

Cover Page



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Chapter 6 's-Hertogenbosch: the city and its churches

6.1 Origin, population and economy

The present city of 's-Hertogenbosch arose in the same period as the town of Delft, namely in the middle of the 12th century. The area was part of the domain of Orthen that belonged to the duchy of Brabant,⁷⁴¹ and was situated south of the place where the rivers Dommel and Aa flow into the river Dieze,⁷⁴² which in turn flows into the river Maas. The name 's-Hertogenbosch derives from 'wood of the duke' (*bos van de hertog*), since literally the trees of the forest of the duke of Brabant were uprooted to make place for the new town.⁷⁴³ Around 1200 the Duke of Brabant granted the city privileges.⁷⁴⁴

The population of the new community consisted of merchants and craftsmen. As a consequence of the good geographical position of 's-Hertogenbosch near important trade routes by land and by water, the city soon became a central place in the north of Brabant and began to grow. In the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, 's-Hertogenbosch became the fourth capital city of the duchy of Brabant, after Leuven, Brussels and Antwerp.⁷⁴⁵ In 1406 the duchy of Brabant came under the junior branch of the Valois house of Burgundy.⁷⁴⁶ Politically, 's-Hertogenbosch was many times – as the most northern point in the duchy of Brabant – literally the buffer between Brabant and Guelders.⁷⁴⁷ This did not prevent the city from growing:

⁷⁴¹ On the history of Brabant: Van Uytven/Bruneel/Koldewey/Van de Sande/Van Oudheusden 2004.

⁷⁴² On the history of the Dieze: Verhagen 1998.

⁷⁴³ Van Drunen 2006, p. 32. See on the name of the town Koldewey 2001a, especially pp. 144 and 147.

⁷⁴⁴ Kuijer 2000, pp. 35-37 and Van Synghel 2010. On the content of the privileges see Jacobs 1986, pp. 5-11.

⁷⁴⁵ Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 18 and 22. See also Van Uytven/Bruneel/Koldewey/Van de Sande/Van Oudheusden 2004, pp. 78-79.

⁷⁴⁶ Kuijer 2000, p. 97.

⁷⁴⁷ For example in 1397-1399, 1412 and from around 1480 till 1543 (Kuijer 2000, pp. 89-93, 254-256, 275-315). See also § 6.8 below.

around 1500 's-Hertogenbosch housed approximately 15,000 inhabitants, raising to circa 20,000 people in 1526 and stabilizing at this number until about 1550.⁷⁴⁸

Three conditions made it possible for 's-Hertogenbosch to grow fast economically: the city was situated at a junction of international trading routes, it had a central position in its region (the Meierij) and the inhabitants produced important export products.⁷⁴⁹ In the 15th and early 16th centuries, several branches of trade and industry like the textile industry, goldsmith's craft, the production of shoes and leather, knives, pins, soap and hats made 's-Hertogenbosch a fully-developed medieval trading town.⁷⁵⁰ The merchants of 's-Hertogenbosch sold their products at the international fairs of Antwerp and Bergen op Zoom.⁷⁵¹ After 1520 several branches of trade and industry became extinct (for example the textile industry),⁷⁵² among other reasons as a result of the decreasing role of the famous Brabant fairs. But pin making, the metal industry (especially knives)⁷⁵³ and the linen industry kept flourishing,⁷⁵⁴ in a city that was becoming a satellite of the flourishing Antwerp economy around 1552.⁷⁵⁵

6.2 Churches and convents

The early community that was to become the city of 's-Hertogenbosch belonged to the domain of Orthen and therefore the inhabitants went to the church of Sint-Salvator in that village. Soon after 's-Hertogenbosch received city privileges, its residents started to build their own church, which was dedicated to St John the

⁷⁴⁸ Estimates based on Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 46-77 and Hanus 2010, pp. 64-82. See also Blockmans/Prevenier 1974, pp. 25-31 and Hanus 2011. Figures from before 1496 are only available for the numbers of households (hearths).

⁷⁴⁹ Hanus 2010, p. 232.

⁷⁵⁰ Blondé 1987, pp. 94-130 and Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 22-24.

⁷⁵¹ Blondé 1987, p. 133.

⁷⁵² Blondé 1987, pp. 131-132.

⁷⁵³ The famous 's-Hertogenbosch knives are depicted in paintings by Jheronimus Bosch (Janssen 2001; Janssen 2002; De Hond 2003, p. 100). Archaeological research over the years has brought many (broken) knives or semi-finished products back to daylight, for example in the Stoofstraat, where a knife maker had his workshop. His cesspit also revealed much information on the production process of knife making (Van Genabeek 2012).

⁷⁵⁴ Hanus 2010, pp. 216-217.

⁷⁵⁵ Blondé 2004, pp. 51 and 54.

Evangelist.⁷⁵⁶ The oldest written mention of the church dates from 1222; the second reference is from 1274. The church was originally built outside the city walls; only when the city walls were replaced in the second quarter of the 14th century did the Sint-Jan became part of the area that was walled. It was not until 1413 that the pope declared the Sint-Janskerk to be officially a parish church.⁷⁵⁷ 's-Hertogenbosch and its Sint-Janskerk belonged to the diocese of Liège, lying in the most northern point in the bishopric.⁷⁵⁸

The Sint-Jan remained the only parish church in town for many centuries. It was not until 1569 that the old town centre was divided into four parishes, appointing the four already existing churches of Sint-Pieter, Sint-Catharina, Sint-Jacob and Sint-Jan as parish churches, most likely a geographical choice.⁷⁵⁹ That did not mean that until 1569 there were no other churches or chapels where inhabitants could fulfil their spiritual duties or have their spiritual care. Already in the 13th century, the first convents were established in 's-Hertogenbosch: the Franciscans came in 1229 and the Dominicans (*predikheren*) and Beghards (*bogarden*) around 1300. Before 1274 there was a chapel belonging to the hospital and a chapel for the great beguinage was built around 1300.⁷⁶⁰ In the 14th century, eight churches were added to the already existing townscape of churches (among them three convent churches), followed by seven new convents and six new churches or chapels in the 15th century (for the hospital, 'guest houses' – all sorts, collectively together called *godshuizen* –, brotherhoods, refugee houses⁷⁶¹ and the beguinage). At the beginning

⁷⁵⁶ On the building history of the church and liturgy, see the next paragraphs.

⁷⁵⁷ Kuijer 2000, pp. 59-61. Because the population of the new community went to church in Orthen, the original centre of the ancient town did not need a church and instead had a square today called Markt (Verhagen 1998, p. 15).

⁷⁵⁸ 's-Hertogenbosch would remain in the diocese of Liège until 1559. In that year, 's-Hertogenbosch became an independent diocese, galling under the archdiocese of Mechlin, and the Sint-Jan became its cathedral (Peeters 1985, pp. 4 and 20). On the medieval diocese of Liège, see: Schutjes 1870, volume 1. Today the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch belongs to the archdiocese of Utrecht.

⁷⁵⁹ Van Drunen 1983a, p. 90.

⁷⁶⁰ In 1458 the chapel of the local hospital (Groot Gasthuis, see below) received parochial rights, but it was not open to the average citizen of 's-Hertogenbosch. The same goes for the church of the beguines at the *Groot Begijnhof* (Schuttelaars 1998, p. 25, note 44). From 1517 onwards, the church of the *Groot Begijnhof* was officially part of the chapter of Sint-Jan (Peeters 1985, p. 3).

⁷⁶¹ Many convents and abbeys in the country had a so-called refugee house within the walls of a town where the conventuals went when they did not feel safe in their remote buildings. At the beginning of the 16th century there were nine of them in

of the 16th century, 's-Hertogenbosch had at least twenty-two churches and chapels (thirteen of them convent churches), which is a remarkably high number in the nowadays Dutch part of the Low Countries.⁷⁶²

All these churches and chapels housed a considerable number of clergy.⁷⁶³ In 1526 there were so many of them that 's-Hertogenbosch was also called *Cleyn Rome* (Little Rome): including the beguines, one out of every nineteen citizens belonged to the clergy.⁷⁶⁴ Together they owned about 20 per cent of the total land of the city.⁷⁶⁵ This was rather exceptional in the Low Countries and caused quite a few problems, for example in raising taxes, since the clergy was not obliged to pay taxes and the self-supporting convents⁷⁶⁶ were competitive with the guilds and crafts.⁷⁶⁷ Already during the rebellion of the guilds (*Gildenoproer*) in 1525 several storerooms in convents were plundered.⁷⁶⁸ Reformational ideas therefore found fertile soil in 's-Hertogenbosch.⁷⁶⁹ From 1525 to 1545 several citizens were executed for heretical behaviour. Even a sort of curfew was imposed on 22 November 1544 for five months: the bells of the church of Sint-Jan were rung for half an hour from 9.30 p.m. until 10 p.m. to warn people that they were not allowed to go outside without taking a light with them, to *alle periculen te scouwen* ('watch trouble'). In the same period three Lutherans were burned at the stake.⁷⁷⁰ After 1545 until 1567 the city government seems to have closed its eyes for its own citizens, and mainly judged

's-Hertogenbosch, this number growing in the second half of the century (Van Drunen 1991, p. 13).

⁷⁶² Based on Van Drunen 1983a, pp. 89-100; Van Drunen 1991, pp. 9-40; Van Drunen 2002b; Van der Heijden/Hoekx/Kleyne 1983. See also: Kuijer 2000, pp. 175-181. Most of the buildings have been demolished, especially after 1629, the year of the Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch by Frederik Hendrik of Orange, who added the city to the (protestant) Dutch Republic in that year.

⁷⁶³ On the clergy and how they lived see: Van de Meerendonk 1967.

⁷⁶⁴ Schuttelaars 1998, p. 24. Excluding the beguines it would be one out of every twenty-three citizens.

⁷⁶⁵ Van Drunen 2002b, p. 59. A map of the area of the city centre of 's-Hertogenbosch with all the buildings of the clergy in the second half of the 16th century is in: Janssen 1983, p. 16 (added in: Schuttelaars 1998, p. 26).

⁷⁶⁶ Several convents produced manuscripts and prints, among them music (chant) books (Koldewij 1990c, pp. 99, 119-129, 134-159, 174-183, 189, 194-195, 232-233; De Beer 1990; Van Veenendaal 1990; Haans 1990; De Beer 1991; De Loos 2000c; Kuijer 2000, pp. 181-182).

⁷⁶⁷ Schuttelaars 1998, p. 27.

⁷⁶⁸ Kuijer 2000, pp. 304-305.

⁷⁶⁹ According to Schuttelaars also because of the many trading relations with Germany (Schuttelaars 1998, p. 27).

⁷⁷⁰ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396, fol. [h 11v-12r, 13v; sic: 12v-13r, 14v].

heretics from outside 's-Hertogenbosch. As a consequence, the Baptism movement was able to flourish. But it would take until the early 1560s before the Reformation would become successful, leading to the iconoclastical furies of August and October 1566.⁷⁷¹

As in Delft, education was related to the church.⁷⁷² The first Latin school⁷⁷³ was established before 1274; from that year dates the last will of Willem van Gent⁷⁷⁴ in which he left 3 *solidi* to the *rector scholarum*, who had to sing with his pupils in the Sint-Janskerk during his memorial service. From 1366 (the year the Sint-Janskerk became a collegiate church; see below) until at least the early 17th century, the canons of the Sint-Janskerk were responsible for the Latin school. In the 16th century the Latin school was flourishing and probably counted 1,000 students around the middle of the century; the children came from the city itself, but also from the Meierij. The school educated pupils who were to become famous in their later careers, for example Jeroen Bosch⁷⁷⁵ and Erasmus (1485-1487), although the last one was very negative about his education in 's-Hertogenbosch. A famous student and teacher at the Latin school in the first half of the 16th century was the friar Georgius Macropedius (Joris van Lanckvelt; 1487-1558). Macropedius was the author of several comedies and plays for which he composed music as well. His music is completely in the tradition of humanism and the *Devotio Moderna*: simple, mostly in unison, in service of the text, so that the text could be well understood and was not distracted by virtuoso music.⁷⁷⁶ This humanist was one of the people who made humanism flourish in 16th-century 's-Hertogenbosch.⁷⁷⁷ Another important humanist in the light of this study was the Latin school headmaster, priest, notary and city secretary Symon van Couderborch (+ 1526), a many-sided man, who also

⁷⁷¹ Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 27-31. See also: Van de Laar 1978. As mentioned above, it would last until 1629 (the year of the Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch by Frederik Hendrik of Orange) for 's-Hertogenbosch to become officially protestant. On the iconoclastic furies of 1566: Kuijer 2000, pp. 403-415 and Mosmans 1931, pp. 417-426. For the proces of the Reformation in Brabant, especially 's-Hertogenbosch, Eindhoven and the Meierij: Van Gorp 2013.

⁷⁷² This paragraph is based on Nauwelaerts 1974. See also: Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 329-330; Kuijer 2000, pp. 236-241; Jacobs 1986, pp. 97-98 and 149-150; Desmense 1999.

⁷⁷³ For children who could not enter the Latin school, a *schola maior*, there was a so-called basic education on one of the *scholae minores*; see the references in the previous note.

⁷⁷⁴ On this last will: Van Bavel 1974a, pp. 20-25.

⁷⁷⁵ Although there is no direct proof he visited the school. Koldeweij 1999, pp. I.3-I.12.

⁷⁷⁶ Grijp 2010. On Macropedius see: Giebels/Slits 2005; Bloemendal 2010; Bloemendal 2008 (with a previous version of among others the article of Louis Grijp).

⁷⁷⁷ Tournoy 1990; Desmense 1999.

was a member of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, a singer and an organist.⁷⁷⁸

6.3 The Sint-Jan

6.3.1 Building history and interior

At the beginning of the 13th century, Duke Henry I of Brabant made a piece of land directly outside the city walls of 's-Hertogenbosch available to build a church for the inhabitants of the new town. A roman, brick basilica arose, to which a tower was added around 1230-1250.⁷⁷⁹ The church was dedicated to St John the Evangelist. Soon it turned out to be too small for the growing population of 's-Hertogenbosch and at the beginning of the 14th century construction activities started to enlarge the church in the Gothic style. Around 1350 the decision was taken to build a complete new church, literally round the old building that was still in use and that was demolished in phases, every time when a part of the new one could be utilized.⁷⁸⁰ At the beginning of the 16th century, money became a problem and the church was 'finished' provisionally, probably with the idea that building activities would restart as soon as new funds would be available. In 1522 the nave was completed and in 1529 the circa ninety-six meter high wooden middle tower (crossing tower) was crowned with an impressive large copper statue of St John. The roman west tower

⁷⁷⁸ Mosmans 1923; Smijers 1932, pp. 181-237; Nauwelaerts 1974, pp. 125-127; Tournoy 1990, pp. 526-527; Van den Bichelaer 1998, pp. 131, 144, and *Bijlagen op cd* no. 225; Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 457 and 497; Giebels/Slits 2005, pp. 62-63; <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, no. 293.

⁷⁷⁹ This paragraph is mainly based on: Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010. This book contains impressive 3D-reconstructions of the church in all its phases. The Sint-Janskerk has been subject of restoration for more than 150 years. See on the last restoration and the types of stone used during the centuries: Glaudemans/Hagemans 2011. Equally important is Peeters 1985, published as a result of the large restoration finished in 1985. Largely outdated on the building history but important for their own (restoration) periods are: Mosmans 1931; Smits 1907; Hezenmans 1866. The chapel of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap was part of the Sint-Jan. It will be discussed in § 6.4.

⁷⁸⁰ Recently it was discovered that fragments of this early Roman church were 're-used' for the foundation of a building in the nearby Kerkstraat (the street leading from the Markt to the Sint-Janskerk): Glaudemans 2010, pp. 65-67.

was not replaced but raised, probably between 1517 and 1524, and therefore the bottom of the tower still is the oldest part of the current church.

Only fifty-five years after the completion of the middle tower, late in the evening of the feast of St James (25 July 1584), a large thunderstorm approached 's-Hertogenbosch. Lightning hit the statue of St John and the middle tower caught fire. The flames destroyed parts of the church (the interior was already damaged by the iconoclastic furies of 1566), including the Gothic stone rood loft, several altars, the organ, the spire of the west tower and the bells in that tower. The spire of the middle tower was never rebuilt and 'replaced' by a dome.⁷⁸¹ The west tower acquired a new spire between 1600 and 1608.

The medieval Sint-Janskerk under construction attracted many artists of various disciplines. Sculptors and painters of all kinds, organ builders, clockmakers and gold- and silversmiths, they all found their way to 's-Hertogenbosch. Not only the church fabric, but also guilds and private persons invested a lot of money in the embellishing of their beautiful place of worship. And although the medieval archives of the Sint-Jan have been lost almost completely, quite a few masterpieces that were already in the church when Gheerkin de Hondt worked there have survived.

The church exterior was embellished exuberantly with rare *wimperg* reliefs (ornamental gables over portals or windows), statues and flying buttresses.⁷⁸² Completely unique in the history of building medieval cathedrals in general are the ninety-six sculptures (*luchtboogbeelden*) that adorn the flying buttresses and were placed on the arches of the nave between 1478 and 1517. The current sculptures date from the renovation between 1870 and 1885, based on the originals that were most likely designed by one of the building masters of the church, Alart Duhamel, who was clearly influenced by the famous painter Jheronimus Bosch ('s-Hertogenbosch, ca. 1450-1516).⁷⁸³

The medieval rood screen of the Sint-Janskerk – which played an important role in the liturgy (and therefore music) in the church – has been lost almost completely.⁷⁸⁴ It consisted of two parts (a front (west) and a back (east) part) and it contained five arcs forming a gallery, of which the middle one gave access to the presbytery. From the presbytery the back of the rood screen looked like a massive

⁷⁸¹ On the restoration of the dome in the early 21st century: Glaudemans/Hagemans 2011, pp. 81-85.

⁷⁸² For detailed descriptions see: Peeters 1985, pp. 238-290. For a detailed description of the sculpture in the transept portals: Koldeweij/Adriaanse/Van Roosmalen 1982.

⁷⁸³ Glaudemans 2004a. See also: Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, p. 176.

⁷⁸⁴ This paragraph is based on Glaudemans 2012b. This article contains foundation maps and a description of the rood loft, that was most likely completed around 1445 and after heavy damages as a result of the fire in 1584, replaced in 1610-1613.

stone wall, to which the choir stalls were attached; the entrance was closed by two oak doors. The south side of the rood screen hid the stairs that gave access to the tribune with a Gothic balustrade, which had a small balcony, that was used as pulpit. On the balustrade stood several heavy metal candle holders. On the balcony a small organ was placed and on the north side there was an altar dedicated to the Virgin. Above this altar was a twisted baldachin⁷⁸⁵ with the Marian statue under it. The 'roof' of the rood loft was used by the professional singers of the church. In the middle of the balcony was a so-called triumphal cross, flanked by statues of the mother of Christ and St John the Evangelist; in the Middle Ages both are mentioned as patrons of the church. In the gallery there were at least two altars, one of them on the north side, dedicated to St Luke the Evangelist. The complete rood screen was embellished with sculpture and statues of several saints painted in polychrome.

The rood screen gave access to the high altar in the presbytery, only to be used by the canons of the chapter. The presbytery was surrounded by a choir screen, which contained wooden friezes with sculpture. Thirty-two of the thirty-eight reliefs are dated between 1535/1540 and 1545.⁷⁸⁶ The canons had their own choir stalls.⁷⁸⁷ The impressive mid-15th-century wooden pieces of art are still largely original (but, for example, the so-called misericords are not). Some of the original figures have been restored or replaced, among them a group of singers.⁷⁸⁸ We do not know much about the first altar in the presbytery, except that it had a retable with wooden sculptures from around 1490 (scenes from the Passion of Christ) and a triptych of the Creation painted by Jheronimus Bosch.⁷⁸⁹ In 1620 a completely new altar replaced the old one.⁷⁹⁰

Just as in other towns, medieval guilds had their own altars in the church.⁷⁹¹ In the Sint-Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch their situation was quite exceptional. The building

⁷⁸⁵ This unique piece of sculpture of about nine meters high carries the year 1485 and still is in the same place in the church today: in the cross section of the church against the north-east pillar. It is often suggested but not to be provable that it was building master Alart Duhamel himself who designed and carved it. See on this magnum opus: Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 111 and 131; Peeters 1985, p. 261; Mosmans 1931, pp. 383-384. Mosmans mentions the year 1482 instead of 1485.

⁷⁸⁶ Van der Vaart/Koldewey 1995.

⁷⁸⁷ Koldewey/Van der Vaart/Van Oudheusden/Adriaanse 1991 (with complete descriptions and photographs); Peeters 1985, pp. 349-354, 379; Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 90-91; Mosmans 1931, pp. 375-382.

⁷⁸⁸ On this group especially: Koldewey 1990c, p. 91.

⁷⁸⁹ Bergé 1990, p. 441.

⁷⁹⁰ Peeters 1985, p. 335-336; Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 162-163.

