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MUSIC AND MUSICIANS AT THE GUILD OF OUR LADY IN BERGEN OP ZOOM, C. 1470–1510*

Marian guilds and confraternities proliferated in fifteenth-century Brabant. They gave expression to the pride, devoutness and community spirit of the urban middle classes. Their chapels were invested with all the riches their members could afford: altarpieces, stained-glass windows, painted statues, silk and velvet cloth, gold and silverware, and other expensive ornaments. But the jewel in the crown for every confraternity was polyphony. Prestigious Marian confraternities such as those at 's-Hertogenbosch, Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp were among the major musical establishments of the Low Countries.¹ They employed some of the best-known composers

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In order to facilitate comparison, all prices in non-Brabant currencies and in Brabant pounds and shillings are converted into Brabant groats in the English translations and in Appendix 2. Unless specified otherwise, 'groat' means 'Brabant groat'. The following coins are mentioned in the Middle Dutch texts: Brabant pound (lb.) = 12 scellingen (sc.) = 240 Brabant groats (gr./den.); braspenning (brasp.) = 3.75 groats; stuver (st.) = 3 groats; oortken = 0.75 groat.

In the footnotes the following abbreviations are used:

BOZ City Archive, Bergen op Zoom

SA Stadsarchief (Archive of the City of Bergen op Zoom), containing:

SR Stadsrekeningen (City accounts)

OLV Rekeningen van het Onze Lieve Vrouwe Gilde (Accounts of the Guild of Our Lady)

R Rechterlijk archief (Judicial archive)

ARR Archief van de Raad en Rekenkamer van de Markiezen van Bergen op Zoom (Archive of the Council and Audit Chamber of the Marquises of Bergen op Zoom) (transferred in 1949 from the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, where it was stored in the Eerste afdeling, Commissie van Breda)

¹ For music at Antwerp, see J. du Saar, *Het leven en de composities van Jacobus Barbireau* (Utrecht, 1946), pp. 5–21; J. Van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'De koralen, de zangers en de zangmeesters van de Antwerpse O.-L.-Vrouwekerk tijdens de 15e eeuw', *Gouden jubileum*

of their time: Jacob Obrecht, Pierre de la Rue, Johannes Ghiselin, Jacobus Barbireau, Matthaëus Pipelare, Nicasius and Jheronimus de Clibano, Paulus de Roda and Hermannus de Atrio.² Other Marian confraternities in Brabant are also known to have cultivated polyphony, though probably on a lesser scale, for instance Brussels and Diest.³ And many town archives in the Netherlands and

gedenboek van de viering van 50 jaar heropgericht knapenkor van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekatedraal te Antwerpen (Antwerp, 1978), pp. 29–72; K. K. Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp', *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), pp. 1–57. The pay records of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch provide a wealth of information on music and musical life in this establishment, and were published in transcription by W. F. H. Oldewelt, *Rekeningen van de Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap (1330–1375)* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1925); A. Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Amsterdam, 1932), covering the period 1330–1500; A. Smijers, 'De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, 15 (1935), pp. 1–105 [covering the period 1500–25]; 16 (1946), pp. 63–106 [1525–35] and 216 [1460–1]; 17 (1955), pp. 195–230 [1535–41]; M. A. Vente, 'De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 19 (1960–3), pp. 32–43 and 163–72. For general discussions on music at the confraternity in 's-Hertogenbosch, see A. Smijers, 'Meerstemmige muziek van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1541–1615', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, 16 (1946), pp. 1–30; G. C. M. van Dijck, *De Bossche optimaten: Geschiedenis van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwebroederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1318–1973*, Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het Zuiden van Nederland 27 (Tilburg, 1973), pp. 51–3, 106–12 and 146–62. For music at the Confraternity of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom, see A. Piscaer, 'De zangers van het Onze Lieve Vrouwe Gilde te Bergen op Zoom', *Land van mijn hart*, ed. L. G. J. Verberne and A. Weynen (Tilburg, 1952), pp. 70–81; K. (C. J. F.) Sloomans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw van Bergen op Zoom', [*Jaarboek van de Oudheidkundige kring 'De Ghulden Roos'*, Roosendaal, 24 (1964), pp. 20–48; 25 (1965), pp. 193–233; 26 (1966), pp. 161–84.

² For Jacob Obrecht, Johannes Ghiselin and Paulus de Roda, see below. For Jheronimus and Nicasius de Clibano, see Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, pp. 116–56; R. Woodley, 'Johannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), p. 230; R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 50 and 183; Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage', pp. 37–8. For Hermannus de Atrio, who worked in 's-Hertogenbosch from 1493–4 to 1513–14, see R. Lohan, 'Hermannus de Atrio', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980), viii, p. 509, and F. A. D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), pp. 343–5 (perhaps related to the singers Jaspar de Atrio of Bruges and Johannes de Atrio of Rheims: see Strohm *op. cit.*, p. 182, and A. Pirro, 'Obrecht à Cambrai', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, 12 (1927), p. 80). For Jacobus Barbireau, see du Saar, *op. cit.*, Van den Nieuwenhuizen, *op. cit.*, Forney, *op. cit.*, and E. Kooiman, 'The Biography of Jacob Barbireau (1455–1491) Reviewed', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 38 (1988), pp. 36–58. Pierre de la Rue worked in 's-Hertogenbosch 1489/90–1491/2; see Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, pp. 187–92 ('heer Peteren van Straten ons tenorist'). Matthaëus Pipelare worked in Antwerp and was *sangmeester* in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1498–1500 (see Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, pp. 206–14). The priest Symon Britonis who worked as a 'bovensenger' in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1482–3 and 1483–4 (*ibid.*) is not to be identified with the singer and composer Simon le Breton, since the latter died in 1473 (cf. D. Fallows, 'Simon', *The New Grove Dictionary*, xvii, pp. 323–4).

³ For Brussels, see B. Haggh, 'Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500'

Belgium must possess documentation on the use of polyphony in still other guilds and confraternities.

Contacts and cross-influences between the musical establishments of Brabant were close and frequent. The pay records of Antwerp, 's-Hertogenbosch and Bergen op Zoom, for instance, tell us repeatedly of reciprocal visits of singers and choirmasters, exchanges of repertory, and mutual assistance in the recruitment of musicians. Moreover, singers moved easily from one confraternity to another: the associations were, after all, identical with respect to organisation, sources of income and musico-liturgical practice. Musical life in Brabant was homogeneous and closely integrated. It thus provides a good basis for direct comparisons between different centres.

Such comparisons are important for two reasons. First, they may help us to explain the extraordinary mobility of fifteenth-century musicians, who drifted freely in and out of various institutions, 'living from day to day like the birds on the branches', as one contemporary put it.⁴ The key to that phenomenon must surely lie in the recruitment policy and patronage exerted by the musical centres,⁵ which brings us to the second reason. The relative status and importance of centres depended on the funds they could extract to carry out an effective recruitment policy. Competition was fierce; good singers were easily cajoled into working elsewhere. But how did the confraternities spend their money? Were the richest establishments also the most successful ones? To answer these and similar questions one must make precisely the sorts of comparison that musical life in Brabant affords.

The Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom highlights many of the problems of patronage that musical centres in Brabant had to face. Founded as a minor musical establishment in 1470, it developed

(Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988). I am indebted to Prof. Haggh for sending me the portions of her thesis that are relevant to Bergen op Zoom. The payment records of 1498–9 of the confraternity at 's-Hertogenbosch mention 'the choirmaster of Diest, two choristers and another priest, also a singer' ('[den] sangmeester van Diest, twee coralen ende enen anderen her, oic senger') who had come from Diest; see Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, p. 209.

⁴ This was Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara in a letter of 1476, see D. Fallows, 'The Contenance angloise: English Influence on Continental Composers of the Fifteenth Century', *Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1987), p. 189.

⁵ See, for instance, C. Wright, 'Antoine Brumel and Patronage at Paris', *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 55–6.

within three decades into an institution of international stature, challenging even the ducal chapel of Philip the Fair. How was the guild able to achieve such prominence so rapidly? Financial data derived from its pay records, if compared with those of other Brabant confraternities, may help to answer that question. The guild of Bergen op Zoom is interesting also because of its importance for Jacob Obrecht. Obrecht's international reputation rose rapidly in the 1480s and 1490s, culminating in his appointment as *maestro di cappella* at the court of Ferrara. His career, and the development of the Bergen op Zoom guild, went their own independent ways but intersected three times. The different terms under which the composer was employed each time tell us as much about him as they do about the guild.

This article describes the foundation and early development of the Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom as a musical institution, and re-examines Obrecht's association with the guild. The first and third sections deal with musical life during the periods 1470–94 and 1494–1510; the second concerns Obrecht's relationship with Bergen op Zoom.

THE CREATION OF A MUSICAL CENTRE UNDER
JOHN II OF GLYMES: 1470–1494

On several counts one would not expect Bergen op Zoom to have developed into an important musical centre in the late fifteenth century. In 1496 the town numbered only about 8000 inhabitants, against around 16,000 inhabitants in 's-Hertogenbosch and some 30,000 in Antwerp. It possessed only four religious establishments, the parish church of St Gertrude and three monasteries, whereas 's-Hertogenbosch counted, apart from the parish church of St John, eighteen monasteries and twelve chapels, and Antwerp could boast forty-two ecclesiastical institutions, five of which were parish churches.

Yet Bergen op Zoom, strategically placed outside the Scheldt estuary, became increasingly prosperous in the course of the fifteenth century thanks to the international fairs that were held there each year, around Easter and the feast of St Martin (11 November).⁶

⁶ C. J. F. Sloomans, *Paas- en Koudemarkten te Bergen op Zoom, 1365–1565*, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van het Zuiden van Nederland* 64 (Tilburg, 1985), 3 vols.

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Already in the fourteenth century the lords of Bergen op Zoom had bargained with other feudal overlords to secure safe-conducts for merchants attending the fairs. Consequently Bergen op Zoom became an important meeting-place for merchants from all over the Low Countries, Germany, northern France, Scotland and England.⁷

In the fifteenth century, the increasing revenues from the fairs enabled John II of Glymes (1417–94), lord of Bergen op Zoom, to carry out an extensive rebuilding programme in the parish church of St Gertrude – lasting from 1443 to 1470. The relations between the lords of Bergen op Zoom and St Gertrude's during the fifteenth century were very close, though not always without considerable friction. It was with the financial support of the lord and the city of Bergen op Zoom that St Gertrude's had been raised to the dignity of a collegiate church in 1428 (formally ratified by Pope Eugenius IV on 7 July 1442). In return John and his successors acquired the right of patronage over the church, and the chapter had to render account to him and the city for its financial management.⁸ John II was prepared to pay considerable sums of money in order to enhance the prestige of 'his' church. Plans to expand the fourteenth-century building date back to as early as 1443, when the Antwerp master builder Evert van der Veeweyden, *alias* Spoorwater, was commissioned to design a new choir aisle. The first stone of this aisle was laid in the same year.⁹ However, when the church was severely damaged in the city fire of 1444, Spoorwater made a design for a much larger building, containing transepts, aisles and radiating chapels, which was erected under his supervision during the following twenty-six years (see Figure 1). As part of this extensive rebuilding, a chapel of the Holy Virgin was constructed at the north side of the choir, presumably in the 1460s.¹⁰ After the church was completed, in 1470, it was further enriched

⁷ It is interesting to note that Bergen op Zoom was also visited by William Caxton in the early 1470s. In the City Accounts of 1474–5 (BOZ SA 245.2), I have found a payment to 'meester William Caxton, as delegate of the King of England' ('meester Willeme Kaxton als gecommiteerde vanden Coninge van Ingelant'; fol. 70^r, January or February 1475) and in the City Accounts of 1475–6 again to 'William Caxton and other delegates of the King of England' ('Willeme Caxtone ende anderen gedeputeerden vanden coninge van Ingelant'; BOZ SA 245.3, fol. 123^v, 8 April 1475).

⁸ C. J. F. Slootmans, *Jan metten Lippen, zijn familie en zijn stad: Een geschiedenis der Bergen-op-Zoomsche heeren van Glymes* (Rotterdam, 1945), pp. 14–15, 87–9.

⁹ R. de Kind, 'De plaats van de Sint-Gertrudiskerk in het werk van Evert Spoorwater', *Bergen op Zoom gebouwd en beschouwd* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1987), pp. 138–57.

¹⁰ Slootmans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw' (1964), pp. 21 and 34 n. 9.

with a large organ (built by Daniel van der Distelen of Mechlin), lofts and choir stalls, all of which were finished by 1477.¹¹

There can be little doubt that it was an integral part of John II's plans to provide funds for polyphony. It is certain that there was already an ensemble comprising at least one adult master and a group of boys by the late 1460s, when the new building was nearing its completion. Unfortunately, we possess almost no documentation on the cultivation of polyphonic music prior to 1470; this is mainly because no city accounts from the period 1452–70 survive and the accounts of the church itself all seem to be lost.¹² The earliest surviving reference to the cultivation of polyphony in Bergen op Zoom comes from a letter by the local schoolmaster Jan van den Veren, dated September 1465, in which he offers his position to an unnamed colleague working at St Gilles in Bruges. The letter is interesting because it provides an insight into the incentives for fifteenth-century scholars and clergymen to seek employment elsewhere.¹³

Besides, the [schoolmaster's] income from the choir is estimated at over 480 groats, and, as concerns the singing, you will be in charge only of Gregorian chant, even though you are familiar with the Boethian formulas. Discant and the scales will be taught by somebody else, who adorns the choir with his art [i.e. the choirmaster]. You will marvel at the state and the ceremonies of the church of Bergen. Everywhere you will find the place agreeable, both inside and out (as you perhaps well know). There are two markets, one in the winter and one around Easter, both drawing huge numbers of merchants. Many people from Bruges often come to Bergen and *vice versa*. The passage is easy, both inwards and outwards, and there are

¹¹ See M. A. Vente, *Bouwstoffen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse orgel in de 16e eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1942).

¹² For what is left of the chapter accounts, see M. A. Vente and C. Vlam, eds., *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, 4 vols., II (Amsterdam, 1971), pp. 49–50 (covering the periods 1510/11–1518/19 and 1560/1–1569/70).

¹³ 'Preterea accidentia in choro pluris quam duabis libris grossis estimantur, neque aliquid onus cantus nisi gregoriani tibi dabitur, tametsi boeticus modulos nosti. Discantui et cōklibus docendis alius preest qui chorum sua arte decorat. Statum autem et cerimonias ecclesie Bergensis tute miraberis. Locum per omnia amenum intus et foris sicut forte bene nosti offendes. Bine apud nos nundine sunt: une hiemales, altere paschalis, mercatorum confluxus non modicus. Multi multotiens Brugenses Bergis adveniunt et e contra. Facilis ultro citroque transitus est, navium copia non deest, si fortassis navigandum tibi foret vel navigio aliquid aut adducendum aut reducendum. Denique de annona aut penu quid scribam? Omnia parvo emuntur.'; G. G. Meersseman, 'L'épistolaire de Jean van den Veren et le début de l'humanisme en Flandre', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 19 (1970), pp. 179–80. (I am indebted to Reinhard Strohm for drawing my attention to this letter, and to Eddie Vetter for helping me with the interpretation of the Latin text.)

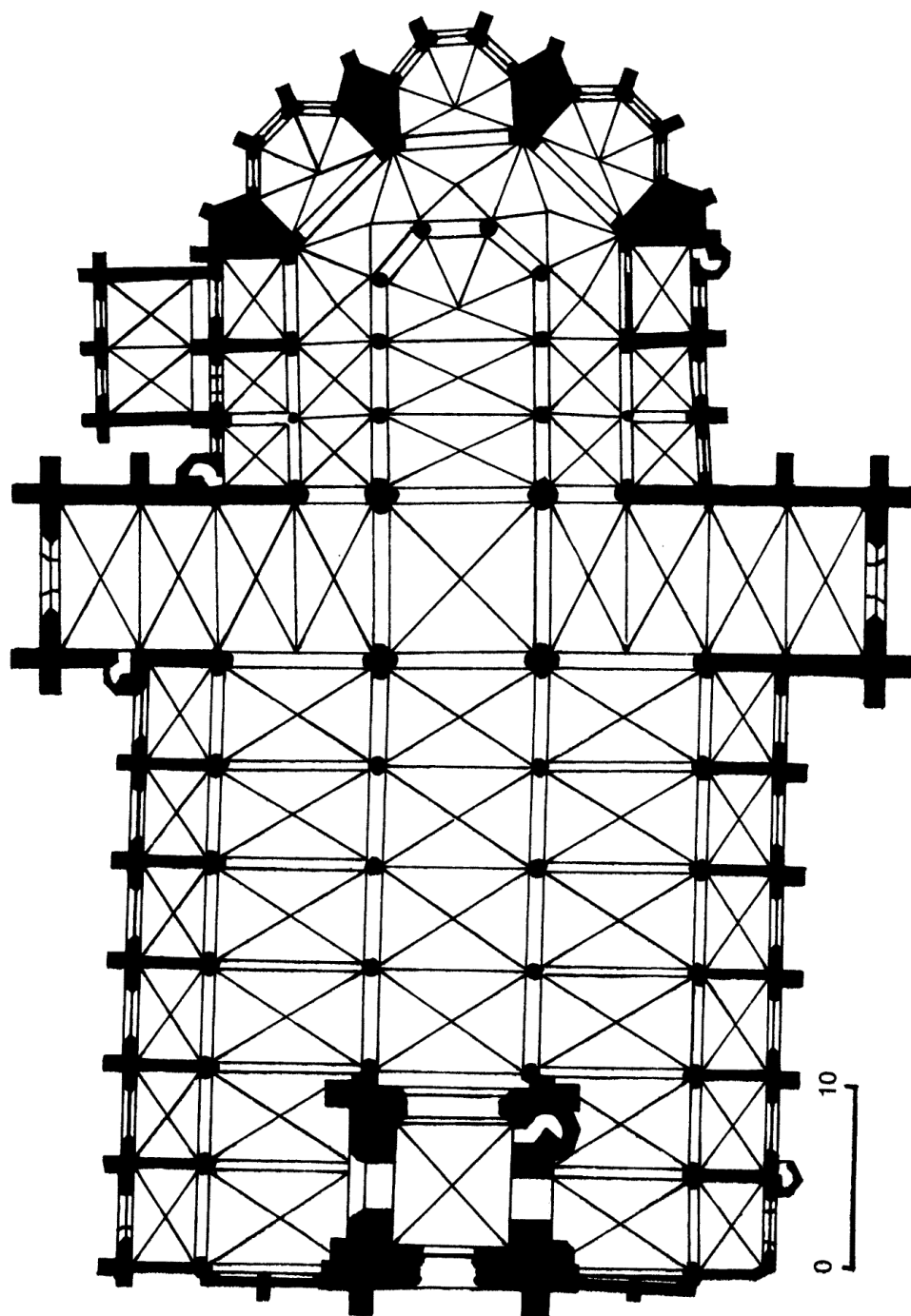


Figure 1 The church of St Gertrude in Bergen op Zoom in the later fifteenth century (based on R. de Kind, 'De plaats van de Sint-Gertrudiskerk in het werk van Evert Spoorwater', *Bergen op Zoom gebouwd en beschouwd* [Alphen aan den Rijn, 1987], pp. 140–1). The Chapel of Our Lady was sited presumably at the north side of the choir.

many ships (in case you have to travel, or to forward something by boat). What should I finally write about food and provisions? Everything is cheap.

From legal documents we know that as early as 1467 a *meester* Willem [de] Brouwer *alias* Scotelaer was 'sancmeester inder kerken van berghen' (choirmaster in the church of Bergen) and 'voight vanden chorailen' (guardian of the choristers).¹⁴ There is no evidence that adult singers were employed at St Gertrude's prior to 1470. The choirmaster, Willem de Brouwer, may be the composer of the Middle Dutch song *So lanc so meer* in El Escorial, Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS IV.a.24 (c. 1470), which is attributed in this source to 'W. Braxatoris', a Latin corruption of the French word for 'brouwer' (=brewer), 'brassart'.¹⁵ No compositions seem to have survived under his sobriquet Scotelaer. By 1486 his wife, Margriet vanden Ghoir, is mentioned as a widow in legal documents of Bergen op Zoom.¹⁶ Willem de Brouwer died presumably before 1480, for by this year his position had been taken over by Jacob Obrecht.

From 1470 onwards, the accounts of the town council of Bergen op Zoom survive, and they give specific information on the services sponsored by the city. We learn that there was a trade guild of St Anthony in Bergen op Zoom, which celebrated the feast-day of the saint (17 January) with an annual procession followed by a banquet at the town hall. As part of the festivities, a polyphonic Mass was sung at the altar of St Anthony in the church of Bergen op Zoom. One of the more specific descriptions of this service is to be found in the city accounts for 1472–3:¹⁷

¹⁴ Sloomans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw' (1965), p. 213 n. 7. The documents are: BOZ R 285 fol. 125^r (16 June 1467), R 285 fol. 165^r (18 February 1468), and R 214 fol. 57^v (2 March 1470).

¹⁵ Edited in: P. Gülke, ed., *Johannes Pullois: opera omnia*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 41 (n.p., 1967), p. 43; M. K. Hanen, ed., *The Chansonier El Escorial IV. a. 24*, 3 vols. (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen, 1983), III, pp. 382–4 (see also I, pp. 94–5). The chanson is ascribed to Jean Pullois in Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, MS 90, fol. 344^v (*So lang si mir in meinem synn*). For the identification of 'Braxator[is]' as 'Brauwere', see Strohmer, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 137. See also the accounts for 1450 of the Burgundian chapel, where Johannes Brevere is called 'dit Brassatoris' (J. Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon* (Strasbourg, 1939), p. 250).

