

The Ultimate Provision for the Afterlife?:
Gijsbert Raet's Jerusalem Chapel
in Late Medieval Gouda

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Abstract

In about 1500, the priest and Holy Land pilgrim, Gijsbert Raet, commissioned the construction of his Jerusalem chapel directly outside the choir of the only parish church in Gouda. Mainly built of local material, the edifice displayed characteristic architectural features of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The chapel, which was opened for public worship, contained a replica of the Tomb of Christ within it, offering an *ersatz* Jerusalem experience to its visitors. Several chapels of this type had previously been established in other cities of the Northern Netherlands: in Utrecht, Delft, Leiden, and Amsterdam. Most of these monuments were maintained by the local Jerusalem Brotherhood. However, the Gouda example differs from its contemporaries, as it was initiated by a private person and functioned as the founder's chantry chapel. This thesis argues that the establishment of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda was closely linked to the founder's *memoria* provision and his concern for the salvation of his soul in the hereafter. Through a careful rereading of the written primary sources and a comparative analysis of the known Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht, particularly focusing on the aspect of *memoria*, the religious, social and political motivations behind Gijsbert Raet's foundation will be explored.

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(Reproduced from: Vermeersch, 1976: no. 433.)

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from: Brine, 2015: 7.)

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

I. Introduction

This thesis takes as its subject the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda, which was founded by the priest Gijsbert Willemsz. Raet around 1500 after his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Built as a separate chapel in the urban landscape, it possessed an architectural layout that referenced the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and contained an imitation of the Tomb of Christ inside, offering an *ersatz* Jerusalem experience to its visitors. Furthermore, the priest made arrangements with the neighbouring convent of the Brethren of the Common Life for the maintenance of his foundation after his death and for the performance of his eternal liturgical commemoration, to be held in his chapel where he was later buried.

Five other late medieval Jerusalem chapels of strikingly similar layout are known to have existed in the cities of Utrecht (*ca* 1394 and 1544), Delft (*ca* 1430), Leiden (1467), and Amsterdam (*ca* 1498). Apart from the example in Delft, whose founder is unknown, these chapels were initiated by local confraternities of Jerusalem pilgrims. Throughout the thesis these monuments are taken into account as major comparative examples to the Gouda chapel, as the similar nature of all chapels indicate that they were based on the same architectural concept. Therefore, this study focuses on separate Jerusalem chapels and does not consider the Holy Sepulchre chapels or Easter Sepulchres within churches, as they were of different and varying design. Likewise, it does not encompass the well-known Jerusalem chapel in nearby Bruges as a comparative example with regard to the architecture, since its layout was designed according to a different concept.

The region with which the thesis is concerned is the Northern Netherlands, the northern territories of the Spanish Netherlands in the late Middle Ages. This area roughly coincides with the political borders of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, established in 1581 during the Dutch Revolt, and is more or less equivalent to the present-day Netherlands. The area in which the examined Jerusalem chapels appeared comprised the medieval county of Holland (Delft, Leiden, Gouda, and Amsterdam), and the prince-bishopric of Utrecht (city of Utrecht). Regarding ecclesiastical boundaries, it is striking that all chapels belonged to the diocese of Utrecht, which largely included the areas of the present-day northern and western Netherlands. Its capital, the city of Utrecht, played a leading role in the religious life and production of art and architecture in the bishopric.

The chronological span of this thesis covers the period of *circa* 175 years at the close of the Middle Ages, as the first Jerusalem chapel of the Northern Netherlands was established in Utrecht in *circa* 1394, and the chapels continued to exist in their original function until the religious change in 1572, when the northern territories joined the Prince of Orange in the Dutch Revolt.

A. Thesis Statement and State of Research

The historiography of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda has been mainly characterised by the local and regional interest of historians. Ignatius Walvis (1653-1714), pastor of Gouda and local historian, was the first to publish a brief sub-chapter about the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda in his chronicle *Beschryving der Stad Gouda* of 1714.¹

¹ Ignatius Walvis, *Beschryving der stad Gouda* (Gouda: Endenburg; Leiden: Vermey, 1714), 2: 181.

However, as stated in the preface to his book, he was often not able to find the relevant written primary sources, or the documents were not accessible to him.² This might explain the mistakes in his account of the chapel's history. He estimated that it dates from before 1447, before the establishment of the convent of the Brethren of the Common Life. Furthermore, the author recounted an unfounded anecdote about two brothers, both Jerusalem pilgrims, who had built the chapel after the model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and who then quarrelled about the position of the entrance door so that one of them travelled to Palestine again.

Roughly 130 years later, M. A. G. Vorstman, also pastor of Gouda, refuted the theory of Walvis.³ In the appendix of his article on the Brethren of the Common Life in the Northern Netherlands of 1847, he included transcriptions of three major entries from the cartulary of the Jerusalem chapel, specifically the will of the founder, the notes on the foundation of the chapel, and the property deed.⁴ These documents, he concluded, demonstrate that the eighteenth-century anecdote was imaginary and that actually the priest Gijsbert Raet had established the chapel.

Likewise, in 1879, the historian and retired pastor of Gouda, J. N. Scheltema, added a third volume to Cornelis Johan De Lange van Wijngaerden's two-volume chronicle of Gouda *Geschiedenis der Heeren en beschrijving der stad van der Goude*, which had previously been published in 1813 and 1817.⁵ Scheltema's book is a description of the city of Gouda based on a *manuscriptus* and additional notes of the

² Walvis, *Beschrijving*, 2: 1. J. Schouten, *Wie waren zij? Een reeks van Goudse mannen en vrouwen, die men niet mag vergeten* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Repro-Holland, 1980).

³ For more information on M. A. G. Vorstman, see Schouten, *Wie waren zij?*, 179-83.

⁴ M. A. G. Vorstman, "Stukken betreffende de Broeders des Gemeenen Levens, inzonderheid die van Gouda," *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis* 7 (1847): 140-49.

⁵ J. N. Scheltema, *Geschiedenis en beschrijving der stad van der Goude. Meest uit oorspronkelijke stukken bijeenverzameld door C. J. De Lange Van Wijngaerden* (Gouda: Van Goor, 1879). C. J. de Lange van Wijngaerden, *Geschiedenis der Heeren en beschrijving der stad van der Goude*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, Den Haag: Van Cleef, 1813). *Geschiedenis en beschrijving der stad van der Goude*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Van Cleef, 1817). The second volume was published under a slightly different title.

patriot and chronicler C. J. De Lange van Wijngaerden that had been preserved in the archives of Gouda.⁶ In the appendix to the chapter on the Holy Ghost Masters of Gouda, who took over the Convent of the Brethren of the Common Life and the Jerusalem chapel after the Reformation, Scheltema included a transcription of the introductory paragraph to a list of rents of 1516.⁷ Before naming the various rents that funded the maintenance of the Jerusalem chapel, the document starts by explaining the circumstances of the chapel's foundation and the duties of the Brethren with regard to the chapel. As stated by Scheltema, this written source confirmed that the priest Gijsbert Raet initiated the Jerusalem chapel.⁸ While the two local historians made these four sources available in print in the nineteenth century, they have not examined them in detail, as I will do throughout the thesis.

For the next sixty-one years, no investigation of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda took place. E. H. Ter Kuile (1900-1988), employee of the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency and professor of History of Architecture at Delft University of Technology,⁹ was the first to investigate the chapel in its own right and from an art-historical perspective. In 1940, he compiled the first volume on the provinces of North- and South-Holland in the series *Kunstreisboek voor Nederland* – catalogues of the most important monuments within the respective provinces of the Netherlands, commissioned by the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands – and included the chapel, offering a short description and its history.¹⁰

⁶ Scheltema, *Geschiedenis*, XI-XII. For more information on De Lange van Wijngaerden, see Schouten, *Wie waren zij?*, 135-43.

⁷ Scheltema, *Geschiedenis*, 147.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁹ L. Sorensen, "Ter Kuile, Engelbert Hendrik." Dictionary of Art Historians, accessed Mar 2, 2018, <http://www.arthistorians.info/terkuilee>.

¹⁰ E. H. ter Kuile, *Kunstreisboek voor Nederland. I: Noord-Holland, Zuid-Holland*, 1 ed. (Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1940), 81.

In 1947, J. H. Carlier, a retired teacher and local historian of Gouda, dedicated a brief sub-chapter to the Jerusalem chapel in his article on the Brethren of the Common Life in Gouda.¹¹ He assembled the information that could be gained from the previously published written sources and gave a brief overview regarding the founder, the history, and the appearance of the chapel. He also drew attention to the evidence of other Jerusalem pilgrims in Gouda, by quoting several entries in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century municipal account books of Gouda that concerned wine donations to the “Knights of the Holy Sepulchre” on Palm Sunday. Finally, he raised awareness of the existence of the brasses of the founder’s tombstone in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, giving a detailed description of these metal objects, and recounting the known facts about their post-Reformation history. Carlier’s account is a useful compilation of the available material about the chapel at that time, highlighting the basic known facts from the written sources. Yet, his work is not interpretative, and he did not acknowledge the existence of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Gouda; there are also some misinterpretations of the documentary sources, such as the form of the Holy Sepulchre inside the chapel, and the death year of the founder.¹²

Ter Kuile’s book on Dutch medieval architecture, published in 1948, contained a brief but comprehensive entry on the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda, including a plan and section of the building.¹³ By pointing out its particular architectural features and supplementing this with the key facts from the published written sources, the author classified the chapel as a monument whose shape referred to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and which housed a replica of the Tomb of Christ inside. He

¹¹ J. H. Carlier, “Het Fraterhuis of Collatiehuis op de Jeruzalemstraat,” *Oudheidkundige Kring ‘Die Goude:’ Verzameling bijdragen* 5 (1947): 71-76.

¹² Carlier, “Fraterhuis,” 71, 74.

¹³ S. J. Fockema Andreae and E. H. Ter Kuile, *Duizend jaar bouwen in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1948), 1: 296-97.

further considered the chapel in the architectural context of the Netherlands by mentioning the two lost Jerusalem chapels in Utrecht as comparative examples. Ter Kuile's contribution is worthy of mention, as he recognised the chapel's monumental value as the only surviving chapel of this kind in the Netherlands. While brief, his article provided the foundation for the art-historical discussion of the monument. Likewise, the short entry on the Gouda chapel in the various revised editions of the *Kunstreisboek*, issued until 1985, was updated with Ter Kuile's categorisation of the monument as a chapel emulating the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁴

While there was little further scholarship on the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda until the beginning of the 1980s, various studies on the other known Jerusalem chapels in the Northern Netherlands emerged which mentioned the Gouda chapel in passing. In 1956, R. Meischke, then director of the Cultural Heritage Agency of Amsterdam, published an article on the *Oudezijds* or St Olaf's chapel in Amsterdam, which was linked to a Jerusalem chapel in the late Middle Ages but which had been demolished during the rebuilding of St Olaf's chapel in 1644.¹⁵ As could be reconstructed from the surviving visual and written sources, the author pointed out the characteristic layout of the Amsterdam Jerusalem chapel, notably the polygonal rotunda joined to a rectangular-shaped building part, and its foundation by the local Jerusalem Brotherhood at the end of the fifteenth century. Referring to Ter Kuile's earlier categorisation of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda as a building whose architecture symbolically represented the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the author classified the Amsterdam chapel as belonging to the same group, together with the fragmentarily surviving St Martha's chapel in Delft. Meischke's article was important for the

¹⁴ P. Don, *Kunstreisboek Zuid-Holland*, 8 ed. (Weesp: Van Campen, 1985), 138-39.

¹⁵ R. Meischke, "De Oude Zijds Kapel," *Amstelodamum* 43 (1956): 160-62.

identification of the Jerusalem chapels in the Northern Netherlands, since he was the first to highlight the similarities in their design. By including a ground plan and a section of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda along with a ground plan of the one in Delft, he particularly drew attention to the similarity of these two chapels. Finally, in his article of 1959, E. Pelinck added the lost Holy Cross chapel in Leiden to this group of Northern Netherlandish Jerusalem chapels, after having reconstructed its architectural shape from the surviving visual sources and indicated its similarity to the ones in Gouda and Delft.¹⁶

Furthermore, the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda has been referred to in passing by two authors who investigated St Martha's chapel in Delft. In the 1967 Festschrift for E. H. Ter Kuile, Herman Janse, an employee of the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency, contributed a chapter on medieval chapels in Delft, including a brief section on St Martha's chapel, in which he discussed the remaining medieval fabric of the chapel and the striking similarity of the ground plan to the Gouda chapel.¹⁷ With regard to the definition of Jerusalem chapels he took up a different position from earlier authors, stating that their ground plans clearly referred to the Tomb Aedicule within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre rather than to the church itself. However, the author does not give any reasons for his interpretation nor does he provide any evidence to support it. Likewise, in 1980, E. J. Nusselder, then a student at Delft University of Technology, published the results of his structural survey of St Martha's chapel, which he had carried out within the context of a study project.¹⁸ He adopted Janse's interpretation of Jerusalem chapels in the Northern Netherlands, arguing that their ground plans, a

¹⁶ E. Pelinck, "De Heilige-Grafkapel van het Jerusalemschhofje," *Leids Jaarboekje* 51 (1959): 90-94, and figures.

¹⁷ H. Janse, "Middeleeuwse Kapellen," in *Delftse Studiën* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), 48-51.

¹⁸ E. J. Nusselder, "De Marthakapel te Delft: Een onderzoek," *Bulletin KNOB* 79, no. 2 (1980): 51-87.

twelve-sided central-plan building linked to a rectangular-shaped room, imitated the ground plan of the Tomb Aedicule and that therefore the chapels were evidently intended as a copy of the Aedicule.¹⁹ The author's line of argumentation is not convincing though, because he determines the similarity of the ground plans without actually providing evidence by carrying out a detailed comparative analysis of the two buildings. Moreover, he did not consider other key factors, such as the outward appearance of the chapels compared to that of the Tomb Aedicule, or the existence of a replica of the Tomb of Christ inside the chapels. It is surprising that, despite the lack of evidence, the interpretation of the Jerusalem chapels in the Northern Netherlands promoted by Janse and Nusselder was adopted by later authors discussing the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda.²⁰

Wolfgang Schneider's PhD dissertation, completed at the History Department of the Free University of Berlin in 1982, provides a comprehensive overview of Jerusalem Brotherhoods in the Northern Netherlands with regard to their history, customs, and places of worship.²¹ The author acknowledged the existence of a confraternity of "Knights of the Holy Sepulchre" in Gouda on the basis of evidence from the late medieval municipal account books concerning wine donations to the members of the Brotherhood on Palm Sunday. In a brief summary he presented the basic facts that could be gained from the account books: namely, the naming of the members, the time span, and the size of the Brotherhood.²² Furthermore, he identified Gijsbert Raet as a "Knight of the Holy Sepulchre" and included a brief description of

¹⁹ Ibid., 53.

²⁰ Ronald Glaudemans and Rob Gruben, "Gouda en Jeruzalem," in *De Jeruzalemkapel in Gouda*, ed. Chris Akkerman et al. (Gouda: Stichting SPOOR, 1998), 15-16, 19. Ronald Glaudemans and Rob Gruben, "De bouwgeschiedenis," in *De Jeruzalemkapel in Gouda*, ed. Chris Akkerman et al. (Gouda: Stichting SPOOR, 1998), 37-39.

²¹ Wolfgang Schneider, "Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana" (PhD, Freie Universität Berlin, 1982).

²² Schneider, "Peregrinatio," 75-76, 161-62.

the Jerusalem chapel based on the information from the written primary sources, but this was due to his misinterpretation of the chapel as the place of worship of the Gouda Brotherhood.²³ Schneider's study is a valuable source, as it offers a great deal of information on the respective Brotherhoods in the Northern Netherlands, allowing the reader to consider the confraternity in Gouda and Raet's chapel in the wider context of this social phenomenon. Likewise, his brief analysis of the evidence from the municipal account books offers the framework for a more detailed investigation of the Gouda Brotherhood and its relation to Raet's chapel. While the author founded his description of the Gouda chapel mainly on the summaries of previous authors, including some of their misinterpretations of the written sources, he additionally mentions the stipulations that the founder had made regarding his chapel in his will of 1505 and in another, a previously undiscussed, key document: the agreement between Raet and the Brethren of the Common Life of 1497. However, his identification of the Jerusalem chapel as the specific place of worship of the local Brotherhood is flawed. He simply states that the "Knights" of Gouda gathered in the chapel on Palm Sunday and that they regularly visited Raet's tomb there without giving any evidence for his claim.

From the 1990s onwards, Gijsbert Raet and his Jerusalem chapel were treated in several monographic studies. In 1991, Marion Kuipers-Verbuijs, then a student at the VU University Amsterdam, wrote a seminar paper on the founder of the chapel in the context of a history course on Gouda in the Late Middle Ages, tutored by Prof Koen Goudriaan.²⁴ The objective of her study was to collect the biographical data on Gijsbert Raet from the written sources. Having discovered most of the documents in

²³ Ibid., 114-17.

²⁴ Marion Kuipers-Verbuijs, "Gysbrecht Willemsz Raet. Priester te Gouda, ? - 1511" (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Vakgroep Geschiedenis, 1991).

the archives of the convents of Gouda, which had been inventoried by Jan Taal,²⁵ and several in other archival units, she reconstructed the history of the chapel and the biography of Raet in two brief accounts by chronologically enumerating the relevant information, including a list of Raet's immovable property: namely, buildings, land, and rent deeds. Despite minor mistakes, her account offered a starting point for the archival research of subsequent authors, such as Ingeborg Laarakkers and Koen Goudriaan.²⁶

In 1996, Ronald Glaudemans and Rob Gruben, two historic building experts of the Instituut voor Bouwhistorische Inventarisatie en Documentatie (IBID) in 's-Hertogenbosch, surveyed the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda for the purpose of collecting as much historical data as possible in view of the upcoming restoration of the monument. Although the survey was in general confined to visible elements – it was not possible to carry out a “destructive” examination of the fabric – the opportunity arose in various places to inspect more closely the finishing layers of both the interior and exterior of the rotunda, revealing a wealth of structural data. Most importantly, under layers of plaster, the original blind niche-window pattern of the outer rotunda sides, which are now hidden by the adjoining building, and the original decoration of circular blind niches on the interior walls of the rotunda, were discovered. The findings of this survey, which the two surveyors put together in a report in the same year,²⁷ and which were also the basis for their article on the architectural history of the chapel in 1998,²⁸ were indispensable to subsequent scholarship, as they brought to light a great

²⁵ Jan Taal, *De archieven van de Goudse kloosters* (The Hague: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1957).

²⁶ Ingeborg Laarakkers, “De Jeruzalemkapel,” in *De Jeruzalemkapel in Gouda*, ed. Chris Akkerman et al. (Gouda: Stichting SPOOR, 1998), 23-36. Koen Goudriaan, “Gijsbert Raet en zijn Jeruzalem,” *Tidings van die Goude* 17, no. 1 (1999): 15-29.

²⁷ Ronald Glaudemans and Rob Gruben, “Jeruzalemkapel Gouda: bouwhistorisch vooronderzoek en waardebepaling” ('s-Hertogenbosch: IBID, 1996).

²⁸ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Bouwgeschiedenis,” 37-65.

deal of information on the late medieval appearance of the rotunda, and on the post-Reformation structural changes to the building. During the subsequent restoration of the chapel between 2003 and 2006,²⁹ the uncovered original architectural features of the rotunda were re-established. Nevertheless, one has to acknowledge that the structural survey was limited in scope and that our understanding of the late medieval appearance of the chapel is still incomplete.

The structural survey of 1996 was accompanied by three more investigations into the Jerusalem chapel, the results of which were published, along with the article on the architectural history by Glaudemans and Gruben, in the booklet *De Jeruzalemkapel in Gouda* in 1998 – the first monograph dedicated to the chapel.³⁰ In the introductory chapter “Gouda en Jeruzalem” Glaudemans and Gruben provided general background information in short summaries on the subjects of travelling to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem Brotherhoods and Jerusalem chapels in the Northern Netherlands.³¹ This overview allowed the reader to consider the Gouda chapel in the context of medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage and its specific Netherlandish customs. However, the texts are very generalised, and some parts contain errors. The history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for instance, is reduced to the fourth-century Constantinian phase and the present-day appearance. Moreover, the description of the Tomb Aedicule is inaccurate, as it is based on K. J. Conant’s flawed reconstruction of the Constantinian Aedicule³² and confused with the late medieval appearance of the Tomb Aedicule in Erhard

²⁹ Den Hoed Aannemers B. V., accessed Mar 2, 2018, <https://denhoed.nl/restauratie/1998075-restauratie-jeruzalemkapel-te-gouda>.

³⁰ Ronald Glaudemans et al., *De Jeruzalemkapel in Gouda*, ed. Chris Akkerman et al. (Gouda: Stichting SPOOR, 1998).

³¹ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Gouda en Jeruzalem,” 9-22.

³² K. J. Conant, “The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,” *Speculum* 31, no. 1 (1956): 1-48.

Reuwich's woodcut of 1486. The authors' conclusion that the ground plan and the twelve columns of the Gouda chapel reference the Tomb Aedicule is not convincing due to their misreading of both the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Tomb Aedicule. Yet, their interpretation of the ground plan in Gouda as an imitation of the Tomb Aedicule, adopted from Janse and Nusselder, has generally been accepted by subsequent authors.³³ Finally, Glaudemans and Gruben acknowledge a structural similarity between the Netherlandish chapels, in particular between the ones in Gouda and Delft, but consider the references to the Tomb Aedicule more important. The motivations for constructing a Jerusalem chapel are only mentioned in passing and limited to the commemoration of the pilgrimage and the veneration of the Holy Sepulchre.

Ingeborg Laarakkers, then a student at Utrecht University, contributed the chapter "De Jeruzalemkapel" to the booklet of 1998 after having undertaken archival research in Gouda.³⁴ Her findings allowed her to confirm the existence of a local Jerusalem Brotherhood, to estimate the period of Raet's pilgrimage, to narrow down the time span for the construction of the chapel, and to comment on the interior decoration and the post-Reformation history of the chapel. Additionally, she provided general background information on voluntary and imposed pilgrimages, pilgrimage souvenirs, Jerusalem Brotherhoods in the Northern Netherlands, and the late medieval appearance of the Tomb Aedicule, along with a description of Raet's tombstone and its brasses. Laarakker's account is an accumulation of diverse topics, which set the

³³ Laarakkers, "Jeruzalemkapel," 27-29. K. J. Steehouwer, "Graven naar het graf," in *De Jeruzalemkapel in Gouda*, ed. Chris Akkerman et al. (Gouda: Stichting SPOOR, 1998), 68-69. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert Raet," 15. J. Akerboom, "Religieus erfgoed: De Jeruzalemkapel te Gouda," *Monumenten* 27, no. 3 (2006): 17. Maarten Groenendijk and Diederick Habermehl, "Ondergronds," *Tidings van die Goude* 25, no. 2 (2007): 63. Marcel van Dasselaar, "Resten van Raet," *Erfgoed* 2 (2008): 54.

³⁴ Laarakkers, "Jeruzalemkapel," 23-36.

chapel into the context of late medieval pilgrimage customs and which provide relevant information about the Jerusalem chapel, notably the existence of the Brotherhood in opposition to the private foundation of the Jerusalem chapel. Nevertheless, just a few sources from the rich archival material are discussed and there are translation mistakes, including the death year of the founder and some of the chapel's equipment. Adopting Glaudemans and Gruben's interpretation that the chapel was modelled on the Tomb Aedicule, she reconstructs its late medieval appearance. However, this is based on contemporary pilgrimage accounts and not on a structural comparison.

The last article of the booklet was written by K. J. Steehouwer and concerns the small-scale archaeological excavation that was carried out inside the rotunda by IBID, in collaboration with the municipal archaeologist of Gouda and the *Archeologische Vereniging Gouda*, in 1997.³⁵ The planned installation of a concrete floor as a structural stabilisation of the vault allowed an examination of the ground in search of possible remains of the Holy Sepulchre monument. Five oblong-shaped trenches were dug, oriented towards the four cardinal points, and roughly forming a cross-shaped pattern.³⁶ However, the foundations of the replica of the Tomb of Christ were not found. Only part of a wall was uncovered, which presumably belonged to the building preceding the chapel. Although this fact could not be determined with absolute certainty, owing to an early stop of the excavation, the position of the piece of wall towards the edge of the rotunda excludes an identification with the "Holy Sepulchre." The investigators reasonably concluded that the monument either did not possess any foundations or that these had been removed when a new floor was built

³⁵ Steehouwer, "Graven," 67-79.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 69-70, Fig. 45.

after the Reformation. Finally, Steehouwer hypothesised that, due to the lack of foundations, the “Holy Sepulchre” probably took the form of a wooden sarcophagus. However, his argumentation is based on a misreading of the documentary sources – namely, that the monument was wooden and painted – and on Glaudemans and Gruben’s unconvincing interpretation that the plan of the chapel imitates the Tomb Aedicule, which, according to the author, would make the placing of another copy of the Tomb Aedicule inside the chapel illogical.

In response to the booklet, Koen Goudriaan, professor of medieval history at the VU University Amsterdam, published an article on Gijsbert Raet and his Jerusalem chapel in 1999.³⁷ Recognising that the rich written sources have not been explored sufficiently, he started a new archival investigation in Gouda, Utrecht and The Hague in order to find out more biographical details on the founder within the context of late medieval Gouda. His study is an indispensable source of information, since, although the sources do not exactly reveal the family background of the priest, Goudriaan provides an account about Raet’s existence as a secular priest, notably his foundation and cancellation of a chantry in the convent of St Mary Magdalene in Gouda, and his institution as a chantry priest in the parish church of Gouda. The author was also able to establish the approximate birth date of the founder and a list of Raet’s immovable property. He highlights the social network of the priest, in particular his connections to the high-ranking clergy and the aristocracy, and his relationship to the Brethren of the Common Life. Furthermore, Goudriaan offers alternative interpretations regarding the “Holy Sepulchre” as being decorated with circular wooden panels, the position of the altar at the eastern side of the chancel instead of the supposed northern side, and the existence of Raet’s private house to the east of the chapel. His article has provided

³⁷ Goudriaan, “Gijsbert Raet,” 15-29.

an essential framework for my study of the written sources. Nevertheless, the author's interests were rather different from those that preoccupies this thesis. He was primarily concerned with the historical background and Raet's biography but not with the chapel's function. The latter was only mentioned in passing and limited to the commemoration of the founder's pilgrimage. Although the author briefly mentioned spiritual pilgrimage in connection with early modern devotion, he did not consider it as something that could have taken place inside the chapel.

In the twenty-first century, the Jerusalem chapel either featured in larger publications describing the historical buildings of Gouda or was mentioned in articles reporting on the founder's tomb. In 2001, a single volume was dedicated to the monuments of Gouda, as part of the series of inventories of historic buildings published by the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands.³⁸ Goudriaan contributed the entry on the Jerusalem chapel.³⁹ It is a detailed account, summarising the known information about the history of the chapel and its appearance through the course of time. However, there are some deficiencies with regard to architectural terminology and the understanding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the function of the chapel is addressed only in passing as commemorating the founder's pilgrimage. Another compendium is H. Sprokholt and D. van Dolder-de Wit's book on the religious monuments of Gouda, but only a brief summary of the chapel's history is given.⁴⁰

In January 2007, the municipality of Gouda commissioned ArcheoMedia to carry out a small-scale archaeological excavation inside the eighteenth-century

³⁸ W. Denslagen, *Gouda* (Zeist: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg; Zwolle: Waanders, 2001).

³⁹ Koen Goudriaan, "Kapellen, gasthuizen en andere instellingen van liefdadigheid," in *Gouda*, ed. W. Denslagen (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 165-68.

⁴⁰ Henkjan Sprokholt and Henny van Dolder-de Wit, *Op gewijde grond gebouwd: Goudse gebedsplaatsen door de eeuwen heen* (Gouda: Stichting Open Monumentendag, 2005), 39-40.

residential house that had replaced the chancel of the Jerusalem chapel.⁴¹ The upcoming restoration of the building provided an opportunity to search for the grave of the founder, whose exact location was unknown due to the removal of the tombstone after the Reformation. A trench was dug in the northern-most bay of the room, where, according to the written sources, Gijsbert Raet had been buried, and where, eventually his empty burial cavity was discovered in the north-eastern corner, and some of his bones in a nearby pit. Although his tomb had been damaged and his bones removed during one of the later building campaigns, and although the floor of the former chancel had not entirely been examined, the knowledge of the tomb's location within the chancel is an essential parameter in understanding the interior arrangement and function of the chapel. The bones further revealed details about Raet's appearance: he had a sturdy physique and was approximately 1.80 m tall. In 2011, the remaining fragment of the founder's tombstone was restored to its original position in the floor of the present-day residential building. The missing part of the slab was replaced by a glass plate, allowing the visitor a glimpse into the burial chamber. Some of the archaeologists who had been involved in this excavation have reported the interesting finds in several articles.⁴² Nevertheless, the discovery of the founder's burial site has not led to new interpretative work with regard to the chapel or its function.

It is worthy of mention that, in addition to the excavation in the eighteenth-century residential house, the building itself was the subject of a structural survey carried out by the *Onderzoeks- en adviesbureau voor Bouwhistorie, Archeologie,*

⁴¹ Marcel van Dasselaar, "Rapport A07-022-O. Archeologisch onderzoek in de voormalige Jeruzalemkapel te Gouda: het graf van Raet" (Capelle aan den IJssel: ArcheoMedia BV, 2008).

⁴² Groenendijk and Habermehl, "Ondergronds," 63-68. Dasselaar, "Resten," 54-55. Maarten J. Groenendijk, *Graven in Gouda. Een archeologische stadsgeschiedenis* (Gouda: Gemeente Gouda, 2011), 46-47.

Architectuur- en Cultuurhistorie (BAAC) in 's-Hertogenbosch in April 2017.⁴³ It was limited in scope though. The surviving medieval fabric in the northern and eastern wall of the former chancel, for instance, could not be examined due to the wall coverings. Relevant to the study of the Jerusalem chapel was the finding of a few remains of ornamental wall painting on the outside of one of the pier arches of the rotunda.

Most recently, the Gouda chapel has been mentioned in Kathryn Blair Moore's comprehensive survey of European recreations of buildings in the Holy Land from Late Antiquity to the Reformation.⁴⁴ Following a sub-chapter on the medieval Jerusalem chapel in Bruges, the author draws attention to the less prominent contemporary Jerusalem chapels in the Low Countries, notably, the Holy Cross chapel in Leiden, of which she provides a brief account, and the chapels in Gouda and Amsterdam, which are briefly mentioned as comparative examples. Moore has linked all three chapels to the respective local Jerusalem confraternities. However, this was not the case in Gouda, as will be shown in this thesis.

As we have seen, the historiography of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda has primarily been concerned with researching the biographical background of the founder and the history of the chapel from the available evidence in the written sources. Furthermore, scholarship focused on the examination of the chapel's architecture: namely, the reconstruction of its original appearance from the structural data and information in the documentary material, and on the chapel's architectural references to both the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Tomb Aedicule. Therefore, a lack of understanding of the complex history of the church in Jerusalem was evident in some

⁴³ BAAC is the successor company of IBID, which carried out the structural survey of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda in 1996. M. C. van Dam, "Gouda Jeruzalemkapel: Bouwhistorische deelopname. BAAC Rapport B-07.174" ('s-Hertogenbosch: BAAC, 2008).

⁴⁴ Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2017), 181-82.

studies. The similarity of the Gouda chapel to four further monuments has been acknowledged; however, the links to the prototype in Jerusalem were considered as more important than the relationship between the chapels themselves. Furthermore, other authors have discussed similarities to a selection of them but not looked at all of them as a group. Owing to the absence of a detailed comparative analysis of the Netherlandish chapels, their account has been generalised, which might explain why some authors have associated Raet's chapel with the local Jerusalem Brotherhood. Hardly any attention was given to the reasons behind Raet's foundation. The authors almost exclusively defined the chapel as a sign of gratitude for the founder's safe return from the Holy Land,⁴⁵ or, in some cases, as a commemoration of his pilgrimage.⁴⁶ The study of the function of the chapel has been completely neglected. This is noticeable, for instance, in the use of geometrical forms (twelve-sided building, rectangle) instead of functional architectural terminology (nave, chancel) when describing the chapel. Although most authors hinted at the existence of the replica of the Tomb of Christ inside the chapel, no one has explored its purpose, and while the stipulations of the founder have often been mentioned in the literature, the central role of the concept of *memoria* has not previously been recognised. Likewise, Raet's tombstone, including the brasses, and the wall memorial, which is referred to in the written sources, have not been analysed in the context of their original setting and in their function as commemorative objects.

Both the fact that the priest had commissioned a replica of the Tomb of Christ and that he was buried in the same chapel suggest that the motivation behind his

⁴⁵ Carlier, "Fraterhuis," 71. Schneider, "Peregrinatio," 114. Kuipers-Verbuijs, "Gysbrecht," 2, 5-6. Laarakkers, "Jeruzalemkapel," 23, 26. Sprokholt and Dolder-de Wit, *Gewijde grond*, 39. Akerboom, "Religieus erfgoed," 17. Groenendijk and Habermehl, "Ondergronds," 63. Groenendijk, *Graven*, 46.

⁴⁶ Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 165. Dasselaar, "Resten," 54.

foundation is more complex than previously thought. One of the central contributions that this thesis makes is to demonstrate that the concept of *memoria*, as conceived by Otto Gerhard Oexle,⁴⁷ is key to understanding Gijsbert Raet's motivation and the chapel's intended function. It will become clear that the chapel had a double function which needs to be interpreted in the context of his *memoria* provision: the analysis of the respective commemorative provisions made in his will and in the previously made agreement with the Brethren of the Common Life demonstrate that Raet had founded it as his perpetual chantry chapel. On the other hand, the priest issued instructions to open the chapel for public worship and to maintain the lamps around the "Holy Sepulchre," demonstrating that his foundation was also a place of worship for the veneration of the Holy Sepulchre by the laity. This examination will also show that the chapel additionally functioned as a pilgrimage shrine and assess how this can be interpreted in the context of *memoria*. In support of the argument, I will discuss the memorial objects within the chapel, such as the founder's tomb slab, including the brasses, and the wall memorial. Both offer new evidence for our understanding of the founder's motivations and of the chapel's commemorative function.

Furthermore, the thesis will consider Raet's chapel in relation to the other five known Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht – an aspect that has rarely been addressed by previous scholars. The thesis will show that these chapels present distinct commonalities which are critical to understanding the choices behind the architectural layout of Raet's foundation. Although the chapels did not share the same stylistic vocabulary and details, their coherence in design indicates that they were based on the

⁴⁷ O. G. Oexle, "Die Gegenwart der Toten," in *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. H. Braet and W. Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 19-77. "Memoria und Memorialbild," in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Schmid and J. Wollasch (München: Fink, 1984), 384-440.

same architectural concept. The comparative approach will enable me to reassess the Gouda chapel as part of a regional phenomenon, whose design was influenced by the earlier established Netherlandish Jerusalem chapels. This will not only provide further insight into the use of the Gouda chapel as a place of veneration of the Holy Sepulchre, but it also allows us to investigate the memorial function of the other chapels, and to highlight Gouda's status as individual chantry chapel in opposition to the chapels that were maintained by a Jerusalem Brotherhood.

This thesis has been written and researched according to the principle of favouring primary evidence: the extant medieval fabric of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda in conjunction with the written and visual sources. This approach has allowed me to critically evaluate, differentiate and expand on what was known about the building history and the life of the founder. Above all, however, the thorough study of the contemporary written sources was an integral part of my investigation of the memorial function of the chapel. The survival of rich documentary material related to Gijsbert Raet has provided a wealth of written data that has informed all parts of this study. A careful rereading of the written material brought to light new evidence of commemorative provisions that Raet had made before the foundation of his chapel and offered additional clues to his social network in Gouda, Montfoort, Delft, and Leiden. This has enabled me to provide a fuller understanding of the motivations of the priest and the environment in which he established his chapel, and to challenge earlier interpretations. The study of the written and visual primary sources also extended to the lost Jerusalem chapels in Utrecht, Leiden, and Amsterdam, and the fragmentarily surviving chapel in Delft, and proved an essential prerequisite for detailed comparison with the Gouda chapel. A fresh look at the documentary sources of the comparative examples, especially in the context of our investigation of the aspect of *memoria*,

helped to broaden knowledge of each of the other chapels and to define their use in the past. This comparative analysis was indispensable for understanding the regional phenomenon of Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht in general and of the Gouda chapel as a chantry chapel in particular.

B. The Present-Day Chapel

This thesis is concerned with the late medieval history of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda, from its origins at the turn to the sixteenth century until the Reformation in 1572. The original edifice, however, has not survived in its entirety owing to a partial demolition of the chapel and alterations to the extant fabric, and our knowledge of the architectural details is also compounded by the lack of contemporary visual sources. Following the architectural survey of 1996, it was possible to restore some of the chapel's original features; however, the monument is still marked by the post-Reformation modifications (Fig. I. 1).⁴⁸ In order to facilitate the understanding of the chapel's present-day appearance in the photographs that are used as visual material throughout the discussion, a brief account of its building history after the Reformation is given here.

The late medieval chapel encompassed two building parts, a twelve-sided rotunda that was linked to a chancel of quadrilateral shape. Except for the chancel's northern end, which was connected to the refectory of the Brethren of the Common Life (*Collatiebroeders*),⁴⁹ the chapel was originally a free-standing building: the side

⁴⁸ For a reconstruction of the chapel's late medieval appearance see Chapter III. C.

⁴⁹ In Gouda, the Brethren of the Common Life were called *Collatiebroeders*.

walls of the chancel, and the nine façades of the rotunda were not covered by adjoining buildings. Only a garden wall linked the rotunda to the neighbouring private house of the owner (Fig. I. 2).⁵⁰ After the death of the founder Gijsbert Raet on 27 May 1511, the Brethren of the Common Life, whose buildings occupied most of the building block where the chapel was located, were responsible for the upkeep of the chapel. Following the Dutch Revolt against the Rule of the Catholic King Philip II of Spain, which accompanied the Reformation, the city of Gouda was taken over by the *watergeuzen* (“sea beggars”), a league of Dutch Calvinist nobles, in 1572, and henceforth the city was under the rule of William I, Prince of Orange, who was the main leader of the rebellion.⁵¹ During the occupation, the religious institutions and their members were attacked by the troops of the Lord of Lumey. When the convent of the *Collatiebroeders* was dissolved, its property was taken over by the Holy Ghost Masters (*Heilige Geestmeester*), the municipal administrators of poor relief, in 1573, who established an orphanage in a part of the complex. The function of the Jerusalem chapel at that time remains unclear.⁵²

At some time between 1573 and 1585, the private house of Gijsbert Raet was demolished and an oblong two-storey building was erected along the Patersteeg, directly adjoining the rotunda, and thus covering four of its façades. The windows of two sides were bricked up during this campaign and the façades themselves were covered by plaster.⁵³ This new situation is depicted on the city map of Gouda by Braun and Hogenberg of 1585 (Fig. I. 3).⁵⁴ It is evident that the new occupants intended to

⁵⁰ Ronald Glaudemans and Rob Gruben, “De Bouwgeschiedenis,” in *De Jeruzalemkapel in Gouda*, ed. Chris Akkerman et al. (Gouda: Stichting SPOOR, 1998): 40, 63.

⁵¹ Cf. P. Rietbergen, *A Short History of the Netherlands* (Amersfoort: Bekking, 1998), 76-78.

⁵² Goudriaan, “Kapellen,” 165. Goudriaan, “De verdwenen kloosters,” in *Gouda*, ed. W. Denslagen (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 193-94.

⁵³ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Bouwgeschiedenis,” 47.

⁵⁴ Judging from architectural details, Glaudemans and Gruben suggested that the wing was constructed around 1590. *Ibid.*, 49-51. The Braun and Hogenberg map allows a slightly earlier dating: before 1585.

make optimal use of the available space within the building block by creating a continuous development along the Patersteeg. The fabric of the sixteenth-century wing has been altered during the following centuries, but a small part of it is still attached to the eastern side of the rotunda, still hiding four of its sides (Figs I. 5-7).⁵⁵

From *circa* 1598 onwards, the Almoners (*Aalmoezeniers*), an institution in charge of the poor relief in Gouda that was founded in 1586, took office inside the Jerusalem chapel.⁵⁶ This led to structural changes of the interior. A wall was erected at the open connection between the nave and the chancel, thus dividing the building into two separate units. Wall paintings and polychromy inside the rotunda were thoroughly removed and replaced by new layers of plaster. A huge cupboard was built against the columns in front of the partition wall, and the pointed arches above them were walled up. A similar cupboard was put up against the east wall of the rotunda, partly damaging the bases and lower parts of the colonnettes. To the right of the latter cupboard, a door to the adjoining eastern building was cut into the wall of the rotunda. At some point, the original east entrance of the chapel was walled up.⁵⁷ The watercolour by Verspuy of 1856 shows that the original small, high-positioned pointed-arch windows in the rotunda sides at the street corner were walled up and that three large windows were installed instead in order to provide more day light for the office (Fig. I. 8). The altered windows are also indicated on the Map of Gouda by Blaeu of 1648 and on the Monuments' map of Gouda of 1847 (Figs I. 9-10). From this phase in the building's history, the dividing wall, one of the cupboards at the eastern

⁵⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, 48-49.

⁵⁶ Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 165.

⁵⁷ Glaudemans and Gruben, "Bouwgeschiedenis," 47-48, 51.

side, and the door in the rotunda have remained to this day. The metal construction supporting the vault was presumably installed after the Reformation (Figs I. 11-12).⁵⁸

The greatest damage to the original fabric occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the chancel of the chapel was demolished, except for its northern and eastern wall, and a small part of the roof above the entrance door. On its foundations a two-storey residential building was erected, thereby reusing the two medieval walls at the northern and eastern end, and the partition wall at the southern end (Figs I. 13-14).⁵⁹ The house provided accommodation for the schoolmaster of a nearby school.⁶⁰ The watercolour by Verspuy and the Monuments' map both show the chapel's state after the eighteenth-century rebuilding (Figs I. 8 and I. 10).

The function of the chapel after 1812, when the Almoners merged with the Holy Ghost Masters to form a single municipal institution for poor relief, is not known.⁶¹ Around 1860, the three windows of the front façades were replaced by three large neo-Gothic pointed-arch windows with plate tracery.⁶² Above each a small round window was added; the jambs of the western doorway were renewed and a small pointed-arch window with plate tracery of the same style was placed above the entrance (Fig. I. 1). The dripstone moulding at the bottom of the windows was cut away and replaced by a *speklaag*.⁶³ Inside the rotunda, the colonnettes were thickened with cement. The bases, the capitals, and the ribs of the vault were stripped of their plaster and paint. Between the bases of the colonnettes, a wainscoting made of brick

⁵⁸ It was renewed during the major restoration (2003-2006).

⁵⁹ Glaudemans and Gruben, "Bouwgeschiedenis," 52-55.

⁶⁰ Cf. W. Denslagen, "Nieuwe instellingen in de voormalige kloosters," in *Gouda*, ed. W. Denslagen (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 335-38.

⁶¹ Cf. Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 165.

⁶² The stained glass in the middle window depicting the Crucifixion dates from around 1952. Taal, *Archieven*, 16.

⁶³ A band of white stone used as a contrasting decorative element in a brick façade, typical of the Netherlands from *circa* 1400 onwards. Cf. E. J. Haslinghuis and H. Janse, *Bouwkundige termen*, 4th ed. (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2001), 425.

was installed.⁶⁴ The structural changes appeared in the context of the Gothic Revival movement in the Netherlands, which emerged after the re-establishment of the episcopal sees in April 1853, and the consequent Roman Catholic emancipation. Neo-Gothic architecture was adopted as the new dominant Roman Catholic style. All over the country Catholic churches were built or restored.⁶⁵ It is striking that the Jerusalem chapel underwent a “restoration” in order to give it a neo-Gothic and hence a Catholic appearance. The onion-shaped crown on top of the conical roof may have been added at this time (Fig. I. 1).

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, a small quadrangular two-storey annex was joined to the eastern side of the eighteenth-century residential house, providing additional space and giving the complex of the Jerusalem chapel its present-day dimensions (Fig. I. 15). The former refectory of the Brethren of the Common Life was demolished in 1943 due to its dilapidated state, leaving an open space at the northern end of the eighteenth-century residential building (Fig. I. 16).⁶⁶ Presumably in the 1960s, the original eastern wall of the late medieval chancel on the ground floor, separating the residential house from the annex, was torn down.⁶⁷ This may have happened in connection with the installation of the contemporary art society *Kunstcentrum Burgvliet*, which used the rooms of the complex for educational purposes and the chapel as exhibition space from 1966 onwards.⁶⁸

During the major restoration of the chapel between 2003 and 2006, some late medieval architectural features that came to light in the structural survey of 1996 could

⁶⁴ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Bouwgeschiedenis,” 42, 55-57.

⁶⁵ Rietbergen, *History*, 149, 155.

⁶⁶ Cf. Denslagen, “Nieuwe instellingen,” 335-38.

⁶⁷ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Bouwgeschiedenis,” 57-58.

⁶⁸ SAMH, 200, inv. 6218.

be restored.⁶⁹ The plaster on the hidden façades of the rotunda at the eastern side was removed and the original window and blind niche decoration was re-established (Figs I. 5-7). Inside the chapel, the plaster and cement were taken off from the walls and colonettes, and the blind circular niches on the walls were restored (Fig. I. 12). The cupboard in front of the partition wall was removed, and the pointed arches and the columns were made visible again (Fig. I. 11). The east entrance of the chapel was reopened (Fig. I. 17). The interior walls and the vault of the rotunda are now painted in light beige, according to the original colour that was found on the vault. The small part of the medieval pitched roof of the chancel was taken off, and instead a continuous conical roof was placed on the rotunda (Figs I. 1 and I. 13-14).⁷⁰ The complex of the Jerusalem chapel is now owned by the municipality of Gouda and it is currently used as an exhibition venue for contemporary art. Except for a fragment of the founder's tombstone and its brass inlays nothing of the original furnishings and decoration has survived.⁷¹ Our discussion has highlighted the post-Reformation elements which are visible in the chapel's present-day appearance. This has demonstrated that our knowledge of the monument's late medieval appearance is limited. However, as will be shown throughout the thesis, my analysis of the written sources has brought to light further information about Raet's chapel, in particular with regard to the original interior decoration.

⁶⁹ Cf. Glaudemans and Gruben, "Vooronderzoek," 48-61, 73-74. Den Hoed Aannemers B. V., accessed Mar 2, 2018, <https://denhoed.nl/restauratie/1998075-restauratie-jeruzalemkapel-te-gouda>.

⁷⁰ It remains unclear whether the small star-shaped openings on three of the interior walls above the blind roundels are original.

⁷¹ The tombstone will be discussed in Chapter IV. C. 1.

C. Overview of Sources

1. The Written Sources

A rich body of contemporary written sources related to Gijsbert Raet and his Jerusalem chapel has been preserved in good condition in the municipal archives of Gouda (*Streekarchief Midden-Holland*), and, to a smaller extent, in The Utrecht Archives (*Het Utrechts Archief*), and in the National Archives in The Hague (*Nationaal Archief*). The documents range from the fourteenth until the sixteenth centuries and are either written in Middle Dutch, Medieval Latin, or a combination of both.⁷² The analysis of the written sources is a challenging task, since, as we shall see, only four sources have been edited so far, and none of them was translated into English.

The cartulary of the Jerusalem chapel, which was compiled by the Brethren of the Common Life after Raet's death (27 May 1511), contains copies of the main documents as well as independent entries related to the chapel.⁷³ The most recent entry dates from 15 October 1516, and in another entry the year 1516 is mentioned in the past.⁷⁴ Therefore, the cartulary can be dated to *circa* 1517. It seems that, except for one section, the texts were written in one campaign by Gerbrand van Egmond, rector of the Brethren of the Common Life at that time. The first entry in the cartulary describes the circumstances of the chapel's foundation, its furnishings and decoration as well as the duties of the Brethren ("notes on the foundation").⁷⁵ There is a postscript

⁷² For an overview of the records pertaining to Gijsbert Raet, see Appendix D. Other sources that are related to him will be referred to in the footnotes.

⁷³ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 1r-17v.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fols 2v and 6r.

⁷⁵ SAMH, 91, 58, fols 1r-1v. In the following, this source will be referred to as "notes on the foundation." Both Kuipers-Verbuijs and Laarakkers wrongly named this source foundation charter. Kuipers-

about the consecration of the altar at the end of the first page, which was drafted by Johannes van Emmerik, as both the phrase “ego iohannes embrice qui haec scripsi” and the different hand reveal.⁷⁶ He was an eye witness to the consecration when a young friar with the Brethren in 1504 and later succeeded Van Egmond as rector of the community. The cartulary further contains two entries confirming the transfer of two houses and three plots of land from Raet to the Brethren on 14 and 20 February 1505 respectively,⁷⁷ copies of the founder’s will of 13 February 1505,⁷⁸ the deed of purchase to the plot of land for the chapel of 25 February 1494,⁷⁹ and various deeds of rent that funded the monument.⁸⁰ Three of the above-mentioned sources have been edited by Vorstman. In 1847, he published: the notes on the foundation (*ca* 1517), the will of Gijsbert Raet (1505), and the purchase deed to the plot of land for the Jerusalem chapel (1494).⁸¹ Vorstman made a mistake when transcribing Raet’s will. In the passage, in which the founder stipulated the celebration of death anniversaries, it reads: “in anniuersario patris domini gijsberti qui obiit sexto die septembris.”⁸² However, Vorstman omitted the word “patris” and recorded that Raet’s anniversary should be celebrated on 6 September.⁸³

Another main primary source of the chapel is a document, dated 1516, that was bound into a rents’ ledger of the Brethren of the Common Life of about 1550.⁸⁴ It was

Verbuijs, “Gysbrecht,” 2-3. Laarakkers, “Jeruzalemkapel,” 23. For a full transcription and translation of the “notes,” see Appendix G. 4.

⁷⁶ “I, Johannes van Emmerik, who has written this.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r. Taal, *Archieven*, 27.

⁷⁷ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 2r-3r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fols 3v-5r. Only the copy of Raet’s will has survived.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 5v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fols 6r-17v.

⁸¹ Vorstman, “Stukken,” 140-49.

⁸² “At the anniversary of the father of Master Gisbertus who died on the sixth day of September.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 4r-4v. For a revised transcription of the will, see Appendix G. 2.

⁸³ Vorstman, “Stukken,” 145. As a result, some authors mentioned the wrong death date of the priest. Cf. Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 116. E. G. G. Bos, *Vijf eeuwen koper en brons: Five Centuries of Brass and Bronze* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1973), no. 39.

⁸⁴ SAMH, 91, inv. 19, between fols 51v and 52r.

drafted by the Brethren, containing a list of rents that funded the chapel. The introductory paragraph to this list summarises the circumstances of the chapel's foundation and the duties of the Brethren. In 1879, Scheltema included a transcription of the introductory paragraph of this document.⁸⁵ The author mistakenly concluded that the document, dated 1516, was written directly after Raet's death and that, therefore, the founder must have died in the same year.⁸⁶

Two of the above-mentioned sources were republished in 1947. In his article on the Brethren of the Common Life in Gouda, Carlier included the transcription of the purchase deed to the plot of land for the Jerusalem chapel of 1494 and the introductory paragraph of the document of 1516.⁸⁷ Thus, by the mid-twentieth century, the key sources contained within the cartulary of the Jerusalem chapel and the rents' ledger of the Brethren would have been known among the local scholarship. The loose documentary material in the archives of Gouda that was related to Raet remained largely unnoticed except for two sources. In his article of 1947, Carlier cited short extracts from the late medieval municipal account books of 1496, 1497, 1503, 1521, 1522, and 1523, indicating that the local authorities donated wine to the Jerusalem Brotherhood of Gouda on Palm Sunday.⁸⁸ Moreover, in his newspaper article of 16 September 1950, G. J. J. Pot, municipal clerk of Gouda, paraphrased a note that was written by Raet, describing the salary payment to the painter Timan Henricxz. from Delft and revealing the names of other artists working in the Jerusalem chapel.⁸⁹ Both

⁸⁵ Schneider, "Peregrinatio," 147.

⁸⁶ Consequently, some authors falsely named the year 1516 as the death year of the priest. Carlier, "Fraterhuis," 74. Schneider, "Peregrinatio," 116. N. D. B. Habermehl, *Gouda: stad van kerken, kapellen en torens* (Gouda: Stichting Open Monumentendag Gouda, 1991), 7.

⁸⁷ Carlier, "Fraterhuis," 71-76.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁸⁹ G. J. J. Pot, "Oude schilderijen en beeldhouwwerk van de Jeruzalemkapel: Wie waren de scheppers ervan?," *Nieuwe Zuid Hollander*, 16.09.1950.

the entries in the municipal account books and the salary payment to the master painter from Delft have never been fully transcribed.⁹⁰

In 1957, following the transfer of the documentary sources from the national archives to the ones in Gouda, the communal archivist Jan Taal compiled an inventory of the medieval documentary sources related to the convents in Gouda.⁹¹ For each convent a separate inventory was given, preceded by a brief historical introduction to the relevant convent. The records concerning the Jerusalem chapel are listed as a subcategory of the convent of the Brethren of the Common Life. The entire inventory is followed by a calendar (*regestenlijst*), a register of the documents of the united series in chronological order, providing brief summaries of nearly each file. For this thesis, the inventory of Taal was an indispensable tool for studying the relevant archival material, revealing the additional available documentary sources apart from the ones in the above-mentioned cartulary and the rents' ledger. The thirty-two inventory numbers listed under the category of the Jerusalem chapel mostly contain title deeds, rent deeds or other financial documentation.⁹² Nevertheless, this pool also holds five key documents that provide evidence of Raet's *memoria* provision, his social network, and of the artists working in the Jerusalem chapel: the approval given by David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht, for the foundation of Raet's chantry in the convent of St Mary Magdalene on 19 March 1473, the termination of the same chantry on 10 September 1488,⁹³ the notes made by Raet about a meeting with the Lord of Montfoort from whom he had purchased land on 20 July 1488,⁹⁴ the preliminary agreement between Raet and the Brethren of the Common Life of 20 April 1497 concerning the

⁹⁰ For the full transcription and translation of both sources, see Appendices F. and G. 3.

⁹¹ Taal, *Archieven*, 5.

⁹² For five inventory numbers, no calendar entries are provided in the register.

⁹³ SAMH, 91, invs 87 and 88.

⁹⁴ SAMH, 91, inv. 65.

maintenance of the Jerusalem chapel,⁹⁵ a preparatory list written by Raet naming the rents that funded the Jerusalem chapel of about 1505,⁹⁶ and another note made by Raet about the payment of salary to Timan Henricx., master painter from Delft.⁹⁷

Moreover, Taal left a collection of notes on the Jerusalem chapel in the municipal archives of Gouda, consisting of newspaper articles and various references to the appearance of Raet's name in the written sources of Gouda.⁹⁸ In particular, he gathered together the numerous entries on Gijsbert Raet in the city's "Book of Ownership" (*Eigenboek*) and in the "Book of Rents" (*Verhuurboek*) that recorded his possessions of houses, land, and rents.⁹⁹ Together with the known information from the other sources, these records helped me to establish the proof of a more or less continuous presence of the priest in Gouda.¹⁰⁰

Additional written sources related to Gijsbert Raet can be found in the archives of St John's church and of the United Orphanage and Almoners' House.¹⁰¹ In his article on Gijsbert Raet of 1999, Goudriaan provided a comprehensive overview of the extant supplementary material.¹⁰² My systematic analysis of the documentary material has identified three sources that were of particular importance for the study of the topic of *memoria* in this thesis: the foundation charter of Raet's chantry in the convent of St Mary Magdalene of 17 March 1473 in the archives of the Holy Ghost Masters,¹⁰³ the

⁹⁵ Ibid., inv. 56. For the full transcription and translation of this document, see Appendix G. 1.

⁹⁶ SAMH, 91, inv. 57.

⁹⁷ Ibid., inv. 84.

⁹⁸ SAMH, 349, inv. 166. The author is grateful to Koen Goudriaan who pointed out the existence of this source.

⁹⁹ SAMH, 2, inv. 318-321.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Appendix D.

¹⁰¹ Cf. L. A. Kesper, *Inventaris van de archieven van de St.-Janskerk te Gouda: Dateerende van vóór de hervorming (1314-1573)* (Gouda: Van Bentum, 1901). J. E. J. Geselschap, *Archieven van de St. Janskerk te Gouda: Regesten 1315-1572* (Gouda, 1961). *Inventaris van de archieven van het Verenigd Wees- en Aalmoezeniershuis te Gouda* (Gouda, 1970). *Archieven van het Verenigd Wees- en Aalmoezeniershuis: Regesten 1314-1572* (Gouda, 1960).

¹⁰² Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 15-29.

¹⁰³ SAMH, 76, inv. 641.

foundation charter, including the approval from the bishop of Utrecht, of St Andrew's altar in St John's church of 1353, at which Raet served as a chantry priest,¹⁰⁴ and one of the two preserved grave books of St John's church (1438-1489), revealing that Raet possessed three graves in the parish church.¹⁰⁵ In his article, Goudriaan also pointed out the presence of documentary material within the archives of the archdeaconry of Oudmunster, to which the diocese of Gouda belonged until the Reformation, and which are stored in the archives of Utrecht.¹⁰⁶ Following a thorough examination of these documents, I identified them as important sources for this study, supplying biographical information on the founder of the Jerusalem chapel: a list of churchwardens of St John's church in Gouda, in which Raet is named as churchwarden in 1462, 1465, and 1474,¹⁰⁷ and an entry in the account books of the archdeaconry, confirming the institution of Raet as chantry priest of St Andrew's altar in the parish church of Gouda between 1473 and 1474.¹⁰⁸

Throughout the thesis, several other written sources in the archives of Gouda have been consulted, which provided valuable background information on late medieval religious life in Gouda, but which do not count as key sources, or which do not mention Raet. They are referred to in the footnotes or included in Appendix D if they directly relate to the priest. Likewise, my systematic analysis of the documentary material pertaining to the other, mostly lost, Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht has been essential for the understanding of their history, appearance, and function. These sources are mainly quoted in Chapter I. C. 3. Above all, three documents were particularly interesting in the context of this study: the foundation

¹⁰⁴ SAMH, 90, inv. 41.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, inv. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 20, 25.

