentioned here, the later accounts are much more complete and closer to the time Gheerkin de Hondt worked in 's-Hertogenbosch. Therefore, this *Memorieboek* has been left out here. Another undated fragment of four (damaged) pages gives information on gifts to the Sacramentsbroederschap and how these gifts should be spent, with references to the liturgical activities (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1208).

<sup>988</sup> A transcription and translation of these articles are in: Van der Steen 1929-1930, pp. 187-198, also published in: Hoekx/Van de Laar 1980, pp. 40-52.

the Sint-Jan situated close to the chapel of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap; between 1508 and 1522 the altar was transferred to a chapel that was more to the west. The articles of association also tell us among other things that the government of the Sacramentsbroederschap consisted of three *provisoren*: one canon of the chapter who also was a member of the Sacramentsbroederschap, one of the governors of the church fabric of the Sint-Jan and one of the members of the Sacramentsbroederschap who also was a member of the city council or one of the guilds. In short: the government of the Sacramentsbroederschap consisted of highly placed men. Remarkable is that half of the income of the Sacramentsbroederschap had to be given to the church fabric of the Sint-Jan for the benefit of clothing for the priests, the church organ, books, candles, the church bells and general embellishments of the church. Liturgically interesting is that a procession had to be held on Sunday in the octave of the feast of Corpus Christi. Furthermore, every year, on the first Monday after the octave of Corpus Christi, a vigil of nine lessons had to be held, after the hours when ‘Vespers, Compline and the Divine Office’<sup>989</sup> in the presbytery of the church were celebrated. On the next Tuesday a Requiem Mass was sung for all the deceased members of the brotherhood. As we have seen before, this comes very close to a kind of standard memorial service that we find all over the medieval Low Countries. Singers were present, because there is a reference in the articles of association to their remunerations. And also again: it is not clear if these singers sang chant or polyphony.

Although the above-mentioned accounts are not very clearly organised (actually they are quite chaotic) and we do not have a continuous series – certainly not if we compare them to the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap – they give us valuable information on the musical activities of the Sacramentsbroederschap in the 16th century that has been overlooked so far.<sup>990</sup> They show us that, although the Sacramentsbroederschap was much smaller than the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, musically it was in no way inferior.

Singers and an organist were paid four times a year to sing a Mass every Thursday.<sup>991</sup> The payments were made around 1 October, 1 January, 1 April and 1

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<sup>989</sup> Vespers and Compline are part of the Divine Office.

<sup>990</sup> Roelvink 2009, p. 386.

<sup>991</sup> The following reconstruction is based on all the above-mentioned accounts. The payments to the singers are to be found under the item *Uuytgheven der provisoiren voirscreven*. The accounts are not consistent: not all payments are to be found in all accounts. Especially the fact that the four payments a year for singing a Mass every week on Thursday do seem to have disappeared after the account from 1534/35 raises the question if the professional singers were no longer hired. We have to take into account that from somewhere between 1535 and 1545 (the next account that has been kept) the decision had to be made to only hire the professional singers around the feast of Corpus

July, always after the group had sung for a period of twelve to fifteen weeks. The same servants were paid for singing and playing during the feast of Corpus Christi when they sang 'four short Vespers' and a Mass. In the week thereafter, the singers were paid for singing Masses (depending on the year: two to six). The Requiem Mass of the general memorial service on the Monday after the octave of Corpus Christi was also adorned with music by the singers and organist. The singers did not seem to be part of the procession that was held every year on the feast of Corpus Christi. In some years (1523-1524 and 1528-1535), the singers, choirboys and organist were paid extra for *tcruys te richten* ('raise the cross'), and to *tcruys neder te leggen* ('put the cross down'). This procedure was connected to an indulgence the Sacramentsbroederschap had received from the pope in 1523.<sup>992</sup> It was repeated in several years from the first Saturday in Lent (raising) to the Sunday after Easter (putting down), from Pentecost (raising) to the feast of Corpus Christi (putting down), from the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June) to the Visitation of Our Lady (2 July) and on the first Saturday in Advent (raising) and on the feast of Epiphany (putting down). It remains unclear what the role of the singers and organist was, but perhaps they sang a Mass or a Holy Cross *Lof* on those special days. Sometimes the musicians were hired for extra work, for example for a personal Requiem,<sup>993</sup> but also for extra Masses, for instance in 1531, when seven Masses were sung in the fourteen days after Easter and in 1531/32 for seven Masses sung on the Monday after the feast of St Lambert. And of course the singers had to perform when the new altar was dedicated (sometime between 1533 and 1544).

The names of the singers were not always mentioned, but when they are, it turns out that the same group of singers that was hired by the chapter and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap was also hired by the Sacramentsbroederschap.<sup>994</sup> The first time the names are mentioned is for the feast

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Christi (including the yearly memorial service), because the accounts are complete (receipts, expenditures and total amounts at the end of the accounts do fit). Note also that a weekly Mass was not mentioned in the articles of association. Another possibility is that the singers did sing, but were paid by someone else, who wrote another account, for example the *wasmeester* of the Sacramentsbroederschap, who also paid singers (we have three different accounts for the church of Sint-Jacob in Bruges).

<sup>992</sup> Under the item *Ander uitgeven aengaende den aflaet*. On the indulgence: Heuvelmans 1994, pp. 15-16.

<sup>993</sup> For example in 1522 for Tomsken Cornelis dochter van Gemert.

<sup>994</sup> The names of the *provisoren* of the Sacramentsbroederschap show us that many of them were also sworn members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. This means that indirectly the Sacramentsbroederschap was also involved in appointing new singers and musicians. On the other hand, the Sacramentsbroederschap had it easy: when it was

of Corpus Christi in 1523: *heer* Conraet, *meester* Roelof *basconter*, *sangmeester*, *Wiellem basconter*, Heynken, Joest and Joh. *bovensenger*. We find all of them in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap of that same year.<sup>995</sup> The next time names are mentioned is for the feast of Corpus Christi in 1529: Sebastiaenen (the *zangmeester*), heer Koen, heer Jacop, Petit Jan, Gommer (Gommaar van Lier), Molleken (Henrick de Mol van Mechelen), Anthonis *den bass* (Anthonis van Lubeek, bass singer) and Jannen (Johannes Brandt). This is again the same group that sang for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. It looks as if the group has completely changed, but as we can see in Table 6.3, this is not the case. Here we have a fine example of the use of different names for the same person.<sup>996</sup> In all later accounts where names of singers are mentioned, they coincide with the names of the singers in the contemporary accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Sometimes it seems that the Sacramentsbroederschap hired a singer who was not in the service of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and the chapter of Sint-Jan.<sup>997</sup> This was not unusual: the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap sometimes hired a singer who did not sing for the chapter,<sup>998</sup> and it probably also worked the other way around. Another explanation is that we have to do with an incidental guest singer.

As we have already seen, this Sacramentsbroederschap played a very important role in the general memorial services and the adjoining *Lof* of the Holy Cross in the Sint-Jan, four times a year. The accounts of the years 1520-23 and 1528-35 do mention these memorial services: one person received the complete payment to distribute among all the participants, among them the singers.<sup>999</sup> The Golden Mass (probably the one founded by Lysbeth vanden Broeck in 1518) is also mentioned in the accounts from these years. As we saw above, only the *zangmeester* was involved in this Mass. The relatively low amount of money mentioned confirms that the other singers were not on duty for this Mass.

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founded in 1480, already a very long existing and proven procedure of appointing a very well functioning group of professional singers was there to use.

<sup>995</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 127, fol. 226r-228r.

<sup>996</sup> It is a typical and confusing feature of 16th-century church accounts: using different names for one and the same person (see also the previous chapters on Gheerkin's colleagues and § 7.3).

<sup>997</sup> These singers were paid separately by the *wasmeester*. For example: Dirck (circa sixty-two weeks, 1520).

<sup>998</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 60.

<sup>999</sup> There seems to be an overlap: both the *Bare* and the Sacramentsbroederschap made payments to singers on these days.

Table 6.3 Singers in 1523 and 1529 in the accounts of the Sacramentsbroederschap<sup>1000</sup>

1523	1529
Sangmeester [Sebastiaan de Porta, zangmeester]	Sebastiaenen [Sebastiaan de Porta, zangmeester]
Heer Coenraet [heer Coenraet Arts, intoneerder]	Heer Koen [heer Coenraet Arts, intoneerder]
Meester Roelof, <i>basconter</i>	
Wiellem, <i>basconter</i> [Willem]	
	Anthonis den bass [Anthonis van Lubeek]
Heynken [Henrick de Mol van Mechelen, <i>hoogconter</i> ]	Molleken [Henrick de Mol van Mechelen, <i>hoogconter</i> ]
Joest [Joest van Denremonde, <i>hoogconter</i> ]	
	Heer Jacop [ <i>hoogconter</i> ]
	Jannen [Jan/Johannes Brandt, <i>hoogconter</i> ]
	Gommer [Gommaar van Lier, <i>hoogconter</i> ]
Johannes, <i>bovensenger</i> [Johanni Passy/Petit Jan]	Petit Jan [Johanni Passy/Petit Jan, <i>bovensenger</i> ]

That the Sacramentsbroederschap was in no way inferior to the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap is not only proven by the fact that it also hired the professional singers that sang on such a high level, but also by the fact that it bought a choirbook from the famous workshop of Petrus Alamire.<sup>1001</sup> There is no exact date mentioned, but we may assume that the books were bought during one of Alamire's visits to 's-Hertogenbosch in July 1530, January 1531 or July 1531. The amount of 18 guilders that was paid to Alamire suggests that this was a luxurious or large book, either with many illustrations or with many pages. This might be confirmed by another item in the next account, of 1531-1533, when parchment is added<sup>1002</sup> to the *sangboeck* and someone anonymous is paid for 'writing in the same book'.<sup>1003</sup> It

<sup>1000</sup> Explanations in brackets based on Roelvink 2002, pp. 310-314.

<sup>1001</sup> SAHt, Toegangnummer 185, Inv. no. 36 (1 February 1527 [sic: January 1528] – 30 September 1531). Two copies of this account have come down to us: one 'Voer die *Fabryck*' (for the church fabric) and one 'voer die *bruederscap*' (for the Sacramentsbroederschap; not complete). The copy for the fabric mentions *Voer eenen zanckboeck betaelt alamiere xvij gulden*, the copy for the Sacramentsbroederschap mentions *Van eenen zangboeck betaelt Alamiere xvij gulden*.

<sup>1002</sup> *francyn te stellen int sangboeck: stellen* means to add. This is a bit strange, because nothing is said about the binding of the book.

<sup>1003</sup> SAHt, Toegangnummer 185, Inv. no. 37, around October 1532.

might be the choirbook recently purchased from Petrus Alamire that is referred to here, or another book that was in the possession of the Sacramentsbroederschap.

## 6.6 The beguinage

At the foot of the Sint-Jan on today's Parade lay the *Groot Begijnhof* (the great beguinage), which was a separate parish.<sup>1004</sup> The Begijnhof already existed in 1274, when Willem van Gent referred to it in his last will. Around 1526 the population counted around 160 beguines. The beguines first had their own chapel; from 1274 onwards a real church was built, dedicated to St Nicholas in 1304. In the 16th century there were eleven altars in the church with fifteen benefices. The beguines had their own parish priest, a chaplain and a sexton. The parish priest was appointed by the chapter of Sint-Jan from 1517.

There remain several documents in the archives of the beguinage informing us about their liturgical activities. The most important one dates from 27 October 1547 (with an addition from 25 May 1555), only a few weeks after Gheerkin de Hondt had left 's-Hertogenbosch, when the beguines appointed a new organist: Jan Bosschart van Brugge.<sup>1005</sup> The document gives us a very detailed description of the feast days the organist had to play, sometimes even more than once a day (for example Matins, Vespers and Mass). Furthermore, he had to play all Sunday Masses and during the *Lof* services (Our Lady and the Holy Sacrament) on Sundays and feast days. A Mass for the Holy Sacrament was sung on Friday, a Sacramental *Lof* on Thursday.<sup>1006</sup> Considering the fact that Jan Bosschart was also the organist of the chapter and two confraternities (Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and Sacramentsbroederschap), he had a very busy schedule.<sup>1007</sup>

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<sup>1004</sup> The historical facts in this paragraph are based on Timmermans 1987. On the archives: Kappelhof 1989; SAHt, Toegangsnummer 310; BHIC, Toegangsnummer 501 (with a general introduction on the history); some documents are in the church archives of the Sint-Jan (SAHt, ASJ) and some in het archives of the 's-Hertogenbosch diocese.

<sup>1005</sup> Timmermans 1987, pp. 32-33.

<sup>1006</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 8876 (Appendix 3, 1547, 27 October).

<sup>1007</sup> A *mr. Jannen organist* is in 1543/44 also mentioned as husband and guardian or delegate (*momboir*) for his wife Catherine, daughter of Goyarts Huyben (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395, fol. 9v).



From several foundations of memorial services and other liturgical activities it becomes clear that there was a lot of singing in the church of the beguines.<sup>1008</sup> They tell us that, for example, memorial services were sung, but also a *Lof* for Our Lady and the canonical hours. However, there is no proof that the professional singers were also part of these celebrations. In most cases the singing was done by the priests and the beguines themselves, accompanied by the organist. Only one document indicates that professional singers were involved in the liturgy: on 27 September 1528 a foundation was made for a solemn Mass at the altar of the Holy Cross on the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June) with the organist and the singers (*cum organis et cantoribus*), as on the feast of St Barbara.<sup>1009</sup> The Friday Mass that was founded 12 March 1545 (a Holy Cross Mass?) provided for the *vicecureyt oft capellaen* from the Sacramentsbroederschap to do the singing. If they did not want to sing, the *meesteressen* ('lady masters') of the beguinage and the *vicecureyt* would appoint other *sanghers*. The word *sanghers* implies that these might be the professionals; otherwise the word 'heer' (priest) would have been used. The foundation also mentions the already long-existing habit that the *capellaen* would do the usual Thursday Mass for the Holy Sacrament,<sup>1010</sup> singing 'Tantum ergo sacramentum et cetera' with the collect, followed by a *Lof*, sung by the beguines themselves.<sup>1011</sup>

## 6.7 Welfare

In 1526, the city of 's-Hertogenbosch had grown both in number of citizens and economically. One would expect also a growing number of inhabitants in need, but the opposite is the case: the percentage of people needing care was around 15 per cent, which was about the lowest percentage in Brabant.<sup>1012</sup> Around 1500 there were

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<sup>1008</sup> For example: Kappelhof 1989, Inv. nos. 449, 437, 437bis, 467, 486, 494, 502, 517, 521, 523, 524.

<sup>1009</sup> SAHt, Toegangsnummer 310, Inv. no. 465, heavily damaged. See also: Van den Bichelaer 1998, cd no. 248.2.

<sup>1010</sup> This does not match with the contract of organist Jan Bosschart of 1547. It would be logical to have a Mass of the Holy Sacrament on Thursday. Perhaps the Mass was replaced to Friday as a consequence of organisational trouble, or a mistake was made in the contract for the organist, and Friday should be Thursday.

<sup>1011</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 8872 (Appendix 3, 1545, 12 March).

<sup>1012</sup> Blockmans/Prevenier 1974, pp. 37-38.

about thirty organisations active in helping the infirm.<sup>1013</sup> Most of them were personal initiatives of small *gasthuizen* ('guest houses') for the elderly, but there were also places where many people could be taken care of at the same time. In 1531 the city government was forced by the court of Charles V to make a plan to amalgamate all the funds for charity into one to make the poor relief more efficient and effective. But because the system in 's-Hertogenbosch turned out to be very complicated, with many personal foundations that were earmarked, the risk that heirs would not agree with changes was too high. Besides, as we shall see below, the situation was rather conveniently arranged, since there was only one parish church and the several quarters of the town took their own responsibility.<sup>1014</sup> Finally, the system remained as it was, and it would last until 1810 before a more general arrangement of poor relief was formed.<sup>1015</sup>

The parish of Sint-Jan had the largest body of charity, the *Tafel van de Heilige Geest* or *Geefhuis* ('Table of the Holy Ghost').<sup>1016</sup> The oldest mention of the Tafel dates from 1281 and therefore it is one of the eldest organisations of poor relief in 's-Hertogenbosch. Originally it was literally a table, in the tower of the church, where people could leave food, clothing and money for other parishioners in need. Although this Tafel originated in the church, soon it was ruled by laymen under the supervision of the city government. The income came from foundations and donations, which were well invested. Already in the 14th century, the Tafel had its own building, in the Hinthamerstraat (today the complex of number 72), right across from the church of Sint-Jan. Up to and including the mid-16th-century the Tafel had large capital gains, so many poor people could be fed and dressed.

At the end of the 15th century, the separate districts of town became more and more active in poor relief. The fact that this was a private initiative, independent of the city government, was unique in the Low Countries.<sup>1017</sup> Funding came from people who lived in the same area, who donated money for their neighbours. Originally the so-called *vuurmeesters* (commanders of the voluntary fire brigades, always the notables of their part of town) were charged with this kind of poor relief. In the last quarter of the 15th century, the name of *vuurmeester* was transformed to *blokmeester*, the men becoming more general governors of their quarters;<sup>1018</sup> they

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<sup>1013</sup> There were also organisations that had poor relief as a sort of 'extra duty', for example the confraternities and guilds active in the Sint-Janskerk.

<sup>1014</sup> Jacobs 1986, p. 156.

<sup>1015</sup> Kappelhof 1996.

<sup>1016</sup> This paragraph is based on Kappelhof 1981.

<sup>1017</sup> Kappelhof 1980; Kappelhof 1983. Also: Kappelhof 1981.

<sup>1018</sup> Some of the small silver shields of the *blokmeesters* of the Markt have been kept: Koldewey 1990c, pp. 206-208.

were also involved in collecting the city taxes, because they knew their neighbourhoods so well. Around 1500 there were nine so-called *Blokken* – quarters in town – where those in need were taken care of in their own surroundings.

For poor people of all kinds, there was the Groot Gasthuis.<sup>1019</sup> The first mention of this ‘guesthouse’ dates from 1274, when Willem van Gent made his last will. In those early years, the house received sick, old and invalid people, as long as they were poor. Unlike the Geefhuis and the nine *Blokken*, this organisation also took care of travellers and pilgrims. With the increasing of the number of citizens, up to 1376 the Groot Gasthuis developed to a hospital, concentrating only on ill (but still poor) people. From the early years onwards, the Groot Gasthuis had an own chapel functioning as an independent parish since 1458. In the chapel, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, a Mass was read every day. From 1499 until 1629 fourteen more Masses were founded by private persons, some of them adorned by the choirboys of the church of Sint-Jan.<sup>1020</sup> Already in the 16th century,<sup>1021</sup> some masses and a *Lof* service were sung.<sup>1022</sup>

Finally, there were three organisations taking care of special needy people: the *Leproserie* in the nearby small village of Hintham (leper house, already mentioned in Willem van Gent’s last will in 1274), a house for abandoned children (*Vondelingenhuis*) and a house for insane people, founded in 1439 by Reinier van Arkel.<sup>1023</sup> Most likely the many convents within the walls of the city also contributed to poor relief.<sup>1024</sup> All together, the society in ’s-Hertogenbosch had many ways to

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<sup>1019</sup> Wolf 1999; Wolf 2011; Van Bavel 1974b, pp. 3-19. Inventory of the archives: Van Rooij 1963.

<sup>1020</sup> Kappelhof 1990, pp. 515-517.

<sup>1021</sup> The accounts of the Groot Gasthuis have not been kept integrally: for the 16th century the accounts from 1500 until June 1502 have been preserved, then the ones from June 1532 until November 1550, and finally the account from June 1562 until June 1563 has come down to us. The next account starts in June 1603. All to be found in the inventory: Van Rooij 1963, volume 1, pp. 48-49, Inv. nos. 617-638a.

<sup>1022</sup> The *Lof* was sung by the sexton of the chapel of St Anne, for example in 1547-48: *Item den custer van Sint Anna capel vanden loff een jaer lanck te singen tsavons, ij gulden* (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 393, Inv. no. 635, fol. 54v). The accounts of the Groot Gasthuis from the period Gheerkin de Hondt worked in ’s-Hertogenbosch do not suggest that the musicians of the Sint-Jan were involved in singing in the Groot Gasthuis. According to Kappelhof, this was the case from at least the 17th century onwards on the feast of St Elisabeth of Thüringen – 19 November – the so-called *kermisdach* of the Gasthuis (Kappelhof 1990, pp. 517).

<sup>1023</sup> Kappelhof 1992; Van Rooij 1928. I have not been able to see a copy of Broeder Denijs/Heyerman/Van Rooy 1954. An inventory was made by Van Rooij 1932.

<sup>1024</sup> Kappelhof 1981, p. 3.

show their compassion with the needy: they could make private foundations, but also could donate money to one of the over thirty organisations helping their fellow citizens.

## 6.8 The 1540s

In the 1540s the city of 's-Hertogenbosch was stable both in the number of inhabitants (around 20,000) and economically. As the most northern and fourth town in the duchy of Brabant, 's-Hertogenbosch fulfilled a central position in the Low Countries. Because of this geographical location, the city and its surroundings (the Meierij) were many times literally the buffer between Habsburg and Guelders. The Habsburg rulers kept claiming the area of Gelderland. In the 1540s – when Gheerkin de Hondt was the 's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeester* – the contest reached a climax.<sup>1025</sup> The duke of Guelders, William of Cleve, had become the ally of the French King Francis I. Together they went to war against Emperor Charles V, Brabant being right in the middle of their territories. In 1542-1543, the feared commander-in-chief of Guelders Maarten van Rossum besieged the city several times.<sup>1026</sup> The Meierij suffered most: villages were plundered and burned down.

During the sieges of Maarten van Rossum, the situation became at some points so threatening that even the yearly July processions of 1542 and 1543 could not take place in the usual way.<sup>1027</sup> In 1543, the 's-Hertogenbosch inhabitants living in Antwerp were not summoned to come to their hometown.<sup>1028</sup> Pomp and circumstances were omitted: the mystery plays were not performed<sup>1029</sup> and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap was not able to get musicians from out of town to play around their Marian statue as usual. Finally, the war came to an end on 7

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<sup>1025</sup> The period is described in: Kuijer 2000, pp. 311-315. On the visits of the dukes and duchesses of Brabant: Koldewey 1990a.

<sup>1026</sup> The city accounts of 1541/42, 1542/43 and 1543/44 mention the threats and attacks in combination with the arrangements made by the city government many times to defend their town and the support they received from among others the troops of the Count of Buren [Maximiliaan van Egmond] and the Prince of Orange [René of Châlon] (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1393, 1394 and 1395).

<sup>1027</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 49, 291-292.

<sup>1028</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 93v.

<sup>1029</sup> See also SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 184r.

September 1543 with the Treaty of Venlo, where William of Cleve handed over Guelders to Habsburg rule.<sup>1030</sup>

In the light of the political troubles, the Habsburg rulers visited 's-Hertogenbosch a few times. On 21 August 1540, Charles V came to town in person to inspect the fortifications.<sup>1031</sup> The emperor stayed at the house of Henrick Proening van Deventer (one of the Swan Brethren of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap),<sup>1032</sup> later renamed the *Keizershof* after the emperor (demolished in 1871).<sup>1033</sup> The city accounts refer to the visit a few times.<sup>1034</sup> Therefore we know that Charles came from Holland (from the direction of Heusden) and arrived on 21 August and that he was accompanied by many important men, among them the count of Buren (Maximiliaan), but we do not have any information on Charles's singers following him. The city gave the emperor a festive welcome: the civic guards and the guilds fully dressed waited for him at the city gates, accompanied by six city trumpeters and eight drummers. The governors also provided the emperor and his retinue with wine and food and made sure the house of Henrick van Deventer was safe for their ruler. It must have been a festive period for the inhabitants of 's-Hertogenbosch, because only one day before Charles arrived – coincidental or not – on 20 August 1540, the new bishop of Liège came to town.<sup>1035</sup> And although this must have been a visit to the chapter and church of Sint-Jan, the most northern place in his diocese, the city administrators welcomed him with wine.

Charles V returned to 's-Hertogenbosch in December 1545, this time on his way to Utrecht, where he would chair the twenty-first Chapter of the Golden Fleece.<sup>1036</sup> According to the city accounts<sup>1037</sup> he arrived on 4 December and was warmly welcomed by the city government accompanied by the four civic guards and the guilds, with five trumpeters and ten drummers. The entire welcoming committee carried 120 *toirtsen* (torches). The bells of the Sint-Jan were rung in the afternoon and the evening of 4 December, which was also the feast of St Barbara. Before the

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<sup>1030</sup> Also mentioned in SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 192r.

<sup>1031</sup> Kuijer 2000, p. 313.

<sup>1032</sup> On further biographical details see: <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, no. 390.

<sup>1033</sup> On the *Keizershof* and archaeological excavations there: Boekwijt 2012, pp. 75-85; Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 76-77; Janssen 2008; De Bruijn 2003.

<sup>1034</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 77v-78v, fol. 82v-83r, fol. 106v, fol. 128v-129r; OSA 1392, fol. 215v.

<sup>1035</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 82v.

<sup>1036</sup> Kuijer 2000, p. 318.

<sup>1037</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1397, fol. 205r, fol. 211r, 218r-219r, 262r-264v, 267r.

city hall the fire pans were lit for sixteen evenings.<sup>1038</sup> Among the large group of followers of the emperor were many counts, princes and other highly placed men. Because of an attack of gout the emperor stayed longer in 's-Hertogenbosch than originally planned: from 4 to 28 December.<sup>1039</sup> For the second time, Henrick van Deventer was his host. According to the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, in honour of Charles, for four nights in a row the bells were rung for the *lof van onsser liever vrouwen*.<sup>1040</sup> Accompanying the emperor were his singers, among them the composer Thomas Crecquillon. Charles left on 28 December to go to Buren, where he dined with his general the count of Buren:<sup>1041</sup> Maximiliaan van Egmond, knight of the Golden Fleece and Swan Brother of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.

Charles's sister Mary of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, also visited 's-Hertogenbosch a few times. In 1539 she had chosen 's-Hertogenbosch for a meeting of the States of Brabant.<sup>1042</sup> Mary arrived on 11 July 1539 and stayed with Henrick van Deventer, just as her brother the emperor would do a year later. She had brought a large retinue, among them her chapel, with *zangmeester* Benedictus Appenzeller. The singers of the governess joined the singers of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, singing the weekly Mass on Wednesday 16 July.<sup>1043</sup> Six years later, on 27 July 1545, Mary of Hungary arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch on her way from Guelders to Flanders.<sup>1044</sup> In her retinue must have been her *zangmeester* Benedictus Appenzeller again, because he sang with six choirboys for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap around 1 August.<sup>1045</sup> Both times, in 1539 and 1545, the singers most likely also sang together for the chapter, but that cannot be confirmed, since the accounts are lost. Finally, on 1 September 1547, the governess came to 's-Hertogenbosch again, once more with a large entourage, but this time the goal of her visit is not clear from the city accounts<sup>1046</sup> nor from the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.

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<sup>1038</sup> It remains unclear which evenings, because the emperor stayed until 28 December and therefore twenty-four days.

<sup>1039</sup> See also: Gachard 1874, p. 313.

<sup>1040</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 236 (no. 91).

<sup>1041</sup> Gachard 1874, p. 314.

<sup>1042</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1390, fol. 184r-v, fol. 192v, 195r-198r, 240r-v.

<sup>1043</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 249-250 (nos. 65 and 68).

<sup>1044</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396, fol. [C 9r].

<sup>1045</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 257 (no. 115). Since they helped singing the Mass, it was probably the weekly Mass on Wednesday 29 July. Benedictus's wife Liennaertken from Brussels had become an external member of the Broederschap in the year 1544/45 (Van Dijck 1973, p. 257 en Vente 1963a, pp. 38 en 40; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 218r).

<sup>1046</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [B 7v].

These examples show us that important singers came to town, who joined the singers in the Sint-Jan during liturgical activities. A few months before Charles V came to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1545 and shortly after Mary of Hungary and Benedictus Appenzeller had left town, Gheerkin de Hondt was honoured by a visit of his colleagues from the chapel of Charles.<sup>1047</sup> The *zangmeester* of the emperor, either Cornelius Canis or Thomas Crecquillon,<sup>1048</sup> four singers and the choirboys joined the singers of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August).

The life and actions of Charles V were the occasion for extra processions a few times. In June 1543 the bells of the Sint-Jan were rung three times a day for four days, to celebrate the safe arrival of Charles V in Italy, on his way from Spain to the Low Countries. On the 17th of that month, three 'fire pans' were lit on the tower of the church. The *beierman* was paid because he had *gebeyert*.<sup>1049</sup> The Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap sponsored two poor people who carried two torches during a procession that was held in Charles's honour on the same day (the Sunday before the feast of St John the Baptist, in 1543 on 17 June).<sup>1050</sup> In early October 1544, a procession was held in honour of Charles V and the peace between him and the King of France.<sup>1051</sup> A few years later, on the feast of St Servatius (13 May) in 1547, another procession was held: this time to celebrate the victory of Charles V over the duke of Saxony and the fact that his rival had been captured in the battle of Mühlberg.<sup>1052</sup> The Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap also contributed: they paid two boys to carry torches.<sup>1053</sup>

We are not informed on music in general in the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, except for some information on the city trumpeters. The city government yearly paid four of them for their duties and their gown (*tabbart*).<sup>1054</sup> Furthermore, a night

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<sup>1047</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 67 and 257 (no. 116).

<sup>1048</sup> It remains unclear who was at that point the actual *zangmeester*, but both sang in Charles's chapel. On this matter: Rudolf 1977, pp. 24-26; Hudson/Ham 2001; Bernstein 2001. On the chapel of Charles V: Maes 1999, pages 149-152 on Crecquillon and Canis.

<sup>1049</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 183v-184r.

<sup>1050</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 163v.

<sup>1051</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396, fol. [h 6v; sic: 7v].

<sup>1052</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [ff 5r].

<sup>1053</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 133, fol. 239v-240r.

<sup>1054</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 63v-64r, 126v: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthoeniss., Jannen Cornelis. and Gregorius van Utrecht; OSA 1392 (1540/41), fol. 176v, 222v, 223v: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthoeniss. Jannen Corneliss. and Gregorius van Utrecht; OSA 1393 (1541/42), fol. 59r, 161v, 170r: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthoeniss. Jannen Corneliss. and Gregorius van Utrecht; OSA 1394 (1542/43), fol. 58r, 184v: Jannen van Eyck, Jan Anthoeniss., Jan Corneliss., Gregorius van Utrecht had left, replaced 05-03-

watchman was paid every year to blow the horn during the night every hour on the town hall.<sup>1055</sup> The city trumpeters wore a silver *broetzie* (brooch) and a bracelet on their gown. In 1530 the city government had made new ones. On 23 December of that year, the city trumpeters had to sign a contract in which they promised to return the brooch and bracelet when they left duty, or instead pay 20 golden guilders. Three of the contracts have been preserved: for Jannen Anthoniss., Jannen van Eyck and Jannen Corneliss.<sup>1056</sup> Since the accounts of the city of 1530 mention Peter van Groeningen as fourth *stadspijper*, his contract must be missing.<sup>1057</sup> Today, examples of both the brooch and the bracelet have been preserved.<sup>1058</sup> The brooch contains the city arms, the bracelet the city name *s Hertogenbossche* ('s-Hertogenbosch) as a rebus: *hert* is visualised as a hart, *ogen* as a pair of eyes.

A curiosity in the city accounts is a reference to a mystery play on 19 April 1546. As we have seen before, the city government contributed to mystery plays during the large July procession. Only this once do the city accounts mention a play considering the Passion, which was performed on the Markt, in the late evening (or even in the night) on Palm Sunday. The item mentions *nae alder gewoenten*, suggesting that the play was performed every year. We do not have a clue if music was involved, but most likely music was part of the ceremony.<sup>1059</sup>

Compared to Bruges and Delft, 's-Hertogenbosch was not the most quiet city. Gheerkin de Hondt came to work in on the final day of 1539. The geographical position of 's-Hertogenbosch between Habsburg and Guelders territory made

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1543 by Jan Hendricxs.; OSA 1395 (1543/44), fol. 201v, 279v: Jannen van Eyck, Jan Anthoeniss., Jan Corneliss. and Jan Henricxs.; OSA 1396 (1544/45), fol. [A 9r], [j 8r], [j 11v-12r]: Jannen van Eyck, Jan Anthoeniss., Jan Corneliss. and Jan Henricxs.; OSA 1397 (1545/46), fol. 201r, 275r: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthoniss., Jannen Corneliss. and Jannen Henricxz.; OSA 1398 (1546/47), fol. [A 5v], [ff 6v]: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthonisz., Jan Corneliss. and Jannen Henrixz..

<sup>1055</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391 (1539/40), fol. 63v: Peteren van Boextel; OSA 1392 (1540/41), fol. 176v: Michielen; OSA 1393 (1541/42), fol. 59r: Michielen Willemssoen; OSA 1394 (1542/43), fol. 58r: Michielen Willemss.; OSA 1395 (1543/44), fol. 201v: Michiel Willemss.; OSA 1396 (1544/45), fol. [A 9r]: Michiel Willemss.; OSA 1397 (1545/46), fol. Michiel Willemsz.; OSA 1398 (1546/47), fol. [A 5v]: Michiel Willemsz..

<sup>1056</sup> Respectively SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 3154, 3155 and 3156.

<sup>1057</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1382, fol. [C 5v]. Peter van Groeningen was a *stadspijper* for many years.

<sup>1058</sup> Agterberg 1981, pp. 20 and 22; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 60-62.

<sup>1059</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1397, fol. 267v. Appendix 3, 1546, 19 April. Palm Sunday came on 18 April.



Gheerkin's stay in the most northern city of Brabant at least exciting. But the importance of the location was also an advantage: both the Emperor and the governess came to town, bringing their top musicians with them, who in fact also came without their employers. That does say something about the high musical standards in 's-Hertogenbosch, having only one large church – the Sint-Jan – housing both a chapter for canons and a parish for the 'ordinary' citizens. For that matter, the transfer from Bruges was an improvement and a step up the career ladder.

## Chapter 7      's-Hertogenbosch: *meester Gerit die Hont van Brugge*

The fascinating panoramic view of 's-Hertogenbosch that Antoon vanden Wijngaerde drew in colour around 1550 shows us what the medieval city Gheerkin de Hondt entered at the end of 1539 looked like.<sup>1060</sup> It shows us a walled city with many towers of churches, convents and chapels. Between those towers, we see numerous house fronts and roofs belonging to the citizens. The (water)ways leading to the town show us people with horses and carts, horsemen, windmills, cattle and little ships. High above towers the middle steeple of the church of Sint-Jan, with the bronze statue of St John. According to a contemporary (anonymous) source,<sup>1061</sup> St John held a chalice in his hand and was turned around by the wind, indicating its direction.

A rather accurate map of 's-Hertogenbosch was prepared during Gheerkin de Hondt's time there in 1545 by Jacob van Deventer,<sup>1062</sup> who also drew a map of Bruges and many other towns in the Low Countries. The network of streets is clearly visible, but only the (militarily) most important buildings have been drawn in a bird's-eye view. Among them are the three large and five small town gates, as well as five water gates.

The earliest painting we have of the central square, the Markt, is an anonymous panel dated around 1530, shortly before Gheerkin de Hondt arrived.<sup>1063</sup> The painting was commissioned by the guild of either the cloth sellers or the drapers, perhaps for an altar in the church of Sint-Jan or for the room where they held their meetings (possibly in the church of the Franciscans). It shows the cloth sellers during the weekly 's-Hertogenbosch market. In the foreground, we see St Francis of Assisi, the

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<sup>1060</sup> Pirenne 1955; Galera i Monegal 1998, p. 162. Original in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Clar. Lar. Vol. IV, 45 (Sutherland Collection); a reproduction in: Roelvink 2002, pp. 16-17 and Verhees/Vos 2005, cover (book jacket) and pp. 16-17. The drawing is not 100% accurate.

<sup>1061</sup> Desmense 1995, p. 33. Desmense dates the source between 1544 and 1552.

<sup>1062</sup> Koeman/Visser 1992, map 8, no. 100; Verhees/Vos 2005, pp. 14-15; Kuyer/Kappelhof/Timmermans 2001, pp. 28-30.

<sup>1063</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum, Inv. no. 01596. Jacobs 2000; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 100-101.

son of a cloth seller and patron of both the Franciscans and the cloth sellers. On the left, we see the well house<sup>1064</sup> – since 1522 crowned with the Habsburg eagle<sup>1065</sup> – and a pillory – crowned with a so-called ‘chapel (little house) of Our Lady’ containing a statue of the Virgin.<sup>1066</sup> This pillory was therefore also called the *Lieve Vrouwe Huisken* or the *Heylich Huysken*, a place of worship for the Blessed Virgin. Besides being a pillory and a place of worship, its third (main?) function was a market cross: a cross indicating that ’s-Hertogenbosch had market privileges (including the safe-conduct of visitors to the free markets) and reminding people that they had to behave well and remain peaceful. The perspectives in the painting are not correct, but the houses that are depicted (from the Kerkstraat in the direction of the Hoge Steenweg) seem to be fairly accurate. A second well-known painting of the 16th-century Markt presenting the well house and the pillory/chapel/market cross as well as many medieval house fronts is by Jan van Diepenbeeck and dates from somewhere between 1579 and 1625.<sup>1067</sup> It shows us the so-called *Schermersoproer* (‘the revolt of the riflemen’) of 1579 and was commissioned by the city government for the yearly remembrance of the victory of the Catholics over the Calvinists.

Situated at the Markt was the city hall. In the same period that the painting of the Lakenmarkt was created, the city hall was renewed.<sup>1068</sup> A drawing dated 7 July 1632 by the famous Pieter Jans. Saenredam gives us a detailed impression of the (now demolished) new façade of the building, bearing the date 1533.<sup>1069</sup> Building activities had started in 1529, after a design by Jan Darkennis, building master of the Sint-Jan, who would also sign the contract for the new design of the house of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap a few years later. Four statues embellish the front, picturing duchess Joanna of Brabant (1322-1406) and her spouse Wenceslaus I, duke of Luxembourg, and Emperor Charles V and his grandfather Maximilian I. The façade also shows us Charles’s coat of arms (above the door), a clock and a

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<sup>1064</sup> On this well house: Vink 2013a.

<sup>1065</sup> On the crowning of the well house: Glaudemans 2012a.

<sup>1066</sup> On this ‘chapel of Our Lady’: Van der Vaart 2012; Vink 2013b.

<sup>1067</sup> ’s-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum, Inv. no. 00852.

<sup>1068</sup> Kuijer 2000, p. 325; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 36-37. On the building history and the predecessors: Van Drunen 2006, pp. 334-335 and Van Drunen 2002a.

<sup>1069</sup> The drawing is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Object number RP-T-1898-A-3657, to be seen on the website of the Museum (<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl>). Please note that it only concerns the central portion, the two parts on the left and right (the *Gaffel* and *Sinterklaes*) date from 1607 (Koldewey 1990c, p. 381). The same goes for two other depictions of the 16th-century city hall by Jan A. van Beerstraten: a full colour painting entitled *Gezicht op de Markt te ’s-Hertogenbosch*, dated 1665 (now in Noordbrabants Museum, Inv. no. 11785.058) and a drawing dated around the same time (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Inv. no. 5091).

'horseplay' playing when the clock strikes. The building left of the city hall was called the Gaffel. It was used by the city government as a reception room to receive and treat guests with food and wine. During Gheerkin's stay in 's-Hertogenbosch it was renovated, including the addition of a new gilded porch.<sup>1070</sup>

Recently, Ronald Glaudemans made a 3D-reconstruction of the neighbourhood of the Sint-Jan and the Markt around 1550,<sup>1071</sup> an area well known by Gheerkin de Hondt. Now we can take an imaginary walk through 's-Hertogenbosch in Gheerkin's time, for example from the house of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, to the richly ornamented Sint-Jan, the *Geefhuis* with its beautifully oak polychromed relief on the façade (dated circa 1525) showing the distribution of bread and other goods to the poor,<sup>1072</sup> along the chapel of St Anne, and through the *Gevangenpoort* to the Markt.<sup>1073</sup> Gheerkin de Hondt must have taken this route many times.

## 7.1 Appointment

The first concrete reference to Gheerkin de Hondt in 's-Hertogenbosch dates from the autumn of 1539 and is to be found in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Sometime between 13 October and 7 November 1539, the organist of the Broederschap – meester Jan Bosschart van Brugge – was paid to travel to Bruges, to hire *meester Gerit den sangmeester*.<sup>1074</sup> Gheerkin's duties started on the last day of December, so he must have arrived on that day or shortly before.<sup>1075</sup>

Remarkable is that there is no mention of an audition or something similar, Gheerkin is simply appointed. Normally, the Broederschap and the chapter of Sint-

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<sup>1070</sup> Koldewey 1990c, p. 377.

<sup>1071</sup> Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 202-203.

<sup>1072</sup> Koldewey 1990c, pp. 204-205 and Koldewey 1990b, p. 514-515. The heavily damaged relief is now in the Noordbrabants Museum (Inv. no. 719).

<sup>1073</sup> On the building history of the houses on the Markt and its direct surroundings: Van Drunen 2006. Also: Van Drunen 1983b.

<sup>1074</sup> Appendix 3, 1539, between 13 October and 7 November. Previously published by Smijers 1955, p. 217. The first one to notice the appointment of Gheerkin, however, was Bank 1939a, p. 103.

<sup>1075</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 226v. Appendix 3, 1539, 31 December. The phrase *want hy den selven dach comen was* can be interpreted in two ways: he actually arrived on that day, or he arrived at the Broederschap to start his duties and was already in town, the latter being the most likely interpretation. Previously published by Smijers 1955, p. 222.

Jan would decide together if they wished to hire a new singer, after they had been convinced of his qualities. So appointing a new *zangmeester* without an audition is rather unusual. Nevertheless, there is a good explanation.

On 1 February 1537, the *zangmeester* of the Broederschap and the chapter, Sebastiaan de Porta, had died.<sup>1076</sup> The Broederschap and chapter chose a new *zangmeester*, Anthonis van Bergen. However, Anthonis's former employer did not give him permission to leave, so Anthonis returned to Bergen.<sup>1077</sup> The search for a new *zangmeester* started, and until he was found, *intoneerder* Jan van Wintelroy<sup>1078</sup> temporarily fulfilled the position from 14 August onwards.<sup>1079</sup>

In September 1538, two possible candidates for the position arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch. One came from Bruges (where Gheerkin de Hondt was working at that time), the other from Veere (Zeeland). The Brethren did have a strong preference for the *zangmeester* from Bruges, and presented their choice to the priests of the chapter. The priests, however, appointed the other candidate, from Veere, without giving notice to the sworn members of the Broederschap. The Brethren did not accept this and demanded that the new *zangmeester* receive lower remunerations than usual, because he was appointed against their will. The priests of the chapter then admitted that they were wrong, but in the end, on 2 October 1538, the *zangmeester* from Veere, master Adriaen, was appointed anyway.<sup>1080</sup> His colleague from Bruges apparently returned to his hometown, with reimbursement for his expenses.<sup>1081</sup>

About a year later, we come to the account item which says that the organist Jan Bosschart van Brugge is sent to Bruges for Gheerkin de Hondt. Why Adriaen van Veere had to leave remains a mystery, but that it was not a voluntary departure becomes clear from the accounts of the Broederschap, where a payment of two guilders is written down for the leave of master Adriaen, who was complaining about the Broederschap.<sup>1082</sup> Adriaen even stayed until after the fifth banquet of that year (29 December), clearly 'waiting' for Gheerkin de Hondt, who started his career for the Broederschap on 31 December 1539.

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<sup>1076</sup> Smijers 1955, p. 229.

<sup>1077</sup> Bergen is not specified in the documents of the Broederschap, but most likely either Bergen (Mons) in Hainaut (Belgium) or Bergen op Zoom in Brabant is meant.

<sup>1078</sup> Variations in name: Wintelroy, Wintelre, Winkelrode, Vinkenrode (Vente 1963a, p. 34).

<sup>1079</sup> Smijers 1955, p. 214 and Vente 1963a, p. 34.

<sup>1080</sup> The situation is extensively described in the archives of the Broederschap, previously published by Smijers 1955, pp. 229-230. See also: Van Dijck 1973, p. 255.

<sup>1081</sup> Smijers 1955, p. 211. Smijers mentions in a note that this was somewhere between 2 and 8 September 1538. See also: Appendix 3, 1538, between 2 and 8 September.

<sup>1082</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 207v-208r.

Although the name of the *zangmeester* from Bruges is not mentioned in the archives related to the incident in September 1538, most likely it was Gheerkin de Hondt who applied for the position of *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch then. This is suggested by the fact that he was sent for a year later, without having to audition. This indicates at least that the Broederschap and the chapter had already heard him before. Perhaps it was the organist, also coming from Bruges and appointed in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1535, who already drew attention to him in 1538.<sup>1083</sup>

Gheerkin de Hondt's contract – or that of any of the other *zangmeesters* in the 16th century or before – is missing. However, Gheerkin's duties in general can be derived from the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. First of all, he had to sing during the liturgical activities in the Broederschap chapel, and during other festivities. This meant singing during the weekly Vespers and Mass, feasts, memorial services, the *Lof* services, the yearly procession and the banquets.

As *zangmeester*, Gheerkin directed the group of singers and choirboys. This most likely also implied that he was co-responsible for recruiting the singers and boys. During his stay in 's-Hertogenbosch Gheerkin himself went looking for new singers only once: in May 1543 he travelled to Amsterdam and Leiden. In Leiden he had to talk to *basconter* Anthonius van Tricht, who already had been selected by *hoogconter* Henrick de Mol van Mechelen,<sup>1084</sup> but who was not appointed (or did not want to come) in the end. Henrick's journey lasted nine days, in which he also travelled to The Hague and Dordrecht to recruit two or three other singers.

This strong demand for new singers repeated itself and therefore the Broederschap actively searched for singers several times during Gheerkin's employment.<sup>1085</sup> Between 23 and 30 August 1540, Jan van Wintelroy, one of the *intoneerders*, was sent to Antwerp for Cornelis, a bass singer.<sup>1086</sup> Cornelis did not stay very long in 's-Hertogenbosch, since on 1 September he had already left for his hometown Oirschot, without asking for permission. He would not return, in spite of the attempt of the Broederschap, who sent a messenger to get him back.<sup>1087</sup> A few months later, in April or early May 1541, bass singer Anthonis went to Dordrecht to

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<sup>1083</sup> The available publications on the Bruges churches (the many articles of Dewitte; Andriessen 2002) do not mention an organist named Jan Bosschart in Bruges in the 1520s-1530s.

<sup>1084</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 254, no. 97 and 98. Van Nieuwkoop 1975, p. III, incorrectly states that the journey took place in the year 1541-42.

<sup>1085</sup> As we shall see below under Colleagues, many guest singers came to 's-Hertogenbosch to try to become a member of the group of singers, but most of them were not admitted.

<sup>1086</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 272v (transcription in: Smijers 1955, p. 223).

<sup>1087</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 274r and 296v (Smijers 1955, pp. 224 and 228).

find a new fellow bass, but he did not succeed.<sup>1088</sup> Between 3 and 11 July of that same year, one of the sworn Brethren – Gerard Willegermans – travelled from Antwerp to Bergen to recruit two singers of the late Lord of Bergen, also a mission without success.<sup>1089</sup> May 1543 until January 1546 seems to have been rather quiet on the active recruiting front. Only on the eve of Epiphany 1546, Tuesday 5 January, a certain Frans Cnol was sent to Bruges to get a new bass singer who had been recommended. He probably did not succeed, since he was then sent to Ghent for the bass singer Jan Wynnen (successfully).<sup>1090</sup>

Two years after his arrival in 's-Hertogenbosch, Gheerkin's general duties were extended. Probably following his suggestion, the Broederschap had decided to appoint two choirboys instead of one male high voice (*boven sanck*). Gheerkin de Hondt received 2 Carolus guilders for the maintenance of the boys.<sup>1091</sup> Only half a year later, he received 3 more Carolus guilders for these two extra boys, because the total number of choirboys had risen to eight.<sup>1092</sup> From then on, every year the accounts mention a yearly payment of 34 Carolus guilders for *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt to maintain the eight choirboys singing for the Broederschap. The payment was equally divided into four terms: on the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June), *Bamis* (the feast of St Bavo, 1 October), Christmas (25 December) and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (25 March). Special notice is given: the Broederschap at all times has the right to stop the arrangement when it wants. Moreover, the agreement is based on confidence: no specific underlying document was drawn up. The deal was made together with the chapter of Sint-Jan, thus suggesting that the chapter paid an equal amount of money and the total sum came to 68 guilders a year.<sup>1093</sup> Since the precise task is not described, we can only guess

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<sup>1088</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 285v (Smijers 1955, p. 226).

<sup>1089</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 76.

<sup>1090</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 257, nos. 120-122. The accounts are not clear in this matter: first the arrival of Jan Wynnen is mentioned (added later?), then the journey by Frans Cnol to first Bruges and then Ghent. Finally the arrival of Jan Wynnen is mentioned again. Furthermore, the journey to Bruges was originally written as Ghent, which was immediately crossed out and replaced by Bruges (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 312v-313r).

<sup>1091</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 30v. For a transcription see Appendix 3, 1541, between 5 and 14 November. Also: Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 79.

<sup>1092</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 44r. For a transcription see Appendix 3, 1542, between 8 and 16 June. Also: Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 80.

<sup>1093</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 116rv (1542/43), fol. 198r (1543/44), fol. 264r (1544/45), fol. 334r (1545/46); Inv. no. 132, fol. 255r (1546/47). For an example transcription see Appendix 3, 1543, between 13 and 19 May. Also: Roelvink 2002, p. 254, no. 99.

what ‘keeping’ (*houden*) or ‘maintaining’ (*onderhouden*) the choirboys meant. As we shall see below, in the paragraph on his departure, Gheerkin was dismissed in October 1547 because his wife had not taken good care of the boys, so we may assume that the boys lived with Gheerkin de Hondt and his wife.<sup>1094</sup> Part of the obligations must also have been the teaching of the choirboys, at least musically.

Being the director of the group of singers, the *zangmeester* was most likely responsible for choosing the music to be sung during the liturgy. And since a *zangmeester* in the 16th-century Low Countries was also usually a composer, personal compositions will have been in the repertoire. Two of Gheerkin’s masses are included in one of the choirbooks of the Broederschap: the *Missa Ceciliaam cantate pii* and the *Missa In te Domine speravi*.<sup>1095</sup> In March 1540, the accounts of the Broederschap also refer to *sommige moutetten* (some motets) Gheerkin wrote *in de eere van der bruederscappe* (in honour of the Broederschap).<sup>1096</sup> No specification is given, so we do not know which motets are meant, but *Benedicite Dominus* might well have been one of them.<sup>1097</sup>

The accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap do not give us any information on where Gheerkin de Hondt lived. But there is another source that could help us in this matter.

## 7.2 The tax lists of 1547

On 27 February 1547 the city government decided to levy taxes of 1/16 of a Carolus guilder (6.25 per cent, a *braspenninck*) of the rent value of each house, to be paid by either the tenant or the owner. Although the economy kept flourishing in the 1540s, the taxes were probably necessary because of the large deficits in the years between 1541/42 and 1546/47.<sup>1098</sup> The city account of 1546/47 therefore shows us the tax revenues per quarter (*blok*). If the owner lived in the house himself, the *blokmeesters*

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<sup>1094</sup> This was not unusual in collegiate churches in the southern Low Countries (Bouckaert 2000a and Bouckaert 200b).

<sup>1095</sup> On these masses see Chapter 14.

<sup>1096</sup> Appendix 3, 1540, between 15 and 20 March. Also: Smijers 1948-1955, p. 218; Van Lanschot 1874.

<sup>1097</sup> See § 6.4.12 and Chapter 14. Smijers 1946, p. 29 suggests that the motets could be the anonymous motets in the Codex Smijers (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 152).

<sup>1098</sup> Kuijer 2000, p. 326. The statement that the city government spent more than it received is correct (SAHt, OSA, Inv. nos. 1393–1398).



would determine the value of the house, on which the rent would be based. The *blokmeesters* were also responsible for collecting the taxes.<sup>1099</sup>

Many names occur in the lists of amounts of money that enriched the city funds. Since this should be a complete overview of those living in town when Gheerkin de Hondt worked there, we should be able to find out where Gheerkin and his colleagues lived. Unfortunately, the full name of our *zangmeester* does not occur in the lists. But we do find a certain *M. Gerit, meester Gerit*, living in the quarter of the Markt.<sup>1100</sup> Since Gheerkin de Hondt was called Gerit die Hont in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, this *M. Gerit* might well be Gheerkin de Hondt. With 516 Carolus guilders out of a total of almost 2,378 Carolus guilders, the *blok* of the Markt paid (out of nine quarters) by far the majority of the taxes. *M. Gerit* was responsible for 6 *stuivers* and 1 *oirt*.<sup>1101</sup> Comparing this sum to other people, it is not much, since we know Gheerkin had a top position in 's-Hertogenbosch and worked many hours a week.<sup>1102</sup> And since the last name of *M. Gerit* is missing, it is at least doubtful if the person referred to is Gheerkin de Hondt.

A curious reference is in the payments of the quarter of the Hinthamerstraat. There we find a certain *Anneken sanghmeesters* who paid 10 *stuivers* and 1 *oirt*.<sup>1103</sup> *Anneken sanghmeesters* is to be interpreted as 'Anneken, the wife (or daughter or even widow?) of the *zangmeester*'. The last 's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeester* of whom we know the name of his wife was Sebastiaan de Porta, who had died himself in 1537 and whose wife had died in 1530 and was named Barbara.<sup>1104</sup> That leaves Anneke as possibly the wife of Gheerkin de Hondt. However, a general tax round in 1552 makes it clear that this cannot be the case, since there we find the reference again and Gheerkin de Hondt had left town by then.<sup>1105</sup> The 1552 city account also clarifies that Anneken lived near the chapel or one of the streets around it having Anna in their names.<sup>1106</sup> That means that the *sanghmeester* was living near the chapel of Sint-Anna. However, this would indicate that – because the reference is also found in 1552 – the

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<sup>1099</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, from fol. [C Jr] onwards. On these taxes see also: Van de Laar 1979, pp. 78-79, 102. A typed version by L.J.A. van de Laar is available: SAHt, Collectie Van der Laar, cahier 10.

<sup>1100</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [C VII]v].

<sup>1101</sup> A *braspenninck* equaled 1.25 *stuivers*, an *oirt* equals 1/4 *stuiver*. *M. Gerit* paid 5 *braspenninck*. The rent of the house was therefore 5 Carolus guilders.

<sup>1102</sup> On his social position, see Chapter 9.

<sup>1103</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [G 11r].

<sup>1104</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 313.

<sup>1105</sup> There is the possibility that Gheerkin left 's-Hertogenbosch without his wife (in the end she seems to have been the reason he was fired), but that seems far-fetched.

<sup>1106</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404, fol. 48v. In this city account, *Anna sanghmeesters* lives in the Rechtestraet, between the *Sinte Annen straetken* and *Achter St Anna capelle*.

's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeester* always lived in the same house, rather far away from the Sint-Jan, where he had his main function and that is very hard to believe. We must therefore conclude that it remains a mystery who is meant by *Anneken sanghmeesters*.<sup>1107</sup>

We do find people in the tax list of 1547 that Gheerkin de Hondt must have known.<sup>1108</sup> We find Jan van Vinckenroye (Jan van Wintelroy, the *intoneerder*) in the quarter of the Kerkstraat paying 30 stuivers,<sup>1109</sup> M. Henrick dorgelmeker (Henrick Niehoff, the organ builder) in the quarter of the Weverplaats paying 20 stuivers,<sup>1110</sup> Jaspar clockgieter (Jaspar Moer, bell-founder) paying 21 stuivers and 1 oirt<sup>1111</sup> and Jan clockgieter paying 10 stuivers, both in the quarter of the Vughterstraat,<sup>1112</sup> and Arnt die sanger also in the area of the Vughterstraat paying 5 stuivers.<sup>1113</sup> However, the lists do not give us complete information on every citizen in 's-Hertogenbosch, because none of the singers who were Gheerkin's colleagues appear in the lists (except for Jan van Wintelroy). We miss, for example, Gommaer van Lier and Henrick de Mol van Mechelen, both singers for the Broederschap for many years.<sup>1114</sup> We also do not find references to Philippus de Spina (*intoneerder* from 1531-1566 and scribe) and the organist Jan Bosschart van Brugge (organist 1535-1561).<sup>1115</sup>

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<sup>1107</sup> Likewise situations occur with *Meriken zanghers* and *Meriken clockgieters* (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D IXv] and [D Xr]).

<sup>1108</sup> There are also references to Henrick die Hont die Jonghe and Henrick die Hont doude. Henrick die Jonghe was a member of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, but there seems to be no family tie with the De Hondt family of Gheerkin de Hondt from Bruges. On this 's-Hertogenbosch Die Hont family: <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, no. 498. We also find references to people bearing the name Die Hont in the indexes on the Bosch' Protocol (*Schepenprotocol*), but here too none of them seems to have had any relation to the Bruges family where Gheerkin descended from (on the Bosch' Protocol in general: Van Synghel 1993). The same goes for the indexes on the Poorterboeken (the originals are kept in SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 3267); the new *poorters* were also registered in the city accounts every year.

<sup>1109</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D III]v]. In 1552 we find him again, now the street he lived in is mentioned: the Peperstraat (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404, fol. 54v).

<sup>1110</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D Xr].

<sup>1111</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D2 IXr].

<sup>1112</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D2 IXv]. The bell-foundry was indeed in that area.

<sup>1113</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D2 IXr]. He is not to be found in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Perhaps he was a singer who was only appointed by chapter.

<sup>1114</sup> See § 7.3.

<sup>1115</sup> In 1552 *Meester Jan dorganist* is one of the neighbours of Henrick Niehoff, living in the quarter of the Weverplaats, *Inden bogaert* (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404, fol. 64r). In the 1552 lists we do find more singers: Hensken [Henrick de Mol van Mechelen?], Joest

Altogether, the tax lists of 1547 do not seem to be complete and we are not able to derive from them where Gheerkin de Hondt lived during his employment in 's-Hertogenbosch. But since we know that he probably lived in the same house as the choirboys, he must have lived in a house that was owned by the chapter and those houses were not listed in the 1547 tax lists.<sup>1116</sup> In 1526 the choirboys lived in their own house in the Choorstraat,<sup>1117</sup> so we may safely assume that this was the house where Gheerkin de Hondt lived too.

### 7.3 Colleagues<sup>1118</sup>

A Latin text named *Laus Phani Busciducensis*, dated between 1544 and 1552, pays a tribute to the singers and especially the organist of the Sint-Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch:

Let us focus quickly on the things that delight the ear. There is no lack of choral singing in this temple: one should think that Circe and her retinue are singing, if one hears the resonant voices. Musical instruments are not lacking either, because there are organs covered with gold and silver, sounding superb. And if you hear the skilful fingers of the organist playing, than you would consider him competent enough to amuse the celestials with his playing. Orpheus could not play his instrument more sweetly than the organist: although the trees were moved by the Thracian, and he knew how to amuse the demons of death and how to recall Eurydice from the underworld with his zither, even so, he who plays the 's-Hertogenbosch instrument brings more delicate sounds alive.<sup>1119</sup>

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[Joost van der Willigen?] and Anthonis [Anthonis van Lubeek or Anthonis van Tricht?], all living in the quarter of the Weverplaats (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404, fol. 64v, 65v).

<sup>1116</sup> Houses of institutions were exempted anyway (Van de Laar 1979, p. 78).

<sup>1117</sup> Nauwelaerts 1974, p. 79; Van Sasse van Ysselt 1911-1914, volume II, pp. 557-558. Van Sasse van Ysselt mentions that the house stood on the south side, the third house on the left, coming from the Papenhulst (the house did not stand the test of time).

<sup>1118</sup> An overview of Gheerkin's colleagues is given in Appendix 4. Because the source material (accounts) of the Broederschap contains references to individual singers every year, only the references in the Gheerkin period (1539-1547) are given. A survey of singers from 1519-1568 and more information is to be found in: Roelvink 2002, pp. 56-83 and 310-321. For the period up to 1519: Smijers 1932/1932-1935.

<sup>1119</sup> Desmense 1995, pp. 31-32.

The organist with the excellent skills the author of the *Laus Phani Busciducensis* is referring to must be Jan Bosschart.<sup>1120</sup> After the death of the organist Jan van Duynkerken in June 1535, Jan Bosschart van Brugge was appointed. He too stayed until his death shortly before 25 August 1561. The new and very modern organ the Broederschap had purchased in the early 1530s from Henrick Niehoff must have a source of attraction to top organists. Since the chapter also bought a new Niehoff organ around 1540, the organist of the church had two up-to-date organs at his disposal. In addition to working for the Broederschap and the chapter, Jan Bosschart also was the organist of the beguinage from 27 October 1547 onwards.<sup>1121</sup> Curious is the remark in the Broederschap accounts of January 1546 and 1547, mentioning Jan Bosschart van Brugge and Jan van Wintelroy playing the harpsichord and the viol (*clavesimbel/clavesymbolum* and *veele/vele*) during the yearly swan banquet in the new year.<sup>1122</sup>

The organist could not function without a bellows blower (*orgelblaser*).<sup>1123</sup> With the new Niehoff organ, the task of the bellows blower became heavier, since he had to climb more (and darker) stairs; therefore his salary was doubled. Just as with the organist, the bellows blower was a faithful employee of the Broederschap. In the 1540s (and perhaps already the 1530s) Gerart van Weert fulfilled the position. He would stay for more than fifteen years, until 1558. During the account year 1542/43 he became an external member of the Broederschap.

The *Laus Phani* is also very complimentary on the group of singers. In Gheerkin's time the group comprised two *intoneerders* (precentors), four to seven singing-men, six to eight choirboys, an organist and in some years an instrumentalist (for example a cornetist or a trumpeter). Furthermore, there were two musical 'servants', who were always present when the choir was performing, namely the *beierman* (bellringer) and the bellows blower. During the first years of Gheerkin's employment, a cornet player was also part of the group.<sup>1124</sup>

To reconstruct the constitution of the group of musicians working in the Sint-Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch in Gheerkin's time, we completely depend on the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Every week on Wednesday, the payment to the group was written down in the account. However, it proves quite difficult to establish how exactly the choir was constituted from week to week, because the accounts were inaccurately compiled: information on singers is often to be found in

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<sup>1120</sup> On the organists between 1519 and 1568: Roelvink 2002, pp. 73-75.

<sup>1121</sup> See § 6.6 above.

<sup>1122</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 257, no. 118 and p. 258, no. 129.

<sup>1123</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 79-82.

<sup>1124</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 76.

more than one entry (not only in the *Uuytgeven van sangeren loen*), the names of all the members of the group were only given in the first payment (from then on until the end of the year they were referred to as ‘the singers and organist’), different names were sometimes used for one and the same person, and one singer was at times indicated by more than one voice-type. Nevertheless, the accounts are a rich source of information on the musicians.

The most constant factor in the group were the two *intoneerders* Jan van Wintelroy and Philippus de Spina.<sup>1125</sup> The precentors only received a part of their remunerations for intoning the chants; the other part came from their work as priest (among others reading Masses). Jan van Wintelroy originally came to 's-Hertogenbosch as singer (*hoichtenuer*) in 1529.<sup>1126</sup> When *intoneerder* Aert van Eyndhoven died in 1533, he was a candidate for the post, but there was a small problem: he had not yet finished his studies for the priesthood. Until he had (between 5 November 1533 and before 6 May 1534) – and therefore in anticipation of the moment he was able to earn a complete living by also being a priest – the Broederschap (and chapter?) supplemented his remunerations.<sup>1127</sup> It would turn out to be a very good investment: Jan van Wintelroy would serve the Broederschap until his death after 1590, from 1551 onwards as both *zangmeester* and *intoneerder*.<sup>1128</sup> He was one of the few singers who became an external member of the Broederschap, in 1541, together with his fellow *intoneerder* Philippus de Spina.<sup>1129</sup>

Philippus de Spina started his duties for the Broederschap on 16 August 1531. He came from the North-Brabant town of Oirschot.<sup>1130</sup> He must have had a very good religious and musical education in Oirschot, probably at the collegiate church (dedicated to St Peter),<sup>1131</sup> where most likely a mature group of professional singers and choirboys functioned under the supervision of a *zangmeester* and was

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<sup>1125</sup> On the *intoneerders*: Roelvink 2002, pp. 61-64.

<sup>1126</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 128, fol. 350v and 337v. On his biography see also: Verreyt 1923, with wrong year of death.

<sup>1127</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 247-248, nos. 50-51.

<sup>1128</sup> Vente 1963a, p. 164. On the first of February 1544 *Heer Jan van Wyntelre priester* bought an *erflosrente*, registered in the city accounts (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395, fol. 192v). Between 14 August and 2 October 1538 he temporarily fulfilled the position of *zangmeester* (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 165v166r).

<sup>1129</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 5r.

<sup>1130</sup> On Philippus de Spina and his scribal activities: Roelvink 2002, pp. 127-147.

<sup>1131</sup> At least one of the canons was a sworn member of the Broederschap: Jan vander Hagen became a sworn member on 12 July 1543 and was host for the first time on 22 March 1544 during the seventh banquet of the year 1543-44 (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 145v, 180v).

accompanied by an organist.<sup>1132</sup> Philippus de Spina served the Broederschap for thirty-five years as priest, singer and (music) scribe. Three Broederschap choirbooks and a few compositions in the Codex Smijers in his hand have come down to us and he most likely also wrote music for the chapter of Sint-Jan (now lost). At least two of the preserved books are to be dated in the 1540s, during Gheerkin's employment. In 1566 Philippus de Spina was suddenly *affgedanckt* (dismissed), because he *hem groffelick misdragen hadde metter secten vanden calvinisten tegen die alde catolijcque religien* (he had behaved himself rudely with the sect of the Calvinists against the old Catholic religion).<sup>1133</sup>

When Gheerkin arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch, he encountered three singers who were already part of the group and who would also continue their duties when Gheerkin left again in October 1547: Henrick de Mol van Mechelen, Anthonis van Lubeck and Gommaar van Lier.

Henrick de Mol van Mechelen sang for the Broederschap and the chapter as *hoogconter*. The first reference to him dates from 19 February 1522, when he received a payment for a journey to Utrecht and Amersfoort to look for new singers. Shortly thereafter (between 16 and 30 March) he was paid 21 *stuivers* for his gown.<sup>1134</sup> He probably came from the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, where he had arrived on 1 June 1521 – two days before Gheerkin de Hondt was appointed *coraelmeester* – and where he had left 'in silence'.<sup>1135</sup> Gheerkin and Henrick therefore had already worked together when Gheerkin arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch, although it had been a long time earlier. From the account of 1524-25 onwards Henrick was appointed to administer the choirbooks: he had to make sure they were ready when the liturgical services started and that they were put away (in a chest) afterwards.<sup>1136</sup> Henrick was told not to lend the books to anyone; he had to get permission from the Brethren first. Keeping the books was literally a heavy job: the books were large and heavy. Still, the Brethren noticed that already in the 16th century: the more and the heavier the books bought, the higher Henrick's salary became. Henrick did many small jobs for the Broederschap during his life there; he once even received a few stivers for copying music (in December 1528).<sup>1137</sup> He died between 30 March and 6 April 1552.<sup>1138</sup>

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<sup>1132</sup> Jespers 1991, pp. 219-220. See also: Frenken 1956, pp. 32-33, 176-177.

<sup>1133</sup> For a transcription: Roelvink 2002, p. 285, nos. 345, 346, 347.

<sup>1134</sup> Smijers 1932-1935, pp. 95-96. The accounts do not mention Henrick's arrival.

<sup>1135</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXIIJv.

<sup>1136</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 66, 158-159, 336-347; Smijers 1946, p. 30.

<sup>1137</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 337, no. 25.

<sup>1138</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 249r.

The name of Anthonis van Lubeek appears in the payments for singers from 23 November 1524 onwards, but he had already received a payment for his gown in June of that same year.<sup>1139</sup> He would serve the Broederschap and chapter for thirty-five years. In the spring of 1559 he had problems with his health: he was not able to sing, but because he had served for such a long time, the Brethren gave him 3 guilders and 1 stiver in April.<sup>1140</sup> At the beginning of the new account year, Anthonis's name is still on the list of singers. From 6 December onwards, an amount of 25 stivers is missing, exactly the amount Anthonis received every week. On 3 January 1560 a new bass singer was appointed; in the list of singers receiving money for their gown a few months later, Anthonis's name is missing. He therefore had probably died shortly before 6 December 1559.<sup>1141</sup>

Gommaar van Lier became a singer in 's-Hertogenbosch on either 16 December 1528 or 10 February 1529.<sup>1142</sup> He would serve until 1551. As with Anthonis van Lubeek, it is not exactly clear from the accounts what happened. But here too, the total amount of remunerations for the singers suddenly became less: on 4 February one of the singers who received 18 stivers a week (among them Gommaar van Lier) did not get paid. A few weeks later, Gommaar is not mentioned among the singers who received money to buy a new gown. Therefore, he must have

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<sup>1139</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 128, fol. 14v and 30v.

<sup>1140</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 274, no. 256.

<sup>1141</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 133, fol. 498r, 500r, 500v and 482v.

<sup>1142</sup> On both these days a new *hoichtenuer* is appointed, this could be either Johannes Brandt or Gommaar van Lier (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 128, fol. 282v and 283r). There were many men with the name Gommaar van Lier, probably because the patron of Lier was St Gummarus. At least in 1524 and from 1 February 1530 until January 1531 another Gommaar (Claesz.) van Lier was a singer at the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft (GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXIIIJr and LXVIIJr; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXJ(b)r; CJr). In the Broederschap accounts the name also appears twice more, for a canon and an embroiderer (Roelvink 2002, p. 187-188, note 353). In a piece of scrap paper now in the archives of the Sint-Jan and dated 'around 1500', a Gommarus de Liera is also mentioned, probably being another singer with the same name (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2119). In the same notes, under *Discantores* the names of Dominus Johannes Binsoys, Hermannus de Atrio, Georgius, Johannes bassus tenor and organist Dominus Johannes Gruyter are mentioned. Deriving from the transcriptions Smijers made of the Broederschap accounts (Smijers 1932-1935, pp. 62-64), the piece is to be dated not before 20 May 1506 (appointment Johannes Gruyter) and probably shortly after the first of April 1507 (the death of *zangmeester* Claessen Craen [the composer Nicolaus Craen] who only served for 40 weeks in the account year 1506-1507; a *zangmeester* clearly is missing in the list). More singers with the same name Gommaer/Gommarus (or are some of them one and the same ?), are in the accounts between 1520 and 1526 (Roelvink 2002, p. 316).

left the choir. Since his wife died that year and Gommaar must have become of age, he probably had died.<sup>1143</sup>

Two more singers were already in 's-Hertogenbosch when Gheerkin arrived, but they did not work with Gheerkin for a long time: priest Willem van Rotterdam and Frans van Namen (or Frans van Tricht). Willem van Rotterdam joined the choir on 12 November 1533 as *bovensenger*.<sup>1144</sup> At some point he must have become an external member of the Broederschap, because in December 1540, Philippus de Spina paid for his death debt, which was returned to him by the Broederschap.<sup>1145</sup> Willem must have died between 8 and 15 December, since on 27 October he is not paid because he was ill and from then on up to and including 8 December he is referred to as being absent; from 15 December onwards he is no longer mentioned.<sup>1146</sup> Frans van Namen had started his career as bass singer in 's-Hertogenbosch a year before Gheerkin, namely on 30 October 1538.<sup>1147</sup> He left after 25 August 1540. He seems to have returned in 1556, when he sang again for the Broederschap and the chapter between 19 August and Christmas.<sup>1148</sup> He then even received a gift of 12 guilders for his household furniture.<sup>1149</sup> It is unclear if he is the same man as Franciscus de Namurcho with whom Gheerkin had worked in Delft from 18 August 1521 onwards,<sup>1150</sup> or the Franciscus de Narmurio who was a singer at the church of Our Lady in Bruges.<sup>1151</sup>

We may speak of a rather stable group of musicians, compared to Bruges and Delft: both the *intoneerders*, the organist, three singers and Gheerkin as *zangmeester* worked together for almost eight years. Only eleven or twelve new singers were appointed under Gheerkin's regime,<sup>1152</sup> making an average of four to seven mature singers to sing polyphony (including the *zangmeester*, without the two precentors). As in Bruges, the bass singers were the hardest ones to get.

The recruiting of the singers sometimes caused troubles between the Broederschap and the chapter. Coincidental or not – perhaps there were personal

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<sup>1143</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 189v and 169r.

<sup>1144</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 129, fol. 212r (incorrectly given as *heer Willem van Amstelredamme*) and fol. 224v.

<sup>1145</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 250, nos. 69 and 72.

<sup>1146</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 297r-v.

<sup>1147</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 154v and 166r.

<sup>1148</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 133, fol. 183r, 203v, 205v.

<sup>1149</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 271, no. 232.

<sup>1150</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>1151</sup> Dewitte 1970, p. 126.

<sup>1152</sup> Appendix 4: Cornelis van Oirschot, Joachim, heer Peter (twice or two different men?), Cornelis, Frans van Breda, Fredericus van Brussel, Michiel Smekers van Nyeupointe, Jan de Winne, Jan Corstiaenss., Jan Dirck Matheuss. and Floque.



differences in opinion or incompatibilities of characters between the leading men – it is remarkable that most of the problems in the 16th century occurred during the years 1538-1548. After the problems with the appointment of the new *zangmeester* in 1538-1539, a new struggle took place in early October 1541, when the Broederschap paid a singer for his efforts, but was not able to appoint him because the chapter did not support the choice of the Brethren.<sup>1153</sup> A similar situation occurred a year later: on 18 October 1542 the Brethren wanted to appoint the high tenor Frans van Breda, but the priests of the chapter refused to pay their share: they *claechede hoerluden armoen* (complained that they were poor) and only wanted to appoint a bass singer. The Brethren apparently decided to pay for the singer themselves, because he is paid 1 guilder (20 stivers) a week from then on.<sup>1154</sup> Probably the chapter came across at a later stage, because Frans van Breda stayed until 12 May 1546<sup>1155</sup> and he would not have been able to live on half a salary. Frans van Breda did return to 's-Hertogenbosch as a guest singer in July 1551, together with another former singer of the Broederschap: Cabuyscool (Jan Corstiaenss.), who was appointed on 29 December 1546 after a period of doubt because of his hoarseness.<sup>1156</sup> Frans van Breda and Jan Corstiaenss. probably had come to town to join the singers in the procession and stayed a few more days to sing the Vespers and Mass on Tuesday and Wednesday.<sup>1157</sup>

Shortly after the discussion on Frans van Breda the same argument started all over again: on 21 March 1543, the Broederschap appointed Cornelis *hochconter*, but the chapter did not want to pay for his duties. This time it is explicitly mentioned: Cornelis would only sing for the Broederschap, his remuneration was 25 stivers a week plus half a barrel of beer every month. Cornelis also received 1 guilder to go back to Amsterdam and collect his clothes.<sup>1158</sup> Despite these extra terms of employment Cornelis left within five weeks; he probably was not able to live from his poor remuneration.<sup>1159</sup> Exactly the same happened on 15 June 1544, when the

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<sup>1153</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 77.

<sup>1154</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 255, no. 105 and BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 129r-v.

<sup>1155</sup> On 19 May he is given *orloff* (leave; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 333r).

<sup>1156</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 57 and p. 259, no. 134. It remains unclear till when Jan Corstiaenss. served the Broederschap. It must have been somewhere between June 1548 (the end of the account 1547-48) and June 1549 (the beginning of the account 1549-1550). The account of 1548/49 is missing, but Jan Corstiaenss. is no longer on the list of singers in June 1549 and mentioned as a guest on 21-08-1549 (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 116v and 117r).

<sup>1157</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 295, no. 42.

<sup>1158</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 255, no. 106. The 25 stivers are a lot for a regular singer; *zangmeester* Gheerkin received 27 stivers a week.

<sup>1159</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 131r (25 April, no. 45).

Brethren appointed *hoichconter* Michiel Smekers van Nyeupoirte.<sup>1160</sup> Michiel exclusively sang for the Broederschap, but also left quite soon, namely shortly before 20 January 1546.<sup>1161</sup>

Many guest singers performed for the Broederschap in the 16th century.<sup>1162</sup> The most famous *zangmeesters* and singers who paid a visit to 's-Hertogenbosch during Gheerkin's career there were of course the *zangmeesters* and singers of Charles V and Mary of Hungary, but other *zangmeesters* of towns with important choirs like Antwerp and Dordrecht also sang with Gheerkin and his colleagues. The other guest singers are to be divided into two groups: those who specifically came to 's-Hertogenbosch for a job and those who did not aspire to a permanent position but joined their colleagues in singing Vespers and/or Mass while passing by or incidentally being in town. Most of them remain anonymous, and from the majority we do not know their voice-type. But the total number of almost ninety (paid) guests in nearly eight years coming from all directions in the Low Countries is impressive and suggests a melting pot of musical styles.

Besides the guest singers, there were also musicians coming to 's-Hertogenbosch to perform with the singers and musicians of the church of Sint-Jan. Most of them came to town for the yearly July procession.<sup>1163</sup> Among them were musicians from the kingdom of Poland, from Germany and from all over the Low Countries, bringing all kinds of instruments. Incidentally, a musician was a guest during the regular weekly services.<sup>1164</sup>

When Gheerkin started his employment in 's-Hertogenbosch, the permanent group of singers yearly received an amount of money to buy a new hood (*kovel*) in a new colour on the Wednesday before Laetare Sunday. The new hoods had to be worn for the first time each year on the feast of St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gate (6 May). The hoods were also worn by the dean, deacon and subdeacon; the sexton and the vergers (*bastonniers*) wore tabards. The servants were obliged to wear the special clothing on regular days (*staen dagen*: weekly Vespers and Mass), feasts and during processions. In the spring of 1543, Gheerkin, the organist and their fellow singers requested to wear the tabard instead of the hood. The demand was granted and the

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<sup>1160</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 256, nos. 110-111.

<sup>1161</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 332r.

<sup>1162</sup> Appendix 11. For the period 1519-1568: Roelvink 2002, pp. 315-318; for the period up to 1519, Smijers 1932/1932-1935.

<sup>1163</sup> For an overview of the period 1541-1568: Roelvink 2002, pp. 291-303; for the period up to 1541: Smijers 1932/1932-1935/1940-1946/1948-1955.

<sup>1164</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 320-321.

amount of money raised spectacularly from 21 stivers to 4 guilders a year; in 1544 even to 6 guilders a year. In 1547 the colours of the tabard became the same as the colours the chapter chose every year and the remuneration was lowered to 4 guilders again. This was probably because a tabard could be worn for another year again after four years when the colour returned, since a new employee still received 6 guilders. The colours to be worn were red, purple, blue and green; from 1547 onwards the cycle was switched to purple, red, green and blue.<sup>1165</sup>

Although the members of the group of musicians received weekly remuneration, some extras (for example on the feast of the Presentation, which was not a regular feast) and money to buy their hoods/tabards, some of them complained that they were poor.<sup>1166</sup> In the 1540s the organist was the first to ask for extra income. On 15 August 1541 and 2 February 1542 (both Marian feasts) he received 5 and 6 extra guilders under the condition that he would stay, serve faithfully and complain no more.<sup>1167</sup> Perhaps his request stimulated others to ask for more money too.<sup>1168</sup> A year later bass singer Anthonis received 8 extra guilders, under the same conditions, entered in an agreement that was signed by Anthonis in person.<sup>1169</sup> Following Anthonis (but after Gheerkin had left), some other singers asked for extra income too; all the extra payments were withdrawn on 8 April 1552.<sup>1170</sup>

## 7.4 Choirboys<sup>1171</sup>

In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch we are rather well informed on the singing of boys during the liturgy.<sup>1172</sup> The last will of Willem van Gent from 1274 is the oldest remaining document in which the boys are mentioned: originally they were schoolboys (*scolares*) of the parish school, obliged to sing in the local church during

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<sup>1165</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 84-86, see there for the difference between a hood and a tabard.

<sup>1166</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 59.

<sup>1167</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 251, nos. 81 and 82.

<sup>1168</sup> As other cities, 's-Hertogenbosch experienced strong inflation in the first half of the 16th century. Prices doubled between 1500 and 1550 (Hanus 2010, p. 99), so it is no surprise the musicians wanted extra income.

<sup>1169</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 255, nos. 103 and 104.

<sup>1170</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 268, nos. 203, 204, 205 and 206; the extra payment of the organist Jan Bosschart van Brugge is missing here; see BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 241v.

<sup>1171</sup> See also: Roelvink 2002, pp. 72-73.

<sup>1172</sup> This paragraph is based on Nauwelaerts 1974, pp. 12-39, 72-78. Also: Kuijer 2000, pp. 236-237.

the liturgy. The government of the school was in the hands of a canon from Liège. When the chapter of Sint-Jan was founded in 1366, an official chapter school was established, under the responsibility of one of the thirty 's-Hertogenbosch canons. The headmaster had to prepare twelve boys for each weekday, sixteen for feasts and as many as possible on high feasts. From 1403 onwards, ten poor boys (called *boni infantes* or *paupers scolares*) lived in their own house, in the Hinthamerstraat, close to the Sint-Jan, founded by the owner of the house Hendrik Buck, canon of the Sint-Jan.<sup>1173</sup> The chapter school – originally also in the Hinthamerstraat – existed until 1423, when the position of headmaster was discontinued by the pope. Nevertheless, the chapter retained the right to maintain a school, also called Latin School. Two years later, the new function of cantor of the chapter was founded by Albertus Buck in his last will, executed by his nephew Arnoldus. The cantor became responsible for the (vocal) education of the boys. The school grew fast and entered a new building in the Kerkstraat. This suggests that the singing in the church was becoming more professional, which runs parallel to the developments concerning the mature singers with the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.

By the time Gheerkin de Hondt arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch, this professionalisation had reached its completion: a group of six choirboys was especially trained for professional singing. These boys are not to be confused with the *boni infantes*, who also were active during the liturgy in the church, sometimes even as singers. Both groups of children, for example, sang during the Holy Cross *Lof*, where two *boni infantes* supported the choirboys.<sup>1174</sup> That there were two groups of children involved in the liturgy is confirmed by an item in the Broederschap accounts: on Holy Innocents Day in 1542, the group of choirboys received 2 stivers *om metten anderen choer kinderen te mogen* (to join the other children from the choir).<sup>1175</sup>

As we have seen, Gheerkin enlarged the group of choirboys from six to eight: he assigned two boys to sing the upper voice in polyphonic compositions. What exactly the duties of the choirboys were is not entirely clear, but we may assume they sang whenever the mature singers were on duty or at least they took their turn in singing. Besides, they most likely went to the Latin School to receive a regular

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<sup>1173</sup> On the foundation: Van der Does de Willebois 1904-1906, volume II, pp. 203-240; Vink 1997, p. 28. On the house specifically: Van Sasse van Ysselt 1911-1914, volume II, pp. 518-523 and III, pp. 5-7.

<sup>1174</sup> § 6.3.2. See also: Nauwelaerts 1974, pp. 78-84. Nauwelaerts makes an incorrect difference between the choirboys from the church and those from the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap (they were the same).

<sup>1175</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 106r.

education.<sup>1176</sup> On three liturgical feasts a year the choirboys received a treat: when they participated in the yearly procession to Orthen (cream and white bread), for the feast of St Cecilia and on Holy Innocents Day; the latter two feasts are not mentioned every year in the accounts, but the text *nae auder gewoonten* (according to the old habit) suggests an annual character. The same goes for the small amount of money the boys got to ‘throw the goose’. This ‘game’ – throwing stones at a goose to kill him – was played on Shrove Tuesday.<sup>1177</sup>

We are poorly informed on the names of the boys: for the period 1539-1547 the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap only give a few names. Here too, the lack of consequent registration in the accounts makes matters very confusing now and then. In some of the accounts of the 1540s we find payments to *jongen* or *clerken*, which clearly indicates boys, especially since the remuneration is only 2 stivers.<sup>1178</sup> At that point it is unclear if those boys belonged to the regular group of choirboys that were under the care of the *zangmeester*,<sup>1179</sup> or if they were extra boys, in the latter case probably not yet mature singers. The reference to Ot van Boxtel *corael* ‘now living in the house of the poor Brethren of the Common Life’,<sup>1180</sup> offers another suggestion. On 28 October 1545 he received a remuneration of 16 stivers because he had sung eight weeks for the Broederschap (2 stivers each week, the regular remuneration for a young boy). The weekly payments for the entire group were increased from that date by the same amount, therefore suggesting that Ot stayed (confirmed by the fact that from two weeks later onwards, the phrase *ende*

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<sup>1176</sup> For an example of regulations of choirboys see Bouckaert 2000a and 2000b.

<sup>1177</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 73.

<sup>1178</sup> One boy (Mathyssen, coming with the *stadspyper*) was added to the group from 4 August 1540 onwards (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 296r); a second boy sang from 13 July 1541 onwards (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 54r). Their names become clear in the beginning of the account of 1542-1543: Thijs Jacobs (Mathyssen) and Lambert (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 128r). In the same list of names the *stadtpyper* is identified as *Goris van Haerlem chinck*. The *sangeren loen* of the year 1542-1543 mentions the return of a certain Scelken on 20 September 1542, but it is a mystery where he came from and when he had left, because 1) at the beginning of the account only the names of Thijs Jacobs and Lambert are mentioned, 2) the amount of 2 stivers for Scelken is not missing in the weekly payments before his arrival (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 128r-129r). The three *clerken* (no doubt Thijs, Lambert and Scelken) are also referred to as choirboys and are dismissed on 28 March 1543 (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 130v). On 2 April 1544 suddenly *twee jongers* are hired again, going back to one from 23 April until 4 June (2 stivers each; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 197r-v).

<sup>1179</sup> Mathyssen is indicated as ‘former choirboy’.

<sup>1180</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 331r.

*den choerael* is added). About a year later ‘the’ second boy<sup>1181</sup> is also paid 2 stivers a week, ‘just as much as Ott received’. This indicates that we have to do with the two extra choirboys Gheerkin de Hondt had assigned to sing one of the upper voices in polyphonic compositions.<sup>1182</sup> When Gheerkin left, he took one of the choirboys, named Simon (one of the two boys singing the upper voices).<sup>1183</sup>

Contrary to the mature singers, choirboys were seldom guest singers with the Broederschap.<sup>1184</sup> The recruiting of the boys was most likely an established system; most of them must have come from ’s-Hertogenbosch itself or the Meierij. In the latter case they probably were already attending the Latin School in town. For one choirboy we know he came from Diest, because in November 1541 the bass singer Peeter was paid to go to his home town to ‘bring back’ a choirboy.<sup>1185</sup>

## 7.5 Liturgy and music

### 7.5.1 Two calendars

’s-Hertogenbosch belonged to the diocese of Liège and therefore had to celebrate the feasts according to the Liège calendar. Typical feasts on this calendar are St Servatius (13 May), St Lambert (17 September), St Denis (9 October), St Hubertus (3 November) and St Leonard (6 November).<sup>1186</sup> Characteristic for ’s-Hertogenbosch is of course St John the Evangelist with his most important feasts on 27 December (Birth) and 6 May (before the Latin Gate). In ’s-Hertogenbosch also three lesser known feasts of St John were celebrated in duplex: 26 June (Dormicio Johannis evangeliste), 27 September (Missio Johannis in exilium), and 3 December (Reversio Johannis ab exilio).<sup>1187</sup>

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<sup>1181</sup> The name is not filled in, also not in the list in the *sangeren loen* a year later, but his 2 stivers are then counted in the total amount of 8 guilders.

<sup>1182</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 133, fol. 252v.

<sup>1183</sup> See below, § 7.6.

<sup>1184</sup> Appendix 11.

<sup>1185</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 30v (Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 78).

<sup>1186</sup> According to the descriptions of the books of hours in the catalogue of the Royal Library in The Hague. As we shall see below, these feasts were indeed red-letter feasts in ’s-Hertogenbosch. The list does not correspond to the list given in Strubbe/Voet 1960, but as we have seen in the Bruges chapter, this publication is not completely reliable.

<sup>1187</sup> Bloxam 1987, pp. 57-58.

In 's-Hertogenbosch we have the happy circumstance of two surviving calendars: one of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap<sup>1188</sup> and one of the chapter of Sint-Jan.<sup>1189</sup> The calendar of the chapter is written down in a chant manuscript for the *intoneerders*, dated in the late 15th century and probably written by the Brethren of the Common Life. Unfortunately, many alterations have been made, but in its original state, it was probably identical to the one of the Broederschap.<sup>1190</sup> The latter calendar is to be dated shortly before Gheerkin de Hondt arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch. Between 5 and 20 November 1536 the Brethren of the Common Life were paid for 'writing a calendar on parchment for in the *exeqie boick*' (the book for the memorial services) with the special mention that 'the letters of the feasts had to be written in red ink'. This exactly fits the description of the calendar in inventory number 150 of the archives of the Broederschap.<sup>1191</sup> For all feasts either the rank or the way of celebrating (not both at the same time)<sup>1192</sup> is included.<sup>1193</sup> None of the documents kept in the archives of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap gives a description of what a certain rank meant. But the feasts written in red ink must have been important feasts (of the highest ranks) and must have been celebrated with great lustre, with polyphony. There is a total of forty red-letter feasts. Great lustre could be translated as *totum duplex* or at least *duplex*. Remarkable is that two of the red-letter feasts in this calendar (Cathedra Sancti Petri, 22 February and Leonardi Confessor, 6 November) did not get the rank of high feast, but were 'only' celebrated with nine lessons.<sup>1194</sup> The calendar offers us thirty-seven feasts that were not red-lettered, but were still celebrated in *duplex* or *totum duplex*. This makes an impressive total of seventy-seven feasts to be celebrated in great lustre (*duplex* or *totum duplex*), to which nine moveable feasts even had to be added.<sup>1195</sup> Therefore, compared to Delft and Bruges, 's-Hertogenbosch seemed to have the highest number of high feasts.

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<sup>1188</sup> In BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 150. Edition: Van Hout 2000c.

<sup>1189</sup> In SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 216-1. Edition: De Loos 2000b (see also De Loos 2000a).

<sup>1190</sup> De Loos 2000b, p. 42.

<sup>1191</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 157-158, 342 (no. 61).

<sup>1192</sup> Van Hout 2000b, p. 29. The ranks and ways of celebrating each have its own column in the calendar. Rank: semiduplex, duplex or totum duplex; way of celebrating: Mass, three lessons, nine lessons, commemoration, collect. On this calendar also: Bloxam 1987, pp. 57-58.

<sup>1193</sup> See Appendix 12.

<sup>1194</sup> According to Grotfend 1970, Band 1, 'Festgrad', this occurs more often.

<sup>1195</sup> The accounts of the Broederschap suggest that the following moveable feasts were celebrated with great lustre: Laetare Sunday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi.

## 7.5.2 The contents of the musical manuscripts containing polyphony

To find the music used on the feasts mentioned on the 1536 calendar and for the other liturgical activities we know from the Broederschap accounts, we have the six choirbooks containing polyphony, six manuscripts containing chant and one large choirbook containing both chant and polyphony at our disposal.<sup>1196</sup>

Combining the information from the Broederschap accounts with the calendar and the music in the polyphonic choirbooks, we should be able to make an overview of the music sung on specific days and feasts. Of course, this is a difficult task, since it is generally known that the titles of Masses and even the textual or musical material used do not always provide certainty about the usage of a Mass. For example, sometimes the name of a saint or a patron was simply changed to make a Mass or motet appropriate for another feast (or location), or the usage of liturgical texts for different feasts in one composition made it suitable for more than one feast; and of course some liturgical texts were used on more than one occasion during the liturgical year.<sup>1197</sup> However, we may conclude that the Broederschap chose the music for its choirbooks from all kinds of sources, but always specifically in view of its own personal usage: almost all Masses and motets may be specifically linked to the liturgical practice of the Broederschap.<sup>1198</sup>

Since Marian devotion was the core business of the medieval Broederschap, it is obvious that many compositions are to be related to the Blessed Virgin, directly or indirectly. However, music for other feasts is also found in the collection of the Broederschap. We may therefore distinguish three main categories: 1) music for Marian devotion, 2) music for specific feasts and saints and 3) music for general use.

The first category is to be divided into two subcategories: a) music for Marian devotion in general<sup>1199</sup> and b) music for specific Marian feasts.<sup>1200</sup> Of course, some of

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<sup>1196</sup> § 6.4.11.

<sup>1197</sup> Extensively substantiated by Bloxam 1987, pp. 142 (note 30), pp. 177-181.

<sup>1198</sup> Appendix 13 gives an overview of all the polyphonic music and their most likely usage. I want to stress that the relations between the compositions and their usages are not absolute: the music could have been used by the Broederschap for other occasions and in another surrounding the same music could have been used for other purposes. For the contents of the chant books and their usage I gladly refer to De Loos 2000c.

<sup>1199</sup> Masses: *Missa Quam pulchra es*, *Missa O Genitrix*, *Missa Alma Redemptoris Mater* (MS 154); *Missa Alma Redemptoris Mater* (MS 155); *Missa Mater patris et filia*, *Missa Spes salutis* (both MS 157). Motets: *Salve Sancta Parens*, [Post partum virgo Maria] (MS 152); *In illo tempore loquente Jhesu*, *Sub tuum praesidium* (both MS 155); *Regina caeli*, *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* (MS 158). Music for the Office and Magnificats (MS 158).

<sup>1200</sup> Masses: *Missa Super Benedicta/Benedicta es* (MSS 153 and 157); *Missa Cum Jocunditate*, *Missa Intemerata Virgo* (MS 154); *Missa Fit porta Christi pervia*, *Missa Stabat mater*



the works could be used for both. In this group we find Masses and motets which have a clear Marian theme and which were therefore appropriate for the 'normal' weekly Mass on Wednesday. For the Vespers on Tuesdays we have specific compositions (mostly for festive use) as well as a collection of Magnificats.

The second category contains Masses and motets which can be related to a special feast or saint.<sup>1201</sup> For example, here we have polyphony that could be used for Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday, sometimes with a Marian touch, like the *Missa Verbum bonum*. The saints for which music is directly provided are St Mary Magdalene, St Cecilia, St Barbara and St Stephen; indirectly there is music for St Anne (*Missa Fit porta Christi pervia*). Remarkable is that a Mass for St John the Evangelist is missing. Since we know that several feasts for St John were also celebrated by the Broederschap (we do even have some polyphonic Vesper music for 27 December), a Mass must also have been in the collection. A good candidate is the *Missa Johannes Christe care/Ecce puer meus* by Matthaëus Pipelare, *zangmeester* for the Broederschap and the chapter of Sint-Jan between 1498 and 1500. Pipelare also left a *Credo de Sancto Johanne Evangelista*. Both works have already been connected to his position in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>1202</sup> And since Pipelare's work was still copied in choirbooks in the 16th century, his Mass and Credo most likely were still sung in Gheerkin's time.

Special mention is required for the feast of the Dedication of the chapel/altar. Without a doubt the *Missa Urbs beata* by Courtoys was added to the musical collection for the yearly celebration of the dedication of the chapel/altar. The question is when this feast was actually celebrated. The chapel and altar were dedicated on 23 April 1494 and it was always assumed that this would be the day of remembrance.<sup>1203</sup> However, a chant book of 1560 clearly mentions that the

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*dolorosa* (both MS 156); *Missa nigra sum* (MS 157). Motets: *Nesciens mater virgo virum* (MS 155); *Prosa Inviolata, Benedicta es* (MS 152). Music for the Office and Magnificats (MS 158).

<sup>1201</sup> Masses: *Missa de Sancta Maria Magdalena* (MS 153), *Missa super Emendemus* (MS 153); *Missa Benedicta es* (MS 153 and 157); *Missa de Sancto Stephano* (MS 154); *Missa Verbum bonum*, *Missa de Sancta Trinitate* (both MS 155); *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*, *Missa Ego sum qui sum*, *Missa Surrexit pastor*, *Missa Fit porta Christi pervia*, *Missa Veni sponsa Christi* (all MS 156); *Missa Gaude Barbara*, *Missa nigra sum*, *Missa Jam non dicam* (all MS 157). Mass movement: *Kyrie Paschale* (MS 158). Motets: *Veni salus hominum*, *Benedicta es*, [*Laetabundus, exultet fidelis chorus*], *Verbum bonum et suave*, *Virgini Marie laudes* (all MS 152); [*O Salutaris Hostia*] (MS 154); *O Salutaris hostia* (MS 155); *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* (MS 158). Songs: *Nu sijt willecome*, *Omnis nu laet ons gode loven* (MS 152). Music for the Office (MS 158).

<sup>1202</sup> Cross/Meconi ('Pipelare, Matthaëus').

<sup>1203</sup> Van Dijck 1973, p. 124, 128, 248.

Dedication of *the altar* was then celebrated on the Sunday closest to the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, and therefore on the Sunday closest to 2 July.<sup>1204</sup> This is more or less confirmed by the fact that in the chronologically ordered Codex Smijers, dated circa 1531, the same feast is placed between the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (2 July) and the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July). ‘Sunday closest to 2 July’ would, however, mean that in many years the feast of the Dedication would coincide with the yearly procession. Altogether, it is hard to imagine that 1) the official dedication on 23 April was not remembered on that day and 2) the Broederschap celebrated two such important occasions on one day. However, it remains undecided on which day the Dedication was celebrated in the 1540s.<sup>1205</sup>

The third category of music in the possession of the Broederschap contains Masses and motets that are not directly connectable to Marian devotion or a specific feast or saint,<sup>1206</sup> in three cases the model or the text of the composition even remains unidentified.<sup>1207</sup> Many of the Masses in this category have as models French chansons, but other Masses and motets clearly have a general function in the liturgy, for example the two versions of *O Salutaris Hostia* and the motets *Et cum spiritu tuo* and *Infirmi- tatem nostram*. We may assume that they were all used during the weekly Vespers and Mass. Perhaps the most remarkable composition in this group is the *Missa Ecce quam bonum*, based on the motet *Ecce quam bonum* (probably written by Nicolas Gombert), which in its turn is based on the Savonarolan tune *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum* (‘Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity’).<sup>1208</sup> Of course the meaning of

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<sup>1204</sup> Zwitser 2000b, p. 83, note 69.

<sup>1205</sup> In a personal communication Dr. Van Dijck mentioned that an earlier altar (in the 14th century) might have been dedicated on a different date and that the original celebration of the feast therefore originally took place on the Sunday closest to 2 July and was maintained after the new altar dedication of 23 April 1494.

<sup>1206</sup> Masses: *Missa de feria*, *Missa Sing ich niet wol das ist mir leyt* (both MS 153); *Missa Incensament*, *Missa N’avez point veu* (both MS 154); *Missa Tua est potentia*, *Missa L’oserai je dire*, *Missa Dictes moy toutes voz pensees*, *Missa Ecce quam bonum* (all MS 155); *Missa Cuidez vous que dieu nous faille*, *Missa In te Domine speravi*, *Missa Pis ne me peult venir*, *Missa Fors seulement* (all MS 156); *Missa Ick had een boelken uutvercoren*, *Missa Ut fa (Pourquoy non)*, *Missa A laventure*, *Missa Mijns liefkens bruijn ooghen* (all MS 157). Motets: [*O Salutaris hostia*] (MS 154); *Tua est potentia*, *Salva nos domine*, *Infirmi- tatem nostram*, *O Salutaris Hostia* (all MS 155); *Te Deum*, *Et cum spiritu tuo* (both MS 158).

<sup>1207</sup> *Missa [mi ut mi sol]*, MS 153; Motet *Trinitas inseparabilis*, MS 155; *Missa d’Allemanagne*, MS 155.

<sup>1208</sup> Macey 1998, pp. 5, 125-126, 175-176; Macey 1999, pp. xii, 113-116.

the text was immediately clear to and very appropriate for the Brethren, but the question is if they realised the model of this Mouton Mass was based on a Savonarolan tune.

The key manuscript telling us more about the use of chant and polyphony during the Broederschap liturgy is Inv. no. 158, the largest and heaviest manuscript in the possession of the Broederschap.<sup>1209</sup> It contains fifty compositions for the Office (of which forty-four are for the Vespers), thirty-three Magnificats (most likely also used during the Vespers),<sup>1210</sup> two Te Deums, a Kyrie Paschale, a Regina Caeli and two motets. Among these works are most likely pieces that were composed especially for the Broederschap musical practice.<sup>1211</sup> The book was bought by the Broederschap from her *intoneerder*, Philippus de Spina, in 1545. Many compositions in this choirbook are anonymous and quite a few are based on chant melodies from the chant manuscripts in the collection of the Broederschap.<sup>1212</sup> The polyphonic Vesper music in the first part of this manuscript contains mainly antiphons and hymns. Only even-numbered antiphons are in polyphony: the second and fourth antiphon of the first and/or second Vespers of each feast. In case of the hymns, when more stanzas are set to polyphony, they are always the uneven ones; when only one stanza is in polyphony, it is never the first, but often the fourth.<sup>1213</sup> Therefore, chant was most likely sung on the uneven antiphons and hymn stanzas, or perhaps the organist played them. The Magnificats show us the same procedure: of the twelve verses only the even-numbered ones are set to polyphonic music.<sup>1214</sup> The alternation of chant (or organ) and polyphony is called *alternatim* practice. This practice is confirmed by the polyphonic music in the Codex Smijers: often only the even-numbered verses of a sequence are set to polyphonic music.<sup>1215</sup> Another confirmation is found in the account 1541/42, when on the feast of All Saints the singers 'sang with two choirs' (*wantmen songe met twee choeren*).<sup>1216</sup> A year later, the provost mentions the same kind of celebration for the Vespers on the eve of the feast of St John before the Latin Gate (6 May).<sup>1217</sup>

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<sup>1209</sup> On this manuscript: Maas 1968, Maas 1970-1973 (edition, including research results to the chant models), Bloxam 1987, pp. 109-143, 177-218, 408-415 and Roelvink 2002, pp. 138-141.

<sup>1210</sup> On the history of the Magnificat: Maas 1967.

<sup>1211</sup> Maas 1970-1973, volume II, p. IX.

<sup>1212</sup> Maas 1970-1973, volume I, p. VII-VIII.

<sup>1213</sup> Maas 1968, p. 37.

<sup>1214</sup> Maas 1970-1973, volume I, p. VII.

<sup>1215</sup> Everts 1985.

<sup>1216</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 29r.

<sup>1217</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 114v.

Interesting is that this key manuscript was compiled and written when Gheerkin de Hondt was the *zangmeester* of the Broederschap. Since many of the works have come down to us anonymously – with the exception of the *Te Deum* by former *zangmeester* Sebastiaan de Porta – Gheerkin’s intervention in the selection of the compositions in Inv. no. 158 is hard to prove. However, this manuscript contains a Magnificat attributed to Benedictus Appenzeller,<sup>1218</sup> who – as we shall see – was probably one of Gheerkin’s teachers.<sup>1219</sup> And better still: the last motet in this choirbook is *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel / Honor virtus et potestas* by Johannes Lupi, which served as a model for Gheerkin’s *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*. The presence of this motet in a manuscript compiled during the time Gheerkin was *zangmeester* cannot be a coincidence.

As we shall see in Chapter 11, Gheerkin de Hondt clearly left his mark on the musical collection of the ’s-Hertogenbosch Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. When he arrived in 1539, the Broederschap had recently acquired four beautiful new choirbooks from the workshop of Petrus Alamire with Masses and motets still popular all over Europe. Under Gheerkin’s supervision more music was bought. And although without a doubt he was not the only man determining the contents of the choirbooks, his seal is certainly there.

### 7.5.3 Reconstruction of the liturgical duties of a *zangmeester* in ’s-Hertogenbosch<sup>1220</sup>

Now that we have determined the liturgical activities in the church of Sint-Jan and we have identified the usage of the music which still is in the collection of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, we are able to make a reconstruction of one of the years Gheerkin de Hondt worked in ’s-Hertogenbosch, for example the year 1540/41.<sup>1221</sup>

Appendix 14 shows in the first five columns the days of the year with the feasts celebrated according to the Broederschap calendar (Inv. no. 150), including the ranking and/or kind of celebration. Column 6 gives the references from the Broederschap account 1540/41 in which the *zangmeester* was involved. The next two columns show us the activities Gheerkin had to fulfil for the chapter and the

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<sup>1218</sup> Maas 1968, pp. 39-40.

<sup>1219</sup> Appenzeller also had visited ’s-Hertogenbosch in 1539 and would come again only a month after the completion of this manuscript.

<sup>1220</sup> On Gheerkin’s tasks in general, see § 7.1 above.

<sup>1221</sup> This year was chosen because it is the first complete year in the accounts of the Broederschap and it is closest to the year 1538, which served for the reconstruction of Gheerkin’s musical activities in Bruges.

Sacramentsbroederschap; here only the activities which could be derived from archival sources are mentioned; these two columns therefore are certainly not complete.<sup>1222</sup> Finally, the contents of the choirbooks of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap are added, as far as they could be connected to a specific day or feast in the liturgical year.<sup>1223</sup>

Altogether Appendix 14 shows us a very busy liturgical schedule for the *zangmeester* of 's-Hertogenbosch, and it is not even complete. Missing in this survey are the complete tasks Gheerkin had to fulfil for the chapter, individual foundations, and most likely incidental services for guilds and for parishioners. We may conclude that Gheerkin had a more than fulltime job in 's-Hertogenbosch, literally, because on the days other citizens had a day off – on feast days – the singers of the Sint-Jan performed extra duties.

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<sup>1222</sup> The activities are described § 6.3.2 and § 6.5. Left out are the foundations mentioned in the Obituarium as described in Appendix 10, since the foundation dates are not known and almost all the foundations 'only' added extra lustre to an existing feast which was already celebrated with polyphony.

<sup>1223</sup> See § 7.5.2 and Appendix 13. Left out are the general Masses, compositions for longer periods (for example 'in Advent', or 'between Circumcision and Purification'), Magnificats, general Mass services and compositions for Marian feasts in general. A distinction is made between compositions for the Office containing more than Vespers (for example also Matins and Lauds) and only Vespers (no difference is made between 1st and 2nd Vespers). Not included either are compositions and manuscripts that were compiled after Gheerkin de Hondt had left (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 159 and the additional Masses for Christmas and All Souls (Inv. no. 152)) and containing little music (Inv. no. 150). Both the chant books of the chapter of Sint-Jan are left out too, since Inv. no. 216-1 only contains chant compositions for the *intoneerders* and Inv. no. 216-2 contains chant compositions largely matching the feasts on the calendar, of which we already know they must have been celebrated with polyphony. The specific music from the chant books of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap is admitted, to show for which days and feasts at least chant was available and therefore these days and feasts were definitely celebrated by the Broederschap; this makes a comparison with the accounts possible.

## 7.6 Departure

The accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap mention the departure of Gheerkin de Hondt on 2 October 1547.<sup>1224</sup> The text is very discrete: mr. Gerart die Hont has left for *Vrieslant*, taking with him one of the choirboys named Simon; the remaining choirboys were left under the care of Philippus de Spina.<sup>1225</sup> A few pages later, the final payment of 17 guilders to Gheerkin for taking care of the choirboys is written down. This item also mentions that choirboy Simon was one of the two choirboys who together replaced one male high voice (*boeven sanck*).<sup>1226</sup>

The Broederschap account suggests that Gheerkin de Hondt left of his own free will, having chosen Vrieslant as his next place of work. But nothing is less true: one of the rare documents remaining from the chapter of Sint-Jan informs us that Gheerkin was fired by the chapter.<sup>1227</sup> The charter, dated 19 September 1548 – therefore almost a year after Gheerkin had left, settles the argument between the chapter and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap on the appointment of *zangmeesters* and consequent matters. It tells us that Gheerkin's discharge was unilateral: the chapter had not consulted the confraternity and had ended the agreement with Gheerkin onesidedly. Furthermore, they had given his job to priest Willem Creyt, again without consulting the confraternity. A clear reason is not given.<sup>1228</sup>

In a 16th-century chronicle we find the probable reason of Gheerkin's discharge: it clearly states that Gheerkin de Hondt was fired, because his wife had not taken good care of the choirboys who were under their charge.<sup>1229</sup> The chronicle was originally written by the Cistercian monk Aelbertus Cuperinus, born around 1500.<sup>1230</sup> His original has not come down to us, but many copies have,<sup>1231</sup> the oldest

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<sup>1224</sup> The account of 1547/48 is incomplete: the receipts are missing, the general expenditures (*allerhande uitgaven*) have only been preserved for about half of the year (from January up to and including the end of the account year in June). The *Utgeven van sangeren loon* have been preserved.

<sup>1225</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 50v; Appendix 3, 1547, 2 October.

<sup>1226</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 54r; Appendix 3, 1547, 2 October. Perhaps Simon was Gheerkin's son.

<sup>1227</sup> BHIC, Voormalig Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch, Collectie Mechelse Aanwinsten, Inv. no. 140. I am indebted to Dr. Jan Sanders from the BHIC for informing me on this document. We hope to publish this document in a joint article.

