



The Holy Kinship: A Study of Workshop Practice

• LISA MURPHY •

Fig. 1
GEERTGEN TOT SINT
JANS, *The Lamenta-
tion*, circa 1485. Oil on
panel, 175 x 139 cm.
Kunsthistorisches
Museum, Vienna.

A newly restored painting often encourages new scholarship and insights, especially a panel such as the Rijksmuseum's *the Holy Kinship* which has been out of public view for so many years.¹ Paintings produced during the 15th century drew upon a long tradition of established practices existing between Master and apprentice painters. Our understanding of these practices has been enhanced through technical analysis of paintings including infrared reflectography or IRR, x-radiography, dendrochronology and paint sampling. The recently restored *the Holy Kinship* attributed to Geertgen tot Sint Jans is an ideal painting to study within the context of workshop practices. This article will assume that the painting was produced within the workshop of Geertgen tot Sint Jans, but not necessarily exclusively by his hand. Only after examining all of the available information directly from the painting is it possible to understand Geertgen's typical workshop routine and painting practices as it relates to the *Holy Kinship*.

Geertgen's paintings have been repeatedly examined with infrared reflectography beginning in 1966 when J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer first studied the Rijksmuseum's *the Adoration of the Magi*, while developing this method for the examination of paint-

ings.² Since that time, many paintings attributed to Geertgen have been studied with scientific methods.³ With the addition of art historical research, a Geertgen Group has begun to emerge providing comparative material to illuminate the working methods of this particular group.⁴ The name of Geertgen tot St. Jans reflects his association with the Order of St. John in Haarlem although his exact role within the order is unknown.⁵ The order kept detailed accounts of many activities taking place within their group, but there is no mention of individuals associated with Geertgen's workshop.⁶ We must keep in mind that lack of evidence in the records does not necessarily eliminate the possibility of a workshop with assistants, but rather that it is not possible to prove specific details concerning individual assistants.

The benchmarks for comparing all paintings attributed to Geertgen, are two panels from a larger altarpiece (fig. 1) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, as they are Geertgen's only securely attributed works. Van Mander describes the original altarpiece quite clearly making the attribution certain. He states that Geertgen made a large high altarpiece, specifically mentioning the center panel depicting a Crucifixion and two

wings. Only one of the wings survives today as the other panels from the altarpiece were destroyed during iconoclasm or during the town's siege.⁷ He states that one side of the surviving wing represents one or other miracle or unusual history, and the other side depicts a *Deposition*, which was originally the interior scene of the wing.⁸ There can be no question that Van Mander is speaking of the panels now in Vienna making them an important standard for comparison. They are ideal for comparing all aspects of workshop practice, from the type of wood used in the panel, to the variations in the underdrawing, through to the way final paint glazes were applied.

Understanding the structure of the paintings associated with Geertgen is critical in order to set the parameters for works linked directly to Geertgen and his workshop versus paintings by artists that follow his style. As more information on works from Geertgen's oeuvre is available, we are able to establish working procedures idiosyncratic to Geertgen and his workshop. Most northern European paintings from the period consist of oak panels from the Baltic region, covered with a dilute size and a white ground of calcium carbonate polished smooth to create an ideal surface for the subsequent layers, and the *Holy Kinship* is no exception.⁹ Specialist craftsmen completed the work up to this point, supplying painting studios with panels of standard or custom size, ready for the painting workshop to complete the panel. Since most panels from the 14th and 15th centuries in Haarlem are similar up to this point, the focus of the following article will be on what happened after the panel was in the artist's studio.

Once the primed panel arrived in the workshop it was then ready to receive a sketch of the composition, serving as a kind of road map for the artist. This sketch or 'underdrawing'

often made with a carbon containing material, such as black chalk or black ink, makes it visible to IRR. On top of the underdrawing, a thin coating of lead white covered the entire panel to create a suitable base for the subsequent paint layers while being thin and translucent enough for the underdrawing to remain visible to the artist.¹⁰ The underdrawing revealed through IRR provides us with valuable information about the early conception of the painting. The underdrawing may reflect a workshop drawing, or the creative process of the artist putting a design directly on the panel or a combination of both. Therefore, these first sketches may be rather

Fig. 2
IRR assembly of the figure of St. John in the Vienna *Lamentation*. ©Molly Faries.



cursory or quite detailed depending upon the artist and the function of the underdrawing. Paintings attributed to Geertgen tot Sint Jans contain primarily two types of underdrawing: drawing in a wet medium applied with a brush or possibly a quill and drawing in a dry material. While many types of underdrawing are common among different artists, idiosyncrasies begin to emerge making many underdrawings as unique as a signature.

