Research notes of the Rich Internet Application (RIA) Commemoration in the convent Mariënpoel: Prayer and Politics
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Contents

for the photos made available. See also Table 4. Plates in the RIA for photos and maps were taken from the internet and literature.

A. Information about the RIA

1. Introduction. The contents of the Research notes

The Rich Internet Application (RIA) *Prayer and Politics: Commemoration in the Convent Mariënpoel* has been developed for users who like to become acquainted with the medieval commemoration of the dead, in other words, with the medieval culture of *memoria*. It is part of the *Medieval Memoria Online* (MeMO) project.

Part A of the research notes contains general information and overviews of all the plates, the original sources and the relevant literature. Part B consists of information per section in the RIA about the sources and literature used, and additional explanation and argumentation of material that has not been discussed extensively in the RIA itself.

The Research notes are explicitly meant as an addition to the text and plates in the Rich Internet Application proper. The information for each section is not equally extensive: only general literature and/or links to websites are included for those parts of the RIA for which reference books have been used. The text contains information on several levels, with both general explanations and scholarly arguments.

The tables' numbers follow the numbers of the section in which they are included. Abbreviated references to literature are given in the text, full references can be found in the bibliography.

2. Transcriptions, translations and the descriptions of the coats of arms in this RIA

The transcriptions of the original texts have been made according to the *Richtlijnen voor het uitgeven of historische bescheiden* (Regulations for the publication of historical texts) of the Koninklijk Nederlands Historisch Genootschap (Royal Netherlands Historical Society) and the Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis (National Committee for the History of the Netherlands). In compliance with the regulations abbreviated words are spelled out and punctuation marks and capitals have been inserted according to the current conventions in the Dutch language. Names have been standardised; the spelling as it appears in the document has been maintained only in cases of doubt. The translations are as literal as possible. Dates are given as they appear in the sources.

The type of description of the Central Bureau for Genealogy (Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie; CBG; http://www.cbg.nl/) in The Hague is used for the descriptions of the coats of arms in this RIA and in the MeMO project in general. An English version of this description type was developed by Jochem Kroes of the CBG in his *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for the Dutch Market*. These modern description types have proved useful for researchers of heraldry and for an audience that is unfamiliar with the more elaborate description types. As Kroes writes: "In English heraldry a special language has developed to describe heraldry in formal and technical terms". He explains that many terms are derived from French (examples are *or* for gold, *argent* for silver, *acollé* for the arms of a married couple). He states that some of these terms will be used in

his book (as they will be in the MeMO project), "but for reasons of comprehensibility several other heraldic concepts are substituted [...] with plainer and more modern English words" (Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, 52).

Literature for the transcriptions
- Beekelaar, *Richtlijnen voor het uitgeven van historische bescheiden.*

Literature for the descriptions of the coats of arms
- Kroes, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain*, esp. 52-69 and 654-656.
- Nagtegaal, *Heraldisch vademecum.*

3. Overview of the sources used for the RIA

Much is known about the Mariënpoel convent, because many archival sources, liturgical manuscripts and works of art from the convent have been handed down to us. Much of this material is of major importance for researchers in the field of memorial culture. Both texts and objects have been used to create this RIA.

3.1 Written sources

The written sources are kept in the Regional Archives Leiden (Regionaal Archief Leiden; RAL, Kloosterarchieven) and in the Leiden University Library. See for Kloosterarchieven: J.C. Overvoorde, *Inventaris van de archieven van de kloosters* (Leiden 1917, revised 1995) and the inventory on the internet (with a short history of the convent), see http://archiefleiden.nl/home/collecties/archieven/archievenoverzicht/ead/container/eadid/0503/node/c01:2.c02:1./level/subseries

Table 3.1.1 Sources in the Regional Archives Leiden (RAL) used for this RIA

	Depository, inventory / catalogue numbers	Date	Contents and relevance
	Legal documents concerning the foundation and possessions of the convent		
1.	Foundation charter. RAL Kloosterarchieven 860	February 2, 1431	With extensive regulations concerning the organization in the convent and the care for the souls of Boudewijn van Zwieten and of those he wishes to be commemorated.
2.	Cartulary. RAL Kloosterarchieven 858. Begun mid-15th century; later additions		Relevant for commemoration practices: the documents concerning the foundation of the convent (many of which are also available as separate originals or copies) and agreements on memorial services.
3.	Agreement testament Boudewijn van Zwieten. Cartulary, fol. 9r -9r	October 1, 1428	Confirmation of the testamentary dispositions of Boudewijn van Zwieten by his children.
4.	Documents concerning the foundation and privileges of the convent. RAL Kloosterarchieven 862, 863, 864 and 865	Resp. December 1, 1445; August 16, 1446; September 24, 1505 and August 1516	Documents with the confirmation of the foundation and privileges donated by Philip the Good and his successors.
5.	Charter with financial arrangements between the convent and Boudewijn van Zwieten. RAL Kloosterarchieven 861	March 31, 1450	Arrangement concerning the last payment of Boudewijn van Zwieten to the convent.
6.	Documents concerning the religious privileges of the convent. RAL Kloosterarchieven 871, 872, 873, 874, 876 and 878. See for more information Table 7.1.2 Documents concerning the consecrations …	See Table 7.1.2	Regulations concerning the religious privileges of the convent, the settlement of a conflict with the parish priest of Oegstgeest pertaining to these regulations, the consecration of the church and the altars, the celebration of the consecration of the church and the altars, and the indulgences connected with the church.
7.	Manuscript containing the maps of the confiscated land of a number of convents near Leiden (Kaartenboek). RAL Kloosterarchieven 1656	1593	Made by Jan van Banchem, ordered by the Council of delegates of the States of Holland and West-Friesland. The cartographer wrote in the colophon on the title page of the manuscript that he started with drawing the maps in January 1592 and finished on 15 April 1593.

	Death and burial practices		
8.	Sacristan's book (on the front cover: 'Dat coster boeck'). RAL Kloosterarchieven 883	Circa 1500, additions circa 1565-1572	Manuscript with descriptions of the tasks to be performed by the sacristan.
9.	Sacristan's book (on the front cover: 'Dit is die costerinne boeck'). RAL Kloosterarchieven 884	Circa 1550, additions until 1571	Manuscript with descriptions of the tasks to be performed by the sacristan. The content of the 'costerinne boeck' is largely consistent with the 'coster boeck'.
10.	Agenda mortuorum. RAL Kloosterarchieven 887	End 15th century, middle 16th century	Register for the convent priest with the Latin formularies to be used for the last rites and the burial ceremonies.
11.	Notes on the liturgical services. RAL Kloosterarchieven 882	Circa 1500	Notes concerning the liturgical service in the convent, including suffrages and vigils, especially for the important feasts.
	Administration of memoria		
12.	Memorial register (on the front cover: 'Dit ist memorieboec'). RAL Kloosterarchieven 889	First half 15th century (notes from 1399) and continued until 1570	Contents: a chronicle on the convent in Oudewater (fol. 1v) and two donation registers, one from Oudewater (fol. 2r-2v) and one from Mariënpoel (fol. 3r-17v; blank fol. 18r-23v). The countergifts are often mentioned. Parchment and a paper bifolium. The second donation register was set up with a separate page per family; the donations on these pages have been recorded by several hands. This setup was abandoned, except for the paper bifolium which deals only with donations by nun and prioress Gerritje IJsbransdr. van Rietwijk and her family (second half 16th century).
13.	Necrology (*anniversarium*). RAL Kloosterarchieven 888	Circa 1500, continued into second half 16th century	A calendar containing entries with the names of those for whom the annual memorial services are to be performed.
14.	Propijn boexken. RAL Kloosterarchieven 899	Circa 1500	A pittance register containing directions for food and wine to be distributed at the occasion of memorial services, gifts of food for feast days, and recipes.

Table 3.1.2 Sources in the Leiden University Library*

	Depository, inventory / catalogue numbers	Date	Contents and relevance
1.	Missal from the Loenersloot castle, hs. BPL 2879 (fragment), see Bouwman 1998. The castle was in the possession of the Van Zwieten family from 1428 to 1515	October 9, 1438	Written by Mariënpoel nun Elizabeth van Gorinchem. The fragment contains part of a mass, several hymns, a colophon and a calendar with genealogical and historical notes, three of which concern the Van Zwieten family. It commemorates the rebuilding of the chapel of Loenersloot by its owner, Boudewijn van Zwieten (June 13, 1439), and the death of Margriet van Zwieten on December 26, 1447, as well as the death of Arend van Zwieten, son of Dirk van Zwieten and Johanna van Leyenburg, on October 21, 1473. The note indicates that he was buried on his Zoelen estate near Tiel.
2.	Book of hours, probably made for nun Elisabeth van Zaers, hs. BPL 224, see Obbema 1996	Before 1450	The calendar contains commemorative notations with the death dates of seven members of the Van Zaers family. It includes a notation for Elisabeth van Zaers, for whom the date of death is not filled in (see Obbema 1996, 182, note 13).

* The manuscripts in this table have been used sparingly in this RIA.

Literature

In the following literature the above-mentioned documents and manuscripts are either discussed as such and/or they are used extensively because of their contents.

- Bijleveld, "Het nonnenklooster Mariënpoel".
- Van Bueren with De Winkel, "Herinnering in de praktijk. De rol van beeld en geschrift", esp. 121 and 133-135.
- Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood*.
- Castenmiller, "Het dagelijks leven in een middeleeuws klooster".
- Castenmiller, "Liturgische vieringen in het klooster Mariënpoel".
- Castenmiller, *Het klooster Mariënpoel bij Leiden*.
- Goudriaan, "Het eerste vrouwenklooster van Oudewater".
- Obbema, *De Middeleeuwen in handen*, esp. 177-192 (book of hours) and 183-184 (missal Loenersloot castle).
- Van de Velde, *Gebed zonder eind*.
- Van de Velde, "Gerritgen Ysbrandsdochter van Rietwijk", esp. 83-88.

3.2 Objects

We know of the liturgical vestments and vessels, furniture, silverware, crockery, etc. from the convent's documents, notably the donation registers. A number of extant paintings, however, are

not mentioned in any documents, but are most probably from Mariënpoel. Among these paintings is first of all the important memorial painting of the Van Zwieten family. In addition there are some altar pieces that were also meant to commemorate the depicted persons after their death (Table 3.1.3).

