

The Madonnas of Jan van Scorel

1495
1562

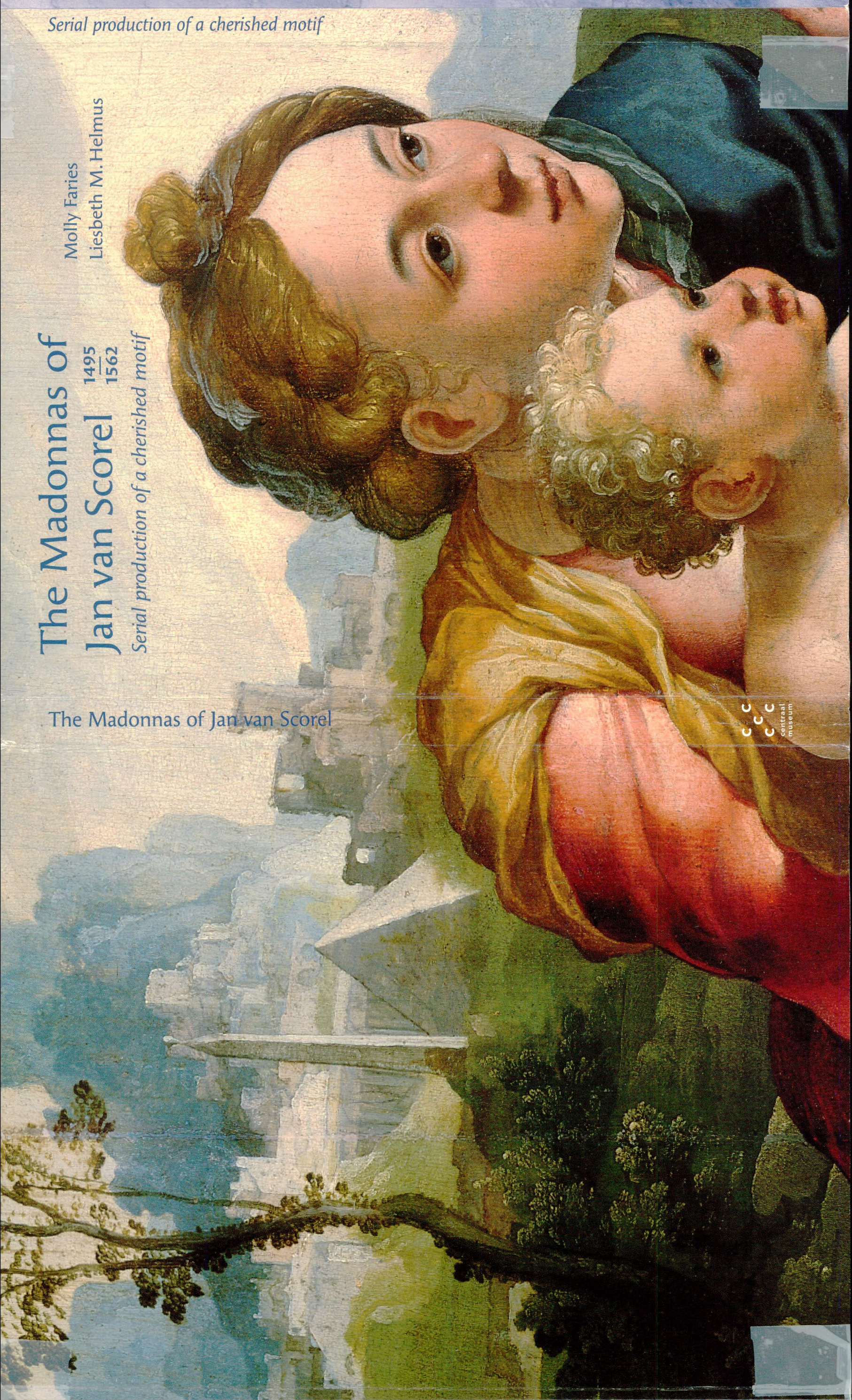
Serial production of a cherished motif

Molly Faries
Liesbeth M. Helmus

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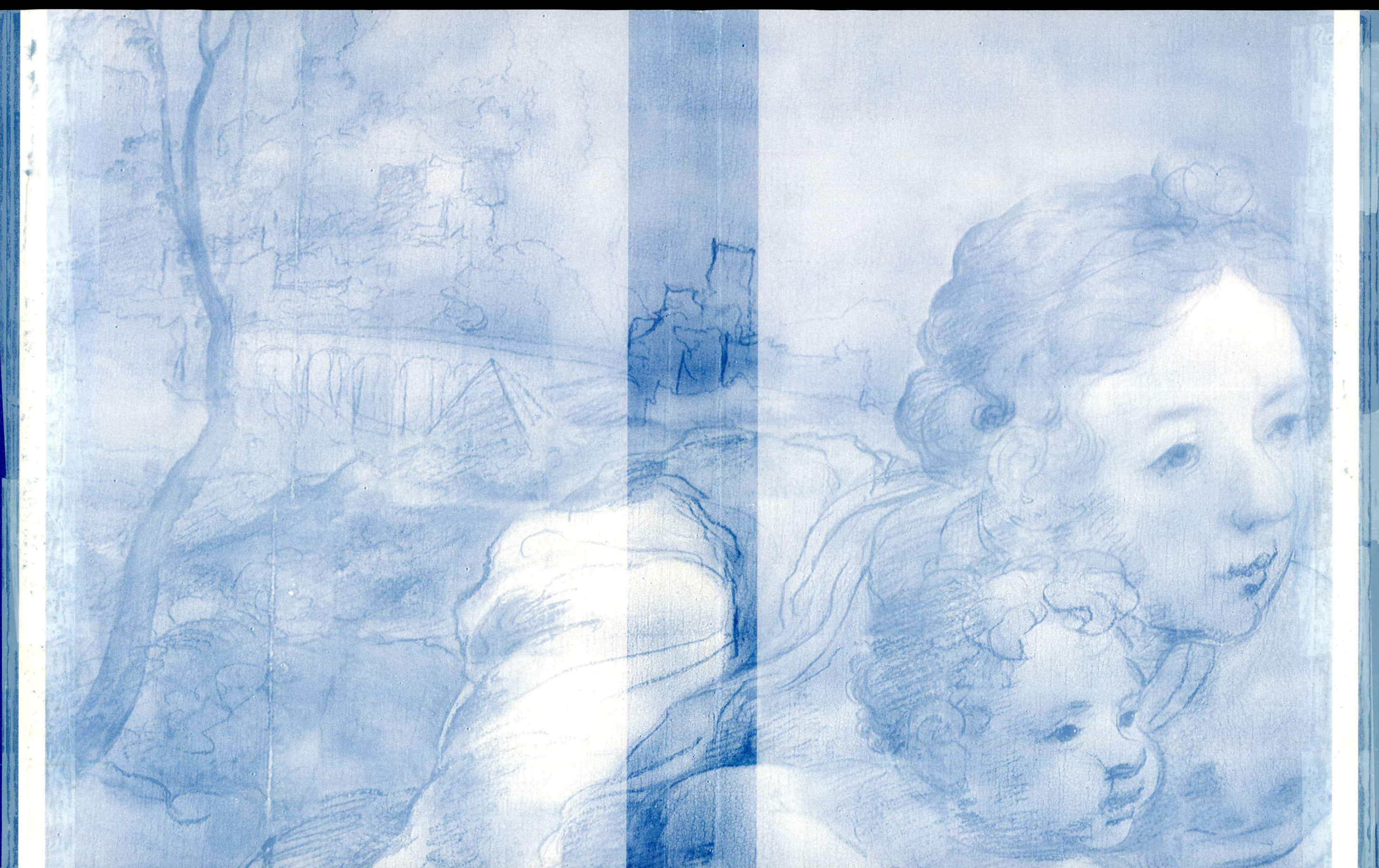
Preface

In 1958 the Centraal Museum acquired the *Madonna with wild roses*, an original composition by Jan van Scorel from his Haarlem period. In honour of this acquisition, the director of the museum then, M. E. Houtzager, organised a modest Christmas exhibition at the end of that year in which the newly acquired panel was surrounded by paintings, sculptures and a silver object from the museum's own collection. In 1997, the museum succeeded in purchasing a second, until then unknown *Virgin and Child* by Jan van Scorel, and on this occasion, too, we are mounting an exhibition to celebrate the acquisition.

The Madonna occupies a special place in the oeuvre of the painter Jan van Scorel. Several types of Madonna compositions are known, which were painted in large numbers both in and outside Scorel's own workshop. The originals of three of these compositions have survived, along with several later variants derived from the prototypes.

Of the three original compositions, the Centraal Museum now has two in its possession. The third is the lovely *Virgin and Child* in the collection of the Kartinaja Galeria in Tambov. These three Madonnas and a number of their respective versions are on view in the exhibition.

I would like to particularly thank the museums and private collectors for their willingness to lend us their precious and fragile panels. The only painting included in the catalogue that could not travel due to its condition is the copy of the Tambov Madonna in Philadelphia. The Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid and the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam graciously lent us their cooperation. A special word of thanks is due Mrs Tamara Shestakova (Director of the



Tambov Picture Gallery), Mr Aleksei Kuznetsov (Head of the Cultural Management Section for Tambov), Mrs Tatiana Bogatova (expert at the Department of International Relations, Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation) and primarily Mr J. Hesseling (Embassy Council for Education and Cultural Affairs, Dutch Embassy in Moscow), who made the important loan from Tambov possible. The Russian panel is surely the highlight of this exhibition.

The Madonnas by Jan van Scorel have been the subjected of scientific examination since the 1970s. With infrared reflectography we can see the underdrawing, which is crucial in distinguishing between the various methods used for copying in the workshop. And, X-radiographs, like the examination of paint samples, provide insight into the painting technique. All of the available material is displayed in the exhibition.

The investigation would not have been so comprehensive or the results so interesting without the participation of R. Grosshans and Christoph Schmidt of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, Mar Borobia of the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, and Jeroen Giltaij of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Finally, I should like to thank Molly Faries, the well-known Scorel specialist and co-author of the publication, and J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer. Both were involved in the 1977 exhibition of *Jan van Scorel in Utrecht. Altarpieces and paintings around 1540*, and we are very grateful that they were once again willing to lend their expertise to the Centraal Museum.

Sjarel Ex
Director

The Madonnas of Jan van Scorel $\frac{1495}{1562}$

Molly Faries and Liesbeth M. Helmus

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Introduction

The life of Jan van Scorel is well documented. He was born on 1 August 1495, and, according to early sources, took his name from his place of birth, Schoorl. A document dated 1541 states that he was the natural son of Diewer Aernstdochter and the parish priest Andries Ouckeyn. Scorel died on 6 December 1562; a note in the records of the collegiate church of St Mary's in Utrecht informs us that he breathed his last at ten o'clock in the evening.¹

A few fragments remain of the funereal monument erected in Mariakerk where Scorel was a canon for 34 years.² Thanks to a description and sketch by the Utrecht historian Arnoldus Buchelius in 1592, a reconstruction of this monument is possible.³ Hanging above the gravestone, which had probably been carved after Jan van Scorel's own design, was a portrait painted by his former pupil, Anthonie Mor van Dashorst. Sometime around or after Scorel's death, the signature and dating 'Antonius mor.pingebat a 1559' on the upper edge of the balustrade were painted out, and the names of the painter, the sitter, and the year 1560 were substituted. Infrared reflectography shows that the balustrade also included a Latin inscription, which translated, would read: 'This man brought honour to art, and she in turn brought honour to him; upon his death, art thought that she herself had died.'⁴

The epitaph was not undeserved, for the significance of Jan van Scorel to painting in the northern Netherlands was great indeed. Karel van Mander, Scorel's earliest biographer, related in 1604 that, during his life, the artist's colleagues had referred to him as 'the lantern bearer and road builder of our art.' In the 20th century, scholars characterised Jan van Scorel's importance to painting in the northern Netherlands by comparing him to giants such as Leonardo da Vinci and Peter Paul Rubens. G.J. Hoogewerff called Scorel 'the Leonardo of the north' while Max J. Friedländer called the artist the 'Rubens of the sixteenth century'.⁵ Friedländer's



Anthonie Mor van Dashorst

*Portrait of Jan van Scorel, 1559. Panel, ca. 58 cm (diameter). The Society
of Antiquaries of London, London*

photo: The Society of Antiquaries of London, London

analogy may be closer to the mark. Both Scorel and Rubens were painters who ushered in artistic movements which were internationally oriented, and in so doing, both relied extensively on their years of study in Italy and, especially, Rome. Both visited royal courts and, on occasion, both undertook diplomatic missions. And, most importantly, both artists are known for having organised flourishing workshops. A successful workshop employing a considerable number of students and assistants led to high production, a large oeuvre – and also to endless problems in the attribution of the mostly unsigned works.

Before establishing his first studio in Haarlem, Scorel travelled for several years. From Germany, he went to Carinthia (in present-day Austria), where he painted his earliest known work. Signed and dated 1519, the altarpiece with the *Holy Kinship* is still in its original place in the church of St Martin in Obervellach. From Carinthia, he travelled on to Venice, and from there he took a several months' pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His establishment in Rome probably occurred during the summer of 1522. Roughly six months earlier, Adriaan Florisz. Boeyens (1459–1523) had been elected pope; according to Van Mander, it was the Utrecht-born Boeyens who appointed Scorel 'curator' of the collections in the Belvedere. As the custodian of the art treasures of the Vatican, Scorel was a successor of Raphael (1483–1520), whose work influenced him greatly. In 1524, after the death of Pope Adrian VI, Scorel returned to the Netherlands. In Utrecht he lived in the house of Herman van Lokhorst, dean of St Saviour's and a former canon in the Mariakerk. It was for Lokhorst that Scorel painted the triptych with the *Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem*, which is now in the collection of the Centraal Museum.⁶ This is the first major work known to date from after Scorel's return, and in which evidence of the artist's stay in Italy is apparent.

Throughout his career, Jan van Scorel enjoyed the patronage of the clergy, highly placed city officials, and the nobility. On 16 October 1528, the collegiate church of St Mary's admitted him to the office of canon. His position in the church also gave him an economic advantage *vis à vis* other painters in Utrecht, who were obliged to become members of the Saddlemakers guild. As a cleric, Scorel was exempt from regulations imposed by the municipality, including guild dues or fees for apprentices. This must have facilitated the running of his workshop.

In 1527, the artist established his first workshop in Haarlem, where he had gone to seek refuge from political disturbances, but it was the workshop he established later, in Utrecht, that saw the greatest production in the period between 1535 and 1545. The painted output of the two workshops would have included twelve recorded altarpieces (most of which are now lost) and many more than the approximately eighty individual panels still extant today. Judging by the dimensions of the surviving altarpieces, up to 2.3 m high and 5.2 m wide, Scorel's shop allowed him to undertake monumental commissions well in accord with the trend in the sixteenth century towards ever-increasing size. In a number of respects, the workshop Scorel established in Haarlem was new to the northern Netherlands. With regard to scope and production, its status must have been exceptional, something that was directly related to the artist's own unique position and his ability to act as an entrepreneur. The artist is credited with introducing into the northern Netherlands the more deliberate use of chalk as an underdrawing material, and with making the underdrawn layout more diagrammatic in conjunction with workshop activity. Scorel, moreover, is thought to have developed a rationalised painting process along the lines of Raphael's shop procedure.⁷

In 1977, the paintings deriving from Scorel's workshop in Utrecht were the subject of the exhibition *Jan van Scorel in Utrecht, Altarpieces and paintings around 1540*. Technical investigation played an important role in this exhibition, which was held at the Centraal Museum, Utrecht, and at the Musée de la Chartreuse in Douai.⁸ The same applies today in the exhibition, *The Madonnas of Jan van Scorel (1495-1562), Serial production of a cherished motif*, which focuses on works created in Scorel's workshop in Haarlem.

The workshop in Haarlem (1527-1530)

'And seeing that he had many callers and he was often asked to take in pupils, Scorel rented a house in Haarlem,' writes Van Mander.⁹ It is the first credible report of Scorel's shop. His biographer alludes to the rental, sometime between 1527 and 1530, of a house in Haarlem, where he took on '*jongers*' (i.e. apprentices). The studio assistant during those years who is best known to us today is undoubtedly Maerten van Heemskerck (1498-1574). Van Mander relates how the young painter came to work in Scorel's shop, and how he practised so much that he 'eventually caught up with his trend-setting master in art, so that one could barely distinguish their works from each other, so characteristically had he made that manner his own [...]'.¹⁰ In this period, the paintings of Scorel and Heemskerck were indeed so similar that those who study them today have often attributed them first to one and then to the other. And although much more is now known about the relationship between the two masters, attribution is still beset with problems.¹¹ A typical example is *The young scholar* in the collection of Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam. While the museum states in its most recent collection catalogue (1994) that this painting is the only Scorel in their possession, Molly Faries is convinced that it is not in fact a work by Scorel, but by his pupil, Maerten van Heemskerck.¹² Harrison, too, in his catalogue of Heemskerck's work attributes the painting to the former assistant rather than to the master, while in his monograph, *Maerten van Heemskerck, Die Gemälde* (1980), Grosshans states that attribution to Heemskerck is entirely mistaken.¹³

Scholars have assumed that many other sixteenth-century notables (some more likely than others) were either participants in Scorel's Haarlem workshop, or somehow had contact with it, such as Jan Swart van Groningen, Jan Vermeyen, Cornelis Buys II, Lambert Sustris, Herman Postma, and Jan Stephan van Calcar. Another famed Netherlandish painter, Antonie Mor, who painted the portrait for Scorel's funereal monument, was a studio associate of Scorel's somewhat later, ca. 1540. This collaboration has also led to problems of attribution. For many years, another work at the Centraal Museum, *The five Jerusalem pilgrims*, which is currently catalogued in the collection as an authentic work by Jan van Scorel, was by turns attributed to either Jan van Scorel or Anthonie Mor.¹⁴

Nothing is known of the house Scorel rented in Haarlem when he first organised a shop, but two of the painter's residences in Utrecht still survive. These were claustral houses situated inside the immunity of the Mariakerk. The house Scorel lived in from 1539, claustral house number 13, stood just to the north of the residence of one of Scorel's patrons, the learned canon, Hubert van Buchell.¹⁵ It is a complex formed by a tower-like structure built at the beginning of the fourteenth century, with an attached wing that had been added later in the fourteenth century and remodelled around 1500.¹⁶ The house is large even by today's standards. And it is certain that it was precisely in the years between 1535 tot 1545, when the productivity of his workshop increased enormously, that Scorel rented extra space on property outside the immunity of the church.¹⁷

Methods of compositional replication in Jan van Scorel's workshop

Many of the works attributed to Jan van Scorel and his shop have been investigated by technical means. Infrared reflectography has proved to be particularly valuable in our search for understanding the methods of reproduction employed by the shop. The underdrawing technique reveals often gives the clearest indication of whether or not a painting was a repetition of an existing composition.

With painters from the preceding century, such as Rogier van der Weyden or Hans Memling, a workshop routine develops in the underdrawing which scholars have been able to use to a much greater extent as the defining factor of the artistic group as a whole. With some sixteenth-century masters, such as the Master of 1518, fully elaborated layouts seem to be the norm, and they may operate as a kind of quality control in the workshop. Efficient and accurate execution was assured, since the composition was as fixed as it could possibly be before any paint was applied. It is possible that Jan van Scorel became aware of this type of extensively worked-up layout when he was an assistant in Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen's workshop in Amsterdam from 1512 to ca. 1518. Paintings deriving from van Oostsanen's shop in the late 1510s often exhibit carefully elaborated underdrawings. It is quite possible that Scorel, who worked in this shop for many years, would have served as Jacob Cornelisz's 'layout man'. He undoubtedly developed the skills to be

entrusted with the initial stages of paintings completed in that studio.¹⁸ In his own workshop, however, Scorel followed other methods. Infrared reflectography studies of paintings of the Scorel group show that no one type of underdrawing was used exclusively.

