

Master's thesis  
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*'Om den dienst goeds te vermeerren'*  
*Parish liturgy in Leiden St Peter's church*  
*1398-1512*

*On the basis of liturgical foundation deeds*

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*Duco Vollebregt*

**Utrecht University**  
Faculty of humanities  
Research Master's programme Medieval Studies

**Master's thesis Research Master Medieval Studies**

Duco Vollebregt

Mechelsestraat 202

3000 Leuven

Belgium

e-mail: [duco.vollebregt@gmail.com](mailto:duco.vollebregt@gmail.com)

Student number: 3619095

**Supervisors:**

Marco Mostert

Bram van den Hoven van Genderen

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## List of abbreviations and consulted archives

The following abbreviations are used for references to archival depositories and libraries.

KB	<i>Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag</i> (Royal Library The Hague)
NA	<i>Nationaal Archief Den Haag</i> (National Archives The Hague)
RAL	<i>Regionaal Archief Leiden</i> (Regional Archives Leiden)
RDO OA	<i>Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, Oud Archief</i> (Old Archive of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht)

The following abbreviations are used for references to the several archives within the archival depository of the *Regionaal Archief Leiden*.

<i>AgB</i>	<i>Archief van het St. Agnietenbegijnhof</i>	arch.nr. 1
<i>Ga</i>	<i>Archieven van de Gasthuizen</i>	arch.nr. 504
<i>Gi</i>	<i>Archieven van de Gilden</i>	arch.nr. 509
<i>HGW</i>	<i>Archieven van het Heilige Geest weeshuis</i>	arch.nr. 519
<i>Ke</i>	<i>Archieven van de Kerken</i>	arch.nr. 502
<i>Kl</i>	<i>Archieven van de kloosters</i>	arch.nr. 503
<i>NHK</i>	<i>Nederlands Hervormde Kerkvoogdij</i>	arch.nr. 511
<i>SA I</i>	<i>Archief der Secretarie van de stad Leiden, 1290-1575</i>	arch.nr. 501

The following abbreviations were used for referring to archival material or literature.

col(s).	Column(s)
ed.	Editor
fol.	Folio
n.	Footnote
p.	Page
pp.	Pages
vs.	<i>Verso</i>
vol(s).	Volume(s)



## Introduction

On 15 May 1443 Boudijn van Zwieten granted, *'om den dienst goeds te vermeerren ende zalicheyt mijnre zielen om dat ick gesien hebbe dattet dair toe van noede was'*,<sup>1</sup> the properties of two of his own chantries to the still young institution of the *'sangmeesters'* (chantmasters) in St Peter's church in Leiden. With this endowment the continuing existence was guaranteed of the until then still insecure institution of the *zevenetijdencollege* (association of the seven hours), responsible first of all for the singing of the Divine Office (the *'zevenetijden'* or seven hours) in the parish church.<sup>2</sup> In the same deed, Boudijn van Zwieten requested several other liturgical services to be celebrated: a daily Mass on the altar he had erected in the church, a memorial service for all the benefactors of the *zevenetijdencollege* and requiem Masses for the salvation of his own soul and of the souls of his relatives and the lords and ladies he had served.

Throughout the Catholic period of St Peter's church many such foundations were made. Parishioners were taking care of the salvation of their souls, but they also contributed to a large extent to the development of the liturgy in their parish church. They endowed *'hoogtijden'*, the solemn celebrations of ecclesiastical feast days, and they ensured that the daily office was sung. They established an additional weekly cycle of sung votive morning Masses and services in honour of the Blessed Virgin or the Holy Cross and were involved in the development of a polyphonic musical tradition in the liturgy of the parish church. Detailed stipulations concerning these liturgical services were recorded in foundation deeds, a type of source which has not yet been used systematically on this scale to study liturgical history. The purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to make an attempt at such an investigation on the basis of this particular type of source. It considers the question to what extent and in which manner these foundation deeds of liturgical services can concretely contribute to our knowledge of liturgical history in a given context, in this case St Peter's church in Leiden between 1398 and 1512, regarding both 1) the liturgy (intended to be) celebrated in this context and 2) the relationship of lay parishioners to the liturgy.

The 'foundations' recorded in the foundation deeds investigated for this thesis have the character of perpetual gifts of annuities, properties or the income out of estates, endowing existing or newly established institutions with the necessary income to perform certain religious or charitable tasks. The foundations discussed in this thesis are identified as 'liturgical' because these tasks had to consist, partly or completely, in the celebration of new liturgical services.<sup>3</sup> As such these liturgical foundation deeds can contribute to our knowledge about the liturgy in a given context, in this case the local urban parish church of St Peter in Leiden, a church from which there are no local liturgical books preserved. This contribution consists in the first place in information with regard to the specific services which individual parishioners, families or confraternities intended to add by way of a liturgical foundation to the cycles of liturgy already celebrated in the parish church, a type of information which, even if liturgical books would have been preserved, cannot be found in these books in all its details. Alongside that, however, the provisions for these added services sometimes also concerned elements of the liturgical celebration which might be regarded as more or less common practice in the liturgy of the parish church, which is especially interesting in the case of Leiden St Peter's church precisely because of this church there are no local liturgical books preserved.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'in order to augment the service of God, for the salvation of my soul and because I had seen that it was necessary'.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.1. The foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten.

<sup>3</sup> Liturgy I approach in a broad sense as all formalised religious ritual not necessarily 'prescribed' (as has often been part of more classic definitions of liturgy) but integrated in a Church-wide network of interrelated ritual practices, taking place in communal contexts (monastic or collegiate communities and parishes) but not necessarily celebrated in public or corporately by entire communities (in order to include rituals around graves and 'private' Masses celebrated on side altars). Cf. C. Clifford Flanigan†, Kathleen Ashley, and Pamela Sheingorn, 'Liturgy as social performance: expanding the definitions' in: Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (ed.), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, Michigan 2001) pp. 695-714, there p. 698; See also John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth century; A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford 1991) p. 12 and Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 'Introduction to the Liturgy of the Medieval Church' in: Heffernan and Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, pp. 1-10, there p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> For general studies on medieval liturgical books, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy; An Introduction to the Sources*



But liturgical foundation deeds are, in this regard, interesting not only as substitutes in the case where there are no liturgical books preserved. They are also valuable as sources for liturgical history in their own right. This concerns first of all the specific information the deeds provide concerning the particular liturgical services which individual parishioners intended to establish in the parish church, which was already mentioned above. In the second place, however, liturgical foundation deeds also provide us with interesting information through the references made in the deeds to the liturgical practice of the parish church itself, by which we can come closer to the liturgy as it was actually celebrated there and implemented in the parochial, institutional and architectural context<sup>5</sup> of the local parish church than by using most types of liturgical books, which in many cases do not (or only partly) reflect the practice of the parish church itself but rather the normative standard of the cathedral.<sup>6</sup>

The use of these foundation deeds for the study of liturgical history, however, also has certain limitations. In the first place the foundation deeds investigated for this thesis concern only those types of liturgy which could be established perpetually and as such were necessarily repetitive and cyclical in character. This means that no information is preserved in these deeds concerning those types of liturgy that were celebrated occasionally when there was reason to do so, such as the liturgy of baptism, last anointing, confession and burials.<sup>7</sup> With the exception of the liturgy of the seven hours, moreover, most services of the regular cycles of liturgy were not endowed, and of those services that were endowed it is not known whether of all of them the foundation deeds have been preserved. Interesting information about these regular cycles can certainly be discerned from the arrangements made in the preserved foundation deeds, but for a complete picture of the local profile of the parish liturgy other sources need to be included in the investigation.<sup>8</sup> The information which the liturgical foundation deeds can provide us, furthermore, only concerns arrangements about several elements of the liturgical celebration which were either mentioned in the foundation deeds because these elements differed according to the solemnity of the celebration or because they were specific for the particular institutional, architectural or material circumstances of the local parish church. Only rarely do they contain information on the liturgical texts used or about the accompanying rites of the priests and ministers which were already set down in the texts and rubrics of the liturgical books in use in the parish. At the same time also the particular local character of the ceremonial customs in use in the parish, about which the foundation deeds provide us in particular with useful information, can be appreciated completely only if they are compared with the prescriptions in the liturgical books from the diocese.

A complete picture of the liturgy celebrated in a parish church, therefore, cannot be given on the basis of liturgical foundation deeds alone and other sources – such as liturgical books, accounts and additional sources preserved in the church archives – need to be consulted for that purpose. Because, however, local liturgical books of Leiden St Peter's church are not preserved, the liturgy in the liturgical books of the diocese is not yet systematically investigated and reading through all the accounts of the many institutions involved in the liturgy of Leiden St Peter's church would have been too time-consuming within the limitations set for this master's thesis, with this thesis I do not intend to

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(Washington D.C. 1986) and Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, Minnesota 1998). The liturgy in the medieval liturgical books from the diocese of Utrecht has, unfortunately, not yet systematically been investigated.

<sup>5</sup> For this last theme, see Elizabeth C. Parker, 'Architecture as Liturgical Setting' in: Heffernan and Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, pp. 273-326.

<sup>6</sup> For this same problem with regard to the research of the parish liturgy in medieval Sweden, see Sven Helander, 'The Liturgical Profile of the Parish Church in Medieval Sweden' in: Heffernan and Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, pp. 145-186, there pp. 160-161. A type of liturgical book which is very well suited for research in local liturgies is the ordinary, see for example Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Een Ordinarius uit 1576 voor de votiefmissen op de dagen van de week in het kapittel van sint-Marie te Utrecht' in: R.E.V. Stuip (ed.), *Meer dan muziek alleen; in memoriam Kees Vellekoop* (Hilversum 2004) pp. 143-170.

<sup>7</sup> See for example Martin R. Dudley, 'Sacramental Liturgies in the Middle Ages' in: Heffernan and Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, pp. 215-243.

<sup>8</sup> For a fairly complete reconstruction of the liturgical activities of one of the institutions of St Peter's church (the *zevengetijdencollege*) on the basis of both liturgical foundation deeds and the accounts of this institution, see Eric Jas, *De Koorboeken van de Pieterskerk te Leiden; Het zestiende-eeuwse muzikale erfgoed van een Hollands getijdencollege* (unpublished dissertation Utrecht 1997) pp. 32-46.

give a complete picture of the parish liturgy in Leiden St Peter's church, but rather attempt to show how much liturgical foundation deeds in fact can contribute to our knowledge of liturgical practice in a parish church and confine my discussion to those elements of the liturgical celebration about which the foundation deeds indeed can provide us in particular with useful and interesting information. In future research, however, it will be necessary to supplement the liturgical foundation deeds with the aforementioned other sources and some suggestions in that regard will be given in the conclusion to this master's thesis.

Liturgical foundation deeds provide us, furthermore, other than most other sources for liturgical history, with clear indications about how (lay) parishioners, individually or corporally through their membership of confraternities, intended to contribute to liturgical life in their parish church. These sources are suitable for that purpose in the first place precisely because they are the administrative recordings of the contributions lay parishioners intended to make to the liturgy; and in the second place because in some of the foundation deeds motivations are mentioned for the foundation, which allows us to consider, albeit very preliminary, the attitudes of lay parishioners to the liturgy and the intentions they probably had themselves with their liturgical foundations.

Traditionally, following the criticisms of both the Protestant and Catholic reformers of the sixteenth century, lay experience of medieval liturgy is considered to have been uninformed, non-participatory and 'overly materialistic' and the liturgy itself as merely clerical and incomprehensible for the laity.<sup>9</sup> On first sight this critique might seem sensible because of the great distance between clergy and congregation, the choir screens which obstructed the laity's view on what happened at the altar, the fact that the Mass was recited in Latin and that the priest stood with his back to the congregation.<sup>10</sup> Recent research by Eamon Duffy for England and Virginia Reinburg for France, however, has shown that, although the laity did indeed not understand the liturgy or participate in it in the same way as did the clergy, they understood it and participated in it in a different, but not less important, way in a social sense.<sup>11</sup> Liturgical foundation deeds cannot provide us with information about the ways in which the laity participated in the liturgical celebration itself, but they can contribute to this debate because they clearly show how parishioners, through liturgical foundations, were involved in the development of liturgical practice in the parish church which presumes an acquaintance with the liturgy which one would not expect if the liturgy, indeed, was merely clerical and incomprehensible for the laity.

Whereas liturgical foundation deeds were not yet investigated on this scale from the perspective of liturgical history they are frequently used as sources in the research field of *memoria* or medieval memorial culture. In this field they are usually regarded as liturgical expressions of the culture of *memoria*, which is understood as referring to all kinds of human actions concerning the commemoration of the deceased, performed with the express purpose of the creation of a community between the living and the dead.<sup>12</sup> Recently medieval *memoria* has also been characterised as 'care for the here and the hereafter', because *memoria* is understood as concerning human actions simultaneously meant for a whole range of different purposes to be achieved both in this life (such as

<sup>9</sup> Virginia Reinburg, 'Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France' in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal; The Journal of Early Modern Studies* 23:3 (1992), pp. 526-547, there pp. 526-527. For a bibliography, see *ibidem*, p. 527, n. 3. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars; traditional religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven, Connecticut 1992) pp. 110-111.

<sup>10</sup> Reinburg, 'Liturgy and the Laity', p. 527, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, in particular pp. 109-130.

<sup>12</sup> A clear survey of the state of the art in present-day *memoria* research is given in Truus van Bueren, Kim Ragetli and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld, 'Researching Medieval *Memoria*: Prospects and Possibilities With an Introduction to *Medieval Memoria Online* (MeMO)' in: *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis* 14 (2011) pp. 183-234, there pp. 186-190. See further: Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter' in: Karl Hauck (reissued), *Frühmittelalterliche Studien; Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 10 (1976) pp. 70-95; Oexle, 'Die Gegenwart der Toten' in: Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke (ed.), *Death in the Middle Ages* (Leuven 1983) pp. 19-77. Oexle, 'Memoria und Memorialbild' in: Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (ed.), *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter = Münstersche Mittelalterschriften* 48 (München 1984) pp. 384-440. Oexle, 'Memoria als Kultur' in: Oexle, *Memoria als Kultur. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* 121 (Göttingen 1995) 9-78. More specifically concerning the liturgy of the dead: Arnold Angenendt, 'Theologie und Liturgie der mittelalterlichen Totenmemoria' in: Schmid and Wollasch, *Memoria*, pp. 80-199.

prestige or the formation of identity) and in the hereafter (salvation).<sup>13</sup> Although the liturgical part of medieval *memoria* has been investigated concerning the commemoration of the deceased through anniversaries or through the endowment of more large scale liturgical and musical 'monuments' for the deceased as the liturgical equivalents of memorial art, these types of liturgical commemoration were not yet investigated in their broad liturgical context.<sup>14</sup> In several cases, moreover, liturgical foundations do not immediately concern the commemoration of the dead, but rather the enhancement of the service and praise of God in the parish church. Although 'care for the here and the hereafter' is a more useful category, also in this case the perspective needs to be broadened. Liturgical foundations do not only concern 'care for' several aspects of human life both in this life and in the life to come but, as was stated already above, also the intrinsic importance of the bringing of honour and praise to God through worship. Although, therefore, the research concept of medieval *memoria* is useful to consider many elements of the practice of endowing liturgy in medieval parish churches, this thesis intends to investigate the liturgy in a much broader sense than within the boundaries of the research concept of medieval memorial culture as it is traditionally understood. In this regard the question might be asked whether these traditional definitions of medieval memorial culture are not too narrow, since the word *memoria* itself in fact does not refer only to the commemoration of the deceased but to any kind of commemoration, which concerns liturgical commemoration (of God, the saints and salvation history) in a broader sense as well.

That this thesis focusses upon one particular parish church does not necessarily mean that its results concerning the usefulness of liturgical foundation deeds for the investigation of liturgical history do not apply to other churches in other contexts as well. It is probable that similar types of investigation can be done in other churches, but no preliminary investigation in this regard was done outside of the three parish churches of Leiden (St Peter's, Our Ladies' and St Pancras'). St Peter's church in Leiden was chosen because, on the one hand, I was already acquainted with the – in general terms – well preserved church archives of the city of Leiden and because, on the other hand, St Peter's church was the oldest of the three parish churches in the city and because the amount of sources preserved for this parish was large enough for the intended type of investigation.<sup>15</sup> The amount of sources preserved in the archives of the relatively small parish of Our Lady would have been too limited. St Pancras' church would have been a possibility as well, but because of the aforementioned reason I decided to confine myself to St Peter's church as the oldest parish church in the city of Leiden.

The years 1398 and 1512 were chosen as temporal delineations for the investigation of this master's thesis because two constitutive elements for the celebration of liturgy in the parish church (both of them often mentioned in liturgical foundation deeds), the nine bells in the tower and the large organ above the west entrance against the tower of the church, were certainly present throughout this period, while the situation dramatically changed with the collapse of the tower in 1512 and, subsequently, with the sixteenth century economic problems and the troubles of the reformation from

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<sup>13</sup> The phrase 'care for the here and the hereafter' as a description of medieval memorial culture is from Truus van Bueren, 'Care for the Here and the Hereafter: A multitude of Possibilities' in: Truus van Bueren and Andrea van Leerdam (ed.), *Care for the Here and the Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2005) pp. 13-34.

<sup>14</sup> For studies on medieval memorial culture, see Truus van Bueren and W.C.M. Wüstefeld (ed.), *Leven na de dood. Gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen* (Turnhout 1999); Van Bueren and Van Leerdam, *Care for the Here and the Hereafter*; Rolf de Weijert, Kim Ragetli, Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld and Jeannette van Arentsals, *Living Memoria; Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren* (Hilversum 2011).

<sup>15</sup> Previous research about this church concerns its building history, see Elizabeth den Hartog and John Veerman (ed.), *De Pieterskerk in Leiden; Bouwgeschiedenis, Inrichting, Gedenktekens* (Amsterdam 2011); its musical tradition, see Jas, *De Koorboeken*; its confraternities, see Madelon van Luijk, *Lekenvroomheid in de late middeleeuwen; het functioneren van broeder- en zusterschappen te Leiden 1386-1572* (unpublished master's thesis, Leiden 1998) and *Ibidem*, "Ter eeren ende love Goodes' Religieuze lekenbroeder- en zusterschappen te Leiden, 1386-1572' in: *Jaarboek der sociale en economische geschiedenis van Leiden en omstreken 1998* (Leiden 1999) pp. 23-58; its memorial culture, see Douwe Faber, 'Een laat-middeleeuwse obsessie? Vroomheid in Leiden in het aangezicht van de dood' in: *Jaarboek Dirk van Eck* (1995) pp. 25-43 and 'Zorgen voor de ziel; het Leidse memoriewezen in de late middeleeuwen' in: *Leids Jaarboekje* (2006) pp. 67-95. The liturgy of St Peter's church was, except for some occasional references in the other mentioned studies, never systematically investigated.

1520 onwards after which also the number of (preserved) foundation deeds dramatically decreased.<sup>16</sup>

This thesis is subdivided in two main parts. Part I concerns the context and sources of the liturgy and liturgical foundations in Leiden St Peter's church, whereas part II concerns the liturgy (intended to be) celebrated in the church on the different altars and locations in the parish church. After an introductory chapter in part I about the general context of the city of Leiden, the parish and church of St Peter, the altars present in the church, the priests available for the celebration of the liturgy and the contribution of the laity to parish life, in chapter 2 the focus will be on the liturgical foundations themselves, both concerning the different types of liturgical services established by the laity and concerning the motivations mentioned by the founders for their liturgical foundations in Leiden St Peter's church.

In part II a detailed analysis will be given of all provisions about the celebration of the liturgy in St Peter's church. In chapter 3 an attempt will be made at the reconstruction of the most important cycles of parish liturgy as they were celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the church. In chapter 4 the more modest services celebrated on the side altars of the church will be considered after which in chapter 5 the liturgical services will be discussed that were celebrated around graves in the church or in the churchyard, often after and sometimes also during a celebration on the high altar, in the choir or on one of the side altars of the church.

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<sup>16</sup> See chapter 1 – City, church and community, paragraph 1.2. Building history of St Peter's church.

# Part I

## Context and Sources



## Chapter 1

### *City, church and community*

The liturgy as celebrated in Leiden St Peter's church was not an entity existing independently on its own, but was an integral part of a broader urban culture and as such its development was intricately interrelated with the development of the city of Leiden itself, with the growth and development of St Peter's parish and church, its altars and priests and, alongside that, with groups, institutions, corporations and individual (lay) parishioners actively engaged in liturgical life in the parish church.

#### *1.1. Growth and development of the city of Leiden*

The early history of the city of Leiden is to a large extent dependent upon its relationship with the counts of Holland. The fact that, in the twelfth century, the counts of Holland chose Leiden as one of their main residences because of its strategic location at the confluence of two Rhine-arms, was an important incentive for the early growth of the settlement which finally resulted, in 1266, in the obtaining of town privileges from count Floris V.<sup>1</sup> Among the possessions of the count in the later city of Leiden was, next to a garden and orchard and a prison (the '*gravensteen*') also a private chapel consecrated to the apostles Peter and Paul, which, with the growth of the city, probably in the course of the thirteenth century developed into a parish church.<sup>2</sup>

From the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards, due to the growing importance of the textile industry in Leiden, the city continued to expand which also influenced the position of St Peter's parish within the expanding city.<sup>3</sup> The growth of the city from the original area between the Rhine and Rapenburg canal into other areas initially concentrated on the north side of the Rhine ('*Maredorp*') and the Rhine-island of '*De Waard*'. These areas did not belong to St Peter's parish, but to the parishes of Leiderdorp and Oegstgeest. This resulted, among other problems for the local populations, in conflicts between the three parishes about parish boundaries, until in the course of the fourteenth century new independent parishes arose in *Maredorp* on the north side of the Rhine (Our Lady's parish and church, 1364) and in *De Waard* (The '*Hooglandse*' or St Pancras parish and church, 1366).<sup>4</sup> The last medieval expansion of the town took place in 1386, and concerned the area between *Rapenburg* and present-day *Singel* (the city canal). Whereas the earlier areas of expansion had concerned territory at the other side of the Rhine which were no part of St Peter's parish, with this new expansion the number of parishioners of St Peter's parish was extensively enlarged. This resulted, around 1390, in the building of a new St Peter's church.

#### *1.2. Building history of St Peter's church*

In its earliest history, when it was still the private chapel of the counts of Holland, St Peter's church was probably a small tuff aisleless church, which must have been expanded already one or several times into a modest Romanesque church building before the building of the new Gothic choir began around 1390.<sup>5</sup> That the building must have begun sometime around 1390 we know because of a donation of 20.000 pieces of brick '*tot Sinte Pieters tymmeringhe te hulpe*'<sup>6</sup> ('for the building of St Peter's church') and a contract made with permission of the city government between the church

<sup>1</sup> Ed van der Vlist, 'De stedelijke ruimte en haar bewoners' in: R.C.J. van Maanen (ed.), *Leiden; de geschiedenis van een Hollandse stad; deel 1; Leiden tot 1574* (Leiden 2002) pp. 15-57, there pp. 15-32.

<sup>2</sup> Jeanne Verbij-Schillings, 'Kerk en cultuur,' in: Van Maanen, *Leiden*, pp. 151-199 and 230-232, there p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> About the early development of the city in relation to the textile industry, see D.E.H. de Boer, 'Leiden in de middeleeuwen' in: J.K.S. Moes and B.M.A. de Vries (ed.), *Stof uit het Leidse verleden: zeven eeuwen textielnijverheid* (Utrecht 1991) pp. 32-52.

<sup>4</sup> B.N. Leverland, *St. Pancras op het Hogeland; Kerk en kapittel in Leiden tot aan de Reformatie* (Hilversum 2000) p. 27 and pp. 129-130. Already earlier, however, St Pancras church was quasi-independent from the parish of Leiderdorp. In 1366 a collegiate chapter was established in the new St Pancras' parish church.

<sup>5</sup> For the earliest history of St Peter's church before 1390, see Jan Dröge and John Veerman, 'Inleiding: De bouwgeschiedenis' in: Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, pp. 13-71, there pp. 13-16.

<sup>6</sup> *Regionaal Archief Leiden* (henceforth: RAL), *Archief der Secretarie van de stad Leiden*, arch.nr. 501 (henceforth: SA I), inv.nr. 84 (*stedeboek*), fol. 30 as cited in Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, p. 16, n. 27.

wardens of St Peter's church and the master builder Rutger van Kampen, both in 1391.<sup>7</sup> The first building phase of the new church extended from c. 1390 to approximately 1430 (see figure 1.1). In

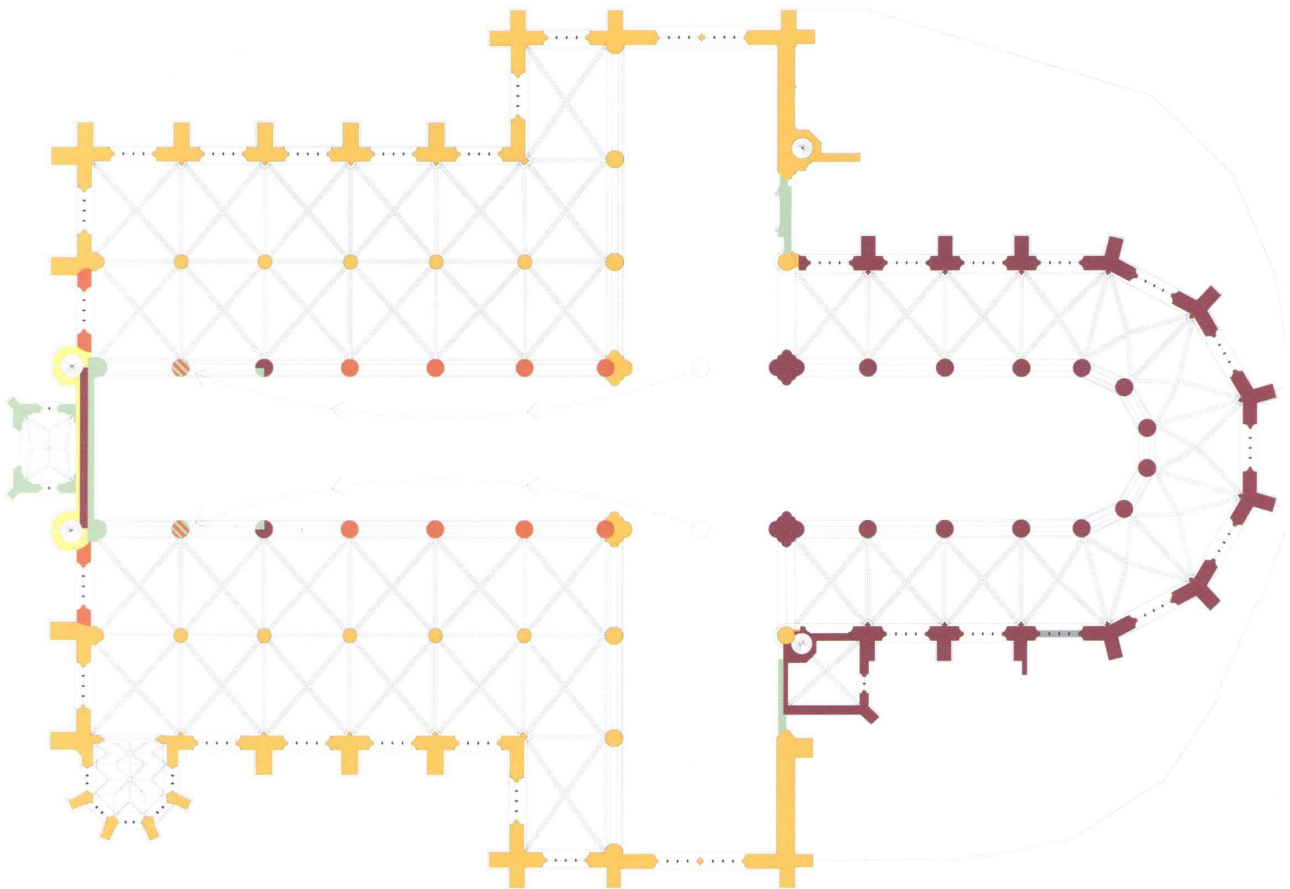


Figure 1.1. Map with indications of the building phases of the church between 1390 and 1565. Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, p. 56.

- 1390-1415 – building of choir and tower.
- 1415-1430 – building of the aisle and the inner side-aisles.
- 1465-1512 – adding of extra side-aisles, building of the transepts.
- 1512-1520 – collapse of the tower and restoration of the damage.
- 1520-1565 – completion of the transepts and western parts of the church.

this phase first (from approximately 1390 to 1415) the Gothic choir was built, which was consecrated, together with eight altars and the cross of the calvary upon the choir screen, already in 1412.<sup>8</sup> From 1415 onwards until 1430, subsequently, the new gothic aisle with two side-aisles was built, which was for the first time consecrated in 1420 and definitively together with the whole church, when the new high altar was consecrated, in 1426.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Most information concerning the building history of the church is nowadays preserved only in the accounts of the church wardens: RAL, *Archieven van de Kerken*, arch.nr. 502 (henceforth: *Ke*) inv.nr. 323. A survey of the building history of the church according to these accounts is given in Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, pp. 68-71.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth den Hartog, 'Inleiding: De verdwenen interieurs voor de Beeldenstormen van 1566 en 1572' in: Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, pp. 147-184, there p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> J.C. Overvoorde, 'De St. Pieterskerk te Leiden' in: *Het huis oud & nieuw; maandelijks prentenboek gewijd aan huis, inrichting, bouw en sierkunst* 5 (Amsterdam 1907) pp. 133-149, there pp. 139 and 147; Bianca van den Berg, *De Pieterskerk in Leiden* (Utrecht 1992) pp. 16 and 21.



While the choir was being built also extensive rebuilding was done in the tower of the church<sup>10</sup> and in the years 1398-1399 work with the bells in the tower was recorded in the church warden accounts.<sup>11</sup> Probably it was in these years that the nine bells in use throughout our period of investigation (1398-1512) were fastened in the tower. In the same year (1398) also the first reference was made to a small organ in the parish church which also suggests the presence of a large organ in the church.<sup>12</sup>

The second building phase continued from approximately 1465 to 1565 and concerned the expansion of the church into the cross-shaped basilica as we still know it today. During this building phase first of all, from 1465 until 1512, extra side aisles were added and the building of the transepts was begun. In the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, the building progress was delayed due to economic misfortune and the catastrophic collapse of the tower of the church in 1512. Through this disaster the nine bells of the church fell into pieces, after which the remnants of these bells were collected and made into one new large bell which was fastened in a bell tower separate from the church. The large organ of the church, which was placed at the west end of the church against the wall of the tower, was damaged and needed to be repaired. With regard to the celebration of liturgical services in St Peter's church, therefore, in which the organ and the bells of the church had an important constitutive role, but also for the building project of St Peter's church itself, the collapse of the tower, together with the economic misfortune of the sixteenth century<sup>13</sup> and the troubles of the reformation from 1520 onwards,<sup>14</sup> was an important turning point and the years 1398 and 1512 were therefore chosen as the starting and ending points for the period of investigation of this thesis.

### 1.3. Altars in St Peter's church

In order to celebrate Mass, the central part of Christian liturgical observance, the presence of consecrated altars in the church was indispensable. The high altar in the chancel, which was consecrated to the apostles Peter and Paul, was obviously the most central and important one in the parish church. The high altar was central to the liturgical observance of the parish as a Christian community.<sup>15</sup> The most prestigious foundations of liturgy were established on this altar and other foundations came to be attached to the constituting elements of the daily liturgy as they were celebrated here. Nothing is known about the high altar as it was in use in St Peter's church before the new building project began in 1390, but it probably continued to be in use until 1426 when the new high altar of the Gothic choir was consecrated.<sup>16</sup> This new high altar continued to be in use for the celebration of the liturgy in St Peter's church until its demolition in the time of the reformation.

There were however, next to the high altar, also many side altars in the church (see figure 1.2) consecrated to specific saints, religious concepts or 'instruments of the passion' like the Holy Cross, on which more specific liturgy was celebrated for the benefit or specific devotion of individuals, families and confraternities. Already in the old St Peter's church there were, next to the high altar, several side altars established. While the parish community was growing and the church building was expanded, an increasing number of families and confraternities desired their own

<sup>10</sup> John Veerman, 'Den thorn valt' in: Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, pp. 72-90, there pp. 72-73.

<sup>11</sup> Elizabeth den Hartog, 'De klokken Bonaventura en Salvator,' in: Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk* pp. 245-252, there p. 247.

<sup>12</sup> 'biziden sinte Claes outaer inden ganc totten cleynre orghel waert' - 'next to St Nicholas altar in the corridor where the small organ is'; Reference to the location of a grave in an anniversary foundation (RAL 504-455, fol. 68vs.); Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', p. 168 and John Veerman, 'De orgels' in: Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, pp. 262-275, there pp. 262-264.

<sup>13</sup> About this period of decline see A.J. Brand, 'Crisis, beleid en differentiatie in de laat-middeleeuwse Leidse lakennijverheid' in: Moes and De Vries, *Stof uit het Leidse Verleden*, pp. 53-65.

<sup>14</sup> Laurentius Knappert, *De opkomst van het protestantisme in eene Noord-Nederlandsche stad, geschiedenis van de hervorming binnen Leiden van den aanvang tot het beleg* (Leiden 1908).

<sup>15</sup> See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir.

<sup>16</sup> On the new high altar, see Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', pp. 159-161.

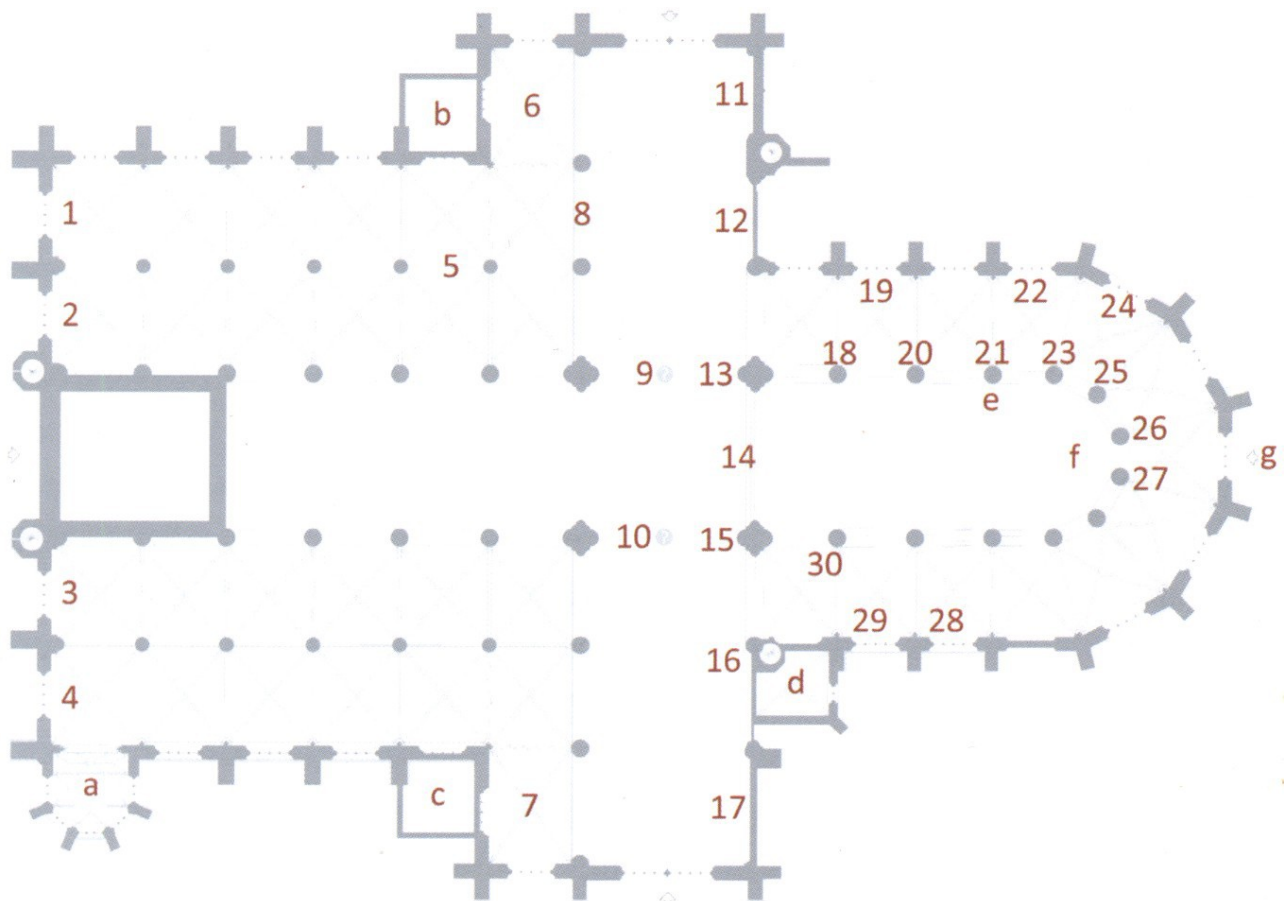


Figure 1.2. Map with the locations of the altars in the church in the early sixteenth century according to Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, p. 164. For altars not located on this map by Den Hartog, see appendix A – Altars in St Peter's church.

1. St Eloy	11. St Hubert	21. St George (Vincken)	a. baptistry
2. St Agatha	12. St Sebastian	22. Floris Paedzen	b. chapel of the holy sepulchre
3. St Catherine	13. St Ewald and St Josse	23. St Francis and St Ursula	c. chapel (?)
4. St Leonard	14. H. Cross	24. St Severus	d. sacristy / medieval church wardens chamber
5. St Bartholomew- or Van Zwieten-chapel	15. Three Magi	25. St Barbara	e. tabernacle or Holy Sacrament's house
6. Lokhorst-chapel	16. St Anna	26. St Crispin	f. high altar
7. Van-Boschuysen-chapel	17. St Nicasius	27. St Andrew	g. east entrance
8. Virgin Mary	18. St Quirinus	28. St Mary Magdalene	
9. St Nicholas	19. St James	29. St Catherine	
10. St Anthony	20. St John (Van Zwieten-altar)	30. St Michael	

Masses to be celebrated on a side altar, and some of these families and confraternities established their own altar for this purpose as well. In the course of time, therefore, the number of Masses to be celebrated in the expanding church was growing and alongside the expansion of the church itself the number of altars in the church necessarily grew alongside with them. Although it is not clear whether and how many of the altars already established in the old St Peter's church continued to exist in the same way in the new church – they might have been moved to other locations in the church, new altars might have been consecrated to the same saints or they might have disappeared altogether – certainly the number of altars in the church was growing. At the very beginning of our period, next to the high altar, at least five and probably more than seven altars were present in the church, later on this number grew to some forty altars in the course of the sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See appendix A – Altars in St Peter's church. In figure 1.2 only thirty altars are depicted. Of the remaining altars Den Hartog did not identify the location on the map of the church but these altars are listed together with the other altars

#### 1.4. Priests in St Peter's church

Like consecrated altars also ordained priests were absolutely indispensable for the celebration of Mass. For the main cycles of liturgy celebrated on the high altar the three parish priests of the Teutonic Order were responsible. For the celebration of the growing number of desired Masses on the increasing amount of side altars chantries came to be established which resulted in a growing congregation of chantry priests in the parish church.<sup>18</sup>

The parish priests stood in the centre of the religious and liturgical life of the parish community in its entirety. It was these priests presiding over the celebration of the great cycles of the liturgical day, week and year as they took place in the choir and on the high altar. These priests, moreover, were responsible for the pastoral care of the parish community and the administering of the sacraments.<sup>19</sup> For a parish to function properly at least one parish priest had to be in charge of the parish.<sup>20</sup> In St Peter's church, however, already early in its history there were two and around the beginning of our period of investigation even three parish priests attached to the church.

These parish priests were always the commander and his two companions living as priest-brothers in the commandry of the Teutonic Order, directly besides the church. The reason for this peculiar situation is that the right of advowson of St Peter's parish, which is the right to appoint the parish priests, was in possession of the Teutonic Order. Although originally this right was in possession of the counts of Holland as a legacy of the origins of St Peter's church as the private chapel of the comital residency, already in 1268 it had been granted by count Floris V to the Teutonic Order, which resulted in the permanent ministry of the parish by priest-brothers of a newly built local commandry of this religious military Order, directly besides the church.<sup>21</sup>

Although the Teutonic Order was, next to a religious, also a military Order, in the case of the Leiden commandry the military side of the Order was never dominant: the commandry was chiefly meant for the service of the parish by two, and from approximately 1390 three, priest-brothers, and only occasionally a knight-brother was present. Probably the commandry contributed financially to the military endeavours of the order, but this was not its main task and in practice the commandry functioned also and more prominently as the parsonage of the parish church. Next to these three priests several servants and students of the Latin school lived in the commandry.<sup>22</sup> Because of these modest dimensions of the commandry and the community living there, almost all attention in the documentary evidence went to the parochial service of St Peter's church.

In practice no distinction existed between the institution of the parish (*'papelijke prove'* or *'curie'*) and the commandry (*'Duitse Huis'*) or between the parson (*'cureit'* or *'prochipape'*) and the commander of the Teutonic Order in Leiden (*'commelduyr'*). Often these two functions were mentioned at once in the documents as *'cureit ende commelduyr van sinte Pieterskerk'* or the commander of the Teutonic Order is simply directly connected to St Peter's church (*'commelduyr van sinte Pieters kerke'*), although in theory his responsibility over St Peter's church he had not as commander, but as the parson of the church. Because of this lack of distinction in medieval practice and perception it is not possible to make any useful distinction between these two institutions in this thesis. Although in theory, therefore, the commandry and the parish were two different institutions, also in this thesis no strict distinction will be made between them.

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in the appendix.