Also there are some paintings with the prayer portraits of canonesses regular that may originate from Mariënpoel (Table 3.1.4). These works of art have not been used as sources for the RIA, because the style, referred to as 'of Leiden', cannot be considered decisive for the origin of the paintings, because there were other convents of canonesses regular in Leiden and surroundings; among these are the convents of St Ursula, St Agnes, St Cecilia and St Mary Magdalene. See for paintings with canonesses regular and canons regular – of whom in most cases names and convents are unknown – *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria); choose Zoeken (Search), Geavanceerd zoeken (Advanced search), under Portretten (Portraits): Kloosterling(en), Orde (Conventuals, Order).

The two sacristan's books are a valuable source of information on the graves in general, including those in the choir. See Table 3.1.1, Written sources. We therefore have information on the original places of the tomb monuments of several families and persons, including those of the priests, the prioresses and the founders' family. The only extant monument, however, is the tomb monument for Frank van de Boekhorst († 1463) and Catharina van Bakenesse († 1481). This couple and their descendants were important donors in the same period as Boudewijn van Zwieten and his children. Two daughters of Frank and Catharina had entered the convent. The families were related through several marriages (Table 3.1.5). See RIA, choose Prayer and surf to Benefactors: a community of family and professional relations.

Table 3.1.3 Objects: paintings in the RIA

Current location	Subject	Saints	Place in convent	Period	Artist	Literature in
Paintings	*From Mariënpoel*					
Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden	Mary with Christ child and Van Zwieten family	None	At family grave	1552	PS (initials)	Representations of Medieval Memoria
Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden	Crucifixion and prayer portraits of a canon regular and women (mostly canonesses regular)	St Martin of Tours and St Augustine in the predella	Possibly on high altar	Circa 1520	Cornelis Engebrechts	Representations of Medieval Memoria
Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden	Seven Sorrows of Mary (Lamentation) and prayer portraits of a canon regular and woman (Jacob Martensz. and his mother)	Saints Cecilia, Mary Magdalen, James, Martin of Tours, Apollonia, Gertrude of Nijvel, Agatha, Agnes	Possibly on high altar	Circa 1520	Cornelis Engebrechts	Representations of Medieval Memoria
Paintings	*Possibly from Mariënpoel*					
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam	Visitation of Mary and prayer portraits of four canons regular	St Jerome, St Augustine	At priests' grave	1509/1510	Master of the Spes Nostra	Representations of Medieval Memoria

Table 3.1.4 Paintings with canonesses regular (referred to as 'of Leiden')

Current location	Subject	Saints	Period	Artist	Literature in
Staatliche Museen, Berlin	Christ crowned with thorns (and nun's prayer portrait)	St Agnes, St Cecilia, St Augustine	Before 1500	School of Cornelis Engebrechts	Representations of Medieval Memoria
Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp	Christ in distress (and nun's prayer portrait)	St Augustine	Circa 1500	School of Cornelis Engebrechts	Representations of Medieval Memoria
Destroyed, formerly in Berlin	The Feeding of the 5,000 (and prayer portraits of eight men and five women, including a canoness regular)	St Paul and St Barbara	Circa 1520	Cornelis Engebrechts	Representations of Medieval Memoria

Table 3.1.5. Objects: sepulchral monuments

Current location	For	Location in Mariënpoel	Date	Grave mentioned in
St Jerome Church,	Frank van de Boekhorst (†	In front of the altar that	1463 or	Coster boeck, RAL Kloosterarchieven

Noordwijk, choir's south side	1463) and Catharina van Bakenesse († 1481)	Frank van de Boekhorst donated in 1457	before 1463	883, 44 and 45 (on altar and grave)

Literature on tombs and sepulchral monuments from Mariënpoel
- Van Alkemade, *Beschrijving van het klooster Mariën-poel*, esp. 46.
- Bijleveld, "Het nonnenklooster Mariënpoel", esp. 164 (Bijleveld mentions their graves in both Mariënpoel and Noordwijk-Binnen, which is probably incorrect. There are no indications that the earthly remains of the couple were re-buried in Noordwijk-Binnen; it is their tomb slab that was moved to this village, possibly as a result of the dissolution of the convent in 1572).
- Kloos and Scheepstra, *Het kerkgebouw der Nederlands Hervormde Gemeente Noordwijk-Binnen*, esp. 36.
- Van de Velde, *Gebed zonder eind*, 32-33.
- Van de Velde, "Boudewijn van Zwieten en Frank van der Bouchorst".

4. Overview of the plates in the RIA

The plates included in the RIA are listed in the table below (details of the complete text document or work of art are not mentioned separately). Please note that the numbers in the first column of the text sources refer to the numbers in the first column of Table 3.1.1. Sources in the Regional Archives Leiden.

Table 4. Plates in the RIA

	Plates	Information
	Documents concerning the foundation of the convent	
1.	Foundation charter, 1431, RAL Kloosterarchieven 860	From left to right: seals of Boudewijn van Zwieten, Willem Clinkert (prior of canons regular near Schoonhoven), Herman Jansz. (prior of canons regular Stein near Gouda) and the seal of the Mariënpoel convent
1.	Wax seal of the Mariënpoel convent affixed to the foundation charter	Affixed to the charter, see RIA
5.	Charter with financial arrangements between the convent and Boudewijn van Zwieten, 1450. RAL Kloosterarchieven 861	See RIA
7.	Page from the manuscript with maps of 1593	Page with a drawing of the garden bought by Gerritje IJsbrandsdochter in 1570, see RIA
	Death and burials practices	
8.	Sacristan's book (Coster boeck), circa 1500 with additions from circa 1565 to 1572, RAL Kloosterarchieven 883, page 44	Overview of the altars of the convent church, consecrated in 1457, see RIA
8.	Sacristan's book (Coster boeck), circa 1500 with additions from circa 1565 to 1572, RAL Kloosterarchieven 883, page 45	Overview of the tombs in the choir of the chapel, see RIA
9.	Sacristan's book (Costerinne boeck), circa 1550 with additions until 1571, RAL Kloosterarchieven 884, fol. 11v	Placement of candles at the grave at the annual masses of the persons involved, including Boudewijn van Zwieten and the general chapter of the order, see RIA
9.	Sacristan's book (Costerinne boeck), circa 1550 with additions until 1571, RAL Kloosterarchieven 884, fol. 11r	Placement of candles at the grave at the annual masses of the persons involved, the Lord of Wassenaar and Frank van de Boekhorst, see RIA
	Administration of memoria	
12.	Donation register, RAL Kloosterarchieven 889, fol. 1v, chronicle of the convent in Oudewater	Containing information about the origin of the convent, but mostly a description of the buildings that the convent had left behind in Oudewater, see RIA
12.	Donation register, fol. 3r, second list of donations (donations to Mariënpoel)	First page with the donations to the Mariënpoel convent, starting with the donations concerning its foundation and the donations by the Van Zwieten family
12.	Donation register, second list of donations (donations to Mariënpoel), fol. 11r	Page with donations by Jan van Zwieten and his son Adriaan van Zwieten, the grandfather and father of Johanna, who donated the painting, respectively
12.	Donation register, list of donations to Mariënpoel, fol. 12v	Page with the donations of the statues of the apostles, see RIA
12.	Donation register, second list of donations (donations to Mariënpoel), paper bifolium inserted, fol. 15r	Page with donations by Gerritje IJsbrandsdr van Rietwijk and family, see RIA
12.	Donation register, second list of donations (donations to Mariënpoel), paper bifolium inserted, fol. 15v	Page with donation of money by Gerritje IJsbrandsdr van Rietwijk used as a partial payment for the purchase of the garden recorded in one of the maps in the manuscript of 1593 (Kaartenboek), see RIA
12.	Donation register, second list of donations (donations to	Page with donations by the Lady of Sanctus, among other things

	Mariënpoel), fol. 7v	
13.	Necrology, circa 1500, RAL Kloosterarchieven 888, fol. 10r	Page including the annual masses of Jan van Zwieten and Jacob Martensz (the latter probably donated the memorial paintings with the *Crucifixion* and the *Lamentation*)
13.	Necrology, fol. 14v	Detail: the mention of Boudewijn van Zwieten's annual mass
13.	Necrology, fol. 23r	Detail: the entry in the necrology of the death of Katharina van Zwieten and of the number of years she had been prioress
	Maps	
	Map of Leiden and surroundings	With indication 'Poel' for Mariënpoel
	Plan of Mariënpoel	From: Van Heussen, *Oudheden en Gestichten van Rhijnland* (1719), 410, engraving, 14x15,5 cm
	Floor plan of the church	By Leen Breure, based on the reconstruction of the chapel by Jeremy Bangs. Bangs, *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden*, III, 10.
	Map of the Holy Roman Empire	By Leen Breure, part of the Holy Roman Empire, based on map Bavaria-Straubing by Lencer (Wikimedia Commons)
	Map of the Netherlands (Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht)	By Leen Breure, based on Jacob van Deventer, *Hollandiae Batavor[um] veteris insulae locorum adiacentium exacta descriptio* (1563)
	Map of the Prince-Bishopric Utrecht	By Leen Breure, based on a map of Prince-Bishopric of Utrecht by Sir Iain (Wikimedia Commons, circa 1350)
	Genealogy of the Van Zwieten family	Four generations, based on the extensive genealogy by Van de Velde, *Gebed zonder eind*, 27
	Genealogy of the Counts of Holland	By Leen Breure (based on Jansen, *Middeleeuwse geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 276 and Janse, "Een in zichzelf verdeeld rijk", 102)
	Works of art	
	Mary with Christ child and Van Zwieten family	See *Representations of Medieval Memoria*
	Visitation and the prayer portraits of four canons regular	See *Representations of Medieval Memoria*
	Infrared reflectogram assembly of detail of the *Visitation*	Research on March 7, 1997, supervisor: Molly Faries. See *Representations of Medieval Memoria*
	Lamentation with Jacob Martensz. and his mother	See *Representations of Medieval Memoria*
	Crucifixion with (possibly) Jacob Martensz., his mother and canonesses regular	See *Representations of Medieval Memoria*
	Portrait of Philip the Good	From Wikipedia. Workshop of Rogier van der Weijden, after 1450, panel, 31x23 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon
	Portrait of Philip the Fair	Master of the Magdalen Legend, circa 1500, panel, 32x21 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
	Portrait of Charles V, detail	From Wikipedia. Titian, 1548, canvas, 205x122 cm, Alte Pinakothek, München
	Portrait of William of Orange	From Wikipedia. Adriaan Thomasz. Key, circa 1570-1584, panel, 48x35 cm, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam
	Portrait of Philip II, detail	From Wikipedia. Antonie Mor, 1560, canvas, 186x82, Escorial Madrid
	Engraving of Adriaan van Zwieten	By Hendrik Goltzius, 1579, engraving on paper, 7.8x5.8 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Text: BEMINDT GHERECHTICHEYT. ÆTAT SVÆ 47. ANNO 1579. HGoltzius fecit
	Stained-glass window with portrait of Thomas Hermansz.	See *Representations of Medieval Memoria*
	Further	
	Nuns' choir of the former Agnes convent, Utrecht	Today part of the Centraal Museum, Utrecht

5. The commemoration of the dead (Memoria)

Scholars using the interpretation model '*memoria*', 'memorial culture' or 'commemoration of the dead' consider the bond between the living and the dead one of the most significant aspects of medieval society. Mention of the names of the deceased (either spoken or written) was of the utmost importance in memorial culture, as it made the deceased (and absent persons) present in the communities to which they belonged.