A number of paintings which exist as replicas associated with Scorel's shop have been examined by technical methods, primarily infrared reflectography. For these works, the compositional layouts subdivide into three basic categories.¹⁹ One fairly common type can be characterised as a loose array of sketchy lines in which the composition remains rather indefinite. This type occurs more frequently in compositional variants of different sizes, such as the many versions of Scorel's Adoration of the Magi composition, and the rudimentary appearance of these underdrawings implies some reference to well worked-out compositional models.

Another type, consisting mainly of exacting contours, appears in the *Virgin and Child* from Kassel. The features of the faces and other forms have been established with fairly thin and evenly applied lines.²⁰ This is a likely example of tracing, perhaps reinforced and worked up with some hatching, although there is no exact counterpart of this composition to help prove this assertion.

A third category of layout has been documented in another small group of works, including a *Christ as the Man of Sorrows* in Darmstadt.²¹ This devotional work bears an old attribution to Lucas van Leyden, despite the fact that the figure type comes much closer to Scorel's paintings from his Haarlem period.²² The compositional elements in the underdrawing are rendered as stiff, block-like forms. In this case the layout appears to be a schematic translation of the volumes of another drawing or painting.

Apparently, then, Scorel and his shop employed more than one working method for this type of workshop product. In the paintings that have been studied so far, there are also no overt signs of mechanical transfer of the composition, either in the form of pouncing or squaring. Compositional variants and replicas begin to appear for the first time during Scorel's Haarlem years (1527-1530), when the artist began to develop a standard repertory of subjects – including the Crucifixion, the Adoration of the Magi, and especially, the Madonna and Child.



Jan van Scorel

Twelve members of the Brotherhood of Jerusalem Pilgrims in Haarlem, ca. 1528. Panel, 114 x 275.7 cm. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem (detail of Scorel's self-portrait)

photo: Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem

Research on Jan van Scorel's Madonnas

The compositions of the Madonna and Child occupy a special place in Jan van Scorel's oeuvre. Three of these have survived as originals, each with a number of contemporary or later variants that can be traced back to the prototype. In 1958 the Centraal Museum acquired the *Madonna with wild roses*, a composition by Jan van Scorel with an extensive underdrawing (cat. no. B). When, in 1995-1996, a panel with a second and hitherto unknown *Virgin and Child*, also by Scorel, appeared on the Swedish art market, the Centraal Museum museum decided to acquire it (cat. no. A). The third prototype is the wonderful *Virgin and Child* at the Kartinaja Galeria in Tambov (cat. no. C). This painting is part of a diptych. The Christ child is portrayed standing in Mary's lap. Both figures lean to the right, towards the panel on which the donor is depicted.

The three Madonnas were the point of departure for a variety of other paintings made both in and outside Jan van Scorel's workshop. Four known variants of the Utrecht *Virgin and Child* are known, two solely in photographs; the other two feature in the exhibition. Mary and the Christ child are painted with and without a landscape background, and in one case are shown on the central panel of a triptych. There they are flanked by St Anne and thus create the familiar grouping of the *Virgin and Child with St Anne*. The *Madonna with wild roses* is depicted with and without donors, on the central panel of a triptych with Joseph present, and, interestingly, holding different species of flowers in her hand. With regard to the Tambov Madonna, only one other version is known, which was not possible to research at first hand for this exhibition.

The two Utrecht paintings and the Tambov panel provide the basis for the investigation that was undertaken for the exhibition. These works are numbered A, B and C in the catalogue. The catalogue numbers of the compositions derived from these originals are expressed as one of these letters together with a number. This has been done in order to indicate the respective prototypes. The various works are known either to have been painted by Jan van Scorel, or have traditionally been attributed to him, or have been copied after him. Furthermore, the titles are so similar that consecutive numbering would only have caused confusion.

The paintings all have different formats. The *Madonna with wild flowers* has been widened on each side, and a similar enlargement took place in the *Madonna with daffodils and two donors*. In the latter case, boards were added to the support at the top and bottom. It is noteworthy that the tops of two of the Madonnas are lunette shaped (cat. nos. B en C), and that the third has a trefoil form (cat. no. A). Although, in its current state, the *Madonna with wild roses* is rectangular, the evidence suggests that the top of the panel was initially sawn off at the beginning of the curve and that spandrel-shaped pieces of wood were inserted at the upper corners. This also occurs in the two paintings assumed to have been painted in the workshop. The Rotterdam panel (cat. no. A-3) has a rounded upper portion, and the *Madonna with wild flowers* from Berlin (cat. no. B-1) originally had the same lunette shape as the *Madonna with wild roses*, although it is now rectangular. Meanwhile, as far as we know, the two versions whose current whereabouts are unknown (cat. nos. A-1 and A-2), and also the copy of the Tambov Madonna (cat. no. C-1) have always been rectangular. It may be that, a bit later in the sixteenth century, a round top was thought to be old-fashioned, and that the copyists therefore decided on a simpler, rectangular format. The changes in the shape of the panels of the *Madonna with wild roses* and the *Madonna with wild flowers* should be seen in the same light. Though we cannot know when these changes were made to the format, they were certainly inspired by changing tastes.

A number of the works shown here have been examined by successive generations of infrared reflectography equipment – cat. no. B as early as 1966, with the Barnes Infrared Camera. Later, an infrared vidicon system was used, whereby the individual reflectograms were photographed from a television monitor, and were then assembled into larger composites. The numbers of the reflectogram negatives are given in the catalogue. The computer infrared reflectogram assemblies illustrated in this catalogue are some of the first made by the newly developed MolArt AEG PtSi IR Focal Plane Array camera.²³

In ongoing research from 1974 to 1981, J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer was able to take a number of paint samples from paintings belonging to the Jan van Scorel group. Some supplementary samples were also taken during recent restorations. For most of these, cross-sections have been made.²⁴ The samples and study of the X-radiographs show that the layering of paint in the works from Scorel's Haarlem

period has a number of common characteristics.²⁵ First, a chalk and glue ground was applied to the oak support. In almost all cases, cross-sections taken from works by the painter or by those under his supervision show a thin layer containing lead white coating the ground. This so-called intermediate layer is not present in a number of the early paintings that date from the period of Scorel's journey to Italy, such as the middle panel of the altarpiece with the *Holy Kinship* at Obervellach. Some of these early paintings also have an underdrawing in brush. The X-radiographs show that the intermediate layer was applied to the surface of the whole panel with a broad brush in several different directions. On this white (i.e. non-coloured) layer, which has a thickness of between 10 and 20 microns (1 micron = 1/1000 mm), one finds the underdrawing, done presumably in black chalk. The identification is suggested by the gritty character of the lines, as seen sometimes by the unaided eye, or otherwise in reflectograms. The underdrawing 'skips', as it were, over the irregular brush strokes of the intermediate layer. This effect is due to the fact that chalk cannot flow the same way a brush underdrawing in black watercolour can. And though ascertained in panels by artists such as Pieter Aertsen, examination of works by Scorel's assistant Maerten van Heemskerck does not always reveal a white layer on which the underdrawing has been executed. Scorel's layering of paint is fairly simple: one layer or two, and sometimes three, as in the highlights on foliage.

The *Virgin and Child* composition and variants from the workshop ²⁶

The *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. A) is one of several compositional types Scorel seems to have evolved at the beginning of his Haarlem period. Many of these paintings show that, in arriving at these new images, the artist was referring to the motifs of his Roman sketchbook or to prints he had collected. It has been proposed, for instance, that the pose of the Christ child in this painting derives from the left-hand putto in Raimondi's print after Raphael's allegorical figure of *Poetry*, or that the underdrawn child in cat. no. B relates to another print by Raimondi of the *Virgin and Child Seated on Clouds*. We know of various versions of this composition in which the Virgin and Child group is shown as in cat. no. A, or in which the figures

are integrated into a new scene. One example of the latter phenomenon is the central panel of the triptych in which Mary and the Christ child are depicted together with St Anne (cat. no. A-4). The most closely related version that has been available for study is the Rotterdam *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. A-3). The results of the investigation, which involve measurements taken from X-radiographs and computer comparisons, are illuminating.

Of the versions, the Utrecht *Virgin and Child* is larger than the other known versions (cat. no. A-1, A-2 and A-3). Obviously, the top of the painting has been cut down, but the edges are otherwise intact. There are no indications of any changes in the shape of the Rotterdam panel. It is roughly thirty percent smaller than the Utrecht version.

The relationship of height to width is different in these panels; and moreover, the figures in the paintings are sized differently in relation to the painted field. To ascertain whether the proportional relationship of the figures is the same, transparent plastic was placed on the X-radiographs; on this, the figures were traced and overlaid for comparison. Measurements were also taken from fixed points in the compositions and compared. Neither method produced a precise match between the Utrecht and Rotterdam panels; three different measurements resulted in different proportions. The same result was achieved when the computer was used to compare sizes in the two paintings.²⁷ The computer print-outs do indicate that there is a much better correlation in the upper parts of the figures and in the Christ child. The composition of the Rotterdam painting, in relation to the Utrecht version, has been lengthened in the lower portion of the figures, and the heads are slightly smaller. It is possible to speculate that this degree of divergence could result from a re-sizing method such as squaring. If a reduced drawing did exist, it could just have been moved down slightly during the transfer of the composition, so that the longer drapery of the Virgin related better to the longer format of the Rotterdam painting.

Infrared reflectography of the panels revealed striking differences in the underdrawing. That in the Utrecht painting has been drawn in chalk in a free, sketchy fashion. All the features of the underdrawing of Scorel's Haarlem years are present here. Overlapping curves establish the outlines, and very rudimentary forms are used for the hands and feet. The lines over the shoulder of the Christ child suggest

that the position of the veil now held by the child has been changed. Surprisingly, Mary's hands have not been underdrawn; very finely painted, they are comparable to the hands in other paintings from Scorel's Haarlem period.²⁸ The infrared reflectogram assembly of the Utrecht *Virgin and Child* also locates areas of obvious damage and dark retouching, but in well-preserved parts of the painting, such as the Virgin's red sleeve, there is no indication of any dark pigment used in the original modeling of form.

The underdrawing in the Rotterdam panel, on the other hand, is akin to the methods of replication discussed earlier. The main outlines of the figures have been underdrawn in a hesitant rather than in an exacting fashion. Given the fact that the Rotterdam painting maintains the general proportions of the figural arrangement in the Utrecht version, the underdrawn lines could be loose tracings from a presumed compositional model. The painting itself is only slightly larger than the sheets of paper used by Scorel in his compositional studies of ca. 1540. There is no evidence of any change in the cloth around the Christ child, and the fingers of the Virgin's hands have been included in the layout. The section of the Virgin's robe which is just to the left of the Christ child has been modelled with a dark pigment in an underlying paint stage; this section of the robe is red in the final painting. This is a painting technique which has not been associated with Scorel's works, but has been found in the early Maerten van Heemskerck.²⁹

Infrared reflectography discloses the surprising fact that both paintings incorporate the same compositional change. In the Utrecht *Virgin and Child*, the Christ child's weight-bearing leg has been underdrawn further to the left, and shifted to the right in the paint stage. Although one might suspect that the Rotterdam painting would follow the paint surface of this leg in the Utrecht composition, this is not the case. The same change occurs: it shows up only vaguely in the reflectograms as a barely perceptible edge of an underpainting layer and is in fact best seen with the unaided eye.³⁰ Since these changes in the legs are the only significant ones to be found in both works, it is difficult to assume that they could be unrelated or coincidental. The paintings may have been executed side by side in the shop, with the change introduced more or less simultaneously in the painting process. Another plausible scenario is that both paintings derive from the same workshop model.

Taken together, the technical documents suggest that the Utrecht painting is the prototype of the compositional sequence, in a conventional sense, and that it should be attributed to Jan van Scorel. Moreover, comparison with the Rotterdam panel shows that the same workshop pattern lies behind both paintings. Finally, in their painting process, both paintings display traces of their common origin in a workshop situation.

The *Madonna with wild roses* and its workshop variants

The *Madonna with wild roses* has been the subject of technical investigation on a number of occasions in the last decades. Here the work is discussed for the first time in relation to the artist's workshop practices. The fluid quality of the handling of paint, especially in the Madonna's hand holding the roses, and the high overall quality of the painted surface, make this work one of the finest in the Utrecht collection.

The panel is underdrawn in black chalk in a very free, sketchy manner. Many of the contours in the drapery are long and undulating, as is typical of Scorel's underdrawing in general. Characteristic features appear in certain details, such as the wavy lines in the Christ child's hair and the bold, rounded outline in his cheek and the Madonna's hand. The stumpy form of the child's hand, and the awkwardly bent index finger of the Madonna's hand holding the roses is comparable to similar rudimentary details in the underdrawing of the *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. A).

The short underdrawn dashes along the left side of the Christ child are not typical. These appear to reinforce the first position of the Christ child's back and rump in the underdrawing. The position of the child's shoulder was not immediately fixed: it was underdrawn in two positions before it was finalised somewhere in between the two lines in the underdrawing. The dashes and double lines for the Christ child's shoulder are both part of an important compositional change. In the *Madonna with wild roses*, the child's lower body was in a completely different position in the underdrawing: both legs were seen more in profile, with the far leg outstretched and the near leg bent up to the level of his waist. In the painting, both legs are turned in the direction of the viewer and slightly foreshortened.

For Jan van Scorel, it is unusual for a painting to incorporate a change of such magnitude. In the underdrawing, there is no sign of the second and definitive position of the Christ child.

In the past, compositional change was often taken as a sign of a creative master at work, involved in a process of constant revision and improvement. The compositional change in the *Madonna with wild roses* needs to be interpreted in another way, and more in relation to workshop procedures. It seems that, while work was proceeding on the painting, one shop pattern was simply swapped for another. The first position of the child, with the sharply-bent knee, relates to the mirror-image of the child in the other *Virgin and Child* in the Utrecht collection (cat. no. A). The first and the second positions of the child in the *Madonna with wild roses* can also be found in the work of Maerten van Heemskerck (see comment in cat. no. B). It is also known from other examples that Heemskerck exchanged workshop models during the painting process.³¹

Conclusion

The investigations of the *Virgin and Child* and the *Madonna with wild roses* enhance our understanding of the manner by which paintings came into being in the Haarlem workshop of Jan van Scorel in the years around 1530. Now that Scorel's methods of producing workshop replicas have been studied in more detail, the way various patterns were used also becomes clearer. It was not always necessary to create an exact copy of the composition selected for repetition; instead, all kinds of adaptations were possible. Such variations probably occur in the Rotterdam *Virgin and Child* because the ratio of height to width of the painted surface differs from that of the panel used for the Utrecht painting. Another use of patterns emerges from the research on the *Madonna with wild roses*, where the shift from one design to another played a role in the painting process. At the time this painting was made, Maerten van Heemskerck's presence in the workshop can definitely be sensed. Yet, even if Heemskerck knew the models that were used for the Christ child and applied them in his own work around 1530, it does not necessarily follow that Heemskerck should now be named the painter of the *Madonna with wild roses*,

where the hand of Scorel in the underdrawing is so much in evidence. The painting nonetheless contains features that are less or not at all characteristic of the master. While, in his paintings, Scorel has the Christ child stand firmly in the mother's lap, here the child seems to float in front of her body. And although from a qualitative point of view, certain features seem fully Scorelesque, in other respects the painting technique appears to differ from the other prototype that was examined, the *Virgin and Child* (see the comment for cat. no. B). Taken together, the *Madonna with wild roses* represents the complex of factors that was part of Scorel's shop routine around 1530 and, as such, exemplifies collaboration between Jan van Scorel and his workshop, while the Utrecht *Virgin and Child* should be regarded as being from the hand of Jan van Scorel alone.

The research on the Madonnas of Jan van Scorel makes it clear that any study of these paintings must take the workshop into consideration. The painting and production process in this shop had many facets, a fact that makes its study even more interesting. During the exhibition, in the presence of the paintings, the investigations will continue. The results will be added as an appendix to the catalogue.

Notes

1. There are several detailed descriptions of the life of Jan van Scorel. See De Meyere 1981, and, more recently, Faries in Amsterdam 1986, pp. 179-180 and Faries 1996.

2. Attributed to Jacob de Nole, probably after a design by Jan van Scorel, *Gravestone of Jan van Scorel*, ca. 1560. Namur stone, three fragments; reconstructed slab, 198.5 x 85.5 x 21 cm. Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht.

3. Arnoldus Buchelius, *Grave monument of Jan van Scorel in Saint Mary's, Utrecht*, 1592, in the manuscript *Monumenta passim [enz.]*, Utrecht 1592. Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht.

4. The original text reads: 'ADDIDIT HIC ARTI DECUS, HVIC ARS IPSA DECOREM, QUO MO[R]IENTE MO[R]I EST, HAEC QVOQ[UE] VIS[A] SIBI'. See Amsterdam 1986, cat. no. 212 and 213, pp. 334-336.

5. Hoogewerff 1923, pp. 3-4;

and Friedländer 1967-1976, volume 12 (1975), p. 82.

6. Jan van Scorel, triptych with the *Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem*, with saints on the interior wings, and on the exterior of the wings, saints with members of the Lokhorst family, 1526-1527. Centraal Museum, Utrecht.

7. J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, M. Faries and J.P. Filedt Kok, 'Painting technique and workshop practice in Northern Netherlandish art of the sixteenth century,' in exhib. cat.

Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 1986, esp. pp. 93-94.

8. See Utrecht/Douai 1977.

9. Van Mander 1604, fo. 236.

10. Van Mander 1604, fo. 245.

11. For an example see, Faries 1995(a), pp. 135-139; Faries 1995(b), pp. 133-141 and Faries 1998. The interaction between Scorel and Heemskerck in the Haarlem workshop has been the subject of a number of studies. See

- Wescher 1938; Grosshans 1980, pp. 29-35 and Harrison 1987, pp. 11-34. The subject will be elaborated fully in Faries' forthcoming monograph on Scorel.
12. Rotterdam 1994, cat. no. 73, pp. 319-321 as Jan van Scorel, *The young scholar*, 1531. Panel, 46.5 x 35 cm. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.
13. Harrison 1987, cat. no. 11, pp. 213-222 and Grosshans 1980, p. 64.
14. Utrecht 1999, cat. no. 598, pp. 1388-1391 and pp. 94-97, especially p. 97 (note 3).
15. Klück and De Bruijn 1991-1992, pp. 117-129; the second author proposes that Scorel may have been responsible for the design of a portion of the Renaissance facade on the east side of this house.
16. See Dolfin, Kylstra and Panders 1989, pp. 346-352; and, for the publication of the documents related to Scorel's houses in the immunity of the Mariakerk, Faries 1970, pp. 224.
17. The documents on this house were first published by Faries 1975, p. 91 and note 11.
18. See Faries 1999, p. 11.
19. See Faries 1999, pp. 7-11.
20. *The Virgin and Child*. Panel, 83 x 67 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel.
21. *Christ as man of sorrows*. Panel, 64 x 44 cm. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt.
22. Darmstadt, 1820, cat. no. 228. The painting was first associated with Scorel by Faries 1972, p. 231. The painting was examined by IRR by Faries April 2, 1987 with Indiana University's Grundig equipment and is discussed in Faries 1998 and Faries 1999.
23. AB = J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer en MF = Molly Faries. The equipment consisted of a Hamamatsu N 214 IR vidicon (1975 AB, 1981 MF) in a professional Grundig Camera (FA 70 AB, FA 70H MF) for 875 TV lines. The monitor was a Grundig BG12. The camera was equipped with a Kodak Wratten 87A filter that gave the system a sensitivity of between 0.9 and 2.4 micron. The negatives are currently kept at the Rijksdienst voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague, although the original IRR assemblies are still in the keeping of the researchers. The IRR assembly of cat. no. B-1 was made by Christoph Schmidt with a Hamamatsu C 2400-03 with a Nikon 55 mm Macro Nikkor and a Heliopan filter RG 850. In 1999, as part of the MolArt project (i.e. Molecular Aspects of Ageing in Painted Works of Art), supported by the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO), a third-generation instrument for infrared reflectography was put into operation. This is an AEG Infrarot Module 640 x 486 PtSi IR Focal Plane Array Camera. A similar instrument was first used for infrared reflectography by E. Walmsley et al. of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., in 1993. The MolArt instrument is equipped with a Stirling cooler that cools the array to -195°C. Sensitivity lies between 1.2 and 5 microns, but due to the use of a Nikon macro lens and a glass filter behind the lens, the wavelength range is restricted to 1.2 and 2.7 micron. The individual reflectograms are stored directly in digital form, and can be assembled with computer software. Cat. nos. A, A-3 and B were examined with this instrument on 13 December 1999 by Jaap van der Weerd and Muriël Geldof. The assemblies were made by Van der Weerd using the PanaVue Image Assembler program. The results were saved to CD-Rom, and are in the possession of the Centraal Museum.
24. The samples and paint cross-sections are characterised by an object number and a serial number, e.g. A25/7, and are currently in the possession of the researcher. In due course they will be transferred to the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague.
25. See also J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, 'Natuurwetenschappelijk onderzoek van schilderijen uit de groep Jan van Scorel' in Utrecht/Douai 1977, pp. 51-55 and the article on painting technique and workshop practices in the sixteen-century northern-Netherlandish art by J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, M. Faries and J.P. Filedt Kok in Amsterdam 1986, pp. 85-105.
26. This section is freely adapted from Faries 1999, pp. 12-17.
27. Faries 1999, fig. 8.
28. This is the case, for example, with *Adam and Eve* in the collection of the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. The painting and the workshop collaboration that can be deduced from are discussed in Faries 1998. Faries suggests, for example, that the hands at the centre of this composition indicate the intervention of the master, Jan van Scorel. The hands in the Rotterdam *Virgin and Child* also appear to follow this convention.
29. Faries 1995(a).