¹⁶ BOZ R 301, fol. 44^r (11 May 1486).

¹⁷ 'Vander missen op sente anthonis dach te solempniseren met discante, welke misse in sente anthonis choir voer de hootmisse gedaen waert; betailt den priestere die de misse celebreeerde: vj groten; meestere willeme den sanghmeester met sijnen choralen: xvij groten; den organist metten blaser vij½ groten. Van luydene xvij groten mitgaders der stad pijpers voir sente anthonis spelen xij groten, maict tsamen v sc. j½ den.br.'; BOZ SA 244 (SR 1472–3), fol. 39^v.

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For celebrating the Mass on St Anthony's day with polyphony, which Mass was done in the chapel of St Anthony before High Mass; paid to the priest who celebrated the Mass: 6 groats; to *meester* Willeme the choirmaster with his choristers: 18 groats; to the organist with the bellows pumper: 7.5 groats; for the ringing [of the church bells]: 18 groats; and to the city pipers for the plays of St Anthony: 12 groats; together: 61.5 groats.

A few years later it became customary to celebrate all services on St Anthony's day with polyphony; these latter services, too, were financed by the city of Bergen op Zoom. One may assume that similar celebrations of the other major feast-days were financed by the chapter of St Gertrude's: this is certainly true of the feast of the Finding of the Cross (3 May, the high point of the liturgical year in Bergen op Zoom), Christmas and Easter, and very probably also of the six Marian feasts.

An important musical establishment was created when John of Glymes and the city council of Bergen op Zoom founded the Guild of Our Lady, in or shortly before 1470. This guild was based in the Chapel of the Holy Virgin, which had just been completed. In the chapel was erected a richly decorated statue of Mary, which was venerated by the members of the guild and very probably also by the citizens of Bergen op Zoom. The statue was carried in procession each year on 'ommeganck dach' or 'processie dach' (*litaniis maior*, 23 April; Holy Cross procession, 3 May), and on the feast of the Assumption (15 August). The number of (lay) members of the guild fluctuated between about 750 and 1100. Their entrance fees, gifts and bequests (often estates and immovables, which yielded annual levies and interests) were an important source of income for the guild.¹⁸

On 24 December 1470, a daily polyphonic *Lof* service in the Chapel of Our Lady was established in the following ordinance (cf. Appendix 1):

Concerning the *Lof* of Our Lady, and how much the choirmaster and the singers etc. shall receive.

Anno [14]70, on the 24th day of December, [was] commissioned and decreed concerning the foundation and the observance of the *Lof* of Our Lady and all that pertains to it, by my dear lord of Bergen, [in his capacity as] head of the Guild of Our Lady in the church of Bergen, [with] the burgomaster and the aldermen:

¹⁸ Sloodmans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw' (1966), pp. 161–3.



Figure 2 Map of Bergen op Zoom in the early sixteenth century; from Guicciardini, *Beschrijvinghe der gantser Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 1618) (Bergen op Zoom, City Archive)

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[1] First, that *meester Willem de sanckmeester* will from now on be obliged to come to the church every evening and sing the *Lof* of Our Lady with the children, for which he shall receive six rheinguldens for his own part, and four rheinguldens for the children, each [rheingulden] equalling twenty stivers [=60 groats].

[2] Also he will be obliged to divide and distribute among his fellow singers the *loten* [tokens]; each [singer] shall be given a *loot* representing the appointed fee at which the rulers of the same guild desire him [to sing].

[3] *Item*, the *opperste tenoriste* [highest tenor] shall receive, for each time he appears at this same *Lof*, one groat; and each of the other singers – up to the maximum of five [singers] agreed by the chapter [of St Gertrude's] – [shall receive], for each time he appears, one *oortken* [=0.75 groat].

[4] And for this [reward], all the aforementioned persons will be obliged to sing at all the Masses of Our Lady, at the same rate of payment as each receives for the *Lof* in the evening.

[5] *Item*, certain *loten* will be made and [on each *loot*] shall be written the appointed value of the coins that each [singer] earns for his service; the rulers are obliged to take over the *loten* from the singers four times per year, and then to pay each his due.

[6] *Item*, my lord had consented that his followers will pay one *loot* of one *oortken* to each of the choirmasters coming from elsewhere for each time they come and sing the *Lof* of Our Lady; and the rulers will immediately exchange this same [*loot*] for money . . .

[8] *Item*, the lords of the chapter [of St Gertrude's] have consented and declared that they shall have the bells rung [every] evening after the *Lof*, without charging [the Guild of] Our Lady for this.

The *Lof* or *Salve* was a non-liturgical, devotional service usually held after Vespers or Compline. It featured the singing of antiphons and hymns (often accompanied by, or alternating with, the organ), the saying of prayers, and the ringing of church bells. The *Lof* enjoyed great popularity in the Low Countries, particularly with the lay confraternities. The services could be simple or as elaborate as the funds of the confraternities allowed, ranging from modest devotional meetings that did not involve polyphony to splendid and sumptuous 'concerts' for the musical entertainment of citizens and visitors. The foundation document of the *Lof* service in Bergen op Zoom indicates that a regular polyphonic practice had been established by 1470. This must obviously have raised the prestige of the guild; yet a comparison with the foundation document of the *Lof* service at the Confraternity of Our Lady in Antwerp (1479)¹⁹ indicates that

¹⁹ Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage', pp. 10 and 52–4.

Table 1 *Budgets reserved for polyphony in the foundation documents of the Lof services at the Guilds of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp*

Employees	Bergen op Zoom (1470) 365 <i>Loven</i> +6 Marian Masses	Antwerp (1479) ^a 365 <i>Loven</i>
Priests	—	720
		720
Choirmaster	360	960
Choristers	240	480
Singers	371 (<i>opperste tenoriste</i>)	365
	278.25	365
	278.25	365
	278.25	365
	278.25	
	278.25	
Organist	—	960
Bellringer	—	480
Carillonneur	—	360
Total	2362.25	6140

^aBased on K. K. Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp', *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), pp.10 and 52-4.

the budget reserved for polyphonic music was still rather modest (Table 1).

Although in Bergen op Zoom the choir consisted of six adult singers (as against four in Antwerp; excluding the choirmaster), there was as yet no priest or organist involved in the services (an organ was built in St Gertrude's only in 1472-7). Moreover, the musicians' fees were generally lower than those in Antwerp: in Bergen op Zoom only the highest tenor (*opperste tenoriste*) received the same salary as his colleagues in Antwerp: one groat per *loot*; his fellow singers had to content themselves with *loten* of 0.75 groat. And the *sangmeester* of Bergen op Zoom was salaried very poorly indeed, compared with his colleague in Antwerp. For his services he received an annual stipend of only 360 groats (as against 960 in Antwerp), while his duties included more: in addition to the *Lof* he was obliged to sing at Mass on each of the six Marian feasts of the liturgical year.

In comparison with the wealthy confraternity of 's-Hertogenbosch, where there had been a continuous polyphonic tradition from

the fourteenth century onwards, both Antwerp and Bergen op Zoom were low-budget establishments: in 1470–1 the annual salary of even the lowest-paid singer at 's-Hertogenbosch was 13 rheinguldens (780 groats), about twice as much as that of his colleagues in the other two establishments.²⁰ Around 1470, the budget reserved for musicians' salaries in 's-Hertogenbosch was about 10,000 groats.

In such circumstances it must have been extremely difficult for the Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom to attract and to keep singers of sufficient quality.²¹ However, thanks to the patronage of John of Glymes, this situation was soon to change radically. On 31 December 1474 the lord of Bergen op Zoom and the city government renounced their right to levy stallage at the twice-yearly Bergen op Zoom fairs to the Guild of Our Lady.²² Through this generous gesture, the annual revenues of the guild nearly doubled, with an increase of over 15,000 groats. The dean and jurors of the guild were obliged to submit each year on the Feast of the Assumption (15 August) a detailed account of their receipts and expenditure, which was then to be approved by the lord and the city government. From 1480–1 onwards, virtually all these accounts survive.²³ Fortunately they are itemised, and in each one of them there is a separate section listing the expenditure on the polyphonic services.

A brief glance at the accounts of the first two decades (see

²⁰ This was heer Mathijs van Bergen, apparently a native of Bergen op Zoom; see Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, p. 144 (accounts of 1470–1).

²¹ One reference to the payment of singers, in 1472–3, is in the accounts of the steward of the territory of Bergen op Zoom (BOZ ARR 648.3, fol. 23^v): 'Item at the command of my lord [to] the countess's son [?] for singing the *Lof* of Our Lady, paid for the *loten* he had earned, 114 groats; and to the other singers from elsewhere to whom my dear lord himself gives the *loten*, paid in the last year 33 groats' ('Item ten bevelen mijns heeren gravinnen soen van onser liever vrouwen loeve te singene na tloet dat hij gewonnen hadde betaelt ix sc. vij den.br. / den anderen sangers van buytten dien mijn lief heer tloet selve doet geven ende betaelt bynnen desen jaer betaelt noch. betaelt ij sc. ix den.gr.br.'). F. Caland, 'Bergen op Zoom van 1412 tot 1613 (plus 1716)', *Bouwsteenen: Jaarboek der Vereniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, 2 (1872–4), pp. 189–93, a collection of extracts from the Bergen op Zoom city accounts, includes one from the now lost accounts of 1471–2; 'Paid to meester Willem the choirmaster with his choristers, 18 groats; to the organist with the bellows pumper, and Jan van Oudenhoven, the cantor, 7.5 groats' ('Bet. mr. Willem de sangmeestere met sijnen choralen xvij gr.; de orghaniste metten blasere ende Jan van Oudenhoven den cantoer, vij½ gr.', p. 190). Jan van Oudenhoven was still active as a singer in 1474–5, when he was inscribed as a member of the Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch: 'Item heer Jan van Andehoven, canonic ende senger te Bergen opten Zoeme'; Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, p. 155).

²² Sloodmans, *Paas- en Koudemarkten*, 1, pp. 272–3. The ordinance of 31 December 1474 is transcribed in Sloodmans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw' (1964), p. 43.

²³ BOZ SA, inv. nos. 861.1–861.89 (OLV, covering the period 1480/1–1575/6; accounts of 1484–5, 1497–8, 1508/9–1510/11, 1512–13, 1532–3, and 1545–6 are missing).

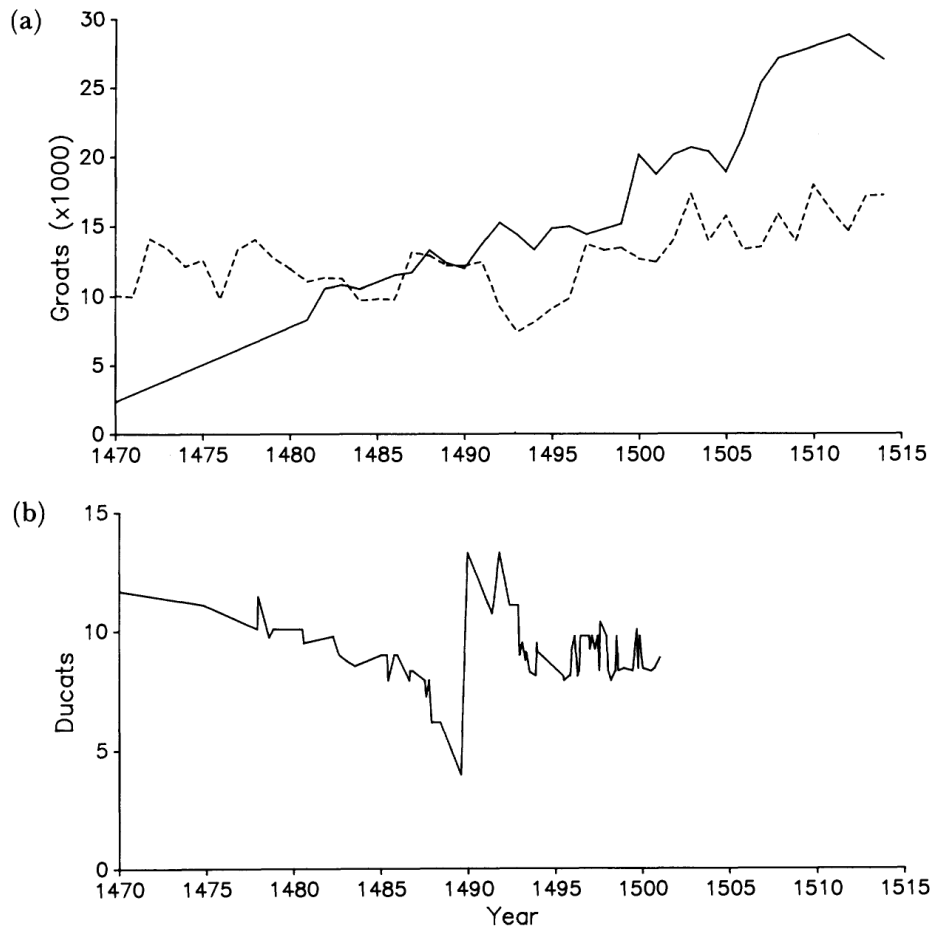


Figure 3 (a) Expenditure on musicians' salaries at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom (solid line) and the Illustrious Confraternity in 's-Hertogenbosch (broken line) during the period 1470–1515 (in thousands of Brabant groats). Figures for 's-Hertogenbosch are based on A. Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Amsterdam, 1932), and A. Smijers, 'De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch', *Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, 15 (1935), pp. 1–105. (b) Relative value of the Brabant groat (indicated in numbers of Venetian ducats that could be purchased with 1000 Brabant groats), based on P. Spufford, with W. Wilkinson and S. Tolley, eds., *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 13 (London, 1986), pp. 217–23 (see n. 24).

Appendix 2) is sufficient to show that much had changed since 1470. By 1480–1, expenditure on music had increased by a factor of approximately 3.5 in relation to the budget estimated in the ordinance of 1470; in the next years this figure rose quickly to about 4.5 (1481–2 and 1482–3), 5 (1486–7), 5.5 (1487–8) and 6 (1491–2) (see the solid line in Figure 3a).

Naturally, such figures need interpreting with caution, particu-

larly in view of the sharp inflation which the Brabant groat suffered during the late fifteenth century. Yet the funds for the polyphonic services were increasing in real terms. Figure 3b indicates the relative value of the groat in Venetian ducats (one of Europe's most stable currencies; it was struck from pure gold).²⁴ The groat devalued considerably in the 1470s and 1480s, until Maximilian of Habsburg took deliberate measures to curb the inflation in his ordinance of Christmas Eve 1489.²⁵ After 1489, however, the groat still kept devaluing. The abrupt adjustment of the exchange rate in 1489 is not in any way reflected in the line representing the expenditure on music at Bergen op Zoom. The reason for this is that the salaries of musicians remained stable nominally; that is, the musicians kept rendering the same services for the same nominal amount of money, regardless of spending power. This is illustrated by the account of the Guild of Our Lady of 1489–90. This account consists of two sections, divided by the date of Maximilian's ordinance of 1489: one section 'in lichten ghelde' (devalued money, running from 15 August to 24 December 1489) and one 'in zwaren ghelde' (revalued money, running from 25 December 1489 to 15 August 1490).²⁶ In spite of the revaluation, the musicians received the same amount of groats for each *loot* both before and after the ordinance. Thus the inflation affected the standard of living of the musicians, but not the quality of the polyphonic services.²⁷

²⁴ Based on P. Spufford, with W. Wilkinson and S. Tolley, eds., *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 13 (London, 1986), pp. 217–23, where the values of the Venetian ducat are given in Flemish groats for the period 1370–1500. After the unification of the coinages of the Burgundian Netherlands in 1433–5 the Brabant groat was tied to the Flemish groat in a fixed relationship of 3 Brabant groats=2 Flemish groats. Hence, in order to arrive at the values in Figure 3b, all values in the *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, pp. 222–3, have been multiplied by 1.5. The expenditure on music in 's-Hertogenbosch (Figure 3b), which is recorded in the accounts in rheingulden, has been converted into Brabant currency at the fixed rate of 1 rheingulden=60 Brabant groats. Although by 1467 the rheingulden had officially become worth 63 Brabant groats, and by 1488 135 Brabant groats, 'gulden' still remained in use, into the sixteenth century, as the name of the pound of 40 Flemish groats (=60 Brabant groats), and it was treated as such in the accounts of both Bergen op Zoom and 's-Hertogenbosch.

²⁵ In his ordinance of 1489, Maximilian ordered new groats, stivers etc. to be struck whose intrinsic value (silver content) was three times that of the old ones (which had greatly devalued mainly as a result of Maximilian's own debasements in the 1480s). The silver content of the Brabant groat at once nearly trebled, from c. 0.167 to 0.499 grammes (cf. E. Scholliers, *Loonarbeid en honger: De levensstandaard in de xve en xvie eeuw te Antwerpen* (Antwerp, 1960), pp. 221–2) and so did its value expressed in Venetian ducats (see Figure 3b).

²⁶ The accounts of 1489–90 of the Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch are also divided into two sections, corresponding to the different values of the coinage, cf. Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, pp. 187–9.

²⁷ The effects of inflation (and revaluation) were of course particularly felt in the prices of

The broken line in Figure 3a represents the annual expenditure on musicians' salaries at the Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch. It shows that Bergen op Zoom was overtaking 's-Hertogenbosch's position as the best-funded musical establishment of Brabant by 1490. Unfortunately, the accounts of the Guild of Our Lady at Antwerp are not structured in such a way as to allow us to establish the total annual expenditure on music. However, several indications in these accounts suggest that, financially speaking, Antwerp lagged far behind the other two cities.

As already indicated, the cause for Bergen op Zoom's spectacular rise as a musical centre in the 1480s and 1490s lies in the revenues from the twice-yearly fairs. Between 1480 and 1498 these revenues nearly doubled; they then remained stable until 1530, when economic decline set in as a result of the severe floodings of Zuid Beveland.²⁸ As Figure 3a shows, the expenditure on music at the Guild of Our Lady also nearly doubled between 1480 and 1498. After 1494 the guild was able to pay quite substantial salaries to some of its musicians, as will be discussed later.

For the first seven years after 1480–1 the accounts of the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom record only the total sum paid to each singer and in most cases also the monetary value of the *loten*. On the basis of these data the number of *loten* cashed by each singer can be easily reconstructed; from 1491–2 onwards, this number is always specified in the accounts. The nominal monetary value of the *loten* under John II of Glymes ranged from 1 to 3.75 groats. It is obvious that by differentiating between the fees of singers – no doubt in appreciation of their artistic competence – the guild was able to attract some of the finest composers and singers of Brabant and the surrounding area. Indeed, from an analysis of the accounts from the period 1480/1–1493/4 it appears that the main cause for the steady increase in spending on music (apart from pay rises) lies in recruitment policy: when new singers were employed, they were generally appointed at higher fees than their predecessors who had left the previous year.²⁹ This indicates that there was a deliberate effort to

goods imported from countries with strong, stable currencies, especially Italy. However, the standard of living was also falling in general in Brabant after c. 1475 (cf. Scholliers, *Loonarbeid en honger*, pp. 124–6).

²⁸ See the graph in Slootmans, *Paas- en Koudemarkten*, I, pp. 286–7, which indicates the revenues of the Bergen op Zoom fairs, and the numbers of merchants attending the fairs, for the period 1481–1543.

²⁹ See Appendix 3 below, which indicates the average value of the *loten* distributed each year.

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improve the quality of the choir gradually by employing better singers.

Appendix 2 shows that the maximum number of *loten* that a singer could accumulate in a year lies generally between about 420 and 440. If we subtract the 365 *loten* of the daily *Lof* services, this leaves between fifty-five and seventy-five *loten* for various other services in the course of the liturgical year. It is certain that these other services were Masses, since the titles heading the chapters listing expenditure on music read in all the accounts: 'Other expenses, for Masses for Our Lady, held with singers, choristers and the organist, as well as for the *Lof* of Our Lady every evening, and all that pertains to it' ('Ander uitgheven van missen voer onser liever vrouwen te doen doene metten sangheren coralen ende organiste midtsgaders oic van onser liever vrouwen love alle avonde ende des daeraen cleeft'). It is difficult to establish precisely which Masses were celebrated with polyphony. We do, however, get an impression by looking at the services which were held at the Confraternity of Our Lady in 's-Hertogenbosch: here at least sixty-nine polyphonic Mass services were held in addition to the daily *Loven*: seven Marian feasts, six feasts of various saints, four quarterly Requiems for deceased members, and fifty-two weekly Wednesday Masses.³⁰ In the accounts of the Bergen op Zoom guild, the revenues of the collections held during the services are listed in a separate chapter, and are specified by feast-day: these feast-days include the six Marian feasts, All Saints, Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and the feasts of the Holy Cross and St Catharine. One may assume that some of these were among the major feasts at the guild, and that they were duly celebrated with polyphony. An entry in the city accounts of 1487–8 shows that the triplex feasts, in the church proper, always included polyphony:

To the same lords [of the chapter of St Gertrude's] with whom it has been agreed on behalf of the city that they will celebrate all hours of St Anthony from the first to the second Vespers inclusive with the organ and polyphony, *in the same manner as is done on the triplex feasts and days* [my italics], paid now as in the other, previous, accounts, 300 groats.³¹

³⁰ Van Dijck, *De Bossche optimaten*, pp. 107–8.