<sup>1228</sup> Appendix 3, 1548, September 19.

<sup>1229</sup> Appendix 3, 1548. For the transcription, one of the sixteenth-century versions has been used (Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS C162 (*olim* 345b)). First published in Hermans 1848, p. 255.

<sup>1230</sup> On Cuperinus and his chronicle: Sanders 2004.

dated from earliest 1558, and many of them containing additional information, compared to the presumed original by Cuperinus.<sup>1232</sup>

Only eight copies mention the discharge of Gheerkin de Hondt.<sup>1233</sup> The text is interesting, because besides the fact that Gheerkin was married, it tells us that he had a nickname: Harteken (... *meester Geraert sanghmeester, anders Harteken...*).<sup>1234</sup> This name is the diminutive of the word 'hart', to be translated as heart,<sup>1235</sup> suggesting that Gheerkin was beloved in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>1236</sup>

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<sup>1231</sup> Sanders 2004 does not give the shelf marks of the twelve copies he refers to. I have been able to track down the following copies (some of them from the 19th and even early 20th century): SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 9566 and OSA 78 (last one not in Sanders 2004); Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS C162 (*olim* 345b), KHS [B142], KHS B44 (*olim* 382), KTFK HS 74, KHS A7 (*olim* 339), KHS D52 (*olim* 345), KHS D53 (*olim* 345a), KHS D89 (*olim* 345c); BHIC, Toegangsnummer 346, Inv. nr. 1387; Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 71 C 38; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 10240. For a description of the manuscripts in the collection of Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek: Van der Ven 1994.

<sup>1232</sup> Hermans 1848, p. III took Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS D52, *olim* 345 as basis for his edition, mainly since it was the oldest copy known to him (dated 1565), categorizing all the extra information from the other copies as additions. I would like to add the suggestion that it might have been the other way around, that this manuscript was an abstract from the Cuperinus original, leaving out what Hermans called additions. Therefore, the original by Cuperinus might have contained the paragraph on Gheerkin's discharge.

<sup>1233</sup> 's-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief, OSA 9566, dated mid 17th century, p. 50 (left); 's-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief, OSA 78, dated 1671-1675, p. 50 (= fol. 25v); Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS C162 (*olim* 345b), dated 1575-1600, pp. 112-113; KHS [B142], dated 16th century, p. 81; KHS B44 (*olim* 382), dated 19th century, p. 136 [sic: 236]; KTFK HS 74, dated 1st half 17th century, fol. 143v-144r; KHS A7 (*olim* 339), dated 1st half 17th century, p. 225; BHIC, Toegangsnummer 346, Inv. no. 1387, dated 'temporarily copy', fol. 118v-119r. Dating according to the inventories of the libraries and archives.

<sup>1234</sup> Appendix 3, 1548.

<sup>1235</sup> According to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 'hart' is the northern version of the southern 'hert' (as in the Flemish song 'Mijn hert altijd heeft verlangen' by, for example, Pierre de la Rue), meaning 'heart'. Andriessen 2002, p. 269 assumes that Harteken means 'the hard, awkward or even cruel one'. Although according to dictionaries, 'hard' (English) is a plausible explanation for 'hart' (medieval Dutch), Andriessen's interpretation seems highly unlikely to me, for two main reasons. First, the departure of Gheerkin de Hondt was mentioned in the Broederschap account in a very neutral way; if he really had been a cruel man, the Broederschap would certainly have formulated his leave more explicitly; now it seems that they were not happy that they had to let him go. Second, the word 'Harteken' is a diminutive, which is soothing more

In December 1539 Gheerkin de Hondt had left the metropolis of Bruges to become *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch, the city that was much smaller with its 20,000 inhabitants and only one collegiate church that also functioned as the only parish church. Nevertheless, the position Gheerkin fulfilled was much more important than the one he had in Bruges. Being the *zangmeester* of the church of Sint-Jan implied not only singing for the chapter of Sint-Jan and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, but also for other organisations and private purposes in and outside the church, for example for the Sacramentsbroederschap. The musicians acted at a very high level, in no way inferior to their colleagues in other European cities, as is proven by the fact that many singers wanted to sing in 's-Hertogenbosch and that singers from 's-Hertogenbosch were 'bought away' by other churches. The fact that Benedictus Appenzeller and the singers of Emperor Charles V visited 's-Hertogenbosch and sang together with the chapel of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap also confirms that the singers of the Sint-Jan were part of the European top network of musicians. The beautiful church and the stable economy made 's-Hertogenbosch an attractive city for Gheerkin de Hondt for a step forwards in his career. However, after eight years, he was discharged and had to move on. According to the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Gheerkin left for 'Vrieslant'. This northern area of the Low Countries was also under Habsburg rule, but it did not flourish like the southern cities of Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch, especially not musically. Up till 1547, Gheerkin's career was consistent: from Delft to Bruges to 's-Hertogenbosch was a clear upwards trajectory. Therefore the question is: why 'Vrieslant'?

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than 'hard'. Besides, the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* only gives the diminutive 'harteken/herteken' for 'heart', not for other meanings.

<sup>1236</sup> Of course – with some fantasy – there can be many other explanations for this nickname: for example he could have worn a piece of jewellery in the form of a heart, or he had a birth mark in a heart form, or it could even refer to his song *Mon petit cueur* ('My little heart') or to the fact that Gheerkin was a great lover himself.



## Chapter 8 ‘Vrieslant’

### 8.1 Under Habsburg rule

Unlike other regions in the Low Countries, medieval Friesland did not have a prince. For example, Holland and Flanders had a count, Gelderland and Brabant both had a duke, but Friesland was proud of its so-called *Friese Vrijheid* (Frisian Freedom).<sup>1237</sup> That changed in 1498, when Albert, duke of Saxony, conquered Friesland. In that year he bought the rights Philip the Fair had over Friesland. Albert sold his privileges to Charles V in 1515. A ten-year conflict about rights and duties between the Frisians and Charles began, ending in 1524. From then up to and including 1572, Friesland was under Habsburg rule.<sup>1238</sup> Charles V and later his son Philip II had themselves represented by a *Stadhouder* (governor) and *Hof* (court). First they resided in Franeker;<sup>1239</sup> in 1504 the court was moved to Leeuwarden, which from then until today is the capital city of the area.<sup>1240</sup>

Compared to the cities in Holland, Brabant and Flanders, the Frisian cities were small and relatively weak. Around 20 to 30 per cent of the Frisian populace lived in towns, the rest in the countryside. The capital Leeuwarden, for example, had fewer than 5,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 16th century,<sup>1241</sup> this number doubling towards the end of the century, which still made Leeuwarden a small town compared to those elsewhere in the Low Countries. Other Frisian towns, for example Franeker, Bolsward, Sneek, Dokkum and Harlingen, were even smaller.<sup>1242</sup> Trade and industry were the most important economic pillars.<sup>1243</sup> Shipping played an extra role in towns which had a good connection to the sea.<sup>1244</sup> The main function of each town was to be a trading centre for the surrounding countryside. Therefore, contrary to the big

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<sup>1237</sup> On the *Friese Vrijheid* see Kalma/Spahr van der Hoek/De Vries 1980<sup>2</sup>, pp. 154-164.

<sup>1238</sup> On this period and the political situation in Friesland: Woltjer 1962 and Kalma/Spahr van der Hoek/De Vries 1980<sup>2</sup>, pp. 259-283.

<sup>1239</sup> Algra 1983, pp. 29-31.

<sup>1240</sup> Vries 1997, pp. 135-136; Kunst 1999, p. 88.

<sup>1241</sup> Faber 1972, volume I, pp. 638 and 640 come to 4,100-4,500. Kunst 1999, p. 94 mentions that Leeuwarden had about 4,400 inhabitants in 1511.

<sup>1242</sup> Spaans 1997, pp. 18-19.

<sup>1243</sup> Woltjer 1962, pp. 50-51.

<sup>1244</sup> Spaans 1997, p. 19.

cities in Flanders, Brabant and Holland, Frisian towns owed their prosperity to the neighbouring country, and did not attract people from the countryside with their wealth.

All important Frisian towns had hospitals for the needy, just as in other cities in the Low Countries. Already around 1450 Leeuwarden, Harlingen, Bolsward, Sneek, Franeker, Dokkum and Workum had hospitals; Leeuwarden even had four of them. Remarkable for Friesland is that most of them were dedicated to St Anthony. They accommodated poor, sick and old people (some of them paid for their lodging and care; they were called *proveniers*), but also travellers.<sup>1245</sup> In 16th-century Friesland, welfare became more and more a task of the local authorities, instead of the clergy.<sup>1246</sup>

Friesland belonged to the diocese of Utrecht, but in actual practice the Frisian Freedom kept control. The parishioners often chose their own parish priests and the priests themselves chose their own deans. The area functioned quite independently from the bishop of Utrecht.<sup>1247</sup> The same situation applied for the convents in the district.<sup>1248</sup> Compared to other regions, and considering the low number of inhabitants,<sup>1249</sup> Friesland counted more medieval convents than any other area in the Netherlands.<sup>1250</sup> Remarkably, the entire region did not have one single collegiate church.<sup>1251</sup>

Because of the lack of sources, it is not really clear when the Reformation started in Friesland and how much influence this movement had. It is obvious that the Baptists formed an early and important reform group in the area with a large following, but in the end they left the church to become a separate obedience.<sup>1252</sup> During the 1570s the struggle between the old Catholic religion and the new religion becomes more obvious. Finally, in March 1580, the Frisian representatives chose the side of the new faith: from then on Catholic services were forbidden and convents were closed.<sup>1253</sup>

A few years before Gheerkin de Hondt left 's-Hertogenbosch for 'Vrieslant', an overview of churches of the region was made. On 25 August 1542 the governess

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<sup>1245</sup> Spaans 1997, pp. 30-32.

<sup>1246</sup> Spaans 1997, for example pp. 15-17.

<sup>1247</sup> Woltjer 1962, pp. 57-58 and Kalma/Spahr van der Hoek/De Vries 1980<sup>2</sup>, pp. 284-285.

<sup>1248</sup> Woltjer 1962, pp. 67-77. On the general religious history of Friesland: Kalma/Spahr van der Hoek/De Vries 1980<sup>2</sup>, pp. 229-256.

<sup>1249</sup> The total number of inhabitants in 1511 is estimated at 76,000 (Faber 1972, volume I, p. 24).

<sup>1250</sup> Kalma/Spahr van der Hoek/De Vries 1980<sup>2</sup>, p. 236.

<sup>1251</sup> Verhoeven 1994, p. 15.

<sup>1252</sup> Woltjer 1962, pp. 78-90. See also Zijlstra 1997.

<sup>1253</sup> Kalma/Spahr van der Hoek/De Vries 1980<sup>2</sup>, p. 299.

Mary of Hungary issued an order on behalf of Emperor Charles V to the *Hof van Friesland* to ask the Frisian local authorities to make lists of the incomes of all the parishes and religious goods in their region. The results were compiled in the so-called *Beneficialboeken*.<sup>1254</sup> These books give us a good impression of the financing of the parishes in Friesland and in some cases they even give information on polyphonic music in the liturgy.<sup>1255</sup> Combined with the sources that have come down to us in local archives, we are able to select four towns and two villages that might have been Gheerkin's destination in 'Vrieslant' in October 1547.<sup>1256</sup>

## 8.2 Traces of (polyphonic) music in the liturgy

### 8.2.1 Leeuwarden<sup>1257</sup>

Since 1504 the city of Leeuwarden served as the main residence of the Frisian court.<sup>1258</sup> In the court housed in the so-called *blokhuis* ('fortress'), which was built

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<sup>1254</sup> The *Beneficialboeken* are not complete (anymore?); missing are the *grietenijen* (a sort of shire) of Franekeradeel, Aengwirden, Gaasterland and Schoterland, the towns of Dokkum, Slooten, Workum and Stavoren and the villages of Appelscha, Berterwird, Boonwerderhuizen, Burum, Elahuizen, Giekerk, Greonterp, Haskerdijken, Hemelum, Hoogebeintum, Luktewoude, Luxwolde, Nes (Utingeradeel), Oenkerk, Oudkerk, Scharl, Warns, Wetzens and Zwaagwesteinde (Van Leeuwen 1850, p. 5). The originals are now in Leeuwarden, Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 14 (Hof van Friesland), Inv. nos. 86 (Oostergo), 87 (Westergo) and 88 (Zevenwouden).

<sup>1255</sup> Because of the extent of the source, the lack of church accounts of the period and the fact that we do not have any clue of where Gheerkin de Hondt might have worked, mainly the places mentioned in Vlagsma 2003 have been consulted: Leeuwarden, Wirdum, Stiens, Hjum, Roordahuizum, Werregae, Rinsumageest, Franeker, Harlingen, Sneek, Bolsward, Schyngen, Deinum, Weydum, Bozum, Jellum, Wommels, Oosterend and Schoterburen.

<sup>1256</sup> A quick investigation of the accounts of the churches of Roordahuizum (1557-1650; Leeuwarden, Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 245-18, Inv. no. 81), Wier (1563-1622; Leeuwarden, Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 245-53, Inv. no. 72) and Wirdum (1555-1601; Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer 77-D, Inv. no. 238) did not offer any account items especially for music and liturgy, other than payments for organs, organists and bellows blowers. I have not been able to track down more Catholic church archives from before 1565 than the ones mentioned in this chapter.

<sup>1257</sup> See on the history of Leeuwarden in general: Kunst 1999.

from 1498 onwards and had its own church, a small chapel dedicated to St Anne.<sup>1259</sup> The inhabitants of the town could attend three churches: the Sint-Vitus in the district of Oldenhove, the parish church of Sint-Maria or Nijehove and the church of Sint-Catharina or Hoek (Hoeksterkerk).<sup>1260</sup> Furthermore, there were four chapels in convents: of the Jacobins, the Friars Minor, the Witte Nonnen ('white nuns') and the Grauwe Begijnen ('grey beguines').<sup>1261</sup>

The chapel of St Anne at the *blokhuis* was renewed in 1530. It was a simple building, with an attic that served as a store for grain. The chapel was a place of worship for about 150 people. On weekdays a Mass was read by the Friars Minor, and on Sundays a sung Mass was celebrated. On the feast of St Anne (26 July) Mass was sung with extra lustre. The Friars Minor were also responsible for the liturgy on this feast day. During the year, a priest was in charge of the care of the inhabitants of the *blokhuis*.<sup>1262</sup>

Traces of music are to be found in several accounts.<sup>1263</sup> In 1527 a small organ (*posityff*) was bought. It was placed on the ambulatory where 'the singers' also stood. Since the chapel was very small and there was only one sung Mass a week, taken care of by the Friars Minor, it seems very unlikely that professional singers were hired on a structural basis; an organist was sufficient for the services. However, as we will see below, there were professional singers in Leeuwarden, and they might have been hired for the Sunday sung Mass. The singers, whoever they were, had several choirbooks at their disposal, but it remains unclear if polyphony was sung and if a *zangmeester* was appointed.

Around 850 a small wooden church dedicated to Sint-Vitus was built in Leeuwarden. About two centuries later (in the early or late 11th century), the

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<sup>1258</sup> See § 8.1 above.

<sup>1259</sup> See on the *blokhuis*: Theissen 1913.

<sup>1260</sup> Kunst 1999, p. 89.

<sup>1261</sup> Vlagsma 2003, p. 18.

<sup>1262</sup> Vlagsma 1996, pp. 169-170.

<sup>1263</sup> Based on Vlagsma 1996, pp. 176 and 180 and Theissen 1913, p. 23. Vlagsma refers to Theissen and Theissen only mentions the *Rentmeestersrekeningen* (now in Leeuwarden, Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum Tresoar, Toegangnummer 4) as his source in general, he does not mention specific accounts for specific information. In his book on the Frisian organs, Vlagsma specifically refers to the accounts of 1517-1519 (Inv. no. 2.b: 2e rekening), 1523-1530 (Inv. no. 3: 5e rekening) and 1517-1530 (Inv. nos. 55.a and 55.b) (Vlagsma 2003, p. 19). For the Gheerkin period, two accounts of the court have come down to us: Inv. no. 14 (17e rekening over 1546/1547) and Inv. no. 15.a (18e rekening over 1547/1548); neither of these accounts gives information on singers.

wooden church was replaced by a building made of tuff.<sup>1264</sup> From 1529 onwards, the plan was to replace the Romanesque cruciform church by a new building, to start with the tower. Because of problems with the foundation of the building, only part of the tower was built. Today this leaning tower is called 'Oldehove'. The church itself was never built, and the old building was demolished in 1596.<sup>1265</sup>

The Sint-Vituskerk was the most important church in town,<sup>1266</sup> having nine prebends in 1542.<sup>1267</sup> The first account of the church that has been preserved, dates from 1576. However, since that is still before 1580 (the year the Frisians passed to the new faith), it could also represent the situation around 1547.<sup>1268</sup> The accounts of the late 1570s show us that each year there is an account item mentioning the singers.<sup>1269</sup> The group was rather small and consisted in the years 1576-1578 of a *sangmeester*, an organist, and two or three other singers (sometimes specified as *basconter* and *hoechconter*). Perhaps this is the result of the turnover to the new faith and therefore more singers might have been active in earlier years.<sup>1270</sup> Some of the names suggest that the musicians came from the region of Friesland.<sup>1271</sup> What the tasks were the

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<sup>1264</sup> Kunst 1999, pp. 28, 40 and 53.

<sup>1265</sup> Karstkarel 2009<sup>3</sup>, p. 189.

<sup>1266</sup> Vlagsma 2003, pp. 18-19 states that the church was a collegiate church, but there are no indications that this was the case and all other authors refer to the church as parish church. This is confirmed by Verhoeven 1994, p. 15, where he mentions that there was not a single collegiate church in the entire district of Friesland. Kunst 1999, p. 74 also speaks of three parish churches in Leeuwarden.

<sup>1267</sup> Kunst 1999, p. 92.

<sup>1268</sup> We also have to keep in mind that Friesland got its own bishop in 1559 and the Sint-Vituskerk became his cathedral, although in actual practice only in 1570 (Kunst 1999, p. 93 and 102).

<sup>1269</sup> Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer L913, pp. 51-61 (1576), fol. 25r-29r (1577), fol. 23v-27v (1578) and fol. 28r-31v (1579). The account of 1580 is only minor, since the church was no longer Catholic. It is not clear if there were more accounts than these (we had three different church accounts in Bruges), containing more information about liturgical activities.

<sup>1270</sup> According to Verhoeven/Mol 1994, pp. 365-367, three singers, most likely of Sint-Vitus, are mentioned as witnesses for the last will of Fed, widow of Wierd Metzies, on 15 July 1541: Frans Jan zoen (*tenoryt*), Crystophorus van Campen (*hoichsangher*) and Peter Henrick zoen (*bas*). Perhaps the man mentioned before Frans Jan zoen (jonghe Hans Cruys) was also a *tenoryt* and therefore there would be four singers. It seems a mystery why these singers (together with a priest from Sint-Vitus and the schoolmaster) were asked to be the witnesses; there are no references to music or liturgy in this last will.

<sup>1271</sup> For example Luithien Sipke zoon.

group of musicians had to fulfil remains unclear; of the *sangmeester* we know that he had to teach the choirboys.<sup>1272</sup>

The *Beneficiaalboeken* of 1543 also give us information on the Sint-Vituskerk.<sup>1273</sup> First we find out that the seven canonical hours were sung, probably not on a daily and regular basis, but as a result of several foundations made by parishioners, for example by the couple Tryn and Peter Janszoon and the sister of Tryn, Reynsk Doeckes. Together they (co-)founded the singing of the seven canonical hours, a visit to the grave of Reynsk during Vespers, the Vigil with nine lessons during Lent, a Mass at the altar of Our Lady on Saturdays in the morning with two servants (probably priests) followed by a visit to the grave of Peter, three weekly Masses at the altar of Saint Christopher followed by a visit to the grave of Reynsk and Masses and Vigils as memorial services (Tryn's memorial service took place around the feast of St Boniface). Peter and his father Jan Sybrantsz. also had made foundations for memorial services (Vigil and Mass) for themselves, as did their relatives (Heer Jella Juwsma and Sibbel Sittes). Memorial services were also founded for Lysbet Douwes and Heer Fedde (former parish priest of the Sint-Vituskerk). The memorial service founded by Dirck Willems contains a Vigil and Requiem Mass on Fridays at the altar of St Anne, sung by the priests in the presbytery. In short, the Sint-Vituskerk in Leeuwarden was a well-established church, where rich parishioners made foundations.

This is confirmed by the traces left by a guild of the Holy Sacrament, which had its own altar in the Sint-Vituskerk.<sup>1274</sup> The guild was responsible for poor relief for people living at home. It was officially suppressed before 24 January 1526, but the liturgical tasks were turned over to the Sint Anthony Gasthuis.<sup>1275</sup> The oldest account of this guild dates from 1561.<sup>1276</sup> It shows us that in 1561 the liturgical services were

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<sup>1272</sup> The total remunerations of the *sangmeester* are about 60 Carolus guilders a year, including an amount for the rent of his house. This is in the late 1570s a lot less than Gheerkin de Hondt received in 's-Hertogenbosch during the 1540s. The other singers also received less than their colleagues in 's-Hertogenbosch in the 1540s.

<sup>1273</sup> Leeuwarden, Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 14 (Hof van Friesland), Inv. no. 86 (Oostergo). For a transcription see: Van Leeuwen 1850, pp. 69-72.

<sup>1274</sup> Vlagsma 2003, pp. 18-19.

<sup>1275</sup> The Sint Anthony Gasthuis was founded before 1425 as a guesthouse for poor, old, needy and ill people, both from Leeuwarden and its surroundings and for travellers; it had its own chapel (Spaans 1997, pp. 32-33 and 44-46).

<sup>1276</sup> It is part of the oldest surviving account of the Sint Anthony Gasthuis (Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Archief Sint Anthony Gasthuis, Toegangsnummer 263, Inv. no. 920). An edition of this account is available in: Eekhof 1876, deel 1, pp. 456-554. Since

taken care of by a mature group of musicians, as we find them in other churches of the Low Countries: four to six singers, among them a *zangmeester*, an organist and a bellows blower.<sup>1277</sup> Payments are also made to a schoolmaster, together with the church and the city of Leeuwarden (1/4 by the guild, 1/4 by the church of Sint-Vitus and 1/2 by the city), probably for teaching choirboys. Some of the names suggest that most of the men were most likely of local origin.<sup>1278</sup> As with the Sacramentsbroederschap in the Sint-Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch, the singers received their payments at four times a year; in this case at All Souls, Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, first of May and St James (25 July). In order to get paid, they had to sing *in musijck* and in chant the *Lof* of the Holy Sacrament and the Mass of the Holy Sacrament on Thursday. We may safely assume that the situation was the same as in 's-Hertogenbosch: the musicians of the church were hired by guilds and crafts for their own liturgical services.<sup>1279</sup> Remarkable is that the payments are almost equal to all singers (13 or 14 *stuivers*): one would expect that the *zangmeester* would receive more. Notable too are payments to two other singers, for singing in the Sint Anthonij Gasthuis and the chapel of Sint-Jacob.<sup>1280</sup>

Further interesting information about music and liturgy in the church of Oldehove in Leeuwarden comes from the archives of the *Soete Name Jhesus Gilde*,<sup>1281</sup> which had its own altar in the church<sup>1282</sup> and paid for hearing polyphony. Shortly after the

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the account is from before 1580, it will be representative for the situation of around 1547.

<sup>1277</sup> Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Archief Sint Anthony Gasthuis, toegangsnummer 263, inv. no. 920, fol. CXXVr-CXXXVJr. A transcription is in Eekhof 1876, deel 1, pp. 535-543.

<sup>1278</sup> For example the last names Jansma and Van Hallum and the first name Fecco are typically Frisian. None of the other names is Flemish or French.

<sup>1279</sup> The next account of the guild is that of 1582, which is after the turnover to the new religion. Therefore we cannot compare the names of the singers mentioned in 1561 with the accounts of the church of Sint-Vitus, of which the oldest account is that of 1576.

<sup>1280</sup> The Sint-Jacobsgasthuis was founded in 1478 by Hille van Zwolle as the second *gasthuis* in Leeuwarden next to the Sint Anthony Gasthuis and was ruled by Hille's family and the guardians of the Guild of the Holy Sacrament (Spaans 1997, p. 33). The buildings were sold on 24 January 1526 to the Sint Anthony Gasthuis. Only the chapel – built for the memorial services for the founders Hille van Zwolle and her family – survived (Spaans 1997, p. 44).

<sup>1281</sup> Vlagsma 2003, p. 265.

<sup>1282</sup> Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inv. no. 57, account of 1551/52, p. 87, payment to the widow of Frans Janssoen for singing the weekly *Suete Naeme Jhesus* Mass at the altar in the church

suppression of the Guild of the Holy Sacrament, the Soete Name Jhesus Ghilde became more active in poor relief,<sup>1283</sup> given at a special table in the church, according to the tradition of other guilds in the medieval Low Countries. From 1533 onwards, the guild received more inheritances, among them the one of Ritske Boelema in 1547-1549.

The oldest document from the Soete Name Jhesus Ghilde dates from 6 January 1528 and contains its regulations, which suggest that the guild had already existed for a long time.<sup>1284</sup> The most important task of the guild was to hold memorial services for its members (between twelve and over twenty), all men, all belonging to the top level of the Frisian society. The fifteen rules of 1528 give us information on music and liturgy. First (no. 1), Mass had been sung on Fridays 'for a long time', but from then on, Mass had to be sung on Wednesdays, preferably at seven o'clock (in the morning?). Second (no. 9), the *oldermannen* (the administrators) should order a 'singing' Mass, 'in *discant* or otherwise', every week. It remains unclear if this is the same weekly Mass as the one mentioned before, or if it is a second Mass. Furthermore, it is not obvious whether these Masses were memorial Masses or other Masses, or perhaps both (in case there were two Masses).

Another document gives some more information: a charter from 1548, in which Emperor Charles V gives permission to accept inheritances up to and including the amount of 500 guilders *rentes* (as rent income) a year.<sup>1285</sup> The text mentions the weekly Masses, that are celebrated in honour of *Gebenediden Naem Jesus* (the sweet name of Jesus). This suggests they were not memorial services.

A new document with regulations dated 9 November 1579 adds a yearly sung Mass to the existing Masses, namely on the day the new administrators are chosen,

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of Oldehove. It was overlooked by Vlagsma and Spaans, both stating that it was unknown in which church or chapel the guild was based.

<sup>1283</sup> On a possible connection between these two events and on the Soete Naem Jesusgilde see: Spaans 1997, pp. 48-51. On the history of the guild see also the Introduction to the inventory on <http://www.historischcentrumleeuwarden.nl>, Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis).

<sup>1284</sup> The original is lost, but a 17<sup>th</sup>-century copy is now in Leeuwarden, Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 327 (Familie Van Sminia), Inv. no. 2027a. A transcription is on the website of the Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden (<http://www.historischcentrumleeuwarden.nl>), Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inventaris, 2.8.1, Bijlage no. 1.

<sup>1285</sup> Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inv. no. 343. A partly transcription is on the website of the Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden (<http://www.historischcentrumleeuwarden.nl>, Introduction to the inventory). A complete transcription is given in Thoe Schwartzenberg en Hohenlansberg 1768-1793, volume III, pp. 145-147.



on the first Sunday after All Saints.<sup>1286</sup> The same document also refers to a 'sung or read' memorial Mass on the next Monday, so that leaves the possibility that the sung Mass on Sunday is a 'general' polyphonic Mass. The memorial service will be sung or read at the altar of the guild, and will be a *missa pro defunctis*. During the Mass, the names of the deceased members will be read. Confusing is that the text of 1579 also refers to the Wednesday Mass at seven o'clock as the 'sung or read memorial service (*zielmisse*)'. This would suggest that on Wednesday a memorial service was sung or read and not a polyphonic regular Mass. However, since this document dates from 1579, less than a year before the Frisians turned to the new faith, the original liturgical observances might have decreased by that time (compared to 1548).

From a list with receipts and expenditure of 1555 we know how many singers were involved during a Mass and banquet.<sup>1287</sup> A priest was paid 4 *stuivers* for singing the Mass; he had two servants who also received 4 *stuivers* (together). The *sangers ofte musyckers*<sup>1288</sup> received together 12 *stuivers*. The sexton got paid 4 *stuivers*. The schoolmaster received 4 *stuivers* 'for two days', 'the children' 1 *stuiver*. The organist and bellows blower respectively received 3 and 1 *stuiver(s)*. If the organist received as much as each of the singers, there would have been four singers. If the amount the organist and bellows blower received together was the same as each of the singers received (namely 4 *stuivers*, as did the priest, his servants, the sexton and the schoolmaster) there would have been three singers.<sup>1289</sup> A list of receipts and expenditure of 14 October 1579 also mentions the singers as a group, not as individuals.<sup>1290</sup> A little more information can be derived from accounts that have been fragmentarily preserved. There are mentioned the 'kralen/coralen' (choirboys)

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<sup>1286</sup> Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inv. no. 14. A transcription is on the website of the Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden (<http://www.historischcentrumleeuwarden.nl>), Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inventaris, 2.8.1, Bijlage no. 3.

<sup>1287</sup> Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inv. no. 44. A transcription is on the website of the Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden (<http://www.historischcentrumleeuwarden.nl>), Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inventaris, 2.8.1, Bijlage no. 2.

<sup>1288</sup> The transcription on the website of the Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden incorrectly gives 'musyckeis'.

<sup>1289</sup> Four singers would correspond to the lowest number of singers singing for the Guild of the Holy Sacrament, which had an average of 4-6 singers. We have to take into account that this is only a random indication of one Mass and banquet in 1555.

<sup>1290</sup> Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inv. no. 45, fol. Vv.

or 'kinderen', the organist and bellows blower and *sangmeester* Frans Jan zoon.<sup>1291</sup> Complete lists with names of singers are not available.

Although we do not know who the singers were and how many of them were singing every week, since the altar of the guild was based in the church of Sint-Vitus, it would be most logical to assume that the singers of this church were hired to sing the weekly Masses of the Soete Name Jhesus Gilde, as was the case with the Masses and *Lof* of the Guild of the Holy Sacrament.

Without a doubt we may say that the Sint-Vituskerk was the major church in Leeuwarden and polyphony was sung there. However, the group of singers seems to have been a little smaller than in important churches elsewhere in the Low Countries, although a group of four to six singers was not unusually small. The question remains how high the level of singing was and where the singers received their education.

The archives of the church of Nijehove (derived from Sint-Vitus in the 12th century and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary)<sup>1292</sup> and the Sint-Catharinakerk (Hoeksterkerk, founded by the Camminga family in the 14th century)<sup>1293</sup> are lost. We cannot tell if any music was professionally performed there during the liturgical services. The *Beneficiaalboeken* do mention the church of Nijehove, but they do not tell us anything about the liturgical activities. The only trace of music in the Sint-Catharinakerk around the time Gheerkin must have arrived in Friesland comes from a legal document of 1547 which mentions an organist called Jan Absolons living in the district 'Nijehoeff'. Another document tells us that a certain Pietro Christiany was the organist of the church of the Jacobins and of the church of Nijehove shortly before 1580.<sup>1294</sup>

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<sup>1291</sup> Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, Toegangsnummer 119-B (Ritske Boelema Gasthuis), Inv. no. 57, accounts of 1537/38, 1538/39, 1543, 1551/52, 1559/60, 1564/66 and 1567/68 until 1574. The draft account for the years 1550/57 does not give any information on music (Inv. no. 73). Frans Jan zoon is probably the same man as the *tenoryt* mentioned in the last will of Fed, widow of Wierd Metzies, dated 15 July 1541 (Verhoeven/Mol 1994, pp. 365-367).

<sup>1292</sup> Kunst 1999, pp. 37, 43 and 69-70.

<sup>1293</sup> Kunst 1999, pp. 45 and 74.

<sup>1294</sup> Vlagsma 2003, p. 19. The fact that Absolons lives in the district does not guarantee that he was the organist of the church.

## 8.2.2 Franeker<sup>1295</sup>

The small town of Franeker<sup>1296</sup> only had one church, which was dedicated to St Martin of Tours, as were many churches in the diocese of Utrecht and in Friesland. The current building was built in the 15th century, succeeding a tuff church. It still has the original mural paintings of several saints on the pillars of the church. The remarkable collection is formed by paintings of Clotilde, Adrian, James, Dominic, Sebastian, Roch, Hubertus, Francis of Assisi, Catherine, Apollonia, Luke the Evangelist and Margaret the Virgin. The Martinikerk is the only Frisian medieval church that has an ambulatory, where many altars found a place.<sup>1297</sup>

Two important books with copies of original documents of the church remain, in which we can find information on liturgical activities.<sup>1298</sup> They show us that the Martinikerk was a church like many others in the Low Countries. A parish priest was assisted by several other priests to fulfil the daily spiritual needs of the people in town. There were several prebends and altars in the church:<sup>1299</sup> of St Catherine, St Nicolas, a Sjaerdema prebend (called after the donor),<sup>1300</sup> a Sint-Jans prebend,<sup>1301</sup> an altar of the cobblers dedicated to SS Crispin and Crispinian<sup>1302</sup> and a prebend of *Ons Lieve Vrouwe ter Noodt*<sup>1303</sup> (Our Lady with the dead Christ). Besides the cobblers, the riflers had their guild based in the Martinikerk and celebrated a sung Mass every year on the day of St Christopher, followed by a memorial service for the deceased

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<sup>1295</sup> On the history of Franeker in general: Algra 1983 and Hallema 1953a.

<sup>1296</sup> Around 1530 there were about 2,500-3,000 inhabitants (Hallema 1931, p. 124).

<sup>1297</sup> Karstkarel 2009<sup>3</sup>, pp. 114-117; De Vries 1992<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1298</sup> Leeuwarden, Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 251, Inv. no. 1 (Oudste kerkeboek) and Franeker, Archief van het Stadsbestuur van Franeker, Inv. no. 10 (Oudste Privilegeboek). Parts from the Oudste kerkeboek are published by Telting 1856. Hallema 1931 and Hallema 1953b also published from this archival document, as well as from the Oudste Privilegeboek.

<sup>1299</sup> Telting 1856, p. 80. See also: Van Leeuwen 1850, pp. 253-260.

<sup>1300</sup> Founded in the 15th century (Hallema 1931, p. 91).

<sup>1301</sup> Probably already founded in the 13th century (Hallema 1931, p. 91).

<sup>1302</sup> The regulations of the guild of the cobblers have been kept in Franeker, Archief van het Stadsbestuur van Franeker, Inv. no. 80. The document contains no information on feasts or liturgy.

<sup>1303</sup> Hallema 1931, p. 89 mentions that it was gifted with rich goods shortly before 1501. The only connection with music is a reference to a payment to the organist of the church in the Oudste kerkeboek (Leeuwarden, Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 251, Inv. no. 1, fol. 67v).

members the next day.<sup>1304</sup> The church also housed a guild of the Holy Sacrament, which was – just like in Leeuwarden – succeeded by a *Zoete Naam Jezusgilde* in the first half of the 16th century.<sup>1305</sup> In 1503 a guild of St Anne was founded,<sup>1306</sup> of which the articles of association have been preserved.<sup>1307</sup> Considering the musical elements of these statutes, this charter shows us that the members of the guild celebrated the feast of St Anne (26 July) every year with great lustre, with a procession, a sung Mass and organ playing. The day after, a memorial service was sung in honour of the deceased members of the guild.

A picture of the liturgy in the church can be drawn from two texts that have come down to us containing instructions for the sexton.<sup>1308</sup> Every day there was an early Mass, Matins, a High Mass, Vespers, *Lof* and Vigil. The feasts that were celebrated were (at least) Easter and its octave, Pentecost and its octave, Christmas, New Year's Day, Epiphany of Our Lord, Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, St James, St Michael, St Victor, All Saints' Day, St Martin (also being the day of the Dedication of the church), the Marian feasts, and St John. These feasts correspond to the feasts listed for Delft, which belonged to the same diocese, although that list counted many more feasts.<sup>1309</sup>

The directions to the sexton also mention that he had to participate in singing during the early Mass, Matins, High Mass, Vesper, *Lof* and Vigil.<sup>1310</sup> We do know that besides chant<sup>1311</sup> polyphonic music was sung in the Franeker Martinikerk, since we have an inventory of 6 October 1565 of the goods the sexton had to take care of.<sup>1312</sup> The list mentions two graduals to sing the Mass, two Psalters, four antiphonaries (two winter parts and two summer parts), a large but thin book for the

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<sup>1304</sup> Hallema 1931, p. 148-149. I have not been able to track down the original document of 24 July 1539 containing the renewal of the regulations of the guild.

<sup>1305</sup> Spaans 1997, pp. 34 and 62.

<sup>1306</sup> Hallema 1931, pp. 100-105.

<sup>1307</sup> Franeker, Archief van het Gilde of de Broederschap van St. Anna, Inv. no. 1.

<sup>1308</sup> Leeuwarden, Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 251, Inv. no. 1 (Oudste kerkeboek), fol. 70v-72r (between October 1564 and October 1565) and fol. 79r (09-11-1569). Transcriptions in Telting 1856, pp. 93-96 and 100. See also Algra 1983, p. 36.

<sup>1309</sup> See Appendix 5. We have to keep in mind that Delft was a larger town and that the information we have here only comes from instructions for the sexton.

<sup>1310</sup> As we saw in Delft, the sexton there was added to the group of singers 'if he had nothing else to do' (§ 3.4).

<sup>1311</sup> Hallema 1953b, p. 250 (original in Franeker, Archief van het Stadsbestuur van Franeker, Inv. no. 10 (Oudste Privilegeboek), fol. CXXXVJr; dated 28-01-1561).

<sup>1312</sup> Leeuwarden, Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 251, Inv. no. 1 (Oudste kerkeboek), fol. 74r. Transcription in Telting 1856, p. 98.

*Lof* services, a large *musyck boeck* and a small *sanghboeck* and a missal. We do not have any information on the content of the liturgical books.

There also is a lack of facts on the singers, let alone whether they were professionals or ‘just’ priests. We do know that there was a *sangmeester* in February 1551, but what his tasks were is not determined, only that he lived in a certain house.<sup>1313</sup> Perhaps he was – together with the head of school – responsible for teaching the schoolchildren, since we know that they also played a role in liturgy. Several references in the books with copies of original charters mention that children were educated in singing in the church.<sup>1314</sup>

Finally, there was a professional organist who had a new organ at his disposal from 1528 onwards. It was originally built by Jan van Koevelens from Amsterdam; the final payment was made in 1534 to his successor Henrick Niehoff, who around that time built the organ for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in ’s-Hertogenbosch.<sup>1315</sup>

### 8.2.3 Sneek

Besides several convents, Sneek had one church in the 16th century that was also dedicated to St Martin. The first stone Sint-Maartenskerk was probably built in the second half of the 11th century, most likely following a wooden building and in turn followed by a new building between 1498 and 1503.<sup>1316</sup>

None of the church records has been preserved,<sup>1317</sup> so we depend on the *Beneficiaalboeken* for information on music and liturgy.<sup>1318</sup> They tell us that the Sint-Maartenskerk had quite a vivid Catholic life, having nine priests and at least seven

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<sup>1313</sup> Hallema 1953b, p. 244. Original in Franeker, Archief van het Stadsbestuur van Franeker, Inv. no. 10 (Oudste Privilegeboek), fol. XXIjv-XXIIJr.

<sup>1314</sup> Hallema 1953b, pp. 233, 239, 240, 244, 249 and 250. Original texts in: Franeker, Archief van het Stadsbestuur van Franeker, Inv. no. 10 (Oudste Privilegeboek), fol. XCv, CXv-CXJr and XXIjv-XXIIJr; Telting 1856, p. 87; Leeuwarden, Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 251, inventarisnummer 1 (Oudste kerkeboek, fol. 30v-31v and 40v; Hallema 1931, p. 107).

<sup>1315</sup> Vlagsma 2003, pp. 20, 37-40, 85-87; the original texts in Leeuwarden, Tresoar, Toegangsnummer 251, inventarisnummer 1 (Oudste kerkeboek), fol. 30v-31v and 40v; Franeker, Archief van het Stadsbestuur van Franeker, Inv. no. 10 (Oudste Privilegeboek), fol. XXXVr-v and XXXVJr.

<sup>1316</sup> Schroor 2011, pp. 57 and 61.

<sup>1317</sup> Keikes 1955.

<sup>1318</sup> Van Leeuwen 1850, pp. 267-274.

but probably twelve prebends.<sup>1319</sup> The church also housed a guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A professional organist, *meester* Harmen Ymez./Emez., was paid for his services; his name suggests that he was of local origin. The number of priests and prebends suggests a mature liturgical centre, therefore the possibility that professional singers sang here cannot be ruled out.

#### 8.2.4 Bolsward

The *Beneficiaalboeken* mention that in the Sint-Maartenskerk in Bolsward the seven canonical hours were sung.<sup>1320</sup> It was the only parish church, of which the current building dates from the 15th century.<sup>1321</sup> The addition *op sekere daghen* ('on several days') suggests that the seven canonical hours were not sung every day. None of the church accounts has survived,<sup>1322</sup> and therefore we do not know if professional singers were hired. As in Sneek, we can only consider the possibility.

#### 8.2.5 Schyngen

Interesting is the situation in Schyngen, a village situated between Leeuwarden and Franeker, where the church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The *Beneficiaalboeken* first mention Haucke Sybrenszoon, *die kercks Sanger* (the singer of the church). Then the writer complains about the high costs the church had: the church masters had to pay seven (!) organists, of which four were still alive. Furthermore, there was the group of singers (*koersanghers*) which maintained the liturgical services. The parish priest even wanted more singers, but former singers did not want to return to the church.<sup>1323</sup> It remains undetermined what the singers sang: were they priests singing chant, or were they professional singers singing polyphony or a combination of both?

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<sup>1319</sup> We find seven in the *Beneficiaalboeken*, twelve in Schroor 2011, p. 65.

<sup>1320</sup> Van Leeuwen 1850, pp. 277-278.

<sup>1321</sup> Keikes 1955, pp. 57-58.

<sup>1322</sup> Keikes 1952.

<sup>1323</sup> Van Leeuwen 1850, pp. 335-337. See also Vlagsma 2003, p. 26, with misinterpretations.

### 8.2.6 Bozum

A similar situation occurs in Bozum (or Boazum), a village to be found between Leeuwarden and Sneek. The Sint-Martinuskerk most likely dates from the second half of the 12th century and was completed in the late 13th century.<sup>1324</sup> According to Vlagsma, the church accounts from the church masters have been preserved from 1515 onwards and therefore are the oldest Frisian church accounts that survived.<sup>1325</sup> Because the *Beneficiaalboeken* only mention an organ,<sup>1326</sup> we depend on these church accounts.<sup>1327</sup> Alas, the accounts are restricted to general receipts and expenditure.<sup>1328</sup> The inscription in the account of 1556-1581 tells us that these are the accounts of the *patroens ende arme goeden* (church masters and poor relief), suggesting that there might have been other accounts, as we saw in Bruges, containing information on liturgy. At least the items in these accounts (partly alphabetically ordered) are typical for a church fabric (up to 1570), not for liturgical purposes.

Vlagsma refers to expenditure for an organ, organist, a psalter and some cymbals, which at least suggests a musical life in the church. The account of 1556 gives another interesting reference to singers that we have to consider here. On 8 December 1556 Hoiert (or Heiert) Claesz. is paid for helping the choir to sing, which was very welcome, *overmits datter seer weinich sanghers zyn* (because there was a shortage of singers). This could indicate that professional singers were taking care of the liturgy in the church in Bozum.

Altogether we may safely conclude that polyphony was sung in Leeuwarden, at least in the church of Sint-Vitus, where professional singers were hired to sing during the liturgy. In the Sint-Maartenskerk in Franeker polyphonic music also sounded, but we do not know if professional singers were involved. For Sneek, Bolsward, Schyngen and Bozum there are indications that there might have been professional singers, but we do not have any proof of that, let alone evidence that they sang polyphony.

The few names that we have of professional singers in Leeuwarden suggest that most of them were probably of local origin. This differs from the western and southern parts of the Low Countries, where singers from all over the region and

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<sup>1324</sup> Karstkarel 2009<sup>3</sup>, p. 47.

<sup>1325</sup> Vlagsma 2003, p. 21.

<sup>1326</sup> Van Leeuwen 1850, pp. 364-365.

<sup>1327</sup> The originals are in Groningen, Regionaal Historisch Centrum Groninger Archieven, Toegangsnummer 622 (Borg Lulema), Inv. no. 68.

<sup>1328</sup> Especially in the oldest accounts, many pages are very difficult to read too, since the ink is very light.

beyond were hired. It certainly makes us wonder at what professional level the music was performed and where the singers had received their education. As we saw, Friesland was not a densely populated area around 1550. The towns were small and depended on the surrounding countryside for their wealth. Compared to wealthy and culturally and musically attractive cities like Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch, and even Delft, Friesland was an underdeveloped area. Therefore, we might wonder what the motives of a highly trained professional singer/composer like Gheerkin de Hondt were to travel to the upper northern region of the Low Countries.

### 8.3 Gheerkin in 'Vrieslant'?

Up to October 1547 the steps in Gheerkin de Hondt's professional life were quite logical. From the relatively small parish church of Delft to a rich parish church in the metropolis of Bruges, and from then on to a large chapter and parish church in one of the main cities of Brabant, his path makes perfect sense in the light of building a career. But what did he look for in 'Vrieslant'?

The first question to be asked is how Gheerkin got the idea to go to Friesland. Through the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch (Gheerkin's last employer), only a few connections are visible between 's-Hertogenbosch and Friesland during the period 1519-1568. First there is the barber Jaicop who donates money that came from 'Vrieslant'.<sup>1329</sup> In the year 1526/27 we find out that there are no agents (*provisoeren*) in the Frisian area, but that the agent of Groningen looks after the interests in the region.<sup>1330</sup> During Gheerkin's period in 's-Hertogenbosch, the death money for Lysbeth, the daughter of Claes from Harlingen, is paid for.<sup>1331</sup> The same goes for Mr. Henrick Pistoris, parish priest in Germerwolde, Vrieslant, in 1564/65.<sup>1332</sup> A more interesting connection becomes clear in October 1552, when the Frisian *lantcommantguer* (commander) in Es (Nes) near Leeuwarden, heer Huberden Scoeffs (Huybrecht Schoors), becomes a sworn member of the Confraternity.<sup>1333</sup> But at that time Gheerkin had already left 's-Hertogenbosch for five years.

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<sup>1329</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 127, Rekening 1523/24, fol. 241v.

<sup>1330</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 128, Rekening 1526/27, fol. 165r.

<sup>1331</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, Rekening 1541/42, fol. 14v.

<sup>1332</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 134, Rekening 1564/65, fol. 404r.

<sup>1333</sup> BHIC, Inv. no. 133, Rekening 1552/53, fol. 269r. *Heer Huybrecht Schoors commenieur in Vrieland* is host during the second meal of the season on 27 August 1554 (BHIC 1232,



A very interesting item in the accounts of the Broederschap, however, was written between 9 April and 6 May 1548, shortly after Gheerkin had left 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>1334</sup> Mr. Jaspieren the organ builder and N. [Nicolas] the son of Mr. Henricken organ builder received an amount of 20 stuivers for bringing the money they received from the sale of the Broederschap organ in 'Vrieslant'. The account refers to an item in the receipts. These receipts are now missing, so we cannot tell to whom and when exactly the organ was sold. If Gheerkin went to Friesland, he might have played a role in selling the organ. Another possibility is of course that Henrick Niehoff, who was paid by the Broederschap since 1538/39 for maintaining their new organ (built by him in 1534), is the link between the two parties; Niehoff had recently – in 1534 – received the last payment for the new organ in Franeker.

But there is one more connection between the Broederschap and Friesland and that is one of the Swan Brethren, Maximiliaan van Egmond, count of Buren. Maximiliaan was a music-loving member of the staff of Charles V and since 1543 a Swan Brother of the Broederschap. In 1540 he was appointed governor of Friesland, a position he would keep until his death in 1548.<sup>1335</sup> Maximiliaan might be the third possible tie between the Broederschap and the buying party in Friesland for the sale of the organ. He was in 's-Hertogenbosch on 17 April 1548, at the time the organ was sold.<sup>1336</sup>

Maximiliaan could also have been the person who brought Gheerkin to the idea to move to Friesland after his discharge. Shortly before Gheerkin had to leave the Confraternity at the beginning of October 1547 Maximiliaan paid a visit to 's-Hertogenbosch. In September 1547 he joined governess Mary of Hungary when she visited the city.<sup>1337</sup> The city accounts mention payments for wine and meals for Maximiliaan, his wife and his daughter on 6 and 19 September.<sup>1338</sup> It only is a hypothesis, but perhaps in September the argument between the Broederschap and the chapter on Gheerkin's functioning was already going on. Since the chapter

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Inv. no. 134, Rekening 1554/55, fol. 19r-v), which was held in the house of the Broederschap itself.

<sup>1334</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, Rekening 1547/48, fol. 33v.

<sup>1335</sup> <http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/jaarendag/Pages/jaar%20ned%20pol.aspx> and [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa\\_\\_001biog06\\_01/aa\\_\\_001biog06\\_01\\_0124.php](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa__001biog06_01/aa__001biog06_01_0124.php) (accessed July 2012).

<sup>1336</sup> SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1399, *Duytgeven* [expenditure], fol. b 6r, the count received wine from the city government.

<sup>1337</sup> Schipperus 1962, p. 25.

<sup>1338</sup> And also to Prince William of Orange, the later husband of Anna van Bueren, Maximiliaan's daughter. SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, *Duytgeven* [expenditure], fol. [B 8r], [B 8v] and [B 9v].

finally unilaterally discharged Gheerkin, without consulting the Brethren, the Brethren probably did not share the point of view of the chapter. Besides, the Broederschap must have appreciated Gheerkin and his work, because two of his Masses were copied in one of their choirbooks and he already served for almost eight years. Therefore, they might have looked for an elegant solution to a delicate question. And there was the music-loving Maximiliaan, governor of Friesland. He could have offered to help and provide Gheerkin with a new position in a region that was far enough away enough from 's-Hertogenbosch not to embarrass the Broederschap any longer. It is a long shot, but it could have been the way things went.

None of the consulted documents that have come down to us in Frisian archives mentions Gheerkin's name,<sup>1339</sup> but of course we have to keep in mind that many archival pieces have been lost.<sup>1340</sup> We also have to consider the possibility that Gheerkin never arrived in Friesland. But if indeed he went to Friesland, and Maximiliaan van Buren was the person who offered him a position there, Gheerkin probably went to Leeuwarden.

Whatever the case may have been, professionally it was a big step backwards.<sup>1341</sup> Friesland only had small towns, with small parish churches that did not have the rich and professional liturgical activities Gheerkin was familiar with in Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch. The singers in the Frisian churches were most likely all of local

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<sup>1339</sup> I am deeply indebted to Marga ten Hove from the Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden for looking for Gheerkin's name in the following *Klappers* (indexes with names occurring in archival documents): K 25, K 30.1, K 30.2, K 31.1, K 32, K 33.1, K. 33.2, K 33.3, K 33.4, K 33.5, K 33.5.1 and K 33.6. Indexes of several Frisian '*burgerboeken*' (*poorterboeken*, books with names of those who became the *poortrecht*) from the Gheerkin period are available through [www.tresoar.nl](http://www.tresoar.nl) (Bolsward (1579-1582), Dokkum (1547-1798), Franeker (1539-1807), Sloten (1562-1783) and Sneek (1517-1803)). Indexes of the Leeuwarden *burgerboeken* are available on [www.gemeentearchief.nl](http://www.gemeentearchief.nl).

<sup>1340</sup> Many inventories of Frisian town archives contain sources that I would have consulted if I had been certain that Gheerkin was in that city, although my research in Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch proved that the chances that I would find him would have been extremely small.

<sup>1341</sup> We have to consider here that this step backwards could have been Gheerkin's own choice. He must have been over 50 years old when he got fired in 's-Hertogenbosch, so he might have wanted to slow down. The fact that his father had died about a year earlier, leaving a considerable inheritance in which Gheerkin might have shared, could have helped to make the decision to step down on the career ladder. But the question remains why he would have chosen Friesland, instead of some Flemish or Brabant town, which would have been more familiar with him.

origin, not having the education and professional level Gheerkin had himself. We can only guess why he made this career move, because further biographical facts are not available. So for now, after October 1547, we lose track of Gheerkin de Hondt's biography.

## Chapter 9      Gheerkin's social-economic position

### 9.1      Wages in the Low Countries

A thorough investigation of the living standards of musicians in the 16th-century Low Countries has not yet been made. Without a doubt this is caused by the fact that there were no generally standardised remunerations for *zangmeesters*, singers and other musicians, as are available for other professions with many more members, for example masons and carpenters. Furthermore, it seems much more difficult to provide an overview of yearly remunerations for a singer. Musicians were often paid for individual tasks and had different job responsibilities almost every day and in every town, whereas a mason, for example, had more uniform tasks and was usually paid per day. And finally, the scattered preservation of the accounts of churches – the main employers of singers and musicians – complicates matters too.

Prices and wages in general in the Low Countries have been the subject of several research projects.<sup>1342</sup> For this chapter the wages are most interesting, because it is my purpose to compare Gheerkin's remunerations with those of other professions, to determine his financial position, as an indication of his social status, and not to gain an impression of Gheerkin's purchasing power. Complete lists of wages have been published, mainly for workers in the building industry. There are a few considerations we have to take into account, though.

First, there is the difficulty of determining the position of the builder in question. Was he an unskilled labourer or a highly qualified master? Then there is the problem of the number of working days each year. In the case of a *zangmeester* and singers in churches in the Low Countries all available sources point to a working week of seven days, fifty-two weeks a year, the same as the duties of the clergy. But in almost all other lines of business Sundays were days off, as were the feasts according to the liturgical calendar; people were simply not allowed to work on these days. And then there were of course the days in which there was no work, or a person was absent because of illness, or the fact that he could no longer work because he had

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<sup>1342</sup> Used for this book: Verlinden 1959-1973; Scholliers 1975; Noordegraaf/Schoenmakers 1984; Noordegraaf 1985; Munro 2003; Hanus 2010.

become too old. This has led to different calculations of the total (and maximum) number of working days a year,<sup>1343</sup> but an average of 250 will not be far from the actual situation, depending of course on the diocese.<sup>1344</sup> In relation to this, there often was a summer and winter wage.<sup>1345</sup> In summer labourers could get paid more, simply because they worked more hours a day since there were more hours of daylight. Finally, the institution or private person commissioning the work could pay more or less than other organisations or individuals. This not only depended on the quality of the working men, but also on their availability.

Nevertheless, the following table of wages and remunerations may be representative:

Table 9.1 Wages and remunerations in the late medieval Low Countries.

Profession/Name	Date	Location	Wages and remunerations	In guilders a year (estimate) <sup>1346</sup>
Carpenter, mason <sup>1347</sup>	1520-1535	Court of The Hague	5 <i>stuivers</i> a day <sup>1348</sup>	65
Carpenter, mason <sup>1349</sup>	1520-1550	Dordrecht	5.5 <i>stuivers</i> a day <sup>1350</sup>	71.5

<sup>1343</sup> For Holland Noordegraaf 1985 (pp. 58-61, 170) gives 245 days up to 1540 and from then on til 1575 260; for Antwerp he quotes Scholliers mentioning 264 days in the 15th and 16th centuries; Munro 2003 (pp. 639-641) quotes Van der Wee in giving 230 working days in the Antwerp-Lier region in 1526; Kuijer 2000 (pp. 331-332) calculates circa 260 working days in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1535-1539, Blockmans/Prevenier 1974 (p. 56) count circa 270 in the same town.

<sup>1344</sup> Based on the calendars in Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch, the estimated total number of working days there was respectively 260 (§ 3.5), 245 (§ 5.5.2), 227 (§ 7.5.1). Especially in the last case, some of the feasts must have fallen on a Sunday, which was already a day off.

<sup>1345</sup> On this matter see for example Noordegraaf 1985, pp. 52-57 and Munro 2003, p. 630.

<sup>1346</sup> The fact that we have no certainty about the number of working days makes this column less reliable than the wages per day.

<sup>1347</sup> Noordegraaf/Schoenmakers 1984, pp. 111-112.

<sup>1348</sup> Number of working days unknown, but since The Hague belonged to the diocese of Utrecht, the number of working days in Delft has been used (260).

<sup>1349</sup> Noordegraaf/Schoenmakers 1984, pp. 119-120.

<sup>1350</sup> Number of working days unknown, but since Dordrecht belonged to the diocese of Utrecht, the number of working days in Delft has been used (260).

Master mason <sup>1351</sup>	1526	Antwerp	9 pounds 11 <i>schellingen</i> 8 <i>denarii groot</i> Flemish a year (230 working days; = 5 <i>stuivers</i> a day)	57.50
Unskilled agricultural labourer	1530s	Bruges, Sint-Janshospitaal	6 Flemish <i>groot</i> a day (= 3 <i>stuivers</i> a day) <sup>1352</sup>	36.75
Assistant mason <sup>1353</sup>	1530-1542	Bruges	3 <i>patards</i> (= 3 <i>stuivers</i> ), summer wage	36.75 <sup>1354</sup>
Mason <sup>1355</sup>	1530-1535	Bruges	6 <i>patards</i> (= 6 <i>stuivers</i> ), summer wage	73.50 <sup>1356</sup>
Carpenter <sup>1357</sup>	1530s	Bruges, Sint-Janshospitaal	10 Flemish <i>groot</i> a day <sup>1358</sup> (= 5 <i>stuivers</i> a day)	61.25
Carpenter and Mason <sup>1359</sup>	1530s	Bruges, Madeleine hospital	10 Flemish <i>groot</i> a day <sup>1360</sup> (= 5 <i>stuivers</i> a day)	61.25
Roofer/slater/tiler ( <i>tegeldekker</i> ) and Mason <sup>1361</sup>	1530s	Bruges, Sint-Janshospitaal	15 Flemish <i>groot</i> a day <sup>1362</sup> (= 7.5 <i>stuivers</i> a day)	91.88

<sup>1351</sup> Munro 2003, pp. 639-641.

<sup>1352</sup> Number of working days unknown, therefore used the number of working days in Bruges (245). On the countryside wages were lower systematically.

<sup>1353</sup> Scholliers 1975, p. 312.

<sup>1354</sup> Since this was a summer wage, in winter this assistant mason would probably receive less; therefore, this figure is not reliable.

<sup>1355</sup> Scholliers 1975, p. 316.

<sup>1356</sup> Since this was a summer wage, in winter this mason would probably receive less; therefore, this figure is not reliable.

<sup>1357</sup> Verlinden 1959-1973, volume II, p. 99.

<sup>1358</sup> Number of working days unknown, therefore the number of working days in Bruges is used (245).

<sup>1359</sup> Verlinden 1959-1973, volume II, pp. 106, 110.

<sup>1360</sup> Number of working days unknown, therefore the number of working days in Bruges is used (245).

<sup>1361</sup> Verlinden 1959-1973, volume II, p. 97.

<sup>1362</sup> Number of working days unknown, therefore the number of working days in Bruges is used (245).

Mason	1539-47	's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap	5 <i>stuivers</i> a day	56.75 <sup>1363</sup>
Stonemason	1539-47	's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap	5 <i>stuivers</i> a day	56.75 <sup>1364</sup>
Carpenter	1539-47	's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap	5 <i>stuivers</i> a day	56.75 <sup>1365</sup>
Craftsmen <sup>1366</sup>	1540s	's-Hertogenbosch	5 <i>stuivers</i> a day (250 day a year) <sup>1367</sup>	62.50
Labourer <sup>1368</sup>	1540s	's-Hertogenbosch	3 <i>stuivers</i> a day (250 days a year) <sup>1369</sup>	37.50
Singer, minimum	1539-47	's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap	14 <i>stuivers</i> a week <sup>1370</sup>	36.40
Singer, maximum	1539-47	's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap	20 <i>stuivers</i> a week <sup>1371</sup>	52

<sup>1363</sup> Only a few days, but converted to a whole year, the number of 227 working days in 's-Hertogenbosch a year is maintained.

<sup>1364</sup> Only a few days, but converted to a whole year, the number of 227 working days in 's-Hertogenbosch a year is maintained.

<sup>1365</sup> Only a few days, but converted to a whole year, the number of 227 working days in 's-Hertogenbosch a year is maintained.

<sup>1366</sup> Hanus 2010, p. 106.

<sup>1367</sup> Hanus 2010, p. 108, see also p. 120.

<sup>1368</sup> Hanus 2010, p. 106.

<sup>1369</sup> Hanus 2010, p. 108, see also p. 120.

<sup>1370</sup> Based on weekly *sangerenloon*, remunerations only for singing Vespers and Mass every week on Tuesday and Wednesday, feasts, Saturday Marian *Lof* and banquets.

<sup>1371</sup> Based on weekly *sangerenloon*, remunerations only for singing Vespers and Mass every week on Tuesday and Wednesday, feasts, Saturday Marian *Lof* and banquets.

Organist	1539-47	's-Hertogenbosch, Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap	18 <i>stuivers</i> a week <sup>1372</sup>	46.80
Carpenter, mason <sup>1373</sup>	Around 1550	Franeker (Friesland)	5 <i>stuivers</i> a day <sup>1374</sup>	65
Parish priest <sup>1375</sup>	Around 1550	Franeker (Friesland)	250 guilders a year	250
Desiderius Erasmus <sup>1376</sup>	1526	Europe	At least 789,206 Flemish pounds a year	4,735.24

## 9.2 Gheerkin's remunerations

To get an impression of Gheerkin's social status among the working population in the Low Countries in the 16th century, we depend on the accounts from the institutions Gheerkin worked for.

### 9.2.1 Delft

The first reference to Gheerkin's remunerations in Delft is in his appointment text of 3 June 1521, which says that he will receive a monthly amount of 10 Flemish *schellingen* 'boven loedt ende accidencien' plus a new tabard worth 20 *schellingen* every two years.<sup>1377</sup> Gheerkin's second appointment in Delft (1 August 1530) shows the same pattern.<sup>1378</sup> In both cases Gheerkin seems to have rented housing accommodation, for which he received an additional amount of money from the church administrators.

For Gheerkin's first appointment, it remains a mystery how much his *loedt* was.

<sup>1372</sup> Based on weekly *sangerenloon*, remunerations only for singing Vespers and Mass every week on Tuesday and Wednesday, feasts, Saturday Marian *Lof* and banquets.

<sup>1373</sup> Hallema 1931, p. 170.

<sup>1374</sup> Number of working days unknown, but since Friesland belonged to the diocese of Utrecht, the number of working days in Delft has been used (260).

<sup>1375</sup> Hallema 1931, p. 170.

<sup>1376</sup> Munro 2003, pp. 639-641.

<sup>1377</sup> § 3.1.

<sup>1378</sup> § 3.3.



But from November 1524 onwards, the documents of the Nieuwe Kerk show us totals of the complete '*choerloot*', the *loot* paid to all members of the *choer*, and therefore to everyone who participated in performing the seven canonical hours.<sup>1379</sup> The total amount of *loot* was different every month, which can easily be explained by two facts: if a person did not participate, he did not receive *loot* and the number of 'performing moments' could differ from month to month (depending on feasts and foundations). The total sums vary therefore from slightly above 24 Flemish pounds a year to almost 30 pounds, being an average of at least 2 pounds a month. However, since we do not know how many people actually were on duty and the records do not mention how much each individual received, these payments do not seem to help us any further in determining Gheerkin's income as *choraelmeester* in Delft.

But there is another way, through a piece of scrap paper mentioning the *loedt* of a *zangmeester*, other singers and the sexton and his assistant in April and May 1549.<sup>1380</sup> The *zangmeester* received respectively 42.75 *stuivers* and 43.5 *stuivers*, which would come to around 26 guilders a year. The *loot* for four other singers<sup>1381</sup> is a total of almost 135 *stuivers* (6.75 guilders). Together with the remunerations of the *zangmeester* and the sexton and his assistant this makes a little more than 9 guilders a month, equalling a total of about 110 guilders a year. If we compare this to the total sums of remunerations during Gheerkin's appointment mentioned above (between 144 and 180 guilders a year), and correct these figures for the numbers of singers (an average of seven a year when Gheerkin was *zangmeester*, therefore three more than in 1549),<sup>1382</sup> it all fits and the amounts of *loot* mentioned seem to contain the payments to the singers and the sexton and his assistant only.<sup>1383</sup>

The *zangmeester* of 1549 is to be identified as Jacob de Leeu, who was appointed 2 October 1547 as *zangmeester* and *hoogconter* and who was also responsible for the education and singing of the choirboys. According to his appointment text, he would receive 60 guilders a year, to which three more guilders could be added if he served well.<sup>1384</sup> As we saw above, part of these 60 guilders were around 26 guilders of *loedt*; the rest consisted of the fixed monthly fee, the

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<sup>1379</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXJr-LXVr.

<sup>1380</sup> GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, at the end of the manuscript (which contains information on the period 1520-1524).

<sup>1381</sup> In April, in May there were only two.

<sup>1382</sup> § 3.4.

<sup>1383</sup> Seven singers having 34 *stuivers* a month, plus one *zangmeester* having 43 *stuivers*, makes 168 guilders a year (the sexton and his assistant only received a few *stuivers* each month). Therefore the payments to priests and for example the organist must have been booked elsewhere, probably in the (missing) accounts of the church fabric.

<sup>1384</sup> Vente 1980, p. 88.

*accidencien* and extras.

The *accidencien* must be translated as ‘additional income’, which probably means the remunerations for feast days. This income consisted of 100 *stuivers*, 50 coming from the church fabric and 50 from the parish priest and the *getijdenmeesters* together.<sup>1385</sup> For three other feasts (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost) extra payments were made. To celebrate the feast of St Cecilia, the musicians’ patron, the singers received an amount of 6 *groot*.<sup>1386</sup>

If we combine these figures with the figures we have on Gheerkin de Hondt, and if we assume he also received around 43 *stuivers* a month in *loot*,<sup>1387</sup> we are able to make the following – estimated – overview of Gheerkin’s remunerations:

Table 9.2 Gheerkin’s estimated remunerations in Delft

Duties	Remunerations	In guilders a year
Fixed monthly fee	10 <i>schellingen groot</i>	36
<i>Loot</i> (based on Jacob de Leeu’s <i>loot</i> )	± 43 <i>stuivers</i> a month	26
<i>Accidencije</i> (feasts)	100 <i>stuivers</i> a year	5
Christmas, Easter, Pentecost	6 Flemish <i>groot</i> each	0.45
Feast of St Cecilia	6 <i>groot</i>	0.0025
<b>Total</b>		± 67 guilders

This total amount of 67 guilders a year corresponds generally to the yearly income of *zangmeester* Jacob de Leeu mentioned in the church records in 1547. In addition, Gheerkin received a tabard worth 20 schellingen every two years and an amount for his house rent.<sup>1388</sup> Furthermore, he probably received extra income from private

<sup>1385</sup> Vente 1980, p. 81 (GAD 435, Inv. no. 156, fol. XLIXr-v). See also: § 3.5.

<sup>1386</sup> § 3.4.

<sup>1387</sup> This is not certain, since there are almost twenty years between Gheerkin’s appointment and Jacob de Leeu’s. But it is defensible, since as we shall see in ’s-Hertogenbosch, the remunerations of a *zangmeester* there were very stable during the 1520s, 1530s and 1540s. Of course, we cannot be certain the 43 *stuivers* were De Leeu’s remunerations every month, but this is only to make a reconstruction of how much Gheerkin could have received, since official and complete figures are now missing.

<sup>1388</sup> The house rent is 7 Rhine guilders (§ 3.1), probably for a year. Scholliers 1960, p. 164 concludes that a labourer (bricklayer) in the expensive 1540s in Antwerp spent almost 18 per cent of his income on rent a year. The 7 guilders Gheerkin received on house rent

foundations,<sup>1389</sup> but exact figures are missing.

### 9.2.2 Bruges

A similar but slightly different situation appears in Bruges. Both the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft and the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges were parish churches where the seven canonical hours were sung every day. Therefore, the package of tasks Gheerkin had to fulfil in both churches would be about the same and the remunerations should be comparable.

The foundation charter of 1424 gives us more detailed information.<sup>1390</sup> As in Delft, in Bruges the payment system was partly based on *loot*, in Bruges called *brievekins* or *billetkins* (small letters). A special scribe (*tafeldrager*) was appointed to write down who was present at every service. Here it is explicitly stated: each payment is according to presence. The payments were written down per month for the total group, so we do not know how much Gheerkin received individually.<sup>1391</sup> But the foundation charter gives us an overview of its members and a distribution code for the payment of the group:

- ☛ The *Commuun* consists of one parish priest, ten priests and four vicars;
- ☛ The four vicars are the sexton of the church, the schoolmaster, the subschoolmaster and the cantor, the last one instructing the children how to sing;
- ☛ The parish priest will receive a remuneration of two parts, the priests of one part and the vicars of half a part. But if the parish priest is not present himself, his substitute will receive a full part, like each of the ten priests.

With a residing parish priest, this makes a total of originally fourteen parts to be distributed. However, from 1424 onwards, several changes were made, because the fact is that appointment texts of several *zangmeesters* from the end of the 15th century up to and including the 1540s show us that the *zangmeester* received twice as much as in 1424, at least nominally (while the purchasing power must have

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are about 10 per cent of his total (estimated) remunerations in Delft. The 20 schellingen for clothing every two years are about 5 per cent of his income a year.

<sup>1389</sup> § 3.6.

<sup>1390</sup> § 4.6.

<sup>1391</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1532/33 (fol. [XXXVI]v), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIIv), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIIv and XXXIXr), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIIv), 1537/39 (fol. XLr and XLv). The account from St John 1539 to St John 1540 is missing. The next account starts at Christmas 1540 (until Christmas 1541).

diminished in the course of that period).<sup>1392</sup> This is also true for the schoolmaster.<sup>1393</sup> Furthermore, we find priests having half a *pitantie* in stead of a whole one, most likely simply because there were not enough parts to share.<sup>1394</sup> Finally, we know for sure that in Gheerkin's time the parish priest was not resident<sup>1395</sup> and therefore only received one part instead of two. Altogether, it seems safe to conclude that there were still fourteen parts to be divided and Gheerkin had one of them.<sup>1396</sup>

The total amount of remunerations for the entire group was rather constant, at an average of nearly 940 pounds *parisis* a year.<sup>1397</sup> For Gheerkin this meant an average of nearly 34 guilders a year. According to the church accounts (church fabric, *Commuun* and *Dis*) separate payments were made for several feasts and foundations. Therefore we are able to make a list of remunerations (Table 9.3).<sup>1398</sup>

This overview can only be seen as an indication and is probably not complete or even contains wrong amounts. For example, it is not always clear from the different church accounts if the amounts mentioned in the payments for private foundations were paid directly to the singers or through the *Commuun*, church fabric or *Dis*.<sup>1399</sup> Furthermore, we have to take into account that payments for private foundations might sometimes have been made directly by the founders or their heirs to the performers. And finally, we do not always know exactly how many singers had to share an amount.

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<sup>1392</sup> § 5.4.

<sup>1393</sup> RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 237, fol. LXXXIIJv-LXXXIIIJv (heer Martin de Raedt, 5 December 1517) and RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 21, fol. 11r (heer Mecghiel Porret, 22 July 1538). Both men received half a *pitantie* for themselves and another half for (maintaining and teaching) the choirboys. See also § 5.6.

<sup>1394</sup> Appointment texts according to RAB, Inv. no. 88, nr. 21.

<sup>1395</sup> In the foundation texts from the period Gheerkin de Hondt worked at the Sint-Jacobskerk, the man is consequently called *stedehouder vanden prochipape* ('substitute of the parish priest', see § 5.6 for the foundations texts).

<sup>1396</sup> See also the discussion in § 5.6.

<sup>1397</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1532/33 (fol. [XXXVIJv]), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIIJv), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIIJv and XXXIXr), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIIJv), 1537/39 (fol. XLR and XLv). The account from St John 1539 to St John 1540 is missing. The next account starts at Christmas 1540 (until Christmas 1541).

<sup>1398</sup> See for an overview of the liturgical duties of Gheerkin de Hondt: § 5.5.7.

<sup>1399</sup> For example the payment to *die vanden commune* in the Bitebloc foundation for singing Vespers for Trinity Sunday. This could either mean 'to the *Commuun* to pay its members' or 'to the members of the *Commuun* directly'. Because of this, only the payments that can clearly be derived from the accounts as paid directly to the singers are mentioned in the overview above. Although it always concerns small amounts, the total amount a year might have been substantial.

Table 9.3 Gheerkin's estimated remunerations in Bruges

Duties	Remunerations	In guilders a year
<i>Distributions</i>	67 Parisian pounds	33.50
Passion on Palm Sunday and Good Friday <sup>1400</sup>	4 <i>groot</i>	0.10
All Souls Day <sup>1401</sup>	3 <i>groot</i>	0.08
Extra foundations for feasts: <sup>1402</sup>		
- Our Lady's Visitation (foundation Jacop Bieze)		
* <i>canter</i> for his motet <sup>1403</sup>	8 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
* 2 <i>canters</i> in the choir <sup>1404</sup>	2 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
* <i>zanghers</i> for singing Mass	4 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
- Cosmas & Damianus		
* <i>cantre</i> for his motet	8 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
- Nativitatis Johannis Baptiste (foundation Jan Waters)		
* <i>cantre</i> for his <i>recht</i> (right) / motets	6 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
- Our Lady Presentation (foundation widow Jan Claijes)		
* 2 <i>canters</i> in the choir	2 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
* <i>ghezellen vander muussyke</i>	2 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
* <i>cantre</i> for his motet	6 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
Total	38 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	0.90

<sup>1400</sup> RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerckfabriek 1532 (fol. 213r), 1533 (fol. 242r), 1534 (fol. 267v), 1535 (fol. 298v), 1536 (fol. 328v), 1537 (fol. 359r), 1538 (fol. 388r), 1539 (fol. 414v). The amount mentioned is for the entire group of singers and is 2 *schellingen groot* every year. In § 5.6 I concluded that there were probably six to eight adult singers employed at the same time. In the same chapter (§ 5.5.3) it became clear that the foundations of Philips Biteblock and Donaes de Moor demanded at least six mature singers. I therefore divided the total amount of remunerations for the group by six, since there must have been at least six singers.

<sup>1401</sup> RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, 1532 (fol. 215v), 1533 (fol. 242r), 1534 (fol. 268r), 1535 (fol. 299v), 1536 (fol. 329v), 1537 (fol. 360r), 1538 (fol. 389v), 1539 (fol. 416v). See Appendix 3, 1532, 2 November. The entire group received 18 *groot*; if we assume there were six singers, they each received 3 *groot*.

Foundation Willem Humbloot and Katheline Damhouders <sup>1405</sup>	3 <i>schellingen groot</i>	0.90
Foundation Philips Bitebloc and Adriane van Beversluys (Mass Trinity Sunday) <sup>1406</sup>		
- <i>ghezellen vanden muusijcke</i> for singing Mass	2 <i>schellingen parisis</i>	
- <i>zanghers</i> for 2 motets	1 <i>schelling parisis</i>	0.08
<i>Ommegancs</i> <sup>1407</sup>	2.8 <i>groten</i>	0.07
<b>Total</b>		± 35.5

Gheerkin's remunerations in *lood* seem to be higher in Bruges than in Delft. That also goes for the money he received for his clothing: in Delft he got 20 *schellingen* every two years, in Bruges it was 16 *schellingen* every year.<sup>1408</sup> This would match the environment: Bruges was a very wealthy city, with a large international community, and with six churches having professional singers. Besides, the church of Sint-Jacob was situated in the richest part of town and was well-to-do; the singers

<sup>1402</sup> OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1532/33 (fol. XXXVJr-XXXVIJr), 1533/34 (fol. XXXVIJr-XXXVIIJr), 1534/36 (fol. XXXVIJr-XXXVIIJr), 1536/37 (fol. XXXVIJr-XXXVIIJr), 1537/39 (fol. XXXVIIJr-XXXIXv). The account from St John 1539 to St John 1540 is missing. The next account starts at Christmas 1540 (until Christmas 1541). Again, I divided total amounts between six singers.

<sup>1403</sup> It remains unclear what exactly is meant by this: did the *zangmeester* have to select or even compose a motet, or was it for a performance and therefore for the entire group (he would of course not be able to sing a motet by himself)? Since the group of singers is mentioned separately in this text, the first option is chosen here. See on this matter also (for the Sint-Donaaskerk): Blackburn 1973, pp. 567-569.

<sup>1404</sup> Gheerkin could be one of them, but this is not certain of course. Since the amount is very small anyway, I added it to the list.

<sup>1405</sup> See § 5.5.3 and Appendix 8. RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533 (fol. 240r), 1534 (fol. 265r), 1535 (fol. 296r), 1536 (fol. 326r), 1537 (fol. 355v), 1538 (fol. 385r), 1539 (fol. 412r).

<sup>1406</sup> See § 5.5.3.1. OWMW-B, Rekening Dis 1532/33 (fol. LXIXr), 1533/34 (fol. LXJV), 1534/35 (fol. LXVIIv), 1535/36 (fol. LXVIIJv), 1536/37 (fol. LXXr), 1537/38 (fol. LXXr), 1538/39 (fol. LXXr).

<sup>1407</sup> See § 5.5.6. The payments for the total group of singers were between 16 and 18 *groten* (RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (fol. 186v, 187v, 188rv, 190r, 192r). Again, I divided the total between six singers.

<sup>1408</sup> § 5.1.

therefore would have to be dressed properly.

Nevertheless, the total amount of Gheerkin's remunerations in Bruges are about half of his remunerations in Delft. The difference is mainly to be explained by the fact that in Delft Gheerkin received a fixed amount of 36 guilders every year. None of the appointment texts of *zangmeesters* in Bruges specifically refers to such a basic salary. But, the total amount of about 35.5 guilders which can be derived from the church accounts simply cannot have been all there was.

This is somewhat confirmed by an appointment text dated 17 June 1515, which sums up the total remunerations of the organist:<sup>1409</sup>

Table 9.4 Remunerations of the organist in 1515

Duties	Remunerations a year	In guilders a year
Daily <i>Lof</i> of the Sacrament and weekly Mass of the Sacrament	2 Flemish pounds	12
High feasts (church fabric) <sup>1410</sup>	30 <i>schellingen</i>	9
<i>Commuun</i>	3 Flemish pounds	18
Half a <i>pitantie</i>	3 Flemish pounds	18
Masses and other offices by guilds and crafts and 'altars'	25 <i>schellingen</i>	7.5
church fabric	3 Flemish pounds 5 <i>schellingen</i>	19.5
<b>Total</b>	14 Flemish pounds	84

This would mean that the organist would receive more than twice the sum the *zangmeester* received, which is highly unlikely, because the *zangmeester* was the leader of the entire group and was expected to earn the highest salary.

What strikes one most in the above table, is the division of the 14 pounds in tasks, because none of the appointment texts of the *zangmeesters* which have come down to us gives us such a clear scheme.<sup>1411</sup> The appointment text of the organist of 1515 shows us that 'half a *pitantie*' is worth 18 guilders. Above, we have calculated

<sup>1409</sup> § 5.6.

<sup>1410</sup> In the accounts of the church fabric of the 1530s called *wedden en sallaris* (RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, fol. 209r, 239v, 264v, 295v, 325v, 355r, 384v, 411v).

<sup>1411</sup> This could have to do with the sources of the texts. The appointment texts of the *zangmeesters* come from a general resolution book for the church fabric, the *Commuun* and *Dis*, whereas this appointment text comes from the archives of the *Commuun* alone.

that Gheerkin's whole part would be about 33.50 guilders. This was an estimate, and comes very close to the *pitantie* of the organist. Consequently, it is very tempting to assume that the amounts mentioned under 'Commuun' and 'church fabric', together 37.5 guilders, would represent a fixed monthly fee, like the fixed fee Gheerkin received in Delft, because these two amounts are the only ones not earmarked in the list and therefore are 'general' sums.

But the church documents of the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges do offer us another indication of the total remunerations a *zangmeester* could earn: already in 1502 *zangmeester* Jan Raes was complaining that he could easily make 132 guilders a year outside the city of Bruges.<sup>1412</sup> From then on he was given a whole *pitantie* worth 18 guilders a year instead of half a one. The 1515 text of the organist already indicates that half a *pitantie* seemed to have been doubled by then to 18 guilders, which is confirmed by the fact that in the 1530s, Gheerkin's whole *pitantie* was indeed double this amount. The question is if Jan Raes was exaggerating in 1502 with his statement about the 132 guilders.

We are able to do a double check. As we shall see in the next paragraph on 's-Hertogenbosch, the weekly payments from the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap show us that the *zangmeester* received 1.5 times the remuneration of an organist. If we multiply the 84 guilders the organist received in 1515 by 1.5, the outcome is 126 guilders, which nicely agrees the allegation by Jan Raes.

We also have the rule in the foundation charter of 1424 that the members of the *Commuun* would receive 20 *schellingen parisis* together for every day they sang the seven canonical hours and the High Mass. We know for sure that in 1424 the seven canonical hours were by far not sung on all days of the week, which actually was the situation in the 1530s, but let us assume that this rule was still valid by that time and the amount was still the same.<sup>1413</sup> It would mean that the complete group of servants would receive all 365 days of the year 20 *schellingen parisis*, equalling a little more than 13 guilders for each member of the *Commuun* per year.<sup>1414</sup> This would not be unreasonable for only singing the seven canonical hours and a High Mass.<sup>1415</sup>

Altogether, we may conclude that Gheerkin must have earned in Bruges

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<sup>1412</sup> Converted from 22 Flemish pounds mentioned in the document (RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 237, fol. XXJv-XXIJr: heer Jan Raes, 09 January 1502).

<sup>1413</sup> This is of course dubious, but the least we can expect is that it cannot have become less, since the *pitantie* also clearly had become higher.

<sup>1414</sup> 365 Parisian pounds a year, divided into 14 parts, one pound equalling half a guilder.

<sup>1415</sup> Compared to the other liturgical obligations mentioned in the foundation charter and taking into account that the remunerations had been at least doubled nominally between 1424 and the 1530s, since they were clearly doubled between 1502 and the 1530s.



(much) more than the about 35.5 guilders we can reconstruct from the church accounts and foundation texts and that his total remunerations might have come close to about 130 guilders a year.

### 9.2.3 's-Hertogenbosch

In 's-Hertogenbosch we have the very rich accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. In these accounts there is a yearly item *sangerenloon*.<sup>1416</sup> The accounts always start on the Saturday before the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June). The *sangerenloon* was paid every week on Wednesday, probably after Mass. The first item sums up the names of all the musical servants, starting with the *zangmeester*. Gheerkin received 27 *stuivers* every week, an amount remaining constant in all the years he worked in 's-Hertogenbosch. Extra payments were made a few times a year, all listed under the general account item *Uitgaven van allerhande zaken*.<sup>1417</sup> Altogether Table 9.5 gives a list of payments per year.<sup>1418</sup>

As we already saw in Chapter 7, from 1542 onwards, Gheerkin received 34 guilders a year from the Broederschap for maintaining the choirboys (and perhaps an equal amount from the chapter).<sup>1419</sup> Since it is not clear how much of this amount covered the direct costs for food, housing and clothing of the boys and how much was the reward and therefore free disposable income for Gheerkin, the 34 guilders are left out in the above overview. For the same reason the payment for his hood/tabard<sup>1420</sup> and extra payments for travelling costs and compositions<sup>1421</sup> are left out too.

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<sup>1416</sup> BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 225r-227v (1539/40), fol. 296r-298v (1540/41); Inv. no. 131, fol. 54r-56v (1541/42), fol. 128r-131v (1542/43), fol. 195r-197v (1543/44), fol. 261r-263v (1544/45), fol. 329v-333v (1545/46); Inv. no. 132, fol. 49r-53v (1547/48); Inv. no. 133, fol. 251r-254v (1546/47).

<sup>1417</sup> Like in Bruges, some of these payments were made to the entire group of musicians. For this overview, an average of eight is taken (based on § 7.3).

<sup>1418</sup> Based on the accounts 1540/41 up to and including 1546/47. See § 7.1 for the duties Gheerkin fulfilled for the Broederschap.

<sup>1419</sup> § 7.1.

<sup>1420</sup> § 7.3. BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 30, fol. 211r-v (1539/40), 283r (1540/41); Inv. no. 131, fol. 36v-37r (1541/42), fol. 109r-110r (1542/43), fol. 178v-179v (1543/44), fol. 244v-245r (1544/45), fol. 315v-316v (1545/46); Inv. no. 133, fol. 234v-235r (1546/47).

<sup>1421</sup> § 7.1.

Table 9.5 Gheerkin's remunerations at the 's-Hertogenbosch Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap

Duties	Remuneration in guilders
Weekly payment	70.20
Singing <i>O Salutaris Hostia</i> weekly <sup>1422</sup>	0.09
To treat the guest singers during the July procession <sup>1423</sup>	0.09
4 general memorial services and 4 Masses at 1 <i>stuiver</i> <sup>1424</sup>	0.20
Memorial services Sworn Brethren at 0.5 <i>stuivers</i> <sup>1425</sup>	0.08
Feast of Our Lady's Presentation <sup>1426</sup>	0.04
<b>Total</b>	<b>70.70</b>

The question again is: was this all? I believe so. The accounts of the Broederschap are highly detailed and complete, therefore it is not to be expected that there were other payments to the singers than mentioned above. Of course, there is always the possibility that there were private foundations from members of the Broederschap, paying the singers directly. But the 70 guilders Gheerkin received for singing, give us a very good indication of the total remunerations he received from the Broederschap.

<sup>1422</sup> 14 *stuivers* for the entire group of musicians. BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 270v (1540/41); Inv. no. 131, fol. 24r (1541/42), fol. 96r (1542/43), fol. 165v (1543/44), fol. 234r (1544/45), fol. 302r (1545/46); Inv. no. 133, fol. 224r (1546/47).

<sup>1423</sup> 14 *stuivers* for the entire group. BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 270v (1540/41); Inv. no. 131, fol. 23v-24r (1541/42), fol. 96r (1542/43), fol. 165v (1543/44), fol. 234r (1544/45), fol. 302r (1545/46); Inv. no. 133, fol. 224r (1546/47).

<sup>1424</sup> Inv. no. 130, fol. 272r, 275r-v, 284r-v, 288r (1540/41); Inv. no. 131, fol. 25v-26r, 29v, 37v-38r, 44rv (1541/42), fol. 99r-v, 102v, 112r, 119v-120r (1542/43), fol. 168r-v, 170r-v, 181r-v, 186r (1543/44), fol. 236r, 238r-v, 246v-247r (1544/45), fol. 300r-v, 305v-306r, 308v-309r, 318r-v (1545/46); Inv. no. 132, fol. 16r-v (1546/47); Inv. no. 133, fol. 226v-227r, 228v-229r, 236v-237r (1546/47).

<sup>1425</sup> Of course these remunerations depended on how many members died. The 3.5 *stuivers* a year are therefore an average of the years 1540-1547. Inv. no. 130, fol. 273r-v, 273v, 274r, 274v-275r, 275r (1540/41); Inv. no. 131, fol. 43r (1541/42), fol. 104r, 113v, 114r (1542/43), fol. 175r, 175v-176r, 177v-178r, 183v (1543/44), fol. 237r, 242r (1544/45), fol. 305r (1545/46); Inv. no. 133, fol. 229v, 238v, 239v, 240v (1546/47).

<sup>1426</sup> Foundation by Aert vander Cluyten: 3 *ort* (=  $\frac{3}{4}$  *stuiver*). Inv. no. 130, fol. 276v (1540/41); Inv. no. 131, fol. 31r (1541/42), fol. 103v-104r (1542/43), fol. 171v-172r (1543/44), fol. 239r (1544/45), fol. 309v (1545/46); Inv. no. 133, fol. 229v (1546/47).

The other confraternity Gheerkin worked for was the Sacramentsbroederschap.<sup>1427</sup> As we have seen, the accounts from this confraternity as well as the duties the singers had to fulfil are not completely clear. Nevertheless, based on the accounts we have, we can make an estimate of Gheerkin's remunerations:<sup>1428</sup>

Table 9.6 Gheerkin's estimated remunerations in 's-Hertogenbosch, Sacramentsbroederschap

Duties	Remuneration in guilders
Mass of the Holy Sacrament on Thursday at 0.5 <i>stuiver</i> a week	1.30
Corpus Christi: '4 short Vespers' and Mass at 6.5 <i>stuivers</i>	0.33
Masses in the octave of Corpus Christi at 1 <i>stuiver</i> per Mass	0.30
Memorial service members Monday after the octave of Corpus Christi	0.10
Singing during <i>tcruys te richten</i> ('raise the cross'), and to <i>tcruys neder te leggen</i> ('put the cross down'), 4 x a year at 1 <i>stuiver</i>	0.20
Total	2.23

Remarkable is the low amount of 0.5 *stuiver* each singer received for singing a weekly Mass. Compared to the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap this is very small, even if we take into account that for the Sacramentsbroederschap Vespers were sung every week as well. This could indicate that the weekly Mass of the Holy Sacrament was sung in chant, instead of the more complicated polyphony. But why was the entire group of singers needed then and why would this Sacramentsbroederschap buy an expensive book from Petrus Alamire, suggesting that polyphony was sung? Clearly the Sacramentsbroederschap did not want to be inferior to the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. The only conclusion can be that this was not all the singers received; they probably got paid from someone else, for example the *wasmeester*, who perhaps wrote his own accounts.

This conclusion is more or less confirmed by the accounts of 1556-1559. Here we read that on the four payment days a year for singing the weekly Mass *heer Jan sangmeester* (Jan van Wintelroy) received 35 *stuivers*. This makes a total of 7 guilders

<sup>1427</sup> § 6.5.

<sup>1428</sup> I want to stress that this remains an estimate, since the accounts are fragmentary and not very specific; besides, they vary in every volume. See the discussion in § 6.5 and § 7.5.3.

a year. This is still only 10 per cent of his remunerations at the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap,<sup>1429</sup> but already more than the poor 1.30 guilders the *zangmeesters* between 1520 and 1555 received.

We miss the accounts of the chapter of Sint-Jan, but we may assume that Gheerkin's remunerations were a multiplication of the ones he received from the Broederschap. Although the fact that the chapter and the Broederschap appointed singers together suggests they were equal, this cannot have been the case, because the workload for the chapter was much heavier than for the Broederschap. The duties for the chapter must have come close to the duties for the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges and the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, based on singing the seven canonical hours plus a High Mass every day of the week, adding several types of liturgical ceremonies, as we have seen. The tasks Gheerkin had to fulfil for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap were 'just' a surplus.

If we assume that Gheerkin's remunerations in Bruges came close to 130 guilders a year, we may also assume that the 's-Hertogenbosch chapter paid him at least that same amount. According to the status of the church (being a collegiate church)<sup>1430</sup> and the fact that it served both as collegiate and parish church (the only parish church in town) having many liturgical activities within its walls demanding professional singing, it is highly likely that Gheerkin received more in 's-Hertogenbosch than in Bruges. Adding his income from the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and the Sacramentsbroederschap brings us to the conclusion that he at least earned 200 guilders a year, but probably more. Thus transferring to 's-Hertogenbosch was definitely a career move that was not only based on a more prestigious position, but also on financial considerations.

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<sup>1429</sup> The *sangerenloon* from the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in the same period mentions a weekly sum of 28 *stuivers* for *zangmeester* Jan van Wintelroy, only one *stuiver* more than Gheerkin received in the 1540s and therefore comparable.

<sup>1430</sup> It is reasonable to assume that a collegiate church might have paid more than a parish church.

### 9.3 The financial position of a *zangmeester* in the Low Countries

Of course, 's-Hertogenbosch was Gheerkin's last known position, and by that time he had already been a *zangmeester* for more than twenty-five years. But as far as we are able to follow his career steps, they show an upward trend. In Delft Gheerkin had an income of at least 67 guilders a year, to which we have to add a yearly amount for house rent and money for clothing. In his next position, as *zangmeester* in Bruges, Gheerkin probably already received double the amount in remunerations, namely 130 guilders a year. And in his last known position, as 's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeesters* Gheerkin most likely received more than 200 guilders a year.

Now that we have made an estimation of Gheerkin's remunerations, we may compare them to other men working in the Low Countries. In general we may conclude from Table 9.1 above, that a skilled worker usually received an average of 5 *stuivers* a day and that the wages were rather stable during the period 1520-1550.<sup>1431</sup> A yearly income then depended on the number of days he was able – or even allowed – to work. Another conclusion we may draw is that working with one's hands did not yield as much as working with one's mind.<sup>1432</sup>

The same Table 9.1 shows us that a singer for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch could earn between 50 per cent and 75 per cent of the remunerations a *zangmeester* received; an organist's salary was about two-thirds of a *zangmeester* income. Since the payments to the musicians of the Broederschap only represent a part of their total remunerations (because they also worked for the chapter), we may assume that their total remunerations came to a total of at least 100-150 guilders a year.<sup>1433</sup> Compared to the craftsmen having 5 *stuivers* a day, at an average of 250 days a year, and therefore 62.50 guilders a year, singers and organists had a nice income.

Hanus has calculated a Gross Urban Income per capita for 's-Hertogenbosch in

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<sup>1431</sup> Confirmed for Holland by Noordegraaf/Schoenmakers 1984, p. 23, concluding wages started to rise from 1540 onwards; confirmed for the southern Low Countries by Verlinden 1965-1973, volume II, p. 88, stating that a long period of stable wages ended in 1558; confirmed for 's-Hertogenbosch by Blockmans/Prevenier 1974, p. 56, noticing that in the first four decades of the 16th century wages were remarkably stable.

<sup>1432</sup> Also proven by Van den Hoven van Genderen 2003, pp. 406, 409, 421: a canon of the Utrecht Oudmunster in the period 1520-1528 received 7.9 times more than a shed assistant and 3.8 times more than a chief stonemason (one of the best paid labourers). The Oudmunster was one of five Utrecht collegiate churches; their canons received by far the highest remunerations.

<sup>1433</sup> 50 to 75 per cent of Gheerkin's estimated 200 guilders.

the final year Gheerkin worked there, namely 1547/48.<sup>1434</sup> In that year the average income in 's-Hertogenbosch was 32.9 guilders a year. A few years later, in 1552/53, this income had risen to 44.10 guilders a year.<sup>1435</sup> Blondé had already made a graphics of professions and the wages of the 1552/53 taxes, from which we may conclude that the income of 25 per cent of the population was higher than 125 guilders a year.<sup>1436</sup> As we have seen above, the estimated remunerations of *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt were at least 200 guilders a year, but probably more. And this does not include surpluses for clothing and rent,<sup>1437</sup> which skilled workers did not receive, and possible additional income, for example for composing. Therefore, in income, Gheerkin belonged to the higher middle class of 's-Hertogenbosch, his last known position as *zangmeester*. But to get and stay there, he had to pay a price: he worked seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year.

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<sup>1434</sup> Hanus 2010, pp. 123-129, based on house rent levies.

<sup>1435</sup> Based on general levies.

<sup>1436</sup> Blondé 2004, p. 62. The clergy is no part of these graphics, since they were not taxed. Among the 25 per cent 'big earners' were the pharmacists, cloth merchants, wine merchants and hoteliers.

<sup>1437</sup> Estimated at 15 per cent of his income each year and therefore rather substantial.



## **Part II**



## **The Music and its Sources**





## Chapter 10 List of Gheerkin's works

The well-known music encyclopedias *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* both give us a list of the works of Gheerkin de Hondt. These works are to be divided into four categories: Masses, motets, (French) chansons and (Dutch) lied. In total there are eighteen works, which have come down to us in three manuscripts and four prints.<sup>1438</sup>

Three more works were previously connected to Gheerkin: a Mass that has now been lost<sup>1439</sup> and two motets that have also been attributed to other composers. These doubtful motets will be discussed in chapter 12, because they are part of the authenticity problem of Gheerkin's works in general. Table 10.1 provides a short overview of compositions attributed to Gheerkin de Hondt; Appendix 15 gives an extended version.

Table 10.1 List of works by Gheerkin de Hondt and their sources

Title	Source
<i>Masses</i>	
Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel	CambraiBM 125-8, fols. 48v/52v (S, Ct) and fols. 48v-53r (T, B)
Missa Ceciliam cantate pii	's-HerAB 156, fols. 113v-136r
Missa In te Domini speravi	's-HerAB 156, fols. 21v-40r
Missa Panis quem ego dabo	CambraiBM 125-8, fols. 57v-62v
Missa Vidi Jerusalem	CambraiBM 125-8, fols. 73v-77v

<sup>1438</sup> The number of sources containing Gheerkin's work does not say anything about the popularity and/or the distribution of his music. In general, many sources from late medieval Europe have been lost, many compositions have come down to us anonymously and there are unresolved conflicting attributions. The same arguments apply to the number of works by Gheerkin which we know today (there might have been many more).

<sup>1439</sup> Mentioned by Fétis in 1862 (Fétis 1862, p. 365). Already in 1891 Robert Eitner was not able to find the Mass in the Bibliothèque Royal de Belgique in Brussels anymore (Eitner 1900-1904, volume 5, p. 200). Indeed, none of the manuscripts with polyphonic music in Brussels Royal Library contains a Mass with this title or a Mass by Gheerkin de Hondt (Hamm/Kellman 1979-1988; <http://www.diamm.ac.uk/>, list B-Br, accessed December 2013).

**Motets**

Benedicite Dominus	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 125v
Inclina Domine aurem tuam / Quia misericordia	CambraiBM 125-8, fols. 99v-100r
Jubilate Deo omnis terra / Laudate nomen eius	CambraiBM 125-8, fols. 90v-91r

Vox dicentis clama / Exsiccatum est fenum	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 47v
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**Chansons**

A vous me rends	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 134r; GdańPAN 4003, no. [II] 69, (S, Ct, T), no. 70 (B) = fols. 58v (S, T), 57v (Ct), 59r (B); 1535 <sup>8</sup> , no. 4
Contre raison pour t'aymer	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 121v
D'ung profond cuer j'ay crié	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 70r
Helas malheur prens tu contentement	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 119v
Je me reprens de vous avoir aymée	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 63r
Langueur d'amour m'est survenue	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 42v; GdańPAN 4003, no. [II] 65 = fols. 56v (S, T, B), 55v (Ct); Phalèse 1552 <sup>15</sup> , fol. IJ
Mon petit cuer n'est pas à moy	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 46v; GdańPAN 4003, no. [II] 60 = fols. 54r (S, T, B), 53r (Ct)
Oncques ne sceux avoir	1553 <sup>24</sup> (1556 <sup>13</sup> ), fols. XIJr (S, Ct, T, B) and XIJv (QP)

**Lied**

Het was my van te voren gheseyt	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 136r; 1551 <sup>18</sup> , fol. XIIJv
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**Lost and doubtful works**

Missa Ave, Mater Christi (Mass; lost)	Formerly Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale/Koninklijke Bibliotheek
Dum penderet, Petrus in cruce / Gracias ago tibi (motet; attributed Gheerkin Corael/De Wale)	CambraiBM 125-8, fols. 79v-80r
Ave Maria, gratia plena (motet; attributed Clemens non papa/Gheerkin/Tho. Cruquillon [sic])	Leiden 1442, fols. 65v-66r

## Chapter 11 Description of the sources

### 11.1 Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MSS 125-128 (olim 124)

The majority of the compositions of Gheerkin de Hondt that we know today has come down to us exclusively in four richly illustrated paper partbooks (superius, contratenor, tenor, bassus), now kept in Cambrai, France.<sup>1440</sup> The title pages of the partbooks bear the date 1542 and record in Flemish and French that they belonged to Zeghere van Male, a merchant living in Bruges. The fascinating books have challenged quite a few musicologists and historians from 1843 onwards to write about them, all publishing on the contents, the owner, the composers and the intriguing drawings.<sup>1441</sup> But it was Nele Gabriëls who unmasked the scribe of the books: Zeghere van Male himself.<sup>1442</sup> The year 1542 on the title pages of the partbooks turns out to be the year Zeghere finished his books. It is generally assumed they were actually written between 1540 and 1542, since the year 1540 appears on three pages in the manuscripts.<sup>1443</sup>

Zeghere van Male was born between around 1507 and 1512.<sup>1444</sup> According to the title pages of the partbooks, in the early 1540s Van Male was a *bocraen*

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<sup>1440</sup> Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MSS 125-128 (*olim* 124); CambraiBM 125-8. The complete partbooks are available on the internet via two websites: [http://imslp.org/wiki/Chansonnier\\_de\\_Zeghere\\_van\\_Male\\_\(Various\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Chansonnier_de_Zeghere_van_Male_(Various)) and <http://www.enluminures.culture.fr> (Cambrai, MSS 125-128). The first website gives photographs of the complete pages in low resolution, plus details of the illuminations in high resolution. The second website shows pictures of all the complete pages, plus a few detailed photographs, both in low resolution. I am grateful to Mrs. Annie Fournier from the Médiathèque Municipale (formerly Bibliothèque Municipale) for showing me the originals in September 2006.

<sup>1441</sup> De Coussemaker 1975<sup>2</sup> (facsimile from the first print of 1843); Von Bartha 1930; Diehl 1974, Dewitte 1979, Andriessen 2002, pp. 262-272.

<sup>1442</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>. With this identification, Gabriëls ended the discussions on the possible scribes (see for the last contribution – taking the edge off the suggestion that Gheerkin de Hondt was the scribe – Roelvink 2009, pp. 383-384).

<sup>1443</sup> In the Ct on fol. 35r and fol. 36v and in the S on fol. 96r (Diehl 1974, pp. 108-109, 118-123; Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 92-93).

<sup>1444</sup> Biographical information derived from Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 12-15.

*verkooper/marchand demourant* ('seller of yarn and ribbons') in Bruges. In his career, he was very successful, witness the fact that he occupied several important positions in Bruges, among others as dean of his guild, governor of schools for poor children, member of the city council and church master of the church of Sint-Jacob (several times from 1553 onwards), his parish church. He was the father of sixteen children, from two marriages. Zeghere van Male died on 7 July 1601 at the highly respectable age of at least 89. He was buried in the church of Sint-Jacob, which today still owns a large painting showing him with both his wives and all of his children (painted by Pieter Pourbus in 1578), and also his copper memorial slab. In addition to appearing on the painting and the memorial slab, the family coat of arms is also in the superius partbook, in the *Secunda Pars* of the motet *Ave Regina celorum / Gaude gloriosa*.<sup>1445</sup>

The books contain more than two hundred compositions on 146 folios, including works from all current genres: Masses, motets, chansons, Flemish songs, Italian madrigals and instrumental dances. A very pleasing aspect of this anthology is that the models of all the Masses are included, among them the models of three Masses by Gheerkin de Hondt.<sup>1446</sup> Ninety-five out of the total of 229 compositions (therefore 41%) are so-called *unica*, works that have only been preserved in Zeghere's partbooks, among them eleven out of the fifteen compositions by Gheerkin. Zeghere assigned forty-two of the *unica* to a composer, of which only four seem to be incorrectly ascribed and five more have an unresolved conflicting attribution.<sup>1447</sup>

The composers, both internationally well known as well as local, originate from several generations, for example Benedictus Appenzeller, Claudin de Sermisy, Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Jean Courtois, Thomas Crecquillon, Ducrocq, Nicolas Gombert, Lupus Hellinck, Johannes de Hollande, Gheerkin de Hondt, Clément Janequin, Josquin des Prez, Johannes Lupi, Jean Mouton, Pierkin de Raedt, Jean Richafort and Adriaen Willaert. Some of them had a clear relation to Bruges already before the creation of the partbooks (for example Appenzeller, Hellinck, Hollande, Gheerkin, De Raedt and Richafort), working in one of the Bruges churches in which polyphony was performed at the time.<sup>1448</sup> Interesting is the large number of compositions by Benedictus Appenzeller and Gheerkin de Hondt, both being former

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<sup>1445</sup> Folio 132v (Diehl 1974, p. 93).

<sup>1446</sup> *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* and *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*.

<sup>1447</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, p. 159-166. Diehl 1974, pp. 396-783 gives overviews of incipits, concordant sources, editions and origins of texts for all compositions.

<sup>1448</sup> See § 4.6. An overview of the composers and their relation to Bruges is given in Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 153-156.

zangmeesters of Zeghere's parish church Sint-Jacob: they are among the best-represented composers in the manuscripts, with respectively sixteen and fifteen works ascribed to them; only from Claudin de Sermisy do we have more works, namely twenty.<sup>1449</sup>

The partbooks are famous for the rich and remarkable drawings accompanying the music. It was probably Zeghere himself who was responsible for these fascinating illuminations.<sup>1450</sup> Diehl already mentioned that for the most part the drawings contain scenes of everyday life, although sometimes they seem to be a product of pure fantasy and in other cases there even seems to be a relation between the text of a composition and the added drawing(s).<sup>1451</sup> Indeed, if we consider the work of Gheerkin de Hondt, there are a few relations between the text of a composition and a drawing placed next to it that cannot be coincidental:<sup>1452</sup> for example, the large red heart in the initial of the bassus of the chanson *D'ung parfond cueur*,<sup>1453</sup> the drawing of Jesus on a donkey placed next to the Osanna of the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*,<sup>1454</sup> a procession of the Holy Sacrament to the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* ('The bread that I will give')<sup>1455</sup> and the large heavy cannon drawn next to the chanson *Contre raison pour t'aymer* containing the line 'has suddenly struck me almost dead'.<sup>1456</sup> However, these obvious connections are rare; most of the time we wonder whether the draughtsman had special intentions in drawing a certain picture, or simply used his very vivid and humorous imagination.

Another intriguing aspect of the books is the detailed instructions for the performers Zeghere added to the compositions. He wrote them in three languages: Latin, Flemish and French. Most of the instructions are rather simple and clear: 'finis' at the end of a composition, 'Prima Pars' and 'Secunda Pars' to indicate the

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<sup>1449</sup> Based on the table of contents in Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 262-271.

<sup>1450</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 43-48.

<sup>1451</sup> Diehl 1974, pp. 189-299. See also Dewitte 1979, pp. 273-280 and Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 34-48.

<sup>1452</sup> Most of this paragraph was previously published in Roelvink 2009, p. 384.

<sup>1453</sup> Fol. 70r. In all four partbooks we find a large red heart in an initial in only two other places; both compositions have the word 'cueur' (heart) in the first line of the poem: fol. 129r (tenor), *J'amaïs ung cueur*; fol. 86r (bassus), *Mon petit cueur*.

<sup>1454</sup> Fol. 77v (tenor). The same type of drawing appears on fol. 22r of the bassus, to the Osanna of the *Missa C'est doncq par moy* (anonymous). The picture of Jesus on a donkey was a common one in the Middle Ages, not only in books but also as a figure in wood, carried around in procession on Palm Sunday, depicting the entry of Christ into Jerusalem (the so-called *palmezel*; for example in 's-Hertogenbosch, see Koldeweij 1990b, p. 513 and 515).

<sup>1455</sup> Superius, fol. 58r (already mentioned in Dewitte 1979, p. 279).

<sup>1456</sup> Superius, fol. 121v.

first and second part of a motet, or ‘tacet’ or ‘*speelt niet mede*’ (‘does not play along’) to indicate that one voice did not join the rest, with the word ‘trio’ written above the active voices. But sometimes Zeghere was more original in his indications, for example in Gheerkin’s *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, where he writes in the Benedictus:<sup>1457</sup> ‘*Benedictus is verblijt, Om dat superius niet mede en pijpt*’ (‘Benedictus is glad that the superius does not whistle along’).<sup>1458</sup> With these remarks, Zeghere follows a tradition among educated music scribes playing a game: they used all kinds of quotations from the Bible and from classical and late-medieval sources to make variations on the theme ‘tacet’, to indicate that a voice did not join the others.<sup>1459</sup>

But sometimes unnecessary annotations (for example, *Hieronder staet een birgierette*, below is a bergerette – French song) might also point in the direction of amateurs performing from the partbooks, in other words: friends and family of Zeghere himself.<sup>1460</sup> But the rather good condition of the partbooks, the fact that there are not many ad hoc corrections in the music (leaving mistakes) and the fact that some voice parts are in the same book and therefore the books are not practical for use, does suggest that Zeghere’s books were not used very often.<sup>1461</sup> In addition to all this, the question is why Zeghere would enter as many as thirteen Masses in his books if he wanted to perform music with his friends and family.<sup>1462</sup> Perhaps his intention was not to perform from his books, but to collect the music he liked and reproduce it in the best possible (but also personal) way, maybe to show his loved ones his exceptional work and knowledge.

It remains unsolved how Zeghere van Male built his collection. Several theories have seen the light, the most important ones being by Andriessen and Gabriëls.<sup>1463</sup> Andriessen states that the collection originated from a dynamic process of action and reaction on compositions that circulated in Bruges. According to Andriessen, it

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<sup>1457</sup> Fol. 52v of the bassus.

<sup>1458</sup> On the performance indications: Diehl 1974, pp. 177-184.

<sup>1459</sup> Blackburn 2005.