The most common type of underdrawing in panels attributed to Geertgen are long fluid contour lines applied with a brush. These lines tend to swell slightly in the middle and then taper off at the end. Individual lines often run the entire length of a garment serving to place figures within the composition. The best example comes from the St. John in the Vienna *Lamentation* (fig. 2). The lines exhibit the characteristic fluidity used to locate the major contours of his cloak. Medium hatching and cross-hatching consisting of lines of about two cm in length indicates areas of shadow or depressions in the drapery. These lines may be straight or curve slightly to indicate a fold or area of volume. These lines are found throughout St. John's drapery. The drapery has additional shorter lines in a wet medium applied with what appears to be a brush. The shorter lines may end in either a hook, a T-shape or eye of a needle that often indicates a fold or crease. An example of this occurs at the bottom of St. John's drapery where a curved T-shape indicates an indentation. These shorter lines range in thickness from medium to wide and are not found in the *Holy Kinship*. While not mechanical the brush underdrawing tends to be more rigid than the sketchier chalk lines, suggesting the initial wet contour lines may follow an existing pattern.

The long contour lines and medium length hatching and cross-hatching appear in the *Holy Kinship* as seen in



Fig. 3
IRR assembly of the
lower drapery of
Mary Cleophas in
the *Holy Kinship*.

the underdrawing for the mantle of Mary Cleophas (fig. 3). A long contour line marks the turned back edge of her mantle. The contour line varies slightly in width as it defines the interior from the exterior edge of the mantle. The artist must have applied uneven pressure to create a slightly meandering line to create a natural guide for the drapery edge. The medium length hatching used in the *Holy Kinship* is quite painterly in application. It begins with a thin point, then swells in the center while curving slightly and finishes with a softer end. The wide feather-like hatching closer to the bottom of the drapery is darker along its edges where the ink pooled, further supporting a brush application. This

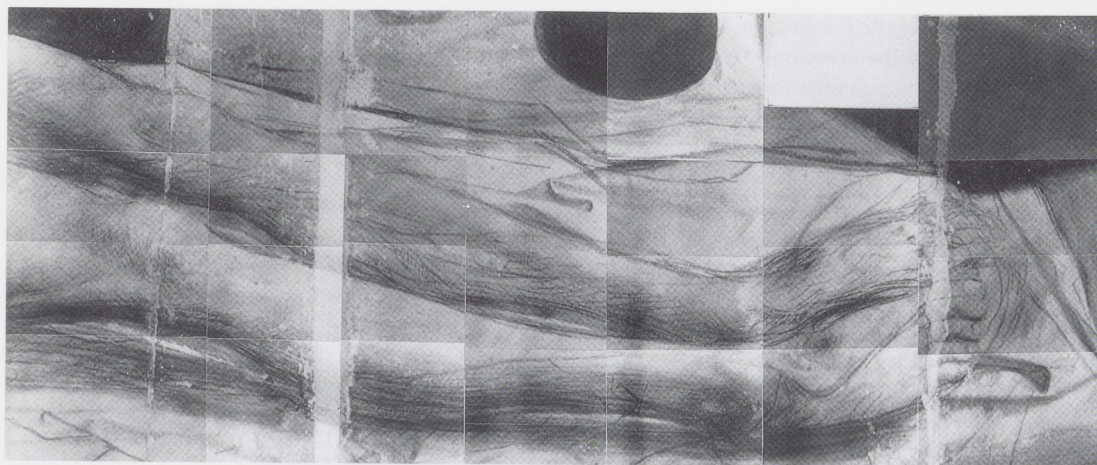


Fig. 4
IRR assembly of
Christ's Legs in the
Vienna *Lamentation*.
©Molly Faries.

medium length hatching indicates a shadow or suggests an indentation in the drapery as found in the St. John drapery. In addition to the rhythmic hatching there is one continuous zigzag line where the drapery lies parallel to the floor. It appears to be one single line rather than individual lines to create parallel hatching. While this line appears to be in a wet medium, its character is closer to some of the more loosely placed chalk lines in the *Lamentation* to be discussed below. In the paint, this underdrawing corresponds to where one plane of drapery is perpendicular to the other. On one side the drapery forms the area in front of her lower leg, and on the other side it folds under itself.