<sup>18</sup> Although it is possible that some other priests were connected to the parish, the focus in this thesis will necessarily be only on the parish priests and chantry priests, because these are the only categories of priests to whom concrete references appear in the sources studied for this thesis.

<sup>19</sup> Jan Kuys, *Kerkelijke organisatie in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht* (Nijmegen 2004) pp. 66-67.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>21</sup> L.E. Loopstra, 'De Leidse commanderij van de Duitse Orde in de Middeleeuwen' in: *Leids Jaarboekje* (1984), pp. 33-59, there pp. 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 36-39.

Especially early in the history of St Peter's church more priests came to be attached to the church through the foundation of chantries and *officia*. Chantries were endowments, funded by individuals or groups, providing for a priest to celebrate Mass daily, weekly or several times a week on a specifically stipulated altar or at an altar of his own choice, for the benefit or for the specific devotion of the founder and his family.<sup>23</sup> *Officia* (or 'services') were similar foundations, but they differed in some juridical aspects of 'normal' chantries.<sup>24</sup> Because this difference is not clearly expressed in the foundation deeds investigated for this thesis (probably the issuers of the deeds did themselves not always clearly distinguish the different terms and types of foundation from each other) and because it is not essential for the liturgy resulting from these foundations, this difference will not be considered further in this thesis and with the term chantry always both 'real' chantries and '*officia*' will be indicated. The earliest recorded chantries in Leiden St Peter's church were established in 1303 by the count of Holland and the municipal government of the city of Leiden.<sup>25</sup> Subsequently throughout the history of St Peter's church many chantries were established, which resulted in a growing congregation of priests attached to the church available for the celebration of liturgy.<sup>26</sup> The number of priests connected to the church through chantries probably grew from around twenty priests in the beginning of the fifteenth century to around forty in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

Chantry priests were in the first place obligated to celebrate Masses on side altars for the benefit or specific devotion of certain families or individual parishioners.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, however, they also contributed to ecclesiastical life in a broader sense and more specifically to the liturgy as it was celebrated on the high altar.<sup>29</sup> Tasks of chantry priests in the daily liturgy in Leiden St Peter's church probably mainly concerned participation in the musical elaboration of the liturgy and assisting the main celebrant, usually the commander of the Teutonic Order, in the celebration of daily High Mass and first (and second) Vespers of Sundays and feast days.<sup>30</sup> They had an important task in the celebration of the liturgy of the dead, since they were expected to attend Vigils of the Dead and High Mass during anniversaries and to participate in commemorative rituals, called '*grafganck*,' or grave-visit, around the graves of the deceased.<sup>31</sup>

Out of these parish-broad activities of the chantry priests probably two closely related new institutions developed. Sometime during the 1430's (the first reference dates from 1438<sup>32</sup>) the chantry priests began to organise themselves in a representative institution known as the '*deputaten ende memoryemeesteren der cappellanen ende vicecappellanen van sinte Pieters kerck tot Leyden*' (deputies and memorial masters of the chantry priests and vicars of St Peter's church in Leiden). The establishment of this new institution can be related in part to conflicts that arose in 1436 about

<sup>23</sup> Clive Burgess, 'For the Increase of Divine Service': Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol' in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36:1 (1985) pp. 46-65, there p. 49; Annemarie Speetjens, 'The Founder, the Chaplain and the Ecclesiastical Authorities; Chantries in the Low Countries' in: De Weijert, Ragetli, Bijsterveld and Van Arentshals, *Living Memoria*, pp. 195-206, there p. 195.

<sup>24</sup> Speetjens, 'The Founder, the Chaplain and the Ecclesiastical Authorities', pp. 198-199.

<sup>25</sup> *Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, Oud Archief* (henceforth: RDO OA) inv.nr. 2037.

<sup>26</sup> See appendix B – Chantries in St Peter's church.

<sup>27</sup> The actual number of chantries established in the church does not give a clear indication of the number of priests attached to the church since it is not known how representative this number is and whether these chantries actually continued to exist throughout our period of investigation. Indications about the number of chantry priests present in the church, however, are provided by the arrangements for payments to chantry priests during grave-visits in anniversary foundations. See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves, table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church. See also Faber, 'Een laat-middeleeuwse obsessie?', p. 34.

<sup>28</sup> Burgess, 'For the Increase of Divine Service', p. 49. See chapter 4 – The liturgy of the side altars.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 50-59.

<sup>30</sup> See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir.

<sup>31</sup> See chapter 5 – The liturgy around the graves.

<sup>32</sup> RAL, *Archieven van de kloosters*, arch.nr. 503 (henceforth *KI*) inv.nr. 568.

the distribution of payments for participation in memorial services.<sup>33</sup> To a large extent, however, the necessity for such an institution must simply have risen due to the large number of chantry priests in the church and the practical need of an institution that could organise the growing number of collective obligations, mainly in the celebration of anniversaries, by the joint chantry priests of the church; and as delegates of the chantry priests to serve as a clear point of contact between the chantry priests and the institutions and officials hiring them.

One of the institutions which could turn to the deputies for the hiring of chantry priests was the *zevengetijdencollege* (association of the seven hours, or institution responsible for the singing of the Divine Office in the parish church) which probably also developed in the 1430's out of the growing number and obligations of chantry priests in the church, in this case to monitor their musical responsibilities.<sup>34</sup> This *zevengetijdencollege* can be characterised as a type of 'surrogate-chapter' because it fulfilled largely the same function in the liturgy as a collegiate chapter such as the one established in St Pancras' church in Leiden (singing the Mass, Divine Office and other additional liturgical observances), but it had another juridical status and allowed for more lay control on the fulfilment of its tasks,<sup>35</sup> for these tasks were not managed by the chantry priests themselves but by lay supervisors known as *zevengetijdenmeesters* (wardens of the seven hours). The first mentioning of the college dates from 1440 which makes this college probably the eldest of the *zevengetijdencolleges* established in Holland during this period.<sup>36</sup>

### 1.5. Lay involvement in the liturgy of St Peter's church

Although by far most of the liturgical tasks in St Peter's church were fulfilled by priests, also the laity was involved in and contributed in various ways to liturgical life in the parish church. Some lay people had functions to fulfil in the liturgical celebration itself. Whereas the higher sacristan (who had to handle the sacred vessels and hosts for use during Mass) had to be a priest, the lower sacristan, the choristers, the schoolmasters and -students, the bell-ringer and organist may have been either clerics (of lower order) or members of the laity.<sup>37</sup> Maybe some other tasks were assigned to laymen, but we do not have clear indications about that. The only lay women about whom we know that they were actively involved in liturgical celebrations were the beguines of the two beguinages finding their origin within St Peter's parish. The oldest of these beguinages was the court-beguinage of St Agnes- (*St Agnieten*) or 'Fali'-Beguinage, which probably came into existence between 1271 and 1293.<sup>38</sup> The other beguinage (Pieter Symonsz.-Beguinage) was founded in 1389 by Pieter Symonsz. van Oerde as a home for poor women but already soon after its foundation it developed into a beguinage.<sup>39</sup> Their role in the liturgy in St Peter's church was specifically to pray for parishioners at their graves (grave-vigils) during Vigils and High Mass on memorial days on which anniversaries were celebrated.<sup>40</sup>

Other lay parishioners fulfilled preparatory and supportive tasks for the celebration of liturgy in St Peter's church through their functions as officials of several institutions active in the church. The lay *kerkmeesters* (church wardens),<sup>41</sup> with the responsibility over the church building, the lay

<sup>33</sup> Mieke van Baarsel, 'De memoriemeesters van de Pieterskerk' in: *Leids Jaarboekje* (1982), pp. 25-54, there pp. 29-30.

<sup>34</sup> See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.5. Liturgical music.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Kuys, *Kerkelijke organisatie*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>36</sup> RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 203 (*cartularium van de getijdenmeesters*), fol. 16vs.; Jas, *De Koorboeken*, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk; De kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (Zutphen 1997) pp. 129-148.

<sup>38</sup> Florence Koorn, *Begijnhoven in Holland en Zeeland gedurende de middeleeuwen* (Assen 1981) p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, pp. 148-151; Christina Kroes-Ligtenberg, *De armezorg te Leiden tot het einde van de 16e eeuw* (The Hague 1908) pp. 237-247.

<sup>40</sup> See chapter 5 – The liturgy around the graves. See for this task, and also for other tasks of beguines in parish churches such as the assistance of the sacristan: Koorn, *Begijnhoven*, pp. 96-98.

<sup>41</sup> For a general discussion of the tasks of the *kerkmeesters* in the diocese of Utrecht, see Kuys, *Kerkelijke organisatie*, pp. 59-60. No investigation has yet been done about the *kerkmeesters* of Leiden St Peter's church in particular.

*gasthuismeesters* (hospital wardens)<sup>42</sup> with the responsibility over St Catherine's hospital in the parish and the lay *heiligegeestmeesters* (wardens of the 'heiligegeest' or 'Holy Ghost'),<sup>43</sup> an institution with the responsibility over the care for the poor in the parish, were all, next to their proper tasks, involved in the preparation, support and organisation of liturgy in the parish church, at least with regard to liturgical foundations. The lay officials who were most closely involved in the actual celebration of liturgy in the parish church were of course the aforementioned *zevengetijdenmeesters*, who were responsible for the choir of the *zevengetijdencollege* and the daily singing of the Divine Office in the parish church.<sup>44</sup> Alongside that task, however, also these officials came to be involved in the preparation, support and organisation of liturgical foundations.<sup>45</sup>

Many lay parishioners were involved in the celebration of liturgy through their membership of or functions in confraternities established in the parish church. Confraternities were corporations which could either be established primarily for religious reasons or to unite the practitioners of a certain craft, in which case they had primarily social-economic functions. In all cases, however, confraternities had also an important religious component.<sup>46</sup> Throughout the history of St Peter's church at least 45 confraternities have been active within the church.<sup>47</sup> It is not always clear however, how long these confraternities already existed when they were mentioned for the first time and how long they continued to exist after they were mentioned for the last time. If we consider the years in which the different confraternities were mentioned simultaneously then it may be concluded that the number of confraternities established in St Peter's church grew from at least nine in the beginning of our period of investigation to at least thirty in the course of the sixteenth century.<sup>48</sup>

Both craft confraternities and religious confraternities usually had altars in the parish church, which they adorned with works of art and on which liturgical celebrations in honour of the patron saint and for the benefit of the members of the confraternity were celebrated. Like chantries, also confraternities contributed to religious and liturgical life in a broader sense than only the celebration of liturgy for the benefit or devotion of their own members and on their own altar. Confraternities had their functions in the organisation and promotion of certain devotions, in the spread of doctrines and they contributed to festivities like processions through the city.<sup>49</sup> Confraternities often also celebrated the *hoogtijd* or ecclesiastical feast day of their own patron saint festively in the parish church where they were established.<sup>50</sup>

More well-to-do parishioners could, instead of or alongside a contribution through the membership of a confraternity, also contribute in important ways to the liturgy in the parish church through their own liturgical foundations. Several of the most important families in Leiden who

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<sup>42</sup> Kroes-Ligtenberg, *Armezorg*, pp. 19-84.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 158-207.

<sup>44</sup> Jas, *De Koorboeken*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>45</sup> Alongside these institutions governed by lay officials also the parish priests (the commandry of the Teutonic Order) and the chantry priests (represented by the deputies) accepted and organised liturgical foundations themselves.

<sup>46</sup> These '*ambachten*' or '*ambachtsbroederschappen*' (craft confraternities) resemble craft guilds as they existed in other cities, but they were not mentioned as such because of an official prohibition of guilds by count William III in 1313. P.J. Blok, *Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche stad*, vol. 1: *Eene Hollandsche stad in de Middeleeuwen* ('s-Gravenhage 1910) 176-184. Most confraternities (and all craft confraternities) were either open only for male members or for both male and female members. A minority of the confraternities, without exception religious confraternities, were open only for female members. Also in Leiden there were four such female corporations. As the word confraternity in that case incorrectly refers to the Latin word '*frater*' for brother, these female congregations will henceforth be called '*consorority*' from Latin '*soror*' for sister. If a general reference is made to such institutions, whether they were male or female, the common word confraternity will be used.

<sup>47</sup> See appendix C – Confraternities in St Peter's church.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>49</sup> Van Luijk, "Ter eeren ende love Goodes", p. 40.

<sup>50</sup> According to Van Luijk (*Ibidem*, p. 38) every confraternity celebrated the *hoogtijd* of their patron saint. Not of all confraternities, however, are foundation deeds of *hoogtijd*-celebrations preserved. See chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.3. Foundations of '*hoogtijden*'.



contributed in various ways to the building and decoration of St Peter's church, such as the families Van Zwieten, Paedze van Zonnevelt, Vincken, Heerman, Boschuyzen, Van Alkemade and Van Lockhorst, also endowed one or more liturgical services in the parish church.<sup>51</sup> In particular the members of the prominent knightly family Van Zwieten (see figures 1.3 and 1.4) established some of the most important and prestigious liturgical services in St Peter's church,<sup>52</sup> most prominently the endowment of Boudijn van Zwieten by which the daily celebration of all seven hours of the Divine Office was ensured.



Figure 1.3. Four generations of the Van Zwieten family around the Virgin Mary with child in the memorial painting of the family in Mariënpoel monastery (1552).

Directly left and right of the Virgin Boudijn van Zwieten and his wife Luytgard van Nijenrode are depicted. On the left (heraldic right) side their sons are depicted, from right to left subsequently Dirk with his wife Johanna van Leyenburg, Gijsbrecht with his wife Catharina van Diemen, Jan with his wife Catharina van de Abeele and, in the third generation, Adriaan, son of Jan and Catharina, with his second wife Otte van Egmond and in the fourth generation their children Johanna and Jan. On the right (heraldic left) side their daughters are depicted with their husbands, from left to right Evert van Hoogwoude, husband of Alijd, Alijd herself, Catharina, prioress of Mariënpoel, Jan van Poelgeest, husband of Margriet and Margriet herself. See figure 1.4.

Medieval Memoria Online, Rich Internet Application 'Commemoration in the Convent Mariënpoel; prayer and politics': <http://www.cs.uu.nl/research/projects/i-cult/CLE/6Memoria/en/Main.htm> consulted on Wednesday 4 September 2013.

## 1.6. Conclusion

We have seen in this chapter how liturgical development was related to broader developments in society, in particular the growth of the city in the fourteenth century, which in their turn resulted in the ambitious building project from 1390 onwards and the proliferation of the number of altars, chantries, priests and liturgical services celebrated in the parish church. In these developments, we observed, also (lay) parishioners had a constitutive role. A small part of them contributed substantially through their contribution to the (endowed) liturgical services themselves, others were involved in several institutions active in the organisation or celebration of (endowed) liturgy in St Peter's church but most parishioners, alongside their participation in the liturgical services themselves, mainly contributed, individually or collectively through their membership of confraternities, to the development of the liturgy by the foundation of liturgical services. It is to these concrete liturgical foundations that we will now turn in the next chapter.

<sup>51</sup> Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', pp. 172-173 and 179-181.

<sup>52</sup> Fred van Kan, 'Het middeleeuwse riddermatige geslacht Van Zwieten' in: *Jaarboek voor het centraal bureau voor genealogie en het iconographisch bureau* 37 (The Hague 1983) pp. 43-70 and 38 (The Hague 1984) pp. 49-96. About the life, career and other religious donations and foundations of Boudijn van Zwieten, see: Fred van Kan, 'Boudewijn van Zwieten, tesorier van Holland,' in: *Holland; Regionaal-historisch tijdschrift* 13 (1981) pp. 288-305.

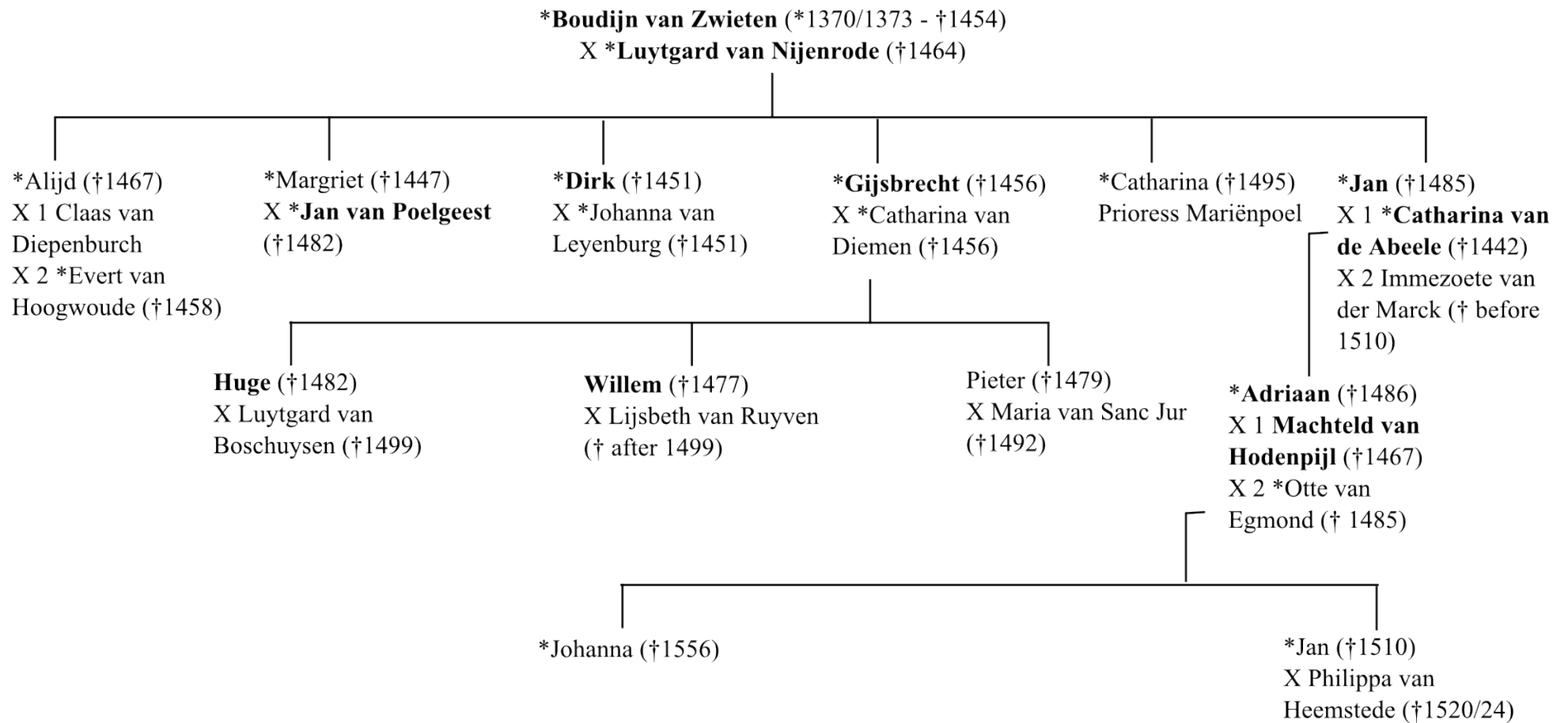


Figure 1.4. Genealogical survey of the Van Zwieten family. This survey presents only those branches of the family depicted on the memorial painting commissioned by Johanna van Zwieten (figure 1.3) and the members of the family appearing in the sources studied for this thesis. For a complete survey of the Van Zwieten family, see Van Kan, 'Het middeleeuwse riddermatige geslacht Van Zwieten'. If the names mentioned here are depicted on the painting, then they are indicated with an \* before their name. If they appear as founder or person commemorated in one of the liturgical foundations discussed in this thesis, then their names are printed in **bold**.



## Chapter 2

### *Liturgical foundations*

Liturgical foundations were, as we have seen in the previous chapter, one of the principle ways for the laity by which they could contribute concretely to the liturgical practice in their parish church. The nature of the services thus endowed – and the motivations for their foundation – differed widely from very prestigious and solemn services celebrated on the high altar principally for reasons of prestige, the increase of divine service or the glory of God, to modest types of memorial services principally meant for the salvation of the soul. Next to the exceptional endowment of the *zevengetijdencollege* and the daily celebration of all seven hours of the Divine Office by Boudijn van Zwieten, with which we opened the introduction to this thesis, these foundations concerned solemn votive morrow Masses celebrated with all ceremonial and musical elaboration (usually) on the high altar of the church, '*hoogtijden*' or solemn celebrations of ecclesiastical feast days, Masses celebrated on side altars, anniversaries and grave-visits and some exceptional foundations, such as an additional '*lof*'-service consisting of the singing of the *Dum fabricator* and *O admirabile* with a collect just after the (also endowed) votive morrow Mass of the Holy Cross on Friday, the singing of the *Inviolata integra et casta es Maria* on several Sundays and all processional feast days throughout the year and a service called '*verrisenisse*' during Easter night, which might have been an example of liturgical theatre.

#### *2.1. The foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten*

With his foundation of 15 May 1443 Boudijn van Zwieten made a very important contribution to the liturgy in his parish church, because from then on an institution responsible for the music during the liturgy – the *zevengetijdencollege* – came to be established firmly and the singing of all seven hours of the Office came to be guaranteed.<sup>1</sup> But the singing of the Divine Office in the parish church was not the only duty this institution had to provide for. The priests of the college had to celebrate Mass every day on the altar of Boudijn van Zwieten, followed by a visit to his grave with the recitation of a *Miserere*, *De profundis* and a collect for the deceased in commemoration of Boudijn himself, his wife, his children, his relatives and the lords and ladies he had served. The same ritual had to be performed three times a week for the priest Jan Willemsz. and arrangements were made for requiem Masses on the high altar for Boudijn c.s. on the Mondays after the six feasts of the Blessed Virgin and for memorial services after Compline for all the benefactors of the *zevengetijden*, followed by a *Salve Regina* with a collect for the Blessed Virgin.

Within this foundation, therefore, an important contribution to liturgical practice and thereby to the service of God in Boudijn's parish church is combined with provisions for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his relatives. He expresses this himself by saying that he made this foundation '*om den dienst goeds te vermeerren ende zalicheyt mynre zielen om dat ick gesien hebbe dattet dairtoe van noode was*'.<sup>2</sup> The adding of the phrase '*om dat ick gesien hebbe dattet dairtoe van noode was*' – which is clearly not a fixed formula like the other two motivations – suggests that he had, next to his personal – religious and secular – interests, also a broader purpose in mind, for the benefit of the liturgy in his parish church and thereby possibly of the whole parish and ultimately of God himself.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original charter is part of the archive of the parish and commandry, preserved in the archival repository of the bailiwick of Utrecht of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht: *Ridderlijke Duitse Orde, Oud Archief* (henceforth RDO OA), inv.nr. 2034.10, transcriptions are part of the archive of the *zevengetijdencollege* itself, preserved in the regional archival depository of Leiden and surroundings: *Regionaal Archief Leiden* (henceforth RAL), *Archieven van de Kerken*, arch.nr. 502 (henceforth *Ke*), I. *Archieven van de sint Pieterskerk*, I.2. *Archief van de getijdenmeesters*, inv.nrs. 203-321, there inv.nrs. 210 and 203, fol. 3vs. For this foundation see also Jas, *De Koorboeken*, pp. 33-36 and Jim Ward, 'Boudewijn van Zwieten's legacy' in: *Leidschrift; historisch tijdschrift* 12:1 (1996) pp. 19-31.

<sup>2</sup> 'In order to augment the service of God, for the salvation of my soul and because I have seen that it was necessary'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the more elaborate motivations mentioned in connection with several very similar foundations by Boudijn van Zwieten included in the foundation deed of the monastery of *Mariënpoel* in Oegstgeest in 1431. RAL, *Archieven*

## 2.2. Foundations of sung votive morrow Masses

The endowment of the *zevenetijdencollege* by Boudijn van Zwieten, including the foundation of his six requiem morrow Masses on the high altar, immediately set the stage for several other foundations of annual or weekly sung votive morrow Masses (several of whom by other members of the family Van Zwieten) in which the music of the *zevenetijdencollege* had an important share and which were consequently organised and celebrated to a large extent by the representatives, priests and choristers of this institution (see table 2.1).<sup>4</sup> One of these Masses, the Mass of the Holy Cross on Friday, was already endowed by the confraternity of the Holy Cross several decades before, but at least from 1453 onwards this Mass came to be celebrated, and maybe organised, by the *zevenetijdencollege* as well, whereas at least from this date onwards also a votive morrow Mass was celebrated on Saturday in honour of the Blessed Virgin of which no foundation deed has been preserved.<sup>5</sup> Except for the requiem Mass of Lijsbet Reyner Reynersz.' widow, who explicitly stated in her foundation deed that she did not want a grave-visit, in all foundation deeds of these Masses provisions were made for grave-visits to be brought after the celebration of Mass for the benefit and salvation of the living and deceased members of the families of the founders.<sup>6</sup>

Year	Day	Intention	Founder
1423 <sup>7</sup>	Friday	H. Cross	Confraternity H. Cross (7)
1443 <sup>8</sup>	Monday > 6 feast days of the Virgin	Requiem	Boudijn van Zwieten
1469 <sup>9</sup>	Monday > St Pontian (14 January)	Requiem	Jan van Poelgeest
1476 <sup>10</sup>	Around date of death	Requiem	Lijsbet, widow of Reyner Reynersz.
1481 <sup>11</sup>	Monday	Requiem	Huge van Zwieten
1481 <sup>12</sup>	Thursday	H. Sacrament	Huge van Zwieten
1485 <sup>13</sup>	Monday > St Elisabeth (19 November)	Requiem	Adriaan van Zwieten
1510 <sup>14</sup>	Tuesday	St Anna	Ysaack Aelwijnsz.

Alongside the foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten, which was already discussed above, motivations

*van de Kloosters*, arch.nr. 503 (henceforth: *Kl*), inv.nr. 860, transcriptions in RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 858, fol. 1-3 and inv.nrs. 862, 863, 864, 865 and 912, fol. 1. Truus van Bueren, 'Het klooster Mariënpoel bij Leiden. Boudewijn van Zwieten' in: Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood*, pp. 37-39; W.J.J.C. Bijleveld, 'Het nonnenklooster Mariënpoel en de stichter Boudijn van Zwieten' in: *Leidsch Jaarboekje* 2 (1905) 138-178. Truus van Bueren and Leen Breure, Rich Internet Application 'Prayer and Politics': MeMO website; <http://www.cs.uu.nl/research/projects/i-cult/CLE/6Memoria/>.

<sup>4</sup> These sung votive morrow Masses were always celebrated on the high altar of the church, except in the case of the sung Mass of St Anna which was celebrated on the altar of St Anna in the transept of the church. See chapter 4 – The liturgy of the side altars, paragraph 4.1. The Tuesday Mass of St Anna.

<sup>5</sup> An agreement concerning the polyphonic elaboration of the Masses of the Holy Cross on Friday and the Blessed Virgin on Saturday, together with a service called '*onser vrouwen lof*', was made in 1453 between the city government and Jacop Tick, schoolmaster and vocalist of the *zevenetijdencollege*. RAL, *Archief der secretarie van de stad Leiden*, arch.nr. 501 (henceforth *SA I*), inv.nr. 1188: '*Quistboek*', fol. 7vs.-8. For a detailed discussion of this foundation deed see Jas, *De Koorboeken*, pp. 36-38.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter 5 – The liturgy around the graves.

<sup>7</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs.

<sup>8</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nrs. 210 and 203, fol. 3vs.

<sup>9</sup> RDO OA inv.nr. 2034.12.

<sup>10</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 211 and RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 46.

<sup>11</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 1494; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 212, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 58.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 82vs.

<sup>14</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 214, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52.

for foundations of sung votive morrow Masses are mentioned only in the foundation deed of the weekly morrow Mass of requiem on Monday and of the Blessed Sacrament on Thursday by Hugu van Zwieten in 1481, in the foundation deed of the Mass of St Anna on Tuesday by Ysaack Aelwijnsz. in 1510 and in the foundation deeds of the annual requiem morrow Masses endowed by Jan van Poelgeest in 1469 and Lijsbet Reyner Reynersz.' widow in 1476. These motivations, like the motivations mentioned in the foundation deeds of other types of services established in Leiden St Peter's church, are not very elaborate and we need to be cautious about their interpretation since these expressions tend to be fixed formula which might have been standardised by scribes.<sup>15</sup>

Three standard motivations appear time and again in the foundation deeds investigated for this thesis. This concerns the two fixed formulae already referred to above in our discussion of the foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten – i.e. the augmentation of the service of God and the salvation of the soul – and a third formula '*inder eeren goeds*' (for the honour of God). In the case of all votive morrow Masses for which motivations were mentioned – and it is important to remark that this is also the case for foundations of requiem Masses – a combination is made of the formula concerning the honour of God (and sometimes the augmentation of His service) and the formula concerning the salvation of the soul. This seems to suggest that, even if these motivations are fixed formulae, liturgical foundations were meant, in very general terms, simultaneously for both purposes, which is the honour of God and the salvation of the soul. A too one-sided focus upon liturgical foundations, therefore, as concerning only the care for the hereafter (the salvation of the deceased) and the care for the here and now (religious or secular purposes to be achieved in this life) without taking into account the intrinsic importance of the honour and praise to be brought to God and the augmentation of His service, does no justice both to the motivations mentioned in the deeds and to the actual contents of many foundations.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.3. Foundations of '*hoogtijden*'

The votive morrow Mass foundation of the Holy Cross on Friday was combined in the same foundation deed with the foundation of the solemn celebration of the feast of Holy Cross Exaltation in the parish church on 14 September. This is no exceptional foundation: twelve deeds reflect the foundation of a total number of sixteen feast days to be celebrated solemnly in St Peter's church (see table 2.2). Probably even more feasts were endowed in St Peter's church throughout, after and maybe before our period of investigation. References to eighteen feasts appear in lists of income '*ontfaen van hoechtiden die men hout in der kercken*' in the accounts of the church wardens from the years 1426-1428.<sup>17</sup> Because most of the saints mentioned in these lists concern saints often specifically associated with a certain craft or craft confraternity active in St Peter's church, and because an explicit reference appears in the list of 1426 to the actual founder of the feast of *Divisio Apostolorum* from whom the church wardens received the income mentioned in the list,<sup>18</sup> it is probable that these lists of income concerned the payments received from the founders (probably often confraternities) for endowed feast days, rather than the '*batig saldo*' (credit balance) of the offerings received during particularly popular feast days in St Peter's church, as was suggested by Charles Caspers and Harry Tummers.<sup>19</sup> Other references to feasts probably endowed by

<sup>15</sup> Burgess, "For the Increase of Divine Service", p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>17</sup> 'Received of feast days celebrated in church'; RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 323, transcription Ed van der Vlist, *Pieterskerk 1398-1428* on website of the association *Jan van Hout*: [http://www.janvanhout.nl/pkr/pkr\\_frame.htm](http://www.janvanhout.nl/pkr/pkr_frame.htm) (consulted on 22 December 2012). For a more detailed discussion and a list of these feast days, their position in the liturgical calendar and their relationship with the confraternities in St Peter's church, see chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.3. The liturgical year and table 3.2. Foundations of *hoogtijden* and the liturgical calendar of the diocese.

<sup>18</sup> '*Item van Segher ontfaen van der hoichtijt van Divisio Apostolorum*' – 'Item received of Segher of the feast of *Divisio Apostolorum*'.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Caspers and Harry Tummers, 'Apostelbeelden in het laatmiddeleeuwse kerkinterieur' in: C. Willemijn Fock e.a. (ed.), *Eredoeken in geperst brokaat; Brokaatimitaties op de koorzuilen in de Pieterskerk Leiden* (Leiden 2003)

confraternities concern the feasts of St Anastasius from the end of the fifteenth century<sup>20</sup> and St Sebastian from 1567, which was, since the '*schutterij*' or civil guard guild of St Sebastian already existed in the fifteenth century, probably also celebrated in an earlier stage.<sup>21</sup>

Year	Feast(s)	Founder
1411 <sup>22</sup>	Eleven Thousand Virgins (82 <sup>23</sup> )	Gherijt van Hillegom and Jan Comans
1411 <sup>24</sup>	St Barbara (99)	Consortority St Barbara (8 <sup>25</sup> )
1413 <sup>26</sup>	St Mary Magdalene (52)	Consortority St Mary Magdalene (9)
1414 <sup>27</sup>	St Catherine (96)	Consortority St Catherine (2)
1421 <sup>28</sup>	H. Trinity (27), St Michael (74), St Martin (90) and St Andrew (97)	Jan Dirc Coenenz. <sup>29</sup>
1423 <sup>30</sup>	H. Cross Exaltation (68)	Confraternity H. Cross (7)
1440 <sup>31</sup>	<i>Divisio Apostolorum</i> (51)	Zeger Willemsz.
n.d. <sup>32</sup>	St Luke (81)	Jan van Woerden <sup>33</sup>
1450 <sup>34</sup>	St Mary of the Snow (56)	Jacop van Zonnevelt
1460 <sup>35</sup>	St John <i>ante portam Latinam</i> (35), St Mary Presentation (94)	Ave, widow of Jan van Ruyven
1497 <sup>36</sup>	St Nicasius (103)	Confraternity St Nicasius (22)
1507 <sup>37</sup>	Ten Thousand Martyrs (43)	Jan Lijsbet, widow of Claes Hugenz.

There is only one '*hoogtijd*'-foundation deed preserved in which (part of) a motivation is mentioned. This is the *hoogtijd* of the Ten Thousand Martyrs, established by Jan Lijsbet Claes Hugenzs' widow, in which the services in honour of the Ten Thousand Martyrs were combined with

pp. 26-47, there p. 44. See also Godelieve Huijskens, 'De figuratieve muurschilderingen' in: Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, pp. 210-217.

<sup>20</sup> RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270: *Register van de kosten van het nieuwe altaar van Sint Nicasius van de vollers, overgebracht naar de Sint Pieterskerk, en van de daaraan verbonden diensten* (1488-1496), fol. 1.

<sup>21</sup> RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1179: *Rekeningen van de Sint Sebastiaans-schutterij* (1567). Eric Jas refers to an agreement by the *getijdenmeesters* with both civil guard guilds (St George, 42; St Sebastian, 45) in 1487 about weekly sung Masses on their altars in St Peter's church; Jas, *De Koorboeken*, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7: *Memorieboek* (memorandum book) of the church wardens (ca. 1450) fol. 88vs.

<sup>23</sup> The numbers refer to the entries in appendix D – The liturgical year.

<sup>24</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89; original charter: RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2.

<sup>25</sup> The numbers refer to the entries in appendix C – Confraternities in St Peter's church.

<sup>26</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90.

<sup>27</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.

<sup>28</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.; original charters: RDO OA, inv.nrs. 2034.5.1 and 2.

<sup>29</sup> In the deed the regular canons of Leiderdorp and their priest Claes Hardebol make up the party from whom the church wardens accept the foundation. In a deed from 1441, however, the foundation is confirmed by the church wardens but in this case with Jan Dirc Coenenz. as founder. Probably the regular canons and their priest served, in this case, as an intermediary institution for the foundation of liturgy in St Peter's church between the actual founder (Jan Dirc Coenenz.), who probably made more arrangements in his original deed in which also the regular canons had a share, and the church wardens of St Peter's church.

<sup>30</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs.

<sup>31</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 93.

<sup>32</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 95vs. No date is mentioned.

<sup>33</sup> The name Jan van Woerden is mentioned in the memorial register of the *memorieboek* of the church wardens, RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fols. 9-87, there fol. 71.

<sup>34</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97.

<sup>35</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156.

<sup>36</sup> RAL, *Archieven van de gilden, beurzen en rederijerskamers in Leiden* (henceforth: *Gi*), inv.nr. 1268.

<sup>37</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255.

provisions for prayer for the benefactors on the Sunday before the feast and by the priests who celebrated five additional Masses on the altar of St Apollonia during the *hoogtijd*. No explicit motivations concerning the salvation of the soul appear in this foundation deed, but this was probably also in this case part of the consideration, for it is stipulated that on the Sunday before the *hoogtijd* the celebration had to be announced '*ende doen bidden voir die geene die dese hoechtijt ander kercke verwor[?] ende mit horen aelmissen in gestelt hebben*' directly after which the motivation is expressed '*omme tot wairdicheyt ende love vande thien duysent martelaren den dienste goedts tot ewijgen dagen dair bij vermeert te wesen*'.<sup>38</sup>

#### 2.4. Foundations of liturgy on the side altars

Mass foundations on side altars could concern Masses organised and celebrated by a parish-broad institution (like the solemn sung votive Mass of St Anna by the *zevengetijdencollege*), they could be part of the obligations of a chantry priest, according to the arrangements in chantry foundation deeds, or they could be part of the liturgical cycle of a confraternity.<sup>39</sup> The so-called *kermis*-Mass (celebrating the consecration day of the altar) was endowed only in the *hoogtijd*-foundation deed of St Mary Magdalene.

When motivations were mentioned in the foundation deeds of these Masses usually the combination was made again between considerations considering the honour of God and (or) the saints and the salvation of the souls of the founder and several family members, although, in the case of Mass foundations organised by parish-broad institutions, sometimes either only the honour of God and the increase of Divine service or only the salvation of the soul was mentioned. In all these cases, however, it is important to realise that both themes (salvation and honour and service of God) were probably, albeit in different proportions, simultaneously present in the content of the liturgy itself and probably in the (often unexpressed) motivations of the founders as well.

We have already seen in chapter 1 that chantries – and chantry priests – served not only the private interests of the family endowing them but also contributed to ecclesiastical life in the parish church in a broader sense.<sup>40</sup> Also other Masses celebrated on side altars contributed to ecclesiastical life in a broader sense, in providing the parish both with extra Masses for specific devotions or intentions and with Masses more closely at hand than the parish Mass on the high altar.<sup>41</sup> This is expressed by several founders who, like Boudijn van Zwieten and several founders of votive morrow Masses discussed above, indicated their foundation to be meant for the augmentation of the service of God, in general but probably particularly in their local parish church.

#### 2.5. Foundations of anniversaries and grave-visits

The provisions in foundation deeds of anniversaries concerned predominantly rituals around graves,<sup>42</sup> but at the same time these rituals were directly connected to the preceding celebrations of Vigils in the choir of the church on the eve of the anniversary and High Mass in the morning of the memorial day itself, both of which were integral parts of the entire ritual structure of the anniversary. Concerning these services, however, only rarely explicit arrangements appear in the

<sup>38</sup> 'And let there be prayed for the ones who endowed this feast day and established with their alms in order to, through the praise and dignity of the Ten Thousand Martyrs augment the service of God into eternity'; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255.

<sup>39</sup> See chapter 4 – The liturgy of the side altars.

<sup>40</sup> See chapter 1 – City, church and community, paragraph 1.4. Priests in St Peter's church. See also chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.1. The daily cycle.

<sup>41</sup> Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 112-116.

<sup>42</sup> Although much research has been done already on anniversaries, also in St Peter's church, almost no attention has yet been paid to the relationship of the celebration of these anniversaries to the regular cycles of the liturgy. See for a study of anniversaries in the parish churches of Leiden: Faber, 'Zorgen voor de ziel'. More specifically for anniversaries organised by the deputies: Van Baarsel, 'De memoriemeesters van de Pieterskerk'. See for a list of anniversary foundations in our corpus of foundation deeds appendix F – The liturgy around the graves, table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church.

foundation deeds because they were already celebrated in choir independently of individual anniversary foundations.<sup>43</sup> Although in most anniversary foundations the arrangements concern only these rituals around the graves,<sup>44</sup> in two foundation deeds explicit arrangements were made concerning the way in which Vigils had to be celebrated,<sup>45</sup> and in five foundation deeds arrangements were made concerning the celebration of (requiem) High Mass on the day of the anniversary.<sup>46</sup> Grave-visits were often also established as an additional service to the foundation of a sung votive morrow Mass, a Mass on a side altar or as a daily obligation for the commander during High Mass.<sup>47</sup>

To a large extent the same conclusions can be drawn about the anniversaries as for the solemn requiem Masses on the high altar. Although the salvation of the soul is important in the motivations of parishioners for the foundation of anniversaries, also in the case of anniversaries motivations like *'puyrmentelic om goidswillen'*,<sup>48</sup> *'om goods willen'*<sup>49</sup> and *'ad laudem dei omnipotentis'*.<sup>50</sup> are not absent, which suggests again that services which at first sight appear to be meant primarily for the salvation of the soul were at the same time also considered to be meant for the praise and honour of God.

## 2.6. *'Dum fabricator' and 'O admirabile'*

The votive morrow Mass of the Holy Cross was followed immediately after the *Ite Missa est* was sung by a short additional service, consisting of the singing by the 'servers' (deacon and subdeacon<sup>51</sup>), together with the choristers, of *Dum Fabricator* and *O Admirabile* with a collect, in honour of the Holy Cross.<sup>52</sup> The antiphon *Dum Fabricator Mundi Mortis* with versicle *O admirabile pretium* was an antiphon meant for use during the procession with the Cross on Good Friday.<sup>53</sup>

Probably this tradition ceased to exist sometime during the fifteenth century, for in 1511 Dirck Florijs Montfoortszsz. endowed the singing of this same antiphon once again on the same moment,<sup>54</sup> now supplemented with a versicle *'proprio filie non pepercit deus, sed pro nobis*

<sup>43</sup> That Mass and Vigils during anniversaries were regular services celebrated in the choir of the church is suggested by the explicit references to 'High' Mass in the foundation deeds and because the stipulations about distributions to parish priests, sacristan and chantry priests directly after Vigils or Mass suggest a collective celebration in the choir of the church. In two foundation deeds (RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 123, 1446 and RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568, 1438) the choir is even explicitly mentioned as the place of celebration of Vigils and High Mass. See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves, table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church. Also Mieke van Baarsel concludes that the Mass during anniversaries concerned the regular daily celebration of High Mass. Van Baarsel, 'De memoriemeesters van de Pieterskerk', p. 27.

