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Title: Gheerkin de Hondt : a singer-composer in the sixteenth-century Low Countries

Issue Date: 2015-06-24

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.⁴¹⁸ 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.⁴¹⁹ Furthermore, there is a plan by Jacob van Deventer, commissioned by Philip II of Spain and dated in the 1560s.⁴²⁰ 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 1562.⁴²¹ 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.⁴²² Since many

⁴¹⁸ 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)).

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

⁴²⁰ Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, p. 15.

⁴²¹ Ryckaert 1991, volume 2, p. 10.

⁴²² 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.⁴²³

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.⁴²⁴ 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.⁴²⁵ 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 1536.⁴²⁶ 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 33-35.⁴²⁷ The houses of these painters were positioned in the rich part of

⁴²³ 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 Cambyzes (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 Ommējaeghere 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).

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

⁴²⁵ 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).

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

⁴²⁷ 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 1532.⁴²⁸ 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.⁴²⁹ 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).⁴³⁰ 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.⁴³¹

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*.⁴³² Another mention of Gheeraert de Hondt *zangmeester* is to be

⁴²⁸ 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.

⁴²⁹ I will return to this charter below, § 5.5.

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

⁴³¹ 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.

⁴³² 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. CLIIJr (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.⁴³³ 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*.⁴³⁴

A curious payment to the bass singer Sybrant Hoijswaeghen 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.⁴³⁵

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.⁴³⁶ 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 1532.⁴³⁷ According to the resolution book, a certain Claudius Joore from Béthune was

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 Jaqueline vanden Poele). See Appendix 3 and Appendix 8.

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

⁴³⁴ 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).

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

⁴³⁶ RAB 88, No. 21.

⁴³⁷ 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 1532.⁴³⁸ 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.⁴³⁹ We know that Gheerkin de Hondt started his work as *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch on 31 December 1539.⁴⁴⁰ 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 1540.⁴⁴¹ 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.⁴⁴² 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.⁴⁴³ However, if we indeed have to do with Gheerkin de Hondt, there is another interesting aspect on this case. Since

⁴³⁸ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2v.

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

⁴⁴⁰ See § 7.1.

⁴⁴¹ 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 Cornebittere 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*.

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

⁴⁴³ 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.⁴⁴⁴ 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).⁴⁴⁵ Assuming Gheerkin's first position as *zangmeester* was in Delft, in June 1521, we may estimate his year of birth around 1495.⁴⁴⁶

The name De Hondt was a current name in Bruges in the sixteenth century.⁴⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁴⁸ 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

⁴⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁴⁶ 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 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.

⁴⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁴⁸ 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,⁴⁴⁹ others refer to the children of Gheeraert de *zangmeester* or just *de sancmeester*.⁴⁵⁰ 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.⁴⁵¹ 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.⁴⁵² 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 Mattheus⁴⁵³ – 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

⁴⁴⁹ 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.

⁴⁵⁰ 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.

⁴⁵¹ 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.

⁴⁵² See for the references on this Gheeraert de Hondt Appendix 6.

⁴⁵³ 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.⁴⁵⁴ 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 family⁴⁵⁵

Zangmeester Gheeraert de Hondt is mentioned in the accounts of the Sint-Jacobskerk as 'filius Jac.', son of Jacob.⁴⁵⁶ 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.⁴⁵⁷ In the last foundation the scribe of the church accounts refers to Jacob's profession as *tegheldecker* twice.⁴⁵⁸ 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.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁴ 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.

⁴⁵⁵ 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.

⁴⁵⁶ 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.

⁴⁵⁷ These foundations will be discussed in § 5.5.3 and § 5.7.

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

⁴⁵⁹ 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 1544.⁴⁶⁰ 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.⁴⁶¹ 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: Francois, Magdaleene and Jooris, the last one also being a *tegheldecker*. Francois 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.⁴⁶² Their names are used in diminutive form, Franskin and Magdaleenekin, to indicate they were still minors.⁴⁶³ This means that Gheerkin de Hondt had at least two brothers and a sister.⁴⁶⁴ 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 Francois, 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

⁴⁶⁰ See Appendix 6.

⁴⁶¹ 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.

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

⁴⁶³ 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.

⁴⁶⁴ The age difference between Gheerkin and Francois 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 *tegheldecker* 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 *tegheldecker* work for the city of Bruges from at least the year 1509/10 (and probably before that) up to and including the year 1513/14.⁴⁶⁵ 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 1472.⁴⁶⁶

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.⁴⁶⁷ 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)⁴⁶⁸ 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 Willemynne filia Claeys Hollebout who was his widow shortly before 5 May 1552.

