

Johannes I



PIETY AND POLYPHONY

IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HOLLAND

THE CHOIRBOOKS OF ST PETER'S CHURCH, LEIDEN

ERIC JAS

Piety and Polyphony in Sixteenth-Century Holland

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Piety and Polyphony
in Sixteenth-Century Holland
The Choirbooks of St Peter's Church, Leiden

Eric Jas

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Preface and Acknowledgements

OVER the last few years, the Leiden choirbooks have become known to quite a few music lovers in the Netherlands and abroad. Much of the upsurge was due to an ambitious concert and recording project of Peter de Groot and the Egidius Kwartet. From 2010 to 2015, each year they produced a double CD devoted to one of the manuscripts.¹ As some of the pieces that were chosen for the recordings were large-scale compositions, the Egidius Kwartet was complemented with extra singers to create an ensemble – The Egidius Kwartet and College – that was capable of dealing with these extensive works and that, more or less, approached the vocal forces for which the books had been copied in the sixteenth century. The CDs were presented at annual concerts, and promotional materials were prepared, among them a DVD and a nicely illustrated little book.² The start of the project coincided with the digitization of the six manuscripts. High-resolution pictures were made of all choirbooks, which are now accessible through the website of the Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (which encompasses the former Gemeentearchief Leiden).³ Whilst working on the extensive liner notes for the CDs and emailing suggestions for upcoming programmes, it occurred to me that this might be a good time to revise my earlier work on the choirbooks and make it available to a wider audience. The present book is the result of my efforts.

It is my pleasure to express my thanks to those without whom this research project, which was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), would have been much more complicated. In 1992 I visited the Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Herbert Kellman and Timothy Barnes kindly welcomed me and made all facilities available for my study of the Leiden repertoire. A short visit to the Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv at Kassel in 1993 was particularly fruitful thanks to the efforts of Dr Jürgen Kindermann.

The research project would not have been possible without the help of the then director of the Museum De Lakenhal, drs. H. Bolten-Rempt, and of mr. T.N. Schelhaas, who was director of the municipal archives at the time. They allowed me to examine the books on many occasions, and the staff members of the municipal archives – in particular Piet de Baar and Benata Hengstmengel – were indefatigable in carrying the heavy manuscripts to the reading room and in pointing out numerous interesting details and shortcuts for archival research.

¹ The CDs were issued under the title *De Leidse Koorboeken / The Leiden Choirbooks* on the label Etcetera: vol. 1: *Codex A, First book* (KTC 1410, 2010); vol. 2: *Codex B, Second book* (KTC 1411, 2011); vol. 3: *Codex C, Third book* (KTC 1412, 2012); vol. 4: *Codex D, Fourth book* (KTC 1413, 2013); vol. 5: *Codex E / Fifth book* (KTC 1414, 2014); vol. 6: *Codex F, Sixth book* (KTC 1415, 2015).

² Jas, *De Leidse koorboeken. Een ongehoorde schat*.

³ <https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/schatkamer/koorboeken-pieterskerk/bladeren-in-koorboeken>

Mr. Johan Eeckeloo kindly assisted in the purchase of microfilms of two sixteenth-century manuscripts from the collection of the library of the Brussels Koninklijk Conservatorium. I am very grateful, too, to Reverend F.J. Turner, who sent me a copy of the Stonyhurst partbooks, and to Barbara Linnert of the university library of Rostock for sending me microfilms of the Flamingus manuscripts in their collection. Special thanks are due to Barton Hudson for sharing, more than once, materials on Crecquillon that were still unpublished at the time.

My codicological research into the choirbooks was supervised by Dr J.P. Gumbert, who was then still professor at the university of Leiden. I am most grateful to him for sharing with me his rare insight into late medieval manuscripts and scripts and for carefully examining my work on the music books. I also wish to thank Willem Elders, my supervisor. It was a pleasure to work with him and I have on many occasions taken advantage of his advice and keen eye for detail. But Willem was more than a supervisor and became a very good friend. The very fact we are still working together, even though it has been more than twenty years since he retired from Utrecht University, testifies to a relationship both collegial and cordial.

Finally I should like to thank Tess Knighton for her gracious efforts to include this monograph in the wonderful series *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, the staff at The Boydell Press (Caroline Palmer and Rohais Haughton) and my copyeditor, Marianne Fisher, who were unfailing in guiding my manuscript through all the stages of its production. The City Council of Leiden and the Stichting Pieterskerk, Leiden, generously supported the publication of this book with a financial subvention.

The original version of these acknowledgements closed with a heartfelt thank you to my prop and stay, my wife, Marjan Banis. Some twenty years have passed, and in the meantime we have been blessed with three children: Joris, Michiel and Veerle. Without all four of them, working on the new version of this book would not have been half so enjoyable – indeed, it would have been impossible.

Abbreviations

(See also the abbreviations listed at the end of the Bibliography, pp. 406–408, and the List of Concordant Manuscripts and Printed Editions on pp. 349–393)

Archives (**Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken; formerly Gemeentearchief Leiden**)

AK	Archieven van de kerken [no. 0502]
AHG	Archief van het Heilige Geest- of Arme Wees- en Kinderhuis te Leiden [no. 0519]
AW	Archief van de Weeskamer [no. 0518]
KK	Archieven van de kloosters [no. 0503]
KNHG	Archief van de kerkvoogdij van de Nederlands-Hervormde Gemeente
RA	Oude rechterlijke archief [no. 0508]
SA I	Archief der secretarie van de stad Leiden 1253–1575 [no. 0501]
SA II	Stadsarchief 1574–1816 [no. 0501A]
SML	Archief van het Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 1866–1965 (1989) [no. 0530]

Bibliographical Details in Notes and Appendixes

AcM	<i>Acta musicologica</i>
AH	<i>Analecta hymnica medii aevi</i> , ed. G.M. Dreves, C. Blume, H.M. Bannister (Leipzig etc. 1886–1978)
AM	<i>Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis juxta vota rr. dd. abbatum congregationum confederatarum ordinis sancti benedicti a solesmensibus monachis restitutum</i> (Paris etc. 1934)
AR	<i>Antiphonale romano-seraphicum pro horis diurnis a sacra rituum congregatione recognitum et approbatum</i> (Paris etc. 1928)
BES	<i>Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae sarum</i> (Canterbury 1879–1886; repr. 1970)
BH	<i>Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem = Haarlemsche Bijdragen. Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem</i>
BKNOB	<i>Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond</i>

BT	<i>Breviarium insignis ecclesie traiectensis optimis characteribus (ut patet) exaratum adiunctis aliquibus in fine libri proprijs hystorijs et multis festis compositis prenominat ecclesie de quibus suo in loco dictum non fuerat ad communem utilitatem sacerdotum ac clericorum qui ex ordinatione sacrorum canonum ad horas canonicas perpetuo quotidie persolendas deo sunt obligati</i> (Leiden: Jan Seversz. 1508)
BTph	<i>Breviarium secundum usum et consuetudinem maioris ecclesie traiectensis. Pars hiemalis</i> (Leiden: Jan Seversz. 1518)
CA	<i>Cantuale iuxta usum insignis ecclesiae Amstelredamensis nunc primum numerorum formulis excusum, multisque antiphonis, responsorijs, hymnis, aliisque eiusdem generis sacris cantionibus locupletatum</i> (Leuven: Pierre Phalèse 1561)
CAO	R.-J. Hesbert, <i>Corpus antiphonarium officii, Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta; series maior fontes VII–XI</i> (Rome 1963–1975), 5 vols.
CL	<i>Cantuale iuxta usum Leidanae ecclesiae D. Petri, ut nunquam ante hac typis excusum, ita varijs responsorijs, antiphonis, hymnis, alijsque sacris cantionibus, quas vel chori usus vel commoditas desiderare posset, refertum</i> (Leiden: Theodoricus Gerardsz. Horst 1564)
CM	<i>Current Musicology</i>
CN	<i>Cantuale novum atque insigne traiectensis dioeceseos, in quo nihil eorum quae hactenus in alijs libris desiderabantur, omissum est, pulcerrimo ordine dispositum, ita ut in ijs, quae hoc libro continentur</i> (Delft: Harman Schinckel 1566)
CS	C. Marbach, <i>Carmina scripturarum scilicet antiphonas et responsoria ex sacro scripturae fonte in libros liturgicos sanctae ecclesiae romanae</i> (Strasburg 1907; repr. Hildesheim 1963)
EMH	<i>Early Music History</i>
GR	<i>Graduale Triplex seu Graduale Romanum Pauli PPVI cura recognitum & rhythmicis signis a solesmensibus monachis ornatum</i> (Solesmis 1979)
HL	F.J. Mone, <i>Hymni Latini Medii Aevi</i> (Freiburg im Breisgau 1853–1855), 3 vols.
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
JM	<i>The Journal of Musicology</i>
JRMA	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
LH	<i>Liber hymnarius cum invitatorijs & aliquibus responsorijs, Antiphonale Romanum secundum liturgiam horarum; tomus alter</i> (Solesmis 1983)

LJ	<i>Leids Jaarboekje = Jaarboekje voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde van Leiden en Omstreken</i>
LR	<i>Liber responsorialis pro festis I. classis et communi sanctorum juxta ritum monasticum</i> (Solesmis 1895)
LS	J. Kehrein, <i>Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Drucken</i> (Mainz 1873)
LU	<i>Liber usualis missae et officii pro dominicis et festis cum cantu gregoriano</i> (Paris etc. 1951)
MD	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
MfM	<i>Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte</i>
MGG ₂	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , 2nd edn. (Kassel etc. 1994–2008)
M&L	<i>Music and Letters</i>
M&M	<i>Mens en Melodie</i>
MMM I	<i>Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes</i> , ed. B. Stäblein, <i>Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi I</i> (Kassel/Basel 1956)
MQ	<i>The Musical Quarterly</i>
MT	<i>Missale ad verum cathedralis ecclesie traiectensis ritum universis eiusdem dioceseos institutis ac novis festisque compositis</i> (Leiden: Jan Seversz. 1514)
NAK	<i>Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis</i>
NGD ₂	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2nd edn. (London etc. 2001)
OHS	<i>Officium hebdomadae sanctae et octavae paschae cum cantu iuxta ordinem breviarii, missalis et pontificalis romani</i> (Rome etc. 1962)
OvervoordeAK	J.C. Overvoorde, <i>Gemeente-Archief Leiden. Archieven van de Kerken</i> (Leiden 1915), 2 vols.
PM	<i>Processionale monasticum ad usum congregationis gallicae ordinis sancti benedicti</i> (Solesmis 1893)
RBM	<i>Revue belge de musicologie</i>
RdM	<i>Revue de musicologie</i>
RH	U. Chevalier, <i>Repertorium hymnologicum. Catalogue des chants, hymns, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours</i> (Louvain/Brussels 1892–1921), 6 vols.
RISM	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i>
SM	<i>Studi Musicali</i>
TVNM	<i>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis</i>

Introduction

ON Friday 19 January 1526 an incident caused a commotion in the town of Leiden. The sexton of St Peter's had found on the doors of the church and the confessionals four highly injurious notes ridiculing the confession and the all but irreproachable life of members of the clergy.¹ In all probability, these epigrams were no serious cause for concern, as the 1520s had not yet witnessed a strong reformatory movement in Leiden. The notes were, however, recognized as a sign of the growing resistance against prevalent abuses within the Catholic Church. The first powerful expression of this opposition, which would ultimately result in the Reformation, was the iconoclastic fury of 1566. This outbreak raged in Leiden on 25 and 26 August. Alarmed by reports from other towns, the Leiden burgomasters had convened a meeting on Sunday 25 August. The session was interrupted by the sexton of St Peter's, who brought the news that some people wearing red sashes, a symbol of the opponents of Philip II, had entered the church by force and were up to no good. On arriving in St Peter's church the burgomasters and city pensionary found two iconoclasts breaking sculptures. The wrongdoers were pulled out with their combined efforts, and the sextons of the three Leiden churches were ordered to keep the places of worship closed. The Leiden militia was found ready to watch over the churches.² In spite of these precautionary measures iconoclasts forced their way into the church of Our Lady in the night of 25 August. During the course of the following day St Peter's church, too, fell victim to the raiding crowd. Altars were desecrated and the statues of the twelve Apostles on the pillars of the choir were destroyed.³ The iconoclasts were unable to break open the door of the sacristy, however, and next morning the monstrance and other church goods were taken to safety. When the revolt calmed down on 27 August the balance was drawn up. On threat of "corporal punishment or other arbitral correction" citizens were summoned to hand in all goods that had been taken from the churches, convents and other places of worship at the St Jacobsgasthuis (a Leiden hospital built for pilgrims). Furthermore, any violence against clerics or their institutions was forbidden under penalty of hanging.⁴ The three parish churches were cleared up so that regular

¹ Blok, *Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche stad*, vol. 2, pp. 168–169; Knappert, *De opkomst van het Protestantisme*, pp. 94–96.