<sup>44</sup> These rituals will be discussed in chapter 5 – The liturgy around the graves.

<sup>45</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 123 (1446) and RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568 (1438).

<sup>46</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs. (1414); RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568 (1438); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 79 (1452); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11, acceptance by church wardens in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs. (1480); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10 (1492). These foundations will be discussed alongside the foundations of Masses and feast days in our treatment of the celebration of Mass throughout the regular cycles of the liturgical year, see chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir.

<sup>47</sup> All these foundations will be discussed in chapter 5 – The liturgy around the graves.

<sup>48</sup> 'Purely for the sake of God'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 60; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 254.

<sup>49</sup> 'For the sake of God'; RAL, *HGW*, inv.nr. 1058.

<sup>50</sup> 'For the praise of the almighty God'; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.3.

<sup>51</sup> See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.4. Priests and officials involved in the celebration of the liturgy.

<sup>52</sup> Eric Jas mentions early sixteenth century references to a *'lof'* for the Holy Cross on Friday. It is probable that this *'lof'* service, analogous to the *'lof'* of the Virgin Mary celebrated on Saturday morning after the votive morrow Mass celebrated in her honour, concerns this same musical service celebrated directly after the Mass of the Holy Cross. Eric Jas, however, does not connect these two services with each other. Jas, *De Koorboeken*, pp. 42-46.

<sup>53</sup> *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant; Indices of chants in selected manuscripts and early printed sources of the liturgical Office*; <http://cantusdatabase.org/id/002453>. Consulted on 4 September 2013.

<sup>54</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 215; see Jas, *De Koorboeken*, p. 42.



*omnibus tradidit illum*',<sup>55</sup> with a collect '*respice deus super familiam tuam*'<sup>56</sup> and with the arrangement that this service had to be sung '*midden inde kercke voir tcruys staende of hangende voir dat choer*'.<sup>57</sup> Probably Dirck Florijs Montfoortszsz. wanted to re-establish a tradition which had ceased to exist sometime before.<sup>58</sup> The *proprio filio* Dirck Florijs Montfoortszsz. added to the original service is taken from the *preces stationum* or prayers of the stations, the prayers originally used in a pious exercise commemorating the death and passion of Jesus Christ, which during and after the later Middle Ages gradually grew out to become an integral part of the Good Friday Liturgy, as the Way of the Cross.<sup>59</sup> The cross before which the *zevenetijdencollege* had to sing this service is probably the cross of the calvary upon the choir screen, present in the church at least since its consecration in 1412.<sup>60</sup>

### 2.7. '*Inviolata integra et casta es Maria*'

In 1503 Dirck Dircxz. arranged '*ter eren ende love der wairdiger moeder ende maget Maria*'<sup>61</sup> and for the salvation of his own soul that on a number of feast days in which processions were held the Marial hymn *Inviolata integra et casta es Maria*<sup>62</sup> (inviolata, spotless and pure are you, Mary) had to be sung by the *zevenetijdencollege* before the chancel after the procession had returned to the church.<sup>63</sup> These procession days included Christmas day, all days of the Virgin, *jairsdag* (New Years' day, or *Circumcisio Domini*), Epiphany (6 January), 'patron day,' which is the day of St Peter and Paul on 29 June and All Saints (1 November). Furthermore, also on all Sundays throughout the year from the first Sunday after the octave of *Corpus Christi*, and then onwards through the year until the fifth Sunday in Lent called *Judica* (after the first word of the Introit of the Mass of this Sunday) the *Inviolata* had to be sung in church.

The hymn had to be sung by the choir of the *zevenetijden* and they could sing it '*gelijck dat in die borderen hangende anden pylaers an elker zijde vander middelkercke gescreven staet ofte in discant gelijck den sangers dat believen ofte hore devotie uutwijzen sal*'.<sup>64</sup> This was apparently a popular hymn, of which the music of the gregorian chant version was written on plaques in the church. The choir was not only allowed to choose the monophonic or polyphonic version, they were also urged to base their decision on devotional considerations. No less than three polyphonic arrangements of this hymn were included in the sixteenth century choirbooks of the *zevenetijdencollege*, one of the internationally famous composer Josquin des Prez, and two of regional composers who both probably for some time worked in Leiden St Peter's church: Michiel Smeekers and Claudin Patoulet.<sup>65</sup> Dirck Dircxz. provided for payments to be distributed to seven or eight singing priests and for the priest that celebrated High Mass that day on the condition that they actually participated in the procession and in the singing of the *Inviolata*.

<sup>55</sup> 'God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all'.

<sup>56</sup> 'Look down, God, upon your family'.

<sup>57</sup> 'before the cross standing or hanging before the choir'.

<sup>58</sup> Jas, *De Koorboeken*, p. 42.

<sup>59</sup> Michael Martin, *Thesaurus Precum Latinarum – Treasury of Latin prayers*, <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/Filius/PrecesStationum.html>, consulted on 4 September 2013. First versicle with responsory verse of the first station, *Ubi Christus morti adiudicatur*, 'Where Christ Is Condemned to Death'.

<sup>60</sup> Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', p. 153 and Justin E.A. Kroesen, 'Het oudste koorhek van Nederland' in: Den Hartog and Veerman, *De Pieterskerk*, pp. 235-239, there p. 238.

<sup>61</sup> 'in honour and praise of the worthy mother and Virgin Mary'.

<sup>62</sup> According to the Cantus database (<http://cantusdatabase.org/node/381862>; consulted on 4 September 2013) a hymn for St Mary Purification, St Mary Nativity or the octave of Christmas.

<sup>63</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs.

<sup>64</sup> 'like it is written on the plaques fastened on the pillars in the middle church or polyphonic as the vocalists want it or as their devotion indicates them to do'.

<sup>65</sup> Jas, *De koorboeken*, pp. 41 and 313.

## 2.8. 'Verrisenisse'

A last endowed service to be mentioned here was the arrangement by Jan Lijsbet, widow of Claes Hugenz., in the foundation deed in which also the feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs was endowed (1507), '*omme tot ewigen dagen alle jaire op die paeschnachte die verrisenisse ons heren te houden ende te doen houden in sinte Pieters kercke*'.<sup>66</sup> Payments had to be distributed to the performer of the 'verrisenisse', the seven vocalists and the four choristers of the *zevenetijdencollege* taking part in the 'verrisenisse' and to the sacristan of the church. Eric Jas mentions this foundation only with the remark that details about the service are missing in the deed.<sup>67</sup> Herman Brinkman, however, mentions this same 'verrisenisse' as an example of liturgical theatre, in which the organist Jan Claesz. used to play the *Te Deum Laudamus* in the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>68</sup>

## 2.9. Conclusion

We have seen in this chapter that a significant group of lay people was involved in liturgical life of the parish church through the foundation of a wide variety of different types of liturgical services, either individually or through their membership of confraternities. These services differed from very prestigious ones that at the same time, once established, contributed significantly to the development of liturgical practice in the parish church (such as the endowment of the *zevenetijdencollege* by Boudijn van Zwieten and the foundations of votive morrow Masses and additional services celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the church) to more modest services that primarily seem to have been meant for the salvation of the souls of the founder and his relatives (such as requiem Masses, anniversaries and several types of grave-visits). These differences are partly reflected in the motivations mentioned in the deeds although it is clear that all foundations, albeit in different proportions, were meant simultaneously for both purposes: the salvation of the soul and the honour and glory of God. That parishioners probably consciously intended to contribute to the liturgy in their parish church was made most clear by the example of Boudijn van Zwieten through the phrase ('*om dat ick gesien hebbe dattet dairtoe van noode was*') but this was also suggested by the fact that many founders expressed their foundation to be meant 'for the augmentation of the service of God'.

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<sup>66</sup> 'In order to do into eternity during Easter night the resurrection of our Lord and to cause it to be held in St Peter's church'; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255.

<sup>67</sup> Jas, *De koorboeken*, p. 41.

<sup>68</sup> Herman Brinkman, *Dichten uit Liefde; Literatuur in Leiden aan het einde van de Middeleeuwen* (Hilversum 1997) p. 80.



Part II

Liturgy



## Chapter 3

### *The liturgy of the high altar and the choir*

The parish liturgy as it was celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of St Peter's church consisted, like all Christian liturgy, of daily, weekly and annual cycles of services, observances and feast days. These cycles did not stand apart from each other, for, although the texts and specific ceremonies of Mass and Divine Office differed according to the season or feast day of the liturgical year, the basic pattern of the celebration of Mass and Divine Office was regulated by the hour of the day and the day of the week. These differences, between the Sunday or feast day liturgy and the liturgy of ferial days, are for example expressed by arrangements in foundation deeds concerning the involvement of priests and 'servers' (deacon, subdeacon and *provisors*) in the liturgy of Mass and Vespers, the contribution of a choir (the school choir or the *zevengetijdencollege*), the type of musical elaboration of the liturgy (plainchant or polyphony), organ accompaniment (the large or small organ), the type of bell-chiming, the illumination of the church with candles and torches, the use of incense and by the occurrence of sermons and processions in the liturgical celebration.

#### 3.1. *The daily cycle*

Whereas the celebration of Mass was always the central celebration of the day in the later Middle Ages, the extent of the day, from the rising of the sun to its setting, was structured and sanctified through the observance of the eight (or seven) hours of the Divine Office. The full Divine Office consisted in the Middle Ages officially of eight hours, beginning with the night office of Matins, the morning office of Lauds and continuing throughout the day with the little hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, None, the evening office of Vespers and the day closure office of Compline.<sup>1</sup> In medieval practice, however, the night and morning offices of Matins and Lauds were often combined into one expanded office of Matins, which resulted in seven remaining hours throughout day and night.<sup>2</sup> Next to that, however, especially in parish churches, it was possible that instead of the celebration of all eight (or seven) hours of the Office, only the major hours (Vespers and Matins, often combined with Lauds) were actually sung in church alongside Mass.<sup>3</sup>

That seems to have been the case in Leiden before the establishment, around 1440, of the *zevengetijdencollege* and the singing of all seven hours in the parish church. The earliest source which suggests the daily celebration of both Mass and the most important hours of the Office in Leiden is a document from 1316.<sup>4</sup> In this document, a foundation deed of a chapel with four chantries by Pieter van Leyden, a remark is made about the participation of his chantry priests in the service of the church: '*ende ic wil dat die vier papen comen totten ghetiden aldair te kercken ende namelick te metten te missen ende te vesperen*'.<sup>5</sup> Although in this document it is not explicitly stated that this concerned the daily celebration of Vespers, Matins and Mass, a more explicit reference in the foundation deed of 1323 of a chantry of St Peter by Volcwi Alewijns, Gerijt Alewijnszone and his wife Machtelt Aernoutsdochter makes clear that also in 1316 the daily celebration of Vespers, Matins and (High) Mass was intended, for the chantry priests of this chantry had to come '*te mettien te hoghe missen ende te vesperen daghelix om die dienst ons heren inder kercken helpen te doene in*

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the Divine Office, see Rubèn M. Leikam, 'The Liturgy of the Hours in the Roman Rite' in: Anscar J. Chupungco, *Liturgical Time and Space = Handbook for Liturgical Studies V* (Collegeville, Minnesota 2000) pp. 59-98; Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West; The Origins of the Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville Minnesota 1986, 1993). For the medieval Office, see Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (ed.), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages; Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography; written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner* (Oxford 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Jas, *De Koorboeken*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Kuys, *Kerkelijke organisatie*, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 322, fol. 1 and d.vs.

<sup>5</sup> 'and I want that those four priests will come to the hours there in the church, which is to say in Matins, Mass and Vespers'; Lauds is not mentioned in this deed and the chantry foundation deeds discussed hereafter. It appears only in several foundation deeds of feast days as an integrated part of the hour of Matins (see below, paragraph 3.3. The liturgical year).

*allen manieren dat heeren Pieters cappellanen doen moeten*'.<sup>6</sup> This arrangement makes, in the first place, clear that Matins, High Mass and Vespers were celebrated daily in 1323, but also already in 1316 when the arrangement was made concerning '*heeren Pieters cappellanen*' to which a reference appears in this deed. In the second place it also indicates that the chantry priests were not merely expected to attend Matins, Mass and Vespers, but that they were also expected to be actively involved in its celebration ('*helpen te doene*').

Similar arrangements were made in 1356, when Jacob Vlaminckx. founded a chantry of the Blessed Virgin to be served either on the altar of St Nicholas in St Peter's church or on the 'new altar' in St Pancras' church, in which the chantry priest was obliged to come '*te metten te missen ende te vesperen dagelicx om den dienst gods te helpen doen inder kercke dair mense virdien sel*',<sup>7</sup> and in the foundations of the chantry of St John in 1331 and of the Three Magi in 1404, where it is stipulated that the chantry priest had to attend the hours '*ad matutinas ad summam missam et ad vesperas cum aliis cappellanis*'.<sup>8</sup> Again the same hours are mentioned, but now with the additional remark that the chantry priest had to attend them together with the other chantry priests. In 1349 Gherit Alewijnsoen founded his chantry in order that '*die dienst ons heren ghemeerret worde ende dat goede mate lude ende sonderlinghe priesteren versien worden dat si die lijfneringhe hebben moghen alsoe weselike als hem toe behoert*'.<sup>9</sup> Here it is explicitly stated that by this chantry foundation Gherit Alewijnsoen wants not only to augment the service of God, but also concretely wants to make a contribution to the provision of priests in the parish church, probably, as we have seen in the arrangements in the other chantry foundations, for the celebration of Vespers, Matins and Mass in the parish church.<sup>10</sup>

Whereas Matins, High Mass and Vespers, as we have seen above, were already celebrated daily from at least 1316 onwards, the first reference about the singing of all seven hours in the parish church, and about the institution responsible for this, dates from 1440. In that year, Gijsbrecht van Zwieten and his wife Catharina van Diemen granted an annual rent of 1 pound to the *procurators* of the *zevengetijdencollege* in order to sing '*die zeven getyden alle dage*'.<sup>11</sup> In the subsequent years several similar foundations were made, always with the precaution that if the seven hours ceased to be sung in the parish church the granted money would return to the benefactor or his family.<sup>12</sup> Apparently, in this period, the singing of the seven hours in the church was not yet very secure.

This changed with the foundation of 1443 by Boudijn van Zwieten, treasurer of Holland and father of the aforementioned Gijsbrecht van Zwieten.<sup>13</sup> He granted the properties of his two chantries to the still young institution in St Peter's church and secured the support of the city government in arrangements for the appointment of the *zevengetijdenmeesters* and a financial contribution from the wardens of the *heiligegeest*, of St Catherine's hospital and the church wardens

<sup>6</sup> 'with Matins, High Mass and Vespers daily to help do the service of our Lord in the church in all ways in which the chantry priests of sir Pieter have to do'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 2.

<sup>7</sup> 'daily to Matins, to Mass and to Vespers in order to help do the service of God in the church where it will be served'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 955.

<sup>8</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 5 (1331) and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 21vs. (1404): 'At Matins, High Mass and Vespers with the other chantry priests'.

<sup>9</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 2vs.: 'in order that the service of our Lord be augmented and that good moderate persons and in particular priests be provided for that they may have the sustenance so substantial as they deserve'.

<sup>10</sup> About the tasks of chantry priests in the liturgy, see below, paragraph 3.4. Priests and officials involved in the celebration of the liturgy.

<sup>11</sup> 'the seven hours all days'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 16vs.

<sup>12</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 242 (Aicht, widow of Clais Claisz. van Noortich, 2 March 1442); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 237, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 14 (Clais Claeszen and his wife, 2 March 1442, transcription gives 1440); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 228 (Jan Jan Eversz., 5 March 1442); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 252 (Jacop van Zonnevelt, 5 March 1442). A late contribution which probably concerns an alteration in an earlier contribution, was made by Jan van Zwieten in 1462 (RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 284, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 39).

<sup>13</sup> See chapter 1 – City, church and community, paragraph 1.5. Lay involvement in the liturgy of St Peter's church, figures 1.3 and 1.4.

of St Peter's church.<sup>14</sup> For in the case that all these measures proved not to be enough, the city government decided that in that case twenty pounds '*hollants comans payment*' had to be paid from the '*overster costerye*' (the benefice of the higher sacristan) of the church. By these measures Boudijn van Zwieten guaranteed the continuing existence of the institution responsible for the singing of among other obligations above all the seven hours of the Divine Office in the parish church.

It is not clear when High Mass was celebrated within this overall structure of the Divine Office. According to one reference in a foundation deed from 1478 at least on Sundays and feast days High Mass was celebrated after the hour of Sext.<sup>15</sup> It is not known at what moment during the day the hour of Sext was celebrated in Leiden St Peter's church, but in anniversary foundation deeds references are made to the celebration of High Mass in the morning of the memorial day ('*tsochtens ter hoichmisse*') which suggests that High Mass was celebrated in the morning. High Mass can not have been celebrated too early in the morning since from 1411 onwards we have attestations about votive morrow Masses celebrated in the early morning on the high altar, after the hour of Matins or Prime.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.2. The weekly cycle

The focal point around which the liturgical cycle of the week turned was the celebration of the Sunday, the first day of creation and the eschatological eighth day of the Resurrection of the Lord.<sup>17</sup> On this day the general daily pattern of the Divine Office was replaced by a specific Sunday pattern, in which the day already began with first Vespers and Compline of the evening before, and of which a more extensive hour of Matins with three nocturns (a nocturn is a part of Matins) and the singing of the *Te Deum* was an integral part.<sup>18</sup>

Alongside this focal point, in the course of time several days of the week came to be coloured by the specific intentions of votive morrow Mass foundations and several extensions of these celebrations with so-called '*lof*'-services.<sup>19</sup> Thursday and Friday were in content most related to the celebration of the Sunday as the day of the Resurrection. Like in Holy Week, after which the Resurrection was celebrated on Easter Sunday, on Thursday the Last Supper was commemorated and the Eucharist celebrated in a Mass of the Holy Sacrament (since 1481), on Friday the passion of the Lord was commemorated and the Cross venerated in a Mass with '*lof*'-service of the Holy Cross (respectively since 1411 and 1423).<sup>20</sup> Saturday was, according to a wide-spread practice in the

<sup>14</sup> See chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.1. The foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten. For the foundation of the chantries of Boudijn see appendix B – Chantries in St Peter's church.

<sup>15</sup> Foundation deed of Masses on all Sundays and certain feast days throughout the year on the altar of St Nicholas '*als die sexte voir die hoochmisse inder voirs. kercke gesongen is*' – 'on the moment that the sext before High Mass has been sung', RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.2.

<sup>16</sup> The Mass of the Holy Cross (accepted 1423) had to be celebrated '*somerdaghes tusken ses ende zeven uren ende winterdaghes als die clock zeven slaet*' – 'on summer days between six and seven o'clock and on winter days when the clock strikes seven'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs. Both sung votive morrow Masses of Hugu van Zwieten (1481) '*nader prieme vander metten*' - 'After the Prime of Matins'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 212, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 58. These votive morrow Mass foundations concern celebrations with specific intentions on certain days of the week. Whether morrow Mass was also celebrated on days on which no specific or more solemn votive morrow Mass was endowed (and was, as such, part of the daily cycle of liturgy in St Peter's church) is not known. For a discussion of weekly sung votive morrow Masses, see therefore paragraph 3.2. The weekly cycle.

<sup>17</sup> Matias Augé, 'The Liturgical Year in the First Four Centuries' in: Chupungco, *Liturgical Time and Space*, pp. 135-156, there pp. 135-145, especially pp. 140-144.

<sup>18</sup> Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 93-97. For a discussion of the structure of the Divine Office during feast days, which to a large extent reflects the structure of the Sunday liturgy as well, see paragraph 3.3. The liturgical year.

<sup>19</sup> About the specific designation of certain intentions of votive Masses and other liturgical rituals to certain days of the week, see Van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Een ordinarius uit 1576', pp. 145-159.

<sup>20</sup> The Mass: Frans van Mieris, *Beschrijving der stad Leyden* I (Leiden 1762) p. 36. In this deed also a reference appears to the celebration of a Vespers of the Holy Cross on Thursday. No further attestations or more detailed

Middle Ages, also in Leiden designated as the day of the Virgin Mary with a special votive morrow Mass with a 'lof'-service in her honour,<sup>21</sup> and on Tuesday her mother St Anna received some special attention with a solemn votive morrow Mass celebrated in her honour.<sup>22</sup> A Mass of requiem was celebrated on Monday, maybe because of the wide-spread belief in the Middle Ages that on Sunday Christ granted the souls in purgatory alleviation of their sufferings,<sup>23</sup> for which reason they were on Monday, when they had to return to purgatory, most in need of the prayers of the faithful.<sup>24</sup>

Day	Number of anniversaries
Monday before or after <sup>25</sup>	31
Wednesday before or after	3
Friday before or after	19
Memorial day after saints' day	2
Around saints' day	2
Saint's day	2
Date of death	16
Not indicated	12

The provisions in the foundation deeds of anniversaries make clear that, probably for the same reason, also anniversaries were predominantly celebrated on Monday (see table 3.1). Together with Wednesday and Friday, maybe because they were traditionally regarded as days appropriate for fasting and penance,<sup>26</sup> Monday seems to have been designated as a specific memorial day on which anniversaries could be celebrated in St Peter's church. That these days were designated as such is suggested by the foundation deed of the anniversaries of Simon Diricxz. and Diric Symonsz. (1515)

arrangements concerning this service, however, were found in the archives. For the 'lof'-service, see chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.6. '*Dum Fabricator*' and '*O Admirabile*'. Friday was already from early in the Middle Ages most regularly designated as the day to honour the Holy Cross, whereas Thursday was only in the later Middle Ages designated as the day to honour the Holy Sacrament, thereby replacing the earlier designation of the Thursday as the day of divine mercy, see Van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Een Ordinarius uit 1576', pp. 148-159.

<sup>21</sup> There is no foundation deed preserved of the Mass and 'lof'-service itself, but their existence is known through an agreement by the city government with Jacop Tick, schoolmaster and vocalist of the *zevengetijdencollege* about the adornment of these services with polyphonic music. RAL, SA I, inv.nr. 1188: '*Quistboek*', fol. 7vs.-8. In 1458 a new agreement was made with the *zevengetijdenmeesters* for the daily celebration of the '*onser vrouwen lof*'. For a detailed discussion of this foundation see Jas, *De Koorboeken*, pp. 36-38. For the designation of the Saturday as the day in honour of the Virgin Mary, see Van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Een Ordinarius uit 1576', p. 157.

<sup>22</sup> No particular consideration can probably be connected to the celebration of a Mass of St Anna specifically on Tuesday, except for the practical consideration that this day was in 1510 still free of a solemnly celebrated votive morrow Mass. This Mass was celebrated not on the high altar of the church, but on the side altar of St Anna. Because of its exceptional ceremonial and musical elaboration as the only sung votive morrow Mass on a side altar, however, it is included here as part of the weekly cycle of votive morrow Masses otherwise always celebrated on the high altar of the church.

<sup>23</sup> On the medieval doctrine of purgatory, see Jacques le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris 1982); Truus van Bueren, 'Het hier en het hiernamaals' in: Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood*, pp. 21-34; Peter Jezler (ed.), *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer: das Jenseits im Mittelalter* (Zürich 1994).

<sup>24</sup> Jurgen Bärsch, *Allerseelen; Studien zu Liturgie und Brauchtum eines Totengedenktages in der abendländischen Kirche = Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen* 90 (Münster 2004) pp. 89-90.

<sup>25</sup> In the anniversary foundations always two days are mentioned: either Sunday and Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday or Thursday and Friday. Because the first day mentioned always concerned the eve of the second day (on which the Vigils was celebrated) these couples of days are indicated in this thesis only with the second day (during which Mass was celebrated): Monday, Wednesday or Friday.

<sup>26</sup> Lawrence E. Frizzell and J. Frank Henderson, 'Jews and Judaism in the Medieval Latin Liturgy' in: Heffernan and Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, pp. 187-214, there pp. 191-192.

that the anniversary had to be celebrated *'op die naeste memorydach nae sinte Elizabet dach.*<sup>27</sup> Depending on the day of the week on which St Elisabeth was celebrated, the anniversary was probably observed either on the Monday, the Wednesday or the Friday after this feast of St Elisabeth. It is probable that if, in the foundation deeds, the arrangement was made for the anniversary to be observed 'around' a saints' feast or on the date of death of the founder, the anniversary would also be celebrated on the memorial day closest to this feast or date of death. Only the anniversary of Gherijt van Hillegom and Jan Coman Jacobssoen (1411), which directly followed upon the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins which they endowed, seems to have been celebrated independently of the day of the week.<sup>28</sup>

For the largest part the liturgical structure of the memorial day was the same as it was on normal ferial days. The Mass in the morning of the memorial day concerned most probably regular High Mass on the high altar itself.<sup>29</sup> Sometimes this High Mass seems to have been celebrated in the manner of a *'zielmis'* or requiem Mass,<sup>30</sup> but this was probably no general practice since four founders explicitly arranged for the celebration of High Mass *'van requiem'* (in the manner of requiem),<sup>31</sup> which would not have been necessary if this was already the custom for every anniversary celebration.

The Vigils on the evening before, however, concerned another service than the ones we already encountered in our discussion of the daily cycle of the liturgy. The word Vigils can simply be another word for the night office of Matins, but in St Peter's church this office was celebrated, probably together with the dawn office of Lauds, every day in the early morning, whereas the Vigils in anniversary foundations always took place in the evening before the memorial day. The office of Vigils mentioned in the anniversary foundations, therefore, must have been another office than the regular office of Matins. Because in two foundation deeds references are made to the singing of the *Venite Exultemus* (psalm 94 / 95), the traditional invitatory psalm of the office of Matins or Vigils,<sup>32</sup> however, it must have been an(other) office making use of the liturgical order of Matins or Vigils as well and because of its exclusive occurrence in the context of the liturgy of the dead nothing else than a separate Vigils of the Dead can have been intended.

The most probable time of the day on which Vigils of the Dead could have been celebrated in Leiden St Peter's church is directly following upon the day closure office of Compline, which was usually the case in monastic communities in which the Office of the Dead was celebrated as a daily addition to the monastic liturgy and which is suitable for the character of Vigils as a night office.<sup>33</sup> Before 1440, the year in which for the first time a reference appears to the observance of the full cycle of all seven hours of the Divine Office, Compline was not yet celebrated, but on these occasions Vigils of the Dead may have been celebrated already approximately on the same moment during the day.

### 3.3. *The liturgical year*

The general structure of the liturgical year concerned, for the most part, the observance of fasts and feasts which were either observed by the Latin church in its entirety or specifically prescribed by

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<sup>27</sup> RAL, *Archief van het St. Agnietenbegijnhof*, arch.nr. 1 (henceforth *AgB*) inv.nr. 14.

<sup>28</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs.

<sup>29</sup> See chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.5. Foundations of anniversaries and grave-visits.

<sup>30</sup> Mieke van Baarsel considers High Mass to be 'automatically' celebrated as requiem Mass in the case of memorial days during which anniversaries take place. Van Baarsel, 'De memoriemeesters van de Pieterskerk', p. 27.

<sup>31</sup> Consorority St Catherine (1414): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.; Floris Paedzen van Zonnevelt and Jan Aecht, his wife (1452): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 79; Jacop van Noorde (1480): RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11, acceptance deed in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs.

<sup>32</sup> See paragraph 3.5. Liturgical music.

<sup>33</sup> In that case Vespers of the Dead was celebrated directly after regular Vespers and Lauds of the Dead directly after regular Matins. Knud Ottosen, *The responsories and versicles of the Latin office of the dead* (Aarhus 1993) p. 32; Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 105.

the diocese of Utrecht to which Leiden belonged.<sup>34</sup> Next to that, certain specific local festivities were celebrated, like the feasts of *sinte Pieterskermis*, which is the annual celebration of the consecration of the parish church (*dedicatio ecclesiae*),<sup>35</sup> and the feast day of the patron saints Peter and Paul (29 June), which was already a prescribed feast throughout the Latin West, but which was probably celebrated in a more festive manner.<sup>36</sup> Next to that, the local liturgical year was to a large extent shaped by the specific devotions of individual parishioners and families, by the patron saints or concepts to which the confraternities established in the parish church were dedicated and by the annual celebrations of consecration days (also called '*kermis*' in the sources) of some of the many altars in the parish church, which were, at least partially, celebrated on the high altar of the church as well.<sup>37</sup> Part of this local shape of the liturgical year is reflected in the foundation deeds of feast days investigated for this thesis.

In order to appreciate the specific character of the various feasts established by parishioners and confraternities in Leiden St Peter's church and their relationship to the liturgical year in its entirety, it is interesting to consider their status and festal rank which these feasts had in the official calendar of the diocese (see table 3.2). On the one hand this concerns the status of these feasts as *festa fori*, literally 'feasts of the market' or *festa chori*, 'feasts of the choir'.<sup>38</sup> *Festa fori* were those feasts prescribed by the diocese to be observed with the accompanying obligation for the faithful to attend Mass and to abstain from jurisdiction, trade and 'slavish' labour, which meant that these feasts had the same juridical status as a Sunday. *Festa chori* were feasts celebrated only in church without accompanying obligations or prohibitions for the faithful. On the other hand there are indications of 'festal rank' in the liturgical calendars of the diocese, which indicate the more or less festal way with which these feasts had to be celebrated, e.g. with one nocturn (three readings) or three nocturns (nine readings) during Matins or concerning the observance of both first and second Vespers as an office of the feast (double feasts) or first Vespers only (simple feasts).<sup>39</sup>

In two foundation deeds it is indicated that the feasts had to be celebrated with three nocturns at Matins. During the feasts of St Barbara (accepted 1411) and St Catherine (accepted 1414) Matins had to be celebrated '*mit drie nocturnen mit Te Deum ende mit Laudes*'.<sup>40</sup> The three mentioned nocturns and the singing of the *Te Deum* correspond to the extended festal celebration of

<sup>34</sup> For a general discussion of the liturgical year of the Roman Rite, see Matias Augé, 'The Liturgical Year in the Roman Rite' in: Chupungco, *Liturgical Time and Space*, pp. 177-210; for the local practice in the diocese of Utrecht, see G. Verhoeven, 'Kerkelijke feestdagen in de late middeleeuwen. Utrechtse en Delftse kalenders' in: *Historisch tijdschrift Holland* 25 (1993) 3-5, pp. 156-173 and B. Kruitwagen, 'Studiemateriaal (heiligen-geografie) voor den kalender van het middeleeuwsche bisdom Utrecht' in: *Laat-middeleeuwsche paleografica, paleotypica, liturgica, kalendalia, grammaticalia* (The Hague 1942) pp. 153-224. See also appendix D – The liturgical year.

<sup>35</sup> Helander, 'The Liturgical Profile of the Parish Church', p. 165-168. In Leiden the *kermis* celebration ('*Sinte Pieterskermis*') was probably celebrated on the Sunday after St Mary Nativity. This is indicated by references to the *kermis* around St Mary Nativity in the memorandum books of St Peter's church, by a plaque that stood in the church and a note in the memorandum book of the church wardens that the church was dedicated on this day in 1121 by bishop Godebald; see Van Mieris, *Beschryving*, p. 23; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, before the first numbered folio.

<sup>36</sup> That this feast was regarded as important is confirmed by three foundation deeds of additional liturgical observances or arrangements to be observed during a number of important feast days. In these lists the feast of St Peter and Paul is mentioned alongside the great feasts of the *temporale*, the feasts of the Virgin Mary and All Saints (candles to be placed on the altar of St Francis and St Ursula, 1431: RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94; singing of the *Inviolata integra et casta es Maria*, 1503: RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs.) and in one case alongside the other feasts of the apostles as well (Masses to be celebrated on St Nicholas altar, 1478: RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2).

<sup>37</sup> For the character of altar-*kermis* celebrations as celebrated partly on the high altar, see chapter 4 – The liturgy of the side altars, paragraph 4.5. The side altars and the liturgy of the high altar.

<sup>38</sup> B. Kruitwagen, 'Studiemateriaal', p. 158.

<sup>39</sup> The indications of festal rank used in the diocese of Utrecht are given by Hermann Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, vol. 2, part 1, *Kalender der Diözesen Deutschlands, der Schweiz und Skandinaviens* (Hannover 1892-98) p. 197. For the different observances of feast days, see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 56-57 and p. 90.

<sup>40</sup> 'With three nocturns, with *Te Deum* and with Lauds'.



Matins with nine readings (three in each nocturn) and the concluding hymn *Te Deum*. The fact that the observance of Matins with three nocturns and nine readings is not explicitly mentioned in other deeds does not mean that during these feasts Matins was not celebrated as such. In the *hoogtijd* foundation deed of the Ten Thousand Martyrs (accepted 1507) the full celebration of Matins with nine readings is implied by the stipulation that '*Te Deum, Benedictus inder metten*', had to be accompanied by organ music, because the mentioned *Te Deum* was part only of the festal observance of Matins with three nocturns and nine readings.<sup>41</sup> Interesting is also that in these three foundation deeds Lauds is considered to be an integral part of the (festal) office of Matins, explicitly in the first two deeds and implicitly in the last one, because the *Benedictus* is a canticle of Lauds, not of Matins. The reference from 1411 (St Barbara) is the first reference to the celebration of Lauds in the liturgical practice of Leiden St Peter's church.

With regard to the saints and intentions in whose honour these feasts had to be celebrated there is a remarkable difference in the types of founders responsible for the foundation of feast days with a lower or higher festal rank. The highest ranking feast days, from the Utrecht rank of *duplex compositum* up to the highest rank of *summum*,<sup>42</sup> were all established either by well-to-do parishioners or by religious confraternities. The overwhelming majority of lower ranking feast days were (probably) established by craft confraternities, or in one or two cases by the civil guard guilds ('*schutterijen*') of St Sebastian or St George.

**Table 3.2. Foundations of *hoogtijden* and the liturgical calendar of the diocese**

Abbreviations:

Column 3: Founder

Par = Parishioner(s)

RC = Religious confraternity

CC = Craft confraternity

Gu = Civil guard guild ('*schutterij*')

\* = Certainly foundations of this type of founder, otherwise it is probable.<sup>43</sup>

Column 4: First mentioned in the year ...

a = concerns year of acceptance

\* = concerns year of foundation

Column 5: *Festa fori* (according to the prescriptions from the Utrecht diocese)<sup>44</sup>

S = Sunday

X = concerns *Festum fori*, otherwise it is not.

Column 6: Rank in the diocesan calendar of Utrecht, from the highest rank to the lowest.<sup>45</sup>

III = Three readings

IX = Nine readings

n.i. = Not indicated.

Column 7: Leiden – Indications about festal rank in the foundation deeds of feast days.

Du. = Double feast (both first and second Vespers celebrated solemnly).

III / IX / n.i. = See column 6.

Feast	Date	Founder	1st mentioned	<i>Festa fori</i>	Festal Rank	Leiden
H. Trinity	moveable	Par*	1421a	S	1.	Du.
St Michael	29-9	Par*	1421a	X	1. <i>Summum</i>	Du.
St Martin	11-11	Par*	1421a	X	1. <i>Summum</i>	Du.
St Stephen	26-12	?	1426	X	1. <i>Summum</i>	-
St John	27-12	?	1426	X	1. <i>Summum</i>	-
St Mary Magdalene	22-7	RC*	1413a	X	2. <i>Duplex</i>	n.i.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 90 with regard to the Use of Salisbury.

<sup>42</sup> For the indications of festal rank in use at the diocese of Utrecht, see Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, p. 197.

<sup>43</sup> See chapter 2 – liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.3. Foundations of '*Hoogtijden*'.

<sup>44</sup> B. Kruitwagen, 'Studiemateriaal', pp. 177-179.

<sup>45</sup> Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, pp. 192-197.

St James	25-7	RC	1427	X	2. <i>Duplex</i>	-
H. Cross Exaltation	14-9	RC*	1423a	X	2. <i>Duplex</i>	?
St Andrew	30-11	Par*	1421a	X	2. <i>Duplex</i>	Du.
St Agatha	5-2	?	1426		2. <i>Duplex</i>	-
St John <i>ante portam Latinam</i>	6-5	Par*	1460*		2. <i>Duplex</i>	?
Divisio Apostolorum	15-7	Par*	1426, 1440a		2. <i>Duplex</i>	Du.
St Jerome	30-9	?	1426		2. <i>Duplex</i>	-
St Agnes	21-1	?	1426	X	3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	-
St Catherine	25-11	RC*	1414a	X	3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	Du. IX
St Nicholas	6-12	RC*	1427	X	3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	-
Ten Thousand Martyrs	22-6	Par*	1426, 1507a		3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	? IX?
St Mary of the Snow	5-8	Par*	1450a		3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	Du.
St Luke	18-10	Par*	1426		3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	-
Eleven Thousand Virgins	21-10	Par*	1411a		3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	n.i.
St Elisabeth	19-11	?	1411		3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	-
St Mary Presentation	21-11	Par*	1460*		3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	?
St Barbara	4-12	RC*	1411a		3. <i>Duplex compositum</i>	Du. IX
St Anthony	17-1	CC	1427		4. <i>Festum compositum IX</i>	-
St Sebastian	20-1	Gu*	1567		4. <i>Festum compositum III</i>	-
St George	23-4	CC, Gu	1426		5. <i>Missa</i>	-
St Vitus and Modestus	15-6	CC	1552*		5. <i>Missa</i>	-
St Crispin, Crispinian	25-10	CC	1426		5. <i>Missa</i>	-
Four Crowned Martyrs	8-11	CC, RC	1427		5. <i>Missa</i>	-
St Eloy	1-12	CC	1426		6. <i>Collecta</i>	-
St Nicasius	14-12	CC*	1497		6. <i>Collecta</i>	-
St Quirinus	30-4?	RC	1427		n.i.	-
St Anna	26-7	(RC)	1427		n.i.	-
St Ewald	30-6	RC	1426		-	-
St Anastasius	21-8	CC*	?		-	-

In the case of two saints' feasts, the feasts of St Anna and the feast of St Quirinus, no festal grade was indicated in the liturgical calendar of the diocese of Utrecht presented by Grotefend. With regard to the feast of St Quirinus, moreover, several feasts are mentioned in this calendar. Considering the order of the feasts listed in the accounts of the church wardens it must have been either the feast of St Quirinus of Neuss (30 April) or the feast of St Quirinus of Siscia (4 June). Since St Quirinus of Neuss was more popular in the late medieval Low Countries this saint seems to be the most probable candidate.<sup>46</sup> The feasts of St Ewald and St Anastasius are not included in the calendar of Grotefend at all.<sup>47</sup> With the possible exception of St Anastasius, which was celebrated

<sup>46</sup> 'Quirinus von Neuss' and 'Quirinus von Siscia' in: Bruno Steimer and Thomas Wetzstein (ed.), *Lexikon der Heiligen und der Heiligenverehrung* (Freiburg 2003) cols. 1376-1377.

<sup>47</sup> There is a feast *Duorum Ewaldorum* (3 October) included in the calendar of the diocese, which is a feast in honour of the Irish missionaries and brothers Sts Ewald, see Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*, p. 196. See also 'Sts Ewald' in: *Catholic Encyclopedia*; consulted online on 5 February 2013 (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05672a.htm>). The Ewald celebrated in Leiden, however, concerns another St Ewald. See Huijskens, 'De figuratieve

because of the existence of a craft confraternity (the fullers) of whom he was one of the patron saints, these feasts were probably established because there existed a special devotion for them in St Peter's church. The exceptional devotion which existed in late medieval Europe for St Anna, the legendary holy grandmother of Jesus and mother of the Virgin Mary, is well-known.<sup>48</sup> To the devotion for St Quirinus of Neuss we already referred above.

The devotion that existed for St Ewald is more exceptional. Godelieve Huijskens identified this saint as '*sinte ewout in Elzaten*', a curious fusion of two other saints, Ubaldus and Theobaldus, who was venerated in a pilgrimage site in Alsace and in whose honour a pilgrim's confraternity and an altar were dedicated in St Peter's church. This saint was also depicted on a wall-painting donated by the family Van Boschuijsen.<sup>49</sup> The order in which the feast days appear in the lists of *hoogtijden* in the church warden accounts suggests that the feast day of this saint was celebrated on 30 June, on which day elsewhere the feast day of St Theobaldus was celebrated.<sup>50</sup>

### 3.4. Priests and officials involved in the celebration of the liturgy

The daily, weekly and annual rounds of services as they were celebrated in Leiden St Peter's church could of course not have been celebrated without the necessary priests and officials for the actual celebration of the liturgy. The main celebrant or presiding priest during the liturgy was always either the commander or one of his assistant parish priests. Next to this presiding priest in most foundation deeds of *hoogtijden* four 'servers' are mentioned who were expected to assist in the liturgy at High Mass and (on the occasion of feast days) during the liturgy of first and sometimes second Vespers as well. These four 'servers' are, in the foundation deeds, further subdivided in deacon, subdeacon and two *provisors*, who were probably recruited from the congregation of chantry priests attached to the church and whose task was to read or sing the epistle (subdeacon) and gospel reading (deacon) and probably to lead the two sides of the choir in the singing of the liturgy (*provisors*).