⁷⁹¹ On the 's-Hertogenbosch' guilds in general see: Van den Heuvel 1946; Van Dongen 1980.

masters had flattened the basis of every pillar in the nave on one side, in a way that every altar placed against a pillar was about the same size and the whole looked well-ordered.⁷⁹² Around 1500 there were about forty-eight altars in the church. Rich brotherhoods, guilds (among them the pedlars, fishmongers and smiths) and private persons all had their own space, though sometimes they shared an altar.⁷⁹³

A real eye-catcher in the present Sint-Janskerk is the baptismal font, delivered in 1492 after a commission by the church masters. The font was founded by Aert van Tricht from Maastricht. It shows us among other things the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan River by John the Baptist and the Virgin with child (in the 15th and 16th century often seen as second patron of the church) accompanied by St John the Evangelist (the patron of the church) and St Lambert (the patron of the diocese of Liège). The font had a heavy and high lid, that could be lifted by a special crane which was delivered with the font.⁷⁹⁴

A masterwork that has not survived the centuries and therefore is the more illustrious, is the so-called *Oordeelspel* ('Last Judgement play').⁷⁹⁵ This fascinating astronomical clock was unique in the Low Countries and was placed in the Sint-Janskerk in 1513, only a few decades before Gheerkin de Hondt arrived. The tower was more than ten meters high and three meters broad and consisted of four layers: a bottom one with a calendar with the zodiac and the days and weeks, showing the feasts; a second layer with the actual clockwork and a now and then moving puppet show of the Adoration of the Magi; above them another group of moving puppets in a representation of the Last Judgement; the edifice was crowned with a small tower with chimes (a very small carillon) and two angels playing the trumpet. Even in our time, this mechanical play fascinates people just as it did to our 16th-century predecessors.⁷⁹⁶

Except for the small carillon in the *Oordeelspel*, real large church bells were in the west tower, the oldest one – called Grim or Margareta – dating from 1408 or

⁷⁹² Peeters 1985, p. 336.

⁷⁹³ Mosmans 1931, pp. 325-338, describes all the altars, pages 328-329 giving two maps of the altars in the church: between 1418-1427? and around 1550. Peeters 1985, p. 335 remarks that Mosmans's map is probably not entirely correct, since he places altars on pillars that did not have altar springs and left pillars with altar springs without an altar (see p. 373 for Peeters' map). Recently a new attempt was made: Van der Drift 2010, pp. 156-161; also available on <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>. See on the altars and their owners also: Schutjes 1873, volume 4, pp. 191-203.

⁷⁹⁴ Hoekx/Koldeweyj/Adriaanse 1981; Peeters 1985, pp. 354-357.

⁷⁹⁵ Lehr 1990; Le Blanc 1990, pp. 411-414; Peeters 1985, pp. 366-367.

⁷⁹⁶ The *Oordeelspel* was reconstructed in the first decade of the 21st century and was placed in the Jheronimus Bosch Art Centre in 's-Hertogenbosch (Timmermans 2010).

1418, founded by Willem van Vechel.⁷⁹⁷ In 1447 a bell named '*zielmisse*' ('memorial service') is mentioned, serving for the funeral and memorial services.

's-Hertogenbosch was probably the oldest centre of bell founding which became a real tradition: it started with the Van Vechel family, then the Hoernken family and finally the Moer family, who made bells for several cities all over Europe⁷⁹⁸ for more than a century, from around 1452 onwards.⁷⁹⁹ In 1462 Gobel Moer delivered a bell called St John the Evangelist. Over thirty years later, in 1495, he founded the bells St Anne, St Mary and St Lambert.⁸⁰⁰ Gobel died in 1504, leaving his company to his sons Willem (died ± 1520) and Jaspar (died ± 1551/52),⁸⁰¹ who in their turn left the company to Jan Jasperszoon (died in 1568 or 1569).⁸⁰² In 1505 Jasper and Willem delivered fourteen bells for the west tower, being the first *voorslag* (carillon) for 's-Hertogenbosch, on which polyphonic music could be played mechanically and by hand.⁸⁰³

Every medieval church had at least one organ, but in the large Sint-Janskerk there were more.⁸⁰⁴ Because of the lack of sources, we do not know much about the first organs, but probably there was one large organ against the west tower and a

⁷⁹⁷ This paragraph is based on: Adriaenssen 1989; Adriaenssen 1988; Adriaenssen/Adriaenssen 2004; Peeters 1985, pp. 425-431 (also on the new bells); Lehr 1991, especially pp. 66-70, 100. For the art-historical approach and an overview of medieval bells in the former duchy of Brabant until 1559: Van Loon-van de Moosdijk 2004, pp. 175-191 especially on 's-Hertogenbosch.

⁷⁹⁸ Among others for the Old Church in Delft, see § 2.2.

⁷⁹⁹ In general, the bells of the Moer family were not all made in 's-Hertogenbosch, but usually close to the church or building where they were to be hung.

⁸⁰⁰ The names of these bells are mentioned on a piece of scrap paper dated by an archivist 'early 16th century', together with the bells Grym, Salvator, Katharina, Barbara, Aghata and Magdalena, and a small bell referred to as *dat coorscelliken* ('the little choir bell'; SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2265). Behind the names are amounts of money, most likely paid for restoring the bells.

⁸⁰¹ Jaspar Moer had a daughter Aleyt, who became a nun at the convent of the Poor Clares sometime around 1540. Her father had bought her a *lijfrente* in a previous year (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1392, fol. 24v). Besides bells, Jaspar also sometimes delivered copper objects for the city government (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1393, fol. 164v; OSA 1395, fol. 285r). Jaspar bought an *erflosrente* on the first of April 1544 (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395, fol. 192v).

⁸⁰² Jan Jaspars. *clockgieterss.* functioned as a guard for two nights in 1543 during the siege of Maarten van Rossum (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 191v).

⁸⁰³ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2260.

⁸⁰⁴ This paragraph is mainly based on: Vente 1963b, especially pp. 18-28, 75-78, 85 and 183-184; Peeters/Vente 1971; Peeters 1985, pp. 360-361; Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 103-105 (incorrectly dated 1504 instead of 1505); Van Dijck 1980, pp. 117-129.

smaller one on the rood loft. And perhaps there was also a (movable) portative. The first reference to the large organ dates from 1499 when Hendrik van den Houwe renovated and ‘updated’ the organ.⁸⁰⁵ After 1499 a certain Daniel van der Distelen was responsible for maintaining and extending the organ,⁸⁰⁶ but it was Willem Boets van Heyst who on 10 February 1504 signed a contract with the church masters to add a new positive to the existing organ.⁸⁰⁷ In January 1518⁸⁰⁸ he signed a new contract with the church masters, to improve and extend the organ,⁸⁰⁹ but the masters were not satisfied with the results. They appointed a certain Peter Woutersz.⁸¹⁰ and made him responsible for the work of Boets van Heyst.⁸¹¹ When the work was finished, it was judged in February 1521 by four organists (master Hanrick Nobel from Utrecht, master Peeter vanden Graeven, master Jacob van Wyck and *heer* Jan die Gruter; the last one being the organist of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and therefore of the church of Sint-Jan) and Jannes *onse basconter* (our bass singer). It was disapproved.⁸¹² A month later, master Willem Heyst was made responsible for maintaining and repairing the organ for the next

⁸⁰⁵ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1389a. Wrong year (1498) in most of the references in literature. See on this document: Van den Bichelaer 1998, *Bijlagen op cd* no. 225.3. Van den Bichelaer 1998, pp. 230-232 explains that the Christmas style was the official style in the diocese of Liège, while the city accounts used the Easter style (Brabant style). In this act, *secundum stilum camera Busciducensis* means that the Easter style was used. See on the dating matter also: Verhoeven 1993a, p. 47.

⁸⁰⁶ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1389.

⁸⁰⁷ Three documents concerning this contract are still in the archives of the Sint-Jan today: SAHt, ASJ, Inv. nos. 1386, 1387 and 1388. Nos. 1387 and 1388 are the actual contract in the form of a so-called chirograph (both documents have the same text with some minor spelling differences), no. 1388 being the upper half of no. 1387. No. 1386 is a kind of summary, heavily damaged: paper on the right side is missing.

⁸⁰⁸ Vente incorrectly mentions 1517.

⁸⁰⁹ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1389b. The same text with slight differences in words and spelling: Inv. no. 1386a, but heavily damaged on the underside.

⁸¹⁰ Vente refers to him as the artist of the *Oordeelspel*, see above.

⁸¹¹ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1389c, the upper part of a chirograaf with the letters a b c d e f g h I k. Vente gives 4 May 1519 as date of the contract, but this is incorrect. The act is dated *opten maendach voer Ste. Barbaren anno xvc xix*, the Monday before the feast of St Barbara anno 1519, being Monday 28 November 1519.

⁸¹² SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1393. Vente gives 1520, while with pencil ‘15 febr 1521’ is written on the original document. It is unclear which style is used here: the Christmas style of the diocese of Liège or the Easter (Brabant) stile. If the Easter style is used, 1521 is correct, otherwise the year should be 1520.

twelve years.⁸¹³ However, in 1524, Johann van Munster was asked to finish the job.⁸¹⁴ In 1533 Boets van Heyst was burned at the stake since he had become a Lutheran. Between 1538 and 1540 – around the time Gheerkin de Hondt arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch – the greatest organ builder of the 16th-century Low Countries, Hendrick Niehoff, who had recently built the new organ for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap,⁸¹⁵ modernised the great organ of the Sint-Jan or probably even built a completely new one.⁸¹⁶ It was destroyed during the fire of 25 July 1584 and not rebuilt.

As in Bruges, the 16th-century Sint-Janskerk where Gheerkin de Hondt worked must have been adorned with many paintings, embellishing the so numerous chapels and altars that were in the building. There probably were paintings from Jheronimus Bosch and his workshop. But we know hardly anything about the medieval paintings in the church, mainly because of the lack of sources and the fire that destroyed large parts of the nave (where many altars had their place).

6.3.2 Liturgy

Just as in Bruges and most likely in Delft, the church of 's-Hertogenbosch had three administrative organisations: a church fabric,⁸¹⁷ a liturgical administration and an organisation for poor relief (*Tafel van de Heilige Geest*).⁸¹⁸ None of the accounts of any of these organisations has come down to us before the 17th century.⁸¹⁹

⁸¹³ SAHt, ASJ, Charters, Inv. no. 1413 (13 March 1521, see my remark in the previous note on the dating style). An incomplete transcription is in the inventory of the archive of Sint-Jan, collectie charters.

⁸¹⁴ The 1524 document is in the archives of the Sint-Jan: SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1394. The paper is heavily damaged on the right side. A complete transcription, however, is provided in Vente 1956, pp. 88-89; in a note Vente thanks Jan Mosmans for the transcription.

⁸¹⁵ See below, § 6.4.

⁸¹⁶ Vente bases this fact on the chronicle by Cuperinus, no official original documents remain in the archives of the Sint-Jan.

⁸¹⁷ Glebbeek 1995; Glebbeek 2003.

⁸¹⁸ Peeters 1985, p. 2.

⁸¹⁹ Only fragments of accounts have been preserved, for example from 1514, 1516 and 1517 (Peeters 1985, p. 58; SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1410). They are in draft, since almost all pages or items have been crossed out, which suggests that they were copied into the official accounts. Besides, they seem to contain mainly receipts and only some expenditure for the church fabric. According to the introduction to the inventory of the charters of Sint-Jan, the first and only complete church account dates from 1616-17.

Therefore, we are not able to sketch a complete overview of the liturgy celebrated in the church during Gheerkin's employment there.

Nevertheless, we know that the Sint-Jan became a collegiate church in 1366, with a college of canons consisting of thirty men, who chose their own dean. We may assume that every day the seven canonical hours were celebrated in the presbytery, including a High Mass.⁸²⁰ The college had the right to appoint the parish priest, who was often not resident.⁸²¹ The daily care of the congregation was left to a *plebaan* and his two assistants, called *viceplebaans* (or *vicecureyten*, *kapelanen* or *officianten*).⁸²²

In 1413 the pope declared the Sint-Janskerk officially a parish church. Since the parish of Sint-Jan was the only one accessible for every inhabitant of 's-Hertogenbosch, the large majority of all baptisms, confessions, marriages, funerals, memorial services and other personal religious moments – in some cases accompanied by music – had to be done in this house of worship. The high number of altars of guilds and confraternities in the church suggests an impressive spiritual life. And of course, without a doubt, many personal foundations were funded, as we have seen in Bruges. In short: the Sint-Janskerk must have been a round-the-clock place of prayer.

The former church archivist Jan Mosmans made a general survey of daily liturgical life in the Sint-Janskerk, as far as possible of course, based on primary sources and literature.⁸²³ He starts with an overview of brotherhoods that were active in the church without going into their backgrounds: St Catherine, St Barbara, St Agatha, St Agnes, Sweet Name of Jesus, Holy Sacrament, St Blaise, St Martin of Tours, The Magi, St Quirinus, the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and the *Bare van alle gelovige ellendige zielen* ('the bier for all faithful souls', see below). Important in the scope of this book are the Sacramentsbroederschap and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap⁸²⁴ and the Bare van alle gelovige ellendige zielen.

⁸²⁰ A confirmation of the fact that a High Mass was celebrated every day is for example given in a foundation text of 21-06-1540 (BHIC 1232, ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. 37r).

⁸²¹ On this matter: Van den Bichelaer 1998, p. 120.

⁸²² Peeters 1985, p. 3.

⁸²³ Mosmans 1931, pp. 339-352. It is not always clear where he gets his information from and beyond that, in which year a described situation took place. For example, the four Masses in the morning celebrated in 1445 might have been changed by the time Gheerkin de Hondt worked in 's-Hertogenbosch a century later. Furthermore, since we only have fragments of the archives of the Sint-Janskerk, Mosman's descriptions of (daily) liturgy can only be seen as suggestions. The private archives of Jan Mosmans are in the Stadsarchief 's-Hertogenbosch and will be made accessible (Glaudemans 2004b, pp. 104-105).

⁸²⁴ They will be discussed below in separate paragraphs (§ 6.4 and § 6.5).

This Bare was a foundation to comfort the faithful souls in the purgatory.⁸²⁵ The organisation did not have any members, but took care of distributing bread to the poor on All Soul's Day (2 November) and played a role during memorial services.⁸²⁶ An interesting manuscript now in the archives of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap is a book with copies of foundation texts dating from 1500 to 1540 regarding four yearly general memorial services in the Sint-Jan,⁸²⁷ to be held on: 1) All Saints Day and All Souls Day (1 and 2 November), 2) the first Sunday and Monday after *Dertiendach* (Epiphany of Our Lord, 6 January) or if *Dertiendach* fell on a Sunday on that Sunday and the following Monday, 3) Low Sunday (the Octave of Easter) and the following Monday and 4) the first Sunday and Monday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁸²⁸ On the parchment cover of the book is written: *Die fundatie van alle ghelovighe alleynsighe zielen* (the foundation of all the Faithful Miserable Departed). Two of the foundations, both dated 16 April 1522, concern the foundation of the Bare itself.⁸²⁹ This Bare was founded in 1522 because in the almost twenty-five previous years a certain Liesbeth, daughter of Wouter vanden Broeck had made so many foundations to celebrate three of the yearly general memorial services – excluding the one on All Souls – that a separate organisation was founded to keep all the possessions made especially for these

⁸²⁵ Ebeling 1952, p. 25. The accounts of the Bare from 1558 to 1595 have been kept (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303; inventory in Brekelmans/Formsma/Smit 1952, pp. 94-101).

⁸²⁶ Mosmans 1931, p. 340.

⁸²⁷ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175. Not known by Mosmans and Ebeling. The partly paper and partly parchment manuscript can be divided in two sections: the first part (fol. 1-56) with foundations dated from 1533-1540 (with the exception of the first one: 10-02-1500) and the second one (fol. I-CXXI) with foundations dated between 1500 and 1538. The general contents of the foundations have been described in *regesten* in the inventory of the Broederschap, accessible on the internet (www.bhic.nl, see Toegangsnummer 1232, Inv. no. 175). One of them was overlooked (fol. 46v-48v). From some of the foundations the original charters have been kept, see Inv. nos. 178-190 of the same archive (please note that 11 of these were previously archived in the inventory of Hoekx/Van de Laar 1980 as RANB [now BHIC], Kollektie Aanwinsten 1884, Inv. nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17a (13)). Other originals are in other archives: SAHt, ASJ, Inv. nos. 1206 and 2925; SAHt, Toegangsnummer 185, Inv. nos. 23 and 96. Note that some of the originals have come down to us in more than one copy (more than one original was written for the different organisations organizing the liturgical activities). The archives of the Bare itself do not contain any foundation texts (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 214; inventory in Brekelmans/Formsma/Smit 1952, pp. 94-101).

⁸²⁸ BHIC 1232, Archief ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. LXVIJr-LXVIIJr.

⁸²⁹ BHIC 1232, Archief ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. LXVIv-LXXVr and fol. LXv-LXVv.

celebrations.⁸³⁰ These consisted mainly of a *bare* (bier), a pall with four skulls and a very large number of all sorts of candle holders (including four on the corners of the *bare* and a whole stand), financed by many different parishioners (among them many sworn members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap). A special *camerken* (little room) was built in or outside the church – in a little corner near the tower on the north side between two pillars – to store all these materials. The government of the *Bare* was divided into two parts: three *provisoren* (responsible for the liturgy) and three *wasmeesters* (responsible for the possessions).⁸³¹ Together they chose a *knecht* (servant), who was responsible for the building and removal of the bier and candle holders after the services.⁸³² The youngest *provisor* was always (ex officio) the youngest *proost* (provost) of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap; hence this manuscript with foundations probably ended up in the archives of the Broederschap. According to an inscription in the manuscript, originally there were two more copies: one was with the priests of the chapter and another one with the *vicecureyten*.

The general memorial services were organized by three different organisations together: the Sacramentsbroederschap (mostly), the Brotherhood of the Sweet Name of Jesus (seldom) and the Bare van alle gelovige ellendige zielen (from its foundation in 1522 onwards). The texts give us information on the way the ceremonies were celebrated. However, the information is given in incredibly long-winded paragraphs, with many repetitions, making the whole rather complicated. Furthermore, the texts were written in a span of time of about forty years, so sometimes it is not clear if a new foundation superseded another one or if it was ‘just’ an addition, and if the old foundations were still observed. Finally, it is clear that this book is not complete: there must have been more foundations; for example, the ‘mother’ foundation for the memorial services is missing.

⁸³⁰ We have to keep in mind that from 1522 onwards, Liesbeth was in some cases the intermediary between other people and the newly founded Bare. For example: BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. 11r, where it says: ...*bekennen ontfangen te hebbene van devoten personen doir handen Lysbeth dochter wylen Wouters vanden Broeck* (...acknowledge to have received from some devout persons through the hands of Lysbeth, daughter of the late Wouter vanden Broeck).

⁸³¹ *Wasmeesters* in guilds were responsible for the materials (Van den Heuvel 1946, pp. 250-252). The *wasmeesters* of the Bare mentioned in the foundation texts all belonged to the top of society (many of them were for example sworn Brethren of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap).

⁸³² From the accounts of the Bare, it becomes clear that the *beyerman* often functioned as *knecht* (SAHt, Toegangnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, p. 57v onwards).

Overseeing all the foundation texts, we may conclude that the procedure was as follows.⁸³³ Before the actual services, three *sermoenen* (sermons) were held, the first one a week before the memorial services. These sermons announced the actual memorial services and explained the ceremonies to the ordinary parishioners. Furthermore, the priests giving the sermons told the members of the congregation how they were supposed to participate and when, what for example the meaning was of the responsories ‘Libera me Domine’ and ‘Deus eterne’ and that the congregation had to kneel when ‘Qui in cruce’ was sung. Important was of course that participating meant earning indulgences. On the four days the poor were also remembered with poor relief in cash and bread.

The celebrations then started on Sunday (or in the case of All Souls Day on All Saints Day): the *bare* (bier) was put up in the middle of the church between the altars of St Sebastian and St Eligius.⁸³⁴ It was covered with the special pall and on the four corners of the *bare* four candle holders were assembled. Several large tallow and wax candles were lit next to the *bare*. Special attention was given to the doors of the church: they had to be kept closed as much as possible, so the candles would not drip or blow out. When everything was ready, a vigil was held by the priests of the chapter. This vigil was announced by bell ringing and *beieren*. After the vigil there was a visit to the bier. On the Monday thereafter the bells were rung again and a Requiem Mass was sung by the dean and priests of the chapter, in *simpelen sanck* (in chant), followed by a visit to the bier. During both visits to the bier (on Sunday and Monday), three choir boys sang ‘Requiescant in pace’, bearing a cross and candles, accompanied by seven *bonenfanten* of whom two also carried candles on two golden holders and four carried other *toertsen* (torches).⁸³⁵ One of the *bonenfanten* also carried the holy-water basin and one of them held the book with chant. The boys were selected and guided by the *zangmeester*. After the ceremonies, the priests of the chapter returned to the presbytery. This all coincides largely with the general celebration of memorial services in the Low Countries.⁸³⁶

⁸³³ This reconstruction is based on the complete manuscript. Because of the above-mentioned problems, there might be some differences in detail. Since Gheerkin de Hondt became *zangmeester* in the Sint-Jan on 31 December 1539, the texts closest to that date have been given preference. See also the accounts of the Bare (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 214, Inv. No. 1303, p. 57r onwards).

⁸³⁴ Nos. 34 and 28 on the map of the altars around 1550 right before the rood loft (Mosmans 1931, p. 329). For a reconstruction of the altar map see also: Van der Drift 2010, pp. 156-161; also available on <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>.