³¹ 'Den selven heeren metten welken is overcomen vanden statweghen dat zy den dienst van sente anthoenis vanden yersten vesperen totten tweeden toe inclux tot allen getiden houden zullen met orghelen ende discante geliic men doet in anderen triplicen feesten ende hoochtijden betailt nu als in anderen voirgaenden rekeningen – xxv sc.'; BOZ SA 250.1 (SR 1487–8), fol. 73^v.

There is evidence that a weekly Mass of Our Lady was solemnly celebrated on Saturdays in the church of Bergen op Zoom.³² Together with the feasts mentioned earlier, and possible commemorative Masses requested by donors, this would add up to more than sixty Masses per year.

The above data indicate that the fifty-five to seventy-five additional Masses were probably fairly evenly divided over the liturgical year. Hence, the maximum number of *loten* that could be accumulated by a singer in a month or a season probably remained stable regardless of the time of year. With this knowledge in mind, it becomes possible to make a number of useful calculations. For instance, if a singer was appointed or discharged in the course of the financial year, the number of *loten* he had collected allows us to calculate the minimum number of days he must have been in service during that year. In the financial year 15 August 1496–15 August 1497, for example, Jacob Obrecht cashed fifty-two *loten*. The following sum allows us to conclude that he must have worked in Bergen op Zoom for at least forty-three days, and hence that he was almost certainly appointed as a singer before 3 July 1497:

$$\frac{52 \text{ loten}}{420-40 \text{ loten}} \times 365 \text{ days} = c. 43-5 \text{ days}$$

It is known that Obrecht was still working as a choirmaster in Antwerp on 23 April 1497 (when ‘meester Jacobe den sangmeester van Antwerpen’ was mentioned in the city accounts of Bergen op Zoom).³³ Since the accounts of the Guild of Our Lady at Antwerp record the payment of the full annual salary to ‘den sangmeester’ on 24 June 1497 (the last day of the financial year 1496–7 in Antwerp),³⁴ it can be concluded that Obrecht went to Bergen op Zoom between 24 June and 3 July 1497.

³² Sloomans, ‘De Hoge Lieve Vrouw’ (1965), p. 218 n. 83.

³³ ‘On the same [procession] day, given to *meestere* Jacobe the choirmaster of Antwerp, six *gelten* Rhine wine [= c. 16.5 litres] at the same price as above [i.e. 12 groats per *gelte*] makes 72 groats’ (‘Opten selven [ommeganck] dach geschoncken meestere Jacobe den sangmeestere van Antwerpen zesse ghelten rjns wijns ten prijse als voerscreven, facit vj sc.’; BOZ SA 253 (SR 1 March 1497–1 March 1498), fol. 38r).

³⁴ ‘Paid to the choirmaster his wage for this year, according to custom: 1080 groats’ (‘Betaelt den sangmeester van zijnen loen vander jare nader costumen iij lb. x sc.’; Antwerp, Cathedral Archive, Rekeningen van het Gilde van het Onze Lieve Vrouwelof, 1487–1527, fol. 89r).

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To take the reverse approach, the accounts of the Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom tell us that the singer Symon of Amerode received a pay rise, from 1.5 to 2.25 groats per *loot*, on Maundy Thursday (23 March) 1486, and that his total income between 15 August 1485 and 15 August 1486 was 685.5 groats. So Symon received x *loten* of 1.5 groats in period A (219 days), and y *loten* of 2.25 groats in period B (146 days).

The maximum number of *loten* that Symon could have earned in period A is $(219 \div 365) \times c. 440 = 264$ *loten* of 1.5 groats (= 396 groats). This leaves $685.5 - 396 = 289.5$ groats for period B, equalling $289.5 \div 2.25 = c. 129$ *loten*. Together, this adds up to $264 + 129 = 393$ *loten*.

Conversely, the maximum number of *loten* that Symon could have earned in period B is $(146 \div 365) \times c. 440 = 176$ *loten* of 2.25 groats (= 396 groats). This leaves $685.5 - 396 = 289.5$ groats for period A, equalling $289.5 \div 1.5 = 193$ *loten*. Together this adds up to 369 *loten*.

Therefore we can be almost certain that Symon of Amerode earned between 369 and 393 *loten* in 1485–6.

It is partly with the help of such calculations that we are able to calculate the total annual number of *loten* distributed among the singers and the choirmaster (see Appendix 3). During the period 1482/3–1496/7, and again after 1506–7, this number fluctuated between *c.* 2750 and *c.* 3300; in the period 1498/9–1505/6 it generally fluctuated between *c.* 2000 and *c.* 2500. With an average number of services per year of *c.* 420–40, this means that the average number of musicians involved in each service (including the choirmaster, but excluding the organist) was between six and eight in the period 1482/3–1496/7, between four and six in the period 1498/9–1505/6, and again between six and eight after 1506–7. We may conclude that the choral force of one choirmaster and six singers described in the foundation document of 1470 was never much exceeded, even though the actual number of singers associated with the guild in one year could be as high as thirteen. It seems very likely that a fixed number of *loten* was reserved for each service, and that every day the singers decided among themselves who was to participate and who was to wait his turn (or have the day off).

How was the music performed at the Guild of Our Lady? We have already observed that the average service in the 1480s and early 1490s involved one choirmaster, six or seven adult singers, an unspecified number of choirboys, and one organist. Unfortunately

the accounts from these years give practically no indication of the voice-types (as, for example, those at 's-Hertogenbosch do), but it seems likely that there was, as everywhere else, a relatively even, standard distribution of 'tenoristen', 'contratenoristen', 'hogencon-
ters' (or 'hoechtenoristen') and 'bovensangers'.³⁵ The organist was certainly involved in all polyphonic services. His duties seem to have consisted mainly of providing accompaniment to the singers, although in some services no accompaniment was required: an ordinance concerning the payment of the organist Trudo le Hardy, dated 13 January 1506, states 'that the same Trudo shall from now on, in all Masses in which no organ is required, share and receive payment with the singers, but only as long as he sings with them, and not otherwise'.³⁶ Very little is known about the choristers. They lived in the 'choraelhuys' in the Schoolstraat, and they were under the musical supervision of the choirmaster, who received their fees. The city of Bergen op Zoom paid for the annual celebration of Holy Innocents' Day, at which one of the choristers was appointed 'boy bishop'.³⁷ Evidence of John of Glymes's personal concern for the choristers is provided by a number of payments recorded in the accounts of his household in Oudenbosch.³⁸

³⁵ See, for a study of voice distributions in fifteenth-century choirs, D. Fallows, 'Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474', *Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music*, ed. S. Boorman (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 109–59.

³⁶ 'dat de selve Trudo voertaen in alle missen daer inne men gheen orghele en behoeft soe verre hij mede singhet ende anders nyet participeren zal ende loon hebben metten anderen sanghers' (Slootmans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw' (1965), p. 219).

³⁷ See, for instance, BOZ SA 248 (SR 1479–80), fol. 47^r: 'Paid to the singers here with their bishop of Holy Innocents' Day, at the command of the *borgemeesters* and *scepenen*, 144 groats' ('Den sangers alhier met hueren bisscop van alre kinderen daghe betailt ten bevelen van borgemeesters ende scepenen xij sc.br.').

³⁸ 'Item paid at the command [of the lord] to Thoenken de Backer, chorister of Bergen [op Zoom], when he went to Zwolle, 60 groats' ('Item thoenken de backer chorael te bergen gegeven ten bevelen als hy te zwolle wait toech v sc.br.');

BOZ ARR 1774.10, fol. 105^r (29 May 1479).
'Paid at the command etc. to heer Janne van Pepingen for having lodged in his house a little chorister, 81 groats' ('Heer Janne van pepingen van te hebben ghehouwen een choraelken tot zynen huysen gegeven ten bevelen etc. vj sc. ix den.');

BOZ ARR 1774.10, fol. 106^r (28 June 1479).
'Also on the same day [3 December 1479] paid at the command etc. to Ghyskene the chorister of Diest when he went ill to his [parental] home 120 groats' ('Noch eodem die gegeven ten bevelen etc. ghyskene den chorael van dysten als hy sieck thuys toech x sc.br.');

BOZ ARR 1774.11, fol. 118^r.
'On 12 January [1480], paid to the mother of Ghyskene the chorister when she brought this same [Ghyskene] back to Bergen [op Zoom] 26 groats' ('xij Januarij der moeder van ghyskene den chorael als zij den selven wederomme te bergen bracht gegeven ij sc. vj den.');

BOZ ARR 1774.11, fol. 119^r.

Occasionally the accounts of the guild record payments for new paper choirbooks, for instance in 1481–2: ‘and for having used paper for a songbook of Our Lady, 72 groats’.³⁹ This sum almost certainly corresponds to one *riem* of writing paper (480 sheets).⁴⁰ Since the sheets were folded in gatherings, it is easy to see that the amount of paper purchased in Bergen op Zoom in 1481–2 (probably 480 bifolios, = 960 folios) was sufficient for about four choirbooks of the size of Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS San Pietro B 80, or seven choirbooks of the size of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5557. Two years later Jacob Obrecht was paid 18 groats ‘for paper for his songbooks’ and 3 groats for compiling an index.⁴¹ The sum of 18 groats probably corresponds to four or five *boeken* (quires) of writing paper (one *boek*=24 sheets), a total of c. 96–120 sheets. The wording of the payment seems to suggest that Obrecht used the paper for making single gatherings which he added to the existing choirbooks. If he had made a new choirbook out of the paper, it would have been somewhat smaller than San Pietro B 80. In 1496–7 *meester* Nanno was paid 12 groats ‘for writing the Mass of the Name of Jesus in the book of Our Lady’.⁴² This was very probably a

‘Paid to *meester* Rombout, surgeon at Bergen [op Zoom], at the command etc., for having lodged [and treated?] Ghyskene the chorister of Diest for six months, 480 groats’ (‘Meester Rombout cyrurgijn te Bergen ten bevele etc. van des de selve gehouwen heeft in zijner cost ghyskene den chorael van dyeste een half jair ende bat betaelt ij lb.br.’); BOZ ARR 1774.11, fol. 124^r (October 1480).

³⁹ ‘ende van pampier verbesicht voer eenen sangbouc voer onse vrouwen vj sc.’ (BOZ SA 861.2 (OLV 1481–2), fol. 4^v).

⁴⁰ In Bergen op Zoom the price of one *riem* of paper was 69 groats in 1478–9 and 1479–80, and probably also in 1480–1 (BOZ ARR 1774.10, fol. 102^v, and ARR 1774.11, fol. 118^r; ARR 649.1, fol. 36^v). In April 1480 the price had fallen slightly, to 68.5 groats (BOZ ARR 1774.11, fol. 120^v). In 1486–7, however, it had risen to 89 groats per *riem* (BOZ ARR 649.4, fol. 39^r), probably because of the inflation, since paper was generally bought from French paper manufacturers and hence was paid in French currency (cf. n. 27 above). In 1489–90 the price of one *riem* of paper was 180 groats in devalued money and 60 groats in revalued money (ARR 649.5, fol. 39^v). In Antwerp the price of one *riem* of paper was 72 groats in 1485–6, and 66 groats in 1484–5 and 1486–7 (C. Verlinden and J. Craeybeckx, eds., *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant (xve–xviii eeuw)* (Bruges, 1959), p. 361).

⁴¹ ‘Meester Jacob the choirmaster for paper for his songbooks, paid 18 groats. And for compiling an index, 3 groats’ (‘Meester Jacobe de sangmeester om papier tot zijnen sangboecken betailt xvijij gr. Noch van eenen register te besien iij gr.’); BOZ SA 861.4 (OLV 1483–4), fol. 6^r. The price of one *boek* of paper was usually 4.5 groats.

⁴² ‘Item paid to *meester* Nanno for copying the Mass of the Name of Jesus in the book of Our Lady 12 groats’ (‘Item meester nanno vander missen vanden naem Jhesus in onser vrouwen boeck te scriven betaelt xij gr.br.’); BOZ SA 861.15 (OLV 1496–7), fol. 16^v. This mass may have been composed by Jacob Obrecht, who worked at the Guild of Our Lady from between 24 June and 3 July 1497 onwards. Perhaps this was the *Missa In nomine Yhesu* (based on the Introit *In nomine Jesu omne genuflectatur* of the feast of the Holy Name of

polyphonic setting written for the private endowment of a 'missen vanden name Jhesus' that had been made by the Bergen op Zoom *wijntavernier* Dierick de Clerck in 1487.⁴³

Since the contacts between Bergen op Zoom, Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch were intensive, and since the three centres were closely related in their musico-liturgical practice, there can be little doubt that there was much exchange of polyphonic music, and that the centres shared by and large the same repertory. A direct indication of this is the following payment in the 's-Hertogenbosch accounts of 1498–9: '*item* for fetching in Bergen [op Zoom] a mass in polyphony for the singers: 24 groats'.⁴⁴ Since in 1498–9 the internationally famous Jacob Obrecht was working in Bergen op Zoom, and since no one of his fellow singers around this time is known to have written polyphonic music, it would seem very likely that the mass in question was a newly composed cycle by Obrecht. An important centre of music distribution for Flanders and Brabant was Petrus Alamire's scriptorium at Mechlin. The accounts of both Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch repeatedly mention payments for the purchase of choirbooks from 'meester Petter Alamyre sangshrif-fer'. There can be no doubt that the Guild of Bergen op Zoom, too, bought some of its manuscripts from Alamire: the accounts of 1525–6, for instance, record the payment of 48 groats to the painter Ole Jacobssone 'for fetching the songbook of Our Lady at Mechlin'.⁴⁵ There is thus considerable likelihood that a substantial portion of the repertory in the surviving Alamire manuscripts was known and performed at Bergen op Zoom.

In order to determine the social status of the singers during the period 1470–94 I have made comparisons with the annual salaries of musicians working in other institutions and artisans working in

Jesus:) mentioned in two letters of Ercole d'Este's Milanese agent Manfredus de Manfredis dated 9 and 12 June 1504. See M. Staehelin, 'Obrechtiana', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 25 (1975), p. 15. The 'Jacomio' mentioned in the letter was not the composer of the mass, but the scribe Jacopo Dini; see M. Staehelin, 'Berichtigung und Ergänzung zu "Obrechtiana"', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 26 (1976), pp. 41–2.

⁴³ BOZ R 302, fol. 32^r (10 April 1487). The mass was funded by a portion of the interest of four homesteads in Bergen op Zoom, of which Dierick de Clerck had been the proprietor. No polyphony was specified in the bequest, but the endowment was large enough for a regular polyphonic service.

⁴⁴ 'item omme te doen haelen tot Bergen een misse in dietscante voir die sengeren 8 st.' (Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap*, p. 209).

⁴⁵ 'betaelt ole jacobssone schildere van onser liever vrouwen sangboeck te Mechelen te doen halene iv sc.br.' (BOZ SA 861.39 (OLV 1525–6), fol. 24^v).

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Table 2 *Annual incomes in Brabant in the late fifteenth century (in Brabant groats)*

<i>Estimated annual salaries at Bergen op Zoom 1480–1500</i>	
Guild of Our Lady (based on 420 <i>loten</i> per year):	
Lowest-paid singers (1 Brabant groat per <i>loot</i>)	420
Highest-paid singers (3.75 Brabant groats per <i>loot</i>)	1575
Choirmaster (3.75 Brabant groats per <i>loot</i> plus Holy Cross <i>lof</i>)	1635
City of Bergen op Zoom:	
City trumpeters	1980
<i>Musicians in other institutions</i>	
Jacobus Barbireau (Guild of O.L., Antwerp, until 1491)	720
Jacob Obrecht (Guild of O.L., Antwerp, 1491–7)	1080
Jacob Obrecht (Guild of O.L., Antwerp, 1503)	1560
Nicasius de Clibano ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1480s and 1490s)	2028
<i>Artisans in Antwerp (1480s and 1490s)^a</i>	
Hodmen	<i>c.</i> 1700
Stonecutters	<i>c.</i> 2350
Masons	<i>c.</i> 2950
Carpenters	<i>c.</i> 2950
<i>Minimum annual costs of living in Brabant in the late fifteenth century^b</i>	
Single adult	<i>c.</i> 550
Family of 5 persons (2 parents and 3 non-working children)	<i>c.</i> 1400

^aBased on E. Scholliers, *Loonarbeid en honger: De levensstandaard in de XVe en XVIe eeuw te Antwerpen* (Antwerp, 1960), pp. 65–101.

^bBased on data presented in Scholliers, *Loonarbeid en honger*, pp. 168–76.

Antwerp (Table 2). It goes without saying that these figures present an incomplete picture: musicians could augment their incomes substantially by rendering irregular services (copying music, singing at extra-liturgical occasions, composing, teaching, etc.) or – if they were priests – by obtaining benefices. Yet the general impression is that even good singers or choirmasters in Brabant (particularly laymen) had to work very hard in order to earn more than unskilled hodmen in Antwerp. Comparison with salaries elsewhere – Cambrai, Bruges, Paris, Ferrara, Milan, Rome, Naples – might bring this impression into relief.⁴⁶ A telling figure, for instance, is the salary offered to Brumel by Duke Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara in 1506 (as part

⁴⁶ A comprehensive study of the expenditure on music at the various musical institutions in Europe in the fifteenth century is very much needed, and would considerably add to our understanding of musical life in general, and certain aspects (e.g. the mobility of musicians) in particular. See, for a pioneering attempt, L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 173–95.

of a package also containing benefices, travel allowance and housing), which was 100 Venetian gold ducats, equivalent around this time to c. 11,000–12,000 groats.⁴⁷ By Brabant standards this was an astronomic figure, and it is easy to see why composers of international stature, such as Jacob Obrecht, left for Italy as soon as they saw an opportunity.

JACOB OBRECHT AT BERGEN OP ZOOM

In the course of his restless and in a sense perhaps tragic life Jacob Obrecht worked at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom three times, first as a choirmaster in 1480–4 and then as a singer in 1488 and 1497–8.⁴⁸

The first question that must be dealt with is whether Obrecht was born in Bergen op Zoom, as a number of writers have maintained. Since several families with the name Obrecht (or Oebrecht, Hobrecht, Obrechts, Obert, etc.) are known to have lived in the counties of Holland, Brabant and Flanders,⁴⁹ it seems likely that the composer's family also came from the south-west Dutch-speaking parts of the Low Countries. Nearly four centuries after Obrecht's birth an arbitrary borderline was drawn through this area as a result of the independence of Belgium (1830), and it is difficult to avoid the

⁴⁷ Wright, 'Antoine Brumel', p. 56.

⁴⁸ For literature on Jacob Obrecht at Bergen op Zoom, see J. Asberg, 'Obrecht te Bergen op Zoom', *Taxandria: Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantsche Geschiedenis en Volkskunde*, 35 (1928), pp. 71–5; E. H. G. C. A. Juten, 'Jacob Obrecht', *Annales du Congrès d'Anvers 1930*, ed. P. Rolland, 2 vols., Fédération Archéologique et Historique de Belgique, 7th ser., 77 (Antwerp, 1930–1), II, pp. 441–51; A. Piscaer, 'Jacob Obrecht', *Sinte Geertruydsbronnen: Driemaandelijks Tijdschrift Gewijd aan de Geschiedenis en Volkskunde van West-Brabant en Omgeving*, 15 (1938), pp. 1–15; A. J. L. Juten, 'Nog eens over Jacob Obrecht, de "sangmeester"', *Taxandria: Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantsche Geschiedenis en Volkskunde*, 48 (1941), pp. 263–9; A. Piscaer, 'Jacob Obrecht: Geboortedatum en andere bijzonderheden', *Mens en Melodie*, 7 (1952), pp. 329–33; L. G. van Hoorn, *Jacob Obrecht* (The Hague, 1968), pp. 32–68.

⁴⁹ For Obrecht at The Hague, see: A. M. J. de Haan, comp., *Inventaris van het archief van de Heilige Geest en het Heilige Geesthofje te 's-Gravenhage* (The Hague, 1969), Regesten 5, 6, 24, 40, 43, 101, 143, 189, 225; Inventaris 786; J. G. M. Sanders, comp., *Inventaris van het archief van het Karthuiserklooster Het Hollandse Huis bij Geertruidenberg*, Inventarisreeks 34 ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1984), Regesten 81, 298, 343, 395–6, 470, 681, 724, 799, 815, 816, 865, p. 81; C. Lingbeek-Schalekamp, *Overheid en muziek in Holland tot 1672* (Poortugaal, 1984), p. 212. For Delft, see D. P. Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft gedurende de Middeleeuwen* (The Hague, 1973), pp. 52 and 98 n. 120. For Gouda, see Oosterbaan, *op. cit.*, p. 336 n. 2. For Bergen op Zoom, see Piscaer, 'Jacob Obrecht' (1938), pp. 14–15. For Ghent, see B. de Keyzer, 'Jacob Obrecht en zijn vader Willem: De Gentse relaties', *Mens en Melodie*, 8 (1953), p. 318. For Ostend, see E. van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, 8 vols., III (Brussels, 1875), p. 182. For Louvain, see Sloomans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw' (1965), pp. 197 and 213 n. 9; E. Houtman, *Inventaris van het oud archief van de stad Aalst* (Brussels, 1974), p. 202.

impression that the zeal of early twentieth-century Dutch writers to prove that the composer was born in Bergen op Zoom was partly inspired by their wish to save at least one 'national' medieval composer for the Netherlands, after all the others were lost to Belgium. The case for Bergen op Zoom as Jacob Obrecht's birth-place is, however, weak. It rests on the following premises:⁵⁰

1. In his motet *Mille quingentis*, Jacob Obrecht states that his father Willem Obrecht begot (*generavit*) a son Jacobus on St Cecilia's day (22 November), while he was crossing (*peragravit*) Sicily. Since Jacob Obrecht was to celebrate his first Mass on 23 April 1480 (see below), he must have been about thirty years old by this time and was therefore probably born around 1450. In that year, the lord of Bergen op Zoom, John of Glymes, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, accompanied by a small group of prominent citizens from Bergen op Zoom. Willem Obrecht may have been among the pilgrims, and his son Jacob could have been born just when Willem was on his way through Sicily.