In the foundation deeds of the feasts of St Barbara (1411)<sup>51</sup> and St Catherine (1414)<sup>52</sup> Vespers and High Mass were explicitly mentioned among the services in which these officials had to be involved. Considering the order of mentioning of Vespers and High Mass in these cases this usually concerned first Vespers. In the foundation deed of the feasts of the Holy Trinity, St Michael, St Martin and St Andrew (1421)<sup>53</sup> and the foundation deed of the feast of St Mary of the Snow (1450),<sup>54</sup> first Vespers and High Mass were not explicitly mentioned, but instead an arrangement was made that commander, deacon, subdeacon and *provisors* '*die anderde vesper mede providieren*' (serve in second Vespers as well). This suggests that normal practice for lower ranking (simple) feast days was celebration with commander, deacon, subdeacon and *provisors* during first Vespers and High Mass, whereas in particularly important (double) feast days such as these, as well as on Sundays, also second Vespers was celebrated in the same elaborate manner. On ferial days Vespers was, like all other hours of the Office on ferial days and Sundays, probably simply celebrated with one presiding priest without any servers in the sanctuary.<sup>55</sup>

During High Mass on ferial days the presiding priest was always assisted by two 'servers', fulfilling the tasks of deacon and subdeacon in the liturgy, and maybe by the two *provisors* mentioned for feast days as well. In three foundation deeds of anniversaries specific arrangements were made for the celebration of High Mass on a ferial day with deacon, subdeacon and two

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muurschilderingen', pp. 215-216.

<sup>48</sup> See chapter 4 – the liturgy of the side altars, paragraph 4.1. The Tuesday Mass of St Anna.

<sup>49</sup> Huijskens, 'De figuratieve muurschilderingen', pp. 210-217.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, pp. 215-216.

<sup>51</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89.

<sup>52</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.

<sup>53</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.5.1/2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

<sup>54</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 38.

*provisors*.<sup>56</sup> Because these arrangements all concern specific arrangements for the (maybe exceptionally solemn) celebration of High Mass of requiem on the day of the anniversary it is not clear to what extent this reflects normal practice for the daily liturgy of High Mass in St Peter's church. In the foundation deeds of sung votive morrow Masses no *provisors* are mentioned, but in most foundations the singing priests of the choir of the *zevengetijdencollege* had to sing the epistle and gospel readings as deacon and subdeacon during the liturgy of Mass.<sup>57</sup> In two cases it is even added that this way of celebrating Mass is '*alzo dat behoort*' (as it ought to be). This indicates that celebration of Mass with two 'servers' as deacon and subdeacon next to the presiding priest was probably common practice for High Mass on ferial days as well.

Only in the foundation deed of the votive morrow Mass of the Holy Cross on Friday (1423) it is stipulated that two of the twelve choristers singing in the liturgy '*dat choer provideren in cappelen*',<sup>58</sup> which suggests a similar task as the *provisors* in the other sources. In other foundations of sung votive morrow Masses no references are made to tasks like that of *provisor* in the foundation deeds of *hoogtijd* celebrations. Although it is possible, therefore, that during most votive morrow Masses on ferial days no *provisors* were involved, this cannot be established for certain; there were after all enough priests and choristers present during morrow Mass celebrations to allocate two of them, like in the foundation of the Mass of the Holy Cross, to fulfil a task of *provisor* during the liturgy. The allocation of tasks to these priests and choristers may, after all, not always have been recorded explicitly in the foundation deeds.

Alongside these servers probably also at least one of the sacristans was involved in the direct assistance of the commander during the daily liturgy as the thurifer or carrier of the incensory, as is indicated by provisions about grave-visits and grave-vigils directly after Vigils and High Mass in the foundation deeds of anniversaries.<sup>59</sup> If the sacristan was carrying the incensory when he came to visit the graves with the commander immediately after Vigils and High Mass, it is probable that he carried it during the directly preceding services as well.

The main task of the subdeacon in the medieval liturgy of Mass was the reading or singing of the first or epistle reading and the main task of the deacon was the reading or singing of the gospel reading during Mass.<sup>60</sup> The foundation deeds of *hoogtijden* make clear that deacon and subdeacon were probably recruited from the congregation of chantry priests attached to the parish church. There are two indications for this. First of all, in two foundation deeds it is explicitly stated that the church wardens had to '*ordineren vier dienres vanden cappellanen*'.<sup>61</sup> This group of four servers, consisting of (priests serving as) deacon, subdeacon and two *provisors*, was apparently, at least in this case, recruited from the congregation of chantry priests in the church. The second indication can be found in the provisions for distributions during a memorial service to be celebrated on the Sunday and Monday after the *hoogtijd* of St Barbara that was endowed in the same deed.<sup>62</sup> Here '*den vier dienres die dan lest op sinte Barbaren dach ghedient hebben*'<sup>63</sup> and '*elken cappellaen behalven den vier dienres voirs*'.<sup>64</sup> receive payments. Here, once again, it is implicitly indicated that

<sup>56</sup> See appendix G – Payments to participants in the liturgy of the high altar and the choir, table G2.

<sup>57</sup> Votive morrow Mass St Anna (1510): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 214, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52. Requiem morrow Mass Lijsbeth Reyner Reynersz.' widow (1476): RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035 and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 211, transcription in RAL *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 46. Requiem morrow Mass Huge van Zwieten (1481): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 212 and RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 1494, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 58.

<sup>58</sup> '... will serve in the chancel in cowls'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs.; acceptance by commander in RDO OA, inv. nr. 1978, fol. 7-8.

<sup>59</sup> These services will be discussed in chapter 5 – the liturgy around the graves.

<sup>60</sup> Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 116-118.

<sup>61</sup> 'Appoint four servers from the chantry priests'; Eleven Thousand Virgins (1411): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs.; St Mary Magdalene (1413): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90.

<sup>62</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89.

<sup>63</sup> 'the four servers who served on the feast day of St Barbara'.

<sup>64</sup> 'each chantry priest except for the four servers'.

the four 'servers' were actually priests attached to chantries established in the church.

What the function of *provisor* exactly was in St Peter's church cannot be concluded for certain on the basis of the sources investigated for this thesis. It might have been a similar task as Bram van den Hoven van Genderen identified for the *provisores chori* in the chapter of Oudmunster in Utrecht, who led the two sides of the choir while singing during the liturgy.<sup>65</sup> This fits well with the arrangement that the *provisors* had to come from the choir of choristers in the votive Mass of the Holy Cross. In another arrangement the *provisors* had to sing the *Venite Exultemus* during a Vigils service in the choir of the church (cf. below) which also suggests that the task of *provisor* was part of the musical elaboration of the liturgy, which will be discussed in more detail below.

About the type of liturgical vestments to be worn by the priest and servers not much information is provided by the foundation deeds, except for the arrangement that in the case of the feast of the Holy Trinity the best vestments available in church had to be used, whereas in the case of the other three feasts endowed in the same foundation deed (St Michael, St Martin and St Andrew) and during the feasts of the Ten Thousand Martyrs and St Mary of the Snow the second-best (*'de besten naden besten'*) had to be used. The liturgical colour of the vestments is mentioned only in the arrangements about the celebration of requiem High Mass in two foundation deeds of anniversaries from 1414 and 1480, where it is stipulated that the priests had to wear black vestments during the liturgy, which was the liturgical colour appropriate for the liturgy of the dead.<sup>66</sup>

### 3.5. Liturgical music

Whereas deacon, subdeacon and sacristan were involved in the direct assistance of the presiding priest in the sanctuary, there were other groups (such as probably the *provisors* who were already discussed above) who were involved in the celebration of the liturgy through the musical elaboration of liturgical services. In the chantry foundation deeds of 1316, 1323, 1331, 1356 and 1404, which we discussed above, we have seen that the chantry priests were expected to participate in the liturgy of Matins, High Mass and Vespers on a daily basis.<sup>67</sup> Their task in the liturgy was probably the singing of the psalms, antiphons, versicles and responses of which the Office consisted.<sup>68</sup> The foundation deeds of *hoogtijden*, from 1411 onwards, indicate that the musical elaboration of the liturgy on feast days was provided for by the schoolmasters of the Latin school with a choir of students. This last practice was confirmed for Sundays and feast days by the foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten of 1443, but the musical elaboration of the liturgy on ferial days, according to this foundation, had to be provided for by a choir of seven priests and two choristers, under the responsibility of the *zevengetijdencollege*. This choir of seven priests later grew to eight priests and the number of choristers involved in the musical elaboration of the liturgy would grow gradually from two to eight choristers in the sixteenth century.<sup>69</sup>

Probably this last choir of priests grew out of the responsibilities of the chantry priests in the musical elaboration of the liturgy which we have seen in the earlier chantry foundations. There are, in the first place, clear indications in some foundation deeds that some of the priests involved in the

<sup>65</sup> Van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, p. 141.

<sup>66</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90v (1414); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11, acceptance deed in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs. (1480).

<sup>67</sup> See paragraph 3.1. The daily cycle.

<sup>68</sup> Eric Jas mentions shortly the problem that it is not known who were responsible for singing in the church before the establishment of the *zevengetijdencollege* in the church. In the accounts of the church wardens payments are recorded to *'den heren die dat koor regeren'* but Jas asserts that it is not known who these *'heren'* exactly were. Jas, *De koorboeken*, p. 32. Probably these *'heren'* Jas reflects about were some of the chantry priests attached to the church. Jan Kuys also mentions this as one of the tasks of chantry priests in the liturgy of parish churches. Kuys, *Kerkelijke organisatie*, p. 70.

<sup>69</sup> For the number of priests and choristers in the choir of the *zevengetijdencollege*, see Jas, *De Koorboeken*, p 48-49. See also appendix G – Payments to participants in the liturgy of the high altar and the choir, table G3. Payments to the participants during sung votive morning Masses.

new choir of the *zevengetijdencollege* were chantry priests. In the same foundation deed of Boudijn van Zwieten of 1443 also arrangements were made for a grave-visit, for which it was stipulated that a maximum number of 24 priests of the oldest chantries in the church would receive payments, but only those '*die van die getyde priesters nyet en sijn*'.<sup>70</sup> Apparently some of the chantry priests visiting the grave were also part of the choir. Because the choir received separate payments, it needed to be ascertained that these priests did not receive their share twice. The fact that Boudijn fixed the number of chantry priests to receive payments on 24 priests, while by this period on the occasion of grave-visits usually between 30 and 34 chantry priests were mentioned<sup>71</sup> suggests that he took into account in this number the fact that several chantry priests, those being part of the choir of the *zevengetijden*, already had received their share. A similar type of arrangement can be found in the concept testament of Jan Gherijtsz. from the beginning of the 16th century in which the 32 '*memoristen*' (participating chantry priests) had to receive payments during his burial service, but also '*den sanghers die in die memorie niet en sijn*'.<sup>72</sup> Although, apparently, Jan Gherijtsz. allowed for the possibility that some of the singing priests were no chantry priest, this arrangement indicates that at least several of them actually were.

That the choir of the *zevengetijdencollege*, probably consisting of at least several chantry priests, was responsible for singing the Office in church on ferial days does not necessarily mean that other chantry priests, who were no part of the choir of the *zevengetijdencollege*, had no task in the singing of the Office anymore.<sup>73</sup> Since the dialogical structure of the Office as it was celebrated in the Middle Ages required a subdivision of the choir in two alternately singing sides – a 'duty side', responsible for beginning chants, singing solo sections and reciting prayers, and an opposite side singing the other verses and responses of the Office<sup>74</sup> – it is possible that, whereas the choir of priests mentioned by Boudijn van Zwieten probably took charge of the duties of the 'duty side' of the choir, the other chantry priests were involved in singing the remaining verses and responses of the Office. When a polyphonic tradition began to develop in St Peter's church from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards, it would have become even more necessary that a choir of skilled singers was formed to take charge of the polyphonic parts of the music.<sup>75</sup> These polyphonic parts were usually exactly the soloist parts sung by the duty side in the choir, which could then have been sung by the specialised choir of priests and choristers of the *zevengetijdencollege*.<sup>76</sup>

The first explicit reference to polyphonic music in Leiden St Peter's church that has been preserved was recorded in 1434 by the city government, when a certain Jacob was employed as schoolmaster of the Latin school in order to learn the children '*sanc ende discant*' (plainchant and polyphonic

<sup>70</sup> 'those that are not one of the priests of the choir of the hours'; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210. For foundations of grave-visits, see chapter 5 – The liturgy around the graves, paragraph 5.4. Grave-visits.

<sup>71</sup> See chapter 1 – City, church and community and appendix F – The liturgy around the graves, table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church.

<sup>72</sup> 'the singing priests not being part of the *'memorie'*'; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 350. With the '*memorie*' probably the group of chantry priests is indicated represented by the deputies and memorial masters (*'memoriemeesteren'*) of St Peter's church.

<sup>73</sup> At least during anniversaries the participation of the chantry priests was expected in the liturgy of Vigils and High Mass, before the subsequent visits to the graves.

<sup>74</sup> Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 298. In the foundation deed of the feast day of St Barbara from 1411 the schoolmasters with the choristers were expected to come '*an beiden siden vanden choir te vesper te metten ende ter hoochmisse*' ('on both sides of the chancel in Vespers, Matins and High Mass') which indeed suggests this dialogical character of the singing of the Office. This arrangement, and the actual singing of parts of the office from 1316 onwards, also suggests a much earlier presence of choir stalls in the chancel than Den Hartog suggests, for she connects the possible appearance of choir stalls in the church directly with the establishment of the *zevengetijdencollege* around 1440; Den Hartog, '*De verdwenen interieurs*', p. 162.

<sup>75</sup> For the development of the polyphonic musical tradition in Leiden St Peter's church, see Brinkman, *Dichten uit liefde*, pp. 45-48.

<sup>76</sup> Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 41.

music) '*dair hi hoichtijts tkoer mede verchiert*'.<sup>77</sup> This may have been the same Jacob as schoolmaster Jacob Tick, who was later, in 1453, made responsible for the polyphonic elaboration of the weekly votive morrow Mass of the Holy Cross on Friday, which according to the acceptance deed of 1423 had to be musically elaborated by a choir of twelve choristers, and of the weekly votive morrow Mass and '*onser vrouwen lof*' of the Virgin on Saturday.<sup>78</sup> When Jacob Tick left Leiden for The Hague in 1458 a new agreement was made with the *zevengetijdenmeesters* for the daily celebration of the '*onser vrouwen lof*'.<sup>79</sup> In the subsequent period the daily '*onser vrouwen lof*' was sung by the *zevengetijdencollege*, then for a short while (from 1469 to 1472) by the schoolmasters of the Latin school with their students and then once again by the *zevengetijdencollege*.<sup>80</sup> How long the Masses of the Virgin and the Holy Cross were still adorned with polyphonic music is not known, but in 1532, according to Eric Jas, this was not the case anymore.<sup>81</sup>

Although it is not possible to reconstruct with absolute certainty which services throughout day and week were probably elaborated with polyphonic music, the fact that weekly votive morrow Masses and '*lof*'-services were elaborated with polyphonic music, makes it at least probable that the most important services of the week were elaborated with polyphonic music as well. Indications in the sixteenth century choirbooks of the *zevengetijdencollege* make clear that in the sixteenth century probably Vespers and High Mass, and to a lesser extent Matins and Compline, belonged, on those occasions that polyphony was sung, to the most resplendent services of the day.<sup>82</sup> Probably polyphony was, also during the fifteenth century, especially practised within these services during the Sunday and feast day liturgy, but the observations in the previous paragraph about the *zevengetijdencollege* indicate that polyphonic music was probably also important during some services on ferial days, such as votive morrow Masses, or lesser ranking feast days on which the *zevengetijdencollege* was responsible for the music during the liturgy.

Only in the case of three foundation deeds of five *hoogtijden* (St Michael, St Martin and St Andrew, St Catherine and St Mary of the Snow) and in two foundation deeds of anniversaries (concerning the liturgy of Vigils of the Dead) detailed stipulations are made about what had to be sung during the liturgical services of the feast day or during the Vigils celebration. In the *hoogtijd* foundation deed of the feasts of St Michael, St Martin and St Andrew (1421),<sup>83</sup> it is stated that the '*versen vanden responsorium ende vander antiffen na benedicamus ghesongen worden*'.<sup>84</sup> A responsory was a choral chant which followed directly after, and therefore responded to, a lesson during the Office. Responsories occurred in most hours of the Office, but during Matins they were most elaborate.<sup>85</sup> *Benedicamus Domino*, followed by the response *Deo Gratias*, is the blessing normally sung or recited at the end of each office. Usually, therefore, there occur no antiphons after *Benedicamus*. Sometimes, however, additional observances were added to Lauds or Vespers in the form of so-called commemorations, memorials and suffrages of which the basic outline was antiphon – versicle – collect.<sup>86</sup> In some uses, and apparently also in Leiden, *Benedicamus* was sung or recited both after the collect of the regular Office and once again after the commemoration had ended. Apparently these versicles and antiphons after *Benedicamus* were normally not sung, for which reason this had to be stated explicitly in the foundation deed.

<sup>77</sup> 'with which he embellishes the choir during feast days'; Brinkman, *Dichten uit liefde*, p. 46.

<sup>78</sup> Jas, *De Koorboeken*, p. 50, n. 109. See chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.2. Foundations of sung votive morrow Masses.

<sup>79</sup> Jas, *De Koorboeken*, p. 37.

<sup>80</sup> Ibidem, pp. 36-38.

<sup>81</sup> Ibidem, p. 37.

<sup>82</sup> Ibidem, pp. 120-121.

<sup>83</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.5.1/2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

<sup>84</sup> 'verses of the responsory and of the antiphons after *benedicamus* be sung'.

<sup>85</sup> Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem, pp. 130-131.

On the feast of St Catherine (1414), the schoolmaster and the students of the Latin school were requested to sing a '*cantelcen*' in Vespers, Lauds and during the Offertory in High Mass before the altar of St Catherine.<sup>87</sup> Canticles are hymns of praise taken from the Bible, others than those taken from the book of psalms. These could be Old Testament canticles, taking the place of the fourth psalm during Lauds according to a weekly schedule, or New Testament canticles, more specifically the *Benedictus* (Lauds), *Magnificat* (Vespers) and *Nunc Dimittis* (Compline) taken from the Gospel of Luke. These last canticles were sung daily during the Divine Office and had their own place, apart from the psalms.<sup>88</sup> Probably the canticles sung by the schoolchildren during Vespers and Lauds on St Catherine's day were these special evangelical canticles *Magnificat* (Vespers) and *Benedictus* (Lauds). Which canticle the schoolmaster and the students may have sung during the offertory of High Mass is unknown, because there is no uniform tradition for Canticles during Mass as it is for the Divine Office.

Jacop van Zonnevelt, *zevengetijdenmeester* during the years 1440, 1442 and 1445,<sup>89</sup> gives much attention to the music which had to be sung during his *hoogtijd* of St Mary of the Snow (1450).<sup>90</sup> Between Vespers and Compline of both the Eve of the feast and the day itself, *Alma Redemptoris Mater* had to be sung '*voir ons liever vrouwen altair gehieten dat siel altair*'<sup>91</sup> with two torches. Furthermore, he provides that these hours had to be sung and celebrated '*mit sulke antiphonen, lessen ende sange als Jacop van Zonnevelt voirs. van dese voirs. hoichtijt inder voirs. kercken boicken up sijnen cost heeft doen scriven*'.<sup>92</sup> Apparently Jacop van Zonnevelt had already earlier in his life, maybe in his function as *zevengetijdenmeester*, collected the antiphons, biblical readings and songs appropriate for this feast day and caused them to be written in a certain book. Maybe this concerned a choirbook of the *zevengetijdencollege* and as such it could have been one of the predecessors of the six sixteenth century choirbooks of the *zevengetijdencollege* which are nowadays preserved in the Regional Archive in Leiden.<sup>93</sup>

Two individual founders of anniversaries (Jan Bertolomeussoen van Noordwijk, 1438 and Gherijt van Hillegom, 1446), arranged for specific musical embellishments during the liturgy of Vigils of the Dead. In both cases this concerned the singing of the invitatory psalm *Venite Exultemus* (Psalm 94 / 95) and in one case the antiphon *circumdederunt* for this same invitatory psalm. In the foundation deed of an anniversary from 1446 by Gherijt van Hillegom for Katrijn Poes (the founder of his own chantry of the Holy Cross, 1304) and for himself, a stipulation is made about the singing of the *Venite* by two *provisors* in the choir.<sup>94</sup> It was no common practice in the Middle Ages, however, to sing this invitatory psalm during Vigils of the Dead, because the joyful character of this call to the praise of God was sometimes considered as inappropriate for the Office of the Dead in which mourning and grief had a central place. Often it was reserved only for the Vigils of All Souls and during particularly festive burial liturgies.<sup>95</sup> In Leiden, however, one saw apparently no problem in the singing of the *Venite Exultemus* on a normal memorial day.

The *Venite Exultemus* also appears in the foundation deed of an anniversary by the chantry priest Jan Bertolomeussoen van Noordwijk in 1438, in which it is stipulated that there has to be

<sup>87</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 83 and 97-98 with regard to the liturgical Use of Salisbury.

<sup>89</sup> Jas, *De Koorboeken*, p. 154.

<sup>90</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97.

<sup>91</sup> 'altar of the Virgin Mary also called *zielaltaar*'.

<sup>92</sup> 'With such antiphons, lessons and songs for this feast as the aforementioned Jacop van Zonnevelt on his own costs caused to be written in the aforementioned church books'.

<sup>93</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nrs. 1438-1443, see Jas, *De Koorboeken*, pp. 65-144.

<sup>94</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 123.

<sup>95</sup> Bärsch, *Allerseelen*, pp. 179-180. See also Harper, *Forms and orders*, p. 106. According to Harper the *Venite Exultemus* was sung, next to All Souls' Day, on days of funeral in general instead of only on particularly festive ones.



sung 'in die vighelie circumdederunt opt venite exultemus'.<sup>96</sup> The *circumdederunt* which had to be sung here, was an antiphon on this invitatory psalm meant for Vigils of the Dead,<sup>97</sup> which means that it was sung before and after the psalm and, in the case of the invitatory psalm, often also several times between the verses of the psalm.<sup>98</sup>

As we have seen in chapter 1, at least already from the beginning of our period of investigation in 1398 onwards liturgical services were also accompanied by organ music, as there were in this year already two organs, a large one and a small one, present in the church.<sup>99</sup> In the foundation deeds of *hoogtijden* from 1411 onwards until 1507 it is stipulated that there has to be played 'op tie grote orghele'<sup>100</sup> or that one must 'tot allen ghetiden feeste houden mitter meester organen'.<sup>101</sup> In foundations of votive morrow Masses the large organ is never mentioned, but there always simply had to be played 'op die organe soe solempnelijck als men mach'<sup>102</sup> or 'als gewoenlic is'.<sup>103</sup> The organ or the organist is never mentioned in foundations of requiem Masses and anniversaries. Probably organ music was not considered suitable for the liturgy of the dead, but the fact that it is mentioned in almost all other foundations of both *hoogtijden* and votive morrow Masses on the high altar, suggests that in the fifteenth century it was a regular part of liturgical services in St Peter's church. The large organ, however, seems to have been reserved only for (Sundays and) feast days.

Only in the *hoogtijd* acceptance deeds of St Mary of the Snow (1450)<sup>104</sup> and Ten Thousand Martyrs (1507)<sup>105</sup> concrete stipulations are made about when and what the organist had to play during the liturgy. During St Mary of the Snow, the organist had to play 'dat behoirt gespeelt te wesen' (what has to be played) on all hours mentioned in the deed (Vespers, Compline, Matins, High Mass, second Vespers and second Compline), more specifically five antiphons during first Vespers and one antiphon during second Vespers. In the case of first Vespers, this corresponds to the number of antiphons of psalms actually sung during Vespers. During second Vespers, however, also five antiphons were sung, but apparently only one of them had to be accompanied by organ music. Also the singing of *Alma Redemptoris* with torches before the altar of the Virgin Mary, between Vespers and Compline of both the eve and the feast day itself (see above) had to be accompanied with organ music. In the foundation deed of the feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs, next to the hours in which the organ had to be played (Vespers, Compline, Matins and High Mass) it is stipulated that the *Te Deum* and *Benedictus*<sup>106</sup> during Matins had to be accompanied with organ music.

### 3.6. Bell-chiming

Whereas all liturgical elements we considered thus far only concerned the liturgical celebration as it took place inside church, in the case of bell-chiming the scope of the liturgy transcended the church building itself in which the celebration took place and involved through its mighty sound the whole city and surrounding countryside in the liturgical celebration.<sup>107</sup> Bell-chiming had, according to

<sup>96</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568.

<sup>97</sup> *Cantus database* (<http://cantusdatabase.org/id/100089>), consulted on 11 September 2012.

<sup>98</sup> Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 72.

<sup>99</sup> See chapter 1 – City, church and community, paragraph 1.2. Building history of St Peter's church.

<sup>100</sup> 'On the large organ'; Eleven Thousand Virgins (1411): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs.; St Mary Magdalene (1413): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90; Holy Cross Exaltation (1423): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs.

<sup>101</sup> 'To make feast on all hours with the large organ'; St Barbara (1411): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89.

<sup>102</sup> 'On the organ as solemnly as is possible'; requiem and Holy Sacrament (1481): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 58; St Anna (1510): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52.

<sup>103</sup> 'As usual'; Holy Cross (1423): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs.

<sup>104</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97.

<sup>105</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255.

<sup>106</sup> Lauds was celebrated as part of Matins, see paragraph 3.3. The liturgical year.

<sup>107</sup> A. Heinz, 'Die Bedeutung der Glocke im Licht der mittelalterlichen Ritus der Glockenweihe' in: Alfred Haverkamp (ed.), *Information, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung in mittelalterlichen Gemeinden* (München 1998) pp. 41-

Andreas Heinz, three main functions. It was used as announcement of and invitation for the congregation to the liturgical service which would subsequently take place in church,<sup>108</sup> it was considered to have an apotropaic function, because bells, associated with the '*vox Domini*' or voice of the Lord Jesus Christ, were considered to have the power to ward off all evil spirits and to guard the church and community against the disastrous consequences of thunderstorms, other types of bad weather and disease, interpreted as being caused by the evil spirits of the sky.<sup>109</sup> Bells could, the third function distinguished by Heinz, also be used to support personal prayer or to direct attention of the faithful to particularly important moments during the liturgy, such as the consecration and elevation of the host.<sup>110</sup>

The arrangements in the foundation deeds do never directly refer to these different functions of bell-chiming, but the way in which and the time during which it was done suggest different functions which might correspond to the functions distinguished by Andreas Heinz. The arrangements in the foundation deeds refer to two main types of bell-chiming; one of them was commonly indicated as '*luyden*' (chiming), the other one as '*beyeren*' (pealing). The word *beyeren* is, if indicated, always used for all the bells of the church and often a separate '*beyerman*' or someone '*die dair beyert*' is mentioned. *Beyeren* was sometimes done '*onder die hoichmisse*' (during High Mass), which suggests that its function, in that case, may have been the direction of the attention of the faithful outside church to particularly important moments in the liturgy, such as the consecration, or the support of the prayer of the faithful both inside and outside the church. *Luyden* was always done '*tot*' Vespers, Matins or Mass, which suggests that this was done before, to call the faithful to the church and to announce the beginning of the service. Although the exact difference between '*luyden*' and '*beyeren*' in the foundation deeds remains unclear, it is notable that this distinction is made in the sources and henceforth in this thesis will be referred to '*luyden*' with the English verb 'to chime' and to '*beyeren*' with the English verb 'to peal'.

The apotropaic function of bell-chiming might have been involved in the foundation of the requiem Mass by Adriaan van Zwieteren in 1485 for the benefit and commemoration of his mother Catharina van de Abeele, before which the lower sacristan had to chime with one of the '*grote ghewoenliken misse clocken als men benedictus vanden laudes inder metten singhet een guede betamelike pose totter voirs. zielmisse*'.<sup>111</sup> This long period of bell-chiming in the context of the liturgy of the dead was, according to Jurgen Bärsch, meant to protect the souls in purgatory against the forces of evil, in order to enable them to leave their place of pain and sorrow for a moment and to appear in the here and now during the celebration of the liturgy.<sup>112</sup>

Clear differences can be distinguished in the sources between customs regarding bell-chiming on the occasion of votive morning Masses celebrated on ferial days and bell-chiming on feast days, which probably reflects Sunday practice as well. On feast days there had to be chimed ('*luyden*') always with the largest bell of the church, which is the bell called '*Salvator*', whereas on the occasion of sung votive morning Masses, which probably reflects common practice for bell-chiming on ferial days, the size of the bell is either not mentioned or there has to be chimed with one of the large bells. On the occasion of Sundays and feast days, there was always pealed ('*beyeren*') with all the bells of the church, inviting the faithful to the liturgical celebration in church or announcing the importance of a particular moment in the liturgy, whereas in the case of votive morning Masses the amount of bells is never explicitly mentioned, which suggests that on the occasion of ferial days there was probably pealed with a smaller amount of bells.

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69, especially pp. 59-69.

<sup>108</sup> Ibidem, pp. 60-64.

<sup>109</sup> It is not without reason that the largest bell of the church was called '*Salvator*' (Saviour, Jesus Christ). Ibidem, pp. 64-66.

<sup>110</sup> Ibidem, pp. 66-69.

<sup>111</sup> '[to chime with one of the] big normal Mass bells at the moment the *benedictus* of Lauds is sung during Matins a good appropriate time until the aforementioned requiem Mass'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 82vs.

<sup>112</sup> Bärsch, *Allerseelen*, pp. 425-426.

### 3.7. Illumination of the church and the use of incense

Not only music or the sound of bells could be used to constitute the liturgical celebration. Also illumination of the church with the light of candles and torches and the evocation of a divine presence by the smell of incense were used for this purpose. Next to the practical purpose of the illumination of the altar in order to enable the priest to read the text of the Mass and to see what he was doing on the altar, the use of light received in the Christian Church already soon a number of additional symbolic meanings through the association of the light of the candles on the altar with liturgical and biblical texts in which light is used as a symbol of God, of the resurrection, as a metaphor for Christ as the epiphany of God's glory or as the merciful light of the Holy Spirit.<sup>113</sup> As such, the light of candles was also regarded, like the chiming of bells, to be able to ward off evil and to protect the community, especially during the night, against evil spirits. The light of candles could also have an honorific function, for a saint, a living person, a commemorated deceased or for the altar of the Lord.<sup>114</sup>

All detailed stipulations about the illumination of the church with candles during regular liturgical celebrations appear in the foundation deeds of *hoogtijden*. In most foundation deeds stipulations were made about candles to be lit on several places in the choir. In four foundations of a total amount of six feasts, two candles had to be placed and lit on the high altar.<sup>115</sup> In the foundation of the feasts of St Michael, St Andrew and St Martin, also one candle had to be burned before '*die heylich*' (the Holy). With this indication probably the Tabernacle or Holy Sacrament's house was meant in which the consecrated hosts were preserved and which was situated near one of the pillars at the north side of the choir.<sup>116</sup> During the feasts of St Catherine and St Mary of the Snow, candles had to be placed before all pillars in the chancel. The founder of the feast of the Holy Trinity (Jan Dirc Coenez.) stipulates that the feast had to be celebrated '*mit kairsen te setten anden pilairnen ende andersins*'.<sup>117</sup> With '*andersins*' probably at least the high altar was meant, for in the other three 'lesser' foundations in this same deed this was done as well; and also in all other foundations in which candles had to be placed on the pillars of the church.

At least from 1434 onwards statues of the apostles were placed upon these pillars, which were decorated with wall-paintings (such as one of the exceptional saint Ewald of which also a feast was celebrated in the church) and later with pressed brocade imitations, of both of which still some remnants are preserved on the pillars in St Peter's church.<sup>118</sup> In 1434 the confraternity of St Severus established an altar in the church in the foundation deed of which was stipulated that on the feast day of St Severus (about the celebration of this feast day no further information has been preserved) candles had to be burned '*voirden apostelen int koer*'.<sup>119</sup> Jacop van Zonnevelt mentions these statues in 1450 when he requests for candles to be placed '*voirden apostelen anden pilaren*'.<sup>120</sup> Also in the

<sup>113</sup> 'Licht' in: L. Brinkhoff e.a., *Liturgisch Woordenboek* (Roermond 1965-1968) pp. 1528-1535, there p. 1533; 'Candles, lamps and lights,' in: Paul F. Bradshaw (ed.), *New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London 2002) pp. 242-243; 'Kerzen' in: Adolf Adam and Rupert Berger, *Pastoralliturgisches Handlexikon* (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna 1980, 2nd edition 1994) pp. 245-246. See also: Thomas Schilp, 'Memoria in der Dunkelheit der Nacht; Lichtinszenierung mittelalterlicher Kirchen zum Totengedenken' in: De Weijert, Ragetli, Bijsterveld and Van Arenthals, *Living Memoria*, pp. 221-233, especially pp. 221-223.

<sup>114</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>115</sup> St Barbara (1411): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89; St Catherine (1414): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.; St Michael, St Martin and St Andrew (1421): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.; St Mary of the Snow (1450): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97.

<sup>116</sup> Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', pp. 153-154 and 164. See also figure 1.2. Map with the locations of the altars in the church.

<sup>117</sup> 'With candles to be placed before the pillars and otherwise'. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs. (1421).

<sup>118</sup> For the apostle-statues: Caspers, 'Apostelbeelden in het laatmiddeleeuwse kerkinterieur'; For the wall-paintings: Huijskens, 'de figuratieve muurschilderingen'; For the pressed brocade imitations: Angélique Friedrichs and Willemijn Fock, 'De geperste brokaten op de twaalf koorzuilen in de Pieterskerk' in: Fock, *Eredoeken in geperst brokaat*, pp. 79-95.

<sup>119</sup> 'Before the apostles in the choir'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 96.

<sup>120</sup> 'Before the apostles at the pillars'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97.

case of the feast of *Exaltacio Crucis* candles were probably placed upon the high altar and before the pillars of the apostles, although the confraternity of the Holy Cross arranged only that *'alle die kairsen opt choer dan barnen als gewoenlic is in groten hoichtiden'*.<sup>121</sup>

The church was illuminated not only with candles, sometimes also torches had to be used for this purpose. Torches had to be carried during the *hoogtijden* of St Michael, St Andrew and St Martin.<sup>122</sup> In the *hoogtijd* of St Mary of the Snow torches had to be carried during the singing of the *Alma Redemptoris Mater* before the altar of the Virgin Mary, as was discussed above.<sup>123</sup>

In the foundation deeds studied for this thesis little mention is made of the use of incense, which in general terms had similar functions as bell-chiming and candle-lighting in the representation of God's presence, the protection of the community and as a symbol of honour for God or the saints.<sup>124</sup> The use of the incensory is mentioned in only two foundation deeds of *hoogtijden* and then it is either the 'best' one or the 'silver' one.<sup>125</sup> This suggests that there was also another incensory which was used on less festive occasions which may have been used either during the regular celebration of Sunday, or maybe daily, High Mass. In the foundation deeds of votive morrow Masses, however, the incensory is never mentioned and arrangements concerning the way in which the incensory was used in Leiden St Peter's church during the regular cycles of liturgy on the high altar and in the choir of the church do never appear in the foundation deeds investigated for this thesis.

### 3.8. Sermons and processions

In the foundation deeds of *hoogtijden* some indications can be found concerning preaching customs and processions in the liturgy of Leiden St Peter's church. In three foundation deeds of feast days there is arranged for a sermon about the saint whose life or martyrdom is commemorated. During the *hoogtijd* of St Barbara the parson had to preach during Mass about the saint, in the case of St Catherine he had to do this after second Vespers and for the feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs there had to be preached on the Sunday before the feast day was celebrated.<sup>126</sup> There was apparently still a wide variety in preaching customs as regarding the moment that the sermon was held in Leiden on the occasion of feast days in the period under investigation. In the first two cases, the commander was explicitly appointed as the one who had to preach, but in the case of St Catherine the remark is made that he may also appoint someone else. In the case of the Ten Thousand Martyrs there is no explicit remark made about who had to preach.

Only in the case of the feast of the Holy Trinity a reference is made to a procession, for the *hoogtijd* had to be celebrated *'mitten heilighen sacrament te draghen'*.<sup>127</sup> This was probably the appropriate ceremonial elaboration for this feast which was one of the most high-ranking feasts of the selection of feast day foundations investigated for this thesis.<sup>128</sup> Certainly many more processions were held in and around Leiden St Peter's church and parish, such as is indicated in the foundation deed of the *Inviolata* to be sung on all procession days in the church.<sup>129</sup> No more

<sup>121</sup> 'Burn all the candles in the choir as is usual on big feasts'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs. (1423).

<sup>122</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs. (1421).

<sup>123</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97 (1450). See paragraph 3.5. Liturgical music.

<sup>124</sup> 'Wierook' in: Brinkhoff, *Liturgisch Woordenboek*, pp. 2914-2916. 'Incense' in: Bradshaw, *Liturgy and Worship*, pp. 242-243. 'Weihrauch' in: Adam and Berger, *Pastoralliturgisches Handlexikon*, pp. 554-555.

<sup>125</sup> *'mit dat beste wiroox vat als ghewoenlic is'* - 'with the best incensory as is usual': Eleven Thousand Virgins (1411): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89; *'dienen mitten sulveren wyroox vaet'* - 'serve with the silver incensory': St Catharine (1414): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.; *'mitten sulveren wyroox vaet'* - 'with the silver incensory': St Michael, St Martin and St Andrew (1421): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

<sup>126</sup> St Barbara (1411): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89; St Catherine (1414): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.; Ten Thousand Martyrs (1507): RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255.

<sup>127</sup> 'With the carrying of the Holy Sacrament'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs. (1421).

<sup>128</sup> See paragraph 3.3. The liturgical year.

<sup>129</sup> See chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.7. *'Inviolata integra et casta es Maria'*. For a discussion of processions in Leiden, see Brinkman, *Dichten uit liefde*, pp. 71-79.

information, however, is provided by the foundation deeds investigated for this thesis.

### 3.9. Conclusion

Foundation deeds, we may conclude, can indeed provide us with interesting information concerning the regular cycles of the liturgy as they were celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of St Peter's church. This concerns most prominently the liturgical cycle of the day, about which we established that, whereas the full observance of both High Mass and all seven hours of the Divine Office was only established around 1440 in St Peter's church, already at least since 1316 Matins (probably combined with Lauds), High Mass and Vespers were celebrated daily in St Peter's church. But also about the liturgical cycle of the week – although the foundation deeds do not provide us with direct information on the celebration of the Sunday, the focal point around which the cycle of the week turned – the foundation deeds provided us with interesting information about an additional cycle of votive morning Masses and *'lof'*-services dedicated to particular religious concepts or saints on certain days of the week (Monday requiem, Tuesday St Anna, Thursday Holy Sacrament, Friday Holy Cross, Saturday Virgin Mary) and the designation of three days of the week (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) especially for the celebration of anniversaries (with the additional service of Vigils of the Dead after Compline). Although the information provided by the foundation deeds is not sufficient to conclude anything decisively on the local profile of the liturgical year in its entirety, they provide us with interesting information on the particular contribution parishioners and confraternities intended to make to this local profile of the liturgical year, on the liturgical side of the cult of the saints and, especially, on the ceremonial elaboration of the liturgy of feast days (which probably to a large extent reflect the Sunday liturgy as well) and the ways in which this differs from the liturgy of ferial days, in particular concerning those elements by which the liturgy was implemented in a local institutional (chantry priests, the school choir, the *zevengetijdencollege*), architectural (the organs, the bells and the placing of candles on certain locations in the church) and to a lesser extent material (vestments and incensory) context.

## Chapter 4

### *The liturgy of the side altars*

Alongside the liturgical cycles as they were celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the church, additional Masses were celebrated on the many side altars of the parish church which built small liturgical cycles of their own. In the preceding chapters we already referred to the exceptionally solemn sung votive morrow Mass of St Anna celebrated every Tuesday on the altar consecrated to this same saint, which was regarded as part of the weekly cycle of votive morrow Masses otherwise celebrated on the high altar of the church. Masses celebrated on side altars, however, were usually of a much more modest type and lacked all kinds of ceremonial elaboration we encountered for the liturgy celebrated on the high altar. These Masses could, like the Mass of St Anna, be organised by a parish-broad institution active in St Peter's church, such as the *zevengetijdencollege*, the church wardens, St Catherine's hospital or the deputies, or otherwise they could be part of the obligations of a chantry priest or of the liturgy celebrated by one of the confraternities active in St Peter's church. The small cycle of liturgy of the altar was, mainly but not only in the case of confraternities, connected to the larger cycles of liturgy of the high altar and the choir through the celebration of the feast day of its patron saint (*hoogtijd*), through its consecration day (*kermis*) and sometimes through anniversaries or requiem Masses on the high altar related to the *hoogtijd* or the congregation attached to the involved side altar.

#### *4.1. The Tuesday Mass of St Anna*

In 1510 Ysaack Aelwijnsz. and his wife Agniese Dircsdochter established, '*inder eeren goids, Maria zijn lieve moeder ende der heiligher vrouwe ende moeder sinte Anna*'<sup>1</sup> on all Tuesdays into eternity, '*nader prime vander metten*'<sup>2</sup> (as morrow Mass), on the altar of St Anna '*een schoone ende eerlike misse vander heyligher vrouwe ende moeder sinte Anna*'.<sup>3</sup> The solemnity and ceremonial elaboration with which this sung Mass was celebrated suggests that it had a wider appeal than all other 'low' Masses celebrated on side altars and that it may be regarded as an integral part of the weekly cycle of sung votive morrow Masses in St Peter's church. The Mass was, like votive morrow Masses celebrated on the high altar, celebrated by the commander with deacon and subdeacon, musically elaborated by the *zevengetijdencollege*, there was chimed with the bell '*ghenoempt Pieter*' (called St Peter) and there was organ accompaniment.<sup>4</sup> That this Mass was celebrated in this elaborate way on a side altar was probably only made possible by the fact that this side altar was situated against the east-wall of the southern transept, which means that there was plenty of room behind the altar for the complete choir of the *zevengetijdencollege*, alongside the celebrants of Mass itself.<sup>5</sup>

This Mass is exceptional not only because of its unusual degree of ceremonial elaboration for a Mass celebrated on a side altar. The Mass is also exceptional because it is the only foundation of a prestigious service during the liturgical cycle of the week of which the intention is a particular saint other than the Virgin Mary. The Mass was celebrated in honour of St Anna, according to legend mother of the Virgin Mary and grandmother of Jesus Christ. This Mass in honour of St Anna, and the altar on which it was celebrated, provides us therefore with clear indications that there existed a devotion for St Anna in Leiden. According to Ton Brandenburg the cult of St Anna reached its absolute culmination around the year 1500, which, therefore, indeed seems to be reflected in this extraordinary token of devotion by Ysaack Aelwijnsz and his wife to this holy

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1 'in the honour of God, of Mary his dear mother and the holy lady and mother saint Anna'.

