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Chapter 7 's-Hertogenbosch:

meester Gerit die Hont van Brugge

The fascinating panoramic view of 's-Hertogenbosch that Antoon vanden Wijngaerde drew in colour around 1550 shows us what the medieval city Gheerkin de Hondt entered at the end of 1539 looked like.¹⁰⁶⁰ It shows us a walled city with many towers of churches, convents and chapels. Between those towers, we see numerous house fronts and roofs belonging to the citizens. The (water)ways leading to the town show us people with horses and carts, horsemen, windmills, cattle and little ships. High above towers the middle steeple of the church of Sint-Jan, with the bronze statue of St John. According to a contemporary (anonymous) source,¹⁰⁶¹ St John held a chalice in his hand and was turned around by the wind, indicating its direction.

A rather accurate map of 's-Hertogenbosch was prepared during Gheerkin de Hondt's time there in 1545 by Jacob van Deventer,¹⁰⁶² who also drew a map of Bruges and many other towns in the Low Countries. The network of streets is clearly visible, but only the (militarily) most important buildings have been drawn in a bird's-eye view. Among them are the three large and five small town gates, as well as five water gates.

The earliest painting we have of the central square, the Markt, is an anonymous panel dated around 1530, shortly before Gheerkin de Hondt arrived.¹⁰⁶³ The painting was commissioned by the guild of either the cloth sellers or the drapers, perhaps for an altar in the church of Sint-Jan or for the room where they held their meetings (possibly in the church of the Franciscans). It shows the cloth sellers during the weekly 's-Hertogenbosch market. In the foreground, we see St Francis of Assisi, the

¹⁰⁶⁰ Pirenne 1955; Galera i Monegal 1998, p. 162. Original in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Clar. Lar. Vol. IV, 45 (Sutherland Collection); a reproduction in: Roelvink 2002, pp. 16-17 and Verhees/Vos 2005, cover (book jacket) and pp. 16-17. The drawing is not 100% accurate.

¹⁰⁶¹ Desmense 1995, p. 33. Desmense dates the source between 1544 and 1552.

¹⁰⁶² Koeman/Visser 1992, map 8, no. 100; Verhees/Vos 2005, pp. 14-15; Kuyser/Kappelhof/Timmermans 2001, pp. 28-30.

¹⁰⁶³ 's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum, Inv. no. 01596. Jacobs 2000; Koldeweij 1990c, pp. 100-101.

son of a cloth seller and patron of both the Franciscans and the cloth sellers. On the left, we see the well house¹⁰⁶⁴ – since 1522 crowned with the Habsburg eagle¹⁰⁶⁵ – and a pillory – crowned with a so-called ‘chapel (little house) of Our Lady’ containing a statue of the Virgin.¹⁰⁶⁶ This pillory was therefore also called the *Lieve Vrouwe Huysken* or the *Heylich Huysken*, a place of worship for the Blessed Virgin. Besides being a pillory and a place of worship, its third (main?) function was a market cross: a cross indicating that ’s-Hertogenbosch had market privileges (including the safe-conduct of visitors to the free markets) and reminding people that they had to behave well and remain peaceful. The perspectives in the painting are not correct, but the houses that are depicted (from the Kerkstraat in the direction of the Hoge Steenweg) seem to be fairly accurate. A second well-known painting of the 16th-century Markt presenting the well house and the pillory/chapel/market cross as well as many medieval house fronts is by Jan van Diepenbeeck and dates from somewhere between 1579 and 1625.¹⁰⁶⁷ It shows us the so-called *Schermersoproer* (‘the revolt of the riflemen’) of 1579 and was commissioned by the city government for the yearly remembrance of the victory of the Catholics over the Calvinists.

Situated at the Markt was the city hall. In the same period that the painting of the Lakenmarkt was created, the city hall was renewed.¹⁰⁶⁸ A drawing dated 7 July 1632 by the famous Pieter Jans. Saenredam gives us a detailed impression of the (now demolished) new façade of the building, bearing the date 1533.¹⁰⁶⁹ Building activities had started in 1529, after a design by Jan Darkennis, building master of the Sint-Jan, who would also sign the contract for the new design of the house of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap a few years later. Four statues embellish the front, picturing duchess Joanna of Brabant (1322-1406) and her spouse Wenceslaus I, duke of Luxembourg, and Emperor Charles V and his grandfather Maximilian I. The façade also shows us Charles’s coat of arms (above the door), a clock and a

¹⁰⁶⁴ On this well house: Vink 2013a.

¹⁰⁶⁵ On the crowning of the well house: Glaudemans 2012a.

¹⁰⁶⁶ On this ‘chapel of Our Lady’: Van der Vaart 2012; Vink 2013b.

¹⁰⁶⁷ ’s-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum, Inv. no. 00852.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Kuijer 2000, p. 325; Koldewey 1990c, pp. 36-37. On the building history and the predecessors: Van Drunen 2006, pp. 334-335 and Van Drunen 2002a.

¹⁰⁶⁹ The drawing is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Object number RP-T-1898-A-3657, to be seen on the website of the Museum (<http://www.rijksmuseum.nl>). Please note that it only concerns the central portion, the two parts on the left and right (the *Gaffel* and *Sinterklaes*) date from 1607 (Koldewey 1990c, p. 381). The same goes for two other depictions of the 16th-century city hall by Jan A. van Beerstraten: a full colour painting entitled *Gezicht op de Markt te ’s-Hertogenbosch*, dated 1665 (now in Noordbrabants Museum, Inv. no. 11785.058) and a drawing dated around the same time (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt, Inv. no. 5091).

‘horseplay’ playing when the clock strikes. The building left of the city hall was called the Gaffel. It was used by the city government as a reception room to receive and treat guests with food and wine. During Gheerkin’s stay in ’s-Hertogenbosch it was renovated, including the addition of a new gilded porch.¹⁰⁷⁰

Recently, Ronald Glaudemans made a 3D-reconstruction of the neighbourhood of the Sint-Jan and the Markt around 1550,¹⁰⁷¹ an area well known by Gheerkin de Hondt. Now we can take an imaginary walk through ’s-Hertogenbosch in Gheerkin’s time, for example from the house of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, to the richly ornamented Sint-Jan, the *Geefhuis* with its beautifully oak polychromed relief on the façade (dated circa 1525) showing the distribution of bread and other goods to the poor,¹⁰⁷² along the chapel of St Anne, and through the *Gevangenpoort* to the Markt.¹⁰⁷³ Gheerkin de Hondt must have taken this route many times.

7.1 Appointment

The first concrete reference to Gheerkin de Hondt in ’s-Hertogenbosch dates from the autumn of 1539 and is to be found in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Sometime between 13 October and 7 November 1539, the organist of the Broederschap – meester Jan Bosschart van Brugge – was paid to travel to Bruges, to hire *meester Gerit den sangmeester*.¹⁰⁷⁴ Gheerkin’s duties started on the last day of December, so he must have arrived on that day or shortly before.¹⁰⁷⁵

Remarkable is that there is no mention of an audition or something similar, Gheerkin is simply appointed. Normally, the Broederschap and the chapter of Sint-

¹⁰⁷⁰ Koldewey 1990c, p. 377.

¹⁰⁷¹ Boekwijt/Glaudemans/Hagemans 2010, pp. 202-203.

¹⁰⁷² Koldewey 1990c, pp. 204-205 and Koldewey 1990b, p. 514-515. The heavily damaged relief is now in the Noordbrabants Museum (Inv. no. 719).

¹⁰⁷³ On the building history of the houses on the Markt and its direct surroundings: Van Drunen 2006. Also: Van Drunen 1983b.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Appendix 3, 1539, between 13 October and 7 November. Previously published by Smijers 1955, p. 217. The first one to notice the appointment of Gheerkin, however, was Bank 1939a, p. 103.

¹⁰⁷⁵ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 226v. Appendix 3, 1539, 31 December. The phrase *want hy den selven dach comen was* can be interpreted in two ways: he actually arrived on that day, or he arrived at the Broederschap to start his duties and was already in town, the latter being the most likely interpretation. Previously published by Smijers 1955, p. 222.

Jan would decide together if they wished to hire a new singer, after they had been convinced of his qualities. So appointing a new *zangmeester* without an audition is rather unusual. Nevertheless, there is a good explanation.

On 1 February 1537, the *zangmeester* of the Broederschap and the chapter, Sebastiaan de Porta, had died.¹⁰⁷⁶ The Broederschap and chapter chose a new *zangmeester*, Anthonis van Bergen. However, Anthonis's former employer did not give him permission to leave, so Anthonis returned to Bergen.¹⁰⁷⁷ The search for a new *zangmeester* started, and until he was found, *intoneerder* Jan van Wintelroy¹⁰⁷⁸ temporarily fulfilled the position from 14 August onwards.¹⁰⁷⁹

In September 1538, two possible candidates for the position arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch. One came from Bruges (where Gheerkin de Hondt was working at that time), the other from Veere (Zeeland). The Brethren did have a strong preference for the *zangmeester* from Bruges, and presented their choice to the priests of the chapter. The priests, however, appointed the other candidate, from Veere, without giving notice to the sworn members of the Broederschap. The Brethren did not accept this and demanded that the new *zangmeester* receive lower remunerations than usual, because he was appointed against their will. The priests of the chapter then admitted that they were wrong, but in the end, on 2 October 1538, the *zangmeester* from Veere, master Adriaen, was appointed anyway.¹⁰⁸⁰ His colleague from Bruges apparently returned to his hometown, with reimbursement for his expenses.¹⁰⁸¹

About a year later, we come to the account item which says that the organist Jan Bosschart van Brugge is sent to Bruges for Gheerkin de Hondt. Why Adriaen van Veere had to leave remains a mystery, but that it was not a voluntary departure becomes clear from the accounts of the Broederschap, where a payment of two guilders is written down for the leave of master Adriaen, who was complaining about the Broederschap.¹⁰⁸² Adriaen even stayed until after the fifth banquet of that year (29 December), clearly 'waiting' for Gheerkin de Hondt, who started his career for the Broederschap on 31 December 1539.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Smijers 1955, p. 229.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Bergen is not specified in the documents of the Broederschap, but most likely either Bergen (Mons) in Hainaut (Belgium) or Bergen op Zoom in Brabant is meant.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Variations in name: Wintelroy, Wintelre, Winkelrode, Vinkenrode (Vente 1963a, p. 34).

¹⁰⁷⁹ Smijers 1955, p. 214 and Vente 1963a, p. 34.