⁴⁶⁵ See on this Cornelis de Hondt Appendix 6, Cornelis de Hondt II.

⁴⁶⁶ See Cornelis de Hondt I in Appendix 6.

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

⁴⁶⁸ 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.⁴⁶⁹ 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).⁴⁷⁰ 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.⁴⁷¹ 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.⁴⁷² Even in the 1530s the city accounts are yearly mentioning the names of those who had their straw roofs replaced by tile ones.⁴⁷³ The Bruges *tegheldeckers* had their own chapel in the church of Sint-Salvator.⁴⁷⁴ Their house was in the part of town called Sint-Niclaaszestendeel, *up Sint-Joris* (probably the Sint-Jorisstraat).⁴⁷⁵ 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.⁴⁷⁶

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.⁴⁷⁷ Although it seems strange that one person could be

⁴⁶⁹ This paragraph is entirely based on the results presented in Appendix 6.

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

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

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

⁴⁷³ 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.

⁴⁷⁴ Gailliard 1977², p. 89.

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

⁴⁷⁶ 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).

⁴⁷⁷ 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.⁴⁷⁸ 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.⁴⁷⁹ 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.⁴⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the book shows us a few appointment texts of other

⁴⁷⁸ 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.

⁴⁷⁹ 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).

⁴⁸⁰ 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).⁴⁸¹ 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.⁴⁸² During Gheerkin’s employment in Bruges, the choirboys of Sint-Jacob lived in a special house, together with the schoolmaster.⁴⁸³ 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.⁴⁸⁴

The appointment text of Servaes’s successor Claudius Joore refers to the terms of employment that Servaes had.⁴⁸⁵ Gheerkin’s successors Petrus Jorjaen, Stasyns Barbion and Johannes Apele all had the same kind of appointment text.⁴⁸⁶ 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

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

⁴⁸¹ 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).

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

⁴⁸³ 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).

⁴⁸⁴ Dewitte 1971, p. 339.

⁴⁸⁵ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2v.

⁴⁸⁶ 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.⁴⁸⁷ 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 1538.⁴⁸⁸

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).⁴⁸⁹ 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.⁴⁹⁰

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 1690.⁴⁹¹ 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

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

⁴⁸⁸ 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.

⁴⁸⁹ See Appendix 1 for an overview.

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

⁴⁹¹ Rombauts 1986, volume I, p. 96.

foundations of an earlier one.⁴⁹² 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*,⁴⁹³ but he also mentions books that we no longer have.⁴⁹⁴ 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.⁴⁹⁵ 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.⁴⁹⁶ 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.⁴⁹⁷ 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.⁴⁹⁸ 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

⁴⁹² 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.

⁴⁹³ Respectively RAB 88, nos. 888, 237, 377 and 98.

⁴⁹⁴ For example the *Registrum membraneum communitatis* and *Register vanden commune*.

⁴⁹⁵ 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.

⁴⁹⁶ 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.

⁴⁹⁷ Based on Grotefend 1991¹³.

⁴⁹⁸ 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, *Commuun* 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.⁴⁹⁹ 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.⁵⁰⁰

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.⁵⁰¹ 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

⁴⁹⁹ See § 4.6.

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

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

the seven psalms during Lent must be dated around that time.⁵⁰² A second foundation for this feast was made by the priest Gillis van Beversluis: a payment from the *Dis* to the *Commuun*.⁵⁰³ 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 1538.⁵⁰⁴ 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.⁵⁰⁵ However, to reconstruct the calendar for Sint-Jacob in Bruges, several types of sources are available.⁵⁰⁶ 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.⁵⁰⁷ We have to be

⁵⁰² 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.

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

⁵⁰⁴ 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.

⁵⁰⁵ See Appendix 5, List of feasts in Delft.

⁵⁰⁶ 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.

⁵⁰⁷ 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.⁵⁰⁸

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.⁵⁰⁹ 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.⁵¹⁰

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

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.

⁵⁰⁸ Also mentioned in the catalogue of The Royal Library in The Hague.

⁵⁰⁹ 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).

⁵¹⁰ 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.*

⁵¹¹ Dewitte 1971, p. 333.

⁵¹² RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533 (fol. 242r), 1534 (fol. [267v]), 1535 (fol. 298v).

onwards, the *zangmeester* is paid for fulfilling this task.⁵¹³ 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.⁵¹⁴ In this year there was an extra payment of 8 *groot*, for *met te gaan quispelen achter de kercke*,⁵¹⁵ from 1533 onwards the entire group is paid 18 *groot* together and the *zangmeester* is not mentioned separately.⁵¹⁶

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*.⁵¹⁷ For adding extra lustre to the feast of the Visitation of Our Lady a foundation by Jacop Bieze was available.⁵¹⁸ 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.⁵¹⁹ This feast therefore was definitely celebrated with polyphony. The original foundation text of 20 November 1466 has been preserved and provides even more information.⁵²⁰ 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

⁵¹³ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1536 (fol. 328v), 1537 (fol. 359r), 1538 (fol. 388r), 1539 (fol. 414v).