The ultimate goal for a Christian was to achieve salvation and to enter the glory of heaven. Only the saints, however, entered heaven immediately after death, as they were without sin; all others had to atone for their sins in purgatory first, provided that their sins had been forgiven prior to their deaths. Those who had committed (mortal) sins and had not confessed and been forgiven were lost and went to hell.

There were a number of options to shorten one's stay in purgatory. Firstly, through one's own deeds: living according to the Ten Commandments, practicing the Seven Works of Mercy, supporting the Church to the best of one's abilities, through foundations and gifts during life, as

well as in death through stipulations in one's will. Secondly, others could help a person gain heaven; hereby the recipients of the charity play an important role. In return for the gifts they were required to perform or attend liturgical services and to say prayers for the souls of their benefactors so that the benefactors could enter heavenly paradise as soon as possible. A basic principle of medieval memorial culture (as it was in society in general) was '*do ut des*', 'I give so that you may give', i.e., gift and countergift. In this way, the dead lived on through their charities. These included the following:

- Foundations* such as hospitals for the sick and elderly, orphanages, and foundations or donations for the poor; foundations of convents, churches or chapels, or smaller donations such as shoes for the nuns of the convent and candle wax for liturgical services;
- Donations of liturgical vestments and liturgical vessels, and objects for the decoration of churches and chapels;
- Grants of rights and privileges to convents and other institutions of the Church.

* Please note that in the RIA and in these Research notes the words charity, gifts, and donations are used as generic terms and include all types of donations, both non-recurring donations (which are settled in a single instance) and recurring donations (which are usually referred to as foundations), that provide the recipient with money and/or goods over the years.

The donation of works of art, such as stained-glass windows, and rituals gave those in power in a region opportunities to show that they were good rulers because they were good Christians. Benefactors could make political statements by founding or donating to specific convents or by choosing a specific iconography for the works of art they donated. Because of these opportunities many donations which were shown and known to a specific public may also be considered countergifts in themselves. It may be clear from the above that the culture of the commemoration of the dead comprised not only religious and liturgical aspects, but also social, historical, historiographical, legal and political components. *Memoria* played a central part in all components and social strata of medieval society, through the written word, through objects and in rituals. In other words, the memorial culture testifies to the intertwinement of the care for the here and the care for the hereafter.

The documents reveal a large variety of spiritual countergifts. To name but a few possibilities, one could ask for the following:
- a large number of masses to be read or sung immediately after death
- masses to be read at fixed days or dates throughout the year, for a specified number of years or 'to all eternity'. With all these masses additional services could be requested, such as a visit to the grave of the deceased or, in case the grave was located elsewhere (in another church or convent), a visit to a 'substitute grave'
- anniversaries: religious services to be celebrated once a year. These services could consist of several parts: a vigil in the evening preceding the anniversary and, on the day itself, a mass and a visit to the grave. An anniversary could be celebrated on the death date of the person or persons to be commemorated, but it was also possible to celebrate it on another date. For the founding family of Mariënpoel for instance the anniversaries of Ludgard van Nijenrode and her daughter Aleid van Zwieten were not celebrated on their days of death (see the table in 9.2 Gifts and countergifts and the explanation below this table)
- individual prayer by the members of the receiving party
- communal prayer by the receiving party, for instance after meals

Gaining heaven was considered of the utmost importance, and so all types of communities developed possibilities for prayer for the souls of their members. Craft guilds and lay confraternities took care of the funerals and prayers for their members. Some religious orders

formed a praying community, meaning that prayers for deceased members would also be said in convents of the order other than the convent they lived in. Convents of different orders could also form such a community (confraternity), and so could chapters of canons. As the name indicates, the All Souls feast was held on 2 November to commemorate each and every soul. The feast was developed in Cluny at the end of the tenth century and from then on spread throughout the western Christian world.

Literature
- Angenendt, "Theologie und Liturgie der mittelalterliche Toten-Memoria".
- Bijsterveld and Trio, "Van gebedsverbroedering naar broederschap".
- Bijsterveld, *Do ut des*.
- Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood*.
- Van Bueren, "Care for the Here and the Hereafter. A multitude of Possibilities".
- Van Bueren, Van Leerdam and Visser, *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria).
- Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*.
- Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*.
- Goudriaan, "Herinnering en herstel".
- Horch, *Der Memorialgedanke*.
- Van den Hoven van Genderen, "Utrecht Canons, Death and Funeral Regulations".
- Oexle, "Die Gegenwart der Toten".
- Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialbild".
- Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur".
- Schilp, *Pro remedio et salute anime peragemus*.
- Schleif, *Donatio et memoria*.

B. Information about the specific contents

This part of the Research notes is organized according to the buttons of the RIA.

6. Mariënpoel

6.1 Escape from Oudewater

Literature about the Utrecht Schism and the parties involved
- Post, *Geschiedenis der Utrechtsche bisschopsverkiezingen tot 1535*, esp. 140-157.

Literature about the convent of St Ursula in Oudewater
- Goudriaan, "Het eerste vrouwenklooster van Oudewater".

6.2 The foundation of Mariënpoel

Literature about the convent of Mariënpoel in general
- Bijleveld, "Het nonnenklooster Mariënpoel".
- Van Bueren with De Winkel, "Herinnering in de praktijk. De rol van beeld en geschrift".
- Castenmiller, *Het klooster Mariënpoel bij Leiden*.
- Van Kan, "Leiden en de Moderne Devotie", esp. 44-46.

6.3 The organization of the Mariënpoel convent and the Chapter of Sion

Literature
- Castenmiller, "Het dagelijks leven in een middeleeuws klooster".
- Castenmiller, "Liturgische vieringen in het klooster Mariënpoel".
- Castenmiller, *Het klooster Mariënpoel bij Leiden*, esp. 24-30.

- Van Engen, *De derde orde van Sint-Franciscus in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht.*
- Goudriaan, "Het eerste vrouwenklooster van Oudewater".
- Goudriaan, "Herinnering en herstel", esp. 89-92 (including further literature references).
- Ypma, *Het generaal kapittel van Sion.*

6.4 The founder's wishes

The foundation charter clearly shows that Boudewijn van Zwieten intended to put a firm mark on the new convent. He made many stipulations concerning the organization of the convent in general and he stipulated precisely how the nuns should care for the souls of himself and his family and friends (see RIA, choose Prayer and surf to Countergifts for Boudewijn and his family and friends).

Boudewijn showed himself a fervent devotee of Mary. His devotion becomes clear, among other things, from the numerous stipulations concerning the foundation of the convent. The convent in Oudewater was dedicated to St Ursula, but the new convent was dedicated to Maria. The Marian feast days in Mariënpoel were ranked among the high feastdays, as was customary. In the calendar of the necrology they are all indicated in red ink. The foundation charter shows that a considerable part of the care for the soul of Boudewijn and his family was directly linked to the veneration of the Virgin Mary (see RIA, choose Prayer and surf to Countergifts for Boudewijn and his family and friends). Considering all this, it seems self-evident that the memorial painting with the Van Zwieten family represents a *Mary and child*, with Boudewijn van Zwieten to Mary's right, traditionally the place taken up by prayer portraits of men in religious images. Today only the memorial of 1552 is known, but we may assume that Mary and the Christ child were also figuring prominently in the memorial painting from the mid-fifteenth century.

In many instances the image of the saint to whom the convent was dedicated, was represented on the convent seal (Veelenturf, "Identiteit verbeeld", 292). In the case of Mariënpoel this was a standing Mary inside the sun. Below this image, however, one finds the coat of arms of Boudewijn van Zwieten. To the best of our knowledge he is the only founder who had this done, and therefore this seems the umpteenth sign of the extent to which he wanted to leave his mark on the organization and life in the convent (see RIA, choose Mariënpoel and surf to The founder's wishes). As far as we know systematic research has not been carried out before into the presence of coats of arms of founders on the seals of convents in the area that is the present-day Netherlands.

Literature about the founder leaving his mark on the organization and life in the convent
- Bijleveld, "Het nonnenklooster Mariënpoel", esp. 148-153.
- Van Bueren with de Winkel, "Herinnering in de praktijk. De rol van beeld en geschrift", esp. 122-125.

Literature about wax seals of convents as a representation of identity
- Veelenturf, "Identiteit verbeeld".

Literature used for comparative research of convent seals
- Beelaerts van Blokland, *Nederlandsche kloosterzegels vóór 1600.*
- Muller, "Afgietsels van zegels".
- Laurent, *Sigillografie.*
- De Vey-Mestdagh and De Boo, *Liber sigillorum.*

6.5 150 peaceful years

Literature
- See in 6.2 The foundation of Mariënpoel: *Literature about the convent of Mariënpoel in general.*
- See section 11 Timeline.

7. The church

7.1 Consecration of the church

The church was consecrated in 1430; it had one altar. Three new altars were built in 1457, and in 1571 one of these was reconsecrated, extending the number of saints (see table below).

