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Recommended Citation:

Molly Faries, Henri Defoer, “Jan van Scorel's *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam: The “finest painting in all of the regions of Flanders”,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 12:2 (Summer 2020) DOI: 10.5092/jhna.12.2.1

Available at <https://jhna.org/articles/jan-van-scorels-crucifixion>

Published by Historians of Netherlandish Art: <https://hnanews.org/>

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ISSN: 1949-9833

Jan van Scorel's *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam: The “finest painting in all of the regions of Flanders”

Molly Faries, Henri Defoer

This essay identifies one of Jan van Scorel's most important, lost works—the Crucifixion for the high altar of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam—by evaluating the evidence provided by workshop replicas, later copies, and other works influenced by the original painting. The questions surrounding the prestigious Oude Kerk commission play out in the context of Scorel's reestablishment in the northern Netherlands after his return from Italy in 1524 and the responses by Scorel's contemporaries such as Maarten van Heemskerck to his new Italianate style.

- 1 Jan van Scorel's *Crucifixion* for the high altar of the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam is one of the paintings that Karel van Mander lamented was lost during the Iconoclasm in 1566, along with others in Utrecht, Gouda, and elsewhere.¹ The sense of loss is made all the more palpable when one considers how the Oude Kerk painting was appreciated by those who had the chance to see it before it was destroyed. In 1549, Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella saw the *Crucifixion* when he accompanied Philip II on his introductory tour of the Netherlands and described it as the “finest painting in all of the regions of Flanders.”² Researchers have naturally attempted to identify this famous work on the basis of presumed copies, but to date the scholarship has been inconclusive. Suffice it to say that, on the topic of Scorel's *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk, there are more unresolved questions than answers.
- 2 In 2018, a publication appeared celebrating the Oude Kerk. The entire issue of the *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* was devoted to the church and its furnishings. Sebastiaan Dudok van Heel, a loyal author for the journal for fifty years, contributed a substantial article on the high altar by Jan van Scorel and Maarten van Heemskerck.³ In his essay, Dudok van Heel puts forward a number of completely new proposals. They are enumerated here in brief. The first and perhaps most surprising claim is that Scorel completed the altarpiece for the Oude Kerk almost immediately after his return from Italy in 1524. This has never been proposed before, and it

contradicts the account by Karel van Mander, who stated that Scorel painted the *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk several years later, after the painter was firmly reestablished in his native land. In order to support his contention, Dudok van Heel speculates that Scorel painted the altarpiece in Amsterdam—not Utrecht, where it is generally assumed the painter settled after arriving back in the Netherlands—and, more specifically, in the workshop of Jacob Cornelisz or that of his son, where, according to Dudok van Heel, Scorel had returned to find lodging and a place to work. Dudok van Heel believes that the altarpiece Scorel delivered to the Oude Kerk was a triptych, not the single panel that is implied in early sources, and that it would have had a lobed top, because that was a common shape seen in altarpieces produced by Jacob Cornelisz's shop at the time. Furthermore, Dudok van Heel argues the altarpiece eventually evolved into a six-winged polyptych, because Maarten van Heemskerck was commissioned in 1537 to add four wings to the presumed triptych. The wings were presumably intended to cover up the figures of Adam and Eve that Scorel had painted on the exterior of his triptych, since they conjured up uncomfortable memories of the riots of 1535 when Anabaptists ran naked in the streets of Amsterdam. In Dudok van Heel's opinion, Van Mander was not only mistaken about the date and other aspects of the Oude Kerk commission; he was also misinformed about details related to the painters involved, due to the fact that he had to rely on informants who were too far removed from the time the altarpiece existed. Jan van Scorel, Dudok van Heel argues, did not paint the Oude Kerk *Crucifixion* during his stay in Haarlem from 1527 to 1530, as Van Mander stated. Nor did Scorel establish a workshop in that city, contrary to Van Mander's account that, when there, Scorel was "often asked to take in pupils."⁴ Maarten van Heemskerck, as a result, could not have joined Scorel's workshop in Haarlem, even though that report by Van Mander has since been universally accepted in the literature. Heemskerck, Dudok van Heel contends, only learned of Scorel's new Italianate style through the works that Scorel left behind when he returned to Utrecht. Clearly, Dudok van Heel's suggestions significantly alter the chronology and activity of Jan van Scorel's first years back in his native land.

- 3 These proposals are challenging and call for a response. The rejoinder the authors present here is offered in the spirit of collegial debate that we hope will lead to more plausible solutions to long-standing, intractable problems. In addition, the authors hope to draw attention to a larger issue: the critical importance of Jan van Scorel's once-renowned but now-lost works and the immediate impact they had on his contemporaries—not only his followers but also painters of his own generation—in the artistic centers of Amsterdam and Haarlem.

Did Jan van Scorel return to Amsterdam or Utrecht?

- 4 When Jan van Scorel resettled in the Netherlands in the summer of 1524, he faced some practical problems. According to Dudok van Heel, the painter was "flat broke" and had no roof over his head.⁵ The income from a promised church office was not yet available to him, and because he was not a *poorter* (citizen) in Utrecht or any other Dutch city, he had no way to set up shop and earn a living as a member of a local painters' guild.⁶ It was only logical for him to return to Jacob Cornelisz's workshop and pick up where he had left off six years earlier. From 1512 to around 1518, Scorel had been an assistant in Jacob's Amsterdam workshop, and during that time he must have been close to Jacob's two painter sons, who were almost his same age: Cornelis Buys IV (Cornelis Jacobsz), born around 1490–95 (d. 1532), and Dirck Jacobsz, born before 1497 (d. 1567). To Dudok van Heel, the proof that Scorel was painting again in Amsterdam alongside his

former coworkers is the immense impact Scorel had on the work of these two members of Jacob's shop in the second half of the 1520s.⁷

- 5 There is no question that Scorel's influence on both painters was immediate and transformative. They both began to paint landscapes with antique ruins. Buys IV assimilated Scorel's figural style, while Dirck Jacobsz exhibited his indebtedness to Scorel primarily in his portraits and more fluid painting technique. The reason we now know that Scorel's example was much more pervasive than formerly thought is due in large part to Dudok van Heel's own ingenious research. In 2011, Dudok van Heel published the genealogy of Cornelis Buys, which includes the painter Jacob Cornelisz. His research led to the recognition that the painter known in art-historical literature as Cornelis Buys II is in actuality Jacob Cornelisz's son—designated as Cornelis Buys IV.⁸ Needless to say, this shift of an entire painter's oeuvre from Alkmaar, where it is thought Buys II worked, to Jacob's family workshops makes the family even more of a powerhouse in early sixteenth-century Amsterdam.
- 6 This discovery allowed one of the present authors, Molly Faries, to show how a Jacob Cornelisz shop composition, a Holy Family in a landscape (that is, the *Flight into Egypt*) was "modernized" on the basis of a now-lost prototype by Jan van Scorel that depicted the same subject. The make-over appears in two same-size shop replicas, one a work by Cornelis Buys IV (**fig. 1**) and the other a work that can be attributed to Dirck Jacobsz (**fig. 2**), the middle panel of a triptych with the date 1526 on the middle panel and 1530 on the wings.⁹ The changes are not obvious at first glance, since the composition is so clearly north Netherlandish, yet they reshape the image. Gone are the heavy brocades, and in their place the thinner fabrics of the Madonna's dress and robe cling more closely to the body. Mary's hands are more elegant, with long, tapering fingers. Her coiffeur is completely new and Raphaellesque, with a braid woven around her head. Her knees push forward



Fig. 1 Attributed to Cornelis Buys IV (Cornelis Jacobsz), *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1525–30, oil on panel, 88.4 x 69.5 cm. Private collection, Spain (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 2 Attributed to Dirck Jacobsz, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1526, center panel of a triptych, 110 x 68 cm. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv. no. GVL 61a

into the viewer's space, and her gaze connects with ours. Perhaps most telling of all is the background landscape, a panoramic view with antique ruins, a hallmark of Scorel's work after his return from Italy. Jan van Scorel's original must have been a work of high repute, for it also had influence beyond Jacob Cornelisz's workshop. It clearly provides the Madonna type and basic components of not only Maarten van Heemskerck's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; c. 1530),¹⁰ but also Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen's *Holy Family* in the Rijksmuseum, dated c. 1528–30.¹¹ In another venue, Faries identifies Jan van Scorel's lost prototype as the wings for the high altar of the Mariakerk in Utrecht, which the artist must have begun before he left for Haarlem in the spring of 1527.¹²

- 7 This clear link between Scorel and Jacob Cornelisz's sons prompted Dudok van Heel to speculate that Jan van Scorel found lodging in either Jacob Cornelisz's house on the Kalverstraat or possibly in the adjoining house belonging to his son, Cornelis Buys IV, and that it was there in 1525 that he painted the *Crucifixion* for the high altar of the Oude Kerk.¹³ What Scorel's presumed legal status in the workshop might have been is, of course, unknown, but it is difficult to comprehend how Scorel, as a shop subordinate, could have completed such a prestigious commission as an independent work. While it was customary for the master of a workshop to sell shop pieces under his own name, the reported instances of shop assistants selling their own works are almost nonexistent.¹⁴ Guild regulations prohibited assistants from working for their own profit, under penalty of fines.¹⁵ For Scorel to work on such an irregular basis would have been exceptional.
- 8 After Jan van Scorel returned from Rome in 1524, he had opportunities in Utrecht that cannot be disregarded. The contacts that Scorel made during his early travels, especially those in the Dutch circle that formed around the Dutch pope, Adrian VI, were put to immediate use by the young painter. After all, Scorel returned to the Netherlands as "canon of Utrecht"—as Scorel himself said in a letter from Rome dated May 26, 1524, just before his departure from that city. Pope Adrian VI, whose pontificate had lasted from 1522 until his untimely death in September 1523, had done what he could to ensure his protégé's future. When still in Rome, Scorel must have met Willem van Lokhorst, the son of Herman van Lokhorst, vicar-general to the bishop of Utrecht, dean of Oudmunster, and an old schoolmate of Pope Adrian's. Willem and his father were delegated to settle Adrian's affairs in Utrecht, and it would have been appropriate and expedient for Scorel to present himself as a "beneficiary" with the expectation of a church prebend.¹⁶ It appears that lodging was not a problem for Scorel when he returned to the Netherlands, for, as Van Mander reports, Scorel "stayed in Utrecht with a deacon of the Oudemunster called Lochorst."¹⁷ Finding a source of income was not a problem either, for within a few months of his return, Scorel secured a commission to paint organ wings for the church of Oudmunster,¹⁸ where none other than Herman van Lokhorst was dean. It is an inescapable conclusion that church connections facilitated Scorel's seamless reintegration into the upper echelons of Netherlandish society.
- 9 In Dudok van Heel's view, Jan van Scorel had to have painted the (lost) organ wings for Oudmunster in Amsterdam just before he began work on the Oude Kerk *Crucifixion*. It was not until 1526 that Scorel moved to Utrecht to paint the memorial altarpiece for Herman van Lokhorst, when Dudok van Heel presumes he set up shop in the immunity of Oudmunster, which would have been outside the jurisdiction of the guild.¹⁹ Yet if Scorel set up a workshop in the immunity of Oudmunster in 1526, he could have done that just as easily in 1524. And that is more likely.

