

The Gouda windows revisited: An unexecuted design by Wouter Crabeth

Recently a small glass panel surfaced on the art market, attributed to the glass painter from Gouda, Wouter Pietersz. Crabeth (ca.1520/1530-1589).¹ It was a major discovery considering the scarcity of his extant work in general, and the absence of glass panels by him in Dutch collections in particular: at the end of 2018 it entered the collection of Museum Gouda.² The purpose of the present article is to discuss this glass panel and to identify the destination of a closely associated design for a church window in Dresden, which can now with certainty be attributed to Wouter Crabeth. Both Wouter and his elder brother Dirck (ca.1510/20-1574) are renowned as the glass painters responsible for a considerable part of the Gouda windows. The entire glazing of the Sint-Janskerk is the most important surviving ensemble of Renaissance stained glass in the Netherlands. The original cartoons are still extant and executed between 1555 and 1604, after a fire in 1552 destroyed the building and most of its earlier windows.³ Dirck was responsible for the majority of the new windows before 1572, and his oeuvre of numerous cartoons, glass designs, monumental windows (also outside Gouda), and small glass panels is quite extensive. The extant oeuvre of Wouter Crabeth had consisted for a long time of only four windows in the Sint-Janskerk with their cartoons, made between 1559 and 1566, in addition to two *vidimus* for church windows as well as a drawing perhaps meant as a tapestry design. With the attribution to him in recent years of two designs for glass medallions, and a few small glass panels, the activity of Wouter Crabeth can also be extended into the field of domestic glass.⁴ Like Dirck, he worked to his own designs and never signed his windows or drawings. The documented Gouda windows and the corresponding cartoons form the touchstones for further attributions.

The glass panel

The oeuvre of small glass panels by Wouter Crabeth counted up till now ten pieces. Sadly, none of these remain in their original contexts in the windows of public buildings or private homes, let alone in The Netherlands. Nine are located in Great Britain and one in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. They are all upright rectangles, similar to the ones by Dirck Crabeth, and generally intended to be crowned with an arched top. The same applies for the panel in Museum Gouda (fig. 1). Unfortunately it is no longer in prime condition – it shows various cracks, scratches and is missing its lower corners as well as its arched top – but its execution is virtuosic. The brush and stylus are used equally to define contours and volumes. The brownish paint is applied in various gradations from light to dark, in which the highlights are scratched out in lines of differing width to great effect. The gradually deepening hue of silver stain towards the edges of the mandorla shows the mastery of the artist. The sanguine paint is sparsely used for the red cross of the banner, the wounds on Christ's body, his cheeks and lips, and the body colour of the soldier on the left.



¹ Wouter Crabeth, *The resurrected Christ triumphing over death and the devil*, ca. 1570, glass panel, 23.2 x 19.7 cm, Gouda, Museum Gouda, inv. 26120.

The subject matter of Wouter Crabeth's small glass panels is with one exception exclusively religious: seven panels depict scenes from the Old Testament and two from the New Testament (fig. 2).⁵ The recently acquired panel in Gouda is unique in his oeuvre, in so far as it is not a straightforward representation of a written source. According to the Gospels Christ rose on the third day after his death. He is seen here stepping from the sarcophagus and holding the banner of the resurrection with its red cross. He is enveloped in a mandorla, in which six cherubs float around him. A frightened soldier on the left is watching the resur-

rected Christ in terror, while those on the right flee. A typical representation of the resurrection would further include one or two recumbent soldiers in the foreground, ordered to guard the tomb but still sleeping or just awoken. Dirck Crabeth's design for a window in the former monastic church of the Regulars in Gouda is conceived as such, and also shows an angel seated on the tomb, along with the arrival of the holy women in the background (fig. 3). Wouter Crabeth not only omitted the sleeping soldiers, angel and holy women, but he also transformed the resurrection into an allegory. He did so by introducing three figures in the foreground: a sitting skeleton, a pock-marked reclining devil and a third person barely visible in the lower-right corner. His or her horned headgear is inscribed with 'zonde' (sin). Moreover, as Christ steps out from the sarcophagus his right foot lands partly on an oblique orb surmounted by a cross, and also touches the shinbone of the skeleton and the right knee of the devil. In doing so, the figure of the resurrected Christ becomes victorious over the world, death, the devil and sin.

³ Christoffel Pierson, *Passion scenes by the workshop of Dirck Crabeth from the former monastic church of the Regulars*, 1674, drawing, ca. 78 x 55 cm, Gouda, Sint-Janskerk, inv. 1942-128.

² Workshop of Wouter Crabeth, *Supper at Bethany*, ca. 1560-1570, glass panel, ca. 27 x 22 cm, West Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, Church of St Lawrence.





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Lucas Cranach I, *The contrast between law and mercy*, 1529, woodcut, 23.3 x 32.4 cm, London, British Museum, inv. 1895,0122.285.