<sup>1460</sup> A fine example of a performance in a private household is described in a sixteenth-century conversation book, the *Seer gemeyne Tsamenkouteringen* by Jan Berthout, containing some conversations about music which have been quoted in musicological literature many times, last and most extensively by Vanhulst 2005 (pp. 103-104 and 119-121 for the example). The texts possibly date from the 1540s and mention music of the composers Hellinck, Gombert, Lupi and Richafort.

<sup>1461</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 104-115.

<sup>1462</sup> Of course the Masses could have been used in a private chapel, sung by professional singers, hired by Zeghere personally, but there are absolutely no indications Zeghere had a private chapel in his house or in one of the Bruges churches.

<sup>1463</sup> Andriessen 2002, pp. 270-271; Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 167-171.

is plausible that a group of musicians around Van Male's parish church Sint-Jacob and from other churches regularly gathered for 'artistic entertainment'. He supports his statement with examples of mutual relations between compositions (use of the same texts, models for Masses, extra voices added to already existing compositions, responses to chansons), most of them by local composers or anonymous (and therefore likely to be of local origin). Gabriëls states that the biographical data on the local composers suggest that St Donatian was the epicentre of Van Male's music supply, in particular Lupus Hellinck, since Appenzeller and Gheerkin (*zangmeesters* of the Sint-Jacobskerk) had already left town when the actual copying started. Both conclude that Van Male drew on several Attainnant prints too, especially regarding the chansons by Claudin de Sermisy.

In my opinion the lines cannot be drawn that sharp. Bruges was a metropolis and a meltingpot of music. Music could enter the city through various ways, certainly through the highly qualified singers and composers working there, but also through the many (foreign) merchants making their living in Bruges. Fact is that Appenzeller and Gheerkin are overrepresented in Zeghere's partbooks compared to other composers and indeed, it is remarkable that it was Gheerkin's *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* on Hellinck's motet that was chosen and not the one by Hellinck himself (as noted by Andriessen). Without a doubt, Van Male took advantage of his rich musical surroundings to compile his collection before he started the actual copying in 1540.<sup>1464</sup> Therefore, at least one of his sources, but certainly one of the suppliers of his newly formed collection of music, must have been Gheerkin de Hondt, the *zangmeester* of his parish church. No matter how, Zeghere van Male's collection gives a fine picture of the music circulating in Bruges at the time Gheerkin de Hondt worked there. It shows that Gheerkin had access to a variety of genres, composed by both local craftsmen and internationally renowned colleagues, belonging to different generations.

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<sup>1464</sup> I do not completely agree with Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, p. 167, where she concludes that Van Male 'copied the music as it became available to him, rather than that he had the greater part of the repertoire on his writing desk before commencing copying'. The simple fact that the models of all thirteen Masses in the partbooks are included suggests that Van Male did have a plan, because entering the models to the Masses was more the exception than the rule in those days. Furthermore, all current 16th-century musical genres are represented in the books, which suggests Zeghere did think about what types of music he wanted to include. Finally, the watermark in the paper is the same throughout all the books (Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, p. 61), suggesting the paper was bought all at once.



## 11.2 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MSS 156 (formerly 74) and 157 (formerly 75)

For a long time it has been assumed that manuscript 156 in the collection of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch was purchased by the Broederschap's organist in 1549. However, close attention to the style of the copyist, showed that it was the *intoneerder* of the Broederschap, Philippus de Spina, who was actually responsible for all the writing. Therefore, it was no longer tenable that this was the manuscript bought from the organist in 1549. The contents of the manuscript do match a description in the accounts of the Broederschap which mention a new polyphonic choirbook in 1540-1542. But Inv. no. 157 is also qualified to be the book Philippus de Spina then delivered.<sup>1465</sup> Since Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* in the 1540s, it will be interesting to see if there are any relations between his biography and oeuvre and the contents of the two polyphonic choirbooks.

Both manuscripts (Inv. nos. 156 and 157) must have been purchased for the weekly Mass on Wednesday and for Masses sung on feasts in the chapel of the Broederschap, because they each contain ten polyphonic Masses. The Masses in MS 156 are all five-part, those in 157 are four-part.<sup>1466</sup> The big difference is that in MS 156 the names of all composers are mentioned, but that in MS 157 all Masses are anonymous; for six out of the ten Masses in MS 157 the composer has been identified by now,<sup>1467</sup> for two more there is a strong suspicion of the author (see Table 11.1).

If we take a closer look at the composers and their repertoire, indeed we see quite a few relations with the life and work of Gheerkin de Hondt. First, we find two of Gheerkin's own Masses in Inv. no. 156. Furthermore, this manuscript contains as many as three Masses by Lupus Hellinck, who was Gheerkin's colleague *zangmeester* in Bruges and the supplier of the models of two of Gheerkin's own Masses, of which one is in this same choirbook (*Missa In te Domine speravi*).<sup>1468</sup> Although Hellinck's work has been spread in manuscripts and prints all over Europe, it still is astonishing that three out of ten Masses in one choirbook are attributed to him, all the more since he personally does not seem to have had any connection to 's-Hertogenbosch. Three other Masses in this choirbook are also by one composer: Jheronimus

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<sup>1465</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 130-135, 141-145. See also § 6.4.11 and § 7.5.2.

<sup>1466</sup> For the contents and use: Appendix 13.

<sup>1467</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 354-363.

<sup>1468</sup> The other one is the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* in the Zeghere van Male partbooks.

Table 11.1 Composers in MSS 156 and 157 of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap

Composer	Masses
Pe. Manchicourt	1 (MS 156)
Gheerken	2 (MS 156)
Lupus Hellinck	5 (3 in MS 156, 2 in MS 157)
Thomas Crequillon	1 (MS 156)
Jheronimus Vinders	3 (MS 156), 1? (MS 157)
Gascogne	2 (MS 157)
Appenzeller?	1 (MS 157)
Willaert	1 (MS 157)
Willaert/Hesdin	1 (MS 157)
Anonymous	2

Vinders. We do not know much about Vinders; the only clear biographical references come from Ghent, where he was *zangmeester* at the guild of Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-op-de-rade at the Janskerk (now St Bavon's Cathedral) between 16 June 1525 to January 1526. It was only a few years later, in 1533, that Gheerkin de Hondt paid his (rather mysterious) visit to Ghent, coming from the neighbouring city of Bruges.<sup>1469</sup> The South Netherlandish composer Vinders was influenced by Benedictus Appenzeller,<sup>1470</sup> who was also well known to Gheerkin de Hondt: he served as *zangmeester* in the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges, and as we shall see, both Gheerkin and Appenzeller used the texts *A vous me rends* and *Contre raison pour t'aymer* for their chansons.<sup>1471</sup> What the exact connection between the Broederschap or Gheerkin and Vinders was, remains unclear, but it certainly is conspicuous that all Vinders's Masses known today (a total of four) are only known from the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbooks. Both Vinders and Hellinck also appear in Inv. no. 157, this time with three Masses (two by Hellinck and one by Vinders).

Another fact that catches our attention is that four Masses in the two choirbooks are based on models by Jean Richafort: three of the Hellinck Masses plus the Mass by Pierre de Manchicourt.<sup>1472</sup> Jean Richafort was a popular composer,<sup>1473</sup> with close ties to Bruges. He can be placed there with certainty during several

<sup>1469</sup> § 5.1.

<sup>1470</sup> Jas ('Vinders, Jheronimus'); Jas 1994a.

<sup>1471</sup> Chapter 16.

<sup>1472</sup> *Missa Cuidez vous que dieu nous faille* (Manchicourt), *Missa Ego sum qui sum*, *Missa Veni sponsa Christi*, *Missa Jam non dicam*.

<sup>1473</sup> Richafort's work was widespread in prints and manuscripts from Italy, Germany, France and the Low Countries, already during his lifetime (Andriessen 2002, p. 313).

periods (he visited the church of Sint-Jacob sometime in 1527-28, and was *zangmeester* of Sint-Gillis in 1543-44 and 1548-50), but it is a possibility that he was connected with the city during the entire period 1527-1550, perhaps because of his work in the nearby town of Aardenburg.<sup>1474</sup> No matter how, Richafort and his work were well known in Bruges, witness the fact that Lupus Hellinck used quite a few of Richafort's works as models for his Masses<sup>1475</sup> and that Zeghere van Male entered seven of his works in the famous partbooks.<sup>1476</sup>

Another supplier of a Mass model is Johannes Lupi. As we have already seen, it was probably Gheerkin's initiative to add Lupi's motet *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel / Honor virtus et potestas* to Inv. no. 158, the motet Gheerkin knew so well since it served as a model for his own *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.<sup>1477</sup> Johannes Lupi is also indirectly represented in Inv. no. 157, because his motet *Spes salutis* is used as a model for the Mass with the same name, by an anonymous composer.<sup>1478</sup>

The remaining Mass in Inv. no. 156 is the *Missa Pis ne me peult venir* by Thomas Crecquillon. The relation between Thomas Crecquillon and the Broederschap is clear: in December 1545 he visited 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>1479</sup> If this was the occasion to enter one of his compositions in a manuscript, it certainly was a charming tribute to Crecquillon (one of the singers of the Emperor, court composer and also closely related to one of the Sworn Brethern) to enter one of his Masses based on his own chanson in the 's-Hertogenbosch collection. The manuscript could then have been written between December 1545 and the beginning of October 1547, the month Gheerkin left 's-Hertogenbosch.

Another famous choir master and composer who visited 's-Hertogenbosch (in 1539 and 1545) was Benedictus Appenzeller, well known to Gheerkin. He might be represented in Inv. no. 157 with the *Missa Benedicti*.<sup>1480</sup>

A relation between Gheerkin and Adriaen Willaert is also there: the chanson *A vous me rends* is attributed to both composers in a Scotto print<sup>1481</sup> and both men used the lyrics *Mon petit coeur n'est pas a moy* as a basis for chansons, which are documented in the Zeghere van Male partbooks.<sup>1482</sup> Willaert's *Missa*

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<sup>1474</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 146-147 and Andriessen 2002, pp. 310-314.

<sup>1475</sup> Blackburn 1970, pp. 155-159.

<sup>1476</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 268-269.

<sup>1477</sup> § 7.5.2.

<sup>1478</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 144.

<sup>1479</sup> § 6.4.11; also Roelvink 2002, pp. 165-172.

<sup>1480</sup> Jas 1994b.

<sup>1481</sup> See below.

<sup>1482</sup> Diehl 1974 and Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>. One version by Gheerkin, two by Willaert.

*Gaude Barbara* is both in the Van Male partbooks and this 's-Hertogenbosch choirbook. Finally, Gheerkin and Willaert are exact contemporaries.<sup>1483</sup>

How two Masses by Mathieu Gascogne got into manuscript 157 remains undetermined (let alone that we might find a relation with Gheerkin), since Gascogne was a French composer from an earlier generation (flourished 1517-18) and does not seem to have had any relation with 's-Hertogenbosch.

Being the 's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeester*, Gheerkin de Hondt was musically responsible (or at least co-responsible) for the choice of music both for the *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* and the chapter of Sint-Jan. Therefore, he must have had a direct influence on the compilation of the manuscripts, although he will not have been the only person to have interfered in the assemblage. Nevertheless, the relations between the life and work of Gheerkin de Hondt on the one side and the majority of the composers and their work in MSS 156 and 157 on the other are so personal that they can no longer be considered coincidental. We may therefore conclude that Gheerkin de Hondt at least influenced parts of the compilation of both manuscripts. This means that both the De Spina manuscripts were compiled during the period 1540 – October 1547. The *Broederschap* accounts only give us one possibility for a manuscript with Masses written by Philippus de Spina, and that is the one from 1540-1542. However, the second manuscript may easily have entered the archives of the *Broederschap* in some other way.<sup>1484</sup> Both manuscripts give us a glimpse of the personal taste of *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt (156 a little more than 157), which (combined with his use of models and texts) will be very helpful in determining Gheerkin's own style of composing.

### 11.3 Gdańsk, Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk 4003 (olim Mus. q.20)

Contrary to Zeghere van Male's partbooks and Philippus de Spina's choirbook, the four paper partbooks now housed in the library *Polskiej Akademii Nauk* in Gdańsk<sup>1485</sup> do not excel in beauty. Several scribes have worked on the manuscripts

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<sup>1483</sup> On Willaert's biography see: <http://www.adriaenwillaert.be>.

<sup>1484</sup> Roelvink 2002, p. 135; it may have been left by Philippus de Spina when he had to flee 's-Hertogenbosch in 1566, or perhaps it was one of the choirbooks of the chapter (we previously saw that other chapter material also entered the *Broederschap* archives).

<sup>1485</sup> Gdańsk, *Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, MS 4003 (olim Mus. q. 20); GdańPAN 4003. I thank the librarians of the PAN for showing me the originals in May 2000.

and none of them seems to have taken the trouble to create something special. The majority of the compositions are anonymous; most of them only contain the incipit of a text, instead of the complete lyrics, and some of them do not have any text at all. Therefore, the overviews of the contents which have appeared since 1911, giving us an insight into the compilation of the collection, are very valuable.<sup>1486</sup>

Originally the partbooks contained 114 (French) chansons and two Dutch songs, which were divided into four 'books'. The first and second books enclosed forty-five plus twenty-eight four-part chansons (superius, altus, tenor and bassus),<sup>1487</sup> the third section consisted of eight chansons for three voices (superius, tenor and bassus), whereas the last book consisted of thirty-five two-part chansons (superius and tenor);<sup>1488</sup> none of these compositions is attributed to a composer. Between these four books, many pages were initially left blank. Later, by different hands, some of them were filled with other compositions. Therefore, most likely, the pages were originally left blank on purpose. This is more or less confirmed by the fact that the watermark is the same throughout the manuscripts. The marks are all fragmentary, and none of them forms a unity, since pages were cut and parts of the watermarks are now lost.<sup>1489</sup>

Already in the original partbooks, more than one scribe was active, but they are not very easy to distinguish. The music in the original parts of books I, II and III was written by one main scribe A and a second scribe B; at times a third scribe C is

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<sup>1486</sup> Günther 1911 was the first to publish on the partbooks, followed by Kłobukowska 1961 and Leszczyńska 2009, the last two also identifying composers and concordances.

<sup>1487</sup> Gheerkin de Hondt's chansons *A vous me rends*, *Langueur d'amour* and *Mon petit cueur* belong to the original second book. Note that the B of *A vous me rends*, was switched with the B of Appenzeller's *A vous me rends*.

<sup>1488</sup> Books II, III and IV begin on the verso side of a new gathering. The bindings of the books however do not give a decisive answer on the original gatherings in its entirety. At some points the pieces of string – indicating the middle of a gathering – are clearly visible, especially in the T (for example between fols. 9-10, 17-18, 25-26, 32-33, 40-41, 48-49, 56-57, 64-65, 72-73, 80-81, 88-89, 102-104 and 109-110). In the S, T and B books, a folio was torn out between fol. 25 and 26.

<sup>1489</sup> It is the well-known Gothic P with a four-petalled flower, found in so many 15th- and 16th-century European sources, but especially in the Low Countries, France and Germany. Leszczyńska 2009, p. 260 identified the mark as Briquet 1907, #8653, but for example the fragments in the CT on fol. 116v and fol. 117v do not exactly match this number. I would therefore suggest to identify this watermark as belonging to the group Briquet #8586-8653. A second watermark is only used in the first six (empty) pages of the partbooks, identified by Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 260-261 as Briquet #1166. The question is when the pages were cut, since some of the later added pieces even miss pieces; therefore the original partbooks were clearly larger than they are now (paper: ± 20.3 x 13.5 cm; cover: 21 x 14.5 cm).

visible (see Table 11.2). The texts in the first part of book I were written by at least two different scribes, but not according to a certain scheme,<sup>1490</sup> although the second scribe seems to be solely responsible for the bassus partbook. The original section of the second part of book I (nos. 25-44) only has text incipits, in a lighter colour of ink, the same as the notes; the rest of the text is much blacker.<sup>1491</sup> Book II then has complete texts again, except for nos. 66, 74 and 75. The music in book IV (letters α-λλ) was perhaps written by the same scribe A as the notes in the first three books, but this is not clearly visible. Who all those scribes were is food for speculation. Since there were more of them, it is tempting to assume that they were part of a scribal workshop.

Table 11.2 Compilation of the four partbooks GdańPAN 4003<sup>1492</sup>

Book	Nos.	Original/ addition	Music scribe <sup>1493</sup>
I	1-24	original	A
	25-44 <sup>1494</sup>	original	B
	45	original	C
	46-47	<i>empty staves</i>	
II	48-72	original	A
	73	original	A/A2?
	74-75	original	C?
	1-14	<i>addition</i>	
	15-19	<i>empty staves</i>	
III	i-viiij	original	A
	IX-XVIII	<i>addition</i>	
IV	α-λλ	original	A?

<sup>1490</sup> For example: text scribe a in book I wrote the text of the S, Ct and T for composition 1 (*Aupres de vous*), scribe b wrote the text for the B; but in chanson 2 (*Dessus le marchie d'Arras*), scribe b wrote the text for S and B, and scribe a wrote the text for Ct and T.

<sup>1491</sup> The incipits might have been entered by the music scribe, or by a third text scribe.

<sup>1492</sup> See also Günther 1911 and Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 261-262, both with minor mistakes.

<sup>1493</sup> Since Gheerkin's work is in the original parts, the additional parts have not been filled in.

<sup>1494</sup> The numbering here is misleading: S and T: no. 25 is entered as no. 45 (*Le temps qui court*). S, no. 46 is *Doulce memoire*; Ct, T, B, no. 45 is *Doulce memoire* (T therefore has two nos. 45).

The books do mention an owner and a date: on the inside of the covers we read that they belonged to Philipp Schönberg, living in Gdańsk in 1571. Philipp Schönberg was a singer in St Mary's church in Gdańsk, and from 1564 onwards he was the cantor of the church. His predecessor was Franciscus de Rivulo, who was the first cantor of the church from 1560 until his death in 1564. De Rivulo is represented in the partbooks with eighteen compositions, the majority of his twenty-seven works that have come down to us today. Besides cantor, De Rivulo also worked in a secular ensemble at the Artus Court. Furthermore, he was in charge of the carillon placed on the City Hall. This carillon was built by Jan Moer from 's-Hertogenbosch in 1560 and shipped from Amsterdam in 1561. It was one of the first carillons outside the Low Countries. That De Rivulo knew how to play and maintain this typical Low Countries instrument is remarkable. The only possible explanation is that he had spent quite some time in the Low Countries, perhaps he even originated from the area.<sup>1495</sup>

Franciscus de Rivulo might be the key figure in the origins of the partbooks GdańPAN 4003. His music was copied on pages which were at first left blank, and therefore the additions (among those by De Rivulo) probably were written in Gdańsk during or shortly after his life there. This is confirmed by an inscription on folio 72v (in the first set of additions) in the superius partbook, where we find the inscription 'Adrianus Vuillart Anno 63' to a composition by Adriaen Willaert.<sup>1496</sup> Except for one chanson, the additions are all from a different genre than the original body: a complete Mass,<sup>1497</sup> three Mass sections, a Te Deum, seventeen motets, five German compositions (both sacred and profane), a Latin piece and an Italian work.<sup>1498</sup> Almost all of these additions have been provided with the name of a composer or his initials: Fransiscus [sic] de Rivulo, Jacques Arcadelt, Orlando di Lasso, and Adriaan Willaert.

The repertoire of the initial parts of the books is not very innovative or surprising. The fact that the original parts are all chansons suggests that the books were intended to be performed from at home.<sup>1499</sup> The contents consist

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<sup>1495</sup> The information in this paragraph is derived from Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 259-260. Leszczyńska also suggests that De Rivulo was in contact with 's-Hertogenbosch. This is plausible, although the bells of the Moer family were famous throughout the entire Low Countries, and De Rivulo might have become familiar with them in some other town. I did not come across his name in the archives in 's-Hertogenbosch.

<sup>1496</sup> Already noticed by Günther 1911, p. 3.

<sup>1497</sup> At the beginning of this Mass in every partbook, there are remains of an original bookmark, probably in the form of a small leather ball, which was used more often in those days (for example in the Codex Smijers in 's-Hertogenbosch).

<sup>1498</sup> Census 1979-1988, Supplement, p. 388.

<sup>1499</sup> See also Leszczyńska 2009, p. 262.

of works by among others Appenzeller, Clemens non Papa, Courtois, Crequillon, Gheerkin, Gombert, Josquin, Lupi, Mouton and Sermisy. With a few exceptions, all of these works are known from other sources: three manuscripts and many prints, some of them reprints, by printers like Pierre Phalèse, Tielman Susato, Andrea Antico, Pierre Attaignant, Nicholas du Chemin, Antonio Gardane, Jacques Moderne, Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, largely dated in the period 1528-1560.<sup>1500</sup> It has always been assumed that the scribes simply copied their music from the prints, because in almost all cases more than one composition appears in one of the prints and manuscripts.<sup>1501</sup> Further research brought to light that there are also remarkable similarities between three manuscripts and the Gdańsk partbooks: one kept in Munich (MunBS 260), another one in Torun (TorunK 29-32), and the third one being the partbooks of Zeghere van Male.<sup>1502</sup>

This confirms that the copying was done in a professional workshop, where much music was available to copy from, at hand in manuscript form, but also in print. The question remains where this workshop was located. Suggestions have been made that the partbooks were compiled and copied in the Low Countries, already as early as the 1540s, based on their looks and the repertoire in the original parts.<sup>1503</sup> As an important Hanseatic city (officially since 1361), Gdańsk had many lively trading routes. As early as the 14th century there was intensive trade with Bruges, and later also with Antwerp and Amsterdam.<sup>1504</sup> Furthermore, relations between the Low Countries, Venice and Gdańsk are also known from two collections dating from the second half of the 16th century.<sup>1505</sup> But the key figure here seems to have been

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<sup>1500</sup> See for an overview of the prints and detailed information per chanson: Kłobukowska 1961, pp. 76-80 and Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 265-269.

<sup>1501</sup> Arguments against this simple copying are that there are differences in position of the voices (other clefs were used) and that there are differences in the actual music. Therefore the scribe either had a different version to copy from, or he has 'composed' some himself, sometimes even correcting mistakes.

<sup>1502</sup> On the concordances in Torun and Munich especially: Leszczyńska 2009, pp. 262-264. Noteworthy is that two of the chansons both in the Gdańsk and Cambrai partbooks are the two closely related versions of *A vous me rends* by Appenzeller and Gheerkin.

<sup>1503</sup> Census 1979-1988, Supplement, p. 389 (based on the calligraphy) and Leszczyńska 2009, p. 260, on p. 262 she adds that the fact that works by the local Low Countries composer Gheerkin de Hondt ended up in the partbooks suggests that the scribes must have had at least connections in that region.

<sup>1504</sup> Cieślak/Biernat 1995, pp. 57-61, 88-89, 105-107. The Moer carillon was shipped from Amsterdam (Adriaenssen 1989, pp. 48, 68).

<sup>1505</sup> Bernstein 1997, pp. 399-400.



Franciscus de Rivulo: clearly related to the Low Countries, he might have brought the books containing three of Gheerkin's chansons to Gdańsk, where De Rivulo or someone else entered the additions, among them De Rivulo's own works.<sup>1506</sup>

#### 11.4 **Ottaviano Scotto/Andrea Antico, *Il primo libro de le canzoni francese nuovamente stampate/Canzoni francese di messer Adriano, Venice 1535/1536***

In 1535 the famous Venetian publishing house of the Scotto family published a set of four partbooks containing twenty-three chansons: *Il primo libro de le canzoni francese*. Music printing was not the core business in the family company, which was initiated in 1479 by Ottaviano Scotto, also called Ottaviano I. Ottaviano mainly published books in the areas of philosophy and classical literature in Latin translation, for the Italian academic market. These academic prints would remain an important part of the business for more than a century. In 1481 Ottaviano published his first music book. A few years later, he stopped the actual printing, leaving it to others, to become a publisher-underwriter himself, concentrating on the (international) commerce of bookselling. When Ottaviano died in 1498, his nephews (sons of his brothers) Amadio, Paolo, Giovanni Battista and Ottaviano Secundus took over. The management of the firm was in the hands of Amadio until 1533; in that year, Ottaviano Scotto II became head of the family business.<sup>1507</sup>

As a doctor of medicine and very familiar with philosophy, Ottaviano II continued to print books in the academic fields that had made the house of Scotto so famous: philosophy, medicine, and religion. But like his uncle, he also published music sporadically: in 1516 he had published Andrea Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* in Rome. When Ottaviano II became head of the Scotto house in 1533, he continued the good relations with Antico. Between 1534 and 1539 they published sixteen music prints together, containing motets, Italian madrigals and chansons. Among the compositions are many works by Adriaen Willaert, who by then was the famous *maestro di cappella* of St Mark's cathedral in Venice. Antico produced the woodcuts for the

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<sup>1506</sup> Leszczyńska 2009, p. 260. The calligraphed initials she refers to are not exclusive to Alamire; they were widely used in The Low Countries, not only in musical manuscripts.

<sup>1507</sup> Bernstein 1998, pp. 29-38.

Scotto prints, Scotto found a printer and took the responsibility for the publications (especially marketing and sales); it remains unclear what the financial agreements between the two men were. In 1539 Ottaviano II left the management of the company to his brother Girolamo. From then on until the latter's death sometime between 1567 and 1569 Ottaviano II no longer published music books, but still some philosophical publications appeared at his initiative.<sup>1508</sup>

The 1535 print of chansons is also a collaboration between Scotto and Antico. This is confirmed by the title of the book, to be found on the last page of the bassus partbook, accompanied by one of Scotto's printer's marks and the year 1535.<sup>1509</sup> This bassus book is now kept in Munich, which also has an altus partbook. However, this altus does not have a title or a year of publishing. Another copy of the altus is kept in Paris.<sup>1510</sup> Finally, a tenor partbook is in Virginia.<sup>1511</sup>

Probably the first print run of these twenty-three chansons was a success, since in 1536 Scotto produced a reprint, of which two partbooks have come down to us: a superius<sup>1512</sup> and a bassus.<sup>1513</sup> The superius has a title page, which gives us a different

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<sup>1508</sup> Bernstein 1998, pp. 39-44, 111-112, 171-173.

<sup>1509</sup> The complete title is: *Finisse il primo Libro de le Canzoni Francese, nuovamente stampate. Et per Andrea Antigo intagliate, et con diligentia corrette. Venetijs Apud Octavianum Scotum. M.D.XXXV.* RISM 1535<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1510</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 117 k; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES VMD-26. All are mentioned in RISM 1535<sup>8</sup>. The Munich partbooks are digitally accessible on the website of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 'Andrea Antico Il primo libro de le canzoni francese' (accessed February 2014). I am deeply indebted to Peter de Groot from the Egidius Kwartet for sending me photographs of the Paris copy of the chanson *A vous me rends* and the index.

<sup>1511</sup> USA, University of Virginia Library, Gordon, 1535.A64. This tenor partbook is mentioned in an article by Prof. Paul Walker on the website of the University of Virginia, dated 2008, describing the source (<http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/scholarlyresources/portfolio/gordon/music/>; accessed February 2014); the partbook itself is also available on this website ([http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/uva-lib:1003220/view#openLayer/uva-lib:620215/1391/2003/0/1/1](http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/uva-lib:1003220/view#openLayer/uva-lib:620215/1391/2003/0/1/1;); accessed February 2014).

<sup>1512</sup> The superius is first mentioned by Kidger 2005, p. 78 as RISM 1536<sup>17</sup>. It is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding Mus. H. 48 (3) [Cantus]. I am truly grateful to Dr. Bonnie Blackburn for sending me photographs of the title page, the table of contents and the chanson *A vous me rends*.

<sup>1513</sup> Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, R.140.4. I am greatly indebted to Herr Klaus Keil from RISM, who supplied me with the not yet published information about this bassus partbook in Bologna, also under RISM 1536<sup>17</sup>; the RISM number is

title, the year 1536 and a calligraphed S. This calligraphed indication of the voice type also occurs in all the other partbooks. The title now refers to Adriaen Willaert (*Canzoni francese di messer Adriano*).<sup>1514</sup> The page does not give Scotto's name, neither does it mention Venice as the place of publication. On the last page of the bassus partbook is the original title, a printer's mark from Scotto (a different one compared to the 1535 print run), Venice as place of publication and the year 1536.<sup>1515</sup>

The tenor book in Virginia has a peculiarity: before the print a loose page from a partbook manuscript is bound in (probably in a later rebinding), showing us the superius part of the chanson *Au pres de vous secretement demeure*,<sup>1516</sup> with an unidentified coat of arms in the initial A. On the verso side a full colour miniature is drawn, showing among others a man playing the shawm.<sup>1517</sup>

The bassus partbooks in Munich and Bologna allow us to determine if Scotto used the same material from Andrea Antico for both print runs.<sup>1518</sup> It seems that Scotto did reuse the musical plates. This is clearly visible in the chanson *A vous me rends* in the semiminima c halfway on the second staff, where there is a small bite of the body of the note missing in both prints.<sup>1519</sup> The text, however, seems to have been reset: the letters in the 1535 print run are more embellished than the ones used in the 1536 print. The table of contents gives the same pattern: the 1535 print uses the same slightly different (more embellished) type than the 1536 print. This would mean that different plates were used for music and text and that (at least) two print runs were needed to complete a book.

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from the Online Catalogue, not published in print. The Bologna partbook is accessible on the internet:

<http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=25057> (accessed February 2014).

<sup>1514</sup> Complete title: *Canzoni francese di messer Adriano, e de altri Excellentissimi Auttori, nuovamente con ogni diligentia stampate. Libro Primo. M.D. XXXVI. Con gratia, et Privilegio.*

<sup>1515</sup> Complete title: *Finisse il primo Libro de le Canzoni Francese, nuovamente stampate. Et per Andrea Antigo intagliate, et con diligentia corrette. Venetijs Apud Octavianum Scotum. M.D.XXXVI.* RISM 1536<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>1516</sup> Identified by Prof. Walker as being from Claudin de Sermisy (according to the Grove Music Online also attributed to Jacotin).

<sup>1517</sup> The remains of the superius manuscript partbook are unknown; Prof. Walker has identified the accompanying manuscripts of the alto and tenor in respectively Florence and Paris (according to Leszczyńska 2009, p. 265 FlorL Ashbr. 1085 and ParisBNC 255).

<sup>1518</sup> A final answer can only be given if both books can be compared side by side, or if high resolution photographs from both prints are available.

<sup>1519</sup> There are more peculiarities in the note picture that are the same in both editions.

If we now take a closer look at the altus partbook in Paris, which has no title page or date of printing, it turns out that the font types are different from the font types of the same voice kept in Munich, but that the music is the same.<sup>1520</sup> The font is the same as the one used in the 1536 print run. Therefore, the Paris partbook is to be dated 1536 and not 1535. Table 11.3 gives an overview of the partbooks and their differences.

Table 11.3 The partbooks of Scotto's *Il primo libro de le canzoni francese*

Library / Partbook	Date	Title page	Title	Table of contents	Music	Text font
Munich, altus	[1535]	A	-	Font 1 <sup>1521</sup>	Same as Paris	Font 1
Munich, bassus	1535, on last page	B	Il primo libro de le canzoni francese (on last page)	Font 1	Same as Bologna	Font 1
Paris, altus	[1536]	A	-	Font 2	Same as Munich	Font 2
Bologna, bassus	1536, on last page	B	Il primo libro de le canzoni francese (on last page)	Font 2	Same as Munich	Font 2
Oxford, superius	1536, on title page	S, plus title and year of publishing	Canzoni francese di messer Adriano (on title page)	Font 2		Font 2
Virginia, tenor	[1535]	T	-	Font 1		Font 1

<sup>1520</sup> Based on the pages containing the chanson *A vous me rends* and the index of the partbook. The Munich bassus partbook uses the same font type as the Munich altus partbook, making them belong to the same print run.

<sup>1521</sup> Font 1 is a more embellished font than Font 2.

Except for differences in font type, spelling and length of the titles, both prints show us the titles of the same twenty-three chansons. The first five are attributed to 'Adriano' (Adriaen Willaert), number four being *A vous me rends*, which is more likely by Gheerkin de Hondt.<sup>1522</sup> From the other eighteen compositions, only three have been attributed: one to 'Claudin' (Claudin de Sermisy) and two to 'Joa. Lirithier' (Jean Lhéritier).

Over the years, fifteen chansons have been identified with the help of concordances.<sup>1523</sup> We find chansons by Adriaen Willaert (4), Pierre Moulu (1), Jean Richafort (1), Claudin de Sermisy (5), Jean Lhéritier (2), Tomas Jannequin (1) and Gheerkin de Hondt (1).<sup>1524</sup> Scotto's attributions are not all correct (besides *A vous me rends*): the chanson *En l'ombre d'ung buissonet* is also attributed to Lasson elsewhere. It is clear, however, that most composers are from the same generation: born around 1480/1490 and died around 1550/1560. Furthermore, most of them seem to have French or Franco-Flemish roots.

The main questions here are, of course, how a chanson by the Bruges *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt turned up in a 1535 Venetian print, and why it was ascribed to Adriaen Willaert. There are a few arguments to consider. First, as we have seen in § 4.1 and 4.3, there were contacts between Bruges and Venice, since many Venetian merchants were based in Bruges. However, most of them had exchanged Bruges for Antwerp by 1515, the last galley entering the Bruges harbour in 1520.<sup>1525</sup> Nevertheless, the connections between Italy and the Low Countries and vice versa (and in fact the entire continent of Europe) in the music printing business have been described before, concluding that it is not strange that works by composers from the Low Countries were printed in Italy and vice versa.<sup>1526</sup> And perhaps the strongest argument is that Adriaen Willaert's own brother, Anthonis, lived and worked in Bruges and stayed in contact with his brother in the 1530s and

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<sup>1522</sup> See Chapters 12 and 15.

<sup>1523</sup> RISM 1535<sup>8</sup> and the Ricercar programme of the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de Tours (<http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/>), which gives a complete table of contents including the concordances. The chanson *Au bois au bois, madame* is missing (misplaced in 1535/9). The chanson *Il est bel et bon* does not belong to the contents. The chanson *Le temps qui court* appears twice in the list.

<sup>1524</sup> All identified in RISM 1535<sup>8</sup> or on the Ricercar website, except for *Nous bergiers et nous bergieres* by Tomas Jannequin (Christoffersen 1994, volume 1, pp. 203-207 and volume II, pp. 162-163). No biographical information on this Jannequin is available.

<sup>1525</sup> Vandewalle 2002b, p. 41.

<sup>1526</sup> Bernstein 1997.

1540s.<sup>1527</sup> So there could have been many occasions for Gheerkin's chanson to reach Venice. But of course, no one would have known him there, while everybody knew Adriaen Willaert, the *maestro di cappella* at St Mark's. Therefore, a print with works by the famous composer Adriaen Willaert would sell better than one without the local favourite. And of course they were placed in the beginning of this anthology. Among them was *A vous me rends*, which was actually quite a compliment to Gheerkin.

### 11.5 Tielman Susato, *Het ierste musyck boexken*, Antwerp 1551

The first successful music printer in the Low Countries was Tielman Susato. Probably born near Cologne around 1510-1515, he came to Antwerp in the late 1520s. His first mention is in the 1529 account of the Confraternity of Our Lady in Antwerp, where he functioned as music scribe and (later) as player of the sackbut. He was appointed city trumpeter in the same town in 1531, playing sackbut, field trumpet, crumhorn, flute and recorders, a position he would hold until 1549. In the early 1540s Susato started to print music, first with two business partners, but soon on his own. He published fifty-five music books, in all popular genres (Mass, motet, chanson and Dutch lied), but also the less current dance music and *Souterliedekens* (Dutch translation of the psalms) found their way to Susato's press. In 1561 Susato moved to Alkmaar (nowadays in the province of Noord-Holland), where he started a new career outside the music business. He is signalled at the Swedish court in the 1560s and is last documented in Stockholm in June 1570.<sup>1528</sup>

Susato mainly printed music in series, for example the eleven *Musyck Boexkens*, published in three or four partbooks each. The series contains two books with a total of fifty-five Dutch songs, one volume of dance music (not entirely from the Low Countries, because the compositions often are based on French chansons)<sup>1529</sup> and eight books with *Souterliedekens* (by Jacobus Clemens non Papa and his pupil Gerardus Mes). In the preface to the first *Musyck Boexken*<sup>1530</sup> (in the tenor part),

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<sup>1527</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 157-158.

<sup>1528</sup> Based on Forney 2005. See there for many more details on Susato's life and references to other publications. On the Swedish connection: Grosjean 2005.

<sup>1529</sup> Schreurs/Sanders 1989, *superius*, p. 7; McTaggart 1997, p. xii.

<sup>1530</sup> Complete title: *Het ierste musyck boexken mit vier partyen daer inne Begrepen zyn xxviiij nieuwe amoreuse liedekens in onser neder duytscher talen, Gecomponeert by diversche componisten, zeer lustich om singen en spelen op alle musicale Instrumenten* (RISM 1551<sup>18</sup>). One complete set of books has come down to us, now in Poland, Kraków,

addressed to ‘the agreeable lovers of noble music’,<sup>1531</sup> Susato explains why he started this series: after several volumes of Masses, motets and chansons, he also wanted to publish music in Dutch, which could be performed by singers and/or musicians. Therefore, he asked his fellow-countrymen to send him Dutch songs, or even just texts in the vernacular, probably with the aim to have them set to music or do so himself.<sup>1532</sup> This might have been a special call to the literary movement of the *rederijkers* (chambers of rhetoricians), whose texts are already represented in the *Musyck Boexkens*.<sup>1533</sup> Susato hoped to spread the Dutch song ‘everywhere’, in the same way that Latin, French and Italian compositions were generally used.

Indeed, the Dutch lied was not a widespread genre, even in the Low Countries. The fact that the language was not an easy one and that it was spoken in a small area by a limited number of people, which is still true today, influenced sixteenth-century composers, even to those born and raised in the region. Compared to other genres, not many songs have survived.<sup>1534</sup> Although this does not mean that the Dutch lied was only distributed in the Low Countries, prints and manuscripts from abroad are rare and if they do contain Dutch songs, they often only have an incipit or no text at all.<sup>1535</sup>

Many of the songs in the first *Musyck Boexken* are about love: happy, unhappy, sad or unequal. But the books also contain texts about spring (May songs), guilds, drinking, and spiritual affairs (based on a psalm).<sup>1536</sup> One song in particular refers to a religious feast, namely Hellinck’s *Nieuwe almanac ende pronosticatie*, a satirical

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Biblioteka Jagiellońska; a copy of the superius is in The Hague, Royal Library, NMI Kluis D 4 (1) (former The Hague, Gemeentemuseum). A facsimile, based on the Kraków set, was published by Schreurs/Sanders 1989, and an edition by McTaggart 1997. Both the first and second *Musyck Boexken* have been recorded by the Egidius Kwartet (Egidius Kwartet 2002).

<sup>1531</sup> Translation from Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, p. 5. McTaggart 1997, p. xi translates *Aen de gunstige liefhebbbers der edelder Musycken* as ‘To the esteemed *amateurs* of noble Music’. In my opinion ‘amateurs’ does not capture the nuance of the word ‘liefhebbbers’. The preface is addressed to all lovers of the Dutch lied, not just to the amateurs performing and composing music or writing texts, but also the people enjoying the music.

<sup>1532</sup> McTaggart 1997, p. xii.

<sup>1533</sup> McTaggart 1997, p. xiii; Forney 2005, p. 11. The *rederijkers* were groups of (amateur) poets in the late medieval Low Countries, organized in so-called chambers (associations). On the *rederijkers* see: Van Bruaene 2008.

<sup>1534</sup> Bonda comes to a total of 493 liederen (Bonda 1996, p. 544).

<sup>1535</sup> Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, p. 5.

<sup>1536</sup> Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, pp. 7-8; McTaggart 1997, pp. xiii-xv, making different categories.

song for the feast of Holy Innocents. Susato states that he has made a selection: he did not enter songs with words that could incite to vice. Although this was of course a noble ambition, the fifty-five liederen in the first two *Musyck Boexkens* prove that Susato did not completely succeed in his idea: especially among the love songs, some of the texts have an obscene meaning, although it is sometimes hidden.<sup>1537</sup>

Remarkable is that every lied has a complete text, which has been put under the notes in a way that text and notes are easy to combine. This probably was Susato's intent, because his public was not only composed of professional musicians. The majority of people buying Susato's work consisted of the middle-class community of merchants and craftsmen living in the great Flemish and Brabant trading towns, for example Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels and Ghent. Most of these families belonged to the wealthier part of society and had enjoyed a music education in singing and/or playing an instrument that had made them fairly good musicians. Susato dedicated many of his music prints to these friends, who performed his music in their own private homes.<sup>1538</sup>

Fifteen out of the twenty-eight compositions in *Het Ierste Musyck Boexken* are anonymous.<sup>1539</sup> The composers of the other thirteen works are of Franco-Flemish origin and/or they worked in the Low Countries: Lupus Hellinck, Jheronimus Vinders, Antonius Barbe, Josquin Baston, Gheerkin de Hondt, Carolus Souilaert and Tielman Sustato himself.<sup>1540</sup> Among the songs are many unique copies not known from other sources, but also a few copies of songs that were widespread, and compositions by different composers to the same text, for example *O wrede fortune* (Susato and Vinders) and *Myn liefkens bruyn ooghen* (Susato and Swill(i)art).<sup>1541</sup>

The question how Gheerkin's lied *Het was my van te voren gheseyt* was selected for the first *Musyck Boexken* with 'the best, the most artful and exquisite songs

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<sup>1537</sup> McTaggart 1997, p. xiv.

<sup>1538</sup> McTaggart 1997, pp. ix-x, xiii, xviii-xix; Forney 2005, p. 6.

<sup>1539</sup> McTaggart 1997, p. xii gives two explanations for this high number of anonymous pieces, compared to other prints that have more attributions: 1) Susato entered 'old' songs in his books (from the early 16th century) of which he did not know the composers' names anymore; 2) attributions were not needed, since the collection was not about the composers, but about the Dutch songs. I would like to add the fact that anonymous or (accidentally or deliberately) falsely attributed compositions were rather normal in 16th-century music collections; there was as yet no copyright.

<sup>1540</sup> Lupus Hellinc, Ieronimus Vinders, Anto. Barbe, Josquin Baston, Geerhart and Swill(i)art. Swill(i)art is identified as Carolus Souilaert, who also appears in the second *Musyck Boexken* with five songs (Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, p. 9).

<sup>1541</sup> Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, pp. 10-14; McTaggart 1997, Critical Report (p. 249 onwards).



composed by the most artful masters that I could find<sup>1542</sup> is not hard to answer. Gheerkin was a typical composer of the Low Countries, and therefore he belonged to Susato's 'market'. Susato's music prints were mainly published for middle-class music lovers. One such person was of course Zeghere van Male from Bruges, who had also added Gheerkin's song to his collection. We may therefore assume that Gheerkin's lied was popular among the group Susato aimed at, becoming another confirmation of the statement that he was a typical composer of the Low Countries.

### 11.6 Pierre Phalèse, *Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties, Leuven 1552 and Premier livre des chansons a cinq et six parties, Leuven 1553*

A competitor of Tielman Susato was Pierre Phalèse<sup>1543</sup> (ca. 1505/10 – ca. 1573/76).<sup>1544</sup> Originally Phalèse worked in Leuven, but in 1570 – after Susato had left Antwerp – he moved his business to Antwerp, to associate with Jean Bellère. In 1545 Phalèse published his first book of chansons, in the form of lute arrangements. It is the beginning of a long series of music prints. In the early years Phalèse introduced his publications together with others, who actually printed the volumes for him (for example Martin Rotarius<sup>1545</sup> and Jacob Baethen). Phalèse himself was a book seller at Leuven University, in which capacity he also published texts in the academic field (for example religious books). From 1552 onwards, Phalèse himself started to print. By far the majority of his publications has one or more reprints, and therefore Phalèse must have been a successful publisher.

Like Scotto and Susato, Phalèse printed his music mainly in series, according to the customs of his time. He published series with both spiritual and secular music, in the main genres Mass, motet and chanson;<sup>1546</sup> each book contains work by different composers, but he also filled volumes with works by one man, for example Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillon. In two of the chanson series we find works by Gheerkin de Hondt: the series

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<sup>1542</sup> As stated in Susato's preface; translation from Schreurs/Sanders 1989, superius, p. 6.

<sup>1543</sup> Also: Peterus Vander Phaliesen / Vander Phalisen / Phalesius.

<sup>1544</sup> The biographical data are based on Vanhulst 1990, pp. IX-XLII and Bain 1973, pp. 80-84.

<sup>1545</sup> Also: Merten de Raymaker(e).

<sup>1546</sup> For the catalogue see: Vanhulst 1990; for the editions by genre: Bain 1973, pp. 97-106.

of four-part chansons and the one with five- and six-part chansons. The series of four-part chansons contained seven books; Gheerkin's *Langueur d'amour* is in the fifth, which was published in 1552 and reprinted in 1555 and 1564.<sup>1547</sup> In 1553 Phalèse started his series of five- and six-part chansons, the first book containing Gheerkin's *Oncques ne sceu avoir*, which was reprinted only once, in 1556.<sup>1548</sup> Both series were produced in partbooks, intended for making music at home, just like Susato's and Scotto's series in partbooks. The complete titles of the books suggest that the chansons were not only meant to sing, but also to perform with instruments.

The title pages of the *Premier livre* and *Cinquiesme livre* containing Gheerkin's chansons show an engraving with the Muse of Singing, Melpomene, a design used by Phalèse for almost all of his vocal music prints.<sup>1549</sup> In the left and right upper corner there are two 'escutcheons', respectively showing the initials of Pierre Phalèse and the initials of his printing partner (when Phalèse was solely responsible for an edition, this shield remained empty). In case of the *Premier livre*, the initials of Martin

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<sup>1547</sup> Complete title: *Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties, nouvellement composez & mises en musicque, convenables tant aux instruments qu' à la voix*; RISM 1552<sup>15</sup>, RISM 1555<sup>21</sup> and 1564 (not in the printed edition of RISM). Only of the 1555 and 1564 complete sets of copies have survived:

- RISM 1552<sup>15</sup>: Sweden, Stockholm, Statens musikbibliotek, earlier: Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek, Ty. K. 34 (S); Sweden, Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Mus. Not. Vis. RAR (T).
- RISM 1555<sup>21</sup>: Germany, Kassel, Murhardsche und Landesbibliothek, 4° Mus. 61 b; Great Britain, London, British Library, K. 3. a. 15 (available online); Belgium, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale (Ct), 7° cl. V. K. Chans. 4° II 5.
- 1564: USA, New York, Public Library, Mus. Res. \*MN P 534; USA, Cambridge (Mass.), Houghton Library, \*43.1813 (S).

<sup>1548</sup> Complete title: *Premier livre des chansons a cinq et six parties Nouvellement composez & mises en musicque, convenables tant aux instrumentz comme à la voix*; RISM 1553<sup>24</sup> and RISM 1556<sup>13</sup>. Of both print runs complete copies have come down to us:

- RISM 1553<sup>24</sup>: Sweden, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Utl. vok. mus. tr. 506-510; Belgium, Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, R 27.12 (Ct); Great Britain, London, British Library, Add. MS 31438 (T).
- RISM 1556<sup>13</sup>: Poland, Gdansk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Ee 2165 8° adl. 3; Germany, Kassel, Murhardsche und Landesbibliothek, 4° Mus. 62; Great Britain, London, British Library, K. 3. a. 16; Great Britain, Oxford, Christ Church Library, 508<sup>(9)</sup>-509<sup>(9)</sup>, (Ct, B), Netherlands, Utrecht, University Library, AA Octavo 26 Rariora (tenor and quinta pars).

<sup>1549</sup> Bain 1973, p. 92; Vanhulst 1985, pp. XVI-XVII.

Rotaire appear in the right shield of the first print run, but not of the second print run, since Rotaire did not participate in that.<sup>1550</sup>

Although the titles suggest that the music was newly composed, nothing is less true. The *Cinquième livre* contains thirty four-part chansons.<sup>1551</sup> Twenty-eight chansons are attributed to a composer: we find familiar names like Crequillon (fifteen chansons) and Clemens non Papa (two chansons), but also so-called *Kleinmeister* like [Josquin] Baston, [Jean] Crespel, Antonius Galli and Jan Gerard, and finally there are also unknown composers like Buys, Cabilliau, Simon Cardon, M. Jacob and N. de Wismes. Among the two anonymous chansons is Gheerkin's *Langueur d'amour*. The reprints have the same contents, but they are clearly new print runs, because there are differences in layout. However, Phalèse used the same engraved (embellished) initials, which we see in many of his prints.<sup>1552</sup>

The *Premier livre* consists of thirty chansons.<sup>1553</sup> Twenty-two are for five voices, the remaining eight are to be performed by six voices (or instruments, of course). We meet the same composers as in the *Cinquiesme livre*: Crequillon, Clemens non papa, Josquin Baston, Crespel, Galli and Gheerkin, but here we also find works by [Cornelius] Canis, Chastellain,<sup>1554</sup> Hollandre, Larc(h)ier, Jean Loys,<sup>1555</sup> Nicolaus Rogier, Petit Jean and [Hubert] Waelrant. Only two of the chansons are anonymous. Here too, there is a fine mix of famous composers, *Kleinmeister* and men completely unknown today.

The two chanson volumes *Cinquiesme livre des chansons a quatre parties* and *Premier livre des chansons a cinq et six parties* are a faithful reflection of the music sounding in the Low Countries. Pierre Phalèse was a well-known and respected music printer in Europe; his prints are spread all over the continent today. The fact that he selected two works by Gheerkin de Hondt confirms that Gheerkin's work was known and appreciated among authorities in the music business in the Low Countries.

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<sup>1550</sup> The 1553 print is dedicated to Melchior Schetz, an Antwerp businessman.

<sup>1551</sup> A description of the source and its contents is in Vanhulst 1990, pp. 23-24, 51, 113-114.

<sup>1552</sup> We also see them in Susato's series of chanson books (1543-1555). There seems to be no pattern as to where the pictures were placed (no relation text or music for example). On the Phalèse initials: Vanhulst 1990, pp. XIX-XXII.

<sup>1553</sup> A description of the source and its contents is in Vanhulst 1990, pp. 29-30, 54. In the index of the 1553 print, *D'amours me plains* is incorrectly indicated for five voices.

<sup>1554</sup> Phalèse printed the name in many variants in the same partbooks: Chasteleti, Chastelain, Castillain, Chastellain, Castelein, Chastillain.

<sup>1555</sup> Conflicting attribution with Crequillon (Vanhulst 1990, pp. 29-30, 54).

## Chapter 12 Authenticity problem

In three manuscripts and four printed sources, dating from the period 1535–1556, works are attributed to Gheerkin de Hondt or plain Gheerkin.<sup>1556</sup> The question is if all these works could indeed be ascribed to Gheerkin de Hondt. In one case, there is a clear conflicting attribution: the chanson *A vous me rends* has been credited to both Gheerkin and Willaert. In addition to this, there is a motet attributed to Gheerkin Corael, but in the index it bears the name of De Wale. Finally, another motet has been successively attributed to Clemens non Papa, Gheerkin, Thomas Crecquillon and Clemens non Papa again.

There is just one source giving Gheerkin's full name: the superius and tenor partbooks written and owned by Zeghere van Male. Only on one page in each partbook the name Gheerkin de Hondt appears;<sup>1557</sup> in the Contratenor and Bassus, the attribution is to 'Gheerkin'. Because of this combined use of names, the other fourteen compositions in these books (Masses, motets, chansons and lied) simply bearing the name 'Gheerkin' are collectively ascribed to Gheerkin de Hondt. Since the writer and owner of the partbooks, Zeghere van Male, was a parishioner of the Sint-Jacobskerk where Gheerkin worked, and the partbooks were written directly after Gheerkin had left (and were probably compiled during his stay in Bruges), there is no reason to doubt this ascription. We may even add to this that the attributions Zeghere made were almost all correct.<sup>1558</sup>

Zeghere van Male's partbooks also contain another 'Gheerkin': the motet *Dum penderet, Petrus in cruce / Gracias ago tibi* is attributed to

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<sup>1556</sup> The list of works in Appendix 15 contains the spelling variants of all attributions. Remarkable is that there is a consequent use of the name variant 'Gheerkin', nowhere Gheerkin's official name 'Gheeraert' or 'Gerit' is used (on the spelling variants see note 2 in the Introduction). It looks like Gheerkin used this 'stage name' to distinguish himself from singers/composers with the name Gerard as first or family name (for example Jan Gerard, Gerardus Mes, Derrick Gerarde, Gheeraert Obrecht, Gerardus van Turnhout).

<sup>1557</sup> Fol. 48v of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.

<sup>1558</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, pp. 159-162, 233-244.

‘Gheerkin Corael’ above the music and to ‘De Wale’ in the index.<sup>1559</sup> The fact that there seems to be a clear distinction between this ‘Gheerkin Corael’ and the ‘Gheerkin’ who is represented in the partbooks with fifteen works suggests that they are two different men. If we interpret the name ‘Gheerkin Corael’ in the most obvious way, it would mean that a choirboy named Gheerkin was the youthful composer of the work and that his full and official name was Gheeraert de Wale.<sup>1560</sup> The documents of the Sint-Jacobskerk do not mention a Gheeraert de Wale as a choirboy during the years Gheerkin de Hondt was the *zangmeester* of the Sint-Jacobskerk, but that proves nothing, since many of the boys have remained anonymous. However, the accounts of the church fabric do mention the funeral of a child of a Gheeraert de Wale in April 1559.<sup>1561</sup> This Gheeraert de Wale could indeed have been a choirboy during the compilation of the partbooks (before 1540) and he might even have been a choirboy in the Sint-Jacobskerk or another church in Bruges.<sup>1562</sup> Another possibility is that he was a former choirboy and the name ‘corael’ is added to make a distinction between Gheerkin de Hondt and Gheerkin de Wale.<sup>1563</sup> (Former) choirboy Gheeraert de Wale probably did not continue his musical career, because no more works have come down to us.<sup>1564</sup> But the distinction made by Zeghere van Male between Gheerkin de Hondt (Gheerkin) and Gheerkin de Wale (Gheerkin Corael) seems to be correct.

Pierre Phalèse ascribed the chanson *Oncques ne sceu avoir* in his 1553 print of five- and six-voice chansons to ‘Gheerkin’.<sup>1565</sup> It is the youngest ‘newly’ published work by Gheerkin de Hondt we know so far. Since there only seems to have been one composer named ‘Gheerkin’, this work has been normally acknowledged as being by Gheerkin de Hondt. Only a stylistic comparison could shed more light as to whether this work can indeed belong to the oeuvre of Gheerkin de Hondt.

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<sup>1559</sup> CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 79v-80r.

<sup>1560</sup> In the official documents in Bruges Gheerkin de Hondt is always called Gheeraert, in Delft and ’s-Hertogenbosch Gerrit/Gerit. Therefore, the official name of Gheerkin de Wale would be Gheeraert de Wale.

<sup>1561</sup> RAB 88, No. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1559, fol. 354r.

<sup>1562</sup> Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, p. 151 suggests he was a choirboy at Sint-Donaas, but she did not know the reference in the accounts of the Sint-Jacobskerk.

<sup>1563</sup> As we shall see in § 14.4 Gheerkin de Wale favours a through-composed technique.

<sup>1564</sup> Eitner 1900-1904, volume 10, p. 158, Fétis 1865, p. 407 and De Coussemaker 1975<sup>2</sup>, p. 85 do mention him as one of the composers of the Zeghere van Male partbooks (De Coussemaker even gives a transcription of the Prima Pars of the motet in his Supplement), but Gheerkin de Wale did not make it into any music encyclopedia.

<sup>1565</sup> Several spellings: Gheerkin/Gheerken/Geerkin/Cheerkin.

The two Masses in the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbook attributed to 'Gheerken' are generally accepted as being by Gheerkin de Hondt. As with the Cambrai partbooks, there is no reason to doubt the ascription, since the manuscript was most likely written during the time Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch. Besides, there are clear relations between the repertoire in this book and the biography of Gheerkin de Hondt, representing his personal taste.<sup>1566</sup> Finally, all the attributions in the manuscript are the complete names of the composers (first and family name; first name of Pierre de Manchicourt in abbreviation), except for the two Masses by 'Gheerken'. This suggests that he was well known to the scribe of the Broederschap, even 'one of their own', at least during the time of compiling and writing the manuscript.

Two works on Gheerkin's worklist have conflicting attributions: *A vous me rends* and *Het was my van te voren gheseyt*. The case of *Het was my van te voren gheseyt* is not that complicated, since the attribution to 'Geerhart' by Susato is easily explained as a name variant of Gheerkin. The situation with *A vous me rends* is different, because it is ascribed to Adriaen Willaert in the Scotto print of 1535/1536. However, several points of view have been considered on how a chanson by Gheerkin de Hondt could turn up in an Italian print attributed to Adriaen Willaert.<sup>1567</sup> But the best argument in these two cases is that both works are also part of the Cambrai partbooks.<sup>1568</sup>

An interesting situation appears in one of the Leiden choirbooks, manuscript 1442 (also called book E), dated approximately 1567.<sup>1569</sup> The manuscript contains an *Ave Maria* that bears the names of no fewer than three composers.<sup>1570</sup> The scribe first attributed the motet to 'Clemens non papa', which was crossed out and replaced by 'Gheerkin'. Then 'Gheerkin' was crossed out and changed to 'Tho. Cruquillon'. Finally, the name of

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<sup>1566</sup> See § 11.2.

<sup>1567</sup> § 11.4.

<sup>1568</sup> Both *A vous me rends* and *Het was my van te voren gheseyt* are listed in the *Grove Online* in the work lists of respectively Adriaen Willaert and Jan Gerard, without mentioning the conflicting attribution to Gheerkin de Hondt in CambraiBM 125-8. The website [www.adriaenwillaert.be](http://www.adriaenwillaert.be) does mention the ascription to Gheerkin de Hondt.

<sup>1569</sup> On this manuscript: Jas 1997, especially pp. 82-85 and 191-197.

<sup>1570</sup> Regionaal Archief Leiden, Kerken, nummer toegang 502, inventarisnummer 1442, fol. 65v-66r. All the Leiden choirbooks are available online: <http://www.archiefleiden.nl/home/collecties/verhalen/koorboeken/bladeren-in-koorboeken>. Edition: Bernet Kempers 1951-1976, volume XXI, pp. XII, 93-95. Recording: Egidius Kwartet 2014.

Crecquillon was scratched off (but is still very legible), and someone wrote 'Ita est Clemens non papa' on the opposite folio.<sup>1571</sup>

The main question is how the scribe of the Leiden choirbook got acquainted with Gheerkin's music. This is not too hard: Gheerkin visited the city at least twice: in the early 1530s when he was *zangmeester* in Delft and in May 1543 when he fulfilled the same position in 's-Hertogenbosch, both times to look for new singers for his employer.<sup>1572</sup> This last journey is especially interesting, since Gheerkin worked for a Marian confraternity at the time and the composition in question is an *Ave Maria*. Of course, Marian devotion ran rampant in the mid-sixteenth century, but the accounts of the 's-Hertogenbosch Broederschap especially mention two facts: 1) Gheerkin wrote four motets for them, which have not been kept in the confraternity collection;<sup>1573</sup> 2) *Ave Marias* were sung on many occasions in 's-Hertogenbosch, but six *Ave Marias* were sung by the singers during the banquets the Broederschap held about nine times a year.<sup>1574</sup> Therefore, strictly biographically speaking, it is no surprise to find an *Ave Maria* which has Gheerkin's name above the music in a choirbook originating in a city he professionally visited.<sup>1575</sup>

Albert Smijers suggested that the four motets Gheerkin wrote for the Broederschap are among the anonymous compositions in the 's-Hertogenbosch codex today bearing Smijers' name.<sup>1576</sup> He does have a point, all the more since Philippus de Spina left out the ascriptions to the composers in the majority of his scribal work. But in my opinion, in the present time ascribing anonymous compositions to sixteenth-century composers is a difficult and dangerous task, especially when 'style' is the only available tool.

However, it is possible to say something about the oeuvre of Gheerkin de Hondt now available. Considering the sources in relation to Gheerkin's biography, there is no reason to doubt the ascriptions to Gheerkin (de Hondt) in the Cambrai partbooks, the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbook and the Phalèse print of 1553. But closer study of the music itself will be needed to show if this can be confirmed by the compositions themselves.

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<sup>1571</sup> First discovered by Jas 1997, p. 193.

<sup>1572</sup> Part I, respectively § 3.4 and § 7.1.

<sup>1573</sup> § 7.1.

<sup>1574</sup> § 6.3.2 and Roelvink 2002, pp. 53 and 241 (no. 3).

<sup>1575</sup> I want to stress again that so far, there are no indications that there is another composer using the name Gheerkin.

<sup>1576</sup> Smijers 1946, p. 29.

## Chapter 13 Masses

### 13.1 The Mass at the time of Gheerkin

The Mass Ordinary had developed from the 14th century onwards into the polyphonic cyclic Mass, becoming the most popular and widespread musical genre in the 15th century and continuing into the 16th. Musical unity in the Mass Ordinary was created by using a model, either a monophonic chant or a chanson melody, or a polyphonic composition, for example a chanson or motet.<sup>1577</sup>

In the early sixteenth century, the borrowing of polyphonic models to create a new Mass cycle became more and more a standard, superseding the *cantus firmus* Mass. At the same time, the four-voice motet, written in contrapuntal imitation, became a popular basis for Masses. Besides these so-called parody Masses (also called imitation Masses), other types were also composed, for example Masses set in canon throughout or Masses composed on freely invented material, but they clearly formed a minority.<sup>1578</sup>

In general, the motif of the opening of the model was also the basis of the opening of the separate Mass movements Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. The *Secunda Pars* of a motet model usually formed the basis of the subsections of the Mass movements (for example the 'Osanna' in the Sanctus or the 'Christe' in the Kyrie). However, the distribution of the borrowed material in the Mass was at the choice of the Mass composer, who also kept in mind the possibilities of text declamation. Sometimes complete blocks of a model were almost literally incorporated in a 'new' Mass, but on the other end of the spectrum we come across freely composed subsections, especially those in fewer voices, that do not seem to have any relation to the model whatsoever.

Composers as Gombert, Willaert, Hellinck and Clemens non Papa are strong representatives of the generation that made the parody Mass such a popular genre in the first half of the sixteenth century. Their choice of models often gives a good indication of their personal education, background and stylistic taste and preferences. Even the way a model was used in a Mass, or the division of the Mass

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<sup>1577</sup> § 1.2 and § 1.3.

<sup>1578</sup> This and the next paragraphs are based on McKinnon ('Mass').



into subsections might indicate a personal preference of a pupil following his master, a composer admiring his colleague or a composer finding his own way in the compositional landscape.

## 13.2 Models

The five Masses by Gheerkin de Hondt currently known are all based on polyphonic motets. Of four of the composers we know their name: Johannes Lupi (*Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*), Nicolas Gombert (*Caeciliam cantate pii*) and Lupus Hellinck (*In te Domine speravi* and *Panis quem ego dabo*); the fifth remains anonymous (*Vidi Jherusalem*).<sup>1579</sup> These composers are Gheerkin's contemporaries from the Low Countries; Gombert and Hellinck were born around the same time, Johannes Lupi about a decade later.

The motets by Johannes Lupi and Lupus Hellinck are found in sources today preserved all over Europe;<sup>1580</sup> the motets by Gombert and the anonymous composer seem to have been less popular. Table 13.1 gives an overview of the models, their composers and their liturgical function (if applicable).

The question arises how Gheerkin came to know these models and why he chose them as the basis for his five Masses. In the case of the two Hellinck motets it seems quite simple: both men worked at the same time in Bruges, and must have known each other's work. Furthermore, both motets were very popular, appearing in many sources. Finally, they were used by several other composers as the basis for a Mass, including by Hellinck himself.<sup>1581</sup> Therefore, Hellinck's music apparently contained 'suitable' material to work with.<sup>1582</sup> Gheerkin probably chose these two motets to pay tribute to his renowned colleague, whose compositional skills he

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<sup>1579</sup> Blackburn 1970, pp. 154; Diehl 1974, pp. 540-545, 531-535, 560-563; Roelvink 2002, pp. 162-163.

<sup>1580</sup> Blackburn 1970, pp. 378, 384, 388; Thomas (Motet Database), accessed November 2014.

<sup>1581</sup> Blackburn 1970, pp. 154, 260, 263. A sixth Mass was added to the group of Masses on *Panis quem ego dabo*, namely the one by Nicolas de Marle, published in 1558 by Le Roy et Ballard in Paris (mentioned by Frank Dobbins in his article on Nicolas de Marle in <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>). See also below, § 13.4.

<sup>1582</sup> On the suitability of motets for the bases of a Mass, see Blackburn 1970, pp. 155-159. In sum: the ideal motet should contain a Prima and a Secunda Pars (providing enough material), no chordal writing, new melodic themes for every phrase of text, contrasting themes and variety in themes.

appreciated very much and whose models also fit the musical needs for his own Masses. Why he chose these two out of a corpus of over fifteen motet compositions is probably also a matter of personal taste and preferences, and perhaps the liturgical occasion might have been a decisive factor as well.

Table 13.1 Models for Gheerkin's Masses

Mass	Model	Composer	Edition or sources <sup>1583</sup>	Liturgical function model
<i>Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel</i> , for 4 voices	Motet <i>Benedictus Dominus Israel / Honor virtus et potestas</i> , for 4 voices	Johannes Lupi	Blackburn 1980-1989, volume I, pp. XXXVI, 144-149.	The text of the Prima Pars is based on Psalm 71:18-19, and is sung as the second responsory at Matins of the Feast of the Most Holy Trinity; <sup>1584</sup> it is also used as a gradual for Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany. <sup>1585</sup>
<i>Missa Ceciliam cantate pii</i> , for 5 voices	Motet <i>Caeciliam cantate pii / Concordes igitur voce liete modos</i> , <sup>1586</sup> for 5 voices	Nicolas Gombert	Schmidt-Görg 1951-1975, volume VIII, pp. IX-X, 26-35.	The text of the motet is by an unknown poet, for the feast of St Cecilia (22 November). <sup>1587</sup>

<sup>1583</sup> The musical examples of the motets, below, are taken from the editions.

<sup>1584</sup> Blackburn 1970, p. 378; Blackburn 1980-1989, p. XXXVI.

<sup>1585</sup> Diehl 1974, p. 532. See also Appendix 13.

<sup>1586</sup> This motet was also known in a later version with the contrafactum text *Juravit Dominus [et non paenitebit] / Dixit Dominus*, but the source is now lost (Blackburn 1987, pp. 92-93). On compositional techniques in the five-voice motets by Gombert (in particular his dissonance treatment), see: Rice 2003 and Rice 2005.

<sup>1587</sup> Schmidt-Görg 1951-1975, volume VIII, p. X. See also Appendix 13.

<i>Missa In te Domine speravi</i> , for 5 voices	Motet <i>In te Domine speravi / Quoniam fortitudo mea</i> , <sup>1588</sup> for 5 voices	Lupus Hellinck	Tillman Merritt 1962, pp. 55-64	The text of the motet is based on the first six verses of Psalm 30, for common use throughout the year. <sup>1589</sup>
<i>Missa Panis quem ego dabo</i> , for 4 voices	Motet <i>Panis quem ego dabo / Locutus est populus</i> , <sup>1590</sup> for 4 voices	Lupus Hellinck	Bernet Kempers 1959 (CMM 4, VII), pp. 123-129; Albrecht 1957, p. 119-123; Schmidt-Görg 1930, <i>Notenbeilage</i> pp. 2-8.	Prima Pars: John 6:52-53; Secunda Pars: Numbers 21:5. For use at the feast of Corpus Christi. <sup>1591</sup>
<i>Missa Vidi Jerusalem</i> , for 4 voices	Motet <i>Vidi Jherusalem descendentem de celo / Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus</i> , for 4 voices	Anonymous	No edition. Sources: <sup>1592</sup> - CambraiBM 125-8, fols. 72v-73r; - <i>Tertius tomus evangeliorum, quatuor, quinque, sex et plurium vocum</i> , Nuremberg, Berg & Neuber, 1555, no. 12; <sup>1593</sup>	Berg & Neuber 1555 specifies 'In dedicatione Templi'. The text of the Secunda Pars from the Cambrai version (used by Gheerkin) is derived from Revelation 21:3, and is indeed used for the feast of the

<sup>1588</sup> On this motet: Blackburn 1970, pp. 263-265, 282-284, 296-297.

<sup>1589</sup> Blackburn 1970, p. 384; Macey 1998, pp. 240-243. See also Appendix 13.

<sup>1590</sup> On this motet see Blackburn 1970, pp. 260-263, 283-284 and Schmidt-Görg 1930, pp. 78-82.

<sup>1591</sup> Schmidt-Görg 1930, p. 78; Blackburn 1970, p. 388.

<sup>1592</sup> Thomas (Motet Database). The motet in Germany, Herdringen, Bibliothek Schloss Fürstenberg (*olim* Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek), Mss. 9822-9823, no. 46 is not the same.

<sup>1593</sup> The text is different at the end of the Prima Pars and in the entire Secunda Pars, but the music is the same (some mistakes in CambraiBM 125-8 have been corrected here), with slight differences. The text of Berg & Neuber is the same as in Susato 1553.

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| <p>- <i>Liber tertius ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum vulgo moteta vocant tam ex veteri quam ex nouo testamento, ab optimis quibusque huius aetatis muscis compositarum. Antea nunquam excusus,</i><br/>Antwerp,<br/>Tielman Susato,<br/>1553, fol. VIIr-v.<sup>1594</sup></p> | <p>Dedication of the Church.<sup>1595</sup> The text of the Prima Pars is a Responsory used on several occasions during the liturgical year, mainly for the Second Sunday after Easter, but also for the feast of the Dedication of the Church.<sup>1596</sup></p> |
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These last arguments and the suitability of a motet to transform the musical material into a Mass are also valid for the other three motets. As a professional, having his place in the network of *zangmeesters* and composers in the Low Countries, Gheerkin was very well aware of the work of his colleagues. Both Lupi and Gombert had already made their names as composers in the late 1520s. *Vidi Jerusalem* remains anonymous, but is related in style to *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* (Lupi) and *Caeciliam cantate pii* (Gombert), as we shall see below in the paragraph on Gheerkin's style; therefore, this motet is not a surprising choice.

A more modern selection of model is the motet *Caeciliam cantate pii* by Nicolas Gombert, based on an exclusive text by an unknown poet. As already discussed in Chapter 6,<sup>1597</sup> Gheerkin's Mass could have been written during his employment at the Broederschap, since the Broederschap paid the singers on the feast of St Cecilia every year and this feast was on the official liturgical calendar. However, the connection between St Cecilia and music was not all that old: only at

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<sup>1594</sup> Different text at the end of the Prima Pars and in the entire Secunda Pars, but the music is the same (some mistakes in CambraiBM 125-8 are correct here), with slight differences. Text the same as in Berg & Neuber 1555.

<sup>1595</sup> Cantus Database.

<sup>1596</sup> Cantus Database.

<sup>1597</sup> § 6.4.12.

the end of the fifteenth century did Cecilia become the patron of music, with her feast celebrated mainly in the Low Countries and France. It was not until the second quarter of the sixteenth century before composers like Thomas Crecquillon, Cornelius Canis and Jacobus Clemens non Papa started to honour her more extensively with music.<sup>1598</sup>

Gombert was not unknown in 's-Hertogenbosch: in 1533 he became a canon of the Sint-Jan, receiving a prebend. However, he was a non-resident canon, because at the time he was in the service of Emperor Charles V. The motet *Caeciliam cantate pii* was published for the first time in 1541, so he probably wrote it during his work for Charles; one of the calendars of the court shows us that the feast was indeed celebrated there. How the motet ended up in the possession of Gheerkin de Hondt is not known; perhaps Gombert left it in 's-Hertogenbosch when he visited the city in 1531.<sup>1599</sup> But it could also be the other way around: Gheerkin wanted to honour his fellow musicians in 's-Hertogenbosch with a new Mass and searched for a suitable, modern composition which he personally liked to serve as material.

### 13.3 Gheerkin's style

#### 13.3.1 Form

Although the polyphonic Mass Ordinary had five fixed parts in Gheerkin's time (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei),<sup>1600</sup> there was enough room for a composer to give form to those parts in his own individual style. Several formal elements were specifically suitable for leaving a personal mark, for example the division of the text of each part into musical units (especially in the long Credo), the use of chords to emphasize text, the number of voices throughout the complete Mass (some parts were set in fewer or more voices than the basic number) or simply not setting some parts to music at all (for example the second and third Agnus Dei).

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<sup>1598</sup> Ferer 2005. Ferer also gives an overview of all the compositions related to St Cecilia as patron of music written in the period ca. 1492-1575.

<sup>1599</sup> Roelvink 2002, pp. 162-163.

<sup>1600</sup> See § 1.2 and § 1.3.

In Gheerkin's case a few formal aspects catch our attention. First there is the division of the texts into musical parts.<sup>1601</sup> The Kyrie always has three parts: 'Kyrie', 'Christe', 'Kyrie', according to the conventions of the time.<sup>1602</sup> The Gloria is split into two sections in the Masses in the Zeghere van Male partbooks, namely 'Et in terra pax hominibus' and 'Qui tollis peccata mundi'. But the 's-Hertogenbosch Masses have an extra subdivision in the 'Et in terra pax': from 'Dominus Deus Agnus Dei' onwards, only three voices continue.<sup>1603</sup> This typical division also occurs in the three Hellinck Masses in the same choirbook, and was Hellinck's trademark.<sup>1604</sup> But we also see it in the *Missa Fit porta Christi pervia* by Jheronimus Vinders. Therefore, six out of the ten Masses make this division, all of them setting the text for three voices, instead of the full texture of five.

In Gheerkin's time, there were many ways to create subsections in the Credo, and he seems to have tried quite a few of them, especially towards the end of the text. In all of his Masses Gheerkin makes the first division at 'Et incarnatus est'. A second new section usually starts at 'Crucifixus', but not in the *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*. Here he follows Lupus Hellinck, who never started a new section with 'Crucifixus', but only at 'Et resurrexit', which is also a new segment in all of Gheerkin's Masses.<sup>1605</sup> The Cecilia Mass also has another new segment at 'Et iterum venturus est' (only incidentally made by Hellinck), which occurs as a new part solely in this Mass. Finally, in this and the Masses *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* and *In te Domine speravi*, Gheerkin starts a new section at 'Et in spiritum sanctum'.

In the way Gheerkin set the Sanctus to music we can see his own signature again. He starts a new musical section at the 'Pleni' in all of his Masses, for a limited

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<sup>1601</sup> For the text of the Mass and its translation, see Appendix 16. An overview of the divisions Gheerkin made is in Appendix 17.

<sup>1602</sup> Rather unusual is the 'Christe' in the *Missa In te Domine speravi*, which Gheerkin sets for three voices, instead of the five voices for which this Mass was basically written.

<sup>1603</sup> In the *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii* the contratenor, tenor and bass; in the *Missa In te Domine speravi*, the superius, second superius and tenor.

<sup>1604</sup> Blackburn 1970, pp. 141, 143.

<sup>1605</sup> Bonnie Blackburn investigated 146 Masses from Hellinck's contemporaries (including Gheerkin's two Masses in the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbooks) and concluded that only in 39 of them both the 'Et incarnatus est' and 'Crucifixus' formed a new section. She also mentioned that "Josquin, Hellinck, and Clemens prefer to make the first division at 'Et incarnatus', emphasizing the mystery of the Word made flesh. Gombert and Crecquillon place more emphasis on the sacrifice of Christ, beginning the second part at 'Crucifixus'" (Blackburn 1970, p. 142-143). Therefore, Gheerkin seems to have bridged those two schools.

number of voices.<sup>1606</sup> Only in the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* it is sung by three voices; in all the other Masses the 'Pleni' is a duet using pervasive imitation. The 'Hosanna' is set to music only once; the second 'Hosanna' was probably sung to the same music as the first.<sup>1607</sup> Remarkable is the setting of the 'Benedictus': in all five Masses it is set for the same three voices contratenor, tenor and bassus, clearly a personal trademark by Gheerkin.

Gheerkin's five Agnus Dei settings do not correspond to any pattern at all. The *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* only has one Agnus Dei, as has the *Missa In te Domine speravi*. In this last case the Agnus is for as many as six voices, which is unique in Gheerkin's oeuvre.<sup>1608</sup> The *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii* does have a separate Agnus Dei, but the music turns out to be the same as for the first Kyrie.<sup>1609</sup> Extraordinary is that in the same manuscript ('s-HerAB 156) exactly the same construction is found in Hellinck's *Missa Ego sum qui sum*, where the Agnus Dei is also written out although it has the same music as the Kyrie, and in Vinders's *Missa Fors seulement*.<sup>1610</sup> Hellinck's *Missa Surrexit pastor* in the same choirbook has an Agnus Dei which strongly resembles the Kyrie, with some variations.<sup>1611</sup> As shown in Chapter 12,<sup>1612</sup> Gheerkin most likely had a great influence on the compilation of MS 156 of the Broederschap. The large number of Hellinck Masses in this manuscript, combined with the resemblances between the structures of the majority of the Masses, almost suggest that this choirbook was meant as a personal monument to Lupus Hellinck, who had died in January 1541. But at the very least it looks as if Gheerkin adjusted his own personal scheme of Masses more to the plan of Lupus Hellinck, as a tribute to his colleague.<sup>1613</sup>

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<sup>1606</sup> Compared to Hellinck: Hellinck only rarely starts a new section at the 'Pleni', but if he does, he also uses only two or three voices (Blackburn 1970, p. 141, 143).

<sup>1607</sup> Not many composers wrote a separate second Hosanna, except for Lupus Hellinck (Blackburn 1970, p. 141, note 2).

<sup>1608</sup> Since the basic number of voices of the Mass is five, adding an extra voice in the Agnus Dei is not unusual in general.

<sup>1609</sup> With a few small differences in the notation. This was not uncommon; other composers did the same thing (Blackburn 1970, p. 141, 148).

<sup>1610</sup> Nelson 2009b, p. 185 refers to the fact that an 'independent Agnus' of the *Missa Fors seulement* has come down to us in another manuscript, leaving aside if this Agnus was composed by the original composer or someone else.

<sup>1611</sup> On Hellinck's Mass: Blackburn 1970, p. 148.

<sup>1612</sup> §12.2.

<sup>1613</sup> In the other manuscript which was copied by the same scribe in the period Gheerkin was *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch, MS 157, there are only three Masses having the same specific subdivision in the Gloria, also for three voices, namely the two Hellinck

Since the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem* has no Agnus Dei at all,<sup>1614</sup> in performances it would be safe to use the music of the first Kyrie for the Agnus Dei, following the structure of the *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*. A separate case is the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo*: it has the full three Agnus Deis, respectively for four, three and five voices. Exceptional in Gheerkin's work is the third Agnus Dei, in which the second tenor is a canon with the first tenor in inversion.<sup>1615</sup>

### 13.3.2 Use of models

Gheerkin used the same number of voices for his Masses as the models, and he also respected the range of the voices. He followed the conventions of his time, by generally using the first motif of his model in the opening movements of the five main Mass sections, almost always in imitation, with two real exceptions: the Agnus Deis of the Masses *Panis quem ego dabo* and *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.<sup>1616</sup> For the openings of the subsections of the Masses, Gheerkin also follows his contemporaries in using the themes of the Secunda Pars of the models. However, there is no clear formal plan in the placement of the themes in specific subsections; Gheerkin handles them with much variety. In the *Missa In te Domine speravi*, for example, he used the first theme of the Secunda Pars in the 'Et resurrexit', but in the same movement in the *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*, he takes the main theme from the Prima Pars of the motet to open this section. Gheerkin also did not maintain the order of the themes of his model: he mixes them up according to his own view.

A remarkable beginning is in the Masses *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* and *Vidi Jerusalem*. Instead of starting his Mass with imitation of the main musical theme of his models, which one would expect considering the conventions of the

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Masses and the *Missa Nigra sum* by Mathieu Gascogne. None of these Masses has an Agnus Dei with the same music as the Kyrie.

<sup>1614</sup> Zeghere van Male actually writes: 'finis' after the three-voiced 'Benedictus', as to confirm there is indeed no Agnus Dei.

<sup>1615</sup> This Mass was edited by Hans van Nieuwkoop, the edition used in this thesis (Van Nieuwkoop 1975).

<sup>1616</sup> See Van Nieuwkoop 1975 for an edition of the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo*. The themes of Hellinck's motet are given in Blackburn 1970, p. 262. Gheerkin uses other themes from the motet in the first and third Agnus Dei; the second seems to be composed of free material. For the Agnus of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, see below.



time, Gheerkin lets two voices begin at the same time.<sup>1617</sup> He even does this using exactly the same formula, with the superius and contratenor starting, followed two bars later by the tenor and again two bars later by the bassus (Example 13.1.a and b).<sup>1618</sup> Moreover, in both Masses the superius has the opening theme of the model in an adjusted form, using long note values at the beginning (Example 13.2.a and b and 13.3.a and b). The (important) difference is that in the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* the music in the contratenor, tenor and bassus seem to be built of free melodic material (not derived from the original model), whereas in the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem* these three voices use the same opening theme as the superius, in imitation.

The relationship between these two Masses is further ‘explained’ by the use of an ear-catching theme that does not appear in either of the models that was used for the Masses. It appears as the starting theme of the Agnus Dei of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* (Example 13.4). But it also suddenly occurs in the middle of the Credo of the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*, at the words ‘et in unum Dominum’, which appear in imitation after the music had come to an interim stop (Example 13.5).<sup>1619</sup> In the Agnus Dei it is pervasive, in the bassus it is even ostinato-like (repeated constantly).

This theme, as it turns out, originates from another model that was used by Gheerkin, namely the motet *Caeciliam cantate pii* by Nicolas Gombert (Example 13.6).<sup>1620</sup> And it appears to be quoted even longer in the Credo of the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem* (Example 13.5, bassus, bars 29-31) than in the Agnus Dei of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.

To confirm that Gheerkin is really referring to the Cecilia theme, he quotes the complete main theme of his Mass (Example 13.7) in the superius of the Agnus of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* (Example 13.8). In the Credo of the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*, he only quotes the first four – characteristic – notes, but no fewer than eight times within four bars (Example 13.9).

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<sup>1617</sup> The *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* was the subject of an earlier article (Roelvink 2009). For the sake of comparison with Gheerkin’s other Masses, the results published there (specifically pp. 387-390) are repeated here.

<sup>1618</sup> A comparable opening is in the ‘Hosanna’ (Sanctus) of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.

<sup>1619</sup> In music theory, in fact, there is no exact imitation here, since the melodic line only follows the motif precisely in the superius and tenor. Therefore, this is a case of ‘trapped in his own counterpoint’.

<sup>1620</sup> Roelvink 2009, pp. 389-390.

Example 13.1.a Opening bars of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* – Kyrie

4

Ky - ri - e [Ky - ri - e]

Ky - ri - e [Ky - ri - e]

Ky - ri - e

Example 13.1.b Opening bars of the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem* – Kyrie

5

Ky - ri - e [Ky - ri - e]

Ky - ri - e [Ky - ri - e]

Ky - ri - e [Ky - ri - e]

Ky - ri - e [Ky - ri - e]

Example 13.2.a Opening bars of the motet *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, S

Be - ne - di - ctus Do - mi - nus

5 De - us Is - ra - el

Example 13.2.b Opening bars of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, S

Ky - ri - e

9 [e - ley - son] [e -

11 ley - son] [e - ley - son]

Example 13.3.a Opening bars of the motet *Vidi Jerusalem*, S

Vi - di Je - ru - sa - lem de - scen - den -

5 tem de ce - lo de - scen - den -

Example 13.3.b Opening bars of the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*, S

Ky - ri - e

9 - e [Ky - ri - e e - ley - son]

Example 13.4 Opening motif of the Agnus Dei of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*

Example 13.4 shows the opening motif of the Agnus Dei. The score is written for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are in Latin: "A - gnus De - i [A - gnus De - - -] A - gnus De - i [A - gnus De - - -] A - gnus De - i A - gnus De - i". The music is in 8/8 time and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Example 13.5 Motif at the words 'et in unum Dominum' in the Credo of the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*

Example 13.5 shows the motif at the words 'et in unum Dominum'. The score is written for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are in Latin: "um Et in u - num Do - mi - num Jhe - sum Chri - stum fi - li - um et in u - num Do - mi - num Do - mi - num Jhe - sum Chri - stum mi - num Jhe - sum Chri - stum Jhe - sum Chri - stum fi - li - um De - Jhe - sum Chri - - - stum". The music is in 8/8 time and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Example 13.6 *Missa Cecilia cantate pii*, beginning of Kyrie 2

Example 13.7 *Missa Cecilia cantate pii*, Kyrie I, opening motif, S

Example 13.8 *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, Agnus Dei, S*

18  
Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

Example 13.9 *Missa Vidi Jerusalem, Credo*

216  
dit qui cum pa-tre et fi-li-o  
dit qui cum pa-tre et fi-li-o  
dit qui cum pa-tre et fi-li-o [et fi-li-o]  
dit et fi-li-o

The use of ‘foreign’ themes in his Masses seems to be a characteristic feature of Gheerkin’s compositional technique. The question comes up if there are more quotations from other models, because some apparently obvious themes in Gheerkin’s Masses do not seem to derive from their models.<sup>1621</sup> Normally this would be called ‘freely composed material’, but since the themes are at the beginning of one of the sections of the Mass, and the fact that Gheerkin did quote from the Cecilia motet in two of his other Masses, might indicate that he also took material from other motets, and not only at the beginning of the main sections. A finding tool for themes in motets and Masses is not yet available.<sup>1622</sup> Therefore, this question has to remain unanswered at this point.

<sup>1621</sup> For example: the openings of the ‘Hosanna’ and ‘Agnus Dei II’ from the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* (see also Van Nieuwkoop 1975, p. V; he only mentions the ‘Hosanna’), and the persistent motif in the bassus of the ‘Hosanna’ in the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*. Zeghere van Male actually writes in the tenor voice of the Agnus Dei II: *Secundum Agnus non est Lupus* (‘the second Agnus is not by Lupus’).

<sup>1622</sup> The Dutch Song Database has proved that such a database is indispensable to identify melodies (<http://www.liederenbank.nl>).

### 13.3.3 Specific compositional techniques

There is one more noticeable compositional technique that connects the three Masses *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, *Ceciliam cantate pii* and *Vidi Jerusalem* and that is a change of time signature in the Credo. In his entire known oeuvre, Gheerkin solely uses the so-called *tempus imperfectum* (the time unit of a breve divided into two equal units), but in sections of these three Masses he suddenly changes to *tempus perfectum* (the time unit of a breve divided into three equal units). And in all cases he does so with the words *Confiteor unum baptisma* ('I confess one baptism'). In the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* he then changes back to *tempus imperfectum*, in the other two Masses, the rest of the phrase (*in remissionem peccatorum*, 'for the remission of sins') is also in *tempus perfectum*. The *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* is the most extreme case, since the music comes to a full stop before and after the word *confiteor*, and the entire phrase is set in a chordal way (Example 13.10). In both the other Masses Gheerkin does use *tempus perfectum*, and the music does move in chords, but he writes it (partly) in imitation, therefore the words do not sound as one voice (Example 13.11). But the change in tempo, and the fact that the music is almost moving in chords, do give extra stress to the words. However, Gheerkin was not the only composer setting specifically these words in *tempus perfectum*.<sup>1623</sup> But the practice is unique and consistent in his oeuvre and it seems to be one of his personal trademarks.<sup>1624</sup>

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<sup>1623</sup> A limited search in the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbooks 156 and 157 shows that Vinders (*Missa Fors seulement*), Gascogne (*Missa Nigra sum*), Willaert/Hesdin (*Missa Benedicta es*) and the anonymous composer of the *Missa A l'aventure* did the same. Lupus Hellinck always used *tempus perfectum* in the 'Hosanna' and Agnus Dei III, and sometimes at the end of the Gloria and Credo (Blackburn 1970, p. 144).

<sup>1624</sup> In the two other Masses, Gheerkin sets the word *confiteor* in chords as well.

Example 13.10 Tempus perfectum in the Credo of the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*

300

am] con - fi - te - or con - fi - te -

304

or u - num ba - pti - sma in  
or u - num ba - pti - sma

Example 13.11 Tempus perfectum in the Credo of the *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*

238

am Con - fi - te - or u - num ba - pti - sma



243

u - num ba - pti - - - sma  
 sma [ba - pti - - - sma]  
 sma ba - pti - - - sma in re - mis -  
 ba - pti - - - sma ba - pti - -  
 u - num ba - pti - - - sma

247

in re - mis - si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum [in re -  
 in re - mis - si - o - -  
 si - o - nem pec - ca - to - rum [in re - mis - si - o - -  
 sma in re - mis -  
 in re - mis - si - o - nem [pec - ca - to -

251

mis - si - o - nem] pec - ca - to - - - rum Et ex - spe -  
 - nem pec - ca - to - - - rum Et ex - spe -  
 - nem pec - ca - to - rum] pec - ca - to - - - rum Et ex - spe -  
 si - o - nem pec - ca - to - - - - - rum Et  
 rum] pec - ca - to - - - - - rum Et ex - spe -

Gheerkin seems to have made a real effort to adapt the melodies and harmonies of his model before using them in his Masses. There are only a few instances where he (almost) literally copied his model.<sup>1625</sup> But normally, the themes Gheerkin took from his model differ from the original, especially in rhythm. Sometimes these adjustments were necessary for the declamation of the text. For example: the word Sanctus does not fit the opening motif with the four repeating notes in the motet *In te Domine speravi* and therefore Gheerkin had to adjust his theme (Example 13.12.a and b). But this was not always the case. The opening bars from the first Agnus Dei of the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* are a fine example: here Gheerkin could have easily followed Hellinck's rhythm, but instead, he chose to make an adjustment (Example 13.13.a and b).<sup>1626</sup>

Example 13.12.a Opening motif of Hellinck's motet *In te Domine speravi*



<sup>1625</sup> For example: in *Missa Panis quem ego dabo*, the beginning of Kyrie I is the beginning of the motet, the beginning of the 'Crucifixus' and the 'Agnus Dei III' resemble the beginning of the Secunda Pars of the motet and the end of Kyrie II and the end of the Gloria equal the end of the Secunda Pars (and Prima Pars) of the motet; in *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, the final ten bars of the 'Agnus Dei' look a lot like the final bars of the Secunda Pars of the motet (Roelvink 2009, p. 389); in *Missa Vidi Jerusalem*, the beginning of the 'Qui tollis' section of the Gloria equals the beginning of the Secunda Pars of the motet and the beginning of the Credo equals the beginning of the Prima Pars.

<sup>1626</sup> Blackburn 1970, p. 262 (Hellinck's model) and Van Nieuwkoop 1975, p. 47.

Example 13.12.b Opening of Gheerkin's *Missa In te Domine speravi, Sanctus*

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes a vocal line (Soprano) and piano accompaniment (Violin, Viola, Cello, Bass). The vocal line begins with the word "San" followed by a long note. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system, starting at measure 5, continues the vocal line with "San ctus" and includes various musical markings such as "ctus", "[San", and "ctus]".

Example 13.13.a Lupus Hellinck, fourth theme of motet *Panis quem ego dabo, Ct*

The musical score shows a single vocal line in treble clef. The lyrics are: "Li - ti - ga - bant er - go Ju - de - i" and "[A - gnus De - i]". The melody is simple and consists of quarter and eighth notes.

Example 13.13.b Opening of Gheerkin's *Missa Panis quem ego dabo*, Agnus Dei I

Gheerkin liked to use the full texture of voices, now and then alternating with passages in voice pairs, but these voice pairs are not specific to his style of composing Masses. The full texture is sometimes chordal. This happens specifically in the Credo and Gloria, which is no surprise, since these two parts of the Mass have extensive texts and are mostly syllabically set.<sup>1627</sup> Gheerkin is creative and flexible in which texts he sets to chords, but one (part of a) phrase is always in chords: the 'Et incarnatus est', which always forms the beginning of the second section in the Credo (Example 13.14 gives an example). Actually, the entire section more or less moves in chords, emphasizing the text 'And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the virgin Mary. And was made man.' Of course, this is a solemn and important moment in

<sup>1627</sup> Text placement is a little bit subjective. The Mass texts were well known in the 16th century, and Zeghere van Male, among others, just wrote the words somewhere under the notes, not bothering about if repetition of the text was needed, or that a melisma was desired. See also: Gabriëls 2010<sup>2</sup>, p. 87. Philippus de Spina seems to have worked more accurately in the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbooks.

Mass, where the congregation kneels, but not all composers actually stressed the words by using chords.<sup>1628</sup>

### 13.3.4 Gheerkin and other composers

Although Gheerkin preferred to use the full texture of voices, he starts all his Mass sections and subsections with imitation.<sup>1629</sup> However, he also favoured that his music follow the phrases of the text: overlapping between text lines appears to only a small extent, and usually no longer than the duration of two breves (bars). To achieve variation, Gheerkin uses contrasting themes in imitation, but also chordal passages. The repeating of a theme in one voice in an ostinato-like manner, as we have seen above in the *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* (bassus, Example 13.4), occurs in more of Gheerkin's Masses. Usually it appears in the superius (mostly longer themes), but we also find the phenomenon in the bassus (shorter motifs). Often the melody recurs on different pitches.<sup>1630</sup>

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<sup>1628</sup> The stressing of the words 'Et incarnatus est' by using chords also appears with other composers and is a feature of the work of Lupus Hellinck. Hellinck, however, switches to a short imitative passage (Blackburn 1970, pp. 146-147), whereas Gheerkin continues his chordal approach.

<sup>1629</sup> With the exception of the 'Et incarnatus est', opening in chords. Another exception is the above-mentioned opening of the Kyrie in the *Missa Vidi Jerusalem* and *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* and the opening of the 'Hosanna' in the latter, where two voices start together and only three of the four voices sing in imitation.

<sup>1630</sup> For example: *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* (Kyrie – 'Kyrie II', Sanctus – 'Hosanna'), *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* (Kyrie – 'Christe', Gloria – 'Qui tollis', Sanctus – 'Pleni'), *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii* (Kyrie – 'Kyrie I').

Example 13.14 'Et incarnatus est' section from the *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*

83

Et in - car - na - tus est

Et in - car - na - tus est

Et in - car - na - tus est de

Et in - car - na - tus est

Et in - car - na - tus est

87

de Spi - ri - tu San - cto

de Spi - ri - tu San - cto

Spi - ri - tu San - cto

de Spi - ri - tu San - cto [de Spi - ri - tu San - cto]

de Spi - ri - tu San - cto

92

ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne et

ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne et

ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne [et ho - mo fa - ctus

ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne et ho - mo fa - ctus

ex Ma - ri - a vir - gi - ne et ho - mo fa - ctus

97

ho - mo fa - - ctus est [et  
 ho - mo fa - - ctus est et ho - mo fa -  
 est] et ho - mo fa - - ctus est  
 est [et ho - mo fa - - ctus est] et ho -  
 est [et ho - - mo fa - - ctus est] Cru -

The Mass style of Gheerkin de Hondt is an individual one, although certain elements can also be found with his contemporary colleagues. Gheerkin retains a basic formal plan of the Mass sections, which he adjusts when he wants to. In that way, he does not follow his colleague Lupus Hellinck. Within the Mass sections, however, Gheerkin likes to adhere to a stricter plan: text phrases are often separated, but when they melt into each other, it is only for a short period of time. In doing so, he does not follow Gombert.<sup>1631</sup> Both contemporaries, and also men like Thomas Crecquillon and Jacobus Clemens non Papa, were very creative in the use of the material of their models. That is something we cannot accuse Johannes Lupi of, who liked to copy complete sections of his models into his own (two) Masses.<sup>1632</sup> Gheerkin's choice of completely different models for his Masses manifests itself in his own music: it is a melting pot of stylistic elements, creating his own style.

<sup>1631</sup> The dissonance treatment is beyond the scope of this study, but in general, Gheerkin does not avoid the dissonant clashes that made his colleague so famous. Especially in the group of three Masses that are related to each other, there are quite a few challenges for the editor of Gheerkin's music.

<sup>1632</sup> The stylistic elements of Gheerkin's colleagues are taken from the descriptions in their biographies in <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

### 13.4 Other composers using the same models

Only two of the motets that Gheerkin de Hondt used as a model for his Masses were also used by other composers: *In te Domine speravi* and *Panis quem ego dabo*. Both motets are by Lupus Hellinck, and as it happens, Hellinck also composed a Mass on these motets himself.<sup>1633</sup> Table 13.2 gives an overview of the Masses by Gheerkin de Hondt of which the models were also used by other composers for their own Masses.<sup>1634</sup>

Table 13.2 Other composers using the same models for their Masses

Mass	Composer	Sources or editions
<i>Missae In te Domine speravi</i> : for 5 voices	Lupus Hellinck: for 4 voices	Sources, according to Blackburn 1970, p. 398: - CambraiBM 20, fol. 245v - Montserrat 776, fol. 72v - 1568 <sup>1</sup> Schwertel, no. 4 - CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 53 (fragment 'Et resurrexit', T and B)
	Loyset Piéton: <sup>1635</sup> for 5 voices	Source: <sup>1636</sup> - Rome, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Manuscript Cappella Sistina 19, fol. LXXXIXv-CVIIr
	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: for 6 voices	Edition: - Bianci 1958, pp. 131-171.

<sup>1633</sup> I am very grateful to Dr. Bonnie Blackburn for giving me her transcriptions of both Masses, and her permission to use them in this thesis.

<sup>1634</sup> The list is put together by using the worklists of composers in <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, by using secondary literature on prints in general, for example Vanhulst 1990, and by checking tables of contents of manuscripts and prints.

<sup>1635</sup> Loyset Piéton's Mass probably dates from the early 1530s (the manuscript is copied circa 1535-1537; Census 1979-1988), therefore around the same time as Gheerkin's. Contrary to Gheerkin, Piéton seems to have spent his life mainly in Italy (Florence, Rome, Venice) or France (Lyon) in the 1530s and 1540s (biographical facts taken from <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, 'Piéton, Loyset', accessed November 2014.)

<sup>1636</sup> The manuscript is heavily damaged, due to severe ink corrosion (Census 1979-1988), so the microfilm which I had at my disposal was hard to read on several pages.



<i>Missa Panis quem ego dabo</i> : for 4 voices	Lupus Hellinck: for 4 voices	Sources, according to Blackburn 1970, p. 398: - CambraiBM 20, fol. 230v - 1532 <sup>5</sup> Attaignant, fol. 175v - Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS 7, 28v-34r. <sup>1637</sup>
	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: for 4 voices	Edition: - Bernet Kempers 1959 (CMM 4, VII), pp. 85-123.
	Nicolas de Marle: for 4 voices <sup>1638</sup>	Source: - <i>Missa ad imitationem moduli (Panis quem ego dabo) cum quatuor vocibus</i> , Paris, Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1558.
	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: for 4 voices	Edition: - Casimiri 1941, pp. 45-71
	Bartolomeo Le Roy: for 4 voices	Source: - Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, <i>Una messa a otto voci sopra il suo Confitebor a due cori. Et di M. Bartholomeo Lo Roi maestro di cappella del vicere di Napoli, una messa a quattro sopra Panis quem ego dabo tibi, de Lupo</i> , Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1585.

Already in 1930 Joseph Schmidt-Görg wrote an article on the four Masses by Hellinck, Clemens non Papa, Palestrina and Le Roy based on Hellinck's motet *Panis quem ego dabo*.<sup>1639</sup> Schmidt-Görg gave an overview of the choices the different composers made in dividing the texts of the main Mass sections and he investigated which themes of Hellinck's motet were used in each of the parts. After doing so, he reached some important and interesting conclusions:

<sup>1637</sup> The Berlin source is mentioned on <http://www.cmme.org/database/pieces/6042>, accessed December 2014.

<sup>1638</sup> Mentioned by Frank Dobbins in his article on Nicolas de Marle in <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (not mentioned in Blackburn 1970). A copy of this print was not at my disposal, therefore – and since it is a rather late work – it is left out in the comparison here.

<sup>1639</sup> Schmidt-Görg 1930. He was not familiar with the Masses by Gheerkin and De Marle.

- The formal divisions of all the four Masses differ;
- Strict copying of the motet material is rare with all four composers;
- Although all Masses apparently follow the motet, each composer developed the material in his own way: between the four different Masses there are no notable similarities or relations;
- All Masses have the personal stamp of the composer;
- Hellinck and Palestrina are the most loyal to the model: they follow it closely, although not literally, but they use the themes largely in order of appearance;<sup>1640</sup>
- The Masses by Clemens non Papa and Le Roy contain more freely composed material, especially in the Credo;
- Clemens non Papa uses many variations on the themes of the motet; he also likes to repeat melodies in one voice, even on different pitches (so-called sequence);
- There is a difference in handling the motet material between the older and younger generation (Hellinck/Clemens non Papa versus Le Roy and Palestrina).<sup>1641</sup>

If we add Gheerkin's style to the above sketched overview of characteristics of the four Masses, we indeed get a different story. His formal plan of the Mass sections differs from the other four and he actually is the only composer in this group of six who took the trouble to write three Agnus Deis. Gheerkin joins Hellinck, Clemens non Papa and Le Roy in setting the 'Et incarnatus est' in the Credo as a new section, in chords.<sup>1642</sup>

Two stylistic elements in Clemens non Papa are striking, namely that he created variations on the themes and he liked to repeat melodies; these elements are also characteristic for Gheerkin's Mass oeuvre. But as we have seen above, it was only in Gheerkin's *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* that he quoted his model a few times literally. However, the number of quotations remained limited, and they were only for a short number of bars. Besides, Gheerkin did not follow Hellinck's strict formal plan; on the contrary, together with Clemens non Papa he mixed the themes from the two Partes of the motet according to his own preferences, using freely composed material in between. In that respect, his style is closer to Clemens's.

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<sup>1640</sup> Blackburn 1970, p. 309 states that Hellinck's Mass must post-date his motet by several years, since it shows 'a much more skillful imitative technique'.

<sup>1641</sup> This was of course to be expected, and is the reason my comparison of Gheerkin's Mass concentrates on the Masses by Hellinck and Clemens non Papa.

<sup>1642</sup> Palestrina did not set the 'Et incarnatus est' as a separate section, but did use chords for this phrase.

The conclusions Joseph Schmidt-Görg reached for the Masses based on the motet *Panis quem ego dabo* may in general also be applied to the Masses based on the motet *In te Domine speravi*: all four composers created a new composition, based on the material Hellinck had given them. Remarkable is that Hellinck chose to write a four-part Mass on his five-part motet. Palestrina decided to expand the number of voices to six, whereas Gheerkin and Piéton kept to the original number of voices in Hellinck's motet, except in the Agnus Dei, where they both raised the number of voices to six.<sup>1643</sup> As Table 13.3 shows, all composers divided the Mass text according to their own taste in musical units.<sup>1644</sup>

Table 13.3 Divisions of the text in musical units in the *Missa In te Domine speravi*

	Lupus Hellinck	Gheerkin de Hondt	Loyset Piéton	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina
	à 4 (S/Ct/T/B)	à 5 (S/Ct/T1/T2/B)	à 5 (S/S2/Ct/T/B)	à 6 (S1/S2/Ct/T1/T2/B)
<b>Kyrie</b>	Kyrie Christe Kyrie	Kyrie Christe à 3 Kyrie	Kyrie Christe Kyrie	Kyrie Christe Kyrie
<b>Gloria</b>	Et in terra pax Domine Deus Agnus Dei à 3 Qui tollis	Et in terra pax Domine Deus Agnus Dei à 3 Qui tollis	Et in terra pax Qui tollis	Et in terra pax Qui tollis
<b>Credo</b>	Patrem omnipotentem Et incarnatus est	Patrem omnipotentem Et incarnatus est	Patrem omnipotentem	Patrem omnipotentem Et incarnatus est

<sup>1643</sup> Piéton writes three Agnus Deis: the first and second for four voices, the third for six, in the third two of the upper voices sing in canon ('in dyathessaron', at the perfect fourth).

<sup>1644</sup> Piéton does not make separate sections in the Credo at 'Et resurrexit' and 'Et iterum venturus est', but in fact starts the 'Crucifixus' with three voices, adding a voice to 'Et resurrexit' (à 4) and again to 'Et iterum venturus est' (à 5).

		Crucifixus à 3	Crucifixus à 3	Crucifixus
	Et resurrexit à 2	Et resurrexit à 3		Et resurrexit
	Et iterum			Et iterum
	venturus est			venturus est
		Et in spiritum sanctum	Et in spiritum sanctum	
<b>Sanctus</b>	Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus	Sanctus
		Pleni sunt celi à 2	Pleni sunt celi à 3	Pleni sunt celi à 4
	Osanna	Osanna	Osanna	Osanna
	Benedictus à 3	Benedictus à 3	Benedictus à 3	Benedictus à 4
<b>Agnus Dei</b>	Agnus Dei I à 5	Agnus Dei I à 6	Agnus Dei I à 4	Agnus Dei I
			Agnus Dei II à 4	
	Agnus Dei III à 5		Agnus Dei III à 6	Agnus Dei III

Lupus Hellinck's own Mass follows the model in a well-organised way again: the themes of the model generally recur in the Mass in the same order, although varied in rhythm.<sup>1645</sup> Piéton seems to have worked largely according to the same procedure, at least for the beginning of each Mass movement.<sup>1646</sup> Gheerkin, on the other hand, handles the themes in the same way he does in all of his Masses: he takes a theme when he needs it, and does not stick to the original sequence of the themes in the motet. He also views the themes more as motifs instead of (long) themes, since he makes continuous variations.<sup>1647</sup>

<sup>1645</sup> On Hellinck's *Missa In te Domine speravi*: Blackburn 1970, pp. 168-174. Unique in Hellinck's Mass oeuvre is that in this specific Mass he quoted literally from the motet, probably because it was his own. The consequent usage of the order of the motet themes in the same sequence in the Masses is a specific feature of Lupus Hellinck (Blackburn 1970, pp. 174, 199-203).

<sup>1646</sup> Except for the 'Hosanna', where he uses a variant of the last theme of the Prima Pars (*esto mihi*) instead of the first theme of the Secunda Pars and except for the Agnus Deis. Since the microfilm of this Mass is so poorly readable, only the beginnings of the main Mass sections have been checked.

<sup>1647</sup> As shown in Example 13.13.a and b above.

For both Mass groups the same conclusions can be drawn: the composers took the liberty of reconstructing the motet model into something new that matched their own styles. In this Gheerkin de Hondt followed his own procedures, according to his own specific way of composing.

### 13.5 Summary

Only two manuscript sources contain Masses that have been attributed to Gheerkin de Hondt, one originating from Bruges, the other from 's-Hertogenbosch. Both manuscripts were compiled when Gheerkin was *zangmeester* in those cities. There is no doubt about the attributions to Gheerkin de Hondt of the five Masses in question. Looking at the compositional style, the authenticity of these five Masses as works by the same composer is further strengthened.

All Gheerkin's Masses are based on polyphonic motets, of which four were composed by his contemporaries (Johannes Lupi, Nicolas Gombert and Lupus Hellinck); one of them remains anonymous.

Gheerkin de Hondt seems to have been a Mass composer who did have a formal plan for his Masses, although it was not a rigid one. In all of his Masses, he divides the text according to a basic scheme: the Kyrie is always three-part and in the Sanctus he always starts new sections at 'Pleni sunt celi' (which is always set for a limited number of voices, usually two), 'Hosanna' and 'Benedictus' (which is always set for contratenor, tenor and bassus). Furthermore, he makes a separate section in the Credo on 'Et incarnatus est' and on 'Et resurrexit'. In four of his five Masses Gheerkin starts a new part at 'Crucifixus'. The Gloria consists of at least two sections ('Et in terra pax' and 'Qui tollis peccate mundi'); in the 's-Hertogenbosch Masses Gheerkin makes an extra division at 'Domine Deus Agnus Dei'. Gheerkin's Agnus Deis do not seem to have had any formal plan: one of his Masses has no Agnus Dei at all, whereas another has all three of them. Also the number of voices strongly varies: from three voices to six and everything in between.

Gheerkin composed his Masses in imitative counterpoint, but at the same time he preferred to keep the single phrases of the text (as much as possible) separated. When they do overlap it is only for a limited number of bars (usually no more than two). Another compositional technique to give shape to the Masses is the use of chords. Although Gheerkin uses them whenever he thinks it is appropriate, in pure form they always appear at the beginning of the 'Et incarnatus est', this section mainly moving in chords anyway.

According to the conventions of his time, Gheerkin used the first theme of the Prima Pars of his model in the opening bars of the five main sections of his Masses; the first theme of the Secunda Pars is used for the openings of secondary sections, but not according to a specific model. The rest of the material derived from the motets is scattered throughout the different parts of the Mass sections, not following a clear plan; it seems that Gheerkin simply took a theme or motif when he needed it: he did not follow the order of themes of the model in his Masses. Notable too is that he was very creative in handling the themes: he preferred to make changes in the melodic material rather than copy the motifs literally. Sometimes he used a theme in an ostinato-like manner.