During the relatively short period from the autumn of 1524 to the spring of 1527, when Scorel moved to Haarlem, it can be estimated that Scorel completed up to six major commissions for churches in Utrecht.²⁰

- 10 The payments concerning the organ wings for Oudmunster date from September 1524 and April 1525; they mention an offering of wine to the painter, who was present for the occasion and—cannot be excluded—possibly living in Utrecht.²¹ The documents imply that Scorel was under contract, in which case he may have been bound by a common contractual clause not to take on any outside work. These wings, moreover, survived into the seventeenth century, when they are described—in a 1624 inventory listing possessions deriving from the dean of Oudmunster, Herman van Lokhorst—as “large.”²² It would surely have been more convenient to paint such large pieces on site. Around the same time, Scorel may also have received a commission to paint the exterior wings of Oudmunster’s high altar (now lost). Scholars have long felt that these wings were by Scorel, since a late sixteenth-century source describes them as including a portrait of Scorel’s patron, Pope Adrian VI.²³ If so, then together with the organ wings and the *Lokhorst Triptych* (see fig. 12), Scorel would have completed three works in succession for Oudmunster or the Lokhorst family. Another work that could have been underway by late 1525 is the famous pair of group portraits depicting members of the Utrecht brotherhood of Jerusalem pilgrims;²⁴ it would have been necessary for Scorel to be in Utrecht to take the likenesses of these twenty-four individuals.
- 11 The importance of the church to Scorel’s life and work cannot be underestimated. When Scorel returned from Rome, his immediate goal was to pursue a career in the church, which to him included painting as an integral activity. By August of 1525, he had already obtained the promise of the next available vicariate in the Mariakerk, although it took three more years before Scorel was installed in the office of canon.²⁵ As a cleric, Scorel could produce paintings outside the jurisdiction of the guild and run a shop free from fees and limitations on the number of apprentices and assistants. This led to conflicts, as early sources suggest, but so far as we know he never joined the Saddlers’ Guild, the guild to which painters belonged in Utrecht, nor the Guild of St. Luke in Haarlem.²⁶
- 12 Documents and early sources thus provide evidence of Scorel’s continuing activity in Utrecht during the critical years after his return from Italy, 1524–27. There is no documentation whatsoever suggesting a stay in Amsterdam.²⁷ This in no way denies the close contacts that must have existed between Scorel and his former shop colleagues in Amsterdam. The painters may even have visited each other’s shops on occasion, where they could have studied closely held items such as drawings and workshop patterns. The distance between the two cities is not that great. The earliest firm date we have for Scorel’s influence on Jacob Cornelisz’s sons is 1526, but since it continues to appear in works that date into the early 1530s, these artists must have kept themselves informed about one another’s works over a period of years. A stay by Scorel in Amsterdam for two years, or up to two-thirds of this critical period, as a quasi-independent painter working in the shop of his former master or his master’s son, is highly unlikely.

Was Scorel’s Oude Kerk altarpiece a triptych or single panel?

- 13 According to Karel van Mander, Jan van Scorel painted the Oude Kerk altarpiece during his stay in Haarlem, from 1527 to 1530. He writes: “Schoorel . . . rented a house in Haarlem where he

painted some large paintings: among others the high altarpiece for the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, a *Crucifixion*, a work that was highly praised: there is another painting of this still in Amsterdam with the same design.”²⁸ Although Van Mander clearly speaks of a single painting and not a triptych, in Dudok van Heel’s view, the altarpiece must have been a triptych, since that was the norm for the early sixteenth century, and there are two *Crucifixion* triptychs that survive with Scorelesque compositions (see figs. 4 and 8). In his article, Dudok van Heel publishes a reconstruction of the altarpiece on the basis of these workshop replicas and later copies (to be discussed in more detail below) with the *Carrying of the Cross* and the *Resurrection* on the interior wings (fig. 3).



Fig. 3 Reconstruction of the high altar by Jan van Scorel. After Dudok van Heel, fig. 11a.

- 14 There are, however, viable reasons why Scorel could have delivered the *Crucifixion* as a single panel without wings. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Scorel was contracted to paint a triptych—or a polyptych for that matter—and simply failed to deliver the wings. It is more likely, however, that the churchwardens planned for an altarpiece with wings and ordered the work to be done in phases. They would have commissioned Scorel to finish the middle panel and then have decided about the wings after its completion. Various examples of such practice are known.²⁹ This was the case in November of 1537, when the churchwardens of the Oude Kerk contracted Maarten van Heemskerck “to paint the four sides of the inner wings” first and then continue, if the results were satisfactory, with “the two inner sides of the outer wings.”³⁰ When Heemskerck was commissioned in 1538–41 to paint the gigantic *St. Lawrence Altarpiece* for the Grote or Sint-Laurenskerk in Alkmaar (now Cathedral, Linköping, Sweden), the order was given for parts of the altarpiece in three separate contracts.³¹ This may have been done because of the sheer size of the altarpiece and the need to secure funding, but each document still set up payments in in-

stallments and stipulated that the following contract would only be issued once the ordered work was sufficiently advanced or completed to the satisfaction of the churchwardens.

- 15 When the churchwardens decided around the mid-1530s to follow up on their plans for the Oude Kerk high altar, Scorel was living in Utrecht. By that time he had a flourishing painter's workshop and had obtained full chapter rights as a canon in the Mariakerk. The office was no sinecure. He was, for instance, responsible for the administration of church properties in the Veluwe,³² and increasingly, from the mid-1530s on, was delegated to negotiate at various courts in the Netherlands on the chapter's behalf. He acted as intermediary in the notorious "unicorn horn" affair.³³ Scorel helped negotiate the recovery of church properties in Guelders, a project that continued over a period of years.³⁴ When the churchwardens of the Oude Kerk approached Scorel about the yet-to-be completed altarpiece wings, he may have been too busy to take up the task. This would explain why they turned to Scorel's former assistant, Maarten van Heemskerck, to complete the altarpiece. From the surviving contract, mentioned above, it appears that the painter agreed to deliver two interior and two outer wings, clearly defining the altarpiece as a polyptych with four wings. The *St. Jerome Altarpiece* by Jacob Cornelisz in Vienna, dated 1511, is a comparable work with four wings.³⁵
- 16 Adding Heemskerck's wings onto the two wings of Scorel's presumed triptych would have been a challenge for the shrine workers who provided the panels and frames, since, as a glance at a few extant examples reveals, polyptychs are constructed as interlocking units. In Jacob Cornelisz's *St. Jerome Altarpiece*, the slightly smaller set of interior wings nestle inside the profile of the outer set. Jan van Scorel's six-winged altarpiece of Saints Stephen and James for Marchiennes, executed about 1539–42 (Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai), is the closest in format to what Dudok van Heel proposes for the Oude Kerk high altar. It has one set of wings that are stationary, and the middle wings have no frame at the central seam,³⁶ easing the weight on the frame of the whole. Given the care with which contracts were written, it can be assumed the churchwardens of the Oude Kerk would have found ways to avoid changing plans midstream from a triptych to a six-winged polyptych.
- 17 Another passage from Van Mander confirms that the altarpiece never had any wings that were painted by Scorel. Van Mander writes in his account of the life of Maarten van Heemskerck: "In Amsterdam, in the Oude Kerk, there were two double shutters by him with passion scenes and the Resurrection on the inside; . . . The middle panel was a *Crucifixion* by Schoorel." [note] Miedema, *Van Mander: Lives*, fo. 246r. [/note] This provides still more evidence that Scorel's contribution to the altarpiece was a single panel—the middle panel—and not a triptych. Nor did the fictive triptych have a *Carrying of the Cross* and the *Resurrection* on the wings, for if they had already existed, there would have been no reason for Heemskerck to add wings with the same subjects.

Which Crucifixion is which?

- 18 There are two Crucifixion types that have been associated with Scorel's lost altarpiece for the Oude Kerk. A third composition is occasionally mentioned in the literature, but it more likely relates to a Crucifixion that Van Mander said Scorel did later in his career, for Arras.³⁸ The first Crucifixion type is historiated; it has many small figures and episodes, and the thieves have been positioned so that they turn inward toward Christ. The second type is more iconic; the figures are

larger and closer to the picture plane, and the thieves turn away from Christ. In this paper, the types will be called small- and large-figure Crucifixions.

- 19 There are up to seven replicas or copies of the large-figure Crucifixion. One survives as the middle panel of a triptych (formerly Begijnhof, Amsterdam, and now at the Kathedraal Museum Nieuwe Bavo, Haarlem; **fig. 4**); its interior wings depict the *Carrying of the Cross* on the left and the *Resurrection* on the right, while Adam and Eve appear on the exterior. The small-figure Crucifixion is known to us through two versions. One is a shop replica or possibly a later copy, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (**fig. 5**), and the second is a workshop replica that forms the middle panel of a triptych with Carthusian monks in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht (**fig. 8**).