2. In contemporary sources, the composer's surname is often spelt 'Hobrecht' instead of 'Obrecht'. This pronunciation is believed to be typical of West Brabant, particularly of Bergen op Zoom.

There is no evidence that Jacob's father was ever associated with Bergen op Zoom. The name Willem Obrecht occurs in several fifteenth-century documents,⁵¹ only one of which can be stated with certainty to refer to the composer's father. He was the trumpeter Willem [H]obrecht who lived and worked in Ghent from 1452 to his death in 1488.⁵² The assumption that this Willem was among the prominent followers of John of Glymes during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem is highly implausible. First, in 1452 Willem Obrecht was appointed a city trumpeter in Ghent at the rather modest annual salary of 720 Flemish groats (= 1080 Brabant groats), indicating that

⁵⁰ Piscaer, 'Jacob Obrecht: Geboortedatum en andere bijzonderheden'.

⁵¹ A Willem Obrecht lived in The Hague in 1367–87 (De Haan, *op. cit.*, Regesten 24, 40 and 43; Sanders, *op. cit.*, p. 81 and Regest 298). Anny Piscaer has traced a Willem Obrecht in Bergen op Zoom in 1401 (Piscaer, 'Jacob Obrecht' (1938), p. 14). Another Willem Obrecht in Bergen op Zoom was traced by Korneel Sloomans in documents of 1458 and 1464 (Sloomans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw' (1965), pp. 197 and 214 n. 11). A Willem Obrecht was commissioner for Holland of the Jubilee Indulgence of 1450, and was prior of the monastery of Sion, near Delft, in 1450–75 (Oosterbaan, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 and 98 n. 120). Another Willem Obrecht of Delft studied at the University of Bologna in 1507 (Juten, 'Nog eens over Jacob Obrecht', pp. 265–9; A. Smijers, 'Het motet "Mille quingentis" van Jacob Hobrecht', *Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, 16 (1941), pp. 213–14). At Gouda, a Willem Obrecht was rector of the local convent in 1460 (Oosterbaan, *op. cit.*, pp. 321 and 336 n. 2). In 's-Hertogenbosch, a Willem Hubrecht was singer at the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady in 1511/12–1513/14 (Smijers, 'De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap' (1935), pp. 75–80). For Willem Obrecht of Ghent, the composer's father, see n. 52 below.

⁵² De Keyzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 317–19.

his social position was by this time relatively low.⁵³ Second, even though pilgrims to the Holy Land often travelled through Sicily, there is no evidence that John of Glymes did so, too. Third, it is very unlikely that any one of the pilgrims would have brought along his wife to Jerusalem, let alone an expectant mother. Finally, if Jacob was born in Bergen op Zoom while his father was on pilgrimage, he would have needed to have access to a logbook when he wrote *Mille quingentis*, in 1488, in order to know where Willem happened to be at the precise time of his birth.⁵⁴ In sum, the assumption that Willem Obrecht accompanied John of Glymes on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land is not only speculative but lacks credibility. The second argument is likewise rather weak. In documents of Bergen op Zoom, Jacob Obrecht's surname (and that of his namesake, the Louvain priest Jacobe Obrechts, who was proprietor of the house 'De vier heemskinderen' in Bergen op Zoom⁵⁵) is never spelt 'Hobrecht'. This particular spelling is, however, found in documents of Ghent (1488: 'her Jacob Hobrecht priestre'), Bruges (1488, 1490, 1491, 1500: 'magister Jacobus Hobrecht') and Antwerp (1501: 'Hobrecht').⁵⁶ In view of these considerations, the assumption that the composer was born in Bergen op Zoom must be rejected.⁵⁷

Returning to the motet *Mille quingentis*, the obvious implication of its text is surely that Jacob Obrecht was born in Sicily; there is no reason to prefer the less obvious reading that Willem was not present

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 318. It is true, as Reinhard Strohm has pointed out to me, that noblemen were occasionally accompanied by trumpeters on pilgrimages to the Holy Land (see, for instance, F. Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London, 1958), p. 222), but John of Glymes's retinue was very small and included only prominent citizens of Bergen op Zoom (Slootmans, *Jan metten Lippen*, p. 20).

⁵⁴ One may perhaps assume poetic licence in view of the pun 'Cecilie ad festum que ceciliam peragravit' in the motet text.

⁵⁵ This is the Jacob Obrecht who was enrolled at Louvain University in 1470, and who was formerly believed to be the composer (further documentation on him is provided by Slootmans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw' (1965), pp. 213–14 n. 9).

⁵⁶ See the survey in B. Murray, 'Jacob Obrecht's Connection with the Church of Our Lady in Antwerp', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 11 (1957), pp. 130–3. Phonological research has revealed that the prothesis of *h* in words beginning with vowels was a uniquely Flemish habit; it occurs sporadically in Brabant sources, but only when these come from centres bordering on Flanders (e.g. Antwerp). See A. Berteloot, *Bijdrage tot een klankatlas van het dertiende-eeuwse middelnederlands* (Lengerich, 1983), p. 96 and map 141; A. van Loey, *Middelnederlandse spraakkunst*, 2 vols., II (7th edn, Groningen, 1976), pp. 108–9 and 124–5.

⁵⁷ One argument that could perhaps be advanced in favour of origin in the region around Bergen op Zoom, however, is that Obrecht said his first Mass – or at least was paid for it – in Oudenbosch (see n. 63 below), since it seems to have been usual for priests to say their first Masses in the places where they were born (I thank Willem Elders for pointing out this to me).

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at his son's birth: 'On the feast of St Cecilia, when he [Willem] was crossing Sicily, he begot Jacob before Orpheus and the Muses'.⁵⁸ If one combines the facts (a) that Willem Obrecht was employed as a city trumpeter in Ghent from 1452 onwards, (b) that he must have been in Sicily around 1450, and (c) that Ghent accounts of 1451 mention 'een trompetter van Cycilien',⁵⁹ it becomes reasonable to develop the hypothesis that Willem had lived and worked as a trumpeter in Sicily for some time (perhaps at the Aragonese court of Sicily), that his son Jacob was born there during his tenure, and that he went to Ghent around 1451. Confirmation of this hypothesis may eventually be found among documents preserved in Sicilian archives. For now, Sicily must remain the place where Obrecht is most likely to have been born.

Jacob Obrecht was choirmaster of the Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom from (at least) 1480 until late August 1484, when he departed for Cambrai. Documents from Bergen op Zoom speak only of 'meestere Jacobe den sangmeester' during this period, and do not specify his surname. The basis for the identification with the composer is provided by a later entry in the chapter accounts of the Cathedral at Cambrai, dating from 28 July 1484, where the newly appointed master of the choristers Jacob Obrecht is called 'de Bergis'.⁶⁰

The earliest surviving account of the guild at Bergen op Zoom runs from 15 August 1480 to 15 August 1481. References to 'meester Jacobe den sangmeester' dating from before 15 August 1480 are to be found in the accounts of the steward of Oudenbosch and its environs.⁶¹ These are accounts of the household of John of Glymes at

⁵⁸ 'Cecilie ad festum que ceciliam peragravit/[c]oram idem orphei cum musis Jacobum generavit'; since 'coram' governs the ablative, it would seem that it cannot be referring to the genitive of 'Orpheus'. However, Eddie Vetter has drawn my attention to the fact that in late medieval Latin 'coram' governed both the genitive and the ablative (see J. W. Fuchs, O. Weijers and M. Gumbert, *Lexicon latinitatis neerlandicae medii aevii/Woordenboek van het Middeleeuws Latijn van de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, II (Leyden, 1981), col. c1191, where an example of 'coram' taking the genitive [Zwolle, 1491] is quoted).

⁵⁹ De Keyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

⁶⁰ Pirro, 'Obrecht à Cambrai', p. 78. Bergen op Zoom in Latin was 'Bergae (ad Somam)'; the Latin form of Bergen (Mons) in Hainaut was 'Montes'. According to Reinhard Strohm, 'Bergae' may also apply to Bergues-St-Winnoc in French Flanders (Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 152 n. 28). Other fifteenth-century musicians called 'de Bergis' were Rubertinus de Bergis (Strohm, *op. cit.*, p. 182) and the composer Cornelis Rigo de Bergis (L. Kessels, 'The Brussels/Tournai-Partbooks: Structure, Illumination, and Flemish Repertory', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 37 (1987), pp. 97–100).

⁶¹ BOZ ARR 1774.1–1774.11 (covering the period 1461/2–1479/80). This manuscript was

Oudenbosch (about 20 km north-east of Bergen op Zoom), where the lord of Bergen op Zoom spent much of his time probably because his mistress Mayken Sanders lived there.⁶² The day-to-day expenses paint a vivid picture of household life: we find payments for items such as paper, besoms, cheese, wine, beer, and also for 'viij methalen pispotten', 'eenen padden steene' (a toadstone), 'vuergewerk' (fireworks, purchased, appropriately, two weeks before New Year's Day 1479), and for 'eenen boecke gheheeten Nycolaus de lyra' ('a book called *Nycolaus de Lyra*'). There are also expenses for Masses, which are divided into two categories: payments 'van eender missen' (usually 6 groats) and 'van eender singender missen' (36 groats). Perhaps this distinction is synonymous with the still existing liturgical distinction between the *missa lecta* and the *missa in cantu*. On the other hand, the 36 groats for the 'singing Mass' would have been quite sufficient for a polyphonic service (considering the fact that the price of one *loot* normally varied from 1 to 3.75 groats). In addition to the expenses for Masses we find payments to singers. The singer Michelet (also called Michiele van Bastoengnen) was repeatedly sent to Antwerp to purchase parchment. The barber-surgeon Jannes Greefkens ('Jannes de barbier'), who sang at the Guild of Our Lady in 1480–1 and 1481–2, was paid 6 groats for bloodletting the diseased shoeing-smith on 5 August 1479. On 6 July of the same year he was given 'eenen sangboecxken' ('a small songbook') worth 30 groats.

Jacob Obrecht is first mentioned in a payment of 23 April 1480: 'On the twenty-third of the same month, paid at the command etc. to *meestere* Jacop the choirmaster on his first Mass: 240 Brabant groats'.⁶³ Since other priests are known to have received much less than Obrecht on their first Masses,⁶⁴ one might perhaps conclude that the lord of Bergen op Zoom held the composer in special esteem. Another payment to Obrecht in 1480, hitherto unpublished, is recorded on the following page: 'Paid to *meester* Jacop the choir-

kept until 1949 in The Hague, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Eerste afdeling, Commissie van Breda (no. 473). See W. A. van Ham, *Inventaris van de archieven van de raad en rekenkamer van de markiezen van Bergen op Zoom*, Inventarisreeks 25, 5 vols. ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1980), II, p. 315.

⁶² Slootmans, *Jan metten Lippen*, p. 68.

⁶³ 'xxij eqd. M. Jacop den sangmeestere gegeven op zijn yeeste misse ten bevel etc. xx sc.br.' (BOZ ARR 1774.11, fol. 121').

⁶⁴ On 23 May 1479 *heer* Willeme van Nyspen received 156 groats on his first Mass (BOZ ARR 1774.10, fol. 105'). *Meester* Anthoenis Peck received 87 groats on his first Mass on 16 April 1480, just one week before Obrecht received his 240 groats (BOZ ARR 1774.11, fol. 120').

master for having sung four Masses on Whitsunday [21 May]: 144 groats'.⁶⁵ It is unlikely that 'de misse singen' (to sing Mass) here refers to the singing of polyphony, since in other contexts this same wording appears to be synonymous with 'de misse celebreeren' (to celebrate Mass).⁶⁶ On the other hand, 36 groats per Mass was an unusually high fee for an officiant: the usual fee for the priest who 'sang' Mass was 6 or 12 groats.⁶⁷

These payments indicate that Jacob Obrecht must have become choirmaster of the Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom before 15 August 1480. There is no evidence that he already held this post in 1479, as is sometimes assumed.⁶⁸ Unfortunately the domain accounts of Oudenbosch from the period 1481–1526 are lost, and as a result very little is known of Jacob Obrecht's later relations with the lord of Bergen op Zoom. Information concerning his activities in Bergen op Zoom during the period 15 August 1480–15 August 1484 derives entirely from the accounts of the Guild of Our Lady. This information can be summarised as follows:

1. In 1480–1 and 1481–2 Jacob Obrecht received an annual salary of 720 groats, twice as much as the salary reserved in 1470 for his predecessor Willem de Brouwer (see Table 1 above). On 24 June 1482 the rulers of the guild agreed that Obrecht could take part, like his fellow singers, in the distribution of the *loten*.⁶⁹ Obrecht's *loten* were worth 3 groats (less than the

⁶⁵ 'Meester Jacop den sangmeestere van iij missen te hebben gesongen inde sinxen daghe betaelt xij sc.br.' (BOZ ARR 1774.11, fol. 121^v).

⁶⁶ Compare, for instance, the following payment for the celebration of St Anthony's day in the city accounts of 1474–5, with the one of 1472–3 quoted in note 17 above: 'Vander missen opten voirscreven sente anthonis dach te doen ende te solempniseren met discante welke misse in sente anthonis choir voer de hootmisse gedaen wordt betaelt voir *den priester die die [misse] gesongen heeft* [in 1472/3: den priester die de misse celebreerde], voer de sangeren choralen voer den organiste metten blaser tsamen iij sc. j½ gr. Ende den tromper opten voirscreven dach van siinen arbeyde betaelt xij gr. facit tsamen – v sc. j½ gr.br.' (my italics); BOZ SA 245.2 (SR 1474–5), fol. 93^r.

⁶⁷ See note 17 above; see also e.g. BOZ SA 248 (SR 1479–80), fol. 47^v ('uutgenomen mijnen heren den deken ende den priester de hoomisse zingende elken xij gr.'), and BOZ SA 250.2 (SR 1488–9), fol. 195^r ('den priester die de misse zanck vj gr.').

⁶⁸ This assumption goes back to the paper of 1930 of E. H. G. C. A. Juten ('Jacob Obrecht', p. 445), who stated that the various expenses for choirboys in BOZ ARR 1774.10 and 1774.11 (see n. 38 above) gave him reason to suspect the presence of a choirmaster (and hence of Obrecht) in Bergen op Zoom as early as 1479. Now that it is known that Willem de Brouwer was choirmaster of the guild before Obrecht, there is no longer a basis for Juten's assumption.

⁶⁹ 'Meester Jacobe the choirmaster to whom *loten* are also granted, besides the 720 groats which he had [earned], which are separated from his earnings after [the feast of] St John, when the [new] payment started, each *loot* 3 groats, [together] makes 117 groats' ('Meester Jacobe den sangmeester die oic loot geconsenteert is voer de iij lb. die hij hadde die afgesneden zijn by hem verdient post Johannis dat zijn wedde verscheen elc loot iij gr. facit ix sc. ix den.br.');

3.75 groats per *loot* earned by the best-paid singers, Michiele Cramer and Cornelise Zwagers). Between 24 June 1482 and 15 August 1483 the composer participated, on average, in three out of every four services. This should not necessarily be interpreted as a sign of neglectfulness, although it is true that the record of attendance of his successors was better (nearly every year more than 90% of the services).

2. During his tenure in 1480–4 Jacob Obrecht was in charge of the copying of polyphonic music in new gatherings and choirbooks with a total size of at least 575 sheets (= 1150 folios, or 2300 pages; see above). It is likely that a substantial portion of these books and gatherings were filled with works by Obrecht himself, since there are several indications later in his life that he was a quick and prolific composer.⁷⁰ One of the masses which Obrecht composed during these years found its way in 1484 to Ferrara, where it was received ‘molto volontiera’ by Duke Ercole I d’Este.⁷¹ This may just possibly have been the *Missa Beata viscera*, which was copied in Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, MS K.I.2 in 1481,⁷² and which is based on the Communion at Mass for the Blessed Virgin Mary.

3. In 1483–4 Jacob Obrecht lived with Reijnier *metten bulten* (Reijnier ‘with the hunch’) who also sang in the services of the Guild of Our Lady and was paid, like Obrecht, *loten* of 3 groats. Together, Jacob and Reijnier earned 637 *loten* in 1483–4, pointing to an average attendance for both singers of around 75% of the services.

After having worked as a choirmaster in Bergen op Zoom for more than four years, Jacob Obrecht became *magister puerorum* at Cambrai

⁷⁰ During his brief tenure at Cambrai (September 1484–October 1485), for instance, Obrecht had already written enough ‘books of music which he is said to have compiled’ (‘libris cantus quos composuisse asseritur’), for the chapter of the cathedral to accept them, *faute de mieux*, as a settlement of his debts (Pirro, ‘Obrecht à Cambrai’, p. 79). And in 1501–2, the Guild of Our Lady at Antwerp bought four quires of paper ‘which meester Jacob the choirmaster needs for writing masses in’ (Forney, ‘Music, Ritual and Patronage’, p. 39 n. 98). Since four quires contain 96 sheets (192 folios), Obrecht could have copied at least twelve (and probably copied more) masses in them. And one can only wonder of what size and importance the ‘sangboek in discante’ must have been for which the same guild paid him a sum equalling one annual salary (1440 groats), later in the same year (*ibid.*). In his *Dodekachordon* (Basel, 1542), Heinrich Glarean twice pointed to Obrecht’s extraordinary productivity as a composer (my translation): ‘Which composer has not sometime attempted [to write] the Salutation of the Holy Virgin in the [Dorian] mode, and this frequently in competition with others? In this type of contest Jacob Obrecht gladly competed, for in productivity he surpassed all the singers of his generation – which he seems to have wanted to demonstrate in the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrarie* [*sic*] – for whatever [material] he tried to set, it became a composition, as he said’ (p. 296); ‘Moreover, he is said to have possessed such quickness of invention and abundance of creativity, that he composed in one night an excellent mass, at which [feat] learned men were astonished’ (p. 456).

⁷¹ Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, pp. 162–3.

⁷² Edited in C. J. Maas, gen. ed., *New Obrecht Edition*, vol. 2 (Utrecht, 1984), pp. 1–31. For the date of MS K.I.2, see F. A. D’Accone, ‘A Late 15th-Century Sienese Sacred Repertory: MS K.I.2 of the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena’, *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), pp. 121–70, esp. p. 146.

in 1484.⁷³ He was appointed on 26 July of that year, but took up his duties only on 6 September, three weeks after the financial year in Bergen op Zoom had ended. Eleven months later, in October 1485, Obrecht was discharged from his office,⁷⁴ and after some difficulties concerning unpaid debts he went to Bruges to become *succentor* at the church of St Donatian, a post for which a friend of his had interceded on his behalf several months before.⁷⁵

In 1487–8, events were to bring Obrecht back again to Bergen op Zoom, albeit by way of Ferrara. In September 1487 Duke Ercole I d'Este sent his singer Cornelius di Lorenzo to Bruges, armed with letters asking the chapter of St Donatian to give leave to Obrecht to come and visit the duke for a few months.⁷⁶ These letters were discussed by the chapter on 2 October 1487, and it was decided that Obrecht could absent himself for six months beginning on the next festival of St Donatian (14 October). Immediately after Obrecht's arrival in Italy, around the beginning of December, Ercole started energetic attempts to obtain benefices for him, evidently in order to persuade him (or to comply with his wish) to become a singer in his chapel. This strategy must have failed unexpectedly at a relatively

⁷³ Cf. Pirro, 'Obrecht à Cambrai'.

⁷⁴ The chapter accounts say that Obrecht resigned ('recedat'), but do not indicate whether he was actually forced to resign. The composer had already accepted the post of *succentor* at St Donatian in Bruges by 23 June 1485 (when the chapter of that church asked Aliamus de Groote to fill the post until the arrival of Obrecht, who had promised to leave Cambrai soon; cf. E. H. G. C. A. Juten, 'Jacob Obrecht', p. 446; further details in Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, pp. 38–9). A month later, on 27 July 1485, the Cambrai accounts give evidence of discontent with Obrecht's work as *magister puerorum*: the choristers had contracted scabies, 'which is not otherwise seen', and the chapter instructed the composer to look after them better. Obrecht's resignation followed three months later; it was only after the discharge that the chapter found out that he had embezzled funds (Pirro, 'Obrecht à Cambrai', p. 79). Although the composer was clearly a disappointment as master of the choristers, it is difficult to conclude from the available evidence that he was actually dismissed.

⁷⁵ E. H. G. C. A. Juten, 'Jacob Obrecht', p. 446; Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, pp. 38–41.

⁷⁶ For this and what follows, see B. Murray, 'New Light on Jacob Obrecht's Development: A Biographical Study', *The Musical Quarterly*, 43 (1957), pp. 500–16; Van Hoorn, *Jacob Obrecht*, pp. 69–106; L. Lockwood, 'Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este', *Studi Musicali*, 1 (1972), pp. 112–13 and 127–9; Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, pp. 163–4. Obrecht first met Duke Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara at Godÿ (almost certainly Goito, c. 15 km north-west of Mantua), from which place Ercole wrote the letter of 1 December 1487 to his wife (printed in Murray, 'New Light', p. 510). Obrecht and Ercole left Godÿ for Mantua on 2 December 1487 and planned to arrive in Ferrara on 5 December. From Mantua Ercole sent the first letter concerning Obrecht's benefices to his papal agent Bonfrancesco Arlotti (Lockwood, 'Music at Ferrara', p. 112). On the letters from Bergen op Zoom to Bruges and *vice versa*, see E. H. G. C. A. Juten, 'Jacob Obrecht', p. 447.

late stage, for when Obrecht finally returned to the north, he had already considerably overstayed his leave of absence.