² Rammelman Elsevier, 'De Beeldstorm te Leiden', pp. 426–428; see also Bangs, 'The Sixteenth-Century Organ of the Pieterskerk', p. 226.

³ See the ear- and eye-witness report of the iconoclastic outbreak by a priest from St Pancras church (published in Rammelman Elsevier, 'De Beeldstorm te Leiden', pp. 438–441). The authenticity of this document is, however, open to doubt (cf. Hermesdorf, 'The Examination and Restoration of *The Last Judgement*', p. 326 and n. 59). For an English translation of the priest's report see Bangs, *Church Art and Architecture*, p. 16.

⁴ Rammelman Elsevier, 'De Beeldstorm te Leiden', pp. 430–432.

services could be resumed. The most important damage to any of the three Leiden churches was, arguably, the destruction of legal papers of the chapter house of St Pancras (the Hooglandsekerk).⁵

Among the valuable church goods that survived these two turbulent days in 1566, we may also count the choirbooks of the *zeven-getijdencollege* of St Peter's. The very fact that these manuscripts withstood the iconoclastic fury seems to indicate that they were kept carefully locked away in a safe place in the church. These choirbooks provide unique and extremely valuable evidence of a rich musical tradition in sixteenth-century Holland.⁶ Flourishing as musical life may have been in such cities as Leiden, Delft, Gouda, Haarlem and Amsterdam, very little of that tradition has been preserved in Dutch archives and libraries. Of the numerous musical manuscripts that must have been used in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a mere handful has stood the test of time.

In the second half of the nineteenth century – after having been stored for some 300 years – the Leiden choirbooks surfaced again and met with renewed interest. Jan Pieter Nicolaas Land, a professor of philosophy and oriental languages at the university of Leiden and an ardent music lover, prepared a description and index of the six manuscripts and published it in the series *Bouwsteen* of the then recently founded *Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis* (nowadays the *Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*).⁷ This concise article introduced the manuscripts to music historians and musicians as an extremely important collection of Franco-Flemish repertoire. Remarkably enough, Land's contribution never gave rise to a detailed study of the choirbooks, not even in the mid-twentieth century when it became obvious that his index had become outdated and inadequate.

In the early 1970s a modern edition of one of the manuscripts was published,⁸ but most of the background of the choirbooks and the *zeven-getijdencollege* that had ordered and used them remained unexplained. When Alfons Annegarn completed his dissertation on the Dutch musicians Floris and Cornelis Schuyt in 1973, he was still forced to notice that the history of the *getijdencollege* and its music in the Leiden choirbooks deserved a detailed study of their own.⁹ This book hopes to fill that void.

The first part of this study outlines the genesis of the *zeven-getijdencolleges* in Holland in the fifteenth century and offers both a general introduction, describing the purposes and organization of these institutions, and a survey of the *getijdencolleges* that were active in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Holland (Chapter 1).

⁵ Bangs, *Church Art and Architecture*, p. 17, where one also finds a summary of post-1566 repairs and replacements of church furniture.

⁶ Throughout this book "Holland" means the sixteenth-century County of Holland, roughly corresponding to the present-day province of Holland, which is now split into North and South Holland. "The Low Countries" is used for the lands of the Habsburg Netherlands under Charles V and Philip II.

⁷ Land, 'De koorboeken van de St. Pieterskerk', pp. 40–48. On Land's scholarly merits, see Ovink, 'Levensbericht van Jan Pieter Nicolaas Land'.

⁸ MMN IX (1970–1973).

⁹ Annegarn, *Floris en Cornelis Schuyt*, p. 1.

Next, the *zeven-getijdencollege* of St Peter's is discussed, with detailed attention being paid to its foundation, its services, its priests and singers, and its downfall in 1572 (Chapter 2).

The next chapter is devoted to the manuscripts themselves and to the life and activities of the scribe who copied at least three of them in 1549 and 1559: Anthonius de Blauwe. The manuscripts are all considered individually and their dating and provenance is discussed. The chapter ends with a short paragraph on the vicissitudes of the manuscripts after the dissolution of the *getijdencollege*.

The repertoire of the choirbooks forms the subject of the fourth chapter. This sets out with an overview of the composers who are represented in the manuscripts, followed by a discussion of those works that are transmitted in contemporary choirbooks under the names of different authors. Next follows a concise discussion of the works that were copied into the manuscripts by Johannes Flamingus during the years 1565–1567. The rest of the fourth chapter is devoted to the function of the repertoire. It tries to answer the questions of where and when these pieces were actually performed, and if this was somehow of influence on the compilation of the manuscripts. Finally, the Leiden choirbooks are considered among contemporary manuscripts from the Low Countries.

The appendixes contain transcriptions of selected archival documents regarding the *zeven-getijdencollege* at St Peter's and descriptions and inventories of the six manuscripts.

The six choirbooks of the Leiden *getijdencollege* form an interesting and extensive field of study. One of the drawbacks of this is that not all aspects that seem to deserve detailed attention could be dealt with in this book. For example, one cannot be certain about the quality and importance of the Leiden transmissions until an essential part of the repertoire has been carefully examined and compared with other readings; that is a large-scale operation that, unfortunately, has fallen outside the scope of this study. Neither has it proven possible to discuss individual compositions from an analytic or stylistic point of view. Therefore, I should like to express the hope that this book will not be considered the final word on this much neglected collection of manuscripts, but that it may be a useful stepping stone leading to further in-depth studies.

CHAPTER 1

The Zeven-Getijdencolleges

“PURGATORY is above hell and is a corporal fire that supernaturally, by consent of God, burns, tortures and purges the soul.” With these frightening words the Dutch chaplain and theologist Dirc van Delft opens his chapter on purgatory in his *Tafel vanden kersten ghelove* (“Table of the Christian Faith”).¹ It was certainly not a pleasant prospect: the doctrine of the Church taught that the soul of the deceased could not be admitted to the kingdom of heaven unless that soul had spent some time in purgatory, for the eternal and divine light was so heavenly that only those who were innocent and pure were allowed to behold it. According to Dirc van Delft, such purity was seldom achieved in a lifetime and therefore there had to be some form of purification other than the penance in our lives.² One of the questions Dirc answers in the course of his argument is whether the souls that burn in purgatory can somehow be helped. Of the five forms of benefactions that he describes, the first is “prayers by priests, as in masses and memorial services, ordained for release from purgatory.”³ This option was used on a large scale in the late Middle Ages. Praying for deceased members of the community became one of the most important – and lucrative – tasks of secular clergy.

Well-to-do citizens, guilds and brotherhoods placed large sums of money at the disposal of priests who, in exchange, mentioned the beneficiaries in their prayers or private masses.⁴ The most prosperous community members founded their own altars or offered private endowments. Usually, an altar was endowed with interests – from either property or a sum of money – which formed the income for the attending priest. The priest’s assignment consisted of celebrating annual, weekly or daily masses and praying for the souls of the benefactor and his or her family. As services such as these were generally held for the souls of the deceased, and not *pro populo*, they were celebrated on a so called *zielaltaar* (“soul altar”). Founding or endowing such altars came very much into vogue in the late Middle Ages. In 1460, St Peter’s in Leiden, which was not a collegiate but a parish church, had no fewer than thirty-four chaplains who were paid from such endowments.⁵ Of course, not all citizens could afford their own private masses. For those who were not that prosperous but who did want to have a priest pray for the salvation of their souls, a cheap alternative came into fashion in the fifteenth century: the *memoriedienst* (“memorial service”). Such a *memoriedienst*, sometimes also called a *jaargetijde*, was an annual service held

¹ Daniëls, *Meester Dirc van Delf*, vol. III B, p. 651. For a discussion of Dirc’s works and his influence, see Van Oostrom, *Court and Culture*, chapter V, “Dirk of Delft”.

² Daniëls, *Meester Dirc van Delf*, vol. III B, p. 652.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 656. The other forms of benefaction mentioned by Dirc are prayers by pious people and friends, fasting or pilgrimages, works of charity, and indulgences.

⁴ Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise*, pp. 11–30; Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages*, pp. 59ff.

⁵ Van Baarsel, ‘De memoriemeesters van de Pieterskerk’, pp. 25, 54.

on a specific feast day, on an anniversary of someone's death, or on any weekday.⁶ In essence the service consisted of a solemn visit to the benefactor's grave, which was adorned with large candles. The grave was visited both on the vigil of the agreed date and on the following day, and usually the attending priests prayed and recited (parts of) the psalms *Miserere mei Deus* and *De profundis clamavi*.

Some foundational charters contain special stipulations. For example, sometimes the grave had to be covered with a black pall on which green herbs were to be strewn.⁷ At other times, memorial services also included a low or chanted private mass. Services such as these varied, depending on the capacity of the founder, from extended services including chant to simple grave visits in the evening and the following morning at which one or two psalms were recited. The foundation of *memoriediensten* eventually became so popular in the course of the fifteenth century that priests started to organize themselves into interest groups: the *college van memorieheren* or *memoriemeesters* ("board of memorial priests" or "memorial masters"). These boards, which were founded in many Dutch churches, became fierce competitors of the parish priests and the *kerkmeesters* ("church masters") who formerly took care of memorial services for citizens.⁸

In some foundations memorial priests were ordered to chant or pray the seven canonical hours on specific days. The celebration of the divine office in non-collegiate churches became very popular in the mid-fifteenth century. In some places the practice did not evolve beyond celebrating the hours on a limited number of days per year. Usually, this was done by the *memorieheren* or by the parish chaplain, who was assisted by a number of priests.⁹ In other places, on the initiative of the town government, prosperous citizens or the clergy, a new organization came into being with the specific purpose of celebrating the canonical hours in parish churches which had, until then, not hosted the divine office.