Unique in Gheerkin's oeuvre is the fact that in the three Masses *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, *Ceciliam cantate pii* and *Vidi Jerusalem* he changes the time signature in the Credo at 'confiteor unum baptisma' to *tempus perfectum*. The three Masses are also connected by the fact that they share a few themes from the motet *Ceciliam cantate pii*. This use of 'foreign' themes seems to be a characteristic feature of Gheerkin's technique of composing Masses. The Masses *Vidi Jerusalem* and *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* also share the same kind of opening of the first Kyrie: the superius and contratenor start at the same time (the superius in long note values), followed by the tenor and bassus each two bars later.

Only two of Gheerkin's Masses belong to groups of Masses based on the same motet model: the *Missa Panis quem ego dabo* and *In te Domine speravi*, both based on motets by Lupus Hellinck. All these Masses have their own formal plans, their own ways of using the motet material and the individual style of the composers.

The fact that Gheerkin de Hondt used diverse models on the one hand, but on the other hand combined themes from motets from different composers that in his eyes (or ears) looked alike, proves that he was part of the network of men who formed the great generation of Franco-Flemish composers. Nevertheless, he put his own personal stamp on the music, creating his own specific style among his contemporaries.

## Chapter 14 Motets

### 14.1 The motet at the time of Gheerkin

Around 1500 the motet had become a commonly-used genre among composers of polyphonic music. Because of the sacred Latin text, the compositions could be used in church, but also in a private (devout) environment at home. The motet was pre-eminently suitable for composers to show their capabilities and develop their own personal styles. It usually consisted of two parts (the *Prima Pars* and *Secunda Pars*), but the one-part motet had also found its place in the musical soundscape. The length of the text chosen by the composer often determined whether a motet consisted of one or two parts.<sup>1648</sup>

In the first decades of the sixteenth century, Josquin des Prez was the most influential composer in the development of the genre, bringing it to a new level. His choice of texts was innovative, because in addition to the traditional texts of, for example, antiphons and sequences, he also set psalms and texts from the Old Testament. Another novelty was the relation between the text and its musical setting, sometimes in a symbolic way. Josquin and many of his contemporaries preferred to use paired imitation of two voices, alternating with a full texture of four, at times using chordal passages, which made the text clearly audible. The Josquin generation still used chant melodies as the basis for their motets, for example as a *cantus firmus* in the tenor voice, sometimes in canon with another voice. The composers preferred to make clear sections in their compositions, corresponding to the phrases of the text, often set syllabically, without long melismas.

Josquin's Franco-Flemish successors, for example Gombert, Crecquillon and Clemens non Papa, were highly productive when it came to composing motets. They expanded the number of voices from the most common four to five, although not all composers followed suit. But Nicolas Gombert especially became an expert in composing five- and even six-voice motets, abandoning both the paired imitation of a limited number of voices and the chordal passages (although chords were still used to stress specific words), and preferring a full texture with pervasive imitative counterpoint, the entries following each other closely. These entries were usually

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<sup>1648</sup> This paragraph and the next three are based on Perkins/Macey ('Motet') and Schmidt-Beste 2005. See also: § 1.2 and § 1.3. On the subject in general: Schmidt-Beste 2003 and Schmidt-Beste 2012.

built in motifs, continuing in free melodic material after, for example, four or five notes. Chant melodies are only rarely used.

The texts chosen by the composers of the post-Josquin generation were preferably in prose, frequently taken from the Bible. The psalm motet still existed, but it often had a new look: instead of complete psalm texts only a few phrases were set to music, and even phrases from different psalms were combined. The separate lines of prose often overlap in the music; therefore there were no clear breaks or full stops. As a result, the text was not always clearly audible. This tendency was reinforced by using fewer syllabic passages and more melismas, especially towards the end of a phrase. Concomitantly, the accentuation of the syllables of a word is not always correct; this seems to be a mark of this generation of composers.

## 14.2 Texts

Three of Gheerkin's motet texts have a biblical origin.<sup>1649</sup> First, there is the motet *Vox dicentis*, which is based on three verses from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, 40:6-8.<sup>1650</sup> The two other motet texts are based on psalms. *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* is a setting of the complete text of Psalm 99,<sup>1651</sup> in the tradition of Josquin des Prez, and therefore of the previous generation. An approach more in line with Gheerkin's contemporaries is his use of Psalm 85, *Inclina Domine aurem tuam*.<sup>1652</sup> Here, he did not use the complete text, but he took only parts of it. In the Prima Pars he uses verses 1 and 3-5, in that order, leaving out verse 2. The Secunda Pars is more complicated, since Gheerkin seems to have used verses 11-12 and 14-16, but not in that order. Furthermore, he also did not maintain the original text, but made some variations, although they do not have consequences for the meaning of the text. Table 14.1 shows the verses from the original psalm text which were used by Gheerkin; the differences are underlined.

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<sup>1649</sup> The complete texts of the motets and their translations are in Appendix 16.

<sup>1650</sup> Identified by Diehl 1974, pp. 530-531.

<sup>1651</sup> Identified by Diehl 1974, p. 585. The numbering of the psalm is according to the Vulgate; in the English Authorized and Revised versions (following the Hebrew) it is number 100.

<sup>1652</sup> Identified by Diehl 1974, pp. 598-599. The numbering of the psalm is according to the Vulgate; in the English Authorized and Revised versions (following the Hebrew) it is number 86.



Table 14.1 Original lines of Psalm 85 versus the text Gheerkin used in the Secunda Pars of his motet *Inclina Domine aurem tuam*

Original verse number	Original text	Gheerkin's text
11.	Confitebor tibi Domine Deus meus in toto corde meo, et glorificabo nomen tuum in aeternum:	<u>Ideo confitebor {tibi Domine [S]/ nomini tuo [Ct]}</u> <sup>1653</sup> in toto corde meo, et glorificabo nomen tuum in eternum:
12.	Quia misericordia tua magna est super me: et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori.	Quia misericordia tua magna est super me. <u>Et redemisti servum tuum de manu inimici [sic].</u>
14.	Et tu Domine Deus, miserator et misericors, patiens, et multae misericordiae, et verax:	<u>Quoniam tu Domine</u> , miserator et misericors, patiens, et multae misericordiae, et verax:
15.	Respice <u>in me</u> et miserere mei, da imperium tuum puero tuo: et salvum fac filium ancillae tuae.	Respice et miserere mei, da imperium <u>servo tuo</u> : et salvum fac filium ancillae tuae.
16.	Fac mecum signum in bonum, ut videant qui oderunt me, et confundantur: quoniam tu Domine adjuvisti me et consolatus es me.	Fac mecum signum in bonum, ut videant qui oderunt me, et confundantur: quoniam tu Domine adjuvisti me et consolatus es me. Inclina Domine aurem tuam et exaudi me quoniam inops et pauper sum ego.

A unique piece among Gheerkin's motets is *Benedicite Dominus*. Not only is it the solitary motet with just one pars, it also has no biblical background. The text is a table blessing.<sup>1654</sup> Table blessings were widespread in the Middle Ages.<sup>1655</sup> The texts were meant for daily use before having a meal. Several 16th-century composers wrote music to table blessing texts, for example Gombert, Crecquillon and Clemens non Papa. But the text used by Gheerkin has not been used by any of his

<sup>1653</sup> The superius sings: *ideo confitebor tibi Domine* (I will praise thee, O Lord); the contratenor sings: *ideo confitebor nomini tuo* (I will praise thy name). The tenor and bassus do not sing this phrase at all. Since the words of the superius fit better to the music, these words have been chosen in the transcription.

<sup>1654</sup> Diehl 1974, p. 658. The results in this paragraph and the next were previously published in Roelvink 2002, p. 176.

<sup>1655</sup> Smith 1965.

contemporaries.<sup>1656</sup> The oldest mention of this specific text comes from a prayer book from around 1450 written in the region of Valenciennes and Mons in Hainaut.<sup>1657</sup> A slightly different reading is found in a French manuscript from 1557,<sup>1658</sup> which has an almost identical version in a Mexican print (in Spanish) from 1544.<sup>1659</sup>

Gheerkin's *Benedicite Dominus* was entered in the Zeghere van Male partbooks, written between 1540 and 1542. But it might have been one of the four motets he wrote for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap shortly after he had arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch to take up his position on 31 December 1539.<sup>1660</sup> The Broederschap held about nine banquets each year and an account item from 1509 specifically mentions that before the meal a *Benedicite* was to be said. To set these words to music was a nice tribute from the new *zangmeester* to his employer.

The three biblical texts all had a function during liturgy. Table 14.2 gives an overview of the origins of the texts used by Gheerkin for his motets. Remarkable is that two of them were used during the canonical hours on Christmas Day, a high feast: *Vox dicentis* (at Matins) and *Jubilate Deo* (at Lauds). *Jubilate Deo* was also part of the Lauds of feasts in general. The text *Inclina Domine aurem tuam* was used on All Souls (2 November), also a feast celebrated widely in the sixteenth century. Both psalms of course had their weekly function during the liturgy as well.

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<sup>1656</sup> See also § 15.5.

<sup>1657</sup> USA, Bryn Mawr College, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Special Collections Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts, MS France 24, s. XV<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1658</sup> USA, New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, MS 314. Mr. Robert Babcock kindly sent me the complete text: *Benedicite. Dominus. Nos et ea que sumus sumpturi benedicat dextera christi unigeniti et omnipotentis: et benedicat nos trinus et unus +. In nomine patris et filii. et spiritus sancti. Amen.*

<sup>1659</sup> Smith 1965, p. 255. The title of the print is: *Doctrina Cristiana para Instrucción y Información de los Indios*. The text: *Nos et ea quae sumpturi sumus: benedicat Deus trinus et unus Pater et Filius; et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen. Pater noster.*

<sup>1660</sup> See also § 6.4.12 and § 7.1. The fact that Gheerkin de Hondt had someone represent him in a legal matter in Bruges in February 1540 shows that he was still in contact with the city (see § 5.1). Besides: *Benedicite Dominus* is in the last part of the partbooks.

Table 14.2 Gheerkin's motet texts and their origin

Text	Origin	Use
<i>Benedicite Dominus</i>	Unknown, oldest mention France ca. 1450	Table blessing <sup>1661</sup>
<i>Inclina Domine aurem tuam / Quia misericordia</i>	Prima Pars: Psalm 85: 1, 3-5 Secunda Pars: derived from Psalm 85: 11-12, 14-16	Friday at Compline (LU 306); November 2 at Sext (LU 1740) <sup>1662</sup>
<i>Jubilare Deo omnis terra / Laudate nomen eius</i>	Prima Pars: Psalm 99: 1-4 Secunda Pars: Psalm 99: 5-7 and 'Gloria Patri'	Lauds of Feasts (LU 221); Sunday at Prime (LU 226); the Nativity of Our Lord: Christmas Day at Lauds (LU 397) <sup>1663</sup>
<i>Vox dicentis / Exsiccatum est fenum</i>	Prima Pars: Isaiah 40:6-7 Secunda Pars: Isaiah 40:8	The Nativity of Our Lord: Christmas Day at Matins <sup>1664</sup> (LU 376).

## 14.3 Gheerkin's style

### 14.3.1 Form

Gheerkin's motets do not seem to be composed according to a certain formal plan: all of them differ in length and even the division of the music between the Prima and Secunda Pars varies from motet to motet and seems not very well balanced (see Table 14.3).

<sup>1661</sup> Diehl 1974, p. 658.

<sup>1662</sup> Diehl 1974, p. 598-599. This goes for the whole psalm.

<sup>1663</sup> Diehl 1974, p. 585. The 'Gloria Patri' (the Minor Doxology) is only included at the feast of the Nativity of the Lord.

<sup>1664</sup> Cantus Database.

Table 14.3 Length of Gheerkin's motets in breves (each breve equalling a bar)

Motet	Length Prima Pars	Length Secunda Pars	Total length <sup>1665</sup>
<i>Benedicite Dominus</i>	63	-	63
<i>Inclina Domine aurem tuam</i>	113	125	238
<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra</i>	109	91	200
<i>Vox dicentis</i>	83	37	120

But if we take a closer look, there is more balance than we would expect at first sight, because the length of the verses seems to be the determining factor in the length of the music. The three short lines of *Benedicite Dominus*, followed by Amen, clearly did not need as many notes as the seven long phrases of the Secunda Pars of *Inclina Domine*. And the Secunda Pars of *Jubilate Deo* only contains two verses, while the Prima Pars is built on four phrases.

The text is indeed pre-eminently the decisive feature in the form of Gheerkin's motets. As with the Masses, Gheerkin prefers to make obvious sections, respecting the lines of the texts, even making divisions at subsections. Almost every single unit of a sentence is clearly visible; overlaps between phrases and even well-defined parts of phrases are rare, and if they do appear, they only occur for one or two bars. On the other hand, full stops in the music (with rests) do not occur frequently either; normally at least one voice continues. Only in the final section of *Jubilate Deo* (before 'et in secula') and in the Secunda Pars of *Inclina Domine* (after 'ideo confitebor tibi Domine' and before 'in toto corde meo') rests force the music to a full stop (Example 14.1 and Example 14.18 below). However, the use of chordal passages and a very thin texture often serve as 'full stops', and in the motet *Benedicite Dominus* fermatas are used on breves, giving the same effect.<sup>1666</sup>

Example 14.1 Full stop of the music with rests in bar 184 of *Jubilate Deo*

<sup>1665</sup> The final longas of the Prima and Secunda Pars have been counted as one bar.

<sup>1666</sup> A complete transcription of *Benedicite Dominus* is given in Roelvink 2002, pp. 371-374.

Another formal feature of Gheerkin's four motets splits them up according to their textual origin: the two psalm motets *Inclina Domine* and *Jubilate Deo* are based on voice pairs, whereas in *Benedicite Dominus* and *Vox dicentis* Gheerkin prefers a full texture, although voice pairs do occur. The use of voice pairs has the consequence that imitation is carried out at greater length and at shorter intervals, usually a semibreve (Example 14.2), than when full texture is used. In the last case, Gheerkin relinquishes imitation after four or five notes. In full texture imitation occurs both at short and longer intervals: usually a semibreve, but also after breves or even minims (Example 14.3); sometimes the intervals are irregular and the first notes had to be adapted in length (Example 14.4).

Example 14.2 Long imitation in voice pairs in *Jubilate Deo*

38

Sci - to - te quo - ni - am Do - mi - nus

Sci - to - te quo - ni - am Do -

43

ip - se est De - us

mi - nus ip - se est De - us

sci - to - te quo -

sci - to - te

48

Sci - to -

Sci -

ni - am Do - mi - nus ip - se est De - us

quo - ni - am Do - mi - nus ip - se est De - us

Example 14.3 Irregular and short imitation in full texture in *Vox dicentis* (Prima Pars)

Musical score for Example 14.3, showing four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with Latin lyrics. The lyrics are: num et ce - ci-dit flos et ce - ci-dit flos. Arrows indicate imitative relationships between voices, showing irregular and short imitation in full texture.

Example 14.4 Irregular imitation in full texture in *Jubilate Deo* (Prima Pars), with adapted first note in the tenor

Musical score for Example 14.4, showing four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with Latin lyrics. The lyrics are: In - tro - i - te in con - spec - tu e - ius. Arrows indicate imitative relationships between voices, showing irregular imitation in full texture with an adapted first note in the tenor.

Gheerkin has a certain preference in creating his voice pairs: in most cases the superius and contratenor form a pair, while the tenor and bassus also make a pair. Because Gheerkin often chooses to imitate a voice at another pitch, as a consequence the voice pairs are formed by superius/tenor and contratenor/bassus (Example 14.2 above). Especially in his psalm motets, Gheerkin alternates the use of voice pairs with full texture passages, sometimes in chords, creating variety.

### 14.3.2 Specific compositional techniques

Besides the alternation between chordal and imitative passages, Gheerkin also uses contrasting themes. Smooth melodies alternate with melodies using leaps in both directions (ascending and descending). Gheerkin especially seemed to like the rising leap of a fourth.

Specifically one theme containing this leap reoccurs in three of his motets, although in quite a few variations. But in its purest and also most persistent form, it appears as the opening theme of his chanson *Je me repréns*; therefore I would like to call it the *Je me repréns* motif.<sup>1667</sup> Example 14.5 shows the motif of the chanson, which occurs on c and on g, both with a semibreve and a minim as first note.<sup>1668</sup>

Example 14.5 Opening motif of Gheerkin's chanson *Je me repréns*

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff is in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. It contains two measures: the first measure has a semibreve on C4, and the second measure has a minim on G4. The lyrics 'Je me re - préns' are written below the notes. The second staff is also in treble clef but with a G-clef on the first line. It contains two measures: the first measure has a semibreve on G4, and the second measure has a minim on C5. The lyrics 'Je me re - préns' are written below the notes.

This same motif, although in a different form and on different pitches, appears as the opening theme of the motet *Jubilate Deo* (Example 14.6). It reoccurs as the finale of the second phrase 'in exultatione', but only in three of the four voices and in two rhythmic variants (Example 14.7). In the *Secunda Pars* of this motet, the opening strongly reminds us of the motif, but it only has the first two characteristic leaps and then continues in a different way (Example 14.8).

Example 14.6 Opening of the motet *Jubilate Deo* with the *Je me repréns* motif

The image shows four staves of musical notation for a motet. The top staff is Soprano, the second is Alto, the third is Tenor, and the bottom is Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics 'Ju - bi - la - te De - o om - nis' are written across the staves. The Soprano staff shows a melodic line with a semibreve on C4, a minim on G4, and a semibreve on C5. The Alto and Tenor staves show similar motifs on different pitches. The Bass staff shows a simpler accompaniment.

<sup>1667</sup> On this chanson: § 15.2 (text) and § 15.3.2 (use of text). By naming this motif after the chanson (where it occurs so persistent), I do not want to suggest that the chanson was there first. The name '*Je me repréns* motif' only refers to the musical motif of a rising fourth, a descending third and a rising fourth again.

<sup>1668</sup> The twelve opening bars of the chanson are given in § 15.3.2, example 15.18.

Example 14.7 End of phrase 2, 'in exultatione', in motet *Jubilate Deo* with the *Je me repréens* motif

33

in ex - ul - ta - - ti - o - - ne  
 ius / - in ex - ul - ta - ti - o - - - - ne  
 in ex - ul - ta - - - - ti - o - - - - ne  
 in ex - ul - ta - - - - ti - o - - - - ne

Example 14.8 Beginning of the Secunda Pars of the motet *Jubilate Deo*

110

Lau - da - te  
 Lau -  
 Lau - da - te no - men e - - ius  
 Lau - da - te no - men e - - - ius

In the motets *Benedicite Dominus* and *Vox dicentis* the *Je me repréens* motif also occurs, but not as a theme in all voices: it only appears in the bassus, in an isolated form (Examples 14.9.a and 14.9.b). In *Benedicite* it clearly is a motif, which is repeated, but in *Vox dicentis* it is a question if it was used on purpose as a separate motif.



Example 14.9.a *Je me repréens motif in the bassus of Benedicite Dominus*

47  
 ti et spi - ri - tus et spi - ri - tus sanc -  
 ti [et spi - ri - tus] et spi -  
 ti [et spi - ri - tus] sanc -  
 ti et spi - ri - tus [et spi - ri - tus]

Example 14.9.b *Je me repréens motif in the bassus of Vox dicentis*

40  
 gri] ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num ex - sic - ca - tum  
 gri] ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num [ex - sic - ca - tum]  
 sic - ca - tum est fe - num ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num  
 est fe - num ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num ex -

In the more original capacity as a clear theme and in all voices the *Je me repréens* motif appears in the Credo of Gheerkin's *Missa In te Domine speravi*, in the 'cum gloria' section (Example 14.10).<sup>1669</sup> Again, it is repeated as an isolated motif, only in one voice, a few phrases later (Example 14.11).

<sup>1669</sup> This motif does not have any relation with the motifs from Hellinck's model for this Mass. In fact, this is what is usually called 'freely composed material'.

Example 14.10 *Je me repréens motif in the Credo of the Missa In te Domine speravi*

153

ven - tu - rus est cum glo - ri - a ju - di - ca - re

est cum glo - ri - a ju - di - ca - re vi -

est cum glo - ri - a ju - di - ca - re vi - vos et

Example 14.11 *Je me repréens motif in the Credo of the Missa In te Domine speravi (superius)*

205

am con - fi - te - or u - num ba -

am con - fi - te - or u - num ba -

am con - fi - te - or

am con - fi - te - or

am con - fi - te - or

The reuse of this single motif is not unique in Gheerkin's motet oeuvre. In fact, he actually 'recycled' musical material. For example, the main theme of *Benedicite Dominus* also appears twice in *Jubilate Deo*, but in a different rhythmic form (Examples 14.12 and 14.13.a. and 14.13.b), the first time even combining the *Benedicite* motif with the *Je me repréens* motif (Example 14.13.a.)

Example 14.12 Opening of *Benedicite Dominus*

Be - ne - di - ci - te Do - mi - nus  
 Be - ne - di - ci - te Do -  
 Be - ne - di - ci - te  
 Be - ne - di - ci -

5  
 nus [Do - mi - nus]  
 mi - nus  
 Do - mi - nus  
 te Do - mi - nus

Example 14.13.a Section 'introite portas eius' in *Prima Pars Jubilate Deo*

77  
 in - tro - i - te por - tas e - ius in con - fes - si - o -  
 in - tro - i - te por - tas e - ius in con - fes - si - o - ne  
 in - tro - i - te por - tas e -  
 ius in - tro - i - te por - tas e - ius in -

Example 14.13.b Section 'sicut erat in principio' in *Jubilate Deo*

173  
 si - cut e - rat in prin -  
 si - cut e - rat in prin -  
 si - cut e - rat in  
 si - cut e - rat in

But if we take a look at text repetition within a single motet, Gheerkin cannot be accused of being a lazy composer. In *Vox dicentis*, for example, the phrase ‘Exsiccatum est fenum, et cecidit flos’ of the Prima Pars literally reappears as the opening of the Secunda Pars. At the first instance, Gheerkin repeats the music literally, but halfway through the phrase, at ‘et cecidit flos’, he decides to create something new (Examples 14.14.a and 14.14.b).

Example 14.14.a Section ‘Exsiccatum est fenum’ in Prima Pars of *Vox dicentis*

38

gri [flos a - gri] ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num  
a - - - gri] [flos a - gri] ex - sic - ca - tum  
gri ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num  
ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num ex - sic - ca - tum est

43

ex sic - ca - tum est fe - - - (h) - - - num  
est fe - num [ex - sic - ca - tum] est fe - - - - - num et  
ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num est fe - - - - - num  
fe - - - num ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num

48

et ce - ci - dit flos et ce - ci - dit flos  
ce - ci - dit flos et ce - ci - dit flos  
et ce - ci - dit et ce - ci - dit flos  
et ce - ci - dit flos

Example 14.14.b Section 'Exsiccatum est fenum' in Secunda Pars of *Vox dicentis*

84

Ex - sic - ca - tum est  
Ex - sic -  
Ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num  
Ex - sic - ca - tum [est] fe - num ex - sic - ca - tum

88

fe - num ex sic - ca - tum est fe - num  
ca - tum est fe - num [ex - sic - ca - tum] est fe -  
ex - sic - ca - tum est fe - num [est fe -  
est fe - num ex - sic - ca - tum est

92

num et ce - ci - dit flos  
num et ce - ci - dit flos  
num] [et ce -  
fe - num et

96

et ce - ci - dit flos  
[et ce - ci - dit flos] ver -  
ci - dit flos  
ce - ci - dit flos

In his motet *Inclina Domine* Gheerkin continues this last approach. Here, the first phrase of the motet is repeated as the last one, but the music is paraphrased (Examples 14.15.a and 14.15.b).

Example 14.15.a Phrase 'Inclina Domine aurem tuam et exaudi me: quoniam inops et pauper sum ego' in Prima Pars of *Inclina Domine*

The musical score consists of three systems of staves. Each system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 1 (Measures 1-5):  
 Vocal: In - cli - na Do - mi - ne au - rem tu - am  
 Continuo: In - cli - na Do - mi - ne au - rem tu -

System 2 (Measures 6-10):  
 Measure 6: In - cli - na  
 Vocal: et ex - au - di me quo - ni - am in - ops et  
 Continuo: am et ex - au - di me quo - ni - am in - ops et pau -

System 3 (Measures 11-15):  
 Measure 11: Do - - mi - ne au - rem tu - am et  
 Vocal: In - cli - na Do - mi - ne au - rem tu - am et ex -  
 Continuo: pau - per sum e - go  
 Continuo: - - - per sum e - go

16

ex - au - di me quo - ni - am in - ops et pau - per  
 au - di me quo - ni - am in - ops et pau - per  
 sum  
 et

21

per sum e - go mi - se - re - re  
 sum e - go mi - se - re - re  
 e - go mi -  
 pau - per sum e - go mi - se - re - re

Example 14.15.b Phrase 'Inclina Domine aurem tuam et exaudi me: quoniam inops et pauper sum ego' in Secunda Pars of *Inclina Domine*

219

In - cli - na Do - mi - ne au - rem tu  
 In - cli - na Do - mi - ne au - rem tu  
 In - cli na Do - mi - ne  
 In - cli - na Do - mi -

223

am et ex - au - di me  
 am et ex - au - di me  
 au - rem tu - am et ex - au - di me quo -  
 ne au - rem tu - am et ex - au - di me

227

quo - - ni - am in - - - ops  
 quo - ni - am in - ops  
 ni - am in - - - ops et  
 quo - - - ni - am in - ops

231

et pau - - - per sum e - - -  
 et pau - - - per sum  
 pau - - - per sum  
 et pau - - - per sum

235

e - - - go [sum] e - - - go  
 e - - - go sum e - go  
 e - - - go sum e - go

A final aspect to consider here, is if Gheerkin used chant melodies in his motets.<sup>1670</sup> Only in the case of *Vox dicentis*, there seems to be a possible relation between a chant melody and the first motif of Gheerkin's motet. The chant is for Christmas (as is Gheerkin's motet) and is found in a Cambrai antiphoner dated between 1508 and 1518.<sup>1671</sup> Example 14.16 shows the beginning of the chant original and Example 14.17 gives the opening of Gheerkin's motet. It is only this small four-

<sup>1670</sup> On the basis of the titles of the motets (Prima and Secunda Pars), chant melodies with the same titles were checked in Bryden/Hughes 1969 and Cantus Database.

<sup>1671</sup> Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, Impr. XVI C 4, fol. 7r (Cantus Database). On the antiphoner: Haggh 1995.



note motif that might have been derived from the chant original. The rest of the chant is not found in Gheerkin's motet. Therefore, we have to ask ourselves the question if Gheerkin is really referring to this chant.<sup>1672</sup> He probably was not, since he also used the melody in his motet *Jubilare Deo*, on the words 'scitote quoniam' (Example 14.2).

Example 14.16 Chant melody of *Vox dicentis*, according to a Cambrai antiphoner dated 1508-1518



Example 14.17 Opening of *Vox dicentis*, with the head motif in all voices on four different pitches (c, f, a, d)

<sup>1672</sup> We have to keep in mind that Gheerkin de Hondt never worked in a church of the Cambrai diocese. Besides, he is not using the chant in the classical way of the previous generation of composers (Josquin): as a cantus firmus in the tenor voice.

### 14.3.3 Use of text

Gheerkin's preference to make clear musical parts for (sub)sections of texts has the result that the words are very audible. Several other characteristics also contribute to make the text easy to hear: the use of voice pairs instead of full texture, the use of chords in full texture, correct stressing of the syllables and syllabic setting, especially of the first words of a (sub)phrase. In short: Gheerkin wanted his audience to hear the text he set to music.

Therefore, we may assume that the words he set to chords were highly important to him.<sup>1673</sup> There seems to be a pattern here: chords are always used in combination with the word God or Christ or a reference to (one of) them.<sup>1674</sup> Table 14.4 gives an overview of the texts set to chords and their meaning.

Table 14.4 Overview of chordal passages and their texts in Gheerkin's motets

Motet	Text	Meaning
<i>Benedicite Dominus</i>	Dextera Christi	The right hand of Christ
	In nomine Patris et Filii	In the name of the Father and of the Son
<i>Inclina Domine</i>	Miserere mei Domine	Have mercy on me, O Lord
	Quoniam tu Domine miserator et misericors patiens et multe misericordie et verax	And thou, O Lord, art a God of compassion, and merciful, patient, and of much mercy, and true
<i>Jubilate Deo</i>	Ipse est Deus	He is God
	Suavis est Dominus, in eternum	The Lord is sweet, for ever
	Et in secula	'God's Kingdom'
<i>Vox dicentis</i>	Quia spiritus Domini	Because the spirit of the Lord

The words 'et in secula' even receive more attention, since they are preceded by rests (Example 14.1).

A few interesting cases of word-painting appear in Gheerkin's motets. A simple form of word-painting is the repetition of words in a short period of time, to stress

<sup>1673</sup> Chordal passages comprise fragments with a rather static rhythm in which three or more voices (in a four-voiced composition) sing the same text at the same time.

<sup>1674</sup> In doing so, he follows an old tradition (Blackburn 1970, p. 233-234).

them. An example is the beginning of *Vox dicentis*, where the first words ('The voice of one, saying') occur nine times in eight bars (Example 14.17 above).

Another form of words expressed in music is in the 'falling flower' in *Vox dicentis*, which has been painted by a small stop in the music, which is not reached by a full cadence and also by a falling line in the music (Examples 14.14.a. and 14.14.b above).

Another curious cadence occurs at the end of the phrase 'de manu inimici' in *Inclina Domine* (bars 137-138). Normally the leap of a fifth downwards would be in the bassus, and the leading tone C sharp would be in the superius (Example 14.18). The text explains the upside-down situation: enemies. The passage is remarkable as a whole, since specifically at this point in the text, Gheerkin deviates from the original psalm text, clearly preferring his own (Table 14.1). It is also at this spot that he writes one of the rare full stops in his motets (Example 14.18).

Example 14.18 Passage in *Inclina Domine aurem tuam* with word-painting and full stop

134

um de ma-nu in-ni-mi - ci id -  
 um de ma-nu in-ni-mi - - - ci  
 de ma-nu in-ni-mi - - - ci  
 de ma-nu in-ni-mi - - - ci

140

- e - o con - fi - te - bor ti - bi Do - mi -  
 id - e - o con - fi - te - bor [ti - bi Do - mi -

143

ne in to - to cor - de me - o et glo - ri - fi - ca -  
 ne] in to - to cor - de me - o  
 in to - to cor - de me - o  
 in to - to cor - de me - o et glo -

Then there is the rather unusual imitation of a motif on four different pitches in the motet *Jubilate Deo*, making the imitation far from perfect (Example 14.19).<sup>1675</sup> Normally Gheerkin would imitate his melodies on two different pitches, the notes following each other in exactly the same movement. But the text at this point says: ‘populus eius’ (we are his people); the imitation therefore might be interpreted as a reflection of the many-sided society.<sup>1676</sup>

Example 14.19 Motif on four different pitches in the motet *Jubilate Deo* (a, d, g, c)

70

po pu - lus e - ius et o - ves pas - cu -  
 po pu - lus e - ius et o - ves pas -  
 nos po - pu - lus e - ius et o - ves  
 nos po - pu - lus e - ius et

<sup>1675</sup> The distances between the notes are different: a-b-flat is a semitone, whereas d-e/g-a/c-d are whole tones.

<sup>1676</sup> There is one other place where this rather remarkable form of imitation also occurs, and that is at the beginning of the motet *Vox dicentis* (example 14.17). However, this is in a slightly different form, since the imitation occurs in two voice pairs at the beginning, but the motif sounds on four different pitches in total. Curiously, the text says: ‘the voice of one’, whereas the music – in imitation and on different pitches – is clearly not speaking in one voice. Perhaps a case of stressing the opposite?

Remarkable too is the repetition of the first phrase of the motet *Inclina Domine*: 'Incline thy ear, O Lord, and hear me: for I am needy and poor.' This repetition is not in the original psalm text. In fact, the music could have stopped after the words *Quoniam tu Domine adiuuisti me et consolatus es me* ('Because thou, O Lord, hast helped me and hast comforted me'). Instead, Gheerkin chose to repeat the first line, but he adapted the music to the words (Examples 14.15.a. and 14.15.b above). By doing so, he stresses the never-ending request for relief of an individual to God, although this request may have different forms at different times.

#### 14.3.4 Gheerkin and other composers

Compared to the motet production of Gheerkin's contemporaries Clemens non Papa (233), Crecquillon (ca. 125), Gombert (ca. 160), Appenzeller (ca. 40), Lupi (ca. 35) and even Lupus Hellinck (15) Gheerkin's legacy of four motets is rather slim. But we still can distinguish his work from his contemporaries, because he seems to have developed his own style.<sup>1677</sup> In his motets, Gheerkin is in the middle of two generations: on the one hand he still uses techniques from the Josquin generation, but on the other hand he follows his contemporaries.

Characteristic for Gheerkin is that the text dominates the music, making clear sections in the music according to the (sub)phrases of the text, with correct declamation. In this way, he does not follow his contemporaries Gombert, Clemens non Papa, Hellinck and Crecquillon, who more often subordinated the text to their music,<sup>1678</sup> but he composes more in the style of the previous generation. However, more in accordance with the conventions of his own time, at some points he does use irregular imitation at very short intervals, ceasing the imitation after only four or five notes.

In his psalm motet *Jubilate Deo* Gheerkin copies the style of Josquin: he sets the complete psalm text to music and uses voice pairs, alternating with passages in full texture. This last technique is also found in *Inclina Domine*, but here he looks more to his contemporaries, because he creates a different text out of the classical psalm.

In reusing themes from one motet in another Gheerkin clearly follows the same procedure as his contemporary and Bruges colleague Lupus Hellinck, who had a liking for 'self-borrowing'.<sup>1679</sup> But when text is repeated in the same motet, he does not automatically copy the music previously used, but creates something new out of

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<sup>1677</sup> Comparison is made with the different styles described in § 14.1 and the descriptions of the composers' styles in <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

<sup>1678</sup> Blackburn 1970, p. 267.

<sup>1679</sup> Blackburn 1970, for example p. 236.

the existing material. In that respect he followed his contemporaries Clemens non Papa and Crecquillon.<sup>1680</sup>

#### 14.4 Doubtful motets: *Ave Maria* and *Dum penderet* / *Petrus in cruce*

In the past, two motets have been connected to Gheerkin de Hondt, but also to other composers. A setting of the *Ave Maria* was also linked to Jacobus Clemens non Papa and Thomas Crecquillon, and the motet *Dum penderet* was attributed to Gheerkin Corael/De Wale. The question arises if both motets could also have been composed by Gheerkin de Hondt, on the basis of his style.

As we have seen in Chapter 12, in the Zeghere van Male partbooks CambraiBM 125-8 *Dum penderet* was actually not ascribed to Gheerkin de Hondt, but to Gheerkin de Wale, also named Gheerkin Corael, who probably is to be identified as the Gheeraert de Wale mentioned in the accounts of the Sint-Jacobskerk of 1559. The style of the Prima Pars of this motet confirms that indeed we have to do with two different composers.<sup>1681</sup> Where Gheerkin de Hondt prefers clear musical sections based on the lines of the text, Gheerkin de Wale favours a more through-composed technique: nowhere in the Prima Pars does the music come to a (full) stop, and lines of text flow over each other continuously. Therefore, Zeghere van Male's differentiation between the two Gheerkins is correct.

The clear musical distinction between text lines, even marked by double bar lines, is a remarkable feature of the *Ave Maria* in the Leiden choirbook Leiden 1442.<sup>1682</sup> In 1928 Bernet-Kempers concluded that this work could hardly be by Clemens non Papa, since it was 'no more than a mediocre schoolwork'.<sup>1683</sup> But according to the biographers of Thomas Crecquillon in Oxford Music Online, it 'was probably by Clemens'.<sup>1684</sup> Indeed, the work is generally accepted as written by Clemens, perhaps because it does contain one of Clemens's main compositional techniques, namely: 'the textures are dense and busy throughout, with motion most consistently in minims and semibreves'.<sup>1685</sup> This certainly is not one of Gheerkin's

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<sup>1680</sup> Schmidt-Beste 2005, p. 274.

<sup>1681</sup> An edition of the Prima Pars is in De Coussemaker 1975<sup>2</sup>, Supplement/Specimen de musique, no. 11, pp. 27-32.

<sup>1682</sup> An edition is provided for by Bernet Kempers 1951-1976, volume XXI, pp. XII, 93-95.

<sup>1683</sup> Bernet-Kempers 1928, p. 53.

<sup>1684</sup> Hudson/Ham 2001.

<sup>1685</sup> As described by Elders/Forney ('Clemens non Papa, Jacobus').

main compositional characteristics. Therefore, although the appearance of an *Ave Maria* by Gheerkin de Hondt in a Leiden choirbook should not come as a surprise,<sup>1686</sup> and the composition reminds us of Gheerkin's work because of the clear divisions in text lines, this piece of music probably is not his.

## 14.5 Other composers using the same texts

All motet texts used by Gheerkin de Hondt were also the basis for a composition of at least one other composer. Table 14.5 gives an overview.<sup>1687</sup>

Table 14.5 Other composers using the same texts for their motets

Motet	Composer	Source(s) or edition
<i>Benedicite Dominus nos et ea</i>	Anonymous: for 3 voices	Sources: - Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket, MS Vokalmusik i Hanskrift 76a, fol. 9v-10r; - Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2356, fol. 64v.
<i>Inclina Domine aurem tuam</i>	Claudin de Sermisy: for 8 voices (Primus & Secundus Chorus)	Edition: - Allaire/Cazeaux 1972 (CMM 52, II), pp. IX-X, 39-64.
	Nicolas Gombert: for 5 voices (also attributed to 'Berchem')	Edition: - Schmidt-Görg 1970 (CMM 6, VIII), pp. IX, 8-16.
	Jacotin: for 4 voices	Edition: - Tillman Merritt 1962, pp. 151-164.
	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: for 4 voices	Edition: - Bernet Kempers 1976 (CMM 4, XXI), pp. XIII, 140-145.
	Dominique Phinot: for 4 voices	Edition: - Höfler 1974 (CMM 59, II), pp. XIII-XIV, 63-69.

<sup>1686</sup> Substantiated in Chapter 13.

<sup>1687</sup> The list was put together by using Thomas (Motet Database), the work lists of composers in <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, secondary literature on prints in general, for example Vanhulst 1990, and by checking tables of contents of manuscripts and prints.

<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra</i>	'Josquin des Prez': <sup>1688</sup> for 4 voices	Edition: - A. Smijers, <i>Werken van Josquin des Prés, Motetten</i> , deel IV, Amsterdam 1956, pp. XII, 41-46.
	Antoine de Mornable: for 4 voices	Source: - Antoine de Mornable, <i>Motetorum musicalium, liber primus XXV modulorum</i> , Paris, Pierre Attaignant, 1546, fol. IXv-Xr (S), VIIIv-IXv (Ct), Xr-XIr (T), VIIIv-IXr (B).
	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: for 6 voices	Edition: - Bernet Kempers 1976 (CMM 4, XVI), pp. VIII, 30-39.
	Nicolas Gombert: for 4 voices (incomplete text, only the first four words) <sup>1689</sup>	Edition: - Schmidt-Görg 1970 (CMM 6, X), pp. XI, 61-66.
<i>Vox dicentis</i>	Jacobus Clemens non Papa: for 5 voices (as Secunda Pars of the motet <i>Vox clamantis</i> )	Edition: - Bernet Kempers 1968 (CMM 4, XVI), pp. IX, 81-84.

By far the most popular texts were the two psalm settings *Inclina Domine aurem tuam* and *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*. The Motet Database gives 47 and 147 hits respectively on the first two words of these psalms.<sup>1690</sup> But as it turns out, in the case of *Inclina Domine aurem tuam*, none of these texts is the same one Gheerkin used. His colleagues made different choices, none of them using exactly the same text, some of them even combining verses from different psalms.<sup>1691</sup> Musically too, there

<sup>1688</sup> The attribution to Josquin is doubtful; it might have been written by a follower (Jas 2009).

<sup>1689</sup> The text could therefore also be Psalm 65, which begins with the same words *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* (among others used by Thomas Crecquillon for a motet).

<sup>1690</sup> Thomas (Motet Database), accessed November 2014.

<sup>1691</sup> Only the compositions of Gheerkin's contemporaries originating from the same area have been checked (with addition of the verses of the psalm used according to the editions): Claudin de Sermisy (complete psalm text), Nicolas Gombert (Prima Pars: vv. 1, 5, 6; Secunda Pars: v. 3 plus Psalm 90, v. 2 and Psalm 141, v. 6), Jacotin (Prima Pars: vv. 1 and parts of 2 and 3, not in the right order; Secunda Pars: vv. 10 and variant of 12; Tertia Pars: variants of vv. 14-16), Jacobus Clemens non Papa (conflation of verses of Psalms: 85:1, 85:6, 5:2, 5:3, 69:6, 69:7), Dominique Phinot (vv 1-4).



are no relationships between Gheerkin's motet with the title *Inclina Domine aurem tuam* and the works with the same opening words by other composers.

For *Jubilare Deo* there are more similarities:<sup>1692</sup> the settings attributed to Josquin des Prez, Antoine de Mornable and Jacobus Clemens non Papa have the same words, except that the final lines from 'Gloria Patri' to 'Amen' are missing. However, this Minor Doxology was often added to psalms for liturgical use.<sup>1693</sup> In Gheerkin's case, the words and music could easily be left out, since the music comes to a final (full) cadence on the word 'eius', as shown in Example 14.20.

Example 14.20 End of the psalm text in *Jubilare Deo*, followed by the Minor Doxology

150

tas e - - ius Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o

tas] ve - ri-tas e - ius Glo - ri - a pa - tri et fi - li - o

tas e - - ius Glo -

tas e - - ius

'Josquin' and De Mornable divided the text in exactly the same two parts as Gheerkin did, with the Secunda Pars starting at 'Laudate nomen eius'. Clemens non Papa made a different choice: he starts the Secunda Pars at 'Populus eius'. However, none of these compositions seems to be related to the setting by Gheerkin.

The text of the motet *Vox Dicentis* is also used by Jacobus Clemens non Papa, but with Clemens it is the Secunda Pars of his motet *Vox clamantis*. Here too, there are no musical relationships between Gheerkin's and Clemens's settings.

A special case is *Benedicite Dominus*. There is one other setting of this text, which survives in two sources dating from the late 15th century, but it turns out to be a contrafact: the music to which this *Benedicite* was set is the music of the anonymous chanson *La plus dolente qui soit nee*.<sup>1694</sup> Musically, there are no relations between this composition and the one by Gheerkin de Hondt.

<sup>1692</sup> Only the compositions of Gheerkin's contemporaries originating from the same area have been checked: Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Nicolas Gombert, Antoine de Mornable, 'Josquin des Prez'.

<sup>1693</sup> Blackburn 1970, p. 237.

<sup>1694</sup> Thomas (Motet Database); Brown 1987 and Brown 1983.

## 14.6 Summary

Gheerkin's motet oeuvre is very small, and only survives through the Zeghere van Male partbooks. The texts he chose are varied: one of them is a complete psalm (*Jubilate Deo*), another is derived from a psalm text (*Inclina Domine*), the third originates in the Book of Isaiah (*Vox dicentis*) and the fourth motet is a table blessing (*Benedicite Dominus*). Three texts are usable during the liturgy in the churches where Gheerkin worked, but also in a more private surroundings.

Typical for Gheerkin's motet style is his treatment of the text. He makes clear sections in the music that correspond to the phrases of the text, and even subdivisions within text phrases are often clearly separated from each other; overlapping of text phrases is rare. Because of this, Gheerkin's motets have a clear formal structure, further shaped by the use of contrasting themes. Gheerkin likes to use his themes in more than one motet, a method of composing also favoured by Lupus Hellinck. To accentuate the text, Gheerkin uses chordal passages, especially when the text refers to God or Christ. On the whole, his declamation is correct. Word-painting is rare.

There is no doubt about the authenticity of the four motets attributed to Gheerkin de Hondt, but the two motets that have been connected to him previously (*Ave Maria* in a Leiden choirbook and *Dum penderet* in the Zeghere van Male partbooks) are not by his hand.

All the texts Gheerkin used for his motets have also been set to music by other composers, although not always in exactly the same way. Of the motets that do have the same text, none has any musical relation with Gheerkin's work.

In composing motets, Gheerkin is in the middle of two generations. The use of voice pairs, the preference for a clearly audible text and a correct text declamation place him closer to the older generation of Josquin. But the practice of irregular imitation at short intervals for a limited number of notes positions him among such contemporaries as Gombert, Hellinck, Clemens non Papa and Crecquillon. In his choices of text he also straddles two generations: on the one hand he adapts a psalm text to his own personal taste (*Inclina Domine*), as do composers of his own generation; on the other hand he sets a complete psalm to music (*Jubilate Deo*), as Josquin preferred.<sup>1695</sup> Therefore, we may conclude that Gheerkin de Hondt created his own personal style, in which the text was very important to him, taking compositional elements from his own and from the previous generation of composers.

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<sup>1695</sup> The different settings of *Jubilate Deo* prove that also in Gheerkin's own generation complete versions of psalm texts were used.

## Chapter 15 Songs

### 15.1 The chanson and lied at the time of Gheerkin

In the fifteenth century, the French polyphonic song was usually a composition of three voices based on a text with a fixed rhyme form: rondeau, virelai or ballade. The texts as a rule determined that the music was also composed according to these *formes fixes*. Around 1500 the number of voices was generally increased to four, or even more. In the 1530s the rigid *formes fixes* texts declined in popularity, although – as we shall see – they were still used. By that time there were two clear (regional) styles: the style of the Parisian chanson, predominant at the Paris court, and the Franco-Flemish style, dominating in the Low Countries.<sup>1696</sup>

The Parisian chanson is characterised by melodic rhythms that closely follow the rhythm of the words of the text: the words are often set syllabically, (short) melismas are used, especially towards the end of a text line. The structure of the poem was often strophic and determined the structure of the chanson, regularly corresponding to the lines of poetry, but not in a fixed rhyme scheme. A characteristic feature is the use of a well-known melody in the top or tenor voice. Musically, homophonic (chordal) passages are common; where polyphony (imitation) is used, it is simple. The two most important representatives in the 1530s were Claudin de Sermisy (active at the French royal court) and Clément Janequin, but the two men each gave the style a personal interpretation. De Sermisy wrote in a more lyrical style, whereas Janequin preferred a narrative approach, using longer melismas.

The Franco-Flemish style from 1500 onwards was predominantly imitative and contrapuntal, the different voices moving independently from each other, both melodically and rhythmically. Single motifs could recur in all voices in imitation, alternating with chordal passages. The texture of the music could be full, with all voices singing polyphony or a homophonic chordal passage, or rather thin, having voice pairs performing a dialogue. The first one to adopt this style was Josquin; representatives in the 1530s were Nicolas Gombert, Jean Richafort, Jacobus Clemens

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<sup>1696</sup> This paragraph and the next two are based on Brown/Fallows/Freedman ('Chanson'). Extra information on the literary and musical aspects of the *formes fixes* is found in Thompson 1975, especially pp. 126-128.

non Papa, Adriaen Willaert and Thomas Crecquillon, although they all also wrote in the style of the Parisian chanson and often combined both styles in one piece of music.

The Dutch song was not as widely spread as the French chanson.<sup>1697</sup> A clear national style as in the Parisian chanson is not demonstrable,<sup>1698</sup> but the fact that songs in Dutch were written by composers from the Low Countries results in the assumption that their Franco-Flemish style of imitative polyphony was predominant, of course always coloured by the individual composers.

## 15.2 Texts

All Gheerkin's songs but one have come down to us in one single source: the partbooks of the Bruges merchant Zeghere van Male dated 1542. For four of the compositions, the partbooks are the only source; three other ones plus the Dutch song are also known from other sources, and the chanson *Langueur d'amour* has even been preserved in three different sources.<sup>1699</sup>

In four cases it remains unknown who wrote the texts which formed the basis for Gheerkin's works and we also do not know when these texts were written (*A vous me rends*, *Helas malheur*, *Langueur d'amour* and *Oncques ne sceu avoir*). In only one case is the author of the poem known: Gheerkin used Jean Marot's (1450-1526) *Contre raison* for his chanson of the same name.<sup>1700</sup>

The poem *D'ung parfond cueur* seems to be a free translation of the text of Psalm 129:<sup>1701</sup> *De Profundis clamavi ad te*, one of the seven Penitential Psalms.<sup>1702</sup> As we have seen in Chapters 5 and 6, this psalm was widely used in the Middle Ages as part of memorial services, often combined with one of the other Penitential Psalms, *Miserere mei, Deus*. There were other French translations of the Latin text, the most famous being the one by Clément Marot, *Du fonds de ma pensée*, used by Benedictus

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<sup>1697</sup> § 1.2 and § 1.3.

<sup>1698</sup> Bonda 1996, p. 447. The fact that there is no separate article on the Dutch song in Oxford Music Online supports this proposition.

<sup>1699</sup> See Appendix 15 for an overview. The complete texts and their translations are given in Appendix 16.

<sup>1700</sup> Diehl 1974, p. 640 and Thompson 1982, p. XIV. It is the first stanza of a four-strophe rondeau (for the complete text, see Appendix 16).

<sup>1701</sup> Number according to the Vulgate; in the English Authorized and Revised versions (following the Hebrew) it is number 130.

<sup>1702</sup> On the psalm: Bergé/Christiaens 2011, especially p. 31.

Appenzeller and others.<sup>1703</sup> Since we know Gheerkin's version only from the Van Male partbooks, it could have been a local translation, used only in Bruges.<sup>1704</sup>

The four-line text *Mon petit cœur n'est pas a moy* seems already to have been well known in the fifteenth century. The oldest known version of this quatrain has survived in the *Manuscrit de Bayeux*, dating from around 1500, and written for the Bourbon family.<sup>1705</sup> This manuscript also gives a monophonic melody for the text (which was as we shall see below, used by Gheerkin), plus three more stanzas.<sup>1706</sup>

A manuscript related to the *Manuscrit de Bayeux*, now also kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 12744, dates from around 1500 and probably originated in the surroundings of the French court (Paris, Lyon, Blois).<sup>1707</sup> The two manuscripts share thirty-five chansons; they are made of parchment, embellished with gold leaf, and they even are about the same size in number of pages and format. However, it was not the same scribe who wrote both books and there are important differences in the lay-out of the pages and the number of chansons.<sup>1708</sup>

One of the chansons in Paris, BnF, f. fr. 12744 is *Je me repens de vous avoir aymée*.<sup>1709</sup> This originally four-line rondeau was already wide-spread by the time Gheerkin used it for his composition, although all the versions have (small) differences in the first stanza and sometimes completely different texts in the others.<sup>1710</sup> Gheerkin's version already differs in the first stanza from all the other ones, since it has five lines instead of the usual four (Table 15.1).

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<sup>1703</sup> This psalm is discussed in several ways as one of Appenzeller's chansons in Thompson 1975, pp. 125-186.

<sup>1704</sup> Another explanation could be that Gheerkin did not yet know the Marot translation, since it was not printed until 1539 (Thompson 1975, p. 125).

<sup>1705</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 9346. On this manuscript: Kraft 2009, pp. 70-93 and Gérold 1921. One of the main themes of the chansons is the Hundred Years' War between England and France (1337-1453).

<sup>1706</sup> The complete text is in Appendix 16.

<sup>1707</sup> On this manuscript: Kraft 2009, p. 112 on the dating and origin.

<sup>1708</sup> On the similarities and differences with the *Manuscrit de Bayeux*: Kraft 2009, pp. 70-71.

<sup>1709</sup> Fol. XVIJv-XVIIJr (or no. 23). Gheerkin uses 'repens', with r, whereas this manuscript (and in fact all related text versions found elsewhere) use 'repens', without r. As will be demonstrated later, this was probably not an error in the Van Male partbooks, but a deliberate adjustment of the original text by Gheerkin himself.

<sup>1710</sup> Table 15.2 gives an overview of the sources in which the text appears; Appendix 16 gives all the text versions, including translations of the two versions of the first stanza. Jeffery 1971, p. 29 notes in general that there are many differences among the chansons appearing in Paris, BnF, f. fr. 12744, the *Manuscrit de Bayeux* and several prints.

Table 15.1 Different text versions of originally four-line rondeau *Je me repens* and Gheerkin's *Je me reprens*.

Four-line version <sup>1711</sup>	Gheerkin's version
Je me repens de vous avoir aymée	Je me reprens de vous avoir aymée
puis qu'aultrement n'avez voulu mon bien,	puisqu'autrement navés voulu mon bien
et que jamais vous ne my feistes rien	oncques en vous vi(e) n'avez volu riens fayre
	ne vostre cueur n'a voulu tayre
chose qui fust au gré de ma pensée.	chose qui fut au gré de ma pensee.

The oldest known text source of the chanson is the *Rohan Chansonnier*, dated around 1470 and written for Louis Malet de Graville, a Norman aristocrat and member of the French royal court.<sup>1712</sup> Contrary to Paris, BnF, f. fr. 12744, the *Rohan* manuscript only contains text, no music. It was most likely compiled from eleven pre-existing collections; the part including *Je me repens* was probably copied from a private collection, originating in Paris (but not the French court) in the late 1450s and the 1460s.<sup>1713</sup>

Thirty-seven of the poems in the collection to which *Je me repens* in the *Rohan Chansonnier* originally belonged, also appear in a Parisian print called *Le Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rhétorique*, printed by Antoine Vérard in 1501. It was the first-ever volume exclusively containing French secular love poetry (672 poems).<sup>1714</sup> The print was probably compiled directly from manuscript sources and was a huge success, although most of the poems were at least thirty-five to forty years old. *Je me repens* belonged to a collection that was not only known at the French court, but also in Paris, and which might have originally been a musical exemplar from which only the texts were copied. The main target group for this print was that of members of the nobility and government functionaries.

Probably also as a result of the success of this first printed collection of French chansons, it became not uncommon in the sixteenth century that chanson texts were printed in low-budget compilations intended for the lower and middle class.<sup>1715</sup> In addition to *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, *Je me repens* has been preserved in three other

<sup>1711</sup> From: Jeffery 1971, p. 236.

<sup>1712</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.B.17, fol. 138r. On this manuscript: Sewright 2008, pp. 38-100 and Löpelmann 1923.

<sup>1713</sup> Sewright 2008, pp. 43, 74-84.

<sup>1714</sup> Sewright 2008, pp. 80. On *Le Jardin*: pp. 186-253. Also: Droz/Piaget 1968 (containing a facsimile).

<sup>1715</sup> Brown/Fallows/Freedman ('Chanson').

such anthologies, as shown in Table 15.2. The texts in these last three prints are the same and also contain a so-called response.<sup>1716</sup>

Table 15.2 Overview of the text sources of *Je me repens*

Source	Date	Remarks
<i>Rohan Chansonnier</i>	Around 1470	Manuscript; only text
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 12744	Around 1500	Manuscript; text plus monophonic melody
<i>Le Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rhétorique</i>	1501	Print; only text
<i>S'Ensuivent seize belles chansons nouvelles dont les noms s'ensuyvent</i> <sup>1717</sup>	ca. 1525-1530	Print; only text; also containing a response
<i>S'ensuyvent dixsept belles chansons nouvelles dont les noms s'ensuyvent</i> <sup>1718</sup>	ca. 1525-1530	Print; only text; also containing a response
<i>La Fleur des chansons. Les grans chansons nouvelles qui sont en nombre cent et dix</i> <sup>1719</sup>	1527 or shortly thereafter	Print; only text; also containing a response

The editions of compilations of French chansons are not unique: there were also volumes of songs in the Dutch vernacular. One of those prints was the *Schoon liedekens boeck*, published in Antwerp and therefore today called the *Antwerps Liedboek*.<sup>1720</sup> The print contains 221 song texts without music, some of them dating from as early as the end of the fifteenth century, others from the 1530s and even some very recent ones from the early 1540s. Many of the texts deal with love. The

<sup>1716</sup> Jeffery 1971, pp. 241-242.

<sup>1717</sup> Jeffery 1971, pp. 20, 233-247.

<sup>1718</sup> Jeffery 1971, pp. 20, 248-258.

<sup>1719</sup> Jeffery 1976, pp. 14, 23-77. In fact, the volume does not contain 110 chansons, but only 48, the table of contents mentions 55 titles.

<sup>1720</sup> Complete title: *Een schoon liedekens boeck inden welcken ghy in vinden sult veelderhande liedekens, oude ende nyeuwe, om droefheyte ende melancolie te verdrijven*. A new edition of the Antwerp Songbook appeared in 2004: Van der Poel/Geirnaert/Joldersma/Oosterman/Grijp 2004.

book must have been popular, since it was printed at least four times, for the first time between 1537 and 1542/43. The only surviving copy is dated 1544 and is the third print run. Every print run was enlarged with more songs. The book was not only popular in Antwerp: copies also circulated in Flanders (Ghent and Bruges), Guelders and the province of Overijssel. The songs were known to everybody, from craftsmen to city government employees.<sup>1721</sup>

The text of the Dutch song *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt* is one of those known from the *Antwerps Liedboek*. It turns out to be the second stanza of a song called *Den winter comt aen, den mey is uut*, which had already been included in the first print run of 1537-1542/43.<sup>1722</sup> The text is not preceded by an indication of the age of the song, since it does not have either of the two indications ‘een out liedeken’ (‘an old song’) or ‘een nyeu liedeken’ (‘a new song’), as other songs have.

There are a few small differences in the text Gheerkin used and the text published in the *Antwerps Liedboek*. Most important is the fact that in the second and third lines the woman does not address the man directly, but indirectly.<sup>1723</sup> Another remarkable difference occurs in the seventh line, where Gheerkin’s version has ‘noyt’ (‘never’) instead of ‘oeyt’ (‘ever’). This looks like a change made on purpose, and in fact, ‘noyt’ seems to fit the next line (‘Because you don’t have what serves my needs’) better than ‘oeyt’.<sup>1724</sup>

Almost all Gheerkin’s chanson texts deal with love, mostly unhappy love and mostly seen from the point of view of the man. The chansons *D’ung parfond cueur* and *Helas malheur* have different subjects: the grace of God and unhappiness respectively. Table 15.3 gives a summary of the themes of Gheerkin’s chanson texts.

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<sup>1721</sup> Van der Poel/Geirnaert/Joldersma/Oosterman/Grijp 2004, volume 2, pp. 9-45.

<sup>1722</sup> Van der Poel/Geirnaert/Joldersma/Oosterman/Grijp 2004, volume 1, pp. 64-66 and volume 2, pp. 94-96.

<sup>1723</sup> Second line: not ‘That you belong to the old geezer’s club’ but ‘That he belonged to the old geezer’s club’; third line: not ‘Your game no longer pleases me’, but ‘His game now no longer pleases me’).

<sup>1724</sup> *Ey, out grijsaert, dat ic u oeyt kende*, ‘Hey, old graybeard, that I have ever met you’; in Gheerkin’s version: *Ey oudt grysaert, dat ick u noyt en kende*, ‘Hey, old graybeard, if only I had never met you’. With ‘noyt’ the seventh and eighth line mean ‘I wish I had never met you, because you do not have what I need’; with ‘oeyt’ it means ‘How is it possible that I have ever met you, because you do not have what I need’. In Gheerkin’s case it is clearly not a writing/printing error, since both the Zeghere van Male partbooks as *Het ierste musyck boexken* by Sustato give ‘noyt’. Of course there might be a printing mistake in the *Antwerps Liedboek*. In any case, Gheerkin did think about the words he used.



Table 15.3 Themes in Gheerkin's chanson texts

Chanson	Theme
<i>A vous me rends</i>	A man shows himself humble to a beautiful lady, and puts all his hope in her.
<i>Contre raison pour t'aymer</i>	A rejected man hopes for mercy of a woman.
<i>D'ung profond cueur j'ay cryé</i>	Someone asks for the grace of God.
<i>Helas malheur prens tu contentement</i>	Someone is pursued by unhappiness, which makes him/her suffer.
<i>Je me reprens de vous avoir aymée</i>	A man holds it against himself that he has loved a woman who did not want to satisfy his needs in any way.
<i>Langueur d'amour m'est survenue</i>	A man is almost broken-hearted with pangs of love, because a woman ignores him.
<i>Mon petit cueur n'est pas à moy</i>	A man has lost his heart to a woman, and requests her to give her love only to him.
<i>Oncques ne sceu avoir</i>	A man complains about the beautiful – but hard and insensitive – woman, to whom he has always been loyal, but who does not know he exists.
<i>Het was my van tevoren gheseyt</i>	A woman is dissatisfied with her husband, who cannot satisfy her. <sup>1725</sup>

Gheerkin de Hondt had access to all kinds of chanson texts: old and new, unique as well as publicly known, French and Flemish. It looks like he was quite creative in the texts he used: in the case of the (psalm) text *D'ung profond cueur* he did not stick to the regular French translation used by many of his colleagues (*Du fonds de ma pensée*): the text of the chanson *Je me reprens* differs from the one that was published in several manuscripts and prints and in the Dutch song *Het was my van te voren gheseyt* there are important differences between the other known version and Gheerkin's. This makes it all the more interesting to investigate if there are any relations between the content of a chanson text and the music Gheerkin composed to it.

<sup>1725</sup> On the meaning of the complete song: Van der Poel/Geirnaert/Joldersma/Oosterman/Grijp 2004, volume 2, p. 94.

## 15.3 Gheerkin's style

### 15.3.1 Form

The first aspect to consider when determining Gheerkin's chanson style is that of the forms he used for his music. Gheerkin's favourite technique to give shape to his chansons is the use of chordal passages. They occur in all of his chansons, except for *Oncques ne sceu avoir*, in several forms. In the majority of the cases, the chordal passages appear in longer note values, and when they do, they are always at the beginning of a new line of poetry, making the structure of the poem clear at a single glance. In all these situations the chords enclose the first four syllables of the line<sup>1726</sup> and often they are preceded by rests; sometimes one voice starts just a beat before the others. But the chordal passages can also be less clearly visible: as fast syllabic passages, sometimes in the middle of a chanson, but also at the end, building up to the climax of the final notes.

Three of Gheerkin's chansons begin with chords in long note values: *A vous me rends*, *Contre raison* and *Languueur d'amour*. *A vous me rends* and *Languueur d'amour* resemble one another very much. The chordal passages are not only used at the beginning of the chanson, but also at the beginning of four of the five lines of poetry, in all four cases followed by a light form of imitation; only line 4 starts with imitation. Examples 15.1 to 15.5 show the openings of the five lines of poetry.

Example 15.1 Openings of the first line of poetry in *A vous me rends* (15.1.a) and *Languueur d'amour* (15.1.b)

Example 15.1.a Opening of *A vous me rends*

Musical score for the opening of *A vous me rends*. It features four staves: three vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and one bass staff. The lyrics are: A vous me rends. The music is in a common time signature (C) and shows a chordal passage at the beginning of the line.

Example 15.1.b Opening of *Languueur d'amour*

Musical score for the opening of *Languueur d'amour*. It features four staves: three vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and one bass staff. The lyrics are: Lan - gueur d'a - mour. The music is in a common time signature (C) and shows a chordal passage at the beginning of the line.

<sup>1726</sup> This is a typical feature of the Parisian style of Claudin de Sermisy (Allaire/Cazeaux 1970-2014, volume III, p. XII).

Example 15.2 Openings of the second line of poetry in *A vous me rends* (15.2.a) and *Langueur d'amour* (15.2.b)

Example 15.2.a Line 2 of *A vous me rends*

11

de en qui beaul - té  
 en qui beaul - té  
 en qui beaul - té Et gra - ce plus ha -  
 en qui beaul - té et gra - ce plus

Example 15.2.b Line 2 of *Langueur d'amour*

11

Par trop a - voir get -  
 Par trop a - voir get - té la  
 Par trop a - voir get - té la vu - b -  
 Par trop a - voir get - - té la

Example 15.3 Openings of the third line of poetry in *A vous me rends* (15.3.a) and *Langueur d'amour* (15.3.b)

Example 15.3.a Line 3 of *A vous me rends*

21

de pour ser - vi - teur pour ser - vi - teur tant  
 de pour ser - vi - teur pour ser - vi - teur  
 de pour ser - vi - teur pour ser - vi - teur tant que  
 de pour ser - vi - teur pour ser - vi - teur

Example 15.3.b Line 3 of *Langueur d'amour*

18

Sur la plus bel - le que je  
 Sur la plus bel - - le que je  
 Sur la plus bel - - le sur  
 Sur la plus bel - - le sur

Example 15.4 Openings of the fourth line of poetry in *A vous me rends* (15.4.a) and *Langueur d'amour* (15.4.b)

Example 15.4.a Line 4 of *A vous me rends*

27

re Ne me soy - ez  
 re Ne me soy - ez Ne me soy - ez je  
 re Ne me soy - ez Ne  
 re Ne me soy - ez Ne me soy -

Example 15.4.b Line 4 of *Langueur d'amour*

24

se Il ne luy chault de  
 se Il ne luy chault Il ne luy chault Il ne luy chault de  
 se Il ne luy chault [Il ne luy chault]  
 cog - - nois - se Il ne luy chault Il ne luy chault

Example 15.5 Openings of the fifth line of poetry in *A vous me rends* (15.5.a) and *Langueur d'amour* (15.5.b)

Example 15.5.a Line 5 of *A vous me rends*

37  
 re veu qu'en vous mains veu qu'en vous mains  
 veu qu'en vous mains veu qu'en vous mains tout mon  
 re veu qu'en vous mains veu qu'en vous mains  
 re veu qu'en vous mains veu qu'en vous mains tout

Example 15.5.b Line 5 of *Langueur d'amour*

37  
 Et sy voy bien et sy voy bien qu'el-  
 Et sy voy bien et sy voy bien qu'el - le me  
 Et sy voy bien et sy voy bien  
 Et sy voy bien et sy voy bien qu'el - le

### 15.3.2 Use of text

The use of chordal passages obviously cuts the text and music of a chanson in pieces. But even without these chords, Gheerkin clearly prefers to model his chansons after the single lines of poetry, creating blocks of music fitting to one single text line. He does this by using contrasting themes, often in imitation.

One of Gheerkin's popular themes is the repetition of three notes. Usually, such a motif starts on a weak beat, which gives an accent to the second syllable of a word. These motifs appear in all chansons (except for *Langueur d'amour*),<sup>1727</sup> *Helas*

<sup>1727</sup> *A vous me rends*: Et grace plus habonde; *Contre raison*: Quant ta beaulté, Fault-il que grace; *D'ung profond cuer*: Escoutes donc de moy, Sy requirs donc la grace, Que

*malheur* even starts with one, and in almost all cases (except for *Oncques ne sceu avoir*) they appear in imitation. Examples 15.6 – 15.10 show some examples. Remarkable is that Gheerkin used one specific motif in two chansons: ‘quant ta beauté par ung refuz indigne’ in *Contre raison* and ‘mais d’une chose je vous prie’ in *Mon petit cueur* resemble one another very much (Examples 15.7.a and 15.10).

Example 15.6 Repetition motif in *Helas malheur*

He - las mal - heur  
He - las mal - heur  
He - las mal - heur  
He - las mal - heur

Example 15.7.a Repetition motif in *Contre raison*

10  
ne Quant ta beaul - té par ung ref -  
ne Quant ta beaul - té par ung ref - fuz in - dig - ne  
ne Quant ta beaul - té par ung ref - fuz in - dig - ne ta  
ne Quant ta beaul - té par ung ref - fuz in -

---

paradis; *Helas malheur*: Helas malheur; *Je me reprens*: Puisqu'autrement; *Mon petit cueur*: Il est a vous, Mais d'une chose; *Oncques ne sceu avoir*: Je diray bien, Se tient ung cueur; *Het was my van te voren gheseyt*: Waer ick my keere.

Example 15.7.b Repetition motif in *Contre raison*

42

ves - tu] Fault il que

tu] Fault il que gra - ce\_en ton en - Fault il que gra ce\_en ton en - droit [Fault tu] Fault il que gra - ce\_en

Example 15.8 Repetition motif in *D'ung profond cueur*

19

re Es - cou - tes donc

toy si - re] Es - cou - tes

re Es - cou - tes donc de moy re Es - cou - tes donc de moy

23

de moy Es - cou - tes donc de

done de moy Es - cou - tes donc

Es - cou - tes donc de

Es - - cou - tes donc de

Example 15.9 Repetition motif in *Je me reprends*

12

e Puis - qu'au - tre - ment n'a - vés vou - Puis - qu'au - tre - ment n'a - e Puis - qu'au - tre - ment n'a - vés vou - lu mon bien Puis - e Puis - qu'au - tre - ment n'a - vés vou - lu mon bien

Example 15.10 Repetition motif in *Mon petit coeur*

The image shows a musical score for 'Mon petit coeur' in G major, 4/4 time. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system (measures 26-31) features a vocal line and three instrumental staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The lyrics are: 'Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous pri - e'. The second system (measures 32-37) continues the vocal line and instrumental accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'e Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous pri - e e Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous pri - e Le e Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous pri - e Le vos -'. Arrows indicate a repetition motif: a melodic phrase starting on the word 'Mais' in the vocal line and the corresponding instrumental accompaniment, which is repeated in measures 29, 35, and 37.

Imitation occurs in all of Gheerkin's chansons. A fine example is *Het was my van te voren gheseyt*. Although it is not a purely imitative composition, it comes closest to it. The first six lines of poetry are all set in imitation; only lines 7 and 8 are in chordal passages. This is to be explained in three ways. First, the last two lines form the refrain of the song.<sup>1728</sup> Secondly, by using homorhythms, Gheerkin emphasizes the meaning of the text and hence the climax in the text is also found in the music. And finally, these final lines are also the only ones in direct speech.

All Gheerkin's chanson settings tell us that the composer was very sensitive towards the text which he was to set to music. Many of the texts he used are set syllabically. The accents of words almost always fall on a strong beat in the music, especially considering the first words of a line of poetry. But more importantly: in many cases there seems to be a relation between the music and the meaning of a text.

Again, the chordal passages are a fine example: besides giving shape to a composition, Gheerkin also used them to emphasize text. *Contre raison* is a good illustration. The chanson begins with chords on the words *Contre raison* ('Against reason', literally 'injustice'; Example 15.11). The next two text lines begin with

<sup>1728</sup> The text of the refrain is not the same in all strophes, but in every strophe it begins with *Ey, out grisaert*.



imitation, but the fourth line of poetry (instigating the second part of the poem) starts homophonically with the words ‘O ungrateful heart’ (Example 15.12). Not only is this text emphasized, but the chords connect texts: the ‘ungrateful heart’ causes ‘injustice’.<sup>1729</sup>

Example 15.11 *Contre raison*, beginning

Musical score for Example 15.11, *Contre raison*, beginning. The score consists of four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with lyrics: "Con - tre rai - son [Con - tre rai - son] pour". The music is in common time (C) and features a homophonic setting of the text.

Example 15.12 *Contre raison*, O cueur ingrat

Musical score for Example 15.12, *Contre raison*, O cueur ingrat. The score consists of four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with lyrics: "ba - tu] O cueur in - grat O". The score begins at measure 31 and features a homophonic setting of the text.

In several cases, the text of the poem is also underlined in the form of the composition. In *D'ung profond cueur* the superius comes to its final note three breves before the other voices (Example 15.3). The contratenor and bassus then

<sup>1729</sup> Other clear examples where the text is stressed in the music by chords are:

- *D'ung profond cueur*: en te pryant (I beg you; the words are even repeated); Car envers toy est gramment copieuze (For there is great mercy in you); Que paradis (Paradise);
- *Helas malheur*: Languir en deuil (Languish in pain; long chords are partly preceded by rests, they slow down the music, and they appear twice, on different pitches).

repeat the words ‘That my soul may acquire’ and the tenor only repeats the word *requisse* (acquire). Both text and music do not come to a completion together, thus suggesting that the first-person narrator doubts if his soul will reach paradise.

Example 15.13 Final bars of *D’ung profond cuer*

The closing of *Helas malheur* is formed by the beginning of the chanson, although only in three of the four voices and with differences in the music (Example 15.14.a and 15.14.b). The recurrence of the text and partly of the music is to be explained by the meaning of the words. The last two lines of the poem form a question: ‘Why, alas, do you pursue me, if you do not want me to quit this life?’ By repeating the first line of the poem (‘Alas, o unhappiness, do you enjoy’) Gheerkin stresses both the pursuit and fact that the suffering of the central figure has not come to an end yet, but starts all over again.<sup>1730</sup>

<sup>1730</sup> We have to keep in mind though, that because we do not know the original of the poem, we do not know if this repetition of words came with the original, or was a personal choice by Gheerkin. If it was his personal preference, he had it in common with Johannes Lupi, who also liked to repeat the first phrases, at times using the opening material in the final phrase (Blackburn 1980-1989, volume III, pp. IX-X), but also with Benedictus Appenzeller (Thompson 1975, pp. 142-146).

Example 15.14.a First bars of *Helas malheur*

Musical score for the first bars of *Helas malheur*. The score is written for four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The music is in a common time signature (C) and features a melodic line with lyrics. The lyrics are: "He - las mal - heur prens tu con - ten - te - ment De tu con - ten - te - ment prens tu con - ten - te - ment De". The score includes a measure rest at the beginning of the first line and a measure rest at the beginning of the second line.

Example 15.14.b Final bars of *Helas malheur*

Musical score for the final bars of *Helas malheur*. The score is written for four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The music is in a common time signature (C) and features a melodic line with lyrics. The lyrics are: "ment He - las mal - heur prens tu con - ten - te - ment ment He - las mal - heur prens tu con - ten - te - ment [con - ten - te - ment]". The score includes a measure rest at the beginning of the first line and a measure rest at the beginning of the second line.

Gheerkin used the repetition of the first bars of a chanson also in his chanson *Mon petit coeur*. In this four-line poem, the first and last lines of the text are set to the same music, although with small differences. We are actually dealing here with a vicious circle. A man has lost his heart (his love) to a woman. He requests her to focus her love on him alone. If she does this, his love returns to him, which he then

loses again to the woman, et cetera, et cetera. By using the same musical material in the first and last line, the vicious circle is expressed musically.<sup>1731</sup> But to create an end after all and to emphasize the cry of distress 'Keep your love for me!', Gheerkin repeats the last line of the poem in the three lower voices in chords (Example 15.15).

Example 15.15 Last bars of *Mon petit coeur*

The best example of text reflected in the form of the music, in several ways, is *Oncques ne sceu avoir*. The only five-voice chanson by Gheerkin can almost literally be cut in two pieces: lines 1-4 on the one hand and lines 5-8 on the other. The first four lines are all set in imitation, all using the same kind of strict rhythmic theme, which consists of a leap of (most of the time) a fifth to a repetition of four notes. Example 15.16 shows the four themes according to the lines of poetry.<sup>1732</sup>

And then, suddenly, the mood changes (Example 15.17): from short, syllabic imitation, the music moves to material that is rhythmically more free, with longer note values. In the text there is also a change: where in the first four lines the man describes how he was in love with a woman who never knew he existed, from lines 5-8 he concludes that the woman has rejected him, and now he sees her true character: her heart is harder than steel and colder than ice. The man has let his past go, and now he is free. The straitjacket of the short, syllabic imitation has changed to longer note values with hardly any imitation.

<sup>1731</sup> As we shall see in § 16.5, the musical circle is already present in the unison model Gheerkin used for this chanson.

<sup>1732</sup> The repetition of the melodies of the first two lines of text in the second two lines is a typical feature of the Parisian chanson (Thompson 1975, p. 141).

Example 15.16 Themes from the first four lines of poetry of *Oncques ne sceu avoir*  
(all taken from the S)

3 / 20

1. Onc - ques ne sceu a - voir si bo - ne gra - ce  
[3. En re - gar - dant son beau main - tien et (#) fa - ce]

2. D'el - le que j'ay tant loy - al - le - ment ser - vy  
[4. Sou - ven - tes fois le ceur m'est af - foy - bly]

At the same time, several text lines start to get mixed up. At first, one would think that this is a printing error by Phalèse, who himself probably thought his source was not correct, since in the second print run he made a few adjustments. But this causes even more problems, since the contratenor now does not sing line 6 at all and the bassus misses the last word in this line. Therefore: the first edition must be correct after all. If we take a look at the text, the explanation is there: ‘beneath that fair face’ ‘Hides an ungrateful and insensitive heart’; or: ‘under’ contratenor and bassus are superius, quinta pars and tenor. And to confirm this is right, the quinta pars suddenly joins the text of the contratenor and bassus, which turns the situation around. The music of the superius and tenor stops four bars earlier than the contratenor, bassus and quinta pars, who repeat ‘colder than ice’. How appropriate: slowly the music freezes.

Example 15.17 Lines 5-8 of *Oncques ne sceu avoir*

38

bly] Or donc - ques puis que suis mis en ou - bly [mis en  
bly Or donc - - ques puis que suis mis en ou - bly [mis  
bly] Puis que suis mis en ou - bly Puis que suis mis  
bly Or donc - - ques puis que suis [mis] en ou - bly [mis  
bly] Or donc - ques puis que suis mis en ou - bly [suis mis

43 (#)

ou - bly] Je di - ray bien que soubz tres  
 en ou - bly] Or donc-ques puis que suis mis en ou - bly [puis que suis  
 en ou - bly Je di - ray bien Je di - ray bien que  
 en ou - bly Je di - ray bien Je di - ray bien Je di - ray bien que  
 en ou - bly] Je di - ray bien Je

48

bel - le fa - ce Se tient ung ceur  
 mis] en ou - bly Je [di - ray bien] Je [di - ray  
 soubz tres bel - le fa - ce Se tient ung  
 soubz tres bel - le fa - ce Se tient ung ceur Se tient ung ceur [Se  
 di - ray bien que soubz tres bel - le Je di - ray bien Je

53 #

Se tient ung ceur in - grat et en - dur - cy Plus  
 bien] Que soubz tres bel - le fa - ce [que soubz tres bel - le fa -  
 ceur Se tient ung ceur in - grat et en - dur - cy [et en -  
 tient ung ceur] in - grat et en - dur - cy  
 di - ray bien que soubz tres bel - le fa - ce Se

58

dur qu'a - - - - - cier Et plus froid que la gla - ce Et  
ce Se tient ung cœur in - grat et en - dur - - - - -  
dur - cy] [se tient ung cœur] in - grat et en - dur - cy Plus dur  
Plus dur qu'a - cier [plus dur qu'a - cier [Plus dur qu'a -  
tient ung cœur in - grat et en - dur - cy [et en - dur - cy] Plus dur qu'a -

63

plus froid que la gla - - - - - ce [Et plus froid  
- cy Plus dur qu'a - cier et plus froid que la gla - ce Plus dur  
qu'a - cier [Plus dur qu'a - cier et plus froid  
cier] Plus dur qu'a - cier et plus froid que la gla - ce et  
cier et plus froid que la gla - ce et plus froid que la

68

que la gla - ce (#)  
qu'a - - - - - cier et plus froid que la gla - - - - - ce  
que la gla - ce [et plus froid que la gla - ce  
plus froids que la gla - ce  
gla - - - - - ce et plus froid que la gla - ce

There are quite a few moments in Gheerkin's chansons where he uses simple forms of word-painting. In five chansons he stresses text by excessively repeating the words (Table 15.4).

Table 15.4 Examples of excessively repeating the words

Chanson	Text	Meaning	Number of times
<i>A vous me rends</i>	ne me soyez	do not be [...] on me	9
<i>D'ung profond cueur</i>	escoutes donc de moy	listen to me	7
<i>Helas malheur</i>	misericorde	mercy (request for mercy)	6
	Pour quoy	Why?	4; voice pairs, homophony
<i>Je me reprens</i>	Je me reprens	I hold it against myself	15
<i>Mon petit cueur</i>	Ma is d'une chose je vous prie	I beg but one thing of you	8; in 12 bars only this line, on the same note (d) <sup>1733</sup> in all voices

In the chanson *Contre raison*, another type of word-painting is used. In this chanson imitation plays an important role and is carried out very systematically. However, the music accompanying the text of line 3 ('has suddenly struck me almost dead'), the longest musical part of the chanson, shows a discontinuity in the setting's structure (Example 15.18). The short *m'a sur le camp* motif in the tenor starts on B (bar 17), but turns out to be a fake start of the imitation, since it is 'imitated' by the superius on E, but with a leap of a third, and not a second. Next, we hear the superius motif in the bassus, also on E. Then, it appears in the contratenor on D and finally in the superius again on A. In short: we can hear this particular motif on four different pitches. Moreover, at the same time, the tenor and bassus proceed in consecutive octaves in contrary motion (both from D to A; bars 19-20), a movement not appreciated in the sixteenth century, and in fact more or less 'forbidden'.<sup>1734</sup>

<sup>1733</sup> Not all in the same octave, but all on d.

<sup>1734</sup> Although it is not the purpose of this book to give a profound theoretical analysis of the music, this is one aspect in view of the conventions for composers to keep that cannot be left out here, since it was used by Gheerkin on purpose. The prohibition to use



Then, only the bassus and tenor repeat the motif, on D and on A (bars 23-24). Next, an attempt is made to re-establish imitation, this time in the contratenor and superius and the bassus and tenor, without lasting effect (bars 27-28). And to conclude: a musical motif is repeated in more than one voice, but it turns out impossible to place the text under the notes in the same way (bars 26-27 in contratenor and bassus, bars 30-31 in tenor), showing – again – a failure in the imitation.

The failing imitation, the consecutive octaves in contrary motion and the apparent repetition: it almost looks like a battleground and definitely sounds like it. Gheerkin was almost fatally injured by his own notes. The words *struck me almost dead* are stressed even more, when the music comes to a full stop at the end of the poetic line 3 to enhance the dramatic effect (bar 32).

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consecutive fourths, fifths and octaves – because they conflict with striving for variety – is described in several treatises on musical theory, the most important ones in the scope of this study are the works by Gioseffo Zarlino (Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, Venice 1558) and Nicola Vicentino (*L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, Rome 1555); for this book the descriptions and summaries given in Grijp/Scheepers 1990 are used, see especially pp. 339-340 and 380-381).

Example 15.18 Line 3 of *Contre raison*: m'a sur le camp presque mort abatu

17

dig - ne M'a sur le camp m'a sur le camp pres -  
 ne M'a sur le camp pres - que mort  
 ne M'a sur le camp pres - que mort a - ba - tu [m'a sur le  
 dig - ne] M'a sur [le] camp [M'a sur le camp]

21

que mort a - ba - tu M'a sur  
 a - ba - tu pres -  
 camp] pres - que mort a - ba - tu M'a sur le  
 pres - que mort a - ba - tu M'a sur le camp pres

25

le camp pres - que mort a - ba - tu [m'a sur le  
 que mort a - ba - tu M'a sur le camp pres -  
 camp pres - que mort a - ba - tu M'a  
 que mort a - ba - a - tu M'a sur le

29

camp pres - que mort a - ba - tu] O  
 que mort a - ba - tu O  
 sur le camp pres - que mort a - ba - tu O  
 camp pres - que mort a - ba - tu O

One of the most intriguing illustrations of word-painting Gheerkin used in his chansons is to be found in the first ten bars of *Je me repréens* (Example 15.19). The motif with which the chanson opens consists of three leaps of a fourth, a setting we do not find in any of the other chansons Gheerkin composed. The motif returns as many as fifteen times in the first nine bars, creating as many as seven – unwanted – consecutive octaves in contrary motion (under the letters A to G in the example). In the next fifty-five measures, there is not a single consecutive octave in contrary motion. Therefore, this setting must be considered a deliberate attempt by Gheerkin to bring out the meaning of the text in the music itself.

If we look at the text, the explanation indeed seems to be there: *Je me repréens de vous avoir aimée* means *I hold it against myself that I have loved you*. The person in love in this poem holds it against himself that he has loved someone; Gheerkin de Hondt undoubtedly held it against himself that he wrote consecutive octaves in contrary motion that, according to the conventions of his time, should have been absent from his music. An extra argument for the statement that the consecutive octaves were written on purpose is the fact that they do not appear in the rest of the chanson,<sup>1735</sup> and that the setting of the first line of the poem is not connected with those of the following lines. The music continues in a quite normal fashion. Furthermore, Gheerkin also used this motif in his motets, but there it does not lead to any unwanted parallels.<sup>1736</sup>

Gheerkin de Hondt turns out to be very sensitive towards the meaning of the texts he used for his chansons. The above-described styles of the Parisian school and the Franco-Flemish composers from after 1500 both fit Gheerkin's chansons, although – surprisingly for a typical composer from the Low Countries – they follow the Parisian style a little more: they closely follow the rhythm of the words of the text; are often syllabically set, only using small melismas towards the end; the structure of the chanson corresponds to the lines of poetry; homophonic (chordal) passages are common and where polyphony (imitation) is used it is simple. However, the typical Franco-Flemish imitative style, contrasting with chordal passages, with a full texture of music, but also using thinner passages with voice pairs<sup>1737</sup> occurs as well. And in the majority of Gheerkin's chansons both styles are combined.<sup>1738</sup>

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<sup>1735</sup> In fact, in Gheerkin's chansons only in three more places these unwanted parallels in contrary motion appear: in the above described *Contre raison*; in *Oncques ne sceu avoir*: tenor and bass with the words *plus dur* (harder) and *endurcy* (insensitive); in *D'ung parfond cueur*: tenor and bass with the word *exquisse* (special).

<sup>1736</sup> See § 14.3.2, specifically examples 14.6-14.11.

<sup>1737</sup> Voice pairs occur in *A vous me rends* ('et grace plus habonde'), *Helas malheur* ('pour quoy'), *Je me repréens* ('oncques en vous vie' and 'ne vostre cueur'), *Mon petit cueur*

Example 15.19 *Je me reprens*, first ten bars

The musical score consists of three systems, each with four staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The first system (bars 1-4) is labeled with sections A, B, C, and D. The second system (bars 5-8) is labeled with sections E and F. The third system (bars 9-10) is labeled with section G. The lyrics are: 'Je me re - prens de vous a - voir Je me re - prens de vous a - voir ay - me - e Je me re - prens de vous a - voir ay - me - e Puis -'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and slurs.

1738 ('mais d'une chose je vous prie') and *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt* ('Ey out grysaert'). Since Gheerkin seems to be so familiar with the Parisian chanson, one would almost think he spent time in France. If he did, perhaps he studied in Paris, before he became *zangmeester* in Delft in 1521, or he was in France between 1524 and 1530. Thompson makes a similar suggestion for Benedictus Appenzeller's familiarity with the Parisian chanson (Thompson 1984, pp. 144-145). But of course, Gheerkin could also have known the Parisian chanson from other sources, for example the famous publications by Pierre Attaignant or Jacques Moderne.

#### 15.4 **Conflicting attributions: *A vous me rends* and *Het was my van te voren gheseyt***

The question remains if on the basis of style, the chanson *A vous me rends* and the lied *Het was my van te voren gheseyt* could have been composed by Gheerkin.

As shown above, the resemblance between *A vous me rends* and *Langueur d'amour* is striking. Furthermore, the use of chordal passages seems to be a characteristic feature of Gheerkin de Hondt to give shape to his chansons, as well as to stress the text. And finally, this chanson contains many repetition motifs, another characteristic feature of Gheerkin's style.

The same goes for *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt*: it contains the characteristic chordal passages and repetition motifs, although these last ones already belonged to the musical model for this composition. But perhaps this was what attracted Gheerkin to use the monophonic model for his polyphonic composition.

On the basis of style, the two works could indeed be composed by Gheerkin de Hondt, since they contain several elements that are characteristic for his style.

#### 15.5 **Other composers using the same texts**

Some of the poems used by Gheerkin de Hondt also caught the attention of other composers and remarkably they are especially the ones of which we have a text source in an older song book. Table 15.5 gives an overview of versions of the chanson texts used by Gheerkin de Hondt that were also used by other composers.<sup>1739</sup>

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<sup>1739</sup> The list is put together by using the worklists of composers in <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>, by using secondary literature on prints in general, for example Vanhulst 1990, and by checking tables of contents of manuscripts and prints.

Table 15.5 Other composers using the same texts for their chansons

Chanson	Composer	Source(s)
<i>A vous me rends</i>	Benedictus Appenzeller: for 4 voices	- CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 87r; - GdańPAN 4003, no. 70; - Henry Loys & Jehan de Buys, <i>Des chansons a quatre parties, composez par M[aitre] Benedictus: M[aitre] de la Chapelle de Madame la Regente, Douagiere de Honguerie &amp;c.</i> , Antwerpen aoust 1542, fol. 12v.
<i>Contre raison pour t'aymer</i>	Benedictus Appenzeller: for 4 voices	- CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 120r; - Henry Loys & Jehan de Buys, <i>Des chansons a quatre parties, composez par M[aitre] Benedictus: M[aitre] de la Chapelle de Madame la Regente, Douagiere de Honguerie &amp;c.</i> , Antwerpen aoust 1542, fol. 10v.
<i>Je me reprens de vous avoir aymée</i>	Anonymous: for 1 voice	- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. 12744, no. 23.
	Anonymous: for 3 voices	- Kopenhagen, Ny kgl. Samling 1848 2°, p. 149. <sup>1740</sup>
	Anonymous: - for lute solo; - for 1 voice and lute accompaniment.	- Pierre Attaignant, <i>Tres breve et familiere introduction pour entendre &amp; apprendre par soy mesmes a iouer toutes chansons reduictes en la tabulature du Lutz, avec la maniere daccorder le dict Lutz. Ensemble xxxix chansons dont la pluspart dicelles sont en deux sortes, cest assavoir a deux parties &amp; la musique. Et a troys sans musique</i> , Paris 6 octobre 1529, fol. 29v and 30-v.
<i>Mon petit cueur n'est pas à moy</i>	Anonymous: for 1 voice	- Manuscrit de Bayeux, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 9346, no. 2.

<sup>1740</sup> On this manuscript: Christoffersen 1994 and Kraft 2009, pp. 44, 61-64.

Anonymous: for 3 voices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Andrea Antico / Luca Antonio Giunta, <i>Chansons à troys</i>, Venezia 15 octobre 1520 (RISM 1520<sup>6</sup>);</li> <li>- George Rhaw, <i>Tricinia. Tum veterum tum recentiorum in arte musica symphonistarum, latina, germanica, brabantica &amp; gallica, ante hac typis nunquam excusa, observato in disponendo tonorum ordine, quo utentibus sint accomodatiora</i>, Wittenberg 1542 (RISM 1542<sup>8</sup>), no. 70.</li> </ul>
Anonymous: for 4 voices (canonic)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Andrea Antico, <i>Motetti novi et chanzoni franciose a quatro sopra doi</i>, Venezia 15 octobre 1520 (RISM 1520<sup>3</sup>), fol. 29v.</li> </ul>
Anonymous: for 6 voices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tielman Susato, <i>Le treziesme livre contenant vingt et deux chansons nouvelles a six et a huyt parties</i>, Antwerp 1550 (RISM 1550<sup>14</sup>), fols. 3r (S, Ct), 4r (Qp), 2v (T, B), 3v (sexta pars).</li> </ul>
Guillaume Le Heurteur / Claudin de Sermisy: for 2 voices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- GdańPAN 4003, Q (anonymous);</li> <li>- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Musica MS 260, no. 89 (anonymous);</li> <li>- Jacques Moderne, <i>Le Parangon des chansons. Quart livre contenant XXXII chansons a deux et a troys parties</i>, Lyon 1538 (RISM 1538<sup>18</sup>), fol. 11, (Heurteur); reprint RISM 1539<sup>19</sup>;</li> <li>- Antonio Gardane, <i>Canzoni francese a due voci di Ant. Gardane, et di altri autori</i>, Venezia 1539 (RISM 1539<sup>21</sup>), p. 16 (Heurteur); reprint RISM 1544<sup>14</sup>, 1552<sup>16</sup>, 1564<sup>13</sup> (ascribed to Claudin), 1586<sup>6</sup>;</li> <li>- George Rhaw, <i>Bicinia gallica, latina, germanica, ex praestantissimis musicorum monumentis collecta, &amp; secundum seriem tonorum disposita, Tomus primus</i>, Wittenberg 1545 (RISM 1545<sup>6</sup>), no. XV (Heurteur).</li> </ul>

Adriaen Willaert: for 4 voices (canonic)

- CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 86r (2 versions of canon written out, the second one having more embellishments).
- Andrea Antico, *Motetti novi et chanzoni francoise a quatro sopra doi*, Venezia 15 oktober 1520 (RISM 1520<sup>3</sup>), fol. 33v.

Cipriano de Rore: for 8 voices

- Tielman Susato, *Le treziesme livre contenant vingt et deux chansons nouvelles a six et a huyt parties. Propices a tous instrumentz musicaulx. Composées par divers autheurs. Nouvellement imprimé*, Antwerp 1550 (RISM 1550<sup>14</sup>), fols. 5v (S I en II, Ct I), fol. 6v (Ct II, Qp), 4-v (T, B), 5r (B II).

Anonymous: for lute (title: *Mon petit nose*)

- Hans Günther, *Das erst Buch. Ein newes Lautenbüchlein mit vil feiner lieblichen Liedern für die jungen Schuler die fein leicht und gantz ring zu lernen seind auch etlich feine Tentz welisch und frantzösische Stück die fein artlich und lieblich collerirt mit sünderm Fleys verfast und zusammen gebracht durch mich Hansen Newsilder Lutennisten und Burger zu Nürnberg öffentlich aussgangen ...*, Nürnberg 1544 (RISM 1544<sup>24</sup>), fol. H1v.
- Christoff Gutknecht, *Das erst Buch. Ein newes Lautenbüchlein mit vil feiner lieblichen Liedern, für die jungen Schuler ... auch etlich feine Tentz welisch unnd frantzösische Stück, die fein artlich unnd lieblich collerirt ...verfast unnd zusammen gebracht durch mich Hansen Neusidler Lutenisten ...öffentlich aussgangen*, Nürnberg 1547 (RISM 1547<sup>26</sup>), fol. H1v.



Anonymous: for lute	- Christian Müller, <i>Lautten Buch, von mancherley schönen und lieblichen Stucken mit zweyen Lauten zusammen zuschlagen, und auch sonst das mehrer Theyl allein für sich selbst. Gute teutsche lateinische frantzösische italienische Stuck oder Lieder ... Durch Wolffen Heckel ... in ein verstendige Tabulatur nach geschribner Art aussgesetzt und zasamen gebracht</i> , Strasbourg 1562 (RISM 1562 <sup>24</sup> ), p. 171.
<i>Het was my van te voren gheseyt</i>	Anonymous: only text - <i>Antwerps Liedboek</i> , no. 26

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Immediately striking are the first two chanson texts *A vous me rends* and *Contre raison*, also used by Benedictus Appenzeller.<sup>1741</sup> All four chansons of Appenzeller and Gheerkin have come down to us in the Zeghere van Male partbooks.

Furthermore, the two settings of *A vous me rends* are also in the Gdańsk partbooks, even on opposite pages.

The resemblances between Gheerkin's *A vous me rends* and Appenzeller's version are striking. Both settings are short and very simple (Appenzeller's setting is even more simple than Gheerkin's) and the text lines 1, 2, 3 and 5 start with chords.<sup>1742</sup> The harmonies in the chords are often almost (or even exactly) the same; sometimes only the position of the notes in the voices differs. Even the repetition of the words 'pour serviteur' in line 3 is remarkable, although both composers handled them in a slightly different musical way: Appenzeller repeats the first three of the four chords, Gheerkin the last three. Different is the treatment of text line 4: Gheerkin starts with simple imitation, Appenzeller uses free material in voice pairs. The chansons are so much alike, that the scribe of the Gdańsk partbooks made a mistake: he initially exchanged the bassus parts of both chansons, but noticed his mistake and added a note that they had to be switched: 'Verte folium no. 70 canta'.

The situation with *Contre raison* is slightly different. Here Gheerkin starts with chords, almost literally repeated after a rest in all voices, whereas Appenzeller starts his chanson with free material, which he continues for text lines 2 and 3. But both composers come to a complete stop in their music after line 3: 'm'a sur le camp

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<sup>1741</sup> Both settings by Appenzeller are published in Thompson 1982; this edition is used for the comparison with Gheerkin's chansons.

<sup>1742</sup> See examples 16.1-16.5 for Gheerkin's chanson and Thompson 1982, pp. 40-42 for Appenzeller's.

presque mort abatu',<sup>1743</sup> to continue with chords on the words 'O cueur ingrat'. In both versions of the chanson line 5 then starts with imitation in all voices, the only line where Appenzeller actually uses a light form of imitation in this chanson. Both composers also repeat the last two lines of the chanson. Therefore, the similarities between these two versions of *Contre raison* are strong.

This clear resemblance of the two chansons brought Pieter Andriessen to the conclusion that Gheerkin rewrote Appenzeller's chanson, with the model in his mind.<sup>1744</sup> But it might be more than that. Appenzeller was about ten years older than Gheerkin and was *zangmeester* of Gheerkin's home church Sint-Jacobs in 1518-1519. Wherever Gheerkin was in those years, his close family was familiar with Appenzeller and his music. It is possible that the two men met in Bruges, or even elsewhere. Anyhow, the facts that both men are among the best-represented composers in Zeghere van Male's partbooks, that Appenzeller visited 's-Hertogenbosch in 1545 (in the retinue of Mary of Hungary) where he sang with Gheerkin and that he is represented in the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbooks which were compiled when Gheerkin was *zangmeester* there, at least suggest a respectful fellowship, or even friendship, which had probably started as a master-pupil relationship. Therefore, either both men worked together on these settings, perhaps as master-pupil, or one paid a tribute to the other. And maybe we even have to see Gheerkin's chanson *Langueur d'amour* – which so much resembles his *A vous me rends* – as a tribute to Benedictus Appenzeller.

The chansons of Benedictus Appenzeller have been the subject of a study by Glenda Goss Thompson.<sup>1745</sup> Summarizing, Thompson states that Appenzeller's music contains 'such Netherlandish features as long melismatic lines, points of imitation, and the polyphonic overlapping of phrases', but 'also exhibits many characteristics of the so-called Parisian chanson – homophonic textures, syllabic text settings, terse motifs, and repeated structures [...]. These French and Flemish features are often intermingled [...]. At other times the two styles appear in succession, a homophonic beginning followed by points of imitation prolonged into rather elaborate polyphony.'<sup>1746</sup> Furthermore, she concludes that Appenzeller used the structure and texture of his chansons to express the text in his music, and that the music conveys the underlying text; features also used by his contemporaries, for

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<sup>1743</sup> This rest in Appenzeller's version of the chanson is only in the 1542 print, in the Cambrai partbooks the contratenor and tenor have no rest.

<sup>1744</sup> Andriessen 2002, p. 271.

<sup>1745</sup> Thompson 1975. *A vous me rends* is discussed on pages 129, 142, 159-161, 165-166, *Contre raison* on pp. 125-129, 138-139, 153-155.

<sup>1746</sup> Thompson 1984, p. 144. For a more profound analyses of Appenzeller's chansons, see Thompson 1975, pp. 123-186.

example Clemens non Papa, Crecquillon, Richafort, Gombert and Manchicourt.<sup>1747</sup> The compositions and careers of all these men have passed in review during the course of this book and by now, we may add Gheerkin de Hondt to this list.

Benedictus Appenzeller also used pre-existing monophonic melodies for his polyphonic chansons, four of them are in the *Manuscrit de Bayeux*.<sup>1748</sup> This manuscript also contains a monophonic version of the chanson *Mon petit cueur* (Example 15.20), which was used by Gheerkin de Hondt.

Example 15.20 *Mon petit cueur*, Manuscrit de Bayeux

He- las mon cueur n'est pas a moy

Il est a vous ma doul-ce\_a-my - e

Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous pri - e

C'est vos - tre\_a - mour gar - dez la moy

Gheerkin adopted the melody of this model in his own polyphonic version of the text. When we reduce the melody to fundamental pitches, the similarities become clear and it turns out that Gheerkin's use of the same musical material in the first and last text line, supporting the meaning of the text, is derived from the monophonic model (Example 15.21).

<sup>1747</sup> Thompson 1975, pp. 143-170.

<sup>1748</sup> Thompson 1975, p. 126, 146-147.

Example 15.21 *Mon petit coeur*, Manuscrit de Bayeux and Gheerkin (T), reduced

Bayeux  
He - las mon coeur n'est pas a moy

Gheerkin (T)  
Mon pe - tit coeur n'est pas a moy

Bayeux  
Il est a vous ma dou - ce\_a - my - e

Gheerkin (T)  
Il est a vous ma dou - ce\_a - my - e

Bayeux  
Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous prie

Gheerkin (T)  
8 Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous prie

Bayeux  
C'est vos - tre\_a - mour gar - dez le moy

Gheerkin (T)  
C'est vos - tre\_a - mour gar - dez le moy

*Mon petit coeur* must have been quite a popular piece, since the text was used by several composers: besides Gheerkin's chanson no fewer than six vocal and two instrumental versions (for lute) have been preserved.<sup>1749</sup> Five of these settings are anonymous, one is by Guillaume le Heurteur or Claudin de Sermisy, one is by Cipriano de Rore and one is by Adriaen Willaert. This last version is a canon, which can be sung in two different ways.

<sup>1749</sup> The two versions for lute have been left out here, since comparing lute tablature to vocal scores is difficult. Besides, the lute tablatures date from after Gheerkin's chanson.

Apart from the anonymous setting for six voices, all other settings can – more or less – be traced back to the particular model in the *Manuscrit de Bayeux*. However, only Gheerkin's version and the anonymous 3- and 4-voice settings are very closely related to each other and to the *Bayeux* model; in the other chansons the musical model has been handled with more freedom.<sup>1750</sup> Especially the tenor voice of Gheerkin's chanson and the 1520<sup>6</sup> song are almost identical; the differences are easily explained by scribal preferences or variations. Example 15.22 shows the themes in the three versions of Gheerkin, 1520<sup>6</sup> and 1520<sup>3</sup>.<sup>1751</sup>

The striking resemblances between these three versions suggest that Gheerkin was familiar with these settings, or even that he was the composer. Assuming he was born around 1495, this last possibility is a realistic one, especially since it was not uncommon to first compose a three-part version and later a four-part one.

Although the *Antwerps Liedboek* does not contain any music, later editions of Dutch song books do give references to melodies in combination with music. Therefore, the monophonic melody of *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt* has been identified with the help of the 1565 edition by Ian Fruytiers (*Ecclesiasticus*).<sup>1752</sup> The melody in Gheerkin's superius is broadly speaking the same as the melody in Fruytiers. The small differences are easily explained by the fact that it dates more than twenty years after the Antwerp songbook and the composition by Gheerkin. Besides, variations might already have existed in the early 1540s. Example 15.23 shows the two melodic lines.

The last chanson of which we have a pre-existing, monophonic melody is *Je me reprens*. In this case, however, Gheerkin's setting is quite distinct; there are no relations whatsoever between Gheerkin's melodic material and the monophonic song.<sup>1753</sup>

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<sup>1750</sup> In turn, the chansons by Le Heurteur/De Sermisy and De Rore are closely related to each other.

<sup>1751</sup> Brown 1965 states that the two lute versions of *Mon petit coeur* do show resemblances with the 1520<sup>3</sup> version.

<sup>1752</sup> Van der Poel/Geirnaert/Joldersma/Oosterman/Grijp 2004, volume 1, p. 64. See also <http://www.liederenbank.nl>.

<sup>1753</sup> The polyphonic chanson in Copenhagen is clearly related to the monophonic model in Paris, although here too the text is different at some points. On the Copenhagen source: Christoffersen 1994, especially volume 1, pp. 152-153, volume 2, p. 92 and volume 3, pp. 26-27. Kraft 2009, p. 185 also mentions two chansons which use the seventh strophe of the original, namely *Cest grand malheur*, although with small text differences. One of the versions might be by Claudin de Sermisy, the other is anonymous. These two

Example 15.22 *Mon petit coeur*: Gheerkin, 1520<sup>6</sup> and 1520<sup>3</sup>

Gheerkin (T)  
 Mon pe - tit coeur n'est pas a moy

1520<sup>6</sup> (T)  
 Mon pe - tit coeur n'est pas a moy

1520<sup>3</sup>  
 Mon pe - tit coeur n'est pas a moy

Il est a vous ma doul - ce\_a-my - e

Il est a vous ma doul - ce\_a-my - e

Il est a vous ma doul - ce\_a-my - e

Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous pri - e

Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous pri - e

Mais d'u - ne cho - se je vous pri - e

Le vos - tre\_a - mour gar - dez le moy

La vos - tre\_a - mour gar - dez la moy

Le vos - tre\_a - mour gar - dez la moy

chansons do not have any musical relation with either Gheerkin's composition or the Paris/Kopenhagen versions.

Example 15.23 *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt*, Fruytiers 1565 and Gheerkin (S)

Fruytiers

Gheerkin

Het was my van te vo - ren ghe - seyt

Fruytiers

Gheerkin

Dat hij was van slut - zaerts ben - de

Fruytiers

Gheerkin

Waer ick mij kee - re waer ick my wen - de

Fruytiers

Gheerkin

Mijn man en is niet wel mijn vrient

Fruytiers

Gheerkin

Eij oudt grijs - aert dat ick u noijt en ken - de

Fruytiers

Gheerkin

Want ghij en hebt niet dat mij dient

## 15.6 Summary

The sources in which Gheerkin's chansons are preserved range from Flanders to Italy and from Poland/Germany to France; therefore we may say that they were known all over Europe. This also goes for about half of the texts that formed the basis for Gheerkin's chanson oeuvre: five of them are known from other musical or text sources, the author of which can be identified only in one case (Jean Marot, *Contre raison*). Some of the texts are old (from shortly after 1450), others seem to date from the 1530s. By far the majority of Gheerkin's chanson texts have (unhappy) love as theme; only two chansons have different subjects: the grace of God (*D'ung parfond cueur*) and unhappiness in general (*Helas malheur*).

Characteristic for Gheerkin's chanson style is his careful handling of the texts. He was very well aware of the meaning of the texts he worked with, and he also closely followed the rhythm of the words. In all of his chansons we can make more than one connection between the content of the text and the music. Gheerkin made these relations in three ways. First, he used texts which sometimes differed from the more widely known ones, suggesting he adjusted them on purpose. Then, he employed several compositional techniques to express the text in his music, for example chordal passages, consecutive octaves in contrary motion, contrasting themes, reuse of phrases and excessively repeating of motifs/words. Finally, all his chansons have a clear shape, often serving the meaning of the text, the lines of poetry mostly forming the basis of the parts of a chanson. A favourite motif Gheerkin uses in his chansons is the repetition of three notes.

Gheerkin also used pre-existing melodies (*Mon petit cueur* and *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt*), placing them in all the voices, not only in the upper or tenor voice, hence connecting more to the Franco-Flemish style than the Parisian one. Nevertheless, the chanson style of Gheerkin de Hondt comes close to the Parisian style, although he often combines the two styles.

Four of the chanson texts were set to music by other composers. Clear resemblances are visible between Gheerkin's and Benedictus Appenzeller's version of *Contre raison* and especially *A vous me rends*, thus suggesting at least a respectful fellowship, but probably a master-pupil relation. In general, Gheerkin's chanson style closely resembles Appenzeller's.

On the basis of style, the chanson *A vous me rends* and the Dutch song *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt* could indeed have been composed by Gheerkin, *A vous me rends* having many resemblances with *Langueur d'amour*.



As a composer of chansons, Gheerkin de Hondt was a professional, who closely kept in mind the relation between text and music, and who was clearly familiar with the literary and musical work of his predecessors and contemporaries.

## Conclusion

The search for Gheerkin de Hondt as a *zangmeester* (Part I) and composer (Part II) yielded new insights, which I will sum up here.

The first trace of Gheerkin de Hondt is found in the archives of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, where he became *coraelmeester* on 3 June 1521. He left the church in 1523 (probably in December), to return on 1 August 1530. In March 1532 he left again, 'without saying goodbye'. A few months later, on 13 July 1532, Gheeraert de Hondt is mentioned in a copy of a foundation act as *zangmeester* of the Sint-Jacobskerk in Bruges. He served until the end of 1539, when he was appointed *zangmeester* of the chapter of the Sint-Janskerk and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch; he received his first payment there on 31 December of 1539. Because his wife did not take good care of the choirboys, who were maintained under his supervision, he was fired unilaterally by the chapter on 2 October 1547. According to the accounts of the Broederschap, Gheerkin left for 'Vrieslant', taking one of the choirboys (named Simon) with him. After that, we lose track of him.

Gheerkin de Hondt was born in Bruges, probably around 1495. His father, Jacob de Hondt, was a *tegheldeckker* (roofer/slater/tiler) who was highly respected in the city, where he was an important man in his trade. Jacob was married to a certain Lysbeth Joye, daughter of Abel Joye, a tailor (*sceppere*). Together they had at least three children who were younger than Gheerkin: Franchois, Magdaleene and Jooris, the last one also being a *tegheldeckker*. Jacob de Hondt was a prosperous man when he died in 1546: his legacy consisted of five houses and a small house in the Geerwijnstraat, next to the Prinsenhof (the 15th-century luxurious palace of the Burgundian court). Jacob was not the first member of the De Hondt family to be a *tegheldeckker* in Bruges: both his father and grandfather had the same occupation, and they all lived in the wealthy parish of Sint-Jacobs. It seems to have been a true roofer family: city documents mention at least five more men with the same profession. The family was esteemed: almost every year between 1470 and 1577 a member is represented in the *Ambachtsbesturen* (boards of the crafts) and for many years they functioned as the city tilers. Gheerkin's father probably had at least one brother who was not a roofer but was also well-to-do: Adriaen de Hondt, who bought *lijfrentes* for Jacob's minor son and daughter Franchois and Magdaleene in 1536/37. Jacob

himself became guardian of the choirboys of the Sint-Jacobskerk, from 1532/33 onwards.