30. The change cannot be seen in the X-ray because of the density of the lead white which registers throughout. According to what can be seen on the paint surface and in IRR, the change was made in the Rotterdam panel when the leg was first delimited in paint.

31. See Faries 1995(a) and Faries 1999, pp. 11-12.

Jan van Scorel

A

Virgin and Child c. 1527-1530

Panel, 47,4 x 32,8 cm

Centraal Museum, Utrecht

Three different paintings of the Virgin and Child composition were known when the original prototype by Jan van Scorel unexpectedly appeared on the art market in 1995. The Rotterdam panel (cat. A-3), considered a product of Jan van Scorel's workshop, had been known since 1847. In 1922, the art dealer J. Goudstikker exhibited a painting of the same composition (cat. A-2), which was presented as the original after which the Rotterdam version was made. And, in 1958, P. de Boer came up with a third example (cat. A-1), calling it the original painting by Scorel. The whereabouts of the latter two paintings have been unknown for decades now. Judging from the photographs, only De Boer's painting appeared qualitatively good enough to be considered the original. However, in the wake of the recent discovery, this is no longer tenable. The prototype, never before published, was put up for sale in Stockholm in 1995 as the work of an anonymous sixteenth-century master. The Polish art historian Ewa Lipko recognised the hand of Jan van Scorel, an attribution which has been confirmed by Molly Faries. This *Virgin and Child* has now been definitively added to the master's oeuvre.

Of the three original compositions by Jan van Scorel, the *Virgin and Child* is the smallest. It is painted on a single plank and, like the *Virgin and Child* in Tambov (cat. no. C) and the *Madonna with wild roses* (cat. no. B), it had a rounded top. The upper edge of the curve was sawed off

Scientific examination

IRR (9 Jan. 1996) MF
1259:1-36 - MF 1260:1-34
IRR (21 April 1997) AB 1853
A:1-36A
IRR (13 Dec. 1999) MolArt
X-radiograph 1996 (New York
University, Institute of Fine
Arts, Conservation Center)

X-radiograph 1997 (Utrecht,
Centraal Museum)
Paint samples A391/1-3 (12
May 1998)
Dendrochronology: the
earliest annual ring of heart-
wood is 1480; with estimates
for seasoning and an average
amount of sapwood growth

the panel could have been
painted as of 1491 at the
earliest, but is more likely to
have been painted after 1497
(report by P. Klein dated 16
Jan. 1998)

Provenance

Sale Stora Kvalitén, Stock-

holm 22-23 May 1995, cat.
no. 233, p. 98, ill.; art dealer,
Stockholm (1995); private
collection, Stockholm (1995-
1997); acquired by the
Centraal Museum, Utrecht
(inv. no. 28224), 1997

A Jan van Scorel, *Virgin and Child*
Infrared reflectogram assembly
MolArt



A Jan van Scorel, *Virgin and Child*

The back of the panel

photograph: Centraal Museum, Utrecht/Hans Wilschut



at some time in the past. This was reconstructed during restoration following its acquisition by the Centraal Museum in 1997. Except for the top, the panel has unpainted edges on all sides, meaning that it still has its original format. The condition of the painted surface is not optimal, with some large lacunas along the left side. The most important passages, such as the face of Mary, the red and blue of her cloak and the body of the Christ Child, however, are well preserved. The quality of these areas is high and approaches that of the *Tambov Madonna* (cat. no. C). The swelling curves of Christ's body are so subtly done that the Child seems remarkably three-dimensional. Mary's face, her left hand and parts of her red and blue cloak are beautifully executed. The paint matches the tender representation completely, and is fluently and finely applied.

The Child stands in his mother's lap on his right leg. She balances him with her right hand under his raised left thigh and her left hand under his armpit. He has thrown his arm around her neck, his head next to hers. Both direct their gaze to the right. The background is indicated in simplified planes, the horizon suggested with greyish green tints. A cloud underdrawn in the sky was not painted. The Child's pose, with the standing right leg and raised left leg, resembles that of a putto in an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi of Raphael's allegorical figure of Poetry.¹

Not just the painting, but also the black chalk underdrawing betrays the hand of Jan van Scorel. It has all the hallmarks of Scorel's underdrawing from his Haarlem years (1527-1530). It is a free, very rapidly drawn sketch, in which all of the basic shapes of the figures are indicated. The hands and feet of the Christ Child are very generally drawn, while those of Mary are not even suggested. A single line delineates the Child's midriff, with a little dot for the navel. The hatching generally used for shaded areas is missing. The cross hatching on the left shoulder of the Child may indicate that the cloth he holds in his hand was initially draped over his shoulder. A number of differences can be discerned between the drawing and the painted surface. The Child's standing leg in the painting was shifted to the right, and his left arm was repositioned somewhat lower down.

From a paint cross section (A 391/1) we can see that the underdrawing was applied on the customary white intermediary layer (app. 18 micron). The Virgin's red robe consists of two layers of light red under a red glaze (A 391/3).

From dendrochronological analysis we know that painting was possible any time after 1497, and the plank used by Scorel was very old. The *Baptism of Christ in the Jordan*, one of Scorel's most important paintings from his Haarlem period, also has a very early wood dating.² It is entirely feasible that Scorel's panel maker had a supply of well seasoned planks.

Nothing is known about the provenance or the original destination of the *Virgin and Child*. It may have had a pendant with the portrait of a donor, like the *Virgin and Child* in Tambov. They, too, face right. On the back of the panel is a seriously damaged wax seal, which may date from the period, but which cannot be read.³ Nor can the monogram inscribed on the back be deciphered.⁴

Because of the sixteenth-century wax seal and the brief, but nevertheless Swedish provenance, one is tempted to consider identifying the painting with an image of Mary mentioned by Van Mander, which Scorel sent to Gustaf Wasa (1496-1560), the king of Sweden. The king was so taken with the painting that in addition to a personal letter, he lavished gifts on the artist, including 'a beautiful ring, a chest with marten skins, a sleigh with all the trappings for a horse, in which the King himself used to ride on the ice, and also a Swedish cheese which weighed 200 pounds.' By the time Scorel received the letter, the seal was broken and the presents had vanished.⁵ Scorel must have sent his painting between 1537 and 1542, because it is accompanied by a recommendation for an architect for the king's palace, work on which was begun in 1537. In 1542, Scorel gave permission to an inhabitant of Danzig to take possession of the gifts.⁶

Another possible commissioner is one of the Haarlem Knights of Saint John, for whom Scorel worked from the moment he arrived in Haarlem. Karel van Mander recounts, for instance, that the *Baptism of Christ in the Jordan* mentioned above was painted for Symon Saen, Commander of the Knights of St John. It hung together with Scorel's *Mary Magdalene* in his private chambers.⁷ It is also possible that the painting of the *Virgin and Child* was executed for Symon Saen, or one of the other Knights of St John. When a portion of their art collection was sold by the city on 2 Nov. 1628, five paintings by Jan van Scorel were listed in the inventory, including a 'case by Schorel of a Virgin with a door'. The little 'case' with a Madonna that could be closed with a door has yet to be found.⁸

Literature

CMU Annual Report 1997, pp. 5, 19, ill. on p. 3; Faries 1998, pp. 297-309; Faries 1999, pp. 12-17, figs. 7, 8 and 9; Tamis 1999, p. 46; Utrecht 1999, cat. no. 594, pp. 1376-1377 and pp. 40, 80-85, ill.

Notes

1. Oberheide 1933, pp. 94-95, 148.

2. Jan van Scorel, *The Baptism of Christ in the Jordan*, c. 1530. Panel, 120.5 x 156.5 cm. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem,

inv. no. 1, 312. Dendrochronological investigation performed by P. Klein, Hamburg. Written notice by M. Faries dated 9 Feb. 1998. From a survey of the results of the dendrochronological investigation of the panels by Jan van Scorel, a number of them appear to be dated early. We are grateful to P. Klein, who faxed us the survey on 2 June 1998.

3. K. Schaffers-Bodenhausen of the Iconographic Bureau, The Hague kindly researched the seal. She, too, noted

that too little of it remained to allow any kind of determination. Written communication dated 13 Jan. 1998. A photograph of the seal was examined by Dr. L. Wikström of the Svenska Riddarhuset.

4. Ewa Lipko (Stockholm) identified the monogram as that of Sophia Albertina, the sister of Gustaf III, however a clear similarity has yet to be demonstrated.

5. Van Mander 1604, folio 236 recto-verso.

6. Faries 1972, p. 186.

7. Van Mander 1604, folio 235 verso-236 recto. Jan van Scorel, *Mary Magdalene*, c. 1530. Panel, 67 x 76.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 372.

8. 'een casken van Schorel van een Lievevrouw met een deur daertoe'. According to Van Bueren 1993, pp. 569 and 157, it is a triptych. The description in the inventory as 'a case [...] with a door' in no way refers to that.

Jan van Scorel (attributed to)

A-1

Virgin and Child

Panel, 40.5 x 31.5 cm

Present whereabouts unknown

When this *Virgin and Child* appeared on the art market in 1958, two other versions of the composition were known; namely a painting that had been in the collection of F. J. O. Boymans since the middle of the nineteenth century (cat. no. A-3), and another acquired by the art dealer J. Goudstikker in 1922 (cat. no. A-2). With the discovery of this third version, it was thought that the original had finally been found. As P. de Boer wrote in his catalogue: 'Everybody agrees that this astoundingly well preserved picture is the long lost original. One only has to look at the Holy Child to see the difference. In this picture alone does he look the beholder in the eye, while both copiers did not even dare to attempt this.'¹ While of the three versions this *Virgin and Child* does, indeed, most closely approximate Jan van Scorel's painting style in terms of its refinement, the child's mischievous expression raises some doubts as to the attribution.

The painting is rectangular, and smaller than the original. The copyist worked very meticulously, and even made a few 'improvements'. For example, Mary's curls dance on her back and she wears a lace shift. Her braided tresses resemble a cap pulled over her smoothly combed hair. The background has a cloudy sky, just like the version in the Goudstikker Collection.

Provenance

P. de Boer Collection,
Amsterdam/Switzerland (in
1958-1959 on commission

with art dealer P. de Boer,
Amsterdam); H. H. baron
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collec-
tion, Castagnola-Lugano

(1959-1963); sale Sotheby &
Co., London, 27 Nov. 1963
(H. baron Thyssen-Bornemisza
Collection), cat. no. 118, p. 63

(as by Jan van Scorel) (to Miss
Sexton); Robert Finck Gallery,
Brussels (1964, 1968, 1978);
whereabouts unknown

In 1959, a year after its discovery, the painting was purchased by H. H. baron Thyssen-Bornemisza who had owned the *Madonna with daffodils and two donors* since the 1930s (cat. no. B-2). He put the *Virgin and Child* up for sale at Sotheby's in London in November 1963, after which it entered the collection of the Brussels gallery owner Robert Finck. The painting was last exhibited in 1978, and its whereabouts since are unknown.

Exhibitions

Amsterdam 1958, no cat. no., n.p., ill.; Rotterdam/Essen 1959-1960, cat. no. 74, p. 88, fig. 73; Brussels 1964 (no catalogue known); Brussels

1968, cat. no. 1 bis, n.p., ill.; Brussels 1978, cat. no. 3, n.p., ill.

Literature

Amsterdam 1959, ill.;

Castagnola-Lugano 1960, cat. no. 384a, n.p.; advertised with Galerie Robert Finck 1964, p. 253, ill.; De Meyere 1981, fig. 70; Utrecht 1999, pp. 84 (note 8), 1376

Note

1. Amsterdam 1958, no cat. no., n.p.

Jan van Scorel (attributed to)

A-2

Virgin and Child

Panel, 46.5 x 34.5 cm

Present whereabouts unknown

This *Virgin and Child* entered the art dealer J. Goudstikker's collection in 1922. In that year and the following one, the painting was exhibited in The Hague, Copenhagen, St. Louis and New York as an authentic work by Jan van Scorel. It was launched on the art market as the putative lost original after which the painting in the collection of F. J. O. Boymans in Rotterdam was believed to have been painted. In 1924, G. J. Hoogewerff published an article with his addenda to *Jan van Scorel. Peintre de la renaissance hollandaise*, in which he triumphantly proclaimed that he had been right all along. Hoogewerff had completed the research for his book in the course of 1922, after which four new paintings had appeared on the market, including the one in the Goudstikker Collection. The panel proves, so he wrote: 'how my supposition with regard to the painting in the Museum Boymans (wrongly attributed to Scorel) was entirely correct: the copyist who made this, produced nothing more than a weak and somewhat varied copy.'² Only the connoisseur M. J. Friedländer, who regularly disagreed with Hoogewerff, posited that the painting was a free repetition of the Rotterdam work.³ This difference of opinion persisted until 1958, when a third version appeared in the art trade, namely the painting with P. de Boer (cat. no. A-1).

At the beginning of December 1940, this *Virgin and Child* and 219 other old master paintings from the collection of J. Goudstikker were sold in Berlin. It surfaced again in November 1964, when it was auctioned in Cologne, and has since disappeared from sight.⁴

Provenance

Art dealer J. Goudstikker,
Amsterdam (1922-1940);
sale Hans W. Lange, Berlin,

3-4 Dec. 1940 (J. Goud-
stikker Collection), cat. no.
166, p. 38; private collection,
Switzerland (1964)¹; sale

Lempertz, Cologne, 11
Nov. 1964 (including private
coll. Switzerland), cat. no.
208, p. 33, fig. 6; present

whereabouts unknown

Judging from the photograph, the painting appears to be a faithful, though weak copy of the original (cat. no. A). The most important difference can be observed in the background, where the copyist painted thick white clouds clustered together in the sky. The figures are somewhat heavier than in the original and are far more coarsely painted. In contrast to the original, this *Virgin and Child* has a rectangular format. However, their dimensions are virtually identical.

Exhibitions

Copenhagen 1922, cat. no. 118, p. 36; St. Louis 1922, cat. no. 101, p. 39; The Hague 1923, cat. no. 111, n.p.; New York 1923, cat. no. 106, n.p.; Utrecht 1924 (no cat.); The Hague 1926, cat. no. 166, n.p.; Amsterdam 1927, cat. no. 128, n.p.; Rotterdam/Amsterdam 1928-1929, cat. no. 71, n.p., ill.; Amsterdam 1934, cat. no. 59, p. 14

Literature

Hoogewerff 1924(b), p. 198; CMU Annual Report 1924, p. 41; Hoogewerff 1929, pp. 207-208, fig. 6; Oberheide 1933, p. 148, fig. XXXVII-4 (drawn copy); Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 303a, p. 202; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), pp. 153-154, fig. 72, vol. 5 (1947), cat. no. 32, p. 147; Amsterdam 1958, n.p.; Rotterdam/Essen 1959-1960,

p. 88; Rotterdam 1962, p. 129 (under no. 1798); Faries 1972, p. 187; Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 330a, p. 123; Brussels 1978, under cat. no. 3; Rotterdam 1994, p. 329; Utrecht 1999, pp. 82, 84 (note 8), 1376

Notes

1. Possibly the H. Kisters Collection, Kreuzlingen, Switzerland. In the revised edition of his book, Friedlän-

der 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 330a, p. 123, give this collection as the location of the painting. However, at that time the painting had already been sold.

2. Hoogewerff 1924, p. 198.

3. Friedländer (1924-1937), vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 303a, p. 202.

4. See note 1.

Jan van Scorel (workshop)

A-3

Virgin and Child

Panel, 35 x 26.5 cm

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

The *Virgin and Child* entered the collection of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam in 1847 as a bequest by F. J. O. Boymans. As part of this public collection it thus became accessible to scholars, whereby it was published early on. As of 1849, the date of the first catalogue to include it, to 1922, the moment when the art dealer J. Goudstikker brought another version on the market, it had been known as an autograph work by Jan van Scorel. The only one to obstinately reject the attribution in this period was G. J. Hoogewerff, who wrote in 1915: 'The "Madonna" in the Boymans Museum attributed to Scorel is so far removed from the master and his workshop, that it can hardly even be counted to his school.'¹ In 1925, having studied Goudstikker's version – then considered the original by the master – Hoogewerff proclaimed his victory. Comparison of the two paintings made it clear that the 'follower' had produced nothing other than a 'weak and somewhat varied copy.'² Even though the painting is not by Jan van Scorel, it is nevertheless far closer to the original than Hoogewerff thought at the time.

The *Virgin and Child* has been extensively investigated by a variety of technical means. Dendrochronological analysis has shown that the panel on which it is painted dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Infrared reflectography disclosed a very general underdrawing. Only the contours of the figures are indicated in a few very thin lines, and there is no hatching whatsoever. Despite the presence of several minor corrections in the drawing, for instance the shortening of the

Scientific examination

IRR (29 Nov. 1979) AB
265:11-23

IRR (13 Dec. 1999) MolArt
X-radiograph (Rotterdam,
Museum Boijmans Van

Beuningen)

Paint samples A 150/1-3 (30
Nov. 1979)

Dendrochronology: the earliest
annual ring of heartwood is
1500; with estimates for sea-

soning and an average amount
of sapwood growth, the panel
could have been painted as of
1511 at the earliest, but was
more likely painted as of 1517
(Rotterdam 1994, p. 327)

Provenance

F. J. O. Boymans Collection,
Utrecht (1847); bequeathed
to the Museum Boijmans
Van Beuningen, Rotterdam
(inv. no. 1798), 1847

A3 Jan van Scorel (workshop), *Virgin and Child*
Infrared reflectogram assembly
(MolArt)



Back of the panel

photograph: Museum Boijmans
Van Beuningen, Rotterdam



index finger of Mary's left hand, it is clearly a copy, and not an original sketch. Therefore, it is all the more surprising that changes were introduced in the composition during painting. Christ's standing leg is shifted to the right with respect to the underdrawing. The same compositional alteration is found in the *Virgin and Child* by Jan van Scorel himself (cat. no. A). A possible explanation could be that both paintings originated in the master's workshop at the same time. Another less obvious possibility is that both paintings are derived from the same drawn design.