Table 7.1.1 Altar consecrations and altar pieces

Year	Altar	Dedicated to	Decoration	Founder
High altar				
1430	Only altar	Dedication unknown		
1457	High altar	St Mary, St Augustine, St Jerome, St Catharine, St Ursula		
1499/1500	Idem		Decoration	
Altar at the centre of the rood screen				
1457	Altar at centre of the rood screen	St Andrew, St John the Evangelist, St Mary Magdalene	Triptych	Adriaan van Zwieten (and donation altar piece)
1571	Idem, reconsecration (NB contrary to what is written in the literature this is a reconsecration, not a new altar.)	Saints Mary, Andrew, Thomas, John the Evangelist, and the other apostles, Saints Nicholas, Willibrord, Adelbert of Egmond, Mary of Egypt, all dear saints and the Holy Cross		
Two other altars doksaal				
1457	Altar at left or right against rood screen	St Stephan, St Agnes and St Elisabeth	Tabernacle	
1457	Altar at left or right against rood screen	St Barbara, St Dorothy, the 10,000 martyrs and the virgins		Frank van der Boechorst

Documents
- *1457: Sacristan's book (coster boeck), RAL Kloosterarchieven 883, [p. 44].*
- *1471: Sacristan's book (costerinne boeck), RAL Kloosterarchieven 884, fol. 31v.*

Literature
- Bangs, *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden*, 17-19.
- Van de Velde, *Gebed zonder eind*, 48-52.

Table 7.1.2 Documents concerning the consecrations of the church and the altars

Inventory number	Date	Summary (*Regest*)
873	November 4, 1428 March 3, 1429	November 4, 1428. The parish priest of Oegstgeest gives the sisters of the canonesses regular, now in the convent in Podikenpoel, spiritual privileges concerning the consecration of the church, altars and graveyard, confession, burials and alms. To compensate for these privileges the convent will pay a yearly amount of silver (*een lood zilver*), March 3, 1429. Zweder van Kuilenburg, bishop of Utrecht, affirms the privileges granted. He also confirms the name, Mariënpoel, given to the convent.
876	February 9, 1435	The vicar-general of Walraven van Meurs, who was (anti)bishop of Utrecht, confirms and extends the letter of indulgence of July 20, 1430, granted to the convent. Walraven was involved in the Utrecht Schism and became the opponent of Rudolf van Diepholt after the death of Zweder van Kuilenburg, see 10.3 in these Research notes.
874	February 17, 1450	Verdict in the case between the convent and the parish priest of Oegstgeest. To clarify the contract of November 4, 1428 the following decisions are recorded before a notary: 1. The convent may keep all gifts and alms. 2. Each year at Easter the convent has to petition for the privilege to administer the last sacraments for the inhabitants of the convent. For the guests a petition needs to be made should the occasion arise. 3. The convent will pay the outstanding debts to the parish priest and continue paying him his due (*een lood zilver*) per annum.
871	May 24, 1457	David of Burgundy's vicar-general extends the indulgence of July 20, 1430 and arranges the annual commemoration of his consecration of the four altars of St Mary, St Stephan, St Andrew and St Barbara. May 24, 1457 .
872	September 2, 1461	David of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht, grants the Mariënpoel convent permission to celebrate its feast of the Dedication of the convent church and that of the four altars on the Sunday following the octave of the Birth of Mary.

878	April 20, 1497	Frederik van Baden, bishop of Utrecht, grants an indulgence of 40 days to the nuns who officiate daily at the Holy Sepulchre in the convent, except on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

* The texts of the summaries (*regesten*) have been based on the extended *regesten* in the Regional Archives Leiden (RAL), see RAL, Kloosters, 503, III.2: Archieven van de kloosters buiten Leiden, klooster Mariënpoel te Oegstgeest.

7.2 The church as the heart of daily life

Literature
- Angenendt, "Theologie und Liturgie der mittelalterlichen Totenmemoria".
- Castenmiller, "Het dagelijks leven in een middeleeuws klooster".
- Castenmiller, "Liturgische vieringen in het klooster Mariënpoel".
- Castenmiller, *Het klooster Mariënpoel bij Leiden*, esp. 31-55.

7.3 The nuns' choir

As a secluded convent, where the nuns were hardly allowed to have any direct contact with the outside world, the Mariënpoel chapel was constructed with an elevated gallery for the nuns. This space, also called the nuns' choir, was often situated above the church nave where the regular visitors could attend the services. This also seems to have been the case in Mariënpoel.

Many secluded convents had a nuns' choir, but the great majority has disappeared over the centuries. Today some can still be seen; among others, in the former nuns' choir of St Agatha's convent (fifteenth century) in Delft, now the Walloon church, and the gallery of the former Agnieten (Agnes) convent (built between 1512 and 1516) in Utrecht, in which the Centraal Museum is housed. A parish church also needed a nuns' choir if a secluded or semi-secluded convent in their parish did not (yet) have a chapel of its own. Before the chapel in the Agnieten convent was built (between 1512 and 1516), the nuns in Utrecht used the gallery of the parish church of St Nicolas. They shared the gallery with the nuns of the Nicolas convent, as both convents were situated next to the parish church. The Nicolas convent got its first chapel in 1448, so from then on the nuns of this convent did not need the gallery of the parish church any more.

The practical use of the nun's choir in convents still requires more extensive research and this also holds true for the choir in Mariënpoel. We do know that there were stairs to the choir and that the nuns had to say a prayer for the Van Zwieten family grave each time they entered the choir. This means that it was possible for the nuns to enter the downstairs choir, where the grave was situated. They may have had to say prayers at the grave many times, as they were singing the Divine Office in the church each and every day. Our knowledge of the practical use of the nun's choir is insufficient to draw any major conclusions, however, for instance on whether the stairs in the church were the only entrance to the nun's choir.

Literature
- Bangs, Bangs, *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden*, 17.
- Biemans and Van Bueren, "A Veritable Treasure Trove", esp. 250.
- Janse, "Middeleeuwse kapellen", 32-51 (with diverse examples of chapels with a nuns' gallery).
- Zimmer, *Die Funktion und Ausstattung des Altares*, 21-35.

7.4   Graves in the choir

The two sacristan's books are valuable sources of information on the graves. See Table 3.1.1 Written sources.

The two sacristan's books inform us about the graves in the choir. Apart from two other graves, the choir had a grave for the Van Zwieten family in front of the high altar and a grave for the priests of the convent on the right hand side of the altar. In the literature the grave of the prioresses is mentioned as situated on the left hand side of the high altar. This information is given in one of the two sacristan's books, the Costerinne boeck. On fol. 24v we however read "Item bij t hooghe outair an die rechter zijde die soessen graven". It is unclear what is meant by "soessen"; it may stand for "sisters" (zusters), but none of the specialised dictionaries (http://gtb.inl.nl/) mentions the use of this word (or any other that makes sense). Further research in the Mariënpoel archives may yield information on burial places of the prioresses and sisters that may lead to a correct interpretation.

Documents
-   Coster boeck (sacristan's book, begun circa 1500 with addition of circa 1565-1572; Kloosterarchieven 883, page 45)
-   Costerinne boeck (sacristan's book), begun circa 1550 and continued until 1571; Kloosterarchieven 884, fol. 24v.

8. The memorial painting of the Van Zwieten family

8.1 Four generations in the memorial painting of 1552

See in the Timeline of the RIA
-   circa 1454 The first Van Zwieten memorial: only two generations.
-   1552 A memorial with four generations of the Van Zwieten family.

Literature
-   Van Bueren and De Winkel, "Herinnering in de praktijk. De rol van beeld en geschrift", esp. 125-133.

8.2 Care for the here and the hereafter in the painting

For a short introduction and literature
-   on *memoria* in general in these Research Notes: section 5. The commemoration of the dead (Memoria)
-   on memorial paintings and sculptures, the introductory texts (available in English and Dutch) in *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria)

8.3 The texts below the portraits

The texts below the portraits state as usual the name and death date of the persons portrayed. Mentioning the deceased's name was a fundamental part of *memoria*; it gave the deceased presence among the living, and made them present in their activities (see section 5 of these Research Notes). It is very probable, then, that there were texts written in the earlier memorial, in a separate text part, as in the new memorial, on the frame, or anywhere else. (The texts of many memorials paintings were lost when the panels no longer fulfilled their memorial function. This is one of the conclusions of the systematic research into the still extant memorials from the area of the present-day Netherlands, see *Memoria in Beeld*, scroll down to Summary of the research results).

The texts in the 1554 Van Zwieten painting are remarkably varied*:
-   We see two patterns in the lay-out of the texts. The first starts with: Here lies buried, with subsequently the name, a further description of the deceased and the date of death.

Boudewijn († 1454) had already stipulated in the foundation charter of 1431 that he wished to be buried in Mariënpoel. For him and his wife Ludgard († 1464), buried in the same grave, the use of this lay-out for the text of the epitaph is self-evident. The same lay-out was chosen for their daughter Margriet († 1447); she was the first of the family to be buried in Mariënpoel. Possibly it was at her death that the family grave of the Van Zwietens for the high altar was made in order. The second lay-out of the text states the year, the precise day and month, "starf" (died), the name with in some cases a further description of the deceased, and the location of the deceased's grave, respectively. This order can be seen from the time of death of Gijsbrecht († 1456), the son who could not be buried in the family grave because of hygienic reasons since he died within two years after his father. There are small differences between the texts.

- In four cases the date of death is indicated by the Saint's Day instead of the dates that we still use, indicating the day and month. The Saint's Day was used for deaths in the years 1447, 1464, 1461 and 1467, but not in the intervening years.
- There is a striking variation in the manner of describing the men. Sons Gijsbrecht († 1456) and Jan († 1485) and son-in-law Jan van Poelgeest († 1457) are only mentioned by name. Further titles 'heer' (Sir), for all other men, and 'ridder' (knight), were left out, even though all these men were entitled to them. The women are given titles such as 'jonkvrouw' or 'vrouwe' (Lady), and for Catharina († 1495) 'sister'. Changes in time do not seem to play any role in this case.
- The locations of the graves in Mariënpoel are circumscribed as 'Here lies buried' (referring to the burial place) and on one occasion as 'Buried here' (meaning 'in the chapel').
- As to the locations of the graves outside the convent: in three cases the town is mentioned first, then the church; in two cases the church is mentioned first, and then the town; and once only the town is mentioned.