Meanwhile political events in Flanders had taken a turn for the worse. In January 1488, just when Ercole's papal agent was discussing the matter of Obrecht's benefices with Pope Innocent VIII, the mounting irritation of the Flemish towns over Maximilian of Habsburg's repeated attempts to re-conquer territories lost to France in the Treaty of Arras (1482) led to open revolt. Maximilian quickly convened the Estates of Flanders in Bruges, but was taken prisoner by the town on 2 February, only to regain his freedom on 16 May 1488 by swearing an oath that he would defer to a newly forged treaty limiting his powers. Once freed, Maximilian broke his oath and prepared for a punitive expedition with his father's army, which had been drawn together at Louvain. The experience of previous urban risings in Flanders now boded bloodshed, deprivation of civic privileges, and huge payments in reparation to Maximilian.

Obrecht, returning from the south in early June, evidently decided to wait in Bergen op Zoom – one of Maximilian's most loyal towns – until the storm had passed. From here he exchanged several letters with the chapter of St Donatian, explaining that he could not return 'propter pericula viarum'. The chapter grudgingly accepted this excuse, but insisted that he be back in Bruges by 15 August. While Bergen op Zoom was now preparing to assist Maximilian in his war against Flanders, Obrecht received permission from the *borghemeesters* and *scepenen* to work temporarily as a singer at the Guild of Our Lady for 3.75 groats per *loot*. The guild accounts for 1487–8 record the payment of 180 groats, equalling forty-eight *loten*, to the composer: 'Item to meester Jacop the choirmaster, who had come here, paid [at the command] of the *borghemeesters* and *scepenen* a certain number of *loten* of 3.75 groats, [together] makes 180 groats'.⁷⁷ The number of *loten*, forty-eight, points to a stay of at least forty days. Assuming that Obrecht wrote his first letter to Bruges, which arrived there on 12 June, upon his arrival at Bergen op Zoom, we may conclude that he stayed in the town from 8 or 9 June to at least 17 or 18 July (letters from Bergen op Zoom usually arrived in Bruges in two or three days). Between the latter dates and 15 August Obrecht

⁷⁷ 'Item meester Jacop de sangmeester die hier ghecomen was ghegeven bij borghemeesters ende scepenen sekere loet van .i. brasp. elck stuck facit vij sc. vj den.'; BOZ SA 861.6 (OLV 1487–8), fol. 5^r.

Music and musicians in Bergen op Zoom

must have left for Bruges, despite the fact that the tensions between Maximilian and Flanders which had earlier deterred him were still unresolved.

Jacob Obrecht was discharged by the chapter of St Donatian on 22 January 1491.⁷⁸ After this date there is a gap in the composer's biography of about a year. On 7 August 1491 the post of choirmaster at the Confraternity of Our Lady at Antwerp became vacant because of the death of Jacobus Barbireau. After an interim choirmaster had filled the post, Obrecht was appointed in 1492 (or perhaps in late 1491) at an annual salary of 1080 groats, one and a half times that of Barbireau.⁷⁹ It is likely that the composer maintained good relations with Bergen op Zoom, which was after all only 30 km north of Antwerp and could be visited in one day. As we have seen, he was in the town on 23 April 1497, and it was presumably on this date that he agreed with the lord of Bergen op Zoom to become a singer in the choir of the Guild of Our Lady.

Much had changed since Obrecht had last worked in Bergen op Zoom: John II of Glymes had died in 1494, and his son John III introduced an entirely new recruitment policy, the details of which will be described below. In order to persuade the composer to come to Bergen op Zoom John III offered him a fee of 6 groats per *loot*, which meant that if Obrecht attended all services he could earn as

⁷⁸ Obrecht was forced by the chapter to resign, but the reasons are unclear: 'it was decided that the *succentor* Jacobus Obrecht was to be given his leave if he would not ask his leave himself. . . . And that Father de Hoya should persuade him that, for the sake of his honesty and honour, he had better come to the chapter to ask his leave, rather than being told so by the lords [of the chapter]' ('conclusum fuit quod succentor Jacobus Obrecht licentiaretur nisi de se ipso licentiam capiat et petat . . . Et quod pater de Hoya inducat magistrum Jacobum ut potius veniat in capitulo et licentiam capiat et petat propter honestatem et honorem suum quam quidem licentiaretur a dominis'; chapter acts of St Donatian, 26 May 1490. I am indebted to Reinhard Strohm for providing me with a transcription of the account.

⁷⁹ Murray, 'Jacob Obrecht's Connection'; Forney, 'Music, Ritual and Patronage', pp. 42–4. Elly Kooiman assumes that there were two, possibly three, interim choirmasters between Barbireau and Obrecht in 1491–2 ('The Biography of Jacob Barbireau', pp. 39–41), but this seems unlikely. Barbireau died on 7 August 1491, more than six weeks after the beginning of the financial year 1491–2 (24 June 1491). Hence, unless poor health prevented him from working, he must have held the post during this six-week period (being the first of the three choirmasters for whom payment was recorded on 24 June 1492). Barbireau was apparently still in good health by 24 June 1491, when he received his full annual salary for the preceding financial year. Since he died relatively young (at the age of thirty-five or thirty-six) it seems likely that his death was due to an accident or a sudden disease. The third of the three choirmasters of 1491–2 was probably Obrecht, as Kooiman observes: on 24 June 1492 he was described as 'the present choirmaster' ('de sanghmester dye nu is'; *ibid.*, p. 41). This leaves only one interim choirmaster.

much as *c.* 2500–2600 groats per annum. On his arrival at Bergen op Zoom, between 24 June and 3 July 1497, he was given a bonus of 75 groats, at the personal command of John III.⁸⁰ The figure of fifty-two *loten* recorded in the accounts of 1496–7 indicates that in the following seven or so weeks, up to the end of the financial year, he must have attended nearly all the services. A number of these services were carried out together with the singers of the chapel of Philip the Fair, who visited Bergen op Zoom in late July 1497.⁸¹ Jacob Obrecht almost certainly met Pierre de la Rue on this occasion.

Unfortunately the accounts of 1497–8 of the Guild of Our Lady are lost.⁸² The accounts of the next year, 1498–9, tell us that Jacob Obrecht received 144 *loten* of 6 groats, together equalling 864 groats.⁸³ With the help of the calculation described earlier it can be established that the minimum period in which 144 *loten* could be earned was *c.* 119–25 days. Since the accounts of 1498–9 started on 15 August 1498, it can be concluded that Obrecht must have stayed in Bergen op Zoom until at least 12–18 December 1498. This is just

⁸⁰ 'Ende uut bevelen vanden heeren tsijnen aencomen hem gegeven eenen davits gulden facit vj sc. iij den.'; BOZ SA 861.15 (OLV 1496–7), fol. 12^v.

⁸¹ The city accounts of 1 March 1497–1 March 1498 record the payment of two *amen* Rhine wine (*c.* 275 litres) to 'Eertshertoghe Philipse' on 24 July 1497 (BOZ SA 253, fol. 39^r). Two days later the following payment was recorded: 'On the same day [26 July 1497], given to the singers of Duke Philip's chapel nine *gelten* Rhine wine [*c.* 24.75 litres] at the same price as above, 108 groats' ('Opten selven dach geschoncken den sangeren van hertoghe philips capelle ix gelten ryns wyns ten prijse als voeren ix sc.'). BOZ SA 253, fol. 39^v. The accounts of the Guild of Our Lady of 1496–7 contain the following entry: 'And also at the [same] command as above [i.e. of the *borgemeesters* and *scepenen*], paid to the singers of Duke Philip because they helped sing the *Lof*, together 97.5 groats' ('Ende desgelijcx uut bevelen als voeren hertoghe philips sangeren om dat sy dloff mede halpen singen geschoncken tsamen viij sc. j½ den.'). BOZ SA 816.15 (OLV 1496–7), fol. 13^r. Philip the Fair also visited Bergen op Zoom on 26 October 1496, for a meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Slootmans, *Jan metten Lippen*, p. 115).

⁸² There is, however, a curious payment to Obrecht in the city accounts of 1498–9, dating 3 May 1498, which on the face of it seems to suggest that the composer was absent for some time in 1498: 'On the same day [3 May 1498], given to *meestere* Jacobe Obrechts with a certain singer from elsewhere six *gelten* Rhine wine [*c.* 16.5 litres], makes 72 groats' ('Opten zelve dach geschoncken meestere jacob obrechts met sekeren sangheren van buyten zesse gelten ryns wyns facit vj sc.'). BOZ SA 254 (SR 1498–9), fol. 36^v. If this payment was made in reward of services rendered on the Holy Cross procession, as seems likely, it is curious that Obrecht is mentioned separately in the chapter containing miscellaneous payments (and not, as are the regular participants, in the chapter 'Vanden Cruyscosten', which contains the expenses for the feast of the Holy Cross). Also, the fact that the payment was made to Obrecht *together* with a foreign singer suggests that the two musicians came from elsewhere.

⁸³ 'Item meestere jacob obrechts voer syn loot tot c xliiij looten toe elck loot vj gr. facit iij lb. xij sc. br.'; BOZ SA 861.16 (OLV 1498–9), fol. 12^r.

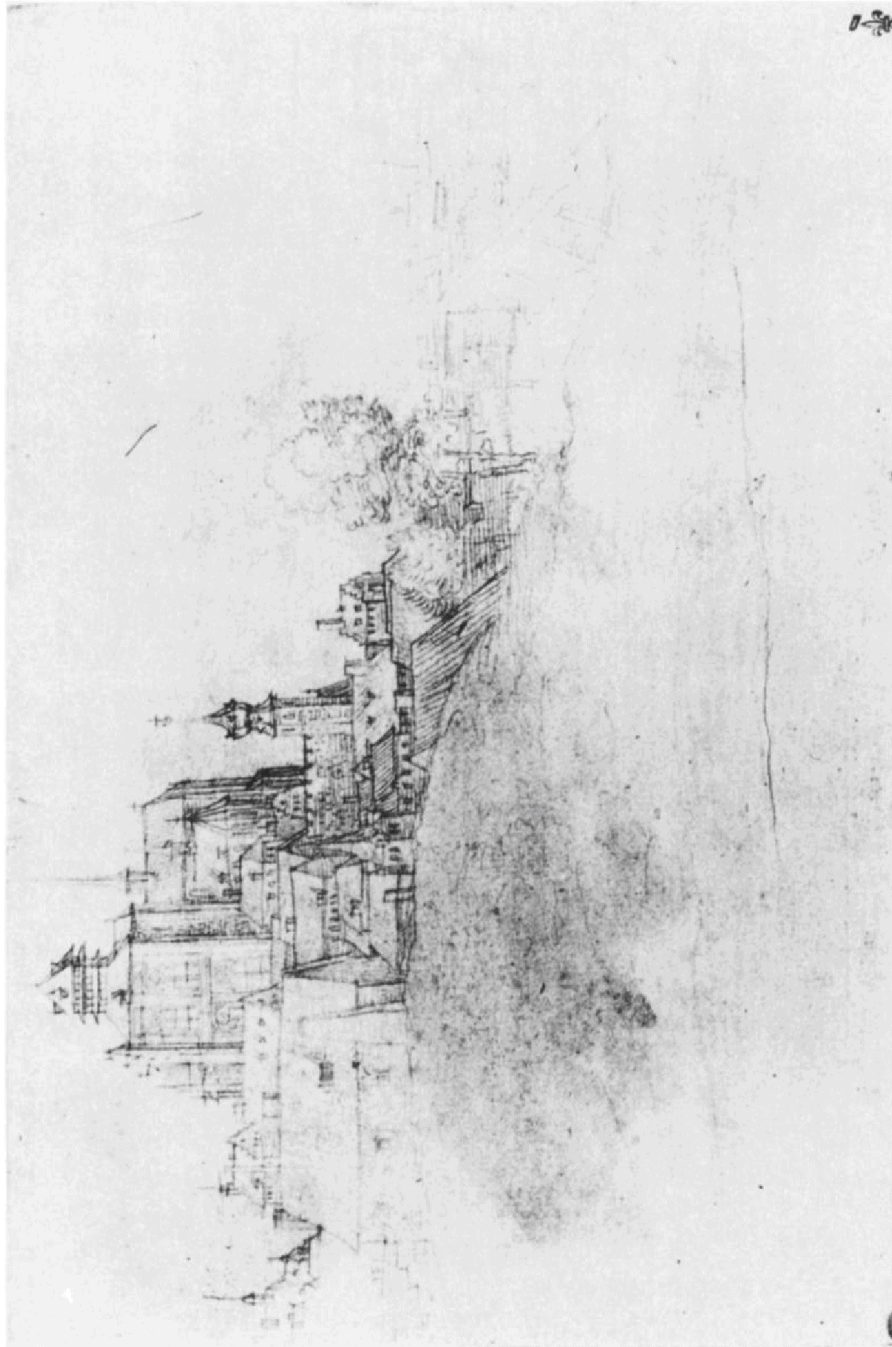


Figure 4 View of Bergen op Zoom, dominated by the church of St Gertrude; drawing (c. 1500) by Albrecht Dürer (Bergen op Zoom, City Archive)

two or three weeks before his appointment as *succentor* at the church of St Donatian in Bruges, 31 December 1498.⁸⁴ Our previous impression that the composer attended nearly all the services is thus confirmed.⁸⁵

From the discussion so far a clear pattern emerges: Jacob Obrecht was evidently not the kind of musician who regarded a position, once obtained, as permanent. As *magister puerorum* in Cambrai he applied for the post of *succentor* in Bruges within nine months of his appointment; and he accepted the *succentor*-ship before 23 June 1485 – that is, more than a month before the chapter acts of Cambrai record the first irregularities which are believed to have led to his discharge.⁸⁶ Once in Bruges, Obrecht seems to have set his sights on a position in Italy: his motet *Inter praeclarissimas virtutes*, written in italianate style but preserved in a manuscript which draws its repertory directly from Flanders, is a musical letter of application comparable to Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer*.⁸⁷ If it was intended for Duke Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara, as is likely, it is not difficult to understand why the latter invited Obrecht to come and visit him in Italy in 1487. In a sense, the 1490s seem to have been the critical decade for Obrecht.

⁸⁴ See the entry of 31 December 1498 in the chapter acts of St Donatian, Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁸⁵ Hence there is no reason to suppose that Obrecht suffered from poor health in 1497–8. The first concrete evidence of severe illness dates from September 1500, when the composer is described in the chapter acts of St Donatian as 'gravi aegritudine laborante' (Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–7). According to Piscaer, Obrecht also suffered from poor health in Antwerp in 1492–7 ('Jacob Obrecht' (1938), pp. 11–12), but the evidence she adduces is not conclusive.

⁸⁶ See n. 74 above.

⁸⁷ Segovia, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, MS s.s., fols. 78^v–81^r. See A. Smijers, 'Twee onbekende Motetteksten van Jacob Obrecht', *Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 16 (1941), pp. 130–3; Murray, 'Jacob Obrecht's Connection', p. 129; A. Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480–1555* (Utrecht, 1970), pp. 14–17; M. E. Nagle, 'The Structural Role of the Cantus Firmus in the Motets of Jacob Obrecht' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1972), pp. 152–87. The character of a letter of application is especially marked in the second and third sections of the motet, which in Nagle's translation run as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 155; emended here after the original text): 'Well then, because of your fatherliness which is so great, I always sound forth [your] praises in my songs, jubilating, not as I should, but as I am able to. And I humbly offer *this present page*, put together in a crude style of harmony, for the praise of God and your comfort. For *what else I can give you now as a service, I do not know*. You have no need of money, and you are rich in insight and understanding. You enjoy prosperity and joy; you rejoice in tranquillity and peace; you are being praised among those who honour dignity. Be strong in your fight. Therefore *accept this present musical song, and me, Jacob Obrecht, your very humble servant, benevolently and with good will*. Command and rule happily and long.' I suggest that Obrecht wrote *Inter praeclarissimas virtutes* in 1487, after hearing of the reputation which he enjoyed with Duke Ercole I d'Este, and that he sent it to him in an attempt to obtain a position in Ferrara. The motet is immediately followed in Segovia s.s. by *Mille quingentis* of 1488.

He was forced to resign by the chapter of St Donatian in Bruges on 22 January 1491. After a gap of a year, we find him working in Antwerp in 1492 for the modest annual salary of 1080 groats, only 24 groats more than he had earned ten years before in Bergen op Zoom. In 1497, Obrecht was one of the first musicians to profit from the more generous patronage of John III of Glymes in Bergen op Zoom, and there are strong indications that he worked very hard in the eighteen months that he stayed here. For inexplicable reasons, however, he left this prospering musical centre for Bruges, which in the 1490s was already beginning to decline. Illness forced him to go back again to Antwerp, where he worked for 1080 groats per annum in 1501–2, and, from 1503, at an annual salary of 1560 groats. It is perhaps indicative of Obrecht's despair that in 1504 he was prepared to move to a city infested with plague – despite his poor health – finally to obtain the position consonant with his international reputation: the post of *maestro di cappella* in Ferrara, vacant because of Josquin's departure, at a salary of 100 ducats per annum (*c.* 11,000–12,000 Brabant groats). Subsequent strokes of misfortune quickly drew Obrecht's life to a close: after six months in Ferrara he suddenly found himself without a position when his employer Ercole I d'Este died (January 1505); a last attempt to obtain a position in Mantua failed (May 1505); and finally the composer contracted the dreaded plague himself, of which he died in late July 1505.⁸⁸

Considering Obrecht's career as a whole it is interesting to see a development in his association with Bergen op Zoom. As a young and promising composer he held his first responsible post in 1480–4 at the Guild of Our Lady, then still a relatively modest musical centre. The reasons for his brief return in 1488, when his reputation was rising and his future looked bright, were of a political nature: his

⁸⁸ Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, pp. 207–10. Richard Sherr (private communication, 1 August 1989) has discovered that Obrecht died before 1 August 1505, the date of two supplications, preserved in the Vatican Archives, for benefices that had become vacant on the composer's death. Two other supplications, dated 30 September 1505, imply that Obrecht may have been a member of the chapel of Pope Julius II, probably between November 1503 and September 1504. I am indebted to Prof. Sherr for sharing this material with me in advance of its publication. A 'Jacobus Obrechts' is mentioned in an obituary of St Goedele, Brussels, in 1507 (Haggh, 'Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony', p. 640). In a private communication dated 25 February 1989, Prof. Haggh wrote to me: 'It is always possible that the composer had some association with the church that is not mentioned by the documents and that he endowed an obit in Brussels, but I did see most of the documents from that period in the St Goedele archives and did not find any other mention of Obrechts.' Possibly, as Prof. Haggh adds, his name will, in due course, turn up in one of the more than ten thousand Brussels charters from this period.

participation as a singer in the services of the guild was now merely a matter of convenience. In the following decade, Bergen op Zoom's status as a musical centre rose quickly, while Obrecht somehow failed to turn the promises of his extraordinary musical talent to full profit. The cause for his return to Bergen op Zoom in 1497–8 lay in the new patronage and recruitment policy exerted by Lord John III of Glymes. Considering the later development of Bergen op Zoom as a musical centre – within a few years Obrecht could have earned more than 3000 groats per year – it would probably have been wisest for him to stay there rather than go to Bruges or Antwerp, let alone plague-infested Ferrara. It is true that Obrecht did not have the benefit of hindsight. Still, it is hard to avoid the impression that he found it difficult to settle for less than what his talent and stature entitled him to. Obrecht was born to be a second Josquin, and in the end he staked his life to become one.

MUSIC AT THE GUILD OF OUR LADY
UNDER JOHN III OF GLYMES

On 7 September 1494 Lord John II of Glymes died at the age of 77, having ruled Bergen op Zoom and its domains for more than half a century. Ten days later, on 17 September, his son John of Walhain was inaugurated lord of Bergen op Zoom, a ceremony on which a 'missen van den heyligen gheest' (Mass of the Holy Ghost) was performed by the singers of the church of St Gertrude.⁸⁹

John III of Glymes was in many respects a more internationally oriented, cosmopolitan figure than his father (Figure 5). He had been made a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1481, was appointed 'yersten camerlinc' (first chamberlain) of Maximilian of Habsburg in 1485, and later became ambassador to Emperor Charles V. Thanks to his political and diplomatic skills he developed into one of the most powerful and influential noblemen of the

⁸⁹ 'On the twenty-first day of September [1494], given to the singers of the church [of St Gertrude] for the Mass of the Holy Ghost, which they sang when my lord was to be inaugurated, 6 *gelten*, makes 90 groats' ('Opten xxien dach septembris gesconcken den zangers van der kerken van der missen van den heyligen gheest die zij zongen als men mijnen heer hulden soude vj gelten maict vij sc. vj den.'). BOZ SA 252 (SR 1494–5), fol. 186^r. At the meetings of the Order of the Golden Fleece polyphonic Masses of the Holy Ghost were also performed; see W. F. Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), pp. 113–52.