The Rotterdam panel is 35 cm high and 26.5 cm wide and, thus, quite a bit smaller than the one in Utrecht, which measures 47.4 x 32.8 cm. It is not only the relationship between height and width that differs; the figures as well have a different relationship with respect to the painted surface. From a comparison of the X-radiographs of the Rotterdam *Virgin and Child* and the one in Utrecht, it appears that the lower bodies of the figures are proportionally longer. Should a drawing with the reduced

composition of the Utrecht *Virgin and Child* have been used, then it might have been moved down during the transfer so that Mary's body could be accommodated in the painting's taller format.

From the X-radiograph it appears that the painting has the intermediate layer of lead white typical of Jan van Scorel's workshop.³ However, this layer is so thick (30-48 micron) that doubts can be raised as to whether it was applied in Scorel's workshop (A 150/2, 3). Mary's red dress and blue cloak seem to have been partly modelled during the painting process with paint containing a black pigment (A 150/1).

Just as the drawing lacks the fluent, sure hand of the master, the painted surface misses the refinement that creates the velvety surface so characteristic of Scorel. The *Virgin and Child* is the smallest of all the versions. The panel is painted to the edges. The top is shaped like a lunette. The composition consisting of the two figures is virtually identical to Jan van Scorel's original version, as is the colour scheme. Rather than a neutral background with the horizon indicated as a single plane, a mountainous landscape is visible in the *Virgin and Child*.

Exhibitions

Utrecht 1955, cat. no. 58, p. 63, fig. 69

Literature

Rotterdam 1849, cat. no. 247, p. 37; Rotterdam 1859, cat. no. 297, p. 43; Burger 1858-1860, vol. 2 (1860), p. 280; Rotterdam 1862, cat. no. 308, p. 46; Rotterdam 1880, cat. no. 272, p. 134; Justi 1881, p. 203; Scheibler and Bode 1881, p. 213; Rotterdam 1883, cat. no. 302, p. 154; Siret 1883, vol. 1, p. 263; Rotterdam 1892, cat. no. 254, p. 226; Rotterdam 1899, cat. no. 258, p. 34; Rotterdam 1902(a), cat. no. 270, p. 38; Rotterdam 1902(b), cat. no. 270, p. 41; Rotterdam

1907(a), cat. no. 276, p. 42; Rotterdam 1907(b), cat. no. 276, p. 46; Haverkorn van Rijsewijk 1909, p. 92; Hoogewerff 1915, p. 412; Rotterdam 1916, cat. no. 413, p. 82; Friedländer 1921, p. 201; Rotterdam 1921, cat. no. 413, p. 96; Hoogewerff 1923, cat. no. 19, p. 142 and p. 86; Hoogewerff 1924(b), p. 198; Rotterdam 1925, cat. no. 413, p. 34; Rotterdam 1927, cat. no. 413, p. 86; Rotterdam 1928, cat. no. 413, p. 35; Hoogewerff 1929, p. 207, fig. 7; Oberheide 1933, p. 148; Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 330, p. 202; Rotterdam 1935, cat. no. 413, p. 39; Rotterdam 1937, cat. no. 413, p.

46; Hoogewerff 1937-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), p. 154; Rotterdam 1945, p. 67, ill. on p. 12; Hoogewerff 1937-1947, vol. 5 (1947), p. 147 (under cat. no. 32); Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 681; Amsterdam 1958, n.p.; Rotterdam/Essen 1959-1960, p. 88; Rotterdam 1962, inv. no. 1798, p. 129; Faries 1972, pp. 186-187; Faries 1975, p. 225 (no. 27); Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 330, p. 123, ill. on pl. 180; Brussels 1978, under cat. no. 3; Harrison 1986, p. 187; Harrison 1987, pp. 17 (no. 3), 87 (note 57), 276-277, fig. 129; Rotterdam 1994, cat. no. 75, pp. 327-329, ill. on pp. 326 and 328;

Viano 1988-1989, pp. 70-71; Faries 1998, pp. 297-309; Faries 1999, pp. 13-17, fig. 6 (caption incorrect), 8, 10; Utrecht 1999, pp. 82, 84 (notes 8 and 10), 1376

Notes

1. Hoogewerff 1915, p. 412. Burger 1860, p. 280, also doubted the attribution.

2. Hoogewerff 1924, p. 198.

3. Contrary to what Faries suggested earlier, upon further investigation the lead white layer proved to have nothing to do with a possible paint layer on the back of the panel. See Faries 1999, p. 15.

Jan van Scorel (attributed to)

A-4

Triptych with the Virgin and Child and St Anne in the centre panel, and donors with saints on the wings

Panel, 89 x 58.2 cm (centre panel), 88.5 x 22.7 cm (wings)

E. Loncke Collection (Belgium)

When the *Triptych with the Virgin and Child and St Anne* was first exhibited in 1936-1937, it was in a private collection.¹ It came into the art trade after the exhibition and changed owners a number of times before being put up for sale at Sotheby's in Amsterdam in 1997. The triptych was subsequently auctioned again, this time at Sotheby's in London, and for the time being is once again in private hands.

M.J. Friedländer and Leo van Puyvelde each wrote a certificate of authenticity, in 1947 and 1959 respectively.² Nonetheless, others doubted the triptych's authenticity as an original by Jan van Scorel from the very beginning. For instance, it was exhibited in The Hague in 1936-1937 as attributed to the master. In later publications it has alternately been called a shop work, or a work by a follower of Jan van Scorel.³

The centre panel features the Virgin and Child with St Anne. The Virgin with the Christ Child on her arm and her mother, St Anne, are on a ledge on which lies a cloth. Between the thumb and index finger of her right hand, Anne holds up a piece of fruit by its stem for Christ. It could be an apple.⁴ In Christian symbolism the apple, usually held by the Child, is the symbol of the fall of man, and in combination with the Child could be a reference to his future calling as the Saviour. The white wine in the glass on the ledge before Mary and Anne refers to the Eucharist

Scientific examination

IRR (1994) (R.H. Marijnissen)
IRR (12 Sept. 1995) MF 1244:1-36 – MF 1250:1-23
X-radiograph 1994 (private collection)

Provenance

Jonkheer A. W. Ruysseenaer Collection, The Hague (1936-1940); (with Schaeffer Galleries, New York in 1938-1939); art dealer D. Katz, Dieren (1940); art dealer

Lucki, Stuttgart (year unknown); J. Walter Collection, The Hague (1959); ?art dealer J. H. Borghouts, Utrecht (1960); Walter Collection, The Hague (year unknown); sale

Sotheby's, Amsterdam, 6 May 1997, cat. no. 26, p. 25, ill.; sale Sotheby's, London, 8 July 1999, cat. no. 47, p. 76, ill.; E. Loncke Collection (Belgium), 1999

A4 Jan van Scorel (attributed to), *Triptych with the Virgin and Child and St Anne in the centre panel, and donors with saints on the wings*
Infrared reflectogram assembly (detail centre panel)
Molly Faries/Netherlands Institute of Art History, The Hague





and the blood of the Saviour. The background behind the figures consists of antique buildings in which are illustrated all manner of small figures with children. The donors on the wings are shown kneeling behind a prie-dieu. Next to each one of them is a standing man with an oriental cloth over his shoulder. On the exteriors of the wings are painted eight coat of arms.

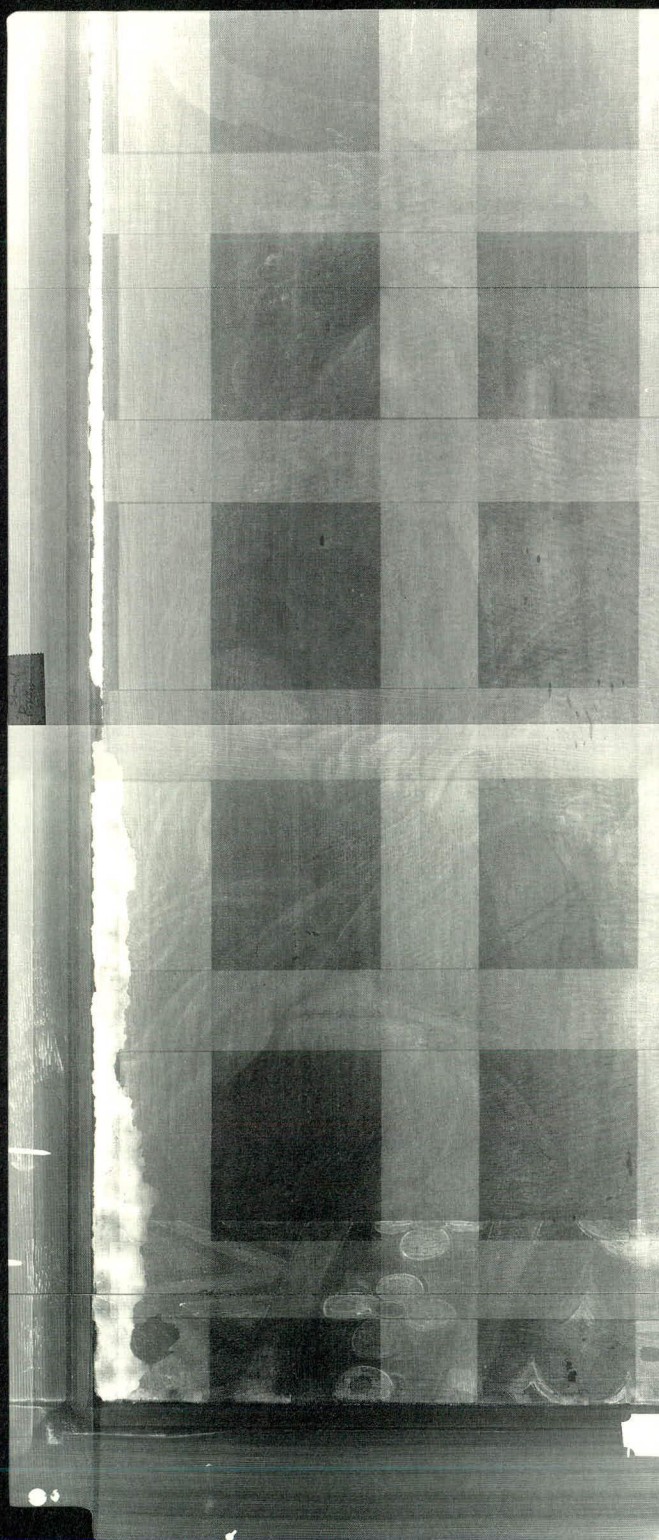
Despite the presence of the family coat of arms it has proven impossible to identify the donors. The arms, three red pales on silver/gold and three black birds with red beaks and legs of gold, belonged to many Northern Netherlandish families. For instance, the man's arms is found for Van Berchem, Berthoudt (called Van Belaer), Van Helmond and Van Mechelen, all probably belonging to a single large family from Mechelen, which found its way to North-Brabant in the sixteenth century.⁵ The people behind the donors afford equally few clues as to the identity of the commissioners, and so we are also in the dark as to who these two represent.

The triptych is an interesting example of the way in which Scorel's compositions were incorporated into entirely new compositions by his followers. The copyist took over the composition of the Virgin and Child almost exactly from Scorel's prototype (cat. no. A). Only Mary's blue cloak is pulled somewhat higher over her stomach than in the original, while the colour scheme is identical to that of the original. Anne looks out straight ahead. She does not seem to realise that her daughter is sitting next to her. The artist was unable to unite these individual elements into a convincing new composition. The frame of the triptych is original. The wood, however, as is so often the case, has been leached and the hinges were replaced.

The painting was extensively examined by R. H. Marijnissen in 1994. As he writes in his report, the X-radiographs of the centre panel give an extremely unclear image.⁶ The fact that they are so difficult to read is only partly due to the cradling on back of the panel. Shapes can be discerned that cannot be traced back to the visible image. The present representation appears to have been painted over another one, both of which show up in the X-radiograph. The infrared reflectogram assembly yields the same slightly confusing image. But we can now see a bit better that the representation in the centre panel conceals another one. A second contour running diagonally behind Anna can clearly be discerned. In the middle of her face is a second pair of eyes that precisely reflect those of Mary with respect to their position. Above Mary's head

Infrared reflectogram
assembly (detail centre
panel)

Molly Faries/Netherlands Institute
of Art History, The Hague



is a second, smaller female figure. Anne and Mary may have been painted smaller in an earlier version, and set somewhat more to the back. However, this is not entirely clear. The concealed representation appears to have been left unfinished. Infrared reflectographic investigation also disclosed two representations, one painted over the other, in the wings. No underdrawing was discerned.

From a comparison between the X-radiographs of the *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. A) and the centre panel of the triptych, it appeared that the heads of Mary and the Child are the same size, but that the copyist elongated the body of the Christ Child. On the basis of the X-radiographs of the triptych, Marijnissen noted the presence of a striped layer running in various directions. He suggests that this may be a priming layer. Another possibility is that it is the intermediate layer.

In his oeuvre catalogue of Maerten van Heemskerck, Scorel's most important assistant around 1527-1530, Harrison contends that the anonymous triptych could be a copy of an altarpiece from circa 1540, which relies on the *Virgin, Christ Child and St Anne* from 1527-1530. As an argument for this complicated thesis, he suggests that the style of the landscape and the architecture in the background and the presence of the small figures should be compared with Scorel's later Utrecht work rather than that from around 1530.⁷ The occurrence of various styles can be explained by the fact that the triptych is composed of several and in part, already existing elements. However, there is absolutely no basis for the hypothesis that the combination of the three figures in the centre panel is derived from an older model.

Exhibitions

The Hague 1936-1937, cat. no. 179a, p. 43; Baltimore 1938-1939, cat. no. 1, n.p., fig. 1

Literature

Boas 1938, p. 10, ill.; Harrison 1987, pp. 276-277; Utrecht 1999, pp. 84 (note 9), 1376-1377

Notes

1. The exhibition consisted of paintings in private collections and was held in the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague. See The Hague 1936-1937.

2. M.J. Friedländer described the triptych as 'a characteristic work by Jan van Scorel'. His certificate is dated 27 April 1947 (a copy is on file at the Centraal Museum, Utrecht). On 7 May 1959, L. van Puyvelde wrote on the back of a photograph of the triptych: 'This triptych is in my opinion a genuine and well preserved work by Jan van Scorel of Utrecht'. In Baltimore 1938-1939, the work was exhibited as by Jan van Scorel. Boas 1938, p. 10, who reviewed the exhibition, called it 'a superb

triptych by Jan van Scorel'.

3. The Hague 1936-1937, cat. no. 179a, p. 43. In the sales catalogue of Sotheby's Amsterdam, 6 May 1997, cat. no. 26, p. 25, it is listed as workshop of Jan van Scorel, and in the sales catalogue London 1999, cat. no. 47, p. 76, as by a follower of Jan van Scorel.

4. It is not entirely clear whether an apple or an orange is depicted. Both fruits, however, have the same meaning in Christian symbolism.

5. See the letter by K. Schaffers-Bodenhausen, Iconographic Bureau, The Hague, dated 10 Sept. 1994 to R.H. Marijnissen. The letter is in the Netherlands Institute of Art History in The Hague.

6. Report by R.H. Marijnissen, dated 30 Sept. 1994. The report is in the Netherlands Institute of Art History in The Hague.

7. Harrison 1987, pp. 276-277.

Jan van Scorel (and workshop)

B **Madonna with wild roses c. 1530**

Panel, 52 x 44 cm

Centraal Museum, Utrecht

When the *Madonna with wild roses* appeared on the art market in 1921, the Berlin variant of a Madonna with flowers had already been known for more than two decades. M.J. Friedländer labelled the newly discovered painting as merely a weak replica of the Berlin work, which he considered to be the original (cat. no. B-1).¹ G.J. Hoogewerff, however, who regularly locked horns with his Berlin colleague, was certain that it was an autograph Jan van Scorel. He related how during a restoration in 1925 the tree and Joseph with the donkey emerged from underneath a plain neutral background.² The painting was exhibited for the first time in 1929 in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. In the accompanying catalogue it received the poetic title it bears to this day, *Madonna with wild roses*.³ According to some, Scorel derived the bunch of soft pink roses that Mary holds in her left hand from Titian's *Flora* of c. 1516, who holds roses in her open right hand.⁴ However, compositionally the two works have nothing to do with each other.

After the Centraal Museum acquired the panel in 1958, it was restored once more. Upon removing the discoloured varnish and the retouchings, J. C. Traas discovered that the Christ Child's genitals covered a fig leaf. Upon eliminating the leaf, he found that the original paint had been removed, thus creating a lacuna that can still be discerned in the X-radiograph.⁵ The fig leaf is not visible in a photograph of the painting

Scientific examination

UV fluorescent photograph (Utrecht, Centraal Museum)
Infrared photograph (Utrecht, Centraal Museum)
IRR (Jan. 1976) AB 65:25A and (March 1977) AB 116:1-32
IRR (13 Dec. 1999) MolArt
X-radiograph 1965/1966 (Houtzager e.a. 1967, fig. 9)
X-radiograph 1998 (Utrecht,

Centraal Museum)
Paint samples A 25/1-9 (1 July 1975); A 25/10 (12 Aug. 1998)
Dendrochronology: earliest annual ring of heartwood 1491; with estimates for seasoning and an average amount of sapwood growth the panel could have been painted as of 1502 at the earliest, but was more likely painted after 1508 (report by

P. Klein dated 8 Jan. 1998)

Provenance

Art dealer, New York (1921); art dealer The Erich Collections, New York (1925); H. Wendland Collection, Lugano (1925); art dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam (1926); R. Semmel Collection, Berlin (1926-1933); sale Frederik Muller & Cie, Amsterdam, 21

Nov. 1933, cat. no. 57, p. 13, fig. 57; Schaeffer Galleries, New York (1937-1938); E. Schwartz Collection, New York (1944-1955); art dealer Newhouse, New York (1958); art dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam (1958); acquired by the Centraal Museum, Utrecht (inv. no. 12432a) with the support of the Rembrandt Society, 1958

B Jan van Scorel (and workshop), *Madonna with wild roses*
Infrared reflectogram assembly
MolArt





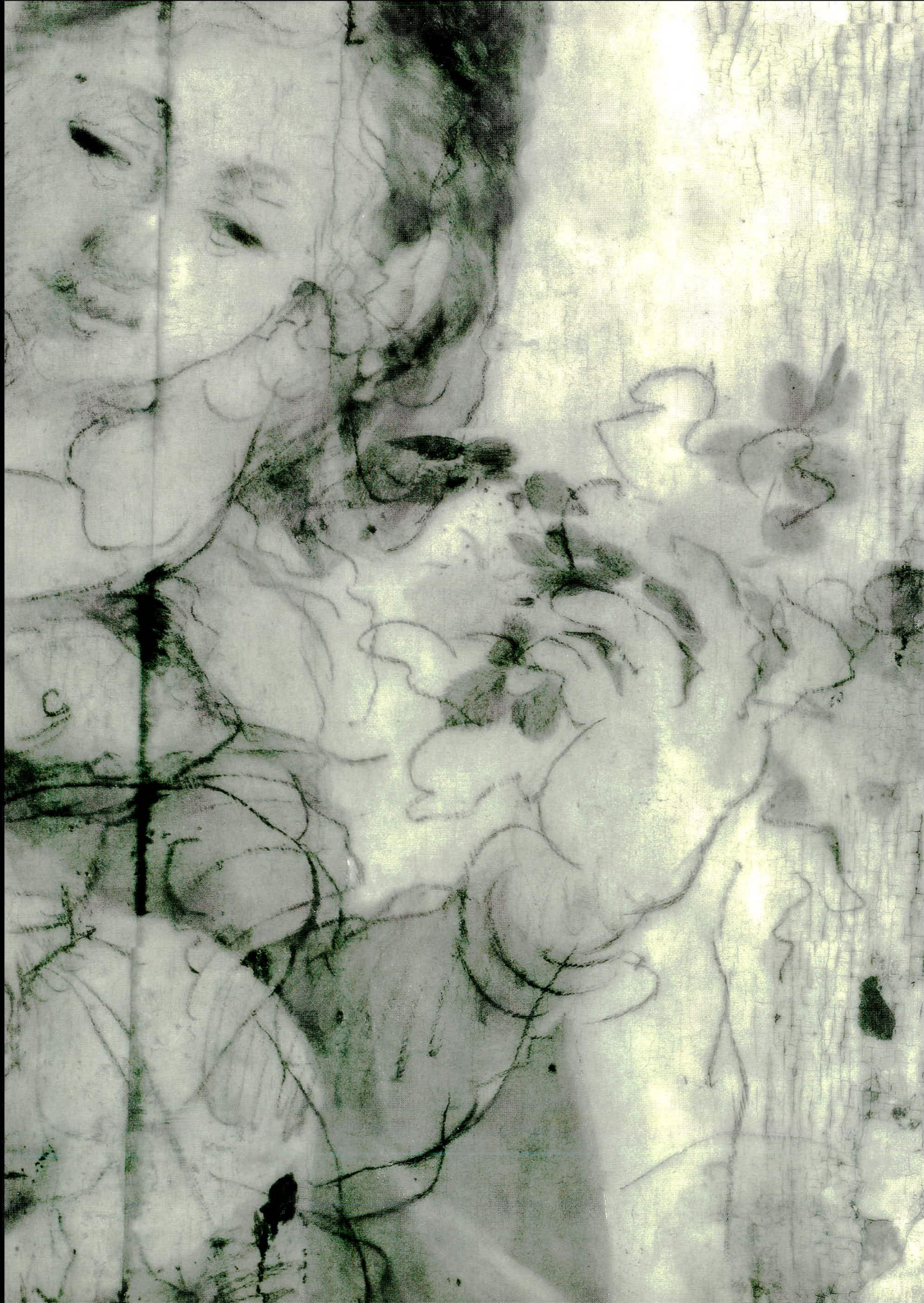
taken before the 1925 restoration. The restorer who exposed the background then apparently decided to leave the overpainting of the fig leaf. The panel was originally arched. The top was reduced before 1925. On the left and right, where the curve of the arch could still be seen, spandrel-shaped pieces of wood were attached to create a rectangle.