The origins of a related allegory of the resurrected Christ triumphing over death and the devil go back to German woodcuts from the time of the Reformation. Its foremost example is Lucas Cranach I's 1529 woodcut *The contrast between law and mercy* (fig. 4).⁶ The scene of Christ stepping out from the sarcophagus and vanquishing death and the devil appears at the bottom right, on the side of grace or mercy, as part of a complex imagery. The preceding scene of the crucifixion is directly above, with the sacrificial lamb at the foot of the cross. On the same side John the Baptist directs Man's attention towards Christ on the cross, whose blood is gushing from his side to heal Man. To the left of a centrally-placed tree the woodcut shows what death and the devil, whom the saviour has conquered, did to Man under the law. They are chasing him towards hell under the watchful eyes of Moses and other Old Testament figures, who can offer no help. The concept illustrates the core of Luther's teaching, and the same applies to a group of related depictions of the same subject, used as title-pages in various Protestant bibles and even in German glass roundels.⁷ However, *The contrast between law and mercy* is not necessarily of a reformist nature, as it can also be interpreted as an allegory of the Old and New Testaments. Proof of this is its use in Catholic bibles as well, such as those published by Hans de Laet (1560, 1565) and Christoffel Plantin (1566) in Antwerp. All these title-pages contain an image of the resurrected Christ stepping out from the sarcophagus and vanquishing devil (sometimes depicted as a snake) and death at the bottom-righthand corner.

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Dirck Crabeth, *Christ as the saviour of mankind*, ca. 1560-65, glass panel, 25 x 20.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. BK-1984-45.



Man's path to salvation was a subject repeatedly adopted by artists around this time, often with reformist undertones. The glass panel *Christ as the redeemer of mankind* by Dirck Crabeth is such an example (fig. 5). It closely follows the composition of a German Protestant print by Augustin Hirschvogel from 1547, and is also indebted to the scene in print eleven of the series called *Man's search for salvation* by Frans Huys.⁸ In Crabeth's view Christ's victory over sin, the devil and death is symbolized by the figure of Christ carrying the burdens of mankind up the ladder to his sacrificial death. Naked and reborn, Man at the foot of the cross is shown the way to salvation by John the Baptist and the personification of Faith, holding a chalice.⁹

Wouter Crabeth's glass panel also features an orb, which is missing from the other examples discussed so far. One of the earliest representations in Dutch art of the resurrected Christ triumphant (among other things) over the world is a drawing by the Leiden artist known as the Master of 1527 (fig. 6). Christ has already stepped out from the sarcophagus and is seen balancing with one foot on a huge globe and the other on the shoulder of a corpse, with a skull lying nearby. This drawing was recently interpreted as a Protestant image on account of the group of figures to the left of the globe, who would stand in the way of the world's salvation.¹⁰ It is not easy to distinguish between Reformist and Catholic imagery, and the presence of God the Father in the sky would at first contradict this



supposition. Another reading of this scene could be that the pope, emperor, king and soldiers, among other figures, are passive inhabitants of the world, burdened by death and sin. If so, the scene could be inspired by the following passage from John 16:33: "These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." A painting by Maarten van Heemskerck in Copenhagen, *Christ as Salvator mundi triumphing over the world, death and the devil* from ca. 1540-45, has an overtly Catholic tone in telling the same message (fig. 7).¹¹ Unlike most of the works mentioned above, it is a static representation of Christ standing with both feet on the transparent orb, which is crushing the limbs of a skeleton and a devil in the foreground. Christ is clad in a loin-cloth and is wearing the purple mantle of the King of the Jews. In his left hand he is holding the banner of the resurrection and with his right making the sign of the benediction, as in the drawing by the Master of 1527. The golden background leaves no place for the empty tomb and suggests heaven. Indeed, the dove of the Holy Ghost is hovering above the head of Christ, while the figures

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Maarten van Heemskerck,
*Christ as Salvator mundi triumphing
over the world, death and the
devil*, ca. 1540-1545, oil on panel,
172 x 131 cm, Copenhagen,
Statens Museum for Kunst,
inv. KMSp338.



of God the Father, the Virgin, John the Baptist and a few angels are faintly discernible in the upper section. Unfortunately, Wouter Crabeth's panel is missing a clear reference, no doubt once present in the arched top, as to the affiliation of its intended public. The answer may, however, be found in the artist's closely related and newly attributed window design, which we shall turn to now.

The Dresden window design

Deliberations about the purchase by Museum Gouda of Wouter Crabeth's glass panel brought back memories of the as yet unsolved attribution of a window design in Dresden (fig. 8).²² Striking similarities between the two works suddenly opened new perspectives. The subject of the glass panel is elaborated in the window design in an identical manner and style, with only very few changes due to the different format. Christ is no longer enveloped in a mandorla but he is placed against a landscape background, with the fleeing soldiers on either side. The rudiments of the rock behind him were also visible in the glass panel.

Wouter Crabeth, *The resurrected Christ triumphing over death and the devil*, ca. 1570, design for church window, 38.9 x 22.5 cm, Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, inv. C 1968-612.



There is a section added for heaven, separated from earth by clouds with cherubs, which are familiar to us from the glass panel. God the Father is sitting on the clouds holding a text cartouche, and he is accompanied on either side by an angel in adoration. The presence of God the Father confirms the Catholic nature of the design, and He was probably also depicted in the now lost arched top of the glass panel. The most important difference with respect to the glass panel concerns the position of Christ. He is standing now with both feet in front of the sarcophagus, with the left foot placed on the orb, which is shifted somewhat to the right. His right foot rests on the devil's knee near the shin-bone of the skeleton as before. The third vanquished person in the right corner, which was partially cut down in the glass panel, appears to be a crouching female with horns, symbolizing sin.