Figure 5 John and Henry of Glymes with their patron saints; left panel from an anonymous triptych (c. 1480). Left: John (1452–1532), who became Lord of Bergen op Zoom in 1494, with his patron saint John the Evangelist. Right: his brother Henry (1449–1502), who became Bishop of Cambrai in 1480, with his patron saint Henry (Emperor Heinrich II of the Holy Roman Empire). John and Henry were respectively knight and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece. (Bergen op Zoom, City Archive)

Burgundian Netherlands.⁹⁰ John III's involvement in international affairs, however, prevented him from devoting as much energy to the government of his domains as his father had given. It has been estimated that he spent only about 130–40 days each year in Bergen

⁹⁰ See John III's biography in Sloomans, *Jan metten Lippen*, pp. 48–56 and 107–309.

op Zoom.⁹¹ Nevertheless, during his reign Bergen op Zoom prospered more than ever before. Its increasing importance as a market town was in fact one of the main contributory causes of the decline of the Bruges staple market after 1500. An indication of Bergen op Zoom's wealth and confidence in the last decades of the fifteenth century is provided by the fact that the city started to rebuild the church of St Gertrude completely in 1489, barely twenty years after Spoorwater's building had been completed.⁹² If the new church had been finished it would have been almost as big as the church of Our Lady at Antwerp.

Bergen op Zoom now took its place on the international political stage. For the reception of important visitors, such as Philip the Fair (1497), Emperor Maximilian I (1508) and the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1496), as well as of various ambassadors, officials, princes and noblemen, it needed a representative musical establishment equal in quality and splendour to the finest chapels of north-western Europe. Before John III became lord of Bergen op Zoom, he had had ample opportunity to become acquainted with famous household chapels, such as that of Charles the Bold (when he participated in the siege of Neuss and the battle of Nancy) and, in his capacity of first chamberlain, with the chapels of Maximilian of Habsburg and Philip the Fair. From now on these latter chapels, rather than the choirs of other confraternities in Brabant, were to provide the model for the Guild of Our Lady.

As we have seen, under John II of Glymes the choir of the Guild of Our Lady underwent a steady but slow rise in quality, mainly because most of the new singers were appointed at fees above the average level. In spite of the continuous increase in spending on music, however, the period 1480–94 had been very much a time of stability. The choir of the guild consisted of a nucleus comprising the choirmaster and six permanent singers (singers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 in Appendix 4 below), and a varying number of 'hangers-on', who usually participated in the services on a less regular basis. The top fee was fixed at 3.75 groats per *loot*, and this ceiling was not raised even for a well-regarded singer like Michiele Cramer, whom the guild was so very anxious to retain in 1485 when he was invited to

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁹² C. J. A. C. Peeters, 'Het Nieuwe Werk als het bijna mogelijke', *Bergen op Zoom gebouwd en beschouwd*, pp. 157–69.

become a singer in Maximilian of Habsburg's chapel.⁹³ On the whole, the accounts of 1480–94 give the impression that there was not an active, energetic recruitment policy. Indeed, one might rather say that this period was characterised by a more or less perfunctory management of the available funds, aimed primarily at keeping up the existing standard. The fact that this standard was in fact gradually rising seems to have been a fortuitous consequence of the increasing market revenues rather than the result of a deliberate policy.

All this was to change radically after 1494. The first sign of a change of policy is in the accounts of 1494–5, where a new singer, Lucas of Brussels, is mentioned as receiving the unprecedented fee of 6 groats per *loot*. Two years later, in 1496–7, two other new singers, Willeme Jacobssone from The Hague and Jacob Obrecht, were appointed at fees of 4.5 and 6 groats respectively. But the real breakthrough came in 1498–9, when the guild employed two singers at 6 groats per *loot*, three at 7.5 groats per *loot*, and one at 9 groats per *loot* – all appointed after 1494. Of the singers who had worked at the guild during the last year of John II's reign (1493–4), only two were now left: Michiele Cramer, once the guild's best singer, now with his fee of 3.75 groats the next to lowest-paid musician; and the 'old and slow' Willeme van Hondswijck, who apparently was allowed to stay at the guild for reasons of charity (at a fee of 2.25 groats per *loot*).

The trend was now towards employing fewer, but better-paid, singers. This is illustrated by Appendix 3, in which for each financial year the average value of the *loten* and the average number of singers per service are given. It can be easily observed that the average value of the *loten*, which had stayed between 2 and 3 groats during the period 1480–94, rose quickly from about 3 to 7 groats in 1494–1508. At the same time, the average number of singers per service fell from between six and nine in 1480–94 to between four and six in 1494–1508. It is instructive to compare Appendix 3 with Figure 3a above. The graph shows that during the period 1470–1510 the total amount of money spent on musicians' salaries at the Guild of Our Lady was rising continuously, but it gives no sign of any change around 1494. The Appendix, on the other hand, tells us *how* the amounts were actually spent, and indicates a significant change in the pattern of spending in the mid-1490s.

⁹³ See Piscaer, 'De Zangers van het Onze Lieve Vrouwe Gilde', pp. 74–5 and 149.

The Guild of Our Lady was now looking for singers of high quality. What it could offer them, if they attended all services, was annual salaries of *c.* 2500–2600 groats (at 6 groats per *loot*), *c.* 3100–3300 (at 7.5 groats per *loot*), or even *c.* 3700–3900 (at 9 groats per *loot*). One need only compare these figures with the ones given in Table 2 to realise that within five years (1494–9) a veritable turnaround had taken place at the guild. However, singers of high quality were not only scarce and expensive, but also much favoured by other musical centres. Bergen op Zoom now entered a labour market characterised by fierce competition, and it comes as no surprise that the stability which had prevailed during the period 1480–94 now gave way to rapid turnover: none of the singers appointed in the period 1494–1510 stayed at the guild for more than four or five years. Some singers were able to make a good living in this system of tough competition, but others – Jacob Obrecht was a notable example – failed. A good example of a successful singer was Henricke Haudijn of Diest, who worked at the Guild of Our Lady in 1506 and 1507 at a fee of 9 groats per *loot*. In April 1507 the choirmaster of 's-Hertogenbosch, Claessen Craen, died, and Haudijn was asked to become his successor. In order to get him, the 's-Hertogenbosch confraternity had to raise its top weekly wage from 14 stivers (=2184 groats *per annum*) to 20 stivers (=3120 groats *per annum*).⁹⁴ In spite of this financial sacrifice, 's-Hertogenbosch eventually lost the competition for Haudijn with Bergen op Zoom: in 1510 he became choirmaster at the Guild of Our Lady at a fee of 12 groats per *loot*, earning a salary of more than 5000 groats *per annum*. With Henricke Haudijn's appointment as choirmaster in 1510 a new period in the history of the guild started, which however will not be dealt with in the present study. Other famous singers were Clause of Lier, who worked irregularly at the guild in 1499–1503 and is also found listed as one of Philip the Fair's singers in 1492–1502,⁹⁵ and Johannes Ghiselin *alias* Verbonnet, who already had an international career behind him when he became the guild's best-paid singer in 1507.⁹⁶

There are also musical innovations which may perhaps be connec-

⁹⁴ Smijers, 'De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap' (1935), pp. 66–73.

⁹⁵ Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, vii (Brussels, 1885), pp. 107–8, 144–5, 151, 153, 156, 178, 268–9 and 496–7; Prizer, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁹⁶ C. Gottwald, *Johannes Ghiselin – Johannes Verbonnet* (Wiesbaden, 1962).

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ted with John III's patronage. From 1494–5 onwards, for instance, the choirmaster was paid an extra 360 groats per year 'for singing the *Ave Maria* with the choristers, when the bells are ringing during the *Lof*'.⁹⁷ And four years later we find the first mention of an annual service in which all the available musical resources of Bergen op Zoom were drawn together in a sumptuous celebration: the 'generael processie avont'. The accounts for 1499–1500 describe this service as follows:⁹⁸ 'And on Procession-General Eve, when the singers, the organist and the city pipers sang and played certain motets in the night, together with carillon-playing and bell-ringing, to which [service] the [chapter of St Gertrude's] church does not contribute, paid 48 groats.' No doubt this display of musical splendour was partly designed to impress the thousands of merchants who stayed at Bergen op Zoom during the Easter fairs. As early as 1399 it had been stipulated that the Procession of the Holy Cross (around 3 May) was to conclude the Easter fair in a festive climax.⁹⁹ Unfortunately it is not possible to extract more specific information from the accounts on the cultivation of polyphony under John III of Glymes. It seems very likely, though, that with respect to performance practice and choice of repertory there was much more continuity with the previous period than there was with respect to recruitment policy.

The unsettledness of the period 1494–1510 was to give way to new stability after 1510. After a gap of three years in the accounts (1508/9–1510/11) the choir of the guild appears to have been almost entirely restaffed in 1511–12, and most of the new members were to remain in more or less permanent service during the 1510s. From 1518–19 onwards, two (later three) trumpeters also participated in the services. These later developments, however, will be dealt with in detail in a separate study.

This article has focused on the creation and early development of Bergen op Zoom as a musical centre. Within forty years of its foundation the Guild of Our Lady became one of the most important

⁹⁷ 'Also to the same [choirmaster] for singing the *Ave Maria* with the choristers when the bell is ringing during the *Lof*, 360 groats' ('noch den selven voer ave maria metten coralen te singene als de clocke int loff clipt xxx sc.br.');

⁹⁸ 'Ende opten generael processie avont als de sangeren organiste ende stadtpijpers sekere motetten inden nacht songen ende speelden met beyarden ende luyen sonder dat de kerke daertoe oic geeft betaelt iiij sc.br.');

⁹⁹ BOZ SA 861.13 (OLV 1494–5), fol. 10^r.
BOZ SA 861.17 (OLV 1499–1500), fol. 13^r.
Slootmans, *Paas- en Koudemarkten*, 1, p. 14.

musical establishments of the Low Countries, surpassing the venerable Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch and rivalling the chapels of Maximilian of Habsburg and Philip the Fair. The rapid growth of the guild was mainly the result of John II of Glymes's decision, in 1474, to renounce to it the revenues of the twice-yearly Bergen op Zoom fairs. Those revenues were to rise dramatically in the decades following his decision. However, we have also observed that the relative importance of Bergen op Zoom as a musical centre depended not only on the funds themselves, but also on the ways they were spent. While John II created the guild and provided the resources for its further growth, it was his son and successor John III who turned these resources to full advantage.

It may seem odd to assess the musical life of a medieval institution on the basis of purely financial criteria, rather than musical data such as manuscripts and compositions or the presence of famous musicians and composers. On the other hand, compositions and sources have been very unevenly preserved, and therefore tend to give a distorted picture of musical life in fifteenth-century Europe. And it is difficult to tell what makes a musician 'famous', particularly if he was not a composer. The first criterion one would think of is the musical centres in which he worked: everyone would agree that a musician who worked, for instance, at the Burgundian chapel or the chapel of Duke Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara must have possessed outstanding qualities. But obviously it would be circular to establish the quality of musicians on the basis of the centres where they worked, and the importance of musical centres on the basis of the singers they employed.

The advantage of financial criteria, then, seems to be that they are objective, and that financial data of different musical centres can be directly compared. In particular, musical life in the Burgundian Netherlands lends itself to direct comparison, because the exchange rates between the various coinages were fixed (since 1433) and the standards of living in the larger towns were more or less commensurable. Comparisons between the Low Countries and Italy may be more difficult, since one may have to allow for differences in the costs of living. But by attempting to relate musicians' salaries to the basic costs of living (see Table 2 above) it might be possible to overcome such difficulties. Comparisons between the standards of living of musicians in different countries might help us to understand and

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interpret, at least in part, their extraordinary mobility. Of course it would be one-sided to consider fifteenth-century musicians as workers driven merely by the impulse to earn more, no matter where their travels would lead them (the ‘birds on the branches’). Yet an understanding of the large-scale economic processes, and their effects on the demand for a luxury like polyphonic music, could help us to explain at least some of the changing patterns of migration. To establish this link between economic history and music still remains a task for the future.

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APPENDIX 1

Foundation document of *Lof* service of the Guild of Our Lady, 24 December 1470 (Bergen op Zoom, City Archive, Stadsarchief inv. no. 157 (La.G), fols. 16^{r-v}; previously published in Sloomans, ‘De Hoge Lieve Vrouw’ (1964), pp. 42–3).

Van onser vrouwen love ende hoe vele men den sancmeester ende sangeren etc. gheven zal.

Anno lxx opten xxiiij^{ten} dach decembris overdreghen ende geordoneert by mynen lieven heer van berghen burgemeesters ende scepenen als overste van onser liever vrouwen gulde binnen der kercken van berghen ter erectien ende onderhoudinghe van onser vrouwen loove ende des daer ane cleeft.

[1] Inden eersten dat meester willem de sanckmeester nu synde gehouden syn sel te comen alle avonde onder [*sic*] kercken ende aldaer singhen metten kinderen onser vrouwen lof daer voer hy voer hem selve hebben sel zesse rynsche guldens ende voer de kinderen vier der selven rynsche guldenen twintich stuvers voer tstück gerekent.

[2] Des sel hy oick gehouden syn den anderen mede sangeren te deylene ende te disterbuerenne tloot dat men daer toe ordineren sel gegeven te wordenne elcken naer sinen loon by alsoe dat de regeerders vander selver gulden op hem begheren.

[3] Item sel de opperste tenoriste hebben telker reysen dat hy ter selver loove compararen sel enen brabantischen groten ende elken vanden anderen sangheren biden capittel geadmitteert tot vive toe telker reysen dat sy compareren selen elken een oortken.

[4] Ende midts desen sullen alle de voig[escreven] personen ende elck van hen gehouden syn sel te singhenne alle onser vrouwen missen eck op de

verboorte van alsoe vele als elck inden loove comende des avonts winnen soude.

[5] Item datmen zekere looden maken ende doen maken ende daerop teijkenne de waerde vanden penninghen die elck in tsinen verdienen ende toegeordineert syn boven welke looden de regeerders gehouden syn selen te overtenemenne vanden sangeren vier reysen tsiaers ende hem daer voer te gheven gelt elcken naer tsine.

[6] Item heeft voort myn heer geconsenteert vanden sinen te worden betaelt elken vanden sangheren meesteren van buyten comende telken dat sy comen sullen singhen onser vrouwen lof een loot van enen oortkenne ende dat sullen den selven de regeerderen ter stont wisselen ende gelt voer gheven.

[7] Is oick geordineert dat alle de stuvers die vanden guldebroeders tot misse gelt sullen worden gegeven to wetenne vanden ghenen daer af onse vrouwe egenen koste af en heeft van spyse noch van drancke tot onser vrouwen dienste sullen worden geapliceert sonder daer af yet inde koste ende maeltyt te applicerenne ende te voegenne ende alsoe sullen de regeerders voirscreven vanden selven stuvers in hare rekeninge bisonder rekeninge ende bewys doen van jaer tot jaer.

[8] Item hebben de heeren vanden capittle geconsenteert ende geseedt dat men tsavonts clocke clippen naden loove sonder onser vrouwen kost.

[9] Item sel de maeltyt opten kersnacht voerde sanghers in tgeheele afgesneden wesen ende oick alle maeltiiden noch en selmen oick voer de selve maeltiiden egene penninghen gheven des is hier ine uytgenomen de groote maeltyt te half oexst.

APPENDIX 2

Expenditure on music at the Guild of Our Lady 1480/1–1507/8

In order to save space, the accounts are not presented in transcription but are given in summary. The original spelling has been retained. All sums are given in Brabant groats. If the number of *loten* indicated in the account does not correspond with the total salary of the musician divided by the value of one *loot*, the correct number is given, followed by the incorrect number between brackets, e.g.: 157 (160). If the total salary is not exactly divisible by the value of one *loot*, the quotient is rounded down and followed by a question mark between brackets: e.g. Cornelise Zwagers's salary in 1486–7 was 1474.5 Brabant groats, and each *loot* was worth 3.75 groats. This gives 393.2 *loten*, indicated below as 393(?) *loten*. The numbers in square brackets refer to the list of singers (Appendix 4).

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1480–1481

<i>Heer Anthuenise de Rouck</i> (officiant)		1440
The <i>sangmeester</i> [1]	annual salary	720
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Organist		
	annual salary (960), reduced by 60 because of temporary absence	900
Choristers	Holy Cross <i>lof</i> and other services	300
<i>Heer Michele</i> [2]	[66 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.?)	198
<i>Heer Cornelise</i> [3]	[113 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.?)	339
<i>Meester Willeme van Hondswijc</i> [4]	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Heer Symon van Amerode cantor</i> [5]	[248 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.?)	372
<i>Heer Henrick Malecourt</i> [6]	[301 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.?)	451.5
<i>Michelet</i> [7]	[346 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.?)	519
<i>Heer Peter de Coster</i> [8]		366
<i>Heer Cornelise Both</i> [9]		154.5
<i>Meester Janne Mol</i> [10]		477
<i>Johannes Greefken</i> [11]		436.5
	allowance from the dean of the previous year	90
<i>Heer Janne de Greve</i> [12]		83.25
<i>Aubertijne</i> [13]		345
Bellringers		432
Total		8316.75

1481–1482

<i>Heer Anthuenise de Rouc</i> (officiant)		1440
<i>Meestere Jacobe den sangmeester</i> [1]	annual salary	720
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
	earned after 24 June 1482: 39 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	117
Organist	salary	960
	reimbursement for purchase of bonnet	30
Choristers	services of Our Lady	240
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
<i>Heer Michiele</i> [2]	336–420 <i>loten</i> of 3 and 3.75 gr.	1260
<i>Heer Cornelise</i> [3]	[329–411 <i>loten</i> of 3 and 3.75 gr.?)	1234.5
<i>Meester Willeme van Hondswijc</i> [4]	432 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	648
<i>Heer Symone</i> [5]	392 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	588
<i>Heer Henricke Mailcourt</i> [6]	424 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	636
The young <i>heer Michiele</i> [7]	456 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	684

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<i>Meester</i> Gielise [14]	76 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	114
<i>Heer</i> Quintene [15]	105 <i>loten</i> of 1 gr.	105
<i>Meester</i> Janne Mol [10]		57
Jannes <i>de barbier</i> [11]		31.5
Aubertine [13]		791.25
Bellringers		792
Total		10,568.25

1482–1483

<i>Heer</i> Anthuenise de Rouck (officiant)		1260
The <i>sangmeester</i> [1]	332 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	996
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Denise the organist	salary (until his death)	840
Janne van Steenberghen		
	for keeping the organs after Denise's death	150
Choristers	services of Our Lady	210
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
<i>Heer</i> Michiele [2]	480(?) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1803.5
	reimbursement for purchase of tabard	360
<i>Heer</i> Cornelise [3]	434 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1627.5
<i>Meester</i> Gielise [14]	288–430 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 and 2.25 gr.	646
<i>Meester</i> Willeme van Hondswijck [4]	248 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	372
<i>Heer</i> Symon <i>de canter</i> [5]	320 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	480
<i>Heer</i> Henrike Mailcourt [6]	384 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	576
The young <i>heer</i> Michiele [7]	406 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	609
<i>Heer</i> Quintijne [15]	342 <i>loten</i> of 1 gr.	342
Bellringers		420
Total		10,812

1483–1484

<i>Heer</i> Anthuenise de Rouck (officiant)		1440
<i>Meester</i> Jacobe <i>den sangmeester</i> [1] and Reijnier 'with the hunch, who was living with him' [16]	637 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	1911
To the <i>sangmeester</i> [1] alone	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Organist	salary	1231.5
Choristers	salary	240
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
<i>Heer</i> Michiele [2]	393 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1473.75
	reimbursement for purchase of tabard	360
<i>Heer</i> Cornelise van Sciетdamme [3]	90 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	337.5

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<i>Heer</i> Cornelise uutten Hage [17]	103(?) <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	232.25
<i>Meester</i> Willem van Hondswijck [4]	390 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	585
<i>Heer</i> Symon <i>de cantor</i> [5]	364 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	546
<i>Heer</i> Henric Mailcourt [6]	416 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	624
The young <i>heer</i> Michiele [7]	389 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	583.5
<i>Heer</i> Quintijn [15]	318 <i>loten</i> of 1 gr.	318
Bellringers		522
Total		10,524.5

1484–1485

Lost

1485–1486

<i>Heer</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priester</i> (officiant)		1440
<i>Den sangmeestere meestere</i> Pauwelse van Rode [18]		
	432(?) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1621.5
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Organist	salary	1440
Choristers		360
<i>Heer</i> Michiele Cramer <i>tenoriste</i> [2]	417(?) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1566
	bonus from <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>schepenen</i>	540
<i>Heer</i> Cornelise Zwagers [3]	438(?) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1645.25
<i>Heer</i> Symon van Amerode <i>priestere ende cantere</i> [5]		
	c. 369–93 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr. and 2.25 gr.	685.5
<i>Meester</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	308 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	462
<i>Heer</i> Henricke van Maelcourt <i>tenoriste</i> [6]	360 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	540
<i>Heer</i> Michiel van Bastoengen <i>alias</i> Michelet [7]		
	381 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	571.5
<i>Heer</i> Alairde Henricxsone <i>priestere</i> [19]	[24 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.?)	36
Bellringers		546
Total		11,513.75
Total in account		11,514.25

1486–1487

<i>Heer</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priestere</i> (officiant)		1440
<i>Den sangmeester meestere</i> Pauwelse van Rode [18]		
	307(?) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1153.5
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Organist	salary	1440
Choristers		360

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<i>Heere Michiele Cramer tenoriste</i> [2]	430 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1612.5
	bonus from <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>schepenen</i>	540
<i>Heere Cornelise Zwaghere</i> [3]	393(?) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1474.5
<i>Heere Michiele van Bastoingnen alias Michelet</i> [7]		
	181 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr. until 10 Jan 1487	271.5
	210 <i>loten</i> of 1.75 gr. from 11 Jan to 19 Aug 1487	367.5
<i>Meester Willem van Honswijck</i> [4]	285 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	427.5
<i>Heere Symon van Amerode priester ende cantere</i> [5]		
	463 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	1041.75
<i>Heere Henricke van Malencourt tenoriste</i> [6]	594 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	891
<i>Heere Alaerde Henricxsone priester</i> [19]	60 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	90
Bellringers		546
Total		11,715.75