The name De Hondt was a common one in Bruges – as it was in the entire county of Flanders, and many of the family members were parishioners of the Sint-Jacobskerk. Another branche of the De Hondt family had quite a few grocers. One of them was also called Gheeraert de Hondt. He has led to confusion with his contemporary namesake, the *zangmeester*, because both men lived in the parish of Sint-Jacob, where their dead children were buried. But I was able to demonstrate that it was Gheeraert the *crudenier* who was buried in the church in March 1562 and not Gheeraert the *zangmeester*.

That Gheerkin de Hondt was born in Bruges is confirmed by a legal document of February 1540. Gheeraert de *zangher* takes out a summons against a fellow townsman, referring to the sale of a pied mare on 2 December 1539. The judgement was passed *Ten poorterssche*, meaning that both men were burghers of the city of Bruges. Since Gheerkin did not buy his citizenship after he had come to Bruges in 1532, he must have been born there, probably around 1495.

In the first half of the 16th century, Bruges was losing its prominent trading position to the city of Antwerp, but was still an important and large city (housing approximately 42,000 inhabitants), with a capital spent among other things on art. Bruges was still a Mecca for music. From the 15th century onwards, in no fewer than six churches the liturgy was celebrated by professional singers and musicians, among them famous composers like Jacob Obrecht, Lupus Hellinck and Benedictus Appenzeller, singing music of colleagues working all over Europe. Gheerkin must have had a fine basic musical education in Bruges, although we do not have any concrete information about it. He also might have been a choirboy and singer in other towns. There are no indications that he completed his training with a university degree.

Gheerkin's career shows an upward trend. Delft was one of the leading cities in Holland (with approximately 12,000 inhabitants) and had two parish churches where professional music was sung, whereas in Bruges (42,000 inhabitants) there were six churches where the liturgy was celebrated with polyphony. The Sint-Jacobskerk, however, was 'just' a parish church, like the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft. Gheerkin's last known position as *zangmeester* was in 's-Hertogenbosch (circa 20,000 inhabitants), where there was only one large church, however, it functioned both as a parish and a collegiate church.

Because of the trajectory of Gheerkin's professional life, it remains a mystery why he chose to go to 'Vrieslant' after he was fired in 's-Hertogenbosch. Many of his colleagues proved that dismissal was no hindrance in getting an equal or even better

position somewhere else. But to go work in Friesland – in the upper north of the Low Countries – was clearly a large step backwards for a professional *zangmeester* and composer with such a good record of service as Gheerkin had. The Broederschap clearly did not want Gheerkin to leave and might have had an influence on the choice for Friesland: an elegant solution for a delicate question.

None of Gheerkin's appointment texts has been preserved. But from the appointment texts of other *zangmeesters* in the same churches and payments to Gheerkin and his colleagues we are able to describe his duties. His tasks were mainly liturgical. In all churches Gheerkin led the singing of the daily Divine Office and High Mass. Furthermore, there were other Masses, major feasts, feasts of saints, processions, *Lof* services, Requiem and memorial services for parishioners, personal foundations and celebrations by brotherhoods, guilds and crafts having their own altars in the church. As leader of the group, Gheerkin chose the polyphony to be sung and was also responsible for the recruitment of the singers and the musical education of the choirboys; in 's-Hertogenbosch the boys were kept in his care. Composing probably did not officially belong to his job responsibilities, but in 's-Hertogenbosch it was appreciated and at least once he was paid an extra remuneration for composing some motets.

The repertoire sung during the liturgical services was many-sided. Masses and motets by famous composers and *Kleinmeister* from all over Europe was on the music stand, but also local singers added their own compositions to the musical collections in the churches. Only one set of music books Gheerkin used during his work has been preserved, namely the one in 's-Hertogenbosch belonging to the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. It contains both chant and polyphony, written by local priests, one of them (Philippus de Spina) being a singer for the chapter and the Broederschap, but also from the famous workshop of Petrus Alamire. All music was used during the liturgy held in the private chapel of the Broederschap, and includes music for Vespers, Masses, feasts, *Lof* services and memorial services. It can be divided in three main categories: 1) music for Marian devotion, 2) music for specific feasts and saints and 3) music for general use. As it turned out, Gheerkin had an influence on the compilation of at least two of the manuscripts, both most likely dating from the 1540s, which says something about his personal taste.

The singers performing the music under Gheerkin's direction were part of a large network, and came mainly from the Low Countries and northern France. One of them, Gommaar van Lier, probably sang under Gheerkin's supervision both in Delft and in 's-Hertogenbosch. Another one, Franciscus of Namur, might have sung with Gheerkin in Delft and in 's-Hertogenbosch, and worked as a singer in the church of Our Lady in Bruges when Gheerkin was *zangmeester* in the Sint-

Jacobskerk, but we also have to take into account that it might have been two or even three different persons. Finally, Hendrik de Mol van Mechelen was already in 's-Hertogenbosch when Gheerkin arrived there, but the men had previously met in the early 1520s, when they both sang at the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft.

All churches where Gheerkin worked attracted guest singers. Some of them came to seek a job, others only passed by to sing with former colleagues and friends. In 's-Hertogenbosch there were quite a few important guests when Gheerkin worked there: the *zangmeesters* of important churches in Antwerp and Dordrecht, but also the *zangmeesters* and singers of Emperor Charles V (among them Thomas Crecquillon and Cornelius Canis) and the governess of the Low Countries Mary of Hungary (Benedictus Appenzeller), belonging to the most famous chapels in Europe.

The upward trend in Gheerkin's career is not only visible in his successive jobs as *zangmeester*, but also in his financial position. Starting in a middle-sized town that was not particularly rich, he went to a church in a very wealthy part of the metropolis Bruges. His final known post in 's-Hertogenbosch brought him a job with a high work pressure and long working days (seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year), but the remunerations were in line with the workload: in income Gheerkin belonged to the higher middle class of society. Besides, the city attracted many artists and singers and Gheerkin worked for the top of the (local) society.

Gheerkin de Hondt was a typical product of the late medieval Low Countries: a local *zangmeester* who had had a solid education that allowed him to function at a very high level. He never seems to have left the Low Countries, although we cannot rule out the possibility that he went abroad anyway, for example in the period 1524-1530 or even before he accepted the job as *zangmeester* in Delft in June 1521. Nevertheless, Gheerkin was part of the network of professional *zangmeesters* in the Low Countries and even beyond, following the high musical standards that were so characteristic for the area, and leading in Europe for such a long period.

The position Gheerkin de Hondt fulfilled in the network of *zangmeesters* is also valid for his role among his fellow composers. As it turns out, Gheerkin had a thorough knowledge of the music of previous and contemporary generations of composers (Part II).

Five Masses, four motets and nine songs had already been attributed to Gheerkin de Hondt. The chanson *A vous me rends* is also ascribed to Adriaen Willaert, in a Venetian print published in 1535 by the Scotto firm. The Dutch song *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt* only has the attribution 'Geerhart' in a Susato print of 1551, which also makes other composers with that first name a candidate for the composition. The song *Oncques ne sceu avoir* is attributed 'Gheerkin' in a Phalèse

print of 1553, its only source. Furthermore, two motets had previously been connected to Gheerkin: an *Ave Maria* and a motet on the text *Dum penderet / Petrus in cruce*.

Today the work of Gheerkin de Hondt is spread in manuscripts and prints all over Europe and even beyond. The main body (fifteen of the eighteen works) has come down to us in four beautifully illustrated paper partbooks, copied by the Bruges merchant Zeghere van Male between 1540 and 1542. Van Male was a parishioner of the Sint-Jacobskerk and must have known Gheerkin well. Since the music was collected before 1540, and therefore during Gheerkin's employment as *zangmeester* at the Sint-Jacobskerk, Gheerkin most likely had an influence on the compilation. Gheerkin himself and Benedictus Appenzeller (also a former *zangmeester* at the church) are the best represented composers in the manuscripts, which give a very good picture of the music circulating in Bruges at the time Gheerkin de Hondt worked there. This music contains all kinds of genres, from a variety of composers of different generations.

Another manuscript on the compilation of which Gheerkin de Hondt probably had a large influence, and which contains two of his Masses, is now in the collection of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch. MS 176 belongs to the group of three manuscripts that were written by Philippus de Spina (one of the singers) in the 1540s, when Gheerkin was the *zangmeester* of the Broederschap. Many Masses in this manuscript can be directly or indirectly related to Gheerkin. Especially remarkable is the large body of Masses by Hellinck and Vinders.

Another set of four paper partbooks, now kept in Gdańsk (Poland), contains three of Gheerkin's chansons (anonymously) which we also know from the Zeghere van Male partbooks. The books were prepared in a simple way and were written by different scribes, but the original parts (containing the anonymous chansons, including Gheerkin's) were probably written in the Low Countries in the 1540s in a scribal workshop.

Four of Gheerkin's songs have been admitted to prints by Scotto in Venice (1535/1536), Susato in Antwerp (1551) and Phalèse in Louvain (1552 and 1553), all of them sets of partbooks. Further research brought to light that the Scotto print of 1535 had a reprint in 1536. On the basis of the combination of the font types and the years of publishing incidentally mentioned in the books, it was possible to assign all the copies to one of the print runs.

Based on the fact that the collection in the Zeghere van Male partbooks was compiled when Gheerkin de Hondt was the *zangmeester* of the church Zeghere himself attended, the attributions in that manuscript to Gheerkin must be correct. The questions on how Gheerkin's chanson *A vous me rends* also ended up in a

Venetian print of 1535/1536 and why it was attributed to Adriaen Willaert can only be answered in a speculative way.

Four of Gheerkin's five Masses are based on polyphonic motets composed by his contemporaries: Nicolas Gombert (*Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*), Johannes Lupi (*Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*) and Lupus Hellinck (*Missa Panis quem ego dabo* and *Missa In te Domine speravi*); the fifth Mass is based on an anonymous motet in the Zeghere van Male partbooks (*Vidi Jerusalem*). And although there is no doubt about the authenticity of these five Mass compositions, their compositional style further proves that they are in fact by one composer.

Gheerkin divides the text of the Mass Ordinary according to a certain – but not rigid – formal plan. Especially remarkable are the following features: (1) the Sanctus always starts a new section at 'Pleni sunt celi', 'Hosanna' and 'Benedictus'; (2) the 'Pleni sunt celi' is always set for a limited number of voices, usually two; (3) The 'Benedictus' is always set for contratenor, tenor and bassus; (4) there always is a separate section in the Credo on 'Et incarnatus est' and on 'Et resurrexit'.

Gheerkin uses his models according to the conventions of his time: the themes of the motets return as themes in his Masses, although he does not use all the themes and not always in the order in which they appear in the models. However, the first theme of the Prima Pars of the motet is always used at the beginning of each main Mass section, the first theme of the Secunda Pars often serves as main theme in secondary Mass sections. Gheerkin liked to adapt his themes: he rarely repeats a motif or a complete polyphonic section literally.

Three of Gheerkin's Masses are related to each other: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, *Ceciliam cantate pii* and *Vidi Jerusalem*. In these Masses he changes the time signature in the Credo at 'confiteor unum baptisma' to *tempus perfectum*, a signature which is unique in his complete oeuvre. Furthermore, the three Masses share melodic material from the motet *Ceciliam cantate pii*. This use of 'foreign' themes in his Masses is a typical feature in Gheerkin's Mass oeuvre.

The 'self-borrowing' of motifs frequently occurs in Gheerkin's – rather small – motet oeuvre. The opening of *Benedicite Dominus* returns in slightly different forms in the motet *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*. And the main motif of *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* also appears in variants in *Benedicite Dominus* and *Vox dicentis* and even in Gheerkin's *Missa In te Domine speravi*. In its purest form, however, this specific motif (consisting of a rising fourth, a descending third and a rising fourth again) turns out to be the opening of the chanson *Je me repréens* and therefore I call it the *Je me repréens* motif.

In the chanson *Je me repréens* the motif causes trouble in the opening, where it produces fifteen unwanted consecutive octaves in contrary motion within nine bars.

But it turns out to be a magnificent example of word-painting, because the text reads: 'I hold it against myself that I have loved you'. This type of word-painting also occurs in other songs and in Gheerkin's motets. The 'falling flower' in *Vox dicentis* is symbolised by a descending melody and an open cadence; above the word 'enemies' in the *Secunda Pars* of *Inclina Domine aurem tuam* an upside-down cadence appears; and in *Contre raison* the words 'struck me almost dead' are shown in the music by failing imitation, consecutive octaves in contrary motion and an apparent repetition which all comes to a full stop in the middle of the chanson.

In all three genres Gheerkin shows that the text he sets to music is very important to him: the text is always very audible, following the rhythm of the words and using a correct accentuation, and exhibiting a preference for keeping the (sub)phrases of the text musically separated. Gheerkin even adapts standard texts to his own taste, for example Psalm 85. Overlaps in text only appear incidentally, and when they do, it is always for a limited number of bars. Therefore, the text determines the shape of each composition. This is further strengthened by the fact that Gheerkin likes to use chordal passages. In his Masses they always appear in pure form at the beginning of the 'Et incarnatus est', this section mainly moving in chords anyway. In his motets, every time the music moves in chords the word God or Christ is heard, or the text refers to (one of) them. And in the songs chords are used to stress specific words.

Gheerkin took his chanson texts from all kinds of sources, originating from the middle of the fifteenth century up to the 1530s. But only one of the texts has an identified author: *Contre raison* is a poem by Jean Marot. Three of Gheerkin's motet texts are derived from the Bible: *Inclina Domine aurem tuam* (based on Psalm 85), *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* (Psalm 99) and *Vox dicentis* (Isaiah 40:6-8). Gheerkin's fourth motet text, *Benedicite Dominus*, is a table blessing, probably originating from the north of France.

There are remarkable resemblances to two songs on the same texts by Benedictus Appenzeller: *A vous me rends* and *Contre raison*. As it turns out, *Langueur d'amour* too shows clear similarities with *A vous me rends*. Since Appenzeller was most likely about ten years older than Gheerkin and he had worked in the home parish of Gheerkin's family, he might have been Gheerkin's teacher. This would be an extra argument in the conclusion that Gheerkin influenced the compilation of the Zeghere van Male partbooks, in which both men are overrepresented. The least we can say is that they knew and respected each other's work, which is confirmed by Appenzeller's visit to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1545 and the presence of his music in the 's-Hertogenbosch choirbooks, written when Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester* there.



Gheerkin's chansons *Mon petit cueur* and *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt* are both based on pre-existing monophonic melodies. *Mon petit cueur* is part of a group of eight chansons on the same text, of which three are closely related to each other, among them Gheerkin's chanson. All the motet texts were also used by other composers to make their own settings, although there are many variants on the text of Psalm 85 (*Inclina Domine*), none of them the same as Gheerkin's. Furthermore, none of the compositions has any relation with Gheerkin's work. The same goes for the Masses: the motets *Paris quem ego dabo* and *In te Domine speravi* by Lupus Hellinck were also used by other composers, among them Hellinck himself. But the composers all produced their own compositions, with their own formal plans and their own implementation of the pre-existing material, adjusting it to their own personal styles.

The two motets *Ave Maria* and *Dum penderet* that had earlier been connected to Gheerkin de Hondt are not by his hand. Zeghere van Male attributed *Dum penderet* to 'Gheerkin de Wale' / 'Gheerkin Corael'. The accounts of the Sint-Jacobskerk mention the funeral of a child of a Gheeraert de Wale in April 1559. Therefore, it is possible that this man was a choirboy ('Corael') at the time Zeghere van Male copied his work. Furthermore, stylistically speaking, the motet has features that do not match Gheerkin de Hondt's style. So we may safely conclude that Zeghere's distinction between Gheerkin de Hondt and Gheerkin de Wale was correct. The *Ave Maria* in the Leiden Choirbook 1442 also differs stylistically from Gheerkin's work; therefore, on the basis of the style of the motet, the generally accepted attribution to Jacobus Clemens non Papa is probably correct.

*Het was my van te voren gheseyt* and *Oncques ne sceu avoir* have been attributed to 'Geerhart' and 'Gheerkin' respectively. The first work is included in the Zeghere van Male collection and therefore without a doubt by Gheerkin de Hondt. Since no other composer from the Low Countries bears the name Gheerkin, *Oncques ne sceu avoir* may also safely be attributed to Gheerkin de Hondt. Both works show also Gheerkin's specific compositional characteristics.

As a chanson composer Gheerkin de Hondt stands between two styles. On the one hand he follows the Parisian school: he closely follows the rhythm of the words of the text, sets them syllabically, lets the structure of the chanson correspond to the lines of poetry, uses homophonic (chordal) passages and where he uses polyphony (imitation) it is simple. On the other hand he also uses elements of the typical Franco-Flemish imitative style, contrasting with chordal passages, with a full texture.

The same phenomenon appears in Gheerkin's motets. Here, the composer Gheerkin de Hondt is in between two generations: the previous one of Josquin on

the one hand, and his own generation of Gombert, Crecquillon, Hellinck and Lupi on the other. For example, the clear divisions of the text and the imitation in voice pairs dates from the Josquin generation, but with the irregular imitation at very short intervals, ceasing the imitation after only four or five notes, Gheerkin composes more according to the conventions of his own generation.

As for the Masses: here Gheerkin is really among his contemporaries. All the models he uses are written by colleagues who worked at the same time, in the same Franco-Flemish area, and all his Masses are 'modern' parody Masses. But again, in his preference in setting the text musically as clearly as possible, he is a bit conservative.

Gheerkin de Hondt may be classified as a typical product of the Low Countries, both as *zangmeester* and composer. The network in which he functioned as *zangmeester* supplied him with all sorts of music, over several generations. He was born in the Mekka of music and art, Bruges, where he laid the foundation of his career. Although his first known position was in the middle-sized and mainly industrial town of Delft, the next two steps in his profession showed an up line trend; especially the cities of Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch attracted many singers and artists and Gheerkin worked for and with men who fulfilled important positions in the Low Countries, as an organizer, performer and composer. In 's-Hertogenbosch and in Bruges, he came in close contact with scribes and probably also workshops specialized in the calligraphy and printing of music, through which he was able to get his own works and his personal choice widely disseminated.

As a composer Gheerkin mainly seems to have lived between two generations: on the one hand his work contains characteristics of the 'old-fashioned' traditional Josquin generation, on the other hand he follows his contemporaries like Nicolas Gombert. He was influenced by Benedictus Appenzeller, but also admired the work of his contemporaries Nicolas Gombert, Johannes Lupi and Lupus Hellinck, Hellinck being his colleague *zangmeester* in Bruges. Gheerkin de Hondt obviously left his mark on two important music collections of the 1540s: the Zeghere van Male partbooks and a set of choirbooks in 's-Hertogenbosch. The styles of two generations that are characteristic in the Van Male partbooks also return in Gheerkin's own personal style, making the setting of the texts his own personal trademark. Gheerkin de Hondt was indeed a so-called *Kleinmeister* in the Low Countries, but with the emphasis on *Meister*, not on *Klein*.

## Samenvatting

De zestiende-eeuwse Lage Landen genieten al vele decennia de belangstelling van musicologen wereldwijd. Deze periode is in het bijzonder van belang, omdat dit deel van Europa letterlijk toonaangevend was op muzikaal gebied. De muzikale kwaliteiten van de vele zangers en componisten uit deze regio, die bovendien in diverse steden werden opgeleid, speelden een hoofdrol in het muziekleven van de renaissance. Onder hen waren grote meesters, zoals Josquin des Prez, Pierre de la Rue, Benedictus Appenzeller, Lupus Hellinck, Nicolas Gombert, Thomas Crequillon en Adriaen Willaert, die in heel Europa hun kwaliteiten ten toon spreidden in kerken en aan diverse hoven. Zij overschaduwden de vele collega's die zongen in minder belangrijke centra, van wie minder composities zijn overgeleverd of van wie we biografisch gezien weinig weten.

Eén van deze zogenaamde *Kleinmeister* is Gheerkin de Hondt (officiële naam: Gheeraert de Hondt), die in de literatuur slechts in beperkte mate voorkomt. Bekend was dat hij gewerkt heeft in Delft, Brugge en 's-Hertogenbosch, en dat hij in 1547 naar 'Vrieslant' is vertrokken. Zijn oeuvre zou bestaan uit vijf missen, vier motetten, acht chansons en een Nederlandstalig lied, hoewel er twijfels zijn over de authenticiteit. Dit proefschrift bestaat uit twee delen: een biografisch en een muzikaal deel. In Deel I wordt ingegaan op het leven van Gheerkin de Hondt: waar leefde en werkte hij, waar bestond zijn werk uit en wat was zijn sociaal-economische status? In Deel II wordt Gheerkins muziek behandeld: welke composities kunnen aan hem worden toegeschreven, in welke bronnen zijn ze overgeleverd, hoe en waar werden ze gebruikt en wat is hun stijl? De algemene, onderliggende vraag van dit proefschrift is wat Gheerkins positie was in het netwerk van zangers en componisten in de Lage Landen.

Deel I begint met een overzicht van de muzikale traditie in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw in de Lage Landen, die onder heerschappij van de Habsburgers stonden. Keizer Karel V regeerde, waarbij hij het dagelijks bestuur van de Lage Landen overliet aan respectievelijk zijn tante Margaretha van Oostenrijk (1518-1530) en zijn zus Maria van Hongarije (1530-1555). Karel was een diepgelovig man en het katholicisme was de enige officieel toegelaten godsdienst in de Lage Landen. Kerk en staat waren nauw met elkaar verbonden. Muziek speelde in beide werelden een rol, ook al verdienden de meeste zangers hun brood in dienst van de kerk.

In deze studie komen twee typen kerken in beeld: de zogenaamde collegiale kerken (ook wel kapittelkerken genoemd), waar een college van kanunniken dagelijks de zeven getijden zong en een mis opdroeg, en parochiekerken, waar de gelovige inwoners van de stad hun geloof beleden. In de loop van de vijftiende eeuw ontstonden in de parochiekerken echter steeds vaker zeven-getijdencolleges, ook wel *commuun* genoemd, geïnitieerd door parochianen. Door middel van fundaties (stichtingen van fondsen) betaalden zij de geestelijkheid voor het vieren van deze getijden en het opdragen van een dagelijkse mis. In principe werden de zeven getijden in het gregoriaans door geestelijken gezongen, maar in de loop van de vijftiende eeuw deed de polyfonie haar intrede. Tegelijkertijd zien we dat professionele zangers, die steeds vaker geen priester meer waren, werden ingehuurd om de liturgie te zingen. De verplichtingen werden namelijk steeds zwaarder: behalve de zeven getijden werden ook alle kerkelijke feestdagen, feesten van heiligen, diverse loven, persoonlijke intenties en requiemmissen en jaargetijden met muziek opgeluisterd. De groep zangers bestond in de regel uit een zangmeester, zes tot acht volwassen zangers en vier tot acht koralen (koorknapen, jongens). De zangmeester had de leiding over de zangersgroep en was verantwoordelijk voor de collectie bladmuziek, het werven en selecteren van nieuwe zangers en het opleiden van de koralen.

De carrière van Gheerkin de Hondt speelde zich af in drie steden, die elk tot een ander vorstendom en een ander bisdom hoorden: Delft (graafschap Holland, bisdom Utrecht), Brugge (graafschap Vlaanderen, bisdom Doornik) en 's-Hertogenbosch (hertogdom Brabant, bisdom Luik). Het werken in een ander bisdom had direct gevolgen voor een zangmeester, omdat ieder bisdom zijn eigen liturgische kalender en gebruiken kende.

Delft had twee parochiekerken waar dagelijks de zeven getijden en een heilige mis werden gezongen: de Oude Kerk en de Nieuwe Kerk. Gheerkin de Hondt trad op 3 juni 1521 in dienst van de Nieuwe Kerk als zangmeester. Naast de zeven getijden werden in de kerk in totaal zo'n 55 feestdagen per jaar gevierd. Over persoonlijke fundaties van parochianen en stichtingen van broederschappen en gilden zijn we slecht ingelicht, omdat een belangrijk deel van het archief van de Nieuwe Kerk verloren is gegaan. Van de polyfone muziekcollectie van de Nieuwe Kerk is niets bewaard gebleven, maar we weten wel dat er in ieder geval een Kyrie van Jacob Obrecht beschikbaar was. Er is ook een indicatie dat er polyfone composities uitgevoerd werden voor het feest van de kerkwijding, de feesten van Corpus Christi en Trinitatis, jaargetijden en diverse Mariafeesten.

Waarschijnlijk eind 1523 verliet Gheerkin de Nieuwe Kerk, om er op 1 augustus 1530 als zangmeester terug te keren. Wellicht werkte hij in die periode in het buitenland. Ook nu duurde zijn dienstverband niet lang: in maart 1532 heeft hij

Delft 'in stilte' verlaten. Hij liet een schuld achter, waarschijnlijk voor de huur van woonruimte van meester Cornelis Arendsz. vander Dussen, die diverse hoge bestuurlijke posities in Delft bekleedde (o.a. schepen en kerkmeester) en die onder meer een huis bezat in de buurt van de Nieuwe Kerk.

In hetzelfde jaar 1532 wordt 'Gheeraert de Hondt' genoemd als zangmeester in een fundatie van de Sint-Jacobskerk in Brugge. De rekeningen van de kerk vermelden Gheerkin als de zoon van Jacob de Hondt, tegeldekker in de stad. Nader onderzoek wijst uit dat deze Jacob de Hondt afkomstig was uit een familie die al diverse generaties tegeldekker was in Brugge. Jacob vervulde verschillende bestuurlijke posities in de stad, onder meer als deken van zijn gilde, maar ook als voogd van de koralen in de Jacobskerk. Hij stierf in het najaar van 1546 en liet een aanzienlijke erfenis achter, die onder meer bestond uit zes huizen in de buurt van het Prinsenhof, een residentie van de Bourgondiërs.

De naam De Hondt kwam regelmatig voor in Brugge. Gheerkin de Hondt blijkt een naamgenoot te hebben gehad, die ongeveer even oud zal zijn geweest en ook in de parochie van Sint-Jacobs woonde. Het was deze Gheeraert de Hondt, de 'kruidenier', die in 1562 in de Jacobskerk werd begraven en niet de componist met dezelfde naam.

De parochie van Sint-Jacobs was gesitueerd in het rijke deel van de metropool Brugge, waar veel buitenlandse kooplieden woonden, die graag doneerden aan hun kerk. Brugge was een zeer welvarende stad met een groot hart voor de kunsten. En hoewel Brugge in de jaren 1530 haar leidende handelspositie al verloren was aan Antwerpen, was Gheerkins nieuwe functie een stap voorwaarts in zijn loopbaan, omdat Brugge maar liefst zes kerken telde (waarvan drie collegiale) waar nog steeds op hoog niveau polyfonie gezongen werd.

De archieven van de Sint-Jacobskerk bevatten een enorme schat aan informatie over de liturgie en in het bijzonder over persoonlijke fundaties van rijke parochianen. Een reconstructie van het liturgisch jaar 1538 voor zangmeester Gheerkin de Hondt kon dan ook goed gemaakt worden, hoewel die niet helemaal sluitend te krijgen was. De hoofdbronnen waren de drie rekeningen van kerkfabriek, commuun en dis (armentafel), die elk informatie verschaften over de liturgie, alsmede de talrijke, uitgebreide fundatieteksten die het kerkarchief rijk is. Een in het archief aanwezige *Planaris* (een kalender met een overzicht van dag tot dag met fundaties, jaargetijden en feestdagen) bleek gedateerd te moeten worden op 1662 en is derhalve buiten beschouwing gelaten. Een kalender van de feesten van het bisdom Doornik en de parochie van Sint-Jacobs in het bijzonder was niet voorhanden en is apart gereconstrueerd. De reconstructie wijst uit dat zangmeester Gheerkin de Hondt dagelijks de zeven getijden en een hoogmis zong, alsmede een Heilig Sacramentslof en een lof voor Onze Lieve Vrouw. Een mis voor het Heilig Sacrament

vond wekelijks plaats op donderdag, een mis voor Onze Lieve Vrouw op zaterdag en een hoogmis op zondag. Jaarlijks werden ten minste 68 kerkelijke feesten gevierd, rond de 30 fundaties en ten minste 92, maar vermoedelijk meer dan 260 jaargetijden. Bovendien werden de zeven boetepsalmen gedurende de vastentijd gezongen en werden per jaar negen processies gelopen. De hamvraag blijft welke diensten werden opgeluisterd met polyfonie en tijdens welke plechtigheden uitsluitend gregoriaans werd gezongen. De voorlopige conclusie luidt dat op de hoge feestdagen meerstemmig werd gezongen, net als op sommige dagen die door parochianen waren gefundeerd, zoals de feesten die door Donaes de Moor, Philips Bitebloc en Pieter Cottreel werden gefinancierd. Maar vermoedelijk werden de meeste jaargetijden in het gregoriaans gezongen. Niettemin lijkt er voor deze herdenkingsdiensten een keuzemodel te zijn geweest: wel of geen polyfonie, wel of geen klokgelui, et cetera. Hoewel we weten dat er diverse boeken met polyfonie in de Jacobskerk aanwezig waren, heeft geen van hen de tand des tijds doorstaan.

Behalve voor de liturgie was Gheerkin de Hondt ook verantwoordelijk voor het onderwijs aan de koralen en het selecteren van zangers en koralen. De zangers gedroegen zich niet altijd even netjes: een van hen sloeg bijna letterlijk de hersens van een collega in.

Een bijzondere serie van drie miniatures uit de werkplaats van Simon Bening geeft ons letterlijk een inkijkje in de Jacobskerk tijdens het opdragen van de mis. Op twee van de drie afbeeldingen is een groep zangers en koralen te zien. Opmerkelijk is dat de gezichten in de twee miniatures verschillen, hetgeen suggereert dat er naar echte personen is getekend. Eén van de miniatures is gedateerd 'rond 1540' en zou dus wellicht Gheerkin de Hondt kunnen tonen. Een schilderij van vermoedelijk Pieter I Claeissens van het koor van de Sint-Jacobskerk toont ons de leden van het gemeen in hun hoedanigheid als leden van de broederschap van de Presentatie van de Heilige Maagd Maria en is vermoedelijk gemaakt tussen 1532 en 1535. Ook hier zou de vraag kunnen zijn of Gheerkin de Hondt op dit schilderij is weergegeven.

Dat Gheerkin Bruggeling van geboorte was, lijkt niet alleen een logisch voortvloeisel uit het feit dat zijn familie sterk in Brugge was geworteld, maar blijkt ook uit een document van 17 februari 1540. *Gheeraert de zanghere* laat zich dan vertegenwoordigen in een juridische kwestie *ten poortersche*. Aangezien Gheerkin de Hondt het poorterschap niet kocht na 1532, was hij dus zeer waarschijnlijk Brugs poorter van geboorte.

Dat Gheerkin niet zelf bij de rechtszaak aanwezig kon zijn, kwam omdat hij niet meer in Brugge woonde: vanaf 31 december 1539 was hij in dienst bij het kapittel van Sint-Jan en de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch. Zeer waarschijnlijk had hij in 1538 al gesolliciteerd, maar viel de keus toen op een andere zangmeester. De Sint-Janskerk was zowel kapittelkerk als parochiekerk. In de

kerk huisden ook verschillende gildes en broederschappen, waaronder de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, de Sacramentsbroederschap en de Bare van alle gelovige ellendige zielen. Hoewel 's-Hertogenbosch slechts één parochiekerk kende, had de stad zoveel geestelijken dat zij ook wel *Cleyn Rome* werd genoemd. 's-Hertogenbosch was zeker geen metropool zoals Brugge, maar het feit dat de Sint-Jan een kapittelkerk was waarin ook de steenrijke Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap haar eigen kapel had, maakte dat de positie van zangmeester in hoger aanzien stond dan dezelfde functie aan de Sint-Jacobskerk.

Het archief van de Sint-Jan is grotendeels verloren gegaan. Eén belangrijk handschrift geeft ons echter uitgebreid inzicht in de manier waarop vier keer per jaar een algemeen jaargetijde werd gevierd, waarbij de zangers en koralen een rol speelden. Een klein boekje met daarin zogenaamde *taeffelen* (uittreksels uit fundatieteksten) biedt ons een beknopt overzicht van een deel van de fundaties, waarvan sommige in diverse archieven bewaard gebleven zijn. Onderdeel van deze jaargetijden was het Heilig Kruis Lof. De (gregoriaanse) muziek van dit lof – waarin ook de ordonnantie van de plechtigheid wordt beschreven – is bewaard gebleven. Ten slotte is er een Obituarium, waaruit duidelijk wordt dat sommige persoonlijke jaargetijden in de Sint-Jan met polyfonie werden gevierd.

Het zeer rijke archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap toont ons uitstekend hoe het leven van een zangmeester bij deze Mariabroederschap eruit zag. De gedetailleerde rekeningen verhalen ons over de wekelijkse Vespers en mis die werden gevierd, alsmede over de kerkelijke feestdagen, persoonlijke en algemene jaargetijden, het Marialof, processies en de maaltijden; bij alle gelegenheden speelden de zangers een rol. Heel bijzonder zijn zeven grote koorboeken uit de jaren 1530 en 1540 die meerstemmige muziek bevatten: missen, motetten en muziek voor het officie. Drie ervan werden geschreven in het scriptorium van de beroemde kopiïst Petrus Alamire, drie werden vervaardigd door de eigen intoneerder Philippus de Spina en één is een gregoriaans manuscript waarin De Spina later enkele meerstemmige werken bijschreef, waaronder kerstliederen. Uniek is ook de ordonnantie van het Marialof, waarvan de muziek echter niet bewaard is gebleven.

Van de Bossche Sacramentsbroederschap zijn enkele rekeningen bewaard die aantonen dat de zangers van het kapittel en de Broederschap ook zongen voor de Sacramentsbroederschap. Op diverse momenten in het kerkelijk jaar werden liturgische activiteiten verzorgd, waaronder op iedere donderdag een mis. Ook hier hadden de zangers de beschikking over ten minste één koorboek met meerstemmige muziek dat rond 1531 van Petrus Alamire was gekocht.

Naast de koorboeken is ook een liturgische kalender uit 1536 in het archief van de Broederschap bewaard gebleven. De combinatie van deze documenten met de rekeningen van de Broederschap en de fragmentarische archiefstukken van de Sint-

Jan en de Sacramentsbroederschap hebben een reconstructie van het liturgisch jaar 1540/41 mogelijk gemaakt, inclusief de muziek die werd gezongen die ons bekend is uit de koorboeken; voor het kapittel zullen echter zaken ontbreken.

De gegevens over het leven van Gheerkin de Hondt in 's-Hertogenbosch zijn allemaal afkomstig uit het archief van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Zo weten we dat hij kort na zijn indiensttreding vier motetten schonk aan de Broederschap, die echter niet in het archief bewaard gebleven zijn. Verder was Gheerkin verantwoordelijk voor de werving en selectie van zangers en breidde hij het aantal koralen in 1541 uit van vier naar acht, waarvan er twee de bovenzang voor hun rekening namen. Waarschijnlijk woonden de koralen bij Gheerkin in huis, vermoedelijk in de Choorstraat (tegenover de Sint-Jan). De zorg voor de koralen kostte Gheerkin uiteindelijk zijn baan: begin oktober 1547 werd hij ontslagen, omdat zijn echtgenote niet goed voor de koralen zou hebben gezorgd. Het ontslag veroorzaakte een grote ruzie tussen het kapittel en de Broederschap, omdat het kapittel Gheerkin eenzijdig had ontslagen, zonder overleg.

De rekeningen van de Broederschap vermelden dat Gheerkin de Hondt naar Friesland is vertrokken, met medeneming van één van de koralen. De vraag blijft waarom Gheerkin koos voor Friesland, omdat deze regio in de Lage Landen hem muzikaal eigenlijk niets te bieden had. In Friesland loopt het spoor dood: de Friese kerkarchieven uit het midden van de zestiende eeuw zijn grotendeels verloren gegaan. Als Gheerkin inderdaad naar Friesland is vertrokken, dan ligt het voor de hand dat hij in Leeuwarden of wellicht in Franeker terecht is gekomen, omdat daar polyfonie werd gezongen, al was het op een heel ander niveau dan Gheerkin gewend was. Hoe dan ook: deze verhuizing was een grote stap terug in Gheerkins carrière. Het blijft onduidelijk of het een persoonlijke keus was; wellicht zorgde de Broederschap voor een elegante oplossing in een delicate kwestie.

Gedurende zijn carrière kwam Gheerkin de Hondt verschillende collega's meerdere keren tegen. Zo zong Gommaer van Lier zeer waarschijnlijk onder Gheerkin in Delft en in 's-Hertogenbosch, net als Hendrick de Mol van Mechelen en Franciscus van Namen. Deze laatste trof Gheerkin ook in Brugge, waar Franciscus in de Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk zanger was. Een overzicht van de zangers met wie Gheerkin zong geeft aan dat zij uit allerlei streken van de Lage Landen afkomstig waren. De koralen kwamen veelal uit de stad zelf of de directe omgeving. Uit de rekeningen van de Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch weten we dat zangers en zangmeesters van Karel V (Crecquillon?) en Maria van Hongarije (Benedictus Appenzeller) de stad bezochten onder Gheerkins zangmeesterschap en dat Gheerkin zelf op zoek ging naar nieuwe zangers. Ook kwamen vele gastzangers naar de stad, vermoedelijk in de hoop een vast dienstverband te krijgen.



Als sluitstuk van Deel I is getracht Gheerkin te plaatsen in zijn sociaal-economische omgeving: hoe was het honorarium van deze zangmeester opgebouwd en hoe stond dit in verhouding tot het salaris van bijvoorbeeld meester metselaars, timmermannen en tegeldekkingen, maar ook priesters en 'gewone' zangers? Voor geen van de drie steden waar Gheerkin werkte kon zijn honorarium exact worden vastgesteld, omdat archiefstukken ontbraken. Maar met behulp van de documenten die er wel waren kon voor alle steden een betrouwbare schatting worden gemaakt. Die toonde aan dat de stijgende muzikale lijn in Gheerkins loopbaan ook een stijgende financiële lijn betekende. Uiteindelijk kwam Gheerkin de Hondt in 's-Hertogenbosch op een inkomen uit dat behoorde tot de hogere middenklasse. Daarvoor moest hij wel zeven dagen per week werken, gedurende 365 dagen per jaar.

In Deel II van dit proefschrift wordt nader ingegaan op Gheerkin's oeuvre. Vijftien van de achttien werken die aan hem zijn toegeschreven bevinden zich in vier stemboekjes die geschreven zijn door de Brugse koopman Zeghere van Male in de periode 1540-1542. Van Male was parochiaan van de Jacobskerk en stelde zijn collectie vermoedelijk samen toen Gheerkin de zangmeester van de kerk was. Hierom en ook vanwege het feit dat Gheerkin oververtegenwoordigd is in deze stemboekjes ligt het voor de hand te concluderen dat Gheerkin een (grote) invloed had op de samenstelling van de zeer gevarieerde groep composities. Daardoor is de betrouwbaarheid van de toeschrijving aan Gheerkin de Hondt van de vijftien werken gewaarborgd. De complete verzameling bevat voorbeelden van vrijwel alle muzikale genres die er in die tijd beschikbaar waren, waaronder missen, motetten, chansons, liederen en instrumentale muziek, van componisten behorend tot diverse generaties.

Een koorboek uit de collectie van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap bevat twee van Gheerkins missen. Het boek werd gekopieerd door Philippus de Spina, ten tijde van Gheerkins zangmeesterschap in 's-Hertogenbosch. Ook hier is duidelijk de hand van Gheerkin de Hondt zichtbaar, alleen al vanwege het feit dat maar liefst drie missen van zijn collega Lupus Hellinck zijn opgenomen, die gelijktijdig met Gheerkin in Brugge werkte. Gheerkins persoonlijke stempel vinden we overigens ook terug in de twee andere koorboeken die Philippus de Spina in de jaren 1540 schreef.

Hoe Gheerkins werk terecht kwam in vier stemboekjes die zich nu in Gdańsk (Polen) bevinden blijft onduidelijk, hoewel de boekjes waarschijnlijk wel in de Lage Landen zijn vervaardigd in de jaren 1540. Vier chansons bevinden zich ook in drukken van Pierre Phalèse, Tielman Susato en de Venetiaanse drukker Scotto. Scotto nam Gheerkins chanson *A vous me rends* op in een druk uit 1535 (herdruk in 1536), onder de naam van Adriaan Willaert. Het is echter duidelijk dat het chanson van Gheerkin is, omdat het eveneens in de Zeghere van Male stemboekjes

opgenomen is en ook op stilistische gronden zeker van Gheerkin is. De opname van Gheerkins werk in drukken garandeerde door een hogere oplage een ruimere verspreiding dan opname in unieke handschriften: vandaag de dag zijn de gedrukte exemplaren te vinden in de hele wereld.

Vier van Gheerkins missen zijn gebaseerd op meerstemmige motetten van tijdgenoten: Nicolas Gombert (*Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*), Johannes Lupi (*Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*) en Lupus Hellinck (*Missa Panis quem ego dabo* en *Missa In te Domine speravi*); de vijfde mis is gebaseerd op een anoniem motet in de Zeghere van Male stemboekjes (*Vidi Jerusalem*). Waarom Gheerkin juist deze modellen nam, is waarschijnlijk bepaald door persoonlijke keuzes. Lupus Hellinck was Gheerkins vermaarde collega-zangmeester in Brugge (kapittel van Sint-Donaas). Hellincks composities waren voorhanden en ongetwijfeld waardeerden beide componisten elkaars werk. Beide motetten waren trouwens populair: ze komen in meerdere bronnen voor en werden ook door andere componisten gebruikt als model voor een mis. De liturgische bruikbaarheid van de modellen zal zeer zeker ook een rol hebben gespeeld, net als de mogelijkheid het muzikale materiaal te transformeren tot een nieuw werk. De motetten *Vidi Jerusalem* en *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* circuleerden kennelijk in Brugge, gezien het feit dat ze zijn opgenomen in de Zeghere van Male stemboekjes. Hoe Gheerkin kopieën bemachtigde van het motet van Gombert is niet duidelijk, maar het feit dat hij er toegang toe had bewijst dat hij volwaardig deelnam aan het muziekleven in de Lage Landen.

De missen *Ceciliam cantate pii*, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* en *Vidi Jerusalem* zijn muzikaal aan elkaar verwant: ze bevatten alle melodisch materiaal uit het motet van Gombert. Dit zogenaamde lenen van vreemd materiaal lijkt een kenmerk te zijn van Gheerkins compositiestijl. Het zou dan ook de moeite waard zijn een databank van thema's uit motetten en missen te beginnen, zodat inzicht ontstaat in de relaties tussen composities en componisten onderling. De verwantschap van de drie missen blijkt ook uit het feit dat Gheerkin de maatsoort heeft veranderd in het Credo ('confiteor unum baptisma'), hetgeen hij op geen enkele andere plek in zijn oeuvre doet.

De tekst van de missen van Gheerkin de Hondt zijn volgens een zeker vooropgezet plan ingedeeld. Zo begint hij in het Sanctus altijd een nieuwe subsectie bij 'Pleni sunt caeli', 'Hosanna' en 'Benedictus', is het 'Pleni' altijd voor twee (soms drie) stemmen en wordt het 'Benedictus' standaard gezongen door contratenor, tenor en bassus. In het Credo zijn scheidingen aangebracht bij 'Et incarnatus est' en 'Et resurrexit' en begint 'Et incarnatus est' altijd in volle bezetting in akkoorden.

Gheerkin gebruikt zijn motetmodellen volgens de conventies van zijn tijd: de hoofdonderdelen van de mis (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus Dei) beginnen alle met het hoofdthema van het eerste deel van het model. Het begin van het tweede

deel van het motet is vaak het begin van een subsectie van de hoofdonderdelen. In tegenstelling tot zijn tijdgenoten houdt Gheerkin echter niet de volgorde van de thema's uit de motetten aan en ook gebruikt hij ze niet allemaal: hij past ze toe daar waar hij ze nodig acht en ook in de volgorde die hij zelf wenst. Kenmerkend voor de missen van Gheerkin is tot slot dat de tekst goed hoorbaar is: hij geeft er de voorkeur aan de verschillende regels van de tekst als eenheid te toonzetten, overlap komt zelden voor. Hierin is Gheerkin tamelijk conservatief.

Voor Gheerkins motetten geldt dat hij zich tussen twee generaties bevindt: aan de ene kant gebruikt hij compositietechnieken van zijn voorgangers (de Josquin generatie), aan de andere kant volgt hij zijn tijdgenoten Gombert, Crecquillon en Hellinck. De duidelijke verdeling van de tekst en het imiteren van stemmen in stemparen is conservatief, terwijl het gebruik van onregelmatige imitatie in alle stemmen op korte afstand van elkaar gedurende enkele noten juist heel modern is.

Ook Gheerkins motetten kenmerken zich door een heldere weergave van de tekst. Hij volgt het ritme van de woorden, legt de juiste klemtonen en maakt een duidelijke muzikale scheiding tussen de verschillende versregels. Drie van de vier motetteksten zijn afkomstig uit de bijbel, waarvan twee letterlijk (*Jubilate Deo omnis terra*: psalm 99:5-7; *Vox dicentis*: Jesajah 40:6-8). Psalm 85 (1, 3-5, 11-12, 14-16) diende als basis voor het motet *Inclina Domine aurem tuam*, hoewel met name de versregels 11-12 en 14-16 door Gheerkin zijn bewerkt tot een nieuwe tekst. Het motet *Benedicite Dominus* is een tafelgebed, dat waarschijnlijk afkomstig is uit de regio Valenciennes en Bergen rond 1450. Een deel van de teksten is ook gebruikt door andere componisten, maar geen enkel werk toont een muzikale relatie met Gheerkins composities.

Dat de tekst voor Gheerkin belangrijk was, blijkt uit het feit dat er enkele mooie voorbeelden van woordschildering in zijn motetten te vinden zijn. Een 'verwelkte bloem' (*Vox dicentis*) wordt weergegeven door een dalende melodische lijn en een niet volledige cadens en boven het woord 'vijanden' (*Inclina Domine*) staat een omgekeerde cadens. Alle akkoordpassages in Gheerkins motetten bevatten de woorden God of Christus (of een verwijzing daarnaar).

Opmerkelijk in Gheerkins motetten is dat hij zijn eigen melodisch materiaal meerdere keren gebruikte. Zo gebruikte hij het openingsmotief van *Benedicite Dominus* ook in *Jubilate Deo*. Een motief waar hij kennelijk zeer aan gehecht was (een stijgende kwart, een dalende terts en weer een stijgende kwart) vinden we als opening van *Jubilate Deo*, maar ook in *Benedicite Dominus*, *Vox dicentis* en zelfs in het Credo van de *Missa In te Domine speravi*. In zijn puurste vorm is het echter de opening van het chanson *Je me repréens*. Hier veroorzaakt het motief echter technische problemen, die te verklaren zijn vanuit de tekst: 'Ik neem het mezelf kwalijk', een van de mooiste voorbeelden van woordschildering in Gheerkins oeuvre.

Gebleken is dat twee eerder met Gheerkin de Hondt in verband gebrachte motetten (*Ave Maria* en *Dum penderet*) op grond van de hierboven geschetste stilistische kenmerken niet van zijn hand zijn.

Ook de chansons bevatten meer voorbeelden van tekst die in de muziek is weergegeven: zo wordt een slagveld gesymboliseerd door mislukte imitatie, ongewenste parallellen en een schijnbare herhaling, die leiden tot een volledige stilstand in de muziek (*Contre raison*). En ook bij de chansons zijn de versregels van de tekst over het algemeen keurig afgebakend in de muziek. De teksten die Gheerkin toonzette komen uit allerlei bronnen, daterend van het midden van de vijftiende eeuw tot de jaren dertig van de zestiende eeuw; slechts van één chanson kennen we de naam van de auteur (Jean Marot, *Contre raison*).

De helft van de teksten die Gheerkin de Hondt voor zijn chansons gebruikte is ook door andere componisten getoonzet. Opmerkelijk zijn de relaties met *A vous me rends* en *Contre raison* door Benedictus Appenzeller, zeker ook omdat *A vous me rends* en *Langueur d'amour* van Gheerkin de Hondt nauw aan elkaar verwant zijn. Hiermee wordt de biografische relatie tussen de twee componisten muzikaal bevestigd. Bijzonder is ook dat Gheerkins *Mon petit cueur* tot een groep van drie chansons blijkt te behoren, die grote overeenkomsten tonen. Deze chansons zijn gebaseerd op een monofone melodie, net als het lied *Het was my van tevoren gheseyt*.

Als chansoncomponist bevindt Gheerkin zich enigszins tussen twee stijlen. Aan de ene kant volgt hij de Parijse school (Claudin de Sermisy): heldere tekstplaatsing, waarin hij nauwkeurig het ritme van de woorden volgt, structuur geeft door afwisseling van akkoorden met imitatieve gedeeltes, en steeds de versregels nauwkeurig afbakent. Anderzijds treffen we ook elementen aan van Gheerkins Franco-Vlaamse streekgenoten, zoals het gebruik van korte imitatie in een volle bezetting.

Gheerkin de Hondt maakte deel uit van het grote netwerk van zangers en componisten in de Lage Landen. Hij vervulde als zangmeester een belangrijke rol in kerken in Delft, Brugge en 's-Hertogenbosch. Met name in het mekka van de (toon)kunst Brugge, waar hij geboren was, beschikte hij over een aanzienlijk netwerk van collega's, waardoor hij toegang had tot allerlei composities van componisten uit verschillende generaties. In 's-Hertogenbosch, dat eveneens vele kunstenaars en zangers aantrok, werkte hij voor de stads- en kerkbestuurders en bouwde hij zijn netwerk verder uit. Muzikaal is Gheerkin zeker beïnvloed door Benedictus Appenzeller. Hij bewonderde het werk van Nicolas Gombert, Johannes Lupi en Lupus Hellinck; met de laatste had hij nauwe contacten in zijn Brugse tijd. Gheerkin heeft zelf zijn stempel gedrukt op twee belangrijke muziekcollecties: die van Zeghere van Male in Brugge en die van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in

's-Hertogenbosch. In deze laatste stad ontmoette hij zijn oude leermeester Benedictus Appenzeller weer en kreeg hij ook bezoek van de zangers van Keizer Karel V, onder wie vermoedelijk Thomas Crecquillon.

In het algemeen kenmerkt het werk van Gheerkin de Hondt zich door een zo duidelijk mogelijke muzikale weergave van de tekst. De stijlen van de verschillende generaties componisten die in de verzameling van Zeghere van Male terugkeren, komen samen in de componeerstijl van Gheerkin de Hondt, want muzikaal gezien bevindt hij zich er precies tussenin: aan de ene kant vertoont zijn werk duidelijk kenmerken van de componeerstijl van de oudere Josquin generatie, aan de andere kant gebruikt hij ook elementen die nieuw zijn in de stijl van zijn Franco-Vlaamse tijdgenoten.

# Appendices





## Appendix 1      Archival documents

Only a general description of the source in relation to its use in this study is provided. For official and detailed information, please consult the inventories.

### DELFT

#### **Delft, Gemeentearchief, Archiefnummer 435, Delftse Parochiekerken**

(for the complete inventory see <http://www.archief-delft.nl/>, click Archieven A-Z, search 17.01.03 Parochies, click 435 Delftse Parochiekerken)

#### **Oude Kerk and Nieuwe Kerk**

Inv. no. 8 (= charter number 5341) (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 589*)

Charter of 1511 with an agreement between Oude and Nieuwe Kerk Delft and Sint-Jacobskerk in The Hague on the circumstances under which singers were allowed to go from one church to another.

Inv. no. 10 (= charter number 5342) (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 588*)

Charter of the city council of 22 May 1462 and act of approval of the Utrecht bishop David of Burgundy of 1 June 1462 for the foundation of a brother- and sisterhood Sint-Hippolytus en Sint-Ursula for financial support for the *zeven-getijdencolleges* of the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk in Delft.

#### **Nieuwe Kerk**

Inv. no. 150 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 596*)

Manual (*manuaal*) of receipts; 1520-1560.

Inv. no. 151 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 594*)

Day book (*memoriaal*) of all sorts of affairs; mainly expenditure, 1536-1550.

Inv. no. 152

Manual (*manuaal*) of receipts and expenditure, mainly for the benefit of the restoration of the Nieuwe Kerk after the great fire of 1536; 1536-1572.

Inv. no. 155 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 613*)

Ledger (*legger*) of several kinds of interests; started in 1486, (1351) - mid 16th century.

Inv. no. 156 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 597*)

Fragments of a ledger (*legger*) of receipts and expenditure; no date [c. 1497-1508].

Inv. no. 160 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 648*)



- Copy of an act of 1514, in which the church masters declare to have received a *rente* from Geertruyt Jan Willemsz, no date [c. 1514]
- Inv. no. 165 (= charter number 3137)  
Charter, concerning a gift of Ewoutgen Korssendochter to the *heilige-geestmeesters*; 1526
- Inv. no. 175  
Ledger of graves in the church, started circa 1493, kept until 1623.
- Inv. no. 177  
Notes concerning persons who lent money in 1539 to pay master Jan Moer, bell-founder, which they receive in return in 1543; no date [c. 1539].
- Inv. no. 178  
Act, in which the church masters hire the organist Pieter Adriaensz.; 1547.
- Inv. no. 181 (= charter number 7220) (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 618*)  
Foundation charter of the *zeven-getijdencollege* of the Nieuwe Kerk; 1456.
- Inv. no. 185 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 619*)  
Ledger (*legger*) of receipts and expenditure; started in 1497, kept until 1523.
- Inv. no. 186  
Ledger (*legger*) of receipts and expenditure; started in 1524, kept until 1554.
- Inv. no. 187 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 620*)  
Manual (*manuaal*) with payments to singers and notes concerning employment; started 1498, kept until 1513.
- Inv. no. 191 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 621*)  
Manual (*manuaal*) of receipts and expenditure of the *zeven-getijdenmeesters*, with notes on the employment of singers; started 1520, kept until 1524.
- Inv. no. 192 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 627*)  
Act of appointment of *zangmeester* Rogier Lansel; 1523.

**Most likely Oude Kerk or Nieuwe Kerk, but unknown**

- Inv. no. 213 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 593*)  
Folio from an antiphony containing music for the first Sunday in Advent, ad primas vespers; no date [c. 1450].
- Inv. no. 216 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 578*)  
Parchment music scroll of a mystery play for Holy Saturday, with the part of the *Phisicus*, the pedlar talking to the women who are on their way to Jesus' grave to embalm him; no date [c. 1500].
- Inv. no. 226 (*formerly Archief Bisdom Haarlem 636*)  
Fragment of an act, with master Huych Joesz. and the *zeven-getijdenmeesters*; no date [16th century].
- Inv. no. 227  
Note concerning complaints, probably against a *zangmeester*; no date [16th century]

**London, British Library**

- Mss. Add. 25050  
Sixteenth-century chronicle of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft.

## Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, Toegangsnummer 88

Inv. no. 301

Register, started by Christiaan Crucius van Adrichem, priest from the St Barbara convent in Delft, concerning the confraternity of St Nicolas, period 1508-1578, among them the articles of association and payments to the organist of the Nieuwe Kerk.

Inv. no. 283

Memorandum, concerning the miracle of Our Lady of 1351 or 1352 and the yearly remembrance since 1383 in the Nieuwe Kerk; dated end 16th-early 17th century.

## BRUGES

### Brugge, Rijksarchief (RAB)<sup>1754</sup>

#### General documents

Inv. no. 88, no. 21

*Resolutieboek*. Resolution book for the church fabric, *Commuun* and *Dis*, 1530-1661.

Inv. no. 88, nrs. 23-28

Accounts of the church fabric, from 1419 to 1563, with a few lacunae. No. 23: 1419-1425; no. 24: 1443-1467; no. 25: 1488-1494; no. 26: 1495-1525; no. 27: 1526-1544; no. 28: 1547-1563; all from 1 January to 31 December.

Inv. no. 88, no. 158

*Planaris*. Register containing an overview day by day with feasts and foundations for memorial services and poor relief (church fabric, *Commuun* and *Dis*), 14th-18th century, but mainly 15th-16th.

Inv. no. 88, no. 197

Register with acts of assignments of graves, 1398-1776.

Inv. no. 88, no. 198

*Registrum sepulturarum novum*. Register with acts of attributions of graves, 1426-1480.

Inv. no. 88, no. 237

*Registrum Contractuum Communitatis*. Register from the *Commuun*, containing copies of foundation acts, 1480-1564.

Inv. no. 88, no. 888

*Register vande verbanden*. Register of the *Dis* containing copies of foundation acts, 1369-1594.

Inv. no. 91, no. 735

Planaris of the church of Our Lady, mid-sixteenth century.

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<sup>1754</sup> Inventory number 88: Sint-Jacobskerk. Rombauts 1986.

**Documents concerning individual foundations**<sup>1755</sup>

Inv. no. 88, no. [319] (= Regest 744 = Charter 551)

Adriaen de Hondt hands over to the *Commuun* of Sint-Jacobs a *rente* that he had received, from Jacob de Hondt, 17-10-1528

Inv. no. 88, no. [392] (= Regest 359 = Charter 270)

Foundation by Jacop Haghelsteen and his wife Margriete for singing the seven canonical hours including the High Mass for thirty days, 09-08-1432.

Inv. no. 88, no. [393] (= Regest 376 = Charter 283 and Regest 375 = Charter 282)

Foundation by Jan van Cleyem and his wife Margriete Boots for a Mass of the Holy Gost, 23-07-1434.

Inv. no. 88, no. [398] (= Regest 404 = Charter 309, Regest 405 = Charter 310, Regest 432 = Charter 332 and Regest 439 = Charter 337)

Foundation of Jan Waters for the feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (24 June) and its Octave and the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist (29 August), 28-10-1440, 12-03-1446 and 13-05-1447.

Inv. no. 88, no. [399] (= Regest 434 = Charter 334)

A *cijns* (levy, tax) given on behalf of Jacobus Biese junior for celebrating the office of the seven canonical hours, 25-04-1446.

Inv. no. 88, no. [402] (= Regest 479 = Charter 359)

Foundation by Jacop de Witte and his wife Margriete for celebrating the office of the seven canonical hours, 05-11-1464.

Inv. no. 88, no. [427] (= Regest 249 = Charter 181)

Foundation of memorial service for Jacop Haghelsteen and his wife Margriete, 18-08-1418.

Inv. no. 88, no. [445] (= Regest 358 = Charter 269)

Foundation of memorial service for Jacop Haghelsteen and his wife Margriete, 23-07-1432.

Inv. no. 88, no. [455] (= Regest 506 = Charter 481)

Foundation of memorial services for Willem van Vyven *de vleeshauwer* (butcher) on 12-08, Jan Meercasteel dictus de Buis on 28-01, Nicolaeus Ritsaert *de vleeshauwer* (butcher) on 29-07, joncvrauwe Kathelinen filia heer Everaerds Ruuschs and previously Nicolaeus Ritsaerts wife on 26-10, Ysabelle filia Daneels Noppen wife of Oste Moretten on 15-06, the late Kaerle Scyncl on 07-02 and joncvrauwe Loyze his wife on 29-12, the late Jan Gillis zone on 04-01 and joncvrauwe Godelieve his wife on 25-01, the late heer Gillis Lauwereins on 12-04 and joncvrauwe Katheline his wife on 18-06, 12-05-1470.

Inv. no. 88, no. [456] (= Regest 511 = Charter 384 and Regest 512 = Charter 385)

Foundation of memorial service for Lysebette, widow of Anthuenis Ruebins on 04-02, 04-02-1472.

Inv. no. 88, no. [457] (= Regest 516-517 = Charter 388-389)

Foundation of memorial service for Colaert Sohier, 12-12-1472.

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<sup>1755</sup> In the descriptions only the elements used in this thesis are mentioned, an inventory number may therefore contain more foundations than mentioned here. See the inventory for complete descriptions.

- Inv. no. 88, no. [458] (= Regest 531 = Charter 396)  
 Foundation of memorial service for Jan Marant and his wife, 12-12-1476.
- Inv. no. 88, no. 460 (= Regest 583 = Charter 436)  
 Foundation of 'several services' (content unknown) by Jacop de Haerst *cuper* (cooper) and his wife Marie, 18-09-1485.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [461] (= Regest 594 = Charter 442)  
 Acceptance of the *Commuun* to execute the foundations by Adriane van Beversluys, widow of Philips Bitebloc, namely (1) a polyphonic Mass on the first Sunday of every month, being a Mass of the Holy Trinity, (2) a Mass on the Sunday of Holy Trinity (the Sunday after Pentecost) and (3) a memorial service for Adriane herself, 02-12-1486.
- Inv. no. 88, no. 462 (= Regest 570 = Charter 425 and Regest 604 = Charter 425)  
 Foundation of memorial service for Amant van Ramsbeke and augmentation of the memorial service of Zegher van Ostende, 14-10-1482 and 09-10-1488.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [463] (= Regest 608 = Charter 452)  
 Foundation of memorial service for Nichasin Pierins, 28-05-1489.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [466] (= Regest 651 = Charter 483)  
 Foundation of memorial services for Willem Humbloot and his wife Katheline Damhouders, 1530/31.<sup>1756</sup>
- Inv. no. 88, no. [467] (= Regest 681 = Charter 503)  
 Foundation of memorial service for Clare Lauwereins (first wife of Fransois van Eede), 21-10-1508.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [470] (= Regest 715 = Charter 530)  
 Information on the *rente* for the foundation by Goossin vanden Donc for singing the *Inviolata, Integra etc.* on the seven Marian Feasts, Conception (08-12), Birth (08-09), Presentation (21-11), Annunciation (15-03), Visitation (02-07), Purification (02-02) and Assumption (15-08) by three choirboys (each one verse) accompanied by the organ, 31-12-1517.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [474] (= Regest 758 = Charter 562)  
 Foundation of memorial service for Jozijne Remeirs, 22-05-1536.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [509] (= Regest 525<sup>1757</sup> = Charter 393)  
 Foundations by Adriane van Beversluys, widow of Philips Bitebloc, for (1) a daily Mass, read by a priest at the altar of Saint Adrian that was previously founded by Philips and Adriane, (2) a Mass for Our Lady, to be read by an assistant priest of the guild of the furriers (*lamwerckers, grauwerckers ende wiltwerckers*) or another priest on Saturday at the altar of the furriers and (3) a memorial service for Philips each year on 7 February, attended and supervised by the dean and guild of the furriers, 29-03-1475.
- Inv. no. 88, no. 512 (= Regest 644 = Charter 478)  
 Legal document concerning the execution of foundations by the Haghelsteen family,

<sup>1756</sup> For RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. [466] erroneously dated 1500 in the inventory of Rombouts, because day, month and year not filled in. Since the text is the same as RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 237, fol. cxxxv-r/cxxxvij-v, the correct date must be 1530 (there also day and month not filled in).

<sup>1757</sup> The inventory by Rombouts says 526, however this is incorrect and should be 525.

20-07-1498.

Inv. no. 88, no. [528] (= Regest 718 = Charter 532)

Confirmation by *Commuun* of the foundations by Baptiste Angnelli and his wife Yene for a daily<sup>1758</sup> Mass sung/read by a priest, in the summer at seven o'clock, in the winter at eight o'clock and of two memorial services (Baptiste on 15-09 and Yene on 07-02), 03-04-1519.

Inv. no. 88, no. [530] (= Regest 615 = Charter 459)

Foundation of a daily High Mass by Baptiste Angnelli and his wife Yene, 18-10-1492.

Inv. no. 88, no. [898] (= Regest 136-137 = Charter 100)

Foundation by Boudewyn van Assenede for poor relief, 28-01-1382.

Inv. no. 88, no. [907] (= Regest 246, 248 = Charter 180, Regest 250 = Charter 182, Regest 380 = Charter 287)

Foundation of memorial service for the parents of Jacop Haghelsteen, 18-08-1418.

Inv. no. 88, no. [911] (= Regest 338 = Charter 256)

Foundation by Jan de Vriendt for the seven canonical hours and for a Mass on the feast of the 10,000 martyrs of Ararat (22 June) and a High Mass on the feast of St Francis (4 October), 28-03-1430.

Inv. no. 88, no. [912] (= Regest 115, 235, 418, 419 = Charter 321)

Foundation by Jacop Bonin and his wife Martine for daily services and Masses in the convent of the Dominicans, 08-07-1443.

Inv. no. 88, no. [914] (= Regest 427 = Charter 328)

Foundation by Jan Waters for a Mass of the Holy Gost to become a memorial service after his death, 18-04-1445.

Inv. no. 88, no. [919] = Regest 451 (= Charter 346), Regest 454 (= Charter 349), Regest 455 (= Charter 349)

Foundation of several (memorial) services for Gillis vander Vlamyncpoorte and his wife Katheline f. Jans Hostens in the convent of the Augustinians, 01-09-1452.

Inv. no. 88, no. [920] (= Regest 452 = Charter 347)

Foundation of memorial services for Jacop Brandeel and his widow Barbele, 16-05-1453.

Inv. no. 88, no. [921] (= Regest 457, 458, 461; 456, 538)

Foundation of a daily Mass by Jacob Bieze and his wife Clare, 03-01-1458.

Inv. no. 88, no. [922] (= Regest 494 = Charter 373)

Foundation of memorial service for Anthuenis Losschaert and his wife Margriete, filia Pieter sHonds, 17-01-1467.

Inv. no. 88, no. 923 (= Regest 495 = Charter 374 and Regest 496 = Charter 375)

Foundation of the first memorial service for Gillis van Beversluys on 13 January, 28-12-1467.

Inv. no. 88, no. 923 (= Regest 501 = Charter 379)

Foundation of the second memorial service for Gillist van Beversluys on 22 August, 13-10-1469.

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<sup>1758</sup> The inventory of Rombouts erroneously mentions a weekly Mass, in stead of a daily Mass.

- Inv. no. 88, no. [924] (= Regest 504 = Charter 408)  
 Foundation of memorial service for Joos van Wulfsberghe on 15 March, 28-02-1470.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [926] (= Regest 529 = Charter 395)  
 Foundation by Adriane van Beversluys of a *dis* (poor relief) on the same day as the memorial service of Philips Bitebloc, 07-02-1476.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [928] (= regest 561, = charter 418), 20-03-1481:  
 Foundation by the guardians of the children of Christiaen dHont and Kateline Witterroots for a *dis* (poor relief) to be distributed after the memorial services of Christiaen (24 October) and Kateline (28 March).
- Inv. no. 88, no. 932 (= Regest 586 = Charter 438 and Regest 587 = Charter 439)  
 Foundations by Adriane van Beversluys, widow of Philips Bitebloc, namely (1) a polyphonic Mass on the first Sunday of every month, being a Mass of the Holy Trinity, (2) a Mass on the Sunday of Holy Trinity (the Sunday after Pentecost) and (3) a memorial service for Adriane herself, 15-11-1486.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [933] (= Regest 607 = Charter 451)  
 Foundation of memorial service for Nichasin Pierins, 25-05-1489.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [934] = Regest 679 = Charter 502  
 Foundation of a *dis* (poor relief) 25 September, the day of the memorial service of Jan Humblot, 07-05-1508.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [935] (= Regest 749 = Charter 555)  
 Reduction to hundred days a year of the original foundation by Pieter de Duytsche (= Wijghere vander Eecke) of a daily Mass read in the convent of the Augustinians, 24-12-1531.
- Inv. no. 88, no. [970] (= Regest 600 = Charter 447)  
 Handing over by Adriane de Vos, widow of Donaes de Moor, of the chapel of Donaes and Adriane to the masters of the *Dis*, and foundation of five services, namely (1) daily read Mass at prime, (2) the Saint Donatian Mass, (3) the Saint Adrian Mass, (4) the memorial service of Donaes de Moor and (5) the Mass of the Holy Gost for Adriane de Vos, 19-02-1487.

### **Brugge, Stadsarchief (SAB), OA<sup>1759</sup>**

- Inv. no. 103  
*Oorkonden private aangelegenheden*. Eerste reeks (first series), III, 496, (1559, 11 décembre).
- Inv. no. 114  
*Wetsvernieuwingen* ('amendments of the law'). Lists of the yearly renewal of the city magistrate and of the administration of the trades. Accessible through computer database, search system Marcus (in the Stadsarchief, not online).
- Inv. no. 120  
*Hallegeboden* 1496-1796. Announcements and regulations of the city magistrate.

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<sup>1759</sup> Vandewalle 1979 and the computer databases in the Stadsarchief.

- Inv. no. 130  
*Poorterboeken*. Lists of *poorters* (burghers) who acquired their burghership through purchase or (incidentally) a gift; the native burghers are not in these lists. Gap in the years 1496-1530.
- Inv. no. 157  
*Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar*, books 1528-1534 and 1534-1541 n.s.  
Books containing the judgements in civil cases, pronounced by the *schepenen* (aldermen) in the *Vierschaar*. More important than Inv. no. 165, cases of more than 30 pounds parisis, judged in official public sessions.
- Inv. no. 165  
*Civiele Sententiën Kamer*, period 1532-1533 (1533-1541 is missing).  
Portfolio containing the judgements in civil cases, pronounced by *schepenen* (aldermen) in the *Kamer*. Less important than Inv. no. 157, cases of less than 30 pounds parisis, judged in non private sessions.
- Inv. no. 179  
*Procesdossiers*. Process files of civil cases between private persons. Accessible through computer database, search system Marcus.
- Inv. no. 198  
*Klerken van de vierschaar*, 1484-1796. Protocols of the *klerken van de vierschaar* (public servants), who were allowed to draw up acts between citizens and have them authorized by the city government. Subject of acts: immovable property, interests, last wills, etcetera. Accessible through computer database, search system Marcus.
- Inv. no. 199  
*Procuraties*, 1522-1523. Registers of procurations, transfers, guarantees and other contracts, executed before the *schepenen* (aldermen).
- Inv. no. 208  
*Wezengoederen* (orphans' goods), 1398-1719. Registers with names of orphans and their parents and guardians, concerning the share of the orphans in the estate. Accessible through computer database, search system Marcus.
- Inv. no. 216  
*Stadsrekeningen*, 1532-1540, from 2 September to 1 September.  
City accounts: yearly accounts of receipts and expenditure of the city of Bruges, from 2 September to 1 September.
- Inv. no. 219  
*Rekeningen rentenieren*, 1532-1540, from 2 September to 1 September.  
Accounts of the interest to the account of the city, receipts and expenditure.
- Inv. no 345  
*Peltiers*, Liasse 45. Liasse 45 is a book of the administrators of the guilds of the furriers (*lamwerkers*, *wiltwerkers* and *grauwerkers*) on the donations of Donaes de Moor and Adriane de Vos for the church of Saint James and other institutions in Bruges. Also contains a family tree of the De Vos family. Originates from 1470, kept current until the 17<sup>th</sup> century.
- Inv. no. 457  
*Fondatiën*. Financing of the De Moor foundations, 20 February 1487 n.s.

**Brugge, Openbaar Centrum voor Maatschappelijk Welzijn (OCMW-B)**

Accounts *Commuun* Sint-Jacobskerk

1531-1539 (from 24 June to 24 June the next year).

Accounts *Dis* Sint-Jacobskerk

1531-1540 (from 24 December to 24 December the next year).

*Cartularium Communitatis Sint-Jacobskerk*

**Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief (BAB)<sup>1760</sup>**

Inv. no. A141

Planaris Sint-Donaas, including some foundation acts of the 15th century.

Inv. no. A210

Schedule for the office in Sint-Donaas, with memorial services and foundations, 15th and 16th century.

Inv. no. A220

Liturgical calendar of Sint-Donaas, 1537.

Inv. no. A222

Contains twelve liturgical calendars of Sint-Donaas, 16th and 17th century.

**Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Grootseminarie (BGS)**

Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Grootseminarie, 56/92

Calendar of Tournai, 15th century according to the typed inventory.

**Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek Biekorf (BSB)**

Manuscript no. 631

Epitaphs of Sint-Donaaskerk, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk and Sint-Jacobskerk. Theophile Augustin Casetta in 1690. Copy from the 18th century.

**'S-HERTOGENBOSCH**

**'s-Hertogenbosch, Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum**

**Toegangsnummer 346<sup>1761</sup>**

Inv. no. 1387

Chronicle by Cuperinus, copy from the 16th century.

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<sup>1760</sup> Inventory: Janssens de Bisthoven/De Backer 1984.

<sup>1761</sup> Collection Cuypers van Velthoven, 1320-1870. Inventory on: <http://www.bhic.nl>.



**Toegangsnummer 1232**<sup>1762</sup>

Inv. no. 126

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1513/14-1518/19; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1513/14-1518/19.

Inv. no. 127

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1519/20-1524/25 (first part); *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1519/20-1524/25.

Inv. no. 128

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1524/25 (second part)-1530/31; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1525/26-1530/31.

Inv. no. 129

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1531/32-1535/36; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1531/32-1535/36.

Inv. no. 130

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1536/37-1540/41; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1536/37-1540/41.

Inv. no. 131

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1541/42-1545/46; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1541/42-1545/46.

Inv. no. 132

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1546/47 (first part)-1547/48, 1549/50-1553/54; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1546/47-1547/48, 1549/50-1553/54.

Inv. no. 133

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1546/47 (second part), 1554/55-1559/60; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1554/55, 1556/57-1559/60.

Inv. no. 134

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1560/61-1564/65; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1560/61-1564/65.

Inv. no. 135

*Rekeningen proosten*, 1565/66-1569/70; *rekeningen rentmeesters*, 1565/66-1569/70.

Inv. no. 147

Charter in which Willem Haertscheen alias Pels funded the celebration of a daily Marian *Lof*, except for All Soul's Day, Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and all the Saturdays when the chapter of Sint-Jan celebrated a *Lof* service, 1479.

Inv. no. 148

Chant book containing the Office of the Dead, circa 1500.

Inv. no. 149

Chant book for Office and Mass, especially for feasts (the Virgin, St John, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, All Saint's, Dedication of the Altar, St Mary Magdalene, circa 1500.

Inv. no. 150

Chant book with calendar, Office, Office of the Dead, 16th century, with a calendar from 1536.

Inv. no. 152 (Codex Smijers)

Chant book, with polyphonic additions by Philippus de Spina, circa 1529-1564.

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<sup>1762</sup> Inventory number 1232: Archief Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. The inventory is available on the internet: <http://www.bhic.nl/broederschap> (Toegangsnummer 1232). For Roelvink 2002 I used the old inventory by Van der Does de Bijle 1874. A concordance is given in the inventory by Jan Sanders.

- Inv. no. 153  
Polyphonic choirbook, seven Masses and one fragment, workshop of Petrus Alamire, circa 1530-31.
- Inv. no. 154  
Polyphonic choirbook, eight Masses and one motet, workshop of Petrus Alamire, circa 1530-31.
- Inv. no. 155  
Polyphonic choirbook, eight Masses and eight motets, workshop of Petrus Alamire, circa 1530-31?
- Inv. no. 156  
Polyphonic choirbook, ten Masses, Philippus de Spina, 1540-42?
- Inv. no. 157  
Polyphonic choirbook, ten Masses, Philippus de Spina, 1540-42?
- Inv. no. 158  
Polyphonic choirbook, music for the Office – especially the Vespers –, thirty-three Magnificats, two Te Deums, a Kyrie Paschale, a Regina Caeli and two motets, Philippus de Spina, 1545.
- Inv. no. 159  
Chant book for the *intoneerders*, for Office and Mass by Philippus de Spina, 1560.
- Inv. no. 160  
Polyphonic choirbook with eight Masses and one *Asperges me* by Georges de la Hèle, 1578, plus one Mass by Philippus de Monte, 1579.
- Inv. no. 161  
Polyphonic choirbook with eight Masses by Philippus de Monte, 1587.
- Inv. no. 162  
Chant book for Office and Office for the Dead, 16th century.
- Inv. no. 175  
Manuscript containing copies of foundation texts regarding four yearly general memorial services in the Sint-Jan, 1500-1540.
- Inv. no. 176  
Chant manuscript, Holy Cross *Lof*, with ordinance, 16th century.
- Inv. no. 177  
Booklet with thirty-three summaries of these *taeffelen*, 22 May 1538, with an addition dated 12 July 1539 (see also SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2833).
- Inv. nos. 178-190  
Thirteen original foundation charters regarding four yearly general memorial services in the Sint-Jan, 1500-1540 (see Inv. no. 175).
- Inv. no. 279  
Photographs and lithos from the house of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, circa 1832-1985.

## 's-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief

### **Toegangsnummer 185 (archives Sacramentsbroederschap)<sup>1763</sup>**

Inv. no. 23

Charter regarding a gift by Liesbeth vanden Broeck for a yearly general memorial service in the Sint-Jan, 7 August 1520.

Inv. no. 35

*Rekening* 21 Juni 1520 – 3 August 1523.

Inv. no. 36

*Rekening* 1 February 1527 [sic: January 1528] – 30 September 1531.

Inv. no. 37

*Rekeningen* 1 October 1531 – 31 May 1533, 1 June 1533 – 1 February 1544 (only considering a newly purchased altar from mr. Robbert/Robrecht from Antwerp), 15 July 1545 – 24 May 1550, 25 May 1550 – 16 April 1552, 2 June 1552 – 31 September 1553.

Inv. no. 38

*Rekening* 24 May 1556 – 14 May 1559.

Inv. no. 96

Charter regarding a gift by Liesbeth vanden Broeck for a yearly general memorial service in the Sint-Jan, 28 September 1519.

Inv. no. 1204

Inventory of the Sacramentsbroederschap, May 1520.

### **Toegangsnummer 214 (archives *Bare van alle gelovige ellendige zielen*)<sup>1764</sup>**

Inv. no. 1303

Accounts 1558-1595.

### **Toegangsnummer 310 (archives Begijnhof)<sup>1765</sup>**

Inv. no. 465

Foundation act for a solemn Mass at the altar of the Holy Cross on the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June) with the organist and the singers, 27 September 1528.

### **Toegangsnummer 393 (archives Groot Gasthuis)<sup>1766</sup>**

Inv. no. 635

*Rekening* 24 June 1547/10 September 1548.

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<sup>1763</sup> Hoekx/Van de Laar 1980.

<sup>1764</sup> Inventory: Brekelmans/Formsma/Smit 1952.

<sup>1765</sup> Inventory: Kappelhof 1989.

<sup>1766</sup> Inventory: Van Rooij 1963.

**'s-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief, Archief Sint-Jan tot 1629<sup>1767</sup>**

Inv. no. 216-1

*Intoneerdersboek* for Office and Mass (chant choirbook) also containing a calendar, circa 1500 (?).

Inv. no. 216-2

*Graduale-Sequentiarium* (chant choirbook), circa 1530-1583.

Inv. no. 1196

Sacramentsbroederschap, *Memorieboek*, in which notes were made on receipts and expenditure, first decade of the 16th century.

Inv. no. 1206

Charter regarding a gift by Liesbeth vanden Broeck for a yearly general memorial service in the Sint-Jan, 7 April 1506.

Inv. no. 1207

Sacramentsbroederschap, *Rekening* 24 May 1534 – 16 May 1535.

Inv. no. 1208

Sacramentsbroederschap, fragment of four (damaged) pages which gives information on gifts to the Sacramentsbroederschap and how these gifts should be spent, with references to the liturgical activities, undated.

Inv. no. 1209

Sacramentsbroederschap, *Rekening* 1523 – 1524.

Inv. no. 1210

*Taeffel* for when the Epiphany of Our Lord comes on a Sunday in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.

Inv. no. 1211

*Taeffel* for The Epiphany of Our Lord in the Sint-Jan, 1534.

Inv. no. 1253

Charter for lighting candles on the rood loft on the first Monday after Epiphany, 31 March 1507.

Inv. nos. 1386, 1387 and 1388

Contract between the church masters and Willem Boets van Heyst, to add a new positive to the existing organ, 10 February 1504. Inv. nos. 1387 and 1388 are the actual contract in the form of a so-called chirograph, Inv. no. 1388 being the upper half of no. 1387. No. 1386 is a kind of summary.

Inv. no. 1386a

Contract between church masters and Willem Boets van Heyst, to improve and extend the organ, January 1518 (Inv. no. 1389b gives the same text with slight differences in words and spelling).

Inv. no. 1389

Document in which Daniel van der Distelen is made responsible for maintaining and extending the organ, circa 1500.

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<sup>1767</sup> There is an outdated inventory available in the Stadsarchief, which is not completely reliable and subject to a thorough update at the time of research. However, the numbers referred to here are all from the outdated inventory.

- Inv. no. 1389a  
Contract between the church masters and Hendrik van den Houwe, who is appointed to renovate and 'update' the organ, 23 January 1499 (incorrectly dated 1498 in the inventory).
- Inv. no. 1389b  
Contract between church masters and Willem Boets van Heyst, to improve and extend the organ, January 1518 (Inv. no. 1386a gives the same text with slight differences in words and spelling).
- Inv. no. 1389c  
Contract between the church masters and Peter Woutersz., who becomes responsible for the work of Willem Boets van Heyst. Upper part of a chirograph with the letters a b c d e f g h I k, 28 November 1519.
- Inv. no. 1393  
Document in which four organists (master Hanrick Nobel from Utrecht, master Peeter vanden Graeven, master Jacob van Wyck and *heer* Jan die Gruter) and Jannes *onse basconter* disapprove the work of Peter Woutersz. and Willem Boets van Heyst on the organ, 14 February 1521 (or perhaps 1520), see also SAHt, ASJ, Charters, Inv. no. 1413.
- Inv. no. 1394  
Contract between the church masters and Johann van Munster to maintain and repair the organ, 30 May 1524.
- Inv. no. 1410  
Fragments of the church accounts, dated 1514, 1516 and 1517.
- Inv. no. 2118  
Piece of scrap paper, mentioning a payment to an organist on the one side and payments to those who had to fulfil duties during the liturgy on All Soul's Day on the other, dated circa 1550.
- Inv. no. 2119  
List with payments to those who fulfilled certain duties during the liturgy, circa 1500.
- Inv. no. 2120  
List of payments to those who had to fulfil duties during the liturgy, dated circa 1500.
- Inv. no. 2260  
Receipt from Willem Moer *clockgieter* and Jaspar his brother, for delivering fourteen church bells, 1505.
- Inv. no. 2260A  
Nine receipts from Jan Jaspar soen Moer *clockgieter* for delivering nineteen church bells, dated 8 June 1551, 11 July 1551, 17 August 1552, 8 April 1553, 22 July 1553, 11 August 1553, 15 September 1553, 8 December 1553, 26 July 1554.
- Inv. no. 2265  
Piece of scrap paper with the names of church bells, dated 'early 16th century'.
- Inv. no. 2336  
Incomplete fragment of probably a *taeffel*, probably in draft, because the text has been crossed out, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2375  
*Taeffel* for Holy Cross Lof on Ascension Day in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.

- Inv. no. 2376  
*Taeffel* for Holy Cross Lof on first Monday after the Epiphany of Our Lord in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2377  
*Taeffel* for sermons on Shrove Tuesday in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2378  
*Taeffel* for sermon on Passion Sunday in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2379  
*Taeffel* for sermon when Passion Sunday comes on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2380  
*Taeffel* for Sermons on Palm Sunday in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2381  
*Taeffel* for Low Sunday and the Monday thereafter in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2382  
*Taeffel* for reading Mass at 11 o'clock on the day of the yearly procession on the first Sunday after the feast of the Visitation (2 July) in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2383  
*Taeffel* for Monday after the Assumption in the Sint-Jan, 1534.
- Inv. no. 2383a  
*Taeffel* for Sunday and Monday after the Assumption in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2384  
*Taeffel* for Monday after the Epiphany of Our Lord in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2384a  
*Taeffel* for When All Soul's Day comes on a Sunday in the Sint-Jan, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2385  
*Taeffel* for All Soul's Day in the Sint-Jan, 1534.
- Inv. no. 2385a  
 Incomplete fragment of a *Taeffel*, first half 16th century.
- Inv. no. 2833  
 Booklet with thirty-three summaries of these *taeffelen*, 22 May 1538, with an addition dated 12 July 1539 (see also BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 177).
- Inv. no. 2910  
 Contract between the church masters and the Brethren of the Common Life in 's-Hertogenbosch for a chant book for the *intoneerders*, chirograph, 16 August 1550.
- Inv. no. 2911  
 Contract between the church masters and the Brethren of the Common Life in 's-Hertogenbosch for two antiphonaries, chirograph, 1 September 1500.
- Inv. no. 2925  
 Charter regarding a gift by Liesbeth vanden Broeck for a yearly general memorial service in the Sint-Jan, 11 September 1518.
- Inv. no. 2932  
 Obituarium: 'death book' containing the names of those parishioners who had passed

away and for whom a memorial service was to be celebrated every year, circa 1425-circa 1629.

**'s-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief, Archief Sint-Jan, Collectie Charters**<sup>1768</sup>

Inv. no. 938

Charter, in which Stephanus Becker gives an *erfcijns* (hereditary rent), under the condition that the profits of this *cijns* are used to buy wax candles in the winter for the benefit of the singers and choir boys while singing the *Lof of Our Lady* on top of the rood loft in the Sint-Jan, 12 November 1500.

Inv. no. 1413

Document in which master Willem Heyst is made responsible for maintaining and repairing the organ for the next twelve years, 13 March 1521 (or perhaps 1520), see also SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1393.

Inv. no. 1688

Charter regarding a gift by Liesbeth vanden Broeck for a yearly general memorial service in the Sint-Jan, 11 March 1530.

**'s-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief, Oud Stads Archief (SAHt, OSA)**<sup>1769</sup>

Inv. no. 49

*Het Rood Privilegeboek*, containing copies of documents from the period 1191-1650, started in 1580.

Inv. no. 50

Manuscript with copies of a part of *Het Rood Privilegeboek* from the period 1191-1451 (see Inv. no. 49), started in [1580/1597].

Inv. no. 72

*Privilegeboek* of Marten 's Heeren Gerards: book with copies by city governour Marten 's Heeren Gerards, written between 1575-1578.

Inv. no. 78

Copy of the chronicle by Cuperinus on the city of 's-Hertogenbosch in the period (1185) 1294-1671, [1671-1675].

Inv. no. 166

Parchment fragment containing chant, undated.

Inv. nos. 1389-1399, *Rekeningen van de algemene kas van de stad*

The account years are broken; they run from 1 October to 30 September the following year (Sint-Remeys to Sint-Remeys). Partly published in Van Zuijlen 1861.

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<sup>1768</sup> There is an outdated inventory available in the Stadsarchief, which is not completely reliable and subject to a thorough update at the time of research. However, the numbers referred to here are all from the outdated inventory.

<sup>1769</sup> Inventory: Hoekx/Paquay 2004.

- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1382: Rekening 1530/31;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1389: Rekening 1537/38;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1390: Rekening 1538/39;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391: Rekening 1539/40;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1392: Rekening 1540/41;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1393: Rekening 1541/42;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394: Rekening 1542/43;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395: Rekening 1543/44;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396: Rekening 1544/45;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1397: Rekening 1545/46;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398: Rekening 1546/47;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1399: Rekening 1547/48;
- SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404: Rekening 1552/53.

Inv. no. 3154, 3155, 3156

Contract, in which three city trumpeters (respectively Jannen Anthoniss., Jannen van Eyck and Jannen Corneliss.) promised to return their brooch and bracelet when they left duty, or instead pay twenty golden guilders, 23 December 1530.

Inv. no. 3267

*Poorterboeken*, 1470-1808.

Inv. no. 5436

Parchment fragment containing chant, dated circa 1600 (?).

Inv. no. 5543

Parchment fragment containing chant, undated.

Inv. no. 5545

Parchment fragment containing chant, undated.

Inv. no. 8872

Contract between the *meesteressen* ('lady masters') Begijnhof and dean and chapter of the Sint-Jan to sing a weekly solemn Mass in the church of the Begijnhof, 12 March 1545.

Inv. no. 8876

Contract between organist Jan van Brugge and the Begijnhof, 1547, 1555.

Inv. no. 9566

Copy of the chronicle by Cuperinus on the city of 's-Hertogenbosch in the period 1184-1673, [mid-17th-century].

## **FRIESLAND**

### **Leeuwarden, Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden**

#### **Toegangsnummer 263, Archief Sint Anthony Gasthuis**

Inv. no. 920

Account Sint-Anthony-Gasthuis 1561.



**Toegangsnummer 119-B, Archief Ritske Boelema Gasthuis, Soete Name Jhesus Gilde**

Inv. no. 14

Regulations.

Inv. no. 17

List of names of deceased brothers and sisters, ca. 1525-1580.

Inv. no. 44

List with receipts and expenditure of a Mass and meal in 1555.

Inv. no. 45

Notes considering receipts and expenditure, (ca. 1555)-1579.

Inv. no. 57

Accounts of 1537/38 up to and including 1574, incomplete.

Inv. no. 73

Account of 1550/57, draft.

Inv. no. 343

Privilege by Charles V, 1548.

**Toegangsnummer L913**

Accounts Sint-Vituskerk 1576-1580.

**Toegangsnummer 77-D, Hervormde Gemeente Wirdum**

Inv. no. 238

Accounts 1555-1601.

**Leeuwarden, Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum Tresoar**

**Toegangsnummer 4, *Rentmeestersrekeningen***

Inv. no. 2

Accounts 1515-1519.

Inv. no. 3

Accounts 1523-1530.

Inv. no. 14

Account 1546/47.

Inv. no. 15.a

Account 1547/48.

Inv. no. 55.a

Account Sint-Annakapel 1530.

Inv. no. 55.b

Account Sint-Annakapel 1517-1530.

**Toegangsnummer 14, Archief Hof van Friesland**

Inv. nos. 86/87/88

Beneficiaalboeken Oostergo, Westergo and Zevenwouden, 1543.

**Toegangsnummer 245-18, Archief Hervormde Gemeente Roordahuizum**

Inv. no. 81

Registers of accounts of the years 1557-1650.

**Toegangsnummer 245-53, Archief Hervormde Gemeente Wier**

Inv. no. 72

Account 1563-1622.

**Toegangsnummer 251, Archief Hervormde Gemeente Franeker**

Inv. no. 1

Oudste kerkeboek, 1510.

**Toegangsnummer 327, Archief Familie Van Sminia**

Inv. No. 2027.a

Documents and copies of documents from the archives of the Ritske Boelema Gasthuis, 1685-1817.

**Franeker, Archief van het gilde of de Broederschap van Sint-Anna**

Inv. no. 1

Articles of association of the confraternity of Saint Anna.

**Franeker, Archief van het Stadsbestuur van Franeker**

Inv. no. 10

Oudste Privilegeboek, ca. 1530-1704.

Inv. nos. 80-81

Regulations and request of the guild of the cobblers, 1559-1560.

**Groningen, Regionaal Historisch Centrum Groninger Archieven**

**Toegangsnummer 622, Borg Lulema**

Inv. no. 68

Church accounts of Bozum, 1515-1578.

## Appendix 2      London, British Library, Add. MS 25050

In 1958 D.P. Oosterbaan published an edition of a chronicle of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, Add. MS 25050 in the British Library in London.<sup>1770</sup> Oosterbaan's book contains very useful additional information, not repeated here, but also raises questions about the transcriptions, for example in relation to the meaning of the original texts. Inspection of the original brought new facts to light.

As noted by Oosterbaan, the parchment book of about 24.6 x 16.7 cm can be divided into four main parts:

- ✚ fol. 2r-9v and 19r-25r:<sup>1771</sup> copies of documents and charters in Latin which at the time were in the possession of the church masters;
- ✚ fol. 10r-14r: description of the origins of the Nieuwe Kerk and the sculpture of Maria ter Nood Gods (the Pietà);
- ✚ fol. 14v-18v and 26r-63r:<sup>1772</sup> descriptions of eighty-nine miracle stories related to the sculpture;
- ✚ fol. 64r-81r: summary of the origins of the Nieuwe Kerk and notes on the history of the church concerning building activities, the interior, liturgy, et cetera.

Folio 83r-v contains an annex by Michiel Vosmeer, one of the first owners of the manuscript, who lived from 23 August 1545 until 17 April 1617. The appendix gives information on the years 1546, 1548 and 1559 and an explanation of the notes that were made by Vosmeer in the margins of the manuscript.<sup>1773</sup>

The main part of the manuscript was very carefully and beautifully written, by one scribe. Remarkable and even exceptional is that the scribe is very consistent in his spelling; where sixteenth-century scribes would frequently use several spellings for one word in the same text (for example *dair* and *daer*), the scribe of the chronicle only uses one version maintained throughout the manuscript. Furthermore, his handwriting is very regular and very tidy; now and then we can see that he had to use new ink, but that is all. The scribe was also very careful and consistent in his punctuation: he placed dots where a reading pause is necessary, or he

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<sup>1770</sup> Oosterbaan 1958.

<sup>1771</sup> The modern page number on the right top of the page is used.

<sup>1772</sup> Oosterbaan incorrectly mentions fol. 68 instead of fol. 63 (p. 11).

<sup>1773</sup> Among these remarks are references to another manuscript that was in the possession of Joost Henricsz., one of the church masters of the Nieuwe Kerk (Oosterbaan 1958, p. 8-9). The initials IH in the margins probably refer to this Joost Henricsz. (not mentioned by Oosterbaan).

used red ink for (parts of) letters to achieve the same effect.<sup>1774</sup> This is especially useful for the interpretation of the texts. The title of a new paragraph is always written in red ink. Furthermore, the manuscript contains blue and red initials, some of them beautifully embellished.

We do not know when the manuscript was written, but since the last entry by the original writer is from 1516 and the handwriting is very consistent, it probably dates from about that time. We have no information on the identity of the scribe either. From his texts, Oosterbaan already concluded that he had access to the original charters and books of the Nieuwe Kerk, and that he cared for his church very much.<sup>1775</sup> If we take a closer look at the original charters and documents still in the archives of the Nieuwe Kerk, one manuscript immediately attracts our attention in relation to the chronicle: GAD 435, Inv. no. 175. It is a ledger of graves in the Nieuwe Kerk, started in approximately 1493 and kept until 1623. The resemblances between the chronicle and the original part of this ledger are striking: the script, the use of red ink for initials, the initials themselves,<sup>1776</sup> the use of dots and red ink in letters to indicate reading pauses, the consistent spelling, the tidy handwriting. It seems to have been the same person who wrote both manuscripts. To decide definitively, the manuscripts should be compared side by side, but their distance probably makes that impossible. In any case: either one of the scribes copied the ideas of the other (and according to the dates, in that case the chronicler copied the scribe of GAD 435, Inv. no. 175), or the scribe of both manuscripts is the same person. That does not mean, however, that the scribe of the chronicle is also the author of the text. We have to consider that someone else compiled the chronicle and hired a professional scribe to copy it in the best and most elegant possible way.<sup>1777</sup>

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<sup>1774</sup> Oosterbaan did not always follow the punctuation of the scribe, and therefore some of his transcriptions are perhaps interpreted in a different way than the scribe meant.

<sup>1775</sup> Oosterbaan 1958, p. 24 concludes that he is not objective, but I think that is far too negative a judgement.

<sup>1776</sup> Especially the capital I; compare, for example, the chronicle, fol. 15-r onwards and GAD 435, Inv. no. 175, p. 14. Also almost completely identical is the way both scribes write the word *Voort*: starting with red ink and underlining the word (see chronicle fol. 12v and GAD 435, Inv. no. 175, fol. 12).

<sup>1777</sup> If this is the case, it is also possible that the manuscript has to be dated later, because the scribe might have had to stop writing suddenly, leaving his work unfinished.

## Appendix 3      Transcriptions

### Transcription rules<sup>1778</sup>

Medieval languages did not have a standard spelling as we have today, therefore differences in spelling may occur within the same text. Editorial remarks are placed between square brackets [...]. Parts of a text that are heavily damaged or that are not legible at all are replaced by [damaged]. Omitted text that was not relevant in the context of this book has been indicated with [...]. Numbers have been transcribed according to the original text (i.e. mostly Roman) and abbreviations in dates have been maintained (for example xv<sup>c</sup> xxx (1530), or *den xxv<sup>en</sup> dach* (the 25th day)).

#### 1521, 3 June; GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. XLIXr

Item upten iij<sup>en</sup> dach in junio angenomen Gerryt de Hont coraelmeester te wesen, ende sal winnen boven tloot ende accidencien ter maent thien scelling gr. ende om die twee jaren tot een tabbart xx s. gr. Des heeft hij hem verbonden eerlick te leven ende dordonnancien naervolgende tbert te onderhouden. Ende onsen rentmeester sal hem betalen ende ter maent rekeninge in sijn uutgeven stellen van desen coraelmeester ende allen anderen nae gescreven mit die wedden van dien.

#### 1522, before 8 June; GAD 435, Inv. No. 191, piece of scrap paper between fols. LIIJv and LIIIJr

Item noch hier of betaelt meester Antonys de bas die wech ghegaen is viij ½ Rijns ghulden dat hem reste.

Item noch hier of betaelt meester Gheryt sanck meester vij Rijns ghulden daer hij sin huijs huer mede betaelt heeft.

#### 1523; GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXXVIJr

Int jaer ons heren m v<sup>c</sup> ende xxij soe sijnder sommighe musijck boecquen gherepareert ende versien ende verbonden gheweest bij heer Jan Willemsz. priester. Ende sijn ghehoent den sangmeesteren ende sijn dese gheweest naghiesien, som gherepareert, som ongherepareert.

Item in den eersten een scoen musijck boecq van Lombarts pampier ende beghint Urbs beata Jherusalem

Item noch een missael in Lombarts formaet ende beghint Ja. Obrecht Kijrie

Item een besloten boecq beghint Recordare

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<sup>1778</sup> The transcriptions are made according to the *Kritisch normaliserende methode* in Beekelaar 1988.

Item een besloten boecq ende beghint O quam suavis es domine of Gratia plena

Item een besloten boecq ende beghint Et Vobis nomine eius Jhz.

Item een besloten boecq ende beghint of hiet Qui tollis

Item een boecq in cassituri beghint Sanctam [sic: Sancta] Trinitas

Item een nieu misboecq beghint Regina celi

**1523, 8 March; GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXXXv**

Opten vij<sup>en</sup> dach in martio Anno xxij na tscrivins thoefs van Hollant is of ghevisitert een abuselicke manier van beenvenue te gheven als men yemant aanneemt overmits confusy die dickwijl plach te gheschien in den kercken alst beenvenue verdroncken was.

**1523, 6 December; GAD 435, Inv. no. 192**

Mesire Rogier Lancel est receu pour estre maistre dez choralz en la neufve eglise de Delf durant entre chi et mois du may sur condition se il ne duyt point pour apprendre aux enfants pour ce que il ne scet parler flament en ce cas lez maistrez luij absolveront et ne seront point tenu a luy. Et gangera chinque mois, trente patarts. Datum le jour Saint Nicolaij lan mv<sup>c</sup> xxij.

[was signed] Rogier Lancel

**1524, between 13 September and June 1526; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cr-v**

Item betaelt heer Bartelmees van xxxvij blaeden musijcken te scrijven, tblat een braspennick compt vij s. vij ½ d. groet.

Item ghegheven heer Bartelmees van xvij katernen musijcx te scriven ende ix katernen te pappen ende te lijnnen, tsamen xxxvj s. gr.

**1526, 10 May (Ascension Day); GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cv**

Item ghegheven Jan Janszo. bouckebinder om te binden tnieuwe musijck bouck te doen binden [sic] twelcke heer Bartolmees Pottier ghescreven heeft vij s. Actum Ascencionis Domini anno xv<sup>c</sup> xxvj.

**1526, between 22 November and 25 December; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cv**

Betaelt meester Jan die sangmeester van tnieuwe bouck te corrigeren v s. gr.

**1530, June; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1530, fol. 124r**

Van den grave van Gheeraert de Honts kijnt binnen processie iij 1/2 gr.

**1530, 1 August; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXI(c)r**

Up den 1<sup>en</sup> augustij anno xxx is an ghenomen Gerrit de Hondt coraelmeester te wesen ende sal winnen boven loedt ende accidencije ter maent thyen schellinck groot Vlaems ende om de twee jaren tot een tabbert xx s. gr. Des heeft hij hem verbonden eerlijcken te leven ende dordonnancie naervolgenden tbort te onderhouden

Betaelt meester Gerrit voors. de maent van augusto [1530] x s. gr.

Betaelt meester Gerrit voors. de maent van september x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gherijt voors. die maent van october x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gherij voors. die maent van november x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gheryt voors. die maent van december x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gerrit voors. die maent van januario [1531] x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gerrit voors. die maent van februario x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gerrit voors. die maent van marcij x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gerrit de helff van sijn tabbert x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gherryt die maent van april x s. gr.

betaelt meester Gheryt die maent van meie x s. gr.  
betaelt meester Gerrit die maent van junio x s. gr.  
betaelt meester Gerrit voors. die maent van julio x s. gr.  
betaelt meester Gerryt voors. die maent van agosto x s. gr.  
betaelt meester Gherijt voors. die maent van september x s. gr.  
betaelt meester Gheryt voors. die maent van october x s. gr.  
betaelt meester Gerrit voors. mitsgaders een Rijns gulden die men van de maent corten moet die hij te voeren ontfangen heeft tsamen ende dit van die maent november x s. gr.  
betaelt meester Gherrit de maent van december x s. gr.  
betaelt meester Gherit de maent van januario [1532] x s. gr. Vlaems  
betaelt meester Gherit de maent van februario x s. gr.  
Item meester Gerrit voors. is ons of den getiden sculdich gebleven een pond groot Vlaems doen hij wech gegaen is, twelck wij meester Cornelis Aerntsz. in de Spiegel voir hem betaelt hebben.  
Abijt hospite in salutato.

**1530, between August 1530 and February 1532; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. CJr**

Ghegheven meester Gerrit de sancmeester sijn bijenvenuwe xij st.  
Ghesonden meester Gerrit de sancmeester tot Leijden om een basse te hoeren singhen, betaelt voor sijn vracht ende costen vj st.  
Ghegeven meester Gerrit de sancmeester om te Haerlem ende ter Gouwe te reijssen ende andersijns om nae een basse te sien ende noch ij ander gesellen, betaelt voor sijn muijte iij s.

**1530, between August 1530 and February 1532; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, piece of scrap paper between fols. XLVJ and XLVIJ**

Memory  
Dat Hansselmus heeft ontfangen van de gaijge van Wouter up de maent van januario xx stuvers ende noch up sijn selff gaijge van de maent van januario mede xx stuvers.  
Noch hebben wij toe gheseijt Jan de Backers wijf ande Ponte mart bij consent van Wouter een Rinsgulden die hem commen sal van de maent van januario.  
Wouter heeft toe gheseijt Jan Schoenverstandt een Rinsgulden te geven up de maent van februario alse verschenen sal sijn ende meester Gerrit sal dander Rinsgulden hebben.  
Betaelt meester Gerrit een Rinsgulden.  
Item ghegheven meester Willem up die maent van maert ij s. vj gr.

**1530, between 11 November 1530 and 11 November 1531; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. CIIJv**

Betaelt van een caffetuerrij [sic] om een mouttentboeck te maecken ij ½ gr.  
Betaelt van een sloettel daer de mouttet boecken inlegghen j ½ gr.

**1531, 1 August; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXJ(d)v**

Up den <sup>j</sup><sup>en</sup> augustij anno xxxj zoe is angenomen Gerrit Cornelisz. om corael te wesen ende sal ter maent winnen vijff schellinck groot Vlaems, des sunt voorwaerden dat hij bliven singhen sal soe langhe sijn stemme goedt is ende dat hij hem eerlijcken draecht; mer ist saeck dat hem sijn stemme binnen tsaers ontgaet, soe sal hij dijt jaer van xxxj uut dyenen. Gedaen in presencije van sijn moeder ende meester Gerrit de sancmeester.  
[payments from August 1531 up till July 1532] Abijt hospite insalutato.

**1532, 18 February; RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2v**

Upden xvij<sup>en</sup> in sporkele xv<sup>c</sup> xxxj zo bestede Jan Wyts de scepere Boukin zijn zuene ende was tselve ontfanghen om chorael te zijne van der kercke, met belofte die de voornoemde Jan den prochiepape, kercmeesters ende dischmeesters dede van tselve Boukin der kercke te latene alzo langhe alst die zal moghen dienen, up peijne indien hij der contrarie dede, van alle de costen van monde ende cleeden om hem ghedaen, te moeten der kercke restitueren. Ende was den zelven Jan belooft tselve Boukin zijn montcost ende cleedynghe gracelic naer costume te doen bezoorghen alzo langhe alst der kercke zal mueghen dienen ende ooc te doen leeren Latijn ende muzijcke.

**1532, 13 July; RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXXXVIIv-fol. CXLv**

Copie van der fondatie van heer Jan Bertyn.

Wij, Maerten de Raet presbitere, stedehouder van den prochipape van Sint Jacobs kerke in Brugge, Willem Obrecht, Anthonius Cant, Caerle Reynaert, Jan Porret, Willem Maertins, Jan Paixdecoeur, Claeys Jona, Anthonius van den Voorde, Maerten de Saghère, Jacob Varlet, Hercules Houzet, Thomas Bartsuene, Fransois Cordier, priesters ende capellaenen, Jacob Reyngout gheinstalleerde, Guillibert Masureel coster ende Gheeraert de Hondt sangmeester, makende tsamen tcommuijn van der voors. kerke, doen te weten dat wij ten versouke van onsen wel beminden medebroeder wijlent heer Jan Bertyn presbitere capellaen van Sint Donaes kerke, ende ghehabitueert van den choir van voors. kerke van Sint Jacobs, ende van zijne testamentarisen, ter cause van der synguliere devotie die hij altijts gedreghen heeft ten broederschepe ofte ghilde die wij houdende sijn in den selven choir ter eere van der presentatie van der Heilige Maghet Maria in den Tempel, gheconsenteert hebben over ons ende onse naercommers, bij wille, wete ende consente van prochipape, kercmeesters ende dischmeesters van der voors. kerke, dat wij voordan eeuwelic geduerende, ghehouden sullen sijn up de feestelicke ende solemne daghen van Conceptie, Purificatie, Annunciatie, Visitatie, Assumptie, Gheboorte ende de Presentatie van Maria, up elcken van den voors. daghen naer dat de Vesperen sullen ghesonghen sijn, te gaen processiewijs met alle de habituanten van den choir tot in den voorkerke al synghende Beata dei Genitrix Maria etcetera, ende in de middelbueck staende sullen synghen de antifene Salve Regina etcetera, ofte eenighe andere te weten Alma Redemptoris, Ave Reginia celorum ofte Regina celis naer den heesch van den tijt. Ende geduerende dese statie sal men luijden met de groote clocke. Ende de collecte gesonghen wesende, naer de voors. antifenen sal den officiant met den gemeenen choir gaen naer den autaar van der presentatie, en aldaer al knielende synghen de letanien van onse Vrouwe in discante, met de veersekens ende collecte daer toe dienende. Ende daer naer wederkeerende naer den choir sullen synghen Ave Maria. Voor alle welke diensten wij sullen promptelick doen distribueren duer den tafeldrager van den choir van den goederen van den commune der voors. kercke op elcke voors. feeste, drye schellynghen groot. Ende doen betalen an de fabrijcke deser kerke over tvoors. gheluijt jaerlix sestien groot. Noch soo worden wij ghehouden voordan alle jare te celebreren in den voors. choir, sondachs binnen de octave van der presentatie (ten waere dat desen sondach ghevele op den eersten sondach van den Advent, ofte in dien ghevalle ten sulken daghe binnen der selver octave, als wij daer toe ordoneren sullen) een solemne feeste van der voors. broederschepe van der Presentatie



metter officien ende sanghe als op den principalen dach. Ende naer de tweede Vesperen sullen wij synghen de vygielien met drye lossen [lessen], ende sanderdachs de commendatien met een solemnele messe van Requiem metter prose Dies Ire etcetera. Ende naer de misse sal den celebrant met sijne ministers ende de priesters met oversleppen ende stollen commen in den middet van den choor tusschen het stappeel van den canters ende den lessenaers van den epistolare, al waer bij den roedragher sal gespreet wesen een swarten pelder, ende ten vier houken van den selven pelder sullen ontsteken wesen vier keerssen de welke sullen branden het officie geduerende, ende den voors. celebrant met de ghehabitueerde van den choor daer rontsom staende, sullen synghen een solemnele commendatie in der manieren ende met sulcke ceremonien als beschreven staet in zekere boucxkins daertoe ghedaen maken. Voor al welke diensten wij sullen doen distribueren, ten laste als boven de voors. habituatien winnen distributie: eerst over de voors. feeste van der broederschepe vier schellyngen groot, ende over den dienst van der misse van Requiem met vigilien ende dobbel commendatien vier schellyngen acht groot, waer van den roedragher van den chore over het besorghen van den pelder ende ander zijne diensten sal hebben twee pennijngen grooten. Boven dien sullen doen betalen bij den ontfangher van den voors. commune jaerlix ende ontfangher van der ghilde van den H. Sacramente van deser kerke de somme van achthien grooten omme daer mede te doen synghen het lof van den H. Sacramente svrijdachs naer H. Sacraments dach. Ende dit al ten trooste, lavenesse ende ter zalicheit van der ziele van den voors. heer Jan Bertyn ende van alle de ghildebroeders ende ghildesusters van der voors. Ghild; beloopende tsamen alle de voors. diensten ende lasten ter somme van tweendertich schellyngen ende ses pennynge groot tjaers. Welcke somme den voors. heer Jan Bertyn begherende suffisantelijc te besetten, heeft onsen commune ten dien fijne opgedreghen int jaer 1499 eene eeuwelicke rente van thien schellyngen ende twee pennynge grooten, ghemeens ende onverdeelt in een eeuwelicke rente van twee ponden grooten, die tvoors. commuun hadde ghecocht up de stede van Blankenberghe, losselic den pennynck achthiens, welke rente van thien schellyngen ende twee pennynge groot, hij erfvelick maecte ende niet losselic, met zeker achterstellen ende gevallen pajjementen van der zelve rente, ende gereede pennynge bij hem betaelt waer of wij ons wel te vreden houden.

