dressed in seventeenth-century costumes — were actually executed by Saenredam or by Pieter Post (1608–1669), an artist-architect who joined the Saint Luke's Guild in Haarlem in 1628. While the figures in this work are not inconsistent with Post's style, an attribution to him must remain tenuous since his first known dated paintings are not until 1631. That a relationship between Post and Saenredam existed seems probable because of the broad, simplified character of the distant landscape, which is consistent with Post's work of the early 1630s.

Notes
1. A copy of the 1924 Muller auction catalogue cites Huber as the buyer. If this is true, he may well have been acting as an agent for Mensing.
2. Ampzing 1628.
3. The poem emphasizes both the historical importance of the Town Hall as the palace and home of Willem II, Duke of Holland, and the honor it had brought to the city as a symbol of justice. The poem ends with a broad statement on the importance of justice as a foundation for the country.
Heemskerck was in Rome between 1532 and 1536. Not all of the drawings in this sketchbook are now believed to be by Heemskerck. At least two other hands have been identified. See, in particular, Veldman 1987, 360–382.
5. When Cornels Cornelisz. van Haarlem died in 1638, he had in his estate "Het treffelyck getekent boeckie van Mr. Maertyn Heemskerck nae alle de fraiste antique van Roma." See Bredius 1915–1922, 7: 83; and Schwartz and Bok 1989, 324, note 26.
6. For a discussion of the relationship of Cornels Cornelisz. van Haarlem to Saenredam see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 23. That Saenredam eventually acquired the drawings seems probable given the announcement for the sale of his collection of graphic art after his death in 1669, which included "many drawings by Maerten van Heemskerck...made...from life in Italy." For a hypothesis on how this acquisition came about see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 185.
7. The contents of his library are described in the catalogue for the sale of his collection, which was held on 20 April 1677. The catalogue, discovered by Bert van Selm, has been analyzed, in part, by Schwartz and Bok 1989, 181–187.
8. The other paintings based on this sketchbook are: The Colosseum, Rome, signed and dated 1631 (Girardet Collection, Kettwig-Ruhr); View from the Aracoeli, Rome, towards the Colosseum in the South, signed and dated 1633 (formerly Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orleans, but destroyed in 1940); Portico of the Pantheon, Rome, signed and dated 1643 (private collection). These paintings are included in Schwartz and Bok 1989 as, respectively, cat. nos. 113, 112, 114.
9. The first art historian to connect the painting with the drawing, which is fol. 72r in the sketchbook, was Van Regeraten Altena 1931, 1–3. He argued, on the basis of this information, that Saenredam had never traveled to Italy. Veldman 1987, 360–382, attributed the drawing in the Heemskerck sketchbook to another hand, "Anonymus B." For the purposes of this entry the designation "Heemskerck" will be used when referring to this drawing.
10. The following description of the buildings is largely based on Hülsen and Egger 1975, 7 (from the description of the plates in the second volume).
11. This information has been gleaned from Janson 1963, 97.
12. For a depiction of the site from a similar point of view in the early 1580s, showing the dome under construction, see Washington 1988b, 101, fig. E.

References
1931 Van Regeraten Altena: 1–13, repro. 2.
1935 Swillens: 8, 83 no. 38, repro. 28.
1950 Paris: no. 82.
1951 Bersier: 102 note 1.
1956 Kress: 158–159, no. 61, repro.
1960 Pietzsch: 123.
1961 Seymour: 156, 158, repro.
1962 Pensa: xi, repro.
1965 NGA: 110, no. 1396.
1968 NGA: 107, repro.
1970 Cologne: (cited in discussion of no. 48).
1977 Eisler: 141–142, fig. 129.
1985 NGA: 365, repro.
1989 Schwartz and Bok: 73, color repro., 76, 272, no. 111 (also 1990 English ed.).

1961.9.33 (1395)

Cathedral of Saint John at 's-Hertogenbosch

1646
Oil on oak, 128.9 x 87 (50% x 34%)
Samuel H. Kress Collection

Inscriptions
On the left choir stall:
A° 1646 pieter Saenredam dit geschildert de sinjans kerck in sbartogenboscb
On right escutcheon behind the altar:
AL BERTO AVSTRIA CO
PATRI PATRIAIE SILVA-DVCIIS DICAT CONSECRAT
On left escutcheon behind the altar:
1598

Technical Notes: The cradled support panel is composed of three vertically grained oak boards. Dendrochronology gives a felling date of approximately 1630 for all three boards. Board widths are roughly equal at left and center and slightly

PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM 353
narrower at right. Several checks exist at top and bottom, and gouges, some fairly deep, are found along the edges and in an intermittent horizontal band across the center.