⁵¹⁴ See Appendix 3, 1532, 2 November.

⁵¹⁵ The meaning of the word *quispelen* remains unclear, but it probably means sprinkling with the aspergillum.

⁵¹⁶ 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).

⁵¹⁷ Probably a word is missing here, for example *Nativitate* or *Assumptio*. Therefore, it remains unclear which Marian feast is meant by this.

⁵¹⁸ 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.

⁵¹⁹ For an example see OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XXXVIJr.

⁵²⁰ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXLJv.

motets after Vespers.⁵²¹ The foundation also provided for one adjoining week of singing the seven canonical hours⁵²² 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.⁵²³

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 1519.⁵²⁴ 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.⁵²⁵

Jan Bertijn's foundation was enacted in 1532. On all Marian feasts,⁵²⁶ after Vespers, the members of the *Commuun* had to go in procession from the choir of the

⁵²¹ 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.

⁵²² Therefore an extra funding for the seven canonical hours that were already celebrated daily from 1424 onwards.

⁵²³ 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).

⁵²⁴ See Appendix 8.c; RAB, Inv. nr. 237, Registrum Contractuum Communitatis, fol. LXXXIJr-LXXXIIJv.

⁵²⁵ OCMW-B, Archief Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XXVr.

⁵²⁶ 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).⁵²⁷ Several foundation charters related to the first feast have been preserved in the archives of Sint-Jacob, the oldest one dated 28 October 1440.⁵²⁸ 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.⁵²⁹ 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 kercfeesten* (as in other principal feasts).⁵³⁰

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

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.

⁵²⁷ 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).

⁵²⁸ 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).

⁵²⁹ RAB 88, No. [398], Regest 432 (= charter 332).

⁵³⁰ RAB, Inv. nr. [398], Regest 404 (= Charter 309).

September) also mention this,⁵³¹ the underlying foundation for this feast probably dating from 28 August 1432.⁵³²

For other feasts we find particular payments for bell ringing, such as the feasts of the *Gulden Martelaers*⁵³³ and St Gertrud on the day of the feast of the latter (17 March),⁵³⁴ St Crispin (25 October) and St Francis (4 October)⁵³⁵ and St James and St Christopher (both 25 July).⁵³⁶ 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.⁵³⁷

As we have already seen, many feasts were enhanced and paid for by individual foundations.⁵³⁸ 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.⁵³⁹ For some of them we have no clue about their contents: the

⁵³¹ 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).

⁵³² Strohm 1990², 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.

⁵³³ It remains unclear which martyrs are meant here.

⁵³⁴ 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).

⁵³⁵ 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).

⁵³⁶ 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).

⁵³⁷ The bell ringing was founded by Jacop de Haerst, hence the separate mention most likely.

⁵³⁸ A study on foundations in the city of Ghent was published by Haggh 2010. Haggh took the registers of the Ghent alderman as the basis for her article, not the archives of the individual churches.

⁵³⁹ 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.⁵⁴⁰ Another category does not involve music, for example foundations for daily Masses, read by priests.⁵⁴¹ 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.⁵⁴² 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 Montegnny. 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 collect⁵⁴³ and the guardian received a payment for maintaining the boys.⁵⁴⁴ 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 1527.⁵⁴⁵

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.⁵⁴⁶ 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.

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).

⁵⁴⁰ See Appendix 8.a.

⁵⁴¹ See Appendix 8.b.

⁵⁴² See on the guardian § 5.7 below.

⁵⁴³ 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).

⁵⁴⁴ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXXXVr-fol. CXXXVIJv.

⁵⁴⁵ 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.

⁵⁴⁶ See Appendix 8.c.

Finally, in eleven cases (by nine founders) we find direct references to polyphonic music in foundation texts.⁵⁴⁷ 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.⁵⁴⁸ It all started on 2 January 1472, when Philips and Adriane bought a grave in the church for themselves and their son Philippot.⁵⁴⁹ A few years later – on 29 March 1475 – a charter tells us about three foundations made by Adriane, ‘widow’ of Philips:⁵⁵⁰ (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.⁵⁵¹ 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.

⁵⁴⁷ See Appendix 8.d.

⁵⁴⁸ See Appendix 8.b, Appendix 8.c, Appendix 8.d and Appendix 8.e for references to the accounts.