¹⁰⁷ HUA, 223, inv. 1893-1 (no.11).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, inv. 1738-1, fol. 75r.

charter of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Utrecht of 1394, revealing information about the general organisation of the confraternity, its motivations and the Palm Sunday procession,¹⁰⁹ the will of the founder of the Jerusalem almshouse in Leiden of 1467, providing striking details on the interior decoration of the chapel,¹¹⁰ and the agreement between the municipality of Amsterdam and the local Jerusalem Brotherhood of 1498 regarding the route of the annual Palm Sunday procession through the city.¹¹¹

Appendix D of this thesis contains a chronological table, listing all records related to Raet between 1462 and 1511. Not only does it present the wealth of the existing primary material but functions also as biographical overview, testifying to the more or less continuous presence of Raet in Gouda. Appendix F provides a chronological list with the transcriptions of all entries in the late medieval account books of Gouda concerning wine donations to the members of the local Jerusalem Brotherhood on Palm Sunday between 1469 and 1541. Such a comprehensive overview, giving transcriptions of all the entries in the account books, has not been compiled before. It serves as evidence for the early and constant existence of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Gouda, and offers additional information on the confraternity, notably its naming and size. Appendix G provides full transcriptions of four key documents, including translations into English. They contain essential information on the chapel and on the founder's *memoria* arrangements: the agreement with the Brethren of the Common Life (1497), the will of Raet (1505), the salary payment to the painter Timan Henricx. (*ca* 1507), and the notes on the foundation of

¹⁰⁹ Two copies of the document have been preserved: TRESOAR, 343, ms. 110, fols 89-93, and HUA, 355, inv. 26, fols 126r-128v. It was edited by C. J. Gonnet, "Bedevaart naar Jerusalem in 1525," *BBH* 11 (1884): 195-201.

¹¹⁰ EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r, ed. by D. E. H. de Boer, "Jherusalem in Leyden," *De Leidse Hofjes* 8, no. 2 (1979): 50-53.

¹¹¹ SAA, Groot-Memoriaal I, fol. 216v, ed. by J. C. Breen, *Rechtsbronnen der stad Amsterdam* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1902), 615.

the chapel (*ca* 1517). The agreement and the note on the salary payment have not been published yet.

2. The Visual Sources

The visual material pertaining to the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda is scarce. No original plans or late medieval drawings of the edifice have survived. Nevertheless, there are two post-Reformation drawings of the chapel, and the edifice is also represented on several city maps of Gouda from about 1560 onwards. The amount of data that can be gained from these sources for our understanding of the architecture is limited, since the chapel had already undergone structural changes by this time, and, in most cases, it is only shown in its basic form, without much attention to architectural details.

The first drawing was made by the Amsterdam draughtsman Jacobus Stellingwerf (1667-1727) in the second decade of the eighteenth century (Fig. I. 18).¹¹² Originally a trained goldsmith, he became a copyist around 1722, who made drawings of landscapes and monuments from models that his two commissioners, Matheus Brouërius van Nidek, and Andries Schoemaker, presented to him.¹¹³ The drawing of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda depicts, as the caption reveals, the state of the chapel in 1585.¹¹⁴ It is a view seen from the west, showing the Jerusalem chapel in the Spieringstraat and the adjoining buildings at its northern side: namely, the convent

¹¹² Museum Gouda, object no. 31701.

¹¹³ B. Kolkman, "Jacobus Stellingwerf," *Bijdragen tot de historische topographie van Nederland*, accessed Mar 2, 2018, <http://www.historischetopografie.nl/brouerius/stellingwrf.htm>. U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler: Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1937), 31: 584.

¹¹⁴ He mistakenly entitled the chapel "St Claire's convent," however the addition "nu het weeshuis" ("now the orphanage"), to which the chapel belonged in the eighteenth century, makes clear that he intended to draw the Jerusalem chapel.

buildings of the Brethren of the Common Life. However, the depiction of the chapel is inaccurate, as the artist omitted the main architectural feature of the Jerusalem chapel: the rotunda with the conical roof. Instead, it is rendered as a typical regional late medieval separate chapel, a rectangular chapel with a bell-cote and a polygonal choir. Likewise, the depicted structure of the exterior walls, notably the small elongated round arch windows, are inauthentic, since the remaining original fabric of the chapel confirms that the rotunda possessed pointed arch windows, and that there was a western entrance, which is missing in Stellingwerf's drawing. Also, the small alley, Patersteeg, which began at the southern side of the chapel, and the building that was joined to the chapel at its eastern side is not represented. In lieu, an open space is shown. Both the incorrect rendering of the chapel's appearance and the fact that the artist mistakenly entitled the drawing "St Claire's convent in Gouda" indicates that Stellingwerf never visited the chapel in situ. He modelled his drawing solely on an illustration of the edifice of 1585. It was probably inspired by the representation of the chapel on the city map of Gouda by Braun and Hogenberg of 1585, which shows the Jerusalem chapel in its basic form, with a similar window pattern and no entrance door at the western side (Figs I. 3 and I. 19-20).¹¹⁵

The second drawing of the Jerusalem chapel is a watercolour, made by the Gouda artist Gijsbert Johannes Verspuy (1823-1862) in 1856 (Fig. I. 8).¹¹⁶ He was a baker by profession who trained to become an artist in his free time. He made drawings, etchings, and lithographs of various monuments in Gouda.¹¹⁷ Similar to

¹¹⁵ Based on the map by Braun and Hogenberg (1585), Stellingwerf made similar inauthentic drawings of both the St Judoc's chapel and the chapel of Our Lady in Gouda. Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 153, 163.

¹¹⁶ Museum Gouda, object no. 51397. Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 167.

¹¹⁷ The watercolour of the Jerusalem chapel was a preliminary drawing for his series of coloured lithographs entitled "Gouda's Oudheid," published by P. W. v. d. Weijer in 1859. J. Schouten, *Gouda, tekeningen en prenten* (Alphen aan de Rijn: Repro-Holland, 1978), introduction, no. 32. Pieter A. Scheen, *Lexicon Nederlandse beeldende kunstenaars, 1750-1880* (The Hague: Scheen, 1981), 545.

Stellingwerf's, his drawing shows a view of the chapel and its neighbouring buildings seen from the west. However, Verspuy's depiction reflects first-hand knowledge of the chapel following the eighteenth-century rebuilding – after the chancel had been demolished and replaced by a residential house. The general form of the chapel is correctly displayed: the five outer sides of the polygonal rotunda, the conical roof, and the western entrance. Likewise, the chapel is shown in its correct surroundings: the residential building at the northern side, the beginning of the Patersteeg and the former St Margaret's convent at the southern side, and St John's churchyard and square at the western side. The drawing testifies to the state of the rotunda windows before the present-day neo-Gothic windows were incorporated. At some time after the Reformation, the original high-positioned pointed-arch window and blind niche decoration of the rotunda sides had been replaced by elongated rectangular windows. As indicated in Verspuy's watercolour, the outlines of the original pointed arches were still recognisable above the new windows.

Around 1558, at the time of the emerging Dutch revolt against the Spanish rule, King Philip II of Spain instructed the Dutch cartographer Jacob van Deventer (1505-1575) to create precise maps of the principal cities in the Low Countries for administrative and military purposes. During the next fifteen years, Deventer measured and mapped approximately 260 cities, covering an area from Friesland to the present-day north of France, and reaching into Luxembourg and western Germany. The city maps, which were handed over to the Spanish authorities in Brussels in 1575, consisted of two parts: a main map (*netkaart*), presenting the city within the city walls and its suburbs, and an ancillary map (*bijkaart*), depicting only the city with its main

buildings.¹¹⁸ Having a scale of *circa* 1:8000, all maps are characterised by their unique style and colouring.¹¹⁹ The preserved map of Gouda dates from about 1560 (Fig. I. 21).¹²⁰ The houses or developed areas of the city are indicated in red, whereas meadows are shown in green. The streets, coloured in a light grey, are highlighted by a dotted line, and the canals are given in blue. Important buildings, for example, the town hall, the parish church, the separate chapels, the castle, the city gates and the fortification towers are depicted in elevation and, in most cases, with a blue roof. Individual chapels and those of the convents and hospitals are indicated by a standardised symbol: a non-coloured white structure with a blue-coloured gable roof with either a bell-cote or a bell tower. The Jerusalem chapel is indicated by this standardised chapel symbol on the main map.¹²¹ Although the actual form of the chapel is not shown, the city plan provides a valuable insight into Gouda's late medieval urban form, allowing assessment of the position of the chapel within the cityscape and in relation to the parish church and the other religious institutions. For this study, valuable information could also be gained from the ancillary map of the city of Utrecht, as it indicates the location of the Jerusalem chapel in the Nieuwe Weerd and the name it was commonly referred to.¹²²

Between 1572 and 1617, the great city atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* was published in six volumes in Cologne, setting new standards in the field of cartography. It contained 546 printed prospects, bird's-eye views and plans of cities from all over

¹¹⁸ Both maps are based on the *minuutkaart*, a first draft version of the city plan. C. Koeman, "Voorwoord," in *De Stadsplattegronden van Jacob van Deventer*, ed. C. Koeman and J. C. Visser (Landsmeer: Robas, 1992). C. J. Visser, "Inleiding," *ibid.*

¹¹⁹ P. C. J. van der Krogt, "Algemene beschrijving van de kaarten," *ibid.*

¹²⁰ Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 151.

¹²¹ The Jerusalem chapel is not indicated on the ancillary map, only the convent of the Brethren of the Common Life. This was presumably because the chapel was then a part of the convent.

¹²² Cf. Chapter I. C. 3.

the world.¹²³ Georg Braun (1541-1622), a canon of the church of St Maria ad Gradus in Cologne since 1585, was the principal editor of the work.¹²⁴ Frans Hogenberg (1535-1590), an artist, engraver and publisher from Mechelen, and resident of Cologne from 1564 onwards, engraved the plates for the first four volumes according to available models, and was joint publisher with Braun.¹²⁵ The map of Gouda, which is dated to 1585, appeared in the fourth volume of 1588 (Figs I. 3 and I. 19-20).¹²⁶ It gives a topographical view of the city within the city walls and its immediate surroundings, including urban development, meadow areas, canals, city gates, fortifications, and the surrounding countryside. All buildings are shown in elevation. The ordinary dwellings are represented in schematic form: as similar-looking multi-storey rectangular structures with gabled roofs and sketched windows and entrance doors. The main buildings of the city, however, such as the town hall, the parish church, the convent churches and chapels, the city gates and fortification towers are depicted in their basic form. For instance, both the general shape of the town hall, notably its turrets and the staircase at the south side, and of St John's church, including the basilical choir and the not yet rebuilt nave of the remaining hall church, is represented correctly (Fig. I. 20). Likewise, the Jerusalem chapel was reproduced in its basic form: a rounded building part with conical roof and circular ending at the top, linked to a rectangular structure with bell-cote (Fig. I. 3). Precision of architectural detail has been sacrificed: only three sides of the rotunda are shown, the windows of

¹²³ R. A. Skelton, *Braun & Hogenberg. Civitates Orbis Terrarum, 1572-1618: In Six Parts* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1965), 1: VIII-XXI. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Historic Cities, accessed Mar 2, 2018, http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/mapmakers/braun_hogenberg.html.

¹²⁴ R. V. Tooley, *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers* (Tring, Herts: Map Collector Publications, 1999), 1: 185. Skelton, *Braun & Hogenberg*, 1: VIII.

¹²⁵ R. V. Tooley, *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers* (Riverside, CT: Early World Press, 2001), 2: 351. For more information on the models, see Skelton, *Braun & Hogenberg*, 1: X, XIV. Regarding the Netherlands, the engravings are based on the maps by Deventer. James Elliot, *The City in Maps: Urban mapping to 1900* (London: British Library, 1987), 27.

¹²⁶ Denslagen, "Nieuwe instellingen," 338, 487.

both the chancel and the rotunda are stylised and the western entrance is missing. Apart from providing an insight into the chapels' position within the urban landscape, the mapmakers evidently intended to highlight the characteristic architectural features of the rotunda, which referenced the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. This simplified and symbolic representation identified the building as a Jerusalem chapel. It can be compared to the one of the Jerusalem chapel in St John's churchyard in Utrecht on Braun and Hogenberg's map of the city of Utrecht, published in the first volume of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in 1572 (Figs I. 3 and I. 22).¹²⁷

Approximately sixty years later, in 1648, the Amsterdam cartographer and publisher Joan Blaeu (*ca* 1598-1673) issued a collection of Dutch city maps in his *Toonneel der steden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden*, in two volumes, including *circa* 230 maps of both the Northern and the Southern Netherlands.¹²⁸ Most maps were newly engraved in his workshop, based on older maps and current topographical material that Blaeu had requested from the respective municipal authorities.¹²⁹ The plan of Gouda, dated 1648, is not much different from the map of Gouda by Braun and Hogenberg of 1585 in its general layout: the houses and meadow areas are presented in a standardised schematic form, whereas the main buildings of the city, including the town hall and the parish church, are depicted in their characteristic general shape (Figs I. 9 and I. 23). The appearance of the major buildings had been updated, as can be concluded, for instance, from the illustration of St John's church, which is shown with both basilical choir and basilical nave. The Jerusalem chapel was reproduced in a very simplified form. Only two sides of the rotunda are recognisable, and the chancel and

¹²⁷ Cf. Chapter I. C. 3.

¹²⁸ Joan Blaeu, *Toonneel der steden van de Vereenighde Nederlanden met hare beschrijvingen* (Amsterdam: 1648).

¹²⁹ Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, Bijzondere Collecties, Hollands glorie in de 17de eeuw: de stadsplattegronden van Blaeu, accessed Mar 2, 2018, <http://bc.library.uu.nl/nl/hollands-glorie-de-17de-eeuw-de-stadsplattegronden-van-blaeu.html>.

refectory of the Brethren of the Common Life appear as one continuous building. Thus, apart from the chapel's positioning in the urban landscape, the map by Blaeu offers little architectural data on the Jerusalem chapel.

Finally, there is a map of Gouda ("Monumentenkaart"), dated 1847, which depicts only the historic buildings within the city, including the town hall, the parish church, the remaining medieval chapels and convent buildings, town houses, city gates, wind mills, and green areas (Figs I. 24-25).¹³⁰ The names of the streets and of the monuments, which are numbered on the plan, are listed in the keys at the left and the right edge of the map. The monuments are accurately represented. The Jerusalem chapel, seen from the south-east, is illustrated in the form of the eighteenth-century rebuilding, after the chancel had been replaced by a residential house. The characteristic features of the rotunda are correctly displayed: the four sides that were visible from this perspective and the conical roof.

The assessment of the visual sources related to the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda has shown that, while the sixteenth-century drawing by Stellingwerf is irrelevant for our discussion and the two nineteenth-century depictions by Verspuy and on the Monuments' Map only concern the post-Reformation building history, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps of Gouda by Deventer, Braun and Hogenberg, and Blaeu provide valuable information on the chapel's position within the cityscape. In particular the map by Braun and Hogenberg provides a comprehensive view of urban life in the second half of the sixteenth century. It shows that the mapmakers were not only concerned with presenting the street layout but also with depicting the architectural splendours, thereby reflecting the prestige of the city. Buildings feature in elevation and important monuments are highlighted. For the sake of a more pictorial

¹³⁰ SAMH, inv. 2224 N 1.

cartographic style, the precision of architectural details was frequently abandoned. The map was intended to impress and inspire the reader with the grandeur of the monuments displayed.¹³¹ It is striking that the depiction of the Jerusalem chapel was reduced to its symbolic architectural features in order to distinguish it as a Jerusalem chapel and to reflect its connotations to the Holy Sepulchre, providing us with insight into how the building was perceived at the time.

3. The Architectural Sources

During my research I have been able to identify five other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht: two Jerusalem chapels in the city of Utrecht, St Martha's chapel in Delft, the Holy Cross chapel in Leiden and the Jerusalem chapel in Amsterdam. While the remains in Delft have been the subject of a structural survey and the archaeological findings in Amsterdam have been briefly reported on, the written sources pertaining to the chapels in Utrecht and Leiden have been examined with regard to the building history and the local Jerusalem Brotherhood. However, none of these chapels have been investigated in light of late medieval *memoria*. Moreover, in the literature, they are only briefly referred to as being similar to one another, but scholars have not yet considered them as a group. This opened up the opportunity for me not only to investigate the available sources pertaining to the respective chapels from the aspect of the late medieval cult of the dead but also to examine the chapels in comparison with one another. In support of my main argument that Raet devised the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda as his chantry chapel and burial place, the other chapels will be

¹³¹ Cf. Elliot, *City in Maps*, 7-9, 26-32.

considered as comparanda throughout the thesis. In the following chapter, I will provide a brief introduction to each comparative example.¹³²

The earliest known Jerusalem chapel in the diocese of Utrecht was founded in its capital, the city of Utrecht, in *circa* 1394 in connection with the establishment of the local Jerusalem Brotherhood, which was the first confraternity of this kind in the Low Countries and remained the largest and most prestigious one.¹³³ The chapel was located in the Nieuwe Weerd, in the north-western area just outside the medieval city walls of Utrecht, as indicated by the description “Hierusalem” on the ancillary chart by Deventer of 1570 (Fig. I. 26). The location of the chapel within the churchyard is confirmed by an entry in the *Buurspraakboek*¹³⁴ for the year 1399, in which the municipality of Utrecht prohibited the shooting of arrows at churches and the playing of ball games in churchyards in and outside the city walls, including “in den nywen Weerde opt kerchhof tot Jherusalem.”¹³⁵ The chapel has not survived the course of time, and since the exact location of the chapel is unknown, no archaeological data is available.¹³⁶ Likewise, no visual sources of the building exist that would offer a detailed structural comparison with the Gouda chapel. Nevertheless, several written sources provide important insights into the appearance and layout of the chapel. In a document of *circa* 1393-1423, in which the bishop of Utrecht, Frederik van Blankenheim, granted the Brotherhood the use of a portable altar, the Brotherhood is referred to as “fraternitas capelle Sancti Sepulchri de Jherusalem,” clearly indicating

¹³² For a schematic overview of the chapels, see Appendix C.

¹³³ Cf. Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 205.

¹³⁴ The *Buurspraakboek* contains records of public events held next to the Buurkerk (“citizens’ church”) in Utrecht, during which the Council proclaimed measures and verdicts to the inhabitants of the city.

¹³⁵ “In the Nieuwe Weerd, in the churchyard of Jerusalem.” HUA, 701, inv. 16-2 (1396-1402), fols 201r, 210v, 244r. A similar entry is to be found in the *Buurspraakboek* of 1439. HUA, 701, inv. 16-9 (1432-1439), fol. 200r.

¹³⁶ Van Campen assumes that the chapel was located near the present-day Singelstraat. J. W. C. van Campen, “De Utrechtsche Jeruzalembroederschap,” *Jaarboekje van ‘Oud-Utrecht’* (1935): 66-68.

the type of chapel that it had established.¹³⁷ Moreover, when the Brotherhood requested the granting of indulgences to the pious visitors of their chapel in a petition to Pope Eugenius IV of 3 August 1434, the chapel is described as having been constructed “ad formam et similitudinem templi sancte Jherusalem.”¹³⁸ This is supplemented by a description of the replica of the Tomb of Christ that was contained within the chapel by Johannes Busch in his *Chronicon Windeshemense* (ca 1456-1464).¹³⁹ In addition, the foundation charter of the Brotherhood of 1394,¹⁴⁰ and the above-mentioned petition to Pope Eugenius IV reveal striking details with regard to the function of the chapel and the organisation of the confraternity, as will be discussed in Chapter III. E. 4.

Presumably as a result of the attacks on religious institutions outside the city walls in 1483 (Siege of Utrecht), the Jerusalem Brotherhood was planning to establish a new chapel inside the city by the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁴¹ As stated by an entry in the *Raads Dagelijksch Boek*¹⁴² on 24 April 1494, two municipal rapporteurs were appointed to examine the “eysch van den brueders van Jherusalem om enen tempel te laten maken aen sunte Katrijnenvelt.”¹⁴³ St Catherine’s field was an open terrain around the Hospitallers’ convent of St Catherine at the north-western end of the inner city (Fig. I. 26).¹⁴⁴ Evidently, the Brothers sought a site with a connection to the Holy

¹³⁷ HUA, 218-1, inv. 114, fol. 28r.

¹³⁸ “In the form and likeness of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem.” Gisbert Brom, *Archivalia in Italië* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1909), 1.2: 489 (no. 1358).

¹³⁹ Karl Grube, *Des Augustinerprobstes Johannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de Reformatione Monasteriorum* (Halle: Hendel, 1886), 364.

¹⁴⁰ TRESOAR, 343, ms. 110, fols 89-93. HUA, 355, inv. 26, fols 126r-128v, edited by Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 195-201.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Campen, “Jeruzalembroederschap,” 74-75.

¹⁴² A register documenting cases of civil and criminal law that came before the Council.

¹⁴³ “The request of the Brothers of Jerusalem to commission the construction of a temple at St Catherine’s field.” HUA, 701, inv. 13-15 (“Donredach na St. Jorisdach” 1494).

¹⁴⁴ The complex was demolished in 1581. Cf. A. van Hulzen, *Utrechtse kloosters en gasthuizen* (Baarn: Bosch & Keuning, 1986), 22-25, 28. J. M. van Winter, *Sources concerning the Hospitallers of St John in the Netherlands 14th-18th centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 13-17.

Land. However, the plan of 1494 was not carried out. A list of consecration feasts of the religious institutions in the city of Utrecht dating from the end of the sixteenth century confirms that the confraternity directly moved from the Nieuwe Weerd to St John's chapel in the churchyard of St John's church (*Janskerkhof*): "In templo sepulchri Dominici, quod prius fuit extra muros inter portam S. Catharinae et Werdanam, postea in ciuitatem translatum adherens cemiterio S. Joannis (dedicatio celebrari consueverat) Dominica ante festum S. Joannis Baptiste."¹⁴⁵ The change of location is documented in a deed of transfer of 14 March 1544, in which the chapter of St John's in Utrecht officially granted the confraternity the use of their chapel, standing in the south-western part of their churchyard (Figs I. 22 and Fig. I. 27).¹⁴⁶

It is important to stress that the Brotherhood took over an already existing chapel and would not have been in a position to fundamentally alter the chapel or erect a new chapel. The deed of 1544 discloses that the transfer was linked to certain conditions: the chapel had to remain the property of the governing body of St John's and the key to the building had to be held in store by the sexton of St John's. The Brotherhood was obliged to maintain the building at its own costs. The priests of the previously established chantries kept the right to use the chapel. The Jerusalem Brothers were not allowed to remove, relocate or open the tombs in the chapel, and members of the chapter as well as members of the Jerusalem Brotherhood were allowed to be interred in the chapel. These stipulations show that the Jerusalem Brothers did not have the authority to commission a rebuilding of the monument. Nor

¹⁴⁵ "In the temple of the Sepulchre of the Lord, which was previously outside the walls between St Catherine's gate] and the Weerd [gate], and afterwards was translated to the city, adhering to the cemetery of St John (dedication is accustomed to be celebrated) on Sunday before the feast of St John the Baptist." HUA, 355, inv. 133-1 and HUA, catalogue no. 11232, fol. 34v.

¹⁴⁶ HUA, 222, inv. 107.

would they have installed themselves in the chapel without official permission and made use of the chapel before 1544, as has been suggested by Van Campen.¹⁴⁷

When the Jerusalem Brothers took over the chapel in 1544, they would have merely refurbished the building and re-established the replica of the Tomb of Christ. The use of the word “translatum” in the above-mentioned list of consecration feasts indicates that the replica of the Tomb of Christ was transported from one place to the other. It may have been dismantled, its stones carefully numbered, and later reconstructed, as happened in Eichstätt when the copy of the Tomb Aedicule was removed from its original location and stored in the hope of a future reconstruction at a new place.¹⁴⁸ Likewise, the four oblong-shaped group portraits that had been painted by Jan van Scorel, a member of the Utrecht Brotherhood, between *circa* 1526 and *circa* 1541 (Figs I. 28-31) were transferred from the Nieuwe Weerd to the chapel in St John’s churchyard.¹⁴⁹ In 1544, probably on the occasion of the instalment in St John’s chapel, Antonis Mor, a former pupil of Jan van Scorel, painted a double portrait of two Brothers for the chapel, both canons of Utrecht cathedral and key players in the transfer negotiations (Fig. I. 32).¹⁵⁰ The written sources, notably the descriptions in both Arnoldus Buchelius’ *Traiecti Batavorum Descriptio* of 1592¹⁵¹ and a seventeenth-

¹⁴⁷ Campen, “Jeruzalembroederschap,” 80-82.

¹⁴⁸ B. Kühnel, “Virtual Pilgrimages to Real Places: the Holy Landscapes,” in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. L. Donkin and H. Vorholt (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012): 246.

¹⁴⁹ For more information on Van Scorel’s group portraits of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood, see M. Faries, L. M. Helmus, and D. Tamis, *Catalogue of Paintings 1363-1600. Centraal Museum Utrecht* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2011), 167-69, 174-87, 227-49.

¹⁵⁰ For more information on Mor’s double portrait, see R. Grosshans, “Anthonis Mor. Die Utrechter Domherren Cornelis van Horn und Anthonis Taets van Ameronghen, 1544,” in *Gemäldegalerie Berlin: 200 Meisterwerke*, ed. Henning Bock et al. (Berlin: Nicolai, 1998), 180-81.

¹⁵¹ S. Muller, “Arnoldus Buchelius, Traiecti Batavorum Descriptio,” *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 27 (1906): 220.

century Franciscan manuscript¹⁵² reveal that the “Holy Sepulchre” as well as the portraits were to be found inside the chapel and that the latter was open to the public.

The chapel in St John’s churchyard was demolished in 1581 due to the construction of residential houses.¹⁵³ Archaeological research has not been carried out. However, two preserved ground plans of 1582¹⁵⁴ and *circa* 1650¹⁵⁵ reveal that the chapel consisted of a twelve-sided central-plan building which was joined to an apsidal chancel (Figs I. 33-35). The evidence is complemented by the map of Braun and Hogenberg (1572), which depicts a rotunda with a conical roof (Fig. I. 22).¹⁵⁶ Evidently, the layout of St John’s chapel was very suitable for use as a Jerusalem chapel. It remains unclear whether the rotunda of St John’s chapel was originally intended as a reference to the Anastasis Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, as information on the building is scarce. The earliest record of the chapel dates from 22 March 1227, referring to it as “capella prepositi”.¹⁵⁷ Gozewijn van Randerath (d. 1267) was provost of St John’s church in Utrecht at the time.¹⁵⁸ From

¹⁵² W. Hoevenaars, “Uittreksels uit een handschrift der XVIIe eeuw de Franciscanen van de Nederlandsche Provincie betreffende,” *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht* 21 (1894): 229.

¹⁵³ Muller, *Schilderijen*, 15. Campen, “Jeruzalembroederschap,” 83-84.

¹⁵⁴ HUA, 222, inv. 328, fol. 9. The plan is incomplete at the bottom. It was made after the demolition of the building, which may explain the unequal proportions of the dodecagon.

¹⁵⁵ HUA, catalogue no. 39937. It was presumably made in the eighteenth-century after an original plan in a manuscript collection of *circa* 1650. In accordance with the information from the ground plan, the outline of the former chapel has partly been made visible by stone inlays in the brick pavement at the corner of the present-day Korte Jansstraat and the Minrebroederstraat.

¹⁵⁶ The watercolour of the “Palmer’s Temple” by M. L. M. d’Yvoy of *circa* 1840 is an imaginary drawing of the chapel at the Janskerkhof and therefore not considered here. Cf. HUA, catalogue no. 37552.

¹⁵⁷ “Chapel of the provost.” HUA, 222, inv. 886.

¹⁵⁸ His brother, Dirck van Randerode (d. 1247), provost of Utrecht cathedral, initiated the “officium ductoris asini” with regard to the Palm Sunday procession in the city of Utrecht. Louise van Tongerloo, “Grablegung und Totengedenken bei Pilgerbruderschaften in Utrecht: Mit einer Neuinterpretation von Scorels und Mors Bildnissreihen von Jerusalemfahrern,” in *Care for the Here and the Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages*, ed. Truus van Bueren (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 244n112. Campen, “Jeruzalembroederschap,” 62. In a document dated 14 January 1430, the chapel is still described by the chapter of St John as “onsser proefstyen cappelle van’t sinte Johan” (“our chapel of the provost of St John”). M. W. J. de Bruijn, *Husinghe ende hofstede: Een institutioneel-geografische studie van de rechtspraak over onroerend goed in de stad Utrecht in de Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1994), 190-92.

1398 until *circa* 1544, the chapel served as a place of worship for the Brotherhood of St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, and St Theobald.¹⁵⁹ A comparison with the known ground plans of the other chapels in the diocese of Utrecht shows that St John's chapel has a slightly different layout. Therefore, for my analysis of the Gouda chapel, it can be used as a comparative architectural example only to a limited extent.

The Jerusalem chapel in Delft, which was dedicated to St Martha, was founded around 1430 together with an almshouse, offering free accommodation for needy and elderly women. It was prominently located within the city of Delft, in an area between the two parish churches, the Old Church (St Hyppolytus) and the New Church (St Ursula), near the corner of the Choorstraat and the Papenstraat (Fig. I. 36). The "Sinte Martha Huis"¹⁶⁰ is in fact one of the earliest known almshouses of the city, which has not yet been acknowledged by scholars.¹⁶¹ The arrangement of a group of small houses (*kamers*) around a courtyard is typical of Dutch almshouses (*hofjes*), charitable foundations that made homes available for aged and poor citizens (Fig. I. 37).¹⁶² However, the combination of a Jerusalem chapel with an almshouse is significant. It is comparable to the Jerusalem almshouse in Leiden (1467), which consisted of a Jerusalem chapel and small houses that offered accommodation to thirteen elderly

¹⁵⁹ Cf. HUA, 708, inv. 157 (foundation charter of the Brotherhood of 29 November 1398). In the deed of transfer of 1544, St John's Brotherhood is not mentioned as user of the chapel.

¹⁶⁰ The earliest surviving written record of the complex is an entry in a rents' ledger of the Old Church of 1474, listing a "St Martha's House." SAD, 435, inv. 144, fol. 114. Nusselder suggested that the mentioning of "onser vrouwen gheselschap" in another rents' register of the Old Church in Delft of 1400 refers to St Martha's complex as a home for old ladies. Nusselder, "Marthakapel," 57-58. It seems more likely to me that this entry describes a society that has the Virgin Mary as its patron saint, such as the guild of Our Lady, for instance, which is recorded in a document of 1347. SAD, 435, inv. 112.

¹⁶¹ Only St Christopher's almshouse, also known as Old Men's Home, had been established earlier. It was founded in 1411 by the municipality. Cf. Nusselder, "Marthakapel," 58.

¹⁶² Haslinghuis and Janse, *Bouwkundige termen*, 221. Reinier Boitet, *Beschryving der stad Delft* (Delft, 1729), 481: "ieder huis (Oude Mannen- en Vrouwenhuis) heeft een ruime binneplaats, rontom met kleine huisies en kamerties betimmert, waarin ieder dezer oude luden zyn bysondere wooninge heeft" (each house has a spacious yard, with small houses built around it, in which each of these old persons has his own residence).

men.¹⁶³ The great fire of Delft of 3 May 1536 destroyed most of the medieval documentary sources,¹⁶⁴ and while St Martha's chapel is still extant, parts of it have been demolished, and the remaining medieval fabric has been altered through the course of time. Between 1975 and 1976, a structural survey of the chapel and a small-scale excavation in the yard were carried out by Nusselder and Weve, disclosing several original architectural features. Based on the remaining sculptural elements in the chapel, notably a double altar niche in the former chancel and the capitals of the columns inside the rotunda, T. Haakma Wagenaar has dated the chapel to *circa* 1430, in any case before 1450 (Figs I. 38-40).¹⁶⁵ No detailed information is known about the founder and the specific circumstances of the foundation. The chapel and almshouse may have been established by a private person, since Schneider has estimated that the local Jerusalem Brotherhood came into being after 1495.¹⁶⁶ However, due to the loss of the written sources, this cannot be established with certainty. The very unusual dedication to St Martha suggests that the founder made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and brought back relics related to Saint Martha of Bethany.¹⁶⁷ Visiting the village of

¹⁶³ Cf. Appendix C.

¹⁶⁴ E. J. Nusselder, "Het Oude Mannen- en het Oude Vrouwenhuis," in *De stad Delft cultuur en maatschappij tot 1572*, ed. I. V. T. Spaander and R.-A. Leeuw (Delft: Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, 1979), 73. Kees van der Wiel, *Van oude mensen en de dingen die voorbij gingen. De geschiedenis van het tehuis aan de Papenstraat (1411-2000)* (Delft: Stichting Huyse van St Christoffel binnen Delft, 2000), 17.

¹⁶⁵ Ceramic shards found in the ground of the chapel provide a terminus post quem of *circa* 1400, and according to the format of the brick blocks, the chapel dates from the first half of the fifteenth century. E. J. Nusselder and W. F. Weve, "Beknopt rapport betreffende de vondsten, gedaan tot heden (15 Maart 1976) aan de Marthakapel te Delft" (1976), 2. Nusselder, "Marthakapel," 61-62, 67-68. The same brick was used for the construction of some parts of the nave and the tower of the New Church in Delft between 1420 and 1440. Wiel, *Oude mensen*, 12.

¹⁶⁶ Schneider, "Peregrinatio," 82. The earliest existing record of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Delft dates from 1551, when the members received wine on Palm Sunday "nae ouder ghewoenten," ("according to old custom"), indicating that this tradition had already been practiced for a few years. NA, 3.20.01, inv. 2, fol. 2v. In 1495, on the other hand, the Palm Sunday donkey was pulled by local priests, and not by Jerusalem Brothers, providing a possible terminus post quem.

¹⁶⁷ The list of consecration feasts of Utrecht from the end of the sixteenth century mentions a St Martha's hospital in Utrecht. HUA, 355, inv. 133-1 and HUA, catalogue no. 11232, fol. 34v. It seems that the dedication of churches and chapels to St Martha was not very common in the medieval West. According to the Golden Legend, Martha came to France with her siblings Mary and Lazarus after the Ascension of Christ. St Martha's church in Tarascon, in the south of France, was built on the spot of the house where she used to live.

Bethany, and the house of Martha, was part of the standard pilgrimage route.¹⁶⁸ As witness to the resurrection of her brother Lazarus and associated with domesticity and hospitality, she was a suitable patron saint for the Jerusalem chapel with an almshouse.¹⁶⁹ She was also the sister who declared belief in Christ as the Son of God at the Raising of Lazarus¹⁷⁰ and so is an exemplar of Christian faith and the resurrection.¹⁷¹

The findings of the architectural examination between 1975 and 1976 enabled Nusselder to reconstruct the late medieval appearance of the chapel (Figs I. 42-43),¹⁷² demonstrating that it consisted of a twelve-sided rotunda with conical roof that was joined to a quadrilateral pitched-roofed chancel. Inside that rotunda twelve columns supported a vault with an oculus. The layout is strikingly similar to the one in Gouda, raising the question whether the latter could have been modelled on the Delft chapel. After the Reformation, in *circa* 1600, the chapel was transformed into a residence. An additional floor was built into both the rotunda and the chancel. In the eighteenth century, the conical roof of the rotunda was demolished, its brick walls were shortened by approximately 50 cm so that they had the same height as the walls of chancel, and a gable roof was constructed above the central-plan building. In 1857, the southern sides of the rotunda were replaced by a rectangular wall, destroying the characteristic

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Randall Herz, *Die ‚Reise ins gelobte Land‘ Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479-1480). Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2002), 442-43. C. D. Hassler, *Fratris Felicis Frabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem* (Stuttgart: Sumtibus Societatis Litterariae Stuttgardiensis, 1843), 2: 85-86.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, transl. W. Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995), 2: 23-26.

¹⁷⁰ Jn 11:1-44.

¹⁷¹ As stated by theologians from Saint Augustine onwards. Cf. Saint Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, XLIX, ed. by the Centre Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium, Turnhout: Brepols, 2010. Saint Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John 28-54* (The Fathers of the Church, vol. 88), transl. by John W. Rettig (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1993).

¹⁷² Cf. Nusselder, “Marthakapel,” 80-87.

polygonal layout of the central-plan building.¹⁷³ Externally, it is no longer recognisable as a Jerusalem chapel (Fig. I. 44). In 2011, the building underwent a large-scale restoration, during which some of the original features were re-incorporated inside the chapel. For instance, the built-in floor of the rotunda was removed except for the timber frame, and the twelve columns of the nave were restored or reconstructed (Fig. I. 45). As part of a students' accommodation complex (*Huyse van Sint Christoffel*), the rotunda is now used as a common room, and the former chancel houses apartments on two floors and in the attic.¹⁷⁴ Covered by the adjoining development the building remains invisible from the street side. St Martha's chapel in Delft is the only other extant Jerusalem chapel in the Northern Netherlands. The available data about its late medieval appearance offers the unique opportunity for a more detailed structural comparison with the Gouda chapel.

The Jerusalem almshouse (*Jeruzalemshofje*) in the Cellebroersgracht¹⁷⁵ in Leiden was founded by the wealthy cloth merchant and Holy Land pilgrim Wouter Coman IJsbrantsz. in 1467 and consisted of a Jerusalem chapel, dedicated to the Holy Cross, a hall, and thirteen small houses arranged around a courtyard, offering free accommodation for thirteen needy and elderly men (Fig. I. 46). The complex was located in the south-western part of the city, in the parish of St Peter's church (Figs I. 47-48). Although established and funded by a private person, the chapel was related to the local Jerusalem Brotherhood. An oblong-shaped panel, listing the names of the Brothers, including the year of their pilgrimage and in most cases the year of their death, presumably hung inside the chapel (Fig. I. 49).¹⁷⁶ According to the first five

¹⁷³ This wall was rebuilt in 1913. Nusselder, "Oude Mannen," 73. "Marthakapel," 59-60.

¹⁷⁴ Regtop Ligtoet Architecten BV, accessed Mar 2, 2018, <http://www.regtoparchitecten.nl/?portfolio=studentenhuisvesting-huyse-van-st-christoffel-delft>.

¹⁷⁵ Present-day Kaiserstraat.

¹⁷⁶ Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, inv. B 111.

columns of the panel, the founder of the almshouse undertook his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, together with the priest Gherrit Florisz. or Alantz., Kerstant Nannenz., Claes Gerritsz. Baselaer and Jan Willemsz. in 1462. After their return they initiated the Holy Land confraternity under the spiritual leadership of the priest, since he is named first on the panel. This is confirmed by the earliest entry in the municipal account book of 1464 concerning a wine donation to “den heeren die ten heyligen grave geweest hebben” on Palm Sunday.¹⁷⁷

In 1887, the Diaconal Association, which was in charge of the administration of the premises at that time, commissioned the demolition of the chapel due to its dilapidated state. The remaining houses were rebuilt in the first half of the twentieth century. They are still part of an almshouse by the name of *Jeruzalemshofje*.¹⁷⁸ Only the panel of the Jerusalem Brotherhood, an oak roof-truss (Fig. I. 50) and five corbel pieces (Fig. I. 51) have remained of the late medieval complex. Archaeological excavations have not been carried out at the site of the former chapel. However, a few other visual sources, including the map of Leiden by Pieter Bast of *circa* 1600 (Fig. I. 48) and the oldest cadastral map of the city of 1832 (Fig. I. 52), as well as the surviving documentary sources, in particular the will of the founder of 16 May 1467,¹⁷⁹ provide an insight into the history of the almshouse and the appearance of the chapel. The layout of the latter is strikingly similar to the chapels in Gouda and in Delft, having a twelve-sided rotunda with conical roof that was joined to a quadrilateral pitched-roofed chancel (Figs I. 48 and I. 52-53). Moreover, the stipulations in the founder’s will reveal that the chapel contained replicas of the Holy Sepulchre, Mount Calvary,

¹⁷⁷ “The men who had been at the Holy Sepulchre.” Such entries are to be found between 1464 and 1570. Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 74-75.

¹⁷⁸ I. Leermakers and W. Donkersloot, *Wonen om Gods wille in Leidse hoffjes* (Leiden: Stichting Uitgeverij Barabinsk, 2007), 51, 66.

¹⁷⁹ EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r.

and the crib in Bethlehem.¹⁸⁰ Altogether it constitutes an important comparative example to the Gouda chapel.

The Jerusalem chapel in Amsterdam was erected as an extension to the previously existing St Olaf's chapel (*ca* 1440) at the Zeedijk at the end of the fifteenth century. It was located near the harbour at the north-eastern end of the city, next to the former city gate of St Olaf (Figs I. 54-55). The foundation of the chapel was related to the local Jerusalem Brotherhood. The earliest record of the confraternity as well as of the Jerusalem chapel is an agreement between the municipality and the Brotherhood of 13 March 1498, determining the route of the annual Palm Sunday procession and the involvement of both the Brotherhood and their chapel ("Jerusalem").¹⁸¹ However, apart from this record, archival sources are scarce, revealing no information about the nearer circumstances of the foundation or the connection to St Olaf's chapel.

Moreover, in 1644, the Jerusalem chapel was demolished, following the city's decision to renovate the rest of the complex, which was then used as a Protestant church, to a three-apsed hall church in Gothic style, which is still extant (Fig. I. 56).¹⁸² Examinations of the remaining medieval fabric of the church, notably the west wall, the wooden vaults and the roof structure above them,¹⁸³ archaeological excavations along the west wall of the chapel between 1969 and 1970¹⁸⁴ and a large-scale excavation inside the chapel in 1991¹⁸⁵ brought to light new facts about the building

¹⁸⁰ Leermakers and Donkersloot, *Wonen*, 51, 66.

¹⁸¹ SAA, Groot-Memoriaal, I, fol. 216v, ed. by Breen, *Rechtsbronnen*, 615.

¹⁸² R. Meischke, "De oudste gedaante van de St Olofs- of Oudezijdskapel," *Amstelodamum* 45 (1958): 6. Since this time, St Olaf's chapel is also known as the *Oudezijds Kapel*.

¹⁸³ Cf. Meischke, "Oude Zijds Kapel," 160-62. "Oudste gedaante," 2-9. In 1966, a fire inside the chapel destroyed most part of the remaining late medieval roof.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. H. H. van Regteren Altena, "De opgravingen in de Sint Olofs- of Oudezijdskapel," in *Vondsten onder de Sint Olofskapel: Stadskernonderzoek in Amsterdam*, ed. H. H. van Regteren Altena (Amsterdam: Instituut voor Prae- en Protohistorie van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1972), 1-8. H. J. Zantkuyll, "Reconstructie van de Sint Olofspoort en de Sint Olofskapel," *ibid.*, 42-50.

¹⁸⁵ Jan Baart, "Jerusalem aan de Zeedijk," *Ons Amsterdam* 43, no. 11 (1991): 254-57. "De Sint Olofskapel in Amsterdam," *Spiegel Historiael* 27, no. 4/5 (1992): 190-95.

history and the layout of the Jerusalem chapel. The evidence can be complemented by a drawing of the Jerusalem chapel shortly before its demolition in 1644 by Roelant Roghman (Fig. I. 57).¹⁸⁶ According to the evidence, three successive alterations were made to St Olaf's chapel in the late fifteenth century. Around 1490, the chapel was extended towards the Kapelsteeg. Shortly afterwards, the Jerusalem chapel was added at the east side of St Olaf's chapel, alongside the Zeedijk, and a bell-cote with an onion-shaped crown at its top was constructed above the crossing of the two roofs. Finally, in *circa* 1500, another small chapel with a three-sided choir was built at the east side of St Olaf's chapel, adjoining the south side of the Jerusalem chapel (Figs I. 58-59).¹⁸⁷ The continuous expansion of the building suggests that the Jerusalem Brotherhood took over St Olaf's chapel in *circa* 1490 and then rebuilt it according to their purposes. The Jerusalem chapel consisted of an eight-sided central-plan building with a conical roof and a quadrangular-shaped chancel. Since the latter opened up to the rest of the edifice on its southern side, it is difficult to discern the exact boundaries of the chancel. The rotunda housed a Holy Sepulchre monument, of which the foundations were uncovered during the excavation in 1991 (Fig. I. 60).¹⁸⁸

The Amsterdam Jerusalem chapel was constructed slightly earlier than the Gouda chapel. Although the form of the former is not identical to the Gouda chapel, the same architectural concept is recognisable: a polygonal rotunda housing the replica of the Tomb of Christ in its centre that was openly joined to another room. Similar to Gouda, its brick façades were structured by bands of stone, as the drawing by Roghman reveals. In particular, the evidence deriving from the latest excavation contributes

¹⁸⁶ Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-T-1899-A-4218. The visual sources of the Amsterdam Jerusalem chapel are limited to this drawing and a similar one made by Willem Schellinks (SAA).

¹⁸⁷ Meischke, "Oude Zijds Kapel," 160-61. "Oudste gedaante," 2-5. Baart, "Jerusalem," 257.

¹⁸⁸ These late medieval traces were removed from the ground when a basement was constructed underneath the building during the subsequent restoration of the chapel. Baart, "Jerusalem," 255-56.

greatly to the general understanding of the function of the rotunda and Holy Sepulchre monument in Gouda. The discussion can be supported by a preserved group portrait of four members of the Amsterdam Jerusalem Brotherhood kneeling inside the Grotto of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem of *circa* 1520, which presumably once hung in the chapel (Fig. I. 61),¹⁸⁹ and by a copy of another group portrait of eleven members of the Brotherhood of *circa* 1564, which was printed in the chronicle *Reformatie van Amsterdam* (1729) by Isaac Le Long (Fig. I. 62).¹⁹⁰

As we have seen, the layout of the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht seems to have been similar to the one in Gouda. The structural remains in Delft in conjunction with the visual sources pertaining to the Leiden chapel enables a detailed comparison with the Gouda chapel. The archaeological findings in Amsterdam allow for an assessment of the situation in Gouda, which will broaden our understanding of the function of the rotunda, both in general and in particular in Gouda. The written sources related to both Utrecht chapels and the Leiden chapel give further insight into the interior decoration and function of the respective monuments, offering a point of comparison with the situation in Gouda. Finally, the surviving memorial panels in Utrecht, Leiden and Amsterdam will support my examination of Raet's chapel in light of late medieval *memoria*.

¹⁸⁹ Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, inv. ABM s104.

¹⁹⁰ Isaak Le Long, *Historische beschryvinge van de Reformatie der stad Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: J. van Septeren, 1729), 490.

D. Chapter Content

Following the introduction of the state of research, the present-day situation of the Gouda chapel and the available sources, Chapter II investigates Gijsbert Raet's life until the construction of his Jerusalem chapel. Particular attention will be given to the late medieval cult of death and commemoration, as presented in the first section. Then, Raet's professional engagement in the parish church, his first chantry in St Mary Magdalene's convent and his three graves in St John's church will be examined. This is followed by an analysis of his pilgrimage to the Levant, including his time of travel, possible sources of inspiration, his travel route, motivations and knighting at the Holy Sepulchre. Finally, his role in the annual Palm Sunday procession will be highlighted.

Chapter III explores the building history of Raet's Jerusalem chapel as well as its form and function, in particular of the rotunda. Following an investigation into the planning and construction process of the monument in light of late medieval *memoria*, including a background study of the employed craftsmen, the late medieval appearance of the chapel will be reconstructed, including both the architecture and the interior decoration. Afterwards, a structural comparison between the Gouda chapel and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre will be made, which is succeeded by a comparison of the Gouda chapel to the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht, with regard to both form and function.

Chapter IV investigates Raet's funerary monuments within the spatial context of the chancel. First, the position of both the founder's grave and the altar will be examined with regard to late medieval Christian beliefs. This is followed by a reconstruction of the founder's tombstone and an analysis of its iconography. Finally,

based on the information from the written sources, the wall-mounted triptych will be identified as Raet's epitaph and considered in relation to the other objects in the chapel.

II. Status and *Memoria*

A. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate Gijsbert Raet's early life, from his beginnings as a priest in Gouda until the planning and construction of his Jerusalem chapel. The study will build a religious-aesthetic portrait of the man within the social-historical context of his time and will demonstrate that he started building various provisions for the afterlife when he was a young man, providing us with an invaluable context for the later discussion of the Jerusalem chapel as Raet's chantry chapel and burial place.

For our investigation, it is fortunate that many late medieval written sources have survived pertaining to Raet, St John's church – the city's only parish church and Raet's place of employment – and other ecclesiastical institutions in Gouda as well as of the municipality. Most of them have been examined by Koen Goudriaan, in preparation for his article "Gijsbert Raet en zijn Jerusalem,"¹⁹¹ but they were principally used only to support the establishment of biographical information on the priest, his family and other people he dealt with. This has opened up the opportunity for me to undertake a fresh and systematic analysis, taking a different thematic approach. In support of my main argument that Raet devised the Jerusalem chapel as his chantry chapel and burial place, I have systematically examined the written sources under the aspect of late medieval *memoria*. The analysis builds not only on references provided by Goudriaan but also on those provided by Carlier and Schneider, who both

¹⁹¹ Cf. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert."

mentioned briefly the records concerning the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Gouda,¹⁹² as well as a general review of the inventories of the archives in Gouda, Utrecht and The Hague, which allowed me to uncover previously unknown information about the founder of the Jerusalem chapel.

Following an introduction to late medieval attitudes to death and the afterlife, the chapter begins with an investigation of documents related to Raet as a priest in St John's church, which allows us to trace his ecclesiastical career from his beginnings as priest and churchwarden to his institution as chantry priest at St Andrew's altar. Of particular interest is a reference to him in a list of churchwardens, which my investigation has uncovered, and his function as chantry priest, which has not been discussed by scholars before. The next part analyses the documents surrounding Raet's chantry foundation in St Mary Magdalene's convent in Gouda, recognising it for the first time as the priest's earliest *memoria* provision. This is followed by an investigation into Raet's burial places in St John's church focusing on the fifteenth-century grave book, which has brought to light that the priest owned three successive graves in the parish church before he commissioned the construction of his own burial chapel. The final discussion explores various aspects surrounding Raet's pilgrimage to Palestine and Egypt, including a reassessment of the date, his potential sources of inspiration, and what is known about the standard pilgrimage journey. Finally, by taking into account the history of the Palm Sunday procession and the relevant evidence resulting from my re-examination of the written sources pertaining to the other Jerusalem chapels of the region, a clearer idea of the late medieval Palm Sunday procession in the cities of the diocese of Utrecht can be gained, allowing us to link the evidence to Raet's concern for the afterlife.

¹⁹² Cf. Carlier, "Fraterhuis." Schneider, "Peregrinatio."

B. Late Medieval Attitudes to Death and the Afterlife

Throughout the thesis, it will become evident that Raet's actions were linked to the late medieval cult of death and commemoration. For this reason, it is first necessary to introduce the perceptions of death and the afterlife at the time.¹⁹³ In Christian belief, the Last Judgement is to take place at the end of the world. Christ will come a second time and there will be a general resurrection of the dead who, with the living, will be finally judged and consigned to heaven for eternal life or to hell for eternal punishment.¹⁹⁴ In the twelfth century, questions around the state of the dead between the day of the individual's death and the unknown day of the Last Judgement brought about the notions of the 'particular judgement' and purgatory in theology.¹⁹⁵ Directly after death, when the soul departs the body, a first individual or "particular" judgement takes place based on the deeds performed in the individual's lifetime, which anticipates that of the Last Judgement: only the souls of saints gain direct access to heaven, and the damned souls must go to hell with their way to heaven blocked forever, while the souls of those, who had been "not entirely good, but not entirely bad,"¹⁹⁶ are allowed to go to purgatory to start their penitential time. The souls in purgatory suffer the same torments as the damned in hell but after having endured enough punishments as a

¹⁹³ Aspects of late medieval attitudes to death and the afterlife will be discussed throughout the thesis. For indulgences, see Chapter II. F. 4. and for intercessory prayers, see Chapters III. E. 3. and III. E. 4.

¹⁹⁴ Scriptural references to the Last Judgement are numerous, but the principal authorities are Mt 25:31-46 and Rv 20:11-15.

¹⁹⁵ The doctrine was consolidated during the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 186. In 1336, Pope Benedict XII issued the bull *Benedictus Deus*, in which he laid down, who would go to heaven without cleansing in purgatory, who had to go to purgatory to atone for his sins, and who would go to hell and be denied the Beatific Vision of God forever. Peter Jezler, "Jenseitsmodelle und Jenseitsvorsorge: Eine Einführung," in *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer: Das Jenseits im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Jezler (Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1994), 18. Truus van Bueren, *Leven na de dood: Gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen* (Turnhout: Museum Catharijneconvent, 1999), 22.

¹⁹⁶ The expression goes back to St Augustine's *City of God* (426 AD): "non valde boni, non valde mali," cf. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1984), 69, 144, 147, *passim*.

penance for their sins, the purified souls are admitted to heaven. On the day of the Last Judgement, they come back to earth in order to reunite with their resurrected bodies. Christ will judge humankind and send the dead back to where they came from for good: either to endure eternal torment in hell or to enjoy eternal bliss in heaven. The essence of salvation is the heavenly vision of God, or Beatific Vision, which those in hell will lack forever.¹⁹⁷

These ideas of the afterlife were omnipresent in late medieval culture. They were expressed in the liturgy, non-liturgical prayer, visual arts, literature and theatre, all conveying the same message: after death, every person will be judged on the life that they had led on earth, the righteous will be saved and the sinners will be lost.¹⁹⁸ Depictions of the Last Judgement in churches, for instance, were meant as a warning about committing sins.¹⁹⁹ Religious beliefs about the Last Judgement were also extensively distributed through print. For example, the late medieval tract *Cordiale quatuor novissimorum* (ca 1380s) on the four Last Things – death, judgement, heaven and hell – by the Dutch monk Gerhard van Vliederhoven, circulated widely in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the form of both manuscripts and printed books. The many translations and revised editions testify to its popularity.²⁰⁰ In Gouda, a version of it, the *Cordiale quattuor – Die vier uitersten*, was printed by Gheraert Leeu in 1477, 1479 and 1482, and afterwards by the Brethren of the Common Life between 1501 and 1521.²⁰¹ Another example is the *Ars Moriendi*, or “Art of Dying,”

¹⁹⁷ Jezler, “Jenseitsmodelle,” 17-19. Binski, *Medieval Death*, 182. Bueren, *Leven*, 22.

¹⁹⁸ Bueren, *Leven*, 22-23.

¹⁹⁹ For examples, see Jezler, *Himmel*, *passim* or Bueren, *Leven*, *passim*.

²⁰⁰ Sigurd Hjelde, “Memorare novissima tua: Ein Blick in die Vorgeschichte des Eschatologiebegriffs,” in *Between Lay Piety and Academic Theology*, ed. Ulrike Hascher-Burger, August den Hollander and Wim Janse (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 46-49.

²⁰¹ Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), accessed Mar 2, 2018, <https://www.ustc.ac.uk>. Reference nos. 435296, 435408, 435503 and 424805. See also Koen Goudriaan et al. (ed.), *Een drukker zoekt publiek: Gheraert Leeu te Gouda 1477-1484* (Delft: Eburon, 1993), 224, 227, 233-34.

an immensely influential fifteenth-century tract, which was compiled as a commentary and elaboration of the *Ordo Visitandi*, the rite for priests visiting the sick, and became very popular in the form of printed handbooks. Text and images provided advice for both the clergy and lay people on the protocols and procedures of how to “die well,” such as how to hold out against the temptations of the devil in the last hour before death, confession and the Last Rites.²⁰²

Since the final judgement was the most important decision for the faithful, late medieval Christians were preoccupied, already early on during their lifetimes, with taking precautionary measures, which would earn them merits in heaven. Expanding on biblical references, the Church taught that by leading a good life, keeping the Commandments, confession and repentance, not clinging to earthly goods and giving to the poor, the faithful could contribute to a positive outcome of his judgement during his lifetime.²⁰³ A contribution of religious art to a church was regarded as an act of almsgiving to the needy, as it promoted Christian worship and affected their emotional well-being.²⁰⁴ After death the deceased could be assisted by the living. Masses said in remembrance of the dead and intercessory prayers by the congregation would shorten and ease the deceased’s time and suffering in purgatory. It was common practice for well-to-do citizens to arrange the performance of masses, the distribution of alms or a donation to an ecclesiastical institution after their death through testamentary stipulations. The community of the living and the dead was characteristic of late medieval memorial culture. The commemoration of the dead – *memoria*, as conceived by Otto Gerhard Oexle – was enacted through liturgical practices and charitable

²⁰² Bueren, *Leven*, 24. Cf. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992), 314-27.

²⁰³ The nature of these preventive actions was ultimately based on references in the Bible. For example, Mt 6:19-21 (Christ urges man to earn a treasure in heaven). Mt 19:16-24 (Christ explains to a rich young man how eternal life could be earned).

²⁰⁴ Jezler, *Himmel*, 22.

donations, all of which helped to preserve the presence of the deceased among the living.²⁰⁵

C. Gijsbert Raet and St John's Church

With this in mind, we can now start our investigation of the rich array of written sources pertaining to Gijsbert Willemsz. Raet and St John's church in Gouda. Although the late medieval documents do not inform us about his exact birth date, family background, or education, they reveal both interesting and new information about the founder of the Jerusalem chapel, allowing us to trace his ecclesiastical career with St John's church from the early beginnings as a young priest and churchwarden to his institution as a chantry priest. This, in turn, will give us an insight into his priestly duties and the motivations behind his choice of positions. The earliest document in which Raet is named dates from 25 February 1462. It concerns the purchase of a house and yard by him in the Naaiersstraat in Gouda (from Pieter Wilhelmi) and describes him as "heer gijsbrecht willemsz. priester."²⁰⁶ As this is the earliest known record of Raet, found as a single entry within a continuous register of the city's property purchases dating from 1451 to 1470, we can infer that he may have first established an independent household in Gouda at this time.²⁰⁷ Given that this is also the earliest mention of him as a priest, we can further conclude that he was ordained to the priesthood before the date of the property transaction and that he was therefore at least

²⁰⁵ O. G. Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im frühen Mittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976): 70-95. "Gegenwart," 19-77. "Memoria und Memorialbild," 384-440.