¹⁰⁸⁰ The situation is extensively described in the archives of the Broederschap, previously published by Smijers 1955, pp. 229-230. See also: Van Dijck 1973, p. 255.

¹⁰⁸¹ Smijers 1955, p. 211. Smijers mentions in a note that this was somewhere between 2 and 8 September 1538. See also: Appendix 3, 1538, between 2 and 8 September.

¹⁰⁸² BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 207v-208r.

Although the name of the *zangmeester* from Bruges is not mentioned in the archives related to the incident in September 1538, most likely it was Gheerkin de Hondt who applied for the position of *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch then. This is suggested by the fact that he was sent for a year later, without having to audition. This indicates at least that the Broederschap and the chapter had already heard him before. Perhaps it was the organist, also coming from Bruges and appointed in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1535, who already drew attention to him in 1538.¹⁰⁸³

Gheerkin de Hondt's contract – or that of any of the other *zangmeesters* in the 16th century or before – is missing. However, Gheerkin's duties in general can be derived from the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. First of all, he had to sing during the liturgical activities in the Broederschap chapel, and during other festivities. This meant singing during the weekly Vespers and Mass, feasts, memorial services, the *Lof* services, the yearly procession and the banquets.

As *zangmeester*, Gheerkin directed the group of singers and choirboys. This most likely also implied that he was co-responsible for recruiting the singers and boys. During his stay in 's-Hertogenbosch Gheerkin himself went looking for new singers only once: in May 1543 he travelled to Amsterdam and Leiden. In Leiden he had to talk to *basconter* Anthonius van Tricht, who already had been selected by *hoogconter* Henrick de Mol van Mechelen,¹⁰⁸⁴ but who was not appointed (or did not want to come) in the end. Henrick's journey lasted nine days, in which he also travelled to The Hague and Dordrecht to recruit two or three other singers.

This strong demand for new singers repeated itself and therefore the Broederschap actively searched for singers several times during Gheerkin's employment.¹⁰⁸⁵ Between 23 and 30 August 1540, Jan van Wintelroy, one of the *intoneerders*, was sent to Antwerp for Cornelis, a bass singer.¹⁰⁸⁶ Cornelis did not stay very long in 's-Hertogenbosch, since on 1 September he had already left for his hometown Oirschot, without asking for permission. He would not return, in spite of the attempt of the Broederschap, who sent a messenger to get him back.¹⁰⁸⁷ A few months later, in April or early May 1541, bass singer Anthonis went to Dordrecht to

¹⁰⁸³ The available publications on the Bruges churches (the many articles of Dewitte; Andriessen 2002) do not mention an organist named Jan Bosschart in Bruges in the 1520s-1530s.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Roelvink 2002, p. 254, no. 97 and 98. Van Nieuwkoop 1975, p. III, incorrectly states that the journey took place in the year 1541-42.

¹⁰⁸⁵ As we shall see below under Colleagues, many guest singers came to 's-Hertogenbosch to try to become a member of the group of singers, but most of them were not admitted.

¹⁰⁸⁶ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 272v (transcription in: Smijers 1955, p. 223).

¹⁰⁸⁷ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 274r and 296v (Smijers 1955, pp. 224 and 228).

find a new fellow bass, but he did not succeed.¹⁰⁸⁸ Between 3 and 11 July of that same year, one of the sworn Brethren – Gerard Willegermans – travelled from Antwerp to Bergen to recruit two singers of the late Lord of Bergen, also a mission without success.¹⁰⁸⁹ May 1543 until January 1546 seems to have been rather quiet on the active recruiting front. Only on the eve of Epiphany 1546, Tuesday 5 January, a certain Frans Cnol was sent to Bruges to get a new bass singer who had been recommended. He probably did not succeed, since he was then sent to Ghent for the bass singer Jan Wynnen (successfully).¹⁰⁹⁰

Two years after his arrival in 's-Hertogenbosch, Gheerkin's general duties were extended. Probably following his suggestion, the Broederschap had decided to appoint two choirboys instead of one male high voice (*boven sanck*). Gheerkin de Hondt received 2 Carolus guilders for the maintenance of the boys.¹⁰⁹¹ Only half a year later, he received 3 more Carolus guilders for these two extra boys, because the total number of choirboys had risen to eight.¹⁰⁹² From then on, every year the accounts mention a yearly payment of 34 Carolus guilders for *zangmeester* Gheerkin de Hondt to maintain the eight choirboys singing for the Broederschap. The payment was equally divided into four terms: on the feast of St John the Baptist (24 June), *Bamis* (the feast of St Bavo, 1 October), Christmas (25 December) and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (25 March). Special notice is given: the Broederschap at all times has the right to stop the arrangement when it wants. Moreover, the agreement is based on confidence: no specific underlying document was drawn up. The deal was made together with the chapter of Sint-Jan, thus suggesting that the chapter paid an equal amount of money and the total sum came to 68 guilders a year.¹⁰⁹³ Since the precise task is not described, we can only guess

¹⁰⁸⁸ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 285v (Smijers 1955, p. 226).

¹⁰⁸⁹ Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 76.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Roelvink 2002, p. 257, nos. 120-122. The accounts are not clear in this matter: first the arrival of Jan Wynnen is mentioned (added later?), then the journey by Frans Cnol to first Bruges and then Ghent. Finally the arrival of Jan Wynnen is mentioned again. Furthermore, the journey to Bruges was originally written as Ghent, which was immediately crossed out and replaced by Bruges (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 312v-313r).

¹⁰⁹¹ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 30v. For a transcription see Appendix 3, 1541, between 5 and 14 November. Also: Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 79.

¹⁰⁹² BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 44r. For a transcription see Appendix 3, 1542, between 8 and 16 June. Also: Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 80.

¹⁰⁹³ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 116rv (1542/43), fol. 198r (1543/44), fol. 264r (1544/45), fol. 334r (1545/46); Inv. no. 132, fol. 255r (1546/47). For an example transcription see Appendix 3, 1543, between 13 and 19 May. Also: Roelvink 2002, p. 254, no. 99.

what ‘keeping’ (*houden*) or ‘maintaining’ (*onderhouden*) the choirboys meant. As we shall see below, in the paragraph on his departure, Gheerkin was dismissed in October 1547 because his wife had not taken good care of the boys, so we may assume that the boys lived with Gheerkin de Hondt and his wife.¹⁰⁹⁴ Part of the obligations must also have been the teaching of the choirboys, at least musically.

Being the director of the group of singers, the *zangmeester* was most likely responsible for choosing the music to be sung during the liturgy. And since a *zangmeester* in the 16th-century Low Countries was also usually a composer, personal compositions will have been in the repertoire. Two of Gheerkin’s masses are included in one of the choirbooks of the Broederschap: the *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii* and the *Missa In te Domine speravi*.¹⁰⁹⁵ In March 1540, the accounts of the Broederschap also refer to *sommige moutetten* (some motets) Gheerkin wrote *in de eere van der bruederscappe* (in honour of the Broederschap).¹⁰⁹⁶ No specification is given, so we do not know which motets are meant, but *Benedicite Dominus* might well have been one of them.¹⁰⁹⁷

The accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap do not give us any information on where Gheerkin de Hondt lived. But there is another source that could help us in this matter.

7.2 The tax lists of 1547

On 27 February 1547 the city government decided to levy taxes of 1/16 of a Carolus guilder (6.25 per cent, a *braspenninck*) of the rent value of each house, to be paid by either the tenant or the owner. Although the economy kept flourishing in the 1540s, the taxes were probably necessary because of the large deficits in the years between 1541/42 and 1546/47.¹⁰⁹⁸ The city account of 1546/47 therefore shows us the tax revenues per quarter (*blok*). If the owner lived in the house himself, the *blokmeesters*

¹⁰⁹⁴ This was not unusual in collegiate churches in the southern Low Countries (Bouckaert 2000a and Bouckaert 200b).

¹⁰⁹⁵ On these masses see Chapter 14.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Appendix 3, 1540, between 15 and 20 March. Also: Smijers 1948-1955, p. 218; Van Lanschot 1874.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See § 6.4.12 and Chapter 14. Smijers 1946, p. 29 suggests that the motets could be the anonymous motets in the Codex Smijers (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 152).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Kuijer 2000, p. 326. The statement that the city government spent more than it received is correct (SAHt, OSA, Inv. nos. 1393–1398).

would determine the value of the house, on which the rent would be based. The *blokmeesters* were also responsible for collecting the taxes.¹⁰⁹⁹

Many names occur in the lists of amounts of money that enriched the city funds. Since this should be a complete overview of those living in town when Gheerkin de Hondt worked there, we should be able to find out where Gheerkin and his colleagues lived. Unfortunately, the full name of our *zangmeester* does not occur in the lists. But we do find a certain *M. Gerit, meester* Gerit, living in the quarter of the Markt.¹¹⁰⁰ Since Gheerkin de Hondt was called Gerit die Hont in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, this *M. Gerit* might well be Gheerkin de Hondt. With 516 Carolus guilders out of a total of almost 2,378 Carolus guilders, the *blok* of the Markt paid (out of nine quarters) by far the majority of the taxes. *M. Gerit* was responsible for 6 *stuivers* and 1 *oirt*.¹¹⁰¹ Comparing this sum to other people, it is not much, since we know Gheerkin had a top position in 's-Hertogenbosch and worked many hours a week.¹¹⁰² And since the last name of *M. Gerit* is missing, it is at least doubtful if the person referred to is Gheerkin de Hondt.

A curious reference is in the payments of the quarter of the Hinthamerstraat. There we find a certain *Anneken sanghmeesters* who paid 10 *stuivers* and 1 *oirt*.¹¹⁰³ *Anneken sanghmeesters* is to be interpreted as 'Anneken, the wife (or daughter or even widow?) of the *zangmeester*'. The last 's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeester* of whom we know the name of his wife was Sebastiaan de Porta, who had died himself in 1537 and whose wife had died in 1530 and was named Barbara.¹¹⁰⁴ That leaves Anneke as possibly the wife of Gheerkin de Hondt. However, a general tax round in 1552 makes it clear that this cannot be the case, since there we find the reference again and Gheerkin de Hondt had left town by then.¹¹⁰⁵ The 1552 city account also clarifies that Anneken lived near the chapel or one of the streets around it having Anna in their names.¹¹⁰⁶ That means that the *sanghmeester* was living near the chapel of Sint-Anna. However, this would indicate that – because the reference is also found in 1552 – the

¹⁰⁹⁹ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, from fol. [C Jr] onwards. On these taxes see also: Van de Laar 1979, pp. 78-79, 102. A typed version by L.J.A. van de Laar is available: SAHt, Collectie Van der Laar, cahier 10.