THE ZEVEN-GETIJDENCOLLEGES IN HOLLAND

The celebration of the *officium divinum* was of old the task of monks and canons. The secular canons lived, like the conventuals, a communal life, but contrary to them they were bound to a collegiate church. Their *vita communis* was largely confined to the collective celebration of the daily office.¹⁰ It seems that it was increasingly considered a deficiency, and a sign of lower status, that in non-collegiate

⁶ For a clear description of these memorial services, see Van Baarsel, 'De memorie-meesters van de Pieterskerk', at pp. 26ff.

⁷ Ibid., p. 27.

⁸ Church masters were invariably laymen who hired priests to celebrate the services that were ordered from them. Memorial services could be ordered from other ecclesiastical and charitable institutions as well, such as convents, hospices, beguinages and the *Heilige-Geestmeesters*.

⁹ Post mentions such places as Abcoude, Groessen, Heukelum, Hoogkeppel and Voorne. One may agree with him that in these places the celebration of the divine office never outgrew its first phase (Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, pp. 374–375). A similar situation seems to have pertained in Bolsward, in the church of St Martin; cf. Steensma, *De koorbanken in de Martinikerk te Bolsward*, pp. 22–23.

¹⁰ Nolet, *Kerkelijke instellingen in de Middeleeuwen*, pp. 177–208; Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, p. 366.

churches the divine office was not celebrated or, in some cases, not celebrated on a daily basis. Because of this many churches, well-to-do citizens and town governments turned to the foundation of so-called *cotidianes* (as they were called in Flanders) or *zeven-getijdencolleges* ("colleges of the seven canonical hours", as they were called in the northern part of the Low Countries).¹¹

The earliest establishments of such organizations seem to have taken place in Flanders. In Ghent, the *cotidianes* are documented as early as 1313 (church of Our Lady), 1345 (St James's), 1359 (St John's) and 1369 (St Michael's). It is not always clear if the liturgical hours were celebrated on a daily basis by these organizations, but the founding letter of the *cotidiane* in St Michael's explicitly mentions that they were to be sung daily, as was done in collegiate churches.¹² Bruges seems to have followed suit, as the church of St Walburga had a tradition of singing Hours stretching back to the second half of the fourteenth century. A document dating from January 1425 mentions that, by that time, all liturgical hours were celebrated daily in church.¹³ Around 1450 the Hours were also celebrated on a daily basis in St James's. The parish priest, the church masters and *dismeesters* had already made a petition some twenty-five years earlier to have the Hours celebrated daily in their church. Even though the bishop of Tournai consented, for many years the organization did not evolve beyond the celebration of the Hours on a limited number of days.¹⁴

The mid-fifteenth century is also the period in which the first *zeven-getijdencolleges* were founded in the county of Holland.¹⁵ The foundation of the *zeven-getijdencollege* in the Oude Kerk ("Old Church") of Delft seems to be the direct result of a certain rivalry with chapter churches. In 1457, shortly after the foundation of the seven hours in that church, the *getijdenmeesters* and church masters ordered from the wood carver Cornelis Claessone thirty-six or more *stoelen* (chairs) "after the example of

¹¹ Dessing, 'De zeven getijden in de St. Jans-kerk te Gouda', p. 141; Dessing, 'De zeven getijden in de Oude en de Nieuwe Kerk te Amsterdam', p. 30; Voets, 'De zeven getijden in Holland's Noorderkwartier', p. 61. In view of this competitive aspect some authors have characterized the *zeven-getijdencolleges* as "surrogate chapters" (cf. Nolet, *Kerkelijke instellingen in de Middeleeuwen*, pp. 342–343; Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, p. 368).

¹² Bouckaert, 'Het muziekleven aan de collegiale kerken', pp. 94–95.

¹³ Declerck, 'Commuun en Zeven Getijden in de Brugse parochiekerken', pp. 137–144; cf. Dewitte, 'De zeven getijden in de Brugse Walburgakerk', p. 420.

¹⁴ Declerck, 'Commuun en Zeven Getijden in de Brugse parochiekerken', pp. 126–136. In Brussels an organization for the daily Hours was founded in 1472 in St Nicholas's church. St Gaugericus (St Géry) seems to have followed suit. In smaller churches in Brussels the singing of *getijden* on holy days seems to have sufficed; cf. Haggh, 'Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels', pp. 240–242, 247; Haggh, 'Crispijne and Abertijne', pp. 325–326. Cities such as Lille and Nieuwpoort also had their own organizations celebrating the canonical hours in parish churches; cf. Platelle, 'La vie paroissiale vers 1455', pp. 397–399; Toussaert, *Le sentiment religieux*, p. 339.

¹⁵ There is an interesting predecessor in a somewhat more southern region of the present-day Netherlands. The church of St Martin in Venlo, which in the fifteenth century belonged to the diocese of Liège, seems to have had a "brotherhood of the priests of the seven hours" as early as 1407. St Martin's never had a chapter and the brotherhood was clearly meant to act as a substitute chapter. See the introduction to the inventory of the archives of the "Dekenaat Venlo en Parochie Sint Martinus Venlo 1298–2011" [no. 450] at the Gemeentearchief Venlo.

Antwerp". No doubt choir stalls were meant, so that after the delivery of forty-eight chairs the choir of the Oude Kerk must have equalled that of a collegiate church.¹⁶

The establishment of *zeven-getijdencolleges* in non-collegiate churches may thus be explained.¹⁷ Town governments were quick to embrace this new possibility of adding some lustre to the city's spiritual life, possibly because the *getijdencolleges* were easier to handle than secular chapters, which fell under canonical law.¹⁸ It is not yet entirely clear, however, why in the northern part of the Low Countries most of these *colleges* were founded in the western part of the country, i.e. in the county of Holland. Possibly the economic prosperity in Holland was favourable to their development. With regard to the foundation dates of the first *zeven-getijdencolleges* in the northern part of the Netherlands we have to rely on the earliest records found in church and town archives (Table 1 and Plate 1).¹⁹ The oldest *getijdencollege* seems to be that of St Peter's church in Leiden. It is first mentioned in a document dating from 23 April 1440. Judging from the document's wording, it had then only just been established. A number of *getijdencolleges* seem to have been founded around 1450. Within a reasonably short period of approximately six years, *zeven-getijdencolleges* were established in Rotterdam, Delft, Gouda and Alkmaar. It is of course possible, and perhaps even probable, that more were founded in this period. For many years towns and churches continued to collect financial means for the celebration of the liturgical hours in parish churches. Sometimes, as in Schagen and Roosendaal, it took until the sixteenth century before a *getijdencollege* could be established.

¹⁶ Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 227. That the acquisition of stalls was more a matter of prestige than necessity is shown by the number of priests usually hired for a *zeven-getijdencollege*: on the average no more than seven or eight, who were assisted by some two to four choirboys.

¹⁷ Several authors also mention the *Devotio moderna* as a possible source of inspiration for the foundation of *getijdencolleges* (cf. Bank, 'Kerkmuziek in Amsterdam', p. 287; Holtkamp, 'De zeven getijden', p. 7; Valkestijn, *Geschiedenis van de jongenszang*, p. 200; Valkestijn, 'Laus perennis in simpelsanc', p. 328; Voets, 'De zeven getijden in Holland's Noorderkwartier', p. 62). However, no evidence is ever presented other than that the celebration of the divine office may be considered to be a "revival of religious zeal", so this suggestion is better put aside. A third explanation for the origin of *getijdencolleges* tries to tie up their foundation with the large number of priests without a full daily routine in the mid-fifteenth century (Dessing, 'De zeven getijden in de Oude en Nieuwe Kerk te Amsterdam', p. 28; see also Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 225). This rather trivial explanation cannot be taken seriously, however, as the *getijdencolleges* offered jobs for only a limited number of good singers, and could not possibly provide employment for many.

¹⁸ This argument was first made in Kuys, *Repertorium van collegiale kapittels*, p. 61.

¹⁹ There is some disagreement in the literature with regard to the dates of foundation. According to Voets, 'De zeven getijden in Holland's Noorderkwartier', p. 62, all *getijdencolleges* were established at the end of the fifteenth century. Bank, 'Kerkmuziek in Amsterdam', p. 287, on the other hand, mentions that most *colleges* were founded around 1450. Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, pp. 372–373, and Valkestijn, *Geschiedenis van de jongenszang*, pp. 200–201, give a distorted view by dating the earliest colleges to around 1400.

Table 1 Chronology of the foundation of *zeven-getijdencolleges*
in the northern part of the Netherlands

<i>Foundation</i>	<i>Earliest Document</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Church</i>
1449	23 Apr. 1440	Leiden	church of St Peter
		Rotterdam	church of St Lawrence
		Delft	Oude Kerk
25 Feb. 1450/51	13 Sep. 1452	Haarlem	church of St Bavo
16 Jun. 1453		Gouda	church of St John
12 Jan. 1456		Delft	Nieuwe Kerk
18 May 1456	29 Mar. 1468	Alkmaar	church of St Lawrence
31 May 1471		Amsterdam	Oude Kerk
		The Hague	church of St James
	Goes	church of Mary Magdalene	
	14 Dec. 1473	Amsterdam	Nieuwe Kerk
	18 Nov. 1479	Leiden	church of Our Lady
	May 1481	Scheveningen	Oude Kerk
	1482	Schiedam	church of St John
	1489 (?)	Weesp	church of St Lawrence
	22 Sep. 1502	Oudewater	church of St Michael
	18 Feb. 1506	Enkhuizen	church of St Pancras
	1507	Enkhuizen	church of St Gummarus
	1511	Hoorn	church of St Cyriacus
	c. 1514	Schagen	church of St Christopher
	c. 1520	Kampen	church of Our Lady
	1534	Kampen	church of St Nicholas
	1534	Leeuwarden	parish church
	1538	Edam	Grote Kerk
	1541	Roosendaal	church of St John
	1555	Medemblik	church of St Boniface
	7 Nov. 1567	Purmerend	church of St Nicholas
	1578	Groede	parish church