⁵⁴⁹ RAB 88, No. 197, fol. XLVIIJv-XLIXr (26v/27r).

⁵⁵⁰ RAB 88, No. [509] = Regest 525 = Charter 393, equals RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXCJr/J^cXCVIIJr. Rombauts 1986, volume II, incorrectly refers to Regest 526 (most likely a typing error).

⁵⁵¹ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. J^cXCVIIJv-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 1488.⁵⁵² Shortly before Adriane died, she made three more foundations:⁵⁵³ (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.⁵⁵⁴

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'.⁵⁵⁵ After the Masses, a *dis* is available to the poor. It remains unclear whether this Mass was sung in polyphony or chant.⁵⁵⁶

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),⁵⁵⁷ 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

⁵⁵² RAB 88, No. 25, fol. 2v.

⁵⁵³ 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. CLXIIJr-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.

⁵⁵⁴ St Obrecht (Aulbertus, Aubert) of Cambrai was the patron saint of the bakers.

⁵⁵⁵ Normally 'Inclina' is sung for a man, 'Quaesumus' for a woman.

⁵⁵⁶ Therefore, in Appendix 8 it is listed under c, Individual foundations, music involved (singing or bell ringing).

⁵⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁵⁹ 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.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁵⁹ See § 4.7.

⁵⁶⁰ 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;⁵⁶¹ (3) a Mass of St Adrian; (4) a memorial service for her deceased husband and (5) a memorial service for herself.⁵⁶² 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 organ⁵⁶³ 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.⁵⁶⁴ 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-

⁵⁶¹ 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.

⁵⁶² RAB 88, No. 888, fol. XXIIJv-XXXr.

⁵⁶³ 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.

⁵⁶⁴ Strohm 1990², 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),⁵⁶⁵ 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.⁵⁶⁶ In the church, a confraternity of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (also called Our Lady of Milan) was founded in 1498/99.⁵⁶⁷ 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.⁵⁶⁸ 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 precentors⁵⁶⁹), 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 *roedrager* (the ‘staff carrier’, *verger*) and the sexton.

⁵⁶⁵ 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).

⁵⁶⁶ 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).

⁵⁶⁷ Hodüm 1954, pp. 100-101.

⁵⁶⁸ 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.

⁵⁶⁹ 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.⁵⁷⁰ 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 1536.⁵⁷¹ The foundation was the formal confirmation of a tradition started by Lodewijck van Hille (one of the – former – church masters) in 1510,⁵⁷² 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*.

⁵⁷⁰ See for a transcription of the complete foundation Appendix 3, 1532, 13 July.

⁵⁷¹ 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.

⁵⁷² 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.⁵⁷³ It was probably a contribution to the original celebration of the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁵⁷⁴

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.⁵⁷⁵ *Meester* Pieter Cottreel was born in Tournai in 1461, became a canon there in 1489 and from 1508 onwards he was archdeacon of Bruges.⁵⁷⁶ 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.⁵⁷⁷ 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.⁵⁷⁸ According to the foundation text, Cottreel also had a

⁵⁷³ 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).

⁵⁷⁴ See also Hodüm 1954, p. 102.

⁵⁷⁵ 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.

⁵⁷⁶ According to Dewitte 1962, p. 267 Cottreel received the eleventh prebend of the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in 1534.

⁵⁷⁷ 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.

⁵⁷⁸ 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.⁵⁷⁹

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.⁵⁸⁰

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.⁵⁸¹

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

⁵⁷⁹ This proves again that the parish priest was not always residing in the parish, Cottreel – as a Tournai canon – most likely resided in Tournai.

⁵⁸⁰ See on the Mass of the Holy Spirit in general § 5.5.4.

⁵⁸¹ 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.⁵⁸² 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 *beyarderde*. 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.

⁵⁸² 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*.⁵⁸³ 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.⁵⁸⁴ 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.⁵⁸⁵ 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*).⁵⁸⁶

This basis seems to have been the custom in many medieval European churches.⁵⁸⁷ 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

⁵⁸³ See § 4.6.

⁵⁸⁴ 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).

⁵⁸⁵ This paragraph is based on the texts copied in RAB 88, No. 237 and RAB 88, No. 888.

⁵⁸⁶ 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 blaeuwen 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.

⁵⁸⁷ 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.⁵⁸⁸ 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.⁵⁸⁹ After the service, a *disch* was given to the poor.⁵⁹⁰

The memorial service of Philips Bitebloc also provided for cleaning the gravestone, candles and a *disch*.⁵⁹¹ 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.⁵⁹² 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.⁵⁹³

⁵⁸⁸ 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.