⁸³⁵ See on the *bonenfanten* § 7.4.

⁸³⁶ See § 5.5.4.

At some point a *Lof* of the Holy Cross was added to the ceremonies, to be sung on Monday after the Requiem Mass.⁸³⁷ The first mention is dated 26 August 1530 and speaks of *tot onderhoudenisse*, which means ‘for the maintenance (of the tradition)’. This suggests that the Holy Cross *Lof* already existed before 1530, so it is possible that this Holy Cross *Lof* had begun together with the memorial services. Curious too is that all the texts in this book refer to a Holy Cross *Lof* after one memorial service in particular, namely the one of the Sunday and Monday after the Epiphany of Our Lord. However, the accounts of the Bare from 1558 onwards have been kept and they confirm that this *Lof* was celebrated after every memorial service.⁸³⁸ Therefore, the foundations mentioned in this book must be additions to already existing ceremonies.

We are particularly well informed on how this Holy Cross *Lof* was celebrated and best of all: its music has been preserved.⁸³⁹ The musical manuscript was written by the Brethren of the Common Life. An inscription on page 3 of the manuscript tells us that the provosts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap owned this copy, but that another one was made for the *provisors* of the Bare.⁸⁴⁰ At the beginning of this manuscript is the so-called *ordonnantie* (ordinance),⁸⁴¹ which we also find

⁸³⁷ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. XLIIIIr-XLIXv. See also fol. 36v-37v; 46v-48v; 33r-34v; 49r-55v; Lr-LIIJv, LIIJa-LIIJd.

⁸³⁸ SAHt, Toegangsnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, from page 57r onwards. Although these accounts date from more than ten years after Gheerkin de Hondt had left town, we may safely assume that the references to the Holy Cross *Lof* are also valid for the period Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester*, because they match the other descriptions we have from the foundation charters and *taeffelen* (the *taeffelen* will be discussed below).

⁸³⁹ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175. On this *Lof* see Roelvink 2002, pp. 45-46; Ebeling 1952; Van Hout 2000a.

⁸⁴⁰ As we shall see in the paragraph on the Broederschap (§ 6.4), the polyphonic singers of the Sint-Jan were in the service of both the Broederschap and the chapter of Sint-Jan. Therefore it is not surprising for the Broederschap to possess a copy of the music, especially not since one of the *provisors* of the Bare was the youngest provost of the Broederschap. The scribe who wrote the entry might well be Everaert van den Water, who is mentioned as *provisor* of the Bare between at least 24 May 1537 and 21 June 1540 and who was the eldest provost of the Broederschap in 1529-30 and 1532-33 (as eldest provost he wrote the yearly account, hence the suggestion that he also wrote the *Lof* manuscript). If Van den Water wrote the entry as provost of the Broederschap, the manuscript may be dated between 1529 and 1533, which coincides with the date of the first mention of the Holy Cross *Lof*.

⁸⁴¹ Transcriptions are given in: Van Hout 2000a and Roelvink 2002, p. 290 (photograph of the original on p. 46). An English translation is in Haggh 1988, p. 420.

almost literally in one of the foundation texts;⁸⁴² it is shown in Table 6.1. Like the memorial services, this *Lof* was announced by several sermons.

Table 6.1 Ordinance of the Holy Cross Lof

Time	Item	Involved	Music
4.30 p.m.	Bell ringing (including the bell called Anna)	Sextons of the church plus four Brethren of the Common Life	
	<i>Beiaerden</i>	<i>Beierman</i>	
5.00 p.m. ⁸⁴³	Procession from the presbytery to the bier	<i>Vicecureyt</i> (priest singing the collect), <i>zangmeester</i> , <i>discanters</i> , choirboys, organist	Organ music 'for a long period', during which the singers could reach the place of celebration in the middle of the church ⁸⁴⁴
	Put lectern in front of the bier	Two assistants	
	Lay music book – received from <i>provisoren</i> or <i>wasmeesters</i> – on lectern	Two assistants	
	Place two large candle holders (for <i>toertssen</i>) beside the lectern	Two assistants	
	Put <i>toertssen</i> in the candle holders	Two <i>bonifanten</i>	
	Join choirboys for singing the <i>Lof</i>	Two <i>bonifanten</i>	

⁸⁴² BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. XLIIIr-XLIXv (26-08-1530). See also the texts on folio Lr-LIIIIv (25-05-1533), 11r-20r (25-05-1533), 33r-34v (30-10-1539), 36v-37v (21-06-1540), fol. 46v-48v (19-06-1539), fol. 49r-55v (31-05-1537), fol. LIIIIar-LIIIIav (31-01-1535).

⁸⁴³ The texts mentioned in the previous note are not entirely clear: most of them, however, say that the *Lof* started at 5 o'clock.

⁸⁴⁴ Until 31 July 1537 the *Lof* was celebrated on the rood loft. On 31 May 1537 a foundation was made by Lysbeth vanden Broeck, in which she determined that the ceremonies would take place 'downstairs' and not above on the rood loft, 'just as it was originally founded' (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. 49r-55v).

Make sure the singers and organist sing and play the entire <i>Lof</i> 'according to the book'	Youngest provost of the Broederschap (ex officio <i>provisor</i> of the Bare)	
Sing/play the actual <i>Lof</i> in <i>simpelen sanck</i> (chant), 'just like it was done on Good Friday'	<i>Zangmeester</i> , <i>discanters</i> , choirboys	
	<i>Zangmeester</i> , followed by the other singers	Responsory 'Tuam crucem'
	Two boys	Verse 'Adoramus'
	Adult singers	Repetition of 'Adoramus'
	Boys	'Gloria'
	Adult singers	Repetition of 'Gloria'
Play for a long period	Organist	
Continuation of singing / playing the <i>Lof</i>	<i>Zangmeester</i> / organist	First / second verse of the hymn 'Vexilla regis', continuation in alternatim
Kneel down (congregation also kneels down) and sing slowly, repeating three times	Two boys	'O crux ave spes unica'
	Organist	'Te summa Deus' (last verse of 'O crux ave spes unica')
	Two boys	Verse 'Hoc signum crucis'
	Priest (singing)	Collect 'Deus qui sanctam crucem'
	Priest (singing)	'Dominus vobiscum' (music not in manuscript)
	Organist	'Benedicamus Domino' (music not in manuscript)
	Singers together	'O crux gloriosa'
Procession back to the presbytery	Singers together	

Besides the foundations for the memorial services and Holy Cross *Lof* on the days described, the book also contains a few foundations for other feasts.⁸⁴⁵ For example there was a Holy Cross *Lof* on Ascension Day, to be sung by the singers *solemlyck in simpelen sanck* ‘just like on Good Friday’.⁸⁴⁶ This *Lof* was celebrated in the same way as the Holy Cross *Lof* after the four memorial services.⁸⁴⁷ Mosmans made an extensive description of this ceremony, which is in line with the celebrations of the Holy Cross *Lof* to be held after the general memorial services.⁸⁴⁸ Also important is a foundation for a read Mass at 11 o’clock in the morning on the day of the yearly procession on the first Sunday after the feast of the Visitation (2 July). The Mass was founded by Lysbeth vanden Broeck to give the opportunity to people who came from outside the city and therefore had to leave their home town before the High Mass was celebrated there, to attend the obligatory Sunday Mass in ’s-Hertogenbosch.⁸⁴⁹ Lysbeth vanden Broeck also made a foundation to sing three Ave Marias after the Marian *Lof* on the feast of St Anthony (17 January).⁸⁵⁰ The same foundation was made for other feasts (Table 6.2).⁸⁵¹ The Ave Marias had to be sung *met solemniteit gelijk op groete hoechtijden* (with solemnity, just like on high feasts), and both the professional singers and the choirboys were involved. For the Wednesday in the Ember Days before Christmas, Lysbeth vanden Broeck also made a foundation on 11 September 1518 for a Golden Mass in which the *zangmeester* was involved.⁸⁵² The *sangmeester* and *discanters* also participated in the celebrations on

⁸⁴⁵ In this paragraph only the foundations of interest for the scope of this book are mentioned, those involving the *zangmeester*, singers, choir boys and organist. The manuscript contains many more foundations, for example for candles and sermons. The original (or one of the originals) of the foundation on fol. XLIIIr-XLIIIv (11-03-1530) is in the SAHt, ASJ, Charters, Inv. no. 1688.

⁸⁴⁶ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, loose sheet of paper between fol. XCVIjv and XCVIIjr (on the day of research, 20 May 2005). See also SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2375.

⁸⁴⁷ The payments to the participants are from 1558 onwards kept in SAHt, Toegangsnnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, for example p. 60v-61r.

⁸⁴⁸ Mosmans 1931, pp. 346-349. Mosmans was not familiar with the music of the *Lof* and the foundation texts described above.

⁸⁴⁹ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. 28v-32r. See also SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2382. The payments to the participants are from 1558 onwards kept in SAHt, Toegangsnnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, from fol. 61v onwards.

⁸⁵⁰ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. Vr. A foundation for singing three times ‘Ave Maria’ on a feast that is not specified is also mentioned in SAHt, Toegangsnnummer 185, Inv. no. 1204, first page. Most likely this is the same foundation.

⁸⁵¹ BHIC 1232, Archief ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. VIjr-v.

⁸⁵² BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. IXr. The Mass is also mentioned on fol. XXIIjv (24 April 1520; foundation by Otto Bolcx Janszoon and his daughter Johanna, widow of

the Monday and Tuesday before Shrove Tuesday, the Monday before St Nicolas (6 December) and the Tuesday before St Olav (29 July): they had to sing Mass at half past 8 (in the morning or evening?).⁸⁵³

Table 6.2 List of feasts on which three Ave Marias had to be sung after the Marian Lof (foundation by Lysbeth vanden Broeck)

Feast	Day
All Saints	1 November
St Elizabeth widow	5 November
St Martin, first and second day after	12 and 13 November
Wednesday in the Ember Days before Christmas	Wednesday after the third Sunday in the Advent
St Anthony	17 January
St Agnes	21 January
St Dorothy	6 February
St Apollonia	9 February
Mark the Evangelist	25 April
Eve of St Cunera and the day itself	11 and 12 June
St Anne	26 July
Beheading of St John the Baptist	29 August
St Giles	1 September
St Jerome	30 September
11,000 martyrs (St Ursula)	21 October

The inscription on the last page of the manuscript with the foundation texts for the memorial services and the Holy Cross *Lof* refers to so-called *taeffelen*: ‘the copy of the priests of the chapter also contains the *taeffelen*’. A little booklet, of which two copies have come down to us,⁸⁵⁴ enumerates thirty-three summaries of these

Lambrecht van den Kerkhof). Only the payment is mentioned, not the tasks the *zangmeester* had to fulfil.

⁸⁵³ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. XCIIIr-XCIIIv; see also SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2377.

⁸⁵⁴ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 177 (copy of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap) and SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2833 (copy of the priests of the chapter, to add to their *memorieboek*). In the copy of the booklet that is now in the archives of the Sint-Jan, someone (Mosmans?) added numbers to the different descriptions, putting corresponding numbers on several charters in the same archive. Numbers 1 and 6 in the booklet are to be found on SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2376; No. 2 in the booklet is on Inv. no. 2377; No. 3 corresponds to Inv. No. 2378, but is not written on it; No. 4 on Inv. no. 2384a; No. 5 on Inv. no. 2379; No. 7

taeffelen. The booklet is dated 22 May 1538, with an addition dated 12 July 1539, and refers to six books (booklets like this, or books in which the *taeffelen* had been written out?) that were in the possession of 1) the dean and priests of the chapter (to add to their *memorieboek*), 2) the three *vicecureyten* of the church, 3) the *provisors* of the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, 4) the *rentmeester* (steward) of the beneficiaries, 5) the provosts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and 6) the church masters. Some (by far not all!) of the *taeffelen* mentioned in this booklet have been preserved in the archives of the Sint-Jan, although there we also find ‘new’ ones. An overview of the *taeffelen* found in the archives of Sint-Jan is given in Appendix 9.

These *taeffelen* or *tabula* were extracts from the complete foundation texts, written in Latin by a *scriptor*,⁸⁵⁵ enumerating everybody involved, making sure everyone knew what to do and when and listing the remunerations after the functionaries. Some of the texts mention that the *taeffelen* were hung in the church. The question is where; probably in the presbytery, because the remunerations were also mentioned and that was most likely no public information. Although we would expect that these abstracts would be simpler than the actual foundations, that is far from the case. They were written in Latin and even Jan Mosmans stated that they were formulated ‘as elaborated as possible’ and ‘very comprehensively, without being clear in the same degree!’⁸⁵⁶ That matters were already found complicated in the 16th century is proven by the text in the little booklet with the enumerations of thirty-three *taeffelen*: *Mer diet belieft die waerheyt der taiffelen te ondersuecken, die overlese ende ondersuecke allen die brieven ende cedullen te samen wel, ende dan zall hij die wairheyt dair aff vynden, anders eest onmoegelijcken die wairheyt dair aff te vijnden*. In summary: if you do not have all the underlying foundation texts, it will be impossible to understand anything about these *taeffelen*.

A third type of document that belonged to the foundation texts and their *taeffelen* are the so-called *memorie briefkens* (memory notes). These were short

on Inv. no. 2382; No. 8 on one of the sheets of Inv. no. 2381; No. 9 is on Inv. no. 2383a. Note that No. 4 written on Inv. no. 2384a does not match the description on fol. 9r of Inv. No. 2833 where it is written to (All Soul’s Day), but more the description of the second item on fol. 9v (if All Soul’s Day comes on a Sunday) although the amount of money spent does not exactly match either of the two descriptions.

⁸⁵⁵ The accounts of the *Bare* from 1558 onwards mention *heer* Philippus de Spina as *scriptor* several times (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 214, Inv. no. 1303, from 58r onwards). This must be Philippus de Spina, priest, singer and scribe of musical choirbooks; see § 6.4.11.

⁸⁵⁶ Mosmans 1931, p. 346. As already concluded: the same goes for the underlying foundation texts, which were not known to Mosmans.

notes, written by the *scriptor* of the *taeffelen*, to be handed over to the functionaries to remind (memorise) them in general what to do. The writing of the *memorie briefkens* occurs regularly in the foundation texts.⁸⁵⁷

Besides this extensive information on general memorial services, we also have some information on how feasts and personal memorial services in the Sint-Jan were celebrated. In the archives of the church, an *Obituarium* is preserved, a 'death book' containing the names of those parishioners who had passed away and for whom a memorial service was to be celebrated every year (and sometimes more than once a year).⁸⁵⁸ The oldest part of this *Obituarium* was written around 1425-1435, as a copy of an older one that goes back to around 1280, and contains the names of the deceased parishioners in the form of a (daily) calendar.⁸⁵⁹ The last entries date from around 1629 (the year 's-Hertogenbosch came under protestant rule). Unfortunately, the dates of death of the persons mentioned in the book are not given. Therefore, it is very laborious to determine when a person died. Since the church accounts are missing, and we do not know how long a certain memorial service was celebrated (as we saw in Bruges, many problems occur with sources like this; for example, foundations 'dried up' or were replaced),⁸⁶⁰ in spite of the beauty of the source, it is not useful for giving an indication of the (number of) memorial services celebrated in the fifth decade of the 16th century.

In the second part of the *Obituarium*,⁸⁶¹ also in the form of a calendar (this time a monthly one), we find additional information on the contents of individual foundations for memorial services that were special, mostly in the form of

⁸⁵⁷ For example BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. 4v, 14v, on the content of the sermons of the *vicecureyten*. Perhaps the loose sheet of paper between fol. XCVIIv and XCVIIJr (at the date of research, 20-05-2005) is an example of such a *memorie briefken*. It deals with the Holy Cross *Lof* to be sung on Ascension Day.

⁸⁵⁸ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, pp. 14-378. I am truly grateful to Dr. Anton Schuttelaars for sharing his photographs of the manuscript and the database he made of it. See on the *Obituarium*: Schuttelaars 2010, especially pp. 40-41. See also: Spierings 1979, especially pp. 1-4 and Mosmans 1931, pp. 50-51.

⁸⁵⁹ Pages 14-378. Spierings dates this part of the *Obituarium* around 1425-1435 and on pp. 5-61 gives a list of the original names occurring in it (the ones added later are not in her list); Mosmans dates this part of the *Obituarium* around 1450. An *Anniversarium* of the chapter priests has also come down to us, but dates from the early 17th century and is therefore beyond the scope of this study, although it does contain memorial services from the Gheerkin de Hondt period (see the discussion of the *Planaris* in § 5.5). On this *Anniversarium*: Schuttelaars, 2010, pp. 41-42 and Hezenmans 1886.

⁸⁶⁰ See the discussion of the *Planaris* in § 5.5.

⁸⁶¹ Pages 381-472.

remunerations for those who were involved. In addition, we find information on feasts that were celebrated, also mostly in the type of remunerations. The dating of this part of the Obituarium is difficult: there seems to be one basic hand with more additional hands and – as in the Bruges Planaris – the entries are not always ordered chronologically from the first day of the month to the last. Contrary to the first part, some dates are mentioned here, all from the second half of the 16th century and clearly not in the basic hand. To find the clue to the date the basic hand ended his work, there are two sources available to do a few quick checks on the dates of death of the deceased having a memorial service: the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap⁸⁶² and the recent publication on the gravestones of the Sint-Jan.⁸⁶³ This shows that the basic hand wrote the entries up to early January 1553 at the very latest, because Joseph Valckenborch died before 14 January 1553 and his own entry is in one of the additional hands.⁸⁶⁴ The last entry that I was able to confirm in the old hand cannot date from before 1544, because it is the memorial service of Gerardus Herentals, who was remembered by the Broederschap on 9 February 1544.⁸⁶⁵ This would mean that the basis of the second part of the Obituarium is to be dated somewhere between 1544 and 1553.⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶² Available on the internet: <http://www.bhic.nl>, every year under the item *Uitgaven van allerhande zaken*, the *exequien* (see § 6.4). For this book the references to deceased members from 1519 until 1568 were used.

⁸⁶³ Van Oudheusden/Tummers 2010, to be consulted on the internet: <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>.

⁸⁶⁴ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 383. According to the accounts of the Broederschap, Magister Joseph Valckenborch was remembered with an *exequie* on 14 January 1553, and therefore had died before that date. The first reference after 1553 in a different hand than the basic one is on p. 472 where the memorial service of canon and dean Philippus de Spina is mentioned (died 17-12-1557; Van Oudheusden/Tummers 2010, volume 1, p. 191). This Philippus de Spina is not to be confused with the *intoneerder* Philippus de Spina (Roelvink 2002, pp. 127-128).

⁸⁶⁵ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 382. We have to keep in mind that a memorial service might have been funded (years) later than the date the person in question had passed away. The earliest reference in the basic hand before 1544 is that on p. 431 where the memorial service of cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt is mentioned, who died on 19 July 1534.

⁸⁶⁶ I want to stress that it must be possible to narrow this down, if we use all medieval sources available in 's-Hertogenbosch, for example the city accounts and the renowned Bosch' Protocol. Prudence is called for, because sometimes there are people with the same name. For example the Everard de Aqua (van de Water) copied by the original scribe on p. 470 is the canon who died on 19 December 1503 (memorial service on 19 December, see <http://www.grafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>) and not his nephew who was a member of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap who died in October 1558 and who

Although the references in this second part of the Obituarium do not contain complete foundation texts, we do get an insight into how services were celebrated. Just as in Bruges, in 's-Hertogenbosch there seems to have been an à la carte menu for the memorial services.⁸⁶⁷ The prospective deceased or his/her family was to chose if he/she wanted music with the memorial service or not, sometimes even organ music sounded. As we shall see in the paragraph on memorial services celebrated by the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, chant was preferred up to and including the first half of the 16th century; from then on polyphonic Requiem Masses were no longer regarded as 'not suitable for the death'.⁸⁶⁸ This is partly confirmed in the foundation texts in the Obituarium. In early memorial services we find payments to the *cantores* and *chorales* (the singers⁸⁶⁹ and choirboys),⁸⁷⁰ sometimes even accompanied by organ music,⁸⁷¹ later on we find the terms *discantores* and *chorales* (polyphonic singers and choirboys).⁸⁷² This could indicate that polyphony was sung, although we have to be cautious, because as we saw above for the Holy Cross *Lof*, the *discantores* were also 'used' to sing chant. Besides, there are the foundations by two

also had a son named Everaert who died in 1590. Another point to be considered is that not all additions were necessarily made in the year they mention: for example the addition that Petrus de Busco died on 9 April 1537 could have been added at any time after this date, and in this case the addition is not in an 'official' hand, but seems to have been added later.

⁸⁶⁷ See § 5.5.4.

⁸⁶⁸ See below, § 6.4.6. In short: on 4 November 1531 the singers requested to sing a polyphonic Requiem Mass, but the majority of the sworn members of the Broederschap shared the opinion that chant was more suitable for the dead. Therefore, a polyphonic Requiem Mass was no longer allowed. On 4 November 1559 and on 21 August 1562 polyphonic Requiem Masses were sung again. This time there is no mention of 'not suitable for the dead' (Roelvink 2002, p. 41). We may therefore conclude that singing polyphony in memorial services was not allowed in the first half of the 16th century, but was no longer a problem in the second half of the same century, although all the other *exequien* of the Broederschap were clearly sung in chant.