¹¹⁰⁰ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [C VII]v].

¹¹⁰¹ A *braspenninck* equaled 1.25 *stuivers*, an *oirt* equals 1/4 *stuiver*. *M. Gerit* paid 5 *braspenninck*. The rent of the house was therefore 5 Carolus guilders.

¹¹⁰² On his social position, see Chapter 9.

¹¹⁰³ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [G 11r].

¹¹⁰⁴ Roelvink 2002, p. 313.

¹¹⁰⁵ There is the possibility that Gheerkin left 's-Hertogenbosch without his wife (in the end she seems to have been the reason he was fired), but that seems far-fetched.

¹¹⁰⁶ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404, fol. 48v. In this city account, *Anna sanghmeesters* lives in the Rechtestraet, between the *Sinte Annen straetken* and *Achter St Anna capelle*.

's-Hertogenbosch *zangmeester* always lived in the same house, rather far away from the Sint-Jan, where he had his main function and that is very hard to believe. We must therefore conclude that it remains a mystery who is meant by *Anneken sanghmeesters*.¹¹⁰⁷

We do find people in the tax list of 1547 that Gheerkin de Hondt must have known.¹¹⁰⁸ We find Jan van Vinckenroye (Jan van Wintelroy, the *intoneerder*) in the quarter of the Kerkstraat paying 30 stuivers,¹¹⁰⁹ M. Henrick dorgelmeker (Henrick Niehoff, the organ builder) in the quarter of the Weverplaats paying 20 stuivers,¹¹¹⁰ Jaspar clockgieter (Jaspar Moer, bell-founder) paying 21 stuivers and 1 oirt¹¹¹¹ and Jan clockgieter paying 10 stuivers, both in the quarter of the Vugterstraat,¹¹¹² and Arnt die sanger also in the area of the Vugterstraat paying 5 stuivers.¹¹¹³ However, the lists do not give us complete information on every citizen in 's-Hertogenbosch, because none of the singers who were Gheerkin's colleagues appear in the lists (except for Jan van Wintelroy). We miss, for example, Gommaer van Lier and Henrick de Mol van Mechelen, both singers for the Broederschap for many years.¹¹¹⁴ We also do not find references to Philippus de Spina (*intoneerder* from 1531-1566 and scribe) and the organist Jan Bosschart van Brugge (organist 1535-1561).¹¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰⁷ Likewise situations occur with *Meriken zanghers* and *Meriken clockgieters* (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D IXv] and [D Xr]).

¹¹⁰⁸ There are also references to Henrick die Hont die Jonghe and Henrick die Hont doude. Henrick die Jonghe was a member of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, but there seems to be no family tie with the De Hondt family of Gheerkin de Hondt from Bruges. On this 's-Hertogenbosch Die Hont family: <http://www.degrafzerkenvandesintjan.nl>, no. 498. We also find references to people bearing the name Die Hont in the indexes on the Bosch' Protocol (*Schepenprotocol*), but here too none of them seems to have had any relation to the Bruges family where Gheerkin descended from (on the Bosch' Protocol in general: Van Synghel 1993). The same goes for the indexes on the Poorterboeken (the originals are kept in SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 3267); the new *poorters* were also registered in the city accounts every year.

¹¹⁰⁹ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D IIIJv]. In 1552 we find him again, now the street he lived in is mentioned: the Peperstraat (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404, fol. 54v).

¹¹¹⁰ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D Xr].

¹¹¹¹ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D2 IXr].

¹¹¹² SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D2 IXv]. The bell-foundry was indeed in that area.

¹¹¹³ SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1398, fol. [D2 IXr]. He is not to be found in the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Perhaps he was a singer who was only appointed by chapter.

¹¹¹⁴ See § 7.3.

¹¹¹⁵ In 1552 *Meester Jan dorganist* is one of the neighbours of Henrick Niehoff, living in the quarter of the Weverplaats, *Inden bogaert* (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404, fol. 64r). In the 1552 lists we do find more singers: Hensken [Henrick de Mol van Mechelen?], Joest

Altogether, the tax lists of 1547 do not seem to be complete and we are not able to derive from them where Gheerkin de Hondt lived during his employment in 's-Hertogenbosch. But since we know that he probably lived in the same house as the choirboys, he must have lived in a house that was owned by the chapter and those houses were not listed in the 1547 tax lists.¹¹¹⁶ In 1526 the choirboys lived in their own house in the Choorstraat,¹¹¹⁷ so we may safely assume that this was the house where Gheerkin de Hondt lived too.

7.3 Colleagues¹¹¹⁸

A Latin text named *Laus Phani Busciducensis*, dated between 1544 and 1552, pays a tribute to the singers and especially the organist of the Sint-Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch:

Let us focus quickly on the things that delight the ear. There is no lack of choral singing in this temple: one should think that Circe and her retinue are singing, if one hears the resonant voices. Musical instruments are not lacking either, because there are organs covered with gold and silver, sounding superb. And if you hear the skilful fingers of the organist playing, than you would consider him competent enough to amuse the celestials with his playing. Orpheus could not play his instrument more sweetly than the organist: although the trees were moved by the Thracian, and he knew how to amuse the demons of death and how to recall Eurydice from the underworld with his zither, even so, he who plays the 's-Hertogenbosch instrument brings more delicate sounds alive.¹¹¹⁹

[Joost van der Willigen?] and Anthonis [Anthonis van Lubeek or Anthonis van Tricht?], all living in the quarter of the Weverplaats (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1404, fol. 64v, 65v).

¹¹¹⁶ Houses of institutions were exempted anyway (Van de Laar 1979, p. 78).

¹¹¹⁷ Nauwelaerts 1974, p. 79; Van Sasse van Ysselt 1911-1914, volume II, pp. 557-558. Van Sasse van Ysselt mentions that the house stood on the south side, the third house on the left, coming from the Papenhulst (the house did not stand the test of time).

¹¹¹⁸ An overview of Gheerkin's colleagues is given in Appendix 4. Because the source material (accounts) of the Broederschap contains references to individual singers every year, only the references in the Gheerkin period (1539-1547) are given. A survey of singers from 1519-1568 and more information is to be found in: Roelvink 2002, pp. 56-83 and 310-321. For the period up to 1519: Smijers 1932/1932-1935.

¹¹¹⁹ Desmense 1995, pp. 31-32.

The organist with the excellent skills the author of the *Laus Phani Busciducensis* is referring to must be Jan Bosschart.¹¹²⁰ After the death of the organist Jan van Duynkerken in June 1535, Jan Bosschart van Brugge was appointed. He too stayed until his death shortly before 25 August 1561. The new and very modern organ the Broederschap had purchased in the early 1530s from Henrick Niehoff must have a source of attraction to top organists. Since the chapter also bought a new Niehoff organ around 1540, the organist of the church had two up-to-date organs at his disposal. In addition to working for the Broederschap and the chapter, Jan Bosschart also was the organist of the beguinage from 27 October 1547 onwards.¹¹²¹ Curious is the remark in the Broederschap accounts of January 1546 and 1547, mentioning Jan Bosschart van Brugge and Jan van Wintelroy playing the harpsichord and the viol (*clavesimbel/clavesymbolum* and *veele/vele*) during the yearly swan banquet in the new year.¹¹²²

The organist could not function without a bellows blower (*orgelblaser*).¹¹²³ With the new Niehoff organ, the task of the bellows blower became heavier, since he had to climb more (and darker) stairs; therefore his salary was doubled. Just as with the organist, the bellows blower was a faithful employee of the Broederschap. In the 1540s (and perhaps already the 1530s) Gerart van Weert fulfilled the position. He would stay for more than fifteen years, until 1558. During the account year 1542/43 he became an external member of the Broederschap.

The *Laus Phani* is also very complimentary on the group of singers. In Gheerkin's time the group comprised two *intoneerders* (precentors), four to seven singing-men, six to eight choirboys, an organist and in some years an instrumentalist (for example a cornetist or a trumpeter). Furthermore, there were two musical 'servants', who were always present when the choir was performing, namely the *beierman* (bellringer) and the bellows blower. During the first years of Gheerkin's employment, a cornet player was also part of the group.¹¹²⁴

To reconstruct the constitution of the group of musicians working in the Sint-Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch in Gheerkin's time, we completely depend on the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. Every week on Wednesday, the payment to the group was written down in the account. However, it proves quite difficult to establish how exactly the choir was constituted from week to week, because the accounts were inaccurately compiled: information on singers is often to be found in

¹¹²⁰ On the organists between 1519 and 1568: Roelvink 2002, pp. 73-75.

¹¹²¹ See § 6.6 above.

¹¹²² Roelvink 2002, p. 257, no. 118 and p. 258, no. 129.

¹¹²³ Roelvink 2002, pp. 79-82.

¹¹²⁴ Roelvink 2002, p. 76.

more than one entry (not only in the *Uuytgeven van sangeren loen*), the names of all the members of the group were only given in the first payment (from then on until the end of the year they were referred to as ‘the singers and organist’), different names were sometimes used for one and the same person, and one singer was at times indicated by more than one voice-type. Nevertheless, the accounts are a rich source of information on the musicians.

The most constant factor in the group were the two *intoneerders* Jan van Wintelroy and Philippus de Spina.¹¹²⁵ The precentors only received a part of their remunerations for intoning the chants; the other part came from their work as priest (among others reading Masses). Jan van Wintelroy originally came to 's-Hertogenbosch as singer (*hoichtenuer*) in 1529.¹¹²⁶ When *intoneerder* Aert van Eyndhoven died in 1533, he was a candidate for the post, but there was a small problem: he had not yet finished his studies for the priesthood. Until he had (between 5 November 1533 and before 6 May 1534) – and therefore in anticipation of the moment he was able to earn a complete living by also being a priest – the Broederschap (and chapter?) supplemented his remunerations.¹¹²⁷ It would turn out to be a very good investment: Jan van Wintelroy would serve the Broederschap until his death after 1590, from 1551 onwards as both *zangmeester* and *intoneerder*.¹¹²⁸ He was one of the few singers who became an external member of the Broederschap, in 1541, together with his fellow *intoneerder* Philippus de Spina.¹¹²⁹

Philippus de Spina started his duties for the Broederschap on 16 August 1531. He came from the North-Brabant town of Oirschot.¹¹³⁰ He must have had a very good religious and musical education in Oirschot, probably at the collegiate church (dedicated to St Peter),¹¹³¹ where most likely a mature group of professional singers and choirboys functioned under the supervision of a *zangmeester* and was

¹¹²⁵ On the *intoneerders*: Roelvink 2002, pp. 61-64.