The underdrawing in a dry medium found in several of Geertgen's panels, functions in a slightly different way. The lines are used to quickly sketch a landscape or make corrections over previously placed brushed contours. In order to distinguish the two types of material used in the underdrawing, Geertgen's use of black chalk in the *Lamentation* to make corrections over the initial wet contour lines of Christ's legs best illustrates his use of the underdrawing in a dry medium (fig. 4). The character of the chalk drawing is quite vigorous and free with many lines used to work out various solu-

tions. There is a sense that the artist is solving a design problem directly on the panel rather than copying an existing pattern or drawing. The stages of workshop production are in evidence within the one Vienna panel where wet contours and hatching is gone over in some areas with chalk. Infrared reflectography has not revealed a dry medium in the *Holy Kinship* panel. The absence of evidence of a dry medium in the panel does not automatically eliminate the possibility of Geertgen or his workshop's involvement. There are several conditions that may contribute to this fact. Specifically, how the chalk was used critical to understanding why chalk underdrawing is missing in the *Holy Kinship*.

An underdrawing in a wet medium is consistently used to place the initial layout of the composition while chalk is used to freely sketch a composition whether it is in a landscape or a figure, or to make corrections to an earlier underdrawing. It is unknown whether Geertgen or an assistant completed the underdrawing, but it is likely that whoever completed the first stage followed preparatory drawings for the figures. The probable use of a preparatory drawing is further supported by the fact that there are no corrections made in a dry medium. If the artist

made the original underdrawing in a wet medium without a model drawing, conceiving directly on the panel, it suggests there is a greater chance that corrections would be needed to harmonize the composition or change details. The lack of corrective chalk drawing in the *Holy Kinship* may relate to the existence of a model in the workshop.

Therefore, the use of a dry versus a wet medium provides insight into the Geertgen Group and possibly the organization of a Geertgen workshop as well as explains the lack of a chalk underdrawing in the *Holy Kinship*. If the artist completed the underdrawing after a model, there would be no need for him to sketch freely, creating new details directly on the panel if he was

copying an existing pattern. There may be a dry medium used for the underdrawing that is not visible to the infrared camera such as a red chalk. Changes to the original layout may also have been unnecessary. It is important to note that there are large areas in the Vienna panels with no apparent underdrawing. Geertgen used less chalk in the *Lamentation* than in the *Burning of the Bones*, and there are entire figures, such as the female figure at the far right of the *Lamentation* where there is underdrawing in a wet medium applied with a brush, but no visible use of a dry medium underdrawing.

Looking more closely at the similarities present in Vienna and the Amsterdam panel, a convincing argu-

Fig. 5
Detail of a female figure at the far right in the Vienna *Lamentation*.

Fig. 6
Detail of the sleeve of Elizabeth in the *Holy Kinship*.

Fig. 7
IRR assembly of the detail reproduced in fig. 5. ©Molly Faries.

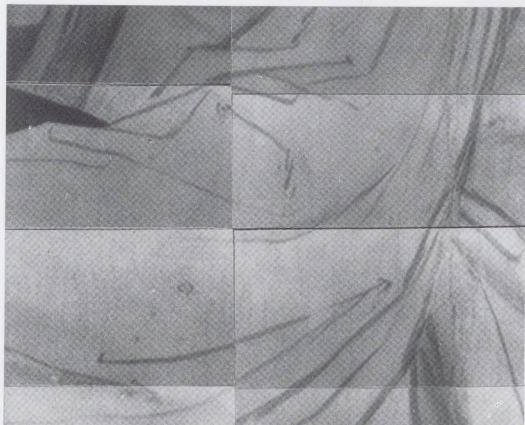
Fig. 8
IRR assembly of the detail reproduced in fig. 6.