⁸⁶⁹ One of the canons of the chapter of Sint-Jan functioned as cantor. See on the terminology: § 1.4.

⁸⁷⁰ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, pp. 390, 414, 430, 446 (Ghysselbertus Back); p. 439 (Theodoricus Jacobi de Hedel).

⁸⁷¹ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 422 (Jo. Cock).

⁸⁷² SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 452 (for the parents of Lucas Dielen, decanus, on the feast of St Luke: *cantores musicos, organista, magister cantus cum choralibus, cantores*; Dielen became dean in 1563 and died in 1585 (Van Oudheusden/Tummers 2010, no. 472)); p. 471 (Jacobus Hannen, 16 December: *discantores, organista*; according to the Bossche Encyclopedie (<http://www.bossche-encyclopedie.nl>) the city accounts mention Hannen's death in 1556-1557).

canons of the church, Matheus Vijnck⁸⁷³ and Petrus Moer, that do not match the theory of *discantores* only singing polyphony. Matheus Vijnck's foundation is clearly written in the basic hand (therefore probably in the first half of the 16th century), but Vijnck obviously required the *discantores*.⁸⁷⁴ His memorial service started with a vigil with nine lessons, followed by a solemn Mass to be held under the rood screen (solemn meaning in chant?), with bells. The *discantores* and *chorales* had to sing psalms well (*ut bene psallant*). Finally, the grave of Matheus Vijnck in the presbytery had to be visited. The memorial service of Petrus Moer also required the *discantores* and organist.⁸⁷⁵ We do not have any information on what might have been sung in polyphony, perhaps an entire Requiem Mass or 'just' one or more motets, for example the *De Profundis* and *Miserere mei, Deus*; the word *psallant* in the text of Matheus Vijnck points in that direction.

In foundations for feasts in the Obituarium, the *discantores*, the organist and his bellows blower (*famulus eius*) and the choirboys also appear. In the case of feasts it is certain that polyphony (*discant*) was sung. Most of the feasts were on the official calendar of feasts,⁸⁷⁶ and therefore these foundations were probably additions to an already existing feast (for example to increase solemnity, or simply a payment for something that was already there, for example the organist), just as we saw in Bruges.⁸⁷⁷ Remarkable among the feasts is the foundation of a Golden Mass, but here we do not have any indication that it was celebrated with a so-called mystery play, as it was in Bruges.⁸⁷⁸ We do know however that the *zangmeester* participated, because as we have already seen funding for the Golden Mass – on Wednesday in the Ember Days before Christmas – was also given by Liesbeth vanden Broeck on 11 September 1518.⁸⁷⁹

Sometimes chant was explicitly mentioned in a foundation for a feast. For example during the procession in the nave of the church in the foundation of the feast St John before the Latin Gate (*cum organis et cantu gregoriano*)⁸⁸⁰ and during

⁸⁷³ <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, no. 252 (kind notification from Dr. Anton Schuttelaars).

⁸⁷⁴ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 416, 31 May.

⁸⁷⁵ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 422, 13 June.

⁸⁷⁶ See § 7.5.

⁸⁷⁷ For an overview see Appendix 10.

⁸⁷⁸ § 5.5.3.4.

⁸⁷⁹ BHIC 1232, Archief ILVB, Inv. no. 175, fol. IXr. The Mass is also mentioned on fol. XXIIJv (24 April 1520; foundation by Otto Bolcx Janszoon and his daughter Johanna, widow of Lambrecht van den Kerkhof).

⁸⁸⁰ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 415.

the feast of the Holy Sacrament (*Te Deum in cantu gregoriano cum organis*),⁸⁸¹ both times the organ was also played.

The third and last part of the Obituarium⁸⁸² goes a step further and describes in detail how the services funded by, for example Arnoldus Bock and Ghiselbertus Back were celebrated. The memorial service of Ghiselbertus Back (died 24 July 1458) has already been described by Jan Mosmans:⁸⁸³ on the evening before the actual remembrance day, a vigil was held, followed by a visit to the grave of Back, where *Libera Me, Miserere mei, Deus, De Profundis* and *Pater Noster* were sung. On the next day, a Requiem Mass was sung, announced with bell ringing. Afterwards, the grave was visited once more to sing the psalms again. This description seems to fit the general way of celebrating a memorial service in European medieval churches.⁸⁸⁴ But from the examples given above, it seems that in the Sint-Janskerk in 's-Hertogenbosch it might have been 'allowed' to have polyphonic Requiem Masses, although polyphony in memorial services was clearly an exception, certainly up to and including the first half of the 16th century.

The archives of the church nowadays contain two more documents from the 16th century that give us a glimpse of musical liturgical life, even if numerous documents are difficult to place and were perhaps taken out of their context, because the texts belonging to them and the church accounts have been lost. An interesting charter in the scope of this book is a charter dated 12 November 1500.⁸⁸⁵ Stephanus Becker gives, on behalf of his father Cristianus, an *erfcijns* (hereditary rent) worth 40 *schelling* under the condition that the profits of this *cijns* are used to buy wax candles in the winter *pro cantoribus et choralibus laudes beate marie virginis in dicta ecclesia supra ocsale decantantibus* (for the benefit of the singers and choirboys while singing the *Lof* of Our Lady on top of the rood loft). From another document we know that a Marian *Lof* was celebrated by the priests of the chapter on Saturdays.⁸⁸⁶

A manuscript in the city archives of 's-Hertogenbosch contains a copy of a document dated 16 April 1513 with another foundation for the Marian *Lof* sung by

⁸⁸¹ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2932, p. 421.

⁸⁸² Pages 476-495.

⁸⁸³ Mosmans 1931, p. 343.

⁸⁸⁴ See § 5.5.4.

⁸⁸⁵ SAHt, ASJ, Charters, Inv. no. 938. A summary is in the inventory of the charter collection.

⁸⁸⁶ See below, § 6.4.7.

the priests of the chapter, contributing to the costs of the (polyphonic) singers.⁸⁸⁷ Here we even find some information on how this *Lof* was celebrated: the *sengeren vander musijcken* will sing the *Lof* of Our Lady, on the one Saturday starting with a *Salve Regina* with the verse *Ave virgo vernulans*,⁸⁸⁸ on the other Saturday they will sing *Alma Redemptoris* with the verse 'Maria Virginis' alternating with a 'Mater'. On every Saturday the *Lof* will be finished with an *Ave Maria*.

Finally, considering liturgy in the Sint-Jan, Jan Mosmans describes a so-called *Memorial*, dated by him in 1570.⁸⁸⁹ Mosmans gives an edition 'in extenso' of this manuscript, which mentions 'every service the parish priest and his assistants had to maintain during a liturgical year, for example special Masses, sermons, *Lof* services and processions inside the church.' The *Memorial* is build up as a calendar and seems a bit odd, since it does not have many services and also contains over thirty to forty liturgical activities that had to be held outside the Sint-Jan, in the many chapels and churches elsewhere in 's-Hertogenbosch. Therefore, this *Memorial* cannot be seen as a liturgical agenda for the church of Sint-Jan.

A church like the Sint-Jan, being both a collegiate church and a parish church, must have had a very rich collection of musical manuscripts, both chant and polyphony. Today only two manuscripts have come down to us, both in chant.⁸⁹⁰ The first manuscript is to be dated around 1500 and is a so-called *intoneerdersboek*, a book for the precentors.⁸⁹¹ The manuscript was written by the Brethren of Common Life of 's-Hertogenbosch. The music is for both the Office and Mass. The second (incomplete) manuscript is dated around 1530, with additions dated 1583.⁸⁹² This gradual-sequentiarium was also written by the 's-Hertogenbosch Brethren of Common Life and contains music for the Mass.

⁸⁸⁷ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 72 (*Privilegeboek* of Marten 's Heeren Gerards: book with copies by city governour Marten 's Heeren Gerards written between 1575 and 1578), fol. 283r-v, foundation made by Lambert Millink.

⁸⁸⁸ It remains a mystery which verse is meant here.

⁸⁸⁹ Mosmans 1940-1941. Mosmans mentions that the *Memorial* is in the archives of the Bisdom, but I have not been able to find the original there. My remarks are therefore based on Mosmans' edition.

⁸⁹⁰ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. nos. 216-1 and 216-2. Inv. no. 216-1 has a calendar, to be discussed in § 7.5.1. The archives also contain a few prints, but they are left out here, because they all date from the last quarter of the 16th century (De Loos 2000c, pp. 101-104).

⁸⁹¹ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 216-1. An extensive description of this manuscript and its content is given in two articles (De Loos 2000b and 2000a). On the precentors see below, § 6.4.

⁸⁹² SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 216-2. An extensive description of this manuscript and its contents is given in Zwitter 2000a.

The archives of the church of Sint-Jan do offer us two more references to musical books that are now lost: both refer to chant books written by the Brethren of Common Life. First there are two antiphonaries, commissioned by the church masters on 1 September 1500.⁸⁹³ The books were to be written on parchment by one person and if he died, his work was to be continued by a priest having the same handwriting. The elongated initials would be in red and blue, and the rectangular ones also had to be embellished; the lines had to be drawn in red.⁸⁹⁴ Both books had to be bound with copper fittings. The second order commissioned by the church masters dates from 16 August 1550.⁸⁹⁵ This time it concerns a book for the *intoneerders*: a *librum intonationum pro succentoribus chori ecclesie sancti iohannis*, on parchment, also with red and blue letters and also bound and provided with copper fittings.⁸⁹⁶ None of the books has stood the test of time.

6.3.3 Veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary

In 1380, a 1.15 meters high wooden sculpture of the Blessed Virgin Mary became the beginning of a flourishing Marian devotion that is still important in today's Sint-Jan. That we are so well informed on the origin of the cult is due to a so-called *Mirakelboek* ('miracle book'). This book consists of two parts: a poem of 594 lines (a copy from circa 1600 of an original from around 1400) and 481 miracle stories dated and written between 1382 and 1603, of which 461 stories are from the period 1382-1388.⁸⁹⁷ It is the poem, written by a certain Joannes Ruermunt van Boekout, that tells us about the Marian statue.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹³ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2911, chirograph. For a photograph and a description see Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 103-105.

⁸⁹⁴ In the SAHt several fragments of chant books (reused in bindings) with red and blue ink are kept (Inv. nos. 166, 5436, 5543 and 5545). It cannot be determined if these fragments might come from the workshop of the Brethren of Common Life.

⁸⁹⁵ SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2910, chirograph. See for a photograph and a description Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 103-105.

⁸⁹⁶ Although this description fits inv. no. 216-1, Ike de Loos refers to the fact that this new book should be written *in scriptura rotunda cum notis quadratis*, and 216-1 is not written in square notation. Therefore 216-1 cannot be this book, neither can it be the 'old book' that is referred to as the model for this new one (De Loos 2000c, p. 89 note 2).

⁸⁹⁷ This is the second part of a book of which the original first part – most likely containing the stories from about 1380 to 1382 – has been lost, hence the first date is 1382.

⁸⁹⁸ This paragraph and the next ones are mainly based on Verhoeven 1993a and Hens/Van Bavel/Van Dijck/Frantzen 1978. Verhoeven takes the edge of a few assumptions of Hens a.o. Hens a.o. contains a complete transcription, annotation, summaries of the wonders

For about forty-two years the wooden Blessed Virgin lay in a building shed of the church, until it was placed in the church. Many people thought she was old-fashioned and ugly. But when someone wanted to take the sculpture home, it turned out to be too heavy to remove. From then on, wonders happened around the 's-Hertogenbosch Virgin: sick people visiting the Marian sculpture were cured and she appeared in visions and dreams. The veneration of the Blessed Virgin in 's-Hertogenbosch was not unique in medieval Europe: it followed other cities in the Low Countries that had already honoured the Virgin Mary for many decades.⁸⁹⁹ And as we have already seen, the exact same thing (a sculpture that suddenly was too heavy to move) happened a year later (1381) in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft with a Pietà.

The miracles held a large attraction for people from a wide area of about two hundred kilometres around 's-Hertogenbosch, and even beyond, as far as Gdańsk, now in Poland.⁹⁰⁰ Some of them fulfilled a punishment, going on a pilgrimage to 's-Hertogenbosch; others came out of their own free will. They all brought gifts (jewellery and all sorts of 'decorations', but also money) that were very welcome to the church masters for their building activities. The sculpture soon acquired a place in its own chapel.

Around the statue of the Blessed Virgin arose a brotherhood.⁹⁰¹ The first mention dates from 1427, but it might be older. When 's-Hertogenbosch came under protestant rule, the sculpture of the Virgin was brought to a place of safety, first in Antwerp and later in Brussels, where it found a place in the church of Sint-Jacob-op-de-Koudenberg. The brotherhood ceased to exist until 1836, when it was re-founded.⁹⁰² The miracle sculpture of the Blessed Virgin returned to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1853, and since then the veneration of the Blessed Virgin flourishes in an almost medieval way.

and an extensive introduction to the miracle book. A description of the sculpture is given in: Peeters 1985, p. 366. See also: Mosmans 1931, pp. 408-415.

⁸⁹⁹ Van Dijck 1973, pp. 15-20.

⁹⁰⁰ On the geographical origin of the pilgrims and the geographical distribution of pilgrim's signs (lead or pewter pins) see: Kruip 2010.

⁹⁰¹ Kuijer 2000, pp. 164-165.

⁹⁰² On this *Broederschap van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Den Bosch*, see: <http://www.zoetelievevrouw.nl>.

6.4 The Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap⁹⁰³

The wooden sculpture of the Blessed Virgin Mary around which a true Marian veneration began in 's-Hertogenbosch and is still an important goal for pilgrims today was not the first Marian statue that was venerated in the Sint-Jan. There was an older sculpture owned by an older Marian confraternity.⁹⁰⁴

At the beginning of the 14th century a group of clergymen gathered regularly in the Sint-Janskerk to honour the Virgin Mary. In the year 1318 the clergymen made their activities official and founded the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.⁹⁰⁵ The charter of foundation of the Broederschap was approved among others by the bishop of Liège, the diocese to which 's-Hertogenbosch belonged.⁹⁰⁶

6.4.1 Members⁹⁰⁷

In the 14th century, the members of the Broederschap all came from 's-Hertogenbosch and its direct surroundings (de Meierij). During the first decades, only clerics were allowed, meaning men having received the tonsure and therefore

⁹⁰³ This chapter is largely a summary of my previous publications, see there for details: Roelvink 2002 (with many transcriptions of account items); Roelvink 2003; Roelvink 2000; Roelvink 1999. The accounts of the Broederschap are nowadays available on the internet: <http://www.bhic.nl> (Toegangsnummer 1232), click Archieven en boeken; search Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.

⁹⁰⁴ On the history of this Broederschap, see: Van Dijck 1973.

⁹⁰⁵ Van Dijck 1973, p. 21. The name that the Broederschap bears today (*Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* – Confraternity of Our Illustrious Lady), goes back to its 16th-century Latin predecessor *confraternitas clericorum beate marie Virginis*. The founding charter of 1318 does not mention the name of the Broederschap, the accounts of the 14th century give several names, such as *confraternitas fratrum beate Marie*, *clercbroederscap onser vrouwen* and *onser vrouwe broederscap*. See Van Dijck 1973, pp. 35-36. In the 16th century the accounts mention names like (*eerwerdiger*) *broederscap van onser liever vrouwen* and *ons liever vrouwen bruederscappe*. In this book the name Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap is chosen, to distinguish it from a similarly named brotherhood also in 's-Hertogenbosch and still active, *Broederschap van Onze Lieve Vrouw van Den Bosch* (see the previous paragraph, § 6.3.3).

⁹⁰⁶ 's-Hertogenbosch would belong to the diocese of Liège until 1559. In that year, 's-Hertogenbosch became an independent diocese, belonging to the archdiocese of Mechlin.

⁹⁰⁷ Unless otherwise stated based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 13-16, 84-86 and Van Dijck 1973, pp. 20-47, 65-79, 180-187, 195-228.

belonging to the clergy. These clerics were called sworn Brethren because they had to swear an oath on the Gospel. The sworn members had to be present during the liturgical activities of the Broederschap. They paid a fee at their entrance and when they passed away a so-called *dootschult* was due. A new membership had to be approved by the other members.⁹⁰⁸ The government of the Broederschap consisted of two *proosten* (provosts), an 'elder' and a 'younger' one, the younger one becoming the elder one after one year. Together they were responsible for the daily administration.

In the course of the 14th century other men and also women were allowed to become members of the Broederschap. For them a new kind of membership was created: the external member. In contrast to the sworn members these people did not have to swear an oath on the Gospel or participate in the daily (mainly liturgical) activities. They did pay, however, the usual fees, although the amounts were considerably less than the fees the sworn members paid. In the early days the external members came from 's-Hertogenbosch or its direct surroundings; from the 15th century onwards they came from all over Europe, although the majority came from the Low Countries and the direct surroundings. Around 1510 the highest number of members was reached: 14,000-15,000; from then onwards, the figure decreased.⁹⁰⁹ The rising number up to 1510 is mainly to be explained because of the popularity of Marian devotion and the fact that the Broederschap had indulgences to distribute. In return, the Broederschap gave all their members every year (home delivery!) a candle on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February). A large network of *provisoren* (agents) made sure the fees were collected and the candles were delivered.

A third category of members was formed by the 'Swan Brethren' (*Zwanenbroeders*). From around 1400 the Broederschap sometimes received a swan to consume at a banquet. Swans were usually caught in moats from castles and therefore offered by rich and influential people. The Broederschap wanted to keep those men in their midst and created a special membership for them as honorary members. Swan Brethren often lived far away from 's-Hertogenbosch and did not have to participate in the regular (primarily liturgical) activities. In the middle of the 16th century there were about five Swan Brethren in the Broederschap. Together, the

⁹⁰⁸ Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 383-384. See also pp. 366-412 on the Broederschap and city government in general. Quite a few members had their grave in the Sint-Jan, so biographical information is also to be found in Van Oudheusden/Tummers 2010.

⁹⁰⁹ A database of all the members up to and including 1642 is accessible on the following website: <http://www.bhic.nl> (Toegangsnummer 1232), click Archieven en boeken; search *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*. For an introduction see: Van Lith-Droogleever Fortuijn/Sanders/Schuttelaars 2010.

sworn Brethren (about eighty mid-16th century) and the Swan Brethren formed the core group of the Broederschap. A substantial percentage of this core group was involved in the city government or held some other high position in 's-Hertogenbosch society; some even played a political role in the European elite (for example at the court of Charles V). Among the core members were quite some renowned men, for example Jheronimus Bosch and William of Orange.⁹¹⁰

The core members wore special clothing when they held their liturgical activities. The *kovels* (hoods) had a different colour every year, in a cycle of four colours: red, purple, blue and green. Until 1543 the group of singers serving the Broederschap also wore *kovels*; from then on they wore tabards of the same colour as the sworn Brethren's own clothing. A silver (or in the case of a Swan brother golden) *broetse* (pin) was worn on the hoods of the core members of the Broederschap. An exception was made for priests, who did not wear the pin.⁹¹¹ The *broetse* consisted of a lily among thorns, provided with the motto of the Broederschap, *Sicut Lilium inter Spinās* (as a lily among the thorns), referring to the Song of Songs 2:2, in which the lily symbolises the purity and virginity of the Virgin and the thorns form the depraved world around her.⁹¹² The device of the Broederschap is found on all sorts of attributes the Broederschap used, for example on their clothing⁹¹³ and the pewter tankards every sworn and Swan brother had.⁹¹⁴

Today, the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap still exists in all its glory, although in a different form than in the Middle Ages. When Prince Frederik Hendrik conquered 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629, the Broederschap became one of the first ecumenical associations of the Netherlands, bidding farewell to the Marian veneration and all the liturgical activities that came with it. In the last quarter of the 20th century the Broederschap opened up and today it is an important part of the society in

⁹¹⁰ Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 490-510 gives an extensive overview of the sworn and Swan Brethren of the Broederschap and their social positions (when known) between 1500 and 1580.

⁹¹¹ According to the accounts the priests did have to pay for the pin; the reason why they did not wear it is not mentioned (Roelvink 2002, pp. 85 and 192 (note 492)).

⁹¹² Examples of the pin are to be seen on two paintings: a triptych by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen (for a photo see: Roelvink 2002, p. 85; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 202-203) and a triptych from the workshop of Jheronimus Bosch (Van Dijck 1998, pp. 116-124, especially pp. 122-124).

⁹¹³ On embroidery for the Broederschap see: De Bodt 1990, pp. 482-486.

⁹¹⁴ On the tankards: Kooyman 1999.

's-Hertogenbosch (and abroad), among other things guarding its unique and important cultural heritage.⁹¹⁵

6.4.2 The chapel with the organ⁹¹⁶

Because of the high total number of members of the Broederschap a large amount of money came in, not only from the fees the members paid, but also through gifts (for example in last wills). These sums were well invested and therefore the medieval Broederschap had a considerable amount of money to spend. The majority was spent on liturgical activities, which were celebrated with great lustre, in a private chapel in the church of Sint-Jan.

The building history of the successive chapels of the Broederschap is part of the building history of the Sint-Jan.⁹¹⁷ From the foundation of the Broederschap in 1318 onwards, it had access to its own chapel in the church. In view of the good financial position of the Broederschap, in the late 1460s plans were made for a completely new chapel, to be attached to the northern aisle of the presbytery. A plan by building master Alart Duhamel was carried out from 1478/79 onwards. On 23 April 1494 the new chapel was consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, St John the Evangelist, St Anne and Mary Magdalene by the bishop of Liège himself. Behind the new chapel was a sacristy (called the *gerfkamer*), where the Broederschap held its meetings and kept its archives.