Ende noch den vj<sup>em</sup> dach van octobre int jaer ons heren 1523 den selven onsen somme voor schepenen van Brugghe ghegheven ende besedt heeft up twee husen met hun toebehoorten te gaeder staende in den stede van Brugghe ten voorhoofde in Sint Jacobs strate, wer af het een huijs es ghenaemt tLeenken ende het ander de Zeepketele, eene ander eeuwelicke rente van eenentwyntich schellyngen ende acht pennynge groot losselic de penning xxiiij vallende telcken kermesse, alsoo den charter van besettyng ende ghifte daerof zijnde dat breeder verclaerst, van welke besettyng ende leverying van den charter daer af mentien makende, wij ons kennen over ons ende onse naercommers wel te vreden ende vernoucht. Ende voor de reste van den voornoemde xxxij schellyngen vj grooten tjaers, bedraghende acht grooten tjaers, kennen wij ontfanen te hebben van den executuers van den testamente van den voornoemde wijlent meester Jan Bertyn, sesthien schellyngen grooten ten advenante van den pennynge xxiiij scheldende den voors. heer Jan Bertyn, zijn hoirs ende aeldynghers ende alle die het

angaen mach, daeraf quijte. Mitswelken wij, stedehouder van prochiepape, capellaenen, clerken, ende ghehabitueerde makende het commuijn van der voors. kerke, belooft hebben ende noch bij dese onse letteren beloven ter goeder trouwe over ons ende alle onse naercommers de voors. goddelicke diensten ende jaergetijde ende elc van dien voordan alle jaere eeuwelic geduerende ten daghe ende in der manieren als boven solemnelic ende devotelic te synghen ende celebreren. Ende de voors. lasten ende pennynghen daer vooren ten laste van onsen voors. commune te doen betaelen zonder eenighe faulte ende ghebreke, obligerende ende verbyndende om al dat voorschreven staet wel ende getrauwelick gedaen vulcommen ende onderhouden te zijne, alle onse ende des voorseits ons commuijns goederen renten, revenuen, immoeuble ende moeuble pnt. [presenterende] etcetera, te afcommende. In oorconden van welke dyngghen hebben wij dese onse letteren gedaen seghelen metten seghele van den voors. commune. Dit was gedaen in kercmeesters camere van Sint Jacobs kerke in Brugghe den xij<sup>en</sup> dach van hoijsmaent int jaer ons heeren duijs vijfhondert ende tweeendertich.

**1532, October; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 190r**

Van den grave van Gheeraert [blank space] de zancmeesters kijnde binnen processie.  
[in the margin: debet]

**1532, 2 November; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 215v**

Betaelt bij accoorde van prochiepape, kercmeesters ende dischmeesters de ghesellen van der musicke omme de hoochmesse Alder Zielen dach te zynghene in discante ende met te ghaen quispelen achter de kercke dien tijt gheduerende bij nieuwe ordonnancie ende gracie in handen van Gherardus de sangmeestre j s. vj d. gr.

**1533, April; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 221v**

Ontfaen van tbegraven van tkijndt van de sangmeester deser kercke binnen processie.

**1533; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 242r**

Betaelt Gheer. t filius Jac. de Hondt zangmeester deser kercke bij ordenantie van kerckmeesters tot zijn keerle alst blijkt per billet xvj s. gr.

**1533; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 242v**

Betaelt meester Gheeraert filius Jac. de Hondt zangmeester deser kercke per ordenantie van prochiepape, kerckmeesters ende dischmeesters over dat hij Adriaen de corael in zijn huus ghelogiert ende de montcost xvj daghen lanc ghegheven heift alst blijkt per quictancie v s. gr.

**1533, October; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 225r**

Ontfaen van tbegraven van tkijndt van Gheeraert de zangmeester binnen processie.

**1533, 10 December; OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1533-34, fol. XLIIIr**

Betaelt den x<sup>en</sup> in december xv<sup>c</sup> xxxij te Ghendt voor heer Sybrant Hoijwaeghen den bascontere van huushuere voordan zelven heer Sybrant ghemerct tlast van den zancmeester deser kercke ende mij Joos [= Joos Zoetaerdt, one of the administrators of the *Commuun*] ghegheven hem mede te bringhen van Ghendt hier te Brugghe Sint Jacops xx s. par. ~~ij lb par.~~

**1534; RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1534, fol. [267v]**

Betaelt Gheeraert filius Jac. de Hondt zangmeester deser kercke bij ordonnantie van kerckmeesters tot zijn keerle alst blijkt per ~~billet~~ quictancie xvj s. gr.

**1534, 24 January; RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLXXVIIJv-CLXXXr**

Copie van der fundatie van vijf daghe de ghetijde te zynghene ende twee jaerghetijden, een over de ziele van wijlen Jan van Messem ende tander over de ziele van Joncvrau Elizabeth vander Banc svoorseeijts Jans huusvrouw was heeft gefundeert 30 proven van iiii grooten int roode register van de verbanden [= RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 888] fol. CXX. Wij, Maerten de Raedt presbitere, stedehouder van den prochipape van Sint Jacobs in Brugghe, Willem Obrecht, Anth.s Cant, Kaerle Reynaert, Jan Porret, Willem Maertins, Jan Paisdeceur, Claeis Jona, Anth.s van den Voorde, Maerten de Zaghere, Jacob Varlet, Hercules Houzet, Rodolf Huesch, Franchoys Cordier, priesters ende capellaenen, Guillebert Mazureel coster, Jacob Hoestlandt schoolmeester ende Gheeraert de Hondt sangmeester, makende tsamen of representerende tcommuun van der voors. kercke, doen te wetene allen den ghenen die dese onse letteren zullen sien of hooren lesen, dat wij over ons ende over alle onse naercommers prochipapen, stedehouders, capellanen, clercken, ghehabitueert ende tcommuun van der voors. kercke, ter neerstigher bede ende begheerte van eerbare ende wijse ons wel gheminde Roelandt Roelands, Willem van Messem ende de ander hoijsr ende aeldynghers van wijlen goeder ghedachten Jan van Messem ende joncvrauwe Elizabeth vander Banc zijnder wettelicker ghezelnede was begraven in den hooghe choor van der selver kercke onder eenen blaeuwen zarcsteen met diversche superscriptie, liggende an de zuudzijde van den selven choor commende tot an tziege daer de kercmeesters ghewone zijn van zittene om den dienst Gods te hoorene, ende metter noordzijde an de sepeulture van wijlen Jan van Wulfsberghe, zijnen wive ende kijnderen, streckende metten oosthende an den therdt alzo men gaet naer den hooghen outlaer, hebben den selven aeldynghers gheconsenteert ende bij deze onse letteren alsnoch consenteren, dat wij ende alle onse voors. naercommers prochiepapen capellanen ende ghehabitueerde van der voors. kercke, werden ghehouden voordan alle jare eeuwelicke gheduerende in den hooghen choor van der selver kercke te zynghene ende te celebrerene, ghelijc wij veel voorleden jaren ghezonghen ende ghecelebreert hebben, ter salicheijt ende lavenesse van der sielen van den voors. wijlen Jan van Messem ende joncvrau Elizabet huere voorders ende van alle ghelovighe zielen, eerst vive daghen de groote ghetijden, te wetene den eenentwintichsten, twee en twijntichsten, drie, viere, vive ende twintichsten daghen van der maent van octobre ende noch twee jaerghetijden, te wetene een jaerghetijde up den zesten dach van der maendt van lauwe in elc jaer of eenen dach dach [sic] daer vooren of daer naer om de ghevoughendheden van der kerke, over ende ter salicheijt van der zielen van den voors. wijlen Jan van Messem, ende noch een jaerghetijde up den neghensten dach van der maent van meije ooc in elc jaer over ende ter salicheijt van der ziele van den voors. joncvrau Elizabet vander Banc ende van alle ghelovighe zielen. Elc van de voors. twee jaerghetijden met vigilien met drie lessen sdaechs te vooren, ende up den dach van der voors. jaerghetijden een commendatie, ende daer naer zal den priestre die de voors. commendatie ghehouden sal hebben gaen met zijnen ministers, diaken, subdiaken ende roedragher, met wierooc ende speerswater ter sepulture voors., ende daer lezen den psalme Miserere Mei Deus oft De Profundis metten veersen ende collecte daer toe dienende, ende daer naer zynghen in den choor voors. een messe van Requiem, al naer goeder costume van der kercke voors., ten welcken voors. twee jaerghetijde ende

tot elc van dien, tvoors. comuun zal leveren vier stallichten of wassen keersen elc weghende twee ponden of daer ontrent, staende ten vier houcken van der voorseide sepulture bernende also wel ter vigilie als ter comendatie ende messe voors., ende die gheduerende, ende tot elc van den voors. twee messen een alf pont offer keersen. Ende betalen, te wetene den ghemeene priesters van den choore van elc van der voors. twee jaerghetijden te zynghene vier scellynghen twee pennynghen grooten. Item voor de leverynghe van den wasse neghen grooten ende den roedragher van zynen dienst ende voordien zarcsteen van der sepulture te wasschene eenen grooten. Item den voors. commune voor elc van den voors. vijf daghen de ghetijden te zynghene, twijntich grooten, den clocluder twee grooten, den tafeldragher voor zynen dienst ende der fabrijcke voor tlicht ten hooghen outare elc eenen grooten, belopende tzamen alle de voors. diensten ende lasten ter somme van twijntich schellynghen grooten Vlaemschen munte jaerlicx. Ende uute dien dat de voors. Roelandts, Willem ende aeldijngers willende de selve twintich schellinghen grooten als over de Gods diensten ende jaerghetijden boven gheexpresseert wel ende ghetrauwelic besetten, zo dat in tcelebreren ende zynghen van den Gods dienst voors. gheen ghebreck ende ghebuere oft naermaelden commen soude, hebben ons ende den voors. onzen commune wel ende ghetrauwelic doen bezetten ende verzekeren met scepenen brieven van der stede van Brugghe in goeder eewelicker renten twijntich s. grooten up een huus met datter toebehoort [...]

[...]

Zo eist dat wij over ons ende over alle onze naercomers, prochiepape, stedehouders, capellanen, clercken, comunen van den voors. kercke belooft hebben ende alsnoch beloven, bij deze onze letteren, ter goeder trauwen alle jare eeuwelic gheduerende de voors. vijf daghen de ghetijden ende ooc de voors. twee jaerghetijden ten daghe als boven te zynghene, celebrerene, te doen zynghene ende celebrerene, ende de lasten ende pennijnghen daer vooren te betalene in der maniere als boven zonder eenighe faulte of ghebrec, wel verstaende, also langhe ende van also vele als de voors. rente van twijntich s. grooten ontfanghelic zij ende wij die ghebruken moghen, ons, onze voors. naercommers de voors. rente ende alle tgoet van den voors. commune daer toe verbindende ende ypotequerende, alle exceptien ende uutweghe gheweert ende bijzijden ghestelt. In oorcondscepe van welcken dynghen hebben wij stedehouder van den prochiepape, capellanen ende commun voors. deze onze letteren ghedaen zeghelen met onzen zeghel van den commune, ghegheven te Brugghe den xxiiij dach van lauwe int jaer ons heeren duust vijfhondert ende xxxij.

**1534, April; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1534, fol. 247r**

Ontfaen van tbegraven tkijndt van de zangmeester deser kercke binnen processie iiij gr. ob. [obool = ½ penning]

**1534, October; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1534, fol. 250v**

Ontfaen van tbegraven tkijndt van Gheeraert de zangmeester binnen processie in october xxxj. [sic: xxxij] iiij gr. ob. [obool = ½ penning]

**1535; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1535, fol. 298v**

Betaelt den zancmeestre Gheeradt filius Jacobs de Hondt bij ordonnantie van prochipape, kercmeester ende dischsmeester tot zijn kerle laken als blijc per quitantie xvj s. gr.

**1535, 16 February; RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXLIV-CXLVv**

Copie van den fundatie van den feeste van Jhesus ende van een jaerghetijde ghefundeert bij joncvrauwe Adriane van Montegy weduwe van Jan Humblot.

Wij, Maertin de Raet, presbiter ende stede houdere van den prochipape, Jan Clayssuene, Jan Petan, meester Matheus van Vine, Jacop Lotin, Pietre de Voocht, Victor Terlinc, kercmeesters, meester Matheus van Vine voors., Jan Clays ende Ghelem Ketele de jonghe, dischsmeesters van Sint Jacobs kercke in Brugghe, in desen tijden doen te wetene allen de ghonen die dese onze letteren zullen zien ende hooren lesen, dat wij ter neerstighe bede ende verzoucke van eerbaere ende discrete joncvrauwe Adriaene van Montegiy, weduwe van zaligher ghedachte Jan Humblot, ende daer te vooren Adriaen van Muelebeke, gheconsentert hebben ende al noch bij desen letteren consenteren, dat wij ende alle onzen naercommers, prochipapen, stede houders, kerckmeesters ende dischsmeesters van der voors. kercke, voordan ten eeuweghen tijde ghehouden zullen zijn te doen doenen ende celebreren de feeste ende goddelicke diensten ende ooc distribueren de aelmoesenen ende wij dischsmeesters daer vooren betalen de somme van penningen in der manieren als hier naer bescreven staet.

Te wetene dat wij voordan eeuwelicke ende ervedelicke gheduerende zullen doen celebueren ende houden binnen de voors. kercke ende choore van dieren, telcken vichthiensten daghe van laumaent, bij den commune ofte ghemeenen priesters distributie winnende in de zelve kercke, een solemnele feeste van de zoeten name Jhesus, metten meesten gheluide enden alderbesten habijten ende met luminaris van zessendertich nieuwe wasse kerssen van zesse in pont, op de reesen rontomme den voors. choore, de welcke men ghehouden zal zijn te laten barnen beede de vesperen ende de loven snavons, Lauden ende hoochmesse gheduerende naer de costume van der voors. kercke in ghelijcken feesten onderhouden ende dat in der manieren naervolghende.

Te wetene dat de prochipapae, of in zijn absentie dhoudste capellaen distributie winnende, ghehouden zal zijn de hoochmesse te zynghene ende den choor te houdene ende de ghezellen van der musike discant mottetten ende Te Deum te zynghene ende metten ghemeenen choore voor dhoochmesse processie te draeghene ende in den buec van der kercke Inviolata te zynghene metten veersekens ende collecten ghecostumert, ende naer beede de vesperen ooc statie in de voorkercke thoudene, ende aldaer in de eerste Vesperen Salve Regina ende in de tweetste Alma Redemptoris, metten ghecostumerden veersekens ende collecten te zynghene. Waer vooren men betalen zal der fabrijcken voor tbezeghen van den beste habijten ende groote luminaris acht scellingen grooten, over tluuden van alle de ghetijden der zelve fabrijcke vier scellingen grooten, ende die van de communne present wesende ende preserverende, ten ware bij ziecte, elc enen, ghelijcke tsamen voor den dienst ende ghetijden vijf scellingen groten, voor de processie twaelf groten, voor de twee statien naer Vesperen twintich grooten, den prochipape voor de hoochmesse te zynghene ende den choor thoudene twaelf

grooten, den diakene ende subdiakene tsamen vier groten, die de canterie houden zullen tsame vier groten, den hoorghelare met den blasere twaelf groten, den zanckmeester voor zijn motetten acht groten, den ghezellen van der musike voor tdiscant te zynghene zestien groten, den costers tsamen zes groten, den roedraeghere voor zijn dienst met tleveren van de garse zes groten, den choralen van andoen twee groten, den tafeldraeghere van den choore twee groten, den predicant voor zijn sermoen datmen doen zal voor dhoochmesse op Jhesus dach voors. zes groten, der fabrijcke aldaer voor den luminaris van de voornoemde xxxvi wasse kerssen zes scellingen groten. Ende noch zullen wij, stede houdere, kerckmeesters ende dischmeesters ende onze naercommers voorscreven, doen luuden twee hueren tsnavens, te wetene op Jesus dach ende tsdachs te vooren van den zeven tot den achten, de eerste alhuere met de meeste clocken alleene ende daer naer beijaerden totten acht hueren voors. Ende wij dischmeesters ende onzen naercommers zullen de voornoemde fabrijcke daer vooren betalen de somme van drie scellingen vier penningen grooten.

Ende noch zullen wij, stede houdere, kerckmeesters ende dischmeesters ende onzen naercommers voornoemd bij den voors. commune doen zynghen ende celebreren in den zelve choir te eersten bequamen daghe naer de voors. Jhesus dach een jaerghetijde over ende ter zalichet van de zielen van de voornoemde joncvrouwe Adriane haren voorders ende van allen ghelovighen zielen, in der manieren hier naer verclaerst, te wetene tsdachs te vooren eene vighelie met drie lessen ende up den dach van de jaerghetijde een commendatie, ende naer de voors. commendatie zo zal de priestere die de zelve ghedaen of ghezonghen zal hebben, ghaen met zijn ministeren ende metten roedraeghere van den voors. choore, met wirooc ende ghewijden waetere, ter sepulture van de voors. joncvrouwe Adriaene, ligghende in der grauwerckers cappelle an de zuutzijde van den voors. choore, aldaer lesende de psalmen Miserere Mei Deus ende De Profundis, metten versekins ende collecten daer toe dienende, ende daer naer zo zalmen zynghen metten ghemeen choore een messe van Requien. Zal ooc de stede houdere of capellaen van den voors. prochipape voors. jaerghetijde publiceren ende becondighen tsondachs te vooren in den stoel, ende al dit achtervolgende de goede costume van der voors. kercke, in ghelijcken gheobservert ende ter salicheit van den zielen als boven, ten welcken jaerghetijde tcommun zal leveren vier stallichten of wassen kerssen elck weghende twee ponden of daer ontrent, staende ten vier houcken van der voors. sepulture, ende bernende also wel ter vighelie, als ter commendatie ende messe voors. ende die gheduerende, zal ooc tzelve commun leveren ter voors. messe een alf pont offerkerssen. Voor welc voorscreven jaerghetijde wij, dischmeesters ende al onze naercommers dischmeesters van de voors. kercke, ende in de name van de goede van den dische voors., zullen betalen jaerlix te wetene de somme van den voors. choore, over huerlieder dienst ende over de leverynghe van de vier wasse kerssen ter sepulture ende de offerkerssen ter messe tsamen om vier scellingen twee penningen grooten; den tafeldraeghere van den choore voor zijn dienst twee grooten ende den roedraeghere die ghehouden werdt den zarcksteen van de voors. sepulture te zuveren ende ter commendatie ende messen te dienene, eenen groten Vlaemscher munte, ende der voors. fabrijcke voor tcloppen ende een poosen up te luden ten zelve jaerghetijde met Jacop de mindere ter vigilien ende commendatie, zestien grooten. Ende noch zullen wij,

dischmeesters van den dissche voors. ghehouden zijn voordan ten eeweghen tijden te stellene, ende doen cledene jaerlijx te zulken daghe als men tjaerghetijde van joncvrauwe Adriane voors. doen zal in de voors. kercke, eenen disch van dertich proven, elcke proven werdich zijnde zes grooten Vlaemscher munte, omme die ghedeelt te zijne den aermen huusweecken naer goede costume.

[...]

Noch zo werden wij, stede houdere, kerckmeesters ende dischmeesters ende onzen naercommers voors. ghehouden te beoorghene ende zoo vele te doene dat de vier chooralen van de voors. kercke tot allen messen die men voordan ten eeuweghe daghe doen ende celebren zal over tjaerghetijde van de voornoemde joncvrauwe Adriane, lesen zullen de messe van de voornoemde jaerghetijde gheduerende, ten vier houcken van de voornoemde sepulture de zeven psalmen penitentialen ter zalicheijt van huer ziele, ende alle ghelovighe zielen, ende wij, dischmeesters ende onzen naercommers voors. werden ghehouden daer vooren te betalene te wetene den voochden van den voors. chooralen ende tot huerlijder onderhouden ende proffijte elckers jaers vive scellingen groten.

[...]

den xv<sup>en</sup> dach van sporckele in tjaer duust vijfhondert ende vierendertich.

**1535/36; OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1535/36, fol. LXXVIIr**

Betaelt den zancmeester dezen kercke bij laste bij gratie te zijnen ancome omme een keerle te maken vj lb. par.

[Crossed out, in the margin: ~~Bij quietancie nihil adhuc~~]

**1536; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1536, fol. 328v**

Betaelt Gheeradt filius Jacob de Hont zancmeester deser kercke bij ordonnantie van prochipape ende kercmeesters tot zijn kerlaken per billet xvj s. gr.

[in the margin: per quitantie]

**1536, July; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1536, fol. 307r**

Ontfaen van tbegraven tkint van Gheeradt de Hondt binnen processie iiij gr. xij t.

**1536, 9 December; RAB 88, No. 237, Registrum Contractuum Communitatis, fol. CLIIIr-CLVr**

Copie van den fondatie van twee hueren luudens eende [sic: ende] een messe up den dach van Presentatie Maria ghefondeert bij joncvrauwe Marie Clays, weuwe van Lodewyc van Hille.

Wij, Maertin de Raet, presbitere, deken van kerstenede ende stede houdere van den prochipapt [sic: prochipape] van Sinte Jacops kercke in Brugghe, Willem Hobrecht, Anth.s Cant, Carle Reynnaert, Jan Poret, Willem Martins, Jan Pays de Cuer, Nicolaus Jona, Anthuenis de Voorda, Fransois Cordier, Joos Waghe, Jan Moreel, Kaerle Colvenare, Cornelis van Bambeke, capelanen, Jan Cornebitere, priesters, Gheraert de Hont scanmeestre [sic], Adriaen Relays, Martin de Cupere clercke, ende voort al thgemeene van den commune ghehabitueerde van den choore van Sinte Jacops kercke binnen Brugghe distributie ende pitantie winnende, makende tcommun van den choore van der voors. kercke in desen tijden, doen te wetene alle die ghoone die dese onse letteren zullen zien of hooren lesen, dat wij, overmerkende de zonderlinghe devotie die eerbare ende discreten joncvrauwe Marie Claeys, wedewe van wilent goeder ghedachten

Lowyck van Hille, kercmeestere in zynen tijden van Sint Jacops voors., draghende es toet der helichgher ende ghebenedijden Maghet Marie, moedere van onser behouder Jhesum Christum, sonderlinghe tot haer Presentatie ende oec huere neersteghe begherte ende bede die zou [sic: zij] ons ghedaen heeft, om dat wij zouden willen anverde jaerlicx te doen celebren ende zynghen een messe voor den outtaer van Maria van haer Presentatie, staenden binnen den choer van Sint Jacops voors., ten acht hueren, met dijakene ende subdiakene ende met die gheselle van der musike ende den oorghelare, oec te ludene alle die messe gheduerende. Item noch te doen versieren de voors. outaer met roosen hoen ende vijncoorde luminaris also men ghedaen heeft vele diversche jaren vorleden. Ende te doen ludene twee poosen metten houen [sic: houden] Jacob, telken een huere, te wetene snavens van den vij totten viij hueren up den avent ende den dach van haer Presentatie, al naer de costume in ghelijcke tonderhoudene; waer vooren wij onfaen hebben in goede gherede penninghen, bij der hant van der voorn. joncvrauwe Maria onse medesustere, over ende uuter name van onsen commune van tien ponden grooten Vlaemscher munten, waer bij zo eijst dat wij bij ghemeenen overeendraghene van ons allen naer rijper deliberatie ten diverschen stonden daer up ghenomen der zelve joncvrauwe Maria gheconsentert ende bij desen onsen letteren consenteren, de voors. fundatie van der messe ende dienst zoot voors. Es, accepteren ende anverde ter eere ende werdicheijt van goede der voorseijder zijnder ghebenedijde Moeder der Maghet Maria ende alle Gods helighen, belovende dat wij, prochipape, stedehouder, capelanen ende commuun der voors. kercke ende alle onse naercommers gheabitueerde in de zelve kercke, zullen van nu voortan eeuwelic ende ervelic gheduerende de voors. messe jaerlicx ten daghe voorscreven te doen zynghene zoot voors. Es. Ende zullen daer vooren doen betalen bij den ontfangher van den commune van Sint Jacops kercke voors.: Eerst den celebrant zes grooten, dijakene ende subdiakene elc een gr., de sanghers ende de oorghelare met zijn blasere tsame xxiiij gr., de roudraghere voor zijn dienst eenen gr., die costere voor zijn moijete eenen gr., den clocludere voor tluden met den houden Jacob alle de messe gheduerende xvj gr., noch ter cause van de twee poose metten zelve Jacop, elc van een huere alzoot voorscreven staet, telcken een half huere lude ende een alf huere bejarde, sullen jaerlicx de fabrijcke doen betalen metten clocludere voor elcke huere xvj gr., compt voor de twee huere xxxij gr., ende elc luminaris van den outare ende versieren met roosen hoet ende vijncoorde, sullen dat doen bezoorghe jaerlicx metten soorghere van onser ghilde van Maria van haer Presentatie, die wij houdende zijn ten zelve outare, zo dat van houden tijden altoos besorcht ende versiert gheweest heef; obligierende ende verbijndende om de voors. messe van Maria ende ander dienst jaelics ten daghe ende in de maniere voorscreven ten eeuwijghen daghe ende tijden ghetrauwelic te vulcommene, celebreeren ende onderhoudene ende te doen vulcommen, celebreren ende onderhouden zonder eenighe faute of ghebreck, ons, onse naercommers, prochipape, stedehouderen, capelanen, habituanten ende al tghemeene gheselschap van den choore van der voors. kercke, ende alle svoorseijs commuuns goedijnghe, mueble ofte ontmuebele, present ende toe commene, vaer die zijn ghelegghen moghen. Werden alle exceptien ende huutweghe waerof wij expresselick renuntieren, ghewert ende besijden gheselt; in oorcondscopen van desen dijngghen, hebben wij desen onser letteren doen teeken bij notaris ende



beseghelen metten zeghelen van den commune der voors. kercke. Dit was ghedaen in de stede van Brugghe int jaer ons heeren duust vijfhondert zesse ende dertich den ix dacht van december.

**1536/37; OCMW-B, Rekening Dis 1536/37, fol. LXXXv**

Betaelt den zancmeester dezer kercke, bij gratie van prochiepape, kercmeesters ende dischmeesters, den zelven zancmeester jaerlicx toegheleijt omme den keerle te maken telcken Palm avent van den jaren xv<sup>c</sup> xxxvj ende xxxvij tsiaers zes ponden par., comt tsamen xij lb. par.

**1537; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerckfabriek 1537, fol. 359r**

Betaelt Gheeradt filius Jacob de Hondt als sancmeestre deser kercke tot zijn kerle laken boven de thien scellingen grooten die hem betaelt zijn bij gratie van dischmeesters, dus hier bij accorde van prochipape ende kerckmeesters bij gratie vj s. gr.  
[in the margin: per quitantie]

**1537; RAB 88, No. 237, Registrum Contractuum Communitatis, fol. CLVv-CLVIJr**

Copie van den fondatie van een jaerghetijde van joncvrauwe Marie de Voocht, weduwe van Ingel Packier.

Wij, Maertin de Raedt, presbitere, dekene van kerstenede, stede houdere van den prochipape van Sint Jacops kercke in Brugghe, Willem Obrecht, Anthuenis Cant, Kaerle Reynaert, Jan Porret, Willem Martins, Jan Pagecuer, Nicolaus Jona, Anthuenis van den Voorde, Fransois Cordier, Joos Waghe, Jan Moreel, Cornelis van Bambeke, Kaerle Colvenare, capellanen, Jan Coornebytere schoelmeestere, Frans Ysenbaert costere, Gheeraert dHont sancmeestere, ende voort alle de andere habituanten makende tghemeene gheselschap van der commune van Sint Jacops kercke voorseijt, doen te wetene allen den ghoonen die desen letteren zullen zien ende hooren lesen dat wij ten neerstighen verzoucke van meester Cornelis Claeysuene, presbitere ende cannenic van Vuerne, ende Jan Claeysuene als hoirs ende executeurs van den testamente van wijlen joncvrauwe Marie de Voocht, wedewe van wijlen Inghel Parkier, ende daer te vooren van Cornelis Claeysuene, hebben den voors. hoirs ende executeurs in de name voors. gheconsenteirt ende bij desen onzen letteren als noch consenteren, over ons ende over alle onsen naercommers, prochipape, stede houders, capellanen ende habituanten van den choore representerende tcommuun van den voors. kercke, dat men van nu voordan alle jare eeuwelic gheduerende telcken zevenentwintichsten in novembre eenen of emmer twee daghe daer naer onbegrepen, omme de ghevouchghelichede van den choore, zynghen ende celebreren zal in den zelven choor van der voors. kercke, den jaerghetijde over ende ter zalicheden van den ziele van joncvrauwe Marie de Voocht voornoemd, met vighelien van drie lessen sdachs ter vooren ende up den dach van den zelven jaerghetijde een comendatie, naer welcken commendatie, den priestere, die de zelven ghezonghen zal hebben, zal gaen met zijnen ministers, diaken, subdiaken ende den roedraghere, met wieroock ende ghewijde watere ter sepulture van der voors. joncvrauwe Marie de Vocht, verdeckt met eenen blaeuwen steene, liggende in de voerkerke bij de westduere bij de sepulture van Jooris Dalennis, liggende an de noortzijde metten westhende streckende bij een houtten tzietsel wijlen gheconsenteirt dheer Willem Moreel ende zijn naercommers, aldaer lesen den psalm Miserere Mei Deus ofte De Profundis metten veersekens ende colletten daer toe dienende, ende

daernaer zalmen zynghen in de voors. choor een messe van Requiem al naer de goede costume van der voors. kercken.

Ten welcken jaerghetijde den ontfanghere van comuns goede bezoorghen zal ende betalen alle jaere eeuwelic gheduerende de somme van veertich scellinghen Parisisen ende distribueren in deser manieren, te wetene: den ghemeenen habituanten van den choore van den vighelie, comendatie ende ziel messe voors. te zynghene dertich schellinghen Parisisen in pitantie. Item voor de leveringhe van vier stallichten of wasse kerssen elc weghende twee ponden of daer ontrent die wij ghehouden worden te leveren ende te doen stellen te vier houcken van den voors. sepulture bernende alzo wel ter vighelie als ter comendatie ende messe voors., ende die gheduerende ende ooc voor een alf pont offerkerssen ter offerande neghen scellinghen Parisisen, ende den roedraghere van den choore voor zijn dienst van den zarcsteen te wasschen ten zelve jaerghetijde, eenen schellinghen Parisisen al Vlaemscher munte.

Ende uute dien dat de voors. hoirs ende executeurs van de voors. joncvrauwe Marie omme de voors. veertich scellinghen Parisisen tsjaers wel, ende ervelic ghefondeirt, ende tvoors. jaerghetijde wel ende duechdelicke ten daghe ende in der manieren boven ghescreven jaerlicxs ghecelebreirt ende de voors. keerssen ghelevert te werden, zo hebben de hoirs ende executeurs van der voors. joncvrauwe Marie wel ende ghetrauwelicke ghelevert ende betaelt in handen van prochiepape ende kercmeesters, in goede ghereede penninghe de somme van achtenveertich ponden Parisisen Vlaemscher munte, te wetene voor elcken penning vierentwintich penninghen naer costume van ervelicke rente of fondatie, van welcke somme van achtenveertich ponden Parisisen over tvoors. beset, wij ons houden vernoucht ende ghepaeijt ende elcken anderen diet angaet, zo es dat wij, stede houdere van den prochiepape, capellanen, ghehabitueirde, representerende tcommun van den choore van Sinte Jacops kercke voors., beloven ter goeder trouwe over ons ende over alle onsen naercommers, prochiepape, stedehouders, capellanen, habituanten ende commun van der zelve kercke tvoors. jaerghetijde voordan in der manieren ende ten daghe vooren verclaerst, jaerlix ten eeuwighen tijden wel ende ghetrauwelijck te zynghene ende celebreren, doen zynghen ende celebreren ende daer vooren te doen betalen jaerlix de somme van veertich scellinghen Parisisen als boven ghescreven staet, zonder eenighe faute of ghebrec, ons de voors. onsen naercommers ende al des voors. comuns goeden, mueble ende onmuebele, ieghenwordich ende toe te commen, waer die zijn of ghevonden zullen worden, daer toe verbindende ende ypothequerende, alle exceptien, cavillatien, fuijte ende subtilheden ghewerk ende bezijde ghestelt. In oorcondscepe van welcken dynghen hebben wij den zeghelen van den commune voors. hier an ghedaen hanghen. Dit was ghedaen int jaer ons heeren duust vijfhondert ende zevenendertich den [not filled in].

**1537, August; RAB 88, No. 27, fol. 337v**

Ontfaen van tbegraven tkint van den sancmeestre deser kercke binnen processie iijj gr. xij t.

**1537, 8 November; RAB 88, No. 237, Registrum Contractuum Communitatis, fol. CLXVIJv-CLXIXr**

Copie van een eervelick jaerghetijde van meester Jooes de Roy, gheseijt Regis, presbiter ende canneunic van der colegiale kercke Sint Salvators, ghesonden binnen deser kercke.

Wij, Maertin de Raedt, presbitere, dekene van kerstenede, stedehouder van den  
 prochipape van Sint Jacobs kercke in Brugghe, Willem Hobrech, Anthuenis Cant,  
 Kaerle Reynaert, Jan Porret, Willems Maertins, Jan Pagicuer, Niclaus Jona, Anth.s vande  
 Voorde, Fransoys Cordier, Joos Waghe, Corn. van Bambeke, Kaerle de Colvenare,  
 capellanen, Jan Cornebittere scholmeester, Frans Ysenbaert costere, Gheeraert dHont  
 zancmeester, ende voort alle den anderen habituanten maekende tghemeene gheselschap  
 van den comune van Sint Jacobs kercke voors. doen te wetene allen den ghenen die  
 desen letteren zullen zien of hooren lesen, dat wij ter nerstighe verzoucke van Jan de  
 Roy ende joncvrauwe Margriete de Roy, wedewe van Joos Andries, als broedere ende  
 zustere van meesters Joos de Roy gheseyt Regis, presbitere ende canueninc van der  
 collegiale kercke van Sint Salvators binnen deser stede, anghemerct de goede jonste die  
 de voors. meester Jan ter voors. kercke ende comune van Sint Jacobs voors. betooch  
 heeft, zo hebben wij de voornoemde persooene boven ghenoeemt gheconsentert ende bij  
 desen als noch consenteren over ons ende alle onsen naercommers, prochipape,  
 stedehouders, capelanen ende habituanten van de choore vanen [sic: van der] voors.  
 kercke, dat men van nu voordan alle jare eeuwelic gheduerende telcken  
 viventwintichsten daghe van septembre eenen of emmer twee daghen daer naer  
 onbegrepen, omme de ghevouchliche de van den choore, zynghen ende celebreren zal in  
 den zelve choor van der voors. kercke, een jaerghetijde over ende ter zalichede van den  
 ziele van meester Joos voornoemde ende alle gheloovighe zielen, met vigelien van drie  
 lessen sdaechs te voeren, ende up den dach van den zelve jaerghetijde een  
 commendatie, naer welcke commendatien de priestere die den zelve ghezonghen zal  
 hebben zal gaen met zynen ministers, diaken, subdijaken ende den roedraghe [sic:  
 roedragher] met wieroc ende ghewijde watere ten ghemeene sepulture van den  
 commune liggende in den middele van den voorkerke verdeckt met een blaeuwen steen,  
 ende aldaer lesen den psalme Miserere Mei Deus ofte De Profundis metten versekens  
 ende collecte daer toe dienende, ende daer naer zalmen zynghen in de voors. choor een  
 messe van Requiem al naer de goede costume van der voors. Kercke.  
 Ten welcken jaerghetijde den ontfangher van comuns goede bezorghen zal ende betalen  
 alle jaere eeuwelic gheduerende de somme van veertich scellinghen Parisisen ende  
 distribueren in deser manieren, te wetene: den ghemeene habituanten van den choore  
 van der vigelie, commendatie ende messe voors. te zynghene dertich scellinghen  
 Parisisen ende pitantien. Item voor de leveringhe van vier stallichten of wasse keerssen  
 elc weghende twee pont of daer ontrent die wij ghehouden worden te leveren ende te  
 doen stellen ten vier houcken van der voors. sepulture bernende, also wel te vigelie als  
 ter commendatie ende messe vors. ende die gheduerende, ende ooc voor een alf pont  
 offerkerssen ter offerande neghen scellinghen Parisisen, ende den roedraghere van den  
 choore voor zyn dienst van den steen te wasschen ten zelve jaerghetijde eenen scelling  
 Parisisen al Vlaemscher munten. Ende omme tsvoors. jaerghetijde wel ende  
 duechdelicke ten daghe ende in der manieren boven ghescreven jaerlix ghecelebrert te  
 werden ende de veertich scellinghen Parisisen wel ende ervedelicke ghefundert te zynen,  
 zo heeft joncvrauwe Margriete voors. wel ende ghetrauwelicken doen betalen ende  
 leveren in handen van prochipape ende kercmeesters, in goede ghereede penninghen, de  
 somme van achtenveertich ponden Parisisen Vlaemscher munte, te wetene voor elcken

penninc vierentwintich penninghen naer costume van ervelicke rente of fundatie, van de welcke somme van achtenvertich ponden Parisisen over tvoorseit beset wij ons houden verneucht ende ghepaeijt. Ende wij, stedehouder van den prochipape, capellanen, gheabituerden, representerende tcommun van den choore van Sint Jacobs kercke voors., beloven ter goeder trouwen over ons en over alle onsen naercomers, prochipape, stedehouders, capellanen, habituanten ende tcomun van der zelve kercke tvoorseit jaerghetijde voordan in der manieren ende ten daghe vooren verclaerst, jaerlicx ten eeuwighen tijden wel ende ghetrauwelic te zynghene ende celebreren, doen zynghen ende celebreren, ende daer vooren te doen betalen jaerlicx de some van veertich scellinghen Parisisen als boven ghescreven staet, zonder eenighe faulte of ghebrec, ons de voors. onsen naercomers ende al des voors. comuns goede mueble ende onmeuble, teghenwordich ende toe te commene, waer die zijn of ghevonden zullen worden, daertoe verbindende ende ypothequerende, alle exceptien, cavillatien, fuijten ende subtilheden ghewert ende bezijden ghestelt. In kennesse van welcke dinghen hebben wij den zeghele van den comune vorseit hier an ghedaen hanghen. Dit was ghedaen int jaer ons heeren duust vijfhondert seven ende dertich den achsten dach van novembre.

**1537/38; OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1537/38, fol. LXXXv**

Betaelt den zancmeester deser kercke, bij gratie bij prochiepape kercmeesters ende dischmeesters, den zelven toegheleit jaerlicx, omme een keerle te maken telcken Palme zondach dit van den jare xv<sup>c</sup> xxxvij vj L. par.

[in the margin: Ordinaire et per quitantie]

**1538; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 388v**

Betaelt Gheeradt filius Jacob de Hondt zancmeestre deser kercke over zijn kerle laken boven de x s. gr. die hem betaelt zijn van dischsmeesters, dus hier over der kercke bij ordonantie van prochipape kerckmeesters bij gratie vj s. gr.

**1538, 26 July; RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLXIjv-CLXIIIj**

Copie van der fondatie van een jaerghetijde van Joncvrauwe Jaqueminne van den Poele filia Jans dheer Ghelam Ketele wijf was.

Wij, Maerten de Raedt presbitere, dekene van kerstenede, stedehouder van den prochipape van Sint Jacobs kercke in Brugghe, Willem Hobrecht, Anthuenis Cant, Karle Reynnaert, Jan Porret, Guillame Maertins, Jan Pagicuer, Claeys Jona, Anth.s de Voorda, Frans Cordier, Joos Waghe, Kaerle Colvenare, Melsior Arens, Clays Bermarjn, Pieter Vekin, Frans Matheu, Coppen Cant, capellanen, Mechiel Porree scolmeestere, Frans Ysenbaert costere, Gheeraert de Hont zancmeestre ende voort allen anderen habituanten makende thgemeene ghezelschap van den comune van Sint Jacobs kercke voors., doen te wetene ~~allen~~ allen den ghoonen die desen letteren zullen zien ende hooren lesen dat wij ter neersteghen bede ende begherte van eerbaren ende wijse onsen lieve ende welbeminde dheer Ghelem Ketele doude, prochiaen van den zelve kercke, anghemerc de goede jonsten ende duech die wilen joncvrauwe Jaqueminne van den Poele filia Jans, zijne wettelicken ghezelnede ter voors. kercke ende comune, ghehadt heift, hebben den voornoemde Ghelem gheconsentert ende bij desen onsen letteren als noch consenteren over ons ende alle onsen naercomers, prochipape, stedehouders, capellanen ende habituanten van den choore representerende comun van der voors. kercke, dat men van nu voordan alle jare eeuwelicke gheduerende telcken xxvij<sup>en</sup> van

wedemaent, eenen of emmer twee daghen daer naer onbegrepen, omme de ghevoechliche van den choore, zinghen ende celebreren zal in den zelven choor van der kercke een jaerghetijde over ende ter zalichede van den zielen van joncvrauwe Jaquemine voors. ende alle gheloovighe zielen, met vighelie van drie lessen sdaichs te voeren, ende upden dach van den zelven jaerghetijde een comendatie, naer welcken comendatie den priestre die den zelven ghezonghen zal hebben zal ghaen met zinnne ministers, diake, supdiake ende den roedraghere met wieroock ende ghewijde watere ter sepulture van den voors. joncvrauwe Jaqueminne, verdeckt met eenen witten zarcsteen liggende in de voorkercke ande noortzijde, metten westhende neffens de sepulture van Jan Petan. metten noorthende neffens de houte zitsels no<sup>r</sup>. [nommer] xxxij ende xxxiij, aldaer lesen den psalm Miserere Mei Deus of De Profondis metten versekens ende collecten daer toe dienende, ende daer naer salmen zinghen in de voors. choor een messe van Requiem al naer de goede costume van der voors. Kercke.

Ten welcken jaerghetijde den ontfangher van comuuns goede beoorghen zal ende betalen alle jare eeuwelic gheduerende de somme van veertich schellinghen Parisisen, ende distribueren in deser manieren, te wetene: den ghemeene habituatien van den choore van der vighelie, comendatien ende zielmesse voors. te zinghene dertich scellinghen Parisisen in pitantien. Item voor de leveringhe van vier stalicten ofte wasse kerssen, elck weghende twee ponden of daer ontrent, die wij ghehouden worden te leveren ende te doen stellen ten vier houcken van der voors. sepulture, bernende also wel ter vighelie als ter comendatie ende messe ende die gheduerende; ende ooc voort een half pont offer kerssen ter offerande neghen scellinghen Parijsisen; ende den roedraghere van den choore voor zijn dienst van den steen te wasschen ten zelven jaerghetijden eenen scellinghen Parijsisen al Vlamscher munte. Ende omme diswille dat tvoors. jaerghetijde wel ende duechdelicke ten daghe ende in de manieren boven ghescreven jaerlix gheselebreirt ende ghezonghen te wesen ende veertich scellinghe Parijsisen wel ende ervelick ghefondert te zinnne, zo es dat de voornoemde Ghelem betaelt ende ghegheven heift de somme van achtenveertich ponden Parijs. Vlaemscher munte te wetene voor elcken penning vierrentwintich penninghen, naer costume van ervelicke rente of fondatie van der welcke somme van xlvij lb. Parisisen. Over tvoors. bezet wij ons houden vernouch ende ghepaeijt ende elc anderen diet angaet, zo es dat wij, stedehouder van den prochipape, capellanen, ghehabitueerden, representerende tcomun van den choore van Sint Jacobs kercke voors., beloven ter goeder trouwe over ons ende alle onse naercommers prochipape, stedehouders, capellanen, habituanten ende comun van der zelve kercke tvoors. jaerghetijden voordan in den manieren ende ten daghe voeren verclaerst jaerlix ten eeuweghen tijden wel ende ghetrauwelick te zinghen ende celebreren ende doen zinghen ende celebreren ende daer voeren te doen betalene jaerlixs de somme van xl schellinghen Parisisen als boven, zonder eenighe faute of ghebreck ons de voors. Naercommers; ende al des voors. comuns goeden mueble ende onmueble, jeghenwordich ende toe te commen, waer die zijn of ghevonden zullen worden, daer toe verbiendenen ende ypothequerende, alle exceptien, cavilatiën, fuitjen ende suptijlheden ghewert ende bezijden ghestelt. In kennesse van welcken dijnghen hebben wij den zeghele van de comune voors. hier an ghedaen haenghen. Dit was ghedaen int jaer ons heeren duust vijfhondert achtendertich den xxvj<sup>en</sup> in hoijmaent.

**1538, between 2 and 8 September; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 149r**

Item want die sangmeester van Brugge hier ontboden was om sangmeester te sijne ende want hij nijet aengenomen en waert, alsoe den selven gesconcken tot zijnen teergelt ij gulden.

**1538/39; OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1538/39, fol. fol. LXXXJv**

Betaelt den zancmeester dezer kercke, bij gratie, bij prochiepape ende kercmeesters ende dischmeesters, hem toe gheleit ter hulpewaerts omme een keerle te maken telcken Palmarum van den jare xv<sup>c</sup> xxxix vj lb. par.

[in the margin: ordinantie]

**1539; RAB 88, nr. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 414v**

Betaelt Gheeradt filius Jacob de Hondt als zancmeestre deser kercke over zijn kerle laken, boven de x schellingen groot die hem betaelt zijn van dichsmeesters dus hier over de kercke bij ordonantie vj s. gr.

[in the margin: per quitantie]

**1539, between 13 October and 7 November; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 204r**

Item meester Jannen onsen organist gegeven om tot Brugge te reijsen ende meester Gerit den sangmeester aen te nemen xxxv st.

**1539, 31 December; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 226v**

Item meester Gerit die Hont van Brugge onsen nijeuwen sangmeester, want hij den selven dach comen was ende mede gesongen heeft alsoe hem die gagie gegeven xxvij st.

**1540, between 15 and 20 March; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 212v**

Item meester Gerarden die Hont onsen sangmeester voir een gratuiteijt geschoncken, omdat hij sommige moutetten in de eere van der bruederscappe gemaict heeft xx st.

**1541, 17 February; SAB, Inv. nr. 157, Civile Sententiën Vierschaar, book 1534-1541 n.s., fol. 582r-v**

[in the margin: Gheeraert de zangher]

Ten poorterssche etcetera zo hadde Gheeraert de zangher heerschere aldaer betrocken ende up gherouppen Anthuenis Michiels verweerdere, ende comparerende te diere cause in ghebannen vierschaere, Mattheus de Queestre als procureur ende machtich van den voors. heerschere, zijde ende vertoochde hoe dat upden anderen dach van decembre xv<sup>c</sup> ende xxxix de verweerdere bij cedulle van zijnder handt hem jehghens den heerschere verbonden hadde in de somme van iiij lb. x schellingen groot ter cause van den coope van eenen bonte merrije, belovende die te betalene te zekeren daghe langhe overleden, alzo dat claerlick blijcken mochte bij der cedule daerof zijnde, die de voors. Mattheus de Queestre promptelicke betoochde ende exhibeerde. Ende hoewel dien volghende de verweerdere behoorde de voors. somme betaelt thebbene, nochtans was daerof in ghebreke, zodat den heerschere daeromme noodt was dit betreck te doene. Ende contendeerde bij dien ten fijne dat de zelve verweerdere in de voors. iiij lb. x schellingen groot ghecondempneert zoude zijn metsgaders in de resten van desen vervolghde. Of in cas van delaije of noncomparitie van den verweerdere dat men de voors. cedulle houdden zoude over ghekent, ende daer verweerdere condempneren de gheheeschte somme te namptierene met consente den heerschere die te moghen lichtene up zeker, naer de costume in ghelijcke onderhouden, ghemerct dat de verweerdere ghedachvaert ghezijn hadde omme de voors. cedule te commen kennen of

loochenen. Ende naerdat de betrocken verweerdere in de vierschaere voortgheheescht was ende niet en compareirde noch procureur over hem verbeijt tot den hende van den ghedijnghe, ende naer de kennesse van zijnen ghebode, so was hendelicke ter manijnghe van den heere ende bij vonnesse van scepenen volghende den stijle ende costume al notoire in ghelijcken onderhouden de voors. cedula ghehouden over ghekent, ende de voors. verweerdere ghecondempneert de voors. iiij lb. x schellingen groot te namptierene. Consenterende den heerschere daer of de lichtijnghe up zeker van die te restituerende in dient ter diffinitive zo ghewijst wierde, ende stellende den verweerdere in zijn gheheel ende onverlet omme zijn exceptien te proponerene indien hij eeneghe heeft also hij te rade vinden zal.

Actum als boven [= fol. 568r, xvij<sup>en</sup> dach van sporckele xv<sup>c</sup> ende veertich]

**1541, April; RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1540, fol. 455r**

Ontfaen van begraven tkindt van Gheeraert dHondt binder processie iiij gr. xij t.

**1541, between 5 and 14 November; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 30v**

Item gegeven den sangmeester, voir dat hij die twee choraelkens onderhouden soude dair van gesproken was met der gemeijnden bruederscappen in plaetsse van eenen boven sanck, ter tijt toe dat gesloeten ende geconsenteert soude wesen met den heeren van den capittle ij Ca. gl.

**1542, 17 April; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 40r**

Item den beneficiaten van Sunt Jans kercke metten sangeren die de verrijsenisse opden lesten heijligen dach van Paesschen opden kerckhoff hebben gespoelt, soe is bij den gemeijnen bruederen hen geaccordeert te gevene nae alder gewoenten, gelijk dat blijkt in de rekeninge Claessens vander Stegen anno 35 ende meester Franssens Toelinck als proesten doen ter tijt wesende, alsoe betaelt den selven vij lb. pajements vt. [valet] ij Ca. gl. ij st.

**1542, between 8 and 16 June; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 44r**

Item gegeven den sangmeester, want hij eenen jongen onderhouden hadde, eer bij den bruederschappe ende capittle geaccordeert was acht jongeren te houden, dair voir hem eens toegevueght is geweest ij Ca. gl., gelijk voirs., ende boven dien hem alnoch gegeven iij Ca. gl.

**1543, between 13 and 19 May; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 116r-v**

Vant gesloten vas, dat mester Gerit gerit [sic] onssen sangmester anno xlj solde aennemen noch ij jongen coralen totten vj coralen tsamen viij coralen in de plaets van den boven sanck, ende also gesproken, metten heren van den capittel ende met heurluden overcomen, dat men den sangmeester voirs. daer af jaerlixs sol geven in dien dat hij also viij jongen hield, xxxiiij Korolus gulden te veten in vier termijnen, Sint Jansmijs, Bamis, Corsmis, Annuncionis Marie, dats den xxv<sup>en</sup> mert, ten elcken verdel jaers viij 1/2 gulden. Met condicien toe gedaen dat de bruederscap altit veder mach afstellen alst hoer believen sal, vant het is gedaen op veel behagen ende hier een [sic: en] sin oeck eghen scriften af gemackt xxxiiij gl.

**1544, June; RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1544, fol. 542r**

Ontfaen over tbegraven van tkindt van Gheeraerd de Hondt binder processie iiij groot ½.

**1544, October; RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1544, fol. 544v**

Ontfaen van tbegraven van Gheeraardt de Hondts kijnt binder processie iiiij groot ½.

**1545, 12 March; SAHt, OSA 8872, fol. 267v**

In den Naem ons Heeren Amen, bij desen openbaren instrument sij kenlic eenen ijegelicken, dat in den jaer der gebeurten ons Heeren duijssent vijffhondert vierendeveertich, in de tweede indictie, den twelften dach der maent martij, des paeusdoms ons alder Heijlichste Vaders in Christo ende heeren, heeren Paulj met Goets voersienicheijt die derde paeus desen naems in den tienden jaere sijnder coronatien, voer mij, notarius openbaer, ende getugen ondergescreven, sijn gecompareert, ende gestaen, die eersame ende besceijden personen, Aleyt van Ravesteyn, Gudele wettighe dochter Bervaerts van Berchum, Aechtken Pottey, Jenneken Cupers, Henriccken van Gerwen, Katharina Verstappen, ende meer andere meesterssen, oft regerssen des grooten beghijnhoefs tSartogenbosch, bisdoms van Ludick, begheerende uuijt goeder devotien tijtelicke ende verghanckelicke gueden in eewich goet salichlijcken, te veranderen, ende begheerende Goedts dienst ter eeren, ende lofs Goeds almachtich, te vermeederen [sic:vermeerderen], hebben oetmoedelick gebeden den eerwerdighe heeren deken ende capittel Sint Jans Evangeliste, als haeren rechten pastoor ende ziel bewaerder, dat sij ter eeren Goeds ende vermeerderinghe des heijlich dienst, wilden toelaten een weeckmisse ten ewigen ende toecomende tijden ghesonghen te wordden in der beghijnen kercke bij den vicecureijt oft capellaen van den eerweerdighen Heijligen Sacrament, alle vridaghen alsoe verre op den dach gheen hoechtijt oft gefundeert jaergetijt, gheen uuijftaert of ander sunderlinghe lasten ofte occupatien en sijn, ende hier op die voergenoemden heeren deken ende capittel, bewegen sijnde doer der begheerten ende oetmodelijcke bedinghe, der voirs. meersterssen, hebben met goeder ende riper deliberatien daer op gehadt, die voirs. misse onweederroepelick toegelaten, in sulcker manieren ende met conditien hier nae volgende. Waeromme dier voirs. meersterssen met den ouden joffrouwen des hoeffen begheerende der loffelijcker ende ghonsterlicker admissen te voldoen, hebben met haren vrijen wil, ende met ghemeijnder eendrachticheijt niet gedrongen noch bedwongen van ijemanden (met wettelijcker stipulatien) voer hen selven ende voer hen nacomelinghen vastelijcken geloeft op alle die gueden des voirs. beghijnhoeffs, nutertijt hebbende ende naemaels vercrighende, stellende die selve daer voer te pande, dat sij in gerede penninghen altijt geven ende betalen sullen van een iegelijck misse te celebreren solempneelick te singhen ende sacrament te presenteren soet behoert: den vicecureijt drie stuyvers Brabants ende den coster ende een iegelijck beneficiaet in der voirs. kercken residerende ende van den beghinne totten eijnde toe in der selver missen mede singende, present ten waer dat hij wittelick impedement hadde een blanck der gelijcker munten. Ende in gevalle die voirscreven beneficiaeten dat versmaden te doene, soe sullen die vicecureijt ende meersterssen ander sanghers moegen stellen in hen plaetse. Ende hier boven sal die voirs. capellaen gheobligeert ende verbonden wesen, alle donderdaghe nae goeder ouder gewoenten tot noch toe in versceijden plaetsen onderhouden, dat weerdighe heijlighe sacrament te presenteren voer den hoogen outaer, den wolck singhende Tantum ergo sacramentum etcetera, alst gewoenlic is, ende die collect dragende tselve weder op sijn gewoenlicke plaetse, alsoe verre die beghijnen tloff van den selven singhen. In kennisse



van desen soe hebben wij, deken ende capittel voergenoemd ter beheerten der voirs. rectoiren onsen gemeijnen segel van onsen capittel aen dese onse letteren doen hanghen, ende bij onsen notaris doen screven ende ondertekenen in den jaere, indictie, maende, dage ende paeusdomme als boven. Dit es gesciet in onsen gemeijnen capittelhuijs, ten tijde alst capittulum mensis was, daer bij ende over waren heer Janne van Mierloe beneficiaet in der kercken van Sint Jans voergenoemd, ende Adriaen Janss. suppoest des capittels voergenoemd priesteren, als getugen hier toe geroepen ende gebeden.

**1546, 19 April; SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1397, fol. 267v**

Item xix april anno xlv voir Paesschen betaelt Pluymen ende Henricken Goyartzs., dienairs van der corter roeden, dat zij ten bevele der gecommiteerden des nachts als men die passie opter merct metten figueren ende personagien den volck heeft beduijt, die kijnderen van der loijven voir die gaffele hebben afgehouden ende gekeert vj st. Item den dekenen van der passien nae alder gewoenten tot hulpe van den spele van der passien opter merct op Palmsondach snachts met figueren hebben gespeelt, alnoch betaelt xv st. v. [valet] dit tsamen xl st.

**1547, 2 October; BHIC, Toegangsnummer 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 50v**

Item want meester Gerart die Hont sangmeester van hier nae Vrieslant getrocken is met eenen van den choraelen genoempt Symon den ij<sup>en</sup> octobris. Ende dair nae heer Philips de Spina den choralen als meester bij provisie bewaert heeft, den welcken choralen allen weken nijet meer van der bruederscappe en competeert dan vij st., ergo en sall het sangeren loen metten choraelen nu nijet meer beloepen dan vj gl. xvij st.

**1547, 2 October; BHIC, Toegangsnummer 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 54r**

Item want gesloeten is bij der bruederscappe dat meester Gerart die Hont ons sangmeester anno xlj soude aennemen noch twee jonghen choraelen totten zess choraelen, datter nu voirtaen acht choralen soude wesen, wair van die twee ierste aengenoemen zijn in de plaetsse van den boeven sanck soude vervullen. Ende tselve nae communicatie metten heeren van den capittule dair aff gehouden bij den selven oijck geacordeert is in sulcker vuegen, dat men den sangmeester soe wanneer hij acht choralen houdende waer, soude gheven vier ende dartich gulden des jairs tot vier termijnen, te weten Sunt Jansmisse, Bamisse, Corsmisse ende Annunciationis Marie den xxv<sup>en</sup> dach marcij, beloepende elck vierendeel jairs vij Ca. gl. thien st. met voirwaerden toegedaen dat die bruederscappe altijt tselve mach wederomme aff stellen alst haer believeen zall.

Ende want die voirs. meester Gerart die Hont van hier nae Vrieslant vertrocken is altera Bavonis anno 47 ende met hem genoemen heeft Symon chorael, een van den tween die de plaetsse van den boeven sanck bewaeren souden, dair om den selven nijet meer betaelt dan twee termijnen, te weten Sunt Jansmisse ende Bamisse, beloepende tsamen xvij Ca. gl.

**1547, 27 October; SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 8876**

In den jaer ons heeren M v<sup>c</sup> ende xlvij, den xxvij<sup>ten</sup> dach octobri, soe sijn bij den anderen ghecomen die eerbare personen te weten Hanreken van Gerwen, Gheertruijt Smedts, Cristina Ywaens van Os, ende Emken van Uden als meerstaerssen ten tijde wesende des groten baghijnhoeffs der stadt van tSaertoghenbosche. Ende hebben aenghenomen den

eerbaren meester Jannen Bossaert organist, om te spuelen op die organen staende in den kercken van den voers. baghijnhoff, een heel jaer duerende, welcke jaer beghonnen heeft int hoechtijt van Paesschen ten selve jaer voers. Ende sal ghehouden sijn te spelen die daghen hier nae volghende. Item in den eersten opten Paeschavont die misse, ende Vespere. Item opten Paeschdach Metten, misse, Vesper, metten drie daghen daer nae volghende. Item Sinte Philips ende Jacob misse. Item Sinte Jan in den mej. Item opten Assentien avont die Te Deum nae die processie. Item Assentien dach. Item opten Pinxdach met drie daghen daer nae als Paesdach. Item opten dach van den Heijligher Drievoldicheijt. Item Sacramens dach met die heel octave alle daghe misse. Item Sint Jans ghebuerte. Item Sint Annen dach. Item Sint Jacobs dach die meerdere. Item Sint Augustijnen dach misse. Item Sint Jans onthoef dach misse. Item Heijlich Cruijs dach verheftinge. Item op Sinte Franciscus dach misse. Item den kermis dach. Item Alder Heijligen dach. Item Sint Oijen dach misse. Item opten Heiligen Korsdach met drie daghen daer nae als den Paesdach compleet. Item Jaersdach. Item Dertiendach. Item Sint Anthonis dach misse. Item Sinte Sebastiaens dach misse. Item allen onser liever Vrouwen daghen, Presentationis mede gherekent. Item die misse van half vasten. Ende alle sondaghen ende heijlich daghen onser liever Vrouwen loff tsavonts als ghewoenlijck is. Item van die hoechtijden der meche etcetera, te weten Sinte Katelyne, Sinte Baerber, Sint Aechte, ende diets ghelijcken. Sullen moghen voldoen den organist met die summe van iij stuivers tot elcken van dijen daghen. Item meer in alle andere feest daghen daer mer die messe te spelen en is, daer aff sullen die selven moghen voldoen den selven organist met die summe van eenen stuiver. Item behalven dees voorghenomde poercelen, soe sal die selve meester Jan noch spelen alle sondaghen misse, ende tsavonts Sacramens loff, ende alle donderdaghen Sacramens loff, ende alle vridaghen Sacraments misse. Item noch op Sinte Sijmons ende Judas dach misse, daer Gulde Misse. Item Sinte Cecilie misse, Sinte Lambrechts misse. Item noch Sinte Peter ende Pauwels misse. Item Sinte Matheus misse. Item Sinte Mathijs misse, Sinte Bartholomeus misse, Sint Thomas misse. Item Sinte Wilbordts misse. Item Sinte Machiels misse, Sinte Laurijs misse. Item noch Sinte Katerijn, van den Seijnden misse. Item voer die lasten en moeten hier boven verclaert, soe hebben die meersterssen voers. den selven meester Jannen Bossaert organist gheloefte te gheven en te betalen int eijnde van den jaer oft alle vierendeel jaers met percelen, soe hen dat ghelieven sal, ~~die summe van xiiij Carolus gulden, ende acht/thien st. Elcken gulden gherekent op twentich st.~~, Ende alle saken sonder arghelist, ende alle andere feest daghen sullen sijn tot profijt van den organist. Item oft die selve organist eenighe fouten maeckten, sonder wittighe saken, soe sal die selve die moghen verhalen als dat tijt gheven sal, oft die meersterssen sullen dat den selven mogen corten nae gheleghenisse der saken. Item dit is aldus gheschiet in die gherwecamer van der voers. kercke ten daghe, maent ende jaer voerscreven in die thegenwordicheijt der eerbare ghetuijgen hier onder ghescreven. Item alnoch op Sinte Dominicus misse, Gherardus Back presbiter  
 Petrus Leyten presbiter  
 Item noch soe sal den organist ghehouden sijn te spuelen Sinte Katherijnen feest, Sinte Barbara, ende Sint Agata, als men ghewoenlijck is in die voers. daghen te spuelen. Item noch soe sal den organist spuelen Sinte Elysabet misse. Item voer allen desen voers.

lasten voer ende nae bescreven, soe sullen hen die meersterssen gheven jaerlijcken seestien Carolus gulden, xx stuivers voer den gulden te rekenen, met oock noch drie stuivers die de meesterssen jaerlijcken den organist tot zijn kermisse gheven sullen. Dit is gheschiet in presentie van de vier meersterssen te weten Gheertruijt Smedts, Jenneken Cuijpers, Emken Jan die Cuijpers dochter, Aleyt Coolen, ende heer Jan van den Steeweegt custer, ter selver plaessen Anno Domini M. v<sup>c</sup> vijf ende vijftich den xxv maij.

**1548; Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS C162 (olim 345b), pp. 112-113**

Anno voors. [1548] wasser grooten twist tusschen die heeren van den capittel ende die Vrouwen brueders binnen seder stadt, ende dat ter cause meester Geraert sanghmeester, anders Harteken, oorloff gegeven was om dat zijn vrouwe die choraellen niet wel en regerden aengaende die mont kosten. Ende doen worden der ontboden twee sanghmeesters te weeten eenen priester genoempt meester Willem van Breda, ende noch eenen gehouden van Dordrecht; ende het capittel en woude gheen gehouden mans hebben tot eenen sanghmeester ende naemen den voors. meester Willem aen, sonder die Vrouwen broeders. Ende die voors. meester Willem comende binnen deser stadt in sijnnen dienst, soe en wouden hem die Vrouwen broeders niet hebben, noch niet aennemen, noch gacije geven. Zoe gebuerdent den xxj julij dat die heeren van den capittel die sangers oorloff gaven ende behielden alleen die voors. sanghmeester mette choraellen ende als die sangers int choor quaemen soe quamen sij sonder choorcleet ende dat stont alsoe toten vijftden dach september, doen accordeerden zij beijde te samen ende naemen den voors. meester Willem sanghmeester ende alle diet andere sangers gelijk weder om aen.

**1548, September 19; BHIC, Voormalig Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch, Collectie Mechelse Aanwinsten, Inv. no. 140**

[...] Alsoe onlanx geleden sekere questien ende geschillen opgestaen ende geresen zijn geweest tusschen die heeren dekenen ende andere van den capittle der collegiaelder kercke van Sunt Jan Evangeliste bijnnen deser stadt van sHertogenbossche ter eenre, ende de heeren proesten ende andere van den geswoeren bruederen der bruederscappe van der weerdiger moeder ons Heeren ende maghet Marie ter andere zijden, procederende ende hueren principalen oirspronck nemende uuijt dijen dat de heeren dekenen ende andere van den capittle voirs. sustineren wouden dat zij die macht ende auctoriteit hadden oirloff te moegen geven ende wederomme aen te moigen nemen nae huerder beliefte ende sonder wille ende consente van die van der bruederscappe voirs. den sangmeester, diewelcke tot leeringe ende opvuedinge van goeden geschichten choralen over veele jaeren tot augmentatie van Goidts dienste, love ende eere van Zijnder gebenedide moeder altijt bij die van den capittle ende bruederscappe is onderhouden ende geloent geweest; hebbende uuijt alsulcken voernemen ende uuijt anderen redenen ende oirsacken hen moverende gelicentieert ende van zijnen dienste verlaten gehadt eenen genoempt meesteren Gerarden de Hont, sangmeester, ende in sijn plaetsche wederomme aengenomen eenen anderen als sangmeester, heer Willemen Creijt, priester van Bredaa, allet zonder wille ende consente van die van der bruederscappe voirs. [...]

**1548, November; RAB 88, No. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1548, fol. 30v**

Ontfaen over tbegraven van tkindt van Gheerart de Hondt binder processie iiiij gr. ½.

**1548, December; RAB 88, nr. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1548, fol. 31r**

Ontfaen over tbegraven van joncvrouwe Jaquemijne twijf van Gheerardt de Hondt upt kerchof xvij gr.

Van iij hendeclocken met Pieter ij s. iij d.

Van iij gheluuden volghende v s. vij gr. ½

Voor de redemptie van twee stallichten v s. gr.

Van testamente niet

} xiiij schellingen iij d. ½ gr.

**1562, March; RAB 88, nr. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1562, fol. 437r**

Over tbegraven van Gheeraerd de Hondt binder processije comdt xvij gr.

Over drie endel clocken met Jacop de mindere iij s. gr.

Over drie gheluden achtervolghende vj s. ix gr.

Over de redempsjie van een stallicht v s. gr.

Over tcleppen ende up luuden ter ghildemesse iij gr.

## Appendix 4 Survey of singers in Delft, Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch 1520-1547

### Delft

A GAD 435, Inv. no. 191

Inv. no. 191 does not contain payments for every singer, therefore it is not always clear when a singer left again, in that case: / ...).

B GAD 435, Inv. no. 186

### Bruges

C RAB, Inv. no. 88, nr. 21 (the day of official appointment)

D RAB, Inv. no. 88, nr. 237 (mentioned as member of the Commuun in a foundation charter)

E RAB, Inv. no. 88, nr. 27 (church accounts 1532-1539)

F OCMW-B, Archief

### 's-Hertogenbosch

Because the source material (accounts) of the Broederschap contains references to individual singers every year, only the references in the Gheerkin period (31-12-1539/02-10-1547) are given.

More information is given in § 7.3 and in Roelvink 2002, pp. 56-83 and 310-321.

J BHIC, Toegangsnummer 1232, Inv. no. 130, Accounts 1536/37-1540/41

K BHIC, Toegangsnummer 1232, Inv. no. 131, Accounts 1541/42-1545/46

L BHIC, Toegangsnummer 1232, Inv. no. 132, Accounts 1546/47-1547/48; 1549/50-1553/54

M BHIC, Toegangsnummer 1232, Inv. no. 133, Accounts 1546/47-1554/55-1559/60

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Adriaen Arnout Jonge Jansz. van Ziericxzee	hoogconter, meester	01-05-1520 / ...		A, fol. LXIIjr	Left hospite insalutato'
Adriaen Doly	basconter	17-12-1536		C, fol. 7r	Born in Anthoing (Anthoing)
Adriaen Hubrechtsz. van Otlant/Ottelant, heer	bass, priest	18-04-1520 / 06-1526		A, fol. LIXr, LIXv; B, fol. LXXXIXr, LXXXr	
Adriaen Relaes	tenor	03-09-1536; 05-11-1536		C, fol. 6v, 7r; D, fol. CLIIIjr	Born in Burchburch (Broekburg, now Bourbourg); received half the remunerations ( <i>media pitancia cum muscia</i> ) until 05-11-1536, then complete remunerations
Adriaen Ysenbrant	chorael	1530		C, fol. 1r	Son of Pieter Ysenbrant, <i>bierdraghère</i> (beer carrier) of Erdenburch
[Anonymous]	hoochconter / conratenor	09-08-1534		C, fol. 3v	Name not filled in
Anselmus, see Hansselmus					
Anthonis van Dordrecht	bass	30-05-1521 / 08-06-1522		A, fol. LIXv; A, piece of scrap paper	Followed by Johannes Joliet

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) - 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Anthonis van Lubeeck/Lubeck/Lubick	basconter		1524-1559	J, 211r, 225r, 283r, 285v, 296r; K, fol. 36v, Homborch 49v, 54r, 109v, 125r, 128r, 179r, 191r, 195r, 245r, 256v, 256v-257r, 261r, 316r, 324v, 325r, 329v; L, fol. 44r, 49r; M, fol. 235r, 247v, 251r	= Anthonis van Homborch
Anthonne de Waly/Wally	chorael	06-12-1534		C, fol. 4r	Son of Philips, living in Saly/Sally <i>upde Ieye</i>
Arnout Jansz.	corael	12-06-1520 / 12-06-1522		A, fol. LIIIr	
Borger/Berger/Thomasz.	corael	1520 / 04-1526		A, fol. LIIIr, LIIIv; B, fol. LXXIIIV	
Boukin Wyts	chorael	18-02-1532		C, fol. 2v	Son of Jan Wyts de <i>sceppere</i> (tailor)
Bruno van Cautenwyck	basconter	29-10-1531		C, fol. 2r	Last name due to an inkblot not well readable
Cabuyscoelken / Cabuysken: see Jan Corstiaens.					

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) - 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Carle / Kaerle de Colvenare	hoochcontre / contratenor	21-05-1536		C, fol. 5v; D, fol. CLIIIr, CLVv, CLVIIv, CLXIIv, CLXVIv	Born in Rumbek
Claes van Affrigem	hoogconter, meester	07-05-1520 / ...		A, fol. LXIIIr	Left 'hospite insalutato'
Cornelis	hochconter		21 March 1542 / 18-04-1543	K, fol. 130v, 131r	5 weeks only for the Confraternity, coming from Amsterdam
Cornelis van Oirschot	basconter		August/September 1540	J, fol. 260r, 274r, 296v	Coming from Antwerp, returned to Oirschot; never actually took up his duties
Cornelis Janss. van Rotterdam	tenor	01-01-1530 / ...		B, fol. LXXI(a)v; Cjr	No payments, because he only received loet ende accidentien, therefore no payments and unclear until when he served; Autograph
Cornelis Pietrez., heer	tenor	01-12-1538		C, fol. 11v	Born in <i>Steenberghe</i> (Steenbergen); complete remunerations if he will stay during 5 or 6 years
Danit vanden Brugghe	chorael	07-11-1535		C, fol. 5r	Son of Johannes



Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Dirck/Derick Jansz.	hoogtenor	01-12-1530 / 06-1532		B, fol. LXXX](a)v; LXXX](c)v	
Dijemen Pietersz. vander Goereede, heer	tenor	31-07-1531 / ...		B, fol. LXXIXr; fol. LXXX](e)r	No payments, because he only received <i>loet ende accidentien</i> , therefore no payments and unclear until when he served; read three Masses a week
Dominicus Aeriaensz. van Benscoep	bass	01-11-1527 / 04-1536		B, fol. LXX]v; LXX]r; LXXX](t)v	Autograph
Floque	hoogconter		06-07-1547 / 15-07-1547	L, fol. 49v; 50r	Arrived 06-07-1547, coming from Antwerp; appointed 12-07-1547; left 15-07-1547 for Henegouwen
Franciscus de Namurcho	hoogconter	10-08-1521 / ...		A, fol. LXIIIr	Probably Franciscus from Namur (= Frans van Tricht); same as priest Franciscus de Namurio singer at Our Lady Bruges in 1533 (Dewitte 1970, p. 126)?

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Frans/Francois van Namen	basconter		30-10-1538 / 25-08-1540; 19-08-1556 / Christmas 1556	J, fol. 154v, 166r, 211r, = Frans van Tricht; same as priest Franciscus de Namurio singer at Our Lady Bruges in 1533 (Dewitte 1970, p. 126)?	
Frans Cornelisz. van Emmerseel	hoogtenor, meester	07-06-1520		A, fol. LXVIJr	
Franskin Brant	chorael	12-03-1537		C, fol. 7v	Son of Cornelis, who was a parishioner of Saint James
Fransois/Frans Mathey		15-05-1538		C, fol. 10v; D, fol. CLXIJv	Son of Matheus; born in Breda
Frans van Breda	hoechtenuer		18-10-1542/ 12-05-1546	K, fol. 110r, 129r, 179r, 195r, 245r, 26r, 31-r, between fol. 320 and 321r, 329v; L, fol. 246v; M, fol. 227v-228r	= Frans van Wyck van Breda; Left for Bergen op Zoom; guest on 15-07-1551
Fredericus/Frederick van Brussel	basconter		11-03-1545 / 28-10-1545	K, fol. 263r, 329v, 331r	Ill on 4 November 1545
Gerrit Cornelisz. vander Gouwe	corael	01-08-1526 / ...		B, fol. LXXVv	No payments
Gerrit Cornelisz.	corael	01-08-1531 / 07-1532		B, fol. LXXXI(d)v	Left 'hospite insalutato'

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Gerrit de Hondt	zangmeester	03-06-1521 / [< 06-12-1523]		A, fol. XLIXr	
Gerrit de Hondt	zangmeester	01-08-1530 / 02-1532		B, fol. LXXXI(c)r; piece of scrap paper between fol. XLVJ and XLVIJ; fol. CJr	Left 'hospite insalutato'
Gheeraert de Hondt	zangmeester		before 13 July 1532 until at least Palm Sunday 1539, probably December 1539	D, fol. CXXXVIIIv; E, fol. 414v	
Gerart/Gerrit de/die Hondt van Brugge, meester	zangmeester		31-12-1539/02-10- 1547	J, fol. 211r, 212v, 283r, 296r; K, fol. 30v, 36v, 44r, 54r, 109v, 116r, 116v, 128r, 179r, 195r, 198r, 226v, 264r, 334r, 245r, 261r, 264r, 316r, 329v, 334r; L, fol. 49r, 50v, 54r; M, fol. 235r, 251r, 255r	
Goesewyn Anthonisz.	hoogtenor	02-07-1520 / ...		A, fol. LXVIJr	

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Goesewyn Anthonisz.	tenor	28-07-1524 / 21-08-1524		A, fol. LXVIjr	
Goesewyn Anthonisz.	zangmeester	21-08-1524 / June 1525		A, fol. XLIXv; B, fol. LXXr, LXXv A, fol. LXIIIjr; LXVIIIjr	Autograph
Gommar Claesz. van Lier	hoogconter	05-1524 / ...			
Gommer Claesz. van Lier	hoogconter	01-02-1530 / 01-1531		B, fol. LXXXI(b)r; Cjr	Autograph
Gommaer/Gommer/ Gummarus van/de Lier/Lyra	hoichconter		16-12-1528 or 10-02-1529 / February 1551	J, fol. 211r, 225r, 283r, wife Belie died in 1550/51 296r; K, fol. 36v, 54r, 54v, 55v, 110r, 128r, 179r, 195r, 245r, 261r, 316r, 329v; L, fol. 49r; M, fol. 235r, 251r	(death debt)
Hansselmus van Maistrycht	hoogtenor	31-10-1531 / 01-1532		B, fol. LXXXI(e)v; piece of scrap paper between fol. xlvj and xlvij	
Heijnyck Mol van Mechelen	hoogconter	01-06-1521 / ...		A, fol. LXIIIv	Left 'hospite insalutato'

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) - 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Henrick (Henrico/Hyntken/ Heynken/Henry) de Mol van Mechelen	hoegenconter		before 19-02-1522 / March/April 1552	J, fol. 211r, 211v, 223v, 225r, 283r, 283v, 293r, 296r; K, fol. 36v, 37r, 51r, 54r, 110r, 116r, 127r, 128r, 179r, 192v, 195r, 245r, 258v, 261r, 316r, 327r, 329v; L, fol. 46v, 49r; M, fol. 235r, 249r, 249r-v, 251r	= Heyntken de Licht, = Henrick van Mechelen; died between 30-03-1552 and 06-04-1552; from 1524 administrator choirbooks; had wife and children (Inv. no. 128, fol. 422r); temporarily intoneerder 4 or 5 monts 1533/34 (Inv. no. 129, fol. 226r)
Hercules/Eercules Ouset/Houzet/Hoset	hoochconter	before 11-06-1534 (C, fol. 3v), probably before 13-07-1532 (D, fol. CXXXVIIJv)		C, fol. 3v (11-06- 1534), fol. 4r (04-04- 1535); D, fol. CXXXVIIJv, CXLVIIJv, CLXXVIIJv	Hit with a jug by Huchon Cartier, who was fired for that (11-06-1534); On 04- 04-1535 warned to stay away from evil and serve better at the <i>Lof</i> services
Huyg Cornelisz.	corael	01-12-1528 / 09-1533		B, fol. LXXv; LXXJr; LXXXJ(fr)	Son of Cornelis Cornelisz. Verburch and Aelgen Jansdochter

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Huuschon/Huchon Ysebrant Buus	bascontre	29-10-1531 / 11-06-1534		C, fol. 2r, 3v; E, fol. 213r (17-03-1532)	Explicitly stated that he was not a priest; received extra money for a gown on 17-03-1532; fired because he hit his colleague Hercules Houzet with a jug
Hysbrant Buus, see Ysebrant Buus					
Jacobus Reyngoot	hoochtenor / contratenor	06-05-1533		C, fol. 3r	Born in Bruges
Jacop Evertsz.	corael	1521 / 04-1529		A, fol. LIIv; B, fol. LXXIIjr	
Jacop Gommersz.	corael	1521 / 12-06-1523		A, fol. LIIv	
Jan Barendsz. Van Hoesdom, heer	hoogconter, priest	01-10-1521 / ...		A, fol. LXIIIjr	
Jan Corstiaensz.	teneur, hoohteneur		22-12-1546 / at least 20-07-1548	L, fol. 49r, 117r; M, fol. 235r, 251r, 252v, 253r	= Cabuyscoelken; Cabuysken; guest on 21-08-1549 (works in Bergen then), 1551, 1556

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1539) - 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Jan de Curia	bascontere	27-02-1531		C, fol. 1v	Appointed in Sint-Donaas and therefore given leave of absence as assistant priest of the chapel of Donaes de Moor
Jan Heijnicz.	corael	01-01-1530 / 01-1536		B, fol. LXXI(a)r; LXXXJ(fr)	
Jan Michielsz.	corael	25-07-1521 / 12-06-1523		A, fol. LIJJr	
Jan Michielsz.	corael	25-07-1525 / 01-11-1527		B, fol. LXXVr	
Jan van Oirschot	corael?		13-02-1544 / 26-03-1544?	K, fol. 196v, 197r	
Jan Willandt/Wilandt, heer	bascontere/bassus	07-06-1537; 08-09-1537		C, fol. 8v, fol. 9r	Born in <i>Heenegauwe</i> (Hainaut); left directly after his appointment to be re-appointed on 08-09-1537

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Jan de Winne/Wynne	basconter		17-02-1546 / 25-04-1548	K, fol. 312v, 313v, 314v, 316r, 332v; L, fol. 49r, 53r; M, fol. 235r, 251r	Coming from Ghent; left hospite insalutato; May-July 1548 in Delft (Oude Kerk), then in chapel of Charles V (Vente 1980, p. 68)



Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) - 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
heer Jan van Wintelroy	hoechtenuer; intoneerder; zangmeester		June 1529-after 1590	J, fol. 201r, 202r, 205r, = Jan Vinkelroeij, = Jan 206r-v, 209r, 211r, van Winkelloroy and 225r, 240v, 269r, 271r- more variants v, 272r, 272v, 273v- 274r, 275v-276r, 280r- v, 283r, 296r, 312r; K, fol. 5r, 22v, 25r, 25v, 26r, 30r, 35r, 36v, 39r, 42v, 54r, 72r, 97v, 100r, 104v, 108r, 109v, 112v, 124v, 128r, 130v, 144r, 164r, 179r, 181r, 190v, 195r, 213r, 232v, 236r, 236r- v, 239v, 244r, 244v, 247v, 261r, 278r, 301r, 309r, 310r, 312v, 313v, 315r, 315v, 316r, 319r, 329v, 333v, 348r; L, fol. 16v, 24r, 26v-27r, 32v, 49r, 70v; M, fol. 224r, 227v, 229r, 232r, 233r, 234r, 235r, fol. 236v, 237r, 251r	

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) - 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Jacques/Jacob le Varlet	bascontere	16-01-1533		C, fol. 3r; D, fol. CXXXVIIIv, CXLVIJr, (D, fol. clj-r) CXLVIIIv, CLJr, CLXXVIIIv	At least until June 1536
Jenny Dorbrimont Jeynnet/Jennet Molyndet chorael	hoogtenor chorael	20-02-1523 / ...		A, fol. LXVIJv C, fol. 13r	Son of Jaques, born in <i>De la Seynne</i>
Joachim	basconter		18-03-1542 / 05-04-1542	K, fol. 56r	
Johannes Inghelbercht, heer	tenor	16-03-1539		C, fol. 12r	Born in <i>Thonghers</i> (Tongeren)
Johannes Jansz. van Sennick	hoogtenor	01-05-1521 / ...		A, fol. LXVIJr	Left 'recessit debito modo' (he left in the proper way)
Johannes Joliet van Sennick	bass	08-06-1522 / ...		A, fol. LIXv	Predeceased by Anthonis van Dordrecht; coming from Henegouwen
Johannes Salli Johannis Bayseur	hoogtenor	17-09-1521 / ...		A, fol. LXVIJv C, fol. 5r	Born in <i>Werweken</i> (Wervik)
Johannis Krystaen	tenor	18-11-1537		C, fol. 9v	Born in Bruges
Joos Coene van der Monde, heer	hoochcontere	22-09-1530		C, fol. 1r	

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Lambert	corael, clerk		13-07-1541 / 28-03-1543	K, fol. 54r, 128r, 130v	
Laureyns du Corvet	bascontere	07-04-1532		C, fol. 2v	Received double remunerations
Lauweryn Heynricxz.	hoogconter	07-1531 / 02-1532		B, fol. LXXXJ(d)r	obyt
Marques de Vriese	bascontre	01-08-1535		C, fol. 4v	Born in <i>Sint Omaers</i> (Saint-Omer)
Martin	bascontre	18-06-1536; 08-04-1537		C, fol. 6r, fol. 7v; D, fol. CLIIIr	Son of Loy de Cuppere, cousin of the parish priest; received half the remunerations until 08-04-1537, then complete remunerations under the condition: until the moment a better singer would arrive
Mathysen (Thijs Jacobs)	eertijds chorael, clerk		04-08-1540 / 28-03-1543	J, fol. 296r; K, fol. 54v, 128r, 130v	former choirboy; = Thijs Jacobs
Mecghiel de Auxy, heer	bascontre/bassus	30-07-1537		C, fol. 9r	Born in <i>Berghe in Hynnegauwe</i> (Mons)
Melchior Lambrechtsz.	corael	12-05-1520 / 12-06-1523		A, fol. LIIIr	

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; 1530-1532)	's-Hertogenbosch (1532-1539)	Source	Remarks
Michiel Claesz. van Groenenberch	corael	12-06-1522 / 12-06-1523		A, fol. LIIIr	Autograph
Michiel Smeekers van Nyeupoorte	hoogconter		24-06-1544 / 13-01-1546	K, fol. 242r, 245r, 261r, 261v, 316r, 329v, 332r	Arrived 24-06, started his duties 15-07, only for the Confraternity; leave of absence from 20-01-1546 onwards; same as Michael Smeekes 26-03-1561 in St Salvator Bruges (Dewitte 1967, p.52)?; see also Jas 1997, pp. 52-53 and Vente 1980, p. 91
Moijs Heijn van Cortrijck	hoogconter	01-04-1521 / < 08-06-1522		A, fol. LXIIv, LXIIIr	
Neilken (Moreel?)	chorael		03-05-1533	C, fol. 3r	Son of Deliane who was married to Ghilam Ynoen; name of father unreadable
Nicolaus/Claes Bermayn	basconter / bassus		13-01-1538	C, fol. 9v; D, fol. CLXIIv	Born in Grammes near Bermayn; singer in Our Lady's in 1537 (Dewitte 1970, p. 126)
Nicolaus Boulaert	hoogconter		12-03-1533	C, fol. 3r	Born in Sluis

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Ot van Boxtel	corael		02-09-1545 / 03-07-1549	K, fol. 331r, 251r; L, fol. 49r; M, fol. 116v, 252v	
Peter, heer	basconter		05-10-1541 / 01-02-1542	K, fol. 30v, 54v, 55v	coming from Diest
Peter, heer	basconter		07-05-1543 / 06-05-1545	K, fol. 179v, 197v, 261r, 263v	Absent from 13-05-1545 onwards

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks	
Philippus de Spina, heer	intoneerder		1531-1566	J, fol. 198r, 199r, 201v, = Philips van Doern 203r-v, 206v, 211r, 212v, 215r, 225r, 240v, 268r, 272v, 277r, 277v, 280v, 281r, 283r, 284v, 286v, 296r, 312r; K, fol. 5r, 27v, 31v, 36r, 36v, 49v, 54r, 72r, 93v, 94r, 98r, 99r, 100v, 103r, 109v, 112v, 116r, 118r, 124v, 128r, 130v, 144r, 163v, 164r, 167v-168r, 169r, 171r, 175r, 177r, 179r, 182r, 190v, 195r, 213r, 235r, 237v, 238v, 243r, 244r, 247r, 251v, 261r, 278r, 200v-301r, 304r, 304v, 305r-v, 306v, 307r, 316r, 329v, 333v, 348r; L, fol. 24r, 26r, 29r-v, 31v, 49r, 70v; M, fol. 225v-226r, 226v, 227r, 230v, 235r, 251r		

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Pieter Ariaensz.	corael	01-12-1528 / 11-1533		B, fol. LXXVr, LXX(a)r; LXXX(f)r	Son of Ariaen Cornelisz. and Marygen Gherytsdochter
Pieter Fransz., heer	bass, priest	appointed 01-08-1520, started singing 09-10-1520		A, fol. LIXr	Also reads four masses a week; Left 'hospite insalutato'
Pietre Vycke/Vekin, meester	bascontre/bassus		15-05-1538	C, fol. 10v, fol. 10v; D, fol. CLXIIv	Born in <i>Luevene</i> (Leuven)
Querin/Kirijn Cornelisz.	corael	01-12-1528 / 11-1534		B, fol. LXXIIIv, LXXX(b)r; LXXI(f)v	
Roelant Steenwijnckele, heer	basconter		17-09-1531	C, fol. 2r	
Roelof/Rodolf Huesch, heer	basconter		26-07-1534	C, fol. 3v; D, fol. CLXXIIIv	Born in <i>Culenburch</i> (Culemborg)
Rogier van Duay, heer	hoogtenor, priester	10-08-1521 / > 08-06-1523		A, fol. LXVIr; LXVIIv	
Scelken	corael, clerk		20-09-1542? / 28-03-1543	K, fol. 129r, 130v	

Name	Voice-type	Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) - 1539)	's-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)	Source	Remarks
Servaes van Gavere		07-05-1536 (fired)		C, fol. 5v; E, fol. 299r	Fired because he hit Ysebrant Buus with a stone jug; the same as Servaes van Wavere (see RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 27, fol. 299r where the G is replaced by a W)
Servaes van Wavere	zangmeester	10-1530		C, fol. 1r	From Eerdenburch; the same man as Servaes van Gavere
Willekin Conwaert	chorael	01-01-1536		C, fol. 5v	Son of Meeghil, born in <i>Lessene</i> (Lessines)
Willem van Rotterdam	bovensenger		12-11-1533 / 20-10-1540	J, fol. 211r, 225r, 260r, 277v, 297r	died December 1540, ill from 27 October up to and including 8 December
Willem van (der) Turren/Tuerren, meester	hoogconter	01-07-1530 / 03-1532		B, fol. LXXXI(b)v	



<b>Name</b>	<b>Voice-type</b>	<b>Delft (1521-1523; Bruges (1532-1530-1532) - 1539)</b>	<b>'s-Hertogenbosch (1539-1547)</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
Willem van (der) Turren/Tuerren, meester	zangmeester	01-04-1532 / 10-1535		B, fol. LXXXJ(g)r; LXXXJ(l)v; piece of scrap paper between fol. XLVJ and XLVIJ	Left bankrupt hospite insalutato, fled by night with part of his household goods, the rest was sold by the <i>getijdenmeesters</i>
Wouter vander Graeff	bass	20-08-1531 / 02-1532		B, fol. LXXXJ(e)r; piece of scrap paper between fol. XLVJ and XLVIJ	
Ysebrant Buus	hoochcontre / contratenor	28-11-1535		C, fol. 5r (28-11-1535); fol. 5v (07-05-1536)	Born in <i>Gauwe</i> (Gouda); hit with a stone jug by mr. Servaes van Gavere (07-05-1536)
Ysybrandus/Sybrant ghezeyt Hoywaghien, heer	bascontre / bassus	16-05-1537		C, fol. 8r; F, 1533-1534, fol. XLIIJr	Paid on 10-12-1533 for going to Ghent to bring back the <i>zarigmeester</i> (Gheerkin de Hondt)

## Appendix 5 List of feasts in Delft

### Based on:

- Verhoeven 1993b, p. 171-172, for the years 1346 and 1525
- GAD 435, inv.nr. 156 (1497-1508)
- GAD 435, inv.nr. 178 (1547)
- GAD 435, inv.nr. 186 (Gheerkin's employment 1530-1532)

Feast	1346	1525	GAD 435, Inv. no. 156, dated 1497- 1508	GAD 435, Inv. no. 178, dated 1547	GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, years 1530- 1532
<i>Movable feasts</i>					
Sunday before Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (02- 02)			x	x	x
Mid-Lent				x	
Palm Sunday			x		
Easter	x	x	x	x	x
3 days after Easter (Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday)	x		x	x	
2 days after Easter (Monday and Tuesday)		x			
1 day after Easter (Easter Monday)					x
Octave of Easter			x	x	
Ascension Day	x	x		x	x
Octave of Ascension Day			x	x	
Pentecost	x	x	x	x	x
3 days after Pentecost (Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday)	x		x	x	
2 days after Pentecost (Monday and Tuesday)		x			

1 day after Pentecost (Whit Monday)					x
Octave of Pentecost [= Trinity]			x	x	
Octave of Trinity			x		
Corpus Christi (Sacramentsdag) [= Thursday after Trinity]	x	x		x	x
Entire Octave of Corpus Christi			x	x	
<i>Fixed feasts</i>					
Christmas (25-12)	x	x	x	x	x
3 days after Christmas			x	x	
St Stephen (26-12)	x	x			x
St John the Evangelist (27-12)	x	x			
Holy Innocents (28-12)	x	x			
Circumcision of Our Lord (01-01) / New Year's Day	x	x	x	x	x
Epiphany of Our Lord (06-01)	x	x		x	x
Octave of Epiphany			x	x	
St Pontianus (14-01)	x	x			
St Agnes (21-01)	x	x	x	x	
Conversion of St Paul (25-01)	x	x	x	x	
Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (02-02)	x	x	x	x	x
St Peter's Chair (22-02)	x	x	x	x	
St Matthias (24-02)	x	x	x	x	
St Gertrude (17-03)	x				
Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (25-03)	x	x	x	x	x
St Mark the Evangelist (25-04; morning)		x			
SS Philip and James (01-05)	x	x			
<i>Meydach</i> (May Day; 01-05)			x	x	
Invention of the Cross (03-05)	x	x		x	
St Pancratius (12-05)	x				
St Servatius (13-05)	x	x			

St Boniface (05-06)	x	x			
St Odulfus (12-06)	x	x			
Delft <i>Ommegang</i> (procession; 12-06)			x	x	
Monday after <i>Ommegang</i>				x	
Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24-06)	x	x	x	x	
Translation of St Lebuin (25-06)	x				
SS Peter and Paul (29-06)	x	x	x	x	
Visitation of Our Lady (02-07)		x	x	x	x
Octave of the Visitation of Our Lady			x	x	
Translation of St Martin (04-07)	x	x	x		
St Mary Magdalen (22-07)	x	x	x	x	
S James the Greater, Apostle (25-07)	x	x	x	x	
St Peter's Chains (01-08)	x	x	x	x	
St Laurence (10-08)	x	x	x	x	
St Hippolytus (13-08)			x	x	
Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15-08)	x	x			x
Octave of Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary			x	x	
St Bartholomew (24-08)	x	x	x	x	
Beheading (decollation) of St John the Baptist (29-08)	x	x	x	x	
Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (08-09)	x	x	x	x	x
The entire Octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary			x	x	
<i>Kermis</i> (annual fair)				x	x
Procession				x	
Exultation of the Holy Cross (14-09)	x	x		x	
<i>Kersmisse dairoff</i> (fair thereafter)				x	
St Lambert (17-09)	x				
St Matthew (21-09)	x	x	x	x	
St Maurice (22-09)	x				
St Michael (29-09)	x	x	x	x	x

SS Remigius and Bavo (01-10)	x	x			
St Victor (10-10)	x				
St Ursula (21-10)				x	x
SS Simon and Jude (28-10)	x	x	x	x	
All Saints' Day (01-11)	x	x		x	x
All Souls' Day (02-11)	x				
All Souls' Day (02-11; morning)	x		x		
St Willibrord (07-11)	x	x	x	x	
St Martin (11-11)	x	x	x	x	x
St Lebuin (12-11)	x	x	x	x	
Octave of St Martin			x	x	
St Catherine (25-11)	x	x	x	x	
St Andrew (30-11)	x	x	x	x	
St Barbara (04-12)			x	x	
St Nicholas (06-12)	x	x	x	x	
Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (08-12)	x	x	x	x	x
St Thomas (21-12)	x	x	x	x	

## Appendix 6      Reconstruction of the members of De Hondt families in Bruges from about 1460 until about 1560

### Survey based on:

- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekeningen Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 01-01-1532/31-12-1540
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, nos. 23-28, Rekeningen Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1409-1562 (funeral entries)
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, nos. 26-27, Rekeningen Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 01-01-1495/31-12-1544 (entry: *Ander betalinge van refectien ende reparatien an ende inde voors. kercke ghedaen binnen dese jaere*, payments on repairing the church building)
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 319 (= charter 551), regest 739, 08-08-1526
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 319 (= charter 551), regest 744, 17-10-1528
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 888, Register vande verbanden, 1369-1594
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekeningen *Commuun* 24-06-1531/24-06-1539 (from 1540 onwards: from Christmas to Christmas)
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekeningen *Dis* Christmas 1531/Christmas 1540
- SAB, Inv. no. 103, Oorkonden private aangelegenheden, Eerste reeks, III, 496, (1559, 11 décembre)
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, search system Marcus
- SAB, Inv. no. 130, Poorterboeken
- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, books 1528-1534 and 1534-1541 n.s.
- SAB, Inv. no. 165, Civiele Sententiën Kamer, period 1532-1540
- SAB, Inv. no. 179, Procesdossiers, search system Marcus
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken van de vierschaar, search system Marcus
- SAB, Inv. no. 199, Procuraties, 1522-1523
- SAB, Inv. no. 208, Wezengoederen (orphan's goods), search system Marcus
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekeningen, 02/09/1531-01/09/1540 and incidentally other years
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekeningen rentenieren, 02/09/1531-01/09/1540 and incidentally other years
- Gilliodts-van Severen 1905
- Jamees 1980, volume 2-2 (1418-1478)
- Parmentier 1938
- Schouteet 1965-1973

Data concerning the same first name are all placed under that name if there were no clear indications that two persons with the same first name were involved. Therefore, conclusions based on data under *Sources* that are not 100 per cent certain are provided with a question mark.

### **Aernout de Hondt**

#### *Profession*

- unknown

#### *Family relation*

- father of Magdaleene

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Rekening Rentenier 1531-32, fol. XCr and fol. XCJv: *lyfrente* for Magdaleene filia Aernout Dhondt; also mentioned in 1532-33 (fol. LXXXVIIJr).

### **Adriaen de Hondt I (? – after November 1550, before May 1552)**

#### *Profession*

- holder of the office of the *scrooderie* (loading and unloading the wine barrels at the crane)
- clerk of Gillis Lauwereyns (until 1534-35), who was the holder of the right of the *reepgelt* (money for measuring textiles) of the crane, and who he succeeded (from 1 September 1535 onwards)

#### *Family relation*

- son of Cornelis de Hondt (II)
- brother of Jacop de Hondt
- uncle of Franchois and Magdaleene de Hondt (children of Jacop)
- Joncvrouwe Marie Nettelets was his wife between 03-06-1543 and 1550
- Willemynne fa. Claeys Hollebout was his widow shortly before 05-05-1552

#### *Sources*

- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. [319] (= Regest 744 = Charter 551), 17-10-1528: Adriaen de Hondt hands over to the *Commuun* of Sint-Jacobs a *rente* that he had received from Jacob de Hondt (see Jacob de Hondt).
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1531-32, fol. VIIJv: *Vanden watersceppen pitghalgh ronnen upde brugghen, ende elders achter stede ghevalen sint jansmesse xxxij* (payment to the city); also mentioned in 1532-33 (fol. ix-v), 1533-34 (fol. IXr), 1534-35 (fol. IXv), 1535-36 (fol. VIIJv), 1536-37 (fol. IXr), 1537-38 (fol. IXr).
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1531-32, fol. CXVIIJr: redemption of a *rente*
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1531-32, fol. lxxj-v: *lyfrente* for *Adriaen Dhondt filius Corn.* (Adriaen, son of Cornelis); also mentioned in 1532-33 (fol. LXIIIJv) and thereafter.
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1531-32, fol. LXXIIJv and fol. LXXXIIJv: *lyfrente* (twice) for Adriaen Dhondt; also mentioned in 1532-33 (fol. LXXJv and fol. lxxxj-v) and thereafter.
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening *Commuun* 1531-32, fol. [6r]: *rente* for a house that he had bought from Olivier Tayaert called *Den Geltzac* standing *Inden Houden Zac*; mentioned every year on the same page, at least until Christmas 1540.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening Kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 200v: payment for a pew in church for his wife; also mentioned in 1533, (fol. 234v), 1534 (fol. 259v), 1535 (fol. 289v), 1536 (fol. 320r and 320v), 1537 (fol. 350v), 1538 (fol. 380r), 1539 (fol. 407r).

- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1528-1534, fol. 17v-18r, 17-12-1534, Adriaen de Hondt as keeper of the right of the wine tax demanding wine tax from the widow of a tavern owner.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1534-35, fol. XXIIJr: buying the office of the *scrooderie* from Jan Flamieel.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1534-35, fol. LXXVv: payment for replacing (part of) the straw roof of his house standing *inden houden sack* by a tile roof.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1534-35, fol. LXXXVr: keeper of the right of wine tax after his employer Gillis Lauwereyns died.
- SAB, Stadsrekening 1535-36, fol. XXXv: receiving the right of the *reepghelde* (money for measuring textiles) of the crane (*Trecht vanden vander crane*); also mentioned in 1536-37 (fol. XXXr), 1537-38 (fol. XXXr).
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1535, fol. 285v and 299v: *losrente* on his house standing *inden houden zac anden noortzyde*; also mentioned in 1536 (fol. 317r and 329r), 1537 (fol. 346v), 1538 (fol. 376v), 1539 (fol. 404r).
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier, 1536-37, fol. XCIXv: *lyfrente* for Adriaen de Hondt and Franskin de Hondt filius Jacobs and *lyfrente* for Adriaen de Hondt and Magdaleenekin de Hondt filia Jacobs.
- SAB, Stadsrekening 1537-38, fol. LXXVJv: payment for replacing (part of) the straw roof of his house standing *inden ouden zack* by a tile roof.
- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1534-1541, fol. 17v-18r, 07-08-1539L: Adriaen de Hondt demands that Gillis Dankerts pay the *rente* (house and land).
- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1534-1541, fol. 470v-471r, 13-02-1540: Adriaen de Hondt in his position as holder of the right of the *reepgelde* of the crane and holder of the office of the *scrooderie*.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1542, fol. 486v: funeral of his child
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 637, fol. 315-316, 03-06-1543: witness at the marriage of Marie the daughter of his wife Marie Nettelets and her former husband Pieter Nemegeheer.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1543: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *wijnschroders* (loaders and unloaders of wine barrels).
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 49, fol. 412-413-414, 1547-49: second husband of Marie Clays Nettelets daughter previously married to Pieter Nemegeheer, inheritance property (house) Marie.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 49, fol. (619)-620-(621), 1547-49: rights to a house.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 50, fol. 36, 06-10-1549: Adriaen de Hondt and Marie daughter of Pieter Nemegeheer, transfer of *losrente* on a house.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 50, fol. 379, 26-06-1550: Adriaen and his wife *joncvrauwe* Marie, transfer of *losrente* on a house.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 50, fol. 497-498, November 1550: rental of a house.



- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 51, fol. 268, 05-05-1552: Willemyne daughter of Claeys Hollebout widow of Adriaen de Hondt, Willemyne has died and her share in a house is transferred to other people.

#### **Adriaen de Hondt II (around 1540)**

##### *Profession*

- *waghenare* (driver, coachman)

##### *Family relation*

- unknown

##### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1534-1541, fol. 17v-18r, 15-07-1540: Adriaen has to pay his debt.

#### **Be(e)rnaert de Hondt (around 1533-1559)**

##### *Profession*

- merchant (*mersenier*)

##### *Family relation*

- son of Christiaen de Hondt III?
- married to Kateline Cortebusch

##### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1533-34, fol. XVIIJv: *rente* of two merchant stalls (*meerseniens stallen*).
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1533-34, fol. XVIIJr: buying of the two merchant stalls from the widow of Jan van Cattenbrouc.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1534-35, fol. XVIIJr: sale of the two merchant stalls to Jan Loyseel.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1534-35, fol. XXIJv: buying of the office of the *lynwaetmate* (measuring linen) from Renault Blanche.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1536: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *vogelmarkt* (bird market; related to the dairy market), also 02-09-1539, 02-09-1541, 02-09-1542, 10-09-1548, 02-09-1549: 02-09-1556, 02-09-1559.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1542, fol. 486v: funeral of his child.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1546: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *zuivelmarkt* (dairy market).
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken Vierschaar, no. 592, fol. 468, 11-05-1559: Beernaert de Hondt and his wife Kateline Cortebusch sell six houses.

#### **Christiaen de Hondt I (around 1470)**

##### *Profession*

- member of the guild of the *Warandatie van de mede* (inspection of mead)
- around 1470, a Christiaen de Hondt is mentioned as church master in Sint-Jacobskerk (RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 197, fol. XLIJr (20r)), probably Christiaen III

##### *Family relation*

- unknown

#### Sources

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1470: vinder (inspector) of the *Warandatie van de mede*.

#### **Christiaen DHond II (around 1471)**

##### Profession

- member of the guild of the *Kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold) representing the *grossiers* (wholesalers)
- around 1470, a Christiaen de Hondt is mentioned as church master in Sint-Jacobskerk (RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 197, fol. XLIJr (20r)), probably Christiaen III

##### Family relation

- unknown

##### Sources

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1471: vinder (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle*.

#### **Christiaen dHont III (15th century)**

##### Profession

- unknown
- around 1470, a Christiaen de Hondt is mentioned as church master in Sint-Jacobskerk (RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 197, fol. XLIJr (20r))

##### Family relation

- married to Kateline Witteroots
- father of Hannekin and other children
- son of Pieter

##### Sources

- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 888, fol. CVv-CVIJr, 31-12-1480: foundation of memorial services for Christiaen (24 October) and Kateline (28 March) by the guardians of their children, also foundation for poor relief.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. [928] (= Regest 561 = Charter 418), 20-03-1481: the guardians of the children of Christiaen dHont and Kateline Witteroots give (on behalf of the children) a *rente* to the *Dis* of the Sint-Jacobskerk for poor relief to be distributed after the memorial services of Christiaen (24 October) and Kateline (28 March). The memorial services were still held in 1662 (RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 158, p. 199), although then together on 14 December.
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening *Commuun* 1531-32, fol. 31r and fol. 31v: memorial service for himself and his widow; also mentioned in 1532-33 (fol. 30v and fol. 31v), 1533-34 (fol. 31v and fol. 32v), 1534-36 (fol. 31v and fol. 32v), 1536-37 (fol. 31v and fol. 32v), 1537-39 (fol. 32r and 33r).
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533 (March and October), fol. 238r: memorial service, *jaerghetide*, for his widow and himself; also mentioned in 1534 (fol. [263r]), 1535 (fol. 294r-v), and 1536 (fol. 324r-v).
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening *Commuun* 1531-1532, fol. [31v]: receipt for singing the seven psalms during Lent, founded by the widow of Christiaen de Hondt, also

in 1532-1533 (fol. XXXJv), 1533-1534 (fol. XXXIJv), 1534-1536 (fol. XXXIJv), 1536-1537 (fol. XXXIJr), 1537-1539 (fol. XXXIJr); date of foundation unknown, but always mentioned in combination with the memorial service of 'the widow of Christiaen de Hondt'.

- Rotsaert 1979, pp. 12-13 states that the grave of Christiaen and Kateline was in the north side of the church, the epitaph mentioned that Christiaen was the son of Pieter and that he had died on 24 October 1472. Kateline was the daughter of Martyn Wytroot and had died on 28 March 1479.

#### **Christiaen de Hondt IV (1530s)**

##### *Profession*

- unknown

##### *Family relation*

- natural father of son Bernaerdinekin (Bernaert)
- married tot Baerbele, daughter of Jans vanden Lende

##### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 208, *Wezengoederen*, Sint-Niklaas 7e boek, 9 April 1534, fol. 144r: mentioning son Bernaerdinekin and wife Baerbele, daughter of Jans vanden Lende.
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1537-38, fol. LXXJv: payment for bread for the poor (*eenen disch van xxx provens*) for the wife of Christiaen de Hondt.

#### **Cornelis de Hondt I (15th century)**

##### *Profession*

- *tegheldecke* (roofer/slater/tiler)

##### *Family relation*

- in 1460 father of Cornelekine (Cornelis de Hondt II?), Hannekine, Pierkine (Pieter), Chaerlekine (Charles), Joorkine (Jooris), Claerkine (Clare/Clara), Betkine, Tannekine
- in 1472 father of Betkin, Tannekin, Pierkin, Chaerlekin en Joorkin, which he had with his wife Clare [conclusion: son Cornelis must have reached majority by then or had died]

##### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 208, *Wezengoederen*, Sint-Niklaas 4e boek, 30-10-1460, fol. 104v: father of Cornelekine (Cornelis de Hondt II?), Hannekine, Pierkine, Chaerlekine, Joorkine, Claerkine, Betkine, Tannekine.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, *Wetsvernieuwingen*, 02-09-1470:<sup>1779</sup> *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers).
- SAB, Inv. no. 208, *Wezengoederen*, Sint-Niklaas 5e boek, 10-12-1472, fol. 55r: father of Betkin, Tannekin, Pierkin, Chaerlekin en Joorkin, which he had with his wife Clare.