Infrared reflectography reveals a detailed fine-line underdrawing apparently based upon a preliminary construction drawing (see fig. 2). Minor changes appear in the spear held by the sculpted figure at the far right, in the statue to the right of center, and in the arc of the ribs in the vault.

Paint is applied thinly, in transparent washes, thin glazes, and fine brushwork that leave the thin off-white ground layer and architectural underdrawing plainly visible. Scattered small losses indicate a history of flaking. Abrasion is found overall, particularly in the stone floor, the pilaster and engaged statue to the right of the altar, and the pilaster to the left of the altar. Conservation was carried out in 1987–1990 to remove discolored varnish and retouchings and accurately reconstruct abraded passages.

Provenance: Possibly Pierre Daguerre, Bayonne and Amsterdam in the early eighteenth century; possibly by inheritance to his daughter Marie-Anne Daguerre Harader, Itxassou, near Bayonne; parish church, Itxassou; (D. A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam, by 1937); J. A. G. Sandberg, Wassenaar; (Wildenstein & Co., New York); sold 1954 to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York.


In this depiction of the Cathedral of Saint John (or Sint Janskerk), one of Saenredam’s grandest paintings, the artist has brought the viewer into the apse of this great cathedral to experience the full majesty of the soaring architecture towering above. He achieved this sensation in many ways: through careful compositional arrangement that reinforced the dynamic character of the architecture; through subtle use of linear and atmospheric perspective that helped open the space and fill it with light and air; and, finally, through his choice of a vertically proportioned, large panel that allowed him to paint on a scale suitable for such an imposing setting.

The Sint Janskerk is the largest Gothic cathedral in the Netherlands. When Saenredam painted this image in 1646 he conceived it in such a way as to include the full scope of the late-fifteenth-century choir. From his low vantage point just inside the crossing, the pilasters that rise without interruption from their bases to the light-filled vaulted ceiling give the space a dynamic, vertical thrust. As the central ribs of the pilasters arch out to form the ribs that support the vault, their color changes from light ochre to delicate pink. He has placed the keystone of the vault at the very top of the painting in a way that pulls together the richly ornate architectural elements. Despite the apparent reality of the scene, however, the relationship of this image to the actual site is quite complicated. Saenredam has shifted certain forms for compositional reasons. The two arches in the arcade on the right, for example, are rounded rather than pointed, an adjustment undoubtedly made because pointed arches would have appeared quite distorted in this perspective arrangement. He has also lowered the position of the central window of the clerestory to emphasize the central axis of the apse. One other change, the introduction of the Adoration of the Shepherds, 1612, by Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651), into the high altar, was made for different reasons, ones that relate to the complex issues surrounding the creation of this work that are discussed below.

The origins of the story actually predate the execution of the painting by seventeen years and are intimately connected with one of the most important military exploits during the reign of Prince Frederik Hendrik, the siege of Den Bosch (‘s-Hertogenbosch) in 1629. With the capitulation of the city to the forces of the States General on 14 September of that year, Frederik Hendrik had achieved his greatest victory in the long struggle against the Spanish forces of the southern Netherlands. Efforts were immediately made to cleanse this Catholic stronghold from papist influence. Catholic services were forbidden to be held in the city; priests were forced to leave, and the churches were confiscated. Indeed, two days after he had entered Den Bosch, Frederik Hendrik, along with his wife Amalia van Solms, attended a Reformed Church service in Sint Janskerk.

As part of the articles of capitulation, the northern forces did not hinder the clergy from taking with them objects from the churches. The bishop of Den Bosch, Michael Ophove (Ophovius), recorded in his diary how the clergy removed most of the precious objects from the treasury, which were packed and transported in carts, provided, interestingly enough, by the Prince of Orange. Among the sculptures taken for safekeeping was the miracle image of Onze Lieve Vrouw van Den Bosch (Our Virgin Mary of Den Bosch), the most sacred icon in the church, one that had made Sint Janskerk a mecca for pilgrims since the fourteenth century. Even the large altarpiece, Abraham Bloemaert’s The Trinity with the Virgin Mediatrix, 1615, was removed from the high altar and transported to the southern Netherlands.

Given the political situation, it seems unlikely that Saenredam had ever traveled to ‘s-Hertogenbosch prior to Frederik Hendrik’s successful siege in
Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, Cathedral of Saint John at ’s-Hertogenbosch, 1661.9.33
1629, thus he never would have actually visited the cathedral when it was Catholic. When he did arrive at the end of June 1632, not all remnants of the Catholic past had been removed from the cathedral; however, the apse, obscured from the sight of worshippers by an enormous choir screen, was no longer used for services. As is evident from Saenredam’s drawing of the high altar, which is dated 1 July 1632, the altar lay abandoned, stripped of all its liturgical objects (fig. 1). A large green hanging curtain covered the void left by the removal of Bloemaert’s altarpiece.