Of the four windows by Wouter Crabeth in the Sint-Janskerk in Gouda only one offers faint stylistic similarities with the Dresden design. This south transept window was executed in the years 1561-63 for Margaret, Duchess of Parma and governor of The Netherlands.¹³ Its uppermost section with the scene *Elijah's sacrifice on Mount Carmel* contains an image of God the Father in the window head with billowing drapery, though in a more elegant stance than the one in our drawing, along with similar cherubs; they are presently fanning the fire of Elijah with their breath (fig. 9). Various small, trumpeting angels tumble down from heaven, and one even holds a chained devil, whose hairy legs look definitely more devil-like than those in the Dresden sheet. In fact they are closer to Dirck Crabeth's depiction of the devil, its long tail curtailed in our drawing (fig. 5). Two long-accepted window designs by Wouter Crabeth in Paris and Braunschweig show more convincing correspondences with the Dresden sheet.

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Wouter Crabeth, *Elijah's sacrifice on Mount Carmel*, detail, 1562, cartoon for stained glass, max. height ca. 500 cm, each strip 70 cm wide, Gouda, Sint-Janskerk, window 23, strips A3-F3, G1-G4; inv. SGS 723-c-M.



That in Paris, depicting *The supper at Bethany* from 1567, displays the same conventional figure type for Christ, bearded, with long hair and relatively large hands (fig. 10). The male and female figures in the artist's work always have a well-defined muscular structure, and when crouching or bowing their stances are most peculiar with long, stretched backs. This is apparent not only in the figure of Mary Magdalen and the horned figure of Sin, but also in the stance of various protagonists featuring in the drawing *The gathering of manna* (fig. 11). The rocky landscape in the same Paris sheet reminds us of the background in the Dresden drawing, especially the high solitary rock with some shrubbery growing from it. The latter drawing is unfortunately trimmed below, and only a narrow strip remains of the donor field. It shows the top of a head and the beginning of a strapwork cartouche, just like in the Braunschweig drawing adjoining the main field. Strapwork ornament also decorates the cartouche held by God the Father and occurs in more Gouda windows by the artist. He filled his cartouches generally with scribbles to denote future inscriptions, or made a note "hier machmen schryven wat men wil" (here you can write what you want), as in the cartouche of the donor register of *The gathering of manna*.

¹⁰
Wouter Crabeth, *The supper at Bethany*, 1567, design for church window, 40.8 x 14.4 cm, Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieur des Beaux-Arts, inv. M1353.

¹¹
Wouter Crabeth, *The gathering of manna*, design for church window, 27.7 x 19.0 cm, Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. Z328.



The existence of such close correspondence between two works of so different a scale, as in the case of the glass panel in Gouda and the drawing in Dresden, is not unusual in the oeuvre of Wouter Crabeth (figs. 1, 8). Another example of a similar repetition is *The supper at Bethany* (figs. 2, 10). By changing the background and introducing grand architecture the design was elongated, while the composition with the figures around the table remained more or less the same. This was probably common practice among glass painters, at least it was also adopted by Dirck Crabeth. His window *Balaam and the ass* in the transept clerestory in the Sint-Janskerk resembles a design for a small glass panel by a workshop assistant with the same subject.¹⁴ As a matter of fact, successful designs of small glass panels were executed more than once, as appears from the two identical copies of *Daniel destroying Bel's statue*; in Malpas by Wouter Crabeth, and in Church Stretton by his workshop.¹⁵ Even panels made for distinguished commissions, such as in 1543 for Pieterskerkgracht 9, were not immune to duplication.¹⁶

The technique and drawing style of the Dresden window design is somewhat different from the four currently-known glass designs by Wouter Crabeth, be they for a church window or a small glass panel. They were all executed in pen and wash in brown ink, sometimes over visible traces of black chalk. The Dresden sheet is, however, in black ink and grey-brown wash over black chalk. Additionally, the mullions, tracery light and T-bars are indicated in red chalk, the former two in carelessly drawn double lines, and the T-bars, which horizontally connect the mullions, in single lines. Usually the marking of such technical details in red chalk was reserved for the cartoon, and small-scale designs were made solely in pen and brush, such as the Paris sheet (fig. 10). The drawing style of the figures shows somewhat nervous penwork with small strokes, not only for anatomical details, but also on the loin-cloth of Christ, the cuirass of the soldiers and the dress of the female figure representing Sin. The wash is applied in a manner similar to earlier designs by Wouter Crabeth, although the parallel hatchings in brush on the Braunschweig sheet are now limited to the inside of the sarcophagus. The differences in technique and execution suggest a later date for the Dresden sheet than for the two other window designs, possibly around 1570 or shortly thereafter. Despite its spontaneous appearance, the complete drawing with its now lost donor register must have served as a full-fledged design, to be offered to the prospective patron in order to reach an agreement about the making of the window. The way the shield of the soldier on the left is completed outside the window proper makes one think of a remark of the Gouda historian De Lange van Wijngaerden, who owned the vidimus by Wouter Crabeth for the latter's Gouda window *The adoration by the shepherds*. In that drawing the artist completed the donkey, partly visible in the scene, outside the frame.¹⁷

