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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.²¹³ 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.²¹⁴ 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.²¹⁵ 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.²¹⁶

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 1521,²¹⁷ referring to a *manuaal* (manual), containing receipts and expenditure from the *zeven-getijdenmeesters*.²¹⁸ The text,

²¹³ Weve 1979. See especially volume II: Afbeeldingen, illustrations 163-180.

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

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

²¹⁶ 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.

²¹⁷ Bank 1940, p. 52.

²¹⁸ 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.²¹⁹ The book containing the previous years is missing, so we do not know who preceded Gheerkin and when this predecessor left.²²⁰ However, the manuscript mentioning Gheerkin's appointment starts at St Martin's Day 1520 (11 November)²²¹ 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.²²² 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.²²³

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

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).

²¹⁹ See Appendix 3, 1521, 3 June. The translation runs as follows: 'On the 3rd 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.

²²⁰ 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.

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

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

²²³ 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:²²⁴

- fol. 49r: meester Jan vander Biest (Boest), appointed 13 April 1524;²²⁵
- fol. 49v: Goeswijn Anthonisz., appointed 21 August 1524.²²⁶

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.²²⁷ 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.²²⁸ 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.

²²⁴ See Appendix 4 and also Vente 1980, pp. 87-88.

²²⁵ Vente incorrectly gives the date April 1525.

²²⁶ 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).

²²⁷ 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).

²²⁸ 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* '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*).²²⁹ 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*.²³⁰ 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.²³¹ 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.²³²

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.²³³

²²⁹ GAD 435, Inv. no. 156, fol. XLVIJr.

²³⁰ 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.

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

²³² 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.

²³³ 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.²³⁴ 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.²³⁵ 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*).²³⁶ The choirboys sang the upper voices, the bass singers the lowest ones and the *hoechconters* and *hoechtenoren* the middle voices.²³⁷ 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.²³⁸ 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

²³⁴ GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. XLIXr.

²³⁵ GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. XLIXv.

²³⁶ 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).

²³⁷ See on this theme Roelvink 2002, p. 64.

²³⁸ See § 2.4.

1520 and 1524, the number of seven to eight will still be right.²³⁹ 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.²⁴⁰

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.²⁴¹ The *zeven-getijdenmeesters* wanted the boys to look decent, since they yearly paid a *barbier* (hairdresser) to 'shave' the boys.²⁴² 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.²⁴³ 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.²⁴⁴

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 1554.²⁴⁵ 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.²⁴⁶ 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.

²³⁹ See Appendix 4.

²⁴⁰ GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. XLVJr up to and including fol. XLVJv.

²⁴¹ See Appendix 4.

²⁴² 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)

²⁴³ See Appendix 4, Adriaen Hubrechtsz.

²⁴⁴ 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.

²⁴⁵ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186.

²⁴⁶ 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 1530.²⁴⁷ 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 1532.²⁴⁸ 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.²⁴⁹ The same document mentions a payment for the bell tolling for *Grietgen meester Cornelis Artz. huysvrouw (his wife) in die groote spiegel*.²⁵⁰ 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 1556.²⁵¹ The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns the portrait of this man, entitled 'Cornelis Arentsz. van der Dussen (1481-1556). Secretaris van Delft sedert 1536'.²⁵² The house De Spiegel (or

²⁴⁷ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, folio LXXXI(c)r.

²⁴⁸ 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.

²⁴⁹ GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, title page.

²⁵⁰ GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. CXVr.

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

²⁵² 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.²⁵³ Meester Cornelis Arendszoon is also mentioned in a tax book of 1543, even twice.²⁵⁴ 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.²⁵⁵ 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*.²⁵⁶ This is double the amount a regular singer received.²⁵⁷ 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

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

²⁵³ Van der Beek 2008, p. 6.

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

²⁵⁵ 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.

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

²⁵⁷ 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.²⁵⁸ 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 1531.²⁵⁹

Hansselmus van Maistrycht is also mentioned on a piece of scrap paper, together with a certain Wouter, *meester* Gerrit and *meester* Willem.²⁶⁰ 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.²⁶¹ 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.

²⁵⁸ See Appendix 3, 1530, between August 1530 and February 1532.

²⁵⁹ 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.

²⁶⁰ 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.