While there is little doubt that this drawing served as a preliminary study for the painting, which is dated fourteen years later in 1646, it is remarkable that Saenredam has reconstituted the interior as though it were still a Catholic cathedral. Candles and flowers have been returned to the altar, and a small gilt crucifix occupies the altar niche. Instead of a curtain, Saenredam has filled the high altar with Bloemaert’s Adoration of the Shepherds, a painting he would have seen in Den Bosch in the Convent of the Poor Clares. Behind the sculptural elements at the top of the altar, the Virgin and Child with two adoring angels, hang two large plaques surmounted by flags. The one on the right is dedicated to Philip II of Spain, and the one on the left to his daughter, the Infanta Isabella, regentess of the southern Netherlands. Although no clergy or parishioners are depicted, the polychrome sculpture of the kneeling Bishop Masius, to the left of the altar, adds an aura of reverence to the scene. That Saenredam sought to create this effect through the sculpture is evident not only in the way he emphasized the startlingly realistic appearance of the figure, but also through the private space he created for Masius by choosing a low vantage point near the choir stall.

Saenredam’s extraordinary painting, made so long after his visit to ’s-Hertogenbosch, is remarkable in a number of ways. To begin with, it is difficult to see how the artist managed to convey the architectural details of the church so accurately on the basis of his drawing of the high altar. Although Saenredam often painted scenes long after he had made his preliminary studies, his painting of the choir of Sint Janskerk includes more of the church than does his drawing. Perhaps a construction drawing once existed that he used as his model. His working procedure often included such studies, and examination of the painting with infrared reflectography reveals an extensive underdrawing similar to his carefully proportioned and ruled working drawings. The painting follows the underdrawing almost exactly, with one important exception: Saenredam elongated the proportions of the apse in his final composition. In the underdrawing the ribs join the keystone slightly below rather than at the top edge of the painting (fig. 2).

Particularly remarkable for a painting of 1646 is its emphasis on the Catholicism of the cathedral and the attention drawn to both Philip II of Spain and the Infanta Isabella. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that Saenredam was deliberately trying to re-create the character of Sint Janskerk as it looked before the overthrow of Spanish authority in Den Bosch, that is prior to the events of 1629. Just why he did that is not at all clear, but the large scale of the panel indicates that the painting was commissioned. To try to understand who might have commissioned this Catholic representation of Sint Janskerk and why Saenredam painted it in 1646, one has to return to 1632 and examine the circumstances surrounding Saenredam’s visit to Den Bosch.

Although it has been suggested that Saenredam went to Den Bosch to visit the son of his childhood guardian, Jan Pietersz. de Jonge (Johannes Junius,
c. 1587–1635), who, as a Calvinist preacher, had been sent from his native Assendelft to help steer the local populace away from the Catholic religion, such may not be the case. Junius was at that time the preacher in another of the local churches, Sint Pieterskerk, which Saenredam also depicted during his visit that summer. His work at Sint Pieterskerk, however, did not begin until he had finished his campaign at Sint Janskerk, hence it seems more probable that the visit to Den Bosch was primarily to examine the cathedral and only secondarily to visit Junius. Saenredam’s painting of the Choir of the Sint Pieterskerk, private collection, which he executed in 1632, moreover, also emphasizes the Catholic heritage of the church rather than its then Protestant character, a surprising focus given the emphasis of Junius’ ministry.11

The assumption thus could be made that Saenredam came to ’s-Hertogenbosch for the purpose of painting Sint Janskerk. This hypothesis is reinforced by a surprising discovery from dendrochronological examination of the panel Saenredam used for his painting. The tree from which the panel was made was cut down around 1630.12 It thus seems probable that Saenredam ordered this large and unusually shaped panel at the time of his visit to ’s-Hertogenbosch in 1632 rather than in the mid-1640s. This bit of technical evidence reinforces the sense that a Catholic patron must have induced Saenredam to make the trip to ’s-Hertogenbosch, a supposition reinforced by the nature of the drawings he made of the interior of the cathedral.