It cannot be fully determined what was retained from the earlier memorial to be included in the newer painting. If we assume that the earlier painting was made approximately around the time of death of Boudewijn van Zwieten († 1454), then the names of those who died later could not have been filled in yet. It is possible that a space was left open for a date to be filled in later, which we know happened in the case of Johanna van Zwieten. This was common practice. The indication 'Here lies' may very well have been adopted for those who were already deceased. In 1454 it was already clear that the children by marriage would not automatically be buried in Mariënpoel, because several daughters-in-law had already been buried elsewhere. This also applies to Dirk, the eldest son of Boudewijn van Zwieten and Ludgard van Nijenrode.

* This text is an extension of the passage in Van Bueren, "Herinnering in de praktijk", 128.

Literature
- Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood*, 103-105 and 118-119.
- Van Bueren with De Winkel, "Herinnering in de praktijk. De rol van beeld en geschrift", esp. 128.

8.4 The genealogy and the biographies

Literature on the persons mentioned in the genealogical overview
- Bouwman, "Genealogie en heraldiek".
- Brand, *Over macht en evenwicht*.
- Damen, "Tussen stad en land".
- Damen, *De staat van dienst*.
- Dek, *Genealogie der graven van Holland*.
- Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*.
- Van Kan, "Het middeleeuwse riddermatige geslacht Van Zwieten.
- Van Kan, "Boudewijn van Zwieten, tresorier van Holland".
- Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Het Rapenburg*, 519.

- Van de Velde, "Boudewijn van Zwieten en Frank van der Bouchorst".

8.5 Traditions in showing status and hierarchy

Memorial paintings were arranged according to fixed traditions. First of all the hierarchy of God and the saints in relation to man on earth needed to be honoured; secondly, there were the earthly hierarchies. Some traditions changed over time and place, but fixed patterns can be found in any region and in any period. A religious scene was given the place of honour; the placement of the portrayed persons and their heraldry showed status and hierarchies, including gender-related ones.

Portraits: Patterns for placing men and women
Traditionally men were given a more important place than women, seen from the perspective of the main religious image. It has become clear from the systematic research of images with prayer portraits from the (Arch) Diocese of Utrecht that two arrangements can be distinguished for this area (Patterns I and II). If the prayer portraits are arranged according to separate genders on either side of the religious image, the men (including the sons) kneel on the heraldic right of the main image and the women (including the daughters) on the heraldic left. If prayer portraits include both genders on one side of the main image, the males kneel closest to the main religious image and the females kneel behind the man. Both these patterns can be seen in the Van Zwieten memorial. We only know of systematic research into these patterns in the (Arch) Diocese of Utrecht, see *Memoria in Beeld* (choose Medieval memoria; scroll down to Summary of the research results: The prayer portraits) but in several publications our findings are confirmed for other regions. Similar fixed patterns seem to exist for other areas, with adaptations depending on the overall composition. For Germany, for example, there are plenty of memorial images known in which the prayer portraits are situated in a separate part below the main religious image, but with the same hierarchical patterns.

Literature on the placement of portraits
- Schleif, "Men on the Right – Women on the Left".
- Van der Velden, "Diptych Altarpieces and the Principle of Dextrality".

Literature on gender-related patterns in the Van Zwieten memorial painting
- Van Bueren with De Winkel, "Herinnering in de praktijk. De rol van beeld en geschrift", esp. 129-130.
- Website: *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria) 2009, see *Memoria in Beeld* (choose Medieval memoria; scroll down to Summary of the research results: The prayer portraits).

Table 8.5 Gender-related patterns in the Van Zwieten memorial

First generation	Pattern 1
Description	As he is a man and the founder of the convent, Boudewijn occupies the most important place, to the right of Mary and the Child. Ludgard, his wife, is kneeling to their left, i.e., in the more modest place. (pattern I).
Remarks	As this is a traditional manner to express gender related hierarchy, we may assume that Boudewijn and Ludgard were also kneeling to the heraldic right and left of Mary in the original family painting.
Second Generation	Pattern II
Description	The sons kneel behind their father, each with his wife behind him. The married daughters, on the other hand, kneel on the least important side, not only behind their mother, but also behind their husbands.
Remarks	In this arrangement the Van Zwietens' sons-in-law are given priority over their own daughters, because they are men. The daughters-in-law have priority over the daughters because they could contribute to continuing the Van Zwieten family name. A similar arrangement can be found in the triptych of Willem van der Does and Hendrica van Poelgeest and their family, which used to be in St Peter's church. The central panel, depicting the *Opening of the book with the seven seals* and the parents, has been lost. The left panel (the heraldic right) shows the three sons-in law; the right panel shows the three daughters. This painting, painted circa 1520, may have been inspired by the earlier Van Zwieten painting (see *Memoria in Beeld* for literature). To our knowledge the two Leiden paintings are the only extant memorial paintings from the (Arch) Diocese of Utrecht in which the sons-in-law were given priority. (Please note: this remark is based on the identified prayer portraits. *Memoria in Beeld* contains some images with different arrangements of men and women who have not yet been identified.) Also, there is a drawing after a lost memorial from the church of Voorschoten that matches the (earlier) memorial of the Van Zwietens regarding the places of the family and in-laws. It shows Arend van Duivenvoorde and Margaretha van IJsselstein and their children and children by

	marriage (see Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven nade dood*, 72).
Third Generation	*Pattern II*
Description	In the part that was added to the image, Johanna had her parents placed behind her grandparents: her grandmother kneels behind her grandfather, in compliance to pattern II.
Fourth Generation	*A reversed pattern*
Description	Johanna herself is kneeling immediately after her grandmother, in front of her brother.
Remarks	The arrangement of Johanna and her brother Jan breaks with the usual pattern. This must have been done on purpose: Johanna had her brother placed as the last of the series, undoubtedly because she knew in 1552 that on his death in 1510 his branch of the Van Zwieten family would not be continued. This is the reason why Jan is shown with his eight quarters, see Table 8.7.2. So, even though she is kneeling in front of her brother, Johanna has given herself the least important place after all. Deviations from the patterns for the arrangement of men and women only occur for compelling reasons. It is not enough reason that the commissioning party was a woman. Anna van Noordwijk, for example, probably the commissioner of the family painting that depicts not only her family, but also her parents and grandparents, is shown in the more modest place. The same goes for the Trinity that was made after the death of Joost van Amstel van Mijnden. The image shows the deceased, with beside him his posthumously born son and behind them Philippa Uteneng, Joost's wife and little Joost's mother. Philippa probably commissioned the painting, or at least she was closely involved in the commission. Her spouse was not buried at his ancestral castle van Loenersloot, but in Overlangbroek, in the Hyacinthus church near the castle that Philippa had inherited from her father. The location of his grave became known to us through the mention of his death in the extant missal of Loenersloot Castle that was copied in Mariënpoel and completed in 1438, i.e., at the time when Loenersloot Castle was in the possession of the Van Zwieten family. In 1515 Loenersloot and the missal became property of the Van Amstel van Mijnden family. (On the missal see Bouwman, "Genealogie en heraldiek"; on the memorial painting: Bouwman, "Genealogie en heraldiek", 8, and Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood*, 227-228.

Literature in table 8.5
- Bouwman, "Genealogie en heraldiek".
- Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood*.

Heraldry: strict rules and heraldic courtesy
As is the case with the portraits, the placement of the coats of arms are arranged according to a rigid pattern. This pattern, which is almost always found on representations with prayer portraits and/or coats of arms, provides clues for the beholders in recognising the depicted persons and their positions (marital status, family connections) in society. Exceptions caught the eye, and were meant to.

Coats of arms are described using a specially developed terminology, according to a fixed pattern and in a fixed order, and are also fixed in how they are arranged. Here too, the arrangement and placement of the coats of arms serve to express priority and hierarchy, in works of art that have a religious function, for instance, they serve to honour God and the saints. We may even assume that the rules for the placement of the portraits themselves follow those for the coats of arms.

The men bear the coats of arms of their family and the married women in many cases have a parted per pale shield with the coat of arms of their husband in the more important place, the heraldic right, and the coat of arms of their own family in the less important place, the heraldic left. However, for married women to Mary's right it was necessary to show "heraldic courtesy" towards the Mother of God and the Christ Child. For this reason we find the part that shows the Van Zwieten coat of arms on the heraldic left: it is the closest to the main religious image. Here too the man's coat of arms takes priority over his wife's arms. This "heraldic courtesy" has not been applied to the eight quarter arms surrounding the arms of Jan van Zwieten, the last of his branch of the family: the ancestor's on his father's side are situated to the heraldic right of Jan's coat of arms and are consequently the furthest from Mary and the Christ Child. Since there does not seem to be a good reason for this arrangement, this may be a mistake that was not noted or corrected.

Only men have ornaments over their coats of arms; like the harness it is a reference to their noble birth. The ornaments of the Van Zwieten men are a helmet with mantling consisting of a drapery of scrolling leaves in the colours of the coat of arms, and the crest above it. The ornaments of the Van Zwieten painting also express the "heraldic courtesy" to Mary and the Child: the helmet is placed facing to the sinister (and not to the dexter) and turned to the Mother

of God and Jesus. Also the crest of the Van Zwietens, the silver dog, and the silver eagle of the Van Poelgeest family are turned towards the main religious image.

8.6 Heraldry in works of art: the colours

The coats of arms were depicted in images as precisely as possible, but white paint was often substituted for silver, and yellow paint for gold. The choice for white or yellow may have been brought about by the amount of money a commissioning party was prepared to pay. In the Van Zwieten painting gold was used, but the silver was substituted with plain white. This painting also shows another recurring phenomenon: the pigments could change colour over the centuries. It is probable that different pigments were used for the blue in the painting. The cloak of Mary clearly shows its traditional colour, blue. The blue parts in the heraldry of Jan van Poelgeest and Evert van Hoogwoude, however, have turned into a dark greyish green colour, while the blue of the cloak they are wearing over their armour seems to have turned into a lighter blue. Further investigation of the painting would be needed to determine which blue pigments have been used. Perhaps further research could also explain the differences in the blues in the cloaks and in the arms of the two men. It is certain that these colours were supposed to be the same blue, as the cloaks show the coat of arms of the depicted figures.