A real showpiece in the chapel was the altar. It was commissioned in 1475 from the Utrecht cabinetmaker Adriaen van Wesel and delivered by him in 1477. The altar mostly contained scenes of the life of the Virgin, but also a group of music-making angels.⁹¹⁸ Two of the groups of the altar are still in the possession of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, showing St John the Evangelist on Patmos and the vision of emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl; the others have been

⁹¹⁵ See on the developments after 1629 and the nowadays Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap: www.zwanenbroedershuis.nl; Roelvink 2003; Van Dijck 1973.

⁹¹⁶ Unless otherwise stated based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 25-31, 82-83 and Van Dijck 1973, pp. 43-47, 120-146, 242-247.

⁹¹⁷ On the building history of the Broederschap chapel: Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 71, 101, 146-157. The recent restoration is described in: Glaudemans/Hagemans 2011, pp. 23-31. See also: Peeters 1985, pp. 22-25, 206-209, 296, 346-348, 391-392, 395.

⁹¹⁸ Halsema-Kubes/Lemmens/De Werd 1980, pp. 34-44, 78; Koldeweij 2001b, pp. 70-78. Both publications give a general reconstruction of the altar.

scattered across the world.⁹¹⁹ The panels of the sculptured groups were painted among others by Jheronimus Bosch, who was one of the sworn members of the Broederschap; he depicted scenes of St John the Evangelist on Patmos, St John the Baptist and the Passion.⁹²⁰ The sculptures themselves were polychromed, but only in 1508-1510. The place of honour on top of the altar was for the old Marian sculpture, which is now lost.

The Broederschap had its own organ already in the first chapel.⁹²¹ In the course of the centuries much money was spent on this type of musical instrument. In the early 1530s the Broederschap decided to purchase a completely new organ, in accordance with the latest techniques and taste.⁹²² The assignment was given to the Amsterdam organ builder Hendrick Niehoff, for whom this was one of the first organs in his flourishing European career. Hendrick and (later) his descendants, especially his son Nicolaas, would maintain the organ for several decades and would regularly adjust it to the newest fashion in organ building. One of the sworn members of the Broederschap left a large sum of money especially for this organ: Joris Sampson, who – as we shall see below in the paragraph on the procession – was a great music lover. The precious and expensive instrument was maintained well and not everybody was allowed near it. When Jan Bosschart from Bruges was appointed as the new organist in 1535-1536, he first got access to a training organ that was still used in 1542, perhaps also for training new organists. Next to the great organ, there was still a positive, which was sold to the count of Buren – Floris van Egmond Buren – in 1534-1535.⁹²³ This small and portable organ was probably also used during the processions.

⁹¹⁹ Based on the in the previous note mentioned literature among others in: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (six groups of sculpture); Gruuthusemuseum Bruges (reading Virgin); Williamstown Mass. USA (the Virgin showing her new born son).

⁹²⁰ Three panels from Madrid (Fundación Lázaro Galdiano) and Berlin (two; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) have been identified by Koldewey/Vandenbroeck/Vermet 2001, pp. 70-78 and 94-95 as belonging to the altar.

⁹²¹ Van Dijck 1973, pp. 52, 157-160; Vente 1963b, pp. 18-28.

⁹²² Van Dijck 1973, pp. 271-275; Peeters 1985, pp. 360-361; Vente 1963b, pp. 78, 84-85; Roelvink 2002, pp. 29-30, 82-83.

⁹²³ Also: Van Dijck 1973, p. 274. Floris van Egmond was the father of Maximiliaan van Egmond, who would become Swan Brother in 1543. That there was music in the house of Egmond Buren is also proven by the fact that the same Floris provided the city trumpeters with four *fluyten*, silver-clasped with the weapon of the count (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1390, Stadsrekening 1538-39, between 18 and 24 March 1539, fol. 235r-235v, copied as SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 3157; see also OSA 1391, fol. 120v, 124r; OSA 1396, fol. [k 1r]).

6.4.3 Their own house⁹²⁴

The chapel was the most important place where the sworn members met. In addition, they gathered at one of the members' homes, or in a public place. That changed when on 18 February 1483 the priest and sworn member Gijsbert van der Poorten determined in his last will that his house on the Hinthamerstraat (just across from the chapel of the Broederschap) should become the house of the Broederschap. Gijsbert died on 29 July 1484 and from then on the Broederschap had its own house.

In the early 1530s, the sworn members found Gijsbert's house not up to date enough. The Brethren asked the architect Jan Darkennes (also architect of the Sint-Jan, town hall, several town gates and defensive works)⁹²⁵ to draw up a plan. In 1535 he received the assignment to modernise the house. After some discussion Darkennes completed his renovation (or rather re-building) of the house to the satisfaction of the Brethren. Although this house was replaced in the 19th century, we know how it looked from the outside (front), because several images of it have been preserved.⁹²⁶ From the middle of the 1530s the sworn Brethren used their house more often for their banquets (see below). This was a budgetary question: in 1533 the Brethren concluded that dining in public places had become too expensive.

In the first half of the 19th century, the house from 1538 was demolished because of construction problems that were not remediable and the fact that – again – the house did not match the modern taste and demands of the Brethren anymore.⁹²⁷ A neo-Gothic building replaced the old one. Today this beautiful masterpiece of neo-Gothic architecture at Hinthamerstraat 94 has a double function: besides the association's building of the Broederschap it is a museum, giving information on the rich history of the Broederschap and showing all the treasures that have stood the test of time.

⁹²⁴ Unless otherwise stated, based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 32-36; Roelvink 2003; Van Dijck 1973, pp. 113-116, 236-241, 394-395.

⁹²⁵ On Darkennes: Van Dijck 1997; Kennis 1997.

⁹²⁶ 's-Hertogenbosch, *Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap* (Roelvink 2002, p. 32); Heeswijk, *Kasteel Heeswijk*; Rotterdam, *Historisch Museum*, *Stichting Atlas van Stolk*, 1736 (Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 110-111); private collection, water colour by A. Oltmans, 19th century (Van Drunen 1983b, p. 130); Tilburg University, *Archives Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant*, nr. H 55, Br. 2 (litho from 1832, coloured by J.W. Martens; Van Dijck 1973, between pp. 32 and 33). All dating from at least the 18th century. See also BHIC 1232, Inv. nr. 279 and for an overview of four of the five images Roelvink 2003, pp. 17-19.

⁹²⁷ From the old house only two shutters have been kept, now in the Zwanenbroedershuis.

6.4.4 Weekly Vespers and Mass⁹²⁸

For the sworn Brethren, there were several aspects to daily life related to their membership in the 16th century. The most important one was the weekly celebration of Vespers and Mass, on Tuesday and Wednesday respectively, from 1318 onwards for many centuries. It was rather unusual that the Broederschap chose Tuesday and Wednesday to honour the Blessed Virgin, because in the diocese of Liège Marian devotion took mainly place on Saturdays. The fact that an older brotherhood of chaplains had the right to celebrate a Marian Mass on Saturdays might have had to do with this choice.

The liturgical activities were led by a priest, who was called dean. He was assisted by a deacon and a subdeacon, who respectively sang the Gospel and the Epistle. Furthermore there were a sexton and two *bastonniers* (bastionarii, vergers). All men wore special clothing with the motto of the Broederschap *Sicut Lilium inter Spinās* embroidered on it.

From the early years onwards, the liturgy was embellished with vocal and instrumental music. In the beginning, there were only a few singers, growing to a mature group with an average of seven adult singers and four to six choirboys in the 16th century. Furthermore there were two *intoneerders* (precentors), who literally gave the chant intonation by singing the first words of a composition and who were always priests. And of course there was an organist with a bellows blower.

Both chant and polyphony were sung. On Tuesday, the Vespers were sung in chant and polyphony. On Wednesday, the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei) was sung in polyphony, the Proper (mainly) in chant.⁹²⁹ As we shall see below, seven 16th-century handwritten choirbooks with polyphony have come down to us, one of them also containing chant, and therefore being also part of the nowadays collection of seven chant manuscripts.⁹³⁰

⁹²⁸ Unless otherwise stated, based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 37-38; Van Dijck 1973, pp. 33, 51, 248-253.

⁹²⁹ Psalms were most likely also sung in polyphony now and then.

⁹³⁰ BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 148, 149, 150, 152, 159, 162, 176 (chant) and Inv. nos. 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158 (polyphony). The Codex Smijers (Inv. no. 152) and all the choirbooks containing polyphony are exhibited in the Zwanenbroedershuis.

6.4.5 Feasts⁹³¹

In addition to the weekly Vespers and Mass, in the 16th century several feast days were celebrated with Vespers on the evening before and Matins, Mass and second Vespers on the day itself. First, there were six Marian feasts: Visitation (2 July), Assumption (15 August), Nativity (8 September), Conception (8 December), Purification (2 February) and Annunciation (25 March). A seventh Marian feast was that of the Presentation (21 November). Until 1535 the Brethren were only allowed to celebrate this feast with explicit permission of the priests of the chapter, unless the day fell on a Wednesday, when Mass was already celebrated. From the Broederschap accounts it becomes clear that the chapter gave permission every year.

Next to these Marian feasts, the Brethren officially celebrated the feasts of Mary Magdalene (22 July), St Anne (26 July), St John the Evangelist (27 December), St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gate (6 May), the day of the Dedication of the chapel (23 April),⁹³² Christmas (25 December, starting at 6 a.m.!) and the fourth day after Pentecost. The 16th-century accounts also mention the celebration of a Mass on the day of the July procession (see below), the Wednesday after St Lucy (Wednesday on or after 13 December; Wednesday in the Ember Days) and the Monday after Holy Innocents (Monday after 28 December).

All musical manuscripts today in the archives of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap show us chant and polyphony for these feasts. The chant books also have music for feasts not mentioned above, namely: the octave of Christmas (1 January), Circumcision (1 January), Epiphany (6 January) and All Souls (1 November).⁹³³ We may therefore conclude that these feasts were also celebrated in the chapel.

The accounts give us one special mention concerning the feast of Easter in 1542, when Gheerkin de Hondt was *zangmeester*. In that year the Resurrection of the Lord was played on the 'holy day of Easter', a performance including the singers and the beneficiaries of the church of Sint-Jan.⁹³⁴ The account item refers to *nae alder gewoente* (according to the tradition), suggesting this type of mystery play was performed every year.⁹³⁵

⁹³¹ Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 39-40; Van Dijck 1973, pp. 47-53, 106-109, 248-253.

⁹³² See § 7.5.2.

⁹³³ Derived from the overviews of content of the Broederschap chant books in: De Loos 2000c.

⁹³⁴ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 40r. Appendix 3, 1542, 17 April.

⁹³⁵ On the Easter play in general: Dauven 2001.

6.4.6 Exequien⁹³⁶

Apart from the regular Vespers and Mass and the feast days, there were two types of memorial services for deceased members: 1) general ones that were held four times a year for all members (core and external) who had passed away (*exequien generael*) and 2) personal services (*exequien*) for the core members.

The general memorial services were celebrated with Vespers on a Friday and a Requiem Mass on Saturday. The four moments were spread over the year: on the Friday and Saturday after the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (after 15 August), after All Saints (after 1 November), after Laetare Sunday (variable) and before the feast of St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gate (before 6 May). During the Requiem Mass, the dean read all the names of the deceased members from the *dootboek* (the 'death book'). After the Mass, there was a *spynde*: a distribution of bread to the poor, taken care of by the masters of the *Tafel van de Heilige Geest*.⁹³⁷ The structure of the entire celebration reminds us of the four memorial services held in the church of Sint-Jan, so there seems to have been a certain pattern in remembering deceased parishioners and loved ones in 's-Hertogenbosch.

The Brethren preferred chant for the memorial services. Nevertheless, the professional singers tried to have polyphonic Requiem Masses a few times. We know a polyphonic Requiem Mass was in the repertoire, because in 1496, sworn member Pauwels van Rode composed a polyphonic Requiem Mass that was copied in a book by one of the singers, Ariaen Smeeds. The book, which is no longer extant, also contained a *Missa Salve Sancta Parens*, three other Masses and a 'Patrem', copied by the famous scribe Petrus Alamire.⁹³⁸

In 1531 the singers were allowed to sing the Requiem Mass of the second *exequie generael* of the year (on 4 November) in polyphony, but this Mass *stont sommeghen nijet vael aen, sy pressen die olde manier ... vant dat is bequamer manier voer de dooden* ('did not please some of us, they preferred the old way ... because the old way is more suitable for the death'), ... *also niet mer* (therefore: not again). A few decades later, on 4 November 1559 and on 21 August 1562 polyphonic Requiem Masses sounded again in the chapel of the Broederschap during a general memorial service. However, it is clear that the Brethren preferred chant for the memorial services. None of the remaining polyphonic choirbooks of the collection of the

⁹³⁶ Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 41-43; Van Dijck 1973, pp. 49-50, 106-107, 252.

⁹³⁷ On the *Tafel van de Heilige Geest* see § 6.7. Besides these four general *spynden*, there were eight small *spynden*, founded by sworn members of the Broederschap (Roelvink 2002, pp. 54-55 and Van Dijck 1973, pp. 285-289).

⁹³⁸ Smijers 1932, p. 211; Roelvink 2002, p. 103.

Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap contains a polyphonic Requiem Mass. On the other hand: three of the chant books today in the collection of the Broederschap contain liturgy for the dead.⁹³⁹

The personal *exequien* were usually celebrated on the Saturday after the news of the death of the core member had reached 's-Hertogenbosch. The memorial service derived from the habit of the early years of the Broederschap, when funerals of sworn members began in their own chapel.⁹⁴⁰ The costs were normally paid for by the *vrienden* (relatives) of the deceased. If there were no relatives, someone else (in the case of a priest, for example, the church) paid for the expenses; only in rare cases did the Broederschap itself take care of the costs.

We are rather well informed on the attributes used during the *exequien*. During the Masses, everybody was dressed in black, all clothing provided with the motto *Sicut Lilium inter Spinās* and skulls and crossbones. A separate bell was used *over die doode te schellen* (to toll over the death). Furthermore, a so-called *baercleet* (pall) was put on a bier, just as we have seen with the memorial services that were held in the Sint-Janskerk. In 1542 the Broederschap needed a new pall, for which they bought the fabrics – velvet in black and carmine red – in Antwerp. On the pall the *Sicut Lilium inter Spinās* was embroidered six times, together with a depiction of the Virgin in the sun. On the four corners of the bier, the four candles were placed, also newly purchased in 1542. The quality of the black velvet was not good, since it had to be replaced within a few years, a history that kept repeating itself.

6.4.7 *Lof*⁹⁴¹

The Broederschap took part in the celebrations of the Holy Cross *Lof* in the Sint-Janskerk, of which the ordinance and music have been preserved in the archives of the Broederschap.⁹⁴² Besides this Holy Cross *Lof*, the Broederschap celebrated a Marian *Lof*. We are very well informed on this Marian *Lof*, since we have access to a document carefully describing the ceremony. We have detailed information on the role played by the singers and organist, the voice-types of the singers, and the texts

⁹³⁹ BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 148, 150 and 162.

⁹⁴⁰ This habit no longer existed in the 16th century: core members were still buried in the chapel of the Broederschap, but the accounts do not give any information on funeral services. Therefore, the funeral services must have taken place in the church itself, being the parish church (or even elsewhere, for example a convent church or chapel) and not in the chapel of the Broederschap.

⁹⁴¹ Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 43-46.

⁹⁴² See above, § 6.3.2.

that were sung. The Broederschap celebrated the Marian *Lof* every day except Saturday, on which it was celebrated by the chapter of the Sint-Janskerk.

The document that describes the ceremony in detail, is a charter from 1479,⁹⁴³ in which Willem Haertscheen alias Pels funded the celebration of a daily *Lof*, except for All Soul's Day, Ash Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and all the Saturdays when the chapter of Sint-Jan celebrated a *Lof* service. If the chapter did not celebrate the *Lof*, the Broederschap was allowed to do so.

The *Lof* was partly celebrated in the chapel of the Broederschap, partly on the tribune of the rood loft, which was accessible through special stairs. Before the actual service, the *beierman* had to *beieren* three times. Then, one of the middle bells of the church was rung for half an hour. In the period between Shrove Tuesday and 1 October, the bell tolling took place between five o'clock and five thirty in the afternoon, in the period between 1 October and Shrove Tuesday between four thirty and five o'clock.⁹⁴⁴ Following on the bell ringing, the organist had to play a prelude of the *Salve Regina* or *Alma* [*Redemptoris Mater*]. This all did not take place on the days the Brethren celebrated the Matins in the evening; then the Marian *Lof* was sung directly after the Matins.

The *Lof* itself consisted of the singing in polyphony of three verses of the *Salve Regina* or *Alma* [*Redemptoris Mater*] on the rood loft of the church. Between the verses, the organist played. The first verse was sung by two choir boys, the second by two (mature) singers and the third by all singers together. Then two choir boys sang a verse in the chapel of the Broederschap, followed by a collect sung by a priest. Next two choir boys sang the 'Benedicamus'. From the rood loft in the church, the singers finished their job with a motet. Afterwards, the sexton of the church three times rang the bell called Ave Maria.

There had to be at least six mature singers: a tenor, three high tenors (*boeven zenghers*) and two *conters* (probably counter tenors or bass singers). Furthermore there had to be six choirboys. If they were not available, schoolboys who were able to sing polyphony replaced them. When there were not enough mature singers from the Broederschap to sing, other singers were allowed to take their place; in the worst

⁹⁴³ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 147. A transcription is given in Roelvink 2002, pp. 288-289.

⁹⁴⁴ Although several foundation texts in BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175 mention the Marian *Lof*, it does not become clear if and how the celebration of this *Lof* interfered with the Holy Cross *Lof* that was celebrated at five o'clock (fol. 51v, XIV, XVv, XXIv-XXIIr, XXXr, XXXIj, XXXVIIr-v, loose sheet of paper between XCVIjv and XCVIIj). Mosmans 1931, p. 349 assumes that the Marian *Lof* was sung after the Holy Cross *Lof*, which seems very plausible, because we have to take into consideration that the foundation of the Marian *Lof* dates from 1479 and the Holy Cross *Lof* probably started in a later year; the Marian *Lof* might have been moved to another hour.

case, schoolmasters and schoolboys had to take care of the *Lof*. In any case, the voice-types *boeven zenghers* or *conters* were needed, otherwise the *Lof* could not be sung. Only the singers that actually joined the *Lof* were paid: not singing meant no income. If there was not enough money coming from the goods of Willem Haertscheen, the Brethren were allowed to pay the singers less. If more money came in, more singers were allowed to participate.⁹⁴⁵

The Marian *Lof* was fundamentally sung in polyphony, but if the singers wished, they could also use chant once a week. In 1561-1562 the priest and singer Philippus de Spina⁹⁴⁶ was paid for writing *allen die collecten diemen tgeheel jair onder dat loff des avonts gewoenelyck is te singen, wair uuyt oick die priester des avonts onder tloff den oremus singt* (all the collects to be sung every year during the *Lof* in the evening, from which book also the priest sings the *Oremus*). The music Philippus de Spina wrote was bound together in a wooden cover. It has not been preserved.

6.4.8 Processions⁹⁴⁷

One of the liturgical activities that drew a lot of people was a procession. In the 16th century, the Broederschap participated in at least four processions a year: a large procession at the beginning of July, a procession on the feast of St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gate (6 May), a procession on the feast of Corpus Christi (on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday) and a procession to the nearby Orthen on Wednesday in the Rogation Days (the three days before Ascension Day).

The most important procession was the one in July, also called the *kermis ofte ommeganck dach*.⁹⁴⁸ It had its roots in the 14th century, and most likely originated on the initiative of the Brethren, carrying their Marian sculpture around town in veneration of the Blessed Virgin. Soon this event started to enlarge and then the city government of 's-Hertogenbosch took over the organisation, still giving the

⁹⁴⁵ The remunerations of the singers are not specified in the charter, so we do not know how much money was needed every week.

⁹⁴⁶ On Philippus de Spina and his scribal work: Roelvink 2002, pp. 127-147.

⁹⁴⁷ Unless otherwise stated based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 47-50, 291-303 and Van Dijck 1973, pp. 60-61, 108-112, 275-280.

⁹⁴⁸ The procession originally coincided with the annual fair (*kermis*), and was held on the first Sunday after the feast of St John the Baptist (the first Sunday after 24 June). In 1511 it was transferred to the first Sunday after the feast of the Visitation (the first Sunday after 2 July). In 1545 it was not held on Sunday, but on Monday, because of the bad weather (... *mits dien die processie opten selven sonnedach overmits den quaden weder nyet gehouden en waert mair opten maendach*...; SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396, fol. [C9r]).

Broederschap a place of honour in the parade,⁹⁴⁹ which attracted many people from far and near.