²⁰⁶ "Master Gijsbert Willemsz., priest." SAMH, 2, inv. 318, fol. 58r.

²⁰⁷ We do not know the location of his childhood family home. As already stated by Goudriaan, the name of Raet's father appears only once in the late medieval archival sources of Gouda: Willem Raet is mentioned briefly as the owner of a house outside the Potterspoort (Potter's gate) in 1439. SAMH, 90, inv. 3/263. Cf. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 18. The document is in bad condition, hardly legible.

25 years old at that time.²⁰⁸ Finally, we learn that he was well-off, perhaps from family money, because he had the means to buy a property in the city centre.

My analysis of late medieval documents in the diocesan archives of Utrecht concerning a dispute over payment in St John's church in Gouda in 1483/84, has brought to light further and previously unknown information about this stage in Raet's life.²⁰⁹ The documentation includes a list of churchwardens employed in the same parish church between 1423 and 1482. In 1462, as well as in 1465, 1473, and 1474, a "Gijsbert Willemsz." was engaged as churchwarden. Other documents included in the dossier on the dispute make clear that we are dealing with Gijsbert Raet here, because they refer to a "Gijsbert Willemsz. presbiter beneficiarius" or "presbiter vicarius" – the priest's official title since 1473/74.²¹⁰ Hence, the record of Raet as churchwarden in 1462 is now the earliest known evidence of Raet's association with St John's church. It strengthens my assumption that the priest became independently established in Gouda in this year, as this may have been one of Raet's first posts in the parish church, presumably in addition to his duties as a priest.

In the late Middle Ages, churchwardens played a vital role in managing aspects of parish life. They were usually members of the upper classes, appointed by the municipality. Their task was the maintenance of the fabric of the church and the

²⁰⁸ According to medieval canon law, a priest was ordained after the completion of his twenty-fourth year. Consequently, Raet was born not later than 1437. Given that he died on 27 May 1511, the year 1437, or slightly earlier, seems to be his birth year. He was at least 73 years old when he died. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 18.

²⁰⁹ HUA, 223, inv. 1893-1, no. 11. The documents concern a dispute of the pastor and of the choristers with the churchwardens over payment in 1483/84.

²¹⁰ "Beneficed priest" or "chantry priest." HUA, 223, inv. 1893-1, nos. 2, 3, 10. In the written sources, Raet is not always mentioned by his complete name "Gijsbert Willemsz. Raet" or "Gijsbert Raet Willemsz." but also appears as "Gijsbert Willemsz." or "Gijsbert Raet." The dates of the occupation as churchwarden and his connection to St John's church identify him as the founder of the Jerusalem chapel. Besides, I was able to identify only one other Gijsbert Willemsz. in the late medieval archival sources of Gouda. His documents date from the beginning of the fifteenth century and are not related to St John's church in Gouda, making him irrelevant for our investigation. Cf. SAMH, 90, inv. 3, cal. 246, dated 1408; SAHM, 1, inv. 288, fol. 79v, cal. 69, dated 1411. Raet's position as chantry priest in St John's church will be discussed at the end of this sub-chapter.

equipment for worship.²¹¹ The documentary sources pertaining to St John's church in Gouda reveal that the college of churchwardens consisted of three to four members and changed annually. They further show that the churchwardens were in charge of the financial administration, such as book-keeping, salary payments, the collection of rental income or fees, and the selling of burial places. Likewise, with regard to the maintenance of the church and its belongings, their duties included, for instance, the employment and coordination of workmen, the ordering of building materials and tools, the upkeep of the liturgical equipment, and the supply of the day-to-day necessities.²¹² The records indicate that Raet obtained the prestigious position of churchwarden during four separate years in the early phase of his ecclesiastical career, giving him the authority to manage the day-to-day running of the parish church. Apparently, the priest had connections in the local government to suggest a nomination as churchwarden. This fact may suggest that he was either of higher social rank or the scion of a wealthy bourgeois family. Furthermore, as a churchwarden, he dealt with aspects surrounding the culture, or to be more precise, economy of death and commemoration, notably the selling of burial places in the church and their recording in grave books.²¹³ He may have also documented donations to the church from the laity, normally given in the form of money to support, for example, the rebuilding or renovation of a church, or in the form of objects that embellished the liturgical service, for example, a chalice, a candlestick, an altar cloth or vestments for the priests. In

²¹¹ Cf. Clive Burgess, "'Longing to be prayed for:' death and commemoration in an English parish in the later Middle Ages," in *The Place of the Dead* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 62-63. G. Verhoeven, *Devotie en negotie: Delft als bedevaartsplaats in de late middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1992), 25-28.

²¹² Bianca van den Berg, "De dagelijkse gang van zaken in de Sint-Janskerk te Gouda gedurende de periode 1487-1552," in *In de stad van die Goude*, ed. N. D. B. Habermehl et al., Oudheidkundige Kring 'Die Goude' (Delft: Eburon, 1992), 129-43. Koen Goudriaan, "Graf en begrafenis in de middeleeuwse Sint Janskerk," *De Schatkamer* 9, no. 3 (1995): 90-93. "Ownership of Graves in Medieval Parish Churches in Holland," in *Showing Status*, ed. W. Blockmans and A. Janse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 201-02.

²¹³ The fifteenth-century grave book will be discussed in Chapter II. E.

exchange for the donation, the deceased benefactors were remembered and prayed for by the clergy and the congregation of the church during the liturgy. The churchwardens usually wrote down the names of the benefactors in memorial books (*memorieboeken*) so that they could be read out during the service, as for example on All Souls' Day.²¹⁴ The practical handling of the parishioners' precautions concerning death and the afterlife in St John's church must have influenced his ideas about the preparation of his own death and the hereafter, which will be investigated throughout the thesis. Finally, his position as churchwarden also provided him with insights into the financial and conservational organisation of an ecclesiastical building, which would later prove useful for the establishment of his own chapel.

At some point between October 1473 and October 1474, Raet was instituted as perpetual chantry priest to the altar of St Andrew in St John's church, as stated by an entry in the account book of the archdeaconry of Oudmunster for this period.²¹⁵ This information is important, as various aspects surrounding this new position reveal that the priest improved his standing in the parish church at this time. The side altar of St Andrew was one of the oldest in the parish church and richly endowed. On 25 January 1353, Heinric Allartsz. had founded it in honour of St Andrew and in connection with a chantry to be served in perpetuity.²¹⁶ His son Heinric, a subdeacon, was nominated as first incumbent so that he could take holy orders and serve the altar during his lifetime. The founder endowed the chantry with a perpetual yearly income of 10

²¹⁴ Burgess, "Longing," 64.

²¹⁵ Cf. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 20. The archdeaconry of Oudmunster was a subdivision of the diocese of Utrecht, which included the city of Gouda. The exact date of Raet's appointment is not mentioned. He is named as "presbiter ad capellania sancti andree" ("priest at the chantry of St Andrew"). HUA, 223, inv. 1738-1, fol. 75r. In a later document of 1511, his profession is described as "vicarius perpetuus" ("perpetual chantry priest"). SAMH, 91, inv. 45. The term "capellania" corresponds to the English term chantry. "Vicarius" translates as chantry priest.

²¹⁶ "Capellanie de nouo [...] perpetuis temporibus deserui" ("a new chantry [...] to be served in perpetuity"). SAMH, 90, inv. 41.

Holland pounds, which was financed by eleven “perpetual” rents on houses.²¹⁷ By this foundation, Heinric Allartz. provided for the maintenance of his son with seemingly sufficient beneficiary revenues, as well as of the subsequent office holders. Thus, when Raet was instituted as holder of this office, which had been established about 120 years earlier, he became a beneficed, or stipendiary, clergyman, receiving the allocated annual income. Documentary sources describing the financial resources of St Andrew’s altar confirm that Heinric Allertsz.’s foundation was maintained for over two hundred years: the rents funding the benefice were still being recorded in a register of 1420²¹⁸ and in a ledger of 1582.²¹⁹ Also, in 1514 – three years after Raet’s death – the annual beneficiary revenues of the subsequent office-holder, Henrick Wittensz., were described as “waerdich xij off xiiij Rins g. siaers sonder eenige last van missen” in an account book of the Count of Holland,²²⁰ which must have been the amount that Raet had received a few years earlier.

Moreover, through this appointment, Raet, who, so far, had occasionally been a churchwarden, and presumably belonged to the body of priests in the parish church without an allocation to a particular altar, now obtained a permanent position as “perpetual” (“perpetuus”) chantry priest at the altar of St Andrew.²²¹ In the late Middle Ages, a chantry priest could be instituted merely on a temporary basis, or in perpetuity, depending on the financial means of the founder. By becoming a perpetual chantry priest, Raet was fortunate to have secured a prestigious post that would provide him

²¹⁷ “Perpetual” meant that the rents were valid for an indefinite period.

²¹⁸ SAMH, 90, inv. 42. As in 1353, the annual income amounts to 10 Holland pounds.

²¹⁹ SAMH, 566, inv. 91, fols 136r-149r. The manual was created by the churchwardens of St John’s church when they obtained disposal over the resources of the dissolved altars. The eleven rents of 1353 are recorded together with two rents that were allocated to the altar when Claes Victorsz. founded an additional chantry mass in 1518 (cf. SAMH, 76, inv. 21, fols 141r-143r).

²²⁰ “Worth 13 or 14 Rhine gulden annually without any duties to celebrate masses.” NA, 3.01.27.01, inv. 655A, fol. 41v. The last part of the entry may indicate that the incumbent did not have to conduct masses himself, but could hire a substitute priest for this purpose.

²²¹ “Perpetual chantry priest.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 3v.

with a regular income for the rest of his life. It also attached the priest permanently to the parish church. Later documents confirm that Raet maintained the position as chantry priest of St Andrew's altar for the remainder of his life and that it was his sole official title: his will of 1505 specifies his profession as "ecclesiae parrochialis Sancti Johannis in Gouda vicarius perpetuus."²²² Likewise, in a payments' agreement of 18 February 1511, issued about three months before his death, he is still named by the same formal title.²²³

The establishment of a side altar, including endowments to guarantee its eternal upkeep, was a prominent undertaking for an individual, only affordable by the wealthy. Only a few other examples of this type of foundation are known to have existed in St John's church at the time, such as the *IJzeren kapel*.²²⁴ The rarity of this type of office made the position of chantry priest at St Andrew's altar a prestigious and desirable ecclesiastical post. Also, no additional chantry masses had been established at the same altar until and during Raet's period of office, which meant that he did not have extra duties and did not have to share the altar with another priest.²²⁵ Therefore, taken together, the limited availability of beneficed offices in St John's church and the prospect of receiving sufficient lifelong beneficiary revenues for the service at a reputable private altar without any additional obligations of masses, could have motivated Raet to seek a nomination for this ecclesiastical office. Regarding St Andrew's altar, the Count of Holland possessed the right to nominate the priest to this benefice in case of a vacancy.²²⁶ This means that he must have presented Raet as a suitable office holder to the ecclesiastical authorities. It seems that the priest had a

²²² Ibid.

²²³ "Perpetual chantry priest in the parish church of St John in Gouda." SAMH, 91, inv. 45.

²²⁴ "Iron chapel." For the foundation charter, see SAMH, 90, inv. 82.

²²⁵ Only afterwards (Raet died in 1511), on 26 February 1518, Claes Victorsz. founded a weekly perpetual mass at this altar. SAMH, 76, inv. 21, fols 141r-143r.

²²⁶ In Dutch, this right is referred to as *collatierecht* (right of collation or right of presentation).

promoter at the court of The Hague,²²⁷ which, in turn, indicates that he had connections to high-ranking officials within the diocese in Utrecht.

In our context of late medieval *memoria*, it is important to point out Raet's role as chantry priest, as this has not been addressed by scholars before. When Heinric Allartsz. founded the chantry, including St Andrew's altar in St John's church, he achieved two aims at once: not only was it meant as financial support to his son but also as a provision for his afterlife. Affluent citizens usually prepared themselves during their lifetime for their expected time in purgatory, for example, by providing for masses at an already existing altar in their parish church that were to be celebrated at particular times for the benefit of their souls. The wealthier among them could afford to establish both a new side altar and a chantry, where a priest was engaged to perform regular liturgical services for the spiritual benefit of the founders.²²⁸ Heinric Allartsz. evidently did not specify particular duties with respect to the benefice in his foundation charter, although we can assume nevertheless that the incumbent, or substitute priest, was employed to perform masses or say prayers for the souls of the deceased founder and his relations. For instance, both in the Old Church and in the New Church in Amsterdam, many altars (presumably in connection with a chantry) were erected and endowed until 1430, without specific regulations about liturgical services connected to them.²²⁹ In these cases, the decision on the nature and frequency of the liturgical services may have been left in the hands of the authorities of the respective parish church, who then coordinated it with the other religious services in the parish church. Thus, although we do not know whether Raet actually served St Andrew's altar or

²²⁷ Goudriaan, "Gijsbert Raet," 20.

²²⁸ Cf. Simon Roffey, *Chantry chapels and medieval strategies for the afterlife* (Stroud: Tempus, 2008).

²²⁹ B. R. de Melker, *Metamorfose van stad en devotie: Ontstaan en conjunctuur van kerkelijke, religieuze en charitatieve instellingen in Amsterdam in het licht van de stedelijke ontwikkeling, 1385-1435* (Amsterdam: 2002), 243.

hired a substitute priest, the particular liturgy performed for the purpose of benefitting the souls of the deceased chantry founder and his relations was presumably agreed on with the ecclesiastical authorities of St John's church.

When considering both the building history of the church and a surviving late medieval grave register (1438-1489), which lists not only the graves but also the altars in the church, it is possible to locate the lost St Andrew's altar. This will give us an insight into the situation and development of side altars in the parish church at the time and their importance in connection with late medieval memorial practice. St John's church originated in the court chapel of the Lords of Gouda in the thirteenth century. When the chantry of Heinric Allartsz. was founded in 1353, the parish church was a three-aisled church with a west tower and possibly a narrowed choir (Fig. II. 1, no. 2). St Andrew's altar was then presumably one of altogether five side altars, because three years earlier, in 1350, Heinric and Aechte Coec founded masses at seemingly all of the four existing side altars in the parish church; these were dedicated to Our Lady, St Peter, St Nicholas and St Catherine.²³⁰ By the start of Raet's employment as chantry priest in 1473/74, the same edifice had undergone an extension towards the east (Fig. II. 1, no. 3), a rebuilding of the fourteenth-century fabric to the west, and a restoration without significant changes after the fire of 1438. This resulted in an enlarged three-aisled hall church with a west tower and three-sided choir (Fig. II. 1, no. 4).²³¹ During this time, the number of side altars had grown. After the first extension towards the east, altogether six side altars were re-consecrated in 1413.²³² Following the fire of

²³⁰ SAMH, 90, inv. 20. See also J. G. W. F. Bik, *Vijf eeuwen medisch leven in een Hollandse stad* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955), 539.

²³¹ Bianca van den Berg, "De Sint Janskerk," in *Gouda*, ed. W. Denslagen (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 98, 105-08. *De Sint-Janskerk in Gouda. Een oude stadskerk volgens een nieuw ruimtelijk plan* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), 20-24, 26-49, 54-55.

²³² Albeit not named, altogether seven altars (including the high altar) were mentioned in 1399. Cf. Lange van Wijngaerden, *Geschiedenis*, 173.

1438, nineteen side altars were consecrated on 31 March 1443.²³³ From 1475 onwards, the major rebuilding of the church started, which lasted until 1510 and resulted in a five-aisled hall church with basilical choir and ambulatory (Fig. II. 1, nos. 4 and 5).²³⁴ Consequently, the number of side altars increased enormously (Fig. II. 1, no. 5). According to the fifteenth-century grave register (1438-1489), thirty-four side altars were to be found in the parish church in 1489 – that is, after the extra aisles had been added and before the choir had been extended (Fig. II. 2).²³⁵ Among them, no altar occurs by the name of the apostle Andrew. However, at the beginning of the nave, at the second column to the north aisle, an altar is listed without a dedication.²³⁶ It seems reasonable to assume that this was the side altar where Raet exercised his ministry, since it is located in the building part that previously formed the fourteenth-century church and since the other altars in this western block are identified by their patron saints or owners (Fig. II. 2). The grave book reveals that, when Raet started his appointment as chantry priest in 1473/74 – this being shortly before the major rebuilding – his altar was one of about thirteen side altars.²³⁷ The following large-scale remodelling of the parish church was linked to the rising demand of both burial places and side altars within the parish church. The side altars were usually funded by the affluent laity, who employed a priest to celebrate memorial masses for the benefit of the deceased patrons. In Gouda, the majority of the side altars belonged to guilds or devotional confraternities, who collectively commemorated their departed members at

²³³ SAMH, 90, inv. 33. Cf. Lange van Wijngaerden, *Geschiedenis*, 174.

²³⁴ Cf. Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 26-33, 47-49, 55-58, 62.

²³⁵ SAMH, 90, inv. 24. The *IJzeren kapel* was founded as a chantry chapel within the parish church by Jan van Blois in 1417 and contained its own altar. Cf. SAMH, 90, inv. 82. Therefore, I have added it to Bianca van Berg's calculation of altars, amounting to altogether 34 altars. Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 29-31, Fig. 12.

²³⁶ SAMH, 90, inv. 24, fol. 23r. Based on the sixteenth-century grave register, Goudriaan has placed St Andrew's altar at the first column of the north aisle. Koen Goudriaan, "Gilden en broederschappen in de Middeleeuwen," in *De Gilden in Gouda* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 19. However, I have found no reference to St Andrew's altar in the same grave register. Cf. SAMH, 566, inv. 42.

²³⁷ Cf. note 235.

their altars.²³⁸ One has to imagine that apart from the masses at the High altar, various other masses were celebrated privately at the side altars. As the altars were so close to each other, the celebration of masses had to follow a strict schedule of masses.²³⁹ All in all, this gives us an impression of the omnipresence of the culture of death and commemoration in everyday life of the late medieval parish church in Gouda, the faithful's concern for the afterlife, the community of the living and the dead, and the existence of the individual in contrast to the collective memorial. As will be shown in the following, it seems likely that the liturgical circumstances in St John's church influenced Raet's decisions with regard to his own preparations for the afterlife – in light of both his early provisions and the foundation of his Jerusalem chapel.

D. Raet's Chantry in St Mary Magdalene's Convent

My research in the archives of Gouda, has enabled me to identify two documents, which present the earliest evidence of Raet's *memoria* provision and yield detailed information as to what precautions he had taken at the time. The analysis in the following chapter will make clear that Raet's concern for his afterlife as well as his desire to improve his social standing was a guiding principle in a range of decisions that he took over the course of his life. While this concern fits with general trends of the period, his provisions are remarkable in several respects and give us unique insights into his ambitions. As stated in the foundation charter, drafted in Middle Dutch by the priest himself and attested by a notary, on 17 March 1473, Raet founded a perpetual

²³⁸ Cf. Goudriaan, "Gilden," 21-63. M. Hulshof, "De Gilden," in *De Gilden in Gouda* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 87-148.

²³⁹ Koen Goudriaan, "Fervente vroomheid in een bange tijd," in *Duizend jaar Gouda: Een stadsgeschiedenis*, ed. P. H. A. M. Abels et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 203-04.

chantry (“enen ewigen godliken ende kerkliken dienst ofte ampte”) in honour of St Sebastian in the convent church of St Mary Magdalene in Gouda,²⁴⁰ funded by six perpetual annual rents, including four on land outside Gouda (in Bergambacht, Haastrecht, Bloemendaal and Berkenwoude) and two on a house and yard at the “Vismarkt” in the city.²⁴¹ He nominated Jacob van der Goude Claesz. as the first incumbent to this office. One “Miserere mei, Deus” per week was to be read as long as Jacob van der Goude was willing to do so, or as long as he or Raet lived. After both their deaths, two perpetual weekly masses were to be celebrated in the convent chapel.²⁴² On 19 March 1473, the bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy (r. 1456-1496), officially approved the “perpetuum divinum officium” and Jacob van der Goude as the first incumbent of this office.²⁴³

In line with common practice of the wealthy at the time, Raet – being at least thirty-six years old at the time – made provisions for the afterlife during his lifetime. Yet, the nature of his preparations stands out from the general trend of the period in several aspects. First, we learn that, as stated by Raet in the deed of foundation, the priest initiated the chantry as a precautionary measure, “voir salichheyt ende lauenisse mynre, ende mynre oudern, vrienden.”²⁴⁴ The Penitential Psalm “Miserere mei, Deus,”²⁴⁵ read once a week throughout both the founder’s and the first incumbent’s life, was supposed to motivate a positive outcome of their respective individual judgements after their deaths. The two perpetual weekly masses, to be celebrated after the decease of both Raet and Jacob van der Goude, had the similar purpose of easing and shortening their sufferings in purgatory. These preparatory measures testify to the

²⁴⁰ “A godly and ecclesiastical service or office.”

²⁴¹ “Fish market.” SAMH, 76, inv. 641. Cf. Goudriaan, “Gijsbert,” 21-22.

²⁴² SAMH, 76, inv. 641.

²⁴³ “Perpetual divine office.” SAMH, 91, inv. 87.

²⁴⁴ “For the salvation and absolution of myself, my parents, and friends.” SAMH, 76, inv. 641.

²⁴⁵ “Have mercy on me, O God.” Psalm 50 in the Vulgate.

founder's preoccupation with divine judgement at an early stage of his life. They further attest to a certain exclusivity, since documentary stipulations that benefitted the founder both in life and in the hereafter seems to have been rare in late medieval Gouda.²⁴⁶ Raet's chantry can also be regarded as an act of religious individualism because it connected the celebration of the liturgical services to the interests of a single individual, his family and friends.²⁴⁷

Moreover, Raet's choice of a chantry for his commemoration was a more extravagant form of *memoria* provision than establishing simple memorial masses at an existing altar. Whereas the latter were administered by the ecclesiastical institution at which they were founded, the chantry constituted an independent legal entity. A chantry priest was specifically appointed to perform the liturgical services, regulations for their duties were often defined in more detail, and the benefits were allocated to the chantry.²⁴⁸ Likewise, as can be inferred from the conditions in the foundation charter, Raet had made a conscious choice for the chantry type of the ecclesiastical "office,"²⁴⁹ rather than for the ecclesiastical "benefice."²⁵⁰ Compared to the latter, the chantry priest of the ecclesiastical "office" was not bound to perform the service in perpetuity but could be dismissed if he failed in his duties. The rents funding the office were not managed by the incumbent himself but by the founder, and after his death,

²⁴⁶ I did not find any comparative examples in the archives of Gouda.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Duffy, *Stripping*, 139.

²⁴⁸ A. Speetjens, "The Founder, the Chaplain and the Ecclesiastical Authorities. Chantries in the Low Countries," in *Living Memoria*, ed. R. de Weijert et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011), 196-99. K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965), 11.

²⁴⁹ It is described as "perpetuum divinum officium" ("perpetual divine office") in the approbation by the bishop of Utrecht, and "ewigen godliken ende kerkliken dienst ofte ampt" ("perpetual divine and ecclesiastical service or office") in the foundation charter. Cf. SAMH, 76, inv. 641 and *ibid.*, 91, inv. 87.

²⁵⁰ For instance, when Heinric Allartsz. founded St Andrew's altar in the parish church of Gouda, he had established a chantry as an ecclesiastical benefice. Raet was the perpetual chantry priest of this altar and received the beneficiary revenues. The chantry is described as "capellania" in the documentary source. SAMH, 90, inv. 41. Cf. Chapter II. C.

by a chosen patron.²⁵¹ The late medieval written sources pertaining to ecclesiastical institutions in Gouda reveal that the well-to-do citizens usually established the more modest type of memorial masses. For example, on 4 March 1454, Willem Wolbrantsz. and his wife Margriete had founded two weekly perpetual masses to be celebrated for the repose of their souls in the convent of St Mary Magdalene,²⁵² and on 19 October 1459, Gerrid Veenman and his wife Hillegond endowed the same religious institution with an annual rent of one “Wilhelmus schild” for the performance of an anniversary mass.²⁵³ Chantries, on the other hand, were rare. Only very affluent individuals commissioned memorial masses on a private basis at an altar, or a chantry chapel, such as the *IJzeren kapel* in St John’s church initiated by Jan the “bastard” of Blois in 1417.²⁵⁴ Thus, by instituting a chantry in the convent of St Mary Magdalene, Raet set himself apart from the standard commemorative practice. It is also evident that he chose the chantry as an ecclesiastical office because it gave him more control over his foundation.

Raet’s choice of the first office holder of his chantry is striking. Magister Jacob van der Goude Claesz. was the scion of an influential noble family of Gouda, who held a university degree (“Magister”) and several ecclesiastical posts in three churches in Leiden. He was the minister of the chantry of St Peter and St Paul in St Peter’s church (1440/41, 1445/46, 1452/53).²⁵⁵ He was further the first incumbent of the chantry of St Apollonia, which he himself had founded in the hospital of Our Lady in 1443 or

²⁵¹ Raet appointed the convent of St Mary Magdalene as patron designate and stipulated that competent priests, or clerks who received the holy orders within one year, should be engaged as subsequent office holders. SAMH, 76, inv. 641.

²⁵² SAMH, 76, inv. 21, fols 131v-132r.

²⁵³ SAMH, 90, inv. 148. The “Wilhelmus schild” was a gold coin of the County of Holland, struck under Willem V (r. 1350-1389).

²⁵⁴ Cf. note 224. Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 48.

²⁵⁵ P. M. Grijpink and C. P. M. Holtkamp, *Register op de parochiën, altaren, vicarieën en bedienaars zooals die voorkomen in de middeleeuwsche rekeningen van den officiaal des aartsdiakens van den Utrechtschen Dom: Rijnlandia* (Amsterdam: Van Langenhuyzen, 1932), 4: 50.

earlier.²⁵⁶ But he gave up the latter post when he became a canon of St Pancras's church on 13 January 1444.²⁵⁷ He may have also served the chantry of All Saints in St Peter's church until his death in 1479/80.²⁵⁸ This leaves us to wonder how Raet was connected to this nobleman and higher-ranking cleric from Gouda. It was often the case that chantry founders appointed family members as chantry priests in order to secure a good performance of the service and the perpetuation of the chantry.²⁵⁹ It was also a way of helping relatives in their professional career, as the foundation of the St Andrew's chantry in the parish church has shown.²⁶⁰ There is no concrete evidence to prove a family connection between Raet and Van der Goude,²⁶¹ although it seems significant that Raet was in contact with a member of an important noble family of Gouda. When considering the arrangements of the chantry, it is noticeable that they are unusual with regard to the fact that the first incumbent was a co-receiver of the intercessory liturgical services. Given that it was common for clergy in the late Middle Ages to induce the wealthy to generosity and good works,²⁶² it is possible that Raet was acquainted with the nobleman and cleric from Gouda and that he persuaded the latter to be the first office holder of his chantry. There are a few other aspects that support this assumption. The nobleman from Gouda died about five years after the foundation of Raet's chantry and was at least twenty years older than the founder.²⁶³ Moreover, as stated in the foundation charter, Raet did not expect him to fulfil the

²⁵⁶ EL, 0502, inv. 420, fols 24-25, invs 437 and 1066. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 19.

²⁵⁷ EL, 0502, inv. 437. B. N. Leverland, *St. Pancras op het Hogeland: kerk en kapittel in Leiden tot aan de Reformatie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), 274.

²⁵⁸ Grijpink and Holtkamp, *Register*, 4: 37. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 19.

²⁵⁹ Speetjens, "Chantries," 201-03.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Chapter II. C.

²⁶¹ Goudriaan, for example, has raised the question whether perhaps Raet's mother was a sister of Jacob van der Goude. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 19.

²⁶² Cf. Burgess, "Longing," 61-62.

²⁶³ Van der Goude's first appointment was in 1440/41. Being a priest, he must have been at least twenty-five years old at the time.

obligations, and left him the option to quit whenever he wanted.²⁶⁴ Bearing in mind that Van der Goude resided in Leiden, it also seems unlikely that the nobleman commuted weekly from Leiden to Gouda. Raet may have engaged a substitute priest or performed the liturgy himself.²⁶⁵ Taken together, this indicates that the nomination of Jacob van der Goude was a strategic move by Raet. The former's social standing and well-established reputation as clergyman was presumably advantageous to Raet for getting the permission and approval by the bishop for the establishment of his chantry in the (yet-to-be-built) convent church of St Mary Magdalene. A prominent office holder, in turn, increased the prestige of a chantry and the status of its founder, demonstrating the perforce connection between status and *memoria*. The foundation of the chantry occurred shortly before Raet's institution as chantry priest of St Andrew's altar in the parish church and could have helped him to promote his own ecclesiastical career. Having established a prestigious chantry may have been profitable in securing the benefice of St Andrew.

Raet's choice of location for his chantry, as will be shown, was linked to the establishment of the convent church of St Mary Magdalene. The convent itself was founded shortly after 1450 for the benefit of converted ex-prostitutes ("conversae") as part of the city's social policy. The council of Gouda, which requested the approbation of the bishop of Utrecht, supported its construction through subsidies and by granting several privileges. The council seems to have played a key role in its foundation along with the priest Willem Tybus, who later became the first rector of the community. In 1454, the parish church bestowed several rights on the nuns, such as the construction

²⁶⁴ Cf. SAMH, 76, inv. 641.

²⁶⁵ The engagement of a substitute priest ("huurling") was common practice at the time. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 19-20. As we have seen earlier, Van der Goude had established a chantry in Leiden and was also the first incumbent of his office. Cf. note 257.

of their own church and churchyard, and the celebration of public services provided that it would not interfere with the services in St John's church.²⁶⁶ The bishop of Utrecht confirmed the foundation of the convent in 1455 and gave the sisters the rule of St Augustine. The literate ones had to read the little office of Our Lady, and the illiterate were to say the Lord's prayer several times during the day. With a few exceptions, the order was enclosed, and the sisters earned their living by linen weaving. All in all, their possessions were modest, as their annual income and their ownership of land was restricted to the minimum needed for their subsistence.²⁶⁷ By 1473, the construction of the convent's chapel had not yet been completed, since masses were celebrated at a portable altar.²⁶⁸ The written sources confirm that the fixed altar was only consecrated in 1476 and was dedicated to three major patron saints, namely St Andrew, St Augustine, and St Mary Magdalene, as well as St Sebastian and St Catherine. The dedication to St Sebastian refers to Raet's chantry, which he had founded in honour of the saint.²⁶⁹ If we recall the situation of side altars in St John's church in 1473, as observed in Chapter II. C., we can infer one of the reasons why Raet founded his chantry at this particular convent in this year. With at least fourteen side altars, the space inside the parish church – two years before the major rebuilding started – was confined (Fig. II. 2). For this reason, the establishment of a new private altar may have not been possible. Also, in order to establish an additional chantry at

²⁶⁶ Cf. SAMH, 90, inv. 115. Jan Taal, *De Goudse kloosters in de Middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Paul Brand, 1960), 50, 190-91, 223, 233.

²⁶⁷ Goudriaan, "Verdwenen kloosters," 195-97. Taal, *Goudse kloosters*, 50-51, 191-92, 198-99.

²⁶⁸ In 1455, the bishop of Utrecht gave permission for the use of a portable altar for a period of ten years. This licence was renewed in 1465 for six years. SAMH, 90, invs 116 and 118. Goudriaan, "Verdwenen kloosters," 195. Taal, *Goudse kloosters*, 50, 191-92, 217.

²⁶⁹ SAMH, 91, inv. 119. The dedications to St Mary Magdalene and St Augustine refer to the convent and their rule. The other link to St Andrew and St Catherine remain unclear. Goudriaan has raised the question whether St Andrew was linked to Raet's benefice in St John's church and St Catherine to his veneration for the saint (as shown by his later pilgrimage to her tomb in St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai about seventeen years later). Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 19-20. However, there is no evidence to confirm this and it remains to point out that both saints were popular in the late Middle Ages, making it difficult to determine whether they were linked to Raet. For my assessment of the date of Raet's pilgrimage, see Chapter II. F. 1.

an existing altar, the founder needed the consent of the patron of the first chantry and had to conform to his wishes.²⁷⁰ These restrictions may not have appealed to Raet, as it would have left him with less authority and flexibility. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the priest looked for an ecclesiastical institution that offered better options with regard to the establishment of his chantry. Since the masses at St Mary Magdalene's convent were read at a portable altar until the completion of the chapel in 1476, Raet's chantry foundation in 1473 can be interpreted as an act of religious ambition: he seized the opportunity to support the convent financially through his foundation and thereby secured the future altar for his chantry.

Finally, Raet's choice of St Mary Magdalene's convent as the place for his chantry was also motivated by his concern for the afterlife. In the late Middle Ages, the foundation of a chantry or liturgical service was understood as a "good work" of devotion to God, through which the founder would earn celestial credit for a place in heaven. Likewise, such foundations were seen as a good deed to the community of fellow Christians, because they enriched the parish liturgy. The donors of such chantries saw themselves, and were seen by others, as benefactors who bestowed a divine service on their parish.²⁷¹ In return, the beneficiaries were bound to remember and pray for the souls of their benefactors.²⁷² Thus, in particular with regard to the limited income of the convent, Raet's foundation and endowment for the community of St Mary Magdalene can be interpreted as a good deed or charitable act. The stipulated reading of Psalm 50 and the celebration of masses were not only intended for the spiritual benefit of the founder and his relations, but also for the practical benefit

²⁷⁰ Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 38.

²⁷¹ Duffy, *Stripping*, 116.

²⁷² Cf. Burgess, "Longing," 51.

of the nuns, providing them with extra religious services.²⁷³ Moreover, as the convent was the receiver of the annual perpetual rents that Raet had provided for his chantry, it can also be deduced that he supported the institution financially, assisting it in establishing its own house of prayer and increasing its reputation. The same strategies for the afterlife, motivated by a nexus of altruism and self-interest, will later be detected in provisions Raet made with regard to his Jerusalem chapel.

E. Raet's Burial Places in St John's Church

In the late Middle Ages, the preparation for one's death and the afterlife typically included the purchase of a burial place during one's lifetime. The written sources pertaining to St John's church reveal that Raet had already acquired a burial place in the parish church when a young priest. My analysis of the fifteenth-century grave register has enabled me to establish that the priest owned, in fact, three successive burial plots in St John's church before he established his own separate burial chapel – the Jerusalem chapel.²⁷⁴ If one considers the change of location of the respective burial plots together with the building history of the parish church and late medieval conceptions of the afterlife, it is possible to gain an insight into the reasons why Raet chose these particular graves at that time. This, in turn, will later facilitate our

²⁷³ According to his declaration of faith in the deed of foundation, Raet's motivation in life was to turn temporary earthly things into eternal heavenly things, and to bring this task to perfection by the help of God. ("Ic [...] begherende die aerdsche dinger in hemelsche ende dit verganlick is int gheen dat ewich is zalechler te keren. Ende dat ic lange inder begheerten gedragen hebbe bijder hulpe ons heren tot volcomenheyt te brengen"). SAMH, 76, inv. 641. Cf. Duffy, *Stripping*, 116, 139.

²⁷⁴ Cf. SAMH, 90, inv. 24. During his search for Raet's family relations in the late medieval archival sources of Gouda, Goudriaan has only briefly mentioned Raet's first burial place, which he, as we will see, took over from a relative. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 18.

understanding of the motivations behind the position of the priest's tomb within the Jerusalem chapel.

The grave book, which recorded the ownership of graves, came into effect after the fire of 1438 and was used until 1489, when, according to the church accounts, a new grave register was ordered.²⁷⁵ Within the book, the church is divided into several sections: south aisle (*suutside*), north aisle (*noortside*), nave (*middelkerck*), and nave behind the choir (*middelkerck after dat coer*), but also a new south aisle (*suutside*) and new north aisle (*noortside*). Each section of the church is divided into numbered rows (*laghen*) which in turn consist of numbered graves. Each page in the grave register represents one row in the respective section of the church. Three main hands can be discerned: the creator of the original book (hand A), the writer of the quires that were inserted in connection with the extension of the church (hand B), and the person who described the position of altars and columns (hand C) in preparation for the subsequent register in order to indicate restricted burial places. A few other hands appear when names were crossed out or added.²⁷⁶ The grave records also testify to the major building campaign of St John's church that started after 1475, namely the transition from a three-aisled hall church with a three-sided truncated choir to an extended five-aisled hall church with basilical choir and ambulatory (Fig. II. 1, nos. 4 and 5). By 1485, these extra aisles had been added to the nave and the extension towards the east had started. Around the same time, new quires were added to the grave register, listing the new building parts as burial places.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ The register that was in use between 1489 and 1536 is lost. The subsequent grave book (1539-*ca* 1600) has been preserved. Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 27-28n28. The sixteenth-century grave book contains no information about Gijsbert Raet. Cf. SAMH, 566, inv. 42.

²⁷⁶ Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 29-30.

²⁷⁷ In 1485, the foundation stone of the choir was laid. The consecration of the latter in 1510 finished the major building campaign of the fifteenth century. Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 26-33, 47-49, 55-58, 62. Most of the present-day church was built after the fire of 1552; however, the plan of 1510 was kept. "De vijftiende-eeuwse Sint-Janskerk te Gouda en het grafboek van 1438-1489," *BKNOB* 93 (1994): 215.

According to the grave register (1438-1489), Raet owned three burial places in the parish church. Two of these were located within the fifteenth-century three-aisled hall church before its extension. First, he possessed grave no. V in the first row of the north aisle (the rows were counted from the west end towards the east end) (Figs II. 3-4).²⁷⁸ Apparently, the priest took over the burial spot from a relative. A certain Pieter Raet was at least since 1438 the holder of this tomb, as his name is written in hand A. At a later point, his name was crossed out and “heer ghijsbert Willemsz. priester” was listed as new owner. It was the priest himself who wrote his name into the book, since my investigation of the documentary sources has revealed that the later handwriting in the grave register matches the handwriting in a document certainly written by Raet (Fig. II. 5).²⁷⁹ In Gouda, a college of churchwardens²⁸⁰ was responsible for the daily administration of St John’s church, among others, for keeping the grave register up to date.²⁸¹ Raet must have inserted his name while occupying the position as warden of the parish church. As this was the first burial place that the priest possessed, it is likely that he made the entry in 1462, when, as has been observed in Chapter II. C., he was first installed as churchwarden and seemingly established himself in Gouda. This might have been related to the purchase of the house in the Naaiersstraat in Gouda on 25 February 1462, when Raet acquired this property from a certain Pieter Willemsz. It is possible that the latter is the same person as the Pieter Raet in the grave book, as suggested by Goudriaan.²⁸² If this was the case, Pieter Willemsz. or Pieter Raet transferred in both cases a possession to Gijsbert Raet. At any rate, it is evident that

²⁷⁸ SAMH, 90, inv. 24, fol. 21r.

²⁷⁹ SAMH, 91, inv. 65.

²⁸⁰ In the records of the chapter of Oudmunster the number of churchwardens per year ranges between three and five. HUA, 223, inv. 1893-1, fols 2r-6v.

²⁸¹ Berg, “Vijftiende-eeuwse,” 129. Goudriaan, “Graf en begrafenis,” 90. Goudriaan, “Ownership,” 201.

²⁸² “Gijsbert,” 18n31. Names were used inconsistently at the time, often leaving out a part of the whole name in documents. For example, the founder of the Jerusalem chapel appears as Gijsbert Raet, Gijsbert Willemsz. or Gijsbert Willemsz. Raet in the written sources.

the priest took precautions with regard to his burial place at an early stage in his career as a priest.

During my examination of the fifteenth-century grave book, I have discovered that Raet acquired two more burial places over the next years. When we trace the locations of the subsequent burial spots, it becomes apparent that the priest attached significance to where exactly his grave was located within the church and that this was based on beliefs about the afterlife as well as notions of prestige. According to the grave register, at some time before 1475, Raet acquired a grave that was located directly behind the high altar, in the middle of the first row (Figs II. 4 and 6).²⁸³ The name of the previous holder, a certain Coman Clement, was written about 1438 (hand A). Next to this entry a different, unidentifiable hand added: “ende dit graf hoert nu toe heer gijsbert willemsz. priester.”²⁸⁴ Compared to his burial place in the north aisle, this grave was located in a very privileged spot of the church. In the late Middle Ages, particular significance was generally attributed to the choir containing the high altar and the surrounding area of a church. As the altar usually contained relics of the church’s patron saint, and as it was also the place where the Eucharist was celebrated – during which it was believed that Christ became present at the moment when his sacrificial death was symbolically repeated by the mystical conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ – great salvific power was ascribed to the area near it. Being the most holy place of the church, the burial spots in this area were mostly reserved for the higher-ranking clergy and the nobility.²⁸⁵ Although, in Gouda, burials did not take place within the high choir of St John’s church, prominent graves were located around it. For instance, the noble Van der Goude family possessed

²⁸³ SAMH, 90, fols 49r and 50r.

²⁸⁴ “And this grave now belongs to Master Gijsbert Willemsz. priest.” SAMH, 90, fols 49r and 50r.

²⁸⁵ Berg, “Dagelijkse gang,” 130.

twenty-two graves either directly in front of the high choir or in the north aisle adjoining it.²⁸⁶ The priest “heer Eervaert” owned a burial place in the fifth row behind the high choir and donated the one next to it to poor priests.²⁸⁷ The position of Raet’s grave immediately behind the high altar, however, is striking. In St John’s church, a grave directly behind the high altar was the closest possible position to the main altar, ergo the most advantageous with regard to the salvation of one’s soul. It is evident that Raet chose it in order to benefit from the salvific power of the relics and the celebration of masses after his death. The position of his new grave also illustrates that the priest, although apparently not the descendant of a noble family, obviously possessed the means and influence to obtain such a privileged grave in the parish church. It can be inferred that through the acquisition of this burial spot, Raet also intended to improve his social standing and prestige, as this was how he wanted to be kept in remembrance after his death – a pious cleric who had the status to obtain this distinguished burial place. The various observed characteristics of Raet’s early *memoria* provision – the importance of the nearness of the tomb to the altar, the tendency to make the best possible arrangements for the afterlife, individualism and the seeking of status – will later resurface in the *memoria* context of his Jerusalem chapel.

The subsequent burial place that Raet acquired in the parish church was related to the large-scale remodelling of the church. Shortly before 1475, a decision had been reached to enlarge the parish church. By 1485, two extra aisles had been built, and the extension of the church towards the east had started.²⁸⁸ At the same time, the grave register was updated by adding new quires, which listed the burial places in the new building parts (hand B). The work on the new choir can be reconstructed with the help

²⁸⁶ Goudriaan, “Graf en begrafenis,” 209.

²⁸⁷ SAHM, 90, inv. 24, fol. 51r.

²⁸⁸ Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 56n89.

of the grave book (Fig. II. 2). During that campaign, the section entitled “nave behind the choir” was rewritten owing to a change of numbering. In this area, each row now counted thirteen graves. As before, Raet is listed as holder of the grave in the middle of the first row behind the high choir (Figs II. 4 and 7).²⁸⁹ Additionally, the priest is registered as the holder of a burial plot in the new north aisle – in the fifth row, next to the side altar of St Peter (Figs II. 4 and 8).²⁹⁰ This altar had been moved from an unknown position in the old church to its new location after the bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy, had given permission to the churchwardens of St John’s church on 28 April 1485 to relocate it, on condition that the “sigillum” of the altar remained intact.²⁹¹ The fact that Raet possessed a grave in the new north aisle, which was less prestigious than the one behind the high altar, indicates the adaptation of his *memoria* strategy to the upcoming construction of the new choir between 1485 and 1510. With the enlargement of the church towards the east, he was bound to lose the distinguished burial spot behind the high altar (Fig. II. 9). Owing to his close connection with the parish church, he would have been informed about the upcoming building work and the move of the high altar as well as the relocation of the side altar of St Peter. Under these circumstances, he seized the opportunity to secure himself a grave that, albeit not as prominent as the one behind the high altar, would still offer him increased protection after death. St Peter’s altar abutted the church’s north wall on its left side

²⁸⁹ The rows have expanded by including the restricted burial places near the columns in the numbering. Although Raet is listed as owner of grave no. VII (He was no. VI in the old list.), it still represents the same grave.

²⁹⁰ SAMH, 90, fol. 70r. The appendix at the end of the grave register contains notes about the acquisition of graves during the building campaign. The owners were later copied into the new quires of the book. Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 30. On fol. 85r, it is faintly visible in line 3 and 4 that “heer ghijsbrecht heeft een graf besiden [...] sinte pieters outaer [...]” (“Master Gijsbert has a grave next to [...] St Peter’s altar [...]).

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 57. SAMH, 90, inv. 43. The “sigillum altaris” (“seal of the altar”) was the little stone, or slab, that closed up the aperture for the insertion of the relics into the altar. If it was tampered with, or lost, it would be necessary to re-consecrate the altar. Enrico Mazza, *The celebration of the Eucharist: the origin of the rite and the development of its interpretation* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998): 226.

and Raet's grave was located immediately next to the right side of the altar. Since 1447, this side altar was maintained by the members of St Peter's Brotherhood.²⁹² According to their foundation charter, the priest of the Brotherhood was allowed to perform elaborate liturgical services at the altar: masses with singers and an organist on certain feast days, vespers in the evening before these feast days if no vesper was celebrated at the high altar, memorial masses every Monday except on high feast days, requiem masses for their brothers or sisters at the high altar, sung prayers after the burial of their members, in the same way as for the prestigious Brotherhood of Our Lady. Hence, with this burial spot, Raet would directly benefit after his death from the salvific power of both the relics inside the altar and the sumptuous liturgy. Evidently, his last choice of location with regard to his burial place can also be interpreted as a calculated strategy for the afterlife. As with the previous burial place, it was also an expression of his desire to obtain status, because graves in the immediate vicinity of altars were generally perceived as being more prestigious and were more expensive. Finally, it shows us that the priest was well-informed about what was going on in the parish church and that he had enough influence to carry out his intentions with regard to his burial place.

Raet acquired the grave next to the altar of St Peter at some point between *circa* 1485 and 1489. On 10 September 1488, the community of St Mary Magdalene handed back to Raet the office that he had founded in their convent, including the rents that

²⁹² On 21 May 1447, the pastor of St John's church, Wouter van Boechout, granted the brothers and sisters of the altar of St Peter the foundation of a Brotherhood. SAMH, Doos ARA/Goudse kloosters (21 May 1447). There is no information about the location of their sanctuary before 1485. A St Peter's altar was already mentioned in 1350 (SAHM, 90, inv. 20) but was no longer listed among the nineteen altars that were consecrated in 1443 (SAMH, 90, inv. 33). In 1447, the altar and the Brotherhood were presumably established in unison. There is no evidence in the written sources that this community was related to a guild. Apart from Peter the Apostle, St Paul, St Andrew and St Theobald of Provins were patron saints of this altar. The dedication to the two major saints of Rome as well as to the Santiago and Rome pilgrim Theobald might indicate that the members of St Peter's Brotherhood were Rome pilgrims. Cf. Goudriaan, "Gilden," 52-53. However, there is no evidence to confirm this. Likewise, there is no evidence to prove a connection between Raet and the Brotherhood.

funded it, “op anderen plaetsen te setten of te funderen tot sinen wille.”²⁹³ It is very likely that this happened at the instigation of the patron, as the document was an official confirmation that the nuns renounced all their rights with regard to Raet’s endowment and that they allowed him to use it for another purpose. This striking fact indicates that the priest had changed his plans with regard to his *memoria* provisions. The funds from the annual perpetual rents that were now available to him enabled him to invest them in another form of preparation for the afterlife, which has to be seen in light of both his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and the subsequent establishment of his Jerusalem chapel.

F. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Sinai

1. Time of Travel

Both the iconography on Raet’s tombstone and the written sources inform us that Raet undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and St Catherine’s monastery on the Sinai Peninsula prior to the construction of his Jerusalem chapel (*ca* 1500).²⁹⁴ The central brass of the founder’s grave slab contains two heraldic shields with pilgrimage symbols: two palm branches flanking a chalice on the dexter shield, and a Jerusalem cross above the empty Tomb of Christ and the wheel of St Catherine, pierced by two swords, on the sinister shield (Figs II. 10-11). These identify him as Knight of the Holy Sepulchre and of St Catherine.²⁹⁵ Likewise, the notes on the foundation of the chapel

²⁹³ “In order to put or found it at another place, according to his wish.” SAMH, 91, inv. 88.

²⁹⁴ The building history will be discussed in Chapter III. B.

²⁹⁵ The knighting will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II. F. 5.

of *circa* 1517 refer to “quidam venerabilis sacerdos ante multos annos ascenderat iherosolimam invisere sepulchrum domini et montem Syna invisere sepulchrum sancte katherine.”²⁹⁶ Yet, the sources do not mention the exact date of Raet’s journey to the Levant. Both Marion Kuipers-Verbuijs and Ingeborg Laarakkers have argued that his travels must have taken place between 1478 and 1487, since during this period of about nine years no documentary evidence is to be found concerning the priest.²⁹⁷ This assumption has generally been accepted by scholars. However, my archival research has brought to light written sources related to Raet that have not been considered by the scholarship so far. This enabled me to reassess and narrow down the time period of Raet’s pilgrimage to the Levant. In the following, I will argue that the priest’s journey took place not long after the cancellation of his chantry in 1488, as the pilgrimage was most likely one of the reasons why he changed his early form of *memoria* provision.

The new documentary evidence is to be found in the “Eigenboeken” of the city council of Gouda (1451-1529).²⁹⁸ These registers were created following a decree of 2 May 1451, which laid down that anyone who sold a house was obliged to report to the municipal clerk the location of the house, the name of the buyer and the amount of the rents that remained attached to the house. This information was then publicly announced so that anyone could register any previously unrecorded rents connected to the house. If the beneficiary did not register a rent within two and a half years following the house sale, the deed of rent would expire.²⁹⁹ From 1469 onwards, Raet is to be found within these books, having reported deed of rents, and the sale or the purchase

²⁹⁶ “This venerable priest, who also many years ago had come up to Jerusalem to visit the Sepulchre of the Lord and to Mount Sinai to visit the Sepulchre of St Catherine.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

²⁹⁷ Kuipers-Verbuijs, “Gysbrecht,” 4. Laarakkers, “Jeruzalemkapel,” 23.

²⁹⁸ “Books of Ownership.” SAMH, 2, inv. 318-321.

²⁹⁹ SAMH, 2, inv. 318, fol. 1r.

of a house.³⁰⁰ Between 1478 and 1487, he is listed regularly, which makes it unlikely that he travelled to the Levant during this period.

In Chapter II. E., we have observed that the cancellation of Raet's chantry in the convent of St Mary Magdalene at Gouda on 10 September 1488 – established by him about fifteen and a half years earlier – is striking and points towards a change of plan with regard to the priest's *memoria* provision.³⁰¹ It can also be described as an act of calculated financial planning, as the freed income from the perpetual annual rents that previously funded the priest and liturgical services of Raet's chantry were now available to invest in other pious projects. About two months earlier, on 20 July 1488 – as my analysis of this document has revealed – Raet purchased ten acres of land situated between Oudewater and Montfoort (between Gouda and the city of Utrecht) from Jan III Lord of Montfoort (Fig. II. 12),³⁰² and an entry in the "Eigenboek" of the city of Gouda of 1490 shows that Raet received an annual rent for this land.³⁰³ This acquisition can therefore be regarded as a preparatory financial investment that supplied him with an increased annual income. Hence, it is evident that, in the year 1488, the priest made two transactions that made more money available to him over the long term. Since a journey to the Holy Land and the Sinai Peninsula was a costly undertaking, it seems likely that both the termination of Raet's chantry and the acquisition of land to rent were financial measures taken to prepare for his pilgrimage. Money-saving transactions in preparation for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land are also

³⁰⁰ Cf. Appendix D.

³⁰¹ Cf. SAMH, 91, inv. 88.

³⁰² SAMH, 91, inv. 65. Taal dated the document to *circa* 1487. Taal, *Archieven*, 28. My analysis of the document has revealed that the date can be read as 1488.

³⁰³ SAMH, 2, Doos ARA, 1733. The land is described as being "op myns heren domeyne" ("on the domain of my Lord"). My analysis of Raet's written note about his purchase of land from the Lord of Montfoort enabled me to link this note to the entry of the rent in the "Eigenboek," since, in Raet's note, the land is described as "op myns heeren lant van montfoort" ("on the land of my Lord of Montfoort"). SAMH, 91, inv. 65. This has not been addressed by scholars before.

known from other late medieval pilgrims of the Low Countries. The priest Johan Cornelisz. from Kampen, for instance, sold a piece of land before his departure to Palestine in 1489.³⁰⁴ The fact that Raet made long-term investments – securing the income of perpetual annual rents – indicates forward planning and strategic decision-making on the priest’s behalf. As the same perpetual annual rents were later named among the ones that funded his Jerusalem chapel, one could argue that Raet may have also already dallied with the idea of establishing the chapel in 1488.³⁰⁵

My compilation of a chronological table, listing all known documentary sources related to Gijsbert Raet, including the newly identified ones, has revealed that there are fewer lacunae in his timeline of records than previously believed.³⁰⁶ Also, one has to take into account that the standard pilgrimage journey to Jerusalem and back usually took about a year.³⁰⁷ The pilgrim galleys crossed the Mediterranean in the spring and returned at the end of the same year or at the beginning of the next year.³⁰⁸ If one extended the pilgrimage with a trip to St Catherine’s monastery on the Sinai Peninsula, the journey usually took a few weeks longer. When considering my chronological table, in particular the time span between the cancellation of Raet’s chantry in 1488 and his purchase of the property devised for the construction of the

³⁰⁴ SAK, 14, inv. 75, fol. 261r. R. J. Kolman, “De pelgrims van Jeruzalem te Kampen (ca. 1450-1580),” *Kamper Almanak* (1987/88): 160. The late medieval written sources often testify to precautionary measures taken by Dutch Holy Land pilgrims before embarking on their journey. For example, the merchants Jacob Busch and Goessen Pauwels obtained a certificate from the court of Kampen, formally confirming the outstanding payments that some of their fellow citizens had to pay them after their return, and Pouwels further made a will in favour of his wife in case he died during his journey. SAK, 14, inv. 75, fol. 258v. Ibid.

³⁰⁵ SAMH, 91, inv. 57 and inv. 58, fols 14v-15v and 16v.

³⁰⁶ Cf. Appendix D.

³⁰⁷ For Hans Tucher, merchant from Nuremberg, the journey to the Holy Land and the Sinai Peninsula took nearly a year (1479-1480). Cf. Herz, *Reise ins Gelobte Land*, 337-664. For Anselm Adornes, the Bruges patrician, the same journey lasted between 19 February 1470 and 4 April 1471. Cf. Jean Adornes, *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-1471)*, ed. Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groer (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1978).

³⁰⁸ For a description of the standard pilgrimage route, see Chapter II. F. 4. For more details on the journey, see Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia UP, 2005).

Jerusalem chapel in 1494, it becomes apparent that there is a gap of records between 1490 (rent deed)³⁰⁹ and 15 February 1493 (title deed to land in Broekhuizen),³¹⁰ which would have allowed for the extended journey to the Levant. Given that the first document dates from the year 1490 and that the other was issued at the beginning of 1493, it seems reasonable to assume that the priest travelled around 1491 or 1492.

Furthermore, in support of this assumption, it is more convincing that Raet undertook his pilgrimage not long before he initiated his plans for the construction of his Jerusalem chapel, which became apparent in the property acquisition of 25 February 1494.³¹¹ If he had travelled around 1491 or 1492, about two to three years would have passed before the property acquisition. In comparison, if Raet had made the pilgrimage between 1478 and 1487, as suggested by Kuipers-Verbuijs and Laarakkers, about sixteen to seventeen years would have passed before the property acquisition. Such a long interval seems unlikely. The founder of the Jerusalem chapel in Leiden, Wouter IJsbrantsz., for example, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1462³¹² and purchased the plot for his Jerusalem chapel in 1464; the latter was founded in 1467.³¹³

Finally, in this context, it is worth remarking that being of advanced age cannot count as an argument against the long and dangerous pilgrimage to the Holy Land and the Sinai Peninsula. In 1491 or 1492 – my estimated time of Raet’s travels – the priest would have been at least fifty-four years old. It was not unusual to undertake the journey at this age. Wouter IJsbrantsz. (d. 1467), the founder of the Jerusalem chapel

³⁰⁹ SAMH, Doos ARA, 1733.

³¹⁰ SAMH, 91, inv. 59.

³¹¹ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 5v.

³¹² This is mentioned on the panel listing the members of the Leiden Jerusalem Brotherhood. Wouter IJsbrantsz. is mentioned in the second column. Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, inv. B 111.

³¹³ EL, 0520, inv. 330, fol. 23v. Boer, “Jherusalem,” 44-53.

in Leiden, must have been about fifty years old when he travelled to Jerusalem in 1462,³¹⁴ and Hans VI Tucher (1428-1491), a prosperous merchant from Nuremberg, was fifty-one years old when he visited the Levant (1479-1480).³¹⁵

2. Inspiration for the Pilgrimage

Raet undertook his pilgrimage in the late fifteenth century, a time when travels to the Holy Land were generally very popular among the wealthy elite in Western Europe, as testified by the various pilgrimage accounts that have survived from this period.³¹⁶ This leads us to investigate how contemporary Jerusalem pilgrims might have inspired the priest to go on his pious journey. In the late medieval Northern Netherlands, the popularity of pilgrimages to the Levant is attested by the existence of local Jerusalem Brotherhoods in the larger cities. These were lay religious confraternities, which usually consisted of returned Holy Land pilgrims.³¹⁷ As many of the members were dubbed “Knights of the Holy Sepulchre” at the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem, the Brothers are also referred to as “ridder van den heiligen grave,” “ridders van iherusalem,” or “goodsridders” in the late medieval written sources.³¹⁸ Once a year, they prominently appeared in the annual Palm Sunday procession through their cities – a re-enactment of Christ’s triumphant entry into Jerusalem – when they accompanied a wooden donkey with the figure of Christ, while shouldering the “palmen van

³¹⁴ Cf. Boer, “Jherusalem,” 42-44.

³¹⁵ Cf. Herz, *Reise ins Gelobte Land*, 339.

³¹⁶ Reinhold Röhrich, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae: Chronologisches Verzeichnis der von 333 bis 1878 verfassten Literatur über das Heilige Land mit dem Versuch einer Kartographie von Reinhold Röhrich* (Jerusalem: Universitas Booksellers, 1963), 112-58.