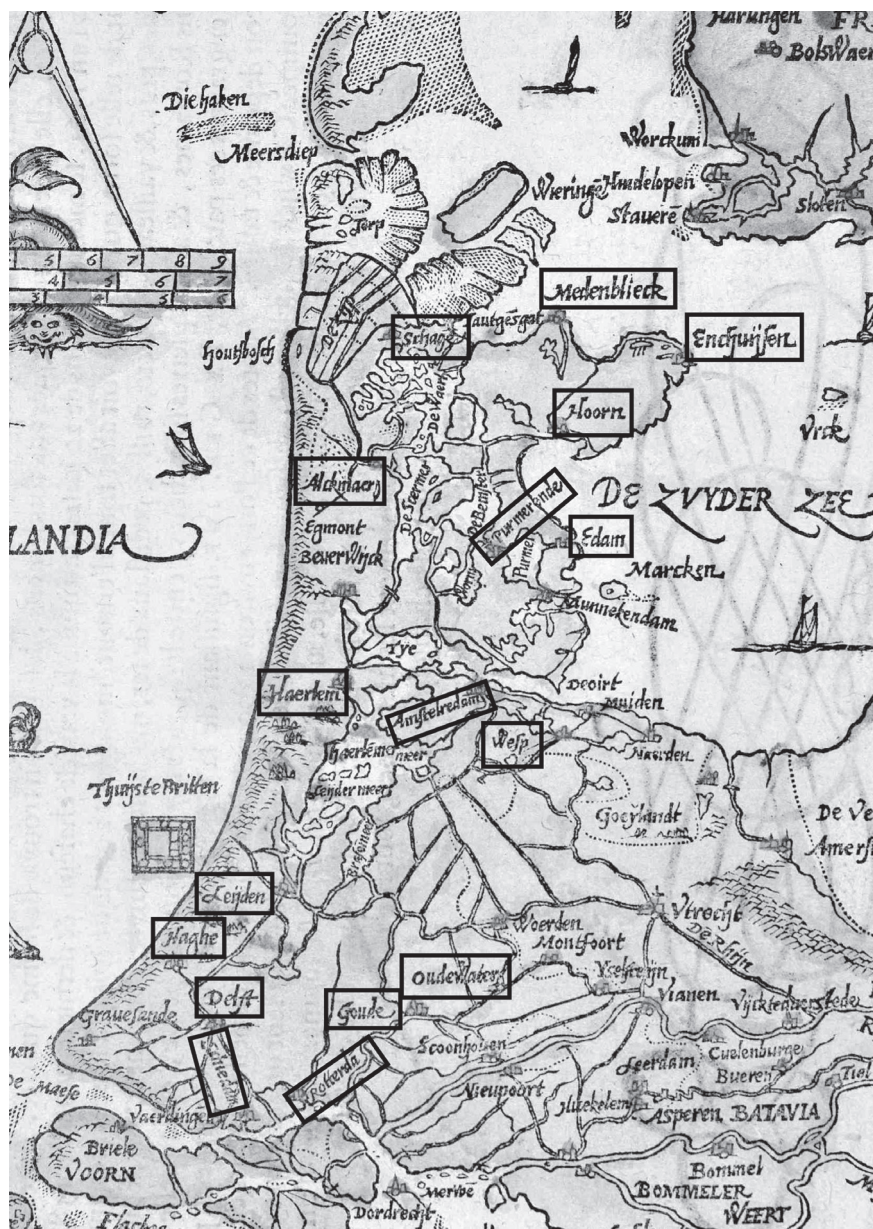


Plate 1. Map of Holland from *Le miroir du monde* by Abraham Ortelius (Amsterdam 1598) with the towns with a zeven-getijdencollege boxed.

Information about the organization of the daily office in non-collegiate churches is conveniently available in the detailed foundation letters of the *zeven-getijdencolleges* of the church of St John in Gouda and the Nieuwe Kerk ("New Church") in Delft (Plate 2). The extensive Delft document of 12 January 1456 contains the following stipulations:²⁰

1. Sheriff, aldermen and council of the town of Delft declare that, with consent of the city fathers (the *vroedschap*) and the parish priest of the Nieuwe Kerk, they have ordained to have the divine office celebrated honourably and devoutly in the aforementioned church. This was done to increase liturgical services and to obtain mercy and salvation from Jesus Christ, our Lord.
2. Judicial authorities of the town of Delft will choose each year on 11 November three or four *sancmeesters* who will administer as procurators all the interests and goods given for the *zeven getijden* and who will pay the priests' wages. All interests and goods that are bestowed on the *getijden* have to be administered by the municipal clerk in the book of the *sancmeesters*.
3. The schoolmasters, surplined and with a biretta on the head (but without a chaperon [a form of ecclesiastical hood]), will sing on all holy days first and second vespers, matins, and mass with their children as decently, and they will direct the choir as devoutly, as they will be instructed to do.
4. The church masters and *sancmeesters* will appoint seven, eight, or more priests according to objective standards. Only those who are considered most competent for the task may be hired.
5. The sexton will join the singers at all times, unless he is unable to attend because of other church duties.
6. Each day, in the sanctuary, the singers will chant the seven hours devoutly, perfectly and decently, according to the Ordinary of Utrecht, dressed in surplice and with a biretta on the head (but without a chaperon).
7. The parish priest will, as usual, celebrate high mass.
8. Each day, after prime, the *sancmeesters* will have a mass read at the high altar for all those who have bestowed upon the *getijdencollege*, unless the high altar is reserved for another service.
9. In case someone who has financially supported the *getijdencollege* should die, the priests will sing a Requiem mass, directly after prime, on the first Wednesday after the burial of the donor. The mass is to be celebrated with candles and a pall spread on the ground before the choir. Immediately after mass, they will pray a *Miserere* with a collect for the deceased and sprinkle holy water. Furthermore, on the same day all priests shall read a vigil for the deceased.

²⁰ For a transcription of the document, see Oosterbaan, 'Kroniek van de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft', pp. 265–268. For another account of the foundation letter and the history of the *zeven-getijdencollege* in the Nieuwe Kerk, based on the same sources and on the original 1997 version of this study, see Roelvink, *Gheerkin de Hondt*, pp. 59ff.

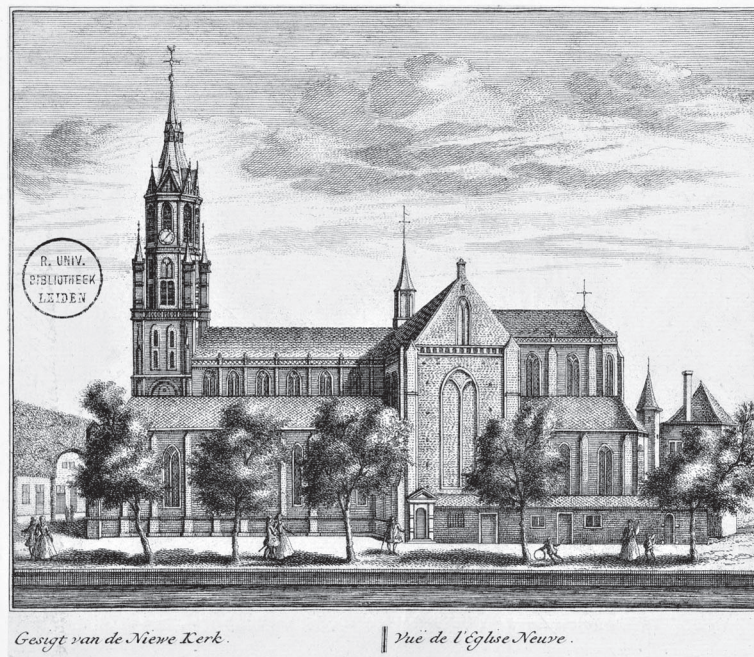


Plate 2. Undated copper engraving of the Nieuwe Kerk at Delft.

10. Every year, on the first Tuesday after the octave of Epiphany, all priests will, after compline, sing a vigil of nine lessons, and on the following Wednesday, after prime, a Requiem mass for all deceased benefactors who have in any form supported the seven hours. The names of the donors who have died within the past year will be called out on the previous Sunday.
11. On a specific number of feast days the priests will serve in church with two *provisores*, an epistle and a gospel reading without leaving the choir until the service is finished.
12. The *sancmeesters* shall, in consultation with the parish priest, select one or two of the singer-priests to direct the choir and to see to it that all services are celebrated devoutly and in good order.
13. The *sancmeesters* are allowed to hire and dismiss priests in accordance with their own views.
14. The church masters will order the sexton to ring the bells for all Hours at times specified by the singer-priests and the *sancmeesters*.
15. Immediately after the ringing of the bells the service has to start without delay. High mass should finish outside of Lent around ten o'clock and during Lent around eleven.
16. If, at any time, the singing of the Hours will not be continued or if anyone who has given interests or goods to the *getijdencollege* should want these to have another destination, then the bestower (or his heirs) shall be permitted

to claim these and have free disposal of them. In case the Hours are discontinued and certain interests or goods are not claimed, these goods and interests shall fall to the church.

17. The church masters will advise and assist the *sancmeesters* at all times.

18. If more interests and goods shall be given to the *getijdencollege* than necessary for observing the stipulations in this letter, the remaining resources shall be used by the church to adorn the choir with books and otherwise.

Even though these stipulations are clear and require little comment, one particular aspect has led to considerable confusion. Some scholars have been surprised by the number of Hours the priests were supposed to sing: after all, the daily cycle of rounds of prayers, from matins to compline, consists of eight hours rather than seven.²¹ Yet, the day-to-day reality in late medieval parish churches was somewhat different. In the thirtieth chapter of his *Tafel vanden kersten ghelove*, cited above, Dirc van Delft explains why the divine service is organized in *seven ghetiden* ("seven hours").²² His explanation is characterized by the symbolism of the number seven: "because God created and ordered the world in seven days", "because of the seven ages of the world, in which plagues have occurred and in which He has shown us his mercy", and "because of the seven ages of man, which make him suffer".²³ As to the names of the individual services, Dirc is explicit: "and they are thus called: matins, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers and compline".²⁴ This enumeration is later completed with the remark that the lauds are sung after matins.²⁵ Clearly matins and lauds formed one service and thus each day counted seven liturgical hours.²⁶

²¹ See, for example, Doove, 'Zevengetijdencolleges in Holland'; Haggh, 'Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels', p. 240, n. 42; Kolman, 'De Latijnse school en de koorzang', p. 220, n. 11.

²² Daniëls, *Meester Dirc van Delft*, vol. III B, pp. 396–407. The chapter is entitled: "The .XXX. chapter: on the divine service of the seven hours that are celebrated and sung everywhere in church [...]."

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 399. According to Dirc the number seven also relates to other passages in the Bible. The number is also found "as in the seven trumpets that were sounded by the angels. As in the seven lamps in the tabernacle that lighted on the lampstand. As in the seven eyes on a stone. As in the seven circumambulations of the town of Jericho by the children of Israel. As in the seven stars in the hand of the Son of Man. As in the seven seals that sealed the book of life. As in the seven loafs of bread with which the Lord nourished the flock of people." *Ibid.*, p. 400. Remarkably enough, Dirc does not mention the number seven in connection with Psalm 118, verse 164, which reads "Septies in die laudem dixi tibi" ("Seven times a day I have given praise to thee").

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

²⁶ There are almost no archival documents from *zeven-getijdencolleges* that are as specific about the daily schedule as Dirc van Delft. The foundation letter of the Hours in St James's in Bruges, however, explicitly mentions that "the aforementioned seven hours that are now founded to be celebrated [...] are matins, prime, terce, midday, none, vespers and compline" (Declerck, 'Commuun en Zeven Getijden in de Brugse parochiekerken', pp. 159–160).