Proposed destination of the Dresden design

Our drawing was meant for a window of four lights wide and crowned by a slightly pointed arch. The height of the figural scene including the tracery amounts to roughly seven and a half panels. Shape and proportions correspond with the last four windows on the southern side of the choir ambulatory of the Sint-Janskerk in Gouda, traditionally numbered 18-21. Despite the fact that the glazing of the ambulatory is the work of five different artists, from Gouda, Utrecht, Haarlem and Antwerp, the windows show a remarkable homogeneity in composition. The divisions between donor field and main scene continue at about the same height and the figures are always three panels in height. In this respect as well the Dresden design complies closely with the series. The Catholic campaign after the fire of 1552 managed to glaze eleven of the thirteen ambulatory windows (nrs 9-19) in accordance with the now-lost iconographic program or 'rolle', to which reference is made in the two preserved contracts for windows 12 and 13. The cycle consists of alternating scenes from the lives of the two protagonists, John the Baptist, patron saint of the church, and Christ. The moments depicted have been arranged in an order which means that it is always John

who introduces the episode from the next phase of the protagonists' lives. This is in accordance with the message of the ambulatory windows, that John was the precursor of Christ, but that it is Christ who must be followed. The humanist thought underlying the iconography of the cycle is consistent with the mentality of the suggested author of the 'rolle', the Gouda-born theologian Herman Lethmaet (1492-1555).¹⁸

John's life comes full circle in the executed windows, from *The annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist* (window 9) to *The beheading* (window 19). However, the representation of the life of Christ, starting with *The annunciation* (window 10) was interrupted at the episode when John was already imprisoned, and his disciples were sent to ask Christ if he was the one who was to come (fig. 12). The last window installed for the choir ambulatory in the Catholic period was *The beheading of John the Baptist*, dated 1570 (nr 19).¹⁹ In 1572, the Dutch Revolt brought a temporary halt to the glazing campaign, and at the end the series remained incomplete. One can only guess what subjects were planned

¹²
Workshop of Dirck Crabeth to his design, *The mission of John the Baptist's disciples to Christ*, 1556, stained glass, 693 x 280 cm, Gouda, Sint-Janskerk, window 18.



for the two last empty windows. The analogy between the lives of John and Christ would have demanded a trial scene for window 20 – possibly *Christ before Herod* to match *John the Baptist rebukes Herod* in window 17 – and a *Crucifixion* for window 21.²⁰ With the Dresden design at hand however, we may have to discard this hypothesis and return to an earlier suggestion, according to which *The crucifixion* in window 20 would have been followed by *The resurrection* or *The ascension* in the last window of the choir ambulatory on the south.²¹

The iconography of the choir ambulatory includes scenes seldom represented until then, stressing the analogy between the lives of John and Christ. Moreover, the two protagonists are represented together in no fewer than five windows. *The baptism* in the axial window provides the climax of their meetings, and was also the first of the series to be installed in the ambulatory in 1556. The manifold use of text banderoles by Dirck Crabeth in his windows with quotations from the Gospels in Latin helps to convey the central message of the cycle. The emphasis is always on Christ's fulfilment of the promise made by John. The final fulfilment is Man's salvation achieved by Christ on the cross, considered now the subject of the penultimate window in the ambulatory, to be followed by *The resurrection*. By transforming the very last scene into the allegory *The resurrected Christ triumphing over the world, death, the devil and sin* the words of John become visualised: "The next day he saw Jesus coming toward him, and said, "Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!" (John 1:29).²² If Wouter Crabeth had also used text banderoles in his compositions, which he never did as far as we know, the following quotations would have been appropriate for this window. With respect to Christ conquering the world, reference has already been made above to John 16:33. Additionally, Hebrews 2:14 refers to the Son, who through his death managed to settle scores with the Devil, Lord of Death: "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil". At last, the presence of God the Father looking down at his victorious son could be acknowledged by the following words of Christ according to John 5:36-37, which underlie the program of the ambulatory windows: "But the testimony that I have is greater than that of John. For the works that the Father has given me to accomplish, the very works that I am doing, bear witness about me that the Father has sent me. And the Father who sent me has himself borne witness about me." The figure of God the Father is indeed also present in the head of the window representing *The baptism*, uttering the words "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him".²³

In 1572 Gouda chose the side of Prince William of Orange, and in 1573 the church was given over for use by the Reformed church. We don't know whether Wouter Crabeth made his design before this change of hands, or afterwards in an effort to complete the glazing of the ambulatory. Except for the Sint-Janskerk, only one more window of his is documented in a specific church, although there must have been a few more. The artist is mentioned in the (undated) papers of Prior Cornelis van Mierlo (d. 1569) of the Carmelite Convent in Schoonhoven with regards to a small payment. This was probably an installment for the royal window in the choir of the convent's church, for which Margaret of Parma signed the pledge on 24 July 1563 for the sum of hundred pounds.²⁴ Wouter Crabeth had just finished her window in nearby Gouda that same summer. While hostilities during the Dutch Revolt swept away the Schoonhoven convent, in Gouda neither the iconoclastic riots of 1566, nor the change of power and religion posed a threat to the glazing that had been executed thus far. This was mainly due to the Gouda magistrates' tolerant attitude and, as recently demonstrated, to the mediation of the parish priest of the Sint Janskerk, Jodocus Bourgeois.²⁵ The portraits of King Philip II and his sister Margaret of Parma, against whom the Dutch revolted, were left intact, and not even the images of God the Father were considered an offence. It was only after 1619, when the Contra-Remonstrant camp came to power, that images of God the Father were replaced either by plain glass or the tetragram.²⁶ What finally did frustrate the prospect of the Dresden design ever being executed, was –