³¹⁷ In Utrecht, as stated in the foundation charter, both pilgrims and non-pilgrims were allowed to join the Brotherhood. Cf. Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 195-202.

³¹⁸ The Brothers were also referred to as “pelgrims van iherusalem,” or “broeders van den heyligen lande” in the written sources. Cf. Appendix F.

Jhericho”³¹⁹ they had brought back from the Holy Land, and wearing the emblem of the Jerusalem cross (Figs I. 28-32 and II. 13).³²⁰ The first society of this kind was founded in the city of Utrecht in 1394, followed by Leiden in 1463, Gouda in 1469, Middelburg in 1472, Amersfoort in 1483, and Dordrecht in 1485.³²¹

The foundation in Gouda, as Schneider has shown, was therefore one of the earlier foundations of this type of lay religious confraternities.³²² According to the municipal account book of 1469, the “pelgroms van Jherusalem” received two jugs of wine from the city to give thanks for their participation in the annual Palm Sunday procession.³²³ The number of jugs of wine reveals that the Brotherhood consisted of two members in this year. Following this lead, I have carried out a systematic examination of the late medieval account books of the city and compiled my findings in a chronological table. It shows the transcriptions of all existing entries concerning the wine donations to the Jerusalem Brotherhood on Palm Sunday between 1469 and 1541, including the number of the members of the Brotherhood for each entry, as this information could in most cases be deduced from the number of wine jugs they had received.³²⁴ Apart from having an insight into how the members were referred to at the time, the table gives us an overview of the development of the number of members over time, in particular during Raet’s lifetime and before the time of his estimated pilgrimage, allowing us to estimate the possible impact it could have had on the priest.

³¹⁹ “Palm branches of Jericho.” The term is used in the foundation charter of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Utrecht. Cf. Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 198.

³²⁰ The Palm Sunday procession will be discussed in Chapter II. G.

³²¹ Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 205. For an overview of the Jerusalem Brotherhoods in the Northern Netherlands, see Appendix E.

³²² Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 75-76, 161-62, 205. The Gouda Jerusalem Brotherhood has generally escaped the attention of scholars. Only Carlier briefly mentioned some of the entries concerning the wine donations in the municipal account books, which were again briefly referred to by Laarakkers. Carlier, “Fraterhuis,” 71. Laarakkers, “Jeruzalemkapel,” 25-26. It was not mentioned in Goudriaan’s article on the guilds and brotherhoods in Gouda. Goudriaan, “Gilden,” 21-63.

³²³ “Pilgrims of Jerusalem.” SAMH, 1, inv. 1139, fol. 12r.

³²⁴ Cf. Appendix F.

Since 1469, the Brotherhood is listed regularly in the account books of the city of Gouda, starting small, with only two members in the first year, and then rapidly growing to at least eight members in 1475, remaining at a more or less constant size until 1488 (the year of the cancellation of Raet's chantry), ranging between six and eight members. From 1490 onwards, the Brotherhood grew smaller, ranging between four and six members until 1510 (one year before Raet's death). As a recorded member of the clergy in St John's church in Gouda since 1462, it is very likely that Raet witnessed the beginnings and the development of the local Jerusalem Brotherhood from 1469 onwards, when its members walked in the annual Palm Sunday procession. As a member of the clergy, it is possible that he took part in the procession himself, and in his position as churchwarden in 1473 and 1474, he may have been involved in organising the celebrations. By 1488, the Brotherhood consisted of seven members. Carrying their palm branches and bearing the symbol of the Jerusalem cross on their clothes or on a necklace, as depicted on the group portraits of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood by Jan van Scorel and Antonis Mor, for example, the Brothers must have made an impressive and dignified appearance during the procession. Their pilgrimage insignia communicated to the onlookers not only that they had accomplished the long, perilous and expensive journey to the Holy Land but also that the latter had earned them a special status within the community, because the municipality granted them the privilege to accompany the wooden donkey with the figure of Christ during the procession and treated them with free wine afterwards.³²⁵ Moreover, according to Christian belief, Christ's triumphant ride into earthly Jerusalem was seen as the prefiguration of Christ's resurrection and entry into heavenly Jerusalem. Hence, on

³²⁵ Cf. the foundation charter of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Utrecht, ed. by Gonnet, "Bedevaart," 198. Or the agreement between the municipality and the Jerusalem Brotherhood of Amsterdam, ed. by Breen, *Rechtsbronnen*, 615.

Palm Sunday, when re-enacting this particular event at the beginning of Christ's Passion, the Jerusalem Brothers symbolically walked in the footsteps of Christ, visibly expressing to the audience their optimism with regard to resurrection and eternal life after death, which they hoped to have earned through their pious journey to the holy sites of Christ's ministry. As an informed clergyman, Raet must have been aware of this connotation. The special status that the Brothers enjoyed in the community, the prospect of gaining the title of "Knight of the Holy Sepulchre" and, most importantly, the chance to earn heavenly credit through the pilgrimage in order to obtain eternal life after death, may have given Raet an incentive to undertake a pilgrimage to the Levant himself. In this regard, he may have also sought advice from returned Jerusalem pilgrims in his hometown.

Although my analysis of the late medieval documents related to Raet has not uncovered a link between him and members of the Gouda Jerusalem Brotherhood, it has brought to light that the priest was acquainted with two members of the prestigious Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood. The land that he acquired on 20 July 1488, discussed above, was purchased from Jan III Viscount of Montfoort (*ca* 1448-1522);³²⁶ the conveyance took place in the house of the mayor in Montfoort, near Utrecht, where the priest received the "eyghen"³²⁷ from the Viscount himself. Afterwards, a reception was held in the house of Gijs Roest in Montfoort, where there were "weel goede mannen,"³²⁸ including Zweder Knight of Montfoort (d. before 1500), the Viscount's illegitimate son, whom Raet described as "heer zwer van miontfoert ridder myns heren noem van montfoert."³²⁹ Several members of the Montfoort clan are known to have

³²⁶ SAMH, 91, inv. 65.

³²⁷ "Ownership," presumably referring to the title deed.

³²⁸ "Many good men."

³²⁹ "Master Zweder van Montfoort, Knight in the name of my Lord of Montfoort." SAMH, 91, inv. 65.

made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, indicating that this was a family tradition. Jan III van Montfoort travelled to Jerusalem in 1469, at the age of twenty-one.³³⁰ Upon his return, on 13 December of the same year, he was invited to a feast by the authorities of the town of Montfoort, at which other noble men and high-ranking clergy were present.³³¹ Zweder van Montfoort, his illegitimate son, visited the Holy Land in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.³³² Likewise, Lodewijck of Montfoort, brother of the Viscount, travelled in the second half of the fifteenth century, and an earlier member of the family, Zweder II van Montfoort (1300-1375), died during his journey to the Holy Land.³³³ As members of the high nobility, both the Viscount and his illegitimate son Zweder were presumably dubbed “Knights of the Holy Sepulchre” in Jerusalem. Zweder is named as a member of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood in the late medieval archival sources of the city,³³⁴ and it is likely that the Viscount was also part of this confraternity. Thus, on 20 July 1488, Raet met and, as he proudly recounts in his note, had celebratory drinks with two noble Holy Land pilgrims, who were most likely both members of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood. If the priest was indeed planning to travel to the Levant at this time, as has been observed, this social gathering would have provided him with the opportunity to informally enquire about the Montfoorts’ experiences of their pilgrimages and any advice they could give him in this regard, confirming him in his intention to undertake the journey. They may have

³³⁰ Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 269.

³³¹ Caspar Burmannus, *Utrechtsche jaarboeken van de vyftiende eeuw, vervattende het merkwaardige in het Gesticht, en voornamentlyk in de stad Utrecht: zedert den jare 1402 en vervolgens voorgevallen* (Utrecht: J. H. Vonk van Lynden, 1750-1754), 2: 542.

³³² Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 267.

³³³ M. P. van der Linden, *De burggraven van Montfoort in de geschiedenis van het Sticht Utrecht en het graafschap Holland (ca. 1260-1490)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), 145-52. According to a handwritten list of members of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood, compiled by J. W. C. van Campen (1899-1993), municipal archivist of Utrecht, a certain “Master of Montfoort” travelled to Jerusalem in 1482. However, it is not known to whom this refers. Cf. Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 266n5, 268.

³³⁴ Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 266n5, 267.

also talked about the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Utrecht and its Jerusalem chapel in the Nieuwe Weerd.

Furthermore, it is possible that Raet was motivated to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land through a visit to one of the existing Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht. By 1488, the Jerusalem chapel in the Nieuwe Weerd outside the city of Utrecht had stood for almost a hundred years. In the foundation charter of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood of 1394, the members declared that they wanted to share their chapel with their fellow Christians.³³⁵ From 1434 onwards, visitors to their chapel earned seven years of indulgences – a remission of seven years of punishment in purgatory – on certain feast days, which provided the faithful in and near Utrecht with an incentive to come to and pray in the Jerusalem chapel on these days.³³⁶ Hence, it is not unlikely that the priest made a trip to the Utrecht chapel, situated about 30 km to the north-east of Gouda, in order to venerate Christ, to pray at the copy of His Tomb and to earn indulgences, giving him the idea to travel to the Holy Land himself, and perhaps also to establish his own Jerusalem chapel.³³⁷ The striking similarity of the Gouda chapel to the ones in Delft and in Leiden suggests that Raet was also familiar with the Jerusalem chapels in both cities. By 1488, the Delft chapel had existed for about sixty years and the Leiden chapel for twenty-one years. Both chapels contained a replica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.³³⁸ Due to a loss of the written sources pertaining to the Jerusalem chapel in Delft, we do not know if the chapel was open for public worship. However, a note written by Raet in *circa* 1507 informs us that the

³³⁵ Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 195-97. The public opening of the chapel will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III. E. 4.

³³⁶ Cf. Brom, *Archivalia*, 1.2: 489 (no. 1358). Tongerloo, “Grablegung,” 234. For a brief description of the replica, see Grube, *Chronicon*, 364.

³³⁷ In comparison, the city of Montfoort is about 17 km away from Gouda – a distance that the priest travelled for the property transaction and for which he asked “Claes kijstenmaker” (“Claes the cratemaker”) to bring him there. Cf. SAMH, 91, inv. 65.

³³⁸ Cf. SAD, 202, inv. 62 (1551 and 1552). EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r. See also, Chapter III. E. 2.

priest engaged a master painter and a stone mason from Delft to undertake work in his Jerusalem chapel.³³⁹ This indicates that he was familiar with the city of Delft and its monuments, situated about 24 km to the west of Gouda. Likewise, in 1474, the Teutonic Order in Leiden loosened their previously imposed restrictions with regard to the liturgy in the Jerusalem chapel in Leiden, allowing for a higher number of masses to be celebrated,³⁴⁰ and presumably also for public worship, as contemporary records of visitors to the chapel indicate.³⁴¹ The fact that Raet was in contact with Jacob van der Goude, clergyman from Leiden and the first incumbent of his chantry in St Mary Magdalene's convent in Gouda, might equally be a sign of his acquaintance with the city of Leiden and its monuments, the former being situated about 22 km to the north-west of Gouda. Thus, taken together, there is a strong chance that the priest visited one of the Jerusalem chapels in Utrecht, Leiden or Delft and that its particular focus on the veneration of the life, death and resurrection of Christ encouraged him to undertake a pilgrimage to the Levant himself and perhaps also to found a Jerusalem chapel in his hometown.

³³⁹ SAMH, 91, inv. 84. For a transcription of the document, see Appendix G. 3. For more information on the craftsmen working in Raet's chapel, see Chapter III. A. 3.

³⁴⁰ EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 7v-8r.

³⁴¹ For example, Claes van Duesen wrote in his pilgrimage account (after 1495) that he had visited the chapel. Ludwig Conrady, *Vier Rheinische Palaestina-Pilgerschriften des XIV., XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Feller & Gecks, 1882): 187, 209. Also, Aechte Dirick Pietersz.dr mentions the Leiden chapel in her will of 1484, giving the impression that she went to see the chapel. Edited by Gonnet, "Bedevaart," 192-93.

3. Pilgrimage Literature in and around Gouda

In and around late medieval Gouda, stimulation and practical guidance concerning pilgrimage to the Holy Land and the Sinai Peninsula were also available to Gijsbert Raet in the form of pilgrimage guides or literature. First, it is noteworthy that a Latin pilgrimage manual (*Peregrinationes totius terre sancte*) circulated within the diocese of Utrecht, of which the original author was “W. de Gouda” – probably Willem de Gouda, a Friar Minor from the same city, who produced the book while staying at the Franciscan monastery in Jerusalem in 1437.³⁴² It was one of the very common lists of the Holy Places and of the indulgences that could be gained there by pilgrims, which were frequently attached to pilgrims’ accounts and descriptions of the Holy Land.³⁴³ They originated from the Franciscans’ library at Mount Sion in Jerusalem, which provided pilgrims and authors with guidebooks to the holy places.³⁴⁴ In 1478, Gerard van Buren, a canon at St Saviour’s church in Utrecht, possessed a manuscript that included a copy of W. de Gouda’s manual.³⁴⁵ The same manuscript further contained a rather comprehensive compilation of texts concerning the Holy Land: histories of the Holy Land under the rule of the Crusaders, the epitaphs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, the *Peregrinationes*, an epigraph from the Holy Tomb and the religious

³⁴² The Minorites’ convent in Gouda had a reputation as a training centre for clerics. In this period, other Franciscans from Gouda added “de Gouda” after their first name. A. L. H. Hage, “‘Die Stede van der Goude’ en ‘Die Gloriose ende die Heylighe Stadt van Jherusalem.’ Enkele Goudse Pelgrimageteksten uit de vijftiende eeuw,” in *In de Stad van die Goude*, ed. N. D. B. Habermehl et al. (Delft: Eburon, 1992), 73-74. 74-76n25.

³⁴³ Michele Campopiano, “Islam, Jews and Eastern Christianity in Late Medieval Pilgrims’ Guidebooks: Some Examples from the Franciscan Convent of Mount Sion,” *Al-Masaq* 24, no. 1 (2012): 77-78, 87.

³⁴⁴ According to a note from the copyist, this one was copied in the Northern Netherlands. KB, MS 73 G 8, fols 38v-48r. Cf. H. Brugmans, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae. I. Libri Theologici* (The Hague: Bibliotheca Regia, 1922), 1: 234-35. Hage, “Stede,” 74-76n25.

³⁴⁵ Hage, “Stede,” 76-77.

rites to be performed by the pilgrims in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁴⁶ This gives an example of the value that a cleric attached to owning various texts about Jerusalem at the time, notably a guide from a monk from Gouda, who had actually lived in the Holy City, and whose guide was apparently copied within the diocese of Utrecht.

However, in the late Middle Ages, pilgrimage accounts were not only confined to the city of Jerusalem. At some point after 1454, St Margaret's convent in Gouda came into the possession of a manuscript that contained a description of the life of St Catherine, a report of a pilgrimage to the Sinai Peninsula (*Pelgrimage naar Sinai*), and an account describing the translation of the remains of St Catharine from the top of Mount Catherine to the monastery at its foot.³⁴⁷ The *Pelgrimage naar de Sinai* had been copied and translated from Latin to Middle Dutch from the pilgrimage account of Thietmar,³⁴⁸ a Westphalian cleric, who travelled to Palestine and Sinai in 1217.³⁴⁹ The volume is an expression of the particular devotion that was paid to St Catherine in Gouda at the time, but it also demonstrates a need to complement the texts on her

³⁴⁶ The first codicological unit consists of theological treatises (excerpts of writings by Hildegard von Bingen and Joachim of Fiore), some texts concerning the Holy Land (the liberation of the Holy Places by the army of Godfrey of Bouillon, the deeds of the Latin kings of Jerusalem, and of the Muslim reoccupation of the Holy City). This is followed by epitaphs of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, verses from the "Nine Worthies," the *Peregrinationes* by W. from Gouda, an epigraph copied from the tabernacle of the Holy Sepulchre and a description of the processions to be performed by pilgrims in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre under the direction of the Friars of Mount Sion. The second codicological unit transmits the *De imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis. Hage, "Stede," 74-76n21. Campopiano, "Islam," 86-88.

³⁴⁷ Hage, "Stede," 70-73. The family Sickenga in Laren is in the possession of it now. Cf. P. J. H. Vermeeren, *De Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* (Utrecht: Lanteern, 1953). E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek. X (Bouwstoffen)* (Zedelgem: Flandria Nostra, 1990-1993), 10: 1460.

³⁴⁸ It was presumably already translated in the thirteenth century. The travel route differs slightly from Thietmar's original text, evidently modified by the translator, perhaps because he had visited Sinai himself. J. de Groot and G. S. Overdiep, *Een pelgrimage naar den Sinai. Anno 1217* (Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1936), 5-19.

³⁴⁹ Cf. J. C. M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1864). Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 27-29, 95-133.

legend with an eye-witness report from a pilgrim who had seen her tomb,³⁵⁰ allowing the nuns to embark on a spiritual pilgrimage to the Sinai Peninsula.

The question arises as to whether accounts concerning pilgrimage to the Levant were available to Raet, providing him with information about Jerusalem and the Sinai Peninsula, stirring his devotion and inspiring him to undertake the pious journey himself. One possibility was the lending of books. For example, in 1476, Claes and Yde van Dorssen commissioned a manuscript that consisted of sermons and meditations on the life and Passion of Christ, and of a pilgrimage guide to the Holy Land in Middle Dutch (*Hier beghint de pelegremaedse van dat Heilighe Lant*).³⁵¹ The texts were all copied in Gouda. The author of the *Pelegremaedse*, who had visited the Holy Land in 1458, provides the reader with the standard information about the Holy Sites and the indulgences to be gained there. However, at certain points, more detailed descriptions of the surroundings are added to the account. Claes van Dorssen (d. 1477) bequeathed the codex to the convent of St Brigid in Gouda under the condition that it could be borrowed from outsiders for two to three days as long as Yde lived (presumably resident in the convent after her husband's death) but not after her death (d. 1490).³⁵² Thus, from 1477 onwards and, in particular, around 1488, when the priest cancelled his chantry in St Mary Magdalene's convent in Gouda, presumably in preparation for his pilgrimage, Claes van Dorssen's manuscript would have been accessible to him.

³⁵⁰ Hage, "Stede," 73.

³⁵¹ Cf. G. I. Lieftinck, *Codicum in finibus Belgarum ante annum 1550 conscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Universitatis asservantur* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 1: 144-45. Marijke Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de Middeleeuwen: heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1981): no. 345, 3-374. Ria Jansen-Sieben, *Repertorium van de Middelnederlandse artes-literatuur* (Utrecht: HES, 1989), 376, 387.

³⁵² Hage, "Stede," 77-81, 83.

Furthermore, Raet could have himself acquired descriptions and pilgrimage guides of the Holy Land and the Sinai Peninsula, which experienced a wider diffusion with the invention of print. In Gouda, Gerard Leeu³⁵³ printed the *Iter ad Terram Sanctam* by the Westphalian priest Ludolph von Sudheim (travelled 1336-1341),³⁵⁴ and the *Itinerarius* by John Mandeville, both in 1483.³⁵⁵ The *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* by Bernhard von Breydenbach (travelled 1483-1484), canon of Mainz Cathedral, was first published in Mainz on 11 February 1486, and soon became immensely successful owing much to the fact that for the first time a printed travel account was accompanied by illustrations. The woodcuts by the Utrecht artist Erhard Reuwich, who travelled with Breydenbach to the Holy Land, included fold-out panoramic views of the visited cities, a large map of Palestine and Egypt as well as depictions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Tomb Aedicule. The book was reprinted several times over the next decades and translated into German, Dutch, French and Spanish. On 24 May 1488, the first Dutch edition (*Heylighe bevarden tot dat heylighe grafft in iherusalem. ende van daen totten berch Synai tot die heylighe maghet ende martelarijse Sunte katerin*) was published in Mainz.³⁵⁶ Hence, the availability of diverse types of literature in late medieval Gouda and its surroundings concerning the Holy Land and St Catherine's monastery on the Sinai Peninsula shows that an active interest had arisen among the citizens in obtaining a wider knowledge and authentic information about the Levant. Particularly in the time not long before

³⁵³ Gerard Leeu (ca 1445-1492) was a printer of incunabula, who produced about sixty-nine books in Gouda between 1477 and 1488, and then moved his shop to Antwerp. Cf. Goudriaan, *Drukker*.

³⁵⁴ USTC, reference no. 435613, <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/435613>.

³⁵⁵ USTC, reference no. 435615, <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/435615>.

³⁵⁶ Isolde Mozer, *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam: Eine Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land. Frühneuhochdeutscher Text und Übersetzung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), XXX-XXXI. The text was very popular throughout Europe: between 1486 and 1522 twelve editions were published in various languages. The Dutch edition of Breydenbach's account, which is kept in the archives of Gouda (SAMH, depot 2306 E 5), does not originate from a convent in Gouda. It was acquired by the library of Gouda in 1645. Information provided by J. W. E. Klein, SAMH.

my estimated date of Raet's pilgrimage (around 1491 or 1492), the circulating literature may have inspired the priest to undertake a pilgrimage to Palestine and Egypt and, in addition to seeking oral advice from returned pilgrims, enabled him to prepare himself for his journey.

4. The Journey to Palestine and Egypt

Raet would not only have profited from the various types of pilgrimage literature while preparing for his expedition to the Levant but also, logistically, from the well-coordinated pilgrimage travel system that had developed in the Medieval West, including the Northern Netherlands, by the time of his estimated pilgrimage. Affluent citizens, many of them members of the clergy, nobility or wealthy urban bourgeoisie, could organise their journey through a tour operator. We do not know how the priest travelled. However, based on guidebooks from the Northern Netherlands and Germany, we can trace the standard route that was taken by late medieval pilgrims of this region, travelling to Jerusalem and St Catherine's monastery on the Sinai Peninsula, and back again. This will allow us to get an idea of the stresses and risks that the founder of the Jerusalem chapel encountered in order to worship at the most holy sites in Christendom and, as we shall see, provide for his afterlife and the salvation of his soul.

The pilgrims usually began their journey in spring, as this was the time when the galleys in the great port of Venice started to sail across the Mediterranean. There is evidence that Dutch pilgrims either booked their round trip to Palestine, including a tour guide, in or near their home town or travelled to Venice individually, where they

made the necessary arrangements for their further journey with the captain of a galley ('patrono').³⁵⁷ For example, Claes van Duesen, born in Haarlem, and citizen of Leiden, was a tour guide who, as he stated in his pilgrimage account (after 1495), organised five Jerusalem pilgrimages from Leiden between 1484 and 1495.³⁵⁸ He was able to offer this service because he had a shop on the Rialto bridge in Venice and worked for the Venetian shipowner Augustini Contarini, whose galley ("La Contarina") sailed several times a year to Jaffa and back. His customers were mostly people from Leiden, but also from Haarlem, Dordrecht, and Antwerp.³⁵⁹ Pilgrims from the Netherlands could either travel inland or from a seaport to Venice. In 1520, for example, Geert Kuyntretorff, a chantry priest at St Nicholas's church in Kampen, travelled along the Rhine and via the Reschen Pass to the city on the Lido.³⁶⁰ In Venice, after having made all necessary purchases, pilgrims sometimes had to wait several weeks until the departure of the ship due to unfortunate weather conditions or due to other engagements of the shipowner.³⁶¹

Five weeks was the average time to cross the Mediterranean from Venice to Jaffa. The ship sailed along the coast of Istria, Dalmatia, Albania and the Greek islands. Due to the perils of the sea journey, such as storms, flat calms, or attacks by pirates or Turkish forces, the journey could take considerably longer. Sometimes, the ship's captain would decide to follow a different route based on commercial advantage.

³⁵⁷ Travellers who decided to leave the group after visiting Jerusalem in order to travel to Sinai had to make additional arrangements with their tour guide or *patrono*. Chareyron, *Pilgrims*, 26-45.

³⁵⁸ Altogether he arranged eleven pilgrimages to the Holy Land between 1484 and 1495: five from Leiden and six times from Venice. Conrady, *Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, 189-93.

³⁵⁹ In his pilgrimage account, Van Duesen lists for each travel date the names of the people he travelled with. Raet is not among them. Conrady, *Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, 189-93.

³⁶⁰ Cf. Geert Kuyntretorff, *Jeruzalemsche Reyse, soe in verganghen Jaren gheschiedt is* (Kampen: Warnersen, ca 1550). The book has no page numbers.

³⁶¹ For example, in 1481, Jan Aerts stayed thirty-three days in Venice, waiting for the vessel to be ready to sail. Cf. Ben Wasser, *Dit is de pelgrimage van het Heilig Land en daaromtrent: bloemlezing uit de reisverslagen van de Jeruzalemgangers uit de Nederlanden 1450-1650* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), 35, 43-46. Chareyron, *Pilgrims*, 26-45.

Likewise, the passengers had to put up with sickness, heat, vermin, spoiled water and food, and living with their companions in a restricted space that allowed little privacy.³⁶² Having arrived in Jaffa and received permission from the local Muslim authorities to disembark – the Holy Land was ruled by the Mameluke sultan of Egypt at the time – the pilgrims had to stay in a transit cave near the port until all dues were paid and the registration formalities were completed, which could take some time. In general, the pilgrims had to cope with harassment by the Muslim administration and the open hostility of the local population. Once the father guardian of the Franciscan convent of Mount Sion had arrived, he led the travellers on hired camels, mules or horses to the Franciscan hospice in Rama, and then to Jerusalem on the next day.³⁶³

The average time that the pilgrims spent in Jerusalem was two weeks. Guided by the Franciscan friars, who organized processions, sermons, and liturgical ceremonies appropriate to the particular holy sites in Jerusalem and its surroundings, they followed a standard programme – the “ordo processionis.” Traditionally, they spent three nights inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. After having paid the entrance fee, they were shut in by the Muslim officials in the evening. Then, the Franciscans led a procession along the holy sites, notably the stations of Christ’s Passion, Mount Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre. Afterwards, the visitors had time for private meditation and prayers. Clergymen could say Mass over the Holy Sepulchre and on the Hill of Calvary.³⁶⁴ Apart from this, the pilgrims visited the holy places on Mount Sion, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, in the valley of Siloe and on the Mount of Olives, including the Cenacle, Gethsemane, the Church of the Ascension, the tomb of the Virgin Mary, the place of the stoning of St Stephen, the Golden Gate, and the tombs

³⁶² Cf. Chareyron, *Pilgrims*, 47-56. Conrady, *Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, 202-05.

³⁶³ Chareyron, *Pilgrims*, 70-74.

³⁶⁴ Cf. Chareyron, *Pilgrims*, 92-94.

of the Kings of Israel.³⁶⁵ They also made excursions to Bethlehem, where they spent a night inside the Church of the Nativity and followed the processional order led by the Franciscan friars, accompanied by anthems and hymns,³⁶⁶ as well as to Bethany and its surroundings, and, if not prohibited by the local authorities or considered to be too dangerous, to Jericho and the River Jordan.³⁶⁷ After this, most people returned to Jaffa in order to catch their galley back to Venice. Those who could afford it and were prepared to take the risk formed a small travel group to Gaza and hired a guide there, under whose aegis they travelled the distance to the monastery of St Catherine on the Sinai Peninsula.

The average time for the crossing of the desert was fifteen days. It was a costly and dangerous undertaking, during which the pilgrims had to cope with the hot climate, health problems, attacks by Bedouins, and other misadventures. Once the pilgrims had reached the monastery, they were taken care of by the Greek Orthodox monks. In the next few days, they prayed and meditated at the tomb of St Catherine and the chapel of the Burning Bush. They also climbed the summit of Mount Sinai, to visit the place where Moses received the Law, and the summit of Mount Catherine, where the saint's body had been found. Finally, the pilgrims set off for their return journey to Venice. They either sailed back from Jaffa, or took a galley from the port of Alexandria, depending on what had been agreed previously with the shipowner in Venice. By the autumn or winter of the same year or at the beginning of the following year, they were usually back in their home towns.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ Cf. Wasser, *Pelgrimage*, 71-90.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Chareyron, *Pilgrims*, 102-03.

³⁶⁷ Cf. Wasser, *Pelgrimage*, 20-23, 89-90, 114-16. Claes van Duesen, for instance, reports that, although he had been to Jerusalem eleven times, he was only able to visit the site of Christ's baptism three times. Conrady, *Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, 220.

³⁶⁸ Chareyron, *Pilgrims*, 127-36, 146-52. Wasser, *Pelgrimage*, 172-85.

Given that Raet confronted all these difficulties and dangers of the journey and was also willing to finance the extended trip to Sinai, it becomes apparent how important the pilgrimage was to him. Reasons for travelling to the Levant were manifold in the late Middle Ages. It may have been to strengthen one's faith in God and to earn indulgences, eagerness to become a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, curiosity and thirst for adventure, a demonstration of wealth, an escape from an obligation, a family tradition, performed on behalf of another person, stipulated in someone's will or prescribed as a penance by the local court.³⁶⁹ Most people attached great weight to the spiritual benefits of the journey, as often stated in contemporary pilgrimage guides. Hans Tucher, for example, wrote in his account that he did the journey "alleyn vmb Gotes ere vnd meiner sele selikeyt."³⁷⁰ As a cleric and future founder of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda, it is evident that Raet's pilgrimage, too, was an expression of his faith and piety, and a provision for his afterlife. By having made the effort to travel to Jerusalem and worship at the holy sites of Christ's ministry, Raet could hope to earn merit in the eyes of God, which, in turn, would motivate a positive outcome of his judgement after death.

What is more, the fact that the priest brought back relics from the Tomb of Christ and established a chapel containing a copy of the same Tomb in his home town testifies to his special veneration of Christ and the Holy Sepulchre. In the late Middle Ages, saints were usually venerated as intercessors before God. Christ, who is expected to judge mankind after death, was regarded as a powerful mediator. Thus, in Raet's case it becomes apparent that he hoped for the intercession of the son of God

³⁶⁹ Cf. Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus: studies in late medieval religious life; devotion and pilgrimage in the Northern Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

³⁷⁰ "Solely in honour of God and for the salvation of my soul." Cf. Herz, *Reise ins Gelobte Land*, 339. Dagmar Jestrzowski, *Katharina van Alexandrien: Die Kreuzritter und ihre Heilige* (Berlin: Lukas, 2010), 177.

after death. Likewise, the founder showed great veneration for St Catherine, who was regarded as a bride of Christ and protectress of the dying. According to the Golden Legend, she specifically entreated Christ before her execution to answer the prayers of those who remembered her martyrdom and invoked her name.³⁷¹ Therefore, by accomplishing the trip to St Catherine's monastery on the Sinai Peninsula, in order to pray at the tomb of the virgin saint and venerate her relics, Raet intended to secure her intercession at his judgement.

Finally, as a preparation for the afterlife, faithful pilgrims had also the option of earning indulgences at various sites in the Holy Land. According to Christian doctrine, an indulgence was the remission of some or all of the penalties that the faithful must pay in purgatory for their sins. Drawing on the "Treasury of Merits" – a treasure amassed by Christ through his Passion and death, augmented by the merits acquired by the Virgin, as well as by the martyrs and saints – the Pope and his bishops traditionally granted indulgences for the benefit of the penitential faithful. The promised time of reduced suffering varied from days to years, and only the Pope could give a plenary indulgence, that is, a full remission of punishment in purgatory. Although indulgences were originally granted chiefly to those who fought in the Crusades in the late twelfth century, they became available to all in the late Middle Ages. Most importantly, indulgences were given to encourage pilgrimages to various sacred places.³⁷² This could either concern smaller ecclesiastical institutions, such as the Jerusalem chapel in the Nieuwe Weerd in Utrecht, where the visitors received

³⁷¹ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, transl. William Granger Ryan (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2012), 720-27.

³⁷² Cf. Walter S. Gibson, "Prayers and Promises: The Interactive Indulgence Print in the later Middle Ages," in *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative and Emotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1: 283, 286-87. For more information on indulgences, see also Robert W. Schaffern, *The Penitent's Treasury: Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175-1375* (Scranton: Scranton UP, 2007) and R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007).

seven years of indulgences on certain feast days,³⁷³ or the major Christian pilgrimage sites, notably Santiago de Compostela, the “Seven Principal Churches” of Rome, whose altars were highly indulged, especially during Jubilee year, and the Holy Land, where the pilgrims’ indulgences were most fruitful.³⁷⁴ The German knight Konrad Grünemberg, for example, who made a pilgrimage to the East in 1486, recorded the numerous indulgences that he collected through his visits to the various holy sites in his pilgrimage account. At the major places, such as Golgotha, the Holy Sepulchre or Tomb of the Virgin Mary, the faithful obtained a full remission of punishment in purgatory, and at other places, such as, for example, the Nativity Church in Bethlehem, the house of Simon the Leper (where Christ forgave Mary Magdalene her sins), or the Golden Gate through which Christ entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, the faithful gained a reduction of seven years and seven quarantines of their post-mortem punishment.³⁷⁵ Hence, taken together, Raet’s pilgrimage to the Levant was intended to support the salvation of his soul in the afterlife, not only through the indulgences that he had earned in the Holy Land and which promised of early release from purgatory, but also through the special devotion that he had shown to Christ and St Catherine, who would act as intercessors on his behalf at his judgement.

³⁷³ Cf. Chapter II. F. 2.

³⁷⁴ Gibson, “Prayers,” 287-88.

³⁷⁵ Andrea Denke, *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486: Untersuchung, Edition und Kommentar* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011), 154-67, 385-453. For indulgences, see also Tucher’s account. Cf. Herz, *Reise ins Gelobte Land*, 337-664.

5. Promotion to the Rank of Knight

During his stay in the East, Gijsbert Raet further expressed his piety and particular veneration for Christ and St Catherine through his promotion to “spiritual” knighthood. In a document inserted into the cartulary of the Brethren of the Common Life, listing the rents that funded the Jerusalem chapel, the priest is described as “priester ende ridder goods van iherusalem ende van sinte katherijn.”³⁷⁶ The title of “ridder goods” suggests that Raet was dubbed a knight at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as well as at St Catherine’s monastery on the Sinai Peninsula. This is confirmed by the pilgrimage symbols on his tombstone: two palm branches, the Jerusalem cross above the empty tomb of Christ and the wheel of St Catharine pierced by two swords (Fig. II. 11). These insignia are frequently found on tombstones, epitaphs and memorial paintings of Dutch pilgrims from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, identifying the deceased as Jerusalem pilgrims and Knights of the Holy Sepulchre and/or of St Catherine. Likewise, as the entries in the municipal account books of Gouda have shown, the Jerusalem Brothers were generally referred to as “ridders vanden heilige graue,” “ridders van iherusalem,” “ridders van den heylige lande” or “goodsridders,”³⁷⁷ suggesting that they had acquired a particular religious knighthood at the Holy Sepulchre. This leads us to question what exactly the knighting meant to Raet and how it was related to his Jerusalem chapel.

The earliest known documentary evidence of the knighting at the Holy Sepulchre is to be found in the pilgrimage account of Wilhelm Count of Boldensele

³⁷⁶ “Priest and God’s Knight of Jerusalem and of St Catherine.” SAMH, 91, inv. 19, between fols 51v and 52r.

³⁷⁷ “Knights of the Holy Sepulchre,” “Knights of Jerusalem,” “Knights of the Holy Land” or “Knights of God.”

(travelled 1333-1336), who dubbed two noblemen “Knights of the Holy Sepulchre” at the Tomb of Christ in 1335 while enclosed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with a group of pilgrims.³⁷⁸ After that, reports of the accolade occur more frequently in the pilgrimage literature. It seems that the knighting at the Holy Sepulchre became customary in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was a privilege of the nobility. From the German lands, for instance, members of nearly all ruling royal houses travelled to the Holy Land and received the accolade at the Tomb of Christ from a nobleman higher in rank. Exceptions were sometimes made in the case of well-established servants of the court, magistrates, important merchants and patricians, such as Heinrich Ketzler the Elder, a merchant from Nuremberg, who received the knighthood in 1389, as did several family members after him.³⁷⁹ In the second half of the fifteenth century, the custom was flourishing. The Franciscans, who guided the pilgrims through the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, became more involved in the process of knighting. Between 1476 and 1499, Johannes von Preussen, a well-respected nobleman and lay brother with the Franciscans in Jerusalem had the authority of the pope and the emperor to dub knights at the Holy Tomb. Pilgrim accounts testify to a standardised procedure that emphasised the religious character of the order. The Dominican monk Felix Fabri (travelling in 1480 and 1483) described in his *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Aegypti peregrinationem* that those who wished to be knighted, after hearing the Holy Mass and receiving the Holy Communion, gathered in the choir of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where Johannes von Preussen read aloud their duties to them,³⁸⁰ and the aspirants were

³⁷⁸ Valmar Cramer, *Der Ritterorden vom Hl. Grabe von den Kreuzzügen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Bachem, 1983), 12.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 19-20, 25.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 28-31.

intensely questioned with regard to their descent, wealth, and religious ambitions.³⁸¹ Geert Kuynretorff, a chantry priest at St Nicholas's church in Kampen, whose pilgrimage to Jerusalem took place between 17 April 1520 and 5 January 1521, also described the ceremony of the Knighting in his pilgrimage account.³⁸² Inside the Holy Sepulchre, each candidate took an oath that they would protect the Church, defend the Christian faith, and help the weak, poor, widows and orphans. Each was then equipped with a golden belt with a sword and a golden necklace. Kneeling in front of the Holy Tomb with folded hands and bowed heads, they received three accolades by the guardian. At the end, a written form listing their duties, such as hearing the mass daily, was handed out to them.³⁸³

Assuming that Raet visited the Holy Land around 1491 or 1492, he presumably received the accolade either from Johannes von Preussen or from a knight of lower rank.³⁸⁴ The question arises as to what qualified the priest from Gouda to be knighted. As we have observed so far throughout the thesis, there is no evidence that he was of noble descent. A written record of 1439 presumably refers to Raet's father, Willem Raet, who is mentioned as the owner of a house outside the Potterspoort in Gouda,³⁸⁵ and probably another relation of the priest is mentioned in the fifteenth-century grave book of St John's church in Gouda, Pieter Raet, from whom Raet took over a burial place.³⁸⁶ If those persons were related to the priest, no indication of a noble family is

³⁸¹ Ibid., 38-61.

³⁸² Kuynretorff, *Jerusalemsche Reyse*.

³⁸³ Cf. Cramer, *Ritterorden*, 38-61. There is no concrete information concerning the knighting in St Catherine's monastery on the Sinai Peninsula, as references to it in contemporary pilgrimage accounts are rare and not specific. For example, the chronicler accompanying Count Philipp I, Count of Katzenelnbogen, on his pilgrimage, merely reported that Philipp and his travelling companions were dubbed knights in the chapel on Mount Sinai. Cf. Detlev Kraak, *Monumentale Zeugnisse der spätmittelalterlichen Adelsreise: Inschriften und Graffiti des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 151n415, 156. Jestrzemski, *Katharina*, 170.

³⁸⁴ Fabri described that Johannes von Preussen bestowed knighthood on the highest noblemen. Then, the high nobility knighted those of lower rank. Cf. Cramer, *Ritterorden*, 28-31.

³⁸⁵ SAMH, 90, inv. 3, cal. 341.

³⁸⁶ SAMH, 90, inv. 24, fol. 21.

given by their surname. There is also no family coat of arms on the priest's tombstone. Analysis of the documentary sources has hitherto shown that Raet was a wealthy clergyman and that he had good connections to well-respected families in Holland, such as the house of Van der Goude and the house of Van Montfoort. Due to his financial situation it seems likely that he was the scion of a well-to-do bourgeois family and that he was also skilled in money management. His wealth and clerical status probably put him into a privileged position. Although, according to Fabri, only noblemen of ancient lineage could receive the accolade, evidence shows that this rule was not generally followed, since influential members of the bourgeoisie were also knighted. Hans VI Tucher and Sebald Rieter the Younger, for example, were made Knights of the Holy Sepulchre on 6 August 1479, while spending the night inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with their travel group.³⁸⁷ Likewise, an exception was made in the case of the Dutch tour guide Claes van Duesen, who received the title of "Knight of the Holy Sepulchre" at some point between 1484 and 1495, presumably for his contribution to the transportation and guidance of pilgrims.³⁸⁸ Particularly in the case of affluent citizens, it becomes apparent that the knighthood was obtainable through a generous donation to the Franciscan order in Jerusalem.³⁸⁹ This can be regarded as an expression of their eagerness to imitate the nobility: bourgeois became knights and were henceforth entitled to wear the respective insignia.³⁹⁰ In the case of Raet, it seems likely therefore that the priest acquired his title in exchange for a monetary contribution. Thereby, he improved his social standing within the community in his home town, and also obtained the right to display the insignia of the Knights, as he did on his tomb stone. As we have seen with the establishment of his

³⁸⁷ Herz, *Reise ins Gelobte Land*, 440-41.

³⁸⁸ Conrady, *Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, 182-88.

³⁸⁹ Cf. Herwaarden, *Between Saint James*, 292.

³⁹⁰ Jestrzowski, *Katharina*, 165-66, 171.

early chantry and the location of his burial place in St John's church in Gouda, the factors of status and prestige were not unimportant to Raet in relation to his provision for the afterlife, as it made him stand out against the mass. This indicates that the prospect of acquiring a "spiritual" title also played a part in motivating him to undertake the pilgrimage to the East.

In our context of late medieval *memoria*, the religious aspect of the knighting ceremony is most important. During the latter, as was customary, Raet must have vowed before God to defend the Church, protect the faith and help those in need. In light of the improbability of another Crusade at the end of the fifteenth century, this oath has to be understood as an ideological declaration of religious belief.³⁹¹ It basically tasked the newly accoladed with supporting and strengthening the Christian faith in their home town and taking care of the needy. As has been observed at various points throughout the thesis so far, it is possible that Raet formed the idea of establishing a Jerusalem chapel before embarking on his pilgrimage. If so, his pious plans may have been an additional reason why he was granted the title of "Knight of the Holy Sepulchre" in Jerusalem. The idea of Raet's forward planning can be supported by the fact that he brought back relics from the Tomb of Christ, that is, small pieces from the Holy Sepulchre ("modicum scilicet de sepulchro domini").³⁹² An altar traditionally needed relics in order to be consecrated. Hence, this action might indicate that Raet made plans and took into account what was needed for his future chapel at this moment. In any case, after his return, the priest honoured his oath to God with the foundation of his Jerusalem chapel in Gouda. As we shall see, it was devised to actively

³⁹¹ Jestrzemski, *Katharina*, 170-71.

³⁹² "A small amount of the Sepulchre of the Lord." SAMH, 90, inv. 58, fol. 1r. We do not know whether the priest acquired the relics from the Franciscans or elsewhere, or whether he actually removed small pieces from the Holy Sepulchre himself with a tool. Felix Fabri, for example, condemned the behaviour of his fellow pilgrims in his pilgrimage account, who tried to obtain little pieces from the Golden Gate. Cf. Hassler, *Evagatorium*.

promote Christian worship, especially through the replica of the Holy Sepulchre that was contained within, and it was also a place where alms were distributed to poor men. Therefore, we can also conclude that Raet's fulfilment of the promise to God, which he previously made inside the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, was intended to motivate a positive outcome of his judgement after death.

G. Palm Sunday Procession

Having returned to his home town at the beginning of 1493 at the latest, Raet now became one of only four members of the local Jerusalem Brotherhood, the group that, as noted, might have been one of the motivations for Raet's pilgrimage.³⁹³ The traditional feast day of the confraternity was Palm Sunday, during which Raet must have walked in the annual procession through the city, displaying the newly acquired insignia and promoting the Christian faith, as sworn in Jerusalem. There is no information regarding the route of the procession or the place of worship of the Brotherhood in Gouda, although we can better understand the role of the Brothers, the message conveyed through their appearance, and thus how Raet may have seen himself as Knight of the Holy Sepulchre by considering late medieval processions in the other Dutch towns with Jerusalem chapels. The Palm Sunday procession traditionally commemorates Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem at the beginning of the Holy Week.³⁹⁴ The pilgrimage account of the Spanish nun Egeria of *circa* 380 reveals that a tradition to celebrate the triumphant entry on Palm Sunday had developed early in

³⁹³ In 1496, altogether four members were recorded, as well as in 1501. Cf. Appendix F.

³⁹⁴ Mt 21:1-9; Mk 11:1-7; Lk 19:35-40; Jn 12:12-19.

Jerusalem,³⁹⁵ and the re-enactment of the events on the Sunday before the Crucifixion became a custom in the West from the beginning of the sixth century.³⁹⁶ Clergy and parishioners usually met at a church or chapel outside the town (symbolising the Mount of Olives), where palms were consecrated and distributed. Then, while singing hymns, they walked with the parish priest, who played the role of Jesus, towards the city. At the city gate, the procession stopped. After having knocked three times at the gate with the processional cross, the doors opened and, singing the antiphon “*Ingrediente Domino*,” the crowd moved to the main church of the city to celebrate Mass together.³⁹⁷

In many cities of the Low Countries and Germany, a person who represented Christ rode on a female donkey, or a wheeled wooden donkey carrying a wooden statue of Christ was pulled by the members of the congregation.³⁹⁸ The *Liber Ordinarius* (ca 1200) of the cathedral church in Utrecht provides the earliest record of the Palm Sunday celebration in the diocese of Utrecht: all canons of the five chapter churches gathered together in the richly decorated cathedral for the consecration of the palms or other local tree branches. Afterwards, with everyone holding a consecrated branch, they marched solemnly to St Peter’s church (symbolic of the gathering at the Mount of Olives), where they sang prayers and celebrated the adoration of the Cross. Then, the procession moved to the cathedral (symbolic of the walk from the Mount of Olives to the city of Jerusalem), singing the hymn “*Magno salutis gaudio*.” It stopped at the

³⁹⁵ C. C. van de Graft, *Palmpaasch. Een folkloristische studie van Palmzondaggebruiken in Nederland* (Dordrecht: Morks, 1910), 22. John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 3rd ed. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 2002), 151-52.

³⁹⁶ Hans Geybels, “‘Onsen Heer opten ezel:’ De palmprocessie in de religieuze volkscultuur,” in *De palmezelprocessie: Een (on)bekend West-Europees fenomeen?*, ed. Luc Knapen (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 186.

³⁹⁷ At some places, the procession took place within the city walls, moving from one ecclesiastical institution to another. C. C. van de Graft, *Palmpaasch* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1938), 13-14.

³⁹⁸ Graft, *Palmpaasch*, 24-25. Campen, “Jeruzalembroederschap,” 59.

boundary of the immunity of the cathedral³⁹⁹ (symbolic of the gate of Jerusalem). There, choir boys in white surplices stood under a baldachin and sang the hymn “Gloria, laus et honor” and the responsory “Ingrediente Domino” that recounted the entry of Christ into Jerusalem. Having moved on to the cathedral, they sang the antiphon “Coeperunt omnes turbae” in front of its entrance. Finally, the procession ended inside the church.⁴⁰⁰ Over the course of time, certain elements were added to the ceremony. Dirck van Randerode, provost of Utrecht cathedral between 1225 and 1247, instituted the office of *ductor asini*, the post of a lay servant who had to prepare and manage the pulling of the donkey with the statue of Christ on Palm Sunday.⁴⁰¹

On Palm Sunday of the year 1394, seventeen returned Holy Land pilgrims founded the first Jerusalem Brotherhood in the city of Utrecht, the capital of the diocese of Utrecht, claiming a place in the annual Palm Sunday procession. In their foundation charter, they emphasised that they wished to commemorate Christ’s ministry at the holy sites in and around Jerusalem, which they had visited during their pilgrimage. Likewise, they described the procession at the beginning of the Holy Week and their involvement:⁴⁰²

Item zo zellen wij ofte onze nacomelingen broeders voors. die tot Jherusalem geweest hebben mit palmen van Jhericho, ende die tot Jherusalem niet geweest en hebben met groenen palmen alle iaer opten palmdach tot Utrecht wesen, ende onder die palmwynghe tot sinte peters inder kercken vergaderen, ende de gewoontlike feeste, die men opten palmdach van st peters totten Doem te doen placht helpen doen, dats te verstaen, dat de pellerims van Jherusalem ons heeren beeld mitten ezel trecken zellen, ende die ander broeders die tot Jherusalem niet geweest en hebben, sellen manierlick den voors. pelgrims na gaen ende volgen, ende onser broeders engeen van daen te scheyden, ons heeren beelde mitten ezel

³⁹⁹ Presumably, at the beginning of the present-day Voetiusstraat.

⁴⁰⁰ Campen, “Jeruzalembroederschap,” 60-61. Graft, *Palmzondag*, 15-16.

⁴⁰¹ It is not clear whether this referred to a real or a wooden donkey. The latter seems more likely, since the earliest evidence of the use of a timber jenny carrying a statue of Christ dates from *ca* 982 (in Augsburg). Cf. Campen, “Jeruzalembroederschap,” 62. Graft, *Palmzondag*, 16-17.

⁴⁰² Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 197.

en sij staende voor dat choor ten Doem [...] Item zellen wi dan rechtevoort van den Doem in onse capellen gaen, ende daer te samen misse hooren.⁴⁰³

Other Jerusalem Brotherhoods were soon founded in major cities of the diocese: Amersfoort, Leiden, Gouda, Middelburg, Haarlem, Dordrecht, Amsterdam, Kampen, and Delft.⁴⁰⁴ The entries concerning wine donations on Palm Sunday in the respective municipal account books testify to the participation of the confraternities in the procession on the Sunday before Easter. On 13 March 1498, the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Amsterdam made an agreement with the municipality on the route of the procession. In alternate years, the donkey should either be led from the Jerusalem chapel to the Old Church, or from the chapel of the Holy Site (*Heilige Stede*) to the New Church:

[...] dat men ewich gedurende, ‘t een jaar onsen Heere God upten ezel halen zal mitten processie eerlicken becleet uyt Jerusalem ende brengen in de Oude Kerck, ende tander jaer uuyter Heiligen Stede in die Nyewe Kerck.⁴⁰⁵

The chronicler Wallich Syaertsoon reports that, after the consecration of the palms, the donkey with the timber figure of Christ was at one time pulled by the Jerusalem Brothers, and at another by twelve men from the Old Men’s Home (*Oude Mannenhuis*) dressed as apostles. At each window of the houses around the respective churchyard

⁴⁰³ “Likewise, we, or our subsequent Brothers, who have been to Jerusalem, shall be present with palms from Jericho, and those who have not been to Jerusalem, with green palms, in Utrecht on Palm Sunday every year, and gather for the consecration of the palms in St Peter’s church, and help to stage the usual feast celebrated on Palm Sunday from St Peter’s to the cathedral, that means that the pilgrims of Jerusalem pull the donkey with the statue of Our Lord, and the other Brothers, who were not in Jerusalem, shall modestly follow the aforesaid pilgrims, and no one of our Brothers shall part, until the statue of Our Lord stands in front of the choir of the Dom [...] Likewise, we shall then go straight from the Dom to our chapel, and hear Mass together there.” Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 198. The Jerusalem Brotherhood in Utrecht also allowed non-Jerusalem pilgrims as members.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Appendix E.

⁴⁰⁵ “[...] that, for eternal times, in one year our Lord on the donkey, shall be pulled during the procession, nobly dressed, from Jerusalem to the Old Church, and, in the other year, from the Holy Site (*Heilige Stede*) to the New Church.” Breen, *Rechtsbronnen*, 615. The *Heilige Stede* was a pilgrimage chapel, built on the site where the Miracle of the Host took place in 1345.

were two choir boys in white dresses, singing hymns when the procession passed, and throwing palms onto the street (Fig. II. 13).⁴⁰⁶ In Delft, the figure of Christ on the timber donkey was led from “Bethany,” the lepers’ hospital just outside the Haechpoort, to the centre of the city.⁴⁰⁷ Before the Palm Sunday celebrations in Leiden, a mass was celebrated in the chapel of the Jerusalem almshouse, during which the palms were consecrated. In the procession, the Jerusalem Brothers, shouldering their palms, preceded the thirteen old men of the almshouse, who pulled the wooden donkey with the figure of Christ. After the feast, the donkey was stored in the Jerusalem chapel.⁴⁰⁸

Considering this comparative evidence, we can infer that the Jerusalem Brothers in Gouda also had a prominent role in the Palm Sunday procession. As pilgrims to the Holy Land, who had actually walked in the footsteps of Christ in Jerusalem, they probably led the procession by leading or accompanying the wooden donkey with the statue of Christ, carrying palms which they had brought back from Palestine, and wearing the Jerusalem cross. The Brothers’ motivation for participating in the annual celebrations on Palm Sunday can be understood as an expression of social prestige, displaying the fact that they completed the arduous, long, and expensive pilgrimage, which only few could afford. This made the Jerusalem Brotherhood an exclusive social club. Their insignia, the palm branch and the cross of Jerusalem, identified them as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre and underlined their piety. Nevertheless, this was inseparable from the religious message that their appearance conveyed during the procession. Through the successful completion of their

⁴⁰⁶ Schneider, “Peregrinatio,” 131-32.

⁴⁰⁷ D. P. Oosterbaan, *De Oude Kerk te Delft gedurende de Middeleeuwen* (The Hague: Voorhoeve, 1973), 220-21.

⁴⁰⁸ Christina Ligtenberg, *De armezorg in Leiden tot het einde van de 16e eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1908), 251. Otto Nübel, *Mittelalterliche Beginen- und Sozialsiedlungen in den Niederlanden* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1970), 243. Pelinck, “Heilige-Grafkapel,” 91.

pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, the location of Christ's resurrection, they believed to have enhanced their chances of salvation. This attitude was symbolically referred to during the procession. The palm branches not only referred to their status as Jerusalem pilgrims but also symbolised victory over death and recalled the same attribute held by Christian martyrs represented in late medieval art and architecture. Thus, the Brothers held their palms as a token of the immortality that they hoped to achieve. Moreover, through their pilgrimage they had attained a state of grace that qualified them to accompany the figure of Christ during the Palm Sunday procession. They symbolically took over the role of the Apostles, who, according to Christian belief, eventually followed Christ on his way to heavenly Jerusalem. The activity of procession conveyed the abstract idea of Christian progress towards salvation.⁴⁰⁹ By identifying with Christ's action of entering Jerusalem, the Brothers expressed their hope for eternal life. Likewise, as pilgrims to the Holy Land they brought an element of authenticity to the re-enactment of the biblical Palm Sunday event, and made the real Jerusalem feel present in the city. The procession had an "advertising effect," inspiring the spectators to live a pious life and to venerate Christ's ministry in order to achieve the salvation of their souls.

Interestingly, the same idea is conveyed by the group portraits of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Utrecht painted by Jan van Scorel (Figs I. 28-32). The panels presumably hung around the "Holy Sepulchre" in their Jerusalem chapel, which was open for public worship. The members are depicted as if marching in procession and wearing their pilgrimage emblems. Through the portraits they immortalised their elevated status as Jerusalem pilgrims, as whom they wished to be identified by the

⁴⁰⁹ Joanna Woodall, "Painted Immortality. Portraits of Jerusalem Pilgrims by Antonis Mor and Jan van Scorel," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 31 (1989): 149, 156.

visitors. Likewise, the Brothers appeared as if they were perpetually processing around and towards the Holy Sepulchre, thus suggesting that they followed Christ's footsteps towards salvation.⁴¹⁰

In Gouda, the Palm Sunday procession must have started at some unknown place in or outside the city walls and ended in the parish church. The Jerusalem Brotherhood, as the evidence in the municipal account books confirms, existed from 1469 until 1541.⁴¹¹ It is not known if and where they had a place of worship. There was a Holy Sepulchre chapel annexed to the east of the south entrance of St John's church, but information on it is scarce and there is no evidence to relate it to the Brotherhood.⁴¹² In the period between Raet's return from his pilgrimage (at the beginning of 1493 at the latest) and his death (27 May 1511), the Brotherhood was relatively small, ranging between four and six members (four in 1496 and 1501, six in 1503 and 1505, five in 1507, and four in 1509 and 1510).⁴¹³ It was not as big as that in Utrecht, for instance, which counted seventeen Brothers in 1394 and around twenty-three in *circa* 1526, or the one in Leiden, which counted eleven members in 1466, and seventeen in 1505.⁴¹⁴ This might be related to the fact that Gouda was smaller than the other cities. It had only one parish church, whereas Leiden had three and Utrecht had four (next to the five collegiate churches). Thus, as one of only four Knights of the Holy Sepulchre after his return from the Levant, and with the number of members not

⁴¹⁰ Woodall, "Painted Immortality," 149, 156.

⁴¹¹ SAMH, 1, invs 1139-1198. Entries under the category of "scenken" between 1469 and 1541 reveal that the municipality contributed wine to the annual feast of the Brotherhood after the Palm Sunday procession as a return of gratitude for their participation in the procession. Each member received one jug of wine, which allows us to establish the size of the Brotherhood.

⁴¹² It was built in the fifteenth century, had two doorways, seemingly providing an entry and exit point from the nave for the worshippers, and presumably contained an Entombment group. For more information, see Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 47-48, 87, 121. For more information on Holy Sepulchre chapels in churches of the Northern Netherlands, see also Justin Kroesen, *The Sepulchrum Domini through the Ages* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000).

⁴¹³ From 1513 onwards, the Brotherhood grew again, spanning between five and nine members. The final entry of 1541 identifies only two members. Cf. Appendix F.

⁴¹⁴ Schneider, "Peregrinatio," 148-52, 162-63, 205. Cf. Appendix E.

significantly changing until his death, Raet must have stood out from the crowd all the more during the annual Palm Sunday procession. On the one hand, his pilgrimage insignia referred to his status as Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and his special role as symbolic companion of Christ during the procession once a year confirmed his elevated social standing within the community. On the other hand, following in the footsteps of Christ during the annual re-enactment of Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem and holding the palm branch as a symbol of victory over death, he expressed his hope for salvation in the afterlife, thereby promoting Christ's ministry in the Holy Land and inspiring Christian worship. It is possible that, from 1504 onwards (the year of the consecration of the altar in Raet's Jerusalem chapel), the small number of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in Gouda worshipped in the priest's chapel, when it was open to the public. However, it is important to point out that Raet's Jerusalem chapel, as we shall see in the following chapter, was not related to the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Gouda but was his individual foundation, focusing on his *memoria*.

H. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to build a picture of Gijsbert Raet within the social-historical context of late medieval *memoria*, from his beginnings as a young priest until the construction of his Jerusalem chapel. First, our investigation has brought to light that Raet was a wealthy and well-connected clergyman, who desired to improve his social standing and whose early *memoria* provision, intended to benefit his soul during life and after death, stood out within the general trend of the time. His choice of and financial support for St Mary Magdalene's convent were on the one hand intended as

a good deed, which would earn Raet heavenly credit during life, and, on the other hand, a tactic to secure not only the yet-to-be built altar for his chantry but also the intercessory prayers of the nuns and clergy in the convent. The three graves that he acquired in the parish church were guided, on the one hand, by his desire to possess a tomb next to an altar, which would allow him to profit post-mortem from the salvific power of its relics and liturgy, and, on the other hand, by his ambition to improve his status through the acquisition of a prestigious burial spot. The termination of his early chantry not only indicates a change of plan in the priest's *memoria* provision but can also be understood as financial preparation for his pilgrimage. The stresses and dangers of the journey reinforce the importance of Raet's pilgrimage as an expression of his piety and provision for the afterlife. The "spiritual" character of the Knighthood of the Holy Sepulchre reveals that the foundation of the Jerusalem chapel can be understood as fulfilment of the oath that he made to God inside the Tomb of Christ, although I have highlighted how Raet may have also acquired this knighthood as a means to improve his status. Based on the history of the Palm Sunday procession and the relevant evidence offered by the documentation in Utrecht, Amsterdam, Leiden and Delft, it has become apparent that Raet probably processed as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre on Palm Sunday, thereby demonstrating his elevated status as Jerusalem pilgrim, but also his hope for salvation in the afterlife.

III. Perpetual Presence of Jerusalem in Gouda

A. Introduction

Having gained an insight into Raet's early life and preparations for the afterlife, we can now investigate his most important and final project – the establishment of his Jerusalem chapel. In particular the planning process as well as the form and function of the rotunda will be the subject of this chapter. Regarding the history of the chapel, it is fortunate that various key sources have survived, notably the purchase deed of the property (1494), the agreement with the Brethren of the Common Life (1497) and the will of the founder (1505). As mentioned, the written sources have mostly been examined by Goudriaan. However, they were mainly used to support the establishment of biographical information on the priest, his family and other people he dealt with. Again, this has opened up the opportunity for me to undertake a fresh and systematic analysis of the sources, taking a different point of view. In support of my main argument I have examined the documents in the context of the late medieval cult of death and commemoration, allowing me to explore the motivations behind Gijsbert Raet's foundation. Furthermore, while my investigation of the architectural references in Gouda draws upon the ideas of Krautheimer and a comparison with the church in Jerusalem, the available data pertaining to the other chapels in the diocese has also allowed me, not only to compare their architecture in detail to the Gouda chapel, but also to investigate the other chapels under the aspect of late medieval *memoria*, both of which have not been done before.

The chapter begins with an analysis of the written sources pertaining to the Jerusalem chapel, allowing us to trace its preparation and construction process. Of particular interest is the document related to the early planning stage, that is, the agreement with the Brethren of 1497 and the note about the employed workmen of around 1507, which have neither been edited nor studied in detail by scholars before. This is followed by my reconstruction of the chapel's late medieval appearance, which is mostly based on the results of Glaudemans and Gruben's structural survey with regard to the architecture but also draws upon my findings in the written sources with regard to the interior decoration. Especially the chapel's decoration and equipment has not been examined within their spatial context before. The next part analyses the relationship between the Gouda chapel and the particular form and appearance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at the end of the fifteenth century, when Raet undertook his pilgrimage. I am thereby aiming to clear misconceptions about the Gouda chapel and its architectural references to the church in Jerusalem existing in the literature. Emphasis will be given to architectural features of the Gouda chapel that were specifically used to convey the idea of Jerusalem and of the presence of the replica of the Tomb of Christ inside the building. The final discussion explores the relationship between the Gouda chapel and the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht, as scholars have not investigated the monuments as a group before. This includes a comparison of what is known not only about the respective architectures but also about the interior decoration, allowing us to gain an insight into the appearance and function of both the rotunda and the replica of the Tomb of Christ in Gouda in light of late medieval *memoria*.

B. Establishing the Holy Sepulchre in Gouda

1. Acquisition of the Building Plot

Not long after Raet had returned home from his pilgrimage – he must have been back by 15 February 1493 at the latest⁴¹⁵ – he put the plans for the construction of his Jerusalem chapel into practice. On 25 February 1494, he purchased a house with a yard, including two “cameren” with small yards alongside the main house,⁴¹⁶ from a certain Geertruid Florisdr, as stated by an entry in the municipal property register.⁴¹⁷ By this acquisition Raet secured the building plot for his future chapel. The property was located in the city centre, at the corner of the Patersteeg⁴¹⁸ and the Spieringstraat.⁴¹⁹ The latter was one of the main streets of the city, leading from the port to the marketplace. It was a sought-after and fashionable neighbourhood at the time.⁴²⁰ More importantly, the site of the future chapel was situated right next to the religious heart of the city, namely east of the choir of St John’s church. A number of convents and monasteries had been established in the area east of the parish church, forming a space of ecclesiastical density (Fig. I. 21): St Paul’s monastery of the Brethren of the Common Life (f. 1450) directly adjoined Raet’s newly acquired

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Appendix D.

⁴¹⁶ In the late Middle Ages, *kamers* (chambers) were usually one-room dwellings, which offered free accommodation for poorer people.

⁴¹⁷ SAMH, 2, inv. 319, fol. 171v. An inspeximus of the original document (7 March 1496) was copied into the cartulary of the Jerusalem chapel under the heading: “Van den eyghen die gheertruyt florisdochter heeft gegheuen heer gijsbert raet van haer huysinghe ende erf daer die Capelle vp ghetimmert is.” (“About the property that Geertruid Florisdr has given to Gijsbert Raet, about her house and yard, where the chapel was constructed.”) SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 5v.

⁴¹⁸ The street was also called Beghijnsteeg in the medieval period. A. Scheygrond, *Goudsche Straatnamen* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1979), 147-48.

⁴¹⁹ The former Spieringstraat from the Lange Tiendeweg to the Jerusalem chapel is now called Jeruzalemstraat. The earliest record of the name Jeruzalemstraat dates from 1759. *Ibid.*, 77-79.

⁴²⁰ Goudriaan, “Fervente vroomheid,” 272.

property at its north side. St Margaret's convent (f. 1386) was situated at the south side of the plot, only divided by the Patersteeg. In the Groeneweg, which ran parallel to the Spieringstraat in the east, was the convent of St Catherine (f. 1422), and the monastery of the Cellites (f. 1395).

Raet's decision to buy this particular property was well-considered. It was evidently motivated by the close proximity of the people that were meant to take over the chapel after his death: as stipulated in his will of 13 February 1505, the Brethren of the Common Life were intended to hold the liturgical services and to maintain the chapel, and the authorities of St John's church were meant to act as supervisors who oversaw and directed Raet's foundation.⁴²¹ In addition, the position also ensured that Raet's chapel would form a visual unity with the monastery of the *Collatiebroeders*, since its buildings occupied most of the street block in which Raet's newly acquired corner property was located. Moreover, the short distance to St John's church – the religious centre of Gouda and Raet's church of office – in particular to the choir, would express a spatial and spiritual unity.⁴²²

Obtaining the ideal building plot was connected to certain conditions. The vendor of the property, Geertruid Florisdr, was an elderly woman at the time of the sale. In a document of 7 April 1490, in which she bequeathed a rent to the lepers' hospital in Gouda, she is described as “out wesende bouende tseuentich Jaren.”⁴²³ The deed of purchase of 1494 reveals that Geertruid was living in the house when Raet bought it. On 20 April 1497, he negotiated the terms of the maintenance of his future Jerusalem chapel with the Brethren of the Common Life, which were recorded in a written agreement. It mentions that Geertruid was still settled in the house that the

⁴²¹ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 3v-5r.

⁴²² For the chapel's position within the cityscape, see Chapter III. D. 3.

⁴²³ “More than seventy years old.” SAMH, 75, inv. 38.086.

priest had acquired from her: “dat erf ende plaets daer altans ghertruid floris dochter op voent.”⁴²⁴ It is evident that the right to reside in her former house until her death was part of the property deal. Raet, therefore, accepted the fact that the immediate start of the construction of his chapel would be held in abeyance.

Moreover, Raet’s skills to induce others to generosity become apparent. His pious plans of constructing a Jerusalem chapel had probably influenced Geertruid’s decision to transfer the building ground to him. She conferred a favour to Raet by selling him the building plot for his future chapel. In return for her generosity, Raet stipulated in his will of 1505 that she would be remembered perpetually on her death anniversary by an annual sung requiem mass in the Jerusalem chapel, in the same way as Raet himself, and his parents.⁴²⁵ This shows the privileged role that the priest assigned to her as a benefactor of his foundation. Thus, Geertruid, being in the final stage of her life and probably preparing for her death, must have felt confident that she would be commemorated by a sung requiem mass – which was more sumptuous than a said requiem mass – after her death. She further secured her eternal remembrance by stipulating in the agreement that a perpetual rent of two nobles, which she had passed on to the Brethren of the Common Life, could be used by them for the maintenance of the chapel in case they experienced financial difficulties.⁴²⁶

Very little information is known about Geertruid Florisdr. Her father was Floris Pietersz.,⁴²⁷ who is listed as one of three churchwardens of St John’s church in the year 1450.⁴²⁸ She was also the “nichte” of Aerian Jansdr,⁴²⁹ who received Geertruid’s

⁴²⁴ “The yard and place where Geertruid Florisdr now lives.” SAMH, 91, inv. 56.

⁴²⁵ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 3v-5r.

⁴²⁶ Cf. SAMH, 91, inv. 56.

⁴²⁷ A record of 18 May 1471 describes her as “geertruut florijs pieters(oen) dochter.” SAMH, 2, inv. 319, fol. 8v.

⁴²⁸ HUA, 223, inv. 1893-1.

⁴²⁹ In Middle Dutch the word “nichte” can have the meaning of granddaughter, cousin, or generally mean a female blood relative.

possessions as closest next of kin on 26 September 1497.⁴³⁰ A brother is briefly mentioned in a rent deed of 1490 without a name.⁴³¹ It seems that she was a wealthy and generous woman who performed good deeds by supporting religious institutions. On 18 May 1471, she had sold a house with a yard in the Hofstraat⁴³² to the Brethren of the Common Life.⁴³³ In 1490, as mentioned above, she bequeathed a perpetual annual rent of 35 groten to the lepers' hospital just outside the city walls of Gouda,⁴³⁴ thereby helping its rebuilding after having been devastated during the ravages between 1488 and 1489 ("Jonker Fransenoerlog").⁴³⁵ Raet was probably acquainted with Geertruid's father through his position in the parish church. The priest was evidently well informed about potential building sites around the church and about the right persons to ask. It is obvious that he chose the location after careful consideration, having the future caretakers of his chapel – the Brethren of the Common Life – already in mind.

2. Forward Planning and Perpetual Existence

In particular, two documentary sources testify to the amount of forward planning that Raet undertook with regard to his chapel, while, at the same time, they reveal striking information about the personal motivations behind his foundation and, consequently, about the function of the chapel: the priest's will of 1505 and, as already mentioned, the preceding agreement between him and the Brethren of the Common Life, which

⁴³⁰ SAMH, 76, inv. 33.

⁴³¹ SAMH, 75, inv. 38.086.

⁴³² In the Middle Ages, the northern part of the Spieringstraat (since 1361) was sometimes referred to as "Hofstraat," alluding to the former castle at this location. Scheygrond, *Straatnamen*, 176-78.

⁴³³ SAMH, 2, inv. 319, fol. 8v.

⁴³⁴ SAMH, 75, inv. 38.086.

⁴³⁵ Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 151.

served as a preliminary draft of the will.⁴³⁶ The latter was made on 20 April 1497, binding the Brethren to take care of Raet's planned chapel after his death "ten ewighen daghen."⁴³⁷ It is noteworthy that, at this moment, the building works on the chapel had not yet started, as Geertruid Florisdr was still living in her former house. Interestingly though, the terms of the agreement indicate in detail what type of chapel the priest or, in the event of his death, on his behalf, his appointed executors⁴³⁸ intended to found and how it should be maintained: "Een kapelle van ons lyefts heren graf,"⁴³⁹ should be erected and fully equipped for the celebration of masses, including an altar, a chalice, a missal, ornaments, altar cloths, candlesticks, curtains, and anything else that would be necessary. An annual income of forty Rhine gulden from perpetual rents on houses and land would fund the performance of twelve weekly masses, and one additional yearly Flemish pound from perpetual rents would finance the candlelight during masses and any necessary repairs. In case the rents lost value, the appointed testamentary guardians, or trustees, of Raet's foundation (the vice-curate and two senior chantry priests of St John's church in Gouda)⁴⁴⁰ would instruct the Brethren to reduce the number of masses, and in case the Brethren failed their duty, the responsibility of the chapel, including all its possessions and income, the liturgical service, the later-to-be-purchased little yard, and the annual perpetual rent of two nobles that would be bequeathed to the Brethren by Geertruid Florisdr through her

⁴³⁶ The introductory section of the agreement states that the Brethren would be contractually bound by a will, once the chapel was erected. SAMH, 91, inv. 56. It can be regarded as a draft to the will.

⁴³⁷ "For eternal days" or "until the end of time." SAMH, 91, inv. 56.

⁴³⁸ The testamentary executors are named "testamentoers" in the agreement, which is the equivalent to the term *executeurs testamentairs* used in Modern Dutch. SAMH, 91, inv. 56.

⁴³⁹ "A chapel of our most beloved Lord's Tomb." SAMH, 91, inv. 56.

⁴⁴⁰ In the agreement of 1497, Raet names the vice-curate and the chantry priests of St John's church in Gouda as his trustees. In his will of 1505, he specifies them as the vice-curate and two senior chantry priests. SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4v.

will, would devolve upon Raet's trustees, who would then decide how to best administer the chapel in the founder's interests.

This document is vital for the understanding of the chapel's *raison d'être*. Firstly, we learn that Raet had ensured the coming into being of his foundation: either he or the executors of his will, would initiate the construction of a Jerusalem chapel. Apart from having decided on the type of chapel he wanted to have and its liturgical equipment, Raet had clear ideas about its alignment within the building plot. In the same agreement the priest instructed the Brethren to purchase a small neighbouring yard, once the chapel was erected, so that the site pertaining to the chapel would be symmetrical.⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, Raet had determined the number of masses to be performed in his future chapel and had calculated the total cost of maintenance of the chapel, including the costs of the liturgical service. Also, the priest had assessed any potential risks to his foundation and developed countermeasures, thereby securing the existence of his chapel in times of crisis. By committing the Brethren of the Common Life and three high-ranking clergyman of St John's church to act as the future caretakers of his foundation, he arranged the eternal upkeep of the chapel and the performance of the liturgical service in advance. It is evident that even before the chapel was built, the priest was taking every possible precaution of ensuring its construction and perpetual existence.

Nearly eight years later, on 13 February 1505, when the chapel was more or less completed,⁴⁴² Raet engaged Cornelius Jacobi, a clergyman and notary of the diocese of Liège, to draw up his will.⁴⁴³ It was based on the agreement of 1497, taking

⁴⁴¹ Its width should be equal to the length of the chapel. See Appendix G. 1.

⁴⁴² The altar was consecrated in 1504, see Chapter III. B. 3.

⁴⁴³ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 3v-5r. As announced in the agreement of 1497, Raet contractually bound the Brethren of the Common Life by a will, after the chapel had been erected. SAMH, 91, inv. 56.

over the same stipulations, albeit presented in more detail, and containing a few supplementary instructions regarding the liturgy and illumination: in addition to the twelve weekly masses, alms – each one being worth one stuiver – should be distributed to twelve poor men once a week,⁴⁴⁴ requiem masses should be sung at the death anniversaries of Raet, his parents and Geertruid Florisdr, and three lamps positioned “in circuitu sepulchri sancti”⁴⁴⁵ should burn eternally.⁴⁴⁶ Apart from the perpetual rents on houses and land, which would fund Raet’s foundation, the priest bequeathed his house next to the Jerusalem chapel as well as his house in the Naaiersstraat to the Brethren. Finally, the will was attested by four witnesses: Magister Theodoricus de Reno,⁴⁴⁷ dean of Lek-en-IJssel,⁴⁴⁸ Magister Pieter Jansz. Winkel, vice-curate of St John’s church in Gouda, Lubbert Hermansz. and Gerrijt Engbertsz., both priests of the diocese of Utrecht.⁴⁴⁹

The fact that the stipulations from the agreement had been transferred into Raet’s will about eight years later confirms how accurately he had worked out the original concept of his chapel in advance. The will officially secured the service of both the Brethren and Raet’s trustees for his foundation. The documentary evidence can be supplemented by a list of rents, that Raet must have written in *circa* 1505, about the time when he made his will, which records all the rents that funded the chapel:

⁴⁴⁴ To be precise, the will stipulates that thirteen alms should be distributed: twelve to poor men and one to the celebrant of the mass.

⁴⁴⁵ “In the circuit of the Holy Sepulchre.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4r.

⁴⁴⁶ Three lamps should burn during the night and one during the day, except on feast days when all three lamps should burn during the day. SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4r.

⁴⁴⁷ Also known as Thierry de Reno or Dirk van Rijn. Goudriaan, “Gijsbert,” 23.

⁴⁴⁸ Administratively, the parish of Gouda belonged to the deanery of Lek-en-IJssel. In the later Middle Ages, the dean of Lek-en-IJssel resided in Gouda, the largest city of the deanery. Goudriaan, “Fervente vroomheid,” 176.

⁴⁴⁹ Gerrijt Engbertsz. was a priest from Gouda. Since 1488, he had been the owner of half a house at the Westhaven in Gouda. The other half was owned by Raet since 1494. SAMH, 2, inv. 319, fols 142r and 174v. No information is known about Lubbert Hermansz. Goudriaan, “Gijsbert,” 24n71. Most likely, these two witnesses were senior chantry priests at St John’s church in Gouda, who, together with Pieter Winkel, vice-curate of the same church, had been appointed as testamentary guardians.

fifteen perpetual rents on houses and eleven perpetual rents on land, stating how much each rent brought in and where the income came from.⁴⁵⁰ This shows that detailed financial planning had been necessary to guarantee that enough money came into the chapel's pool of funds on a regular basis. As Raet wanted his foundation to last for all time, he had to secure its funding by perpetual rents, which were valid for an indefinite period.

Furthermore, the notes on the foundation of *circa* 1517 reveal that the priest financed the total cost of his project entirely by himself, generally rejecting subsidies from anyone else.⁴⁵¹ By doing so, he kept the absolute authority over his chapel and made it invulnerable to influences and changes from other people. According to the medieval concept of law, he would still be considered as a legal entity and the owner of the property after his death.⁴⁵² Likewise, the same document discloses that he refused to sell to the Brethren his house and yard next to the chapel, although they had willingly offered him sixty pounds groten.⁴⁵³ Raet evidently had the intention to preserve his foundation in its original state: namely, the chapel, the house, and the entire yard, as a complete symmetrical entity at the street corner. His decision against the sale forestalled any potential structural changes to the complex, which the Brethren could have initiated if they had owned the house. This was within the bounds of possibility, since the buildings and yards of their convent already occupied most of the street block, and Raet's house would have meant an expansion of their property to a nearly complete possession of the entire block. Interestingly, the author of the notes, Johannes van Emmerik, states that the Brethren, following Raet's refusal, were

⁴⁵⁰ SAMH, 91, inv. 57.

⁴⁵¹ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r. See Appendix G. 4.

⁴⁵² Cf. Oexle, "Gegenwart," 59-62. Hans Schreuer, *Das Recht der Toten* (Stuttgart: Union, 1916).

⁴⁵³ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1v. Goudriaan has interpreted that the Brethren intended to buy the house and yard of Geertruid Florisdr. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 25. However, these are not mentioned in the text. Van Emmerik, the author of the document, refers to Raet's house next to the chapel.

reluctant to take over the priest's chapel after his death. But, as he further reports, after long negotiations, necessity had forced them to accept the offer, because Raet had threatened to engage secular priests instead, which would have been intolerable for the Brethren.⁴⁵⁴ Not only is the regulars' dislike of secular ecclesiastics notable but it is also clear that Raet wanted the Brethren of the Common Life as future caretakers of his chapel, apparently using his negotiating skills and blackmailing them if necessary. This had practical reasons. For one, as direct neighbours, they had quick and easy access to the chapel. But also, as members of a monastic order, they were more reliable caretakers and performers of the liturgy, that is, if one Brother was indisposed and not be able to carry out his duties in the chapel, another Brother could easily fill in.

My analysis of the documentary sources has shown that Raet implemented various precautionary measures and pursued certain tactics to ensure the perpetual existence of his foundation. Forward planning, continuity, risk insurance and unchangeability are typical characteristics in the planning of late medieval memorial foundations and either of them can be found in contemporary documents. For example, when Wouter IJbrantsz., the founder of the Jerusalem chapel and almshouse in Leiden, made his will on 16 May 1467, the construction work on the chapel had just begun. The deed reveals that all necessary arrangements for its completion and the day-to-day running had been made: The chapel should be decorated according to his stipulations. He endowed it with appropriate funds to ensure the chapel's maintenance. The *huiszittenmeesters*⁴⁵⁵ would act as the administrators of his institution, and they would appoint two caretakers, who would carry out the daily tasks with regard to the almshouse. The mass would be read by a secular priest or cleric of the Teutonic

⁴⁵⁴ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1v.

⁴⁵⁵ Municipal caretakers who looked after the poor living at home.

Order.⁴⁵⁶ However, compared to the general trend, Raet's actions seem extreme, because he applied every available measure to ensure the continuity of his chapel in its original state and to keep the authority over his foundation, even after his death.

In this context, the often-repeated adjective “perpetuus” or “ewigh”⁴⁵⁷ is a keyword in the written sources, providing a significant clue to Raet's motivations and the underlying concept of the chapel. In western medieval documents, any notion of “perpetuity” usually referred to the Christian belief in the Last Judgement and eternal life after death. According to the Gospels, the judgement of humankind was expected to take place at the end of time: The dead would be resurrected, and Christ would come to judge humankind, rewarding the good with a place in heaven and condemning the bad to suffer eternal punishment in hell.⁴⁵⁸ Since the Bible does not reveal when exactly the world would end, late medieval memorial foundations were usually intended to last indefinitely. Thus, when Raet secured the perpetual existence of his foundation in its original state, notably the chapel and the liturgical service, he wanted it to last until the end of time so that, after his death, the worship of God, and Christ in particular, would continue until the day of the Last Judgement. This intention, as will be discussed further in Chapter IV, was linked to his concern for the afterlife and the salvation of his soul. Thus, so far, we can conclude that Raet devised the Jerusalem chapel as his chantry chapel from the very beginning of the planning process.

⁴⁵⁶ The parish, in which the chapel was located, was administered by the Commandery of the Teutonic Order in Leiden. Boer, “Jherusalem,” 45. The complete will has been preserved in the form of a copy made by the notary Petrus Milde, which was collated with the original in the presence of three aldermen on 20 April 1469. EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r. Edited by Boer, “Jherusalem,” 50-53.

⁴⁵⁷ Both translate as “perpetual.”

⁴⁵⁸ Mt 24:27-31 and 25:31-46, Jn 5:22-30.

3. Construction and Employed Workmen

The written sources not only provide evidence that Raet attached great importance to the perpetual existence of his chapel but also to a sumptuous decorative programme and the employment of skilled craftsmen. As can be reconstructed, Geertruid Florisdr died on 31 August 1497: her possessions were handed out to her female relative 26 September 1497,⁴⁵⁹ and Raet stated in his will of 1505 that her death anniversary was on the last day of August.⁴⁶⁰ This provides a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the Jerusalem chapel, as from this moment on, Raet would have been able to instruct the demolition of Geertruid's house and of the two one-room dwellings in order to have the necessary space for his chapel.⁴⁶¹ In 1504, Adrianus de Appeltère, titular bishop of Sebaste, consecrated both the altar and Raet's burial place inside the Jerusalem chapel, as witnessed and recorded by Johannes van Emmerik in the cartulary of the Jerusalem chapel: "hanc consecrationem ego iohannes embrace qui haec scripsi oculis meis vidi."⁴⁶² This suggests that, by then, the work on the chapel had proceeded sufficiently to allow the celebration of masses in the chancel. But it does not necessarily mean that the chapel was already complete. As indicated in the agreement with the Brethren of 1497, Raet would write a new will once the chapel was built. Therefore, when this testament was written on 13 February 1505, the chapel must have been more or less in a completed state. The construction period can thus be placed between 1 September 1497 and 13 February 1505. In addition, Emmerik's note provides us with evidence

⁴⁵⁹ SAMH, 76, inv. 33.

⁴⁶⁰ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4v.

⁴⁶¹ The archaeological excavation of 2007 uncovered the foundations of a predecessor building, which seems to have been the house of Geertruid Florisdr. Dasselaar, "Rapport," 6-7, 11.

⁴⁶² "I, Johannes Emmerik, who wrote this, saw this consecration with my own eyes." SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

that Raet must have been granted the right of burial (presumably by the bishop of Utrecht), showing that he planned the Jerusalem chapel as his burial chapel.⁴⁶³

Concrete information on the actual building campaign is lacking. For instance, the names of the architect who provided the design for the chapel and of the master craftsman who supervised the construction work are unknown. However, a note by Raet, made on or shortly after 21 March 1507, names several artists who were employed to undertake work in the Jerusalem chapel.⁴⁶⁴ In this document, the priest confirmed that he had commissioned the “meister van Delft timan henricx.⁴⁶⁵ schilder [...] die taeffel in myn kapelle te schilden”⁴⁶⁶ for the sum of 32 Flemish pounds groten, and that he had already paid to him the first instalment on 21 March 1507. He further lists the remaining amounts due of the painter’s salary, which he had prepared in a money bag. Present witnesses at the contracting of the artist were Philip the mason (“philips diet metselaer”), Paul the stonemason from Delft (“pouwels die steenhouder van delphelt”), Brother Cornelis the glassmaker with the Brethren of the Common Life in Gouda (“broder cornelis die glaes maker tot die collati broders ter goude”), Claes Willemsz. the embroiderer (“claes willemszoon die berduuer verker”), and Master Piet Daemsz. vice-curate of St John’s church in Gouda (“meister piet daemszoon vicecuereyt ter goude”).⁴⁶⁷ The vice-curate of the parish church in Gouda probably attended the artwork commission in his function as appointed supervisor of Raet’s

⁴⁶³ A chantry chapel was not necessarily a burial chapel. Cf. Speetjens, “Chuntries.” Roffey, *Chantry Chapels*.

⁴⁶⁴ SAMH, 91, inv. 84. For a full transcription and translation of the document, see Appendix G. 3.

⁴⁶⁵ The suffix -cx. is another form of the patronym -sz.

⁴⁶⁶ “Master of Delft, Timan Henricx., painter [...] to paint the panel in my chapel.”

⁴⁶⁷ The document itself is not dated. In Raet’s will of 13 February 1505, Pieter Winkel is named as vice-curate of St John’s church in Gouda, providing a terminus post quem for the artwork commission. SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 5r. It seems likely that Raet made the order shortly before 21 March 1507 (the date of the first payment). It represents a terminus ante quem for the writing of the note as well as for the order of the painting. There is no information as to the style or iconography of the artwork. In 1950, Pot drew attention to this source in his newspaper article. Pot, “Oude schilderijen.” Extended research on the artists has not been carried out so far.

foundation. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the other witnesses, all craftsmen, were engaged with work in the Jerusalem chapel at that time.⁴⁶⁸ Their activities must have concerned finishing touches, such as furnishings or decoration.

Further research into the background of these artists has enabled me to highlight the status and craftsmanship of some as well as their possible engagement during the construction of Raet's chapel. Around 1507, the priest apparently employed three craftsmen from Gouda and two from Delft. Philip, the mason, or bricklayer, is known to have worked in St John's church in Gouda during the construction of the basilical choir with ambulatory between 1485 and 1510.⁴⁶⁹ He is regularly mentioned in the church accounts.⁴⁷⁰ For instance, in 1489, he was paid for vaulting the church ("die kerc te verwelven en te paneren"), and in 1490, he received payment for several days of masonry ("metselen"), for placing and plastering a sculpture ("die beelde te setten, scotijch te maken ende te pleysteren"), and again in the same year, for placing sculptures in the high choir ("beelden te setten int hooch kerck").⁴⁷¹ Raet presumably met the mason in the parish church, when the latter carried out work there. He may have been employed by him later to build the burial cavity of his tomb or to place the wall memorial into the wall. In his capacity as mason, he may have already been employed by Raet during the construction of the chapel.

While we can only assume that the embroiderer Claes Willemsz. was from Gouda – as Raet only added a town when the artist came from outside Gouda – and

⁴⁶⁸ Present at the payment of the first instalment to Timan Henricx., as stated later in the same document, were Philip the mason, Pouwels from Delft, and a certain Dirc Stratien of whom no further information is known.

⁴⁶⁹ For the building history of St John's church in the fifteenth century, see Chapters II. C. and II. E.

⁴⁷⁰ Pre-Reformation church accounts have survived for the years 1487, 1488-1490, 1492, 1543-1549, 1550-1552, and 1557-1574. SAMH, 90, invs 1.1-1.13. Philip may have worked in St John's church before 1487, since the major building campaign started in *circa* 1475 with the construction of the extra aisles.

⁴⁷¹ SAMH, 90, inv. 1.2. (1488-1490). Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 201-02.

perhaps supplied the chasubles that belonged to the equipment of the Jerusalem chapel,⁴⁷² more information is known about Brother Cornelis “die glaes maker.” Cornelis Volpartsz. his full name (d. 1529) was a glass-painter and lay brother with the Brethren of the Common Life in Gouda.⁴⁷³ Although none of his work has survived, the written sources reveal that he obtained contracts for religious and secular buildings. According to the city accounts of Gouda, he supplied four windows for the council chamber of the local town hall in 1501, and he restored eight windows of the same building in 1518.⁴⁷⁴ He further made a window for Jacobus Maurittii, pensionary of Gouda and later councillor of the High Court of Holland.⁴⁷⁵ It is possible that Raet employed him to provide stained-glass windows for the Jerusalem chapel, perhaps containing pilgrimage insignia, similar to the ones commissioned by the Leiden brewer Willem Claesz. and his wife Hillegont Willemsdr in 1491 (Fig. III. 1),⁴⁷⁶ or by Hans VI Tucher around 1480 (Fig. III. 2).⁴⁷⁷ Documentary evidence attests to the existence of an active stained-glass production in various workshops in Gouda at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.⁴⁷⁸ Again, Raet’s networking skills become apparent. By choosing Brother Cornelis, the priest engaged an established local stained-glass artist from the convent that would later maintain his chapel, thereby supporting it financially and giving no cause for the Brethren’s discontent.

⁴⁷² Cf. Chapter III. C. 4.

⁴⁷³ The written sources indicate that he made cartoons for the windows, thereby confirming that he was a glass painter. Taal, *Goudse Kloosters*, 146-47.

⁴⁷⁴ SAMH, 1, inv. 1163 (1501), fol. 21v and inv. 1177 (1518), fol. 54v.

⁴⁷⁵ Taal, *Archieven*, 25 (inv. 51) and 298 (cal. 818).

⁴⁷⁶ One of the oldest stained-glass windows that have been preserved in the Northern Netherlands, to be found in the chapel of St Anne’s almshouse in Leiden. Leermakers and Donkersloot, *Wonen*, 158-59.

⁴⁷⁷ A. Essenwein, *Katalog der im Germanischen Museum befindlichen Glasgemälde aus älterer Zeit* (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Museums, 1898), 115.

⁴⁷⁸ A. van Eck et al., “Meer dan glazen alleen,” in *Duizend Jaar Gouda: Een stadsgeschiedenis*, ed. P. H. A. M. Abels et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 248-49.

No further details are known about Timan Henricx., the master painter from Delft. It is not possible to link him to one of the painters who worked in Delft in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, such as the Master of the *Virgo inter Virgines*, the Master of Delft, or the Master of the *Spes Nostra*.⁴⁷⁹ Timan Henricx.'s title as "meester" indicates that he had reached a recognised professional status. He presumably ran his own workshop with the help of apprentices and was a member of the local painters' guild. Raet must have contracted him to produce either the altarpiece or the wall memorial in his chapel. Interestingly, in *circa* 1510, Dirck Dircksz. van Beesd van Heemskerk, burgomaster of Delft and also a Jerusalem and Sinai pilgrim, also commissioned a "Master of Delft"⁴⁸⁰ to create a pair of altarpiece shutters. On the sinister wing, the patron is shown kneeling, and shouldering a palm frond, in front of the Virgin Mary with Child and St Anne. The heraldry on the panel includes a shield with the wheel of St Catherine (Fig. III. 3). Although it seems likely that either or both of Raet's artworks contained a depiction of him as kneeling patron, including his pilgrimage insignia, there is no evidence to link Timan Henricx. to the artist engaged by Dirck Dircksz. van Beesd van Heemskerk.

The stonemason or stonecutter from Delft, on the other hand, Pouwels Jansz. his full name, was engaged during building projects in both the Old Church and the New Church in Delft as several written sources reveal. In the church accounts of the New Church he is described as "onse graefmaker stienhouder."⁴⁸¹ Between 1494 and 1495, he directed the construction of the stone lantern of the New Church tower (Fig.

⁴⁷⁹ For more information on late medieval painters in Delft, see G. T. M. Lemmens, "Schilderkunst in Delft tot 1572," in *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij tot 1572*, ed. I. V. T and R. A. Leeuw Spaander (Delft: Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, 1979), 143-47. M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1973), 10: 30-33. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1937), 2: 243-47, 278-81, 388-95.

⁴⁸⁰ The name was given by Friedländer.

⁴⁸¹ "Our grave maker and stonemason." D. P. Oosterbaan, "Kroniek van de Nieuwe Kerk te Delft," *BBH* 65 (1958): 244-45.

III. 4), together with the mason Pieter Heynricxz.,⁴⁸² “beyde als meesters van desen wercke.”⁴⁸³ He even assisted in working “den harden stien”⁴⁸⁴ with his helpers. On 30 October 1495, his five- or six-year-old son, Jan Poulsz. the elder, placed the last stone of the lantern: the final stone of the spiral staircase.⁴⁸⁵ Moreover, on 11 June 1512, Pouwels Jansz. was contracted by the churchwardens of the New Church as “appelleerder”⁴⁸⁶ for a four-year-building campaign that concerned the erection of a new south transept, a southern side choir and an extra south aisle (Fig. III. 5) designed by the renowned architect Anthonis I Keldermans (d. 12 October 1512), who was city architect of Mechelen, and court architect for Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy:⁴⁸⁷

[...] hebben die kerckmeesteren vander nyeuwer kercken binnen Delft angenomen voir hoeren werckman pouwels Jansz. stienhouder tot een apelleere om dat stienhouden ende metselen te bewaren ende Regeren dattet werk gemaect wort nat dat patroen dat meester anthonis kelderman geordineert ende gemaect heeft [...] Ende voort sal pouwels voirs. sculdich wesen alle die borden te maken elck Int syne als dat eyschen sal ende die ghesellen te wisen en(de) te stieren dat sy dat werck maken alst behoren sal [...]⁴⁸⁸

The planned expansion of the New Church was a response to a similar building project in the Old Church, where the construction of a new north transept and a northern side

⁴⁸² We do not know if he was related to the painter from Delft, Timan Henricx.

⁴⁸³ “Both as masters of this work.”

⁴⁸⁴ “The hard stone.”

⁴⁸⁵ Oosterbaan, “Kroniek,” 243-45. For the building history of the New Church, see L. H. H. van der Kloot Meijburg, *De Nieuwe Kerk te Delft: Haar bouw, verval en herstel* (Rotterdam: Brusse, 1941), 59-66. G. Berends, “De bouwgeschiedenis van de Nieuwe Kerk,” in *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij tot 1572*, ed. I. V. T. Spaander and R. A. Leeuw (Delft: Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, 1979), 38-40.

⁴⁸⁶ “Supervisor.”

⁴⁸⁷ This campaign did not go further than the construction of the foundations as archaeological excavations revealed. Berends, “Bouwgeschiedenis,” 39. Kloot Meijburg, *Nieuwe Kerk*, 64-66.

⁴⁸⁸ “[...] The churchwardens of the New Church in Delft have commissioned their workman Pouwels Jansz., stonemason, as supervisor to observe and direct the stone-cutting and masonry so that the work will be made according to the design that Master Anthonis Keldermans made and instructed [...] And also, the aforementioned Pouwels will be responsible for making all the mouldings, each as required, and for instructing and guiding the apprentices so that they execute the work as required [...]” SAD, 435, inv. 173. On the reverse of the document is written “pouwels graefmaker.” (“Pouwels the grave maker.”)

choir, designed by the same Anthonis I Keldermans, had started in 1510 (Fig. III. 6).⁴⁸⁹ After the death of the architect in the autumn of 1512, his son, Rombout II Keldermans (d. 15 December 1531)⁴⁹⁰ took over his father's position in Delft. Evidence from the accounts of the Old Church shows that Pouwels Jansz. played a leading role in the execution of the building project. On 20 May 1514, the churchwardens paid for the food and wine of Pouwels Jansz. when Rombout Keldermans visited Delft: "Item bet. Pouwels Jansz. van teercost en wijn als meester Rombout Keldermans hier was."⁴⁹¹ And on 9 July 1516, the stonemason was paid an annual salary for the same year.⁴⁹² The records show that Pouwels Jansz. was a skilled craftsman, who held leading positions during major building campaigns of the two parish churches in Delft. His collaboration with Anthonis Keldermans, and later Rombout Keldermans, is striking. The architects visited Delft only a few times and entrusted the execution of the building plans to the master stonemason. The creation of the mouldings (Fig. III. 7) was not a simple task, and was usually carried out by the architects themselves, as evidence from other towns, such as Middelburg or Haarlem confirms.⁴⁹³ The fact that Pouwels Jansz. was contracted to make the templates is an exception and testifies to his skills and craftsmanship. He may have been employed by Raet around 1507 to carve his grave

⁴⁸⁹ For the building history of the Old Church, see G. Berends and R. Meischke, "De Bouwgeschiedenis van de Oude Kerk," in *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij tot 1572*, ed. I. V. T Spaander and R. A. Leeuw (Delft: Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, 1979), 32-38. C. G. M. van Wylick-Westermann, "Het Bouwmeestersgeslacht Keldermans," in *Keldermans: Een architectonisch netwerk in de Nederlanden*, ed. J. H. van Mosselveld (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1987), 16-22. Bianca van den Berg, "Kerkelijke bouwprojecten van de bouwmeesters uit de Keldermans-familie," *ibid.*, 77-81. This campaign, which seems to have been the beginning of a planned large-scale rebuilding of the church, stopped in 1523 after the completion of the side choir (Choir of Our Lady) and of the north transept. Earlier records of Pouwels Jansz. in the church accounts of the Old Church list him as supplier of building material between 1502 and 1507: for trass, bricks, and stone. Oosterbaan, "Kroniek," 243-44n255.

⁴⁹⁰ In 1515, he became city architect of Mechelen, and in 1516, he became court architect for Emperor Charles V. Wylick-Westermann, "Keldermans," 20-22.

⁴⁹¹ "Also, paid for the food and wine of Pouwels Jansz., when Master Rombout Keldermans was here." Oosterbaan, "Kroniek," 243-44n255.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ Wylick-Westermann, "Keldermans," 9-11, 16-18, 20-22.

slab. In his capacity as master stone mason, he had perhaps already been employed by Raet a few years earlier to execute the construction of his chapel.

Taken together, our investigation has shown that Raet engaged established craftsmen from both Gouda and Delft. At the same time, the priest's networking skills have become apparent, as he employed artists whom he must have known through his connections to the parish church (Philip the mason) or to the Brethren of the Common Life (Brother Cornelis). Most importantly, Raet recruited two artists from Delft (Timan Henricx. and Pouwels Jansz.), suggesting that he was familiar with the city and that he became acquainted with the stonemason, and perhaps also the master painter, through possible connections to both the Old Church and New Church. Hence, it seems likely that the priest also knew the Jerusalem chapel there, which was founded in *circa* 1430. Given that its layout was similar to Raet's chapel, as we shall see in Chapter III. E. 1., it could have functioned as a model for the Gouda chapel. In the medieval period, it was common practice to commission an architect to create a building modelled on an already existing building. For instance, in her will of 1484, Aechte Dirick Pietersz.dr gave her consent to construct a Jerusalem chapel in Haarlem "als te Leyen of 't Wtert state."⁴⁹⁴ Thus, it is possible that Raet instructed his architect to design a chapel similar to the one in Delft.

⁴⁹⁴ "As stands in Leiden or Utrecht." Gonnet, "Bedevaart," 192-93.

C. The Late Medieval Appearance of the Chapel

In order to facilitate not only the comparison of the Gouda chapel with both the late medieval Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the contemporary Jerusalem chapels in the diocese, but also the understanding of its function, it is first necessary to reconstruct the original appearance of Raet's chapel as far as possible. As discussed in Chapter I. B., the chapel has only survived in part and substantial alterations have been made to the original fabric. My assessment is based on the findings of past surveys and excavations, but also on my comprehensive analysis of the archival sources, which provide new information on the furnishings and decoration of the chapel.

1. Ground Plan

The Jerusalem chapel in Gouda originally encompassed two building parts: a chancel of trapezoidal form and a centrally-planned dodecagonal nave (Fig. I. 2).⁴⁹⁵ An open space interlinked both rooms, so that the chancel was defined by three walls, and the rotunda was outlined by nine walls with eight colonettes in its corners as well as four columns at the opening to the chancel. The chapel had two "side" entrances, positioned opposite each other, each one immediately behind the central-plan building, at the beginning of the chancel walls. The chancel measured *circa* 6.50 m in width and *circa* 8-10 m in length, whereas the rotunda had a diameter of 7 m,⁴⁹⁶ amounting to

⁴⁹⁵ In the literature, these building parts are repeatedly described as "rectangle," and "dodecagon." With regard to geometrical forms, the "rectangle" in Gouda is actually a trapezoid or quadrilateral. In view of their function, however, I will refer to them as "chancel" and "nave" (or "rotunda" in order to emphasize the outward appearance or shape of the latter). Cf. Appendix B.

⁴⁹⁶ Glaudemans and Gruben, "Bouwgeschiedenis," 37-39.

approximately 15 m by 7 m in total. The edifice was placed on the corner of the Spieringstraat and Patersteeg. It was orientated north-south with the chancel at the north end. The north wall of the chapel adjoined the refectory of the Brethren of the Common Life. Furthermore, as stated in Gijsbert Raet's will of 1505, the site of the Jerusalem chapel also comprised the private house of the founder and a yard: "capellam suam [...] cum domo orto et alijs ad eandem capellam pertinentibus."⁴⁹⁷ Two entries in the chapel's cartulary provide a more detailed description of the complex: "Item proprietatem Capelle Domus et Aree que vergit a capella in orientem"⁴⁹⁸ and "domum suam capelle predicte adhaerentem ad orientem cum puteo et area tante latitudinis quanta est longitudo capelle."⁴⁹⁹ According to these statements, house and yard occupied the space east of the chapel, which had the same length as the latter (*ca* 15 m). This means that the total property size was probably about 15 m by 15 m. Most likely, the home of the founder was positioned east of the rotunda, along the Patersteeg, leaving an open square inside the complex (Fig. I. 2). Thus, the eastern entrance to the chapel would have been private, providing access solely from the rear yard, and the western ingress would have been public, allowing visitors to enter from the Spieringstraat. Raet's dwelling, however, was not directly attached to the rotunda, as it would have obscured some of the outer sides. The survey of 1996 has revealed that, originally, a continuous brick bond connected the south-eastern side (Fig. III. 8, no. 7) of the central-plan building to an abutting wall of *circa* 2–2.5 m height (Fig. III. 9).⁵⁰⁰ This must have been an enclosure wall between the chapel and the house.

⁴⁹⁷ "His chapel [...] with house, yard and other items belonging to this chapel." SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 3v-4r. See also SAHM, 91, inv. 57, fol. 2r: "het huus ende eruen mit alle sun toebehoeren ende die capelle" ("the house and yards with all their belongings and the chapel").

⁴⁹⁸ "Likewise, the property of the chapel: house and open spaces which lie east of the chapel." SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 2r.

⁴⁹⁹ "His house attached to the east of the aforementioned chapel, with well and open space, of such width as the length of the chapel." SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1v.

⁵⁰⁰ A part of this wall has survived within the present-day neighbouring building. Glaudemans and Gruben, "Vooronderzoek," 53-54.

2. Exterior

The chapel was built of robust brick walls laced with several limestone elements. Laid in a relatively tight English bond, with a single brick format of *circa* 18 x 8.5 x 4 cm,⁵⁰¹ the bricks joined together the chancel, the rotunda, and the enclosure wall. The surface of the mortar joints was finished by a joint-line. A finishing coat of paint or plaster was not applied to the outer walls.⁵⁰² The plinth, consisting of several courses of white limestone, formed a continuous horizontal band, running along the chancel, the rotunda and the garden wall. A vertical row of oblong-shaped Lede limestone⁵⁰³ quoins, emphasised the eight outer corners of the rotunda, each one separated by five courses of specially baked brick cornerstones. The walls of the rotunda measured *circa* 2.20 m wide on the exterior.⁵⁰⁴ Seven façades of the same rotunda (Fig. III. 8, nos. 5-11) bore a large pointed arch niche with Y-tracery made of brick. This niche was either completely blind (nos. 6, 8, 10) or its upper part was open to form a small pointed arch window (nos. 5, 7, 9, 11),⁵⁰⁵ resulting in an alternating window-niche and blind-niche decoration of the outer walls (Figs III. 10-11). Directly below the sills of the niches, a continuous horizontal dripstone moulding, made of Lede limestone and brick, extended around the rotunda and the chancel.⁵⁰⁶ Another horizontal band of white limestone, a *speklaag*,⁵⁰⁷ divided the upper front of the chancel. It was situated at about

⁵⁰¹ Glaudemans and Gruben, "Bouwgeschiedenis," 64n9.

⁵⁰² Glaudemans and Gruben, "Vooronderzoek," 53-54.

⁵⁰³ *Ledesteen* is a pale-yellowish type of sandy limestone, originating from the region of Balegem-Lede-Dilbeek, west of the city of Brussels. Cf. G. Berends, H. Janse and A. Slinger, *Natuursteen in Monumenten* (Baarn: Bosch & Keuning, 1980), 43-46.

⁵⁰⁴ Glaudemans and Gruben, "Vooronderzoek," 53.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 52-55.

⁵⁰⁶ The dripstone moulding along the façades has been broken off at some time after the Reformation and replaced by a *speklaag*. *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵⁰⁷ *Speklagen* (literally "bacon layers") is a Dutch term to describe the alternate horizontal courses of red brick and white stone, usually Belgian limestone. E. J. Haslinghuis and H. Janse, *Bouwkundige termen*, 3 ed. (Leiden: Primavera Pers), 425.

the height of the sills of the small pointed arch windows (Figs I. 1, 7, 13 and III. 12). There was a window above the public entrance to the chapel, ending just above the dripstone moulding,⁵⁰⁸ and presumably two or three pointed arch windows of the same length provided daylight for the chancel. Nave and chancel were of equal height. Their walls were finished by a cornice, consisting of a few courses of white limestone and brick (Fig. I. 5).⁵⁰⁹ The rotunda was covered by a slated conical roof, which had a short cylinder-shaped ending (Fig. I. 1).⁵¹⁰ The latter suggested an opening of the roof but was actually closed. The chancel had a slated gable roof, which was linked to the conical roof. A bell-cote housing one bell was to be found in the centre of its ridge (Fig. I. 3).⁵¹¹

3. Interior

The nave of the chapel was defined by nine interior walls, each about 2 m wide, and twelve supporting elements within the corners of the polygonal room, carrying the ribs of a stellar-vault. There were four columns (Fig. III. 8, nos. I-IV) framing the opening to the chancel: two free-standing ones in the centre of the open space (nos. II, III), and two engaged columns (nos. I, IV) at either side of the beginning of the rotunda. Eight colonettes (nos. V-XII) were attached to the corners inside the room. All supports had long polygonal bases, long round shafts, and relatively small polygonal capitals. The

⁵⁰⁸ Remains of the jambs of a window have been found above the entrance during the survey of 1996. Glaufemans and Gruben, "Vooronderzoek," 55.

⁵⁰⁹ After the Reformation, the original cornice along the top of the chapel was replaced or covered by a wooden one. Glaufemans and Gruben, "Vooronderzoek," 55.

⁵¹⁰ Today, the conical roof is topped by an onion-shaped metal crown. It was presumably a later addition, as this kind of decoration is not recorded for the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht.

⁵¹¹ Cf. Raet's will (1505): "procurabitque et ordinabit campanulam in campanili super capellam prescriptam." ("He will procure and ordain a small bell for the bell-cote above the aforementioned chapel." SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4r.

shafts were made of brick, whereas the bases and capitals were made of Bentheim sandstone.⁵¹² The latter were distinctly moulded and evidently inspired by the classical Tuscan order (Figs I. 11-12). Three pointed arches spanned the open space between the columns (Fig. I. 11). The vault itself was made of brick, while the moulded ribs of the stellar vault were made of stone. Extending from the abaci of the capitals, the ribs terminated in a ring that framed the oculus in the apex of the vault (Fig. III. 13). From the inside the oculus was open, or an opening was suggested by a recess in the vault. But the oculus was not open to the sky, since it was either covered by the vault or covered by the roof construction, which was closed at the top.⁵¹³ The twelve intersections of the ribs were marked by thickened knots, which were covered by wooden circular vault bosses, perhaps depicting the twelve prophets or the twelve apostles.⁵¹⁴ Each of the nine inner walls of the nave was decorated with a blind oculus window at about three quarters height of the wall. These circular niches were surrounded by a quarter-round moulding and had an inner diameter of about 1.35 m (Fig. I. 12).⁵¹⁵ The four pointed-arch window openings were positioned above the blind oculi of walls nos. 5, 7, 9, and 11 (Fig. III. 8).

Architectural investigation has revealed that the surfaces of the vault were originally finished by a light beige coat of paint.⁵¹⁶ The interior walls were presumably plastered in the same way. Traces of red paint have been found on one of the capitals, indicating that the columns or colonettes, and the ribs of the vault were originally

⁵¹² Glaudemans and Gruben, "Vooronderzoek," 51. Glaudemans and Gruben, "Bouwgeschiedenis," 42.

⁵¹³ The restoration of the roof revealed that the vault was closed at the top. It remains unclear whether this is original, or was done at a later time, for instance when the hole was covered by an ornament after the Reformation. Cf. Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 167.

⁵¹⁴ Square spuds in the thickened intersections indicate the positions of the lost ornamental bosses.

⁵¹⁵ When comparing the inner walls to the exterior façades, the blind oculi were positioned at the level of the bottom parts of the blind niches (which is the space between the two horizontal bands of limestone).

⁵¹⁶ No remains of the original coating has been found on the inner walls. R. M. Bouman, "De Jeruzalemkapel in Gouda: Restauratie plan" (Gouda: Gemeente Gouda, 2005), 10.

emphasised by colour.⁵¹⁷ Moreover, the surveys of 1996 and 2007 uncovered a few remains of red mural paintings on the pointed arches spanning the columns (nos. I-IV). Whereas the find on the first arch (no. 1) was of indiscernible shape, the one on the last arch (no. 3) showed a band of lily-shaped forms in regular intervals (Fig. III. 14).⁵¹⁸ Evidently, the interior walls, and most likely also the vault, bore decorative wall-painting – a common feature of many church interiors at that time.⁵¹⁹ The chapel's medieval floor covering of tiles has not been preserved. A contemporary example of floor tiles is to be found in St Anne's chapel (*ca* 1509) in Leiden (Fig. III. 15). Likewise, there is no evidence left of the vaulting in the chancel, but late medieval separate chapels were usually covered by a barrel vault and this could plausibly have been the case here too.

4. Furnishings and Decoration

Several written sources provide detailed information on the furnishings and decoration of Raet's chapel. We learn that the priest commissioned “een costelijke capelle mit dat heylighe graf,” and that it houses “costelike ornamenten ende cleynodien.”⁵²⁰ Van Emmerik's notes about the consecration of the altar in 1504 inform us about the interior arrangement of the chancel:

Item consecratum est eiusdem capelle altare et tantundem pauimenti quantum intra cancellos et murum nostri refectorij continetur (vbi et idem dominus gijsbertus postea sepultus est) anno domini millesimo

⁵¹⁷ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Vooronderzoek,” 73. Glaudemans and Gruben, “Bouwgeschiedenis,” 43.

⁵¹⁸ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Vooronderzoek,” 58. Dam, “Deelopname,” 11, 13.

⁵¹⁹ Cf. M. de Beyer, P. Verhoeven and A. Reinstra, *Kerkinterieurs in Nederland* (Zwolle: WBOOKS, 2016).

⁵²⁰ “A costly chapel with the Holy Sepulchre.” “Costly ornaments and little treasures.” SAMH, 91, inv. 19, between fols 51v and 52r. The interior decoration of the rotunda will be discussed in Chapters III. E. 2. and III. E. 3.

quingentesimo quarto a domino adriano de appelteren episcopo sebastensis. Hanc consecrationem ego iohannes embrice qui haec scripsi oculis meis vidi.⁵²¹

Thus, there was a screen, perhaps latticed or in the form of a grill,⁵²² which stood parallel to the rear wall, or northern wall, of the chancel and set apart the sanctuary on its northern side. The sanctuary, containing both the altar and Raet's grave, was reserved for the clergy and the celebration of the liturgy. The screen must have been placed in front of and at some distance to the axis of the two parallel entrance doors, as the doors gave access to the nave, and as the laity would have needed some space in front of the screen to stand during Mass, allowing them to follow the liturgy without blocking the doorways or the ambulatory of the nave. It is possible that the three-bay-division of the eighteenth-century residential house, which was later built on the foundations of Raet's chancel, indicates that the late medieval chancel was divided into three bays (Fig. I. 15).⁵²³ Hence, it is not unreasonable to assume that the original screen was placed after the first, most southern bay, providing two bays for the sanctuary, thus enough space for the founder's tomb and the altar, and one bay for the congregation, thus sufficient space to stand during Mass (Fig. III. 16).

The archaeological excavation of 2007 has uncovered that the founder's grave was located in the north-eastern corner of the sanctuary (Fig. III. 17).⁵²⁴ The striking location of Raet's tomb has provided a clue with regard to the position of the altar. As we shall see in Chapter IV. B., it was most likely located in front of the eastern side wall of the chancel. It may have looked similar to the surviving

⁵²¹ "Likewise, the altar of the same chapel was consecrated, and just as much of the floor as is contained between the screen and the wall of our refectory (where the same Master Gijsbert was buried later), in the year of the Lord 1504 by Master Adrianus de Appeltère, bishop of Sebaste." SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

⁵²² It remains unclear whether the chancel screen was made of carved stone, wood or metalwork.

⁵²³ Dasselaar, "Rapport," 8, Fig. 5a.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

fifteenth-century altar in the chapel of St Anne's almshouse in Leiden (Fig. III. 15).

According to the notes on the foundation, the altar furnishings included:

Calice / libro missali scripto / tabula depicta posita supra altare duplicibus
valuis / Casula aurea cuius crucis textura est historica / Casula purpurea
coloris cuius crucis textura Preterea intulit et in altaris vsum et ornatum
osculum pacis argenteum / ampullas argenteas et Crucem argenteam
continentem reliquias / modicum scilicet de sepulchro domini.^{525f}

First, it is striking that a pentptych-altarpiece decorated the altar.⁵²⁶ Again, it becomes apparent that Raet sets himself apart from the common trend of the time, as the well-to-do citizens usually commissioned a triptych – the traditional form of the altarpiece.⁵²⁷ This also supports our argument that the altar was placed in front of the eastern wall, as the side wall of the chancel would have offered enough space for the five-winged altarpiece, to be opened and closed according to the occasion.⁵²⁸

Furthermore, the notes reveal that a silver cross containing “a little” of the Holy Sepulchre stood on the altar.⁵²⁹ This indicates not only that the latter was dedicated to

⁵²⁵ “A chalice, a handwritten missal, a painted panel placed above the altar with twofold wings, a golden chasuble of which the weaving of the cross is historical, a chasuble purple of colour of which the weaving of the cross [*text omitted*]. Moreover, he brought, for use and decoration of the altar, a silver Kiss of Peace, silver ampoules, and a silver cross containing relics, namely a little of the Sepulchre of the Lord.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

⁵²⁶ The altarpiece is described as having “duplicibus valuis,” which can be translated as twofold, or double, doors. In comparison, the wings of the memorial triptych are simply described as “valuis” in the same document. SAMH, 91, 58, fol. 1r.

⁵²⁷ A triptych in the Museum Gouda (inv. 55113), depicting the Crucifixion, Deposition and Ascension, with possibly a depiction of the Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the background of the Crucifixion, has previously been described as possibly belonging to the original decoration of Raet's Jerusalem chapel. However, this can be refuted, as, stylistically, the panel can be dated to the second half of the sixteenth century.

⁵²⁸ In *circa* 1507, Raet commissioned Master Timan Henricx. from Delft to paint the “taeffel in myn kapelle” (“the panel in my chapel”). SAMH, 91, inv. 84. We do not know if this was the altarpiece or the wall memorial. The latter would have included the painting of the wings and the polychroming of the carved figures in the central section. The wall memorial will be discussed in Chapter IV. C. 2.