Less problematic is the function of the three or four “sancmeesters” mentioned in the foundation letter. Their task was primarily administrative. Contrary to what their name may suggest, these “sancmeesters” had nothing to do with the actual musical performances in church. They registered the interests and goods that were given to the *getijdencollege* and they paid the wages of the priests, the choirboys and the schoolmasters. Furthermore, they were the official representatives of the *zeven-getijdencollege* when a citizen, brotherhood or guild wished to place certain goods, in the presence of sheriff and aldermen and possibly under special conditions, at the disposal of the *getijdencollege*. Apparently the title “sancmeester”, which was also used for the official who was in charge of the musicians and the musical performances, did not lead to confusion.²⁷ Nevertheless, in other towns the administrative officials are frequently identified by other names, such as “procuratoirs van den sanghe”, “getijdenmeesters” or “seven getijdenmeesters”.²⁸

The Delft letter of foundation stipulates that the *getijdenmeesters* were to be chosen each year by the town government. That seems to have been the practice in other cities as well, and if such a stipulation is not found in a deed of foundation it is often included in special ordinances or in local statutes.²⁹ The number of appointed *getijdenmeesters* varied considerably between towns and was probably dependent on the size of the administration. For example, the *getijdencollege* in the church of St Nicholas in Kampen could do with one administrator;³⁰ the 1453 letter of foundation of the Hours at Gouda mentions three *getijdenmeesters*; and the 1456 letter from Delft three or four. In 1498, however, the Gouda *getijdencollege* had no fewer than six “sangmeesters”, a number that, according to the accounts of 1546–1554, had become a new standard.³¹

Every now and then, the offices of church masters and *getijdenmeesters* were combined. As of 9 January 1556 the accounts of the *getijdencollege* of St Cyriacus in

²⁷ De Riemer, however, was clearly confused by the title and was under the impression that the “sancmeesters” (or *getijdenmeesters*) were supposed to sing the daily Hours themselves (De Riemer, *Beschryving van sGraven-Hage*, vol. I, p. 312). A very odd, and unintentionally witty, job description is given by De Gelder: “a *getijdenmeester* is someone who, during the service, announces that the singing of the Hours of the Holy Virgin will commence” (*Wetgeving op het Lager Onderwijs*, p. 10, n. 4).

²⁸ Occasionally one finds still other names, such as “getijden voochden” in Edam (Driessen, *Waterland VII. Edam*, pp. 148–149), and “cantoer(y)meysters” in Haarlem (De Klerk, *Haarlems muziekleven*, pp. 7–8).

²⁹ The code of Hoorn of 1528 stipulates that the *getijdenmeesters* are yearly chosen by sheriff, burgomasters and aldermen (Voets, ‘De zeven getijden in Holland’s Noorderkwartier’, p. 65; Voets, ‘De hervorming in West-Friesland’, p. 152). Maximilian and Charles V decreed on 28 March 1514 that the bailiff, sheriff, burgomasters and aldermen of The Hague, with the advice of the parish priest, had to appoint church masters, *getijdenmeesters* and *Heilige-Geestmeesters* (‘t Hart, *Inventaris van het oud-archief der gemeente ’s-Gravenhage*, inv. no. 721, *regest* 125). This situation came to an end on 6 July 1560 with a provisional instruction for the burgomasters. William I, Prince of Orange, decided that henceforth the bailiff, sheriff, burgomasters and aldermen of The Hague were allowed to nominate candidates for the aforementioned offices, but that the actual appointments were to be made by the stadholder, i.e. William himself (*ibid.*, *regest* 302).

³⁰ Kolman, ‘De Latijnse school en de koorzang’, p. 169.

³¹ Dessing, ‘De zeven getijden in de St. Jans-kerk te Gouda’, pp. 156, 206–207.

Hoorn were kept by the church masters. In Enkhuizen and Alkmaar, too, the church masters took responsibility for administering the properties of the *getijdencollege*.³²

Getijdenmeesters were usually chosen from well-to-do citizens, and in almost every town one finds persons from the civic elite among them. That this particular office had to be fulfilled by dependable people is of course related to the large amounts of money that had to be administered, and possibly also to the fact that the position was honorary.³³

Among the duties of the *getijdenmeesters* was also the hiring and – if required – the dismissal of the clerics who celebrated the daily services. Almost all *getijdencolleges* had priests at their disposal and, of course, they were expected to be trained singers as well. The fact that the *getijdencolleges* had priests of their own made it possible for them to take on memorial services, which was no doubt considered a pleasant incidental circumstance. The number of priests employed was usually not very large. The Delft letter mentions that seven or eight priests were to be hired, or “as many as the church masters and *sancmeesters* shall see fit”. The Gouda deed of foundation, too, asks for as many priests as needed to sing the Hours devoutly and competently.³⁴ A document from Leiden dated 15 May 1443 makes reference to seven priests and two choirboys. Some twenty years later – on 27 January 1463 – the *getijdencollege* in Haarlem employed eight priests and two choirboys. In case new revenues should become available, the Haarlem *getijdenmeesters* were allowed to enlarge the choir with no more than four priests and two choirboys.

The situation gradually changed in the course of the early sixteenth century. It would seem that the *zeven-getijdenmeesters* increasingly tended towards hiring professional singers who were appointed on contracts. Consequently, the number of priests within the *getijdencolleges* decreased while the lay singers became ever more important members. It has been argued that this development was prompted by the rise of polyphony at the beginning of the sixteenth century.³⁵ This cannot be entirely correct, however, as polyphony had been introduced to the northern part of the Low Countries many years before. The singing “in discant” is mentioned in Leiden documents from 1434 and 1453.³⁶ The chronicle of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft relates that in 1455, on feast days, a certain “Zibrant the schoolmaster” performed polyphony with some of his schoolboys and with “some priests and secular men”

³² Voets, ‘De zeven getijden in Holland’s Noorderkwartier’, pp. 65–67.

³³ Medemblik was clearly an exception to the rule; here the clerics took care of controlling the finances themselves (Voets, ‘De zeven getijden in Holland’s Noorderkwartier’, p. 67).

³⁴ Dessing, ‘De zeven getijden in de St. Jans-kerk te Gouda’, p. 210.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 161–164; Dessing, ‘De zeven getijden in de Oude en de Nieuwe Kerk te Amsterdam’, pp. 28–29.

³⁶ Annegarn, *Floris en Cornelis Schuyt*, p. 14; *Bouwstenen* 1, pp. 171–173; Coebergh, *Meer dan zes eeuwen Leids Gymnasium*, p. 25; Meerkamp van Embden, *Stadsrekeningen van Leiden*, vol. II, p. 416. According to Annegarn polyphony was already known to Leiden in the fourteenth century. It is not clear, however, on which source(s) this particular information is based. Possibly this notion goes back to a personal communication from Jan Doove (cf. Chapter 2, n. 26).

who found this to be very pleasing.³⁷ In the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam a weekly mass in polyphony was sung at St Sebastian's altar from c. 1473 onward.³⁸ Judging from the wording of these scattered documents, the singing of polyphonic music in fifteenth-century Holland was not extraordinary. Therefore, the rise of lay singers within the *getijdencolleges* is probably not related to the introduction of polyphony, but more likely to the fact that singing polyphonic music became a day-to-day practice in ever more churches in the sixteenth century.

As to the duties of the priests and singers only a few general observations can be made. Their most important task was to sing the daily Hours and to read masses for deceased benefactors of the *getijdencollege*. Furthermore, they were often commissioned, either by private individuals or by town governments, to perform during memorial services or to sing masses or *Lof* services on special days. Of course the singers were also expected, like all other clerics, to participate in churchly processions.

The florescence of the *getijdencolleges* faded shortly after the mid-sixteenth century. As the Reformation drew near, the *getijdencolleges* were struck by financial difficulties. With the Reformation the Catholic churches fell into the hands of the reformed, and most *zeven-getijdencolleges* – and many other traditional churchly institutions – were disbanded. In February 1573 the Estates General summoned all civil servants and residents of their district to administer and deliver all goods and revenues of the pastorates, churches, *memoriën*, *getijden*, sextonships and so forth. These funds were destined to provide for clergymen and their assistants in the reformed church and for schoolmasters. As this call was largely unanswered, the Estates issued another prohibition on 17 April 1577 summoning the town magistrates to deliver within one month a complete list of all church goods.³⁹ In the meantime – on 2 March 1575 – the States of Holland had asked the governments of towns and villages annually to appoint church masters who would receive all goods and revenues of the churches, and sell and administrate them. In addition, these new church masters had to take care of the churches and to pay outstanding debts and allowances for parish priests and other former clergy members. Any remaining funds were, in accordance with a 1573 decree, to be used for maintenance of schoolmasters, clergymen and other (Protestant) church servants.⁴⁰ But it was not always easy to accomplish this new distribution of church funds. In the Noorderkwartier, the church possessions were scattered among the northern part of Holland and therefore, on 30 May 1584, they were apportioned by lot. As a result of this “*lotinghe ende deelinghe*” (“allotment and distribution”) the possessions of

³⁷ Oosterbaan, ‘Kroniek van de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft’, pp. 215–216; Oosterbaan, ‘School en Kerk in het Middeleeuwsche Delft’, pp. 111–112. If in this part of the chronicle the Delft year style is used – the so-called Annunciation style in which the year changed on 25 March – the performances by mr. Zibrant are to be placed in 1456 (Oosterbaan, ‘School en Kerk in het Middeleeuwsche Delft’, p. 117, n. 70).

³⁸ Bank, ‘Kerkmuziek in Amsterdam’, p. 291, cited after Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, p. 425.

³⁹ Cau, *Groot placaet-boeck*, vol. II, cols. 2143–2144; see also Van Beeck Calkoen, *Onderzoek naar den rechtstoestand*, pp. 31–32, 41–44, 53–55.

⁴⁰ Cau, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 345–346; Van Beeck Calkoen, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48, 50.

the *zeven-getijdencolleges* in Alkmaar, Hoorn and Enkhuizen fell to their town governments. Those of the *getijdencollege* in Medemblik found another use: thanks to the personal intervention of William I, Prince of Orange, they were donated to the town's orphanage.⁴¹

THE GETIJDENCOLLEGES CONSIDERED INDIVIDUALLY

At present it is impossible to present a full history of any of the numerous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *getijdencolleges*. There are only few Dutch towns that boast rich pre-Reformation archives that have withstood the ravages of time. Church archives have suffered especially badly over the past centuries and are now often incomplete. However, some valuable archival documents have been preserved, and these cast an interesting light on the daily practice of some *zeven-getijdencolleges*. The scanty evidence that has come down to us seems to indicate that the *getijdencolleges* at Amsterdam (Oude Kerk), Delft, Gouda, Haarlem and Leiden were among the most important organizations, and had a rich polyphonic tradition.

Delft

The foundation charter of the *getijdencollege* in the Oude Kerk of Delft (Plate 3) no longer exists. The extensive quotations in Van Bleyswijcks *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*,⁴² however, give a good impression of the contents of the original document and justify the supposition that the lost letter was almost identical to the earlier-discussed document of the *zeven-getijdencollege* in the Nieuwe Kerk.⁴³ The original document was kept with the ratification of the bishop of Utrecht and the confirmation of Gijsbrecht Heerman attached to it. Of these three related documents, only Heerman's has been preserved. This confirmation of the foundation is dated 25 February 1450. However, it is not clear which year style applies. If the dating of the document follows the foundation letter of the Nieuwe Kerk, the canonical hours were established in the Oude Kerk in 1451.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Voets, 'De zeven getijden in Holland's Noorderkwartier', pp. 74–75.

⁴² Van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, pp. 160–162. The same quotations were later also published in Van Heussen, *Beschryving der stad Delft*, pp. 185–187.

⁴³ Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 225.