Spread all over the city accounts, we find general organisational information on the participation of the city in the period Gheerkin de Hondt worked in 's-Hertogenbosch.⁹⁵⁰ First, messengers were sent to several places to invite people to participate or watch, among them the prelates of Brabant, the abbot of a nearby convent⁹⁵¹ (who had to celebrate the High Mass and carry the Holy Sacrament in the parade) and the inhabitants of 's-Hertogenbosch active in the Antwerp fair.⁹⁵² Extra men were hired to guard the city gates⁹⁵³ and torches were bought for lighting the Holy Sacrament in the procession.⁹⁵⁴ On the day of the procession a breakfast was organised in the 'chapter chamber' in honour of the abbot and his fellow clergymen for their duties at High Mass and in procession.⁹⁵⁵ The guilds of St Catherine, St Barbara and St Agatha were paid for *hulpe vanden speele* (for the plays performed).⁹⁵⁶ Someone is paid for preventing people to play the *kegelspel* (game of skittles) on the Markt (the general square where the procession came by), because *tselve belet dair veele woerden van blasphemien, quade reden, kyvagien, vechtinge ende meer ander sunden verhuut wordden* ('it prevented a lot of cursing and fighting').⁹⁵⁷ The *beyerman* received an amount of money for prohibiting poor people from praying in the church of Sint-Jan.⁹⁵⁸ Finally, *vuerpannen* ('fire pans') were lit on the eve of the day of the procession, in front of the city hall, which had to be kept burning the entire night until the following day.⁹⁵⁹ That this is only an

⁹⁴⁹ Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 1-2, 117 (note 35), 413.

⁹⁵⁰ The following examples are all taken from the account of 1539-40 (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391), in which year the procession was held on Sunday 4 July 1540. These examples are representative for all the processions in which Gheerkin de Hondt participated when he was in 's-Hertogenbosch.

⁹⁵¹ Usually the abbot of Berne, but in 1540 the abbot of Sint-Geertruiden. In 1544 and 1547 the tasks were fulfilled by the dean of the chapter of Sint-Jan and his priests (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395, fol. 231r and OSA 1398, fol. [B7r]).

⁹⁵² SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 75^Av-77r. The inhabitants living in Antwerp seem not to have been invited every year.

⁹⁵³ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 126v-127r.

⁹⁵⁴ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 139r.

⁹⁵⁵ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 82r.

⁹⁵⁶ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 131v.

⁹⁵⁷ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 131v.

⁹⁵⁸ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 131v. This item is placed between other items considering the procession every year, but it mentions that the payment is made four times a year, so probably it was not only for the procession.

⁹⁵⁹ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 85v.

impression of extra organisational payments for the procession becomes clear from the fact that, for example, the *stadspijpers* (city trumpeters) were not paid extra; the procession must have been part of their regular tasks.

From other sources, we know that the actual procession started at around ten o'clock in the morning, and that the route went from the Sint-Janskerk to the Markt and back. The order of the participants was not chosen at random.⁹⁶⁰ First the banner with little bells appeared, flanked by two large silver crosses. Then the representatives of the guilds came by, carrying the sculptures of their own saints. Behind them walked the representatives of the four civic guards, followed by the members of the chambers of rhetoric, also bearing their saint statues. Then, one of the highlights of the procession came: the sculpture of the Virgin of the Sint-Janskerk. Behind it marched the clerics: conventuals, priests, chaplains and canons of the church. Subsequently the Holy Sacrament was shown, mostly carried by a priest in a monstrance. Next, the third part of the procession came by: the administrators of the city. Behind them came the members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, bearing their own (older!) wooden statue of the Virgin on a stretcher, protected by a baldachin. The Brethren also carried a silver statue of St John the Evangelist, the patron of the church, also under a canopy. Finally, the parade was closed by beguines and groups from neighbouring villages. Halfway along the route, on the Markt, a mystery play was performed. Then the entire group returned via another street to the Sint-Jan, where again a play was performed. The Broederschap contributed to the costs of these players, who played the shepherds and the Magi.

For the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap itself, the feast began on the evening before.⁹⁶¹ From eight o'clock until nine thirty, the Brethren gathered in their chapel to listen to music performed by the singers, choirboys, organist and *stadspijpers* (city trumpeters). The singers sang three motets, *in manier van eenen love* (in the way of a *Lof*), and the organist played four motets. The *stadspijpers* most likely joined the singers and/or organist, but sometimes also performed their own music. The sextons of the church tolled the bells of the church one quarter of an hour for three times and the *beierman beierde*. Although this really seems to have

⁹⁶⁰ The next description is based on Schuttelaars 1998, pp. 1-2; Mosmans 1931, pp. 363-372; Van den Heuvel 1946, pp. 44-51, 252-256. A list of who carried candles and in which order is to be found in two manuscripts from the end of the 16th century containing copies of earlier privileges and other legal texts: SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 49, fol. XXIr and Inv. no. 50, fol. 29v. On Inv. no 49 (*Het Rood Privilegeboek*): Paquay 2009; Koldeweij 2004 (reaction by Van Dijck in *Bossche Bladen* 2004 (2), p. 49).

⁹⁶¹ Based on the account of 1539/40 (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 199r-200r).

been what we would call a concert today, liturgy was not forgotten: a priest sang a short prayer, the collect.

This concert was first given in 1526 and was paid for by Joris Samson,⁹⁶² who – as we have already seen – had also donated a large sum of money for a new organ. That Joris was a music-loving man is also proven by a painting dated 1518 by Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen (or his workshop) that is now in the Museum voor Religieuze Kunst in Uden.⁹⁶³ The triptych shows us Joris and his wife Engelken Colen and their (in part deceased) children. Joris has the pin of the Broederschap on his right sleeve. The middle panel shows us the Virgin and Jesus, accompanied by many angels playing all sorts of musical instruments; some of them even have written music. Joris Samson died in 1532, and was buried in the Sint-Jan.⁹⁶⁴ A year later his widow once more paid for the costs of the concert, but from then on the Broederschap had to pay them. That lasted until 1542, when the concert was cancelled for the first time, to never reappear on the agenda again.

On the day of the procession itself, the Brethren started the day very early (at 6 o'clock) with a Mass, celebrated by the dean, deacon and subdeacon. No doubt the singers, choirboys and organist were also part of the ceremony; even several guest singers were paid for participating.

Many musicians and singers came especially for this procession to 's-Hertogenbosch.⁹⁶⁵ First there were the *stadspijpers* of 's-Hertogenbosch, but also their colleagues from other towns like Dordrecht, Haarlem, Utrecht, Nijmegen and even Germany participated in the procession. We not always have a clue about the instruments they were playing, but we do know that wind and string instruments were among them: trumpets, crumhorns, shawns, cornetts, harps and 'violins' are mentioned. The musicians often played around the statues of the Broederschap Virgin and St John. The regular singers of the Broederschap got paid every year for treating their guest colleagues who joined them in singing during the procession. We do not have any information on the music that was performed. No doubt, it was religious music, probably both chant and polyphony, probably a cappella and also accompanied by the musicians playing their instruments.

⁹⁶² Roelvink 2002, pp. 47-48, a transcription is given in the appendix.

⁹⁶³ Roelvink 2002, p. 85; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 202-203. On Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen and his oeuvre: Meuwissen 2014 (pp. 216-217 specifically on the Samson painting).

⁹⁶⁴ <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, number 213 (see there for biographical details). On Joris' and his family also: Van Dijck 2001.

⁹⁶⁵ For the participants up to 1541 see: Smijers 1932/1932-1935/1940-1946/1948-1955. From 1541 to 1567, see: Roelvink 2002, pp. 291-303.

In addition to this great procession, the Broederschap was involved in three smaller ones, in which, however, their singers played no part; nor did they participate in the incidental processions that were held when special political or social circumstances arose.⁹⁶⁶ The choirboys participated in the yearly procession to Orthen: they received cream and white bread as a treat.

6.4.9 Banquets⁹⁶⁷

An important part of 16th-century life within the Broederschap were the banquets. What had started in the early years as a series of meetings to discuss the daily Broederschap life, accompanied by a simple meal, ended up in a series of an average of nine banquets a year for which the costs rose. The account items of the meetings do not tell us anything about what was decided, but they do inform us extensively on the food that was consumed. Furthermore, we are very well informed about the guests who joined the core group of members, and therefore at least the impression is given that culinary delight was more important than handling business affairs.

The banquets always took place on a Monday, except for the banquet of *Laetare Jerusalem*, held on Laetare Sunday, being a fish meal. At each meeting one of the core members served as host, regardless of the house in which the meal was consumed. One of the banquets had a special character: the so-called Swan Banquet, which was always consumed in the Broederschap house in the Hinthamerstraat; it was held on the Monday after the feast of the Holy Innocents (Monday after 28 December). A Mass in their own chapel preceded the meeting. After this liturgical moment, the Brethren walked *paer ende paer* (side by side) to the house across the street. During the banquet, the psalms *Miserere mei*, *Deus* and *De Profundis* were read. The two most important suppliers of swans were the bailiff of the duke of Brabant and the Van Egmond family, counts of Buren, living in Leerdam.⁹⁶⁸ In 1573

⁹⁶⁶ An overview of the incidental processions is given in Van Dijck 1973, pp. 426-429. It is of course possible that the singers were hired by the chapter in these processions. The fact that they were serving the Broederschap in the great yearly procession is to be explained by the fact that this procession probably was the initiative of the Broederschap.

⁹⁶⁷ Unless otherwise stated, based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 51-54.

⁹⁶⁸ Maximiliaan van Buren became Swan Brother on the first of January 1543 (Roelvink 2002, pp. 233-234 (nos. 65, 69, 70 and 71)). On that same day, he joined a meal with other high-placed men, organized by the city government (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 106r). Maximiliaan was already in town for Christmas (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 106v). He and his troops were part of the defence of 's-Hertogenbosch during the siege of Maarten van Rossum.

the last Swan Banquet was held.⁹⁶⁹ A same pattern is to be seen in the banquet on Laetare Sunday, which was funded by the widow of the knight and sworn brother Jan Back, Adriana van Wylick. Before the meeting, a Requiem Mass in honour of Jan and his son Otto was held in the chapel of the Broederschap. Afterwards, the grave of Jan and Otto in front of the altar had to be visited, where the psalms *Miserere mei*, *Deus* and *De Profundis* were read. These psalms were also read during the banquet: before the wine was served!

The singers were expected to sing during the banquets, both sacred and secular music, wearing their special robes. They did not get paid separately for these duties, which simply belonged to the weekly remunerations the singers received. Occasionally, guest singers or musicians from outside the city performed and they received separate mention in the accounts and separate payment. From 1561 onwards, the Brethren also owned five 'English' *violen*, which were played by the singers.⁹⁷⁰

6.4.10 The group of singers and musicians⁹⁷¹

In the course of the centuries, the Broederschap spent more and more money on music during its liturgical activities. Slowly, the group of professional singers increased, until in the 16th century there were about six to nine mature singers (of whom two were *intoneerders* – precentors, always priests) and six to eight choirboys. Furthermore, there was a professional organist, an organ-blower and a *beierman*, who had to play the bells rhythmically but not by the keyboard. In some years there even were instrumentalists, usually playing a wind instrument, for example a cornettist or a trumpeter. Most likely it was the quality of the musician that made the Broederschap decide to hire him and not the need for an instrumentalist in general.

The two *intoneerders* literally gave the chant intonation by singing the first words of a composition. With this task, they only earned about 50 per cent of their yearly remunerations. The other half was earned by priestly duties. Philippus de Spina also had an (extra) income since he was a scribe of musical manuscripts and all sorts of texts. In the chapel the *intoneerders* had their own chairs, covered with leather, separated from the other singers. These singers sang under the supervision of the *zangmeester*, who also was in charge of the *choralen*. The complete group had its position right in the centre of the chapel, and a bench to sit on when the singers

⁹⁶⁹ Van Dijck 1973, pp. 297-298.

⁹⁷⁰ On the *violen*: Roelvink 2002, p. 87.

⁹⁷¹ Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 56-83, 310-321. See there on the details for the period 1519-1568.

did not have to sing. The singers also had their own lecterns: one with an eagle (purchased in 1526/27) and one for two books that could be turned, probably one side for the chant book and the other for a polyphonic choirbook. On 7 July 1542 a new metal lectern arrived from Mechelen, provided with the motto of the Broederschap, *Sicut Lilium inter Spinās*.⁹⁷² The numbers both of *intoneerders* and of *zangmeesters* in the period 1519-1568 are relatively low: their employment lasted in many cases for a number of years. The organists too served for a long time; the Broederschap generally had no difficulty at all in attracting an organist. This was most likely because of the good quality of the organs.

The Broederschap accounts show us that the complete group was paid once a week for their duties – on Wednesday, most likely after the weekly Vespers and Mass. None of the appointment texts has been preserved, so we cannot say for sure what those duties were. Nevertheless, it is clear that the group played an important role during the Vespers and Mass on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Furthermore, they were supposed to sing during the feasts the Broederschap celebrated (they only got paid extra for the feast of the Presentation), the *exequien* (general and personal; extra paid), the Marian *Lof*, the July procession (and for the years 1526-41 the concert on the evening before) and the nine banquets a year. Without a doubt core members of the Broederschap ‘hired’ the group of singers and musicians now and then for their own personal needs. But these services are of course not mentioned in the Broederschap accounts.

The singers and musicians served two masters: the priests of the chapter and the core members of the Broederschap. The priests and the Brethren jointly appointed the singers and musicians. Sometimes this caused problems. For example, Gheerkin de Hondt and his predecessor were also victims of the disputes the gentlemen sometimes had, as we shall see below. Once appointed by the Brethren of the Broederschap and the priests of the chapter, the singers also served other institutions: as we shall see below, the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament weekly employed the professional singers. We also may assume that rich and wealthy parishioners gladly hired the trained musicians for their own personal liturgical activities. And finally, as we saw in Bruges, the guilds and crafts most likely asked the group to perform at their most important feasts, although no actual evidence of this has come down to us.

The Brethren spent a considerable portion of their budget on the provision of music during the liturgy, the annual procession, and the banquets (between 25 per cent and 47 per cent of the total budget); they spared neither expense nor effort to bring the best singers and organists to 's-Hertogenbosch. The recruitment and selection of singers (most of them originating from the Low Countries) might

⁹⁷² Roelvink 2002, p. 27.

proceed with the utmost ease and efficiency, but might also lead to tremendous disappointments: some newly recruited singers never actually took up their employment. The Broederschap was not a bad employer: the salaries were duly paid every week and a singer in distress could always count on help, most of the time financial. None of the singers became a core member of the Broederschap; only organist Jan die Gruyter was chosen in 1506 as a sworn brother (he died in March/April 1540, but he was no longer the organist after 1524). Only a few of the singers (and almost all organists) became external members, among them the two *intoneerders* who served from the early 1530s until 1566 (Philippus de Spina) and the 1590s (Jan van Wintelroy),⁹⁷³ which proves that the relationship between the Broederschap and its singers was almost strictly a business one.

Many guest singers and some guest musicians performed for the Broederschap between 1519 and 1568. Among them were several famous singers, like the *zangmeesters* of Emperor Charles V and of the Regent of the Low Countries. Although it is not always clear who is meant by these descriptions, there is a strong suspicion that Nicolas Gombert, Thomas Crecquillon, and Cornelius Canis honoured the Broederschap with a visit. Benedictus Appenzeller is known with certainty to have visited the Broederschap twice, in 1539 and 1545.

6.4.11 Musical Manuscripts⁹⁷⁴

In the course of the centuries the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap bought many musical manuscripts and in the second half of the 16th century also printed musical choirbooks. Today, the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap still possesses seven manuscript and two printed choirbooks containing polyphonic music and seven manuscripts containing chant.⁹⁷⁵ Of all the manuscript or printed music whose

⁹⁷³ Jan van Wintelroy died on 19 October 1596 at the age of about 83 (Nauwelaerts 1974, p. 83).

⁹⁷⁴ Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 89-159, Roelvink 1999, Roelvink 2003 and De Loos 2000c, pp. 30-41, 55-87. Extensive descriptions of the manuscripts and their contents are given there; this paragraph only is a summary. In § 7.5 the contents of the manuscripts will be considered in the light of the daily routine of Gheerkin de Hondt.

⁹⁷⁵ BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 148 (formerly 's HerAB 66), 149 (formerly 's HerAB 67), 150 (formerly 's HerAB 70), 152 (formerly Codex Smijers), 159 (formerly 's HerAB 68), 162 (formerly 's HerAB 71), 176 (formerly 's HerAB 69, Holy Cross Lof), all chant; Inv. nos. 152 (formerly Codex Smijers), 153 (formerly 's HerAB 72A), 154 (formerly 's HerAB 72B), 155 (formerly 's HerAB 72C), 156 (formerly 's HerAB 74), 157 (formerly 's HerAB 75), 158 (formerly 's HerAB 73), all polyphony. The Codex Smijers (Inv. no. 152) and all the choirbooks containing polyphony are exhibited in the Zwanenbroedershuis, except

purchase is recorded in the 16th-century accounts from June 1519 up to and including June 1568, no more than a half remain today in the Broederschap's archives. Even though a considerable part of the 16th-century collection of written and printed music has been lost, we may consider ourselves fortunate that these beautiful manuscripts have been preserved. This magnificent collection, in combination with the Broederschap's well-kept accounts, affords us an excellent view of musical life amongst the Brethren in the 16th century.

Three of the polyphonic manuscripts from the collection of the Broederschap come from the workshop of the famous music scribe Petrus Alamire.⁹⁷⁶ Several questions in relation to the dating and origin of these manuscripts remain unanswered. It is not completely certain whether these choirbooks are indeed three of the four bought from Alamire in 1530-1531, because none of them corresponds exactly in its present state to the descriptions in the Broederschap accounts. However, Inv. nos. 153 and 154 could very well be the two manuscripts bought by the Broederschap from Alamire in July 1530; Inv. no. 155 seems to have reached the archives by another route. Although the accounts give the impression that Alamire wrote these manuscripts in person, it is in fact clear that several scribes were at work. The books all date from after 1520; the watermarks exhibit the same image.

The manuscripts all contain Masses and motets. In its present state, Inv. no. 153 includes seven Masses plus one anonymous, textless composition in two voices on its final page (fol. 151v).⁹⁷⁷ Inv. no. 154 encloses eight Masses and one motet. The largest manuscript is Inv. no. 155, containing eight Masses as well as eight motets.

The choirbooks all have their own peculiarities. In Inv. no. 153, for example, two canonic masses are notated in a particular way. When the canonic voice has not yet finished at the turn of the page, the last few notes of the voice are repeated on the

for Inv. no. 155, which is on loan at the Noordbrabants Museum. The printed choirbooks (BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 160 (formerly 's HerAB 76) and Inv. no. 161 (formerly 's HerAB 77)) are in the Zwanenbroedershuis too. Since they date from 1578 and 1587 respectively and therefore from a long time after Gheerkin de Hondt had left 's-Hertogenbosch, they are left out here. The prints are from Plantin and contain Masses by George de la Hèle and Philippus de Monte.

⁹⁷⁶ BHIC 1232, Inv. nos. 153 (formerly 's HerAB 72A), 154 (formerly 's HerAB 72B) and 155 (formerly 's HerAB 72C). See on these manuscripts also: Roelvink 1999 and Roelvink 2003.

⁹⁷⁷ In 2011 Prof. Peter Urquhart identified the music of the fragment as related to the *Missa Du bon du cueur* that appears in three manuscripts, among them another one by the workshop of Petrus Alamire. The Mass is based on the chanson with the same name. My sincere gratitude goes to Prof. Urquhart for allowing me to publish his marvellous discovery before he was able to publish his thoughts on the fragment himself. Bernadette Nelson has proposed that the Mass is by Noel Bauldeweyn (Nelson 2001).

following page. This is done in a special little staff, prior to the voice's main musical staff. The 'portraits' of a knight and a lady on the opening pages of Inv. no. 154 seem to refer to real persons. If so, they may be the knight Jan Back, a sworn brother, and his spouse Jonkvrouwe Adriana van Wylick,⁹⁷⁸ who were both well disposed towards the Broederschap. This manuscript and also Inv. no. 155 reveal some details about the production of a manuscript: in the centre, at the foot of the page, are recorded instructions for the music copyists, in a very small script.

A scribe who was clearly influenced by Petrus Alamire is Philippus de Spina. Two of the Broederschap's polyphonic manuscripts have already been known for some decades to have been written by De Spina, namely Inv. no. 158 (dated 1545, containing music for the Office – especially the Vespers –, thirty-three Magnificats, two Te Deums, a Kyrie Paschale, a Regina Caeli and two motets) and Inv. no. 157 (perhaps dated 1540-42, having ten Masses). Philippus de Spina was *intoneerder* with the Broederschap and during his term of service he fulfilled several scribal assignments for the Brethren.⁹⁷⁹ Study of his script shows striking similarities between Inv. nos. 158 and 157 on the one hand and Inv. no. 156 (containing also ten Masses, of which two are by Gheerkin de Hondt) on the other. With certainty we can say that this last manuscript was also written by De Spina, probably this was the assignment given to him between 1540 and 1542. The beautifully coloured drawings on the first page of music in this manuscript have been added later, in all probability not by De Spina.⁹⁸⁰ Similar study of the script of the polyphonic additions in the Codex Smijers shows that they too are very likely in De Spina's hand. When exactly he made these additions cannot be said with certainty, but the last gathering seems to have been added to the manuscript in the year 1542 or 1543. The polyphonic music consists of eight motets, three Dutch Christmas songs (the oldest nowadays known), one Introit and one Responsory.