¹¹²⁶ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 128, fol. 350v and 337v. On his biography see also: Verreyt 1923, with wrong year of death.

¹¹²⁷ Roelvink 2002, pp. 247-248, nos. 50-51.

¹¹²⁸ Vente 1963a, p. 164. On the first of February 1544 *Heer Jan van Wyntelre priester* bought an *erflosrente*, registered in the city accounts (SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 1395, fol. 192v). Between 14 August and 2 October 1538 he temporarily fulfilled the position of *zangmeester* (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 165v166r).

¹¹²⁹ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 5r.

¹¹³⁰ On Philippus de Spina and his scribal activities: Roelvink 2002, pp. 127-147.

¹¹³¹ At least one of the canons was a sworn member of the Broederschap: Jan vander Hagen became a sworn member on 12 July 1543 and was host for the first time on 22 March 1544 during the seventh banquet of the year 1543-44 (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 145v, 180v).

accompanied by an organist.¹¹³² Philippus de Spina served the Broederschap for thirty-five years as priest, singer and (music) scribe. Three Broederschap choirbooks and a few compositions in the Codex Smijers in his hand have come down to us and he most likely also wrote music for the chapter of Sint-Jan (now lost). At least two of the preserved books are to be dated in the 1540s, during Gheerkin's employment. In 1566 Philippus de Spina was suddenly *affgedanckt* (dismissed), because he *hem groffelick misdragen hadde metter secten vanden calvinisten tegen die alde catolijcque religien* (he had behaved himself rudely with the sect of the Calvinists against the old Catholic religion).¹¹³³

When Gheerkin arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch, he encountered three singers who were already part of the group and who would also continue their duties when Gheerkin left again in October 1547: Henrick de Mol van Mechelen, Anthonis van Lubeek and Gommaar van Lier.

Henrick de Mol van Mechelen sang for the Broederschap and the chapter as *hoogconter*. The first reference to him dates from 19 February 1522, when he received a payment for a journey to Utrecht and Amersfoort to look for new singers. Shortly thereafter (between 16 and 30 March) he was paid 21 *stuivers* for his gown.¹¹³⁴ He probably came from the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, where he had arrived on 1 June 1521 – two days before Gheerkin de Hondt was appointed *coraelmeester* – and where he had left 'in silence'.¹¹³⁵ Gheerkin and Henrick therefore had already worked together when Gheerkin arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch, although it had been a long time earlier. From the account of 1524-25 onwards Henrick was appointed to administer the choirbooks: he had to make sure they were ready when the liturgical services started and that they were put away (in a chest) afterwards.¹¹³⁶ Henrick was told not to lend the books to anyone; he had to get permission from the Brethren first. Keeping the books was literally a heavy job: the books were large and heavy. Still, the Brethren noticed that already in the 16th century: the more and the heavier the books bought, the higher Henrick's salary became. Henrick did many small jobs for the Broederschap during his life there; he once even received a few stivers for copying music (in December 1528).¹¹³⁷ He died between 30 March and 6 April 1552.¹¹³⁸

¹¹³² Jespers 1991, pp. 219-220. See also: Frenken 1956, pp. 32-33, 176-177.

¹¹³³ For a transcription: Roelvink 2002, p. 285, nos. 345, 346, 347.

¹¹³⁴ Smijers 1932-1935, pp. 95-96. The accounts do not mention Henrick's arrival.

¹¹³⁵ GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXIIJv.

¹¹³⁶ Roelvink 2002, pp. 66, 158-159, 336-347; Smijers 1946, p. 30.

¹¹³⁷ Roelvink 2002, p. 337, no. 25.

¹¹³⁸ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 249r.

The name of Anthonis van Lubeek appears in the payments for singers from 23 November 1524 onwards, but he had already received a payment for his gown in June of that same year.¹¹³⁹ He would serve the Broederschap and chapter for thirty-five years. In the spring of 1559 he had problems with his health: he was not able to sing, but because he had served for such a long time, the Brethren gave him 3 guilders and 1 stiver in April.¹¹⁴⁰ At the beginning of the new account year, Anthonis's name is still on the list of singers. From 6 December onwards, an amount of 25 stivers is missing, exactly the amount Anthonis received every week. On 3 January 1560 a new bass singer was appointed; in the list of singers receiving money for their gown a few months later, Anthonis's name is missing. He therefore had probably died shortly before 6 December 1559.¹¹⁴¹

Gommaar van Lier became a singer in 's-Hertogenbosch on either 16 December 1528 or 10 February 1529.¹¹⁴² He would serve until 1551. As with Anthonis van Lubeek, it is not exactly clear from the accounts what happened. But here too, the total amount of remunerations for the singers suddenly became less: on 4 February one of the singers who received 18 stivers a week (among them Gommaar van Lier) did not get paid. A few weeks later, Gommaar is not mentioned among the singers who received money to buy a new gown. Therefore, he must have

¹¹³⁹ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 128, fol. 14v and 30v.

¹¹⁴⁰ Roelvink 2002, p. 274, no. 256.

¹¹⁴¹ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 133, fol. 498r, 500r, 500v and 482v.

¹¹⁴² On both these days a new *hoichtenuer* is appointed, this could be either Johannes Brandt or Gommaar van Lier (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 128, fol. 282v and 283r). There were many men with the name Gommaar van Lier, probably because the patron of Lier was St Gummarus. At least in 1524 and from 1 February 1530 until January 1531 another Gommaar (Claesz.) van Lier was a singer at the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft (GAD 435, Inv. no. 191, fol. LXIIIJr and LXVIJr; GAD 435, Inv. no. 186, fol. LXXXJ(b)r; CJr). In the Broederschap accounts the name also appears twice more, for a canon and an embroiderer (Roelvink 2002, p. 187-188, note 353). In a piece of scrap paper now in the archives of the Sint-Jan and dated 'around 1500', a Gommarus de Liera is also mentioned, probably being another singer with the same name (SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 2119). In the same notes, under *Discantores* the names of Dominus Johannes Binsoys, Hermannus de Atrio, Georgius, Johannes bassus tenor and organist Dominus Johannes Gruyter are mentioned. Deriving from the transcriptions Smijers made of the Broederschap accounts (Smijers 1932-1935, pp. 62-64), the piece is to be dated not before 20 May 1506 (appointment Johannes Gruyter) and probably shortly after the first of April 1507 (the death of *zangmeester* Claessen Craen [the composer Nicolaus Craen] who only served for 40 weeks in the account year 1506-1507; a *zangmeester* clearly is missing in the list). More singers with the same name Gommaer/Gommarus (or are some of them one and the same ?), are in the accounts between 1520 and 1526 (Roelvink 2002, p. 316).

left the choir. Since his wife died that year and Gommaar must have become of age, he probably had died.¹¹⁴³

Two more singers were already in 's-Hertogenbosch when Gheerkin arrived, but they did not work with Gheerkin for a long time: priest Willem van Rotterdam and Frans van Namen (or Frans van Tricht). Willem van Rotterdam joined the choir on 12 November 1533 as *bovensenger*.¹¹⁴⁴ At some point he must have become an external member of the Broederschap, because in December 1540, Philippus de Spina paid for his death debt, which was returned to him by the Broederschap.¹¹⁴⁵ Willem must have died between 8 and 15 December, since on 27 October he is not paid because he was ill and from then on up to and including 8 December he is referred to as being absent; from 15 December onwards he is no longer mentioned.¹¹⁴⁶ Frans van Namen had started his career as bass singer in 's-Hertogenbosch a year before Gheerkin, namely on 30 October 1538.¹¹⁴⁷ He left after 25 August 1540. He seems to have returned in 1556, when he sang again for the Broederschap and the chapter between 19 August and Christmas.¹¹⁴⁸ He then even received a gift of 12 guilders for his household furniture.¹¹⁴⁹ It is unclear if he is the same man as Franciscus de Namurcho with whom Gheerkin had worked in Delft from 18 August 1521 onwards,¹¹⁵⁰ or the Franciscus de Narmurio who was a singer at the church of Our Lady in Bruges.¹¹⁵¹

We may speak of a rather stable group of musicians, compared to Bruges and Delft: both the *intoneerders*, the organist, three singers and Gheerkin as *zangmeester* worked together for almost eight years. Only eleven or twelve new singers were appointed under Gheerkin's regime,¹¹⁵² making an average of four to seven mature singers to sing polyphony (including the *zangmeester*, without the two precentors). As in Bruges, the bass singers were the hardest ones to get.

The recruiting of the singers sometimes caused troubles between the Broederschap and the chapter. Coincidental or not – perhaps there were personal

¹¹⁴³ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 189v and 169r.

¹¹⁴⁴ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 129, fol. 212r (incorrectly given as *heer Willem van Amstelredamme*) and fol. 224v.

¹¹⁴⁵ Roelvink 2002, p. 250, nos. 69 and 72.

¹¹⁴⁶ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 297r-v.

¹¹⁴⁷ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 154v and 166r.

¹¹⁴⁸ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 133, fol. 183r, 203v, 205v.

¹¹⁴⁹ Roelvink 2002, p. 271, no. 232.

¹¹⁵⁰ Appendix 4.

¹¹⁵¹ Dewitte 1970, p. 126.