2 'after Prime of Matins'.

3 'a beautiful and honest Mass of the holy lady and mother saint Anna'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 214, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52.

4 The bell St Peter must have been the nameless '*bedeclock*' mentioned in the memorandum book of the church wardens. See Den Hartog, '*De klokken Bonaventura en Salvator*', p. 247.

5 See figure 1.2. Map with the locations of the altars in the church.

grandmother in 1510.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4.2. Masses celebrated on side altars by parish-broad institutions

Although the Mass of St Anna was exceptional with regard to the degree of ceremonial elaboration with which it was celebrated, it was not the only Mass on a side altar which was organised by a parish-broad institution like the *zevengetijdencollege*. Four other daily or weekly Mass foundations were organised by the *zevengetijdencollege*, five by the church wardens, five by the deputies and two by the wardens of St Catherine's hospital.<sup>7</sup> Additional Masses to be celebrated during *hoogtijd* celebrations were organised in one deed by the church wardens<sup>8</sup> and in another one by the deputies.<sup>9</sup> Additional Masses to be celebrated during the celebration of anniversaries were organised in six cases by the church wardens, in four cases by St Catherine's hospital and in two cases by the deputies.<sup>10</sup> These last foundations could concern one additional morrow Mass on a side altar, but also three, four, five or six additional Masses. Not in all foundations a specific altar was mentioned where the Masses had to be celebrated. The choice of this altar was probably conditioned by the vicinity of the altar to the grave on which the anniversary rituals had to be performed.<sup>11</sup>

All these Mass foundations concerned simple arrangements for the celebration of one or several Masses without much further details, except for what concerns grave-visits after the celebration of Mass itself, which will be discussed in the next chapter, and regarding provisions for commemoration and *memento*-prayers during the liturgy of Mass. This suggests that these Masses, probably, were simple, 'silent' Masses without much ceremonial elaboration. All these Masses probably had to be celebrated by chantry priests. The church wardens and the wardens of St Catherine's hospital probably hired them from the existing congregation of chantry priests attached to the parish church, whereas the deputies could choose a priest to celebrate the Mass from among themselves. Masses organised by the *zevengetijdencollege* could be celebrated by one of the *zangheren* (singing priests) themselves, but it is also possible that the *zevengetijdencollege* hired other chantry priests for the fulfilment of these obligations.

On several occasions specific arrangements were made in the foundation deeds for prayer for the benefit of the benefactor and his family during the liturgy of Mass. This could concern either simple arrangements for the priest to celebrate Mass '*voir die gene die int voirs. graf begraven leggen*'<sup>12</sup> or '*in gedenckenisse ende genaden*'<sup>13</sup> of the soul of the commemorated departed. Sometimes it is stated more specifically that the priest shall '*in die voirs. misse bidden voir die zielen*'<sup>14</sup> of the commemorated person. In most cases, however, alongside these provisions for prayer in general, the arrangement is also made that during Mass the souls of the benefactors will be held by the priest '*sonderlinge in sijn memento*'.<sup>15</sup> This '*memento*' probably refers to two prayers during the Canon of the Mass to which the names of the commemorated persons could be added, one beginning with the words *Memento Domine* before the consecration in which the living members of the congregation were commemorated and another one after the consecration beginning with the words *Memento etiam* for the benefit of the faithful departed.<sup>16</sup>

6 Ton Brandenburg, *Heilig Familieleven; Verspreiding en waardering van de Historie van Sint-Anna in de stedelijke cultuur in de Nederlanden en het Rijnland aan het begin van de moderne tijd (15de / 16de eeuw)* (Nijmegen 1990) p. 15. Ton Brandenburg (ed.), *Heilige Anna, grote moeder; De cultus van de Heilige Moeder Anna en haar familie* (Nijmegen 1992) p. 9.

7 See appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars.

8 RAL, *KI*, inv.nr. 255 (1507): Five Masses on the altar of St Apollonia during the feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs.

9 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156 (1460): Six Masses of St Mary on St Mary Presentation if the feast itself is not celebrated.

10 See appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars.

11 these rituals will be discussed in chapter 5 – The liturgy around the graves.

12 'for those buried in the aforementioned grave'; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, 7, fol. 94 (1431).

13 'in commemoration and grace'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 95vs. (1433).

14 'to pray in the aforementioned Mass for the soul'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10a (1504).

15 'in particular in his *memento*'.

16 For the Latin text of the Roman Canon, see Anton Hänggi and Irmgard Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica; Textus e variis*

Although not in all foundation deeds explicit arrangements were made concerning the commemoration of the living and the dead in the *memento* prayers during the Canon of the Mass, it is probable that also in other endowed Masses the *memento* prayers were used in this manner, because they were usually at least in part meant for the benefit and salvation of a benefactor and his family.

#### 4.3. Chantry Masses

Most foundations of Masses on side altars concerned obligations attached to chantries in the parish church. These obligations are not always explicitly mentioned in the foundation deed and not of all chantries foundation deeds are preserved or available, but of 34 of the 41 chantries of which we were able to investigate the foundation deeds there were arrangements made for one or several Masses to be celebrated during the week.<sup>17</sup>

Chantries were almost always founded in the honour of God, St Mary, all God's saints and one or several individual saints to whom this particular chantry was more specifically dedicated. There are two ways in which the saint to whose honour the chantry is principally dedicated appears in the foundation deeds. In some foundation deeds this particular saint is simply mentioned directly after the Blessed Virgin Mary and before 'all God's saints'. In this case there is no other reason to identify the chantry as dedicated to the honour of this saint than the fact that this particular saint usually does not appear in the *patrocinia* (the indication in whose honour the chantry is dedicated) of other chantries. The other way of expressing the *patrocinia* more clearly identifies a certain saint as the one in whose honour the chantry is specifically dedicated, because in that case the saint is mentioned after 'all God's saints' with the expression '*ende sonderlinghe*' or '*et specialiter*' (and in particular) followed by the name of this specific saint.<sup>18</sup>

The way in which the *patrocinia* appear in the foundation deeds probably reflects in part the way in which the saints were commemorated in the liturgy of the Masses celebrated by the chantry priests. In the Canon of the Mass as it was in use throughout Europe in the later Middle Ages there are two prayers in which a number of saints are mentioned, one before (*communicantes*) and one after the consecration (*nobis quoque*).<sup>19</sup> Whereas the Canon as a whole was already directed to God, in the first of these prayers subsequently the memory was venerated of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a number of apostles and martyrs and '*omnium Sanctorum tuorum*' ('all your saints'). The second prayer referred in the first place to St John the Baptist followed by seven male and seven female saints, all of them martyrs, and again, the list is concluded with a reference to '*omnibus Sanctis tuis*' ('all your saints'). It is probable that in the case of chantry Masses the specific saints in whose honour the chantries were dedicated were mentioned in these prayers, either in the enumeration of the saints itself, or maybe, in the same way as the saints were enumerated in some of the foundation deeds, after 'all your saints' with the indication '*et specialiter*'.

Like in the case of the Masses celebrated under the responsibility of parish broad institutions also in the case of chantry Masses sometimes explicit arrangements appear concerning the benefactors and their relatives for whom had to be prayed during Mass and in one case explicit mention is made of the *memento* prayers, which is probably the occasion on which the names were mentioned during other endowed (chantry) Masses as well.<sup>20</sup>

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*liturgiis antiquioribus selecti* (Fribourg, Switzerland 1968) pp. 426-438; *Memento Domine*: pp. 428-429; *Memento etiam*: pp. 435-436. An English translation is provided by Jasper, R.C.D. and G.J. Cuming – *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (Collegeville, Minnesota 1990) pp. 163-166, there pp. 164-165. See also J.A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia; Eine genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe II; Opfermesse* (Vienna, Freiburg, Basel 1962) pp. 199-213 and pp. 295-308. Angenendt, 'Theologie und Liturgie', pp. 189-190.

17 See appendix B – Chantries in St Peter's church.

18 Ibidem.

19 See for the Latin texts Hänggi and Pahl, *Præx Eucharistica*, pp. 429-431 and 436-437. Translation Jasper and Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, pp. 164 and 166. See also Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, pp. 213-225 and 309-322.

20 See appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars and paragraph 4.2. Masses celebrated on side altars by parish-broad



#### 4.4. Confraternities

Also confraternities celebrated Masses on side altars, mainly on a daily or weekly basis, but sometimes also in the course of the liturgical year. According to Madelon van Luijk, all confraternities usually maintained an altar in the church where they were established and all of them probably celebrated Masses there, often on a weekly basis.<sup>21</sup> In the sources investigated for this thesis information about liturgical activities of confraternities on side altars is only preserved for two confraternities, about St Nicholas confraternity in several foundation deeds and a register with statutes from the beginning of the fifteenth century and about St Nicasius confraternity in a register from the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>22</sup>

St Nicholas confraternity celebrated every week on Monday a requiem Mass and on Wednesday a Mass of the Holy Trinity on their altar. Since 1425 two annual Masses were celebrated, one on the feast day of the patron saint itself, the other one on the Sunday after St Laurence.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently in 1440 Alyt Jacobsdochter arranged for Masses to be celebrated by the confraternity on several feast days on the altar of St Nicholas, among which, again, the feast of St Nicholas, a foundation which was consequently accepted in 1478 by St Nicholas-confraternity with the addition of almost as many more feasts as already had been requested by Alyt Jacobsdochter herself.<sup>24</sup> The two priests of the confraternity of St Nicasius both had to celebrate three Masses every week on their altar.<sup>25</sup> Like in many foundations of liturgy on the side altars throughout day and week, as far as information about it is provided by the foundation deeds, also in these Masses the benefactors were commemorated in the *memento*-prayers during the Canon of the Mass.

#### 4.5. The side altars and the liturgy of the high altar

The side altars in the parish church were used not only for the celebration of private Masses without any connection to the liturgy as it was celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the church. The annual cycles of liturgy of the high altar certainly coloured also the way in which Masses on side altars were celebrated throughout day and week and many liturgical cycles of side altars, mainly those of the confraternities, also had their own annual events, the *hoogtijd* of their patron saint, the '*kermis*' (consecration day) of their altar in the parish church and requiem Masses and anniversaries celebrated on the high altar and in the choir, which connected their particular cycle of liturgy with the large cycle of liturgy as it was celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the church throughout the liturgical year.

The many *hoogtijden* endowed, organised and celebrated by confraternities and families were as much the annual culmination of liturgical cycles principally celebrated on side altars in the parish church as they were integral parts of the annual cycle of feast days as it was celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the church. As such, during the celebration of the *hoogtijd* the confraternity or family could, at one and the same time, constitute the *communitas* of the group which throughout the year centred around the particular altar of the family or confraternity, and join through the liturgy on the high altar in the liturgical community of the parish as a whole. That the *hoogtijd* was not only an integral part of the liturgical cycle of the year celebrated on the high altar, but also the culmination of a smaller liturgical cycle celebrated by a family or confraternity on a side altar, was sometimes expressed by the placement of candles not only on the high altar and in the choir of the

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institutions.

21 Van Luijk, *Lekenvroomheid*, pp. 32-33 and 41-42.

22 *Register van de Sint-Nicolaasbroederschap in de Pieterskerk* (15th century): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330; *Register van de kosten van het nieuwe altaar van Sint Nicasius van de vollers, overgebracht naar de Sint Pieterskerk, en van de daaraan verbonden diensten* (1488-1496): RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270.

23 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330, fol. 9.

24 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 189 and RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.2; See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.3. The liturgical year.

25 RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270, fol. 2vs.

church, but also on the altar of the saint in whose honour the feast was celebrated and to whom the confraternity or altar was dedicated or, in the case of the feast of St Catherine, by the singing of canticles before the altar consecrated in her honour.<sup>26</sup>

In the foundation deeds of the feasts of St Mary Magdalene and St Catherine two candles had to be placed on the altars consecrated to the involved patron saints, in the case of the feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs even four on the altar of St Apollonia.<sup>27</sup> Jacop van Zonnevelt arranged, alongside the candles already placed in the choir, for two candles to be placed on '*onser liever vrouwen outair dat men hiet dat zielaltair*' and on '*Jacop Vincken altair staende naest den heylige sacramentshuys*'.<sup>28</sup> Jacop Vincken was the grandfather of Jacop van Zonnevelt.<sup>29</sup> In this way, therefore, the placing of candles did not only express the connection between the altar of the saint and the feast day celebrated in choir, but also the relationship of the family of the founder to the celebrated feast. Although of only a few altars it is explicitly mentioned in the foundation deeds that candles had to be lit there, these altars were probably not the only altars where this had to be done. In the foundation deed of the altar of St Francis and Ursula by Katrijn Jan Comans' widow it is arranged that the church wardens, alongside the feasts of the patron saints themselves, had to place two candles on the altar on several feast days '*alsmen gewoenlicke set up anderen outaren upter kercken cost*'.<sup>30</sup> This arrangement suggests two things. In the first place that apparently additional foundations were made of candles to be lit on specific altars during feast days, and in the second place that on certain other altars it was already usual to burn candles during these feast days. Apparently, during *hoogtijd* celebrations many candles on side altars were lit, sometimes stipulated by the founder of the *hoogtijd* itself but probably even more often according to established custom or because of additional foundations of candle-lighting on feast days throughout the liturgical year.

Just as the parish church in its entirety celebrated next to the feast of the patron saints also the feast of *sinte Pieters kermis*, which is the consecration of the church,<sup>31</sup> also on certain side altars a *kermis* was celebrated, in this case the consecration day of this particular altar in the parish church. In the foundation deeds studied for this thesis there is only one explicit foundation of a *kermis* celebration, which is the *kermis* celebration on the Sunday after the feast of St Mary Magdalene by the involved consorority and concerning the consecration of its altar in the parish church. Next to that, there are three more references to *kermis*-celebrations, two in the registers of the confraternities of St Nicholas (of which it is unknown when it was celebrated) and St Nicasius (celebrated on the Sunday after St Anastasius, a saint in whose honour its altar was consecrated as well) and one reference concerning the *kermis* of the altar of Boudijn van Zwieten, about which no detailed information is preserved.<sup>32</sup> This reference is, nevertheless, particularly important because it makes clear that not only confraternities celebrated the *kermis* of their altars but that these services were sometimes also celebrated by individual parishioners or families who had erected altars in the parish church.

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26 For the canticles on the feast day of St Catharine, see chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.5. Liturgical music.

27 St Mary Magdalene (1413): RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90; St Catherine (1414): RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs. Ten Thousand Martyrs (1507): RAL, Kl, inv.nr. 255.

28 'altar of the Blessed Virgin, also called *zielaltaar* and Jacop Vincken altar, standing next to the Tabernacle'; RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97vs.

29 Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', p. 173; A.J. Brand, 'In politieke kringen: de familie Paedze van Sonnevelt en de verdeling van de macht in Leiden aan het einde van de middeleeuwen,' in: *Leidschrift; historisch tijdschrift* 3:3 (Leiden 1987) pp. 40-65, there p. 52.

30 'place on this aforementioned altar two candles as is usual to be placed upon other altars at the expense of the church'; RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); see chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.3. The liturgical year, n. 35.

31 See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.3. The liturgical year.

32 '*Des sonnendaechs dair voer kermis is op mijn altaer*' – 'The Sunday before it is *kermis* on my altar'; see for references chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.1. The foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten.

The *kermis* as it appears in the foundation deed of St Mary Magdalene and in the registers of St Nicholas and St Nicasius consisted liturgically of one solemn Mass, celebrated by the commander usually together with four servers, musically elaborated by the schoolmasters and students of the Latin school, accompanied with organ music and elaborated with the chiming ('*luyden*') of the largest bell, and the pealing ('*beyeren*') of all the bells of the church, which is the same type of bell-chiming which we established above as common practice only for Sundays and feast days in the parish church.<sup>33</sup>

Notable is that the degree of ceremonial elaboration of these *kermis* Masses seems to be equivalent to the ceremonial elaboration of High Mass during most feast days discussed in the previous chapter. This fact, together with the fact that *kermis* celebrations were celebrated on Sunday, suggests that the celebration of these *kermis* Masses were no occasional rituals celebrated silently on a side altar, but were communal liturgical events in which the complete parish church was involved. The degree of ceremonial elaboration of these Masses, together with the necessary facilities for the school choir which normally probably sang in the choir stalls in the chancel of the church, suggest that at least part of the *kermis* celebration was celebrated not on the side altar itself, but on the high altar and in the chancel of the church.

That probably both the high altar and the particular side altar were involved in *kermis*-celebrations is also suggested by the provision in the foundation of the *kermis* of St Mary Magdalene that '*men sel setten twee scoen waskairsen op beiden outaren, dats te verstaen opt hooch outair twee stalkairsen ende op sinte Maria Magdalenen outair twee stalkairsen*'.<sup>34</sup> Apparently both the high altar and the altar of St Mary Magdalene were simultaneously involved in the celebration of the *kermis* of the latter altar. *Kermis*-celebrations, therefore, like *hoogtijd*-celebrations, were not only part of the annual culmination of the liturgical cycle of a particular altar but also an integral part of the liturgical cycle of the high altar and as such part of the communal liturgical experience of the community of the parish as a whole.

Confraternities often also celebrated anniversaries and requiem Masses on the high altar in the choir of the church for the benefit of their living and deceased brothers and sisters, through which the community attached to the side altar of the confraternity was integrated in the liturgical structure and the community of the parish as a whole. This connection between the anniversary and the community it commemorated with the involved patron saint was often expressed by the fact that the anniversary of the confraternity was celebrated directly after or on the Sunday and Monday after the feast of the patron saint of the altar. This was the case with the anniversaries of the consororities of St Barbara, St Mary Magdalene and St Catherine and with the confraternity of the Holy Cross.<sup>35</sup> According to their register the confraternity of St Nicasius did not celebrate an anniversary on a day connected to the feast of their patron saint, but instead they celebrated four solemn requiem Masses on the high altar on the feast days of St Pontian, St Odulphus, St Lambertus and St Lebuinus. Although there is no apparent connection between the confraternity and these feast days, it again makes clear how the liturgy of a confraternity principally celebrated on a side altar, through the additional observance of services on the high altar, was connected to the liturgical structure of the parish as a whole.

#### 4.6. Conclusion

The foundation deeds of Masses celebrated on side altars provided us with interesting information on the particular way in which the many side altars of the parish church (part of the architectural

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33 See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.6. Bell-chiming.

34 'two good wax candles shall be placed on both altars, that is to be understood as on the high altar two candles and on the altar of St Mary Magdalene two candles'.

35 St Barbara (1411): RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89; St Mary Magdalene (1413): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90; St Catherine (1414): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.; Holy Cross (1423): RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs., acceptance by commander in RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 7-8.

context of the parish church) were used for the celebration of several small cycles of liturgy and about the way in which these liturgical cycles were connected to the liturgy as it was celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the parish church. This information provided by these foundation deeds concerns, first of all, like the foundations of feast days discussed in the previous chapter, the liturgical side of the cult of the saints, most spectacularly with regard to the Mass of St Anna, but also in the case of the many chantries and confraternities whose patron saints were probably commemorated in the Canon of the Mass during the daily or weekly Masses celebrated on their altars. The relationship of lay parishioners to the liturgy is, furthermore, clearly expressed in the provisions for prayers, particularly those concerning the mentioning of names in the *memento*-prayers during the Canon of the Mass, which reflects the liturgical side of the culture of medieval *memoria*. A particularly interesting conclusion which can be drawn on the basis of the information provided by the foundation deeds is the clear connection which existed between the liturgies celebrated on the side altars and the liturgy on the high altar and in the choir of the church, because of the *hoogtijd* of the patron saint, the celebration of the *kermis* (the consecration day of the altar) partly on the high altar of the church and through the observance of anniversaries and requiem Masses – sometimes directly related in time to the celebration of the *hoogtijd* of the patron saint – for the benefit of the congregation attached to the altar.

## Chapter 5

### *The liturgy around the graves*

After and during several of the regular liturgical services celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the church – after Vigils and High Mass on memorial days, daily during High Mass and after several sung votive morrow Masses – as discussed in chapter 3, and after the low Masses celebrated on the side altars of the parish church, as discussed in chapter 4, priest(s) and sometimes other involved officials visited one or several of the graves in the parish church and celebrated some commemorative rituals there.<sup>1</sup> This grave, which was not necessarily the place in which the commemorated person was actually buried, was in the case of most anniversaries and grave-visits after sung votive morrow Masses, but never in the case of daily grave-visits or grave-visits after low Masses celebrated on side altars, illuminated with candles and decorated with a black pall and green herbs. During some anniversaries beguines had to keep vigils over the grave during Vigils and High Mass. After the service the celebrating priest(s) and officials subsequently brought visits to the graves, often with the sprinkling of holy water, the incensing of the grave and the saying or reciting of a number of psalms and prayers.

#### *5.1. The grave as a liturgical place*

Not on all occasions in which a 'grave' had to be visited a real grave of a commemorated person was present in the church to celebrate the liturgy on. Confraternities, as corporations of groups of parishioners, did not always possess a collective grave in the parish church. The commemorated person or persons could also be buried elsewhere but still want an anniversary to be celebrated in their parish church or they could want an anniversary to be celebrated in more than one church or parish. Sometimes, moreover, commemoration already had to begin when the person to be commemorated was still alive. Memorial days of confraternities, for example, were often not only meant for the commemoration of the souls of the deceased members of the confraternity, but '*voir levende ende voir dode*',<sup>2</sup> for '*der ghemeenre susteren*'<sup>3</sup> or simply for brothers or sisters. This could also be the case if a complete family, including the still living members, had to be commemorated during an anniversary.

If no grave was available at all in which one or several of the commemorated persons were buried, sometimes another grave was allocated in the deed for the observance of the rituals or it could be stipulated that the founder himself, while he was still alive, could allocate the grave on which the rituals had to take place.<sup>4</sup> In the case of confraternities often a substitute for a grave was used, which could be a pall laid down in the choir or another place allocated by the board of the confraternity.<sup>5</sup> The grave, therefore, must not too narrowly be regarded as the place in which the commemorated person was buried, but rather, like an altar, as a liturgical place on which certain rituals could be performed. This could be the grave of the commemorated person, but this could also be, if this grave was not available because the person in question was still alive or buried in another church, a substitute-grave or the grave of a relative.

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1 Not everyone regarded grave-visits as valuable additions to the liturgy of Mass. Lijsbeth Reyner Reynersz.' widow, who arranged for a requiem morrow Mass to be celebrated on the high altar in 1476, explicitly stated that no grave-visit was allowed to be brought after her votive morrow Mass celebration. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 211; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035; transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 46.

2 'For the living and for the deceased'; St Barbara (1411): RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89.

3 'The joint sisters'; St Mary Magdalene (1413): RAL, *Ke*, 7, fol. 90.

4 RAL, *HGW*, inv.nr. 968 (1411); RAL *Ke*, inv.nr. 8 (1450).

5 Confraternity of the Holy Cross (1423), pall in the choir: RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs., acceptance by commander in RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 7-8; Confraternity of St Nicholas (1394), pall: RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330a, transcription by Van Mieris, *Beschryving der stad Leyden*, pp. 33-34; Consorority St Barbara (1411): '*tot sulcker stede als men hen wisen zel*' – 'on a place which shall be allocated': RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89. In the other anniversary foundations of confraternities no reference is made to the place of celebration.

## 5.2. Illumination and decoration of the grave

Arrangements for illumination of the grave with candles during and after the celebration of Vigils and High Mass were made in almost all foundation deeds of anniversaries and for some of the grave-visits after sung votive morrow Masses. Usually either four or nine candles were placed upon the grave although occasionally numbers of three or two candles were mentioned as well.<sup>6</sup> In eight foundation deeds a candlestick was mentioned in which four or sometimes three or nine candles had to be placed.<sup>7</sup> The symbolic meaning of light in medieval Christian liturgy, which was in general terms already discussed in chapter 3,<sup>8</sup> received, according to Thomas Schilp, a specific meaning in the context of the liturgy for the benefit of the deceased.<sup>9</sup> Here the light of the candle as symbol of God and eternal salvation overcame the darkness of death with all the pains and sorrows of purgatory.<sup>10</sup> In this way, candle-light served the liturgical community of the living and the dead: it made the deceased present again in the here and now at the moment the candles were lit, and they continued to be present throughout the liturgical celebration.

The grave was sometimes decorated by the draping of a black pall or the spreading of green herbs across the grave. In most cases the beguines of either Pieter Simonsz.-Beguinage or sometimes St Agnes- or Fali-Beguinage were responsible for the decoration of the grave with a black pall and green herbs.<sup>11</sup> In the one anniversary (1474) in which no pall but only green herbs were bespread on the grave by the beguines of Pieter Simonsz.-Beguinage, this grave was not situated within the church – like all other graves mentioned in anniversary foundation deeds – but outside in the churchyard.<sup>12</sup> The obvious reason why no pall was used in this case is that it would have been impractical to use a pall outside where it could possibly rain during the service or where the soil may have been wet and dirty. In one anniversary foundation also a cross is placed upon the grave, for in the foundation deed of the anniversary of Katrine Poes and her chantry priest Gherijt van Hillegom, issued in 1446 by Gherijt van Hillegom, a payment of 1.5 *groten* is recorded to '*die ondercoester die dat cruus te grave set*'.<sup>13</sup>

Sometimes the pall was the personal property of the involved confraternity or a conditional donation by a well-to-do parishioner. The communal commemoration day of the confraternity of the Holy Cross (accepted 1423) had to be done '*mitten broeders pelle*' (with the brothers' pall) which indicates that the confraternity possessed its own pall.<sup>14</sup> For the decoration of the grave during the requiem Masses of Jan van Poelgeest and Catharina van de Abeele the founders had their own palls made for this purpose.<sup>15</sup> Jan van Poelgeest donated his pall to the sacristans of St Peter's church who '*dat truwelic ende wel bewaeren sullen*'.<sup>16</sup> It was stipulated that the sacristans had to drape the pall every year '*boven op die trappe van sancta sanctorum voir die voirs. candelair mitten drien kairssen*' where his grave was situated.<sup>17</sup> The pall was not allowed to be used for anything else than for the anniversary of Jan van Poelgeest, except on the occasion of the burial of a priest in St Peter's church. In the foundation deed of the requiem Mass of Catharina van de Abeele no detailed stipulations are made about the rights of use of the pall, but on this occasion the pall also had to be

6 See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves.

7 Ibidem.

8 See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.7. Illumination of the church and the use of incense.

9 Schilp, 'Memoria in der Dunkelheit der Nacht', pp. 221-223; See also Bärsch, *Allerseelen*, pp. 429-432.

10 For literature on the doctrine of purgatory, see chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, n. 22.

11 Pieter Simonsz.-Beguinage in 11 anniversaries recorded in 9 foundation deeds. St Agnes- or Fali-Beguinage in 5 anniversaries recorded in 2 foundation deeds. See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves, table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church.

12 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 571.

13 'The lower sacristan who places the cross on the grave'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 123.

14 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs., acceptance by commander in RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 7-8.

15 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.12 (1469); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 82vs. (1485).

16 'shall preserve it good and faithfully'.

17 'above on the stairs of the *Sancta sanctorum* before the candlestick with the three candles'.

bespread with green herbs. In both cases the sacristans of the church were responsible for the decoration of the grave, in the anniversary of Catharina van de Abeele specifically the lower sacristan.

Both illumination and decoration of the grave is never mentioned for daily grave-visits to be brought by the commander during High Mass or for grave-visits to be brought by chantry priests after the celebration of their Masses on side altars. Since candles were expensive in the Middle Ages,<sup>18</sup> illumination of graves on a weekly or even daily basis would, on the one hand, probably have been much too costly and on the other hand it would have been burdensome for the sacristans or chantry priests to place so often or so many candles and to decorate so many graves throughout the day. It would furthermore also have been impractical if too many graves across the floor of the church almost continuously would have been occupied with candles, palls and green herbs, for which reason this type of ceremonial was exclusively reserved for anniversaries and grave-visits after prestigious sung votive morrow Masses.

### 5.3. Grave-vigils

The beguines were not only responsible for the decoration of the grave during certain anniversaries, they were also involved in the actual rituals of the memorial day.<sup>19</sup> The first mentioning of beguines involved in anniversary celebrations dates from 1438.<sup>20</sup> Already earlier however, in 1411, a similar task was recorded to be fulfilled by *'twee wiven die naest den grave sitten'*.<sup>21</sup> According to a foundation of 1422 which replaced the one from 1411 these women had to be *'naest van maechscippen'*.<sup>22</sup> After 1438 in all foundations in which arrangements appear concerning this type of ritual the beguines of either Pieter Simonsz.-Beguinage or sometimes St Agnes- or Fali-Beguinage were involved.<sup>23</sup> In one case, in a foundation of 1457, an arrangement is made for in the case Pieter Simonsz.-Beguinage would come to be abolished. Then *'achte arme susteren vanden armsten'* had to fulfill the same task in the liturgy.<sup>24</sup>

In most foundation deeds it is not clear what the task of these beguines exactly was. Often the arrangements only or predominantly concern the moment on which the beguines had to be present on the grave and not what they were supposed to do there. In a foundation of 1515 only mention is made of the obligation that the beguines had to come to the grave.<sup>25</sup> In the foundation deed of the anniversaries of Jan Bertolomeussoen van Noordwijk c.s. and Hugen van der Scoot, issued in 1438, the task of the beguines is described as *'begaen ende bestaen'* or *'visiteren te begaen ende te bestaen'* of the grave.<sup>26</sup> This seems to indicate something similar as a grave-visit, but in most other deeds the beguines were supposed to sit next to the grave. In almost all foundations it is explicitly stated that the beguines had to be there during Vigils and High Mass.<sup>27</sup> In two cases it is even explicitly stipulated that they had to be present on the grave from the beginning to the end of the service or from before the offertory of Mass until the priests arrived for the grave-visit.<sup>28</sup> Only in

18 Schilp, 'Memoria in der dunkelheit der Nacht', p. 225.

19 See also Koorn, *Begijnhoven in Holland en Zeeland*, pp. 96-98.

20 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568.

21 'two women sitting next to the grave'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88 (Dirck Hoichstraitz.).

22 'next of kin'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 87vs. (Cille Jans Vosdochter).

23 Pieter Simonsz.-Beguinage in 15 anniversaries recorded in 11 foundation deeds. St Agnes- or Fali-Beguinage in 6 anniversaries recorded in 2 foundation deeds. See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves, table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries.

24 'Eight poor sisters from among the poorest'; RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1197 (1457).

25 RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 14.

26 '(To visit,) to tread and stand on the grave'; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568.

27 In the anniversary of Jacop Simonsz. the beguines also had to be present during the celebration of an additional morrow Mass on the altar of St Nicasius; RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 14.

28 From beginning to end: RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11, acceptance deed in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs. (1480); From before offertory until grave-visit: RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 569 (1446). That they had to stay until the priests arrived for the grave-visit is arranged in more foundation deeds: RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 570 (1448); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156 (1460); RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 571 (1474).

the case of the grave situated outside of the church in the churchyard the beguines were supposed to attend Vigils and High Mass in church and only go to the grave and pray there after the service and until the priests arrived for the grave-visit, because otherwise the beguines would not have been able to attend Vigils and High Mass in church and pray or make offerings during its celebration.<sup>29</sup>

Only in a few foundation deeds concrete arrangements were made for what the beguines had to do while sitting or standing next to the grave during Vigils and High Mass. In most general terms this is indicated in foundation deeds as praying for the souls of the persons commemorated during the anniversary.<sup>30</sup> In one case this is described elaborately as '*innichlic mit goeder harten ende devocien mit hore gebede bidden sullen voir die zielen van joncfrou Ave Jans van Ruyven, hoirs mans, hoirs vaders, hoirs moeders ende dair zijt voir begheert heeft*'.<sup>31</sup> In three occasions prayers are indicated to be said by the beguines, and in one of these cases the explicit stipulation is made that the beguines in the evening '*elc een vigelie lesen*' over the soul of the commemorated person.<sup>32</sup> While probably Vigils was celebrated collectively in the choir – in this case this cannot be established for certain because this is only an additional foundation to an already existing anniversary – the beguines apparently said privately another vigils of the dead – maybe the beguines said the text of the vigils in Dutch instead of in Latin<sup>33</sup> – specifically for the commemorated person on the grave of the deceased.<sup>34</sup> It cannot be established for certain whether this was normal practice for grave-vigils in general in the church, but it seems probable that something similar was practised in other grave-vigils as well, as no other set of prayers would fit so well on the moment Vigils was celebrated in the choir as the private recitation of this same Vigils, maybe in Dutch, now focussed upon the specific deceased or commemorated person associated with the grave involved in the ritual.

What types of prayer were said during Mass on the grave is never mentioned, but often the stipulation is made that the beguines had to contribute – from the money which the founder had granted to the beguinage for that purpose and which the involved beguines received from the '*meestersen*' or '*bewairsteren*' (mistresses) of the beguinage '*van des hoifs wegen*'<sup>35</sup> – to the offering once or twice during Mass.<sup>36</sup>

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29 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 571 (1474).

30 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 189 (1440), transcription by Petros Samara, *Het middeleeuwse testament in Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Haarlem en Leiden* (unpublished masterthesis VU Amsterdam 2005), pp. 195-197; RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1197 (1457); RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 571 (1474); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10a (1504).

31 'shall pray fervently with good hearts and devotions with their prayers for the souls of Ave, her husband Jan van Ruyven, her father, her mother and those for whom she wants it'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156 (1460).

32 'each read (say) a vigils'; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 569 (1446). Other foundations in which prayers are indicated to be read are RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 571 (1474) and RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11 (1480), acceptance deed in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs.

33 Due to the reforming movement of the *devotio moderna*, Books of Hours produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth century Low Countries were, unlike in most other parts of Europe, almost always in the vernacular (Dutch) instead of in Latin, and they were actually used as (liturgical) prayer-books in the many lay communities of this movement. Since the Office of the Dead was an integral part of these medieval Books of Hours, it is possible that these private vigils were recited in Dutch as well. See Anton G. Weiler (ed.), *Getijden van Eeuwige Wijsheid naar de Vertaling van Geert Grote* (Baarn 1984) p. 9. Roger S. Wieck, 'The Book of Hours' in: Heffernan and Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, pp. 473-513, there p. 475-476. G. Achten, 'Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Middelnederlandse gebedenboeken' in: *Handelingen van het XXVe Vlaams Filologencongres* (Antwerpen 1963) pp. 409-416.

34 The only other foundation of a privately recited vigils of the dead is included in the foundation deed of an *officium* by Willem van Leeuwen in 1470, in which he arranged for the recitation of a vigils with nine readings by two priests, the chantry (*officium*-)priest and another priest, on the lectern (*latrijn*) of St Nicholas-altar. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 41vs.

35 'on behalf of the beguinage'; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 574 (1458).

36 In the case of the anniversary of Jacop Simonsz. also an offering had to be done during the morrow Mass celebrated on the altar of St Nicasius; RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 14 (1515).



#### 5.4. The grave-visits

After Vigils was sung or Mass was celebrated the priest(s) and, in the case of Masses celebrated on the high altar, other officials involved in the celebration of the liturgy, had the obligation to visit the grave(s) allocated by the founder. In the case of anniversaries, of which there were probably several celebrated on an average Monday, and to a lesser extent on Wednesday and Friday as well, the priests had to make a round through the church along all involved graves and perform the ordered rituals there. Also in the case of the daily grave-visits by the commander during High Mass many graves had to be visited.<sup>37</sup> Maybe the rituals and prayers mentioned in the foundation deeds, therefore, were not always performed at length at each individual grave, but the psalms may have been recited rather as procession psalms while incensing all involved graves and sprinkling them, and the people in the church, with holy water, after which payments were distributed to the participating priests and ministers and sometimes alms were given to the poor. In the case of solemn votive morrow Masses and Masses celebrated on the side altars of the church usually only one or a few graves had to be visited by the celebrating priest and his assisting officials, which means that these graves could probably receive more private attention of the celebrating priest than was the case with anniversaries and daily grave-visits.

The direct connection of the liturgy around the grave with the preceding Mass celebration is most explicitly expressed in the foundation deeds of sung votive morrow Masses through the stipulation that the priests and officials had to go to the grave in the vestments they had worn during the liturgy of Mass. This is the case in the foundation deed of Boudijn van Zwieten of 1443,<sup>38</sup> in which he arranged that the priest, '*mitter alven anhebbende*'<sup>39</sup> and the other priests of the *zevengetijden* and the choristers '*mit hoer religie*'<sup>40</sup> had to come to the grave. Jan van Poelgeest arranged that the priest had to come to the grave '*in zijn religie soe hij inder misse gestaen heeft*'.<sup>41</sup> Hugu van Zwieten only stipulated that the singing priests and choristers of the *zevengetijden* had to arrive at the grave '*in hoir religie*'.<sup>42</sup>

The use of incense is mentioned in four foundation deeds of anniversaries. In the foundation deed of an anniversary after the simultaneously endowed feast day of the Holy Trinity, issued in 1421, the commander must '*driewerf wierooc werpen*'.<sup>43</sup> In another foundation deed, from the year 1438, the beguines seem to be the ones who incense the grave, in the first anniversary mentioned in this deed four times, in the second only twice.<sup>44</sup> It was probably no common practice, however, that the beguines incensed the grave, because in two other foundation deeds the task of the beguines is limited to '*twieroeck inden wieroecxvate doen als costumelic is*'<sup>45</sup> or formulated as '*den coster wyroic geven als dat gewoenlick is*',<sup>46</sup> which probably were two ways to refer to the same ritual act. Apparently the task of the sacristan during the liturgy of grave-visits was to carry the incensory and, although this is never explicitly mentioned, probably the commander himself subsequently took the incensory from the sacristan to incense the graves.<sup>47</sup>

37 In a small register of the commander, preserved in the archives of the Teutonic Order in Utrecht, more than 70 names of benefactors are mentioned of which the graves had to be visited daily by the commander during High Mass. RDO OA, inv.nr. 2033.

38 See chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.1. The foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten.

39 'Wearing the albs'.

40 'With their vestments'.

41 'In the vestments in which he celebrated the Mass'; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.12 (1469).

42 'In their vestments'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 212; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 1494; transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 58 (1481).

43 'Incense three times'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

44 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568 (1438).

45 'To put the incense in the incensory as is common practice'; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 571 (1474).

46 'To give the sacristan incense as is common practice'; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10A (1504).

47 Because grave-visits always followed immediately upon the celebration of Vigils or Mass in St Peter's church it is probable that the sacristan was also involved as thurifer (carrier of the incensory) during the regular celebration of the liturgy. See chapter 3 – The liturgy of the high altar and the choir, paragraph 3.4. Priests and officials involved in the celebration of the liturgy.

Arrangements concerning the use of incense during grave-visits do not appear in the other foundation deeds of anniversaries and never in foundation deeds of sung votive morrow Masses, low Masses celebrated on side altars and daily grave-visits. As sometimes the only reference to incense in anniversary foundations was made through the arrangement that the beguines had to put incense in the incensory, it is possible that because beguines were never involved in these grave-visits, also the incensory is never mentioned. Also on these occasions the sacristan, however, probably carried the incensory with him to the grave, for the sacristan is actually mentioned in almost all foundation deeds of anniversaries and in the foundations of the sung votive morrow Masses of Hugu and Adriaan van Zwieten as a participant in the grave-visit.<sup>48</sup>

The grave was, at least on the occasion of grave-visits after sung votive morrow Masses and during some daily grave-visits by the commander during High Mass, blessed with holy water, as in all foundations of sung votive morrow Masses and in three foundations of daily grave-visits the celebrating priest had to come to the grave '*mit een wijtwatersquast in sijn hant*'<sup>49</sup> or a slightly different formulation.<sup>50</sup>

If arrangements were made for the saying or reciting of psalms and prayers during the grave-visit usually the psalms *Miserere* (Psalm 50 / 51) and *De Profundis* (Psalm 129 / 130) were mentioned, both of them psalms ubiquitously used in the liturgy of the dead in the Middle Ages,<sup>51</sup> usually together with one or several collects ('*pro defunctis*' or '*voir die zielen*') and other prayers for the deceased.<sup>52</sup> Sometimes also a *Pater Noster* or an *Ave Maria* had to be recited and in the foundations of the requiem Masses of Adriaan and Boudijn van Zwieten, and in the memorial service for the benefit of all benefactors of the *zevengetijdencollege* established by Boudijn in 1443, the service is, after the concluding collect of the psalms for the dead even extended by a second part consisting of the Marial hymn *Salve Regina*, a versicle (only in the foundations of Boudijn) and a collect '*van onser vrouwen dair toe dienende*'.<sup>53</sup> Dirck Florijs Montfoortsznszn. makes in 1511 a similar arrangement when he mentions the prayers *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* after the usual psalms with a versicle and collect *pro sacerdote* or *sacerdotibus, deus venie largitor* and *fideliu deus*.<sup>54</sup>

After the grave-visits payments were distributed to the celebrants of the liturgy. Payments were usually recorded to the commander, his two assistant priests and the sacristan of the church, usually the same amount, if not, then the commander received something more.<sup>55</sup> Other payments to participants could concern payments in general to all participating priests or more specifically to the priests attached to the chantries of the church. From the beginning of the 15th century onwards, the distributions to all chantry priests and other priests visiting the grave are increasingly limited to only a restricted group of priests attached to the oldest chantries established in St Peter's church. This probably reflects the growth of the congregation of chantry priests attached to the church during the fourteenth and the early fifteenth century and the resulting necessity to limit the number of chantry priests qualified for distributions during anniversary celebrations.<sup>56</sup> In two cases there are arrangements for distributions to the *terminarii* visiting the grave. These *terminarii* were members of the mendicant orders who were specifically assigned a certain territory, in this case Leiden, for

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48 See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves.