Fig. 4 After Jan van Scorel, *Crucifixion Triptych*, c. 1550–75, oil on panel, middle panel 97.5 x 76 cm, wings 97 x 38.5 cm. Kathedraal Museum Nieuwe Bavo, Haarlem. Photo: Arend Velsink



Fig. 5 After Jan van Scorel, *Crucifixion*, 1530, oil on panel, 123.5 x 120.5 cm. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. Photo: digital composite by Molly Faries

- 20 Recently, a small version of the *Carrying of the Cross* appeared on the art market that clearly figures into this discussion (**fig. 6**). Dudok van Heel believes this panel has “the aura of a modello,” perhaps because of its small size.³⁹ To him it predicts the composition of the left wing of the presumed triptych Scorel painted for the Oude Kerk (see **fig. 3**). Dendrochronology exists for this work, but unfortunately, it is an example of a too-early dating, with an estimate of the wood’s use by about 1510, when Scorel was still a shop assistant.⁴⁰ Stylistically, the painting must date much later. The composition is not based on the juxtaposition of near and far seen in Scorel’s earlier works (and that can still be sensed in the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* paintings) but is more akin to works from the early 1530s, such as the *Adoration of Magi* discussed below (see **fig. 13**). The underdrawing in the *Carrying* is loosely sketched in black chalk; it is not impossible that it is by Scorel himself, but a shop assistant cannot be excluded (**figs. 7a–b**).⁴¹ Regardless of attribution, the underdrawing—in type—belongs to the period in or after Scorel’s stay in Haarlem, when his layouts include long, undulating contours and systematized hatching.⁴² This makes it highly unlikely that this version of the *Carrying of the Cross* could be associated in any way with an Oude Kerk commission that dates as early as 1525. Furthermore, X-radiographs have revealed the traces of an Adam figure on the reverse of the panel that exactly match the Adam on the exterior of the triptych formerly in the Begijnhof.⁴³ The *Carrying of the Cross* was thus a finished wing and, as such, should more reasonably be grouped with the many versions of the subject, either as



Fig. 6 Jan van Scorel and workshop, *Carrying of the Cross*, ca. 1530, oil on panel, 48.3 x 32.9 cm. Private collection, New York. Photo: courtesy Haboldt & Co.



Fig. 7a Detail of Christ figure in fig. 6. Photo: courtesy Haboldt & Co.



Fig. 7b Corresponding infrared reflectogram digital composite showing underdrawing. IRR: © Stichting RKD [side-by-side viewer]

“original” replicas—that is, workshop replicas—or copies produced outside the workshop.

- 21 There are at least six versions of the *Carrying of the Cross* and somewhat fewer of the *Resurrection*. Comparing their sizes and formats leads to some interesting observations.⁴⁴ Using the smallest of the examples as a basis, entire compositions of three replicas or copies have been enlarged exactly. This would have been accomplished by squaring, which was a method that Scorel knew from the beginning of his career and that he and his shop employed frequently.⁴⁵ Two of the versions were created differently: elements of the composition were divided and rescaled separately so that the figures were larger in relation to the background. In these cases, figures were also deleted and/or added. Given the efficient method of replication used by Scorel’s shop and the number of surviving replicas and copies, Scorel’s workshop must have been called upon frequently to produce Crucifixion triptychs.
- 22 Of these, the *Crucifixion Triptych* with Carthusians is essential to the argument presented here because it is, first, a verifiable ensemble and, secondly, a work in which the master of the shop’s decisive role is clearly evident. It combines a workshop replica of the small-figure Crucifixion with newly designed compositions for the wings: the *Carrying of the Cross* and *Resurrection* on the interior and *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* and *Flagellation* on the exterior (figs. 8–9). Jan van Scorel gave special attention to the exterior scenes, as he was obliged to restructure the Passion narrative to include the figure of a Carthusian donor. He worked out the underdrawings in detail, painted figures, and made critical changes in faces and heads. In the *Flagellation*, most of the heads—the purview of Scorel himself—were altered significantly (figs. 10a–b).⁴⁶ Many of the changes were made in a late paint stage, since a first paint stage followed the underdrawing. In the finalized image, Christ’s two persecutors look up and out at the viewer instead of looking down, as in the underdrawing. One of the figures just above the torturer on the left was underdrawn in profile; Scorel transformed this head into a striking character study who, like the turbaned figure



Fig. 8 Jan van Scorel and workshop, *Crucifixion Triptych*, ca. 1530 (middle panel) and ca. 1540 (left and right interior wings, *Carrying of the Cross* and *Resurrection*), oil on panel, middle panel 130 x 116 cm, wings 130 x 48 cm each. Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. Photo: Ruben de Heer



Fig. 9 Jan van Scorel and workshop, *Crucifixion Triptych*, exterior wings: *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane with Carthusian Donors* and *Flagellation of Christ*, ca. 1540, oil on panel, 130 x 48 cm each. Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. Photo: Ruben de Heer



Fig. 10a Detail of *Flagellation* in fig. 9. Photo: Ruben de Heer



Fig. 10b Corresponding infrared reflectogram digital composite showing underdrawing. IRR: © Stichting RKD

on the right edge, glances toward Christ. They close the ring of bystanders who, along with Pilate in the center background, are complicit in Christ's torment. The late 1530s date given by Faries to the wings has since been substantiated by dendrochronology, while the middle panel may date somewhat earlier.⁴⁷

23 The figures on the wings of the Utrecht *Crucifixion Triptych* are much larger than those in the middle panel. They appear, in fact, to better match the large-figure Crucifixion, which might indicate that it was the original rather than the small-figure version that had wings. In attempting to account for the mismatch, Dudok van Heel speculates that the triptych was incorrectly framed or re-framed, possibly in the nineteenth century, and that the middle panel originally had a predella, requiring the wings to be lowered in position.⁴⁸ However, in the opinion of the conservators who treated the triptych when it was restored in 2008, the frame of the triptych is original (see the Appendix by Caroline van der Elst). All the hinges are original and show no signs of having been

repositioned. The wing panels were painted in their frames, and dendrochronology confirms that the wood of the wing panels and frames dates from the same period—the early sixteenth century. [note]Report by Peter Klein, University of Hamburg, April 22, 2008: the youngest heartwood ring in the frame of the wings was formed in 1515 and that of the wing panels in 1519. Klein found seventeenth-century year rings in the frame of the middle panel (report dated June 19, 2001), but these derive from a board that was added as a later reinforcement; see Appendix.[/note] There is thus no reason to postulate any radical change in format.⁵⁰ Assuming, then, that the Carthusians wished to have a copy of the Oude Kerk altarpiece for their triptych, there was clearly a replica available for the middle panel but no models for matching wings. The wings Scorel provided are similar in composition to other works close in date, such as the wings for the 1539–42 polyptych with Saints Stephen and James.

24 The reconstruction proposed by Dudok van Heel has elements that are questionable (see fig. 3). The reconstruction combines the *Carrying of the Cross*, in a private collection, as the left wing (fig. 6), matched to a small-figure *Crucifixion* (based on the Bonn panel, fig. 5) and a *Resurrection* (based on the right wing of the triptych formerly in the Begijnhof, fig. 4). Although somewhat persuasive at first glance, closer study reveals a difference in figure scale between the middle panel and wings. In addition, a strip has been added to the right wing in the reconstruction, and a strip has been cut off the right side of the left wing. If that edge had been included, it would be obvious that the horizon drops off so sharply that it cannot link with the middle panel (fig. 11). A triptych that supposedly dates from the period of Jan van Scorel's *Lokhorst Triptych* would have had a continuous background from panel to panel (see fig. 12).⁵¹



Fig. 11 Detail of reconstruction with omitted right edge of inner left wing. Photo: digital composite by Molly Faries



Fig. 12 Jan van Scorel, *The Lokhorst Triptych: Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem*, middle panel and interior wings, ca. 1526, oil on panel, 95.7 x 323.5 cm (open) (artwork in the public domain)

- 25 There is, moreover, no basis for the assumption that the Oude Kerk altarpiece had a lobed top. The present shape of the small-figure *Crucifixion* in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (see fig. 5) led Dudok van Heel to speculate that the original top must have been cut off and that the panel's curved upper corners would have continued into the lobed shape that is often seen in triptychs produced by Jacob Cornelisz's family shops.⁵² However, the catalogue of the Bonn museum clearly states that the top of the panel was altered in a different way.⁵³ The corners were cut and rounded at a later date, and a semicircular piece was added to the upper edge so that the panel could fit into a baroque framework once in the church of the former Premonstratensian abbey of Steinfeld (Kall, Germany), which is where the panel was found.⁵⁴ The straight edge at the top is the original edge, and the panel's original shape was rectangular, as in the version of the *Crucifixion* in Utrecht.
- 26 The small-figure *Crucifixion*, as represented by the surviving panels in Utrecht and Bonn as well as the middle panel of Dudok van Heel's hypothetical triptych, cannot be proven to have had matching wings. It is thus possible that the original of this composition existed at some point as a single panel. Since Van Mander describes Jan van Scorel's painting for the Oude Kerk as a single panel and not as a triptych, it follows that the *Crucifixions* in Utrecht and Bonn may be replicas of this altarpiece.

When and where was Scorel's Oude Kerk *Crucifixion* painted?