8.7 Descriptions of the heraldry

The coats of arms of the depicted persons

Table 8.7.1 Descriptions of the heraldry of the portrayed persons

Boudewijn van Zwieten and his descendants carried the same coat of arms: in red three white/silver violins, accompanied by a escutcheon with the arms of their mother above the middle violin. Thus this small escutcheon varies from generation to generation. For Boudewijn it is a gold escutcheon charged with a red anchor cross, the coat of arms of his mother, Lijsbeth (further name unknown).

Name	Heraldry
First generation	
Boudewijn van Zwieten	In red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a gold escutcheon above the middle violin charged with a red anchor cross. Dutch: in rood drie zilveren violen, vergezeld boven de middelste van een gouden schildje met een rood ankerkruis.
Ludgard van Nijenrode	A 'parted per pale' shield. I: the arms of her husband Boudewijn van Zwieten; II: her family arms: in gold a red fess. Dutch: een gedeeld wapen met I: het wapen van haar echtgenoot Boudewijn van Zwieten; II: in goud een rode dwarsbalk.
Second Generation	
Evert van Hoogwoude, bastard of Count Willem VI of Holland (husband Aleid)	A quarterly shield. I and IV: fusils of silver and blue (Beieren); II and III: 1 and 4 in gold a black lion (Henegouwen), 2 and 3 in gold a red lion (Holland). Dutch: een gevierendeeld wapen met I en IV: geruit van blauw en zilver (Beieren); II en III: 1 en 4 in goud een zwarte leeuw (Henegouwen), 2 en 3 in goud een rode leeuw (Holland).
Aleid van Zwieten (eldest daughter)	A parted per pale shield. I: the arms of her husband Evert van Hoogwoude; II: her family arms: in red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a gold escutcheon with a red fess, above the middle violin. Dutch: een gedeeld wapen met I: het wapen van haar echtgenoot Evert van Hoogwoude; II: in rood drie zilveren violen vergezeld boven de middelste van een gouden schildje beladen met een rode dwarsbalk
Catherina van Zwieten (second daughter, nun in the convent)	In red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a gold escutcheon above the middle violin charged with a red fess. Dutch: in rood drie zilveren violen, vergezeld boven de middelste van een gouden schildje beladen met een rode dwarsbalk.
Jan van Poelgeest (husband Margriet)	In blue a gold fess accompanied by three silver eagles, 2,1, with a gold beak and talons. Dutch: in blauw een gouden dwarsbalk vergezeld van drie zilveren adelaars, goud gesnaveld en gepoot.
Margriet van Zwieten (youngest daughter)	A 'parted per pale' shield. I: the arms of her husband Jan van Poelgeest; II: her family arms: in red three silver violins, accompanied by a gold escutcheon with a red fess, above the middle violin. Dutch: een gedeeld wapen met I: het wapen van haar echtgenoot Jan van Poelgeest; II: in rood drie zilveren violen vergezeld boven de middelste van een gouden schildje beladen met een rode dwarsbalk.
Dirk van Zwieten	In red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a gold escutcheon above the middle violin charged with a

(eldest son)	red fess. Dutch: in rood drie zilveren violen, vergezeld boven de middelste van een gouden schildje beladen met een rode dwarsbalk.
Johanna van Leyenburg *(wife Dirk)*	A parted per pale shield. I: her family arms: in gold two red fesses embattled counter embattled; II: the coat of arms of her husband, Dirk van Zwieten: in red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a gold escutcheon with a red fess, above the middle violin. Dutch: een gedeeld wapen met I: in goud twee rode beurtelings gekanteelde dwarsbalken, II: het wapen van haar man Dirk van Zwieten. Because of the courteoisie heraldique the two parts of the arms are reversed, as a result of which the arms of the man is nearest the religious image.
Gijsbrecht van Zwieten *(second son)*	In red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a gold escutcheon above the middle violin charged with a red fess. Dutch: in rood drie zilveren violen, vergezeld boven de middelste van een gouden schildje beladen met een rode dwarsbalk.
Catherina van Diemen *(wife Gijsbrecht)*	A parted per pale shield. I: in gold a fess accompanied by three handcuffs, all black; II: the coat of arms of her husband, Gijsbrecht van Zwieten. Dutch: een gedeeld wapen met I: in goud een dwarsbalk vergezeld van drie boeien, alles zwart; II: het wapen van haar man Gijsbrecht van Zwieten. Because of the courteoisie heraldique the two parts of the coat of arms are reversed, as a result of which the arms of the man is nearest the religious image.
Jan van Zwieten *(youngest son)*	In red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a gold escutcheon above the middle violin charged with a red fess. Dutch: in rood drie zilveren violen, geplaatst 2 en 1, vergezeld boven de middelste van een gouden schildje beladen met een rode dwarsbalk.
Catherina van de Abeele *(First wife of Jan)*	A parted per pale shield. I: her family arms: in silver three red bars couped; II: the coat of arms of her husband Jan van Zwieten. Dutch: een gedeeld wapen met I: in zilver drie rode hameien, II: het wapen van haar man Jan van Zwieten. Because of the courteoisie heraldique the two parts of the coat of arms are reversed, as a result of which the coat of arms of the man is nearest the religious image.
Third Generation	
Adriaan van Zwieten *(grandson, son of Catherina and Jan)*	In red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a silver escutcheon above the middle violin charged with three red bars couped. Dutch: in rood drie zilveren violen, vergezeld boven de middelste van een zilveren schildje beladen met drie rode hameien.
Otte van Egmond *(wife of Adriaan)*	A parted per pale shield. I: her family arms: chevroned of gold and red of twelve charges and in the chief over all a black label; II: the coat of arms of her husband, Adriaan van Zwieten. Dutch: een gedeeld wapen met I: gekeperd van rood en goud in 12 stukken met een zwarte barensteel; II: het wapen van haar man Adriaan van Zwieten. Because of the courteoisie heraldique the two parts of the coat of arms are reversed, as a result of which the coat of arms of the man is nearest the religious image.
Fourth generation:	
Johanna van Zwieten (great-granddaughter, unmarried)	In red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a escutcheon above the middle violin chevroned of gold and red of twelve charges and in the chief over all a black label. Dutch: in rood drie zilveren violen vergezeld boven de middelste van een schildje, gekeperd van goud en rood van twaalf stukken en in het schildhoofd een zwarte barensteel over alles heen.
Jan van Zwieten (great-grandson, brother of Johanna, married)	In red three silver violins, 2, 1, accompanied by a escutcheon above the middle violin chevroned of gold and red of twelve charges and in the chief over all a black label. Dutch: in rood drie zilveren violen, vergezeld boven de middelste van een schildje, gekeperd van goud en rood van twaalf stukken en in het schildhoofd een zwarte barensteel over alles heen.

For the Dutch descriptions of the heraldry see *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of medieval memoria).

The eight quarters of Jan van Zwieten
The names of Jan van Zwieten's ancestors are painted in white letters below the coats of arms surrounding his coat of arms. The table below maintains the spelling as it appears on the painting.

Tabel 8.7.2 The quarters of Jan van Zwieten

Heraldic right (on the viewer's left of the central coat of arms)	*Heraldic left (on the viewer's right of the central coat of arms)*
Zweten (the coat of arms of Jan van Zwieten): in a red field three silver violins, placed 2 and 1, accompanied by a escutcheon above the middle violin, chevroned of gold and red of twelve charges and in the chief over all a black label.	Egmont (his mother): chevroned of gold and red of twelve charges and in the chief over all a black label.
Abeel (his grandmother on his father's side): in silver three red bars couped.	Eemskerck [Heemskerck] (grandmother on his mother's side): in black a silver lion passant.
Nienro [=Nijenrode] (his great-grandmother on his father's side): in gold a red fess.	Heenvliet (great-grandmother on his mother's side): in red a silver lion passant.
Stapel (his great-great-grandmother on his father's side): in red six escallops, 3, 2, 1.	Akoy (great-great-grandmother on his mother's side): in silver two red fesses embattled counter embattled.

9. Prayer and liturgical services

See for general information and literature section 5 of these Research notes.

9.1 The administration of memoria

Many medieval institutions managed their commemorative practices through a separate administration. This administration was to be used for overseeing the gifts they received and for keeping track of the obligations (liturgical services, distributions, etc.) towards the institutions' benefactors. The diverse administrative overviews are regularly referred to as 'the memorial registers'. In *Les documents nécrologiques* (1972) Huyghebaert distinguishes between the different types of memorial registers on the basis of their use and function. His classification is well-known and is still often used by scholars. Huyghebaert himself, however, warned for the pitfalls of this approach, as he was well aware that in the Middle Ages people did not adhere to the strict genre categorisations that modern scholars prefer to use, see Huyghebaert, *Les documents nécrologiques*, 35-37. The MeMO project, of which the Rich Internet Application about Mariënpoel is one result, chooses to classify the memorial registers on the basis of their contents and not on the function of the administrative source. By doing so, MeMO does not succeed in avoiding the problems Huyghebaert encountered, but it gives scholars extensive descriptions that enable them to interpret the material regarding to intended function, practical use, etc.

Literature
- Huyghebaert, *Les documents nécrologiques*.
- Lemaître, *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français*, esp. 5-79, for the terminology, the material aspects and the classification of the documents.
- Van Bueren and De Weijert, "Medieval Memoria Online (MeMO): New research possibilities", 8.

9.2 Gifts and countergifts

Special memorial services
See about gifts and countergifts in general and about special memorial services section 5 The commemoration of the dead (Memoria) in these Research notes.

Countergifts for Boudewijn and his family and friends

Please note for Table 9.2:
1. The number between brackets in the first column refers to the place of the portrayed person in the painting, starting with Jan van Zwieten (1) at the far left.
2. Items containing donations of money are all indicated as such. The original names of the monetary units are transcribed apart from the wide-spread types of currency.
3. Letters between brackets (a) refer to notes at the bottom of this table.