Saenredam’s drawing of the high altar was but one of four imposing drawings he made of the interior of Sint Janskerk between 30 June and 3 July 1632.13 Chronologically, the first of these drawings was of the Tomb of Bishop Gisbertus Masius (fig. 3), the tomb of the energetic bishop of ’s-Hertogenbosch that is visible to the left of the altar in the painting. Masius was an important figure in ’s-Hertogenbosch in the first decades of the seventeenth century, responsible for instilling the strong Jesuit presence in the city. After the beginning of the Twelve Year’s

Fig. 3. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, Tomb of Bishop Gisbertus Masius, 30 June 1632, pen and ink and watercolor, ’s-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum
Truce in 1609 he began an ambitious campaign to revitalize the cathedral. In 1610 an elaborate new choir screen was commissioned for the cathedral that contained a large number of sculptures and two altars.\(^4\) After Masius’ death in 1614, the new bishop, Nicolaus Zoesius, oversaw the construction of Masius’ tomb, a new organ, and, most important, the high altar, which was dedicated in 1620.\(^5\) As Saenredam’s other two drawings of the interior of the cathedral focused on the choir screen, all four of his renderings—the high altar, Masius’ tomb, and the two of the choir screen—depicted important architectonic and sculptural elements added to the cathedral during the tenure of recent Jesuit bishops.\(^6\)

Although no documents identify Saenredam’s patron, it may well have been a very powerful organization within the church structure, the Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap. This brotherhood, founded in the early fourteenth century, had begun to add in the sixteenth century a number of honorary, non-religious members, called Zwanenbroeders (”Swan brothers,” since they were supposed to supply a swan each year for a banquet). Among them was Willem of Orange, who joined in 1566. Since all subsequent Princes of Orange were members ex-officio, Frederik Hendrik was also a member of this body. It may well be for this reason that Frederik Hendrik was so considerate of Catholic interests after his victory in 1629, at a time when the Reformed Church was doing all it could to purge ’s-Hertogenbosch of papist influence. In any event, special dispensation was given to the brotherhood, and it was the only Catholic organization in the city that was not forced to disband after the capitulation.\(^7\)

Before Saenredam visited ’s-Hertogenbosch he seems to have worked closely with Catholics in Haarlem who wanted to perpetuate the memory of bishops who served at the Church of Saint Bavo when it was a Catholic cathedral.\(^8\) Perhaps members of the brotherhood in ’s-Hertogenbosch heard of these endeavors and requested that Saenredam come work with them in a comparable fashion. Just why Saenredam did not complete the painting right away cannot be said, but it may well have been judged politically imprudent to do so. During the 1630s leaders of the Reformed Church objected strenuously to the existence of this Catholic organization, particularly Gijsbert Voet (Voetius), a minister in Utrecht. Many heated discussions were held, and finally a compromise was reached whereby the brotherhood could continue in existence: its membership was limited to thirty-six members, half Protestant and half Catholic. This issue was of such consequence that the final decision was made by the States-General, in 1646, the year in which Saenredam finally executed this painting.\(^9\) Thus, the commission for this depiction of the Sint Janskerk as it had appeared when it was a Catholic cathedral seems to have come to fruition only after this important issue had been resolved.\(^10\)

No record of this painting has been found in seventeenth-century archives, hence it is not yet possible to trace its early provenance. Just how the painting ended up in a small provincial church in southern France before it entered the art market in 1937 suggests a fascinating story that it is hoped some day will come to light.\(^11\)

Notes
1. Dendrochronology by Dr. Peter Klein, Universität Hamburg, 27 January 1987.
2. This early provenance is based on information provided by Robert Poupel, Cambo-lcs-bains, France (letter, 13 June 1970, in NGA curatorial files). He writes that during the seventeenth century Bayonne carried on a thriving sea trade with the Netherlands. Pierre Daguerre, who married Elisabeth de Papenbroeck, the daughter of one of the Dutch settlers in Bayonne, lived for a period in Amsterdam where he acted as “the King’s agent in the City of Amsterdam.” Poupel believes that Daguerre purchased the painting and then passed it to his daughter Marie-Anne Daguerre. In the 1720s she married Jacques de Harader, squire of Lassale-Vignolles, who owned extensive landed estates at nearby Itxassou. Although no written records exist, he believes that the Daguerre-Harader couple presented the painting to the local parish church.
3. It seems unlikely, as some have argued, that these changes were made for religious considerations. See Connell 1980, 30.
4. For a brief synopsis of the events from this period see Van der Heijden and Molhuysen 1981, 50–61.
5. This painting, executed by Bloemaert in 1615 and installed in the high altar in 1620, was returned to Sint Janskerk in 1845. After the destruction of the high altar in 1869, the painting was removed to the baptismal chapel. See Van Bavel 1980, 33.
6. For an excellent summary of the situation in the cathedral at the time of the capitulation see Gaskell 1990b, 249–261. Gaskell (page 256), also discusses the ongoing “purification” of the church through the gradual removal of sculptures that continued until 1649.
7. Despite the information given in Utrecht 1961, 142, this altarpiece was not made by Bloemaert for the high altar in Sint Janskerk. Rather, in 1612 Bloemaert painted The Adoration of the Shepherds for the Franciscan convent of the Poor Clares in Den Bosch. The painting was in Den Bosch in 1632, when it would have been seen by Saenredam. Although The Adoration of the Shepherds was much smaller than the Trinity, he must have deemed it suitable for the purposes of this work, since he had never seen the Trinity. It is also not impossible that an altarpiece from the convent was chosen because Saenredam’s patron knew of the Infanta Isabella’s close associations with the Poor Clares. She was raised by
them in Madrid. Bloemaert's altarpiece has survived and is now in Paris at the Louvre (inv. no. 1052). Saenredam's depiction of it is extremely accurate, and it may well be that he had access to a print made after the painting (in reverse) by Boetius Bolswert in 1618 (for a reproduction of this print see 's-Hertogenbosch 1990, 312).