besides other possible reasons – the fortune of the monastery of Regulars in Gouda. This monastery was abandoned in 1572, subsequently used as a shipyard, and in 1580 slated for demolition. The stipulation, that the chapel's windows – made between 1556 and 1559 by the workshop of Dirck Crabeth – were to become the property of the municipality, was stated no doubt in anticipation of their reuse in the Sint-Janskerk. Seven of the eleven windows representing the passion of Christ were saved, together with their cartoons, and installed in the two last, still-empty windows of the choir ambulatory. Not that the limited space of these two window openings, approximately 6.25 x 2.80 m, made it easy to accommodate seven smaller, two-light windows with their donor fields. Drawings made by the painter and glass-painter Christoffel Pierson in 1674, and more detailed, coloured ones executed by Julius Caesar Boëthius in 1723–24 document the result (figs. 3, 13). The sequence of the scenes as installed followed the chronology of the passion from the arrest of Christ to Pentecost, alas without the crucifixion, across the upper halves of the two adjacent windows from left to right and from top down.²⁷ By some whim of fate it was Wouter Crabeth, who was charged together with his assistant Jan Woutersz with the installation of the panels at Sint Jan in July 1580.²⁸ The artist assumed Dirck Crabeth's role after the latter's death in 1574 as the glass painter of Sint Jan, responsible for the windows' maintenance. In his lifetime no more windows were made for the Sint-Janskerk. Wouter Crabeth busied himself with other tasks, such as the role of 'all round designer' for the city, taken over from his deceased brother. This involved, among other things, measuring the town and drawing its maps, and designing cushions for the city fathers. The glazing project at Sint Jan would only be resumed in 1593, four years after Wouter Crabeth had passed away, and finally completed in 1604.

A comparison between windows 20 and 21 (figs. 3, 13) as they looked after the relocation of the Passion series into the Sint-Janskerk on the one hand, and the design in Dresden on the other (fig. 8), confronts us with the problem of the discrepancy of traceries. The Gothic tracery rather carelessly indicated in red chalk in the design is puzzling, as none of the windows in the Sint-Janskerk have a similar shape. Today in all of the windows of four lights the mullions continue straight to the head, as also shown in Pierson's drawings, and only in some of the six-light windows does the heavy master mullion branch to form a fork. Unfortunately, the history of the construction sheds no light on the changing shape of traceries during the centuries.²⁹ The basilical choir with ambulatory dates from the fifteenth century, but otherwise the Sint Jan was around 1500 a hall church with the same ground plan as today. Occasionally the tracery differs from the shape indicated in the cartoon, a difference no doubt introduced during the largescale restoration of the church and its windows from 1898 on. If Wouter Crabeth's design is rightly associated with the Sint-Janskerk, then the window's tracery, as shown in his drawing, must have been a remnant of the fifteenth-century section of the ambulatory that withstood the fire in 1552. Interestingly, the neighbouring window 22 in the eastern wall of the southern transept has the most sophisticated, original Gothic tracery in its uppermost central part of the church's entire window program.³⁰ Possibly the adjoining section of the ambulatory with windows 21 and perhaps 20 formed part of the partially preserved choir after the fire. The restoration of the choir after the conflagration lasted until 1557, although already on 4 September 1552 the first mass was celebrated in the choir. The church accounts are almost entirely missing for the year 1552, and are completely lost for the period covering 1553–1556. Those that do survive provide no details concerning the amount of reconstruction in this part of the church. In 1580 at the latest the Gothic tracery of the two windows in question will have been simplified to accommodate the difficult task of the installation of the glass panels from the Regulars. During the pre-war restoration of the church the southern side of the building was treated in the period 1920–1940. Our window opening 21 underwent another change and was heightened with one panel underneath.³¹ Since 1933 the two windows of uneven height have been filled with fragments of glass, leftovers of the extensive restoration of the Gouda windows by Atelier 't Prinsenhof. The monastery panels had



been already removed in 1922. After their restoration and completion of the missing donor compartments in the style of Dirck Crabeth they were installed in 1934 in seven individual openings in a newly built chapel north-east of the choir.

The original height of window 21 would have left a limited space for the donor field of Wouter Crabeth's design, a mere one panel in height. However, the donors' portraits of window 18 (fig. 12) and window 9 on the northern side of the ambulatory were also squeezed into a strip of one panel high. This may have been the reason why the donor field of the original drawing with half-length figures was cut off. All the ambulatory windows of the Sint-Janskerk except two were given by prominent clergymen. It is exactly the two shorter windows 9 and 18 which were given by secular donors, both scions of two closely related families of burgomasters. It is most likely that the prospective donor of Wouter Crabeth's design came from the same circle of prominent Gouda citizens.