⁴⁴ Oosterbaan, 'Kroniek van de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft', p. 212; Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 268, n. 73. The letter of the Nieuwe Kerk is dated "uften 12en dach in Januario int jair ons Heren MCCCCCLV na der loop des Hoefs van Holland ende van onser stede", i.e. 12 January 1456. This has escaped the notice of several authors who all give 1455 as the year of foundation (cf. Bank, 'Middeleeuwse kerkmuziek in Hollandse steden', p. 30; Van Berckel, 'De St Hippolytus-Kerk te Delft', p. 207; Doove, 'Zevengetijdenzang in Delft en Gouda', p. 336 [corrected, however, in Doove, 'Zevengetijdencolleges in Holland', p. 221, and in Doove, "Soo de ouden songhen ...", p. 113]; Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, p. 371; Valkestijn, *Geschiedenis van de jongenszang*, p. 200). As to the foundation date of the *zeven-getijdencollege* in the Oude Kerk, almost all authors opt without further explanation for 1450 (cf. Annegarn, *Floris en Cornelis Schuyt*, p. 14; Bank, 'Middeleeuwse kerkmuziek in Hollandse steden', p. 30; Van Berckel, 'De St Hippolytus-Kerk te Delft', p. 204; Doove, 'Zevengetijdenzang in Delft en Gouda', p. 336; Doove, 'Zevengetijdencolleges in Holland', p. 221 [corrected, however, in Doove, 'Soo de

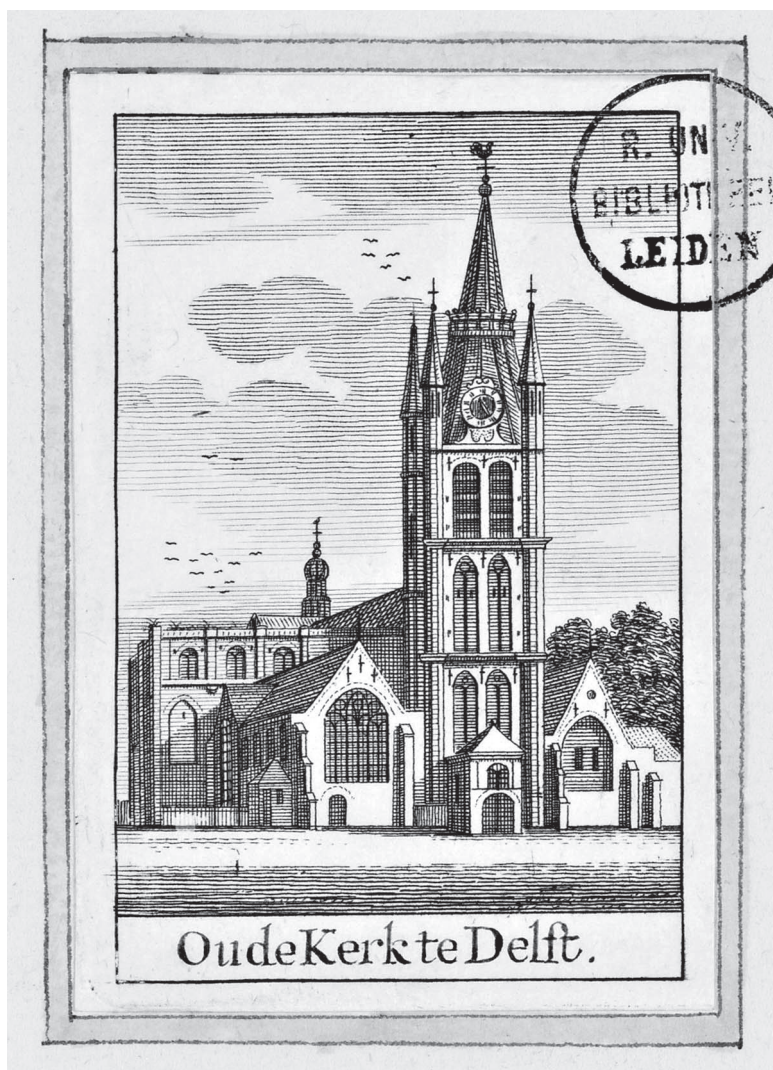


Plate 3. Undated copper engraving of the Oude Kerk at Delft.

Within a period of five or six years, two *getijdencolleges* were active in Delft in parish churches within a stone's throw of one another. The first years of these *getijdencolleges* were far from prosperous. In 1462 the *getijdenmeesters* of the two churches informed the town government that they could not continue their "good work" because they lacked sufficient financial support. In response to this sound of warning the town government consented the foundation of a brother- and sisterhood of the seven hours in both parish churches named after their patron saints: St

ouden songhen ...', p. 114]; Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, p. 370; Valkestijn, *Geschiedenis van de jongenszang*, p. 200; Vente, 'Aspecten van de Delftse muziekgeschiedenis', p. 158; Verhoofstad, *Inventaris der archieven van kerken, kloosters en staties*, p. 115).

Hippolyte and St Ursula.⁴⁵ With their efforts thus united both *getijden* colleges tried to accomplish more. The two institutions retained their individual organizational structures and continued, obviously with success, the celebration of the office.⁴⁶

In the 1480s the town government of Delft once more had to settle matters regarding the *getijden* colleges. The foundation letters of the *getijden* colleges in the Oude and the Nieuwe Kerk required the schoolmasters of the Latin school and their pupils to take part in the celebration of the office. On holy days they had to chant the first vespers, matins, mass and second vespers. After several years this obligation turned out to be too much of a burden. The schoolmasters complained that too little time remained for the education of the children. Therefore, the town government decided that from 1484 onward the schoolmasters and their pupils were no longer obliged to perform matins on holy days.⁴⁷ They were, however, expected to continue their participation in matins services on the eight most important days in the church year,⁴⁸ and to assist in masses on “ember Saturdays” and on the vigil of Easter and Pentecost.⁴⁹ The matins services the schoolboys were no longer required to attend had to be celebrated by the singers of the *getijden* college.

In 1486 the activities of the *getijden* singers in the Nieuwe Kerk were extended once more. The *Lof* service of Our Lady was of old performed in this church on Saturdays and on all Marian feasts. Shortly before 1486 two services had been added: a Thursday *Lof* service in honour of the Holy Sacrament and a Friday *Lof* service honouring the Holy Cross. By the end of 1486 financial means had been collected for another four new Marian *Lof* services to be sung on the days of the week that had been left without them.⁵⁰

As in many other churches, with the passage of time services were not always celebrated with the utmost dedication. Therefore, an ordinance was issued meticulously

⁴⁵ The letter of the town government, dated 22 May, is published in Van Berckel, ‘De St Hippolytus-Kerk te Delft’, pp. 213–214. Although Van Berckel’s transcription correctly gives the year as “MCCCC twee ende tsestich,” his text mentions the year 1562. This mistake was later repeated by Post (*Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, p. 371).

⁴⁶ Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 227. Some authors erroneously state that the two *getijden* colleges were united in one new organization (cf. Bank, ‘Middeleeuwse kerkmuziek in Hollandse steden’, p. 31; Van Berckel, ‘De St Hippolytus-Kerk te Delft’, p. 213; Verhoofstad, *Inventaris der archieven*, p. 115).

⁴⁷ Oosterbaan, ‘Kroniek van de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft’, pp. 236–237; Oosterbaan, ‘School en Kerk in het Middeleeuwsche Delft’, p. 38.

⁴⁸ These eight important feasts are probably Easter, Pentecost, Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, Assumption, All Saints, Christmas and Patron’s day (Oosterbaan, ‘School en Kerk in het Middeleeuwsche Delft’, p. 38; Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, p. 447).

⁴⁹ That the task of the schoolboys was now restricted to singing mass and vespers on Sundays, as Oosterbaan argues, is not correct (Oosterbaan, ‘School en Kerk in het Middeleeuwsche Delft’, p. 38; Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 228). The 1484 document mentions only that the schoolboys were no longer required to attend matins services on certain holy days and does not speak of exemption from vesper services on holy days and their vigils. According to Roelvink, *Gheerkin de Hondt*, p. 61, note 188, I would have forgotten to mention in my 1997 text that the boys had to sing high mass on holy days, but this is not correct. It would seem that Roelvink misread my text.

⁵⁰ Oosterbaan, ‘Kroniek van de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft’, p. 237.

explaining the tasks and obligations of the singers in the Nieuwe Kerk.⁵¹ First, it was ordained that all priests and singers who sang the canonical hours had to stand straight, without leaning or resting their heads on their hands and without sitting down when others were standing. Second, the singers were reminded that they had to celebrate the services completely and decently, without any immodesty or private conversation. Third, it was stipulated that all priests and singers were required to attend their processions until the very end, staying in place without talking. Furthermore it was pointed out that all services had to start on time, and that all attendants had to be present and in place before the end of the first psalm in matins, or before the end of the first doxology in all other liturgical hours.

By the mid-sixteenth century the *getijdencollege* in the Oude Kerk had developed into a powerful organization. Both the revenues and the expenses had increased most dramatically. Nevertheless, during the years 1563–1571 the *getijdencollege* had to cope with deficits of between 131 and 309 pounds.⁵² Information on the singers of the Oude Kerk is scant; far more material is available on those of the Nieuwe Kerk.⁵³ The singers' group of the Nieuwe Kerk consisted of a *zangmeester* and, on average, six or seven adult singers – with a minimum of three and a maximum of nine – and four or five choirboys (no fewer than two and no more than six).⁵⁴

Among the *zangmeesters* we find Pieter E(de)linck, a North Netherlandish composer whose four only known compositions are all transmitted in the famous Segovia choirbook (SegC s.s.).⁵⁵ On 26 December 1508 the *getijdenmeesters* appointed Jan Hondtgen as *zangmeester* of the Nieuwe Kerk.⁵⁶ In March 1511, Hondtgen left for

⁵¹ A description of this document, which must now be considered lost, is published in Van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinghe der stadt Delft*, p. 245.

⁵² Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, pp. 227–228.

⁵³ The administrative documents of the *getijdenmeesters* in the Oude Kerk that have survived are a “manuaal” (“handbook”) covering the years 1545–1551 and the joint accounts of the *getijdencollege* and the guild of Our Lady covering the years 1561–1572. The content of the “manuaal” was edited and published by Vente in *Bouwstenen* 3, pp. 67–69. Remarkably enough, the accounts were overlooked by him (Delft, Gemeentearchief: Archieven van de Delftse parochiekerken, 1348–1572 [no. 435], inv. no. 9 [*olim* Archief van de Kerkvoogdij van de Hervormde Gemeente te Delft, 1572–1950. Archief vóór 1572, inv. no. 32]). These accounts provide the names of a handful of singers and choirboys, and three *zangmeesters*: Willem (1546–1548), Gerrit (1548–1551) and Nijclaes/Claes (1567–1572). The “manualen” of the *getijdenmeesters* in the Nieuwe Kerk offer a clear insight into the persons employed during the years 1498–1516, 1520–1524 and 1524–1554. The content of these volumes was edited and published by Vente in *Bouwstenen* 3, pp. 86–98. Notice that these documents have been relocated and are now housed in Archief Delft in the archives of the Delft parish churches [no. 435]. For some additional details, see Roelvink, *Gheerkin de Hondt*.

⁵⁴ *Bouwstenen* 3, p. 87.

⁵⁵ E(de)linck was hired by the *getijdenmeesters* on 1 November 1504 and left Delft, together with his son Cornelis, in 1506. In musicological literature Elinck's name is often misspelled as “Eline” (cf. “Edelinck, Pieter”, in *NGD2*, vol. 7, p. 880). Here the word *zangmeester*, of course, refers to the musician who was in charge of the vocal group.

⁵⁶ Hondtgen was already known at Delft: in 1506 he was paid by the *getijdenmeesters* for copying fifty folios of music (*Bouwstenen* 3, pp. 87, 95).