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<sup>1779</sup> It remains unclear when we are dealing with Cornelis I and when with Cornelis II. Because of the gap between 1470 and 1478, it seems logical that we are dealing with Cornelis II from 1478 onwards. However, there also is a gap between 1486 and 1492, so the line could also be drawn there. And finally, there is the possibility that both men worked at the same time.

### **Cornelis de Hondt II (before 1450? – February 1515)**

#### *Profession*

- *tegheldecker* (roofer/slater/tiler)

#### *Family relation*

- son of Cornelis de Hondt I *tegheldecker*?
- father of Adriaen de Hondt I?
- father of Jacob de Hondt *tegheldecker*?
- guardian of Jooskin de Hondt, child of Jooris de Hondt *tegheldecker*

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwungen, 02-09-1478, *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers), also 1486, 1492.<sup>1777</sup>
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwungen, 02-09-1480: *deken* (dean) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers), also 1484, 1495, 1497, 1499, 1505, 1511.<sup>1777</sup>
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1501, fol. 107v: paid for work as *tegheldecker*.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1497, February, fol. 36v: funeral of the mother of the wife of Cornelis de Hondt.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1503, October, fol. 129r: funeral of the mother of Cornelis de Hondt, with bell ringing, no last will because she was poor.
- SAB, Inv. no. 208, Wezengoederen, Sint-Niklaas 6e boek, 15-12-1503, fol. 91r: guardian of Jooskin, the son of Jooris.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1509-1510, fol. LXJv: paid for work as *tegheldecker* (probably already before 1509, but not checked), also in 1510-1511 (fol. LXIXv), 1511-1512 (fol. XCVJr), 1512-1513 (fol. LXXXIXv), 1513-1514 (fol. CXXVIJr).
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1515 (February), fol. 316v: funeral of *Cornelis dhondt de tegheldeckere* with bell ringing and a last will.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1516 (February), fol. 341v: first memorial service.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1525 (September), fol. 559r: funeral of the widow of Cornelis de Hondt.

### **Cornelis de Hondt III**

#### *Profession*

- holder of the *burdenaer* (office of loadcarrier, especially of fish)

#### *Family relation*

- unknown

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1537-38, fol. XXJv: buying the office of loadcarrier (*burdenaer*) from Cornelis Witts.

### **Felix de Hondt (? – 16 April 1532)**

#### *Profession*

- from February 1523: holder of the office of *tweerstscip van den vissche* (the right of supervision on the fish to be sold in the city)
- *crudenier* (grocer/herbalist)
- member of the trade of the *vogelmarkt* (bird market) and *zuivelmarkt* (dairy market)

#### *Family relation*

- married to Magdaleene van Poucke
- children Franskin, Grietkin and Tannekin from his wife Magdaleene van Poucke

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1515: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold), also 02-09-1525.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1516, fol. 343r: funeral of his child.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1517: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *vogelmarkt* (bird market; related to the dairy market), also 02-09-1520, 02-09-1522.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1518: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *zuivelmarkt* (dairy market), also 02-09-1523.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1519: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *visverkopers* (fish sellers).
- SAB, Inv. nr 199, 1522-1523, fol. 112v-113v, 16-02-1523: Felix de Hondt receives the office of *tweerstscip van den vissche*.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1526, January: fol. [1r]: funeral of his child.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1527: *deken* (dean) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold).
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1531-32, fol. XVIJv: *rente* for a grocer stall (*crudeniersstalle*).
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532 (April), fol. 185v-186r: funeral of his five children, his wife and Felix dhont himself, who died 16 April 1532 of the plague and was buried *int graeuwerckers cappelle*; also mentioned in 1533 (fol. 220v-221r), 1534 (fol. 246v), 1535 (272v), finally paid in 1536 (fol. 304v-305r).
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1531-32, fol. XXVIIJv: heirs of Felix de Hondt pay *rente* for a house called *De Witte Valcke*, standing in Naaldenstraat on the south side (east from Sint-Jacobsstraat), also in 1532-33 (fol. XXVIIJv), 1533-34 (fol. XXVIIJv); from 1534-35 (fol. XXVIIJv) onwards, Willem vande Voorde pays for this *rente*.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1531-32, fol. XLIJr: the office of *tveerdscip vanden vissche* from the deceased Felix de Hondt is sold to Sanders van Cuelene.
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1531-32, fol. LXXIIJr: *lyfrente* for Felix Dhondt (in the margin: *doot*, dead); also mentioned in 1532-33 (fol. LXXJr).
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1531-32, fol. XCVv: mentioning the death of Felix Dhondt and sale of his *lyfrente*; also mentioned 1532-33 (fol. XCVv).

- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civile Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1528-1534, fol. 285r-v, 16-05-1532 (date act, Felix had died in April of that year): discussion on *rente* on the house *twitte beerkin*, from July 1530 onwards.
- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civile Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1528-1534, fol. 367r-v, 21-02-1533: guardians (Franchoy's Noirrot ende Pieter de Mil) of children Felix de Hondt and his wife demand back *rente* of the time Felix was *proprietaris vanden weertscepe vanden vischcoopers* but had farmed out his rights to Nicasen the leather cutter (*ledersnyder*).
- SAB, Inv. no. 165, Civile Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1532-1533, fol. 46v-47v: guardians (Franchoy's Noirrot ende Pieter de Mil) of children Felix de Hondt and his wife against Nicasis the leather cutter (*ledersnijder*), also about the *weertscepe vanden vischcoopers*.
- SAB, Inv. no. 208, Wezengoederen, Sint-Jacob 9e boek, fol. 191r, 11-05-1534: children Franskin, Grietkin and Tannekin from his wife Magdaleene van Poucke, considering among others the house *twitte beerkin*, guardians Fransois Noroot and Pieter de Mil.

#### **Franchois de Hondt I**

##### *Profession*

- *Sergeant vanden camere van Brugghe* (sergeant of the chambers of Bruges; assisted the city magistrate during meetings<sup>1780</sup>)

##### *Family relation*

- son of Jacob
- brother of Jooris (*tegheldecker*) and Magdaleene

##### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 835, fol. 272v-274r, 20-12-1562: concerning legacy of three children and a grandson of Jacob de Hondt: Franchois, Magdaleene and her son Coppen and Jooris (*tegheldecker*); legacy consists of five houses and a small house in *sHeergeerwynstraete* (now Geerwijnstraat), next to the Prinsenhof.

#### **Fransois DHondt II**

##### *Profession*

- *tegheldecker* (roofer/slater/tiler)

##### *Family relation*

- unknown

##### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, *Wetsvernieuwingen*, 02-09-1560, *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers).

#### **Gheeraert de Hondt (? – between 1 and 14 March 1562)**

##### *Profession*

- *crudenier* (grocer/herbalist)

##### *Family relation*

- father of Mattheus de Hondt

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<sup>1780</sup> Vandewalle 2008<sup>b</sup>, p. 161.

- married until about 1545 to Loyse de Canleirs, with whom he had the children Theeukin (Mattheus), Thuenkin (Antheunis), Cotkin (Jaques), Magdaleenekin and Callekin (Cathelyne)
- then married to Jacquemijne Decker (approximately 1545 to December 1548)
- then married to Margriete Nock, former widow of Jan Drost (first mentioning 1552)

#### Sources

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwungen, 02-09-1531: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold), also 02-09-1540, 02-09-1545, 02-09-1559.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekeningen, 1536-37, fol. XVJr: *rente* for a grocer stall (*crudeniers stalle*); also mentioned in 1537-38 (fol. XVJr) and from then on up to and including 1560-1561 (fol. XJv). The *rente* was paid every year around 15 March (*alf Maerte*). In the year 1561-1562 (fol. XIJv), the *rente* is paid by the widow of Gheeraert de Hondt. She pays the *rente* at least up to and including the year 1565-1566 (fol. XJr; not checked after that year).
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1541, fol. 455r: funeral of his child.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwungen, 02-09-1542: *deken* (dean) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold), also 02-09-1551, 02-09-1557.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1544, fol. 542r (June) and fol. 544v (October): funeral of two children.
- SAB, Inv. no. 208, Wezengoederen, Sint-Jacob 10e boek, 02-03-1545, fol. 109r: mentioning children Theeukin, Thuenkin, Cotkin, Magdaleenekin and Callekin from his wife Loyse de Canleirs and house *Den Ouden Wulf* in *Sint-Jacobsstrate*.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 637, fol. 466-(467)-(468), approximately 1545: inheritance of father of his wife Jacquemyne (Hubrecht de Decker, widower of Godelieve van Overdyle).
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 638, fol. 301-302, 20-01-1547: Gheeraert de Hont *crudenier* en Jacquemyne Decker his wife, act on the house *Den Ouden Wulf* in *Sint-Jacobsstraete* that was bought by Gheeraert on 10-06-1543.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1548 (November), fol. 30v: funeral of his child.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1548 (December), fol. 31r: funeral of his wife Jacquemijne.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 639, fol. 446-447, 06-02-1552: inheritance of Jan Drost former husband of Margriete Nocke now wife of Gheeraert de Hondt.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 640, fol. 563-564, 06-02-1552: inheritance of Jan Drost former husband of Margriete Nocke now wife of Gheeraert de Hondt.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 21, Resolutieboek 1530-1661, fol. 34v, November 1554: Gheeraert de Hondt is mentioned as a member of the guild of the Holy Sacrament.
- SAB, Inv. no. 103, Oorkonden private aangelegenheden, Eerste reeks, III, 496, 15-12-1559: mentioning that Gheeraert de Hondt bought the house *Den Ouden Wulf* in *Sint-Jacobsstrate* on 09-06-1543, which he and his wife Margriete Nock gave to Mattheus de Hondt on 15 December 1559 (see Mattheus de Hondt).

- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1562 (March), fol. 437r: funeral of Gheeraerdt de Hondt.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 21, Resolutieboek 1530-1661, fol. 46v, 5 April 1562: because he has died, Gheeraert de Hondt is replaced by Jan Barrodt as member of the guild of the Holy Sacrament.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 836, fol. 143-153 (16-05-1564), 196-205 (20-07-1564) and fol. 224-231 (21-08-1564): Gheeraert's children Mattheus, Anthuenis, Jaques, Magdaleene en Cathelyne de Hondt are the grandchildren of Magdaleene Anthuenis Jansuene Diericxdochter, married to a certain De Canleirs; the children receive their part (25% all together) of the inheritance of Magdaleene (other three parts go to son and other grandchildren of Magdaleene).

### **Jacob de Hondt (? – 1546)**

#### *Profession*

- *tegheldeckker* (roofer/slater/tiler)

#### *Family relation*

- married to Lysbette Joye, daughter of Abel Joye, tailor (*sceppere*)
- father of Gheerkin de Hondt
- father of Franskin (Francois) and Magdaleenekin (Magdaleene)
- father of Jooris
- brother of Adriaen de Hondt?

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwungen, 02-09-1509: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers), also 1518, 1525, 1532, 1541, 1543, 1546.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1509, August, fol. 214r: funeral of his child.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1512, March, fol. 258r: funeral of his child.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1513, fol. 289v: paid for work as *tegheldeckker*; also in 1519 (fol. 427v), 1521 (fol. 476r), 1525 (fol. 581r), Inv. no. 88, no. 27: 1530 (fol. 144v), 1536 (fol. 327r), 1540 (fol. 447v), 1541 (fol. 475r and 476r), 1544 (fol. 563r).
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekeningen, 1514-1515, fol. XCVIIJr: paid for work as *tegheldeckker*, also in 1515-1516 (fol. CIJr) and onwards, up to and including 1546-1547 (fol. LXXVIIJr).
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwungen, 02-09-1516: *deken* (dean) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers), also 1522, 1527, 1529, 1533, 1536, 1539.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. [319] (= Regest 739 = Charter 551), 08-08-1526: the heirs of Abel Joye (tailor, *sceppere*), being his widow Kathlyne Leys and his daughters Lysbette and her husband Jacob de Hondt *tegheldeckere* and Jacquemyne and her husband Jan vander Decke, hand over a *rente* to Adriaen de Hondt. Abel Joye had received the *rente* as former dean of the tailors in Bruges in 1506 (see *regesten* 672 and 666).



- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1530-31, 24-06-1531, fol. Vr: payment of a *rente* to the *Commuun*, concerning a house in *sHeergeerwynstraete* (now Geerwijnstraat), which he inherited from the widow of Abel Joye. Mentioned every year on the same page, until the account of 1546-47, where the *aeldingers* (heirs) of Jacop de Hondt pay the *rente*; from 1525 until 1530, the *rente* is owned by the widow Abel Joye, before 1525 it is owned by Abel Joye himself. Abel Joye had acquired the *rente* on 25 November 1497 (RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 237, fol. XJr-v).
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1531-32, fol. [40v]: paid for work on the church as *tegheldecker*.
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1531-32, fol. LXXIIJv: paid for work on houses as *tegheldecker*, also in 1534-35 (fol. LXXVIJr).
- OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1532-33, fol. XLIIJv: guardian of the choirboys in the foundation of Jan de Clerc, *medevoocht vanden choralen*; also in 1533-34 (fol. XLIIIJv), 1534-36 (fol. XLVr), 1536-37 (fol. XLIIIJv), 1537-39 (fol. XLVJr).
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1535, fol. 286v: returning payment for cloth to dress the choirboys.
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1536-37, fol. XCIXv: *lyfrente* for Adriaen de Hondt and Franskin de Hondt filius Jacobs and a *lyfrente* for Adriaen de Hondt and Magdaleenekin de Hondt filia Jacobs.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1537, fol. 348v and 355v: guardian of the choirboys in the foundation of Adriane Montegny and Jan Humbloot, *vooght vanden bonenfanten*; also mentioned in 1538 (fol. 385r), 1539 (fol. 412r), 1540 (fol. 437r and 444v), 1541 (fol. 473v), 1542 (fol. 503r), 1543 (fol. 532v), 1544 (fol. 561v).
- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1534-1541, fol. 414v-415r, 17-07-1539: Jacop de Hondt *tegheldeckere* demands from two bricklayers that they pay him for his duties as *tegheldecker*.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 835, fol. 272v-274r, 20-12-1562: concerning legacy of three children and a grandson of Jacob de Hondt and his wife Lysbette daughter of Abel Joye: Franchois, Magdaleene and her son Coppen and Jooris (*tegheldecker*); legacy consists of five houses and a small house in *sHeergeerwynstraete* (now Geerwijnstraat), next to the Prinsenhof.

### **Jan DHond I**

#### *Profession*

- member of the guild of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold) representing the *grossiers* (wholesalers)

#### *Family relation*

- son of Jan

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1470: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (representing the *grossiers*), also 02-09-1472 and 02-09-1477.

### **Jan DHondt II**

#### *Profession*

- *tegheldecke* (roofer/slater/tiler)

#### *Family relation*

- unknown

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1517, *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers).

### **Jan de Hondt III**

#### *Profession*

- cloth manufacturer (*drapier*)

#### *Family relation*

- unknown

#### *Sources*

- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1526, fol. 8v: funeral of his child.
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1531-32, fol. VIIJv: *lyfrente* for the widow of Jan de Hondt, cloth manufacturer (*drapier*); also mentioned in 1532-33 (fol. VIIJr).

### **Jan de Hondt IV**

#### *Profession*

- *crudenier* (grocer/herbalist)

#### *Family relation*

- unknown

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 157, *Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar*, boek 1528-1534, fol. 216v-217r, 05-05-1531, Jan de Hondt has a debt with the children of the late Alxr. Colet for buying fruit (e.g. figs and raisins) from him.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1536-37, fol. XVJr: *rente* for a grocer stall (*crudeniers stalle*).

### **Jan de Hont V**

#### *Profession*

- unknown

#### *Family relation*

- unknown

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 157, *Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar*, boek 1534-1541, fol. 162v-163r, 22-12-1536: Jan has to pay a debt for the delivery of beer.

### **Jan de Hondt VI**

#### *Profession*

- unknown

#### *Family relation*

- son of Willem
- married to Jacquemyne van Cleve

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 165, fol. 111, 20-11-1540: the son of Jacquemyne van Cleve and her former husband Adriaen de Deystere (Anteunis) is declared to be of age (about 27).
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 636, fol. 91-95, 21-03-1541: marriage certificate between Jan and Jacquemyne van Cleve.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 165, fol. 164-165, 20-05-1541: Jan de Hont son of Willem and his wife Jacquemyne, considering a *rente*.

**Jooris de Hondt I**

*Profession*

- *tegheldecker* (roofer/slater/tiler)

*Family relation*

- father of Coopkin (Jacob) and Jooskin (Joost, guardian was Cornelis de Hondt II)
- first married to Margriet

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1485: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers), also 1504, 1506.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 25, Rekening kerkfabriek 1489, fol. 22v, July: funeral of his wife.
- SAB, Inv. no. 208, Wezenregister Sint-Jacob 6<sup>e</sup> boek, fol. 45r, 14-08-1489: father of Coopkin (Jacob) and Jooskin (Joost) from his wife Margriet.
- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 25, Rekening kerkfabriek 1489, fol. 23v, September: funeral of his child.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1494: *deken* (dean) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers).
- SAB, Wezenregister Sint-Niklaas 6e boek, fol. 91r, 15-12-1503: father of Jooskin (son of Jooris DHondt *teghelceckere* and Margriete his first wife), whose guardian is Cornelis de Hondt *tegheldeckere*.

**Jooris de Hondt II**

*Profession*

- *tegheldecker* (roofer/slater/tiler)

*Family relation*

- son of Jacob de Hondt
- husband of Francyne de Nayere
- father of Marie, grandfather of Mayken
- father of Catharine/Catheline, Claerkin/Clare/Clara, Susanna

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1538: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers), also 1549, 1564, 1567, 1577 (checked until 1580).

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1542: *deken* (dean) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers), also 1553, 1558, 1562, 1564, 1568, 1573 (checked until 1580).
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 210, fol. 288-290, 04-09-1554: mentioning Jooris de Hondt *tegheldecker* and his wife Franchyne the daughter of Joorne de Nayer, concerning three houses.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1556-1557, fol. LXXIJv: paid for work as *tegheldecker*, at least up to and including 1565-1566 (fol. LXXIIJr), not checked after that year.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 835, fol. 53v (11-12-1562) and 226r-v (September/October 1563): Jooris de Hondt *tegheldecker* is guardian of Maykin de Hondt, child of his daughter Marie de Hondt and Albrecht Willemyn the carpenter.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 835, fol. 272v-274r, 20-12-1562: concerning legacy of three children and a grandson of Jacob de Hondt and his wife Lysbette daughter of Abel Joye: Franchois, Magdaleene and her son Coppen and Jooris (*tegheldecker*); legacy consists of five houses and a small house in *sHeergeerwynstraete* (now Geerwijnstraat), next to the Prinsenhof.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, search system Marcus: Jooris and his wife Francyne appear regularly in documents from 1564 onwards, as do their children Catharine/Catheline, Claerkin/Clare/Clara and Susanna.

#### **Joos DHond I**

##### *Profession*

- member of the guild of the *zuivelmarkt* (dairy market; related to the bird market)

##### *Family relation*

- unknown

##### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1490: *deken* (dean) of the government of the trade of the *zuivelmarkt* (dairy market).
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1492: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *zuivelmarkt* (dairy market).

#### **Mr. Joos DHond II**

##### *Profession*

- member of the guild of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold) representing the *frutiers* (fruiterer/fruit merchant)

##### *Family relation*

- unknown

##### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1498: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle*.

#### **Joos de Hond III**

##### *Profession*

- *tegheldecker* (roofer/slater/tiler)

*Family relation*

- unknown

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1490: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tegheldeckers* (roofers/slaters/tilers), also 1515.

**Joos de Hont/Hond/Hondt IV**

*Profession*

- *hoedenmaker* (hatter)

*Family relation*

- unknown

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1491: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *hoedenmakers* (hatters), also 1495, 1500, 1508, 1516.

**Joos de Hont V**

*Profession*

- *fusteinier* (fustian weaver)

*Family relation*

- unknown

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetvernieuwingen, 02-09-1526: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *fusteiniers* (fustian weavers).

**Joos de Hondt VI**

*Profession*

- unknown

*Family relation*

- father of Maykin

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening rentenier 1536-37, fol. CIJr: *lyfrente* for Maykin daughter of Joos de Hondt.

**Joos de Hondt VII**

*Profession*

- *zagher* (sawyer)

*Family relation*

- married to Tanne/Tannekin van Loo

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken Vierschaar, no. 704, fol. 176-177, 23-05-1544: Tanne van Loo and her husband Joos de Hondt receive an inheritance of Marc van Loo, together with other members of the Van Loo family.

- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken Vierschaar, no. 706, fol. 247, 03-06-1551: Joos de Hondt *zagher* and Tannekin van Loo his wife buy three little stone houses (*drie stenen camerent*)
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1558: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *zagers* (sawyers).

### **Joos de Hondt VIII**

#### *Profession*

- gold- and silversmith

#### *Family relation*

- unknown

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, *Wetsvernieuwingen*, 02-09-1545: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the gold- and silversmiths, also 02-09-1549.

### **Magd[alena]**

#### *Family relation*

- daughter of Christiaen de Hondt

#### *Sources*

- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 25, Rekening kerkfabriek 1490, fol. 42r, August 1490: funeral of *Magd. fa. Christiaen sHonds*, from the parish of Saint Gillis.

### **Magdalena de Hondt**

#### *Family relation*

- daughter of Jacob de Hondt

#### *Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 641, fol. 177, 10-04-1553: wife of Jan van den Berghe carpenter.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 835, fol. 272v-274r, 20-12-1562: concerning legacy of three children and a grandson of Jacob de Hondt and his wife Lysbette daughter of Abel Joye: Francois, Magdaleene (widow of Jan vanden Berghe) and her son Coppen and Jooris (*tegheldecker*); legacy consists of five houses and a small house in *sHeergeerwynstraete* (now Geerwijnstraat), next to the Prinsenhof.

### **Mattheus de Hondt**

#### *Profession*

- *crudenier* (grocer/herbalist)

#### *Family relation*

- son of Gheerart de Hondt and Margriete Nocke
- husband of Marie Haghe, daughter of Cornelis vander Haghens
- guardian of Copkin (Jacob), Gheerkin (Gheeraert), Theuntken (Anthuenis), Magdaleneken and Pieryncken (Pieter), children of Anteunis de Rouvroy en Catheline Dhont

#### Sources

- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1554 (September), fol. 191v: funeral of his child.
- SAB, Inv. no. 103, Oorkonden private aangelegenheden, Eerste reeks, III, 496, 15-12-1559: gift of Gheeraert de Hondt, *crudenier*, and Margriete Nocke, his wife, of their house *Den Ouden Wulf*, standing on the west-side of *Sint-Jacopsstrate*, to Mattheus, also *crudenier*, and his wife Marie, the daughter of Cornelis vander Haghens, on condition that they pay them 8 Flemish pounds a year. After Gheeraert or his wife dies, 4 pounds have to be paid to the one that survives the other one.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 59, fol. 414, 01-08-1563: guardian of Copkin (Jacop), Gheerkin (Gheeraert), Theuntken (Anthuenis), Magdaleneken, Pieryncken (Pieter), children of Anteunis de Rouvroy en Catheline Dhont, daughter of Gheeraert (and therefore sister of Mattheus).
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 836, fol. 143-153 (16-05-1564), fol. 196-205 (20-07-1564) and fol. 224-231 (21-08-1564): Gheeraert's children Mattheus, Anthuenis, Jaques, Magdaleene en Cathelyne de Hondt are the grandchildren of Magdaleene Anthuenis Janszuene Diericxdochter, married to a certain De Canleirs (and therefore the mother of Loyse de Canleirs, first wife of Gheeraert de Hondt), and receive their part (25% altogether) of the inheritance of Magdaleene (other three parts go to a son and other grandchildren of Magdaleene).
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1558: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold), also 02-09-1562, 02-09-1565, 02-09-1567, 02-09-1576.
- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1569: *deken* (dean) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold), also 18-10-1574.

#### **Pier de Hondt**

##### *Profession*

- unknown

##### *Family relation*

- unknown

##### *Sources*

- RAB, ASJB, Inv. no. 28, Rekening kerkfabriek 1551 (March), fol. 99v: funeral *Pier de Hondt upden disch*. A funeral *upden disch* meant that the person was so poor that he couldn't afford a funeral, the *disch* paid for it.

#### **Pieter de Hondt I**

##### *Profession*

- member of the trade of the *kruidhalle*

##### *Family relation*

- unknown

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1514: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *kruidhalle* (hall where herbs, herbal medicines and vegetables were sold).

**Pieter de Hondt II**

*Profession*

- *tijkwever* (weaver of ticking/bedding)

*Family relation*

- unknown

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1516: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tijkwevers* (weavers of ticking/bedding), also 1534, 1539, 1543.
- SAB, Inv. no. 216, Stadsrekening 1537-38, fol. LXXVjr: payment for replacing the straw roof by a tile roof of his house standing *ande oliebrugge* (this could also be Pieter de Hondt III).

**Pieter de Hondt III**

*Profession*

- unknown

*Family relation*

- married to Kathelyne Fulloens, who was his widow in 1556
- related to Lysken daughter of Gillis de Hondt and widow of Jan van Zante
- related to Nicasin de Hondt filius Denys and his wife Pierijne

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken Vierschaar, no. 592, fol. 26-27 (06-11-1556), fol. 77-78 (05-02-1557), fol. 82 (13-02-1557), fol. 99-100 (10-04-1557), fol. 184 (30-09-1557; Pieter himself not mentioned), fol. 231-232 (09-12-1557): concerning the legacy of Pieter de Hondt.

**Tristram de Hond**

*Profession*

- *tijkwever* (weaver of ticking/bedding)

*Family relation*

- unknown

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 114, Wetsvernieuwingen, 02-09-1494: *vinder* (inspector) of the government of the trade of the *tijkwevers* (weavers of ticking/bedding), also 1497.

**Willem de Hondt I**

*Profession*

- unknown

*Family relation*

- husband of Jaguemyne de Valckenar, with whom he had four children: Hannekin (son), Copkin (Jacob), Jooskin (Joost) and Tannekin



*Sources*

- RAB, Inv. no. 88, no. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1522, fol. 482r: funeral of his child.
- SAB, Inv. no. 157, Civiele Sententiën Vierschaar, boek 1528-1534, fol. 217v-218r, 25-05-1531, widow Willem de Hondt is summoned by Marijn Faueau who states that Willem had a debt with him, but the claim was dismissed.
- SAB, Inv. no. 208, Wezenregister Onze-Lieve-Vrouw 8e boek, fol. 211r-v: father of Copkin, Jooskin and Tannekin (03-11-1535); father of Hannekin (03-11-1535); father of Hannekin (15-05-1536).
- SAB, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier, 1534-35, fol. XCVIJr: *lyfrente* for his widow Jaguemyne and her children Copkin, Jooskin and Tannekin.

**Willem de Hont II**

*Profession*

- unknown

*Family relation*

- husband of Marie Hoernewert, who is his widow in 1545

*Sources*

- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 637, 24-07-1545, fol. 342: marriage of Marie Hoernewert widow of Willem de Hont.
- SAB, Inv. no. 198, Klerken vierschaar, no. 638, 21-07-1547: gardian of Katteken who is the daughter of Willem de Hont and Marie Hoerenweder.

## Appendix 7 List of feasts in Bruges

### Based on:

- *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sancti Donatani Brugensis, Dyocesis Tornacensis*, Paris, Bonnemere 1520. A copy is in the public library of Bruges (Biekorf) under number 1578. Also published in: Weale/Misset 1889.
- Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief, A141: Saint Donatian Bruges, Planaris, according to the inventory of Janssens de Bisthoven and De Backer drawn up in the 15th century.
- Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief, A210: Saint Donatian Bruges, Obituary, 16th century, (years mentioned in the manuscript: 1537, 1541, 1545-55).
- Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief, A220: Saint Donatian Bruges, dated according to inventory of Janssens de Bisthoven and De Backer 1537, but in the manuscript also 1522 (October) and 1533 (December) are mentioned.
- Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief, A222: Saint Donatian Bruges, file with twelve calendars from 1551 until the 18th century. Two are used for this reconstruction, dated 1551 and 1551-1561 (pocket diary).
- Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Grootseminarie, 56/92: Calendar of Tournay, 15th century according to the typed inventory.<sup>1781</sup>
- RAB, Inv. nr. 91, nr. 735, Planaris of the church of Our Lady, mid-16th century.
- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 128 G 33, Book of Hours with Bruges calendar, early 16th century (Henrijck Palinx, Fievez).
- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 71 J 73, Book of Hours with Bruges calendar, fourth quarter of the 15th century (Ludovicus de Bloc).<sup>1782</sup>
- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 74 G 2, Book of Hours with Bruges calendar, 1494 (Ludovicus Bloc, Willem Hekking).
- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 135 E 25, Book of Hours with Bruges calendar, third quarter of the 15th century (Willem Vrelant).
- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 130 E 2, Book of Hours with Bruges calendar, third quarter of the 15th century (Theueneete Barbemone).
- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 71 J 66, Book of Hours with Tournai calendar, second half of the 15th century.
- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 76 G 4, Book of Hours with Tournai calendar, around 1500.

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<sup>1781</sup> I thank Kurt Priem, archivist of both the Bisschoppelijk Archief and the Bisschoppelijk Grootseminarie, for bringing this calendar to my attention.

<sup>1782</sup> This calendar puts Easter on 27 March and Ascension Day on 5 May. This suggests that the calendar is more precisely datable, namely in 1502 or 1513 (respecting the original dating of the catalogue of the Royal Library).

- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 133 D 18, Book of Hours with Tournai calendar, end of the 15th century.
- Royal Library The Hague, Afdeling Bijzondere Collecties, 76 F 27, Book of Hours with Tournai calendar, third quarter of the 15th century.

### **January**

1	Circumcision of Our Lord
6	Epiphany of Our Lord
22	St Vincent
25	Conversion of St Paul

### **February**

2	Purification of the Blessed Virgin
6	St Amand and St Vedast
22	The Chair of St Peter, apostle
24	St Matthias, apostle

### **March**

25	Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary
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### **April**

23	St George
25	St Mark the Evangelist

### **May**

1	St Philip and St James
3	Invention of the Cross
6	St John the Evangelist, before the Latin Gate

### **June**

5	St Boniface
11	St Barnabas
14	St Basil the Great
24	Nativity of St John the Baptist
25	Translation of St Eligius
29	St Peter and St Paul

### **July**

2	Visitation of Our Lady
3	Translation of St Thomas
11	Translation of St Benedict of Nursia
22	Mary Magdalene
25	St James the Greater and St Christopher

**August**

1	St Peter's Chains
10	St Laurence
15	Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary
24	St Bartholomew, Apostle
29	Beheading of St John the Baptist

**September**

1	St Giles
8	Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary
14	Exaltation of the Cross
21	St Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist
29	St Michael

**October**

1	Remigius, St Germanus, St Piatius, St Vedast and St Bavo of Ghent
9	St Dionysius
14	St Donatian
18	St Luke the Evangelist
28	St Simon and St Jude, Apostles

**November**

1	All Saints' Day
2	All Souls' Day
11	St Martin
23	St Clement
25	St Catherine
30	St Andrew, Apostle

**December**

1	St Eligius
6	St Nicholas
8	Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary
14	Saint Nicasius of Rheims
21	St Thomas, Apostle
25	Nativity of Our Lord
26	St Stephen
27	St John, Apostle and Evangelist
28	Holy Innocents
29	St Thomas

## Appendix 8      Individual foundations of the Sint-Jacobskerk Bruges

### Abbreviations

FD	Foundation date
Acf	Account church fabric 1538, January to January (RAB, Inv. no. 88, nr. 27)
Ac	Account <i>Commuun</i> 1537-39, St John to St John (24 June) (OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobskerk)
Ad	Account <i>Dis</i> 1537-1538, Christmas to Christmas (OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobskerk)
Cart	Cartularium (OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobskerk)
RAB	RAB, Inv. no. 88 (Archief Sint-Jacobskerk)
SAB, OA	Stadsarchief Brugge, Oud Archief
E	Expenditure
R	Receipt

### Appendix 8.a      Individual foundations, content unknown

#### Ghootkin, Ghysbrecht (priest)

*Foundation:* three days the small hours of Our Lady

*Sources:* Ac fol. 1v (R).

*Remarks:* -

#### Gros, Ferry de

*Foundation:* Mass for Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows (March/April)

*Sources:* Acf fol. 371v (R bell ringing).

*Remarks:* See also Appendix 8.e, Individual foundations, memorial services.

#### Hauwe, Jan (*vischcopere*, fish buyer)

*Foundation:* three days the seven canonical hours in November

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383v (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* Jan and his wife Jaqueminen f. wilen Diedericx de Rover bought a grave in 1479 (RAB 197, fol. LXVJv (40v)).

**Hoecke, Jacop van**

*Foundation:* probably for a Mass or poor relief in the convent of the Carmelites

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXIJv (E to the convent of the Carmelites).

*Remarks:* -

**Appendix 8.b Individual foundations, no music involved****Angnelli (del Agnello, de Langello), Baptiste and his wife Yene (merchant from Pisa)**

*Foundation:* daily Mass sung/read by a priest, in the summer at seven o'clock, in the winter at eight o'clock; FD 03-12-1486 (18-10-1492, 03-04-1519)

*Sources:* Ac fol. XLVv (E priest); RAB 237, fol. LXXXv-LXXXIJr and fol. XCVIJv-CVIIJv; RAB [530] (= Regest 615 = Charter 459); RAB [528] (= Regest 718 = Charter 532).

*Remarks:* Yene's funeral was in January 1503 (RAB 26, fol. 124r), Baptiste died before 03-12-1486. See also Appendix 8.e.

**Bieze, Jacop d'oude/doude/dhoude (senior)**

*Foundation:* daily Mass; FD 03-01-1458 or 23-05-1462 (02-03-1475)

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXIJv and fol. LXXXJr (E priest and *dischnape*); either RAB [921] (= Regest 457, 458, 461; 456, 538) or SAB, OA, Inv. no. 457 (a copy of this charter is in RAB 888, fol. LXVIIJv-LXXIJv).

*Remarks:* there were more men with the name Jacop Bieze, and although the documents distinguish Jacop Bieze *d'oude* (senior) and *de jonghe* (junior), this does not seem to have been done consequently (besides the fact that a junior automatically becomes a senior growing older and getting a son with the same name). All documents mentioned above refer to Jacob Bieze *d'oude*. Two Jacop Bieze *doude*'s made a foundation for a daily Mass at the altar of Saint John the Baptist: one was the son of Jacob and married to Clare and had a son Copkin (little Jacob), the other was the son of Jan and was married to Katheline filia Pieter Stuls. Jacob Bieze *doude* founded a daily Mass on 03-01-1458 to be celebrated by a chaplain for the souls of Jacop Bieze *d'oude* and his wife Clare at the altar of Saint John the Baptist in the chapel of Our Lady, where they were buried. Jacop Bieze *doude* filius Jans – married to *joncvrouw* Katheline filia Pieter Stuls – founded a daily Mass at the altar of Saint John the Baptist in the chapel of Our Lady on 23-05-1462. This Mass was replaced on 02-03-1475 n.s., when the church was extended and the altar was moved to a new chapel (SAB, OA, Inv. no. 457; a copy of this charter is in RAB 888, fol. LXVIIJv-LXXIJv). The replacement was already prepared for in August 1472 (Martens 1992a, pp. 271, 521-522, 525-526). Jacop Bieze de Jonghe filius Jacobs bought a grave on 24-06-1432 for *joncvrouw* Clare and his son Copkin (little Jacob) (RAB 198, fol. 3r and RAB 237, fol. CXLv). Jacop Bieze *dhoude*

and his wife *joncvrouw* Katheline filia Pieter Stuls bought a grave on 06-11-1440 (RAB 197, fol. XXXr (8r)). RAB [399] (= Regest 434 = Charter 334) mentions a *cijns* (levy, tax) given on behalf of Jacobus Biese junior on 25-04-1446 for celebrating the office of the seven canonical hours. A Jacop Bieze was buried on 18 August 1449 (RAB 24, fol. 13v). A wife of a Jacob Biese is buried in August 1506 in the grave of Jacob Biese dhoude (RAB 26, fol. 172v: *Jacob Biesens wyf, in sepultuer Jacob Biese dhoude*). See also Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

**Bitebloc, Philips (d'oude) (Philips senior) and Adriana van Beversluys his widow**

*Foundation:* daily Mass at the altar of Saint Adrian read by priest in the summer at seven o'clock, in the winter at eight o'clock; FD 29-03-1475

*Sources:* Acf fol. 374v, fol. 204v-205r, fol. 381v (R *rente*, E priest); RAB 237, fol. CXCJr-JCXCVIJr; RAB [509] (= Regest 525<sup>1783</sup> = Charter 393).

*Remarks:* Philips bought a grave on 02-01-1472 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIIJv-XLIXr (26v-27r)). See also Appendix 8.c, Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

**Bitebloc, Philips (d'oude) (Philips senior) and Adriana van Beversluys his widow**

*Foundation:* Mass for Our Lady every Saturday at the altar of the guild of the *lamwerckers, grauwerckers ende wiltwerckers* (furriers) read by an assistant priest; FD 29-03-1475

*Sources:* Acf fol. 382r (E trade of the *grauwerckers* (furriers)); RAB 237, fol. CXCJr-JCXCVIJr; RAB [509] (= Regest 525 = Charter 393).

*Remarks:* Philips was a furrier himself (*grauwercker*) and bought a grave on 02-01-1472 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIIJv-XLIXr (26v-27r)). See also Appendix 8.c, Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

**Bonin, Jacop**

*Foundation:* daily services and Masses in the convent of the Dominicans; FD 08-07-1443

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXIJv (E convent Dominicans); RAB 888, CCLXVIJ; RAB [912] (= Regest 115, 235, 418, 419 = Charter 321).

*Remarks:* -

**Duytsche, Pieter de (= Wijghere vander Eecke)**

*Foundation:* daily Mass read in the convent of the Augustinians, from 1531 onwards reduced to 100 days a year; FD reduction 24-12-1531

*Sources:* Acf fol. LXIJr (E convent Augustinians); RAB 888, fol. CCLXXVr-CCLXXVIJv, heavily damaged (original daily Mass) and fol. CCXCVr-CCXCVJv (reduction); RAB [935] (= Regest 749 = Charter 555), reduction daily Mass.

*Remarks:* -

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<sup>1783</sup> The inventory by Rombouts says 526; however, this is incorrect and should be 525.

**Haghelsteen, Jacop**

- Foundation:* dienst vanden Haghelsteens (daily read Mass) at the altar of Saint Anne
- Sources:* Acf fol. 375r (R *rente*) and fol. 375v (R *rente Dis*) and fol. 381v (E priest); Ad fol. LXIIJr (E church fabric); RAB 237, fol. VIIJr (18-12-1496) and fol. CLXXJv (07-11-1540).
- Remarks:* Jacop Haghelsteen was one of the first founders of the seven canonical hours. On 09-08-1432 he made a foundation for singing the seven canonical hours including the High Mass for thirty days (Cart fol. XLIIJv-XLIIIJr and RAB [392] (= Regest 359 = Charter 270)). Jacop's funeral was on 17-11-1447 (RAB 24, fol. 10r), his wife's funeral was on 26-12-1446 (RAB 24, fol. 8v). A memorial service for both of them was already founded on 18-08-1418 (RAB [427] (= Regest 249 = Charter 181) and RAB 888, fol. CCLXXXJ). The graves were replaced in 1480 (RAB 197, fol. LXVIIJr-LXVIIIJv (43r-43v)). Several other charters mention services founded by Jacop Haghelsteen that no longer occur in the accounts of 1538: RAB 512 (= Regest 644 = Charter 478); RAB [445] (= Regest 358 = Charter 269); RAB [392] (= Regest 359 = Charter 270); RAB [907] (= Regest 246, 248 = Charter 180, Regest 250 = Charter 182, Regest 380 = Charter 287).

**Humbloot, Jan**

- Foundation:* daily read Mass in the chapel of the *grauwerckers* (furriers) at eight o'clock; FD 07-05-1508
- Sources:* Acf fol. 375r (R *rente*) and fol. 381v (E to priest); RAB 237, fol. XLJv-XLIIIJr and XLIIIJv-XLVJr; RAB 888, fol. CIXr-CXIJv and fol. CXIIJr-CXIIIJv.
- Remarks:* See also Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

**Humbloot, Willem and his wife Katheline Damhouders  
(Humbloot, Jan and his wife Adriane de Montegny)**

- Foundation:* the four choirboys (under the supervision of the *zangmeester*) must read the seven penitential psalms on the four corners of the graves during the memorial services of Willem Humbloot, Katheline Damhouders, Jan Humbloot and Adriane de Montegny, furthermore the four choirboys must read a De Profundis and Requiem Eternam as well as a Pater Noster and a Ave Maria every Thursday after the Mass of the Holy Sacrament and every Sunday after the *Lof* of the Holy Sacrament; FD 1530/31
- Sources:* Acf fol. 376r (R *rente*, two times), fol. 385r (E to *zangmeester*) and fol. 385r (E to guardian of the choirboys); Ad fol. LXXXJr (E guardian choirboys); RAB 237, fol. CXXXVr-CXXXVIJv.
- Remarks:* the year mentioned in the foundation text is 1530, but day and month are not filled in, therefore – if before Easter – it could also be 1531; Adriane de Montegny was the last one of the four family members to die, shortly before she died she made another foundation partly adding to this one (see RAB 237 CXLIJv-CXLVv, equal to RAB 888, fol. CXVr-CXVIIJv), see also Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.



**Losschaert, Anthuenis and his wife Margriete, filia Pieter sHonds**

- Foundation:* ceremonies and memorial services, founded by the children of Anthuenis and Margriete (Jan and Anthuenis) in the convent of the Augustinians (perhaps music involved, but not in the Sint-Jacobskerk); FD 16-01-1467
- Sources:* Ad fol. LXIJr (E to convent Augustinians); RAB 888, fol. [CVIJr-CIXr] and fol. [CCLXXIIJr-CCLXXIIIJv]; RAB [922] (= Regest 494 = Charter 373).
- Remarks:* in RAB [928] (= regest 561, = charter 418), 20-03-1481, Anthuenis Losschaert [junior] is mentioned as guardian of the children of Christiaen dHont and Kateline Witteroots.

**Moor, Donaes de and his wife Adriane filia Jacop de Vos**

- Foundation:* daily read Mass at Prime; FD 19-02-1487
- Sources:* Ad fol. LXIIJr (E *capellaen*, assistant priest) and fol. LXXXv (E *dischnape, dislad*); RAB 888, fol. XXIIJv-XXXVJr; RAB [970] (= Regest 600 = Charter 447); SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45, fol. 18v-21r (a summary by the administrators of the guilds of the furriers (*lamwerkers, wiltwerkers* and *grauwerkers*) dated 14 March 1487).
- Remarks:* Donaes bought a grave for himself and his first wife Jakemine on 04-09-1453 (RAB 197, fol. XXXIIJr (11r), remark in the margin: replacement of grave); also his second wife Adriane de Vos is buried there. A memorial service for Jakemine, first wife of Donaes de Moor, is held on 4 September, foundation date 09-09-1460 (RAB 197, fol. XXXVIIJr-v (16r-v)). See on other foundations made by Donaes and Adriane SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45. See on the financing of the De Moor foundations also SAB, OA, Inv. no. 457 (20 February 1487 n.s.). See also Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

**Uutkercke, mijn heere van (= Joos van Halewyn, knight, and his wife Lysbette van Maldeghem)**

- Foundation:* several services and read Masses by the conventuals of the Augustinians in the private chapel of *mijn heere van* Uutkercke in the Sint-Jacobskerk; FD 12-04-1446
- Sources:* Ad fol. LXIJr (E, no payment in 1538 because there were no receipts); RAB 888, fol. CCLXIXv-CCLXXJv (heavily damaged).
- Remarks:* -

**Vlaminpoorte, Gillis vander**

- Foundation:* several (memorial) services for Gillis and his wife Katheline f. Jans Hostens in the convent of the Augustinians; FD 01-09-1452
- Sources:* Ad fol. LXIJr (E convent Augustinians); RAB [919] (= Regest 451 = Charter 346, Regest 454 = Charter 349, Regest 455 = Charter 349); RAB 888, fol. CCLXVJr-CCLXVIJr, heavily damaged.
- Remarks:* funeral of Gillis mentioned in RAB 24, fol. 19v (04-06-1452), just bell ringing, therefore probably buried in the convent of the Augustinians.

## Appendix 8.c      Individual foundations, music involved (singing or bell ringing)

### Assenede, Lievin van

- Foundation:* singing six days the seven canonical hours on 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 November; FD 23-09-1500
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXIJv (R *rente*); RAB 237, fol. XXv-XXJr.
- Remarks:* Lievin van Assenede was a church master (RAB 237, fol. XXv); RAB 197, fol. XLIIIJv (22v) and fol. XLVr (23r): graves of Lievin and Annen filia Jans van Bassevelde his first wife (02-04-1471) and his second wife Agniete (01-05-1484); RAB 26, fol. 3r, funeral of Agniete (May 1495) and fol. 86r, funeral of Lievin (December 1500). See also Appendix 8.e.

### Bertijn, Jan

- Foundation:* bell ringing in November of eight Alma Redemptoris
- Sources:* Acf fol. 373v (R for bell ringing); Ac fol. XLIIJr (E to the bell ringer).
- Remarks:* Jan Bertijn was buried in the presbytery of the Sint-Jacobskerk in July 1533 (RAB 27, fol. 223v). See also Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

### Bertijn, Jan

- Foundation:* singing on the Sunday within the octave of the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (21 November) and the day after a Requiem Mass for all deceased members of the Guild; FD 13-07-1532
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXVIJr (R *rente*), fol. XLVJr (E dean guild Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary); RAB 237, fol. CXXXVIIJv-CXLv.
- Remarks:* see on Jan Bertijn and his foundations Hodüm 1954 (including a fragmentary transcription of this foundation on pp. 115-116). See on another foundation by Jan Bertijn on behalf of the Guild of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary RAB 237, fol. Lv-LJr. Jan Bertijn was buried in the presbytery of the Sint-Jacobskerk in July 1533 (RAB 27, fol. 223v). See also Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

### Bertijn, Jan

- Foundation:* singing a Lof of the Holy Sacrament on the Friday after the feast of Corpus Christi; FD 13-07-1532
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXVIJr (R *rente*), fol. XLIJr (E dean of the Guild of the Holy Sacrament); RAB 237 fol. CXXXVIIJv-CXLv.
- Remarks:* see on Jan Bertijn and his foundations Hodüm 1954; See on another foundation by Jan Bertijn on behalf of the Guild of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary RAB 237, fol. Lv-LJr. Jan Bertijn was buried in the presbytery of the Sint-Jacobskerk in July 1533 (RAB 27, fol. 223v). See also Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

**Beverluys, Gillis van**

*Foundation:* the seven Psalms during Lent (extra lustre of financial addition to an already celebrated feast)

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXVIJv (E to *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* Gillis van Beversluus was canon of Saint Donatian and parish priest of the church of Sint-Jacobs. See also Appendix 8.e.

**Bitebloc, Philips and his wife Adriane van Beverluys**

*Foundation:* twelve monthly Masses of the Holy Trinity on the first Sunday of every month; FD 15-11-1486

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJv (R from *Dis*) and fol. XLIJv (E to bell ringer, organist and bellows blower); Ad fol. LXIXv (E to *Commuun*); RAB 932 (= Regest 586 = Charter 438 and Regest 587 = Charter 439 (15-11-1486)); Cart fol. CLXIIJr-CLXXr; RAB 237, fol. CCJv-CCXVJr; RAB 888, fol. IXr-XVIJv; RAB [461] (= Regest 594 = Charter 442 (acceptance *Commuun*; 02-12-1486)).

*Remarks:* graves for Philips and Adriane are bought on 02-01-1472 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIIJv (26v)-XLIXr (27r)); See also Appendix 8.b, Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e.

**Clerc, Jan de brauwere (brewer) and his wife Marie Adriaens**

*Foundation:* contribution for singing the daily *Lof*; FD 18-10-1527

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJv (R) and fol. XLVJr (E, not paid); RAB 237 fol. CXXIJv-CXXIIIJr.

*Remarks:* a *Jan de Cleerc brauwere* was buried in November 1521 (RAB 26, fol. 464v), another Jan de Clerc was buried in August 1527 (RAB 27, fol. 40v); the foundation also included a foundation for the maintenance of the choirboys and two memorial services. See also Appendix 8.e.

**Donc/Donct, Goosin/Goossin vanden (Goosin/Goossin Verdonc/Verdonct)**

*Foundation:* singing the *Inviolata, Integra etc.* on the seven Marian Feasts, Conception (08-12), Nativity (08-09), Presentation (21-11), Annunciation (15-03), Visitation (02-07), Purification (02-02) and Assumption (15-08) by three choirboys (each one verse) accompanied by the organ; FD 11-09-1519

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVr (R *rente*); RAB 237, fol. LXXXIJr-LXXXIIJv.

*Remarks:* The foundation mentions also the singing of this *Inviolata* on the Sundays of Advent, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Epiphany of Our Lord (06-01) and every Sunday after Christmas until the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (02-02), but these days are not mentioned in the accounts of 1538. See for specific information on the *rente* for this foundation RAB [470] (= Regest 715 = Charter 530 (31-12-1517)). Goosin was buried in January 1520 (RAB 26, fol. 433r). Goosin also made a foundation on 07-09-1505 for singing the seven canonical hours of Our Lady (to be sung directly after the 'great' seven canonical hours) during the eight days before Christmas (RAB 237, fol.

XXVIJv and XLVJv-XLVIJv), but this foundation is not to be found in the church accounts of 1538. See also Appendix 8.e.

**Haerst, Jacop de (*cuper, cooper*)**

*Foundation:* feast of Saint James and Saint Christopher (25 July)

*Sources:* Acf fol. 372r (R bell ringing); Ac fol. XLIJv (E bell ringer).

*Remarks:* Jacop bought a grave for himself and his wife Marie filia Michiel filius Jans *de keersghierter* (candle maker) on 01-03-1469 (RAB 197, fol. XLIJr (20r)); see also Appendix 8.e; a Jacop de Haerst and his wife Marie founded 'several services' (content unknown) on 18-09-1485 (RAB 460 (= Regest 583 = Charter 436)).

**Hondt, widow of Christiaen de**

*Foundation:* seven psalms during Lent (extra lustre or financial addition to an already celebrated feast)

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJr (R from church fabric for members of *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* See also Appendix 8.e.

**Lauwereins, Barbele, widow of Hendryc Nieulandt**

*Foundation:* bell ringing during one hour on the eve of All Saints' Day (therefore on the evening of 31 October), the evening of the feast of All Souls' Day (2 November) and on the eve and evening of the feast of St Barbara (4 December) from 7 until 8 o'clock. The first half hour with one bell, the second with all the bells, finishing with nine strokes; FD 04-12-1519

*Sources:* Acf fol. 373r (R), 374r (R) and 384v (E bell ringer); RAB 237, fol. LXXXIIIJv-LXXXVv.

*Remarks:* -

**Lil, Gheeradt van and Ostende, Zegher van**

*Foundation:* St Gertrud (17 March)

*Sources:* Acf fol. 371r (R bell ringing).

*Remarks:* probably foundation for an already celebrated feast. Appendix 8.e, Amant van Ramsbeke.

**Marant, Jan (*grauwercker, furrier*)**

*Foundation:* 'several services and memorial services'; FD 08-08-1476

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVIJr (R *rente*); Ad fol. LXXv (E guild of *grauwerckers*); Cart fol. CLXXVv-CLXXVJv = RAB [458] (= Regest 531 = Charter 396 (08-08-1476)); RAB 888, fol. XCIIJr-XCVIIJr (08-08-1495).

*Remarks:* Jan Marant was buried in February 1500 (RAB 26, fol. 79v), his wife Kath. Christiaens was buried in April 1493 (RAB 25, fol. 80v). The memorial service for Jan was held on 1 February. Jan Marant bought a grave for himself and his first wife Lysbetten filia Mahieu Bonnekens on 03-02-1475 (RAB 197, fol. LVIIJr-v). See also Appendix 8.e.

**Messem, Jan van**

- Foundation:* re-foundation of singing five days the Great Canonical Hours (21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 October); FD 24-01-1534
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXVIJv (R); RAB 237, fol. CLXXVIIJv-CLXXXr.
- Remarks:* Re-foundation made by heirs Roeland Roelandts and Willem van Messem. In the same foundation text (RAB 237 fol. CLXXVIIJv-CLXXXr), memorial services for Jan and his wife Lysbette van der Banc are mentioned (respectively on or around 6 January and 9 May), but they are not mentioned in any of the accounts. RAB 237, fol. VIIJv-IXr mentions the replacement of graves for Jan and Lysbette on 1 January 1475 (bought in 1468, according to RAB 197, fol. XLJr (19r)) and the foundation on 5 March 1497 of memorial services (both Jan and Lybette have died by then). RAB 158, page 5, 9 January places the death of Jan van Messem in 1479. RAB 888 fol. CXXr-CXXJv gives information on a *dis* on behalf of Jan van Messem (dated 19-05-1536). Appendix 8.e.

**Moreel, Willem's wife**

- Foundation:* bell ringing for Mass at the altar of *Sint-Moor* (St Maurus) on 15 January
- Sources:* Acf fol. 370v (R bell ringing).
- Remarks:* Willem Moreel had ordered the triptych of Saint Christopher with Sts Giles and Maurus from Hans Memling for the Sint-Jacobskerk (delivered 1484). RAB 26, fol. 39r, burial of the wife of Willem Moreel de jonghe (October 1497), fol. 67r funeral of Willem Moreel's wife (June 1499). RAB 26, fol. 96r-v, funeral of Willem Moreel doude (January 1501). RAB 26, fol. 434v, Willem Moreel *burchmeester* (March 1520) is buried in his father's grave.

**Muelenbeke, widow of Pieter van (= joncvrauwe Marie de Witte, now married to Mr. Jan Claeysuene)**

- Foundation:* bell ringing on the eve and feast of St Peter (29 June)
- Sources:* Acf fol. 372r (R).
- Remarks:* -

**Nieulandt, Barbele, widow of Hendryc; see Lauwereins, Barbele****Ostende, Zegher van; see Lil, Gheeradt van****Vriendt, Jan de (priest)**

- Foundation:* seven canonical hours and Mass on the feast of the 10,000 martyrs of Ararat (22 June); FD 28-03-1430.
- Sources:* Acf fol. 272r (R bell ringing); Ac fol. XLIIJr (E church fabric); RAB [911] (= Regest 338 = Charter 256); RAB 888, fol. LJv.
- Remarks:* the foundation charter also mentions the foundation of the seven canonical hours including High Mass on the feast of St Francis (4 October), which we do

not find in the accounts of the church fabric, *Commuun* or *Dis* of Sint-Jacobs in 1538.

**Wachter, wife of Christiaen de (silver smith) (= Margriete Aloot)**

*Foundation:* bell ringing on the feast of St Andrew (30 November)

*Sources:* Acf fol. 374r (R bell ringing; name De Wachter not mentioned, but mentioned in previous years).

*Remarks:* See also Appendix 8.e.

**Waghe, Joos (copper, cooper)**

*Foundation:* bell ringing on the eve and evening of the feast of *Sint-Lenaert* (St Leonard, 6 November), one hour each

*Sources:* Acf fol. 373r (R bell ringing).

*Remarks:* -

**Witte, Clays de**

*Foundation:* bell ringing for three Masses on Christmas Day (25 December): *kersmesse*, *dach messe* and High Mass

*Sources:* Acf fol. 374r (R bell ringing).

*Remarks:* a Clays de Witte was buried in January 1515 (RAB 26, fol. 315v-316r).

## Appendix 8.d Individual foundations, polyphonic music involved<sup>1784</sup>

**Bertijn, Jan**

*Foundation:* singing chant and polyphony after the Vespers on seven Marian feasts, namely on the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 December), Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February), Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (25 March), Visitation of Our Lady (2 July), Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 August), Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September), Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (21 November); FD 13-07-1532

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVIJr (R *rente*); RAB 237 fol. CXXXVIIJv-CXLv.

*Remarks:* see on Jan Bertijn and his foundations Hodüm 1954 (including a fragmentary transcription of this foundation on pp. 115-116). See on another foundation by Jan Bertyn on behalf of the Guild of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary RAB 237, fol. Lv-LJr. Jan Bertijn was buried in the presbytery in July 1533 (RAB 27, fol. 223v). See also Appendix 8.c and Appendix 8.e.

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<sup>1784</sup> See Chapter 5, § 5.5.3 for detailed information.

**Bieze, Jacop (married to Clare)**

*Foundation:* Visitation of Our Lady (2 July); FD 20-11-1466

*Sources:* Acf fol. 372r (R bell ringing); Ac fol. XXXVIJv (E to church fabric for bell ringing, E to preacher, organist and bellows blower, *canter*, dean and sub deans, parish priest, sexton and two *canters*); RAB 237, fol. CXLJv.

*Remarks:* the copy of the original charter in RAB 237, fol. CXLJv mentions that the foundation is founded by Jacob Biese de Jonghe and his wife Clare; the accounts of the church fabric mention Jacob Biese de Jonghe (junior), the accounts of the *Commuun* Jacob Biese doude (senior); see on the discussion on the different men with the same name Jacob Biese Appendix 8.b; see also Appendix 8.e.

**Bitebloc, Philips and his wife Adriane van Beversluys**

*Foundation:* Mass on Trinity Sunday (Sunday after Pentecost)

*Sources:* Acf fol. 371v (R for bell ringing); Ad fol. LXXr (E to all the participants of the Mass, among them the *ghezellen vanden muussijcke* [sic], also E to *Commuun* for singing the Vespers twice); RAB 932 (= Regest 586 = Charter 438 and Regest 587 = Charter 439 (15-11-1486)); Cart fol. CLXIIJr-CLXXr; RAB 237, fol. CCJv-CCXVJr; RAB 888, fol. IXr-XVIJv; RAB [461] (= Regest 594 = Charter 442 (acceptance *Commuun*; 02-12-1486)).

*Remarks:* graves for Philips and Adriane are bought on 02-01-1472 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIIJv (26v)-XLIXr (27r)); See also Appendix 8.b, Appendix 8.c and Appendix 8.e.

**Claeys, Marie widow of Lodewijk van Hille**

*Foundation:* Mass and bell ringing and playing for the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (21 November); FD 09-12-1536

*Sources:* Ac fol. XLVJr (E to the dean of the guild of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary); RAB 237, fol. CLIIIJr-CLVr

*Remarks:* before it was officially founded, this foundation was already paid for incidentally (see for example Acf 1532, fol. 193v). The widow of Lodewijk van Hille paid ten pounds for this foundation to the *Commuun* on 10 January 1537 (RAB 21, fol. 7r; see also Ac, 1536-1537, fol. XXXIIJv). A transcription of this foundation is given in Hodüm 1954, pp. 113-115 and also in Appendix 8, Transcriptions, 1536, 9 December. The accounts of the church fabric regularly mention payments from Marie Claeys, widow of Lodewijk van Hille, for celebrations of Marian feasts (see for example Acf 1535, fol. 227v (February and March), fol. 228r (July), fol. 228v (August), fol. 229r (September), fol. 229v (the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary)). Lodewijk van Hille was one of the former church masters.

**Claijes, Joessijne, widow of Jan Claijes**

*Foundation:* Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (21 November); FD 07-05-1508

*Sources:* Acf fol. 373v (R); Ac fol. XXXIXr-v (E); RAB 237, fol. XXXVIIJr-XXXIXr and fol. XLr-XLJr.

*Remarks:* 'the widow of Jan Clays' was buried in April 1509 (RAB 26, fol. 212v).

#### **Cottreel, Mr. Pieter**

*Foundation:* *gulden mis* – Golden Mass (December, Ember Day); FD 07-03-1519

*Sources:* Acf fol. 374r (no R, bell ringing), fol. 374v (R *rente*) and fol. 382v (E for bread and the bell ringer); RAB 237, fol. LXXVr-LXXIXr.

*Remarks:* mr. Pieter Cottreel was born in 1461 and died on 28 May 1545; he was archdeacon of Bruges for the diocese of Tournai and parish priest of Saint James. See on the *gulden mis* including this foundation Kruitwagen 1906/1907, see in particular 1906, pp. 447-452; Le Beffroi 1863, pp. 165-178; Van Dromme 1908. A transcription of the part of the foundation text considering the *gulden mis* is given in Le Beffroi 1863, pp. 168-172, a large summary in Dutch is given in Kruitwagen 1906, pp. 448-451. Cottreel made a similar foundation at the cathedral of Tournai; see for a transcription Deschamps de Pas 1857; Le Beffroi 1863, pp. 172-178; Voisin 1860. See also Appendix 8.e.

#### **Montegny, Adriana de, widow of Jan Humbloot**

*Foundation:* Naming of Jesus (15 January); FD 16-02-1535

*Sources:* Acf fol. 370v (R bell ringing, candles and habits); RAB 237, fol. CXLIJv-CXLVv, equal to RAB 888, fol. CXVr-CXVIIJv.

*Remarks:* the foundation is mentioned in the account of the *Dis* of 1535-36 by *dismeesters* Jan Claeys and *meester* Mattheus van Vinen (Ad 1535-36) in two places: fol. LXJr and at the end of the accounts (no folio number). The expenditure in the account of the *Dis* of 1539-40, fol. LXXXJv-LXXXIJr probably refers to this foundation, although the name of Adriana de Montegny is not mentioned. Adriana de Montegny was buried in January 1537 in the *grauwerckers cappelle* (the chapel of the furriers; RAB 27, fol. 332r), she was the former widow of Adriaen van Muelenbeke. See also Appendix 8.e.

#### **Moor, Donaes de and his wife Adriane filia Jacop de Vos**

*Foundation:* Mass of Saint Adrian (4 March); FD 19-02-1487

*Sources:* Acf fol. 371r (R bell ringing); Ad fol. LXIXv (E to *Commuun*); RAB 888, fol. XXIIJv-XXXVJr; RAB [970] (= Regest 600 = Charter 447); SAB, OA, Inv. no 345, liasse 45, fol. 18v-21r is a summary by the administrators of the guilds of the furriers (*lamwerkers*, *wiltwerkers* and *grauwerkers*) dated 14 March 1487.

*Remarks:* Donaes bought a grave for himself and his first wife Jakemine on 04-09-1453 (RAB 197, fol. XXXIIJr (11r), remark in the margin: replacement of grave), also his second wife Adriane de Vos is buried there. A memorial service for Jakemine, first wife of Donaes de Moor, is held on 4 September, foundation date 09-09-1460 (RAB 197, fol. XXXVIIJr-v (16r-v)). See on other foundations made by Donaes and Adriane SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45. See on the



financing of the De Moor foundations also SAB, OA, Inv. no. 457 (20 February 1487 n.s.). See also Appendix 8.b and Appendix 8.e.

**Moor, Donaes de and his wife Adriane filia Jacop de Vos**

*Foundation:* Mass of Saint Donatian (14 October); FD 19-02-1487

*Sources:* Acf fol. 373r (R bell ringing); Ad fol. LXIXv (E to *Commuun*); RAB 888, fol. XXIIJv-XXXVJr; RAB [970] (= Regest 600 = Charter 447); SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45, fol. 18v-21r is a summary by the administrators of the guilds of the furriers (*lamwerkers, wiltwerkers* and *grauwerkers*) dated 14 March 1487.

*Remarks:* Donaes bought a grave for himself and his first wife Jakemine on 04-09-1453 (RAB 197, fol. XXXIIJr (11r), remark in the margin: replacement of grave), also his second wife Adriane de Vos is buried there. A memorial service for Jakemine, first wife of Donaes de Moor, is held on 4 September, foundation date 09-09-1460 (RAB 197, fol. XXXVIIJr-v (16r-v)). See on other foundations made by Donaes and Adriane SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45. See on the financing of the De Moor foundations also SAB, OA, Inv. no. 457 (20 February 1487 n.s.). See also Appendix 8.b and Appendix 8.e.

**Waters, Jan**

*Foundation:* Nativity of Saint John the Baptist (24 June) and Octave; FD 28-10-1440

*Sources:* Acf fol. 371v; Ac fol. XXXXIXr (E); RAB [398] (= Regest 404 = Charter 309 (dated 28-10-1440), Regest 405 = Charter 310 (dated 28-10-1440), Regest 432 = Charter 332 (dated 12-03-1446) and Regest 439 = Charter 337 (dated 13-05-1447)).

*Remarks:* Jan Waters was buried on 27-06-1448 (RAB 24, fol. 11v); Jan Waters also founded a *dis* for poor relief and a memorial service for himself (RAB [914] (= Regest 427 = Charter 328)), which is not to be found in the accounts of 1538.

**Waters, Jan**

*Foundation:* Beheading of Saint John the Baptist (29 August); FD 12-03-1446 at the latest

*Sources:* Acf fol. 372v; Ac fol. XXXXIXr (E); RAB [398] (= Regest 432 = Charter 332 (dated 12-03-1446)).

*Remarks:* Jan Waters was buried on 27-06-1448 (RAB 24, fol. 11v); Jan Waters also founded a *dis* for poor relief and a memorial service for himself (RAB [914]), which is not to be found in the accounts of 1538.

**Appendix 8.e Individual foundations, memorial services**

**Altebiti, Lowys**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R *rente*).

Remarks: -

**Angnelli (del Agnello, de Langello), Baptiste and his wife Yene (merchant from Pisa)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 15 September for Baptiste and on 7 February for Yene; FD 03-12-1486, extra foundation by heirs on 03-04-1519

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIIJr (R); RAB 237, fol. LXXXv-LXXXIJr and fol. XCVIJv-CVIIJv; RAB [530] (= Regest 615 = Charter 459); RAB [528] (= Regest 718 = Charter 532).

*Remarks:* Yene's funeral was in January 1503 (RAB, Inv. nr. 88, nr. 26, fol. 124r), Baptiste died before 03-12-1486. See on other foundations by this family: Martens 1992a, pp. 277, 579-580. See also Appendix 8.b.

**Arnts [Arends], mr. Joos**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R *rente*); RAB [472] = Regest 733 = Charter 545, not the foundation, but an augmentation (08-05-1524).

*Remarks:* the funeral of Joos was in November 1517 (RAB 26, fol. 372r).

**Assenede, Boudewyn van**

*Foundation:* two read memorial services

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXVIIJv (E to *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* not regular memorial services. Until the *Dis* account of 1536-1537 there were three memorial services *read* (not sung), from the account of 1537-38 onwards, these are reduced to two. RAB [898] (= Regest 136-137 = Charter 100) is a foundation for pour relief and is dated 28-01-1382, so the memorial services might be from the same period, hence probably the reading instead of the singing (as mentioned in the foundation charter of the *Commuun* of 1424).

**Assenede, Lievin van**

*Foundation:* memorial service (12 December); FD 23-09-1500

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXIJv (R *rente*); RAB 237, fol. XXv-XXJr.

*Remarks:* Lievin van Assenede was a church master (RAB 237, fol. XXv); RAB 197, fol. XLIIIJv (22v) and fol. XLVr (23r): graves of Lievin and Annen filia Jans van Bassevelde his first wife (02-04-1471) and his second wife Agniete (01-05-1484); RAB 26, fol. 3r, funeral of Agniete (May 1495) and fol. 86r, funeral of Lievin (December 1500). See also Appendix 8.c.

**Bailge (Baille), Jan and his daughter Cornelia**

*Foundation:* two memorial services, one for Jan on 3 July (or shortly before or after) and one for Cornelia on 13 November (or shortly before or after); FD 19-09-1523

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R *rente*); RAB 237, fol. XCIJv-XCIIJv.

*Remarks:* the foundation was made by Kathelijne, daughter of Jan and sister of Cornelia. See also Appendix 8.c.

**Bertijn, Jan**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XLIIJr (E for white bread that is given to the poor).

*Remarks:* Jan Bertijn was buried in the presbytery of the Sint-Jacobskerk in July 1533 (RAB 27, fol. 223v). See also Appendix 8.c and Appendix 8.d.

**Beversluus, Gillis van**

*Foundation:* first memorial service on 13 January; FD 28-12-1467

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIJv (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); Ad fol. LXVIJv and fol. LXVIIJv (E to *Commuun*); Cart fol. LVIJr-LIXv; RAB 888, fol. LVv-LVIIJr and fol. CCLXXXIJv-CCLXXXVJr; RAB 923 (= Regest 495 = Charter 374 and Regest 496 = Charter 375).

*Remarks:* Gillis van Beversluus was canon of Saint Donatian and parish priest of the church of Sint-Jacobs. See also Appendix 8.c.

**Beversluus, Gillis van**

*Foundation:* second memorial service on 22 August; FD 13-10-1469

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); Ad fol. LXVIJv and fol. LXVIIJv (E to *Commuun*); Cart fol. LIXv; RAB 888, fol. CCLXXXVJr-CCXCr; RAB 923 (= Regest 501 = Charter 379).

*Remarks:* Gillis van Beversluus was canon of Saint Donatian and parish priest of the church of Sint-Jacobs. See also Appendix 8.c.

**Beversluis, mother of Gillis van**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXVIJv (E to *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* -

**Bieze, Jacop (married to Clare)**

*Foundation:* memorial service; FD 20-11-1466

*Sources:* Ac fol. IIJr (R); RAB 237, fol. CXLJv.

*Remarks:* see on the discussion on the different men with the same name Jacob Biese Appendix 8.b; this foundation refers to the Jacop Bieze that was married to Clare (RAB 237, fol. CXLJv). A grave for Clare and Jacob's son Coppin (little Jacob) was bought 24-06-1432 (RAB 198, fol. 3r, see also RAB 237, fol. CXLv). See also Appendix 8.b and Appendix 8.d.

**Bitebloc, Adriane (Adriane filia meester Gillis van Beversluis), widow of Philips Bitebloc d'Oude (the elder)**

*Foundation:* memorial service; FD 15-11-1486

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJv (R *Dis*); Ad fol. LXXr-v (E *Commuun*); RAB 932 = Regest 586 = Charter 438 and Regest 587 = Charter 439 (15-11-1486)), equals RAB 237, fol. CCJv-CCXVJr (fol. CCVJv), equals Cart fol. CLXIIJr-CLXXr, equals RAB

888 fol. IXr-XVIJv; RAB [461] = (Regest 594 = Charter 442) has the same content as RAB 932, but is the acceptance of the foundation by the *Commuun*, dated 02-12-1486.

*Remarks:* married to Philips Bitebloc (see below); Adriane must have died in February 1487, since her first memorial service is celebrated in February 1488 (RAB 25, fol. 2v, the previous account that must contain the funeral is missing). Graves for Philips and Adriane are bought on 02-01-1472 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIIJv (26v)-XLIXr (27r)), also mentioning their son Philippot Bitebloc f. Phelips. The widow of the son of Philips and Adriane was buried in January 1497 (RAB 26, fol. 36r). See also Appendix 8.b, Appendix 8.c and Appendix 8.d.

**Bitebloc, Philips d'Oude (the elder) (grauwercker, furrier)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 7 February; FD 29-03-1475

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJv (R church fabric); Ad fol. LXXr-v (E *Commuun*); RAB [509] = Regest 525 = Charter 393, equals RAB 237, fol. CXCJr-JC XCVIIJr.

*Remarks:* married to Adriane van Beversluis (see above); Philips must have died on 7 February 1475 (church accounts are missing), since the foundation of his memorial service dates from 29 March of that year and the memorial service is to be held on 7 February; graves for Philips and Adriane are bought on 02-01-1472 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIIJv (26v)-XLIXr (27r)), also mentioning their son Philippot Bitebloc f. Phelips; the widow of the son of Philips and Adriane was buried in January 1497 (RAB 26, fol. 36r). RAB [926] (= Regest 529 = Charter 395 (07-02-1476)) is the foundation of a *dis* (poor relief) on the same day as the memorial service. See also Appendix 8.b, Appendix 8.c and Appendix 8.d.

**Bliccx, Margriete, wife of Fransoys van Bassevelde, daughter of Jan and Jaquemie Bliccx**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 21 February; 26-10-1476

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXXv (E to a house for widows near the Sint-Salvatorkerk for attending the memorial service); RAB 888, fol. CXXIIIJv-CXXVJr.

*Remarks:* -

**Bosquel, Jan du**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 20 August; FD 14-05-1536

*Sources:* RAB 888, fol. CXXVIJv-CXXVIIJv.

*Remarks:* this foundation is not to be found in one of the church accounts.

**Brandeel (Blandereel/Brandereel), Jacop and his widow Barbele**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 20 April; FD 16-05-1453

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIIJr (R of the *Dis* of the church of Saint Walpurga); RAB [920] (= Regest 452 = Charter 347); RAB 888, fol. XLVIIJv-XLIXr.

*Remarks:* Jacop Brandeel was buried in July 1451 (RAB 24, fol. 17v), the account item only mentions bell ringing and not the actual funeral, so perhaps he was buried somewhere else (church of Saint Walpurga?).

**Bruneel, Phelips**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIIJr (R from his heir Pieter Bruneel).

*Remarks:* -

**Buus (Buis, Biens, Bijens), Jan de (= Jan de Meer Castel)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 28 January; FD 12-05-1470

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJv (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB [455] (= Regest 506 = Charter 481).

*Remarks:* Jan de Buus was buried on 29 January 1448 (RAB 24, fol. 10v).

**Candeleers (Candeleir), Symoen**

*Foundation:* memorial service in May

*Sources:* Acf fol. 375v (R *rente*) and fol. 382r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXVJv (R *rente*).

*Remarks:* Symoen was buried in May 1520 (RAB 26, fol. 435v).

**Carion, Phelipe de (merchant from Spain), married to Jhane, daughter of Benedictus de Pelegrino (merchant of Pisa)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 12 February; FD officially 14-12-1537 (RAB 888)

*Sources:* RAB 888 fol. CXXVIIJv-CXXXr; RAB 237, fol. CXXXr.

*Remarks:* this foundation is not to be found in one of the church accounts. Phelipe was buried in February 1530 (RAB 27, fol. 121r), on 4 February of that same year Phelipe and his wife had bought a grave (RAB 237, fol. CXXXr).

**Chevalier (Sevalier), Pieter and his wife Angniete/Angees Candeliers**

*Foundation:* memorial services on 23 September (Pieter) and 2 July (Angniete); FD 16-10-1524

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R); RAB 237, fol. XCIIJv-XCVr.

*Remarks:* funeral of Angniete de Candelers, widow of Pieter Chevaliers is in July 1520 (RAB 26, fol. 436v). A grave for Pieter and Angniete was bought in June 1521 (RAB 237, fol. LXXXVIIJv).

**Christiaens, widow of Cornelis Christiaens (Jozijne)**

*Foundation:* Spiritus (Mass of the Holy Ghost) within the octave of the feast of the Holy Sacrament (June); FD 20-04-1511

*Sources:* Acf fol. 371v (R); RAB 237, fol. LVIIJv-LIXv.

*Remarks:* according to the *Planaris* this concerns Jodoce Muelenaers, who died in 1541 (RAB 158, p. 135, 26 August, also reference to RAB 237, fol. LVIIJv-LIXv, 1511).

**Clerc, Jan de (brauwere, brewer) and his wife Marie Adriaens**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 15 November for Jan, Spiritus (Mass of the Holy Ghost) for his wife Marie Adriaens; FD 18-10-1527

*Sources:* Acf fol. 374r (R for bell ringing); Ac fol. XXVJv (R *rente*) and fol. XLIIJr (E candle light); RAB 237, fol. CXXIJv-CXXIIIJr.  
*Remarks:* a *Jan de Cleerc brauwere* was buried in November 1521 (RAB 26, fol. 464v), another Jan de Clerc was buried in August 1527 (RAB 27, fol. 40v). The foundation also included a foundation for the maintenance of the choirboys (for singing the seven penitential psalms at the four corners of the grave during the memorial service) and a contribution for singing the daily *Lof*. See also Appendix 8.c.

**Clerc, widow of Jan de Clerc (Marie Adriaens)**

*Foundation:* Spiritus (Mass of the Holy Ghost) in June; 18-10-1527  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 371v (R bell ringing); Ac fol. XXVJv (R *rente*) and fol. XLIIJr (E for candle light); RAB 237, fol. CXXIJv-CXXIIIJr.  
*Remarks:* in April 1505 a wife of a Jan de Clercx was buried (RAB 26, fol. 156v).

**Cleyem, Jan van**

*Foundation:* Spiritus (Mass of the Holy Ghost) *als men den wet vermaect* (renewals of the law on 1 September); FD 23-07-1434  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 372v (R bell ringing); Cart fol. XLIJr-XLIIJr; RAB [393] (= Regest 376 = Charter 283 and Regest 375 = Charter 282).  
*Remarks:* Jan van Cleyem made many foundations, not to be found in the accounts of 1538 (see for example RAB [393] (= Regest 372 = Charter 279)).

**Cole, Jan**

*Foundation:* memorial service  
*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJv (R *rente*).  
*Remarks:* -

**Cottreel, Pieter**

*Foundation:* memorial service; FD 07-03-1519  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 374r (no R, bell ringing), fol. 374v (R *rente*) and fol. 382v (E for bread and the bell ringer); RAB 237, fol. LXXVr-LXXIXr.  
*Remarks:* mr. Pieter Cottreel was born in 1461 and died on 28 May 1545, the memorial service started therefore as a Mass of the Holy Spirit; he was archdeacon of Bruges for the diocese of Tournai. Appendix 8.d.

**Cruce, Margriete vande (wife of Heyndric Deghen)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 15 April  
*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJv.  
*Remarks:* -

**Danckaerts, Christiene (mother of meester Elyas de Vos)**

*Foundation:* memorial service; FD 1537-39  
*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIIJv (R for foundation memorial service) and fol. XLVr (E).

*Remarks:* -

**Donc, Goosin (Goossin) vanden (Verdonc)**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVr (R *rente*).

*Remarks:* Goosin was buried in January 1520 (RAB 26, fol. 433r). See also Appendix 8.c.

**Ferrandt (Sarandt), Jan**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJr (R members *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* -

**Fyerins, Joris**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXVIJv (E to *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* Joris died on or around 23 April 1446 (RAB 24, fol. 7r).

**Gillis, Jan and his wife**

*Foundation:* memorial service for Jan and his wife, both in January

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJv (R for members *Commuun* from church fabric).

*Remarks:* -

**Goetghebuer, meester Jan (also called Johannes Bonvicini from Ghent)**

*Foundation:* memorial service; FD September 1518

*Sources:* Acf fol. 382r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXVr (R from church fabric); RAB 237, fol. LXXIXr-v.

*Remarks:* Goetghebuer was priest, dean and canon of Saint Donatian.

**Gorges (Gorgeis), Jan de**

*Foundation:* memorial service in July; FD 02-06-1486

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJv (R *Dis*); Ad fol. LXXV (E to *Commuun*); Cart fol. CLXr-CLXJr; RAB 888, fol. LXVv-LXVJv.

*Remarks:* Jan and his wife Margriete Marchalis (daughter of Pieter Marchalis) bought a grave on 02-01-1472 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIIJr (26r)); Jan was buried in July 1494 (RAB 25, fol. 98r). A memorial service for Margriete was founded on 10-03-1509, for 10 January (RAB 888, fol. Cr); Jan and Margriete had a son, Jan, who was buried in March 1527 (RAB 27, fol. 37r).

**Gros, Ferry de and his wife Philippote Wielandt (heer van Nieulande; sciltknappe of Emperor Charles V)**

*Foundation:* memorial service for Philippote (2 December) and Spiritus (Mass of the Holy Ghost) for Ferry (2 December); FD 12-11-1524

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R); RAB 237, fol. CXVIJr-CXVIIJv (in the margin of Ferry's Spiritus: 11 May, this must be the date of his – later – memorial service).  
*Remarks:* Philippote was buried in December 1521 (RAB 26, fol. 465r); according to the *Planaris* Ferry died in 1543 (RAB 158, p. 71; the same *Planaris* mentions that Philippote died in 1520, p. 179, which is incorrect).

#### **Gros, meester Jan de**

*Foundation:* memorial service in November  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 383v (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJv (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*).  
*Remarks:* -

#### **Grote, Gheeraert de and his wife Maergriete, daughter of Joos Fuetyns**

*Foundation:* memorial service for Gheeraert (November) and Margriete (February); FD 04-06-1483 (both were still alive at that time)  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r-v (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJv (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); Ad fol. LXIXv (E to the trade of the *kuipers*, coopers, barrel-makers); RAB 237, fol. XXXVr.  
*Remarks:* Gheeraert and Margriete bought a grave on 31-05-1476 (RAB 197, fol. LXv (37v)); a *dis* was founded on 20-09-1483 (RAB 888, fol. XCVIIJr-Cr). Margriete was buried in December 1494 (RAB 25, fol. 100v). According to the *Planaris* (RAB 158, p. 203) Gheeraert died in 1485.

#### **Haerst, Jacop de (cuper, cooper, barrel-maker) and his wife Marie**

*Foundation:* memorial service for Jacob and for his wife  
*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIJv (R church fabric for members *Commuun*), fol. XXXIIJv (R *Dis*) and fol. XLIIJr (E trade of the *kuipers*, coopers, barrel-makers); Ad fol. LXVIIJr (E to *Commuun*) and LXXJr (E to *Commuun*).  
*Remarks:* Jacop bought a grave for himself and his wife Marie filia Michiel filius Jans *de keersghierter* (candle maker) on 01-03-1469 (RAB 197, fol. XLIJr (20r)). A first memorial service for a Jacop de Harst was held on 11-03-1490 (RAB 25, fol. 39v). A funeral for a Jacop de Harst was held in December 1497 (RAB 26, fol. 39v). A widow of a Jacop de Harst was buried in January 1488 (RAB 25, fol. 2r). A Jacop de Haerst and his wife Marie founded 'several services' (content unknown) on 18-09-1485 (RAB [460] (= Regest 583 = Charter 436).

#### **Heindricx, Boudin/Boudewyn**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 18 January; FD 19-07-1482  
*Sources:* Ad fol. LXVIIJv (E to *Commuun* for the trade of the *smeden*, smiths).  
*Remarks:* Boudewyn died on 18 January 1482 and was married to Susanna; a *dis* was founded to be given to the poor in the church of Saint Donatian (RAB 888, fol. XLIIIIJv-XLVJr).



**Hondt, Christiaen de and his wife Kathline, daughter of Maylin Wytroot**

- Foundation:* memorial service for Christiaen (24 October) and Kathline (28 March); FD 31-12-1480 (both had died at that time)
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*, Christiaen) and fol. XXXIIJr (idem, Kathline); Ad fol. LXVIIJr (E to *Commuun*, here for Christiaen, in other years for his wife, so probably for both of them); RAB 888, fol. CV-CVIJr.
- Remarks:* The guardians of the children of Christiaen dHont and Kateline Witteroots give (on behalf of the children) a *rente* to the *Dis* of the Sint-Jacobskerk for poor relief to be distributed after the memorial services of Christiaen (24 October) and Kateline (28 March) (RAB [928] (= Regest 561 = Charter 418)); Rotsaert 1979, pp. 12-13 states that the grave of the Christiaen and Kateline was in the north side of the church, the epitaph mentioned that Christiaen was the son of Pieter and had died on 24 October 1472, Kateline was the daughter of Martyn Wytroot and had died on 28 March 1479. See also Appendix 8.c.

**Huerne, meester Jan van**

- Foundation:* memorial service
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIJv (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); Ad fol. LXVIIJr (E to *Commuun*).
- Remarks:* Jan bought a grave in 1457 (RAB 197, fol. XXXVJr (14r)).

**Humbloot, Jan (husband of Adriane Montegny)**

- Foundation:* memorial service on 25 September; FD 07-05-1508
- Sources:* Acf fol. 382r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXVv (R from church fabric); RAB 237, fol. XLJv-XLIIJr and XLIIIJv-XLVJr; RAB 888, fol. CIXr-CXIJv and fol. CXIIJr-CXIIIJv; RAB [934] = Regest 679 = Charter 502.
- Remarks:* Jan was buried in September 1506 (RAB 26, fol. 173r). See also Montegny, Adriane. See also Appendix 8.b and Appendix 8.d.

**Humbloot, Willem and his wife Katheline Damhouders**

- Foundation:* memorial services on 3 March (Willem) and 22 May (Katheline); FD 1530/31
- Sources:* Acf fol. 382v (E to *discnape*); Ac fol. XXVIIJr (R church fabric); RAB [466] (= Regest 651 = Charter 483), same text as RAB 237, fol. CXXXVr-CXXXVIJv
- Remarks:* foundation made by the five children of Willem and Katheline; Willem was buried in March 1520 (RAB 26, fol. 434r) and Katheline in May 1526 (RAB 27, fol. 4r). See also Appendix 8.b and Appendix 8.d.

**Inghelrave, Jacop**

- Foundation:* memorial service on 6 May; FD 27-04-1516
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R, according to the account of 1531-1532 fol. XXVJr this concerns the memorial service of Jacop Inghelrave); RAB 237, fol. LXXJr-LXXIIJr.
- Remarks:* foundation made by his widow Elizabeth Spillaerts.

**Kienruwe, Heindric**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 10 September; FD 16-11-1477

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); Ad fol. LXVIJv and fol. LXVIIJv (E to *Commuun*); RAB 888, fol. CIJr-CVv.

*Remarks:* Heindric bought a grave for himself and his wife Barbele filia Pieter sHonds on 02-08-1472 (RAB 197, fol. Lr (28r)). Up to and including the *dis* account of 1534-1535 (Ad fol. LXVIIJr) the memorial service of Barbele was mentioned separately.

**Lauwereins, Clare (first wife of Fransois van Eede)**

*Foundation:* memorial service; FD 21-10-1508

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXIIIJr (R *rente*); RAB [467] (= Regest 681 = Charter 503).

*Remarks:* -

**Lauwereins, Colaert**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 1 July; FD 29-10-1514

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R *rente*); RAB 237, fol. LXIXv-LXXJr; RAB 469 (= Regest 706).

*Remarks:* father of a Gillis Lauwereins, married to Loyse filia Phelips van Waterleet and bought a grave on 29-04-1520 (RAB 237, fol. LXXXVJv-LXXXVIJr) and was probably buried in March 1533 (RAB 27, fol. 220v).

**Lauwereins, Gillis (*d'oude*, the elder) and his wife Katheline**

*Foundation:* memorial services on 12 April (Gillis) and 18 June (Katheline); FD 12-05-1470

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB [455] = Regest 506 = Charter 381.

*Remarks:* Gillis bought a grave for himself and his wife Katheline on 29-02-1456 (RAB 197, fol. XXXIIIJv-XXXVr (12v-13r)).

**Lotins, Jasper**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 2 July; FD 14-07-1525

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R *rente*); RAB 237, fol. CXJv-CXIIJr.

*Remarks:* Jasper was buried in December 1515 (RAB 26, fol. 323r). A grave for him was bought by his widow Barbele du Bosquel on 15 March 1516 (RAB 237, fol. LXXv-LXXJr).

**Loyet, Gheeraert**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Acf fol. 382r (E to *de roode zusters buten der Ezelpoorte*).

*Remarks:* part of foundation by Jan Humblot.

**Marant, Jan (*grauwercker, furrier*)**

*Foundation:* 'several services and memorial services'; FD 08-08-1476

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVIJr (R *rente*); Ad fol. LXXv (E guild of *grauwerckers*); Cart fol. CLXXVv-CLXXVJv = RAB 458 (= Regest 531 = Charter 396 (08-08-1476)); RAB 888, fol. XCIIJr-XCVIIJr (08-08-1495).

*Remarks:* Jan Marant was buried in February 1500 (RAB 26, fol. 79v), his wife Kath. Christiaens was buried in April 1493 (RAB 25, fol. 80v). The memorial service for Jan was held on 1 February. Jan Marant bought a grave for himself and his first wife Lysbetten filia Mahieu Bonnekens on 03-02-1475 (RAB 197, fol. LVIIJr-v). See also Appendix 8.c.

**Mathys, Jan (*cuper, cooper*) and his wife Cornelia filia Bernaert Willemszone**

*Foundation:* memorial service; FD 04-09-1487 as Mass of the *Heilige Geest* (Holy Spirit) on 6 May (John the Evangelist, ante Portam Latinam for Jan) and 7 May (the day after, for Cornelia), to become a memorial service after their death

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJv (R from *Dis*); Ad fol. LXXv (E to *Commuun*); Cart fol. CLXJr-CLXIIJr; RAB 888, fol. [LIXv-LXJr].

*Remarks:* Jan and Cornelia bought a grave on 01-11-1479 (RAB 197, fol. LXVJv (40v)). Jan was buried in March 1493 (RAB 25, fol. 79v). A *dis* on 6 May (John the Evangelist, ante Portam Latinam) was founded by Cornelia (then widow of Jan) on 20-02-1503 (RAB 888, fol. LXXXIIJv-LXXXIIIJv).

**Messem, Jan van and his wife Lysbette van der Banc**

*Foundation:* memorial services for Jan van Messem and his wife Lysbette van der Banc respectively on or around 6 January and 9 May; FD 24-01-1534

*Sources:* RAB 237, fol. CLXXVIIJv-CLXXXr.

*Remarks:* this foundation is not to be found in one of the church accounts; re-foundation made by heirs Roeland Roelandts and Willem van Messem. In the same foundation text (RAB 237, fol. CLXXVIIJv-CLXXXr), a foundation for singing five days the Great Canonical Hours (21, 22, 23, 24 and 25 October) is mentioned. RAB 237, fol. VIIJv-IXr mentions the replacement of graves for Jan and Lysbette on 1 January 1475 (bought in 1468, according to RAB 197, fol. XLJr (19r)) and the foundation on 5 March 1497 of memorial services (both Jan and Lybette have died by then). RAB 158, page 5, 9 January places the death of Jan van Messem in 1479. RAB 888, fol. CXXr-CXXJv gives information on a *dis* on behalf of Jan van Messem (dated 19-05-1536). Appendix 8.c.

**Montegny, Adriane de (widow of Jan Humbloot)**

*Foundation:* memorial service in January; FD 16-02-1535

*Sources:* Ac fol. 363r (R); RAB 237, CXLIJv-CXLVv, equal to RAB 888, fol. CXVr-CXVIIJv.

*Remarks:* before Adriane married Jan Humbloot, she was the widow of Adriaen van Muelenbeke (with whom she had a son named Pieter van Muelenbeke, see below), she was buried in January 1537 in the *grauwerckers cappelle*, the chapel of the furriers (RAB 27, fol. 332r). See also Appendix 8.d.

**Moor (Vos), Adriane de (wife of Donaes de Moor)**

- Foundation:* memorial service in March; FD 19-02-1487 (then a Mass of the Holy Ghost on 2 July, to become a memorial service after her death)
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJv (R from *Dis*); Ad fol. LXIXv (E to *Commuun*); RAB 888, fol. XXIIJv-XXXVJr; RAB [970] (= Regest 600 = Charter 447).
- Remarks:* Adriane's funeral was in March 1510 (RAB 26, fol. 225r-v). Adriane founded a *dis* on 08-03-1506 (RAB 888, fol. LXXXIXr-XCv). Donaes bought a grave for himself and his first wife Jakemine on 04-09-1453 (RAB 197, fol. XXXIIJr (11r), remark in the margin: replacement of grave), also his second wife Adriane de Vos is buried there. See on other foundations made by Donaes and Adriane SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45. See on the financing of the De Moor foundations also SAB, OA, Inv. no. 457 (20 February 1487 n.s.). See also Appendix 8.b and Appendix 8.d.

**Moor, Donaes de (husband of Adriane de Vos)**

- Foundation:* memorial service on 6 September; FD 19-02-1487
- Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJv (R from *Dis*); Ad fol. LXIXrv (E to a.o. the *Commuun* and trades of carpenters, bricklayers and coopers); RAB 888, fol. XXIIJv-XXXVJr; RAB [970] (= Regest 600 = Charter 447).
- Remarks:* Donaes bought a grave for himself and his first wife Jakemine on 04-09-1453 (RAB 197, fol. XXXIIJr (11r), remark in the margin: replacement of grave), also his second wife Adriane de Vos is buried there. A memorial service for Jakemine, first wife of Donaes de Moor, is held on 4 September, foundation date 09-09-1460 (RAB 197, fol. XXXVIIJr (16r)). See on other foundations made by Donaes and Adriane SAB, OA, Inv. no. 345, liasse 45. See on the financing of the De Moor foundations also SAB, OA, Inv. no. 457 (20 February 1487 n.s.). See also Appendix 8.b and Appendix 8.d.

**Moret/Morettins/Moretten, Hoste/Osto and his wife Ysabelle, filia Daneels Noppen**

- Foundation:* memorial service for Hoste (date unknown) and his wife (15 June); FD 12-05-1470 (for YSAB, OA, elle)
- Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB [455] (= Regest 506 = Charter 381 (YSAB, OA, elle)).
- Remarks:* a grave for Hoste and his wife was bought on 02-05-1465 (RAB 197, fol. XLv-XLJr (18v-19r)).

**Muelenbeke, Pieter van**

- Foundation:* memorial service on 9 March; FD 18-03-1532
- Sources:* Acf fol. 371r (R bell ringing); RAB 237, fol. CCXCVIJr-CCXCVIJv; RAB 198, fol. 25r-29r (09-06-1552).
- Remarks:* a grave for the deceased Pieter and his wife Marie filia meester Pieter de Witte (then still alive) was bought on 18-03-1532 (RAB 237, fol. CCXCVIJr-CCXCVIJv). Pieter was the son of Adriane de Montegny (married to Jan

Humblot and before to Adriaen van Muelenbeke). A *dis* for Pieter and his wife Marie and for her second husband (also deceased) was founded on 19-06-1552 (RAB 888, fol. CCXCVIjr-CCXCVIjv).

**Nieubackere, Jan de (*brauwer*, brewer)**

*Foundation:* memorial service in May; FD 06-05-1464

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB 197, fol. LXR (37r).

*Remarks:* a grave for Jan and his wife Kath. filia Victor Losschaerts was bought on 27-04-1472 (RAB 197, fol. LIIJv (31v)).

**Pierins/Pyerins, Nichasin/Michasin/Casin**

*Foundation:* memorial service, according to the account of the *Dis*, the memorial service was held on 12 November, but it was originally founded for 4 or 5 October (Nichasien was buried in October 1488); FD 25-05-1489 and 28-05-1489

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJv (R from *Dis*); Ad fol. LXXv (E to *Commuun* and trade of the coopers); RAB [463] (= Regest 608 = Charter 452); RAB [933] (= Regest 607 = Charter 451).

*Remarks:* Nichasien Pierins was buried in October 1488 (RAB 25, fol. 6v); a memorial service for Nichasin Pierins' widow Catelyne filia Robert Baert on 22 June was founded on 10 October 1500 (RAB 237, fol. XLIIJr). A *dis* was founded on 25 May 1489 (RAB 888, fol. LXVIjr-LXVIIjr).

**Pierins, Walraven (*de scroder*, taylor) and his wife Katheline f. Robberts vanden Castele**

*Foundation:* memorial service for Walraven and Katheline

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIIJr (R from the guild of Saint Anthony).

*Remarks:* a grave for Walraven and Katheline was bought on 08-11-1471.

**Poele, Jacquemine vande (daughter of Jan, wife of Ghelem/Ghelam Ketele the elder, son of Clays)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 28 June; FD 26-07-1538

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIIJv-XXXVv (R for foundation of memorial service); RAB 237, fol. CLXIjv-CLXIIIjr.

*Remarks:* the wife of Ghelam Ketele the elder (Jacquemine) was buried in May 1538 (RAB 27, fol. 335v); Ghelem bought a grave for Jacquemine on 26-07-1538 (RAB 237, fol. CLXjr).

**Poitan, Jan**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 11 February; FD 01-03-1537

*Sources:* RAB 888, fol. CXXVIjv-CXXVIIjv.

*Remarks:* this foundation is not to be found in one of the church accounts.

**Ramsbeke, Amant van**

*Foundation:* memorial service; FD 14-10-1482  
*Sources:* Ac fol. XXIIJv (R); RAB 462 (= Regest 570 = Charter 425 and Regest 604 = Charter 425).  
*Remarks:* The same foundation mentions the extension of the memorial service for Zegher van Oostende. See also Appendix 8.c.

**Remeirs, Jozijne (daughter of Jacob Remeirs, wife of mr. Robert du Home and thereafter of mr. Guij de Houdecoutere)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 23 June; FD 22-05-1536 and 20-06-1536  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 384r (E to *Commuun*); RAB 237, fol. CXLVIJr-CXLVIIr and fol. CLXXXv-CLXXXJv; RAB 888, fol. CXXJv-CXXIJr; RAB [474] (= Regest 758 = Charter 562).  
*Remarks:* Jozijne was buried in the church of Sint-Rombouts in Mechlin and a *dis* in her honour was founded on 20-06-1536 (RAB 888, fol. CXXJv-CXXIJr).

**Ritshaert, Claeijs (Nicolaes) (vleeshouwer, butcher) and his wife Kateline (daughter of Everaerds Ruusch)**

*Foundation:* memorial service for Claeijs (in November; originally a Mass of the Holy Ghost on 29 July) and his wife Katheline (on 26 October); FD 12-05-1470  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 383v (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB [455] (= Regest 506 = Charter 381).  
*Remarks:* Katheline was already dead on 12-05-1470 (foundation memorial service), Claeijs was still alive (Mass of the Holy Ghost). A grave for Claeijs and his wife Katheline was bought on 18-03-1441 (RAB 197, fol. XXXJr (9r)). A wife of another Clays Ridsaerts is buried in November 1505 (RAB 26, fol. 159v). A memorial service for another Clays Ridsaert was held in March 1514, it remains unclear where this Claeijs Ritshaert is buried, but certainly somewhere else (RAB 26, fol. 295v).

**Roij, meester Joos de**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 25 September; FD 08-11-1537  
*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIIJv (R for foundation memorial service); RAB 237 fol. CLXVIJv-CLXIXr.  
*Remarks:* also called Joos Regis; he was a priest and canon at Saint Saviour (RAB 237, fol. CLXVIJv-CLXIXr); founded by brother Jan and sister Margriete.

**Ruebins, Lijsbette (widow of Anthuenis Ruebins)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 4 August; FD 04-02-1472 and 01-03-1472  
*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); Ad fol. LXVIIJr and fol. LXVIIJv (E to *Commuun*, fol. LXVIIJr on behalf of church fabric); RAB 888, fol. CXXIJv-CXXIIJv; RAB [456] (= Regest 511 = Charter 384 and Regest 512 = Charter 385).

*Remarks:* A memorial service for Anthuenis Ruebins is held in December 1451 (RAB 24, fol. 18v). Another widow Ruebins is buried in September 1498 *int grau zusterhuus* (RAB 26, fol. 53r).

**Rutins/Ruetins/Rittins, Jan and his wife (widow) Jehanne**

*Foundation:* memorial services in July (Jan) and January (Jehanne); FD 02-05-1463

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*) and fol. 383v (E to *Dis*); Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*, Jan) and fol. XXXIJv (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*, Jehanne); Cart fol. LVv-LVJr; RAB 888, fol. CCXCJ-CCXCJr (heavily damaged).

*Remarks:* Jehanne was buried in January 1488 (RAB 25, fol. 2r).

**Ruuseleden, Pieter van**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJv (R *rente*).

*Remarks:* -

**Saint-Pol, mevrouw (Madame) van (Madame la contesse de Saint-Pol)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 15 or 17 March; FD 02-02-1509

*Sources:* Acf fol. 371r (R, but no receipt), fol. 375r (R) and fol. 382r (E to *Commuun*); fol. XLVIJv-XLIXr.

*Remarks:* a memorial service was held in February 1509 *ten wechdoene vanden lichame van mer vrouwe van Sainpol* ('in removing her body') (RAB 26, fol. 212r). See also RAB 237, fol. VIJr-v (19-06-1496).

**Schinckel/Schiencke, Kaerle/Carolus and his wife Katheline**

*Foundation:* memorial services in February (Kaerle) and November (Katheline)

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r-383v (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* A memorial service for a Kaerle Scyncl (7 February) and his wife Loyse (29 December) was founded on 12-05-1470 (RAB [455] (= Regest 506 = Charter 381)).

**Soijer, Colaert**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 16 September; FD 12-12-1472 (26-11-1472)

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); Ad fol. LXVIIJr (E to *Commuun*) and fol. LXVIIJv (E to *Commuun* for members trade of the coopers); RAB [457] (= Regest 516-517 = Charter 388-389 (12-12-1472)); RAB 888, fol. LXXVIIJr-LXXIXv (26-11-1472).

*Remarks:* a grave for the late Colaert le Sohijer and his wife Katheline filia Gillis van Campen was bought in September 1471 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIJr (25r)). The widow of Colaert Soijers was buried in September 1491 or 1492 (RAB 25, fol. 60v). Another Colaert Soijer (son?) is buried in October 1509 (RAB 26, fol. 214v).

**Straten, Jan van der**

*Foundation:* Spiritus (Mass of the Holy Ghost) on 12 March (becoming a memorial service after his death); FD 18-08-1510

*Sources:* Acf fol. 371r (R bell ringing); RAB 237, fol. LVv-LVIIJr.

*Remarks:* his wife was Marie vanden Schaghe (RAB 237, fol. LVv-LVIIJr).

**Ulsene (Olsene), Jan van**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XLIJv (E for poor relief on the day of the memorial service).

*Remarks:* -

**Voocht, Marie de (widow of the deceased Ingel Parkier/Packier and before from Cornelis Claeysuene)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 27 November; FD 1537

*Sources:* RAB 237, fol. CLVv-CLVIJr; RAB 21, fol. 9r.

*Remarks:* this foundation is not to be found in one of the church accounts. Founded by her heirs, the payment is made on 4 June 1537 (RAB 21, fol. 9r).

**Vyven, Cornelis van and his wife Josijne Ghelijncx**

*Foundation:* memorial services on 27 November (Cornelis) and 4 February (Josyen); FD 16-09-1526

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVr (R *rente*); RAB 237, fol. CXXJv-CXXIJv.

*Remarks:* Cornelis was buried in December 1525 (RAB 26, fol. 560v) and Josijne in February 1526 (RAB 27, fol. [1r]).

**Vyven, Willem van (de vleeshouwer, butcher)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 12 August; FD 12-05-1470

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383v (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric to members *Commuun*); RAB [455] (= Regest 506 = Charter 381).

*Remarks:* A grave for Willem and his wife Katharine f. Witte vander Capelle was bought on 12-08-1459 (RAB 197, fol. XXXVIJv-XXXVIIJr (15v-16r)).

**Wachter, wife of Christiaen de (silver smith) (= Margriete Aloot)**

*Foundation:* Spiritus on 13 July (St Margaret)

*Sources:* Acf fol. 372r (R) and fol. 389r (E to priest); RAB 21, fol. 8r.

*Remarks:* Appendix 8.c.

**Walle, Anna van de (filia Lauwers Minne, wife of Jacop van de Walle, mother of Joos van de Walle)**

*Foundation:* memorial service in September

*Sources:* Acf fol. 383v (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* A grave for Anna was bought in 1471 (RAB 197, fol. XLVIJr-XLVIJv (25r-v)).



**Walle, Joos van de (filius Jacop and Anna van de Walle)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 4 October  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 383v (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB 197, fol. LXR (37r).  
*Remarks:* Joos was buried in September 1491 or 1492, coming from the parish of Our Lady (RAB 25, fol. 60r), in the grave of his mother Anna (RAB 197, fol. LXR (37r)).

**Warstrate, Rogier van der**

*Foundation:* memorial service  
*Sources:* Ac fol. IJr.  
*Remarks:* -

**Wielandt, Jan**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 23 August; FD 16-12-1520  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 382r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXVv (R from church fabric); RAB 237, fol. LXXXVIIr-LXXXVIIJv.  
*Remarks:* Jan was buried in the chapel of the choopers (RAB 237 fol. LXXXVIIJr); foundation done in the last will of his brother Phelips Wielant.

**Witte, meester Anthuenis de (son of Jacop and Margriete de Witte)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 30 April; FD 11-03-1496  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB 237, fol. 2v-3v.  
*Remarks:* Anthuenis was the former secretary of the King of the Roman Empire and Duke Philip [I of Castile] and *burghemeester* ('mayor') of Bruges and was buried in April 1490 (RAB 25, fol. 40v).

**Witte, Jacop (*de doude*, the elder; married to Margriete, father of Anthuenis)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 5 February; FD 11-03-1496  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIJv (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB 237 fol. 2v-3v.  
*Remarks:* Jacop was buried in February 1496 (RAB 26, fol. 18v). Jacop and Margriete made a foundation for the seven canonical hours on 05-11-1464 (RAB [402] (= Regest 479 = Charter 359)).

**Witte, Margriete (filia dHeer married to Jacop, mother of Anthuenis)**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 15 May; FD 11-03-1496  
*Sources:* Acf fol. 383r (E to *Commuun*); Ac fol. XXXIIJv (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*); RAB 237, fol. 2v-3v.  
*Remarks:* Margriete was buried in June 1494 (RAB 25, fol. 97v). Jacop and Margriet made a foundation for the seven canonical hours on 05-11-1464 (RAB [402] (= Regest 479 = Charter 359)). There has been a confusion over names: the

accounts of the *Commuun* from 1531-32 to 1533-34 mention Margriete, from then on they mention Agniete, the account 1537-39 mentions her as wife of Jan de Witte instead of Jacop.

**Wulfsberghe, meester Jan van**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXXIIJr (R from church fabric for members *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* Jan was buried in September 1489 (RAB 25, fol. 23v). Jan was the brother of Joos van Wulfsberghe.

**Wulfsberghe, meester Joos/Joris/Judoci van**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 15 March; FD 28-02-1470

*Sources:* Ad fol. LXVIJv (E to *Commuun*); RAB [924] (= Regest 504 = Charter 408); RAB 888, fol. LIJv-LVr.

*Remarks:* A grave was bought in February 1459 (or 1460?) (RAB 197, fol. XXXVIJv (15v)).

**Wulfsberghe, the father, mother and sister of Sarles (Charles) van Wulfsberghe**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Acf fol. 384r (E to *Commuun*).

*Remarks:* Charles van Wulfsberghe was buried in January 1507 (RAB 26, fol. 185r).

**Zandtvoorde, the second wife (widow) of Jan van Zandtvoorde**

*Foundation:* memorial service

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVJr (R *rente*).

*Remarks:* 'the wife of' Jan van Zandtvoorde was buried in August 1521. A grave was bought for Jan van Zandtvoorde filius Jans and his wife Anthonine fila Karle Bubbe/Buwe on 28-09-1523 (RAB 237 fol. CIXr). A memorial service for the wife of Jan van Zandtvoorde Anthonyne Bubbe to be celebrated on 17 January was founded on 24 November 1523 (RAB 237, fol. CXr-CXJv).

**Zweemer, Pauwels de**

*Foundation:* memorial service on 6 May; FD 08-02-1523

*Sources:* Ac fol. XXVv (R *rente* on two houses); RAB 237 fol. XCv-XCJv.

*Remarks:* Pauwels was buried in May 1522; a grave was bought on 01-05-1522 after his death (RAB 237, fol. LXXXIXv-XCv).

## Appendix 9      Overview of *taeffelen* found in the archives of the Sint-Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch

SAHt, ASJ				
Inv. no.	'Renumbered'	Day / Celebration	Date	Remarks
1210		When the Epiphany of Our Lord comes on a Sunday		
1211		The Epiphany of Our Lord	1534	
2336				Incomplete fragment, probably in draft, because the text has been crossed out
2375		Holy Cross Lof on Ascension Day		
2376	No. 1; No. 6	Holy Cross Lof on first Monday after the Epiphany of Our Lord		Three <i>taeffelen</i> : A, B, C; One <i>taeffel</i> D in a different hand
2377	No. 2	Sermons on Shrove Tuesday		Three sermons speaking of the passion of Our Lord on Shrove Tuesday and the singers for singing Mass
2378	[No. 3]	Sermon on Passion Sunday		
2379	No. 5	Sermon when Passion Sunday comes on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin		
2380		Sermons on Palm Sunday		
2381	No. 8	Low Sunday and the Monday thereafter		Two sheets lettered E and F; One No. 8; One lettered B; all different hands

2382	No. 7	Read Mass at 11 o'clock on the day of the yearly procession on the first Sunday after the feast of the Visitation (2 July)	
2383		Monday after the Assumption	1534
2383a	No. 9	Sunday and Monday after the Assumption	Note that the title of the text speaks of <i>Assumptionis nostre Domine</i> instead of the Blessed Virgin, the amount of money and all other facts, however, match the celebrations of Sunday and Monday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin
2384		Monday after the Epiphany of Our Lord	
2384a	No. 4	When All Souls Day comes on a Sunday	
2385		All Souls Day	1534
2385a		?	Incomplete fragment, only a B part

The question is if all the 'files' (inventory numbers) contain *taeffelen* that really belong together. For example Inv. no. 2376 has three *taeffelen* with the letters A, B, C (later numbered No. 1) for the Holy Cross *Lof* on the first Monday after the Epiphany of Our Lord, and a fourth one numbered No. 6 that has a letter D, but clearly is from a different scribe. Another example is Inv. no. 2381, where we have two sheets E and F that belong together (Low Sunday), a No. 8 (Low Sunday) and a letter B (dated 1535, Monday after Low Sunday) all three in different hands.