Table 9.2 Gifts and countergifts from and to the Van Zwieten family

Name and relation to founder	Death date	Mention in donation register	Mention in necrology and date	Grave (mentioned in painting)	Literature/Remarks
Founder and wife					
Boudewijn van Zwieten, the founder himself (12)	1454	This manor and landed property ("dese hofstede husinge ende xxviii inghen landts"). Money: 200 "bergoensche scilde" per annum, as an eternal interest; for the church 400 Rhine gulden; and 200 "postulaets gulden". And had the Lord spared him, he would even have given more	N: patris ac fundatoris huius monasterii, aetatis sue lxxxiii D: 17 May	Mariënpoel	Special arrangements for liturgical services and prayer for himself, his family and others: in the foundation charter (1431)

		("Ende hadden onse heer god ghespaert noch veel meer daer toe ghegeuen soude hebben"), fol. 3r			
Ludgard van Nijenrode, founder's wife (11)	1464	Not mentioned	D: 12 November (a)	Mariënpoel	Special arrangement, Cartulary, fol. 23v-24r. Note that in this charter both Boudewijn and his wife Ludgard are mentioned as the founders
Son Dirk and family					
Dirk van Zwieten, Eldest son (10)	1451	Mentioned fol. 3r, but no mention of donation	N: Mentioned with his wife Johanna van Leyenburg D: 22 June	Unknown	
Johanna van Leyenburg, daughter-in-law (9)	1451	Mentioned, deceased around the Feast of the Nativity of Mary, but no mention of donation	N: Mentioned with her husband Dirk van Zwieten D: 22 June	Haarlem, Grote Kerk	
Arend (son of Dirk) grandson	1466	Money: 6 Rhine gulden for the soul of his father, fol. 4r		-	
Son Gijsbrecht and family					
Gijsbrecht, second son (8)?	1456 (sic) (b)	Money: 2 Rhine gulden pro annum "voer hem ende syn wyf tot petanci" (for himself and his wife as pittance), fol. 3r	N: filii baldewini de zwieten fundatoris D: 19 December	Mariënpoel	Special arrangement for Gijsbrecht and his wife Cartulary, fol. 24r-24v
Gijsbrecht, second son (8)	1457 (sic) (b)	Money: 2 pounds pro annum in eternal rent, one for food ("tot spise") and one for wine, fol. 4r	N: filii baldewini de zwieten fundatoris D: 19 December	Mariënpoel	
Catharina van Diemen, (Gijsbrecht's wife) daughter-in-law (7)	1461	Money for bread: "ende si gaf hier toe x plakken tot scoon broot", fol. 4r		Mariënpoel	Special arrangement for see above (Gijsbrecht van Zwieten)
Peter (son of Gijsbrecht), Grandson	1479	Money: 6 Rhine gulden by testament, fol. 3v		St Peter´s church, Leiden	
Hugo van Zwieten's wife, wife of grandson	1482	Money: 1 Rhine gulden, fol. 12v		-	
Son Jan and family					
Jan van Zwieten, youngest son (6)	1485	Money: 50 Rhine gulden to have a Mass read every day for a year, fol. 11r	D: 13 March	Mariënpoel	
Catharina van de Abeel (Jan's first wife), daughter-in-law (5)	1442	Money: 21 bavarian gulden "die wi namen van enen bonten tabbert ende ons alrebeste casufel ende een alf in testament" fol. 4r. The first part of the sentence is unclear; the second part indicates that the convent received a chasuble and an alb (liturgical vestments).	N: uxoris Johannis de Zwieten filii Baldewini fundatoris nostri D: 23 November	St Peter´s church, Leiden	
Adriaan van Zwieten, (son of Jan) grandson (4)	1486	Money: 1 pound large pro annum for a weekly Mass for his soul and those of both his wives, and furniture and decorations for the chapel, fol. 11r	N: militis ac scultetis leydensis D : 31 Augustus (compared to mention in donation register)	Mariënpoel	
Machteld van Hoornpijl (Adriaan's first wife), wife of grandson	1457	"ende hi gaf ons haer beste tabbert in een testament" (and he – her husband – gave us her best tabbard by testament), fol. 3r		-	
Willem van Reimerswaal, Catharina Adriaansdochter's husband (first marriage Adriaan)	(1515)	statue of Saint Paul, fol. 12v		-	
Otte van Egmond (Adriaan's second wife), wife of grandson (3)	1485	Not mentioned	N: "Uxori Johannis de Zwieten filii Baldewini fundatoris nostri" 19 November	Mariënpoel	
Jan van Zwieten, Adriaan's and Otte's son, great-grandson (1)	1510	Not mentioned	N: "apud nos sepulti" D: 14 August (?) (c)	Mariënpoel	
Johanna van Zwieten, Adriaan's and Otte's daughter, great-granddaughter (2)	1554	Money: 40 Rhine gulden by testament, death date 20 September 1554, fol. 16v. The new memorial painting is not mentioned in the		-	

		donation register			
Daughter Aleid and family					
Aleid van Zwieten, Eldest daughter (14)	1467	Not mentioned	N: "filie baldewini de Zwieten fundatoris nostri etatis sue lxx" D: 9 September (d)	The Hague (see Evert van Hoogwoude)	
Evert van Hoogwoude, bastard son of Willem VI, Aleid's husband, son-in-law (13)	1458	Not mentioned		The Hague, Grote kerk	
Daughter Catherina					
Catherina van Zwieten, nun in the convent, second daughter (15)	1495 (e)	Not mentioned	N: "praefuit in officio priorissae 36 annis, aetatis 92" D: 15 September	Mariënpoel	
Daughter Margriet and family					
Margriet van Zwieten, youngest daughter (17)	1447	Mentioned fol. 4r / no mention of donation	N: "uxoris iohannis de poelgheest filie baldewini de zwieten fundatoris nostri" D: 26 December	Mariënpoel	
Jan van Poelgeest, Margriet's husband, son-in-law (16)	1457 (f)	Not mentioned		St Peter´s church, Leiden	
Bastard son Willem					
Willem, bastard son of the founder	1482	Money: 20 Rhine gulden by testament, fol. 3v	With wife Catharina, "hic sepultorum" D: 12 September	Mariënpoel	
Relation unknown					
Dirk Boudewijnsz. van Zwieten ?	1482	Money: 20 Rhine gulden, fol. 10v		-	
Ludgard van Neyenrode's family					
Bruninc Spruut 'mijn ioncfrou van zwetens broeder' Ludgard's brother and Boudewijn's brother-in-law	no date	Money: "een bargoenschen scilt" fol. 4r		-	Van Bijleveld 1905, 167: married to a sister of Ludgard; Van Kan 1981, 295, with brother of Ludgard
Jan, Bruninc Spruut's daughter, nun in Warmond, Ludgard's and Boudewijn's niece	no date	Money: 3 "bargoensche scilde", "ende een goet boec in parkament ghescreuen en mit veel goeder leringhe" (and a 'good' book written on parchment with many wise and pious lessons) by testament, fol. 4r		Own convent in Warmond?	
Claas de Vries, 'die te wijf heeft mijn ioffou van Zwietens broeders dochter' (the husband of the daughter of Ludgard's van Nijenrode's brother)	1475	Money: 50 pounds for the church and "viii schilde dat stuc viii postelaten" by testament, fol. 4r		-	
Katrijn Heynen 'Boudijn van Zwietens moeyen dochter', beguine St Peter´s church, Leiden ?	no date	1 silver spoon, money: 1 "bergoens scilt", and "een latijnsche souter (a psalter in Latin)", fol. 4r		beguinage?	Van Kan 1981, 295.
Member of the household					
Griet, live-in maid in Boudewijn's household	No date	3 cushions, 1 table cloth, 1 cloth (*dwaal*) possibly for an altar or tabernacle "dat wi voer hoor ende voer hoor dochter ende voer hoerre dochter ii mannen bidden souden (so that we would pray for her and for her daughter and for her daughter's two husbands), fol. 7r		-	

(a) Ludgard van Nijenrode died on 24 February (feast of the apostle Matthew) according to the memorial painting, but her anniversary was celebrated on the feast of Lebuïnus, 12 November.
(b) Gijsbrecht: it is not quite certain whether in both cases this is Boudewijn's and Ludgard's son.

(c) Jan: It is not certain whether this Jan is indeed the brother of Johanna van Zwieten who commissioned the painting of 1552.

(d) Aleid: the painting mentions 'Gregoriusdag' as day of death. We may assume that this is 12 March, the feast of pope Gregory the Great; the necrology however mentions 9 September (not a feast day for any Gregory). Apparently her anniversary was not celebrated on the date of her death.

(e) Catharina: the year 1425 as the date of death in the painting is incorrect; the correct year is 1495.

(f) Jan van Poelgeest: the year of his death in the painting is 1432, but he died in 1482.

Literature about the gift-giving practices in and outside Mariënpoel by the Van Zwieten family
- Van Kan, "Boudewijn van Zwieten, tresorier van Holland", esp. 297-299.
- Van de Velde, "Boudewijn van Zwieten en Frank van der Bouchorst", esp. 3-6.

9.3 Benefactors: a community of family and professional relations

Although extensive studies into Mariënpoel are still required, some research has already been performed with regards to the persons involved with the convent of Mariënpoel. This research indicates that, as has been shown and can be shown for other religious institutions, in Mariënpoel at least four groups of persons were connected to the donation and foundation practices:
- family relations of founders and other benefactors
- professional relations of these benefactors
- members of the family in the institution, and
- members of the family buried in the institution.

For obvious reasons these groups are often intertwined: a person could be an important benefactor who had connections with other benefactors and family in the convent, and who owned a family grave in the institution as well. Networks can be detected of people who had several types of connections to an institution. A few examples for Mariënpoel:
- In the fifteenth century the convent benefited greatly from Boudewijn van Zwieten's relations. Boudewijn had important connections both in The Hague - the administrative centre of the County of Holland - and in the government of Leiden, and as Damen showed, he often used these relations to his advantage and to the advantage of his family and friends. Several of his near and dear owed him their positions in governmental bodies and we find some of them in the donation register of the convent.
- Another group of relations supporting the convent was the family of Frank van de Boekhorst and Catharina van Bakenesse. The couple had two daughters in the convent. Members of the Van de Boekhorst family married members of the Van Zwieten family after the second half of the fifteenth century.
- It seems that in the sixteenth century other important benefactors had come forward. One of them was Jacob Pietersz. Asselijns († 1532), priest in St Peter's church in Leiden, who had a sister in Mariënpoel. Their parents were buried in the convent and Jacob Pietersz. chose to be buried in the family grave as well. He donated food and drink, but also liturgical vessels and liturgical books, and land. The most important group of benefactors in this period seems to have been nun and prioress Gerritje IJsbrandsdr. van Rietwijk and her family. This family belonged to the nobility of Holland; Gerritje's mother was a Van Alkemade, also an important family of noble origin.