The Hague to become *zangmeester* at the church of St James.⁵⁷ It was not uncommon for singers and *zangmeesters* to leave their posts for more attractive positions elsewhere, and to try to play churches off against one another in their search for the most favourable working conditions. On 23 August 1511 the *getijdencolleges* of Delft and The Hague decided to tackle this particular problem. The sheriff, aldermen and council of the town of Delft, together with the *getijdenmeesters* of both churches, entered into an agreement with the sheriff, aldermen and council of the town of The Hague and the *getijdenmeesters* of St James's. Both parties committed themselves not to hire any singer or choirboy who had left his service – or tendered his resignation – within a period of two years after his departure from the former parish.⁵⁸ Any violation of the agreement was fined with a penalty of one hundred “gouden koirvorster rijns gulden” (“rhenish gold guilders”). That the agreement was successful may probably be concluded from the fact that a similar document was drawn up on 7 February 1517 between the *getijdenmeesters* of the two Delft churches and the dean and chapter of St Mary's in The Hague.⁵⁹ Both agreements remained effective for some time, though compliance with them was not always optimal.⁶⁰ The agreement of 1511 was renewed in 1548;⁶¹ the one of 1517 was recopied as late as 1561/62 by the notary Heijnrick Jansz. for the *getijdenmeesters* of the Oude Kerk.⁶²

Among the *zangmeesters* of the Nieuwe Kerk we find Johannes van der Biest and Jacob de Leeuw, two musicians who later left their post in Delft to become *zangmeester* in the church of St Peter in Leiden. Gheerkin de Hondt was probably the most famous *zangmeester* hired by the *getijdenmeesters* of the Nieuwe Kerk.⁶³

In 1572 the Reformation put an end to the Delft *getijdencolleges*. The professional singers were paid until 1573, but from then on they were penniless and had to find other means of support. Some of them turned, in despair, to the town government. Joost Jansz. Lanckaert and a singer named Roelant argued in a petition of 1573 that they had served the Oude and Nieuwe Kerk for a long time – Lanckaert for more

⁵⁷ “Mr. Jan Hontgen” is mentioned as “*zangmeester* in the parish church of The Hague” in a document of 20 May 1511 (Sernee, *De archieven van kloosters en andere andere stichtingen in Delfland*, p. 87, *regist* 141).

⁵⁸ The document is published in Van Berckel, ‘De St Hippolytus-Kerk te Delft’, pp. 215–216, and in *Bouwstenen* 3, pp. 102–103; see also Van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, p. 282; Van Heussen, *Beschryving der stad Delft*, p. 267; De Riemer, *Beschryving van sGraven-Hage*, vol. I, pp. 312–313.

⁵⁹ The Hague, Nationaal Archief: Archief van het Kapittel van St Maria op het hof te 's-Gravenhage [no. 3.18.30.01], inv. no. 53 (Martens van Sevenhoven, *Archief van het kapittel van St Maria*, *regist* 509). The document is published in De Riemer, *Beschryving van sGraven-Hage*, vol. I, pp. 263–264; cf. Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 229.

⁶⁰ For example, on 10 November 1564 the Delft *getijdenmeester* Willem Jansz. Vermeer was paid 20 stuivers to reimburse the costs he had made to hire the *zangmeester* in The Hague (Delft, Gemeentearchief: Archief van de Delftse parochiekerken, 1348–1572 [no. 435], inv. no. 9, f. 14v).

⁶¹ Van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, p. 282; De Riemer, *Beschryving van sGraven-Hage* vol. I, p. 312.

⁶² Archief Delft, Archief van de Delftse parochiekerken, 1348–1572 [no. 435], inv. no. 9, f. XXr.

⁶³ The biographical information on Gheerkin in NGD2, vol. 9, p. 805 is incomplete. The little that is known about his life is detailed in Roelvink's *Gheerkin de Hondt*.

than sixteen years. Apparently, the *getijdenmeesters* had promised Lanckaert that they would maintain him for the rest of his life because of his excellent voice. On 7 September 1573 both singers received, for the time being, 6 pounds from the *getijdenmeesters* of the Oude Kerk.⁶⁴ After a renewed request, Lanckaert received an additional sum of 20 guilders from the treasurer of the former *getijdencollege* in the Oude Kerk.⁶⁵ Mr. Nicolaes Barthoutsz. Dordracenus, the former *zangmeester* of the Oude Kerk, received the same allowance after filing a similar request.⁶⁶ Furthermore, at his own request, Nicolaes was offered the office of “the automatic chime of the great clock” and continued to fulfil this until his death on 16 April 1624;⁶⁷ Joost Jansz. Lanckaert received additional allowances in 1574, but according to the city accounts of 1574/75 he eventually became skilled in tapestry weaving.⁶⁸

Haarlem

It is not entirely clear when the *zeven-getijdencollege* of St Bavo's in Haarlem was founded (Plate 4). The earliest document that mentions *getijdenmeesters* is found in the cartulary of the *getijdencollege* and is dated 13 September 1452.⁶⁹ Apparently, at that time the *getijdencollege* was not yet endowed with sufficient financial means. The register contains several endowment letters dating from the first months of 1453 specifying that if the liturgical hours were to be discontinued, the endowed sum would be reclaimed.⁷⁰ Just as in Delft, the *getijdenmeesters* of Haarlem soon ran into financial problems. They turned to the government of Haarlem explaining that they

⁶⁴ *Bouwstenen* 3, pp. 77–78; Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 230.

⁶⁵ *Bouwstenen* 3, pp. 79–80 (1 December 1574).

⁶⁶ *Bouwstenen* 3, pp. 78–79; Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 230.

⁶⁷ *Bouwstenen* 3, p. 79; Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, pp. 230–231; Vente, ‘Aspecten van de Delftse muziekgeschiedenis’, pp. 232–233.

⁶⁸ It is, of course, also possible that Lanckaert simply took up his former profession. A tapestry by Lanckaert, representing the siege and relief of Leiden, is now kept in Museum De Lakenhal in Leiden (Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft*, p. 231).

⁶⁹ Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief: Archief van de Kerkvoogdij van de Nederlands-Hervormde Gemeente te Haarlem [no. 1561], inv. no. 472 (*olim* 186), f. XLr. According to Post, *getijdenmeesters* are found in Haarlem, in St Bavo's, already in 1404 (Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, p. 372; Post, *Kerkgeschiedenis van Nederland*, p. 291; see also Mous, ‘Geschiedenis van het voormalig kapittel’, p. 142; Valkestijn, *Geschiedenis van de jongenszang*, pp. 200–201). However, the document Post refers to in a footnote does not date from 1404 but from 1504. De Klerk, too, is mistaken about the earliest documents. According to his notes the office of *getijdenmeester* is first mentioned in a document from 1436 (De Klerk, *Haarlems muzikleven*, p. 7). While the deed De Klerk refers to does indeed date from 1436, it mentions neither *getijdencollege* nor *getijdenmeesters*. In all probability this document is simply a donation of interests that in later times came into the possession of the *getijdenmeesters*.

⁷⁰ Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief: Archief van de Kerkvoogdij van de Nederlands-Hervormde Gemeente te Haarlem [no. 1561], inv. no. 472 (*olim* 186), f. XLVIIv (31 December 1452), f. XXXVIIIr (21 January 1453), f. XLVr (16 March 1453) en f. XXXIIIr (17 March 1453). De Klerk, who was apparently unaware that in sixteenth-century Haarlem the calendar year changed on 25 March, dates the document on f. XXXVIIIr erroneously to 21 January 1452 (*Haarlems muzikleven*, p. 7).

had neither the means nor the instruments to continue the singing of the Hours in the church of St Bavo. This appeal was not left unanswered. On 27 January 1463 the sheriff, burgomasters and aldermen of Haarlem issued a petition containing regulations regarding the Hours.⁷¹ It was stipulated that if any of the eight priests who sang the Hours was to die, the four *getijdenmeesters* were obliged to hire another good, honest and virtuous man, “the most honourable, most capable, and most irreproachable” they could find. If any of the eight aforementioned priests should prove to be dishonest or of otherwise dubious character, he should be fired and replaced instantly. As the *getijdencollege* was not wealthy, the town government also decided on the salaries of the singers. Each priest was to receive 4 guilders quarterly and each choirboy 2 guilders and “a tabard each year”. If the interests and goods of the *getijdencollege* were to exceed the amount of 144 *rijnsgulden* needed to cover these expenses, the *getijdenmeesters* should first hire two extra choirboys and after that, if possible, another four priests. In case the revenues should ever exceed the amount needed to pay the salaries of twelve priests and four choirboys, the surplus should go to the church. Finally it was decided that four times a year the priests and choristers were to celebrate a memorial service and Requiem mass for all benefactors of the *getijdencollege*, and that each year within the octave of Easter the *getijdenmeesters* would have to give account to the burgomasters and church masters. Even though the *getijdenmeesters* had clearly indicated that they were pressed for money, the town government initially tried to solve the problem by introducing new regulations. However, in later times the *getijdencollege* was supported by the city of Haarlem and received the revenues of the excises on beer and corn (1474), the revenues of the “etting van de Baan” (right on grazing; 22 July 1497) and the lease on the fish stalls (25 February 1525). Later also the fish auction, the right of peat baskets, apple tons and mussel weights fell to the *getijdencollege*.⁷²

In 1507 the *getijdenmeesters* once more turned to the town government. This time, however, it was not a lack of financial means causing worries, but negligence on the part of the priests resulting in services being performed without the necessary devotion. Burgomasters and *getijdenmeesters* of Haarlem, therefore, issued another petition on 31 August laying down, among other things, the fines for priests and singers who arrived late to church or missed services altogether.⁷³ The new rules

⁷¹ Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief: Archief van de Kerkvoogdij van de Nederlands-Hervormde Gemeente te Haarlem [no. 1561], inv. no. 472 (*olim* 186), ff. LXXXv–LXXXIv. The petition is published in Huizinga, *Rechtsbronnen der stad Haarlem*, pp. 149–152.

⁷² De Jonge van Ellemeet, ‘Uit de geschiedenis der Haarlemsche St Bavo-kerk’, p. 188. The town of Haarlem supported the *getijdencollege* in later times by using their services on special occasions (*Bouwstenen* 3, pp. 162, 166–167, 173, 175–177, 181).

⁷³ Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief: Archief van de Kerkvoogdij van de Nederlands-Hervormde Gemeente te Haarlem [no. 1561], inv. no. 472 (*olim* 186), ff. LXXXIIIv–LXXXVr. The petition mentions matins, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers and compline. The earlier petition of 27 January 1463 also mentions “VII getijden” and priests celebrating “die zeven getijden”. There is no reason, therefore, to assume with De Klerk (*Haarlems muziekleven*, p. 11, n. 1) that in the early days only matins, vespers and compline were sung by the *getijden* singers.

were severe. Anyone who fell ill or could not attend the service in person for other reasons had to find a competent replacement himself. The priests and singers were reminded that they had to attend all processions on Sundays and holy days on penalty of a fine of half a *Vlaams groot*. One of the articles sets the punishment for not joining services that were usually enriched with polyphony: mass, vespers and *Lof* services. Judging from the wording of the article, it would seem that matins, prime, terce, sext and none were usually performed in chant.