⁵²⁹ In the same line “ampullas argenteas” (“silver ampoules”) are mentioned. These could have been small capsules containing holy liquids that Raet brought back from his pilgrimage, for example, water from the River Jordan or fluid from the tomb of St. Catherine. For more information on relics from the Holy Land, see Cynthia Hahn, “Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim's Experience,” in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout (Urbana: Illinois UP, 1990), 85-96. However, in the Northern Netherlands, the word “ampoule” was also used to describe the vessels holding the wine and water during Mass.

the Holy Sepulchre but also that Raet must have acquired small pieces from the Tomb of Christ during his pilgrimage to the East, presumably in preparation for the establishment of his chapel. Being important mystical attributes to the setting of the Jerusalem chapel, the sacred stones were displayed in a valuable reliquary on the altar.⁵³⁰ Its form suggests that it was not only used as a precious container for holy relics but also served as an altar cross during the liturgy. As such, it would have been placed on the altar during Mass, and the celebrant would have presented it to the congregation so that they could venerate the relics.⁵³¹ As material evidence of the Holy Sepulchre, these relics gave authenticity to Raet's Jerusalem chapel, which housed a copy of the Tomb of Christ in its rotunda. They were a physical reminder of Christ's triumph over death and stimulated the worshippers' hope for the afterlife. Viewed with the elevated host during Mass, the relics alluded to two different layers of the presence of Christ – materially and liturgically.⁵³² Moreover, in the late Middle Ages, relics were thought to transmit the mystical power of the biblical events they represented.⁵³³ In Gouda, the “small amount” of the Holy Sepulchre would have attracted visitors to Raet's chapel, hoping to benefit from its salvific power through touch or sight.⁵³⁴ Two contemporary silver reliquaries housing relics from the Holy Land have survived in the Jerusalem chapel in Bruges, which might give an idea of the appearance of Raet's reliquary and the relics: a silver cross showing a splinter of the Holy Cross and a silver

⁵³⁰ Anselm and Jan Adornes, for example, brought back relics from the Holy Land, to exhibit in precious reliquaries in their Jerusalem chapel in Bruges. Nadine Mai, “Place and Surface. Golgotha in late medieval Bruges,” in: *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500-1500*, ed. by Renana Bartal, Neta Bodner and Bianca Kühnel (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 200n55-56.

⁵³¹ A document pertaining to the Jerusalem chapel in Bruges, for example, indicates that the relics there were exposed during the Eucharist. *Ibid.*, 201n62.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 201. See also, Bruno Reudenbach, “Loca sancta: Zur materiellen Übertragung der heiligen Stätten,” in *Jerusalem du Schöne*, ed. Bruno Reudenbach (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 28-31.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ C. E. Pocknee, *The Christian Altar: In History and Today* (London: Mowbray, 1963), 84-85. Binski, *Medieval Death*, 78.

sculptural ensemble depicting Christ rising from his Tomb, exhibiting two small white stones from the Holy Sepulchre in its pedestal (Figs III. 18-19).⁵³⁵

The notes also inform us about the liturgical equipment that Raet supplied for his chapel: a chalice, a hand-written missal, two chasubles and a silver pax.⁵³⁶ In his will of 1505, Raet had stipulated that twelve weekly masses should be performed “cum vino pane cereis et alijs ad hoc deseruientibus.”⁵³⁷ In this regard, it is likely that he attached importance to the quality of the chalice, as it was a key requisite for the celebration of the Eucharist – the core element of the Mass – when the sacrificial death of Christ was symbolically repeated by the mystical conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ and during which both the chalice with the wine and the Host were elevated by the celebrant.⁵³⁸ The chalice that was made for St Peter’s church in Leiden in 1510 may give an idea of its appearance (Fig. III. 20). In addition, the founder had commissioned a handwritten missal for his chapel, which was more expensive than a printed one. It would have contained all the required prayers, hymns and texts for the celebration of Mass and may have been made by the Brethren of the Common Life. Convents originating from the Modern Devotion movement were centres of book production in the Northern Netherlands at the time. Various entries in the church accounts of St John’s church in Gouda reveal that the *Collatiebroeders* were paid for copying or binding.⁵³⁹ Likewise, in a note of *circa* 8 September 1505, Raet

⁵³⁵ Jozef Penninck, *De Jeruzalemkerk te Brugge* (Koninklijke Gidsenbond van Brugge en West-Vlaanderen, 1986), 30. Mai, “Place and Surface,” 200-02, Fig. 11.7.

⁵³⁶ The agreement with the Brethren of 1497 also mentions “dwalen” (“altar cloths”), “kandelaren” (“candlesticks”) and “gardinen” (“curtains”). SAMH, 91, inv. 56. These were standard requisites of the late medieval altar. Cf. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich: Alte Meister Guenther Koch, 1924). Pocknee, *Christian Altar*. J. E. A. Kroesen and V. M. Schmidt, *The Altar and Its Environment 1150-1400* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

⁵³⁷ “With wine, bread, candles, and other things necessary for the services.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 4r-4v.

⁵³⁸ Kroesen and Steensma, *Altar and Environment*, 40. Pocknee, *Christian Altar*, 62. Cf. M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), 63-82, 155-63. J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* (Wien: Herder, 1952).

⁵³⁹ Eck et al., “Glazen,” 219-20.

wrote down that he had to pay the Brethren for binding books.⁵⁴⁰ Thus, as was the case with Brother Cornelis the glass painter, he may have again made use of the Brethren's services, thereby supporting them financially and gaining their favour.

The golden and the purple chasuble that Raet had provided for the celebrant of the Mass seemed to have been of elaborate quality.⁵⁴¹ The description "cuius crucis est textura" indicates that decorative bands in the form of a cross were added down the central seam on the front and on the rear side. These usually contained embroidered religious subject matters, such as the figure of the crucified Christ.⁵⁴² The colour that the priest wore during liturgical ceremonies depended on the liturgical season. Purple was the colour that was used during the Season of Lent, and between the feast days. The golden chasuble must have been intended for use on feast days. As, during Mass, the celebrant stood with his back to the congregation, the back of Raet's chasubles may have depicted his pilgrimage insignia. The one that the Jerusalem pilgrim and provost of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Haarlem commissioned in about 1496, for example, shows the Resurrection on the upper part of the rear cross, flanked by his coat of arms, depicting two palm branches and the Jerusalem cross, which identified him as patron of the vestment (Fig. III. 21).⁵⁴³ The existence of the ornated silver pax, further indicates that the "Kiss of Peace" ceremony – a rite of reconciliation – took place before communion at Mass. In the late Middle Ages, the pax was usually a carved, painted or stamped tablet with a representation of the Crucifixion or of a specific patron saint. It was kissed by the celebrant ("Kiss of Peace") and then symbolically passed on to the other officiating clergy and the congregation to be kissed

⁵⁴⁰ SAMH, 91, inv. 86.

⁵⁴¹ They may have been made by Cornelis the embroider, who is mentioned as witness to the payment of the master painter from Delft. Cf. SAMH, 91, inv. 84.

⁵⁴² Cf. M. Leeftang et al., *Middeleeuwse borduurkunst uit de Nederlanden* (Zwolle: WBOOKS, 2015).

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, 192-93.

during *Agnus dei*.⁵⁴⁴ Surviving contemporary examples may give an idea of its appearance (Fig. III. 22).

Taken together, my reconstruction of the original appearance of the Jerusalem chapel has shown that Raet had spared no expense in constructing for himself a costly chantry and burial chapel and equipping it with sumptuous decoration and furnishings. In light of late medieval *memoria* this can be interpreted as a strategy for the afterlife. A chapel with lavish decoration and equipment enriched the liturgy in the parish and inspired Christian worship. It was considered as a good deed, which would earn Raet heavenly credit and motivate a positive outcome of his judgement after death. At the same time, his extraordinary foundation would underline his status and prestige, as the living would remember him as a pious and generous donor.

D. Architectural References to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Having gained an idea of the late medieval appearance of Raet's chapel, we can now investigate how its architecture is related to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. First, it is important to mention that there is some difference of opinion in the published literature on the Gouda chapel with regard to the architectural references that the monument contains. Ter Kuile, who briefly discussed the chapel in his book on Dutch medieval architecture of 1948, was the first to state that the chapel's shape undoubtedly alluded to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. He understood it to refer to the Anastasis Rotunda and the twelfth-century Crusaders' extension.⁵⁴⁵ Likewise, in

⁵⁴⁴ John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 109-26, 303.

⁵⁴⁵ Fockema Andreae and Ter Kuile, *Duizend jaar bouwen*, 1: 296.

1956, Meischke classified the Gouda chapel, together with the ones in Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Delft, as belonging to a clearly defined group of chapels, whose architecture symbolically represented the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as a whole.⁵⁴⁶

However, in 1967, Janse, focusing on the ground plan, concluded that this type of Jerusalem chapel imitates not the entire building but only one particular component of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: the Tomb Aedicule.⁵⁴⁷ Nusselder, who published two articles on the Delft Jerusalem chapel in 1979 and 1980, concurred with Janse's opinion. He argued that the specific common ground plan of the Jerusalem chapels, that is, a twelve-sided central-plan building linked to a rectangular-shaped room, is an evident copy of the ground plan of the Tomb Aedicule, while earlier Holy Sepulchre copies in Europe had a circular plan, since they were inspired by the Anastasis Rotunda.⁵⁴⁸ Janse's interpretation became widely known in 1997, when he included the word "Jeruzalemkapel" (Jerusalem chapel) in his second revised edition of the dictionary *Bouwkundige termen*, the Dutch standard work of architectural terms, defining it as a chapel that was intended as a copy of the Tomb Aedicule, such as the Jerusalem chapels in Gouda and in Delft.⁵⁴⁹

Glaudemans and Gruben, the historic building experts who published the findings of their survey of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda in 1998, adopted a middle position, concluding that the design of the chapel was inspired by both the architecture of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Tomb Aedicule: they argued that the dome with the oculus inside the Gouda chapel was inspired by the Anastasis Rotunda,

⁵⁴⁶ Meischke, "Oude Zijds Kapel," 161-62.

⁵⁴⁷ Janse, *Stads- en dorpskerken*, 49. Church of the Holy Sepulchre translates as *Heilig Grafkerk* in Dutch, and Tomb Aedicule as *Heilig Grafkapel* (literally "chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.")

⁵⁴⁸ Nusselder, "Oude Mannen," 73. "Marthakapel," 53, 87.

⁵⁴⁹ Haslinghuis and Janse, *Bouwkundige termen*. E. J. Haslinghuis, however, who published the first edition of this book in 1953, listed the Gouda chapel under the category "H. Grafkerk, -kapel," as being one of the many west European copies of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, usually inspired by the Anastasis Rotunda. E. J. Haslinghuis, *Bouwkundige termen*, 1st ed. (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1953), 168.

while the ground plan was modelled on the plan of the Tomb Aedicule – a twelve-sided room linked to a rectangular-shaped one.⁵⁵⁰ It is important to note that their interpretation is based on K. J. Conant’s 1956 reconstruction of the original buildings that the Roman emperor Constantine erected above the Tomb of Christ in the fourth century.⁵⁵¹ According to Conant, the latter was enclosed by a two-storey aedicule, of which the upper part consisted of a small cupola supported by six double columns: above this stood a twelve-sided centrally planned baldachin with a rectangular-shaped entrance porch: this ensemble was finally enclosed by the Anastasis Rotunda (Figs III. 23-24).⁵⁵²

Glaudemans and Gruben have argued that the plan of the Gouda chapel is a precise imitation of this particular baldachin and that the twelve supports of the Gouda chapel symbolically refer to the twelve columns around the Tomb Aedicule, as well as to the six pairs of columns of the cupola.⁵⁵³ Their line of argumentation, however, is not convincing. For one, Conant’s reconstruction of the Constantinian buildings is flawed because it is grounded only on fifth-century ivory plates. These show an idealised architectural composition above the Tomb of Christ with details which find no reflection in contemporary written descriptions.⁵⁵⁴ More recent scholarship on the building history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, based on wider visual and written evidence, has demonstrated that the aedicule, constructed by Constantine to enclose the rock-cut Tomb Chamber, had a columned front porch with a pediment and a gabled roof, and the Tomb Chamber, which was rounded or polygonal outside, was covered with marble, decorated by columns, and surmounted by a conical roof (Fig.

⁵⁵⁰ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Gouda en Jeruzalem,” 13-16, 19.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 16n22.

⁵⁵² Conant, “Original Buildings,” 3-5, plates III, V, VI.

⁵⁵³ Glaudemans and Gruben, “Gouda en Jeruzalem,” 15-16.

⁵⁵⁴ Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 21-22.

III. 25).⁵⁵⁵ However, it is not only the shape of the Constantinian aedicule that is in question here, but also that Constantine's aedicule was the prototype of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda in the first place. When Gijsbert Raet visited the Holy Sepulchre at the end of the fifteenth century, the Tomb Aedicule built by Constantine had undergone substantive modifications and presented a different shape. Furthermore, these interpretations did not take into account that Raet's chapel was not solely based on a direct encounter with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Holy Land itself but also draws on a multifarious set of local Jerusalem translations: notably the other chapels in the diocese of Utrecht, which, as we will see, had a crucial impact on the design of the chapel, and perhaps also contemporary depictions of the church and of the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem.

These issues have remained unresolved in the scholarship: Laarakkers, who aimed at reconstructing the fifteenth-century appearance of the Tomb Aedicule in the same 1998 publication on the Gouda chapel, has simply adopted Glaudemans and Gruben's theory on the architectural references, and added a few descriptive details from late medieval pilgrimage accounts, claiming that it was a twelve-sided building with twelve columns at its corners, with a rectangular-shaped entrance hall, and with a small cupola supported by six pairs of columns on top of it. Moreover, when concluding that Jerusalem chapels are either inspired by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or the Tomb Aedicule, or both, her argumentation does not provide any supporting evidence.⁵⁵⁶ Subsequent authors, whose articles primarily focused on the history or the archaeological findings of the Gouda chapel, have again just quoted

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., 69.

⁵⁵⁶ Laarakkers, "Jeruzalemkapel," 27-29.

Glaudemans and Gruben when describing the chapel's architecture.⁵⁵⁷ This includes, for instance, the Gouda volume of the series of inventories of historic buildings published by the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands.⁵⁵⁸

Thus, although the first two authors assumed that the Gouda chapel was a copy of the entire building in Jerusalem, or a symbolic representation of it, it seems to have been generally accepted that the ground plan of the Gouda chapel was meant as an exact copy of the plan of the Tomb Aedicule. However, this line of interpretation is questionable – not only because the architectural history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has not been fully taken into consideration, but also because previous investigations focused almost exclusively on the ground plan of the Gouda chapel and neglected its outward appearance. In the following section, the architectural references of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda will be examined afresh with regard to the building history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the Tomb Aedicule.

1. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Fifteenth Century

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre has been destroyed, rebuilt, and altered several times since its foundation in the fourth century. It is therefore important to be clear about its late medieval appearance, as this was the form that would have influenced the design of the Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht. The distinguishing architectural feature of the church in Jerusalem is the Anastasis Rotunda that houses the Tomb of Christ. The original Anastasis, as commissioned by the Roman emperor

⁵⁵⁷ Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 15. Groenendijk and Habermehl, "Ondergronds," 63. Dasselaar, "Resten," 54.

⁵⁵⁸ Goudriaan, "Kapellen," 165.

Constantine in the fourth century, was a central-plan building that consisted of a three-storied central room with an inner diameter of *circa* 10.50 m, and an outer ambulatory that encircled the central room on the north, west, and south, and with an apse at each of the three cardinal points (Fig. III. 26, plan a). An upper gallery was positioned above the ambulatory. On the ground floor, the central room was surrounded by twelve limestone columns, arranged in four sets of three, each set in one of the diagonal axes, interspersed with pairs of masonry piers in the main axes. On the gallery level, two columns and one pier rose in the diagonal axes above the three columns, in the main axes two piers corresponded to those below. A central drum above carried a vault or a conical roof with an oculus in its apex. In total, the Anastasis had an inner diameter of 17 m. The ambulatory contained fifteen windows. Its extrados was circular only from the window sills upwards, while the lower part was polygonal. On the east side the rotunda met tangentially with a straight wall: the eastern façade with the main entrance.⁵⁵⁹ In the centre of the Anastasis was the Tomb of Christ. The rock that contained the cave with the Tomb had been cut back so that it rose as an isolated block from a level surface. It was faced with marble and a rectangular-shaped entrance hall was built in front of it so that it formed a free-standing miniature temple, the Tomb Aedicule. It was embellished with columns and other ornamental features (Fig. III. 25).⁵⁶⁰

In 614, the Anastasis was severely damaged by fire when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was sacked by the Muslim army. Modestus, Abbot of St Theodosius in the Judean desert and later Patriarch of Jerusalem (632-634), subsequently restored

⁵⁵⁹ V. C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme: Aspetti archeologici dalle origini al periodo crociato. Parte I. Testo* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981), 1: 223-27. Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus. Volume III: The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 3: 6-9.

⁵⁶⁰ Biddle, *Tomb*, 65-69. Pringle, *Churches*, 3: 6-7.

the buildings. Accounts of the seventh and eighth centuries suggest that the church complex underwent no important structural changes and that its layout was more or less as it had been before the Muslim sack. When the Fatimid caliph, al-Hakim, commanded the total destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009, the Anastasis was torn down except for the lower part of the great circular wall. The Tomb Aedicule was destroyed and a part of the rock-mass containing Christ's Tomb was hewn out, but the attempts to break up the interior of the Tomb Chamber proved ineffectual.⁵⁶¹ The restoration of the buildings began a few years later, initiated by the mother of Caliph al-Hakim, Maria, who was a Christian and whose brother had been patriarch of Jerusalem. Following a truce concluded between the Fatimid Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire in 1037-1038, the emperor, Michael IV Paphlagon (1034-1041), was permitted to assist in the rebuilding of the church, which was presumably completed by 1041.⁵⁶² Since the peripheral walls of the Anastasis withstood the destruction up to *circa* 11 m, the original form of the Anastasis could be retained and its basic features restored (Fig. III. 26, plan b). The columns on the ground floor of the rotunda were put back in place. The upper part, however, was rebuilt with an alternating sequence of columns supporting twinned arches, and of piers, while the outer walls were completed with masonry. The rotunda was roofed by a timber cone. A large apse, containing the main altar, was added to the east side of the Anastasis. On the outside, buttressing was erected in front of both storeys of the Anastasis to counterbalance the vaults of the ambulatory and the upper gallery, so that the church was buried to some extent.⁵⁶³ The burial chamber was restored and enclosed in a newly

⁵⁶¹ Charles Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (London: Oxford UP, 1974), 17-20. Pringle, *Churches*, 3: 9-11.

⁵⁶² Evidence from contemporary written sources make a completion of the works in the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) less likely. Biddle, *Tomb*, 74-81. Pringle, *Churches*, 3: 11-12.

⁵⁶³ Coüasnon, *Church of Holy Sepulchre*, 56.

built Tomb Aedicule. Like its predecessor, the structure consisted of two main parts: a rounded structure enclosing the Tomb and a rectangular-shaped entrance hall in front of it (Fig. III. 27).⁵⁶⁴

During the Crusader building campaign in the twelfth century substantial changes had not been introduced to the Anastasis. However, sometime before 1150, the eastern apse was demolished and replaced by a two-bayed choir with apse in the east. It was flanked respectively by a single-bay transept to the north and to the south, which continued around the apse into an ambulatory with three radiating chapels (Fig. III. 26, plan c). Above, a gallery was added at the same level as the one of the Anastasis. The crossing was crowned by a dome. The building campaign was completed in the 1160s.⁵⁶⁵ Contemporary accounts reveal that the church was richly decorated with mosaics and painted decoration. In his description of the church of 1172, the German monk Theodoric wrote that the wall below the dome was decorated with mosaics: the Annunciation, showing Jesus in the centre, the Virgin Mary to the left, and the archangel Gabriel to the right, was depicted on the arch linking the rotunda to the choir. On the north side of the rotunda, the twelve Apostles were represented in a row, facing Jesus, each one holding gifts in his hands. In the centre of them, the Roman Emperor Constantine was depicted. The Archangel Michael was portrayed in the west. On the south side, a row of twelve prophets were represented, facing Jesus. St Helena was in the midst of them.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁴ Biddle, *Tomb*, 81-88.

⁵⁶⁵ Coüasnon, *Church of Holy Sepulchre*, 57-62. Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, 1: 233-35. Biddle, *Tomb*, 92, 98.

⁵⁶⁶ Biddle, *Tomb*, 79, 96. Pringle, *Churches*, 3: 22-25.

The fabric of the church remained largely unaltered in the late Middle Ages. Pilgrims in the fifteenth century⁵⁶⁷ would have seen the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the form that had resulted from the Crusader building campaign in the twelfth century: the rebuilt eleventh-century Anastasis containing the restored eleventh-century Tomb Aedicule above the Tomb of Christ, and the Crusader choir to the east of the Anastasis. The appearance of the church at that time is shown in the drawings by the Franciscan friar Bernardino Amico of Gallipoli, who became Guardian Father of the Holy Sepulchre during his stay in Jerusalem between 1593 and 1597. He made accurate drawings of all the shrines in the Holy Land with the object of supplying models to those who wished to reproduce them in Europe (Figs III. 28-29).⁵⁶⁸ However, records show that the church gradually fell into decay. In 1397, the Muslim authorities permitted the Franciscans, who had the exclusive right among the Latins, to reside in the Holy Sepulchre and repair certain fallen parts of the church. A bull of Pope Eugenius IV of 2 March 1437 granted the selling of indulgences for repairs to the Holy Sepulchre. At some point between 1478 and 1481, parts of the Anastasis had to be restored after having disintegrated, and a partial collapse occurred in January 1492 owing to rain. Likewise, contemporary pilgrims' accounts suggest that the church was in a state of decay. For example, the Dominican monk Felix Fabri recorded that traces of the mosaics were still visible in the church, but those in the rotunda were falling off the walls.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁷ The time span of the occurrence of Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht is *circa* 1398 – *circa* 1500.

⁵⁶⁸ His drawings received their widest distribution in the 1620 Florentine edition of his work, illustrated with engravings by Jacques Callot. B. Amico, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1953), 1-2, 13-18.

⁵⁶⁹ Pringle, *Churches*, 3: 33-34.

2. The Relation between Copy and Original

Specific architectural features of the late medieval Jerusalem chapel in Gouda clearly alluded to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, notably the rotunda with the conical roof. A comparison of the Gouda chapel with the fifteenth-century church in Jerusalem enables us to identify the general similarities of both edifices and to analyse the way in which architectural elements of the original church were translated into the design of the chapel in Gouda.

A similarity between the two edifices becomes evident when comparing the respective outward appearances. The distinguishing architectural feature of the church in Jerusalem was the Anastasis, which was built to cover the traditional site of Christ's Tomb, which itself was enclosed by the Tomb Aedicule. The rotunda and its conical roof in Gouda (Fig. I. 1) evidently referred to the Anastasis in Jerusalem (Figs III. 28-29). In the fifteenth century, the Anastasis was roofed with a timber cone that had a large oculus at the top. The latter was the only opening that provided daylight for the interior, since the Anastasis was covered by buttressing up to the gallery level, and the drum above contained no windows. This must have resulted in very low light levels. The roof in Gouda, on the other hand, was not open at the top due to Netherlandish weather conditions. Instead, the cone ended in a cylindrical top that simulated the oculus. Four out of the nine outer sides of the rotunda bore a small pointed-arch window in the upper part of the wall, which let a limited amount of daylight into the rotunda (Figs III. 10-11). Evidently, the structure of the rotunda in Gouda sought to imitate the dimmed atmosphere in Jerusalem.

If one relates the interior layout of the rotunda in Gouda (Fig. III. 30) to the layout of the Anastasis (Fig. III. 31), it is noticeable that the former is not an exact copy of the latter. The dodecagonal layout in Gouda referred only to the inner space of the Anastasis and did not include an outer ambulatory with radiating chapels. Likewise, the rotunda in Gouda was a one-storied building whereas the Anastasis was three-storied (Fig. III. 29). However, the decoration of the walls divided the rotunda in Gouda into three horizontal levels (Figs I. 12 and III. 10): the bottom section, the middle section bearing blind round niches, and the upper section containing a pointed arch window in every second wall. This echoed the three levels of the inner space of the Anastasis: the colonnade on the ground floor, the one on the upper floor, and the drum bearing blind niches. Furthermore, certain architectural elements of the church in Jerusalem had been translated into the Gouda chapel. For instance, the twelve columns placed in the corners of the dodecagonal rotunda, carrying the dome with an oculus, alluded to the twelve columns that surrounded the central room of the Anastasis on the ground floor, supporting the conical roof with oculus. Yet the columns in Gouda were of a different shape and material than the ones in Jerusalem, and the dome-shaped vault is not known to have existed in Jerusalem. The oculus in Gouda only appeared to be open, as the bricks at this place in the vault were set back (Fig. III. 13).

A juxtaposition of the ground plans of the Gouda chapel and of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre reveals that the layout in Gouda – a rotunda joined to a quadrilateral chancel – can be equated with the outline of the inner space of the Anastasis that is linked to the two-bayed sanctuary of the Crusader choir (Fig. III. 32). One can conclude that both plans followed the same architectural principle: a centrally planned building, containing the Holy Sepulchre, and open for the laity, in combination with a space that was reserved for the clergy and the celebration of the

liturgy. In this regard, it is noteworthy that late medieval separate chapels in the Northern Netherlands were mostly rectangular buildings with or without apsidal choir. Therefore, the layout of the Gouda chapel can also be described as a late medieval chapel that was joined to a veneration site of the Holy Sepulchre. The written sources related to Gouda indicate that it was perceived in this way by the local community. The rotunda is generally referred to as “Heilig Graf,”⁵⁷⁰ and the chapel as “capellam sepulchrum domini vulgariter dictam ‘het heylig graft,’”⁵⁷¹ “een kapelle van ons liefs heren graf,”⁵⁷² and “een capelle mit dat heylighe graf.”⁵⁷³

Equating the plan of the Gouda chapel with that of the eleventh-century Tomb Aedicule is in my opinion a misinterpretation. Apart from the fact that the outline of both edifices resembled each other, having a two-part structure consisting of a rounded and a quadrilateral building, no other similarities can be identified. The characteristic architectural features on both the outside and the inside of the Gouda chapel do not find any equivalents in the eleventh-century Tomb Aedicule. One must bear in mind that the rounded structure of the Tomb Aedicule was not a centrally planned building but an encasement for the rock containing the Tomb Chamber of Christ, which was linked to a rectangular entrance hall. In the fourth century, the workmen of Emperor Constantine had cut back the stone so that the rock containing the cave with the Tomb rose as an isolated rounded block from a level surface. Consequently, the marble slabs that were installed around it formed a rounded building part. Inside, the restricted space was of rectangular shape. Moreover, the Tomb Aedicule did not have twelve supports on the inside but was decorated with ten or eight engaged columns on the outside of

⁵⁷⁰ “Holy Sepulchre.”

⁵⁷¹ “Chapel of the sepulchre of the Lord, commonly called ‘the Holy Sepulchre.’” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 3v-4r.

⁵⁷² “A chapel of our Lord’s sepulchre.” SAMH, 91, inv. 56.

⁵⁷³ “A chapel with the Holy Sepulchre.” SAMH, 91, inv. 19, between fols 51v and fol. 52r.

the rounded structure, carrying a blind arcade of rounded arches. Neither did the Tomb Aedicule have a conical roof with an oculus. Its top was flat and bore a small opening that supplied fresh air. This aperture was covered by a cupola carried on six pairs of columns (Fig. III. 27). Finally, the replica of the Tomb of Christ in Gouda was presumably encased in a structure similar to the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the plan of the Gouda chapel was based on that of the Tomb Aedicule in Jerusalem, and that a model of the same aedicule was then installed inside the chapel. Instead, the rotunda in Gouda clearly imitated the architectural concept of the Anastasis: a centrally planned building, in the centre of which stood the Tomb Aedicule, which itself covered the burial chamber of Christ.

Taken together, the comparison has shown that the architecture of the Gouda chapel was inspired by the design of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. However, the former is not an exact copy of the original. Only certain architectural features of the prototype were reproduced in a fresh style in Gouda. This confirms Richard Krautheimer's seminal theory of the medieval way of copying architecture: The model was never imitated in toto. Instead, it was disintegrated into its single elements, a few prominent parts were selected, and reshuffled in the copy.⁵⁷⁴ Thus, the three-storied central-room of the Anastasis, surrounded by colonnades on the first two floors, and carrying a conical roof with an oculus was imitated in Gouda by a dodecagonal one-storied rotunda, whose inner walls were structured into three horizontal levels, and in whose corners stood twelve columns, supporting a conical roof with simulated oculus.

Krautheimer has pointed out the lack of precision in describing geometrical forms in the medieval period, notably the words "circle" and "polygon," which were

⁵⁷⁴ Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 13-14.

used interchangeably.⁵⁷⁵ This, too, applies in the case of the Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht. For instance, the shape of the twelve-sided St John's chapel in the city of Utrecht was described as "round" in a document of 1409,⁵⁷⁶ and was also later referred to as "rotundum templum"⁵⁷⁷ or "rotundum sacellum."⁵⁷⁸ As confirmed by the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda, this inexactness was also applied when the particular architectural form of an edifice was reproduced. This suggests that it was not so much the precise geometrical shape of a form, for instance whether the plan of a church was of circular or polygonal shape, as its general pattern and its implications which counted in the opinion of the medieval beholder. The given shape was not imitated for its own sake but for its symbolical significance. A "round" shape, either a regular circle or a polygon, was generally interpreted as a symbol of eternity.⁵⁷⁹ The round form and the general pattern of the Anastasis was associated with the Tomb of Christ and his Resurrection. Hence, the specific layout of the rotunda in Gouda was chosen for the purpose of transferring the connotations of the original building to the copy.

Likewise, the twelve columns in Gouda were chosen for their symbolic meaning. They were intended to reproduce the twelve columns of the ground floor colonnade of the Anastasis surrounding the Tomb of Christ. However, it was the number that was imitated regardless of the particular shape of the supports. This was linked to the symbolic meaning of numbers, which was well-known in medieval thought, and preponderant in medieval architecture. The twelve columns around the Tomb of Christ in the Anastasis were bound to remind the medieval beholder of the number of the Apostles, who spread the gospel of Christ.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 5, 7-8.

⁵⁷⁶ HUA, 222, inv. 1174.

⁵⁷⁷ G. Brom and L. A. van Langeraad, *Diarium van Arend van Buchell* (Amsterdam: Müller, 1907), 154.

⁵⁷⁸ Hoevenaars, "Uittreksels," 229.

⁵⁷⁹ Krautheimer, "Introduction," 7-9.

⁵⁸⁰ Krautheimer, "Introduction," 10-11.

Thus, in Gouda, only a few outstanding architectural elements of the Anastasis were reproduced: the “round” shape of the edifice, the uncommon conical roof with an oculus, the twelve columns, and the tomb in the centre of the room. These characteristics were essential for distinguishing the Gouda chapel from any other structure and for identifying it as a copy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In particular, the architectural references of the exterior, which may have been familiar to the medieval beholder from contemporary visual sources, promoted the recognition of the church in Jerusalem. In this regard, it is interesting that surviving sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries visual representations of the Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht usually did not reproduce an exact image of the buildings but highlighted only its characteristic features. For example, in both maps by Braun and Hogenberg of 1572, the rotunda of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda is depicted as an eight-sided building with conical roof and the St John’s chapel in Utrecht is presented as a six-sided central-plan building with conical roof (Figs III. 33-34). The Jerusalem chapel in Leiden is shown with a circular rotunda and conical roof on the city map by Pieter Bast of *circa* 1600 and is simply referred to by a conical roof with oculus in a view of Leiden of 1647 (Figs I. 48, III. 35-36). Similar is the depiction of St Martha’s chapel in Delft on the “Kaart Figuratief” of 1677 (Fig. III. 37).

Krautheimer has claimed that the medieval attitude of copying architecture, which defined itself through “indifference” towards precise imitation and limitation to a selected number of outstanding architectural features, changed gradually at the beginning of the thirteenth century so that it became obvious from the fifteenth century onwards that copies strove towards giving a more authentic reproduction of the original.⁵⁸¹ However, as we have seen, the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda, constructed

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

around 1500, proves the opposite. The appearance of the chapel does not imitate the prototype as it looked in reality. Instead, only the most important architectural features of the Anastasis were chosen and then incorporated into the design of the Gouda chapel in a different form, notably the polygonal one-storied rotunda with conical roof and oculus, and the twelve columns. The church was also translated into a local idiom: it was built of regional materials, mainly red brick, interspersed with white limestone. Likewise, the chapel contained late Gothic elements, including pointed arch windows with Y-tracery and a stellar vault. The design of the columns was inspired by the classical Tuscan order. Thus, the Gouda example opposes Krautheimer's theory of late medieval architectural copies. Although established at the end of the fifteenth century, it presented a creative imitation of the church in Jerusalem. By echoing the general shape of the Anastasis, it conveyed the idea of the venerated site of Christ's burial and resurrection in Jerusalem and indicated the presence of the "Holy Sepulchre" inside.

3. The Chapel's Position within the Cityscape

Raet's chapel was prominently located within the cityscape of Gouda. It stood directly opposite the choir of St John's church, which itself, together with the town hall on the market, formed the core of the city (Fig. I. 19). The choir of the parish church and the chapel were separated by St John's churchyard, a small open space within the urban development. The longitudinal axis of the chapel ran along the Spieringstraat, which was one of the main streets of the city, leading from the port to the centre. The same street was accompanied by a canal. The orientation of the chapel is striking: the chancel

was in the north, whereas the rotunda was placed in the south.⁵⁸² In the late medieval period, as the space within the city became more and more restricted due to the rapid growth of the population, the orientation of chapels was adapted to the conditions of the building plot. In the case of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda, it is evident that the best display of the polygonal rotunda with its conical roof took priority. A favourable presentation of the rotunda within the urban landscape is also noticeable in the alignment of the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht. For example, the rotunda of the chapel in Leiden was positioned next to the entrance gate of the almshouse so that it was visible from the Celrebroersgracht and the adjoining canal (Figs I. 46-48). The Jerusalem chapel in Amsterdam was aligned along the Zeedijk and discernible from the nearby port (Figs I. 54-55). Also, St John's chapel in Utrecht was located next to the entrance gate to the immunity of St John's church (Figs I. 22 and I. 33-35).⁵⁸³

In Gouda, the rotunda was positioned at the street corner of the Spieringstraat and the Patersteeg. It also profited from the unobstructed view that was provided by the open space of St John's churchyard on the opposite side. Raet's chapel was easily visible to passers-by in the nearby streets or in the boats on the canal. For one, the position at the street corner allowed a free view of the rotunda, whose architectural shape alluded to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The intention was to clearly indicate the presence of the replica of the Tomb of Christ within this building part. In this respect, it can be inferred that the architectural presence of the rotunda at the street corner, as a proxy for the original church in Jerusalem, held out the message of salvation to the medieval beholder. Likewise, the presence of the rotunda testified

⁵⁸² The orientation of the altar will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV. B.

⁵⁸³ Both the chapel in the Nieuwe Weerd in Utrecht (*ca* 1394) and the one Delft (*ca* 1430) were originally built in ample surroundings. Their alignment did not necessarily depend on the building plot.

to Raet's status as Jerusalem pilgrim and founder of the chapel. As his chantry and burial chapel, it conveyed the founder's own hope for eternal life.

The close proximity between St John's choir and the Jerusalem chapel, only divided by the Spieringstraat and the canal, is striking. Passers-by had a clear view of both edifices and were able to compare them. It appears as if Raet's foundation aimed at competing with the choir of St John's. The latter was built between 1485 and 1510, while the Jerusalem chapel had been erected between *circa* 1497 and *circa* 1504. Both Mekking and Van den Berg have pointed out that the uprising gables of the ambulatory of St John's choir were intended to symbolically present the heavenly Jerusalem (Fig. III. 38). At the same time, the impressive east front was an expression of the city's prestige.⁵⁸⁴ The Jerusalem chapel, on the other hand, referred to both the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem. The fact that the replica of the Tomb of Christ (and of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) had been commissioned by a patron who had actually visited the Holy Land and incorporated relics from the Holy Sepulchre gave the chapel authenticity while its architectural form echoed the general shape of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and alluded to eternal life after death.

⁵⁸⁴ A. J. J. Mekking, "Traditie als maatstaf voor vernieuwing in der kerklijke architectuur van de Middeleeuwen," *Bulletin KNOB* 97, no. 6 (1998): 217-19. Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*, 61.

E. Gouda as Part of a Regional Phenomenon

Having established the architectural references to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre contained within Raet's chapel, we can now investigate its relation to the architecture of the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht. The basic design of the Gouda chapel (altar consecrated in 1504) is strikingly similar to the ones which existed in the cities of Utrecht (*ca* 1394), Delft (*ca* 1430), Leiden (1467), and Amsterdam (*ca* 1498) and which are referred to as "Jerusalem" or "Holy Sepulchre chapels" in the written sources. Due to their naming and conformity in style, these edifices can be grouped under the category of "Jerusalem chapel," a particular type of ecclesiastical building that occurred in the diocese of Utrecht during a period of roughly a hundred years at the close of the Middle Ages. The Gouda example, whose establishment marks the end of this architectural phenomenon, was certainly inspired by its forerunners. By comparing the known facts of Gijsbert Raet's foundation with those of its contemporaries, the principal features of a "Jerusalem chapel" can be identified. This, in turn, will allow us to broaden our understanding of the Gouda chapel with regard to its form and function – in particular of the rotunda and how it supports my argument that the chapel was devised as Raet's chantry chapel.

1. The Architectural Concept

All the chapels were situated within the diocese of Utrecht. The city of Utrecht, as capital of the diocese, played a leading role in the religious life and the production of art and architecture in the region. With an estimated foundation date of *circa* 1394, the

“capella sancti sepulchri de Jherusalem” in the Nieuwe Weerd,⁵⁸⁵ just outside the city walls of Utrecht, is the earliest known example of this type of ecclesiastical building (Fig. I. 26). It was initiated by the local Jerusalem Brotherhood, which was also the first, largest and most prestigious confraternity of Holy Land pilgrims in this region. It is reasonable to assume that their pious foundation served as an exemplary model that inspired the design of the later established Jerusalem chapels within the diocese. No detailed information is known about the appearance of the lost first Utrecht chapel, apart from a few brief descriptions in the written sources. Notably, in a petition to Pope Eugenius IV of 3 August 1434 the Jerusalem Brothers stated that they had constructed a chapel “ad formam et similitudinem templi sancte Jherusalem.”⁵⁸⁶ This indicates that the edifice possessed characteristic architectural attributes that alluded to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In view of the layout of the other known Jerusalem chapels within the diocese it is possible that the first Utrecht chapel, either the complete or the main building, was a central-plan building topped by a conical roof, symbolically referring to the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem. Furthermore, Johannes Busch (1399-*ca* 1480), the reformer, and provost of a community of Canons Regular, who was also associated with the Brethren of the Common Life, wrote in his *Chronicon Windeshemense* (*ca* 1456-1464) that the same chapel was named “Jerusalem” because a replica of the Tomb of Christ was to be found inside.⁵⁸⁷ The chapel in the Nieuwe Weerd was used until 1544. Between *circa* 1526 and *circa* 1536, Jan van Scorel, painted three group portraits of Utrecht Jerusalem Brothers (Figs I. 28-30). The unusually oblong-shaped panels probably hung on the interior walls of the

⁵⁸⁵ “Chapel of the Holy Tomb of Jerusalem.” In a document of *circa* 1393-1423, the bishop of Utrecht, Frederik van Blankenheim, grants the “fraternitas capelle Sancti Sepulchri de Jherusalem” the use of a portable altar. HUA, 218-1, inv. 114, fol. 28r.

⁵⁸⁶ “In the form and likeness of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem.” Brom, *Archivalia*, 1.2: 489 (no. 1358).

⁵⁸⁷ Grube, *Chronicon*, 364. The replica will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III. E. 2.

central-plan building.⁵⁸⁸ The first two panels of *circa* 1526, each depicting twelve members of the Brotherhood, measured about 288 cm wide by about 59 cm high. From this we can deduce that the rotunda was most likely a polygonal central-plan building and that each of the inside walls was at least three metres wide, so that the room had a diameter of at least 14 m. When comparing it to the rotunda diameter of the other Jerusalem chapels (Amsterdam *ca* 12 m, Delft *ca* 10 m, Leiden *ca* 7 m, Gouda *ca* 7 m), it is evident that the first Utrecht chapel was the largest of all the Jerusalem chapels in this region. Raet may have known the chapel, either by visiting it himself or from hearsay. As we have seen in Chapter II. F. 2., he met two members of the prestigious Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood, Jan III of Montfoort and his bastard son Zweder Knight of Montfoort, in 1488.⁵⁸⁹

In 1544, the Utrecht confraternity took over St John's chapel in St John's churchyard within the city centre from the seemingly disbanded Brotherhood of St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist and St Theobald. This edifice was well chosen, as it met the necessary structural requirements of a Jerusalem chapel. Two surviving ground plans as well as a rough sketch of the chapel on the Utrecht map by Braun and Hogenberg indicate that the chapel was a twelve-sided central-plan building, covered by a conical roof (Figs I. 33-34). Having a diameter of approximately 16 m, the rotunda was large enough to house the "Tomb of Christ," which was transported from the chapel in Nieuwe Weerd to St John's chapel.⁵⁹⁰ Likewise, the interior walls, measuring 3.6 m wide, offered enough space for the installation of the group portraits by Jan van

⁵⁸⁸ Buchelius reported in his *Diarium* (1587) that the panels were to be found in the second chapel of the Utrecht confraternity in St John's churchyard: "Effigies horum equitum cum titulis ibi suspensi videbatur." ("One could see the portraits of these knights, with inscriptions, hanging there.") Muller, "Buchelius," 220. Given that the panels were created about eighteen years before the move, the installation of the panels in the first chapel must have been similar.

⁵⁸⁹ SAMH, 91, inv. 65. Cf. Schneider, "Peregrinatio," 267, 269.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. Chapter I. C. 3.

Scorel. A small rectangular-shaped choir with a three-sided apsis at its east end held the altar. However, it is important to stress that the second Utrecht chapel was a previously existing edifice, whose origins remain unclear and that its layout with regard to the chancel differs from the other Jerusalem chapels. Therefore, it does not count as a direct predecessor to the Jerusalem chapels in this region and can only be used as a comparative example regarding its function.

The Jerusalem chapel, or St Martha's chapel, in Delft was established as part of an almshouse-complex for elderly women around the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The written sources describe it as "Sinte Martenshuys in de Choerstraat, genaempt het heylich Graff."⁵⁹¹ Due to the loss of most of the medieval documentary sources related to St Martha's almshouse, no concrete information is known about the foundation date, the patron or any potential testamentary instructions concerning its upkeep.⁵⁹² The Delft chapel is an important comparative example for the Gouda chapel owing to the fact that the late medieval building has partially survived. The structural remains together with information from the visual and written sources enable us to reconstruct its late medieval layout and appearance. Like the Gouda chapel, it was built of red brick and contained elements made of stone from the Southern Netherlands (Fig. III. 39).⁵⁹³ Being altogether 20 m long, the monument consisted of a twelve-sided central-plan building, which had a diameter of 10 m and which, by three sides of the dodecagon, was openly connected a rectangular-shaped chancel (Fig. I. 41).⁵⁹⁴ Inside,

⁵⁹¹ "St Martha's [alms]house in the Choorstraat called the Holy Sepulchre." SAD, Collectie Oosterbaan, inv. 25, St Salvators- en St Jorisaltaar, no. 3^e (1607).

⁵⁹² It may have been founded by a Jerusalem pilgrim. We do not know if it was related to the local Jerusalem Brotherhood or not. Cf. Chapter I. C. 3.

⁵⁹³ Along the south façade (of the former chancel), a part of the original plinth has been preserved, suggesting that it originally, like in Gouda, surrounded the whole chapel. It consisted of seven courses, the lowest one was made of *Gobertange* limestone from the region north and north-east of Brussels and the uppermost was covered by a moulding of the same stone. Nusselder, "Oude Mannen," 73. In comparison, all layers of the plinth in Gouda were made of white limestone.

⁵⁹⁴ Both the western and northern walls of the rotunda have survived but are now covered by the adjoining houses. Nusselder, "Marthakapel," 70-72.

twelve columns were positioned in the corners of the polygonal rotunda, supporting the ribs of a vault:⁵⁹⁵ ten columns attached to the walls and two free-standing columns⁵⁹⁶ at the open connection to the chancel (Figs I. 41, 43 and 45). They had long pedestals, simple bases, and capitals with “cabbage-leaf” designs made of Lede limestone (Figs I. 38-39, 45), while the two free-standing columns were completely made of the same stone. A pointed arch window with Y-tracery decorated the upper two thirds of presumably each of the nine walls of the rotunda (Figs I. 42-43).⁵⁹⁷ The latter had a slated conical roof (Fig. III. 37) and housed a replica of the Tomb of Christ within.⁵⁹⁸ The chancel, consisting of three bays and a small transition section towards the rotunda, was covered by a slated gable roof with bell-cote (Fig. I. 41).⁵⁹⁹ There was a public entrance in the western-most bay of the northern wall with a segmental arch made of natural stone above it and topped by a pointed arch window (Figs I. 41 and 43). There was most likely another entrance directly opposite the north entrance, topped by a pointed arch window, giving access to the chapel from the courtyard.⁶⁰⁰ The walls of the chancel further bore pointed arch windows, each divided by two mullions branching out into intersecting tracery.⁶⁰¹ The chapel was orientated west-

⁵⁹⁵ Remains of the vault were found above the capitals. Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ The lower part of the northern free-standing column has survived. Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ In the northern and western parts of the rotunda three windows were discovered. Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ The account book of the chapel reveals that in 1551 and 1552, craftsmen repaired the roof above the Holy Sepulchre: “Item gegeuen lambrecht die timmerman van die kap ouert heijlich graf te maicken x lb. vlaams” (“Likewise, given to Lambrecht the carpenter for making the roof above the Holy Sepulchre 10 Flemish pounds.”) SAD, 202, inv. 62 (1551). “Item gegeuen cryn claeszon Leydecker vanden kerck met tdach ouer theylich graff te decken ix h. gulden vij st.” (“Likewise, given to Cryn Claesz. the slater of the church for covering the roof above the Holy Sepulchre 9 Holland guilders 7 stuivers”). SAD, 202, inv. 62 (1552).

⁵⁹⁹ Inside, it had a wooden barrel vault on tie beams with braces supported by corbels, marking the divisions of the bays. The roof of the chancel of 1551 that was reconstructed after the great fire has been preserved. A wainscoting was not added. Nusselder, “Oude Mannen,” 74. The bell-cote was positioned at the end of its most western bay. Remains of the base of the bell-cote were found in the roof. Nusselder, “Marthakapel,” 85. The chancel roof was connected to the conical roof of the rotunda, the walls of the latter were *circa* 0.5 – 1 m higher. The connections between the chancel roof and the walls of the rotunda have survived. Janse, *Stads- en dorpskerken in Noord-Holland* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1969): 49.

⁶⁰⁰ Owing to a later rebuilding of the wall, no traces of the entrance have survived.

⁶⁰¹ One on the north side and two on the south side. Nusselder, “Marthakapel,” 65-70.

east with the chancel in the east. Both a preserved double recess (ampoule niches), with a trefoil arch made of *Ledesteen* above each niche, on the northern side wall of the chancel as well as a large blind pointed arch on the east wall, which was presumably decorated with a wall-painting, indicate that the altar was positioned in front of the east wall (Figs I. 40 and III. 40-41).

The Gouda chapel is strikingly similar to the one in Delft. Certainly, the edifices differ in size and orientation, which was due to the conditions of the respective building plots. St Martha's chapel was originally a free-standing building, constructed on a site in the city centre that was not yet confined by neighbouring houses and where the monument could be optimally placed. Raet's chapel, on the other hand, was erected on a confined urban space. In order to place the rotunda in the most favourable way, the priest relinquished the traditional Christian alignment of the building. Likewise, the chapels vary with regard to decorative detail, notably, in Gouda, the rotunda windows are shorter, the columns are slimmer, and both the capitals and bases have a different shape. Given that the Gouda chapel was built about 75 years later than the one in Delft, this can be explained by the changing fashions and styles over time and the personal tastes and preferences of the founder. Nevertheless, it is evident that both monuments are based on the same architectural concept: one part of the building is a twelve-sided rotunda with a conical roof, housing a replica of the Holy Sepulchre, and twelve columns in the corners of the dodecagon support the vault inside. The other part is a quadrangular chancel with gable roof and bell-cote, containing the altar, and with both a public and a private entrance, positioned directly opposite each other, in either side wall. Due to these similarities, it seems possible that Raet modelled his chapel on St Martha's chapel. This assumption can be supported by evidence from the written sources that show his connections to Delft: around 1507, two craftsmen from

Delft worked in the chapel – Pouwels, the master mason and Timan Henricx. the master painter.⁶⁰²

The lost Jerusalem chapel, or Holy Cross chapel, in Leiden was founded in 1467 by Wouter IJsbrantsz. as part of an almshouse for thirteen elderly men.⁶⁰³ Although funded by a private person, it was not intended to be his personal burial or chantry chapel but was associated with the local Jerusalem Brotherhood, which he and four other citizens had established around 1464 following their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The collective identity of the chapel can be confirmed by the oblong-shaped panel, which presumably hung inside the chapel, listing the names of the members, the year of pilgrimage, and in most cases the death year (Fig. I. 49)⁶⁰⁴ and the fact that the wooden donkey accompanied by the members of the Brotherhood during the annual Palm Sunday procession was kept inside the chapel.⁶⁰⁵ Both written and visual sources inform us about the layout and appearance of the chapel, notably the will of the founder,⁶⁰⁶ the map of Leiden by Pieter Bast of *circa* 1600 and the oldest cadastral map of the city of 1832 (Figs I. 47-48, 52). The monument was presumably made of brick⁶⁰⁷ and comprised two building parts: a twelve-sided rotunda with a slated conical roof that was joined to a quadrilateral chancel with a slated gable roof and bell-cote (Figs I. 46-48, 52-53 and III. 42).⁶⁰⁸ The rotunda had a diameter of *circa* 7 m and held

⁶⁰² Cf. Chapter III. B. 3.

⁶⁰³ Cf. I. C. 3.

⁶⁰⁴ Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden, inv. B 111.

⁶⁰⁵ EL, 1079, inv. 7.

⁶⁰⁶ EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r. For a transcription of the will, written in Middle Dutch, see Boer, "Jherusalem," 50-53.

⁶⁰⁷ The chapels in Delft, Gouda and Amsterdam were made of regional material. The eighteenth-century watercolour by J. J. Bylaert shows the Leiden chapel with a brick façade.

⁶⁰⁸ It is possible that the rotunda was a bit higher than the chancel, as shown on the map by Bast. The bell-cote is mentioned in the written sources. EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 1r-7r. Between 1466 and 1467, the founder received subsidies from the city council for the construction of slate roofs. Cf. Boer, "Jherusalem," 45-46. EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 1r-7r.

a copy of the Tomb of Christ inside,⁶⁰⁹ while the chancel, measuring approximately 5.25 m wide by 9 m long,⁶¹⁰ contained the altar,⁶¹¹ which was separated from the rest of the chapel by a screen.⁶¹² The chapel was orientated east-west with the chancel at the west end. In Leiden, the basic architectural concept is very similar to the one in Gouda. The chapel, which was built about 35 years earlier, could have also served as a model for Raet's chapel. As we have seen in Chapter II. D., the priest knew Jacob van der Goude Claesz., nobleman and member of the high clergy, who held several ecclesiastical posts in Leiden. Raet may have visited the Leiden chapel himself. The Leiden example also shows that, like in Gouda, the conditions of the building plot influenced the chapel's alignment. For reasons of visibility, the rotunda was positioned near the street, regardless of the traditional Christian orientation (Fig. I. 46).

The lost Jerusalem chapel in Amsterdam was built at the end of the fifteenth century as an extension to the St Olaf's chapel (*ca* 1440).⁶¹³ A document of 1498, regulating the route of the annual Palm Sunday procession through the city, relates the chapel ("Jerusalem") to the local Jerusalem Brotherhood ("die ridderlike broederschap van den Heiligen Lande").⁶¹⁴ An oblong-shaped group portrait, depicting four members of the Brotherhood kneeling inside the Grotto of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem of *circa* 1520, hung most likely inside the chapel (Fig. I. 61). Both the drawing by Roelant Roghman, showing the chapel shortly before its demolition, and the findings of the archaeological excavations in 1991 allow us to reconstruct the

⁶⁰⁹ In his will, the founder ordered to install the "Heilich Graf" (Holy Sepulchre) inside the chapel. EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r.

⁶¹⁰ For the measurements, see Boer, "Jherusalem," 46-47.

⁶¹¹ The altar, dedicated to the Holy Cross, is mentioned in the will of the founder. EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r. It will be described in more detail in Chapter III. E. 4.

⁶¹² Later account books (1541-1547) of the almshouse mention the screen. EL, 1079, inv. 7.

⁶¹³ Cf. Chapter I. C. 3.

⁶¹⁴ "The Knightly Brotherhood of the Holy Land." The municipality determined that, every second year, the Jerusalem Brothers should pull the wooden donkey from the Jerusalem chapel to the Old Church. SAA, Groot-Memoriaal I, fol. 216. Cf. Breen, *Rechtsbronnen*, 615. It is the only late medieval document that relates the Jerusalem chapel to the Brotherhood.

chapel's layout and appearance. The Jerusalem chapel had been erected at the north-eastern end of St Olaf's chapel (Figs I. 58-59). Its main feature was an eight-sided central-plan building in the east, having a diameter of 12 m.⁶¹⁵ It was covered by a conical roof with an oculus (Fig. I. 57) and, as the excavations have revealed, housed a replica of the Holy Sepulchre in its centre (Fig. I. 60).⁶¹⁶ It was made of brick and, as in Gouda and Delft, bands of natural stone structured the façade (Fig. I. 57).⁶¹⁷ The polygonal rotunda was connected to a rectangular room that linked it with the rest of the chapel. It had a gable roof and bell-cote. However, due to missing evidence concerning the position of the altar within the chapel, we cannot identify this room as the chancel.

As we have seen, all the investigated chapels in the diocese of Utrecht comprised as their main feature a polygonal rotunda with a conical roof. These distinctive architectural features symbolically alluded to the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem, indicating the presence of the "Holy Sepulchre" inside it to the beholder. In Gouda, Delft and Leiden, the roof further contained a top that referred to the oculus opening of the Anastasis Rotunda. The comparison of Gouda with the physical remains of the Delft chapel also revealed that both chapels had the same interior arrangement: twelve columns positioned in the corners of the dodecagonal rotunda, supporting the vault. This architectural feature is an allusion to the twelve columns inside the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem. In particular, the layouts of the chapels in Delft, Leiden and Gouda are strikingly similar (Figs III. 43-45). It is evident that they are

⁶¹⁵ The octagonal rotunda stood on twelve-sided centrally-planned foundations. The latter consisted of gratings of imported oak wood piles that were filled with local alder and birch fascines. Some corners were stabilised by Norwegian pine logs. Interestingly, the structure bore signs of a prefab-construction-method. The accurately cut oak beams bore incised numbers, obviously having been prepared in a carpenter's workshop. Baart, "Jerusalem aan de Zeedijk," 256.

⁶¹⁶ The "Holy Sepulchre" will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III. E. 2.

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Baart, "Jerusalem," 256.

based on the same architectural concept: a two-part edifice consisting of a twelve-sided rotunda with conical roof to accommodate the replica of the Tomb of Christ, accessible to the laity, and a rectangular-shaped chancel containing the altar, reserved for the clergy to celebrate masses or other liturgical services, and with a bell-cote on top of its gable roof to summon the congregation to worship. Furthermore, like the Gouda chapel, the ones in Delft, Leiden, and Amsterdam, were built of brick, a local material, and in the cases of both Delft and Amsterdam, elements of natural stone from the Southern Netherlands structured the brick façade while late Gothic elements decorated the walls, notably pointed-arch windows with tracery. Taken together, this indicates that Raet's chapel was modelled on the earlier established Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht. It can be concluded that the Gouda chapel contains a double-reference: Its design imitated the basic shape of the contemporary Jerusalem chapels in the region. The design of the prototype of this category of Dutch Jerusalem chapels, in turn, alluded to the characteristic architectural features of the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem.

2. The Veneration of the Holy Sepulchre

The replicas of the Tomb of Christ contained within the Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht have not survived. Although we do not have detailed written evidence on the appearance of the “Holy Sepulchre” in Gouda and no remains have been found during the excavation inside the rotunda in 1997,⁶¹⁸ the consideration of the appearance of the late medieval Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem – as the pilgrims would have seen it – in conjunction with the documentary and archaeological evidence pertaining to the other Dutch Jerusalem chapels will facilitate our understanding as to what type of monument stood inside the rotunda. To begin with, the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem housed the Tomb Aedicule in its centre, which enclosed the burial chamber of Christ and an antechamber. The burial chamber itself, including the burial shelf of Christ, was covered by marble slabs. As we have seen, the rotunda of the respective Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht referenced the characteristic features of the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem. In analogy to the original church in Jerusalem, they also held a copy of the Tomb of Christ in the centre of their rotunda. This gives rise to the question whether the original concept of a miniature temple enclosing the Tomb of Christ was translated into the basic concept of the Dutch Jerusalem chapels. While the written sources related to Delft, Leiden and Gouda mention a “Heilich Graf”⁶¹⁹ or “sepulchri sancti”⁶²⁰ without further specification, the ones in Utrecht are more specific. In his *Chronicon Windeshemense* (ca 1456-1464), Busch writes about the first Jerusalem chapel in Utrecht: “Capella ista extra Traiectum situata dicta est Hierusalem, quia Sepulchrum Domini adinstar sepulchri eius, quod est

⁶¹⁸ Cf. Steehouwer, “Graven,” 67-79.

⁶¹⁹ SAD, 202, inv. 62 (1551 and 1552). EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r.

⁶²⁰ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4r.

in Hierusalem, in terra sancta in petra excisii in ea est constitutum.”⁶²¹ The reformer refers to a tomb that was similar in appearance to the one in Jerusalem, suggesting that Christ’s burial chamber had been rebuilt in Utrecht. Aernout van Buchel (1565-1641), also known as Arnoldus Buchelius, describes the replica of the Tomb of Christ inside the second Utrecht chapel (St John’s chapel) in his *Traiecti Batavorum Descriptio* of 1592 as: “dicebatur exacte formam sepulcri dominici praeferre.”⁶²² Likewise, the Franciscans, who had their convent opposite St John’s chapel, state in a seventeenth-century manuscript:

Erat ad chori nostri ac horti frontispicium, versus orientalem, rotundum sacellum, in medio sui, ad formam Sepulchri Domini Hyerosolymis, factum sepulchrum, quod a piis devotissime frequentabatur.⁶²³

Again, both descriptions indicate that the monument inside the rotunda was of the same type as the original in Jerusalem. With regard to the replica of the Tomb of Christ in Leiden, Claes van Duesen, who organised tours to Jerusalem from Holland between 1484 and 1495, and who was born in Leiden, wrote in his pilgrimage account: “Ick hebbe in veel Steden gheweest, maer ick en vant noyt het H. Graf betet afgheconterfeyt, dan te Leyden.”⁶²⁴ Finally and most importantly, the findings of the foundations of the “Tomb of Christ” inside the polygonal rotunda in Amsterdam during the excavation of 1991 provide more details about the appearance of the monument (Fig. I. 60).⁶²⁵ The outline indicates that a copy of the Tomb Aedicule

⁶²¹ “That chapel, situated outside of Utrecht, is named Jerusalem because the Sepulchre of the Lord, in the equal form of His Tomb, which is in Jerusalem, in the Holy Land, cut in the rock, is established in it.” Grube, *Chronicon*, 364.