Back of the panel
photograph: Centraal Museum,
Utrecht/Hans Wilschut

The *Madonna with wild roses* is generally considered one of the three authentic Virgin and Child compositions by Jan van Scorel. Yet, the painting deviates in various respects from the two other prototypes. With regard to the composition, it is noteworthy that the Child in the *Madonna with wild roses* has no firm footing on his mother's lap. Like many children in paintings by Maerten van Heemskerck, he seems to float in front of her. The Christ Child in Scorel's *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. A) balances convincingly on his mother's lap, firmly held by her. The poses of mother and child are also natural in the Tambov *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. C). Another difference is the plasticity of the figures, which is greater in the *Madonna with wild roses* than in the other two prototypes. When it was acquired in 1958, the museum's director, M. E. Houtzager, wrote that not only the influence of Michelangelo and Raphael should be noted with respect to the plasticity, but also possibly that of Scorel's pupil Maerten van Heemskerck.⁶ The same had already been indicated in the Jan van Scorel catalogue, which accompanied the 1955 exhibition of the same name held in the Centraal Museum.⁷ Yet another important difference is the painted surface of the *Madonna with wild roses*. On the whole, it lacks the velvety fineness that characterise the two other Madonnas and is painted somewhat more broadly.

Since 1975, the *Madonna with wild roses* has been the subject of extensive technical analysis. UV fluorescence and infrared images as well as X-radiographs have been made, and the painting has been examined with infrared reflectography on a number of occasions. Although these documents were on view at the exhibition on Jan van Scorel's altarpieces in 1977, with the exception of the first X-radiograph, no study assessing and interpreting them has ever been published. The restoration of the *Virgin and Child* after its acquisition in 1997 prompted a new restoration of the *Madonna with wild roses*. After the cradling on the back of the panel was removed, new X-radiographs were made. The panel was also dated dendrochronologically during this restoration.⁸

The underdrawing is visible to the naked eye in many places. It shines through particularly in the flesh areas and the zone around the bunch



of roses. With infrared reflectography one can clearly see the complete chalk drawing, with all of the changes. It is a detailed sketch, with shadows as well as corrections indicated with hatching. The most important change is in the Christ Child's pose. In an earlier design, the lower body did not face front, but sideways. This modification was introduced late in the painting process. Not the right, but the left leg hung down in the drawing. The right leg was pulled up high in front of the left leg, and the right knee pointed toward the hand with the roses. Thus, the Child was turned far more toward his mother than is now the case, and his genitals were not visible. He assumed virtually the same pose as the nude child sitting on its mother's lap in the *Family portrait* by Maerten van Heemskerck, dated c. 1530.⁹

Infrared reflectogram
assembly (detail)
MolArt

Although the style of the underdrawing compares favourably with other drawings by Jan van Scorel from the same period, as mentioned above the painted surface deviates from that of the two other accepted Madonnas (cat. nos. A and C). Only the hand with the roses is comparable to the *Virgin and Child* and the painting in Tambov. For instance, brushstrokes are clearly visible in Mary's hair and left hand, but are almost invisible in the hand holding the roses. X-radiographs reveal that a reserve was made for this hand in the background, whereby its structure differs from that of the other flesh areas. While for the hand with the roses use is made of the intermediate layer in the modelling, other flesh areas are achieved with heightening with white. During the restoration of the *Madonna with wild roses* and the *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. A) it became evident that they were painted with dissimilar techniques. For example, the red of Mary's cloak in the *Madonna with wild roses* is built up differently than that in the *Virgin and Child*. In the second instance the colour consists of two layers of light red under a layer of red glaze (A 391/3). In the *Madonna with wild roses*, the red nuances are achieved by applying a single layer of red of varying thickness on top of the intermediate layer (A 25/7).

Perhaps the discrepancy in technique can be explained by the fact that the *Madonna with wild roses* should be dated differently than the *Virgin and Child*. Already during the X-radiograph investigation of the paintings in the Centraal Museum, the results of which were published in 1967, it was noted that the painting technique of the *Madonna with wild roses* does not agree with its dating. On the basis of the very strong modelling in the flesh areas, it was thought that the painting should be placed at the end of the series, rather than at the beginning.¹⁰ The X-radiograph displays the broadly painted white-lead containing interme-



Maerten van Heemskerck,
*Virgin and Child in a
landscape*, 1529-1530
National Gallery of Art,
Washington DC

photograph: National Gallery of
Art, Washington DC

right

Maerten van Heemskerck,
Family portrait, c. 1530
Staatliche Gemäldegalerie,
Kassel

photograph: Staatliche
Gemäldegalerie, Kassel

diate layer characteristic for the workshop, which is also visible in a few cross sections of the paint samples.

Investigation of the paintings by Scorel and his assistants has revealed that there was a division of tasks in the workshop. The underdrawing of the *Madonna with wild roses* is by Jan van Scorel. Perhaps, after he had drawn the composition, an assistant took over and altered the Child's pose. Maerten van Heemskerck trained with Scorel in the period 1527-1530. The two poses of the Christ Child recur in paintings attributed to him dated around 1530. The aforementioned *Family portrait* shows the Child according to the first design, while in the *Virgin and Child in a landscape* the second, painted Child is illustrated in reverse.¹¹ The two compositions were apparently available as models in the workshop, and could be used by assistants. The *Madonna with wild roses* must be considered a product of sophisticated collaboration in the workshop and may possibly be dated somewhat later than the two entirely autograph Madonnas.

Exhibitions

Amsterdam 1929, cat. no. 131, pp. 37-38; Memphis 1937, cat. no. 9, n.p.; San Francisco/Los Angeles 1938, cat. no. 11, n.p.; Detroit 1944, cat. no. 21, p. 14 and p. 7, fig. 21; Montreal 1944, cat. no. 15, p. 22; Utrecht 1955, cat. no. 26, p. 44, fig. 32; Utrecht 1958-1959, no cat. no., n.p.; Utrecht 1961, cat. no. 92, p. 28, fig. 2; Utrecht/Douai 1977, no cat. no., pp. 24, 52, figs. 3, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24; Utrecht 1983, cat. no. 36, n.p., fig. 36; Utrecht 1994 (no cat.); Utrecht 1995 (no cat.); Stockholm/Helsinki 1997, cat. no. 25, pp. 105-108 and p. 6, ill. on pp. 106, 107

Literature

Friedländer 1921, p. 201; Bloch 1927, p. 604, ill. on p. 602; Hoogewerff 1929, pp. 205-207, fig. 5; Berlin 1931, p. 440; Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 329 a, p. 202; Wescher 1938, p. 221; Schmid 1939, p. 276; De Jonge [1940], p. 42; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), pp. 126-128, fig. 55; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 5 (1947), p. 146; Van Regteren Altena 1955, p. 319; Kuznetsov 1958, p. 66, fig. 66; CMU

Annual Report 1958, p. 13, ill. on p. 7; Kuznetsov 1959, p. 28; Rotterdam 1959-1960, p. 88; Houtzager [1960], pp. 14-15, ill. facing p. 14; Utrecht 1964, p. 33; Houtzager e.a. 1967, pp. 77, 100, 264-265, fig. 9, ill. on p. 100; Cuttler 1968, p. 453; Castagnola-Lugano 1969, vol. 1, pp. 304-305; Castagnola-Lugano 1971, pp. 349, 350; Faries 1972, pp. 94, 187; Berlin 1975, p. 398; Faries 1975, p. 224 (no. 9); Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 329 a, p. 123; Berlin 1978, p. 406; Grosshans 1980, p. 96; Veldkamp 1980, p. 7, fig. 16; Wright 1980, p. 422; De Meyere 1981, cat. no. 5, p. 47, fig. 65, ill. on p. 47; Centraal Museum Utrecht. Overzicht 1972-1981, p. 44; Hijmersma 1983, p. 141; De Meyere 1983, p. 7, fig. 13; Amsterdam 1986, pp. 105 (note 133), 128, 189, 191, 209, fig. 69a; Van Asperen de Boer 1986, figs. 3a and 3b; Koeman 1986, ill. on p. 2; Harrison 1987, pp. 18-19, 153, 156, 158, 162 (note 7), 172-173, 200, 556, 558, 794, fig. 132; Judson 1987, p. 129, fig. 1; London 1988, p. 110; Viano 1988-1989, p. 71; Castagnola-Lugano 1989, pp. 256, 259; Brescia/Frankfurt 1990, p. 94 (note 54);

Madrid 1992, p. 254; De Bruin, De Meyere and De Sitter 1994, p. 95, fig. 46; Aurigemma 1995, p. 66 (note 62); Greep 1996, pp. 24-25, 26, fig. 6; Dekker, Maarschalkerweerd and Van Winter 1997, vol. 2, p. 116; Utrecht 1997, pp. 105-108 and p. 6, ill. on pp. 106, 107; Tamis 1999, p. 46; Utrecht 1999, cat. no. 595, pp. 1378-1380 and pp. 38, 86-89, ill.; Venice 1999, pp. 499, 516, ill. on p. 499

Notes

1. Friedländer 1921, p. 201.
2. Hoogewerff 1929, pp. 205-206; and Hoogewerff 1941-1942, pp. 127-128. At the Netherlands Institute of Art History in The Hague is a photograph of the painting's condition before the 1925 restoration. At the time, the panel was owned by the art dealer The Erich Collections in New York.
3. Amsterdam 1929, cat. no. 131, pp. 37-38.
4. Titian, *Flora*, c. 1516. Canvas, 79.7 x 63.5 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. For instance, see Venice 1999, pp. 499 and 516.

5. See the correspondence with J. C. Traas, dated 1959, nos. 3015, 3059, 3588; and the report by M. Faries on the restoration on file at the Centraal Museum.

6. Houtzager [1960], p. 14.
7. Utrecht 1955, cat. no. 26, p. 44.

8. Both restorations were conducted by Menno Dooijes, Amsterdam, in 1997-1998. J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer took a number of paint samples, and P. Klein dated the panel.

9. Maerten van Heemskerck, *Family portrait*, c. 1530. Panel, 119 x 140 cm. Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Kassel. See Grosshans, 1980, cat. no. 11, pp. 99-103.

10. Houtzager e.a. 1967, p. 77.

11. Maerten van Heemskerck, *Virgin and Child in a landscape*, 1529-1530. Panel, 57.8 x 74.9 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington DC. See Grosshans 1980, cat. no. 8, pp. 96-97. Harrison also noted the similarities between the two paintings. Harrison 1987, pp. 158, 172, 200.

Jan van Scorel (workshop)

B-1

Madonna with wild flowers

Panel, 44 x 37 cm

Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

The *Madonna with wild flowers* surfaced at a sale in Paris in March 1898. It was auctioned at Hôtel Drouot as a possible work by Jan Gossaert, and subsequently ended up in a private collection.¹ In 1904, O. Huldshinsky gave the painting to the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, where it remains to this day. The panel is listed as a work by Jan van Scorel in the collection catalogue of 1911, marking the first instance of its attribution to Scorel in the literature.² In his 1915 article on Jan van Scorel, G.J. Hoogewerff rejected the attribution. According to him, the painting was not by the master himself, but by his 'alter ego'.³ Years later, when the *Madonna with wild roses* appeared on the art market, he wrote that he had been severely criticised for 'not wishing to consider the splendid panel entirely worthy [of the master].' However, the appearance of this new *Madonna* vindicated his view.⁴ Friedländer considered the Berlin *Madonna* as a work by Jan van Scorel and the Utrecht *Madonna with wild roses* an auto-graph replica.⁵ Since 1975, the *Madonna with wild flowers* has been mentioned in the collection catalogues of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin as a painting produced in Jan van Scorel's workshop.⁶

Compositionally, the *Madonna with wild flowers* and the *Madonna with wild roses* are by and large identical. The most important deviation is that the sprigs of roses have been replaced by a bunch of yellow wild flowers. Moreover, Joseph and the donkey are missing in the right background. The large tree behind Mary and the Child has more foliage, and the landscape indicated with a few planes of colour has here been elaborated into a hilly panorama. The Berlin panel, which measures 44 x 37 cm, is substantially smaller than the *Madonna with wild roses*, which in its present state measures 52 x 44 cm. The former work was once

Scientific examination

IRR (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie)
X-radiograph (Berlin,
Gemäldegalerie)

Provenance

Baron de Mohrenheim
Collection, Paris (1898); sale
Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 21 March

1898 (Baron de Mohrenheim
Collection), cat. no. 17, p. 6,
ill.; O. Huldshinsky Collec-
tion, Berlin (1904); given to

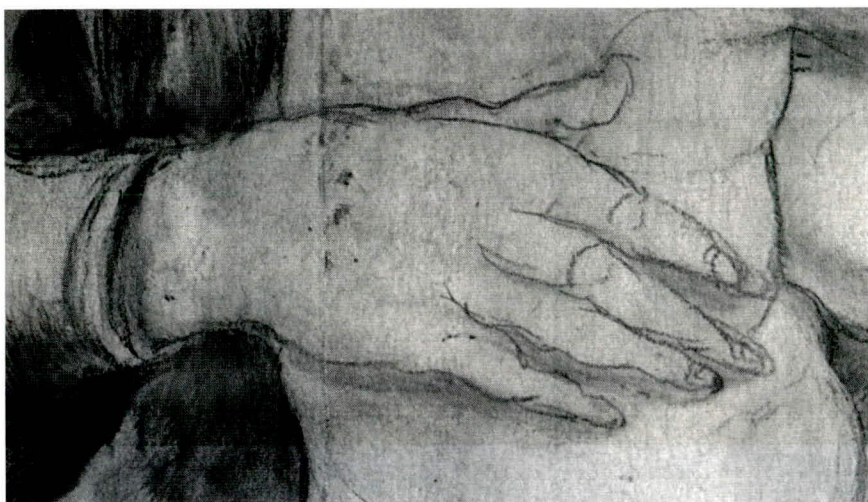
the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin
(inv. no. 644a), 1904

B1 Jan van Scorel (workshop), *Madonna with wild flowers*
Infrared reflectogram assembly
Gemäldegalerie, Berlin



Infrared reflectogram
assembly

Gemäldegalerie, Berlin



even smaller and was enlarged by approximately 1.4 cm on the left and by 1.7 cm on the right. Moreover, the X-radiograph clearly reveals that, like the *Madonna with wild roses*, the painting was once rounded at the top. Spandrel-like additions were made at either side of the arched top to give it its present rectangular format. The space above Mary's head is larger, whereby more of the tree is visible. An extra branch extends out to the right, resulting in a canopy of leaves along almost the entire top of the panel.

Comparison of the X-radiographs of the *Madonna with wild roses* and the *Madonna with wild flowers* reveals that the composition of the Virgin and Child has remained the same, but that the figures were proportionally reduced in size in the smaller Berlin panel. Distinctly visible in the X-radiograph of the Berlin panel is the substantial amount of lead white that the painter used for modelling the figures. In the catalogue that accompanied the Jan van Scorel exhibition in 1955, it was noted that the painting style makes a somewhat metallic impression.⁷ This is in part caused by the lead white in the modelling. In this painting as well, there is a lead-white containing intermediate layer. A reserve appears to have been left in the paint for the Christ child's transparent veil.

The underdrawing that came to light with infrared reflectography has all the hallmarks of a copy. There is absolutely no hatching. The contours of the figures are indicated with a double line in several places. The artist appears to have first drawn these lines thinly, and then retraced them more thickly. The Madonna's mouth and nose and the underdrawn



Jan van Scorel (workshop),
Madonna with wild flowers
(detail)

knuckles of her hand on the child's stomach, indicate that the copyist copied the volumes of an existing example as accurately as possible.

During the painting process a few corrections were made in relation to the underdrawing. For example, Christ's foot was initially drawn somewhat shorter and both the lower right leg and the right arm were broadened.

Exhibitions

Utrecht 1955, cat. no. 27, p. 45, fig. 33

Literature

Bode e.a. 1910, p. 353; Bode e.a. [1911], p. 412; Von Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2 (1910), p. 605; Berlin 1909-1911, vol. 2 (1911), no. 644a, p. 166, ill. on p. 165; Berlin 1912, no. 644a, p. 403; Hoogewerff 1915, p. 412; Friedländer 1921, p. 201; Hoogewerff 1923, cat. no. 23, p. 134 and p. 86, fig. 44; Hoogewerff 1924(a), p. 173, fig. 20; Winkler 1924, p. 271, fig. 161; Bloch 1927, p. 604; Hoogewerff 1929, pp. 204-205, 206, 207, fig. 4; Berlin 1931, no. 644a, p. 440; Hamann 1933, p. 545, fig.

666; Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 329, p. 202; Wescher 1938, pp. 221, 222; Schmid 1939, p. 276; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), pp. 127-128, fig. 56; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 5 (1947), cat. no. 19, p. 146; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 681; Van Regteren Altena 1955, p. 319; Berlin 1960, p. 83; Berlin 1961, p. 82; Berlin 1964, p. 109; Berlin 1966, p. 109; Berlin 1968, cat. no. 42, p. 51 and pp. 45-46, fig. 42; Castagnola-Lugano 1969, p. 305 (under cat. no. 280); Castagnola-Lugano 1971, p. 350 (under cat. no. 280); Faries 1972, p. 187; Berlin 1975, no. 644A, p. 398, ill.; Faries 1975, p. 223;

Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 329, p. 123, ill. on pl. 179; Berlin 1978, no. 644A, p. 406, ill.; Grosshans 1980, p. 96, fig. 150; De Meyere 1981, fig. 66; London 1988, p. 110; Castagnola-Lugano 1989, pp. 256, 259, ill. on p. 159; Stockholm/ Helsinki 1997, p. 143 (note 3, p. 108); Utrecht 1997, p. 143 (note 3, p. 108); Utrecht 1999, pp. 88, 89 (note 7) and pp. 1379-1380

Notes

1. Sale Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 21 March 1898, cat. no. 17, p. 6, ill.
2. Berlin 1909-1911, vol. 2 (1911) no. 644a, p. 166.