Two other documents clearly belong to the memorial services, but are not real *taeffelen*:

- SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2118 (piece of scrap paper, mentioning a payment to an organist on the one side and payments to those who had to fulfil duties during the liturgy on All Soul's Day on the other, no singers on this note);
- SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2120 (list of payments to those who had to fulfil duties during the liturgy).

SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1253 is also related to the foundations of the memorial services, considering candles on the rood loft on the first Monday after Epiphany.

## Appendix 10

## Obituarium Sint-Jan 's-Hertogenbosch: music

Obituarium page	Date	Foundation date	Founder	Feast according to calendar; feasts between [...] are not on the official calendar	Order according to calendar	Music according to Obituarium
384	15 January			[Naming of Iesus]		Te Deum in discantu, discantoribus, choralibus, organiste, famulo eius
384	19 January	1585		[Processio]		Discantores, chorales, organista
389	22 February		Dominus Petrus Colen canonicus	In Cathedra Sancti Petri	9 lectiones	discantores, organista et famulus
405	2 April		Jordanus Monix	Festum Beate Marie Egpciacae [according to the calendar celebrated on 9 April]	Totum Duplex	cantor, organista, famulus
413	3 May			Inventionis crucis	Totum Duplex	chorales, discantores, organista, famulus
415	[Sunday after Pentecost]		Dominus Ghysselbertus Back canonicus	[Festum Trinitatis]		cantores, discantores, organista cum servitore
416-417	13 May		Dominus Philippus de Spina decanus et canonicus	Festum Sancti Servatii	Duplex	Te Deum et Vidi Aquam in discantu, discantores, organista, chorales, famulus organiste

Obituarium page	Date	Foundation date	Founder	Feast according to calendar; feasts between [...] are not on the official calendar	Order according to calendar	Music according to Obituarium
427	1 July	01-07-1579		[S. Rumoldi martyris et episcopus]	[Missa et processio]	cantor, socii illius, discantores, chorales, organista, famulus
431-432	26 July		Magistri Petrus de Busco canonicus huius ecclesie; addition in other hand: obijt 09-04-1537	In festo Anne	<i>Semi</i> ? Duplex	cantor cum socio suo, organista cum servitore
438	28 August		Hermannus Picc	Augustini	Duplex	cantor cum socio suo, organista, famulus eius, chorales
438	29 August		Johannis Pavonis	Decolacionis Johannis Baptistae	Totum Duplex	cantor, organista cum famulo suo
445	14 September			Exaltationis sancte crucis	Totum Duplex	Triplex cum processione: chorales, discantores, organista, famulus eius
447	30 September		Theo. van Bossch; Egidius de Platea	Jheronimi	Totum Duplex	cantores
454	24 Oktober		Dominus Johannes Groot canonicus	Ode vidue	9 lectiones	discantores, chorales ut bene psallant
461	19 November		Dominus Johannes Groot canonicus	Elizabeth vidue	Duplex	cantor cum socio, organista et socius
462	21 November		Nicolaus de Porta canonicus	Presentacionis Marie	Totum Duplex	organista, famulus eius
462	24 November		Mathias Cox	Trudonis	Duplex	organista
462	25 November		Amelius Specters	Katherine virginis	Totum Duplex	cantor cum socijs, discantores

Obituarium page	Date	Foundation date	Founder	Feast according to calendar; feasts between [...] are not on the official calendar	Order according to calendar	Music according to Obituarium
469	4 December		Dominus Arnoldus Haeck	Barbare virginis	Totum Duplex	organista
469	13 December		Theodorus de Os; Johannes Batenzoen	Lucie virginis	Duplex	cantores
471			Wolterus van Rullen filius Henrici	[Aurea missa (Golden Mass)]		cantores cum suis socijs, discantores, organista cum famulo eius, chorales

## Appendix 11

### Guest singers in 's-Hertogenbosch in the Gheerkin period (31-12-1539 / 02-10-1547)

- J BHIC, Toegangnummer 1232, Inv. no. 130, Accounts 1536/37-1540/41  
 K BHIC, Toegangnummer 1232, Inv. no. 131, Accounts 1541/42-1545/46  
 L BHIC, Toegangnummer 1232, Inv. no. 132, Accounts 1546/47-1547/48; 1549/50-1553/54

Name	Voice-type	's-Hertogenbosch	Source	Remarks
vreemden basconter	basconter	17-03-1540	J, fol. 227r	Mass
vreemden sengere		14-04-1540	J, fol. 227r	
vreemden hoochconter	hoochconter	28-04-1540	J, fol. 227r	
vreemden senger		03-06-1540	J, fol. 227v	
organist van Maestricht	organist	07-07-1540	J, fol. 269v	Mass
drie vreemde sangers van Antwerpen		01-09-1540	J, fol. 273r	Mass
een vreemde sanger van Hollant		01-09-1540	J, fol. 273r	Mass
eenen vreempden senger		between 11-09-1540 and 04-10-1540	J, fol. 274r	Vespers and Mass
eenen vreemden sanger vanden keyser	tenuer	10-11-1540	J, fol. 276r, 297r	Coming from the Emperor, applied for job
eenen vreemden sanger		01-12-1540	J, fol. 276r	Mass
vreemden basconter van Brugge	basconter	between 09-04 and 02- 05-1541	J, fol. 285v	
vreemden basconter van Diest	basconter	between 21-05 and 04- 06-1541	J, fol. 286v	applied for a job
vreempde sanger		between 13 and 16-06- 1541	J, fol. 287v	Mass, applied for job
twee vreempde sangeren		between 2 and 4 July	K, fol. 23v	Mass; yearly procession?



Name	Voice-type	's-Hertogenbosch	Source	Remarks
vreemden sanger		17-08-1541	K, fol. 54v	
vreempden sanger		31-08-1541	K, fol. 26v	
vreempden sanger		05-10-1541	K, fol. 28r	apply for a job, Confraternity wanted him, but chapter did not
vreempden basconter		12-10-1541	K, fol. 29r	
vreempden sanger		01-02-1542	K, fol. 36v	
eenen sanger		26-04-1542	K, fol. 41r	who had previously worked for the Confraternity
vreempden sanger		26-04-1542	K, fol. 41r	
een dou sanck		16-08-1542	K, fol. 128v	former choirboy
Jan sangnr van Orscot		06-09-1542; 1543	K, fol. 129r	Vespers and Mass
vremden hochconter	hoochconter	08-11-1542	K, fol. 129v	Vespers and Mass; applied for job
vremden sanger een Vael		28-02-1543	K, fol. 130v	
vremden basconter quam uut Brabant	basconter	07-03-1543	K, fol. 130v	
2 vremden sangeren gecomen van Doert		14-03-1543	K, fol. 130v	Vespers and Mass; applied for job
vreemden basconter		11-07-1543	K, fol. 195r	
ijj vreemde sangers een van Dort ende ij van Breroy		19-09-1543	K, fol. 195v	
basconter uuyt Hollant		27-02-1544	K, fol. 197r	
noch eenen anderen die chorael is geweest		26-03-1544	K, fol. 197r	
vreemden sanger		14-05-1544	K, fol. 197v	
vreempden sanger		02-07-1544	K, fol. 261r	
sangmeester van Antwerpen		06-07-1544	K, fol. 234v	July procession
vreempden sanger		09-07-1544	K, fol. 261v	
sanger		09-07-1544	K, fol. 261v	
vreempden sanger		17-09-1544	K, fol. 262r	

Name	Voice-type	's-Hertogenbosch	Source	Remarks
twee vreemde zangeren		04-03-1545	K, fol. 263r	
vreemden zanger		08-04-1545	K, fol. 263r	
Benedictus sangmeester vander coninckinne, 6 choraelen		29-07-1545	K, fol. 218r, 304v	= Benedictus Appenzeller, <i>sangmeester</i> of Mary of Hungary; wife Lienaertken from Brussels; external member in 1544/45; Mass with 6 choirboys
sangmeester K M, choraelen, 4 singers		15-08-1545	K, fol. 305v	<i>sangmeester</i> of Charles V plus 4 of his singers and a few choirboys; Mass
3 vreemde sanger		08-07-1545	K, fol. 330r	Procession, Vespers and Mass
vreemden basconter	basconter	29-07-1545	K, fol. 330r	Vespers and Mass
2 vreemde zangeren		05-08-1545	K, fol. 330r	Mass
Sebastiaens Neve	basconter	12-08-1545	K, fol. 330v	Vespers and Mass
vreemden sanger		12-08-1545	K, fol. 330v	Vespers and Mass
vreemden jongen (choirboy)		30-09-1545	K, fol. 331r	Mass
eenen basconter	basconter	16-12-1545	K, fol. 331v	Vespers and Mass
vreemden sanger		30-12-1545	K, fol. 332r	Vespers and Mass during Christmas
vreemden sanger		27-01-1546	K, fol. 332r	Vespers and Mass
3 vreemden zangeren		17-02-1546	K, fol. 332v	Mass
sangmeester van Dordrecht	sangmeester	21-04-1546	K, fol. 333r	Mass
vreemden sanger		12-05-1546	K, fol. 333r	Vespers and Mass
vreemden organist	organist	07-07-1546	K, fol. 251r	
vreemden hooch teneur		28-07-1546	K, fol. 251v	
2 vreemde zangers		25-08-1546	K, fol. 251v	Mass
vreemden sanger	hoochconter	01-09-1546, 08-09- 1546	K, fol. 251v, 251v- 252r	Had sung Mass 01-09-1546; returned to apply for job, but was not appointed
vreemden sanger van Delft		15-09-1546	K, fol. 252r	
2 vreemde zangers		13-10-1546	K, fol. 252r	
vreemden teneur	teneur	15-12-1546	K, fol. 252v	
vreemden hooch teneur	hooch teneur	22-12-1546	K, fol. 252v	

Name	Voice-type	's-Hertogenbosch	Source	Remarks
vreemden sanger		23-02-1547	K, fol. 253v	Mass
2 vreemde sangeren		09-03-1547	K, fol. 253v	Mass
vreemden teneur	teneur	06-04-1547	K, fol. 254r	
vreemden sanger		18-05-1547	K, fol. 254r	
vreemden sanger		25-05-1547	K, fol. 254r	
vreemden sangere		06-07-1547	L, fol. 49v	former choirboy, during the week of the procession Vespers and Mass
vreemden sanger met eenen jongen		10-08-1547	L, fol. 50r	
vreempde sanger		21-09-1547	L, fol. 50v	Vespers and Mass

## Appendix 12 List of feasts in 's-Hertogenbosch

Based on: BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 150

CAPITALS: in red ink in the original source

Date	Feast	Rank	Kind of celebration
<b>January</b>			
1	CIRCUMCISIO DOMINI	Totum Duplex	
3	Octava Sancti Johannis	Duplex	
6	EPIPHANIA DOMINI	Totum Duplex	
9	Gudule virginis (08-01?)	Totum Duplex	
25	CONVERSIO SANCTI PAULI	Duplex	
<b>February</b>			
2	PURIFICATIO BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex	
5	Agathe virginis et martiris	Duplex	
22	CATHEDRA SANCTI PETRI		9 lectiones
24	MATHIE APOSTOLI	Duplex	
<b>March</b>			
12	Gregorij pape et confessor	Duplex	
17	Gertrudis virginis	Totum Duplex	
25	ANNUNCIATIO DOMINICA	Totum Duplex	
<b>April</b>			
4	Ambrosij episcopi et confessor	Duplex	
9	Marie Egptiace	Totum ? Duplex	

Date	Feast	Rank	Kind of celebration
23	Georgij martiris	Duplex	
25	Marci evangeliste	Duplex	
28	Translacio Lamberti martiris	Duplex	
<b>May</b>			
1	PHILIPPI ET JACOBI APOSTOLORUM	Duplex	
3	INVENCIO SANCTE CRUCIS	Totum Duplex	
6	JOHANNIS ANTE PORTAM LATINAM	Totum Duplex	
13	SERVATIUS EPISCOPI ET CONFESSOR	Duplex	
<b>June</b>			
24	NATIVITATIS JOHANNIS BAPTISTE	Totum Duplex	
26	Dormicio Johannis evangeliste	Duplex	
29	PETRI ET PAULI APOSTOLORUM	Duplex	
<b>July</b>			
2	VISITACIO BEATE MARIE	Totum Duplex	
9	Octava visitacionis Marie	Duplex	
22	MARIE MAGDALENE	Totum Duplex	
25	JACOBI APOSTOLI	Duplex	
26	Anna Matris Marie	<i>Semi?</i> Duplex	
<b>August</b>			
1	AD VINCULA PETRI	Duplex	
5	Transfiguracio Domini	Duplex	
10	LAURENCIJ MARTIRIS	Duplex	
15	ASSUMPCIO BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex	
22	Octava Marie	Duplex	
24	BARTHOLOMEI APOSTOLI	Duplex	

Date	Feast	Rank	Kind of celebration
28	Augustini episcopi et confessor	Duplex	
29	Decollatio Johannis baptiste	Totum Duplex	
<b>September</b>			
3	Remacli episcopi et confessor	Semi Duplex	
7	Magdelberte virginis	Duplex	
8	NATIVITAS BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex	
10	Theodardi episcopi et martiris	Totum Duplex	
14	EXALTATIO SANCTE CRUCIS	Totum Duplex	
15	Octava nativitatis Marie	Duplex	
17	LAMBERTI EPISCOPI ET MARTIRIS	Totum Duplex	
19	Materni episcopi et confessor	Duplex	
21	MATHEI APOSTOLI ET EVANGELISTE	Duplex	
24	Octava Lamberti	Duplex	
27	Missio Johannis in exilium	Duplex	
29	MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI	Totum Duplex	
30	Jheronimi presbyteri et confessor	Totum Duplex	
<b>October</b>			
9	DYONISIJ SOCIORUMQUE EIUS MARTIRUM	Duplex	
13	Triumphus sancti Lamberti	Duplex	
18	Luce evangeliste	Duplex	
28	SIMONIS ET JUDE APOSTOLORUM	Duplex	
<b>November</b>			
1	OMNIUM SANCTORUM	Totum Duplex	
3	HUBERTI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSOR	Duplex	
6	LEONARDI CONFESSOR		9 lectiones
7	Willibrordi episcopi et confessor	Duplex	

Date	Feast	Rank	Kind of celebration
11	MARTINI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSOR	Duplex	
19	Elisabeth vidue	Duplex	
21	Presentacio Marie	Totum Duplex	
22	Cecilie virginis et martiris	Duplex	
24	Trudonis confessor	duplex	
25	KATHERINE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex	
27	Ode virginis	Totum Duplex	
28	Octava Presentacionis	Duplex	
30	ANDREE APOSTOLI	Duplex	
<b>December</b>			
3	Reversio Johannis ab exilio	Duplex	
4	Barbare virginis et martiris	Totum Duplex	
6	NICOLAI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSOR	Duplex	
8	CONCEPCIO BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex	
13	Lucie virginis et martiris	Duplex	
21	THOME APOSTOLI	Duplex	
25	NATIVITAS DOMINI NOSTRI JHESUM CHRISTI	Totum Duplex	
26	STEPHANI PROTHOMARTIRIS	Totum Duplex	
27	JOHANNIS APOSTOLI ET EVANGELISTE	Totum Duplex	
28	SANCTORUM INNOCENTUM MARTIRUM	Totum Duplex	

## Appendix 13      Contents of the Polyphonic Musical Manuscripts from the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch<sup>1785</sup>

### 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 152 (former Codex Smijers)<sup>1786</sup>

8 motets (*sequences*)  
3 Dutch Christmas songs  
1 Introit  
1 Responsory

fol. 1v-5r

*Prosa Inviolata* (2 versions)

Marian Sequence; mostly alternatim: verses 2, 4, 6, 8 and 9 are polyphonic; a chant version of this text is used by the Broederschap for the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15-08) (Everts 1985, pp. 10-14; Van Hout 2000d, p. 73).

fol. 5v-7r

*Nu sijt willecome* (2 versions)

Dutch Christmas songs (Everts 1985, pp. 45, 55-56).

fol. 7v-8r

*Omnes nu laet ons gode loven*

Dutch/Latin Christmas song (Everts 1985, pp. 45-54).

fol. [9r-14v; 1r-XLVIII]r]

Chant

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<sup>1785</sup> Spelling is according to the source.

[        ] the composer or title is not mentioned in this source, but in other sources.

[(        )] the composer is mentioned in other sources, but it is generally accepted that he is not the author. Based on Hamm/Kellman 1979-1988 unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1786</sup> Only the polyphonic compositions are mentioned, for a complete inventory of the chant content see: Zwitser 2000b.



fol. XLVIIIv-Lr

*Salve sancta parens*

Introit for the votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary (McKinnon, 'Introit (i)').

fol. Lv-LIIIr

*[Laetabundus, exultet fidelis chorus]*

*Regem regum intacte profundit thorus*

*Sol occasum nesciens*

*Verbum eus altissimi*

*Natum considera*

The first line of this sequence, *Laetabundus, exultet fidelis chorus*, has not been set to polyphonic music, only the verses 2, 4, 8 and 12 (Everts 1985, p. 15-18); this motet is used by the Broederschap on the feasts of the Nativity of Our Lord (25-12) and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (02-02) (fol. Lv).

fol. LIIIv-LVIr

*Et cum spiritu tuo*

Response, used at several moments in the Mass.

fol. LVIv-CVIr

*Chant*

fol. CVIv-CXr

*Virgini Marie laudes*

Marian Sequence; verses 1, 2, 4b, 5b and 7 are polyphonic (Everts 1985, pp. 19-22; used by the Broederschap at Eastertide (fol. CVIv)).

fol. CXv-CXIIr

*[Post partum virgo Maria]*

*Ave terrarum domina*

Marian Sequence; the first two lines of the text (*Post partum virgo Maria* and *Dei genitrix foecunda*) have not been composed polyphonically, only the lines 3, 5, 7 and 13 (Everts 1985, pp. 23-26).

fol. CXIIv-CXVr

*Benedicta [es celorum regina]*

Marian Sequence. For use, see *Missa Benedicta es* Inv. no. 153, fol. 1v-18v. Only the verses 2, 4 and 6 are polyphonic (Everts 1985, pp. 27-30).

fol. CXVv-CXVIIIr

*Verbum bonum [et suave]*

Marian Sequence. For use, see *Missa Verbum bonum* Inv. no. 155, fol. 23v-46r. Only the verses 2, 4 and 6 are polyphonic (Everts 1985, pp. 31-33).

fol. CXVIIIv-CXXr

*Veni salus hominum*

Marian Sequence, the first line *Veni virgo virginum* is not in polyphony, the verses 2, 4 and 10 are (Everts 1985, pp. 34-37); used by the Broederschap in Advent (fol. CXVIIIv).

### 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 153 (former MS 72A)

7 Masses (ordinary)

1 fragment

fol. 1v-18v

*Missa sex vocum Super benedicta* [*Missa Benedicta es celorum regina*]

Adrianus Willart / [Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin]

Also in Inv. no. 157. Based on motets by Josquin and Mouton (Kidger 1998, pp. 119-125, 231-262, see also 146-177) or Josquin, Mouton and Prioris (Lockwood, 'Willaert'). The cantus prius factus of Josquin's motet is based on an anonymous, early 13th-century sequence *Benedicta es*, in Josquin's time used for Masses of the Virgin Mary at the feasts of the Purification and the Annunciation, but also on Christmas Eve (Elders 2006, p. 201). The *Benedicta es* sequence is suitable for many Marian feasts, as well as the second Mass of the feast of the Nativity (Kidger 1998, p. 238).

fol. 19v-38r

[*Missa* [mi ut mi sol]]

Adrianus Willart

Unidentified cantus firmus setting. Possibly *soggetto cavato*, singing the vowels of the traditional Guidonian solmization syllables (*ut re mi fa sol la*), but no dedication text. (Lockwood, 'Willaert'; Kidger 1998, pp. 214-216, 226-230).

fol. 39v-61r

*Missa quinque vocum de Ferea*

An. Fevijn

*Missae de Feria* with a Gloria and Credo were often used for an octave of an important feast. Antoine de Févin's Mass is based upon plainsongs from the Ordinary and was in Paris appropriate for every day in the octaves of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. For use on less important occasions the Gloria and Credo could be eliminated (Bloxam 1987, pp. 189-195; on the chant models: Weaver 2003, p.131).

fol. 62v-82r

*Missa ducis Saxsonie Sing ich niet wol das is mir leyt*

[Nicolas Champion]

Unknown relation to the duke of Saxony. Based on the melody 'Sing ich niet wohl, das is mir leyt', which is quoted in the tenor part (Josephson 1973, p. XIII).

fol. 83v-101r

*Missa de Sancta Maria Magdalena*

Champion

Based on seven antiphons from the canonical office for the feast of St Mary Magdalene (22-07), quoted in red ink in the tenor part; only two of the antiphons quoted appear in the official plainsong in use at 's-Hertogenbosch (Bloxam 1987, pp. 204, 209, 212-216, 408-415).

fol. 102v-126r

*Missa Urbs Beata*

Courtoys

Mass for the Dedication of the Church, based on the hymn 'Urbs Beata' for Vespers on the feast of the Dedication (Bloxam 1987, pp. 204-208). In this case probably used for the Dedication of the chapel and/or altar of the Broederschap, celebrated on 23 April or on the Sunday closest to the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (Van Dijck 1973, pp. 124, 128, 248; Zwitser 2000b, p. 83).

fol. 127v-150r

*Missa Super Emendemus*

Jo. Courtoijs

*Super Emendemus* most likely refers to the responsory *Emendemus in melius*, usually to be sung during the Matins on the first Sunday in Lent, but also on other days during the first week of Lent, for example Ash Wednesday (Cantus Database). Probably based on a chant model (clear similarities with the chant examples in Cantus Database).

fol. 151v

2 voices of an anonymous, textless composition (incomplete)

Identified in 2011 by Peter Urquhart as related to the (also anonymous) *Missa Du bon du cueur*, based on the chanson with the same name (personal communication from Prof. Urquhart). Bernadette Nelson proposed that the composer of the anonymous *Missa Du bon du cueur*, based on a motet by Mouton, is Noel Bauldeweyn (Nelson 2001).

## 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 154 (former 72B)

8 Masses (ordinary)

1 motet

fol. 1v-19r

*Missa Cum Jocunditate* (incomplete)

Rue [(Josquin des Prez)]

Cantus firmus Mass (ostinato), based on the text and music at the beginning of the fifth antiphon at second Vespers on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September) (St. John Davison/Kreider/Keahey 1989-, volume II, pp. XXIII-XXIX, p. XXVI missing). This

antiphon is also frequently found in various positions within the office of the feast of the Conception (08-12) (Bloxam 1987, p. 186). On the miniatures see Roelvink 2002, pp. 120-121.

fol. 20v-39r

*Missa Incessament*

P. Rue

Parody Mass on Pierre de la Rue's own five-voice chanson *Incassament mon povre cuer lamente* (Kreider 1994; St. John Davison/Kreider/Keahey 1989-, volume IV, p. XVII).

fol. 40v-62r

*Missa de Sancto Stephano*

P. Moulu

Also called *Missa Stephane gloriose*; basic thematic material are (a) the tenth-century sequence for the Feast of All Saints, and (b) a motet based on an antiphon for the feast of St. Stephen and (c) the antiphon itself (Chapman 1966, pp. 151-153).

fol. 63v-87r

*Missa Quam pulchra es*

[Bauldeweyn]

Parody Mass on Noel Bauldeweyn's own motet (Sparks 1972, p. 3). The text *Quam pulchra es* is a Marian antiphon (Cantus Database).

fol. 87v-88r

*Que celi pandis hostium [O Salutaris hostia]*

Anonymous

The singers of the Broederschap received a small payment every year to sing the text *O Salutaris hostia* throughout the year during the elevation of the Eucharist (Roelvink 2002, pp. 118-120). Of course this motet was also suitable to sing during other liturgical moments around the Eucharist, for example Corpus Christi, since the text is a verse from the popular hymn for that feast (Bloxam 1987, pp. 210-212, 420). Another version of this text is in MS 155, fol. 171v-172r.

fol. 88v-110r

*Missa N'avez point veu*

Anonymous

Parody Mass on chanson *N'avez point veu mal assenée* by Jean Le Brung (Roelvink 2002, p. 120).

fol. 111v-133r

*Missa O genitrix*

Richafort

Based on Loyset Compère's Marian motet *O Genitrix gloriosa* (Elzinga 1979-1999, volume I, p. XV). Compère's motet contains various text fragments *de Sancta Maria*, apparently without a *cantus prius factus* (Finscher 1958-1972, volume IV, p. III).

fol. 134v-153r

*Missa Intemerata virgo*

[Forestier]

Mathurin Forestier used two sections of Josquin's motet-cycle *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur*, III. *Intemerata Virgo* and IV. *O Maria*, as the model for this Mass (Josephson/MacCracken 1996, p. XXI; MacCracken 2003, pp. 351-352). The two texts of the Josquin motet originally belong to a set of five antiphons for the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15-08) (Elders 2009, pp. 215-218, 234).

fol. 154v-169r

*La nouvelle messe de Molu a deux visaige [sic] ou plus*

[Missa] *Alma Redemptoris*

Moulu

Paraphrase Mass on the antiphon *Alma Redemptoris Mater* with the text of Hermannus Contractus (Chapman 1966, pp. 141). The Marian antiphon *Alma Redemptoris Mater* is usually sung throughout the liturgical year between Advent and 1 February (Huglo/Halmo, 'Antiphons').

### 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 155 (former MS 72C)

8 Masses (ordinary)

8 motets

fol. 2r-22r

[Missa] *Tua est potentia* (incomplete)

[Mouton]

Based on his own motet (Minor 1967-1974, volume IV, p. XI; Kast 1955, pp. 122-123; Diehl 1974, pp. 589-596); the motet is on fol. 22v-23r of this manuscript (see there).

fol. 22v-23r

*Tua est potentia*

Johannes Mouton [(Josquin)]

Model for the *Missa Tua est potentia* on fol. 2r-22r of this manuscript. The text of the motet is the Magnificat antiphon at Vespers on the Saturday before the fifth Sunday in October (Diehl 1974, p. 592; Lowinsky/Blackburn 1968, volume III, p. 186).

fol. 23v-46r

*Missa Verbum bonum*

[Mouton]

Based on themes from the motet *Verbum bonum et suave* by Pierrequin de Thérache; the motet is based on the Marian plainsong sequence for Epiphany (6 January) *Verbum bonum et suave*, containing the phrase 'Inter spinas lilia' (Minor 1967-1974, volume IV, p. XIV;

Lowinsky/Blackburn 1968, volume III, pp. 145-147). In Toledo, the Mass was apparently intended for use at Christmastide (Bloxam 1987, p. 177).

fol. 46v-47r

*Salva nos domine vigilantes*

Johannes Mouton [(Josquin/Willaert)]

Based on the Gregorian melody for the antiphon *Salva nos, Domine, vigilantes*, the *Canticle of Simeon*, to be sung on Sunday at Compline (Lowinsky/Blackburn 1968, volume III, pp. 177-180).

fol. 47v-67r

*Missa de Sancta Trinitate*

Mouton [Févin]

Based on the motet *Sancta Trinitas unus Deus* by Antoine de Févin; clearly appropriate for use on Trinity Sunday and certainly also for the votive *Missa de Trinitate* usually celebrated on Sundays (Bloxam 1987, p. 177). The text is a compilation of diverse fragments from the Office Sanctissimae Trinitatis (Diehl 1974, p. 630).

fol. 67v-[68r]

*In illo tempore loquente Jhesu*

[De Silva]

Gospel motet (Luke XI, 27-28; first line added) in *Commune festorum B.M.V.* (Kirsch 1970-1971, volume I, p. XIII).

fol. [68v]-91r

[*Missa L'oserai je dire*]

[Mouton]

Mainly based on the monophonic anonymous chanson [*Ne*] *L'oserai je dire* (CMME ('*Missa L'oserai-je dire*')) and (therefore) related to the anonymous polyphonic chanson (Minor 1967-1974, volume III, p. X).

fol. 91v-92r

*Trinitas inseparabilis*

Anonymous

Unknown text, perhaps for use on Sunday Trinity or the feast of SS Peter and Paul (29-06)?

*Trinitas inseparabilis*

(*Et*)<sup>1787</sup> *Exaudi nos supplicantes*

*Qui exaudisti Petrum in mari et Paulum in vinculis*

*Miserere nobis*

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<sup>1787</sup> Only in the Superius part and therefore probably a mistake, also because there are not enough notes for the number of syllables and this line is syllabically set to music in the two Tenor parts and the first Bassus.

fol. 92v-112r

[*Missa Dictes moy toutes voz pensees*]

Jo. Mouton

Based on the chanson *Dictes moy toutes voz pensees* by Loyset Compère (Minor 1967-1974, volume II, p. XI; on the text: Wesner 1992, pp. 105-106, 352).

fol. 112v-113r

*Nesciens mater virgo virum*

[Mouton]

Marian motet for the Octave of the Nativity (01-01); the tenor is based on the Gregorian melody *Nesciens mater* (Lowinsky/Blackburn 1968, volume III, pp. 171-174).

fol. 113v-132r

[*Missa*] *Ecce quam bo[num]*

Jo. Mouton

Based on the motet *Ecce quam bonum* by Nicolas Gombert (attribution to Gombert doubtful), which in its turn is based on the Savonarolan tune *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum* ('Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity'); the text is the first verse of psalm 132 (Macey 1998, pp. 5, 125-126, 175-176; Macey 1999, pp. xii, 113-116)

fol. 132v-133r

*Sub tuum presidium*

Anonymous

The text is a (general) Marian antiphon (Huglo/Halmo, 'Antiphons').

fol. 133v-153r

[*Missa Alma redemptoris Mater*]

Jo. Mouton

Based on the antiphon *Alma Redemptoris Mater* with the text of Hermannus Contractus (Kast 1955, p. 106-107; Minor 1967-1974, volume I, p. VII). The antiphon *Alma Redemptoris Mater* is sung throughout the liturgical year between Advent and 1 February (Huglo/Halmo, 'Antiphons').

fol. 153v-154r

*Infirmiorem nostram*

[Verdelot/Willaert]

Prayer for Mass (Oratio), with the Tenor voice of the four-part melancholic chanson *Fors seullement* by Mattheus Pipelare as cantus firmus in the first Tenor part (Böker-Heil 1967, pp. 87-88, 292-293).

fol. 154v-170r

*Missa d'Allemangne*

Jo. Mouton

Also known as the *Missa Regina mearum*; one source suggests a chanson model because of the words *Adieu solas, adieu joye*; unknown model and background (Minor 1967-1974, volume III, p. XII; Kast 1955, p. 115; Meconi 2004, pp. 115-116), the titles suggesting Marian usage and 'German origin'.

fol. 171v-172r

*O Salutaris Hostia*

Anonymous

The singers of the Broederschap received a small payment every year to sing the text *O Salutaris hostia* throughout the year during the elevation of the Eucharist (Roelvink 2002, pp. 118-120). Of course this motet was also suitable to sing during other liturgical moments around the Eucharist, for example Corpus Christi, since the text is a verse from the popular hymn for that feast (Bloxam 1987, pp. 210-212, 420). Another version of this text is in MS 154, fol. 87v - 88r.

### 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 156 (former MS 74)

*10 Masses (ordinarium)*

fol. 2v-21r

*Missa Cuidez vous que dieu nous faille*

Pe. Manchicourt

Parody Mass on the chanson *Cuidez vous que dieu nous faille* by Jean Richafort (Wicks/Wagner, volume V, p. IX; Elzinga 1979-1999, volume III, pp. XLIX-LII).

fol. 21v-40r

*Missa In te Domine Speravi*

Gheerken [= Gheerkin de Hondt]

Parody Mass on the motet *In te Domine Speravi* by Lupus Hellinck (Blackburn 1970, pp. 154). The text of the motet is based on the first six verses of Psalm 30 (Blackburn 1970, p. 384; Macey 1998, pp. 240-241).

fol. 40v-58r

*Missa Ego sum qui sum*

Lupus Hellinck

Parody Mass on the motet *Ego sum qui sum* by Jean Richafort (Blackburn 1970, p. 154). The text of the prima pars of the motet is derived from Exodus 3:14 and Psalm 1:1-2, to be sung as first and third antiphons at Matins for Easter Sunday; the text of the secunda pars is derived from John 20:13 and Matthew 28:6-7, to be sung as respond of the responsory for the first Lesson of Third Nocturne for Easter Sunday and a responsory of Matins for Thursday within the Octave of Easter (Elzinga 1979-1999, volume II, p. XXXVII).



fol. 58v-75r

*Missa Pis ne me peult venir*

Thomas Crecquillon

Parody Mass on Crecquillon's own chanson *Pis ne me peult venir* (Hudson/Youens/Winn 1974-2000, volume III, p. IX and volume XIX, pp. LXVIII-LXXI).

fol. 75v-94r

*Missa Fit porta Christi pervia*

Jheronimus Vinders

Based on the plainchant *Fit porta Christi pervia* (Jas ('Vinders, Jheronimus')). This hymn was mainly sung on the feasts of the Blessed Virgin, but also on Christmas, Epiphany (06-01) and the feast of St Anne (26-07) (Cantus Dabatase).

fol. 94v-113r

*Missa Veni sponsa Christi*

Lupus Hellinck

Parody Mass on the motet *Veni sponsa Christi* by Jean Richafort (Blackburn 1970, p. 155). The text of the prima pars is an antiphon at the Magnificat for the first and second Vespers for the Common of a Virgin and Common of Virgins; this text is also the opening phrase of the Tract of the Mass of the Common of a Virgin Martyr; the music for the first Vespers of the Common of Virgins has motivic similarities with the motet by Richafort (Elzinga 1979-1999, volume II, pp. LXII).

fol. 113v-136r

*Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*

Gheerken [= Gheerkin de Hondt]

Parody Mass on the motet *Ceciliam cantate pii* by Nicolas Gombert (Roelvink 2002, pp. 162-163). The text of the motet is by an unknown poet, for the feast of St Cecilia (22-11) (Schmidt-Görg 1951-1975, volume VIII, p. X).

fol. 136v-154r

*Missa Fors seusement*

Jheronimus Vinders [(Gombert)]

Parody Mass, perhaps by Gombert, based on the chansons *Fors seusement* by Mattheus Pipelare and Antoine de Févin, Févin's being a parody of Pipelare's (Nelson 2009b; Nelson 2009a).

fol. 154v-174r

*Missa Surrexit pastor*

Lupus Hellinck

Parody Mass on the motet *Surrexit pastor bonus* by Andreas de Silva (Blackburn 1970, p. 155, 183-199), a motet for Easter (Kirsch 1970-1971, volume II, p. XIII).

fol. 174v-198r

*Missa Stabat mater dolorosa*

Jheronimus Vinders

Parody Mass on the motet *Stabat mater dolorosa* by Josquin des Prez, composed on the poem *Stabat mater*, which came into use as a sequence in the late 15th century as part of the feast of the Seven Sorrows of Mary, celebrated on the Friday after the third Sunday after Easter (Elders 1972, p. IV; Elders 2009, p. 129; Cantus database). The motet in its turn is based on the Binchois chanson *Comme femme desconfortée*; the relation between the Latin and French text is obvious: Mary, as the weeping mother standing beside the cross of Jesus, is represented as a woman who is in distress because of the loss of her beloved friend; the reason Josquin chose this chanson, is probably because no standard plainsong version may have been known to him (Elders 2009, pp. 125-133, 143).

### 's-Hertogenbosch, BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 157 (former MS 75)

10 Masses (*ordinarium*)

fol. 1v-23r

*Missa Mater patris et filia*

[Hellinck]

Parody Mass on the motet *Mater patris et filia* by Antoine Brumel (Blackburn 1970, p. 154). The text of the motet is a rhymed metrical antiphon, intended for the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Saturdays (Hudson 1969-1972, volume V, pp. XI, XXXIV).

fol. 23v-45r

*Missa Nigra sum*

[Gascongne]

Parody Mass on Gascongne's own motet *Nigra sum* (Swing ('Gascongne, Mathieu')). The text of the motet is based on the Marian antiphon *Nigra sum sed formosa filia*, used in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and on feasts for other virgins (Cantus Database). In Toledo however, this Mass is specified for use on the feast of Corpus Christi (Bloxam 1987, p. 177-178).

fol. 45v-67r

*Missa Benedicti*

[*Missa Ick had een boelken uutvercoren*]

[Appenzeller?]

The model of this Mass is the Dutch monophonic song *Ick had een boelken uutvercoren*; the Mass might be by Benedictus Appenzeller, in which case the title *Benedicti* would refer to the composers name and not to the model of the Mass (Jas 1994).

fol. 67v-88r

*Missa Ut fa*

[Gascongne]

Also called *Missa Pourquoi non*, after its model, the chanson *Pourquoy non* by Pierre de la Rue (Swing ('Gascogne, Mathieu')).

fol. 88v-107r

*Missa A laventure*

Anonymous

Based on the anonymous chanson *A le venture* (Roelvink 2002, pp. 144-145; Jas 2005, p. 98).

fol. 107v-131r

*Missa Jam non dicam*

[Hellinck]

Parody Mass on the motet *Jam non dicam vos servos* by Jean Richafort (Blackburn 1970, p. 154). The text of the prima pars of the motet is the beginning of the respond of responsory 3 of Matins for the feast of Pentecost, and responsories of Matins for Monday and Saturday within the Octave of Pentecost; it also appears in the liturgy for the ordination of priests; the text of the secunda pars originates from John 16:13 (Elzinga 1979-1999, pp. XLV-XLVI).

fol. 131v-154r

*Missa Benedicta es*

[Willaert / Hesdin]

See Inv. no. 153.

fol. 154v-180r

*Missa Mijns liefkens bruijn ooghen*

[Vinders?]

Parody Mass on Appenzeller's song *Mijns liefkens bruijn ooghen*; the Mass might be by Jheronimus Vinders (Jas 1994a).

fol. 180v-201v

*Missa Gaude Barbara*

[Willaert]

Based on the motet *Gaude Barbara* by Jean Mouton; the text of the motet is in honour of St Barbara (Diehl 1974, pp. 443-445, 454-456; Kidger 1998, pp. 107, 179-180; Cummings 2006, pp. 148-149).

fol. 201v-220r

*Missa Spes salutis*

Anonymous

Parody Mass on the motet *Spes salutis* by Johannes Lupi (Roelvink 2002, p. 144). The text of the motet is in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the first three lines form verse 3a of the sequence *Stella maris O Maria* (Blackburn 1980-1989, volume I, pp. XXXIV-XXXV).

**'s-Hertogenbosch, BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 158 (former MS 73)<sup>1788</sup>**

*50 compositions for the Office (44 for the Vespers)*

*33 Magnificats*

*2 Te Deums*

*1 Kyrie Paschale*

*1 Regina Caeli*

*2 motets*

**Assumptionis, Nativitatis, Conceptionis Mariae**

fol. 1v-4r

In prima Vesperis 2a antiphona:

*Oculi tui*

Quarta antiphona:

*Surge aquilo*

Hymnus:

*Hoc largire pater*

**Assumptionis Mariae**

fol. 4v-6r

In secundis Vesperis 2a antiphona:

*Maria virgo assumpta est*

Quarta antiphona:

*Benedicta filia tua*

**Nativitatis et Conceptionis Mariae**

fol. 6v-8r

In 2is Vesperis 2a antiphona:

*Nativitas / Conceptio est hodie*

Quarta antiphona:

*Corde et animo*

**Vigilia omnium sanctorum**

fol. 8v-11r

Si feria 3a evenerit.

In Vesperis 2a antiphona:

*Justi autem*

Quarta antiphona:

*Sanctum est verum lumen*

Hymnus:

*Caeduntur gladiis*

**Festum Omnium Sanctorum**

fol. 11v-13r

Si feria 3a evenerit.

In Vesperis 2a antiphona:

*Vox laetitiae*

Quarta antiphona:

*Sanctorum nomina*

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<sup>1788</sup> Table of contents based on the edition by Maas 1970-1973; Maas changed the page numbering in Roman letters by Arabic figures. Maas identified many chant models for the compositions for the Office from the chant books of the Broederschap.

**Vigilia Nativitatis Domine**

fol. 13v-15r

Si feria 3a e venerit.

In Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

*Levate capita vestra*

*Joseph fili David*

**Nativitatis Domini et Vigilia Circumcisionis**

fol. 15v-17r

Si sit feria 3a.

In Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

*Redemptionem misit dominus*

*Apud dominum misericordia*

**Joannis Evangelistae**

fol. 17v-22r

In primis Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

Hymnus:

In secundis Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

*Hic supra pectus domini*

*Johannes dictus gratia*

*Quod clausum erat homini*

*Hic est discipulus meus*

*Sunt de hic stantibus*

**Circumcisionis et Vigilia Epiphaniae et Purificationis**

fol. 22v-24r

In Vesperis antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

*Quando natus es*

*Germinavit radix Jesse*

**Epiphaniae Domini**

fol. 24v-25r

Hymnus:

*Novum genus potentiae*

**Epiphania Domini**

fol. 25v-27r

Si fit feria 3a.

In 2is Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

*Venit lumen tuum*

*Vidimus stellam eius*

**Purificationis Mariae**

fol. 27v-29r

In 2is Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

*Accipiens Simeon*

*Obtulerunt pro eo*

**Vigilia Annuntiationis Mariae**

fol. 29v-31r

Si sit dominica alias nunquam.

In Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

*De caelo veniet*

*Ecce in nubibus*

**Visitationis Mariae**

fol. 31v-34r

In primis Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

Hymnus:

*Et factum est*

*Et unde mihi hoc*

*Confestim montes adiit / Patri  
summo cum Filio*

**Visitationis Mariae**

fol. 34v-36r

In 2is Vesperis 2a antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

*Jubilet Deo*

*Deposuit potentes*

**Mariae Magdalенаe**

fol. 36v-39r

In primis Vesperis secunda antiphona:

Quarta antiphona:

Hymnus:

*Mundi fastum abdicavit*

*Quando Martha satagebat*

*Cuius precamur precibus*

**Ad Matutinas**

fol. 39v-43r

In primo nocturno:

In secundo nocturno:

In tertio nocturno:

In fine Matutinarum:

*Virgo praecellens*

*Anna te mundo*

*Pacis in terris*

*Jam mine ferri*

**De Nativitate Domini**

fol. 43v-53r

Hymnus:

Hymnus:

Hymnus Ave maris stella:

Hymnus Ave maris stella:

Item Hymnus Ave maris stella:

*Beatus auctor saeculi*

*Domus pudici pectoris*

*Beatus auctor saeculi*

*Domus pudici pectoris*

*Sumens illud ave*

*Monstra te esse*

*Sumens illud ave*

*Monstra te esse*

*Sumens illud ave*

*Monstra te esse*

*Vitam praesta puram*

**In Adventu ad Vesperas**

fol. 53v-58r

Mariae Hymnus:

*Cui luna sol et omnia*

*Beata caeli nuntio*

Item Hymnus Ave maris stella:

*Sumens illud ave*

*Monstra te esse*

*Monstra te esse*

*Vitam praesta puram*

**In hebdomada Penthecostes**

fol. 58v-61r

Ad Vesperas Hymnus:

*Qui paracletus diceris*

*Accende lumen sensibus*

*Per te sciamus da Patrem*

**[Magnificat]**

fol. 61v-96r

Primi toni Magnificat (7 versions)

fol. 96v-112r

Secundi toni Magnificat (3 versions; the 2nd is by [Ho. Barra])

fol. 112v-117r

Tertii (Tercij) vel Octavi toni Magnificat (1 version)

fol. 117v-137r

Quarti toni Magnificat (5 versions; the 1st is by [Benedictus Appenzeller])

fol. 137v-164r

Sexti toni Magnificat (6 versions; the 1st is by [Richafort], the 5th by [Brumel])

fol. 164v-174r

Septimi toni Magnificat (2 versions)

fol. 174v-190r

Octavi toni Magnificat (4 versions)

fol. 190v-195r

Primi toni Magnificat (1 version)

fol. 195v-199r

Secundi toni Magnificat (1 version)

fol. 199v-203r

Tertii (Tercij) toni Magnificat (1 version)

fol. 203v-206r

Quarti toni Magnificat (1 version)

fol. 206v-209r

Quinti toni Magnificat (1 version)

The *Magnificat* (text: St Luke's Gospel (I, 46-55)) was sung during the Vespers; according to common practice, only the even verses are set to music (so-called alternatim); based on

different chant models, some of them perhaps of local origin (Maas 1970-1973, volume II, pp. VII-IX).

### **Te Deum**

fol. 209v-215r

Sebastianus (Sebastiani) de Porta

fol. 215v-219r

Anonymous

A chant in praise of God sung at the end of Matins on Sundays and feast days, after the last responsory. It has also been used as a processional chant, the conclusion for a liturgical drama, a song of thanksgiving on an occasion such as the consecration of a bishop, and a hymn of victory on the battlefield (Steiner ('Te Deum')). According to common practice, only the even verses are set to music (so-called *alternatim*); probably based on a local version of the Gregorian *Te Deum* (Maas 1970-1973, volume III, pp. VII-VIII).

### **Kyrie Paschale**

fol. 219v-220r

Anonymous

Kyrie for Easter or the Eastertide. Based on the Gregorian melody (Maas 1970-1973, volume III, p. VIII).

### **Regina caeli**

fol. 220v-221r

Anonymous

The Marian antiphon *Regina caeli* is usually sung throughout the liturgical year between the Eastertide and the Pentecost week (Huglo/Halmo, 'Antiphons'). Based on the Gregorian melody (Maas 1970-1973, volume III, p. VIII).

### **[Motets]**

fol. 221v-223r

*Sancta Maria succurre miseris*

[Verdelot]

The text is the general Marian antiphon *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* (Böker-Heil 1967, p. 67).

fol. 223v-225r

*Benedictus Dominus Deus (Israel / Honor virtus et potestas)*

[Johannes Lupi]

The text of the Prima Pars is based on Psalm 71:18-19, and is sung as the second responsory at Matins of the Feast of the Most Holy Trinity and the fourth responsory of the Feast of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus (Blackburn 1970, p. 378; Blackburn 1980-1989, p. XXXVI); it is also used as a gradual for Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany (Diehl 1974, p. 532). The Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany is called *sondach nae dertiendach* in 's-Hertogenbosch, on which day one of the four general memorial services in the church of Sint-Jan took place.



## Appendix 14

## The liturgical duties of a *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch

CAPITALS red ink in calendar Inv. no. 150  
*italics* movable feast, not in calendar

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament	Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
19-06-1540	Saturday	Marci et Marcelliani martirum		Missa		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			
		Gervasij et Prothasij martirum		Missa		7 canonical hours; High Mass			
20-06-1540	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
21-06-1540	Monday	Albani martiris		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
22-06-1540	Tuesday	Paulini episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
23-06-1540	Wednesday			Vigilia	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
24-06-1540	Thursday	NATIVITAS JOHANNIS BAPTISTE		Totum Duplex	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
25-06-1540	Friday	Galleani martiris		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
26-06-1540	Saturday	Dormicio Johannis evangeliste		Duplex		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			
		Johannis et Pauli martirum. Transfertur ad diem sequentem		3 lectiones					

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in Inv. no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
27-06-1540	Sunday	Septem dormientiū		Commemorative	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
28-06-1540	Monday	Leonis pape et confessor		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Vigil of nine lessons for deceased members	
			Vigilia				Requiem Mass for deceased members	
29-06-1540	Tuesday	PETRI ET PAULI APOSTOLORUM	Duplex		Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
30-06-1540	Wednesday	Commemoratio Sancti Pauli		9 lectiones	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
01-07-1540	Thursday	Octava Iohannis		9 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
				Commemorative				
02-07-1540	Friday	Montegundis virginis VISITATIO BEATE MARIE	Totum Duplex		Visitation of Our Lady; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 149 (Office); MS 162 (Office); MS 152 (Office and Mass)
				Collecta				
03-07-1540	Saturday	Processi et Mariniani martirum Translacio Thome apostoli		Collecta	Lof evening before procession	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
04-07-1540	Sunday	Translacio Martini		3 lectiones	Yearly city procession; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
05-07-1540	Monday	Ulrici confessor		Commemorative	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
06-07-1540	Tuesday	Octava Petri et Pauli apostolorum		9 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Office 3rd day after Visitation 02-07)
07-07-1540	Wednesday	Goaris confessor		Commemoratie	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Mass 4th day after Visitation 02-07)
08-07-1540	Thursday	Kilyan socionumque eius martirum		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
09-07-1540	Friday	Octava visitationis Marie	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
10-07-1540	Saturday	Septem fratrum martirum		Missa		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
11-07-1540	Sunday	Translacio benedicti abbatis		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
12-07-1540	Monday	Cleti pape et martiris		Collecta	Marian Lof; 1st banquet	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
13-07-1540	Tuesday	Margarete virginis et martiris		3 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
14-07-1540	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
15-07-1540	Thursday	Divisio apostolorum		9 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
16-07-1540	Friday	Gondulphi et Monulphi episcopi et confessores		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
17-07-1540	Saturday	Fredegandi		Commemoratie		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
18-07-1540	Sunday	Alexij confessor		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
19-07-1540	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
20-07-1540	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
21-07-1540	Wednesday	Praxedis virginis		Missa	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
22-07-1540	Thursday	MARIE MAGDALENE	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	MS 153 (Missa de Sancta Maria Magdalena); MS 152 (Office and Mass)
23-07-1540	Friday	Appolinaris episcopi et martiris		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
24-07-1540	Saturday	Cristine virginis et martiris		Commemoratie		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
25-07-1540	Sunday	JACOBI APOSTOLI	Vigilia Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Cristoferi martiris		2 collecta				
		Clodesindis virginis		2 collecta				
26-07-1540	Monday	Anna Matris Marie	Semi? Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's		MS 156 (Missa Fit porta christi pervia)
						Mass on Monday before St Olav (29-07)		
27-07-1540	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
28-07-1540	Wednesday	Pantaleonis martiris		Commemoratie	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
29-07-1540	Thursday	Felicis pape et martiris		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
30-07-1540	Friday	Abdonis et Sennis martirum		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
31-07-1540	Saturday	Germani episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
01-08-1540	Sunday	AD VINCULA PETRI	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Sanctorum Machabeorum martirum		Collecta				
02-08-1540	Monday	Stephani pape et martiris		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
03-08-1540	Tuesday	Invenio Stephani et aliorum		9 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
04-08-1540	Wednesday	Dominici confessor		9 lectiones	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Justinus presbyteri et martiris		Collecta				
05-08-1540	Thursday	Transfiguracio Domini	Duplex		Marian Lof	Mass?		
		Afre martiris		Collecta				
06-08-1540	Friday	Sixti pape et martiris		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Felicissimi et Agapiti martirum		Collecta				
07-08-1540	Saturday	Donati episcopi et martiris		Collecta		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
08-08-1540	Sunday	Ciriaci et sociorumque eius martirum		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
09-08-1540	Monday	Romani martiris		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
10-08-1540	Tuesday	LAURENCIJ MARTIRIS	Vigilia Duplex		Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
11-08-1540	Wednesday	Tyburcij martiris		Missa	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
12-08-1540	Thursday	Eupli martiris		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
13-08-1540	Friday	Ypoliti sociorium eius martirum		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
14-08-1540	Saturday	Eusebij confessor		Collecta		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
15-08-1540	Sunday	ASSUMPICIO BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	Vigilia Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	MS 158 (Vespers); MS 154 (Missa Intermerata Virgo); MS 152 (Motet and Mass)	MS 149 (Office); MS 162 (Office); MS 152 (Office and Mass)
16-08-1540	Monday	Arnulphi episcopi et confessor		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
17-08-1540	Tuesday	Octava Laurentij		3 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Office 3rd after Assumption 15-08)
18-08-1540	Wednesday	Agapiti martiris		Missa	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Mass 4th day after Assumption 15-08)
19-08-1540	Thursday	Magni martiris		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
20-08-1540	Friday	Bernardi abbas et confessor		3 lectiones	Vespers 1st general exeque; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 148 (Office exeque); MS 162 (Office exeque)
21-08-1540	Saturday	Philberti abbas et martiris		Commemoratie	Requiem Mass 1st general exeque	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 148 (Requiem Mass exeque); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exeque)

1789. According to calendar in fnw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
22-08-1540	Sunday	Octava Marie	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Timothei et Simphoriano martirum		Collecta		General memorial service ( <i>zangmaester</i> ); Holy Cross Lof		MS 176 (Holy Cross Lof chapter)
23-08-1540	Monday	Timothei et Appollinaris martirum		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
			Vigilia					
24-08-1540	Tuesday	BARTHOLOMEI APOSTOLI	Duplex		Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
25-08-1540	Wednesday	Genesij martiris		Commemoratie	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
26-08-1540	Thursday	Herenij et Habundi martirum		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
27-08-1540	Friday	Rufi martiris		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
28-08-1540	Saturday	Augustini episcopi et confessor	Duplex		Exequie mr Jan Reyners secretary of the city of 's-Hertogenbosch	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequie); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequie)
29-08-1540	Sunday	Hermetis martiris Decollacio Johannis baptiste	Totum Duplex	Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's		
30-08-1540	Monday	Sabine virginis Felcis et Adaucti martirum		Collecta Missa	Marian Lof; 2nd banquet	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
31-08-1540	Tuesday	Paulini episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
01-09-1540	Wednesday	Egidii abbatis et confessor		9 lectiones	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony <sup>1790</sup> the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
02-09-1540	Thursday	Prisci martiris		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
03-09-1540	Friday	Remachi episcopi et confessor	Semiduplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
04-09-1540	Saturday				Exequie Peter van Balen	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequie); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequie)
05-09-1540	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
06-09-1540	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
07-09-1540	Tuesday	Magdelberte virginis	Duplex		Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Evercij episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie				
08-09-1540	Wednesday	NATIVITAS BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 158 (Vespers); MS 154 (Missa Cum Jocunditate)
		Adriani martiris		Collecta				
09-09-1540	Thursday	Gorgonij martiris		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
10-09-1540	Friday	Theodardi episcopi et martiris	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
11-09-1540	Saturday	Proti et Iacincti martyrum		Missa	Exequie Raesen Persoens	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequie); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequie)
12-09-1540	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
13-09-1540	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.



Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
14-09-1540	Tuesday	EXALTACIO SANCTE CRUCIS Cornelii et Cypriani martyrum	Totum Duplex	Collecta	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Office 3rd after Nativity) 08-09)
15-09-1540	Wednesday	Octava nativitatis Marie	Duplex		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Mass 4th day after Nativity 08-09)
16-09-1540	Thursday	Nycomedis martiris Eufemie virginis		Collecta 2e collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
17-09-1540	Friday	Lucie et Geminiani martirum LAMBERTI EPISCOPI ET MARTIRIS	Totum Duplex	2e collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
18-09-1540	Saturday							
19-09-1540	Sunday	Materni episcopi et confessor	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
20-09-1540	Monday		Vigilia		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
21-09-1540	Tuesday	MATHEI APOSTOLI ET EVANGELISTE	Duplex		Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
22-09-1540	Wednesday	Mauricij et sociorumque eius martirum		3 lectiones	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
23-09-1540	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
24-09-1540	Friday	Octava Lamberti	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
25-09-1540	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		

1789. According to calendar in fnw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
							the Holy Sacrament	
26-09-1540	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
27-09-1540	Monday	Missio Johannis in exilium	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
28-09-1540	Tuesday	Cosme et Damiani martirum Transfertur ad diem crastina		3 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
29-09-1540	Wednesday	MICHAELIS	Totum Duplex		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
30-09-1540	Thursday	Iheronimi presbyteri et confessor	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's	Mass?	
01-10-1540	Friday	Remigij episcopi et confessor		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Germani, Bavonis et alorum		Collecta				
02-10-1540	Saturday	Leodegarij episcopi et martiris		Collecta		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
03-10-1540	Sunday	Duorum Ewaldorum martirum		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
04-10-1540	Monday	Francisci confessor		9 lectiones	Marian Lof; 3rd banquet	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
05-10-1540	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
06-10-1540	Wednesday	Fidis virginis		Collecta	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
07-10-1540	Thursday	Marci pape et confessor		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
08-10-1540	Friday	Marcelli et Apulei martiris Amoris confessor		Collecta Commemorative	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
09-10-1540	Saturday	DYONISIJ SOCIORUMQUE EIUS MARTIRUM	Duplex			7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
10-10-1540	Sunday	Gereonis sociorumque eius martirum		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
11-10-1540	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
12-10-1540	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
13-10-1540	Wednesday	Triumphus sancti Lamberti	Duplex		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
14-10-1540	Thursday	Calixti pape et martiris sociorumque eius		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
15-10-1540	Friday	Sanctorum Maurorum martiris		Commemorative	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
16-10-1540	Saturday	Galli abbatis et confessor		Commemorative	Exequie mr Jan Nagelmaker	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequie); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequie)
17-10-1540	Sunday	Marthe virginis		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
18-10-1540	Monday	Luce evangeliste	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
19-10-1540	Tuesday	Mononis martiris		Commemorative	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
20-10-1540	Wednesday	Caprasij martiris		Commemorative	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
21-10-1540	Thursday	Undecim Milium virginum		9 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's	Mass?	
22-10-1540	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
23-10-1540	Saturday	Severini episcopi et confessor		9 lectiones		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
24-10-1540	Sunday	Ode vidue		9 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
25-10-1540	Monday	Crispini et Crispiniani martirum		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
26-10-1540	Tuesday	Amandi confessor		Commemoratie	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
27-10-1540	Wednesday	Rumoldi episcopi et confessor		Missa	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
28-10-1540	Thursday	SIMONIS ET JUDE APOSTOLORUM	Vigilia Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
29-10-1540	Friday	Narcissi episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
30-10-1540	Saturday				Exequie heer Goessen Prekers	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequie); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequie)
31-10-1540	Sunday	Quintini et Foillani martirum	Vigilia	Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	MS 158 (if on Tuesday)	MS 162 (Vigil Omnium Sanctorum, if on Tuesday); MS 152 (Vigil Omnium Sanctorum, if on Tuesday)

1789. According to calendar in fw, no. 150.  
1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
01-11-1540	Monday	OMNIUM SANCTORUM	Totum Duplex			7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's	MS 158 (if on Tuesday); MS 149 (Vespers); MS 152 (Vespers if on Tuesday)	MS 154 (Missa de Sancto Stephano)
		Cesarij martiris		Collecta		General memorial service ( <i>zangmeister</i> ); Holy Cross Lof	MS 176 (Holy Cross Lof chapter)	
02-11-1540	Tuesday	Commemoracio animarum			Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Eustachij martiris et sociorumque eius		3 lectiones				
03-11-1540	Wednesday	HUBERTI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSOR	Duplex		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
04-11-1540	Thursday	Perpetui episcopi et confessor		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
		Amancij episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie				
05-11-1540	Friday				Vespers 2nd general exequite; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 148 (Office exequite); MS 162 (Office exequite)
		3 Ave Maria's (feast of Elisabeth widow)						
06-11-1540	Saturday	LEONARDI CONFESSOR		9 lectiones	Mass 2nd general exequite	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequite); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequite)
07-11-1540	Sunday	Willibrordi episcopi et confessor	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
08-11-1540	Monday	Quatuor coronatorum martirum		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
09-11-1540	Tuesday	Theodori martiris		Missa	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
10-11-1540	Wednesday	Martini pape et martiris		Commemoratie	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
11-11-1540	Thursday	MARTINI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSOR Menne martiris	Duplex	Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
12-11-1540	Friday	Bertivini episcopi et confessor Cuniberti episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
13-11-1540	Saturday	Bricij episcopi et confessor		3 lectiones		3 Ave Maria's (1st day after St Martin) 7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
14-11-1540	Sunday				Marian Lof	3 Ave Maria's (2nd day after St Martin) 7 canonical hours; High Mass		
15-11-1540	Monday	Eugenij episcopi et martiris		Commemoratie	Marian Lof; 4th banquet	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
16-11-1540	Tuesday	Othmari abbas		Commemoratie	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
17-11-1540	Wednesday	Aniani episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
18-11-1540	Thursday	Octava Martini		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
19-11-1540	Friday	Severi episcopi et confessor Elisabeth vidue	Duplex	Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Gelasij pape et confessor		Commemoratie				

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony <sup>1790</sup> the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
20-11-1540	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
21-11-1540	Sunday	Presentacio Marie	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Columbani abbatis		Commemoratio				
22-11-1540	Monday	Cecilie virginis et martiris	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	MS 156 (Missa Ceciliae cantate pii)	
23-11-1540	Tuesday	Clementis pape et martiris		9 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Felicitatis martiris		Collecta				
24-11-1540	Wednesday	Trudonis confessor	Duplex		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Crisogoni martiris		Collecta				
25-11-1540	Thursday	KATHERINE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
		Petri episcopi et martiris		Commemoratio				
26-11-1540	Friday	Lini pape et martiris		Commemoratio	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Ode virginis	Totum Duplex					
27-11-1540	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
28-11-1540	Sunday	Octava Presentacionis	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
29-11-1540	Monday	Saturini, Crisanti et aliorum		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass on Monday before St Nicolas	
			Vigilia					
30-11-1540	Tuesday	ANDREE APOSTOLI	Duplex		Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
01-12-1540	Wednesday	Eligij episcopi et confessor		Collecta	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
02-12-1540	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
03-12-1540	Friday	Reversio Johannis ab exilio	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
04-12-1540	Saturday	Barbare virginis et martiris	Totum Duplex			7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof	MS 157, Missa Gaude Barbara	
05-12-1540	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
06-12-1540	Monday	NICOLAI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSOR	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
07-12-1540	Tuesday	Octava Andree apostoli		3 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
08-12-1540	Wednesday	CONCEPCIO BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	MS 158 (Vespers); MS 154 (Missa Cum Jocunditate)	MS 162 (Office); MS 152 (Office and Mass)
09-12-1540	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
10-12-1540	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
11-12-1540	Saturday	Damasij pape et confessor		Collecta		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
12-12-1540	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
13-12-1540	Monday	Lucie virginis et martiris	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
14-12-1540	Tuesday	Nicasij episcopi et martiris et socorumque eius		Collecta	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Office Octave Conception 08-12)

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.



Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
15-12-1540	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof; Wednesday after Lucy; Golden Mass	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Mass Octave Conception 08-12)
						3 Ave Maria s (Wednesday after 3rd Sunday in Advent); Golden Mass (Wednesday in the Quateremper days before Christmas)		
16-12-1540	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
17-12-1540	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
18-12-1540	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
19-12-1540	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
20-12-1540	Monday			Vigilia	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
21-12-1540	Tuesday	THOME APOSTOLI		Duplex	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
22-12-1540	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
23-12-1540	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
24-12-1540	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament	Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
25-12-1540	Saturday	NATIVITAS DOMINI NOSTRI JHESUM CHRISTI	Vigilia	Totum Duplex	Mass at 06:00 o'clock (Nativity of Our Lord)	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 158 (Vespers Nativity 25-12, if on Tuesday); MS 152 (Vigil and Vespers Nativity 25-12, if on Tuesday)	MS 162 (Vigil Nativity 25-12, if on Tuesday); MS 152 (Vespers and Mass)
26-12-1540	Sunday	STEPHANI PROTHOMARTIRIS		Totum Duplex	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 154 (Missa de Sancto Stephano)	
27-12-1540	Monday	JOHANNIS APOSTOLI ET EVANGELISTE		Totum Duplex	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 158 (Vespers)	MS 149 (Office); MS 162 (Vespers); MS 152 (Vespers and Mass)
28-12-1540	Tuesday	SANCTORUM INNOCENTII MARTIRII		Totum Duplex	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
29-12-1540	Wednesday	Thome archiepiscopi et martiris		9 lectiones	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			MS 152 (Missa Puer natus, if 25-12 was on Wednesday)
30-12-1540	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
31-12-1540	Friday	Silvestri pape et confessor		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in *Inv.* no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament	Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
01-01-1541	Saturday	CIRCUMCISIO DOMINI	Totum Duplex			7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 158 (Vespers) Vigilia Circumcision, if on Tuesday MS 158 (Vespers); MS 155 (Motet Nesciens mater virgo)	MS 162 (Vigil Circumcision)
02-01-1541	Sunday	Octava Sancti Stephani		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 149 (Vespers); MS 162 (Vespers); MS 152 (Vespers)	
03-01-1541	Monday	Octava Sancti Iohannis	Duplex		Mass Monday after Holy Innocents; Marian Lof; 5th banquet (Swan banquet)	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
04-01-1541	Tuesday	Octava Innocentium		3 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
05-01-1541	Wednesday		Vigilia		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 158 (Vespers) Vigilia Epiphany MS 152 (Vigil Epiphany)	MS 162 (Vigil Epiphany); MS 152 (Vigil Epiphany)
06-01-1541	Thursday	EPIPHANIA DOMINI	Totum Duplex		Vespers Epiphany of Our Lord; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	MS 158 (Hymnus; Vespers, if on Tuesday); MS 155 (Missa Verbum bonum); MS 152 (Motet Verbum bonum); MS 156 (Missa Fit porta christi pervia)	MS 149 (Vespers); MS 162 (Vespers); MS 152 (Vespers)
07-01-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
08-01-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			
09-01-1541	Sunday	Gudule virginis (08-01?)	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 158 (Motet Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, Sunday within Octave Epiphany)	

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in *Inv.* no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
10-01-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 176 (Holy Cross Lof chapter)
11-01-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	General memorial service ( <i>zangmaester</i> ); Holy Cross Lof 7 canonical hours; High Mass		
12-01-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
13-01-1541	Thursday	Octava Epiphanie		9 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
14-01-1541	Friday	Felicitis presbyteri et confessor		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
15-01-1541	Saturday	Macharij abbatis		Commemoratie		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
16-01-1541	Sunday	Marcelli pape et martiris		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
17-01-1541	Monday	Anthonij abbatis		3 lectiones	Marian Lof; 3 Ave Maria's	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's		
18-01-1541	Tuesday	Prisce virginis et martiris		Missa	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
19-01-1541	Wednesday	Marij et Marthe martirum		Collecta	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
20-01-1541	Thursday	Fabiani et Sebastiani martirum		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
21-01-1541	Friday	Agnettis virginis et martiris		9 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's		

1789. According to calendar in *fw*, no. 150.  
1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
22-01-1541	Saturday	Vincentij martiris		9 lectiones		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
23-01-1541	Sunday	Emerenciane et Macharij martirum		collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
24-01-1541	Monday	Timotheus apostoli		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
25-01-1541	Tuesday	CONVERSIO SANCTI PAULI	Duplex		Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
26-01-1541	Wednesday	Projecti martiris Polycarpus episcopi et martiris		Collecta Commemoratie	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
27-01-1541	Thursday	Johannis Chrisostomi episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
28-01-1541	Friday	Agnethis secundo		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
29-01-1541	Saturday	Valerij episcopi et confessor		Commemoratie		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
30-01-1541	Sunday	Aldegundis virginis		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
31-01-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
01-02-1541	Tuesday	Ignatij episcopi et martiris		3 lectiones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Brigide virginis		collecta			MS 158 (Vespers Vigil Purification)	

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1790</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony <sup>1790</sup> the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
02-02-1541	Wednesday	PURIFICATIO BEATE MARIE VIRGINIS	Totum Duplex		Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	MS 158 (Vespers); MS 152 (Motet [Laetabundus]); MS 153 and 157 (Missae Benedicta es); MS 152 (Motet Benedicta es)	MS 149 (Office); MS 162 (Office); MS 152 (Office and Mass)
03-02-1541	Thursday	Hadelini confessor		3 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
04-02-1541	Friday	Blasij episcopi et martiris Waldetrudis virgo		2 collecta 2 collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
05-02-1541	Saturday	Agathe virginis et martiris	Duplex			7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
06-02-1541	Sunday	Vedasti et Amandi episcopi et confessores		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass 3 Ave Maria's (St Dorothy)		
07-02-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
08-02-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Office Tuesday within the octave of Purification 02-02)
09-02-1541	Wednesday	Apollonie virginis et martiris		Collecta	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's		
10-02-1541	Thursday	Zotici, Herenei et Iacincti martirum		2 collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		Mass?
		Scolastice virginis		Collecta				

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in *fw*, no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
11-02-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
12-02-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
13-02-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
14-02-1541	Monday	Valentini		Missa	Marian Lof; 6th banquet	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Vitalis, Felicite et Zenonis martirum		2 collecta				
15-02-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
16-02-1541	Wednesday	Juliane virginis et martiris		collecta	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
17-02-1541	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
18-02-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
19-02-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
20-02-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
21-02-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
						Mass on Monday before Shrove Tuesday		
22-02-1541	Tuesday	CATHEDRA SANCTI PETRI		9 lectones	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony <sup>1790</sup> the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
23-02-1541	Wednesday		Vigilia		Mass; Marian Lof	Mass on Tuesday before Shrove Tuesday 7 canonical hours; High Mass		
24-02-1541	Thursday	MATHIE APOSTOLI	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
25-02-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
26-02-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
27-02-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
28-02-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
01-03-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
02-03-1541	Wednesday	Ash <i>Wednesday</i>			Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	MS 153 (Missa Super Emendemus)	
03-03-1541	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
04-03-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
05-03-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
06-03-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
07-03-1541	Monday	Perpetue et Felicitatis martirum		collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.



Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
							the Holy Sacrament	
08-03-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
09-03-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
10-03-1541	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
11-03-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
12-03-1541	Saturday	Gregorij pape et confessor	Duplex		Exequie heer ende mr Peter vanden Oudermoelen	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		MS 148 (Requiem Mass); MS 162 (Requiem Mass)
13-03-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
14-03-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
15-03-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
16-03-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
17-03-1541	Thursday	Getrudis virginis	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
18-03-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
19-03-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
20-03-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
21-03-1541	Monday	Benedicti abbatis et confessor		9 lectiones	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament	Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
22-03-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
23-03-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
24-03-1541	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
25-03-1541	Friday	ANNUNCIATIO DOMINICA	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 158 (Vespers for Vigilia Annenciation, only if on Sunday) MS 153 and 157 (Missa Benedicta es); MS 152 (Motet Benedicta es)	MS 149 (Office); MS 162 (Office); MS 152 (Office and Mass)
26-03-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			
27-03-1541	Sunday	<i>Laetare Sunday</i>			Marian Lof; 11 o'clock High Mass; 7th banquet	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
28-03-1541	Monday	Resurrectio Domini			Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
29-03-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			MS 152 (Office 3rd day after Annunciation 25-03)
30-03-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
31-03-1541	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
01-04-1541	Friday				Marian Lof; Vespers 3rd general exequie	7 canonical hours; High Mass			MS 148 (Office exequie); MS 162 (Office exequie)

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament	Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
02-04-1541	Saturday				Requiem Mass 3rd general exequie	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequie); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequie)
03-04-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
04-04-1541	Monday	Ambrosij episcopi et confessor	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
05-04-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
06-04-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
07-04-1541	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
08-04-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
09-04-1541	Saturday	Marie Egptiace	<i>Totum ? Duplex</i>		Exequie mr Frans Toelinc dean of the Confraternity	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequie); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequie)
10-04-1541	Sunday	<i>Palm Sunday</i>			Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
11-04-1541	Monday	Leonis pape et confessor		Collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
12-04-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			MS 149 (Vespers for 3rd day in the Holy Week); MS 162 (Vespers for 3rd day in the Holy Week)
13-04-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
14-04-1541	Thursday	<i>Mundy Thursday</i>			Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament	Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
		Tiburcij et Valeriani martirum		Missa					
15-04-1541	Friday	Good Friday			Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Holy Cross Lof			
16-04-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			
17-04-1541	Sunday	Easter			Marian Lof; Easter play	7 canonical hours; High Mass	MS 158 (Kyrie Paschale); MS 149 (Mass for the Easter period)		
							MS 156 (Missa Ego sum qui sum and Missa Surrexit pastor); MS 152 (Motet Virgini marie laudes)		
18-04-1541	Monday	Ursuari episcopi et confessor		Commemorative	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
19-04-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 149 (Vespers for the 3-rd day after Easter); MS 152 (Vespers for 3rd day after Easter); MS 162 (Vespers for 3rd after Easter)	
20-04-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 152 (Mass for 4th day after Easter)	
21-04-1541	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
22-04-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
23-04-1541	Saturday	Georgij martiris	Duplex			7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in Inv. no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
		Adelberti episcopi et martiris		collecta		7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		<i>Dedication of the chapel/altar</i>					MS 153 (Missa Urbis Beata)	MS 149 (Vespers); MS 152 (Vespers and Mass)
24-04-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
25-04-1541	Monday	Marci evangeliste	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; 3 Ave Maria's		MS 176 (Holy Cross Lof chapter)
		Floriberti episcopi et confessor		Collecta				
						General memorial service ( <i>zangmeister</i> ); Holy Cross Lof		
26-04-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
27-04-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
28-04-1541	Thursday	Translacio Lamberti martiris	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
		Vitalis martiris		Collecta				
29-04-1541	Friday	Petri martiris		collecta	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
30-04-1541	Saturday					High Mass; Marian Lof		
01-05-1541	Sunday	PHILIPPI ET JACOBI APOSTOLORUM	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
		Walburgis virginis		Collecta				
02-05-1541	Monday				Marian Lof; 8th banquet	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in fw, no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
03-05-1541	Tuesday	INVENCIO SANCTE CRUCIS Alexandri et sociorumque eius	Totum Duplex	2 collecta	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
04-05-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
05-05-1541	Thursday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
06-05-1541	Friday	JOHANNIS ANTE PORTAM LATINAM	Totum Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 149 (Office and Mass); MS 162 (Office); MS 152 (Office and Mass)
07-05-1541	Saturday	Domiciani episcopi et confessor		De eo ut in festo 9 lectiones		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
08-05-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
09-05-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
10-05-1541	Tuesday	Gordiani et Epymachi martyrurum		Missa	Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
11-05-1541	Wednesday	Gengulphi martiris		Commemorative	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
12-05-1541	Thursday	Nerei, Achilla et Pancracij martirum		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
13-05-1541	Friday	SERVATIUS EPISCOPI ET CONFESSOR Marie ad martires	Duplex		Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
				Collecta				

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament	Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
14-05-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			
15-05-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
16-05-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
17-05-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
18-05-1541	Wednesday				Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
19-05-1541	Thursday	Pontificiane virginis		Commemorative	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
20-05-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
21-05-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			
22-05-1541	Sunday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
23-05-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
24-05-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
25-05-1541	Wednesday	Urbani pape et martiris		Missa	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			

MS 156 (Missa Stabat mater dolorosa; feast of the Seven Sorrows of Mary)

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
26-05-1541	Thursday	<i>Ascension Day</i>			Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Holy Cross Lof	Mass?	
27-05-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
28-05-1541	Saturday	Germani episcopi et confessor		Commemorative		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
29-05-1541	Sunday	Maximiani episcopi et confessor		Commemorative	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
30-05-1541	Monday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
31-05-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
01-06-1541	Wednesday	Nycomedis martiris		Collecta	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
02-06-1541	Thursday	Marcelli et Petri martirum		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	
03-06-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		
04-06-1541	Saturday					7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof		
05-06-1541	Sunday	<i>Pentecost</i>			Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	MS 157 (Missa Jam non dicam)	
06-06-1541	Monday	Bonifacii episcopi et martiris		Commemorative				
					Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.

1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.



Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament	Polyphony <sup>1790</sup>	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
07-06-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 158 (Vespers for the week of Pentecost)	MS 162 (Vespers for 3rd day after Pentecost); MS 152 (Vespers for 3rd day after Pentecost)
08-06-1541	Wednesday	Medardi episcopi et confessor		Commemorative	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 157 (Missa Jam non dicam)	MS 152 (Mass for the 4th day after Pentecost)
09-06-1541	Thursday	Primi et Feliciani martirum		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?		
10-06-1541	Friday				Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
11-06-1541	Saturday	Barnabe apostoli		9 lectiones		7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof			
12-06-1541	Sunday	Trinity Sunday			Marian Lof	3 Ave Maria's (Eye of St Cunera) 7 canonical hours; High Mass		MS 155 (Missa de Sancta Trinitate); MS 158 (Motet Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel)	
13-06-1541	Monday			Missa		3 Ave Maria's (St Cunera)			
14-06-1541	Tuesday				Vespers; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
15-06-1541	Wednesday	Viti martiris		Collecta	Mass; Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass			
16-06-1541	Thursday	Corpus Christi			Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	4 short Vespers; Mass	MS 154 and 155 (O Salutaris hostia)	

1789. According to calendar in fw. no. 150.  
1790. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

Date	Day of the week	Feast <sup>1789</sup>	Rank <sup>1789</sup>	Kind of celebration <sup>1789</sup>	Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady accounts & archival documents	Chapter	Brotherhood of Polyphony the Holy Sacrament	Chant <sup>1790</sup>
17-06-1541	Friday				Marian Lof; Vespers 4th general exequite	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	MS 148 (Office exequite); MS 162 (Office exequite)
18-06-1541	Saturday	Marci et Marcelliani martirum		Missa	Requiem Mass 4th general exequite	7 canonical hours; High Mass; Marian Lof	Mass?	MS 148 (Requiem Mass exequite); MS 162 (Requiem Mass exequite)
19-06-1541	Sunday	Gervasij et Prothasij martirum		Missa	Marian Lof	7 canonical hours; High Mass	Mass?	

<sup>1789</sup>. According to calendar in *Inv.* no. 150.

<sup>1790</sup>. See § 6.4.11 and Appendix 13.

## Appendix 15 List of works by Gheerkin de Hondt

Title	Source	No. of voices	Edition	Recording	Remarks
<i>Masses</i>					
<i>Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 48v-52v (S, Ct) and 48v-53r (T, B)	4	Kyrie I in: De Coussemaker 1975 <sup>2</sup> , Supplement/Specimen de musique, no. 7, pp. 18-19.		Attributed 'Gheerkin de Hondt' in S and T, 'Gheerkin' in Ct and B and all indexes. Model: motet <i>Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel</i> , Johannes Lupi.
<i>Missa Ceciliaam cantate pii</i>	's-HerAB 156, fol. 113v-136r	5		Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 1 (Kyrie), 3 (Gloria), 5 (Sanctus), 7 (Agnus Dei).	Attributed 'Gheerken'. Model: motet <i>Ceciliam cantate pii</i> , Nicolaas Gombert.
<i>Missa In te Domini speravi</i>	's HerAB 156, fol. 21v-40r	5			Attributed 'Gheerken'. Model: Motet <i>In te Domine Speravi</i> , Lupus Hellinck
<i>Missa Panis quem ego dabo</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 57v-62v)	4	Van Nieuwkoop 1975.		Attributed 'Gheerkin'. Model: Motet <i>Panis quem ego dabo</i> , Lupus Hellinck.

<i>Missa Vidi Jerusalem</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 73v-77v	4		Attributed 'Gheerkin'; No Agnus Dei. Model: Motet <i>Vidi Jerusalem</i> , Anonymous.
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### Motets

<i>Benedicite Dominus</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 125v	4	Roelvink 2002, pp. 371-374.	Roelvink 2002, no. 7; Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 8.	Attributed 'Gheerkin'.
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<i>Inclina Domine aurem tuam / Quia misericordia</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 99v-100r	4		Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 6.	Attributed 'Gheerkin'.
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<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra / Laudate nomen eius</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 90v-91r	4		Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 4.	Attributed 'Gheerkin'.
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<i>Vox dicentis clama / Exsiccatum est fenum</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 47v	4		Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 2.	Attributed 'Gheerkin'.
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### Songs

<i>A vous me rends</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 134r; GdańPAN 4003, no. [II] 69 (S, Ct, T), no. 70 (B) = fol. 58v (S, T), 57v (Ct), 59r (B); 1535 <sup>8</sup> , no. 4	4	Van Maldeghem 1879, no. 29, pp. 43-44, different title ('Si je l'amais') and text.	Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 10.	Attributed 'Gheerkin' in CambraiBM 125-8; Anonymous in GdańPAN 4003; Attributed 'Adriano' [Adriaan Willaert] in 1535 <sup>8</sup> .
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<i>Contre raison pour t'aymer</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 121v	4	Van Maldeghem 1879, no. 31, pp. 47-49, different title: 'Chant de mai', different text: 'Le mois de Mai'.	Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 13.	Attributed 'Gheerkin'.
<i>D'ung parfond cueur j'ay crié</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 70r	4		Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 9.	Attributed 'Gheerkin'.
<i>Helas malheur prens tu contentement</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 119v	4	Van Maldeghem 1879, no. 30, pp. 45-46, different title ('Ton amitié') and text.	Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 15.	Attributed 'Gheerkin'.
<i>Je me reprens de vous avoir aymé</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 63r	4		Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 14.	Attributed 'Gheerkin'.
<i>Langueur d'amour m'est survenue</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 42v; GdañPAN 4003, no. [II] 65 = fol. 56v (S, T, B), 55v (Ct); Phalèse 1552 <sup>15</sup> , fol. iij	4	Van Maldeghem 1879, no. 32, pp. 49-50, different title: 'Amour du pays', different text: 'Nature à pris' (Clément Marot).	Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 12.	Attributed 'Gheerkin' in CambraiBM 125-8; Anonymous in GdañPAN 4003 and 1552 <sup>15</sup> .
<i>Mon petit cueur n'est pas à moy</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 46v; GdañPAN 4003, no. [II] 60 = fol. 54r (S, T, B), 53r (Ct)	4	Van Maldeghem 1879, no. 28, pp. 42-43, different title: 'Soeur' and first words: 'Mon pauvre coeur'.	Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 11.	Attributed 'Gheerkin' in CambraiBM 125-8; Anonymous in GdañPAN 4003.
<i>Oncques ne sceux avoir</i>	1553 <sup>24</sup> (1556 <sup>13</sup> ), fol. XIJr (S, Ct, T, B) and XIJv (QP)	5		Egidius Kwartet 2005, no. 16.	Attributed Gheerkin/Gheerken/ Geerkin/Cheerkin.

<i>Het was my van te voren gheseyt</i>	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 136r; 1551 <sup>is</sup> , fol. XIIIv	4	Facsimile edition: Schreurs/Sanders 1989. Editions: De Coussemaker 1975 <sup>2</sup> , Supplement/Specimen de musique, no. 6, pp. 15-17; Van Maldeghem 1879 no. 33, pp. 51-52, different title: 'Het bedruckte wijf'; Van Maldeghem 1889, no 2, pp. 5- 8, title: 'Lied', with piano accompaniment; Van Duyse 1908, no. 22, pp. 70-73; McTaggart 1997, no. 22, pp. 92-95.	Capilla Flamenca 1993, no. 11 (instrumental: crumhorn); Egidius Kwartet 1996, no. 3; Egidius Kwartet 2002, cd 1, no. 22.	Attributed 'Gheerkin' in CambraiBM 125-8; Attributed 'Geerhart' in Susato.
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#### Lost and doubtful works

<i>Missa Ave, Mater Christi</i> (Mass; lost)	Formerly: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale	4			Attributed 'Gheerkin' in Fétis 1862, p. 365).
<i>Dum penderet, Petrus in Cruce / Gracias ago tibi</i> (Motet)	CambraiBM 125-8, fol. 79v-80r	4	De Coussemaker 1975 <sup>2</sup> , Supplement/Specimen de musique, no. 11, pp. 27-32, Prima Pars only.		Attributed 'Gheerkin Corael' above composition, 'De Walé' in index.
<i>Ave Maria, gratia plena</i> (Motet)	Leiden 1442, fol. 65v- 66r	5	Bernet Kempers 1951-1976, volume xxi, pp. XII, 93-95.	Egidius Kwartet 2014, cd 1, no. 8.	Attributed to (1) 'Clemens non papa', (2) 'Gheerkin', (3) 'Tho. Cruquillon', (4) 'Clemens non papa'.

## Appendix 16    Texts of Gheerkin's compositions

### Mass texts<sup>1791</sup>

#### Kyrie

Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.  
Christe eleison, Christe eleison, Christe eleison.  
Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison, Kyrie eleison.

*Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy.  
Christ, have mercy, Christ, have mercy, Christ, have mercy.  
Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy.*

#### Gloria

[Gloria in excelsis Deo.] Et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis. Laudamus te. Benedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glorificamus te. Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam. Domine Deus, rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens. Domine Fili unigenite, Iesu Christe. Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus. Tu solus Dominus. Tu solus altissimus, Iesu Christe. Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

*[Glory to God in the highest,] and on earth peace to men of good will. We praise thee, we bless thee, we adore thee, we glorify thee. We give thee thanks for thy great glory. O Lord God, heavenly king, God the father almighty. O Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten son. O Lord God, lamb of God, son of the father. Who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Who takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Who sittest at the right hand of the father, have mercy on us. For thou only art holy, Thou only art Lord, Thou only, O Jesus Christ, art most high. Together with the holy ghost, in the glory of God the father. Amen.*

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<sup>1791</sup> English translation is from the Book of Common Prayer.

## **Credo**

[Credo in unum deum.] Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium, et invisibilium. Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum. Et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum De deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero. Genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis. Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine: Et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis: sub Pontio Pilato passus, et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas. Et ascendit in caelum: sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos: cuius regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum, et vivificantem: qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur, et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per Prophetas. Et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

*I believe in one God, the father, almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten son of God. Born of the father before all ages. God of God, light of light, true God of true God. Begotten not made, consubstantial with the father, by whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven. And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the virgin Mary. And was made man. He was crucified also for us, suffered under Pontius Pilate, and was buried. And the third day he rose again according to the scriptures. And ascended into heaven; he sitteth at the right hand of the father. And he shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, and his kingdom shall have no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the father and the son. Who together with the father and the son is adored and glorified. Who spoke by the prophets. And one holy catholic and apostolic church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins. And I await the resurrection of the dead. And the life of the world to come. Amen.*

## **Sanctus**

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.  
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis.  
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.

*Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts.  
Heaven and earth are filled with thy glory. Hosanna in the highest.  
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.*



## **Agnus Dei**

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere nobis.  
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere nobis.  
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: dona nobis pacem.

*Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world: have mercy on us.*  
*Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world: have mercy on us.*  
*Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world: grant us peace.*

## **Motet texts**

### **Benedicite Dominus**<sup>1792</sup>

Benedicite Dominus nos et ea quesumus sumpturi.  
Benedicat dextera christi.  
In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.  
Amen

*Bless us, o Lord, and what we are about to receive.*  
*May the right hand of Christ bless us.*  
*In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.*  
*Amen.*

### **Inclina Domine aurem tuam / Quia misericordia**<sup>1793</sup>

[Prima Pars]

Inclina Domine aurem tuam et exaudi me: quoniam inops et pauper sum ego.  
Miserere mei Domine, quoniam ad te clamavi tota die: laetifica animam servi tui,  
quoniam ad te Domine animam meam levavi.  
Quoniam tu Domine suavis et mitis: et multae misericordiae omnibus invocantibus te.  
Auribus percipe Domine orationem meam: et intende voci deprecationis meae.

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<sup>1792</sup> English translation based on the Dutch translation by Dr. Jan Bloemendal for Roelvink 2002, p. 176.

<sup>1793</sup> Psalm 85; Gheerkin has altered the text and omitted some verses. Translation after *The Holy Bible*, Douay 1609 (Douay-Rheims Bible).

*Incline thy ear, O Lord, and hear me: for I am needy and poor.  
Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I have cried to thee all the day:  
Give joy to the soul of thy servant, for to thee, O Lord, I have lifted up my soul.  
For thou, O Lord, art sweet and mild: and plenteous in mercy to all that call upon thee.  
Give ear, O Lord, to my prayer: and attend to the voice of my petition.*

[Secunda pars]

Quia misericordia tua magna est super me.  
Et redemisti servum tuum de manu inimici.  
Ideo confitebor tibi Domine: in toto corde meo et glorificabo nomen tuum in eternum.  
Quoniam tu Domine miserator et misericors patiens et multe misericordie et verax.  
Respice et miserere mei da imperium servo tuo et salvum fac filium ancille tue.  
Fac mecum signum in bonum ut videant qui oderunt me et confundantur,  
Quoniam tu Domine adiuvisisti me et consolatus es me.  
Inclina Domine aurem tuam et exaudi me quoniam inops et pauper sum ego.

*For thy mercy is great towards me.  
And thou hast redeemed thy servant from the hands of his enemies.  
I will praise thee, O Lord: with my whole heart, and I will glorify thy name for ever.  
For thou, O Lord, art a God of compassion, and merciful, patient, and of much mercy, and true.  
O look upon me, and have mercy on me: give thy command to thy servant, and save the son of  
thy handmaid.  
Shew me a token for good: that they who hate me may see, and be confounded, because thou, O  
Lord, hast helped me and hast comforted me.  
Incline thy ear, O Lord, and hear me: for I am needy and poor.*

### **Jubilare Deo omnis terra**<sup>1794</sup>

[Prima pars]

Jubilare Deo omnis terra: servite Domino in letitia.  
Introite in conspectu eius, in exultatione.  
Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus: ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos.  
Populus eius, et oves pascue eius: introite portas eius in confessione, atria eius in hymnis:  
confitemini illi.

*Sing joyfully to God, all the earth: serve ye the Lord with gladness.  
Come in before his presence with exceeding great joy.  
Know ye that the Lord he is God: he made us, and not we ourselves.  
We are his people and the sheep of his pasture: go ye into his gates with praise, into his courts  
with hymns: and give glory to him.*

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<sup>1794</sup> Psalm 99. Translation after *The Holy Bible*, Douay 1609 (Douay-Rheims Bible).

[Secunda pars]

Laudate nomen eius: quoniam suavis est Dominus, in eternum misericordia eius, et usque in generationem et generationem veritas eius.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in secula seculorum.

Amen.

*Praise ye his name: for the Lord is sweet, his mercy endureth for ever, and his truth to generation and generation.*

*Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost.*

*As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end.*

*Amen.*

**Vox dicentis clama / Exsiccatum est fenum**<sup>1795</sup>

[Prima pars]

Vox dicentis: Clama. Et dixi: Quid clamabo?

Omnis caro fenum, et omnis gloria eius quasi flos agri.

Exsiccatum est fenum, et cecidit flos: quia spiritus Domini sufflavit in eo.

Vere fenum est populus:

*The voice of one, saying: Cry. And I said: What shall I cry?*

*All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field.*

*The grass is withered, and the flower is fallen, because the spirit of the Lord hath blown upon it.*

*Indeed the people is grass.*

[Secunda pars]

Exsiccatum est fenum, et cecidit flos:

Verbum autem Domini manet in eternum

*The grass is withered, and the flower is fallen:*

*But the word of our Lord endureth for ever.*

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<sup>1795</sup> Isaiah 40:6-8. Translation after *The Holy Bible*, Douay 1609 (Douay-Rheims Bible).

## Chanson texts<sup>1796</sup>

### A vous me rends

A vous me rends comme celle du monde  
en qui beaulté et grace plus habonde  
pour serviteur tant que la vie dure.  
Ne me soyez, je vous supplie, si dure  
veu qu'en vous mains tout mon espoir se fonde.

*I yield myself to you, as to the one  
In whom, in this world, beauty and grace most abound,  
To be your servant as long as life endures.  
Do not be so hard on me, I beg you,  
Since all my hope is placed in your hands.*

### Contre raison pour t'aymer

Contre raison pour t'aymer je deffine,  
quant ta beaulté par ung reffuz indigne  
m'a sur le camp presque mort abatu.  
O cueur ingrat de beaulté revestu,  
fault il que grace en ton endroit decline?

*Against reason, in loving you I waste away,  
Because your beauty, through an unworthy rejection,  
has suddenly struck me almost dead.  
O ungrateful heart attired in beauty,  
Must mercy give way in your place?*

First and last strophe of a rondeau by Jean Marot:<sup>1797</sup>

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<sup>1796</sup> The chansons and Dutch song were the subject of my master's thesis, which I completed in 1995. I made the translations of the French chanson texts together with Dr. René Stuij, at the time researcher in French literature and medieval culture at Utrecht University, who also helped me solve some linguistic problems. The translations from then formed the basis for the English translations, which were edited and refined by Dr. Bonnie Blackburn.

<sup>1797</sup> Complete text taken from Coustelier 1970, p. 241.

Contre raison pour t'aymer je deffine,  
quant ta beaulté par ung reffuz indigne  
m'a sur le camp presque mort abbatu.  
O cueur ingrat de beaulté revestu,  
fault-il que grace en ton endroit decline?

Je voy que l'eau par temps le marbre myne,  
le fer par feu s'amollist et affine,  
mais envers toy j'ay peine et temps perdu,  
contre raison pour t'aymer je deffine,  
quant ta beaulté par ung reffuz indigne.

Car feu d'amour qui brusle ma poitrine,  
l'eau de mes yeulx que douleur rend et fine,  
de te dompter n'ont aucune vertu.  
Voila comment marbre et fer passes tu  
en grant durté, qui le tien cueur domine.

Contre raison pour t'aymee je deffine,  
quant ta beaulté par ung reffuz indigne,  
m'a sur le camp presque mort abbattu.  
O cueur ingrat, de beaulté revestu!  
fault-il que grace en ton endroit decline?

### **D'ung profond cueur j'ay cryé**

D'ung profond cueur j'ay cryé a toy Sire  
escoutes donc de moy la voyx piteuse  
en te pryant que ouyr ainsy desire  
mon orayson flebile et doloieuse,  
car envers toy est gramment copieuse  
misericorde et pitye fort exquisite.  
Sy requiers donc la grace [bieneureuse]<sup>1798</sup>  
Que paradis soyt mon ame requisse.

*From the depths of my heart, I have cried out to you, o Lord;  
Hear my piteous voice.  
I beg you that you will listen to  
My weak and sorrowful prayer.  
For there is great mercy in you  
And most precious pity.*

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<sup>1798</sup> The word *bieneureuse* was suggested by Dr. R.E.V. Stuip.

*Thus, I ask for your blessed grace,  
That my soul may acquire Paradise.*

### **Helas malheur prens tu contentement**

Helas! malheur, prens tu contentement  
de me voir ainsy apertement  
languir en deul et morir en venant?  
Pour quoy, helas! me vient tu poursuivant  
si tu ne veulx de vie mon partement?  
Helas! malheur, prens tu contentement ...

*Alas, o unhappiness, do you enjoy  
Seeing me so obviously  
Languish in pain and die, when you arrive.  
Why, alas, do you pursue me  
If you do not want me to quit this life?  
Alas, o unhappiness, do you enjoy...*

### **Je me reprens de vous avoir aymee**

Je me reprens de vous avoir aymee  
Puisqu'autrement n'avés voulu mon bien  
oncques en vous vi(e) n'avez volu riens fayre  
ne vostre cueur n'a voulu tayre  
chose qui fut au gré de ma pensee.

*I hold it against myself that I have loved you,  
for you have never demonstrated any friendly intentions towards me.  
Not a single moment in your life have you done anything.  
Your heart only wanted to keep silent  
Anything that freely met my thoughts.*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12744:<sup>1799</sup>

Je me repens de vous avoir amée,  
puisque aultrement n'avez voullu mon bien,  
et que jamès ne vousistes en rien  
chose qui soit au gré de ma pensée.

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<sup>1799</sup> From: Paris/Gevaert 1965, pp. 26-27.

*I hold it against myself that I have loved you,  
for you have never demonstrated any friendly intentions towards me.  
And because you never at all want anything,  
That meets my thoughts.*

Je vous tenoye sur toute femme née  
la plus parfaicte, mais je voy maintenant  
qu'il vous faudra nommer totalement  
la sans mercy: c'est male renommée.

Hé! Dieu, héllas! que fera ma pensée  
ce temps d'esté, ce mois de may qui vient?  
Reconfortez le povre languissant,  
Las! qui ne scet ou est sa mieulx amée.

Vray dieu d'amors, qui savez ma pensée,  
Je vous supply et requiers humblement  
que devant vous soit fait le jugement  
d'elle et de moy qui a sa foy faulcée.

Et si j'ay tort, sentence soit donnée  
encontre moy le plus cruellement,  
et condempné sois perpetuellement  
en une tour obscure et bien fermée.

Héllas! ma dame, tant vous ay désirée,  
non point en mal mais tousjours en tout bien!  
J'ay trop aymé ce qui n'estoit pas mien:  
plus saignement me tiendray l'autre année.

C'est grant folleur a creature née  
mectre son cueur en ce qui n'est pas sien:  
l'un jour s'en va et puis l'autre revient;  
amours s'en vont comme fait la rousée.

Manuscript *Rohan*:<sup>1800</sup>

Je me repans de vous avoir amee,  
pays quautrement naves voulu mon bien,  
et que jamais ne voules faire rien  
chose qui soit au gre de ma pensee.

Je puy bien, las, mauldire la journee  
quoncques jamay ce quil nestoit pas mien.  
Je me repans ...

Et de par dieu, sestoit ma destinee,  
pays que lie me suys en ce lien;  
je ne voy tour en mon fait ne moyen  
quil ne faille que disse a la volee:  
Je me repens de vous avoir amee ...

*Le Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rhétorique*<sup>1801</sup>

Je me repens de vous avoir aymee  
puisqu' autrement n'avez voulu mon bien  
et que jamais ne voulez faire rien  
aumoins qui soit au gré de ma pensee

Las je voy bien mauldire la journee  
duoncques jamay ce qui nestoit pas mien  
Je me repens etc.

Et de par dieu cestoit ma destinee  
puis que lie me suis en ce lien  
je ne voy tout en mon fait ne moyen  
quil ne faille que die a la volee  
Je me repens etc.

*S'Ensuyvent seize belles chansons nouvelles dont les noms s'ensuyvent;*  
*S'ensuyvent dixsept belles chansons nouvelles dont les noms s'ensuyvent;*  
*La Fleur des chansons. Les grans chansons nouvelles qui sont en nombre Cent et dix:*<sup>1802</sup>

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<sup>1800</sup> From: Löpelmann 1923, p. 251.

<sup>1801</sup> From: Droz/Piaget 1968, volume 1, fol. lxxvii.

<sup>1802</sup> From: Jeffery 1971, pp. 236-237.



Je me repens de vous avoir aymée,  
puis qu'aultrement n'avez voulu mon bien,  
et que jamais vous ne my feistes rien  
chose qui fust au gré de ma pensée.

Long temps y a que je vous ay aymée,  
cuidant tousjours garder vostre renom;  
mais bien sçavez envers les compaignons  
vous excuser; vous ny valez qu'à faire la buée.

Impossible est à creature née  
de tant aymer chose qui n'est pas sien;  
quant l'ung s'en va, subit l'autre revient;  
amours s'en vont comme fait la rousée.

Juge loyal qui sçavez ma pensée,  
je vous supplie et requiers humblement  
que envers m'amy faciez appointement  
assavoir mon: s'el a sa foy faulcée.

Vuidez dehors, orde vieille rusée,  
on cognoist bien à vostre abillement  
que rien ne faictes si n'avez de l'argent,  
mais pour argent fournirez une armée.

S'il advenoit que fussiez attrapée  
de la gorre si tres amerement  
que l'on vous dit: 'Ma dame, aleez vous en,  
allez ailleurs humer vostre purée'.

Response:<sup>1803</sup>

Ne te repens de m'avoir trop aymée,  
car plus qu'à moy je desire ton bien,  
et ne te fis oncques refus de rien;  
par maintz bons tours t'ay monstré ma pensée.

Amy, à tort je suis de toy blasmée;  
si à ton plaisir ne puis trouver moyen,  
je n'en puis mais: hélas, tu le scez bien:  
car jour et nuit suis sans cesse espiée.

---

<sup>1803</sup> Jeffery 1971, p. 241.

Pense à l'ennuy que j'ay d'estre enfermée  
dans la mison où Rigueur me detien!  
Mais maulgré tout mon cueur si se dit tien,  
faire avec toy tousjours sa demourée.  
Si par espoir n'estois reconfortée,  
La mort pieça m'aroit mis à neant.  
Comme l'oyseau qui [sic] dedans la cage on detien,  
Voys espient pour faire une eschapée.

Repen toy doncques de me veoir malheuree,  
Las, repen toy de mon piteux maintien,  
Et ne te plains si amours nous entretien,  
Puis que c'est moy qui suis la plus grevée.

#### **Langueur d'amour m'est survenue**

Langueur d'amour m'est survenue  
par trop avoir getté la vue  
sur la plus belle que cognoisse;  
il ne luy chault de mon angoisse.  
Et sy voy bien qu'elle me tue.

*The pangs of love have come upon me  
After having gazed too often  
On the fairest woman I know;  
She is unmoved by my anguish  
And thus I see that she destroys me.*

#### **Mon petit cueur**

Mon petit cueur n'est pas a moy,  
il est a vous ma doulce amye,  
mais d'une chose je vous prie,  
le vostre amour, gardez le moy.

*My little heart is no longer mine,  
It is yours, my sweet friend;  
I beg but one thing of you:  
Keep your love for me!*

*Manuscrit de Bayeux*<sup>1804</sup>

Hellas, mon cueur n'est pas à moy,  
il est à vous, ma douce amye;  
mais d'une chose je vous prie:  
c'est vostre amour, gardez le moy.

Bien heureux seroye sur ma foy,  
se vous tenoys en ma chambrette  
dessus mon lict ou ma couchette,  
plus heureux seroys que le roy.

Faulx envyeux parlent de moy  
disant: de deulx j'en aymes une.  
De cest une j'ayme chacune  
plus qu'on ne pence sur ma foy.

Je vous supply, pardonnez moy,  
et ne mettez en oubliette  
celuy qui la chanson a faicte  
a l'ombre d'ung coupeau da moy.

### **Oncques ne sceu avoir**

Oncques ne sceu avoir si bone grace  
d'elle que j'ay tant loyallement<sup>1805</sup> servy;  
en regardant son beau maintien et face  
souventes fois le cueur m'est affoybly.  
Or doncques, puis que suis mis en oubly,  
je diray bien que soubz tres belle face  
se tient ung cueur ingrat et endurcy,  
plus dur qu'acier et plus froid que la glace.

*I have never received such good grace  
Of her, whom I served so loyally;  
When gazing on her beautiful appearance and face  
My heart has turned weak many times.  
Now, since I have been banished from her thoughts,  
I will say that beneath that fair face*

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<sup>1804</sup> From: Gérold 1921, p. 2.

<sup>1805</sup> Dr. Stuij pointed out to me that originally probably an older form of *loyallement* (*loyaument*) was used, because of the number of syllables in the other lines.

*Hides an ungrateful and insensitive heart,  
Harder than steel and colder than ice.*

**Het was my van te voren gheseyt**

Het was my van te voren gheseyt,  
dat hy was van slutzsaerts bende.  
Zyn spel my nu niet langher en greyt  
int beginsel noch int eynde.  
Waer ick my keere, waer ick my wende,  
myn man en is niet wel mijn vrient.  
Ey oudt grysaert, dat ick u noyt en kende,  
want ghy en hebt niet dat my dient.

*It was said to me beforehand  
That he belonged to the old geezer's club.  
His game now no longer pleases me  
From beginning to end.  
Wherever I turn, wherever I veer,  
My husband is really not my friend.  
'Hey, old graybeard, I wish I had never met you,  
Because you do not have what serves my needs.'*  
(translation: McTaggart 1997, p. xxxii)

*Antwerps Liedboek*<sup>1806</sup>

'Den winter comt aen, den mey is uut,  
Die bloemkens en staen niet meer int groene,  
Die nachten zijn lanc door des winters vertuyt.  
Nu lust mi wel wat nieuws te doene,  
Mijn jonghe juecht is nu in saysoene!  
Mijn man en is niet wel mijn vrient:  
Ey, out grisaert, al sliapt ghi totter noene,  
Ghi en hebt niet dat mi dient!

Het was mi van tevoren gheseyt,  
Dat ghi waert van slutzsaerts bende;  
U spel mi oock niet en ghereyt,  
Int beghinsel noch int eynde.  
Waer ick mi keere oft wende,

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<sup>1806</sup> Van der Poel/Geirnaert/Joldersma/Oosterman/Grijp 2004, volume 1, pp. 26-27.

Mijn man en is niet wel mijn vriend:  
Ey, out grijsaert, dat ic u oeyt kende,  
Want ghi en hebt niet dat mi dient!

Vermaledijt so moeten si zijn,  
Die dat houwelijc van hem voortbrochte:  
Het schoon coluer, den reynen maechdom mijn,  
Dat die griecke aen mi verlochte!  
Mi en rocx, hoe ick van hem gerochte;  
Mijn man en is niet wel mijn vriend:  
Ey, out grysaert, dat vlees ic te dier cochte,  
Want ghi en hebt niet dat mi dient!

'En weent niet meer, mijn soete lief,  
Ick hebbe genoech voor u behagen!  
Silver ende gout, van als u gherief,  
Daertoe bereyt u levedaghen.  
Van mi en hebby dan niet te claghen.  
Ghi zegt, ic en ben niet wel u vriend...'  
'Ey, out grisaert, dat beenken moetty knagen,  
Want ghe en hebt niet dat mi dient!

Had ic pampier, schoon parkement,  
Penne ende inct, ick schreve daerinne  
Aen die liefste prince bekent,  
Dat hi soude comen tot zijn vriendinne  
Dien ic met goeder herten beminne.  
Want mijn man en is niet wel mijn vriend:  
Ey, out grisaert, al soudi daerom ontsinnen,  
Ic heb een ander liefken die mi dient!

## Appendix 17

## Sections in Gheerkin's Masses

<b>Missa</b>	<b>Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel</b> à 4 (S/Ct/T/B) Model: Lupi Source: CambraiBM 125-8	<b>Ceciliam cantate pii</b> à 5 (S/Ct/T1/T2/B) Model: Gombert Source: 's-HerAB 156	<b>In te Domine speravi</b> à 5 (S/S2/Ct/T/B) Model: Hellinck Source: 's-HerAB 156	<b>Panis quem ego dabo</b> à 4 (S/Ct/T/B) Model: anonymous Source: CambraiBM 125-8	<b>Vidi Jerusalem</b> à 4 (S/Ct/T/B) Model: anonymous Source: CambraiBM 125-8
<b>Kyrie</b>	Kyrie Christe Kyrie	Kyrie Christe à 3 (Ct/T/B) Kyrie	Kyrie Christe Kyrie	Kyrie Christe Kyrie	Kyrie Christe Kyrie
<b>Gloria</b>	Et in terra pax Qui tollis	Et in terra pax Domine Deus Agnus Dei à 3 Qui tollis	Et in terra pax Domine Deus Agnus Dei à 3 (S/S2/T) Qui tollis	Et in terra pax Qui tollis	Et in terra pax Qui tollis
<b>Credo</b>	Patrem omnipotentem Et incarnatus est Crucifixus Et resurrexit Et in spiritum sanctum	Patrem omnipotentem Et incarnatus est Crucifixus à 3 (S/S2/T) Et resurrexit à 3 (Ct/T/B) Et iterum venturus est à 3 (S/Ct/T) Et in spiritum sanctum	Patrem omnipotentem Et incarnatus est Crucifixus à 3 (S/S2/T) Et resurrexit à 3 (Ct/T/B) Et in spiritum sanctum	Patrem omnipotentem Et incarnatus est Crucifixus Et resurrexit	Patrem omnipotentem Et incarnatus est Crucifixus Et resurrexit
<b>Sanctus</b>	Sanctus Pleni sunt celi à 2 (T/B) Hosanna Benedictus à 3 (Ct/T/B)	Sanctus Pleni sunt celi à 2 (S/T) Hosanna Benedictus à 3 (Ct/T/B)	Sanctus Pleni sunt celi à 2 (S/S2) Hosanna Benedictus à 3 (Ct/T/B)	Sanctus Pleni sunt celi à 3 (S/Ct/B) Hosanna Benedictus à 3 (Ct/T/B)	Sanctus Pleni sunt celi à 2 (S/Ct) Hosanna Benedictus à 3 (Ct/T/B)
<b>Agnus Dei</b>	Agnus Dei I	Agnus Dei I (music = Kyrie I)	Agnus Dei I à 6 (S/S2/Ct/T/B1/B2)	Agnus Dei I Agnus Dei II à 3 (S/Ct/B) Agnus Dei III à 5 (S/Ct/T1/T2/B); T1 and T2 in canon	No Agnus Dei

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## Curriculum vitae

**Véronique Roelvink** (Amsterdam 1970) finished her pre-university education in 1988 at the Dr. Mollercollege in Waalwijk. She received her master's degree in Musicology from Utrecht University in 1995. In 2007 she completed a course in publishing at VOB|Boek Academie in Amsterdam.

Her master's thesis on Gheerkin de Hondt's songs received the award of the best thesis in the year 1994/95 in the Faculty of Humanities of Utrecht University. Research on Gheerkin de Hondt brought her to the archives of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in 's-Hertogenbosch, which lead to several articles and a book: *Gegeven den sangeren*.

*Meerstemmige muziek bij de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch in de zestiende eeuw* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 2002). She was then asked by the confraternity to write a small booklet on its history, as a guide to the Museum Het Zwanenbroedershuis (2003). In 2005 a CD with Gheerkin's chansons, motets and four parts of the *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii* was released by the Egidius Kwartet, for which she transcribed the music and wrote the liner notes. *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* was the subject of an article published in 2009.

Véronique Roelvink has always combined her scholarly research with a fulltime job outside the university. She has worked for several organisations and companies in different fields, among others as executive assistant, policy maker, project manager, editor and publisher, both as employee and as entrepreneur.