49 'With holy-water sprinkler in his hand'; this formulation appears in the foundation deed of Boudijn van Zwieten: see chapter 2 – Liturgical foundations, paragraph 2.1. The foundation of Boudijn van Zwieten.

50 See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves.

51 Bärsch, *Allerseelen*, p. 214.

52 See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves.

53 'a collect of the Virgin Mary for that purpose'.

54 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 215.

55 For a more extensive discussion of the amounts of money distributed to different participants and the poor during anniversaries, see Faber, 'Zorgen voor de ziel' pp. 84-90.

56 Faber, 'Zorgen voor de ziel', pp. 79-82 and p. 90. See appendix F – The liturgy around the graves, table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church.

pastoral care, preaching and the collecting of alms.<sup>57</sup>

Sometimes also arrangements were made for charitable distributions. In the foundation deed of (among other foundations) a communal commemoration day for the members of the consoriority of St Barbara, it is stipulated that '*an brode een pont hollans comans payments*' had to be distributed '*den armen dair si menen dattet alre best besteedt is*'.<sup>58</sup> Boudijn van Zwieten also arranged for charitable distributions directly after the conclusion of his grave-visit. He stipulated that the *sangmeesters* had to distribute '*een achtendeel tarwwen scoen broets den armen om goedswillen*'.<sup>59</sup>

### 5.5. Conclusion

The rituals around the graves discussed in this chapter are probably, of the three types of liturgy discussed in this thesis, the type of liturgy which was to the largest extent shaped by the particular context of the local parish community. At the same time they were closely related to the regular liturgical services celebrated on the high altar and in the choir of the church or to the Masses celebrated on the side altars which were, as we have seen in the previous chapter, in their own ways closely connected to the regular cycles of the liturgy of the parish. Through these rituals parishioners cared, during or after and closely connected to the service celebrated elsewhere in church, for their own salvation or the salvation of their deceased relatives. In the case of most anniversaries and sung votive morrow Masses this was directly reflected in the architectural space of the parish church through a number of burning candles, a pall and green herbs on one, several or even many graves in the parish church and in the case of some anniversaries through the presence of beguines keeping vigils on the grave. In all cases, at least, this was expressed through the visit by the priest(s) and officials after the celebration of one or several (substitute-)graves of still living or deceased parishioners, probably by way of a procession with holy water sprinkling, censuring and the reciting or singing of a number of psalms and prayers.

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57 Kuys, *Kerkelijke organisatie*, pp. 260-261; P.A. Henderikx, *De oudste bedelordekloosters in het graafschap Holland en Zeeland; het ontstaan van bedelordekloosters voor ca. 1310 te Dordrecht, Middelburg, Zierikzee en Haarlem, alsmede enige aspecten van de plaats van deze kloosters in het stedelijk leven en daarbuiten gedurende de middeleeuwen* (Dordrecht 1977) pp. 4-5. According to Henderikx there are no clear indications about the activity of the mendicant orders in Leiden before 1465 (when a *terminarius* of the Dominicans is mentioned in his sources). These references in the foundation deeds provide us, however, with the clear indication that the five mendicant orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinians and Crosiers) were active in Leiden already in 1428. Henderikx, *De oudste bedelordekloosters*, pp. 38, 42, 44, 46, 136.

58 'In bread one pound hollans comans payments (...) to distribute to the poor where they consider it to be spend best'; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89.

59 'an eight part of good wheat bread to the poor for God's sake'.

## General conclusion

Liturgical foundation deeds can contribute significantly to our knowledge of several aspects of local liturgical history, as we exemplified in this thesis for the case of Leiden St Peter's church. This concerns, on the one hand, an aspect of the relationship of the laity to the liturgy of which liturgical foundation deeds are the administrative recordings; and on the other hand it concerns our knowledge of some important elements of (intended) liturgical practice in a church of which no liturgical books are preserved. With regard to both aspects of our investigation, however, we also encountered significant problems and limitations to the use of this type of sources. In order to overcome some of these problems, but also because of the positive contribution these sources can give to our knowledge of local liturgical history, some suggestions will be given at the end of this conclusion for future research – (partly) on the basis of foundation deeds – on local liturgical life in (parish) churches in the medieval diocese of Utrecht, although, of course, these suggestions might be of interest for other dioceses as well.

### 6.1. *The laity and the liturgy*

The relationship between the laity and the liturgy was, in the Middle Ages, shaped in two principal ways. On the one hand through the actual participation of lay parishioners in and their experience of the liturgical celebration itself and, on the other hand, through formal agreements made by way of liturgical foundations. Foundation deeds, obviously, can only contribute to our knowledge of this last (and probably less prominent) way by which the laity was involved in liturgical life in the parish church. For the actual participation in and attendance of the liturgy by the laity in the Middle Ages principally other sources need to be investigated, as exemplified for example by the study of Virginia Reinburg on vernacular expositions of the Mass as compared with contemporary late medieval missals for the clergy,<sup>1</sup> or by the investigation of a whole range of sources in the comprehensive study of late medieval religion in England by Eamon Duffy.<sup>2</sup> The intended contribution to and engagement in the medieval parish liturgy of (lay) parishioners by way of liturgical foundations remains, of course, an interesting topic for investigation in its own right and the foundation deeds studied for this thesis clearly proved to be able to provide us with some interesting insights in this matter. This consisted in the first place in the intended contribution of lay parishioners or confraternities to the liturgical cycles in the parish church through the foundation of new liturgical services and through additional foundations of various kinds (grave-visits, grave-vigils and *lof*-services) attached (directly or indirectly) to these cycles of liturgy in the parish church.<sup>3</sup> In the second place the connection between the liturgy and the lives of the faithful was made explicit through specific arrangements for prayers to be said during regular services, which consisted, as the explicit stipulations in several Masses celebrated on side altars suggest, in the mentioning of the names of the founder and his relatives in the *memento*-prayers, or (probably) through the mentioning of the patron saints of altars, chantries and confraternities in the prayers *communicantes* and *nobis quoque* in the Canon of the Mass.

Sometimes the founders expressed in motivation clauses what they intended themselves with their liturgical foundation, although we need to keep in mind that these concise phrases were probably often fixed formulae which might have been standardised by scribes. In general terms, however, if taken together with the actual contents of the foundations discussed in this thesis we can conclude that, for most parishioners, liturgical foundations were probably not solely meant for their own – secular or religious – benefits, be it in this life or in the life to come, but that they were also meant for the honour of God and the augmentation of His service, in general but probably principally in their own local parish church.

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1 Reinburg, 'Liturgy and the Laity'.

2 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*.

3 See paragraph 6.2. Liturgical practice.

## 6.2. Liturgical practice

As was already remarked above, the principal way in which liturgical foundation deeds can contribute to our knowledge of the relationship between the laity and the liturgy is through the contributions these lay parishioners intended to make to the liturgy by way of liturgical foundations. This information of course largely coincides with the information the deeds provide concerning several aspects of the liturgical practice in Leiden St Peter's church, for which purpose the foundation deeds also proved to be particularly useful; although also in these cases there are some limitations to foundation deeds for which the inclusion of other types of sources would be desirable.

This concerns first of all the reconstruction of (parts of) the local profile of the liturgical cycles of day, week and year, the ceremonial elaboration of the liturgy and the way in which the liturgy received its particular local shape through its implementation in the institutional, architectural and (to a lesser extent) material context of the local parish church. Other aspects of liturgical practice in the church, however, fall largely outside of the scope of the information which can be provided by liturgical foundation deeds. This is either because the information was too detailed and because it did not need to be recorded at length in foundation deeds since this information was already set down clearly in the liturgical books in use in the parish, or because the liturgical foundation deeds investigated for this thesis mainly concerned endowed liturgy, for which reason several aspects of the liturgy, such as the way in which (High) Mass and Divine Office were celebrated regularly especially on Sundays and during the large number of not endowed feast days of the liturgical year, which were not specifically requested and not reflected in the provisions for endowed services in foundation deeds, necessarily remain unknown.

On the basis of the arrangements in the foundation deeds we established, with regard to the cycles of day and week, the approximate years in which (part of) the daily cycle of Mass and Divine Office was or came to be celebrated in St Peter's church, the development of a weekly cycle of votive morrow Masses sometimes extended with *'lof'*-services and the designation of three days (Monday, Wednesday and Friday) specifically for the liturgy of the dead (anniversaries). Concerning the liturgical year we encountered interesting information in the foundation deeds with regard to the intended celebration and ceremonial elaboration of certain particular feast days established in Leiden St Peter's church by individual parishioners or families and confraternities and how, through these same feast days (together with the *kermis*-Mass, anniversaries and requiem Masses on the high altar) the small liturgical cycles of the side altars, together with their particular congregations of lay parishioners, were joined to the regular cycles of liturgy of the high altar and the choir and to the parish community in its entirety.

Although, therefore, the foundation deeds provided us with interesting information concerning several aspects of the liturgical cycles which liturgical books cannot provide, the foundation deeds provided us only indirectly or not at all with information on the observance of the central parts of these cycles (other than those parts that were actually endowed) in Leiden St Peter's church. With regard to the daily cycle we did not encounter any information in the foundation deeds on the ceremonial observance of the ferial Office; and about the liturgy of ferial High Mass we can only assume (except for some informative references to ferial High Mass in foundation deeds of anniversaries) that certain practices recorded for sung votive morrow Masses probably reflect the celebration of High Mass on ferial days as well. With regard to the weekly cycle the information we encountered in the foundation deeds concerned only the ferial part of the week, whereas with regard to the liturgy of the Sunday, the focal point around which the whole cycle of the week turned, we can again only assume that certain practices recorded in the foundation deeds of feast days do reflect the practice of the Sunday liturgy as well. These feast days, finally, do not concern the central core of the liturgical year and foundation deeds do, therefore, not provide us with clear indications about the development of or about the local character of the liturgical year in its entirety. The *temporale* is, except for the feast of the Holy Trinity and some occasional references, entirely absent in the foundation deeds and with regard to the *sanctorale* the deeds inform us only about a

small segment of feasts established by local parishioners and confraternities. For a complete picture of the liturgical cycles of day, week and year, therefore, additional sources need to be included in future investigation, which will be discussed in more detail below.<sup>4</sup>

Next to the observance of certain parts of the liturgical cycles of day, week and year, the foundation deeds also provided us with information on the contents of these liturgical services. This information did not (or only occasionally) concern those liturgical texts or rites that could easily be implemented without substantial changes in a local parish church, but rather the ceremonial elements that needed to be adapted according to the particular institutional, architectural and (occasionally) material circumstances of the local church and congregation.

With regard to the institutional circumstances we have seen that the large congregation of chantry priests attached to the church (represented by the deputies) fulfilled the liturgical functions normally assigned to the deacon and subdeacon in the liturgy of Mass (and Vespers on the occasion of feast days), because these last officials were probably not regularly present in a local parish church like St Peter's in Leiden. The chantry priests also fulfilled the liturgical function of *provisor* – whereas the sacristan probably served as thurifer or carrier of the incensory – and they probably regularly sang in choir during the liturgy of ferial days, in the later period under the supervision of the *zevengetijdencollege* and together with a group of two to eight (lay) choristers. For the musical elaboration of the Sunday and feast day liturgy the parish made use of the services of the schoolmasters and students of the Latin school. Other significant contributions by the particular local institutions of the parish concern the involvement of the beguines of the two beguinages of the parish in the liturgy around the graves in St Peter's church and the task of several (lay) institutions in the organisation and preparation of (endowed) liturgical services.

The implementation of the liturgy in the particular architectural circumstances of the local parish church concerned for example the use of the large or small organ present in the parish church, the particular use of the nine bells in the tower of the church, the particular places in the church on which candles had to be placed for the illumination of the choir, the role of architectural works of art in the liturgical celebration (the apostles on the pillars of the choir and the calvary upon the choir screen), the specific use of the many side altars and the rituals celebrated around the graves in the church. Some information in the foundation deeds concerned the implementation of the liturgy in the material context of the parish church with regard to liturgical equipments (the incensory) and vestments, and, alongside that, with regard to the occurrence of sermons and processions in the context of the liturgical celebration, but this information is too limited to enable us to draw decisive conclusions in this matter.

Although the aforementioned examples clearly prove that foundation deeds can contribute in interesting ways to the manner in which the ceremonial and ritual side of the liturgy was implemented in the circumstances of the local parish church, there is still one problem which obstructs our view on this matter. In order to appreciate fully the extent to which the provisions in these sources actually concern local adaptations it is necessary to compare the provisions in the foundation deeds to the prescriptions in the rubrics of liturgical books. This was, however, not possible within the limitations set for this master's thesis, since local liturgical books are not preserved for Leiden St Peter's church and the books of the diocese – which might add interesting information to the study of these themes – are not yet systematically investigated and this would have been a too comprehensive task to undertake additionally to the investigation of the foundation deeds themselves.

### 6.3. Future research

In order to overcome the aforementioned problems – the lack of information in the foundation deeds concerning the central parts of the liturgical cycles and the need to place the services and ceremonial elements discussed in this thesis in their broad liturgical context – other (liturgical and

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4 See paragraph 6.3. Future research.

non-liturgical) sources need to be included in future research.<sup>5</sup> These sources include, first of all, the liturgical books of the diocese of Utrecht. A first, and most important, suggestion (or even exhortation) for future research in the liturgy of the diocese of Utrecht is therefore to undertake this task of a systematic investigation of the liturgical books of the diocese in order to establish which liturgical practices were actually regarded as normative in the diocese and in what parts this may have differed from the books in use elsewhere in the Latin West.

Once such an investigation has been undertaken – or, if not, with the observance of the necessary caution – similar studies might be done on the basis of foundation deeds in other churches of the diocese. First of all it would be interesting to broaden the perspective of this thesis by the investigation of the foundation deeds of the two other parish churches of Leiden (Our Lady and St Pancras), to one of which (St Pancras) also a collegiate chapter was attached. This last church would therefore immediately be an interesting case of comparison with regard to the implementation of the liturgy in the institutional context of the local parish church, between a church with a real collegiate chapter attached to the church and St Peter's church with its *zevengetijdencollege* fulfilling very similar roles and functioning as such as a type of 'surrogate-chapter'. Also with regard to the other aspects of the liturgical celebration, and also with regard to any other church in other parts of the diocese for which a relevant amount of sources has been preserved – whether it is the cathedral itself, or a monastic, collegiate or parochial church – the study of the foundation deeds might provide us with interesting cases for comparison. This can for example concern the history of the actual observance of (parts of) the daily cycle of Mass and Divine Office in different types of churches, (the development of) weekly cycles of votive (morrow) Masses, which probably differed widely from church to church, aspects of the ceremonial elaboration of the liturgy and its implementation in the (very different) institutional, architectural and material contexts of local churches.

At the same time, for the sake of completeness, it would be interesting to include other sources in the investigation of the liturgy, both in Leiden St Peter's church itself and, if other churches would be investigated, in those other churches as well. This concerns first of all the accounts of the different institutions active in this church, which we were not yet able to include for Leiden St Peter's church within the limitations set for this master's thesis, with the exception of the occasional use of the accounts of the church wardens. These accounts might give, on the one hand, occasionally substantial additional information on liturgical foundations and on the other hand they might add to the information preserved in the foundation deeds with regard to those (more central) parts of the liturgy that did not concern endowed liturgical services.

Next to the accounts, however, also other local sources might contribute to our knowledge of liturgical practice in a particular church. With regard to the local profile of the liturgical year in the Oude Kerk in Delft, for example, Verhoeven made use of two documents containing the instructions for the sacristan of this church concerning the complete or partial opening of the altar retable, the spreading of an altar cloth, the placing of ornaments, liturgical vestments, banners and crosses during liturgical feast days, by which document Verhoeven was able to identify a particular local hierarchy of feast days in the Oude Kerk in Delft.<sup>6</sup> Such sources were not preserved for Leiden St Peter's church, but it would be interesting to know whether for the Oude Kerk in Delft, or for any other church for which a similar type of source material is available, also liturgical foundation deeds are preserved. In that case these deeds, backed up by two additional sources which give an impression of the local profile of the entire liturgical year on two particular moments in time, might provide us with information on the development of (parts of) this liturgical year in the meantime.

This example concerns specifically the liturgical year, its ceremonial elaboration and its implementation in the architectural and material context of the Oude Kerk in Delft. With regard to

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5 This also concerns sacramental liturgies other than the Eucharist which, for reasons already mentioned in the introduction, do not appear in foundation deeds at all.

6 Verhoeven, 'Kerkelijke feestdagen in de Late Middeleeuwen'.

other aspects of the liturgy, however, in other churches of the diocese other types of additional sources might have been preserved. If, in that case, specific case-studies would be done about different aspects of the liturgy in different churches of the diocese – on the basis of liturgical foundation deeds combined with other additional sources which shed in their own way an interesting light on a particular element of the liturgical celebration – this would each time contribute to our overall knowledge of local liturgies in the medieval diocese of Utrecht. And finally, if the different results of these studies would be combined, or if a more broad-scale comparative research project would be undertaken on local liturgies in a range of different churches of the diocese whose archives might contribute each in different ways to our knowledge about local liturgies in the diocese, we might be able to come to a synthesis on the liturgical Use of Utrecht, its local implementation in local (parish) churches and its relationship to the laity in the medieval diocese of Utrecht.



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## Appendix A – Altars in St Peter's church

In this appendix the altars as they were established in St Peter's church before, throughout and after the period of investigation of this thesis (1398-1512), are listed in (approximate) chronological order, subdivided in periods important in the building history of St Peter's church as discussed in chapter 1 – City, church and community. The columns provide the following information:

\* Column 1: Nr – Number of the altar corresponding to the reference numbers in the other appendices.

\* Column 2: Altar – *Patrocinium* or, if unknown, name by which the altar was known. Where relevant the way of expressing the *patrocinium* is indicated by the abbreviations (in *italics*) *G* (God), *M* (St Mary) and *e.o.s.* (*et omnium sanctorum* / and of all the saints).

\* Column 3: Location – Approximate location on the map of the church.

\* Columns 4-8: The appearance of the altar in several surveys of altars and sources in which altars are mentioned. The abbreviations must be interpreted as follows:

OV = J.C. Overvoorde, 'De rekeningen uit de bouwperiode van de Pieterskerk te Leiden' in: *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom van Haarlem* 30 (Leiden 1906) pp. 63-144, 'Bijlage IV. Altaren in de S. Pieterskerk', pp. 139-143.

DH = Elizabeth den Hartog, 'Inleiding: de verdwenen interieurs voor de Beeldenstormen van 1566 en 1572' in: Elizabeth den Hartog and John Veerman (ed.), *De Pieterskerk in Leiden; Bouwgeschiedenis, inrichting en gedenktekens* (2011) pp. 147-184.

HG = *Memorieboek van de Heilige Geest in Leiden* (early sixteenth century). KB 73 E 41.

GP = P.M. Grijpink and C.P.M. Holtkamp, *Register op de parochiën, altaren, vicarieën en de bedienaars zooals die voorkomen in de middeleeuwsche rekeningen van den officiaal des aartsdiakens van den Utrechtschen Dom. 4e deel. Rijnlandia.* (Haarlem 1932) pp. 17-54.

ST = L. Scholte (ed.), 'Iets over de kerkelijke bezittingen voor de tijden der reformatie' in: *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom van Haarlem* 15 (Haarlem 1888) pp. 28-86, 'Rijnlandt', pp. 71-84. This publication concerns a transcription of a text containing the results of an investigation of the abolished altars and chantries made by the government of Holland and West Frisia in 1651. On the basis of this text it is possible to ascertain whether certain altars still existed at the moment all altars were abolished as a result of the reformation.

\* Column 9: Period of occurrence of the altar according to literature, on the basis of the sources studied for this thesis and the information found in the additional surveys. The abbreviations and symbols must be interpreted as follows:

Ref. = Reformation. This means that the altar existed until the reformation.

'\*' behind a year = year of foundation.

HG = *Heiligegeest*. This means that this altar is known from the period the memorandum book of the *heiligegeest* was in use. As this only permits a rough periodisation of approximately the sixteenth century, an exact date could not be given and this abbreviation was used instead.

\* Columns 10-12: Chantries and confraternities served on the altar and liturgy celebrated on the altar, indicated by the numbers given to them in appendix B, C and E. An '^' is used where the altar is only one of the possible altars mentioned in the deed where the chantry could be served or its liturgy could be celebrated.

Altars in the old St Peter's church (before 1398)											
Nr	Altar	Location	OV	DH	HG	GP	ST	Period	Chantries	Confraternities	Liturgy
1	H. Cross	Crossing	X	X	X	X	X	1304-ref. <sup>1</sup>	3, 37		30
2	Pieter van Leyden (chapel)	North side						1316* <sup>2</sup>	4		1
3	'vander selver noortside' <sup>3</sup>	North side						1316	5-7		2-4
4	St Catherine <sup>4</sup>	South entrance	X					1323-1383 <sup>5</sup>	9, 15, 20, 30?	2?	5, 9
5	St George (Vincken; Gubburgenz.)	Ambulatory	X	X	X		X	1325-ref. <sup>6</sup>	13, 23	31, 42	12, 59-61
6	St John the Baptist and Evangelist	?						1331-1389 <sup>7</sup>	14, 22		6, 11
7	St Nicholas <sup>8</sup>	?	X	X	X		X	1356 <sup>9</sup>	17	41?	7
8	St Anthony	Crossing	X	X	X	X	X	1390-ref. <sup>10</sup>	24, 26, 49 <sup>^</sup>	10	13, 17, 98 <sup>^</sup> , 106 <sup>^</sup>
9	St Nicholas	Crossing		X	X		?	1394-1514 <sup>11</sup>	44, 48 <sup>^</sup> , 49 <sup>^</sup>	3, 41?	15-16, 34-35, 41-54, 66-68, 71-88, 97-98 <sup>^</sup> , 106 <sup>^</sup>
Altars first mentioned during the building of the new choir and crossing (1398-1412)											

- 1 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 1 (chantry Katrine Poes, 1304); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 123 (anniversary foundation by chantry priest of chantry Katrine Poes '*opt heylich Cruys outaer*', 1446); Grijpink, *register*, p. 37 (*ad altare S. Crucis, ad vicariam altaris S. Crucis*, 1577-1578).
- 2 Foundation of chapel with altar by Pieter van Leyden. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 1 (1316).
- 3 Altar mentioned in the foundation deed of a chapel with altar by Pieter van Leiden. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 1 (1316).
- 4 Probably this altar of St Catherine in the old church was the same as one of the altars of St Catherine in the new church, but it is unclear which of them this would be.
- 5 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 1vs. (1323), RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 10vs. (1383).
- 6 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 325, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 44vs. (1325), this concerns a reference to a chantry of Geye Gubburgenz., which later was served also on an altar of Geye Gubburgenz. It is probable that this altar, therefore, was already present in 1325; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 11vs. (1389); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97 (1450); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156 (1460).
- 7 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 5 (1331); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 1428 (1389). This last document concerns the splitting of the chantry of St Peter founded by Geye Gubburgenz. before 1325 in two chantries, one of which was to be dedicated to St James the Greater and had to be served upon the altar of St John the Baptist and Evangelist. According to Den Hartog it is doubtful whether the splitting was really effectuated. See Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs,' pp. 165-166 and p. 475, n. 146.
- 8 It is probable that this altar of St Nicholas is the same as one of the other altars of St Nicholas mentioned in this survey, but because no location was mentioned in the chantry foundation deed it is not clear which one of them this would be. Den Hartog mentions only one altar but because two different locations are given for an altar of St Nicholas throughout our period of investigation it is more probable that there were two altars of St Nicholas in St Peter's church.
- 9 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 955, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 493, fol. 22vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 420, fol. 14vs. (1356).
- 10 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 12vs. (1390); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 16 (1396); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 78vs. (1499); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 80 (1514).
- 11 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330a (1394); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330, fol. 9 (1425); RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 189 (1440); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 41vs. (1470); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.2 (1478); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 75vs. (1496); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 78vs. (1499); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 80 (1514).

Nr	Altar	Location	OV	DH	HG	GP	ST	Period	Chantries	Confraternities	Liturgy
10	St Martin	?	X	X		X	X	1398-ref. <sup>12</sup>	27		18
11	St Nicholas	Ambulatory			X		?	1398-HG <sup>13</sup>	28	41?	19
12	Three Magi	Crossing	X	X	X	X		1404-1574 <sup>14</sup>	29, 34		20
13	St James	Ambulatory	X	X	X	X		1412-1568 <sup>15</sup>	32		26
14	St Barbara	Ambulatory	X	X	X			1412-HG <sup>16</sup>		8	
<b>Altars first mentioned during the building of the new aisle of the church (1412-1426)</b>											
Nr	Altar	Location	OV	DH	HG	GP	ST	Period	Chantries	Confraternities	Liturgy
15	St Mary Magdalene	Ambulatory	X	X				1413-1507 <sup>17</sup>		9	58
16	G-M – St Andrew – e.o.s.	Ambulatory	X	X	X	X	X	1414*-ref. <sup>18</sup>	33		27
17	St Michael	Ambulatory	X	X	X			1417-HG <sup>19</sup>	36	4	29
18	Van Zwieten	Ambulatory	X	X	X		X	1421-HG <sup>20</sup>	38-39		31, 36, 55
<b>Altars first mentioned or founded in the period between the two building phases (1426-1465)</b>											
Nr	Altar	Location	OV	DH	HG	GP	ST	Period	Chantries	Confraternities	Liturgy
19	G – St Francis, Eleven Thousand Virgins	Ambulatory	X	X				1431*-1450 <sup>21</sup>		16	38
20	Floris Paedzen	Ambulatory	X	X				1433 <sup>22</sup>			39

12 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 18 (1398); Grijpink, *register*, p. 45 (*vicariam altaris S. Martini*, 1563-64).

13 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 68vs. (1398); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 18vs. (1400).

14 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 21vs. (1404); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 27 (1416); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 9 (1467); Grijpink, *Register*, p. 54 (*ad vicariam altaris SS. Trium Regum*, 1573-74).

15 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 24 (1412); Grijpink, *register*, p. 39 (*vicariam altaris S. Jacobi*, 1567-68).

16 Ed van der Vlist, *Pieterskerk 1398-1428*, RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323 (accounts 1412; grant by the commander of the altar of St Barbara to the consorority of St Barbara); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs. (1425); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 96 (1434).

17 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90 (1413); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 1362 (1460); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 11 (1505); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2056 (1507).

18 Foundation of a chantry with altar by Petrus Butenwech c.s. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 25 (1414); RAL, *HGW*, inv.nr. 1058 (1428); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 215 (1511); RAL, *NHK*, inv.nr. 751 (*Grafboek*, book of graves 1581) referred to by Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs' p. 167 and 473, n. 179.

19 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 28 (1417).

20 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 30vs. (1421); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 32 (1427); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. (1443); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 212; RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 1494, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 58 (1481); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 82vs. (1485).

21 Foundation by Katrijn Jan Comans' widow. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 96vs. (1435); RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 375 (1450).

22 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 95vs. (1433).



21	St Crispin	Ambulatory	X	X	X			1434 <sup>23</sup>		14	
22	G – St Severus	Ambulatory	X	X	X			1434* <sup>24</sup>		15	
23	St Adrian (or St Cornelis <sup>25</sup> )	Crossing	X	X				1446-1496 <sup>26</sup>	41, 48 <sup>^</sup>		97 <sup>^</sup>
24	Virgin Mary (chapel)	Transept	X	X	X	X	X	1450-ref. <sup>27</sup>	51 <sup>^</sup>	30	102
25	St John the Baptist	Ambulatory	X	X	X	X	X	1451-ref. <sup>28</sup>			57
26	St Quirinus (and Four Crowned Martyrs <sup>29</sup> )	Ambulatory	X	X	X			1451-HG <sup>30</sup>			
27	St Anna	Ambulatory <sup>31</sup>	X	X	X	X	X	1461-ref. <sup>32</sup>			62, 101, 105
28	St Catherine	Tower	X	X	X	X		1462-1571 <sup>33</sup>	30?, 50	2?	64-65, 69, 99, 103
29	St Ewald and Josse	Crossing	X	X	X			1462-1534 <sup>34</sup>		12, 39	63, 89
30	G-M-e.o.s. → St Bartholomew (Dirck van Zwieten chapel)	Aisle	X	X	X	X		1463*-1576 <sup>35</sup>	42?		
<b>Altars first mentioned or founded during the building of the new side-aisles (1465-1512)</b>											

23 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 96 (1434).

24 Foundation by confraternity of St Severus. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 96 (1434).

25 According to Overvoorde.

26 The Hague, *Nationaal Archief* (henceforth NA) arch.nr. 1.10.16.01, inv.nr. 75 (1446); referred to by Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs,' p. 169; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 75vs. (1496).

27 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97 (1450); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 40 (1506); RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 9 (1518); Grijpink, register, p. 44 (*ad vicariam altaris B. Mariae Virg.*, 1570-71).

28 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 62 (1451); RAL *Ke*, inv.nr. 69 (1456).

29 According to Overvoorde.

30 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 62 (1451).

31 With the building of the southern transept this altar was moved to the east wall of the southern transept. Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', p. 169.

32 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 59 (1461); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.3 (1479); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10a (1504); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 214, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52 (1510); Grijpink, register, p. 22 (*ad altare S. Annae*, 1570-71).

33 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 674, transcription in RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 456, p. 260 (1462); RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 449 (1467); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 211 and RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 46 (1476); RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 10 (1504); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 72 (1504); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 27 (1506); Grijpink, Register, p. 29 (*officium fundatum in honorem Omnip. Dei, B. Mariae Virg. et decem milium Martyrum ad altare S. Catharinae*, 1570-71).

34 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 674, transcription in RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 456, p. 260 (1462); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 9 (1467); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11, acceptance in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs. (1480); J.D. Bangs, *Cornelis Engelbrechtsz.'s Leiden; Studies in cultural history* (Assen 1979) p. 101, referred to by Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs,' p. 168 and 476, n. 189 (1534).

35 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2043 (permission for foundation by commander); mentioned by Overvoorde in 1461; Van Kan, 'Het middeleeuwse riddermatige geslacht Van Zwieten', p. 60; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2059.0.16, transcription in RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 38 (1470); Grijpink, register, p. 25 (*Vicariam altaris S. Bartholomei*, 1568-69, 1571-72 and 1575-76).

Nr	Altar	Location	OV	DH	HG	GP	ST	Period	Chantries	Confraternities	Liturgy
31	St Peter and Paul	?	X				X	1471*-ref. <sup>36</sup>		13	
32	St Apollonia	Tower	X	X		X		1478-1576 <sup>37</sup>	47	1, 21	70, 96, 104
33	G – St Nicasius, Peter and Anastasius	Transept	X	X		X		1488*-1570 <sup>38</sup>		22	90-95, 107
34	St Sebastian (or St Uncumber <sup>39</sup> )	Transept	X	X	X			1511 <sup>40</sup>		45	111-112
35	St Catherine	Ambulatory	X	X	X			< 1513-1571 <sup>41</sup>	30?	2?	
<b>Altars first mentioned after the collapse of the tower in 1512</b>											
Nr	Altar	Location	OV	DH	HG	GP	ST	Period	Chantries	Confraternities	Liturgy
36	Ten Thousand Martyrs	?				X	X	1513-ref. <sup>42</sup>			
37	St Peter	?				X		1522-1523 <sup>43</sup>			
38	St Job	North behind	X	X				1525-1532 <sup>44</sup>			109
39	St Joseph	?	X	X				1532-1553 <sup>45</sup>		20	
40	St Eloy	Westwall	X	X	X			1546 <sup>46</sup>		6	
41	St Agatha	Westwall	X	X	X	X	X	HG-ref.			
42	St Hubertus	Transept	X	X	X			HG		38	
43	St Leonard <sup>47</sup>	Westwall	X	X	X			HG			

36 Foundation by confraternity St Peter and Paul. RDO OA, inv.nr. 2046 (1471).

37 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.1, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 99vs. (1478); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 329a (1491); RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255 (1507); Grijpink, *register*, p. 24 (*Vicariam altaris S. Apolloniae*, 1554-55 and 1575-76).

38 Foundation of altar as a consequence of the relocation of St Nicasius confraternity from St Pancras' church to St Peter's church. RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270, fol. 1 (1488); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 214, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52 (1510); RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 14 (1515); Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs,' p. 149 (1570).

39 According to Overvoorde.

40 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 215 (1511).

41 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 350 (concept testament c. 1500-1513); Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs,' p. 149 (1571).

42 Grijpink, *register*, p. 46 (*ad vicariam altaris decem milium Martyrum*, 1513-14).

43 Grijpink, *register*, p. 50 (*vicariae altaris S. Petri*, 1522-23).

44 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 11a (1525); Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs,' p. 169 (1532).

45 Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs,' p. 169 (1532), RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 686 (1553).

46 RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1086 (1546).

47 It is not certain whether this concerned an altar, because the references to St Leonard in the memorandum book of the Holy Ghost do not unambiguously say that it concerned an altar and not, for example, a statue or a painting.

44	Jan Heermans <sup>48</sup>	Ambulatory	X	X	X			HG			
45	St Francis <sup>49</sup>	?			X			HG			
46	St Ursula	Ambulatory	X		X			HG			
47	St Uncumber <sup>50</sup>	?			X			HG			
<b>Altars of which no indications for dates of mentioning or foundation are known</b>											
Nr	Altar	Location	OV	DH	HG	GP	ST	Period	Chantries	Confraternities	Liturgy
48	St Vitus and Modestus	?	X							37	
49	St Luke or H. Name of Jesus	?	X							33	

48 This altar is probably identical to one of the other altars, but it is unknown which altar. Den Hartog suggests St James, St Michael or St Mary Magdalene as possibilities. Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', pp. 166-167.

49 It is possible that the altars of St Francis and St Ursula (or Eleven Thousand Virgins), separately mentioned in the memorandum book of the *heiligegeest*, are both referring to the altar of St Francis and Ursula founded by Katrijn Jan Comans' widow in 1435.

50 According to Overvoorde this altar is the same as St Sebastian. The references in the memorandum book of the *heiligegeest*, however, are always separately either to St Sebastian or to St Uncumber.

## Appendix B – Chantries in St Peter's church

In this appendix a survey is presented of the chantries in Leiden St Peter's church. The information in the columns must be interpreted as follows:

- \* Column 1: Nr – Number of the chantry corresponding to the reference numbers in the other appendices.
- \* Column 2: Year – Year of foundation. If the year is mentioned between (brackets) then it concerns a year of first mentioning.
- \* Column 3: Type of chantry: either a 'normal' chantry (CH) or an *officium* (OF). An \* is added if the chantry or *officium* is mentioned by Overvoorde, 'De rekeningen' pp. 143-144.
- \* Column 4: Indication of *Patrocinium* of the chantry.
 

3 = Trinity (Father, Son and Spirit),	J = St John the Evangelist	# = the indication of the specific
G = God	e.o.s. = <i>et omnium sanctorum</i> / and of all	<i>patrocinium</i> of the chantry mentioned
M = St Mary	saints	separately in the next column.
- \* Column 5: Specific saint or intention in whose honour the chantry was established.
- \* Column 6: Founder of the chantry.
- \* Column 7: Altar on which the chantry had to be served.
  - # = to be served on an altar of the same patron saint once it is founded.
  - = the altar to be used has to be chosen by the *collator* or *possessor* of the chantry.
  - ◇ = an altar near the other altars mentioned in the deeds.
  - † = an altar in the direct vicinity of the grave of the founder.

If more than one altar is mentioned, then the first altar is the altar on which the chantry was first served, the second altar on which the chantry came to be served later, etc., except if there is a '/' between the altars, then the altars are given in the deed as options to be chosen by the chantry priest.
- \* Column 8: Liturgy; numbers indicating the entries in appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars.

Chantries founded in the old St Peter's church (before 1398)							
Nr	Year	Type	<i>Patrocinium</i>	Specifically	Founder	Altar	Liturgy
1	1303 <sup>1</sup>	CH			City government		
2	1303	CH			Count William III of Holland		
3	1304 <sup>2</sup>	CH*		H. Cross	Katrine Poes	H. Cross (1)	
4	1316 <sup>3</sup>	CH*	3-M-#-e.o.s.	St Peter	Pieter van Leyden	Pieter van Leyden (2)	1

1 Chantries founded by the city government and count William III of Holland; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2037.

2 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 1.

3 Nr 4-7: RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 1 and d.vs.

5	1316	CH*	3-M-#-e.o.s.	St Peter	Pieter van Leyden	'noortside' (3)	2
6	1316	CH*	3-M-#-e.o.s.	St Peter	Pieter van Leyden	'noortside' (3)	3
7	1316	CH*	3-M-#-e.o.s.	St Peter	Pieter van Leyden	'noortside' (3)	4
8	1316 <sup>4</sup>	CH	-	-	Pieter van Leyden	-	-
9	1323 <sup>5</sup>	CH*	G-M-#-e.o.s.	St Peter	Gerrit Alewijns c.s.	St Catherine (4)	5
10	1325 <sup>6</sup>	CH			'heer Heynen kinderen'		
11	1325	CH			Hughen, Bertholomeus		
12	1325	CH			Hughen, Bertholomeus		
13	1325	CH		St Peter	Geye Gubburgenz.	St George (5)	
14	1331 <sup>7</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s. → #	St John	Johannes f. Rutgeri de Leyden	St John (6)	6
15	1349 <sup>8</sup>	CH*	G-M-#-e.o.s.	St Peter	Gerrit Alewijns	St Catherine (4)	
16	1350 <sup>9</sup>	CH*	G-#	St Mary	Aernt Gouterszoen	-	
17	1356 <sup>10</sup>	CH	G-#-e.o.s.	St Mary	Jacob Vlaminckz.	St Nicholas (7)	7
18	1357 <sup>11</sup>	CH*	-	-	Gherardus Petri	-	-
19	1379 <sup>12</sup>	CH*	G-M-#	St Catherine	Bertholdus filius Wilhelmi	-	8
20	1383 <sup>13</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s. → #	St Bartholomew	Margareta Sluters	St Catherine (4)	9
21	1383 <sup>14</sup>	CH*	G-e.o.s. → #	St Anna	Wilhelmus Vlaminck c.s.	-	10
22	1389 <sup>15</sup>	CH		St James the Greater	Jacob Reijmbrant Vinckens	St John (6)	11

4 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 36.

5 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 1vs.

6 This and the next three chantries were mentioned in a document of 1325 in which the landcommander of the Teutonic Order gives permission to serve these chantries, alongside the chantries of Katrine Poes, Pieter van Leyden and Gerrit Alewijnsz. c.s., according to the arrangements in the foundation deeds. RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 325.

7 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 5.

8 Result of the breaking-up of the chantry founded in 1323 into two new chantries.

9 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 6vs.

10 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 955; *Ke*, inv.nr. 493, fol. 22vs. and *Ke*, inv.nr. 420, fol. 14vs.; later moved to St Pancras' church.

11 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. j.vs. and fol. j.

12 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 6vs.

13 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 10vs.

14 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 9.

23	1389 <sup>16</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s. → #	St Peter	Willem Jansz. c.s.	St George (5), #	12
24	1390 <sup>17</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s. → #	St Anthony	Symon Vrederic	St Anthony (8)	13
25	1391 <sup>18</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s. →	St Catherine	Phillips Gerrit Doedenz.	-	14
26	1396 <sup>19</sup>	CH*	G-M-#	St Catherine, St Anthony	Wilhelmus Foytgen	St Anthony (8)	17
<b>Chantries founded during the building of the new choir and crossing (1398-1412)</b>							
Nr	Year	Type	<i>Patrocinium</i>	Specifically	Founder	Altar	Lit.
27	1398 <sup>20</sup>	CH*	G-M-#-e.o.s.	St Martin	Gillis van Zwieten	St Martin (10)	18
28	1400 <sup>21</sup>	CH*	G-M-#	St Catherine	Gheertruit Jacob Gherijtszdr.	St Nicholas (11)	19
29	1404 <sup>22</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s.-#	Three Magi	Gijsbertus filius Nijcolai Hurst	Three Magi (12)	20
30	1406 <sup>23</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s. → #	St Mary Magdalene	Willem Willemsz., priest	St Catherine (?), <sup>24</sup> #	21
31	1410 <sup>25</sup>	CH*	G-M-#-e.o.s.	St John the Baptist, St Mary Magdalene	Jan Heerman c.s.	-	-
32	1412 <sup>26</sup>	CH*	G-M-#-e.o.s.	St James the Greater	Harman Willemsz. c.s.	St James (13)	26
<b>Chantries founded during the building of the new aisle of the church (1412-1426)</b>							
Nr	Year	Type	<i>Patrocinium</i>	Specifically	Founder	Altar	Lit.
33	1414 <sup>27</sup>	CH*	G-M-#-e.o.s.	St Andrew	Petrus Butenwech c.s.	St Andrew (16)	27
34	1416 <sup>28</sup>	CH*	G-M-J → #	St Silvester	Ysbrandus de Alkemade c.s.	Three Magi (12)	

15 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 1428. Result of the splitting of the chantry of St Peter founded by Geye Gubburgenz. before 1325 in two chantries, one of which was to be dedicated to St James the Greater and had to be served upon the altar of St John the Baptist and Evangelist. According to Den Hartog it is doubtful whether the splitting was really effectuated. See Den Hartog, 'De verdwenen interieurs', pp. 165-166 and p. 475, n. 146.