⁵⁸⁹ A same sort of foundation was made by Jan de Clerc and his wife Marie Adriaens (see Appendix 8.e for the sources).

⁵⁹⁰ See on the principle of a *disch* § 4.4.

⁵⁹¹ See Appendix 8.e for the sources.

⁵⁹² See Appendix 8.e for the sources.

⁵⁹³ 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. XCVIjv-CVIIjv; 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 Planaris⁵⁹⁴ entered so many 15th-century memorial services that are not in the accounts of the church for the year 1538.⁵⁹⁵ 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.⁵⁹⁶ 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.⁵⁹⁷ Another mystery is why several memorial services that were founded shortly before 1538 were not mentioned in any of the church accounts.⁵⁹⁸ 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.⁵⁹⁹ Even in the local partbooks of Zeghere van Male with its

⁵⁹⁴ RAB 88, No. 158.

⁵⁹⁵ The accounts of 1538 mention ninety-two memorial services. See Appendix 8.e.

⁵⁹⁶ 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*.

⁵⁹⁷ Some memorial services fell on the same day.

⁵⁹⁸ 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).

⁵⁹⁹ 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.⁶⁰⁰ 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.⁶⁰¹ However, for the psalms 'Miserere mei, Deus' and 'De Profundis' more than one hundred polyphonic settings have survived in sources between 1500 and 1600.⁶⁰² 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.⁶⁰³

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.⁶⁰⁴ One is anonymous, the other by Richafort.⁶⁰⁵ 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.⁶⁰⁶

earliest polyphonic Requiem Masses the Requiems of Ockeghem, De la Rue, Brumel and Richafort are discussed in detail (pp. 57-89).

⁶⁰⁰ See on this source § 11.1.

⁶⁰¹ 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).

⁶⁰² Haggh 2007, pp. 69 and 76; Haggh refers to Thomas (Motet Database).

⁶⁰³ See § 15.2.

⁶⁰⁴ 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.

⁶⁰⁵ In the choirbook itself it is misattributed to Josquin des Prez. See on the attribution Jas 1997, p. 111.

⁶⁰⁶ 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 1990², 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.⁶⁰⁷ 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*.⁶⁰⁸ 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.⁶⁰⁹ 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.⁶¹⁰ 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.⁶¹¹ As we have already seen, there were two main categories: the general processions – to be held on any occasion⁶¹² – and the yearly procession in honour of the Holy Blood.⁶¹³ 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

⁶⁰⁷ See Appendix 8.c, Jan de Clerc.

⁶⁰⁸ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XIJv.

⁶⁰⁹ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XVJr.

⁶¹⁰ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XXVv-XXVJv.

⁶¹¹ Andriessen 2002, pp. 43-52.

⁶¹² On this type of procession: Caspers 1992, pp. 121-124.

⁶¹³ See § 4.8.

procession only in the accounts of the *Commuun*, concerning wine.⁶¹⁴ 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*’⁶¹⁵ 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),⁶¹⁶ 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).⁶¹⁷ 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.⁶¹⁸ In addition to these eight processions, there was a procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, but the singers are not separately mentioned here.⁶¹⁹

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

⁶¹⁴ 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).

⁶¹⁵ 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.

⁶¹⁶ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 187v.

⁶¹⁷ 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.

⁶¹⁸ These amounts are only mentioned in the years 1532 and 1533.

⁶¹⁹ 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 for the servants were made for a small procession inside the church or a larger procession outside, perhaps even together with other churches.

1535⁶²⁰ and on the second of September 1537.⁶²¹ In 1532, on the feast of St Stephen (26 December), a procession was held, but the singers are not mentioned.⁶²² They are also not mentioned in the description of a procession held on 20 July 1539 before noon.⁶²³ 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.⁶²⁴ 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,⁶²⁵ 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.⁶²⁶ 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

⁶²⁰ 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.

⁶²¹ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1537, fol. 338r.

⁶²² RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 216r.

⁶²³ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 415v and SAB, OA, Inv. no. 120, Hallegeboden 1496-1796, fol. XXX^c XXIII^v-/XXX^c XXV^r, 19 July 1539.

⁶²⁴ See § 4.8.

⁶²⁵ See the accounts of the church fabric: each year they start with a monthly overview of the funerals.

⁶²⁶ 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,⁶²⁷ and as we have already seen, the Guild of the Presentation of Our Lady was one of them.⁶²⁸ 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 1538.⁶²⁹ 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*.⁶³⁰ 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.⁶³¹ 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

⁶²⁷ 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).

⁶²⁸ See § 5.5.3.3.

⁶²⁹ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XXXVJv and RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 372v.

⁶³⁰ See § 5.5.3 above.