The "Book of expenses of the *getijden*" gives a clear impression of the singers and priests who were employed by the *getijdencollege* in the church of St Bavo during the years 1545–1578.⁷⁴ The choir consisted of a *zangmeester*, one or two singer-priests, an organist,⁷⁵ five to eight adult singers and four to six choirboys.⁷⁶ Among the *zangmeesters* we find in 1538 a certain mr. Jan de Coninck, who later moved to Leiden to accept a similar position in St Peter's in 1540.⁷⁷ In 1546, after four years of service, the Haarlem *zangmeester* Claudin Patoulet, too, left for Leiden to assume the same position in St Peter's church. He may not have been entirely happy in Leiden, for after two years of service he returned to Haarlem. Dirck Evertsz. van der Goude was *zangmeester* in Haarlem from August 1546 until 1 November 1547.⁷⁸ No doubt he, too, found employment elsewhere. He may have left Haarlem for The Hague, where he is found as *zangmeester* of the *getijdencollege* 1557–1566.

The account book of the Haarlem *getijdenmeesters* contains additional interesting information, such as an inventory of all the music books anno 1546.⁷⁹ One can only regret that the descriptions of the twelve choirbooks, among which there were some bulky volumes, are so concise and offer no information regarding the composers of the mass movements, hymns, *Magnificats* and other works. Not much more is known about the book collection of the Haarlem singers. Apparently, the *getijdenmeesters* owned a copy of the *Breviarium insignis ecclesie Traiectensis* that had been

⁷⁴ The contents of this account book were edited and published by Vente in *Bouwstenen* 1, pp. 82–91. It is advisable to use the data published by De Klerk with the greatest caution. The document edited by Vente is currently housed in Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief: Archief van de Kerkvoogdij van de Nederlands-Hervormde Gemeente te Haarlem [no. 1561], inv. no. 491 (*olim* 204).

⁷⁵ On the organists active in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century St Bavo, see Van Nieuwkoop, *Haarlemse orgelkunst*, pp. 351–368.

⁷⁶ *Bouwstenen* 1, p. 83.

⁷⁷ The Haarlem city accounts of 1535 mention a *zangmeester* named Jacob de Coninck (Haarlem, Noord-Hollands Archief: Archief Stadsbestuur van Haarlem [Stadsarchief van Haarlem], 1245–1572 [no. 1573], inv. no. 418 [*olim* 1157], f. 67v; cf. De Klerk, *Haarlems muziekleven*, p. 14). Possibly this Jacob was a relative of Jan de Coninck. On the other hand, the town treasurer may also have simply erred with regard to the *zangmeester's* Christian name. Therefore it cannot be ruled out that the 1535 and 1538 documents refer to one and the same person.

⁷⁸ *Bouwstenen* 1, p. 84.

⁷⁹ See, for a facsimile and an utterly careless transcription of this "Inventarius van alle onse musycke anno 1546", De Klerk, *Haarlems muziekleven*, pp. 8–9. A careful rendering of the document may be found in *Bouwstenen* 1, p. 88.

printed by Jan Seversz. in 1508.⁸⁰ Every now and then the *getijdenmeesters* shared the costs for repairing certain liturgical books with the church masters of St Bavo's.⁸¹

In 1578 the "Haarlem Noon" put an end to the *getijdencollege* in the church of St Bavo. One might argue that this was later than could reasonably be expected. After all, on 1 May 1571 a full chapter had been constituted in this very same church.⁸² Yet the new canons did not push out the *zeven-getijden* singers immediately.⁸³ On the contrary, when Nicolaas van Nieuwland was appointed bishop of the newly created diocese of Haarlem, he promised to respect all rights and uses of the parish church and in November 1573 the *getijdencollege* was offered an independent task in church services.⁸⁴

Gouda

The *zeven-getijdencollege* in the church of St John at Gouda (Plate 5) was founded on 16 June 1453 by Wouter van der Mandre, dean of the church of Our Lady in Bruges and parish priest of Gouda. The foundation letter meticulously describes the way the *getijdencollege* was organized.⁸⁵ Each year the parish priest, or his representative,⁸⁶ and the burgomasters and church masters of Gouda had to choose, by majority, three "sangmeesteren" (i.e. *getijdenmeesters*). Thereupon, these *getijdenmeesters* chose – with the consent of the parish priest, the burgomasters and the

⁸⁰ The copy of this breviary that was owned by the Haarlem *getijdencollege* is now kept in museum Het Catharijneconvent in Utrecht (call number BMH Warm pi 1259E4). On the title page, over the woodcut, it says: "Dit boeck hoort die ghetijden binnen haerlem", and beneath the same woodcut: "Dit bouck hoort toe den getijdenmr. van haerlem". In 1567 the book was presented to the local convent of St Cecilia (Wüstefeld, *Middeleeuwse boeken van Het Catharijneconvent*, p. 72).

⁸¹ Wüstefeld, *De boeken van de Grote of Sint Bavokerk*, pp. 91–92.

⁸² This chapter was not installed in 1559, as is mentioned in De Klerk (*Haarlems muziekleven*, p. 11, n. 1) and Doove ('Zevengetijdencolleges in Holland', p. 222). In 1559 several new dioceses were created. The new organization was confirmed in a papal bull of 12 May, which was ratified by Paul IV on 31 July. The new diocese of Haarlem was first described in the bull *Ex injuncto* of 11 March 1561. In this document St Bavo's is designated as cathedral of the diocese. A chapter was to be composed of canons from Heiloo (Windesheim congregation) and from the collegial church of St Mary at Geervliet. The installation of this new chapter was one of the tasks of Haarlem's first bishop, Nicolaas van Nieuwland. Van Nieuwland was unsuccessful, however, as the canons from both Geervliet and Heiloo revolted against the papal intentions. When Van Nieuwland resigned in 1569, his successor, Govert van Mierlo, carried through and on 1 May 1571 the chapter was finally installed (cf. Decavele, 'Reformatie en begin katholieke restauratie', pp. 181–183; Hensen, *De twee eerste bisschoppen van Haarlem*, pp. 191ff.; Mous, 'Geschiedenis van het voormalig kapittel', pp. 75–97; Nolet, *Kerkelijke instellingen in de Middeleeuwen*, pp. 80–83; Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme*, vol. I, pp. 215–216, 222, 283–286, 294–296).

⁸³ This may be concluded from the fact that the account book of the *getijdenmeesters* was kept in use until 1578.

⁸⁴ Mous, 'Geschiedenis van het voormalig kapittel', pp. 143–144.

⁸⁵ The charter is published in Dessing, 'De zeven getijden in de St. Jans-kerk te Gouda', pp. 209–212; see for Van der Mandre also Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 46.

⁸⁶ As Van der Mandre resided in Bruges and did not fulfil the office of parish priest in Gouda personally, the foundation letter always refers to "the parish priest or his representative".



Plate 5. Undated copper engraving of the church of St John at Gouda.

church masters – as many “notable, honourable, and sufficient priests or clerks” as they needed to have the Hours celebrated on all days “competently, devoutly and respectably” after the ordinance of Utrecht. The priests among the singers were obliged to read, by turns, a daily mass after prime on the high altar for all benefactors of the *getijdencollege*. In case anyone who had donated goods or interests to the *getijdencollege* were to die, all priests and clerks had to pray, for the repose of the soul of the deceased, a vigil of nine lessons. The day after the funeral, instead of the usual low mass on the high altar, there would be a sung Requiem mass with deacon and subdeacon. In front of the choir of the church a black pall was to be spread out on which three burning candles were to be placed. Directly after mass, the priests had to pray a *Miserere*, a *De profundis* and a collect for the deceased.

The parish priest and his chaplain undertook the task of enticing well-to-do citizens to support the *getijdencollege*. All cash revenues were to be invested in rents for sake of the Hours and were safely locked away until that time. The *getijdenmeesters* had to vow that they would faithfully administrate and oversee the revenues of the organization. They furthermore paid the singers’ wages, and each year within the octave of Easter they had to give account of their affairs to the parish priest, burgo-masters and church masters, and to all parishioners.

The parish priest was the *primus inter pares* among the *getijden* singers and received, just like the other singers, his attendance fee unless he had a previous engagement which was unrelated to the choir.⁸⁷ If the *getijdenmeesters* were dissat-

⁸⁷ The attendance fee of the parish priest was a matter of differing opinions between the parish priest and the *getijdenmeesters* of Oudewater (see. p. 42).

isified with any of the priests, clerks or choirboys, they would have to report to the parish priest, who would then try to correct and educate the one who was at fault. If his intervention should prove fruitless, the failing singer was to be dismissed and replaced with a new priest or clerk.

Of course the foundation letter also deals with attendance rules. Both priests and clerks had to be in church “within the first *Gloria patri* of the first psalm” and remain there until the end of the service.⁸⁸ Singers who arrived too late would be found negligent and denied their attendance fee. The final paragraphs of the foundation letter describe the attendance fees in some detail and remind the priests to wear their surplice during the services. Furthermore they mention that the schoolmasters were expected to sing with their pupils first and second vespers and matins on all holy days.

The *getijdencollege* in St John's soon became an established Gouda institution. Citizens supported the canonical hours and some ordered their memorial services from the *getijdenmeesters*. On 24 October 1457 the *getijdenmeesters* accepted a memorial service providing a sung Requiem mass on the Sunday prior to St Martin's translation (4 July).⁸⁹ A supplementary condition obliged the singers to perform *Dum fabricator mundi* every Friday after none. In other towns, too, this antiphon was sung on Friday afternoon, be it on the initiative of private instigators or during the *Lof* service devoted to the Holy Cross.⁹⁰ In Gouda not the Holy Cross, but Our Lady, was celebrated during the Friday *Lof* service. The rather limited attention to the Holy Cross was compensated for in 1489 by a foundation obliging the singers to perform an antiphon and oration in honour of the same prior to the Friday's *Lof* service.⁹¹ A 1466 donation enabled the *getijdenmeesters* to enlarge the choir for the period of a week each year during the octave of *Corpus Christi*, with no fewer than six adult singers and two choirboys.⁹² The town of Gouda also supported the work of the singers. On 27 March 1501, the town government donated the distillery excise to the *getijdenmeesters*, as long as they had a *zangmeester* on their pay list.⁹³

The account book of the *getijdenmeesters* provides us with an interesting survey of singers active in mid-sixteenth-century Gouda (from 1546 to 1554). As in many other towns, numerous foreign singers visited the *getijdenmeesters* in search of a

⁸⁸ Apparently this was a commonly accepted rule. Both the Haarlem stipulation of 1507 and the foundation letter from Delft specify that singers had to be present before the end of the first psalm. The same rule is also explicitly mentioned in the founding charter of the *getijden* in the church of St James in Bruges (cf. Declerck, 'Commuun en Zeven Getijden in de Brugse parochiekerken', p. 160; see also Platelle, 'La vie paroissiale vers 1455', p. 397).

⁸⁹ Dessing, 'De zeven getijden in de St. Jans-kerk te Gouda', pp. 153–155, 213–214.

⁹⁰ The antiphon was sung on Fridays on the initiative of private founders in Leiden (church of Our Lady, 1503; St Peter's, 1511) and in Amsterdam (Nieuwe Kerk, 1515). For more information on the *Lof* of the Holy Cross, see Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland*, pp. 381–382.

⁹¹ Dessing, 'De zeven getijden in de St. Jans-kerk te Gouda', pp. 157–158, 215–216.

⁹² Ibid., p. 155.

⁹³ Rollin Couquerque, *Rechtsbronnen der stad Gouda*, p. 498; Dessing, 'De zeven getijden in de St. Jans-kerk te Gouda', p. 158.