16 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 11vs.

17 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 12vs.

18 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 13.

19 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 16.

20 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 18.

21 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 18vs.

22 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 21vs.

23 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 23.

24 On an altar of St Catherine. It is unknown which one (altars 4, 28 or 35).

25 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 23vs.

26 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 24.

27 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 25.

35	1416 <sup>29</sup>	CH*	G-M-#	St Andrew	Andries Hugenz. v.d. Burch c.s.	→ #	28
36	1417 <sup>30</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s. → #	H. Trinity	Gherijt Pieter Dircznszn.	St Michael (17), #	29
37	1417 <sup>31</sup>	CH*	G-M-J-#	St Apollonia	Jacob van Risoorde	→ #, H. Cross (1) <sup>32</sup>	30
38	1421 <sup>33</sup>	CH*	G-M-#	St John the Baptist	Boudijn van Zwieten	Van Zwieten (18)	31
<b>Chantries founded in the period between the two building phases (1426-1465)</b>							
Nr	Year	Type	<i>Patrocinium</i>	Specifically	Founder	Altar	Lit.
39	1427 <sup>34</sup>	CH*	G-M-#	St James, St Stephen, St Agnes, St Martin	Boudijn van Zwieten	Van Zwieten (18), #	36
40	1430 <sup>35</sup>	CH*	G-M-#-e.o.s.	St Maurice	Mouwerijn Willemsz.	→	37
41	1446 <sup>36</sup>	CH		St Adrian	Rutger van Oegstgeest	St Adrian (23)	
42	1463 <sup>37</sup>	CH*	G-M-e.o.s.-#	St Bartholomew	Dirck van Zwieten	<sup>38</sup>	
<b>Chantries founded during the building of the new side-aisles (1465-1512)</b>							
Nr	Year	Type	<i>Patrocinium</i>	Specifically	Founder	Altar	Lit.
43	1467 <sup>39</sup>	CH*		St Michael Archangel			
44	1470 <sup>40</sup>	OF	G-M-#	St Nicholas	Willem van Leeuwen	St Nicholas (9)	66-68
45	1471	CH		H. Passion <sup>41</sup>	Dirck van Zwieten		
46	1476 <sup>42</sup>	CH*		St Catherine			

28 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 27.

29 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 26.

30 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 28.

31 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 29vs.

32 In 1569 the chantry was served on the altar of the Holy Cross. See RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 328.

33 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 30vs.; integrated in the foundation of the *zevengetijdencollege* in 1443.

34 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 32; integrated in the foundation of the *zevengetijdencollege* in 1443.

35 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 34.

36 NA 1.10.16.01, nr. 75 (not consulted).

37 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2043 (permission for foundation by commander).

38 The altar '*infra gradus chori ecclesie*'.

39 Only mentioned by Overvoorde.

40 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 41vs.

41 Van Kan, 'Het middeleeuwse riddermatige geslacht Van Zwieten', p. 60.

42 Only mentioned by Overvoorde.

47	1491 <sup>43</sup>	CH	G-M-#	St Andrew, St Agnes	Symon f. Andree	St Apollonia (32)	96
48	1496 <sup>44</sup>	OF	G-#	St Mary	Kerstijn	St Nicholas (9) / St Adrian (23) / ◇	97
49	1499 <sup>45</sup>	OF	G-#	St Nicholas, St Anthony	Pieter Jan Martijnsz.	St Nicholas (9) / St Anthony (8) / ◇	98, 106
50	1504 <sup>46</sup>	OF <sup>*47</sup>	G-M-#	Ten Thousand Martyrs	Jan Lijsbeth Claes Willemzdr.	St Catherine (28)	99
51	1506 <sup>48</sup>	CH*	G-M-#	St James	Harck Heynricxz.	St Mary (24) / †	102
<b>Chantries first mentioned after the collapse of the tower in 1512</b>							
Nr	Year	Type	<i>Patrocinium</i>	Specifically	Founder	Altar	Lit.
52	(1547)	CH		St Agatha <sup>49</sup>			
53	(1556)	CH		'Heer Salomonsproven'			

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43 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 329a.  
44 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 75vs.  
45 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 78vs.  
46 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 72.  
47 This is a foundation of two *officia*.  
48 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 40.  
49 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 1365.



### Appendix C – Confraternities in St Peter's church

This appendix presents a list of confraternities established in St Peter's church. The survey is based upon the survey of confraternities in Leiden made by Madelon van Luijk, supplemented with information about the altars they possessed or used and the liturgy they celebrated there and on the high altar of the church, as well as with some data on the two civic guard guilds ('*schutterijen*') of St George and St Sebastian, that also possessed altars in St Peter's church.<sup>1</sup> The columns provide the following information:

\* Column 1: Nr – Number of the confraternity corresponding with the reference numbers in the other appendices.

\* Column 2: *Patrocinium* of the confraternity. See for the abbreviations appendix A, column 2.

\* Column 3: Altar which the confraternity used or possessed as far as it is known from literature or the sources studied for this thesis, with number of the altar in appendix A between ( ).

\* Column 4: Type of confraternity: Religious (R), Pilgrim's (P), Craft (C) or *Schutterij* (Civil Guard) (G).

\* Column 5: Gender of the members of the confraternity: only male (M), only female (F) or both male and female (MF).

\* Column 6: The period in which the confraternities appear in the sources. If an \* is added, the year concerns an explicit year of foundation or abolition of the confraternity.

\* Column 7: *Hoogtijd* (number corresponding to appendix D) which can be associated with the confraternity. If the number is mentioned between [ ] then it concerns a feast of which it is known that it was founded by someone else than this confraternity. If the number is mentioned between ( ) then the feast was (probably) celebrated in Leiden St Peter's church but without direct indications about the involvement of the confraternity in the feast day. If the number is mentioned without any brackets then this concerns a feast which was actually founded by this confraternity. All founded feast days are marked with an \*.

\* Column 8: *Kermis*; S > [number] = Sunday after the feast day to which the mentioned number corresponds.

\* Column 9: An / RM = Anniversaries or requiem Masses. The first number indicates one of the anniversaries listed in appendix F – The liturgy around the graves; between ( ) the day (M = Monday, W = Wednesday, F = Friday) is indicated together with the number of the feast day after which it had to take place. In one case the abbreviation RM is followed by 4 numbers. This means that requiem Masses had to be celebrated on the four feast days indicated by these numbers.

Confraternities first mentioned in the old St Peter's church (before 1398)									
Nr	Patrocinium	Altar	Type	Gender	Period	<i>Hoogtijd</i>	<i>Kermis</i>	An / RM	Side altar
1	H. Trinity	St Apollonia (32) <sup>2</sup>	C	MF	1384?-1568*	[27]*			
2	St Catherine	St Catherine (?) <sup>3</sup>	R	F	1386-1571	96*		28 (M > 96)	

1 Van Luijk, "Ter eeren ende love Goodes", pp. 49-52.

2 Overvoorde, 'de rekeningen', p. 140.

3 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs. (1414). It is not clear which of the two altars of St Catherine is intended.

3	St Nicholas	St Nicholas (9) <sup>4</sup>	R	M	1394*-1553	100*	?	8 (W > 87)	15-16, 34-35, 41-54, 71-88
4	St Michael	St Michael (17) <sup>5</sup>	R	M	1398-1562	[74]*			
<b>Confraternities first mentioned during the building of the new choir and crossing (1398-1412)</b>									
Nr	Patrocinium	Altar	Type	Gender	Period	Hoogtijd	Kermis	An / RM	Side altar
5	St Pancras		C	M	1406-1508	(37)			
6	St Eloy	St Eloy (40) <sup>6</sup>	C	MF	1406-1590	(98)*			
7	G – <sup>7</sup> H. Cross		R	M	1411*-1556	68*		32 (M > 68)	
8	St Barbara	St Barbara (14) <sup>8</sup>	R	F	1411-1561	99*		20 (M > 99)	
<b>Confraternities first mentioned during the building of the new aisle of the church (1412-1426)</b>									
Nr	Patrocinium	Altar	Type	Gender	Period	Hoogtijd	Kermis	An / RM	Side altar
9	St Mary Magdalene	St Mary Magdalene (15) <sup>9</sup>	R	F <sup>10</sup>	1413-1556	52*	S > 52	26 (M > 52)	
10	St Anthony	St Anthony (8) <sup>11</sup>	C	M	1414-1556	(4)*			
11	St James Apostel		R	M	1423*-1556	(53)*			
<b>Confraternities first mentioned in the period between the two building phases (1426-1465)</b>									
Nr	Patrocinium	Altar	Type	Gender	Period	Hoogtijd	Kermis	An / RM	Side altar
12	G – <sup>12</sup> St Ewald	St Ewald and Josse (29) <sup>13</sup>	P	M	1427*-1556	(47)*			

4 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330, fol. 13.

5 Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs,' p. 167.

6 RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1086 (1546); Overvoorde, 'de rekeningen', p. 140.

7 Van Mieris, *Beschryving*, p. 36.

8 Van der Vlist, *Pieterskerk 1398-1428*, RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323 (accounts 1412; grant by the commander of the altar of St Barbara to this confraternity).

9 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90 (1413).

10 The confraternity of St Mary Magdalene was officially open for both male and female members but in practice it was almost exclusively a corporation of female members. This 'confraternity' is therefore regarded as a consorority. P.M. de Baar, 'De nadagen van twee zusterschappen 'die men hout in Sinte Pieterskercke binnen Leyden' in: J.W. Marsilje e.a. (ed.), *Uit Leidse bron geleverd. Studies over Leiden en Leidenaren in het verleden, aangeboden aan drs. B.N. Leverland bij zijn afscheid als adjunct-archivaris van het Leidse Gemeentearchief* (Leiden 1989) 17-28.

11 Overvoorde, 'de rekeningen', p. 140.

12 Van Mieris, *Beschryving*, pp. 36-37.

13 Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs', p. 168. Den Hartog mentions the confraternity of St Josse and Ewald. In the survey of Madelon van Luijk, however, these are two different confraternities.

13	G – <sup>14</sup> St Peter and Paul	St Peter and Paul (31) <sup>15</sup>	P	MF	1428*-1574	(46)		?	
14	St Crispin and Crispinian	St Crispin (21) <sup>16</sup>	C	M	1428-1584	(84)*			
15	St Severus	St Severus (22) <sup>17</sup>	C	M	1434-1556	(83)			
16	St Ursula	St Francis and Ursula (19) <sup>18</sup>	R	F	1435	[82]*			
18	Four Crowned Martyrs		R	M	1444	(89)*			
19	St Quirinus		R	M	1444-1556	(32)*			
20	St Joseph	St Joseph (39) <sup>19</sup>	C	M	1450-1578				
<b>Confraternities first mentioned during the building of the new side-aisles (1465-1512)</b>									
Nr	Patrocinium	Altar	Type	Gender	Period	<i>Hoogtijd</i>	<i>Kermis</i>	An / RM	Side altar
21	St Apollonia	St Apollonia (32) <sup>20</sup>	R	MF	1478-1566	(11)			
22	St Nicasius	St Nicasius (33) <sup>21</sup>	C	M	1488-1570	103*, 61*	S > 61	RM (3, 41, 69, 91)	90-95
23	Seven pains of Mary		R	M	1494?	-			
24	H. Sacrament		R	MF	1497-1580*	(26)			
25	St Ursula		C	MF	1508-1552	[82]*			
<b>Confraternities first mentioned after the collapse of the tower in 1512</b>									
Nr	Patrocinium	Altar	Type	Gender	Period	<i>Hoogtijd</i>	<i>Kermis</i>	An / RM	Side altar
26	St Cecilia		?	?	1513				
27	Three Magi		?	?	1513	(2)			
28	St Anna		R	MF	1513-1556	(54)*			
29	St Adrian		R	M	1513-1556				

14 Van Mieris, *Beschryving*, p. 37.

15 Overvoorde, 'de rekeningen', p. 142.

16 Ibidem, p. 141; Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs', p. 166.

17 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 96 (1434).

18 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 96vs. (1435).

19 RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 686 (1553); Overvoorde, 'De rekeningen', p. 141.

20 Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs', p. 169.

21 RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270, fol. 1; Overvoorde, 'de rekeningen', p. 142.

30	Virgin Mary	Virgin Mary (24) <sup>22</sup>	R	M	1513-1556	(+++)			
31	St George	St George (5) <sup>23</sup>	C	M	1513-1556	(30)*			
32	Sweet name of Jesus		R	M	1513-1562				
33	St Luke	St Luke or H. Name of Jesus (49) <sup>24</sup>	C	MF	1515-1541	[81]*			
34	St Cornelis		R	M	1536				
35	St Job		R	M	1536				
36	Four Crowned Martyrs		C	M	1536-1538	(89)*			
37	St Vitus and Modestus	St Vitus and Modestus (48) <sup>25</sup>	C	MF	1552-1563	42*			
38	St Hubertus	St Hubertus (42) <sup>26</sup>	C	M	1556				
39	St Josse	St Ewald and Josse (29) <sup>27</sup>	R	M	1556				
40	St Uncumber		R	M	1556				
41	St Nicholas	St Nicholas (?) <sup>28</sup>	C	MF	1560	[100]*			
<b>Confraternities of which no mentioning or date of foundation is known</b>									
Nr	Patrocinium	Altar	Type	Gender	Period	<i>Hoogtijd</i>	<i>Kermis</i>	An / RM	Side altar
42	St George	St George (5) <sup>29</sup>	G	M	?	(30)*			
43	St Luke		R	M	?	[81]*			
44	St Sebastian		?	?	?	[5]*			
45	St Sebastian	St Sebastian (34) <sup>30</sup>	G	M	?	5*			111-112

22 RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 9 (1518).

23 Overvoorde, 'de rekeningen', p. 141.

24 Ibidem, p. 142.

25 Ibidem, p. 143.

26 Ibidem, p. 140.

27 Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs', p. 168. Den Hartog mentions the confraternity of St Josse and Ewald. In the survey of Madelon van Luijk, however, these are two different confraternities.

28 Overvoorde, 'de rekeningen', p. 142.

29 Den Hartog, 'de verdwenen interieurs', p. 166.

30 Overvoorde, 'de rekeningen', p. 142.

## Appendix D – The liturgical year

In this appendix information is presented concerning the local implementation of the liturgical year in Leiden St Peter's church on the basis of the foundation deeds, several calendars and other sources relevant for the study of the liturgical year.

\* Column 1: Nr = Number of the feast used for references in other appendices.

\* Column 2: Feast = Intention of the feast day.

\* Column 3: Date = Date on which the feast is celebrated.

\* Column 4-12: Occurrence of the feasts in several lists of feast days. The abbreviations have the following meaning:

St1 = Synodal statutes of the diocese of 1346.<sup>1</sup>

HG = Calendar in *Memorieboek van de Heilige Geest in Leiden* (early sixteenth century); KB 73 E 41. The original on which this calendar is based dates probably from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Hp1 = Calendar in *Dit is een ordinancie van alsulken memorien als den gasthuysse jairlixs toebehooren te doen* (oldest memorandum book St Catherine's hospital, early 15th century); RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 440.

Hp2 = Calendar in *Dit is een ordinancie van al sulken memorien als den gasthuysse jairlix toe behoeven te doen* (memorandum book St Catherine's hospital, 15th century); RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 441.

CW = Calendar in *Memorieboek* (memorandum book of the church wardens, 15th century); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7.

Hp3 = Calendar in *'t Memoribouck van Sinte Katrijnegasthuys binnen Leyden* (memorandum book St Catherine's hospital, 16th century); RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 442.

St2 = Synodal statutes of the diocese 1525.<sup>3</sup>

Ct = *Cantuale iuxta usum Leidanae* (1564) – Feasts mentioned in this *Cantuale* for use in Leiden St Peter's church.

In the columns themselves:

X = Feast is mentioned (no rubrication in the calendar)

R = Red; Feast is rubricated as *festum fori*.

B = Black; Feast is not rubricated.

Ru = Red underlined.

\* = References to the feast.

P = Procession during the feast (only in the *Cantuale*).

\* Column 13: References = Period during which the feast is mentioned in the sources.

\* Column 14: Foundation; if the feast was (probably) founded, then here the date of foundation or first mentioning as founded feast is given. If the year is marked with an '\*' then it is the actual year of foundation, otherwise it concerns a date of first mentioning. If it is marked with 'a' then it concerns the year of acceptance by the involved organising institution. If no reference is given in this column, then it concerns a first mentioning in one of the lists in the church warden accounts (RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323).

\* Column 15: Anniversaries celebrated around the mentioned feast day. The numbers refer to appendix F – The liturgy around the graves, table F1.

<sup>1</sup> Verhoeven, 'Kerkelijke feestdagen' pp. 158-162; Kruitwagen, 'Studiemateriaal' pp. 176-183.

<sup>2</sup> J.G. Kam, 'Het Memorieboek van de Heilige Geest te Leiden aangelegd in 1386' in: *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie* 21 (1967) pp. 157-255, there p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Verhoeven, 'Kerkelijke feestdagen' pp. 158-162; Kruitwagen, 'Studiemateriaal' pp. 176-183.

Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church.

\* Column 16: M. (= Masses on the) side altars. The first number refers to appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars. The number between ( ) refers to the altar on which the Masses were celebrated.

\* Column 17: C. (= Candles to be placed upon the) side altars. The first number indicates the number of candles to be placed, the number between ( ) refers to the altar on which they had to be placed as presented in appendix A – Altars in St Peter's church.

Nr	Feast	Date	St1	HG	Hp1	Hp2	CW	Hp3	St2	Ct	References	Foundation	Anniversaries	M. side altars	C. side altars
1	<i>Circumcisio Domini</i>	1-1	X		R*	*	R	X*	X		1440-1503 <sup>4</sup>			41 (9)	
2	Epiphany	6-1	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1431-1503 <sup>5</sup>			42 (9)	2 (19)
3	St Pontian	14-1	X	X*	R*	*	R*	*	X		1450-1496 <sup>6</sup>			90 (33)	
4	St Anthony	17-1					B	*		*	1427-1450 <sup>7</sup>	1427	54		
5	St (Fabian and) Sebastian	20-1					B <sup>8</sup>			*	1567	1567 <sup>9</sup>		112 (34)	
6	St Agnes	21-1	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X		1426-1504 <sup>10</sup>	1426	44, 81		
7	St Paul Conversion	25-1	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X		1458-1478 <sup>11</sup>		67	71 (9)	
8	St Brigid	1-2		X			B	X							
9	St Mary Purification	2-2	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1390-1503 <sup>12</sup>		4, 10	43 (9)	2 (19)
10	St Agatha	5-2			B*	*	B	X*			1426-1428 <sup>13</sup>	1426			
11	St Apollonia	9-2					B*	*		*					
12	St Valentine	14-2		X*	B		B*	X*			1453 <sup>14</sup>		64		

<sup>4</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 189 (1440); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>5</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>6</sup> RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 514 (1450); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.12 (1469); RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270 (register St Nicasius altar, 1488-1496).

<sup>7</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1427-1428); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 8 (1450).

<sup>8</sup> St Fabian and Sebastian.

<sup>9</sup> Van Mieris, *Beschrijving der stad Leiden*, p. 30: Extract from accounts St Sebastian *schutterij* (civil guard guild, 1567).

<sup>10</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 1360 (1440); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10a (1504).

<sup>11</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 574 (1458); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>12</sup> RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 42 (1390); RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 68vs. (1398); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 (1443); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>13</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428).

<sup>14</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 1244.

13	St Peter's chair	22-2	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1478 <sup>15</sup>			72 (9)	
14	St Matthias	24-2	X	X*	R		R*	X*	X		1478 <sup>16</sup>			73 (9)	
15	St Perpetua & Felicitas	7-3					B								
16	St Gregory	12-3		X*	B*	*	B*	X*			1505 <sup>17</sup>		83		
17	St Gertrudis	17-3	X	X*	R*	*	B	*							
18	St Benedict	21-3		X*			-	*			1448 <sup>18</sup>		51		
19	St Mary Annunciation	25-3	X	X*	R		R	X*	X	P	1431-1503 <sup>19</sup>			44 (9)	2 (19)
20	Palm Sunday			*	*	*		*		P	1504 <sup>20</sup>		82		
21	Easter		X	*	R*	*	*		X	P	1431-1478 <sup>21</sup>			45 (9)	2 (19)
22	8e Easter			*	*	*	*	*			1438-1452 <sup>22</sup>		43, 59-61		
23	Ascension day		X		*	*	*	*	X	X	1411-1478 <sup>23</sup>		23	46 (9)	2 (19)
24	Pentecost		X	*	*	*	*	*	X	X	1431-1478 <sup>24</sup>			47 (9)	2 (19)
25	8e Pentecost			*	*	*	*	*			1441 <sup>25</sup>				
26	Corpus Christi		X	*	*	*	*	*	X	X	1431-1478 <sup>26</sup>			74 (9)	2 (19)
27	H. Trinity									P	1421-1441 <sup>27</sup>	1421a <sup>28</sup>	29		

<sup>15</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>16</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>17</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 11.

<sup>18</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 570.

<sup>19</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RDO OA 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 (1443); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>20</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 10.

<sup>21</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453) and RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1197 (1457); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>22</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568 (1438) and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 79 (1452).

<sup>23</sup> RAL, *HGW*, inv.nr. 968 (1411); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>24</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>25</sup> RDO 2034.9 (1441); see also ordinance of deacon and provisor of Rhijnland in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 93vs. Confirmation in RDO OA 1994.

<sup>26</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RDO 2034.9 (1441); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>27</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.9 (1441).

<sup>28</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

28	8e Corpus Christi									P				
29	St Tiburtius	14-4						B <sup>29</sup>						
30	St George	23-4						B*		(*)	1426-1428 <sup>30</sup>	1426		
31	St Mark	25-4		X*				B		b.m.				
32	St Quirinus?	30-4?										1427		
33	St Philip and James	1-5	X	X*	R*	*	R	X*	X		1449-1478 <sup>31</sup>		53	75 (9)
34	H. Cross Invention	3-5	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1422 <sup>32</sup>		30	
35	St John ante portam Latinam	6-5						Ru			1460	1460 <sup>*33</sup>		
36	St Gengulphus	9-5						B						
37	St Pancras	12-5	X	X*	R*	*	R	X*			*			
38	St Servatius	13-5	X		R		R	X	X					
39	St Petronilla	31-5		X				B						
32	St Quirinus?	4-6?										1427		
40	St Boniface	5-6	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X		*			
41	St Odulphus	12-6	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X		1488-1497 <sup>34</sup>			91 (33)
42	St Vitus and Modestus	15-6						B			1552	1552 <sup>*35</sup>		
43	Ten Thousand Martyrs	22-6			B		B				1426-1507 <sup>36</sup>	1426 / 1507a <sup>37</sup>		104 (32) 4 (32)
44	St John the Baptist Nativity	24-6	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	P	1467-1498 <sup>38</sup>		71	76 (9)
45	St Lebuinus translation	25-6	X		R		R	X						

<sup>29</sup> The memorandum book has 15 April.

<sup>30</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428).

<sup>31</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 254 (1449); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>32</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 87vs. (1422).

<sup>33</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156.

<sup>34</sup> RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270 (register St Canisius altar, 1488-1496); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 41 (1497).

<sup>35</sup> RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 420.

<sup>36</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428).

<sup>37</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255.

<sup>38</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 9 (1467); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 65 (1498).



46	St Peter and Paul	29-6	X	X*	R		R	X*	X	P	1431-1503 <sup>39</sup>			77 (9)	2 (19)
47	St Ewald	30-6*									1426-1428 <sup>40</sup>	1426			
48	St Mary Visitation	2-7		*	R		R*	X*	X	P	1443-1503 <sup>41</sup>		68, 80	48 (9)	2 (19)
49	St Martin translation	4-7	X	X*	R*	*	R	X*	X	*	1391 <sup>42</sup>		6, 12		
50	St Margareth	13-7		X*	B	*	B*	X*			1467 <sup>43</sup>		72		
51	Divisio Apostolorum	15-7		*			B*				1426-1440 <sup>44</sup>	1426 /1440a <sup>45</sup>			
52	St Mary Magdalene	22-7	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1413	1413a <sup>46</sup>	26		2 (15)
53	St James	25-7	X	X*	R*	*	R*	*	X	*	1427-1478	1427		78 (9)	
54	St Anna	26-7					-			*	1427-1428	1427			
55	St Peter ad Vincula	1-8	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1478 <sup>47</sup>			79 (9)	
56	St Mary of the Snow	5-8					*			(*)	1450	1450a <sup>48</sup>			2 (5, 24)
57	St Laurence	10-8	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1425 <sup>49</sup>			S >; 34 (9)	
58	St Hyppolytus	13-8		X											
59	St Mary Assumption	15-8	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	P	1431-1503 <sup>50</sup>			49 (9)	2 (19)
60	St Hiero	17-8		*				X							
61	St Anastasius	21-8?					-				> 1488 <sup>51</sup>	> 1488*			

<sup>39</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>40</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428).

<sup>41</sup> RDO OA 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 (1443); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RAL, *KI*, inv.nr. 574 (1458); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 38 (1492); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>42</sup> RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 23.

<sup>43</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 9.

<sup>44</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428).

<sup>45</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 93.

<sup>46</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90.

<sup>47</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>48</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97.

<sup>49</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330, fol. 9.

<sup>50</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 (1443); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 69 (1456); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

62	St Bartholomew	24-8	X	X*	R	*	R*	X*	X	*	1448-1479 <sup>52</sup>		52, 77	80 (9)	
63	St John decollation	29-8	X	X*	R	*	R*	X*	X		1452-1507 <sup>53</sup>		62, 85		
64	St Giles	1-9					B*	X							
65	St Mary Nativity	8-9	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1412-1503 <sup>54</sup>		25	50 (9)	2 (19)
66	Hogelands kermis				*	*	*	*							
67	Ste Pieters kermis			*	*	*	*	*		P					
68	H. Cross Exaltation	14-9	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1423-1478 <sup>55</sup>	1423a <sup>56</sup>	32	81 (9)	
69	St Lambertus	17-9	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*			1428-1496 <sup>57</sup>		36	92 (33)	
70	St Matthew	21-9	X	X*	R		R*	X*	X		1452-1478 <sup>58</sup>		63	82 (9)	
71	St Maurice	22-9	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*							
72	St Ciprian	26-9		X											
73	St Cosmas and Damianus	27-9		X*				*							
74	St Michael	29-9	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1421-1478 <sup>59</sup>	1421a <sup>60</sup>		83 (9)	
75	St Jerome pb	30-9					-				1426, 1428 <sup>61</sup>	1426			
76	St Remigius	1-10	X	X*	R		R	X	X						
77	St Bavo <sup>62</sup>	1-10		X*	B*	*	R*	X*			1506 <sup>63</sup>		84		

<sup>51</sup> RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270 (register St Nicasius altar).

<sup>52</sup> RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 570 (1448); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.3 (1479).

<sup>53</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 79 (1452); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2056 (1507).

<sup>54</sup> RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 9 (1412); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 (1443); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>55</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>56</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs.

<sup>57</sup> RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 374 (1428); RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270 (register St Nicasius altar, 1488-1496).

<sup>58</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 79 (1452); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>59</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>60</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

<sup>61</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426, 1428).

<sup>62</sup> Although the date of 1 October was in St Peter's church probably observed as a *festum fori* as was prescribed by the diocese, in local perception it was probably not so much regarded as the feast-day of St Remigius as it actually was of St Bavo. This way of perceiving the feast of St Bavo above the feast of St Remigius was probably typical for the

78	St Francis	4-10					-				1431 <sup>64</sup>				2 (19)
79	St (Gereonis and) Victor	10-10	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*			1390 <sup>65</sup>		3		
80	St Gall	16-10		X*			*								
81	St Luke	18-10		X*	B*	*	B*	X*			1426-1428 <sup>66</sup>	1426			
82	St Ursula and 11.000 Virgins	21-10		X*			B*	X*		*	1411-1431 <sup>67</sup>	1411a <sup>68</sup>	21-22		2 (19)
83	St Severus	22-10					-			(*)	1434 <sup>69</sup>				
84	St Crispin and Crispinian	25-10					-				1426-1428 <sup>70</sup>	1426			
85	St Simon and Jude	28-10	X	*	R*	*	R*	X*	X		1451-1478 <sup>71</sup>		56	84 (9)	
86	All Saints	1-11	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	P	1431-1503 <sup>72</sup>			51 (9)	2 (19)
87	All Souls	2-11	X		R		R*	X	b.m.	P	1394 <sup>73</sup>		8		
88	St Willibrord	7-11	X	X*	R		R*	X	X						
89	Four Crowned Martyrs	8-11					-				1427-1428 <sup>74</sup>	1427			
90	St Martin	11-11	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1421-1492 <sup>75</sup>	1421a <sup>76</sup>	31, 49, 79		
91	St Lebuinus	12-11	X	X*	R				X		1488-1496 <sup>77</sup>			93 (33)	

Low Countries. See Verhoeven, 'Kerkelijke feestdagen', p. 165.

<sup>63</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 27.

<sup>64</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431)

<sup>65</sup> RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 24.

<sup>66</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428).

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem; RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431).

<sup>68</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs.

<sup>69</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 96.

<sup>70</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428).

<sup>71</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 60 (1451); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>72</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>73</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330a.

<sup>74</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1427-1428).

<sup>75</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 87vs. (1422); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 106 (1466); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10 (1492).

<sup>76</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

<sup>77</sup> RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270 (register St Nicasius altar). Probably this reference reflects the situation in St Pancras' church rather than the situation in St Peter's church, because the

92	St Briccius	14-11 <sup>78</sup>						X							
93	St Elisabeth	19-11					B*	X*			1411-1515 <sup>79</sup>		86, 87		
94	St Mary Presentation	21-11					-			(*)	1460	1460* <sup>80</sup>		59 (5)	
95	St Clemens	23-11		X*			B*								
96	St Catherine	25-11	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1414-1451 <sup>81</sup>	1414a <sup>82</sup>	28, 58		2 (4/28/35?)
97	St Andrew	30-11	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	X	1421-1515 <sup>83</sup>	1421a <sup>84</sup>	88	85 (9)	
98	St Eloy	1-12					B	X		*	1426, 1428 <sup>85</sup>	1426			
99	St Barbara	4-12		X*	B*	*	Ru*	X*		*	1411-1428 <sup>86</sup>	1411a <sup>87</sup>	20		
100	St Nicholas	6-12	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	*	1394-1478 <sup>88</sup>	1394 <sup>89</sup>		35, 86 (9)	
101	St Mary Conception	8-12	X	X*	R*	*	R*	X*	X	(*)	*1431-1503 <sup>90</sup>		42	52 (9)	2 (19)
102	St Lucia	13-12		X*	B*	*	B*	X*			1390-1391 <sup>91</sup>		1, 5, 7, 13		
103	St Nicasius	14-12					—			*	1497	1497* <sup>92</sup>			

confraternity of St Nicasius moved its altar only in 1488 from St Pancras' church to St Peter's church. In St Pancras' church the feast of St Lebuinus was still indicated as a *festum fori* in a memorandum book of the second half of the fifteenth century (RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 419).

<sup>78</sup> Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung*: 13 November.

<sup>79</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs. (1411); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 82vs. (1485); RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 14 (1515).

<sup>80</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156.

<sup>81</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 62 (1451).

<sup>82</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.

<sup>83</sup> RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 14 (1515).

<sup>84</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

<sup>85</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426, 1428).

<sup>86</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs. (1411); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90 (1413), *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426, 1428).

<sup>87</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89.

<sup>88</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330, fol. 9 (1425); *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1428); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>89</sup> RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330a (statutes of St Nicholas confraternity).

<sup>90</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568 (1438); RDO OA 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 (1443); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>91</sup> RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 23vs. (1390); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 13 (1391); RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 23 (1391).

<sup>92</sup> RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1268.

104	St Thomas	21-12	X	X*	R		R*	X*	X		1478 <sup>93</sup>			87 (9)	
105	Christmas	25-12	X	X*	R		R*	X*	X	P	1431-1503 <sup>94</sup>		57	53 (9), 111 (34)	2 (19)
106	St Stephen	26-12	X		R		R	X	X		1426-1427 <sup>95</sup>	1426			
107	St John Ap. Ev.	27-12	X		R		R	X	X		1426-1478 <sup>96</sup>	1426		88 (9)	
108	H. Innocents <sup>97</sup>	28-12	X		R		R	X	X	X					

<sup>93</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>94</sup> RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94 (1431); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 60 (1451); RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1188, fol. 7vs. (1453); RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 213, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 24vs. (1503).

<sup>95</sup> *Rekeningen van de Kerkmeesters*; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 323, transcription in Van der Vlist, *De Pieterskerk* (1426-1427).

<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem* (1426-1428); RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2 (1478).

<sup>97</sup> No references appear to this feast in the sources. This is probably, however, to a large extent the result of the fact that it was celebrated in the middle of the Christmas-octave. If anyone wanted to found an anniversary around this period it is more likely that he either referred to Christmas or to the feast of *Circumcisio Domini*.

## Appendix E – Liturgy of the side altars

This appendix presents all liturgical foundations on the side altars of the church.

The information in the columns has the following meaning:

\* Column 1: Nr – Number used for reference in other appendices.

\* Column 2: Year of foundation.

\* Column 3: Institution organising the liturgical foundation.

CH (x) = Chantry with reference number x (see appendix B)

OF (x) = *Officium* with reference number x (see appendix B)

Cfr (x) = Confraternity with reference number x (see appendix C)

Par. = Parish

Cw = Church wardens

Hosp. = St Catherine's hospital

Dp = Deputies

Zg = *Zevengetijdencollege*

\* Column 4: Founder.

\* Column 5: Altar; here the altar is mentioned on which the liturgy had to take place with the number of the altar in appendix A between ( ).

\* Column 6: M = Number of Masses to be celebrated on the side altar.

\* Column 7: Intention of the Mass(es).

\* Column 8: *Feria*. Indicates the days of the week (*feria*) on which the Masses had to be celebrated. *Feria* 1 = Sunday, 2 = Monday etc.

\* Column 9: Time of the day (if indicated) during which the Mass had to be celebrated. Mo = Early in the morning, as morrow Mass.

\* Column 10: Moment in the liturgical year during which the Mass had to be celebrated. An = Anniversary with the number referring to appendix F between ( ). HT = *Hoogtijd* or feast day with the number referring to appendix D between ( ). '>' = after the mentioned date. If nothing is indicated it concerns a daily or weekly Mass (see column 8, *feria*).

\* Columns 11-14: Provisions for servers (S.) as deacon and subdeacon to be involved, number of candles to be placed on the altar (C.), for prayers (Pr.) and for grave-visits (Gr.). With regard to the provisions for prayer the abbreviation 'mem' refers to explicit arrangements concerning the *memento*-prayers in the Canon of the Mass. The number in column 14 (Gr.) refers to appendix F, table F4. Grave-visits connected with Masses celebrated on side altars.

Nr	Year	Institute	Founder	Altar	M	Intention	<i>Feria</i>	Time	Lit. year	S.	C.	Pr.	Gr.
1	1316 <sup>1</sup>	CH (4)	Pieter van Leyden	Pieter van Leyden (2)	7								
2	1316	CH (5)	Pieter van Leyden	'noortside' (3)	7								
3	1316	CH (6)	Pieter van Leyden	'noortside' (3)	7								
4	1316	CH (7)	Pieter van Leyden	'noortside' (3)	7								
5	1323	CH (9)	Gerrit Alewijnsz. c.s.	St Catherine (4)	7							mem	

1 For references to chantry and *officium* foundation deeds, see appendix B – Chantries in St Peter's church.

6	1331	CH (14)	Johannes f. Rutgeri de Leyden	St John (6)	7								1
7	1356	CH (17)	Jacob Vlamincxz.	St Nicholas (7)	7								
8	1379	CH (19)	Bertholdus f. Wilhelmi	?	1								
9	1383	CH (20)	Margareta Sluters	St Catherine (4)	1								
10	1383	CH (21)	Wilhelmus Vlaminc c.s.	?	2								
11	1389	CH (22)	Jacob Reijmbrant Vinckens	St John (6)	3								
12	1389	CH (23)	Willem Jansz. c.s.	St George (5), #	3		2-4-6						
13	1390	CH (24)	Symon Vrederic	St Anthony (8)	2								
14	1391	CH (25)	Philips Gerrit Doedenz.	?	1 <sup>2</sup>								
15	1394 <sup>3</sup>		Cfr St Nicholas (3)	St Nicholas (9)	1	Requiem	2						
16	1394		Cfr St Nicholas (3)	St Nicholas (9)	1	H. Trinity	4						
17	1396	CH (26)	Wilhelmus Foytgen	St Anthony (8)	1		6					x	2
18	1398	CH (27)	Gillis van Zwieten	St Martin (10)	3		2-4-6						
19	1400	CH (28)	Gheertruut Jacob Gherijtszdr.	St Nicholas (11)	3		3-5-7	Mo				x	
20	1404	CH (29)	Gijsbertus f. Nijcolai Hurst	Three Magi (12)	2							x	
21	1406	CH (30)	Willem Willemsz.	St Catherine (?), <sup>4</sup> #	1			Mo				x	
22	1411 <sup>5</sup>	Cw	Cille Jans Vosdochter c.s.	?	1	Requiem			An (16)				
23	1411	Cw	Cille Jans Vosdochter c.s.	?	1	H. Spirit, Requiem <sup>6</sup>			An (17)				
24	1411	Cw	Cille Jans Vosdochter c.s.	?	1	H. Spirit, Requiem			An (18)				
25	1411	Cw	Cille Jans Vosdochter c.s.	?	1	H. Spirit, Requiem			An (19)				
26	1412	CH (32)	Harman Willemsz. c.s.	St James (13)	2							x	
27	1414	CH (33)	Petrus Butenwech c.s.	St Andrew (16)	2								

2 And one more Mass in St Pancras' church.

3 Nr. 15 and 16: RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 330a.

4 On an altar of St Catherine. It is unknown which one (altars 4, 28 or 35).

5 Nr. 22-25: RAL, Ke, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88.

6 This Mass of the Holy Ghost (and the subsequent two Masses with this intention) will change into Requiem Masses once the commemorated person has died.

28	1416	CH (35)	Andries Hugenz. v.d. Burch c.s.	→ #	2								
29	1417	CH (36)	Gherijt Pieter Dircznszn.	St Michael (17), #	1							x	3
30	1417	CH (37)	Jacob van Risoorde	→ #, H. Cross (1) <sup>7</sup>	2							x	
31	1421	CH (38)	Boudijn van Zwieten	Van Zwieten (18)	3								4
32	1422 <sup>8</sup>	Cw	Vos Hoichstraetssoen	?	1	Requiem			An (30)	x	4		
33	1422	Cw	Vos Hoichstraetssoen	?	1	Requiem			An (31)	x	4		
34	1425 <sup>9</sup>	Par.	Cfr St Nicholas (3)	St Nicholas (9)	1		1		> HT (57)				
35	1425	Par.	Cfr St Nicholas (3)	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (100)				
36	1427	CH (39)	Boudijn van Zwieten	Van Zwieten (18), #	3								5
37	1430	CH (40)	Mouwerijn Willemsz.	→	2								
38	1431 <sup>10</sup>	Cw	Katrijn Jan Comans' widow	St Francis e.a. (19)	1		3-6-7						6
39	1433 <sup>11</sup>	Cw	Pieter Aerntsz.	Floris Paedzen (20)	1		7					x	
40	1435 <sup>12</sup>	Hosp.	Jan Boemtgen c.s.	?	3	Requiem			An (40)				
41	1440 <sup>13</sup>	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (1)				
42	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (2)				
43	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (9)				
44	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (19)				
45	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (21)				
46	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (23)				
47	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (24)				
48	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (48)				

7 In 1569 the chantry was served on the altar of the Holy Cross. See RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 328.

8 Nr. 32-33: RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 87vs.

9 Nr. 34-35: RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330, fol. 9.

10 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.8, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 94. Concerns also the foundation of the involved altar.

11 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 95vs.

12 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 890.

13 Nr. 41-54: RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 189. Acceptance in RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.2.



49	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (59)				
50	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (65)				
51	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (86)				
52	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (101)				
53	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1				HT (105)				
54	1440	Cfr (3)	Alyt Jacopsdochter	St Nicholas (9)	1		1						
55	1443 <sup>14</sup>	Zg	Boudijn van Zwieten	Van Zwieten (18)	7								7-8
56	1450 <sup>15</sup>	Hosp.	Lijsbet Dirc Graven' widow	?	3	Requiem			An			x	
57	1456 <sup>16</sup>	Dp	Wiven Florijs Heermans' wid.	St John the Baptist (25)	3	Requiem			An				
58	1460 <sup>17</sup>	Cw	Adriaen van den Woude c.s.	St Mary Magdalene (15)	1							mem	9
59	1460 <sup>18</sup>	Dp	Ave, Jan van Ruyven' wid.	St George (5)	6 <sup>19</sup>	St Mary			HT (94)			x	
60	1460	Dp	Ave, Jan van Ruyven' wid.	St George (5)	1							mem	
61	1460	Dp	Ave, Jan van Ruyven' wid.	St George (5)	6	Requiem			An (69)				
62	1461 <sup>20</sup>	Dp	Florijs Clais Willemsz.	St Anna (27)	1								
63	1462 <sup>21</sup>	Hosp.	Lijsbet Reyner Reynersz' wid.	St Ewald and Josse (29)	1		2					mem	
64	1462	Hosp.	Lijsbet Reyner Reynersz' wid.	St Catherine (28)	1		6					mem	
65	1467 <sup>22</sup>	Hosp.	Nanne Paedze c.s.	St Catherine (28)	5	Requiem			An (73, 74)				
66	1470	OF (44)	Willem van Leeuwen	St Nicholas (9)	3		1-4-7					x	10
67	1470	OF (44)	Willem van Leeuwen	St Nicholas (9)	5 <sup>23</sup>				An				

14 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10, transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 and inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs.