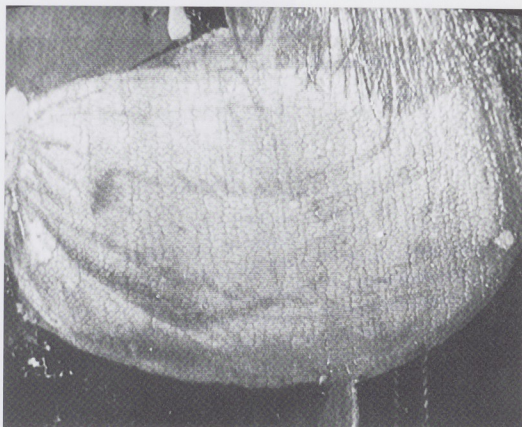
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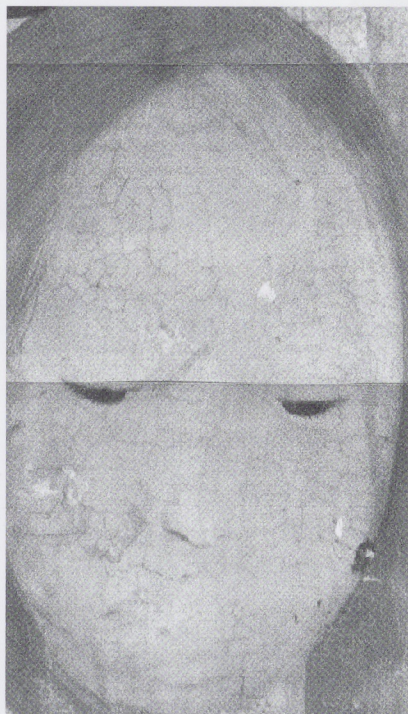
ment is made for linking the panel to Geertgen's workshop routine. The sleeve of the figure at the far right in the *Lamentation* (fig. 5) and the proper left sleeve of Elizabeth in the *Holy Kinship* (fig. 6) are remarkably similar and must be related in some way. The final painted version of each sleeve shows common characteristics with each other, including a few of the major creases as well as the shadows along the lower edge. The absence of bright white highlights in the final painted version in the Amsterdam panel is the greatest difference between the two. Comparing the underdrawing for the Vienna sleeve (fig. 7) to the underdrawing of the Amsterdam sleeve (fig. 8), it is clear that they are not as close in their conception as compared to their final painted state. Three possible explanations follow. (1) The Amsterdam sleeve could be a direct copy of the completed Vienna sleeve. (2) Both the underdrawing and the final painted sleeves derive from a no

longer extant finished workshop drawing. (3) The Amsterdam sleeve is a copy of a drawing after the completed Vienna sleeve. The use of line to place areas of indentation rather than to indicate shadow in the underdrawing suggests that the second option is most likely. If the Amsterdam sleeve copied the final painted version of the Vienna sleeve, we would expect the underdrawing to follow the painted version more closely. Instead, the final painted sleeve for Amsterdam more closely follows the underdrawing of the Vienna sleeve, strongly suggesting a common workshop drawing.

The artist of the *Holy Kinship* employed the same general working methods for the layout of the figures as found in the *Lamentation* panel. Geertgen uses a simple oval contour applied with a brush to define faces. This is most common in the faces of the female figures. The Virgin's head in the *Holy Kinship* (fig. 9) is under-drawn as an oval. This corresponds

Fig. 9
IRR assembly of the
Virgin's head in the
Holy Kinship.

Fig. 10
IRR assembly, Mary
Cleophas' head in the
Vienna Lamentation.
©Molly Faries.



to several of the female heads in the *Lamentation* such as the figure looking at the viewer at the head of Christ identified as Mary Cleophas (fig. 10). The simple ovoid underdrawing suggests a specific convention employed by Geertgen, especially when we consider the very idiosyncratic female faces characteristic of his work.

There are additional underdrawings that provide further insight into the *Holy Kinship* panel. A darker contour line has been employed on the edge of the drapery over the shoulder of Mary Cleophas (fig. 11). Contour lines are combined with shorter diagonals in the drapery to indicate where the fold comes out rather than to indicate shadow. This means parallel hatching may indicate both shadow and volume depending upon where it is located and how it relates to the contour lines. In the underdrawing of St. John's drapery in the *Vienna Lamentation* (fig. 2), there is parallel hatching. This compares closely to the hatching in the underdrawing in the lower Cleophas drapery in the *Holy Kinship* (fig. 3). There is cross-hatching composed of shorter strokes primarily from upper left to lower right used only to indicate areas of shadow. The length of the hatching is important to the artist and his ability to communicate a particular intent. Geertgen tends to use a vigorous hatching in triangular areas of shade present in the drapery of Mary Cleophas in the *Lamentation* (fig. 12), which is particularly evident in the hatching on the left side of the *Vienna* assembly. This type of hatching is quite similar to that found in the *Amsterdam Cleophas* drapery.