1487–1488

<i>Heer Anthoenis de Ruck priester</i> (officiant)		1440
<i>Den sangmeester meester Pauwelse van Rode</i> [18]		
	461(?) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr. (incl. 64 <i>loten</i> of the previous year)	1730.25
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Organist	salary	1440
Choristers		—
<i>Meester Jacop den sangmeester</i> [1]	48 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	180
<i>Heere Maghiel Cramer tenoriste</i> [2]	416 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1560
	bonus from <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>schepenen</i>	540
<i>Heer Cornelise Zwagher</i> [3]		
	460 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr. (including a number of <i>loten</i> from the previous year)	1725
<i>Heer Maghiel van Bastoengien</i> [7]	416 <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	780
<i>Meester Willem van Hontswijck</i> [4]	309 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	463.5
<i>Heer Symoen van Ameroede priester ende cantoer</i> [5]		
	422 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	949.5
<i>Heer Hendric van Maelcoert tenorijste</i> [6]	414 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	621
<i>Heer Alert Heyndricss priester</i> [19]	474 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	711
Bellringers		546
Total		13,286.25

1488–1489

<i>Heere Anthuenise de Rouck priester</i> (officiant)	1440
additional reward for having served longer than 8(?) years	183

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<i>Den sangmeester meester Pauwelse van Rode</i> [18]		
	420 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1575
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Choristers		240
<i>Meestere Adriane den organist</i>	salary	1440
<i>Heere Michiele Cramere tenoriste</i> [2]	432 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1620
	bonus from <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>schepenen</i>	540
<i>Heere Cornelise Zwaghere</i> [3]	246 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	922.5
<i>Heer Symone van Amerode priester ende cantoer</i> [5]		
	420 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	945
<i>Heere Michiele van Bastoengien alias Michilet</i> [7]		
	449(?) <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	843
<i>Meester Willeme van Hondswijck</i> [4]	378 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	567
<i>Heere Henricke van Maelcoert tenoriste</i> [6]	398 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	597
<i>Heere Alaerde Henricxsone priester</i> [19]	389 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	583.5
<i>Heer Janne (replaced Zwaghere)</i> [20]	[94 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.?)	141
Bellringers		654
Total		12,351

1489–1490

(before Maximilian's ordinance of 24 December 1489)

Various priests (officiants)		36
<i>Meestere Pauwelse van Rode de sangmeester</i> [18], and <i>meestere</i> Thomase [21], who came in his stead, together	171 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	644.25
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Choristers		120
Organist		600
<i>Heere Michiele Cramer priester</i> [2]	157 (160) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	588.75
	bonus from <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>schepenen</i>	270
<i>Heere Janne Holtken</i> [22]	141 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	423
<i>Heere Symone van Ammerode de cantere</i> [5]		
	138(?) <i>loten</i> of 1 lelyaert*	430.5
<i>Heere Michiele van Bastoengnen</i> [7]	144 <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	270
<i>Meester Willeme van Honswijck</i> [4]	112 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	168
<i>Heere Henricke van Waelcourt</i> [6]	151 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	226.5
<i>Heere Alaerde Henricxsone</i> [19]	146 (144) <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	219
Bellringers		261
Total		4317

*Coin of unknown value

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(after Maximilian's ordinance of 24 December 1489)

Heer Adam vander Craenleyden <i>priester ende canonic</i> , and other various priests (officiants)		1353.75
Heer Thomase <i>den sangmeester</i> [21]	253 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	948.75
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Choristers		120
Organist		840
Heere Michiele Cramer <i>priester ende tenoriste</i> [2]		
	256 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	960
	bonus from <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>schepenen</i>	270
Heere Jan Holtken <i>priester</i> [22]	265 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	795
Heere Symone van Ammerode <i>cantere</i> [5]	277 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	623.25
Heere Michiele van Bastoengnen [7]	228 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	513
Heer Willem van Honswijck [4]	180 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	270
Heere Henricke van Maelcourt [6]	230 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	345
Heere Alaerde Henricxzone [19]	240 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	360
Bellringers		213
Total		7671.75
Sum total of 1489–90		11,988.75

1490–1491

Various priests (officiants)		1404
Anthoenise de Rouck (officiant)		180
Meestere Thomase <i>de sangmeester</i> [21]	415 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1556.25
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	60
Organist	salary	1440
Choristers	440 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	660
Heere Michiele Cramer [2]	406 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1522.5
	additional bonus	540
Heere Servase van Maestricht [23]	105 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	393.75
Heere Janne van Ghee <i>alias</i> Holtken [22]	384 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	1152
Heere Cornelise Zwaghene [3]	145(?) <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	326.75
Heere Symone van Ammerode [5]	408(?) <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	918.25
Heere Michiele van Bastoengnen [7]	421(?) <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	790.5
Heer Willeme van Honswijck [4]	369 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	553.5
Heere Henricke Maelcourt <i>priester</i> [6]	405 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	607.5
Heer Alaerde Henricxss [19]	351 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	526.5
Heer Janne <i>des dekens capellaen</i> [20]	370 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	555
Bellringers		522
Total		13,708.5

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1491–1492

<i>Heer</i> Anthoenise de Rouck <i>priester ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1440
<i>Meestere</i> Thomase den sangmeestere [21]	420 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1575
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Heere</i> Michiele Cramer <i>tenoriste</i> [2]	420 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1575
	additional bonus	540
<i>Heere</i> Cornelise Zwagere [3]	420 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1575
<i>Heere</i> Servase van Maestricht [23]	416 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1560
<i>Heere</i> Janne van Gheelee <i>alias</i> Holtken [22]	85 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	255
Woutere <i>de tenoriste</i> [24]	182 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	546
<i>Heere</i> Symone van Amerode <i>cantere</i> [5]	402 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	904.5
<i>Heere</i> Michiele van Bastoingene [7]	420 <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	787.5
<i>Heere</i> Willeme van Hondswijck [4]	320 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	480
<i>Heere</i> Henricke van Maelcourt <i>priestere</i> [6]	365 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	547.5
<i>Heere</i> Alaerde Henricxss [19]	229 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	343.5
stocking-cloth (at the command of the <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>scepenen</i>)		72
<i>Heere</i> Janne des dekens <i>capellaen</i> [20]	232 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	348
Bellringers		522
Total		15,264

1492–1493

<i>Heere</i> Anthoenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonic</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Thomase den sangmeestere [21]	380 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1425
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
<i>Meester</i> Karel <i>de sangmeester</i> [25]		
	33 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr. (appointed July 1493)	123.75
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Heere</i> Michiele Cramer [2]		
	420 <i>loten</i> (and 24 old <i>loten</i>) of 3.75 gr.	1665
	additional bonus	540
<i>Heere</i> Cornelise Swaghene [3]	351 (352) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1316.25
<i>Heere</i> Servase van Maestricht [23]	372 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1395
Wouter <i>den sanger</i> [24]	235 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	705
<i>Heere</i> Symone van Amerode <i>cantere</i> [5]	400 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	900
<i>Heere</i> Adriane Bouckeel [26]	72 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	162
<i>Heere</i> Michiele van Bastoengien [7]		
	374(?) (372) <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	702

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<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	305 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	457.5
<i>Heere</i> Henricke van Maelcourt <i>priestere</i> [6]	412 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	618
Bellringers		522
Total		14,404.5

1493–1494

<i>Heere</i> Anthoenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Kaerlen den sangmeester [25]	413 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1551
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Heere</i> Michiele Cramer [2]	412 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1545
	additional bonus	540
<i>Heere</i> Janne Stevens [27]	331 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1241.25
<i>Heere</i> Symone van Amerode <i>de cantere</i> [5]	406 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	913.5
<i>Heere</i> Janne Blockeel [28]	115(?) (132) <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	259.5
<i>Heere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	230 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	345
	163 (162) <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	366.75
Jacobe van Alckemair [29]	84 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	126
	303 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	681.75
<i>Heere</i> Michiele van Bastoingnen [7]	366 <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	668.25
<i>Heere</i> Henricke van Maelcourt [6]	413 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	619.5
Bellringers		582
Total		13,312.5

1494–1495

<i>Heere</i> Anthoenise de Roeck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Kaerle den sangmeester [25]	413 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1551
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
‘for singing the <i>Ave Maria</i> with the choristers, when the bells are ringing during the <i>Lof</i>		360
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Heere</i> Lucas van Bruessele [30]	63 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	378
<i>Heere</i> Michiele Cramer [2]	420 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1575
	additional bonus	540
Wouter <i>de tenoriste</i> [24]	71 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	266.25
<i>Heere</i> Janne van Nyeupoort [27]	408 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1530
Jacobe van Alckemaer <i>tenoriste</i> [29]	74 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	166.5
	166 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	622.5

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<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	397 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	893.25
<i>Heere</i> Symone van Amerode <i>de cantere</i> [5]	383 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	861.75
<i>Heere</i> Michiele van Bastoingnen [7]	411 <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	770.79
<i>Heere</i> Henricke van Maelcourt <i>tenoriste</i> [6]	421 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	631.5
Bellringers		852
Total		14,871.54

1495–1496

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Kaerle <i>de sangmeester</i> [25]	244 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	915
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Peter <i>den sangmeester</i> [31]	124 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	465
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Heere</i> Lucas van Bruessele [30]	238 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	1428
<i>Heere</i> Michiele de Cramer [2]	409 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1533.75
	additional bonus	540
Woutere <i>de tenoriste</i> [24]	45(?) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	169
<i>Heere</i> Janne van Nyeupoort [27]	426 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1597.5
<i>Heere</i> Quintene [15]	132 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	396
<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	437(?) <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	984
<i>Heere</i> Symone <i>de cantere</i> [5]	deceased	—
Jacobe van Alckemaer [29]	139(?) <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	313.25
<i>Heere</i> Michiele van Bastoingnen [7]	341(?) <i>loten</i> of 1.875 gr.	639.38
<i>Heere</i> Henricke van Maelcourt [6]	432 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	648
Willeme van Honswijck (junior) [32]	202 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	303
Bellringers		852
Total		15,016.88

1496–1497

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Petere <i>den sangmeester</i> [31]	422 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1582.5
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe Obrechts [1]	52 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	312
bonus on his arrival, at the command of the lord of Bergen op Zoom		75

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Willeme Jacobss <i>uuten Haghe</i> [33]	21 <i>loten</i> of 4.5 gr.	94.5
<i>Heere</i> Michiele Cramere [2]	417 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1563.75
	additional bonus	540
<i>Heeren</i> Janne van Nyeupoort [27]	175 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	656.25
<i>Heere</i> Ghysbrechte Pieterss <i>hoeghcontere</i> [34]	73 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	273.75
<i>Heere</i> Govaerde <i>hoeghcontere</i> [35]	173 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	648.75
<i>Heere</i> Quintene [15]	280 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	840
<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	426 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	958.5
	additional bonus, at the command of the <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>scepenen</i> , 'because he became old and slow, and is an old singer'	120
<i>Heere</i> Jacobe van Alckemaer [29]	316 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	711
<i>Heere</i> Henricke Maelcourt [6]	138 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	207
Willeme [32], son of Willeme van Honswijck	405 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	607.5
'Paid to certain foreign singers, who helped sing on Procession Day and in the [following] weeks, at the command of the <i>burgemeester</i> and <i>scepenen</i> '		117
'Also paid, at the same command as above, to the singers of Duke Philip [the Fair], because they helped sing the <i>Lof</i>		97.5
Bellringers		762
Total		14,400

1497–1498

Lost

1498–1499

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Petere den sangmeester [31]	419 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1571.25
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
Dominicus <i>den tenoriste</i> [36]	88 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	792
<i>Meester</i> Janne Slijper <i>tenoriste</i> [37]	176 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	1320
Gommare van Lyere [38]	104 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	780
Gielise [van Lyere] <i>svoirsc. Gommaers broeder</i> [39]	99 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	742.5
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe Obrechts [1]	144 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	864
<i>Heeren</i> Willeme van Sinte Mertens dijcke [40]	187 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	1122

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<i>Heere</i> Michiele Cramer [2]	335 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1256.25
	additional bonus	666
<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	425 <i>loten</i> of 2.25	956.25
	additional bonus	120
Bellringers		762
Total		15,185.25

1499–1500

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Petere den sangmeester [31]	424 <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1590
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
Gommare van Lyere [38]	420 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3150
Gielise <i>svoirs. Gommaers broeder</i> [39]	420 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3150
<i>Heere</i> Clause van Lyere [41]	74 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	555
Johannes <i>de basconter</i> [42]	424 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3180
<i>Heere</i> Willeme <i>uuten Haghe</i> [33]	405 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	2430
<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	422 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	949.5
	additional bonus	120
Bellringers		762
Service of Procession-General Eve		48
Total		20,167.5

1500–1501

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Peter <i>de</i> sangmeester [31]	341(?) (339) <i>loten</i> of 3.75 gr.	1278.25
	77 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	577.5
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meester</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
Dominicus <i>den tenoriste</i> [36]	134 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	1206
A messenger, for summoning <i>heere</i> Dominicus		30
<i>Heere</i> Clause van Lyere [41]	28 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	210
	74 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	666
Jannes <i>den tenoriste vanden Bossche</i> [37]	259 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	1942.5
Gommare <i>den sanghere</i> [38]	420 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3150

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Gielken <i>den bovensanghere</i> [39]	159 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	1192.5
<i>Heeren</i> Willeme van Sinte Mertensdijcke [40]	379 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	2274
<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	434 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	976
	additional bonus	120
A foreign singer, paid at the command of the <i>burgemeester</i> and		
	<i>scepenen</i>	72
Bellringers		762
Service of Procession-General Eve		60
Total		18,749.75

1501–1502

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Roeck <i>priestere ende canonic</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Petere Vinelo <i>sangmeester</i> [31]	420 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3150
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Heere</i> Dominicus [36]	350 (352) <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	3150
<i>Meestere</i> Clause van Lyere [41]	57 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	513
Gommare van Lyere [38]	407 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3052.5
<i>Heeren</i> Willeme van Sinte Mertensdijcke [40]		
	421 (420) <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	2526
Petere van Breeda [43]	254 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	1524
<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	426 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	958.5
	additional bonus	120
A singer from Utrecht		120
Bellringers		762
Service of Procession-General Eve		60
Total		20,169

1502–1503

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
	‘for having held <i>memorie</i> for my lord the bailiff’	180
<i>Meestere</i> Petere Vineloo <i>sangmeestere</i> [31]	426 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3195
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Heere</i> Clause van Lyere [41]	126 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	1134

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Leeuwen <i>den tenoriste</i> [44]	297 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	2673
Gommare van Lyere <i>de sanghere</i> [38]	84 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	630
	paid when he left	150
	for singing during the Easter Fairs	240
Aernde Thuenissone [45]	112 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	840
<i>Heere</i> Willeme <i>uuten Haghe</i> [33]	422 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	2532
Petere van Breeda <i>sanghere</i> [43]	416 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	2496
<i>Meestere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	429 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	965.25
	additional bonus	120
<i>Heer</i> Quintene <i>de sanghere</i> [15]	273 <i>loten</i> of 1 gr.	273
Willeme, son of <i>meester</i> Willeme van Honswijck [32]		
for singing during the Easter Fairs		120
Other foreign singers		96
Bellringers		762
Service on Procession-General Eve		60
Total		20,699.25

1503–1504

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Rouck <i>priestere ende canonick</i> (officiant)		1680
<i>Meestere</i> Petere Vineloo <i>sangmeester</i> [31], ‘and the other [choirmasters] who came in his place’	408 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3060
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary	1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
Leeuwe <i>den tenoriste</i> [44]	400(?) (407) <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	3603
Aernde <i>uuten Haghe</i> [45]	296 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	2220
<i>Heere</i> Willeme van Sinte Mertensdijcke [40]	32 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	192
Petere van Breeda <i>sanghere</i> [43]	415 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	2490
Franchoyse <i>de sanghere</i> [46]	210 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	1260
Berthelmeeuse <i>de sanghere</i> [47]	214 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	1284
Daniele <i>de sanghere</i> [48]	143 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	429
<i>Heere</i> Willeme van Honswijck [4]	64 <i>loten</i> of 2.25 gr.	144
	additional bonus (for half a year, until his death)	60
<i>Meestere</i> Clause van Lyere [41] ‘for having served for a while’		240
A singer from England	<i>item</i>	225
Gielise <i>de sanghere</i> [39]		
‘for having sung during the St Martin Fairs’		144
Bellringers		762
Service of Procession-General Eve		60
Total		20,406

1504–1505

<i>Heere</i> Anthuenise de Roeck <i>priestere</i> and other priests (officiants)	1650
<i>Meestere</i> Jaspare <i>de sangmeestere</i> [49], ‘and the other [choir-masters] who had worked in his place’	420 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr. 3150
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i> 120
	<i>Ave Maria</i> 360
<i>Meestere</i> Jacobe the organist	salary 1440
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr. 633
Leeuwe <i>den tenoriste</i> [44]	
	9 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr. from 18 to 26 Aug 1504 81
Constantiinen <i>den tenoriste</i> [50]	
	351 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr. from 2 Sept 1504 to 11 July 1505 2631.5
Petere van Breedda [43]	
	369 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr. from 18 Aug 1504 to 30 June 1505 2214
	61 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr. from 30 June to 18 Aug 1505 457.5
<i>Heere</i> Cornelise <i>uten Hage priester</i> [17]	
	160 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr. from 2 April to 18 Aug 1505 960
Berthelmeeuse <i>de sanghere</i> [47]	
	55 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr. from 18 Aug to 9 Sept 1504 330
	paid after 9 Oct 1504 30
Franchoyse <i>den sanghere</i> [46]	
	349 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr. from 18 Aug 1504 to 30 June 1505 2094
	61 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr. from 30 June to 18 Aug 1505 457.5
Daniele <i>den sangere</i> [48]	
	226 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr. from 18 Aug 1504 to 21 March 1505 678
<i>Heer</i> Adriane Peterss van Dort <i>priester</i> [51]	
	250 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr. after 23 Aug. 1504 750
<i>Heere</i> Mertene Moelenbergh [52]	
	26 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr. from 27 July to 18 Aug 1505 39
Bellringers	762
Service of Procession-General Eve	60
Total	18,897.5

1505–1506

<i>Heere</i> Andriese <i>priester ende capellaen</i> (officiant)	1680
<i>Meestere</i> Jaspare <i>den sangmeester</i> [49]	418 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr. 3135
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i> 120
	<i>Ave Maria</i> 360
<i>Meester</i> Trudo the organist	salary 1620

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Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
<i>Meester</i> Henricke van Diest [53]	124 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	1116
Petere van Breeda [43]	398 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	2985
Franchoyse <i>den sanghere</i> [46]	412 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3090
Johannes vanden Bossche <i>tenoriste</i> [37]	381 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	2857.5
<i>Heere</i> Cornelise <i>uuten Haghe</i> [17]	404 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	2424
<i>Heere</i> Adriane van Dort [51]	42 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	126
<i>Heere</i> Mertene Moelenbergh [52]	386 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	579
Bellringers		762
Service of Procession-General Eve		60
Total		21,547.5

1506–1507

<i>Heere</i> Andriese <i>priestere ende capellaen</i> (officiant)		1989
<i>Meestere</i> Jaspare <i>den sangmeester</i> [49]	426 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3195
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Trudo the organist		1800
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633
Henricke van Diest [53]	356 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	3204
Franchoyse <i>de sanghere</i> [46]	426 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3195
Johannese <i>de tenoriste</i> [37]	427 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3202.5
Willeme <i>de sanghere</i> [54]	75 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	562.5
Petere Bonte [55]	427 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3202.5
<i>Heere</i> Cornelise <i>de sanghere</i> [17]	424 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	2544
<i>Heere</i> Mertene Moelenbergh <i>cantere</i> [52]	349 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	523.5
Bellringers and bellows-pumper		762
Service of Procession-General Eve		60
Total		25,353

1507–1508

Various priests (officiants)		1500
<i>Meestere</i> Jaspare <i>de sangmeester</i> [49]	346 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	2595
	Holy Cross <i>lof</i>	120
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	360
<i>Meestere</i> Kaerle <i>den sanghere</i> [25], came in the place of <i>meestere</i>		
Jaspare on 24 June 1508	47 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	352.5
<i>Meestere</i> Trudo the organist	salary	1800
Choristers	422 <i>loten</i> of 1.5 gr.	633

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<i>Meestere</i> Janne Verbonet [56]	402 <i>loten</i> of 9 gr.	3618
Franchoyse <i>den sanghere</i> [46]	388 (385) <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	2910
Johannese <i>den tenoriste</i> [37]	427 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3202.5
Willeme <i>den sanghere</i> [54]	422 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	3165
<i>Heere</i> Bouwene <i>den sangere</i> [57]	283 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	2122.5
<i>Heere</i> Cornelise <i>de sanghere</i> [17]	324 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	1944
	99 <i>loten</i> of 7.5 gr.	742.5
Diericke <i>den sanghere</i> [58]	68 <i>loten</i> of 6 gr.	408
<i>Heere</i> Mertene Moelenberch <i>cantere</i> [52]	412 <i>loten</i> of 3 gr.	1236
Bellringers and bellows-pumper		402
Service of Procession-General Eve		60
Total		27,171