Conclusion

For reasons unknown, the drawing *The resurrected Christ triumphing over the world, death, the devil and sin* in Dresden, presented here as the design by Wouter Crabeth for the last window in the choir ambulatory of the Sint-Janskerk, remained unexecuted. Unlike the eleven executed windows, which are exclusively based on the Gospels, and in a most extraordinary manner of biblical humanism, this planned resurrection is of allegorical nature.³² Just the same, this image too was inspired by various scriptural passages. The closing scene of the cycle would have visualized the implications of the crucifixion in the previous window, namely that Christ's death released Christians from bondage to sin and death. Additionally, the relationship between Christ and his precursor would have been further illuminated. The resurrected Christ surpassed John yet another time, as the latter remained buried. Until now no design has surfaced for the crucifixion. The allegory with the resurrected Christ was however repeated by Wouter Crabeth in an identical way in a small glass panel. By a happy coincidence, it is now on view in close proximity to the church, albeit in a less complete version. This small-scale glass panel in Museum Gouda is the only one of its kind in The Netherlands. Its importance is perhaps even greater in the context of the famous Gouda windows of the neighbouring Sint-Janskerk. Thanks to the overwhelming resemblance of the glass panel to the Dresden design, it preserves memories of the planned completion of the glazing program in the ambulatory of the choir.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman (1953) is a freelance art historian specialized in Netherlandish art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After her dissertation on Lambert van Noort (1990, published in 1995), she wrote two volumes on the stained glass windows of the Sint-Janskerk in Gouda (1997, 2000) and the detailed survey *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* (2011). She contributed to exhibition catalogues of the Rijksmuseum (*Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580*, 1986; *Dawn of the golden age: Northern Netherlandish art: 1580-1620*, 1993), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (*The luminous image: Painted glass roundels in the Lowlands: 1480-1560*, 1995), and the collection catalogue of sixteenth-century drawings of the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden (2011). For the Hollstein series she has compiled ten volumes of prints by the Wierix family (2003-2004).

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NOTES

- 1 M. Reeves, C.J. Berserik and J.M.A. Caen, *Gilded light: 16th-century stained glass roundels from the collection of Sir Thomas Neave and other private collections*, London 2016, pp. 20-23, cat 8 (as *The resurrection of Christ over sin and evil*, ca. 1560). Clear glass, greyish-brown vitreous paint, silver stain and sanguine, 23.2 x 19.7 cm. The attribution to Wouter Crabeth was made by Kees Berserik.
- 2 Inv. 26120. Also the Rijksmuseum acquired important works from this collection, by Dirck Crabeth and Willem Tybaut – the first ever discovered roundel by the latter, in the catalogue attributed to Frans Floris – and after Pieter Coecke, Lambert van Noort and Jan Swart, see M. Ubl, 'Recent acquisitions: nrs. 2-5', *The Rijksmuseum bulletin* 65 (2017), nr 2, pp. 210-217. As to the roundel by Willem Tybaut, see M. Ubl, 'Recent acquisitions: nr. 1', *The Rijksmuseum bulletin* 66 (2018), nr 1, pp. 68-70.