- 27 Could the Oude Kerk small-figure *Crucifixion* date as early as about 1525? Most likely not, for it is difficult to see how the *Crucifixion* could precede the only surviving work by Scorel that is close in date, the *Lokhorst Triptych* of about 1526 (fig. 12).⁵⁵ The composition of the middle panel of the Lokhorst altarpiece repeats a spatial convention that still has ties with Scorel's earliest works. The map-like vista of Jerusalem that extends across the background is in actuality the last of the bird's-eye-view panoramas that characterize the painter's landscapes done in Italy around a half decade earlier.⁵⁶ It is a type that is not seen again until some very late landscapes associated with Scorel and his workshop. The *Crucifixion* exhibits differences in the construction of space. The horizon is lower, and the distant buildings have been brought forward in space to form the middle ground. The foreground hill may be a vestige of a traditional "plateau composition," but in this case it links

to the middle ground by a series of coulisses that act as stepping stones into the distance. These features have more in common with works that derive from Scorel's Haarlem period and from the early 1530s, such as the *Adoration of the Magi*, as represented by the version at the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin (fig. 13).⁵⁷ Aside from the gate on the right side of the *Adoration*, which introduces an additional step into space, the distant buildings are on the same scale as in the *Crucifixion*. The buildup of rocks in the foreground of both works is also quite comparable. The meandering of figures back and forth in space in the *Crucifixion* is more like the measured distribution of figures in space in the *Adoration of the Magi* than the clumping of apostles into a tight mass in the *Lokhorst Triptych*. Overall, Scorel's design for the *Crucifixion* has moved away from the landscape convention of the *Lokhorst Triptych* toward the direction of later works.



Fig. 13 Jan van Scorel and workshop, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1530–35, oil on panel, 93.3 x 74.8 cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, NGI 997. Photo © National Gallery of Ireland

- 28 Scorel's *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk does not seem to have had the widespread influence that his *Holy Family* had, as described at the beginning of this article. If the altarpiece had in fact been created in Amsterdam, in one of Jacob Cornelisz's family workshops, why are there no echoes in paintings by the master or his assistants of what must have been a magnificent work? The *Crucifixion* could not have served as the model for the landscapes in the *Madonna and Child* compositions attributed to Cornelis Buys IV and Dirck Jacobsz, for the antique buildings seen in these paintings are entirely different and are placed much deeper in space.
- 29 More relevant clues about influence come from Haarlem, which is of course where Van Mander said Scorel painted the altarpiece for the Oude Kerk, and specifically from the early paintings of Maarten van Heemskerck. Dudok van Heel speculates that Heemskerck could not have joined Jan van Scorel in Haarlem because Scorel never had a commercial shop there, painting instead exclusively for the commander of the Order of St. John.⁵⁸ Art historians used to hold a similar view about Geertgen tot Sint Jans until recent research showed that Geertgen must have had a shop with apprentices and/or assistants.⁵⁹ Maarten van Heemskerck was only three years younger than Scorel and would have been around twenty-nine years old when Scorel moved to Haarlem in 1527. He was fully trained by this time, having studied with two painters, one in Haarlem and one in Delft. Van Mander tells us that when Heemskerck heard about the "beautiful, novel manner of working" that Scorel had brought from Italy, he went to Haarlem and contacted the artist.⁶⁰ He may have lodged in the house that Van Mander said Scorel rented in Haarlem to take on stu-

dents.⁶¹ Heemskerck could not have been Scorel's pupil (i.e., apprentice)—he was old enough to be an independent master—but his position was that of Scorel's assistant, as has been stated repeatedly in the literature.⁶² It was during this period, in the words of Jeff Harrison, that Heemskerck formed the “nucleus of images” that he used and re-used over the course of his career.⁶³ Technical studies have also revealed telling carryovers in underdrawing and painting technique from Scorel to Heemskerck that imply a workshop connection. Heemskerck executed underdrawings at the same stage in the painting process as Scorel, on top of a white priming layer, and frequently used long, overlapping curves to define forms.⁶⁴

- 30 Two early paintings by Maarten van Heemskerck play a critical role in our argument: the *Christ on Calvary* in Detroit (fig. 14), and the *Lamentation with Donor*, which is known to us through what is considered to be a seventeenth-century copy in the Museum Catharijneconvent (fig. 15). The differences in style suggest that some time elapsed between the two works. Because of the dominant influence of Scorel's *Lokhorst Triptych* of about 1526, the *Christ on Calvary* must date soon afterwards; that is, close to the beginning of the period when Heemskerck could have come into contact with Scorel in Haarlem, about 1527.⁶⁵ With its monumental figures, the (original of the) *Lamentation* has been dated around 1530–32,⁶⁶ at the time or just after Scorel left Haarlem in 1530.



Fig. 14 Maarten van Heemskerck, *Christ on Calvary*, ca. 1527–29, oil on panel, 38 x 34.2 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, USA Founders Society Purchase. Photo: Julius H. Haass fund/Bridgeman Images



Fig. 15 Maarten van Heemskerck (seventeenth-century copy after?), *Lamentation with Donor*, oil on canvas, 262.5 x 197.5 cm. Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, inv. no. BMH s360. Photo: Ruben de Heer

- 31 One can assume that if Scorel's *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk had been completed before Heemskerck painted his early Calvary, it would have been a famous example that the artist could hardly have ignored. But he apparently did not know it.⁶⁷ Heemskerck's *Calvary* is actually a different subject: the painter omits the two thieves and surrounding figures and portrays the devotional encounter between the Virgin Mary and St. John and the isolated figure of Christ, who is seen at an angle across space and from a low viewpoint. The cross seems truncated, partly because of the Magdalen's overly large figure at its foot, a mistake Heemskerck would have avoided if he had been able to consult Scorel's picture. Images of the crucified Christ seen on a diagonal,

such as Gerard David's *Crucifixion* (c. 1515) and Lucas van Leyden's print in the Round Passion (1509), are likely models for Heemskerck's representation,⁶⁸ but the most immediate source is Jacob Cornelisz's *Calvary* in Ghent, which dates to about 1524 (fig. 16).⁶⁹ There Christ also hangs from a diagonally positioned cross and is seen from below, and, like Heemskerck's Christ, shows no trace of Italianate influence but is a rather limp, pitiable figure. The situation was different when Heemskerck painted his *Lamentation with Donor*. Three crosses appear in the background; they tower above the foreground figures and are offset to one side and placed on a diagonal, as in Scorel's small-figure *Crucifixion*. More important, the pose of Heemskerck's thief on the left is identical to Scorel's thief on the right, only in reverse.⁷⁰ Here we have the evidence clinching the small-figure *Crucifixion* as the Oude Kerk altarpiece and establishing a date for it close to the end of Scorel's stay in Haarlem, around 1530.



Fig. 16 Jacob Cornelisz, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1524, oil on panel, 66.5 x 54 cm. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent (artwork in the public domain)

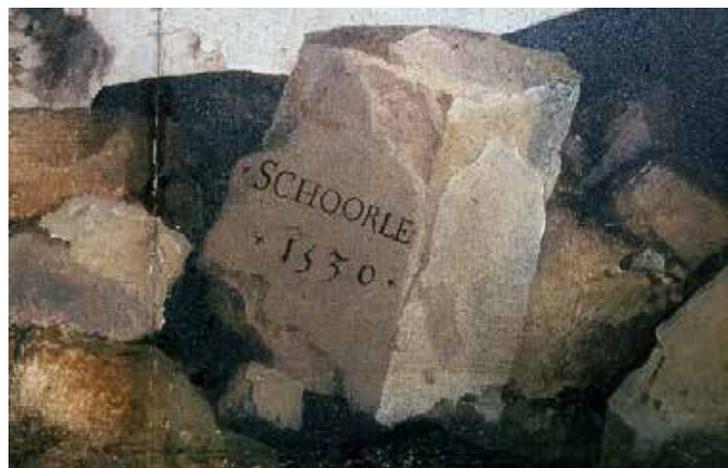


Fig. 17 Detail of fig. 5: signature and date. Photo: J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer

- 32 It is important to note that the Bonn *Crucifixion* has a signature and date: “Schoorle / 1530” (fig. 17). Scorel's name is spelled almost exactly as it is written in documents from the Mariakerk, and the form of the numerals, especially the “5” and “3,” is very close to that in other dated works from the period. Study with infrared and ultraviolet does not suggest that the signature and date are later additions.⁷¹ Since scholars often assume dates on copies indicate the date of the original,⁷² this may also be the case with Scorel's *Crucifixion*.
- 33 Heemskerck was influenced again in 1540 by Scorel's Oude Kerk painting when he completed his *Crucifixion* for the monumental *St. Lawrence Altarpiece* (fig. 18),⁷³ which displays Heemskerck's full-blown post-Roman Mannerist style. Although both thieves face inward toward Christ, as in Scorel's Oude Kerk painting, their poses are much more contorted, revealing Heemskerck's own studies of Italian masters, such as Michelangelo, when he was in Rome from 1532 to 1536. Figures are now larger and pushed toward the foreground, which is a tendency of both Scorel and Heemskerck around 1540. Still, the references to Scorel's *Crucifixion* are clear. Heemskerck marks