1508–1509

Lost

1509–1510

Lost

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APPENDIX 3

Financial year	Total number of <i>loten</i>	Average value of the <i>loten</i> (Brabant groats)	Average number of singers per service (<i>c.</i> 430 services)
1480-1	?	?	?
1481-2	?	?	?
1482-3	3234-376	2.21-2.30	7.5-7.9
1483-4	3100	2.13	7.2
1484-5	—	—	—
1485-6	2729-53	2.59-2.61	6.3-6.4
1486-7	2987	2.45	6.9
1487-8	3356	2.53	7.8
1488-9	3226	2.42	7.5
1489-90	3089	2.52	7.2
1490-1	3779	2.36	8.8
1491-2	3911	2.68	9.1
1492-3	3354	2.82	7.8
1493-4	3236	2.57	7.5
1494-5	3227	2.87	7.5
1495-6	3169	2.96	7.4
1496-7	2898	2.92	6.7
1497-8	—	—	—
1498-9	1977	4.76	4.6
1499-1500	2589	5.80	6.0
1500-1	2305	5.85	5.4
1501-2	2335	6.37	5.4
1502-3	2585	5.70	6.0
1503-4	2182	6.37	5.1
1504-5	2337	5.92	5.4
1505-6	2565	6.36	6.0
1506-7	2910	6.75	6.8
1507-8	3218	6.93	7.5
1508-9	—	—	—
1509-10	—	—	—

APPENDIX 4

Singers employed at the Guild of Our Lady at Bergen op Zoom, 1480–1510
Fees per *loot* are given between square brackets (in chronological order) and indicate the relative quality of the singer. Literature cited is abbreviated as follows:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| Bouwstenen | C. G. Vlam and M. A. Vente, eds., <i>Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden</i> , 4 vols., II (Amsterdam, 1971); III (Amsterdam, 1980) |
| DoorM | G. van Doorslaer, 'La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau', <i>Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art</i> , 4 (1934), pp. 21–57 and 139–65 |
| GottJGV | C. Gottwald, <i>Johannes Ghiselin – Johannes Verbonnet</i> (Wiesbaden, 1962) |
| HagghM | B. Haggh, 'Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988) |
| JutenPV | E. H. G. C. A. Juten, 'Petrus Vineloo', <i>Taxandria: Tijdschrift voor Noordbrabantsche Geschiedenis en Volkskunde</i> , 36 (1929) p. 68 |
| LockF | L. Lockwood, <i>Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505</i> (Oxford, 1984) |
| LockM | L. Lockwood, '“Messer Gossino” and Josquin Desprez', <i>Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel</i> , ed. R. L. Marshall (Kassel, 1974), pp. 15–24 |
| NieuwK | J. van den Nieuwenhuizen, 'De koralen, de zangers en de zangmeesters van de Antwerpse O.-L.-Vrouwekerk tijdens de 15e eeuw', <i>Gouden jubileum gedenkboek van de viering van 50 jaar heropgericht knapenkor van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekatedraal te Antwerpen</i> (Antwerp, 1978), pp. 29–72 |
| NobPR | T. Noblitt, 'Additional Compositions by Paulus de Rhoda?', <i>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis</i> , 37 (1987), pp. 49–63 |
| PiscOLV | A. Piscaer, 'De zangers van het Onze Lieve Vrouw Gilde te Bergen op Zoom', <i>Land van mijn hart</i> , ed. L. G. J. Verberne and A. Weynen (Tilburg, 1952), pp. 70–81 |
| PiscPV | A. Piscaer, 'Petrus Vineloo te Bergen-op-Zoom', <i>Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis</i> , 13 (1929), pp. 17–19 |
| PrizMC | W. F. Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: |

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- Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), pp. 113–53
- SartJ C. Sartori, 'Josquin des Prés cantore del Duomo di Milano (1459–1472)', *Annales Musicologiques*, 4 (1956), pp. 55–83
- SeayD A. Seay, 'The *Dialogus Johannis Ottobi Anglici in arte musica*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 8 (1955), pp. 86–100
- ŠlootHLV K. (C. J. F.) Sloomans, 'De Hoge Lieve Vrouw van Bergen op Zoom', [*Jaarboek van de*] *Oudheidkundige kring 'De Ghulden Roos'*, *Roosendaal*, 25 (1965), pp. 193–233
- SmijH I A. Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Amsterdam, 1932); reprint of a series of articles in *Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, 11–14 (1925–32)
- SmijH II, III A. Smijers, 'De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch', *Tijdschrift van de Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*, 15 (1935), pp. 1–105 [II]; 16 (1946), pp. 63–106 [III]
- StraM E. van der Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1867–88)
- StrohmB R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985)

1. Jacob Obrecht [3, 3.75, 6]

See main text.

2. Michiele Cramer [3, 3.75]

Clericus singer (tenorist) 1480–1 (or earlier) to 1498–9. In 1485 Cramer was invited by Maximilian of Habsburg to become a singer in his chapel; the guild retained him by promising him an annual bonus of 540 Brabant groats, and a pension of 960 Brabant groats in case of incapacity. (PiscOLV 74–5 and 149; SloomHLV 200–1)

3. Cornelise Zwagers of Schiedam [3, 3.75, 2.25, 3.75]

Clericus singer 1480–1 (or earlier) to 1492–3 (absent in 1489–90). Zwagers had worked in the chapel of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan in 1474–5 ('Cornelio Svagher di Fiandra'; SartJ 64–5). Around 1503 he worked as a *contra alto* in Antwerp, and was later recruited there for Ferrara (StraM VI, 72–4; PiscOLV 81; LockM 15–17). Van der Straeten mentions an unpublished note by Léon de Burbure according to which Zwagers was also called Cornelis de Hulst (StraM VI, 73). If this was the case, Zwagers's absence in 1489–90 might be explained partly by the fact that a tenorist Cornelis Hulst was working for two weeks in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1489–90 (SmijH I, 188). This is presumably the tenorist Cornelis of Hulst who was associated with Antwerp Cathedral in 1497–1503 (NieuwK 42).

4. Willeme van Hondswijck [1.5, 2.25]

(Clericus?) singer (master's degree) 1480–1 (or earlier) to 1503–4. Died in early 1504. From 1496–7 onwards Hondswijck received an annual bonus of 120 Brabant groats because of his old age. His son Willeme van Hondswijck [32] also worked as a singer at the guild.

5. Symon of Amerode [1.5, 2.25]

Clericus singer (cantor) 1480–1 (or earlier) to 1494–5. Died in 1495.

6. Hendrick Malecourt [1.5]

Clericus singer (tenorist) 1480–1 (or earlier) to 1496–7. Since accounts of 1497–8 are lost, he may have worked at the guild until 1498. Possibly the composer of *Malheur me bat* (attributed to 'Malcort' in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 2856), but two other Malcourts are known to have worked in Brussels around this time (HagghM 627).

7. Michiel of Bastogne *alias* Michelet [1.5, 1.75, 1.875, 2.25, 1.875]

Clericus singer 1480–1 (or earlier) to 1495–6. Described as 'young' until 1484. Possibly the composer Michelet. A 'Micheleth' is mentioned in Hothby's *Dialogus* (SeayD 95). Michiel of Bastogne is not identical with Michiel Berruyer of Lessines in Hainaut, since the latter worked in the chapel of Maximilian I in 1492–3, when Michelet was in Bergen op Zoom (StraM III, 213; SmijH I, 193; for Berruyer, see also NieuwK 42). (See also main text, p. 202).

8. Peter de Coster (or Peter the sexton?) [—]

Clericus singer 1480–1 (and perhaps earlier). May have gone to 's-Hertogenbosch (see under 13 below), in which case he could be identical with Peteren the 'new tenorist', who worked there from around 1 August 1482 onwards (SmijH I, 175).

9. Cornelise Both [—]

Clericus singer 1480–1 (and perhaps earlier).

10. Janne Mol [—]

Singer (master's degree) 1480/1–1481/2 (and perhaps earlier). Probably identical with the Johannes de Mol who was active in Brussels from 1482 until his death in 1495 (HagghM 633–4). A Giovanni Molli, or Johannes de Molis, was appointed *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo of Milan on 1 September 1477 (SartJ 76).

11. Johannes Greefken [—]

Singer and barber-surgeon 1480–1 (or earlier) to 1481–2. See also main text, p. 202.

12. Janne de Greve [—]

Clericus singer 1480–1 (and perhaps earlier).

13. Aubertijne [—]

Singer 1480–1 (or earlier) to 1481–2. A tenorist Abertijne is found in documents from St Goedele at Brussels dated 1474–7, 1490–3 and 1518–19

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(HagghM 535); this singer is probably identical with the tenorist Albertinus Malcourt who was in continuous service at St Goedele in 1474–1519 (HagghM 627). An Obertijn was *bovensenger* at the Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch from around 1 September 1481 (paid on 24 June 1482 for having worked 42½ weeks) to around 23 September 1482 (SmijH I, 172–5). If Obertijn was identical with Aubertijne, as Piscaer assumes (PiscOLV 77), he must have returned to Bergen op Zoom for some time, since he earned 791.25 Brabant groats in 1481–2 (i.e. after 15 August 1481). The 's-Hertogenbosch accounts tell us that three singers were recruited in Bergen op Zoom between 24 June 1481 and 24 June 1482 (SmijH I, 171). This entry may apply to singers 8, 9, 10, 12, 14 and to Aubertijne.

14. Gielise [1.5, 2.25]

Singer (master's degree) 1481/2–1482/3.

15. Quintijne [1, 3, 1]

Clericus singer 1481/2–1483/4 (since the accounts of 1484–5 are lost, he may have continued to work at the guild for some time after 15 August 1484). Returned 1495/6–1496/7 and 1502–3. A soprano Quintijn (from Nieuwpoort) was employed at the confraternity in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1471–2 (SmijH I, 146–52).

16. Reijnier 'with the hunch' [3]

Singer 1483–4. Lived with Jacob Obrecht. A Reynerus was a singer in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1473 (SmijH I, 150–4).

17. Cornelis from The Hague [2.25, 6, 7.5]

Clericus singer 1483–4 and 1504/5–1507/8.

18. Paulus de Roda [3.75]

Choirmaster (master's degree) 1485–6 (but presumably already in 1484) to 1489–90. Left the guild between 15 August and 24 December 1489. Composer (cf. NobPR 49–63; composed a polyphonic Requiem around 1496 or 1497, see SmijH I, 202). Was a member of the Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch, and was regularly involved from 1471 in fetching new musicians for that confraternity (cf. SmijH I and II). Died September 1514 (SmijH II, 82).

19. Alairde Hendrickssone [1.5]

Clericus singer 1485–6 (but possibly as early as 1484) to 1491–2.

20. Janne [1.5]

Clericus singer 1488–9 (filled in Zwagers's place during the latter's absence) and 1490/1–1491/2. Called 'the deans' chaplain' in the accounts.

21. Thomase [3.75]

Choirmaster (master's degree) 1489/90–1492/3. Became choirmaster between 15 August and 24 December 1489, and left Bergen op Zoom in

June 1493. Possibly identical with the *meester* Thomas who was choirmaster at the Grote Kerk in Dordrecht in 1506 (Bouwstenen II, 80).

22. Janne van Gheele *alias* Holtken [3]

Clericus singer 1489/90–1491/2.

23. Servase of Maastricht [3.75]

Clericus singer 1490/1–1492/3.

24. Woutere [3]

Singer (tenorist) 1491/2–1495/6 (absent in 1493–4). Worked irregularly at the guild. Presumably identical with the tenorist Wouter who worked irregularly in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1496 and 1497 (SmijH I, 199–203; PiscOLV 81).

25. Kaerle [3.75, 7.5]

Choirmaster (master's degree) from July 1493 to 1495–6. Became a member of the Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch between 24 June 1495 and 24 June 1496 (SmijH I, 198). Perhaps he was the 'Carlo de Fiandra compositore de chantij' who worked in Ferrara in 1503 (LockF 327). Appointed choirmaster again on 24 June 1508, and may have held this position until 1510.

26. Adriane Bouckeel [2.25]

Clericus singer 1492–3.

27. Janne Stevens of Nieuwpoort [3.75]

Clericus singer 1493/4–1496/7 (since accounts of 1497–8 are lost, he may have worked for some time after 15 August 1497).

28. Janne Blockeel [2.25]

Clericus singer 1493–4.

29. Jacobe of Alkmaar [2.25, 3.75, 2.25]

(Clericus?) singer (tenorist) 1493/4–1496/7 (since accounts of 1497–8 are lost, he may have worked until 1498).

30. Lucas of Brussels [6]

Clericus singer 1494/5–1495/6. Barbara Haggh kindly informed me that a possible candidate for identification with Lucas of Brussels is Lucas de Thimo, who worked at St Pieter in Brussels in 1488–9 (private communication, 28 January 1989; see HagghM 674).

31. Peter Vineloo [3.75, 7.5]

Choirmaster (master's degree) 1495/6–1503/4. Came from Sluis, where he had been choirmaster in 1488. Appointed *magister cantus chori* at St Saviour in Bruges on 12 January 1495; was admonished there on 21 December 1495 to instruct his boys more diligently. Became choirmaster at Bergen op Zoom around 1 May 1496. Succentor of St Donatian in Bruges from 1504 until his death in 1507. (JutenPV; PiscPV; StrohmB 55 and 189)

32. Willeme van Hondswijck (junior) [1.5]

Singer 1495/6–1496/7 (since accounts of 1497–8 are lost, he may have

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worked for some time after 15 August 1497) and 1502/3. Son of *meestere* Willeme van Hondswijck (see under 4 above).

33. Willeme Jacobssone from The Hague [4.5, 6]

Clericus singer 1496–7 (and probably 1497–8), 1499–1500 and 1502–3. Almost certainly identical with Willeme of St Maartensdijk (see under 40 below).

34. Ghysbrechte Pieterssone [3.75]

Clericus singer (*hoeghcontere*) 1496–7. Was appointed choirmaster in the Grote Kerk at Goes (27 km west of Bergen op Zoom) on 16 November 1496. Left Goes without permission, before 9 December 1497 (Bouwstenen, II, 102–3).

35. Govaerde [3.75]

Clericus singer (*hooghcontere*) 1496–7.

36. Dominicus Janssoen van Grafft [9]

Clericus singer (tenorist) 1498–9 (but almost certainly also in 1497–8), and 1500/1–1501/2. Was appointed as tenorist by the Bergen op Zoom city council on 2 August 1497 (BOZ R 308, fol. 130^v): ‘Dominicus Janssoen van Grafft has been appointed as tenorist by the *burgermeesters* and *scepenen* of this town with the stipulation that he be paid 3 stivers [=9 Brabant groats] per *loot*. His employment will start as soon as he has returned from Haarlem. The same Dominicus has tied himself to serve this town and to stay in its service for one year following his arrival, on penalty of 10 pounds [=2400 Brabant groats] to be paid to the town of Bergen [op Zoom]’ (translated from SlooderHLV 214 n. 22). Was appointed singer at the confraternity at ’s-Hertogenbosch on 1 November 1498, and worked there irregularly until 1500 or 1501 (SmijH I, 209–14; SmijH II, 50; PiscOLV 78; SlooderHLV 201 and 214).

37. Janne Slijper [7.5]

Singer (tenorist; master’s degree) 1498–9 (and possibly in 1497–8) and 1500–1 (when he is called ‘from ’s-Hertogenbosch’). Almost certainly identical with the tenorist Jannen of Oirschot, who worked for four weeks in ’s-Hertogenbosch between 24 June 1498 and 24 June 1499, nine weeks in 1500–1 (between the same dates) and permanently in ’s-Hertogenbosch from 24 June 1501 until he left in 1505 (SmijH I, 210; SmijH II, 49–62). In 1505–6 he was again in Bergen op Zoom, where he stayed until 1507–8 (but, since accounts of 1508/9–1510/11 are lost, he may have stayed until 1511).

38. Gommare van Morteltere of Lier [7.5]

Singer (*hooghconter*) 1498–9 (but perhaps also 1497–8) to 1502–3. Worked irregularly at the confraternity in ’s-Hertogenbosch in 1500–4, until he was appointed there on 2 October 1504. Became gravely ill in 1504–5, but worked regularly at the ’s-Hertogenbosch confraternity from 1505 to January or February 1508 (SmijH II, 49–67; PiscOLV 79–80). Went

apparently to the county of Holland (SmijH II, 87) but returned several times to 's-Hertogenbosch in the period 1509/10–1517/18 (*ibid.*, 72, 74, 79, 86–7, 89). Attempted to obtain a permanent position at 's-Hertogenbosch in 1520, 1522, and 1523 (*ibid.*, 94, 98, 102), but was refused each time. Later in the 1520s seems to have worked at the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, where a *hooghconter* Gommaer Claesz. of Lier is mentioned between 1 May 1524 and 1 February 1531 (Bouwstenen III, 90; cf. SmijH III, 102). Renewed attempts in 1526–9 to obtain a position at 's-Hertogenbosch failed (SmijH III, 66, 69, 70, 72, 74), but he was finally appointed in 1529. Remained at the confraternity of 's-Hertogenbosch until 1550–1. Brother of Gielise van Morteltere (under 39 below). Had a son Franchoyse (Gommaerssone van Liere), who worked as a singer in Bergen op Zoom from 1524–5 to 1529–30.

39. Gielise van Morteltere of Lier [7.5]

Singer (*bovensanghere*) 1498–9 (but perhaps also 1497–8) to 1500–1. Appointed as singer in 's-Hertogenbosch on 1 January 1501, and worked there until 1503–4 (SmijH II, 49–57; PiscOLV 80).

40. Willeme of St Maartensdijk [6]

Clericus singer 1498–9 (and probably 1497–8), 1500–1 and 1501–2, and 1503–4. Almost certainly identical with Willeme from The Hague (see under 33 above).

41. Clause of Lier [7.5, 9]

Clericus singer (master's degree) 1499/1500–1503/4. Worked irregularly at the guild during this period, since he was also employed at the chapel of Philip the Fair, where he was listed in 1492–5, 1499, 1500, 1501 and 1502 (StraM VII, 107–8, 144–5, 151, 153, 156, 178, 268–9, 496–7; DoorM 148; PiscOLV 79; PrizMC 126). On 12 January 1501, Duke Philip the Fair had a letter sent to 'mess. Claes van Liere, étant à Berg-op-Zoom' asking him to sing at the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Brussels on 14–18 January (DoorM 40).

42. Johannes [7.5]

Singer (*basconter*) 1499–1500. Perhaps identical with the 'Johannes de basconter' who worked in 's-Hertogenbosch from 1509–10 to 1518–19 (SmijH II, 70–97). He is mentioned in the chapter accounts of St Gertrude in 1510 (Bouwstenen II, 49).

43. Peter of Breda [6, 7.5]

Singer 1501/2–1505/6. Perhaps identical with Peter Bonte (see under 55 below).

44. Leeuwe (Leon?) [9]

Singer (tenorist) 1502–3 to 26 August 1504.

45. Aernde Thuenissone from The Hague [7.5]

Singer 1502/3–1503/4.

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46. Franchoyse [6, 7.5]

Singer 1503/4–1507/8 (since accounts of 1508/9–1510/11 are lost, he may have stayed in Bergen op Zoom until 1511). Possibly identical with the *heere* Franchoyse Bertrant who worked in Bergen op Zoom from 1511–12 to 1521–2.

47. Berthelmeeuse [6]

Singer 1503/4–1504/5. Earned only five *loten* after 9 October 1504.

48. Daniele [3]

Singer 1503–4 to 21 March 1505.

49. Jaspere [7.5]

Choirmaster (master's degree) 1504 to 1508.

50. Constantijnen [7.5]

Singer (tenorist) from 2 September 1504 to 11 July 1505.

51. Adriane Peterssone of Dordrecht [3]

Clericus singer from 23 August 1504 to around October 1505.

52. Mertene Moelenbergh [1.5, 3]

Clericus singer (cantor) from 27 July 1505 to 1507–8 (since accounts of 1508/9–1510/11 are lost, he may have stayed in Bergen op Zoom until 1511). He is not mentioned in accounts of the Guild of Our Lady from after 1507–8, but he apparently remained cantor of St Gertrude until 1517 (Bouwstenen II, 49).

53. Henricke Haudijn of Diest [9]

Singer (master's degree) 1505/6–1506/7. Became choirmaster in 's-Hertogenbosch before 24 June 1507, and stayed there until June 1510 (he may have worked in 's-Hertogenbosch as early as 1477, when he was apparently still a boy; see SmijH I, 165). Was choirmaster in Bergen op Zoom from 1511–12 (but probably 1510–11) to 20 June 1542.

54. Willeme [7.5]

Singer 1506/7–1507/8 (since accounts of 1508/9–1510/11 are lost, he may have stayed in Bergen op Zoom until 1511).

55. Petere Bonte [7.5]

Singer 1506–7. Presumably identical with Peter of Breda (see under 43 above).

56. Johannes Ghiselin alias Verbonnet [9]

Singer (master's degree) 1507–8 (since accounts of 1508/9–1510/11 are lost, he may have stayed in Bergen op Zoom until 1511). Composer (GottJGV; LockF 202).

57. Bouwene [7.5]

Clericus singer 1507–8 (since accounts of 1508/9–1510/11 are lost, he may have stayed in Bergen op Zoom until 1511). Piscaer's identification with Noel Bauldewyn is presumably erroneous (PiscOLV 78).

58. Diericke [6]

Singer 1507–8 (since accounts of 1508/9–1510/11 are lost, he may have stayed in Bergen op Zoom until 1511). Probably identical with Diericke of Namen, who worked at the guild from 1511–12 (or earlier) to 1516–17.

APPENDIX 5

Alphabetical index of musicians

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