- 3 The windows of the church have been meticulously studied and described in the series *Corpus vitrearum The Netherlands*: H. van Harten-Boers and Z. van Ruyven-Zeman, *The stained-glass windows in the Sint Janskerk at Gouda: The glazing of the clerestory of the choir and of the former monastic church of the Regulars*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1997; X. van Eck e.a., *The stained-glass windows in the St.-Janskerk at Gouda: The works of Dirck and Wouter Crabeth*, vol. 2, Amsterdam 2002; Z. van Ruyven-Zeman, *The stained-glass windows in the Sint Janskerk at Gouda: 1556-1604*, vol. 3, Amsterdam 2000. For the cartoons, the full-scale designs for the finished windows, see Z. van Ruyven-Zeman e.a., *De cartoons van de Sint-Janskerk in Gouda / The cartoons of the Sint-Janskerk in Gouda*, Delft 2011.
- 4 Z. van Ruyven-Zeman, 'Some drawings attributed to Wouter Crabeth, the glass painter from Gouda', *Master drawings*, 23/24 (1985/1986), pp. 544-551; Z. van Ruyven-Zeman, 'Wouter Crabeth from Gouda: His glass panels in Britain and a newly discovered design', *The Burlington magazine*, 153 (2011), pp. 458-463; P. van den Brink, 'The prophet Habakkuk and the angel: A newly discovered glass panel by Wouter Crabeth', *Oud Holland* 128 (2015), pp. 165-170.
- 5 The Old Testament scenes illustrate the story of Daniel, of Moses, and the victories of Joshua in the conquest of Canaan, and the New Testament scenes detail the life of Jesus: *The supper at Bethany* and *The parable of the pharisee and the publican*. The design for the latter is now in a private collection in Brussels, see Van Ruyven-Zeman 2011 (note 4); S. Hautekeete (ed.), *From Floris to Rubens: Master drawings from a Belgian private collection*, Ghent 2016, pp. 63-65, cat 18. The glass panel *The Trojan horse* in Ickworth (in 2011 practically destroyed) is borrowed from Virgil's *Aeneid* or a later retelling of the Trojan war.
- 6 W. Hoffman (ed.), *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst*, München 1983, pp. 200-217, cat 84, 85-89.
- 7 For example the Lower-German edition of the Luther Bible printed by Ludwig Dietz in Lübeck (1533), Hansken van Liesveldt's bible (1538), and the Emden bibles by Gellius Ctematius (1559 until 1564). B.A. Rosier, *The Bible in print: Netherlandish Bible illustration in the sixteenth Century*, 2 vols., Leiden 1997, pp. 76-79 including the Catholic use of this image. See also I.M. Veldman, 'Convictions and polemics: Protestant imagery in the 16th century' in I.M. Veldman, *Images for the eye and soul: Function and meaning in Netherlandish prints (1450-1650)*, Leiden 2006, pp. 109-110. Three roundels depicting *Man between law and mercy*, of which two made in Cologne, dated 1538 (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) and 1551 (Cologne, Schnütgen Museum), and a third one in Aachen (Suermondt-Museum), are discussed and illustrated in B. Lyman, *Die Glasmalereien des Schnütgen-Museums: Bestandskatalog*, Cologne 1982, pp. 245-249.
- 8 For this panel and its design, both at the Rijksmuseum, see J.P. Filedt Kok e.a. (eds.), *Kunst voor de Beeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580*, Amsterdam 1986, pp. 359-360, cat 240-241, and for a discussion of these with respect to the print series, see T.B. Husband e.a., *The luminous image: Painted glass roundels in the Lowlands: 1480-1560*, New York 1995, pp. 208-211, cat 126-128. For more examples of small glass panels by Dirck Crabeth and his workshop with Protestant leanings, see also Veldman 2006 (note 7), pp. 101-102.
- 9 Another, simplified version of the same subject in a book illustration by Lieven de Witte – published in 1545 in Gent by Joos Lambrechts in the booklet entitled *Corte instructyve ende onderwijs* – shows the resurrected Christ holding his cross and trampling a skeleton and devil. The upper section shows heaven with God the Father, who is symbolised by the tetragram, the dove of the Holy Ghost and a multitude of angels, see C. Schuckman e.a., *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts: 1450-1700*, vol. 53, Rotterdam 1999, nr 210.
- 10 Hautekeete 2016 (note 5), pp. 25-27, cat 5. The drawing, possibly a design for a glass panel, was entitled *The resurrection*, and served in the sale catalogue of the Crabeth panel as a proof of the subject's Protestant leanings, see note 1.
- 11 Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. KMSsp338, see R. Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck*, Berlin 1980, pp. 182-183, nr 63.
- 12 Around 2010 Manfred Hoss consulted me about the sixteenth-century stained-glass designs in the Dresden collection. At the end he maintained his own attribution of the drawing to Lambert van Noort with a question mark. The historical attribution was to Dirck Crabeth. T. Ketelsen e.a., *Zeichnen im Zeitalter Bruegels: Die Niederländischen Zeichnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts im Dresdner Kupferstich-Kabinett*, Cologne 2011, p. 388, fig. on p. 317. *Christus als Weltenrichter*, inv. C 1968-612. Black ink, greybrown wash over black chalk, the mullions, tracery light and T-bars in red chalk, 38.9 x 22.5 cm. The drawing formed part of the collection of the Leipzig lawyer Gottfried Wagner (1652-1725), the purchase of which in 1728 laid the foundation of the Dresden Print Room, see Ketelsen 2011 (note 12), pp. 43-65.
- 13 Van Eck 2002 (note 3), pp. 97-103, cat 8.
- 14 Van Eck 2002 (note 3), cat 14, pp. 132-133 (window 31), and Van Ruyven-Zeman 2011 (note 3), pp. 80-81 (drawing in Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts).
- 15 The churches in question are St Oswald in Malpas, Cheshire, and St Laurence in Church Stretton, Shropshire, both illustrated in Van Ruyven-Zeman 2011 (note 4), p. 460.
- 16 For two autograph glass panels by Dirck Crabeth, see Filedt Kok 1986 (note 8), pp. 289-290, cat 162-163. A panel with the scene *The conversion of St Paul*, that surely also formed part of the Leiden series, is in the Church of St Mary the Virgin in Addington, Buckinghamshire, see W. Cole, *A catalogue of Netherlandish and North European roundels in Britain*, Oxford 1993, nr 35.
- 17 C.J. De Lange van Wijngaerden, *De Goudsche glazen*, The Hague 1819, p. 88. This drawing is now lost.
- 18 The first thorough analysis of the program behind the Gouda windows is X. van Eck and Chr. Coebergh-Surie, "Behold, a greater than Jonas is here:" the iconographic program of the stained-glass windows of Gouda, 1552-72, *Simiolus* 25 (1997), pp. 5-44, spec. 12-24 (concerning the choir ambulatory) and 41-42 (Lethmaet). The role of Herman Lethmaet is singled out most clearly in K. Goudriaan, *Herman Lethmaet en de Goudse glazen: Manifest van een katholieke vernieuwer*, Delft 2018. His argumentation is based on the analysis of the book *De instauranda religione* written by Lethmaet and published in Basel in 1544. Lethmaet had studied in Germany and France, was friends with Erasmus, became deacon of the Mariakerk in Utrecht and vicar-general to the bishop of Utrecht. He also donated a window in the choir ambulatory (nr 11), but due to his sudden death his pledge was only fulfilled by order of his heirs in 1562.
- 19 Van Ruyven-Zeman 2000 (note 3), pp. 74-78, cat 6. Window 5 in the northern aisle, *Judith and Holofernes* by Dirck Crabeth, was the very last one installed in the church, dated 1571. Perhaps as a result of the ongoing war, no documents have been preserved concerning this window, see Van Eck 2002 (note 3), pp. 123-132, cat 13.