²⁶¹ 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.²⁶² 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.²⁶³ Only once there are six boys, at Christmas 1531, the sixth boy must have been a guest.²⁶⁴ 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*.²⁶⁵

Like the choirboys, the adult singers also got paid extra for singing at the feasts of Easter, Pentecost and Christmas.²⁶⁶ A singer received 3 *stuivers* per feast extra, and a choirmaster was paid double the amount (6 *stuivers*).²⁶⁷ 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.²⁶⁸ 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

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

²⁶³ 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.

²⁶⁴ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. XCr.

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

²⁶⁶ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXIXr.

²⁶⁷ 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.

²⁶⁸ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cr up to and including fol. CJv.

Hondt).²⁶⁹ 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.²⁷⁰ He did, however, get paid extra on the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and All Saints' Day, for singing the seven canonical hours.²⁷¹

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.²⁷² 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.²⁷³ 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'.²⁷⁴ 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

²⁶⁹ 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*.

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

²⁷¹ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXVIIJr.

²⁷² 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.).

²⁷³ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. Cv.

²⁷⁴ 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.²⁷⁵

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.²⁷⁶ 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,

²⁷⁵ 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.

²⁷⁶ 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.²⁷⁷

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.²⁷⁸ 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).²⁷⁹ 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.²⁸⁰ 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').²⁸¹ We are not informed

²⁷⁷ 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.*

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

²⁷⁹ Respectively GAD 435, Inv. no. 156 and Inv. no. 178. GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. XCIII^r 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.

²⁸⁰ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. XXII^r onwards.

²⁸¹ GAD 435, Inv. no. 156, fol. XLIX^v, 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.²⁸² ‘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 1456.²⁸³ 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

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.

²⁸² Verhoeven 1993b, pp. 166-168 and 172-173.

²⁸³ 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.²⁸⁴ 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.²⁸⁵ 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.²⁸⁶ 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 1460.²⁸⁷ 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'²⁸⁸ 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',²⁸⁹ 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.

²⁸⁴ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXIIIJr.

²⁸⁵ GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXVr.

²⁸⁶ GAD 435, Inv. no. 155, p. [146].

²⁸⁷ GAD 435, Inv. no. 160.

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

²⁸⁹ 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*.²⁹⁰ A *gulden mis* ('golden mass') was celebrated in many places in the Low Countries.²⁹¹ 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.²⁹² The first reference in the manual of the celebration of a *gulden mis* in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft dates from 1520.²⁹³ The manual mentions the *gulden misse figuyrlie gesongen ende gespeelt van de bootschap onser liever vrouwen* (the Annunciation of Our Lady was sung and played, probably in polyphony),²⁹⁴ *mit personage* (with 'pageants').²⁹⁵ The manual only gives us the total amounts that remained after all the costs were deducted, but no specification is given.²⁹⁶ 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.²⁹⁷ Van Bleyswijck clearly had access to a foundation charter that now has been lost.²⁹⁸ A year is not mentioned, but it is safe to assume that either

²⁹⁰ 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^e xx.*

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

²⁹² See § 5.5.3.4.

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

²⁹⁴ GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. XCVr. The meaning of the word 'figuyrlie' remains uncertain: according to the Dutch medieval dictionary (Verdam 1994) 'figuyrlie' 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.

²⁹⁵ GAD 435, Inv. no. 150, fol. XCVIv.

²⁹⁶ 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).

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

²⁹⁸ 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.²⁹⁹

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.³⁰⁰ 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.³⁰¹ 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

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.

²⁹⁹ Van Berckel 1904, pp. 103-105.

³⁰⁰ 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.

³⁰¹ 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 a 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.³⁰² A bookbinder called Jan Janszo. was paid 8 Flemish *schellingen* on Ascension Day 1526 to bind the book.³⁰³ And *zangmeester* Jan was paid 5 Flemish *schellingen* to correct the new book.³⁰⁴ 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.³⁰⁵

Besides these references, we have already seen that a part of an Easter play has been preserved.³⁰⁶ 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 1450.³⁰⁷

More chant was already mentioned by Jan Bank in 1940.³⁰⁸ 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 manuscript³⁰⁹ and (4) a calendar from 1562.³¹⁰ 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

³⁰² 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).

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

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

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

³⁰⁶ See § 2.4. GAD 435, Inv. no. 216.

³⁰⁷ GAD 435, Inv. no. 213.

³⁰⁸ Bank 1939b, pp. 287-288 and Bank 1940, pp. 31-32.

³⁰⁹ 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.

³¹⁰ 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.³¹¹ 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.³¹²

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.

³¹¹ Goudriaan 2004, p. 170.

³¹² 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).