3. Hoogewerff 1915, p. 413. See also Hoogewerff 1923, p. 86.

4. Hoogewerff 1929, pp. 204-205; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), pp. 127-128.

5. Friedländer 1921, p. 201; Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 329, p. 202; Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 329, p. 123.

6. Berlin 1975, no. 644A, p. 398; Berlin 1978, no. 644A, p. 406.

7. Utrecht 1955, cat. no. 27, p. 45.

Jan van Scorel (attributed to)

B-2

Madonna with daffodils and two donors

Panel, 55.5 x 76.2 cm

Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

When the *Madonna with daffodils and two donors* was offered for sale by the art dealer J. Goudstikker in 1923, the Berlin version of the Madonna with flowers (cat. no. B-1) had already been known for more than two decades. The *Madonna with wild roses* (cat. no. B) surfaced in the art trade in New York in 1921, but only received more publicity when it came into the hands of the Amsterdam art dealer P. de Boer. H. baron Thyssen-Bornemisza purchased the *Madonna with daffodils and two donors* from Goudstikker in 1930. Apparently, he liked this painting more than the *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. A-2), which Goudstikker was also offering for sale in the same period. This is all the more remarkable, because in 1959 H. H. baron Thyssen-Bornemisza acquired another version of the same composition, the *Virgin and Child* (cat. no. A-1), which was sold again in 1963. The *Madonna with daffodils* remained in the collection and has been housed in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid since 1988.

The *Madonna with daffodils and two donors* has always been linked to the two other versions of the Madonna with flowers. These three works were first displayed together at the Jan van Scorel exhibition held in Utrecht in 1955.¹ In his review of the exhibition in *The Burlington Magazine*, Van Regteren Altena remarked that all three were replicas, the best of which, according to him, was the *Madonna with wild roses*.² Friedländer, who always took the Berlin panel as his point of departure, considered the *Madonna with daffodils* a repetition.³ The *Madonna and daffodils* surfaced too late to be included in G.J. Hoogewerff's book, *Jan van Scorel. Peintre de la renaissance hollandaise* published in 1923.

Scientific examination

IRR (Castagnola-Lugano 1989, p. 258)
X-radiograph (Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza)

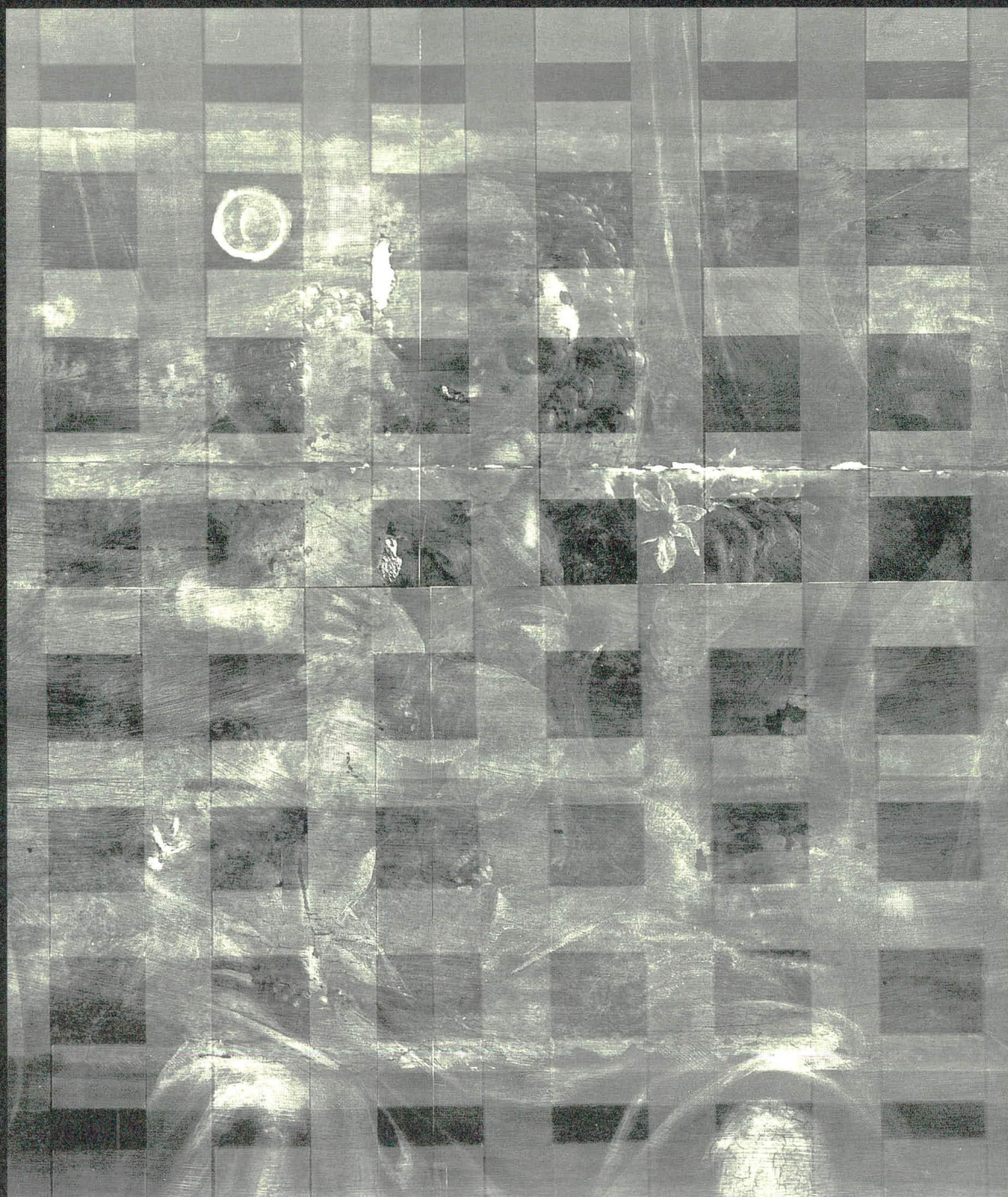
Provenance

J. Goudstikker Collection, Amsterdam (1923-1926, 1930); H. baron Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection,

Rohoncz/Castagnola-Lugano (1930-1947); H. H. baron Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola-Lugano (1947); loan Museo Thyssen-

Bornemisza, Madrid (inv. no. 1930.104), 1988

B2 Jan van Scorel (attributed to), *Madonna with daffodils and two donors*
X-radiograph



In later publications, though, Hoogewerff referred to the panel as a workshop product.⁴

In general terms, the composition with Mary and child corresponds to that of the *Madonna with wild roses*. The most important change is that the bunch of roses has here been replaced by yellow daffodils. Furthermore, the transparent veil around the Child's waist has been exchanged for a yellow cloth that largely covers his left leg and his genitals. Mary's hair is also different. The cloth the child presses against her cheek is here woven into her braids.

Flanking Mary and Christ are two donors, both turned toward the centre. The hands of the woman on Mary's left side are folded in prayer, while the man opposite her rests his right hand on his chest. The man appears somewhat younger than the woman, which in the past led scholars to assume that they were mother and son.⁵ In the most recent catalogue of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, however, Colin Eisler advances the hypothesis that the *Madonna with daffodils* is a commemorative scene commissioned by the female sitter after the death of her husband. According to this theory, the daffodils, symbol of Mary and the Resurrection, are a metaphor for the soul which – freed from the earthly prison – will blossom in the eternal Spring of God's garden, paradise.⁶ Eisler posits that the green drapery in the background might refer to the holy of holies, the tabernacle of the Old Testament, while Christ stands for the sacrifice of the New Testament.⁷ Though this interpretation may seem far-fetched, one cannot exclude the possibility that the painting did, indeed, function as a commemorative scene. The representation of Mary and the Child together with the donors in a single picture plane, rather than on separate wings, may somehow be related to this. However, the composition of Mary and the Child is so solid, and in form so closed, that the painter was unsuccessful in creating a new, harmonious composition.

The painting's original dimensions were changed. A slat was added to the top and bottom, creating more space above the heads and allowing room for the Madonna's knees. The difference is substantial. Originally the panel was approximately 42 cm tall, whereby its horizontal format received far greater emphasis. Cradling was present when William Suhr restored the painting in 1962–1963. In his restoration report, he noted that the panel may have been slightly reduced on the left side. Suhr filled in the most important lacunas along the edges and retouched (according to the report) the faces of the donors. Eisler described

the underdrawing that came to light with infrared reflectography as being of good quality and very fine.⁸ Visible in the X-radiograph is an intermediate layer of lead white, which is characteristic of Scorel's workshop.

Exhibitions

The Hague 1923, cat. no. 113, n.p.; Rotterdam 1924-1925, cat. no. 65, n.p., ill.; Utrecht 1925-1926 (not in cat. list); The Hague 1926, cat. no. 165, n.p.; Munich 1930, cat. no. 297, p. 87; Utrecht 1955, cat. no. 28, p. 45, fig. 30; Rotterdam/Essen 1959-1960, cat. no. 73, p. 88, fig. 74; Budapest/Szombathely 1985-1986, cat. no. 6, p. 33 and pp. 160-161, ill. on pp. 34 and 160; London 1988, cat. no. 43, p. 110, ill. on p. 111

Literature

Vogelzang 1924, p. 53; Berlin 1931, p. 440; Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 329b, p. 202; Castagnola-Lugano 1937, vol. 1, cat. no. 385, pp. 139-140; vol. 2, fig. 95; Wescher 1938, pp. 221,

222, fig. 4; De Jonge [1940], p. 42; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), p. 129; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 5 (1947), cat. no. 20, p. 146; Castagnola-Lugano 1949, vol. 1, cat. no. 230, p. 68; Van Regteren Altena 1955, p. 319; Castagnola-Lugano 1958, cat. no. 385, p. 96; Castagnola-Lugano 1969, vol. 1, cat. no. 280, pp. 304-305; vol. 2, fig. 103; Castagnola-Lugano 1971, vol. 1, cat. no. 280, pp. 349-350; vol. 2, fig. 103; Schlégl and Berkes 1971, p. 60 (no. 280); Faries 1972, p. 187; Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 329b, p. 123, ill. on pl. 179; Grosshans 1980, p. 96; De Meyere 1981, fig. 69; Castagnola-Lugano 1986, cat. no. 280, p. 289, ill.; Castagnola-Lugano 1989, cat. no. 41, pp. 256-259, ill.

on p. 257, 258; De Watteville 1989, p. 299, ill.; Madrid 1992, cat. no. 368, p. 254, ill. on p. 255; Stockholm/Helsinki 1997, p. 143 (note 3, p. 108); Utrecht 1997, p. 143 (note 3, p. 108); Utrecht 1999, pp. 88, 89 (note 7) and 1379

Notes

1. Utrecht 1955, cat. nos. 26, 27 and 28, pp. 44-45.

2. Van Regteren Altena 1955, p. 319.

3. Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 329b, p. 202; Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 329b, p. 123.

4. See Hoogewerff 1923; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), p. 129 and

vol. 5 (1947), cat. no. 20, p. 146.

5. See Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), p. 129; Utrecht 1955, cat. no. 28, p. 45; Castagnola-Lugano 1969, vol. 1, cat. no. 280, pp. 304-305.

6. See also Behling 1957, pp. 32-33.

7. Castagnola-Lugano 1989, cat. no. 41, pp. 257-259. One wonders whether the green curtain is original. In the X-radiograph, white spots can be discerned in the background which, however, are inconclusive.

8. See Eisler's description of the condition in Castagnola-Lugano 1989, p. 258.

Jan van Scorel (copy of)

Triptych with the Holy Family in the centre panel, and donors on the wings

c. 1523-1537 (wings)

Panel, 78 x 61.3 cm (centre panel), 83 x 28 cm (right wing), 82.2 x 28 cm (left wing)

Private collection

The *Triptych with the Holy Family* is one of those rare Dutch altarpieces, the identity of the donors and original whereabouts of which are still known. It has always been in private hands. It had not been exhibited since 1929, and partly as a result of this it fell out sight somewhat in the intervening decades. So much so, in fact, that the author of the catalogue of the 1988 exhibition of the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection in the Royal Academy in London even thought that the painting was lost!¹

The earliest mention of the panel dates from 1677. In his *Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht*, Balen includes the altarpiece in the genealogy of the Stoop family.² Master Willem Stoop Adriaansz., the possible commissioner, is depicted on the left wing. He kneels behind a prie-dieu, which bears his coat of arms: on a black field is a red fess with a boar's head and below three jugs, all of gold. Willem Stoop was a *Medicinae Doctor*, and held a number of important posts in Dordrecht. He was burgomaster of the municipality (1534-1535), of the court of justice (1531-1532), alderman (1506-1507; 1515-1516; 1519-1520; 1523-1524; 1527-1528; 1531-1532), city father (1505), church warden of the Nieuwe Kerk (1537), and master of the Kloveniers militia company (1515). Kneeling behind him are his nine sons, six of whom died. Balen mentions Gerit, Dirk and Frans by name. From later publications, it appears that the name of the man holding the palm branch as proof of his trip to the Holy Land is Jan Stoop.³ The Friar Minor directly behind Willem Stoop is Adriaan.⁴

Scientific examination

IRR (15 Dec. 1999) MF
1415:1-36 A - 1417:1A-16A

Provenance

Traditionally Stoop Collection; N. Stoop Collection, Dordrecht (1677); Mrs

Stoop-Deking Dura Collection, Dordrecht (1892-1894); F. Stoop Collection, Dordrecht (1908-1912); J. Stoop Collec-

tion, Dordrecht (1913-1923); Th. Stoop Collection, Dordrecht (1927-1942); private collection

B3 Jan van Scorel (copy of), *Triptych with the Holy Family in the centre panel, and donors on the wings*
Infrared reflectogram assembly (detail centre panel)
Molly Faries/Netherlands Institute of Art History, The Hague





Standing next to the group is John the Baptist, the donor's patron saint.⁵ The women in the family are depicted on the right wing. Adriana van Roon, Willem Stoop's wife, also kneels behind a prie-dieu, which bears her coat of arms: a black raven in gold. Kneeling behind her are their ten daughters. Balen mentions Maria, Lysbeth, Josine, Adriana, Anna and Lenne. Elisabeth was a nun in the Dordrecht St Agnietenklooster on the Lindegracht and, thus, will be the kneeling figure directly behind Adriana. The group is led by Mary Magdalene.⁶ The red crosses above the heads of four of the daughters indicates that they were no longer alive, and the mother had also passed away when the altarpiece was being painted.⁷ She died in 1523. Willem Stoop, who does not have a cross above his head, died in 1537. Assuming that the crosses were not painted at a later date, which does not seem to be the case here, the wings would have been painted between 1523 and 1537.

The backs of the wings are not painted. The altarpiece is traditionally said to have hung in the nave of the Grote Kerk in Dordrecht, and must have been taken into custody by the family during the Reformation.⁸

The wings with the portraits of the donors flank a centre panel on which is a copy of Scorel's composition of the Madonna with flowers. Just as in the Berlin version, Mary holds yellow wild flowers in her left hand. Joseph is depicted next to her asleep. He supports his head with his left hand, and leans on an apple with his right. He may have been shown this way as a reference to his second dream, in which an angel warns him to flee from Herod and take his family to Egypt. The apple in his hand symbolises the fall of man and is a reference to Christ as the Saviour. The Holy Family is set before an open cave, which could signify the place of birth. Almost invisible is the cat drinking from a bowl to Mary's right.

The composition of the Virgin and Child is similar to that in the *Madonna with wild roses* and the *Madonna with wild flowers* in Berlin, but that is about all that can be said. The poses of the figures differ, as do the sets of the heads, as well as the Child's gaze, which is here directed at the viewer. The representation is closest to the Berlin version. This is due not only to the fact that the flowers are related, but also because the diaphanous cloth is wound around the Child in a similar fashion. In both cases, the veil hangs from Christ's shoulder and is held by Mary in her right hand. It lies over the Child's right leg and extends to Mary's blue cloak.

Infrared reflectography disclosed the presence of a chalk underdrawing which, however, has nothing to do with Scorel. It is clearly a copy, the large forms being generally indicated with details drawn in, as it were. General hatching indicates the shaded areas and the contours are reinforced with black lines. The Child's eyes, nose and mouth are precisely indicated, and the curls of his hair are evident. The underdrawing is most detailed in the Christ Child and in Mary's cloak. Hardly any underdrawing is present in her face, and there are no precise indications for the figure of Joseph. Only a few lay in lines are visible in the face, and his right hand is only generally delineated. There are a number of small corrections in the underdrawing. The Child's stomach was somewhat rounded, the fingers of Joseph's right hand were shortened, and there are minor alterations in the face of Christ. The egg shape of his head was corrected during painting and somewhat elongated.

The wings present an entirely different picture than the centre panel. The underdrawing is done in brush rather than in chalk. A few of the faces are generally indicated, and minor changes were introduced here and there, such as in the left hand of St John and near the Magdalene's ointment jar. According to Friedländer, the wings are by another hand

The back of the panels
 photograph: Centraal Museum,
 Utrecht/Ernst Moritz

Infrared reflectogram
assembly (details wings)
Molly Faries/Netherlands Institute
of Art History, The Hague



than the centre panel.⁹ However, there are not only important stylistic differences, but the centre panel also deviates from the wings in terms of technique. It is possible that the centre panel with the Holy Family was added to the existing wings around the middle of the sixteenth century. On the back of the painting we can see that the wings are 4.2 (left) and 5 cm (right) taller than the centre panel. However, this does not necessarily mean that the centre panel was bought ready-made. The wings could have differed slightly in format in their original frame with hinged doors.¹⁰ The panels are now in a fixed wooden frame.



Exhibitions

Dordrecht 1892, cat. no. 674, p. 72; Utrecht 1894, cat. no. 191, pp. 71-72; Rotterdam 1909, cat. no. 142, p. 14 and supplement; Den Bosch 1913, cat. no. 45, pp. 20-21; London 1929, cat. no. 39, pp. 29-30

Literature

Balen 1677, p. 1244; Friedländer 1894, p. 406; Veth 1894, p. 3; Van Gijn 1908-1912, vol. 1 (1908), no. 1293, p. 199, fig. 16; vol. 2 (1908), p. 259; Von Wurzbach 1906-1911, vol. 2 (1910), p. 606; Martin and Moes 1912-1914, vol. 1 (1912), no. 55, n.p., ill.; Hoogewerff 1915, p. 412; Hoogewerff 1923, cat. no. 19, p. 141 and p. 86, fig. 45; Van Dalen 1927, pp. 73-74, fig. 16; Hoogewerff 1929, pp. 206-207; Berlin 1931, p. 440; Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 297, p. 199 and p. 202; Hoogewerff

1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), pp. 129-130, fig. 57; Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 5 (1947), cat. no. 21, p. 146; Bénézit 1948-1955, vol. 7 (1954), p. 681; Utrecht 1955, p. 45 (under cat. no. 28); Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), cat. no. 297, p. 120 and p. 123 (under cat. no. 329b), ill. on pl. 163; Grosshans 1980, p. 96; London 1988, p. 110; Dordrecht 1992-1993, p. 56, fig. 13; Utrecht 1999, p. 1380; Utrecht 1999-2000, p. 92, fig. 80

Noten

1. London 1988, p. 110.
2. Balen 1677, p. 1244.
3. Den Bosch 1913, cat. no. 45, p. 20.
4. Den Bosch 1913, cat. no. 45, p. 20. According to Balen 1677, p. 1245; and Van Dalen

1927, p. 73, Jan is the Friar Minor.