⁶³¹ 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*.⁶³²

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.⁶³³

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.

⁶³² Extra funding for these services was provided for on 18 February 1537 (RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 7r).

⁶³³ 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.⁶³⁴

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)⁶³⁵ 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 1541.⁶³⁶ He probably lived in the Braambergstraat, on the east side, close to the Sint-Donaaskerk.⁶³⁷ 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 1532⁶³⁸ and again in September 1535⁶³⁹ and September 1536.⁶⁴⁰

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

⁶³⁴ See § 4.6.

⁶³⁵ Recently Dr. Bonnie Blackburn discovered new information on Hellinck's family in Axel (Blackburn forthcoming, Introduction).

⁶³⁶ Biographical information based on Blackburn ('Hellinck, Lupus [Wulfaert]') and Blackburn forthcoming.

⁶³⁷ 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.

⁶³⁸ SAB, OA, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1531-32, fol. XCIJv.

⁶³⁹ SAB, OA, Inv. no. 219, Rekening Rentenier 1534-35, fol. XCVJv.

⁶⁴⁰ 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).⁶⁴¹ 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 1530.⁶⁴² In 1508 he was a singer at the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw.⁶⁴³ 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 1534.⁶⁴⁴ 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.⁶⁴⁵

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*.⁶⁴⁶ 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.⁶⁴⁷ 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.⁶⁴⁸

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.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴¹ Andriessen 2002, p. 217, based on the articles of Alfons Dewitte.

⁶⁴² GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXIXv.

⁶⁴³ Dewitte 1970, pp. 114 and 127.

⁶⁴⁴ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2r and RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLXXVIIJv.

⁶⁴⁵ Dewitte 1977, p. 98.

⁶⁴⁶ See § 5.1 above.

⁶⁴⁷ 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.

⁶⁴⁸ Based on RAB 88, No. 237: 13 July 1532 (fol. CXXXVIIJv-CXLv); 24 January 1534 (fol. CLXXVIIJv-CLXXXr); 7 January 1536 (fol. CXLVIIJv-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. CLVIIJv-CLXr); 26 July 1538 (fol. CLXIJv-CLXIIIJr).

⁶⁴⁹ The names are given in Appendix 4.

For the period 1530-1539 the resolution book includes fifteen appointments of bass singers, seven for *hoochcontre/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 1538:⁶⁵⁰ Martin de Raet/Raedt, the substitute of the parish priest;⁶⁵¹ Willem Obrecht/Hobrecht;⁶⁵² Anthonius Cant;⁶⁵³ Caerle Reynaert, who was also the

⁶⁵⁰ 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.

⁶⁵¹ 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.

⁶⁵² 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).

⁶⁵³ 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;⁶⁵⁴ Jan Porret; Willem Maertins; Jan Paisdecuer;⁶⁵⁵ Anthonius van Voorde and Guillebert/Ghijsbrecht 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.⁶⁵⁶ 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.⁶⁵⁷

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).

⁶⁵⁴ 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.

⁶⁵⁵ On 12 December 1535 he became the assistant priest of the guild of the furriers (RAB 88, no. 21, fol. 5r).

⁶⁵⁶ 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.

⁶⁵⁷ 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.⁶⁵⁸ From January 1529 until October 1531 Ysenbaert was *zangmeester* of the church of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, a position he fulfilled in Nieuwpoort in 1534.⁶⁵⁹ On 13 May 1537 he was given back the position of sexton of the church of Sint-Jacob,⁶⁶⁰ which he kept until 11 May 1539. He was then followed by another member of the *Commuun*, Coppen Cant,⁶⁶¹ to become *zangmeester* of the church of Sint-Gilles himself.⁶⁶² Ysenbaert also was a composer: his motet *Dixerunt discipuli* is in one of the choirbooks of the Pieterskerk in Leiden.⁶⁶³

As in Delft,⁶⁶⁴ 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 Housset with a jug.⁶⁶⁵ Presumably, Housset 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.⁶⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁶⁷

Sometimes the church masters helped a singer who was in need. Bass Huson Carlier received 10 *schellingen groot* for his gown on 17 March 1531.⁶⁶⁸ The church masters also paid for the funeral of the singer Symoen in 1523.⁶⁶⁹ In 1535, Servaes

a very good singer, or his voice-type was scarce. This would confirm my suggestion that good bass singers were rare.

⁶⁵⁸ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CXXr.

⁶⁵⁹ Dewitte 1970, p. 122.

⁶⁶⁰ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLVIJr.

⁶⁶¹ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. CLXIXr. Coppen Cant might be a relative of Anthuenis Cant mentioned above.

⁶⁶² According to Dewitte 1977, p. 98, Ysenbaert became *zangmeester* at Sint-Gilles in 1539.