Literature
- Avis, '*...om meerre gratien ende ghenaden te verwerven.*
- Van Bueren with De Winkel, "Herinnering in de praktijk. De rol van beeld en geschrift", esp. 133-136.
- Damen, "Tussen stad en land. Bourgondische ambtenaren en Leiden in de 15de eeuw".
- Van de Velde, "Boudewijn van Zwieten en Frank van der Bouchorst".
- Van de Velde, "Gerritgen Ysbrandsdochter van Rietwijk".

Literature for overviews of the nobility and officials in Holland and Zeeland and their network:
- Brand, *Over macht en evenwicht.*
- Damen, *De staat van dienst.*
- Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland.*

10. Politics – the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages

10.1 Boudewijn van Zwieten, politician and religious man

Literature
- Damen, "Tussen stad en land. Bourgondische ambtenaren en Leiden in de 15de eeuw".
- Van Kan, "Boudewijn van Zwieten, tresorier van Holland", esp. 297-299.

10.2 The contested rule of power of Holland, Zeeland and Hainault

Literature
- Janse, *Een pion voor een dame.*

10.3 The Utrecht Schism

Literature
- Post, *Geschiedenis der Utrechtsche bisschopsverkiezingen tot 1535*, esp. 140-157.

10.4 Loyalty to Philip the Good: the right choice

Literature
- Damen, "Tussen stad en land. Bourgondische ambtenaren en Leiden in de 15de eeuw", esp. 45-48.

10.5 Power and influence of Boudewijn van Zwieten

Literature
- Damen, "Tussen stad en land. Bourgondische ambtenaren en Leiden in de 15de eeuw".
- Van Kan, "Boudewijn van Zwieten, tresorier van Holland".

11. Timeline

11.1 Convent

1428 Nuns leave Oudewater / Foundation convent Mariënpoel

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889
	- fol. 1v: chronicle in donation register
	- fol. 3r: donation register, first page of the register of the Mariënpoel convent
	See Table 4 for the full-page plates
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889. Contents:
	- the chronicle of the convent in Oudewater (fol. 1v)
	- the register with the donations during the period in Oudewater (2r-2v)
	- the register with the donations to the convent of Mariënpoel (3r-17v)
References	Goudriaan, K., "Het eerste vrouwenklooster van Oudewater".

1428 Agreement with Boudewijn's children

Plates	Portraits of the children of Boudewijn van Zwieten and Ludgard van Nijenrode, details from the memorial painting of the Van Zwieten family
Sources	- RAL, Kloosterarchieven 858, cartulary, fol. 9r-9v
	- RAL, Kloosterarchieven 1121 and 1122
References	See Table 9.2 for the actual mention of the children in the donation register and other archives

1428 Permission from parish priest

Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 871, 872, 873, 874, 876 and 878
References	See Table 7.1.2

1431 Foundation charter

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 860 - Charter - Seals from left to right: Boudewijn van Zwieten, Willem Clinkert (prior of canons regular near Schoonhoven), Herman Jansz. (prior of canons regular Stein near Gouda) and the seal of the convent. See Table 4 for the full-page plate
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 860
Remarks	The RAL has an old but complete transcription of the foundation charter
References	See Table 3.1.1, nr. 1

1445 Philip the Good confirms foundation

Plates	Portrait of Philip the Good, see Table 4
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 862, 863, 864, 865
References	See Table 3.1.1 under 4

1450 Boudewijn settles accounts with convent

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 861, see Table 4 for the full-page plate
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 861
References	See Table 3.1.1 under 5

1454 Death Boudewijn

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 888, 14v, see Table 4 for the full-page plate
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 860 RAL, Kloosterarchieven 888
References	See Table 3.1.1 under 1 (860) and 13 (888)

1495 Death Catharina van Zwieten

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 888, fol. 23r (necrology), see Table 4 for the full-page plate
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 888, fol. 23r (necrology)
References	Van Engen, *De derde orde of Sint-Franciscus in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht.*

1522 Nun Gerritje van Rietwijk

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889 (donation register) - fol. 15r - fol. 15v See Table 4 for the full-page plates
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889, fol. 15r and v
References	Van de Velde, "Gerritgen Ysbrandsdochter van Rietwijk. Weldoenster en laatste priorin van klooster Mariënpoel"

1566 Iconoclasm prevented

Plates	See Table 4 Engraving of Adriaan van Zwieten
References	Bijleveld 172-173

1572 Dissolution of the convent

Plates	Portraits of William of Orange and King Philip II, see Table 4
Remarks, sources text and references	The RAL now keeps the majority of the convent's archives. Apart from the the archives that the nuns handed over to the town the archives also has a number of documents on loan from the Chapter of the Oudbisschoppelijke Clerezij in Utrecht. The document van 1568: RAL Kloosterarchieven 912 Works of art (The Crucifixion and The Seven Sorrows of Mary): Van Mander saw the paintings in the townhall of Leiden, Van Mander, *Lives* (ed. by Hessel Miedema), vol. 1, 98-103 (facsimile and English translation of the life of Cornelis Engebrechts); vol. 2 (commentary), 320. Buchelius: Inscriptiones, p. 93 and 152-153.

1573 Convent pulled down

Plates	See Table 4 Stained-glass window with portrait of Thomas Hermansz. (detail)
References	For work of art: *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria) For text: Van Eeghen, *Dagboek van Wouter Jacobsz*, see register under Thomas Hermansz.

1593 Survey of confiscated possessions

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven1656, [fol. 45r] (manuscript with maps; kaartenboek) See Table 4 for the full-page plate
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven1656, [fol. 45r] RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889, fol. 15v (donation register)
Remarks	RAL, Kloosterarchieven1656, contains plans of the confiscated land of the convents of Roomburg, Mariënpoel, Bernardieten, St Ursula and the 11,000 virgins in the shire of Zoeterwoude, Voorschoten, Wassenaar Valkenburg, Katwijk, Voorburg and Hazerswoude. The cartographer Jan of Banchem was commissioned by the Council of delegates of the States of Holland and West-Friesland

11.2 Church

1430 Consecration of the church

Plates	Plan of the church
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 883
References	Bangs, *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden,* 199

Circa 1454 The first Van Zwieten memorial

Plates	For the reconstruction: see the RIA
Sources	Based on archival research and the present painting of 1552
References	Van Bueren with De Winkel, "Herinnering in de praktijk. De rol van beeld en geschrift", esp. 125-133

1457 Consecration of four altars

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 883, 44 See Table 4 for the full-page plate
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 883, 44
References	Van de Velde, "Boudewijn van Zwieten en Frank van der Bouchorst", 1-11

1496-1503 Many donations for the church

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889, fol. 12v See Table 4 for the full-page plate
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889, fol. 12r – 13v
Remarks	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889, fol. 12v (Jan van Wassenaar † 1497), 13r (jonker Jan van Wassenaar anno 1497) and 13v (mijn vrouw van wassenaars jonkvrouw jan moer, 1511). Memorial services in RAL, Kloosterarchieven 888 (necrology): Katharina Jansdr., nun, 12 February, no date of death; Margaretha Philipsdr, nun, † 19 April 1526, aged 69 (daughter of the marriage of Philips van Wassenaar and Catharina van Reimerswaal); Hendrik, † 22 January no date; Philips and Hendrik, women and children, 23 July).
Literature	For short biographies of Hendrik and Filips van Wassenaar, see: Damen, *De staat van dienst*, 495-496. For membership of the Comital council, see Damen, *De staat van dienst*, Bijlage III. (period 1434-1466). For a preliminary overview of the ties between a large number of donors, especially in the fifteenth century, see: Wieke Avis, *'...om meerre gratien ende ghenaden te verwerven, in dese tijt ende glorie inder ewicheit ...'. De functies van de memoriepraktijk van het klooster* Mariënpoel *bij Leiden in de 15e eeuw, voor de schenkers uit het Memorieboek en voor de familie Van Zwieten in het bijzonder* (unpublished paper, Leiden University, 2005).

Circa 1500: Memorial for deceased rectors?

Plates	*Visitation and the prayer portraits of four Canons Regular*
Sources	The painting itself and the results of the technical research. For the most recent overview, see website Rijksmuseum
Remarks	Bangs was the first to place the painting in Mariënpoel, based on the added portrait, *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden*, 23-24. The literature also mentions other possibilities, see Renée Simons, *Spes nostra of semper timoratum esse? Fluctuemus inter timorem et spem*, 1988 (unpublished master's thesis, University of Amsterdam); Van Bueren and Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood*, 205-207, and Lammertse and Giltaij, *Vroege Hollanders*, 289. The infrared reflectography research referred to in this RIA was carried out under the responsibility of Molly Faries, see Van Bueren and Faries, 'Care for the Here', 150 and 153. Infrared assembly: Lisa Elbers.
Literature	See *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria)

Circa 151512: The Seven Sorrows of Mary

Plates	*The Seven Sorrows of Mary*
Sources	*The painting itself*
Literature	See *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria)

Circa 1520-1526: The Crucifixion

Plates	*Crucifixion*
Sources	The painting itself
Literature	*See Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria)

1552 New memorial Van Zwieten

Plates	*Mary and Child and four generations of the Van Zwieten family*
Literature	See *Memoria in Beeld* (Representations of Medieval Memoria)

1550-1570 The last donations to Mariënpoel

Plates	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889, fol. 15r (donation register)
Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 889, fol. 15r-17v (last written page of the donation register)
References	For donations by Gerritje van Rietwijk and her family, see Van de Velde, "Gerritgen Ysbrandsdochter van Rietwijk. Weldoenster en laatste priorin van klooster Mariënpoel"

1571 Consecration of an altar

Sources	RAL, Kloosterarchieven 884, fol. 31 v. This is a reconsecration of one of the three altars that were consecrated in 1457.
Literature	Bangs, *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden*, 18.