In summary, contour lines provide defined space, long parallel hatching indicates depressions, short hatching may indicate volume or shadow and cross-hatching indicates the deepest shadow. There are always exceptions to this formula, but the artist most often works within these conventions

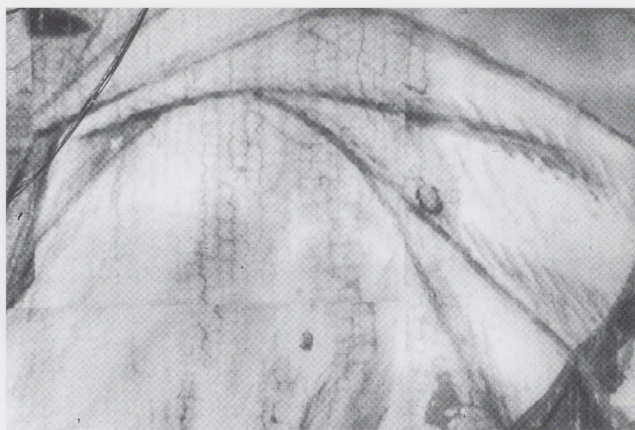


Fig. 11
IRR assembly, shoulder of Mary Cleophas in the *Holy Kinship*.

and it would be expected that assistants in the workshop would follow them as well. Generally, Geertgen's approach to the underdrawing is similar to his paint application. Paint may be loosely brushed in or meticulously applied in minute detail. The underdrawing parallels this approach suggesting Geertgen works from minimal contours to specific details depending upon how the underdrawing functions.

In addition to the underdrawing, one of the most important characteristics of the Geertgen Group is the use of undermodeling in the blues. Undermodeling functions differently from underdrawing, but neither is visible to the naked eye in the final painting. While underdrawing may articulate an area of shadow through hatching and cross hatching, undermodeling is applied to broad areas in a wash that serves as the first layer in the build up of the paint structure. Undermodeling has been detected through IRR and confirmed through paint samples (fig. 13) in the areas of blue azurite such as that used for the Virgin's drapery.¹¹ There are no samples of the *Vienna* panels to compare, but the *Adoration of the Magi* in Cleveland, a painting accepted as by Geertgen, reveals a paint structure that suggests there is a possible black undermodeling beneath the blue (fig. 14). There is