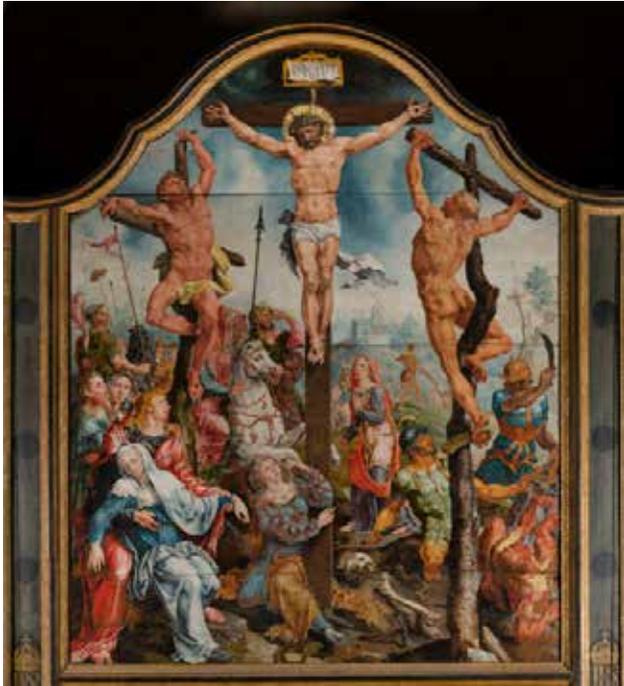


Fig. 18 Maarten van Heemskerck, *Crucifixion*, 1540, oil on panel (middle panel of polyptych), 570 x 385 cm. Cathedral, Linköping, Sweden. Photo: René Gerritsen Art Research Photography

out space similarly by placing the crosses on a diagonal leading into distance. He includes some of the same episodes in the same positions, such as the soldiers fighting for Christ's robe on the right and soldiers on rearing horses on the left. Mary and John stand at the foot of the cross on the left while the Magdalen clings to Christ's cross near the center. Like Scorel, Heemskerck sets off the heads and lances of the Roman soldiers against the brilliance of the distant landscape, where there is a glimpse of an Italianate Jerusalem. It is possible that Heemskerck first became acquainted with the Oude Kerk *Crucifixion* when he was Scorel's assistant in Haarlem, and he may even have collaborated in its production. In any case, he could have studied the *Crucifixion* after 1537, when he was at work on the wings of the Amsterdam altarpiece. In 1543, Heemskerck produced another gigantic *Crucifixion* panel, over three meters high (Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent), which Harrison calls a "reprise" of the Linköping painting in composition, imagery and style.⁷⁴ The addition of a donor in the lower left corner does not alter the basic placement of figures, and Heemskerck again places the crosses on a diagonal and sets off the Roman soldiers on the crest of the hill of Calvary against a brilliant sky that darkens dramatically as it rises higher on the panel. Heemskerck would revisit the subject of the *Crucifixion* at least seven more times in his long career,⁷⁵ and many of the same compositional elements and iconographic motifs survive in these later works.

How reliable is Karel van Mander?

34 Dudok van Heel claims that Karel van Mander was misinformed about the high altar of the Oude Kerk because he had never seen the altarpiece himself and had no choice but to rely on second-hand accounts and the distant memories of the elderly. This older generation, according to Dudok van Heel, included the descendants of the churchwardens who gave the commission for the painting of the altar wings in 1537. These individuals were loyal Catholics who were banned from Amsterdam at the time of the Alteration in 1578 and who went, for the most part, to live with relatives in Haarlem. Karel van Mander, Dudok van Heel argues, would have had no contact with

these Catholics.⁷⁶ There is much to dispute here. Amsterdammers who were born in the 1540s were twenty in the 1560s—when the altarpiece still existed—and sixty-plus around 1600, and thus not so far removed in time that they could no longer remember what the altarpiece looked like. There is also no need to assume that only exiled Catholics in Haarlem could remember the altar. There were many in their sixties in Amsterdam who had known the altar and who could provide Karel van Mander with a good description.

35 Van Mander's many informants no doubt included family members of Jan van Scorel in Utrecht. The biographer should be credited in particular for his detailed knowledge about the format of paintings. He knew, for instance, that Scorel's altarpieces for the Benedictine abbey of Marchiennes in Artois (now France) included a single panel, a triptych, and a polyptych with six wings. Memories of these works installed at a great distance from Utrecht may have been kept alive by someone like Scorel's grandson, Johan van Sijpenes, who was a canon like his grandfather and had studied in nearby Douai in 1595–99.⁷⁷

36 As the evidence mounts, there is less and less reason to doubt Karel van Mander's description of the high altar of the Oude Kerk. We may never be able to learn much about the wings Maarten van Heemskerck added, since no replicas or copies survive, but we can be assured they completed the ensemble as a four-winged polyptych. Since there never was any triptych by Scorel, the motive disappears for the theory that Heemskerck was commissioned to add wings to the altarpiece in order to suppress the images of Adam and Eve and any associations they might conjure up of the Anabaptist riots of 1535. In February of that year, the so-called *naaktlopers* ("streakers") ran naked into the streets as a form of protest and, according to Dudok van Heel, left a lasting impression in Amsterdam.⁷⁸ If that had been the case, there were easier solutions: one could simply paint over the offending images.

Conclusion

37 One of the more gratifying conclusions of this research is the vindication of Van Mander's account. Van Mander's description of the Oude Kerk altarpiece and the time and place it was painted have all proved to be credible. This not only reaffirms the continuing usefulness of this essential source for our field; it also correlates with the findings of other studies about the reliability of Karel van Mander's writings.⁷⁹]

38 The recovery of information about two of the lost works from the period after Jan van Scorel's return to the Netherlands leads to new insights. The *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* compositions discussed at the outset of this paper were inspired by Scorel's lost wings for the Mariakerk in Utrecht. They mark the beginning of the reorientation of imagery in Jacob Cornelisz's family workshops at the hands of Scorel's former coworkers. The influence of Scorel's Oude Kerk *Crucifixion* on his colleague-assistant Maarten van Heemskerck is also instantaneous as well as lasting, as seen in Heemskerck's repetitions of the subject over a period of years. Without the identification of these lost works, the immediate reception of Scorel's new Italianate style by painter colleagues of his own generation would not be fully recognized.

39 The appearance of Jan van Scorel's *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk is now known, but one can only imagine the solemn grandeur of the altarpiece in its original setting. It was large—that is one

more part of Van Mander's description that we can believe. Scorel was known to have painted life-size figures around this time, and it is not impossible that Scorel was working close to or on this scale for the prestigious Amsterdam commission. With the painting placed high above an altar, the towering height of the crosses would have been even more exaggerated. Silhouetted against the darkening clouds, the thieves are almost mirror images of each other, one leg stretched out and the other bent. Their sophisticated anatomy was praised some years later by Peter Opmeer (1529–1595), who expressed his admiration in terms of an artistic conceit: the thief to Christ's right was depicted so that one could see his backbone and his chest at the same time.⁸⁰ Bright, pure colors punctuate the milling crowd of figures at the foot of Christ's cross, particularly reds, blues, and yellows. Scorel's indebtedness to Raphael can be sensed in the decorous poses of the main protagonists, and the running figure on the left edge and the horse next to him are exact quotations from Raphael's tapestry of the Conversion of Paul.⁸¹ The diagonal created by the cross leads over the hill of Calvary to a luminous landscape in the background, where the transition from light green to icy blue in the distant mountains suggests that the farthest peaks may have been painted in the original with natural ultramarine, as was the case in other landscapes from Scorel's Haarlem period (fig. 19).⁸² Scorel has placed recognizable monuments on the far left: a column, an obelisk, the pyramid of Cestius, and a portico reminiscent of that of the Pantheon. Here, for the first time in Scorel's works, Jerusalem has become Rome. There can be little doubt that what was destroyed in 1566 was one of Jan van Scorel's major works.



Fig. 19 Detail of fig. 5: light blue and light green background mountains. Photo: J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer

40 Scorel's *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk embodies the ambition of his oeuvre as a whole. By departing from local traditions and by situating events in a setting that evokes the past glory of a legendary civilization, Scorel aggrandizes his subjects and aligns his work with the mainstream of European art.

Acknowledgements

The authors are indebted to Ilja Veldman for ongoing discussions when this article was in the planning stages, and to Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Daantje Meuwissen, and Ilja Veldman for their critical reading of the final version.

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APPENDIX: THE FRAME OF THE CRUCIFIXION TRIPTYCH BY JAN VAN SCOREL AND WORKSHOP IN THE MUSEUM CATHARIJNECONVENT, UTRECHT

by Caroline van der Elst

In 2008, the panels of Jan van Scorel's *Crucifixion Triptych* were studied, cleaned and treated.⁸³ The cassetta frame is oak; the molding profiles and corners of the middle panel and wings correspond exactly (see **figs. 8 and 9**). The corners are both mitered and square cut, and the joints are secured by dowels. It is only the center frame that shows any sign of a later intervention. Two flat strips, around two centimeters in width, were added to the frame along the left and right edges.⁸⁴ These wrap around to the reverse to form flat boards that stabilize the construction and help support the heavy weight of the triptych. For the center frame, dendrochronology had to be carried out on these reinforcing boards, because they provided the only visible end-grain. The seventeenth-century year rings that were encountered confirm the fact that these boards were later additions. The dendrochronology of the wings, however, determined that the wood of both the panels and their frames dates from the early sixteenth century.⁸⁵ Two original iron hooks for hanging are still present on the upper left and right corners of the reverse of the center frame. The hinges are all original; the halves on the wings belong to the halves on the center frame, and the nails are all of the

same type (fig. 20). There are no indications that the hinges have been replaced or repositioned.⁸⁶



Fig. 20 Detail of fig. 8: original hinge. Photo: Caroline van der Elst

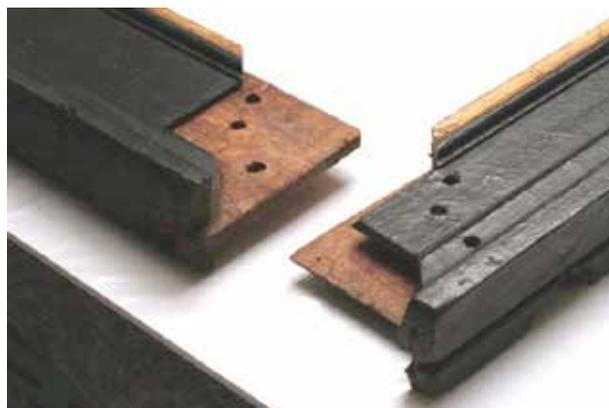


Fig. 21 Detail of fig. 9: open joint of wing frame. Photo: Jean-Albert Glatigny

The format of the center panel has not been altered. It was painted to the edges and would have been slid into the frame and secured with nails. The panels of the wings were painted on both sides while in their frames; they have original paint edges (barbs) appearing along unpainted wooden borders. During the 2008 conservation, the author observed traces of original paint that had spilled over from the frames onto the edges of the unpainted borders in both the *Garden of Gethsemane* and *Flagellation* on the outer wings.⁸⁷ Several of the wing corners were opened during restoration after removing the original dowels, revealing the interior of the joint (fig. 21).⁸⁸

As is well known, sixteenth-century frames were often quite colorful, and that of the *Crucifixion Triptych* is no exception.⁸⁹ During the 2008 restoration, some quick stratigraphic cleaning tests were carried out on the frame, which is presently painted black with gilded moldings. They reveal that the frame of the middle panel was painted bright red and light green in imitation of marble (fig. 22).⁹⁰ This varies slightly in tone from that of the wings, where more green was used along with smaller amounts of rose (fig. 23). No traces of green or red glazes were found on the marbling. Since the marbling is also present on the added vertical strips, it cannot be excluded that the center frame may have been partially or wholly overpainted.⁹¹ The original paint on the exterior wings included traces of gold but was generally darker, in tones of brown and black.