¹¹⁵² Appendix 4: Cornelis van Oirschot, Joachim, heer Peter (twice or two different men?), Cornelis, Frans van Breda, Fredericus van Brussel, Michiel Smekers van Nyeupoirte, Jan de Winne, Jan Corstiaenss., Jan Dirck Matheuss. and Floque.

differences in opinion or incompatibilities of characters between the leading men – it is remarkable that most of the problems in the 16th century occurred during the years 1538-1548. After the problems with the appointment of the new *zangmeester* in 1538-1539, a new struggle took place in early October 1541, when the Broederschap paid a singer for his efforts, but was not able to appoint him because the chapter did not support the choice of the Brethren.¹¹⁵³ A similar situation occurred a year later: on 18 October 1542 the Brethren wanted to appoint the high tenor Frans van Breda, but the priests of the chapter refused to pay their share: they *claechede hoerluden armoen* (complained that they were poor) and only wanted to appoint a bass singer. The Brethren apparently decided to pay for the singer themselves, because he is paid 1 guilder (20 stivers) a week from then on.¹¹⁵⁴ Probably the chapter came across at a later stage, because Frans van Breda stayed until 12 May 1546¹¹⁵⁵ and he would not have been able to live on half a salary. Frans van Breda did return to 's-Hertogenbosch as a guest singer in July 1551, together with another former singer of the Broederschap: Cabuyscool (Jan Corstiaenss.), who was appointed on 29 December 1546 after a period of doubt because of his hoarseness.¹¹⁵⁶ Frans van Breda and Jan Corstiaenss. probably had come to town to join the singers in the procession and stayed a few more days to sing the Vespers and Mass on Tuesday and Wednesday.¹¹⁵⁷

Shortly after the discussion on Frans van Breda the same argument started all over again: on 21 March 1543, the Broederschap appointed Cornelis *hochconter*, but the chapter did not want to pay for his duties. This time it is explicitly mentioned: Cornelis would only sing for the Broederschap, his remuneration was 25 stivers a week plus half a barrel of beer every month. Cornelis also received 1 guilder to go back to Amsterdam and collect his clothes.¹¹⁵⁸ Despite these extra terms of employment Cornelis left within five weeks; he probably was not able to live from his poor remuneration.¹¹⁵⁹ Exactly the same happened on 15 June 1544, when the

¹¹⁵³ Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 77.

¹¹⁵⁴ Roelvink 2002, p. 255, no. 105 and BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 129r-v.

¹¹⁵⁵ On 19 May he is given *orloff* (leave; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 333r).

¹¹⁵⁶ Roelvink 2002, p. 57 and p. 259, no. 134. It remains unclear till when Jan Corstiaenss. served the Broederschap. It must have been somewhere between June 1548 (the end of the account 1547-48) and June 1549 (the beginning of the account 1549-1550). The account of 1548/49 is missing, but Jan Corstiaenss. is no longer on the list of singers in June 1549 and mentioned as a guest on 21-08-1549 (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 116v and 117r).

¹¹⁵⁷ Roelvink 2002, p. 295, no. 42.

¹¹⁵⁸ Roelvink 2002, p. 255, no. 106. The 25 stivers are a lot for a regular singer; *zangmeester* Gheerkin received 27 stivers a week.

¹¹⁵⁹ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 131r (25 April, no. 45).

Brethren appointed *hoichconter* Michiel Smekers van Nyeupoirte.¹¹⁶⁰ Michiel exclusively sang for the Broederschap, but also left quite soon, namely shortly before 20 January 1546.¹¹⁶¹

Many guest singers performed for the Broederschap in the 16th century.¹¹⁶² The most famous *zangmeesters* and singers who paid a visit to 's-Hertogenbosch during Gheerkin's career there were of course the *zangmeesters* and singers of Charles V and Mary of Hungary, but other *zangmeesters* of towns with important choirs like Antwerp and Dordrecht also sang with Gheerkin and his colleagues. The other guest singers are to be divided into two groups: those who specifically came to 's-Hertogenbosch for a job and those who did not aspire to a permanent position but joined their colleagues in singing Vespers and/or Mass while passing by or incidentally being in town. Most of them remain anonymous, and from the majority we do not know their voice-type. But the total number of almost ninety (paid) guests in nearly eight years coming from all directions in the Low Countries is impressive and suggests a melting pot of musical styles.

Besides the guest singers, there were also musicians coming to 's-Hertogenbosch to perform with the singers and musicians of the church of Sint-Jan. Most of them came to town for the yearly July procession.¹¹⁶³ Among them were musicians from the kingdom of Poland, from Germany and from all over the Low Countries, bringing all kinds of instruments. Incidentally, a musician was a guest during the regular weekly services.¹¹⁶⁴

When Gheerkin started his employment in 's-Hertogenbosch, the permanent group of singers yearly received an amount of money to buy a new hood (*kovel*) in a new colour on the Wednesday before Laetare Sunday. The new hoods had to be worn for the first time each year on the feast of St John the Evangelist before the Latin Gate (6 May). The hoods were also worn by the dean, deacon and subdeacon; the sexton and the vergers (*bastonniers*) wore tabards. The servants were obliged to wear the special clothing on regular days (*staen dagen*: weekly Vespers and Mass), feasts and during processions. In the spring of 1543, Gheerkin, the organist and their fellow singers requested to wear the tabard instead of the hood. The demand was granted and the

¹¹⁶⁰ Roelvink 2002, p. 256, nos. 110-111.

¹¹⁶¹ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 332r.

¹¹⁶² Appendix 11. For the period 1519-1568: Roelvink 2002, pp. 315-318; for the period up to 1519, Smijers 1932/1932-1935.

¹¹⁶³ For an overview of the period 1541-1568: Roelvink 2002, pp. 291-303; for the period up to 1541: Smijers 1932/1932-1935/1940-1946/1948-1955.

¹¹⁶⁴ Roelvink 2002, p. 320-321.

amount of money raised spectacularly from 21 stivers to 4 guilders a year; in 1544 even to 6 guilders a year. In 1547 the colours of the tabard became the same as the colours the chapter chose every year and the remuneration was lowered to 4 guilders again. This was probably because a tabard could be worn for another year again after four years when the colour returned, since a new employee still received 6 guilders. The colours to be worn were red, purple, blue and green; from 1547 onwards the cycle was switched to purple, red, green and blue.¹¹⁶⁵

Although the members of the group of musicians received weekly remuneration, some extras (for example on the feast of the Presentation, which was not a regular feast) and money to buy their hoods/tabards, some of them complained that they were poor.¹¹⁶⁶ In the 1540s the organist was the first to ask for extra income. On 15 August 1541 and 2 February 1542 (both Marian feasts) he received 5 and 6 extra guilders under the condition that he would stay, serve faithfully and complain no more.¹¹⁶⁷ Perhaps his request stimulated others to ask for more money too.¹¹⁶⁸ A year later bass singer Anthonis received 8 extra guilders, under the same conditions, entered in an agreement that was signed by Anthonis in person.¹¹⁶⁹ Following Anthonis (but after Gheerkin had left), some other singers asked for extra income too; all the extra payments were withdrawn on 8 April 1552.¹¹⁷⁰

7.4 Choirboys¹¹⁷¹

In the case of 's-Hertogenbosch we are rather well informed on the singing of boys during the liturgy.¹¹⁷² The last will of Willem van Gent from 1274 is the oldest remaining document in which the boys are mentioned: originally they were schoolboys (*scolares*) of the parish school, obliged to sing in the local church during

¹¹⁶⁵ Roelvink 2002, pp. 84-86, see there for the difference between a hood and a tabard.

¹¹⁶⁶ Roelvink 2002, p. 59.

¹¹⁶⁷ Roelvink 2002, p. 251, nos. 81 and 82.

¹¹⁶⁸ As other cities, 's-Hertogenbosch experienced strong inflation in the first half of the 16th century. Prices doubled between 1500 and 1550 (Hanus 2010, p. 99), so it is no surprise the musicians wanted extra income.

¹¹⁶⁹ Roelvink 2002, p. 255, nos. 103 and 104.

¹¹⁷⁰ Roelvink 2002, p. 268, nos. 203, 204, 205 and 206; the extra payment of the organist Jan Bosschart van Brugge is missing here; see BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 241v.

¹¹⁷¹ See also: Roelvink 2002, pp. 72-73.

¹¹⁷² This paragraph is based on Nauwelaerts 1974, pp. 12-39, 72-78. Also: Kuijer 2000, pp. 236-237.

the liturgy. The government of the school was in the hands of a canon from Liège. When the chapter of Sint-Jan was founded in 1366, an official chapter school was established, under the responsibility of one of the thirty 's-Hertogenbosch canons. The headmaster had to prepare twelve boys for each weekday, sixteen for feasts and as many as possible on high feasts. From 1403 onwards, ten poor boys (called *boni infantes* or *paupers scolares*) lived in their own house, in the Hinthamerstraat, close to the Sint-Jan, founded by the owner of the house Hendrik Buck, canon of the Sint-Jan.¹¹⁷³ The chapter school – originally also in the Hinthamerstraat – existed until 1423, when the position of headmaster was discontinued by the pope. Nevertheless, the chapter retained the right to maintain a school, also called Latin School. Two years later, the new function of cantor of the chapter was founded by Albertus Buck in his last will, executed by his nephew Arnoldus. The cantor became responsible for the (vocal) education of the boys. The school grew fast and entered a new building in the Kerkstraat. This suggests that the singing in the church was becoming more professional, which runs parallel to the developments concerning the mature singers with the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap.

By the time Gheerkin de Hondt arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch, this professionalisation had reached its completion: a group of six choirboys was especially trained for professional singing. These boys are not to be confused with the *boni infantes*, who also were active during the liturgy in the church, sometimes even as singers. Both groups of children, for example, sang during the Holy Cross *Lof*, where two *boni infantes* supported the choirboys.¹¹⁷⁴ That there were two groups of children involved in the liturgy is confirmed by an item in the Broederschap accounts: on Holy Innocents Day in 1542, the group of choirboys received 2 stivers *om metten anderen choer kinderen te mogen* (to join the other children from the choir).¹¹⁷⁵

As we have seen, Gheerkin enlarged the group of choirboys from six to eight: he assigned two boys to sing the upper voice in polyphonic compositions. What exactly the duties of the choirboys were is not entirely clear, but we may assume they sang whenever the mature singers were on duty or at least they took their turn in singing. Besides, they most likely went to the Latin School to receive a regular

¹¹⁷³ On the foundation: Van der Does de Willebois 1904-1906, volume II, pp. 203-240; Vink 1997, p. 28. On the house specifically: Van Sasse van Ysselt 1911-1914, volume II, pp. 518-523 and III, pp. 5-7.

¹¹⁷⁴ § 6.3.2. See also: Nauwelaerts 1974, pp. 78-84. Nauwelaerts makes an incorrect difference between the choirboys from the church and those from the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap (they were the same).