5. According to Utrecht 1894, cat. no. 191, p. 71; and Hoogewerff 1936-1947, vol. 4 (1941-1942), p. 129, St Philip the apostle with his cross is illustrated. Van Dalen 1927, pp. 73-74 identifies the saint as St James the Less.

6. According to Van Gijn 1908-1912, vol. 1 (1908); and Van Dalen 1927, pp. 73-74, the patron saint may be St Clare.

7. In Utrecht 1999-2000, p. 92, Van Bueren states incorrectly that the mother does not have a cross above her head, but that it is painted on the chest. She calls this attribute, which was worn by an adult, unusual for the Northern Netherlands. The cross mentioned as being on the chest of Adriana van

Roon, however, is lacking and was never present.

8. According to Van Gijn 1908-1912, vol. 1 (1908), no. 1293, p. 199, the altarpiece hung on one of the pillars in the nave of the Grote Kerk in Dordrecht before the Reformation.

9. Friedländer 1924-1937, vol. 12 (1935), cat. no. 297, p. 199; Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 12 (1975), no. 297, p. 120. Martin and Moes 1912-1914, vol. 1 (1912), no. 55, n.p., also observe the difference in quality between the centre panel and the wings.

10. Martin and Moes 1912-1914, vol. 1 (1912), no. 55, n.p., use the deviating format as an argument for the suggestion that the centre panel and the wings do not belong together.

Jan van Scorel

C

Virgin and Child c. 1527-1530

Panel, 66 x 44 cm

Kartinaja Galeria, Tambov

The *Virgin and Child* in Tambov is without a doubt the most beautiful Madonna by Jan van Scorel that we know. The painting's charm lies in the tender and intimate relationship between mother and child. They are harmoniously incorporated in the sweeping landscape. The palette is bright and cool and the paint has been thinly applied with extremely fine, fluid strokes. Glimmering through the paint is the artist's very recognisable, fluent and skilled draughtsmanship. Moreover, the condition of the painted surface – unlike the majority of Scorel's paintings – is excellent.

The painting was (re)discovered in 1958 by I. Kuznetsov, a curator at the Hermitage, in the study collection of the Museum of Local History in Tambov, where it was catalogued as a work by an anonymous Italian artist. Kuznetsov, who had the panel examined and restored in the Hermitage, attributed it to Jan van Scorel.¹ He presumed that the painting was part of a diptych, the right wing of which he thought was the anonymous *Portrait of a man*, with a scene of the death of Lucretia on the back, in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin.² The two wings were not reunited until 1986, when they were shown side by side in the ambitious exhibition *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm* held in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.³ They form a harmonious unity both compositionally and colouristically. The Madonna is seated on a high rise and holds the standing Christ Child balanced on her knee. They are both turned to the right, facing the donor portrayed on the right wing. The Child stretches out his left arm toward him, while Mary bends in his direction with an affectionate

Scientific examination

Infrared photograph (St Petersburg, Hermitage, Kuznetsov 1959, p. 28) IRR (6 Oct. 1986) AB 944:1-37 – AB 949:1-27 and MF 504A:3A-36A

X-radiograph (St Petersburg, Hermitage, Kuznetsov 1959, p. 29, detail)

Provenance

Edmund Higginson Collection, Saltmarshe Castle, Hereford-

shire (1841); sale Christie and Manson, London, 4 June 1846 (Edmund Higginson Collection), cat. no. 65, p. 12 (as by Bernard van Orley) (to Wright); Stroganov Collection, Znamenka Estate near

Tambov (1919); Museum of Local History, Tambov (1919-1960/1965); Kartinaja Galeria, Tambov (inv. no. 13), 1960/1965

C Jan van Scorel, *Virgin and Child*
Infrared reflectogram assembly

J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer/ Netherlands Institute of Art History, The Hague







expression on her face. He, in turn, regards them with a furrowed brow, with his right hand on his heart. Unlike his other Madonnas, Scorel has here placed the figures in an open, sun-drenched landscape. The olive green, which becomes bluer as the landscape recedes, merges into the blue of the sky in which snow white clouds float. In the background are Scorel's familiar, sketchily indicated antique buildings and ruins. With the obelisk and the pyramid, the artist may well be referring to the so-called needle of Cesar and the pyramid of Caius Sextus in Rome.⁴

Lucretia's biography is recounted by Livy (1:57-59), among others. She was a legendary Roman woman who committed suicide after having been raped by Sextus, the son of the tyrant Tarquinius. In addition to chastity, Lucretia also represents the cardinal virtue *fortitudo* (fortitude). According to Kuznetsov, in the circle of Dutch humanists, with whom Scorel had connections, Lucretia was considered the prototype of the blessings and sorrows of Mary. The connection between the figures of Mary and Lucretia, according to Kuznetsov, is reinforced by the man's gesture, his hand resting on his heart. The patron, overwhelmed by sympathy for the suffering that awaits Mary – symbolised by Lucretia – offers her his heart.⁵ There are other instances of a man's portrait being accompanied by a representation of Lucretia.⁶

Kuznetsov's supposition that Jan van Scorel's mistress, Agatha van Schoonhoven, served as the model for Mary has never been seriously considered in the art historical literature. The resemblance to her portrait is not as striking as Kuznetsov would have us believe.⁷

Kuznetsov had an X-radiograph and an infrared photograph made of the *Virgin and Child* in 1958.⁸ They revealed the excellent condition of the painted surface, as well as the presence of extensive underdrawing. Like the *Portrait of a man* in Berlin, the *Virgin and Child* also has an unpainted outer edge, which indicates that it still has its original format. The two paintings were further examined in Amsterdam in 1986. Microscopic examination confirmed that the mixture of the paint in both panels is identical.⁹ Infrared reflectography brought to light underdrawing in the *Virgin and Child* comparable to that observed in infrared photographs of the *Portrait of a man*. It is a beautiful, graceful, and very deft chalk sketch. Light and heavier lines in the hands of Mary and the Child indicate various stages in the drawing. This is also evidenced by the extensive diagonal hatching used to depict the location and intensity of the shadows, which often extends beyond the contours. The background in both the *Virgin and Child* and the *Portrait of a man* is entirely underdrawn.

Comparison with the painted surface reveals that Scorel continually corrected and refined the work in the process of painting. The Child's left leg is drawn much more broadly, his left hand is more open, and the locks of hair fall slightly more on his forehead than is the case in the painting. His outstretched arm is painted lower down and slightly bent, increasing the form's three-dimensionality whereby it became necessary to narrow Mary's supporting hand somewhat *vis à vis* the hand in the underdrawing. The Madonna's face is slightly broader, and the shape of her eyes was changed, so that her glance is more squarely aimed at the donor. Several details, such as the cloth dangling between the Child's legs and the obelisk in the background were not underdrawn, but added in the painting stage. Stylistically the underdrawing displays similarities with other underdrawings from Scorel's Haarlem period, such as the *Baptism of Christ in the Jordan*.¹⁰

Exhibitions

Leningrad 1964, no cat. no., p. 40; Amsterdam 1986, cat. no. 67, pp. 188-189, ill.

Literature

Saltmarsh 1842, cat. no. 16, p. 65; Kuznetsov 1958; Chamot 1959, pp. 49-50, fig. 5; Kuznetsov 1959; Geismeyer 1961, pp. 64-65; Bialostocki 1965, p. 432; Kuznetsov 1967; Kuznetsov 1970, pp. 10, 87, fig. 5 on p. 65; Berlin 1975, p. 398; Faries 1975, p. 223; Berlin 1978, p. 406; De Meyere 1981, fig. 69; Kuznetsov and Linnik 1982, no. 11, n.p. and p. 13, fig. 11; Kloek, Halsema-Kubes and Baarsen 1986, p. 34, fig. 46; Filedt Kok, Buijs and Kloek 1987, p. 255; Kloek 1987, p. 247; Nikulin

1987, no. 119, n.p., and p. 15, fig. 119; Dülberg 1990, pp. 60 (note 330), 151, 234 (under cat. no. 178), fig. 181; Faries 1996, p. 217; Utrecht 1999, pp. 80, p. 83 (notes 2 and 4), 87

Notes

1. The restoration was done by O.I. Panifilova in the Hermitage. See Kuznetsov 1959, p. 26.
2. Jan van Scorel, *Portrait of a man, with Lucretia on the back*. Panel, 65 x 44 cm. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 644 B. The sitter's identity is unknown. However, he resembles the sitter in Jan van Scorel's, *Portrait of a man*, c. 1530. Panel, 32 x 36,5 cm.

Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. See Faries in Amsterdam 1986, cat. no. 68, p. 189, ill.

3. Kloek 1987, p. 247.

4. Faries in Amsterdam 1986, p. 189.

5. Kuznetsov 1959, p. 30. See also Bialostocki 1965, p. 432; and Faries in Amsterdam 1986, cat. no. 68, p. 189.

6. For example, see Jan Gossaert (attributed to), *Portrait of a nobleman with Lucretia on the back*, 1534 in Friedländer 1967-1976, vol. 8 (1972), cat. no. 60, pp. 98-99.

7. Jan van Scorel, *Agatha van*

Schoonhoven, 1529. Panel, 37.5 x 27 cm. Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphili. Kuznetsov 1958, p. 68; Kuznetsov 1959, p. 28.

8. The X-radiograph was made in the Hermitage in St Petersburg by L. V. Siverskov. See Kuznetsov 1959, p. 30.

9. Filedt Kok, Buijs and Kloek 1987, p. 255.

10. Jan van Scorel, *The Baptism of Christ in the Jordan*, c. 1530. Panel, 120.5 x 156.5 cm. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem. See Faries in Amsterdam 1986, cat. no. 67, pp. 188-189.

Jan van Scorel (copy after)

C-1

Virgin and Child

Panel, 78.7 x 58.4 cm

La Salle University Art Museum, Philadelphia

The *Virgin and Child* in Philadelphia is the only known copy of the *Virgin and Child* in Tambov (cat. no. C). In 1959, a year after I. Kuznetsov had (re)discovered the original in the study collection of the Museum of Local History in Tambov, the painting was sold by Christie, Manson & Woods in London as an authentic work by Jan van Scorel. Since then it has been mentioned in the literature as an old copy after Jan van Scorel. The La Salle University Art Museum in Philadelphia acquired the panel in 1970.

The copy measures 78.8 x 58.4 cm and, thus, is larger than the original, which measures 66 x 44 cm. Moreover, it is rectangular, while the original is rounded at the top. The copyist largely followed the original composition of the *Virgin and Child*. Among the differences are a few figures in the background, which are absent in the original. At the left is an angel seen from the back, and in front of the pyramid, and somewhat more to the left and right are three additional figures, which also appear to have wings. The man with the pack animal in the right background was the reason for the museum in Philadelphia to consider titling this painting *The flight into Egypt*. A similar figure, to be interpreted as Joseph, and a donkey, are encountered in the background of the *Madonna with wild roses* (cat. no. B). Other obvious differences are found in the leaves of the tree at the left and in the cloth covering Mary's head. Insofar as can be discerned from colour slides, the colour scheme agrees with that of the original.

Provenance

Sale Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 20 March

1959, cat. no. 61, p. 6 (to Agnew); Jörg Stuker Gallery, Bern (8-22 Nov. 1967; 2 Dec.

2.1967); Central Picture Gallery, New York (1970); acquired by the La Salle

University Art Museum, Philadelphia, 1970

No infrared photographs, infrared reflectogram assemblies, or X-radiographs of the painting – which may well have been restored in the 1970s – are known. An old photograph, most likely taken at the end of the 1950s, shows that the panel consists of three vertical planks, the middle one of which is cracked over its full length. The panel has never been submitted to dendrochronological analysis.

Literature

Leningrad 1964, p. 40;
Kuznetsov and Linnik 1982,

under no. 11, n.p.; Amsterdam 1986, under cat. no.
67, p. 188; Nikulin 1987,

under cat. no. 119, n.p.

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- The Hague 1926, *Catalogue Collection Goudstikker Amsterdam. 10e exposition dans les locaux de 'Pulchri Studio' La Haye*, exhib. cat. The Hague (Pulchri Studio).
- The Hague 1936-1937, *Oude kunst uit Haagsch bezit*, exhib. cat. The Hague (Gemeentemuseum).
- Leningrad 1964, *Westeuropese schilderkunst uit de musea van de U.S.S.R.*, exhib. cat. Leningrad (Hermitage).
- London 1988, *Old master paintings from the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection* (D. Ekserdjian), exhib. cat. London (Royal Academy of Arts).
- Madrid 1992, *Old Masters. Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum* (J. M. Pita Andrade and M. del Mar Borobia Guerrero), coll. cat. Madrid (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza).
- Memphis 1937, *Third fine arts exhibition presented by Memphis Cotton Carnival Association*, exhib. cat. Memphis, Tennessee (The Brooks Memorial Art Gallery).
- Montreal 1944, *Loan exhibition of great paintings. Five centuries of Dutch art*, exhib. cat. Montreal (Art Association).
- Munich 1930, *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz. Gemälde* (R. Heinemann-Fleischmann), exhib. cat. Munich (Neue Pinakothek).
- New York 1923, *Catalogue of the exhibition of Dutch and Flemish pictures XV to XX century from the Goudstikker collection of Amsterdam*, exhib. cat. New York (Anderson Gallery).
- Rotterdam 1849, *Catalogus van schilderijen enz. in het Museum te Rotterdam gesticht door Mr. F. J. O. Boymans*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum).
- Rotterdam 1859, *Beschrijving der schilderijen enz. in het Museum te Rotterdam, gesticht door Mr. F. J. O. Boymans*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum).
- Rotterdam 1862, *Beschrijving der schilderijen enz. in het Museum te Rotterdam, gesticht door Mr. F. J. O. Boymans*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum).
- Rotterdam 1880, *Beschrijving der schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken in het museum te Rotterdam gesticht door Mr. F. J. O. Boymans*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum).
- Rotterdam 1883, *Beschrijving der schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken in*

het museum te Rotterdam gesticht door Mr. F. J. O. Boymans, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum).

Rotterdam 1892, *Notice descriptive des tableaux et sculptures du musée de Rotterdam nommé d'après le fondateur Musée-Boijmans* (P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).

Rotterdam 1899, *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken van het museum te Rotterdam geheeten naar den stichter Museum-Boijmans* (P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).

Rotterdam 1902, *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken van het museum te Rotterdam geheeten naar den stichter Museum-Boijmans* (P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans). (a)

Rotterdam 1902, *Catalogue abrégé des tableaux et des sculptures du Musée de Rotterdam nommé d'après le fondateur Musée Boijmans* (P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans). (b)

Rotterdam 1907, *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken van het museum te Rotterdam geheeten naar den stichter Museum-Boijmans* (P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans). (a)

Rotterdam 1907, *An abridged catalogue of the pictures and sculptures in the Rotterdam Museum called after its founder Boijmans Museum* (P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans). (b)

Rotterdam 1909, *Tentoonstelling van*

oude kerkelijke kunst, exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Rotterdamsche Kunstkring).

Rotterdam 1916, *Catalogus der schilderijen en teekeningen tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (F. Schmidt-Degener), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans)

Rotterdam 1921, *Catalogus der schilderijen en teekeningen tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).

Rotterdam 1924-1925, *Catalogue de la collection Goudstikker d'Amsterdam exposée dans les locaux du 'Rotterdamsche Kunstkring'*, exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Rotterdamsche Kunstkring).

Rotterdam 1925, *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen, teekeningen en beeldhouwwerken tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).

Rotterdam 1927, *Catalogus der schilderijen, teekeningen en beeldhouwwerken tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (F. Schmidt-Degener and D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans)

Rotterdam 1928, *Beknopte catalogus der schilderijen, teekeningen en beeldhouwwerken tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).

Rotterdam 1935, *Beknopte catalogus van de schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken tentoongesteld in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).

Rotterdam 1937, *Museum Boymans. Beknopte catalogus schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken. Concise catalogue paintings and sculptures* (D. Hannema), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).

Rotterdam 1945, *Museum Boymans Rotterdam. Heropening 1945. Afbeeldingen oude meesters*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans).

Rotterdam 1959-1960, *Collectie Thyssen-Bornemisza (Schloss Rohoncz). 110 meesterwerken. Europese schilderkunst van de XIVe-XVIIIe eeuw* (R. Heinemann), exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).

Rotterdam 1962, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam. Catalogus schilderijen tot 1800*, coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).

Rotterdam 1994, *Van Eyck to Bruegel, 1400 to 1550. Dutch and Flemish painting in the collection of the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen* (compiled by F. Lammertse), coll. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen).

Rotterdam/Amsterdam 1928-1929, *Catalogue de la collection Goudstikker*, exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Rotterdamsche Kunstkring)/Amsterdam (art dealer J. Goudstikker).

Rotterdam/Essen 1959-1960, *Collectie Thyssen-Bornemisza (Schloss Rohoncz). 110 Meesterwerken. Europese schilderkunst van de XIVe-XVIIIe eeuw* (R. Heinemann), exhib. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen)/Essen (Museum Folkwang).

San Francisco/Los Angeles 1938, *Exhibition of Paintings by Old*

Masters Lent by Schaffer Galleries Inc., exhib. cat. San Francisco (San Francisco Museum of Art) / Los Angeles (Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

Saltmarshe 1842, *A descriptive catalogue of the gallery of pictures collected by Edmund Higginson, Esq. of Saltmarshe*, coll. cat. Saltmarshe (E. Higginson Collection).

St. Louis 1922, *Exhibition of Dutch Pictures from the 15th-20th Century. Collection Goudstikker*, exhib. cat. St. Louis (Mo) (St. Louis City Art Museum).

Stockholm/Helsinki 1997, *Törnros-madonnan och andra mästerverk från Utrecht* (L. M. Helmus), exhib. cat. Stockholm (Nationalmuseum)/ Helsinki (Sinebrychoff Museum).

Utrecht 1894, *Catalogus der tentoonstelling van oude schilderkunst te Utrecht* (S. Muller), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Gebouw voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen).

Utrecht 1924, *Primitieven en middeleeuwsch beeldhouwwerk uit particulier bezit* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1925-1926, *Kersttentoonstelling van eenige oude schilderijen uit de collectie Goudstikker*, cat. list Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1955, *Jan van Scorel* (A. C. Esmeijer and S. H. Levie), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1958-1959, [Christmas exhibition on the acquisition of Jan van Scorel's 'Madonna with wild roses'], cat. list Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1961, *Keuze uit tien jaar*

aanwinsten 1951-1961 (int. M. E. Houtzager), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1964, *125 jaar Centraal Museum Utrecht* (M. E. Houtzager), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1983, *Honderd jaar Vereniging Rembrandt* (W. Godschalk), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1994, *De Utrechtse Parade 1495-1995. Van Van Scorel tot Rietveld en Koch* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum) (see: De Bruin, De Meyere and De Sitter 1994).

Utrecht 1995, *De keuze van Simon Levie* (no cat.), Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1997, *Madonna met wilde rozen en een selectie van 16de- en 17de-eeuwse meesterwerken uit Utrecht* (L. M. Helmus), coll. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum).

Utrecht 1999, *De verzamelingen van het Centraal Museum Utrecht. 5. Schilderkunst tot 1850* (L. M. Helmus), coll. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum), 2 vols.

Utrecht 1999-2000, *Leven na de dood. Gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen* (T. van Bueren, with a contribution by W. C. M. Wüstefeld), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Museum Catharijneconvent).

Utrecht/Douai 1977, *Jan van Scorel in Utrecht. Altaarstukken en schilderijen omstreeks 1540. Documenten Technisch onderzoek* (texts by J. G. van Gelder e.a.), exhib. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum)/Douai (Musée de la Chartreuse) (French ed.: *Jan van Scorel d'Utrecht. Rétables et*

tableaux de son atelier vers 1540. Documents Examen scientifique).