⁶²² “It was said to display the Sepulchre of the Lord in its exact form.” Muller, “Buchelius,” 220.

⁶²³ “There was, near our choir, and near our front garden, to the east, a round chapel, in the centre of which had been made a sepulchre in the form of the Sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem, which was frequented by the most faithful.” Hoevenaars, “Uittreksels,” 229.

⁶²⁴ “I have been to many many cities, but I have never found a Holy Sepulchre that was better represented than in Leyden.” Conrady, *Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, 14. It is worth remarking that this may have been written with a note of patriotism, expressing sympathy for his home town.

⁶²⁵ A series of alder and birch fascines formed the outline of the Holy Sepulchre monument. Cf. Baart, ‘Jerusalem,’ 256. Baart, “Olofskapel,” 192-95.

containing the burial chamber of Christ had been constructed in Amsterdam. Like the original in Jerusalem, it consisted of an antechamber and the burial chamber. Within the latter, Christ's burial shelf had been rebuilt, as can be seen on the excavation drawing. Interestingly, the replica is orientated exactly as the original in Jerusalem: the entrance is in the east. Taken together, it is obvious that the copy of the Tomb Aedicule was intended to reflect the layout and orientation of the original in Jerusalem.

Reproductions of the Tomb Aedicule were common in the late medieval West. Its image was transmitted to Europe through various means. Several Jerusalem pilgrims, for instance, provided depictions of it, notably, the woodcut by the Utrecht artist Erhard Reuwich, which experienced a wider diffusion in Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486),⁶²⁶ the drawing in Konrad Grünemberg's pilgrimage account (1487),⁶²⁷ and Jan van Scorel's representation within the group portrait of the Haarlem Jerusalem Brotherhood of *circa* 1529 (Figs III. 46-49).⁶²⁸ Pilgrims could also bring back small-scale models of the Tomb Aedicule as a souvenir from the Holy Land, such as the stone model that was discovered during excavations in Amsterdam in 1977 (Fig. III. 50). The model is made of streaky pink limestone from the Jerusalem – Bethlehem area and is composed of nine dismountable sections.⁶²⁹ Furthermore, several architectural replicas of the Tomb Aedicule have survived. They either included the tomb chamber and antechamber, as, for instance, in Eichstätt (*ca* 1160) or Görlitz (1481-1504), or they contained only the tomb chamber,

⁶²⁶ The book was immensely successful owing to Reuwich's illustrations. It was reprinted several times over the next decades and translated into German, Dutch, French and Spanish. Cf. Mozer, *Breydenbach*, XXX-XXXI.

⁶²⁷ Cf. Denke, *Grünembergs Pilgerreise*, 254-56.

⁶²⁸ Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, inv. os I-310. N. Köhler et al., *Painting in Haarlem 1500-1850: The collection of the Frans Hals Museum* (Ghent: Ludion, 2006), 603.

⁶²⁹ Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, inv. RMCC v314, accessed Mar 2, 2018, <http://adlib.catharijneconvent.nl/ais54/results>.

as, for instance, in Augsburg (1508).⁶³⁰ Interestingly, although their overall size and layout varied, presumably depending on the available space within their original site, the copies show that there was a tendency to design the burial chamber in accordance with the original measurements in Jerusalem.⁶³¹ Wouter IJsbrantsz., for example, founder of the Jerusalem chapel in Leiden, noted in his will of 1467 that he had taken the measurements of the Holy Tomb during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and that he had left them in his office so that they could be used for the construction of the replica.⁶³² All in all, a wider range of sources, ranging from depictions and small-scale models to local replicas and self-taken measurements of the original tomb, could have influenced the appearance of the “Tomb of Christ” in Gouda. Owing to the evidence in the written sources and particularly the archaeological evidence found in the Jerusalem chapel in Amsterdam, it seems likely that a copy of the Tomb Aedicule was part of the basic architectural concept of a Jerusalem chapel and that such a replica once stood in the centre of the rotunda in Gouda. Considering that the diameter of the latter is about 7 m and that some space must remain empty for the ambulatory around the copy of Christ’s Tomb, and keeping in mind that the original tomb chamber in Jerusalem measures 202 x 184 cm,⁶³³ it is possible that it was a replica without the antechamber.⁶³⁴ It may have been of a similar type to the one in Augsburg (Fig. III. 51).

⁶³⁰ Cf. Gustaf Dalman, *Das Grab Christi in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Dieterich’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922), 56-65, 81-87 and 96-102.

⁶³¹ Cf. Dalman, *Grab Christi*, 24-25.

⁶³² EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r.

⁶³³ Cf. H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de Topographie, d’Archéologie et d’Histoire* (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1914), Fig. 59.

⁶³⁴ The Amsterdam rotunda, in comparison, had a diameter of 12 m and contained a Tomb Aedicule with antechamber.

3. *Ersatz*-Pilgrimage and Intercessory Prayers

As has been shown in the previous section, a late medieval copy of the Tomb Aedicule presumably stood inside the rotunda in Gouda. As concerns the spatial circumstances of the replica, Raet mentions in his will “tres lampades in circuitu sepulchri sancti”⁶³⁵ and then a bit later:

Preterea dicti fratres sive successores eorumden retinebunt et in perpetuum in esse observabunt illas tres lampades prescriptas in ambitu sepulchri sancti omni nocte ardentes, in die enim unam tantum ardentem, in festivitibus vero sequentibus videlicet [...] tres lampades die noctuque ardentes [...] ⁶³⁶

First, we learn that the replica was equipped with three ever-burning lamps. Both pilgrim accounts and depictions of the Holy Sepulchre of the time tell of oil lamps hanging on the outside or inside the Tomb of Christ (Figs III. 46-47). This suggests that the copy of the Aedicule followed the original quite closely, perhaps including – as other copies did – a burial shelf with the same measurements as the one in Jerusalem, and a low entrance to the tomb chamber (Fig. III. 51), with the three lamps in front.

Furthermore, the quotes from the founder’s will strengthen our argument that the replica of the Tomb of Christ stood in the centre of the rotunda in Gouda, as the space around it formed an ambulatory – a round walkway in the circuit of the replica. This would have facilitated its use by the laity. A statement in the notes on the foundation indicates that the chapel was opened for public worship: “Hanc itaque capellam acceptavimus aperiendam claudendam custodiendam manu tenendam

⁶³⁵ “Three lamps in the circuit of the Holy Sepulchre.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4r.

⁶³⁶ “Besides, the same brothers, or their successors, will perpetually maintain and guard those aforementioned three lamps in the ambulatory of the Holy Sepulchre so that they burn each night, and indeed, only one shall burn in the daytime. However, on the following feasts, namely [...], all three lamps shall burn day and night.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4r.

tamquam nostram et propriam.”⁶³⁷ Hence, the Brethren of the Common Life were responsible for opening and closing Raet’s chapel after his death. Given that twelve masses a week and altogether four annual requiem masses (for Raet, both his parents, and Geertruid Florisdr) were celebrated in the chapel, it is reasonable to assume that the Brethren opened the chapel before the beginning of each mass and closed it afterwards, allowing the laity to attend the liturgical celebrations and to venerate the “Tomb of Christ.” Potential churchgoers may have been fellow citizens, perhaps other Knights of the Holy Sepulchre from Gouda, or pious visitors from neighbouring cities.

The written sources related to the Jerusalem chapels in Utrecht and Leiden testify to the public use of their chapels as well. The foundation charter of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Utrecht of 1394, for one, starts with an introductory prayer that summarizes the life of Christ from his birth to his expected Second Coming on the Day of Judgement, and names the holy sites that are related to Christ’s ministry, such as Bethlehem, the River Jordan, Jerusalem, Mount Calvary, Mount of Olives, Mount Sion, and the Valley of Jehoshaphat.⁶³⁸ Then, the founding members declare that they have visited the Holy Land themselves and that the purpose of the establishment of both the Brotherhood and the (first) Jerusalem chapel is to perpetually commemorate all the holy sites in and around Jerusalem associated with Christ and the good deeds that he performed there:

[...] tot eenre eewiger gedenckenisse ende memori deser heyliger steden, ende aldiere wercken die onse heer Jhesus Christus aldaer ende anderswaer gewrocht heeft, met woorden geleert ende gethoont mit sijnen heyligen exempelen.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁷ “Therefore, we accepted this chapel, which is to be opened, closed, guarded, and maintained by our hand, as if it was our own.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

⁶³⁸ Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 195-96.

⁶³⁹ “[...] for an eternal commemoration of these holy sites, and all the works that Our Lord Jesus Christ has done there and elsewhere, taught by his words, and demonstrated by his holy examples.” Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 197.

They further state that they want to share the chapel with their fellow Christians:

[...] ende wie oeck met allen korsten gelouigen minschen mede deelachtig werden mogen des heyligen scats ende testaments des almachtigen Goots de hi in desen voornoemden heyligen steden gelaten heeft [...]⁶⁴⁰

In addition, in a petition to Pope Eugenius IV of 3 August 1434, the Brothers requested the granting of indulgences to the pious visitors of their chapel, which “serves to praise and honour Our Lord Jesus Christ and to perpetually commemorate His glorious Passion.”⁶⁴¹ In the same year, the pope granted indulgences of seven years to the visitors of the chapel at ten high feast days: at Easter or Assumption, and on the Fridays during Lent.⁶⁴² It is evident that the Brothers intended to increase the numbers of visitors to their establishment.⁶⁴³ The prospect of reducing one’s future suffering in purgatory through a church visit gave the faithful an incentive to come and worship at this particular site.

In Leiden, the use of the chapel by the laity can be deduced from the written communication between the founder of the chapel and the commander of the Teutonic Order in Leiden. The latter administered the parish of St Peter, in which the chapel was situated, and had to approve the building plans and the conditions around the use of the chapel.⁶⁴⁴ The approval by the commander of 2 August 1467 reveals that the establishment of the Jerusalem chapel was connected to certain restrictions: its consecration needed the consent of the curate of St Peter; the chapel had no burial right; one mass should be read (not sung) every Friday for the residents of the almshouse; in case the Friday was a feast day, the mass could be celebrated on a

⁶⁴⁰ “[...] and we also want to share with all pious Christians the holy treasure and the legacy of the almighty Lord that he has left behind at the aforementioned holy sites.” Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 197.

⁶⁴¹ Brom, *Archivalia*, 1.2: 489 (no. 1358). Cf. Tongerloo, “Grablegung,” 234.

⁶⁴² Tongerloo, “Grablegung,” 234.

⁶⁴³ The Brotherhood’s motive for doing so will be discussed in Chapter III. E. 4.

⁶⁴⁴ At the time, Leiden was divided into three parishes (St Peter, St Pancras, and Our Lady). In 1268, Floris V, Count of Holland, had allocated the pastoral care of the parish of St Peter to the Knights of the Teutonic Order of the bailiwick in Utrecht. Boer, “Jherusalem,” 45.

Thursday or a Saturday; the mass should be simple and finished before eight o'clock so that the service in the parish church would not be disturbed; the bell should not weigh more than 24 pounds and should only be rung to call the residents to mass; the mass should be read by a secular priest or by a cleric of the Teutonic Order, who would be instituted by the commander of the Teutonic Order and the curate of St Peter's, after having been appointed by Wouter IJsbrantsz. or the managers of the almshouse; the priest should not have authority over the chapel, should not hear confessions, preach or minister sacraments; the almshouse should never be transformed into a monastic order and should not be the home of a brotherhood, sisterhood or guild; as a substitute for the lost income of St Peter's church through endowments and offertories the almshouse should pay three Rhine gulden annually to the parish church.⁶⁴⁵ It is obvious that the high amount of restrictions imposed by the Teutonic Order aimed at limiting the power and autonomy of the chapel because the existence of an additional ecclesiastical institution in the parish, where masses were celebrated, could potentially reduce the number of churchgoers and the income of the parish church.

In the case of Delft, there are no written sources to indicate whether the chapel was opened to the public or how many masses were celebrated there. However, since St Martha's chapel was part of an almshouse-complex, it seems plausible that it was intended for the use of the elderly women residing in the almshouse.⁶⁴⁶ Taken together, the Gouda chapel as well as the ones in Utrecht, Leiden, and Delft allowed the laity to attend liturgical services in their chapels. As all monuments contained a replica of the Tomb of Christ within the rotunda, or nave, they would have offered the laity the possibility to pray at the "Holy Sepulchre."

⁶⁴⁵ EL, 0513, inv. 1., fols 1r-7r. Boer, "Jherusalem," 45-46. On 17 August 1467, the agreement was approved by the bishop of Utrecht. EL, 0513, inv. 1.

⁶⁴⁶ The motive for the establishment of a chapel with almshouse will be discussed in Chapter III. E. 4.

Furthermore, as stated in the cartulary of the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda, Raet “adornavit quoque sepulchrum domini tabulis rotundis ligneis excellenter depictis.”⁶⁴⁷ Thus, there were originally nine tondi on the walls of the rotunda, which surrounded the replica of the Tomb of Christ. Of this decoration only the round blind niches, which framed the tondi, have survived (Fig. I. 12). It is plausible that the paintings depicted scenes related to the Holy Sites in and around Jerusalem. The founder of the Jerusalem chapel in Leiden, for instance, stipulated in his will of 1467 that the walls of the rotunda should be decorated with seven oil paintings by the artist Jacob Clemensz., depicting biblical scenes related to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, namely, the Stoning of St Stephen, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Jesus praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Ascension of Jesus, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Decapitation of St James the Martyr, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles.⁶⁴⁸ The paintings showed scenes that were related to the holy sites that the founder and the members of the Leiden Jerusalem Brotherhood had visited during their pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁶⁴⁹ The fact that Wouter IJsbrantsz. further appointed four Jerusalem Brothers as advisors in his will, to oversee the execution of the artworks, suggests that the founder wanted the background of the religious scenes to present the holy sites in Palestine. Hung inside the rotunda, the paintings provided visual stimuli for the beholders, inviting them to undertake a spiritual pilgrimage to Jerusalem by praying and meditating at each picture. The “Tomb of Christ,” symbolically referring to Christ’s Resurrection and victory over death, was surrounded by scenes taking place in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where Christ’s Second Coming was expected to take place. Therefore, the decorative programme of the rotunda can be regarded as an

⁶⁴⁷ “Adorned the Sepulchre of the Lord with round wooden panels, excellently painted.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

⁶⁴⁸ EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r. No further information on the painter is known.

⁶⁴⁹ EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r.

expression of the founder's veneration of Christ, his belief in the afterlife and hope of salvation, which, in turn, would have heightened the beholders' awareness of their own death, judgement and purgatory.

The stipulations in Wouter IJsbrantsz.'s will further reveal striking details about the interior decoration of the chancel in Leiden: eighteen steps should lead from the north side to a Mount Calvary-arrangement above the altar, showing the Crucifixion, with the cross of Jesus being higher than those of the two murderers; and in the recess on the south side of the chancel, a stone crib should be built "op die manier van Bethleem."⁶⁵⁰ It is striking that the founder gave instructions to make replicas of two more significant pilgrimage sites of the Holy Land – Mount Calvary and Christ's crib in Bethlehem. Both were intended to reflect characteristic features of the late medieval appearance of the original sites in Jerusalem, as the founder had experienced them during his pilgrimage, notably the number eighteen referred to the actual steps that lead to the chapel of Golgotha within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and "in the manner of Bethlehem" referred to the marble slabs covering the Grotto of the Nativity in the church in Bethlehem. Both characteristic features were often recorded in contemporary pilgrim accounts,⁶⁵¹ and the late medieval crib of Christ is also depicted in the group portrait of the Amsterdam Jerusalem Brotherhood of *circa* 1519, for instance, showing four members kneeling at either side of the Grotto of the Nativity (Fig. I. 61).

In Utrecht, as has been observed, the members of the Jerusalem Brotherhood expressed their wish to commemorate the holy sites in and around Jerusalem and share

⁶⁵⁰ "In the manner of Bethlehem." EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 13r-16r.

⁶⁵¹ The description of the Calvary scene in Leiden recalls the altar in the Jerusalem chapel in Bruges, although there, the steps do not lead to Mount Calvary. Cf. Mai, "Place and Surface," 190-206, Fig. 11.2.

this experience with their fellow Christians in their foundation charter.⁶⁵² The naming of various sights suggests that – apart from the copy of the Tomb of Christ – the decorative scheme of their chapel included representations of the holy sites that they had visited during their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Likewise, the Amsterdam painting may have been part of an overall decorative scheme, which, together with the replica of the Holy Sepulchre, aimed at giving a “realistic” representation of the principal pilgrimage sites in and around the Holy City to the beholder. A comprehensive visual scheme of the holy city within a Jerusalem chapel may explain why the chapels were generally referred to as “Jeruzalem” in the written sources or on maps, as they not only contained a copy of the Holy Sepulchre but also other references to holy sites in the Jerusalem area.

The evidence on the interior decoration of the rotunda in Leiden, Utrecht and Amsterdam facilitates our understanding of the appearance and function of the same building part in Gouda. A replica of the Tomb of Christ, probably a copy of the Tomb Aedicule, stood in the centre of the rotunda, decorated with three oil lamps on the outside and surrounded by tondi paintings on the rotunda walls, presumably depicting religious scenes related to the life of Christ and to the main pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. The furnishings and decoration would have offered the visitors of Raet’s chapel, who were not able to undertake the long, dangerous, and expensive journey to Jerusalem, an *ersatz* pilgrimage, enabling them, above all, to experience and venerate the Holy Sepulchre in their homeland. Likewise, returned Jerusalem pilgrims from Gouda and surroundings would have been able to relive the memories of their pious journey in the mnemonic environment of the rotunda. While processing along the ambulatory around the “Tomb of Christ,” they would have prayed and meditated at the

⁶⁵² Cf. Gonnet, “Bedevaart,” 195-97.

scenes that were depicted on the nine tondi, thereby undertaking a spiritual pilgrimage.⁶⁵³

We have observed that Raet's Jerusalem chapel as a whole was not intended to be a purely private burial chapel but was, in fact, devised to function as a public chapel. The "nave" of the chapel, the rotunda and the section of the chancel up to the screen, was accessible to the laity. As was standard at the time, the sanctuary containing the altar and, in the case of Gouda, the founder's tomb, was separated from the rest of the chapel by a screen and reserved for the clergy. This raises the question as to why the priest chose a Jerusalem chapel as his final resting place, that is, why he commissioned a burial chapel that comprised a pilgrimage site and was opened for public worship. This question can be answered if one takes into consideration the late medieval notion of purgatory and the afterlife. In the late medieval Low Countries, it was standard practice that wealthy individuals donated items that embellished the parish church; in return, the churchwardens made provisions that donors were formally prayed for after their death in order to expedite the progress of their souls through purgatory, for example, on All Souls' Day, when the names of the donors were read out loud.⁶⁵⁴ Thus, it can be said that there was a mutual benefit concerning a donation – the enrichment of the liturgy, inspiring people to devotion, and the donor's provision for the afterlife in the form of intercessory prayers by the living. The more any individual gave, the less the parish itself would need to contribute, so donors were justified to expect some return of gratitude.⁶⁵⁵ A generous benefaction was considered as a good deed that deserved commemoration. Raet's Jerusalem chapel was an extraordinary benefaction.

⁶⁵³ For more information on virtual pilgrimages, see Kathryn Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

⁶⁵⁴ Burgess, "Longing," 64.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-54. Bueren, *Leven, passim*. Douglas Brine, *Pious Memories: The Wall-Mounted Memorial in the Burgundian Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), *passim*.

The expensive decoration and fittings of the chapel as well as the perpetual masses would have commanded the attention of the visitors and guaranteed that the founder was commemorated in death through intercessory prayers. Hence, the opening of his chapel for public worship can be considered as a strategy for the afterlife, resulting from a desire for remembrance and intercession. The priest wanted to be perpetually remembered and prayed for by the visitors of his chapel for the benefit of his soul in purgatory.

Raet also prescribed in his will that every Friday the Brethren were to distribute thirteen alms, one for the celebrant of the Mass and the remaining twelve for twelve poor men.⁶⁵⁶ The notes on the list of rents of 1516 confirm that the Brethren distributed alms to twelve poor elderly men every Friday, after the latter had attended Mass, which was celebrated for the founder in the chapel at seven o'clock.⁶⁵⁷ Again, the perpetual giving out of alms to the poor was a good deed that would earn Raet benefits before God and ease his sufferings in purgatory. At the same time, the condition for receiving the charitable donations ensured that twelve poor men – like the celebrant of the mass – would remember and pray for the founder in exchange for the good deed.

Hence, the public opening of Raet's burial chapel was an expression of late medieval *memoria* and the bond between the living and the dead.⁶⁵⁸ Through his pious foundation, Raet increased "divine service" for the living after his death. While worshipping, the faithful living earned merit for themselves, easing their own eventual passage through purgatory.⁶⁵⁹ The living, in this case the Brethren of the Common Life, managed and maintained his chapel. The visitors to the chapel, the receivers of

⁶⁵⁶ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 4r. In Christian symbolism, the number thirteen is a reference to Christ and the Twelve Apostles.

⁶⁵⁷ SAMH, 91, inv. 19.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung," 70-95.

⁶⁵⁹ Brine, *Pious Memories*, 18.

alms and the Brother, who performed the mass in the chapel, interceded for the founder and remembered him as a pious benefactor. In this way, Raet remained present within the community of the living after his death. The prayers recited by the living were intended to expedite the progress of his soul through purgatory. Therefore, the concept of *ersatz*-pilgrimage and intercessory prayers can be regarded as a *memoria* provision for the founder's afterlife – one that was part of the overall concept of the chapel as Raet's chantry chapel.

4. The other Chapels and the Concept of Intercessory Prayers

My investigation of the surviving written and visual sources pertaining to the Jerusalem chapels in Utrecht, Delft, Leiden, and Amsterdam has revealed that the late medieval concept of intercessory prayers was also inherent in the other chapels. In Delft, the chapel was linked to an almshouse for elderly women, while in Leiden, the chapel was connected to an almshouse for thirteen elderly men.⁶⁶⁰ Compared to the weekly distribution of alms after mass, the almshouse was a more continuous form of charity, providing accommodation for the needy on a permanent basis. The foundation of an almshouse was thus an efficacious long-term investment in one's afterlife. The Jerusalem chapel-almshouse complex both in Leiden and in Delft can therefore be interpreted as a provision for the afterlife made by the respective founders: Wouter IJbrantsz. in the case of Leiden and an unknown initiator in the case of Delft. This type of provision was intended to stimulate intercessory prayers by the living. In Leiden, once a week, a priest celebrated a mass for the residents of the almshouse.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. I. C. 3.

⁶⁶¹ Cf. EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 1r-7r.

Although there is no concrete information on the masses in the Delft chapel, it is reasonable to assume that the residents of the almshouse were the potential attendants at Mass there. Hence, the almshouses, both in Leiden and Delft, were devised by their founders as a means to secure intercessory prayers for the salvation of their souls.

Furthermore, the panel paintings that hung inside the Jerusalem chapels in Leiden, Utrecht and Amsterdam can be described as visual expressions of the concept of intercessory prayers (Figs I. 28-32, 49 and 61). The one in Leiden (*ca* 1475-1499) contained sixteen columns in which the names of seventeen members of the Leiden Jerusalem Brotherhood were written, including their respective dates of pilgrimage (between 1462 and 1471), and in thirteen cases their death dates (earliest 1465 and latest 1505). Its unusual oblong format suggests that it was installed at eye-level so that passers-by would be able to read the text about each Brother. Commissioned some years after the foundation of the chapel, this panel can be regarded as a group memorial panel, or epitaph, of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Leiden.⁶⁶² It would have functioned as an aide-mémoire, reminding the onlooker of the names of the deceased and their pious achievement of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, thereby perpetuating the presence of the Brothers in the chapel. There is no evidence as to where exactly the panel was displayed. Similar to late medieval memorial books or “tables” placed on the altar of a church and containing the names of the deceased to be remembered, it may have hung in the chancel, where the priest of the chapel would have read out the names of the deceased for the salvation of their souls, for instance, during Mass on All Souls’ Day.⁶⁶³ Or, the panel may have been attached to the wall of the rotunda, where the

⁶⁶² The restrictions regarding the running of the chapel implied by the Teutonic Order loosened in 1474, seemingly allowing the Jerusalem Brotherhood the use of the chapel. EL, 0513, inv. 1, fols 7v-8r. This may have been the reason for the commission of the panel.

⁶⁶³ Bueren, *Leven*, 12, Oexle, “Memoria und Memorialbild,” 385, 387, 437. Arnold Angenendt, “Theologie und Liturgie in der mittelalterlichen Toten-Memoria,” in *Memoria*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (Munich: Fink, 1984), 88-191.

residents of the almshouse, and later also the visitors meditating at the “Tomb of Christ,” would have remembered and interceded for the Brothers.

The group portrait of the Amsterdam Jerusalem Brotherhood (*ca* 1520) shows four members kneeling in front of a depiction of the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The inscription on the frame informs the onlooker of the names of the depicted and that they travelled together to Jerusalem in 1519.⁶⁶⁴ The coat of arms above each kneeling member helps to identify the Brother below. The two heraldic shields at either side of the Grotto, each showing a red Jerusalem cross together with the palm branches that the members shoulder, distinguish the portrayed as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre.⁶⁶⁵ Another inscription, directly below the Nativity Grotto, tells the beholder about the depicted site: “Dit is die figuer vant bethlahem van binnen daer god in gheboren is.”⁶⁶⁶ The didactic nature of both the latter inscription and the accurate representation of the Nativity Grotto in Bethlehem is striking. It suggests that the panel hung within a space that was accessible to the laity, possibly in the rotunda of the Amsterdam chapel. For the people praying at the replica of the Tomb of Christ, the depiction of the birthplace of Christ could have served as a visual mnemonic that facilitated worship and commemoration of the biblical event and the holy site related to it.⁶⁶⁷ What is more, the composition of the painting is typical of a memorial panel, which usually shows the donor and family members kneeling in prayer on both sides

⁶⁶⁴ “Int jaer ons heeren XCc en XIX ware tesame te Jerusalem broeder Wouter van Hogesteyn, Jan Benninck, Jacop Heyn en Meynert Willems.zoon God heb lof.” The Dominican priest, Wouter van Hogesteyn, was originally from Haarlem; due to his status as clergyman, he is named first in the inscription. The other three Brothers were members of prominent Amsterdam families. Cf. J. F. M. Sterck, “Portretgroep van Amsterdamsche Ridder van Jerusalem uit 1519,” *Oud-Holland* 37 (1919): 97-98. See also, Kathryn Rudy, “An Illuminated English Guide to Pilgrimage in the Holy Land,” in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 215-42.

⁶⁶⁵ The letters “I R” on the shield of Jacob Heyn Fransz. (first on the right) possibly stands for “Jacob Ridder (van Jerusalem)” or “Jerusalem Ridder.”

⁶⁶⁶ “This is the image of Bethlehem, from the inside, where God was born.”

⁶⁶⁷ We do not know who exactly was allowed inside the chapel. As the chapel was associated with the Amsterdam Jerusalem Brotherhood, it would have been at least the Brothers that worshipped there.

of a devotional scene, accompanied by an inscription and coat of arms.⁶⁶⁸ Hence, the Amsterdam group portrait can be described as the epitaph of the four Brothers. The benefaction of the painting with the eye-catching representation of the Nativity Grotto along with the inscription, communicating their pious achievement of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, were devised to inspire the onlooker to remember the depicted and to pray for their souls. As in the other chapels, the Brothers would thus remain present among the living.

Several group portraits depicting members of the Utrecht Jerusalem Brotherhood served the same function inside the Jerusalem chapels in Utrecht. Three panels are known to have been displayed in the chapel in the Nieuwe Weerd, then, following the move to a new location, at least five panels were put up inside St John's chapel (Figs I. 28-32). The oblong-shaped format, the way in which the Brothers (and one Sister) are depicted, and the content of the inscriptions below suggest that they hung inside the rotunda, which we have seen was open to the public. The Utrecht group portraits picture the members in half-length procession in a row, mostly in pairs of two, holding a palm branch and wearing a Jerusalem cross on their robes or on a necklace. Both the Jerusalem cross and the palm branch distinguish the depicted as Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. In fact, the panels represent the annual procession that the Brotherhood performed on Palm Sunday, re-enacting Christ's entry into Jerusalem, which was presumably a familiar sight to beholders of the paintings. The bottom fifth of each panel depicts a painted board displaying trompe-l'œil sheets of paper below each portrayed individual, containing Dutch inscriptions in cursive script. These are mostly four-line rhymes and mention the name of the depicted person, the year of pilgrimage to the Holy Land and a devotional phrase, such as, for instance, "Pray for

⁶⁶⁸ Brine, *Pious Memories*, *passim*. Bueren, *Leven*, *passim*. Tongerloo, "Grablegung," 244n122.

his soul.”⁶⁶⁹ Small coats of arms positioned on the upper frame of the trompe l’œil board help to identify the respective Brother above. It is evident that the plea for intercession within the inscriptions were directed at passers-by, engaging them to intercede for the depicted members of the Brotherhood.

In addition, the pictorial programme of these portraits, designed by Jan van Scorel, reinforces the theme of visual commemoration in that they were positioned around the replica of the Holy Sepulchre, so that the members would appear as if they eternally processed around the Tomb of Christ. The activity of procession suggests a sense of continuity and refers to the abstract idea of Christian progress towards salvation. In addition, the lightning in the portraits suggests that the members progress towards a central light – the light of eternal bliss. Through the portraits they emulate, and thus identify themselves with, Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, expressing their hope of immortal salvation and inspiring the living to reflect on their own death.⁶⁷⁰

The *memoria* practices in the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht support my argument that the rotunda in Gouda had been devised as a provision for the founder’s commemoration and benefit in the afterlife. Nevertheless, the foundation and function of Raet’s chapel stands out among the other Jerusalem chapels. In this context, it is important to note that only the chapels in Utrecht, Leiden and Amsterdam can be used for the following comparison, since in the case of Delft, we have no information on the founder and if he or she was buried in the chapel. The Leiden chapel was founded by an individual, but it was not planned as his burial chapel or chantry chapel. The written sources reveal that the Teutonic Order in Leiden prohibited burial inside the chapel and that the founder bequeathed money to seemingly every

⁶⁶⁹ For transcriptions of the respective inscriptions, see Faries etc., *Catalogue of Paintings*, 167-69, 174-87, 227-49 and Grosshans, “Mor,” 180-81.

⁶⁷⁰ Woodall, “Painted Immortality,” 155-56.

ecclesiastical institution in Leiden in exchange for memorial services.⁶⁷¹ Hence, the establishment of his chapel was one of many preparations for the afterlife, not devised for his *memoria* alone. And as the memorial panel of the Leiden Jerusalem Brotherhood demonstrates, the chapel served the commemoration of the Brotherhood, of which Wouter IJsbrantsz. was a founding member. Both the Utrecht and Amsterdam chapels were established by the local Jerusalem Brotherhood, but there is no information in the written sources concerning burial in the chapels. The group portraits reveal that the chapels were used as a place for the commemoration of the members of the Brotherhood. The Gouda chapel was established by Raet as an individual founder, and it was devised as his chantry chapel from the beginning, focusing on his *memoria*. We can conclude that, while the chapels in Utrecht, Leiden, and Amsterdam manifested collective identity and commemoration, Raet's chapel was an expression of individual identity and remembrance.

F. Conclusion

This chapter has considered the building history of Raet's chapel under the aspect of late medieval *memoria* and recognised its architectural references to both the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht. First, our investigation has brought to light that the priest meticulously planned his chapel in advance and undertook every precaution to ensure its perpetual existence. It became evident that he devised the chapel as his chantry chapel and burial place from the very beginning. We have seen that it was rather his concern for the afterlife which motivated

⁶⁷¹ Boer, "Jherusalem," 49-53, 56-57.

the commission of the chapel than the gratitude for his safe return from the pilgrimage. His choice of craftsmen not only testified to the elaborate quality of the artworks in his chapel but also pointed out Raet's connections to Delft and St Martha's chapel as a potential model for his monument. The reconstruction of the chapel's late medieval appearance has broadened our understanding of its late medieval form and the effect it produced as well as of its function, in particular with regard to its division into a chancel and a rotunda and the respective interior decoration. The comparison between the fifteenth-century Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Raet's late Gothic chapel has demonstrated that the latter was not an exact copy of the church in Jerusalem but that only certain characteristic architectural features of the prototype have been translated into the Gouda chapel, not only to identify it as an emulation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and refer to the presence of the "Tomb of Christ" inside it but also to symbolically indicate the presence of Jerusalem within the cityscape and to convey the founder's hope for salvation as well as his status. The comparison to the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht has revealed that Raet's chapel contained a double-reference: its design imitated the basic shape of the predeceasing Dutch Jerusalem chapels while the design of the prototype of this category of chapels alluded to characteristic architectural features of the church in Jerusalem. Moreover, the comparison with the other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese of Utrecht has enabled a better understanding of the replica of the Tomb of Christ as *ersatz* pilgrimage shrine and has brought to light its connection to the concept of intercessory prayers, thereby revealing it as a strategy for the afterlife.

IV. Perpetual Remembrance of the Founder

A. Introduction

This chapter investigates Raet's funerary monuments within their immediate spatial context of the chancel and in relation to the remainder of the chapel. First, the position of the founder's grave will be examined with particular emphasis on Christian beliefs at the time. This will enable me to reassess the position of the altar within the sanctuary, which has been debated by scholars so far. The next discussion will provide a reconstruction of Raet's tombstone and the first comprehensive analysis of its iconographic programme, providing us with an insight into Raet's attitudes towards death and the afterlife. The final part will explore the lost wall-mounted triptych based on the information from the written sources and contemporary comparative examples. This will allow me to identify it as Raet's epitaph, which only Goudriaan has briefly suggested,⁶⁷² and consider it in relation to other objects in the chapel.

B. Raet's Burial Place within the Chapel

Having established the Jerusalem chapel as Raet's perpetual chantry and burial chapel, enables us now to examine more closely the position of his tomb within the chapel. In order to better understand the motivations behind his choice of location, it is first

⁶⁷² In his article of 1999, Goudriaan has briefly suggested, without going into further detail, that the triptych might have been a memorial panel (*memoriestuk*) and related to Raet's tombstone nearby. Goudriaan, "Gijsbert," 16.

necessary to recap the main arguments of Chapter II. E., which looked at Raet's previous burial places in St John's church in Gouda. The priest had acquired these plots long before he undertook the pilgrimage and constructed the Jerusalem chapel. The grave register of the parish church has revealed that, between *circa* 1462 and *circa* 1485, Raet moved from a simple burial spot at the west end of the north aisle, which he had taken over from a relative, to a very prestigious burial place directly behind the high altar, and then, due to a large-scale rebuilding of the church, had to give up the latter and took possession of a spot next to the side altar of St Peter in the new north aisle. My analysis has shown that the priest attached great significance to the position of his future tomb within the church, seeking particularly immediate proximity to the altar.

Moreover, typical elements of late medieval *memoria* became apparent in Raet's actions, notably the advance planning of one's burial place early during one's lifetime and the preference of a tomb positioned next to the altar in order to benefit post-mortem from the salvific power of the masses and the relics contained within. I have also demonstrated that the purchase of a grave in St John's church was not an easy undertaking in late medieval Gouda, as an interment in the consecrated ground of the parish church was generally favoured by the faithful who could afford it and only limited space was available. Consequently, the buyer of a plot did not always get his preferred burial place and had to reach a compromise. Although Raet had obviously found his optimal place of burial behind the high altar, he soon lost it due to the church's building campaign. Compared to the latter, the subsequent plot positioned next to the side altar of St Peter seems like a step backwards in the prestige of burial places, albeit being in itself a high-quality tomb due to its closeness to the altar.

In addition, Raet's grave in the parish church would not have existed forever, since the bones of deceased persons were regularly removed and placed into the common ossuary so that the burial plot could be sold anew.⁶⁷³ By establishing an entirely self-funded burial chapel of his own and by securing its perpetual existence through testamentary regulations, Raet had the absolute authority over his Jerusalem chapel, both in life and after his death, according to late medieval conceptions of the law. Therefore, being in possession of the right of burial, he was able to choose his ideal burial place within his own chapel. He must have believed that he could rest there until the end of days, as his tomb would not be affected by structural changes or bone removals. This interesting fact induces us to investigate why exactly the priest had decided to be interred at this specific spot in the chancel of the Jerusalem chapel, and if this allows us to draw conclusions regarding the location of the altar.

As indicated in the foundation notes of *circa* 1517, Raet's tomb was located along the rear wall, or northern wall, of the chancel, and, together with the altar, it was separated from the rest of the chapel by a screen.⁶⁷⁴ Hence, Raet was buried within the sanctuary of the chancel. Owing to the removal of the founder's tomb slab from the chapel after the Reformation and the demolition of the chancel in the eighteenth century, its exact location was unknown until 2007, when excavations in the grounds of the former chancel revealed a burial cavity in the north-eastern corner of the room (Figs III. 16-17).⁶⁷⁵ It was made of brick, orientated in east-western direction and measured 2.38 m long by 1.30 m wide externally.⁶⁷⁶ Since its location along the

⁶⁷³ Cf. Berg, *Sint-Janskerk*. Goudriaan, "Ownership," 197-223.

⁶⁷⁴ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

⁶⁷⁵ Cf. Dasselaar, "Rapport." Groenendijk and Habermehl, "Ondergronds," 64-65.

⁶⁷⁶ Dasselaar, "Rapport," 10. Groenendijk and Habermehl, "Ondergronds," 65. Since Raet's tombstone is not worn and the brasses are well preserved, Groenendijk and Habermehl assumed that the walls of the burial cavity may have originally been higher, so that the slab would have been above floor level. However, it is more likely that the slab and brasses are in good condition because the laity was not allowed to enter the sanctuary.

northern wall conforms with the description of the burial place in the written sources, and the osteoarchaeological examination of the preserved human remains has disclosed that they belonged to a man of about 70 years age,⁶⁷⁷ it can be concluded that this was the original grave of Gijsbert Raet. At the time of his death, in 1511, he would have been at least 74 years old. The altar, however, has not survived and its precise position is unknown. When inspecting the position of Raet's tomb within the ground plan of the chapel, several questions arise. Why did the priest choose a burial place in the north-eastern rear corner when he could technically have chosen one in the centre of the chancel or next to the replica of the Holy Sepulchre? And where was the altar placed? Due to the loss of the original setting of the chancel these issues seem difficult to determine. Nevertheless, if we consider the known data in light of late medieval Christian beliefs and *memoria* practice and go through the two potential positions of the altar, we are able to give an answer to these questions.

As was the case in St John's church, Raet preferred a burial place near the altar of his chapel. The altar was the place, where the twelve weekly masses were read for the soul of the founder, and where the annual requiem masses were sung for his soul, and those of both his parents and Geertruid Florisdr. This was a high number of masses compared to the late medieval common trend of memorial masses. Above all, these had the purpose of easing and shortening Raet's time in purgatory. During the celebration of the Eucharist, the altar symbolically transformed into Mount Calvary when the sacrificial death of Christ was repeated by the mystical conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and when it was believed that Christ became present at that moment. An auratic power was attributed to the area where the

⁶⁷⁷ Dasselaar, "Resten," 54. Groenendijk, *Graven*, 47.

Eucharistic miracle took place.⁶⁷⁸ In addition, the close proximity of Raet's tomb slab, symbolically representing the deceased, to the altar allowed its integration into the performance of the masses by gestures and movement of the celebrant. Notably, this happened during the celebration of the requiem mass, when a black pall was put above the slab and four candles in its corners, and the priest walked around the tomb, swinging the censer.⁶⁷⁹ In this way, Raet's soul would benefit greatly from the salvific power of the numerous masses. Furthermore, the relics of the Holy Sepulchre, which Raet had brought back from his pilgrimage, were displayed in a silver reliquary on the mensa of the altar.⁶⁸⁰ Thus, Raet was interred *ad sanctum*, the optimal burial place in the late Middle Ages, as his soul would benefit immensely from the auratic power of the nearby relics, relieving his sufferings in purgatory. The fact that the relics were enclosed in a portable cross reliquary suggests that they were integrated into the liturgy.⁶⁸¹ They were presumably elevated during the performance, the cross containing small pieces from the Holy Sepulchre was presented as a proof of Christ's triumph over death to the visitors.⁶⁸² Evidently, Raet chose a burial place next to the altar over a burial place next to the copy of the Tomb of Christ. It reflects the founder's desire for a more direct involvement in the aura of sacredness that was attributed to the liturgical space.⁶⁸³

Differing opinions have been expressed by scholars with regard to the actual position and orientation of the altar. In their article on the architectural history of the

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. M. Bacci, "Side Altars and 'Pro Anima' Chapels in the Medieval Mediterranean," in *The Altar and its Environment 1150-1400*, ed. by Justin E. A. Kroesen and Victor M. Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009): 25.

⁶⁷⁹ Barbara Baumeister, "Das Hirnsche Seelhaus," in *St. Anna in Augsburg. Eine Kirche und ihre Gemeinde*, ed. by Rolf Kießling (Augsburg: Wißner Verlag, 2013), 83.

⁶⁸⁰ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

⁶⁸¹ Cf. Chapter III. C. 4.

⁶⁸² Binski, *Medieval Death*, 78.

⁶⁸³ Cf. Bacci, "Side Altars," 12-13.

chapel of 1998, Glaudemans and Gruben briefly suggested that the altar was placed against the windowless northern wall of the chancel.⁶⁸⁴ Goudriaan, on the other hand, has considered two possible locations in his articles of 1999 and 2001. He first argued that the alignment of the screen – parallel to the northern wall – would support a siting of the altar against the same wall. Nevertheless, because the northern wall, measuring 6.5 m wide, would not have provided enough space for both Raet’s memorial triptych, which, according to the sources, was put up against the same wall, and the altar, which contained a pentaptych altarpiece above it, he put forward a second theory, arguing that the altar could have been orientated in accordance with Christian tradition, that is, against the eastern side wall, compensating for the unusual north-south axis of the chapel.⁶⁸⁵ After the finding of Raet’s burial cavity in 2007, the position of the altar has not been re-evaluated. In their article about the same excavation, Groenendijk and Habermehl have briefly quoted Goudriaan’s hypothesis of the eastern position of the altar.⁶⁸⁶ This provides me with the opportunity to re-assess the placement of the altar, particularly in its relation to Raet’s tomb.

Regarding the north-south alignment of the chapel, one would assume that the altar was positioned in front of the main wall of the chancel, the northern wall. As the focal point of all liturgical action, it would have been centrally located and visible to the congregation who would watch the ceremonial acts from behind the screen. Thus, it would have formed a physical counterpart to the Holy Sepulchre monument in the rotunda. Disregard for the traditional orientation of the altar did occur in the Northern Netherlands in the late Middle Ages. An example is the chapel of St Anne’s almshouse in Leiden (consecrated in 1509), whose altar is facing north (Fig. III. 15). Nevertheless,

⁶⁸⁴ No arguments have been provided. Glaudemans and Gruben, “De Bouwgeschiedenis,” 47.

⁶⁸⁵ Goudriaan, “Gijsbert,” 15-16. “Kapellen,” 168.

⁶⁸⁶ Groenendijk and Habermehl, “Ondergronds,” 64.

with the altar in the centre of the sanctuary, there is no logical explanation to justify the position of Raet's tomb behind the altar. As has been observed, the priest had meticulously planned his chapel in all details in advance in accordance with his belief in the afterlife. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that he would relinquish the traditional orientation of the altar. It would not fit the general concept of the chapel. Moreover, as has already been argued by Goudriaan, there would not be enough space on the north side to house the altar, the triptych epitaph and the pentaptych altarpiece. If one imagines the altar in front of the east side, the striking position of the founder's tomb in the north-eastern corner of the room makes sense (Fig. III. 45). In late medieval culture, the altar symbolically transformed into Mount Calvary during the celebration of the mass. It symbolically presented the site of the Crucifixion. In addition, the founder's tomb was traditionally facing east; Raet was buried with his head to the west and feet to the east. This was motivated by the medieval Christian belief in the Last Judgement. Christ was expected to come from the east and divide humankind into the group of the blessed at his right side and the group of the damned at his left side.⁶⁸⁷ The fact that Raet chose a resting place at the northern side of the altar makes it obvious that the priest intended to be interred at the "right" side of the Saviour, prepared to be raised at the side of the blessed and proceed towards heaven. Hence, although the chapel was not aligned in accordance with Christian tradition, the altar would have been orientated towards the east. The eastern side wall provided enough space to accommodate an altar with a pentaptych retable, making the memorial triptych to the main attraction of the northern wall.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁷ Mt 25:31-46.

⁶⁸⁸ The memorial triptych will be discussed in Chapter IV. C. 2.

Taken together, it can be concluded that the location of Raet's tomb was a spatial strategy for the afterlife. On the one hand, his soul in purgatory would benefit from the salvific power of the masses and relics. On the other hand, the position of his tomb reflects the priest's positive attitude towards his judgement, as he symbolically placed his tomb on the side of the blessed. Interestingly, this puts the laity, who were standing behind the screen, at the "left" side of Christ, at the side of the damned. This might have been intended as a warning for the faithful, reminding them to lead a good life so that they would earn a place in heaven. Furthermore, by the choice of his final resting place, Raet had found himself an extremely privileged burial place. It was located at the "right" side of the altar and enclosed within the sanctuary, to which an aura of sacredness was attributed and to which the laity had no access.

C. Raet's Funeral Monuments

Having identified the position of Raet's tomb as yet another strategy for the afterlife, we can now investigate his funerary monuments within the chapel. As has been shown so far, the priest meticulously planned his chapel in advance and then spared no expense in building, furnishing and decorating it lavishly. This chapter will demonstrate that both his tomb slab and the epitaph, or memorial triptych, were part of the overall original concept of the chapel and as carefully thought-out as the remainder of the foundation and can therefore be defined as visual expressions of Raet's *memoria*. His funerary monuments, like the chapel itself and the liturgy, would have been devised by the founder ahead of time. This is testified, for instance, by the carefully thought-out and personal iconographic programme of his tomb slab. Besides,

it was quite common in the Low Countries in the late Middle Ages, for those who could afford it, to commission their tomb slabs during their lifetime, and for the wealthy, to order an accompanying epitaph, or memorial panel, in both cases leaving an empty space for the death dates to be added later.⁶⁸⁹

Raet's chapel was in a more or less completed state, when the altar and his burial ground were consecrated in 1504.⁶⁹⁰ Thus, from this time onward, the priest would have been able to plan more specifically, authorise and even install his funerary monuments in the chapel. It is possible that the craftsmen, who were employed by the founder around 1507, were involved in this process: Paul, the stonemason from Delft, may have worked on Raet's tomb slab; Timan Henricxz., the Delft master painter, may have painted the sculpted centre piece and the wings of the priest's memorial triptych; Philip the bricklayer may have fixed the same triptych to the wall, and Claes Willemsz., the embroiderer, may have embellished the black pall, which was used during the requiem masses.⁶⁹¹

The iconographic programmes of both the tomb slab and the epitaph conveyed messages that would have matched the chapel's overall late medieval *memoria* concept, reflecting Raet's ideas about the afterlife. For this reason, it is interesting to undertake a thorough examination of the respective iconographies on his funerary monuments in order to answer the following questions: How was Raet's *memoria*

⁶⁸⁹ For instance, the gravestone of the Utrecht cathedral canon and Jerusalem pilgrim (1543) Anthonius Taets van Amerongen (d. 1555) had already been hewn when Marcus van Weze (d. 1548) decided to have a bigger gravestone than the former. Taets van Amerongen then expanded his slab by having a frame of stones laid around his tomb, depicting various pilgrimage symbols. Llewlyn C. J. J. Bogaers, "Commemoration in a Utrecht Collegiate Church: Burial and Memorial Culture in St. Peter's (1054-1784)," in *Care for the Here and Hereafter: Memoria, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages*, ed. Truus van Bueren and Andrea van Leerdam (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 217n150. His memorial panel, showing him dressed as a canon and shouldering a palm branch, was made in 1544. Tongerlo, "Grablegung," 226, 230, 237.

⁶⁹⁰ SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 1r.

⁶⁹¹ See Chapter III. B. 3.

expressed visually? What additional information about the founder and the chapel can be disclosed? How did Raet identify himself on his tomb slab? What message did the priest intend to convey through the imagery and symbols on both his tomb slab and the epitaph? How did the funerary monuments relate to each other and how did they interact with the other principal elements in the chapel, notably the altar and the Holy Sepulchre monument?

1. The Tomb Slab

In order to better understand the underlying concept and intended meaning of Raet's tomb slab and the effect its materials produced, it is first necessary to reconstruct its original appearance, using structural evidence from the surviving slab and brasses (Figs II. 10, IV. 1-3), as well as examples of comparable contemporary tombstones. The rectangular flat tomb slab is made of dark greyish hardstone, a fine-grained Lower Carboniferous limestone, which is also referred to as black "marble" because of its black marble-like lustre when highly polished.⁶⁹² It measured 1.25 m wide by c. 2.30 m long.⁶⁹³ Along the edge runs an incised band containing within it a Latin inscription,

⁶⁹² In the late Middle Ages, this type of stone was usually imported to the Northern Netherlands (where suitable stone was lacking) from the black 'marble' producing areas of the Southern Netherlands. It is possible that Raet's slab is made of black Tournai "marble," which was extracted along the River Scheldt, or of dark Mosan limestone, which was quarried in the Meuse valley. Both have been widely used for tomb slabs in the Low Countries at this time. Greenhill has suggested that the slab is made of Tournai stone. J. Belonje and F. A. Greenhill, "Some Brasses in Germany and the Low Countries," *TMBS* 9, no. 8 (1961): 455. However, it is difficult to differentiate between these black types of limestone by visual criteria alone, and a petrological analysis, which would determine the provenance of the stone, has not been undertaken yet. Valentin Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge vóór 1578* (Bruges: Raaklijn, 1976), 1: 119-21. F. A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs. A Study of Engraved Stone Memorials in Latin Christendom, c. 1100 to c. 1700* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 1: 6, 28-32, 48. John Ashurst and Francis G. Dimes, *Conservation of Building and Decorative Stone* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), 94-95.

⁶⁹³ The preserved slab fragment measures 1.25 m wide by 1.56 m long. The complete slab would have covered the burial cavity, which measures 1.30 m wide by 2.38 m long. The bottom third (*ca* 70 cm) is lost. Cf. Groenendijk and Habermehl, "Ondergronds," 66. Dasselaar, "Rapport," 10.

elaborately carved in low relief against a recessed background – the latter was hollowed out without altering the overall flatness of the stone – in Gothic textualis script:⁶⁹⁴

/ anno d(omi)ni xv(c) xi die /
 / xxvii maii obiit vene(rabi)lis d(omin)us Ghysber[tus Wilhelmi Raet ...] /
 / [...] /
 / [... fun]dator h(uius) cappelle c(uius) a(n)i(m)a Req(i)escat in pace /.⁶⁹⁵

Since late medieval marginal inscriptions usually included factual information on the person, like his rank, profession or affiliation,⁶⁹⁶ it is reasonable to assume that the missing part of the inscription contained Raet’s full name, his profession as priest, or more specifically as chantry priest at St John’s church in Gouda, and perhaps his status as Knight of the Holy Sepulchre and of St Catherine.⁶⁹⁷ Based on the imagery on the tomb slab and on the description of Raet’s status in the written sources, including the common word contractions and taking into account the remaining space of the missing part, perhaps the full inscription read as follows:⁶⁹⁸

/ anno d(omi)ni xv(c) xi die /
 / xxvii maii obiit vene(rabi)lis d(omin)us Ghysber[tus Wilhelmi Raet p(res)b(yte)r⁶⁹⁹
 / et eques ihe(r)osolimitani /

⁶⁹⁴ Scholars have not considered yet that the interstices of the marginal inscription – the hollowed-out and roughened background – may have held a filling of some different material, or colouring matter, as a contrast to the black stone. This technique is known as *taille d’épargne*. Contemporary examples of dark tomb slabs are known, for example, where the engraved letters of their inscription were filled up flush with colouring matter in order to supply a colour contrast and pick out the text. Cf. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, I: 3-4, 11-13. Brine, *Pious Memories*, 31.

⁶⁹⁵ “In the year of our Lord 1511, on 27th May, died the venerable Master Gijsbert [...] / [...] / [...foun]der of this chapel whose soul may rest in peace.”

⁶⁹⁶ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, 1: 169-71.

⁶⁹⁷ Several late medieval tomb slabs of Dutch Jerusalem pilgrims, containing the status of Knight of the Holy Sepulchre in their marginal inscription, have survived.

⁶⁹⁸ The missing letters are shown in square brackets. The letters in standard black script can be reconstructed with reasonable certainty. The words in cursive script are hypothesised.

⁶⁹⁹ “Priest.” The term “vicarius perpetuus” (chantry priest) is always named together with the institution in the written sources. Cf. SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fol. 3v and inv. 45. Thus, the text “eccl(esi)e parrochialis s(an)c(t)i loh(ann)is in Gouda vicari(us) perpetu(us)” (“Perpetual chantry priest of the parish church of St John in Gouda”) would be too long for the slab if it is named together with Raet’s status as Jerusalem and Sinai pilgrim.

*et s(an)c(ti) katherine et*⁷⁰⁰ fu(n)]dator h(uius) cappelle c(uius) a(n)i(m)a
Req(i)escat in pace /.⁷⁰¹

Five engraved flat brass plates, or inlays, (Figs II. 10 and IV. 1) originally decorated the slab: a large brass plate in the centre and four small brass plates in the corners of the slab. They were fixed into matrices, which were cut into the slab to hold the inlays.⁷⁰² The corner brasses, measuring *circa* 24 cm by *circa* 24 cm, linked the respective bands of the marginal inscription to a single outer frame.⁷⁰³ Their outline forms the shape of a barbed quatrefoils with leaf ornaments in the barbed corners. Each brass depicts a symbol of the four Evangelists: a kneeling winged man, a winged lion, an eagle, and a winged ox. Each symbol bears a halo and is accompanied by a scroll with the Evangelist's name in Gothic textualis script: "matheus," "marcus," "lucas," "iohannes." There is neither written nor visual evidence to indicate the original order of the corner brasses. However, a stylistic comparison of late medieval tombstones of the Low Countries (Figs IV. 4-8) shows that the Evangelists' symbols commonly faced inwards. Moreover, nearly all the slabs have John in the top left corner and Matthew in the top right corner. Mark is in the bottom left and Luke in the bottom right.⁷⁰⁴ For instance, the slabs of the Jerusalem pilgrims, Huych Cornelisz. (Fig. IV. 6) and Daniel Claesz. (Fig. IV. 7), depict the order (clockwise, starting top left): John, Matthew,

⁷⁰⁰ "Priest" or "Perpetual chantry priest" and/or "and Knight of Jerusalem and St Catherine and," cf. SAMH, 91, inv. 19, between fols 51v and 52r and inv. 58, fol. 3v.

⁷⁰¹ "In the year of our Lord 1511, on 27 May, died the venerable Master Gijsbert [Willemsz. Raet *priest / and Knight of Jerusalem / and St. Catherine and* foun]der of this chapel whose soul may rest in peace."

⁷⁰² As can be seen on the surviving slab fragment, the matrices had a roughened surface to afford a better grip for the pitch, or other black bonding substance, with which the inlays were smeared prior to the insertion. Cf. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, 1: 13. All brasses are on average 0.76 cm thick. Belonje and Greenhill, "Some brasses," 10: 446.

⁷⁰³ Belonje and Greenhill have taken precise measurements of the corner brasses, which vary slightly in size: St Matthew 23.11 cm long by 23.62 cm wide, St Mark 23.88 cm long by 24.13 cm wide, St Luke 23.5 cm wide by 24.13 cm wide, St John 23.62 cm x 24.38 cm wide. Belonje and Greenhill, "Some Brasses," 10: 446.

⁷⁰⁴ For comparative examples, see also Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, *passim*. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, *passim*. Norris, *Monumental Brasses*, *passim*. MeMO Medieval Memoria Online, accessed Mar 2, 2018, <https://memo.sites.uu.nl/>.

Luke, Mark. Raet's slab presumably showed this standard sequence.⁷⁰⁵ The replica of Raet's tombstone, including replicas of the brasses, in St John's church in Gouda, which shows the common arrangement of the four Evangelist symbols, may give an idea of the slab's original appearance (Fig. IV. 3).⁷⁰⁶

The central brass, measuring 87.5 cm high by 79 cm wide, has the shape of a trefoil superimposed upon an equilateral downward facing triangle.⁷⁰⁷ The upper ogee arch resembles a canopy, as each side of it is decorated with five "croquets:" small quadrangular plates that bear leaf ornaments. They are of different size and design, though each one is twinned with its opposite number. The lozenge-shaped top of the upper arch, bearing the finial of the canopy is lost. It would have most likely been a foliated fleur-de-lis form. Along the border of the central plate runs an engraved band containing within a low relief Latin inscription in Gothic textualis script. The words are in bold lettering, with elaborate capitals. Foliate ornaments weave between each word, and in two cases between each syllable. The inscription cites two abbreviated verses of the Vulgate version of the Book of Job:

In tenebris stravi lectulum meum⁷⁰⁸ (Job 17:13)

Et rursum post tenebras spero lucem⁷⁰⁹ (Job 17:12)

In the centre, directly underneath the canopy, an erect barefoot angel with wings and halo is depicted against a foliate and grassy background, wearing a long robe, a cloak

⁷⁰⁵ Groenendijk and Habermehl's reconstruction of Raet's tombstone is incorrect, since the slab is too short in length and the Evangelist symbols face outwards. Groenendijk and Habermehl, "Ondergronds," 66, Fig. 3. Reproduced in Laarakkers, "Jeruzalemkapel," 32, Fig. 16 and Groenendijk, *Graven*, 47.