Fig. 22 Detail of fig. 8: polychromy of center frame. Photo: Caroline van der Elst



Fig. 23 Detail of fig. 9: polychromy of wing frame. Photo: Caroline van der Elst

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List of Illustrations

Fig. 1 Attributed to Cornelis Buys IV (Cornelis Jacobsz), *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1525–30, oil on panel, 88.4 x 69.5 cm. Private collection, Spain (artwork in the public domain)

Fig. 2 Attributed to Dirck Jacobsz, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1526, center panel of a triptych, 110 x 68 cm. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, inv. no. GVL 61a

Fig. 3 Reconstruction of the high altar by Jan van Scorel. After Dudok van Heel, fig. 11a.

Fig. 4 After Jan van Scorel, *Crucifixion Triptych*, c. 1550–75, oil on panel, middle panel 97.5 x 76 cm, wings 97 x 38.5 cm. Kathedraal Museum Nieuwe Bavo, Haarlem. Photo: Arend Velsink

Fig. 5 After Jan van Scorel, *Crucifixion*, 1530, oil on panel, 123.5 x 120.5 cm. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn. Photo: digital composite by Molly Faries

Fig. 6 Jan van Scorel and workshop, *Carrying of the Cross*, ca. 1530, oil on panel, 48.3 x 32.9 cm. Private collection, New York. Photo: courtesy Haboltd & Co.

Fig. 7a Detail of Christ figure in fig. 6. Photo: courtesy Haboltd & Co.

Fig. 7b Corresponding infrared reflectogram digital composite showing underdrawing. IRR: © Stichting RKD

Fig. 8 Jan van Scorel and workshop, *Crucifixion Triptych*, ca. 1530 (middle panel) and ca. 1540 (left and right interior wings, *Carrying of the Cross* and *Resurrection*), oil on panel, middle panel 130 x 116 cm, wings 130 x 48 cm each. Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. Photo: Ruben de Heer

Fig. 9 Jan van Scorel and workshop, *Crucifixion Triptych*, exterior wings: *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane with Carthusian Donors* and *Flagellation of Christ*, ca. 1540, oil on panel, 130 x 48 cm each. Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht. Photo: Ruben de Heer

Fig. 10a Detail of *Flagellation* in fig. 9. Photo: Ruben de Heer

Fig. 10b Corresponding infrared reflectogram digital composite showing underdrawing. IRR: © Stichting RKD

Fig. 11 Detail of reconstruction with omitted right edge of inner left wing. Photo: digital composite by Molly Faries

Fig. 12 Jan van Scorel, *The Lokhorst Triptych: Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem*, middle panel and interior wings, ca. 1526, oil on panel, 95.7 x 323.5 cm (open) (artwork in the public domain)

Fig. 13 Jan van Scorel and workshop, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1530–35, oil on panel, 93.3 x 74.8 cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, NGI 997. Photo © National Gallery of Ireland

Fig. 14 Maarten van Heemskerck, *Christ on Calvary*, ca. 1527–29, oil on panel, 38 x 34.2 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, USA Founders Society Purchase. Photo: Julius H. Haass fund/Bridgeman Images

Fig. 15 Maarten van Heemskerck (seventeenth-century copy after?), *Lamentation with Donor*, oil on canvas, 262.5 x 197.5 cm. Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, inv. no. BMH s360. Photo: Ruben de Heer

Fig. 16 Jacob Cornelisz, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1524, oil on panel, 66.5 x 54 cm. Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent (artwork in the public domain)

Fig. 17 Detail of fig. 5: signature and date. Photo: J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer

Fig. 18 Maarten van Heemskerck, *Crucifixion*, 1540, oil on panel (middle panel of polyptych), 570 x 385 cm. Cathedral, Linköping, Sweden. Photo: René Gerritsen Art Research Photography

Fig. 19 Detail of fig. 5: light blue and light green background mountains. Photo: J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer

Fig. 20 Detail of fig. 8: original hinge. Photo: Caroline van der Elst

Fig. 21 Detail of fig. 9: open joint of wing frame. Photo: Jean-Albert Glatigny

Fig. 22 Detail of fig. 8: polychromy of center frame. Photo: Caroline van der Elst [

Fig. 23 Detail of fig. 9: polychromy of wing frame. Photo: Caroline van der Elst

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¹ Hessel Miedema, ed., *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, vol. 1 (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994), fo. 236r. Scorel’s altarpiece was destroyed during the Iconoclasm in Amsterdam, on August 23, 1566. The destruction of images in chapels and churches spread rapidly after the first outbreaks in southwest Flanders at the beginning of August, 1566, reaching Antwerp by August 20. In less than two days’ time, the strict Catholic city government of Amsterdam had already heard what had happened in Antwerp and allowed images and precious objects to be removed from churches and brought to safety. Some were taken from chapels and altars belonging to the guilds, whose members protested and had the images replaced. Unrest increased and disturbances arose in the Nieuwe and Oude Kerk. The unruly crowd was calmed in the Nieuwe Kerk but not in the Oude Kerk. There the angry mob continued to destroy the interior, even chasing away the men who had been sent by the sheriff. Finally, members of the civic guards persuaded the mob to leave the Oude Kerk, but by then the altarpiece by Scorel had been destroyed. For the Iconoclasm in Amsterdam, see Henk van Nierop, “Van Wonderjaar tot Alteratie, 1566–1578,” in *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam: Een stad uit het niets tot 1578*, ed. Marijke Carasso-Kok (Amsterdam: Sun, 2004), 1:455–58.

² Taken from *El felicissimo viaie d’el muy alto y muy poderoso Principe Don Phelippe . . .*, Antwerp, 1552, fo. 288v, and quoted by J. Bruyn, “Enige gegevens over de chronologie van het werk van Jan van Scorel,” *Oud Holland* 70 (1955), 202: “hay una pintura d’el mysterio de la passion de Christo, que es la mejor, que hay en todos los Estados de Flandes, hizola Iuan Scorelio Canonigo d’Vtrecht, unico en la pintura por aquellas tierras.”

³ S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, “Het hoogaltaar in de Oude Kerk door Jan van Scorel en Maerten van Heemskerck 1525–1537–1566: Van drieliuk tot zevenliuk,” *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 110 (2018): 54–89.

⁴ Miedema, *Van Mander: Lives*, fo. 236r.

⁵ Dudok van Heel, “Hoogaltaar,” 56.

⁶ Dudok van Heel, 56.

⁷ Dudok van Heel, 56–58.

⁸ S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, with contributions by W. J. van den Berg, “De schilders Jacob Cornelisz. alias Jacob War en Cornelis Buys uit Oostzaan, hun werkplaatsen in Amsterdam en Alkmaar,” *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 128 (2011): 49–79.

⁹ Molly Faries and Daantje Meuwissen, “Identifying Two Family Members in Jacob Cornelisz’s Amsterdam Workshop: Cornelis Buys and Cornelis Anthonisz,” in *Technical Studies of Paintings: Problems of Attribution (15th–17th Centuries)*, ed. Anne Dubois, Jacqueline Couvert and Till-Holger Borchert, 298–303 (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2018). Originally presented at the Nineteenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting held in Bruges, September 11–13, 2014. The monogram on the Stuttgart panel indicates that it derives from Jacob Cornelisz’s shop, but the painting technique and landscape background are typical of Dirck Jacobsz.

- ¹⁰ Faries and Meuwissen, 302–303.
- ¹¹ For this painting, see J. P. Filedt Kok, “Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, *The Holy Family*, c. 1528–c. 1530,” in J. P. Filedt Kok, ed., *Early Netherlandish Paintings*, online coll. cat. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, accessed March 31, 2019, [HTTP://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.461060](http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.461060).
- ¹² Faries and Meuwissen, “Two Family Members,” 303n20. Faries is currently preparing a longer text on this topic for the Phoebus Foundation, Antwerp.
- ¹³ Dudok van Heel, “Hoogaltaar,” 58.
- ¹⁴ A survey of Van Mander yields only two or three instances; see Hessel Miedema, “Vakonderwijs aan kunstschilders in de Nederlanden,” *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 5–6 (1986–87): 271
- ¹⁵ Natasja Peeters, with the collaboration of Max Martens, “Assistants in Artists’ Workshops in the Southern Netherlands, overview of the archive sources,” in *Invisible Hands? The Role and Status of the Painter’s Journeymen in the Low Countries c. 1450–c. 1650*, ed. Natasja Peeters (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 42–45. Of course, the establishment of fines indicates that the practice occasionally occurred, and there is also evidence in Italy that assistants sometimes obtained commissions in their own right; see Anabel Thomas, *The Painter’s Practice in Renaissance Tuscany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2, 86–87.
- ¹⁶ Molly Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s Clerical Patronage,” *Bollettino d’arte, Supplemento al fasc. N. 100* (1997): 107–8.
- ¹⁷ Miedema, *Van Mander: Lives*, fo. 235v.
- ¹⁸ Molly A. Faries, “Jan van Scorel: Additional Documents from the Church Records of Utrecht,” *Oud Holland* 85 (1970): 4, 12.
- ¹⁹ Dudok van Heel, “Hoogaltaar,” 58.
- ²⁰ 1–2) lost organ wings and lost exterior wings for the high altar of Oudmunster, as discussed in the text proper, 3) *Lokhorst Triptych*, 4) a now-lost *Baptism* dated 1525, once in the Janskerk; see G. J. Hoogewerff, *Jan van Scorel: Peintre de la Renaissance hollandaise* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), 52; 5) two panels with *Twelve Members of the Utrecht Brotherhood of Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 6) lost wings for the high altar of the Mariakerk, described by Van Mander; see Miedema, *Van Mander: Lives*, fo. 236r.
- ²¹ Faries, “Additional documents,” 4, 12.
- ²² The “four large pieces in watercolor, in the manner of Scorel” listed in the inventory “Eerst vier stukken van waterverff groot zijnde, wesende van de handeling van Schorel,” published in G. Brom, “Kerksieraden van Oudmunster,” *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 27 (1901): 395, refer in all probability to *tüchlein*—i.e., canvases painted in a glue medium, a technique often employed for organ wings—and correspond to the unspecified watercolors that Van Mander says Scorel painted for Herman van Lokhorst just after he returned from Italy. See Molly Faries, “Jan van Scorel’s Drawing and Painting Technique,” in *Utrecht Painting, 1363–1600, Catalogue of Paintings, 1363–1600, Centraal Museum Utrecht*, ed. Molly Faries and Liesbeth M. Helmus (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2011), 25.
- ²³ Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk, de kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht in de late middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 2003), 509–10.
- ²⁴ For these group portraits, see Faries in *Utrecht Painting, 1363–1600*, cat. nos. 21a–b.
- ²⁵ Faries, “Additional Documents,” 12–13.
- ²⁶ For Scorel and the guild, see Molly Faries, “Underdrawings in the Workshop Production of Jan van Scorel: A Study with Infrared Reflectography,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 26 (1975): 90–91.