Venice 1999, *Renaissance Venice and the North. Crosscurrents in the time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian* [eds. B. Aikema, B. L. Brown], exhib. cat. Venice 1999 (Palazzo Grassi).

Colophon

This publication serves as the catalogue of the exhibition held in Utrecht, Centraal Museum (8 April 2000-2 July 2000) of the same name, *De Madonnas van Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)*. *Serieproductie van een geliefd motief/The Madonnas of Jan van Scorel (1495-1562)*. *Serial production of a cherished motif*, (ISBN 90-73285-63-1)

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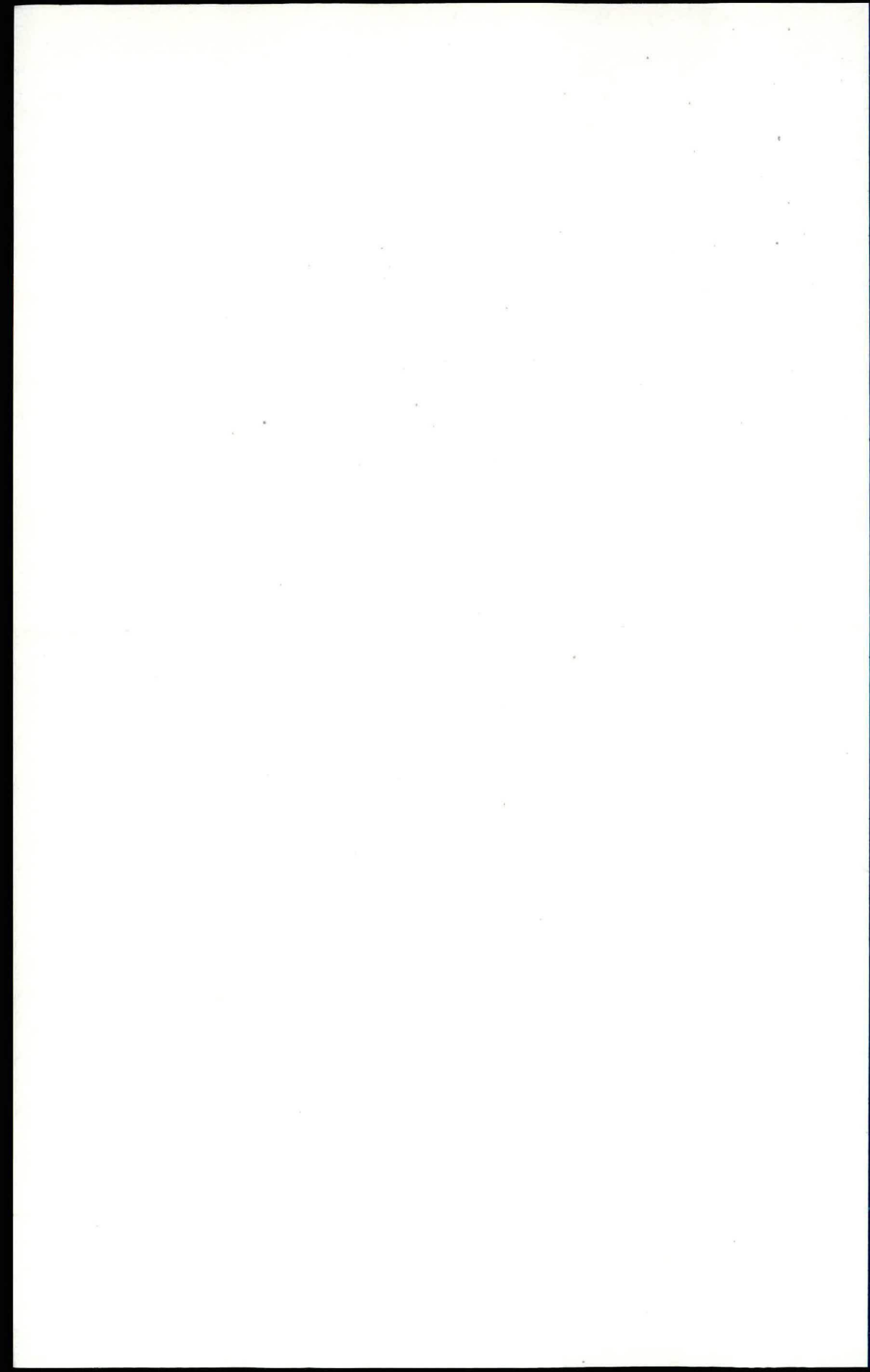
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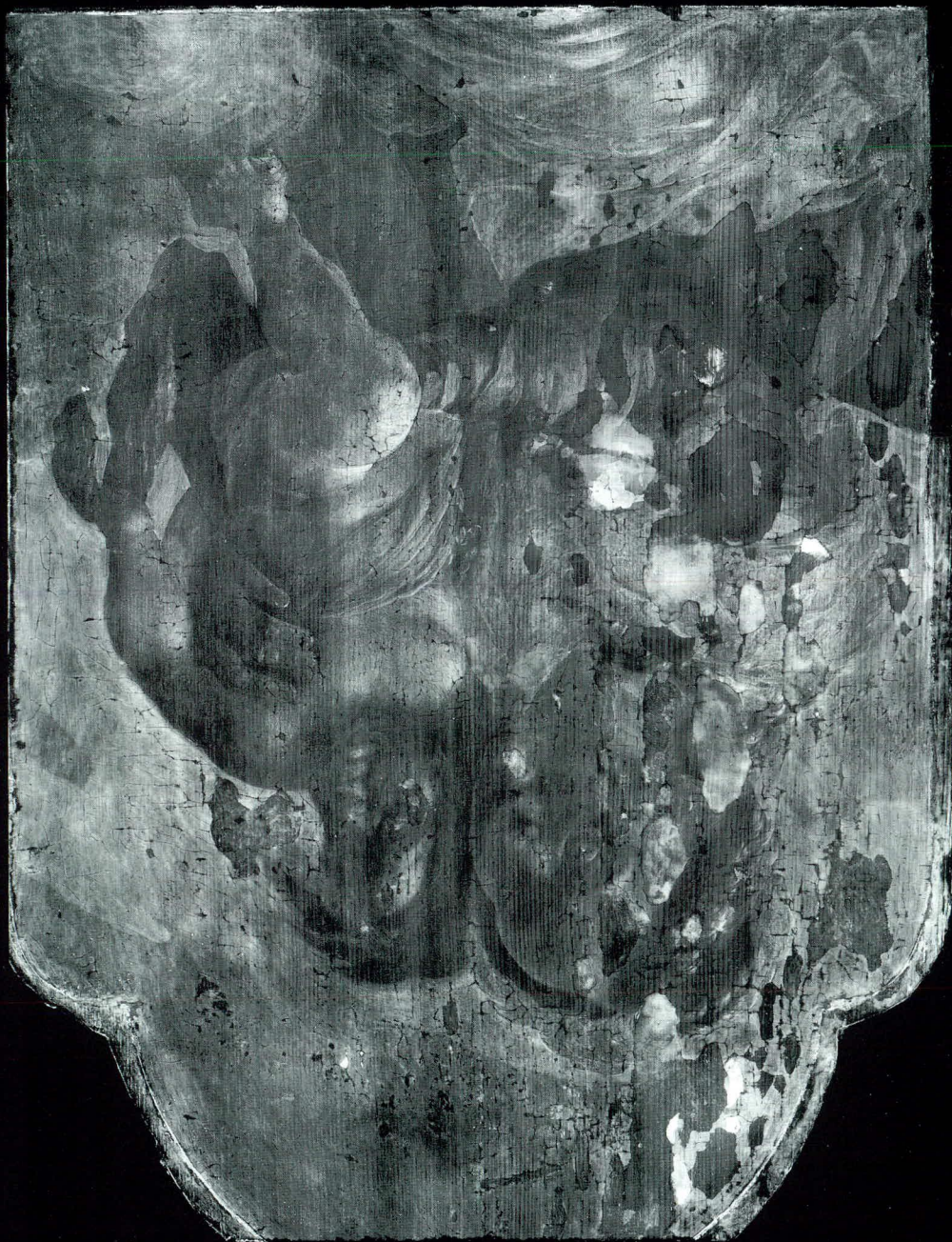
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Serial production of a cherished motif

With contributions by J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer



A Jan van Scorel, *Virgin and Child*
X-radiograph 1997

A Jan van Scorel, *Virgin and Child*
photograph: Centraal Museum, Utrecht/Hans Wilschut



A1 Jan van Scorel (attributed to), *Virgin and Child*
photograph: photo archive Centraal Museum, Utrecht



A2 Jan van Scorel (attributed to), *Virgin and Child*
photograph: Netherlands Institute of Art History, The Hague



A3 Jan van Scorel (workshop), *Virgin and Child*
X-radiograph

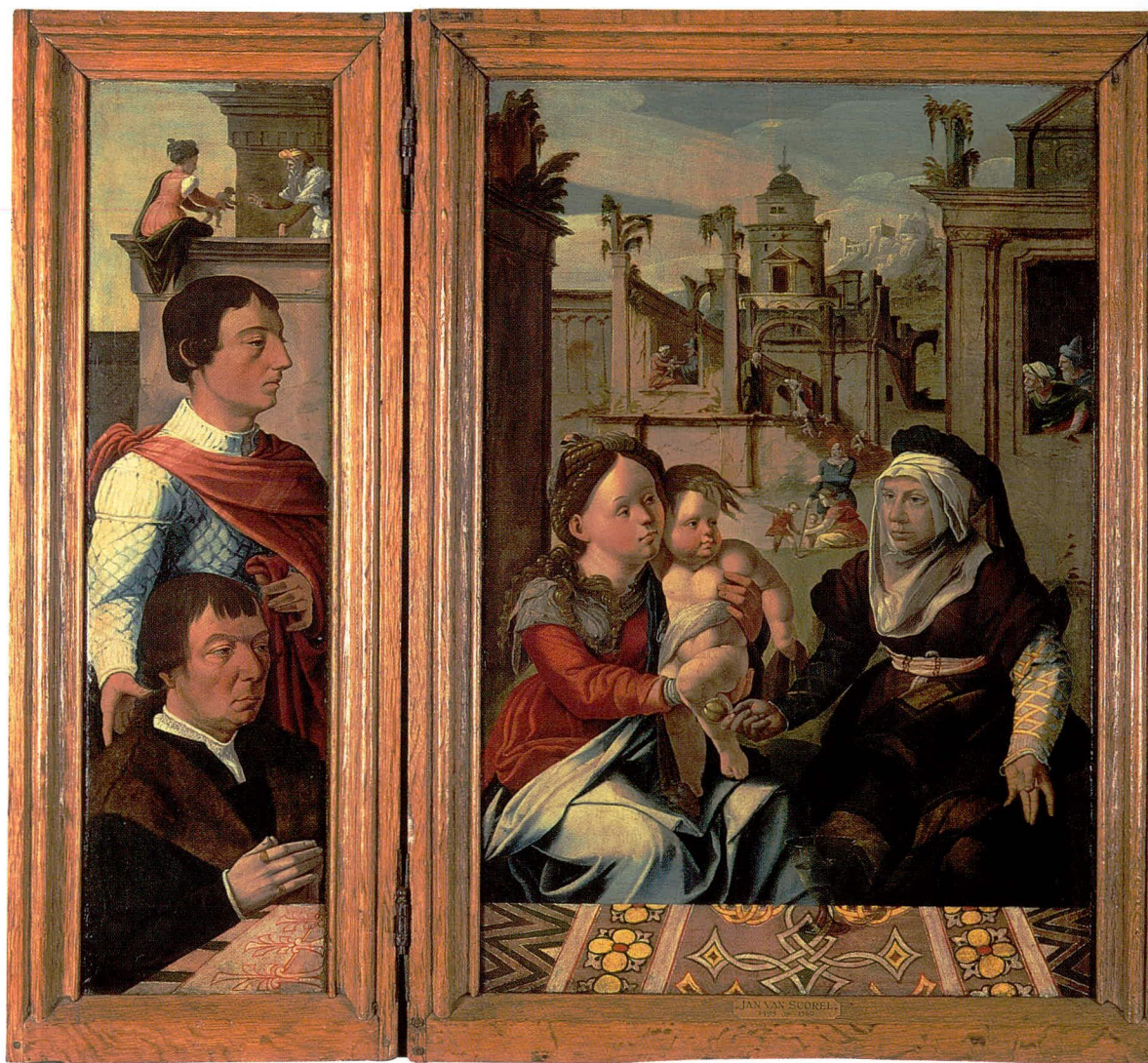


A3 Jan van Scorel (workshop), *Virgin and Child*
photograph: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam





A4 Exterior of the wings
 photograph: Max Koot Studio, The Hague



B Jan van Scorel (and workshop), *Madonna with wild roses*
X-radiograph 1998



B Jan van Scorel (and workshop), *Madonna with wild roses*
photograph: Centraal Museum, Utrecht/Hans Wilschut





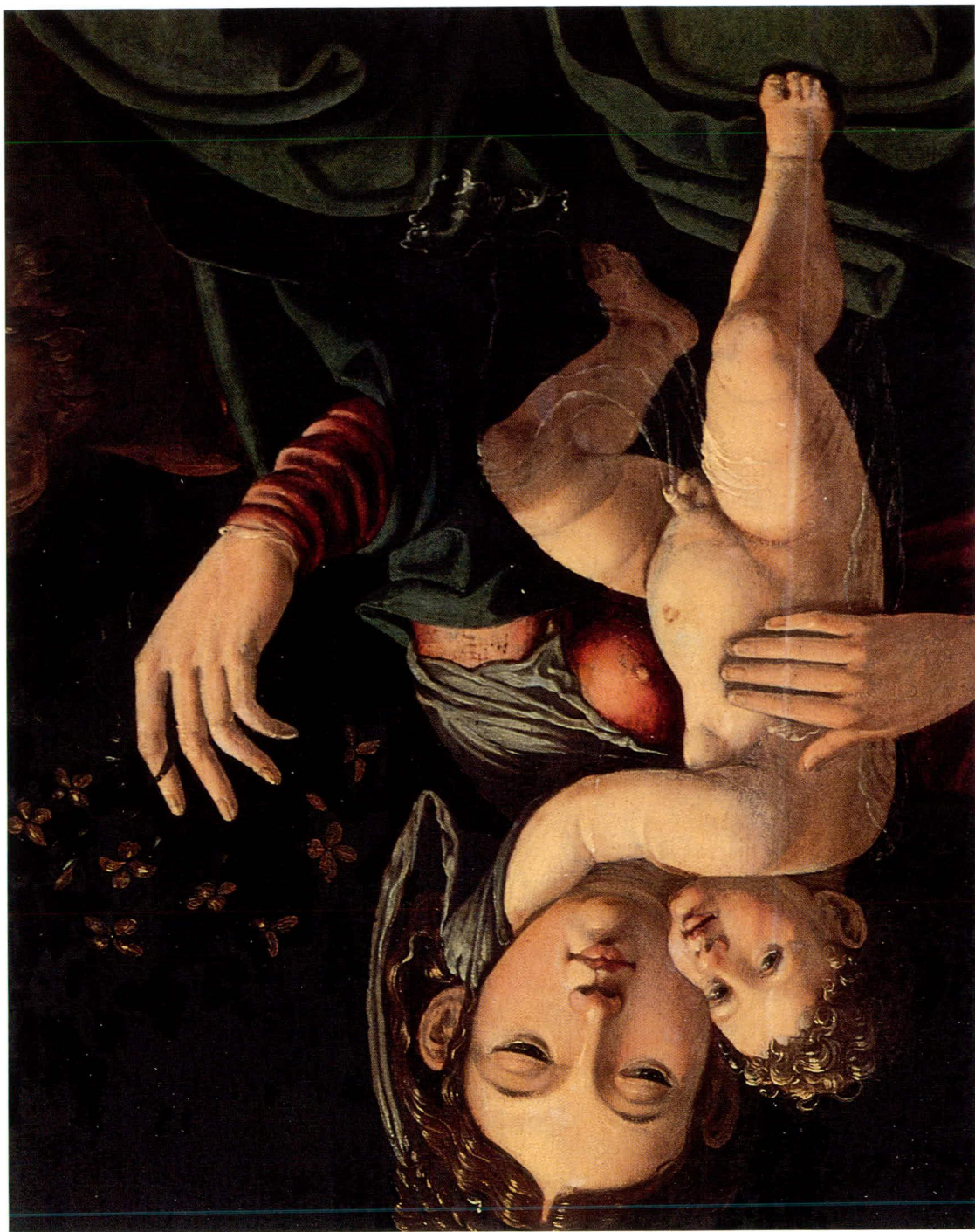
B1 Jan van Scorel (workshop), *Madonna with wild flowers*
X-radiograph

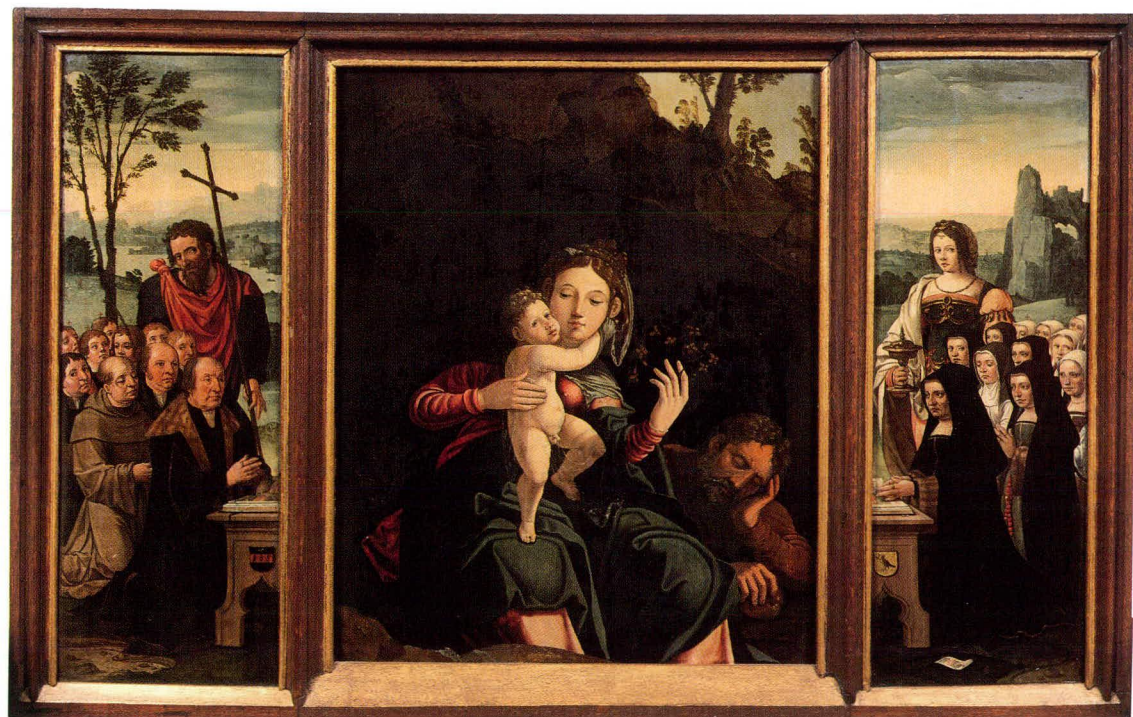






B2 Jan van Scorel (attributed to), *Madonna with daffodils and two donors*
 (photograph: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid)





Jan van Scorel, *Portrait of a man*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

photograph: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz Gemäldegalerie. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin





C Jan van Scorel, *Virgin and Child*
photograph: Aurora Art Publishers, St Petersburg

C1 Jan van Scorel (copy of), *Virgin and Child*
photograph: La Salle University Art Museum, Philadelphia