⁶⁶³ Jas 1997, p. 101.

⁶⁶⁴ See § 3.4.

⁶⁶⁵ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 3v.

⁶⁶⁶ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 4r.

⁶⁶⁷ 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).

⁶⁶⁸ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1531, fol. 213r.

⁶⁶⁹ RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening kerkfabriek 1523, fol. 508v.

van Wavere received a pair of stockings worth 3 *schellingen* and 4 *denarii*.⁶⁷⁰ Priest and *bascontre* Jan Willant received an amount of 2 *schellingen groot* in 1537, *in hoosscheden*.⁶⁷¹ 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.⁶⁷² Another gift (*gratuweteyt*) of 10 shillings groat is given to *bassus* Petrus vander Veken, to induce him to stay another year at the church.⁶⁷³

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.⁶⁷⁴ 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 *cloccludere* (the bell ringer).⁶⁷⁵ 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),⁶⁷⁶ Maertin de Smet (1535 until his death in 1538)⁶⁷⁷ 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 1533.⁶⁷⁸ Gheerkin had already

⁶⁷⁰ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1535, fol. 299r.

⁶⁷¹ 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.

⁶⁷² RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 416r.

⁶⁷³ OCMW-B, Rekening Commuun 1537/39, fol. XLIIIv.

⁶⁷⁴ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. LXXIIJr-LXXIIJv.

⁶⁷⁵ 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).

⁶⁷⁶ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1534, fol. 268r mentions his widow.

⁶⁷⁷ Mentioned deceased on fol. 389v of RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538.

⁶⁷⁸ Dewitte 1970, p. 126.

met him in Delft, at the Nieuwe Kerk, where he was appointed *hoogconter* on 10 August 1521.⁶⁷⁹ 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.⁶⁸⁰

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.⁶⁸¹

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.⁶⁸² 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 Hondt⁶⁸³ and in 1539, when a choirboy auditioned, but did not get the position.⁶⁸⁴

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 1532⁶⁸⁵ 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.⁶⁸⁶ In the meantime, Regis acquired an assistant schoolmaster in the person of deacon Franciscus Cordier on 12 May 1532.⁶⁸⁷ Cordier

⁶⁷⁹ GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXIIJr.

⁶⁸⁰ Dewitte 1970, p. 125.

⁶⁸¹ 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.

⁶⁸² See above, § 5.4.

⁶⁸³ This must have been Adriaen Ysenbrant, who was appointed in 1530. See above, § 5.1.

⁶⁸⁴ 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.

⁶⁸⁵ A *meester* Cornelis van Bambeke was given half a *pitantie* on 22 October 1536 (RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 6v).

⁶⁸⁶ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1532, fol. 213v-214r, 215r-v, 216r and OCMW-B, Sint-Jacobs, Rekening Dis 1532/33, fol. LXXXIJv.

⁶⁸⁷ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 2v.

received half a *pitantie*, and from 21 June 1534 onwards he received another half as priest.⁶⁸⁸ Paysdeceur remained the schoolmaster until about April 1535, when Jacob Woestlandt is mentioned in the accounts of the church in that position.⁶⁸⁹ On 3 September 1536, Woestlandt (Woussland) was fired and replaced by the priest Boudewin Noorman⁶⁹⁰ (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,⁶⁹¹ it appears that he was merely an interim schoolmaster. On 17 September the priest and *meester* Johannis de Coornebittere was appointed schoolmaster.⁶⁹² 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.⁶⁹³ Less than a year later Porret had already left and *meester* Cornelis du Manyn (du Mannil) was appointed the new schoolmaster on 22 June 1539.⁶⁹⁴

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 texts⁶⁹⁵ do inform us that the schoolmaster was allowed to live in the school building. None of the texts tells us where that building was.⁶⁹⁶ 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

⁶⁸⁸ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 3v.

⁶⁸⁹ 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.

⁶⁹⁰ 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).

⁶⁹¹ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 5v.

⁶⁹² RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 6v. See also RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1536, fol. 330r.

⁶⁹³ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 11r-v. See also RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1538, fol. 390r.

⁶⁹⁴ RAB 88, No. 21, fol. 12v. See also RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1539, fol. 416r-v.

⁶⁹⁵ 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).

⁶⁹⁶ 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*⁶⁹⁷ – 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*).⁶⁹⁸ 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 1499.⁶⁹⁹ Somewhere between June 1514 and 5 December 1517 the number of choirboys was augmented to four,⁷⁰⁰ 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.⁷⁰¹ 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

⁶⁹⁷ 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.

⁶⁹⁸ 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.