¹¹⁷⁵ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 106r.

education.¹¹⁷⁶ On three liturgical feasts a year the choirboys received a treat: when they participated in the yearly procession to Orthen (cream and white bread), for the feast of St Cecilia and on Holy Innocents Day; the latter two feasts are not mentioned every year in the accounts, but the text *nae auder gewoonten* (according to the old habit) suggests an annual character. The same goes for the small amount of money the boys got to ‘throw the goose’. This ‘game’ – throwing stones at a goose to kill him – was played on Shrove Tuesday.¹¹⁷⁷

We are poorly informed on the names of the boys: for the period 1539-1547 the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap only give a few names. Here too, the lack of consequent registration in the accounts makes matters very confusing now and then. In some of the accounts of the 1540s we find payments to *jongen* or *clerken*, which clearly indicates boys, especially since the remuneration is only 2 stivers.¹¹⁷⁸ At that point it is unclear if those boys belonged to the regular group of choirboys that were under the care of the *zangmeester*,¹¹⁷⁹ or if they were extra boys, in the latter case probably not yet mature singers. The reference to Ot van Boxel *corael* ‘now living in the house of the poor Brethren of the Common Life’,¹¹⁸⁰ offers another suggestion. On 28 October 1545 he received a remuneration of 16 stivers because he had sung eight weeks for the Broederschap (2 stivers each week, the regular remuneration for a young boy). The weekly payments for the entire group were increased from that date by the same amount, therefore suggesting that Ot stayed (confirmed by the fact that from two weeks later onwards, the phrase *ende*

¹¹⁷⁶ For an example of regulations of choirboys see Bouckaert 2000a and 2000b.

¹¹⁷⁷ Roelvink 2002, p. 73.

¹¹⁷⁸ One boy (Mathysen, coming with the *stadspyper*) was added to the group from 4 August 1540 onwards (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 130, fol. 296r); a second boy sang from 13 July 1541 onwards (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 54r). Their names become clear in the beginning of the account of 1542-1543: Thijs Jacobs (Mathysen) and Lambert (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 128r). In the same list of names the *stadtpyper* is identified as *Goris van Haerlem chinck*. The *sangeren loen* of the year 1542-1543 mentions the return of a certain Scelken on 20 September 1542, but it is a mystery where he came from and when he had left, because 1) at the beginning of the account only the names of Thijs Jacobs and Lambert are mentioned, 2) the amount of 2 stivers for Scelken is not missing in the weekly payments before his arrival (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 128r-129r). The three *clerken* (no doubt Thijs, Lambert and Scelken) are also referred to as choirboys and are dismissed on 28 March 1543 (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 130v). On 2 April 1544 suddenly *twee jongers* are hired again, going back to one from 23 April until 4 June (2 stivers each; BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 197r-v).

¹¹⁷⁹ Mathysen is indicated as ‘former choirboy’.

¹¹⁸⁰ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 331r.

den choerael is added). About a year later ‘the’ second boy¹¹⁸¹ is also paid 2 stivers a week, ‘just as much as Ott received’. This indicates that we have to do with the two extra choirboys Gheerkin de Hondt had assigned to sing one of the upper voices in polyphonic compositions.¹¹⁸² When Gheerkin left, he took one of the choirboys, named Simon (one of the two boys singing the upper voices).¹¹⁸³

Contrary to the mature singers, choirboys were seldom guest singers with the Broederschap.¹¹⁸⁴ The recruiting of the boys was most likely an established system; most of them must have come from ’s-Hertogenbosch itself or the Meierij. In the latter case they probably were already attending the Latin School in town. For one choirboy we know he came from Diest, because in November 1541 the bass singer Peeter was paid to go to his home town to ‘bring back’ a choirboy.¹¹⁸⁵

7.5 Liturgy and music

7.5.1 Two calendars

’s-Hertogenbosch belonged to the diocese of Liège and therefore had to celebrate the feasts according to the Liège calendar. Typical feasts on this calendar are St Servatius (13 May), St Lambert (17 September), St Denis (9 October), St Hubertus (3 November) and St Leonard (6 November).¹¹⁸⁶ Characteristic for ’s-Hertogenbosch is of course St John the Evangelist with his most important feasts on 27 December (Birth) and 6 May (before the Latin Gate). In ’s-Hertogenbosch also three lesser known feasts of St John were celebrated in duplex: 26 June (Dormicio Johannis evangeliste), 27 September (Missio Johannis in exilium), and 3 December (Reversio Johannis ab exilio).¹¹⁸⁷

¹¹⁸¹ The name is not filled in, also not in the list in the *sangeren loen* a year later, but his 2 stivers are then counted in the total amount of 8 guilders.

¹¹⁸² BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 133, fol. 252v.

¹¹⁸³ See below, § 7.6.

¹¹⁸⁴ Appendix 11.

¹¹⁸⁵ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 30v (Roelvink 2002, p. 251, no. 78).

¹¹⁸⁶ According to the descriptions of the books of hours in the catalogue of the Royal Library in The Hague. As we shall see below, these feasts were indeed red-letter feasts in ’s-Hertogenbosch. The list does not correspond to the list given in Strubbe/Voet 1960, but as we have seen in the Bruges chapter, this publication is not completely reliable.

¹¹⁸⁷ Bloxam 1987, pp. 57-58.

In 's-Hertogenbosch we have the happy circumstance of two surviving calendars: one of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap¹¹⁸⁸ and one of the chapter of Sint-Jan.¹¹⁸⁹ The calendar of the chapter is written down in a chant manuscript for the *intoneerders*, dated in the late 15th century and probably written by the Brethren of the Common Life. Unfortunately, many alterations have been made, but in its original state, it was probably identical to the one of the Broederschap.¹¹⁹⁰ The latter calendar is to be dated shortly before Gheerkin de Hondt arrived in 's-Hertogenbosch. Between 5 and 20 November 1536 the Brethren of the Common Life were paid for 'writing a calendar on parchment for in the *exequie boick*' (the book for the memorial services) with the special mention that 'the letters of the feasts had to be written in red ink'. This exactly fits the description of the calendar in inventory number 150 of the archives of the Broederschap.¹¹⁹¹ For all feasts either the rank or the way of celebrating (not both at the same time)¹¹⁹² is included.¹¹⁹³ None of the documents kept in the archives of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap gives a description of what a certain rank meant. But the feasts written in red ink must have been important feasts (of the highest ranks) and must have been celebrated with great lustre, with polyphony. There is a total of forty red-letter feasts. Great lustre could be translated as *totum duplex* or at least *duplex*. Remarkable is that two of the red-letter feasts in this calendar (Cathedra Sancti Petri, 22 February and Leonardi Confessor, 6 November) did not get the rank of high feast, but were 'only' celebrated with nine lessons.¹¹⁹⁴ The calendar offers us thirty-seven feasts that were not red-lettered, but were still celebrated in *duplex* or *totum duplex*. This makes an impressive total of seventy-seven feasts to be celebrated in great lustre (*duplex* or *totum duplex*), to which nine moveable feasts even had to be added.¹¹⁹⁵ Therefore, compared to Delft and Bruges, 's-Hertogenbosch seemed to have the highest number of high feasts.

¹¹⁸⁸ In BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 150. Edition: Van Hout 2000c.

¹¹⁸⁹ In SAHt, ASJ, Inv. no. 216-1. Edition: De Loos 2000b (see also De Loos 2000a).

¹¹⁹⁰ De Loos 2000b, p. 42.

¹¹⁹¹ Roelvink 2002, pp. 157-158, 342 (no. 61).

¹¹⁹² Van Hout 2000b, p. 29. The ranks and ways of celebrating each have its own column in the calendar. Rank: semiduplex, duplex or totum duplex; way of celebrating: Mass, three lessons, nine lessons, commemoration, collect. On this calendar also: Bloxam 1987, pp. 57-58.

¹¹⁹³ See Appendix 12.

¹¹⁹⁴ According to Grotefend 1970, Band 1, 'Festgrad', this occurs more often.

¹¹⁹⁵ The accounts of the Broederschap suggest that the following moveable feasts were celebrated with great lustre: Laetare Sunday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi.

7.5.2 The contents of the musical manuscripts containing polyphony

To find the music used on the feasts mentioned on the 1536 calendar and for the other liturgical activities we know from the Broederschap accounts, we have the six choirbooks containing polyphony, six manuscripts containing chant and one large choirbook containing both chant and polyphony at our disposal.¹¹⁹⁶

Combining the information from the Broederschap accounts with the calendar and the music in the polyphonic choirbooks, we should be able to make an overview of the music sung on specific days and feasts. Of course, this is a difficult task, since it is generally known that the titles of Masses and even the textual or musical material used do not always provide certainty about the usage of a Mass. For example, sometimes the name of a saint or a patron was simply changed to make a Mass or motet appropriate for another feast (or location), or the usage of liturgical texts for different feasts in one composition made it suitable for more than one feast; and of course some liturgical texts were used on more than one occasion during the liturgical year.¹¹⁹⁷ However, we may conclude that the Broederschap chose the music for its choirbooks from all kinds of sources, but always specifically in view of its own personal usage: almost all Masses and motets may be specifically linked to the liturgical practice of the Broederschap.¹¹⁹⁸

Since Marian devotion was the core business of the medieval Broederschap, it is obvious that many compositions are to be related to the Blessed Virgin, directly or indirectly. However, music for other feasts is also found in the collection of the Broederschap. We may therefore distinguish three main categories: 1) music for Marian devotion, 2) music for specific feasts and saints and 3) music for general use.

The first category is to be divided into two subcategories: a) music for Marian devotion in general¹¹⁹⁹ and b) music for specific Marian feasts.¹²⁰⁰ Of course, some of

¹¹⁹⁶ § 6.4.11.

¹¹⁹⁷ Extensively substantiated by Bloxam 1987, pp. 142 (note 30), pp. 177-181.

¹¹⁹⁸ Appendix 13 gives an overview of all the polyphonic music and their most likely usage. I want to stress that the relations between the compositions and their usages are not absolute: the music could have been used by the Broederschap for other occasions and in another surrounding the same music could have been used for other purposes. For the contents of the chant books and their usage I gladly refer to De Loos 2000c.

¹¹⁹⁹ Masses: *Missa Quam pulchra es*, *Missa O Genitrix*, *Missa Alma Redemptoris Mater* (MS 154); *Missa Alma Redemptoris Mater* (MS 155); *Missa Mater patris et filia*, *Missa Spes salutis* (both MS 157). Motets: *Salve Sancta Parens*, [Post partum virgo Maria] (MS 152); *In illo tempore loquente Jhesu*, *Sub tuum praesidium* (both MS 155); *Regina caeli*, *Sancta Maria succurre miseris* (MS 158). Music for the Office and Magnificats (MS 158).

¹²⁰⁰ Masses: *Missa Super Benedicta/Benedicta es* (MSS 153 and 157); *Missa Cum Jocunditate*, *Missa Intemerata Virgo* (MS 154); *Missa Fit porta Christi pervia*, *Missa Stabat mater*

the works could be used for both. In this group we find Masses and motets which have a clear Marian theme and which were therefore appropriate for the 'normal' weekly Mass on Wednesday. For the Vespers on Tuesdays we have specific compositions (mostly for festive use) as well as a collection of Magnificats.