- 20 Van Eck 1997 (note 18), p. 22.
- 21 A. van der Boom, 'Gouda en de glasschilderkunst', in J.Q. van Regteren Altena e.a., *De Goudsche glazen: 1555-1603*, The Hague 1938, pp. 21-81, 50.
- 22 Continued with "This is He of whom I said, 'After me comes a Man who ranks before me, because He was before me.'" In the scene in the right background of *The baptism* John already pointed out Christ as the Redeemer with the words written on the banderole "Ecce Agnus Dei" (Behold the Lamb of God) (John 1:36).
- 23 These words originate from the transfiguration (Matthew 17:5). The account of the Baptism (Matthew 3:17) omits the words 'hear ye him', as specified in Van Eck 1997 (note 18), p. 22, n36.
- 24 Payment to Wouter Pietersz and Melchior Nuusz of 39 guilders 16 stivers, published in G. J. Lugard, 'Een schilderscontract met den Antwerpschen meester Crispiaan van den Broecke anno 1570', *Oud Holland* 61 (1946), pp. 106-109, p. 107. For the pledge, see A. Pinchart, *Messenger des sciences historiques des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique: Archives des Arts, des Sciences et des Lettres*, Ghent 1865, p. 473.
- 25 Goudriaan 2018 (note 18), pp. 59-60.
- 26 All three images of God the Father in the Gouda windows – in the axial window *The baptism* and the two transept windows – date from the restoration by Schouten in the early twentieth century. The reconstruction was based on Wouter Crabeth's cartoon and, in the case of Dirck Crabeth's windows, on seventeenth-century drawings after these.
- 27 Window 20 above: *The arrest of Christ* and *The mocking of Christ* with donor fields; window 21 above: *Ecce homo* and *The carrying of the cross* with donor fields; window 20 below: *The resurrection* and *The ascension* with incomplete donor fields; window 21 below: *Pentecost* with incomplete donor field, four coats of arms and a text cartouche with a verse mentioning the provenance of the series and their being put to good use there. Not all of the donors were accorded a place under their respective windows. K Goudriaan, *Breekbaar erfgoed: De glazen in de Goudse Van der Vormkapel*, Gouda 2013, spec. 35-45 argues, that it was not the subject of these seven scenes which made them eminently suitable to complete the iconographic program of the choir ambulatory – for lack of scenes as clear parallels to the end of life of John the Baptist – but the fact, that this was the only available stained glass from a redundant monastery building in Gouda. Securing the completion of the ambulatory glazing was in line with the preferential treatment that the Sint Jan received as Gouda's main church from the city fathers during the entire sixteenth century.
- 28 A payment of 3 guilders was made on 24 July 1580 to the glazier Jan Woutersz to install glass near the portal of the Sint Jan, see Van Harten-Boers 1997 (note 3), p. 118, n35, with a full transcription.
- 29 For the architectural history of the church, see B. van den Berg, *De Sint-Janskerk in Gouda: Een oude stadskerk volgens een nieuw ruimtelijk plan*, Hilversum 2008, and B. van den Berg, 'Turbulent times for Sint Janskerk in Gouda: The story of the building campaign and the reconstruction after the great fire of 1552', in W. de Groot (ed.), *The seventh window: The king's window donated by Philips II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk in Gouda (1557)*, Hilversum 2005, pp. 81-95.
- 30 The second best, equally original Gothic tracery is in the head of the following large transept window 23.
- 31 Van den Berg 2008 (note 29), pp. 151-154. This was enabled by the lowering of the roof of the consistory in the south-eastern corner of the church, among others to improve the view of window 22.
- 32 At least four engravings with similar allegories from design by Maarten de Vos were published in Counter-Reformatory Antwerp after 1585. C. Schuckman, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts: 1450-1700*, vol. 44, Rotterdam 1996, nrs 676, 709 (as companion piece to *The fall of Man*, nr 244), 710 and 711, illustrated in vol. 45, 1995.

PHOTO CREDITS

Gouda, De Protestantse Kerk Gouda, collectie Sint-Janskerk te Gouda (3, 9, 12, 13); London, British Museum (4); København, Statens Museum for Kunst (7); Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, photo Herbert Boswank (8); Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (10); Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum (11).

SUMMARY

At the end of 2018 Museum Gouda purchased a small glass panel, *The resurrected Christ triumphing over death and the devil* (fig. 1). It was attributed to Wouter Pietersz. Crabeth (ca. 1520/1530-1589), the glass painter from Gouda. Together with his younger brother Dirck (ca. 1510/20-1574) he executed the majority of the 'Catholic' windows of the Sint-Janskerk in Gouda. The glazing of this church, which was started in 1555 and completed in 1604 for the by then Protestant worshippers, is the most important surviving ensemble of Renaissance stained glass and matching cartoons in the Netherlands.

The extant oeuvre of Wouter Crabeth is smaller than that of Dirck. With the exception of his four documented Gouda windows and cartoons (1559-1566) and the glass medallion, all his drawings and glass panels are in foreign collections. Contrary to his other work, the newly acquired panel is not a straightforward representation of a scene from the Gospels. The customary sleeping soldiers in the foreground are replaced by a sitting skeleton, a reclining devil and a third person, whose headgear is inscribed with 'zonde' (sin). They are meant to represent the allegory of Christ triumphing over death, the devil and sin. A drawing in Dresden, first attributed to Dirck Crabeth and later to Lambert van Noort, shows striking similarities to the glass panel – both in iconography and style (fig. 8). It is also more complete, containing the figures of God the Father and two angels in the top section. The Dresden drawing, which is now attributed to Wouter Crabeth, is a design for a church window, of which the donor field is trimmed.

While similar allegories have formed part of both Catholic and reformist imagery, the presence of God the Father in the window design indicates the Catholic affiliation of the window's intended public. It is argued now that this design was probably meant for the very last window of the choir ambulatory in the Sint-Janskerk, to be preceded by a crucifixion. Of the combined series of the lives of Jesus and his precursor John the Baptist, patron saint of the church, only the second came to full circle at the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt. In 1580 the two last empty windows were filled with panels – representing scenes from the passion of Christ – from the chapel of the redundant monastery of Regulars in Gouda, made in the workshop of Dirck Crabeth.