⁶⁹⁹ RAB 88, No. 237, fol. XIIJr.

⁷⁰⁰ 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).

⁷⁰¹ 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.⁷⁰²

The tasks the choirboys had to fulfil are not described in the texts of their appointment.⁷⁰³ 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.⁷⁰⁴ Only two foundation texts mention the choirboys separately, namely those of Willem Humbloot and Jan de Clerc discussed above.⁷⁰⁵ Both foundations mention a guardian of the children:⁷⁰⁶ as we have seen above Jacob de Hondt fulfilled the function from 1532/33 until his death.⁷⁰⁷ 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).⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰² 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.

⁷⁰³ This paragraph is based on the appointment texts in RAB 88, No. 21.

⁷⁰⁴ 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.

⁷⁰⁵ See § 5.5.3.

⁷⁰⁶ 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).

⁷⁰⁷ See § 5.3.

⁷⁰⁸ 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.⁷⁰⁹ 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).⁷¹⁰ 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.⁷¹¹ 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.⁷¹²

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.⁷¹³ The Vienna miniature is dated between 1510 and 1524, but does not include the

⁷⁰⁹ The biographical facts on Bening are based on Brinkmann ('Bening').

⁷¹⁰ 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.

⁷¹¹ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23637, fol. 42v. I thank Frau Dr. Brigitte Gullath from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek for confirming the folio number.

⁷¹² Brinkmann/König 1991, pp. 161-162. The actual facsimile itself unfortunately was not at my disposal.

⁷¹³ Brinkmann/König 1991, p. 143 ('Die Messe').

singers or the organ and will therefore not be considered here.⁷¹⁴ The Waddesdon manuscript is dated circa 1540 (Illustration 5.2).⁷¹⁵ 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,⁷¹⁶ 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)⁷¹⁷ 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.⁷¹⁸ 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...

⁷¹⁴ 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.

⁷¹⁵ 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’.

⁷¹⁶ 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.

⁷¹⁷ 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.

⁷¹⁸ 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.⁷¹⁹ The confraternity had its own altar, which was adorned with an interesting painting, now in the Devonshire collection in Great Britain (Illustration 5.3).⁷²⁰

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 1576.⁷²¹ 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.⁷²² 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.⁷²³ 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.⁷²⁴ Another assumption is that Bertijn commissioned the painting and donated it to the church shortly before he died in June or July 1533.⁷²⁵ In that case, the painting must

⁷¹⁹ See § 4.5 and above, § 5.5.3.3.

⁷²⁰ 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.

⁷²¹ 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.

⁷²² It was J. Rotsaert who convincingly identified the presbytery of Sint-Jacobs (Rotsaert 1975, pp. 122-123).

⁷²³ Hodüm 1954, pp. 106-109.

⁷²⁴ 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.

⁷²⁵ His funeral was in July 1533 (RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1533, fol. 223v).

have been made between 1530 and 1535.⁷²⁶ 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.⁷²⁷

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.⁷²⁸ The number of 15 members of the *Commuun* is low, however; we would expect more people (about 20-25).⁷²⁹ 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?⁷³⁰

⁷²⁶ 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.

⁷²⁷ See § 5.5.3.3 above.

⁷²⁸ 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).

⁷²⁹ 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.

⁷³⁰ 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 private⁷³¹ and for liturgical use.⁷³² 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.⁷³³ 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).⁷³⁴ 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.⁷³⁵

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.⁷³⁶ No further details are given. Finally there is

⁷³¹ 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)).

⁷³² See for overviews of music books that have a relation with medieval Bruges: Census 1979-1988; Strohm 1990²; the articles of Dewitte; Andriessen 2002; Huglo 1999; Vanhulst 1995. See on books in general and libraries of collegiate churches in particular: Vandamme 1998.

⁷³³ 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).

⁷³⁴ RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1519, fol. 427v.

⁷³⁵ RAB 88, No. 26, Rekening Kerkfabriek Sint-Jacobs 1523, fol. 524v-525r.

⁷³⁶ 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.⁷³⁷ The amount of money suggests that this was either a small book or a manuscript for daily use that had no luxurious miniatures.⁷³⁸ 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 1539.⁷³⁹

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.⁷⁴⁰ 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?

⁷³⁷ RAB 88, No. 27, Rekening kerkfabriek 1540, fol. 445v.

⁷³⁸ Compared to money paid for the Alamire manuscripts in the early 1530s by the 's-Hertogenbosch Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap (see § 6.4.11).

⁷³⁹ 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).

⁷⁴⁰ Perhaps in another copy and not from the partbooks themselves. A description of the manuscript will be given in § 11.1, based on Gabriëls 2010² and Diehl 1974.