The Codex Smijers – named after its discoverer Professor Albert Smijers, who was the first professor of musicology in Utrecht and who made an extensive study of the Broederschap accounts up to 1541 – is without a doubt the most beautiful chant choirbook in the current collection of the Broederschap. It is the only manuscript written on parchment – by the Brethren of the Common Life – and it is dated

⁹⁷⁸ Adriana van Wylick also donated for the general memorial services in the Sint-Janskerk (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 175, fol. LXIXr).

⁹⁷⁹ Without a doubt he also functioned as a scribe for the chapter. Even in the city accounts his name occurs: in 1545-46 *Philippus van Doeren priester* is paid for copying two arbitral judgements between the chapter and the city government on the goods of the chapter (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1397, fol. 266r).

⁹⁸⁰ More information on this manuscript is given in § 11.2.

between circa 1529 and 1564. The choirbook has music for the Office and Masses. Inv. no. 149 also has Masses and music for the Office; the last type is also to be found in Inv. no. 162, there together with music for memorial services. Chant for the Office of the Dead was important for the Broederschap, because it is also to be found in Inv. nos. 148 and 150. This last book includes a calendar too (added in November 1536, written by the Brethren of the Common Life)⁹⁸¹ and a ferial (daily) Office. Just like the collection of the Sint-Janskerk, the library of the Broederschap also contained a book especially for the precentors, Inv. no. 159, that was written by Philippus de Spina. With the help of this book, it is possible to reconstruct which parts of the liturgy were sung by the *intoneerders* and which parts were sung by the professional singers, in chant or polyphony.

A curiosity in the Broederschap archives is a parchment bifolium containing a fragment of the sequence *Mittit ad virginem* for one voice, for the feast of the Annunciation (25 March). It is unclear how this piece entered the archives.

6.4.12 Music for the Broederschap⁹⁸²

The Broederschap's collection includes music both by famous composers and by so-called *Kleinmeister*. The bulk of it consists of compositions for Vespers and Mass. The collection preserves music popular all over Europe, but also music written specially for the Broederschap. Both Inv. no. 158 (polyphony) and Inv. no. 152 (Codex Smijers) contain music undoubtedly composed for the liturgy of the Broederschap. From the other manuscripts, both musical settings of the text *O Salutaris hostia* were probably written for the especial use of the Broederschap, because the singers got paid a little extra to sing this during the elevation. The *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*, by Gheerkin de Hondt, could have been written during his employment at the Broederschap, since the Broederschap paid the singers on the (their) feast of St Cecilia.⁹⁸³ For other compositions in the manuscripts, we are not able to demonstrate that they were written especially for the Broederschap.

The other way around – to try to connect a composition outside its archives with the Broederschap – is always dangerous. However, there are three motets that may be connected with the 's-Hertogenbosch Broederschap in one way or another. For example, there are only two motets in Renaissance music history with the title *Sicut Liliū inter Spinās*. One of them was probably written especially for the

⁹⁸¹ Roelvink 2002, p. 157.

⁹⁸² Based on: Roelvink 2002, pp. 161-176, see there for details and references.

⁹⁸³ This Mass and its origins will be discussed in Chapter 13.

Broederschap: Thomas Crecquillon wrote it either at his own initiative or as a commission by Swan Brother Maximiliaan van Buren, to whom he was closely related (for example we know that Crecquillon also wrote a motet in honour of Van Buren). Jacobus Clemens non Papa probably gave his motet *Ego flos campi* to the Broederschap when he left 's-Hertogenbosch in December 1550, having been a guest there for several months. The motet is based on a text taken from the Song of Songs, with a homophonic passage on the words *Sicut Lilium inter Spinas*, the motto of the Broederschap. And finally, *Benedicite Dominus* was very likely one of the motets composed by zangmeester Gheerkin de Hondt in honour of the Broederschap in 1540. The first two motets contain the motto of the Broederschap (*Sicut Lilium inter Spinas*), the third motet is a table blessing, probably used during the banquets.

6.5 The Sacramentsbroederschap

Some of the sworn members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap were also involved in the foundation of another confraternity in the Sint-Janskerk in 1480: the *Bruederschap vanden Heyligen Eerwerdigen Sacramente* or Sacramentsbroederschap (Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament).⁹⁸⁴

Confraternities of the Holy Sacrament were – like Marian brotherhoods – common in medieval Europe.⁹⁸⁵ From the end of the 12th century onwards, the elevation of the Host after the consecration during Mass became the most important moment in Mass. The elevation of the Holy Sacrament had grown into a significant 'eucharistic devotion' by the 13th century: the Sacrament was allotted its own feast on the liturgical calendar in 1264: Corpus Christi, to be held on the second Thursday after Pentecost. In the following two centuries the popularity of the Sacrament grew further, and confraternities and processions were founded. As far as we know, the oldest confraternity in the northern parts of the Low Countries was founded in Zutphen in 1327; it was followed by many more, especially from the end of the 15th century onwards. The activities of these confraternities were largely identical with that of other confraternities, for example the ones for the veneration of the Blessed

⁹⁸⁴ This confraternity also still exists today, now called *Aloude Broederschap van het Hoogheilig Sacrament*, although it does not have its own building and is far less visible in 's-Hertogenbosch society. The members of the confraternity come together in the church of Sint-Jan once a month. Information is to be found on the websites of the Sint-Janskathedraal and the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch. In this book, it will be referred to as Sacramentsbroederschap.

⁹⁸⁵ This paragraph is based on Caspers 1992, especially pp. 1, 115-124.

Virgin: liturgical services (in this case in honour of the Holy Sacrament), memorial services for their deceased members, joint meals, poor relief and maintaining their own altar in a church or chapel. The members were male and female, both clerics and lay persons. The liturgical activities consisted of Masses (if weekly, then on Thursday, because that was the day Christ held the Last Supper and instituted the Eucharist) and processions in which the Holy Sacrament was shown to the people.

Not much has been published on the 's-Hertogenbosch Sacramentsbroederschap,⁹⁸⁶ especially not on the medieval years up to 1550, probably because the accounts have only been preserved fragmentarily.⁹⁸⁷ Therefore, all authors agree that the origins of the Sacramentsbroederschap are a bit vague, also because there is confusion with a confraternity of the Holy Sacrament that was founded a few years earlier (in 1475) by the Dominicans. This caused a dispute that was brought to the highest church power: the pope of Rome. Nevertheless, the 1480 Sacramentsbroederschap survived and its articles of association were confirmed by the city government in 1495.⁹⁸⁸ They show us that the main goal of the 's-Hertogenbosch Sacramentsbroederschap was – of course – the veneration of the Holy Sacrament. To achieve this, the Sacramentsbroederschap had its own altar in

⁹⁸⁶ Hoekx/Van de Laar 1980; Van der Steen 1929-1930; Heuvelmans 1994. None of the publications offers an extensive study of the history of this confraternity.

⁹⁸⁷ (Fragments of) the accounts of the following years up to and including 1560 have come down to us: 21 Juni 1520 – 3 August 1523 (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 185, Inv. no. 35); 1523 – 1524 (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1209); 1 February 1527 [sic: January 1528] – 30 September 1531 (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 185, Inv. no. 36; two copies: one for the church fabric (complete), one for the Sacramentsbroederschap (incomplete)); 1 October 1531 – 31 May 1533, 1 June 1533 – 1 February 1544 (only considering a newly purchased altar from mr. Robbert/Robrecht from Antwerp), 15 July 1545 – 24 May 1550, 25 May 1550 – 16 April 1552, 2 June 1552 – 31 September 1553 (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 185, Inv. no. 37); 24 May 1534 – 16 May 1535 (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1207); 24 May 1556 – 14 May 1559 (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 185, Inv. no. 38). According to the copies of the accounts we have, originally there were three copies of each account: for the Sacramentsbroederschap itself, for the church fabric and for the chapter of Sint-Jan. There also is a *Memorieboek* from the first decade of the 16th century, in which notes were made on receipts and expenditure (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1196). Although payments to singers are sporadically mentioned here, the later accounts are much more complete and closer to the time Gheerkin de Hondt worked in 's-Hertogenbosch. Therefore, this *Memorieboek* has been left out here. Another undated fragment of four (damaged) pages gives information on gifts to the Sacramentsbroederschap and how these gifts should be spent, with references to the liturgical activities (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 1208).

⁹⁸⁸ A transcription and translation of these articles are in: Van der Steen 1929-1930, pp. 187-198, also published in: Hoekx/Van de Laar 1980, pp. 40-52.

the Sint-Jan situated close to the chapel of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap; between 1508 and 1522 the altar was transferred to a chapel that was more to the west. The articles of association also tell us among other things that the government of the Sacramentsbroederschap consisted of three *provisoren*: one canon of the chapter who also was a member of the Sacramentsbroederschap, one of the governors of the church fabric of the Sint-Jan and one of the members of the Sacramentsbroederschap who also was a member of the city council or one of the guilds. In short: the government of the Sacramentsbroederschap consisted of highly placed men. Remarkable is that half of the income of the Sacramentsbroederschap had to be given to the church fabric of the Sint-Jan for the benefit of clothing for the priests, the church organ, books, candles, the church bells and general embellishments of the church. Liturgically interesting is that a procession had to be held on Sunday in the octave of the feast of Corpus Christi. Furthermore, every year, on the first Monday after the octave of Corpus Christi, a vigil of nine lessons had to be held, after the hours when ‘Vespers, Compline and the Divine Office’⁹⁸⁹ in the presbytery of the church were celebrated. On the next Tuesday a Requiem Mass was sung for all the deceased members of the brotherhood. As we have seen before, this comes very close to a kind of standard memorial service that we find all over the medieval Low Countries. Singers were present, because there is a reference in the articles of association to their remunerations. And also again: it is not clear if these singers sang chant or polyphony.

Although the above-mentioned accounts are not very clearly organised (actually they are quite chaotic) and we do not have a continuous series – certainly not if we compare them to the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap – they give us valuable information on the musical activities of the Sacramentsbroederschap in the 16th century that has been overlooked so far.⁹⁹⁰ They show us that, although the Sacramentsbroederschap was much smaller than the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, musically it was in no way inferior.

Singers and an organist were paid four times a year to sing a Mass every Thursday.⁹⁹¹ The payments were made around 1 October, 1 January, 1 April and 1

⁹⁸⁹ Vespers and Compline are part of the Divine Office.

⁹⁹⁰ Roelvink 2009, p. 386.

⁹⁹¹ The following reconstruction is based on all the above-mentioned accounts. The payments to the singers are to be found under the item *Uuytgheven der provisoiren voirscreven*. The accounts are not consistent: not all payments are to be found in all accounts. Especially the fact that the four payments a year for singing a Mass every week on Thursday do seem to have disappeared after the account from 1534/35 raises the question if the professional singers were no longer hired. We have to take into account that from somewhere between 1535 and 1545 (the next account that has been kept) the decision had to be made to only hire the professional singers around the feast of Corpus

July, always after the group had sung for a period of twelve to fifteen weeks. The same servants were paid for singing and playing during the feast of Corpus Christi when they sang 'four short Vespers' and a Mass. In the week thereafter, the singers were paid for singing Masses (depending on the year: two to six). The Requiem Mass of the general memorial service on the Monday after the octave of Corpus Christi was also adorned with music by the singers and organist. The singers did not seem to be part of the procession that was held every year on the feast of Corpus Christi. In some years (1523-1524 and 1528-1535), the singers, choirboys and organist were paid extra for *tcruys te richten* ('raise the cross'), and to *tcruys neder te leggen* ('put the cross down'). This procedure was connected to an indulgence the Sacramentsbroederschap had received from the pope in 1523.⁹⁹² It was repeated in several years from the first Saturday in Lent (raising) to the Sunday after Easter (putting down), from Pentecost (raising) to the feast of Corpus Christi (putting down), from the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June) to the Visitation of Our Lady (2 July) and on the first Saturday in Advent (raising) and on the feast of Epiphany (putting down). It remains unclear what the role of the singers and organist was, but perhaps they sang a Mass or a Holy Cross *Lof* on those special days. Sometimes the musicians were hired for extra work, for example for a personal Requiem,⁹⁹³ but also for extra Masses, for instance in 1531, when seven Masses were sung in the fourteen days after Easter and in 1531/32 for seven Masses sung on the Monday after the feast of St Lambert. And of course the singers had to perform when the new altar was dedicated (sometime between 1533 and 1544).

The names of the singers were not always mentioned, but when they are, it turns out that the same group of singers that was hired by the chapter and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap was also hired by the Sacramentsbroederschap.⁹⁹⁴ The first time the names are mentioned is for the feast

Christi (including the yearly memorial service), because the accounts are complete (receipts, expenditures and total amounts at the end of the accounts do fit). Note also that a weekly Mass was not mentioned in the articles of association. Another possibility is that the singers did sing, but were paid by someone else, who wrote another account, for example the *wasmeester* of the Sacramentsbroederschap, who also paid singers (we have three different accounts for the church of Sint-Jacob in Bruges).

⁹⁹² Under the item *Ander uutgeven aengaende den aflaet*. On the indulgence: Heuvelmans 1994, pp. 15-16.

⁹⁹³ For example in 1522 for Tomsken Cornelis dochter van Gemert.

⁹⁹⁴ The names of the *provisoren* of the Sacramentsbroederschap show us that many of them were also sworn members of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. This means that indirectly the Sacramentsbroederschap was also involved in appointing new singers and musicians. On the other hand, the Sacramentsbroederschap had it easy: when it was

of Corpus Christi in 1523: *heer* Conraet, *meester* Roelof *basconter*, *sangmeester*, Wielle *basconter*, Heynken, Joest and Joh. *bovensenger*. We find all of them in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap of that same year.⁹⁹⁵ The next time names are mentioned is for the feast of Corpus Christi in 1529: Sebastiaenen (the *zangmeester*), heer Koen, heer Jacop, Petit Jan, Gommer (Gommaar van Lier), Molleken (Henrick de Mol van Mechelen), Anthonis *den bass* (Anthonis van Lubeek, bass singer) and Jannen (Johannes Brandt). This is again the same group that sang for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. It looks as if the group has completely changed, but as we can see in Table 6.3, this is not the case. Here we have a fine example of the use of different names for the same person.⁹⁹⁶ In all later accounts where names of singers are mentioned, they coincide with the names of the singers in the contemporary accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Sometimes it seems that the Sacramentsbroederschap hired a singer who was not in the service of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and the chapter of Sint-Jan.⁹⁹⁷ This was not unusual: the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap sometimes hired a singer who did not sing for the chapter,⁹⁹⁸ and it probably also worked the other way around. Another explanation is that we have to do with an incidental guest singer.

As we have already seen, this Sacramentsbroederschap played a very important role in the general memorial services and the adjoining *Lof* of the Holy Cross in the Sint-Jan, four times a year. The accounts of the years 1520-23 and 1528-35 do mention these memorial services: one person received the complete payment to distribute among all the participants, among them the singers.⁹⁹⁹ The Golden Mass (probably the one founded by Lysbeth vanden Broeck in 1518) is also mentioned in the accounts from these years. As we saw above, only the *zangmeester* was involved in this Mass. The relatively low amount of money mentioned confirms that the other singers were not on duty for this Mass.

founded in 1480, already a very long existing and proven procedure of appointing a very well functioning group of professional singers was there to use.

⁹⁹⁵ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 127, fol. 226r-228r.

⁹⁹⁶ It is a typical and confusing feature of 16th-century church accounts: using different names for one and the same person (see also the previous chapters on Gheerkin's colleagues and § 7.3).

⁹⁹⁷ These singers were paid separately by the *wasmeester*. For example: Dirck (circa sixty-two weeks, 1520).

⁹⁹⁸ Roelvink 2002, p. 60.

⁹⁹⁹ There seems to be an overlap: both the *Bare* and the Sacramentsbroederschap made payments to singers on these days.

Table 6.3 Singers in 1523 and 1529 in the accounts of the Sacramentsbroederschap¹⁰⁰⁰

1523	1529
<i>Sangmeester</i> [Sebastiaan de Porta, <i>zangmeester</i>]	Sebastiaenen [Sebastiaan de Porta, <i>zangmeester</i>]
Heer Coenraet [heer Coenraet Arts, <i>intoneerder</i>]	Heer Koen [heer Coenraet Arts, <i>intoneerder</i>]
Meester Roelof, <i>basconter</i>	
Wiellem, <i>basconter</i> [Willem]	
	Anthonis den bass [Anthonis van Lubeek]
Heynken [Henrick de Mol van Mechelen, <i>hoogconter</i>]	Molleken [Henrick de Mol van Mechelen, <i>hoogconter</i>]
Joest [Joest van Denremonde, <i>hoogconter</i>]	
	Heer Jacop [<i>hoogconter</i>]
	Jannen [Jan/Johannes Brandt, <i>hoogconter</i>]
	Gommer [Gommaar van Lier, <i>hoogconter</i>]
Johannes, <i>bovensenger</i> [Johanni Passy/Petit Jan]	Petit Jan [Johanni Passy/Petit Jan, <i>bovensenger</i>]

That the Sacramentsbroederschap was in no way inferior to the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap is not only proven by the fact that it also hired the professional singers that sang on such a high level, but also by the fact that it bought a choirbook from the famous workshop of Petrus Alamire.¹⁰⁰¹ There is no exact date mentioned, but we may assume that the books were bought during one of Alamire's visits to 's-Hertogenbosch in July 1530, January 1531 or July 1531. The amount of 18 guilders that was paid to Alamire suggests that this was a luxurious or large book, either with many illustrations or with many pages. This might be confirmed by another item in the next account, of 1531-1533, when parchment is added¹⁰⁰² to the *sangboeck* and someone anonymous is paid for 'writing in the same book'.¹⁰⁰³ It

¹⁰⁰⁰ Explanations in brackets based on Roelvink 2002, pp. 310-314.

¹⁰⁰¹ SAHt, Toegangsnummer 185, Inv. no. 36 (1 February 1527 [sic: January 1528] – 30 September 1531). Two copies of this account have come down to us: one '*Voer die Fabryck*' (for the church fabric) and one '*voer die bruederscap*' (for the Sacramentsbroederschap; not complete). The copy for the fabric mentions *Voer eenen zancckboeck betaelt alamiere xvij gulden*, the copy for the Sacramentsbroederschap mentions *Van eenen zangboeck betaelt Alamiere xvij gulden*.

¹⁰⁰² *francyn te stellen int sangboeck: stellen* means to add. This is a bit strange, because nothing is said about the binding of the book.

¹⁰⁰³ SAHt, Toegangsnummer 185, Inv. no. 37, around October 1532.

might be the choirbook recently purchased from Petrus Alamire that is referred to here, or another book that was in the possession of the Sacramentsbroederschap.

6.6 The beguinage

At the foot of the Sint-Jan on today's Parade lay the *Groot Begijnhof* (the great beguinage), which was a separate parish.¹⁰⁰⁴ The Begijnhof already existed in 1274, when Willem van Gent referred to it in his last will. Around 1526 the population counted around 160 beguines. The beguines first had their own chapel; from 1274 onwards a real church was built, dedicated to St Nicholas in 1304. In the 16th century there were eleven altars in the church with fifteen benefices. The beguines had their own parish priest, a chaplain and a sexton. The parish priest was appointed by the chapter of Sint-Jan from 1517.

There remain several documents in the archives of the beguinage informing us about their liturgical activities. The most important one dates from 27 October 1547 (with an addition from 25 May 1555), only a few weeks after Gheerkin de Hondt had left 's-Hertogenbosch, when the beguines appointed a new organist: Jan Bosschart van Brugge.¹⁰⁰⁵ The document gives us a very detailed description of the feast days the organist had to play, sometimes even more than once a day (for example Matins, Vespers and Mass). Furthermore, he had to play all Sunday Masses and during the *Lof* services (Our Lady and the Holy Sacrament) on Sundays and feast days. A Mass for the Holy Sacrament was sung on Friday, a Sacramental *Lof* on Thursday.¹⁰⁰⁶ Considering the fact that Jan Bosschart was also the organist of the chapter and two confraternities (Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap and Sacramentsbroederschap), he had a very busy schedule.¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰⁴ The historical facts in this paragraph are based on Timmermans 1987. On the archives: Kappelhof 1989; SAHt, Toegangsnummer 310; BHIC, Toegangsnummer 501 (with a general introduction on the history); some documents are in the church archives of the Sint-Jan (SAHt, ASJ) and some in het archives of the 's-Hertogenbosch diocese.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Timmermans 1987, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰⁰⁶ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 8876 (Appendix 3, 1547, 27 October).

¹⁰⁰⁷ A *mr. Jannen organist* is in 1543/44 also mentioned as husband and guardian or delegate (*momboir*) for his wife Catherine, daughter of Goyarts Huyben (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395, fol. 9v).