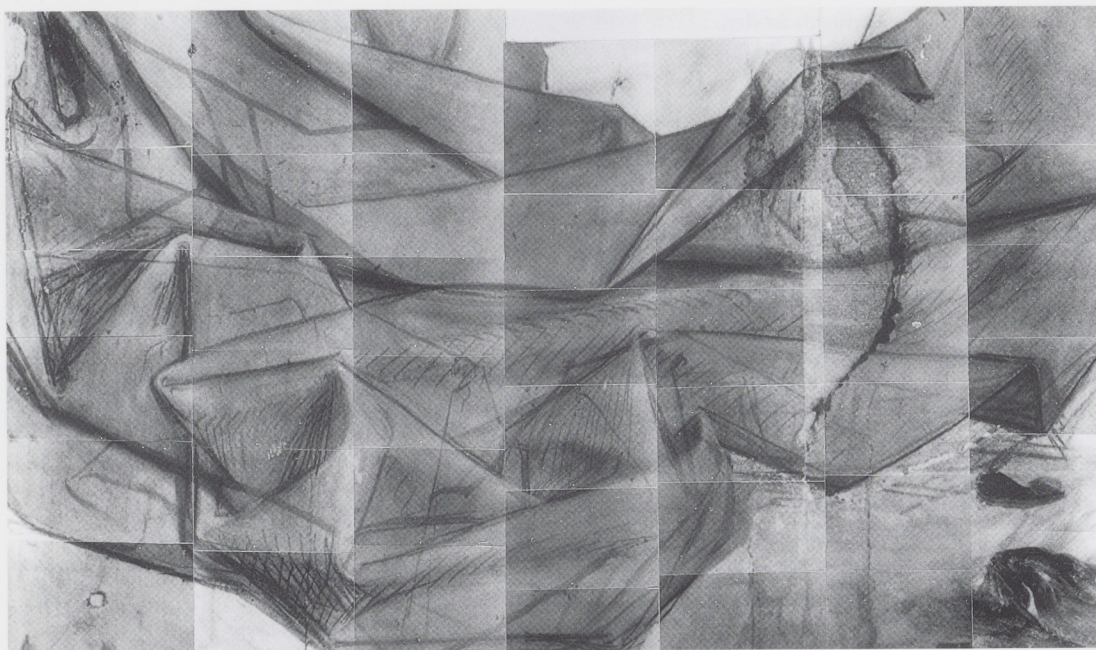


Fig. 12
IRR assembly, drapery
of Mary Cleophas in
the Vienna *Lamentation*. ©Molly Faries.

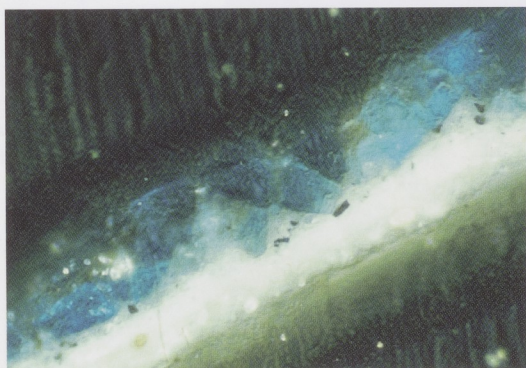


Fig. 13
Paint sample from the
Virgin's blue robe in
the *Holy Kinship*.

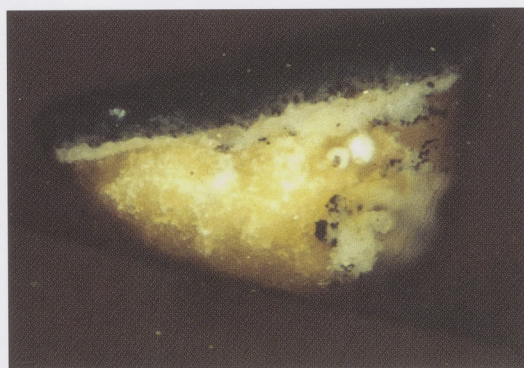


Fig. 14
Paint sample from the
Virgin's blue robe in
Adoration of the Magi
by Geertgen tot Sint
Jans in the Cleveland
Museum of Art,
Cleveland.

an underdrawing layer covered by an isolation layer followed by a thicker white layer and finally a thin charcoal black layer that is just below the densely packed azurite. In the cross sections, further supported by paint analysis of the *Holy Kinship* sample, the black used for the underdrawing and the undermodeling looks quite similar to each other, except that they function differently. The underdrawing is composed of many individual sketch-like lines while the undermodeling covers large areas under the blue azurite, which appears mottled in IRR. The use of a black undermodeling is not rare, but it is not widespread and may be used as a distinguishing feature of the Geertgen Group. As of this time undermodeling in blue has been found in paintings from the sixteenth century by Isenbrandt, the Master of 1518, Metsys, Gossart, and Met de Bles.¹² In comparison, another contemporary Haarlem painter, Master of the Brunswick diptych did not contain an opaque blue in the Minneapolis' *Presentation in the Temple*.¹³ Unfortunately, the Vienna panels have yet to be exam-

ined by x-radiography so there is no standard for comparative purposes. The x-radiograph of the Amsterdam panel may be used for other purposes such as revealing the order of paint application and changes made during the painting stage. One example of this is the earlier version of the neckline of Mary Salome's dress in the *Holy Kinship* (fig. 15) most easily seen in the x-radiograph, similar to the neckline for the female figure at the far right in the *Lamentation* (fig. 16). The original square neckline is visible in the x-radiograph before the dark cloak covered it. Once again there is evidence that both Elizabeth and Mary Salome in the *Holy Kinship* shared a common pattern that may be linked to the same female figure in the *Lamentation*.

If we question why the original dress design for Mary Salome changed from the bodice worn by the female figure in the *Lamentation* to a more sober cloak, the answer may be as simple as who the figures represent. Accepting as many scholars do, that the female figure to the far right is



Fig. 15
X-ray of Mary Salome
in the *Holy Kinship*.