15 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 514.

16 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 69.

17 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 1362.

18 Nr. 59-61: RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156.

19 Only if the feast of St Mary Presentation is not celebrated anymore.

20 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 59.

21 Nr. 63-64: RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 674; transcription in RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 456, p. 260.

22 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 449.

23 Ibidem.

68	1470	OF (44)	Willem van Leeuwen	St Nicholas (9)	3 <sup>24</sup>			An				
69	1476 <sup>25</sup>	Zg	Lijsbet Reyner Reynersz.' wid.	St Catherine (28)	1		5			2	mem	
70	1478 <sup>26</sup>	Cw	Aelbrecht Jansz. c.s.	St Apollonia (32)	1	St Mary,Requiem <sup>27</sup>	6					
71	1478 <sup>28</sup>	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (7)				
72	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (13)				
73	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (14)				
74	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (26)				
75	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (33)				
76	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (44)				
77	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (46)				
78	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (53)				
79	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (55)				
80	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (62)				
81	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (68)				
82	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (70)				
83	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (74)				
84	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (85)				
85	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (97)				
86	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (100)				
87	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (104)				
88	1478	Cfr (3)	'Alyt Jacopsdochter'	St Nicholas (9)	1			HT (107)				
89	1480 <sup>29</sup>	Cw	Jacop van Noorde	St Ewald and Josse (29) <sup>30</sup>	2						mem	11

24 Also a vigils of nine lessons had to be recited on the lectern of the altar.

25 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 211; transcriptions in RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035 and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 46.

26 RDO OA, inv. nr. 2035.1; transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 99vs.

27 First the Mass is celebrated in honour of the Virgin Mary, after the first is dead with a collect for the deceased and after both are dead as Requiem Mass.

28 Nr. 72-89: RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.2.

29 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11; acceptance in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs.

90	? <sup>31</sup>		Cfr St Nicasius (22)	St Nicasius e.a. (33)	1	Requiem			HT (3)				
91	?		Cfr St Nicasius (22)	St Nicasius e.a. (33)	1	Requiem			HT (41)				
92	?		Cfr St Nicasius (22)	St Nicasius e.a. (33)	1	Requiem			HT (69)				
93	?		Cfr St Nicasius (22)	St Nicasius e.a. (33)	1	Requiem			HT (91)				
94	?		Cfr St Nicasius (22)	St Nicasius e.a. (33)	3								
95	?		Cfr St Nicasius (22)	St Nicasius e.a. (33)	3								
96	1491	CH (47)	Symon f. Andree	St Apollonia (32)	1								12
97	1496	OF (48)	Kerstijn Dirc Reyerszns.' widow	Nich. (9) / Adrian (23) / ◇	4		1-2-4-6				x		13
98	1499	OF (49)	Pieter Jan Martijnsz.	Nich. (9) / Anth. (8) / ◇	4								14
99	1504	OF (50)	Jan Lijsbeth Claes Willemszdr.	St Catherine (28)	7								15
100	1504 <sup>32</sup>	Dp	Claes Hugenz.	?	1						x		16
101	1504 <sup>33</sup>	Dp	Dibbout Heermansz.	St Anna (27)	1		3				x		17
102	1506	CH (51)	Harck Heynricxz.	St Mary (24) / †	3		4-6-7						18
103	1506 <sup>34</sup>	Zg	Aelwijn Ysbrantszn.	St Catherine (28)	1	Requiem	2						
104	1507 <sup>35</sup>	Cw	Jan Lijsbeth, Claes Hugenz' wid.	St Apollonia (32)	5				HT (43)		x		
105	1510 <sup>36</sup>	Zg	Ysaack Aelwijnsz c.s.	St Anna (27)	1	St Anna	3						19
106	1514 <sup>37</sup>	OF (49)	Cornelie Claesdr., wid. of Martijn Pietersz.	Nich. (9) / Anth. (8) / ◇	1 <sup>38</sup>								
107	1515 <sup>39</sup>		Marijten Simonsdochter	St Nicasius e.a. (33)	1	Requiem		mo	An (88)				20
108	1517 <sup>40</sup>	Hosp.	Maertijn Roelofsz.	?	4				An (89, 90)		mem		

30 In the case of rebuildings around the altar the Masses had to be celebrated on St Nicholas altar.

31 Nr. 90-95: RAL, *Gi*, inv.nr. 1270, fol. 2vs.-3vs. (c. 1488-1496).

32 RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 10.

33 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10a.

34 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 27.

35 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255.

36 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 214; transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52.

37 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 80.

38 A fifth mass founded as augmentation of the Officium of Pieter Jan Martijnsz. founded in 1514.

39 RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 14.

109	1525 <sup>41</sup>	Dp	Cornelie Allertsdochter	St Job (38)	7							x	21
110	1540 <sup>42</sup>	Zg	Marie Spruijts	?	7								22
111	1567 <sup>43</sup>		Cfr St Sebastian (45)	St Sebastian (34)	2				HT (105)				
112	1567		Cfr St Sebastian (45)	St Sebastian (34)	2				HT (5)				

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40 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 445, fol. 78vs.

41 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 11a.

42 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 88. Concerns a testament of 1520.

43 Nr. 111-112: Van Mieris, *Beschryving*, p. 30.

## Appendix F – The liturgy around the graves

In this appendix several tables are presented about the liturgy around the graves in St Peter's church:

Table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church

Table F2. Grave-visits connected with morrow Masses

Table F3. Daily grave-visits

Table F4. Grave-visits connected with Masses celebrated on side altars

### *Table F1. Grave-visits and grave-vigils during anniversaries in St Peter's church*

In the following table a list is presented of all anniversaries of which substantial information is provided in our corpus of foundation deeds. Excluded deeds, therefore, are those deeds in which references are made to Memorandum Books or other deeds for the detailed contents of the foundation. The columns in this table have the following meaning:

\* Column 1: Nr – Number of the anniversary. This number corresponds with the reference numbers in the other appendices.

\* Column 2: Year – The year of foundation of the anniversary.

\* Column 3: Commemorated – Person(s) commemorated in the anniversary.

\* Column 4: Day – Day before or after a certain feast or date of death on which the anniversary had to be celebrated. The symbols and abbreviations in this column have the following meaning:

M = Monday

W = Wednesday

F = Friday

MD = Memorial day

d = days, if a number of days is mentioned before a certain feast.

> = After

< = Before

HT = *Hoogtijd* with number between ( ) referring to appendix D

E.D. I – IV = Ember Days, subsequently in Lent (I), in Summer (II), in Fall (III) and in Winter (IV).

# = Provisions for if no requiem Mass may be sung on this day.

† = Date of death

? = Nothing mentioned about the date of the anniversary

\* Columns 5 and 6 contain information about references to Vigils and Mass on the high altar and in the choir. The abbreviations and symbols have the following meaning:

x = Vigils or Mass is only mentioned

\* = Specific arrangements are made concerning Vigils or Mass

HM = The reference to Mass concerns specifically High Mass

rM / rHM = Specific reference to requiem (High) Mass

\* Column 7: Masses on side altars connected to the anniversaries. The first number refers to the entries in appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars, the number between ( ) refers to the list of altars in appendix A – Altars in St Peter's church.

\* Columns 8-11 contain information about the payments distributed to participants in grave-visits during anniversaries. The abbreviations for the amounts of money have the following meaning:

p = pound

s = shilling ('schelling')

d = penny ('penning')

g = groot

If a number of participants of the type indicated by the column receive the amount of payment mentioned, then this is indicated by a number, followed by 'x'.

- \* Column 8: Priests – Distributions to all priests visiting the grave. Sometimes payments are recorded in this column to specific priests whose payments could not be placed under one of the other columns. In these cases this is indicated in a footnote.
  - \* Column 9: Par. – Distributions to the parish priests of the Teutonic Order. If the commander and his assistants received different amounts, then the amount of the commander is mentioned first and then the payments to his assistants preceded by a '+.'
  - \* Column 10: Sacr. – Distributions to the sacristan(s) of St Peter's church. If the lower sacristan receives a different amount than the higher sacristan, then this is solved in the same way as in column 9.
  - \* Column 11: Ch. pr. – Distributions to the priests of the chantries in St Peter's church. If the payments are recorded between ( ) then the amount of money is for the group as a whole. An '\*' indicates that the chaplains are expected to commemorate the founders in their own Masses as well.
  - \* Columns 12-18 contain information on the ritual content of the grave-visits and grave-vigils.
    - \* Column 12: Gr. = Number of graves involved in the anniversary
    - \* Column 13: Ca. = Number of candles to be placed upon the grave. If arrangements are made for the placement of candles without the mentioning of an explicit number then this is indicated with 'x'.
    - \* Column 14: De. = Decoration of the grave. The abbreviations have the following meaning:

P = Pall on the grave	x = decoration is mentioned without specific arrangements concerning the type of decoration
H = Green herbs on the grave	
    - \* Column 15: Bg. = Beguines (or other women fulfilling a similar task). The abbreviations have the following meaning:

W = 'Wiven', 'women' – unidentified who these women were.	F = St Agnes- or 'Fali'-Beguinage
P = Pieter Simonsz.-Beguinage	
- The number before the abbreviation indicates the number of involved beguines or women.
- \* Column 16: Off. – Whether or not and how often the beguines have to offer during High Mass.
  - \* Column 17: Inc. – The use of incense. If a number is mentioned this indicates the number of times the grave has to be incensed.
  - \* Column 18: Prayers. Prayers during Vigils or High Mass by the beguines are put between ( ). A number before the abbreviation indicates that the prayer has to be recited twice. The abbreviations have the following meaning:

(P) = Prayers by the beguines	Dp = <i>De Profundis</i> (Psalm 129 / 130)
(PR) = Prayers to be read by the beguines	C = Collect / Cs = Collects
(V) = Recitation of a private vigils by the beguines	Cd = Collect <i>pro defunctis</i>
M = <i>Miserere</i> (Psalm 50 / 51)	+ = 'Other prayers' (not indicated in the deed)

Nr	Year	Commemorated	Day	Vigils	Mass	Side altar	Priests	Par.	Sacr.	Ch. pr.	Gr.	Ca.	De.	Bg.	Off.	Inc.	Prayer
1	1390 <sup>1</sup>	Pieter Hughensoens c.s.	F > HT (102)					4d	4d	4d	1	4					
2	1390	Pieter Hughensoens c.s.	?					4d	4d	4d	1	4					
3	1390 <sup>2</sup>	Willaem Foytgen c.s.	ca. HT (79), †				6d	3x1g	1g		4	4					
4	1390 <sup>3</sup>	Alijt Jan Harmans soens w.	F > HT (9)				2d	3x4d	4d		1	3					
5	1391 <sup>4</sup>	Philips Gerrit Doedenz.	ca. HT (102)	x	x			3x2d		2d							
6	1391 <sup>5</sup>	Willem Smeders c.s.	M < HT (49)				6d		†6d			9					
7	1391	Katrijn W. Smederszr. c.s.	M < HT (102)				6d		†6d			9					
8	1394 <sup>6</sup>	Cfr St Nicholas (3)	W > HT (87)				2d	4d				4	P				
9	1394 <sup>7</sup>	Hubrecht v.d. Werve c.s.	†					3x12d	12d			x					
10	1398 <sup>8</sup>	Ysebrant van der Laen c.s.	F > HT (9)					3x6d	6d			4					
11	1399 <sup>9</sup>	Pieterellen J. Willems.dr.	†						4d	4d							
12	1399 <sup>10</sup>	Willem Smeders	M < HT (49)				6d		6d			9					
13	1399	Katrijn Willem Smederszr.	M < HT (102)				6d		6d			9					
14	1402 <sup>11</sup>	Simon Fl.z. v. Endegheest	?	x	x			3x3d	3d	3d							
15	1408 <sup>12</sup>	Florys van Teylingen c.s.	†					3x3d	3d	2d		4					
16	1411 <sup>13</sup>	Cille Jans Vos dochter c.s.	M > E.D. I			22 (?)	4d		1g			4					

1 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 23vs.

2 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 24.

3 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 42.

4 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 322, fol. 13.

5 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 23.

6 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330a and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 330, fol. 13.

7 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 46.

8 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 68vs.

9 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 56vs.

10 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 685.

11 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 371, transcription in RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 64; transcription by Petros Samara, 'het testament', pp. 190-191.

12 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 372, transcription by Petros Samara, 'het testament', pp. 192-193.

13 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88.

17	1411	Cille Jans Vos dochter c.s.	M > E.D. II			23 (?)		2x1g	1g			4				
18	1411	Cille Jans Vos dochter c.s.	M > E.D. III			24 (?)		2x1g	1g			4				
19	1411	Cille Jans Vos dochter c.s.	M > E.D. IV			25 (?)		2x1g	1g			4		2W		
20	1411 <sup>14</sup>	Csr (8)	M > HT (99)					3x4d	2x4d	24x2d		4				
21	1411 <sup>15</sup>	Heynric Dirx soens c.s.	HT (82)	x	x			3x2d	2d	20x2d		x				
22	1411	Jan Comans c.s.	HT (82)	x	x			3x2d	2d	20x2d		x				
23	1411 <sup>16</sup>	Gheren Coppkaart zn c.s.	F > HT (23)				4d	3x8d	8d			9				
24	1411 <sup>17</sup>	Gheertrudis filia Andrie	?	x	x			3x8d	8d	4d		x				
25	1412 <sup>18</sup>	Enghelen D. des Meyersdr.	M > HT (65)	x				2+1g	1g			x				
26	1413 <sup>19</sup>	Csr (9)	M > HT (52)				2d	3x4d	4d			4				
27	1413 <sup>20</sup>	Clemeynse J. A. Marxsz.w.	?					3x1g	1g	26x2d		4				
28	1414 <sup>21</sup>	Csr (2)	M > HT (96)		rHM*											
29	1421 <sup>22</sup>	Jan Dirc Coenez.	M > HT (27)					3x1g	1g+.5g	(.5p)		3			3	M-2Dp-Cs+
30	1422 <sup>23</sup>	Dirc Hoichstraits c.s.	F > HT (34) #	x	rM*	32	4d	3x4d	4d			2		2W		
31	1422	Dirc Verbaven soens c.s.	F > HT (90) #	x	rM*	33	4d	3x4d	4d			2	4			
32	1423 <sup>24</sup>	Cfr (7)	M > HT (68)				40x2d	3x4d	2x4d			4	P			
33	1423 <sup>25</sup>	Simon Bort	†				4d		4d			2	x			
34	1423	Lysbet, Simon Bort's wife	†				4d		4d			2	x			

14 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.2, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89.

15 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs.

16 RAL, *HGW*, inv.nr. 968.

17 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.3.

18 RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 9

19 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90.

20 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 81.

21 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.

22 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 91vs.

23 Dirc Hoichstraitsz. c.s. and Dirc Verbavenz. c.s.; RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 87vs.

24 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs.

25 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 373, transcription by Petros Samara, 'het testament,' pp. 193-194.



35	1424 <sup>26</sup>	Alijt Allaerts widow c.s.	?					4x?	x								
36	1428 <sup>27</sup>	Pieter van Leyden c.s.	M < HT (69)					3x1g	1g	.5g	2	4					
37	1428 <sup>28</sup>	Andries van der Burch c.s.	†					3x3d	3d	18x3d	2	2					
38	1428	Jan van der Burch c.s.	†					3x4d	4d	18x4d		2					
39	1429 <sup>29</sup>	Jacob van Rijsoers c.s.	†	x	x		1g	x	1g			4					
40	1435 <sup>30</sup>	Jan Boemtgen c.s.	†			40 (?)		3x4d	4d	30x4d		4					
41	1438 <sup>31</sup>	Machtelt G. Hoochstraet w.	?	x	x			3x1g		(rest)		9					
42	1438 <sup>32</sup>	Jan Bertol. v. Noordw. c.s.	M > HT (101)	*	*			3x4d	4d	34x		9	PH	4P	1	4	
43	1438	Hugen van der Scoot	HT (22)											4P		2	
44	1440 <sup>33</sup>	Machteld D. Hoochstraetsdr.	M < HT (6) <sup>34</sup>	x	x			3x.5g	.5g	34x		4					
45	1440 <sup>35</sup>	Alyt Jacopsdochter	†					3x4d	4d	4d		4	x	P			(P)
46	1443 <sup>36</sup>	Clais Wermboutsz.	?					3x4d	4d	34x4d		4					
47	1443	Kerstijn C. Wermboutsz.' w.	?					3x4d	4d	34x4d		4					
48	1444 <sup>37</sup>	Wendelmoet Boenendr. c.s.	?	x				3x2g	2g			0					
49	1446 <sup>38</sup>	Katrijn Poes, G. v. Hillegom	F > HT (90)	*	rM		2x 1.5g <sup>39</sup>	3x4d	4d+4d <sup>40</sup>	32x4d <sup>41</sup>		4					

26 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 576.

27 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 374, transcription in RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 456, p. 190; transcription by Petros Samara, 'het testament', pp. 194-195.

28 RAL, *HGW*, inv.nr. 1058.

29 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.7

30 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 890.

31 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 50.

32 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568.

33 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 1360

34 After 3 years the date would change into the Monday before her date of death.

35 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 189.

36 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 42.

37 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 249.

38 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 123.

39 'twie provisoers die dat Venite singhen'.

40 'die dat cruus te grave set'.

41 They are only payed if they are in choir before the first lesson of Vigils or before the first *Kyrie* of Mass.

50	1446 <sup>42</sup>	Geertruut Pieters dochter	F > †	x	HM			3x4d	4d	32x4d		4		6P			
51	1448 <sup>43</sup>	Jan Jan Eversznsz.	W < HT (18)	x	HM								PH	6P	2		(V)
52	1448	Parents of J.J. Eversznsz.	M < HT (62)		HM						2		PH	6P	2		(V)
53	1449 <sup>44</sup>	Gerijt Jacobsz. c.s.	M > HT (33)	x	rM			3x6d	6d			4					
54	1450 <sup>45</sup>	Jan Dircxz. and Gheertruut	M > HT (4), † #	x	rM			3x4d	4d	34x2d		2(4)					
55	1450 <sup>46</sup>	Heynric Tilleman c.s.	†	x	rM			3x1g	1g			4					
56	1451 <sup>47</sup>	Gerrit P. Gobburgenz. c.s.	F < HT (85)	x	rM			3x.5g	.5g			9					
57	1451	Gerrit P. Gobburgenz. c.s.	F < HT (105)	x	x			3x.5g	.5g	(rest)*		4					
58	1451 <sup>48</sup>	Alijt J. Woutersz. widow c.s.	M < HT (96)	x	rM			3x2g	2g	(rest)*		4					
59	1452 <sup>49</sup>	Florijs Paidz. v. Zonnevelt	F > HT (22)		rHM*			3x8d	8d			9					
60	1452	Vinck Jacobsz. c.s.	HT (22)					3x8d	8d	34x4d		9					
61	1452	Mergriet Jacob Vincken c.s.	HT (22)					3x4d	4d	34x4d		9					
62	1452	Marien S. Fredericx wijf c.s.	F < HT (63)					3x4d	4d	34x4d		x					
63	1452	Gobburch F. Paidzen dr. c.s.	M > HT (70)					3x4d	4d	34x4d		9					
64	1453 <sup>50</sup>	Aelbrecht Gerijtsz.	M < HT (12)							34x		9					
65	1457 <sup>51</sup>	Dirc H.z. die Mandemaker	14d < Lent	x	x			3x2g	1g			4		8P			(P)
66	1457	Dirc H.z. die Mandemaker	14d < Easter	x	x			3x2g	1g			4		8P			(P)
67	1458 <sup>52</sup>	Clais Wermboutsz.	F < HT (7)	x	HM							4	PH	4P	2		

42 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 569.

43 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 570.

44 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 254.

45 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 8.

46 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 375, transcription by Petros Samara, 'het testament', pp. 200-201.

47 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 60.

48 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 62.

49 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 79.

50 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 1244.

51 RAL, *SA I*, inv.nr. 1197.

52 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 574.

68	1458	Kerstijn C. Wermboutsz. w.	F < HT (48)	x	HM						4	PH	4P	2		
69	1460 <sup>53</sup>	Joncrou Aven c.s.	† #	x	HM	61 (5)		3x12d	12d	34x8d	9	PH	4P			(P)
70	1460 <sup>54</sup>	Katrijn Jan Bomen widow	† #	x	HM			3x4d	4d	32x2d	9					
71	1467 <sup>55</sup>	Pieter van Leyden c.s.	F > HT (44)	x	HM			3x3d	3d	34x2d	4					
72	1467	Jan van Leyden c.s.	F < HT (50)	x	HM			3x3d	3d	34x2d	4					
73	1467 <sup>56</sup>	Nanne Paedze c.s.	† # <sup>57</sup>	x	HM	65 (28)		3x1g	1g		(4)	PH	4F			M-Dp-C
74	1467	Adriaen J.dr. N. Paedze w.	† #	x	HM	65 (28)		3x1g	1g		(4)	PH	4F			M-Dp-C
75	1471 <sup>58</sup>	Cfr (13)	?													
76	1474 <sup>59</sup>	Grieten Clais dochter	†	x	HM							H	4P	2	x	(PR)
77	1479 <sup>60</sup>	Willem van der Horst c.s.	F < HT (62)	x	HM			3x4d	4d	34x4d	(9)					
78	1480 <sup>61</sup>	Jacop van Noorde c.s.	† #	x	rHM*			3x1g	1g	34x.5g	9	PH	12P	2		(PR)
79	1492 <sup>62</sup>	Heynrick Florijsz. c.s.	M < HT (90)	x	rHM*			3x4g	4g	34x4d	9					
80	1492 <sup>63</sup>	Vranck van der Does c.s.	M > HT (48)	x	HM			3x4g	4g	34x4d	9					
81	1504 <sup>64</sup>	Dibbout Heermansz.	F > HT (6)	x	HM			3x8d	8d	34x4d	9	PH	8P	1	x	(P)
82	1504 <sup>65</sup>	Claes Hugenz.	W < HT (20)	x	HM			3x8d	8d	34x4d	4					
83	1505 <sup>66</sup>	Katrijn C.dr. van Keten c.s.	M < HT (16)	x	HM			3x8d	8d	34x4d	(4)	PH	6P	2		

53 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156.

54 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 378 and RAL, *HGW*, inv.nr. 962, transcription in RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 456, p. 374.

55 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 9.

56 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 449.

57 Between the dead of the first and the last deceased both anniversaries will be celebrated on the date of death of the first deceased, with two candlesticks with four candles.

58 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2046.

59 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 571.

60 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2035.3.

61 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11, acceptance deed in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs.

62 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10.

63 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 38.

64 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10a.

65 RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 10.

66 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 11.

84	1506 <sup>67</sup>	Aelwijn Ysbrantsz. c.s.	F > HT (77)	x	HM			3x4g	4g	32x4d		4					
85	1507 <sup>68</sup>	Pieter Reymbrantsz. c.s.	M > HT (63)	x	HM			3x8d	8d	34x4d		(4)					
86	1515 <sup>69</sup>	Simon Diricxz.	MD > HT (93)	x	HM								PH	4F	2		
87	1515	Diric Symonsz.	MD > HT (93)	x	HM								PH	4F	2		
88	1515	Jacop Simonsz.	M > HT (97)	x	HM	107 (33)							PH	4F	2		
89	1517 <sup>70</sup>	Martijn Roelofsz.	?	x	HM	108 (?)							x	4P	2		
90	1517	Geertruyt Gerytsdochter	?	x	HM	108 (?)							x	4P	2		

Table F2. Grave-visits connected with morrow Masses

In the following table the information is presented concerning grave-visits connected to morrow Masses, together with the very similar ritual founded by Boudijn van Zwieten for the daily commemoration of all benefactors of the *zevengetijdencollege*. The columns contain the following information:

\* Column 1: Year of foundation or of acceptance of the foundation.

\* Column 2: The founder of the Mass. This does not necessarily coincide with the person for whose benefit the Mass has been founded.

\* Column 3: Day or Date. The abbreviations and symbols in this column have the following meaning:

> = after the mentioned feast

† = Date of death of the founder.

() = Number of the feast in appendix D – the liturgical year.

\* Column 4: Intention of the morrow Mass

\* Column 5: Ceremonial instructions for the illumination of the grave with candles (C). The number mentioned refers to the number of candles to be placed. If the candles have to be placed upon a candlestick, then the number is placed between ().

\* Column 6: Ceremonial instructions about the decoration (D) of the grave with pal (P) and / or green herbs (H)

\* Column 7: Whether or not holy water-sprinkler (W) is mentioned and following from this whether the grave has to be blessed with holy water.

\* Column 8: Instructions about prayers to be said during the grave-visit. If different prayers are part of a series (for example certain psalms with collect or versicle and collect) then these prayers are connected through a '-'. The abbreviations must be interpreted as in table F1, column 18, supplemented with:

SR = *Salve Regina*

AM = *Ave Maria*

Pn = *Pater Noster*

Cv = Collect for the Virgin

67 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 27.

68 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2056.

69 Simon Diricxz., Diric Symonsz. and Jacop Simonsz.: RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 14.

70 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 445, fol. 78vs.

Year	Founder	Day or Date	Intention	C	D	W	Prayer
1423 <sup>71</sup>	Confraternity H. Cross	Friday	Holy Cross			x	M-C
1443 <sup>72</sup>	Boudijn van Zwieten	Monday > St Mary Purification (9)	Requiem				
1443	Boudijn van Zwieten	Monday > St Mary Annuntiation (19)	Requiem				
1443	Boudijn van Zwieten	Monday > St Mary Visitation (48)	Requiem				
1443	Boudijn van Zwieten	Monday > St Mary Assumption (59)	Requiem	4		x	M-Dp-C SR-V-C
1443	Boudijn van Zwieten	Monday > St Mary Nativity (65)	Requiem				
1443	Boudijn van Zwieten	Monday > St Mary Conception (101)	Requiem				
1443	Boudijn van Zwieten	All ferials	Memorial service				M-Dp-Cd SR-V-Cv
1469 <sup>73</sup>	Jan van Poelgeest	Monday > St Pontianus (3)	Requiem	(3)	P	x	+
1476 <sup>74</sup>	Lijsbeth Reyner Reynersz.' widow	†	Requiem				
1481 <sup>75</sup>	Huge van Zwieten	Monday	Requiem			x	M-Dp-C
1481	Huge van Zwieten	Thursday	Holy Sacrament			x	
1485 <sup>76</sup>	Adriaen van Zwieten	Monday > / Wednesday > St Elisabeth (93)	Requiem	(4)	PH		M-Dp-C3 SR-C
1510 <sup>77</sup>	Ysaack Aelwijnsz.	Tuesday	St Anna			x	M-Dp-C
1511 <sup>78</sup>	Dirck Florijs Montfoortszsz.	Friday	Holy Cross <sup>79</sup>				M-Dp-Pn-AM-V-3C

71 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs.; acceptance deed by commander in RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 7-8.

72 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10; transcriptions in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210.

73 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.12.

74 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 211 and RDO OA 2035, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 46.

75 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 212, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 58; RAL, *KI*, inv.nr. 1494.

76 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 82vs.

77 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52.

78 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 215.

79 Refoundation of *Dum Fabricator* and *O Admirabile* after Mass of the Holy Cross.

Table F3. Daily grave-visits

In the following table all foundations of grave-visits unrelated to anniversaries or Mass foundations are listed according to year of foundation.

The columns must be interpreted as follows:

Column 1: Year of foundation.

Column 2: Commemorated person; c.s. (cum suis) indicates that also several relatives are mentioned.

Column 3: Frequency: whether it is explicitly stated that the grave-visit had to take place daily or not.

An \*, in this and in the subsequent columns, means that an indication is given that the grave-visit in general, or a particular ritual element, has to take place 'as usual.'

An → means that a reference is made to a memorandum book.

Column 4: Time: the time of the day on which the grave-visit had to take place. If High Mass is mentioned, this means during High Mass.

Column 5: Holy Water: whether the holy-water sprinkler is mentioned.

Column 6: Prayer: The abbreviations must be interpreted as in table F1, column 18. An \* indicates general references to prayer during the ritual.

Year	Founder	Frequency	Time	Holy Water	Prayer
1411 <sup>80</sup>	Gheertrudis filia Andrie c.s.	Daily*			R*
1412 <sup>81</sup>	Enghele Dircs des Meyersdochter	Daily		x	*
1413 <sup>82</sup>	Jonfrou Clemeynse				
1423 <sup>83</sup>	Geertruyt Willem Sonderlants widow	*			
1429 <sup>84</sup>	Jacob van Rijsoird, knight	Daily			*85
1438 <sup>86</sup>	Jan Boomtgen	Daily	High Mass*		
1452 <sup>87</sup>	Claes Jan Woutersz. c.s.	Daily*			
1452	Jan Woutersz.	Daily → <sup>88</sup>			

80 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.3.

81 RAL, *AgB*, inv.nr. 9.

82 RAL, *Ga*, inv.nr. 455, fol. 81.

83 RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 54.

84 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.7.

85 '*commemoracie*'

86 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 892.

87 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2059.0.15; transcription in RDO OA 1978, fol. 43.

88 Reference to the Memorandum Book of the *heiligegeest*.

1470 <sup>89</sup>	Jacop van Noorde c.s.	Daily*			
1471 <sup>90</sup>	Fyen Willem van Bosschen widow	Daily		x	PR*
1471	Katrijne Willemsdr van Bosschen	Daily		x	
1480 <sup>91</sup>	Jacop van Noorde	Daily	High Mass		M-Dp-C*
1486 <sup>92</sup>	Floris Claesz. van der Horst c.s.	Daily			R*
1504 <sup>93</sup>	Dibbout Heermansz.	Daily			R*
1504 <sup>94</sup>	Claes Hugenz.	Daily			R*
1506 <sup>95</sup>	Meester Cornelis Boeyensz.	*	*		*96

*Table F4. Grave-visits connected with Masses celebrated on side altars*

\* Column 1: Nr – Number of the grave-visits corresponding to the numbers mentioned in appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars.

\* Column 2: Year of foundation of the Mass with grave-visit.

\* Column 3: Institute. For the meaning of the abbreviations, see appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars.

\* Column 4: Founder of the Mass with grave-visit.

\* Column 5: Liturgy – The first number refers to the corresponding entry in appendix E – The liturgy of the side altars. The number between ( ) refers to the number of the altar on which the liturgy is celebrated as listed in appendix A – Altars in St Peter's church.

\* Column 6: Frequency – The number of weekly Masses to which grave-visits are attached.

\* Column 7: Ferias – Day of the week on which the weekly Mass with grave-visit had to be celebrated. Feria 1 = Sunday, 2 = Monday etc.

\* Column 8: Year – Occasion in the liturgical year on which the Mass with grave-visit had to be celebrated. An = Anniversary. The number between ( ) refers to the list of anniversaries in table F1 of this appendix.

\* Column 9-13: Detailed provisions concerning the way in which the ritual has to be performed. See for the meaning of the abbreviations and symbols the tables above.

89 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2059.0.16; transcription in RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 38.

90 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2059.0.17; transcription in RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 23vs.

91 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11; acceptance deed in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs.

92 RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 59.

93 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 10a.

94 RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 10.

95 RDO OA 2059.0.19; transcription in RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 8.

96 '*devocie*'

Nr	Year	Institute	Founder	Liturgy	Frequency	Ferias	Year	Nr of graves	Beguines	Offering	Holy Water	Prayer
1	1331	CH (14)	Johannes f. Rutgeri de Leyden	6 (6)	7							
2	1396	CH (17)	Wilhelmus Foytgen	17 (8)	1	6						
3	1417	CH (36)	Gherijt Pieter Dircznszn.	29 (17)	7							M
4	1421	CH (38)	Boudijn van Zwieten	31 (18)	3							M-Dp-2Cd
5	1427	CH (39)	Boudijn van Zwieten	36 (18)	3			2				M-Dp-2Cd
6	1431	Cw	Katrijn Jan Comans' widow	38 (19)	3	3,6,7						Dp-Cd
7	1443	Zg	Boudijn van Zwieten	55 (18)	3	2,4,6						M-Dp-2Cd
8	1443	Zg	Boudijn van Zwieten	55 (18)	7							M-Dp-Cd
9	1460	Cw	Adriaen van de Woude	58 (15)	1							
10	1470	OF (44)	Willem van Leeuwen	66 (9)	3	1,4,7						M-Dp-C+
11	1480	Cw	Jacop van Noorde	89 (29)	2							M-Dp-Cs
12	1491	CH (47)	Symon f. Andree	96 (32)	1							M-Dp
13	1496	OF (48)	Kerstijn Dirc Reyerszns.' widow	97 (9/23)	4	1,2,4,6						M-Dp-3C*
14	1499	OF (49)	Pieter Jan Martijnsz.	98 (9/8)	4							M-Dp-C
15	1504	OF (50)	Jan Lijsbeth Claes Willemszdr.	99 (28)	7							M-Dp-Pn-C
16	1504	Dp	Claes Hugenz.	100 (?)	1							M-Dp-C
17	1504	Dp	Dibbout Heermansz.	101 (27)	1	3						M-Dp-C
18	1506	CH (51)	Harck Heynricxz.	102 (24)	3	4,6,7						M-Dp-Cs
19	1510	Zg	Ysaack Aelwijnsz. c.s.	105 (27)	1	3						*97
20	1515		Marijtgen Simonsdochter	107 (33)			An (88)		4F	2		
21	1525	Dp	Cornelie Allertsdochter	109 (38)	7							M-Dp-C
22	1540	Zg	Marie Spruijts	110 (?)	7						x	Dp-Pn-C

97 See table F2. Grave-visits connected with morrow Masses.



## Appendix G – Payments to participants in the liturgy of the high altar and the choir

In this appendix the payments are listed which were distributed to participating priests, servers, choristers and other officials actively involved in the celebration of Mass and Divine Office during founded feast days, morrow Masses and requiem High Mass during anniversaries.

\* The abbreviations in the column headings indicate the following priests and officials:

PP = Presiding priest: usually commander	ZH = <i>Zangheren</i> (singing priests)
D = Deacon	Cho = Choristers
S = Subdeacon	Org = Organist
Pro = <i>Provisors</i>	Bl = Blower (of the organ)
Sa = Sacristan(s)	Bm = <i>Beierman</i> (responsible for the pealing of the bells)
SM = Schoolmasters (with choir)	

\* The amount of payments are recorded between brackets '( )', always in *groot* except where indicated otherwise. In that case:

p = pound	s = <i>schelling</i>	p = <i>penning</i>
# = no payments recorded, but participation implied		

The number before the brackets indicates, where relevant, the number of participants.

Foundation	PP	D	S	Pro	Sa	SM	ZH	Cho	Org	Bl	Bm
St Barbara (1411) <sup>1</sup>	(10)	(2)	(2)	2 (2) <sup>2</sup>	2 (2)	(12)			(6)	#	(6)
Eleven Thousand Virgins (1411) <sup>3</sup>	(6)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	(8)			(4)	#	
St Mary Magdalene (1413) <sup>4</sup>	#	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	3 (2)			(4)	#	(5)
St Catherine (1414) <sup>5</sup>	(8)	#	#	#	3 / 2	(9)			(6)	#	(6)
H. Trinity (1421) <sup>6</sup>	(4)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (2) <sup>7</sup>	(3)			(2)	#	(6)
St Michael (1421)	(2)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	(3)			(2)	#	
St Martin (1421)	(2)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	(3)			(2)	#	
St Andrew (1421)	(2)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	(3)			(4)	#	
H. Cross Exaltation (1423) <sup>8</sup>	#	#	#	2 (#)					#	#	
Divisio Apostolorum (1440) <sup>9</sup>	(4)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (4)				(4)	(4)	(4)
St Mary of the Snow (1450) <sup>10</sup>	(5)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (2) <sup>11</sup>	(9)			(8) <sup>12</sup>	#	(4)
St John ante portam Latinam (1460) <sup>13</sup>	(8)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)	2 (2)		(8s)	(2s)	(5s8p) <sup>14</sup>	#	(4s)
St Mary Presentation (1460)	#										
Ten Thousand Martyrs (1507) <sup>15</sup>	(8)	(2)	(2)	2 (2)		(12)			(8)	(4)	(4)

1 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 89 (Csr St Barbara, 8).

2 Distributions both with first Vespers and with High Mass.

3 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 88vs. (Gherijt van Hillegom, priest and Jan Coman Jacobssoen).

4 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90 (*Hoogtijd* and *Kermis* Csr St Mary Magdalene, 9).

5 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs. (*Hoogtijd* and Anniversary, Csr St Catherine, 2).

6 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, 91vs. (Regular canons Leiderdorp and master Claes Hardebol / Jan Dirc Coenenz.)

7 In this, and in the next three feast days, the sacristans are responsible for '*luyden*.'

8 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 92vs. (Cfr H. Cross, 7).

9 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 93 (Zeger Willemsz.).

10 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 97 (Jacop van Zonnevelt).

11 Sacristans are responsible for '*luyden*.'

12 The organist has to share his eight *groot* with the blower.

13 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 156 (*Ave*, widow of Jan van Ruyven).

14 The organist has to share his 5 *schelling*, 8 *penning* with the blower.

15 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 255 (Jan Lijsbet Claes Hugensns wedewij).

Foundation	C	D	S	Pro	Sa
An Csr St Catherine (1414) <sup>16</sup>	#	(2)	(2)	2 (1)	
An Jan Bertolomeusz. (1438) <sup>17</sup>	#	#	#	2 (#)	1 (4)
An Jacop van Noirde (1480) <sup>18</sup>	(4)	(1)	(1)	2 (1)	1 (1)

Foundation	PP	D	S	Pro	Sa	ZH	Cho	Org	Bl	Bm
H. Cross (1423) – <b>Friday</b> <sup>19</sup>	#	#	#	2 (#) <sup>20</sup>			12 (#)	#		#
<i>Requiem</i> Boudijn v. Zwieten (1443) <sup>21</sup>	(2)					7 (1)	2 (0.5)			
<i>Requiem</i> Jan v. Poelgeest (1469) <sup>22</sup>	(2s)					8 (12p)	2 (6p)			
<i>Requiem</i> Lijsbet R. Reynersz.' w. (1476) <sup>23</sup>	(4)	# <sup>24</sup>	#		(4) <sup>25</sup>	8 (8) <sup>26</sup>	2 (4) <sup>27</sup>			
H. Sacrament (1481) <sup>28</sup> – <b>Thursday</b>	(4)	# <sup>29</sup>	#		2 (1.5)	8 (6p) <sup>30</sup>	4 (1.5) <sup>31</sup>	(1.5)	# <sup>32</sup>	#
<i>Requiem</i> H. v. Zwieten (1481) <sup>33</sup> – <b>Monday</b>	(3)	# <sup>34</sup>	#		1 (4p)	8 (6p)	4 (1.5)			
<i>Requiem</i> Adriaan v. Zwieten (1485) <sup>35</sup>	(4)				1 (1)	8/9 (1)	4 (.5)			#
St Anna (1510) <sup>36</sup> – <b>Tuesday</b>	(4)	# <sup>37</sup>	#		1.5 / 1	8 (6p) <sup>38</sup>	4 (1.5) <sup>39</sup>	(1.5)	(6p)	
Virgin Mary (1518) <sup>40</sup> – <b>Saturday</b>	#									

16 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 90vs.

17 RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 568 (Jan Bertolomeus soen van Noordwijk, Bertolomeus Boudijn soen and Fye his mother).

18 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.11, acceptance in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 7, fol. 101vs. (Jacop van Noirde).

19 See feast day H. Cross Exaltation in table G1.

20 Of the twelve chorister mentioned two are at the same time *provisors* in the chancel.

21 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.10, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 3vs. and RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 210 (6 Annual Masses, Boudijn van Zwieten).

22 RDO OA, inv.nr. 2034.12 (Annual, Jan van Poelgeest)

23 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 211 and RDO OA 2035, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 46 (Annual, Lijsbet Reyner Reynersz.' widow).

24 Deacon and subdeacon are priests of the choir and receive their payments as such.

25 The sacristan sings along with the choristers in the choir and he is responsible for the lighting of the candles.

26 Including two priests serving as deacon and subdeacon in the liturgy.

27 Including the higher sacristan.

28 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 212, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 58; RAL, *Kl*, inv.nr. 1494 (Huge van Zwieten)

29 Deacon and subdeacon are priests of the choir and receive their payments as such.

30 Including two priests serving as deacon and subdeacon in the liturgy. Also in the Requiem Mass founded by Huge van Zwieten.

31 1.5 *groot* to be shared by all four. Also in case of Requiem Mass founded by Huge van Zwieten.

32 '*Beyerman*' and '*blaser*' receive together 1.5 *groot* payment.

33 Ibidem.

34 Deacon and subdeacon are priests of the choir and receive their payments as such.

35 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 82vs.

36 RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 214, transcription in RAL, *Ke*, inv.nr. 203, fol. 52.

37 Deacon and subdeacon are priests of the choir and receive their payments as such.

38 Including two servants singing the Epistle and Gospel during Mass.

39 1.5 *groot* to be shared by all four.

40 RDO OA, inv.nr. 1978, fol. 9 (Confraternity of the Virgin Mary). This may have been a refoundation of the Mass of the Virgin Mary that was elaborated with polyphony by Jacop Tick from 1453 onwards.