²⁷ Also arguing against Scorel's presumed stay in Amsterdam is the fact that Jacob Cornelisz, perhaps assisted in the landscape by his son, Dirck Jacobsz, as Henri Defoer believes, based his view of Jerusalem in the c. 1525–30 *Temptation of Christ* (Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen) on Erhard Reuwich's woodcut in Bernard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1486) rather than the topographical sketches of Jerusalem that Scorel brought back from his travels. The sketches would probably have been known to Jacob Cornelisz if Scorel had been lodging with him. For the Aachen painting, see Daantje Meuwissen, *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen (ca. 1475–1533): De Renaissance in Amsterdam en Alkmaar*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2014), cat. no 58.

²⁸ Miedema, *Van Mander: Lives*, fo. 236r.

²⁹ Liesbeth M. Helmus, *Schilderen in opdracht: Noord-Nederlandse contracten voor altaarstukken 1485–1570* (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2010), 132.

³⁰ Helmus, 418: “te schilderen die vier zyden van de twee binnenste deuren . . . de twee binnenzyden van de buytenste deuren.”

³¹ Jefferson Cabell Harrison, *The Paintings of Maerten van Heemskerck: A Catalogue Raisonné* (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1987), 333.

³² Faries, “Additional Documents,” 21.

³³ In an unpublished document (“Het Utrechts Archief, Kapittel van Sint Marie te Utrecht” [no. 221], S. Marie no. 12, fo. 166v, dated April 14, 1535), the chapter of the Mariakerk authorized Jan van Scorel to present a letter to Karel van Egmond, Duke of Guelders, concerning the return of the chapter's unicorn horn. For more on this escapade, see Hoven van Genderen, *De Heren van de Kerk*, 620.

³⁴ Scorel promised to negotiate in 1535, and meetings continued to 1541–42; see Faries, “Additional documents,” 18–19.

³⁵ In the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; the museum's website has a good illustration of the altarpiece with the inner wings closed and the outer wings open: [HTTPS://WWW.KHM.AT/EN/VISIT/COLLECTIONS](https://www.khm.at/en/visit/collections).

³⁶ Faries, “Underdrawings in the Workshop Production of Jan van Scorel,” 113–14. The museum's website has good illustrations of all the panels of the polyptych: [HTTPS://WEBMUSEO.COM/WS/MUSENOR/APP/COLLECTION](https://webmuseum.com/ws/musenor/app/collection).

³⁷ Miedema, *Van Mander: Lives*, fo. 246r.

³⁸ Faries, “Underdrawings in the Workshop Production of Jan van Scorel,” 106.

³⁹ Dudok van Heel, “Hoogaltaar,” 76. As yet the only works by Scorel that are known to have served as vidimuses are wash drawings on paper, and there are no known oil sketches as such.

⁴⁰ Report by Peter Klein, University of Hamburg, dated April 5, 2004 (this and all subsequently cited reports by Klein are archived at RKD – Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis). The youngest heartwood ring was formed in 1485; the panel could have been ready for use by 1496, but a date in or after 1510 is more likely. Too-early dating occurs in a small percentage of cases in the Scorel group, especially in small panels where there is a greater chance that more recent year rings have been trimmed off.

⁴¹ This panel may represent a typical form of collaboration in which the master executes the layout and an assistant brings the image to completion in paint. However, after comparing the sketchy layout of the *Carrying of the Cross* with more recent infrared imaging of related works, it is evident that the underdrawing is extremely loose and lacks Scorel's skilled outlining of bodily forms. The IRR was carried out by Margreet Wolters, Curator of Technical Documentation, RKD, The Hague, on February 19, 2007, using a Hamamatsu C 2400-07 equipped with a N2606 IR vidicon,

a Nikon Micro-Nikkor 1:2.8/55 mm lens, a Heliopan RG 850 (or RG 1000) filter, with a Lucius & Baer VM 1710 monitor (625 lines). Digitized documentation is performed with a Meteor RCB framegrabber, 768 x 574 pixels, colorvision toolkit (Visualbasic).

⁴² Scorel evolves more diagrammatic underdrawings during the Haarlem period, with long, undulating contours and systematized hatching, often in the form of localized zigzags; see Faries, “Scorel’s Drawing and Painting Technique,” 37.

⁴³ Dudok van Heel, “Hoogaltaar,” 76 and figs. 6a–b.

⁴⁴ Defoer believes that the multifigure versions of the *Carrying of the Cross* and *Resurrection* (as in fig. 4) are enlargements of the more compact compositions (as in fig. 9), which are Scorel’s original prototypes. Anomalies were introduced when the compositions were expanded: in the *Resurrection*, Christ no longer stands on the central axis, and the soldiers no longer overlap each other, as is more typical of Scorel. In the *Carrying of the Cross*, Veronica was added with the two women above her; she does not look directly at Christ, and she sits, rather than kneels, on the ground. This compositional development contradicts Dudok van Heel’s assumption that figure 6 represents the initial design for the *Carrying of the Cross*.

⁴⁵ For Scorel’s use of squaring, see Faries, “Scorel’s Drawing and Painting Technique,” 40.

⁴⁶ Faries, “Underdrawings in the Workshop Production of Jan van Scorel,” 176–82; and Molly Faries, “Die Werkstaat Jan van Scorels in Haarlem,” in *Künstlerwerkstätten der Renaissance*, ed. Roberto Cassanelli (Milan: Editoriale Jaca Book, 1998), 306–8. The second donor near the panel’s edge was added in a later paint stage, on top of the paint of the background. The IRR was carried out by Margreet Wolters, Curator of Technical Documentation, RKD, The Hague, and Micha Leeflang, Curator of Medieval Art, Museum Catharijneconvent, September 3–4, 2007, using a Hamamatsu C 2400-07 equipped with a N2606 IR vidicon, a Nikon Micro-Nikkor 1:2.8/55 mm lens, a Heliopan RG 850 (or RG 1000) filter, with a Lucius & Baer VM 1710 monitor (625 lines). Digitized documentation is performed with a Meteor RCB framegrabber, 768 x 574 pixels, colorvision toolkit (Visualbasic).

⁴⁷ Faries, “Underdrawings in the workshop production of Jan van Scorel,” 182. Report by Peter Klein, University of Hamburg, April 22, 2008: the youngest heartwood ring in the wings was formed in 1519; the panel could have been ready for use by 1530, but a date around 1536/1544 is more likely, after either two or ten years’ seasoning. Report by Peter Klein, University of Hamburg, June 19, 2001: the youngest heartwood ring in the middle panel was formed in 1500; the panel could have been ready for use by 1511, but a date around 1517/1525 is more likely, after either two or ten years’ seasoning.

⁴⁸ Dudok van Heel, “Hoogaltaar,” 73, figs. 7a–7b.

⁴⁹ Report by Peter Klein, University of Hamburg, April 22, 2008: the youngest heartwood ring in the frame of the wings was formed in 1515 and that of the wing panels in 1519. Klein found seventeenth-century year rings in the frame of the middle panel (report dated June 19, 2001), but these derive from a board that was added as a later reinforcement; see Appendix.

⁵⁰ By contrast, the frame of the triptych formerly in the Begijnhof requires further study; the wings only close over the middle panel because their frames are wider at the top and thinner on the sides. The difference in figure scale between the wings and middle panel may indicate, in this case, that the panels do not belong together.

⁵¹ Both panels in figure 11 appear to include a structure indicating the Dome of the Rock, a repetition that would contradict space meant to be continuous.

⁵² Dudok van Heel, “Hoogaltaar,” 77.

⁵³ Ingeborg Krueger, “Jan van Scorel (Umkreis), Kalvarienberg, 1530,” in Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk: Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Kunst und Altertum am Rhein, no. 69 (Cologne: Rheinland, 1977), 92. Tatjana van Run came to the same conclusion when she re-measured the panel; see Tatjana van Run, *Altaarstukken met het lijden van Christus in serie-productie: Een onderzoek naar de hand van de meester en zijn leerlingen* (B.A. thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2008), 32. On November 24, 1979, Molly Faries and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer examined the Bonn panel out of its frame. They found pencil lines along the curve of the cut upper corners (probably a guide for the sawing) and noted that the wings of the angels at the top of the composition were just slightly cut off in the underdrawing, suggesting that the top had only been trimmed slightly.