⁷⁰⁶ The replica was probably commissioned in the 1970s, owing to an increasing interest in brass rubbing at this time. The slab and the brasses were reproduced in England, where Nico Metselaar, former verger of the parish church, had connections to the Monumental Brass Society. Information provided by H. van Dolder de Wit, former archivist of St John's church, and J. G. Hilgers, present archivist of St John's church in Gouda.

⁷⁰⁷ Belonje and Greenhill, "Some Brasses," 10: 445-46.

⁷⁰⁸ "I have made my bed in darkness."

⁷⁰⁹ "After darkness I hope for light again."

held together by a brooch, and a small tiara in its wavy hair. In each hand, it holds a shield by its strap. The first shows a chalice between two palm branches, which are turned towards each other (Fig. II. 11). The second is divided per pale, depicting on the dexter side the Jerusalem cross above the empty Tomb of Christ, and on the sinister side the spiked wheel of St Catherine pierced by two swords in saltire with their points downward.

The hatched surfaces of the brasses indicate that they originally bore a black or coloured gum mastic.⁷¹⁰ A personal examination of the brasses in the depot of the Rijksmuseum on 2 November 2016 revealed that only very little remains of the late medieval coloured mastic on the centre-brass: a few traces of malachite green on the black-hatched areas of the shields, indicating that both the chalice and the wheel of St Catherine were highlighted by a green background. Also, the central gemstone in the pommel of the chalice showed traces of red colouring (Figs II. 11 and IV. 9).⁷¹¹ Remains of black mastic were visible between the letters of the marginal inscription, indicating that they were emphasised by a black background (Fig. IV. 10). The fact that the colour black was used on the red hatched areas between the letters may suggest that all red areas on the present-day brasses were originally covered by a black mastic.

⁷¹⁰ Hatched surfaces of brasses often served as a ground to hold coloured mastic. S. Beedell, *Brasses and Brass Rubbing* (Edinburgh: John Bartholomew, 1973), 64. Particles of malachite (green), vermillion (red) or azurite (blue) were usually mixed with a binding component, such as rosin or a mixture of rosin and beeswax, to create a coloured mastic. Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Craft* (London: Faber & Faber, 1978): 42.

⁷¹¹ I am grateful to Lotte Jaeger, Dennis Kemper, and Saskia Smulders-de Jong of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam for their help before and during the investigation of the brasses in the depot of the Rijksmuseum. Belonje and Greenhill, who have seen the original brasses, stated that traces of red colouring were left in the background of the central plate and corner symbols, and traces of black in the crockets. Belonje and Greenhill, "Some brasses," 10: 446. Red must refer to the mastic of the central gemstone in the pommel of the chalice. According to the former director of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, David van der Kellen (1876-1895), traces of red, black, blue, and white colour were visible on the original brasses. D. van der Kellen, *Le Moyen Age et la Renaissance dans les Pays-Bas: Choix d'objets remarquables du 12e au 17e siècle* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1869), nos. 38 and 38 a. O. ter Kuile, *Koper & Brons* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986), 40. Blue must refer to the malachite green mastic. To what white refers to is unknown.

Thus, the Evangelist symbols, the inscription, the foliage and the Jerusalem cross above the empty Tomb of Christ would have had a black background. Furthermore, slight traces of colour suggest that black pitch was originally set into the incised lines, namely of the angel, the foliate background surrounding it, the edges of the shields and the boundary lines of the inscription, so that they were picked out in black.⁷¹² This corresponds to the common use of colour at the time. Due to the intrinsic appeal of polished brass, the plates were never entirely polychromed. Coloured gum mastic was usually used for heraldic shields, whereas mastic made of black pitch was used for the remaining recessed areas and incised lines in order to create a contrast with the lustrous metal.⁷¹³

Since the late medieval floor level of the chancel is unknown, we cannot say how high the walls of Raet's burial cavity originally were. In his archaeological report of 2008, Dasselaar suggested that the priest may have had a raised tomb: the slab was put atop a rectangular understructure. He further states that this would explain why the slab was removed after the Reformation, since it would have been a hindrance in the newly used room.⁷¹⁴ However, Raet's tomb was most likely planned as a flat horizontal tombstone: the slab was a cover stone that was set over the rectangular grave cavity, flush with the original floor level. This was the prevalent type of monument at the time in the Low Countries, as confirmed by the late medieval tombs in St John's church in Gouda, for instance, where the common burial cavities were covered by flat stone slabs. Moreover, raised freestanding memorial monuments, which were usually covered by a slab with monumental brasses or life-size sculptural effigies, were

⁷¹² Belonje and Greenhill, "Some Brasses," 10: 446.

⁷¹³ H. K. Cameron, "Technical Aspects of Medieval Monumental Brasses," *Archaeological Journal* 131, no. 1 (1974): 232-33. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: Craft*, 42-43. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, 1:128. Brine, *Pious Memories*, 31.

⁷¹⁴ Dasselaar, "Rapport," 16.

normally commissioned by high-ranking clergy, nobility, diplomats or statesmen. The tomb-chest covered by a black stone slab with an inserted effigial monumental brass in the choir of St Stephen's church in Nijmegen, for instance, commemorates Catherine of Bourbon (d. 1469), Duchess of Guelders,⁷¹⁵ or the monumental tomb covered by an effigial sculptured slab in the Jerusalem chapel in Bruges was made for Anselm Adornes (d. 1483) and his wife Margaretha van der Banck (d. ca 1480). The former was the founder of the said chapel, and, among other important appointments, was sent on diplomatic missions to Scotland by the Dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good (r. 1419-1467) and Charles the Bold (r. 1467-1477), and was adviser to James III of Scotland (r. 1460-1480).⁷¹⁶ Although Raet, who was presumably not of noble birth, had acquired a certain status through his position as a beneficed chantry priest and pilgrim, it would not justify this type of monumental tomb. Nevertheless, as will be apparent in the following, the priest distinguished his tomb slab from the common contemporary ones by the use of expensive materials in combination with an exclusive design and superior craftsmanship evident in its execution.

i. Common Features

The arrangement of the iconographic elements on Raet's slab follows the standard layout of the period. The Evangelists' symbols occupy the corner positions and are joined by the bands of the incised border inscription, thereby framing and accentuating the main iconography on the rectangular central field (Figs IV. 4-8). Most late

⁷¹⁵ MeMO, memorial object ID 2324. G. Th. M. Lemmens, "De oude inrichting van de Stevenskerk," in *De Stevenskerk. Historische bijdragen bij gelegenheid van de voltooiing der restauratie Nijmegen september 1969* (Nijmegen: Janssen, 1969): 95-96. Gerard Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 283-85, Fig. 34.

⁷¹⁶ Penninck, *Jeruzalemkerk*, 5-7.

medieval flat tomb slabs of the Northern Netherlands had their design incised into the stone. To be specific, the inscription as well as the central image, such as a chalice, for example, or an effigy of the deceased were cut into the slab. Only the Evangelist symbols in the corners were usually carved in low relief (Figs IV. 4-8). Brasses, on the other hand, were costly inlays at the time that were mostly ordered by affluent citizens to enrich their tomb slabs.⁷¹⁷ As both preserved and recorded funerary monuments of the Low Countries indicate, such composite monuments typically had an inlaid central brass plate or an incised central image with details, such as heraldic shields, made of brass.⁷¹⁸ It was less common, as in Raet's case, that the whole imagery was displayed on inlays of brasses. The priest had opted for a high-cost composite monument, which represented and highlighted the whole religious subject, or imagery, on five separately engraved brass plates.

Moreover, his funerary monument is of high-quality owing to the elegant marginal inscriptions on both the slab and the centre brass as well as the elaborate engravings on the brasses, including hatching (which would have been picked out by black pitch) on the chalice, the Holy Sepulchre, the swords, the straps, the figure of the angel and the foliage in order to create an impression of depth and solidity. This testifies both to his social status and prestige, as we have encountered so far, as well as to his intention to decorate his chapel with lavish materials and extravagant objects. The fact that the priest chose a personal and complex iconography over an effigy of himself to appear on his tomb slab, implies that his supreme motive was to express a specific message through the chosen iconographic programme, which we will explore next.

⁷¹⁷ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, 1: 105-07.

⁷¹⁸ Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, I: 13. Most brasses have perished, leaving indents on the surviving tomb slabs. Only a fair minority remains.

The four Evangelists symbols set around the four corners of the grave slab were a standard feature of late medieval tombstones in the Low Countries. Their identity derives from the four apocalyptic winged creatures seen in the vision of the throne of God in Revelation, encircling the throne of God and praising him in eternity:

Et animal primum simile leoni, et secundum animal simile vitulo, et tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis, et quartum animal simile aquilae volanti. Et quatuor animalia, singula eorum habebant alas senas: et in circuitu, et intus plena sunt oculis: et requiem non habebant die ac nocte, dicentia: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat, et qui est, et qui venturus est.⁷¹⁹ (Rv 4:7-8)

This description, on the other hand, is based on the Old Testament account of the four living creatures in the vision of Ezekiel:⁷²⁰

Et in medio ejus similitudo quatuor animalium: [...] et scintillae quasi aspectus aeris candentis. [...] Similitudo autem vultus eorum, facies hominis et facies leonis a dextris ipsorum quatuor, facies autem bovis a sinistris ipsorum quatuor, et facies aquilae desuper ipsorum quatuor.⁷²¹ (Ez 1:5-10)

Christian exegesis early identified these four-winged creatures, who attend and acclaim the divine throne in the two scriptural visions, as figures representing the four Evangelists. Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons (*ca* 130-*ca* 202), defending the unity of the four gospels, explained that God the creator made all things in due proportion and measure. Therefore, the Gospel should be arranged and harmonised in its fourfold form. He substantiated his argument with references to the quadripartite formation of the whole

⁷¹⁹ “And the first living creature was like a lion: and the second living creature like a calf: and the third living creature, having the face, as it were, of a man: and the fourth living creature was like an eagle flying. And the four living creatures had each of them six wings; and round about and within they are full of eyes. And they rested not day and night, saying: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, who was, and who is, and who is to come.”

⁷²⁰ The four beasts also appear in Daniel, being described as a lioness, a bear, a leopard and a beast with ten horns, one of them with the eyes and the mouth of a man. Dn 7:3-8.

⁷²¹ “And in the midst thereof the likeness of four living creatures: [...], and they sparkled like the appearance of glowing brass. [...] And as for the likeness of their faces: there was the face of a man, and the face of a lion on the right side of all the four: and the face of an ox, on the left side of all the four: and the face of an eagle over all the four.”

universe and to scripture, particularly the two visions of the four apocalyptic beasts. He read the latter as images of the son of God, linking each to one of the four Evangelists and putting forward the opening passage of each gospel to show a particular side of the nature of Christ. Both theophanies were read as demonstrations of the divine authority underlying the testimonies of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, interpreted as the individual but entirely harmonious facets of a single fourfold Gospel in which Christ is revealed.⁷²²

The pairing of the Evangelists with their four evangelical beasts is further used in Jerome's (347-402) introduction to his influential commentary on the gospel of Matthew, known by its opening words "Plures fuisse," where he justified the unity of the four canonical gospels by expounding the parallels in scripture and the significance of their number. He relates each of the four faces of the four living creatures in Ezekiel's vision to one of the four Evangelists, in an order which was to become standard, by referring to the opening lines of each gospel: the first face, that of a man, signifies Matthew, who opens his gospel by describing Christ's human descent, beginning with "Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii David filii Abraham."⁷²³ The second face, the lion, symbolises Mark, in whose gospel the voice of the lion in the desert is heard: "Vox clamatis in deserto: parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas eius."⁷²⁴ Luke is represented by the third face, the calf, or ox, because his gospel opens with the priest Zachariah in the temple, and the ox, as a sacrificial animal, alludes to Christ's sacrificial death.⁷²⁵ Fourthly, the eagle designates John, whose gospel soars

⁷²² Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 3.8.11; 4.20, 10-11. Jennifer O'Reilly, "Patristic and insular traditions of the evangelists: exegesis and iconography," in *Le Isole Britanniche e Roma in età Romanobarbarica*, ed. A. M. Luiselli Fadda and É. Ó. Carragáin (Rome: Herder, 1998), 55. Jennifer O'Reilly, "The Hiberno-Latin tradition of the evangelists and the Gospels of Mael Brigte," *Peritia* 9 (1995): 291.

⁷²³ "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." Mt 1:1.

⁷²⁴ "A voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths." Mk 1:3.

⁷²⁵ Lk 1:5-25.

on the wings of an eagle and hastens to tell the Word – an allusion to John’s opening passage about Christ’s divinity: “in principio erat Verbum.”⁷²⁶ Furthermore, according to Jerome, the unity of the four diverse gospels can be explained by two other parallels in the scripture: The four rivers of paradise, flowing from a single fount in Eden and divided into four rivers to water the whole earth (Gn 2:10-14), as well as the four rings at the corners of the Ark of the Covenant (Ex 25:10-14), by which the shrine was carried, were revealed as being early indications of the relationship between the fourfold Gospel and the Church: the four paradisaic rivers figure the four gospels, which issue from a single source, Christ, and water the whole earth, or Church, through the teachings of the Apostles and other preachers, and the Ark of the Covenant, signifying the divine presence, brought throughout the world by means of its four carrying rings.⁷²⁷ In his commentary on the book of Ezekiel, Jerome links the four living creatures in Ezekiel’s vision with those around Christ majesty in St John’s apocalyptic vision who chant the triple *Sanctus*, and parallels them with the Evangelists. As a means of elucidating both the overall harmony of the four gospels and the distinctive testimony of each of them, Jerome relates the Evangelists, whose gospels go out over all the earth, to the cosmological quaternities: the four elements and their properties, the four seasons of the year, the four cardinal virtues, the four winds or cardinal directions (or parts of the earth).⁷²⁸

Gregory the Great’s homilies on Ezekiel (delivered in 593) confirm Jerome’s identification of the four living creatures with the four Evangelists through their gospel openings in the same order. His significant contribution to the exegetical tradition was

⁷²⁶ “In the beginning was the Word.” Jn 1:1. O’Reilly, “Exegesis,” 56-57.

⁷²⁷ *Commentarium in Matheum*, CCSL 77 (1964), 1-4. O’Reilly, “Exegesis,” 56-57, 63. O’Reilly, “Hiberno-Latin Tradition,” 291, 296.

⁷²⁸ *Commentarium in Hiezechielem*, CCSL (1964), Hom IV, 1-3. O’Reilly, “Exegesis and Iconography,” 57. O’Reilly, “Hiberno-Latin Tradition,” 292, 294.

to show how each gospel, as encapsulated by its opening lines and characterised by its symbolic beast, prefigures a particular aspect of the four mysteries of Christ: he became a man at his birth (incarnation, as described by Matthew), a (sacrificial) ox at his death (crucifixion, as alluded to by Luke), a (waking) lion at his resurrection (as referred to by Mark) and an eagle at his ascension (as expressed by John).⁷²⁹ Gregory thereby demonstrated that the four canonical gospels of the New Testament were prophesied by the four living creatures in the Old Testament, and the harmony of the whole of divine revelation.

The angel occupies a prominent position on Raet's grave slab, taking up most of the space of the centre brass (Fig. II. 10). Representations of angels can frequently be found on late medieval tombstones of the Low Countries.⁷³⁰ As in Gouda, they usually have human bodies, are winged, adolescent or younger, wear halos, are dressed in loose draperies, and, following the tradition of Christ and his disciples, are presented barefoot. They either fulfil a subsidiary role as decorative "extras" to the main imagery, playing musical instruments, swinging censers, presenting inscriptions, holding candles, drapery, text banderoles, or heraldic shields,⁷³¹ or, as in Raet's case, they appear individually in the centre of the tombstone, bearing the coat of arms that identify the deceased below. For example, the tombstone of Katheline (d. 1498), wife of Adriaen the bastard of Reymerswael, in St John's church in Gouda shows an incised angel holding a heraldic shield in the centre of the slab, framed by the incised border inscription and the quadrilobed Evangelists' symbols in the corners (Fig. IV. 8).⁷³² Likewise, the drawing of the lost grave slab of Adriaen Barnoet (d. 1503) and Joanna

⁷²⁹ O'Reilly, "Exegesis and Iconography," 57-58. O'Reilly, "Hiberno-Latin Tradition," 291.

⁷³⁰ In western Christian funerary art, they occur since the fourteenth century. Cf. E. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Rom: Herder, 1968), 1: 631.

⁷³¹ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, 1: 158-159. Henriette s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism* (Leiden: Brill, 1954): 73, 90, 115, 223.

⁷³² MeMO, memorial object ID 1288.

de Rou (d. 1482) in the former St Donatian's church at Bruges, for example, shows a quatrefoiled centre brass, displaying within an angel holding a shield in each of his hands (Fig. IV. 11).⁷³³ Moreover, the preserved brass of a shield-bearing angel, which presumably decorated the grave slab of Jan Wielant (d. 1519) in St James's church at Bruges, appears in the same floating manner as in Gouda, holding a heraldic shield in either hand (Fig. IV. 12).⁷³⁴

The angel in Gouda, being the only figural representation on Raet's tombstone and of considerable size, is a main feature of the overall composition. This leads us to question whether, apart from its decorative function as shield-bearer, a symbolic significance can also be attributed to it. In Christian belief, the angel is generally considered as a celestial being who acts as a protector and an intermediary between God and mankind.⁷³⁵ In this office, they are frequently mentioned in scripture,⁷³⁶ most prominently as agents of the divine will during the Apocalypse.⁷³⁷ There are also biblical references to angels having charge of the righteous and bearing them upwards, notably Psalm 90:11-12: "Quia angelis suis mandabit de te ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis. In manibus portabunt te ne forte offendat ad lapidem pes tuus."⁷³⁸

Furthermore, several works eminent in the period, discussing the relationship between angels and humans, may give us an insight into the late medieval perception of the celestial being. The *De Hierarchia Celesti* by the late fifth to early sixth-century philosopher known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite was widely known and

⁷³³ Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, 1: no. 305.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 468.

⁷³⁵ The word "angel" derives from the Greek word for "messenger" (*angelos*).

⁷³⁶ For example, Abraham offering Isaac as a sacrifice (Gn 22:1-19), Jacob's ladder (Gn 28:12), Annunciation to the Virgin Mary (Lk 1:26-38), Christ's temptation in the wilderness (Mt 4:11) and the angel sitting at Christ's empty Tomb and addressing the holy women (Mt 28:2-7).

⁷³⁷ Mt 24:31, Rv 5-20.

⁷³⁸ "For he hath given his angels charge over thee; to keep thee in all thy ways. In their hands they shall bear thee up: lest thou dash thy foot against a stone."

followed in the late Middle Ages. It divided angels into nine choirs, which were grouped into three hierarchies: 1.) Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, 2.) Dominations, Virtues, Powers, 3.) Princedoms, Archangels, Angels. The first hierarchy surrounded God in perpetual adoration, the Thrones sustaining him; the second governed the stars and elements; of the third, the Princedoms protected the kingdoms of the earth, and Archangels and Angels were divine messengers. It is through the third hierarchy that the heavenly contact is maintained with the created universe and with man, for these are the executors of the will of God. The princedoms are the dispensers of the fate of nations; the archangels are the warriors of heaven; the angels are the guardians of the innocent and the just.

In addition, there are late medieval works that particularly discuss the angels' role at the death of man and how their effort benefits souls in purgatory. For instance, the *Breviari d'Amor* (after 1288) by the Franciscan friar from Béziers, Matfre Ermengau (d. 1322),⁷³⁹ presented in text and in a detailed and systematic sequence of illustrations, in the section "Estoria dels officis dels angels," the following six duties of the angels: protection of the faithful, carrying prayers to God, consoling the troubled, bringing food and drink to the faithful, delivering messages from God and accompanying the souls of the deceased.⁷⁴⁰ Likewise, the popular *Ars Moriendi* described the tasks of the angels both in text and images, often emphasising the fate of the departed and their benefit in the afterlife: angels are present during the last rites, fending off the devil; they fight against the attacks of the demons at the weighing of souls; they take care of the souls of the deceased and escort them to heaven; sometimes they are present at the funeral or liturgical commemorations; and most importantly,

⁷³⁹ Ed. G. Azaïs, Béziers, 1862.

⁷⁴⁰ "History of the offices (or duties) of the angels."

they help the souls in purgatory reap the benefits of the intercessory prayers and masses recited and performed for the dead by the living: they give communion to the souls in purgatory, rescue them from the malice of the devils and free the purged souls.

These works attest to the late medieval notion of a personal sympathy of the angel with the fate of the deceased, which motivated depictions of angels on funerary art.⁷⁴¹ In this sense, the representation of the individual angel as bearer of coat of arms on Raet's tombstone can be interpreted as both a guardian and as an intercessor on behalf of the departed.⁷⁴² It facilitates our understanding of the twofold intention that underlies the motif of the shield-bearing angel. To begin with, the angel stands for the deceased, as it holds the coat of arms that shows the founder's accomplishments in life. On the one hand, the beholder of the tombstone – who, due to the grave's location in the sanctuary of the chapel, was the celebrant of the mass – would be reminded that Raet has earned credit in front of God and is worthy of commemoration. On the other hand, it is easy for the beholder to envision that, on the day of the founder's judgement, the angel would present the two heraldic shields to God and petition on his behalf for a place in heaven. As a further matter, the special relation of the angels to individual people is also implied in the requiem mass, which was celebrated in Raet's chapel to ease his sufferings in purgatory. Especially relevant is a reference in the Collect in the Absolution: "sed jubeas eam a sanctis angelis suscipe et ad patriam paradisi perduci."⁷⁴³ The prayer for pardon said over the grave following the mass emphasised the angels' task of transporting souls to heaven, while – as is the case of Gouda – a floating angel was visually present on the tombstone, acting as a visual aid and triggering thoughts about the salvation of the founder's soul. Finally, the posture of

⁷⁴¹ At the time, angels were usually depicted without any emotional expressions.

⁷⁴² Cf. Greenhill, *Effigial Slabs*, 1: 306.

⁷⁴³ "But you command the holy angels to take it (the soul) up and lead it home to Paradise."

the angel depicted on Raet's grave slab, balancing two shields on straps in his hands, recalls late medieval depictions of St Michael the archangel in scenes of the Last Judgement, on which he is a central figure, weighing the souls of the dead with a pair of scales in his hands.⁷⁴⁴

ii. Personal Features

After having analysed the standard features, shared with other tombs in the region, we can now investigate the personal features of Raet's tombstone. The first distinctive element is the iconography presented on the two heraldic shields. In lieu of an effigy, the priest identified himself through his personal coat of arms, in addition to the border inscription of the stone. In the late medieval Low Countries, it was standard practise for members of the nobility to display their escutcheons on their graves, either in combination with an effigy of the deceased or centrally presented, without the effigy (Figs IV. 8, 11 and 12).⁷⁴⁵ However, there is no evidence in the written sources to indicate that the founder of the Jerusalem chapel was of noble descent and, what is more, his armorial bearings on the tombstone are not those of an aristocratic family but rather personally-devised. His financial records, attesting to a stable and affluent monetary situation, rather show that Raet was part of the wealthy urban bourgeoisie – a social position that probably came to him through an inheritance and which he maintained through good money management. This leads us to investigate what

⁷⁴⁴ A common motif prevalent in the late Middle Ages. RDK, I: 307-8. See, for instance, the depiction of the Last Judgement on the Beaune altarpiece (1445-1450) by Rogier van der Weyden. The angel is described as “engel der opstanding” in the third volume of De Lange van Wijngaerden's chronicle of Gouda. “Angel of the Resurrection.” Scheltema, *Geschiedenis*, 143.

⁷⁴⁵ For more examples, see MeMO and Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten Brugge, passim*.

exactly the symbols on the two heraldic shields signified and how they conveyed the founder's position and social status.

To begin with, in Christian art, the chalice is the symbol of the Eucharist, as it contains the consecrated wine and water, which is consumed during the Holy Communion in commemoration of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion. The wine symbolically represents Christ's blood, which was shed during his sacrificial death on the Cross and through which he saved humankind and enabled its salvation.⁷⁴⁶ In this sense, the chalice on the dexter shield represents Christ's blood sacrifice and Christian faith in eternal life. At the same time, the chalice is the emblem of priesthood. It refers to the celebration of the Eucharist, the central ceremony that the priest performs during the Christian liturgy. Depictions of chalices are commonly found on late medieval tombstones of clerics in the Low Countries, such as, for example, on the grave slabs of Cornelis Cornelisz. (d. 1527) at Portugaal, South Holland (Fig. IV. 5), Jan Heye Daemsz. (d. 1537) in St John church at Gouda (Fig. IV. 13), Wouter de Raet (d. 1510) in St Saviour's church at Bruges (Fig. IV. 14), and on the lost tomb slab of the priest Pierre de Virnay (d. 1468), formerly St Martin church in Roubaix (Fig. IV. 15).⁷⁴⁷ Therefore, the chalice on Raet's grave slab also stands for his profession and his social position as a clergyman.

The palm branch is traditionally a symbol of victory in Christianity. Martyrs are depicted with a palm to suggest their triumph over death. The association is based on the passage in the Book of Revelation, describing the martyrs clothed with white robes and standing with palm fronds in their hands before the throne of God at the Last

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. Mt 26:27-29, Mk 14:23-25, Lk 22:17-18 and 22:20, Jn 6:55-57.

⁷⁴⁷ For more information on the tombstones, see MeMO, ID 1707, ID 13033. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten Brugge*, 461-62 (no. 433). Brine, *Pious Memories*, 24n106. Further examples are to be found in all of these sources.

Judgement.⁷⁴⁸ Christ is also often shown holding the palm branch as a symbol of his triumph over original sin and death. More often, the palm is associated with his triumphant entry into Jerusalem before his arrest and Passion, when the people greeted him before the city gate and spread cut branches from palm trees in his path:

In crastinum autem, turba multa quae venerat ad diem festum, cum audissent quia venit Jesus Jerosolymam, acceperunt ramos palmarum, et processerunt obviam ei, et clamabant: Hosanna, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, rex Israël. (Jn 12:12-13)⁷⁴⁹

Christ's ride into earthly Jerusalem prefigures his entry into heavenly Jerusalem.⁷⁵⁰ Hence, the palm branch is also an emblem of resurrection, paradise and everlasting life. These wider meanings have a more particular significance in Raet's case. Holy Land pilgrims from the Low Countries brought back palms of Jericho as a token of their journey and as a sign of their belief in the afterlife.⁷⁵¹ Having joined the local or nearby Jerusalem Brotherhood after their return, the pilgrims were commonly referred to as "Knights of the Holy Sepulchre" and, as we have seen, they prominently featured in the Palm Sunday procession.⁷⁵² When re-enacting Christ's triumphant ride into Jerusalem, they accompanied the wooden donkey with the effigy of Christ, shouldering their palm branches and wearing a Jerusalem cross on their robes or on a necklace.⁷⁵³ The palm frond and the Jerusalem cross were often reproduced on late medieval funerary art, notably tombstones, epitaphs or stained-glass windows in order to highlight the deceased's status as Jerusalem pilgrim and Knight of the Holy

⁷⁴⁸ Rv 7:9-10.

⁷⁴⁹ "And on the next day, a great multitude that was to come to the festival day, when they had heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried: Hosanna, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the king of Israel." See also, Mt 21:8-9 and Mk 11:8-10.

⁷⁵⁰ Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995), 77-89, 195-202.

⁷⁵¹ Gonnet, "Bedevaart," 198.

⁷⁵² Cf. Chapters II. F. 2. and II. G.

⁷⁵³ Campen, "Jeruzalembroederschap," 52-59.

Sepulchre (Figs I. 61, III. 2-3, IV. 6-7). Thus, the two palm branches on the dexter shield of Raet's grave slab also allude to his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, his status as a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre and member of the small Jerusalem Brotherhood in Gouda, which we saw existed there between 1469 and 1541, as well as his role in the town's Palm Sunday procession.

The Jerusalem cross appears on the dexter half of the sinister shield. It consists of a large cross potent surrounded by four smaller Greek crosses, which symbolise the five wounds of Christ, Christ and the four quarters of the world, and Christ and the four Evangelists,⁷⁵⁴ and has been understood as the symbol of the Holy City since the time of the first Crusade, when the emblem was worn by the Crusaders. In the case of Gouda, the cross leaves no doubt that the empty sarcophagus, which is pictured below, represents the Tomb of Christ inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. As was common in late medieval Christian art, for example when depicting a Resurrection scene, the Tomb of the son of God was shown as a coffin and not as the hollowed-out rock tomb of the gospel narrative.⁷⁵⁵ On Raet's grave slab, the stylised version of the empty Tomb in combination with the Jerusalem cross are shown as a single escutcheon in the form of an achievement of arms.⁷⁵⁶ His Tomb was the ultimate holy site in Christendom, which the priest venerated and visited himself, from where he brought back relics and to which he dedicated his chapel, in hope of Christ's intercession and the salvation of his soul in the afterlife.

The spiked wheel pierced by two swords in saltire on the sinister half of the sinister shield is the particular attribute of St Catherine of Alexandria. Both

⁷⁵⁴ William Wood Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History and Art* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1898), 365.

⁷⁵⁵ Cf. Biddle, *Tomb of Christ*, 20-21, 28.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. Ottfried Neubecker, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 222.

instruments are linked to her martyrdom, the wheel alluding to her torture and the sword to her beheading.⁷⁵⁷ Her emblems are represented as a single escutcheon in the form of an achievement of arms. Like Christ, the saint is represented through a coat of arms.⁷⁵⁸ It refers to Raet's particular devotion to St Catherine and the long and hazardous detour he undertook to visit her tomb in St Catherine's Monastery on the Sinai Peninsula with the expectation and desire for her intercession at his judgement. It is interesting that the sinister shield of the tombstone is marshalled. In heraldry, married couples usually have a combined coat of arms within one shield to indicate marriage, descent, or the bearing of office. The arms of the husband are placed on the dexter half of the escutcheon and the arms of the wife on the sinister half.⁷⁵⁹ The same principle can be applied to the shield in Gouda. In the late Middle Ages, St Catherine was considered as the spiritual bride of Christ. According to the Golden Legend, Christ appeared to her in a dream after her baptism and took her as his celestial spouse. He put a ring on her finger, which the saint found upon awakening and which she kept for the rest of her life.⁷⁶⁰ The mystic marriage of St Catherine was a frequent subject in late medieval paintings of the Low Countries, depicting the moment when the Christ child, sitting on the lap of his mother, offers the ring to the virgin saint from Alexandria.⁷⁶¹ On Raet's tombstone, the theme is very originally described in heraldic terms: the emblems of Christ are contained within the heraldic half of the husband and those of St Catherine within the heraldic half of the wife.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 720-27.

⁷⁵⁸ For the attribution of arms to Christ and saints, see Neubecker, *Heraldry*, 222-24.

⁷⁵⁹ F. J. Grant, *The Manual of Heraldry* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1929), 35. Neubecker, *Heraldry*, 46, 234.

⁷⁶⁰ Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 720-27.

⁷⁶¹ For instance, the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* by Hans Memling, ca 1480 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); or by David Gérard, 1505-1510 (National Gallery, London); or by the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy, late fifteenth century (Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels). See also, Carolyn Diskant Muir, "St. Agnes of Rome as a bride of Christ: a northern European phenomenon, c. 1450-1520," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 31, no. 3 (2004-2005): 134-55.

Taken together, the pilgrimage iconography, including the palms, the Jerusalem cross above Christ's empty Tomb and the wheel of St Catherine, as has already been pointed out, also refer to the priest's acquired title of "ridder goods van iherusalem ende van sinte katherijn"⁷⁶² – a status, which is visually documented through the established insignia. The fact that two palm branches frame the chalice and that, rather uncommonly,⁷⁶³ two swords pierce the St Catherine's wheel, possibly reflects his twofold knighthood – the one of the Holy Sepulchre and the one of St Catherine.⁷⁶⁴ All in all, it is striking that Raet, although presumably not hailing from an armigerous family, created his own personal heraldic bearings, applying rules of heraldry. The emblems on his heraldic shields have each a twofold meaning. On the one hand, they are religious symbols conveying the priest's beliefs in resurrection and eternal life in paradise as well as his particular devotion to Christ and St Catherine. On the other hand, they represent Raet's social standing and greatest achievements in life: priesthood, pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre and of St Catherine. Other examples of self-fabricated coats of arms in the late medieval Low Countries do exist. The wall-mounted memorial of Guillaume Dufay, composer and canon at Cambrai Cathedral, and illegitimate son of a priest and an unmarried woman, for instance, shows a self-conceived device. It consists of letters and musical notes, forming a rebus on his name (Fig. IV. 17).⁷⁶⁵ In Raet's case, it is fair to say that the creation of his heraldic shields is an expression not only of his social status but also of his social aspirations – an aspect, which we have already encountered with the establishment of his first chantry in St Mary Magdalene's convent, his

⁷⁶² SAMH, 91, inv. 19, between fols 51v and 52r.

⁷⁶³ The emblem of St Catherine, depicted on contemporary funerary monuments of the Low Countries, is usually pierced by just one sword.

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten Brugge*, 324-26 (no. 324).

⁷⁶⁵ Brine, *Pious Memories*, 97, 257n38.

pilgrimage to the Levant and the establishment of his Jerusalem chapel. It appears as if his elevation to the status of knight has given him the right to bear his own arms.

Another individual characteristic of the priest's tomb slab is the quotation from the Book of Job, running along the edge of the trefoil, and framing the angel with the heraldic shields. In order to get a better understanding of the motivations behind the priest's choice of text, it is necessary to take into account both the late medieval exegesis of the Book of Job and its liturgical use in the Office of the Dead at that time. To begin with, the subject of the Old Testament Book is the suffering of the upright man Job, living in the land of Uz, which results from an argument between God and Satan. The latter questions whether Job's faith would be strong enough to survive adversity. God allows Satan to test Job: His livestock is stolen and destroyed, his servants are slain, his children die in a hurricane, which also razes his house, and Job is covered with horrible skin sores from head to toe. Sitting on a dunghill, he faces his wife and friends, who scold and deride him. Despite all the hardships, nothing can destroy his faith in God, he endures everything without blasphemy. In the end, God responds to Job from a whirlwind and restores his health and prosperity.

In the late Middle Ages, treatises by the Latin Church Fathers, like Saint Augustine (354-430) or Saint Gregory the Great (*ca* 540-604) were widely read and reproduced and influenced the religious beliefs of the time. In particular, Gregory's influential and popular commentary on the Book of Job *Moralia in Job* (between 578 and 595) was central to late medieval biblical exegesis.⁷⁶⁶ In his preface, Gregory

⁷⁶⁶ For the influence and popularity of Gregory's *Moralia*, see Gregory the Great, *Moral Reflections on the Book of Job*, trans. Brian Kerns (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2016), introduction by Mark DelCogliano, 1: 6-40. Constant J. Mews and Claire Renkin, "The Legacy of Gregory the Great in the Latin West," in *A Companion to Gregory the Great*, ed. Bronwen Neil and Matthew Dal Santo (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 315-42. Ann Kuzdale, "The Reception of Gregory in the Renaissance and Reformation," in *ibid.*, 359-86. Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis, Volume 2: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. E. M. Macierowski (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 2: 117-125.

interprets Job and his sufferings as a prefiguration or “type of the Redeemer who was to come:”⁷⁶⁷

Unde et necesse fuit ut etiam beatus Job, [...], eum quem voce diceret ex conversatione signaret; et per ea quae pertulit, quae passurus esset ostenderet; tantoque verius passionis illius sacramenta praediceret, quanto haec non loquendo tantummodo, sed etiam patiendo prophetaret.⁷⁶⁸

Regarding Job 17:12 and 17:13, Gregory explains that “lux enim post tenebras speratur, quia vel post noctem vitae praesentis aeternum lumen percipitur.”⁷⁶⁹ He further comments that because we have been redeemed by Christ, we have now regained access to heaven, and when the ancient saints, like Job, died, their souls could not go to heaven straight away, because they went to hell for original sin – even though they had no penalty to pay for their own deeds – and they had to wait for Christ, who would descend there and lead the souls of the just to heaven. Therefore, for Gregory, Job’s statement “et rursus post tenebras spero lucem”⁷⁷⁰ expresses the ancient saint’s knowledge that the reward of the just is delayed. The Roman pope goes on to say that Job, in the affliction that he suffers, rightly adds “si sustinero, infernus domus mea est: et in tenebris stravi lectulum meum,”⁷⁷¹ because “in tenebris lectulum stravisse est in inferno sibi requiem praeparasse.”⁷⁷² He remarks that it was a terrible weariness for the chosen ones after their bodily death not yet to see the Creator’s face, therefore the ancient saint rightly calls this weariness darkness.⁷⁷³ Thus, Gregory understands Job

⁷⁶⁷ Gregory the Great, *Moral Reflections on the Book of Job*, 1: 71 (VII. 16).

⁷⁶⁸ “Accordingly, blessed Job, [...] had to speak of Christ verbally and reveal Christ in his life. He was to shed light on Christ’s passion by what he suffered and truly to foretell the mystery of Christ’s suffering to the extent that he prophesied it not only by speaking but also by suffering.” Gregory, *Moral Reflections*, 1: 70 (Praefatio. Caput VI. 14).

⁷⁶⁹ “We hope for light after darkness [...] in the sense that after the night of the present time, we glimpse the light of eternity.” Gregory, *Moral Reflections*, 3: 134 (Liber Decimus Tertius. Caput XLIII. 48).

⁷⁷⁰ “And after darkness I hope for light again.” Job 17:12.

⁷⁷¹ “If I wait hell is my house, and I have made my bed in darkness.” Job 17:13.

⁷⁷² “To have made their beds in the darkness means to have prepared their resting places in hell.” Gregory, *Moral Reflections*, 3: 134-135 (Liber Decimus Tertius. Caput XLIV. 49).

⁷⁷³ Ibid.

to allegorically refer to the three final stages of both his life and that of Christ: death, hell, and eternity in heaven, thereby affirming the Christian hope of going beyond mortality in resurrection.

In our funeral and memorial context, it is further noteworthy that Job 17:12-13 precedes a famous passage on immortality and the hope for salvation in the Old Testament book:

Scio enim quod redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum meum: quem visurus sum ego ipse, et oculi mei conspecturi sunt, et non alius: reposita est haec spes mea in sinu meo. (Job 19:25-27)⁷⁷⁴

As concerns these verses, Gregory reads the man from Uz as an important Old Testament witness, who foretells the resurrection of the body on the day of the Judgement of humankind⁷⁷⁵ – an event that is also allegorically testified by the restoration of Job’s wasted body after a long period of suffering.⁷⁷⁶ Finally, it is worth remarking that Job was considered as a human being, whose speeches reached God and whom the Almighty answered (Job 38-41).

Another significant source regarding the late medieval understanding of the Book of Job, is its liturgical use in the western Christian Office of the Dead. The latter was principally celebrated before the day of the funeral, but also during the typical repetitions of the Office in the third, seventh, and thirtieth day after the decease and on their respective anniversaries, as well as during the annual recitation for all the dead on All Souls’ Day, or as a Votive Office: as a daily or occasional commemoration of

⁷⁷⁴ “For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I will see my God. Whom I myself shall see, and my eyes shall behold, and not another: this my hope is laid up in my bosom.”

⁷⁷⁵ Gregory, *Moral Reflections*, 3: 191-200 (Liber Decimus Quartus. Caput LIV.67-LVIII.78).

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. Job 19:20 and 19:26. Ronald L. Martinez, “Dante’s Forese, the Book of Job, and the Office of the Dead: A note on Purgatorio 23” *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society* 120 (2002), 5.

the dead, practiced for the salvation of their souls.⁷⁷⁷ Hence, it was part of late medieval everyday liturgical life.⁷⁷⁸ Sung and recited in Latin, the *Officium Defunctorum* comprised Vespers, known by its introit as *Placebo*, Vigils (or Matins), known by its introit as *Dirige*, and Lauds; the last two ceremonies taking place during the night.⁷⁷⁹ A long-established sequence of verses drawn from Job books 7-19 formed the core of the Vigils.⁷⁸⁰ The latter consisted of three nocturns, each nocturn contained three psalms, read with antiphons, and was followed by three lessons (or readings) from Job, and each lesson was accompanied by a responsorial chant.⁷⁸¹ When recited as a Votive Office, it was common for only one of the three nocturns (i.e. a short office with three lessons) to be used on a rota basis.⁷⁸² Interestingly, the nine lessons of the Vigils – (1) Job 7:16-21, (2) Job 10:1-7, (3) Job 10:8-12, (4) Job 13:22-28, (5) Job 14:1-6, (6) Job 14:13-16, (7) Job 17:1-3, 11-15, (8) Job 19:20-27, and (9) Job 10:18-22⁷⁸³ – are thematically appropriate selected passages from various chapters of the Book of Job,

⁷⁷⁷ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 105-08, 308. Martinez, “Dante’s Forese,” 6-7. Knud Ottosen, *Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993) 3, 44. In addition to the Office of the Dead, the text was read liturgically during the first two weeks of September during Ordinary Time. Lawrence L. Besserman, *The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1979), 64. See also the Breviary and Missal of Haymo of Favesham, ed. by S. J. P. van Dijk, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1984), 2, 111. Westminster, MD: Newman Press 1960.

⁷⁷⁸ In the late Middle Ages, the Office for the Dead was also frequently to be found in medieval Book of Hours of the laity, its illuminations often having the Book of Job as its subject matter. Stephen J. Vicchio, *The Image of the Biblical Job. A History. Volume Two: Job in the Medieval World* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 2: 61. Cf. Martinez, “Dante’s Forese,” 7.

⁷⁷⁹ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 105-08, 308.

⁷⁸⁰ Martinez, “Dante’s Forese,” 5. The Office for the Dead can be traced to documents in the seventh century, and the readings of the verses from Job seem to go back to early Christianity. But how early Job was incorporated into the Christian burial service and when the Office for the Dead was written, both remain matters of scholarly dispute. The author is unknown. For the history of the Office and hypothesised authors, see Vicchio, *Job in Medieval World*, 47-51.

⁷⁸¹ A complete order of the Office of the Dead can be found in Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 106-08. A full census of responses and versicles to the matins of the medieval Office of the Dead is available in Ottosen, *Responsories*, 7-9, 51-93.

⁷⁸² Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 106

⁷⁸³ Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the ninth reading was added to the Vigils, reflecting the adaption of the Office of the Dead to an emphasis on the doctrine of Purgatory, which was officially defined and promulgated at the Council of Lyons in 1274. Martinez, “Dante’s Forese,” 6. Cf. Ottosen, *Responsories*, 42-49.

where the man from Uz is always the speaker, expressing his views.⁷⁸⁴ Readings 1-7 are quite sombre in tone, where the ancient expresses his hopelessness and its accompanying grief. This is followed by the well-known passage of the Old Testament book in reading 8, where Job affirms his faith in the resurrection and his certitude of seeing God after death. The final lesson ends on a bleak note, referring to the land of gloom and chaos, where light is darkness.⁷⁸⁵

In the Office of the Dead, Job is portrayed differently than in Gregory's *Moralia*. Whereas the latter sees the man from Uz as the long-suffering, patient figure of fortitude and precursor of Christ, the unknown authors of the Office also give the picture of a grief-stricken, angry and despairing Job, highlighting the tensions between his faith and despair.⁷⁸⁶ The *Officium Defunctorum* saw the ancient as a simple man, who suffers, grieves and hopes like the rest of humanity, while facing death and undeserved suffering. This, combined with the first-person narrative, gave the mourning members of the church a way to express one's own grief by identifying with the figure of Job – a way of assuaging the diverse feelings attending suffering and death.⁷⁸⁷

Having gained an insight into the late medieval perception of the figure of Job, we can now look into the reasons why Raet has selected the verses from Job for his tombstone. First, when comparing the original text of Job 17:12 and 17:13 to the priest's motto:⁷⁸⁸

Noctem verterunt in diem, **et rursus post tenebras spero lucem.**⁷⁸⁹
Si sustinero, infernus domus mea est: et **in tenebris stravi lectulum meum.**⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 106-07. Vicchio, *Job in Medieval World*, 50 and 52.

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid., 52-55. Cf. Ottosen, *Responsories*, 53-60, 62.

⁷⁸⁶ Vicchio, *Job in Medieval World*, 51-56, 62-63.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., 63. Cf. Martinez, "Dante's Forese," 7-8. Besserman, *Legend of Job*, 64.

⁷⁸⁸ Raet's chosen verses are indicated in bold type.

⁷⁸⁹ "They have turned night into day, and after darkness I hope for light again." Job 17:12.

⁷⁹⁰ "If I wait hell is my house, and I have made my bed in darkness." Job 17:13.

it becomes obvious that the priest has picked out only one half of the original verses and turned the quotation around. By doing so, he fabricated a very personal motto for his funerary monument – an innovative feature, similar to the creation of his heraldic shields on the same tomb slab. The design of the border inscription of the centre brass facilitates the reading of the text: The emphatically-flourished capital letter in the apex of the top ogee arch signals to the beholder where to start reading the verses and determines their reading order: Job 17:13, Job 17:12.⁷⁹¹ Moreover, the foliate ornaments between the words and syllables link the two quotations and let them appear as a unity, stressing the idea of eternity, the oneness of God, or the Trinity, which as has been shown, is symbolically represented by the shape of the trefoil.

This leaves us to question what exactly the message is that the founder's motto, "In tenebris stravi lectulum meum. Et rursus post tenebras spero lucem,"⁷⁹² conveyed. As a theologically informed clergyman, Raet must have been familiar with Gregory's *Moralia* and certainly was accustomed to performing the Office for the Dead. The latter can be confirmed by the fact that the priest chose verses from Job, which were included in the seventh reading of the Vigils in the Office for the Dead. In these lines, which appear before the well-known Job quote on bodily resurrection and hope of salvation in the eighth reading, the ancient saint, who is the speaker, already alludes to human mortality and eternal life by figuratively comparing life and death to light and darkness. In accordance with Gregory's interpretation, we learn that the man from Uz has prepared for his final rest and is hoping for life after death. Fascinatingly, however, it is not only Job who talks through the quotation. In the same way that the first-person

⁷⁹¹ The beginning of Raet's quote of Job 17:12, starting with the word "Et," is positioned in the right ogee arch (at the end of the right arc) and adorned with less flourishes, and therefore less perceptible as a starting point to read the verses on the centre brass.

⁷⁹² "I have made my bed in darkness. And after darkness I hope for light again."

narrative of the nine readings from Job in the Office of the Dead also gives voice to the deceased and, by implication, the reader of the Office,⁷⁹³ the personal pronoun “I” in Raet’s motto allows the founder and, by implication, the beholder of the tomb slab to express his belief. Most importantly though, intensified by the metaphor of light and darkness, the beholder has the impression that Raet himself is speaking, alluding to the situation after his decease: In the darkness of the grave (also physically represented by the dark tombstone) the priest rests until he will be awakened by the heavenly light of paradise (also physically represented by the gleaming surface of the brasses, displaying religious imagery). Consequently, through his motto on the tombstone, the founder, using a metaphor from Job, communicates his belief in the afterlife and hope for salvation.

2. The Memorial Triptych

The foundation notes of *circa* 1517 reveal that the sanctuary of the Jerusalem chapel housed another funerary monument:

Affixitque in muro refectorij nostri historiam resurrectionis domini ex lapide albo laboriose et artificiose sculptam et varijs coloribus depictam cum suis valuis a foris et ab intus.⁷⁹⁴

We learn that the northern wall of the chancel, the main wall (or rear wall), featured an elaborate triptych, depicting the story of the Resurrection of Christ. Its centre panel contained a sculpted relief, made of white stone and polychromed, and its wings were

⁷⁹³ Cf. Ottosen, *Responsories*, 43-44, 53-54. Martinez, “Dante’s Forese,” 7, 9.

⁷⁹⁴ “And he affixed to the wall of our refectory the story of the Resurrection of the Lord, laboriously and skilfully sculpted out of white stone, and painted in various colours, together with its wings on the outside and inside.” SAMH, 91, inv. 58, fols 1r-1v. The south wall of the refectory of the Brethren of the Common Life was the north wall of the chancel of Raet’s chapel.

painted on both sides. It appears to be the type of monument, which Douglas Brine has investigated in the late medieval Southern Netherlands and suitably termed “wall-mounted memorial.”⁷⁹⁵ Several aspects indicate that this was Raet’s memorial triptych, or epitaph.⁷⁹⁶ In the late medieval Low Countries, this type of funerary art was commonly placed on church walls or columns above or near graves to mark burial spots and commemorate the deceased interred below.⁷⁹⁷ It took the form of a panel painting, sculpted relief or brass plaque, either with or without shutters.⁷⁹⁸ In the case of Gouda, the phrase “affixit in muro” points out that the artwork was fixed to the rear wall of the chancel. It seems likely that the sculpted centre panel was incorporated into the wall and not hung up onto it. Considering that the same wall measured *circa* 6.50 m wide, the triptych – as the main feature – would have been designed to optimally fill the available space. For this reason, it would have made sense to install the stone panel into the brickwork of the wall so that the latter bore the heavy weight of the artwork. Other late medieval written sources of the Low Countries describe a similar technique. For instance, the account books of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, state that the sovereign commissioned a sculpted and winged wall memorial in 1440 and paid, among other craftsmen, a “metsere, omme den muer op te brekene ende de voirschreve taeffele daerinne te settene.”⁷⁹⁹ Surviving late medieval carved wall memorials in the Northern Netherlands, still incorporated into the church wall, also testify to this

⁷⁹⁵ The term “epitaph” gives a general idea of the position and function of a wall memorial. However, Brine has discarded the term in his study, since it has rather epigraphic and literary connotations in modern English and does not take into account the significant pictorial aspects of the concerned monuments. Wall-mounted memorials take the form of sculpted reliefs, brass plaques, or panel paintings. Brine, *Pious Memories*, 7-9.

⁷⁹⁶ In Dutch, this type of monument is called *memoriestuk* (memorial piece) due to its commemorative function.

⁷⁹⁷ Brine, *Pious Memories*, 7-9.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 7-9.

⁷⁹⁹ “A mason, to break up the wall and to put in the aforementioned panel.” Account of the Receipt General of Brabant, 1439-1440, ed. in A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres* (Ghent, 1860), 1: 115-16. Cf. Douglas Brine, “Rogier van der Weyden and Early Netherlandish Wall Memorials,” *immediations* 2, no. 1 (2008): Appendix.

practice. For instance, the ones in St Peter's church as well as in the Dom church, both in Utrecht, are level with the surface of the adjoining church wall. They may have originally had wooden shutters, which swung open on hinges.

Raet's grave was located alongside the north wall of the chancel, below the triptych on the same wall, suggesting that the monuments were related. Rare but convincing written and visual evidence confirms that memorial panels were commissioned to accompany nearby tombstones. For example, the damaged sculpted memorial tablet of the priest Pierre de Virnay (d. 1468) in St Martin church at Roubaix in present-day northern France was known to have accompanied a lost floor brass incised with an inscription and a chalice design, which is recorded in a nineteenth-century engraving (Figs IV. 15-16). Or, in his will of 1418, for instance, the Tournai nobleman Pierre de Hauteville gave very detailed instructions of the sculpted relief he wished to be erected above his grave.⁸⁰⁰ In other cases, some had already installed a wall memorial before their death and expressed the wish to be buried near their commissions in their wills. The composer and canon Guillaume Dufay, for example, stipulated in his will of 1474 that he wished to be buried in a chapel inside Cambrai Cathedral "ante representationem meam lapideam."⁸⁰¹ Wall memorials usually served as an alternative monument to the nearby tomb slab, which was motivated by practical reasons.⁸⁰² These were linked to the late medieval culture of *memoria* and the Christians' fear of fading into oblivion, which we have encountered so far. Tomb slabs were vulnerable to being rubbed smooth by churchgoers' feet or being covered by furniture or building work. A memorial placed on a wall or pillar near one's grave, on

⁸⁰⁰ Brine, *Pious Memories*, 229 (Appendix, Document 1).

⁸⁰¹ "Before my representation in stone." L. Nys, "Un relief Tournaisien conservé au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lille," *Mémoires de la Société royale d'histoire et d'archéologie de Tournai* 6 (1989): 8.

⁸⁰² Brine, *Pious Memories*, 24-25.

the other hand, was in a relatively safe position. It served as an additional provision in case the slab was effaced, removed or concealed, without consuming valuable space or hindering physical movement inside a church or chapel.⁸⁰³ Given that Raet's tomb was situated inside the sanctuary of his personal chapel, there was less danger that it would be trampled upon and effaced by the heedless feet of visitors. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the triptych served as the priest's grave-marker and additional means of commemoration. Owing to the screen, the tombstone was not directly visible to the churchgoers. The sumptuous memorial triptych, however, drew their attention to the founder's final burial place. Typically, the epitaph would have included a depiction of Raet kneeling in front of the religious scene, encouraging intercessory prayers by the visitors of his chapel. It was positioned opposite the "Holy Sepulchre," forming a visual axis between the depiction of Christ's resurrection and the replica of His Tomb, symbolically offering a promise of resurrection from death and everlasting life to the visitors. Through the iconographic programme of his wall memorial and its spatial connection to the "Tomb Aedicule" Raet associated his death with the death and resurrection of Christ, thereby communicating his hope for salvation to the beholders and inspiring them to pray for the benefit of his soul.

⁸⁰³ Brine, *Pious Memories*, 24-25, 39.

D. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the interior arrangement of the chapel's sanctuary and the funerary monuments contained within. The position of Raet's tombstone has been connected to his concern for the afterlife. Thereby, the location of the altar could be established with great certainty. The analysis of the tombstone has revealed a complex iconographic programme, allowing Raet to convey his belief in eternal life after death. The wall-mounted triptych has been established as Raet's epitaph, strategically positioned at the main wall, expressing the founder's hope for salvation and encouraging intercessory prayers of the congregation.

V. Conclusion

This thesis has explored the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda in light of late medieval *memoria*. Firstly, the analysis of the written sources has enabled me to establish a profile of the founder in the socio-historical context of his time. It became apparent that Raet was in contact with higher-ranking ecclesiastics and noblemen, which presumably helped him in his ecclesiastical career. I have shown that, in his role as churchwarden, Raet was involved in the day-to-day running of the parish church and that, in his role as chantry priest, he played a part in commemorating the dead. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that Raet started preparing for his own death at an early stage in his life and that his choice of *memoria* provision was guided by two principles: status and salvation. Both his chantry in St Mary Magdalene's convent and his grave in the parish church made him stand out against the general trend of the time and allowed for optimal benefits with regard to his expected time in purgatory. The documents also revealed that the priest was skilled in good money-management and that the termination of his first chantry can be understood as preparation for both his pilgrimage to the East and his future chapel. I have pointed out that the early existence of the Jerusalem Brotherhood in Gouda, the accessibility of other Jerusalem chapels in the diocese and the circulation of pilgrimage literature in and around Gouda may have inspired this change of plan with regard to his *memoria* provision in the middle of his life. My investigation has recognised Raet's pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Sinai as both a preparation for the afterlife and a desire for social status in the present. More generally, it has shown that where a significant building or artistic commission can be attributed to the patronage of particular individuals, it is valuable to examine the

archival sources in order to see whether there is any evidence as to how it fits into a larger pattern of their concerns rather than considering it as an isolated event.

My analysis has further demonstrated that Raet meticulously planned the foundation of his Jerusalem chapel in advance, including its strategic position within the cityscape and the securing of its perpetual existence even before the chapel was built. It became apparent that Raet devised the chapel as his burial place from the beginning and that he attached great importance to its sumptuous decoration and equipment. The discussion revealed connections to the city of Delft and a possible acquaintance with the chapel there, which in turn formed part of a larger set of chapels, all situated in the diocese of Utrecht which were here recognised for the first time as a distinct architectural phenomenon. By considering Raet's chapel in light of both the contemporaneous appearance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the appearance of the other regional chapels, I have shown that Raet's chapel contained a double architectural reference: its architectural concept was based on its forerunners in the diocese as well as referencing the prototype of this group of chapels in Jerusalem. This analysis exemplifies that it is important in analyses of Jerusalem translations more generally, to also consider local translations as exemplars and not to focus on their relationship to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre alone. Krautheimer, for example, compared the architectural copies only to the church in Jerusalem and this approach is usually followed by scholars. However, my analysis has shown that the discussion benefits from a wider perspective with regard to potential regional models.

I have established that the copy of the Tomb Aedicule, which most likely stood inside the rotunda in Gouda, was devised as an *ersatz* pilgrimage shrine and that the chapel's opening to the public was part of Raet's *memoria* provision: it served the double purpose of promoting Christian worship and prompting intercessory prayers

for the founder. The same concept was seen to be relevant for the other chapels in the diocese, allowing me to establish them as calculated strategies for the afterlife. However, in comparison to the other chapels, which in most cases were maintained by the local Jerusalem Brotherhood and were therefore concerned with collective commemoration, Raet's chapel focused on his personal *memoria* alone and is thus an expression of individual identity and commemoration.

Finally, my discussion has highlighted the importance of examining funerary monuments within their spatial context. I have recognised that the location of Raet's burial place within the chapel was related to the position of the altar, exposing it as another strategy for the afterlife. I have also shown that both Raet's elaborate tombstone and the accompanying wall memorial were part of the funerary concept of the chapel and that they can be regarded as visual expressions of *memoria*. The iconography on both monuments communicated his hope for salvation, in the case of the tombstone, the message was intended for God, and in the case of the wall memorial, it was intended for the congregation, motivating it to pray for the founder's soul. The analysis has highlighted the importance to generally investigate artworks or buildings as holistically as possible. Recognising ensembles of artworks or buildings that were designed to interact with each other, enables us to understand the greater meaning.

All in all, my discussion has shown that the Jerusalem chapel in Gouda cannot simply be interpreted as Raet's *ex-voto* to thank God for his safe return from his pilgrimage to the East, but that his complex and elaborate foundation was devised as his chantry and burial chapel, comprising various strategies that would ensure his eternal remembrance and the salvation of his soul in the afterlife. It might therefore be valuable for researchers to investigate this possibility in other cases of Jerusalem translations.