8. For discussions of Saenredam's working procedure see Liedtke 1971 and Ruurs 1987.


10. With the realization, of course, that Bloemaert's altarpiece from the Convent of the Poor Clares had been substituted for The Trinity with the Virgin Mediatrix. See note 4.

11. Saenredam made one drawing of Sint Pieterskerk on 9 July and two drawings on 13 July. For a discussion of these issues and illustrations of his views, see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 85, 90-91, 96-97.

12. The dendrochronological examination was undertaken by Dr. Peter Klein from the Universitat of Hamburg in 1986 (see letter of 27 January 1987, in NGA curatorial files).

13. Before Saenredam began with his views of the interior he made a groundplan of the cathedral on 29 June 1612. For an illustration of this drawing see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 55.

14. The choir screen, constructed by the sculptor Coenrad van Norenbeorch, was removed from the church in 1866. It is presently in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

15. The high altar was built between 1617 and 1620 by the Antwerp sculptor Hans van Mildert. Between 1617 and 1622 the organ case was built by Francois Symons from Leiden and decorated by Georg Schysler from the Tyrol. The organ was not functional, however, until 1634, after Saenredam's visit. See Van Oudheusden 1985, 91-94; Willem Berge in 's-Hertogenbosch 1990, 439-463.

16. Saenredam made two drawings of the choir screen, one from the nave and one from the choir. Although he did not make a separate drawing of the organ, it is visible in the drawing of the choir screen seen from the choir. For illustrations of these drawings see Schwartz and Bok 1989, 86, 87.

17. The nuns, however, could remain in their convents for the rest of their lives. See Gaskell 1990b, 253.

References
1937 Swillens: 329-335, repro.
1939 Heppner: 113-119, repro.
1960 Baird: 24-25, repro.
1960 Ploetzsch: 122-123.
1961 Utrecht: 140-141, no. 94, pl. 96.
1965 NGA: 119, no. 1395.
1968 NGA: 107, repro.
1975 NGA: 318-319, no. 1395, repro.
1975 Chiarenza: 19-34, repro.
1977 Eisler: 142-144, fig. 128.
1980 Connell: 16-35, repro. no. 11.
1983 Van der Heijden: 162, repro.
1985 NGA: 364, repro.
1985 Baudouin: 165-169, repro.
1987 Lawrence: 584-588, repro.
1989 Schwartz and Bok: 86, 204-206, color repro., 268 (also 1990 English ed.).
1990b Gaskell: 249-261, repro.

Roelandt Savery
1576-1639

Roelandt Savery was born in the Flemish city of Kortrijk (Courtrai). During the religious upheavals of the 1580s his family made its way to the northern Netherlands, finally settling in Haarlem where his older brother Jacques (Jacob, c. 1565-1603) entered the painters’ guild in 1587. Roelandt studied with Jacques and accompanied him to Amsterdam where Jacques became a citizen in 1591. Roelandt’s work suggests that he also had contact with Hans Bol (1534-1593) who came to Amsterdam in 1591 and with Gillis van Coninxloo (1544-1607) who settled there in 1595. In 1604 Roelandt traveled to Prague to work for Emperor Rudolph II and, following Rudolph’s death in 1612, for his brother Matthias. Roelandt was sent by Rudolph in 1606-1607 to the Tyrolean Alps to record the “marvels of nature.” By 1613 or 1614 Savery had returned to Amsterdam. He was to move one more time, however, for in 1619 he settled in Utrecht and joined its painters’ guild. The twenty years spent in Utrecht until his death proved to be very successful for the artist. In 1626, for example, the city of Utrecht paid him 700 guilders.