⁵⁴ Van Run, *Altaarstukken*, 31–32, found a copy of Scorel’s *Resurrection* wing still at the original location; its shape was also originally rectangular.

⁵⁵ For the *Lokhorst Triptych*, see Faries in *Utrecht Painting, 1363–1600*, cat. no. 22.

⁵⁶ Molly Faries and Martha Wolff, “Landscape in the Early Paintings of Jan van Scorel,” *The Burlington Magazine* 138 (November 1996): 724–33.

⁵⁷ For the *Adoration*, see Helmus in *Utrecht Painting, 1363–1600*, cat. no. 30.

⁵⁸ Dudok van Heel, “Hoogaltaar,” 55, 65.

⁵⁹ For this point, see Molly Faries, “The Vienna Wing Panels by Geertgen tot Sint Jans and His Drawing and Painting Technique,” *Oud Holland* 23, no. 3–4 (2010): 214.

⁶⁰ Miedema, *Van Mander: Lives*, fo. 245r.

⁶¹ See note 4. Ilja Veldman has proposed that Heemskerck could have resided in the house that Scorel rented for himself and his Haarlem mistress, Agatha van Schoonhoven; see Ilja Veldman, “Adaptation, Emulation and Innovation: Scorel, Gossaert and Other Artists as a Source of Inspiration for the Young Heemskerck,” *Oud Holland*, 132 (2019): 177.

⁶² See, for instance, Faries, “Scorel’s Drawing and Painting Technique,” 37.

⁶³ Jefferson Cabell Harrison, “The Detroit *Christ on Calvary* and the Cologne *Lamentation of Christ*: Two Early Haarlem Paintings by Maerten van Heemskerck,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 37 (1986): 175.

⁶⁴ Molly Faries, “Attributing the Layers of Maarten van Heemskerck’s Cologne *Lamentation*,” in *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture, Colloque X: Le dessin sous-jacent dans la process de création*, Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut supérieur d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art, Document de travail no. 28, ed. Roger Van Schoute and Hélène Verougstraete-Marcq (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Erasme, 1995), 133–41; and Molly Faries, Christa Steinbüchel and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, “Maarten van Heemskerck and Jan van Scorel’s Haarlem Workshop,” in *Historical Painting Techniques, Materials, and Studio Practice, preprints of a symposium, University of Leiden, The Netherlands, 26-29 June 1995*, ed. Arie Wallert, Erma Hermens, and Marja Peek (Marina Del Rey, CA: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1995), 135–39. [HTTP://HDL.HANDLE.NET/10020/GCI_PUBS/HISTORICAL_PAINTING](http://hdl.handle.net/10020/GCI_PUBS/HISTORICAL_PAINTING)

⁶⁵ Harrison, *Paintings of Heemskerck*, cat. no. 1, dated c. 1527–29. See also Veldman, “Young Heemskerck,” 177–79.

⁶⁶ Harrison, *Paintings of Heemskerck*, cat. no. A1.

⁶⁷ Harrison gives two opinions: in his 1986 publication (Harrison, “The Detroit *Christ on Calvary*,” 181–82), he sees the influence of Scorel’s *Crucifixion*; but in his 1987 dissertation (Harrison, *Paintings of Heemskerck*, cat. no. 1), he does not. Harrison now believes Jacob Cornelisz’s Ghent *Calvary* is the more immediate source for Heemskerck (Harrison to Faries, May 15, 2019).

⁶⁸ Harrison, *Paintings of Heemskerck*, cat. no. 1.

⁶⁹ Meuwissen, *Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen*, cat. no. 53. Ilja Veldman also accepts Faries's proposal of this influence; see Veldman, "Young Heemskerck," 201, as does Harrison (see note 67). The *Calvary* also influenced several views of a crucified Christ seen on a diagonal in the sketchbook that was kept from about 1520 to 1535 by Jacob Cornelisz's grandson, Cornelis Anthonisz; see Ilona van Tuinen, with a contribution by Daantje Meuwissen, *Het vroegste Amsterdamse schetsboek: Een zestiende-eeuws zakboekje uit het atelier van Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen*, ed. by Andrea van Leerdam and Daantje Meuwissen (Oostzaan: Stichting Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, 2014), fo. 6v.

⁷⁰ Harrison, *Paintings of Heemskerck*, cat. no. A1.

⁷¹ Krueger, *Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, 91. Van Run, *Altaarstukken*, 35, noted no discontinuities under ultraviolet light, and infrared reflectography (taken by Molly Faries and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, November 24, 1979) showed light reinforcing in some of the letters and numbers. Neither technique indicates that the signature and date were added later.

⁷² As a recent example, see Maryan W. Ainsworth, Stijn Alsteens, Nadine Orenstein, and Lorne Campbell, *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance, The Complete Works*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), cat. nos. 21 and 27.

⁷³ Harrison, *Paintings of Heemskerck*, cat. no. 22; Henri Defoer and Ilja Veldman in H. L. M. Defoer, J. Dijkstra, X. van Eck, T. G. Kootte et al., *Goddelijk geschilderd: Honderd meesterwerken van Museum Catharijneconvent* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2003), 99.

⁷⁴ Harrison, *Paintings of Heemskerck*, cat. no. 42.

⁷⁵ Harrison, 775–76.

⁷⁶ Dudok van Heel, "Hoogaltaar," 78. The Alteration refers to the transition from a Catholic to a Protestant government in Amsterdam. Despite the fact that almost all the cities in Holland and Zeeland had joined with the Prince of Orange in the revolt against Spain, the strict Catholic city government of Amsterdam remained loyal to Philip II. In 1576, the southern and northern provinces were united under the Pacification of Ghent with the intention of driving out the Spanish troops. Under the provisions of the treaty, most provinces granted universal freedom of religion, but Holland and Zeeland forbade Catholicism and permitted only the celebration of Protestant services, with the exception of a few cities, such as Amsterdam. That exception had to be negotiated and confirmed, but talks between the States of Holland and the Amsterdam city government dragged on, leading to an attempted coup by impatient Protestants returning from exile and a delegation from Holland. On May 26, 1578, members of civic guards gathered together with a large crowd on the Dam square and dragged the burgomasters and other officials from the city hall or their homes. They were brought to the Damrak and, from there, placed on ships and sent into exile. That moment marked the end of Catholic rule, and Protestantism became the official religion. For the Alteration in Amsterdam, see Van Nierop, "Van Wonderjaar tot Alteratie," 1:477–81; and S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, *Van Amsterdamse burgers tot Europese aristocraten*, (The Hague: Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht- en Wapenkunde, 2008), 1:87–88.

⁷⁷ Molly Faries, "Les retables de Marchiennes dans l'oeuvre de Jan van Scorel," in *La renaissance de Jan van Scorel: Les retables de Marchiennes*, exh. cat. (Paris: Fondation Custodia, 2011), 18n7.

⁷⁸ Dudok van Heel, "Hoogaltaar," 86–88.

⁷⁹ Hessel Miedema, "Over de betrouwbaarheid van Karel van Mander," *Colloquium Neerlandicum* 11 (1991): 267–86, [HTTPS://WWW.DBNL.ORG/TEKST/_HAN001199101_01/_HAN001199101_01_0022.PHP](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_HAN001199101_01/_HAN001199101_01_0022.php).

⁸⁰ The Opmeer text was published in 1611; see Bruyn, “Gegevens over chronologie,” 202–3: “Admirabatur supra modum *Joannes Christophorus Stella* tabulam in aede D[ivi] Nicolai, quam IOANNES SCHORELIUS summa arte pinxerat (in qua conspiciebatur a sinistra CHRISTI latro; cuius spinam dorsi simul et pectus videre licebat).” The quote recalls paragone arguments for sculpture’s superiority over painting, because it could be viewed from all sides.

⁸¹ Bruyn, 204.

⁸² For Scorel’s use of natural ultramarine, see Faries, “Scorel’s Drawing and Painting Technique,” 34–35.

⁸³ The author was responsible for technical research and conservation of the paint layers and research on the frame, while Jean-Albert Glatigny, independent conservator of panel paintings, Royal Institute of Cultural Heritage, Brussels, treated structural elements of the wing panels and frames. The paint layers on the frames were not treated.

⁸⁴ The lower right corner on the front gives away this intervention because the flat surface of the added strip diverges slightly from the profile of the molding. It is possible that the original right and left edges of the center frame had to be replaced.

⁸⁵ See notes 47 and 49.

⁸⁶ Report by Jean-Albert Glatigny, April 2008, on file at the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.

⁸⁷ The traces of paint were rose, corresponding to one of the first paint layers on the colored frame.

⁸⁸ The joint corresponds in most respects to type 7, published in Hélène Verougstraete, *Frames and Supports in 15th- and 16th-century Southern Netherlandish Painting* (Brussels: Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, 2015), 52, [HTTP://ORG.KIKIRPA.BE/FRAMES](http://org.kikirpa.be/frames).

⁸⁹ J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, “A Technical Examination of the Frame of Engebrechtsz’s ‘Crucifixion,’” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 26 (1975): 84.

⁹⁰ Interestingly, the frieze of the original frame of Scorel’s newly identified *Portrait of Joost Aemsz van der Burch* may have been marbled in red and green. See Molly Faries and Matthias Ubl, “A New Attribution to Jan van Scorel: The *Portrait of Joost Aemsz van der Burch* and the Artist’s Portrayals of ‘Great Lords of the Netherlands,’” *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 65, no. 4 (2017): 367 (in the appendix with information by Hubert Baija, the Rijksmuseum’s senior conservator of frames).

⁹¹ In 2008, there were no resources available for further examination by means of cross-sections or for further treatment to reveal the overall polychromy of the frames.

Recommended Citation:

Molly Faries, Henri Defoer, “Jan van Scorel’s *Crucifixion* for the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam: The “finest painting in all of the regions of Flanders,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 12:2 (Summer 2020) DOI: 10.5092/jhna.12.2.1