The second category contains Masses and motets which can be related to a special feast or saint.¹²⁰¹ For example, here we have polyphony that could be used for Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity Sunday, sometimes with a Marian touch, like the *Missa Verbum bonum*. The saints for which music is directly provided are St Mary Magdalene, St Cecilia, St Barbara and St Stephen; indirectly there is music for St Anne (*Missa Fit porta Christi pervia*). Remarkable is that a Mass for St John the Evangelist is missing. Since we know that several feasts for St John were also celebrated by the Broederschap (we do even have some polyphonic Vesper music for 27 December), a Mass must also have been in the collection. A good candidate is the *Missa Johannes Christe care/Ecce puer meus* by Mattheaue Pipelare, *zangmeester* for the Broederschap and the chapter of Sint-Jan between 1498 and 1500. Pipelare also left a *Credo de Sancto Johanne Evangelista*. Both works have already been connected to his position in 's-Hertogenbosch.¹²⁰² And since Pipelare's work was still copied in choirbooks in the 16th century, his Mass and Credo most likely were still sung in Gheerkin's time.

Special mention is required for the feast of the Dedication of the chapel/altar. Without a doubt the *Missa Urbs beata* by Courtoys was added to the musical collection for the yearly celebration of the dedication of the chapel/altar. The question is when this feast was actually celebrated. The chapel and altar were dedicated on 23 April 1494 and it was always assumed that this would be the day of remembrance.¹²⁰³ However, a chant book of 1560 clearly mentions that the

dolorosa (both MS 156); *Missa nigra sum* (MS 157). Motets: *Nesciens mater virgo virum* (MS 155); *Prosa Inviolata, Benedicta es* (MS 152). Music for the Office and Magnificats (MS 158).

¹²⁰¹ Masses: *Missa de Sancta Maria Magdalena* (MS 153), *Missa super Emendemus* (MS 153); *Missa Benedicta es* (MS 153 and 157); *Missa de Sancto Stephano* (MS 154); *Missa Verbum bonum*, *Missa de Sancta Trinitate* (both MS 155); *Missa Ceciliam cantate pii*, *Missa Ego sum qui sum*, *Missa Surrexit pastor*, *Missa Fit porta Christi pervia*, *Missa Veni sponsa Christi* (all MS 156); *Missa Gaude Barbara*, *Missa nigra sum*, *Missa Jam non dicam* (all MS 157). Mass movement: *Kyrie Paschale* (MS 158). Motets: *Veni salus hominum*, *Benedicta es*, [*Laetabundus, exultet fidelis chorus*], *Verbum bonum et suave*, *Virgini Marie laudes* (all MS 152); [*O Salutaris Hostia*] (MS 154); *O Salutaris hostia* (MS 155); *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* (MS 158). Songs: *Nu sijt willecome*, *Omnes nu laet ons gode loven* (MS 152). Music for the Office (MS 158).

¹²⁰² Cross/Meconi ('Pipelare, Mattheaue').

¹²⁰³ Van Dijck 1973, p. 124, 128, 248.

Dedication of *the altar* was then celebrated on the Sunday closest to the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, and therefore on the Sunday closest to 2 July.¹²⁰⁴ This is more or less confirmed by the fact that in the chronologically ordered Codex Smijers, dated circa 1531, the same feast is placed between the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (2 July) and the feast of Mary Magdalene (22 July). ‘Sunday closest to 2 July’ would, however, mean that in many years the feast of the Dedication would coincide with the yearly procession. Altogether, it is hard to imagine that 1) the official dedication on 23 April was not remembered on that day and 2) the Broederschap celebrated two such important occasions on one day. However, it remains undecided on which day the Dedication was celebrated in the 1540s.¹²⁰⁵

The third category of music in the possession of the Broederschap contains Masses and motets that are not directly connectable to Marian devotion or a specific feast or saint,¹²⁰⁶ in three cases the model or the text of the composition even remains unidentified.¹²⁰⁷ Many of the Masses in this category have as models French chansons, but other Masses and motets clearly have a general function in the liturgy, for example the two versions of *O Salutaris Hostia* and the motets *Et cum spiritu tuo* and *Infirmis nostram*. We may assume that they were all used during the weekly Vespers and Mass. Perhaps the most remarkable composition in this group is the *Missa Ecce quam bonum*, based on the motet *Ecce quam bonum* (probably written by Nicolas Gombert), which in its turn is based on the Savonarolan tune *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum* (‘Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity’).¹²⁰⁸ Of course the meaning of

¹²⁰⁴ Zwitser 2000b, p. 83, note 69.

¹²⁰⁵ In a personal communication Dr. Van Dijck mentioned that an earlier altar (in the 14th century) might have been dedicated on a different date and that the original celebration of the feast therefore originally took place on the Sunday closest to 2 July and was maintained after the new altar dedication of 23 April 1494.

¹²⁰⁶ Masses: *Missa de feria*, *Missa Sing ich niet wol das ist mir leyt* (both MS 153); *Missa Incessament*, *Missa N’avez point veu* (both MS 154); *Missa Tua est potentia*, *Missa L’oserai je dire*, *Missa Dictes moy toutes voz pensees*, *Missa Ecce quam bonum* (all MS 155); *Missa Cuidez vous que dieu nous faille*, *Missa In te Domine speravi*, *Missa Pis ne me peult venir*, *Missa Fors seulement* (all MS 156); *Missa Ick had een boelken uutvercoren*, *Missa Ut fa* (*Pourquoy non*), *Missa A laventure*, *Missa Mijns liefkens bruijn ooghen* (all MS 157). Motets: [*O Salutaris hostia*] (MS 154); *Tua est potentia*, *Salva nos domine*, *Infirmis nostram*, *O Salutaris Hostia* (all MS 155); *Te Deum*, *Et cum spiritu tuo* (both MS 158).

¹²⁰⁷ *Missa [mi ut mi sol]*, MS 153; Motet *Trinitas inseparabilis*, MS 155; *Missa d’Allemangne*, MS 155.

¹²⁰⁸ Macey 1998, pp. 5, 125-126, 175-176; Macey 1999, pp. xii, 113-116.

the text was immediately clear to and very appropriate for the Brethren, but the question is if they realised the model of this Mouton Mass was based on a Savonarolan tune.

The key manuscript telling us more about the use of chant and polyphony during the Broederschap liturgy is Inv. no. 158, the largest and heaviest manuscript in the possession of the Broederschap.¹²⁰⁹ It contains fifty compositions for the Office (of which forty-four are for the Vespers), thirty-three Magnificats (most likely also used during the Vespers),¹²¹⁰ two Te Deums, a Kyrie Paschale, a Regina Caeli and two motets. Among these works are most likely pieces that were composed especially for the Broederschap musical practice.¹²¹¹ The book was bought by the Broederschap from her *intoneerder*, Philippus de Spina, in 1545. Many compositions in this choirbook are anonymous and quite a few are based on chant melodies from the chant manuscripts in the collection of the Broederschap.¹²¹² The polyphonic Vesper music in the first part of this manuscript contains mainly antiphons and hymns. Only even-numbered antiphons are in polyphony: the second and fourth antiphon of the first and/or second Vespers of each feast. In case of the hymns, when more stanzas are set to polyphony, they are always the uneven ones; when only one stanza is in polyphony, it is never the first, but often the fourth.¹²¹³ Therefore, chant was most likely sung on the uneven antiphons and hymn stanzas, or perhaps the organist played them. The Magnificats show us the same procedure: of the twelve verses only the even-numbered ones are set to polyphonic music.¹²¹⁴ The alternation of chant (or organ) and polyphony is called *alternatim* practice. This practice is confirmed by the polyphonic music in the Codex Smijers: often only the even-numbered verses of a sequence are set to polyphonic music.¹²¹⁵ Another confirmation is found in the account 1541/42, when on the feast of All Saints the singers ‘sang with two choirs’ (*wantmen songe met twee choeren*).¹²¹⁶ A year later, the provost mentions the same kind of celebration for the Vespers on the eve of the feast of St John before the Latin Gate (6 May).¹²¹⁷

¹²⁰⁹ On this manuscript: Maas 1968, Maas 1970-1973 (edition, including research results to the chant models), Bloxam 1987, pp. 109-143, 177-218, 408-415 and Roelvink 2002, pp. 138-141.

¹²¹⁰ On the history of the Magnificat: Maas 1967.

¹²¹¹ Maas 1970-1973, volume II, p. IX.

¹²¹² Maas 1970-1973, volume I, p. VII-VIII.

¹²¹³ Maas 1968, p. 37.

¹²¹⁴ Maas 1970-1973, volume I, p. VII.

¹²¹⁵ Everts 1985.

¹²¹⁶ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 29r.

¹²¹⁷ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 131, fol. 114v.

Interesting is that this key manuscript was compiled and written when Gheerkin de Hondt was the *zangmeester* of the Broederschap. Since many of the works have come down to us anonymously – with the exception of the *Te Deum* by former *zangmeester* Sebastiaan de Porta – Gheerkin’s intervention in the selection of the compositions in Inv. no. 158 is hard to prove. However, this manuscript contains a Magnificat attributed to Benedictus Appenzeller,¹²¹⁸ who – as we shall see – was probably one of Gheerkin’s teachers.¹²¹⁹ And better still: the last motet in this choirbook is *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel / Honor virtus et potestas* by Johannes Lupi, which served as a model for Gheerkin’s *Missa Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*. The presence of this motet in a manuscript compiled during the time Gheerkin was *zangmeester* cannot be a coincidence.

As we shall see in Chapter 11, Gheerkin de Hondt clearly left his mark on the musical collection of the ’s-Hertogenbosch Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. When he arrived in 1539, the Broederschap had recently acquired four beautiful new choirbooks from the workshop of Petrus Alamire with Masses and motets still popular all over Europe. Under Gheerkin’s supervision more music was bought. And although without a doubt he was not the only man determining the contents of the choirbooks, his seal is certainly there.