Fig. 16
Detail of the neck of
female figure at the
far right in the Vienna
Lamentation.

Mary Magdalene, we may make a few additional observations. Mary Magdalene typically wears a rather ornate costume so that the viewer may easily identify her even if her pixis is not present. Since Mary Magdalene is not appropriate to a Holy Kinship scene, the artist would want to eliminate any confusion by dressing Mary Salome in a sober cloak, more appropriate to her place in the Holy Family rather than as an ornately dressed worldly woman representative of Mary Magdalene.

The painting style and technique link the panel to Geertgen's workshop and possible dates for the panel provided by dendrochronology place the production of the panel within the possible years of Geertgen's workshop. The earliest date of execution for the *Holy Kinship* panel fits within the possible years Geertgen worked. According to Dr. Klein, the Vienna panels were most likely executed from 1481 on.¹⁴ The Grand Master of the Hospitallers of St. John acquired the bones of one arm and a finger of their patron saint, John the Baptist in 1484, linking the date with a likely commission to commemorate the occasion. Dr. Klein gives the earliest felling date for the *Holy Kinship* from 1480. With the addition of an average number of sapwood rings and storage time, the panel was most likely executed around 1496.¹⁵ It is important to note that the addition of sapwood rings and storage time are only averages rather than fixed periods making the possible year of production much more fluid.

Van Mander states that Geertgen died at the early age of about 28 years.¹⁶ Without getting into the specific arguments of whether Geertgen actually studied under Albert van Ouwater, and how that would have affected his birth, death and years of working, it must be questioned whether it was possible for Geertgen to have produced the *Holy Kinship* panel from 1496.¹⁷ Given that Van Mander is not always correct, we must resist assign-

ing specific birth and death dates to Geertgen when nothing has been found in the archives except that he is buried in the courtyard of the Order of St. John.¹⁸ Even if we accept that Geertgen died at about the age of 28, and on this point, Van Mander could have been mistaken, the productive years for Geertgen could span the years that dendrochronology suggests between the Vienna and Amsterdam panels. If nothing else, dendrochronology does not disprove the attribution of the *Holy Kinship* to Geertgen.

The *Holy Kinship* is a fascinating painting. The panel supports, at the very least, a close link to Geertgen tot Sint Jans and his particular workshop methods. The new evidence presented in this paper concerning painting style and palette, taken with the underdrawing and undermodeling further supports this connection. The repetition of models in this case, may in fact suggest the involvement of a workshop. Until there is archival evidence linking the Kinship panel with Geertgen, there may always be doubt to its attribution, but we now have a greater understanding of the workshop practices of the Geertgen Group.

NOTES

- 1 The papers given in the symposium on 30 March 2001 dedicated to the painting and the discussion that took place that day were the catalyst for the following article. The author wishes to thank Jan Piet Filedt Kok for his support and encouragement to write on the *Holy Kinship*, and Gwen Tauber for her constant help with all aspects of the Geertgen research. The author also wishes to thank Molly Faries for her invaluable suggestions and careful editing of the text. She also produced the IRR assemblies (fig. 2, 7, 10, 12) of the Lamentation in Vienna, which were assembled by Truus van Bueren. Monique Berends assembled the IRR assemblies of the *Holy Kinship* (fig. 3, 8, 9, 11).
- 2 J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, 'Infrared Reflectography: a Method for the Examination of Paintings', *Applied Optics* 7 (1968), pp. 1711-1714.