From several foundations of memorial services and other liturgical activities it becomes clear that there was a lot of singing in the church of the beguines.¹⁰⁰⁸ They tell us that, for example, memorial services were sung, but also a *Lof* for Our Lady and the canonical hours. However, there is no proof that the professional singers were also part of these celebrations. In most cases the singing was done by the priests and the beguines themselves, accompanied by the organist. Only one document indicates that professional singers were involved in the liturgy: on 27 September 1528 a foundation was made for a solemn Mass at the altar of the Holy Cross on the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June) with the organist and the singers (*cum organis et cantoribus*), as on the feast of St Barbara.¹⁰⁰⁹ The Friday Mass that was founded 12 March 1545 (a Holy Cross Mass?) provided for the *vicecureyt oft capellaen* from the Sacramentsbroederschap to do the singing. If they did not want to sing, the *meesteressen* ('lady masters') of the beguinage and the *vicecureyt* would appoint other *sanghers*. The word *sanghers* implies that these might be the professionals; otherwise the word 'heer' (priest) would have been used. The foundation also mentions the already long-existing habit that the *capellaen* would do the usual Thursday Mass for the Holy Sacrament,¹⁰¹⁰ singing 'Tantum ergo sacramentum et cetera' with the collect, followed by a *Lof*, sung by the beguines themselves.¹⁰¹¹

6.7 Welfare

In 1526, the city of 's-Hertogenbosch had grown both in number of citizens and economically. One would expect also a growing number of inhabitants in need, but the opposite is the case: the percentage of people needing care was around 15 per cent, which was about the lowest percentage in Brabant.¹⁰¹² Around 1500 there were

¹⁰⁰⁸ For example: Kappelhof 1989, Inv. nos. 449, 437, 437bis, 467, 486, 494, 502, 517, 521, 523, 524.

¹⁰⁰⁹ SAHt, Toegangsnummer 310, Inv. no. 465, heavily damaged. See also: Van den Bichelaer 1998, cd no. 248.2.

¹⁰¹⁰ This does not match with the contract of organist Jan Bosschart of 1547. It would be logical to have a Mass of the Holy Sacrament on Thursday. Perhaps the Mass was replaced to Friday as a consequence of organisational trouble, or a mistake was made in the contract for the organist, and Friday should be Thursday.

¹⁰¹¹ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 8872 (Appendix 3, 1545, 12 March).

¹⁰¹² Blockmans/Prevenier 1974, pp. 37-38.

about thirty organisations active in helping the infirm.¹⁰¹³ Most of them were personal initiatives of small *gasthuizen* ('guest houses') for the elderly, but there were also places where many people could be taken care of at the same time. In 1531 the city government was forced by the court of Charles V to make a plan to amalgamate all the funds for charity into one to make the poor relief more efficient and effective. But because the system in 's-Hertogenbosch turned out to be very complicated, with many personal foundations that were earmarked, the risk that heirs would not agree with changes was too high. Besides, as we shall see below, the situation was rather conveniently arranged, since there was only one parish church and the several quarters of the town took their own responsibility.¹⁰¹⁴ Finally, the system remained as it was, and it would last until 1810 before a more general arrangement of poor relief was formed.¹⁰¹⁵

The parish of Sint-Jan had the largest body of charity, the *Tafel van de Heilige Geest* or *Geefhuis* ('Table of the Holy Ghost').¹⁰¹⁶ The oldest mention of the Tafel dates from 1281 and therefore it is one of the eldest organisations of poor relief in 's-Hertogenbosch. Originally it was literally a table, in the tower of the church, where people could leave food, clothing and money for other parishioners in need. Although this Tafel originated in the church, soon it was ruled by laymen under the supervision of the city government. The income came from foundations and donations, which were well invested. Already in the 14th century, the Tafel had its own building, in the Hinthamerstraat (today the complex of number 72), right across from the church of Sint-Jan. Up to and including the mid-16th-century the Tafel had large capital gains, so many poor people could be fed and dressed.

At the end of the 15th century, the separate districts of town became more and more active in poor relief. The fact that this was a private initiative, independent of the city government, was unique in the Low Countries.¹⁰¹⁷ Funding came from people who lived in the same area, who donated money for their neighbours. Originally the so-called *vuurmeesters* (commanders of the voluntary fire brigades, always the notables of their part of town) were charged with this kind of poor relief. In the last quarter of the 15th century, the name of *vuurmeester* was transformed to *blokmeester*, the men becoming more general governors of their quarters;¹⁰¹⁸ they

¹⁰¹³ There were also organisations that had poor relief as a sort of 'extra duty', for example the confraternities and guilds active in the Sint-Janskerk.

¹⁰¹⁴ Jacobs 1986, p. 156.

¹⁰¹⁵ Kappelhof 1996.

¹⁰¹⁶ This paragraph is based on Kappelhof 1981.

¹⁰¹⁷ Kappelhof 1980; Kappelhof 1983. Also: Kappelhof 1981.

¹⁰¹⁸ Some of the small silver shields of the *blokmeesters* of the Markt have been kept: Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 206-208.

were also involved in collecting the city taxes, because they knew their neighbourhoods so well. Around 1500 there were nine so-called *Blokken* – quarters in town – where those in need were taken care of in their own surroundings.

For poor people of all kinds, there was the Groot Gasthuis.¹⁰¹⁹ The first mention of this ‘guesthouse’ dates from 1274, when Willem van Gent made his last will. In those early years, the house received sick, old and invalid people, as long as they were poor. Unlike the Geefhuis and the nine *Blokken*, this organisation also took care of travellers and pilgrims. With the increasing of the number of citizens, up to 1376 the Groot Gasthuis developed to a hospital, concentrating only on ill (but still poor) people. From the early years onwards, the Groot Gasthuis had an own chapel functioning as an independent parish since 1458. In the chapel, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, a Mass was read every day. From 1499 until 1629 fourteen more Masses were founded by private persons, some of them adorned by the choirboys of the church of Sint-Jan.¹⁰²⁰ Already in the 16th century,¹⁰²¹ some masses and a *Lof* service were sung.¹⁰²²

Finally, there were three organisations taking care of special needy people: the *Leproserie* in the nearby small village of Hintham (leper house, already mentioned in Willem van Gent’s last will in 1274), a house for abandoned children (*Vondelingenhuys*) and a house for insane people, founded in 1439 by Reinier van Arkel.¹⁰²³ Most likely the many convents within the walls of the city also contributed to poor relief.¹⁰²⁴ All together, the society in ’s-Hertogenbosch had many ways to

¹⁰¹⁹ Wolf 1999; Wolf 2011; Van Bavel 1974b, pp. 3-19. Inventory of the archives: Van Rooij 1963.

¹⁰²⁰ Kappelhof 1990, pp. 515-517.

¹⁰²¹ The accounts of the Groot Gasthuis have not been kept integrally: for the 16th century the accounts from 1500 until June 1502 have been preserved, then the ones from June 1532 until November 1550, and finally the account from June 1562 until June 1563 has come down to us. The next account starts in June 1603. All to be found in the inventory: Van Rooij 1963, volume 1, pp. 48-49, Inv. nos. 617-638a.

¹⁰²² The *Lof* was sung by the sexton of the chapel of St Anne, for example in 1547-48: *Item den custer van Sint Anna capel vanden loffe een jaer lanck te singen tsavons, ij gulden* (SAHt, Toegangsnummer 393, Inv. no. 635, fol. 54v). The accounts of the Groot Gasthuis from the period Gheerkin de Hondt worked in ’s-Hertogenbosch do not suggest that the musicians of the Sint-Jan were involved in singing in the Groot Gasthuis. According to Kappelhof, this was the case from at least the 17th century onwards on the feast of St Elisabeth of Thüringen – 19 November – the so-called *kermisdach* of the Gasthuis (Kappelhof 1990, pp. 517).

¹⁰²³ Kappelhof 1992; Van Rooij 1928. I have not been able to see a copy of Broeder Denijs/Heyerman/Van Rooy 1954. An inventory was made by Van Rooij 1932.

¹⁰²⁴ Kappelhof 1981, p. 3.

show their compassion with the needy: they could make private foundations, but also could donate money to one of the over thirty organisations helping their fellow citizens.

6.8 The 1540s

In the 1540s the city of 's-Hertogenbosch was stable both in the number of inhabitants (around 20,000) and economically. As the most northern and fourth town in the duchy of Brabant, 's-Hertogenbosch fulfilled a central position in the Low Countries. Because of this geographical location, the city and its surroundings (the Meierij) were many times literally the buffer between Habsburg and Guelders. The Habsburg rulers kept claiming the area of Gelderland. In the 1540s – when Gheerkin de Hondt was the 's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeester* – the contest reached a climax.¹⁰²⁵ The duke of Guelders, William of Cleve, had become the ally of the French King Francis I. Together they went to war against Emperor Charles V, Brabant being right in the middle of their territories. In 1542-1543, the feared commander-in-chief of Guelders Maarten van Rossum besieged the city several times.¹⁰²⁶ The Meierij suffered most: villages were plundered and burned down.

During the sieges of Maarten van Rossum, the situation became at some points so threatening that even the yearly July processions of 1542 and 1543 could not take place in the usual way.¹⁰²⁷ In 1543, the 's-Hertogenbosch inhabitants living in Antwerp were not summoned to come to their hometown.¹⁰²⁸ Pomp and circumstances were omitted: the mystery plays were not performed¹⁰²⁹ and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap was not able to get musicians from out of town to play around their Marian statue as usual. Finally, the war came to an end on 7

¹⁰²⁵ The period is described in: Kuijer 2000, pp. 311-315. On the visits of the dukes and duchesses of Brabant: Koldewey 1990a.

¹⁰²⁶ The city accounts of 1541/42, 1542/43 and 1543/44 mention the threats and attacks in combination with the arrangements made by the city government many times to defend their town and the support they received from among others the troops of the Count of Buren [Maximiliaan van Egmond] and the Prince of Orange [René of Châlon] (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1393, 1394 and 1395).

¹⁰²⁷ Roelvink 2002, pp. 49, 291-292.

¹⁰²⁸ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 93v.

¹⁰²⁹ See also SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 184r.

September 1543 with the Treaty of Venlo, where William of Cleve handed over Guelders to Habsburg rule.¹⁰³⁰

In the light of the political troubles, the Habsburg rulers visited 's-Hertogenbosch a few times. On 21 August 1540, Charles V came to town in person to inspect the fortifications.¹⁰³¹ The emperor stayed at the house of Henrick Proening van Deventer (one of the Swan Brethren of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap),¹⁰³² later renamed the *Keizershof* after the emperor (demolished in 1871).¹⁰³³ The city accounts refer to the visit a few times.¹⁰³⁴ Therefore we know that Charles came from Holland (from the direction of Heusden) and arrived on 21 August and that he was accompanied by many important men, among them the count of Buren (Maximiliaan), but we do not have any information on Charles's singers following him. The city gave the emperor a festive welcome: the civic guards and the guilds fully dressed waited for him at the city gates, accompanied by six city trumpeters and eight drummers. The governors also provided the emperor and his retinue with wine and food and made sure the house of Henrick van Deventer was safe for their ruler. It must have been a festive period for the inhabitants of 's-Hertogenbosch, because only one day before Charles arrived – coincidental or not – on 20 August 1540, the new bishop of Liège came to town.¹⁰³⁵ And although this must have been a visit to the chapter and church of Sint-Jan, the most northern place in his diocese, the city administrators welcomed him with wine.

Charles V returned to 's-Hertogenbosch in December 1545, this time on his way to Utrecht, where he would chair the twenty-first Chapter of the Golden Fleece.¹⁰³⁶ According to the city accounts¹⁰³⁷ he arrived on 4 December and was warmly welcomed by the city government accompanied by the four civic guards and the guilds, with five trumpeters and ten drummers. The entire welcoming committee carried 120 *toirtsen* (torches). The bells of the Sint-Jan were rung in the afternoon and the evening of 4 December, which was also the feast of St Barbara. Before the

¹⁰³⁰ Also mentioned in SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 192r.

¹⁰³¹ Kuijer 2000, p. 313.

¹⁰³² On further biographical details see: <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, no. 390.

¹⁰³³ On the *Keizershof* and archaeological excavations there: Boekwijt 2012, pp. 75-85; Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 76-77; Janssen 2008; De Bruijn 2003.

¹⁰³⁴ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 77v-78v, fol. 82v-83r, fol. 106v, fol. 128v-129r; OSA 1392, fol. 215v.

¹⁰³⁵ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 82v.

¹⁰³⁶ Kuijer 2000, p. 318.

¹⁰³⁷ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1397, fol. 205r, fol. 211r, 218r-219r, 262r-264v, 267r.

city hall the fire pans were lit for sixteen evenings.¹⁰³⁸ Among the large group of followers of the emperor were many counts, princes and other highly placed men. Because of an attack of gout the emperor stayed longer in 's-Hertogenbosch than originally planned: from 4 to 28 December.¹⁰³⁹ For the second time, Henrick van Deventer was his host. According to the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, in honour of Charles, for four nights in a row the bells were rung for the *lof van onsser liever vrouwen*.¹⁰⁴⁰ Accompanying the emperor were his singers, among them the composer Thomas Crecquillon. Charles left on 28 December to go to Buren, where he dined with his general the count of Buren:¹⁰⁴¹ Maximiliaan van Egmond, knight of the Golden Fleece and Swan Brother of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.

Charles's sister Mary of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, also visited 's-Hertogenbosch a few times. In 1539 she had chosen 's-Hertogenbosch for a meeting of the States of Brabant.¹⁰⁴² Mary arrived on 11 July 1539 and stayed with Henrick van Deventer, just as her brother the emperor would do a year later. She had brought a large retinue, among them her chapel, with *zangmeester* Benedictus Appenzeller. The singers of the governess joined the singers of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, singing the weekly Mass on Wednesday 16 July.¹⁰⁴³ Six years later, on 27 July 1545, Mary of Hungary arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch on her way from Guelders to Flanders.¹⁰⁴⁴ In her retinue must have been her *zangmeester* Benedictus Appenzeller again, because he sang with six choirboys for the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap around 1 August.¹⁰⁴⁵ Both times, in 1539 and 1545, the singers most likely also sang together for the chapter, but that cannot be confirmed, since the accounts are lost. Finally, on 1 September 1547, the governess came to 's-Hertogenbosch again, once more with a large entourage, but this time the goal of her visit is not clear from the city accounts¹⁰⁴⁶ nor from the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.

¹⁰³⁸ It remains unclear which evenings, because the emperor stayed until 28 December and therefore twenty-four days.

¹⁰³⁹ See also: Gachard 1874, p. 313.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Roelvink 2002, p. 236 (no. 91).

¹⁰⁴¹ Gachard 1874, p. 314.

¹⁰⁴² SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1390, fol. 184r-v, fol. 192v, 195r-198r, 240r-v.

¹⁰⁴³ Roelvink 2002, pp. 249-250 (nos. 65 and 68).

¹⁰⁴⁴ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396, fol. [C 9r].

¹⁰⁴⁵ Roelvink 2002, p. 257 (no. 115). Since they helped singing the Mass, it was probably the weekly Mass on Wednesday 29 July. Benedictus's wife Liennaertken from Brussels had become an external member of the Broederschap in the year 1544/45 (Van Dijck 1973, p. 257 en Vente 1963a, pp. 38 en 40; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 218r).

¹⁰⁴⁶ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [B 7v].

These examples show us that important singers came to town, who joined the singers in the Sint-Jan during liturgical activities. A few months before Charles V came to 's-Hertogenbosch in 1545 and shortly after Mary of Hungary and Benedictus Appenzeller had left town, Gheerkin de Hondt was honoured by a visit of his colleagues from the chapel of Charles.¹⁰⁴⁷ The *zangmeester* of the emperor, either Cornelius Canis or Thomas Crecquillon,¹⁰⁴⁸ four singers and the choirboys joined the singers of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August).

The life and actions of Charles V were the occasion for extra processions a few times. In June 1543 the bells of the Sint-Jan were rung three times a day for four days, to celebrate the safe arrival of Charles V in Italy, on his way from Spain to the Low Countries. On the 17th of that month, three 'fire pans' were lit on the tower of the church. The *beierman* was paid because he had *gebeyert*.¹⁰⁴⁹ The Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap sponsored two poor people who carried two torches during a procession that was held in Charles's honour on the same day (the Sunday before the feast of St John the Baptist, in 1543 on 17 June).¹⁰⁵⁰ In early October 1544, a procession was held in honour of Charles V and the peace between him and the King of France.¹⁰⁵¹ A few years later, on the feast of St Servatius (13 May) in 1547, another procession was held: this time to celebrate the victory of Charles V over the duke of Saxony and the fact that his rival had been captured in the battle of Mühlberg.¹⁰⁵² The Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap also contributed: they paid two boys to carry torches.¹⁰⁵³

We are not informed on music in general in the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, except for some information on the city trumpeters. The city government yearly paid four of them for their duties and their gown (*tabbart*).¹⁰⁵⁴ Furthermore, a night

¹⁰⁴⁷ Roelvink 2002, pp. 67 and 257 (no. 116).

¹⁰⁴⁸ It remains unclear who was at that point the actual *zangmeester*, but both sang in Charles's chapel. On this matter: Rudolf 1977, pp. 24-26; Hudson/Ham 2001; Bernstein 2001. On the chapel of Charles V: Maes 1999, pages 149-152 on Crecquillon and Canis.

¹⁰⁴⁹ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1394, fol. 183v-184r.

¹⁰⁵⁰ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 163v.

¹⁰⁵¹ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1396, fol. [h 6v; sic: 7v].

¹⁰⁵² SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [ff 5r].

¹⁰⁵³ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 133, fol. 239v-240r.

¹⁰⁵⁴ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391, fol. 63v-64r, 126v: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthoeniss., Jannen Cornelis. and Gregorius van Utrecht; OSA 1392 (1540/41), fol. 176v, 222v, 223v: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthoeniss. Jannen Corneliss. and Gregorius van Utrecht; OSA 1393 (1541/42), fol. 59r, 161v, 170r: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthoeniss. Jannen Corneliss. and Gregorius van Utrecht; OSA 1394 (1542/43), fol. 58r, 184v: Jannen van Eyck, Jan Anthoeniss., Jan Corneliss., Gregorius van Utrecht had left, replaced 05-03-

watchman was paid every year to blow the horn during the night every hour on the town hall.¹⁰⁵⁵ The city trumpeters wore a silver *broetzie* (brooch) and a bracelet on their gown. In 1530 the city government had made new ones. On 23 December of that year, the city trumpeters had to sign a contract in which they promised to return the brooch and bracelet when they left duty, or instead pay 20 golden guilders. Three of the contracts have been preserved: for Jannen Anthoniss., Jannen van Eyck and Jannen Corneliss.¹⁰⁵⁶ Since the accounts of the city of 1530 mention Peter van Groeningen as fourth *stadspijper*, his contract must be missing.¹⁰⁵⁷ Today, examples of both the brooch and the bracelet have been preserved.¹⁰⁵⁸ The brooch contains the city arms, the bracelet the city name *s Hertogenbossche* ('s-Hertogenbosch) as a rebus: *hert* is visualised as a hart, *ogen* as a pair of eyes.

A curiosity in the city accounts is a reference to a mystery play on 19 April 1546. As we have seen before, the city government contributed to mystery plays during the large July procession. Only this once do the city accounts mention a play considering the Passion, which was performed on the Markt, in the late evening (or even in the night) on Palm Sunday. The item mentions *nae alder gewoenten*, suggesting that the play was performed every year. We do not have a clue if music was involved, but most likely music was part of the ceremony.¹⁰⁵⁹

Compared to Bruges and Delft, 's-Hertogenbosch was not the most quiet city. Gheerkin de Hondt came to work in on the final day of 1539. The geographical position of 's-Hertogenbosch between Habsburg and Guelders territory made

1543 by Jan Hendricxs.; OSA 1395 (1543/44), fol. 201v, 279v: Jannen van Eyck, Jan Anthoeniss., Jan Corneliss. and Jan Henricxs.; OSA 1396 (1544/45), fol. [A 9r], [j 8r], [j 11v-12r]: Jannen van Eyck, Jan Anthoeniss., Jan Corneliss. and Jan Henricxs.; OSA 1397 (1545/46), fol. 201r, 275r: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthoniss., Jannen Corneliss. and Jannen Henricxz.; OSA 1398 (1546/47), fol. [A 5v], [ff 6v]: Jannen van Eyck, Jannen Anthonisz., Jan Corneliss. and Jannen Henrixz..

¹⁰⁵⁵ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1391 (1539/40), fol. 63v: Peteren van Boextel; OSA 1392 (1540/41), fol. 176v: Michielen; OSA 1393 (1541/42), fol. 59r: Michielen Willemssoen; OSA 1394 (1542/43), fol. 58r: Michielen Willemss.; OSA 1395 (1543/44), fol. 201v: Michiel Willemss.; OSA 1396 (1544/45), fol. [A 9r]: Michiel Willemss.; OSA 1397 (1545/46), fol. Michiel Willemsz.; OSA 1398 (1546/47), fol. [A 5v]: Michiel Willemsz..

¹⁰⁵⁶ Respectively SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 3154, 3155 and 3156.

¹⁰⁵⁷ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1382, fol. [C 5v]. Peter van Groeningen was a *stadspijper* for many years.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Agterberg 1981, pp. 20 and 22; Koldewij 1990c, pp. 60-62.

¹⁰⁵⁹ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1397, fol. 267v. Appendix 3, 1546, 19 April. Palm Sunday came on 18 April.

Gheerkin's stay in the most northern city of Brabant at least exciting. But the importance of the location was also an advantage: both the Emperor and the governess came to town, bringing their top musicians with them, who in fact also came without their employers. That does say something about the high musical standards in 's-Hertogenbosch, having only one large church – the Sint-Jan – housing both a chapter for canons and a parish for the 'ordinary' citizens. For that matter, the transfer from Bruges was an improvement and a step up the career ladder.