7.5.3 Reconstruction of the liturgical duties of a *zangmeester* in ’s-Hertogenbosch¹²²⁰

Now that we have determined the liturgical activities in the church of Sint-Jan and we have identified the usage of the music which still is in the collection of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, we are able to make a reconstruction of one of the years Gheerkin de Hondt worked in ’s-Hertogenbosch, for example the year 1540/41.¹²²¹

Appendix 14 shows in the first five columns the days of the year with the feasts celebrated according to the Broederschap calendar (Inv. no. 150), including the ranking and/or kind of celebration. Column 6 gives the references from the Broederschap account 1540/41 in which the *zangmeester* was involved. The next two columns show us the activities Gheerkin had to fulfil for the chapter and the

¹²¹⁸ Maas 1968, pp. 39-40.

¹²¹⁹ Appenzeller also had visited ’s-Hertogenbosch in 1539 and would come again only a month after the completion of this manuscript.

¹²²⁰ On Gheerkin’s tasks in general, see § 7.1 above.

¹²²¹ This year was chosen because it is the first complete year in the accounts of the Broederschap and it is closest to the year 1538, which served for the reconstruction of Gheerkin’s musical activities in Bruges.

Sacramentsbroederschap; here only the activities which could be derived from archival sources are mentioned; these two columns therefore are certainly not complete.¹²²² Finally, the contents of the choirbooks of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap are added, as far as they could be connected to a specific day or feast in the liturgical year.¹²²³

Altogether Appendix 14 shows us a very busy liturgical schedule for the *zangmeester* of 's-Hertogenbosch, and it is not even complete. Missing in this survey are the complete tasks Gheerkin had to fulfil for the chapter, individual foundations, and most likely incidental services for guilds and for parishioners. We may conclude that Gheerkin had a more than fulltime job in 's-Hertogenbosch, literally, because on the days other citizens had a day off – on feast days – the singers of the Sint-Jan performed extra duties.

¹²²² The activities are described § 6.3.2 and § 6.5. Left out are the foundations mentioned in the Obituary as described in Appendix 10, since the foundation dates are not known and almost all the foundations 'only' added extra lustre to an existing feast which was already celebrated with polyphony.

¹²²³ See § 7.5.2 and Appendix 13. Left out are the general Masses, compositions for longer periods (for example 'in Advent', or 'between Circumcision and Purification'), Magnificats, general Mass services and compositions for Marian feasts in general. A distinction is made between compositions for the Office containing more than Vespers (for example also Matins and Lauds) and only Vespers (no difference is made between 1st and 2nd Vespers). Not included either are compositions and manuscripts that were compiled after Gheerkin de Hondt had left (BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 159 and the additional Masses for Christmas and All Souls (Inv. no. 152)) and containing little music (Inv. no. 150). Both the chant books of the chapter of Sint-Jan are left out too, since Inv. no. 216-1 only contains chant compositions for the *intoneerders* and Inv. no. 216-2 contains chant compositions largely matching the feasts on the calendar, of which we already know they must have been celebrated with polyphony. The specific music from the chant books of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap is admitted, to show for which days and feasts at least chant was available and therefore these days and feasts were definitely celebrated by the Broederschap; this makes a comparison with the accounts possible.

7.6 Departure

The accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap mention the departure of Gheerkin de Hondt on 2 October 1547.¹²²⁴ The text is very discrete: mr. Gerart die Hont has left for *Vrieslant*, taking with him one of the choirboys named Simon; the remaining choirboys were left under the care of Philippus de Spina.¹²²⁵ A few pages later, the final payment of 17 guilders to Gheerkin for taking care of the choirboys is written down. This item also mentions that choirboy Simon was one of the two choirboys who together replaced one male high voice (*boeven sanck*).¹²²⁶

The Broederschap account suggests that Gheerkin de Hondt left of his own free will, having chosen Vrieslant as his next place of work. But nothing is less true: one of the rare documents remaining from the chapter of Sint-Jan informs us that Gheerkin was fired by the chapter.¹²²⁷ The charter, dated 19 September 1548 – therefore almost a year after Gheerkin had left, settles the argument between the chapter and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap on the appointment of *zangmeesters* and consequent matters. It tells us that Gheerkin's discharge was unilateral: the chapter had not consulted the confraternity and had ended the agreement with Gheerkin onesidedly. Furthermore, they had given his job to priest Willem Creyt, again without consulting the confraternity. A clear reason is not given.¹²²⁸

In a 16th-century chronicle we find the probable reason of Gheerkin's discharge: it clearly states that Gheerkin de Hondt was fired, because his wife had not taken good care of the choirboys who were under their charge.¹²²⁹ The chronicle was originally written by the Cistercian monk Aelbertus Cuperinus, born around 1500.¹²³⁰ His original has not come down to us, but many copies have,¹²³¹ the oldest

¹²²⁴ The account of 1547/48 is incomplete: the receipts are missing, the general expenditures (*allerhande uitgaven*) have only been preserved for about half of the year (from January up to and including the end of the account year in June). The *Uutgeven van sangeren loon* have been preserved.

¹²²⁵ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 50v; Appendix 3, 1547, 2 October.

¹²²⁶ BHIC 1232, Inv. no. 132, fol. 54r; Appendix 3, 1547, 2 October. Perhaps Simon was Gheerkin's son.

¹²²⁷ BHIC, Voormalig Bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch, Collectie Mechelse Aanwinsten, Inv. no. 140. I am indebted to Dr. Jan Sanders from the BHIC for informing me on this document. We hope to publish this document in a joint article.

¹²²⁸ Appendix 3, 1548, September 19.

¹²²⁹ Appendix 3, 1548. For the transcription, one of the sixteenth-century versions has been used (Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS C162 (*olim* 345b)). First published in Hermans 1848, p. 255.

¹²³⁰ On Cuperinus and his chronicle: Sanders 2004.

dated from earliest 1558, and many of them containing additional information, compared to the presumed original by Cuperinus.¹²³²

Only eight copies mention the discharge of Gheerkin de Hondt.¹²³³ The text is interesting, because besides the fact that Gheerkin was married, it tells us that he had a nickname: Harteken (... *meester Geraert sanghmeester, anders Harteken...*).¹²³⁴ This name is the diminutive of the word 'hart', to be translated as heart,¹²³⁵ suggesting that Gheerkin was beloved in 's-Hertogenbosch.¹²³⁶

¹²³¹ Sanders 2004 does not give the shelf marks of the twelve copies he refers to. I have been able to track down the following copies (some of them from the 19th and even early 20th century): SAHt, OSA, Inv. no. 9566 and OSA 78 (last one not in Sanders 2004); Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS C162 (*olim* 345b), KHS [B142], KHS B44 (*olim* 382), KTFK HS 74, KHS A7 (*olim* 339), KHS D52 (*olim* 345), KHS D53 (*olim* 345a), KHS D89 (*olim* 345c); BHIC, Toegangsnummer 346, Inv. nr. 1387; Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 71 C 38; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 10240. For a description of the manuscripts in the collection of Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek: Van der Ven 1994.

¹²³² Hermans 1848, p. III took Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS D52, *olim* 345 as basis for his edition, mainly since it was the oldest copy known to him (dated 1565), categorizing all the extra information from the other copies as additions. I would like to add the suggestion that it might have been the other way around, that this manuscript was an abstract from the Cuperinus original, leaving out what Hermans called additions. Therefore, the original by Cuperinus might have contained the paragraph on Gheerkin's discharge.

¹²³³ 's-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief, OSA 9566, dated mid 17th century, p. 50 (left); 's-Hertogenbosch, Stadsarchief, OSA 78, dated 1671-1675, p. 50 (= fol. 25v); Tilburg, Universiteitsbibliotheek, KHS C162 (*olim* 345b), dated 1575-1600, pp. 112-113; KHS [B142], dated 16th century, p. 81; KHS B44 (*olim* 382), dated 19th century, p. 136 [sic: 236]; KTFK HS 74, dated 1st half 17th century, fol. 143v-144r; KHS A7 (*olim* 339), dated 1st half 17th century, p. 225; BHIC, Toegangsnummer 346, Inv. no. 1387, dated 'temporarily copy', fol. 118v-119r. Dating according to the inventories of the libraries and archives.

¹²³⁴ Appendix 3, 1548.

¹²³⁵ According to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 'hart' is the northern version of the southern 'hert' (as in the Flemish song 'Mijn hert altijd heeft verlangen' by, for example, Pierre de la Rue), meaning 'heart'. Andriessen 2002, p. 269 assumes that Harteken means 'the hard, awkward or even cruel one'. Although according to dictionaries, 'hard' (English) is a plausible explanation for 'hart' (medieval Dutch), Andriessen's interpretation seems highly unlikely to me, for two main reasons. First, the departure of Gheerkin de Hondt was mentioned in the Broederschap account in a very neutral way; if he really had been a cruel man, the Broederschap would certainly have formulated his leave more explicitly; now it seems that they were not happy that they had to let him go. Second, the word 'Harteken' is a diminutive, which is soothing more

In December 1539 Gheerkin de Hondt had left the metropolis of Bruges to become *zangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch, the city that was much smaller with its 20,000 inhabitants and only one collegiate church that also functioned as the only parish church. Nevertheless, the position Gheerkin fulfilled was much more important than the one he had in Bruges. Being the *zangmeester* of the church of Sint-Jan implied not only singing for the chapter of Sint-Jan and the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, but also for other organisations and private purposes in and outside the church, for example for the Sacramentsbroederschap. The musicians acted at a very high level, in no way inferior to their colleagues in other European cities, as is proven by the fact that many singers wanted to sing in 's-Hertogenbosch and that singers from 's-Hertogenbosch were 'bought away' by other churches. The fact that Benedictus Appenzeller and the singers of Emperor Charles V visited 's-Hertogenbosch and sang together with the chapel of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap also confirms that the singers of the Sint-Jan were part of the European top network of musicians. The beautiful church and the stable economy made 's-Hertogenbosch an attractive city for Gheerkin de Hondt for a step forwards in his career. However, after eight years, he was discharged and had to move on. According to the accounts of the Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, Gheerkin left for 'Vrieslant'. This northern area of the Low Countries was also under Habsburg rule, but it did not flourish like the southern cities of Bruges and 's-Hertogenbosch, especially not musically. Up till 1547, Gheerkin's career was consistent: from Delft to Bruges to 's-Hertogenbosch was a clear upwards trajectory. Therefore the question is: why 'Vrieslant'?

than 'hard'. Besides, the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* only gives the diminutive 'harteken/herteken' for 'heart', not for other meanings.

¹²³⁶ Of course – with some fantasy – there can be many other explanations for this nickname: for example he could have worn a piece of jewellery in the form of a heart, or he had a birth mark in a heart form, or it could even refer to his song *Mon petit coeur* ('My little heart') or to the fact that Gheerkin was a great lover himself.