- 3 For additional information see: J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, 'Getting Down to Basics: Infra-Red Reflectography of Paintings', *Delta* 16 (1973), pp. 54-70; J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, 'Some observations on underdrawing in Geertgen tot St. Jans paintings', *Akt* 12 (1988), pp. 49-53; unpublished paper by Molly Faries, 'Comments on Cleveland Paintings: the Geertgen tot Sint Jans in particular', given at the International Research Conference of Historians of Netherlandish Art, Cleveland, Ohio, October 26, 1989; Truus van Bueren and Molly Faries, 'The "Portraits" in Geertgen tot Sint Jans' Vienna Panels', *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Colloque VIII, 8-10 September 1989, edited by H. Verougstraete-Marcq and R. Van Schoute, 1991; cat. Lorne Campbell, *The Fifteenth Century Netherlandish School*, London (National Gallery) 1995, esp. pp. 232-238. See also about *The Holy Kinship*: Gwen Tauber and Arie Wallert, 'The Holy Kinship: Aspects of Attribution', *Le dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture*, Colloque XIII, 15-17 September 1999, edited by R. Van Schoute and H. Verougstraete, 2001; Arie Wallert, Gwen Tauber and Lisa Murphy, *The Holy Kinship: A medieval masterpiece*, Amsterdam 2001; Truus van Bueren, Review of Wallert et al., *Historians of Netherlandish Art Newsletter* 18 (2001), no. 2 (November 2001), pp. 38-40.
- 4 For a general overview of Geertgen's oeuvre see: James Snyder, 'The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part II: Geertgen tot Sint Jans', *Art Bulletin* 42 (1960), pp. 113-132; Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, translation by Heinz Norden, comments and notes by Nicole Veronese-Verhaegen, Vol. 5, 1969; James Snyder, 'The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part III: The Problem of Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jan Mostaert', *Art Bulletin* 53 (1971), pp. 445-458; Albert Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting*, Fribourg 1980 pp. 93-144.
- 5 For Geertgen's possible roles within the order see: Châtelet, *op.cit.* (note 4), pp. 93-94; Truus van Bueren, *Tot lof Haarlem: het beleid van de stad Haarlem ten aanzien van de kunstwerken uit de geconfisqueerde geestelijke instellingen*, Hilversum 1993, p. 379; Hessel Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, Doornspijk 1994-1999, 6 vols., vol. 2, p. 263.
- 6 I thank Truus van Bueren for sharing this observation during a personal communication on 14 September 2001. For additional information concerning the Order of St. John see: Truus van Bueren, *Macht en onderhorigheid binnen de Ridderlijke Orde van Sint Jan*, Haarlem 1991 and Van Bueren, *op.cit.* (note 5).
- 7 Van Bueren, *op.cit.* (note 5), esp. pp. 107-142.
- 8 Miedema (ed.), *op.cit.* (note 5), vol. 2, fol. 206r, p. 82.
- 9 For further information concerning the support and ground of the *Holy Kinship* see Wallert et al., *op.cit.* (note 3), pp. 27-28.
- 10 See for the reproduction of the paint sample showing the paint and underdrawing layers, Wallert et al., *op.cit.* (note 3), p. 35; fig. 45.
- 11 See for the paint analysis of the here illustrated sample r58/8 by Arie Wallert, Wallert et al., *op.cit.* (note 3), pp. 32-33. The pigment is a basic copper carbonate better known as azurite.
- 12 See the article by Molly Faries, 'Technical Studies of Early Netherlandish Painting: A Critical Overview of Recent Developments' in the forthcoming publication: Molly Faries and Ron Spronk (ed.), *Recent Developments in the Technical Examination of Early Netherlandish Painting: Methodology, Limitations, and Perspectives*, The M. Victor Leventriit symposium papers, Harvard University Cambridge 2003.
- 13 The following information by communication from Molly Faries: the Minneapolis panel, 68.41.1 by the Brunswick diptych Master was examined by Molly Faries, September 24, 1984, and she reports that the blue mantle of Maria is not completely opaque; underdrawing was made visible in this blue robe.
- 14 Information taken from Dr. Peter Klein's report of the Vienna panels dated 11 July 1989. See also Van Bueren and Faries, *op.cit.* (note 3).
- 15 Information taken from Dr. Peter Klein's report dated 28 June 1995. See also Wallert et al., *op.cit.* (note 3), p. 27.
- 16 Miedema (ed.), *op.cit.* (note 5), vol. 2, fol. 206r, p. 82.
- 17 For a discussion on Ouwater and Geertgen see: Snyder, *op.cit.* (note 3), esp. pp. 115-120; Diane G. Scillia, 'Van Mander on Ouwater and Geertgen', *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), pp. 271-73; and J.D. Bangs, Reply to Scillia, *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979), pp. 505-506.
- 18 Van Bueren, *op.cit.* (note 5), p. 379. Miedema (ed.), *op.cit.* (note 5), vol. 1, fol. 205v and vol. 2, p. 260, states that Geertgen dies somewhere between 1486 and 1492. This would place the production of the *Holy Kinship* after Geertgen's death, but it is possible that Geertgen lived a few years beyond 28 or lived later in the century.